



# VITA EUTHYMII PATRIARCHAE CP.

Text, Translation

Introduction and Commentary

by

Patricia KARLIN-HAYTER

ÉDITIONS DE *BYZANTION*

5, rue du Musée  
BRUXELLES

1970



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## The coronation of Constantine Porphyrogennetos

(Skylitzes Matritenses = Matritenses graecus Vitr. 26-2, f. 114 v.b.).

*Vita Euthymii. English & Greek.*

VITA EUTHYMII  
Patriarchae CP.

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*To my Mother and Father*

**ΣΦΙΝ ΔΕ ΜΟΙΡ' ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΠΕΤΑΙ**





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## Two plates

Plate I. — Coronation of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, frontispiece.

Plate II. — Movements of Euthymius and Gregory the Decapolite,  
opp. p. 182.



## FOREWORD

Nearly twenty years ago my master, Henri Grégoire, set me to work on the *Vita Euthymii*. In 1957 appeared in *Byzantion* the text, restored as nearly as possible, with the help of de Boor's own *apparatus criticus* and, to a lesser extent, of Veis' collation, to the popular Greek of the manuscript. I feel there is no longer any need to defend this conception of the editing of a mediaeval text. A translation appeared alongside.

Preparation of the historical commentary took longer, and in his last years Grégoire more than once burst out with : « Si vous continuez comme ça, je serai mort avant que ce ne soit fini ! ». I have greatly missed both his indignant strictures and the enthusiastic approval, that I did not perhaps deserve but found immensely heartening.

The *Vita Euthymii* was discovered and even christened by de Boor. His edition was accompanied by a rich and penetrating commentary. He deduced from internal evidence that it was the earliest narrative source for the period it covered, the reign of Leo VI the Wise, the work, indeed, of a contemporary who had lived through the events he described. This made him, in de Boor's eyes, an infinitely more reliable witness than the Chronicler (after Hirsch, only the singular is permissible) who collected left and right disparate items concerning a reign he had not seen and was, as a faithful servant of Romanos Lecapenos', committed to denigrating.

The most striking result of de Boor's labours on the *Vita* was a coherent chronological system for the whole reign of Leo. The most striking, but obviously the most vulnerable. Later research brought scholars up against flaws in the system. The conclusion drawn was that de Boor had had too much confidence in the *VE*. The dates he had proposed were investigated in isolation and his conclusions tested against the Chronicler, the Arabs or any other witness available.

To a certain extent, of course, individual dates may be so investigated, but this mode of study carries with it certain dangers, it focuses attention onto a point that is often trivial till the pursuit of an *ἡμερομηνία* becomes an aim in itself and failure or success here the criterion of value of a scholar's work. (A particularly striking case is that of de Boor, the rest of whose work on the *VE* is scarcely ever mentioned.) No less regrettable, methodologically, de Boor's conclusions, in this measuring of the *VE* against the *Chronicle*, have taken the place of the direct evidence of the *Vita*. Each time his elaborate construction was found at fault or even suspect, the *Vita* was incriminated. Lastly, comparing it with the *Chronicle* as if they were sources of the same nature is as if one approached (to appeal to very exalted parallels) Thucydides and the Bible, as historical sources, in the same way. The *Vita*, even though it uses written sources, is a coherent account of events the author had lived through. The *Chronicle* is a stringing together of notices of the most various origin that had caught the compiler's fancy. Sometimes they were modified to suit his politico-religious bias, but even this he sometimes forgot to do. The diverse nature of his sources appears at every turn. Favourable and hostile material concerning the same person lie side by side. Discrepancies that defy adjustment occur between different stages of a given affair. Dry extracts from annalistic records are followed by the most charming folklore. The importance, in particular, of popular poetry as a source of the *Chronicle*'s cannot be over-emphasised. In a work devoted to the *VE*, this point could not be given the place it deserves, but a few brief allusions do appear in the commentary. In short, the value of the Logothete chronicle needs no defence, but it should be approached in a quite different manner from the *VE*.

The Introduction and Commentary below are both essentially devoted to this question of the approach to the *Vita Euthymii* and to the Logothete. To it a number of other important points have been sacrificed — in particular, perhaps, titulature and topography. But the works of Janin, Guiland, Laurent and others have largely answered the questions the *Vita* raises. Only where there was some particular reason have I dwelt on them.

A word about the illustration chosen for this edition, the representation of an event not to be found anywhere in the pages of the text — the coronation of the child Constantine Porphyrogennetos :

this, after all, was what all the trouble was about. No male heir, no fourth marriage. No fourth marriage, no patriarchs demoted and promoted, perhaps no *Vita Euthymii*. So the hub of the whole affair is not to be found in our text. I have little doubt that in the complete *Vita* it was, all I could do was fill the gap with a picture. It comes from the Madrid Skylitzes (Matrit. gr. Vitr. 26-2) and I wish to express my gratitude to the Biblioteca Nacional who have authorised its reproduction.

Finally it is my agreeable duty to thank those who have given me particular assistance in this work — it is impossible to name all who, over so long a period, have given their help. Above all, Henri Grégoire set the task, taught me how to approach it, suggested lines to pursue, pointed out problems or resolved them, goaded, chided, praised and, alas, died before seeing the job finished. Dead too is Professor Jenkins who was never too busy to discuss my difficulties in letters and give me the benefit of his wide scholarship. For the rest my thanks are to the living, and first to M. Paul Orgels who has brought to the reading of the proofs his exceptional knowledge of the period and made several valuable suggestions, to Dr. Každan for useful criticism of a number of points, to M<sup>me</sup> Alice Leroy-Molinghen for her kindness in undertaking the laborious reading of the proofs, to Professor Lemerle for his detailed and eulogistic appreciation of the Introduction which he read in proof form, and to my Father with whom I talked over so many aspects of this work.

*Brussels, 1970.*

P. KARLIN-HAYTER.





## I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. The ms. — 2. The Tetragamy. —
3. The Vita Euthymii.

1. **Manuscript.** — The text given below is known from a single ms, the former Berol. gr. f. 55, which disappeared in the 1940-45 war.

It has been described by C. de Boor & N. Veis <sup>(1)</sup>. The following remarks are based on de Boor (pp. v ff.).

It was discovered in 1874, among the « melancholy remains » of the library of a monastery on an island of lake Egerdir <sup>(2)</sup> in Pisidia, by Prof. G. Hirschfeld, who bought it and brought it to Berlin. Considerable portions were missing, but what had survived was well preserved and easy to read. 76 leaves remained as well as a small fragment. Of these the first 70 belonged to an unknown text, the rest to the 13th sermon of St Basil (*Προτρεπτική ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα*).

The quaternions being numbered on the first and last page the extent of losses is known. As the first page is marked θ, the first 8 quaternions are missing. There remain quaternions 9, 10 (leaves 1-16), 12-15 (leaves 23-54), 17, 18 (leaves 55-70). Leaves 17-22 are leaves 2-7 of the 11th quaternion, whose outer leaves are missing. Quaternion 16 is lost. Leaves 71-76 are the first 6 leaves of the 20th quaternion. The 19th is also lost. As what is missing of the beginning of Basil's sermon, with the heading, would fill one leaf, up to seven are missing from the end of the biography.

The writing, probably end of xith century (between 1080

(1) C. DE BOOR, *Vita Euthymii, ein Anecdoton zur Geschichte Leo's des Weisen*, Berlin, 1888. — N. VEIS, 'Η βιογραφία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου..., in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 19, 1944, pp. 105-136. — Russian translation with important commentary by A. P. KAZDAN, hereafter referred to as *Две хроники*. — BHG<sup>s</sup> 651.

(2) Egerdir is near Euthymius' birthplace, see Comm., n. to 58, 11.

and 1100 according to N. Veis), is very careful and regular, on double columns of 24 lines, written in light brown ink (photograph published by N. Veis, *op. cit.*). The letters follow closely below the lines traced on the vellum, only the tops of the taller letters reaching above the line. Except for headings in red ink, there are in the margins only isolated words which the copyist had omitted. There are hardly any corrections in any later hand. Abbreviations are few, and apply only to *καί* and the so called *compendia sacra*. Just as the copyist took great pains with the appearance of his manuscript, so he avoided most of the copyists usual slips. N. Veis adds that *ι* subscript is almost always absent, adscript, on the other hand frequent. Peculiarities of spelling, however, will be considered later with other characteristics of the language of the VE.

The new text was edited by de Boor <sup>(1)</sup>.

The title it had originally borne was lost, but as it had for hero a monk of aggressive saintliness and prophetic gifts he gave it the name of *Vita Euthymii* by which it has since been known, though the recent Russian translator & commentator, A. Každan, prefers to call it *Chronicle of Psamathia*.

**2. The schism of the Tetragamy** <sup>(2)</sup>. — The fragment opens dramatically with the death of Basil I in 886 and breaks off with the death of its hero in 917. The author has one foot in the cloister and one foot in the court, and the events with which it is principally concerned belong to the history of the unprofitable so-called schism of the Tetragamy.

Since John VIII, grateful for a Byzantine fleet, hoping to keep Bulgaria for Rome, and no doubt willing too to heal the breach in the body of the Church, had recognised Photius as legitimate patriarch of Constantinople, the reconciliation with Rome had been maintained <sup>(3)</sup>: Stephen V had accepted

(1) *Op. cit.*

(2) The classic work on the subject is РОРОВ, *Император Левъ VI Мудрый*. For a reexamination of certain points, see my *Synode à CP*.

(3) See DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism*, ch. VII, *The second schism...* and GRUMEL, *Liquidation and comm.*, n. to 64, 27.

Leo's statement that Photius had resigned, recognised Leo's brother Stephen as his successor and snubbed the unreconciled Ignatians led by Stylianos of New Caesarea, whose thesis was that Photius had been ejected as a layman — with its corollary that his ordinations, including that of Stephen, were invalid.

In spite of this thesis, Stylianos was ready to rejoin the main body of the Church, and his letter to the Pope had asked for a dispensation for Stephen. To this request he received the reply that Stephen's ordination was perfectly valid. It was in fact during the patriarchate of Anthony Cauleas that he and his adherents were formally reunited.

With this reunion the Byzantine church achieved a peace it had not known for decades, but not for long: the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo was to be the occasion of yet another schism.

The schism was internal, and the issues disciplinary and dynastic. Rome was nonetheless called in by the Emperor to help him checkmate his patriarch. Nor did he have to make any heavier concession in exchange than recognising the supremacy of the throne of St Peter, a supremacy universally granted and invariably appealed to by the losers of doctrinal or canonical battles. As the Pope usually rewarded this filial attitude with his support, those who had won with legitimate weapons were often aggrieved. So it was on this occasion: the Emperor appealed to the Pope, the Pope gave him his blessing, fortified with this he deposed the Patriarch, who knew no rest until he had imposed on the child for whose sake the Emperor had thus acted, the obligation to read out every year, in public, a declaration that showed he was a bastard and the Pope was wrong.

In fact it was not to Rome alone that Leo appealed, but to the Pentarchy. He was determined to overrule his patriarch, but realised apparently that the continual appeals to Rome were ruining the spiritual authority of the see of Constantinople, and wanted to avoid furthering this process. Appealing to the supreme jurisdiction of the five patriarchs looked like a way out. In fact, by this date Alexandria and Antioch hardly counted, and appeal to the Pentarchy, in practice hardly differed from simple appeal to Rome.

Leo's problem was that the Eastern church was opposed to remarriage : a second could be contracted, but entailed penance. Third and fourth marriages were forbidden. He himself, anxious to « bring civil law into conformity with that of the Church », had even, in earlier days, promoted a novel against third marriage.

But in 906 he married his fourth wife. The patriarch excommunicated him. A year later, unable to get Nicolas to lift the ban, Leo, sustained by a papal dispense — and also by proof of the patriarch's high treason — deposed him, and, the better to have his own immorality (by the standards under which he lived) condoned, replaced this worldly prelate by a rigorous ascete — Euthymius. All this was done with the backing of a council which may be termed oecumenical.

It is only fair to add that Nicolas would have given Leo a dispense if he could, but the opposition of the archbishop of Caesarea in particular obliged him to apply the canon.

Five years later Leo died, and his brother and heir deposed Euthymius and recalled Nicolas. But by now there were two churches, of which the respective patriarchs were in only imperfect control. In bishoprics with two bishops and to each bishop his clergy, brawls broke out and blows were exchanged at the foot of the altar <sup>(1)</sup>.

In 920, the Protector of the young emperor, the future Roman I, imposed a patched-up peace on the parties. It was more formal than real, and far into the xth century <sup>(2)</sup>, distant echoes of the strife between Euthymians and Nicolaïtes crop up. Until 944 the Euthymian party served as rallying point for the partisans of Constantine Porphyrogennetos against the usurper Roman. But in 920 the Union was a resounding moral

(1) See NICOLAS MYSTICUS, *Letter to the Strateges of Hellas*, P.G. 111, col. 221 A.

(2) GRUMEL, *Régestes*, N. 813 : « Acte de réconciliation par lequel Sisinnius réintègre dans l'Église ceux qui en étaient séparés à cause de la tétragamie... Les acclamations qui accompagnent la seconde publication du *τόμος τῆς ἐνώσεως* sous Basile II indiquent comme patriarche contemporain Nicolas (II). Cédrenus, seul témoin qui parle de Sisinnius, a-t-il fait confusion, ou bien Sisinnius aurait-il réconcilié les derniers hésitants ? On ne saurait décider ». (Sisinnius 996-8) See also *ibid.* N. 669, critique.



triumph for Nicolas, who appeared as the champion of morality against immorality, the patriarch who had been deposed and exiled for resisting wantonness in high places, while his place had been taken by an usurper who pandered to imperial vice.

In this climate the *Vita Euthymii* was composed, in Euthymius' monastery, to clear his memory and explain a situation that was not easy to explain.

**3. The *Vita Euthymii*.** — The resulting apologia was considered by de Boor an account of events so fair as to be unanimous. And in fact I believe it to be remarkably truthful, but it is still essentially a skillful defense of Euthymius, whose ascent of the patriarchal throne while Nicolas was still alive required considerable justification. The author insists on: 1) Euthymius' almost insurmountable unwillingness to accept the patriarchal throne, only surmounted when the throne is forced on him by a) Nicolas' *παραιτήσεις*; b) the unanimous and pressing call of the metropolitans; c) the insistence of the Roman delegates; d) Leo's threat of *αἵρεσις*; 2) Nicolas' high treason (and, accessorially, his instability and cowardice).

**Date of Composition.** — Composed in the monastery of Psamathia by an inmate who does not seem to have been there with Euthymius (see de Boor, p. 83), the *Vita* as we know it ends with the death of its hero on the 4th August 917, but in its complete form was carried on to the translation of his relics (see below, 146, 12 and note) and is at all events posterior to the Union of 920, prophesied at the end of ch. XXI.

A *terminus ante quem* has been suggested by de Boor (1). Certain expressions look, as he says, very much like « a bid for the favour of the asecretis Symeon ... who consequently must still have been alive ». The observations made below (p. 24) on the *VE*'s source for this episode do not invalidate this suggestion — the author handles his material too independantly for that — but confirmation and even a closer

(1) P. 86.

term is, I think, supplied by two small indications in the *Vita*. On his death-bed, Euthymius foretells a difficult period for the community: τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν μου ἐν τοιαύτῃ στενώσει καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδεία καταστήσετε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἄψασθαι. ἀποστελεῖ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς βοήθειαν ὑμῖν ἐξ ὕψους, καὶ ὑπερασπίσοι καὶ ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὑστέρημα ἀναπληρώσοι. The distress will be sufficiently pressing and last long enough for them to be reduced to selling the sacred vases. The optatives suggest that the situation had not yet improved when the *Vita* was written (but optatives in such a text are not much to rest conclusions on). This period certainly fell in the reign of Romanus Lecapenus.

But a much closer term is suggested by the reconciliation with Nicolas. Euthymius here lets slip a wonderful opportunity for a prophecy: σὺ μὲν, he says to Nicolas, λέγεις εἶναι με ἀνάξιον καὶ καλῶς λέγεις. εἰμὶ γάρ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ κατανοεῖς, ὥς ἀμφοτέροι ἐῤῥεθησόμεθα ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.... Why does he fail to tell Nicolas that, another eight years, and it will be his turn, unless Nicolas was still alive when the *Vita* was written? When one remembers the insistence on Euthymius' dioratic gifts, it seems almost impossible that an allusion in his mouth to someone's death should not have become a prophecy once that person was dead.

The *Vita* would then have been composed between 920 and 925.

## II. SOURCES

1. The *Vita Euthymii* and the Chroniclers.
- 2. The missing pages. — 3. Sources of the *V.E.* not used by the Chroniclers. — 4. Photius. — 5. The Preface to the *Tomus Unionis*. — 6. Conclusions.

1. **The *Vita Euthymii* and the Chroniclers** <sup>(1)</sup>. — In his commentary de Boor noted that «the striking similarity» between Basil's dying speech in the *V.E.* and in the *Ps.-Symeon*, as well as the designation of Stylianos as *ἐπιτροπος* oblige one to recognise that the two accounts are not independant. The nature of their interpendance could only be judged, he added, «after full publication and careful sifting of all Logothete material».

Unfortunately publication of the Logothete advances slowly.

However, there may be information to be drawn from comparison, based on what has been published <sup>(2)</sup>, of all passages where there is or might be interdependance.

The two texts are very differently constructed. The *V.E.* is highly organised: one episode or paragraph prepares a later which is seen to fulfill it; sin, admonition, persistance in sin and retribution play themselves out; the prophet is

(1) For the reign of Leo, the different editions of the Chronicle are merely the Logothete in its two recensions (see HIRSCH, *Studien*) with a few variants in *Ps.-Symeon*, particularly in the Photian passages and certain other mss.

(2) For the purposes of this study I have not systematically used even all the published versions, but confined myself to George Hamartolus continued in Istrin's edition, Theophanes continued (Bonn), Pseudo-Symeon (Bonn), George continued (Bonn) and Theodose of Melitene. The extensive quotations below show, I think, that appeal to a greater number of witnesses for establishing the nature of the relationship between the two texts is unnecessary and would only lead to repetition of the same evidence. George (Bonn) pairs with Theodose and George (Istrin) with Theophanes cont.



scorned till the prophecy is fulfilled. The Logothete chronicle, in sharp contrast, consists in the bare juxtaposition of unrelated entries.

A number of these narrate episodes mentioned in the V.E. (1). Comparison of these in the two sources will be completed by a glance at the retrospective mention by Leo of his differences with his father and an attempt to identify a few episodes likely to have been mentioned in the missing pages of the V.E.

### 1. — Basil's last hunt.

#### *Vita Euthymii*

#### George cont. (Istrin, II, 24)

#### Zonaras

Βασίλειος ὁ ἄναξ ἐξῆει τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως κνη-  
θηράσων ... πρὸς τὸν πρω-  
ταγέλαιον τούτων ὁ αὐτο-  
κράτωρ ἐφόρμησεν ὡς ὑπερ-  
μεγέθη πάντων ὑπάρχοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατε-  
... καὶ ὁ μὲν μόνος τοῦτον διώκετο. ἐπι[στραφεῖς]δ  
ἐδίδωκεν ... ὁ δὲ γε ἔλαφος ἔλαφος  
... τῆς φνυγαδείας ἀνατρα-  
πεῖς ...  
καταδιώκων τοῦτον τοῖς κέ-  
ρασιν ἔτυπεν. ἐξ οὗ καὶ

Εἰς θήραν δὲ ἀπελθὼν  
ἐλάφῳ ἐντυγχάνει τὸ μέ-  
γεθος ὑπερφυεῖ καὶ εἰς θ-  
πος ἡρμένα κέρατα φέροντι,  
καὶ τοῦτον ἐδίδωκε καὶ πλη-  
σιάσας αὐτῷ ἤρε τὴν χεῖρα  
ξιφήρη πλῆξαι τὸ ζῷον βο-  
λόμενος. τὸ δὲ τοῖς κέρασιν  
ἡμύνετο τὸν διώκοντα, καὶ  
τινος τῶν αὐτοῖς παρα-

(1) Changes on the imperial and patriarchal thrones of CP ; some material concerning Theophano ; a good many entries concerning Zaoutzes and the two Zoes ; Basil's last hunt and death ; Samonas' discovery of Basil epeictes' plot ; the St Mocius attempt on Leo's life ; the sack of Salonica in 904 ; Constantine Porphyrogenetos' christening ; Nicolas' exile ; the rebellion of Andronicus Ducas ; the *καθαίρεσις* of Euthymius ; Alexander's death ; Constantine Ducas' rising ; Zoe's *coup d'état*.

(2) GEORGE CONT. (Bonn) and THEODOSE : Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐξελθόντος πρὸς τὸ κνηνηῆσαι, ἐλάφου ποθὲν ἀναφαιέντος παμμεγέθους (THEOD. : ἔλαφος ποθὲν ἀναφανείς παμμεγέθης), ὡς αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κατεδίωκεν, ἐπι-στραφεῖς ὁ ἔλαφος ἤρε τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου (THEOD. : μετὰ τοῦ κέρατος). φθάσας δὲ τις καὶ τὴν σπάθην γυμνώσας (THEOD. : καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐκκόψας, τὸν βασιλέα ἐρρύσατο (Bonn 848 ; THEOD. Mel. 183) — PS.-SYMEON : Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐν κνηνήῳ ἐξελθόντος, ἔλαφος παμμεγέθης ἀναφανείς ἤρε τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μετὰ τοῦ κέρατος. φθάσας δὲ τις τὴν ζώνην μετὰ τῆς σπάθης κόψας τοῦτον ἐρρύσατο. (Bonn 699).

ἐάλω παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν γὰρ ζώνη τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ κέ- φνομένων ὄζων ἐμβληθέν-  
 ἐξοχῶν τῶν κεράτων ὑπὸ ρας ἐμβαλῶν, τος τῇ ζώνη τοῦ βασιλέως  
 τοῦ ζωστήρος  
 τούτου ὑπεισελθόντων ἀνάρ- ἀνέσπασε (1) ἐκ τοῦ ἱππου μετέωρος ἐ-  
 παστον τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἱπ- καὶ ἴστο, τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπι- κεῖνος ἐφέρετο, ῥωρημένος  
 πον λαβόμενος ἔφερεν φερόμενος. τοῦ ζώου τοῖς κέρασι.  
 ... τότε τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπει δέ τις ἔφθη τῶν μετ' καὶ τάχα ἂν ἡνάλωτο, εἰ  
 Φαργάνων λεγομένων σύν- αὐτοῦ τὴν σπάθην γυμνώ- μὴ τις φθάσας καὶ ξίφει  
 δρομος τῷ ἐλάφῳ γίνεται σας καὶ τὴν ζώνην δια- τεμὼν τὴν ζώνην αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ χεῖρα γυμνὴν σπά- τεμὼν τὸν βασιλέα διέσω- διεσώσατο. (III, Bonn,  
 θην λαβόμενος τὸν ἐν τοῖς σεν. (ISTRIN, p. 24). 439).  
 κέρασι κωλυόμενον ζωστή-  
 ρα διέκοψε (p. 2, 2 sqq.).

a) The various versions of the Logothete group are abridged versions of the V.E., differing only in degree of condensation. (They do not represent an original expanded by the V.E. : contrast Zonaras with his embellishments that add nothing).

b) The Istrin George Monachus cont. gives the longest version in the chroniclers but twice the actual words of Theodosius of Melitene seem closer.

Ps-Symeon is abridged till no clear picture at all is left.

N.B. Zonaras's version in spite of its embellishments, is closer to the V.E. than to the Logothete.

For the sake of comparison, below are the notices of the *Vita Basilii* and the Life of Theophano :

φθινάδι νόσω περιπίπτει ὁ βασιλεὺς ...ἣ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ  
 τινος τῶν κατὰ θήραν παραπτώσεων ἔλαβεν (Bonn, 351).

Ὅλιγον δὲ χρόνον παρῳχηκότος, ὁ μέγας καὶ πιστότα-  
 τος βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος, νόσω καὶ γήρα καμφοθείς, τῇ φν-  
 σικῇ κατηπείγετο διαλύσει (KURZ, Theophano, p. 13).

2. — *Basil's death-bed* scene is common to the V.E. and Pseudo-Symeon. No other member of the Logothete family gives it. No other passage is shared by the V.E. and one version only of the chronicle. Ps.-Symeon is, as usual, a ruth- lessly abridged version, but adds a detail : not Santabarenos alone, but he and Photius have, says Basil, driven him away

(1) ἦρε τὸν βασιλέα Gc Bonn (p. 848) ; Ps.-S. (699) ; Theod., Mel. (183)

from God and his right mind and snatched him down to a like punishment to theirs :

...φάμενος τῷ νιῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδόχῳ Λέοντι καὶ Στυλιανῷ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῶν βασιλέως νιῶν, ὅτι Φώτιος ὁ ἀνιερὸς καὶ ὁ συμμύστης αὐτοῦ Σανταβαρηνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ με μακρύναντες, καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώσεως ποιήσαντες, εἰς τὴν ἰσην μετ' αὐτῶν κόλασιν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξέφυξεν, καταλιπὼν Λέοντα καὶ Στέφανον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. (Ps.-Sym., Bonn, 699, 21-700).

A variant of Basil's death-bed is found in the *Vita Basilii Junioris*. The murdered Michael appears to the dying man, and reproaches him in these words : *Τί σοι ἐποίησα, ὦ Βασίλειε, ἢ τί σοι ἠδίκησα ; ὅτι οὕτως ἀνηλεῶς με κατέκτεινας ;* and he continues with the usual : *καὶ οὕτως ἐξαγορευόν τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπὼν Λέοντα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ*. II, 285. This is the story Liutprand heard and transmits in a slightly elaborated form (Michael is introduced by Christ), connecting it, not with Basil's death, but with his consecrating a church to the archistrategi Michael. (*Antapodosis*, I, 10, p. 277. Cf. *Vita Bas. Jun.* II, 307).

Compare with the *Vita Basilii* version, George cont. (Bonn) : *ὑποστρέφας* (after cutting off Michael's hands) *εὔρε Μιχαὴλ χεῖρας μὲν μὴ ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης δὲ κείμενον, ἐλεεινολογούμενον κατὰ Βασιλείον* (873, 18).

### 3. — The St Mocius attempt on Leo's life.

V.E. (p. 66)

George Cont. Istrin, (II p. 31)

Ps.-S. (p. 704)

<p>ἡ τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς ἡμέρα παρῆν, καὶ λέως πεποικηκός τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν τῇ ῥα τῆς πεντεκοστῆς εἰς τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσοδεύοντος ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ καθὼς εἰώθει προέρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Μωκίου πα- νιέρῳ σηκῷ ἀπῆει. ἐκεῖ- σε τοῖνον ἀφικόμενος σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Νικολάῳ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐξετέλει. ἐξαίφνης δὲ ἐκπηδήσας κά- τωθεν τοῦ ἄμβωνος ὡς πρὸς τὴν σολίαν τις ἀνῆλθ,</p>	<p>Προέλευσιν δὲ τοῦ βασι- λεύου τὸν ἅγιον Μῶκιον, ἐν τῷ εἰσο- δεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ πλησίον πρῶν τῶν ἁγίων γενέσθαι θυρῶν εἶναι ναόν, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῆς ἐκπεπηδηκώς τις τοῦ ἄμ- βωνος</p>	<p>Τῷ ις' ἔτει ἐν τῇ προ- ελεύσει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τῷ ἅγιον Μῶκιον, ὃν φασὶν Ἡρακλέους σολέας ἦλθεν, ἐξελθὼν τις ἐκ τοῦ ἄμβωνος ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ</p>
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Στυλιανὸς μὲν τῇ κλήσει,  
 ἀγνώριστος δὲ πάντη καὶ  
 μὴ παρὰ τινος γινωσκόμε-  
 νος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 κεφαλὴν τὴν ῥάβδον ἣν ἔπε-  
 φέρετο ῥαγδαίως κατέφε-  
 ρεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐκείσε νοίᾳ  
 τινὶ τὸ τῆς ῥάβδου  
 ἄνωθεν κρεμάμενον πολυ-  
 ἄκρον τῷ πολυκανδήλῳ εἰ μὴ  
 εἰς πολυκανδήλον ἢ  
 κἀνδῆλον τὴν ὀξεῖαν φορὰν  
 προσκεκρουκῶς, τῆς βιαίας  
 ῥάβδος<sup>(1)</sup> ἐνεποδίσθη, πα-  
 τῆς ῥάβδου ἐδέξατο, τάχα  
 μικρὸν ἀνεσχέθη φορᾶς.  
 τοῦ ρευθὺ ἂν τοῦ ζῆν  
 αὐτὸν ἂν νεκρὸς καὶ ἄπνους  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείκνυτο.  
 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς μικρᾶς προσπαύ-  
 σεως ταύτης αἰμόφυρτος  
 ἐγεγόνει. τότε δὴ πάντων  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἄθρῳ τοῦ γεγονό-  
 τος πτοηθέντων, φυγάδες  
 ὄχοντο οἱ τε τῆς συγκλή-  
 του ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ βήματος ...

ῥάβδῳ παχείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς μετὰ ῥάβδον  
 ἰσχυρᾷ τοῦτον ἔπαισε κατὰ ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ παχείας. καὶ  
 κεφαλῆς καὶ δὴ ἂν ἐθανά-  
 τωσε παρευθύ, εἰ μὴ προ-  
 ρεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐκείσε νοίᾳ τινὶ τὸ τῆς ῥάβδου  
 ἄνωθεν κρεμάμενον πολυ-  
 ἄκρον τῷ πολυκανδήλῳ εἰ μὴ εἰς πολυκανδήλον ἢ  
 κἀνδῆλον τὴν ὀξεῖαν φορὰν  
 προσκεκρουκῶς, τῆς βιαίας ῥάβδος<sup>(1)</sup> ἐνεποδίσθη, πα-  
 τῆς ῥάβδου ἐδέξατο, τάχα  
 μικρὸν ἀνεσχέθη φορᾶς. τοῦ ρευθὺ ἂν τοῦ ζῆν  
 αὐτὸν ἂν νεκρὸς καὶ ἄπνους ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείκνυτο. ἐκ  
 γὰρ τῆς μικρᾶς προσπαύ-  
 σεως ταύτης αἰμόφυρτος  
 ἐγεγόνει. τότε δὴ πάντων  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἄθρῳ τοῦ γεγονό-  
 τος πτοηθέντων, φυγάδες  
 ὄχοντο οἱ τε τῆς συγκλή-  
 του ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ βήματος ...

ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρὸς, νόσον προφασισά-  
 μενος, οὐ κατήλθεν ἐν τῇ  
 εἰσόδῳ, ὥς ἐκ τούτου ὑποπ-  
 τευθῆναι αὐτόν, τὴν τοιαύ-  
 την ἐπιβουλήν κατεργάσασ-  
 θαι.

Στυλιανὸς δὴ ὁ τολμητίας  
 βασάνοις ἀνηκέστοις καὶ  
 κατασχεθεῖς καὶ πολλὰς βα-  
 φρικώδεσιν ἐγκατεργήσας  
 σάνους ὑπομεμενηκῶς, ἐπεί  
 νους καὶ τιμωρίας ὑπομε-  
 καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ  
 μῆδενά συνειδέναι καθωμο-  
 μενηκότος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέ-  
 ρας, ἐπεί μῆδενά καθωμολό-  
 γει, τέλος χεῖρας καὶ πό-  
 δας ἐκκοπεῖς ἐν τῇ τοῦ  
 γησεν, ἐκκόπτεται χεῖρας  
 ἱππικοῦ σφενδόνη ἐκκάη.  
 καὶ πόδας καὶ ἐν τῷ σφεν-  
 δόνι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καίεται.

ὁ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πλήξας, κρατηθέντος τοῦ δόντος τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ, καὶ πολλὰς βασά-  
 φρικώδεσιν ἐγκατεργήσας  
 σάνους ὑπομεμενηκῶς, ἐπεί  
 νους καὶ τιμωρίας ὑπομε-  
 καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ  
 μῆδενά συνειδέναι καθωμο-  
 μενηκότος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέ-  
 ρας, ἐπεί μῆδενά καθωμολό-  
 γει, τέλος χεῖρας καὶ πό-  
 δας ἐκκοπεῖς ἐν τῇ τοῦ  
 γησεν, ἐκκόπτεται χεῖρας  
 ἱππικοῦ σφενδόνη ἐκκάη.  
 καὶ πόδας καὶ ἐν τῷ σφεν-  
 δόνι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καίεται.

The Logothete account follows the V.E. step by step, but combines elements from at least one other source: the accounts of Alexander's rôle, though not necessarily contradictory, are different; in the Logothete versions the story is rounded off by that of the οἰκονόμος Mark<sup>(4)</sup>. Lastly, Theodose

(1) ἡ φορὰ τῆς ῥάβδου. Theod. Mel., Gc (Bonn 861).

(2) ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κεφαλῆς Gc (Bonn 861).

(3) καὶ πολλοὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἀπώλοντο (!), Gc (Bonn 861).

(4) From ■ Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν? Každan has noted that the Logothete gives little place to Euthymius himself, I would add: just a little more than to Mark.

and the Bonn George cont. have information on what Samonas was doing at the time.

There are other minor differences : the V.E.'s naming of Nicolas, which may be bias and paving the way for the emperor's remark in ch. 12. The V.E. also names the author of the attempt while the Logothete gives more details of his punishment.

The attempt took place on the day of Mid-Pentecost, Istrin and Ps.-Symeon have « Pentecost ».

Each Logothete group is, at least once, closer than the other to the V.E. : ἐκπηδήσας (κάτωθεν τοῦ ἄμβωνος) (V.E.) ἐξελθὼν (Theod. Mel. group) ἐκπεπηδηκώς (Gc Istrin group) ; σολία (V.E.) σολέα (Theod. Mel. gr. except Ps.-Sym.) ἀγίων θυρῶν (Gc Istrin group) ; φορὰ τῆς ῥάβδου (V.E.) φορὰ τῆς ῥ. (Theod. Mel. gr.) τὸ τῆς ῥ. ἄκρον (Gc Istrin gr.).

4. — *Exile of Nicolas.* — The very long V.E. account of the banquet on St Trypho's day that ended in the exiling of Nicolas and the metropolitans has been drastically condensed to :

προσκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ Νικόλαον πατριάρχην Φεβρουαρίῳ μηνὶ πρώτῃ, καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντες δεχθῆναι τὴν πολυγαμίαν, ἐπεὶ πείσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κλητορίου διὰ τοῦ Βουκολέοντος ἐν πλοίῳ μικρῷ τοῦτον ἐμβιβάσαντες διεπέρασαν ἐν τῇ Ἡρίᾳ, ἀπ' ἧς πεζῇ μέχρι Γαλακρηνῶν μόλις ἀπήει, χιόνος ἐπικειμένης πολλῆς (George cont., Bonn, 865, 16-22).

The last lines repeat V.E. :

τὸν δέ γε πατριάρχην μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου Βουκολέοντος κατεάξαντες, ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐμβalόντες τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ τῇ ἐν ταῖς Γαλακρηναῖς ἀποκατέστησαν.

except that the V.E. has added μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς and omitted the pathetic passage about Nicolas's suffering. For, clearly, it is the V.E. who has omitted, not the Logothete who has added. Then for this passage the author of the *Vita* used a source that was used independantly by the Logothete. The source seems to have been favourable to Nicolas. If one re-



members that the 'Schism of the Tetragamy' went on for decades, that it stirred such feeling that when Poyeuctes (956-959) replaced Euthymius' name on the diptychs he met with resistance <sup>(1)</sup> and that earlier the confrontation had been violent <sup>(2)</sup>. and if one then consider that Nicolas was the head and hero of one side, it is impossible not to believe that there was a *Life* of Nicolas.

### 5. — *The deposition of Euthymius.*

#### *Vita Euthymii*

ἐπὶ βήματος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασι-  
λείοις καθεσθεις ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ κα-  
λουμένῃ Μαγναύρα (118, 7) ... προσ-  
τάσσει παραστῆναι Εὐθύμιον (118,  
14) ... τὸ αὐτοῦ ὠμοφρόριον ὥσπερ  
θῆρες ἄγριοι ἀφαρπάσαντες κατα-  
πατηθῆναι πεποιήκησαν ... πᾶσαν  
τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ... κατεπά-  
τησαν ... τὸν πύγωνα αὐτοῦ σφο-  
δρῶς ἔτιλλον ... εἰθ' οὕτως γρον-  
θίζει τοῦτον κατὰ τοῦ τέροντος (p.  
120)

« διατὶ τὴν ἐμοὶ νυμφευθεῖσαν ἐκ-  
κλησίαν ... ἐμνηστεύσω καὶ μῦσος ἐν  
αὐτῇ εἰσήγαγες ἐμὲ ταύτης ἐξεώ-  
σας ; » (p. 118, 20)

(Cf. part. 120, 30-122, 1  
and 122, 16-17)

#### George cont. (Istrin, 37)

Ποίησας δὲ σελέντιον ἐν τῇ Μαγ-  
ναύρα, Ἀλέξανδρος κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ  
τῶν Ἀγαθοῦ τὸν Εὐθύμιον καὶ ἄμα  
Νικολάω καθεσθὼς τὴν αὐτοῦ κα-  
θαίρεσιν ἐποιήσαντο. εὐθὺς δὲ ὡς-  
περ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες ἐμπεπηδηότες,  
τοῦ ἱεροπρεποῦς ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου

τὴν σεβασμίαν γενειάδα ἀπέτιλλον  
καὶ ἐπὶ τράχηλον ὠθουν καὶ ἄλλας  
ἀνυποίστους ποινὰς τούτῳ ἐπέφερον,

ἐπιβάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες καὶ μοιχὸν  
καὶ ἄλλοτρίᾳ ἐπιδημήσαντα <sup>(3)</sup> γυ-  
ναϊκί.

ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ αἰδέσι-  
μος πρὸς πάντα καὶ ἡσύχως ὑπέ-  
φερον.

The Istrin George mostly reproduces, with considerable cuts, but otherwise almost word for word, the *Vita*. Theoph. Cont. is naturally the same except that, instead of ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐπιδημήσαντα γυναικί, it has ἐπιπηδήσαντα, which is right (see below). The Theodose Mel. group gives an even more abbreviated version.

Only two passages suggest the possible influence of another source. In the one just quoted, the terms ἐπιβάτην,

(1) THc 435 ; Ced. II, 334-5.

(2) Letters of Nicolas Mysticus part. Migne XXXIV.

(3) ἐπιπηδήσαντα THc., Bonn, 378.





After alluding to the political activity round the death-bed, the V.E. continues: (p. 130, 14)

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων σηπεδόνι καὶ τελείᾳ ἐκκοπῇ ὀδυρόμενος ἐν τῷ γι' τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μηνὶ κακῶς τοῦ ζῆν ἐστέρηται.

In the Logothete, the Himerios incident and Bulgarian embassy follow. Finally: (Theod. Mel. p. 201)

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀριστήσας καὶ οὐνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ κύνᾳ καύμασι κατήλθε σφαιρίσαι<sup>(1)</sup>. καὶ ῥομφαία θεηλάτῳ πληγείς καὶ ἀνελθὼν, αἵματος<sup>(2)</sup> πολλοῦ ἐκ τῶν εἰνῶν καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐκφερομένου<sup>(3)</sup>, μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἐτελεύτησε<sup>(4)</sup>.

The relationship of the V.E. and the Logothete texts is evident in the parallel development of the episode with frequent coincident expressions: γόησι προσομιλήσας — πλάνοις καὶ γόησιν; τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ Ζωδιακοῖς — τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐστόλισε καὶ τοῖς Ζώδοις...; πολυκανθήλοις φωταγωγήσας — πολυκάνδηλα ἄρας — φωταγωγίαν ἐποίησε. The addition of the Logothete's on the boar is framed by οἱ καὶ πεπείκασιν αὐτόν before and καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πλάνῃ πεποιθώς after, a characteristic mark of interpolations.

But after φωταγωγήσας — φωταγωγίαν ἐποίησε the two accounts diverge. Both record that Alexander was punished. For the V.E. he was struck down immediately ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίῳ καθίσματι where he is doing honour to idols, and carried home to die. The Logothete speaks of his punishment in a formula whose basic identity remains unmistakeable through the variants: διὸ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἀφηρεῖθι ὡς τάχιστα or ἤρθη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρ, but the precise nature of the punishment is, surprisingly, not stated. It is not death in any very brief lapse of time. First must come the death of Himerios and the Bulgarian embassy, only then Alexander's death, of apoplexy or sunstroke. His general state of health is good enough for him to play polo.

(1) τῇ τῆς σφαίρας χρῆσασθαι παιδιᾷ Gc Istrin group.

(2) αἵματος αὐτοῦ πολλοῦ Gc Istrin group.

(3) καταφερομένου Gc Istrin group. φερομένου Ps.-Sym.

(4) μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ε' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης Gc Istrin group. Gc Bonn is heavily cut, but presents as usual Theod. Mel. characteristics.

The funeral oration on Euthymius pronounced by Arethas of Caesarea some time between 917 and 920 proves the historicity of the hippodrome incident, is interesting for the V.E. text and confirms, once again, the correctness of its version of an event as against the Logothete's: τοῖς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγάλμασι τὰ ἀνθεστήρια θύσας τὴν ἔνδικον ἀντελάμβανε μισθαποδοσίαν. οὐπω τὸ πᾶν ἀπήρτιστο τῆς βακχείας καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεεινὸς φοράδην τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κοιτῶσιν εἰσεκομίζετο, οὐδὲν ἀνεκτότερον Ἡρώδου τούτου διαγενόμενος, ὃς Ἰάκωβον τὸν Ζεβεδαίου εἰς χάριν τῶν χριστοκτόνων ἀνηρηκῶς καὶ Πέτρω ἐπιτιθέμενος τῷ κορυφαίῳ, κατάλληλον εἶχε τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἐν μέσῃ πανηγύρει καὶ βασιλείῳ δορυφορίᾳ οἰδήματι ἀλγεινοτάτῳ καὶ σκολήκων ἀπιστουμένη ἐκζέσει τὸν βίον καταστρεφάμενος. Alexander, who had been ill for some time, was taken worse in the kathisma where he was presiding over a pagan ceremony and carried to his bed to die. The tale that he had a stroke while playing ball is nothing but a legendary variant. Even the medical details that accompany it are only partly suitable. Except for the nose-bleeding, they probably belong to the real account of his death. The expression ῥομφαία θεηλάτῳ πληγείς also, though perfectly appropriate, is awkwardly introduced and seems to come from the same source (cf. V.E. ἀοράτως πληγείς) (1).

7. — *Constantine Ducas' rebellion* has a few expressions common to the two accounts but for the most part these are different. That of the Logothete, much longer, is located with the rebels. The V.E. is mainly concerned with the inside of the palace. The part of the narrative which relates events outside has the same source as the Logothete.

(1) I have suggested elsewhere (*The emperor Alexander's bad name*) a possible genesis of this legend: the Logothete mentions, among Alexander's promotions, that of John Lazares as rector, and adds ὃς καὶ κακῶς τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξε μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ σφαιρίζων. (Bonn 379; 872). The looseness of mediaeval grammar makes it easy for the words after Ἀλεξάνδρου to be transferred to him. The only surprising thing is that this careless mistake should have had such success.

V.E. (p. 130)

ἀναιρείται γὰρ πρότερον ὁ τοῦτον  
νίδος Γεργοῤῥας καλούμενος παρὰ τοῦ  
πατρικίου Γαριδᾶ ἐν τῇ τῆς Χαλκῆς  
πύλῃ, εἰθ' οὕτως καὶ τὸς Κωνσταν-  
τίνος, ὁ τοῦτον πατήρ, ἐνδοθεν τῆς  
Χαλκῆς πύλης, τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ ἐν  
ταῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀναβάθραις ὀλισθήσαν-  
τος, παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας τὴν  
κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμενται.

George cont. Istrin (T, II, 40)

ἀνῆρέθη δὲ καὶ Γεργοῤῥας νίδος τοῦ  
Δουκὸς ...

ὁ δούξ Κωνσταντίνος ... τὸν ἵππον  
ἐξήλανεν. ὁ δέ, ταῖς ἐκεῖσε ὑπε-  
στρωμέναις ἐνολισθήσας πλαξίν, εἰς  
γῆν τὸν ἐπιβάτην κατέβαλεν. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ τις κατὰ γῆς ἐρριμένον ... κατέ-  
λαβεν ... ξίφει τὴν τοῦτον ἀπέτεμε  
κεφαλὴν.

The reprisals that followed the rising are also much abridged in the V.E. :

ἔω τοῖνυν λέγειν τοὺς διαφόρους τῶν λοιπῶν ἀλληλλάλλως θανά-  
τους, τυμπανισμούς τε καὶ λογχεύσεις, φουρκισμούς τε  
κατὰ παντὸς τόπου.

The Logothete's pro-rebel source is more interested. The Istrin George Cont., after a number of particular cases, writes :  
τόν δε Αἰγίδην ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους  
ὄντας ἀπό τε τῆς ἐν Χρυσοπόλει Δαμάλεως  
καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Λευκάτου διδύμοις ξύλοις  
ἀνεσκολόπισαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀν τῶν ἐν τέλει τότε ἀν-  
λεῶς καὶ ἀναιτίως οἱ λεγόμενοι οὗτοι ἐπίτροποι ἀπέκτειναν.  
One cannot be certain the source was the same here, but it  
seems likely.

In the seven examples hitherto considered interpendance is clear. Common sources can be recognised in every case ; the *Vita* may itself have been, in some cases, the source of the Logothete. The examples that follow are not, at first sight, quite so obvious.

8. — *Sack of Thessalonica*. The V.E., out perhaps, as de Boor suggested, to pay court to the ascretis Symeon, devotes several lines to the taking of Thessalonica in 904 by Leo the Tripolite : Συμεὼν ὁ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τιμιώτατος καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀξιάγαστος ἀνὴρ, ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρις ἐδά-  
φους καταλύεσθαι μέλλουσαν παρὰ τοῦ κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ  
καὶ πληθὸς ἡμῶν ἁμαρτιῶν παραλαβόντος ταύτην ἀσεβοῦς Ἰσ-  
μαηλίτου, τοῦ Τριπολίτου καλουμένου, τὸ πάρεργον ἔργον ποιη-

σάμενος καὶ αὐτοπὶ τὸν ἀλιτήριον θεασάμενος, ὥς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐχέφρων πείθει τοῦτον τό τε ἄστν σῶον ἔᾶσαι καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας πλεῖστον καταλιπεῖν, τὴν εἰς Βουλγάρους παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλεῖσαν φιλικὴν δεξιῶσιν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ὀλκῆς τοῦ χρυσίου τοῖς Ἀραβι παρασχόμενος (p. 100).

In the chroniclers the sack of Thessalonica is given as follows :

Theodosius of Melitene (193-4)

Ἀποστέλλει οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐστάθιον δρογγάριον ... ἀποστέλλει Ἰμέριον ... Τοῖς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κρῖμασιν ἀντεστράφη ὁ αὐτὸς Λέων ὁ Τριπολίτης, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη. καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκησε καὶ παρέλαβεν ἅμα τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτῶν Λέοντι τῷ Χατζιλακίῳ, ποιήσας πολλὴν σφαγὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν.

Ῥοδοφύλης δὲ τις κουβικουλάριος ἦν ἀποσταλεὶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ διὰ χρεῖαν τινά, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ χρυσίον λίτρας ρ'. Νοσήσας δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πρὸς τὸ λούσασθαι καὶ ἀνακτῆσθαι ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐκρατήθη παρὰ Λέοντος. Διερχόμενος δὲ Συμεὼν ἀσηκρήτης ἀνελάβετο τό τε χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἅπερ εἶασε Ῥοδοφύλης ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. δι' αὐτὰ πολλὰ βασανισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. Τοῦ δὲ Τριπολίτου βουλομένου τὴν πόλιν καταστρέφαι, μαθὼν Συμεὼν δημοῖ αὐτῷ λαβεῖν χρυσίον καὶ ταύτην ἔᾶσαι. Ὅν καὶ πείσας, καὶ λαβὼν λόγον συνεφώνησε δοῦναι τὸ χρυσίον τῷ Τριπολίτῃ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἔᾶσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γέγονεν.

Ps.-Symeon (Bonn, 707)

Ἀποστέλλει οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐστάθιον δρογγάριον τῶν πλωτῶν...

οἷα τὰ κρῖματα τοῦ θεοῦ, εὐθὺς ὑποστρέφουσι, καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονικὴν καταλαβόντες πορθοῦσιν αὐτήν, καὶ πολλὴν σφαγὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν ποιοῦσι.

βουλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταστρέφαι, Συμεὼν ὁ πρωτασηκρήτης εὐρεθεὶς, λαβὼν πρὸς Ῥοδοφυλλίου τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος πρὸς τοὺς Φράγγους μετὰ κανισκίου χρυσίου λίτρας ρ'

ὃς καὶ δέδωκεν τό τε χρυσίον καὶ τὸ κανίσκιον τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς. καὶ εἶασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ τελεῖν.

The principal link between the VE and the Logothete is not so much words or phrases as a pronounced and same selectivity. The siege and sack are summarily dispatched, and even the redeeming of the town and the prisoners is apparently of less interest than the manner in which they were redeemed.

The elements shared are the role of Symeon, the gold sent to some foreign or distant place, and its use, instead, to save Thessalonica.

The gold is being sent, according to Theophanes Continuatus, Theodose and Ge (Bonn) to Sicily, the V.E. has «the Bulgarians», Ps.-Sym. «the Franks».

The whole story, complete with variants, comes from Cameniata :

*Ἦν δέ τις μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων συλλειφθεὶς εὐνοῦχος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξόχων εἰς, Ῥοδοφύλης οὕτω καλούμενος, ὃς ἔτυχε πρὸ μικροῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν ἐπὶ δύσιν σταλεῖς, καὶ τινῶν χρειῶν ἐνεκεν πρὸς τῇ πόλει γενόμενος, μεθ' ἡμῶν συγκλεισθῆναι καὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἀνιαρῶν μετασχεῖν· ὃς καὶ ἐκόμιζε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πλήθος χρυσίου, ὃπερ ἔλεγεν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τινὸς χάριν τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν στρατοῦ ... οὗτος οὖν κατὰ τὴν νύκτα μεθ' ἣν τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν πεῖραν ἅπαντες ἐδεξάμεθα, ἔλαθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξενεγκεῖν τῆς πόλεως τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖνο μετὰ καὶ τινῶν τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν Στρυμόνος ἐξαποστεῖλαι ... χειρωθεὶς οὖν οὗτος ἤχθη κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ τυράννου ... «ποῦ δὴ» φησι «τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως χρυσίον, τὰ δύο τάλαντα ἅπερ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἄγειν ἐτάχθης»; (p. 569). Death of Rodophyles (p. 571) ... ἀνὴρ καλούμενος Συμεὼν, φρονήσει βεβηκὼς καὶ διὰ πείρας ὢν πολλῶν πραγμάτων, ὃς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως σταλεῖς δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ χρειώδη πρὸ μικροῦ τῇ πόλει, περὶ ἧς νῦν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. τούτοις οὖν καθ' ἐκάστην μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀπόπλου συχνῶς ἐρχομένοις ἀνεκοινώνησε τὴν κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων βουλὴν ὃ δεινὸς οὗτος Λέων, εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐγὼ ἀπεχθῶς, φησί, φερόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔκρινον ζῶσσαι τῶν ἀλόντων οὐδένα (p. 574) ... ὃ οὖν ῥηθεὶς Συμεὼν, ἄτε δὴ τῶν ἄλλων προέχων, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη «ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν ἐγγύην μόνος κατεγγυῶμαι κτλ. (p. 575) ... ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ κακοήθης ἐκεῖνος, ἔγγραφόν τε πείσας τὸν αὐτὸν Συμεὼν καὶ ἐνώμοτον κτλ. ... ἀπολυθῆναι πάντας ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν περιττεύσαντας ἄνδρας ἐπέτρεψεν (p. 575-6). The Tripolite then orders that Thessalonica be set on fire, he is again bought off. Οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι σὺν τῷ ῥηθέντι Συμεὼν, μὴ ἔχοντες ἄλλοθεν ποθεν καταβάλλεσθαι τὴν περὶ τούτου ποσότητα τὰ δύο ὑπέσχοντο τοῦ χρυσίου τάλαντα ἅπερ ἦν ὁ θανὼν ἐκ τῶν*



ῥοπάλων εὐνοῦχος πρὸς τὸν Στρυμόνα ἐξαποστείλας · δὲ καὶ θᾶττον ἀγαρόντες ... καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐναριθμήσαντες, οὕτως τὴν πόλιν τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς ἐσώσαντο (p. 576).

The process of condensing this long story into so few lines obviously required an effort. The awkwardness of ῥοδοφύλης δέ τις κουβικουλᾶριος ἦν ἀποσταλείς is an example. It is dragged by the hair out of Cameniata (see above, first l.) ; so is *τινων χρείων ἐνεκεν*, which there is applied to the eunuch's turning aside to Thessalonica. Theodose cont. has kept the formula, but used it for Rhodophyles' original mission. The gold was indeed destined, as Theodose etc say, to Sicily, but Rhodophyles decided to divert it to Strymon, justifying the *Vita Euthymii* « Bulgarians ». The Ps.-Symeon « Franks » are an interpretation of ἐπὶ δύσιν. Symeon's interviews with the Tripolite are summarised in αὐτοπὶ τὸν ἀλιτήριον θεασάμενος. Both town and prisoners are redeemed from the Tripolite by Symeon. It seems likely that an edition of the end only of Cameniata's *De excidio* circulated in Constantinople, perhaps made by Symeon or on his instructions, unless it was made by Cameniata himself, to curry favour with him.

This is, as far as I know, the only common source of both V.E. and the Logothete to have survived independantly. The V.E. handles its source fairly freely. The Logothete simply excerpts without re-writing.

9. — *Rising of Andronicus Ducas*. The accounts in the V.E. and in the chronicle are essentially different. The Logothete is sympathetic to Andronicus, the author of the *Vita* hostile (<sup>1</sup>), and principally interested in the episode as damaging to Nicolas.

A dozen words provide the sum of possible contamination :

μοῦλτον γὰρ συσκευάσας καὶ ἐν τῷ Καβάλα λεγομένῳ ἄστει ἀποδυσπετήσας ... πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς τὸ ὄρημα ἔστησεν. πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος προσκληθεὶς διὰ τε χρυσοβούλων γραμματειῶν καὶ φρικτῶν ὄρκων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένων, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακτῶν ... τὴν ἐπὶ

(1) ἡ τοῦ Δουκὸς παροιμία — ἐλευνὸν ἄκουσμα καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα χριστιανοῖς καταλιπών. (68, 5 ; 68, 12).

καλῶ ἐπιστροφὴν οὐ κατεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀσσυρίους ἀπηντομόλησεν.

The rest of the account is set in the palace, but the above is just such a heavily condensed relation as we have already seen the *Vita* give of events outside the palace that must be taken into account to explain the events inside.

The whole account of the rising is given as follows by THc :

(p. 371) Στόλου δὲ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξεληθόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡμέριον λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ στόλου παντὸς ἀρχηγὸν προβάλλεται. ἐδέξατο καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ δοῦξ συνεισελθεῖν τῷ Ἡμερίῳ καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς καταπολεμῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Σαμωνᾶς ἀδιάλλακτος ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀνδρονίκῳ βόθρον αὐτῷ ὑπώρυττεν καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ παγίδας ὑπετίθει ... ὑπέβαλε δὲ τινα γράφαι λαθραίως Ἀνδρονίκῳ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ὅτι, φησὶν, παραγγελίας ὁ Ἡμέριος εἴληφεν παρὰ βασιλέως, ὑποβληθέντος παρὰ Σαμωνᾶ, κατασχεῖν καὶ τυφλῶσαί σε. πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἡμερίου προτρεπομένου τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσελθεῖν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐπικειμένων, ἀπεσκήρτισε, μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καταδεξάμενος. Ἡμέριος δὲ μόνος τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ μνήμῃ συμβαλὼν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν μεγάλην νίκην εἰργάσατο. τοῦτο μαθὼν Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ ἀπογνούς, ἅμα συγγενέσι καὶ δούλοις αὐτοῦ πόλιν κατέσχευεν τὴν λεγομένην Καβάλαν, εἰς ἀποστασίαν ὁρμήσας. ὁ δὲ Σαμωνᾶς πάλοι ποτὲ τοιούτου ἐπιλαβέσθαι καιροῦ ἐπιθυμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα ἔλεγεν « οὐκ αἰεὶ, δέσποτα, ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀνάρτης καὶ ἀποστάτης ἐστὶν ὁ δοῦξ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου πολέμιος ; » παραντίκα γοῦν ἀπέστειλεν Γρηγορᾶν Ἰβηρίτζην λεγόμενον ... καταπολεμῆσαι αὐτόν. Μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ πῶς ὁ πατριάρχης Νικόλαος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεδιώχθη, τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἐξέφυγεν πανοικί, τηρικαῦτα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξηλελυθόσιν· ὃν ἀμερμουμνῆς ἐντίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς προσεδέξατο. ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον, καὶ ἐβούλετο λόγον αὐτῷ ἐννυπόγραφον <sup>(1)</sup> ἀποστεῖλαι τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑποστρέψαι. συνεβούλευσαν δὲ τινες τῷ βασιλεῖ φιλοφρονηθῆναι τινα τῶν

(1) δ καὶ Θεόφιλος διὰ τὸν Μανουὴλ ἐποίησε Theod. Mel. and Gc Bonn.



τοῦ πραιτωρίου Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἀποσταλῆναι ἐν Συρίᾳ μετὰ λόγον ἐνυπογράφων. δὲ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκεν, διὰ κινναβάρεως γράψας καὶ βούλλην σφραγίσας χρυσῇ καὶ ἔνδον βραχέος φατλίου τράκτου κατακλείσας αὐτό.

The story of Andronicus as told by the Logothete is full of romantic elements. It is interesting that, where the emperor grieves for Andronicus and wants to write to him to come back, Theodosius of Melitene (and George Bonn) add « as Theophilus did for Manuel ».

One might expect a few coincidences between the stories of two famous generals who fled to the Arabs. And in fact the coincidences abound. Manuel too was slandered to the Emperor. In Theophanes (for the versions vary considerably <sup>(1)</sup>) he learns that the emperor is planning to blind him. When he has fled, the Emperor tries everything to get him back, Chrysobulls, safe-conducts, τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγκόλπιον or φυλακτόν (THC 119, 20 ; Ps.-Sym. 633, 8).

Finally his return, unlike Andronicus', is arranged : either openly, as part of an exchange of prisoners, or, according to another version, by a secret missive from the Emperor ingeniously conveyed — the familiar progress of a myth.

In short, the two stories are not the same, but the existence of Manuel's story ready to be used as a model, its mention by the chronicler, the weakness shown in both for cloak and dagger episodes, as well as the presence of several coincidences, lay the story of Andronicus open to suspicion of having been influenced, or at least of having been treated in the same way : as a romantic episode.

Nothing in it is more romantic than the business of the white candle :

διὰ κινναβάρεως γράψας καὶ βούλλην σφραγίσας χρυσῇ καὶ ἔνδοθεν φατλίου βραχέος τράκτου κατακλείσας αὐτό... Istrin, 35.

μετὰ χρυσοβούλλιον διὰ κινναβάρεως, βαλὼν αὐτὸ ἐνδοθεν φατλίου τράκτου βραχέος  
Ps.-S., 711.

(1) On Manuel, see GREGOIRE, *Études ... Manuel ; Manuel et Théophobe*, and his notes in *Dyn. d'Amor.*, pp. 99 ; 103 ; 154-5 ; 175 ; 191-2 ; 413.

γράφας διὰ κινναβάρεως καὶ ἀποστείλας μετὰ χρυσοβουλλίου ἐν-  
δοθεν φατλίου βραχέος τράκτου Theod. Mel., 197.

Choosing the most poetical variant (that of the Istrin group) and with a minimum of reshuffling, this can be read as two lines of political verse :

διὰ κινναβάρεως γράφας καὶ χρυσῇ σφραγίδας βούλλη  
φατλίου τράκτου ἐνδοθεν βραχέος κατακλείσας...

That Leo sent Gregoras Iveritzes after Andronicus would seem likely enough, even if the Arabs had not confirmed it. That he offered him a free pardon from Kavala seems likely too. But whether or not he did try to call back, after his passage to the Arabs, that aristocratic hero and threat to his throne, the hero's legend requires that the emperor should resort to as strange stratagems to recall him as Theophilus had for Manuel. The *Vita Euthymii*, which represents pro-Leo sentiment, is careful to insist on Leo's efforts—even forgetting to mention Iveritzes — at the same time as it shows an unfavourable attitude to the hero himself, but according to this source the chrysobulls and safe-conducts are sent to Andronicus while he is still in Kavala.

A last word on the Chronicler's Andronicus : we saw above that the rising of Constantine Ducas is told in the same way, from the rebel point of view : a text to the glory of the Ducas family seems a likely common source, and the episode of the Flight of Samonas <sup>(1)</sup> might have the same origin.

However, for the author of the *V.E.* the principal interest of the episode lay in the involvement of Nicolas Mysticus.

After the brief account which corresponds *grosso modo* with that of the Logothete, and ends, with apparent finality : « leaving a lamentable fame among Christians and generations yet to be » it returns to the period when Andronicus is still at Kavala. Some of his supporters had forsaken him and returned to Constantinople — bringing damning letters received by Andronicus in the fortress, including one from the patriarch, whose text is given.

It is more convenient to consider the authenticity of all

(1) See R. J. H. JENKINS, *The Flight of Samonas*, 217-235.

the *Vita* documents and letters at the same time in a later paragraph. But if the present letter is genuine, as I think likely, it confirms the chroniclers to this extent that a) Leo did send letters with promises to Andronicus ; b) Samonas had something to do with his flight. Either, as the chroniclers say, slandering him out of envy or simply because he had discovered that Andronicus was plotting against the Emperor <sup>(1)</sup>.

10. — *The plot of Basil epeictes. The christening of Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Zoe Carbonopsina's coup d'état.*

For the plot of Basil epeictes revealed by Samonas, the bare bones of the story (without the Kalocyrrhoe and Christopher patch) seem to follow a course sufficiently similar to suggest a common source adapted by each in its own way, as Cameniata is adapted for the siege of Thessalonica.

The christening of Constantine is treated at greater length in the *Vita*, which is natural : to the author's tendency to dwell on court events is here added an occasion for giving importance to Euthymius, whom he names as ἀνάδοχος with Samonas. The Logothete gives Alexander and οἱ ἐν τέλει πάντες. A common origin seems unlikely.

Nor do I think there is any common source for the *coup d'état* of Zoe Carbonopsina. However, as the episode must be considered similarly placed in the two accounts (the *V.E.* normally pays no attention to Bulgarians whereas the Logothete naturally does), after the rising of Constantine Ducas, for part of which a common source has been used, it is necessary to give the one sentence for which the question could arise : συμβουλή Δομνίκου ἐταιρειάρχου καταβιάζει Ζωὴ Νικόλαον πατριάρχην ἅμα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀργῆς τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας φροντίζειν εἰποῦσα. Dominic is quite foreign to the *Vita*, but can be cut out quite easily. « Those with Nicolas » are likewise unmentioned in the *Vita*.

11. — *Succession of the emperors etc.* This constitutes the framework <sup>(2)</sup> within which the Logothete writes. Its adop-

(1) See below, p. 33 & 59-61 and GRUMEL, *Révolte d'Andronic* ; JENKINS, *Flight* ; P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *The revolt of Andronicus Ducas*.

(2) On the 'annalistic source' see A. P. KAZDAN., V. V., 15, 1959, 125-43.

tion in the *V.E.* could be a consequence of the characteristic of this *Vita* that it has as a rule the reigning sovereign as second person of the drama. On the other hand, it is handled in technical manner.

The question arises whether there are any coincidences in these notices sufficient to suggest interpendance (not arising simply from a developed account of circumstances, such as the account of Nicolas' deposition which is a live part of the story).

At least one such coincidence was noticed by de Boor: the *V.E.* states that Basil died, leaving the empire to Leo and Alexander and appointing Stylianos Zaoutzes *ἐπίτροπος*, while Ps.-Symeon quotes his dying words to « his son and heir Leo, and to Stylianos τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῶν βασιλέως υἱῶν ». The expression appears in both cases allied with the story of Basil's death-bed remorse which these two sources share. This, however, establishes the link only with Ps.-Symeon, i.e. with a source he combines with the Logothete, not with the Logothete himself. However this link is also to be found: the notice just mentioned comes at the very end of ch. I and runs: *Στυλιανῷ τῷ καὶ Ζαούτζῃ ... ἐπίτροπον καταλιμπάνει τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων διοίκησιν ἐγχειρίσας τῶν τε ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν*. After this impressive announcement, it comes rather oddly that the very next lines, at the beginning of chapter 2, should relate another promotion of Stylianos. In the Logothete this scheme is quite natural, for one thing because the succession is here no longer from one chapter to the next, but from one book to the next. For another, a certain amount of material intervenes which the *Vita* does not use. One scheme, however, seems to have served for both, and the coincidence between the Logothete and the *V.E.*, whatever the explanation of its being most marked, for this incident, with Ps.-Symeon, applies throughout to the chronological framework. The short annalistic notice imbedded in the story of Alexander's death <sup>(1)</sup> belongs to it too (the list of members of the regency council has no natural place in the *V.E.*'s econo-

(1) *V.E.* 130, 7-9; *THc* 380, 17-19; *Ps.-Sym.* 717, 22-23; *Gc* 873, 21-874, 1.

my) and no doubt the entry for Leo was to be found in the missing pages.

The following conclusions can now be drawn :

1) the *Vita* is not, at any rate not always, the direct source from which common material is drawn by the Logothete.

2) there are several common sources : 1. the « annalistic source » ; 2. Cameniata ; 3. The text in honour of the Ducas family ; 4. unidentified sources.

The Photius passages and the question of the Logothete sources are examined separately (see below).

3) some of the common passages are found in their longest version in the *V.E.*, and it is noticeable that these are the ones with the most obvious verbal similarity (Basil's last hunt, the St Mocius attempt, Euthymius' deposition). In others, the *V.E.* version is the short one, and here verbal similarity is far less, as in the two risings of Andronicus and Constantine Ducas.

I believe the explanation to be that the Logothete drew not only from the *Vita*'s sources but also directly from the *Vita*. And because his method was to copy in any passage the parts that interested him, to abridge by selection without altering (cf. the sack of Thessalonica), it is the passages with the most marked verbal similarity that can be recognised as the ones he took directly from the *Vita*. Elsewhere, the freer adaptation of the *V.E.* partly conceals the common origin.

4) The two main Logothete recensions do not seem to be systematically classifiable in terms of closeness to the *V.E.* — and even Zonaras seems to preserve a few words not to be found in the earlier ones, while Manasses contains some actual information (see below).

## 2. The missing leaves of the *V.E.*

The *Vita Euthymii* is amputated at both ends and has three *lacunae* of varying length in the middle. A part of the contents of these lost portions can be deduced and a little more conjectured.

To begin with the eight quaternions missing at the begin-



ning : — Euthymius was born in Seleucia (*Ἐπιτάφιος* § 2), and the *Vita* probably gave some account of his family. This is the more likely as we know from Arethas (*ibid.*) and from the *V.E.* itself that he was related to Gregory the Decapolite. His infancy was edifying (*δν* [sc. *Θεόν*] *ἐκ βρέφους ἡγάπησας, ᾧ ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας ἡκολούθησας* *V.E.*, 146, 5). He became a monk young. This information comes from an unexpected quarter : the xii<sup>th</sup> century *Compendium chronicum* of Constantine Manasses, who can hardly have found it anywhere but (directly or indirectly) in the missing pages of the *V.E.*, and alone of all the chroniclers transmitted it <sup>(1)</sup> :

δς ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀπαλῶν καὶ πρώτης ἡλικίας  
ζυγὸν τὸν θεῖον ὑπελθὼν τὸν τοῦ μονήρους βίου  
οἴκεσιν ἔσχεν Ὀλυμπον τὸν κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν,  
καὶ χάρισιν ἐξέλαμψε τὸ μέλλον προδηλούσας.

5397-5400.

It was in 842 <sup>(2)</sup> that Euthymius became a monk : the year Theophilus died, the year before the Restoration of Orthodoxy. He was related to Gregory the Decapolite, a friend of the former heroes of iconoduly (ch. X). His biographer must have had something to say about these events. It is worth emphasising that, whereas, in the pages of the *VE*, no trace of anti-Photian hostility remains, the iconoclast struggle survives and its memory is kept green.

He began his monastic career on Olympus, proceeded to a foundation on the gulf of Nicomedia and to Constantinople, where he was at first dependant on the hospitality of the pious, coming in time to the notice of Leo, son and co-emperor of Basil. From the allusions in the *Vita* (6, 15 ; 16, 17-25) it is obvious that the author presented Euthymius as playing an important part here, in particular helping Leo in his difficulties with his father.

The next *lacunae* are the first and last folios of quaternion

(1) Thanks to the *Epitaphios*, it is now obvious that Manasses' notes on Euthymius were from a legitimate source and not, as Hirsch suggested, the fruit of « personal conjecture » (*Byz. Stud.*, 411).

(2) *V.E.*, 146, 3. — In the not unlikely event of his having professed at the age of 10, he would have been born in 832 and died at the age of eighty-five.

11 (v. text, p. 36 and 48). Some remark of Euthymius', prophetic perhaps, dioratic at all events and aimed at the Zaoutzes family, a reference to one of their plots, formed part of the contents of the former.

The second one contained, at least, the death of Stylianos Zaoutzes and Euthymius' prophecy of the plot of Basil Epeictes.

The contents of the missing 19th quaternion can be to a considerable extent conjectured thanks to the Logothete. In spite of the two passages before the lacuna, where he is referred to already as *ἑστέμμενος*, it seems to me likely that the coronation of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, performed by Euthymius (THc 375 ; Ps.-Sym. 712 ; Gc 868), was related. To have glossed over this event because of prevailing political circumstances does not make sense when the author insists as he does on Euthymius' part at Constantine's baptism and relates in the terms of p. 132 Nicolas' rivalry with Zoe. Above all, here came the death of Leo, the recall of Nicolas, Alexander's ascent of the throne.

As for the seven folia lost at the end, it seems likely that they contained the translation of Euthymius' relics to Psamathia and an account, reasonably satisfactory to Euthymians, of the Union of 920, unless the *Vita* ends with the translation of its hero's relics, and no further allusion is made to the Union — Nicolas' union — after Euthymius has foretold and fore-stalled it (see ch. XVII).

### 3. Sources not used by the Logothete.

The V.E. mentions some 26 documents and quotes at least nine <sup>(1)</sup> more (*διὰ γραφῆς ἀποστέλλει τάδε — ἣν δὲ τὴν ἔμφασιν οὕτως ἔχων*).

One of these, a resignation of Nicolas', has by chance survived independantly (Grumel, *Régestes*, n° 612), and not only

(1) Four letters to or from Euthymius (pp. 22, 30, 54, 64) ; Nicolas' letter to Andronicus Ducas and the text of three resignations attributed to him (pp. 68, 92, 98) ; a letter attributed to Arethas of Caesarea (p. 126). To them should be added three messages introduced by the words *δηλοῖ* or *ἀντιδηλοῖ* (pp. 32, 62, 90) which would have left written traces in the Psamathia archives.



is it the same document, but the V.E. reproduces it word for word though not in its entirety. The author had access to one of the copies, which were probably numerous in view of the nature of the document.

Another one seems guaranteed by its style <sup>(1)</sup>, this is of course Arethas' letter to Nicolas.

Both these as well as most of the others he actually quotes the author would probably have found in the records at Psamathia. But for a small and important group this is not so : the letter from Nicolas to Andronicus Dukas and the two letters from Leo to Nicolas demanding his resignation must be sought in the imperial *ἀπόρρητα*.

The letter to Andronicus is introduced into the account of the revolt, at the point where the author parts company with the Logothete to introduce a new aspect of the affair, set in the Palace, with Nicolas cast as villain and traitor. This of course suits the author's tendency suspiciously well. It is true that the Logothete also establishes a link between Nicolas' deposition and Andronicus' defection, but a link that brings the two accounts into conflict, not harmony.

An attempt to unravel the affair must allow for the following points :

1) Nicolas is associated with Andronicus' revolt by both Logothete and V.E. but following different and apparently irreconcilable traditions.

2) Arethas states, in a letter that has come down to us, that Nicolas had a *dossier* at the *ἀπόρρητα* : — *διαδραματουργήσας σκαιῶ τινι καὶ κατὰ σαντοῦ τρόπῳ (ἐπλίστανται γὰρ ὅσοι τε καὶ βασιλέως τῶν ἀπορρήτων μετέχοντες) ...* <sup>(2)</sup>. In fact this allusion, which continues : *εἶτα πρὸς τὸ πέρας τὰ τῆς σκηνῆς διαθέσθαι ἡμυχάνησας. ἔλαφος ἡμῖν, ὥς τὸ λόγιον, ἥκεις ἀντὶ παρθένου*, seems to fit another incident better than Nicolas' role in the Ducas affair : either the oath Nicolas exacted of the metropolitans, which he then was the first to fors-

(1) V. P. MAAS, *Literarisches zu der Vita Euthymii*.

(2) Letter in the Kosinites ms, published by PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, reprinted *Byzantion*, 25-27, 1955-57. (Above passage, *Byz.*, p. 762, l. 6).

wear, or his reports to Leo on the dispositions of the metropolitans.

Arethas insists on the secrecy with which the swearing-in was surrounded <sup>(1)</sup>; yet the *V.E.* not only knows of it, but actually quotes the document to which they were made to swear.

There is, however, clearer evidence. Arethas, in another document, states, without naming him but identifying him with utter certainty, that Nicolas was « frequently convicted of plotting against Leo » (*Epitaphios* § 7).

3) Even if the Logothete's version was already current at the time the *V.E.* was written, when the event was still close, and the author, who had access to material from the *ἀπόρρητα*, rejected this version in favour of another, contradictory one, either being equally easy to use against Nicolas, then it is almost impossible to believe that he did not use the version nearest the truth.

4) The story chosen by the Logothete — in a period he does not personally remember — is an 'outsider's' story, the *V.E.* account an 'insider's'. Even if the *V.E.* account was in front of the Logothete when he wrote, there is nothing surprising in his choice: he held no brief against Nicolas and the version he chose was far more romantic.

But is there any evidence that the author of the *V.E.* was an 'insider' and in a position to have known the truth where it was not public knowledge? In my opinion there is. To begin with, a number of the speeches attributed to Leo show the caustic turn for which he was noted; some scenes in which he takes part are described with a series of extraordinarily life-like details: p. 68, 23 his hands start trembling when he recognizes Nicolas' handwriting and he has to make someone else read him the letter; p. 76, 1. 20-28 the change from bitter irony to tears; p. 86, 24 *τούτοις προσχών καὶ ὥσπερ σύνδακρυς γενόμενος*; p. 80, 25, the extraordinary scene where the hierarchs

(1) *Byzantion*, 32, pp. 397 and 465.

are invited into the private appartments, and the infant Constantine is brought in, and Leo recites poetry, etc.

None of this would mean anything, if it were not that these speeches and familiar details are characteristic of a particular group of scenes set in the Palace. The most lively and picturesque scenes in Psamathia leave Euthymius more remote than Leo.

De Boor suggested that the author of the *V.E.* entered the cloister after long service at court or in the army. It would be hard to find a work that shows less sign of military interest. The place taken by court affairs, on the contrary, is greater than necessary, even if Euthymius was Leo's spiritual father.

I will begin with an incident so slight there was no possible point in introducing it unless the author remembered it : when Leo has decided to build Euthymius a monastery, he goes round asking everyone to suggest a suitable site. Who is it tells him of one, « without even letting him finish what he is saying »? Vahan ὁ ἐξοχώτατος σκηνηκός! This story has no moral. There is nothing in it for Euthymius or against anyone else. It is inconceivable that anything but a personal memory should have preserved for posterity the information (given with no hint of disapproval) that the emperor Leo took an actor's advice on the site for edification of his monastery. The other story about actors <sup>(1)</sup> may perfectly well be true but it suits the author's book too well to be taken as a test case.

Some of these palace scenes could offer, particularly when they involve Euthymius, other possible modes of explanation. Euthymius no doubt told some of his fellow monks of his fight against the world at the palace — but surely in a less worldly manner! The author may occasionally have preferred to dramatise correspondence and turn it into dialogue. The quarrel between Euthymius and Zaoutzes of ch. 3 seems a special case : the scene shifts from the palace to Psamathia and back, apparently without a crack showing, though the first palace scene (p. 12, l. 2-9) is only an introduction quite easy to supply. The scene at Psamathia that follows has, however, a more lively ring. The source for it, if it was not found at

(1) Pp. 42, 23-44, 13.

Psamathia, must be the memory of some member of Zaoutzes' suite who did not love him. Zaoutzes' report on returning to the palace is also convincing. Leo's reply is a stodgy panegyric that no one would have found difficult to invent but there is no reason why he should not have made it. He ends by saying he will see Euthymius himself.

The incident continues in the next paragraph, but one has the impression of an hiatus between: when Leo, at mid-Pentecost, sends for Euthymius, is this the attempt to see him as announced? A *δέ* would have made things clearer. At any rate the point of view from which things are described is that of the court. Too much importance can no doubt be attached to such details, the author may simply have thought it more picturesque, the fact remains that instead of « a messenger came from the emperor who was at St Mocius' » we have « The emperor was at St Mocius for the feast, when the Father, summoned by him, excused himself saying he could not come... The emperor listened in silence, but when Ascension came round, and the Senate and everyone, young and old, were with the monarch and the young patriarch at Pege, Euthymius was summoned, not only by the emperor but the patriarch etc ». And when he has obeyed the summons and spent a few hours with them, « he went away to St Theodore's », *πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον ἀπῆει Θεόδωρον*.

The opening incident of ch. VIII is even more obviously told from a palace viewpoint. Until Euthymius is in the palace precincts, there is only a dry summary of events. Even when we are told he was embarked *ἄκοντα*, « against his will », this abstract term is not accompanied by any of those details with which the author usually accompanies his pathetic passages. But once the palace is reached, we hear that he was not received with the usual honours, that it is in the emperor's bedroom he finds him, that before replying to his diatribe the emperor makes him sit down and tries to placate him (*καθιλαρόνας*). Leo's efforts at persuading him are dwelt on. And when, influenced by Zaoutzes, Leo banishes him, two years exile are related entirely in terms of the emperor's messages to him.

Again, Leo's reply (p. 62, 7) on receiving a message from Euthymius could have been reported back to Psamathia by the messenger, but the sequence of events that follow Eudo-

cia's death : first the condolences of the Senate, then the abortive attempt at burying her at St Lazarus', burial at the Holy Apostles, and, *last of all*, reference to Euthymius' prophecy and correspondence between him and Leo, does not suggest Psamatia as our author's source.

Another small point is that two passages implying solidarity between Leo and the σύγκλητος <sup>(1)</sup> seem more likely from a courtier — perhaps even a συγκλητικός — than from a monk.

Lastly, one of the court scenes <sup>(2)</sup> is introduced by λέγεται, implying a difference with the others.

The sum of these details strongly suggests, to me at least, the personal reminiscences of an eye - witness.

#### 4. Photius.

The Photian information in the extant part of the V.E. usefully supplements that of the Logothete's *De Leone*, but there are two reasons for examining also earlier information given by the chroniclers (whether the hostile tract that is Gc's *De Basilio* or the enormous encomium by his grandson, the *Vita Basilii* (Theoph. Cont.); on these texts see Moravcsik's masterly *Sagen und Legenden*): 1) the anti-Photian measures with which Leo's reign began, described in our text from a more general viewpoint than anywhere else, cannot be understood without their antecedents; 2) the events to be considered were certainly mentioned in the missing pages. Various passages assume this.

The aspects of Photius' career to be considered here are two, and the sources show that they hang together. The first is the part played by Photius in Leo's difficulties with his father. The second, his association with Theodore Santabarenos. The sources used are : Theophanes Continuatus, Georgius Continuatus (Bonn), Ps.-Symeon <sup>(3)</sup>, the Letter to pope

(1) Pp. 76, 6 and 78, 1-2.

(2) P. 72, 24.

(3) The chroniclers differ in several important respects in the Photian passages. 1) Constantine Porphyrogenetos in the *Vita Basilii*, though drawing essentially on the same sources as George Cont., avoids anything that could be interpreted unfavourably to Photius



Stephen from Stylianos Mapas of New Caesarea <sup>(1)</sup>, the lives of Theophano <sup>(2)</sup>, Ignatius <sup>(3)</sup>, S. Nicolas Studite <sup>(4)</sup>, and S. Constantine the Jew <sup>(5)</sup>.

The *Vita Euthymii* supplements our information on the second fall of Photius in two respects : 1) it was known from the pope's letter to Stylianos of New Caesarea that Leo had informed him that Photius had resigned. The *V.E.* confirms that he had in fact done so, if under coercion ; 2) Photius' fall, attributed by all other sources to Leo, is here credited to Zaoutzes. Particulars are given of further measures taken against Photius' family and friends.

This accusation does not look like a mere hagiographer's accusation, levelled, in contradiction, if need be, with the facts the hagiographer relates. On the contrary, Zaoutzes' rôle is inseparable from the course of events. Furthermore, he gives a perfectly plausible defence of his actions : concern for the emperor's security.

The deposition of Photius has been represented as part of Leo's violent reaction against his father's policy. I am not sure this view can be maintained. Basil seems, during the last years of his reign, to have had particular confidence in two men : the Patriarch and Stylianos Zaoutzes. Stylianos was left by Basil as tutor to Leo <sup>(6)</sup>, and Leo accepted his tute-

and in particular does not connect him with Santabarenos. But even in The *De Leone* there are differences : THc and Gc (who represents the basic Logothete account here as in the *De Basilio* passages) repeat one another almost word for word. While making the connection with Santabarenos the Logothete gives a pro-Photian account. Ps.-Symeon, enriching Logothete information with the help of the « anti-Photian dossier », and on one occasion substituting the latter to the former, produces an account that is violently hostile.

(1) MANSI XVI, p. 432.

(2) E. KÜRZ, *Zwei griechische Texte*.

(3) P.G. CV, 488, 574.

(4) P.G. CV, 863-925.

(5) AASS Nov. IV, 628-656.

(6) The *V.E.* adds a precision not found in the other sources : to Stylianos was left the direction, not only of political, but also of ecclesiastical affairs. Even if this is nothing but a gloss of the author's it shows that he did not see Photius' fall as Leo's revolt against Basil.



lage, gave him the title of basileopator <sup>(1)</sup> and governed through him till he died.

Photius' second fall is involved with two conspiracies, real or alleged. Firstly the plot which Leo had been accused of fomenting against Basil, secondly the alleged plot to wrest the throne from Leo in favour of some relation of Photius'.

This plot gave Zaoutzes his excuse for deposing the patriarch, and taking action against his supporters.

It seems that there were no canonical or ecclesiastical grounds for proceeding against Photius.

The V.E., like the Lives of St Joseph the Hymnographer and Nicolas the Studite, is favourable to Photius, for all it is the Life of an Ignatian saint composed in an Ignatian milieu under the immediate influence of Studios'. The measures against the supporters of Photius are represented as a persecution of the Church, (p. 14, 22 etc.) and Euthymius succours the wronged Photians and pleads their cause with the emperor <sup>(2)</sup>.

This favourable attitude is the author's, not just something taken over from a source, along with the information. All the more distressing is the loss of the Photian passages in the missing chapters. It is however possible to suggest one incident that was certainly related in them.

The V.E. refers several times to the well-known difficulties between Leo and Basil, putting in Leo's own mouth the description of one incident known from no other source and caused by the jealousy of Theophano (p. 40, 1-8). However something else is being referred to when he speaks of ἀνεπίστοις θλίψεσι (6, 15) or says διανοοῦμαι μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν μόνην διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ζωὴν (16, 19) and

(1) Neither this title nor Stylianos' influence with Leo owe, in my belief, much to Zoe's position. More suggestive are the evidence of the *Vita Theophano* on Zaoutzes' rôle in restoring Leo to Basil's favour, the dedication of the Novels to Zaoutzes etc. — See KARLIN-HAYTER, *Basileopator* and, below, 59 and n. to 2, 19.

(2) Santabarenos alone is excluded from this favourable treatment. The attitude towards Nicolas, not yet clearly defined at the beginning when he too appears as a victim of Zaoutzes, is subsequently dictated entirely by his rivalry with Euthymius.

Euthymius, in his extant sermons, follows Photius over the procession of the Holy Ghost.

that something was his incarceration on a charge of high treason, when he feared for his eyes and no doubt for his life too.

A curious feature of the *V.E.* is the important rôle it claims for Euthymius in this affair. But the first law of the hagiographer is to preach for his saint, and the incarceration of the heir to the Empire followed by his, at least formal, reconciliation with his father created a great stir, and everyone claims what part he can in this reconciliation : for Theophanes Cont. it was the work of Photius and the Senate, the continuer of George instead of the Senate names Zaoutzes, while the Life of Theophano speaks of Zaoutzes only. Dare one believe that the *V.E.* presented Euthymius as the mediator? Perhaps this is not necessary : Leo speaks only of «prayers and predictions» when, safely on the throne, he says that he owes Euthymius his crown and his life. (Similarly, St. Constantine the Jew had prophesied a happy issue to the affair).

The first thing to do is look at the sources. One aspect of the alleged Photian conspiracy is the relationship between Photius and Santabarenos. I will begin with the career of this mysterious personage.

I. — *Theodore Santabarenos*. His surname of Santabarenos comes, as the *Vita S. Nicolae Studitae* states, from the village of Santabaris <sup>(1)</sup> and his early career is sketched in 1) the *Vita Ignatii*, 2) the Letter from Stylianos Mapas to Pope Stephen and 3) Pseudo-Symeon.

*Vita S. Ignatii*  
(P.G. 105, col. 568)

Letter from Stylianos of  
New Caesarea (Mansi  
XVI, p. 432)

Pseudo-Symeon  
(Bonn, p. 693)  
(*De Basilio*)

καὶ γὰρ ἀββάδιον ἀγεννὲς  
καὶ ἄσημον, γοητικόν τε  
καὶ μαγικὸν ὠκειώσατο, οὗ  
ὁ πατήρ τὸ ἐπικλήν μὲν  
Σανταβαρηνός, Μανιχαῖος δὲ  
τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ γόης τὸ

Οὗτος ὁ περιώνυμος Σαντα-  
βαρηνός, Μανιχαίου υἱὸς καὶ  
Μανιχαῖος ὢν,

(1) Theoph. Cont. = *Vita Basilii* is content to prepare Santabarenos' machinations with a few general remarks, accusing him of « enchantments and deceits and enticing the Emperor into doing what he should not » — a discreet reference, maybe, to the tale of necromancy.

ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν . δς καὶ ἐπι-  
γνωσθεὶς καὶ κινδυνεύων  
κρατηθῆναι, πρὸς τοὺς Βουλ-  
γάρους ἀπῆλθεν, ... ὁ δὲ  
δὴ τούτου παῖς τὸ ῥηθὲν  
ἄββάδιον εἰς τὴν βασι-  
λεύουσαν Κωνσταντινούπο-  
λιν περιλειφθεὶς, νεάζον ἔτι καὶ ὡς νεώτερος διὰ Βάρ-  
τῃν ἡλικίαν, παραδίδεται δα τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν κε-  
τῇ Στουδίου μονῇ παρὰ φαλικὴν τιμωρίαν διαφν-  
Βάρδα τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ γὰρ τῇ τῶν Στουδίου μονῇ  
κεῖ τὴν τρίχα ἐκάρη. ἐπὶ διορθώσει ἀπεδόθη .

... Θεόδωρον γὰρ ἐκείνον  
ἄχρι τοῦ σχήματος τῶν ἱμα-  
τίων ἄββᾶν, πάντων δὲ δει-  
νῶν ὄντα δεινότατον, καὶ  
πανούργων πανουργότατον, καὶ  
τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν οἶδ' ὅτι  
πάντες ἀκούετε . τοῦτον οὐκ  
οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ Φώτιος εὖρη-  
κώς (καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ  
αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν,  
προσκολληθήσεται ἀνῆρ), ὡς  
ἄνδρα ἄγιον, καὶ διορατικώ-  
τατον, καὶ προφητικώτατον,  
ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὄντα...

μέτρον δὲ ἡλικίας ἐλάσαν,  
καὶ πᾶσαν κακουργίαν δια-  
πραξάμενον,

δὲ καὶ μοναχῶν σχῆμα περι-  
εὶς βαλόμενος οὐδ' ὅλως τῆς  
κακίας ἀνένευσεν.

προσκολλᾶται κατὰ  
τῷ ὁμοιοτρόπῳ Φωτίῳ, ὃν μέντοι τὴν πρώτην τυραν-  
καὶ ἐχειροτόνησε Φώτιος νίδα Φωτίου καὶ ἡγούμε-  
ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ βια-  
νος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μονῇ γίνεται.  
στικῇ εἰς τὴν πατριαρχικὴν  
ἀξίαν ἀνόδω.

We may note that :

1) All of these accounts show traces of the same written source, but none of them is that source.

2) The fact that he was for a year higoumene of Studios' is known from the Life of S. Nicolas Studite. S. Nicolas, the rightful higoumene, had been driven out and Santabarenos was one of a series of short-lasting substitutes, being himself replaced after a year in office by one Sabas. The Life of St Nicolas makes no comment on Santabarenos. Ps.-Symeon says that under his higoumenate all the *ἐὺλαβεῖς* members of the community left, rather than accept the communion of Photius. These elements probably started leaving under the first illicit higoumene and we do not know whether there was more opposition to Santabarenos than to any other of the series.

3) Ps.-Symeon further says that when Photius was expelled

from the patriarchate, Santabarenos was expelled from the monastery. (Cf. below, p. 8, 6-8, unwillingness of the higoumene Anatolios to have him confined at Studios).

From the *Life* of Nicolas we know that he was replaced as higoumene by Sabas two years before the fall of Photius.

The *Vita Ignatii* stops here, while the Letter and Ps.-Symeon carry on and introduce a story of witchcraft. The *V.I.* knows of such stories (col.568 D), but the author's critical sense seems to have rejected them. The tales told by the Letter and by Ps.-Symeon are apparently different (in one the Emperor's bed is sprinkled with water magically treated, in the other he is given it to drink), but they are similar, essentially built up of parallel formulas and follow a passage certainly derived from a common original. The best explanation seems to me to be derivation from different editions of the common original.

Letter (ctd. from above)

ὥς δὲ ἀπεβλήθη Φώτιος τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου, ὑποτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ τοῦ Σανταβαρηνοῦ υἱὸς πολλὰ κίς, τὸ προῤῥήθεν ἄββάδιον, εὐρεῖν τινα τῶν τοῖς βασιλείοις φκειωμένων. δύνασθαι γὰρ ἔλεγε διὰ τοῦτου ἀποκαταστήσαι πάλιν τὸν Φώτιον. εὐρέθη οὖν Νικήτας κοιτωνίτης ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος Κλαίονσα καὶ δώροισι πλείστοις ἀπατηθεὶς, τὰ κατασκευασθέντα παρὰ τοῦ γόητος Σανταβαρηνοῦ μαγικά, ὕδατά τε καὶ βρώματα τῷ βασιλεῖ παραθείς, πεποίηκε φίλον αὐτῷ τὸν μεμισημένον Φώτιον.

Ps.-Symeon (ctd. from above,  
Bonn, (p. 694)

Φωτίου τῆς πατριαρχίας διωχθέντος καὶ ὁ Σατανώννυμος ἐκεῖνος τῆς μονῆς ἀπηλάθη. εἶτα εἰσοικίζεται Φωτίῳ, καὶ φησὶ « χρῆσαί τινι τῶν

ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ λαβὼν ταῦτα τὰ ὕδατα ἃ ἐσκεύασα θανάτω ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος. καὶ ὄψει αὐτίκα τὸν βασιλέα καταδεδουλωμένον τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀγώνισαι ὅπως ἴδω αὐτὸν ἅπαξ, καὶ ποιήσω σε ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν προτέραν σου τιμὴν ».

1. The two passages I have quoted separately constitute one continuous paragraph in both the Letter and Ps.-Symeon, and, as already said, my guess is that a similar development appeared in the source.

2. As far as the chroniclers go, all this is exclusive to Ps.-Symeon, who gives it rather as an explanatory footnote to the story he shares with George Cont. of Santabarenos and the phantom of Basil's son Constantine. Thus Ps.-Symeon has

combined two variants of the explanation by witchcraft of Santabarenos' and Photius' favour. Dvornik pointed out (p. 244-5) that, of the two variants, the one that is more or less the same as the Letter is the older.

3. The V.I. gives a version, perhaps earlier and certainly closer to the facts, of the link between Basil, Photius, Santabarenos and Constantine : « For all these reasons and more, the wrath of God overtook the sons of disobedience : for just then Constantine, the first-born and dearly loved son of the emperor, died, and the bare-faced Photius, currying favour with his father, made a saint of him, and did not hesitate to honour him with churches and monasteries ». It is a fact that Constantine has found a place in the Synaxarion <sup>(1)</sup>. « Churches and monasteries », is probably the plural of indignation substantiated only in the one connected by the chronicle, i.e. later legend, with Basil's meeting with his son's phantom.

Two other main explanations were given by Photius' enemies of his return to favour : 1) magic, as we have seen ; 2) the family tree, which the *Vita Basilii* dwells on so complacently, but which met with scepticism in many quarters. Some sceptics at least attributed its manufacture to Photius. Τοῦτο πρὸς Βασίλειον τῆς τοῦ Φωτίου φιλίας ἀρχή says Nicetas in the V.I. (568 C) and thanks to it τῆς ἀπλότητος ἥτοι κουνφόρητος κατωρχήσατο βασιλικῆς (565 C). The V.I. is very emphatic, this was what got Photius back to court. He attaches accordingly less importance to magic though he mentions it : [Σανταβαρηνὸν] μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ μαγικῆς, φασί, καὶ ὄνειροκριτικῆς, ἥτοι δαιμονιώδους σοφίας καὶ ψυχικῆς μετεσχηκότα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι προσάγει (568 D). (Cf. Ps.-Symeon, p. 688).

(1) *Synax. C.P.*, 12, 6. HALKIN, *Trois dates* (14-17). Grumel has recently attacked the identification of the emperor Constantine of the 3rd Sept. with Basil's son (*Quel est l'empereur Constantin le Nouveau?*). His grounds for doubt do not seem to me very convincing, in particular the identification with Constantine IV seems hardly possible, and our Constantine is officially described as *ὁ νέος* in *De Cer.* I, 499, 4. While agreeing that the identification with Basil's son is not proven, I still consider it the most likely one so far proposed (KARLIN-HAYTER, *Quel est l'empereur Constantin le Nouveau?*).



Note the *φασί*. Note also the possibilities for interpretation of even such an expression as : ὅλον δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα [sc. Basil] ταῖς γοητείαις τῶν λόγων καὶ αἰμυλλίαις τῶν τρόπων κατασκευαζόμενος (*Vita Ignatii*, 568 C). In this source, then, we find allusions to all three hostile explanations of Photius' return to favour.

