

This dream comes from chapter 18 of the fourth book of the *Stromata*, where Clement is occupied with the topic of love and (repression of) desire. The narrative is introduced to stress the subtle dangers of sight. Clement is in fact much stricter than the nameless Gnostic exegete who told him the witty story. He stands by the point that looking with desire is the same as transgressing the law. A desiring gaze brings about “daydreaming”. Sin happens before reaching the point of “conceiving” an image of intercourse in the mind – the Greek verb συλλαμβάνω being the same for both mental and bodily conceptions. The combination of gaze and longing is an unlawful deed *per se*. Actually, Clement seems to imply that the ὕπαρ thus “conceived” is worse than a “regular” ὄναρ, as the man, when awake, should be in control of his assent. This dream narrative is moreover significant because it can be easily read against the background of both Rabbinic anthropology and stoic philosophy. It is a telling example of Clement’s multilayered cultural heritage. In particular, the narrative points to both the Rabbinic notion of *yetzer* (implicitly) and to the stoic construct of φαντασία (explicitly). In both instances a process of internalization of external images (and powers) is at stake.

Ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος ἀνεμνήσθην τινὸς φάσκοντος ἑαυτὸν γνωστικόν. ἐξηγούμενος γὰρ τὸ «ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω, ὁ ἐμβλένας τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἤδη μεμοίχευκεν» οὐ ψιλὴν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡξίου κρίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐὰν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὸ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἔργον περαιτέρω τῆς ἐπιθυμίας χωροῦν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκτελεῖται· εἰ γὰρ ὄναρ τῇ φαντασίᾳ, συγκαταχρῆται ἤδη καὶ τῷ σώματι. λέγουσιν οὖν οἱ τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενοι Βοκχόριδος τοῦ δικαίου κρίσιν τοιάνδε. ἐρῶν ἐταίρας νεανίας πείθει μισθῶ τινι ὠρισμένῳ τὴν παῖδα ἀφικέσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν. προλαβούσης ὄναρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὴν παῖδα παρ’ ἐλπίδα κορεσθεῖς ἤκουσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην κατὰ τὸ τεταγμένον εἶργει τῆς εἰσόδου, ἡ δὲ ἐκμαθοῦσα τὸ γεγονός ἀπῆτει τὸν μισθόν, καὶ τῆδὲ πως αὐτὴ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῷ ἐραστῇ πεπληρωκένη λέγουσα. ἤκον οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν κριτὴν. τὸ βαλλάντιον οὗτος τοῦ μισθώματος τὸν νεανίσκον προτείνειν κελεύσας, ἐν ἡλίῳ δέ, τὴν ἐταίραν λαβέσθαι προσέταξεν τῆς σκιᾶς, χαριέντως εἰδῶλον μισθώματος ἀποδιδόναι κελεύσας εἰδώλου συμπλοκῆς.

At this point I am reminded of someone who called himself a Gnostic. While explaining the saying “But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lustful intent has already committed adultery with her in his heart” (Matthew 5: 28), he argued that simple desire is not to be condemned, unless, under the impulse of desire, the deed inspired by it is practically enacted in it, well beyond desire itself. As a matter of fact, when a dream takes advantage of mental images, it also takes hold of the body. Historians report the following verdict uttered by Bocchoris the just. A youngster in love with a courtesan convinces the girl to join him the following day, for an agreed remuneration. His desire, however, anticipates him through a dream, and the youngster, unexpectedly pleased, prohibits the beloved girl from entering his house, when she comes as they had agreed. Upon learning what had happened, the girl still asks for her wages, saying that this was the way she had fulfilled the desire of her lover. So, they come to the judge. And the judge, after instructing the boy to hold out – yet in the sun – the bag containing the due wages, orders the courtesan to grasp the shadow, wittingly declaring that for an imaginary embrace an imaginary price be paid.

Evagrius' "Vagabond" Dream (*On the Thoughts*, ch. 9). Greek text as in Paul Géhin, Claire Guillaumont, and Antoine Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique: Sur les pensées*, SC 438 (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 180-84.

Ἔστι δαίμων πλάνος λεγόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω μάλιστα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς παριστάμενος, ὅστις περιάγει τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν καὶ ἀπὸ κόμης εἰς κόμην καὶ ἀπὸ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν, ψιλὰς δῆθεν τὰς συντυχίας ποιούμενον καὶ γνωρίμοις τισὶ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ λαλοῦντα μακρότερα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας κατάστασιν διαφθείροντα καὶ μακρὰν γινόμεμον κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος λήθην λαμβάνοντα. Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἀναχωροῦντα τοῦτον τηρεῖν πόθεν τε ἄρχεται καὶ ποῦ καταλήγει· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῆ οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε τὸν μακρὸν ἐκεῖνον κύκλον ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ ἀναχωροῦντος διαφθεῖραι βουλόμενος ταῦτα ποιεῖ, ἵνα ἐκκαυθεὶς ἐκ τούτων ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν συντυχιῶν μεθυσθεὶς εὐθέως τῷ τῆς πορνείας ἢ τῷ τῆς ὀργῆς ἢ τῷ τῆς λύπης δαίμονι περιπέσῃ, οἵτινες μάλιστα λυμαίνονται τῆς καταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν λαμπρότητα.

Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς, εἴπερ ἔχομεν σκοπὸν τοῦ γνῶναι σαφῶς τὴν τούτου πανουργίαν, μὴ ταχέως φθελγώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν μηδὲ μηνύσωμεν τὰ γινόμενα, πῶς κατὰ διάνοιαν τὰς συντυχίας ἐργάζεται καὶ τίνα τρόπον κατ' ὀλίγον ἐλαύνει τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, ἐπεὶ φεύζεται ἀφ' ἡμῶν· ὀρᾶσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα πράττων οὐ καταδέχεται καὶ οὐδὲν λοιπὸν εἰσόμεθα ὧν μαθεῖν ἐσπουδάκαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλην μίαν ἡμέραν ἢ καὶ δευτέραν συγχωρήσωμεν αὐτῷ τελειῶσαι τὸ δρᾶμα, ἵνα ἀκριβῶς μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σκευώρημα λόγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλέγχοντες αὐτὸν φυγαδεύσωμεν.

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ συμβαίνει τεθλωμένον ὄντα τὸν νοῦν μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν τὰ γινόμενα, μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦτο γινέσθω· καθεσθεὶς μνημόνευσον κατὰ σεαυτὸν τῶν συμβεβηκότων σοὶ πραγμάτων, πόθεν τε ἤρξω καὶ ποῦ ἐπορεύθης καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ συνελήφθης ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας ἢ τῆς ὀργῆς ἢ τῆς λύπης, καὶ πῶς πάλιν γέγονε τὰ γινόμενα· ταῦτα κατάμαθε καὶ παράδος τῇ μνήμῃ ἵν' ἔχῃς ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν προσιόντα καὶ τὸν κρυπτόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τόπον καταμήνυε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀκολουθήσεις αὐτῷ λοιπόν. Εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ εἰς μανίαν αὐτὸν προσκαλέσασθαι, ἔλεξον αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐπιστάντα καὶ τὸν πρῶτον τόπον εἰς ὃν εἰσῆλθε λόγῳ φανέρωσον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον καὶ τὸν τρίτον· πάνυ γὰρ χαλεπαίνει μὴ φέρων τὴν αἰσχύνην· ἀπόδειξις δὲ ἔστω τοῦ καιρίως σε φθέγξασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ πεφευγῆναι τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἀδύνατον γὰρ στήναι φανερωῶς ἐλεγχόμενον.

Τοῦτον δὲ ἠττηθέντα τὸν δαίμονα διαδέχεται ὕπνος βαρύτατος καὶ νέκρωσις μετὰ ψυχρότητος πολλῆς τῶν βλεφάρων καὶ χάσμα ἄπειροι καὶ ὅμοιοι βαρούμενοι καὶ ναρκῶντες, ἅπερ πάντα τῇ συντόνῳ προσευχῇ διαλύσει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Evagrius' "Vagabond" Dream (*On the Thoughts*, ch. 9)
Trans. Columba Stewart

There is a demon called "vagabond" that usually approaches the brothers around dawn. It leads the intellect from city to city, from village to village, from house to house, so that it has [what seem to be] simple encounters. But then it runs into people it knows and talks a lot, destroying its normal condition in these meetings and gradually becoming far removed from the knowledge of God and of virtue, even to the point of forgetting its profession.

It is therefore necessary that the anchorite watch this [demon], both where it starts and how it plays out: for it is not randomly or by chance that it makes that long circuit, but it does these things wanting to destroy the condition of the anchorite so that the intellect, inflamed by these things and intoxicated from many encounters, straightaway falls prey to the demon of lust, or anger, or sadness, which particularly ruin the brightness of its condition.

But since we have the aim of knowing clearly the cunning of this [demon], we should not rush to address it nor reveal what happened, viz., how it effects encounters in the mind and in a certain way drives the intellect a bit towards death, for then it will flee from us. It does not accept being seen doing these things, and then we would know nothing more of what we have sought to learn. So let us allow it to carry out the activity for a day or even two days, so that having accurately learned his tricks, we can refute him after these events with a word and put him to flight.

But because at the time of the temptation the intellect is disturbed and cannot accurately see what is happening, after the withdrawal of this demon do this: sit down and remember for yourself the things that happened to you: where you began and where you went, and in which place you were seized by the spirit of lust or anger or sadness, and once again how the things that happened actually happened. Learn these things, and commit them to memory so that you will be able to refute [the demon] when it approaches. Make known its secret place, and that you will not follow it anymore. And if you want to make [the demon] furious, refute it as soon as it appears. Reveal with a word the first place it goes into, then the second, then the third: it will be very angry, since it cannot bear the humiliation. The proof that you have refuted it aptly will be that the thought flees from you, for it cannot bear to be openly refuted.

When this demon has been defeated, a very deep sleep follows, a deathliness with great coolness of the eyelids, endless yawns, and shoulders that are weighed down and stiff. But by intense prayer, the Holy Spirit will put an end to all these things.

John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 89-90. Based on the text in Migne PG vol. 88; text presented here is from the edition of P. Trevisan, S. Giovanni Climaco *Scala Paradisi*, 2 vols (Turin, 1941), 95-96.

The dream passage, "Concerning the dreams of novices", is at the end of Step 3, On Exile. The larger issue addressed in Step 3 is the task of separation from family and loved ones. Dreams are one of the challenges confronting novices, because they rouse up memories - and hence emotions - of family. The dreams are false, but the emotions are real.

μὲν γὰρ βρώματα διακρίνει, ἀκοή δὲ νοήματα διαγινώσκει · ἀσθένειαν μὲν γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἐδήλωσεν ἥλιος, ἀγνωσίαν δὲ ψυχῆς ἐδήλωσε ῥήματα. — Πλὴν, ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης νόμος καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν ἐκβιαστής. Οὐκ οὖν οἶμαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀρίζομαι) ἀκόλουθον, μετὰ τοὺς τῆς ξενιτείας λόγους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς, μικρὰ περὶ τῶν ὀνείρων ἐντάξαι, ὅσον μηδὲ τούτου τοῦ δόλου τῶν δολίων ἀμυήτους ὑπάρχειν ἡμᾶς.

Ἐνούπνιον ἔστι νοὸς κίνησις ἐν ἀκινήσιᾳ σώματος. Φαντασία ἔστιν ἀπάτη ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν κοιμημένῃ διανοίᾳ. Φαντασία ἔστιν ἕκστασις νοὸς, ἐγρηγορότος σώματος · φαντασία ἔστιν ἀνυπόστατος θεωρία. — Ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν μετὰ τὴν προλαβοῦσαν τάξιν περὶ ὀνείρων λέγειν ἠβουλήθημεν, πρόδηλος · ὅταν καταλείψαντες διὰ τὸν Κύριον τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους, καὶ οἰκείους, ξενιτεία διὰ ἀγάπην Θεοῦ ἑαυτοὺς πωλήσωμεν, τότε λοιπὸν οἱ δαίμονες δι' ἐνούπνιων θορυβεῖν δοκιμάσουσιν ἡμᾶς, τοὺς οἰκείους ἑαυτῶν ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύντες ἢ κοπτομένους, ἢ θνήσκοντας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεχομένους καὶ σινομένους. Ὁ τοίνυν ὀνείροις πιστεύων, ὁμοίος ἔστι τῷ τὴν σκιὰν ἑαυτοῦ κατατρέχοντι, καὶ ταύτην κατέχειν δοκιμάζοντι. — Δαίμονες κενοδοξίας καθ' ὕπνου προφηται, τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς πανοῦργοι τεκμαιρόμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν προευαγγελιζόμενοι · τῶν ὄραμάτων πεπληρωμένων, ἡμεῖς ἔθαμ-

menti nella densa e calda eloquenza del Climaco, si intrecciano variamente.

(9) Il Santo nel *Vende quae habes* mette anche la persona, invitata a vendere.

βήθημεν, καὶ ὡς πλησίον τοῦ προγνωστικοῦ λοιπὸν ὑπάρχοντες χαρίσματος, τὸν λογισμὸν ἀνυψώσωμεν.

Ἐν τοῖς πειθομένοις τῷ δαίμονι, πολλάκις προφήτης ἐγένετο· ἐν τοῖς δὲ ἐξουθενοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ ἐψεύσατο. Πνεῦμα ὄν, τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀέρος τούτου ἐώρακεν, καὶ νοήσας αὐτὸν θνήσκοντα, δι' ἐνυπνίου ἐν τοῖς κουφοτέροις προεφήτευσεν. — Οὐδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἐκ προγνώσεως οἶδασιν· ἐπεὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν θάνατον προλέγειν ἐδύναντο. — Εἰς Ἄγγελον φωτὸς, καὶ Μαρτύρων εἶδος πολλάκις μετασχηματίζονται, καὶ ἡμᾶς προσερχομένους αὐτοῖς καθ' ὑπνους ὑπέδειξαν· διυπνισθέντας δὲ χαρᾶ καὶ οἴησει κατεβάπτισαν. — Τοῦτο δὴ σοι ἔσται τὸ σημεῖον πλάνης· κολάσεις καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ χωρισμοὺς ὑποδεικνύουσιν Ἄγγελοι· διυπνισθέντας ἐντρόμους, καὶ σκυθρωποὺς ἀπεργάζονται. — Ὅποταν ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοῖς τοῖς δαίμοσι πείθεσθαι ἀρξώμεθα, τότε λοιπὸν καὶ ἐργηγορότας ἐμπαίξουσιν. Ὁ ἐνυπνίους πεισθεῖς, εἰς ἅπαν ἀδόκιμος. Ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀπιστῶν, φιλόσοφος οὗτος· πᾶσί σοι τοῖς κόλασιν, καὶ κρίσιν εὐαγγελιζομένοις πίστευε μόνοις. — Εἰ δὲ ἀπόγνωσις σοι διενοχλεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ δαιμόνων.

Ὁ τρίτος Τριάδος ἰσάριθμος δρόμος. Ὁ ἐπιβεβηκῶς, μὴ περιβλέψῃ δεξιὰ, ἢ ἀριστερά.

(²) *II Cor.* XII, 14.

(³) Cioè da Cristo, dal Paradiso, dal bene (non dai parenti e dal mondo, di cui si incaricano i demonii, come l'A. ha accennato poco sopra).

(⁴) Tralascia la parte parallela, come fa non raramente, cioè: i demonii ci fanno vedere cose, che ci piacciono e ci inorgogliscono.

(⁵) Questo è più che il non voltarsi indietro (il che è indicato alla fine del primo e secondo Gradino).

A dream is a stirring of the mind during the body's rest, while a fantasy is something that tricks the eyes when the intellect is asleep. Fantasy occurs when the mind wanders, when the body is awake. A fantasy is the contemplation of something that does not actually exist.

It must be clear why I have decided to speak here about dreams. After we leave home and family or the sake of the Lord, after we have gone into exile for the love of God, the demons try and shake us with dreams. They show us their relatives grieving, near death, poverty-stricken or imprisoned because of us. But the man who believes in dreams is like someone running to catch up with his own shadow.

The devils of vainglory do their prophecies in dreams. They guess the future and, as part of their deceit, they inform us of it so that we are astonished to discover our visions coming true. Indeed we get carried away with the notion that we are already close to the gift of foreknowledge.

To the credulous a devil is a prophet; and to those who despise him he is just a liar. Because he is a spiritual being he knows what is happening in the lower regions, that someone is dying, for instance, so by way of demons he passes the information on to the most gullible. However demons lack actual foreknowledge. If they did not, these tricksters would be able to foretell our deaths.

Devils often take on the appearance of angels of light or martyrs and they appear to us in sleep and talk to us so that they can push us into unholy joy and conceit when we wake up. But this very effect will reveal their trick, for what angels actually reveal are torments, judgments and separation with the result that on waking up we tremble and are miserable. And if we start to believe in the devils of our dreams, then we will be their playthings when we are also awake.

The man who believes in dreams shows his inexperience, while the man who distrusts every dream is very sensible. Trust only the dreams that foretell torments and judgment for you, but even these dreams may also be from demons if they produce despair in you.

(t.) Περὶ Εὐαγρίου

(1.) Τὰ κατὰ Εὐάγριον τὸν ἀοίδιμον διάκονον, ἄνδρα βεβιωκότα κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οὐ δίκαιον ἡσυχάσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γραφῇ παραδοῦναι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ δόξαν τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἄξιον @1 ἡγησάμενος ἄνωθεν ἐκτιθέναι, πῶς τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπόν, (5) καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐξασκήσας ἀξίως τελευτᾷ πενήκοντα τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· «Ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἐπλήρωσεν ἔτη πολλά».

(2.) Οὗτος τῷ μὲν γένει ἦν Ποντικὸς πόλεως Ἰβωρῶν, υἱὸς χωρεπισκόπου· ἀναγνώστης κεχειροτόνηται παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καισαρέων. Μετὰ οὖν τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου προσσχὼν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπιτηδειότητι ὁ σοφώτατος καὶ ἀπαθέστατος καὶ παιδεία (5) διαλάμπων Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνὸς ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζε- διαλάμπων Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνὸς ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζε- ται διάκονον. Ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Κων- σταντινούπολιν καταλιμπάνει αὐτὸν τῷ μακαρίῳ Νεκταρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διαλεκτικώτατον ὄντα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων. Ἦνθει δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει λόγοις νεανιευόμενος (10) κατὰ πάσης αἰρέσεως. (3.) Συνέβη οὖν τοῦτον σφοδρῶς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως τιμώμενον, εἰδὼν περιπαγῆναι γυναι- κικῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγήσατο, ὕστερον ἐλευθε- ρωθεὶς τὸ φρονοῦν. Ἀντηράσθη τούτου πάλιν τὸ γύναιον· ἦν δὲ τῶν μεγιστάνων. Ὁ οὖν Εὐάγριος τὸν θεὸν φοβούμε- (5) νος καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ αἰδούμενος συνειδός, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς αἰσχημοσύνης καὶ τὸ ἐπιχαιρεσικάκον τῶν αἰρέσεων, ἠῤῥατο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων ὅπως παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐμποδισθῆ. Τῆς οὖν γυναικὸς ἐπικειμένης καὶ λυττώσης θέλων ἀναχωρῆσαι οὐκ ἴσχυε, δεσμοῖς τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης (10) κατεχόμενος. (4.) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ προ- κοψάσης πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος πείρας, ἐπέστη αὐτῷ ἀγ- γελικὴ ὄπτασία ἐν σχήματι στρατιωτῶν τοῦ ὑπάρχου, καὶ ἀρπάζει αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγει ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ βάλλει αὐτὸν @1 εἰς τὴν λεγομένην κουστωδιάν, κλοιοῖς σιδηροῖς καὶ ἀλύσε- (5) σιν αὐχένα καὶ χεῖρας καταδησάντων, τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόν- των δῆθεν τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ λεγόντων. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ συνειδήσει ἦδει ὅτι χάριν ταύτης ὑφίσταται ταῦτα, προσδοκήσας τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐντετυχηκένας. (5.) Ἐν τῷ οὖν λίαν αὐτὸν ἀγω- νιᾷ ἄλλης δίκης πρᾶττομένης καὶ βασανιζομένων ἐτέρων ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι, ἔμενε σφόδρα ἀγωνιῶν. Μετασχηματίζεται δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τὴν ὄπτασίαν παρασχὼν εἰς παρουσίαν γνη- σίου φίλου, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ δεδεμένῳ μεταξὺ σειρᾶς τεσ- (5)

σαράκοντα καταδίκων· «Τίνος ἔνεκεν κατέχη ἐνταῦθα, κύρι
διάκονε;» Λέγει αὐτῷ· «Κατὰ μὲν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι,
ὑπόνοια δέ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχε κατ'
ὑπόνοια δέ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχε κατ'
ἐμοῦ ἀλόγῳ ζηλοτυπία πληγείς· καὶ δέδοικα μήποτε χρήμασιν
ὁ ἄρχων διαφθαρεῖς τιμωρία με ὑποβάλλῃ». (6.) Λέγει
αὐτῷ· «Εἰ ἀκούεις τοῦ φίλου σου, οὐ συμφέρει σοι ἐν τῇ
πόλει ταύτῃ διάγειν». Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐάγγελος· «Ἐὰν ὁ
θεός με ταύτης τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ ἴδῃς με ἐν
Κωνσταντινουπόλει, γινῶθι ὅτι εὐλόγως ὑφίσταμαι ταύτην (5)
τὴν τιμωρίαν». Λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· «Φέρω τὸ εὐαγ-
γέλιον καὶ ὁμοσόν μοι ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀναχωρεῖς τῆς πόλεως
ταύτης καὶ φροντίζεις σου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀπαλλάττω
σε τῆς ἀνάγκης ταύτης». (7.) Ἦνεγκεν οὖν τὸ εὐαγ-
γέλιον καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι «Παρ-
εκτὸς μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἵνα φθάσω ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον
τὰ ἱμάτιά μου, οὐ μὴ παραμείνω». Τοῦ ὄρκου οὖν προ-
χωρήσαντος ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκστάσεως τῆς γενομένης (5)
αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ νυκτί· καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐλογίσατο ὅτι «Εἰ καὶ @1
ἐν ἐκστάσει γέγονεν ὁ ὄρκος ἀλλ' ὅμως ὤμοσα». Βα-
λὼν οὖν πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλοῖον ἔρχεται εἰς Ἱεροσό-
λυμα

Robin Darling Young

3. It came about that he, highly honored in the entire City, was caught in the trap of a mental image of desire for a woman, as he himself explained to us, after he was freed from the thought. The woman desired him in return; she was one of the most noble. Then Evagrius, fearing God and ashamed in his conscience, put before his eyes the magnitude of his disgrace and the glee of the heretics, and prayed to God earnestly to impede him. Wishing to distance himself from the eager and raving woman, he had not the power, being caught up in the bonds of this courtship.

4. After he had advanced in the activity for no short time, there appeared to him an angelic vision in the form of the soldiers of the Hyparch, and he seized him and led as if into the courtroom and threw him into the so-called Custodia, and bound him with iron collars, put chains on his neck, and tied his hands. They did not tell him the cause. But he was aware in his conscience that it was thanks to what he had done, and he surmised that her husband had brought it about.

5. Now he was exceedingly anxious, because there was another trial occurring, where others were being subjected to torture in order to extract a confession, for some complaint. But the angel who brought the vision changed its form into the presence of a genuine friend, and spoke to him as he was bound together with forty criminals, saying "Why is my lord the deacon detained here?" He said to him: "In truth, I do not know, but I have a suspicion that a certain one from the Hyparchs is struck by an unreasonable jealousy against me. And I am afraid that the Archon himself will be bribed with money, and subject me to vengeance."

6. [The angel] said to him, "If you will listen to your friend, it will not be convenient for you to remain in the City." Evagrius said to him: "If God will free me from this circumstance and you see me in Constantinople, know that I would suffer this vengeance with good reason." That [angel] said to him: "I am going to bring the Gospel, and swear to me on it that you will depart from this city and you will have concern for your soul, and I will free you from this torture."

7. Then the Gospel was brought and he swore to him on it according to the gospel that "Except for this one day, in order that I might first put on the ship my clothing, I will not remain here." With the completion of the oath he came back from the entrancement that had happened to him in the night. And he arose and decided, "Even if this oath came about in an entrancement, nonetheless, I swore it." And loading everything aboard ship, he went on to Jerusalem.