Some of this may have appeared in the early part of the V.E. The author is favorable to both Leo and Photius. A slight variant of the tale we have seen with Leo the victim of Santabarenos' witchcraft, but saved by Photius, would have served him quite well, arranged to give Euthymius a leading rôle. However the source of the preserved Photian passages of the V.E. is quite different, being serious political history instead of folklore. They too may belong to the author's reminiscences, we do not know how far back these reached.

II. — *Leo's imprisonment*. The V.I. does not refer to it, so that the sources are the letter already mentioned from Stylianos Mapas to the Pope, written with Leo's approval, and sent jointly with one from him, the chroniclers, and the Lives of Theophano and Constantine the Jew. The letter gives the following account :

Οὗτος [sc. Santabarenos] σὺν τῷ Φωτίῳ κατὰ τοῦ νῦν ἡμῶν βασιλεύοντος πανευσεβεστάτου Λέοντος βουλευόνται βουλήν πονηράν, ὑποβαλόντες κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα Βασίλειον, ὡς ἐπιβούλου καὶ ἐναντίου τῶν πατρικῶν θελημάτων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐνόσησεν ὁ Βασίλειος νόσον δυσίατον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν γέγονεν, ὑπέλαβον, ὡς ἐκείνου θανόντος, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκποδῶν γενομένου, αὐτοὶ καθέξουσι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἥ δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἥ δι' ἑτέρου, οἷον βούλονται προσώπου ταύτην οἰκονομοῦντες. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴασεν εἰς τέλος ἐκβῆναι τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια. κἂν γὰρ ἐν ιδιώταις ἀπελύθη διὰ τοῦτο ὁ υἱὸς Λέων παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Βασιλείου, καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν φρουρούμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἀνήχθη μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς. (Mansi XVI, 433).

Ps.-Symeon's passage on these events 1) is separated from the chapter considered above by various chapters on quite other matters. 2) It is not drawn from the same source as



the letter (1). It belongs to the fundamental stratum of George cont. 3) The earlier association between Photius and Santabarenos is forgotten. 4) Santabarenos' motive is given as fear that Leo will open Basil's eyes to his trickery. 5) the story of the hunting knife constitutes the essential of the narrative.

Although each of the chroniclers remains more or less constant to his bias, there is a lack of homogeneity in their Photian sections. Both George cont., who is favourable, and Pseudo-Symeon, who is hostile, have established the connection between Santabarenos and the Patriarch. George is leading up to a joint trial of the two, and Ps.-Symeon's great aim is to damage Photius, but in this most important middle section George drops the connection, and Ps.-Symeon absent-mindedly leaves his villain on the side of the angels. Not only does he not share in the plot, but he actually saves Leo from Basil's anger! The accusation made in the Letter that the patriarch and his friend were scheming to seize the throne *ἢ δι' ἐαυτῶν ἢ δι' ἑτέρου*, is omitted. The pro-Photian source used here by the anti-Photian Symeon did not mention it. But it is one of the essential charges at the trial as reported by George Cont. (and Theophanes Cont.), and this trial-scene too is obviously pro-Photian (see below), so that we must already postulate for the chronicler at least two pro-Photian sources.

Leo's imprisonment and rehabilitation are given as follows in the Bonn versions of the chronicle.

Ps.-Symeon Magister  
*De Basilio* (p. 697)

21. Τῷ *ιη'* αὐτοῦ ἔτει Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατηγορεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ Σανταβαρηνοῦ, πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. νοννεχῆς ὢν καὶ εὐσεβῶς τὸν βίον διαπερῶν τὰ γινόμενα παρὰ τοῦ Σανταβαρηνοῦ κατεγίνωσκε, καὶ ἐμέμφετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπεστρέφετο. ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸ μῖσος τούτου ὑπενεγκεῖν οὐχ ὑπέφερεν, ὑφορώμενος διαβολὴν αὐτοῦ

Georgius Monachus Continuatus  
*(De Basilio)* (p. 846)

24. Ἐκατηγορήθη δὲ Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ Σανταβαρηνοῦ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ

(1) Whether, as seems likely, the letter is still using its first source or not, there is no relationship between this passage and Ps.-Symeon.

## Ps.-Symeon

πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γενήσεσθαι, τί τεχνάζεται; μάχαιραν μεγάλην, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον παραμήριον, ποιήσας καὶ ποικίλως ἐπισκευάσας δίδωσι τῷ Λέοντι, εἰπὼν «οἶδα ὅτι πολλάκις εἰς κυνήγιον ἐμπίπτει σοι ζῶν μόνῳ, καὶ μὴ ἔχων μάχαιραν σφάξαι αὐτὸ ἀπόλυνται. βάσταξε οὖν αὐτό. ἴσως καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πατήρ σου ἐπαινέσει σοι». πεισθεὶς οὖν τῷ ἀλάστορι ὁ Λέων λαμβάνει τὴν μάχαιραν. ἀπέρχεται οὖν ὁ δόλιος Σανταβαρηνός, καὶ διαβάλλει τοῦτον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὥς ὁ Λέων ὁ υἱός σου παραμήριον βαστάζει, καὶ ἡνίκα μοναζευθῇ μετὰ σοῦ, ὁρμᾶν ἔχει τοῦ σφάξαι σε. τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐρευνήσας καὶ εὐρὼν

ἀπέκλεισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Μαργαρίτῃ, βουλόμενος ἐκτυφλῶσαι, εἰ μὴ Φώτιος ὁ πατριάρχης μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦτο διεσκέδασαν. τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ πάντας πολλὰ τιμωρήσας, ὥς οὐδὲν εὐρέθη τῆς κατηγορίας ἀληθές, ἐξώρισεν. ἐποίησε δὲ ἀπὸ ὄψεως μῆνας τρεῖς, θρηνῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν πολλῶν δυσωπῶν τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ φθασάσης, ἐπεὶ πίστιν μεγάλην ἔσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον, ἀποστυφίζει Λέων τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ. ἦν τι ζῶν πτηνὸν ἐν ταλάρῳ πλεκτῷ κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια...

## Georgius Monachus

ὥς ὅτι μαχαίριον ἐπιφέρεται βουλόμενος ἀνελεῖν σε μετ' αὐτοῦ. ὅπερ αὐτὸς μαχαίριον διὰ δολίας συμβουλῆς ἐποίησε τὸν Λέοντα κατασκευάσαι καὶ φορεῖν ἐν τῷ τουβίῳ, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ὅτι πολλάκις τοῦ πατρὸς σου ἐπιζητοῦντος μαχαίριον διὰ χρεῖαν τινά, ἵνα τί μὴ δίδως αὐτῷ; καὶ τοῦτο κατασκευάσας Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς,

καὶ διαβληθεὶς ὥς εἰρηται, καὶ φωραθεὶς ἐν τῷ του βίῳ τοῦτο βαστάζων, πολλὰ περὶ τούτου ἀπολογούμενος οὐκ ἠκούετο. ἐτυπτήθη οὖν Νικητῆς ὁ Ἑλλαδικὸς ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος αὐτοῦ, ὃς γέγονε παπίας ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ἐξωρίσθησαν.

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Λέωντα καθεύρας ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ τῷ Μαργαρίτου ἐβούλετο ἐκτυφλῶσαι αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ Φώτιος πατριάρχης διὰ πολλῶν παρακλήσεων τοῦτο διεσκέδασεν, ἅμα Ζαούτζα Στυλιανῷ μικρῷ ἐταιρειάρχῃ τότε ὄντι.

ἐποίησε δὲ ἀπὸ ὄψεως μῆνας τρεῖς, θρηνῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος, καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῆς πολλὰ δυσώπει τὸν βασιλέα. μεγάλην δὲ πίστιν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχοντας εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἡλίαν ἀποστυφίζει Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἡλίαν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτοῦ.

τῆς δὲ ἐλεύσεως γενομένης ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ λαοὶ ἐπεφώνησαν τὸ «δόξα σοι ὁ θεός». ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναστραφεὶς ἀπελογήσατο αὐτοῖς «δοξάζετε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου τὸν θεόν; πολλὰς θλίψεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχετε ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἐπωδύνους ἡμέρας διελθεῖν».

Theophanes Cont. (= *Vita Basilii*) also reports this story (p. 349). The form is very literary but the origin is the same. It will suffice to quote the last lines, in particular his version of Leo's saviour, where he will be seen to agree with Ps.-Symeon exactly :

κατά τινα τῶν βασιλείων οἴκων, ὃς Μαργαρίτης κατονομάζεται, ἔμφρουρον τοῦτον πεποίηται, ... διηρέθιστο δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἔχθρου καὶ ἐκδικητοῦ πρὸς τὸ καὶ τοὺς λύχνους ἐπισβέσαι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς κωλύεται διαπράξασθαι, τῆς εἰρκτῆς δ' ὁμως εἶχεν ἐντός. ἦν τι ζῶον πτηνὸν ἐν ταλάρῳ πλεκτῶ κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια...

1) Ps.-Symeon turns *περὶ ἐποίησε τὸν Λέοντα κατασκευάσαι* into *ποιήσας καὶ ποικίλως ἐπισκευάσας δίδωσι τῷ Λέοντι...*!

2) Ps.-Symeon shares the story of the parrot with THc alone. The incident that marked Leo's first public reappearance belongs to the common fund but has not, naturally, been taken over by THc - *Vita Basilii*.

3) Gc proceeds straight from Leo's rehabilitation with apparently another incident :

25. Κατηγορηθεὶς δὲ Ἀνδρέας δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν παρὰ Σανταβαρηνοῦ ὡς τὰ Λέοντος φρονῶν διεδέχθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ προεβλήθη δομέστικος ὁ Στυπιώτης.

In fact it is obviously an aspect of the same affair, taken from another source (a source particularly interested in the career of Andrew the Scythian).

4) The incident mentioned above (2), of Basil's ungracious reaction to the popular welcome given Leo is confirmed by the Life of Theophano.

τοῦ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως τὴν προπομπὴν ποιουμένου, ὡς δίκην ἀστέρων ἐκλάμπων Λέων ὁ ἄναξ ἐπόμενος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἡνίκα δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ παρουσία πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἀνεφάνη, ὁ περιεστὼς ὄχλος ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἑνὸς καὶ μιᾶς φωνῆς ἀνακράξας τὴν « Δόξα σοί, κύριε » φωνὴν ἐξεφώνησεν· ἐξ ἧς φωνῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ μικρὸν δειλιάσας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπεχείρει, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν καὶ τὴν εὐγνώμονα πίστιν τοῦ λαοῦ θαυμάσας πρὸς ἔπαινον τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐτράπη.

This version says nothing of the remark attributed to Basil

which does not fit its picture of perfect harmony in the imperial family. On the other hand such gnomic utterances are very popular with byzantine historians of all kinds, and vary frequently from author to author or redaction to redaction.

5) The Life of Theophano does not report any intervention of the *Σύγκλητος* but murmuring, both in that body and among the general public: *Ἦκουσθαί σοι, δέσποτα, τὰ ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς πολιτείας λεγόμενα ῥήματα; ὁ δὲ φησι· Ποῖα; etc.* In general, the account of the affair given by this source, as far as it goes, inspires confidence.

6) The reconciliation of father and son is given diversely, as the work of the patriarch and the Senate by THc - *Vita Basilii* and Ps.-S., of Photius and Zaoutzes by Gc, of Zaoutzes alone by the Life of Theophano.

7) These events, as related in the V.E., must *ex hypothesi* have been presented in a form favourable to Photius. In view of the numerous passages where there is demonstrable relationship between the chroniclers and the V.E., there seems a chance that here too some of the non-legendary material may have been common. However the originality of the extant Photius passages in the V.E. suggests that this may not have been all.

III. — *The deposition of Photius.* We are no longer here concerned with the missing leaves but with a straightforward comparison between texts: the VE and the chroniclers' *De Leone* (p. 37, n. 3). The first thing we notice is that there seems no sign of a common source. There is no reason, however, why the earlier passages should not, as suggested above, have shown some relationship. These source relationships are erratic and for a matter which crops up several times, over several chapters, relationship may well be found in one passage but not in another. In fact it is not quite true to say there is no such trace: Basil's death-bed comes from a Photian source shared with Ps.-Symeon. However a) this is not the basic Logothete source; b) in Ps.-Symeon it is given an anti-Photian twist; in the V.E. this bias is missing — unless it has been deliberately omitted. The accounts of the two groups, THc-Gc (Istrin) and Gc (Bonn)-Theod. are the same, but for a glose underlining their tendency (see below), and give an account now differing from Ps.-S., now agreeing with him.

Georgius Monachus  
Cont. De Leone (p. 849)

A. Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν Ἀνδρέαν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν ἅμα Ἰωάννῃ Ἀγιοπολίτῃ ... καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνελθόντες, τὰς τοῦ πατριάρχου Φωτίου αἰτίας ἀναγνόντες, τοῦτον τοῦ θρόνου κατήγαγον, καὶ περιώρισαν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ἀρμενιανῶν τῇ ἐπιλεγομένῃ τοῦ Βόρδονος...

B. Ἀπέστειλε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Εὐχάριτα, καὶ ἤγαγε Θεόδωρον τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ δομέστικος καὶ Στέφανος ὁ μάγιστρος ὁ τῆς Καλομαρίας, οἱ πολλὰ λοιδορηθέντες ἐπὶ Βασιλείου παρὰ Σανταβαρηνοῦ,

C. ὑπέθηκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, συσκευὴν ποιησάμενοι <sup>(1)</sup>, ὥς ὅτι Φώτιος ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Σανταβαρηνὸς βουλὴν εἶχον ποιήσασθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Φωτίου πατριάρχου. προσέταξε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγαγεῖν Φώτιον πατριάρχην καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν ἐν τοῖς παλατίοις τῶν Πηγῶν, καὶ ἰδίως αὐτοὺς φρουρεῖσθαι διωρίσατο. ἀπεστάλησαν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Στέφανος μάγιστρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας δομέστικος ὁ Κρατερὸς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Γούμερ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀγιοπολίτης ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξετάσαι τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀγαγόντες τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ θρόνον ἐν τιμῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ καθεσθέντες, ἔφη πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην Ἀνδρέας ὁ δομέστικος « γνωρίζεις, ὦ δέσποτα,

Ps.-Symeon Magister  
(p. 700)

Φώτιον δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην ἐπίβουλον φωραθέντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει, καὶ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ Γόρδονος περιορίζει. ἔνθα καὶ τελευτᾷ.

ἄγει δὲ Θεόδωρον τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν ἀπὸ Εὐχαρίτων ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ δομέστικος καὶ Στέφανος ὁ μάγιστρος κινουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Φωτίου, ὡς λοιδορηθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς Βασίλειον τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.

(1) συσκευὴν ποιησάμενοι Gc Bonn 850. 8 ; Theod. 184, 13 ; neither THc (354) nor Gc Istrin (25) ; pro-Photian gloss on a basic text whose colour is mostly lost, but οἱ πολλὰ λοιδορηθέντες (2 lines above) is hostile to Santabarenos at least, and thus in contradiction with the tendency of the trial scene that follows.



τὸν ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη « ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον οὐ γνωρίζω ». καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρέας « τὸν ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν οὐ γνωρίζεις; » καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης « γινώσκω τὸν μοναχὸν Θεόδωρον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ὄντα Εὐχαΐτων ». (6) ἤγαγον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνδρέας ὁ δομέστικος « ὁ βασιλεὺς σοι δηλοῖ, ποῦ εἰσὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πράγματα τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας; » ὁ δὲ ἔφη « ὅπου δέδωκεν αὐτὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς. νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀναζητεῖ αὐτά, ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀναλαβέσθαι αὐτά ». καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν « εἰπέ τίνα ἡβούλου ποιῆσαι βασιλέα, ὑποθέμενος τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ διὰ συσκευῆς σου τυφλωσαί με; τοῦ πατριάρχου ἴδιον ἢ σόν; » ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν « οὐ γινώσκω τὸ σύνολον περὶ ὧν λέγετε κατηγοροῦντές με ». λέγει οὖν Στέφανος ὁ μαγιστρος πρὸς αὐτὸν « καὶ πῶς ἐμήνυσας τῷ βασιλεῖ ἵνα ἐλέγξω τὸν πατριάρχην περὶ τούτου; » ὁ δὲ Σανταβαρηνὸς παρενθὺ πεσὼν εἰς τοῦς πόδας τοῦ πατριάρχου εἶπεν « ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, δέσποτα, ἵνα πρῶτον ποιήσης τὴν ἐμὴν καθάρσειν, καὶ τότε γυμνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἱερωσύνης κολαζέτωσαν ὡς κακοῦργον. οὐ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἐδήλωσα τῷ βασιλεῖ ». ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔφη « μὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς, κύριε Θεόδωρε, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἷς καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ». θυμωθεὶς οὖν Ἀνδρέας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφη « οὐκ ἐμήνυσας, ἀββᾶ, τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἵνα ἐλέγξω τὸν πατριάρχην εἰς τοῦτο; » ὁ δὲ ἀπηρνείτο μὴ εἰδέναι τι. ὑποστρέφαντες οὖν ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἅπαντα τὰ λαληθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θυμῷ τε καὶ ὀργῇ ἀκατασχέτῳ ληφθεὶς ὡς μὴ εὐρῶν αἰτίαν [cf. Jo. 18, 38] κατὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου

καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καταψηφισαμένης αὐτῶν, τὸν μὲν Φώτιον εἴασαν εἰς τοῦ Γόρδονος,

Δ. ἀποστείλας ἔκρυπεν τὸν Σανταβαρηνὸν σφοδρῶς, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξώρισεν ἐν Ἀθήναις. ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποστείλας ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξώρισεν εἰς Ἀνατολήν. (7) μετὰ δὲ ἔτη πολλὰ παρακληθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ προσέταξε λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἀνώνως ἐκ τῆς Νέας ἐκκλησίας. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὁ Σανταβαρηνὸς ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ζωῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς.

τὸν δὲ Σανταβαρηνὸν τύραντες ἐξώρισαν ἐν Ἀθήναις. εἶτα ἀποστείλας ἐξόπισθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἐξώρισεν. μετὰ πολλοὺς δὲ χρόνους παρακληθεὶς τοῦτον εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ προσέταξεν λαμβάνειν ἀνώνως ἐκ τῆς Νέας ἐκκλησίας.

Faced with this, Dvornik has said that even after Photius' abdication « not satisfied with this, his enemies insisted on public proceedings against him and Santabarenos » <sup>(1)</sup>, while Grumel writes <sup>(2)</sup> « Quant aux chroniqueurs, leurs données ne s'accordent guère... les renseignements qui nous représentent Théodore Santabarène comme étant déjà évêque d'Euchaïte lorsque Photius le connaît pour la première fois sont à rejeter. Ainsi le témoignage du continuateur de Georges le Moine, pour qui Théodore est déjà évêque d'Euchaïte lorsqu'il fait apparaître à Basile le spectre de son fils Constantin. Pour Syméon Magister, dont les données sont plus cohérentes, Théodore n'est encore que moine à ce moment, et ce n'est qu'après, *μετὰ τοῦτο*, qu'il est fait par Photius évêque d'Euchaïte ».

That the data are in disagreement is absolutely true for the central part, the trial proper, and the difference cannot be explained as the result of Ps.-Symeon's having abridged the long account of George cont. It is fundamental. The charges brought against Photius and Santabarenos in George's account are three: 1) receiving money from Basil (this for Santabarenos); 2) plotting to replace Leo on the throne by a relation of Photius'; 3) having, with this aim, urged Basil

(1) DVORNIK, p. 247. — The accepted course of events: Photius' destitution, exile to an unidentified monastery, return to Constantinople for trial, and the trial itself, all between August and Christmas, drove Vogt to claim that an extra year must be allowed (EO, 1933, p. 276).

(2) GRUMEL, *Qui fut l'envoyé...*

to blind Leo. The end of the trial is Leo's fury at having failed to prove anything against the patriarch.

In Ps.-Symeon the charge is simply that Photius and Santabarenos slandered Leo to his father. The end, however, is condemnation, and that by the Senate.

But to return to the difficulty raised by Grumel, it arises in fact from a passage quoted by the two chroniclers from the same source and in almost identical words — except that George Cont. has unfortunately dropped the essential *μετὰ τοῦτο* — essential not as an independant piece of information but as a qualification of information he chooses to transmit, without which it gives a wrong impression. A similar case, where Ps.-Symeon has preserved two words that change everything is noted below. It is axiomatic that the information in the chronicle has (at best) only the value of its source, but often even that is deformed. Before it can be used the chronicle must be broken down to its component parts and discrepancies analysed as due to different sources or to accidental or intentional alteration of the same one.

But even where there is no discrepancy one cannot be too wary. I have divided the passages above into sections A, B, C and D. B and D are obviously the same in both chronicles, C obviously different. But what about A? To begin with, it follows immediately on a common passage, and in Theophanes Continuatus it is followed by another common passage (in Gc (Bonn) a different item intervenes). But « Photius, taken in high treason, is expelled from the Church » and the publishing of Photius' crimes from the ambo and his destitution could easily be different summaries of the same original. Finally, and most significant, his exile is (in spite of the hesitation between *Βόρδορος* and *Γόρδορος*) given in identical terms : this section too is common to the various editions of the Logothete.

But this is not all : three very important words are handed down by Ps.-Symeon alone : *ἐνθα καὶ τελευτᾷ*. Having written this, he still proceeds, along with the other Logothete versions, after sandwiching in a couple of other items — the first of which, Stephen's consecration and death, is attracted by Photius' own fall — to start all over again and give a fuller and completely different account of this fall, ending however

a second time in the monastery τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν (or Ἀρμενιανῶν or Ἀρμονιανῶν) ἡ λεγομένη τοῦ Γόρδοнос.

In the Logothete this second account even has a different bias. Ps.-Symeon apparently could not bring himself to reproduce an account so obviously favourable to Photius as this one of the Logothete's, so he replaced it, with the help of yet another source. His charge against the patriarch is obtained simply by a slight alteration of the end of section B, but the sentence delivered by the Senate suggests the presence of a different source, unless its origin is in the Senate's rôle as reported by Theophanes Cont. and Ps.-Symeon himself (see above, p. 46) — a rôle which in their texts, however, amounts to moral condemnation of Leo's accusers.

In short, the account found in all versions considered except Ps.-S. appears to be drawn from two (already synthetic) sources, Ps.-S. from three. The material of source A is merely a highly condensed version of the events in B.-C. Photius was not sent into preliminary exile, recalled, tried and re-exiled. He was exiled once, after signing his abdication (V.E., p. 16 ll. 19-22), and remained where he was till his death.

Most interesting is the account of the trial in the basic Logothete version which looks like fragments of the actual minutes (first person of the emperor's δῆλωσις, a certain natural incoherency, not here the result of amalgamating different sources).

The insistence on ἀββᾶς *versus* μοναχός is certainly to be explained by Santabarenos' expulsion from Studios': for his enemies he was nothing but an expelled monk. For Photius he has not lost his monk's quality.

## 5. The Preface to the Tomus Unionis.

A word should be said about a short text belonging to the group of sources under consideration, the historical preface added by Constantine Porphyrogennetos to the Τόμος ἐνώσεως. Composed after the fall of Romanos Lecapenos in December 944, it relates succinctly Leo's matrimonial history, making in the process one or two surprising statements, examined below.

The author's source, for two passages at least, perhaps three, is the source of the Logothete. There seems to be also some use, more diffused and less precise, of the VE. The different

nature of the borrowings is not hard to account for : the Logothete supplied its information in short statements ready for use, whereas from the detailed narrative of the VE the author took only the half dozen facts he wanted, and expressed them as briefly as possible.

Clear cases of verbal relationship :

§ Preface (Mansi XVIII 333 B) : 1) καὶ τρίτην ἡγάγετο γυναῖκα, Εὐδοκίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος Ὀψικίου, ἐπιλεγείσαν διὰ τὸ κάλλος. 2) ἥτις ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ὥδισι θνήσκει σὺν τῷ βρέφει. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφάτῳ συσχεθεὶς λύπη...

1) Ps.-Symeon 703, 21 : ἡγάγετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τρίτην ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀψικίου Εὐδοκίαν ... ἥτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρρενα γεννήσασα παῖδα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν παιδίον.

Gc (Bonn) 860, 8 : ἡγάγετο δὲ... κόρην ἐκ τοῦ θέματος Ὀψικίου, ὥρπιό-τάτην πάνν ὀνόματι Εὐδοκίαν... ἐξ ἧς παιδίον ποιήσας ἄρρενα ἐφ' ᾧ τετελεύτησε καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν.

THc variants with reference to Gc (Bonn) : Ὀψικίου θέματος ὥρασαν τε καὶ περικαλλῇ ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Εὐδοκία παῖδα ἐποίησεν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐτελεύτησεν.

2) VE 62, 14 : ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τοκετοῦ ὥδισιν ἐξέψυξεν, ἐλεεινὸν θέαμα καὶ ἀπαράμυθτος θλίψις γενομένη τῷ βασιλεῖ.

The relationship with the Logothete is so close that one can classify the Preface verbally in the same family as the Ps.-Symeon version, even though Ps.-Symeon has dropped the reference to Eudocia's beauty.

§ Preface 333 D : 1) καὶ τετάρτην λαμβάνει γυναῖκα, τὴν τῆς Καρβωνοψίνης Ζωὴν, 2) καὶ τίκτει μετ' αὐτῆς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον.

Taking the two halves separately we have :

1) Ps.-Sym. 704, 11 : ... τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ τελευτᾷ. Τῷ ιζ' ἔτει ἡγάγετο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τετάρτην γυναῖκα, Ζωὴν ὀνομαζομένην τὴν Καρβωνοψίναν.

Gc (Bonn) 862 : ... ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τελευτᾷ. Ἦν δὲ Ζωὴ ἡ τετάρτη γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄστεπτος.

THc 365 ... τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐπλήγη, τετελεύτησεν. Ἦν δὲ Ζωὴ ἡ τετάρτη γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀστεφής.

Although the text of Ps.-Symeon here differs noticeably from the other two, the fact that it comes between the prophecy of the economos Mark and news of the Tripolite's arrival shows that the origin is common. Again, Ps.-Symeon is nearest to the Preface.



2) Ps.-Symeon 708, 22 : ἐν τῇ γέννᾳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ ἀπὸ Ζωῆς τετάρτης αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς οὐσης.

Gc (Bonn 865 : ἐγέννησε δὲ υἱὸν ἀπὸ Ζωῆς τῆς τετάρτης etc.

THc 370, 9 : ἐγέννησε δὲ Λέων Κωνσταντῖνον υἱὸν ἀπὸ Ζ. etc.

§ Preface : ὁ πατριάρχης δὲ Νικόλαος, καὶ οἱ μητροπολίται, ἀφορίζουσι τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Ps.-Sym. 709, 5 : ὅθεν ὁ πατριάρχης ἐκόλυσε τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσερχεσθαι.

Gc Bonn and THc with negligible differences.

Addition of 'the metropolitans' inspired by VE?

The remaining cases concern possible relationship with the VE only.

§ Preface 333 E : καὶ πολλὰ δεόμενον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, οἱ μὲν [μητροπολίται] προσεδέχοντο · οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἦσαν καὶ ἄτεγκτοι.

Cf. VEchapsXIIandXIIIand in particular such expressions as τινὲς δὲ ... τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θρῆνον κατοικτεῖραντες, συμπαθεῖα ἀγόμενοι προσδέχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα ... προεθυμήθησαν... 80, 36

ὁ πατριάρχης ἀνεβάλετο Νικόλαος, εἰθ' οὕτως τὸ στίφος τῶν μητροπολιτῶν · ἐξ ὧν τινες αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνεβάλλοντο μὲν τὴν οἰκονομίαν δὲ καίπερ εὐδοκοῦντες οὐκ ἐπαρρησιάσαντο. 86, 21.

§ Preface 333 E : ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς συνετὸς ὢν, καὶ ὅθεν ἀνεφῆν τὸ ἀσύμφωνον τῶν ἀρχιερέων οὐκ ἄγνων...

VE ch. XII, p. 74, 10 to : οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ ταῦτα Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

§ Preface : ἐξορίζει [Λέων sc. τὸν Νικόλαον] ὡς ψεύστην καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἔρκοις διαβεβαιοῦντα καὶ ὑπισχόμενον δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου συμπάθειαν, τοσαυτάκις δὲ μεταμελόμενον καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐπίτηδες.

VE 78, 15 : διατί, δέσποτα, συνθέμενός μοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἀρτίως ἀναβάλλῃ ;

ibid. 82, 27 : ἕως πότε, δέσποτα, αἱ ἀναβολαί ; ἕως πότε αἱ παρὰ σου ψευδεπίπλαστοι οἰκονομίαι ;

ibid. 84, 13 : χεῖρονα διεπράξω, ἀθετήσας τὰ διὰ τῶν χελέων σου λεχθέντα ἐν ἀγίῳ ναῷ ;

ibid. 84, 18 : πρώην συνθέμενος τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ εἴσοδον τὰ νῦν ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ ἀποδυσπετεῖς.

§ Preface : τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν πατέρα Εὐθύμιον, ἄνδρα πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τῇ μοναχικῇ διαπρέψαντι ἀσκήσει.

VE 146, 3 : ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη ἐν τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν τάγματι ἐξεπλήρωσας.

The Tome contains what looks like a deliberate distortion of the facts, but may conceivably be a mere effect of perspective. It states that when Nicolas excluded Leo from the Church the metropolitans were divided. So far we agree, but their difference, according to the tome, concerned the duration of Leo's penance : καὶ τὸν ἀφορισμὸν οἱ μὲν ... συντεμεῖν ἔλεγον δεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείονα παρατείνειν καιρὸν · οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέθοντο. This, of course, was not the point at issue. The question was whether Leo should be allowed to enter the church as far as the chancel railings & begin his penance (προσκλαυσίς) while keeping Zoe, or whether her dismissal was a necessary preliminary (see my *Synode à CP*).

At some point, apparently, to this question was added the other, when Nicolas offered abridgment of the penalty in exchange for renouncing Zoe (see Arethas' second letter to Plotinus (*New Arethas documents* V 63-67). Although in the VE there is a passage where Leo is made to claim that Nicolas had promised him, if Rome and the other Patriarchs granted dispensation, not only entry into the church but even communion (78, 20), this was not what was dividing the Byzantine Church. Arethas' letters to Plotinus, mentioned above, show that, at some point, the issue of abridgment or non-abridgment of Leo's penance gained importance. But this was not till after Feb. 907.

As for Constantine Porphyrogenetos, he may have believed this was the original issue, but it is far more likely he knew perfectly well that it was whether his mother was to become empress or whether he had been born in a union which no dispense in the world could ever regularise. Naturally he avoided dwelling on this aspect of things.

It is again an embellishment of reality when he says it was he who summoned a council and persuaded it to accept the Tome of Union : Κωνσταντῖνος ... συγκαλέσας τὸν τε πατριάρχην Νικόλαον καὶ σύμπαντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ... πείθει τούτους πρὸς μίαν γνώμην συνελθεῖν etc. (Mansi XVIII 335 A).

## 6. Conclusions.

1) The *Vita Euthymii* is to a considerable extent drawn, like the Logothete chronicle, from written sources. Often, in fact, the same sources. But much of it is the account of an eye-witness.

Moreover, when the *V.E.* is drawing on the very same source as the chronicle, even then it is more reliable: writing of events he has lived through, the author is infinitely better placed to evaluate and even understand the sources. A doublet such as the return, after finishing the sketch of Andronicus Ducas' career, to the aspects of it particularly interesting to him, can occur in his work, but not such a one as the chronicler's, where different accounts of Photius' second fall end by looking like two successive episodes of that fall.

2) For Photius was exiled once and not twice after Leo's accession, to the monastery τῶν Ἀρμενιανῶν ἐπιλεγομένη τοῦ Γόρδονος in Hieria <sup>(1)</sup>, an establishment that may safely be added to the suburban religious establishments of CP.

3) Hergenröther, Popov, Dvornik and others have looked for the cause of Photius' second downfall. Dvornik has argued cogently that he was not sacrificed to Rome. Nor do think the explanation by reaction against his father or by the strife of the parties in Byzantion can be maintained. I have examined this elsewhere <sup>(2)</sup> and shall therefore not repeat here my arguments. It seems to me that the essential is down in black and white in the dramatic excerpt from the trial preserved by the Logothete: Photius failed to clear himself of the

(1) Janin's allusion to the *V.E.* passage: « ... s'il est vrai qu'il s'agisse vraiment de notre presqu'île dans le texte assez obscur qui rapporte le fait » (*La banlieue asiatique de CP. III: Hiéria*, EO, 1923, p. 55) does not seem justified. The text is perfectly clear, especially when one realises that Photius was not banished, recalled and rebanished. Γόρδονος seems preferable, as it appears twice in the same source, whereas Βόρδονος only appears once, though repeated by different versions of the same source. (See Comm., p. 163).

(2) *Le Synode à CP de 886 à 913 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie.*

charge of being connected with Santabarenos in his denunciation of Leo to his father: counsel for the prosecution (if I may so call him) says to Santabarenos: « Who were you planning to make emperor when you suggested to the emperor's father to put out his own son's eyes? A relation of your own or of the patriarch's? — S. I know nothing of what you are accusing me of. — But you sent word to the emperor to examine the patriarch in this matter ». Santabarenos throws himself at the patriarch's feet and says « I adjure you, my lord, in God's name to depose me and leave me to them stripped of my sacred function, to punish as a malefactor. I never sent any such message to the emperor ». Then the patriarch: « By my soul's salvation, my lord Theodore, archbishop you are, and archbishop you shall remain, in this world and the next ».

The pro-Photian source says that Leo was beside himself at having found nothing that could be retained against Photius, and dwells on the punishment of Santabarenos only. But Photius was deposed and exiled. The fact that the official version of events, reflected in pope Stephen's letter transmitted in the *Synodicon Vetus*, did not mention treason may have been due to uncertainty of Photius' guilt on Leo's part, or to the knowledge that he, Leo, had been rightfully denounced for conspiring.

It can also be compared with the deposition of Nicolas, where the accusation of treason was not published either (1).

4) The reality of power, by common consent of the sources, was, during the first years of Leo's reign, lodged with Zaoutzes. Invoking the emperor's security he got rid of Photius, Photius' friends in office, of men of Basil's and even of servants of Leo's. At the same time, the V.E. certainly exaggerates Leo's non-participation in this operation. It is clear that, far from feeling he owed Photius anything, he considered he had a score to settle (2).

(1) See also the accusation brought against Ignatius of participating in Gebo's rising (V. *Ign.*, 505, 513 A), and the hunt for him conducted by Ooryphas with six dromons (*ibid.*, 524 A). Obviously the Patriarch was always potentially dangerous. At the same time, an accusation of plotting was always a ready device for getting rid of him.

(2) HERGENRÖTHER, 2, 628-691.



V.E. 46, 9-11 and 54, 32 are suggestive as to Zaoutzes' method. Occasionally Leo took things into his own hands and Zaoutzes gave way (THc, p. 362). The passage 54, 32 quoted suggests that Leo had an aggrieved feeling that the master was tyrannised by his man, but he seems to have had a confidence in Zaoutzes that not even the repeated plots of the family were able to destroy.

The title of basilopator or basileopator <sup>(1)</sup> was invented, says the chronicler <sup>(2)</sup>, by Leo for Zaoutzes. It is the earliest case known. On the other hand, as Grumel has shown, he is misleading when he links the creation with Leo's love-affair. As Grumel says <sup>(3)</sup>: « Il paraît étrange que Léon VI ... ait songé à créer une nouvelle fonction, la plus haute de toutes, pour une situation si anormale ». (The chronicler's are asking us to believe that this highest of titles was *expressis verbis* « Father of the emperor's concubine »!).

In fact it is not a title but a political office <sup>(4)</sup>.

5) Grumel, discussing the contradictory versions of Andronicus Ducas' revolt given by the Greek sources, concludes that the agreement of the Arab historians and the Byzantine chronicler, « deux sources absolument indépendantes », must outweigh the V.E. <sup>(5)</sup>. More recently, Canard has given plausible grounds for interpreting Tabari differently: Tabari <sup>(6)</sup> calls Rustam's expedition in the autumn of 906 his « second », but he has not described the first, which may then be inferred to have taken place in the spring of the same year, and it would be then that Rustam went to meet Ducas. Tabari tells the story of his escape telescopically in connection with his arrival in Bagdad <sup>(7)</sup>. On the other hand, I have argued

(1) Βασιλοπάτωρ, V.E., *Synax. CP*, 666, 7; AASS, May I, 723 A; Βασιλεοπάτωρ, *Chronicle of the Logothete* (refs. n. 2 below); Βασιλειοπάτωρ, V. Theoph., 14, 18.

(2) THc, 357, 5; Ps.-S., 701, 21; Gc 852, 18.

(3) *Chronologie des événements...*, p. 36.

(4) See P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Basileopator*.

(5) GRUMEL, *La révolte d'Andronic...*, 205.

(6) CANARD-VASILIEV, *Extraits des sources*, p. 20.

(7) CANARD, *Deux épisodes...*, R. J. H. JENKINS, in a recent article, examined the various theories that have been advanced, and also concluded in favour of Canard's explanation (*Leo Choïrosphactes...*).



above (p. 32-37) that 1) the documents quoted in the *V.E.* seem extremely reliable ; 2) the author has some information at least from the *ἀπόρρητα* that can be checked ; 3) that the court episodes, such as those where we find the references to « the rebel Dukas in Syria » also seem reliable.

The objection that the *V.E.* is valuable « pour la substance des faits », but that, « pour leur liaison entre eux et leur ordre chronologique », it cannot be relied on, does not apply here : the fact it directly reports is that Leo repeatedly and bitterly taunted Nicolas with his relationship with the rebel Dukas ἐν τῇς Συριάτιδος γέας. Either the author remembered these taunts or he didn't.

Even the chroniclers disagreement might be more apparent than real, if the news that reached Dukas was not that Nicolas had been deposed but that his treasonable correspondance with himself had been discovered.

August-September 905, Andronicus fled to Kavala. Nicolas' correspondence with him could easily have been discovered before the end of the year. Even if that was not what determined him to give the infant Constantine an imperial christening, the accusation could have been made.

6.1.906, christening of Constantine.

February-March 906, Andronicus goes over to the Arabs.

1.2.907, Deposition of Nicolas.

It has been said that Leo would never have kept Nicolas as patriarch for so long, knowing of his treachery. The emperors were surrounded by treachery ; leniency with an exposed traitor was worth trying. Having been caught once he was probably less dangerous than another, and might even be grateful. What we hear of Leo's treatment of Zaoutzes' family or of Samonas, or even of Constantine Dukas, justifies such a supposition.

If Himerius won a victory, though deprived of the help which Andronicus had been ordered to give him, and as a consequence of this victory Andronicus fled to Kavala, this victory was won in late summer or early autumn 905.

But Grumel's suggestion may still give the answer « cet incident se rattacherait alors à un plan d'expédition navale préparé [not in 906 but in 905] et qui n'a pas eu de suite précisément sans doute à cause de la défection d'Andronic, pro-

jet avorté donc, qui n'a pas dû retenir l'attention des chroniqueurs — d'où télescopage avec la grande victoire d'Himérios ».

Grumel's reason for looking for this solution was the information drawn from the *Chronicle* that Himerius was not yet Logothete of the Drome when Euthymius became patriarch. This seems to me the very type of information where it is almost unfair to demand perfect reliability of one source, whichever it be, (See JENKINS, *Choirosphactes...* p. 172, and below, n. to 110, 17), but the hypothesis remains perfectly workable.

To sum up, whatever conclusions we may reach concerning particular points, the relationship between the *VE* and the Logothete chronicle emerges as even closer than had been thought, and must never be lost sight of in using these texts. The accompanying diagram sums up schematically.

# THE VE AND THE CHRONICLERS

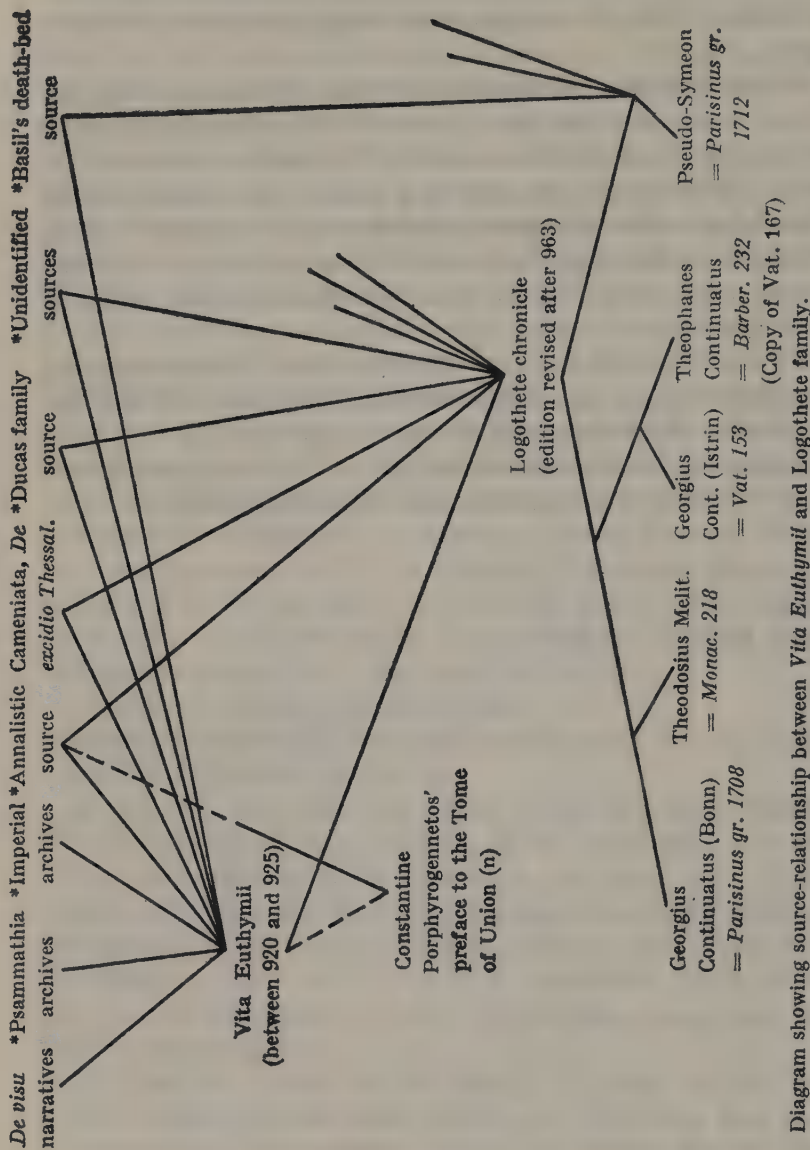


Diagram showing source-relationship between *Vita Euthymii* and Logothete family.

(n) The three lines on Eudocia Baiané seem likely to have come from the annalistic source, all that can be affirmed, however, is that they belong to the Logothete tradition. The link with the VE is simply that Constantine certainly knew it, but in fact for that part he probably did not need a written source.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- c., = ms reading according to de Boor.
- B. = emendation proposed by de Boor.
- V. = ms reading according to N. Veis' collation.
- V.\* = emendation proposed by N. Veis.
- K. = Kosinitzis (Eikosiphoinisses)

Notes in quotation marks are de Boor's.

Where *c* is in opposition with B, *c* gives ms reading. When, however, it is in opposition with V., it is the latter, naturally, which is assumed to be the actual text of the ms.

*c* in app. crit. consequently implies that an emendation of de Boor's has been adopted.

## I. — Death of the emperor Basil (29.8.886)

... It was August and the emperor Basil had gone out for the hunting into Thrace, to the neighbourhood of Apameia and Melitias. When, finding a herd of deer, he gave chase with the Senate and the huntsmen. They were all scattered in every direction in pursuit, when the emperor spurred after the leader of the herd, whose size and sleekness made him conspicuous. He was giving chase alone, for his companions were tired ; but the stag, seeing him isolated, turned in his flight, and charged, trying to gore him ; he threw his spear, but the stag's antlers were in the way, and it glanced off useless to the ground. The emperor now, finding himself helpless, took to flight ; but the deer, pursuing, struck at him with its antlers and carried him off. For the tips of the antlers having slipped under his belt, the stag lifted him from his horse and bore him away, and no one knew this had happened, till they saw the horse riderless. Then Stylianos, called Zaoutzes, and Procopios the protovestiarius showed them all what had happened. They all began running hither and thither, and just managed to catch a glimpse of the object of their search, carried aloft by the beast. They gave chase with all speed but without success ; for the stag, when they were well out-distanced, stood panting and breathing hard, but when a rush brought them nearer, straightway bounded off to a good distance. So they were at a loss, till some of the Hetaireia, as it is called, cut off the stag from in front before it was aware, and, scattering circle-wise in the mountains, put it up again by shouting. Then one of the Farghanese, managing



## VITA S. EUTHYMI PATRIARCHAE CP

[I. — Περὶ τῆς Βασιλείου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τελευτῆς.]

... Μὴν ἐφίστατο αὐγουστος, καὶ αὐτὸς Βασίλειος ὁ ἄναξ ἐξῆει  
 θηράσων ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις μέρεσι πρὸς τὰ σύνεγγυς Ἀπαμείας  
 καὶ Μελιτιάδος. ἐν οἷς εὐρών ἀγέλην ἐλάφων μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ  
 5 τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν κυνηγετῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὥρμησε. πάν-  
 των δὲ τῇδε κἀκεῖσε περισπαρέντων καὶ καταδιωκόντων, πρὸς  
 τὸν πρωταγέλαιον τούτων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφώρμησεν ὡς ὑπερ-  
 μεγέθη πάντων ὑπάρχοντα καὶ πύονα. καὶ ὁ μὲν μόνος τοῦτον  
 ἐδίωκεν, τῶν συνεπομένων ἀτονησάντων · ὁ δὲ γε ἔλαφος αἰσθό-  
 10 μενος τὴν τούτου μόνωσιν, τῆς φυγαδείας ἀνατραπείς κατ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἀνθυπέστρεφε καὶ κερατίζειν ἐπεχειρεῖ · ὁ δὲ τὸ δόρυ ἠκόντισε,  
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ἐλάφου κεράτων παρεμποδισθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν  
 διακενῆς ἀπέριπτο. ὁ τοίνυν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐξαπορήσας  
 εἰς φυγαδεῖαν τρέπεται · ὁ δὲ γε ἔλαφος καταδιώκων τοῦτον  
 15 τοῖς κέρασιν ἔτυπτεν · ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐάλω παρ' αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ ἐξο-  
 χῶν τῶν κεράτων ὑπὸ τοῦ (1) ζωστήρος τούτου ὑπείσελθόντων,  
 ἀνάρπαστον τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου λαβόμενος ἔφερεν, τὸ γεγονὸς  
 μὴ τινος ἐπισταμένου, ἕως ὅτε τὸν ἵππον κενὸν ἐθεάσαντο. τότε  
 Στυλιανός, ὁ λεγόμενος Ζαούτζης, καὶ Προκόπιος ὁ πρωτοβεστιά-  
 20 ριος κατὰδηλον τὸ συμβὰν τοῖς πᾶσι πεποιήκεισαν. καὶ τῇδε  
 κἀκεῖσε πάντων περιθεόντων, μόλις τὸν ζητούμενον ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ζῶον βασταζόμενον ἐώρων. πολλῶ δὲ τῷ τάχει καταδιωκόν-  
 των, ἔμενον ἄπρακτοι · μακρόθεν γὰρ ὁ ἔλαφος τούτων γενό-  
 μενος ἴστατο ἀσθμαίνων καὶ πνευστιῶν, πάλιν δὲ πλησιάσαι  
 25 ἐφορμώντων, εὐθυδρόμει μέχρι πολλῆς διαστάσεως. ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 ἐξαπορούντων, λαθραίως τινὲς τῶν τῆς καλουμένης ἐταιρείας

1 περὶ... τελευτῆς B. ■ αὐγουστος corr. in 2nd hand from αὐγοστος c ».   
 10 καθ' αὐτοῦ c      16 τῆς ζωστήρος c « ὑπὸ τὸν ζωστήρα? »   
 21-22 « ἐπὶ τῷ ζώῳ? ὑπὸ τοῦ ζώου? ».

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, p. 242.

to ride alongside the deer with a naked sword in his hand, cut the horn-entangled belt through. The emperor fell to the ground unconscious. When he came to himself he ordered the man who had delivered him from danger to be arrested and ordered the cause of such insolence to be investigated. « For », said he, « it was to kill me, not to save, that he stretched out his sword ». And he ordered the distance from the place where he was taken to Katasyrtai, where he fell off, to be measured, and they found, allowing for the turnings and windings of the animal's course, that it was sixteen miles. And having failed, even then, to gain possession of the deer, or even to inflict the least blow, they took up the stricken emperor and carrying him returned to the palace. After suffering severe internal pains and haemorrhage of the stomach, nine days later he paid our common debt, after a reign of nineteen years, leaving the sceptre to his sons, Leo and Alexander his brother, however unbrotherly disposed. Stephen, the youngest, has already been ordained deacon and received the rank of syn-cellus. However, it was Stylianos, called Zaoutzes in the Armenian dialect, seeing he was a Macedonian of Armenian descent like himself, whom he left in charge, committing to him the direction of all matters, ecclesiastical and political. And Basil's last words to his sons and to Stylianos were : « Alas ! Alas ! the conjuror Santabarenos, with his spells and his witchcraft, how did he draw me away from God, and trick me with lies and deceits, putting me out of my right mind. And if the Lord had not come to my help, he had nearly carried me off to damnation like his own. »

τὴν πρὸς τὰ πρόσω τοῦ ἐλάφου ὁδὸν προκατασχόντες καὶ τῇδε  
 κἀκεῖσε κυκλοτερῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ὄρεσι διασπαρέντες, τὸν  
 ἔλαφον θροήσαντες πρὸς φυγὴν πάλιν ὥρμησαν. τότε τις τῶν  
 5 ἀπὸ τῶν Φαργάνων λεγομένων σύνδρομος τῷ ἐλάφῳ γίνεται καὶ  
 ἐπὶ χεῖρα γυμνὴν σπάθην λαβόμενος τὸν ἐν τοῖς κέρασι κωλύ-  
 μενον ζωστήρα διέκοψε. πέπτωκε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους  
 λειποθυμῶν. ὥς δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν κατέστη, τὸν τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ-  
 τον ἀπαλλάξαντα φρουρεῖσθαι προσέταξε καὶ τὴν ὑποβολὴν  
 τῆς τοιαύτης αὐθαδείας ἐξετάζεσθαι παρεκελεύετο. ἔλεγεν γάρ ·  
 10 « οὐ ζῶσαι, ἀλλὰ θανατῶσαι με τὸ ξίφος προέτεινεν ». μετρη-  
 σαι δὲ τὸν τόπον ἀφ' οὗ ἀνάρπαστος γέγονε προσέταξε, καὶ  
 εὗρηται σὺν τῶν (1) τῇδε κἀκεῖσε περιδρομῶν μέχρι Κατασυρτῶν,  
 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀπερρίφη τόπων, μίλια δεκαῆξ. καὶ τότε, μήτε τοῦ ἐλά-  
 φου περικρατεῖς γενόμενοι, μήτε μικρὸν τι κἂν πληῖσαι τοῦτον  
 15 δυννηθέντες, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διαβασταζόμενον λαβόντες ἐν τοῖς  
 βασιλείοις ὀδυνώμενον ὑπέστρεψαν. τοῖς δὲ ἐνδοσθίοις σφόδρα  
 ἀλγῶν, καὶ δύσεως αἵματος κατὰ γαστρός αὐτῷ ἐπιγενομένης,  
 δι' ἡμερῶν ἑννέα τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέπλησεν ὄφλημα, ἑνεακαίδεκα  
 χρόνους ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαρκέσας, τὸ κράτος τῶν σκήπτρων  
 20 τῷ νῦν Λέοντι καταλιπὼν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδελφῷ, εἰ καὶ τὰ  
 ἀδελφὰ μὴ φρονοῦντι. ἥδη γὰρ Στέφανος, ὁ τούτων ὕστατος  
 ἀδελφός, τῇ τῆς διακονίας ἱερωσύνῃ καὶ τῷ τοῦ συγκέλλου ἀξιώ-  
 ματι κεκόσμητο. Στυλιανῷ δὲ τῷ (2) καὶ Ζαούτζῃ κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
 Ἀρμενίων διάλεκτον προσαγορευομένῳ, ὥς ἅτε Μακεδόνι ὄντι  
 25 καὶ τὸ γένος Ἀρμένιον καθὼς καὶ αὐτός, ἐπίτροπον καταλιμ-  
 πάνει τὴν τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων διοίκησιν ἐγχειρίσας τῶν τε  
 ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν, ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς  
 υἱοὺς προσειπὼν · « αἶ, αἶ, ὁ ἐπαοιδίαις καὶ μαγγανείαις τερα-  
 τοποιὸς Σανταβαρηνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ με μακρύνας καὶ ἀπατηλοῖς καὶ  
 30 ψευδέσι λόγοις ἐξαπατήσας καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης  
 ποιήσας, εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐβοήθησέ μοι, παρὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν ἴσην  
 αὐτοῦ κατάκρισιν ἐπεσπάσαιο ».

2 κυκλοτερῶς c.  
 μαῖς? ».

13 τόπων V.

3 τότε τις, V.

23 Στυλιανῷ

24 Μακεδόνα ὄντα c.

12 « σὺν ταῖς περιδρο-  
 28 αἶ, αἶ c.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, p. 242.

(2) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, p. 234, sqq.

## II. — Reign of the emperor Leo.

### 1<sup>st</sup> stage.

30.8.886

Leo, having succeeded to the throne, immediately appointed Stylianos Zaoutzes protomagistros, and not long after promoted him basilopator, and it was notorious that in this same Stylianos were vested control and responsibility for all decisions to be taken by the government. The sovereign, judging it unsuitable to summon our father Euthymius immediately to the palace, before seeing him himself and putting his case, went out to the church of God's Mother at Pēgē and met the man he sought. And on seeing him he bowed his head to Euthymios' feet, and, seizing his pall and kissing it, poured tears of happiness down his purple dress and, confessing the blessed power of Euthymios' prayers, proclaimed in a loud voice the comfort he had received in hopeless distress and the things our father had foretold to him, so that he filled those who saw and heard with wonder and amazement. Our father, having spoken a few words for his soul's benefit, sent him away with his blessing. But he desired rather to stay with him and converse, and would have compelled him to come to the palace. At first he would not consent, agreeing however for after the most venerable and holy season of Lent. The emperor then urged him to say what would be useful for the support of the monastery and pleasing and agreeable to him. But nothing else would be, said he, pleasing and agreeable to him, but «that you should govern in justice and piety, with mercy and compassion ruling that which is under you, bearing unceasingly in mind from what sorrows you have been rescued by the right hand of the King of kings. And He will yet increase his protection, if you show yourself one who fulfils his commandments, and serve his righteousness not with words alone, but with deeds». So,

II. — Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος αὐτοκρατορίας.  
Στάσις α'.

Λέων τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἐπιλαβόμενος  
 παρεθὺ Στυλιανῷ τῷ Ζαούτζῃ πρωτομάγιστρον καθίστησιν,  
 5 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ βασιλοπάτορα ἀναδείκνυσιν, καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπερχομένων τῇ βασιλείᾳ διοικήσεων τὴν ἐπιστάσιν καὶ  
 φροντίδα ὁ αὐτὸς Στυλιανὸς διέπων ἐγνωρίζετο. τοῦ παρεθὺ  
 δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ὁ ἀναξ προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν πατέρα Εὐθύμιον  
 ἀνάξιον κρίνας, πρὶν αὐτοπὶ καὶ κατίδοι τοῦτον καὶ προσapo-  
 10 λογήσοιτο, πρὸς τὸν τῆς Θεομήτορος ναὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ ἐξήκει  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποθοῦμενον ἀφίκετο. ὃν ἰδὼν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 τοῖς τούτου ποσὶν ὑποκλίνας τοῦ τε παλλίου αὐτοῦ περικρατῆς  
 γενόμενος, τοῦτο κατασπαζόμενος χαρμονικοῖς δάκρυσι τὴν πορ-  
 φυρίδα κατέβρεχε τὴν τε τῆς ἀγίας εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν  
 15 ἐν ταῖς ἀνελπίστοις αὐτοῦ θλίψεσι παρηγορίαν τά τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 προδηλωθέντα διαπρυσίοις φωναῖς ἐξομολογούμενος ἐκήρυττε καὶ  
 θάμβους καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἐπλήρου.  
 μικρὸν δὲ τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ὁ πατὴρ προσειπὼν μετ'  
 εὐχῆς τοῦτον ἀπέλυνεν. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ προσμένειν καὶ προσομι-  
 20 λεῖν προεθυμεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τοῦτον ἀνελθεῖν παρε-  
 βιάζετο. τοῦ δὲ μὴ συνθεμένου, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τῶν πανσέπτων  
 καὶ ἁγίων ἑορτῶν τεσσαρακοστὴν κατανεύσαντος, τὰ πρὸς ὠφέ-  
 λειαν καὶ σύστασιν τῇ μονῇ παρῶρμα καὶ ὥς ἐφετὸν αὐτῷ ἔστιν  
 καὶ ἐράσμιον εἰπεῖν κατηγάγκαζεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔτερον  
 25 ἔφασκεν ἐφετὸν εἶναι τούτῳ καὶ ἐράσμιον, ἢ τὸ «ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ  
 καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ μετ' ἐλέους τε καὶ συμπαθείας διευθετεῖν σε καὶ  
 διέπειν τὸ ὑπήκοον, καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀδιαλείπτως ἔχειν, ὅσων  
 σοι (1) θλιβερῶν ἐξήρπασεν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλευόντων  
 δεξιὰ. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον προσθήσει τοῦ ρύεσθαι, εἴ γε καὶ σὺ τῶν  
 30 αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν πληρωτῆς φανείης, καὶ μὴ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ

3 αὐτοκρατορίας c. 4 Στυλιανῷ τῷ Ζαούτζῃ c. 5 τὴν τῶν ἐπερ-  
 χομένων... τὴν ἐπιστάσιν c. 11 ἀφίκοιτο c. 12 παλλίου c. 17 τοὺς τε  
 ὁρῶντας καὶ ἀκούοντας B. 19 προσομιλλεῖν c. 21 B τὴν παν-  
 σέπτων c 23 « τῆς μονῆς? ». 27 ἀδιαλήπτως c. 28 σε B.



having bade him farewell, he blessed him and sent him away, with many prayers for *viaticum*.

But after this our peace-loving father Euthymios, seeing the many vexations overtaking him from those who came fleeing to him, had in mind to escape secretly to the Mountain (1), with the brothers he had with him. It was then that the abbot of the most holy monastery of Stoudios', the saintly Anatolios, went out to beg him to prevent Santabarenos being sent thither; for they had ordered him to be taken there from Euchaita and detained. He was ever willing to be persuaded, and, writing immediately to the emperor, stopped Santabarenos' being confined at Studios', instead he was transferred from St. Dalmatos' to custody in Athens, and here his eyes were put out by order of Zaoutzes immediately on his arrival.

To return to this venerable Anatolios, our father kept him with him for three days, and revealed to him how he purposed to leave. And Anatolios, when he saw the procession of Basil's chamberlains who had come into conflict with the new emperor, of members of the Senate fallen into disgrace, at times even the new emperor's own servants, in a word everyone turning to the blessed Euthymios, as if taking refuge in an untroubled harbour, exulted and rejoiced in spirit, giving thanks to God who provides, as the times require, men fulfillers of his commandments. And indeed this compassionate man, writing himself, succeeded in reconciling all with the emperor, and one might see those who resorted to him, at the calling of their name, translated from despondency to good cheer. For he was all things to all men, in the words of the apostle (2), with the afflicted he shared their affliction, nay his exceeded theirs, he sorrowed with the sorrowing, and shared their grief, and there were times when he was to be seen all in tears, advising his hearer to bear with thanksgiving everything that might come upon him. And he was all comfort and all refreshment, because he was all things to all men. But as for the emperor, all that the father wrote to him, he, as a grateful son obeys his father, put into

(1) Olympus.

(2) *I Cor.*, 9, 22.

καὶ ἔργοις θεραπεύσεις (1) τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα ». οὕτως αὐτῷ συνταξάμενος εὐχαῖς τε πλείσταις ἐφοδιάσας μετ' εὐχῆς ἀπέλυσεν.

Ὁρῶν δὲ ἔκτοτε ὁ φιλήσυχος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιος πλείστας παρενοχλήσεις παρὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν καταφενγόντων ἐπιγινομένας, 5 τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος λαθραίαν φυγὴν σὺν τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν ἀδελφοῖς διανοεῖτο. τότε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξῆι ὁ τῆς εὐαγεστάτης μονῆς τῶν Στουδίων ἡγούμενος ὁσιώτατος ἀνὴρ Ἀνατόλιος, τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποστολὴν τοῦ Σανταβαρηνοῦ κωλυθῆναι καθικε- 10 ρεῖσθαι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ἐτοιμότητος παρευθὺ τῷ βασιλεῖ γράψας τὴν πρὸς (2) τὰ Στουδίου κάθειρξιν τούτου ἐκώλυσεν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ περιόρισις τούτου ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Δαλμάτου εἰρκτῆς μετέπιπτε, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πῆρυσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ζαούτζη προστάξεως κατὰ πόδας ἐδέξατο. 15 Παρ' ἐαυτῷ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ὁσιώτατον τοῦτον ἄνδρα Ἀνατόλιον ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐπισχὼν τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φανεροὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως. δς ὁρῶν τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἐπιρρέον πλῆθος, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ προσκρουσάντων, τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς προσπταίωντων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε 20 καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ καθυπουργούντων, καὶ ἀπαξ απλῶς ἅπαντας ὡς εἰς λιμένα ἄκλυστον ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν μακαρίτην καταφεύγοντας Εὐθύμιον, ἐγεγῆθει καὶ ἡγαλλιάτο τῷ πνεύματι εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, τῷ κατὰ καιροὺς παρέχοντι πληρωτὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι ὁ συμπαθέστατος διὰ τῆς 25 οἰκείας γραφῆς κατευθύνων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι συνώπει καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπίκλησιν εἰς εὐθυμίαν ἐξ ἀθυμίας μεταρρυσμιζομένους. τοῖς πᾶσι γὰρ ὑπῆρχε τὰ πάντα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου φωνήν, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θλιβομένοις μᾶλλον ὑπερθλιβόμενον ἦν ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἢ συν- 30 θλιβόμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀδυνωμένοις καὶ συνοδυνώμενον καὶ συμπάσχοντα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσι καταρραινόμενον μετ' εὐχαριστίας τε παραινοῦντα ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπερχόμενα φέρειν. καὶ ὅλως ἦν παραμύθιον καὶ ὅλως ἀναψυχὴ ἐκ τοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. ὁ δὲ γε βασιλεὺς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γραφόμενα, 35 ὡς υἱὸς εὐγνώμων ὑπείκων πατρί, πληρῶν ἅπαντα διετέλει.

12 • περιόρισις corr. fr. περιόρησις in cod. ». 24 τὰ πάντα B,  
ὁ τὰ πάντα τοῖς πᾶσι συμπαθέστατος V.<sup>3</sup> 25 συνώπει c. 27 με-  
ταρρυσμιζομένους c. 31 καταρραινόμενον c.

(1) Change of mood, see list s.v. « Mood » in *Index graecitatis*.

(2) See *Grammatical Notes*, (5), p. 242.

execution. Seeing this, that eminent father Anatolios said to him : « If with God's help you preserve this compassion towards all, you will succeed, though remaining here, in obtaining the part of our holy fathers. If only this warmth and assistance that all receive from you (for this surpasses retreat to the Mountain or the far desert) continues and remains unimpaired, the mercy shown to men through you will be acceptable to God. » With these words and others, and after encouraging him to compassion, he bade farewell and left.

But Stylianos, who was called Zaoutzes, was cut to the heart with rage and fury at seeing the graciousness towards all men in all matters of this mildest of rulers, so that he was ill disposed towards our father Euthymios, setting himself against all his requests and eagerly seeking to thwart them. Many he deprived of their possessions, which he poured into the treasury, some he had tonsured, condemning them to exile, Leo Katakoilas among these, the former drungarius, related to Photius who was patriarch at the time ; and he did the same by others whom I will willingly pass over. Photius himself he deposed immediately from his throne, ignominiously banishing him and demanding his resignation, though he was not willing to give it, nonetheless it was had by force and he was banished from town and ordered to settle in the Hieria, as they are called, *incommunicado*. And in this way he dealt not with him alone but with all his relations, depriving them of their possessions and tonsuring them. Whence, Nicolas, his relation, fearing the same lot, took refuge in the monastery of St. Tryphon which is by the metropolis of Chalcedon. Arriving there, he immediately, so great was his fear, had himself tonsured and put on the holy habit of the monks ; this Nicolas was later taken by the emperor Leo, because they had been school-fellows and adopted brothers, and, because he made a great affair of the tonsure, honoured with the position of private secretary.

ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ μέγας ἐν πατράσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη Ἀνατόλιος · « εἰ  
 τὴν τοιαύτην μετὰ θεὸν πρὸς πάντας διατηρήσεις συμπάθειαν,  
 δύνασαι καὶ ἐνθάδε παρὼν τῆς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν μερί-  
 δος ἐπιτυχεῖν. μόνον εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διαρκέσῃ καὶ ἀλώβητος μείνῃ  
 5 ἢ πρὸς πάντας παρὰ σου ἐπιγενομένη θερμὴ βοήθεια (ὕπερ γὰρ  
 τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς ἐρημίας κρείττων) ὁ θεὸς προσδέξεται  
 τὸν διὰ σου γινόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔλεον ». ταῦτα προσειπὼν  
 καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ προστεθεικῶς καὶ πρὸς συμπάθειαν ὑπαλείψας,  
 συνταξάμενος αὐτῷ ἀνεχώρησε.  
 10 Στυλιανὸς δέ, ὁ καὶ Ζαούτζης, ὀργῇ καὶ χόλῳ διεπρίετο διὰ  
 τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἱλαρυνόμενον ὁρᾶν τὸν πρῶτατον  
 ἄνακτα, ἀπεχθῶς τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διέκειτο Εὐθύμιον καὶ τὰ  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ αἰτούμενα ἀνατρέπειν καὶ ἀντιπράττειν ἐσπούδαζε.  
 πολλῶν γὰρ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἀφείλετο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ παρέπεμ-  
 15 ψεν, ἔστι δ' οὗς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ὑπερορίᾳ κατεδίκασεν, ἐξ ὧν  
 εἷς ἐστι καὶ Λέων ὁ γεγωνὶς ὁρογγάριος, ὁ Κατακοίλας (1), ὃς  
 καὶ συγγενῆς ὑπῆρχεν Φωτίου, τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν πατριαρχή-  
 σαντος · καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν, οὗς ἐκὼν ὑπερ-  
 βήσομαι. αὐτὸν δὲ Φώτιον παρευθὺ τοῦ θρόνου κατεάξας (2) καὶ  
 20 ἀτίμως ὑπερορίσας παραίτησιν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀπῆτει, ἣν  
 καὶ βεβιασμένως πεποίηκεν, πέραν δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐν τοῖς καλου-  
 μένοις Ἱερίοις τοῦτον ὑπερορίσας ἀπρόοπτον καθέζεσθαι προσ-  
 ἔταξεν · καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς συγγε-  
 νεῦσι τὰ ὅμοια ἀπειργάσατο, τῆς περιουσίας αὐτῶν τούτους στερεή-  
 25 σας καὶ ἀποκείρας. ἐξ οὗ καὶ Νικόλαος, ὁ τούτου οἰκογενής,  
 δεδοικῶς μὴ τὰ παραπλήσια πάθῃ, φυχὰς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου  
 Τρύφωνος μονὴν ὄχλητο, τῇ ἐπὶ Χαλκηδονέων μητροπόλει παρα-  
 κειμένη, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πεφθακῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ φόβου παρευθὺ τὰς  
 τρίχας ἀποκείρεται καὶ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐνδύεται ἅγιον σχῆμα,  
 30 ὃν εἰς ὕστερον ὁ βασιλεὺς Λέων προσλαβόμενος ὥς ἅτε συμ-  
 μαθητῇ (3) αὐτῷ γεγονότι καὶ θετῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὥς μέγα τι ποιήσαντι  
 τὴν ἀπόκαρσιν τῇ τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἀξίᾳ τετίμηκεν.

4 διαρκέσει c.      5 παρὰ σοῦ V.      6 κρείττων c.      7 διὰ  
 σοῦ V.      8 ἑτερά τινα B.      16 ὁρογγάριος B.      27 τῇ —  
 παρακειμένη c.      27 « ἐπὶ τῇ χαλκ. » « {ἐπὶ} ? » P. Maas.  
 30-31 συμμαθητῇ καὶ θετῷ ἀδελφῷ c.

(1) This is the only time DB does not specifically state that *Κατακοίλας* is unaccented in the ms. See note 8, p. 166.

(2) For the form, see *Grammatical notes*, n° 7, p. 243, for the sense, p. 88, n. 1.

(3) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, p. 234.

### III. — The quarrel between the father and Zaoutzes

Hearing all this and more of the same nature, Zaoutzes' daily doings, our father was grieved in his soul and sent to the emperor, setting forth everything in his own hand. And he, on receiving the letter, showed it to Zaoutzes and ordered him to read it. He replied thereupon, and took his oath on it, that nothing improper or illegal had occurred through him. « Even », says the emperor, « if you have administered everything with such justice and piety, go and speak for yourself to my spiritual father ». He agreed, and a few days later went out ; and, on sight of the father, he said : « You must not, holy father, take the emperor's enemies under your protection and fight their battles ; for your Holiness is inexperienced, ignorant indeed, in these matters, what you say sounds well, but you are not fully aware of the traps lurking therein ; by obtaining satisfaction of your requests you are undermining the security of the empire and throwing the town into great confusion. Indeed it does not become you to make such requests of the emperor and take the part of his adversaries ». To this the father replied : « But you, sir, the important gentleman, with your experience, as you say, and knowledge, you are doing good work, in seeking to wrong and hurt your fellow-men, achieving nothing but the gratification through rage and anger of your own will ! » Then he : « Yes », says he, « I am doing good work, very good work ». And the father answers back : « So, your will, or rather your whim, your pleasure, by what law is it governed, to make it, according to you, so right and so good ? the precepts of the law, the teachings of the Gospel ? the instructions of the apostles, the admonitions of the fathers ? For except with these, he who plans or puts into execution is blind, purblind, stumbling without a guide, as are you, my important gentleman, as you take your stand on your own wisdom and just dealing ». At this, thoroughly roused, the other answers : « Men of leisure you monks are, with nothing to do but tear what we do to pieces



### III. — Περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Ζαούτζην φιλονεικίας

Ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια καθ' ἐκάστην παρὰ τοῦ Ζαούτζη γινόμενα ἀκούων ὁ πατὴρ ἡγιάτο κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ οἰκτιρογράφως τῷ βασιλεῖ παρέπεμπεν καὶ δῆλα πάντα εἰργάζετο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γραφὴν δεξάμενος τῷ Ζαούτζῃ ἐδείκνυνεν καὶ ἀναγινώσκεισθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευεν. ἀνθίστατο οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴδὲν ἄτοπον ἢ παράνομον παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι διομνύμενος. « καὶ εἰ οὕτως », φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, « δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἅπαντα διευθέτησας, ἀπελθε καὶ προσαπολόγησαι τῷ πνευματικῷ μου πατρὶ ». ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐξῆει· καὶ τὸν πατέρα θεασάμενος ἔφη· « οὐ δεῖ σε, πάτερ ἅγιε, τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθροῖς προνοεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν· ἀπειρίαν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγνωσίαν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχούσης τῆς ἀγιοσύνης σου, δοκεῖς μὲν καλῶς λέγειν, μὴ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τούτων ἐπιστάμενος ἐνεδρα, πληρουμένον 15 δὲ τῶν σῶν αἰτήσεων, τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ ἀσυστασίαν καὶ τῇ πόλει τάραχον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα εἰσάγεις. καὶ οὐχ ἀρμόζει σοι τοιαῦτα αἰτεῖσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ(1), καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ προσλαμβάνεσθαι ». πρὸς τούτοις ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· « σὺ γάρ, κύρι ὁ μέγας, ἐμπειρίαν καὶ γνῶσιν, ὥς λέγεις, ἔχων καλῶς ποιεῖς ἐπὶ κακώσει 20 καὶ θλίψει τῶν ὁμοιοπαθῶν σοι ἀνθρώπων ἐπεκτεινόμενος, οὐδὲν ἕτερον διορθούμενος, ἢ τὴν σὴν θέλησιν ἐπ' ὀργῇ καὶ χόλῳ ἐκπληρῶν ». ὁ δέ· « ναί, », φησί, « καὶ λίαν γε καὶ καλῶς ποιῶν », ἀπεκρίνατο. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ πρὸς αὐτόν· « ἡ δὲ σὴ βούλησις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀρέσκεια καὶ ἔφεσις, ποίοις θεσμοῖς ἐξακολουθοῦσα οὕτως, 25 ὥς σὺ φῆς, πρεπόντως καὶ καλῶς γεγένηται; ἄρα τοῖς τοῦ νόμου παραγγέλμασιν, ἢ τοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδάγμασιν; ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰσηγήσεσιν, ἢ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων παραινέσεσιν; ἐκτὸς γὰρ τούτων ὁ διανοούμενός τι ἢ πράττων τυφλός ἐστι, μυωπάζων καὶ τοῦ χειραγωγοῦντος δεόμενος. ὅπερ καὶ σύ, κύρι ὁ μέγας, 30 ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοπραγίᾳ ἐπεριεδόμενος πέπονθας ». ἐπὶ τούτοις ταραχθεὶς ἀντεῖπεν ἐκεῖνος· « εὐκαιρηταί ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ μοναχοὶ καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀσχολεῖσθε, ἢ τοῦ(2) διασύρειν καὶ

11 σέ V.      17 « τὸν βασιλέα? »      32 c, τῷ B.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, p. 235.

(2) See Grammatical notes, n° 3, p. 239.

and run it down. So that you think yourselves cleverer than we, but when it comes to the test it turns out that we are braver than you, and superior in wisdom. But since you are a monk, and, according to the emperor, a holy one, keep quiet in your cell, attend to yourself, and do not meddle further. As for your past predictions to the emperor, be content with seeing the issue of all those, nor will there be any further need for you to go on foretelling to him and sending him warnings, though you may wish to ». « Are not you afraid », says the father, « it may be from the malice of your heart, for fear I might publish your secret ambition, and for no other reason that you make these excuses? Behold, I fore-witness to you that you will never attain the accomplishment of your desires, but will die before the emperor Leo. For the emperor has taken God the holy One for his defence, and He will overthrow you, and at the last destroy you, you and all your family, as has been revealed to me, the least of men ». And as the father would have reckoned (1) further with him, he stood up, shouting: « Woe on this day and on my ever having wished to come here. Well, the father has wished a *viaticum* upon us, we can leave ». But he in a mild voice: « O man repent, for those you have killed, those whose light you have taken away, those you have reduced to poverty and exiled; put a stop to the desolation of the churches, the persecution of priests; lay by this your great presumption. Or do you despise the multitude of God's goodness and patience and forbearance (2)? Be not deceived (3); God will avenge, and he is not mocked ». The other says: « He who could give you any other answer, monk, would be as you are ». With these words he left.

But returning to him who had sent him, « Where, sire », said he, « did this insolent and arrogant monk find these things? If you give way to his arrogant words and accede to his suggestions, you will surely be furnishing the Saracens held in the *praetorium* with presents, and sending them home, as for those who

(1) MATH., 18, 23 - 25.

(2) Ro. 2, 4: ἡ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος, etc.

(3) Galatians, 6, 7: « Be not deceived; God is not mocked ».

διαβάλλειν τὰ ἡμέτερα. ἐξ οὗ καὶ διανοητικώτεροι ἡμῶν εἶναι φαντάζεσθε, ἐπεὶ, ὅτ' ἂν καιρὸς ἀγώνων ἐπέλθοι, καὶ γενναῖοι-  
 5 τεροι ὑμῶν καθεστήκαμεν καὶ ἐν φρονήσει ὑπέρτεροι. σὺ δὲ μοναχὸς ὢν, ὥς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει καὶ ἅγιος, ἡσύχαζε εἰς τὸ  
 καὶ γὰρ, ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ προείρηκας πάντων τὴν ἔκβασιν θεασά-  
 μενος ἀρκέσθητι, οὐδὲ χρεῖα σοι ἔτι τοῦ προλέγειν ἢ προσυπο-  
 μνήσκειν καὶ βουλομένῳ γενήσεται». « μὴ τι δέδοικας », ὁ πατήρ  
 ἔφη, « ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ τῆς καρδίας σου, ὥς ἴνα μὴ τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ  
 10 ἐνδομυχοῦσαν φιλαρχίαν στηλιτεύσω, καὶ τούτου χάριν προβάλλῃ  
 τούτοις (1) τοῖς ῥήμασιν ; ἰδοὺ προμαρτύρομαί σοι, ὥς οὐποτε τῶν  
 σῶν καταθυμίων τὴν περαιώσιν ἐπιτεύξῃ, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ  
 αὐτοκράτορος Λέοντος τελευτήσεις. τὸν θεὸν γὰρ τὸν ἅγιον  
 ἀρωγὸν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κεκτημένου, καταβαλεῖ (2) καὶ εἰς τέ-  
 15 λος ὀλέσει καὶ σὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειάν σου, καθὼς ἐμοὶ τῷ  
 ἐλαχίστῳ δεδήλωται ». καὶ ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν λόγον συναίρειν  
 ἐθέλοντος, ἀνέστη ἐκεῖνος κρᾶζων · « οὐαὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην  
 καὶ ὅτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἡβουλήθην ἐνθάδε ἐλθεῖν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐφω-  
 διάσεν ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπερχόμεθα ». ὁ δὲ πρᾶξι  
 20 φωνῇ πρὸς αὐτόν · « μετανόησον, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, εἰς οὗς ἔκτεινας,  
 τοῦ φωτὸς ἐστέρησας, ἐπτώχευσας (3), ὑπερώρισας · στήσον τὴν  
 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐρήμωσιν, τὴν τῶν ἱερέων ἐκδίωξιν · παῦσαι  
 τῆς τοιαύτης σου τόλμης. ἢ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς χρηστότητος καὶ  
 τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ; μὴ πλανῶ ·  
 25 θεὸς ἐκδικήσεών ἐστι καὶ οὐ μυκτηρίζεται ». ὁ δὲ λέγει · « ὁ ἔχων  
 σοι ἄλλο, καλόγηρε, ἀποκριθῆναι γενήσεται ὥσπερ σὺ ». οὕτως  
 εἰπὼν παρεθὺ ἀνεχώρησεν.

Ὑποστρέφας δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ἔφη · « ποῦ σοι, δέσ-  
 ποτα, ἐφεῦρεν (4) ὁ αὐθάδης καὶ ἀλαζὼν μοναχὸς οὗτος ; εἰ ταῖς  
 30 αὐτοῦ κομπορημοσύναις καὶ εἰσηγήσεσιν ὑπείκεις, τάχα ἂν καὶ

9 διαβολῇ c. 11 ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα B ταῦτα τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν V.<sup>2</sup>  
 17 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ B. 18-19 ἐφοδιάσεν c. 21 « ἐπτώχισας? ».  
 29 ἐφευρέθη B. 30 κομπορημοσύναις c.

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, B. I, p. 235.

(2) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 4, p. 240.

(3) Sophocles knows *πτωχεῖν* in this sense, single example from *Macar.* (P.G. 34, 848). Veis : « Keep the ms reading ».

(4) *τοιαῦτα* (e.g.) *ἐφεῦρεν* perhaps, or *ποιᾷ σοι ... ἐφεῦρεν*. Cf. *Rom.* 1, 30 : *ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν*. — also V. E. 138, 32.

are plotting against your life, and are the enemies of your reign, you will reward them with brilliant positions and conspicuous advancement. The like of this monk I have never in my life run into before. Would I had not run into him now. With no experience of affairs of this kind, he thinks he knows and understands everything. But your Majesty must know that if you do not ignore him and cast him down from his overweening conceit, never will he acquire humility, not the faintest notion of it. For he relies on your affection to live in arrogance ». But the emperor : « I know that he is in no way as you say, but on the contrary always continuing in piety and perfect humility, while ever bold for truth and justice. If, however, you are in ignorance how things are with him, hear from me ; the man is just and saintly ; one who, wrestling mightily, through long asceticism, has melted away the flesh, and, having purged his mind of the cares of matter, he has ever announced to me the future as though it were present, without a word failing of its fulfilment, of the things by him foretold to me. So that I consider that I possess, not the crown alone thanks to his prayers, but life itself. And unjust would I think it, after the refreshment he gave in the fiery furnace of my measureless griefs, then, when joy follows, to turn away and repudiate him, especially in presence of the effectual accomplishment you can see of his prayers and prophecies in my case. Well, I myself will see him with my own eyes, and learn the exact truth of it all ».

It was the feast of mid-Pentecost, and the emperor was in the church of St. Mocius-martyr, when, to his invitation, the father replied excusing himself, for he could not enter the town because

τοὺς ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ εἰργμένους Σαρακηνοὺς δωρήμασι παρα-  
 σχῶν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐπαποστείλαις, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ζωὴν σου ἐπι-  
 βουλεύοντας καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῆς σῆς βασιλείας ὑπάρχοντας λαμπροῖς  
 ἀξιώμασι καὶ προκοπαῖς ὑπερεχούσαις τιμήσεις. τοιοῦτον  
 5 οὐδαμῶς πώποτε συνέτυχον μοναχόν ὡς εἶθε μηδὲ τοῦτον  
 ἀρτίως· μήπω (1) γὰρ κἂν μικρὰν πεῖραν τῶν τοιούτων εἰληφώς  
 δοκεῖ καλῶς περὶ πάντων ἐπίστασθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. γνωστὸν  
 δὲ ἔστω τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐὰν μὴ παρὰ σου παρεωραθῇ καὶ  
 τῆς πολλῆς διαθέσεως ἐξωσθῇ, οὐποτε ταπεινώσιν τὴν κἂν  
 10 μέχρι ῥήματος ἐν ἑαυτῷ προσκτήσεται. ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ γὰρ ἐπερει-  
 δόμενος ἀγάπῃ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ διάγει». ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς· «οὐδα-  
 μῶς ἐπίσταμαι τοῦτον καθὼς σὺ λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ μᾶλλον  
 καὶ τελείᾳ ταπεινώσει πάντοτε διατελοῦντα, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀληθείας  
 καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἀεὶ ἀνθιστάμενον. εἰ δ' ἀγνοεῖς τὰ κατ' αὐτόν,  
 15 παρ' ἐμοῦ ἄκουσον· δίκαιος καὶ ἅγιός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὃς πολλῶ  
 ἀγῶνι καὶ μακρᾷ ἀσκήσει τὸ σῶμα κατατήξας καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς  
 ὕλης ἀποκαθάρας τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ὡς ἐνεστῶσι πάντοτέ μοι  
 διήγγελλεν, μηδὲ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μοι ῥηθέντων  
 διαμαρτόντος ῥήματος. ἐξ οὗ καὶ διανοοῦμαι μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 20 μόνην διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ζωὴν. οὐ  
 δίκαιον δὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἐν τῇ φλογώδει καμίνῳ τῶν ἀμετροτήτων  
 μου θλίψεων ἀναψυχὴν μοι παρασχόντα ἐν τῇ ἐπελθούσῃ χαρ-  
 μονῇ ἀποδυσπετεῖν τούτον καὶ ἀπαναίνεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα  
 τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ προρρήσεων ἐνεργῶς, ὡς ὀρᾷτε, ἐν ἐμοὶ  
 25 τελουμένων. τοίνυν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦτον ὀφύ-  
 μενος περὶ πάντων ἀκριβῶς ἀναμαθήσομαι».

Ἡ τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς ἐπέστη ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ (2)  
 τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Μωκίου τέμενος παρῆν· ὅτε καὶ παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ προσκληθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπελογήσατο τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν  
 30 τῇ πόλει εἰσιέναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρᾶττομένων ἀδι-

1 δωρήματα B.    2 ἐπαποστείλοις c.    τῇ ζωῇ B.    4-5 « τοιούτῳ  
 — μοναχῷ — τούτῳ? ».    κ' ἂν V.    8 παρὰ σοῦ παρεωραθῇ V.  
 9 κ' ἂν V.    11 ἀγάπῃ V.    15 ἅγιος ἐστιν V.    17 τὰ ἔμπροσθεν  
 ὡς ἐνεστῶτα B.    22-23 χαρμονῇ V.    23 « τοῦτον? ».    28 τεμέ-  
 νει B.

(1) μήπω. Cf. 22, 4.

(2) See Grammatical Notes, n° 4, p. 145.



of the multitude of injustices committed there. « It was better for me to continue in the quiet life dear to me than to speak in the ears of those that hear not ». The emperor listened to these things he had said, but remained silent. However, when Ascension came round, and all the Senate, nay more, all ages of the people were come with the sovereign and the new patriarch Stephen to the church of God's Mother at Pēgē, it came about that Euthymios was summoned, not by the emperor alone, but by the patriarch also, who sent word with objurgation for him to come. For he too loved him dearly. So he, albeit reluctantly, nonetheless went. When he was at hand, the monarch, as soon as he knew, went out to meet him, and with tears began to defend himself, swearing that all these things had been done regardless of his intentions, opinions or will; and having begged his forgiveness and obtained it, he invited him to the palace within the city. But when he saw he would not agree, he persuaded him, with difficulty, to stay to lunch. And urged again, during this lunch, to remove into the city, he would not consent, saying : « If hearing from afar of all the injustice that takes place upsets and grieves me, how much more here, seeing its victims, would I be cruelly grieved ». With this, and having spoken a few words to them, he bade them farewell and set out for St. Theodore's.

The sovereign returned to the palace, and Stylianos, also called Zaoutzes, fearing the father might have said something about what he had foretold to him, came to him next day, and said : « I know, sire, that your mouth-happy monk, possessed as he is by a spirit of conceit, and up to the prophetic tricks he has long made a habit of, will have produced information about me, lyingly telling your Majesty 'He is planning to seize power, to which end he showers on his friends and relations high posts and promotions'. For such was the insult he addressed to me, when I went out to see him. But truth be far from him; and in my opinion his great arrogance breeds these ideas, and he puts them into words ». And the emperor to him : « To me he neither said nor suggested any such

κινῶν. « κρείττον δέ μοι καθειστήκει τῇ φιλῇ ἡσυχία προσ-  
 καρτερεῖν, ἢ εἰς ὧτα μὴ ἀκούντων λέγειν ». τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων ἀκηκοὺς ἡσύχασεν. τῆς δὲ ἀγίας ἀναλή-  
 ψεως καταλαβούσης, καὶ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ μὴν καὶ  
 5 πάσης ἡλικίας σὺν τῷ ἄνακτι καὶ τῷ νέῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Στεφάνῳ ἐν  
 τῷ τῆς θεομήτορος νεῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ ἀφικνουμένων, ἐγένετο  
 καὶ τὸν πατέρα Εὐθύμιον προσκληθῆναι, οὐ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος δι' ἐπιτιμήσεως τὴν  
 εἰσέλευσιν ἀποστείλαντος. πολλὴν γὰρ κατὸς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγά-  
 10 πην ἐκέκτητο. ὁ δὲ καίπερ μὴ βουλόμενος, ὅμως δ' ἀπήει. τοῦ  
 δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αἰσθόμενος ὁ ἄναξ ἐξῆει αὐτὸν προσυπαντήσων  
 καὶ σύνδακρυς γενόμενος ἀπολογεῖσθαι ἀπήρξατο ἐξομνύμενος,  
 ὡς ἔξω τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλῆς γνώμης τε καὶ θελήσεως πάντα τὰ  
 συμβάντα γεγονέναι · συγγνώμην τε αἰτήσας παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 15 λαβὼν πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλεῖσις εἰσιέναι παρεκάλει. ὡς  
 δὲ μὴ συνθέμενον ἑώρα, συναριστῆσαι μόλις παρέπεισεν. καὶ ἐν  
 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσιέναι πάλιν ἐκλιπαρούμενος  
 οὐ κατένευσε λέγων · « εἰ ταῖς γινομέναις ἐκ μακρόθεν ἀδικίαις  
 ἀκούων ταράττομαι καὶ ἀνιῶμαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτοψὶ ὁρῶν  
 20 τοὺς ἡδικοημένους λίαν ἀλγυνθήσομαι ». οὕτως προσεῖπὼν καὶ  
 μικρόν τι προσομιλήσας αὐτοῖς καὶ συνταξάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον  
 ἀπήει Θεόδωρον.

Τοῦ οὖν ἄνακτος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις παλινοστήσαντος, δε-  
 δοικῶς Στυλιανός, ὁ καὶ Ζαούτζης, μήποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ  
 25 ἐξ ὧν προειρήκει τούτῳ ῥημάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἀκοαῖς ἐνέθηκεν,  
 εἰσελθὼν τῇ ἐπαύριον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « οἶδα, δέσποτα, ὅτι  
 ὁ στομοχαρὴς σου μοναχὸς πνεύματι οἰήσεως κρατούμενος, ὡς  
 ἔκπαλαι αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ταῖς προρρήσεσι φενακίζεσθαι, ἀναγγεῖλαι  
 εἶχεν κατ' ἐμοῦ ψευδηγορῶν τὴν βασιλείαν (1) σου, ὡς ὅτι « εἰς ἑαυτὸν  
 30 τὰ τῆς βασιλείας περιποιεῖσθαι διανοεῖται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς  
 αὐτοῦ οἰκείους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐπὶ μείζοσιν ἀξιώμασι καὶ προ-  
 κοπαῖς ἀναβιβάζει », ἅπερ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθον, κακῶς  
 εἶρκεν. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτον ἀληθεύειν · ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμοιγε  
 δοκεῖ, ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπάρσεως ταῦτα διανοούμενος φθέγγεται ».  
 35 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτόν · « ἐμοὶ μὲν τοιοῦτόν τι οὔτε προσεῖπεν

9 « ἐπιστείλαντος? »,  
 βασιλείᾳ B.

19 αὐτοψὲς c.

26 δεσποτα V.

29 τῇ

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, C, i, p. 236.

thing. But I would have you know this, anything he may have said to you will assuredly happen. For the man is a saint, greatly gifted with second sight. And if you wish to serve me, desire that you too may have part in his intercessions to God ». A few days later, [Zaoutzes] went out to pay his respects to the father, and, having kissed him on the mouth, spoke words of peace to him and asked his forgiveness, promising that everything would be put right. Then, taking leave of the father, and with his blessing as *viaticum*, he returned to the town, when he made a show of speaking (1) much good of him to the emperor.

#### IV. — How the father, entreated by the empress, entered the city

Just at this time the pious and most Christian empress, Theophano, leaving the palace for the church of God's Mother in Vlachernai, remained there in prayer and fasting, and proceeded thence to the holy shrine at Pēgē to pray. While there she visited our father Euthymios, and begged and prayed him to enter the city and return to the palace, saying that this would have two excellent results, the emperor's soul would be saved, and the victims of injustice protected. As she said this, the tears poured from her eyes, so that she persuaded this most compassionate of men to return, after two years and six months, to the palace ; and the emperor met him outside the gate called Silver and welcomed him gladly. And here he was received with joy by the sovereign and all the holy Senate and by the very patriarch himself, the venerable Stephen, and he abode for three days there. At which time the patriarch, Stephen, said to him : « Honoured father, the office of syncellus, given me by my father, being still lodged with me, I beg you to replace me in it, seeing you are the servant of God

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, C, I, p. 236.

οὔτε ἐπὶ μνήμης ἔφερε. τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκεις σε βούλομαι, ὥς εἰ  
 τι ἂν σοι εἰρήκει, βεβαίως γενήσεται. ἅγιος γάρ ἐστι καὶ διορα-  
 τικώτατος ὁ ἀνὴρ. καὶ εἰ θεραπεύειν με βούλει, θέλησον καὶ σὺ  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνειν ἐντεύξεων». ἐπὶ τούτοις μεθ'  
 5 ἡμέρας τινὰς τὸν πατέρα προσκυνήσων ἐξήει, κατὰ στόμα δὲ  
 ἀσπασάμενος τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐλάλησε καὶ συγγνώμην ἤτησεν  
 καὶ τὴν διόρθωσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ποιεῖν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συν-  
 ταξάμενος καὶ εὐχὰς εἰς ἐφόδιον λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀνέστρεψεν.  
 ὅτε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πολλὰ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγων κατεφαίνετο.

10

IV. — Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦ πατρὸς  
 διὰ τῶν τῆς αὐγούστης παρακλήσεων ἐλεύσεως

Τότε δὴ τότε ἡ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόχριστος βασιλὶς Θεοφανὸς  
 ἐκ τῶν βασιλειῶν (1) κατιοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Θεομήτορος τὸν  
 ἐν Βλαχέρναις νηστείας καὶ εὐχαῖς προσεκαρτέρει, ἐκεῖθεν τε  
 15 πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ ἱερὸν σηκὸν χάριν εὐχῆς ἀφίκετο· ὅτε καὶ  
 τῷ πατρὶ Εὐθυμίῳ ἐπισκεψαμένη ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσιέναι παρεκάλει  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνιέναι ἐδέετο, δύο τὰ κάλλιστα συμ-  
 βήσεσθαι λέγουσα, τὴν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ψυχικὴν σωτη-  
 ρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδικουμένων προμήθειαν. τούτων παρ' αὐτῆς  
 20 λεγομένων, δάκρυα ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κατέρρεον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 πείθει τὸν συμπαθέστατον μετὰ δυσὶ χρόνοις καὶ μηνσὶν ἐξ ἐν  
 τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνιέναι· ὅνπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξωθεν τῶν καλουμένων  
 Ἀργυρῶν πνλῶν προσυπήντα καὶ ἀσπασίως ἐδέχετο. ἐκεῖσε τοίνυν  
 παρὰ τε τοῦ ἀνακτος καὶ πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου, ναὶ μὴν καὶ  
 25 αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος <τοῦ> ἀοιδίμου Στεφάνου ἀσμένως  
 δεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις τοῖς ἐκεῖσε προσκαρτερεῖ. τότε καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔφη Στέφανος. «ὦ πάτερ τίμιε, ὥς ἐπ'  
 ἐμοὶ ἀκμὴν ὑπάρχον ἐκ πατρώου ὠρεᾶς τὸ τοῦ συγκέλλου ἀξίωμα,

8 λαβων V. 16 τῷ πατρὶ Εὐθυμίῳ c. 17 κάλλιστα c. 21 δύο  
 χρόνους καὶ μῆνας εἰς B.