Ὀνειροκρίτης κατὰ Μανουήλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου

οἱ στρουθοὶ συγχυσιν ἐμφαίνουσι καὶ ζάλην περὶ χυδαίου καὶ συμφερτώδους πλήθους ἦτοι χωριατῶν. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἐκωλύθη¹ παρὰ τῶν στρουθίων γίνωσκε ὅτι μέλλει εὐρεῖν πλείστην ἐπίθεσιν καὶ θανατηφόρον μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπηλλάγη καθ' ὕπνους τῶν τοιούτων, ῥυσθήσεται τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων· εἰ δὲ κατεκυριεύθῃ, ἠττηθήσεται καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐμπλήσεται· μέλλει ὁ τοιοῦτος φονευθῆναι ὡς ὁ μέγας διερμηνευτῆς Συριάνων ἐθεάσατο μόλις ποτὲ ῥυσθεῖς τοῦ ἐπηρτημένου αὐτῷ κειμένου κινδύνου· ἐκύκλωσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡσεὶ ἰβ' χιλιάδες λαὸς διὸ ἠκούσθη ὅτι πωλεῖται² δι' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῆς δεσποίνης ὁ ἐπικείμενος τῷ Γαλατὰ βουνὸς πρὸς τοὺς Φράγγους.

A dreambook for/by/concerning Manuel the Palaeologan

Sparrows signify confusion and distress with respect to a vulgar and uncouth group of people, that is to say, the peasantry. If someone dreams that he was impeded by sparrows, he should know that he is likely to experience a very great attack and a fatal demise at the hands of commoners. And if in this dream he escaped from these birds, he will be delivered from these dangers; but if the birds overpowered him, he will be defeated and have a full measure of these [evils]; such [a dreamer] is likely to be murdered. So the great interpreter of the Syrians beheld, after he once was barely rescued from the grave danger hanging over him; for about 12,000 people surrounded him when it was rumored that the hill next to Galata was being betrayed² to the Latins³ by the empress through his agency.

¹Instead of ἐκυκλώθη, perhaps we can read ἐκωλύθη (was surrounded) as we read below: “12,000 people had surrounded him . . .”

²Or, ‘was being sold.’

³Literally, the Franks.

Background

Of the dreambooks that have survived from the Byzantine era, the latest in date is the dreambook connected with Manuel II Palaeologus. The *oneirocriticon*, which is found on folia 315^v–319^r of the fifteenth-century Codex Parisinus Graecus 2419, is fragmentary and seems to be an extract or compilation of the original text. Was the dreambook written by the emperor? As Maria Mavroudi observes, the title, as **preserved in the codex, can be translated as “A Dreambook for Manuel,” not necessarily as “A Dreambook by Manuel.” It may be mean “A Dreambook concerning Manuel.”** Whoever its author, the text was produced at, and used in, Byzantine courtly circles. The text, with its naming of aristocrats and members of the imperial family as well as descriptions of events from their lives, implies that the audience was the aristocracy and the court of Constantinople.

Text

A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2 vols. (Liège and Paris: Édouard Champion, 1927–1934). Dreambook is published in vol. 2, pp. 511–524; text above taken from p. 513, line 30–p. 514, line 8.

ALICE-MARY TALBOT – A Dream of St. Panteleimon at the Pege Shrine

10th c. Anonymous Miracles of the Pege Shrine, ch. 31 – from Alice-Mary Talbot and Scott Johnson, *Miracle Tales from Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), 274-275

Ἰωάννης γάρ τις πρωτοσπαθάριος τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου ναὸν κατέλαβεν ἡμιθνής τῶν νόσων ταῖς ἐπιθέσει· καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἀφυπνώσας κατεῖδεν, ὡς ἔφη, τὴν Θεομήτορα ἐπιτρέπουσαν τῷ μάρτυρι Παντελεήμονι· «Ἴδε, τί ἔχει ὁ ἀσθενῶν;» (ἵνα καὶ τῶν θείων ἐκείνων ῥημάτων, ὡς λέξεως εἶχον, ἐπιμνησθῶ). Καὶ ὁ μάρτυς· «Τὰ ἔνδον, ὦ Δέσποινα, πάσχει δεινῶς.» Καὶ αὐθις ἡ Θεοτόκος ἔφη τῷ μάρτυρι· «Θεραπείας τοῦτον ἀξίωσον.» Καὶ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ διωπνισθεὶς τελείως ἀπελαθεῖσαν ἔγνω τὴν νόσον, καὶ τὴν ἰατρεύσασαν φωναῖς εὐχαριστηρίοις ἡμείβετο.

A certain John, a *protospatharios*, who was half dead from the attacks of his diseases, came to the church of the Theotokos. While he was lying down asleep in the church, he saw, as he said, the Mother of God instructing the martyr Panteleimon, “See what is wrong with the sick man” (so that we may record the divine utterance, word for word). And the martyr said, “He is suffering from terrible internal problems, my Lady.” Again the Theotokos said to the martyr, “This one is worth curing.” After being awakened from sleep by those words, he experienced a complete remission of his disease, and he repaid the Virgin who had healed with him with cries of thanksgiving.

14th-c. Miracles of the Pege by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos

Edited by A. Pamperis, Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου περὶ συστάσεως τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆς ([Leipzig], 1802), 53-54

Ἄνδρὶ τινι (πρωτοσπαθάριος οὗτος δ' ἦν τὴν ἀξίαν), νόσων ἐπαλληλία τὴν ὀλομέλειαν ἐκτακέντι, κἀντεῦθεν ἡμιθνήτι γεγενημένῳ, ἄσυλον ἱερὸν τὸ νᾶμα τῆς Πηγῆς ἀναδείκνυται. Ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἐκ πάνυ πλείστου ἀπερριμμένῳ μία, πρὸς ὕπνον τραπέντι, ὄψις θειοτέρα ἐφίσταται. Ἡ δὲ ὄψις, γυνὴ τις ἐφόκει σφόδρα καλή, ὑπὸ σεμνῷ ψυχῆς καταστήματι, ὠραῖον οἶον καὶ χάριεν ἀπαστράπτουσα· παρείπετο δὲ καὶ νεανίας αὐτῆ, ἀνεσταλμένος τὴν κόμην ἐπὶ πολλῆς, καὶ στολῆ διαπρέπων καινῆ, ἐπὶ κιβωτίῳ φαρμάκων πλήρει τὴν εὐώνυμον βαρυνόμενος. Ἡ γὰρ θατέρα ἐγχειριδίῳ ξίφει καθώπλιστο. Εἰς ὄψιν δὲ καὶ τ' ἄλλα Παντελεήμονι τῷ θείῳ παρείκαστο. Αὕτη δ' ἐπιστᾶσα οὗ κατακεῖσθαι τὸν Ἰωάννην συνέβαινε (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ σπαθάριος κατωνόμαστο), ἐπέτρεψε τῷ ἀκολουθῶν τὸν κάμνοντα ὅ, τι πάσχει διερευνησαί. Ὁ δ' ἀφῆ τὰ μέλη πιέσας, «τὰ ἔνδον τούτῳ διέφθορον,» ἀπαγγέλλει, «καὶ δεῖ τομὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πάθει.» Καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατήνεγκε τὸ ξιφίδιον τὰ στέρνα ὑποκεντήσας, ὁ δὲ νυγεὶς διωπνίζετο, δοξάζων τὴν Θεομήτορα, μηδὲν ὧν ἔπασχε πρότερον διαγνοῦς, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἔλκος τῆς τομῆς ὀρῶν ἀπορρέον.

The spring of the Pege was once revealed as a holy sanctuary to a man who held the dignity of *protospatharios*, and was half dead from a succession of maladies that afflicted his entire body. For after being ignored/set aside (?) there for a long time, one night he fell asleep and a divine

vision (ὄψις) appeared to him. The vision resembled a very beautiful woman, of dignified spiritual demeanor, and radiant. She was accompanied by a young man with a fancy hairdo and beautiful new garments, holding a medicine box in his left hand and a scalpel in his right. In his face and in other respects he resembled St. Panteleimon. The woman stopped at the place where John was lying (for this was the *spatharios*'s name), and told her attendant to ascertain the sick man's problem; Panteleimon palpated his body, and declared "His internal organs are damaged/infected, and there is need for surgical intervention." He then pierced his chest with his scalpel. The man who received the incision awoke, praising the Mother of God as he realized that his previous affliction had disappeared, and he could see only the wound from the incision exuding a liquid.

The purpose of this juxtaposition of four texts is to explore the role of dreams in creating a socially agreed system of portraiture for persons who are not normally visible. From the eleventh century, Byzantine artists developed a more or less consistent gallery of portrait types for the major saints, by which they can be recognized, even when inscriptions are absent (image A). Byzantine dreams and visionary experiences played an important part in creating this collective imagination by which the supernatural could be envisioned. Likewise, in a manner reminiscent of the Byzantine period, the portraiture of aliens today is the result of a circular process; dreams of abductions validate the portraits, and the portraits validate the dreams.



Image A: Vatican Library, MS. Gr. 1162 (Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos). Gallery of saints identifiable by portrait type. Top left, Bishops, front row, from the left: Gregory of Nazianzos, Nicholas, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom. Top right, Monks, front row from the left: Euthemios, Arsenios, Sabas, Theodore of Stoudios, Anthony. Lower center, Soldiers, front row from the left: Demetrios, Prokopios, George, Theodore Tiro, Theodore Stratelates.

1) In this text, taken from the fourteenth-century retelling by Nikepohoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos of the miracles performed at the shrine of the Virgin of Pege, outside Constantinople, an unhealthy Byzantine official is cured in a vision received while he was sleeping. During the vision the Virgin appeared in the company of the doctor Saint Panteleimon, whose appearance exactly matches his agreed portrait type in Byzantine icons (image B). With his knife, Panteleimon operated on the man, and the resulting wound, which was still visible after the man had woken up, confirmed the veracity of the vision.

The water of the spring [of Pege] was shown to be a holy refuge for a certain man – he was a protospatharios in rank – who was wasting away in all his limbs with a succession of diseases, and as a consequence had become half dead. For one day as he was there, exceedingly cast down, a divine vision stood by him, as he was turning to sleep. And the vision looked like an exceedingly beautiful woman, with a solemnity of spirit, flashing with a kind of beauty and grace. And a young man followed beside her, with his hair very raised up, and looking striking in a new garment, his left hand weighed down by a box full of medicines, while his right hand was equipped with a blade with a handle. In appearance and in all other respects he resembled the divine Panteleimon. And the woman, standing by the place where John (for so the spatharios was named) happened to be lying, commanded the one who followed her to examine the sick man closely [to find] what ailed him. And he, palpating the man's body, reported that his insides were corrupted, and that it would be necessary to treat his condition with an incision. And he brought down his small knife, piercing the chest, and the other man, having been cut, awoke from his sleep, extolling the mother of God, discerning nothing of what he had undergone before, but only seeing the wound flowing from the cut.

Source: A. Pamperis, *Logos dialambanon ta peri tes systaseos tou sebasmiou oikou tes en Konstantinoupolei Zoodochou Peges*, Leipzig, 1802, 53-54.



Image B: Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakos, Saint Panteleimon

2) In this text, taken from a retelling of the experiences of alien abductees by Harvard psychiatrist John Mack, a young woman under hypnosis recounts three encounters with aliens (the third is explicitly stated to be a dream). In the second and third episodes, which were recalled under hypnosis, she was taken into a space-craft by aliens. The appearance of the aliens exactly matches their agreed portrait types in contemporary visual culture (images C and D). In the second experience, an alien used a small metal instrument to make a cut in her finger, which left a scar that is still visible.

The first abduction experience that Catherine recalls occurred when she was three years old. Catherine remembered waking up in the middle of the night and seeing a being at her bedroom window with a blue light coming into the room from behind it... She described the being as having “huge black eyes, a pointed chin - his entire head is like a teardrop inverted. He’s got a line for a mouth, nose I can’t see totally well from where I am, but it’s not like a human nose. It’s just a bump. I can see nostrils, but not as large as ours are. He doesn’t seem to be wearing any clothes. He doesn’t really seem to have any color to him. He’s got a bluish cast to him caused by the light coming in from behind him. It’s like he’s backlit somehow.”

The next encounter Catherine has recalled occurred at age seven and was recovered unexpectedly in our third hypnosis session.... She saw “a little white thing”. This turned out to be “a little man standing there. He looks startled. He has a big head, big eyes, and he doesn’t have any hair.” He told her that he wanted to take her somewhere.... After this she passed through a “hole” into “the middle of this room.” Inside the room the “little man” went to another room to get something and bring it back.... and he [said] “I’m just going to make a little cut.... Its for scientific research....” He made a little cut on the fourth finger of her left hand, which hurt less than Catherine expected. With an instrument like an “eyedropper kind of thing” made entirely of metal, he drew in a small amount of blood.... A small horseshoe-shaped scar remains on her ring finger to this day for which Catherine has no other explanation than the incident above.

The Christmas “dream” of 1990 turned out to be the first adult abduction experience that Catherine was able to recall. The story unfolded in our first two hypnotic regressions.... Christmas day fell on Tuesday and Catherine remembers that the “dream” occurred a day or two later. Before the hypnosis she recalled awaking the next morning with “an image in my head of being in a room in a ship...I spent about ten minutes just lying in bed trying to remember everything that I could and burn it into my memory as much as possible. I know it was very important to remember it.... I can remember walking down the hall in the middle of the night and looking out the window in the living room and seeing a big ship out there, back in the field.”

After standing for a short while in the doorway, Catherine said that she started to go out of the house “to the ship....” She noticed that “there are creatures out there” by the ship. I asked her to describe them. “There’s five of them, and it doesn’t look like they have any clothes on. They should have clothes on because its Alaska....” As she got closer to the ship the beings “come around me in a semicircle. I’m trying to look at them and I can’t. I can’t see the faces. Their arms are very long. They don’t seem to have any body features like we have. No nipples, no belly-button, nothing.” They have no hair or evident teeth and the faces were expressionless.

Catherine was then willing to go into the ship “on her own.... And there’s another being in here. He’s waiting, and I think he’s like the doctor or the medical examiner kind of guy.” She described the small, very thin necks of the five beings she saw in addition to the doctor. “You wouldn’t think that they could support their big heads. Their bodies are actually kind of frail....” They seemed to be wearing no clothes, and the skin was “kind of whitish, like pale....” I encouraged her to tell me about [the examiner’s] eyes.... She was able to recall, “They’re very, very big. They’re much, much bigger than our eyes, and they don’t blink, and they’re kind of slanted on his head. And they’re all black...I can’t see any pupils. I can’t see the retina, no whites, nothing. It’s just all black.”

Finally.... “They take me down the ramp, and they’re walking me back over the field and up the little hill to the door. They open the door and I go in and I take off the boots and the coat and I don’t think they followed me in, so I went back and got into bed and went to sleep.”

Source: John E. Mack, *Abduction. Human Encounters with Aliens*, New York, 1994, 145-158.



Image C: drawing of an alien by an abductee. Source: *Harvard Magazine*, March-april 1992, p. 6

**Contact made!
Alien in a Chamber
from "Roswell."**

What really happened in the desert near Roswell, New Mexico in 1947? Did an alien spacecraft crash? Were the remains of its occupants secretly captured by federal authorities? As documented in the film "Roswell," credible evidence suggests these amazing events did take place.

Now you can display this full-size latex replica of the Roswell UFO Alien in a Chamber, as created for the film by Hollywood special FX artist Steve Johnson. Made from the original movie mold, the beautifully sculpted reclining alien measures 4 feet long. An internal fluorescent lamp



Full-size, lighted acrylic chamber replica precisely duplicates documentary evidence of the original alien.

illuminates the chamber for an eerie effect. Measures 54"L x 18"W x 15"H. Made in USA.

Display the fantastic Hollywood creature that could represent actual contact with an alien life form.

Roswell UFO Alien in a Chamber \$1,695 #UJ314

© 1991 Steve Johnson FX.



Image D: replica of the Roswell Alien. Source: *The Sharper Image Catalogue*, Christmas, 1995, p. 13.

3) In this text from the Life of St. Irene, the Emperor Basil I has a nocturnal vision in which he is visited by a woman who identifies herself as Irene, abbess of the convent of Chrysobalanton in Constantinople. She threatens him with retribution if he fails to release her imprisoned relative. The next morning the emperor doubts the authenticity of his vision, suspecting it to be sorcery. He sends a delegation containing a painter to the nunnery to obtain Irene's portrait. When he is shown the portrait, the emperor is amazed to discover that it exactly resembles the woman he had seen while asleep. He no longer doubts his vision.

Then they showed him [the emperor] her image, and just as the emperor cast his eyes on it, a flash of lightning suddenly sprang up from it, gleaming terribly before his eyes, and *made him cry aloud in terror*, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness!" Greatly appalled he stood speechless for a long time, looking at the portrait in amazement that it showed exactly the woman who had threatened him in his dream. *No longer doubting his vision* he led the prisoner out of his confinement....

Source: Jan Olof Rosenqvist, ed. and trans., *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, Uppsala, 1986, 98-99.

4) In this text, taken from *Harvard Magazine*, a woman is convinced of the reality of her abduction after being presented with a picture of an alien made by another abductee, which exactly corresponds with the appearance of her own captors (image C).

One telling scene occurred in the New York office of Budd Hopkins, a researcher into alien abduction cases.... A woman from Indiana was narrating her own abduction for Hopkins; when he showed her a drawing of an alien's face, she asked how he had obtained so accurate a picture of her captors. His reply was that the drawing was not of *her* captors but had been made by another abductee in North Carolina. At this revelation, "*she freaked out,*" says Cambridge Hospital's John Mack, professor of psychiatry. "*She could no longer explain her experience as something her mind had created.*"

Source: Craig Lambert, "An Authentic Mystery," *Harvard Magazine*, March-April, 1992

μάρτυρος οἶμαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀγαγούσης—καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὄλον τούτῳ περιλαβῶν, καταδύναί πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα τὰς ἀναιδεῖς χοιράδας ἠνάγκασε, κάκειθεν διὰ τῆς ἔδρας ἐκρῆναι. Τοῦτο γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεπονθότος καὶ ἰαθέντος ἔγνωμεν, διηγουμένου τε πολλάκις καὶ τὴν μάρτυρα ἐφ' οἷς ἔτυχε δοξάζοντος.

12

Τὸ δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν θαῦμα, γεγονός ἀπαξ που καὶ δευτερον καὶ τρίτον, ἐπερυθριῶ μὲν εἶπειν, μὴ τις καὶ ἀλαζονείας με γράψαιτο καὶ ψεύδους, λέξω δὲ ὅμως αὐτῇ τῇ ἰασαμένη με μάρτυρι προσχρώμενος. Ἄνθραξ καλεῖται τι πάθος παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν διακαῆς ἄγαν καὶ φλογῶδες, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ καλεῖσθαι ἄνθραξ τετύχηκε· πολλάκις δὲ τοῦτο καὶ θάνατον τοῖς πεπονθόσιν ἔτεκε. Τοῦτον ἔσχον καθ' ἐνὸς τῶν τῆς μιᾶς χειρὸς δακτύλων, τοῦ μετὰ τὸν ἀντίχειρα εὐθύς τεταγμένου, καὶ ἦν πολὺς ὁ φόβος ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς μὴ κατὰ παντὸς ἐρψαν τὸ πάθος τοῦ σώματος, ὡς καὶ ἄγαν κακότηες, τῇ πάσῃ μου λυμήνηται ζωῇ. Καὶ τέως μὲν τοῖς ἐγχωροῦσιν ἐχρῶντο φαρμάκοις πρᾶννεν τε πειρώμενοι τὸ κακὸν καὶ καταμαλάσσειν τὴν ὀδύνην χαλεπὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητον· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων κρεῖττον ἦν τὸ δεινόν, διὰ σιδήρου παρατάξασθαι τῷ πάθει λοιπὸν ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ ἀποτέμνειν τὸν δάκτυλον, καὶ οὕτω δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι χάρισσασθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν.

the martyr even put this into his mind—and applied it all around the neck, and he compelled the tenacious bumps to descend into the boy's belly and, from there, to flow out through his rear end. We know this story from the very one who was afflicted and was healed, since he recounts it often and glorifies the martyr for the favor he obtained from her.

Chapter 12

I blush to tell of the miracle concerning myself (which happened once, and even a second and third time), since someone may accuse me of boasting and lying.⁴⁰ But I will tell it nevertheless, relying on the very martyr who healed me. “Anthrax” is the name given by physicians to a certain malady which feels like a hotly burning inflammation (whence it comes to be called *anthrax* [or coal]).⁴¹ Often this disease even kills its victims. I contracted this in one of my fingers on one hand, the finger situated immediately after the thumb [i.e., the index finger]. I was greatly afraid, as were the doctors, that the infection would spread throughout my body, and that, due to its extreme malevolence, it might put my entire life in jeopardy. Up to that point the doctors had tried the available remedies, attempting to mitigate the disease and to alleviate the pain that was severe and uncontrollable. But, perceiving that the terrible illness was stronger than both their skill and their medicines, they decided next to fight the illness with the knife and to amputate the finger, thereby saving the rest of my body. For otherwise I

ἐτέρως γὰρ μὴ ἂν εἶναι δυνατὸν ἔτι ζῆν. Τοῦτο οὗτοι μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ δέους καὶ δακρύων ὠνειροπόλου.

2 Νῦξ δὲ ἦν ἔτι, τὸ μέσον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς τομῆς. Μικρὸν δὲ ὅσον ἀποκαθευδήσας αὐτὸ τὸ περιορθρον καὶ καθ' ὃν ἀπολήγει μὲν ἔτι καιρὸν ἢ νύξ, ἄρχεται δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα, ὡς καὶ δοκεῖν ἄμφω ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι, φωτὶ μὲν σκότος, σκότει δὲ φῶς, καὶ δὴ ὁρῶ σφῆκας πολλοὺς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ τὰ κέντρα ἠρόκτας καὶ ὡσπερ αἰχμᾶς προτείνοντας κατ' ἐμοῦ, ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐπεισελθοῦσαν οὐ ἐκάθευδον. Ἐδόκουν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐλῇ καθεύδειν τῇ καὶ τὴν φιάλην καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βλύζον ὕδωρ ἐχούση καὶ τὴν πλάτανον ὑφ' ἣ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ρεῖ, ἐπεισελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ θεασαμένην τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ τῶν σφηκῶν πόλεμον, καὶ λαβομένην ἄκρου τοῦ ἱματίου τοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σκέποντος σώματος καὶ περιστρέψασαν τῇ χειρὶ, τὸν πολὺν ἐκείνον ὄμαδον τῶν σφηκῶν ἀποσοβῆσαι τε καὶ καθελεῖν καὶ συμπατήσαι τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ ἐμὲ πάντων ἐκείνων ἐλευθερῶσαι τῶν δεινῶν πολεμίων.

3 Καὶ ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἢ γεγонуῖά μοι αὕτη· τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἤδη φανείσης καὶ ὑπολάμπειν ἀρχομένης, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπηλλάγμην τῶν ἀγρίων ἐκείνων πόνων καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ὡς καὶ μειδιᾶν καὶ γάνυσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ μακαρίᾳ ὄψει, οἱ δὲ ἰατροὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν μὲν ἤλθον καὶ τὸ σιδήριον μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχον καὶ ἀλλήλοις—οἷάπερ εἰκός—διελέγοντο, ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν μάρτυρα μετ' ἐμοῦ θαυμάζοντες, ἀνυμνοῦντες, τάχα δὲ τι ἂν μικρὸν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ἰατροῖαν καὶ ἀπόμισθοι γεγονότες.

would not be able to live much longer. They decided upon this course of action, while I, with fear and weeping, had a dream.

It was still night, midway between their decision and the 2 amputation. Having fallen asleep only a little before dawn (at the point when night is coming to an end and the day is beginning, so that both appear mixed together, dark with light, light with dark), I saw many terrible wasps brandishing their stingers, pointing them at me like spears. But next I saw the virgin entering the place where I was sleeping. (I seemed to be sleeping in the atrium of the church, which has a fountain and water gushing into it, as well as a plane tree under which the water flows.) After entering and witnessing the wasps' attack against me, taking the top part of her *himation* (i.e., cloak), which covered her head as well as the rest of her body, and swinging it around with her hand, she scared away that great swarm of wasps, destroyed them, trampled them with her feet, and set me free from all those terrible enemies.

This is the vision which happened to me. But when day- 3 light appeared and began to shine, I found I had been delivered from that fierce pain and suffering, so that I was even smiling and gladdened at the blessed vision. Then the doctors came with haste, bearing the knife in their hands, and conferring with one another, as usual. They went away, however, marveling at the martyr and singing her praises along with me, though perhaps they bore a slight grudge against her, since they lost their payment on account of her visitation and healing.

4 Καὶ τότε μὲν τὸ θαῦμα ὧδέ τε ἔσχε καὶ ὧδε ἐτελεύτη-
 σεν· ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς εἰμι ἐρῶν, περὶ ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο γεγένη-
 ται, δέδοικα δὲ μήπως ἀπιστηθῆ πρός τινων, οὕτως ὑπερ-
 φυές τε ἄγαν ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς οὐδενείας ὑπέρτερον· ἐρῶ
 δ' οὖν ὁμῶς. Τὸ μεράκιον τοῦτο Βασιλείος, τὸ μὲν ὅπως
 ἐπίσκοπός τε ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκράτησε, τὸ
 μηδὲ σκηνηῆς ἄξιον, ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς κακί-
 στης ἐπ' αὐτῷ χειροτονίας ἀρξάμενον ὑπομηνιᾶν μοι—καὶ
 γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν μόνος ἢ μετὰ παντελῶς ὀλίγων ταῖς περὶ
 αὐτοῦ κακαῖς καὶ ὀλεθρίοις ψήφοις ἀντέκρουσα, ὡς οὔτε
 εὐαγέσιν, οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον, οὔτε τὸ ὀσιον ἐχούσαις—πάντα
 τρόπον ἐπιβουλεύόν μοι διετέλει. Καὶ δὴ ποτε καὶ πλασά-
 μενος αἰτίαν, ἥς τὴν ἐπήρειαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς ζητή-
 σοι Θεός, τῶν θείων εἴργει με μυστηρίων, ἢ νόμος τοῦς
 ἀληθῶς πταίοντας εἴργειν. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦτό μοι
 προγεγονυῖαν ὄψιν, ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ τοῦ δυστήνου τούτου
 παιδαρίου πείσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

5 Ἀνθρωπίσκος γὰρ τις Αἰθίωψ, ζόφου καὶ ἀχλύος πεπλη-
 ρωμένος, περινοστών ἀεὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τι
 κομίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐλεεῖν εἰωθότων—Ζαμαρᾶς δὲ ἦν
 ὄνομα τούτῳ τῷ Αἰθίοπι—οὗτος καθεύδοντί μοι προσιέ-
 ναι τε ἔδοξε καὶ ὀρέγειν ὁ καλεῖν ἔθος ἡμῖν τριμίσιον, ὡς
 ἂν καὶ τοῦ ὄλου στατήρος τὸ τρίτον ὄν· ζοφῶδες δὲ καὶ
 τοῦτο ἦν καὶ μελάντατον, ἢ ἐδόκει ζοφῶδες εἶναι. Τοῦτο
 ἄκων ἐδεξάμην καὶ οὐχ ἠδέως, ὁμολογῶ· καὶ γὰρ ὄναρ
 ἔδοξέ μοι οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τινος εἶναι μάντευμα τὸ τοιοῦτο.
 Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄναρ εἰς τοῦτο ἔληξεν, ἄρτι δὲ ἡμέρας γεγο-
 νυίας, καὶ ἔτι μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην διανοουμένῳ

The miracle happened in this way and such was its resolu- 4
 tion. I will now recount the one which followed: it happened
 to me as well, but I am afraid it will inspire doubt in some,
 as it is so very extraordinary and transcends my own lowly
 state. Nevertheless, I will tell it. This youngster Basil,⁴²—let
 me pass by for now how he came to be bishop and gained
 control of the church, <a tale> which does not deserve to be
 narrated⁴³—began to rage against me from the very moment
 of his most unfortunate consecration—for I alone, so to
 speak, or with very few others, opposed this evil and de-
 structive election, as being an impure, unjust, and profane
 act—and he continued to plot against me in every way pos-
 sible. Once he even fabricated a charge—may God wreak
 this insult upon his own head!—and he excluded me from
 the divine mysteries, as it is customary to exclude those
 who truly sin. I will tell the premonitory vision which came
 to me, of the suffering I was about to endure from this
 wretched youth.⁴⁴

A black pygmy filled with darkness and doom, who was 5
 always loitering around the city streets looking for a hand-
 out from those who are accustomed to give alms—Zamaras
 was the name of this black man—this fellow seemed to ap-
 proach me while I was sleeping, and held out what we com-
 monly call a *tremisis* (as it would be a third of a whole *stater*).
 This coin, too, was dark and very black, or at least it seemed
 to be dark. I took it against my will and without pleasure, I
 must confess. For the dream seemed to me to be the sort
 of prophecy auguring nothing good. The dream ceased at
 that point, just as day was coming on, and, while I was still

καὶ ἀσχάλλοντι ὁ λευκὸς οὗτος Ζαμαρᾶς—πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ χρώματος, ὅτι ὁ μὲν μέλας ἦν, ὁ δὲ λευκός, τὰ πάντα ἦσθην ὁμοίω, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ τὴν οἴνοφλυγίαν—ἐπάγει μοι τὴν τῆς ἀκοινωνησίας ψῆφον, μὴ κατηγόρου φανέντος, οὔτε γὰρ ἦν, μὴ μαρτύρων παρελθόντων, οὔτε γὰρ ἦν ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν καὶ ζητηθεῖεν μάρτυρες. Ἐπάγει δ' οὖν ὁμοῦ κακοῦργω τινὶ καὶ ἀνελευθέρω περιόδω χρησάμενος· οὐ γὰρ ψεύσομαι.

6 Τούτου δὲ γεγονότος, θόρυβός τε πολὺς καὶ θροῦς² ἄτακτος κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, πάντων τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναιδὲς καὶ ἄτοπον θαυμαζόντων, κατηφεῖς δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει πάντες, ὅσοι δὴ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἤδεσαν. Ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἅγιος καὶ Θεῷ φίλος, ὡς καὶ πτωχῶν πολὺν ποιούμενος λόγον, ὧν καὶ μάλιστα μέλει Θεῷ, οὐδὲ πρᾶως ἤνεγκε τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ψῆφον ἐξ ἀδίκου καὶ δολερᾶς γνώμης ἐξενεχθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεισιῶν αἰεὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς συνεδρῷ κατεβόα μὲν τοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ Εὐβούλου, τὴν καταγέλαστον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ σκαιωρίαν ὀνειδίζων, τὴν ἄλογον ψευδολογίαν, τὴν ἀνόητον συκοφαντίαν, τὴν ἀναίσχυντον πονηρίαν, ἡρέμα πως καὶ τὴν Εὐβούλου προσονειδίζων αἰσχύνῃ καὶ βδελυρίαν, καὶ ὡς τὰ ἐκείνου κατασυσκιαΐζειν βουλόμενοι τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ταῦτα τεκταίνονται.

7 Οὕτω δὲ τούτων ὑποκινουμένων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων ὀπλιζομένων κατὰ τοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ Εὐβούλου καὶ δρᾶσαι κατ' αὐτῶν νεανικόν τι βουλευομένων, ἐκείνους μὲν τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχον ὡς δέοι μᾶλλον φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ αἰνέσας τὸν Θεόν, ἦλθον

ruminating and disturbed by this vision, our own white Zamaras [i.e., Basil]—for, apart from his color (the former was black and this one white) they were alike in every respect, particularly in their drunkenness—imposed upon me the sentence of my excommunication, without any accuser present (for there was none), nor with any witnesses coming forward (for there was nothing for which witnesses might be sought). He also attacked me, using a villainous and rude statement. I do not lie.

Once this had occurred, a great disorderly tumult of 6 shouting arose in the church and in the city, since everyone was amazed at the shamelessness and irregularity of the deed. My friends were downcast, as were all those in authority, as many of them as knew what had befallen me. Thomas, a holy man and beloved of God (because he takes a great interest in the poor, who are of special concern to God), did not take lightly the verdict against me, arising as it did out of an unjust and treacherous intention, but, coming straightaway to the meeting called on my behalf, he railed against Basil and Euboulos, reproaching their ridiculous machination against me, the absurd falsehood, the senseless calumny, the shameless wickedness, at the same time denouncing Euboulos's shameful and abominable behavior, and suggesting that the two were trying to obscure his deeds by contriving these accusations against me.

When matters had been stirred up to this extent, relatives and friends were already preparing for battle against 7 Basil and Euboulos and were ready to do something rash against them. But I restrained them from their impulse, thinking that reasonable discussion and entreaty were preferable. Then, while praising God about this, I recalled my

καὶ εἰς μνήμην τῆς κατὰ Ζαμαρᾶν ὄψεως, καὶ ὡς τῶν γε-
γονότων τούτων ἐκεῖνα σύμβολα ἦν καὶ προάγγελος, καὶ
ὡς ἤδη λωφήσει τὸ κακόν.

8 Δευτέρας γοῦν ἡμέρας ἤδη μοι οὔσης ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοινωνη-
σία καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀποδα-
κρυσσάμενός πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιβοησαμένω
τὴν μάρτυρα, μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀποκαθευδήσαντί μοι μετὰ
τὰς λιτάς—πῶς εἶπω τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μακάριον θέα-
μα;—ἐφίσταται μοι ἡ μάρτυς ἐν κορικῷ σχήματι καὶ τρι-
βωνίῳ λευκῷ ἐκ τῶν μεταφρένων μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα περι-
ηγημένω, αὐτόθι δὲ λοιπὸν ἐμπεπορημένω, καὶ λαβομένη
μου τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἐντίθησί μοι ὅπερ Βασίλειος οὐκ
οἶδα εἰ καλῶς ἀφείλετο· “Ἐχε καὶ θάρρει, τέκνον—ἐπι-
φθεγξαμένη μοι—καὶ ἴσθι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπείγομαι
νῦν γυναικὶ κινδυνεύουσα βοηθήσουσα” [Acts of the Apos-
tles 16:9]. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις ταῦτα προσέθηκε. Καὶ ἡ
μὲν ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἀπέπτη—καὶ γὰρ ἐπειγομένη ἐώκει—
ἐγὼ δὲ διαναστὰς τὴν μὲν χεῖρα ἐξαισίου τινὸς εὐωδίας
εὔρον πεπληρωμένην, αὐτὸς τε οὖν ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τοῖς
παραγεγονόσι τῶν φίλων εἶπον εὐθύς ὡς· “Σήμερον, κἂν
μὴ βούληται, Βασίλειος λύσει τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν.” Ὁ δὲ
καὶ ἐγένετο· τῆς γὰρ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, μετα-
πειψάμενός με ὁ Βασίλειος λύει τὴν ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ψῆφον, τῆς
μάρτυρος καὶ ἄκοντα πρὸς τοῦτο συνωθούσης αὐτὸν ἀο-
ράτως τε καὶ ἡ νόμος αὐτῇ ποιεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοῦτο
ἔληξε—τὴν Βασιλείου λέγω κακουργίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς μάρ-
τυρος ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ θαυματουργίαν—ἐφ’ ὃ δὲ καὶ πάλαι ἠπειγό-
μην ῥητέον.

vision of Zamaras, recognizing that those images had been
symbols of these current events, even a forewarning, and
that now the evil would cease.

I was already in the second day of my excommunication 8
and night was falling. After making many tearful entreaties
to God, and crying out repeatedly to the martyr, I had barely
fallen asleep after my prayers when—how should I describe
that awesome and blessed sight?—the martyr stood at my
side in the dress of a girl, with a white *tribonion* (i.e., cloak)
wrapped around her, from her back to her chest, then fas-
tened there <at the shoulder> with a pin.⁴⁵ And taking my
right hand, she gave to me that very thing of which Basil had
wickedly deprived me. “Take this and be courageous, my
child,” she said to me, “and know that *I am hastening now to
Macedonia to help* a woman in danger.” For she added these
last words to her speech. Having uttered them, she flew
away—indeed, she seemed to be in a hurry. But I stood up
and found my hand filled with an extraordinary fragrance.⁴⁶
I took renewed courage and immediately said to my friends
who were present: “Today, whether he wants to or not, Basil
will revoke the excommunication.” This is exactly what hap-
pened. When the third day arrived, Basil summoned me and
revoked the sentence against me; the martyr, against Basil’s
will, invisibly pressured him to do this, as is her custom.
These events concluded at this point—I mean the villainy
of Basil and the miracle-working of the martyr on my be-
half—and now I will discuss that which I was hastening to
tell long ago.

1 **Ἡ**ν ἡ τῆς μάρτυρος αὐτῆς ἑορτή, καὶ ἡ τελευταία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρα, ἦν δὴ καὶ ἀπόλυσιν καλεῖν ἡμῖν ἔθος, ὡς ἂν καὶ πέρας ἐχούσης λοιπὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς. Ἐν ταύτῃ πᾶς τις ἐπέιγεται καὶ ἀστὸς καὶ ξένος, καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή καὶ παιδίον, καὶ ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ στρατιώτης, καὶ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ιδιώτης, καὶ νέος καὶ πρεσβύτης, καὶ ναυτίλος καὶ γεωργός, καὶ πᾶς τις ἀπλῶς πρόθυμος συλλεγῆναι σπουδαιότερον, καὶ Θεῷ τε προσεύξασθαι, καὶ ἰκετεῦσαι τὴν παρθένον, καὶ τυχῶν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἀπελθεῖν ἡγιασμένος καὶ ὡσπερ τις νεοτελῆς ἀνακαινισθεὶς καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τῆς πληθύος ἐκείνης καὶ τινες ἦσθιν δύο ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ταύτης Εἰρηνοπόλεως ὀρμηθέντες. Οὗτοι τοῖνον, τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ συνάξεως διαλυθείσης, εἰσιτώντο τε μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐτέρων δὲ πλειόνων καί, οἷάπερ εἰκός, ἕκαστός τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐθαύμαζεν· ὁ μὲν τὸ λαμπρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ φαιδρὸν, ὁ δὲ τῶν συνελθλυθότων τὸ μυρίον πλῆθος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀρχιερέων τὸν πολὺν σύλλογον, ὁ δὲ τῶν διδασκάλων τὸ εὐμουσον, ὁ δὲ τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὸ εὖηχον, ὁ δὲ τῆς νυκτεγερσίας τὸ διαρκές, ὁ δὲ τῆς λοιπῆς λειτουργίας τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ εὐρυθμον, ὁ δὲ τῶν εὐχομένων τὸ ἔντονον, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ὄχλου τὸν ὠθισμόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πνίγους τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρικτῆς μυσταγωγίας τὴν ἔνστασιν ἅμα καὶ σύστασιν τῶν ἄρτι προσιόντων, τῶν ἤδη ἀπιόντων, τῶν ἐπεισιόντων πάλιν, τῶν ὑποχωρούντων αὖθις, τῶν βοώντων, τῶν

Chapter 33

The festival of the martyr was taking place, and the final day of the festival arrived, which we customarily call the “dismissal,” since it signals the end of the festivities. On this day, everyone, both citizen and foreigner, man, woman, and child, both ruler and ruled, general and soldier, magistrate and private citizen,¹¹⁵ young and old, seaman and farmer, simply everyone who was zealous, would eagerly hasten to assemble, to pray to God, and to beseech the virgin martyr, and after taking part in the divine mysteries, they would depart sanctified and renewed in body and soul, just like a newly baptized initiate.

Among that mass of people were two men who came from the neighboring city of Eirenoupolis.¹¹⁶ Once the festival and service had concluded, these men ate dinner together with several others and, as one would expect, each related one of the festival’s admirable features. One spoke about its brilliance and splendor, another about the immense multitude of people that gathered together, another about the assembly of so many bishops, another about the artistic talent of the preachers, another about the melodiousness of the psalmody, another about the length of the night vigil, another about the well-paced arrangement of the rest of the liturgy, another about the intensity of those who prayed, another about the press of the crowd, another about the excessive stifling heat, another about the jostling back and forth during the awesome mysteries, as some were just coming forward, others already leaving, others coming back in again, and others withdrawing again, all the while shouting, competing with each other, entangled one with another,

φιλονεικούντων, τῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμπλεκομένων καὶ μὴ εἰκόντων ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὸ πρῶτός τις μάλιστα βούλεσθαι μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀγιασμάτων.

3 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ ὑπολαβὼν καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ὁ ἕτερος, ᾧ καὶ ὄνομα ἦν Ὀρεντίων· “Ἐκαστος μὲν,” φησὶν, “ὑμῶν ὁ βούλεται θαυμάζετω τῆς ἑορτῆς· ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι ὡς θαυμασιωτέρου πάντων καὶ ἡδίονος ἀπολέλαυκα θαύματος καὶ θεάματος· καὶ γὰρ ἔθεασάμην γύναιον, ἀπὸ τινος τῶν κατὰ τὸν νεῶν στοῶν διακύπτων, οὕτω κάλλιστον, οὕτως εὐπρεπὲς ἢ καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς καὶ χαρίτων μεστόν, ὡς πάντα τὸν τῆς συνάξεως καιρὸν τῷ ἐκείνης θαυμασίῳ κάλλει προσδεδέσθαι τε καὶ προσηλωσθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ὄμματα, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εὐξασθῆναι μετὰ τῆς μάρτυρι, τοῦ ἐκείνης ἐπιτυχεῖν κάλλους, ἐτέρου δὲ μηδενός.” Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἐστίαν λόγοι τοσοῦτοί τε καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες ἦσαν.

4 Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἑκαθέδωσαν μὲν πάντες, ὁ δὲ Ὀρεντίων ἐκ τῶν μεθήμερινῶν φροντισμάτων οὐδὲ καθέδων τῶν ἴσων ἀπελείφθη φαντασμάτων. Καὶ γὰρ ἔδοξεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τοῖς παροῦσι διηγείτο, ὄραν ἐν ὄψει τὴν μάρτυρα ἐν τῷ αὐτῆς μὲν καθεζομένην νεῷ ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος καὶ χρυσηλάτου καὶ ἐπηρμένου θρόνου, διανέμειν δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συνεληλυθότων κατὰ τὴν πανηγυριν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πανηγύρεως δῶρα λαμπρά τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς παρεχούσης ἄξια· “Τελευταῖον δέ,” φησί, “καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψασαν εἰπεῖν· ‘Σὺ δὲ τί βούλει,’ φησὶν, ‘ὦ τάν, τῶν δῶρων τούτων λαβεῖν; ἢ βούλει τοῦ γυναιίου ἐκείνου οὐπερ καὶ ἐρασθεῖς ἐκτόπως ηὔξω μοι τυχεῖν; τοιγαροῦν λαβὼν ἄπιθι, καὶ ἔχε, καὶ ἀπόλαυε τοῦ

and not ceding ground to others in the slightest because each wanted to be the first to partake of the holy elements.

During these recollections one of the two men, who was named Orention, piped up: “Let each of you marvel,” he said, “at his favorite part of the festival. But I think that I have experienced a miracle and a vision that are more marvelous and sweeter than anything. For I observed a woman who was peering out from one of the colonnades of the church, so beautiful, so comely, so distinguished and full of grace that I was transfixed and had my eyes glued to her marvelous beauty throughout the whole service. The only prayer I could utter to the martyr was that I might encounter that woman’s beauty, and nothing else.” Such were the stories told at the dinner table.

As night came on they all went to sleep, but Orention, because of his preoccupation with the day’s events, did not fail to see similar apparitions as he slept. As he himself recounted to those present, he seemed to see the martyr in a vision. She was seated in her church upon a lofty, gilded, and elevated throne, and she was distributing to everyone who assembled for her festival numerous magnificent gifts for the sake of her festival and worthy of the woman who was presenting them: “Finally,” he said, “looking straight at me, she said, ‘You, my good sir, which of these gifts do you wish to receive? Do you want that woman of whom you have become enamored and offered me such a strange prayer that you might meet her? Then take her and go away and keep

δώρου.' Καὶ ἐγώ," φησὶν, "ὑπερησθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δῶρον ἀπῆλθον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ γύναιον, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διένειμεν, ἐστὸς ἔτυχε." Καὶ ἡ μὲν ὄψις καὶ ἡ διήγησις εἰς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν.

5 Ὡρας δὲ μιᾶς καὶ ὅσον διαγενομένης, ἐπιπηδᾷ τις δαίμων αὐτῷ λυσσητῆρ καὶ ἄγριος, καὶ καταρρήγνυσι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διεσπάραττε, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν νόμον δείρας αὐτὸν τῆς δορᾶς γυμνὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ σκωλήκων τε εὐθύς καὶ ἰχώρος ἐπλήρωσεν· ὡς τοὺς παρεστῶτας πλησίον πάντας ἄπνους τε καὶ ἀναύδους γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος οὕτως ἀθρώως κακοῦ, μικροῦ δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσθαι. Τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ κακόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἄρα ἡ γυνή, ἡ κακῶς μὲν καὶ ἀνοσίως ὀφθεῖσα παρ' αὐτοῦ, κάκιον δὲ συμπλακεῖσα, τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ διαφθείρασα τὸν τρισάθλιον. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν διαρκέσας, ἀνηρέθη παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ τίνει ταύτην δίκην ἀκολάστου τε βλέμματος καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν παρθένον ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας.

6 Ὡς ἀγνοηθῆναι μὲν τὸ δράμα παρ' οὐδενός—τραγικῆς γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἄξιον γλώττης—μέχρι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀντ' ὀνειδους καὶ στίγματος τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἐκείνου γεγενῆσθαι πάθος. Ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν τοῦτο ἰκανῶς διεπτόησε καὶ εἰς πολὺν δέος κατέστησεν, ὡς καὶ τρεμούση τῇ χειρὶ μόλις ἀποσημῆναι τὸ φοβερόν τοῦτο θαῦμα.

her, and enjoy your gift!' And I," he said, "with exceeding joy took the gift and went away. For the woman happened to be standing there among the gifts which the martyr was distributing." And the vision and his retelling both ended at that point.

Not more than an hour after he related this story, a raging and savage demon assaulted him, tore him to pieces, and ripped him apart; flaying him in the custom of the Persians, it stripped him naked of his skin and suddenly filled him with worms and pus. As a result all of those standing nearby lost their breath and their voices because of the sudden onset of this horrific event, and they themselves almost died. So terrible was the event that occurred before their eyes. This demon was in truth the woman whom he had gazed upon wickedly and impiously, and with whom he had even more wickedly engaged in intercourse, and in the end she had destroyed the thrice-unhappy man. Orention did not survive three days; he was killed by the demon and received this punishment for his unbridled gaze and for his drunken hubris toward the virgin martyr.

No one is unaware of this dramatic event—truly worthy of the tragic style¹¹⁷—and even up to today that man's fate remains a mark of shame among his descendants. Even for me this story had a terrifying effect and inspired great fear in me, so that I can barely record this frightful miracle with my trembling hand.

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Miracle Tales from Byzantium



Translated by

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* B175 r^b. * A 54 r^a.

1. B sing. — 2. B ins. ٥ ٥٥٥. — 3. B وفتلهمص. — 4. B ins. ٥ ٥٥٥. — 5. B bis. — 6. A وفتلهمص. — 7. B om. — 8. B. ٥ — 9. B وفتلهمص. — 10. B وفتلهمص.

her in awe-striking forms of phantasmal ' rays; and they led her up and seated her on the bishops' throne (*θρόνος*), which is usually placed in the churches or in the chief martyrs' chapels on the dais (*κατάστροφμα*) of the altar. Then they filled the whole martyrs' chapel again with phantasmal ' forms, as if forsooth they were angels of God; and some of them flew away, and entered the chapel² where the blessed men were sleeping; and there also as well they emitted rays with the appearance of light, according to the text 'maketh himself likè an angel of light'³. And they roused the blessed men and urged them to haste, hastily alarming them and saying, « Take incense, incense, and haste to the martyrs' chapel; for the holy Mary the God-bearer has been sent to you, with a great host of angels; and she has sent us for you, come straightway ». But the blessed men were terrified by the sight, not perceiving the craftiness of the evil one; and they hurriedly took incense and spices, and ran to the martyrs' chapel; and on entering they found the whole house full of phantasmal ' forms, in the semblance forsooth of angels

1. Of *φαντασία*. — 2. Lit. 'house of service', i. e. the private chapel of the monastery, different from the martyrs' chapel ('house of martyrs'). At p. 204 also we find monks sleeping in the chapel. — 3. II Cor., XI, 14.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

*B175 v° b. *A 54 v° b.