(1) βασιλειῶν constant throughout ms. See *Grammatical Notes*, 6, p. 242.

and our spiritual father. May it please you to accede to our request without making any objection, it gives no trouble or bother. It is a good [office], a sinecure. There is nothing against it ». When the archbishop had said this, the emperor also assented, and said the same, and earnestly begged the father to agree. Whereupon he, completely guileless, lets himself be persuaded and receives the rank of syncellus, and, after remaining with the patriarch in the great church of the Wisdom of God three more days, took his leave and departed.

But as time passed without the father's ever coming to town, though he was asked often enough, but always put it off, the monarch, eager to see him often, became grieved and charged Zaoutzes with looking into the matter. And he, having warned him and received no answer, wrote as follows: « Apparently, father, it has escaped your Holiness' notice that you too are now a dignitary of the realm, and you must not, any more than the rest of us who, with you, make up the Senate, fail to participate in the regular ceremonies. Do not persist in mocking the state with this prolonged retirement, showing your contempt of the rulers themselves. It is sufficient for you to remain in retirement during the holy and venerable season of Lent only. Or have you not read Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's (1)? For it is preferable for you to be seen daily by the rulers, and stimulate them profitably, rather than do harm by your slackness. Farewell, respected father, and correct your fault in this matter ». When he read this the father was annoyed, and next day came to town, and cried out before the emperor « A fine thing you did to me, reducing this holy ministry and habit to uselessness by making me one of the Senate, and on top of that requiring of me participation in ceremonies. So this is what you

(1) Мк., 12, 17.



σὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔλθεῖν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ προτρέπομαι ὥς ἅτε θεοῦ δούλῳ ὄντι (1) καὶ πνευματικῷ ἡμῶν πατρὶ ὑπάρχοντι. μὴ τὴν οἰανοῦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀναβολὴν ποιούμενος ὑπεῖξαι τῇ ἡμῶν ἀξιῳσει θέλησον, μηδέπω (2) ἐκ τούτου σκυλμὸν ἢ παρενόχλησιν τὴν οἰανοῦν δεχο-  
 5 μένου σου. καλὸν γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἄβαρὲς καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον τὸ πρᾶγμα». τούτων δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως λεγομένων, καὶ ὁ βασι-  
 λεὺς συνενδόκει καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λέγων κατένευε καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν τὸν πατέρα διεμαρτύρατο. ἐπὶ τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ λίαν ἄκακος τῷ τοῦ συγκλήλου κοσμεῖται ἀξιῳματι καὶ σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ  
 10 ἐν τῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας μεγάλῳ ναῷ ἐν ἑτέραις τρισὶν ἡμέ-  
 ραις προσκαρτερήσας, συνταξάμενος τοῦτον ἐξῆει.

Χρόνον δὲ παρωχηκότος, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦ πατρὸς μὴ εἰσιόν-  
 τος, καίπερ πολλάκις προσκληθέντος, καὶ ἀναβαλλομένου, ἥσ-  
 χαλλεν ὁ ἀναξ ἐπὶ συχνῷ τούτον βλέπειν ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ  
 15 Ζαούτζῃ τὰ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀνατίθησιν. ὁ δὲ δηλοποιῶν τούτον (3)  
 καὶ μὴ ἀκουόμενος διὰ γραφῆς ἀποστέλλει τάδε· «ὥς ἔοικε,  
 πάτερ, ἔλαθεν τῇ (4) ἀγιοσύνῃ σου, ὅτι βασιλικῷ ἀξιῳματος καὶ  
 τὸς μέτοχος γέγονας, καὶ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, οἱ σὺν σοὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ  
 συγκλήτῳ καταλεγέντες, οὕτως καὶ σὺ ὀφείλεις τοῦ μὴ καθυ-  
 20 στερεῖν τῶν ἐκ τύπου προελεύσεων. μήτε τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπὶ πολλὰ  
 προσκαρτερῶν καταπαλίζης τῆς βασιλείας καταφρονῶν καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τῶν βασιλευόντων. αὐταρκες γάρ ἐστὶ σοὶ τὸ μόνην τὴν ἁγίαν  
 καὶ μεγάλην ἡσυχάζειν τεσσαρακοστήν. ἢ οὐκ ἀνέγνως τό·  
 ἀπόδοτε τὰ καίσαρος καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ; κρεῖττον  
 25 γάρ ἐστὶ σοὶ παρὰ τῶν βασιλευόντων καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ  
 τούτους διεγείρειν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἢ καθυστεροῦντα τὸν ὄλισθον  
 ἐμποιεῖν. ἔρρωσο, τίμιε πάτερ, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφάλμα σου διορ-  
 θούμενος». ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ πατὴρ ἀνέγνω, ἡνιάθη καὶ τῇ ἐπαύ-  
 ριον ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσῆει. ὅτε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατεβόα λέγων·  
 30 «καλὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πεποιήκατε εἰς ἀχρεϊωσύνην τῆς τε  
 ἱερουργίας καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου σχήματος συναρίθμιόν με τῆς  
 συγκλήτου καταστήσαντες, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ προελεύσεις ἀπαιτού-

1 δούλῳ ὄντι καὶ πνευματικῷ ἡμῶν πατρὶ ὑπάρχοντι c. 4 μὴ δέπω  
 V. 11 τούτῳ B. 13-14 ἥσχαλεν c. 17 τῇ ἀγιοσύνῃ c.  
 25 γάρ ἐστι V. 29· τοῦ βασιλέως? οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ? ».

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, p. 234.

(2) Cf. 16, 6.

(3) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, p. 236-7 & 238..

(4) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, B, IV, p. 236.

meant by your protestations that it was good and there was nothing against it? Well, I here inform you that I am going, leaving you your office ; for never was it of any use to me, nor ever will be ». But the most gracious monarch, softening him with kindly words, said : « Oh father, if we had not done this we would not have seen your noble character ». So having eaten with the emperor, and taken leave of the empress, and agreed to come every month, he left for his monastery of St. Theodore the martyr.

After these events it happened that the emperor falling ill sent more often for the father to talk to him, and even when he was leaving would send urgently to summon him, sometimes indeed the messengers would arrive at unseasonable hours and at midnight, with torches and lamps and carrying the key of the door, to fetch him. But the emperor, knowing the length of the road and recognising that his living outside the city was inexpedient, says to him : « Father, if it is agreeable to your Holiness, I will give you the monastery of St. Sergios, so that, living near us and being our neighbour, you may be inseparable from us here ». On hearing this, the father refused (1) saying: « God forbid that ever I should water another's plantation (2) ; but if it is the pleasure of your God-given majesty to care for my humility, raise up for me from the very foundations the monastery you promise. For I cannot insinuate myself into the place where another has toiled and laboured, scatter the rules he has before drawn up, and divert his work to the channels of my laws and rules, nor would I be pleased to have it happen to me at another's hand. And now consider whether it be agreeable to your majesty to build a monastery in the place where I have settled ; for in the city as quiet a place is impossible to find ». Then the emperor : « It is not possible for you to live outside the city when I am continually asking for you ; I desire that the monastery which, after God, we have

(1) See *Index graecitatis*, s.v. ἀναβάλλομαι.

(2) Cf. *I Cor.*, 3, 6. I have planted, Apollos watered ; but God gave the increase.

μενον. ταῦτά εἰσιν, ἃ διεμαρτύρασθε, καλὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον τὸ πρᾶγμα ; γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω σοι, ἐνταῦθα τοῦτο ἔασας ἀπέρχομαι · οὐποτε γὰρ ἔμοι χρεία τούτου γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε γενήσεται ». ὁ δὲ γλυκύτατος ἄναξ προσηγήσει ῥήμασι καταπραΰνας τοῦτον ἔφη ·

5 « ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μὴ οὕτως πεποιήκαμεν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν σὸν τίμιον χαρακτῆρα ἐβλέπομεν ». ὁμοέσθιος (1) τοίνυν τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονώς συνταξάμενός τε τῇ ἀγούσῃ καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ εἰσιέναι συνθέμενος οὕτως ἐξῆι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου μονὴν αὐτοῦ.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀρρωστήσαντι συνέβαινε τὸν πατέρα 10 συνεχέστερον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιζητεῖσθαι καὶ συνομιλεῖν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐξιόντι ἀποστέλλειν διὰ τάχους καὶ προσκαλεῖσθαι τοῦτον (2), ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἁωρὶ καὶ μεσονυκτίου μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων ἐξερχόμενοι οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι καὶ τὴν κλεῖν τῆς πόρτης ἐπιφερόμενοι ἐλάμβανον. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μήκος ὁ

15 βασιλεὺς ἦσθετο καὶ τὸ ἔξω πόλεως κατοικεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ συμφέρον εἶναι διέγνω, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν · « ὦ πάτερ, εἰ ἀρεστὸν τῇ ἀγίωσύνῃ σου πέφυκε, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου μονὴν παρέξω σοι, ὅπως πλησιοχωροῦντός σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ γειτνιαζόντος ἀχώριστος τῶν ὧδε τυγχάνης ». τούτων ὁ πατὴρ ἀκηκοὺς ἀνε-

20 βάλλετο, « μὴ γένοιτο », λέγων, « ἐπὶ ξένης φυτείας ποτὲ ἀρδεῦσαί με · ἀλλ' εἰ ἔστιν ἐράσμιον τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλείᾳ σου τοῦ θεραπεῦσαι τὴν ἐμὴν ταπεινώσιν, ἀπὸ βάθρων αὐτῶν θέλησον μονὴν ἀνεγείραί μοι, ἣν ὑπισχνῇ δωρήσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις κόποις καὶ καμάτοις τοῖς προτυπω-

25 θεῖσιν ἐμὲ ὑπεισελθεῖν, καὶ τούτους μὲν διασκεδάσαι, ἰδίους δὲ θεσμοῖς καὶ κανόσι μετοχετεύσασθαι, ὥσπερ οὔτε παρ' ἐτέρου ἔμοι τούτου προσγινομένου ἡσμένισα ἄν. καὶ εἰ ἀρεστὸν τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ καθέξομαι τόπῳ κατασκευάσαι μονὴν διανοήθητι · ἡσυχώτερον γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει εὔρασθαι ἀμήχανον ».

30 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς · « οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστιν », ἔφη, « ἔξω πόλεως διάγειν σε ἐπὶ συχρῶ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιζητούμενον · ἔφεσις δέ μοι

7 ἀγούστη V.

29 εὐρᾶσθαι c.

(1) ὁμοέσθιος, again p. 146, 13.

(2) Note the construction.

planned for you, should be in town, near to the sea-shore, so I may often be with you and your companions. But if, through the merit of your prayers, God prospers me and restores my strength, we will fulfil your plan according to your desire». So the emperor, having agreed with him, or, rather, given him his promise, feeling somewhat better, sent him from the palace.

But when, by the father's good advice and prayers, through repentance, he threw off the illness, he made his confession in the church of God's Mother at Vlachernai, singing the: « When, Lord, at thy dread judgment-seat stands the guilty wretch », in the hearing of all and shedding fervent tears, thereby regaining his physical and spiritual health. And returning by sea to the palace, he looked round on every side, considering, and putting question upon question, whether there were any suitable site to be found in town for a monastery, somewhere quiet, away from noise and bustle, till Vahan, the first mime, without even letting him finish what he was saying, said: « If you are intending, sire, to found a monastery, there simply is not anywhere suitable but Katakoilas' property, near the Studites monastery, the quietest most pleasant of places ».

#### V. — Establishment of the new monastery at Psamathia.

Without waiting, the emperor set out eagerly and came to the place indicated. In admiration at its beauty and peace he sends immediately to summon the father. To whom, as soon as he saw him, and having paid his customary homage, he said « Look, holy father, God willing, here is the place of your rest » (1). But he with his habitual words (2): « The will of the Lord be done », began by entering the church to pray. There, in the apse, he found this inscription (3): « The latter glory of this

(1) *Is.*, 66, 1.

(2) *Acts*, 21, 14.

(3) *HAGGAI*, 2, 9.

ἐστὶν τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ μετὰ θεὸν παρ' ἡμῶν φροντιζόμενόν σοι μοναστήριον πρὸς παράλιόν τε γειτνιάζειν, ὅπως ἐπὶ συχνῷ πρὸς σέ καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παραγίνωμαι. ὁμως θεοῦ εὐδοδοῦντος διὰ τῶν σῶν τιμίων εὐχῶν καὶ τὴν ῥῶσιν παρέχοντος, 5 τὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ θελήσεώς σου ἐκπληρώσομεν». οὕτως αὐτὸν συνθέμενος ἢ μᾶλλον συνταξάμενος τῶν βασιλείων ἀπέλυε κομψότερόν πως ἔχων.

Ὅτε δὲ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν διὰ μετανοίας τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς καλοσυμβουλίᾳ καὶ εὐχῇ ἀπετινάξατο, τότε καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ἐν τῷ 10 τῆς θεομήτορος ναῷ τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις πεποιήκει, τό · « ὡς ἐνώπιον, κύριε, τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματός σου ἐστὼς ὁ κατάκριτος », εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἐπαδῶν καὶ θερμὰ προχέων δάκρυα, δι' ὧν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ῥῶσιν ἐδέξατο. τούτου δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις παλινοστοῦντος καὶ τῇδε κἀ- 15 κείσε περισκοποῦντος καὶ διανοουμένου καὶ ἐρωτήσῃ τὴν ἐρώτησιν προστιθέντος, εἴ που ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδειότητα τόπον (1) πρὸς μονὴν ἐφεύροίτο ἀπωκισμένον τῶν θορύβων καὶ ἡσυχον, Βαάννης, ὁ ἐξοχώτατος σκηνικός, μήτε τὴν τοῦ λόγου πληρῶσιν προσδεξάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « εἰ βουλῆς ἔχεις, δέσποτα, κα- 20 τασκεύασαι μοναστήριον, οὐχ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀρμόδιος τόπος ἐστὶν σοι, ἢ τὸ τοῦ Κατακοίλα οἰκοπροάστειον, πλησιοχωροῦν μὲν τὴν τῶν Στουδίων μονήν, τερπνότατον δὲ πάνυ καὶ ἡσυχον ».

#### V. — Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ νέας μονῆς συστάσεως

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μὴ μελλήσας ἐκεῖσε τὸ ὄρημα ἔστησε (2) καὶ 25 τὸν δηλωθέντα κατειλήφει τόπον. εἰς δὲ τὸ περικαλλές καὶ ἡσυχον ἀγασθεὶς παρευθὺ ἀποστέλλει καὶ τὸν πατέρα προσκαλεῖται. ὃν ἰδὼν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθνους προσκύνῃσιν ἀπονείμας ἔφη · « ἰδοὺ, πάτερ ἄγιε, σὺν θεῷ καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς σου ». Ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐκ συνηθείας αὐτῷ ῥῆμα προσειπὼν, « τὸ θέλημα τοῦ 30 κυρίου γενέσθω », ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρότερον εὐχῆς χάριν εἰσήει. εὗρεν δὲ ἐν τῷ μύακι ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν · « καὶ ἔσται

3 τοὺς B.      5 αὐτῷ B.      6 βασιλείων B.      11 « κύριε in first hand, above the line ».      16 ἐπιτηδειότατον τόπον V<sup>2</sup>.      17 « ἀπωκισμένου? »      17-18 Βαάνης B.      21 Κατακοίλα c.      22 τῇ... μονῇ B.      24 μελήσας c.      25 περικαλές c.

(1) Cf. Ps.-Sym. 623, 1 : ἐπιτηδειότητα κτίσεως and Job. 26, 30 : ἰσότητα σκηνῆς.

(2) τὸ ὄρημα ἔστησε. See p. 68, 7.



house shall be greater than the former, saith the Lord of hosts ». Rejoicing greatly at this, he went out to the emperor saying : « It is right, sire, to obey your orders and receive your decisions as emanating from the will and providence of God. For the king's heart is in the hand of God (1). But since you have often chosen my poor self when you wished to deliberate and make arrangements for the Church's fame, greatness and dignity, this emboldens me to beg of you that the prophecy written of old on the walls of this church may be fulfilled. Enlarge and embellish, make shine with (2) the brightness of pillars and marbles and mosaics, this church dedicated to the holy, wonder-working Anargyres, Cosmas and Damian, and bearing besides, in the chapels to either side, the names of the Forerunner and the Archangel ». Then the emperor : « Formerly you said the church was to be founded in the name of the Mother of God and of Clement the much-enduring, what is it to be now ? » Then the other to him : « I was speaking from my own desire ; but whatever God who with you is co-ruler puts into your mind, is agreeable to me ». With these words, much delighted by the site, and with many blessings on the emperor, he set out for St. Theodore's.

The emperor, however, returned to the palace, and sent immediately to those who were to oversee the job, ordering work to begin according to instructions, and he went frequently to see the work, and settled all questions concerning the job. It was then that some of Katakoilas' family went to the father and told how he had been exiled and his goods confiscated by Zaoutzes, and how he had been made a monk reluctantly and against his will. « The very monastery the emperor is now preparing for you, he owned, having bought it himself, but it was seized with all his possessions, just as they did with his villa on the Straits, called Agathos' villa. But if, holy father, you are strong enough to reconcile him with the emperor, his life, his breath, are in your

(1) *Prov.*, 21, 1.

(2) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 5, p. 241.

ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ». ἐπὶ τούτῳ λίαν εὐφρανθεὶς ἐξῆλει τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων· «καλὸν μὲν ἐστίν, ὦ δέσποτα, τὸ ὑπείκειν τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασι καὶ τὰ σοὶ δόξαντα ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ βουλῆς τε καὶ προ-  
 5 νοίας δέχεσθαι. καρδία γὰρ βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις τὴν ἡμῶν ἐδτέλειαν προέκρινας τοῦ διασκέψασθαι καὶ διευθετῆσαι περὶ τε τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀνόματος, μεγέθους τε καὶ σχήματος, τούτου εἵνεκα θαρρῶν αἰτοῦμαι σε, ὅπως ἡ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ ἔκπαλαι προγεγραμμένη προφητεία πληρωθῇ,  
 10 καὶ τοῦτον μεγεθύνας καὶ κατακοσμήσας λαμπρύνῃς ἐν τε κίωνων καὶ μαρμάρων στιλπνότησι καὶ μουσουργικοῖς καλλωπίσμασι, τὴν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θαυματουργῶν Ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ τε καὶ Δαμιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ἔχοντα, ὡσαύτως καὶ τῶν τῇδε καθεῖσε εὐκτηρίων (1) τοῦ τε Προδρόμου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου τὴν  
 15 κλῆσιν φέροντα». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «ὥς δὲ πρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος τὸν ναὸν ἔλεγες κατασκευασθῆναι ὀνόματι καὶ τοῦ πολυάθλου Κλήμεντος, τί ἀρτίως ἄρα γενήσεται;» ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· «τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐμῆς θελήσεως ἐξεῖπον· ὥς δὲ θεὸς ὁ συμβασιλεύων σοι ἐν τῇ σῇ διανοίᾳ ἐμβαλεῖ, ἐράσμιόν μοι ἐστίν».  
 20 ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ σφόδρα ἐπευφρανθεὶς, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ἐπευξάμενος, πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Θεόδωρον ἐξῆει.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὑποστρέψας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστατεῖν† τοῦ ἔργου προχειρίσας παρενθὺ τε ἀποστείλας, ἀπαρχεσθαι τούτοις τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν παρε-  
 25 κεύετο, ἐπὶ συχνῷ ἐκεῖσε ἀπερχόμενος καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν διευθετῶν. τότε δὴ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κατακόλα συγγενῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐξήεσαν τὴν ὑπερορίαν καὶ δήμευσιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ζαούτζη ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ δηλοῦντες, καὶ ὡς ἄκοντα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον μοναχὸν τοῦτον κατέστησαν. «ἀλλὰ  
 30 καὶ τὸ ἀρτίως παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασκευαζόμενόν σοι μοναστήριον ἐξ οἰκείας ἀγορᾶς τὴν κυριότητα ἔχοντι μετὰ πάντων ἀφείλαντο, ὡσαύτως καὶ τῷ ἐν τῷ Στενῷ αὐτοῦ προαστείῳ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ καλουμένῳ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πέπραχαν. ὁμοως, ὅγιε πάτερ, εἰ ἐστίν σοι ἰσχὺς συνοψῆσαι τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἡ

13 ὡς αὐτως c.      15 «φερόντων?»      22 «τοὺς ἐπιστατεῖν τοῦ  
 ἔργου ὀφείλοντας προχειρίσας?»      26 Κατακόλα c.      32 ὡς αὐτως c.  
 «τῷ] τὰ c.      33 καλουμένῳ V.      τὰ αὐτὰ B.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, p. 237-8.

hand. Only, if you can, help him ». But he, when he had heard this, wrote in his own hand to the emperor as follows : « To Leo, the pious emperor and autocrat, Euthymios, the least of men. That your righteous majesty is from the depths of your heart kindly disposed towards me, not your words alone, but your deeds, have ever assured me, and particularly now the foundation of the new monastery at Psamathia. Wherefore we have an unceasing obligation to pray for your majesty, those of us who remain here and those who go there. But your most learned majesty is not, I know, ignorant that our common father St. John Chrysostom, declared (1) that sacrifices of plunder are to God as he who sheds the blood of a beloved son, and God turns, he said, from such an offering and has it in abomination. Now therefore, if it be altogether your majesty's wish to care for me in my lowliness, let the owner of the land where you have built me this monastery be recalled from exile, let him be reconciled with your majesty, receive the just price thereof and surrender his deeds of title. Without this it is impossible for us to leave here and move to the new monastery. Farewell, God-instituted monarch ». On receiving this, and having made himself acquainted with the tenor of what was written, with the monk who had brought the letter still standing there, « This request too », quoth the emperor, « I, your son, will fulfil, holy father ». And forthwith he ordered Leo Katakoilas to be recalled from exile.

But Stylianos Zaoutzes was annoyed at all this, and privately furious with the holy father. And, finding him one day in the palace, he said : « You must not, father, look after the emperor's enemies in this way and obtain their reconciliation. It is not right from you, his spiritual father whose business it is to care for his safety (2) and salvation ». But he rather inveighed against Zaoutzes, for doing things the Christian condition forbids, making the putting on of this holy dress a prescribed punishment and penalty, and giving evil men opportunity to do so. « And God,

(1) CHRYS., *Opp. Tom. VII*, 537<sup>b</sup> [MONTFAUCON]. D.B.

(2) *σωτηρία* with play on the two meanings.

πνοή αὐτοῦ καὶ ζωὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστιν · μόνον, εἴ τι δύνασαι, βοή-  
 θησον αὐτῷ ». ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας γράφει οἰκαιοχείρως τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 οὕτως · « Λέοντι τῷ εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι ὁ ἐλά-  
 χιστος Εὐθύμιος · τὴν τῆς σῆς, ὦ δέσποτα, δικαίας βασιλείας  
 5 ἐκ στέρνου καρδίας πρὸς με διάθεσιν οὐ μόνον ἐκ λόγων,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἔργων πεπληροφόρηκας, καὶ πάντοτε μὲν, ἐξαιρέτως  
 δὲ τὰ νῦν εἰς τὴν τῆς νέας μονῆς τοῦ Ψαμαθία κατασκευήν. διὸ  
 καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως χρεωστικῶς τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑπερευχόμεθα,  
 ὅσοι τε φοιτῶμεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὅσοι ἐκείσε μέλλομεν. μὴ ἀγ-  
 10 νοεῖν δὲ τῇ σοφωτάτῃ βασιλείᾳ σου ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τὰς ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς  
 τῷ θεῷ προσφερόμενας θυσίας, ὥς ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα νιού ἀγα-  
 πητοῦ, ὁ κοινὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος διεμαρ-  
 τύρατο καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ βδελύττεσθαι τὸν θεὸν τὴν τοιαύ-  
 την προσφορὰν ἔφησεν. τοίνυν εἰ ὅλως ἐφετόν ἐστι τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 15 σου τοῦ τὴν ἐμὴν θεραπεῦσαι ταπεινώσιν, ὁ τοῦ τόπου κύριος  
 τῆς παρὰ σοῦ μοι κατασκευαζομένης μονῆς τῆς ὑπερορίας ἀνα-  
 κληθῆτω καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου συνοψηθῆτω τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δι-  
 καίαν τιμὴν ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ τοῖς (1) αὐτοῦ χαρτῶις δικαιώ-  
 μασιν ἀποδώσων. τούτων γὰρ μὴ γινομένων, ἀδύνατόν ἐστι  
 20 τῶν ἐνθάδε ἡμᾶς ἀποστῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν νεοκατάσκευον μονὴν  
 μετοικισθῆναι. ἔρρωσο, δέσποτα θεοπρόβλητε ». ταῦτα δεξά-  
 μενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιγινούς,  
 ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείσε παρισταμένον τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποκομίσαντος  
 μοναχοῦ · « καὶ ταύτην », ἔφη, « τὴν αἴτησιν τὸ σὸν τέκνον, ὦ  
 25 πάτερ ἄγιε, ἐκπληρώσω ». καὶ παρευθὺν Λέοντι τῷ Κατακόιλᾳ  
 ἀνακληθῆναι τῆς ὑπερορίας προσέταξεν.

Στυλιανὸς δέ, ὁ καὶ Ζαούτζης, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἤχθετο καὶ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἁγίῳ πατρὶ ἐμήνιεν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι  
 εὐρὼν ἔφη · « μὴ οὕτως, πάτερ, τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθροῖς προ-  
 30 νοοῦ καὶ κατάλλαττε. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρμόζει σοι, πνευματικῷ  
 τούτου πατρὶ ὄντι καὶ τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐπιμελουμένῳ ». ὁ δὲ  
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπεβοᾶτο ὥς ἀθέμιτα τῆς χριστιανικῆς κατα-  
 στάσεως πράττοντα, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου σχήματος περιβολὴν εἰς

5 ἐκ στέρνους καρδίας c. στέρνου καὶ κ. B. 10 τῇ σοφωτάτῃ βασιλείᾳ c.  
 \* ὥς ὁ τὰς — προσφερόμενος? \* 18-19 τὰ αὐτοῦ χαρτῶα δικαιώματα B.  
 25 Λέοντι τῷ κατακόιλᾳ c. 30 κατάλλαττε c. 30 πνευματικῷ V.

the holy One, because he is merciful, bears with your presumptuousness, but a time comes when he will also avenge». With these words he left him and departed.

All having, then, been arranged in accordance with the father's wishes, or rather turned out according to the will of God, the building of the church finished, and all the edifice completed, the emperor, who was warmly disposed towards the father, sent, urging his entry into the monastery. But he sent back reply to him : «Your majesty must know that the dedication of the church there is traditionally celebrated on the sixth of May, as they told us there. Since that day is near, we will both celebrate it and inaugurate our own entry, having set out from here in solemn procession we will reach the church, your great Majesty being present, as well as the venerable patriarch who will solemnise the changing of the holy Table on the same day, it being too small». The benign monarch then, having promised to fulfill all the father's wishes, paid the new monastery at Psamathia a visit, to look it over and see that all was in order ; then, after giving the appropriate orders, and having supplied what was missing, he returned to the palace.

The month of May arrived, and the father wrote to the emperor announcing the date of the inauguration. On the evening before he summoned all the monks living nearby, from the monastery of God's Mother at Pēgē and from St. Avramios, and watched the whole night in prayer and thanksgiving, continuing in the singing of hymns till dawn, nor could he restrain his tears as he implored God in his mercy, through the mediation of the martyred Theodore, to perfect his new-built monastery and preserve it unharmed from the attacks of its enemies. With torchbearers supplied by the emperor, they set out in procession, the Sign of victory leading, and the holy Gospel making (1) their ways straight, all chanting and singing hymns. At Psamathia, at the new-built monastery, they halted when they had reached the holy shrine of the Anargyres. Then one might have seen the emperor, for very joy, as he came to meet them, shedding

(1) Cf. Is., 40, 3 and Synoptics.



ποινάλιον κόλασιν προκεῖσθαι ποιήσας καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς χώραν τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦτο παρασχών. « καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος φιλόανθρωπος ὢν ἀνέχεται σου τῆς θρασύτητος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐκδικήσει ». οὕτως εἰπὼν καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἐξῆει.

5 Πάντων οὖν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς θέλησιν κατευθυνθέντων, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν γεγονότων, τῆς τε τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς ἐκπληρωθείσης, καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκοδομῆς τελειωθείσης, θερμῶς πως ὁ βασιλεὺς διακεῖμενος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν εἰσέλευσιν προτρέπομενος τὴν πρὸς τὴν μονὴν ἐδήλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀντι-  
10 δηλοῖ αὐτῷ · « γινώσκέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, ὥς ἡ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ναοῦ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαῖου ἑκτη εἴωθεν γίνεσθαι, καθὼς παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε μεμαθήκαμεν. ταύτης τοίνυν ἐφeskτώσης, καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἔλευσιν σὺν αὐτῇ ἐγκαινίζοντες, μετὰ λιτανείας τῶν ὧδε ἀπάραντες πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλευσόμεθα, δηλονότι καὶ τῆς  
15 σῆς κραταιᾶς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ διουδίου πατριάρχου παραγενομένου καὶ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τῆς θείας τραπέζης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ σμικρότητα μεταλλάττοντος ». ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀναξ ποιεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ θελήσεως συνθέμενος πρὸς τῇ νέᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία κατοπεύσων καὶ ἐπισκεψόμενος παρε-  
20 γένητο · καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα παρακελευσάμενος τά τε ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρώσας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ὑπέστρεφεν.

Μαῖος ἐνίστατο μὴν, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δι' οἰκειογράφου δηλώσεως ὁ πατὴρ τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἐμφανίζει ἐόρτιον ἡμέραν. ἀφ' ἐσπέρας δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς πλησιοχωροῦν-  
25 τας μοναχοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ τῆς Θεομήτορος καὶ τοὺς τῆς τοῦ Ἀβραμίου μονῆς, ὁλονύκτιος δεήσεσι καὶ ἀγρύπνοις δοξολογίαις διανυκτερεύων, μέχρι πρωτῆς τὴν ὑμνωδίαν ἐκτελῶν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, δάκρυσιν ἀκατασχέτοις τὸν φιλοικτιρμονα θεὸν ἱκετεύων τὸν τε μάρτυρα Θεόδωρον μεσίτην προβαλλόμενος τοῦ  
30 καταρτίσαι καὶ ἀπήμονα διατηρεῖν τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων προσβολῆς τὴν νεοκατάσκευον μονὴν αὐτοῦ. βασιλικῆς δὲ φωταγωγίας παρασχεθείσης, καὶ τοῦ τροπαιοφόρου σημείου προάγοντος, τοῦ τε ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τὰς τρίβους αὐτῶν εὐθείας ἀπεργαζομένου, μετὰ λιτανείας ἀπάραντες, πάντων ἡδόντων, πάντων  
35 ὑμνολογούντων, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία νεοκατασκευῇ μονῇ ἐπέστησαν καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀναργύρων ἱερὸν σηκὸν κατέλαβον. ἦν δὲ βλέπειν ἐκ περιχαρείας τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τούτοις προσυπαν-

sweet tears on the ground. For he too, having summoned the chosen band of the Studites, had passed the night in vigil and thanksgiving, and now received them on their arrival, and with him his Holiness the patriarch Stephen, who, though he seemed young in years, yet was he perfect in understanding, piety and ever increasing virtue.

#### VI. — The dedication of the monastery and the monarch's provision for it

When the consecration of the church and celebration of the mysteries were completed, the father would not leave the church, nor eat with the emperor, affirming that he would not go forth from it till forty days had passed. Nor did he. And the emperor, much pleased with everything and fortified by the father's prayers, returned to the palace. But Stephen, the venerable patriarch, remained for three days to participate in the celebrations, then, bidding the father farewell, he too left. During these days our blessed father's strivings are beyond any tongue or pen to describe. For he partook of neither wine nor oil, no, not even fruit or vegetables, nothing had he to fill him but the priest's daily distribution of eulogies, and water twice a week. Nor even did he lie on his side. But when the fortieth day was come, and they had finished singing the early morning service, before yet the prayer customarily heard from him was finished, in great compunction, he began with tears to cry out from the depths of his heart for all to hear, saying; « I thank thee, merciful Lord, rich provider of all good gifts, compassionate, pitiful. Who am I, unworthy, least of men, that thou shouldst thus richly pour on my lowliness and unworthiness thy immense compassion? Stay the floods of thy measureless bounty. Circumscribe thy boundless gifts. Here let the rich abundance of thy compassion be stayed, let it go no

τῶντα καὶ γλυκέα κατὰ γῆν στάζοντα δάκρυα. καὐτὸς γὰρ τῶν  
 Στουδιῶν τοὺς λογάδας προσκαλεσάμενος ἄγρυπνόν τε δοξολο-  
 γίαν ἐκπεράνας τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξεδέχετο παρουσίαν, σὺν τούτῳ  
 δὲ καὶ Στέφανος, ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης, ὁ νέος μὲν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ  
 5 πεφηνώς, τέλειος δὲ τῇ φρονήσει ἔν τε εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῶν  
 ἐπιδόσει.

VI. — Περὶ τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἐγκαινίων  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνακτος παροχῶν.

Τῆς τοίνυν ἐνθρονίσεως τοῦ θείου ναοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μυστα-  
 10 γωγίας τελεσθείσης, οὐκ εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατήρ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξιέναι  
 οὔτε τῷ βασιλεῖ συναριστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τῆς τεσσαρακονθη-  
 μέρου συμπληρώσεως μὴ ἐξέρχεσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ ἔλεγεν · ὁ δὲ  
 καὶ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλως ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εὐφρανθεὶς  
 καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχαῖς ἐφοδιασθεὶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνῆει.  
 15 Στέφανος δὲ ὁ ἀοίδιμος πατριάρχης ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεορ-  
 τάσων· συνταξάμενος καὐτὸς ἀπήει. ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις  
 οἶον αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ὁ παμμάκαρ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἐνεδείξατο Εὐθύμιος  
 ἀπορεῖ πᾶς τις τοῦ τε λέγειν καὶ γράφειν. οὔτε γὰρ οἶνον οὐκ  
 ἐλαίου μετελάμβανεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε μέχρι ὀπώρας, ἢ ὀσπρέου, εἰ μὴ  
 20 μόνη τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καθ' ἐκάστην παρεχομένη τούτῳ εὐ-  
 λογία σὺν ὕδατι ἐπαρκούμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δις τῆς ἐβδομάδος ·  
 οὔτε μὴν ἐπὶ πλευροῦ ἐκάθευδεν. τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέρας  
 καταλαβούσης, καὶ τῆς ὀρθρινῆς ὕμνωδίας τελεσθείσης, μήπω  
 τῆς ἐκ συνηθείας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀκουομένης εὐχῆς πέρας λαβούσης,  
 25 εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἐκ βάθους καρδίας καὶ πολλῆς κατανύξεως  
 ἤρξατο μετὰ δακρύων βοᾶν καὶ λέγειν · « εὐχαριστῶ σοι, δέσποτα  
 φιλόφρονε, πλούσιε παροχεῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δωρημάτων, φιλεῦ-  
 σπλαγγχε, φιλοικτίρμον. τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὁ ἀνάξιος καὶ ἐλαχιστό-  
 30 πείνωσιν καὶ ἀναξιότητα τὸ σὸν ἐξέχεας ἄπλετον ἔλεος; ἄνες  
 τὰ κύματα τῆς σῆς ἀμετρήτου παροχῆς · περίελε τοῖς σοῖς ἀπει-  
 ροῖς δωρήμασι · μέχρι τούτου ἡ δαψίλεια τοῦ σοῦ πλουσίου

11 τεσσαρακοντημέρου c.

13 εὐφρανθεὶς corr. in 2nd hand of εὐφα-

νθεὶς. 15-16 • Lacuna after συνεορτάσων. Perhaps one should complete  
 τῷ πατρὶ συνέμεινεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ ».

28 εἰμι V.

31-32 τὰ σὰ ἄπειρα δωρήματα B.

further. Leave something over for the life to come. From the sins thou knowest save me, not through my own acts, but because of thy mercy. Entrench and fortify this new-built fold of thy spiritual sheep, let it not waver but gard it firm. Let not the Beast that feeds on blood find room in this little flock of thine, but with a sling in thy strong right hand smite him and drive him away, that these, kept safe from harm, and following the teachings of this least of men, and having thy most mighty help as anchor in ...

... after [examination] the sovereign allowed their innocence, but added : « There are those who worry about my life — themselves may know with what in mind — and limit it, as though my breath were in their power rather than in the hands of the Creator, to a period of thirty three years. Whence they hold this belief I do not know, but (1) « seek and ye shall find » and the rest of the saying. You will be struck by its subtlety ». At this Zaoutzes was embarrassed and lost his temper, swearing that the father's unbridled tongue he could not put up with.

But when the Devil saw all thus prospering at Psamathia in the new-built monastery, the perfect conditions and peace in which life passed there, that enemy of all that is fair could not bear this good to increase too greatly and tower too high, but strove in his envy to overthrow and destroy it ; and from cheerfulness he cast them into dejection, from peace he removed them to confusion and uproar. Now this was the form their trial took. Theophano, the respected empress, having summoned the father to the palace, exposed to him the griefs inflicted on her, and that she purposed to leave, and had informed the emperor himself. « For, bereft of my beloved child, there is no further use in my staying here, heartsick, when all I ask is to be allowed to remain in the sanctuary of the holy Casket at Blachernae. Furthermore, I offer him a writ of divorce ; only may I have my desire ». But the father : « My child, you must not talk like this ; you may not leave him, and become to him occasion

(1) MATT., VII, 7.

ἐλέους στήτω καὶ μὴ ὑπερβήτω · ἐν τῷ μέλλοντί μοι αἰῶνι τῆς  
 εὐεργεσίας τι κατάλιπε · οἷς ἐπίστασαι κρίμασι σῶσόν με οὐκ  
 ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἐλέους σου, καὶ τὴν νεοπαγῇ  
 μάνδραν ταύτην τῶν λογικῶν σου προβάτων τούτων περιχαρά-  
 5 κωσον καὶ στερεώσον ἀκλόνητόν τε καὶ πάγιον διαφύλαξον ·  
 μὴ σκεῖν χώραν ὁ αἰμοβόρος θῆρ ἐπὶ τῇ μικρᾷ ταύτῃ ποίμνῃ  
 σου, ἀλλὰ τῇ σῇ κραταιᾷ δεξιᾷ σφενδονισθεὶς ἀπελαθήτω, ὅπως  
 ἀπήμονα ταῦτα φυλαττόμενα καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλαχιστότητος  
 ἐπόμενα παραδόσεις τὴν σὴν τε παναλκεστάτην βοήθειαν ἄγκυραν  
 10 ἔχοντα εἰς . . .

[ἀνιστο]ρήσας ὁ ἄναξ τούτους μὲν ἠθώωσεν, περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ  
 ἔλεξε τάδε · « φροντίζουσί τινες, αὐτοὶ δ' ἂν εἰδείησαν ἐκ τίνος  
 προαιρέσεως, τῆς ἡμῶν βιοτῆς καὶ ταύτην ὀρίζουσι πέρατι, ὥσπερ  
 αὐτοὶ κρατοῦντες ἡμῶν τῆς πνοῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν χειρὶ κατεχο-  
 15 μένης τοῦ πλάσαντος, τῇ τοῦ τριακοστοῦ καὶ τρίτου ἔτους πε-  
 ριόδῳ, πόθεν οὐκ οἶδα λαβόντες τὰς πίστεις · ζητήσας δὲ εὐ-  
 ρήσεις καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ἔπους, καὶ θαυμάσεις τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγχι-  
 νοιαν ». ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ζαούτζης ἐδυσφόρει καὶ ἤσχαλλε τὴν τοῦ  
 πατρὸς παρρησίαν μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν ἐπομνύμενος.

20 Οὕτως οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία νεοκατασκευῇ μονῇ πάντων  
 εὐθηνούντων ἐπὶ τε τελείᾳ καταστάσει καὶ ἡσύχῳ βίῳ δια-  
 γόντων, οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ τῶν καλῶν ἐχθρὸς διάβολος ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ  
 ἀγαθὸν πλεονάσαι καὶ ἐφ' ὕψος κορυφωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καταβαλεῖν  
 καὶ ἀπολέσαι τῇ αὐτοῦ βασκανίᾳ ἐσπούδασεν · καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς  
 25 εὐθυμίας εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐν ταραχαῖς  
 καὶ θορύβοις ἀποκατέστησεν. ἔστι δ' ὁ τρόπος τοῦ πειρασμοῦ  
 ἐν τούτοις. ἡ τιμία βασιλὶς Θεοφανῶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τῷ  
 πατρὶ προσκαλεσαμένη δῆλα τούτῳ ποιεῖ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐπαγό-  
 μενα θλιβερά, καὶ ὅτι « τῶν ὧδε κατελθεῖν βουλῆς ἔχουσα καὶ  
 30 τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδήλωκα · τοῦ γὰρ φιλότατον μου τέκνον  
 στερηθεῖσα οὐκέτι χρεῖα μοι τοῦ ἐνταῦθα προσμένειν καὶ καρδια-  
 κῶς ὀδυνᾶσθαι, οὐδὲν ἕτερον αἰτουμένης μου, ἢ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀγίας  
 σοροῦ τεμένει τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις εἶσαί με προσκαρτερεῖν. πρὸς  
 τούτοις καὶ βιβλίον ἀποστασίῳ παρέχω · μόνον τοῦ ἐμοὶ ἐφετοῦ  
 35 τύχοιμι ». ὁ δὲ πατήρ πρὸς αὐτήν · « μὴ οὕτως, τέκνον, λέγειν  
 θέλε · οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστι τοῦτόν σοι καταλιπεῖν καὶ

2 τί V. 5 στεραίωσον c. 10 \* At εἰς a leaf of the ms is missing ».

11 ἀνιστορήσας H. G. Cf 142, 28 12 φροντίζουσι τινές V.

15-16 περιόδῳ V. 18 ἤσχαλλε c. 21 εὐθυβιούντων V.

27-28 τῷ c τὸν πατέρα B. 36 σε B.



of adultery. Have you not heard what the apostle says « The husband hath not power of his own body (1), but the wife, and likewise also the wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband »? And if he that has divorced his wife is guilty, assuredly the wife also who divorces her husband shall fall into the same guilt. Are you indeed determined to become a cause of adultery to the husband of your youth? Do not do it child, I urge you ; rather, if you really desire to obtain the good things of eternity, endeavour to bear your sorrows with courage, and not become a cause of transgression to your husband. For his price will you pay at the fearful judgment-seat of Christ ». And she, showing herself docile to the father's advice, received his blessing and absolution, promising that she would not say such a thing again.

#### VII. — The father's outspoken words to the emperor.

The father then going in to the emperor, he met him with these words : « You know, father, that the empress wishes to leave us, and withdraw from here? », and he then : « For what reason? », and the emperor : « Why, since her child died she has this idea in mind ». Then the father : « Do not say her child, but our child. I see that the tone of your speech reveals antipathy and rejection of her. But do not think that she will ever leave you : for she told me that she would say that to test you. But if — which is impossible — it should come about, is your majesty ignorant that you then become guilty of adultery? » Then the emperor ; « I am not repudiating her of my own will, and the laws and the canon allow me to take another ». But the father in reply ; « As she, while you are among the living, is not allowed to entertain another man, nor may you entertain another woman ». To this the emperor, a little embarrassed to answer ; « Your Holiness would seem

(1) *Cor.*, I, VII, 4.

αἰτίαν μοιχείας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. οὐκ ἤκουσας τοῦ ἀποστόλου  
λέγοντος· ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος, ἀλλ' ἡ  
γυνή; ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ γυνή οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος,  
ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὴρ. καὶ εἰ ὁ ἀπολύσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐνοχός ἐστι,  
5 πάντως καὶ ἡ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα τῷ αὐτῷ περιπεσεῖται  
ἐγκλήματι. καὶ ὅλως βούλει πρόφασιν γενέσθαι μοιχείας τῷ  
ἀπὸ νεότητος ἀνδρὶ σου; μὴ τέκνον, παραινῶ σοι· ἀλλ' εἰ ὅλως  
τῶν αἰωνίων τυχεῖν ποθεῖς ἀγαθῶν, σπούδασον τὰ μὲν λυπηρὰ  
γενναίως φέρειν, τῷ δὲ σῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ γενέσθαι παρανομίας αἵτιος.  
10 καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην τίσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ». ἡ δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς παραινέσεσι πειθήνιος γενο-  
μένη εὐχὴν τε μετὰ συγχωρήσεως λαβοῦσα τοῦ μηκέτι τι  
τοιούτου συνέθετο προσειπεῖν.

VII. — Περὶ τῆς μετὰ παρρησίας τοῦ πατρὸς  
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαλέξεως

15

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσιόντος, προσυπαντήσας  
ἐκεῖνος ἔφη· «ἐγnows, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς ἡ αὐτοῦστα θελήσεως ἔχει  
τοῦ εἶσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ὧδε ἀναχωρήσαι;» ὁ δὲ· «ἄρα τί τὸ  
αἷτιον;» ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «ἀφ' οὗπερ τὸ παιδίον  
20 αὐτῆς ἐτεθνήκει, τοῦτο ἐν διανοίᾳ περιφέρει». ὁ δὲ πατήρ·  
«μὴ λέγε παιδίον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ παιδίον ἡμῶν. ὡς ὁρῶ γὰρ  
ἡ τῶν ῥημάτων ἔμφασιν ἀηδὶαν σὴν καὶ ἀποσκορακισμόν τὸν  
πρὸς αὐτὴν δηλοῖ. μὴ τοῦτο δὲ παραδέξῃται ἡ διάνοιά σου,  
ὡς ὅτι ἐάσει σε πῶποτε· καὶ γὰρ χάριν δοκιμῆς εἴρηκέ μοι τοῦτο  
25 λεχθήσεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστι γέννηται, ἀγνοεῖ  
ἡ βασιλεία σου ὅτι ἐν τῷ τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκλήματι γίνῃ ὑπεύ-  
θυνος;» ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς· «οὐχ ἔκοντι ταύτην ἀποβάλλομαι, καὶ  
εὐδοκήσουσιν οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ οἱ κανόνες τοῦ ἐτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι  
με». ὁ δὲ πατήρ πρὸς αὐτόν· «ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ταύτη, σοῦ  
30 ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχοντος, ἐτέρῳ προσομιλῆσαι ἀνδρὶ, οὔτε σοὶ  
ἔξεστιν ἐτέρῳ προσομιλῆσαι γυναικί». πρὸς τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς  
μικρόν τι τῆς ἀποκρίσεως κατασχεθεὶς ἔφη· «ὡς ἔοικεν ἀγνοεῖ

3 ὡς αὐτως c.

12 τί V.

28 κανονες V.

29 ταύτη V.

32 τί V.

ignorant how abominably I have been treated by her ; she went to my late father and made trouble with a trumped up tale that I had been unfaithful to her with Zaoutzes' daughter, Zoe. How he treated me ... refused to listen to ... even a single word, but immediately seized me by the hair and threw me on the ground, with blows and abuse, beating me till I streamed blood. As for that innocent girl, he ordered her to be married against her will. Nor shall I ever forget her, but « there will come a day » (1), when I will have pity and I will have compassion ». At these words the father's expression altered, and he said ; « Have you really such impiety in your mind ? Have you not read (2) « Drink waters out of thine own cistern and running waters out of thine own well. Let thy fountain be only thine and rejoice with the wife of thy youth » ? ». And the emperor : « All that, as your holiness is aware, I know well ». Then he : « Therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation » (3). And the emperor : « All the Senate knows it was not at my own wish I married her, but in fear of my father and in utter distress ». Upon this, angered and greatly sorrowing in his heart, the father said : « Here am I, my child, worrying about your soul's salvation, fearing lest God turn from you, and even man condemn you, and so I oppose you and warn you, having good hopes of snatching you from so great a fault. But since you persist in your ways, and these are the thoughts your mind frames, know that I shall return here no more, no, you shall no more hear anything from me, till you condemn yourself and repent ».

On these words, without taking leave, the father went thence and returned to the presence of Theophano the empress, and said to her : « I wish you to know, child, that your departure into God's presence is at hand, and deadly trials are in store to prove you. Nonetheless, however great your trials, you will receive a corresponding reward. For the hour of strife and testing is upon you, and if you would obtain everlasting life, bear thankfully and bravely what is to come, without flinching, without pusillanimity, and God the Holy one will be your helper. And now my child, fare-

(1) *Iliad*, VI, 448.

(2) *Prov.*, V, 15, 18.

(3) *Mat.*, 23, 14 (13).

ἡ σὴ ἀγιωσύνη δ' στνγηρὰ παρ' αὐτῆς πέπονθα · εἰσελθοῦσα γὰρ  
 πρὸς τὸν μακαρίτην μου πατέρα καταπλοκὴν μοι συνέρραφεν,  
 ὡς εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Ζαούτζη Ζωὴν διαπέμπομαι. καὶ οἶος  
 ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμέ ... καὶ ψιλῆς προσλαλιάς μόνης ὑπα-  
 5 κούειν, τῶν τριχῶν με παρευθὺ λαβόμενος καὶ εἰς γῆν ῥίψας  
 γρονθισμοῖς τε καὶ προπηλακισμοῖς παλὼν αἰμόφυρτον πεποίηκεν,  
 ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν μηδὲν ἀδικήσασαν παραδοθῆναι ἀνδρὶ καὶ μὴ  
 βουλομένην προσέταξεν. ἥς τινος οὐποτε λήσμων γενήσομαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτε καὶ ἐλεήσω καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ». ὁ δὲ πατὴρ  
 10 ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλοιωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « καὶ ὅλως ἐν  
 τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ἐπιφέρεις τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα τοῦτο ; οὐκ ἀνέγγως ·  
 πῖνε ὕδατα ἀπὸ σῶν ἀγγείων καὶ ἀπὸ σῶν φρεάτων πηγῆς · ἡ πηγὴ  
 σου τοῦ ὕδατος ἔστω σοι ἰδία · καὶ συνευφραίνου μετὰ γυναικὸς  
 τῆς ἐκ νεότητός σου ; » καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς · « ταῦτα πάντα, ὡς καὶ  
 15 ἡ σὴ ἀγιωσύνη γινώσκει, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι ». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ·  
 « διὰ τοῦτο λήψῃ περισσότερον κρῖμα » · καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς · « οἱ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες ἐπίστανται οὐ κατ' οἰκείαν θέλησιν ταύ-  
 την ἀγαγέσθαι με, ἀλλὰ δεδοικότα τὸν πατέρα καὶ πάντῃ ἀνιῶ-  
 μενον ». ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ πατὴρ χαλεπήνας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν λίαν  
 20 ἀλγυνθεὶς ἔφη · « ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ τέκνον, τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς σου κηδό-  
 μενος σωτηρίας καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς σέ δεδοικὼς ἀποστροφὴν  
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατάγνωσιν, τούτου εἵνεκα  
 καὶ προσκόπτω καὶ παραινῶ χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ τοιούτου  
 σε εξαρπάσαι πτώματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένεις καὶ ἐν  
 25 τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ταῦτα ἀναπλάττεις, γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, ὡς οὐκέτι  
 ἐνθάδε ἀνέλθω, οὔτε μὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεις τι, ἕως οὗ σεαυτὸν  
 καταγνοὺς πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἔλθῃς ».

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἀσυντάκτως τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τὴν  
 βασιλίссαν εἰσῆει πάλιν Θεοφανὼ καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτήν · « γινώ-  
 30 σκειν σε βούλομαι, τέκνον, ὡς ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδημία σου ἐγγύς  
 ἔστι, καὶ δεῖ σε πειραθῆναι πειρασμοῖς ἀνηκέστοις. ὅμως οἶους  
 περ δέξῃ τοὺς πειρασμούς, τοιαύτας ἀπολήψῃ καὶ τὰς ἀντι-  
 δόσεις. καιρὸς γὰρ ἀγῶνος καὶ δοκιμῆς ἐφάρστηκέν σοι, καὶ εἰ  
 τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐπιτυχεῖν βούλει, εὐχαρίστως τὰ ἐπερχόμενα  
 35 καὶ γενναίως φέρε, μὴ κατολιγωροῦσα, μὴ μικροψυχοῦσα, καὶ  
 ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ἀρωγὸς σοι γενήσεται. καὶ λοιπόν, τέκνον, σῶζου ·

4 Lacuna after κατ' ἐμέ. Perhaps γέγονε πῶς ἐρῶ ; ἀναβαλόμενος γὰρ  
 H.G. 5 λαβομενοι V. 9 II. VI, 448. ἔσεται ἡμαρ c, 10 ἀλλοιω-  
 θεὶς c. 24 ἐπιμένοις c. 26 τί V. 36 ἀρωγός c.

well, for you will not see me here again ». But she, in tears at his speech : « You do not mean to shut yourself away again, and refuse to be seen ? » For, in his love of peace, the father used frequently to do this, confining himself for three or four months, sometimes a whole year, to one cell, and though the door stood open he did not go out at it, but waited patiently till the period was accomplished which he had fixed for himself. This it was she had feared, and was begging him not to do. « For you know, father », she said, « that I have no one else to whom I can look, or pour out the grief of my heart and receive refreshment, except your Holiness ». But he with his favourite sentence left the palace. As for the emperor, his heart hardened against the father's frank words, he no longer continued sending to him daily as he was used, but, carried away to some extent by Zaoutzes' slanders, his attitude changed and became one of hostility.

It was not long after that his Beatitude the patriarch Stephen, 17.5.893 after seven years as archbishop, reached his life's end. Then, then indeed the fight Zaoutzes put up was beyond description, to advance a creature of his own as patriarch ; for he feared lest the emperor propose Euthymius, his familiar, to the Church ; and he was so much enraged against him that he even urged the actors who were, according to custom, going in to the royal dinner, to bring something against him into their patter ; the first of them, whose name was Titlivakios, would not accept this evil proposal, for all the promises made with it ; but the other, Lampoudios, the wretch, said : « I will make his name to be counted hateful and abominable by all men ». Then the other replied : « Show me, Lampoudios, what you can do for me ». But in the course of dinner such was the number of enormous and shocking insults that Lampoudios vomited from his ill-tempered heart against this our blameless father, that he made those dining that day with the emperor blush, and the monarch himself angrily drove him out and dis-



οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὄψει με ». ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ σύνδακρυς γενομένη λέγει · « μή τί γε πάλιν σεαυτὸν ἐγκλείσαι βούλει καὶ ἀπρόοπτον καθεστάναι; » εἴθιστο γὰρ τοῦτο πολλάκις ποιεῖν τῷ φιλησύχῳ πατρί, καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶ καὶ τέτρασι μηνσίν, ἔστι δ' 5 ὅτε καὶ ὄλῳ ἐνιαυτῷ περιορίζων ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἐνὶ κελλίῳ, τῆς θύρας ἀνεωγμένης οὐποτε ταύτης ἐξήει, ἀλλ' ὃν συνέθετο ἀριθμὸν καρτερῶν διετελεί. τοῦτο αὕτη δεδιῶσα τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι παρεκάλει. « καὶ γὰρ ἐπίστασαι », ἔλεγεν, « ὦ πάτερ, ὡς οὐκ ἔχω πον ἐτέρωθι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκτείνειν ἢ τὰ τῆς καρδίας λυ- 10 πηρὰ ἐκφάναι καὶ ἀναψυχὴν δέξασθαι, εἰ μὴ τὴν σὴν ἀγιοσύνην ». ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτῷ ῥῆμα προσειπὼν τῶν βασιλείων ἀνεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ παρρησίας λεχθεῖσι σκληρυνθεὶς τὴν καρδίαν οὐ προσέθετο ἔτι ὡς αὐτῷ εἴθιστο καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαποστέλλειν, ἀλλὰ μικρόν τι ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ 15 Ζαούτζη διαβολαῖς κατασυρεῖς ἀηδῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς διαθέσεως μετατρέψας διέκειτο.

Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Στέφανος ὁ μακαριώτατος πατριάρχης ἐπτά συμπεράνας χρόνους ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀξιώματι τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο. τότε δὴ τότε ἀγὼν τῷ Ζαούτζη καθειστήκει 20 ἄφατος τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ προστήσασθαι πατριάρχην · ἐδεδοίκει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ μήποτε ὡς οἰκεῖον τὸν πατέρα Εὐθύμιον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προβάλλοιτο · καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκίνητο μῆνιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐξ ἔθους εἰσιόντας σκηνικοὺς παρορμῆσαι τοῦ εἰπεῖν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ · ἐξ ὧν ὁ 25 πρῶτιστος τούτων, Τιτληβάκιος καλούμενος, τὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ συμβουλὴν οὐ παρεδέξατο καίπερ πολλὰ ὑπischνούμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ · ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, Λαμπούδιος λεγόμενος, ὁ ἄθλιος ἐκεῖνος ἔφη · « ἐγὼ ποιήσω ἵνα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τούτου μισητὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ στυγηρὸν λογισθῇ ». ὅτε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος 30 ἔλεξεν · « ἴδω, Λαμπούδιε, ὡς ἀποθεραπεύσεις με ». τοῦ ἀρίστου δὲ ἐπιστάντος, τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις αἰσχίσταις ὕβρεσιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὀργίλου ἐξηρεύετο καρδίας κατὰ τοῦ ἀνεπιλήπτου τούτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Λαμπούδιος, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς συναριστήσαντας τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐρυθριᾶσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνακτα

2 τι V.      σεαυτὸν V.      5 κελλίῳ V.      6-7 \* ἀριθμὸν ἡμερῶν  
καρτερῶν?      9 ποῦ V.      11 So throughout. βασιλείων B.      15 κα-  
ταπυρεῖς V.      21 τὸν βασιλέα B.      24 τί V.      31 αἰσχίστοις c.  
τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας αἰσχίστας ὕβρεις B.

missed him. But when dinner was over, there was Lampoudios asking for the covenanted payment. And he gave him, as to another Judas, thirty pieces of silver. And with them he received, as Judas his hanging, his own fearful death. Having left the palace with his companions, and got as far as the Ivory gate, as it is called, in which stands a chapel to the holy martyr Athenogenes, suddenly he was seized all over with convulsions and thrown to the ground, and began immediately to evacuate his own filth with blood, from above, in this miserable and fearful manner expiring immediately after in the palace. Everyone knew that his slanderous tattle concerning the father was the cause of this downfall of Lampoudios.

It was the month of November, and the late empress Theophano was in the church of God's mother at Blachernae, being nursed, and there she had called father Euthymius, and was relating all her troubles to him, till that most compassionate of men was in tears, and said to her: « This, my mistress and honoured lady Theophano, is my last farewell. Never again in this life will you see my humble self. But if your voice is heard as I hope, remember also this least of men ». Then this worthy queen took from her chest and gave him sacred vessels made of jaspers, as well as the cloths that covered them, which she had had adorned with the father's name woven in gold. With these she gave the scarf she wore in church on her head and shoulders, adding it by way of ex-voto. And these same sacred vessels the emperor later asked for and had brilliantly decorated, afterwards sending them back to the father. It was on the tenth of the month of November that the worthy empress, exchanging things earthly for those heavenly, departed to the presence of God. Shortly after Theodore Gouzouniatis also, the husband of Zoe Zaoutzes' daughter, reached the end of his life; it is said that she was responsible for the deaths of the empress and of her own husband.

a. 896  
or 895

μετ' ὀργῆς ἐξεῶσαι τοῦτον καὶ ἀποπέμψασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου πλήρωσιν παρῆν ὁ Λαμπούδιος τὰς συνταγὰς ἀπαιτῶν. ὁ δὲ παρέχει τούτῳ ὡς ἄλλῳ τινὶ Ιούδα τριάκοντα ἀργύρια · σὺν τούτοις γὰρ ὡς ἄλλην ἀγχόνην καὶ τὸν ὀλέθριον αὐτοῦ θάνατον 5 προσλαμβάνεται. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ τῶν βασιλειῶν ἐξιὼν πεφθακώς τε ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πύλῃ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ εὐκτῆριον ἵδρυται Ἀθηνογένους τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος, ἐξαίφνης δονεῖται ὅλως καὶ τῇ γῇ προσρῆσεται παρευθὺ τε τὴν ἰδίαν κόπρον σὺν αἵματι ἄνωθεν ἐκκρίνας ἐλεεινῶ καὶ φρίκης γέμοντι 10 μόρῳ παραντίκα ἐξέψυξεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. γνωστὸν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυτο, ὡς ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα γενομένη φλυαρικὴ συκοφαντία παραίτιος τῆς τοιαύτης πτώσεως τοῦ Λαμπουδίου ἐγγόνει.

Νοέμβριος παρῆν μὴν, καὶ ἡ αἰοίδιμος βασιλὶς Θεοφανὼ ἐν 15 τῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος ναῷ τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις νοσηλευομένῃ παρεγένετο, τὸν δὲ πατέρα Εὐθύμιον ἐκείσε προσκαλεσαμένη διηγεῖται τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἅπαντα, ὥστε δακρῦσαι τὸν συμπαθέστατον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποφθέγασθαι · « τοῦτό μοί ἐστιν, ὦ κυρία μου καὶ τιμία δέσποινα Θεοφανῶ, τὸ τελευταῖον συντακτῆριον · οὐκέτι 20 γὰρ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ὄψει τὴν ἡμῶν ταπείνωσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ παρησίας τῆς ἐλπιζομένης τύχης, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐλαχιστότητος μέμνησο ». ἡ δὲ τιμία ἐκείνη βασιλὶς ἐκβαλοῦσα τοῦ αὐτῆς κιβωτίου παρέχει τούτῳ ἱερὰ σκεύη ἐξ ἱασπεῖων λίθων τὴν σύστασιν ἔχοντα μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς καλυμμάτων, ἃ χρυσοῖς 25 ὑφάσμασιν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίᾳ ὑπῆρχε κοσμήσασα. σὺν τούτοις δὲ παρέχει τὸ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας αὐτῇ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ὤμων ἐπικείμενον περιβόλαιον εἰς τύπον τοῦτο ἀναφορᾶς ἐπιδόσασα. ἅπερ ἱερὰ σκεύη εἰς ὕστερον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιζητήσας λαμπρῶς τε κατακοσμήσας τῷ πατρὶ πάλιν ἐπαποστέλλει. ἐν δὲ τῇ δεκάτῃ 30 νοεμβρίου μηνὸς ἡ τιμία βασιλὶς τῶν ἐπιγείων ἀνταλλάξασα τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν. οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ λεγόμενος Γουζουνιάτης, ὁ τῆς τοῦ Ζαούτζη θυγατρὸς Ζωῆς σύμβιος, τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο · ὡς δὲ λόγος παραίτιον εἶναι ταύτην τοῦ τῆς ἀγνούστης θανάτου καὶ τοῦ οὐ- 35 κείου συννεύου.

7 ἀ\*θηνογένους      8 ὅλος B.      15 νοσηλευομένη c.      24 καλυμάτων c.  
30 \* τοῦ νοεμβρίου μ. ? \*.      31 τὰ ἐπουράνια B.      33 \* Ζωῆς added  
in the margin ».

VIII. — Zoe, the daughter of Zaoutzes,  
and the things that happened to the father because of her

Her father Stylianos immediately took her to the palace and tried to marry her to the emperor. He persuaded the sovereign, who allowed him great freedom of speech, to summon the father to the palace that this thing might be extorted with his blessing and consent. But he rather, angered and grieved, inveighed against the emperor, and sent his messengers away empty and having achieved nothing. The basilopator met them, and, forestalling them, told the story his own way, and roused the sovereign to a passion; he ordered the father to be immediately, perforce and against his will, put in a boat and brought to the palace. When this had been carried out, without the honours the sovereign was accustomed to pay him, without even being met, he came into the bedroom and said: « In that matter which causes your anger against me, I shall never cease to say the truth, prockaiming any such thing to be impiety and the last of transgressions; and I pray to my God that he will turn you speedily from such a purpose ». But the emperor made him sit down, and to soften him, said: « Listen, father, and do not say such unreasonable things. Now that I have, as you know, lost my wife, I, like anyone else, must hear the Apostle's voice and engage in a second marriage; at the same time she, Zoe I mean, being in the same position, must have the same liberty. When we have the encouragement of the laws and the instructions of the apostles, who are you to be laying down the law over their head? » But he still held out, testifying that it would be illegal and wrong. « If you want to take another wife, nobody will hinder you, but it must not be this woman whose evil conduct is notorious. For should that happen, everyone would reason that all that is said of her is really true ». And with these words he rose and left. Annoyed by what had passed, the emperor sent for the basilopator, who so inflamed his irritation that he forthwith ordered Euthymius to be banished to his father Basil's monastery of St. Diomedes; which was done, and immediately.

VIII. — Περὶ Ζωῆς τῆς τοῦ Ζαούτζη θυγατρὸς  
καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὴν τῷ πατρὶ συμβάντων

Παρευθὺ τοίνυν ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ Στυλιανὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
προσλαβόμενος ἐπειρᾷτο τῷ βασιλεῖ συζευξάσθαι. πολλῆς δὲ παρ-  
5 ρησίας ἐκ τούτου τυχὼν πείθει τὸν ἄνακτα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
τὸν πατέρα προσκαλέσασθαι τοῦ μετ' εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συναινέ-  
σεως τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰσπράξασθαι. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀσχάλλων καὶ  
ἀνιώμενος τοῦ βασιλέως κατεβόα καὶ κενὸς καὶ ἀπράκτους  
τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους παρέπεμπεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλοπάτωρ τούτους  
10 προσηύχετο καὶ προβιάσας τοῦ εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν  
εἰς ὄργην τὸν ἄνακτα ἤγειρεν · καὶ κελεύει παρευθὺ ἄκοντα καὶ  
μὴ βουλόμενον ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐμβαλόντας μέχρι τῶν βασιλείων τοῦ-  
τον ἀγαγεῖν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει, μὴ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους τιμὴν παρὰ  
τοῦ ἄνακτος δεξιόμενος μήτε μὴν τὴν προσυπαντήν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ  
15 κοιτῶνι εἰσῆει καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « περὶ ἧς ὑποθέσεως ὠρ-  
γίσθης ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οὐποτε παύσομαι τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγων, ἀνοσιούρ-  
γημα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀποκαλῶν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐσχάτην · εὐχομαι  
δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου τοῦ ἐν τάχει τοῦ τοιούτου σε σκοποῦ ἀνατραπῆναι ».  
ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον καθιλαρύνας καὶ καθεσθῆναι ποιήσας λέγει ·  
20 « ἄκουσον, πάτερ, καὶ μὴ οὕτως ἀλλόκοτα λέγε. τῆς ἐμῆς συμ-  
βίου, ὥς ἐπίστασαι, στερηθεὶς, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ καὶ μοι καθὰ καὶ  
πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου φωνὴν δευτέροις γάμοις προσο-  
μιλῆσαι · ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐκείνης, τῆς Ζωῆς λέγω, τοῖς αὐτοῖς περι-  
πεσοῦσης, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν. καὶ ἃ οἱ νόμοι παρὰ  
25 κελεύονται καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξις, σὺ τίς εἰ ὁ  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν νομοθετῶν ; » ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπέμενε παράνομον εἶναι  
καὶ ἄθεσμον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιμαρτυρούμενος. « καὶ ἑτέραν μὲν  
ἀγαγέσθαι σε γυναῖκα οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύσων, οὐ χρὴ δὲ ταύτην τὴν  
ἐπὶ κακῷ φωραθεῖσαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο γένηται, ὄντως ἀληθῆ  
30 ἅπαντα τὰ κατ' αὐτῆς λεχθέντα πάντες εἶναι λογίσονται ». καὶ  
ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆει. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιαιθεὶς  
τῷ βασιλοπάτορι προσκαλεῖται · ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ εἰς θυμὸν παρ'  
αὐτοῦ ἐξαφθεὶς κελεύει παρευθὺ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς  
αὐτοῦ Βασιλείῳ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Διομήδους ὑπερόριον γενέσθαι ·  
35 ὁ δὲ καὶ παρευθὺ γεγένηται.

7 ἀσχάλλων c. 12 βασιλείων B. 20 ἀλόκοτα c. 23 ὥς αὐτως c.  
24 ἔχει B. 30 λογίσονται c. 32 τῷ c. τὸν βασιλοπάτορα B.



And so for two years in this holy monastery our father remained in his beloved peace. And it would be, when the emperor sent to tell him he repented, that he would not deign even to say a word to the messengers, still less vouchsafe them any answer but persisted in calling it a deed of reckless illegality. On hearing this, the sovereign was even more troubled. One day he sent his protovestiarius to press the father to move into the house of his brother Stephen, the late patriarch, and beg him to take with him as many of his disciples as he wished ...

\*  
\* \*

... and who is it you tell me to beware of? » « As I think », says he, « your relations by your wife ». To which the emperor answered : « Holy father, how true we find it that we all are made of clay, and we are swayed by anger and passion. For you are ill-disposed towards my wife, and pursue her kin with unrelenting animosity, hence these your revelations ; but if you were kindly and affably disposed towards her, you would no doubt be proclaiming her relations guardians of my crown ». « I, Sire », said the father, « thinking of your safety, and from concern for the most Christian race, proclaimed that which had been revealed to my humble self. But you will see the issue ».

It was not six months after the death of Zaoutzes, while Anthony surnamed Kaleas, now with the saints, was still patriarch, that Zoe died after a fearful illness and the loss of her wits. Whereupon there escaped from her father's house a youth of no account, whose job was pouring hot water, his condition that of eunuch, an Agarene by birth, called Samonas. This fellow rushed into the palace asking for the emperor, and, on catching sight of him, said : « Unless this very day you seize my mistress' relations, sire, not the crown only but your life itself is lost ». He accused others also

Οὕτως οὖν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἔτεσι τῷ εὐαγεῖ τούτῳ σεμνείῳ καὶ τῇ φίλῃ αὐτῷ ἡσυχίᾳ προσεκαρτέρει. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαποστέλλοντος ὡς μεταμελομένου πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε μέχρι ῥήματος τοῖς ἀπεσταλμένοις ἡξίου, μή τί  
 5 γε ἀποκρίσεως, καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπέμενεν τόλμημα παρανομίας ἀποκαλῶν. ἃ καὶ ἀκούων ὁ ἄναξ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐταράττετο. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριον ἀποστείλας ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ πατριαρχεύσαντος οἰκίαις μεταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα παρεκελεύετο, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐθέλοι τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ  
 10 προσλαβεῖν ἐξελιπάρει.

\* \*

... καὶ τίνων παραφυλάττεσθαι με κελεύεις ; » ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν · « ὡς οἶμαι, τοῖς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς συγγενεῦσί σου ». πρὸς τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη · « ὦ πάτερ ἄγιε, πῶς πάντες ἄνθρωποι χοῖκοὶ εἶναι ἐλεγχόμεθα καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ τῷ χόλῳ παραρρυνόμεθα.  
 15 ἀηδῶς γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σύμβιον διακείμενος καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς συγγενεῖς αἰὲ μεμηνώς, ταῦτα παρὰ σου ἀποκαλύπτονται · ἐπεὶ, εἰ ἱλαρῶς καὶ προσηνῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν διέκεισο, τάχα ἂν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς συγγενεῖς φύλακας τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐκήρυττες ». « ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ δέσποτα », ὁ πατήρ ἔφη, « τῆς τε σῆς σωτηρίας  
 20 φροντίζων καὶ τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου φύλου κηδόμενος τὸ τῇ ἐμῇ ταπεινώσει δηλωθὲν ἀνήγγειλα. σὺ δὲ ὄψει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ».

Οὕτω ἐξ παρῆλθον μῆνες τῆς τοῦ Ζαούτζη τελευτῆς, ἔτι τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀντωνίου πατριαρχοῦντος τοῦ κατ' ἐπίκλην Καλέου, καὶ ἡ Ζωὴ τῆς ζωῆς ἐστέρεται φρικτῇ νόσῳ καὶ σκοτοδινίᾳ (1)  
 25 περιπεσοῦσα. τότε δὴ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀποδιδράσκει εὐτελεστάτος μειρακίσκος τὸ θερμοδοτεῖν πεπιστευμένος, τομίας μὲν τῇ θέσει, ἐξ Ἀγαρηῶν δὲ ὁρμώμενος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Σαμωνᾶς. οὗτος εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσπηδήσας καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ζητήσας ἰδὼν ἔφη, ὡς « εἰ μὴ αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περικρατῆς γίνῃ  
 30 τῶν τῆς κυρίας μου συγγενῶν, ἀπόλλεις, δέσποτα, σὺ μόνον τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ζωήν ». πρὸς τούτοις κατεῖπεν καὶ τινων ἐτέρων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τούτοις συνεργούν-

4 τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους B.      9 οὕς B.      10 « After ἐξελιπάρει a leaf is missing ».  
 12 συγγενεῦσι σοῦ V.      14 παραρρυνόμεθα c.  
 15 « καὶ πρὸς τοὺς? ».      16 παρὰ σοῦ V.      24 σκοτοδινία c.  
 30 ἀπόλλεις c. « ἀπολεῖς? ».

(1) N. VEIS (op. cit) « abide by the ms. : παρετυμολογικῶς πρὸς τὸ δεινός ».

from the palace of being in the conspiracy with them. And some of these having been arrested, on a promise of immunity from the sovereign confessed that all Samonas had said was true ; furthermore a quantity of arms was uncovered by him ; for this he was straightway granted the rank of cubicularius and given a third of the property of those he had informed against. Shortly afterwards he was promoted nipsistarius. The emperor was now on his knees before our father, crying : « Holy father, forgive my reckless and injurious doubt of you ». And with tears he intreated forgiveness. And with fair and pleasant words, as was right to the emperor, the father addressed him, and, having granted him forgiveness, would have dismissed him. But he insisted : « you will not convince me, unless you come up to the palace with me ». And he did go up with him, and stayed there for three days ; when the emperor gave him sacred vessels of silver and pure white vestments for the Church, and a delightful book in a purple binding embellished with silver and gold, and told him it was written with his own hand, and described his troubles. « That I may be ever in the memory of your Holiness and those about you have I given this ». And so, having taken leave of the emperor, the father returned by sea to his monastery of Psamathia. So, from that time on, the emperor became, even when not expected, a frequent visitor at the monastery.

#### IX. — The sovereign's surprise inspection of the monastery.

He chose once, round lighting up time, to come up noiselessly, and, the door being open, he reached the vestibule. There was not the usual acclamation, and no one noticed his arrival. When, taking hold of the knocker with his own hands, the sovereign began knocking furiously. The father was at supper with the brothers,

των. ἐξ ὧν καὶ τινων κρατηθέντων λόγον τε ἀπαθείας παρὰ τοῦ  
 ἄνακτος εἰληφότων, ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἅπαντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σαμωνᾶ  
 λεχθέντα ἐξεῖπον· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἄρμάτων (1) καταμηνύεται  
 5 πλῆθος δι' αὐτοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμᾶται μὲν παρενθὺ κουβι-  
 κουλάριος, παρέχεται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τῶν διαβληθέντων οὐσίας  
 τρίτον μέρος. οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ νηυστιάριον τοῦτον  
 ἀναδείκνυσιν. τότε ἰκέτης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 παραγίνεται, « συγχώρησον, πάτερ ἄγιε », βοῶν· « τῇ ἐξ ἀπρο-  
 10 σεξίας πλημμεληθείσῃ πρὸς σε ἀπιστία μου ». καὶ δακρυρροῶν  
 ἠντιβόλει τὴν ἄφραστον. ὃν ἱλαροῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσι ῥήμασιν, οἷα  
 εἰκὸς ἦν βασιλεῖ, προσφθεγγάμενος καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἀπονεί-  
 μας ἀπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ· « οὐ πληροφοροῦσέ μοι », ἔφασκεν, « ἐὰν  
 μὴ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις συνανέλθῃς μοι. » ὁ δὲ καὶ συνανήει  
 15 τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐκεῖσε διήρκεσεν· ὅτε καὶ ἱεροῖς  
 ἄργυροῖς τούτῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρέσχεν καὶ λευκοτάτοις τῇ ἐκ-  
 κλησίᾳ στολίσμασιν βίβλον (2) τε πάντεσπινον ἐξ ἐνδύματος ὀξέου  
 καὶ διαργύρου καὶ διαχρύσου περικεκοσμημένην, ἣν οἰκειό-  
 γραφον ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πονήμασι διαγράφειν.  
 « διὰ δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγιοσύνης καὶ τῶν μετὰ σε φοιτῶν-  
 20 των ἀείμνημον εἶναι με τοῦτο δεδωρόμαι ». οὕτως οὖν ὁ πατήρ  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ συνταξάμενος πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ μονὴν αὐτοῦ  
 διὰ θαλάσσης κατήει. ἔκτοτε οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνελ-  
 πίστως πολλάκις ἐν τῇ μονῇ παρεγένετο.

IX. — Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ μονῇ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιστάσις τοῦ ἄνακτος.

25 Ἦδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ ποτε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλυχνίους ὥρας ἀποφῆτὶ  
 παραβαλεῖν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυλεῶνος, τῆς πόρτης ἠνεωγμένης,  
 καταντῆσαι· τῆς γὰρ ἐξ ἔθους εὐφημίας μὴ γενομένης, λαθραία  
 ἢ ἔλευσις ἐγγόνει. ταῖς οἰκείαις δὲ χερσὶν ὁ ἄναξ τοῦ κρου-  
 στηρος λαβόμενος ἤρξατο ῥαγδαίοις ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς κρούσμασι.

3 B. ἄρμάτων c. 6 μέσῳ V. B. νηυστιάριον c. 9 πρὸς σέ V.  
 δακρυρροῶν c. 12 ἀπέστελεν. με B. 15 τούτῳ V. ἰερὰ ἄργυ-  
 ρα ... λευκότερα ... στολίσματα B. 17 δι' ἄργύρου c. « διάχρυσου  
 originally. The breathing later erased ». 26 πυλεωνος V. ἠνεωγ-  
 μένης V. 29 ῥαγδαία ... τὰ κρούσματα B.

(1) Lat. arma, not Gr. ἄρμα.

(2) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, B, 1, p. 235.

and, the customary reading finished, he says : « He who knocks so loud is the founder ». But on the porter's calling out from within : « Who are you, and what do you wish ? » the emperor answered : « I am from the palace, and I am sent to the syncellus ». On being informed, the father immediately sent a monk to receive him and say : « Do not hold it beneath you, my lord and brother, whoever you may be, but come (1) and dine with our humble self ; and then you will be able to tell us your matter ». So he went off and gave the message before opening the door, afterwards, to his astonishment, recognising the emperor ; but the sovereign, without letting him make his arrival known, went in suddenly where they were at table, to salute the father and all the brotherhood. And as they were scattering hither and thither he told them to sit down as before, and complete the meal in all the customary order before him. The father on the other hand addressed the principal members of the emperor's suite with an invitation to join him at dinner. But he would not allow it, saying : « It is not fitting for laymen to take precedence over monks, I do not want to seem a nuisance to the fathers ». Then, as each had his cup before him, he too asked for his. And on the stroke, on the butler's saying « Bless, father », he took the bowl and stood by the emperor, exclaiming : « Lord bless the wine ». He, turning round, says : « What is this ? » To whom the father : « If you wish to drink, sire, hold out your cup ». « Indeed I am very thirsty », he answers. Then, seeing the can emptied into his cup, and no more, he says to the father : « Then, father, whatever the size of the cup, it pours down one's throat just the contribution of this brass pot (2) whether the cup be small or large ? » But he : « All, sire, receive absolutely equally ». Next he asks : « Do they drink it cold ? » « Heaven forbid », he answers, « look, here is the warm water ». Then, having heard the « Bless the warm water », he

(1) See note 1, p. 149.

(2) Or, with D.B.'s emendation, « Into the magnitude of this cup he pours just ... ».



ἐπιδείκνουν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συναριστοῦντος, καὶ  
 τῆς ἐξ ἔθους ἀναγνώσεως τελουμένης, φησὶν ὁ πατήρ· «ὁ οὕτως  
 ἀφειδῶς θυροκρουστῶν κτήτωρ ὑπάρχει». τοῦ δὲ ὀστιαρίου  
 ἔσωθεν λέγοντος· «τίς εἶ καὶ τί κελεύεις;» ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατο·  
 5 «ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου εἰμὶ καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρὸς τὸν σύγκελλον».   
 προσυπομνησθεῖς δὲ ὁ πατήρ εὐθέως ἀποστέλλει μοναχὸν τοῦ  
 προσυπαντήσαι καὶ προσεῖπεν· «μὴ ἀπαξιώσης κύριέ μου  
 καὶ ἀδελφέ, εἴ τις ἂν εἴης, μέχρι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως σκυ-  
 λῆναι καὶ συνδειπνήσαι· εἴθ' οὕτως ἀναγγελεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ  
 10 τῆς ὑποθέσεως». ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνοῖξαι ταῦτα προ-  
 σειπὼν, ὡς εἰς ὕστερον ἐπέγνω αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέστη·  
 κωλύσας δὲ ὁ ἄναξ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔλευσιν μὴ δηλωθῆναι, ἐξαίφνης  
 εἰσῆει ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πατρὶ προσκυνήσων καὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
 ἀδελφότητι. τῶν δὲ τῇδε κἀκεῖσε διασπαρέντων, πάντας ἐφέ-  
 15 ζεσθαι καθὰ πρῶην παρεκελεύετο καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἅπαντα  
 τύπον τελεῖσθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ προσέταττεν. ὁ δὲ πατήρ  
 τοῖς τὰ πρῶτα φέρουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ συνδειπνήσαι προσεφώνει.  
 ὁ δὲ οὐ κατεδέξατο προσειπὼν· «οὐ χρὴ κοσμικοῖς μοναχοῖς  
 ὑπερβαίνειν, μήπως φανείην (1) ὀχληρὸν τοῖς πατράσιν». τῶν  
 20 δὲ βαυκαλίων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐπικειμένων, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐπεζή-  
 τησεν. καὶ τοῦ κρούσματος γεγονότος, καὶ τό· «εὐλόγησον  
 πάτερ» τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσειπόντος, τὸν κρατῆρα λαβόμενος  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ παρειστήκει, «κύρι, εὐλόγησον κρᾶσιν» ἐπιφωνῶν.  
 ὁ δὲ περιστραφεὶς λέγει· «τοῦτ' ἔστιν τί;» πρὸς ὃν ὁ πατήρ·  
 25 «εἰ βούλει, δέσποτα, πιεῖν, ἐπίδος τὸ βαυκάλιον». ὁ δέ· «καὶ  
 πάνν διψῶ», ἀντεῖπεν. εἴτα τὸ κρασοβόλιον ἐπὶ τὸ βαυκάλιον  
 αὐτοῦ κενωθὲν καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη· «ἄρα,  
 πάτερ, τὸ τοῦ βαυκαλίου τούτου μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ ὅπερ  
 ἐπιφέρει χαλκοῦν ἄγγειον μόνον, ἐκχέει, κἂν μικρὸν ἔστι κἂν  
 30 μέγα;» ὁ δέ· «πάντως, δέσποτα, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσου παρέχεται».   
 εἴτα δέ· «κρῦον (2) τοῦτο πίνουσι;» «μὴ γένοιτο», ἀντεῖπεν  
 ἐκεῖνος· «ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ὁ θερμοδοτῶν». εἴτα τό· «εὐλόγησον

1 ἐπὶ δείκνουν B. Cf. ἐπιλυχνίους p 56, l. 25. «συναριστῶντος?».

7 ἀπαξιώσης V. 13 πᾶσι c. 18 κοσμικοὺς μοναχοὺς B.

20 κ' αὐτὸς V. 23 κρᾶσιν V. 24 τοῦτέστιν V. 27 ἄρα V.

23 «εἰς τὸ τοῦ β.?» 31 κρῦον B.

(1) «φανείη or ὀχληρός?». Neither, direct speech, cf. p. 82, l. 14.

(2) With modern adjectival value.

too turned round and mixed in his cup. But it was extremely hot, and he began looking to left and right to see if they would add any wine. Then the father : « It is not the rule to add anything afterwards. As you see each one has mixed for himself to his own taste, some warmer, some colder ». So the emperor says to the father : « In place of this custom of yours you have expounded, henceforth it shall be possible freely to pour cold on top of the hot, and it is I who will provide the wherewithal ». Then he tasted it and said : « Where does this wine come from ? » They say : « It is grown here by your servants, sire ». And he says : « What a detestable wine ; and how many of these measures do they receive ■ day ? » « Two », says the father, « in the morning, and one in the evening, after the tradition of the Mountain » (1). Then the emperor : « See, holy father, I will consecrate to this new-built monastery the property in the Pyliatic which belonged to that poor wife of mine whom you had in aversion ; so you may be continually reminded of her and of me. I will make this gift good by chrysobull ». And so he afterwards did.

But before long trouble began again, and the father again incurred the sovereign's displeasure. For, hearing that his own brother Alexander was plotting to overthrow him, he took away his wife, leaving him to be carried about with every wind (2). The father interceded with him without cease, advising and exhorting him to feel for his brother and pity the woman he had unjustly punished. But when he failed to move him, he wrote in his own hand this : « Thus saith the Lord through me, the least of men. With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again » (3). He read the letter and tore it up, saying to the man who had brought it : « Say this to him who sent you : when, father, on my own initiative, of my own free-will, I speak of any matter to you, then it will be time for your dispensations and concern, for I am not going to have you for another Zaoutzes, giving me orders and instructions. So keep to your cell and attend to your own affairs without reaching out further ». The father was less annoyed by the message than

(1) Olympus.

(2) Eph. 4, 14.

(3) MATT., 7, 2.

θερμόν» ἐπακούσας, περιστροφείς καὺτὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ βανκαλίῳ κεκέρακεν. σφοδρῶς δὲ ζέοντος, ἤρξατο τῇδε κἀκεῖσε περισκοπεῖν εἴ πως ἄκρατον ἐπιχέωσιν. ὁ δὲ πατήρ πρὸς αὐτόν· «οὐ παράδοσίς ἐστιν εἰς ὕστερόν τι ἐπιβαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος  
5 τὸ ἴδιον καθὼς ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκειά ἐστι κεκέρακε, κἂν τε θερμότερον, κἂν τε ψυχρότερον». ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν πατέρα λέγει· «καὶ τοῦτο ἐπακολουθήσει τοῖς σοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσι τύποις τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δαφιλῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ βράσματος ψυχρὸν ἐπιχέεσθαι, κἀγὼ τὴν τούτου ἱκανοδοσίαν ἐκπληρώσω» γυνσάμενος δὲ ἔφη· «πόθεν  
10 οὗτος ὁ οἶνος;» οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν· «ἐκ τῶν ὧδε γεωργομένων δουλικῶν σου, δέσποτα». καὶ φησιν ἐκεῖνος· «φεῦ στυγερᾶς ἀμπέλου· πόσα δὲ τὸ ἡμερούσιον μετὰ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τούτου λαμβάνουσιν;» ὁ δὲ πατήρ· «δύο», ἔφη, «τῷ πρῶτ' καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄρους παράδοσιν» καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «ἰδοὺ,  
15 πάτερ ἄγιε, ἀφιεροῦμαι τῇ νεοκατασκεύῳ μονῇ ταύτῃ τὸ ἐν τῷ Πυλιατικῷ ὄν κτῆμα τῆς ταπεινῆς ἐκείνης μου γυναικός, πρὸς ἣν ἀπεχθῶς διέκεισο, ὅπως κἀμοῦ κἀκείνης ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύητε· διὰ χρυσοβούλλου δὲ δωρεᾶς τοῦτο παρέξομαι». ὁ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πεποίηκεν.  
20 Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ πάλιν ταραχαί, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀγανάκτησις. τῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀκούσας νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντα κατ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰδίας γαμετῆς ἐστέρησεν, τοῦτον ἐάσας παντὶ ἀνέμῳ περιφέρεισθαι· ὁ δὲ πατήρ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο δυσωπῶν, παραινῶν, πα-  
25 ρακαλῶν τοῦ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμπαθῆσαι καὶ τῇ ἡδικημένῃ ἐλεῆσαι. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθεν, γράφει αὐτῷ οἰκειοχείρως οὕτως· «τάδε λέγει σοι κύριος δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου· ὃ κρίματι ἔκρινας κριθήσῃ, καὶ ὃ μέτρῳ ἐμέτρησας, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται σοι». ὁ δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀναγνούς καὶ διαρρήξας τῷ κομίσαντι ἔφη·  
30 «εἰπέ τῷ ἀποστείλαντί σε· εἰς ὅσα, πάτερ, οἴκοθεν κινούμενος ἐξ ἰδίας θελήσεως εἶπω σοι, ἐκείνων καὶ οἰκονόμει καὶ φρόντιζε· ἐπεὶ οὐ καταδέχομαι σοι ἔχειν ἄλλον Ζαούτζην προστάσσοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττοντα. τοίνυν καθέξου εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου καὶ πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ παραιτέρῳ μὴ παρεκτεινόμενος». ὁ δὲ πατήρ

4 ὕστερον τί V.

6 τῷ πατρὶ B.

13 π(ατ)ερ V.

14 «ὄρου?». 21-22 τῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ c. 22 νεο-

τερίζειν c.

24 π(ατ)ερ V.

25 τῇ ἡδικημένῃ c.

32 σε B.

34 σέαυτῷ V.

delighted to remain in the seclusion of his monastery. When Lent arrived our father did not go to the palace, although the sovereign invited him, but returned this answer: «Above all that I owe you, I rejoice most in this one thing, your telling me to stay quiet and attend to my own affairs, and with God's help I will obey, attending to my own affairs, and praying for you». When the emperor failed to persuade him to come, he sent candles and incense and begged the father to pray for him.

But I will relate something worthy of this father's simplicity and pure heart. At that time, Arcadius, now with the saints, was abbot of the most venerable monastery of Stoudios', and so renowned was he for his piety and virtue that the emperor himself went in awe of his great virtue. Such was this most holy man's friendship and true affection for our father Euthymius that they confided to each other their thoughts and state of mind. Now on the sunday of Quinquagesima, the aforementioned Arcadius, detained for some good reason, was not with the father for their usual meeting. In the evening the father, as was his custom, bade all the brothers good-night and prayed with them, and then retired to the quiet of his cell. Next day, past the third hour, appeared this aforementioned abbot of Stoudios' asking for the father's prayers and excusing himself. Our father received him gladly, coming out of his cell to meet him, and embracing him, and began to rejoice and to say to him: «Welcome, shepherd of Christ's spiritual sheep. Truly you are to me as the Forerunner himself». Until the sixth hour they talked as usual, instructing and encouraging one another to renewed efforts, till the great Arcadius said to him: «as we have not neglected anything of our usual practice, nor let us neglect the exercise of discretion». Whereupon the other immediately ordered the sounding-board to be struck, and, at the end of nones, the lighting-up hymn to be sung, and he ordered a table

οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἠχθέσθη, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῇ μᾶλλον ἠδύνθη τοῦ ἀπροόπτως ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ διάγειν. ἡ τῶν ἀγίων νηστειῶν παρείσbaσις παρῇν, καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐκ ἀνῆγει καίπερ προσκληθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, ἀλλ' ἀντε-  
 5 δῆλον αὐτῷ · « ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν παρὰ σου εἰς ἐμὲ γεγονότων ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον εὐφρανα, μηνύσας καθέζεσθαι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ, ὃ καὶ μετὰ θεὸν διατηρήσω ἑαυτῷ προσ-  
 10 ἐχων καὶ ὑπὲρ σου εὐχόμενος ». ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο ἀνελθεῖν, κηρὸν καὶ θυμιάματα ἀποστείλας εὐχεσθαι τοῦτον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 10 καθικέτευεν.

Εἶπω δέ τι καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπλότητος καὶ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἐπάξιον. τῆς τῶν Στουδίων εὐαγεστάτης μονῆς κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς ἡγεῖτο ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Ἀρκάδιος, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ περιβόητος ἦν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασι-  
 15 λεύοντα αἰδεῖσθαι τούτον τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος. οὗτος ὁ ἱερώ-  
 20 τatos ἀνὴρ εἰς τοσαύτην φιλίας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς ἀγάπης διά-  
 25 θεσιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιον διετέθη, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων ἀλλήλοις θαρρεῖν. τῆς τοίνυν κυριακῆς, ἣτις καὶ τυροφάγος καλεῖται, καταλαβούσης, ἀσχο-  
 30 ληθεὶς ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς Ἀρκάδιος εἰς εὐλόγους τινὰς ὑπο-  
 35 θέσεις οὐ παρῇν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τὸ σῦνῆθες τοῦ ἀλλήλους συντάξασθαι. ὁ δὲ πατήρ, ὥς αὐτῷ εἴθιστο, ἀφ' ἐσπέρας τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀδελφοῖς συνταξάμενος καὶ ἐπενεξάμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ ἡσυχαστικῷ κελλίῳ εἰσέδυν. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, τῆς τρίτης ὥρας  
 40 25 τελουμένης, παρῇν καὶ ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς τῶν Στουδίων ἡγού-  
 45 30 μενος, πῇ μὲν καὶ παράθεσιν ζητῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, πῇ δὲ καὶ προσ-  
 50 35 απολογούμενος. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἡμῶν τοῦτον ἀσπασίως δεξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τε κελλίου ἐξῆει καὶ προσυπαντήσας καὶ περι-  
 55 32 πλακεὶς ἤρξατο εὐφραίνεισθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ · « καλῶς ἦλθες,  
 60 30 ὁ ποιμὴν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λογικῶν προβάτων. ὄντως ὥς αὐτόν σε τὸν πρόδρομον δέδεγμαι ». μέχρι δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας προσομιλή-  
 65 32 σαντες καὶ ὥς ἐξ ἔθους ἀλλήλους ἐπ' ἀγῶσιν ἀλείφαντες καὶ κανονίσαντες, φησὶν ὁ μέγας πρὸς αὐτόν Ἀρκάδιος · « εἰ τοῦ  
 70 32 ἐξ ἔθους τύπον οὐδὲν παρελείψαμεν, μὴ δὲ τὴν τῆς διακρίσεως  
 75 35 συνήθειαν ». ὁ δὲ παρευθὺ κελεύει τὸ ξύλον κρουσθῆναι καὶ τῆς  
 80 35 ἐννάτης τελεσθείσης συνεπάδεσθαι καὶ τὸ λυχνικόν, τράπεζαν δὲ  
 85 35 παρετοιμασθῆναι προσέταξεν καὶ μετάληψιν οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου ·

5 αὐτῷ V.

6 ἡσυχία V.

21 ἀλλήλοις B.

31 πρόδρομο(ν) V.