1. B ins. 2. B sing. — 3. B 4. B om. — 5. B 6. B ins. 7. B 8. B 9. B 10. B ins. — 11. A

beyond other men, approached, and bowed their heads; and she rose, and laid her hand upon the heads of both of them, and said to them: « You have both received from me the presbyterate. You have been made presbyters, perform the functions of your priesthood ». When the fiends had done this, a sound of great laughter was heard in the air (ἀήρ), since the demons were saying, « Those who used to drive us out have to-day become as they supposed great ». And at the same cry that girl was stripped of the phantasms (φαντασμάς), and it was found that it was a girl who was a Greek who was sitting on the throne (θρόνος), and it was she who had done these things. When these men saw what had happened to them and came to their senses, they continued beating on their faces and saying: « Woe to us! what has happened to us? Anything like this deceit never happened to men before. What to do, we know not ». But, when they brought that young woman down from the throne (θρόνος), she continued laughing at them at the instigation of the demon and saying: « What has come to you? Why are you troubled? » But they on their side resolved to find means of subjecting their case to the cure of penitence; and they left that place, weeping and sobbing at what had

كما قيل في بعض القديسين في حياقتهم في بعض القديسين
 فكل من ستمت به من آلهة¹ له رحمة.
 في بعض القديسين في حياقتهم في بعض القديسين²
 فكل من ستمت به من آلهة³ له رحمة.
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تاريخ اثنى عشر من القديسين الذين نلتهم في القديسين
 كما حوكم في القديسين⁸

1. B om. — 2. B — 3. B. ins. — 4. B —
 5. B — 6. B ins. — 7. B ins. —
 8. B om.

happened to them, and they went down to Marde to the holy John bishop of Thella', who ended his life in the conflicts (ἀγών) of persecution for Christ's sake. And, when they informed him of the affair, even the blessed man also marvelled at the wily, crafty artfulness of the rebellious evil beings. But he received them, and laid upon them three years' penance, and then they were to be admitted to communion. And from that time again they led even more severe lives than before, with sorrow and tears, until they attained to their former standing, and were admitted to the communion that is obtained by absolution. These things which we have written we have not received through hearsay, but they are all matters which were enacted in our knowledge and in our presence and before our eyes², and we have brought comparatively few of them to the record of writing on account of the length of the narrative, that a man who is granted any gift may be especially cautious against the craft of the adversary, who uses all artifices in plotting to deceive.

The history of two brothers from the selfsame community at the same time of persecution is ended.

1. Constantina. John's life is given below (ch. 24). See Severus, *Select Letters*, v, 14, 15, from which it appears that he was not at Marde after 527 (see p. 395 ad fin. and transl., p. 358, note). —
 2. I cannot reconcile this with the fact that the central event happened in a distant monastery. Moreover the word *κα* (text, p. 226, l. 3) indicates that the author is not speaking at first hand.

Eustratius Presbyter, *Vita Eutychii* 657-682 Laga.

In these two dreams Eustratius vividly describes the visions experienced by both Eutychios and Justinian before the election of the new Patriarch in 552. The narrative, constantly blurring the first person and third person perspective, comes after a section relating how Justinian faced the plotting and scheming subsequent to St. Menas' death in late August. Although the two dreams are both defined as *ὄπτασία*, they are very different in nature from each other. The first one is based on personal associations and therefore needs a proper interpretation. It also appeals to the modern reader in that it shares many features with dream-narratives paradigmatic of psychoanalytic theory. Delboef's famous dream of the lizards in the snow, discussed by Freud, is a case in point. The second dream can be understood only with reference to local cultic practices. Peter, in fact, is said to act *καθύπαρ*, *i.e.* as if actually present. Interestingly enough, this dream also deserves the qualification of *θείος*. Besides the obvious link with incubation-dreams, Justinian's narrative may have been prompted by special circumstances associated to the local cult of Peter. According to the Synaxarion, in Athyra the Apostle was remembered on the 5th of September. Menas was deceased just at the end of the month before. It is not unlikely that Justinian went out on procession to Athyra, a suburb of the capital, precisely on the day of the celebrations for St. Peter.

Ἀλλὰ ἀκούσατε καὶ ποίαν ὄπτασίαν φυλαττόμενος εἶδεν. Ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ μέγας ὅτι τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ὑπενόουν οἶκον μέγαν διάφωτον εἶναι καὶ κλίνην εὐπρεπῶς ἐστρωμένην, ἐφ' ἣν ἀνέκειτο γυνὴ ὀνόματι Σοφία, ἣ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη με ὑπεδείκνυέ μοι κόσμια· εἶτα μετὰ τοῦτο ἐθεώρουν τὸ παρακείμενον ἡλιακὸν τῷ οἴκῳ, ὅτι χιόνος ἦν πεπληρωμένον, καὶ παιδίον ἰστάμενον ἐν τῷ ἡλιακῷ ὀνόματι Σωτήριχος, ὅπερ καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ πίπτειν· φθάσας δὲ ἀνειλόμην αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς χιόνος καὶ τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν. Τί δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο ἐσήμαιεν ἢ τὴν καλλιέργιαν τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας —τοῦτο γὰρ τὰ κόσμια—, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν χιόνι τὸ παιδίον εἶναι τὸ ἐν χειμασίᾳ τὰ δογματικὰ ὑπάρχειν; Ἐκάτερα δὲ τῆς δεούσης ἔτυχε διορθώσεως διὰ τῆς ἐπιστασίας καὶ κυβερνήσεως τοῦ ὀσίου ἀνδρός. Ὅτε οὖν προέβη τὰ τῆς παραφυλακῆς, θαρρεῖ τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσχε περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς, τῷ τε εὐαγεῖ κλήρῳ καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ πληροφορήσας ὡς καὶ θείαν ὄπτασίαν εἶδεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, κοιμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἀγίου Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ Ἀθύρα — καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔχων ἐκεῖ πρόκενσον — ἐώρακεν γὰρ ἔφασκε τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων καθύπαρ ὑποδεικνύντα αὐτῷ τὸν μέγαν Εὐτύχιον καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι τοῦτον ποιήσον ἐπίσκοπον γενέσθαι.

But listen what kind of vision he also had – one that he was able to remember afterwards. The great man said that on that night he thought there was a big and floodlit abode and a couch, covered with beautiful blankets. Lying on the couch there was a woman, her name was Sophia, who, upon being called, showed me some jewels. And then, after that, I found myself perusing the terrace attached to the abode, as it was full of snow; a small child, called Soterichos, stood on the terrace and was about to fall down from it; I lifted him off the snow, so as to avert his fall. What else could this signify if not the goods deeds performed by the Holy Church – to which the jewels referred? On the other hand, the fact that the child was dwelling in snow suggests that doctrinal matters were going through a wintry season. Both good deeds and doctrines would be duly amended under the authority and the guidance of the holy man. As the precautionary procedures were further implemented, the Christ-loving emperor, confidently entrusted to the holy clergy and the sacred congregation the

design he had conceived from the beginning. Furthermore, he declared that, while asleep in the church of Saint Peter, the head of the Apostles, in Athyra – he was there to perform the procession – he had also had a divine vision concerning Eutychios; for he said that he had seen the head of the Apostles clearly pointing to the great Eutychios, and saying “Make him become bishop”.

had been Mar Abraham¹; and then came out the sacristans from the altar holding in their hands fragrant censers. They stood near that eagle, one by his head and another by his feet.

It there that Rabban [Joseph Busnaya] was buried.

¹ A founder of the monastery where resided Joseph Busnaya.

And [Rabban Hormizd] answered and said to him: “Then give it to me, master”. The angel straightway placed the crown on the head of the young man, and the crown began immediately to shine upon his head, and it gave forth splendour, and the spiritual being flew away.

The young man woke up at once from his sleep and came to himself, and his thought remained with him, and he straightway understood within himself in a hidden manner what the grace of our Lord had done for him. And the fire of his love of Christ burned within the motions of his soul in a hidden manner, but he did not reveal to flesh and blood the heavenly vision which had been revealed to him by the mercy of Christ, and he bore [the knowledge] thereof in the secret chambers of his soul.

Life of Mar Qardagh (early 7th c.)

Edition: Abbeloos, J.B., 'Acta Mar Kardaghi Assyriae praefecti qui sub Sapore II martyr occubuit: syriace juxta manuscriptum Amidense una cum versione latina', *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890) 5-106.

English translation (and study): Walker, J., *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iraq* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 40). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, p. 19-69.

Abbeloos 1890, p. 16-17.

Walker 2006, p. 23-24.

7. And after a few days, he began to build a fortress and house upon a certain hill called Melqi. And in two years, he built and completed a strong fortress and beautiful house. At the

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foot of the hill he built a fire temple at great expense. And he appointed *magi* to it for the service of the fire. But while he was building that fortress, one night while he was sleeping, he saw in his dream a certain young knight, standing over him, clad and girded with armor, and mounted upon a horse. And the knight stabbed him in his side with the tip of his spear and said to him, “Qardagh”.

He replied, “It is I.”

And he said to him, “Know very well, that in front of this fortress you will die in martyrdom on behalf of Christ”.

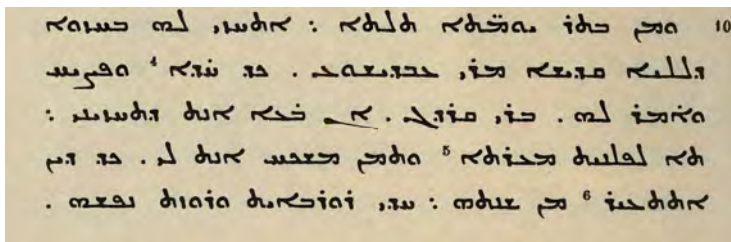
And Qardagh said to him, “Who are you that you can predict these things about me?”

And the blessed one said to him, “I am Sergius, the servant of Christ. But it is not by augury, as you suppose, that I make this prediction about you, but I have come ahead to inform you of what will be, just as my lord Christ has announced it to me”.

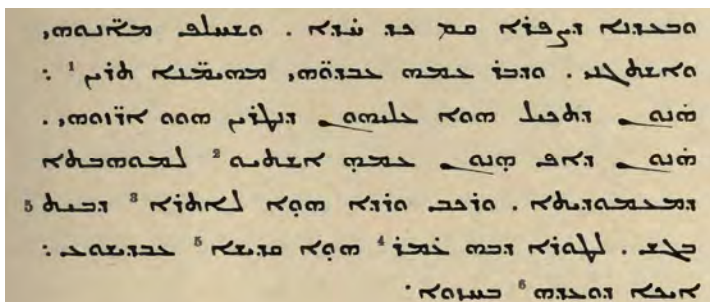
8. When Qardagh awoke from his sleep, he was very frightened, and he told his mother in confidence about the dream. And his mother said to him, “My son, I knew that you should not trouble the Christian people, because it has been proven to me that they worship the one true God. And their God revealed this dream to you”.

But he [Qardagh] did not take [her words] to heart.

Abbeloos 1890, p. 36-37.



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Walker 2006, p. 35-36.

28. And after three days, there appeared to him in a vision of the night holy Mar Abdisho, joyful and in good spirits, saying to him, “Qardagh, my son, if you desire to see me, come to a certain cave, and there you will find me”.

And when he awoke from his sleep, Qardagh rejoiced greatly and his soul exulted. And at the break of day he arose rejoicing. And he changed his clothes and disguised himself. And he took with him two of his faithful servants, whom he trusted to keep his secrets, the same ones who [later] were also made worthy together with him of the gift of baptism. And he mounted [his horse] and traveled to the territory of Beth Bgash, to the mountain on which the holy Abdisho lived, just as Abdisho had told him in the vision.

Abbeloos 1890, p. 46-47.

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Walker 2006, p. 42.

34. And during the five days the blessed Qardagh stayed with the holy Abdisho, he beseeched him night and day that he should be deemed worthy of the mark of baptism. And during the night, as the sixth day was beginning to dawn, holy Mar Sergius the martyr appeared to Abdisho in a dream and said to him, “Why do you delay opening the gate of martyrdom before my brother Qardagh?”

And when Abdiko awoke from his sleep, he was very afraid, and he called the blessed Qardagh and said to him, “Arise, my son, and go down to the monastery where the servants are, and complete that which has been ordered of me during this night”.

And as they were coming down from the mountain, the blessed Abdisho told Qardagh about the vision that he had seen during the night. And when they arrived at the monastery the brothers assembled and prepared for the baptism. And rejoicing and exulting, he and his two servants received the mark of Christ. And they partook of the holy mysteries [i.e., they received Communion]. [Qardagh] then stayed with the holy Abdisho for seven days after he received the mark of baptism. And rising, he returned to his house, exulting in the faith of Christ

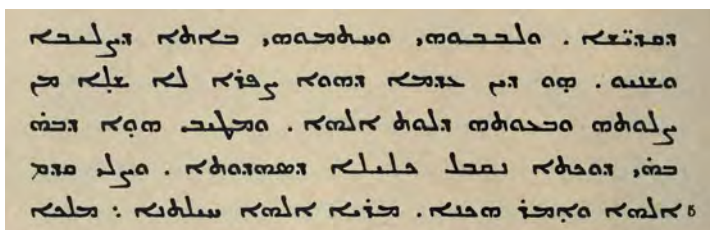
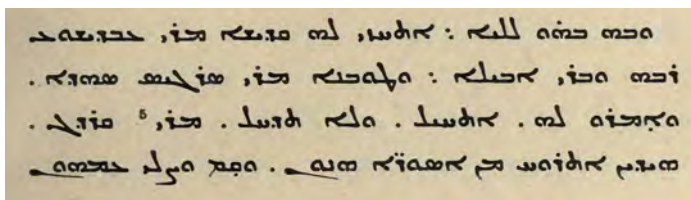
Abbeloos 1890, p. 53-55.

Walker 2006, p. 46-47.

39. But the wife of the holy one could no longer bear it when she saw the distribution of possessions and division of riches, and she decided to write and inform her father, who held the rank and office of *shaher kwast shabur nekorgan*². After she had written the letter and prepared to send it the next morning, there appeared to her in a dream that very night a certain youth of fine countenance, clothed in white and sitting upon a golden chair at the gate of the fortress of the blessed one. [He was] holding a pen of fire and writing a letter upon broad white parchment and sealing it with his signet ring. And he sent it to heaven by means of handsome youths clothed in white garments and flying by wings of the spirit. But when she saw that awesome vision and the youths ascending and descending to transmit the letters to heaven, she came before him and asked him, saying, “Who are you, my lord, and what is your work? Why do you sit here with the *marzban*³ unaware of you? And what are you writing?”

And that one answered and said to her, “I am the general of the Lord God who made heaven and earth. The Great King of Ages sent me that I might record in writing the gifts and alms that your husband makes and send an account of them to heaven. But when you have said, ‘The *marzban* is not aware of you,’ you tell a great lie. The *marzban* knows me and is aware of my presence. But you do not know me, because your heart is on earth”.

Abbeloos 1890, p. 79-80.



Walker 2006, p. 58.

² A Persian administrative or religious terms the precise meaning of which is obscure (Walker p. 46 n. 134).

³ Persian term designating a military commander.

53. And during that same night, there appeared to him the holy Mar Abdisho, his master, and Beri the anchorite and the blessed Mar Sergius the martyr, and they said to him, “Be strong and do not fear, Mar Qardagh!”

Then he was released from those chains, and, standing up, he prayed with the holy ones. And they comforted him and sealed him with the sign of the Cross and departed. But he did not cease from his prayer and supplication before God until it was morning. He prepared to receive the crown of martyrdom in that place and prayed before God and spoke thus: [...]

Christine Angelidi

One woman's dream in six episodes

Life of St Andrew the Fool, edition and English translation by L. Rydén (Uppsala, 1995), vol. 2, 173–5

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(1) ... during her sleep, the woman saw herself standing alone in a plain; an old Ethiopian came up to her and begun to kiss her, flirting with her, as it were, and embracing her saying: “How glad I am to have found you, my lady! Come, darling, let us lie together the two of us, for we have just been joined together! I have greatly desired you and sought a pretext to bring you to me. Now then, my beautiful wife, come on let us lie down so that both you may enjoy me and I may have my fill of you beauty!” As this happened and he was speaking like this, she fell into trembling and began to curse and try to flee and to be grieved and to adjure him to leave her alone. He, however, tried impudently to have intercourse with her. She said, “Go away from me! I have my lawful husband and am not going to join another man!” Thus dreaming that she was being forced and assailed the woman woke up...

(2) ... she fell asleep again and behold a huge black dog embraced her impudently, kissing her on the mouth like a man. Frightened she woke up.

(3) Again another night she saw herself standing in the Hippodrome Theatre kissing the statues standing there, urged by an indecent desire to have intercourse with them.

(4) Another time she saw a dog taking her and running away with her.

(5) Still another time she saw herself eating a frog, sometimes also a snake or reptiles and other animals even worse than these.

(6) ... she saw that her icons stood turned westward and that she herself was turning the same direction and thus prayed like a woman regarded as possessed by a demon and crazy. As she was praying like this a young man approached her and said: “Since

you have pleased me by fasting, behold, I have come here to tell you why this happened.” And with these words he pointed at her icons and said: “Look what the accursed magician has done to you!” She looked and saw that they were smeared with human excrement from top to bottom and emitting an unmatched stench. When the women saw this she was amazed. She turned round and said to the young man: “Please, tell me, who did this?” He answered: “Vigrinos, the sorcerer and magician and enemy of God, because you gave him liberty. At present there is nothing in your icons but paint and excrement and wood and the ghosts of the demons, for the grace of God has withdrawn, unable to stand the awful smell and diminution of the demons.” As he was saying this she saw that the lamp was filled with dog’s urine, and the wick and holder was inscribed with the name of Antichrist and in the air above it was written “sacrifice of demons”. While this was revealed to the woman the young man vanished, and she awoke.

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(1) ... θεωρεῖ ἡ γυνὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῆς ἐστάναι αὐτὴν μόνην ἐν πεδιάδι τινὶ καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὴν αἰθίοψ γέρων καὶ ἤρξατο ὡς ἐπιπαιγνιάζων καὶ περιπλεκόμενος καταφιλεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ λέγειν : «Καλῶς σε εὗρον , κυρία μου . Δεῦρο , φιλία μου, κοιμηθῶμεν ὁμοῦ οἱ δύο, καθότι νεωστὶ συνεζεύχθημεν· πολλά σου ἐγὼ ἐπεθύμουν καὶ πρόφασιν ἐζήτηουν ὅπως πρὸς εμαυτὸν συναγάγωμαι. Νῦν οὖν δεῦρο, ὡραία μου σύμβιε, κοιμηθῶμεν ἀμφοτέρω, ὅπως καὶ σὺ ἐμοῦ ἀπολαύσεις κἀγὼ τοῦ κάλλους σου κορεσθῆσομαι.» Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο κάκεινος τοιαῦτα ἐφθέγγετο , αὕτη τοῦ τρόμου ἐμπεσοῦσα ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ φεύγειν καὶ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ ἐξορκίζειν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστῆναι ἐξ αὐτῆς. Ὁ δὲ ἀχρώμως ἐβιάζετο τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς. Ἡ δὲ ἔλεγεν: «Ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καθότι ἄνδρα κέκτημαι ἴδιον καὶ ἐτέρω οὐ συνάπτομαι.» Οὕτως δὲ ἡ γυνὴ βιαζομένη κατ' ὄναρ καὶ πολεμουμένη ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο... (lines 2470- 2482)

(2) ... πάλιν εἰς ὕπνον ἐτρέπη καὶ ἰδοὺ κύων μέγας, μέλας καὶ ἀχρώμως περιπλεκόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ στόμα πρὸς στόμα ἐφίλει αὐτὴν ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπος . Σύντρομος δὲ γενομένη ἀφύπνισθη... (lines 2486-2488)

(3) Πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ὄρα ἑαυτὴν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐστῶσαν καὶ ἀσπαζομένην τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐστῶτα ἀγάλματα , νυττομένην ὑπὸ πορνικῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν. (lines 2491-2494)

(4) Πάλιν δὲ ὄρα κύνα ἄραυτα αὐτὴν καὶ τρέχοντα. (lines 2494-2495)

(5) Καὶ πάλιν ἑώρα ἑαυτὴν ἐσθίουσαν βάτραχον, ποτὲ δὲ ὄφιν ἢ ἑρπετὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων χεῖρονα. (lines 2495-2496)

(6) ... ὄρα κατ' ὄναρ ὅτι ἴσταντο αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτῆς ὡς ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς καὶ αὐτὴ ὁμοίως καὶ οὕτω προσευχομένη ὡσπερ τις πασχικὴ νομιζομένη καὶ πάρετος. Ὡς δὲ οὕτω ἠδολέσχει, ἔρχεται τις νεώτερος πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λέγει: «Ἐπειδὴ ἐθεράπευσάς με νηστεύουσα, ἰδοὺ παρεγενόμην τὴν αἰτίαν διδάσκων σε , δι' ἣν ταῦτα συμβέβηκε .» Καὶ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ

δείκνυσιν αὐτῇ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῆς καὶ φησὶν : «Ἴδε τί σοι ἐποίησεν ὁ μάγος ὁ κατάρατος.» Ἡ δὲ προσέσχε καὶ ὄρα καὶ ἦσαν κεχρισμένοι ἀνθρωπίνης κόπρου ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω καὶ δυσωδίαν ἀνείκαστον φέρουσαι. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἐθεάσατο ἡ γυνὴ ἐξέστη καὶ στραφεῖσα λέγει πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον : «Δέομαί σου , τίς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν; Ἀνάγγειλόν μοι.» Ὁ δὲ εἶπε : «Βιγρίνος ὁ φαρμακὸς καὶ μάγος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλότριος, σοῦ παρασχούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν . Νῦν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς εἰκόναίς σου εἰ μὴ χρῶμα καὶ κόπρος καὶ ξύλα καὶ δαιμόνων φαντάσματα. Ἡ γὰρ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνεχώρησε μὴ φέρουσα τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων δυσωδίαν καὶ μείωσιν.» Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὄρα τὴν κανδήλαν γέμουσαν οὖρον κύναιον καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτροτρούβῳ ἦν γεγραμμένον τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ τὸ ὄνομα , ὑπεράνω δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἐγγράπτο : «Θυσία δαιμόνων.» Τούτων τῇ γυναικὶ φανερουμένων ὁ νεώτερος ἐκεῖνος ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὴ ἔξυπνος γέγονε. (lines 2501-2519)

Christine Angelidi

Female dreams in the Life of St Andrew the Fool

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9. Ἦλθεν οὖν ἐπὶ λογισμὸν αὐτῇ ποτε παράδοξόν τι καὶ φοβερὸν
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς πίστεως τεκμήριον ἐναργές. Ἔλεγε γὰρ ἐν
 ἑαυτῇ· 'Εἴ μοι διορατικῶς εἰδέναι κύριος ἔδωκε τὰ κρυφῆ παρὰ τῶν
 ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν γινόμενα, τὰς μὲν ἐπληρώθουν ἂν σφαλλομένας, τὰς 20
 δὲ προκοπτούσας τρέχειν ἂν συνώθουν τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀρετῆς
 εὐτονώτερον.' Καὶ ταῦτα λογισαμένη πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν ὄλην ἑαυτῇ
 ἀδιστακτῶς ἔδωκε, δάκρυσι πολλοῖς καὶ κλίσεισι γονάτων πολλὴν 25
 τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου τὴν ἰκεσίαν προσάγουσα. Οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει τὸ τοῦ
 χαρίσματος μέγεθος, τάξιν ἐπέχον δευτέραν τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας μέτρῳ πίστεως ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος διανενημένων, καθά
 φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· 'Καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον
 ἀποστόλους, δευτέρον προφήτας.' Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ ταχέως ὑπήκουσεν 31
 αὐτῆς ὁ λέγων· 'Ἐτι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρῳ, ἰδοὺ πάρεμι.' Ἐφάνη γὰρ

PILSK

2 ἀοργησίαι: add. καὶ P || 9 ἀναφαιρέτως I || 9—10 ἡμῶν τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν
 ἰnv. ILSK || 13 διέλειπε I || ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 15 ἔχαιρε: χαίρει L || 20
 γινόμενα I || ἂν om. ILSK

3 ὡς . . . κατέχουσα: cf. 2 Cor. 6,10 || 9—11 οὐχ . . . ἔλεους αὐτοῦ: cf. Dan. 9,18
 || 14—15 τὸν σπόρον . . . καρποφοροῦντα: cf. Mt. 13,8; Mc. 4,26—28 || 19—20
 τὰ . . . γινόμενα (etiam infra 40,7—8): cf. Eph. 5,12 || 25—26 εἰς . . . ἐκκλησίας:
 cf. 1 Cor. 14,12 || 26 μέτρῳ πίστεως: cf. Rom. 12,3 || 27—28 1 Cor. 12,28 ||
 29 Is. 58,9

9. The Gift of Second Sight

Once a strange and awe-inspiring thought came to her mind, clearly testi-
 fying to her faith in God. She said to herself, 'If the Lord would grant
 me the gift of knowing by second sight *those things which are done in*
secret by my sisters, I should try to set aright those who fall and stimulate
 those who are successful to run the race of virtue even more
 vigorously.'¹ With these thoughts she immediately devoted her whole
 self to prayer, delivering with many tears and genuflexions an intense sup-
 plication to God about her idea. She was not ignorant how great a gift
 this was, being second in order among the things distributed by the Spirit
to the edifying of the church after the measure of faith, according to the
 word of the Apostle: 'And God hath set some in the church, first apostles,
 secondarily prophets.' Swiftly, then, He hearkened to her who says,
 'Thou shalt cry, and I will say, Here I am.' For there appeared from

9. ¹ Very similar is *VBlun*, cod. Mosqu. 249, fol. 30—30^v (ed. Vilinskij 301,32—36),
 προφητικῶ δὲ χαρίσματι σεμνυνόμενος, ἄς μὲν ἑώρα τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς
 ἐναρέτως βιούσας ἐπήνει . . . , ἄς δὲ πάλιν ἑώρα ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐπὶ τισὶν ἀτοπήμασι
 κεκρατημένας, ἀπεδριμύττετο καὶ ὠνείδιζε κτλ.