32 ἐπαγῶσιν c.



to be prepared for the partaking of wine and oil ; and this was done. And so, bidding each other farewell, these most discreet of fathers, having settled everything, began each his own struggle (1), this holy season of Lent. And the sermons which he preached during the first week, fairly copied in his own hand, he presented to us, the brethren of the monastery. It was at this time too that he had a fearful vision concerning Peter the bishop of Gordorynia, now among the saints, who was buried in the chapel of the holy father Nicolas, near the sea, outside the town, and had him translated into the town, and glorified and magnified him in panegyrics, having learned accurately about him from his disciples, and when he came from Seleucia. And he composed many other panegyrics and hymns illustrating the memory of the saints, and so he wrote and kept to the way of *hesychia*.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage

### X. — The prophecies made to the father, and the sad loss overtaking the emperor.

It was the Annunciation of Mary our Lady, undefiled, ever-virgin mother of God, on which bright-robed and radiant feast our father usually officiated. He had with him the father already mentioned, Arcadios, and one Epiphanios, whose sanctification was revealed in word and deed, who under Theophilus the Impious had endured prison and beatings, the pangs of hunger and repeated exiles without ceasing to minister to the holy fathers, not only Symeonios, the radiant confessor, but Gregory also, famed for his miracles, who is surnamed the Decapolite ; he was related to the father, and on the strength of this relationship was with him frequently. A number of others of the monastic order were there, including the abbot of St. Diomedes. These, then, were present, and heard the blessed Arcadius say :

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 1, p. 235-6.

δ καὶ γέγονεν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ διακριτικώτατοι πατέρες ἡμῶν  
 συνταξάμενοι ἀλλήλοις καὶ διευθετήσαντες ἕκαστος τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 ἀγῶσιν ἕκτοτε ἐνήρξαντο ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγίᾳ τεσσαρακοστῇ. καὶ  
 ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ λεχθείσαις τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος ὁμιλίαις  
 5 οἰκείαις χερσὶ καλλιγραφήσας ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἀδελφοῖς  
 παρέσχετο. τότε καὶ Πέτρον τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις ἐπίσκοπον Γορδο-  
 ρυνίας ἐν τῷ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς Νικολάου ἐκκλησίῳ τῷ πρὸς  
 θάλασσαν κειμένῳ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἄστεος δι' ὀπτασίας φοβερᾶς  
 ἐνδοθεν εἰσεκόμισε καὶ λόγοις ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐδόξασέν τε καὶ  
 10 ἐμεγάλυνεν, ὥς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἀναμαθὼν παρὰ τε τῶν μαθη-  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπὸ Σελευκείας αὐτοῦ εἰσόδῳ. καὶ ἑτέροις  
 δὲ πλείστοις ἐγκωμιάσας καὶ οἰκείοις ὕμνοις ταῖς μνείαις  
 τῶν ἀγίων καταφαιδρύνας, καλλιγραφῶν διετέλει τὸν τῆς ἡσυ-  
 χίας αὐτοῦ διανύων δρόμον.

15

Στάσις β'.

X. — Περὶ τῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ πατρὶ προρρηθέντων  
 καὶ τῆς ἐπερχομένης λύπης τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου  
 καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας παρῇν λαμπροφόρος καὶ φαιδρὰ ἐορτή,  
 20 ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐκτελεῖν εἴθιστο. παρῇν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς πατὴρ Ἀρκάδιος καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος τις ἀνὴρ  
 λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἡγιασμένος δεικνύμενος, ὃς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου τοῦ  
 δυσσεβοῦς εἰρκταῖς καὶ ῥαβδισμοῖς καὶ λιμαγχονήσεσι καὶ δια-  
 φόροις ἐξορίαις προσκαρτερῶν οὐ διέλιπε διακονῶν ἀγίοις πα-  
 25 τράσι, Συμεώνιον τε τὸν ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ ἀστράψαντα, οὐ μὴν δὲ  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν ἐν θαύμασι περιβόητον, ὃν Δεκαπολί-  
 την καλοῦσιν· ὃς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀγχιστεὺς ἐτόγχανε καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο τῇ τῆς συγγενείας θαρρῶν ἐγγύτῃ ἐπὶ συχνῶ τούτῳ  
 παρέβαλεν. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ τινες πλείστοι τοῦ μοναχικοῦ τάγ-  
 30 ματος, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγίου Διομήδους ἡγούμενος. ὧν κατενώπιον  
 ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀρκάδιος εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἔφη· « ἰδού, πάτερ

2 « καὶ περὶ πάντων διευθετήσαντες? as XVIII, 5 ». 2-3 τοὺς ἰδίους  
 ἀγῶνας B. 4 τὰς ... λεχθείσας ... ὁμιλίας B. 8 κειμένῳ c.

9 εἰσεκόμισε V. 11-12 ἑτέρους δὲ πλείστους B. τὰς μνείας B.

16 προρρηθέντων c. 25 Συμεωνίῳ... τῷ ... ἀστράψαντι ... καὶ Γρηγορίῳ  
 τῷ περιβόητῳ B.

« Behold, father Euthymius, I too have a matter to announce to you on this joyful day; you shall be patriarch of Constantinople; this night was this revealed to me. And if God speeds the matter to bring it to effect, I have one favour to beg of you, ■ desire I bear in my heart ». Then the father answered: « Name this favour, my father, and if God gives me the power, consider your wish already fulfilled ». Then the other: « The venerable head of the Forerunner ». He replied: « I suspect that your request is beyond my power. But the Lord's will be done ». The father added: « What you have announced to us is without price, sacred and sublime (unworthy as we are) so much is clear; but what you ask for is more than sacred and more than beyond price, that is altogether clear. However, seeing you have revealed the wish toward us of your very heart and soul, and since, as far as lies with you, you have granted me the helm of the Church, I too assure your Holiness that, as far as my will goes, you may hope to have [the head] in your sacred monastery, if indeed I can get a word's hearing; for I will speak of nothing and ask for nothing before this. But, as I see it, father, if the ruler persists in his self-will and reckless ways, assuredly he will again be making exiles of us ». The venerable company then made their farewells and left. But the late Epiphanius, taking the father aside, said: « Know, my lord Euthymius, that you will be patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo the emperor will again be your pitiful suppliant, and you will meet no more opposition from him, but it is he who, on the holy and glorious day of Easter, will be greatly cast down and in affliction, and will fall into inconsolable grief, and misfortune not to be comforted, that, while all rejoice, he will grieve and mourn. As for me, I go to Salonica, to the martyr St. Demetrius to bid farewell to the disciples there of Dom Symeon, my fathers. For in returning to you my business with life is accomplished ». So, after taking leave of our holy father, and receiving from him presents (1) for the brothers there, he went his way.

It was Palm Sunday, and the father, summoned once and twice by the sovereign, nor by him alone but by the patriarch too, refused, alleging that the poor state of his health made it impossible. The

(1) *εὐλογία*, see *Index graecitatis*.

Εὐθύμει, εὐαγγελίζομαι καὶ γὰρ σοι ἐν τῇ χαρμοσύνῳ ταύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πατριάρχην μέλλειν γενέσθαι σε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀπεκαλύφθη ταύτῃ τῇ διελθούσῃ νυκτί. καὶ εἰ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ κατενοδοῦντος γένηται μίαν αἰτῶ χάριν παρὰ σου, 5 ἦν καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ φέρω». ὁ δὲ πατὴρ πρὸς αὐτόν· «λέγε, πάτερ, τὴν χάριν, καὶ εἰ ἰσχὺν ὁ θεὸς παρέξει, νόμιζε ταύτην πληροῦσθαι σοι». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· «τὴν τοῦ Προδρομοῦ τιμίαν κάραν». ὁ δὲ ἀντεῖπεν· «ὥς ὑπολαμβάνω, ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν ἢ αἰτησις. ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω». ὁ δὲ πατὴρ πάλιν ἔφη· 10 «ὅτι μὲν καὶ ὁ ἡμῖν εὐηγγελίσω τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἔστιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀνάξιοι, εὐδελον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥτησας ὑπεράγιον καὶ ὑπέριτον, παντὶ πονοῦντι δῆλον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας αὐτῆς θέλησιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλυψας, καὶ ὅσον τὰ κατὰ σε τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρέσχες οἶακας, καὶ γὰρ 15 προσβεβαίω τῇ ἀγιοσύνῃ σου, ὥς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν βούλησιν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μονῇ σου ταύτην ἔλπιζε ἔχειν, εἶπερ καὶ μέχρι ῥήματος ἀκουσθήσομαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου ἢ προσλαλήσω ἢ αἰτήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὥς ὁρῶ, πάτερ, εἰ οὕτως ὁ κρατῶν ἐπιμένει τῇ αὐτοῦ ἰδιορρυθμίᾳ καὶ ἰταμότητι, τάχα ἂν καὶ ὑπεροξίους ἡμᾶς πάλιν 20 ἀποκαταστήσοιεν». οἱ δὲ τίμιοι δαιτυμόνες συνταξάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἀπήεσαν. Ἐπιφάνιος δὲ ὁ ἀοίδιμος τῷ πατρὶ κατ' ἰδίαν προσλαβὼν ἔφη· «γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, κύριε Εὐθύμει, πατριάρχης γίνῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Λέων πάλιν ἱκέτης ἐλθὲν εἰς σοὶ γενήσεται, καὶ οὐκέτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐναντίον τί σοι συμ- 25 βήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχᾳ ἀγίᾳ καὶ λαμπρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ στυγνάζει καὶ κατηφὴς διατελέσει καὶ θλίψει περιπεσεῖται ἀπαραμυθῆτω καὶ συμφορᾷ ἀπαρηγορήτω, ὥστε, πάντων ἐορταζόντων, αὐτὸν θρηνεῖν καὶ κόπτεσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πορεύομαι τῷ μάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ συντάξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε 30 τοῦ κυροῦ Συμεὼν φοιτητὰς καὶ πατέρας μου. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρὸς σε πάλιν ὑποστρέφειν με τότε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς πεπλήρωνται». οὕτως τῷ ἁγίῳ πατρὶ ἡμῶν συνταξάμενος καὶ εὐλογίας χάριν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀδελφῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κομισάμενος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἦγεν.

35 Ἡ βαῖ' ἀπάντησις παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις παρὰ τοῦ ἀνακτος ὁ πατὴρ προσκλήθει, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος, ἀναβολὴν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐξ ταλαιπωρίας ἀδυναμίαν

emperor was much put out by this, so much so that he sent his cup-bearer to reproach him. The father thereupon revealed to him the great and insoluble misfortune that was about to overtake him, adding « by alms and good deeds and by freeing your debtors and prisoners, you may flee the Wrath coming to you » (1). The emperor, when he had heard, said : « Apparently some debtors have fled to him for refuge, and hence this new warning ; for I have received no ill news from the East nor from the West. Yet I fear, for what he says always comes true, lest something now happen ». And he was in anguish. But when the Day of days arrived, the holy day of Easter, the wife of the sovereign, Eudocia Baianē, expired in the pains of childbirth — a pitiful spectacle, to the insoluble grief of the emperor, to whom she had been married one year ; and the Senate spent this joyful and glorious holy-day as a day of mourning, condoling with the emperor. But when he would have taken her to bury in his new-built monastery of St. Lazarus, he was prevented of his purpose by the holy man who was abbot at the time, Hierotheos, who sent the body back from the very gate to the palace ; and therefore next day it was escorted by the Senate to the shrine of the holy Apostles. The monarch sent to the father to come to the palace, adding through his messenger : « Look, father, we see that the prophecy you showed us has had its accomplishment. But as for the funeral tomorrow, do not refuse your attendance ». But he sends back : « May God, the Holy One, the consolation of those that mourn, the comfort of the afflicted, himself heal the grief of your heart and give you the refreshment of patience. As author of your own misfortunes, do not be discouraged. Whatever ills we contrive for ourselves, and however great, they come to us from Him who weighs all our actions justly. But do not, on the glorious and august day of the Resurrection, bring a cloud over your royal city, making the brightness and joy of our common salvation

(1) Reminiscence of *MATT.*, 3, 7 ; *I Thess.*, 1, 10 ; etc.



προβαλλόμενος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠχθέσθη, ὥστε  
καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πυγερὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστεῖλαι καὶ προσονει-  
δίσαι. ὁ δὲ δημοῖ αὐτῷ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι  
μεγάλην καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον συμφορὰν, καὶ ὅτι « ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις  
5 καὶ εὐπραγίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν χρεωστούντων καὶ ἐγκεκλεισμένων  
ἐλευθερώσει τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐπερχομένην φεύξῃ δογῇ ». ὁ δὲ βασι-  
λεὺς ἀκούσας ἔφη · « ὥς ἔοικέν τινες αὐτῷ κατέφυγον προσ-  
σύντες ὑπὸ χρεοί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν προσυπομνήσκει μοι ·  
ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἐξ ἀνατολῆς οὔτε μὴν ἐκ δύσεως στυγερὴν ἀγγε-  
10 λίαν δέδεγμαι. δέδοικα δὲ μήποτε αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἀληθεύοντός τι  
καὶ ἄρτι γενήσεται ». καὶ ὥς ἐναγώνιος διετέλει. τῆς δὲ κυ-  
ρίας τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως καταλαβούσης, ἡ τοῦ  
βασιλεύοντος γαμετή, Εὐδοκία ἡ καὶ Βαϊανὴ προσκεκλημένη,  
ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τοκετοῦ ὠδίσιν ἐξέφυξεν, ἐλεεινὸν θέαμα καὶ ἀπαρα-  
15 μύθητος θλίψις γενομένη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ ἐνιαντῷ ἐνὶ τούτῳ  
συμβιώσασα · ἡ τε σύγκλητος τὴν χαρμόσυνον ταύτην καὶ λαμ-  
πρὰν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν συναλγοῦσα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι πένθιμον ἐξε-  
τέλεσε. πρὸς δὲ τὸ νεωστὶ κατασκευασθὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἁγίου  
Λαζάρου μοναστήριον ταύτην κομίσαι καὶ ἐνταφιάσαι βουλη-  
20 θείς παρὰ τοῦ ἐκείσε τὴν ἡγουμενείαν κατέχοντος ἁγίου ἀνδρός,  
Ἱεροθέου τῇ κλήσει, τοῦ σκοποῦ κεκώλυται ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόρ-  
της τὸ λείψανον πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια ἀντιστρέψαντος · καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
τῇ ἐπαύριον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἱερῷ σηκῷ  
μετακομίζεται · ὅτε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνελθεῖν  
25 ὁ ἄναξ δεδήλωκε προσθεὶς τοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἀποσταλέντῳ ·  
« ἰδοὺ, πάτερ, ὥς ὁρῶμεν ἡ δηλωθεῖσά μοι παρὰ σου προφη-  
τεία πέρας ἐδέξατο. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰς αὐριον γινομένη κηδείᾳ παρα-  
γενέσθαι μὴ κατοκνήσης ». ὁ δὲ ἀντιδηλοῖ αὐτῷ · « ὁ θεὸς ὁ  
ἅγιος, ἡ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις καὶ παραμυθία τῶν ἀθυ-  
30 μούντων, αὐτὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἄλγος θεραπεύσοι ἀναψυχὴν  
σοι ὑπομονῆς παρεχόμενος. ὥς αὐτοουργὸς δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ συμ-  
βαινόντων καθιστάμενος μὴ ἀθύμει · ἅπερ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
τεκταίνομεν, ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τὰ ἡμῶν δικαίως ζυγοστα-  
τοῦντος ἀπολαμβάνομεν. μὴ θελήσης δὲ τὴν τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστά-  
35 σεως λαμπρὰν καὶ παγγέραστον ἡμέραν σκυθρωπάσαι τὴν παρὰ  
σοι βασιλευσόμενην πόλιν, μηδὲ ἀντὶ παιδρότητος καὶ χαρμονῆς

3 αὐτῷ V.

6 ἐπὶ σε B.

7 ἔοικεν τινές V.

αὐτῷ V.

8 « με? ».

10 ἀληθεύοντος τί V.

15 ἐνιαντῷ V.

18 αὐτῷ V.

26 παρὰ σοῦ V.

28 κατοκνήσης c.

35-36 παρὰ σοὶ V.

and resurrection give way before lamentation and the wailing of mourners. For this were unworthy of our blameless faith as Christians. But if you will take the advice of a humble old monk. let her be buried quietly : for of what avail to her the wailing procession and disorderly cries ? For all these, no less surely will she go down into the same grave. But this I know, now you will take these words of my humility for babbling. But later you will see ». When he had heard this message the emperor, though the evening was far gone, wrote to him ; « We have seen clearly the accomplishment of that long before revealed to us in hints by your Holiness, and for your recent communications, and your declaration now that these were deserved, and ourselves the author of what overtook us, we thank you, agreeing to these points. But where has your Holiness read that the dead should not be buried on Easter day ? I found nothing true in what you sent, except that I should take your words for babbling : so I shall, and take no account of them. For tomorrow it is my will she should be borne, as empress, followed by the Senate, in royal state, to the grave, and I will show this populous city that Eudocia, empress of the Romans, is dead, that among them at least I may find fellow-mourners and sharers of my grief. Farewell, enjoy your retreat, and pray for us ». On reading this, the father made his usual comment, and after the Sunday following (1) Easter, with six other brothers, left for St. Agathos', to avoid any unpleasantness.

It should be known that after the reconciliation of Mapas, that is Stylianos of Neocaesaria, and the Union of the whole Church, that same year Anthony, after an outstandingly blessed and praiseworthy life, died on the twelfth of the month of February, and a.901 Nicolas, who at that time was private secretary, received the helm of the Church in his stead.

(1) DU CANGE, « κυριακή ».

τῆς πάντων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἀναστάσεως θρήνους καὶ κω-  
κυτοὺς γοεροὺς ἐπιφέρειν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνάξιον τῆς ἡμῶν τῶν  
χριστιανῶν ἀμωμήτου πίστεως. ἀλλ' εἰ βουλὴν παραδέχῃ τα-  
πεινοῦ μοναχοῦ γέροντος, μεθ' ἡσυχίας τῷ τάφῳ ἀποδοθῇτω ·  
5 τί γὰρ ὄφελος ταύτῃ αἱ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων βοαὶ καὶ ἄτακτοι  
κραυγαί; πάντως καὶ τούτων γινομένων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τάφῳ  
εἰσελεύσεται. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς τὰ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου  
ῥήματα τὰ νῦν ὡς λῆρον ἡγήσῃ · ὅφει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα». ὁ δὲ  
βασιλεὺς ἀκηκοὺς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν, καίπερ ἐσπέρας βα-  
10 θείας οὔσης, γράφει πρὸς αὐτόν · « τῆς πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν παρὰ  
τῆς σῆς ἀγιωσύνης δηλωθείσης ἐμφάσεως τὸ πέρας ὁρῶντες  
ἐνεργῶς γενόμενον, καὶ ἃ πρῶην γέγραφας, καὶ ἃ τὰ νῦν δεδή-  
λωκας, ὡς δικαίως ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς αὐτουργοὶ τούτων τῶν ἐπερ-  
χομένων, εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἐπὶ τούτοις στέργοντες. ποῦ δὲ ἀνέγνω  
15 ἡ ἀγιωσύνη σου μὴ ἐνταφιάζεσθαι τεθνεῶτα ἐν ἀναστασίμῳ  
ἡμέρᾳ; οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ σου δηλωθέντων ἀληθὲς εἶδρον, ἢ  
τό · ὡς λῆρον ἡγήσῃ τὰ ῥήματά μου · τοῦτο καὶ ποιήσω ἀκν-  
ρῶν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ μοι δηλούμενα. αὖριον γὰρ ὡς βασιλῖδα ταύ-  
την σὺν τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ βασιλικῶς τῷ τάφῳ παραπέμφομαι  
20 καὶ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ ταύτῃ πόλει ὑποδείξω, ὡς Εὐδοκίᾳ ἡ βα-  
σιλὶς Ῥωμαίων ἐτελεύτησεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν συλλυπουμένους  
καὶ συναλγοῦντας εὐρήσομαι. σὺ δὲ ἔρρωσο τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ σου  
καταπολαύων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχόμενος». τούτων ὁ πατὴρ  
ἀναγνούς καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἔθους ῥῆμα προσειπὼν μετὰ τὴν νέαν κυρια-  
25 κὴν σὺν ἐτέροις ἐξ ἀδελφοῖς εἰς τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ ἐξήει τὰς ὀχλήσεις  
ἀποδιδράσκων.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μάππα <τοῦ> καὶ Στυλιανοῦ  
τοῦ Νεοκαισαρείας συνέλευσιν καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐκκλησίας ἐνωσιν  
Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ καὶ αἰοιδίμῳ ζωῇ διαπρέψας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
30 ἐνιαυτῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ δωδεκάτῃ,  
Νικόλαος δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ (1) μυστικός, τοὺς  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναδέχεται οἰακας.

16 ἡμέρα V. παρὰ σοῦ V. 19 συγκλήτῳ V. 21 καὶ ἂν V.  
22 « τῆς ἡσυχίας? ». 23 « τοῦτο? ». 25 « εἰς τὴν τοῦ? ». ἐξήει V.  
27 Ἰστέον c. « πάππα cod. The first π in 2nd hand in rasur. ». 30 ἐνιαυ-  
τῷ V. 31 κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ B.

(1) κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ. See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, p. 241-2.

**XI. — How the emperor was wounded  
in the church of St. Mocius martyr (11.5.903)**

Not long after, at the feast of mid-Pentecost, the emperor set out in person, with the sacred Senate, for his customary progress through the holy shrine of St. Mocius martyr. On arriving there, he with the patriarch Nicolas made his entry into the church. When suddenly there leapt down from the pulpit, in the direction of the solea, a man, Stylianos by name but completely unknown and unrecognised by anyone, who brought down the staff he was carrying, with great violence on the emperor's head. And if the chandelier which hung over the spot had not taken the force of the blow, one had surely seen the emperor dead and breathing no more ; for, just grazed as he was, he was covered with blood. There was general panic at the suddenness of the deed, all the Senate took to flight, as well as the occupants of the bema ; not a soul remained with the emperor but six men belonging to the Middle Guard ; one of these called Chandaris immediately threw the wretch on the ground and drew his sword, asking : « Shall I strike sire ? » But he shook his head saying : « Bind him and keep close watch on him ». He was now bitterly grieved with Nicolas the patriarch, because not one of his clergy had remained so much as in the bema, not even Nicolas himself. When even Alexander, his co-emperor and brother, however unbrotherly his feelings, made a show of throwing himself down from the so called catechoumenia. So the emperor was brought safe to the Petrion, as it is called, by the sea, while the desperado Stylianos endured fearful tortures beyond healing, and, having told nothing but his own name, was burned at the stake. Understanding now the prophecies revealed to him by the father, the emperor again became his suppliant, not through an intermediary, but in his own person offering (1), and reconciling (2) himself, and because he repented, the father with all his soul accepted him

(1) *Heb.*, 9, 14, 25, 28 ; 10, 12.

(2) *Rom.*, 5, 10 ; *II Cor.*, 5, 18 ; 19, 20.

XI. — Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ Μωκίου  
τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος ἐπενεχθείσης πληγῆς τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρα  
παρῆν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ καθὼς εἰώθει  
5 προέρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Μωκίου πανιέρῳ σηκῷ  
ἀπῆει. ἐκεῖσε τοίνυν ἀφικόμενος σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Νικολᾶῳ  
τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐξετέλει. ἐξαίφνης δὲ ἐκπηδήσας κάτωθεν  
τοῦ ἄμβωνος ὡς πρὸς τὴν σολίαν τις ἀνὴρ, Στυλιανὸς μὲν τῇ  
κλήσει, ἀγνώριστος δὲ πάντῃ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τινος γινωσκόμενος  
10 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κεφαλὴν τὴν ῥάβδον, ἣν ἐπεφέρειτο, ῥαγ-  
δαίως κατέφερεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἄνωθεν κρεμάμενον πολυ-  
κάνδηλον τὴν ὀξεῖαν φορὰν τῆς ῥάβδου ἐδέξατο, τάχα ἂν νεκρὸς  
καὶ ἄπνους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείκνυτο · ἐκ γὰρ τῆς μικρᾶς προσ-  
ψάυσεως ταύτης αἰμόφυρτος ἐγεγόνει. τότε δὴ πάντων ἐπὶ  
15 τῷ ἄθρῳ τοῦ γεγονότος πτοηθέντων, φυγάδες ὥχοντο οἱ τε  
τῆς συγκλήτου ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος, καὶ εἰ μὴ  
μόνοις ἐξ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχων οὐκ ἦν, καὶ οὗτοι τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης  
ἐταιρείας · ἐξ ὧν ὁ εἷς λεγόμενος Χάνταρις εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ ἀπορ-  
ρῖψαι τὸν ἄθλιον ἐκείνον ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν σπάθην γυμνώσας · «κρούω»,  
20 ἔφη, «δέσποτα ; » ὁ δὲ ἀνένευσεν εἰπὼν · « δῆσαντες τοῦτον ἀσφα-  
λῶς τηρήσατε ». τότε καὶ πρὸς Νικόλαον τὸν πατριαρχοῦντα  
ἠχθέσθη τὰ μέγιστα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου καταλειφθῆναί  
τινα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἀλλ' οὔτε αὐτὸν Νικόλαον. ὅτε καὶ  
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ συμβασιλεύων αὐτῷ, ὁ καὶ ἀδελφός, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
25 τὰ ἀδελφὰ φρονῶν, προσεποιήσατο τοῦ ἑαυτὸν καταβαλεῖν ἀπὸ  
τῶν καλουμένων κατηχουμενίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ  
καλουμένῳ Πετρίῳ τῷ πρὸς θάλασσαν διασώζεται, Στυλιανὸς  
δὲ ὁ τολμητίας βασιάνοις ἀνηκέστοις καὶ φρικώδεσιν ἐγκαρτερή-  
σας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ προσειπὼν διὰ πυρὸς  
30 ἐτελειώθη. τότε συνεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δηλου-  
μέναις αὐτῷ προρρήσεσιν ἱκέτης τούτου· πάλιν καθίσταται  
οὐ δι' ἑτέρου τινός, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσφέρων καὶ καταλ-  
λάσσων · ὃν ὁ πατὴρ μεταμελόμενον ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς προσεδέ-

3 « οὐ μετὰ πολὺ? ». οὐ μετ'? Cf. 92, 21. 14 ταύτης V. τὸδε c.  
15 ὥχοντο V. 17 μόνους B. 22-23 καταλειφθῆναι τινὰ V.  
29 προσειπὼ(ν) V. 30 τὰς ... δηλουμένας ... προρρήσεις B.  
32-33 καταλάσσων c.



and granted him forgiveness; and the emperor took the father from St. Agathos' and persuaded him to stay three days at the palace.

Not long after, the town was thrown into confusion by Doukas' a.905 folly. Having prepared a revolt, he shut himself up in the town of Kabala for six months sulking and then set his way (1) towards the Agarenes. And, summoned several times by the monarch through chrysobulls made binding by the fearful oaths set therein, and more than this, the emperor's own phylacta, he, being hardened in heart, disdained the return to the right path and deserted to the Assyrians, leaving a lamentable fame among Christians of generations yet to be. Now the emperor was distressed and perturbed by this business, and in doubt what to do. At which point arrives a transfuge from those with Doukas, saying that he has something for the emperor, and when he sees him gives him a note, along with three others, which Andronicus had received while at Kabala, from the capital. The emperor seized them in his hands and studied them, examining both the handwriting and the tenor of each. And one of them was found to have not only the style but the very handwriting of the patriarch Nicolas. When the emperor recognised it as his, he changed countenance utterly, and, seized with a trembling, ordered someone else to read it aloud to him. It was to this effect: « Most glorious and magnificent Doukas, future emperor Andronicus, I advise and beg you not to expose yourself, do not let yourself be undermined by the emperor's envoys, and put no trust in those who go out to you; it is all, whether written or spoken, the same old lies. For that Satan in disguise, Samonas, is still gnashing his teeth against you. Hold on, keep increasing your strength, and let the fact be known, and before long the town will, at our instigation, be calling for you. Do not forget our humble self when you reach success. Fare-

(1) Cf. p. 26, 24.

ξατο καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἀπένειμεν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτον ἀπάρας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις τούτῳ προσκαρτερῆσαι προσέπεισεν.

Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τάραχος τῇ πόλει κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ 5 τῇ τοῦ Δουκὸς παροινίᾳ. μούλτον γὰρ συσκευάσας καὶ ἐν τῷ Καβάλα λεγομένῳ ἄστει ἀποδυσπετήσας καὶ καθεσθείς ἐπὶ μυσίῳ ἐξ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς τὸ ὄρημα ἔστησεν. πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος προσκληθεὶς διὰ τε χρυσοβούλλων γραμματείων καὶ φρικτῶν ὄρκων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένων, οὐ μὴν 10 δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακτῶν, ὃ τῇ καρδίᾳ πεπωρωμένος τὴν ἐπὶ καλῷ ἐπιστροφῇ οὐ κατεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀσσυρίους ἀπηντομόλησεν, ἐλεεινὸν ἄκουσμα καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα χριστιανοῖς καταλιπών. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδυσφόρει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἥσχαλλεν, τί ἂν πράξοι διανοούμενος. τότε δὴ εἰσέρχε- 15 ται τις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουκὸς πρόσφνξ ἔχειν τι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγων. ὃν ἰδὼν ἐπιδίδωσι πιττάκιον ἐγγεγραμμένον σὺν ἑτέροις τρισίν, ἅπερ ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν τῇ Καβάλα καθεζόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλενομένης πόλεως ἐδέξατο. αἱ καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ὁ βασιλεὺς κρατήσας τὴν τε γραφὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν ἐκάστω 20 τούτων κατανοούμενος περιεσκόπει· ἐξ ὧν εὗρέθη τὸ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου σύνταξιν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκειάν χειρογραφίαν ἔχον τοῦ πατριαρχούντος Νικολάου. ὥς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐπέγνω, ἡλλοιώθη ὄλος, καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος παρ' ἑτέρου ἀναγινώσκεισθαι εἰς ἐπήκοον αὐτοῦ κελεύει. ἦν δὲ 25 τὴν ἔμφασιν ταύτην ἔχον· « Δοῦξ ἐνδοξότατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατε, μελλοαύγουστε Ἀνδρόνικε, παρεγγυῶμαι καὶ παραινῶ σοι μὴ προέσθαι ἑαυτόν, μηδ' ὑποκαταβληθῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ δὲ καταπιστεῦσαι τοῖς ἐξιοῦσι πρὸς σε· ψευδῇ γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ ξωλα τὰ δηλούμενα καὶ γραφόμενα. ὁ γὰρ 30 σατανῶννος ἀκμὴν κατὰ σου διαπρίεται Σαμωνᾶς. μεῖνον τοίνυν προσκαρτερῶν καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος καὶ κατ' οὐνομα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ ἡ πόλις ταχέως διὰ τῶν ἡμῶν παραινέσεων ἐπιζητήσῃ σε. μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ δὲ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως

4 τῇ c τὴν πόλιν B

6 ἄστυ c

9 γραμματίων c

11 πεπορωμένος c

14 ἥσχαλεν c

15 τί V

19 κρατήνας V

ἐκάστω c

ἐκάστον B

23 ἡλλοιώθη V

26 μελοαύγουστε c

30 κατὰ σοῦ V

31 « κατὰ τοῦνομα? »

well». But when, in the reading of these matters from Doukas, those present were mentioned by name, the emperor was stupefied, and ordered them, since they were present, to be called forth. When, however, all was confirmed by them, he said nothing to the patriarch, keeping his grief to himself. For they were adopted brothers and fellow-students. Nothing, however, that was said or done escaped the patriarch; for certain of the chamberlains informed him of everything. And he, alarmed at all this, decided to conciliate the emperor, by approving all his wishes, even to the receiving of his son by Zoe, the infant prince Constantine, in the Great Church, and baptising him with his own hands, in spite of strong opposition on the part of Epiphanius of Laodicea who, with some of the metropolitans, stood out against it. Our father Euthymius was present on this occasion, standing publicly sponsor for this infant Constantine; as, however, he could not, from age and physical infirmity, carry the young prince, Samonas was instructed to do so. The patriarch Nicolas said then to father Euthymius «Behold, holy father, in this child you see the fruit of prayer. For even now, in our generation, there are men who truly are servants of God. Seven priests we instructed to remain for as many days in this great and holy temple of the Wisdom of God, their faces turned to the altar, daily by their prayers propitiating God the holy One, and thus we have caused the emperor to obtain that he desired. And behold we rejoice with him that he has a beloved son».

At this period the patriarch, utterly determined to appease the emperor (caught as he was in the series of his own misdoings) was telling the monarch daily everything the metropolitans said to him, and contrasting what he had said to them, and giving his opinion, making it known that he would bring over every one one of the metropolitans. So he agreed to perform the ceremony of entering with him on the foundation day of the Great church of

κατευοδούμενος. ἔρρωσο ». ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρεστῶσι, τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων παρὰ τοῦ Δουκός, ἐξ ὀνόματος ἔλεγεν ἔθαμβοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ παροῦσι κἀκεῖνοις προσκληθῆναι παρεκελεύετο. τὴν δὲ γε βεβαίωσιν παρ' αὐτῶν δεξάμενος, τῷ πα-  
 5 τριάρχῃ μὴδὲν προσειπὼν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀλγυνόμενος διετέλει. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ θετὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ συνίστωρ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ἢ λεγομένων αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν · τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τούτῳ πάντα ἐγνώρισαν. ὃς ἐπὶ τούτοις δεδιὼς συνενδοκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνετίθετο οἰκονομεῖν ἐν πάσαις  
 10 αὐτοῦ ταῖς θελήσεσι, καὶ τόσον ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζωῆς νιῷ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσδέξασθαι καὶ βαπτίσειν τοῦτον οἰκείαις χερσίν, καίπερ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Λαοδικεῖας πολλὰ ἀντεχομένου καὶ ἀναβαλλομένου τοῦτο μὴ γενέσθαι καὶ τινων μητροπολιτῶν. ὅτε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ  
 15 ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιος ἐκεῖσε παρῆν ἀνάδοχος τοῦ νέου τούτου Κωνσταντίνου γνωριζόμενος · διὰ δὲ γῆρας καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν σώματος ἀδυναμοῦντος τούτου, τὸν Σαμωνᾶν βαστάζειν τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ προσέταξαν. τότε δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Εὐθύμιον ὁ πατριάρχης ἔφη Νικόλαος · « ἰδοῦ, πάτερ ἅγιε, εὐχῆς ἔργον ὁ  
 20 καρπὸς οὗτος, ὃν ὄρᾳς, γέγονεν. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἢ γενεὰ ἡμῶν ἄνδρας τῷ ὄντι δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ τούτῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας ναῷ ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις προσκαρτερεῖν παρακελευσάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἱλαστηρίους εὐ-  
 25 χὰς τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ καθ' ἐκάστην παρ' αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βήματος προτρεψάμενοι τοῦ ποθομένου τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα πεποιήκαμεν. καὶ ἰδοὺ συγχαιρόμεθα αὐτῷ ἔχοντι νιῷ ἀγαπητῷ ».

Τότε δὴ τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ προσοικειωθῆναι ὁ πατριάρχης ἐπὶ πλεῖον βουλόμενος (σειραῖς γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων σφαλμάτων κατα-  
 κεκράτητο) τὰ παρὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν λεγόμενα  
 30 ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τούτοις (1) λεγόμενα ἀντετίθει, καὶ ὅπως ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν μητροπολιτῶν ἐλκύσει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐγνώριζε. συγκατέθετο τοίνυν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἑορτῇ τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν βασιλειῶν ναοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ οὐ

1 τοὺς ... παρεστῶτας B	3 παρόντας κἀκεῖνους B	6 αὐτῷ V
9 « οἰκονομεῖν τε ἐν? »	10 τῷ ... νιῷ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ c	17 Σαμωνᾶ c
17 Σαμωνᾶ c	17 τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ c	26 αὐτῷ V
νιῷ ἀγαπητῷ c	30 πρὸς τούτους B	33 βασιλειῶν B

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, p. 242, « πρὸς ».

the palace, and not on this occasion only, but on the holiday of the Lord's transfiguration he would receive him in church, and not defer. And this he did before many witnesses, though the most pacific monarch, seeking to establish peace in the Church, put off the entry, « If I do not see the bishops from Rome at hand » says he, « I shall not yield to the offer you make without them, that I should make my entry », quoth he. But the patriarch went on insisting, and said : « I shall take account of none, nor reckon with any, nor wait for those from Rome nor those from the East, but grant the emperor entry ». And he would show ■ book, saying it was all letters of the great Athanasius ; and taking his stand on it he said : « If this father, whom the other fathers call master and teacher, considers that a third marriage calls for no penance, why should I fear to regularise a fourth after a certain punishment ? It would be pernicious folly in me to make any further delay in this matter, or, in short, to listen to anyone, or await further the arrival of the Romans. No, whatever happens, I will receive the emperor in the Church ». And this is what would have happened, had not an unfortunate blunderer set the Church in a blaze and fanned the fire, as the following account shall relate.

## XII. — Dissensions between the emperor and the patriarch

Now the conflagration occurred in the following manner ; one day, apparently, the emperor Leo said to certain gentlemen of the bedchamber in whom he had confidence, that it was quite impossible for him not to expel the patriarch from his throne. « For my spirit shall no more rest upon him (1). But once I have been received by him in the church, straightway I shall confront him with those who know about the affair of the rebel Doukas and immediately drive him from the Church on a charge of high treason. For it is not to be endured that whereas he hates me and is my enemy, and intrigues against me, I must approach and

(1) I PET., 4, 14, IS., 11, 2 etc.



μόνον τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως δεσποτικὴν  
 ἐορτὴν ἀνυπερθέτως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτον εἰσδέξασθαι. τοῦτο  
 μὲν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι πολλοῖς ἐποίει, καὶ ὁ εἰρηνικώτατος βασιλεὺς  
 τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρηναίαν στοχαζόμενος κατάστασιν ἀνεβάλ-  
 5 λετο τὴν εἴσοδον, ὥς « εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπους ἐγγί-  
 ζοντας ἴδω », φησὶν, « οὐχ ὑπείξω τῇ παρ' ὧν χωρὶς αὐτῶν  
 παρεχομένη εἰσόδῳ » ἔφη. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἐπέμενε πάλιν λέγων ·  
 « μηδενὸς λόγον ποιούμενος ἢ φροντίζων, μήτε τοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώ-  
 μης μήτε τοὺς ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἐκδεχόμενος, παραχωρῶ τὴν εἴσοδον  
 10 τῷ βασιλεῖ ». καὶ βιβλίον ἐπεδείκνυ λέγων τὸ ὅλον εἶναι ἐπι-  
 στολὰς τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου · εἰς ὃ ἐπερειδόμενος ἔφη · « εἰ  
 ὁ πατὴρ οὗτος, ὃν καθηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον οἱ λοιποὶ πατέρες  
 ἐπιγράφονται, ἀνεπιτίμητον τὸ τρίτον ἡγεῖται συνοικέσιον, τί  
 δὴ καὶ πτοηθήσομαι ἐγὼ μετὰ τινος ἐπιτιμίου τὸ τέταρτον δια-  
 15 τιθέμενος. μάταιος καὶ ὀλεθριώτατος ἔσομαι, εἰ ἔτι περὶ τούτου  
 ἀναβολὴν τὴν οἴαντοῦν ποιήσομαι, ἢ τὸ σύνολόν τινος ἀκούσομαι  
 ἢ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔτι προσμείνω ἄφιξιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς εἴσω  
 ἐκκλησίας τὸν βασιλέα εἰσδέξομαι ». ἐγένετο δὲ ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ  
 σκαίος τις κακοδαίμων τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατάστασιν εἰς τοιαύ-  
 20 τὴν φλόγα ἐξῆψεν καὶ ἀνερρίπισεν, οἷαν ὁ λόγος ἐξῆς δηλώσει.

XII. — Περὶ τῶν ἀναμεταξὺ τοῦ τε βασιλέως  
 καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου γεγονότων παροξυσμῶν

Συνέβαινε γὰρ τὴν τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς ταύτης ἀναψιν γενέσθαι τρόπῳ  
 τοιῷδε · ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι προσειπεῖν λέγεται τινος (1)  
 25 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, εἰς οὗς καὶ πληροφορίαν ἔσχεν, ὥς « ἀδύ-  
 νατόν ἐστι πάντως μὴ ἐξεωθῆναι τὸν πατριάρχην τοῦ θρόνου  
 αὐτοῦ · οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναπαύσεται. ἀλλὰ  
 μετὰ τὸ εἰσδεχθῆναί με παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐθὺς τοὺς  
 τὰ τοῦ ἀντάρτου Δουκὸς ἐπισταμένους κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ  
 30 ἐπιστήσω, παρενθὺ τε τῷ τῆς καθοσιώσεως ἐγκλήματι τοῦτον  
 ὑποπεσόντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώσω. οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 ἐχθρῷ ὄντι μοι καὶ πολεμίῳ καὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ τρακτεύοντι προσ-  
 ἔρχεσθαι τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἀχράντων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν μετάληψιν

6 οὐχ' V.

16 σύνολον τινὸς V.

24 τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι c.

τὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα B

28 ἐκκλησία V.

32 ἐχθρῷ correction in 2nd

hand from ἐχρῶ.

33 τούτῳ V.

(1) See Gramm. Notes, n° 1, C. i. p. 236.

receive from him communion of the sacred mysteries, while my heart within me is in debate and grieved with him. I think he was in the know when that blow was struck at me in the church of St. Mocius martyr. And I am persuaded to say this by the fact that he gave no order to any of his clergy to lay hands on the desperado, but ran away himself with the others. But A day shall be when I will repay him ». But one of the hearers, called Theophylact, though unguarded rather than God-guarded, revealed everything to the archbishop. So he, in the secret of his mind, considered what he should do. And having summoned the leading metropolitans he induced them to commit themselves in writing, as he did afterwards with all the others also, urging them to oppose the emperor, he who, but a little time before, had agreed to conciliation and to receiving him. But this did not pass unnoticed by Leo the emperor.

It was the day of the Nativity of our God and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, and everyone came to the church with the holy Senate and the sovereign himself, in good hopes of the sovereign's being received therein. But the patriarch, meeting him at the royal gates, made excuse, saying: « For the present, will your Majesty, without in any way taking it ill, enter as usual at the right-hand side-door; and at the feast of the Epiphany you shall come and enter with me and be received without our making any objection. But if you insist and force your way in, we are all ready to withdraw from this church ». So he, with tears springing to his eyes, and watering with his tears that sacred ground, without saying a word, retired and entered the metatorion by the side-door on the right. Then, calling some of the metropolitans, he learned from them all that had passed verbally or in writing; and groaning from the depths of his heart he pleaded with them: « My hope is in Christ the son of God, who for us sinners and for our salvation came down from his Father's bosom. May he have pity on me, who am more sinful than any, and, as the Prodigal

δέχεσθαι μυστηρίων, τῆς καρδίας ἔνδοθεν διαλογιζομένης καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀνιωμένης. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Μωκίου ἐπενεχθεῖσάν μοι πληγὴν μετ' εἰδήσεως αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν με πείθει ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προστάξει τι 5 τῶν αὐτοῦ κληρικῶν τοῦ ἐπιβαλεῖν χεῖρα καὶ τὸν τολμητίαν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῦτον συναποδρᾶν (1). ἀλλ' ἔσσεται (2) ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν ἐαυτὸν ἐκδικήσω». ἐκ τῶν ἀκούνων δὲ εἰς ὁ καὶ Ἀφύλακτος μᾶλλον ἢ Θεοφύλακτος καλούμενος, πάντα δῆλα τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ νοῦν ταῦτα ἐνδομυχῶν 10 διανοοῖτο τί ἂν καὶ δράσοι. καὶ τοὺς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καλέσας προύχοντας χειρογραφῆσαι παρασκευάζει, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἅπανσιν (3) εἰς ὕστερον πεποιήκει καὶ ἀντιτείνειν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρῶρμα ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῦτον συνθέμενος. οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ ταῦτα Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

15 Ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέθλιος ἡμέρα ἐφεστήκει, καὶ πάντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος συνῆλθον χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες τοῦ εἰσδεχθῆναι ἔνδοθεν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν βασιλεύοντα. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης προσυπαντήσας τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς 20 πυλῶσι προσαπελογεῖτο, ὥς «ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν δυσχεράνασα ἡ βασιλεία σου τὸ κατ' ἔθος διὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς πλαγίας δέεσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων φώτῳ ἐορτῇ καὶ συνελεύσει καὶ εἰσδεχθήσῃ, ἡμῶν μηδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διακρινομένων. εἰ δὲ τυραννικῶς ἐπιβῆς, ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν ἅπαντες τοῦ ναοῦ ἅπανα- 25 χωρῆσαι». ὁ δὲ σύνδακρυς γενόμενος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο τοῖς δάκρυσι πλύνας ἑδαφος καὶ μήτε μέχρι ῥήματός τι προσειπὼν διὰ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν πλαγίας πύλης παλινοστήσας πρὸς τὸ μητρώριον εἰσέδν. τότε τῶν μητροπολιτῶν τινὰς προσκαλεσάμενος παρ' αὐτῶν ἅπαντα τὰ τε λεχθέντα τὰ τε χειρογραφηθέντα μεμα- 30 θήκει· πρὸς οὗς ἐκ βάθους καρδίας στενάξας ἀπελογήσατο· «ἐλπίζω εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τῶν πατρικῶν. καὶ μὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλότερον πάντων καὶ ἐλεήσοι καὶ ἐπαγκαλίσοιτο

2 αὐτῷ V.      6 «συναποδρᾶναι?»      7 ἔσεται ἡμαρ c      11 ὥς  
αὐτῶς c      11-12 ἅπαντας B      14 τῷ c      Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα B  
21 «ἔθος aus ἔθους hergestellt durch Rasur im cod.»

(1) See Gramm. Notes, n° 7, p. 243.

(2) Il., VI, 448.

(3) See Gramm. Notes, n° 1, B, v, p. 236.

Son, embrace me, and number me with his holy, catholic and apostolic Church, through the prayers of our father, the patriarch and all your holy concourse ». But when the holy Gospel was read out, the emperor groaned and shed abundant tears, moving his hearers to lament and weep with him, not only the Senate, but some of the very metropolitans ; and he returned to the palace utterly without saying a thing or addressing a single soul, accepting that the patriarch's purpose be carried out.

The holy feast of the Epiphany arrived, and the patriarch did not, according to custom, go to the palace on the eve, to bless the water, alleging illness as his pretext for being unable ; next day, the emperor presented himself at the church, with the sacred Senate, seeking the entry often promised him by the archbishop. But the patriarch met him with excuses saying : « If the metropolitans do not agree, including the protothrone Arethas himself, I am powerless ; but if you try to take the law into your own hands and enter, both I and those who are here with me will immediately leave the place ». Then the emperor to him : « It would seem, my lord patriarch, that you speak and act as you do in mockery of our majesty. Or are you expecting the rebel Doukas from the land of Syria, and do you trust in him to despise us ? » When he heard this, he stood in the middle of the royal gates speechless, unable either to go in or make his escape. Then did Leo the emperor show royally and as an emperor, for he cast himself on the ground, and then, having wept a long time, rose up again and said to the patriarch : « Go in, my lord, absolutely without hindrance from me. For, for the multitude of my unmeasured trespasses rightly and justly am I suffering ». And with these words, and taking leave of the other, he turned to the side door leading to the metatorion. And when the members of the Senate protested,

- ὡς τὸν ἄσωτον νίδν καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συγκαταριθμήσοι δι' εὐχῶν τοῦ τε κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ πάσης ὑμῶν τῆς ἁγίας ὁμηγύρεως». τοῦ τοίνυν ἁγίου κηρυχθέντος εὐαγγελλλίου, πολλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν 5 οἰμωγῇ ῥάνας δάκρυα τοὺς ἀκούοντας συνθρηνεῖν καὶ συγκόπτεσθαι τούτῳ παρῶρμα, οὐ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς μόνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μητροπολιτῶν · καὶ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλεῖσι (1) ἀνῆει μηδένα πρὸς τινα τὸ σύνολον λέξας τι ἢ προσειπών, τὴν τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος ἐκδεχόμενος περαιωθῆναι βούλῃσιν.
- 10 Ἡ τῶν φώτων ἁγία ἐφέστηκεν ἑορτή, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῖσι ὡς πρὸς συνήθειαν τῇ ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ὁ πατριάρχης οὐκ ἀνῆει ἐπευλογήσων τοῖς ὕδασι ἀδυναμίας (2) νόσον προβαλλόμενος · τῇ ἐπαύριον δὲ παρῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν πολλάκις συνταγεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρ- 15 χιερέως εἴσοδον ἐπιζητῶν. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν ὡς « εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν ὁμόνοια γένηται καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοθρόνου Ἀρέθα, ἀδυνάτως ἔχω · εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτονομίας εἰσελθεῖν βουλευθῆς, παρευθὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐμοὶ τῶν ὧδε ἐξίημι ». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτόν · 20 « ὡς ἔοικεν, κύριε ὁ πατριάρχης, καταπαίζων μου τῆς βασιλείας ταῦτα καὶ λέγεις καὶ ποιεῖς. ἢ τῷ ἀντάρτῃ Δουκὶ προσδοκῶν ἐκ τῆς Συριατιδος γέας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεθαρρηκῶς ἡμῖν καταφρονεῖς ; » ὁ δὲ τούτοις ἐπακηκοὺς ἔστη μέσον τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν ἄναυδος, μήτε τὴν εἴσοδον μήτε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν δυνά- 25 μενος ποιεῖν. τότε Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλικόν τι βασιλικῶς ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ῥίψας · καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ δακρύσας ἀναστὰς τῷ πατριάρχει ἔφη · « εἰσελθε, δέσποτα, μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐμποδιζόμενος. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμετρήτων σφαλμάτων ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως πάσχω ». καὶ ταῦτα 30 προσειπὼν καὶ τούτῳ συνταξάμενος μετεστράφη πρὸς τὴν πλαγίαν πύλην τὴν εἰς τὸ μητατώριον ἀπάγουσαν. τῶν δὲ συγκλη-

4 Ἀγίου V.      5 οἰμωγῇ V.      7 τὰ βασίλεια B      8 μὴ δέ ...  
 τί V.      12 τὰ ὕδατα B      14 ἐκκλησία V.      18 βουλευθεὶς c  
 19 « ἔξειμι ? »      21 τῷ ἀντάρτῃ c      22 αὐτῷ V.      ἡμᾶς B  
 23 ταῦτα B      24 « πυλώνων ? Cf. XII, 7 ».

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 5, « πρὸς » p. 242.

(2) See *Grammatical Notes*, n° 2, p. 239.



exclaiming : « After he has gone in, at least, enter as one of us », he silenced them with his hand and entered the metatorion again, summoning the metropolitans and inquiring many things of them, and after the holy Gospel had been read, he returned amid confusion to the palace.

But when the patriarch, invited to dinner, refused, the emperor sent word to him : « Come, my lord ; we are not inviting you to church, but to the table which it is the customary rite for you to bless this day ». He sent word with the same profession to the metropolitans ; of whom Arethas the primate and Epiphanius of Laodicea retired in displeasure, the others following the patriarch ; so then, they all at table with the emperer, towards the end of the meal, he says, in the hearing of them all, to the patriarch, « Why is it, my lord, that, having agreed to receive me in the church, not once nor twice, but many times, you now refuse, making void the words issued from your lips ? For you said to me recently « If Rome and Antioch grant dispensation, and with them Alexandria and Jerusalem, there is nobody to hinder you from your entry into the church, nor indeed from partaking of the holy Mysteries ». And furthermore, having sent ambassadors, and written to the patriarchs, in all truth, in the fear of God, the things that have happened to me, I learnt that they had been moved to pity and compassion and understanding, and now they are both on their way, with representatives with writs of concession for my affairs ; and of this I have had assurance in writing from the military governors on the spot. But at the dedication of the New Church, if I had obeyed you and fulfilled your will, had I not performed the ceremony of entering church with you ? Then it was you yourself who summoned me, and would have forced and compelled [my] entry, while I refused saying « If the representatives from the patriarchs come, as God may please and they dispense, so shall it be ». Then you, in presence of the holy Senate complete, said « I have found ■ ruling of the great Athanasius which supports you and makes

τικῶν ἀνθισταμένων καὶ ἐπιβοῶντων · « καὶ μετὰ τὸ διελθεῖν ἐκείνον εἰσελθε ὡς εἰς πάντων ἡμῶν », τῇ χειρὶ τούτους κατασιγήσας πρὸς τὸ μητατώριον εἰσέδν, ἐκεῖσέ τε πάλιν τοὺς μητροπολίτας προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ πολλὰ μετ' αὐτῶν συζητήσας, τοῦ 5 ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου κηρυχθέντος, τεθορυβημένως ἀνῆλθεν πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια.

Τοῦ δὲ πατριάρχου τὴν τῶν ἀκουβίτων πρόσκλησιν ἀναβαλλο-  
 μένου, ὁ βασιλεὺς δηλοῖ αὐτῷ · « ἐλθέ, δέσποτα · οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν σοι προσκαλούμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἣν ἐκ τύπου ἐπευλογεῖς σή-  
 10 μερον τράπεζαν ». ὡσαύτως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μητροπολίτας προσ-  
 απολογούμενος δεδήλωκεν · ἐξ ᾧ Ἀρέθας ὁ πρωτόθρονος καὶ  
 Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ Λαοδικεῖας ἀποδυσπετήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ  
 λοιποὶ τῷ πατριάρχει παρείποντο · εἴτα συνανακλιθέντων τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ, πρὸς τὰ τῆς τραπέζης τέλη εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων τῷ  
 15 πατριάρχει ἔλεξε τάδε · « διατί, δέσποτα, συνθέμενός μοι ἐν τῇ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἀρ-  
 τίως ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ τὰ ἐκπορευθέντα διὰ τῶν χειλέων σου ἀθε-  
 τεῖς ; εἰρηκας γάρ μοι πρῶην, « οἰκονομοῦντος τοῦ Ῥώμης καὶ  
 τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς τούτοις τοῦ τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἱεροσο-  
 20 λύμων, οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων σε (1) τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσόδου, ἀλλ'  
 οὔτε αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων μετάληψιν ». καὶ πρὸς  
 τούτοις πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντός μου καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ συμβάντα  
 κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ἐν πάσῃ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιστείλαντος τοῖς  
 πατριάρχεις, εἰς οἰκτιρμὸν καὶ ἔλεον καὶ συμπάθειαν ἐλθεῖν  
 25 ἀνέμαθον, ἀμφοτέρω τε τοποτηρητὰς μετὰ λιβέλλων τὰ κατ'  
 ἐμὲ οἰκονομοῦντων ἔχοντες παραγίνονται · καὶ τοῦτο βεβαίως  
 διὰ γραφῆς τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατηγούντων ἐδηλώθη μοι. ἐὰν δέ σοι  
 ὑπήκουον καὶ τὴν σὴν θέλησιν ἐξεπλήρουν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Νέας  
 ἐκκλησίας ἐγκαινίοις, οὐ σὺν σοὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου εἴσο-  
 30 δον ἐποιούμην ; ὁπότ' ἂν (2) παρὰ σοῦ αὐτοῦ προσκαλούμενος  
 καὶ τὴν συνέλευσιν ἐβιάζου καὶ κατηνάρκαζες, ἀναβολὴν ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ ἐμοῦ ποιήσαντος καὶ προσειπόντος ὅτι « ἐρχομένων τῶν  
 πατριαρχικῶν τοποτηρητῶν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήσῃ, καὶ οὗτοι  
 οἰκονομήσουσιν, οὕτως καὶ γενήσεται », τότε καὶ σὺ κατενώπιον  
 35 πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου προσεῖπας ὅτι « ἐγὼ κανόνα εὐρῶν  
 τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου τὸν συνιστῶντά σε καὶ μὴ κωλύοντα

7 ἀκουβήτων c      9 σε B      10 ὡς αὐτως c      15 με B      20 σοι  
 τὴν ... εἴσοδον B Cf. XIII, 10.      30 ὅτ' ἔτ' ἂν V.      36 κωλύοντα V.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, D, p. 237.

(2) See Grammatical Notes, n° 10, p. 144.

no obstacle, nor will I wait any more for concession from Rome, nor from the patriarchs of the East, but without hesitation or contradiction will I receive you ». The metropolitans, having heard these things, were silent, more, the patriarch himself remained wholly without utterance. But the emperor in tears said to him : « Fear God, my Lord ; were not those your words that you spoke to me ? » And the patriarch : « But at the time I did not know of this complete objection of my brothers and fellow-ministers, which is for the good of our mother the Church and her unity ». And the emperor : « When you ordered prayers of propitiation to be made in the Great church for seven days, and with your own hands blessed our wife's womb, « The Church shall be yet further enlarged and made brilliant under the prince sprung from you » you said, and gave assurance that it was a male she bore in her womb. At that time you daily addressed her as a bride when you sat down to table and ate with her. And again, before regenerating the child through the sacrament of baptism, you wrote me the words and the very thoughts of all the metropolitans, and taught how we should proceed to persuade them. And now you say « We object on behalf of the Church our mother ». Have we not before us your letters against the Protothroné and the bishop of Laodicea and your questions and answers addressed to the other sees ? On which subject, because it is very painful, I will be silent. » Then the emperor, rising from dinner, and inviting the bishops into the private apartments, began with heartfelt lamentation and falling tears to relate his successive misfortunes with his wives. Then the child was brought in, and he gave it to each to bless and pray over ; and this they all did. But the emperor, taking him in his arms, shed tears, and uttered complaints in poetry, so that the hearers were moved to weep for pity. When, on their leaving, he said to them that he asked and entreated nothing except entry of the church as far as the altar railings. Some of the metropolitans present took pity on the emperor's lamentation, and were moved by sympathy to desire to accept the em-

οὔτε τοῦ Ῥώμης ἐκδέξομαι ἔτι τὴν οἰκονομίαν, οὔτε τῶν τῆς  
 ἐώας πατριαρχῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπροφασίστως σε καὶ  
 ἀναντιρρήτως προσδέξομαι». ταῦτα οἱ μητροπολίται ἀκού-  
 5 σαντες ἔννεοι καθεστήκασιν, καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔμει-  
 νεν μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον φθεγγόμενος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σὺν δακρυ-  
 γενόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· «φοβήθητι τὸν θεόν, δέσποτα· οὐκ  
 εἰσὶ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματά σα ἄπερ εἰρηκας πρὸς με;» καὶ ὁ πα-  
 τριάρχης· «ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦδεν ἀκμὴν τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συλλει-  
 10 τουργῶν τελείαν ταύτην ἔνστασιν τὴν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ καὶ συστάσει  
 τῆς ἡμῶν μητρὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας γινομένην». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς·  
 «ὅτε τὰς ἰλασθηρίους εὐχὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ἑπτὰ  
 ἡμέραις ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξας καὶ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς μήτραν  
 οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἐπευλόγεις, «ἡ ἐκκλησία μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ σοῦ  
 15 φύντι βασιλεῖ καὶ μεγαλυνθήσεται καὶ φαιδρυνθήσεται» ἔλεγες,  
 καὶ ἄρρεν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν ταύτην ἐπεβεβαίους. ὅτε καὶ καθ'  
 ἐκάστην καὶ νύμφην προσέλεγες συνεσθίων ταύτῃ καὶ συνανα-  
 κλινόμενος. καὶ πάλιν ὅτ' ἂν ἀναγεννᾷν τὸ παιδίον διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου  
 βαπτίσματος ἔμελλες, πάντων τῶν μητροπολιτῶν τοὺς τε λό-  
 20 γους καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτὰς ἐπέστειλας, καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὺς  
 πείσαντες μεθοδεύσομεν ἐδίδασκες. καὶ τὰ νῦν λέγεις· «ἀνθι-  
 στάμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας». οὐ παρ' ἑμοί  
 εἰσιν αἱ κατὰ τοῦ πρωτοθρόνου καὶ τοῦ Λαοδικείας ἐπιστολαί  
 σου καὶ αἱ κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θρόνων πεύσεις τε καὶ ἀνταποκρι-  
 25 σεις; ἀ διὰ τὸ κατὰ πολὺ στυγηρὸν σιωπήσω». εἴτα τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀπαναστάντος καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι πρὸς  
 τὰς ἑνδοθεν βασιλείας προσκαλεσαμένον, ἤρξατο σὺν ὀλοφυρμῷ  
 καρδίας καὶ τῇ τῶν δακρυῶν ἐκχύσει ταῖς ἐπὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπαλλή-  
 λαις αὐτῷ δυστυχίαις διηγεῖσθαι. ὅτε καὶ τὸ παιδίον εἰσφερό-  
 30 μενον ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ παρεῖχε τοῦ εὐλογεῖν καὶ ἐπεύχεσθαι· ὁ καὶ  
 πεποιήκεσαν ἅπαντες. ἐπ' ἀγκάλαις δὲ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβό-  
 μενος ὥς ἄνακρεοντείοις ἔπεσι δακρυρροῶν προσεφθέγγετο,  
 ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς οἶκτον καὶ δάκρυα χωρῆσαι. ὁπότε  
 ἂν τούτους ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν  
 ἢ ἀντιβολεῖν ἔλεγεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ εἴσοδον μέχρι τῶν ἱερῶν  
 35 κιγκλίδων. τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε εὐρεθέντων μητροπολιτῶν τὸν  
 τοῦ βασιλέως θρῆνον κατοικτεῖραντες, συμπαθεῖα ἀγόμενοι προσ-

3 ἀναντηρήτως c    11 ἐκκλησία V.    15 ἐπεβεβαίοις c    18 ἔμελες c  
 22 πρωτοθρόνος V.    25 τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς B    26 «τὰ ἐνδ. βασιλεία?»  
 27 τὰς ... ἐπαλλήλας ... δυστυχίας B    31 δακρυρροῶν c    32 ὅπ'  
 ὅτ' ἂν V.    33 τούτοις B    35 κιγκλείδων c.

peror and make allowance, giving ear in this to the patriarch's words. For he said : « If all agree to make a concession in this matter, I too, with everyone, will make concession and accept him ». But on leaving the palace and returning with them all to the patriarchate, he made them put again in writing and ratify with fearful oaths what they had previously written, and by written depositions he made sure of them, and stiffened their resolution : none to demean himself nor bend the knee nor resign his see, but to resist even to the very sentence of death, as being steadfast and immovable ; not to resign their churches, not to yield to the ruler's will, but remain constant, constantly abiding by the canons, and « If I be not seen thus to hold out and maintain my vigilance, on me be the anathema of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and may I have no further power from thenceforth to perform a priest's part, but stand self-condemned before all this holy concourse ». Having thus addressed them all, and himself been the first to write his declaration, the archbishop let them go saying : « See to it, my fathers and brothers, keep (1) that which is committed to your trust ».

### XIII. — The summons to the patriarch and metropolitans and their exile

It was the month of February and the emperor, celebrating as 1.2.907  
was his custom, the memory of the blessed Trypho, summoned the patriarch and principal metropolitans. He did not hesitate nor refuse, speculating rather on craft to conciliate the emperor. But towards the end of dinner the emperor says to him : « How long, my lord, procrastinations? How long these feigned propositions and empty agreements? How long your feigned and lying accomodations? You sent word, or, rather, you, in person, told me to come to the dedication of the New church, and make my entry with you. Not having learned at the time the decision of the

(1) *I Tim.*, 6, 20.



δέχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ οἰκονομεῖν τοῦτο προεθυμήθησαν τοῖς  
 τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀκουτιζόμενοι ῥήμασιν· ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὡς « πάν-  
 των ὁμοουσύντων καὶ τοῦτο οἰκονομούντων, κἀγὼ σὺν πᾶσι καὶ  
 οἰκονομήσω καὶ προσδέξομαι ». τῶν δὲ βασιλείων κατιῶν καὶ  
 5 ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ σὺν πᾶσιν ἀνιῶν χειρογραφεῖν πάλιν καὶ  
 ἐπικυροῦν μεθ' ὅρκων φρικτῶν τὰ πρόην χειρογραφηθέντα  
 πεποίηκεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγγράφοις καταθέσειν βεβαιώσας καὶ  
 στηρίξας τοῦ μὴ κατολιγωρῆσαι τινα ἢ κατοκλάσαι ἢ παραι-  
 τήσει τὸν ἐαυτῶν θρόνον ὑπενδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι αὐτῆς  
 10 τῆς θανατηφόρου ψήφου ἀντιστῆναι, ὡς εἶναι αὐτοὺς παγίους,  
 ἀμεταθέτους, μὴ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παραιτουμένους, μὴ τῇ τοῦ  
 κρατοῦντος θελήσει ὑπέικοντας, ἀλλ' ἀμεταστρέπτους μένειν,  
 ἀμεταστρεπτὶ τῶν κανόνων διάγειν, ὡς εἰ μὴ οὕτως καρτερήσας  
 καὶ διαφυλάξας φανεῖην, ἀνάθεμα (1) ἑμμαντῶ ἔστω ἀπὸ πατρὸς υἱοῦ  
 15 καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ μὴ σχεῖν ἔκτοτε ἐξουσίαν τὰ τῶν  
 ἱερῶν πράττειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοκατάκριτον ἐπὶ πάσης ταύτης  
 τῆς ἁγίας ὁμηγύρεως. οὕτως ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς προσειπὼν  
 καὶ πρῶτος χειρογραφήσας πάντας ἀπέλυσεν εἰρηκῶς· « βλέ-  
 πετε, πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, τὴν παρακαταθήκην φυλάξατε ».

20

XIII. — Περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν  
 μητροπολιτῶν προσκλήσεως καὶ ὑπερορίας

Φεβρουάριος ἐνίστατο μὴν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Τρύ-  
 φωνος ὡς εἵηστο μνήμην ἐκτελῶν τῷ πατριάρχῃ προσκέκληκε  
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν προύχοντας. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας  
 25 ἢ ἀναβαλλόμενος διαλλαγῆναι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ διὰ τεχνουργοῦ  
 σκέψεως ᾤετο. πρὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ ἀρίστου τέλη φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς· « ἕως πότε, δέσποτα, αἱ ἀναβολαί; ἕως πότε αἱ  
 ἐπίπλαστοι καταθέσεις καὶ κοῦφαι συνταγαί; ἕως πότε αἱ παρὰ  
 σοῦ ψευδεπίπλαστοι οἰκονομίαι; ἐδήλωσάς μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 30 καὶ εἰρηκας, κατελθεῖν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Νέας ἐγκαινίοις καὶ  
 συνεισοδεῦσαι σοι· καὶ μὴ μεμαθηκῶς ἀκμὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πα-

2 τὰ ... ῥήματα B      4 βασιλείων B      6 ἐπικυροῖν c      7 πάντας B  
 11 τὰς ἐκκλησίας B      13 ὁ c      14 αὐτῷ c      « ὡς εἰ μὴ οὕτως τις  
 καρτ. καὶ διαφ. φανείη ... καὶ μὴ σχεῖν? »      23 τῷ πατριάρχῃ c  
 24 ἐνδύσας c      25 αὐτὸν      αὐτῷ V.

(1) Haplography : ἀναθεμαεμμαντῶ ?

patriarchal thrones, and in particular out of consideration for you, I refused to do this, fearing lest your fellow-ministers, as you call them, should rebel against you. After this, when they were in favour of a compromise, you agreed to receive me on the Transfiguration of God our Saviour. Then, putting it off again, you agreed to receive us in the church on the Nativity of Christ our God ; on which occasion you left us thwarted, humiliated and shamed in the very entrance of the sacred doors, with everybody standing there, both those in holy orders and all the Senate. Before whom you made excuses to me and agreed to receive me on the day of the Epiphany. And then, when that day arrived, you did the same, or, rather, worse, setting at naught what your own lips had spoken in a holy church. To what embarrassment you put us, you yourself know for you were present. But you advance random and vain pretexts and think your villainy will escape me. And what a schemer you always were, I know as your fellow-pupil. Now answer me this : how, having before agreed to my entry into the church, do you now put it off and make difficulties ? » But the other : « I follow the will of the hierarchs in putting it off ; since, if their purpose, or will, were favourable, soon should I with them all make allowance and accept you. But without the agreement of my brothers and fellow ministers it is not possible for you to be accepted ». And the emperor : « But your Holiness' communications and recommendations of some time ago, what each of these said, and what defence we should make, did you do this with the will of your brethren and fellow-ministers or were you contriving this by yourself ? And your plans and plottings against our throne, when you stirred up and encouraged that renegade from our Christian faith, Doukas, with what fellow-ministers did you dare so great an impiety ? » At this, he stood without answering a thing. Then to them all the emperor said : « I, my lords and masters, refer my affair to the holy Synod in

τριαρχικῶν θρόνων βούλησιν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ σοῦ κηδόμενος  
 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀνεβαλόμεν, τὴν τῶν συλλειτουργῶν, ὡς ἔλεγες  
 δεδιῶς πρὸς σε ἐπανάστασιν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτων οἰκono-  
 μούντων, ἐν τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ μεταμορφώσει συνέθου  
 5 προσδέξασθαι. εἴτα πάλιν ἀναβαλλόμενος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν γενεθλίοις συνέθου ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰs-  
 δέξασθαι· ὅτε καὶ ἀπράκτους ἡμᾶς τεταπεινωμένους τε καὶ  
 κατησχυμένους ἐποίησας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν εἰσόδῳ,  
 παρεστώτων ἐκεῖσε πάντων, τῶν τε ἐν ἱερῷ βαθμῷ ὄντων καὶ  
 10 πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου. ὣν κατενώπιον προσαπελογήσω  
 μοι καὶ συνέθου ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων φώτῳ ἡμέρᾳ εἰsδεχθῆναι.  
 εἴτα καὶ ταύτης παραγενομένης τὰ ὅμοια, μᾶλλον δὲ χεῖρονα,  
 διεπράξω, ἀθετήσας τὰ διὰ τῶν χειλέων σου λεχθέντα ἐν ἁγίῳ  
 ναῷ. καὶ εἰς οἶαν ἡμᾶς αἰδῶ κατέστησας, σὺ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖσε πα-  
 15 ρὼν ἐπίστασαι. προφασίζῃ δὲ προφάσεις εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην, καὶ  
 δοκεῖς ἐμὲ λανθάνειν τῆς πανουργίας σου. οἷος γὰρ καὶ σὺ  
 μηχανορράφος ἔκπαλαι ὑπάρχεις, ἐκ τῆς συμμαθητείας ἐπίσταμαι.  
 λέγε δέ μοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς ταῦτα· τίνι τρόπῳ πρόην συνθέμενος  
 τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ εἴσοδον τὰ νῦν ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ ἀποδυσπετεῖς; » ὁ δὲ  
 20 πρὸς αὐτόν· « τῇ τῶν ἀρχιερέων βουλήσει ἐξακολουθῶν τοῦτο  
 ἀναβάλλομαι· ἐπεὶ, εἰ τούτων βούλησις, μᾶλλον δὲ θέλησις  
 κατανεύσειεν, τάχα ἂν καὶ ἐγὼ σὺν πᾶσι καὶ οἰκονομήσω  
 καὶ προσδέξομαι. ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συλλειτουργ-  
 γῶν συναίνεσεως προσδεχθῆναί σε ἀμήχανον ». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς·  
 25 « τὰ δὲ πρὸ καιροῦ παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγιωσύνης ἡμῖν δηλούμενα καὶ  
 συμβουλευόμενα, τὸ τί ἕκαστος τούτων λέγει, καὶ τί ἀπολογη-  
 σόμεθα, μετὰ βουλῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συλλειτουργῶν ἐποίεις,  
 ἢ μόνος ταῦτα ἐτράκτευες; ἃ δὲ κατὰ τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας διε-  
 νοῦ καὶ ἐκάττυες, διεγείρων καὶ ἐπαλείφων τῷ τῆς ἡμῶν  
 30 τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως ἀποστάτῃ Δουκί, ποίοις συλλειτουργ-  
 γοῖς ἐθάρρησας τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀνοσιούργημα; » ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ἔστη μὴδὲν ἀντιφθεγγόμενος. τότε πρὸς πᾶσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη·  
 « ἐγὼ, κύριοι μου καὶ δεσπότη, τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ

6 ἡμᾶς B.      8 κατησχυμένους c      αὐτῇ V.      12 « ταύτης ]  
 της ... cod. am Anfang der Seite »      16 « τὰς ... πανουργίας ? »  
 29 ἐκάττυες c      30 τῷ ... ἀποστάτῃ c      32 πρὸς πάντας B

expectation of the representatives of the patriarchal thrones, as you yourselves from the beginning proposed to me, while our common father the patriarch often said « given letters from the patriarchs, and their representatives present, there is none of us to hinder you from entering the church ». But behold, news is coming in that they are at hand ; furthermore Leo Choirosphageus wrote to us that he has with him representatives bearing writs from Antioch and Alexandria and Jerusalem. In addition, Symeon, our most respected and valuable ascretis, has written from Otranto that he is at hand bringing with him from the elder Rome, from the pope, representatives and writs with a saving economy. And as God, the merciful and compassionate, and the holy Synod may provide after sifting my affairs, so it shall be and stand confirmed. But, as your Holiness knows, tomorrow, in the holy temple of the all-praised Mother of God in Vlachernae, we celebrate the feast of the Presentation of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Receive me then in the church, as far as the holy railings, where I will stand as a penitent ». The first of all to refuse was the patriarch Nicolas, and only after him the mass of the metropolitans. Of whom some did not refuse, it is true, yet, though they approved of the dispensation, they did not speak out for it. Then the emperor, considering them attentively, and with tears starting, said to the senators : « Having laid my affairs before the holy Synod, I shall bear patiently until they come before it. And I shall request these my lords and reverend fathers to do the same, relegating them outside the town, to remain with their patriarch by themselves and isolated, until in a full assembly of the Synod my affairs shall find a solution ». And with these words he entered his chamber in tears.

Immediately those who stood by took them from the palace and led them to the Phiale, as it is called, by the sea, and, embarking them all in ships, exiled them ; but the patriarch they led down with suitable respect through the Boucoleon, and put-



ἀνατίθημι τοῖς τοποτηρηταῖς ἀπεκδεχόμενος τῶν πατριαρχικῶν  
 θρόνων, καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μοι κατέθεσθε, καὶ ὁ  
 κοινὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ πατριάρχης πολλάκις ἔλεξεν ὅτι « τῶν πα-  
 5 τριαρχικῶν λιβέλλων μετὰ καὶ τοποτηρητῶν παρόντων, οὐδεὶς  
 ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ κολύων σοι τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ εἴσοδον ». ὥς δὲ οἱ  
 εἰσελθόντες ἀνήγγειλαν, ἰδοὺ πλησιάζουσιν · ἀλλὰ καὶ Λέων ὁ  
 Χοιροσφαγεὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γέγραφεν ὡς τοποτηρηταὶ σὺν αὐτῷ  
 10 πάρεισι λιβέλλους ἐπιφερόμενοι τοῦ τε Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Συμεών, ὁ κατὰ πολὺ  
 χρησιμώτατος καὶ τιμιώτατος ἡμῶν ἀσηκρῆτις, ἀπὸ Ἰνδροῦν-  
 τος γεγραφήκει, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ πάπα  
 τοποτηρηταῖς καὶ λιβέλλοις σὺν αὐτῷ προσλαβόμενος συστα-  
 15 τικὴν οἰκονομίαν ἔχουσιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ὡς ἂν θεὸς ὁ  
 φιλόανθρωπος καὶ φιλεύσπλαγχος καὶ ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος οἰκono-  
 μῆσιν διευκρινούσα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, οὕτως καὶ γενήσεται καὶ βε-  
 βαιωθήσεται. ὥς δὲ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνη ἐπίσταται, τῇ αἰρίον  
 ἐόρτιον ἡμέραν ἄγομεν τὴν ἀπαντὴν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ  
 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς παννυμνίου Θεοτόκου  
 20 ἱερῷ σηκῷ τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις. δέχεσθέ με τοίνυν ἐνδοθεν τοῦ ναοῦ  
 μέχρι τῆς ἱερᾶς κινκλίδος ἱστάμενον καὶ προσκλαίοντα ». πάν-  
 των δὲ πρῶτος ὁ πατριάρχης ἀνεβάλετο Νικόλαος, εἶθ' οὕτως  
 τὸ στίφος τῶν μητροπολιτῶν. ἐξ ὧν τινες αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνεβάλ-  
 λοντο μὲν, τὴν οἰκονομίαν δὲ καίπερ εὐδοκοῦντες οὐκ ἐπαρρη-  
 25 σιάσαντο. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτοις προσχὼν καὶ ὥσπερ σύν-  
 δακρυς γενόμενος τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἔφη · « τὰ κατ' ἐμέ  
 τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἀναθεῖς μέχρις ὅτε ἐπιστῇ ταύτῃ προσκαρτερήσω,  
 ὡσαύτως καὶ τούτοις τοῖς τιμίοις πατράσι καὶ δεσπόταις μου  
 τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν παρακελεύομαι καὶ προσμένειν τούτοις σὺν τῷ  
 30 αὐτῶν πατριάρχει ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἄστεος ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς διορίζομαι,  
 ἕως ὅτε τῆς συνόδου πάσης παρούσης τὰ κατ' ἐμέ τέλος λάβοι ». καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν εἰσῆει ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτοῦ κλαίων.

Παρενθὺ τούτους οἱ ἐκεῖσε παριστάμενοι τῶν βασιλειῶν κατα-  
 γαγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν καλουμένην Φιάλῃν  
 καταγαγόντες, ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβαλόντες ἀπαντας ὑπερῴρισαν, τὸν  
 35 δὲ γε πατριάρχην μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου

1 τοὺς τοποτηρητάς B

5 ὑμῶν c

7 αὐτῷ V.

10-11 « Ἰνδροῦντος? »

12 τοποτηρητάς καὶ λιβέλλους ... ἔχοντας B

12-13 B. συστακὴν c

14-15 οἰκονομῆσιν V.

15 διευκρινούσα c

16 « τῇ αἰρίον ἐορτῇ ἡμέρᾳ? »

17 « ὑπαπαντὴν? »

27 ὡς αὐτῶς c

28 τούτους B

32 βασιλειῶν B

33 φιάλῃν c

34 « ἀπαγαγόντες? »



ting him on board a small boat returned him to his own monastery in Galacrenae. On the fourth day of their exile, the emperor recalled those metropolitans who did not reject his penance and said : « You, my lords and masters, know what true affection, what honour not unworthy an archbishop, I have given to this crooked and malicious man ; who without cease has ever plotted against my life, as the issue of events themselves has shown ». But they spoke soothing words to him ; for they thought that in a passion and from irritability he said all this And so they reproached him saying : « My lord, when your Majesty is again reconciled with the archbishop these things will vanish on the air<sup>(1)</sup>, as a spider's web shall they perish ». But he with all his heart vowed to them, and gave them his assurance that <sup>(2)</sup> « my spirit shall no more rest upon him ». But when the metropolitans again defended him, insisting and saying : « If the Synod applauds, allows your repentance and your entry into the church, without the patriarch's opposing, what prevents his being restored to his own throne ? » But he to them : « Tomorrow hasten to us, and we will make plain to you what kind of man he is ».

Next day, in accordance with the emperor's instructions, the bishops went up, and he took them to the church inside the palace, and, setting forth the life-giving Wood, called those who were there fugitives from Andronicus Doukas, being nine men of noble birth, of whom two generals and others protospatharii, all of them notable and trustworthy. And these, holding in their hands the precious and sacred fragments, affirmed that it was as the notary of Doukas had reported. « For we ourselves heard and saw with our own eyes these letters at Kavala » they said. The emperor listened to this deeply grieved, and ordered [Nicolas] to be brought immediately, and pay the penalty for these things ; and so it would have happened if he had not been stopped by the metropolitans' saying that « expulsion from the Church was

(1) « Ἰστὸν ἀράχνης : ἐπὶ τῶν εὐπετῶς διαλυομένων καὶ φθειρομένων »  
LEUTSCH et SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiogr. Graec.*, II, p. 465 — WL. 2, 3,  
διαχυθήσεται ὡς χαῦνος ἀήρ ?

(2) 1 PETER 4, 14.

Βονκολέοντος κατεάξαντες (1), ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐμβалόντες τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ τῇ ἐν ταῖς Γαλακρήναις ἀποκατέστησαν. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς μὴ ἀναβαλλομένους ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μετανόῳ μητροπολίτας τῆς ὑπερορίας ἀνθυποστρέψας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη ·  
 5 « ὑμεῖς ὦ κύριοί μου καὶ δεσπόται, ἐπίστασθε, ὅποیان εἰλικρινῇ ἀγάπην καὶ πρέπουσαν ἀρχιερεῖ τιμὴν ἀπένειμα τῷ σκολιῷ καὶ μηνιώδει ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ · ὃς οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τῇ ἐμῇ ζωῇ ἐπιβουλεύειν πάντοτε, ὡς αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ ἔκβασις ἔδειξεν ». οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μειλιχίοις ἐπέφερον ῥήμασιν. ὀξυπαθείας γὰρ  
 10 ἔνεκα καὶ ὀξυχολίας ταῦτα λέγεσθαι τὰ ῥήματα ᾤοντο. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρουσι λέγοντες · « ὦ δέσποτα, εἰρηνευούσης πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῆς βασιλείας σου, ταῦτα ὡς εἰς ἄερα χεόμενα διελεύσονται, καὶ ὡς ἱστὸς ἀράχνης διαλυθήσονται ». ὁ δὲ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐξώμνυτο τούτοις διαβεβαιούμενος ὡς « οὐκ ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ  
 15 πνεῦμά μου ἀναπαύσεται ». ὡς δὲ πάλιν οἱ μητροπολῖται τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ἐνίσταντο ὡς ὅτι « τῆς συνόδου κροτουμένης καὶ τὴν σὴν οἰκονομούσης μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἔλκευσιν, τοῦ πατριάρχου μὴ ἀναβαλλομένου, τί τὸ κωλῶν τοῦτον τὸν ἴδιον θρόνον ἀπολαβεῖν ; » ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη · « τῇ αὖριον  
 20 πρὸς ἡμᾶς σπεύσατε, καὶ πληροφορῶ ὑμῖν, ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ».

Τῇ ἐπαύριον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος πρόσταξιν ἀνῆσαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ναὸν τούτους παραλαβὼν ἐκείσέ τε τὰ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα προσθεῖς τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Δουκὸς Ἀνδρονίκου τότε προσφυγοῦσι (2) ἐκάλει, ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 25 οὗσι εὐγενεστάτοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ στρατηγοὶ δυὸ (3) καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἕτεροι, πάντες ἀξιόλογοι καὶ ἀξιόπιστοι. οἷτινες ἐπὶ χειρὰς τὰ τίμια καὶ ἄχραντα ξύλα ἐπιφερόμενοι οὕτως ἔχειν διεβεβαίουντο, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς νοτάρχιος ἀνήγγειλεν. « αὐτήκοοι γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων γραμμάτων καὶ αὐτοθεωροὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 30 Καβάλας καθεστήκαμεν », ἔλεγον. ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούων περιλύπος διετέλει καὶ κελεύει παρενθὺ αὐτὸν εἰσενεχθῆναι καὶ δίκας ὑπὲρ τούτων δοῦναι · καὶ ἐγένετο ἃν, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν κεκώλυτο λεγόντων ὡς « ἱκανὸν αὐτῷ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς

2 γαλακρήναις c      4 ἀνθυποστρέψας V.      9 μειλίχια ῥήματα B  
 13 ἱστὸς V.      17 « εἰσέλευσιν ? »      20 ὁμᾶς B      23 τοὺς ... προσφυγόντας ... ὄντας εὐγενεστάτους ἄνδρας B      25 δυὸ V.      33 αὐτῷ V.

(1) Of physical movement and, with *εἰς*... *τιμῆς*, hardly implying violence :  
 \* Leading down ».

(2) See *Gramm. Notes*, n° 1, B, II, p. 235.

(3) See *Gramm. Notes*, n° 6, p. 242.

sufficient for him. For it is written (1), the Lord will not avenge twice for the same matter ». Having thus spoken to him and appeased his great anger, they took leave of him and left the palace.

But before yet five days of the patriarch's exile had passed, the emperor sent word to him : « Since you will not accept the dispensation of the patriarchs, nor, further, obey the canonical vote of this holy Synod concerning my repentance, but rather fulfil your own ill-tending desire, resisting and withstanding the very patriarchs and holy fathers themselves, adding daily that you cannot even breathe freely under my reign, send us then your resignation from the throne. As for all you have said, rather than copy your ill-natured disposition, we will endure it compassionately, only expelling you from the throne ». He, however, on pretext of illness, said he was unable to write, and the messenger returned empty-handed.

#### XIV. — The resignations of the patriarch Nicolas.

Again after this the emperor sends the protovestiarus Samonas accompanied by the metropolitans, to say to him these : « I wish you to know, Nicolas, that, unless you send me your resignation this very hour, I shall lay before the holy Senate and the Clergy what you have written, showing that you have been the destruction of many noble men, and arraign you on an accusation of high treason. For all know of the loss incurred of men of our race and faith, through Doukas, and which you, the holy bishop, eagerly pursued, as we know well enough from what you wrote. Which so far we have not shewn even to the metropolitans, (for we do not make ourselves like you, discharging venom like a snake), nor, if you resign, shall we reveal it to any. Now therefore, or send us your resignation or come to defend yourself against the written evidence of your inhumanity ». At this, the other, at a loss what to do, but recognising the truth of the charge, said to the protovestiarus : « Tell the metropolitans to come in ». And after they had made obeisance one to another he asked them what they might wish,

(1) NAHUM I, 9.

ἐκκλησίας ἐξέωσις · οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς γέγραπται, κύριος ἐκδικήσει  
 δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. » οὕτως αὐτῷ εἰρηκότες καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ χόλου  
 καταπραῦννάντες συνταξάμενοί τε αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλείων ἀνεχώρουν.

Οὕτω δὲ πέντε ἡμερῶν παρελθουσῶν τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου ὑπερο-  
 5 ρίας, δηλοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς · « τὴν τῶν πατριαρχῶν οἰκονομίαν  
 μὴ δεχομένου σου, μήτε μὴν τῇ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης συνόδου ἐπὶ  
 τῇ ἐμῇ μετανοίᾳ κανονικῇ ψήφῳ συνεπομένου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ  
 σὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐφετὸν ἐκπληροῦντος, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἁγίοις πα-  
 τράσι καὶ πατριάρχαις ἀνταίροντος καὶ ἀνθισταμένου, ἐπιλέγον-  
 10 τός τε καθ' ἐκάστην τὸ μήτε ἄερα ἀναπνεῖν τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 μου, τὴν τοῦ θρόνου τέως παραίτησιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπόστειλον.  
 τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγομένοις ἅπασι, μὴ ἀφομοιούμενοι τῇ ὁργίῳ  
 διαθέσει σου, συμπαθῶς ὑποφέροντες, μόνον τοῦ θρόνου ὑπεξαγά-  
 γωμεν ». ὁ δὲ νόσον προφασισάμενος μὴ δύνασθαι γράφειν ἔλεγεν  
 15 καὶ κενὸν διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἀποσταλέντα ἀντέστρεψεν.

#### XIV. — Περὶ τῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Νικολάου παραιτήσεων

Μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ καὶ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν  
 Σαμωνᾶν ἀποστέλλει, τὸν αὐτοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριον, δηλῶν αὐτὸν  
 ταῦτα · « γινώσκεις σε βούλομαι, Νικόλαε, ὡς, εἰ μὴ τὴν παραί-  
 20 τησίν σου ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀποστείλῃς μοι ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς συγ-  
 κλήτου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλόγου τὸ σὸν οἰκειόγραφον προκομί-  
 σας, αἰτίον σε ἀπώλειας πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδείξας  
 τῷ τῆς καθοσιώσεως ἐγκλήματι ὑποβαλῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἐπίστανται  
 ἅπαντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Δουκὸς γενομένην τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ  
 25 ὁμοπίστων ἡμῶν ἀπώλειαν, ἥνπερ σύ, ὁ ἅγιος δεσπότης, ποιῆσαι  
 προτεθύμησαι, καθὼς ἐκ τοῦ οἰκειογράφου σου σαφέστερον ἐγνω-  
 μεν. ὅπερ ἀκμὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὑπεδείξαμεν  
 (οὐ γὰρ σοὶ ἀφομοιούμεθα, ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἰὸν δίκην ἀσπίδος ἐκπέμ-  
 ψωμεν ·) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παραιτουμένου σου φανερόν τι ποιήσομεν.  
 30 τοίνυν ἢ τὴν σὴν παραίτησιν ὑπαπόστειλον, ἢ ἔλθῃ προσαπολο-  
 γούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐγγράφῳ φανείσῃ ἀπανθρωπία σου ». ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις ἐξαπορήσας ὃ τι καὶ πράξοι, ἐπιγινώσκων δὲ ὡς ἀληθὲς  
 τὸ ἐγκαλούμενον, τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ ἔφη · « τοὺς μητροπολίτας  
 εἰσιέναι πρόσταξον ». καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους προσκυνήσεως γενο-

3 καταπραῦννάντες V. βασιλείων B 4 « οὕτω δεκαπέντε? »

5 αὐτῷ V. 9 ἀντέροντος c 12 τὰ ... λεγόμενα ἅπαντα B 18 δηλῶν  
 αὐτῷ B. 29 φανερόν τινί V. 30 c ἐπαπόστειλον B

But they alleging that they knew nothing, « For the emperor said nothing to us but to accompany the protovestiarus », he then said to them : « I, however, know what it is you want ». And with these words, he took his resignation from his bosom, and handed it to them, saying : « I have written this with my own hands ; both you and the emperor himself know my handwriting. Take therefore what you seek, and go ». But the metropolitans signing to him not to surrender this written resignation, or rather opposing and forbidding his so doing, the archbishop with his own hands gave it to the protovestiarus. And Samonas received it into his hands and gave it to the emperor. It ran word for word thus : « Since, in the difficult and adverse circumstances which have taken hold of the Church of God, I have been unable to allow a dispensation for the most Christian emperor, I resign the throne (preferring a private and retired life to the uncertainties and accidents of commerce with you here) without retiring from the priesthood, in whatever place we may drag out our humble life ». After many speeches of farewell, the metropolitans then withdrew down-cast.

But not long after, of his own initiative, he made and sent the emperor a new resignation in the following terms : « Since I promised, in agreement with the Church, that I would grant the most Christian emperor a dispensation in the matter of the woman living with him, but now see great and unappeasable discord in the matter of what should be allowed concerning him, I retire from the throne, making room for him who shall be able to bring this difference to agreement. As for the office of archbishop and the functions dependant on it, God being favorable, I shall take it upon myself for my life long ». Having shown this also to the metropolitans, the monarch instructed them to enquire, and find out the man



μένης, τὸ τί ἂν ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοῖς ἐπερώτα. αὐτῶν δὲ μηδὲν γινώ-  
 σκειν φασκόντων · « οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν,  
 ἢ ὅτι, ἐξέλθετε σὺν τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ », τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς ·  
 « ἐγὼ τὸ τί θέλετε ὑμεῖς γινώσκω ». καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκ τοῦ  
 5 ἰδίου κόλπου ἐκβαλὼν ἐπιδίδωσι τὴν αὐτοῦ παραιτήσιν λέγων ·  
 « ἐγὼ ταύτην οἰκείαις χερσὶ γέγραφα, καθὼς καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μου θέσιν ἐπίστασθε. λάβετε τοί-  
 νυν τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ ἀπέλθετε ». τῶν δὲ μητροπολιτῶν ἀνα-  
 νευόντων τοῦ μὴ ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ ἐγγράφῳ ταύτῃ παραιτήσῃ, ἀλλὰ  
 10 μᾶλλον ἀναβαλλομένων καὶ ἀνθισταμένων, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς οἰκειο-  
 χείρως τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ ταύτην δέδωκεν · ἣν ὁ Σαμωνᾶς ἐπὶ  
 χεῖρας λαβὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπέδωκεν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως ·  
 « ἐπειδήπερ, πραγμάτων ἐναντιότητος καὶ δυσχερείας τὴν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καταλαβοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον περιέστην τοῦ  
 15 οἰκονομεῖν τι περὶ τὸν φιλόχριστον βασιλέα, τὸν θρόνον παραι-  
 τοῦμαι, τὴν κατ' ἐμavτόν (1) ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἀνακεχωρημένην προτιμήσας  
 ζωὴν τῆς ἐν πράγμασιν ἀστατούσης συναναστροφῆς, μὴ τῆς  
 θείας ἐξιστάμενος ἱερωσύνης ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπῳ τὴν ταπεινὴν ἡμῶν  
 παρελκύσωμεν ζωὴν ». πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ μητροπολίται  
 20 τότε προσειπόντες συνταξάμενοί τε αὐτόν κατηφεῖς ἀνεχώρουν.  
 Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺν (2) δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐτέραν παραιτήσιν οἰκειογνώμως  
 ποιήσας τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαποστέλλει οὕτως ἐπεριέχουσαν · « ἐπειδὴ  
 προεπηγγειλάμην συμφωνίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ τὸν φιλόχριστον  
 οἰκονομεῖν βασιλέα χάριν τῆς συνοικουσύνης αὐτῷ γυναικός, ὁρῶ  
 25 δὲ μακρὰν καὶ ἀκατάπανστον διαφωνίαν πρὸς τὸ τί περὶ αὐτὸν  
 οἰκονομεῖν, ἐξίσταμαι τοῦ θρόνου τῷ δυναμένῳ τὴν διαφωνίαν  
 εἰς ὁμογνωμοσύνην ἄγειν παραχωρῶν. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης  
 καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἐνεργειῶν, ἴλεω θεοῦ ὑπάρχοντος, διὰ βίου ἀνα-  
 δέξομαι ». καὶ ταύτην τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὁ ἄναξ ἐπιδείξας τὸν  
 30 τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον διερευνᾷν καὶ ἐκζητεῖν παρακαλεῖται.

1 αὐτοῦς B. « ἐπερώτα? » 9 τῇ ἐγγράφῳ ταύτῃ c 13 ἐπειδὴ K.  
 πραγμάτων twice in cod. 14 καταλαβοῦσης K 15 τί V. 16 K. καθ'  
 ἐμavτόν c ἰδίαν K 17 ἀναστατοῦσιν K « ἀστατούσι? » μήτε  
 θείας K 18 ἀρχιερωσύνης K 19 αὐτῷ B 22 οὕτως c.

(1) « καθ' ἐμavτόν cod. viell. καθ' ἐαντόν zu schreiben vgl. XV,7 ». But cf.  
 ὡς αὐτως and καθ' αὐτοῦ passim, καθοκνήσης, 68, 28. Here the K reading  
 is decisive.

(2) Cf. p. 66, 3 and note.

worthy of the pontificate. But they all, as if by agreement, called for the great Euthymius : « For indeed we cannot find a better in these our days », said they, « whom above all others your Majesty knows right well and of a certainty to be above reproach, and marked with the seal of sanctity, and conspicuous for his great achievements ». Then the emperor : « In that he is spiritual and saintly I rejoice in him, but inasmuch as he often resists me I am uneasy. However, God's will be done. Go, therefore, to his monastery of Psamathia, explain the case, entreating him, and beseeching him as from ourselves ; for once, when I suggested this to him, he said that he was unfit for so great an undertaking. But when you receive his assurance lose no time, immediately in the morning hasten to me ». So now, the metropolitans going to the monastery of Psamathia and telling him the matter, to them he said : « My lords and masters, forgive me, the least of men, and unworthy of so great and high an undertaking, and leave me to my own affairs and to the care of those who are here under me. From among yourselves whomsoever you may find suitable, set him over you ». But they replied : « This, holy father, cannot be, but you after God will we take for our shepherd and archbishop. For with you in the Church there shall be, not strife, nor rebellion, nor quarrelling, but, expediently for all, one fold (1) under one shepherd ». Then again the father to them : « And if among yourselves you are intolerant and unsubmitive and cannot be subject one to another, at least look to your archbishop ». But, « He », said they, « rather carried away by his own wilfulness and obstinacy than at our request, left desolate the Church wedded to him, and produced a bill of divorcement, with his own hand writing his resignation, and as from now is become estranged from her ». But he to them : « At whose order or contriving ? » And they : « That of his own conscience. For had his soul lain wholly with the Church to whom he was wedded, he would not, in writing, once and twice and thrice have renounced her at a mere summons only. Concerning which he made sure of us in writing, and made us write with him, saying « and if I must

(1) Jo., 10, 16.

οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκ συνθήματος ἅπαντες τὸν μέγαν ἐπεζήτητον Εὐθύμιον.  
 « καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κρείττονα τούτου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν ταύταις  
 εὔρεϊν δυνάμεθα », ἔλεγον, « ὅνπερ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ἡ σὴ βασι-  
 λεία λίαν καὶ πάνν ἐπίσταται ἀνεπίληπτον ὄντα καὶ ἡγιασμένον  
 5 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις διαπρέψαντα κατορθώμασι ». καὶ  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς · « ὥς μὲν πνευματικῶ καὶ ἀγίῳ ὄντι χαίρω ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 ὥς δὲ πολλάκις μοι ἀντιπίπτοντι δέδοικα. ὁμῶς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ γενέσθω. ἀπέλθετε τοίνυν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία μονῇ αὐτοῦ  
 διηγούμενοι τούτῳ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐκλιπαροῦντές τε καὶ ὥς  
 10 ἐξ ἡμῶν καθικετεύοντες · ποτὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ μνήμης αὐτῷ τοῦτο φέ-  
 ροντος ἔμοῦ, ἀνεπιτήδειον τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐγχειρήματος εἶναι  
 εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ὥς δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν πληροφορίαν δέξασθε, διὰ τά-  
 χους ὁμοῦ τῇ αὖριον πρὸς με σπεύσατε ». ἀπελθόντων τοίνυν  
 τῶν μητροπολιτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία μονῇ καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς  
 15 ὑποθέσεως προσειπόντων, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη · « συγχωρή-  
 σατε, κύριοί μου καὶ δεσπότες, ἔμοι τῷ ἐλαχίστῳ, ἀναξίῳ ὄντι  
 τοῦ τοιοῦτου μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, εἰσάσαντες προσέ-  
 χειν ἑμαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἑμοῦ ἐνταῦθα φοιτήσασιν. ἐξ ὑμῶν  
 αὐτῶν, ὃν ἂν ἱκανὸν ὄντα εὔροιτε, τοῦτον προστήσασθε ». οἱ δὲ  
 20 ἀντέλεγον · « τοῦτο, πάτερ ἄγιε, γενέσθαι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ  
 σὲ μετὰ θεὸν παραληψόμεθα ποιμένα ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιερέα. σοῦ γὰρ  
 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντος, οὐκ ἔρις, οὐ στάσις, οὐ φιλονεικία, ἀλλὰ  
 κοινῇ συμφερόντως γενήσεται μία ποίμνη ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιμένι ». πάλιν  
 τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ πατήρ · « καὶ εἰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δύσανασχετεῖτε  
 25 καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθε καὶ ὑποταγῆναι ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἀδυνάτως  
 ἔχετε, κἂν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὑμῶν ἐπιζητήσατε ». οἱ δέ · « ἐκεῖνος », ἔ-  
 φησαν, « τῇ ἰδιορρυθμίᾳ καὶ μονοτονίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπαχθεῖς ἢ ταῖς  
 ἡμετέραις πειθαρχήσας παραινέσεσι, τὴν ἀρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν καταλιπὼν ἔρημον βιβλίον ἀποστασίον παρέσχετο, οἰκειο-  
 30 γραφησάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ παραίτησιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀλλότριος  
 ταύτης καθέστηκεν ». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς · « τίνος τοῦτο προστά-  
 ξαντος ἢ οἰκονομήσαντος ; » οἱ δέ · « τῆς ἑαυτοῦ », εἶπον, « συν-  
 ειδήσεως. καὶ γὰρ, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίαν  
 ὁλοψύχως διέκειτο, οὐκ ἂν ἐγγράφως ταύτην καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις  
 35 καὶ τρίς ἀπετάξατο ἐκ ψιλῆς μόνης προσφωνήσεως. περὶ ἧς  
 ἡμᾶς ἐγγράφως ἐβεβαίον καὶ συνεγγράφεσθαι τούτῳ πεποιήκει,

3 ὑπεράπαντας V.

14 μονῇ V.

16 ἐλαχίστω

27 ἰδιορρυθμία c

34 ταύτῃ B

36 ἐβεβαίον c

undergo the death penalty, I will not reject nor, assuredly, resign the Church which God has entrusted to me. Only do you be firm and immovable ». Thus, while he was inducing us to stand firm, he first who had contrived these matters was seen to transgress and set at nought the Cross, with his own hand giving in his resignation, although we were there when he surrendered it, and not consenting ; but we were not able to prevent what he wished ». Then the father to them : « These things, holy fathers and my masters, must be left to God, and ourselves excused undertaking what you ask ». And without adding a word, bidding them farewell, he entered his quiet cell. And they, amazed at his steadfastness in the face of all their supplications, retired without anything achieved. But the next day the emperor, finding them downcast, said : « Did I not tell you beforehand what would happen to you ? But what do you think about him ? » Then they : « If your Majesty does not go down and persuade him to put a good face on it and agree, we too shall perhaps leave the Church. For never have we seen such a man for piercing intelligence and gentleness of character. As for the affability and sweetness of his quiet discourse, who could describe it ? But to what purpose are we enlarging on his qualities ? He is the one sought above all and by all ».

#### XV. — The exhortations of the emperor and the metropolitans.

The emperor having heard them went next day by sea to the father, urging, inviting, persuading, begging, and also taking a dread oath by the holy sanctuary of the sainted Anargyres that, if he did not accept the patriarchate but rejected it, « utterly no hope of salvation remains to me, and I shall fall into the abyss of despair, without fear letting myself go to every evil and perverseness, I shall even fall into heresy, and the Lord shall require (1) my soul and the souls of those lost with me at your hand ». This he said with angry tears. But the father,

(1) Cf. Ez., 33, 8 : τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου ἐκζητήσω and Lu., 12, 20 : τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ.

κἂν δέη με, λέγων, κεφαλικὴν ὑποστῆναι τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν ὁ θεὸς μοι ἐνεχειρίσεν, οὐκ ἀποβαλοῦμαι οὔτε μὴν παραιτήσομαι. μόνον ὑμεῖς ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι. οὕτως ἡμῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστηριχθέντων, πρῶτος ὁ τούτων τεχνουργὸς  
 5 τὴν παράβασιν ἐνδειξάμενος τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀθέτησιν κατεργάσατο, παρασχὼν οἰκαιοχείρως τὴν παραίτησιν, καίπερ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδόσει παρόντων καὶ ἀνανεόντων · κἂν τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν κωλύσαι οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν». καὶ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς αὐτούς · « ταῦτα πατέρες ἅγιοι καὶ δεσπόται μου, τῷ θεῷ καταλειπτέον, ἡμῖν δὲ  
 10 συγγνωστὸν τῆς ἀπαιτουμένης ἐγχειρήσεως ». καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσθεὶς εἰρηκέναι, συνταξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἰσῆει ἐν τῷ ἡσυχαστικῷ αὐτοῦ κελλίῳ. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀμετάθετον αὐτοῦ ὑπερεκπλαγέντες, καίπερ πολλὰ καθικετεύσαντες, ἀνεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς κατηφεῖς προσυπαντῶν ἔφη · « οὐ  
 15 προείρηκα ὑμῖν τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι ; πῶς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ ; » οἱ δέ · « εἰ μὴ τοῦτον κατελθοῦσα πείσει ἡ βασιλεία σου τοῦ ἀσμενίσαι καὶ συντάξασθαι, τάχα ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφιστάμεθα · καὶ γὰρ οὐποτε τοιοῦτον τεθεάμεθα ἄνδρα  
 20 αὐτοῦ τῆς μεθ' ἡσυχίας ὁμιλίας τίς ἂν διηγῆσθαι ; τί δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ λέγειν τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός ; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντας καὶ παρὰ πάντων ζητούμενος.

XV. — Περὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 καὶ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν προτροπῆς

25 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτων ἐπακηκοὺς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ θαλάσσης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπῆει, πῇ μὲν παραινῶν παρακαλῶν ἱκετεύων τε καὶ προτρεπόμενος, πῇ δὲ μεθ' ὄρκων φρικτῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων ἱερῷ σηκῷ ἐπομνύμενος ὥς, εἰ μὴ καταδέξοιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ ἀναβάλλοιτο, πάντως οὐκ  
 30 ἔστιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἐλπίς σωτηρίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπογνώσεως ἐμπίπτω βαράθρῳ, ἀδεῶς τε πρᾶττων μεθίημι πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι αἵρέσεως καταντήσω, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀπολλυμένων ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ». ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὀργιζόμενος καὶ κλαίων.

11 « προσθεὶς τοῦ εἰρηκέναι? Vgl. X, 17 »

28 ἐπομνήμενος V.

31 μετήμι c



seeing him so upset, said : « Do not, sire, grieve so violently ; it does not become you. But hear me, if you will, with forbearance ». Then he : « Say, father, what you will ». — « The archbishop Nicolas being still among the living, not canonically, still less by synod, expelled from the Church, it is not possible for another to take his place in the Church. For nor would this be pleasing to God, nor well-received by men, nor indeed by my humble self ». Then the emperor related to him all that had happened between them, swearing by the relics he carried that what he had said, he had said in all truth, and « it was through excessive care for him that I accepted his resignation without making a stir, since he deserved public degradation, for the great wrongs he has dared ». And with these words he gives him the resignation in Nicolas' own hand which he had sent to the metropolitans, which ran word for word thus : « Since from differences and warring opinions, which ill suit the bishops of God, you have come to accord and dear agreement, therefore with one judgment grant dispensation in the affairs of the most Christian emperor for the woman with him, I shall not speak against you, but acquiescing in the dispensation, and recognising your unanimity, I renounce the throne, on the one hand being but a man and humanly affected while with your quarrels and bickerings I have long worn away my soul ; on the other this too, I do not know whether any man has loved with such love as has bound me to the most Christian emperor, yet we, tossed hither and thither at the mercy of events, are brought to grieve him, and he to be harsh with us. Therefore I renounce the throne, preferring the peace of privacy to the vanity of mankind, and the securing of that which is my own to busying myself with the affairs of men ». Having read this, he says to the emperor : « Truly, sire, unless Rome and the other patriarchs grant a dispensation in your affairs, I shall neither consent nor, I assure you, obey your words. For who am I, less than the least of men, to annul the dispositions of the canons, and transgress the rules of the Fathers ? But if they grant dispensation, I shall make no opposition, nor defer. Of this I assure you, exhorting your Majesty not to grieve but cast (1)

(1) *Ps.* 55 (54), 23 : *κ. αὐτὸς ποιήσει* ; *Ps.* 37 (36), 5.

ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ταραττόμενον ἔφη · « μὴ οὕτως, ὦ δέσποτα, σφοδρῶς ἀνιῶ · οὐ γὰρ ἀρμόζει σοι. εἰ δὲ κελεύεις, ἀνεξικάκως ἄκουε ». ὁ δέ · « λέγε, πάτερ, ὃ βούλει ». « τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Νικολάου ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχοντος καὶ μήτε κανονικῶς μήτε  
5 μὴν συνοδικῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεωθέντος, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλον εἰσδεχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε παρὰ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, οὔτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐαπόδεκτον, οὔτε μὴν παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως ». τότε διηγεῖται αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅπαντα τὰ ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν συμβεβηκότα ἐπομνύμενος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτῶν  
10 αὐτοῦ, ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τὰ λεχθέντα εἰρηκέναι, καὶ ὅτι « λίαν τούτου κηδόμενος ἀποφῆτι τὴν αὐτοῦ παραίτησιν ἐδεξάμην, ἐπεὶ ἄξιος ἦν εἰς ἐπίπροσθεν πάντων καθαιρέσεως μέτοχος γενέσθαι, ὡς τολμητίας τοιούτων κακῶν ». καὶ οὕτως εἰπὼν ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μητροπολίτας παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμ-  
15 φθεῖσαν ἰδιόγραφον αὐτοῦ παραίτησιν ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως · « ἐπειδὴ ἐκ διαφωνίας καὶ γνώμης πρὸς ἀλλήλους μαχομένης ὅπερ θεοῦ ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἀνοίκειον, πρὸς συμφωνίαν καὶ φιλίην ὁμογνωμοσύνην κατέστητε, διὰ τοῦτο κρίσει μιᾷ τὰ περὶ τὸν φιλόχριστον βασιλέα οἰκονομεῖτε χάριν τῆς συνοικουσίας αὐτῷ  
20 γυναικός, οὐκ ἀντιφθέγγομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ στέργων τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν ἀποδεχόμενος ἐξίσταμαι τοῦ θρόνου, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὢν καὶ ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθώς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπὶ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ψυχὴν κατετρίβην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑμῶν ἔρισι καὶ φιλονεικίαις, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις ἀνθρώπων ἀγαπήσας  
25 τῇ περὶ τὸν φιλόχριστον βασιλέα ἐμάντον ἀγάπῃ ἀναδησάμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων περιηρέχθην ἀνωμαλίας, ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκείνῳ λυπῆσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκτραχυνθῆναι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐξίσταμαι τοῦ θρόνου τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν προκρίνας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ματαιότητος, καὶ τὸ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσφα-  
30 λίζεσθαι ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις στρέφεσθαι πράγμασι ». ταῦτα ἀναγνούς φησι τῷ βασιλεῖ · « ὅντως, δέσποτα, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πατριάρχαι τὰ κατὰ σέ οἰκονομήσουσιν, οὔτε συνενδοκῶ, οὔτε μὴν τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγομένοις πειθαρχήσω. τίς γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλαχιστότερος πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταλύειν ἐκθέσεις  
35 κανόνων καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν ὅρια πατέρων ; οἰκονομοῦντων δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἀντιτείνω, οὔτε μὴν ἀναβάλλομαι. τοῦτο δὲ παρεγγυῶμαι

5 ἔξεστιν V.

8 « τῇ — ταπεινώσει? »

9 ἀνὰ μεταξύ c

14 αὐτῷ V.

18 διατοῦτο V. « διὰ τε τοῦτο? »

19 αὐτῷ V.

25 ἐμ' αὐτὸν V.

27 διατοῦτο V.

your care upon the Lord and he will suffice ». And the emperor « And I too, father, so say and wish and pray. Only do not you abandon the Church ». Having thus bade him farewell and encouraged him to put all his hope in God, he sent him away, rejoicing.

A few days later the emperor again presented himself before him, with the writs and the representatives themselves. The emperor was accompanied by his negotiators, Leo, surnamed Choïrosphageus, and Symeon, the man beloved of God, highly esteemed and most worthy of admiration, who, when the town of Salonica was about to be rased to the ground, by that impious Ismaelite who, by God's consent and for the multitude of our sins, had taken it (the Tripolite he was called), accomplished this extraordinary feat of seeing in person the cursed villain, and by his shrewdness and good sense persuading him to save the town and forego most of the captives, by making over to the Arabs the friendly gift destined to the Bulgars, along with the load of specie. But this I relate to show the man's excellence and reliability. He, then, was back from Rome with the pope's representatives, as well as synodic letters, accepting the emperor's repentance, and with compassion and sympathy granting synodic dispensation in his affairs. « For », said they, « it is written there is no sin that shall prevail over the mercy of God ». So too those from Antioch and Jerusalem and Alexandria, arriving with writs, allowed the concession, and indeed the majority of the metropolitans of Byzantium (1) prescribed and set forth in writing that the emperor, while remaining liable to penance, be received in the church. With events turning out thus, all excuse and device was removed whereby the father might refuse. So now, bent, or, rather, forced by the prayers of the emperor and the exhortations of the bishops, and indeed of the representatives themselves, particularly those from Rome, compelling him, and saying repeatedly : « Domine Euthymius hear us and help the Church », yielding to the will of God and the unanimity of the Synod he accepted the helm of the

(1) Only occurrence of the term Byzantium in the extant part of the VE.

παραινῶν τὴν βασιλείαν σου, μὴ οὕτως ἀνιῶ καὶ ἀθύμει, ἀλλ' ἐπίρριπον ἐπὶ κύριον τὴν μέριμνάν σου, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «κἀγὼ οὕτως, πάτερ, καὶ λέγω καὶ θέλω καὶ εὐχομαι. μόνον σὺ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἀποστῆς». οὕτως αὐτῷ  
 5 συνταξάμενος καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐλπίδος πρὸς θεὸν ἔχειν ὑπαλείψας ἀπέλυσεν ἐν ἰλαρότητι.

Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ πάλιν παρῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ καὶ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοποτηρητῶν. συνείποντο δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἀποκρισιάριοι, ὁ τε Λέων, ὁ κατ' ἐπίκλην  
 10 Χοιροσφαγέας, καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ θεοφιλῆς καὶ τιμιώτατος καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀξιάγαστος ἀνὴρ, ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρις ἐδάφους καταλύεσθαι μέλλουσαν παρὰ τοῦ κατὰ συγκώρησιν θεοῦ καὶ πλῆθος ἡμῶν ἁμαρτιῶν παραλαβόντος ταύτην ἀσεβοῦς Ἰσмаηλίτον, τοῦ Τριπολίτου καλουμένου, τὸ πάρεργον ἔργον ποιησά-  
 15 μενος καὶ αὐτοπὶ τὸν ἀλιτήριον θεασάμενος, ὡς ἀγγλίνους καὶ ἐχέφρων πεῖθει τοῦτον τό τε ἄστυ σῶον εἶσαι καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας πλείστον καταλιπεῖν, τὴν εἰς Βουλγάρους παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλεῖσαν φιλικὴν δεξιῶσιν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ὀλκῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῖς Ἄραψι παρασχόμενος· τοῦτο δὲ εἴρηκα δεικνύων τὴν τε τοῦ  
 20 ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ ἀξιόπιστον. οὗτος ἐπανῆκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάπα τοποτηρητὰς ἐπιφερόμενος μετὰ καὶ λιβέλλων συνοδικῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μετάνοιαν προσδεχομένους καὶ φιλευσπλάγχχνως καὶ συμπαθῶς τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνοδικῶς οἰκονομοῦντας. «οὐκ ἔστιν γάρ», ἔλεγον, «ἁμαρτία τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλαν-  
 25 θρωπίαν νικῶσα, ὡς γέγραπται». ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας μετὰ καὶ λιβέλλων εἰσιόντες ὥκονόμησαν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ μητροπολιτῶν οἱ πλείους ἐπιτιμίαις ὑποπίπτοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰσδεχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκκελεύοντο καὶ ἐγγράφως ἐξετίθεντο.  
 30 τούτων οὕτως συμβεβηκότων, περιηρεῖτο πᾶσα πρόφασις καὶ μηχανὴ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναβολῆς. τοῖνυν ἐπικαμφθεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ βιασθεῖς ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτήσεσι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχιερέων παραινέσεσι, ναὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοποτηρητῶν, ἐξαιρέτως τῶν Ῥώμης, καταναγκαζόντων τοῦτον, καὶ πολλάκις λεγόντων·  
 35 «δόμνε Εὐθύμει, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσακούσας ἡμῶν βοήθησον». ψήφῳ θεοῦ καὶ συνοδικῇ ὁμονοίᾳ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναδέχεται οἶακας.

5 «ἐπαλείψας»

9 κατεπίκλην c

15 ἀλιτήριον c

25 ὡς αὐτως c

28 ὑποπίπτοντα τὸν βασιλέα B

29 ἐξετίθεντο c

34 τοῦτον B

τούτων c

35 ἐκκλησία V.

Church. Raised as he now was to the throne and set on a candlestick (1), his virtues shone before all men, and so pleasant was he with all, and so much beloved that, not by his adherents only, but by his very adversaries, he was received with joy, who chose rather to follow and be ever with him, than associate with those who rejected the emperor's repentance. While to all those who abused and jeered at him, in accordance with the saying of the Gospel « Love (2) your enemies and do good to them », he so freely gave the things useful for their need, and the more such an one was found indulging in insolence and malice the more he gave, that some said : « Who wishes to have a kindness done him by this new patriarch, must insult him, set him at nought, mock him, and so he will obtain his desire of him ». But while he provided for these, do not think that he overlooked those who did not slander him. He who cares thus for his enemies, far more will he take thought for his own. And if the emperor did seize some and proceed against them, the father was not responsible, who strove so on behalf of his enemies, that he reversed their sentence of banishment and put an end to the emperor's resentment.

Before long (for the report of his blameless life and compassionate and understanding character had spread everywhere) the fame of his virtue reached Arethas also, the bishop of Caesarea, who was in exile in the parts of Thrace. And he desired to see and talk to him, and to write to this effect to the emperor. Who told him to enter the city and, wherever pleasing and agreeable to him, there stay, and no one would hinder him in any way, or say anything. So he came and went up to the patriarchate, and, having conversed some hours with the patriarch, was not willing to be parted from him, that, coming away, he said : « Blessed be God that has given us such an archbishop, able to heal not the body only, but the soul ». Then he went up to the palace, and said to the emperor : « Not because of thy will do I submit, nor dismayed by thy threats am I reconciled with the church, but in reverence

(1) LUKE, 8, 16 (ἐπὶ + gen. ; MAT. and ΜΚ., ἐπὶ + acc.).

(2) LUKE, 6, 27.



ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τοίνυν ἀναχθεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας τεθεῖς πᾶσι  
ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κατέφαινε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἡδὺς τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐπέ-  
ραστος γέγονεν, ὥς οὐ παρὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
αὐτῶν τῶν ἀντιπιπτόντων προσδεχθῆναι ἀσμένως τοῦτον καὶ αὐτῷ  
5 συνέπεσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι μᾶλλον τούτῳ ἀεὶ ἐλέσθαι, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἐναντιούμενους συστρέφεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ σκώπτουσι  
καὶ διαλοιδороῦσιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν εὐαγγελικὴν φω-  
νὴν τό· «ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖτε»,  
τοσοῦτον δαψιλῶς πάντας (1) τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐπιτήδεια παρεῖχεν  
10 ὅσον καὶ τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν μειζόνως ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν  
εὗρίσκετο, ὥς καὶ τινὰς λέγειν· «ὁ θέλων εὐεργετεῖσθαι παρὰ  
τοῦ νέου τούτου πατριάρχου ὑβρίσει, ἐξουδενώσει, διαλοιδορή-  
σεται αὐτόν, καὶ οὕτως τῶν ποθουμένων τεύξεται παρ' αὐτοῦ».   
τούτους δὲ παρέχων μὴ νομίσητε τοὺς μὴ διαβάλλοντας αὐτόν  
15 παρορᾶν. ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὕτως κηδόμενος πολλῷ μᾶλλον  
τῶν οἰκείων προμηθεύεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
κρατήσας ὑπεξῆλθεν, οὐκ αἷτιος ὁ πατήρ· ὃς τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ  
τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ἀντηγωνίσατο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐξορίαν αὐτῶν  
ἀνατρέψας καὶ παῦσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγανάκτησιν.  
20 Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ ἀνεπιλήπτου αὐτοῦ  
βίου τῆς τε συμπαθοῦς καὶ εὐσπλαγχνου γνώμης κατὰ παντός  
διαδραμοῦσης, ἐφθασεν ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ φήμη καὶ μέχρι Ἀρέθα,  
τοῦ τῆς Καισαρέων προέδρου, ὄντι ἐν ὑπερορίᾳ ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις  
μέρεσιν. ὃς καὶ ἐπεθύμει τοῦτον ἰδεῖν καὶ προσομιλῆσαι καὶ  
25 διὰ τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιστεῖλαι. ὁ δὲ δημοῖ αὐτόν εἰσιέναι ἐν  
τῇ πόλει, καὶ ὅπου ἀρεστόν αὐτῷ ἐστι καὶ φίλον καθεῖξασθαι,  
μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν κωλύοντος ἢ τι λέγοντος. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ  
ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ ἀνίων καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὰς ὥρας τῷ πατριάρχει προσο-  
μιλήσας οὐκ ᾔθελεν αὐτοῦ διαζευχθῆναι, ὥστε καὶ κατερχόμενον  
30 λέγειν· «εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν δωρησάμενος ἀρχιερεῶ  
οὐ μόνον σώματα ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχὰς δυνάμενον θεραπεύειν». ἀνῆλθε  
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων· «οὐχ ἔνεκα τῆς σῆς  
θελησέως ὑπέικω, οὔτε μὴν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σου πτοούμενος τῇ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεισέρχομαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν αἰδούμενος,

4 αὐτῷ V.	9 πάντα B	14 τούτοις B	14 «παρέχοντα? »
17 ἐπεξῆλθεν B	18 ἀντιγωνίσατο c	19 V.	ἀνατρέψαι c
23 ὄντος B	25 διατοῦτο V.	«ἐπέστειλεν? »	26 αὐτῷ V.
27 ἢ τί V.	28 πατριαρχείῳ V.		

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 1, C, II, p. 237.

for the virtue of this man, particularly for love of his gentleness and sympathy and sincerity. Would thou hadst done this before ; perhaps we and you had been happily preserved from all unpleasantness ». Then Gabriel, head of the church of Ancyra, knowing the passionate yearning of the new patriarch after the holy martyr Clement, gives him the latter's sacred omophorion : which he placed with the relics of the martyr Agathangelos, in the chapel he had built in the monastery of Psamathia, being present and performing the ceremony of deposition on the Saint's day and honouring the martyr with an encomium.

#### XVI. — Concerning Nicetas the Paphlagonian the philosopher

Now at that time a holy man called Paul, of Paphlagonian origins, was sacellarius and abbot of the monastery of St. Phocas. He had a nephew called Nicetas whom he brought up, correcting and admonesting him. And he, by the favour of God, outdid his fellow students and all those of his age, and practised as a master, and got a great reputation in the capital, and his fame reached the emperor. This Nicetas, out of contempt for all the things of this world, distributed his possessions among the poor and among his pupils, and retired to a place on the Black Sea with a cave-dwelling into which he entered and lived as a hermit. But the emperor, wishing to have him by him and care for him in a manner worthy of his learning, enquired of his uncle concerning him. But his uncle said that he had left and he did not know where he might be. After some time had passed, however, he was charged by the governor of Thrace with deserting to the Bulgars, taken into custody, and sent bound to the emperor. The emperor received him, and examined him, asking with what purpose he had been going to the Bulgars. « If it was to help them, you should have informed us », said he, « but if your action was directed against us, your countrymen, what law enjoined it ? » But he defended himself saying no such thought had even entered his mind. And the emperor : « Will you not

ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸ πρᾶον αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαθὲς καὶ ἄπλαστον ἀγά-  
μενος. εἶθε πρὸ καιροῦ τοῦτο ἐποίεις· τάχα ἂν ἀπήμονες καὶ  
ἀνέπαφοι παντὸς ἐναντίου ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς διεφυλαττόμεθα».   
τότε καὶ Γαβριήλ, ὁ τῆς Ἀγκυρανῶν ἐκκλησίας πρόεδρος, τὸν  
5 τοῦ νέου πατριάρχου ζέοντα πόθον τὸν πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρ-  
τυρα Κλήμεντα αἰσθόμενος τὸ τούτον ἱερὸν ὠμοφόριον αὐτῷ  
ἐπιδίδωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ δομηθέντι εὐκτηρίῳ εἰς  
τὴν τοῦ Ψαμαθία μονὴν μετὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ μάρτυρος λειψάνων  
Ἀγαθαγγέλου ἐναπέθετο ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μνήμῃ τὴν κατὰθεσιν ποιη-  
10 σάμενος, ἐκεῖσέ τε παραγενόμενος καὶ ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἔπεσι χρη-  
σάμενος τὸν μάρτυρα κατέστειπεν.

XVI. — Περὶ Νικήτα φιλοσόφου  
τοῦ Παφλαγόνος.

Παῦλος δέ τις δσιώτατος ἀνὴρ τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ σακελλά-  
15 ριος καὶ ἡγούμενος ὑπῆρχε τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ μονῆς ἐκ Πα-  
φλαγονίας ὁρμώμενος. οὗτος ἀνεψιὸν ἔσχεν Νικήταν τοῦνομα,  
ὃν παιδεία καὶ νοουθεσία ἀνέτρεφεν. ἐκ θεοῦ δὲ χάριν λαβὼν τοῖς  
τε συμφοιτηταῖς καὶ συνηλικιώταις ἅπασιν ὑπερηκόντιζεν, ὥστε  
καὶ ἐν διδασκάλοις φοιτᾶν καὶ μέγα ὄνομα ἐν τῇ βασιλευμένῃ  
20 πόλει κτήσασθαι, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ βασιλεύοντος τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ  
φημισθῆναι. οὗτος πάντα τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ καταφρονήσας τοῖς τε  
πένησι καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς διανείμας τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀναχωρεῖ ἐπὶ  
τινα τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου τόπον ἔχοντα σπηλοειδὲς οἰκητήριον  
ἐν ᾧ εἰσιὼν ἡσύχαζεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θέλων αὐτὸν παρ' ἑαυτῷ  
25 ἔχειν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώσεως ἄξια θεραπεύειν, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον  
τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνηρώτα. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν τοῦτον ἐξεστηκέναι καὶ  
ἀγνοεῖν ὅποι καὶ διάγοι. χρόνου δὲ παρωχηκότος, παρὰ τοῦ  
τὴν Θράκην στρατηγοῦντος διαγνωσθεὶς καὶ κρατηθεὶς ὡς εἰς  
Βουλγάρους προσφυγεῖν καταγγελλόμενος, τῷ βασιλεῖ δέσμιος  
30 παραπέμπεται. τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς δεξάμενος καὶ ἀνακρίνας τὸ  
τί πρὸς Βουλγάρους θέλων ἀφίκοιτο ἡρώτα· « εἰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν  
ὠφέλειαν, ἔδει καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο προσυπομνησθῆναι », φησὶν· « εἰ  
δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ποῖος νόμος σοι τοῦτο παρακελεύε-  
ται ». ὁ δὲ προσαπελογεῖτο μήτε εἰς ἐνθῦμιον αὐτοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτον  
35 εἰσδέξασθαι. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· « οὐδὲ τοῦτο καθομολογήσεις ὡς

15 μόνης V. 17-18 τοὺς τε συμφοιτηταὺς καὶ συνηλικιώτας ἅπαντας B  
23 « σπηλαιοειδές? » 25 ἑαυτοῦ] « αὐτοῦ? » 29 καταγγελλόμενος c

confess either that you called yourself Christ? » But this too he denied, swearing that he had certainly not done so. But when the emperor insisted, says he : « Let not this upset your Majesty. For it is written (1) « I have said, Ye are gods ; and all of you are children of the most High ». At this the emperor was angered, and, calling forth those who had brought him, asked where they had found him. And having learnt that it was in the town Media near to Bulgaria he ordered him to be whipped and then shut in prison that he might look into his case with more precision. For he was the author of a distressing and malicious tract against the archbishop and the sovereign himself. This document was stolen away secretly by one of his own students who gave it to the emperor ; who on reading it was so much amazed that he changed face utterly. And the next day, having summoned the patriarch and the whole Synod, in presence of the holy Senate complete, he gave order for the man to enter, and said to him : « Tell me, O senseless fool, have you not written against our common father and all this holy concourse ? Have you not sharpened your tongue against me and against my crown ? Tell me the truth ; for if you do not speak out to me, I will add (2) to the smart of your wounds ». But he denied, saying he knew nothing. The sovereign in anger then ordered his composition to be read in the hearing of all. So, when it had been read, seeing all indignant and angry, he too recognised his fault, and stood wondering what to do. So the then logothete, called Thomas, who was standing by, nodded to him to fall at the emperor's feet, which he immediately did. But the emperor, angrily and with violent threats, ordered him to be imprisoned in the praetorium. Then might one see a work of compassion worthy of a patriarch. He immediately starts up from his seat and throws himself at the sovereign's feet, and weeping, begging and praying that the man go unpunished. The emperor himself starts up to raise him to his feet with his own hands, and says to him : « My lord, have you not heard the things this abandoned man has said against us, in his railing and folly, not against me only, but against your Holiness and all the Church ? He cannot then be allowed to slip through my hands ». But the archbishop : « For this I myself

(1) *Ps.* 82, 6.(2) *Ps.* 69, 26.



Χριστὸν σεαυτὸν ὠνόμασας ; » ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεβάλλετο μὴ ποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν διομνύμενος. ὥς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέμενε, φησὶν ἐκεῖνος · « τοῦτο μὴ ταραττέτω τὴν βασιλείαν σου. γέγραπται γάρ · ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοὶ ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες ». πρὸς τοῦτοις  
 5 ὁ βασιλεὺς χολέσας τοὺς ἀποκομίσαντας τοῦτον προσκαλεσάμενος ὅποι τοῦτον ἐφεῦρον ἀνηρώτα. ὥς δὲ ἐν Μηδείᾳ τῇ πλησιοχωρούσῃ Βουλγάροις ἐμεμαθήκει, κελεύει παρενθὺ τοῦτον φραγε-  
 λωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως ἐν φυλακῇ ἐγκλεισθῆναι, ὅπως ἀκριβέστερον τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διαγνῶ. ἦν γὰρ λογογραφῆσας κατὰ τε τοῦ ἀρχιε-  
 10 ρέως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνακτος λίαν ἀπεχθῶς καὶ ἀνιαρῶς. τούτῳ τῷ συγγράμματι εἰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φοιτητῶν ὑφελόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ παρέσχετο · ὅπερ ἀναγνὸς ἡλλοιοῦτο τῷ προσώπῳ ὅλος ἐξεστη-  
 κώς. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν πατριάρχην σὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἐνώπιον πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου τοῦτον  
 15 ἐλθεῖν προσέταξεν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « λέγε μοι, ἀνούστατε, οὐ κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ὁμηγύρεως γέγραφας ; οὐ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τὴν γλῶτταν ἡκόνησας ; λέγε μοι τὸ ἀληθές · καὶ γάρ, εἰ οὐκ ἐξείπης μοι, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν τραυμάτων σου προσθήσω ». ὁ δὲ  
 20 ἀνένευεν μὴδὲν ἐπίστασθαι λέγων. τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ ἀναξ εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἀναγνώσθη τὸ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα παρακελεύε-  
 ται. τούτου δὲ λεγομένου, καὶ πάντων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀχθομένων καὶ ὀργιζομένων, ἐπιγνὸς καὐτὸς τὸ ἴδιον σφάλμα διανοεῖτο, τί διαπράξοιτο. τότε ὁ κατ' ἐκείνου (1) καιροῦ λογοθέτης, Θωμᾶς  
 25 καλούμενος, ἐκεῖσε παριστάμενος νεύει τοῦτον τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ποσὶν προσπεσεῖν. ὁ καὶ παρενθὺ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀπειλῆς σφοδρᾶς κελεύει τοῦτον ἐν τῷ πραιτορίῳ ἐγκλεισθῆναι. τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἔργον συμπαθείας πατριάρχου ἐπά-  
 ξιον. εὐθὺς γὰρ καὐτὸς τῆς καθέδρας ἀπανίσταται καὶ ῥίπτει  
 30 ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀνακτος δακρύων, δυνσπῶν, ἀθρωθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα παρακαλῶν. ἀπανίσταται καὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἐξαναστήσων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη · « ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἀκήκοας πόσα ἡμῖν ἐκερτόμησε ληρωδῶν ὁ ἀπονονημένος οὗτος, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀγιωσύνῃ σου καὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
 35 ἐκκλησίᾳ ; τοίνυν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι διαδρᾶναι τοῦτον τῶν ἐμῶν χει-

1 σ' ἑαυτὸν V.      4 θεοὶ ἐστὲ      10 τούτῳ τῷ c      τοῦτο τὸ  
 σύγγραμμα B      11 « αὐτοῦ? »      12 ἡλλοιοῦτο c      14 συνόδῳ V.  
 23 κ' αὐτός V.      24 κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ B      29 κ' αὐτός V.  
 31 κ' αὐτός V.      33 ληρωδῶν c      35 ἐκκλησίᾳ V.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, p. 241, « κατὰ ».



fall before you, and implore your puissance that, for my humble sake, you will grant forgiveness to this offender ». But the emperor refused saying : « It is inadmissible to let this plotter against my throne and all sacred ministry go unpunished. Yet because of your request I will overlook the things said against me, and for them he shall not have further to give account. But his attacks on you and on the Church I will not leave unavenged ». Many of those present, too, would have taunted the patriarch into allowing the emperor to avenge the Church, in particular Paul, the man's uncle, the sacellarius, and the well-known Arethas, the bishop of Cesarea, who said that the man was his pupil. But the patriarch assured the emperor and all who were present that : « if he is not pitied in so far as he said anything against me, I will not return to the patriarchate ». Then, and hardly then, the emperor granted the man forgiveness and having summoned him and pressed him to stay with him, but, seeing he refused, dismissed him. But he, fearing an attack of his enemies, went out to the house called Agathos' belonging to the monastery of Psamathia, where he remained for two years in seclusion.

As for the emperor, on the customary feast-days, he was present in the church, standing at the sacred rails as a penitent.

#### XVII. — How the patriarch refused to proclaim Zoe in the church

Not long after, the two senators, Himerios, then admiral of the fleet, and the patrician Nicolas, both relations of Zoe, Carbonopsis I mean, enquir of the archbishop if it were possible to proclaim the empress too in church. « God forbid », quoth he, « that ever that should be. We have not made a law or a rule out of this fault, we have shown indulgence and granted a dispensation ; but we have laid down that none shall ever, from now on, allow this dispensation or indulgence. Wherefore indeed we have deposed the priest who married her ». At this, they were angry and said no more. The

ρῶν». ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς· «διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ προσπίπτων καθικετεύω  
 τοῦ κράτους σου, ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν πταίσαντα διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τα-  
 πείνωσιν συγχώρησιν παράσχῃς». ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνένευεν, «οὐκ  
 ἐνδέχεται», λέγων, «τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ πάσης  
 5 ἱερωσύνης φατριάσαντα εἶσαι οὕτως ἀπονητὶ διελθεῖν. ὅμως διὰ  
 μὲν τὴν σὴν εὐχὴν τὰ κατ' ἐμοῦ παρορῶ λεχθέντα, καὶ ἔνεκεν  
 τούτων οὐκ ἔτι δίκας ὑφέξει. τὰ δὲ κατὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
 οὐκ εἰσώσω ἄνευ ἐκδικήσεως». πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκείσε παρόντων  
 τῷ πατριάρχῃ ἐπετώθαζον εἶσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
 10 ἐκδίκησιν ποιῆσαι, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ Παῦλος, ὁ τούτου θεὸς ὁ  
 καὶ σακελλάριος, καὶ Ἀρέθας ἐκεῖνος, ὁ Καισαρείας πρόεδρος,  
 ὃς καὶ μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦτον τυγχάνειν ἔλεγεν. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης  
 βεβαιοῖ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς «εἰ μὴ οὗτος  
 συμπαθηθῇ ὅσον ὅτι κατ' ἐμοῦ τι λελάληκεν, ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ  
 15 οὐκ ἀνέρχομαι». τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς μόλις ποτὲ οὕτω τὴν συγχώ-  
 ρησιν ἀπένειμεν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ  
 ἔχειν βιασάμενος ἀναβαλλόμενον ὁρῶν ἀπέλυσεν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν  
 ἐχθραίνοντων αὐτῷ δεδιὼς ἔφοδον ἐν προαστείῳ ἐξήρει τῆς τοῦ  
 Ψαμαθία μονῆς Ἀγαθοῦ προσαγορευόμενον ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο ἐκείσε  
 20 διαπεράνας ἀπρόοπτος.

Ὁ τοίνυν βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐορτασίμοις ἡμέ-  
 ραις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρῆν μέχρι τῶν ἱερῶν κιγκλίδων ἐστῶς  
 καὶ προσκλαίων.

XVII. — Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὸν πατριάρχην  
 καταδέξασθαι ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας τὴν Ζωὴν ἀναγορεύεσθαι.

Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦ τε  
 25 Ἱμερίου τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ δρογγαρίου τῶν πλωτῶν, καὶ Νικο-  
 λάου πατρικίου, ἀμφοτέρων συγγενῶν ὑπαρχόντων <τῆς Ζωῆς>,  
 τῆς Καρβονόφιδος φημι, οὗτοι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ εἰ ἔξεστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγού-  
 σταν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀναγορεύεσθαι ἐπερώτων· «μὴ γένοιτο», ἐκεῖνος  
 ἀντέφησε, «τοῦτο πῶποτε γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ νόμον ἢ τύπον τὸ  
 30 σφάλμα ἐποιήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ συμπάθειαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν· μηκέτι δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοῦτο παρὰ τινος ἐτέρου οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἢ συμπα-  
 θεῖσθαι διορίζομεθα. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ταύτην εὐλογήσαντα

2 τούτῳ τῷ πταίσαντι B      9 τῷ βασιλεῖ c      14 συμπαθῇ V.  
 18 αὐτῷ V.      19 προσαγορευόμενῳ B      25 Ἱμερίου τοῦ B τὸ c.  
 δρογγαρίου B      26 ὑπαρχόντων τῆς Καρβονόφιδος c      τῆς Ζωῆς, τῆς B  
 27 τῷ c      τὸν ἀρχιερέα B      28 «ἐπερώτων» ? but cf. Index graecitatis.

sovereign was not without knowing of this, for all he showed a mask of ignorance. For Samonas went up to the patriarchate, with others of the bedchamber, as if giving good advice, and added their words to those of the others. But they too having been beguiled of their aim by the patriarch's objections, the sovereign felt qualms and was grieved, saying: « If we are any sharper with him, he will withdraw from the Church and the last (1) state shall be worse than the first ». Even the empress herself, not once but twice, in pressing terms, wrote to him. And his first answer affirmed it was impossible. The second time he made no excuse. Thereupon, seized with rage, through one of the eunuchs who served her, she sent word to him: « Are you unaware, father, what you were before, and to what honour you have acceded, through me? Then why do you not proclaim me in church, but that you disdain and disparage and make small account of me, who am joined to a prince and emperor, and have a son likewise crowned and born in the purple? Know assuredly that if I had not been cause of the whole matter, never had you ascended the patriarchal throne. Therefore be pleased to proclaim me, as the Senate has done. For you too, like your predecessor, will have much to repent when you become useless ». When he had heard this, the patriarch replied to her: « I, by the will and ineffable foreknowledge of God (who appointed me from my mother's womb and by his inscrutable judgments called me to this lot, whether to prove me, or the more to condemn me, or, if I may say this confident in the overwhelming wealth of his goodness, whether for the profit of my miserable soul he has entrusted to me the Church he bought (2) with his own blood) not from man nor through man receiving this ministry, but by the will of God, as has often been foreshown me, and I fear therefore and I tremble (for I know not what is in store for me in the world to come) lest I too should hear Thou (3) in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things. But you, how do you dare to say these things to me? Do not you rather fear, considering yourself? Do you not shudder? does not fear

(1) MAT., 12, 45: γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα...

(2) ACTS, 20, 28.

(3) LUKE, 16, 25.

καθηρέσαμεν ἱερέα ». ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπήναντες ἡσύχασαν. οὐκ ἠγνόει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἄναξ, καὶ ἀνπροσωπεῖον τοῦ μὴ γινώσκειν ὑπεδείκνυεν. καὶ γὰρ πάλιν ὁ Σαμωνᾶς μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος ὡς ἀγαθὰ βουλευόμενοι ἐν τῷ πατριαρχεῖῳ ἀνῆσαν 5 τὰ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιφερόμενοι ῥήματα. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπεβουκολήθησαν ταῖς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐνστάσεσιν, ἐδυσχέραινεν καὶ ἡνῶτο ὁ κρατῶν λέγων ὡς « εἰ τοῦτον τραχύτερόν τι λέξομεν, ἀναχωρεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ γενήσονται τὰ ἔσχατα χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων ». ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ βασιλὶς παρακλητικοῖς ἔπεσι διὰ 10 γραφῆς καὶ ἁπαξ καὶ δις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστελλε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀντεδήλουν καὶ ἐβεβαίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ οὐδὲ προσαπελογήσατο. τότε τῷ χόλῳ ληφθεῖσα διὰ τινος τῶν αὐτῇ καθυπουργούντων εὐνούχων μὴνύει αὐτῷ · « ἄγνοεῖς, ὦ πάτερ, τὸ τίς ὢν πρότερον εἰς ποίαν 15 τιμὴν δι' ἐμὲ ἀνῆλθες ; διατί δέ με οὐκ ἀναγορεύεις ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ καταφρονῶν διασύρεις καὶ χλευάζεις με ἀνδρὶ συναφθεῖσαν βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως ἐχούσῃ ἐστεμμένῳ καὶ πορφυρογεννήτῳ ; πάντως ἐπίστασαι ὡς, ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ τῆς ἀπάσης ὑποθέσεως αἴτιος γέγονα, οὐκ ἂν σὺ ἐν τῷ τοῦ πατριαρχείου 20 θρόνῳ ἀνῆρχου. θέλησον τοίνυν ἀναγορεῦσαί με, καθὼς καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος πεποίηκεν. ἐπεὶ πολλὰ καὶ σὺ ὥσπερ ὁ πρὸ σου μεταμεληθήσῃ, ὅτε οὐδὲν ὠφελήσεις ». ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πατριάρχης ἀντιδηλοῖ αὐτῇ · « ἐγὼ μὲν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει καὶ ἀρρητῶ προγνώσει, τοῦ ἀφορίσαντός με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ τοῖς ἀνεξι- 25 χνιάστοις αὐτοῦ κρίμασι καλέσαντός με εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τοῦτον, εἴτε πρὸς δοκιμασίαν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς περισσοτέραν κατάκρισιν, εἴτε, ἢν' οὕτως εἴπω θαρρῶν εἰς τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος, πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῆς τλαιπώρου μου ψυχῆς, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατεπίστευσέν μοι, ἣν περιεποιήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ 30 αἵματι, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἢ δι' ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον τὸν κλῆρον εἰληφώς, ἀλλὰ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, καθὼς καὶ πολλάκις προεδηλώθη μοι · καὶ δέδοικα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τρέμω (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι τί ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι συναντήσεται μοι) μήποτε καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσω τό · ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου. σὺ δὲ πῶς αὐθαδιάζῃ 35 δηλοῦσά μοι ταῦτα ; οὐ δέδοικας σὺ μᾶλλον κατανοοῦσα σεαυτὴν ;

2 κ' ἂν N.V.

9 ἔπεσι V.

12 ἐβεβαίον c

13 αὐτῇ V.

14 αὐτῷ V.

17-18 νῦν ... ἐχούσῃ ἐστεμμένῳ καὶ πορφυρογεννήτῳ c

21 προσοῦ V.

23 αὐτῇ V.

35 κατανοῦσα c

σ' εαυτήν V.

numb you, considering what you are, and what you are become? When you see your son a prince, crowned, acclaimed by all, you do not give praise, you do not glorify, you do not give thanks to our God who has so pleased, but headstrong are you, high-handed with the Church, asking the impossible, set upon ostentation, and thinking (1) of yourself more highly than you ought to think. Be this known to you, that never, during these my brief days while I am in the Church, will your name be either proclaimed or set in the sacred diptychs. As for what you have announced to us, do what you will; never shall we repent. For I am ready, not only to be deposed from the throne, but to be expelled from the city itself». When she heard this she was cut to the heart, and not long after sent again to him. «As your Holiness knows, the priest who blessed us, having completed the penances to which he was bound, seeks release from the ban upon him. Now therefore, in this at least, show your eagerness to serve his sacred Majesty and ourself, but in particular your godson, the lord Constantine Porphyrogennetos; let us not be unsuccessful, at least in this small request. For to you (2) is given power whom you will bind and whom you will loose». But he answers her again: «Your message sets all in order, and makes my justification clear. As you have said, to me is given power to bind and to loose, nor have I suspended this man who acted in defiance of the canon, but completely removed him from the clergy list, and he shall not again perform as a priest; for he is deposed, as everyone knows. And on his behalf trouble me no more, for I will not listen to you». As ...

*A quaternion is here missing, and the narrative interrupted till after the death of Leo, and the accession of Alexander. Nicolas is again wielding patriarchal authority.* a.912

... but when a summons comes, then we will present ourselves bearing them in our hands, and what he little hopes for shall he hear from us». So after much discussing the matter among them-

(1) Ro., 12, 3.

(2) Cf. δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς ... ὁ ἐὰν δήσῃς ... ἔσται δεδεδεμένον ... καὶ ὁ ἐὰν λύσῃς etc., MAT., 16, 19 and ἐξουσίαν ... ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας LUKE, 5, 24.



οὐ φρίττεῖς ; οὐ ναρκᾶς ἐνθυμουμένη τίς οὐσα τί γέγονας ; δτ' ἂν γὰρ τὸν σὸν υἱὸν θεάσῃ μετὰ διαδήματος βασιλέα ὑπὸ πάντων εὐφημούμενον οὐκ ἀνυμνεῖς, οὐ δοξάζεις, οὐκ εὐχαριστεῖς  
 5 τῷ οὕτως εὐδοκῆσαντι θεῷ ἡμῶν, εἰ μὴ τραχηλιῶσα κατεπαίρη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαιτοῦσα τὰ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, φανητιῶσά τε καὶ ὑπερφρονοῦσα παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν. γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, ὥς οὐποτε ἐντὸς τῶν ἑμῶν ὀλιγοστών τούτων ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πα-  
 10 διπτύχοις τεθήσεται. περὶ ὧν δὲ ἡμῖν προοδεδήλωκας ποιεῖ δ βούλει · οὐ γάρ ποτε μεταμεληθήσομαι. ἔτοιμος γάρ εἰμι οὐ τοῦ θρόνου μόνου κατενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐξεωθῆναι ». ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἐκείνη διεπρίετο τὴν καρδίαν · καὶ δηλοῖ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ πάλιν αὐτῷ · « ὥς ἡ ἀγιωσύνη σου ἐπίστα-  
 15 ται ὃ ἡμᾶς εὐλογήσας πρεσβύτερος τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν δέσμευσιν διελθὼν τὴν τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου λύσιν ἐπιζητεῖ. τοίνυν κἂν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπεῦσον τὸν τε βασιλέα τὸν ἅγιον θεραπεῦσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐξαιρέ- τως δὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀναδεξιμαῖον υἱὸν τὸν κύριον Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν πορφυρογέννητον · κἂν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ μικρᾷ αἰτήσῃ μὴ ἀστο-  
 20 χήσωμεν. σοὶ γὰρ δέδοται ἡ ἐξουσία ὧν ἂν λύσης καὶ ὧν ἂν δῇσης ». ὃ δὲ δηλοῖ πάλιν αὐτῇ · « τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπολογίαν ἡ σὴ ἀγ- γέλια διευθετήσασα ἐτράνωσεν. ἐπειδὴ, καθὼς εἵρηκας, ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐξουσία δέδοται τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν, τοῦτον τὸν παρὰ κανόνα πράξαντα οὐκ ἐδέσμευσα, ἀλλὰ τέλεον ἐξέκοψα τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατα-  
 25 λόγου, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι τὰ τῶν ἱερέων πράξει · καθηρημένος γάρ ἐστιν, καθὼς πάντες ἐπίστανται. καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου μηκέτι παρενο- χλήσης μοι, οὐ γὰρ ἀκούσομαί σου ». ὥς ...

## [XVIII. — Περὶ τῶν τῷ πατριάρχῃ

καὶ τοῖς μητροπολίταις ἐπιφερομένων ὕβρεων].

30 ...κλησις γένηται, τότε καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχοντες παραγενώ- μεθα, καὶ ἅπερ οὐκ ἐλπίζει παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσεται ». πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συζητήσαντες καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑποθέσεων γυμνάσαντες

7-8 « παρόντος μοῦ? »

15 κ' ἂν V.

18 κ' ἂν V.

26 « A quaternion is here missing »

27-28 II

29 « δτ' ἂν δὲ πρόσ- »

κλησις? »

31 συζητήσαντες V.

(1) « παρόντος μοῦ? » Not necessary, see *Grammatical Notes*, n° 4, p. 240.

selves, and turning it over, they were moved to resist. But the truly guileless shepherd, and free from all knavery or baseness, is reported to have said to them : « My lords and masters and brothers, if through me such a tempest has overtaken the Church and your Holinesses, let me retire from her and be (1) drowned in the deep, only do you be saved and be at peace one with another. Let me be stoned, let me be burned, let me be driven out, only do you live peaceably and without faction ». Whereupon that great speaker Arethas says to him : « My lord, were you to do that you would hear on all sides The (2) hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling and careth not for the sheep ». But that man worthy of all honour answers him : « And if you are assured that any benefit will come from my standing fast, for the sake of the Church and for your loves I will not grudge even shedding my blood. But I fear this, that the rabble and the common people enter and attack us, and we appear responsible for the outrages they perpetrate upon us. However, the Lord's will be done ». Thus having regulated everything and taken leave of one another, they departed. But these things did not escape Nicolas the archbishop ; and next day he obtained audience and told the emperor that his orders were treated with contempt, not only by Euthymius, but by the metropolitans with him : « For concerning those matters where your Majesty asked for writs and resignations, they have not bothered even to give an answer ». But the other : « You are patriarch, you know the rigours of the canon. Do to them what you please ». When he heard that, grasping at last the desired opportunity, what did he not imagine, what did he not do to the guileless Euthymius and to the archbishops with him. He immediately ordered soldiers to be sent sword in hand to bring five, and five only, of the metropolitans to him in the gallery of the Great Church. For he feared the crowd of the fathers, and that, given their say, they would bring no ordinary accusation against him. But having taken four only, to wit Demetrios of Heracleia and Gregory of Nicomedia and the bishop of Ancyra, Gabriel, he who had given the scarf of the holy

(1) MAT., 18, 6 : ἐν τῷ π. τῆς θαλάσσης.

(2) JO., 10, 13.

πρὸς ἀντίστασιν ἐφώρων. ὁ δὲ ἄνακος ὄντως ποιμὴν καὶ πάσης  
 ἀπηλλαγμένος πανουργίας καὶ σκαιότητος πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν  
 λέγεται · « κύριοί μου καὶ δεσπόται καὶ ἀδελφοί, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ ὁ  
 τοιοῦτος κλύδων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὑμῶν ἀγιοσύνῃ καθέστηκεν,  
 5 ἐάσατέ με καταποντισθῆναι ἐν τῷ πελάγει ταύτης ἀναχωροῦντι,  
 μόνον ὑμεῖς σώθητε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰρηνεύσατε. λιθασθῶ,  
 ἐμπρησθῶ, διωχθῶ, μόνον ὑμεῖς εἰρηνικῶς καὶ ἀστασιástως  
 διάγετε ». τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πολὺς τοῦ λέγειν ἔφη Ἀρέθας ·  
 « ὦ δέσποτα, εἰ τοῦτο παρὰ σοῦ γένηται, ἀκούσεις παρὰ πάντων ·  
 10 ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς φέγγει, ὅτι μισθωτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ  
 τῶν προβάτων ». ὁ δὲ τίμιος ἐκεῖνος πρὸς αὐτόν · « καὶ εἰ ἐπί-  
 στασθε ὠφέλειάν τινα ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἔξειν προσκαρτεροῦντος ἐνταῦθα  
 διὰ τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τε τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην οὔτε τῆς τοῦ αἵμα-  
 τὸς μου ἐκχύσεως φέισομαι. τοῦτο δὲ δέδοικα, μήποτε, μετὰ  
 15 ἀγρυπνῶν λαῶν εἰσιόντων καὶ ἐπερχομένων ἡμῖν, αἴτιοι φανώμεν  
 τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελουμένων ἀνιαρῶν. ὅμως τὸ  
 θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω ». οὕτως περὶ πάντων διευθετήσαντες  
 ἀλλήλοις τε συνταξάμενοι ἀνεχώρουν. οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ ταῦτα Νικο-  
 λάω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ · τῇ γὰρ ἐπαύριον τῷ βασιλεῖ συνοψισθεὶς κατα-  
 20 φρονεῖν λέγει τῶν αὐτοῦ προσταγμάτων οὐ μόνον Εὐθυμίου  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μητροπολίτας. « περὶ ὧν γὰρ ἡ βασι-  
 λεία σου ἐζήτησεν λιβέλλων καὶ παραιτήσεων οὔτε ἀποκρίσεως  
 περὶ τούτων ἠξίωσαν ». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν · « πατριάρχης εἰ, τὴν  
 τῶν κανόνων ἀκρίβειαν ἐπίστασαι · ποιεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁ βούλει. »  
 25 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοῦ ἐφετοῦ αὐτῷ καιροῦ δραξάμενος  
 τί μὲν οὐκ ἐνενόει, τί δ' οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῷ τε τῷ ἀνάκῳ πατρὶ  
 Εὐθυμίῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῦσι. παρενθὺ γὰρ κελεύει  
 ξιφῆρεις σατράπας ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ πέντε μόνους τῶν μητρο-  
 πολιτῶν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὑπερῷοις πρὸς αὐτόν  
 30 ἀγαγεῖν. ἐδεδόκει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πατέρων, ὥς ἄτε λόγον  
 μετέχοντας καὶ κατὰγνωσιν αὐτῷ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐμποιοῦντας.  
 τοὺς τέσσαρας δὲ μόνους προσλαβόμενος, φημὶ δὴ Δημήτριον  
 Ἡρακλείας καὶ Γρηγόριον Νικομηδείας καὶ τὸν Ἀγκύρας Γα-  
 βριήλιον, ὃς τὸ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Κλήμεντος ὠμοφόριον τῷ πατρι-

1 ἐφώρουν c      5 ἀναχωροῦντα B      10 μέλλει c      αὐτῷ V.  
 12 ὠφέλειαν τινα V.      15 ἀγρυπνῶν c      18-19 Νικολάω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ c  
 21 αὐτῷ V.      25 αὐτῷ V.      26 τὲ V.      27 Εὐθυμίῳ V.      παρ'  
 εὐθὺ V.      31 αὐτῷ V.      33 Ἡρακλείας V.

martyr Clement to the patriarch Euthymius (for Peter of Sardis fled and was not discovered, although he was more sought for than they all), and Hilarion of Hierapolis, who later was struck six blows on the face, Nicolas, sitting in judgment on them individually began to abuse them. But when they hit back harder, he said no more, but ordered what he had composed to be read. When, however, they answered this too, proving it false and refuting it, he, beside himself with rage, rose up and went to the emperor saying : « These, who have been deposed, instead of attending to their own affairs, play the prophet, threatening your life's span with being soon cut off, and prophesy to me saying : Do not be proud because you rest on the emperor, for he shall soon be destroyed. Next year you (1) shall seek him and you shall not find him ». Then, filled with anger, that light man was for ordering them to be beaten and immediately exiled, had not one of the chamberlains, as if sent from God, arrested his movement, saying : « It is not right, sire, that you should at the call of the one party, without examination, condemn the other ». The emperor, then, took his advice and put the matter off. But when the adversary saw his decision weakening, he attempted another approach to harm them, and came to the emperor saying : « I know that your Majesty needs money for the public expenses. And as I was worrying about this, an idea came to me and, if you do as I say, you will bring as much as fifteen thousand *denarii* into your Majesty's treasury ». So the other, filled with joy, says : « Whence? tell me ». And he : « Your Majesty shall provide enough men to pursue the claims, and they, taking the metropolitans in chains, shall go out to their sees, interrogate them and make an inventory from the moment they expelled me from the throne to this day. And when this is done, no ordinary profit will accrue to the state ». On hearing this, that light monarch immediately ordered it to be done. There were the tax-collectors, the oppressors ready, and nowhere the money they were looking for. For those Euthymius had ordained had emptied all into the hands of the poor, and the frustrated collectors against their will were persuaded to return, having received confirmation from the poor themselves of the charity they had daily received. Thus it was instructed by the beneficiaries that those who had been sent returned to those who had sent them, having achieved nothing, but, on the

(1) Jo., 7, 34 : ζητήσατέ με, καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσετε.



ἀρχῇ Εὐθυμίῳ ἐδωρήσατο, (Πέτρος γὰρ ὁ Σάρδεων ἀποδρὰς οὐχ  
 εὐρέθη, καίπερ πλείον πάντων ἐπιζητούμενος) καὶ τὸν Ἱερα-  
 πόλεως Ἰλαρίωνα, ὃς εἰς ὕστερον καὶ ῥαπίσμασιν ἐτύφθη κατὰ  
 κόρης ἕξ, κατ' ἰδίαν τε προκαθεσθεὶς ἤρξατο διὰ λόγου τοῦ-  
 5 τος πλήττειν. ὥς δὲ σφοδρότερον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀντεπλήττετο,  
 ἡσυχάσας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συντεθέντα ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι.  
 ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἀντέλεγον ψευδῇ ταῦτα δεικνύοντες καὶ ἐλέγ-  
 χοντες, πρὸς τούτοις ἐκμανεῖς ἐκείνος ἀνέστη καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
 ἀπελθὼν ἔλεγεν· « οὗτοι οἱ καθηρημένοι ἐῶντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν τοῖς  
 10 τῆς ζωῆς σου μέτροις ἐν τάχει διακοπῇν τερατεύονται καὶ  
 προσλέγονσί μοι· μὴ μέγα φρόνει ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ ταχέως κατα-  
 λυομένῳ· ζητήσεις γὰρ αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαντῷ καὶ οὐ μὴ  
 εὖρης ». τότε θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὁ κουφότατος δέρεσθαι τούτους  
 καὶ ἐξορίζεσθαι παραντίκα προσέταττεν, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
 15 κοιτῶνος ὥς ἐκ θεοῦ ἀποσταλεῖς τὴν ὁρμὴν τούτου διέκοψεν  
 « οὐκ ἐνδέχεται », φήσας, « ὦ δέσποτα, ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἑνὸς μέρους  
 ἀνεξετάστως καταδικάζειν σε τὸ ἕτερον ». τότε συνεῖς ἐκείνος  
 ἀναβολὴν ἐποιήσατο. ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν ὁ ἐναντίος  
 ἀσθενήσασαν, δι' ἄλλης προσβολῆς πειρᾶται τούτους κακύνειν,  
 20 καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ φησιν· « ἐπίσταμαι ὥς ἡ βασιλεία  
 σου ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις ἐξόδοις χρεωποιεῖται χρυσίον. καὶ μερι-  
 μνῶντί μοι περὶ τούτου ἐπῆλθεν ἐνθύμιον, ὅπερ, εἰ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 σοι λεγόμενα πράξεις, μέχρι τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα κεντη-  
 ναρίων τῷ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας ταμιεῖῳ προσοίσεις ». ὁ δὲ περι-  
 25 χαρῆς γενόμενος « πόθεν; τοῦτο λέξον ἡμῖν », ἔφη. ὁ δέ· « ἡ βασι-  
 λεία σου παρέξει ἱκανοὺς ἄνδρας πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις, τοὺς τε  
 μητροπολίτας σιδηροδεσμίους συλλαβόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνο-  
 ραῖς ἐξίτωσαν ἐρευνῶντες τούτους καὶ ἀναγραφόμενοι, ἀφ' οὗπερ  
 ἐμὲ κατέαξαν τοῦ θρόνου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. καὶ τούτου γινο-  
 30 μένου, οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα ὠφέλεια τὸ κοινὸν ἐπεισέρχεται ». τοῦ-  
 των ἐπακηκοὺς ὁ κουφότατος ἄναξ παρενθὺ γενέσθαι προσέταξεν.  
 οἱ κατεπεύγοντες ἔτοιμοι, οἱ ἀπαιτῆται παρήσαν, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ  
 χρυσίον τὸ ζητούμενον. οἱ γὰρ παρὰ Εὐθυμίου χειροτονηθέντες εἰς  
 τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας πάντα κενοῦντες ἀπράκτους τούτους καὶ  
 35 μὴ βουλομένους ὑποστρέφειν ἔπειθον παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν πενήτων

1 οὐχ' V.

4 κόρης c

7 ἀντίλεγον V.

9-10 τὰ μέτρα B

16 « μέρους] ρους added by 2nd hand at the end of the line ».

24 « προ-

σοίσει? »

27 « αὐτῶν? »



contrary, deifying the worthy hierarchs. Baffled over the metropolitans, the contriver of these scandals then looses all his cohort on that innocent shepherd. For, presiding over the tribunal in the palace, in the porch called Magnaura, he calls on some of the Senate to sit in judgment with him ; but most of them, knowing what was intended, had left the palace, so few remaining they could be counted on one's fingers. But when he saw the prepared seats empty, and those he had summoned refusing, he sends for the Ismaelite hostages, then arrived from Syria, that the seats might be filled. Then, in these conditions, he orders Euthymius to present himself, the archbishop of God, with his archiepiscopal array. He, however, presented himself neither grieved nor angry, but with an undisturbed mind and untroubled will there he stood. To whom the adversary, throwing him a murderous glance, « Tell me, you, most witless of all men, interpreter of the libidinous dreams of him who has departed from among men, the former sovereign, Leo, why, while yet I was among the living, did you take to wife the Church wedded to me, defiling her while you drove me out? » But he : « it was you who brought in defilement to her, and drove yourself out, not once but thrice tendering your resignation. And if you ask me I will tell you in what way you introduced defilement, and the cause of your being driven out. For I am able, if God gives me strength, to convict you and set your injustices before your face ». Thunderstruck at these words, and confounded by the liberty with which the other spoke, his anger boiling over, he forthwith ordered those who had been foreseen for this purpose to despoil him indecorously in presence of the council, and declare him fallen from his sacred rank.

βεβαιωθέντες (1) τὸν γινόμενον καθ' ἐκάστην εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔλεον. οὕτως  
 παρὰ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἀκουτισθέντες οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπέστρε-  
 ψαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστείλαντας ἄπρακτοι, μᾶλλον ἐκθειάζοντες τοὺς  
 τιμίους ἱεράρχας. τότε ἐξαπορήσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὁ τῶν  
 5 σκανδάλων μηχανουργὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκακον τοῦτον ποιμένα κινεῖ τὴν  
 ἅπασαν σπεῖραν. ἐπὶ βήματος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καθεσθεις ἐν  
 τῇ στοᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μαγναύρα παρακελεύεται καὶ τινες τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου συγκαθέζεσθαι τούτῳ · γνόντες δὲ οἱ πλείους  
 τὰ μελετώμενα τῶν βασιλειῶν ἀνεχώρουν, ὀλίγων τινῶν εὐαριθμή-  
 10 των καταλειφθέντων. ὥς δὲ τὰς ἐτοιμασθείσας καθέδρας ἑώρα  
 κενὰς τοὺς τε προσκαλουμένους ἀναβαλλομένους, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
 Συριάτιδος γῆς ἑλθόντας Ἰσμαηλίτας ὄψεις τότε παραγινόμενους  
 καλεῖ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καθεδρῶν ἐκπλήρωσιν. εἶθ' οὕτως προστάσσει  
 παραστῆναι Εὐθύμιον τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρχιε-  
 15 ρατικῆς αὐτοῦ τάξεως. ὁ δὲ παρῆν μηδὲν ἀνιαθεὶς ἢ δυσχεράνας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀταράχῳ νοῦ οἷος ἐκεῖνος τελείῳ φρονήματι ἱστάμενος.  
 πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ ὑπεναντίος φονίῳ τῷ ὄμματι ἀποβλεψάμενος ἔφη ·  
 « λέγε μοι σύ, ἀφρονέστατε πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐκφάντορ τῶν  
 ὀνειρώξεων τοῦ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποικομένου, τοῦ ποτε βασιλεύ-  
 20 σαντος Λέοντος, διατί τὴν ἐμοὶ νυμφευθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν τοῖς  
 ζῶσιν ἔτι μου ὑπάρχοντος, ἐμνηστεύσω καὶ μύσος ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσή-  
 γαγες ἐμὲ ταύτης ἐξεώσας ; » ὁ δὲ · « σὺ καὶ τὸ μύσος ταύτῃ προ-  
 σήγαγες », ἔφησε, « καὶ σεαυτὸν ταύτης ἐξεώσας ἀντὶ μιᾶς τρεῖς  
 παραιτήσεις παρασχόμενος. καὶ εἰ κελεύεις, εἶπω σοι καὶ τὸν  
 25 τρόπον τῆς τε παρὰ σοι τοῦ μύσου προσαγωγῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 ἐξεώσεως αἴτιον. δύναμαι γάρ, τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχὺν παρέχοντος,  
 ἐλέγξαι καὶ παραστῆσαι κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου τὰς ἀδικίας σου. »  
 τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐμβροντηθεὶς καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καταπλαγείς,  
 τῷ θυμῷ ὑπερξέσας κελεύει παρευθὺ τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ προητοι-  
 30 μασμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτὸν φύρδην ἐκδιδύσκεσθαι καὶ  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττειν τάξεως.

1 βεβαιωθέντας B      7 Μαγναύρα V.      9 βασιλειῶν B      12 « Latin  
 obses, but here with plural ὄψεις, not, as elsewhere, ὀψιδες »      13 καθέδρων c  
 21 αὐτῇ V.      22 ἐξεώσας V.

(1) « Psychological » nominative. See Grammatical Notes, n° 4, p. 240-1.

### XIX. — How the patriarch was destituted and sacred objects desecrated.

Then was there a pitiful spectacle to be seen, more pitiful than ever before. For, dragging off his omophorion like wild beasts they gave it to be trampled, not sparing even the figure of the cross, and in the same way all his sacred vestures they tore to shreds and trampled, not even sparing his monk's cowl. But when the servants saw their master rejoicing and delighting in these things, they roughly pulled his beard and pushed him so violently that they threw him on his back on the ground, and kicked him in the flank where he lay on the ground, spitting on him, beating him with their fists, and hitting him in the face. After this, the judge orders his squires to set the father on his feet, because, truly, he was interrogating him! But one of his underlings, a man bursting with physical strength, a giant, of enormous size, surnamed Manolimitis, and called John, this fellow stood by looking on until, at a nod from his master, he showed what was intended. For he struck him two blows, and two of his teeth fell out, after which he continued to pummel him on the back of the neck till he had nor breath nor speech. And he was on the point of falling down the staircase there in the Magnaura. Had not a noble man, descended from the Triphyllii, called Petronas, with three others, met and caught hold of him, a martyr's death had soon bereft him of this life. Indeed, taking him out and pouring water on his face, they with difficulty brought him to himself. And when, straight after, he wanted to return to the arena, this admirable Triphyllios and the pious men there with him prevented his entering. And, as they were grieving and lamenting at what had occurred, the father went on to say: « Do not be downcast, children, for the sufferings (1) of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be; for nothing is more pleasant in my sight than to suffer gratefully what comes, nor sweeter than undeserved death ». And now

(1) *Romans*, 8, 18.

XIX. — Περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀποκηρύξεως  
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων βεβηλώσεως.

Τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἔλεεινὸν θέαμα καὶ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ἔλει-  
νότερον. τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὠμοφόριον ὥσπερ θῆρες ἄγριοι ἀφαρπά-  
5 σαντες καταπατηθῆναι πεποιήκεισαν μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ  
τύπων φεισάμενοι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν  
εἰς λεπτὸν διαρρήξαντες κατεπάτησαν μηδὲ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν  
μοναχῶν ἐπωμίδος φεισάμενοι. ὥς δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐώρων οἱ  
ὑπηρεταὶ τούτοις γεγηθότα καὶ γαννύμενον, τὸν πώγωνα αὐτοῦ  
10 σφοδρῶς ἔτιλλον ὑπτίον τε ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὠθισμῶν βίας ἐπὶ γῆν ἔρ-  
ριψαν καὶ λάξ κατὰ τῶν κενεῶνων ἔτυπτον χαμάζε κείμενον  
ἐμπτυσμούς τε καὶ γρονθισμούς καὶ κολαφισμούς ἐπέφερον. ἐπὶ  
τούτοις ἀνιστὰν τοῦτον τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς αὐτοῦ ὁ δικάζων παρα-  
κελεύεται ὥς δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐρωτώμενον. εἰς δὲ τις τῶν αὐτῶ  
15 καθυπουργούντων ῥώμῃ σώματος βρίθων, γιγαντιαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ  
εὐμεγέθης, Μανολιμίτης μὲν προσλεγόμενος, Ἰωάννης δὲ καλού-  
μενος, οὗτος ἴστατο βλέπων, ἕως ὅτε διὰ νεύσεως τοῦ δεσπότου  
τὸ μελετώμενον ἐπεδείξατο. ἐπιφέρει γὰρ τούτῳ δύο ῥαπίσματα,  
καὶ δύο τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτοῦ πίπτουσιν, εἰθ' οὕτως γρονθίζει τοῦ-  
20 τον κατὰ τοῦ τένοντος καὶ ἄπνουν καὶ ἀναυδὸν ἀπειργάσατο.  
ὥρμησε δὲ καταπεσεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείσε τῆς Μαγναύρας ἀναβάθραις.  
εἰ μὴ τις ἔνδοξος ἀνὴρ σὺν ἑτέροις τρισί, τῶν ἐκ Τριφυλλίων  
καταγόμενος Πετρωνᾶς τε καλούμενος, τούτου περικρατῆς συναν-  
τῶν ἐγεγόνει, τάχα ἂν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς διὰ μαρτυρικοῦ ἀγῶνος  
25 ἐστέρητο. βασταζόμενον γὰρ τοῦτον ἐκβαλόντες καὶ ὕδωρ κατ'  
ὄψιν ἐπιχέαντες εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθεῖν μόλις πεποιήκεσαν. εἶτα πάλιν  
εἰσιέναι ἐν τῷ σκάμμαι προθυμουμένῳ, παρὰ τοῦ περιβλέπτον  
ἐκείνου Τριφυλλίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείσε παρόντων εὐλαβῶν  
ἀνδρῶν κωλύεται τὴν ἔλευσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις αὐτῶν  
30 θρηγνούντων καὶ ἀνιωμένων, ἐπέλεγεν ὁ πατήρ· « μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε  
τέκνα· οὐ γὰρ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν  
μέλλουσαν δόξαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡδύτερον, ὥς ὄρω, τοῦ εὐχα-  
ρίστως τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ὑποφέρειν, καὶ οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον τοῦ

5-6 τὸν ... τύπον c      10-11 ἔριψαν V.      14 αὐτῷ V.      22 « καὶ  
εἰ μὴ τις? »      23 Πετρωνᾶς c      27 προθυμουμένου B Cf. XII, 21  
28 αὐτῷ V.      29 « καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς? »      30 ἐνθυμεῖτε V.

he is again summoned by this tormentor to battle ; but he who by God had been sent as succour to him, Triphyllios, does not let him go in alone, but enters with him,hardily and outspokenly confuting and standing out against his accuser. And again the judge says to him : « Where are now your Olympian oracles, your predictions and revelations, those frequent prophecies you would make to your patron, the departed Leo? Of a truth all passes, all perishes. Speak up now, and answer me this ». But he answers him : « If some other were judging, and you in the place of the accused, I should, God giving me strength, have wherewithal to answer and resist you ; but since it is otherwise, I will speak you this prophetic saying, nor utter anything more than (1) : « While the wicked is before me » and the rest of the quotation ». And from that moment, though his tormentor said many things to him, not so much as a word did he deign to address to him, but stood in complete silence. The other then ordered his immediate condemnation to banishment in his monastery of St. Agathos, which was forthwith done.

After this the patriarch went down from the palace to the street, and proceeded to the Forum, as it is called, to show to all that he was archbishop and master of the patriarchate and all the bishops. And now, carrying along with him all the rabble and the beggary, he presents himself at the church to perform the sacred liturgy. And entering the sacred tribune he drove out the priests, put a stop to the sacrifice of the altar, and, taking the consecrated cloth off the holy Table, ordered it to be washed with sponges and water, while he intoned the (2) O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, not knowing, that most wise man, that they are heathen who behave like heathen. Truly, he found the very prophecy appropriate to his own action Then he ordered [Table] to be anointed with the holy oil. As for those the new martyr, Euthymius, had, on criminal charges, suspended from the ministry, without any enquiry whatsoever

(1) Ps. 39, 1 : « ... I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me » ; 2 : « I was dumb with silence... ».

(2) Ps. 79, 1.



ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν». τοίνυν προσκαλεῖται πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ πει-  
 ράζοντος πρὸς τὴν πάλιν· οὐκ ἔῃ δὲ τοῦτον μόνον εἰσιέναι  
 ὁ παρὰ θεοῦ βοηθὸς αὐτῷ ἀποσταλὴς Τριφύλλιος, ἀλλὰ σὺν  
 αὐτῷ εἰσῆει τὸν τοῦτον πειράζοντα γενναίως καὶ πεπαρη-  
 5 σιασμένως διελέγχων καὶ ἀνθιστάμενος. καὶ φησι πάλιν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ὁ δικάζων· «ποῦ εἰσι τὰ νῦν οἱ ὀλύμπιοί σου χρησμοί, αἱ  
 προρρήσεις τε καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ ἐπὶ συχνῷ προφητεῖαι, ὡς  
 τῷ σῷ φροντιστῇ Λέοντι τῷ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποικομένῳ ἐποίουν;  
 ὅντως πάντα οἴχεται, πάντα ὥλωλε. λέγε δέ μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι  
 10 τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενοις σοι». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· «εἰ ἑτερός τις  
 ὑπῆρχεν ὁ δικάζων, σὺ δὲ εἰς τὸν τῶν δικαζομένων τόπον παρῆς,  
 εἶχον ἂν τοῦ θεοῦ παρέχοντος ἰσχὺν τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν  
 σοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν, τὸ προφητικόν σοι λέξω λόγιον  
 μηδὲν ἑτερόν σοι προσφθεγγόμενος ἢ· ἐν τῷ συστήναι τὸν ἁμαρ-  
 15 τωλὸν ἐπ' ἐμέ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ἔπους». καὶ πολλῶν ἔκτοτε ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ πειράζοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥηθέντων, οὔτε μέχρι ψιλοῦ ῥήματος  
 τοῦτον ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔστη παντελῶς σιωπῶν. τότε κελεύει εὐθέως  
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μονῇ αὐτοῦ ὑπερορίᾳ καταδικασθῆναι, ὃ καὶ  
 παρευθὺ γέγονε.

20 Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ δεσπότης πρὸς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐκ τῶν βασι-  
 λειῶν κατιῶν εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Φόρον ἀγῆει τοῦ ἀρχιερέα ἑαυτὸν  
 τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑποδείξαι καὶ ὡς αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ πατριαρχείου  
 καὶ πάντων ἀρχιερέων κυριεύων. τοίνυν ὅσον δημῶδες καὶ ἀγυρ-  
 τῶδες σὺν αὐτῷ προσλαβόμενος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν θείαν λειτουρ-  
 25 γίαν ἐπιτελέσων ἐπήει. ἔνδοθεν δὲ τοῦ θείου βήματος εἰσελθὼν  
 τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς ἐξέωσε καὶ τὴν θυσίαν κατέστρεψε τὴν τε ἁγίαν  
 τράπεζαν ἀπαμφιάσας τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέπλον ὕδασι μετὰ σπόγγων  
 πλύνεσθαι παρεκελεύετο, αὐτοῦ ἐπιφωνοῦντος τό· ὁ θεός, ἡλ-  
 θοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἀγνοῶν ὁ σοφώτατος, ὅτι  
 30 οὗτοί εἰσιν ἔθνη οἱ τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν πράττοντες. ὅντως κατὰ τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ πρᾶξιν καὶ τὴν προφητείαν συνεπᾶδουσιν εὗρεν. εἰθ'  
 οὕτως τὸ ἅγιον μύρον χεθῆναι προσέταξεν. οὗς δὲ δι' ἐγκλημα-  
 τικῶν ὑποθέσεων τῆς ἱερουργίας ἔπαυσεν ὁ νεόαθλος Εὐθύμιος,  
 ἅπαντας ἱερουργεῖν ἄνευ τῆς οἰασοῦν ἐξετάσεως παρεκελεύετο.

4 αὐτῷ V.

5 καὶ φησὶ V.

■ εἰσι V.

χρησμοί c

9 ἀπόκρινε c

18 αὐτόν?

20 λαιωφόρον c

30 οὗτοι εἰσιν V.

34 οἴας οὖν V.

he ordered them all to officiate. That priest also who unblessedly had blessed the emperor's lawless marriage, coming then to him, and merely speaking against the archbishop Euthymius, immediately recovered his rank and priesthood, for the great outcry he made against Euthymius the patriarch. When all these were accomplished, yet did not his tormentor cease from his great anger and resentment, but ordered the foal Euthymius used to be handed over for drowning; but upon their declaring who were with him, that such a deed was unworthy and brought him into considerable reproach, he says to them: « Well then, since that is not agreeable to you, have a notice written and hung round its neck to the effect that, if anyone is caught helping it with food or drink, he is an enemy of the emperor Alexander and of Nicolas, the blameless patriarch; and if he be informed against, he shall be whipped and shaved, deprived of his livelihood and driven out of the city ». O the folly of it, the rage of a hardened heart. It should have been their names pilloried on this object for the jeering and scoffing of the inhabitants of Constantine's city! Thus this unfortunate ass, wandering hither and thither and beaten unsparingly, came out into the hippodrome exhausted with hunger, until one of the poor had pity on him, and, setting out by night, fled with him.

On the Sunday, Nicolas convened all his subordinates, pronounced anathema, full and complete deposition and estrangement, not only upon Euthymius himself, but on those who had communicated with him, elected him, celebrated the holy rites with him and been ordained by him, securing the same with fearful oaths and writs in his own hand. All of which was not well received even by his own side, but for all their opposition and vigorous refusal to have anything written, they failed to turn the impetuosity of his anger.

τότε καὶ ὁ τὴν ἄθεςμον τοῦ βασιλέως εὐλόγησιν ἀνευλόγως ποιή-  
 σας ἱερὸς τούτῳ προσελθὼν καὶ μόνον κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Εὐ-  
 θυμίου προσειπὼν εὐθὺς τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν καὶ ἱερουργίαν ἀπει-  
 ληφε πολλὰ τῷ πατριάρχῃ Εὐθυμίῳ καταβοώμενος. τούτων  
 5 πάντων τελεσθέντων, καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ χόλου καὶ τῆς μήνιδος  
 μὴ λήξαντος τοῦ πειράζοντος, κελεύει τοῦ καὶ τὸν καθυπουργοῦντα  
 πῶλον δοθῆναι ἔκδοτον τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι· τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ  
 ἀνάξιον τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι προσειπόντων καὶ «μομφὴν σοι οὐ τὴν  
 10 τυχοῦσαν ἐπιφέρων», λέγει αὐτοῖς· «τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄρεστον  
 ὁμῖν ἐστίν, γραφήτω πιττάκιον καὶ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ κρε-  
 μασθήτω περιέχον ὥς, εἴ τις τοῦτον φωραθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τροφήν  
 ἐπιμελούμενος ἢ πόσιν, ἐχθρὸς τῷ τε αὐτοκράτορι βασιλεῖ Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρῳ καὶ Νικολάῳ τῷ ἀνεπιλήπτῳ πατριάρχῃ καθίσταται·  
 15 δηλούμενος δὲ διὰ τινος δερόμενος καὶ κουρευόμενος καὶ τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξεως ἀποστερούμενος τῆς πόλεως ἐκβληθήσεται. ὦ  
 τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς ὀργίλου πωρώσεως· ἔδει τὰ αὐτῶν ὀνόματα  
 παρὰ τοιοῦτου σκεύους εἰς ἐπίχαρμα καὶ χλευασμὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει Κωνσταντίνου στηλιτεύεσθαι. οὕτως ὁ ἄθλιος ἐκεῖνος  
 ὄνος τῇδε κἀκεῖσε περιφερόμενος καὶ ἀφειδῶς τυπτόμενος ἐν τῷ  
 20 ἱπποδρομίῳ ἐξῆει λιμαγχονούμενος, ἕως ὅτε τοῦτόν τις τῶν πενή-  
 των κατοικτειρήσας διὰ τῆς νυκτός τε ἀπάρας σὺν αὐτῷ φυγὰς  
 ὄψετο.

Ἡμέρα κυριακὴ παρῆν, καὶ Νικόλαος πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐκκλησιάσας ἀναθεματισμῷ καὶ τελείᾳ καθαιρέσει καὶ ἀπαλ-  
 25 λοτριώσει οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν Εὐθύμιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συγκοινω-  
 νήσαντας καὶ χειροτονήσαντας τοῦτον καὶ συλλειτουργήσαντας  
 καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροθετηθέντας περιέβαλε μεθ' ὀρκων φρικτῶν  
 καὶ ἰδιοχείρων ἐγγράφων ταῦτα ἀσφαλισάμενος· ὅπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς  
 αὐτοῦ εὐαπόδεκτον κατέστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενοι καὶ τοῦ  
 30 μὴ γενέσθαι ἐγγράφως λίαν ἀνθιστάμενοι τούτου τὴν τῆς μήνιδος  
 ὁρμὴν οὐκ ἔτρεψαν.

4 « τοῦ πατριάρχου Εὐθυμίου? »

11 « τούτῳ? »

16 ὀργίλλου c

20 τοῦτον τίς V.

21 κατοικτειρήσας V.

αὐτῷ V.

## XX. — Concerning Arethas the protothronē and the metropolitans with him.

Now Arethas the protothronē was known, not to the high-priest, but to the emperor who reigned that year. So Nicolas now endeavoured to involve Arethas in his penalties. But he answers him : « I am not like Euthymius the patriarch, magnanimous and most patient, undaunted in bearing nobly and answering nothing. Know therefore, that neither I, nor, with me, the holy Synod, hold you for, or even call you, bishop, nor indeed priest, nor will any one of us ever celebrate with you, because you have first shaken and disturbed the Church of God, and then you have in your own writing handed in your resignation, not once nor twice, but three times, which documents are safe with us. But why were you not willing to have the case considered by the Synod? If not that, like Cain and Abel, leading him apart in the field, you killed him? Surely a day shall be, when swans (2) shall sing again, and jays be silent. What canons did you use to slip fraudulently into the Church? What priests in synod prepared the way for your entry into the Church? We know indeed that the lowest scum of pedlars and scullions support you with their sticks and staves, to hand over the Church to you. For such, being minded as you are, you had to have, to promote you and follow and enthrone you. But perceiving this, do you not tremble, are you not afraid, you who have boarded the Church like a pirate, and all you have done, you have done against the canon? Furthermore, you depose bishops and priests, you yourself having deposed yourself before any other, or, rather, divided, broken yourself off from the honoured body of the Church. However what profit have I from much speaking? A time comes when we too shall speak for ears that hear ». The patriarch Nicolas, having listened to these things from the referendarius, and as if ashamed before the man's virtue, was quiet a little. But then, among his first achievements, he married the emperor, who was leading a life of folly, to his concubine ; as for the lawful wedded wife, against

(1) Prov. : GREG. NAZ., ep. 114, P.G. 57. See Sternbach *Diluc. Nazianz*, Eos XVI, 1910, 19, 20.

XX. — Περὶ τοῦ πρωτοθρόνου Ἀρέθῃ  
καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μητροπολιτῶν.

Ἀρέθῃς δὲ ὁ καὶ πρωτόθρονος γνωστός (1) ἦν οὐ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. ἐπειρᾶτο τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸν  
5 Ἀρέθῃς ἐν (2) ἐπιτιμίῳς ὁ Νικόλαος περιβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ δημοῖ αὐτῷ·  
« οὐχ ὡς Εὐθύμιος ὁ πατριάρχης μεγαλόψυχος ἐγὼ καὶ καρτερι-  
κώτατος ἀδάμας τοῦ γενναίως φέρειν καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγειν. γνωστὸν  
οὐκ ἔστω σοι, ὡς οὐτε ἐγὼ οὐτε ἡ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀγία οὐσα σύνοδος οὐτε  
ἀρχιερέα οὐτε μὴν ἱερέα σε ἔχομεν ἢ καὶ ὀνομάζομεν, οὐτε τις  
10 ἐξ ἡμῶν πώποτε σοι συλλειτουργήσωμεν, ὡς πρότερον μὲν δια-  
σεύσαντα καὶ ταράξαντα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, εἰθ' οὕτως ἐξ  
οἰκείων ἐγγράφων παραιτήσεις παρασχόντα οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίς, αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι φυλαττόμεναι. διατὶ δὲ οὐκ ἡσ-  
μένισας ἐπὶ συνόδου κινήθῃναι τὰ τῶν ὑποθέσεων, εἰ μὴ ὡς ὁ  
15 Κᾶϊν τὸν Ἀβελ μόνον προσλαβὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀπέκτεινας; ἔσσεται  
πάντως ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν πάλιν κύκνοι ἄσωνται καὶ κολοιοὶ σιωπή-  
σωσιν. ποίοις γὰρ κανόσι χρησάμενος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεισεφθά-  
ρης; ποίων δὲ ἱερέων σοι συνοδικῶς προοδοποιούντων τὴν τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας ἔλευσιν; ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ [τὴν] τῶν καπῆλων καὶ  
20 μαγειρικαρίων ὅσον τὸ χυδαῖον καὶ ἀπόπτυστον μετὰ ξύλων  
καὶ ῥοπάλων συννευδοκεῖν σοι καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαθιστᾶν.  
ἔδει γὰρ σε τοιουτοῖον ὄντα τοιούτους ἔχειν τοὺς τε προάγον-  
τας τοὺς τε ἀκολουθοῦντας καὶ ἐνθρονίζοντας. κατανοῶν τοίνυν  
ταῦτα οὐ φρίττεται καὶ δέδοικας ὡς ληστρικῶς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπι-  
25 πηδήσας καὶ παρὰ κανόνα ἅπαντα πράξας; πρὸς τούτοις δὲ  
ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀποκηρύκτους ποιεῖς, αὐτὸς σὺ πρὸ πάντων  
σεαυτὸν ἀποκηρύξας, μᾶλλον δὲ διαστήσας καὶ ἀπορραγείς τοῦ  
τιμίου σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὅμως τί μοι τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν;  
ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ἡμεῖς λαλήσομεν εἰς ὧτα ἀκουόντων». ταῦτα ὁ  
30 πατριάρχης Νικόλαος παρὰ τοῦ ραυφερενδαρίου ἀκηκοὺς καὶ  
ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀρετὴν αἰδοῦμενος πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡσύχασεν.  
εἶτα ἐν μὲν πρώτοις αὐτοῦ κατορθώμασιν τὸν κατὰ πολὺ ἐν ἀφρο-  
σύνῃ διάγοντα βασιλέα μετὰ τῆς παλλακῆς εὐλόγησε, τὴν δὲ γε

3 « οὐ above the line in first hand ». 5 αὐτῷ V. 9 οὐτὲ τις  
15 ἔσσεται ἡμαρ c 19 « τὴν zu streichen? » 26 αὐτὸς σὺ V.  
27 σέαυτον V.

(1) Jo. 18, 13 & 15.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 5, c, p. 241.



her will, for all her protestations at her unjust lot, and her bitter lamentations, he sent his sacellarius to have her with her mother shorn, in the women's convent called Mesokapilou, against her will. But who could find tragic tones to relate the events of this period? Bishops deposed, archbishops banished, priests and abbots transferred, even to the digging up of dead bodies; things better passed over for their ill-report, such as we have not heard even of heretics doing.

As for our father Euthymius, not merely expelled from the Church, but afflicted and driven out of the City, and exchanging a patriarch's dignity for the humble and the philosophic, he resumed again the life truly untroubled and quiet, perfecting himself in all kinds of asceticism, and remaining in the monastery of St Agathos he had founded, making no other comment ever than (1): «The Lord's will be done», and (2) «Blessed be the name of the Lord». He then who was just, tried in this manner, fasted and prayed continuing (3) in thanksgiving. But the events which followed these are worthy not to be overlooked, and what happened to those who committed injustice must be seen also, and to what depth of ruin these descended.

For now Alexander, the emperor, hindered of his amorous passion, and remaining impotent therein, addressed himself to sorcerers, being led by them to lawless deeds, putting clothes upon the bronze figures of the zodiac in the hippodrome, incensing them, and having them illuminated with candelabra, he, in the imperial tribune in the hippodrome, was struck down like another Herod by the invisible hand of God and they took him and carried him into the palace, in great and intolerable pain.

(1) *Acts* 21, 14.

(2) *JOB* I, 21.

(3) Cf. *Rom.* 12, 12: *τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες.*

νομίμως αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν γαμετὴν καὶ μὴ βουλομένην, τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σακελλάριον ἀποστείλας, πολλὰ καταβωμένην τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀποδυρομένην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἐν τῷ γυναικείῳ σεμνείῳ Μεσοκαπήλου ἐπονομαζομένην καὶ μὴ βουλομένην ἀπέκειρεν. τὰ 5 δὲ κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ (1) γεγονότα τίς ἂν ἐκτραγῶδήσοιεν; καθαιρέσεις ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἀρχιερέων ἐκδιώξεις ἱερέων τε μεταθέσεις καὶ ἡγουμένων, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἀνασκυλμούς νεκρῶν σωμάτων · ἃ τινα διὰ τὸ δύσφημον ἑατέον, ὅπότε ἂν μηδὲ παρ' ἑτεροδόξων ταῦτα γενέσθαι ἡκουντίσθημεν.

10 Ὁ δὲ γε πατὴρ ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιος οὐ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων ἀπελαθεὶς καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τιμὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀμειψάμενος, βίον πάλιν τὸν ἀτάραχον ἀληθῶς καὶ ἡσύχιον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ παντοίοις ἀσκήσεως τρόποις τελειούμενος ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ 15 κατασκευασθείσῃ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μονῇ διετέλει, οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἰεὶ ἀποφθεγγόμενος ἢ · « τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω », καὶ · « εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον ». καὶ ὁ μὲν δίκαιος τόνδε τὸν τρόπον πειρασθεὶς νηστείαις καὶ προσευχαῖς εὐχαριστῶν προσεκαρτέρει. ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότα καταλιπεῖν, 20 ὅπτεον δὲ καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας, ὅποια τούτοις ἀπηντήκει, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ βαράθρῳ ἀπωλείας κατήντησαν.