οὐρανόθεν ἄγγελος θεοῦ, στολήν ἐνδεδυμένος λευκὴν καὶ τὸ εἶδος
 ἐξαστράπτων, καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῆ παραστάς χαρᾶς ἐπλήρου
 ταύτην ὀπόσης ἂν εἴποις· καὶ οὐ μόνον τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ σχήματος
 οὐ κατέπληξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηνῶς αὐτῆ διελέγετο καὶ φησί·
 'Χαίροις τοῦ θεοῦ πιστοτάτη θεράπεινα· ἰδοὺ σοι κατὰ τὴν αἴτησιν
 ἀπέστειλέ με κύριος εἰς διακονίαν διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν
 σωτηρίαν διὰ σοῦ. Ἔσομαι δὲ μετὰ σου διὰ παντός, τὰ κρυφῆ
 γινόμενα καθ' ἡμέραν σαφῶς ὑποδεικνύων σοι.' Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπέστη τῶν ὄψεων αὐτῆς· αὐτὴ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν
 ὑπαπλώσασα καὶ κολληθῆναι τούτῳ βιαζομένη τὴν εὐχαριστίαν
 οὕτως ἀνέπεμπε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνης οὐ διέλιπεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ
 θεοῦ ὀπτανόμενος αὐτῆ καὶ δῆλα καθιστῶν οὐ τὰ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πᾶσι πραττόμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα.

32 Μετὰ γοῦν τὰς ὀρθρινὰς δοξολογίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάννυχος ἦν ἡ
 στάσις αὐτῆ, κατὰ μόνας μικρὰν τινα τῷ σώματι τὴν ἄνεσιν διδοῦσα
 καὶ ὕπνου μεταλαμβάνουσα — οὕτω γὰρ εἶθιστο —, εἰς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ
 εἰσῆι διακονικόν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὀνομαστί πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐκάστην
 614D καλοῦσα καὶ ταύτην παρακαθίζομένη ὁμαλῶς πῶς ὑπνίτιτετο τὰ
 ἀδηλα καὶ κρύφια· καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων αὐτῆς καὶ
 διανοημάτων εὐφυῶς καθήπτετο, νύττουσα τὸ συνειδὸς καὶ εἰς
 ὁμολογίαν τῶν σφαλμάτων καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐρεθίζουσα καὶ παντελοῦς
 λαμβάνουσα τῶν τοιούτων διορθώσεως ὑπόσχεσιν· ὅπερ ἐξίστασθαι
 ἑαυτῶν ἐποίει τὰς ἀδελφάς, καὶ οὐκέτι ταύτη προσεῖχον ὡς
 πρότερον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὴν Εἰρήνην καὶ ὠμολόγουν καὶ
 ἀνεκλήρυτον.

10. Καὶ φήμη τις περὶ αὐτῆς μεγάλη τὰς ἀπάντων ἐντεῦθεν διέθεεν
 ἀκοάς· καὶ πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἢ πόλις συνέτρεχε πρόσωπον αὐτῆς
 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ λόγον αὐτῆς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ εὐχῶν

PILSK
 8 καθ' add. ἐκάστην I || 13 τὰ om. ILSK || 18 παρακαθίζουσα P (sed cf. infra
 102,12) || 27 αὐτῆς: ἐκείνης P
 6-7 διὰ... σωτηρίαν: Heb. 1,14 || 10 κολληθῆναι τούτῳ: cf. Ps. 118(119),25 ||
 28 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν: cf. 1 Thess. 3,6

² The diaconicon, a development of the Middle Byzantine period, is the room in which
 the celebrant is invested with the liturgical garments and in which those garments as well
 as other sacred utensils and books are kept. Here it is the place where Irene usually gathers

heaven an angel of God, clad in a white garment and effulgent of ap-
 pearance. Taking his stand before her he filled her with an unfathomable
 joy. Not only did he not frighten her with his marvellous figure, but even
 spoke gently to her and said, 'Hail, faithful servant of God! Behold, in
 accordance with your prayer the Lord has sent me to serve you *for them*
who shall be heirs of salvation through you. I will be with you always,
 clearly showing you, day by day, *those things which are done in secret.*'
 And with these words he disappeared from her sight. Prostrating herself
 on the floor, striving to cleave to it, she sent up thanks to God, and from
 that day on God's angel did not cease to appear and reveal to her acts
 committed secretly not only by the sisters but by anyone.

After the morning doxology she took a short rest in solitude and dozed
 for a while according to her habit (for her standing prayer lasted all night).
 Then she went into the diaconicon² of the church. Calling each of the
 sisters in to her, naming their names and having them sit down beside her,
 she gently made intimations about obscure and secret things. Skilfully
 hinting at their souls' emotions and thoughts³ and pricking their con-
 science, she provoked them to confess their transgressions and repent,
 and exacted promises of complete improvement of such faults. This made
 the sisters beside themselves for amazement. No longer did they merely
 pay heed to her as before but confessed and proclaimed that Irene was
 superior to human beings.

10. Admonitions to Visitors

Thereafter a mighty rumour about her spread to the ears of all, and the
 whole city gathered before her, *desiring to see* her venerable face, hear
 a word from her, and enjoy her prayers. To all comers fulfilling the law

the nuns to give them spiritual advice (relevant passages are indicated in the Greek Index,
 s.v. διακονικόν).

³ Cf. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 46,34-35, ἡρέμα πῶς καθήπτετο αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας,
 ἐλέγχων τὰ τούτοις ἐν κρυφῆ πεπραγμένα. For the whole scene demonstrating Irene's
 gift of τὸ διορατικόν, which has many parallels in this literature, cf. also *VASal*, PG
 111, 704BC. Contrast, on the one hand, the psychologically convincing description of a
 similar situation in *VAthanaAthon* B, ed. Noret 27,8 ff.; and, on the other, the materialist
 solution of the problem of supervision in *VNicetMed*, xxivE: 'Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ
 ἐπιτετραμμένοι ἀδελφοὶ λεληθότως, οἱ ἐκάστῳ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ πραττόμενα τοῖς
 πατράσιν ἀνηγγέλλον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου μὴ τολμᾶν τινα μηδὲ ἀπόντων τῶν προεστώτων
 ἄργον τινα λόγον φθέγγασθαι, τοὺς ὄνειδισμοὺς φεύγοντες.

B ἢ τι τῶν ἀτόπων ἐργαζόμενος, τοῖς ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς ἀνιμωμένη τὴν ὑγρότητα διανίστατο· ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν εὐχερὲς αὐτῇ διηνεκῶς, τί μηχανᾶται; Λιθοξόον λάθρα μεταπεψαμένη λάκκον ὀρύξαι τούτῳ μικρὸν ὑπέδειξε παρὰ τὸν ἀφωρισμένον αὐτῇ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεῖους ὕμνους συνῆδεν ἐστῶσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, καὶ 5 συμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ὀμφαλιδίῳ καλύψαι. Καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἱερουργίας ἐτίθει μὲν ἑαυτῆς τὸ πρόσωπον κατὰ γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμνίσκου, βραχίοσι δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις περιτειχίζουσα, δακρυρροοῦσα οὐκ ἀνίστατο, μέχρις ἂν ὑπερβλύσας κατάφωρον αὐτὴν ἔμελλε ποιεῖν, ἢ τοῦ λανθάνειν οὐχ ἤκιστα ἔμελε. Καὶ διέμεινεν 10 ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἀλαλητῇ διηγούμενος.

53 15. "Ὅσῃν δὲ καὶ κατὰ δαιμόνων αὐτῇ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ πατεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δωρησάμενος παρέσχετο, τὸ παρὸν ἱκανὸν παραστήσασθαι. Λύπην γὰρ αὐθις 15 ἑτέραν ὁ πονηρὸς ἐπενεγκεῖν πονηρευόμενος τῇ ὀσίᾳ, τὸν μισθοῦ τὸν τῆς μονῆς ἀμπελῶνα καλλιεργοῦντα, κείμενον ταύτης ἐχόμενα, νέον τε ὄντα καὶ δυσκάθεκτον ταῖς ὀρμαῖς — Νικόλαος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα —, πρὸς ἔρωτά τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ κεκίνηκεν ἀσκουμένων. Καὶ 20 δὴ νενικημένος ἤδη καὶ τῆς μουσαρᾶς ὄλος γενόμενος ἐπιθυμίας, νύκτας ὄλας κύκλῳ τῆς μονῆς περιῶν, ὄθεν ἂν ἐνδον αὐτῆς γένοιτο καὶ τῇ ποθουμένῃ συγκαθευδήσοι, λίαν ἐπιμελεστάτην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῆν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ εἶα τοῦτον ἡρεμεῖν ὁ τῆς κακίας εὐρετής, μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν σκοτόμαιναν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταχέας, εἰσιέναι μὲν διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς μονῆς ἔπεισε νομίζειν, 25 καὶ τοῦ κελλίου τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐντὸς γενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύτης

PILSK

1 ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς; αὐτῆς ἰ. P || 2 ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν; γινόμενον P || 4 ὑπέδειξε; ἐπέταξε P || 5 ἐστῶσα συνῆδεν ἰnv. P || 6 μετὰ; μεταξύ P || 8 ἐπιτειχίζουσα P || 10 ἔμελε; ἔμελλε codd. || 14 ἱκανῶς παραστήσεται P || 15 πονηρευόμενος; πειρώμενος P || 17 δὲ om. P || ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἰnv. ILSK || 18 τινος om. ILSK || 21 συγκαθευδήσαι I

12—13 τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . τοῦ ἐχθροῦ; cf. Lc. 10,19

⁵ Cf. *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 31,18—19, ῥάκος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ᾧ τὸ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστακτὶ ῥέον ἀπέσμηχε δάκρυον.

⁶ According to Theodoret, *HRel*, II 7—8 (Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 212—214) the hermit Julian with his abundant tears caused a spring to rise in the desert, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ διέμεινε μέχρι καὶ νῦν (8,1). In *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28—29, chs. 47—48 (Kurtz, 28,7 ff.), the oil of a lamp at Theodora's tomb mystically regenerates, sometimes so copious-

an improper act, she wiped up the moisture with her clothes before standing up;⁵ but as this was not easy for her to do continuously, what did she contrive? Secretly sending for a stonemason she gave him a hint to cut out a small pit at the appointed place in which she used to stand singing the divine hymns together with the sisters, and conceal it with a cover of equal size. Hereafter, at the time of service she lowered her face to the earth above the reservoir. Making a wall around it with her two arms, the tears flowing, she did not rise until overflowing⁶ it was on the verge of betraying her, her to whom it was a major concern to escape notice. Telling its silent tale, the reservoir has remained until the present day.

15. The Possessed Vine-Dresser Nicholas

How great a power against demons He had given her, who let His disciples tread on all the power of the enemy, the following episode will suffice to demonstrate. The Fiend, in his malice preparing still another affliction for the Saint, instilled love for one of the nuns of the convent into the man who was paid to look after its vine-yard, which was situated close by. He was a young man with unruly instincts¹ who was called Nicholas. Already conquered and wholly a victim of his abominable desire, he walked about the convent for whole nights, doing his utmost in order to enter it and sleep with the one he coveted. As the inventor of the evil would by no means leave him in peace, he one night shed darkness over his eyes and made him believe that he went in through the gateway of the convent, entered the cell of the beloved girl, lay down on her bed, embraced her

ly that a vessel has to be put below to collect it; this lamp μέχρι τῆς σήμερον διαρκεῖ καιομένη . . . καὶ πυκνῶς ἀναβλυστάνουσα . . . ἵνα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀλαλήτῳ φωνῇ κηρύττῃ τὸ ἔλαιον, ὁποῖον αὐτῆς τὸ συμπαθὲς πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας. Cf. also *VAtanAthos* B, ed. Noret 41,47—49 (of Athanasios weeping in a πτυστήριον), τοσαῦτα κατέχεεν . . . δάκρυα, ὡς καὶ λιμνάζεσθαι τὸ δακρυδόχον ἄγγειον. — Water regenerating in a spring and even oil in a burning lamp are no far-fetched ideas. But what about tears in an artificial pit in the floor? It would, however, be difficult to dispose of the tears since this would leave us with a 'silent tale' told by a pit that is empty. The adaptation of an old literary motif to a new milieu was not wholly successful here. — On ἕως τῆς σήμερον and the like, cf. A. Kazhdan in *Byz*, 54 (1984), 186 f.: such phrases imply a relatively short distance between the narrator and the event and refer to existing objects and conditions. As far as the pit in the church-floor is concerned, this may of course be the case here. — On ὀμφαλιδίον, cf. Greek Index, s.v.

15. ¹ νέον . . . ὀρμαῖς; cf. Greg.Naz., *Or.* 43, 15 (PG 36, 513D).

ἀνακεκλίσθαι κλινιδίου περιπλακῆναι τε καὶ τὰ καταθύμια ποιεῖν.
4 Ἐν ὧσφ δὲ ταῦτα πληροῦν ᾤετο, εἰς γῆν τε κατερράγη καὶ
κυλιόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χοῦς ἀφρὸν τοῦ στόματος ἀπέπτυε καὶ τὰ τῶν
δαιμονιζομένων ἔπασχεν ἅπαντα. Συνηγμένων οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν
γειτονούντων, οἷα δὴ ταῖς τούτου θορυβηθέντων κραυγαῖς, γενομένης 5
δὲ καὶ πρωΐας καὶ τοῦ τῆς μονῆς διανοιγέντος πυλῶνος, τὸ συμβάν
ἢ θυρωρὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδοῦσα περιπαθῶς ἀπαγγέλλει τῇ ὁσίᾳ· ἡ δὲ
ἀκούσασα τὸ κακόν, ὅθεν ἂν ἔφω τῷ τῆς διανοίας θεοφεγγεῖ διηρεῦνα
βλέμματι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιγνοῦσα, δακρύσασα τῆς καθέδρας
ἀνέθορε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑψοῦ διάρασά φησίν· Ἐὐλογητὸς κύριος, ὃς 10
οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς θήραν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι τοῦ πονηροῦ.' Ἀποστέλλει
γούν αὐτίκα τοῦτον εἰς τὸν τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας ναόν·
ἐνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διακονουμένων ἀλύσει καὶ
πέδαις καταδεσμευθεὶς συνείχετο καρτερεῖν τὴν ἴασιν.

Ἦς δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἡμέραι διήλθον καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν, 15
ἠθύμει ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡ μακαρία Εἰρήνη καὶ τῇ μάρτυρί πως ἦν
ἐνοχλοῦσα· ἐκείνη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄναρ ἐπιφανεῖσα φησί· Πειράζουσα
πάντως ἡμᾶς ἄρα τὸν δαιμονῶντα παρέπεμψας ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὴ
φιλάτη; Ἀλλ' ἴσθι, τῆς θεραπείας οὐκ ἄλλως εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ τεύξεται·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦμεν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τεθησαυρισμένην ἰσχύν· 20
Καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀδημονοῦσα καὶ περιλυπος διῆγε τὴν
θαυματουργίαν εὐλαβουμένη, ὅθεν καὶ μεταστείλασθαι τοῦτον
ἀποκνέουσα ἦν· μανθάνουσα δὲ πάλιν τὴν πιέζουσαν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκην,
πέμψασα δεδεμένον ἤγαγε ταῖς ἀλύσει καὶ προσέταξεν ἀποδεθῆναι
τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ κιόνων ἐνὶ τῆς μονῆς. Δισκοπεῖτο δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, πῶς 25
ἂν διαλάβοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη. Ἐἰ γὰρ ταχινὴ τούτῳ γένηται, φησί,
θεραπεία, γνώσονται πάντες καὶ οὐκέτι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνενόχλητα
ἔσεται· διὸ τὴν ἴασιν δέον ἡμᾶς μέσῳ μετελθεῖν, ἵν' οὕτω τὰς τε τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὀχλήσεις ἀποκρουσώμεθα καὶ τῷ πάσχοντι θεὸς παράσχη
τὴν λύτρωσιν.' Ἦρξατο γοῦν καθημερινὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ 30

and did what he desired.²

While in his imagination he achieved this he was hurled to the ground. Rolling on the earth and foaming at the mouth he suffered all the anguish of demoniacs. The neighbours, naturally alarmed by his screams, gathered at this sight. In the morning, when the gateway of the convent was opened, the door-keeper saw with her own eyes what had happened and reported it eagerly to the holy woman. Having heard about the disaster, she inquired with the divinely enlightened eye of her spirit into its origin. Realizing the cause she sprang up from her seat in tears, raising her hands high, and said, 'Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to the teeth of the Evil One.' Then she immediately sent him away to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia, and there he was kept to await the cure, bound with chains and in fetters by those attending on such people.³

Many days passed by but he obtained no cure. As the blessed Irene was impatient hereat and somehow importuned the martyr, the latter appeared in a dream and said to her, 'Surely, dearest sister, it was in order to try me that you sent me the demoniac? Then you should know: he shall not obtain the cure save through you. I am not ignorant of the power deposited by God as a treasure in you.' When day came she was worried and grieved in reverent fear of the miracle-working; therefore she even shrank from sending for the man. But when she learnt again about the affliction that oppressed him, she summoned him and had him brought, bound in his fetters, and commanded that he be tied to one of the columns of the convent church. For herself she considered how she could escape notice in curing him. 'If he get a rapid cure', she thought, 'all will know, and my situation will no longer be undisturbed. Therefore I must proceed with moderation about the cure, so as to ward off annoyances from people while letting God deliver the possessed man.' So she began to make daily prayers for him together with the sisters, in order that a gradual pro-

PIV (inc. mutil. a [εὐλα]βουμ[ένη] lin. 22)LSK
20 οὐδὲ: οὐ P || 23 ἀποκνέουσα: ὀκνοῦσα P || 29 παράσχοι ILSK (V non leg.)
10—11 εὐλογητὸς . . . τοῖς ὀδοῦσι: Ps. 123(124),6 || 13—14 ἀλύσει . . .
καταδεσμευθεὶς: cf. Lc. 8,29

² On attitudes to sexual fantasies in dreams and nightly pollutions, see G. Dagron, 'Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines', in: *I sogni nel medioevo. Seminario internazionale Roma, 2—4 ottobre 1983*. A cura di T. Gregory (Rome, 1985), 37—55, esp. 45 f.

³ Cf. note 13 on ch. 13, *supra*. — When considered insane by his master, the young Andreas Salos was afforded the same treatment in the same church; *VASal*, PG 111, 640A. To bind the mentally disturbed (and the epileptics, who could hardly be distinguished from them) was not regarded as inhumane, even when it was not necessary for practical reasons (to prevent an aggressive patient from injuring other people, etc.). This is clear both from *VI* here and from the passage of *VASal* just referred to; the initiative to Andreas's treatment is taken by his master who is very fond of him and leaves a considerable sum of money for his care. The real object of the binding is however not the patient but his demon; cf. *infra*, 70,22 f., Ἦς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δεσμῶν, κτλ. (in lines 25 ff. the demon speaks of his victim, through the mouth of the latter, in the third person); 72,14.

τῶν ἀδελφῶν δεήσεις, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον λάθοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη.

Καὶ δὴ ποτε τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐπιτελουμένης μυσταγωγίας, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἅγια πρὸς τὴν ἱεράν διαβιβάζεσθαι τράπεζαν, ἄφνω σκιρτήσας ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν χειρῶν κατέχουσαν αὐτὸν διαρρηξίας ἄλυσιν, ὠρμησε βρύχων κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ τοῦτον χανὼν 5
56 Ἀνθορμήσασα δὲ τὸ τάχος ἢ ὁσία ἐπετίμησέ τε τούτῳ ἐμβριμωμένη, καὶ μηκέτι προβῆναι κελεύσασα ἀκίνητον ἔστησε καὶ ὑπότρομον· μικρὸν δὲ τοῦ τρόμου ἀνεθείς — ὦ τῆς ἀκαταλήπτου σου, Χριστέ, 10
δυνάμεως — βιάζων ἦν ἑαυτὸν σφόδρα μεταστῆναι καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο, σειραῖς ἀφανέσι καὶ πολλῶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀλύσεων ἰσχυροτέραις τῷ 15
προστάγματι τῆς ὁσίας κεκρατημένος. Τελειωθείσης δὲ τῆς λειτουργίας μόνη τῷ ναῷ ἐναπομείνας ἐρριπεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεῖσα ἀνέστη μὲν 20
τῆς προσευχῆς, ἔστη δὲ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ μυσσαροῦ πνεύματος καὶ φησὶν· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σοὶ λέγω 25
τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ πνεύματι, εἶπέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐτόλμησας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα, καὶ τίς σε ἀπέσταλκε· Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν μετὰστασιν ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν ὕβρεσιν 30
ὡς τῶν δεσμῶν ἠμύνετο πρόξενον, 'νυκτοφάγον' καὶ 'ξύλοποδα' καὶ 'κόρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν στάσεως', 'σιδηροκάρδιον' καὶ 'λίθους 35
57 δαμάζουσαν' καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγον ληρωδήματα. Ὡς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δεσμῶν, ὡμολόγει καὶ ἄκον ἅπαντα, καὶ Ἐἰ μὴ με', φησὶν, 'ὁ κύκλω σου παρεμβάλων ἐμάστιζεν ἄγγελος, οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεώς σε ἤξιώσα ἄν. Λέγω σοὶ δὲ ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον 40
ἀποστερήσας ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσε καὶ τῆς συνάξεως καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας· ὡς δὲ καὶ μιᾶς ἡράσθη διακαῶς τῶν σῶν μαθητριῶν, ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ πληρῶσαι τούτῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σέ εὑρισκον ἐμποδῶν μοι γινομένην, κατανοήσας αὐτὸν παντός 45
με κενὸν τοῦ κωλύοντος εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἐνώκησα. Σὺ δὲ τίνος ἔνεκεν 50

PIVLSK

1 λάθη P || 15 μυσσαροῦ: πονηροῦ P || 17 πνεύματι om. P || 18 τίς: εἰ τις VLSK || 21 σιδηροκαρδίαν I || 24 παρεμβάλλων P || 28 ἐγὼ om. ILSK (V non leg.)

16 Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι etc.: cf. Lc. 10,17 || 24 ὁ κύκλω . . . ἄγγελος: cf. Ps. 33(34),8

⁴ What is the point of νυκτοφάγος? Since the target of the following mockeries is Irene's ascetic prowess (cf. note 2 on ch. 11, *supra*), it would seem natural to take νυκτοφάγος as deriding her eating habits during the fasting periods; cf. *supra*, 18,26 (very little food,

cedure should conceal the fact that she had healed him.

Now, once when the holy service was in progress and the sacraments were being carried over to the holy table, the man suddenly sprang up. Breaking the chains which bound him at the throat and the hands, he rushed against the priest, gnashing his teeth, and struck fear and anxiety into him as he gaped to bite him. Rapidly moving towards him, the holy woman censured him with rebuking words. Commanding him to advance no further she made him stand still and quivering. When he had relaxed somewhat from his quivering—incomprehensible is Thy power, Christ!—, he struggled hard to escape, but could not, restrained, at the Saint's command, with invisible ropes much stronger than the perceptible fetters. When service was at an end she remained alone in the church. She threw herself to the floor, and after beseeching God with tears for a long time she stood up from the prayer, rose on to question the abominable spirit and said, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I say to you, evil and unclean spirit, tell me the cause why you have dared to enter into this creature of God, and tell me who sent you.' At first he strove to escape and ward off the holy woman with insults as being the cause of his fetters, calling her 'night-eater',⁴ 'wooden leg', 'insatiable stander', 'iron-hearted', 'subduer of stones' and such frivolous names. But as he was not released from the fetters binding him, he agreed, though unwillingly, to all and said, 'Unless *the angel encamping round about* you was flogging me, I would not even deem you worth an answer. But now I tell you, the man has already for a long time detached himself from service and communion. As he also fell passionately in love with one of your disciples, this was reported to the Prince⁵ and I was sent to satisfy his desire. When I found you becoming an obstacle to me, I observed that he was devoid of all that could hinder me, so I entered and made him my dwelling-place. But you, why do you injure me, chasing me from my

καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐσπέραν), 54,22 f. (just some fruit τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν). Nightly activities are apt to cause suspicion, as shown by a satirical pamphlet of the 14th c. which refers to a conspirator called Markos as Νυκτιβίος συμποσίταρχος; see H. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische „Mafia“', *RESEE*, 7 (1969), 95—107, esp. 96, l. 18 (cf. H.-V. Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen zu einem spätbyzantinischem Pamphlet', *Βυζάντιος. Festschr. für H. Hunger* . . . [Vienna, 1984], 13—26, esp. 17 f.). But the context of eating may add a comic effect as in the compound νυκτιλαθραιοφάγος found in an ancient epigram (cf. LSJ, s.v.), and probably in this passage.