Ἀλέξανδρος τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀφροδισίου αὐτοῦ ἔρωτος κωλυθεὶς, καὶ ἀνενεργήτου ἐπὶ τούτῳ μένοντος, γόησι προσομιλήσας καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς ἀθέσμους πράξεις προβιβάσθεις 25 τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ ζωδιακοῖς χαλκουργήμασιν ἐσθήταις ἀμφιάσας καὶ θυμιάσας καὶ πολυκανδήλοις φωταγωγήσας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου καθίσματι ὥς ἄλλος τις Ἡρώδης ἀοράτως πληγείς, βασταζόμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσῆχθη, μεγάλως καὶ ἀφορήτως ὀδυνώμενος.

1 αὐτῷ V. « καὶ μὴ βουλομένην zu streichen? » 3-4 B. σεμνείῳ ... ἐπονομαζομένην V. 5 ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ c 8 ὅπ' ὅτ' ἂν V.  
13 πάλαι c 20 ὅπτεον V. 25 τὰ ... ζωδιακὰ χαλκουργήματα B  
« ἐσθήτας? »

(1) See *Grammatical Notes*, pa. 5, p. 241.

## XXI. — The death of Alexander and advent of Constantine Doukas.

But when the patriarch saw him on the point of death, he wrote to Constantine, the son of Andronicus Doukas, to make haste and march on the City before some other should get possession of the throne. And on the next day, summoned by the emperor who was already breathing his last, he received the guardianship of the realm, with two magisters, Stephen and John surnamed Eladas, with John the rector and Euthymius. Zoe then also, seizing this favourable opportunity, went up to the palace, to pay the emperor a last, death-bed, visit. Now the archbishop was beginning to repent of what he had written to Doukas' son, and consider how he may destroy him when he comes. While Alexander, afflicted with mortification of the parts, after suffering their total excision, in the thirteenth month of his reign died an ill death. 6.6.913

But before the ceremonies of the third day were yet over, there was Doukas' son Constantine, showing everyone the patriarch's letter. The patriarch hearing of this, where he was in the palace, it chafed him to the heart, and he began to excite and rouse everyone against him, taking by the hand and showing to those in and out the palace this very youthful emperor and monarch, without cease exhorting them to fight for him and do the usurper to death. Which happened according to his wish, or rather order; for first his son, called Gregoras, was killed by the patrician Garidas in the gate of the Chalce, and then Constantine himself, the father, within the Chalce gate, his horse having slipped on the stairs there, had his head cut off by those of the bodyguard, vehemently crying out against the patriarch. To proceed, I shall not go into the various ways the others met their different deaths, the clubbings, the spear-thrusts, hangings in every corner, the arrows discharged by many bows. And why enlarge further? Eight hundred perished that day in this great

XXI. — Περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
καὶ τῆς τοῦ Δουκὸς Κωνσταντίνου ἐλεύσεως.

Ὡς δὲ τοῦτον ὁ πατριάρχης ἐώρα τῷ θανάτῳ προσεγγίζοντα, γράφει Κωνσταντίνῳ, τῷ τοῦ Δουκὸς Ἀνδρονίκου νίῳ, ἐν σπουδῇ  
5 τὴν πόλιν καταλαβεῖν, πρὶν ἂν τῆς βασιλείας ἕτερος δρᾷτο. τῇ ἐπαύριον δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος προσκληθεὶς ἤδη τὰ τελευταῖα πνέοντος τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτροπείαν ἀναδέχεται σὺν ἑτέροις δυσὶ μαγίστροις, Στεφάνῳ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ κατ' ἐπὶ-  
κλῆν Ἑλαδᾷ, σὺν τῷ θάϊκτωρι Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Εὐθυμίῳ. τότε καὶ  
10 ἡ Ζωὴ εὐθέτου δραξαμένη καιροῦ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνῆγει τὸν ἄνακτα τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐπιθανάτιον ἐπισκέψασθαι. ἤρξατο οὖν μεταμελεῖσθαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς περὶ ὧν τῷ τοῦ Δουκὸς νίῳ γεγραφήκεν διανοεῖσθαι τε πῶς αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον ἀπολέσει. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῇ  
ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων σηπεδόνι καὶ τελείᾳ ἐκκοπῇ ὀδυνώμενος ἐν τῷ τρις-  
15 καιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μηνὶ κακῶς τοῦ ζῆν ἐστέρηται. Μήπω δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ τρίτων παρεληλυθότων, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος παρῆν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου γραμματεῖον. ὁ καὶ ἀκούων ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὑπάρχων διεπρίετο τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς πάντας παρορμαῖν καὶ  
20 διεγείρειν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἤρξατο, ἐπὶ χεῖρας φέρων καὶ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν τῷ κομιδῇ νέῳ τούτῳ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τούτους ἐπαλείφων οὐκ ἐπαύετο τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιβήτορα θανατῶσαι. ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρόσταξιν, ἐγεγόνει· ἀναιρεῖται γὰρ  
25 πρότερον ὁ τούτου υἱὸς Γρηγορᾶς καλούμενος παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Γαριδᾷ ἐν τῇ τῆς Χαλκῆς πόλῃ, εἰθ' οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ἔνδοθεν τῆς Χαλκῆς πόλης, τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀναβάθραις ὀλισθήσαντος, παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος  
30 ἐπιβοώμενος. ἐὼ τοίνυν λέγειν τοὺς διαφόρους τῶν λοιπῶν ἀλληγάλλως θανάτους, τυμπανισμούς τε καὶ λογχεύσεις, φουρκισμούς τε κατὰ παντὸς τόπου, βολίδων τῶν ἐκ τόξων ἀθρόους ἀπαλλαγάς. καὶ τί μοι τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ὀκτακόσιοι γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ παραπτώματι ἐτελεύτησαν, ὥς οἱ τούτους

4 Κωνσταντίνῳ V.

8-9 ἐπὶ κλιν ■

14 σιπεδόνι c

21 τῷ κ. νέῳ τούτῳ αὐτοκράτορι ■

B. replaces by accus., V. notes this

difference by the single word αὐτοκράτορι. 26 κ' αὐτὸς V. 27 π(ατ)ερ V.

« πόλης zu streichen? »

misfortune, as those who buried them declared, and well they knew. Such the achievements of the blameless (1) patriarch.

Untroubled by these disorders, the hierarch takes up arms against Zoe, the mother of the young emperor, and, driving her from the palace, makes all the Senate and the bishops sign that they will not accept her from henceforth, nor hold her for empress, that she is not to go up to the palace, nor be acclaimed by any as empress. But four months had not passed, when, of himself, he brings her back again, and, having cut her hair, in the palace, changed her name to Anna, and called her his spiritual daughter; she, seeing her frock changed against her will, alleged ill-health and asked to eat meat; and the archbishop granted permission for her to be given it, on the very day her hair was shorn.

But hating her spiritual father she sought opportunity, not only to expulse him from the palace, but to drive him out of the city. And indeed all the government of the empire was ordered by his lips, so that he was universally hated, not only by others but by those who were held for his own familiars. So she laid a plot against him and sent fifty men with instructions to enter the archbishop's chamber with their swords drawn, running all about hither and thither, and with their fearful aspect and arms to terrify him. And he, amazed at this sudden spectacle, immediately started up and went hastily by the upper passage and took refuge in the church, which he had not seen for the past eight months, and remained in the hallowed circle of the bema, claiming sanctuary, for twenty-two days, begging and praying his spiritual daughter daily that he might obtain release from his asylum. But she would not grant his request, fearing his treachery. Meanwhile to the blessed Euthymius she sends thus : « Our Majesty, with the Senate

(1) Cf. *I Tim.* 3, 2 : δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι.



ἐνταφιάσαντες καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενοι ἐξεΐπον. ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνε-  
πιλήπτου ἀρχιερέως τὰ κατορθώματα.

Ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν θορύβων ἀμεριμνήσας ὁ ἱεράρχης κατὰ  
Ζωῆς, τῆς τοῦ νέου αὐτοκράτορος μητρός, καθοπλίζεται καὶ  
5 ταύτην τῶν βασιλειῶν κατεάξας ἅπαντας τοὺς τε τῆς συγκλήτου  
βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς χειρογραφῆσαι πεποίηκεν τοῦ μὴ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ νῦν καταδέξασθαι ταύτην, μήτε βασίλισσαν ἔχειν, μήτε ἐν  
τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνιέναι, ἢ παρὰ τινος ὡς βασίλισσαν εὐφημι-  
σθῆναι. μήπω δὲ τετραμηνιαίου παρελθόντος, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταύ-  
10 την αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀνήγαγεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποκείρας Ἄνναν  
μετωνόμασε καὶ πνευματικὴν θυγατέρα ἐκάλεi· ἥτις τὴν τοῦ  
σχήματος ἐναλλαγὴν παρὰ θέλησιν αὐτῆς θεασαμένη, ἀσθένειαν  
προφασισαμένη κρέα εἰς φαγὴν ἐπεζήτηει· ὃ καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν  
αὐτῇ δοθῆναι ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς ἀποκάρσεως ἡμέρᾳ.  
15 Ἀπεχθῶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν πνευματικὸν αὐτῆς πατέρα φερομένη  
ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν οὐ μόνον τῶν βασιλειῶν καταγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ διὰ χειλέων αὐτοῦ ἡ πᾶσα  
τῶν βασιλειῶν διευθετεῖτο κυβέρνησις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μισητὸς  
τοῖς πᾶσι καθέστηκεν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν ξένων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ'  
20 αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων νομιζομένων. συσκευὴν δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασα  
πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρας τὰ ξίφη προτείναντας καὶ τῇδε  
κἀκεῖσε περιθρόντας, φοβερόνς τῷ εἶδει καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν, ἐν τῷ  
τοῦ ἱεράρχου κοιτῶνι ἀποστείλασα εἰσιέναι καὶ ἐκφοβῆσαι τοῦτον  
προσέταξεν. κἀκεῖνος τὸ ἄθρόον τῆς θεωρίας καταπλαγείς παρενθὺ  
25 ἀνίσταται καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν διελεύσεων σπουδαίως διελθὼν  
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφεύγει, ἣν πρὸ ὀκτῶ μηνῶν οὐκ ἐθεάσατο, καὶ  
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ βήματος κύκλῳ προσμένει πρόσφυξ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας  
εἰκοσιδύο, πολλὰ καθικετεύων καθ' ἐκάστην καὶ προσδεόμενος  
τὴν αὐτοῦ πνευματικὴν θυγατέρα λύσιν τῆς προσφύξεως εὐρεῖν.  
30 ἥτις οὐκ ἐπένευσεν τῇ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσῃ δεδιῶσα τὴν τούτου σκαιό-  
τητα. τότε τὸν μακαρίτην δηλοῖ Εὐθύμιον ὡς « ἡ βασιλεῖα ἡμῶν

and all the Church through me, sends word to you to return to your throne. Now, therefore, leaving those things you formerly spoke against me, and proclaiming me with my imperial son in church, come to receive again your throne. For neither did we recognise him as priest who lately was performing as priest, but as a blood-guilty robber. Do not refuse, father, my lord and master, to enter your monastery of Psamathia, and there we will fetch you ». But he sent reply to her : « I, by the unsearchable decisions of God, have found my long-desired way, nor can it be that I should forsake it and turn to another, but I pray my God that I may end my life therein. And you, do not be in such haste to have your name proclaimed in this transitory and perishable world, but rather in everlasting, endless and boundless eternity. For, as you too know, all things here are shadows and dreams, that show a brief space and soon perish. So that, for me have no care nor worry, neither attack the archbishop to speak ill of him. And this I urge and pray and request, that you will no more trouble me with any such matter ». At the same time as these parleys and messages, there was an immediate flocking and clustering to the monastery of St Agathos, of the bishops and priests driven out of the Church by Nicolas, bearing, so they thought, joyful tidings to the holy father. To whom he replied, assuring and asserting that it could not be : « For if I give way to you, and do as you request, it may be that I shall be deprived of that throne which is very dear to me, the throne, I say, of repentance. But this, I know, is your quarrel, to be received back into the Church, and recover your own thrones. Behold I testify to you in the presence of angels (1) and men, that by the [present] archbishop you will be received into the Church, and will recover your own thrones ; only endure with thanksgiving. For it was revealed to me this night, as I was in prayer, by my lord and master Ignatius that in the tenth year of him who lately received the sceptre there will be perfect peace and deep calm : do you, when this comes about remember me in my humility ». With these words he dismissed them.

(1) Cf. *I Cor.* 4, 9 and *I Tim.* 5, 21.

μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία δηλοποιεῖ  
 σοι δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ πάλιν ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸν θρόνον σου. τοίνυν τὰ  
 ἔκπαλαι παρὰ σοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα ἐάσας σὺν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι  
 νῖῳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀναγορεύων εἰσελθε ἀποληψόμενος τὸν  
 5 θρόνον σου. καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἱερέα ἡμεῖς ἐγνωρίσαμεν τὸν ἀρτίως  
 ἱερουργοῦντα, ἀλλὰ παλαμναῖον καὶ λήσταρχον. μὴ ἀναβάλλῃ,  
 ὦ πάτερ καὶ κύριέ μου καὶ δέσποτα, τοῦ εἰσιέναι πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ  
 Ψαμαθίᾳ μονὴν σου, καὶ κεῖθ' ἐν σε παραληψόμεθα». ὁ δὲ δηλοῖ  
 αὐτῇ· «ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνεξιχνιάστοις κρίμασι τὴν ἐκ  
 10 πολλοῦ ἐπιθυμουμένην μοι ὁδὸν εὗρον, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ταύτην  
 καταλείψαι με καὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν μεταβῆναι, ἀλλ' εὖχομαι τῷ θεῷ  
 μου ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ πέρας τοῦ βίου δέξασθαι. σὺ δὲ μὴ τοσοῦτον  
 σπουδῆς ἔχε τοῦ ἀναγορευθῆναι σου τὸ ὄνομα ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ τούτῳ  
 καὶ ἐπικέρῳ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ αἰδίῳ καὶ ἀπεράντῳ  
 15 καὶ ἀτελευτήτῳ αἰῶνι. ὥς γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐπίστασαι τὰ τῶν ὧδε  
 ἅπαντα σκιά εἰσιν καὶ ἐνύπνια πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινόμενα καὶ ταχέως  
 καταλυόμενα. ὥστε ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ μήτις φροντίς ἢ μέλησις ἔστω  
 σοι, μήτε μὴν τὸν ἀρχιεραρχοῦντα πλησσοῦσα κακολόγει. καὶ  
 τοῦτο δὲ παρακαλῶν δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τοῦ μηκέτι ἔνεκεν  
 20 τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως παρενοχλῆσαι μοι». τούτων οὕτως λεγο-  
 μένων καὶ δηλουμένων, παρευθὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μονῇ βοτρυ-  
 δὸν καὶ ἀγελῆδὸν οἱ παρὰ Νικολάου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωχθέντες  
 ἐπίσκοποι τε καὶ ἱερεῖς παρήσαν χαρμόσυνα, ὥς ἐδόκουν, εὐαγ-  
 γέλια τῷ ἁγίῳ πατρὶ κομίζοντες. πρὸς οὗς ἐκεῖνος ἀντέλεγε καὶ  
 25 πληροφορῶν ἐβεβαίον, ὥς τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον· «καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰ ὑπεῖξω ὑμῖν αἰτοῦσι, τάχα ἂν τότε ἐξίσταμαι θρόνου τοῦ κατὰ  
 πολὺ ἐμοὶ ἐρασμίου, τοῦ τῆς μετανόας λέγω. ἐπίσταμαι δέ,  
 ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ ἅγων ὑμῶν, τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑμᾶς εἰσδεχ-  
 θῆναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους θρόνους ἀπολαβεῖν. ἰδοὺ μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν  
 30 ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐνταῦθα παρόντων ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὥς  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιεραρχοῦντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσδεχθήσεσθε  
 καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους θρόνους ἀπολήψεσθε· μόνον εὐχαρίστως φέρετε.  
 τοῦτο γάρ μοι ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνήγγειλεν προσευχομένῳ ὁ κύριός  
 μου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰγνάτιος, ὥς τῷ δεκάτῳ καιρῷ τοῦ ἄρτι τὰ  
 35 σκῆπτρα λαμβάνοντος εἰρήνῃ τελείᾳ καὶ βαθεῖᾳ ἔσται κατά-  
 στασις· ὑμεῖς δὲ ταύτης γενομένης μιμνήσκεισθέ μοι τῆς χθα-  
 μαλότητος». οὕτως προσειπὼν ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

## XXII. — The reconciliation of the two Patriarchs.

These things did not escape Nicolas the archbishop. And as, up to that moment he had had no cease, stirring and agitating, leaving (1) no stone unturned hoping to transfer the father from St Agathos' and exile him to far and inaccessible parts, so, from then on, as he was more perfectly assured of the father's refusal, the more repeatedly did he send to him to propose peace and urge the father, if there were anything he wished, to let him know. But the archbishop having now completed his twenty-two days in sanctuary, some of the chamberlains came bearing to him a safe-conduct from Zoe, the former Anna, and demanding a written promise that he would proclaim her in the church with her imperial son, and acclaim her empress, and would no more go up to the palace unless sent for. Having given all these assurances in his own hand, the hierarch then sneaked out of his sacred refuge.

Not long after he went out to the monastery of St Agathos' to be reconciled face to face with him who was there detained, and see him. And in the first place, he apologised for what had happened, though arguing on some points. And having spoken the things tending to a deep peace, he kissed him and after taking leave, left. Thenceforth he went often, insisting the father must let him know if there was anything he wanted. One day, while, the two were conversing, the blessed Euthymius says to him ; « For my part, my lord, it was never my wish nor intention to find myself in opposition to you, and whenever I consider how things turned out between us, my mind and understanding are perplexed, and I am filled with amazement ; but you again, if you would recall the former days, you would often find me, so it seems to me at least, in defence of your friends, fighting at your side, and, when it came to your defence, combating those who said anything against you. When Samonas spoke his shameless insults against you, I sharply opposed him with commination, as you yourself know. When people were fastening the blame on to you for the blow struck at the emperor in the church of St Mocius

(1) *Corp. Par. Gr.*, LEUTSCH and SCHNEIDEWIN, II, 600.

XXII. — Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀμφοτέρων πατριαρχῶν διαλλαγῆς

Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔλαθε Νικολάῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ. καὶ ἕως μὲν τούτου οὐκ ἐπαύετο διεγείρων καὶ ἀνασειὼν καὶ πάντα κάλων κινῶν τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μεθιστᾶν καὶ ἐν μακρόσι (1) καὶ δυσβάτοις 5 τόποις ὑπερορῶν τὸν πατέρα μηχανώμενος, ἕκτοτε δέ, ὡς ἐντελέστερον πληροφορηθεὶς τὴν ἀναβολήν, συνεχέστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλων τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἡρώτα, καὶ εἴ τι ἂν ἐθέλοι δηλοποιεῖν αὐτῷ προετρέπετο. πληρουμένων τοίνυν τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος προσφύξεως, κατῆλθόν τινες τῶν 10 ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος λόγον μὲν ἀπαθείας ἐπιφέροντες τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ παρὰ Ζωῆς, τῆς ποτε Ἀννης, χειρόγραφον δὲ ἀπαιτοῦντες τοῦ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀναγορεύεσθαι σὺν τῷ νῦν καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ αὐγούσταν ταύτην ἐπευφημῖζεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ μηκέτι ἄνευ προσκλήσεως τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνιέναι. ταῦτα πάντα οἰκειο- 15 γράφως ἀσφαλισάμενος ὁ ἱεράρχης οὕτως ὑπεξῆει τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσφυγίου.

Οὐ πολὺν τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μονὴν ἀνῆει τὸν ἐκεῖσε περιορισμένον αὐτοπὶ καταλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι προσαπελογεῖτο, ἔστι δ' 20 ὅτε καὶ ἀντέτεινεν. οὕτως τὰ πρὸς βαθεῖαν εἰρήνην λαλήσας κατασπασάμενός τε αὐτὸν καὶ συνταξάμενος κατῆει. ἕκτοτε πολλάκις ἀνῆει καὶ τοῦ δηλοποιεῖν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἂν ἐθέλοι, τὸν πατέρα κατηνάγκασεν. ἐν μιᾷ οὖν λόγον συνειρόντων ἀμφοτέρων, ὁ μακαρίτης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντέφησεν Εὐθύμιος · « ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ δέσ- 25 ποτα, ἐναντίως πρὸς σὲ εὐρεθῆναι πώποτε οὔτε βουλῆς ἔσχον οὔτε θελήσεως · ὡς δὲ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτ' ἂν κατὰ νοῦν λάβω, ἐκπλήττομαι καὶ νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν καὶ θάμβονος πεπλήρωμαι · σὺ δὲ πάλιν, εἰ βουληθῆς ἀνιστορεῖσθαι ἡμερῶν τῶν πρώην, 30 πολλάκις καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φίλων εὔρες, ὡς ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ, συναγωνιζόμενόν σε, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοὺς κατὰ σοῦ τι λέγοντας ἀντιμαχόμενον. ὁπότ' ἂν γὰρ τὸν Σαμωνᾶν κατὰ σοῦ αἰσχίστας ὕβρεις λέγοντα σφοδρῶς ἐκώλυσα δι' ἐπιτιμῆσεως, καὶ τότε ἐπίστασαι. ὁπότ' ἂν δέ σοι καὶ τὴν τῆς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπενεχθείσης πληγῆς ἐν

2 Νικολάῳ τῷ c  
18 περιορισμένον c

3 κάλων ■  
22 αὐτῷ V.

8 αὐτῷ V.  
28 βουληθείς c

17 μέσω V.



Martyr, and you presented yourself in my monastery of Psamathia, and put me forward as mediator, as you know; and I acted, going up to the palace, and with many exhortations persuading the emperor, who loved and desired you greatly, that he should in no way believe nor listen to any who named you in this matter. For I do not mention all I have done where your wishes and will were those of the Church also, which you yourself know, my lord, as well as your party». But the other to him: «For all these good services I am not ungrateful. Yet in the end, father, you ruined me and did me the worst turn of all». — «What was that?» says he. «Drive me from the throne while you leapt on to it». Whereupon the father says to him, in the hearing of all: «O Lord my God, if I have done this, if ever I desired to drive this man from the throne, if in this matter there be injustice on my hands, may I be cast down destitute from thy everlasting kingdom. But it is clear for all to see that through no choice of my own, but perforce, at the request of the monarch and the whole Senate, more — exhorted by your own bishops, and with the dispensation of the patriarchal representatives, did I accept it. And they would have persuaded you rather to take it, had not you yourself, with three resignations annulled your right in the Church that was left forsaken, tossed and troubled. But with all crying out that I bore the responsibility for her, I do not mean the laity, but the very synod, I gave way to their unanimity, neither making void the economy of the patriarchal sees, nor imperilling the Church, and accepted the burden of the archbishopric. Wherefore the many trials caused by envy have ever since come upon me. Now thanks be to God the holy One, who has so ordered my affairs». — «Yet» says the other «adulterous union is against the law». But he answers him: «Whether that turned out well, or whether ill, in your day it happened. Whereafter also the priest who had unblessedly blessed them I discovered and bound in bonds not to be loosed, for his rashness, because he had acted without the Synod's voice, whom you, the holy bishop, freed from his interdict and ordered to minister. But what have I done that was unlawful in receiving the emperor

τῷ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Μωκίου τεμένει ἐνοχὴν περιῆπτον, ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία μονῇ μου παρῆς μεσίτην με προβαλλόμενος, ἐπίστασαι · ὁ καὶ πεποίηκα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνιών, πολλὰ παραινέσας καὶ πείσας τὸν πολλά σε στέργοντα καὶ ποθοῦντα βασιλέα, τοῦ μήτε ὅλως παραδέξασθαι ἢ τινος ἀκοῦσαι ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τὸ σὸν ὄνομα. ἔω γὰρ λέγειν ἀρεσκείας καὶ θελήσεις σου ἰδίας τε καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸς ὁ δεσπότης μου καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ σε ἐπίστανται ». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν · « πάντων τούτων τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἀγνώμων ἐγώ. ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὦ πάτερ, 10 διέφθειας καὶ τὸ χεῖρον πάντων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἔπραξας ». « ποῖον τοῦτο ; » ἔφη. « τὸ κατεάξει με τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιπηδῆσαί σε ». τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων λέγει · « κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, εἰ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦτον κατεάξει ποτὲ προτεθύμηναι, εἰ περὶ τούτου ἐστὶν ἀδικία ἐν χερσὶ 15 μου, ἀποπέσοιμι κενὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀδιαδόχου βασιλείας σου. ὅμως καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι κατάδηλόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ προαιρέσει ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καὶ παρακλήσει τοῦ τε κρατοῦντος καὶ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν σῶν ἀρχιερέων προτροπῇ, οἰκονομία τε καὶ τῶν πατριαρχικῶν τοποτηρητῶν τοῦτο κατεδεξάμην. 20 οὔτινες καὶ σὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔπεισαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ παραιτήσεσι τρισὶ σαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡκύρωσας, ἥτις ἔρημος καταλειφθεῖσα ἐκυμαίνεται ταραττομένη. παρὰ (1) πάντων δὲ τὸ ταύτης κρῖμα ἔχειν με ἐπιβωμένων, οὐ μὴν λαϊκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς συνόδου, τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπέλξας, μήτε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρό- 25 νων ἀκυροῦντός μου, μήτε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κίνδυνον ἐπιφέροντος, τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης κατεδεξάμην φορτίον. δι' οὗ καὶ οἱ ἐκ φθόνου πλείστοι πειρασμοὶ ἔκτοτε ἐπῆλθόν μοι. καὶ χάρις τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ τῷ οὕτως τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ οἰκονομήσαντι ». « ἀλλ' ἢ μοιχοzeugία », πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, « παρὰ κανόνα ἐστίν ». ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν · 30 « κἄν τε καλῶς τοῦτο ἀπέβη, κἄν τε κακῶς, ἐπὶ τῶν σῶν ἡμερῶν γέγονεν. ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν τούτοις τὴν εὐλόγησιν ἀνευλόγως παρασχόντα ἱερέα ἐφευρὼν ἀλότῳ δεσμῷ περιέβαλον ὡς τολμητιάν, ὡς ἄνευ συνοδικῆς ψήφου πράξαντα, ὃν σύ, ὁ ἅγιος δεσπότης, τοῦ δεσμοῦ λύσας ἱερουργεῖν προσέταξας. τί δὲ παράνομον

11 V. αὐτῷ c

21 καταληφθεῖσα V.

29 παρακανόνα V.

(1) See Grammatical Notes, n° 4, p. 241-2.

repenting and doing penance, resigned to his punishment, into the church as far as the holy railings, when, also, the patriarchs conceded it, and all the holy Synod? » But « The synod », says he, « was not assembled to seek what was lawful, but to set the lawful at nought ». At that the father says to him : « The synod that assembled under you in the Magnaura for my undeserved death, were those fathers better? ». But the other : « O father, your words imply bitterness against us ». — « God forbid », says he. « But hear my side of the question (1), instead of always making yourself out blameless, while passing sentence on us. We are all men and fallible ». At this, he was quiet and said nothing further, and they sat down and ate together, and finally exchanged words of perfect peace and parted.

Thenceforth, there was daily great coming and going of messengers from the patriarchate to the monastery of St Agathos, and the patriarch Nicolas so delighted in this blessed Euthymius that, had not some of the metropolitans hindered his plan, he might well have urged him to come in to the monastery of Psamathia. But they said to him : « If you bring him into the city, everyone will be convinced he has suffered hardship unjustly and unreasonably, since as it is, with him outside, this is the universal rumour and refrain. On the contrary, not after death even is it right he should enter, after having done everything against us, and in disregard of the canon ». After hearing this, to fulfil their desire, he left him in exile five years and three months.

It was the month of July, and the patriarch Nicolas went out to the monastery of St Panteleimon Martyr which is on the Straits, when our father Euthymius sends to him to come after the Saint's day and make his last farewell. Nor did he delay, but on the day following came to him. But finding him ill and unable to speak, he began : « Speak, O father, out of the things that have happened, speak ». Now this he did, wishing to rouse him to speak.

(1) Cf. LEUTSCH and SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiogr. Gr.*, I, 397 : *Εἰπὼν δὲ θέλεις, ἀντάκουε δὲ μὴ θέλεις*, and numerous variants.

εἰργασμαι βασιλεῖ προσκλαίοντι καὶ μετανοοῦντι, ἐπιτιμωμένῳ  
 τε καὶ στέργοντι ἔνδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέχρι τῶν ἱερῶν κιγκλίδων  
 προσδεχόμενος, καὶ τότε πατριαρχῶν τοῦτο οἰκονομοῦντων καὶ  
 πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου; » ὁ δέ · « οὐ σύνοδος ἐγεγόνει », φησὶν,  
 5 « ἐπὶ δικαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀθετήσει δικαίον ». τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πα-  
 τήρ · « ἡ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ γενομένη ἐπὶ τῆς Μαγναύρας σύνοδος ἐπὶ  
 τῷ ἀνευθύνῳ ἡμῶν θανάτῳ κρείττονας πατέρας ἔσχεν; » ὁ δέ ·  
 « ὦ πάτερ », ἔφη, « ἡ τῶν ῥημάτων σου ἔμφασις χόλον καθ' ἡμῶν  
 δηλοῖ ». ὁ δέ · « μὴ γένοιτο », εἶπεν, « ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς λέγεις ἄκουε,  
 10 καὶ μὴ οὕτως σεαυτὸν πάντῃ ἀνεύθυνον ποιῶν ἡμᾶς καταδικά-  
 ζης · ἄνθρωποι γὰρ πάντες καὶ τὸ πταιστὸν ὑποκείμενοι ». ὁ δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡσύχασεν μηδὲν περαιτέρω προσειπὼν, ὁμοτράπεζοί τε  
 καὶ ὁμοέσθιοι γενόμενοι τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην τέλεον συνταξάμενοι  
 ἀνεχώρουν.  
 15 Ἐκτοτε καθ' ἐκάστην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ μονὴν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 πατριαρχείου ἀποστελλόμενοι ἐπὶ συχνῶ ἀνῆσαν καὶ κατήσαν,  
 καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ μακαρίτῃ Εὐθυμίῳ ἡγαθύνθη ὁ πατριάρ-  
 χης Νικόλαος, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ τινες τῶν μητροπολιτῶν τούτου τὸ  
 διαβούλιον ἐκώλυσαν, τάχα ἂν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία μονῇ τοῦτον  
 20 εἰσιέναι παρώρμησεν. ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτῷ · « εἰ ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτον  
 εἰσιέναι ποιήσεις, πληροφορηθήσονται ἅπαντες ὡς ἀδίκως καὶ  
 παραλόγως τὰ δεινὰ πέπονθεν, ὅπότ' ἂν καὶ ἔξω ταύτης τούτου  
 καθεζομένου παρὰ πάντων ἥδεται τοῦτο καὶ φημιζεται. ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ μετὰ πότμον εἰσιέναι τοῦτον δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὡς καθ' ἡμῶν  
 25 πάντα καὶ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντα ». ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος καὶ  
 τὸ ἐφετὸν ἐκείνοις ἐκπληρῶν ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τοῦτον ἐπὶ χρόνοις  
 πέντε πρὸς μῆσὶ τρισὶν εἶασεν.

Ἰούλιος παρῆν μὴν, καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ μονῇ  
 τῇ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Παντελεήμονος τῇ ἐν τῷ Στενῷ οὔσῃ  
 30 ἔξῃ. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιος δηλοῖ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ τὴν  
 εὐορτήν ἐκπερᾶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
 συντάξασθαι. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀναβαλλόμενος τῇ ἐπαύριον πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἦκει. εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτον νοσηλευόμενον καὶ μηδὲ φθέγγεσθαι  
 δυνάμενον ἤρξατο λέγειν · « εἰπέ, ὦ πάτερ, ἐκ τῶν συμβεβη-  
 35 κότων τι, εἰπέ ». τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει θέλων αὐτὸν ἐρεθίσαι τοῦ

1 βασιλέα προσκλαίοντα κ. μετανοοῦντα, ἐπιτιμωμένον τε κ. στέργον-  
 τα B ἐπιτιμωμένῳ c 6 μαγνάβρας c 7 « ἀνευθύνων? »  
 θανάτῳ V. 11 c. τῷ πταιστῷ B 20 αὐτῷ V. 30 αὐτῷ V.

He, however, said : « Not for confusion or strife, my lord, have I troubled your Holiness, but to see you, and speak with you words of peace and profit ». The other then : « All that you say I value ; say to me what you wish ». And he : « You, my lord, say that I am unworthy, and you say well, for so I am. But this you do not consider, that both we shall find ourselves before the judgment-seat of Christ, and He shall recognize the worthy and the unworthy, Who is the only judge without respect of persons ». While they were thus talking together, he, on endeavouring, as it were, to rise from his bed, fell back in a heap, asking forgiveness : « For behold, my lord », said he, « I go the way of my fathers ; I am departing to another world, to a King who is not deceived ». Then the patriarch Nicolas rose and threw himself on the ground saying : « It is for you rather to forgive me who have shown you much harsh treatment, at the instigation of those who rejoice in evil ». And they were to be seen for many hours entreating each other's forgiveness. And in all present there was wonder and amazement at what was happening, so that they all gave praise to God, who had thus in his ineffable compassion ordered their affairs. Finally, after granting each other forgiveness, and weeping together, they kissed for the last time, and with falling tears parted.

### XXIII. — Last recommendations to the fathers of Psamathia and St Agathos.

On the second day of August, when the memory of St Stephen, the first martyr, is celebrated, our father, who is now with the saints, sent also to the monastery of Psamathia, to summon all the monks to the monastery of St Agathos ; and calling round him likewise those there, he spoke of the constitution of the two monasteries, how, on the one hand, there were at Psamathia twenty-four of the brothers consecrated to God and abiding in the church. « Now those whom I have ordained, I order to rule over them, to the number of three of those who have served me ; but when they are gone from you, a vote of the whole brotherhood shall elect



λέγειν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη · « οὐ διὰ ταραχὴν ἢ φιλονεικίαν ἐσκόλα-  
 μεν τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σου, δέσποτα, ἀλλὰ προσβλέπει καὶ λαλῆσαι  
 σὺν σοὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ὠφέλειαν ». ὁ δὲ · « πάντα τὰ παρὰ  
 σοῦ λεγόμενα ὡς τίμια δέχομαι · λέγε μοι ὅπερ ἂν βούλη ». ὁ δὲ  
 5 πρὸς αὐτόν · « σὺ μὲν, ὦ δέσποτα, λέγεις εἶναι με ἀνάξιον καὶ  
 καλῶς λέγεις · εἰμὶ γάρ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ κατανοεῖς, ὡς ἀμφοτέρω  
 εὐρεθησόμεθα ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν  
 ἄξιον καὶ ἀνάξιον ἐπιγνώσεται ὁ μόνος ἀπροσωπόληπτος δικα-  
 10 στής ». τούτων οὕτως παρ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων, ὥσπερ τῆς κλήνης  
 ἀνιστᾶν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ συγκεκυφῶς τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐπεζήτηι.  
 « ἰδοὺ γὰρ πορεύομαι », ἔλεγεν, « ὦ δέσποτα, τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν πατέρων  
 μου · ἀπαίρω γὰρ εἰς κόσμον ἕτερον καὶ βασιλέα ἀπαραλόγιστον ».   
 τότε ἀναστὰς ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ὁ πατριάρχης Νικόλαος  
 λέγων · « σὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ συγχώρησον τῷ πολλὰ σοὶ ἐνδειξαμένῳ  
 15 ἐξ ὑποβολῆς χαιρεκάκων δεινὰ ». καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ὥραις  
 τὴν συγχώρησιν ἀλλήλοις ἀπαιτούντων. ἦν δὲ παρὰ πάντων  
 τῶν ἐκεῖσε εὐρεθέντων θάμβους καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τὸ γινόμενον, ὡς  
 πάντας τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖν, τὸν οὕτως τῇ ἀρρήτῳ αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγ-  
 χνίᾳ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἰκονομήσαντα. τέλος μετὰ τὸ τὴν συγχώ-  
 20 ρησιν ἀλλήλοις ἀπονείμει καὶ συνδακρῶσαι τὸν τελευταῖον ἀσ-  
 पासμόν ποιήσαντες δακρυρροοῦντες διέστησαν.

XXIII. — Περὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ πατέρας τελευταίας παραινέσεως.

Ἡ τοῦ μηνὸς αὐγοῦστου δευτεραία παρῆν, ἐν ἣ ἡ μνήμη τε-  
 25 λεῖται Στεφάνου τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ψαμαθία  
 μονῇ ἀποστείλας ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἅπαντας  
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ προσκαλεῖται μονῇ · ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε  
 ὄντας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαγὼν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μοναστηρίων  
 καταστάσεως ἔλεξεν, ὡς εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ ἀφιερωμένοις  
 30 τῷ θεῷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τε προσκαρτεροῦντας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν. « οὗς δὲ ἐγὼ προεχειρισάμην ἡγείσθαι τούτων παρα-  
 κελεύομαι μέχρι τριῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ καθυπουργησάντων · αὐτῶν  
 δὲ παρερχομένων, κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποιμένα

10 καὶ συγκεκυφῶς V. κασυγκεκυφῶς c 16 ἦν ... γινόμενον.  
 cf. 12, 17 : θάμβους καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἐπλήρουν  
 29 ἀφιερωμένους B 30 θεῷ V. 31 τοῦτον c

whom God pleases and they desire. Likewise, in this monastery of St Agathos also, I prescribe that twelve of the brothers be consecrated to God, abiding in the church, and the next three to be designated by my humble self to perform the office of higoumene. Afterwards, they being gone from you, you will appoint an economos from among your brothers who are at Psamathia, and both flocks will be led by one shepherd in the same rule and ordinance by him whom the providence of God has entrusted with the higoumenate of the monastery of Psamathia, as this deed of union in my own hand sets forth in detail. Children, the tradition you have received from me, guard in unity and brotherly love, and with all your strength do not weary of fervently praying the Divinity. And now indeed pray for this least of men, that I may obtain the wish of my great desire. For that once achieved, I will not rest from entreating and imploring for you, taking to myself and embracing each one of you. Yet know this, after my going from you, you will meet with such straitening and want and distress, that you will lay hands on the sacred vessels themselves. But the Lord God will send you help from on high, may He defend you, and help you, and supply (1) that which was lacking in me. Only do not set at nought my commands, though I be the least of men, nor, I charge you, be backward in observing the rule I have given you, which I fashioned in sweat with many strivings ». While the father was thus addressing them, and all of them in tears, he fell into a swoon ; and as he remained silent, they went out.

Next day, which was the fourth of the month of August, our a.917 father Euthymius began to labour and pant, and his strength began, as it were, to leave him, when he himself, recognising the end, in the hearing of all adressed these last words to himself : « Behold, lowly Euthymius, the (2) time of thy departure is at hand, and the axe (3) is near that shall cut thee down, thou unfruitful tree. Why then dost thou hold back ? What fearest thou, summoned to incorruptibility, passing from slavery to freedom ? There is no envy there nor strife, nor malice, nor the swarming presence of those who grieve and ill-use. To a merciful master thou goest.

(1) *I Cor.* 16, 17.

(2) *II Tim.* 4, 6.

(3) *Cf. MAT.* 3, 10.

προστήσονται, ὃν ἂν ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήσῃ καὶ θελήσειως ἔχωσιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ ταύτῃ μονῇ διορίζομαι δώδεκα εἶναι τῷ θεῷ ἀφιερωμένους τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσκαρτεροῦντας, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν, οἷς ἡ ταπεινώσίς μου ὑπέδειξεν, 5 τὴν τῆς ἡγουμενείας διέπειν ἀρχήν. εἴθ' οὕτως τούτων παρερχομένων, οἰκονόμον προστήσεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ ὄντων ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, δηλονότι ποιμαινομένων ἀμφοτέρων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ καὶ κανόνι παρὰ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡγουμενείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ μονῆς θεοῦ προνοίᾳ πεπιστευμένου, καθὼς καὶ ἡ οἰ- 10 κειόγραφος ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔνωσις ταῦτα λεπτομερῶς διαγορεύει. τέκνα, τὴν παράδοσιν, ἣν ἐξ ἐμοῦ παρειλήφατε, μετὰ φιλαδελφίας καὶ ὁμονοίας φυλάξατε, καὶ ὅση ὑμῖν ἰσχὺς ἐστὶν ἐκλιπαροῦντες τὸ θεῖον μὴ ἀποκάμοιτε. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλαχιστότητος τοίνυν εὐχεσθε, ὅπως τῆς λίαν ποθουμένης ἐμοὶ ἐφέσεως ἐπιτυχεῖν. 15 τούτου γὰρ γινομένου, οὐ παύσομαι τὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀντιβολῶν καὶ ἐξαιτούμενος καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον προσδεχόμενος καὶ ἐπαγκαλιζόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξίν μου ἐν τοιαύτῃ στενώσει καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἐνδεία καταντήσετε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἄψασθαι. ἀποστελεῖ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς βοή- 20 θειαν ὑμῖν ἐξ ὕψους, καὶ ὑπερασπίσοι καὶ ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὑστέρημα ἀναπληρώσοι. μόνον τὰς ἐντολάς μου τοῦ ἐλαχιστου μὴ ἀθετήσητε, μήτε μὴν τὰς παρ' ἐμοῦ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἰδρώτων τυπωθείσας εἰς ὑμᾶς παραδόσεις καθυστερήσητε». οὕτως προλέγοντος τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάντων δα- 25 κρυροοούντων, λειποθυμία περιπίπτει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἡσυχάσαντος ἐξ ἑσαν.

Τῇ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἦν τετάρτη τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνός, ἤρξατο ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Εὐθύμιος κοπιᾶν καὶ ἀσθμαίνειν καὶ ὥς διάστασιν ὑπομένειν δυνάμει. ὅτε καὶ τὸς διαγνοὺς τὰς τελευταίας εἰς 30 ἐπήκοον πάντων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεφθέγγετο ῥήμασιν· « ἰδοὺ, ταπεινὲ Εὐθύμει, ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεώς σου ἐφέστηκεν, καὶ ἡ ἀξίην τῆς τομῆς σου τοῦ ἀκάρπου δένδρου ἤγγικεν. τί οὖν ἀναβάλλῃ; τί δέδοικας πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν προσκαλούμενος, ἀπὸ δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετερχόμενος; ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἔστιν φθόνος, 35 οὐκ ἔρις, οὐ βασκανία, οὐ τῶν λυπούντων καὶ κακούντων ἐσμός. πρὸς φιλάνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀπαίρεις. μὴ ἀκηδία, μὴ ἀθύμει,

2 ὡς αὐτως c

4 οὗς B

15 γενομένου?

23-24 « καθυστε-

ρίσητε? »

29 τὰ τελευταῖα ... ῥήματα B. « Vielleicht τὰς τελευταίας

παρεῖναι ὥρας ταῦτα ... πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεφθ. ῥήματα », or τὰς τελευταίας ὥρας τοῖς τελευταίοις εἰς ἐπήκοον... perhaps without ὥρας, cf. 86, 26.

Do not be faint-hearted nor discouraged, for he is compassionate, long-suffering and of great mercy. And if you have shown yourself unworthy (1) of the vocation wherewith ye were called, having achieved nothing, yet seventy-five years have you fulfilled in the monastic ranks. But now you go to your Master, to your God and Lord, whom you have loved from an infant, whom you have followed from an early age. Then do not hold back, do not be ill-pleased. Go forth confident, not (2) in thine own works, but in his love toward man, and grace, ineffable compassion and most boundless goodness ». But having called Basil, his nephew, he said ; « Prepare everything for my burial : for tomorrow I leave the things here to go to another world. So it has been revealed to me ». So the other asks him ; « Where do you wish your body to lie, that we may prepare a grave? » And he : « At Psamathia, by the sacred shrine of the Anargyres, in the right-hand chapel that is dedicated to the Forerunner, beneath my lord and master, Peter the Confessor and bishop of Gordorynia ». Whereupon, the other answered him : « That the patriarch sent word the me[tropolitans were not willing...

(1) *Eph.* 4, 1.

(2) *Cf. Tit.* 3, 5.

εὐσπλαγχνος γάρ ἐστι, μακρόθυμος, πολυέλεος. εἰ καὶ ἀναξίως  
 τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκλήθη διεπρεψας μηδὲν κατωρθωκώς, ἀλλ'  
 ὁμῶς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη ἐν τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν τάγματι  
 ἐξεπλήρωσας. πορεύῃ δὲ τὰ νῦν πρὸς τὸν κύριόν σου καὶ θεὸν  
 5 καὶ δεσπότην, ὃν ἐκ βρέφους ἠγάπησας, ᾧ ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας  
 ἠκολούθησας. μὴ ἀναβάλλον τοίνυν μηδὲ δυσχέραινε. ἔξελθε  
 θαρρῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις σου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία  
 καὶ χάριτι τῇ τε ἀνεκδιηγῆτω εὐσπλαγχνία καὶ ὑπεραπειρῶ  
 ἀγαθότητι». καλέσας δὲ Βασίλειον, τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ, ἔφη·  
 10 «τὰ πρὸς ταφήν μοι ἅπαντα ἐτοίμασον· τῇ γὰρ αὔριον τῶν ἐν-  
 ταῦθα ἀπαίρων πρὸς ἄλλον κόσμον πορεύομαι. οὕτως γὰρ ἐδη-  
 λώθη μοι». τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος· «ποῦ δὲ κελεύεις κατα-  
 κεῖσθαι τὸ σῶμά σου, ἵνα τάφον εὐτρεπίσωμεν». ὁ δὲ· «ἐν τῷ  
 Ψαμαθίᾳ», ἔφη, «πρὸς τῷ τῶν Ἀναργύρων ἱερῷ σηκῷ, ἐν τῷ  
 15 ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς προδρομικῷ εὐκτηρίῳ, κάτωθεν τοῦ κυρίου μου καὶ  
 δεσπότην Πέτρον τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως Γορδορυνείας».   
 τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀντεῖπεν· «ὥς ὁ πατριάρχης δεδήλωκε  
 μὴ στέργειν τοὺς μη[τροπολίτας] (1)...

6 δυσχέραναι c

8 εὐσπλαγχνία V.

14 Ψαμαθία V.

(1) The ms. ends with τοὺς μη [. Basing himself on XXII, 14, de Boor conjectures μη[τροπολίτας] εἰσιέναι τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς τὴν πόλιν...



## COMMENTARY

2,1 [Περὶ τῆς Βασιλείου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τελευτῆς] Eight quaternions are missing from the beginning of the ms (see above, p. 30-32). The title *Vita Euthymii*, as well as that of the so-called 'Chapter 1', are due to de Boor.

Basil I the Macedonian. Co-emperor of Michael III 26 May 866 to 23 Sept. 867. Autocrator 23 Sept. 867-29 Aug. 886. The principal source is his grandson Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *Vita Basilii* (Theoph. Cont. bk V). Modern works: OSTROGORSKY<sup>3</sup> 194-201 (with bibliography); ADONTZ, *L'âge et l'origine*; MORAVCSIK, *Sagen und Legenden*; VOGT, *Basile I<sup>er</sup>*; *Jeunesse*. For his relations with his son Leo see also above, p. 37-48.

The *VE* as we know it opens with ■ *morceau de bravoure*. Is this story of Basil's hunting accident the reliable account of a courtier who either was himself present when it happened or heard directly from those who were? It is more or less in contradiction with such authoritative sources as the Life of Theophano and the letter from Stylianos Mapas to Pope Stephen, in a matter where their particular biases are not involved. Both speak of Basil's having been ill for some time before his death. Mapas says that Santabarenos and Photius intrigued against Leo: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐνόσησεν ὁ Βασίλειος νόσον δυσίατον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν γέγονεν — "for, as Basil was sick of an incurable sickness and his death was near, they thought that, with him dead and Leo out of the way, the βασιλεία would be theirs » (Mansi XVI, 433B). The Life of Theophano gives the same impression: "but after a little time had passed, the ungodly Theodore went to the emperor Basil begging to be sent home to his own affairs and his own place. For, seeing the sovereign's disease getting the mastery over his body and fearing lest the intrigue he had woven come by some means into the open..." ὀλίγον χρόνον παρωχηκότος, ὁ ἄθεος Θεόδωρος [Santabarenos]... προσῆλθε τῷ... βασιλεῖ Βασιλεῖω, αἰτῶν καὶ λέγων, ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀφόμενον τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, βλέπων γὰρ τὴν νόσον τοῦ ἀνακτος Βασιλείου ἐπικρατεστέραν τοῦ σώματος γενομένην καὶ δεδιώς, μήπως ὁ συμπλακεῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ δόλος εἰς τοῦμφανές διὰ τινος ὑποθέσεως ἔλθῃ ... (§ 16). Again in Zaoutzes' pleading for Leo: "They lament your absence... [now your are]

fallen sick and by God's grace advancing in old age..." (τὴν σὴν ἀποκλαίονται ἀπουσίαν ... αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ τῷ γήρῳ χάριτι θεῖα προβαίνων... §18). The *Vita Basilii* of his grandson Constantine says: "Before long he falls into a wasting sickness... accompanied by diarrhoea, that began with a hunting accident." (οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ φθινάδι νόσῳ περιπίπτει... ἐκ διαρροίας παρακολουθησάσῃ γαστρός, ἣ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν κατὰ θήραν παραπτώσεων ἔλαβεν (THc 351, 22), but Constantine was extraordinarily ill-informed about his grandfather. In fact the *VE* is not perhaps basically incompatible with the evidence above. Basil was ill some time before his death, but not necessarily too ill to go out. However, his Last Hunt, as the *VE* describes it, suggests rather the prowess of his prime as it is recounted in Genesios (p. 127) and the *Vita Basilii* (p. 232) than the last effort of an ailing old man. From a literary standpoint the Last Hunt is reminiscent of Genesios and *Vita Basilii* texts. There seems to be traditional material present. Perhaps the author, for artistic effect, wrote up an unexciting truth on an exciting model (see GRABAR, *L'empereur*, 57-62 and 133-144, and partic. MORAVCSIK).

Vogt (*Jeunesse* p. 426-8) drew attention to the suspicious circumstances of Basil's death: the accident occurred when the Emperor had become separated from the court; it was discovered by Stylianos Zaoutzes etc. There seems to me to be a grave objection insofar as, whatever occurred, the Emperor was not found dead, as it seems to me he must have been if there had been foul play: it would have been too dangerous to leave him alive, to live nine more days, with all the possible consequences.

2, 19 Stylianos Zaoutzes. Other sources: *Vita Basilii* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos; Genesios; Geo. Mon. Cont.-Ps.-Symeon; Life of the empress Theophano; A scholion of Arethas. In addition, most of Leo's Novels are dedicated to him. Seals.

The *VE* informs us (4, 24-5), that Zaoutzes, "like Basil", was an Armenian born in Macedonia. Adontz suggests further that he was the son of a strategos of Macedonia called Tzantzes (*L'âge et l'origine* ... p. 483). The sources at this point are highly legendary, but include historical elements, there is no reason why this should not be one of them.

That nothing precise can be built on Basil's joking address of "Αἰθίωψ" is suggested by the following passage: αἰσχρὸν τὸ εἶδος. ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐξ οἰνοποσίας Ἰνδογενῆς εἶναι (Genesios 39, 4) We can assume he was not pale.

According to Geo. Mon. Cont. he was *μικρὸς ἑταίρειάρχης* (Life of Theophano : *πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἑταίρειάρχης*) under Basil at the time of Leo's imprisonment. The Life of Theophano suggests that he was on terms of some intimacy with Basil and gives him the credit for patching things up between him and his son (see introd., p. 48).

When he died, Basil left Zaoutzes tutor, more or less, to Leo and regent of the empire. The terms used by the Life of Theophano are very close to those of the *VE*.

The phrase used by Laurent : "Le tout-puissant Stylien Zaoutzes", is not too strong. When he took up the government in the name of his ward, Leo, there was probably no change of policy, but the far-reaching administrative changes which accompanied the take-over, and with which Zaoutzes eliminated possible sources of opposition resulted in a violent upheaval. The most conspicuous victim was the patriarch Photius. It was perhaps considered necessary to remove him simply because of his strong personality. But he was certainly involved in the difficulties between Leo and his father, and this and the presence of Stephen, waiting for the patriarchal throne, would serve as accessory reasons or pretexts (see above, pp. 57-58).

Leo promoted Zaoutzes, almost immediately on his accession, *πρωτομάγιστρος* according to the *VE*, *μάγιστρος* and Logothete of the drome (see OSTROGORSKY<sup>3</sup>, 207-8 and bibliography) according to the Logothete. Shortly afterwards he created for him the title *basileopator*. The Logothete (who nowadays would work for *Paris-Presses*) explains that this very suitable title was devised because the Emperor was having an affair with his daughter. This has been shown by Grumel to be nonsense (see GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements... Le basileopator Zaoutzès*, pp. 36-40 ; LEROY-MOLINGHEN and KARLIN-HAYTER, *Basileopator*).

On the death of the patriarch Stephen, the *VE* tells us that Zaoutzes fought, less by fair means than foul, to get his candidate elected. After this, the author discreetly refrains from naming the successful candidate but Anthony Kauleas was elected patriarch, and it was in his monastery that Zaoutzes was later buried.

In 893, approximately, Zaoutzes granted the monopoly of the Bulgarian trade to two merchants, his *protégés*. They transferred the market from CP to Thessalonica and imposed high duties. Bulgarian protests were not heeded, and in 894 Symeon invaded Macedonia and defeated the imperial army (OSTROGORSKY<sup>3</sup>, 212 ; BRATIA-

NU, *Le commerce bulgare... et le monopole de l'empereur Léon VI...*). It is not unlikely that the Bulgarians were looking for a pretext anyway (Ced., II, 254, 15) but it seems clear that the Byzantine government was unaware of the danger.

A further allusion to Zaoutzes in connection with the Bulgarian war is found in one of those excessively rare cases where the so-called chroniclers of the reign of Leo do in fact represent different sources. The general Nicephorus Phocas was sent out after the first defeat, won a victory and was recalled to CP where, according to Geo. Mon. Cont., he died. Theoph. Cont., however, says that, because of the favour Nicephorus enjoyed with Leo, Zaoutzes offered him his daughter Zoe's hand. Nicephorus declined, thus incurring the enmity of Zaoutzes who procured his disgrace. The many items concerned with Nicephorus Phocas found in Theoph. Cont. and in particular in Vaticanus 153, show that one of his sources was an heroic biography of Nicephorus, such as are known to have existed for other great soldiers. It is well known that these biographies had a fondness for legendary and romantic material. H. Grégoire has convincingly demonstrated that such is probably the nature of this episode (*La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas*).

That Leo, far from accepting Zaoutzes' tutelage even more willingly when he married "his beloved Zoe," was becoming restive, seems clear. He came one day upon one of the merchants of the Bulgarian affair in the palace, waiting for an audience with Zaoutzes and, taking the matter into his own hands, had him incarcerated and shorn, along with another man belonging to the Basilopator (Geo. Mon. cont., Bonn, 257). That Zaoutzes retained control partly by keeping Leo in the dark, is suggested by the beginning of ch. VIII (p. 46, partic. l. 10). After the Damianos' plot, Leo was on cold terms with him for some time, till Leo the magistros reconciled them (Theoph. Cont., Bonn, 361, 11). Note also Leo's words to Euthymius: οὐ καταδέχομαι σοι ἔχειν ἄλλον Ζαούτζην προστάσσοντα καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντα (54, 32).

Zaoutzes is mentioned in a scholion of Arethas' (to Lucian, *Χάρων* 17, quoted by KOUGEAS in *Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις*, 256). It may be quoted as throwing light on one aspect of the plot of Basil the epeictes, a nephew of Zoe Zaoutzes, who, after the successive deaths of Zoe and her father, was caught plotting against the Emperor (see below, n. to 48, 25). Samonas, who revealed the plot to Leo, is described in the Logothete as ■ cubicularius and is clearly resident in the palace.



In the VE, he is a servant of the Zaoutzes' family, escapes from his dead master's house and runs to the palace with his news: ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς Ζωῆς] ἀποδιδράσκει ... οὗτος εἰς τὰ βασιλεια εἰσπηδήσας... The Logothete version is consistent with the Logothete assumption that Zaoutzes resided in the palace to the end: Ζαούτζης τελευτᾷ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ (Theoph. Cont. Bonn, 362, 14). But in fact Zaoutzes died in his own house near the palace shortly after the housewarming. The passage of Lucien commented concerns the uncertainty of human life, and Arethas notes: "we have seen this realised: καὶ γὰρ Στυλιανὸς ὁ Ζαούτσης οἴκημα πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον κατασκευάσας φιλοτίμως, τοσοῦτον ἀπέλανσεν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε τὸν ἐγκαινισμὸν τοῦ οἴκου ἀρχῇν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τέλος ὑπάρξαι τοῦ βίου; the Logothete variant looks as if it was based on a narrative glorifying Samonas).

Zaoutzes seems to have left descendants, one of whom, in the xith century, married Psellos (LEROY-MOLINGHEN and KARLIN-HAYTER, *Basileopator*, 280).

2, 19 Procopius the protovestiarius. See BURY, I. A. S., p. 124 and GUILLAND, *Fonctions et dignités des Eunouques* (REB, II, 1944, 202 sq.) Another protovestiarius called Procopius was killed campaigning in Italy in 880 (THC., 305, 6). It is a curious coincidence that this exalted function should have been exercised at such a brief interval by two men of the same name.

2, 26 Τῆς καλονμένης ἑταιρείας ... τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Φαργάνων ... "Besides the two ἑταιρεῖαι there were attached to them, and included under the general name ἡ ἑταιρεία, two other bodies of foreign soldiers, namely Khazars and Pharganoi" (BURY, I. A. S., 107, with three examples from *De Cer.*). Bury takes Pharganoi to mean "Turks from Central Asia (Transoxiana and especially Ferghana, whence their name)" and quotes Cletorologion 772, 17 οἱ ἔθνικοι τῆς ἑταιρείας ὅσον Τοῦρκοι, Χαζάρεις καὶ οἱ λοιποί. Každan (Две хроники) opposes this view, takes Pharganoi to be a deformation of Βάραγγοι, Varangians, and quotes Lavra 31 for Φάραγγοι. Reiske considers the question with reference to the rather different case of the Farghanese of the Caliph's bodyguard. Bury writes (op. cit. 108, n. 1): "It seems probable there may have been Φαργάνοι among the subjects of the Caliph who deserted to the Empire in the days of Babek's rebellion under Caliph Mamûn" (813-833). The northern route was in any case always open to Ferghans wishing to try their luck as mercenaries



in CP. (See Constantine Porphyrogennetos, II, Bonn, p. 675 ; *Dyn. d'Amorium*, 197, n. 1 and *Encyclopedia of Islam* s. v. Farghana).

4, 18 δι' ἡμερῶν ἐννέα. διὰ + gen. = "at the end of".

4, 20 Leo VI the Wise. Born 19.9.866 (GRUMEL, *Notes de chron. byz.*, 331-3), crowned co-emperor 6.1.870, reigned 30.8.886, died 11.5. 912.

The VE is an important but misleading source for Leo's relations with the Church. Being principally concerned with these relations, it is easily mistaken for an account of his ecclesiastical policy. In fact it is an incomplete and tendentious account of a difficulty that arose in his dealings with the Church, an important difficulty with far-reaching consequences, but that is all.

At the beginning of his reign his relations with the Church were dominated by the deposition of Photius.

His religious policy included a Jewish policy (Novel LV), missionary activity, at least with the Alans (Nicolas Mysticus, Migne letters nos. XLVI and LI and to Peter of Alania ; Arab sources) and Chazars (MORAVCSIK, *Mission*, p. 11) and a reorganisation of the Church in Crimea (*ibid.*) though the Sclavinias were neglected to a point that was a political error (Life of Clement of Ochrida), possibly an Armenian policy and, at home, throughout his reign, continuous efforts to promote unity in the somewhat fissile body of the Byzantine Church. Unfortunately these efforts were badly marred by the dividing effect of his marriages (DIEHL, *Figures...* 181-215)

His determination to get these regularised outweighed his desire for unity, though possibly he hoped to achieve both by appealing to the arbitrage of a supreme authority (whose answer he expected to be favourable).

The old habit of appealing to Rome against any unwelcome ruling of one's own patriarch had fostered Roman influence, and the greater grew the influence of Rome the more hopeless it became ever to achieve unity in the Eastern Church. Awareness of this, presumably, made Leo appeal not to Rome but to the Pentarchy. However the patriarchates of the East, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, hostages of the Infidel, no longer carried much weight, and in practice this was no different from a simple appeal to Rome. For the divisions the tetragamy caused in the Byzantine Church see from p. 71 (text) on, with notes, and KARLIN-HAYTER, *Synode à CP.* For his

religious policy, in general, the classic is POPOV, *Lev Mudrij*, but I believe that, as Grumel already suggested (*Liquidation*, 267, n. 4), his theory of the 'Ignatian' and 'Photian' parties needs considerable qualifying, see my *Synode à CP*.

The VE is also by far the best source for Leo's private life. It can be supplemented from the letters, sermons etc. of various authors and, with the greatest caution, from the Logothete chronicle. For foreign affairs there are also important Arab, Armenian, Latin and Russian sources.

Leo's activity in legiferating was extremely important and has attracted considerable attention (see Ostrogorsky<sup>3</sup>, p. 202 sqq. and bibliography).

Most of Leo's Novel's are addressed to Zaoutzes. Ostrogorsky writes: "As in the case of Justinian and his praetorian prefect John of Cappadocia, the addressee, here too, was surely the real author" (*op. cit.*, p. 204), Dain, however, in his introduction to the Noailles and Dain edition of the Novels writes "Tout lecteur quelque peu attentif ne peut qu'être frappé de l'accent personnel de ses constitutions. Aussi incline-t-on en général à penser, avec plus ou moins d'hésitation que... la rédaction de chaque loi fut l'œuvre propre de Léon." This is my own feeling. Dain then proceeds to argue that the Novels were not promulgated as occasion arose, they have, on the contrary, « un caractère de *μονόβιβλος* rédigé par l'empereur dans un dessein d'ensemble et publié en une seule fois." If this view is correct, the purely formal address to Zaoutzes represents essentially a date.

For Leo's reform of legal studies see Bréhier, *Institutions*, 467.

Assessment of foreign policy under his reign has, I believe, been over-dominated by the hostile Logothete chronicle (see Dölger, *Regesten*; Runciman, *Romanus Lecapenus* 38-44 ■ 154; Jenkins, Laourdas and Mango, *Nine orations*; Karlin-Hayter, *When Leo ordered military affairs*; C. M. H. IV<sup>2</sup>).

Home affairs have not received, as far as I know, any comprehensive treatment, but the internal structures of the Empire (tenure of the land, recruitment, taxes) have been briefly but suggestively approached by Lemerle (*Histoire agraire*, RH, ccxix, 264: on a form of imperial donation suppressed by Leo: "Est-ce parce qu'elle contribuait gravement, elle aussi, à l'affaiblissement de la commune?" 268: Leo's famous Novel does not suppress preemption, it is aimed

against an abuse arising from it, 279, RH, CCXX, 60 ; 66), Dölger, *Beiträge* and Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde*. Každan, *passim*.

Problems of chronology have been treated by Adontz, Dölger, Grumel, Vogt. In general, see CMH IV<sup>2</sup>.

As for his surname, 'the Wise' (regularly coupled with his name in the *Cletorologion*), to those who gave it it presumably implied three normal meanings of the word σοφός: 1) "learned"; 2) its practical counterpart: "expert", "good at" with reference to his activities as a ruler, in particular law-giving and organising and coordinating the war-effort (cf. *Λέοντος τοῦ εὐτυχοῦς ὄντως βασιλέως καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν Ῥωμαίων τῷ τάφῳ ἀναθάψαντος*, *Vita S. Theoctistae in ins. Paro*); 3) a hint of prophetic gifts must have appeared fairly soon. The author (see BECK, 563) of the Life of Anthony Kauleas describes him as δεινὸς ὦν μετρηῆσαι τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ τὸ παρὸν σκοπῆσαι καὶ δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀσφαλῶς τὸ μέλλον τεκμηρῶσθαι (ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-KERAMEUS, *Monumenta...* I, p. 12). If this is not a rationalisation of claims already current that Leo was gifted with second sight, it provided a basis for such claims. In due course to him was attributed the collection of oracles *Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ* (see C. MANGO, *The legend of Leo the Wise*). *Antapodosis* I, 11 and 12 (pp. 277-9) shows the traditional legend of the wise emperor attached to him in mid-xth cent., sponsored no doubt, if not actively disseminated, by his son, Constantine VII.

Besides the *Tactica* and the laws, we have from Leo's pen a few sermons while the titles of a number of poems are preserved, several of them evoked by political events. See P. Maas, *Lit. zu der VE* and *Spicilegium Rom.* IV, 1840, p. xxxvi.

He also founded a foot-race to be run the day after S. Elija's: ἐφεξῆς δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας τελεῖται πεζοδρομίων βωτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν τυπωθὲν ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότην (*Cletorologion*, IAS 173, 29).

Leo is often represented as weak-willed, the tool of women and evil favourites (in particular Zaoutzes and Samonas). This view is not borne out by the sources in spite of their bias. Zaoutzes was left more or less as tutor to Leo by his father and furthermore Leo trusted him in a situation where few people could be trusted. Nonetheless Zaoutzes' influence was more and more limited: we see him trying to get his way by misinforming Leo (VE, 52, 9-11); Leo accidentally catching his *protégés* in an affair of bribery, promptly taking things into his own hands and having them tonsured (Logothete Bonn THc

362 ; Gc 857) ; Zaoutzes reduced to an ἀγών ἄφατος to get his candidate accepted as patriarch (VE 48, 19) and we may doubt whether even at that he would have succeeded if Leo had really preferred another. The case of Samonas is less well documented. Almost all that can be said is that, on the one hand, for all the abuse poured on him by the sources, he was not a despicable favourite but an efficient and trusted head of Security, while, on the other hand, the affair of his flight and pardon is wrapped in complete mystery.

There is no lack of further evidence scattered in the various sources. It may be said that Leo was not only authoritarian but strong-willed, profoundly conscious of his responsibilities, determined to be well-informed and to pursue the course he considered suitable. According to Arethas he succeeded in mastering a very hot temper (*Eight Letters*, n° 3 § 4).

4, 20. Alexander, third son of Basil I, succeeded his brother Leo on May 11th 912 and died June 6th 913.

The principal sources for his life are : 1) the V. E. ; 2) the Logothete chronicle ; 3) the *De Administrando Imperio* ; 4) Arethas' Funeral Oration for Euthymius or *Epitaphios*, and other writings. To these must be added : 5) the anonymous oration 'Επὶ τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων συμβάσει ; 6) Nicolas' letter, Migne 102 and al-Tanuhi ; 7) the *τραγοῦδι* published by Henri Grégoire ; 8) the reference in the Vision of the monk Cosmas.

Alexander is mentioned in a number of official documents and inscriptions. A handsome mosaic portrait of him was recently uncovered in St Sophia (UNDERWOOD and HAWKINS, *The mosaics of Hagia Sophia*). He figures beside Leo on the bronze coinage of the latter's reign, but not on the gold. However, in his thirteen months reign he issued a gold coin of his own (Sabatier, *Monnaies*, pl. XLVI).

The VE mentions Alexander on the following occasions : 1) the present entry ; 2) as suspected by his brother of plotting, and punished by being separated from his wife (54, 22) ; 3) as present in the church, but not taking part in the procession on the occasion of the St Mocius plot (66, 24) ; 4) though the pages in which it was related are missing, we may count Alexander's accession ; 5) his reign, as represented by the deposition of Euthymius and persecution of Euthymians, repudiation of his wife and marriage to his concubine, and finally his death. The VE was written shortly after Alexander's death, perhaps only 10 or 12 years (see introd., p. 10), and though



the account of his death appears to be based not on the author's memories but on a written source (see above, p. 18-20) only the *Epitaphios* can be compared for the quantity and reliability of information.

Modern historians have accepted without criticism the Logothetes' account of Alexander. For an examination of this tradition and of remaining evidence, see KARLIN-HAYTER, *The emperor Alexander's bad name*.

On Alexander see : C. M. H. IV<sup>2</sup> ; OSTROGORSKY<sup>3</sup> (p. 201) ; IZEDDIN (M.), *Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IX<sup>e</sup> s.* ; OSTROGORSKY, *Zum Reisebericht des Harun-ibn-Yahya* ; GRÉGOIRE (H.), *Un captif arabe à la cour de l'emp. Alexandre* ; SPYR. P. LAMBROS, *Leo und Alexander als Mitkaiser...* (His theory that Leo deprived Alexander of his rank of co-emperor is erroneous. See Ostrogorsky, *loc. cit.*) ; OSTROGORSKY, *Bemerkungen...* (p. 176) ; STEIN, *Post-consulat et αὐτοκρατορία* (pp. 905-7) ; JENKINS (R. J. H.), *The emperor Alexander and the Saracen prisoners* (the author has, in my opinion, identified the emperor wrongly. I hope to return to this question).

4, 21 Stephen, younger brother of Leo VI, patriarch of CP 18th Dec. 886-17th or 18th May 893.

GRUMEL, *La chronologie des événements... Le patriarche Étienne I* ; KOLIAS, *Βιογραφικά Στεφάνου Α'* ; ADONTZ, *Portée historique...* ; VOGT, *Note sur la chronologie des patriarches...*

Born in 868 (Adontz) Stephen is generally thought to be, as Constantine Porphyrogenetos states, the youngest son of Basil I. Adontz believes that he was the third and Alexander the youngest. He was destined by his father for the patriarchal throne and ascended it after Basil's death, Photius having been forced to abdicate.

Stephen was enthroned as patriarch at Christmas. The year, however is debated, 886 or 887. A bare four months before he replaced Photius seems short. Photius was not deposed at any rate until he had time to write a diplomatic letter in the name of the new emperors to Boris of Bulgaria (LAOURDAS, *A new letter of Photius to Boris*). His deposition did not immediately make the throne free. It was free once he had given his resignation, which was extracted against his will, by force (VE, 10, 20-21), after his trial. But his trial only took place after Santabarenos had been summoned from Euchaita. VOGT consequently dates Stephen's ascent of the patriarchal throne to Christmas 887. Nonetheless the



timing though close, is not impossible and does not justify disregarding the words *ἐπὶ συμπεράνας χρόνου* (42, 17). The validity of Stephen's ordination was also contested, but without grounds. See GRUMEL, *La liquidation de la querelle photienne* (p. 263).

He is the addressee of sixteen of Leo's novels (2-17) of ecclesiastical character. The opening lines of n° 17 are curious : "La réponse à la requête de votre Béatitude devrait émaner de vous, plutôt que de tirer de nous son origine : car sur un sujet religieux il faudrait un décret de votre Sainteté. Mais puisque vous prétendez qu'il n'est pas opportun d'instituer une délibération synodale pour un seul chapitre, bien que ce soit cependant l'affaire du synode d'émettre un vote, mais qu'il nous appartient de prendre une décision même en dehors du synode, accueillant la suggestion que vous nous exprimez, nous édictons la présente constitution..." (NOAILLES and DAIN, p. 62). This is almost the only source extant for Stephen's activity as a patriarch. It is the more remarkable as the object of the decision is an exclusively religious matter ; how soon after childbirth can a woman receive communion and how soon should infants be christened ? The impression one gets is that Stephen was as docile as had been hoped and that the imperial family cooperated in restricting the prerogatives of all constituted bodies and gathering their operations into the hands of the Emperor, not only in the case of the Senate, but even of the Synod.

4, 29 "The conjuror Santabarenos" : In Ps.-Symeon "Santabarenos and Photius" (see above, p. 13-14 introd.). An alternative story is the appearance of his victim, Michael, to reproach Basil with his treachery (*Vita Basilii Junioris*, 285 see above, p. 14.). Liutprand (*Antapodosis* I, 10, p. 277 ; III, 33-34, p. 309) gives this second version in more elaborated form, and not associated with Basil's death : chastened by the vision, Basil builds a church to Michael the Archangel (cf. GENESIOS : τοῦ δὲ μαιφονήματος τῆς οἰκείας εὐχρηστίας ἀντεχόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὥς ᾗδει θεόθεν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐχ ὥς τὸ πρότερον, τὰς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας ἀποδιδόνς προσεγκαινίζει τῶν ἀρχιστρατῆγων τῶν αὐτῶν ταγμάτων ναὸν καινοῦργήσας... 113, 11).

I am not sure the curious business of the transfer of Michael's body should not be connected with the theme of Basil's remorse. Leo, far from arranging the translation as a gesture of hostility to Basil's memory, did it, perhaps, to give his soul (or his dynasty) peace.

4, 29 Theodore Santabarenos. See above, pp. 40-46, 49-53 and 57-58 where the principal texts are reproduced and examined. Besides the points there considered we hear that he owed his name to the village of Santabaris (*Vita S. Nicolae Stud.*, col. 912 B. For Santabaris, see RAMSAY, *Hist. Geog.*, index). He was placed, very young, in the monastery of Studios' by Bardas. During Photius' first patriarchate he was for a year abbot of Studios', one of a succession of shortlived abbots promoted in the place of the exiled Nicolas. Theodore was replaced, two years before the deposition of Photius, by Sabas *ὁ ἐκ Καλληστράτου* "a pupil of the then patriarch". When Photius fell, Theodore was expelled from Studios' (Ps.-Symeon, 694). Photius, during his second patriarchate, made Theodore archbishop of Euchaita, a see which he took this opportunity to promote (to 'protothrone' — of the eparchy presumably. For the episode, see LAURENT, *Notitia*, 462-3). In Photius' second disgrace an important part is played by Theodore Santabarenos. After his condemnation Theodore's old monastery of Studios' successfully opposed his detention there (VE, 8, 8-11). He was exiled to Athens and blinded. Many years later, he was recalled and pensioned by Leo (Gc, Bonn 852, 1). Generosity or remorse?

For Dvornik's appraisal of Santabarenos, see *The Photian schism*, p. 243.

P. 6, Title : *στάσις α'* — cf. p. 58 *στάσις β'*. Perhaps *στάσις α'* = *ὁ τῆς ἡσυχίας δρόμος* (see p. 58, 13) ; *β'* = Public Ministry. One may also conjecture a *στάσις γ'* that disappeared with the missing pages and stood for some such thing as Martyrdom or Confession.

Chronological scheme of ch. 2 : in spite of a liberal scattering of *παρευθὺν... μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ... τοῦ παρευθὺν δὲ ἀνάξιον κρίνας πρὶν... ἔκτοτε... τότε... παρευθὺν... παρευθύ*, it is in fact composed of three or four independent items arbitrarily fitted together :

1) (6, 3-7). Political. Taken over from the source considered above, pp. 28 (11)-29.

2) (6, 7-8, 2). Leo's visit to Pege to see Euthymius. Source Psamathia. The reference to Lent is looking ahead.

3) (8, 3-10, 9). Anatolius' three-day visit to Euthymius, chronologically situated just after Photius' trial. Parentheses on : a) result of Euthymius' intervention and Santabarenos' fate (8, 10-14) ; b) Euthymius' rôle in events (8, 17-35), in particular influence on Leo.

4) (10, 10-32). Information on the Photian persecution from a dif-

ferent, more political view-point than that of the chroniclers (in spite of the odd perspective given by introducing the measures against which Euthymius has been shown protesting, as if Stylianos had taken them out of irritation at Euthymius' protests).

Chronological assessment is thus made almost impossible.

N. B. 1) the very different attitude towards Katakoilas of this text and of the *Vita Ignatii*. 2) The reference to Santabarenos belongs to the Anatolios complex : he is not mentioned in the 'political' account of the persecution of the Photians.

6, 5 βασιλοπάτωρ. For the date, at the beginning of Leo's reign, when Zaoutzes received this title, see GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements*, p. 36. As Grumel pointed out (*ibid.*, 39), and as the assumption of it by Romanos Lecapenos and the literary use made of it prove (see LEROY-MOLINGHEN & KARLIN-HAYTER, *Basileopator*), it had nothing to do with Leo's relations with Zoe, but is a purely political title or, rather, office.

6, 9 προσαπολογήσοιτο Cf. 18, 12. Leo's quarrels with Euthymius and repentant returns are a theme of the VE. In the absence of what goes before, it is difficult to account exactly for this case. Cf. note to 20, 21.

6, 15-16 and 28 Cf. p. 18, 17-25. The author of the *Vita* is apparently trying to set Euthymius in rivalry with Photius and Zaoutzes as Leo's saviour in his difficulties with Basil (See also p. 18, 19-22 and introd., p. 40).

8, 4 τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν καταφευγόντων. It is not at first obvious who these refugees were, but as the chapter develops it describes a veritable persecution, initiated by Zaoutzes, whose victims were members of the Church, Photius the patriarch and members of his clergy, or high officials. The only one of these latter named, Katakoilas, was also a Photian. (See below, n. to 10, 16).

8, 7 Anatolios higoumene of Studios'. Other sources : Life of S. Blaise of Amorium (AASS Nov. IV, App. 656-670) ; Life of S. Nicolas of Studios' (P. G., CV, col. 892). Mod. works. : GRUMEL, *Chron. des événements*, 29-32 ; GRÉGOIRE, *La vie de S. Blaise d'Amorium*. Anatolios was still higoumene of Studios' in 897 (Life of Blaise of Amorium ; GRUMEL, p. 30 ; GRÉGOIRE, pp. 393 and 413). Furthermore, in 916 the higoumene of Studios' is called Anatolios. But in 901 the

famous monastery was ruled by an Arcadius (VE, 56, 13). Grumel considers that there was only one Anatolius, who was exiled and replaced by Arcadius but later recalled. He writes "L'écart des dates 886 et 916 n'est point tel qu'on ne puisse songer ici au même personnage", and again (having shown that the first Anatolius was still there in 897) "De 897 à 916, la distance n'est point considérable, et le même Anatolios a pu facilement la franchir". But, as he says, there is the higoumenate of Arcadius "qu'il faudrait bien expliquer". And he proceeds to do so by assuming that Anatolius came into conflict with Leo, like Euthymius, over Zoe Zaoutzes. "Manifestement, Anatolios a payé de l'exil sa courageuse opposition au souverain". So here we have a new confessor. The question is, did he ever exist? His hypothetical exile is drawn by Grumel, in not unmoving terms, from the parallel of Euthymius' reclusion at S. Diomedes'. If the hypothesis is correct, it is rather odd to find Euthymius on terms of greater intimacy and confidence with the intruder Arcadius than with anyone else. The very long passage of the VE which shows that by 901 the friendship had already given rise to habits and that they were accustomed to confess each to the other (τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων ἀλλήλοις θαρρεῖν) becomes slightly shocking if Arcadius has usurped — quite recently — the place of Euthymius' fellow protester and sufferer. I do not say it is impossible, but merely that there is at least as much to be said against the identification as for it.

10, 6 Cf. Theodore Studite's (derogatory) Ἐχέτω οὖν ὁ πατήρ Ἰωαννίκιος... τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν ὀρεινήν (*Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. AUVRAY, Paris, 1901, p. 141).

10, 16 Leo Katakailas. Described as "former drugarius and relation of Photius" he must be the same as Leo Katakalon of the *Vita Ignatii* (569D), who is drugarius of the watch and γαμβρός of the patriarch (DE BOOR, 140, 2). Further identified by de Boor with the Katakalon who was defeated at Bulgarophygon, who is in his turn identified with the victorious Katakalon of DAI, 45, 50 (see also Jenkins, Laourdas and Mango, *Nine orations*, 13-14). Against the identification with Leo Katakylas of *De Cer.*, the *curriculum vitae* suggested by the Porphyrogenete does not seem to tally (but see KAZDAN, 90, (n) 18).

A number of Katakalons are known (DUCANGE, *Fam. Aug.*, 178) and at least two other Katakylas : (1) stratege of the Opsikion under



Michael II : *Κατάκλυλας* Gen. 32, 33 and 35, 4 ; *Κατάκηλας* Ced. 77, 12 ; 85, 10 ; 87, 13. (2) the Leo, already mentioned, of *De Cer.*, 456. Some of them are named by different and independant sources, but this seems to be the only case where the two forms are used for the same individual.

10, 17 Photius : patriarch of CP 25. 12. 858-16. 9. 867 and 23. 10. 878-27.9.887 (Vogt, *Chronologie des patr.*) ; d. 6. 2. 891 (Dvornik, s.v. Photius in *Lex. für Theol. und Kirche*).

For his rôle in the transmission of Greek classical and post-classical texts see PW 39. Halbband, 667-737) ; associated with the great missionary activity of the ixth century (Dvornik, various) ; champion of the independence of the Byzantine Church from Roman interference (Dvornik, partic. *Schism*) ; his rôle in internal politics was certainly important but is almost totally obscured by the sources. While recent works, and in particular Dvornik's *Photian Schism*, have been very important in breaking down the violently hostile Western bias, Hergenröther's *Photius* remains the only biography of the great patriarch.

The *VE* contributes to our information on Photius and the questions connected with him only insofar as they involve Leo. In the missing leaves there must have been an account of the part played by the patriarch in Leo's imprisonment. As it stands, it relates the second fall of Photius and is one of the principal witnesses for or against the schism with Rome under Formosus.

The presence of the first-mentioned affair in the *VE* in its complete form is obvious from the references in the remaining pages. On Photius' second deposition it contributes two important points : 1) it confirms the information in pope Stephen's letter (Mansi, XVI, 436 E) that Photius signed his abdication ; 2) whereas the other sources attribute his deposition to Leo, the *VE* makes it part of a wide-reaching political operation directed against Photius, his relations and members of the clergy — the Photian clergy obviously — initiated by the man whom all sources agree in describing as invested with the effective power at the beginning of Leo's reign — Stylianos Zaoutzes, who maintained that it was a security operation directed against dangerous enemies of the new emperor's. The *VE* account of these operations is sober and factual.

It is also interesting that the Ignatian author is pro-Photian, (Cf. similarly the lives of Nicolas the Studite and Joseph the



Hymnographer). On these events, see introd., 37-53 and 57-58.

On the "schism of Formosus" see (n) to 64, 27.

10, 22 *Ἱερλοῖς*. The problem of Hieria is, for our purposes, put more clearly in PARGOIRE's study than in JANIN's more recent one. In particular, he gives a number of references for use of plural forms (Attaliates, Skylitzes, Glycas, PARGOIRE, 13). On the confusion between suburbs with the same name, *ibid.*, pp. 42 sqq. On the case of the VE, *ibid.*, p. 48.

10, 25 *οἰκογενής*, cf. *Thesaurus*: "Hesychio *οἰκογενής* est non solum *δοῦλος* Verna, sed etiam *συγγενής* Cognatus, Propinquus" and modern *οἰκογένεια*.

10, 25 Nicolas Mysticus, patriarch of CP 1.3.901-February 907 and 15.5.912-15.5.925.

Principal sources: VE; Logothete chronicle; his own correspondence (Migne CXI); John Catholicus (relations with Armenia during the Regency); Arethas' works, *passim*; Nicetas Paphlago's letters (*Νέος Ἑλληνομνημίων* 8, 1911, 301 sqq. and 19, 1925, 188 sqq.). Modern works: The principal work to date, ZLATARSKI's, is unfortunately in Bulgarian; GRUMEL, *Régestes* and articles; GAY, *Patriarche*: the articles of JENKINS; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Le synode à CP et le rôle de Nicolas Mystique*.

According to Mai's edition of the Life of S. Peter of Argos, Nicolas was an Italian: *ὁ τότε ἀρχιερεὺς, Νικόλαος δ' ἦν ὁ ἰταλός* (*Vita Petri Argivi*, ch. 8, p. 5, *Nova Bibl. Patrum*, IX). To this may be added the testimony of Nicolas' own letter LIV. But Grégoire believed (as he told me in conversation) that the *ἰταλός* of the *Vita Petri* should probably be read *καλός* and as for the letter, all it tells us in fact is that Nicolas is writing to a relation addressed as *τέκνον ἡμῶν* who is on the spot and could easily go to Rome and put Nicolas' case to the Pope. There is also mention of a pious cleric called Adeodat who has brought Nicolas news about his correspondent: *περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀπαγγέλλαντος ἡμῖν ὅσα ἀπήγγειλε* (Migne CXI, 253). The styles of address are suitable for almost any type of correspondent. Nothing in the letter, as far as I can see, shows whether the addressee is resident in Italy as a native or brought there by the service of the Church or the state.

In the present passage Nicolas is described as *οἰκογενής* of Photius, a term I have translated as "relation"; this would point to Armenia.

He was also a fellow student of Basil's son Leo, the future emperor (VE, 84, 17), presumably under Photius, when Basil recalled him and settled him in the Magnaura. Nicolas seems to have taken a firm hold on the young Leo's affection. In the panic caused by the persecution of Photius' adherents he became a monk. Leo compensated him with the office of mysticus or private secretary at a date which is difficult to determine (see DVORNIK and below, n. to 10, 30). He was raised to the patriarchal throne (1 March 901). For circumstances of his elevation and conditions in the Church see *Nine orations*, pp. 4-5 and 16 and also *Eight letters*, pp. 349-351 though there some points seem to me more conjectural, for instance the statement that the ostensible case against Arethas had been got up by the Ignatians, or that the leader of the Ignatians was Euthymius. Popov's theory of the survival of the Photian and Ignatian parties does not seem to me in agreement with the evidence, see my *Synode à Constantinople*. Nicolas seems to have been gambling on Leo's fall very soon. Though accounts of Andronicus Ducas' rising appear to be in conflict, they at least agree in involving Nicolas. The delicate business of getting the patriarch's blessing must surely have been undertaken by Andronicus in person and while his hopes were at their highest — before the flight to Kavala.

Nicolas probably hoped that, if the rising failed, his name would not get out. And in fact his treason did not become widely known, but Leo used it to get rid of him when he shewed himself unable to regularise the fourth marriage. He was compelled to resign and sent into exile (text : 86, 28 ; introd. p. 16 sq. On the synod that accepted his resignation, see below, n. to 70, 27).

Though he asserts that he was recalled by Leo, the only proof of this that he could offer to his contemporaries was a letter from Leo which they denounced as a fake. It seems unlikely that, if Leo had decided to recall him and taken the first move in implementing his decision, no one would have known of it. There is no question of evidence hidden for fear or suppressed by violence : Nicolas was first Alexander's patriarch and then regent. If, therefore, he could advance nothing but this document, it seems likely his contemporaries were right in denouncing it as a fake. Oikonomides recently discovered and published a document purporting to emanate from Leo and recalling Nicolas. It's style is remarkably like Nicolas' own, which is the more odd as Leo himself had a very personal and idiosyncratic style. Jenkins has suggested that, before his death, Leo

restored to Nicolas the realities of the patriarch's office while leaving to Euthymius the title. (R. J. H. JENKINS, *A note on the "Letter to the Emir"* — N. OIKONOMIDES, *La dernière volonté de Léon VI...* and *La "préhistoire" de la dernière volonté...*, argues for recall by Leo — Recall by Alexander : P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *La "préhistoire"...*)

A year later Alexander died, appointing on his death-bed a regency council of which Nicholas was the most prominent member.

Here Nicolas was again involved in a military rising, led this time by Andronicus' son Constantine. At the last moment he decided not to support but suppress the rising thus gaining a wide measure of unpopularity (*Vita Basilii junioris*, 294, 39 ; 295, 11 etc.).

The empress-mother, Zoe, took advantage of his difficulties — including those caused by the Bulgarian war — to supplant him as regent. In the patriarchate, however, she had to put up with him (132, 31 sqq.) though there was probably some friction (JENKINS, *Three documents...*).

After the *coup d'état* of Romanos I, Nicolas probably regained some political influence, and the Tome of Union of 920 was a resounding triumph for him over the Euthymians. In 925 he died.

10, 30 *ὃν εἰς ὕστερον... τετίμηκεν*. The VE names four victims of the purge : Photius, Santabarenos, Leo Katakoilas and Nicolas, the future mysticus. All except Photius are on record as having received later a measure of compensation : Santabarenos was granted a pension (Theoph. Cont., 356 ; 851-2), Katakoilas was recalled from exile and indemnified for his property (above, p. 30, 15-26) and Nicolas was appointed mysticus. Remorse, exercise of imperial *φιλανθρωπία* or, in Nicolas' case, personal attachment? In Nicolas' case probably personal attachment. As far as Katakoilas goes, the VE shows this compensation and reconciliation being forced on Leo by Euthymius on the grounds that, otherwise, the monastery he is building would be nothing but *ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς τῷ Θεῷ προσφερόμενα θυσία* and the whole tone of these chapters suggests that, in the view of the author, the reparation was justice more than philanthropy.

Can a date be proposed for these measures? Dvornik connects them with a change in Leo's policy remarking "The funeral oration [ed. VOGT et HAUSHERR. The oration is not, as is generally implied, on Basil alone but, with conscious art, on both parents.]... indicates the date of the turn" (*Schism*, p. 250). I have said above that I do not think Leo's reign started with a reversal of his father's policy,

though it did start by settling scores with certain people who had got him into serious trouble with Basil. If this view is correct, Leo's funeral oration on his parents does not represent a turning-point in his policy, though it may represent a stocktaking corresponding quite possibly to the end of the period of purges — a "state of the nation" of truly Byzantine vagueness and elevation, whose most fascinating feature is the solemn praise of Basil for having procured union in the Church and of Photius by implication, since he is the "one sheperd" of the one flock under whom the faithful are at last united — a year or so after this same Photius has been forced by the orator to abdicate.

Even if August 888 was chosen to mark the achievement of a certain stability and a halt in the persecution, this does not necessarily mean that measures of rehabilitation followed immediately. Nicolas, I am inclined to think, was already mysticus; the Emperor was attached to him, no action had in fact been taken against him: he had had himself tonsured because he was related to Photius and feared trouble, and we see from the *VE* that some victims of the purge were rescued immediately from persecution by the good offices of Euthymius and doubtless of others who kept their influence. In the circumstances I doubt if Nicolas was kept long in anguish. Santabarenos' recall and pensioning (not mentioned in the *VE*) only took place according to the chroniclers, many years later. Katakoi-las was recalled while the monastery of Psamathia was building, an event obviously spread over a period of several months and admitting, in any case, of only the most approximate datation (see below, n. to 20, 21 and 28, 26).

16, 17-25 See above, n. to 6, 15-16 and introduction, pp. 31 and 40.

18, 6 The court attended the Ascension day liturgy performed by the patriarch at Pege. After the liturgy the Emperor invited the patriarch to lunch. Protocol of the ceremony and of the meal, to which Euthymius also is here invited (line 16), in *De Cer.* I, 18 (Bonn, 108).

18, 25 ἐξ ὧν προειρήκει ῥημάτων. The prophecy of 14, 9 sqq.

20, 12 Theophano (saint). Other sources; Life (ed. E. KURZ, *Zwei gr. Texte*); Encomion by Nicephorus Gregoras (*ibid.*); Logothete chronicle; Arethas of Caesarea, scholia. Modern works: DE BOOR, *Vita Euthymii*, comm.; DIEHL, *Figures...*;



DOWNEY, *Church of Theophano* ; KURZ, *op. cit.*, commentary ; GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements...* ; VOGT, *La jeunesse de Léon VI* ; KAŽDAN, Две визант. хроники, Commentary ; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Mort de Theophano*. Theophano, of the Martinakios family, was selected by Eudocia Ingerina as bride for her son Leo at a beauty contest (Cf. M.-H. FOURMY et M. LEROY, *La Vie de S. Philarète, Byzantion*, IX, 1934, 104sqq.). The marriage was celebrated in the 16th year of Basil according to Ps.-Symeon — if we are to believe him which is usually unlikely. We only know for certain that it took place before Leo's imprisonment. The only child born of the marriage died before her mother who followed her into the grave in 895 or 6.

The date of 893 proposed by de Boor for this death was hotly challenged by Grumel, but it was based on an *apparent* prediction of Theophano's imminent death (see above, 42, 1 and note), which in fact must be given another meaning. Grumel's own date of 897 is based exclusively on his conviction that Zoe was crowned within a few months of her predecessors death. For the reasoning on which I base my dating, see my *Mort de Theophano*.

The Life and the Encomium have, besides the true hagiographical tone, the peculiarity that they say no word against Leo, see KURZ's remarks *op. cit.* The Logothete, on the contrary, praises Theophano particularly for the patience with which she bore Leo's infidelity and remained unmoved by jealousy. The *VE*, however, shows her most decidedly subject to it. (We may note, as an illustration of the hagiographical mentality, that the Life of Theophano does not mention Euthymius at all, while his biographer does mention her, but by no means uncritically). Theophano had one very cool contemporary judge : Arethas of Caesarea who left two scholia on her : *Τοῦτο καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γέγρονε καὶ τὴν βασιλέως Θεοφανῶ ἐξεμάνη πᾶς γυναικείᾳ μανίᾳ ἀγιοποιῶν* (RABE, Schol. to Lucian, 26, 29 quoted by KOUGEAS in *Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολοῖς* p. 261) and again more explicitly : *ὥς ὁ μάγιστρος Σλοκάκας Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεβάκχευε περὶ Θεοφανοῦς. πολλὰ καὶ τερατώδη διεξιὼν ἐνύπνιά τε καὶ ἄκη* (RABE 27, 3 : KOUGEAS, 261) — "as the magister Slokakakos stirred to frenzy the emperor Leo about Theophano with relating numbers of supernatural dreams and cures".

Leo dedicated a church to his late wife (THC, Bonn, 364, 20 ; etc. — JANIN, I, 3 p. 253 ; DOWNEY, *op. cit.* ; GRIERSON, *Tombs*, p. 27, n. 89) whose cult survived the fourth crusade and appears to be quite flourishing in the xivth cent. (see Nicephorus Gregoras in KURZ, *Zwei gr. Texte*, p. 26).



It was noted above that the Life of Theophano never makes any criticism of the imperial family. The author lets fall a very suggestive remark : "For the rest, all that has been, for fear, consigned to Lethe, what words could express it ?" (KURZ 23, 27).

20, 21 *μετὰ δυσὶ χρόνοις καὶ μηνὶν ἕξ*. Euthymius returned to the palace at very latest at the end of February 889 (2 years and 6 months after Basil's death). The circumstances in which he left it are unknown but seem to have been strained, cf. *προσαπολογήσοιτο* (6, 9). It was presumably after the *ἐν ταῖς ἀνεπίστοις αὐτοῦ θλίψεσι παρηγορία* and consequently also after Leo's reconciliation with his father therefore not much before the *terminus* above.

His acceptance of the office of syncellus almost necessarily presupposes a relaxation of the persecution. It seems reasonable, on the other hand, to relate Leo's funeral oration on Basil and Eudocia with this relaxation. Then, if we date this oration to the 20th July 888, Euthymius would have been created syncellus between this date and the end of February 889.

20, 28 *τὸ τοῦ συγκέλλου ἀξίωμα*. The VE sheds much light on the nature of the syncellus' office. See BURY, IAS, 116 and Athanagoras, *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῶν συγκέλλων* (written in 1927 and containing errors of detail, it has not been replaced and remains a useful history of this office).

24, 1-8 Euthymius kept his rank of syncellus, see above, 52, 5.

24, 20 The reader is left to draw the conclusion for himself : Euthymius is not the man to seize the patriarchal throne though he accepted it, against his own will, for the public good.

26, 6 *συντάσσομαι* : generally "take leave" ; however cf. *τὴν πολυλάκις συνταγεῖσαν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον* (76, 14) ; *πείσει ἡ βασιλεία σου τοῦ ἀσμενίσαι καὶ συντάξασθαι* (96, 17) ; also *τὰς συνταγὰς ἀπαιτῶν* (44, 2).

26, 10 *ὡς ἐνώπιον, κύριε* : edited by G. MERCATI (Mercati, Maas and Gassisi) in the compilation of the monk Thekaras. P. MAAS, *Literarisches zu der VE.*, p. 436, writes : "It results from this that the hymn was already in use in 890. Moreover the quotation supplies a welcome improvement of the text of Thekaras, which, not without damage to the metre, sets σου before βήματος in l. 2".

26, 21 *οἰκοπροάστειον* The term *προάστειον* is common, but

*οἰκοπροόστειον* is attested, see Geneviève Husson, *Le mot ΠΡΟΑ-ΣΤΕΙΟΝ dans le grec d'Égypte* and Hélène AHRWEILER, *L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne...*, p. 40, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, I, Paris, de Boccard, 1965. On *προόστειον* see Lemerle, *Histoire agraire*, RH CCXIX, 260; G. Rouillard, *La vie rurale dans l'empire byzantin*, 88-9 and Každan, *Две хроники*, п. 4, 15 and 5, 10.

26, 31 See N. VEIS on the use of this quotation in medieval churches, *Die Inschrift des Kodex Sin. 508 (976) und die Maria Spiläotissa Klosterkirche bei Sille (Texte und Forsch. zur Byz.-Neugr. Phil. N. 1, Berlin, Wilmersdorf, 1922, pp. 658-9).*

28, 26 sqq. The recall of Katakoilas took place during the building of Psamathia, apparently in the early stages.

After Euthymius became syncellus a lapse of time followed during which he did not appear at court though several times (*πολλάκις*) summoned, for, as syncellus, he entered the ranks of the Senate. Zaoutzes is instructed to see to the matter. He writes to Euthymius at St Diomedes a letter (22, 16) whose wording seems to me most natural shortly after Lent (22, 22-3 *αὐταρχες*: not 'You will be able to *ἡσυχάζειν* during Lent' but a statement that Lent is the limit, which seems to me to imply that the limit has already been reached). This is of course only conjectural, but my feeling is that this letter was written after Lent 889. Finally an agreement is reached whereby Euthymius is to come regularly once a month and that will suffice. The Emperor's illness follows. Then comes the decision to found a monastery and search for a site. The building of Psamathia cannot have been begun before summer 889 nor the *ἐγκαλνία* been celebrated before May 890 or 891. On the other hand, the last possible date for the *ἐγκαλνία* appears to be 892 since Stephen celebrated them, and his death on 17th May 893 makes this celebration 12 days earlier unlikely.

What seems reasonably safe, is to associate Euthymius' nomination as syncellus with the funeral oration, Katakoilas' recall following shortly after, as part of the same *détente*.

30, 33 In spite of the contradiction and scandal denounced by Euthymius in making a punishment of the compulsory taking of the monastic habit, the practice was relatively common, though I have not found many legal texts to sanction it. See, however, Leo's novel CXI. A curious comparison is found in Cod. Th. XII. 1. 66, *ordinibus curiam... non adgregentur nisi nominati... nec quis ob*

culpam, ob quam eximi deberet ex ordine, mittatur in curiam ; 108, ne quis officialium curiae poenae specie atque aestimatione dedatur... omnes itaque omnino iudices tuae censurae subditos admonebis, ne quis aestimet curiae loco supplicii quemquam deputandum...

30, 18 χαρτώοις δικαιώμασιν ; elsewhere also ἀγοραῖοι χάρται (see Lemerle, *Histoire agraire*, *Rev. Hist.* CCXIX, 255, n. 3).

34, 20-21 εὐλογία (ἀντίδωρον). See article εὐλογία in LAMPE ; VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (Subsidia Hagiographica, 32)*, vol. I, 177 and n. ; also II, 99, n. 2 ; 118, n. 3 ; 146, n. 2 ; 234, n. 3. M. van den Ven has been good enough to shew me the notes from the forthcoming vol. II in proof form, and I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. Another particularly suggestive source is the *Vita Basilii Junioris* (vol. II, 139, 6-9 ; 299, 29 ; also, though the actual word is not used, 307, 3-7 and 307, 15 - 308, 25). « Concrete blessing, gift » (LAMPE).

34, 22 ἐπὶ πλευροῦ. Cf. οὐδὲ... δύναται... ἐπὶ πλευρῶν πεσεῖν (*Vie de Cyrille le Philéote*, ch. 7, 1, p. 68, last §). (Perhaps also Ez. 4, 4 and 4, 6, also the song *Τὸ ἐλάφι καὶ ὁ ἥλιος : Μόνον τ' ἀπόσκια περπατεῖ καὶ τὰ ζερβὰ κοιμᾶται*, FAURIEL, II, p. 84).

36, 10-11 One leaf is missing. There has been a plot, or suspected plot, against Leo's life. Two such conspiracies, engineered by the relations of Zaoutzes, are related in the *VE*, this one, which took place during Zaoutzes' lifetime, and the plot of Basil the epeictes after his death and Zoe's (p. 48, 11).

The Logothete also relates two conspiracies of Zaoutzes' relations : the same plot of Basil the epeictes after Zaoutzes' death (see introd., p. 28) and another one before. The question then arises whether both *VE* and Logothete are referring, in this earlier case also, as in the plot of Basil, to the same incident : whether the abortive attempt in the Logothete (Bonn, THc., 360 ; Ps.-S. 702 ; GMc855) is the same as the suspected attempt in the *VE*. Unfortunately most of the *VE* account is lost and there is not much on which to base a comparison.

The Logothete's story is that Tzantzes, Zaoutzes' son, "and the others" were preparing to kill Leo in his sleep while he was staying in the monastery τοῦ ΔαμIANOῦ with Zoe, but Zoe heard a lot of noise and woke Leo who immediately escaped in a boat to Pege. In the morning he destituted the drungarius of the watch, John, and for a

time was on cold terms with Zaoutzes. There is no reference to any other sanctions.

The *VE* account is prepared by a dioratic warning from Euthymius to Zaoutzes (14, 10 and 18, 29) in which Zaoutzes is accused of promoting his relations to high offices. The principal facts remaining in the actual account of the event are 1) that Leo decided to "allow their innocence" and 2) that Zaoutzes was much put out.

Obviously, if the episode is the same, the source from which it is drawn is different. Leaving aside the romantic rôle played by Zoe, they differ in that one account tells of a conspiracy that failed, while in the other things never went so far that the Emperor was unable to "allow their innocence". But the only sanction mentioned in the Logothete is the destitution of the *drungarius* and a period of relative disfavour for Zaoutzes', while in the *VE* it is made pretty clear there really was a conspiracy, and that Leo was aware of the fact but chose to close his eyes to it, and Zaoutzes' embarrassment and annoyance are dwelt on.

In short, it is, if not likely, at least not impossible that we have here two accounts of the same incident. The Logothete's in any case is swollen by popular fancy. Leo, for all his misfortunes, was extremely proper; is it likely that, spending a night in a monastery, he would have had the bed made for himself and Zoe? Or that the monks would have obeyed if he had given such an order?

In the *VE* account, Leo's quotation seems to imply that the conspirators were relying on someone within to open when they knocked (*τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ἔπους* is "Knock and it shall be opened to you").

Leo's 33rd year would begin after September 898. This date fits in very well with those of Zoe's reign.

The theme of the fair maid at the window is well known in Greek popular poetry. The Logothete's expressions only slightly modified dovetailed with three hemistichs from *Digenis Akritas* would run:

τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος ...  
ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις οὔσα καὶ / τὸν θροῶν ἐνωτισθεῖσα  
τῆς κλίνης ἐξεπήδησε / σφίγγει τῆς τὸ ζωνάρην  
καὶ σιγαλὰ προκύψασα / ἐκ τὴν χρυσὴν θυρίδα...

(See *Digenis* 94, 348; 100, 436 (ὥς δὲ καθάρας... ἀγουρίτζιν); 108, 585; 112, 622 and others).

36, 32 ἡ ἀγία σορός The chapel of the Casket at Blachernae built by Leo I (457-474) was « destinée à recevoir l'habit de la Vierge



apporté de Palestine en 473 » Later her veil and part of her belt were also kept there. "Cette chapelle, appelée *ἀγία σορός* était de forme ronde (*σφαιροειδῆ νεών*) et possédait un narthex. Elle devait être assez grande, puisqu'elle avait des tribunes (*κατηχουμένεια*) dans lesquelles était aménagé un appartement impérial ; celui-ci communiquait avec le palais des Blachernes par un passage voûté et un escalier". (JANIN, *Géographie ecclésiastique*. 1, 3, p. 176. See also A. WENGER, *L'assomption...*).

40, 3 Zoe Zaoutzes. Other sources : *Cletorologion* of Philotheos ; *Synax. CP.*, 31st Aug. ; Logothete chronicle. Modern works : DIEHL, *Figures...* ; P. MAAS, *Der Interpolator...* ; V. GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements...* ; A. KAŽDAN, *Две хроники* ; R. JENKINS, divers.

Daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes. According to this passage, part cause of Leo's difficulties with his father. This is the earliest information we have on Leo's *liaison* with her.

Her first husband's death is mentioned by the Logothete some time before that of Theophano, in connection with Zaoutzes' promotion to basileopator (THc Bonn, 357, 4 ; 852, 19).

On this connection see n. to 44, 31.

A little over two years (text, 48, 1 ; KAŽDAN and my *Mort de Théophano*), probably, after Theophano's death Leo married Zoe. The priest who performed the marriage was deposed (by Anthony Cauleas, Zaoutzes' patriarch). After 1 year and 8 months as empress Zoe died *φρικτῇ νόσῳ καὶ σκοτοδινίᾳ περιπεσοῦσα* — a return perhaps of the *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον* from which she had been miraculously delivered (*Synax. CP.*, col. 936, 25) earlier in her brief reign.

Date of Zoe's death. This date became ■ crux after de Boor's chronological system seemed to have proven that no Zoe could have been empress in sept. 899. Paul Maas was reduced to assuming an interpolation in the *Cletorologion*. Grumel has very rightly insisted on taking the *Cletorologion* mention of Zoe as one of the basic and reliable elements in the chronology of Leo's reign. Then, Zoe was alive in sept. 899, but dead very soon after, to be out of the way for Leo's marriage with Eudocia.

Euthymius' participation in the ceremony of unfolding the Virgin's belt over Zoe may have been briefly mentioned in the missing leaves of the *Vita*. If so, there was probably no reference to Zoe herself : his participation is known to us because the homily he pronounced has been preserved, but he speaks only of opening the casket and unfolding the belt : the miraculous healing of the empress is not



mentioned. The censorship practised by all is certainly more extensive than we can gauge.

40, 8 ἥς τινος οὐποτε λήσμων γενήσομαι this appears to be a quotation but I have been unable to identify it.

40, 12 PROV. 5, 15 and 18. Quoted by Leo in *Nov.* XCI against concubines. Consciousness of this seems to underlie the exchange.

40, 16 MAT. 23, 14 (13) Verse unknown to the Hesychian or Egyptian family of mss, but standard text of the Koine, "the so-called Byzantine or imperial text" (See *N. T. Gr. et Lat.* ed. E. NESTLE, Stuttgart, 1937, p. 47. Similarly, p. 114, 10, the δὲ is peculiar to the Koine).

42, 1 Euthymius tells Theophano that her death is near and bids her farewell for she will not see him *here* again. She misunderstands him to mean that *he* is about to embark on a period of reclusion. In fact the solution given to the riddle is that when he next sees her it is at Pege. Theophano no doubt looked as if she had not long to live, and Euthymius exclaimed that he would no more see her here (on Earth). But she lived a little longer than expected, and he did see her again. By good fortune it was not in the same place, and the ancient game of explaining the oracle was perfectly naturally resorted to.

42, 17 ἐπτά συμπεράνας χρόνους this text argues for Stephen's enthronement in 886 rather than 887, but in any case the seven years are not complete : 25.12.886-17.5.893 is six years and not quite five months.

42, 20 τὸ οἰκεῖον ... πατριάρχην after this, it would be very un-diplomatic to name the successful candidate. Similarly the Life of Eutychios makes a violent attack on a certain patriarch (John Scholasticus) but carefully refrains from naming him (See P. van den Ven, *L'accession de Jean le Scholastique, Byzantion*, XXXV, 1965, 320 sqq.). The patriarch elected was Anthony Cauleas, who seems indeed to be linked with Zaoutzes (see n. to 48, 23).

Note the way the *Vita*, at times of patriarchal elections, insists on Euthymius, either as fitter than the successful candidate, or even as already revealed by Heaven as patriarch-to be (See Ch. X).

42, 24 σκηνικούς Both here and on p. 26 we have an interesting glimpse of the court mimes and of the notorious freedom of speech

they were allowed. BRÉHIER, *La civilisation byzantine*, writes: "Avec le pouvoir les mimes prenaient souvent de grandes libertés... L'Église n'était guère plus respectée" (p. 106). See also V. COTTAS, *Le théâtre à Byzance*, Paris, 1931.

44, 23 *ἱερὰ σκεύη... κοσμήσασα* Cf. Theophanes: *καὶ προσήγαγε πολυτελῇ κόσμον τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστερίῳ ἐν σκεύεσι χρυσοῦ διαλίθοις καὶ τετραβήλοις ἀρχαιοτέκτοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας λαμπρῶς καθυφασμένοις καὶ θανμασταῖς ἀγλαῖς εἰκόσι πεποικιλμένοις* (ed. DE BOOR I, 494, 28).

See also below, n. to 50, 14 and parallel from *Vita Ignatii*.

44, 27 *εἰς τύπον ἀναφορᾶς*: there is a difference between supplying the vessels for the service of the altar and dedicating a scarf (or, as is still seen in a number of countries, a wedding-veil).

The Life of Theophano says that the *σεπτὸν μαφόριον τῆς ἁγίας Θεοφανώ* was kept in the Holy Apostles and borrowed for the decorations for the feast of the prophet Elijah *διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ χρυσοποικιλτον εἶναι* (§ 25), he adds that it was *διαφανὲς καὶ λεπτότατον*.

44, 29 Theophano is commemorated in the *Synaxarion CP* on the 16th/17th November.

44, 31 *οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ*. The Logothete chronicle apparently makes Gouzouniates die before Theophano, and not after. Though Grumel has brought his authority to the defense of this version it is, on close examination, unconvincing.

To begin with "les Chroniqueurs" is here the single Logothete, and it is one source against another. Furthermore, the Logothete mentions Gouzouniates' death in connection with his tale that the dignity of basileopator was conferred on Zaoutzes because of his daughter's relations with Leo, a tale whose ineptness was admirably demonstrated by Grumel himself.

The chronicler's other tale, of Zaoutzes' offer of Zoe's hand to Nicephorus Phocas, would necessarily, as Grumel pointed out, have implied that Gouzouniates died before Theophano. After Grégoire (*La Carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas*), it is hard to believe this incident to be anything but legendary.

In short, it is impossible to prove that Theophano died before Gouzouniates or the reverse, but one version comes from a late and doubtful witness, and in a particularly dubious context. The evidence of the VE must be preferred here.

48, 1 *δυσὶν ἔτεσι* see above, n. to 40, 3.

48, 8 Presumably the Emperor wanted to lodge Euthymius in Stephen's house rather than have him return to Psamathia as a particular mark of honour. The imperfect of *παρεκελεύετο* suggests that the offer was refused.

48, 23 Anthony Kaleas or Kauleas, patriarch CP. 3rd Aug. 893-12th Feb. 901. Other sources : Life by Nicephorus Philosophus edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Monumenta ad. hist. Photii* ; Logothete chronicle ; Translation of St Theodora of Thessalonica (ed. Kurz, *Des Klerikers Georgios Bericht...*) ; *Vita Blasii Amoriensis*. Modern Works : GRÉGOIRE, *La Vie de S. Blaise d'Amorium* ; GRUMEL, *Régestes and Chronologie des événements...* ; KAŽDAN, *Две хроники*.

Though Euthymius was syncellus Kauleas was created patriarch as Zaoutzes' candidate (see p. 42, 20). The fact that the *Vita Euthymii* nonetheless gives him a good press shows that essentially they were pursuing the same objectives. Euthymius, just back from exile (see n. to 40, 3), assisted him in the ceremony of the opening of the Holy Casket, and he is presumably the "man filled with faith and divine grace who persuaded him to make this homily on the Virgin's girdle, a subject he felt unworthy to treat (EUTHYMIUS, *Encomion*, 506, 23). Another source favourable to K. is the *Vita Blasii Amoriensis*. Kauleas, like Euthymius, was a monk from Olympus, and with him on the patriarchal throne it is safe to say that the voice of the Studites was sure of a hearing. The only other candidate of whom we hear fulfilled the same conditions — being Euthymius himself. The preceding patriarch had been, presumably, of a different type, being the Emperor's brother, Stephen, and Kauleas was succeeded by the very embodiment of the worldly prelate — Nicolas Mysticus. Why did Kauleas suit Zaoutzes' book (and perhaps, whatever the VE may say, Leo's too)? It is of course impossible to say, but perhaps he was designated as being the man most likely to end the schism and facilitate the return to the bosom of the Church of Stylianos of Neocaesarea and his faction. Though Zaoutzes was certainly aware that Euthymius was opposing his daughter Zoe's marriage to the Emperor, it is not certain he hoped much better of Kauleas in this particular matter.

The Union of the Church was the great achievement of Kauleas' patriarchate. As I read the evidence, the schism was purely inter-

nal and the use of the terms East and West in the Life of Kauleas seems to me difficult to interpret otherwise (see below, n. to 64, 27).

A measure of a different nature taken by Kauleas was his deposition of the priest who blessed Leo's marriage with Zoe (Log. : THc 361, 20 ; 703, 2 ; 857, 1). This creditable act is not mentioned by his biographer. Was Leo still alive when he wrote?

According to a late author whose sources are not known, Kauleas was concerned with keeping the Dalmatian Church under Byzantine influence (see GRUMEL, *Régestes*, n° 597).

The loose synchronism marked in the *Vita Euthymii* between the deaths of Kauleas, Zoe Zaoutzes and Eudocia has been used to establish the dates of these events and others derived from them.

The date of Kauleas' elevation to the patriarchal throne seems to be one of the most safely established dates of Leo's reign.

48, 25 ἐκ τοῦ οἴκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς. Plot of Basil the epeicetes. The Logothete twice speaks of Zaoutzes as lodged in the palace : 1) after the Damianou plot : ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ζαούτζα κελλίον οὐκ εἰσῆρχετο (THc, VI, 11) and, in particular, 2) Ζαούτζας τελευτᾷ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ (THc. VI, 14). The VE is not using οἶκος in the sense of an apartment in the palace, for it continues εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσπηδήσας... Its version is the correct one. See above, n. to 2, 19 (last §).

The divergence between the VE and the chronicle is possibly related to the further divergence between them over the position of Samonas. In the VE he is simply a servant of the Zaoutzes family whose function was pouring out hot water. In the chronicle he is already cubicularius of the Emperor. The Logothete story is much more picturesque, furthermore the words with which Samonas announces the plot to Leo are considerably elaborated, almost an epigram. The Emperor's summoning of his chief men to tell them of the service rendered by Samonas and ask them what reward he deserves who has saved the King's life, and their answer : ἄξιον μεγίστης εἶναι τιμῆς belong to the domain of story more than history (It immediately suggests, for instance, the biblical stories of Daniel or Esther).

The Logothete's account appears to derive from an elaborated narrative, that glorified Samonas. As there were lives of saints and epics to the glory of military heroes, so there were biographies magnifying prominent civilians. We have traces of such works for Samo-

nas, Constantine the Paphlagonian (See Synax. CP. 721, 24 and Ps.-Sym., Bonn, 713, 15) and Symeon ascretis (introd., 24). See P. J. Alexander's suggestive *Secular biography*...

48, 27 Samonas. Other sources : Logothete chronicle ; *Vita sancti Basilii Iunioris* ; DAI ; Arethas letter (*Eight letters*, 5). Modern works : JANIN, *Un Arabe ministre à Byzance* ; JENKINS, *The flight of Samonas*. See above, n. to 48, 25.

Janin's lively narrative gives in coherent form all the information of the sources, but with an even heightened hostile bias. Samonas' actions were gratuitously evil, his motives of necessity vile, he is the very type of the favourite under whose sinister influence emperors commit wanton crimes. Jenkins' thesis springs from a more critical attitude and seems to me much more tenable : Samonas was for many years Leo's valuable and trusted head of Security.

Notoriously rebels are more romantic than policemen and this explains no doubt the predilection for Andronicus who was a dangerous rebel, and the aversion from Samonas who was an efficient policeman. I cannot, however, follow Jenkins in his explanation of Samonas' flight : the data of the sources are relatively meagre, and to explain the few facts given us — in a possibly distorted form — by supposing that the chief of Security was proposing to leave everything in the hands of some subordinate and personally undertake a mission that would at least take some time, and from which he had every chance of not returning, this explanation is too bold for me, it does not seem to me sufficiently guaranteed by the sources. I have no theory to offer in exchange. The data are meagre and odd. They do not fit into an obvious pattern, but such a startling one would need the backing of more, and more reliable, information. But leaving out the strange business of the flight, it can be safely said that Samonas was, from approximately the year 900 (a few months after Zoe's death) to June 908 (the only appropriate lunar eclipse seems to be that of March 20.908, Jenkins, *op. cit.*) a trusted and powerful minister of Leo's, particularly concerned with Security. (See also preceding note).

50, 6 Nipsistiarus. See GUILLAND, *Et. de titulature byzantine in Rev. Et. byz.*, XIII, 1955, p. 50.

50, 14 *ἱεροῖς... περικεκοσμημένῃν*. Cf. above, 44, 23 and *Vita Ignatii* ; *βιβλία χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργυρῶ σὺν δξέσιν* (Menol. *σερικοῖς*) *ἐνδύμασιν ἔξοθεν κεκοσμημένα* (P.G. 105, c. 540).



52, 19 μήπως φανείην ; de Boor : φανείη oder ὀχληρός ? Neither : the adjective agreeing with its noun can regularly be replaced by a neuter singular.

52, 20 βανκάλιον. See A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Du ΚΩΘΩΝ au BAYKALION*, *Byzantion*, XXXV, 1965, 208-220.

52, 28 τὸ τοῦ βανκαλίου... Perhaps, as de Boor suggests, τὸ τοῦ βανκαλίου μέγεθος ?

54, 23 This measure taken against Alexander is baffling. Grumel has suggested that Alexander's wife, as sole *augusta*, gave him an importance he had not of himself as co-emperor (*Chronologie des événements*, p.33) ; then between the death of Zoe Zaoutzes and the marriage with Eudocia the part of *augusta* would have been played successively by Leo's daughter Anna and Alexander's wife. See following note (to 54, 27).

54, 27 ὃ κρίματι... ἀντιμετρηθήσεται σοι. The judgment he has judged and the measure he has meted is taking Alexander's wife from him. When his own wife, Eudocia, dies he says to Euthymius : ἡ δηλωθεῖσά μοι παρὰ σου προφητεία πέρας ἐδέξατο (62, 26) ... ἃ πρόην γέγραφας καὶ ἃ τὰ νῦν δεδήλωκας, ὥς δικαίως ταῦτα, καὶ ὥς αὐτουργοὶ τούτων τῶν ἐπερχομένων, εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἐπὶ τούτοις στέργοντες (64, 12). The inference is that when Euthymius says : "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged etc.", Leo is already married to Eudocia, though not necessarily when he deprives Alexander of his wife.

Some time after sept. 899 Zoe dies. Her daughter Anna is crowned so that there should be an *augusta*. Anna's marriage (or death) renews the vacancy. Leo fills it by marrying for a third time, at the latest in July 900. Either after or shortly before this date Leo deprives Alexander of his wife.

56, 13 Arcadius, abbot of Studios. See 58, 21 and especially 58, 31 sqq. and n. to 8, 7 and Grumel, *Chronologie des événements*, 29-32.

56, 19 τυροφάγος. Quinquagesima. "Le fromage était permis pendant la semaine qui suivait la Quinquagésime... et interdit à partir du premier dimanche du Carême". L. BRÉHIER, *La civil. byz.*, 57.

58, 6 Gordorynia. Mentioned in various Notitiae as suffragan of Synnada, metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris. See RAMSAY, *Cities and bishoprics* 1, 248 (n). Ramsay suggests identifying it with In-Onu.

LE QUIEN gives among the signatories of the council of 869-70 "Cyricus (sive Cyriacus) misericordia Dei episcopus Gordoriniae" (*O. Chr.*, 1, 855).

58, 6 Peter of Gordorynia, see also 146, 16. As far as I know, the VE is the only source. Bishop of Gordorynia and confessor, obviously during the iconoclast persecution. In 900 approx. his relics lay ἐν τῷ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς Νικολάου εὐκτηρίῳ τῷ πρὸς θάλασσαν κειμένῳ ἔξοθεν τοῦ ἄστεος. Euthymius then arranged for their translation to Psamathia where he was laid in the right-hand chapel dedicated to the Forerunner.

As Peter was buried at CP he had probably been driven from his see by the iconoclast struggle.

The passionate cult with which the heroes of image-worship were still surrounded emerges very clearly from these passages of the VE (in particular below, beginning of ch. X).

Euthymius sees in visions both Ignatius and Peter of Gordorynia.

The favourable attitude towards Photius is all the more striking.

58, 9, 11 Cf. 104, 10. For Euthymius' literary works see BECK, *Kirche and theologische Literatur*, 549. The treatise on the councils of ms Arundel 528 is, however, not, I think, to be ascribed to him: the account of the council of 869-70 does not read as if the author has been alive at the time and used to frequenting some of the most active leaders of the religious struggles of the time. Professor Jenkins further drew my attention to the more decisive, because objective, point that some of the dates are reckoned only ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ.

58, 11 Seleucia, Euthymius' birthplace. There are two possible identifications: Isaurian Seleucia near the mouth of the Kalykadnos, and Seleucia Sidera to the west of lake Egerdir.

Relationship with Gregory the Decapolite rather suggests the former, but Seleucia did not belong to the Decapolis (τὰ δὲ ἄνω Σελευκείας καὶ μεσόγαια καλεῖται Δεκάπολις, *De them.* 77, 16); the distances are not such as to exclude either and there are two arguments in favour of the latter.

Firstly, the passage under consideration states that Euthymius

learned about Peter of Gordorynia on his way from Seleucia, which suggests that the town of Gordorynia lay on the road from Seleucia to the Bithynian Olympus. The only other information on Gordorynia is that it was a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, subject to Synnada. Any direct route from Seleucia Sidera to Olympus would pass through Phrygia Salutaris. Still, it would be perfectly natural for Euthymius, even starting from Isaurian Seleucia, to pass through the Decapolis, where he had numerous relations, rather than take the straight road through Iconium, Laodiceia, Amorium, Dorylaion.

The second and more considerable pointer to Seleucia Sidera is its proximity to the monastery where Hirschfeld discovered the ms of the VE. The monastery was on an island of lake Egerdir, belonging to the see of Limnai-Egerdir. Seleucia Sidera and Limnai both belong to the ecclesiastical province of Pisidia, metropolis Antioch. On Limnai-Egerdir-Prostanna, see RAMSAY, *Historical Geography*, p. 407 and 414; HONIGMANN, *Origines des noms de Balikesir, de Burdur et d'Eğridir (Byzantion, XIV, 1939, 649, sqq.)*; GRÉGOIRE *Notes de géogr. hist. sur les confins pisido-phrygiens* (Acad. Roy. Belgique, Bull. Cl. des Lettres, 5<sup>e</sup> série, XXXIII, 1948, 93). In 1907, G. L. Bell found the island « surrounded by Byzantine fortifications », *BZ*, XVII, 1908, 276.

Whereas Gregory had left the Decapolis via Ephesus, Euthymius went, as far as we can see without any period of probation in local establishments, straight from Seleucia (whichever one be meant) to Bithynian Olympus. (See below, n. to 58, 26 and sketch-map).

58, 15 *στάσις β'* (see above, n. to 6, 2). This division makes it clear that the author is presenting the events of this chapter as a turning-point in Euthymius' career. The noting of chronological and other relationships will therefore not be casual.

The turning-point is Euthymius' calling to the patriarchate, not only the election but the preliminaries, beginning with the solemn prophecy before witnesses, confirmed in private by another seer, that he will be patriarch hereafter, followed by the events wherein Nicolas proved himself unworthy of the throne, and, finally, Euthymius' reluctant acceptance of it.

In this chapter we have the prophecy. We also have a completely different prophecy made by Euthymius himself, together with its fulfillment and the effect on Euthymius' relations with Leo. The emphasis on the two different aspects of the story — preparation

for Euthymius' ascent of the patriarchal throne, and the vagaries of his association with Leo — results in this chapter in a slightly unbalanced effect, which inspires confidence in the information provided.

58, 16 τῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ πατρὶ προρρηθέντων : prophecies made both by the father and to him.

58, 22 Theophilus, the last iconoclast emperor, 829-842.

58, 25 Symeon : see below "Gregory the Decapolite".

58, 26 Gregory the Decapolite (BHG<sup>3</sup>). Other sources : *Vita et miracula*, ed. Dvornik ; *Vita S. Iosephi Hymnographi*. Modern works, DVORNIK, *op. cit.*, commentary.

Born ca. 780-90 in Eirenopolis in the Isaurian Decapolis. After 14 years in monasteries where he had relations and a further period in a grotto, he left the Decapolis. After wintering in a σεμνεῖον near Ephesus he sailed for Byzantium (habitually so called in his *Vita*), but stopped instead at Proconnesus, crossing after a time to Ainos, from here to Christopolis and then Thessalonica. At some point he paid a visit to Rome, returning again to Thessalonica. Then to Byzantium and on to Bithynian Olympus. He returns to Byzantium (warned in a dream that one of his Thessalonica disciples is looking for him) and then to Thessalonica, and begins to suffer from the disease that was to prove fatal. Nonetheless again visits CP in reply to the summons of one Symeon who is in prison for his iconodule sympathies, probably identifiable with Συμεὼν ὁ ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ ἀστροφᾶς of the VE (58, 25) and apparently with the uncle Symeon who had acted as spiritual father to him in his early days in the Isaurian Decapolis.

Shortly after, Gregory dies, 20.11.842.

The author of his life is remarkably discreet, and avoids giving any clue to all this travelling, but it is obvious that Gregory was a leader and organiser of iconodule resistance.

And in fact the *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* makes this quite clear. Joseph is sent by Gregory, whose disciple he is, to Rome to mobilise the Pope on their side. Gregory's own visit there, in spite of his biographer's affirmation that he saw no one, was probably for the same purpose (See Dvornik, *op. cit.*, commentary).

*The Vita Euthymii* shows the importance of the Thessalonica period and informs us that Symeon also had disciples there (60, 28-30).



It gives the impression that it was an important centre of resistance to the religious policy of the capital.

From Proconnese, Gregory's wish was to go to Byzantium (53, 28). Instead, for reasons not given, he proceeded to Ainos (See LEMERLE, *Thomas le Slave*, 295, n. 137).

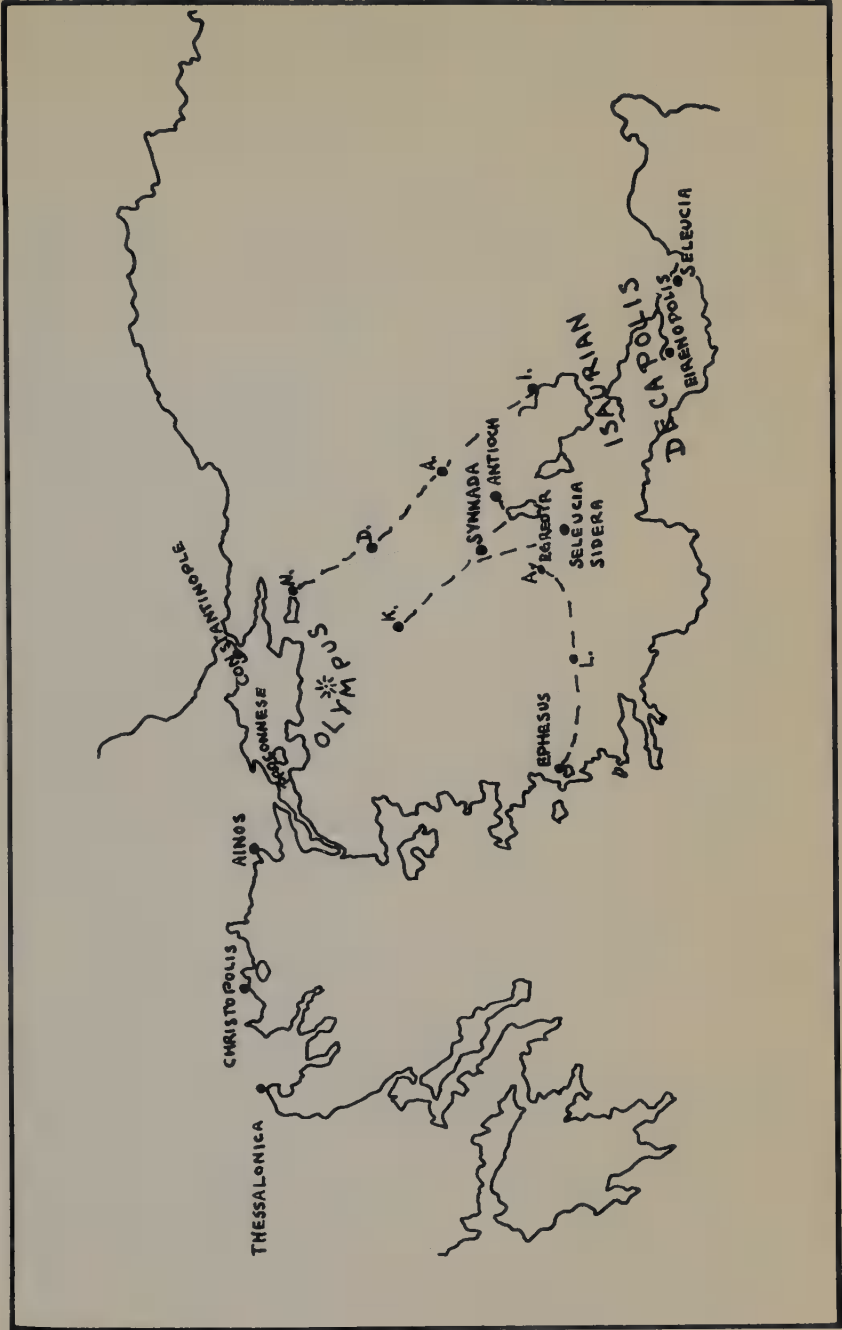
Explanatory note to map. The roads marked on the sketch-map to the journeys of Gregory the Decapolite and Euthymius give stretches of the main roads (RAMSAY, *Hist. Geogr.*, index map opp. p. 23) by which they probably left the Decapolis, but without suggesting at what point they joined them, or where Euthymius left whichever one he took. As I have said, I think the one through Iconium and Amorium less likely than the one through Kotiaion.

Towns marked by an initial merely describe the road. Those referred to in the text or the commentary are named in full.

60, 7-16 Such scenes are introduced only if subsequent events justify them. In this case, Euthymius did become patriarch and he apparently fulfilled his side of the bargain for the *De Cerimoniis* gives the protocol of imperial visits to Studios' to venerate the relic (II, 13). See JANIN, *Géographie eccl.*, I, III. On the relic, see Cabrol-Leclercq s. v. 'Reliques et reliquaires' col. 2356.

At the same time, there is something odd about this scene introduced where it is. De Boor assumed that it preceded Kauleas' death. "Such a prophecy" he wrote "is the result of a Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung. It is easily understood if Antonius was still patriarch, and his great age and bodily weakness brought the consideration of his successor near" (p. 100). But in fact he was dead: the gathering at which the prophecy was made took place on the 25th March, and was the occasion of another prophecy, that on Easter day the Emperor will meet with great sorrow, i. e. Eudocia's death. But not only was Kauleas dead: a new patriarch, Nicolas Mysticus, had been enthroned three weeks earlier (1st March 901). Was his flock, in their private gatherings, already looking for successors? Jenkins, commenting on Arethas' speech on Nicolas' appointment, writes: "the emphasis laid... on the reluctance of Nicholas to assume the office is too great to suit a conventional *nolo episcopari*. The tone of the speech suggests that, despite the formal Union, the church parties were still not at peace; and Arethas, while claiming that every one unanimously supports Nicholas, yet makes some ominous reference to the trials of Paul and Barnabas" (*Nine orations*, 4-5).





Movements of Euthymius and Gregory the Decapolite.



It is, of course, possible that the author telescoped two different occasions, it is also a feature of the *VE*'s composition to underline, at each patriarchal election, that the place is really waiting for Euthymius (see above, n. to 42, 20, also n. to 58, 15).

62, 9 *στυγερὴν ἀγγελίαν δέδεγμαι*. I have not identified this quotation.

62, 13 Eudocia Baiane, third wife of Leo VI, 900-12 April 901. Other sources : Logothete chronicle : Nicolas Mysticus letter (Migne CXI), XXXII, col. 197 ; *De Cer.*, 643, 15 ; Tome of Union, historical introd. (see introd. 53-56). Modern works : GRÉGOIRE, *Études sur le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* ; GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements* ; HALKIN, *Trois dates* ; REISKE, Commentary to *De Cer.* p. 763.

Her history is given by the Logothete as follows : "The emperor married an outstandingly beautiful girl from the Opsikion theme. Her name was Eudocia. He married her and crowned her, and had by her a male child, whereupon both she and the infant died" (T. C. Bonn 364, 704, 860).

Nicolas wrote to the Pope that Leo's third marriage was tolerated because of the protocolar need for an empress. He represents himself as pleading with Leo against the fourth, and saying "Perhaps even the third was unworthy of your Majesty. Its excuse was the agreement with the Frank... since, according to the treaty, your daughter was to leave for *Φραγκία* and a woman is needed in the palace *τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα τῶν σῶν ἀρχόντων ταῖς γυναιξίν*, the third may be excused. Besides, the sacred canons do not wholly reject a third marriage, even if [they regard it] as a blot on the Church".

The third marriage took place in the patriarchate of Kauleas and was probably celebrated by him though some circles opposed it (see 62, 31 and note).

For Anna, Leo's daughter, who was crowned between Zoe and Eudocia in view of the palace ceremonial see PREVITE-ORTON, *Charles-Constantine of Vienna* and OHNSORGE, *Zur Frage der Töchter*.

Even the fact that it was Easter Day, or the possibility that we have here a manifestation of the scarcely documented reaction to Leo's third marriage does not seem to me wholly to explain the incident of St Lazarus. For one thing, was Leo burying his wife there without even warning the higoumene? At all events, it is an

interesting example of relations between the throne and the monasteries.

62, 19 Monastery of St Lazarus, see JANIN, *Géographie ecclés.*, I, 3, p. 309 and JENKINS, LAOURDAS and MANGO, *Nine orations*, 6-10.

62, 21 Hierotheos, abbot of St Lazarus, not, as far as I am aware, otherwise known.

62, 26 See 54, 27 and note.

64, 27 *Τὴν τοῦ Μάππα [τοῦ] καὶ Στυλιανοῦ... ἐνωσιν*. The ms reading is *πάππα* but de Boor noted in the *app. crit.* that the initial *π* was written *in rasura*. It was Grumel who recognised that the original reading was *Μάππα* (*Chronologie des événements*, 18).

When pope John VIII officially recognized Photius' second patriarchate a group of Ignatian extremists refused this regularisation and cut themselves off, not only from the Photians, but also from the main body of Ignatians who accepted it. Paradoxically they continued to look to Rome to help them. The leaders of these extremists were Metrophanes of Smyrna and Stylianos Mapas of New Caesarea.

Stylianos was finally reconciled, the *συνέλευσις* of our text, but an important point is still unresolved: had a new breach dividing the churches of Rome and CP been meanwhile provoked by Formosus, a breach that was healed at the same time as Stylianos was reconciled, and is this what is meant by *τῆς ἀπάσης ἐκκλησίας ἐνωσις*?

Four principal sources inform us of Stylianos' reconciliation.

1. The anti-Photian collection: *Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ Μάππας ὁ μητροπολίτης Νεοκαισαρείας ὁ Στυλιανός, μετὰ τὸ δέξασθαι, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν, ἑπτὰ χρόνων παραδραμόντων, χαυνωθείς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν δεδογμένων ἐστράφη, καὶ ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, αἰτούμενος πεμφθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν χειροτονίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτροπήν ἐκεῖθεν λαβεῖν τοῦ συγκοινωνῆσαι αὐτοῖς* (Mansi XVI, 456 D).

2. The *Vita Euthymii*.

3. Nicolas Mysticus: *Πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος γινώσκεις ὅτι ὁ Μάππας* (here again the ms gives an initial *π* *in rasura*, see GRUMEL, *Liquidation*, 267) *συνῆλθε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτον ὄντες*

καὶ ἠνώθησαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. The close parallelism with the VE (συνέλευσις... ἔνωσις; συνῆλθε ... ἠνώθησαν) suggests they were both quoting the official protocol, and that, consequently, it is immaterial whether the one appears more in need of the restitution than the other (see DVORNIK, 265 n. 1).

4. The Life of Anthony Cauleas : καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔλκος ἦτοι σχίσμα εἰς συνούλωσιν προθέμενος ἀγαγεῖν, εἰς ἔν συνάγει τὰ Ἑῶα καὶ τὰ Ἑσπέρια ... λύει τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ συνάπτει τὰ διεστῶτα (Life of Anthony Kauleas, in PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Monumenta...* I, p. 14) (εἰς ἔν συνάγει : paraphrase for ἔνωσιν ποιεῖ rather than "summons a council").

This has been interpreted in the sense of a reconciliation between Rome and CP, but, as Dvornik points out, there is, in another passage of the same Life, talk of East and West where there is no question of Rome and CP : συνέρρει πρὸς αὐτὸν [sc. John the Baptist] οὐ μίᾳ πόλιν οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἀλλ' ὅχλοι παμπληθεῖς τῆς πολυανθρώπου πόλεως [NB the use of πόλις, ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων συνειλεγμένοι παντοδαπῶν, Ἑῶοί τε καὶ Ἑσπέριοι (p. 24). To my mind this throws doubts on the interpretation of the first "East and West" as Rome and CP, without being decisive : the author was out to make his parallel between Cauleas and John, and such parallels should not be pressed too far.

But there are clearer hints : from the very beginning the author puts his homily under the sign of East and West and their unification in CP, and here he gives his East and West a restrictive definition : Cauleas, he says, is not confined to one πατρίς : Ἀσία γὰρ καὶ Εὐρώπη τὸ κλέος μερίζεται, ἡ μὲν διὰ τῆς Θρᾷκης, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς Φρυγίας τὴν γονὴν οἰκειούμεναι. ἀμφισβητησίμουν δὲ ταύταις ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος, ἄλλη τρίτη πατρίς ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν πόλεων ἀναφαίνεται. And later, with reference to his good deeds : οὐκ ἐβούλετο πόλει μιᾷ, καί περ οὔση τοσαύτῃ, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ περιγράφεσθαι συμπαθές ... μετεῖχον Σκύθαι καὶ Θρᾷκες, καὶ δὴ σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Μυσοί (11,6).

East and West have the same meaning in the heading of Stylianos Mapas' letter to Pope Stephen which runs, it may be remembered, Τῷ τὰ πάντα ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ Στεφάνῳ ... Στυλιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Νεοκαισαρείας ... καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ



ἑῶν καὶ ἡγούμενοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, μονασταὶ καὶ ἡσυχασταὶ (MANSI, XVI, 425 D ; again, 432A : ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ... καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ ἑῶν ἡγούμενοι κτλ). This sum of East and West to represent the Empire is anyway quite usual (Cf. also Matt. 8, 11 etc.).

So far we conclude simply that, during the patriarchate of Cauleas, Stylianos Mapas and his partisans were reconciled with the Church of Constantinople. There is no word in the texts suggesting a reconciliation of this Church with Rome.

The idea of this reconciliation was in fact born in the error of two copyists who, when Mapas' name had been forgotten, corrected it to *πάπας*, and an explanation of the schism itself was found in the tone of a letter attributed by the anti-Photian collection to the pope Formosus. The existence of this schism has been defended by Grumel (*Liquidation*, pp. 264-72) and denied by Dvornik (*Études sur Photius*, p. 6-19 ; *Schism*, 251-61) but neither considers it possible for Formosus to have written this letter as it stands. In addition to the points they make, it seems to me that the final sentence is inconceivable, not merely on psychological but even formal grounds : after stating the conditions for readmitting Photians to communion, the letter proceeds : *εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἀπαναίνεται τοῦ κοινωνῆσαι, γινώσκετε ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἶναι μέτοχον τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας*. « If the excommunicate refuse communion... » ! The expression has been reversed. Originally it must have been approximately *εἰ τις τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπαναίνεται κοινωνίαν*. This implies an alteration of the whole tendency of the letter more radical even than Dvornik proposed. If the authors of the anti-Photian collection found it necessary to make such a far-reaching falsification, it becomes even more incomprehensible that they should have omitted to mention the ban thrown on Photius by pope Formosus, such as the partisans of the Formosan schism postulate.

Finally, it is to this occasion that I would be inclined to refer the much-discussed note in the *Cletorologion* concerning the bishop Nicolas and John the cardinal who came from Rome for the union of the Church under Leo (*I.A.S.*, 155, 26). See below, n. to 86, 8.

Grumel also appeals to a letter from Formosus to Fulk of Reims, quoted in abridged form by Flodoard.

*Dicitque* [sc. Formosus] *Constantinopolitanam Ecclesiam nociva schismata perturbare*. Grumel comments : « A la rigueur, une telle situation est conciliable avec l'hypothèse de M. Dvornik, mais l'on

comprendra bien mieux les plaintes du pontifesi la discorde intérieure de l'Église byzantine dont le Saint-Siège, au fond, ne souffre aucun dommage, se complique d'une rupture, beaucoup plus grave, de cette Église et de son chef avec l'Église romaine". When one remembers that both parties in the dispute had appealed to Rome, and that this age-old habit for the loser in any internal dispute of the Byzantine Church to appeal to Rome played a primary rôle building up Roman influence, it does not seem necessary to look for justification of the Pope's interest. The same considerations apply to the author's next point: "On s'accordera sans doute aussi à trouver étrange qu'un concile d'Occident soit invité à délibérer sur un schisme purement intérieur de l'Église byzantine" (*Liquidation*, 269). The thing is that the invitation originated in fact with the Byzantine Church.

The two remaining arguments are 1) that in the late *Opuscula de origine schismatis* Formosus is said to have been the first Pope to have taught the doctrine of the *Filioque*, which shows he was unpopular with the Byzantines; 2) that Formosus is not named in John IX's list of popes who recognised the post-Ignatian patriarchs of CP. The second point seems to me more telling, though John actually names only three out of twelve, summing up the others as «the whole Roman church», and Hadrian II, at least, reigned long enough to justify mention.

In short, the evidence shows how belief in the 'Formosan schism' arose but suggests the schism itself did not exist; as for the *ἔνωσις* of 899, it consisted in the reconciliation of Stylianos Mapas and his adherents (some of them) and nothing else. As Dvornik says *ἡ ἀπᾶσα ἐκκλησία*, in this political context means the Byzantine Church. Indeed it is impossible to imagine the respect for Rome so far forgotten that the end of a schism with the undisputed supreme patriarchate could be dismissed so casually, above all described by Nicolas in terms of *ὁ πάπας συνῆλθε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ*. (For the parallelism of the formulas compels acceptance of this interpretation here if it is allowed in the VE).

For the reference in the *Cletorologion* to the presence of Legates come from Rome for the Union of the Church, see P. MAAS, *Der Interpolator des Philotheos*, in BZ, 1934, and DVORNIK, pp. 267-271. The presence of Legates from the Pope did not need to be justified by the healing of a schism between the two Romes. The part played by Rome in the earlier stages of this affair, and the fact that

the dissidents now to be reconciled had endeavoured (even if unsuccessfully) to continue basing their opposition on her, was sufficient justification.

For the date of the Union see V. GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements*, 1-42 and JENKINS, *Nine orations...* p. 4.

64, 27 Stylianos Mapas of Neocaesaria. Leader of anti-Photians unreconciled after synod of 879-880. The extreme form taken by their anti-Photianism made it difficult for them to rejoin the Church even when they wanted to, though Photius had been a second time deposed and exiled. The Church was by that time largely composed of Photian ordinations, including the new Patriarch, Stephen.

Stylianos wrote a letter to Pope Stephen V which, though tendentious and even dishonest, remains a very important historical document (MANSI, XVI, 426-35).

See DVORNIK, *The Photian schism*, also above pp. 40-45 (introd.).

He finally gave up his opposition and was "reconciled" during the patriarchate of Kauleas. See note to 64, 27.

64, 29 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ. See Grumel, *Chronologie des événements* and JENKINS, *Nine orations*, p. 4.

66 For the date of the St Mocius attempt (11th May 903) see BURY, *The Ceremonial Book* (pp. 421-2) and GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements* (pp. 40-41).

66, 3 οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺν. Similarly 92, 21 and *Vita S. Nicolai Studitae*: ὅπερ οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺν (= μετ' οὐ πολὺν) (PG 105, 908 A).

66, 8 Solea: the space between ambo and iconostasis.

66, 26 κατηχουμενία. The upper galleries of churches. See Ch. Delvoye in *Reallexikon byz. Kunst*, s. v. Empore. The κατηχουμενία of S. Sophia were used for meetings of the synod. The women's place during celebration of the liturgy. Leo's nov. LXXIII forbids men to live with women in the κατηχουμενία.

66, 27 διασώζεται. Cf. ἐλευθερωθεὶς τῆς εἰρκτῆς πρὸς τὴν Κπ. διεσώζετο (Synax. CP., 582, 22); ὁ δὲ Λέων ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ διεσώθη φυγών (THc., 389, 17); The welcoming speech for ambassadors from Syria: ... πῶς ὑπεδέχθητε παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Καπαδοκίας; πῶς διέσωσεν ὑμᾶς ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς βασιλικὸς εἰς διάσωσιν ὑμῶν; (*De Cer.*, Bonn, II, 683, 11). — For the question of the value of

the *δια-*, SCHWYZER says : Die These von Purdie... dass in der Koine die Aoriste von simplizia faktiv (komplexiv) seien, während für die eigentlich konfektive (punktuelle, effective) Bedeutung Komposita gelten sollen, z. B. *ἔφυγον : κατέφυγον* hat Meltzer mit Erfolg bestritten (während Moulton und Brugmann zustimmen). Von den Beispielen für Konfektivierung infektiver Präsens durch Präverb ist z.B. *Κόνων δ' ἔφηνε ταῖς ναυσὶν... καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην...* Xen. Hell. I 6, 16 nach der genauen Interpretation von Meltzer, IF 12, 349, nicht "es gelingt ihm Zuflucht zu nehmen" (was sachlich nicht der Fall war), sondern "er nimmt seine Zuflucht". These Byzantine examples show a confective value of *δια-*.

68, 4 For this plot, see above, pp. 24-28 and 59-61. Modern works : GRUMEL, *La révolte d'Andronic* ; CANARD, *Deux épisodes* ; JENKINS, *Choirosphactes* ; KARLIN-HAYTER, *The revolt of Andronicus*.

Note, in Nicolas' letter, the promise : *ἡ πόλις ταχέως διὰ τῶν ἡμῶν παραινέσεων ἐπιζητήσει σε* (68, 32). Cf. Genesios' remark about the rebel Thomas : *ἅμα τῷ φανῆναι οἰόμενος ἀνοιγῆναι τὰς πύλας αὐτῷ* (39, 7). Isaac Comnenos was secretly assured that *ἅπας τὸ ἀστικὸν πλῆθος περικαῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχει, καὶ ὥς εἰ μόνον ἐγγίσει τῇ πόλει, τὸν γέροντα* [sc. Michael] *ἐξωθήσαντες, μετ' ἐπινικίων καὶ ὕμνων αὐτὸν προσδέχονται* (Ced. II, 634, 4) and he had the good fortune to find it true — thanks, largely, to the popular patriarch, Cerularius.

Nicolas Mysticus likewise enjoyed the favour of the CP populace. It is one of the reproaches regularly levelled at him by his opponents (See VE, 114, 15 and 22 ; 126, 20, this latter being part of a letter from Arethas).

The nervousness the CP mob inspired is shown by an incident (which led in fact to nothing) from Leo's own life : when Basil reinstated his son, public enthusiasm was such that Basil was, for a moment, seriously alarmed (see above, p. 46 and 47 n. 4).

Much light is thrown on Nicolas' case by that of Cerularius. Though there is only circumstantial evidence, it is clear the rebels have been assured of his goodwill before taking any irrevocable step, as Andronicus had with Nicolas before ever he went to Kavala.

Again, it is difficult to be certain how small was the circle to which knowledge of Nicolas' treason was confirmed. Compare : *εἶτε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κηρουλάριος κεκοινώνηκε τοῦτοις τῆς σκέψεως, εἶτε καὶ μὴ, ἄδηλον* (Attaliotes, 56) and : *ὁ δὲ εἶτε ἄκων οὐκ οἶδα εἶθ' ἔκων, ὡς ὁ τῶν πλειόνων εἶχε λόγος* (Ced. II, 635).



One may compare, too, Cerularius' message to Isaac with Nicolas' letter to Andronicus : *μηνύει σπεύδειν καὶ μὴ βραδύνειν, καὶ μισθὸν ἀπῆται τῆς συνεργίας* (Ced. II, 636, 17).

Nicolas made a second attempt in 913 with Andronicus' son Constantine. No sooner, however, had he encouraged Constantine to act, than he abandoned him, perhaps realising the rebellion was going to fail, but most likely because he found himself regent without Constantine's help and with more power than Constantine would be likely to give him. Cedrenus records that this was one explanation given in his day.

On relation between the plot and the christening of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, see n. to 70, 9-12.

68, 5 Andronicus Ducas Other sources : Logothete chronicle ; Arethas ; Psellos ; Arab sources. — To modern works listed elsewhere (see index under his name) with reference to the plot of Andronicus Ducas add Grégoire, *Ὁ Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτας*, index.

The Logothete, like the VE, is principally concerned with Andronicus' conspiracy to seize the throne. From the Arab sources we hear also about a victory at Maraš ; Arethas, in the Letter to the emir, refers to a great victory, possibly the same one, near Tarsus. In any case, Andronicus certainly won other if less spectacular victories and Psellos tells us that, in his day, the family of Ducas was celebrated in song and the names of Andronicus, Pantherios and Constantine were in every mouth (*Chronogr.* ed. Renault, Budé, Paris, II, 140 ch. vi).

On his legend, see Grégoire, *op. cit.*

G. WIET, in *Hist. de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, 120, mentions a Greek of the name of Douka in Egypt in 915, but he is not to be identified with Andronicus. Professor M. Canard was good enough to write me on this question : « D'une part la lecture Dukā n'est pas certaine. C'est celle de Kindī auteur d'un ouvrage sur les juges et gouverneurs d'Égypte. Mais l'historien Abū'l-Mahāsin vocalise Dakā ... Le seul passage où, à propos d'Andronic, soit écrit le nom Doucas est celui du Tanbīh de Mas'ūdī (voir VASILIEV, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 398) et là il écrit Dūqās avec une consonne de 2<sup>e</sup> syllabe différente de celle de Dakā ou Dukā, une voyelle longue ū de 1<sup>e</sup> syllabe et un s final. Le nom des Doucas dans les documents cités par Qalqasandi est Duq.s (VI, 177) ou Dūq.s (VIII, 45). Il me semble donc difficile qu'un Dakā ou Dukā, même s'il est grec d'origine, soit pri-



mitivement un Doucas... ». On the chronological aspect he writes : « Mas'udi précise que, après la mort d'Andronic, son fils Constantin s'enfuit par l'Arménie et rentre à Constantinople où il tenta de s'emparer du pouvoir en 301 (913-914). Voir la 2<sup>e</sup> partie de Vasiliev p. 399 et cf. p. 47. Andronic était donc mort déjà en 915 et ne peut être identifié avec Daka ou Duka gouverneur d'Égypte ».

68, 6 ἀποδυσπετήσας seems to represent the ἀπογνούς of THc, 372, 10.

68, 7 τὸ ὄρημα ἔστησεν. Cf. p. 26, 24.

68, 10 φυλακτῶν. And p. 98, 9. The word is only known from very late texts, the earliest examples given by Ducange and the Thesaurus are from the *Vita Symeonis Sali*, Anastasius Sinaita and Theophanes.

See CABROL-LECLERQ, s.v. « Amulettes » and, to a lesser extent, « Phylactères » and « Reliques et reliquaires » (col. 2301 lower half, and 2347) ; *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* s.v. *Amulett*.

Theophilus, in the same way, sent his φυλακτόν to Manuel (THc Bonn, 119, 20 ἐγκόλπιον Ps.-S. 633, 8. Gc 797, 13). For the link between the romances of Manuel and Andronicus, see above, p. 26-27 (introd.).

70, 9-12 baptism of Constantine Porphyrogennetos (6-1-906). — According to the *VE* Nicolas, whose treasonable correspondance had already been discovered, agreed to the baptism in order to appease the emperor (see de Boor's cogent remarks, p. 116). According to Nicolas, it was in exchange for the emperor's promise to see no more of Zoe Carbonopsina (Letter XXXII, P.G. 111, 197). Leo may well have made such a promise : it does not affect the credibility or not of the *VE* story. This version was recently almost completely discredited, because an apparent coincidence of the Logothete version with Tabari caused acceptance of the Logothete version, which is at first sight in contradiction with the *VE*. But closer examination of the three sources (introd. 24-28 and 59-60) seems to me to lead conclusively to rehabilitation of the *VE* and perhaps also to modifying the view that its testimony and that of the Logothete are irreconcilable (see below). The *VE* version consists essentially in placing Andronicus' flight to the Arabs before the fall of Nicolas. Accepting that Nicolas' correspondance was discovered before Constantine's christening is scarcely a further step. In fact

accepting the rest of the account and rejecting this one point seems arbitrary. The reason for doing so would be a feeling of suspicion towards anything unfavourable to Nicolas related in the VE. But the anteriority does not make Nicolas' case much worse : his treason is implied by the Logothete too, and generally undisputed. Again chronological order would be much less compelling for a later author, such as the Logothete, whereas a contemporary had been able to interpret as *propter quod* only what had really been *post quod*. The only reason for doubting the VE version would be if the notary who brought Leo Nicolas' letter had forsaken Dukas only when Dukas left Kavala for the Arabs. But in fact it was before this that he escaped, since he was later confronted with other refugees who had left Kavala after him (see text, 68, 15 and 88, 23-30). It seems therefore reasonably certain that when Nicolas christened Constantine his treason was known to Leo. His motive, of course, is another question.

As for the contradiction with the Logothete, this would disappear if the news that made Andronicus desert to the Arabs was not the news of Nicolas' deposition, but simply that the Patriarch's treason had been discovered.

70, 9 οἰκονομεῖν. See H. HUNGER, *Prooimion*, Wien, 1964, 72, 119, 153 ; J. REUMANN, *Οἰκονομία as ethical accomodation in the Fathers and its pagan background* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 78, = *Studia Patristica*, III, 1). "The judicious handling of doctrine, i.e. 1961, 370-9 the presentation of it in such a manner as to suit the needs or conciliate the prejudices of the persons addressed" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Economy").

70, 10 Zoe Carbonopsis (114, 27) or Carbonopsina (Ps.-S. 705, 12, Other sources : Logothete chronicle ; *De Admin. Imp.* ; *De Cer.* ; Nicolas Mysticus. All the polemical writings on the Tetragamy of necessity mention or imply Zoe, but few of these texts give any information on her. Nicolas Mysticus is relevant principally as a major source on the first period of Constantine's minority, though the respective rôles during it of Zoe, Nicolas himself and Constantine the parakoimomenos cannot be defined. Modern works : DIEHL, *Figures* ; S. RUNCIMAN, *The emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign ; History of the first Bulgarian empire* ; V. GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements* ; OHNSORGE, *Zur Frage der Töchter* ; КАЖДАН, *Две хроники*.

Zoe belonged to the family of Theophanes, the chronicler and founder of the monastery Megalou Agrou (DAI, 22, 78-9), she was great-granddaughter of Photeinos, protospatharius and στρατηγός τῶν ἀνατολικῶν (THc., 76, 9; *Dyn. d'Amorium*, 59-60).

The first mention we have of her is in the Gc (Bonn) - Theodose of Melitene recension of the Logothete which says that, when Leo was attacked in the church of St Mocius, Samonas was not present because he was taking Zoe to the palace. The date was 11th May 903. Another mention, with no chronological reference, but belonging to the basic Logothete text, follows the account of the attack (THc 366, 10 "in the palace unmarried" ; 705, 11 (Ps.-S.) "the emperor took a fourth wife" ; 862, 14 (Gc) as 366, 10). The next that is heard of her is giving birth to Constantine Porphyrogenetus in 905 (THc 370, 8 ; 708, 22 ; 865, 1). In spite of the opposition of the hierarchy Leo obtained an imperial christening for the infant, in exchange, according to Nicolas, for his promise to see no more of Zoe. In fact, three days after the christening she was brought back to the palace and given the establishment of an empress (Nicolas, Letter XXXII, PG, CXI, 197).

The date of her marriage, however, is not certain. According to Nicolas, the Roman Legates arrived "the eighth or ninth month after" it : μετὰ μῆνα ὄγδοον ἢ ἕννατον τῆς συναφείας τῆς γυναικός. If, as some scholars have thought, the marriage took place immediately on Zoe's establishment in the palace three days after the christening, Nicolas would be saying that the Roman legates arrived in September-October 906. But in fact they arrived very shortly after 7th Febr. 907. (between the exiling of Nicolas and the consecration of Euthymius see below, n. to 70, 27 and my *Synode à CP*). The marriage would then have taken place round June 906, after Easter in other words, which agrees roughly with the statement of Ps.-Symeon and Gc Bonn to the effect that Leo and Zoe were married after the Feast, μετὰ τὴν ἑορτήν. On the other hand the account given in Nicolas' letter does not seem entirely to coincide with reality, in particular with chronological relationship (see below, n. to 70, 27).

The priest who solemnised the marriage was deposed, by Euthymius however, not by Nicolas (See 112, 13-25).

For the question of other children, see OHNSORGE, *Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI.*, BZ 51, 1958, 78-81.

Zoe was married, and proclaimed Augusta by Leo and the Senate. Euthymius however refused to proclaim her in Church. To this very

creditable affair the *Vita* devotes its chapter XVII (p. 108) which informs us that Himerios, the famous admiral, and a senator and patrician called Nicolas were Zoe's relations and employed in pressing Euthymius to proclaim her. The extracts of her letters quoted suggest a rather imperious and headstrong personality.

In 908 the child Constantine was crowned (see n. to 70, 11). At about the same time (or a little before) the Logothete relates how Samonas obtained the disgrace of Constantin the Paphlagonian on grounds of intimacy with Zoe. Zoe's looseness has sometimes been invoked as a reason for taking this story at its face-value. Actually the looseness of an emperor's concubine is extremely difficult to assess, even if she marries the emperor. The story appears to me highly improbable: 1) the sex life of princesses seems to have an irresistible attraction (cf. a certain kind of newspaper); 2) it is the kind of story invariably circulated whenever a servant or officer is removed from the entourage of a female in the public eye; 3) the incident occurred, if ever, at a period when Zoe, whose looseness may be open to question but whose ambition is not, was trying with might and main to get herself proclaimed by the patriarch; 4) Constantine's almost immediate recall by Leo makes it even more unlikely.

May 11th 912 Leo died. Zoe's relations with Alexander are only mentioned by the Logothete once, retrospectively, after the interview between Nicolas and the tsar of Bulgaria, when he says that the child Constantine asked for his mother, "for Alexander had expelled her" from the palace. This expulsion may well have appeared in the missing pages of the *Vita*. As it stands, it says nothing of their relations till Alexander is dying, when Zoe seizes the opportunity to return to the palace to pay him a last, death-bed, visit (130, 10). She failed, however, to seize power and Nicolas gets the Senate and the bishops (i.e. the Synod) to sign that they will not from henceforth accept her as βασιλίσσα, that she is not to return to the palace nor be proclaimed by any as βασιλίσσα (132, 7). The difference with the Logothete is negligible, whether the Logothete is simplifying or drawing on a source that glossed over the hostility between Nicolas and Zoe.

Both Logothete and *VE* mention Zoe's recall. The *VE* in more detail and with chronological precisions. She is recalled "four months later" (132, 9); but compelled to take the veil (*ibid.*); manages however to bring off a coup d'état (132, 21); Nicolas flees for sanctuary to the Church which he had not seen for eight months (132, 26).



This dates the coup d'état to end Feb. beginning March 914. He remains in sanctuary 22 days (132, 28 and 136, 8) till given a guarantee of immunity in exchange for a promise to proclaim Zoe in church and not to go to the palace without invitation (cf. above, the Logothete's version: "to attend to his own Church"). Zoe gets rid of Alexander's men and replaces them by men of her party (Log. : THc Bonn 386, 4 sqq ; 721, 21 ; 878, 13). On the advice of one of these, Dominicus, she expels Nicolas and his party telling him, with anger, "to look after his Church" (The fact that Zoe promotes Dominicus hetairearch is suggestive in conjunction with the VE's description of the coup d'état as brought off by a small band of armed men who burst into Nicolas' chamber).

The most important of Zoe's appointees is Constantine the parakoimomenos, also called "the Paphlagonian" and "the eunuch". (N. B. though he showered favours on the Euthymian church there is no mention of him in the extant part of the *Vita*). From now until Romanos seizes power it is impossible to say for sure whether Byzantine policy is his or Zoe's. More than any other single factor, the persistence in keeping Leo Phocas at the head of the imperial armies in the face of successive disastrous experiences caused the fall of Zoe's government. It is perhaps significant that he had married the parakoimomenos' sister. The other fatal step was the pardoning by Zoe of Romanos Lecapenos who had been convicted of high treason, a pardon which he turned to good advantage by seizing power. After a short time he banished Zoe to the monastery of St Euphemia, on the not unlikely charge of plotting against him. There she was buried (*De Cer.* I, 649, 1 and Grierson, *Tombs* 28, n. 90).

For the wars of Zoe's regency, see the Logothete and RUNCIMAN, *op. cit.*

70, 11 Constantine Porphyrogennetos b. 905 ; christened 6.1.906 ; crowned 15.5.908 (see GRIERSON & JENKINS, *The date of Constantine VII's coronation*) ; succeeded to the throne 12.5.912 ; married Helen, daughter of Romanos Lecapenos, May 919 ; usurpation of Romanos (during which Constantine remained nominal emperor) 17.12.920-16.12.944 ; personal rule 27.1.945-9.11.959. See OSTROGORSKY<sup>3</sup>, 232-236 and CMH IV<sup>2</sup> (index) — The essential work on Constantine, though dated in detail, is still A. RAMBAUD, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle. Constantin Porphyrogénète*, Paris 1870. A valuable accessory



source, only partially available before, is constituted by *Epistoliers byzantins du X<sup>e</sup> siècle* ed. by DARROUZÈS.

70, 12 Epiphanius, bishop of Laodicea, in either Phrygia or Pisidia (*Κεκανυμένη*). Little is known of the metropolitans of either. There is no other reference in any other source, as far as I am aware, to Epiphanius. He is not among the hierarchs mentioned by the *VE* as being particularly the object of Nicolas' resentment when he was restored, nor is he named in the corresponding passages of Nicolas' letters (PG, CXI, 329 C). Possibly he refused to be reconciled to the dispensation and was deposed in 907. (See *Enzykl. für Theol. und Kirche*; RAMSAY, list of bishops in *Churches and bishoprics*).

It is not certain that the Constantine of Laodicea with whom Nicolas corresponded (Letters CIV, CLVIII, CLIX, in PG CXI, 320, 385, 388) was metropolitan of the same Laodicea. If he was, the date at which he succeeded is unknown.

70, 12 Professor Jenkins comments: "It is remarkable that whereas Arethas led the opposition to the marriage in conjunction with Epiphanius of Laodicea, yet at the christening of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (January 6, 906) Epiphanius alone is mentioned as protesting. Why was this? The obvious explanation is that Arethas was not there to protest. In [letter] No: 7 § 3, Arethas says "Your Godguarded Majesty sent me to Hellas to finish and fulfil the purification of those many churches from their defilements"... If his mission lasted some months between 905 and 906, he would certainly not have been in Constantinople at the time of Constantine's christening, and perhaps not at the time of the fourth marriage itself. It is impossible not to wonder whether he may not have been purposely sent out of the way during these events, to which he was bound to have taken very strong exception". (*Eight Letters*, q. v. on dating etc., 335-6).

70, 27. The sequence of events treated in chs. XI (end)-XIV is also related by Nicholas Mysticus in his letter (Migne 32, PG CXI, 196-220) to pope Anastasius II, with different omissions and a different bias. On the whole the two accounts appear to be complementary except for one important contradiction. In each, a few independent pieces of information add a little to our knowledge or confirm some point.

The *VE* mentions the christening of Constantine Porphyrogenetos,

but not the marriage of Leo and Zoe or the ban which Nicolas was then obliged to impose. Only the Logothete mentions it specifically : *διὰ ταύτην οὖν αἰτίαν* [the marriage] *ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσέρχεσθαι διεκώλυσεν, ὅθεν διὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους διήρχετο εἰς τὸ μητατόριον* (THc, Bonn, 370, 18). According to the *VE*, where the operation of the ban is the main affair, he would have been very willing to lift it, that is to say, allow Leo to perform his penance without obliging him to be separated from Zoe. Once this principle was allowed, Leo could enter the Church with the Patriarch, but not pass beyond the altar railings. The opposite party, led by Arethas of Caesarea and Epiphanius of Laodicea, maintained that the indispensable preliminary was separation from Zoe. Their attitude made "economy" impossible. Needless to say, Nicolas, writing as the one who had suffered degradation and exile in order to uphold the rigors of the canon, is not going to say anything about his earlier efforts to mitigate them. But the *VE*, on the contrary, gives an account, from the point of view of the court, of Nicolas' successive promises to lift the ban and failure to do so, and we know, furthermore, that, on the 25th December 906, Nicolas was still trying to achieve 'economy'.

So far there is difference in presentation of events but no contradiction, but we now come to the arrival of the Roman legates.

According to Nicolas they arrived before St Trypho's day. In the *VE*, on the contrary, Leo states, during the banquet, that they are on their way (86, 9-13). In each account the chronology adopted is an organic part of the development of events, not to be explained away as a lapse of memory. It is important therefore to examine both accounts with the utmost care, for it is not so much the date of the legates arrival that matters as the value of the witness.

To begin with Nicolas, he notes that it was said that he refused to meet the legates out of pride, whereas in reality it was his hierarchy that was not willing to meet them. He himself was perfectly willing, but Leo made it impossible and at the same time set about sapping the hierarchy with bribes. In order to pretend that his disgrace was due to his opposition to the dispensation, Nicolas is obliged to give a distorted picture of events. Thus the majority of the metropolitans had been, like himself, in favour of economy. Those whose consent was obtained by bribes and threats had been his adversaries.

But according to the *VE* Nicolas was already in exile when the legates arrived. The Trypho day banquet is related at length. It is

one of those scenes set in the palace, enlivened with curious details which, we have suggested (see introd. 34 sqq.), belong to the best part of the *VE*—representing eye-witness accounts. Obviously it is impossible that an eye-witness of an event so memorable as this banquet which ended in the arrest of the leading dignitaries of the Church, should not merely forget that it happened with the Roman legates in CP, but should go out of his way to say that they will soon arrive. If Nicolas' version is true, the whole credit of the *VE* is at stake, and one must look for some other explanation for the special character of these scenes.

There are a number of curious features in Nicolas' story. Among others, he says that Leo rejected his suggestion that he be invited to the palace and allowed to meet the Romans. Yet he was invited to the S. Trypho's day banquet and went, but clearly, from his own account, still without meeting them. This seems strange. They had come, on Leo's invitation, to regularise his affairs, i. e. make his Church swallow his marriage. They were asking to meet the Patriarch and metropolitans for this purpose. The heads of the opposition, Arethas and Epiphanius, were boycotting the banquet, but they were not to be allowed to meet the Patriarch who was working for the same solution? As de Boor says: "es kaum ist glaublich" (p. 170).

Once again Nicolas has slightly falsified events, while once again there seems good reason for believing the *VE*. The more so as we shall see that its author even admits (albeit implicitly) that the synod that led to Euthymius' election was packed by Leo. The *VE* omits unpleasant facts or hides the implications but does not, I believe, alter the facts. Nicolas does, and one notes that, in this very same letter to the Pope, he laments at great length that the whole Church of Rome has been led into error over this matter by the legates who had accused him before the Pope "of things they well knew had never happened", and hints they were "in the power of the tyrant gold". In other words, he knows his tale will not concord with their report.

Arethas informs us that Nicolas was invited to explain his resignation before a meeting of the synod and that he refused (Cf. his letter quoted in the *VE* and the letter to Nicolas of the Kositzes ms, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Varia graeca sacra*, reprinted *Byzantion* 1955-57). Nicolas complains bitterly that the legates condemned him without any attempt to find out the

truth or hear his side of the case, and then went back to Rome and gave a false version of events. We may guess that they said, like Arethas, that he had been invited to put his case before the synod and themselves, and that he had refused. Nicolas, trying to get papal support, a few years later, for his line of action cannot admit that he refused at the time to defend it before the legates and synod. An explanation for the complaint that he had refused to *συνελθεῖν εἰς λόγους* had to be found, but he decided not to invoke his exile. By antedating the arrival of the legates, he was able to show that it was his metropolitans, not he, who were reluctant, and present the picture of a Church united behind him against the Tetragamy — and against the intervention of Rome in disciplinary affairs of another patriarchal see (see n. to 86, 23). For a detailed review of the evidence, see my *Synode à CP*.

70, 29 Cf. p. 84, 25-28 and ARETHAS Eikosiphoinisses letter 3, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Varia graeca sacra*, St. Petersburg 1909, reprinted *Byz.* XXV-XXVII, 1957 : *πολὸν μὲν καὶ πικρὸν ἐπιβάλλεις τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν σάλον ... καὶ διαδραματουργήσας σκαιῶ τινι καὶ κατὰ σαντοῦ τρόπῳ (ἐπίστανται ταῦτα ὅσοι τε καὶ βασιλέως τῶν ἀπορρήτων μετέχοντες) εἶτα πρὸς τὸ πέρας τὰ τῆς σκηνῆς διαθέσθαι ἡμηχάνησας ἔλαφος ἡμῖν ... ἥκεις ἀντὶ παρθένου* (*Byz.* XXV-XXVII, 762). Arethas' acquaintance with the ἀπόρρητα is not necessarily to be linked with his correspondent Stephen ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν ἀπορρήτων (See Kougeas for text of one letter ; it has nothing to do with state affairs), but rather with the letter to the Emir.

70, 32 The church known as *Néa*. The ἐγκαίνια were celebrated the 1st May. Transfiguration is on the 6th August.

72, 3-7 Cf. p. 84, 2 and ARETHAS : “ἐτι σοι τότε τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα εὐμενέστερον ἔχοντι καὶ τὰς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ πύλας θερμότερον ὑπανοίγοντι, εἰ καὶ μὴ οὗτος ὑπέϊκε τῇ παρακλήσει, κανονικότερως τὸ τελεσθὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μεταχειριζόμενος (Eikosiphoinisses letter n° 3, *Byzantion* 1955-7, p. 766). Nicolas would prefer to do without the intervention of Rome, Leo insists on it. In his letter to the Pope (PG III, Letter XXXII, col. 196-220) Nicolas, naturally enough, does not mention this, though he speaks of the resentment caused — and perhaps he was not the only one to feel it — by bringing in the Pope to quash the ruling of the Byzantine Church in a matter of discipline. In fact, in this letter to Rome, he dwells conside-



rably on Leo's insistence on having the Roman ruling, presenting it in a most unfavourable light.

72, 11 JENKINS and LAOURDAS (*Eight letters*, 368) suggest that not Athanasius but Dionysius of Alexandria is meant.

72, 26-80, 7 Cf. 88, 7. The *Vita* has not invented the charge that Nicolas plotted against Leo. Arethas has been speaking of the changes made by Alexander on becoming *μονοκράτωρ* and continues : "the injustice of which this saint [i. e. Euthymius] was victim was part of this insane campaign of innovation. For taking those who had often been caught plotting against Leo, and for this reason been expelled from the churches, or rather... had themselves retired, he made them his counsellors, as being of the same mind etc." (τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν παρεώθησαν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτοὺς... ὑπέστειλαν, *Epitaphios* § 6). Obviously this is a shot at Nicolas.

74, 10 τοὺς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν... βασιλεῖ Nicolas is already asking for signed undertakings from certain metropolitans before Christmas. See n. to 82, 6 & 86, 23.

74, 15 On Christmas day 906, in the evening, Nicolas was still trying to overcome the extremist opposition (see letter from Nicetas Paphlago to Arethas). Shortly after, at any rate from his exile on, he took up the position of complete rigorism which he defended for the rest of his life, claiming that it had been his position all along.

76, 17 Arethas of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Other sources : his own writings ; Alexander of Nicea, Letter (ed. DARROUZÈS, *Epistoliers*). Modern works : BECK, *Kirche* (591-4) ; BEES, *Bleispiegel* ; Ἐπιδρομαὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ; DARROUZÈS, *Inventaire* ; R. DEVREESSE, *Introduction à l'étude des mss grecs*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1954 (index) ; JENKINS, various ; KARLIN-HAYTER, various ; KAŽDAN, *Две хроники*, 116 ; KOUGEAS, Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας ; WEITZMANN, *Mandyllion* ; ZARDINI, *Sulla biblioteca*. Recent articles on Arethas are numerous (references in the articles quoted or BZ). Kougeas is still the only monography. Arethas is well known to classical scholars because of his rôle in the transmission of classical texts (Zardini and Devreesse).

The importance of the political rôle he played is shown by the *VE* illustrated and amplified by his surviving works which are in large part political and confirm again and again the affirmations of the *Vita*.



His writings are : 1) the letters, tracts, homilies, exegetical works of the following mss : Eikosiphoinisses (= Kosinitza) 1. This ms is lost, it was edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Varia graeca sacra* ; Ottobonianus 147 (two texts found also in the Marcianus) ; Marcianus 524 edited in two parts by Jenkins, Laourdas and Mango (*Eight Letters and Nine orations*) ; Mosquensis 315 edited incompletely by different hands in various reviews. See Darrouzès, *Inventaire* p. 115. To the texts he gives as edited should be added : 2 and 3 in *Byzantion* 1961 ; 7 edited by DOBSCHÜTZ, *Die Akten* (Gk text) ; 12 and 13 in *Byzantion* 1962 ; 15 in *Byzantion* 1962 ; 19 in *Byzantion* 1964 ; 28 and 29 edited by TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOS in *Ἀρχαῖον ἰδιωτ. δικάριον* 1953 and *Πελοποννησιακά* 1961 ; 42 edited by COMPERNASS in *Studi biz. e neoell.* 1935. A collected edition of all these texts is promised by L. G. WESTERINK under the title of *Scripta minora*. The three epigrams of the Anthology will also be included.

The letter from an archbishop of Caesarea to Constantine VII published by LAMBROS (*Νέος Ἑλληνομνημὼν*, 13, 1916-17, 205-10) is wrongly ascribed to Arethas. On the other hand, the authenticity of the so-called *Letter to the emir* has been disputed perfectly arbitrarily, because Abel thought it too frivolous for an archbishop and commentator of Revelations. The *Choirosphactes* in particular shows how groundless this feeling was. In style and in spirit the *Letter to the emir* is legitimate Arethas (KARLIN-HAYTER, *Arethas, Choirosphactes and the Saracen vizir*. Cf. A. Th. KHOURY, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*, Louvain-Paris, 1969, pp. 219 sqq.).

2) His magnum opus is the commentary on the Apocalypse (ed. A. Cramer, *Catena in Novum Testamentum*, VIII, 176-496, and PG 106, 493-785. No critical edition).

3) Particularly interesting are Arethas' scholia, unfortunately only published in part and that part dispersed (see Zardini). For the scholia on the Bulgarian war see Bees, *Αἱ ἐπιδρομαί*. For the Slaves in the Peloponnese see Lemerle, *La chronique*.

A seal belonging to Arethas, archbishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, has been published by Bees, and Weitzmann believes he has recognised his portrait in an illustration of a xth century ms.

I know of only one certain reference to A. in the other writings of the period, a brief mention in a letter from Alexander of Nicea. In Cedrenus, Glycas and Zonaras the forcible resignation of the patriarch Trypho to make way for the emperor Romanos I's son Theophylact is connected with the archbishop of Caesarea.

Zonaras (Bonn, III, 475, 16) does not name him. Cedrenus (Bonn, II, 313, 16) and Glycas (Bonn, 559, 16) give the name of Theophanes Choirinos. But at the time of Trypho's resignation the see of Caesarea was occupied by Arethas. Though we know from two surviving letters that he warmly supported Theophylact's candidature the story is not above suspicion. It is not found in the earlier versions of the Logothete edited as Theodose of Melitene, Leo Grammaticus (Bonn, 321, 10-14), the Istrin George cont. or those published in the Bonn Corpus, as Continuers of Theophanes (Bonn 421, 1-6 ; 744, 23-745, 3 ; 911, 22-912, 5).

The date of Arethas' birth is not known exactly but in the *Ἀπολογητικός*, composed at any rate after the proclamation of the Tome of Union on the 9th July 920 (published by ŠANGIN, Πисьма Арѣфы) he says that he is seventy three. Furthermore, in 906 Nicetas Paphlago calls him *πρεσβύτην* and he describes himself as *ἐπὶ γήρῳς οὐδ᾽ ὧ βεβηκώς* (*Eight letters* 325, 28). To accomodate all the data he must have been born somewhere near 850 (KOUGEAS p.2). If P. Orgels is right (*La dernière invasion slave*, 279, n. 2) and the *Ἀπολογητικός* belongs to the year 921, the year of Arethas' birth would be 848.

Patras was his birthplace (scholia, see KOUGEAS 2-3). Though the date of his arrival in CP is unknown, a remark in his *Ἀπολογία τοῖς ἐπισκόποις* is generally interpreted as meaning that he was in the capital before Basil's death. Speaking of his affection for Leo he, pursues : "Nor is this feeling of recent growth or freshly planted in friendship's soil but old-established, of his father's planting (*Byzantion* 1961, 300, see KOUGEAS 4), but Basil had links with Patras.

The chronology of his ecclesiastical career is not known any more surely. In 888 he does not seem yet to have taken orders, the Euclid ms gives *Ἐγράφη χειρὶ Στεφάνου κληρικοῦ μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ' ἔτει κόσμου ,ςτςζ'* (= 888) *ἐκτησάμην Ἀρέθας Πατρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον NN IΔ*). The corresponding note in the Vatican Plato shows that by 895 he was deacon (KOUGEAS 5-6).

He was archbishop sometime before 906 when we find him entering the tetragamy conflict with that rank (KOUGEAS 7 ; *Nine orations* 2, and *Eight letters* 342).

The last we hear of him is round 932, canvassing for Theophylact's election. Furthermore, the Moscow ms 231 is dated 932. He probably did not long outlive this date : he was about eighty two (Kougeas 8), since 906 he had considered himself, and was considered, old (see above), and, finally, from one of the letters on Theophylact's

election we learn that his health prevented him from attending meetings of the synod.

We are amply documented on one episode of his political career, the tetragamy, but the evidence suggests it was not the first nor the last. This is not the place to attempt his biography. Sufficient to note that under Leo he twice had to face charges of 'impiety', in 901 and 906-7. The second, we know, and the first we may conjecture, was the cover for a purely political manœuvre (*Eight letters* 369-70 and below, n. to 104, 12, last §). Under Roman I he faced ■ charge of high treason (ŠANGIN, *op. cit.* ; ORGELS, *op. cit.* ; JENKINS, *Date of the Slav revolt*). It is not clear which of these occasions is alluded to by Alexander of Nicea in a letter, dated by Darrouzès to 944 (*Epistoliers* 28), saying that a charge similar to the one he was facing had formerly been trumped up against Arethas (Συνεπλάσθη κατὰ τοῦ Ἀρέθα τοιαῦτά ποτε, ἀλλ' ἐν κοινωνίᾳ καὶ παραδοχῇ · οὐδὲν τούτων ἠκούσθη οὐδὲν προσεδέχθη παρὰ τῶν τότε θεοφιλῶν ἀρχιερέων · τὸ γὰρ ὁσίως δικάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ παρῆναι καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἔχειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ δεσμεῖσθαι καὶ κακοῦσθαι καὶ τήμεσθαι (*op. cit.* 92, 38).

Whatever the issue of the trial for treason, he became a warm partisan of Romanos' and energetically backed the patriarchal candidature of Romanos' son Theophylact (consecrated patriarch 2nd February 933 after ■ vacancy of a year and six months). His tract *Χοιροσφάκτης ἢ μισογόης* is political ; so, in a different way, is the *Letter to the emir*.

The Tetragamy is the subject of the *Vita Euthymii*. In connection with it we may note that the second of the political trials mentioned above was the emperor's answer to Arethas' opposition to his marriage. Here we come up against the question, first of this opposition and then of the sudden *volte-face*. The puzzle has been complicated by too rigid an attempt to pose it in terms of modern party-politics. It seems excessive to say that, when Nicolas fell, one party supplanted the other. A patriarch representative of the monastic tendency did certainly replace one of the court tendency, but it was the monastic and extremist wing who supplied the victims of the purge with which Leo followed up his change of patriarch. True, also, that various advantages were offered hesitating extremists to induce them to renounce their extremism. But there can be no doubt that Euthymius was created patriarch because he was acceptable to some, at least, of the austere and also to the majority of the metro-

politans, which means those who, with Nicolas, had long ago said, as Arethas quotes them, that "the evil was not so great, and kings always get their way in these matters".

But, if he was not letting down his party, Arethas, in opposing dispensation, was siding with monks and obscurantists against the representatives of tolerance and culture and the Photian tradition, and this seems in contradiction with his position in cultural history, with the intellectual liberalism one expects of a reader of Plato and Aristotle. Arethas read Plato indeed, and to that extent he belonged to the Photian tradition and the liberal school, but in religion and everything that touched it he seems to have been austere, rigorous and disciplinarian. This conclusion is reached not so much by reading the pamphlets, which were for use and publication, and therefore doubly suspect, as by reading the scholia. It is in keeping with the character revealed in these private jottings (as well in the rest of his writings) that he should, with all his might, have opposed the emperor's uncanonical marriage. And no less in keeping that he should, when opposition was proven useless, have given it up and set to 'healing the spiritual ulcer'. A xxth century standpoint makes his *apologiai* for his change of front, read by themselves, sound specious. But read alongside his scholia and the letter to Thomas *πατρις* (WESTERINK, 178), remembering that it is true, as he boasts, that his attitude had entailed hardships and risks, they begin to sound sincere: he says that he could not look on without a protest and see the commandments of God flouted, that an archbishop's duty is to speak up and not deserve the reproach of silence, agreement and non-resistance, and that if there had been more like him to show resistance the result might have been different. At all events, everything had to be done to try to make the sinner renounce his sin. But once everything had been tried and it was clear he could not be diverted from it, then he should not be brought to despair, driven from bad to worse. There is a time for clemency. Indulgence earlier was not clemency since it did not attempt to save the sinner from his sin (this is a very important point, already present in the scholia; see Vall. 79 (F 10)sch. to Basil XIV and Quinisexte CII). But when everything had been tried and it was clear further attempts would only harden him in it, then true compassion required that one save him on his own terms and (in spite of Basil the Great) concede something to human weakness. This is the essential, from this point of view, of the *Apologiai*.



All this, however, is Arethas attempting to justify himself. But we have a document of a very different nature.

The violent and unguarded comments he scribbled in the margins of his books are famous, such are the *sortie* against Lucian for attributing envy to the Divinity or the caustic notes on the empress Theophano. A very remarkable set, still unpublished (though not, we hope, for long), contains some twenty scholia concerned with the Tetragamy. They come from Vallicellianus 79 (F10), a canonical corpus, and are being prepared for publication by M. J. Koukoules who very kindly communicated them to me and authorised their use in this note. They belong to the period of the Marcianus letters, the period when Arethas was fighting tooth and nail against dispensation. It will not be necessary to quote more than two or three to show, not only that his opposition was dictated by his true feelings, but more than that : that his volte-face also was only its proper corollary : the purpose of severity is to recall the sinner from his sin ; if it fails, it must be abandoned (I do not deny that he may have been glad to give up opposition, but his line of conduct, throughout, was both the one his conscience demanded and consistent).

On Neocaesarea V : "If those who are still catechumenes are not [to be] pardoned, what about the faithful, even if nowadays the slackness and venality of those who are responsible for them (*ἐφορώντων* = *ἐπισκόπων*) invite all to a relaxed and swinish life".

On Neocaesarea VII forbidding priests to eat with the twice-married : "And the four times-married, those who not merely eat with them, but approve, what do they deserve?"

On ——— XXX 268 "And what if the accused is an emperor, holy fathers" ?

On the VIIth ecum. council V 463 : *Εἰ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμώμενοι κατεξάνισταται τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ κακώσει ἐκδιδόασι, τί φήεις, ἅγιο τοῦ θεοῦ* ; "And if, preferring pleasure, they banish [an archbishop] and ill treat [him], what then, Saint of God?"

In the following sch. to Basil LXXX, the relation between the text and the scholion is so idiosyncratic that both must be quoted :

*Τὴν πολυγαμίαν οἱ πατέρες ἀπεσιώπησαν, ὥς κτηνώδη καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλοτριαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἡ μὲν δὲ πλέον τι πορνείας εἶναι τὸ ἀμάρτημα, διὸ εὐλογον τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς κανόσι ...*

Sch. : *Τοιοῦτον τὸ λεγόμενον, ὥς οἱ μὲν ἅγιοι πατέρες, ἅτε δὴ*



ἀπὸ ἐγκρίτου συστήματος τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν τηνικαῦτα πληρώματος ἀθροιζομένου, οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἡγήσαντο πτώμα, τὴν πολυγαμίαν, ἀλλὰ κτηνῶδες · διὸ οὐδὲ θεραπείας ἤξιωσαν. ἡ μὲν δέ, ἐπεὶ χριστιανοῖς βασιλεῦσι χρωμένοις οὐκέτι τὸ ἐκλελογισμένον ἐν τοῖς πιστοῖς ὁρᾶται, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ κρατοῦντος νεύματι καὶ τῇ ἀρεσκείᾳ τὸ ἀδιάκριτον τῷ χριστιανισμῷ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπάγεται, δοκεῖ λοιπὸν ἐν πλῆθει τοσούτῳ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἀπογινώσκειν ἀμάρτημα, καὶ κτηνῶδες μὲν μηκέτι τοῦτο νομίζοντας ἀθεράπευτον ἔαν, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ὃ ἀφωμοιοῦται πτώμα καὶ τὸ ἐμπλαστρον ἐπιτρέπειν. τίσι δὲ ἀφωμοιοῦται; τοῖς ἀκολάστοις πόρνοις ... ὥστε καὶ τοῦ μιάσματος ἀλλοτριωθήσεται, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνοι, ὃ πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀφορμῆσας · οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πέσοι προσόζων καὶ διασπόμενος τοῖς μώλωψιν ἔτι τῆς ἀφροσύνης.

Identifying himself with Basil in the ἡμῖν δέ, Arethas interprets τοιοῦτον τὸ λεγόμενον very freely in a note of considerable violence. Observe the contrast between ἐγκρίτου συστήματος τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν πληρώματος and πλῆθος συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων, between χριστιανοῖς βασιλεῦσι and its context, particularly τῷ τοῦ κρατοῦντος νεύματι καὶ τῇ ἀρεσκείᾳ and finally: "it seems therefore good to us, amid so great a rabble, not to despair of any such fault nor to consider it bestial and leave it untended, but rather to allow it the dressing of those to whose fault it is assimilated. *And who are they? Unbridled fornicators*". A. winds up: "So he, as they, shall withdraw from his pollution if he aspires to healing. For he shall not come under the canon so long as he is full of the stench and running sores of folly".

Significant too are the comments on Basil LXXXIV re the quality of repentance and the proper attitude for one who fails to reclaim the sinner, as well as on Basil XLIV concerning "binding and loosing": This "great gift", says Arethas, is not to be used indiscriminately. Apparently the desperate are to be excepted (τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων ὑπολήψει) and 'humbled' by the promise of God's mercy.

Jenkins writes (*Eight letters* 346) that Arethas had "probably meant all along" to reverse his policy. These new texts rather suggest that he brandished the big stick in the sincere hope of frightening Leo out of his sin, but at the same time knew that he might not carry out all he threatened. In the letter written at the height of the crisis and explaining that Leo is going to be treated more severely

than Theodose the Great by Ambrose, he adds ταῦτα οὐ διατεινόμενος τὸ ἐπελθὼν συστήσαι δεδήλωκα, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος δοκιμάσαι, Θεοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν δεηθέντας πολλά, καὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοδικαίου τι μεθιέντας εἴ γε τούτου καιρός (*Byzantion* XXVIII, 1958, 388, 10).

That his reversal of policy coincided with Nicolas' fall need not be explained by personal hatred of Nicolas — certainly he did not love Nicolas, but was this anything more than passionate contempt for one who had shewn himself an unworthy head of the Church? — but once Leo had gone to the length of overthrowing the patriarch to get his way it was time to give up hoping for his submission. Also Leo's threat to make successive marriages legal (the *αἰρεσις*) certainly made a great impression on both Euthymius and Arethas, and was instrumental in reconciling them to the "lesser evil".

A piquant twist is given to Arethas' case by his subsequent conversion. It is obvious that the business worried him deeply. When he accepted the "lesser evil", and even when he defended his *volte-face* before the synod, he still believed that his first stance had been in line with the canons and that his change was in defiance of them : ἤκομεν, τοιγαροῦν, ἤκομεν · οὐ πάντῃ μὲν ἴσως ἐπαινετῶς (*Byzantion* 31, 1961, 283, 19). But he continued to meditate on the problem, and it came to him with a shock communicated to his correspondent Thomas πατρίκιος that his earlier interpretation had been wrong. The letter (WESTERINK, 178) in which he communicates this is extremely interesting and suggestive. I quoted a few lines of it in an earlier sketch of the development of Arethas' attitude to the canons on marriage (*Byzantion* XXXIV, 1964, 51). The canons, as he now saw it, set no limit (ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμετρον ἐκχέοντος τοῦ ταῦτα προχέοντος) on the number of marriages which are still preferable to fornication (πλέον πορνείας), and Leo's marriage, though subject to penance, was canonically acceptable. It was a great relief to him to be following Basil, not opposing him.

On Arethas' treatment of Nicetas Paphlago after the reversal of policy, see below, n. to 104, 12.

On his correspondance with correspondents of Nicolas', see below, n. to 114, 32 (Demetrius of Heracleia).

78, 2 Cf. *Basilica*, VI, 1, 25 : Τὸ δίκαιον τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς τάξεως, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡμεῖς συναριθμούμεθα,

οὐ δεῖ ὑβρίζεσθαι. Καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς συναριθμεῖσθαι τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑπατεύειν ἀνέχεται.