⁵ Cf. B. Rubin, 'Der Fürst der Dämonen', *BZ*, 44 (1951), 469—481, esp. 475—478.

ἀδικεῖς με διώκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου;’ ‘Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἔφησ
 ἄρχων;’ ἤρετο ἡ ὁσία. ‘Τάχα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμπαιζεις μοι’, ἀπεκρίνατο,
 ‘ἂ μὴ ἀγνοεῖς ἐρωτῶσά με; τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ἢ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν οἷος
 ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὰς μεγάλας ἀριστείας αὐτοῦ τίς ἀγνοεῖ; Ὁ τὸν Ἀδάμ
 τῇ σοφιστικῇ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐκβαλὼν
 23A καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτίκα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ θνητὸν ἀναδείξας — τί οὖν, οὐ
 58 μέγα σοι τοῦτο δοκεῖ; Ἡ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἀλληλοφονίας, τὰς
 εἰδωλολατρείας, τὸ γλυκὺ δέλεαρ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὴν παρατροπὴν τῆς
 συνουσίας, τίς ὁ κατασκευακῶς πλὴν ἐκείνου; Ἀλλὰ τοὺς φόνους
 τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένων
 10 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ τὰ σχίσματα τίς ἤρτυσε, τίς
 τετέλεκεν; Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἀνεσκολόπισεν; Ἀλλ’ ἔλαθεν
 ἡμᾶς καὶ παρεσφάλημεν σφάλμα μείζον πάντων σφαλμάτων· εἰ μὴ
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνηρέθη, οὐκ ἂν με σὺ τοιαῦτα νυνὶ δεσμὰ περιβαλοῦσα
 15 διέπαιζες ὡς ἀνδράποδον ἐτάζουσα. Τοῦ τηλικούτου γὰρ καὶ
 τοσοῦτου τῇ ἰσχυῖ δεθέντος περιφρονούμεθα καὶ διαγελώμεθα
 παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὡς εἶγε ἦν ἀπολελυμένος, τίς ἡμῶν ἠδύνατο τῇ δυνάμει
 ἀντιστῆναι;’ ‘Τί δὲ ἐστὶ’, φησὶν ἡ ἀγία, ‘τὸ ταύτην ὑμῖν ἐμποιοῦν τὴν
 B ἀδυναμίαν;’ ‘Ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις,’ εἶπε, ‘μόνοις γὰρ ὑμῖν κατηλλάγη
 θεός, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτῳ ἐχθροί· ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς κἂν ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν,
 20 ἀλλ’ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα ποιήσας θεός. Ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι
 πεπείκαμεν τοὺς ἀνελόντας Ἰουδαίους, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ
 χριστομένοις οὐ τολμῶμεν προσεγγίσει· τίς γὰρ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ
 59 δημιουργῷ αὐτοῦ δύναται; Ἀργοὶ δὲ καθῆσθαι οὐ δυνάμεθα· οὐδὲν
 γὰρ ἀργόν, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. Καλὸν δὲ ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἅτε
 25 δὴ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παντελῶς ἔρημοι μετουσίας, πονούμεθα,
 ἀσχολούμεθα καὶ σπουδάζομεν περὶ ταῦτα τὰ τρία· ἢ τοὺς
 καταλλαγέντας ἀφιστᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους σκευῆ
 ποιεῖσθαι πάλιν ἡμέτερα, ἢ τοὺς πάντη κενούς ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ
 ἀγαθοῦ εἰς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ὄρας, ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι.’ ‘Καὶ ποῖον ὑμῖν
 30 ἐκ τούτου τὸ κέρδος,’ ἤρετο πάλιν ἡ ὁσία, ‘ἢ τίς ἢ ὠφέλεια;’ ‘Καὶ

house?’ ‘Who’, asked the holy woman, ‘is that “Prince” you men-
 tioned?’ ‘You mock me, it would seem’, he answered, ‘asking me some-
 thing you are not ignorant of. For who has not heard, who does not know
 what kind he is? Who is ignorant of his great prowess? He who in his in-
 genious inventiveness and pride drove Adam out of Paradise and at once
 showed the first man to be destructible and mortal. Why, does this not
 seem great to you? And the internecine slaughters after that, the
 idolatries, the sweet incitement of lust,⁶ the aberrations of sexuality,
 who but him prepared them? The murders of the prophets and of all the
 others who paid honour to God’s name, and the heresies and schisms,
 who arranged them, who accomplished them? And Jesus himself, who
 crucified him? But he escaped us and we were deceived through the
 greatest of all deceptions. For if he had not been executed, you would
 not now have laid these fetters on me and mocked me, questioning me
 like a slave. You despise us and laugh at us only because there has been
 bound one so great and so strong that if he were set free, nobody would
 be able to withstand our power.’ ‘What is it’, said the Saint, ‘that pro-
 duces this powerlessness in you?’ ‘God’s power’, he said, ‘for only with
 you has God been reconciled, whereas we are enemies to him. Even if
 Jesus is a man, he is still the God who has made all. Ever since we per-
 suaded his murderers, the Jews, to kill him, we do not dare to approach
 those anointed with his blood. For who can stand against his creator? We
 cannot sit idle, for nothing that God has made is idle. But unable to do
 good, because completely devoid of participation in the good, we toil and
 are busy and eager about three things: either to make the reconciled revolt
 against God, or again to make those who revolt into our own instruments
 or, as you can see, to appropriate to ourselves, as our dwellings, those
 who are wholly destitute of communion with the good.’ ‘What gain do
 you have from this’, asked the holy woman again, ‘or what advantage?’

FIVLSK

3 ἀγνοεῖς: ἀγνοοῦσα IVLSK || γὰρ om. L || ἢ τίς: τίς δὲ P || 6 οὖν: γοῦν
 P || 7 ἢ: καὶ IVLSK || ἀλληλοφονίας IL || 14 δεσμὰ: δεσμὰ με VLSK ||
 16 τὴν ἰσχύον P || 31 τὸ om. VLSK

9–10 τοὺς . . . προφητῶν: cf. Mt. 23,30–31; Lc. 13,34; Rom. 11,3 (3 Regn. 19,10,
 14) || 19–20 κατηλλάγη . . . ἐχθροί: cf. Rom. 5,10

⁶ On this old theme, see M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité. Introduction, texte critique, trad., comm. et index* (Paris, 1966), 506, note 3.

μικρόν σοι τοῦτο φαίνεται, τὸ πολλοῦς', φησίν, 'ἔχειν κοινωνούς, νῦν
 μὲν τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μελλουσῶν κολάσεων;'
 60 'Ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἀλγήσασα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περιδακρυς γενομένη
 ἐπετίμησέ τε σφοδρότερον ἢ ὅσια καὶ ἐξελεθῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ
 πόρρω γενέσθαι τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῆς προσέταξε· σπαράξαν δὲ καὶ 5
 C καταρράξαν τοῦτον εἰς γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Δοῦσα δὲ χεῖρα
 κειμένῳ ἀνέστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον τῷ μετώπῳ
 ποιήσασα τοῦτου ἐκάθισε· καὶ νουθεσίαις αὐτόν ἐπεστήριξε καὶ
 παρήγγειλε τῆς ἀπλήστου βρώσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ κόρον οἰνοποσίας
 ἀπέχεσθαι, τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεδρεύειν, διηνεκῶς προσεύχεσθαι καὶ 10
 οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου· καὶ 'Τοῖς ἐρωτῶσί σε',
 φησί, ' "Τίς ὁ ἰασάμενος;" " Ὁ θεός", ἀποκρίνεσθαι, " ταῖς
 πρεσβείαις τῶν ἀρχιστρατήγων Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ". ' Καὶ οὕτως
 ἀπέλυσε αὐτόν εὐχαριστοῦντα καὶ δοξάζοντα τὸν θεόν.

16. Ὡσπερ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπὲρ πάντων προσῆγε 15
 61 τῷ θεῷ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ταύτην ἐπλήρου, τῆς συνήθους
 στάσεως ἔχομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην αἰεὶ σχετικῶς διακειμένη.
 Νίπτουσα γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐκμάττουσά τε
 καθαρωτάτῳ ἐκμαγείῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ λεκάνην ὕδατος τῷ ἑαυτῆς διὰ τοῦτο
 κειμένην εἶχε κοιτῶνι, οὕτω τοὺς βραχίονας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνουσα 20
 τῆς προσευχῆς ἀπήρχετο. Καὶ παρέτεινε τὴν στάσιν ποτὲ μὲν
 πανημέριον, ποτὲ δὲ παννύχιον ἢ καὶ νυχθημερεύουσαν, πολλάκις
 καὶ δισημερεύουσαν καὶ τὴν τρίτην πληροῦσαν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ
 δι' ὄλης τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἴστατο μὴ τι τῶν ὑποστηριζόντων
 ἐρειδομένη. Διὸ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἡνίκα κατενεγκεῖν ἔδει, οὐκ εἶχε τοὺς 25
 βραχίονας ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς συστέλλαι, τῶν ἀγκῶνων καὶ τῶν ὤμων τῆ βία
 τῆς ἀνατάσεως καὶ τῷ μήκει τῆς ἐκτάσεως πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν
 624D ἀνθισταμένων κλίσιν. Προσφωνοῦσα δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταῖς
 οἰκειοτέραις βοήθειαις ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν τοὺς ἀρμούς φοβερόν
 τινα κρότον ἐκφέροντας. 30

PVLSK

7 τῷ κειμένῳ K || 8 νουθεσίαις: νουθεσίας ἀξιώσασα P || ἐπεστήριξε VLSK
 || 12 ἀποκρίνασθαι VLSK || 18 τε: δὲ I || 23 δὲ ὅτε ILSK (V non leg.) ||
 25 εἶχε: ἠδύνατο μόνη P || 26 ἑαυτὴν P || 27 ἀναστάσεως L || καὶ . . .
 ἐκτάσεως om. L

⁷ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 10 (PG 35, 1180C), αἱ ἀποστατικά δυνάμεις καὶ φθονεραὶ,
 πολλοὺς κοινωνοὺς ζητοῦσαι τοῦ πτώματος; cf. also id., *Or.* 43, 48 (PG 36, 560A),
 in a dialogue between St Basil and a *hyparchos*, τί δέ; Οὐ μέγα σοι τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν τετάχθαι
 καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς;

'Does it seem a petty thing to you', he said, 'to have many companions,
 now in our fall,⁷ hereafter in the future punishments?'

Grieving at this in her soul and full of tears the holy woman censured
 him harshly and commanded him to go out of the man and betake himself
 far away from her boundaries. Then he left the man, convulsing him and
 hurling him to the ground. Giving him a hand as he lay there Irene raised
 him up, and making the sign of the cross on his forehead she made him
 sit. She supported him with admonitions and exhorted him to abstain
 from insatiable eating and from drinking wine to surfeit, to attend
 church, to pray continuously and thus to evade the ambushes of the Devil,
 and she said, 'Those who ask you, Who has healed you? you shall answer,
 God, through the intercession of the archistrateges Michael and Gabriel.'
 Thus she let him go, and he thanked and glorified God.

16. Irene's Continued Asceticism and Levitation The Bowing Cypresses

As she incessantly offered thanks to God for everything, so for this too
 did she perform them, clinging to her usual standing exercises and always
 affectionately disposed towards them. After washing her hands and
 face¹ and wiping them off with a clean towel—to this end she had a
 basin of water standing in her chamber—, she stretched her arms to
 heaven and began the prayer. She extended her exercises to last now for
 a whole day, now for a whole night or even for a day and a night. Often
 they were protracted over two or three days, and it even occurred that
 she remained standing for a whole week without leaning against any sup-
 port. Therefore, when she was to lower her hands, she was unable to draw
 her arms together by herself, since the elbows and the shoulders, in conse-
 quence of the severe stretching and the prolonged extension, resisted their
 natural flexibility. Calling for those among the sisters that were closest
 to her she received help, and one could hear the joints emit a terrible
 cracking.²

16. ¹ Irene cleans her hands and face before stretching them to heaven. The motivation
 for this may be derived from a thought expressed in the following way by Symeon the
 New Theologian, *Hymn* 4,8—16, κάτω βλέπε ὡς κατακεκριμένος . . . καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
 σου συνεσταλμένας ἔχε· ταύτας ἀναιδῶς πρὸς θεὸν μὴ ἐκτείνης, ἅς πολλάκις
 ἠπλώσας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν. Cf. also Lampe, s.v. νίπτω, I.A.4.b.

² Somewhat similar effects of extreme asceticism are reported, e.g., for Abraames by

δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συναγαγοῦσα πάσαις ἐνετείλατο μηδὲν περὶ αὐτῆς μέγα λέγειν μηδαμῶς, 'ἕως ἂν με', φησί, 'κύριος τοῦ παρόντος μεταστῆση βίου'. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα δι' αὐτῆς θεὸς ἐπετέλει θαυμάσια, καὶ πάντα σιωπῇ καλύπτεσθαι τό γε νῦν ἔχον ἐβούλετο.

65 17. Ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου μνήμην ἐορτάσασαν, μετὰ 5
τὴν θεῖαν λειτουργίαν ὑπέμνησεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὡς εἶη τῆς γῆς ποθεν μῦς
ἀνίων καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τράπεζαν περιερχόμενος, καὶ
δεῖ τῷ μυσαρῶ κώλυμα γενέσθαι τοῦ μηκέτι μολύνειν τὸν τόπον τὸν
ἅγιον. Γενομένη δὲ περίλυπος, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὁ τε ἱερεὺς αἰ τε πᾶσαι
ἀδελφαί, ὁ μὲν ἰδίᾳ, αἱ δὲ κοινῇ, τῆς ἐορτῆς χάριν αὐτάρκη τὴν 10
ἐστίασιν ἐποιοῦντο, τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτῆς ἔνδον ἐκείνη καὶ περὶ τούτου
τῷ θεῷ ἐντυγχάνουσα ἦν. 'Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἐστιαθέντες ἤδη
τῷ θεῷ προσέφερον ἅμα, τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελομένην καλέσασα
λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· "Ἀπελθε καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
νενεκρωμένον κείμενον μὲν ἀραμένη ἔξω που ῥίψον ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας.' 15
'Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ συνεισῆει καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς προσευξόμενος, καὶ νεκρὸν
ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ὄντα τὸν μὲν θασάμενος, ἐκπλαγείς ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ὀσίας
C προστάγματι ἐξῆει βοῶν ὡς· 'Θαυμαστός ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις
αὐτοῦ'.

66 18. Κατὰ γοῦν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα περὶ που τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς 20
νυκτὸς φωνή τις ἀοράτως ἐγένετο τῇ ὀσίᾳ λέγουσα· 'Τὸν τὰς ὀπώρας
σοι κομίζοντα σήμερον ναύκληρον ὑπόδεξαι χαίρουσα, καὶ φάγεσαι
καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου.' Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὄρθρινὴν δοξολογίαν
δυσὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσκαρτερεῖν τῷ τῆς μονῆς προσέταξε πυλῶνι,
καὶ τῷ πρῶτως καταλαβόντι, ὅστις ἂν καὶ εἶη, τῆς εἰσόδου 25
παραχωρῆσαι προθύμως. "Ἄλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ, φησί, 'μικρὸν ὅσον ἔξεμι
πρὸς ὑμᾶς.' Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπιούσης εἰσεῖσι καὶ ὁ προσδοκώμενος, καὶ
συνήντησαν ἀλλήλοις. Ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὴν προεστῶσαν μαθῶν,
βαλεῖν ὄρμησε μετάνοιαν καὶ προέλαβε τοῦτον ἐκείνη καὶ 30
ἀναστάντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐβάδιζον, εἰσελθόντες δὲ καὶ

PVLSK

5 δὲ: γὰρ IVLSK || 7 θεοῦ om. L || 9 αἰ τε πᾶσαι: καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ P || 11
καὶ om. P || 11—12 τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου in. P || 13 ἐπιμελουμένην P (V legere
pequeo) || 16 προσευξάμενος P || 17 αὐτὸν om. P || 18 ὡς om. P ||
23 δὲ: γοῦν IVLSK

18—19 θαυμαστός . . . αὐτοῦ: Ps. 67(68),36 || 20—21 τετάρτην . . . νυκτὸς: cf.
Mt. 14,25

other nuns and commanded them all in no wise to speak highly of her, until the Lord (as she said) would remove her from this life. In fact God performed many other wonderful deeds through her, and she wished them all to be veiled in silence for the time being.

17. The Mouse on the Altar

Once when she had celebrated the memory of Basil the Great, the priest told her after the divine liturgy that a mouse had come up from somewhere in the ground and circled about the table of the divine sanctuary. Now the loathsome creature had to be prevented from defiling the hallowed place again. She was deeply grieved, and while the priest and all the sisters, the former for himself, the latter together, had a satisfying meal for the sake of the festival, she supplicated God about this inside her chamber. After the meal, when they offered thanks to God together, she summoned the overseer of the church¹ and said to her, 'Go and take up the mouse which lies dead before the entrance to the sanctuary and throw it out on the dunghill.' Meanwhile the priest had joined them to pray, and since he had seen that very mouse dead, he was amazed at the holy woman's command and went out crying, 'Wonderful is God in his saints!'

18. The Apples from Paradise

About the fourth watch of that night a voice invisibly reached the Saint saying, 'Receive gladly the skipper who will bring you fruit today. You shall eat and your soul shall rejoice.' After the morning doxology she bade two of the sisters to wait at the gateway of the convent and readily to admit the first comer, whoever it be. 'However', she continued, 'I will myself come out to you for a short while.' And behold, as she was going the expected man entered and they met. On learning that she was the abbess he hastened to make obeisance, but she anticipated him, and they stood up and went to the church. They entered and after a prayer sat down,

17. ¹ Conceivably, this vague term refers to the monastic office of ἐκκλησιάρχισσα, the function of which is defined, e.g., in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Theotokos *Kecharitōmenē*, ch. 20 (Miklosich-Müller, 5, 350). Cf. P. de Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Rome, 1942), 408.

προσευξάμενοι ἑκαθέστησαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ὁσία 'Πόθεν σου',
 φησί, 'πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡ ἀγάπη ταπεινῶσιν ἡκει;' Καὶ ὅς
 ἀπεκρίνατο 'Θαλασσοπόρος εἰμί, κυρία μου, τῆς νήσου Πάτμου
 καλουμένης οἰκῆτωρ· ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦς εἰσέλευσιν
 ἐποιούμην, γενόμενός τε περὶ τὸ τῆς καθ'ἡμᾶς νήσου ἀοίκητον
 5 μέρος, εἶδον ὠραιότατον γέροντα καὶ θεοειδῆ ἀναμένειν ἡμῖν
 626D κελεύοντα. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλοῖον ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ εἶα στήναι φορὰ,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ τόπου κρημνώδους ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐστῶς
 ἐπέταττεν, οὐκ εἶχομεν ὅπως τὸ παρ'αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι
 προσταττόμενον· εἰδὼς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ παρ'ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον,
 10
 67 γεγωνοτέρᾳ φωνῇ στήναι τὸ πλοῖον ἐπετίμησε. Καὶ εὐθέως ἔστη μὴ
 προβαίνειν ὅλως δυνάμενον, ἐφ'ᾧ καὶ δέους πλήρεις γενόμενοι πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἠτενίζομεν· καὶ ἰδοὺ πεζεύων κατὰ τῶν κυμάτων ἤγγισεν ἡμῖν.
 'Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τρία μῆλα ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου εἰς χεῖράς μοι ἔδωκεν εἰπὼν·
 "Διασωθεῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν διακόμισον τῷ πατριάρχῃ
 15 'Ιγνατίῳ καὶ ἔρεις πρὸς αὐτόν· Ταῦτά σοι ἀπέστειλεν ὁ μένων." Εἶτα
 πάλιν βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐξήνεγκεν ἕτερα τρία παραπλήσια φήσας·
 "Καὶ ταῦτα πάρασχε Εἰρήνῃ τῇ ἡγουμένη τῆς μονῆς τοῦ
 Χρυσοβαλάντου καὶ εἶπε αὐτῇ· Φάγε ἀφ'ὧν ἡ καλή σου ψυχὴ
 ἐπεθύμησεν· ἄρτι γὰρ ἦκω κομίζων ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ
 20
 E τοιαῦτα." Εὐλογήσας δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπέλυσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἐν
 εὐχαΐς. Καὶ νῦν πληρώσας τῷ πατριάρχῃ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον, ἦλθον καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγιότητα τὸ προσταχθέν μοι τελειῶν· Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα
 ἡ ὁσία καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρῦων ὑποπλησθεῖσα, τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ
 ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ πολλὴν ἀπεδίδου τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.
 25
 'Ἐκβαλὼν οὖν ὁ ναύκληρος τὰ τρία μῆλα ὑφάσματι κεκαλυμμένα
 ἐντίμῳ καὶ νήματι χρυσέῳ περιηθισμένῳ δέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
 αὐτῆς· ὧν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν τί χρῆ καὶ λέγειν;
 'Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ εἶλκον τὸ γένος, ὅθεν ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐξώρισται καὶ ἂ
 30 φθαρτός γενόμενος οὐκ εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός. 'Ἄλλ'ὁ μὲν πολλῆς

then the Saint said to him, 'Whence, Your Charity, do you come to me, humble woman?' He answered, 'Mistress, I am a seafaring inhabitant of the isle that is called Patmos. When in the course of my voyage here I approached the uninhabited part of our island, I caught sight of a beautiful and godlike old man who ordered us to stop. As the rush of the wind, however, did not allow the ship to halt, the more so as the place from which he gave this command was rocky, we had no means of obeying his behest. Realizing himself how helpless we were, he bade the ship in a loud voice to halt, and so it did at once, wholly unable to advance. Full of fear hereat we gazed at him; and behold, he approached us *walking on the waves!* He produced three apples out of the fold of his garment gave them into my hands and said, "When you are safe in the Imperia City, carry them to the Patriarch Ignatios and say to him, He who tarried has sent you these." Then again he let down his hand and brought forth another three similar apples, saying, "Give these to Irene, the abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton, and say to her, Eat of that which your good soul has desired, for that is what I have now come to bring you from Paradise." Praising God, he dismissed us and our ship with prayers. Now that I have fulfilled what was due to the patriarch, I have come to You Holiness to accomplish the command given to me.' When she heard this her eyes filling with tears, the holy woman returned great thanks to God and to the disciple whom He loved. Producing the three apples, which were covered in a precious cloth decorated with flowers of golden thread he gave them into her hands. Their beauty and size and fragrance—why needless to speak thereof! For they drew their origin from that place whence our kind is banished and which no mortal eye has seen. The ma

PVL SK

5 γενόμενός τε: γενόμενος P || 8 τε: add. δε IVLSK || 9 πληρῶσαι: πληρώσομεν P || 14 ἐκ οἴ. P || 16 πρὸς αὐτόν: αὐτῷ P || 23 μοι οἴ. P || 30 εἶδεν: οἶδεν VLSK

3—4 τῆς νήσου . . . καλουμένης: Ἀποκ. 1,9 || 13 πεζεύων . . . κυμάτων: cf. Mt. 14,24—25 || 16 ὁ μένων: cf. Io. 21,22 || 19—20 φάγε . . . ἐπεθύμησεν: cf. Eccl. 6,2 || 24—25 τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ . . . μαθητῇ: cf. Io. 13,23 et sim. locc.

18. ¹ This miracle varies rather originally a theme appearing in several texts, e.g. the hagiographic romance *VTheoctistLesb*, ed. Delehaye 230DE, and the legends *VPetraAthon*, ed. Lake 26, top, and 33—34. Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, 'La Vie ancienne du saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique', *AnalBoll*, 92 (1975) 19—61, esp. 43.

παρ'αυτῆς τιμῆς καὶ δεξιώσεως ἀξιωθεῖς, συνταξάμενος αὐτῇ ἀνεχώρησεν.

- 68 Ἐκείνη δὲ ὄλην ἡμερῶν ἑβδομάδα νηστεύσασα, ὀλόκληρον τὸ ἐν οἰκείαν ἔδωδὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ διήρκησεν εἰς ὄλας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ τῆς βρώσεως ἰσχυῖ τοῦ μήλου, μήτε τροφῆς 5 ἑτέρας μήτε πόσεως δεηθεῖσα τὸ σύνολον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσης F θυμηδίας ἐμπιπλώσα τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ὀσφρήσεις εὐωδιά· τοιαύτη γάρ ἦν ἀναδιδομένη καὶ τοσαύτη, ὡς νομίζειν θυμιαμάτων τινῶν καὶ μύρων πολυτίμων συνθέσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ κατασκευὰς καθ'ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ μονῇ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα 10 καταχρώννυσθαι ταῖς ἡδυνόοις ὀσμαῖς. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσχα μεγάλης καταλαβούσης ἑβδομάδος καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐφεστηκυίας προσέταξε πάσαις ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μεταλαβεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, καθ'ἦν δηλαδὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς συνεστιαθεῖς καὶ τῆς ψυχοτρόφου παρέδωκε τὸν τύπον ὁ 15 κύριος τραπέζης. Καὶ κατατεμούσα μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν τὸ ἕτερον μῆλον διένειμεν αὐταῖς οὐκ εἰδυῖαις, τί ἄρα καὶ εἶη τὸ ἐσθιόμενον· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἐν αἰσθήσει γενόμεναί τινος ὑπερφουδῶς χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐξεπλήττοντο. Τὸ δ'ἄλλο φυλακτικῶν ἐαυτῇ διετήρησε συνεχῶς ὀσφραϊνομένη καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαλλιάσεως μὴ λειπομένη. 20

- 69 19. Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, καθ'ἦν καὶ τὰ ἄχραντα πάθη τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ παρὰ πᾶσι πιστοῖς ὕμνοлогεῖται, πολλῶν ἑώρα

P1VLSK

8 ὀσφρήσεις ante τῇ (lin. 7) tr. P || τοιαύτην P || τοσαύτην P || 11 ὀσμαῖς I || 12 μεγάλης om. P || 12—13 ἁγίας πέμπτης ἡμέρας; μεγάλης πέμπτης P || 14 δηλαδὴ; δηλονότι P || 18 τοῦτο . . . αἰσθήσει; ἐν αἰσθήσει δὲ μόνον P || 20 μὴ λειπομένη; αἰετὶ γινομένη P

² In *HMonAeg*, VIII 40 (ed. Festugière p. 62 f.) we are told that Apollō, while celebrating Easter in a mountain cave together with five disciples, was visited at night by some unknown men bringing various kinds of fruit as well as honey, milk, and bread from Paradise to the monks, who happened to lack food. This, and the similar story in Cyril of Skythopolis's *Vita Sab* (ed. Schwartz 211, 1—14), develop the motif of a miraculous food supply, which certainly reflects a major material problem for the Desert Fathers; see, e.g., *HMonAeg*, II 9, VIII 6, XII 14 and 15 (ed. cit., p. 37 f., 48 f., and 96 f., respectively). A more formalized story in Theodoret, *HRel*, VI 12 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 362) relates how Symeon the Old meditated at the Sinai until after a week of total fasting he heard a heavenly voice telling him to partake of the food served before him, ἐκτείνας δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τρία μῆλα εὐρῶν καὶ τούτων ἐμφορηθεῖς ὡς ὁ δεδωκὼς παρηγγύησεν, ἰσχύος τε γέγονεν ἀπάσης ἀνάπλευς καὶ μετὰ θυμηδίας τοὺς συνόντας, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἠσπάσατο. Sometimes the supernatural fruit (not necessarily apples) appears in connection with a visit to, not from, Paradise. This is the case with Paternouthios who is said to have visited Paradise,

was treated with much honour and hospitality by her, then bid her farewell and left.

And she, after fasting for a whole week, made the whole of one apple her food. Its nourishing power permitted her to endure for forty whole days without any other food or drink whatever; nay, with the fragrance of her mouth she rather even saturated the sisters' sense of smell with full delight.² For such was its quality and intensity as it was exhaled, that one believed that mixtures and preparations of incenses and precious perfumes were being made in the convent every day, so as to tinge the air with their sweet smells. Hereafter, when the Great Week of Divine Easter came and the Holy Thursday was at hand, she commanded all the sisters to partake of the sacraments that evening in which truly the Lord, having supper with His disciples, handed down the model of the soul-sustaining table.³ After Communion she cut the second apple and distributed it among them. They did not know what their food was; they were merely amazed at the sensation of a marvellous delight and mirth. The third apple she kept for herself as an amulet, continuously smelling it and never lacking the joy it afforded.

19. Irene's Future Fame Predicted

On that night when the undefiled Passion of the Redeemer and Lord Jesus is celebrated in hymns among all faithful, she saw,¹ as in trance, a great

tasted its fruit, and brought back to the world a big fig which healed all the sick who smelled it (*HMonAeg*, X 21—22; ed. cit., p. 84); and the cook Euphrosynos, who according to *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 658F ff. (cf. *SynaxCP*, 34, 59 ff.) was spiritually moved to Paradise together with his abbot. As the latter was unable to have a taste of its fruit, the cook gave him three apples which the abbot found in his hands when he woke up from his vision (on this episode, see H. Grégoire in *Byz*, 5 [1929—30], 412 f.; his reference for Paternouthios should now be updated as above). The formulaic use of three apples in some of these stories is apparently a secondary feature, helping to give formal stability to a literary convention which had lost the contact with its original milieu. — The symbolic potential of apples has been variously exploited in literary contexts, but their role in the passages quoted here has not attracted much attention; cf. the lit. cited by L. Breyer in his translation of the *Vita Basilii* (*Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron* [Graz/Wien/Köln, 1981]), 25, note 7.

¹ τῆς ψυχοτρόφου . . . τραπέζης; the phrase is also found, e.g., in *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 893A.

19. ² The following vision reflects the liturgy for consecration of a church, more especially of its altar; cf. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, ed. P. N. Trempelas, vol. 2 (Athens, 1955), 103 ff. Preparations are made by the youths in white who in accordance with the liturgy be-

When one of the sisters in the simplicity of her mind asked Irene to pray for health of body, she called them all together and said, 'Believe me, children, if I possessed any candour before God, I would first of all pray that none of you should pass one single day of your entire lifetime in corporeal health. For I know, I know very well that when the body is ill, the soul will benefit greatly,' especially for such as offer thanks for this to God, the Guardian of our souls.'

21. The Liberation of Irene's Imprisoned Kinsman

One more of her wonderful deeds should be added to the narrative, a clear proof of her proximity to God and her freedom of speech before Him. Driven by envy some people slandered one of the holy woman's beloved close relatives before the Emperor, an act such as the Evil One often will induce those passionate about mundane things to commit. It was a man honoured with the dignity of *illoüstrios*¹ and distinguished with other worldly prominence. The slander was of no petty purport for it said, 'He is plotting and preparing against Your Majesty all that traitors are wont to do.' The Emperor did not even tolerate a simple question, and that about such an important issue, but ordered the man to be arrested and confined him to a dark dungeon in the palace, leaving him ignorant even of the cause of the Emperor's wrath. When the man's family heard a rumour whispered around the Imperial Palace that the Emperor was planning to have him thrown into the depth of the sea—not at daytime but at night, so that his body would not even be buried, since none of his relatives would learn in what way he had died²—, then they surrendered all hope and sought refuge with Irene with her great candour before God.

rioi are introduced (*supra*, 10,24 ff.), they are said to be senators and patricians. Patrician dignity was open to all *illoüstrioi* (see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 294—295), thus it would seem somewhat awkward to call a man *illoüstrios* if he was a patrician as well. But since this man is said to have paid honour to Irene's memory 'during the whole of his life' (*infra*, 110,25 ff.), he must be considered much younger than Irene herself (dead at 97), so he is probably not meant to be included among the Gouberioi present at her arrival in Constantinople.

² The part. γνωσθείσης logically belongs to τρόπου, not to the subordinate noun ἀπωλείας. The text need hardly be changed.

20. Εὐξασθαι δέ τις αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας αἰτήσασα γνώμης ἀπλότῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συγκαλεσαμένη καὶ πάσας εἶπε· 'Πιστεύσατέ μοι, τέκνα, παρρησίας εἴ τινος ἔτυχον πρὸς θεόν, τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἂν ἦτησα, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὑγείᾳ σωματικῇ παρ' ὄλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν χρόνον μηδεμίαν ὑμῶν διατελέσαι' οἶδα 5 γάρ, ἀκριβῶς οἶδα, ὅτι τοῦ σώματος κάμνοντος πολλή τις ὠφέλεια προσγίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς χάριν διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κηδεμόνι τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὁμολογοῦσι θεῷ.'

C 71 21. "Ἐν ἔτι τῶν ἐκείνης θαυμασιῶν προστεθείσθω τῇ διηγήσει, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς ἐγγύτητος καὶ παρρησίας μαρτύριον ἐναργές. 10 φθόνῳ τινὲς κινούμενοι, οἷα πολλά τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις περὶ τὰ παρόντα ποιεῖν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑποτίθῃσι, διαβάλλουσι πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν ἐγγύθεν τῇ ὁσίᾳ καὶ φιλουμένων αὐτῇ συγγενῶν τινα, τῇ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων ἀξία τετιμημένον καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ κατὰ κόσμον λαμπρὸν περιφανείᾳ. Καὶ τὸ τῆς διαβολῆς οὐ μικρόν· 'Τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἅπαντα', φησί, 15 καὶ μελετῶν ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦ σοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζων κράτους.' 'Ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐρωτήσεως κἂν γοῦν ψιλῆς περὶ τοσούτου καὶ ταῦτα πράγματος ἀνασχόμενος, συλληφθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα προστάξας ἔν τινι τοῦ παλατίου ζοφώδει κατέκλεισε φυλακῇ, μηδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδότα τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τῷ ἄνδρι προσήκοντες 20 628D διαψιθυρίζομενόν πως περὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἠκηκόεσαν τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐναπορριφῆναι τοῦτον βυθῷ διασκοπεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτί, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ ταφῆς αὐτοῦ τύχοι τὸ σῶμα, 72 μηδενὶ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τούτου γνωσθείσης ἀπωλείας, πάντων ἀπογνόντες πρὸς τὴν πολλὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἔχουσιν τὴν 25 παρρησίαν καταφεύγουσιν Εἰρήνην, δάκρυα τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον

PVLASK

2 τῶν . . . πάσας: πάσας συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφὰς P || 13 συγγενῶν τινα: συγγενῇ IVLSK || 17 γοῦν om. P || 23 τύχη I || 26 τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον om. P

20. ¹ For this idea in general, cf. Theodoret, *HRel*, XXXI 14,6—8 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 294, with note 1). There it is stated that illness is no evil thing, a simple negation of the traditional view. Here its positive benefits are emphasized, as, e.g., in *VLuclun*, Suppl., ed. Martini 106,11—13, τὸ νοσεῖν . . . γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ καιριώτατον, ὥστε πρὸς τὸ ἐθέλειν εἶναι μοναχὸν ἀληθῆ πλεῖστα συνεισφέρει καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν.

21. ¹ *Illoüstrios* was the highest of the titles which gave access to the senate; see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1967), 67. When the Goube-

κενοῦντες τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ βοηθῆσαι ταῖς εὐπροσδέκτοις εὐχαῖς
τῷ συγγενεῖ ἀδίκως κινδυνεύοντι παρακαλοῦντες αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ — καὶ
τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίησε πρὸς ταῦτα ψυχὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν
ἐξησκημένη καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τῆς ἀγάπης νόμον καλῶς ἀποπληροῦν
ἐπισταμένη; — σφόδρα περίλυπος γενομένη, στενάζασά τε βαρὺ καὶ 5
δακρῦσασα τούτους μὲν ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν οἴκαδε καὶ μὴ ἄθυμειν.
Ἄλλ' ἐλπίσωμεν', φησὶν, ἐπὶ κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει.' Δεύτερα
δὲ τάλλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἤγησάμενη, κλείσασα τὴν θύραν ἰκέτευε τὸν
E θεὸν ἐκτενῶς· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνη.

Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ ὄραν ἐδόκει 10
τὴν ὄσιαν Εἰρήνην παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγουσαν·
'Βασιλεῦ, ἀναστάς αὐτίκα τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπόλυσον ὃν καθειρξας
ἀδίκως· οὐδὲν γὰρ σοι τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ λαλουμένων ἐστὶν ἀληθές,
ψεῦδος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ συκοφαντία. Εἰ δ' οὖν ἄλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον κατὰ 15
σου κινήσω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἐγερῶ σοι καὶ
σφαγὴν, ὥστε σου καὶ τὰς σάρκας βορὰν προκειῖσθαι τοῖς θηρίοις
73 τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.' Τὸν δὲ ταραχθῆναι καὶ θυμῷ
ζέσαντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀντειπεῖν· 'Τίς καὶ πόθεν εἶ σύ, τοιαῦτα ἐμοὶ
προπετῶς ἀπειλεῖν ἀποτολμῶσα; τίς δὲ σοι καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ὁ
παραχωρήσας ἐν ὥρᾳ τοιαύτῃ;' Καὶ ἀποκριθῆναι τούτῳ· 'Ἐγὼ ἢ 20
Εἰρήνη εἰμὶ τῆς τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου μονῆς ἢ ἡγουμένη.' Καὶ τοῦτο
οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον εἰποῦσαν, νύξασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὴν
τούτου πλευρὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι. Ἄλλὰ τίς μὴ θαυμάσει τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ
τεράστια; Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν πλευρὰν ὀδονηθεὶς τεθορυβημένος
ἀψυπνίσθη, εἶδεν αὐτὴν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ βαδίζουσαν, 25
ἀπιούσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενομένην ἤδη τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐξιούσαν·
καὶ κράζειν εὐθύς ἤρξατο ὥστε πᾶσιν αὐτῷ τοῖς σωματοφυλακοῦσιν
F οὐκ ὀλίγον γενέσθαι τὸν τάραχον, πτοηθεῖσι μὴ τι καὶ πάθοι τῶν
ἀδοκῆτων ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἦρετο γοῦν τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τὸν πρῶτιστον,
ὄν δὴ καλοῦσι παρακοιμώμενον· 'Οὐχ ἐώρακας τὴν τοῦ κοιτῶνος 30

PIVLSK

7 καὶ om. L || 8 τὰ: τῶν IVLSK, sed cf. *VLuclun*, PG 111, 465A, τὸ μηδὲν πάντα
τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἤγησάμενον; cf. etiam *VAlypStyl*, ed. Delehaye 184,10—11,
VTheodorThess, ed. Arsenij 29, c. 48 ad fin. (Kurtz, 28,33; etiam ibid. 40,5) || 10
περὶ: περὶ που VLSK || 13 ἐστὶν om. IVLSK || 20—21 εἰμὶ ἢ Εἰρήνη inv. P ||
21 ἢ ἡγουμένη ante τῆς tr. P || 26 καὶ . . . ἐξιούσαν om. P1 || 27 εὐθύς om.
IVLSK || τοῖς αὐτῷ inv. P

16—17 τοῖς θηρίοις . . . οὐρανοῦ: cf. Gen. 1,30 et sim. locc.

Totally draining their eyes of tears they begged her to help their unjustly
accused relative with her acceptable prayers. What could a soul trained
in God's benevolence and well knowing to fulfil His law of love have done
in this situation? Utterly grieved and deeply sighing and weeping she com-
manded them to go home and not to be disheartened, saying, 'Let us set
our hopes to the Lord, He will help.' What else she had in hand she con-
sidered unimportant, and so she closed her door and fervently supplicated
God. So far about her.³

About midnight the Emperor, awake, not dreaming,⁴ seemed to see
the holy Irene standing beside him, saying, 'Emperor, stand up at once
and release from prison the man you have unjustly confined. None of the
accusations brought to you against him are true; no, they are lies and
slander. Otherwise I will stir the King of heaven Himself against you, and
raise a war and a slaughter against you, so that your flesh will provide
food for the *beasts of the earth* and the *fowls of the air*.' He was agitated,
and seething with anger answered her, 'Who are you and where do you
come from, daring to threaten me with such insolence? And who let you
in at this hour?' She replied, 'I am Irene, the abbess of the Convent of
Chrysobalanton.' This she said not once but thrice, and pricking him in
the side the last time she retired. But who shall not marvel at the wonders
of God? As he woke up, alarmed by the pain in his side, he saw how she
walked before his eyes, went away, and reaching the door passed out of
the chamber. Then he began to shout so that a great tumult arose among
all his bodyguards, excited lest the Emperor had met with some danger.
He asked the foremost of his confidants, the so-called Chamberlain, 'Did

³ Cf. note 2 on ch. 13, *supra*.

⁴ According to line 24 ff., only the very end of Irene's appearance is a waking vision, namely when after rousing the Emperor she walks out of his chamber before his eyes. Likewise, at 96,29, the Emperor is said to have seen her threatening him κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Cf. also 92,11, 96,7. But the opposition implied by ὕπαρ — ὄναρ is here rather that between a 'real' vision and an imaginary sight; both may appear in dreams. See G. Dagron, 'Rêver de Dieu . . .' (note 2 on ch. 15, *supra*), 42.

ἐξελθοῦσαν νυνὶ μοναχὴν; Ὁ δὲ ἀχανὴς εἰστήκει, μὴ καὶ
74 τοιοῦτον μῆτε θεάσασθαι μῆτε γενέσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἰδοὺ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ
θύραι κεκλεισμέναι ἀσφαλέςτατα καὶ φρουρούμεναι, αἱ κλεῖς δὲ
ὑποτεθειμέναι τῇ ἐμῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν στρωμνῆ, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν πρὸς
5 τὸν σὸν τὸ παράπαν εἰσοδος κοιτῶνα. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐν
ἑαυτῷ, Ἐνὼ οἶδα ἀληθῶς, εἶπεν, ὡς θεῖα τις ἦν ὄρασις τὰ ὄραθέντα
μοι.

Πρωῖας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαγαγὼν τῆς φυλακῆς τὸν κατεχόμενον
παρίστησί τε αὐτὸν καὶ φησί. Τίσι μαγείαις χρησάμενος ἀπειλᾶς ἡμῖν
10 ἐν ὄνειροις καὶ θορύβους ἐπεμψας, ὡς ἂν σοι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων
γοητειῶν διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβουλᾶς σου
βασιλείας; Ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον βλέπων ἦν ἐπὶ
δεξιᾶ καὶ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρεστῶτας· μόλις δὲ ποτε
ἀπεκρίνατο. Πέποιθα ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐδέποτε μάγῳ συνέτυχον
15 οὐδ' ἠνέσχετό μου, βασιλεῦ, τοιοῦτον ἀκοή ἀσέβημα δι' ὄλης τῆς ζωῆς
παραδέξασθαι. ἄλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, μὴ γένοιτο, βουλὴν
ἐγὼ — μάρτυς κύριος — ἠντιναοῦν ἐνενόησα. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
29A 75 πρῶτον πῶς διατεθεῖς Ἐπιγινώσκεις δέ τινα, ἤρετο, Εἰρήνην ἐν
μοναστηρίῳ λεγομένῳ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ διάγουσαν; Ναί, φησί,
20 βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐγγιστά που τῆς Ἀσπαρὸς ἐστὶ τῶν
γλυκῶν ὑδάτων δεξαμενῆς. Καὶ εἰ νῦν ἀποστείλω, εἶπεν ὁ
βασιλεὺς, εὖροιμι ταύτην ἄν; Ἐκ παντός, ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐδὲ γάρ
ποτε τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἔξεισι μοναστηρίου. Παραυτίκα τοῖνον τὸν τε
25 πρωτοβεστιᾶριον καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν
μεγιστάνων μετὰ τῆς συνήθους ἐξαποστείλας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπόμενον
τούτοις καὶ ζωγράφον εἶναι παρήγγειλεν, ὑφ' οὗ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης
πρόσωπον εἰκονισθὲν αὐτῷ κομισθεῖν, ὅπως γνώσωμαι, φησί, τὸν
30 ὄραθέντα μοι χαρακτήρα. Ταῦτα δὲ προστεταχῶς τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ
αὐτῆς τὸν ὑπεύθυνον αὐτῷ νομιζόμενον κατέχεσθαι διωρίσατο.

Ἡ μέντοι ὁσία Εἰρήνη τὰς κατὰ τύπον ἐπικαίρως πληρώσασα

you not see the nun who just left the chamber?' He stood aghast, suspecting the Emperor of being mad. Yet he answered that he had not seen any such thing, and no such thing had happened. 'No', he continued, 'all the doors are safely locked and guarded, and the keys are still under my bed where I have put them. From absolutely nowhere is there a way into your chamber.' Returned to his senses the Emperor said, 'Now I know for sure that my sight was a divine vision.'

In the morning he had the prisoner led out of the dungeon, brought him forward and said, 'What magic did you use to threat and confuse us with dreams, trying through such sorceries to escape the consequences of your plottings against our Imperial Majesty?' Unable to say anything to this, the man only looked to the right and to the left at those who stood by, but at last answered, 'By God, I am convinced that I have never spoken with a sorcerer, and throughout my life, Emperor, I have refused even to listen to anyone speaking of such a sacrilege. No—the Lord is my witness—, far be it from me to have planned any assault against Your Majesty!' Somewhat mollified the Emperor asked, 'Do you know one Irene living in a convent called Chrysobalanton?' 'Yes, Emperor', he said, 'the convent is situated quite near the sweet-water cistern of Aspar.'⁵ 'So if I send for her now', said the Emperor, 'I could find her?' 'Certainly', he answered, 'she never leaves her convent.' Immediately dispatching the Master of the Robes and the Treasurer and some others from among the grandees with their usual retinue, he commanded that a painter should also be in their company. By him Irene's face should be portrayed and brought to him, so that he might recognize, as he said, the features of his vision. Having given this order he resolved that the man he considered guilty should be imprisoned again.

But the holy Irene, having performed the prayers prescribed for the oc-

PIVLSK

3 γενέσθαι μῆτε θεάσασθαι inv. P || 12 διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται: γένηται δ. P ||
τάς: τὰς σὰς P || ἐπιβουλᾶς σου: ἐπιβουλᾶς P || 13 μῆ: μηδὲν IVLSK, qui
τι om. || 14 ἐπ' om. P || 16 ἀκοή τοιοῦτον inv. P || fort. suppl. (ἡ) ἀκοή
|| 17—18 βουλὴν ἐγὼ μὴ γένοιτο inv. I βουλὴν suprascr. L || 22 εἶπεν: ἔφη I
|| 23 ἄν: ἄρα IVLSK || 24 ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 25 καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον om.
S || 28 κομισθεῖναι P || γνῶ P || 29 δὲ om. P

⁵ On this cistern, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, ²1964), 204—205. Several monasteries are known to have existed in this rather rural district; see id., 'Les sanctuaires du quartier de Pétra (Constantinople)' *EO*, 34 (1935), 402—413.

προσευχάς, εἰς τὸ διακονικὸν γενομένη τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσας
 συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφάς φησι πρὸς αὐτάς· 'Ταύτη τῇ νυκτι ὄναρ
 μοι συνέβη παρὰ βασιλέως ὄραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεγιστᾶνας
 ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ πολὺν ἵππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὄχλον ἐπισυρομένους
 καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μηδὲ ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῆς μονῆς τὸν ὄλον χωρητὸν εἶναι.
 "Ὅμως εἴ τι καὶ συμβαίῃ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μηδαμῶς θροηθῆτε, καὶ
 κύριος τὸ συμφέρον πάντως οἰκονομήσει.' Αἱ δὲ φόβῳ καὶ δειλίᾳ
 ληφθεῖσαι τὰς χεῖρας θατέρᾳ προστρίβουσαι θατέραν ἐν μεγάλῃ λύπῃ
 ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦντο.