78, 7 τὴν τῶν ἀκουβίτων πρόσκλησιν On the twelve days of Christmas the emperor invited to the successive banquets τῶν ἀκουβίτων the different categories set out in the Cletorologion in the chapter headed Ἡ γενέθλιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ προτίθονται αἱ τῶν θ' ἀκουβίτων ἐκθέσεις (BURY, *Imp. ad. syst.*, 156-64). According to the Cletorologion the Patriarch is invited twice : on the 6th or 7th day, with members of the monastic orders, and on the crowning day of Epiphany proper, Twelfth night, the occasion here described. The VE adds Epiphany eve as one where the patriarch 'usually' went to the palace (76, 11).

The Epiphany day banquet was a religious ceremony, and one to which Leo was much attached : he modified the ritual, composed a hymn and no doubt personally inspired the preface in the Cletorologian : (162, 34-41).

78, 11 πρωτόθρονος the archbishop, not of CP, but of Caesarea of Cappadocia : ἀνὴρ τὴν πρώτην ἐν ἐπισκόποις τάξιν ἐπέχων (ARETHAS, Ἀπολογητικός 252, 62) ; ἀρχιερεὺς πρώτον τε καὶ μεγίστον θρόνον τὰ δευτεράα φερόμενος (ibid. 251, 14). The Patriarch was not listed in the *ordo praesidentiae*, and the first see under him was known as the first see absolutely : Ἡ γεγονυῖα διατύπωσις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ, ὅπως ἔχουσι τάξεως οἱ θρόνοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως : α' Ἡ Καισάρεια (PARTHEY, *Hier. Synecd. et not. gr. ep.*, Berlin, 1866, p. 95).

This titlature reflects the fact that CP rose suddenly to dominate an organisation in which it originally stood on a modest level. It was not given the place of whatever see had, before, held first rank, but simply set over the existing organisation.

78, 21 ἀλλ' οὐτε αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων μετέληψιν this had certainly not been said by Nicolas (Nicetas Paphlago tells us as much : πόρρω τῆς ἱερᾶς καθισταμένῳ κιγκλίδος καὶ τῶν ἀφανστομένων ἐκτός in Ἐπιστολή ed. Lampros) nor by Leo.

As Arethas notes in his scholia to Vallicell. 79 (F 10) κοινωνία had two meanings : 1) ἡ τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων μετέληψις ; 2) fellowship with the faithful. This ambiguity may underlie the accusation, if it is not perfectly gratuitous.

Clues to what an emperor might expect are found in Arethas' letter to Nicetas Scholasticus, setting forth the plans of the anti-economy party if they win the day (*Byzantion*, XXVIII, 1959, 386, 18-388).

78, 24-26 The patriarchs have been moved to sympathy, but only topoteretes in fact came. Cf. Choirosphactes' letter (KOLIAS 91, 1. 7) : τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοὺς ὡς βασιλέα ἀνάξομεν.

80, 31 Ἀνακρεοντείοις ἔπεσι Cf. Zonaras : ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ ὀνυμοῖς ἑαυτὸν καὶ μέτροις παντοδαποῖς · γνώη δέ τις τοῦτο ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ θανούσῃ αὐτῷ τῇ κοινωνῶ τοῦ βίου ἐμμέτρως ἐθρήνησεν (Bonn, 483, 3) — Paul MAAS (*Lit. zu der V. E.*) draws attention to Barberini 310 (published in the *Spicilegium Rom.*, IV, 1840, p. XXXVI) which gives the titles of several lost ἀνακρεόντεια of Leo's, one on the fall of Thessalonica, one on the rebel Ducas, a Παραινετικὸν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν ὑπὲρ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

82, 6 τὰ πρῶην χειρογραφηθέντα. The oath required of the metropolitans on this occasion is given consistency by the quotation from it that follows. The earlier undertaking referred to (see 74, 11) is not so well attested, though there is no necessary contradiction between a last attempt on Nicolas' part to get the dispensation accepted at the same time as he begins to take measures for keeping his grip on the metropolitans if new developments should arise.

That it really was exacted is proven by Nicolas himself : ἡ ὁμολογία ὑμῶν, ἣν ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογήσατε, μηδὲν τῆς ἡμῶν ἕξω γνώμης πράττειν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθήσειν ἡμῖν, εἴ τι γνώμημεν περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθόντος βασιλέως οἰκονομεῖν (Letter, *Byzantion* xxv-vii, 750, 11) ; — τὸ δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, ὁπότε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλικῆς παρακελεύσεως ἅπαντας ἐξῆγε τῆς πόλεως, εἰρημένον ὑμῖν κοινῇ συνηθροισμένοις καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕξοδον σύνταξιν ποιημένοις, ὡς οὐδενὶ ἕξεστι χωρὶς τῆς πάντων συμφωνίας ἐπιτελεῖν τινὰ οἰκονομίαν ἀλλ' εἴτε δοίη Θεὸς ἐν βίῳ διαμένειν ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεθίστησι κοινῇ γνώμη καὶ ψήφῳ, εἴ τι γενέσθαι δεήσει, τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ὡς εἴ τις μὴ οὕτως φρονήσειεν, ἀλλ' ἄνευ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἐπικρίσεως τολμήσει τι πράττειν, οὗτος ἀπαραιτήτως εἴη φέρων τὴν καταδίκην παρὰ τε Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τε τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι κτλ. (*ibid.*, 16-25).

The texts are not the same, in particular the terms in which the signatories condemn themselves if they are forsworn are different. Both seem to be quoted from actual documents. According to the VE Nicolas asked for oaths more than once. This is perhaps also implied in his own account (above) by ἡ δόμολογία followed by τὸ δὲ... εἰρημένον.

Differences in form suggest different documents; differences in content, only that each is excerpting, or perhaps distorting, for his own purposes. Each contains reference to a resistance to the death and we may compare Arethas: πάντα ὑποίσειν διατεινόμενος etc. (Byz. 25-27, 766, 11). Nicolas says the oath was to do nothing without the "agreement of all" or "without Us" (at different moments). The VE says it was an oath to stand firm and not resign their sees. Its very fragmentary report does not bother to say in what circumstances this constancy is required. But this insistence on not resigning their sees is not unlikely: resist to the death, no resignations, stick together and follow Nicolas, may have been the four points of the oath.

84, 15 προφασίζῃ προφάσεις, PLATO, *Rep.* 5, 474 E; Ps. 141, 4; GREG. NAZ., *Oratio de bapt.*, PG 36, 392 A etc.

86, 6 Leo Choirosphageus or Choirosphactes. Other sources: his own correspondence (ed. Sakkellion in *Δελτίον* and KOLIAS, *Léon Choerosphactes*); Logothete chronicle; ARETHAS, *Choirosphactes*; TABARI. Modern works: BECK 594; DE BOOR 189-193; JENKINS, *Choirosphactes* (contra, K.-H., *Arethas, Choirosphactes*); *De Admin.* II, 135; KAŽDAN 118; KOLIAS, *Léon Choirosphactes*, commentary.

Date of birth unknown. Mysticos under Basil I. Under Leo entrusted with several important embassies to Bulgarians and Arabs. Sometime after the beginning of 907 fell into disgrace for an unknown reason. Exiled to one of the Petras. In CP again in 913 and participating in Constantine Ducas' ill-fated insurrection. He was not among the numerous conspirators to be executed, but was tonsured at Studios'. As author of a poem on the marriage of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, was still alive in 919.

His letter XXIII (XVIII) (KOLIAS, 113) contains a number of interesting items on the history of Bulgarian and Arab relations during Leo's reign.

86, 7 A letter from CP to Choirosphactes describes the emperor's



enthusiasm : καὶ πρὸ πάντων τοὺς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν εἰρήνην οἰκονομήσαντας ἀρχιερέας ἔρχη φέρων μετὰ σαντοῦ. Οὐκοῦν εἰς δέον ὁ μέγας καὶ σοφὸς ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν σὼν ἐγκωμίων ἀσίγητα προβάλλει τὰ διηγήματα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς σαῖς χαίρει καὶ καθωραῖζεται πράξεσιν, ὥς καὶ τραπέξῃ βασιλικῇ πρὸ παντὸς καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἡδύσματος τὸ σὸν περιφέρειν μετὰ θαύματος ὄνομα (Letter from Procopius spatharius to Leo Choiosphactes in Bagdad, KOLIAS, 97, 14).

86, 8 Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem : Choiosphactes (Letter XXIII/XVIII, Kolias 113, 20) only mentions Jerusalem and Antioch. See GRUMEL, *Chronologie des événements*. Two points may be noted : 1) there is only the one allusion in Choiosphactes letters and Alexandria may simply have fallen out, omitted by the copyist through carelessness, whereas there are repeated allusions in the VE (72, 8 ; 78, 18 ; 80, 1 ; 86, 8 ; 100, 25 ; 100, 26). 2) This is not due to any bias in the VE which, with its Studite point of view, is oriented towards Rome ; the evidence, so far, seems to favour this version but the evidence of Eutychius, Arethas and the *Cletorologion* (see MAAS, *Der Interpolator* and DVORNIK, p. 267-71) remain to be considered. Grumel has summed up the question in masterly fashion (*Chronologie des événements*, 13-17). Sufficient to say here that if the interpolator is alluding to 901, no problems arise, and, following Grumel, I believe only Kauleas' Union can be considered here. Arethas' evidence is perhaps slight : alluding to this council he speaks of the vote τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίας (*Epit.* § 4).

86, 9 Symeon asecretis. Other Sources : John Cameniata (Bonn 574-6) ; Logothete (Theoph. cont. Bonn 368 ; 707 ; 863). Modern works : DE BOOR 189 ; BROWNING, *Correspondence* 431 ; DARROUZÈS, *Epistoliers* 33 (? see below).

Little has been added to what de Boor wrote. The information on the rôle of Symeon after the sack of Thessalonica is common to the *Vita* and Logothete and drawn by both from the same source, Came-niata (see above, p. 21-24). The VE alone relates the embassy to Rome. The Logothete informs us that Symeon was later promoted patricius and protasecretis.

Unsolved is the question whether he is the author of the letters of Symeon asecretis. Browning writes : "Possibly... But he later became patricius and protasecretis (Theoph. Cont., *loc. cit.*), and would presumably have reached this rank by the twenties or thirties of

the tenth century. He cannot, however, be ruled out ... the name is a common one in the tenth century" (*op. cit.* 431).

86, 20 "πρόσκλησεις Primus et gravior gradus Poenitentium, ut qui extra Narthecem consisterunt. Scholiastes Harmenopuli in Epit. Canon. Can. 58 προσκλαίων · ἤγουν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰστάμενος καὶ τῶν εἰσιόντων δεόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὔχεσθαι" (Stephanus) — Arethas (*Letter to Nicetas in Byzantion* XXVIII, p. 386, 11. 19-21) describes it in expectation of its being applied to Leo.

For all five degrees, see PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσ. Βιβλ.* III, 20.

86, 23 καίπερ εὐδοκοῦντες οὐκ ἐπαρρησιάσονται. On p. 74, before Christmas, apparently just before, Nicolas is shown demanding an oath of the προύχοντες τῶν μητροπολιτῶν "as he did afterwards with all", clearly referring to the episode of 82, 6 when, after the Epiphany banquet, he makes them all (= all who had been at the banquet) sign a sworn undertaking (partially quoted).

Who are these metropolitans? Those of his own party who had previously accepted dispensation rather than the opposition. Four days after exiling them, the emperor recalled those metropolitans who "did not reject this repentance" (88, 3). Is the καίπερ εὐδοκοῦντες of the present text looking forward to this, or looking back, implying that they are the ones who had favoured dispensation until made to swear they would do nothing without complete δόμοιοι? Both no doubt.

A delegation (presumably not all) of these same hierarchs goes with Samonas when he is sent to demand Nicolas' resignation. According to the *VE* they sign to him not to give it. This, the oath, as given by the *VE*, "that none should resign his throne" and Nicolas' own ingenious attempt at resigning without resigning all hang together very well.

In conclusion, the resistance from the numerically small but morally strong anti-dispensation faction produced a deadlock. Seeing this, Leo was planning new measures to get his way. These measures threatened Nicolas' authority, a fact of which he was aware : whether it was the Patriarch's deposition or simply the accepting as valid and sufficient of the Roman dispensation whereas his had not been, either measure was seriously damaging.

On the one hand we have the picture of the Byzantine Church solidly united against unjustified Roman intervention that Nicolas

is at such pains to portray in his letter to the Pope (see n. to 70, 27) and which we know to be untrue. On the other hand, the picture of a Church divided into warring factions. But nothing that could be interpreted in a manner hostile to Rome is allowed to appear in the pro-Roman, Studite and Ignatian *VE*.

At all events Nicolas' reaction was to prepare resistance to the dispensation if he was not to be the one to carry it through.

But although his resentment of the Roman dispensation seems to me the main factor, his later accusations of *συνωμοσία* suggest that he was also afraid of the metropolitans slipping from his grasp. See, for example his *ἡ οὐχὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν* (sc. before S. Trypho's day) *λανθάνοντες συνεσκευάσασθε καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅτε ἀνέδην καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀπέστητε δῆλην τὴν συσκευὴν ἐποιήσασθε*; (*Byzantion* XXV-XXVII, 750, 4). See below, n. to 88, 21 and 90, 17.

Passages of the *VE* shewing this sudden stiffening of the opposition: 74, 10-11; 74, 24; 76, 16; 80, 9, 35; 86, 21; 92, 25-28.

88, 9 *ὀξυπαθείας...* The metropolitans did not yet know of Nicolas' treason. Next day Leo makes the transfuges from Ducas tell them (88, 21 sqq.). The secret was confided, however, to a small number only, and while this allows Leo to write to Nicolas *ὅπερ ἀκμὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὑπεδείξαμεν* (90, 27), it also explains the contradictions of the sources. Only such a privileged individual as I have supposed the author of the *VE* to be, would have known what was going on.

88, 21 Cf. Nicolas: *τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως συγκκληκότος ἡμᾶς* [S Trypho's day banquet]... *φανερῶς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀπορραγέντες οἷόν τι πολέμιον στίφος ἐκείνω προσέθεσθε καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις προσκεκλημένοι δις ἀπειργάσασθε* (*Byzantion* XXV-XXVII, 750, 6).

90, 4 *Οὕτω δὲ πέντε* de Boor (p. 123) proposed to read *δεκαπέντε* but this is because he assumed *ἡ ἀγία αὕτη σύνοδος* to be the one held in presence of the representatives of the Pope and other Patriarchs. But this is not so. The present is a session, of dubious validity (see 98, 5), of the *ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος*.

90, 17 sqq. The presence of the metropolitans with Samonas is perhaps, with the incidents of n. to 88, 21, the origin of Nico-

las' violent denunciation, in the Cosinitsa letter of 913, of a *φρατρία* of the hierarchs, conspiring with Leo to depose him.

92, 13-19 Grumel, *Régestes*, n° 612. P. Maas, *Literarisches*, 437. This document has been preserved independantly of the VE, quoted and commented by Nicolas himself, after he had resumed the patriarchal dignity. Canonically, having resigned he was debarred from resuming the throne, and it was in prevision of this that he inserted the closing formula : *μὴ τῆς θέλας ἐξιστάμενος (ἀρχ)ιερωσύνης* etc. (cf., text, 92, 27 : *τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ... διὰ βίου ἀναδέχομαι*), to be able to appeal to it later and claim that he had not in fact resigned : *παράλτησιν ἀπητήσατε καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῶν ματαιώσαντος οὐ παράλτησιν ἀλλ' ἀγχόνην ἐλάβετε...* (*Byzantion XXV-XXVII*, p. 752. See also p. 754). See Arethas' answer *ibid.*, p. 768, last quarter : *ἐπεὶ δὲ τοσούτοις συμπεριενεχθεῖς...* The VE merely quotes the resignations, without commenting on Nicolas' ingenuity.

92, 18 *ιερωσύνης*. *Eikosiphoinisses ἀρχιερωσύνης* is obviously right. The *ιερωσύνης* here is less likely to be a scribe's slip than a deliberate distortion to deprive Nicolas of any benefit, however dubious, there might be in the wording of his resignation. An example of the kind of duplicity one may expect in the VE.

94, 1 Cf. 100, 33-34 and Arethas : *ἐξήτει τὸν προστησόμενον ὁ καιρός · εὗρίσκετο οὗτος λοιπόν. τί γὰρ ἂν αἰρετώτερον ἄλλο ἢ προτιμότερον, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ (ὁ μὴ πολλοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήντα) ψήφῳ τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν ταύτης τῆς Κωνσταντίνου θρόνον ἀνάγεται* (*Ἐπιτάφιος* § 3). The words *τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίας* refer to the *topoteretes* from Rome and the Eastern patriarchates.

94, 31 *τίνος τοῦτο προστάξαντος ; i. e.* "Did he act under compulsion?" Although the answer here given by the metropolitans is "No", the *Vita* itself has informed us that Leo threatened him with an accusation of high treason if he did not resign (90, 19-26).

96, 5 *τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀθέτησιν*, violation of his signature, which was preceded by a cross.

96, 32 *μέχρι αἰρέσεως* Cf. Logothete : *ὥς τοῦ βασιλέως βουλομένου αἰρεσιν καὶ νόμον ἐκθεῖναι τοῦ ἔχειν ἄνδρα γυναικας τρεῖς ἢ καὶ τέσσαρας* (Gc Bonn 866, 2).

100, 11-19 Sack of Thessalonica. Other sources : John Cameniata, *De excidio Thessalonicensi* (Russian translation with commentary by Poliakova and Nasledova Felenkovska) ; Nicolas Mysticus ; Choïrosphactes ; Arab sources (see Grégoire, *Communiqué*). Rapprochement made by chronicler between Bulgarian harassing operations and the Tripolite's expedition : THc Bonn, 366, 11 (Scyl. II, 261, 19 sqq. but cf. Cameniata, 496, 15 and 499, 17 sqq).

Nicolas' sermon on the fall of Thessalonica (*Μακεδονικά*, I, 1940, 236-46 is of little use to the historian of events. More interesting are the two mentions in letters (PG CXI, 156 D and 277).

Not only Symeon ascretis but also Choïrosphactes played a rôle though neither the *VE* nor the Chronicler mentions it, for the good reason that they share the same source (see Kolias 47 and letter XXIII, p. 113, 12-13 ; for relationship between Greek sources, see introd. 21-24).

100, 14 Leo the Tripolite. Christian renegade (THc Bonn 366), naval commander in the service of the Arabs, chiefly known for his successful expedition against Thessalonica in 904 (see preceding note).

In the Arab sources called Lawi or Gulām Zurāfa (Vasiliev-Carnard II, 2 pp. 18, 19, 38, 56, 153, 167, 270. Only the first two are original).

Later Leo, assisted this time by Damian, defeated Himerios, apparently in 911. The fleet was almost all lost, Himerios himself hardly escaped (THc Bonn 377, 1 ; 870, 14).

Defeated on Lemnos, which he had taken and was pillaging, in 922 (*ὑπερῆλασεν ἔτος πον δέκατον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἑβδομον ἢ ὄγδοον* Nic. Myst. PG CXI 157A) by John Radinos (THc Bonn 405 ; 735 ; 897).

100, 15 *αὐτοπὶ τὸν ἀλιτήριον θεασάμενος* same formula in Homily on victory of 626, published by Sternbach : *αὐτὸν τὸν ἀλιτήριον αὐτόπτην γενόμενον* (*Analecta Avarica*, 16, in Diss. philol. Acad. Litt. Cracov. XXX, 1900).

100, 17 *παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλεῖσαν* : sent by Rhodophyles (see introd. 23-4). The author of the *VE* forgets that he has not mentioned him.

100, 18 *μετὰ καὶ τῆς ὁλκῆς τοῦ χρυσίου* represents *μετὰ καυσκίου χρυσίου λίτρας ρ'* (Ps.-Sym. 707).

100, 24 *οὐκ ἔστιν ἁμαρτία* Cf. ANASTASIOS OF SINAI : *μὴ νικήση ἢ ἐμὴ ῥαθυμία τὴν ἄμετρόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν* (Or. in Ps. 6,



PG 89, 1125); οὐκ ἐνίκησε τὴν φ. τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρίας [sc. Μανασσῇ: «εἰ Μανασσῇν ... τίνα οὐ προσδέξεται; *ibid.*, II, 33]; Νικᾷ ἡ φ. τοῦ Θεοῦ (*ibid.*, 1141).

100, 27 Only occurrence of the term Byzantium in the extant part of the *VE*.

100, 33-34 See 194, 1 and note.

102, 16-19 Leo's proceeding against those who continued to oppose the dispensation are minimised: not in all cases was banishment cancelled or the emperor's resentment appeased. "Die beredte Schilderung der Zustände nach der Wiedereinsetzung des Nicolaus" says de Boor "dürfte auch auf die durch die Erhebung des Euthymius geschaffenen Verhältnisse passen" (p. 194). In fact I think the divisions that followed immediately on Nicolas' reinstatement were more widespread and violent (see Nicolas' letters), but in 907 the metropolitans of Ephesus and one of the Heracleias were certainly deposed and replaced (Letter CXXXII PG CXI 349 to Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of Heracleia in exile). Cyzica also seems likely (CXXXVII col. 361 to Ignatius of Cyzica, asking him to be kind to the previous metropolitan, now deposed, who is really a very harmless man). In Thebes and Athens also brawling between the ordines of the different factions suggests rather replacement of the metropolitan than his rallying to the emperor's side (Thebes, see letter XXXIV col. 220 to the stratege of Hellas re the brawls. Athens, see letter CXIII, col. 329 to Nicetas, blaming him for deposing those ordained by the others — τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων χειροτονηθέντας — whereas even his predecessor Sabas had not been deposed. Grumel, *Régestes* 706, quotes Hergenröther's suggestion that this Sabas is the same one who was present at the council of 879. It seems to me far more likely that he was an Euthymian creation).

The metropolitans Nicolas says he has deposed (Letter CXIII, col. 329) seem to me to be in a different category: they are deposed as irreconcilable adversaries *i. e.* ex-supporters of Nicolas estranged by his resignation.

102, 26 *ὁπου ἀρεστὸν ... λέγοντος*. Official formula for a safe-conduct?

102, 31 No claim is made elsewhere for Euthymius as healer of the body, nor is this likely to be such a claim so much as a figure of

rhetoric. Cf. Arethas : *τί γὰρ τῶν εἰς ὠφέλειαν τεινόντων ὁση ψυχῆς ὁση σώματος* (Letter to Stephen of Amasea, *Byzantion*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 366, 24). It is a fossilised expression of the belief in interdependence of bodily and spiritual health, more vitally expressed in the "because of our sins" that habitually accompanies any Byzantine tale of defeat.

104, 4 Gabriel of Ancyra, see below, 114, 33 and note.

104, 6 Clement of Ancyra (S.) martyr under Diocletian. Feast Jan. 23. BHG<sup>3</sup> 352-354 e (354 = *Oratio metrica a Leone imp.*). See *Dictionnaire d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*

104, 12 Nicetas the Paphlagonian, the Philosopher Other sources : his own letters (ed. LAMBROS); *Vita Ignatii*; Cedrenus I, 4, 7-5, 2. Modern works : ALLATIUS, *Diatriba de Nicetarum scriptis*; DE BOOR 195-6; DARROUZÈS, *Inventaire*, 126; JENKINS, *A note on Nicetas David ; Three documents*.

Nicetas the Paphlagonian has long been a puzzle and the appearance from time to time of new material merely added to the confusion. Jenkin's article is the first to bring any appreciable order into the chaos.

The problem lies in the existence of three Nicetas. 1) The prolific hagiographer, called variously, according to the ms, the Paphlagonian, David, the rhetor, the slave of Jesus Christ, the holy man, the bishop of Dadybra. 2) The author of the *Vita Ignatii* (Cf. Cedrenus : *ὁ γὰρ Δαφνοπάτης Θεόδωρος, Νικήτας ὁ Παφλαγών, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Βυζάντιοι ... οἰκέλαν ἕκαστος ὑπόθεσιν προστησάμενοι, ὁ μὲν ἔπαινον βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ ψόγον πατριάρχου* I, 4, 6); 3) The Nicetas of the VE. Are they the same or different?

De Boor thought 2) and 3) could not be identical, basing himself chiefly on the famous party affiliations that have been supposed to explain the *περιπέτεια* of the tetragamy affair. Their identity also seemed chronologically unlikely. The *Vita Ignatii* mentions no event after the fall of Syracuse in 878. There was indeed the difficulty that it speaks of several successors of Photius, but a single difficulty can always be explained as an interpolation. But now Jenkins has isolated in this text several passages, including one of considerable length, that either require a lapse of time of "about thirty years or so after the Saint's death" or actually refer directly to the Tetragamy. But there is more than that : the lengthy passage mentioned seems

to be a deliberate parody of Arethas! The demonstration seems to me faultless: the *Vita Ignatii*, in its present form, is the work of Nicetas Paphlago.

I say 'in its present form' for it seems to me most unlikely that its narrative of events prior to 878 is the fruit of Nicetas' personal research. (Incidentally, when Prof. Jenkins gives 'converse with Ignatian monks in the Agathos monastery' as the source of the final form of a tract whose author's 'main emotional preoccupation' was according to him, and I agree, the castigation, not of Photius, but of Euthymius, one should remember that Agathos' was Euthymius' own foundation and demonstrably faithful to him). In fact, on Jenkins shewing, the new passages are quite easy to isolate. The *Vita Ignatii* remains an anti-Photian document, written, no doubt, shortly after 878 (for the last historical event to be mentioned in so historical a work is significant) and re-edited by Nicetas with ■ commentary that made it no less virulent an anti-Euthymian document.

It had already been recognised that David was Nicetas' monastic name, but Jenkins clears up the more obscure matter of the bishopric of Dadybra: "Among the headings of Nicetas' works... we find *Νικήτα τοῦ Παφλαγόνος καὶ Δαδύβρον*... Originally this stood as *Ν. τοῦ Παφλαγόνος τοῦ καὶ Δαδ.* (sc. David). An ingenious scribe, knowing that the see of Dadybra was a suffragan of Gangra in Paphlagonia, at once appointed Nicetas to this see, and he appears thereafter as *ἐπίσκοπος Δαδύβρων*."

On Nicetas 1), the hagiographer, Jenkins observes that he and Nicetas 2) have the same monastic name. This is an element of identity all the more considerable as Nicetas and David are not an obvious association. But a document recently published makes the identification almost a certainty; one of Arethas' letters to Nicetas Scholasticus ruthlessly criticises his correspondent's Life of Gregory the Theologian (WESTERINK, 267). A life of this saint has survived, in Latin translation, among the works of Nicetas Paphlago.

The case of Nicetas again shows that emperors were not content with assisting the university: they took a personal interest in gifted students.

Nicetas was a student of Arethas' and apparently continued to follow his instruction when already a schoolmaster with pupils of his own (VE 104, 19; 108, 12; Lambros, *Ἐπιστολή* 303, 17). Arethas apparently had another correspondent and pupil called Nicetas Scholasticus. The man who resisted all the threats and blandishments

of Nicolas and of a deeply respected uncle (*ibid.*), and who, when Arethas accepted the dispensation, distributed his goods to the poor and retreated to a hermitage, is obviously not the same one that Arethas, at an intermediate date, is blaming for resisting the dispensation half-heartedly because of excessive respect for public opinion and fear of ridicule (*Byz.* XXVIII, 384, 18 to end). There remains a problem here.

Arethas has gained a reputation as a monster by his treatment of Nicetas Paphlago when, after he himself had reversed his position, the disciple whose ardour he had kindled remained faithful to the line he had shewn him. Jenkins already suggests (*op. cit.*) that he was, rather, being deplorably human and smarting under a provocation that would have tried less violent a nature than his. But I think, once again, some account must be taken of Arethas' own words (*Byz.* XXXI, 287, 12-13 and in particular "Some there are among the others, harsh and hard-hearted and unworthy of their own dignity [? studies?] and wisdom" — in short the likes of Nicetas Paphlago. On top of righteous indignation came the goad of seeing his own words perverted and used against him by his rebellious disciple. Arethas considered Nicetas in the wrong, and being personally wounded he hit back harder. Modern ideas of fair play, in that Arethas was in a better position for hitting, are inappropriate to xth cent. Byzantium.

A last interesting point is the accusation brought against Nicetas : *Χριστὸν σεαυτὸν ὀνόμασας*. After unsuccessfully denying, Nicetas says it is nothing to be upset about "for it is written : I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the most High." The prosecution then returns to his relations with the Bulgarians. Apparently the theological charge is damaging but not essential. In his letter to Arethas he had quoted himself as saying to Nicolas and his uncle that it could do them no good to fight against the Church. "For if she is founded on the rock, in attacking her you are fighting against God... and if she is founded on sand she will fall of herself without your devices" (Lambros, *Ἐπιστολή* 305, 1). Remarks such as this would no doubt help in working up a charge of atheism (as was done, at least twice, against Arethas), but could be made quite safely if one were not otherwise suspect. Cf. also the fact that, according to Arethas, Choirosphactes was able to preach in Church that angels did not exist, as well as some irregular doctrine, not clearly defined, on the Incarnation and succeeded in misleading the unstable (*Choirosphactes* or *Misogoes*).



104, 14 Paul sacellarius and higoumene of St Phocas'. Other source : two letters from Nicetas Paphlago (ed. LAMBROS, 'Ἀνώνυμος ἐπιστολή and 'Επιστολαί). See Janin 514.

Sacellarius of the Patriarch : see BURY, *Imp. Adm. Syst.*, 80.

104, 29 Cf. arrest as a spy of S. Basil the Younger (*Vita* p. 6), S. Elias the Younger (AASS August III 489-509), S. Cyril Philotes (*Vita*, ed. Sargologos, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1964, p. 86) etc.

106, 9 ἦν γὰρ λογογραφήσας n. b. compound past tense.

106, 24 δ λογοθέτης, Θωμᾶς καλοῦμενος. See Hirsch who notes (p. 121) that Constantine Porphyrogennetos in the *Vita Basilii* mentions a καθ' ἡμᾶς λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου Θωμᾶς as son of Constantine the Armenian, a prominent man about court before 867 (THC. Bonn 229, 12). One concludes that καθ' ἡμᾶς means Thomas was logothete in the period of Constantine's minority. This is supported by another passage Hirsch quotes which associates a prophecy concerning Constantine Ducas' rebellion with a logothete called Thomas (THC., Bonn 383, 23. This anti-Ducas item is also given by Ps.-Symeon, 720, 12).

Is this Thomas the same as the one of our text who was replaced as Logothete by Himerios (q. v., n. to 114, 25)? Himerios achieved this rank, according to the chronicler, at the beginning of Andronicus' revolt (this, however, seems impossible). When Himerios suffered his great defeat in October 911 he was replaced as Logothete. If Thomas was his immediate successor, this very important minister was apparently kept in place by Alexander. Thomas being a common name it is not possible to know whether they are the same. The description given by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἄκρος, would fit. His title is πατρίκιος. The title and the interest in philosophy would also fit a correspondent of Arethas, Thomas πατρίκιος (Mosquensis 315). But none of this is more than conjecture. Choïrosphactes also has a Thomas patrikios for correspondent (KOILIAS, 95).

108, 23 προσκλαίων : the first time the VE explicitly states that Leo had been allowed to begin his penance. Implied, however, since 90, 6.

108, 25 Himerios, drungarius of the fleet. Other sources : Logothete ; *De Cer.* ; *De Adm. Imp.* ; Nicolas Mysticus, Letter I, PG



CXI ; Arethas, *Letter to the emir* ; Vita S. Theoctistae Lesb. ; Arab sources. Modern works : DE BOOR (118-122) ; CANARD, *Deux épisodes* ; GRUMEL, *Révolte d'Andronic* ; KAŽDAN (See his index) ; JENKINS, *Mission of S. Demetrianus* ; *Choirosphactes* ; *Date of Leo's VI...*

Himerios first appears when, as protasecretis, he is entrusted with a fleet to sail against Leo the Tripolite whom, however, he does not dare to attack (Theoph. Cont. Bonn 367, 4 — 368, 20 ; 863, 2).

Some months later, faced with a sortie of the Agarene fleet, Leo sets Himerios, by now logothete of the drome (according to the chronicle ; but it seems unlikely), over the entire fleet, and commands Andronicus Ducas (q. v.) to join him. This is, in the Logothete, the beginning of Andronicus' rebellion. Tricked by Samonas into refusing, he flees to Kavala and thence to the Arabs on hearing that Himerios, single-handed, has defeated the Agarene fleet in the famous victory of S. Thomas' day (THc 371, 19 sqq ; 710, 4 sqq ; 866, 12 sqq.) "The dates given by scholars in the past have varied... widely... Canard gives 905 ; Vasiliev, 906 ; de Boor, a queried 907 ; Muralt, Hirsch, and more recently Grumel, 908". (Jenkins, *Choir.* 172). The date proposed by Jenkins himself is based on the, to my mind impossible (*Arethas, Choirosph.*), attribution to Choirosphactes of the Letter to the emir, but not exclusively so. It is October 6, 905. The basic question is whether the relationship established by the chronicle between Andronicus' revolt and Himerios' victory is correct. If so the balance seems to me overwhelmingly in favour of this last date, but is the relationship correct (introd. 59 to end)? This victory and Andronicus' victory at Maraš are the examples chosen by Arethas to refute the Arab claim that God's approval of their religion is proven by the universal success of their arms (*Letter to the emir, Byz. XXIX-XXX*, 300, 25).

Arab sources and Nicolas' letter I in PG CXI (there headed "To the emir of Crete" but in reality addressed to the Calife, see Jenkins, *Mission*) give information on a raid on Cyprus and a brilliant expedition against the Syrian coast.

*De Cer.* II 44 preserves (Bonn 651-660) a memo headed : Ἡ γενομένη ἐξόπλισις καὶ ἐξοδος καὶ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς ῥόγας καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος κατὰ τῆς θεολέστον Κρήτης μετὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἡμερίου καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότης.

The narrator of the Life of St Theoctista represents himself as a junior officer learning his profession under the great Himerios "archont of all the fleet and the drome", on an expedition to Crete.

In October of, apparently, 911 he was defeated by a fleet under the joint command of Leo the Tripolite and Damian. "Romanos, who afterwards reigned, was stratege in Samos". What underlies this remark? In view of Romanos' record before reaching the throne it is impossible not to think of dirty work. There is another mystery attends this defeat: it occurred in October, nearly all the fleet was lost, Himerios himself barely escaped (THc 376, 23-377, 4; 715, 7; 870, 13). Why did he not return to CP till over six months later, after Leo's death? Where was he and what was he doing? (ibid. 379, 22; 717, 8; 873).

At all events, Alexander threw him into prison for having been his enemy during Leo's reign, and there he soon afterwards died.

Alexander's complaint and Himerios' activity in the present passage belong to his political role of which the most detailed case is found in the *De Adm. Imp.* (Ch. 50, 176 sq.). Himerios is not elsewhere given the title of drungarius, whether τῶν πλοῦμων or τοῦ πλοῦμον. Not only the Logothete but the *De Adm. Imp.* and the *De Cer.* call him logothete of the drome. He filled this post between two logothetes called Thomas who may or may not have been the same person (see above, n. to 106, 24).

108, 25 Nicolas the patrikios. Not, as far as I am aware, otherwise known.

108, 29 οὐ νόμον ... διορίζομεθα "Giebt in kurzen Worten genau den Inhalt des Tomus Unionis wieder" (de Boor, p. 87). In other words Euthymius, so the hagiographer is insinuating, said it first.

One of his aims is to make the best of the *Tomus* from the Euthymian point of view. He does this partly by making Euthymius foretell the event itself (ch. 21, p. 134, 31-35), partly by showing that its decision merely repeated the ruling Euthymius had given.

110, 1 καθηγήσαμεν Not Nicolas but Euthymius deposed the priest who blessed the marriage. The *VE* dwells on the point no less than three times, see 112, 14-25 and 138, 31-34.

In this last passage it is further stated that Nicolas actually restored him to the ministry. There is no reason to disbelieve this. Zoe would naturally have compelled him to.

110, 8 Mat. 12, 45; Lu. 11, 26. N. b. plural verb with neuter plural subject replacing the singular verb of original (γίνεται).

110, 17 *ἐστεμμένῳ* If the coronation of Constantine was related, as I believe, in the missing pages, how is one to account for this expression preceding it? There is the case of the union of the church and Cauleas' death related after events that followed them. In the present case, the way the narrator organised his material escapes us. Zoe's attempts to get herself proclaimed probably began soon after her marriage, and the author would quite naturally, having started to relate them, finish with them before turning to another question; the Psamathia archives contained Zoe's notes with these expressions. Having ended this question the author returned afterwards to anything he wanted to speak of which had intervened (Cf. his method with the plot of Andronicus Dukas).

110, 30 *οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου* Gal. 1, 1.

112, 7 *τῶν ἐμῶν ὀλιγοστῶν... ἡμερῶν* This is more than a genealogy. When Alexander removes him from the patriarchal throne he will not be surprised : *διορατικώτατος ὁ ἀνὴρ*.

112, 26 A quaternion is missing. On its conjectural contents see above, p. 32. After Leo's death Arethas noted : *Λέων τε ὁ Βασιλεῖον τὴν τοῦ νιοῦ γένεσιν λαμπρῶς ἐστιάσας αὐτὸς μὲν οἴχεται, μετέωροι δ' αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ νιῷ ἀποβάσεις*. Unfortunately the ms is not dated (RABE, *Ueberlieferung der Lukianscholien*, 723).

112, 29 *αὐτὰς ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχοντες* Sc. Nicolas' resignations.

114, 10 Jo. 10, 13. The *δὲ* before *μισθωτός* is peculiar to the family of mss known as Koine. Cf. note to 40, 16.

114, 15 *ἀγνοτῶν λαῶν* Cf. 122, 23 ; 126, 20 ; Arethas (*Byz.* XXXII, 1962, 127, 29). There is repeated insistence on Nicolas' popularity with the masses. He was an unsuccessful Cerularius.

114, 25 Cf. *καὶ τοῦ δι' ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῖς καιροῦ δεδραγμένοι* (Cf. Arethas, *Epitaphios*, § 4, PO XVI 492, 30).

114, 28 *σατράπης* Ducange (*Lex. med. lat.*) "satrapa pro quovis ministro seu satellite". The term occurs quite often, without necessarily pejorative meaning, in hagiographic literature.

114, 32 Demetrios of Heracleia. Named by Nicolas Mysticus as one of the four hierarchs to have been deposed (PG CXI 329 C.)

Addressee of a letter from Arethas sent when Demetrios already

occupied the episcopal throne of Heracleia, but before Arethas had been promoted to the hierarchy (marg. : ἐγγράφη πρὸ τοῦ εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν προελθεῖν. Ed. SONNY, *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*). The letter expresses high esteem and is written to accompany the gift of a copy of Marcus Aurelius' *Εἰς ἑαυτόν*.

Laurent attributes to him the seal of ■ Demetrius of Heracleia of this period (*Corpus*, n° 303).

Laurent also notes : "Vers 640, la province ecclésiastique comptait cinq suffragants ; le chiffre, inchangé au milieu du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle, monta subitement à quinze lors de la réforme de Léon VI en 901-902" (*op. cit.*, p. 212). In 901-2 the see was occupied as the letter from Arethas shows, by Demetrius. The inference is that he carried influence at CP.

In short, Demetrius seems to have been a prelate of humanist leanings, in favour with Leo and, at first at any rate, on good terms with Arethas. He and the three others alluded to must have supported Nicolas in favour of dispensation (one must remember that when Nicolas returned as champion of rigorism he could only persecute his former partisans), probably signed the undertaking to do nothing except by common agreement, in particular not to resign. Possibly one of the metropolitans who 'nodded to Nicolas not to give a written resignation' (92, 9). It is clear that when Nicolas sent Leo the document, "I resign the throne without surrendering the ἀρχιερωσύνη" the co-signatories of the undertaking not to resign, far from admiring his ingenuity felt they had been unforgivably tricked and took up an attitude of bitter hostility. This was the φρατρία Nicolas was later to make so much of. If Leo did, as Nicolas says, suggest recalling him (Nicolas) before Euthymius had been enthroned, these metropolitans quite certainly rose in arms against the suggestion. When Nicolas was restored by Alexander to the patriarchal throne they were the principal target for his resentment. (See KARLIN-HAYTER, *Le Synode à CP*).

114, 33 Gregory of Nicomedia. Known only, as far as I am aware, from this passage and Nicolas Mysticus' letter (PG CXI 329 C). See n. to 114, 32.

114, 33 Gabriel of Ancyra. Known also from Nicolas Mysticus' letter (PG CXI 329 C). See above, 104, 4 and *Dict. Hist. et Géogr. Ecclesiastiques* II, 1541.



116, 1 Peter of Sardis. With Hilarion of Hierapolis, the only member of this group not mentioned by Nicolas as deposed (PG CXI 329 C).

« Il est très probable que ce Pierre est celui-là même qui est nommé dans la *Vita S. Ignatii* (PG CV 572 D) comme “mystographe” de Photius et qui reçut de lui comme prix de ses services la métropole de Sardes, après le concile de 879/880 » (GRUMEL, *Régestes* 730, p. 203). The lapse of 33 years is not impossible, on the other hand Peter is a common name.

A letter from Arethas is addressed *Πέτρω Σάρδεων μητροπολίτη βλασφήμως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διατιθέντι*. The letter is purely rhetorical and gives no hint of the occasion that prompted it. It is natural to think of the tetragamy affair before 2 Feb. 907.

Whether Peter was deposed or died, there is a letter of later date from Nicolas to Anthony of Sardis (CXLII PG CXI, 369).

116, 3 Hilarion of Hierapolis. Unknown from any other source as far as I am aware.

116, 6 *τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συντεθέντα*: possibly the document preserved by the Eikosiphoinisses ms or, rather perhaps, the document to be deduced from Arethas' *Ἀντιρρητικόν*.

116, 12 *τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ*. Has Leo's “prophecy” in the chronicle (THc. 377 etc.) here been attributed to Euthymius and given a more scriptural turn? Or was Alexander so sick a man that any one could see he wouldn't last the year?

Mango suggests that the chronicle “prophecy” was not a prophecy anyway but a popular phrase expressing dislike, current today in the form *ἀνάποδος χρόνος δέκα τρεῖς μῆνες* (*Legend of Leo the Wise*, p. 69). See LAMBROS, *Coll. de romans grecs en langue vulgaire*, p. xii, note. If so, words such as Euthymius' here could well have helped it change into a prophecy.

It is worth noting how easily a general remark, like *ζητήσετε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ εὕρήσετε* becomes, with the addition *post eventum* of *τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ*, a prophecy.

116, 20 sqq. Cf. *Epitaphios* § 4 and Arethas' letter to Nicolas : *Σίμωνος αἰθῆς μυσταγωγουῦντος καὶ Πέτρον σιγῶντος ... παρήμι τὰς ... κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων κατορχήσεις, ὅφ' αἷς ἐξάρχων προαγαγαὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην φορολογοῦσαι, ἄλλοι τε τούτοις ἐπιπεμπόμενοι ... ὥς ἂν ἐκκαρπῶνται τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκπέμπουσι δασ-*



μοφορῶνται, εἰς πλήρωσιν οἰκων ἀνομιῶν τῶν ἐσκοτομένων τῆς γῆς (Byzantion, XXV-XXVII 762-4).

On currying favour with suggestions for bringing money into the treasury, cf. THc. εἰώθασι πολλάκις οἱ καθεστηκότες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν διοικήσεων, τὴν εὐνοίαν δῆθεν ὑπεμφαίνειν ἐθέλοντες ... ὑποτιθέναι τὰ πρὸς αὔξησιν τῶν εἰσφορῶν (346, 5).

118, 5 κινεῖ σπεῖραν Cf. Mat. 27, 27.

118, 12 Τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Συριάτιδος γῆς ... ὄψεις According to Arethas, ambassadors : παρέησαν κατὰ πρεσβείαν Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἐπέκεινα πάσης σκηνῆς τραγικῆς ἀτοπίας (Epitaphios § 4).

Každan (Две хроники 131, n. 19), basing himself on Tanūhī's account of the Arab embassy to CP to investigate the situation of Moslem prisoners (Vasiliev-Canard, II, 2, 286-90) and on Jenkins' dating of it (*The emperor Alexander and the Saracen prisoners*), suggests that the Saracen 'hostages' or 'ambassadors' were in reality the representatives of the Eastern patriarchs who formed part of the embassy. He notes, however, the difficulty arising from the fact that the embassy was sent by the vizir Ali-ibn-Isa who held office from 301 to 304 (7.8.913-916) and again from 314 to 316 (926-928); i. e. only after Alexander's death. Jenkins bases his date on the assumption that the news of the prisoners' plight could have reached Bagdad after Alexander's death, even if he was responsible for it. But, even if one accept Jenkins' date, the embassy sent by Ali-ibn-Isa in response to this news cannot possibly precede the death of Alexander.

N. B. plural ὄψεις instead of the more usual ὄψιδες.

120, 4 ὁμοφύριον, liturg., see T. PAPAS, *Geschichte der Messgewänder* (Miscellanea byzantina monacensia 3, Munich, 1965).

120, 23 Petronas Triphyllios. On the family of the Triphyllii see de Boor, 199 and *Dyn. d'Amorium*, 234, n. 5.

122, 32 τὸ ἅγιον μῦθρον χεθῆναι : in the rites of rededication of the altar (See CABROL-LECLERCQ, 4, 1, col. 386-7).

126, 6-29 This letter is not known from any other source. Its style leaves no room for doubt of its authenticity. See P. Maas, *Lit-rarisches...*

126, 3 Cf. ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου... ἦν γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρ-

χιερεῖ (Jo. 18, 13 & 15) Does γνωστός in this passage of the VE imply more than "known to" — which he was to Nicolas? Perhaps "on good terms, intimate" as in the Life of Theophano: τὸν τηνικαῦτα μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ γνωστὸν πεφηγνότα, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐχθρόν (Kurz 7, 17).

N.B. the favourable reference to emperors, in the plural, of Arethas' tract *Choirosphactes*, unusual in this reign. This may, of course, be merely étiquette, or even reflect ■ brief period of favour enjoyed by Alexander, so that this hint (if it is one) of the VE's is quite isolated. True, the passion with which Arethas attacks Alexander later is particularly suitable for ■ former friend.

126, 19 ἐλευσιν is here used as συνέλευσιν, *reconciliation*, since it is not Nicolas' original entry into the Church which is being attacked.

128, 1 sqq. However Arethas' information: παρηγομεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βασίλειον λέχος, οὐδέν τι ἐξαμαρτῶν, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπεωθεῖτο (*Epitaphios*, § 8) certainly applies to Zoe.

130, 2 Constantine Ducas. Other sources: Logothete chronicle; *Vita Basilii Junioris*; Nicolas Mysticos; Psellos; Arab sources. Modern works: GRÉGOIRE, *Διγενής Ἀκρίτας*.

Son of Andronicus. Probably serving under his father when he arrested Samonas (THC Bonn 368, 708, 863). His testimony before the Senate made it impossible for Leo to dismiss the charge against Samonas (*ibid.*). On this most obscure business, see Jenkins, *Flight* and above, p. 176-7. In 905 participated in his father's rebellion and fled with him to the Arabs. Prospects there proved unsatisfactory — or he was unwilling to apostasise — and he escaped and returned to CP (*ibid.*; Mas 'ūdī). Was certainly immediately entrusted with a command and distinguished himself. This is the period, presumably, when he won the victories that were still being sung in Psellos' day and that underlie the *Vita Bas. Iun.*: "And in truth the man was full of sagacity, and a raiser of trophies and the admiration even of his enemies, so that they often, when asked how one man could put them to flight, would answer, reticent and shame-faced: "When he marches to battle, fire darts from his arms into our faces, and his horse breathes fire and burns us and flings us to the ground". And the hero himself admitted that the Virgin had supplied the flame-

darting equipment, and she had added : "Those who blaspheme God my Son shall melt like wax at your face" (*Vita Bas. Jun.*, II, 292).

After Alexander's death, he made, as Domestic of the schools, the unsuccessful attempt here related at seizing the throne, in which he lost his life. Related, from the point of view of the rebels, in the *Vita Basilii* (I, 13-15 ; II, 291-5, where the attitude to Constantine is almost hagiographic and the Logothete chronicle (THc Bonn 381-385 ; 718-721 ; 874-876). Reference in Nicolas Mysticos' letter V, to Symeon of Bulgaria (PG CXI, 52 BC).

A rising against Romanos Lecapenos in 932 was led by a man who gave out that he was Constantine Ducas, *Βασίλειος δέ τις μακεδὼν πλάνος Κωνσταντῖνον Δοῦκα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιφημίσας πολλοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεπήγετο* (THc Bonn 421, 7).

130, 7 Cf. composition of the regency council according to Logothete : *καταλιπὼν ἐπιτρόπους Νικόλαον πατριάρχην, Στέφανον μάγιστρον καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἑλαδᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννην ῥαίκτορα καὶ Εὐθύμιον καὶ τὸν Βασιλίτζην καὶ τὸν Γαβριηλόπουλον* (Gc Bonn 873, 22 ; same list THc 380, 17 ; Ps.-Symeon, 717, 22, telescopes the two Johns : *Ἰωάννην ῥαίκτορα τὸν Ἑλλαδᾶ*, and omits Basilitzes and Gabrielopoulos). This list is found at the end of the reign of Alexander. A second one, at the beginning of *De Constantino*, names only Nicolas, Stephen and John Eladas.

The first list seems to belong to the tradition shared with the VE (see above, p. 29). Cf., in the same passage, *ῥομφαία θεηλάτῳ πληγείς* (Gc Bonn 873, 19) and *ἀοράτως πληγείς* (VE 128, 28).

As far as one can see, Basilitzes and Gabrielopoulos do not seem to have carried much weight in the first stage of the regency. Zoe simply had them removed (Gc Bonn 878, 17).

The 'Euthymius' mentioned is obviously not the ex-patriarch.

130, 8 Stephen magister. Identified by the Logothete as Michael III's first cousin, the son of Kalomaria, Theodora's sister (THc Bonn 398, 12 ; 891, 3). The editorial restitution of *ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη* found in the Bonn Theophanes continuatus (175, 4) is certainly erroneous as *ὁ τῆς Καλομαρίας* is used as Stephen's name and must be right. Kalomaria, and not Irene, married Arsaber, the brother of Photius' mother (*loc. cit.* and Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 164). Stephen is thus first cousin both of Michael and of Photius.

Stephen the magister is one of those entrusted by Leo with the trial of Photius and Santabarenos (THc Bonn 354 ; 700 ; 849).

Further references to Stephen in the chronicle : 1) During the peace parleys of 913 with Symeon of Bulgaria ἀναλαβόμενοι δὲ ὁ τε πατριάρχης Νικόλαος καὶ Σ. καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ μάγιστροι τὸν βασιλέα etc. (THc Bonn 385, 16 ; 877, 22). 2) When Romanos, the future emperor, was condemned to blinding he was saved by Constantine Gongylos and Stephen the magister, “who carried great weight with the Augusta” (*ibid.* 390, 13 ; 882, 18). 3) In the crisis which preceded Romanos’ seizure of power, προσελάβετο ὁ βασιλεὺς Νικόλαον πατριάρχην καὶ Σ. μάγιστρον συνεῖναι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπισπώμενος (*ibid.* 392, 12 ; 884, 21). 4) After Romanos has sailed with his fleet into the Boucoleon, παρενθὺ Σ. μὲν μάγιστρος ἐξῆλθε τοῦ παλατίου (*ibid.* 394, 1 ; 726, 22 ; 886, 11). 5) “On the 8th February of the 9th indiction, Romanos banished Stephen the magister, ὁ τῆς Καλομαρίας, to the island of Antigonus, under accusation of aiming at the throne, and had him tonsured, along with Theophanes Teichiotes and Paul the orphanotrophos, his men” (*ibid.*, 398, 12 ; 731, 22 ; 891, 3). Stephen’s career thus presents two curious features : 1) one of Constantine VII’s tutors was a first cousin of Michael III ; 2) this same cousin was banished for plotting in 921 when he must have reached a fairly considerable age. However, for the reign of his protector Romanos I the Logothete must be considered far more reliable than for the earlier period.

130, 8 John Eladas. Played a leading part in defending the palace against Constantine Ducas : ὁ οὖν μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλαδᾶς ἐκλογὴν τῶν τεττῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ τῶν ἐλατῶν ποιησάμενος μεθ’ ὅπλων ἀπέστειλε κατὰ τοῦ Δονκός (THc Bonn 383, 4 ; 719, 18 ; 875, 22). Cf. VE 130, 28 τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας. Cf. also evidence of DAI on the loyalty of the ἐλάται to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and the measures taken against them by Romanos (DAI ch. 51, p. 254, n. to 51/164-5 and 51/175-91). With Nicolas and Stephen in 913 “took the Emperor to Blachernae and introduced the sons of Symeon” (THc Bonn 385, 16 ; 877, 22). Advises Zoe, after her *coup d’état*, to get rid of Alexander’s men (*ibid.* 386, 6 ; 721, 24 ; 878, 16). Shortly after, fell sick and died (*ibid.* 386, 10 ; 722, 3 ; 878, 19).

130, 9 John Lazanes or Lazares, παπᾶς, the rector. One of Alexander’s promotions (THc Bonn 378, 23 ; 872, 8). Dismissed by Zoe (*ibid.* 386, 8 ; 722, 1 ; 878, 17). Probably not the same as John πρεσβύτερος



the rector for whom see DAI II, 203, n. to 51/173-4 with bibliography of the office.

Death : THc Bonn 379, 2 ; 872, 9. See above, p. 20, n. 1.

130, 16 τὰ τρίτα. "Officium Ecclesiasticum pro defuncto, tertio ab ejus obitu die celebratum. Clemens lib. 8 *Constt. Apostolic.* cap. 42" (Ducange, s. v.). Διατηρουμένη [τρ. ἡμέρα] καὶ νῦν παρὰ τῷ λαῷ (Eleutheroudakes, *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν*).

130, 16 Μήπω... παρεληλυθότων Cf. de Boor 200-202. The basic Logothete story is slightly different : "So the patriarch Nicolas took power, as being regent too, along with Stephen the magister and John Eladas, who was also magister, and he was responsible for the policy and daily business of the state. And this was how things stood in the Empire, when some great persons of CP sent word to Constantine Ducas..." (Gc, Bonn 874). THc repeats this but adds : "Some say, however, that Nicolas the patriarch, unaware that Alexander had given him power as regent... sent to Constantine the son of Ducas..." (THc Bonn 381, 9). De Boor comments "Schwer ist es, zwischen den beiden Versionen der Chronik des Logotheten zu entscheiden. Die erste derselben, welche mit dem Berichte des Gregorius [= *Vita Basilii Iunioris*] darin übereinstimmt, dass die Keime der Verschwörung erst gelegt werden, nachdem die Regentschaft in Function getreten ist, hat den Vortheil der Natürlichkeit für sich". But so has the other : the accession of a seven-year old child would certainly take place in an atmosphere of confusion and misgiving. Theophanes has for this item ■ source other than the VE.

The *Vita Basilii Iunioris* in fact differs from both. It dwells at greater length than the Logothete on the fact that the regency council is in full operation. Their misrule and inadequacy and military setbacks cause sedition in CP. Whereupon Nicolas and those with him summon Constantine. It is difficult to give preference to this version, written much later than the VE and containing elementary errors. However, it does constitute a third source to believe that Nicolas himself had summoned Constantine, and I have little doubt he had. The general record of the VE shows that it is usually nearer the truth than the Logothete. In this case, furthermore, the expressions of the Logothete are so vague that one cannot even be sure what they mean : did ἐν τούτοις οὖν τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης in the Logothete's source, really refer to the rule of the regency council and



not to the state of uncertainty at Alexander's death? In contrast, the *VE* narrative is precise and clear, and was written shortly after the events by a witness who still seems essentially reliable.

130, 26 John Garidas. Example of a successful career pursued uninterruptedly through successive reigns. According to Gc. Bonn (869, 9), whose account is here more complete than that of THc. (362, 17), after the discovery of Basil the epeictes' plot to murder Leo VI, Garidas was entrusted with arresting the hetairiarch Nicolas. His rôle in quelling the rising of Constantine Ducas is only known from this passage of the *VE* (but the *Vita Basilii Iunioris* erroneously lists him among the regents, II 291, 26). When Zoe seized power she promoted him hetairiarch (THc. Bonn 386, 20; 722, 12; 879, 9). Immediately after Zoe's fall the patriarch Nicolas and the young emperor made him domestic of the schools, 'fearing lest Leo Phocas should revolt'. He set his conditions to accepting this office, conditions which alarmed the government, who therefore pretended to accept them but proceeded to arrest his partisans, whereupon he went over to the side of Romanus Lecapenus (THc. Bonn 392, 20-393, 10; 726, 10-15; 885, 7-19). The mention of the death of one Adralestes, domestic of the schools (ibid. 400, 2; 732, 10 *δουκός* for *δομεστίκον*; 892, 6) suggests a *terminus ante* for that of Garidas or at any rate his relinquishing of the office.

134, 34 Ignatius. Son of the emperor Michael II, Patriarch of CP 1) 3.7.847-23.10.858 when he was deposed and replaced by Photius 2) Recalled to the patriarchal throne by Basil I the 23.11.867. Died 23.10.877. See *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 5, 612.

134, 34 *τῷ δεκάτῳ καιρῷ* The tenth year of Constantine's reign can be reckoned either from his coronation or from Alexander's death. One would have expected the precisely dated *εἰρήνῃ τελείᾳ καὶ βαθείᾳ* to correspond to the Tomus unionis. From Alexander's death, the Tomus was promulgated in the eighth year. If Constantine had been crowned 9th June 911, there would be no difficulty, the 9th July 920 would be the tenth year following. But Jenkins has demonstrated, to my mind unequivocally, that he was in fact crowned the 15th May 908, and counting from this date the Tome belongs to his thirteenth year.

The event referred to must, therefore, as Grumel suggested (*Ré-*

*gestes* 712, p. 194), be the coming of the Roman legates to give papal approbation to the Union.

In fact, neither event brought real cessation of the Tetragamy 'schism' which continued for several decades, while the official reconciliation, with restoration of their sees to Euthymians, was operated by the Union of 920. This arises clearly enough from Nicolas' unwillingness to have it too hastily effected without sufficient guarantees: "If you wish to reincorporate runaways and deserters into the army, do you not first correct them to make sure they will never dare do it again, and so receive them"? (PG CXI 276 C); "As for those who say our affairs are in a bad way because those who accepted the tetragamy are not united, I reply..." (276 D); "I write this neither delaying, nor hating peace and unity of the Church. May I never be so mad, nor may God allow me so to be out of my wits. But I seek an union that will honour the Church..." (277 C). "But the peace they are now inconsiderately calling for is nothing else but an embracing of those who are not with us, and a casting out of those who are" (361 A).

It is also relevant, as the *VE* was written after the promulgation, with a terminology in the air, to quote Nicolas writing at the same period: *τὴν ταραχὴν μετήνεγκεν εἰς γαλήνην* (256 AB); *τὸν ταραχὸν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας, ἰδὸν πεντεκαίδεκατον ἔτος ἢ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνην, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεός, εἰς τὸ ἀτάραχον διελύσατο, καὶ τὴν δεινὴν καταγίδα ... πρὸς βαθεῖαν γαλήνην ἀθρόον μετήνεγκε* (248 C).

We may quite plausibly suppose that the author of the *VE* preferred to make Roman approval the essential act of the Union and divert from Nicolas to Rome the credit of restoring Euthymians to their sees.

136, ch. XXIII "Die ganze Scene, in welcher die beiden Patriarchen ihre Schuld und Unschuld gegen einander abwägen, um sich dann gegenseitig zu absolvieren, somit bei Lebzeiten das zu thun, was ihre beiderseitigen Vertheidiger erst später ausführten, könnte man sich vortrefflich in der Absicht geschrieben denken, die letzten Bitterkeiten zwischen den Parteien zu zerstreuen" (de Boor, p. 87).

136, 1 Cf. PG 105, cols. 568-9, the reconciliation between Photius and Ignatius. These performances constitute extempore ritual, a kind of sacred *commedia dell'arte*.

140, 7 ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνευθύνῳ ἡμῶν θανάτῳ "Euthyme dit que ce synode le condamna à mort. Il ne faut pas prendre cela à la lettre : Aréthas, en effet, dans son éloge d'Euthyme, où il stigmatise la cruauté dont fut victime ce patriarche, n'en dit rien. C'est probablement une expression emphatique". (Grumel, *Régestes*, p. 148). Euthymius does not in fact actually say the Synod *condemned* him to death, but that it was out for (ἐπὶ) his death. His words may be simply an indignant parallel to Nicolas' οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαίῳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀθετήσει δικαίον.

140, 26 ἐπὶ χρόνοις πέντε πρὸς μηνὶ τρισίν 12th May 912 to 20th August 917.

142, 7 εὐρεθησόμεθα ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος The scene is taking place eight years before the death of Nicolas. It is remarkable that this remark has not been given a prophetic twist. See above p. 10.

142, 24 The μνήμη of the 2nd August celebrates the invention of Stephen's relics (See Synax. CP, col. 861). His martyrdom is celebrated on the 26th/27th December.

144, 18 ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδεῖα. See above, p. 10.

144, 31 - 146, 9 Cf. Life of S. John Eleemon by Leontios of Neapolis : μέλλων τοῦ βίου ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐδειλίασεν καὶ ἔλεγεν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, ὃ ταπεινὴ ψυχὴ, ἔχεις δουλεύουσα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ φοβῇ ἐξελθεῖν ; ἐξελθε, φιλόανθρωπος ἐστίν, ed. H. GELZER, p. 82.

146, 9 Basil, Euthymius' nephew. Not otherwise known.

146, 12 to end. We may conclude that the transfer of the relics was related in the *Vita* in its complete form.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES

See : K. DIETERICH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrh. nach Chr.*, in *Byz. Archiv*, 1, 1898 ; JANNARIS, *Historical Greek grammar* ; TABACHOVITZ, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, Uppsala & Leipzig, 1934 ; S. B. PSALTES, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, Göttingen, 1913 ; A. THUMB, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, 2nd ed. translated by S. ANGUS, Edinburgh, 1912.

(1) **Use of dative and accusative.** The use of dative and accusative in the *VE* is remarkably unclassical. This is the case with most Byzantine texts in particular those in popular Greek, such as the *VE*. But the *VE* exhibits one feature I have not found elsewhere : the deliberate passage from accusative to dative or *vice versa*, hinged on a *ὥς ἄτε* or some other diversion in a string of words in apposition. One is forced to conclude that the author thought he had hit on an ornament of style.

(In the examples, *ι* subscript will not be restored where de Boor or Veis give it as missing in the ms.).

### A. Dative with accusative.

Page 4, 23 *Στυλιανῷ δὲ τῷ καὶ Ζαούτζῃ ... προσαγορευομένῳ, ὥς ἄτε Μακεδόνοι ὄντι καὶ τὸ γένος Ἀρμένιον ... ἐπίτροπον καταλιμπάνει.*

10, 30 *ὃν ... προσλαβόμενος ὥς ἄτε συμμαθητῇ γεγονότι*

22, 1 *σὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν ... προτρέπομαι ὥς ἄτε θεοῦ δούλῳ ὄντι*

30, 9 *μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ τῇ σοφωτάτῃ βασιλείᾳ σου ἐπίσταμαι* (Cf. *ἐδεδοίκει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ μήποτε...*, 42, 21).

54, 21 *τῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀκούσας νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντα* (Cf. 76, 23 *τούτοις ἐπακηκοώς* ; 82, 2 *ἀκοντιζόμενοι ῥήμασιν* ; 66, 30 *συνεῖς ... ταῖς ... δηλονότι προερχέσθαι* ; 76, 11 *ἐπευλογῆσιν τοῖς ὕδασι*).

58, 24 *διακονῶν ἀγίοις πατράσι, Συμεώνιον ... τὸν ... ἀστράφαντα ... καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν περιβόητον*

60, 29 *τῷ μάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ συντάξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε ... πατέρας μου.*

Cf. three examples of dative and genitive :

12, 32 *ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀσχολεῖσθε, ἢ τοῦ διασύρειν*

98, 6 *οὔτε παρὰ θεῶ ... οὔτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ... οὔτε παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως*

102, 22 *μέχρι τοῦ Ἀρέθα, τοῦ ... προέδρου, ὄντι ἐν ὑπερορίᾳ.*

These examples show that the author of our recension did not analyse his sentences grammatically. He felt no need for the same person, though continuing in the same grammatical function, to remain in one same case. (For another aspect

of the same attitude, see the examples listed by de Boor in his Index under the headings *Moduswechsel* and *Tempuswechsel*).

The case of a word is liable to be determined by some accident of proximity: ὥς ἄτε, apparently, for him is followed by the dative. In the first example given, the expression reverts to the accusative, attracted perhaps by τὸ γένος. In the last, ὄντι appears to be a sort of dative absolute, loosely attached to the person under consideration.

## B. The Dative.

I. With verbs of giving. Object given in the dative, occasional accusative of the person to whom it is given (see below):

### Page

- 16, 1 δωρήμασι παρασχών  
 30, 18 τοῖς αὐτοῦ χαρτῶις δικαιώμασιν ἀποδώσων  
 50, 14 ἱεροῖς ἀργυροῖς τούτῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρέσχευεν καὶ λευκοτάτοις στολίσμασι  
 58, 4 ταῖς ... ὁμιλίαις οἰκείαις χερσὶ καλλιγραφήσας ἡμῖν τοῖς ... ἀδελφοῖς παρέσχετο  
 50, 29 ῥαγδαίοις ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς κρούμασι  
 78, 15 συνθέμενός μοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσδέχεσθαι  
 10, 8 ταῦτα προσειπὼν καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ προστεθεικώς  
 14, 11 προβάλλῃ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν  
 8, 24 τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ συμπαθέστατος διὰ τῆς οἰκείας γραφῆς, κατευθύνων τῷ αὐτοκρατόρι συνώπει and 6, 17, θάμβους καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῖς τε ὀρώσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἐπλήρου should be explained by assimilation to this category.

## II.

- 78, 9 σοι προσκαλούμεθα  
 80, 25 τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι προσκαλεσαμένου  
 82 23, τῷ πατριάρχῃ προσκέκληκε  
 88, 23, τοῖς ... προσφυγοῦσι ἐκάλει ἐννέα ... οὔσι εὐγενεστάτοις ἀνδράσιν  
 36, 27 τῷ πατρί προσκαλεσαμένη  
 46, 32 τῷ βασιλοπάτρι προσκαλεῖται

## IIa.

- 30, 25 Λέοντι ... ἀνακληθῆναι προσέταξεν  
 70, 3 παροῦσι κἀκείνοις προσκληθῆναι παρεκελεύετο  
 100, 28 ἐπιτιμίοις ὑποπίπτοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰσδεχθῆναι παρεκελεύοντο κ. ἐξετίθοντο.

## III.

- 54, 32 οὐ καταδέχομαί σοι  
 68, 4 τάραχος τῇ πόλει κατέλαβεν  
 70, 10 τῷ νῖῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ προσδέξασθαι  
 86, 1 τοῖς τοποτηρηταῖς ἀπεκδεχόμενος  
 86, 12 τοποτηρηταῖς προσλαβόμενος



- 140, 1 βασιλεῖ προσκλαίοντι καὶ μετανοοῦντι, ἐπιτιμωμένῳ τε καὶ  
στέργοντι προσδεχόμενος  
48, ■ οἷς ἂν ἐθέλοι προσλαβεῖν ἐξελιπάρει

## IIIa.

- 70, 26 ἔχοντι νῖῶ ἀγαπητῷ  
66, 16 εἰ μὴ μόνοις ἔξ ὁ β. ἔχων οὐκ ἦν  
110, 17 καὶ νῖῶ ὁμοίως ἐχούσῃ ἐστεμμένῳ καὶ πορφυρογεννήτῳ

## IV.

- 74, 14 ἔλαθε Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ  
114, 18 ἔλαθε Νικολάῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ  
136, 2 ἔλαθε Νικολάῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ

λανθάνω with accusative :

- 70, 7 οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ... αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν  
22, 17 ἔλαθε τῇ ἀγιοσύνῃ σου may be either

## V.

- 28, 32 τῷ ... προαστείῳ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ ... τοῖς αὐτοῖς πέπραχαν  
74, 10 τοὺς προύχοντας χειρογραφῆσαι παρασκευάζει, ὡσαύτως καὶ  
ἄπασιν εἰς ὕστερον πεποιήκει

VI. Personal pronouns. Whereas the dative of the pronouns *σοι, μοι, ὁμῖν*, appears ten times replacing the accusative (6, 28 ; 36, 36 ; 50, 12 ; 54, 32 ; 62, 6 ; 76, 22 ; 78, 9, 15 ; 84, 6 ; 88, 20), the reverse does not apparently occur. Cf. however, *πρὸς σὲ καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ* (26, 3). Similar perhaps is *οἷς* for *οῖς* (48, 9 ; 144, 4).

## C. The Accusative.

## I. Accusative of the person addressed :

- 18, 28 ἀναγγεῖλαι εἶχεν κατ' ἐμοῦ ψευδηγορῶν τὴν βασιλείαν σου  
(lying to your Majesty).  
22, 11 συνταξάμενος τοῦτον (also 26, 5 ; 56, 21 ; 92, 20).  
32, 22 τὸν βασιλέα ἐμφανίζει  
54, 6 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν πατέρα λέγει  
78, 24 ποτέ τῷ βασιλεῖ Α. προσειπεῖν λέγεται τινος... (the emperor  
is said to have told some... see below).  
80, 33 τοὺτους ... ἔλεγεν  
90, 5 δηλοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
90, 18 δηλῶν αὐτὸν ταῦτα  
110, 7 εἰ τοῦτον τραχύτερόν τι λέξομεν (if we say anything harsher  
to this man).  
132, 31 τὸν μακαρίτην δηλοῖ Εὐθύμιον

ARETHAS, *Eight Letters*, 299, 24, ἔγωγ' οὐκ οἶμαι λέγειν μὲν τι αὐτούς.

JANNARIS (1348) has a number of examples of this category :

Contrast *τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρεστῶσι ... ἐξ ὀνόματος ἔλεγεν* (70, 2), not « addressed » but « named » ; *τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι προσειπεῖν λέγεται* (72, 24), « the

emperor Leo is said to have said \*; *συνέθον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσδέξασθαι*. 84, 6 *ἔλεξεν ὥς εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ ἀφιερωμένοις τῷ θεῷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τε προσκαρτεροῦντας* 142, 29 (this example may be doubtful, not that its construction would have come anything but natural to our author, but because *-ους* > *-οις* is so banal an accident).

*Constructions with λέγω, εἶπον, εἶρηκα, φημί and their compounds in προ- and προσ-*. — Case of the person addressed.

A few examples may have escaped, however the 71 here analysed give a reasonably accurate view of the case.

Out of 71 examples, *πρός* and the accusative account for 30, (JANNARIS, *Historical Greek Grammar*, 1348).

28 have the dative, but 20 of these are pronouns,

7 have *-ω* endings (with or without *ι*?),

5 have the accusative:

20, 9 *τὸν βασιλέα πολλὰ ... λέγων* and 54, 6; 72, 24; 80, 33; 110, 7 (see above).

II. The most interesting other category of unclassical accusatives is that, already mentioned, of the person to whom is given.

102, 9 *πάντας τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐπιτήδεια παρείχεν*, that this is the right interpretation is proven five lines further on:

102, 14 *τούτους δὲ παρέχων, μὴ νομίσητε τοὺς μὴ διαβάλλοντας αὐτὸν παροῶν*

108, 2 *ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν πταίσαντα ... συγχώρησιν παράσχη*

124, 11 *εἴ τις τοῦτον φωραθῇ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιμελούμενος*

See JANNARIS (1348).

The VE shows occasional repugnance for the double Accusative.

Though it does occasionally appear, the author prefers to avoid it, not by recourse to the Genitive, but with the help of the Dative. Sometimes he uses it according to classical rules. In certain categories of verbs however, there is a tendency to a new rationalisation, Accusative of the person and Dative of the thing.

D. Consistency however is not what strikes one in this work, so much as ingenuity in ringing the changes. With *κωλύω* we find:

52, 12 *κ. τὴν ἔλευσιν μὴ δηλωθῆναι*

62, 21 *τοῦ σκοποῦ κενώλνται*

78, 20 *ὁ κωλύων σε τῆς εἰσόδου*

86, 5 *ὁ κωλύων σοι τὴν εἴσοδον*

*τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον*

88, 18 *κωλύον τοῦτον τὸν ἴδιον θρόνον ἀπολαβεῖν*

120, 29 *κωλύεται τὴν ἔλευσιν*

As for the genesis of the author's constructions, the following sentence is suggestive:

28, 8 *αἰτοῦμαί σε ὅπως ἢ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ ... προγεγραμμένη προφητεία πληρωθῇ, καὶ τοῦτον μεγέθυνας καὶ κατακοσμήσας λαμπρόννης ἔν τε κιόνων καὶ μαρμάρων στιλπνότησι καὶ μουσουργικοῖς καλλωπίσμασι, τὴν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θαυματουργῶν*

δηλώω - δηλοποιέω in the Vita

Accusative

- 22, 15 ὁ δὲ δηλοποιῶν τοῦτον  
 90, 18 δηλῶν αὐτὸν ταῦτα  
 90, 5 δηλοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ β. (influence  
 of several genitives plural in  
 the sentence?)  
 102, 25 δηλοῖ αὐτόν  
 132, 31 τότε τὸν μακαρίτην δηλοῖ  
 Εἰθόρυμον (το μ- may have  
 been the decisive factor).

Dative

- 32, 9 ὁ δὲ ἀντιδηλοῖ αὐτῷ } Some, if not all, of these 5 cases may be 56  
*Sim* 62, 28; 78, 8; } αὐτῷ in the ms. and belong in next  
 112, 13, 20 } column.  
 36, 30 καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδήλωκα  
 48, 20 τὸ τῇ ἐμῇ ταπεινώσει δηλωθέν  
 62, 26 ἡ δηλωθεῖσά μοι ... προσητεία \*  
 64, 10 τῆς πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν ... δηλωθείσης \*  
 64, 18 τὰ παρὰ σοῦ μοι δηλούμενα \*  
 66, 30 συνεῖς ὁ β. ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δηλου-  
 μέναις αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ?) προερχέσιν  
 84, 25 τὰ δὲ πρὸ καιροῦ ... ἡμῖν δηλούμενα \*  
 110, 35 δηλοῦσά μοι ταῦτα

part. followed by  
 by dative

- 14, 15 ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχίστῳ δεδήλωται } with those above marked with  
 Also 78, 27; 82, 29; 110, 31; } an asterisk, 12 examples of da-  
 112, 9; 134, 1; 146, 11 } tive of a pronoun (see above,  
 p. 236, B vi).

- 62, 24 ὅτε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνελθεῖν ὁ ἀπαξ δεδήλωκε

|| 16 examples + 5 dubious examples, some, presumably, be-  
 || longing in fact to next column.

|| 5 examples

|| 8 examples + up  
 || to 5 from dative  
 || column.

Lastly, there one isolated of example of the favourite λέγω construction : 78 10 πρὸς τοὺς μητροπολίτας δεδήλωκεν.

Ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ τε καὶ Δαμιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ἔχοντα, ὁσαύτως καὶ τῶν τῆδε κάκεισε εὐκτηρίων τοῦ τε προδρόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τὴν κλῆσιν φέροντα.

The part played by the author's ear is suggested in a different way by 14, 23, where Ro. 2, 4 ἡ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος becomes ἡ τοῦ πλήθους etc

92, 13 πραγμάτων ἐναντιότητος καὶ δυσχερείας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβοῦσαν [καταλαβούσης] ἐκκλησίαν

110, 16 χλευάζεις με ἀνδρὶ συναφθείσαν βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ νῖῶ ὁμοίως ἐχούσῃ ἐστεμμένῳ καὶ πορφυρογεννήτῳ

114, 5 ἐάσατέ με καταποντισθῆναι ἐν τῷ πελάγει ... ἀναχωροῦντι

54, 25 τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμπαθεῖν καὶ τῇ ἡδικομένη ἐλεῆσαι

112, 6 οὐποτε ἐντὸς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀλιγοστών τούτων ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρόντος

(2) **Genitive.** Classical constructions, in particular the partitive gen., which met with great formal success while losing their original specificity, are at the origin of most of the examples in a) and c).

a) Periphrastic expressions. 1) With ἔχω (extremely frequent): βουλῆς ἔ.; θελήσεως ἔ.; βουλῆς καὶ θελήσεως ἔ.; μὴ τοσοῦτον σπουδῆς ἔχε (134, 12); 2) Others: ἐπιτηδεύματα τόπου (26, 16); τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων (56, 18), etc.

b) ἀθέμιτα τῆς χριστιανικῆς καταστάσεως (30, 32); τολμητίας τοιούτων κακῶν.

c) Genitive after verbs ἀναγινώσκω (τούτων ἀναγνούς, 64, 22); ἀνατρέπω (τῆς φυγαθείας ἀνατραπείς, 2, 10; τοῦ σκοποῦ, 46, 18); ἀνθυποστρέφω (τῆς ὑπερορίας 88, 4); ἀνιστορῶ (ἀνιστορῆσαι ἡμερῶν τῶν πρώην, 136, 28).

d) The variety of constructions with κολύω was underlined above. Other expressions: ἦν θάμβους καὶ ἐκπληξέως (142, 17, cf. θάμβους καὶ ἐκπληξέως τοῖς τε ὀρώσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἐπλήρου, 6, 17); ἀδυναμίας νόσον προβαλλόμενος (76, 12, cf. τὴν ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας ἀδυναμίαν προβαλλόμενος, 60, 37). The first example belongs in category a), but, from another point of view, can be added to the examples of category d) that illustrate another characteristic of the Greek of the VE. It is as if, in constructions involving more than one case, a kind of reciprocity appeared. When the cases involved are the accusative and dative this is not felt because here the degeneration of the case-system is too far gone, but with the genitive it is striking.

e) For τοῦ + infinitive, see below, n. 3.

f) For genitive absolute and genitive-nominative, see below, n. 4.

g) See n. 5, μετὰ, παρά, σύν and ὑπό.

(3) **Infinitive with the article.** JANNARIS (*Hist. Gr. Grammar*, Appendix VI, 24):

The infinitive preceded by the article (particularly of course τοῦ) is marked in the *Vita* by:

1) Its frequency (some 33 appearances, in a short text;

2) A few curious constructions:

3) Use with verbs that take this construction, but in such a manner as to give an unexpected sense; (e. g. *προέκρινας* 28, 6 see below).

4) *τοῦ* + infinitive replacing the infinitive alone, or a participle (24, 21; 38, 28 etc.).

#### Examples.

*προσθήσει τοῦ ῥύεσθαι* (Quotation from LXX).

6, 7 *τοῦ παρενθῆ δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ὁ ἄναξ προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν πατέρα... ἀνάξιον κρίνας...*

92, 9 *ἀνανεονόντων τοῦ μὴ ἐπιδοῦναι* [ἀ. μὴ ἐπιδόσειν].

24, 21 *εἰ ἔστιν ἐράσμιον τῇ ... βασιλείᾳ σου τοῦ θεραπεῦσαι.*

74, 4 *καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν με πείθει ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προστάζειν* (Anacoluthon).

«I» became passive in the author's mind. Occasionally his changes of construction are, as here, unmistakable. Other difficulties which remain perplexing might disappear, if we could always follow as easily the way his mind worked.

134, 28 *τοῦτο ἐστιν ὁ ἀγὼν ὑμῶν, τὸ ὑμᾶς εἰσδεχθῆναι*

136, 11 *χειρόγραφον ... τοῦ ... ἀναγορεύεσθαι* (as *λιβέλλον ἀποστασίας*)

134, 1 *δηλοποιεῖ σοι ... τοῦ πάλιν ἀνελθεῖν* (But 140, 30 *δηλοῖ αὐτῷ... παραγενέσθαι καὶ ... συντάξασθαι*)

28, 6 *πολλάκις τὴν ἡμῶν εὐτέλειαν προέκρινας τοῦ διασκέψασθαι.*

(4) **Genitive-nominative. - Psychological nominative. — Change of subject.** See JANNARIS, 2144-2145:

12, 12 *ἀγνωσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐχούσης τῆς ἀγιωσύνης σου, δοκεῖς μὲν καλῶς λέγειν, μὴ ἀκριβῶς ... ἐπιστάμενος*

24, 18 *... ὅπως πλησιοχωροῦντός σου ... ἀχώριστος τυχάνης*

46, 23 *... ὡσαύτως κἀκείνης ... τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπεσοῦσης, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχει*

80, 24 *τοῦ βασιλέως ... ἀπαραστάντος ... ἤρξατο*

90, 5-11 *τὴν ... οἰκονομίαν μὴ δεχομένου σου ... τὴν τοῦ θρόνου παραίτησιν ... ἀπόστειλον*

78, 30 *ὅπότ' ἂν παρὰ σοῦ αὐτοῦ προσκαλούμενος [ἐγὼ], καὶ τὴν συνέλευσιν ἐβιάζου, καὶ κατηνάρκαζες, ἀναβολὴν ... ἐμοῦ ποιήσαντος.*

One has at times the impression that the two concepts of «subject», and «first person» are not always clearly distinguished, (see below «Changing subject.») cf. 110, 23, Euthymius' long speech beginning *ἐγὼ μὲν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει*. It is what A. THUMB (*Handbook of the modern Greek Vernacular*, translated from the 2nd edition by S. Angus, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 32) has called the «psychological» nominative, though not confined exclusively to the beginning of the sentence.

It is perhaps in the light of these constructions, particularly the genitive-nominative, that one should consider the two *παρὰ* + gen. constructions of chapters XXII and XVII:

138, 22 *παρὰ πάντων δὲ τὸ ταύτης κρῖμα ἔχειν με ἐπιβοωμένων ... τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπείξας, μήτε τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀκυροῦντός μου μήτε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κίνδυνον ἐπιφέροντος, τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης κατεδεξάμην φορτίον.*



A possible explanation of this would seem to be that to the author the ordinary genitive « absolute » was proper to the subject (which has, in fact, here a genitive clause belonging to it : *μήτε ἀκυροῦντός μου*, etc.) and he felt it necessary to differentiate, and show this genitive to be an oblique one. JANNARIS writes (*Historical Greek Grammar*, 1629) : « Another-P[ost-classical] feature of *παρά* is that its frequent association with the genitive led to the partial obliteration of its original force (*from*), so that it eventually became a mere sign of the simple but emphatic genitive. »

108, 24 *παρά τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦ τε Ἱμερίου ... καὶ Νικολάου πατρικίου, ἀμφοτέρων συγγενῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆς [Ζωῆς τῆς] Καρβονόφιδος φημι, οὗτοι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ... εἰ ἔξεστιν ἐπερώτων ... μὴ γένοιτο ἐκεῖνος ἀντέφῃσε.*

By simply suppressing *οὗτοι* and changing *ἐπερώτων* to *ἐπερωτώντων* one obtains *παρά τοῦ τε Ἱμερίου... καὶ Νικολάου... τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἐπερωτώντων ... μὴ γένοιτο ἐκεῖνος ἀντέφῃσε*, the exact parallel to the previous construction. One is struck by the facility with which the author drops a construction. Cf. *μετὰ ἀνυρετῶν λαῶν εἰσιόντων ...* 114, 14). (See remarks of Arethas *Comment. in Apoc.*, P.G. 106, col. 508).

N.B. 74, 4 : *καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν με πείθει ... ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προστάξαι ... ἐπιβαλεῖν χεῖρα.* Sentence beginning with an active verb, and continued as though from the passive.

The changing subject (See Sara MURRAY, *A study of the life of Andreas the Fool for the sake of Christ*, p. 62) proliferates during this period (e.g. *νεύει ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῷ σιλεντιαρίῳ καὶ λέγει [et celui-ci dit] μεγάλως κελεύσατε, De Cer. II, 5e*, quoted by TABACHOVITZ, p. 1, 7). In the VE it is well represented, e.g. :

102, 2 *τοσοῦτον ἡδὺς τοῖς πᾶσι ... γέγονεν, ὥς οὐ παρὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀντιπιπτόντων προσδεχθῆναι ἀσμένως τοῦτον καὶ αὐτῷ συνέπεσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι μᾶλλον τούτῳ ἀεὶ ἐλέσθαι, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους συστρέφεσθαι.*

102, 14 *τούτους δὲ παρέχων μὴ νομίσητε τοὺς μὴ διαβάλλοντας αὐτὸν παρορᾶν.*

### (5) Use of prepositions.

#### ἐν

(a) With the accusative : 16, 27 *ἐν τῷ τέμενος.*

(b) Used as *εἰς* : *ἐν τῇ μονῇ προσκαλεῖται* 142, 27 ; *ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀνακτος* 106, 29, etc. (See also, e.g. : *ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ δομηθέντι, εὐκτηρίῳ εἰς τὴν ... μονὴν ... ἐναπέθετο* 104, 7).

(c) *λαμπρύνῃς ἐν τε κιώνων καὶ μαρμάρων στιλπνότησι* (28, 10). Instrumental *ἐν* with dative, cf. MATT. 7, 2 *μετρεῖν ἐν μέτρῳ* (Quoted in the *Vita* 54, 28 but without the *ἐν*). Occurs again in the *Vita* 38, 26 ; 96, 19 and 126, 5.

#### ἐπὶ

(a) *τὸ ζῶον* (2, 21)

(b) *τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐπερχομένην ... ὁργήν.* (62, 6)

#### κατά

*κατ' ἐκείνω καιρῷ* (64, 31, and 128, 5), *κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ* (106, 24). Both rationalisations of the visibly and audibly irrational *ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ*. Cf. *Τὸ*

χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως (ed. KALONAROS, 'Ελλ. βιβλιοθήκη Ἀθηνῶν διευθυν. ὑπὸ τῶν καθηγητῶν κλασσ. φιλ. Πανεπ. Ἀθ., 1940): ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν (415; 446 etc.). Would be much more frequent in mediaeval texts but for Symeon Metaphrastes and tendency of earlier editors to improve their author's Greek.

### μετά

(a) *μετὰ θεόν*. The meaning of *μετὰ θεόν* is rather that of *μετὰ θεοῦ* (σὺν θεῷ):

57, 7 *μηνύσας καθέζεσθαι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ, δὲ καὶ μετὰ θεὸν διατηρήσω*

JANNARIS, *op. cit.*, 1607):

(b) *μετὰ δυσὶ χρόνοις καὶ μηνὶν* ἔξ (20, 21).

(c) *δέδοικα μήποτε μετὰ ἀγνυτῶν λαῶν εἰσιόντων ... αἷτιοι φανῶμεν* (114, 14). *μετὰ ... εἰσιόντων* plays the part of a genitive absolute with redundant *μετὰ*. Comparing two cases in the VE of the use of *παρά* (see above, n. 4), I explain the appearance of these prepositions, in the same way as the familiar instrumental *ἐν*, by the degeneration of the case-system.

### πρός

(a) 8, 11 *τὴν πρὸς τὰ Στουδίου κάθειρξιν* « In this way *πρὸς* since G[reco-Roman] times came to stand... (c) Sometimes for *παρά*+dative, like Latin *apud aliquem*: MAL., 451, 3 *διέτριψε πρὸς αὐτόν*; 348, 15 *διατρέψαντος ... πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν* » (JANNARIS, 1658).

(b) 70, 30 *τὰ πρὸς τούτοις λεγόμενα* (not «besides these »); *πρὸς πᾶσιν* ἔφη (84, 32).

(c) *πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνῆει* (76, 7); *π. τὰ βασίλεια* (78, 5).

### παρά

See above, n. 4.

### σύν

*σύν τῶν ... περιδρομῶν* (4, 12). For *σύν* with all cases, see JANNARIS, 1670. Theophanes several times constructs it with the genitive: « *σύν τῶν λαυράτων* 294, 15; *σύν τῶν φονέων* 352, 6; *σύν τινων τῶν ἀνδρῶν* 369, 17; *σύν τῶν τειχέων καὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων* 426, 19... Haec in omnibus codicibus; *σύν τῷ νίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατηγῶν* yz 180, 29... *σύν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ στρατηλάτου καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων* 340, 22 in solis z » (THEOPH. ed. DE BOOR, *Index*),

### ὕπο

*ὕπο τοῦ ζωστήρος* (2, 16). However the *τῆς ζ.* of the ms. throws doubt on this example.

(6) **Accents.** a. *βασιλειῶν* is so accented throughout the ms., eight times or more. On the other hand *βασιλείοις* is always paroxytone.

*ἀναργύρων* appears three times. In one case at least it is accented -ῶν (32, 36), and it is not impossible that in the ms. it is always so accented. (Cf. THUMB, *Handbook*, pp. 34 and 45, for accentuation of the genitive plural of *ἄνθρωπος* and *χρόνος*: *χρονῶ* and *ἀνθρωπῶνε*).

Conversely *ἀγνυτῶν* and *καθεδρῶν* (114, 15 and 118, 13) are turned into paroxytones.

b. *δνó* (88, 25) receives the modern accentuation. *φίαλη* (86, 33).

c. Infinitives and participles. εὐραῖσθαι (24, 29). Perhaps influenced by the -ᾶν infinitives, and especially the group formed from ἰστάω, and ἀποδρᾶν.

διευκρίνουσα 86, 15

κωλύνοντα 78, 36

ἐξεώσας 118, 22.

(7) **Verbs.** Irregular forms of verbs :

αἰρέω : ἀφείλαντο 28, 32 ; καθηγήσαμεν 110, 1.

ἀκούω : fut. act. 2 pers. ἀκούσεις 40, 26 ; 114, 9 (but ἀκούσομαι 72, 16 ; 112, 26 and ἀκούσεται 112, 30). ἀκούσω 110, 33.

δίδωμι : ἐπιδόσασα 44, 27. (Cf. ἐπιδόσασαν LEONT. NEAP., V. J., 22, 6 (cit. JANNARIS, 996).

εἰπεῖν (JANNARIS, 996, 86). In the *Vita*, the εἶπα of 106, 4 is quoted from the LXX (Ps. 81, 6). προσείπας 78, 35 ; εἰ κελεύεις, εἶπω σοι τὸν τρόπον τῆς προσαγωγῆς 118, 24.

ἐξωθέω ἐξεώσω, 72, 31 ; ἐξεώσαι, 44, 1 ; ἐξεώσας, 118, 22 ; ἐξεωθήναι, 72, 26 ; ἐξεωθέντος, 98, 5.

εὐρίσκω. Aor. I εὐράσθαι 24, 29. « [Phryn. 115 εὐρασθαι οὐκ ἐρεῖς προπαροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ α, ἀλλὰ παροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ ε, εὐρέσθαι] » (JANN., 996).

ἴστημι forms from ἰστάω : ἀνιστᾶν 120, 13 ; 142, 10. ἀποκαθιστᾶν 126, 21 ; μεθιστᾶν 136, 4 ; συνιστῶντα 78, 36.

κατεάξαντες, 88, 1 ; 138, 11 ; 138, 13 ; (see JANNARIS, 996, 2, p. 253).

κεράννυμι : Pf. κεκέρακα 54, 2, 5 (see JANNARIS, 996, 129).

λείπω : παρελείψαμεν 56, 34 ; καταλείψαι 134, 11, « [Phryn. 343 ἐκλείψας ἀδόκιμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκλιπών.] » (JANN., 996, 152).

μεταμελέομαι : μεταμελομένου, 48, 3 ; μεταμελόμενον, 66, 33 ; but μεταμελεῖσθαι, 130, 12.

συναποδιδράσκω, -δρᾶν for -δρᾶναι 74, 6.

(8) **Changes of mood and tense** (de Boor's list) : εἰ φανείης καὶ θεράπεύσεις (6, 30-8, 1) ; τάχα ἂν ... ἐπαποστείλεις, τοὺς δὲ τιμήσεις (16, 2-4) ; γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι ὥς οὐκ ἀνέλθω οὔτε ἀκούσεις τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ (40, 25) ; εἰ ... ποιήσομαι, ἢ ... ἀκούσομαι ἢ ... προσμείνω (72, 15-17) ; ἀποστελεῖ ... καὶ ὑπερασπίσοι καὶ ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ ... ἀναπληρώσοι (144, 19-21).

πρὶν ... κατίδοι ... καὶ προσαπολογήσοιτο (6, 9) ; εἰ μὴ καταδέξοιτο ἀλλ' ἀναβάλλοιτο (96, 29) ; καὶ ὑπερασπίσοι καὶ ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ ἀναπληρώσοι (144, 20-21). All these apparent changes of tense occur with the optative. One may conjecture that the author considers all optatives in σ as aorist optatives.

(9) ἀναβάλλομαι is used in the *Vita* both in the orthodox sense of *put off*, *delay* (8 times), and also unquestionably in that of *reject*, *refuse*, *show reluctance* (at least 11 times, in a further 4 cases *reject* would perhaps give the better sense, but *delay* is acceptable.)

104, 35 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς · « οὐδὲ τοῦτο καθομολογήσεις ὡς Χριστὸν σεαντὸν ὠνόμασας ; » ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεβάλλετο μὴ ποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν διομνύμενος.

96, 28 εἰ μὴ καταδέξοιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀλλὰ ἀναβάλλοιτο, πάντως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἐλπίς σωτηρίας

94, 24 εἰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς δυσανασχετεῖτε καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθε καὶ ὑποταγῆναι ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἀδυνάτως ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὑμῶν ἐπιζητήσατε

24, 19 τούτων ὁ πατήρ ἀκηκοὺς ἀνεβάλλετο, « μὴ γένοιτο », λέγων, « ἐπὶ ξένης φυτείας ποτὲ ἀρδεῦσαι με »

78, 7 Τοῦ δὲ πατριάρχου τὴν τῶν ἀκουβίτων πρόσκλησιν ἀναβαλλομένον.

Also 70, 13 ; 86, 21 and 22 ; 92, 10 ; 136, 6 (ἀναβολή).

(10) ὁπότ' ἄν. Cf. also 78, 30 ; 80, 32 ; 128, 8 ἃ τινα διὰ τὸ δύσφημον ἑατέον, ὁπότ' ἄν μηδὲ παρ' ἑτεροδόξων ταῦτα γενέσθαι ἡκοντίσθημεν (sense not temporal but adversative. Cf. 140, 22) ; 136, 31 ; 136, 33 ; 140, 22, but, e.g., ὅτε οὐδὲν ὠφελήσεις 110, 22. « ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὥς, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, had eventually to make room for their associates ὅταν, ὁπότεν, ὥς ἄν, ἐπὶ ἄν, ἐπειδὴν, owing to the presence in the latter ... of the stronger sound α.... Again the latter group being still too numerous to be concurrently preserved, popular speech dropped ... the majority of these representatives and preserved only ὅταν and ὥς ἄν or rather ὡσάν, two particles still fully surviving in N[eo]hellenic... It is noteworthy, however, that ὅτε, ὁπότε and ὥς also lingered through all P[ost-Classical]-M[ediaeval] periods alongside of their stronger correlatives, especially in the cultivated language » (JANNARIS, *op. cit.*, 1780 and 1781).

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