Καὶ παρευθὺς ἦκον οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένοι, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος
 καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶν φαινομένων ἢ θυρωρὸς φοβηθεῖσα, τὸν τῆς
 μονῆς ἠνεωγμένον λιποῦσα πυλῶνα ᾤχετο δραμοῦσα τὴν
 ἀπροσδόκητον ἔλευσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ
 τὰ τε ἐνδότερα τὰ τε τῆς μονῆς ἐξώτερα πλήρη τῶν ἵππων ὠρᾶτο
 καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων· ὄπερ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγην πτόησιν
 ἐνεποιεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς ὁσίας πρόρρησιν ἔτι τοῖς ὠσὶν ἐχούσαις
 ἔναυλον. Πράως δὲ τοῦς τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀποβαίνοντας πρὸς αὐτάς
 ἔχοντας ὀρᾶσαι, τοῦ φόβου μὲν ἀνείθησαν, τῆς διδασκάλου δὲ τὴν
 πρόγνωσιν ἐξεπλήττοντο. Μηνύει τοίνυν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι τούτοις διὰ
 μιᾶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ ὁσία, πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσελθόντας ἐκέῖσε
 ταύτην ὄψεσθαι. Εἰσίασιν οὖν οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τὰ προστεταγμένα
 ὠσὶν οἰκειοῖς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐδέξαντο, καὶ προσευξάμενοι τῆς ὁσίας
 ἀνέμενον τὴν ἔλευσιν. Νέφεσι δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου διατειχίζουσι τὰς
 λαμπηδόνας ἀλαμπῆ συνέβαινε τὸν ἄερα τυγχάνειν. Ἦκε τοίνυν καὶ
 ἡ ὁσία διὰ τῆς πλαγίας θύρας πρὸς αὐτούς· προηγησαμένη δὲ τῆς
 προσκυνήσεως προσκυνοῦντας εἶχε καὶ τούτους. Καὶ δὴ ἀνανεύοντες
 εἶδον ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνατέλλουσαν τοῦ τιμίου αὐτῆς
 προσώπου· καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεσον χαμαί,

PVL SK

6 θροηθεῖτε IVLSK || 12 ἀνεωγμένον P || 17 ἵποζυγίων VL SK || 20 ἐκεῖ
 P || 21 οὐ πάντες ἀλλ': ἅπαντες P || 23 ἔλευσιν: ἀφίξιν I || 23—24 νέφεσι
 . . . διατειχίζουσι τὰς λαμπηδόνας: νεφῶν . . . τὰς λαμπηδόνας διατειχίζόντων P
 || 26 καὶ om. IVLSK || 27 τοῦ²: ἐκ τοῦ P

28 ἀπῆλθον . . . χαμαί: Io. 18,6

⁶ Why 'unexpected'? Since Irene had warned 'all the sisters' (*supra*, line 1 f.) about the arrival of the Emperor's men, the only explanation possible seems to be that the door-keeper did not belong to the sisterhood but had the position of a secular servant, much like the vine-dresser Nicholas (*supra*, ch. 15) and, probably, the maid Euetheia (*infra*, ch. 22). The social structure of Byzantine nunneries included the two categories of nuns who sang the

casian, went into the diaconicon of the church, and gathering together all the sisters said to them, 'This night I had a dream in which I saw grandees sent out to us by the Emperor, bringing with them a numerous crowd of horsemen and footmen, so large that there was not room for them all in the courts of the convent. Yet if something of the kind should happen, you must by no means be troubled: the Lord will surely dispense a favourable issue.' But they were beset by fear and anxiety and kept wringing their hands in great distress.

Presently the men sent out by the Emperor arrived. Leaving the gates of the convent open in fear of their multitude and magnificence of appearance, the door-keeper ran away to announce the unexpected⁶ arrival of the officials. Meanwhile horses⁷ and mules were seen thronging both inside and outside the convent. At first this inspired great excitement into the sisters, especially since they had the holy woman's prophecy still ringing in their ears. But when they saw that the men dismounting the horses were friendly disposed towards them, they relaxed from their fear and marvelled at the foreknowledge of their teacher. Through one of the sisters the Saint gave a signal to the grandees to enter the church and see her there. Not all went in but only as many as had received the orders from the Emperor with their own ears, and after a prayer they waited for the holy woman to arrive. As clouds screened off the light of the sun, the day happened to be dark. The Saint came in to them through the side-door. Taking the lead in prostration, she made the men too prostrate themselves, and when they raised their eyes, they saw a flash of lightning suddenly rise from her precious face. Unable to bear it, *they went backward and fell to the ground*, like those who had come to arrest Christ,

liturgy and nuns who worked in the household. But besides, servants and even slaves were not uncommon; see J. Leroy, 'Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite', *AnalBoll*, 82 (1964), 409—429, esp. 417 with note 1.

⁷ People on horseback seem to have constituted a common feature in Constantinopolitan urban life, at least as far as the relatively well-to-do are concerned. E.g., as the Emperor Theophilus, as usual riding his horse through the city one Friday, was approached by some nuns supplicating him about the maltreatment by two landed *magistroi*, the latter appeared to have followed the nuns on horseback (*De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* ed. Regel 41, 14—24). In *VTheophan* (ed. Kuriz 17,30) a certain Myron, *kandidatos* and secretary of the author's father, thus not a man of high rank, rides his own horse on an errand in the city. A noble woman appears on horseback near the monastery of the young Antonios Kauleas in *VAntCaul*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 21,3 ff. In *VASal*, PG 111, 849BC, a *chartoularios plōimōn*, belonging to 'the powerful' (εἰς τῶν μεγάλων), but perhaps not to the highest society, rides his horse near the Hippodrome. In the 12th c., Benjamin of Tudela was impressed by the luxurious life of the Constantinopolitans, e.g. the fact that they 'ride

καθάπερ οί συλλαβεῖν ἔλληλυθότες τὸν καθηγητὴν αὐτῆς καὶ νυμφίον
 Χριστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὄλον πεπλήρωκε τῆς φωτοχυσίας τὸν ναόν.
 Προσερχομένη δὲ χεῖρας ὠρεγεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ διανίστα τούτους
 λέγουσα· 'Τεκνία μου, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἄνθρωπος εἰμι
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσθένειαν περικειμένη τῆς φύσεως. 'Αλλὰ τί κόπους ὑμῖν
 παρέσχεν ὁ ἀποστείλας ὑμᾶς ἄπιστος; Εἶπατε γοῦν αὐτῷ πάλιν
 ἐκεῖνα, ἅπερ ἔδοξεν ἐν ὄνειρῳ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούειν· "' Ἀπόλυσον τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς· οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄδικον εἰργασμένος οὐδὲ
 κατὰ τῆς σῆς μελετήσας βασιλείας. Εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰ λαληθέντα σοι
 πάντως ἔξει καὶ πέρας, καὶ κύριος οὐ βραδυνεῖ, ὅτι πᾶσιν ἐγγύς ἐστι
 78 τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.'" Οἱ δὲ μήπω τοῦ προτέρου
 τελῶς ἀνεθέντες φόβου, καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες δέει πολλῶ πρὸς
 αὐτὴν εἶπον· "' Ἀπαγγελοῦμεν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν σὴν
 πρόσταξιν· ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ μικρὸν καθεσθεῖσαν τῆς σῆς ἡμῖν
 ψυχωφελοῦς ὁμιλίας μεταδοῦναι.' Τοῦτο δὲ δυοῖν ἔνεκα παρ' αὐτῆς
 630D ἤτησαν, ἐνὶ μὲν ὥστε τῆς τιμίας αὐτῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων
 ἀπολαῦσαι ῥημάτων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐπίταγμα καὶ τὸν
 ζωγράφον ἐκτελέσαι, τῷ παρέλκοντι τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀκριβέστερον τὸ
 ταύτης εἶδος διαγράψαντα.

Λαβόντες τοίνυν τὸ τῆς ὀσίας ἐκτύπωμα καὶ μετ' εὐχῶν αὐτῆς
 προπεμφθέντες πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα τούτους ὑπέστρεψαν
 ἀπαγγείλαντες αὐτῷ, ὅσα τε εἶδον ὅσα τε ἤκουσαν παρ' αὐτῆς. Εἶτα
 καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτης ὑποδεικνύουσι, καὶ ἅμα τῷ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιβαλεῖν
 αὐτῇ τὸν βασιλέα, ἀστραπή τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ὀξέως ἐκπηδήσασα τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῦ φοβερὸν περιήστραψε, καὶ μέγα τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ
 φόβου πεποιήκεν ἀνακεκραγῆναι· "' Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα
 ἔλεός σου.' Καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ εἰστήκει ἐννεὸς ἐπὶ
 πολὺ τὸν χαρακτῆρα βλέπων καὶ διὰ θαύματος ποιούμενος, ὅπως
 ἐκεῖνης αὐτῆς ἐστίν, ἦν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐώρα διαπειλουμένην
 79 αὐτῷ. Μηκέτι γοῦν ἀμφιβάλλων τοῖς ὀράμασιν ἐξάγει τὸν

her Teacher and Bridegroom; for it flooded the whole church with its
 brightness. Approaching, she stretched her hands towards each of them
 and made them stand up, saying, 'My children, do not be frightened. I
 am also a human being,⁸ *compassed with the natural infirmity* of
 humans. But why did he who sent you cause you trouble in his distrust?
 Only tell him again what he believed to hear from me in the dream:
 "Release the man from prison. He has done no wrong, nor has he plotted
 against Your Majesty. Otherwise the words spoken to you will surely
 come true, and the Lord will not delay, for He is *nigh unto all them that*
call upon Him in truth.'" When they heard this, being not yet fully
 relaxed from their former fear, they said to her in great dread, 'We will
 report all to the Emperor according to your command. But we pray you,
 sit down for a short while and give us part of your soul-benefitting conver-
 sation.' This they requested from her with two intentions, firstly to enjoy
 her precious appearance and her God-inspired words, secondly to enable
 the painter to perform the Emperor's command, delineating her face the
 more accurately as the conversation was protracted.

Bidden farewell with her prayers, they returned with the image of the
 holy woman to him who had sent them, reporting to him all they had seen
 and all they had heard from her. Then they showed him her image, and
 just as the Emperor cast his eyes on it, a flash of lightning suddenly sprang
 up from it, gleaming terribly before his eyes, and made him cry aloud in
 terror, 'Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy lovingkindness!' Greatly
 appalled he stood speechless for a long time, looking at the por-
 trait in amazement that it showed exactly the woman who had threatened
 him in his dream. No longer doubting his vision he led the prisoner out

their horses like princes' [whereas 'no Jew is allowed to ride a horse, except for R. Solomon the Egyptian, who is the King's doctor']; see the trans. by A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 136.

⁸ For parallels to this phrase, which is common in the context, see D. Papachryssanthou, 'La Vie ancienne . . .' (note 1 on ch. 18, *supra*), 45, note 1. Add Athanasios, *VAnt*, 48 (PG 26, 913A; somewhat different context), and cf. 104,14, *infra*.

PVL SK

3 προσελθοῦσα P || 9 εἰ: ἐὰν IVLSK || 12 ἀνεθέντος P || 15 εἶνεκα VLSK
 || 27 σου ἔλεος inv. VLS σου suprascr. K || καὶ² om. P || 29 ἐώρακε I

5 τὴν . . . περικειμένη: cf. Heb. 5,2; cf. etiam Act. 14,15 || 10 κύριος . . . βραδυνεῖ:
 cf. Sir. 35(32),19 || 10—11 πᾶσιν . . . ἀληθεία: cf. Ps. 144(145),18 || 26—27
 ἔλεησον . . . σου: Ps. 50(51),3

κατεχόμενον τῆς φυλακῆς εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι διεκώλυσεν αὐτῷ
Ε τὴν ἀδικον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὴν μελλόντων
ἐπενεχθῆναι τούτῳ δεινῶν προφανῶς ἐλυτρώσατο. Γράφει δὲ πρὸς
τὴν ὁσίαν ἐπιστολὴν τὸν τύπον ἔχουσαν τοῦτον· 'Κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξίν
σου, θεράπεινα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν κατεχόμενον, ὡς ἐδήλωσας, ἀθῶν 5
ὄντα τῆς φυλακῆς, ἰδοῦ, σοὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. Ἐπιγράφοντες δὲ καὶ
χάριτας, καθότι διὰ σοῦ τῆς ἐπηρτημένης δίκης ἡμεῖς ἀππλλάγημεν,
καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμεν ὧν ἐσφάλημεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν·
ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς πεισθῆναι τῇ κελεύσει σου τῆς σῆς ἀξιοθέντας
ἐπιφανείας καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλῆσαι σοι. Σύγγνωθι τοίνυν μητρικῇ 10
συμπαθείᾳ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἴλεων τῇ πολλῇ σου παρρησίᾳ χρωμένη
ποίησον ἡμῖν· ἔσται δὲ σου γνῶριμον τὸ συμπαθές, ἐὰν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
οὐκ ἀπαξιώσης τὴν παρουσίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵν' ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα
τῇ τῶν ἡγιασμένων σου χειρῶν εὐλογηθῶμεν ἐπιθέσει. Εἰ δὲ σοι τοῦτο 15
μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε πάντως ἐλευσόμεθα πρὸς σε καὶ
δεηθῶμεθα τάχα δευτέραν διὰ ὄχλησιν δευτέρας καὶ συγγνώμης.'

80 Δεξαμένη δὲ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς διὰ τινος τῶν τοῦ
κοιτῶνος αὐτῇ σταλέντα δῶρα βασιλικά, χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἀντιγράψει
F καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ· 'Ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ὢν, βασιλεῦ, πάντοτε
συγκαταβαίνειν οἶδε ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν· φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ καὶ οὐ 20
θελήσει θέλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν
αὐτόν. Σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ μὴ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ δὸς δόξαν. Πλήν
οὔτε τὴν βασιλείαν σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν οὔτε τὴν ἡμετέραν
ταπείνωσιν πρὸς σέ πρέπον ἐστίν· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶ σοι χρεία γυναιχοῦ
πενιχοῦ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦ. Ἔχεις δὲ τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, ὧν αἱ χεῖρες 25
εἰς τὸ ἀγιαζεῖν μόνον ἐτάχθησαν, τὸν ἅγιον ἡμῶν πατέρα καὶ
πατριάρχην, τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ὀρθοδόξου
ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας τῶν μοναστηρίων, καὶ ἐὰν
θέλης ἐνωτιζεσθαι τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν νοουθεσίας, καὶ τὸν θεὸν
θεραπεύσεις καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσάν σοι βασιλείαν εὐσεβῶς καὶ 30
σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως ἔση κυβερνῶν. Εἰ δὲ τῷ σκοπῷ σου βουλευθῆς
ἀκολουθῆσαι, εὐ ἴσθι, ὡς οὔτε μεταστειλόμενος οὔτε μὴν

P1VLSK

11 ἴλεω VLSK || 16 δευτέρας δι' ὄχλησεως P || 22 ἀλλὰ om. P || 24 ἐστίν:
ἐστὶν ἀφικέσθαι P || 30 θεραπεύσεως VLSK || 31 βουλευθείης P

20—22 οὐ θελήσει . . . αὐτόν: cf. Ez. 18,23 || 22 μὴ ἡμῖν . . . δόξαν: Ps. 113,9 (115,1)

of his confinement, thanking God that He had prevented him from the unjust murder of the man and manifestly rescued him from the evils that would in consequence have befallen him. Then he wrote a letter to the Saint with the following content: 'Servant of Christ, according to your command we have released the prisoner from his confinement, for he is, as you have shown, without guilt. Assigning you gifts, since through you we have been rescued from the imminent punishment, we beg for forgiveness for whatever wrong we have done your Highness. When we were granted your epiphany, we should have obeyed your command and by no means bothered you. Forgive us with motherly sympathy and make God gracious to us, using your great freedom of speech. Your sympathetic heart will be apparent if you do not decline to pay a call on us so that I and the Empress might be blessed with the laying on of your sanctified hands. If this does not please you, then we will certainly come to you and beg for a second forgiveness for importuning you a second time.'

Having received the letter and the gifts which the Emperor sent her along with it through one of the chamber servants, Irene wrote to the Emperor in her own hand: 'Being good, Emperor, God is always wont to overlook our infirmities. He loves mankind and has no *pleasure at all that the wicked should die but that he should be converted and live. Not unto us, then, but unto His name give glory.* It is not suitable, however, that Your Imperial Highness should visit me nor that I in my humility should visit you, for you have no need of a poor sinful woman. You have people to bless you, the hands of whom are assigned solely to sanctifying: our Holy Father, the patriarch, the bishops of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, the spiritual fathers of the monasteries. If you are willing to listen to advice from them, you will both serve God and be a pious and wise and righteous ruler of the empire entrusted to you. But if you wish to pursue your intention, you should know that neither if you send for me nor

ἐλευσόμενος ὄψει τὸ παράπαν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν θεὸν παροξυνεῖς· καὶ ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου σκεπάσει σε πάντως ἐκ παντὸς πειρασμοῦ.⁹

81 Ταῦτα γράψασα καὶ σφραγίσασα καὶ τινα χάριν εὐλογίας ἀνταπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ· οἷς δὴ καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὅτι μὴ ταύτην ἀξιοῦται θεάσασθαι, περὶ τούτου μὲν οὐκέτι δεῖν ἔγνω βιάσασθαι· συνεχέστερον δὲ πέμπων καὶ εὐχῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ῥημάτων ἀφθόνως ἀπῆλαυε διὰ τῶν ἐρχομένων, καὶ πολλὴν παρ' αὐτῆς εὐρίσκων ἦν τὴν παράκλησιν. Ὁ μόντοι διασωθεῖς τοῦ κινδύνου 10 συγγενῆς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εὐχαριστίας τούτους ἐπλυνε δάκρυσι. Διαναστήσασα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαριστίας πρὸς θεὸν εἰπούσα ῥήματα, πολλαῖς δὲ τοῦτον σθενώσασα παραινέσει καὶ βίου λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύοντος ἐπιτρέψασα, 'Εἰ μὴ γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν', φησί, 'καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καταφρόνησιν ἐγκαταλειφθῶμεν, 15 οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιφέρειν ὁ πονηρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς πειρασμούς.' Καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ θεὸς γρηγορεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ εισέλθωμεν εἰς πειρασμούς, διεμαρτύρατο, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖν ἐδίδασκεν. Εὐφροσύνης ἡμέραν καὶ 20 χαρμονῆς τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας τὴν σήμερον ἔκρινε γενέσθαι· καὶ τράπεζαν κοινὴν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐτοιμάσασθαι παντοδαποῖς κεκοσμημένην ἀσκητικοῖς ἐδωδήμασι, καὶ τούτῳ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς εἰς δόξαν συνειστιάθη θεοῦ· εἶτα τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συγγενέσιν εὐφροσύνης αὐτὸν πλείονος ἀφορμὴν καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν. 25

22. 'Ἄλλ' ἱκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα παραστήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται καὶ ἕτερον σιωπῆς οὐκ ἄξιον οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι. Ἄνθρωπος τῶν συνήθων αὐτῇ καὶ φίλων — Χριστοφόρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ —, ὃν διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐλάβειαν 30 δι' αἰδοῦς εἶχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ γνησίως ὠμίλει τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ

P1VLSK

1 ἔλευσόμενος: ἐλθὼν P || 2 σκεπάσει VLSK || 8 ἀπέλαυε P ἀπῆλαυε I || 11—12 καὶ . . . τοῦτον in marg. scr. SK || 16 ἐπιφέρειν . . . πειρασμούς: ἰσχὺν ὁ πονηρὸς τοὺς πειρασμούς ἐπιφέρειν P || 17 καὶ' om. P || 18 πειρασμόν I || 20 σήμερον . . . γενέσθαι: ἡμέραν λογιζέσθαι ἀλλὰ P || 21 ἐτοιμάσαι P ἐτοιμάσθαι L || 28 οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι: διηγῆσθαι P

2 ἡ δεξιὰ . . . σκεπάσει: cf. Sap. 5,16 || 17—18 γρηγορεῖν . . . πειρασμούς: cf. Mt. 26,41 || 26—27 τὸν πλοῦτον . . . τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Eph. 1,7 et sim. locc.

if you come here will you by any means see me, but rather annoy God. And if you listen to me, the right hand of the Supreme will surely protect you from every temptation.⁹

Having written and sealed this, she also sent some gifts⁹ in return to the Emperor. He was very grieved hereat, since he was not permitted to see her, but decided not to persist in his entreaty. Yet through messengers, whom he frequently sent to her, he fully enjoyed her prayers and words and derived great comfort from her. Again, the kinsman who had been saved from the peril threw himself at her feet and washed them with tears of gratitude. Raising him and uttering many words of gratitude to God, she supported him with many admonitions and exhorted him to begin a life of service to God, and she said, 'Unless we are abandoned through our sins and through disdain of Christ's commands, the Evil One has no power to impose temptations on us.' And since our Shepherd and Teacher and God warned us always to *watch and pray* in order that we might not *enter into temptation*, she taught the man to do so continuously. She decided that the present day should be a day of joy and rejoicing at his salvation, and ordered that a common table be prepared, decorated with all kinds of ascetic foods. To God's glory she shared the meal with him along with the sisters, then she sent him away, a cause of still greater joy and happiness for his wife, his children, and all his kin.

22. Christopher's Death Predicted

Although this will suffice to show forth *the riches of God's grace* in her, the narrative strives to reveal another deed which does not deserve to be concealed. A man among her close friends called Christopher,¹ whom she held in respect and honour because of his inherent piety, candidly con-

⁹ On the Byzantine habit of sending gifts with letters, see A. Karpozelos, 'Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X—XII c', *BZ*, 77 (1984), 20—37. To judge from the numerous examples adduced by the author, in most of which various kinds of food figure as gifts, Irene may have sent the Emperor a sample of the produce of the convent's garden or vineyard.

22. ¹ Cf. note 1 on ch. 12, *supra*, on the eunuch Cyril. Irene's role in relation to Christopher is not that of a spiritual mother, it is rather Christopher who acts as Irene's adviser (line 30 f., τούτῳ . . . τὰ πολλὰ θαρροῦσα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχεν). The term συνήθης does not normally imply kinship. But we should probably regard Christopher as a man with close relations to Irene's kin, the Gouber family.

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Dumbarton Oaks, November 9-10, 2012

The Dream of Caesar Bardas

Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Vita Ignatii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* (BHG 817),
in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne, vol. 105, Paris, 1862, col. 533 D-536 C.

In this dream, Caesar Bardas († 866) foresees his violent death before the narthex of the Great Church in Constantinople. This comes in the wake of the accusations of the patriarch Ignatius (847-857, 867-877), who, being persecuted by Bardas, turns to the Apostle Peter, depicted as supreme judge. The Emperor Michael III (842-867) shares the same fate.

Nicetas the Paphlagonian († middle 10th c.) inserts Bardas' dream within the series of omens supposed to have announced the death of Bardas and of Michael III, who were, alongside Photius, the main opponents of his hero, the patriarch Ignatius.

Caesar Bardas' dream is highly relevant for the middle-Byzantine terminology of oneiric/visionary experience, for the middle-Byzantine attitude towards dreams, and also for the use of dreams as literary device and as a tool of political legitimacy.

Text

Ὡ Φιλόθεε, ἔφε, ὄραμα εἶδον, καὶ πάντα μου συνέτριψε τὰ ὀστά, καὶ τοὺς ἄρμους τῆς ὀσφύος μου ἔλυσεν· ὥμην γὰρ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ὡς δῆθεν προελεύσεως οὐσης, εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσιέναι· [536A] κατὰ πάσας δὲ θυρίδας τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰς κάτω εἰκόνας ὄραν ἐδόκουν ἀρχαγγελικὰς πρὸς τὸν ναὸν βλεπούσας. Καὶ ὅτε πλησίον ἦμεν τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ὠφθησαν ὡσπερ κουβικουλάριοι δύο ἀπότομοι καὶ ἐμβριθεῖς· ὧν ὁ μὲν δέσμιον τὸν βασιλέα λαβὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κατασύρων, ἐξωθεῖτο τῆς σολέας, κατακρίνων ὡς ὑπεύθυνον· ἐμὲ ὁ ἕτερος ὁμοιοτρόπως διὰ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀπήγε· Ἄφνω δὲ περιβλεψάμενος, ὄρω ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ τοῦ ἀδύτου καθήμενον ἄνδρα γηραλέον, ἀπαραλλάκτως εἰκότα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτῷ δύο τινὲς παρειστήκεισαν σοβαροὶ, πραιποσίτων τάξιν ἐπιφαίνοντες. Ὅρω δὲ πρὸς τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ καθημένου τὸν Ἰγνάτιον ἱκετεύοντα, καὶ πολλοῖς δάκρυσιν περιρῥαινόμενον οὕτως, ὥστε κάκεινον αὐτῷ συλλυπούμενον στενάξαι. [536B] Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβόα· Κλειδοῦχε τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πέτρα ἐν ἧ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ἐστηρίζατο, εἰ οἶδας, ὅτι ἡδίκηθην, παραμύθησόν μου τὸ πολὺθλιπτον γῆρας. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Δεῖξον, ἔφε, τὸν ἀδικήσαντά σε, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ ποιήσει καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν. Καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ Ἰγνάτιος τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐπέδειξεν ἐμὲ, λέγων. Οὗτος περισσότερο πάντων ἔλυμήνατό με· καὶ κόρον τῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ ὑβρεως οὐκ ἔσχεν. Νεύσας οὖν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου πρὸς τὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καθεστηκότα, καὶ μικρὰν πάνυ μάχαιραν ἐκβαλὼν, εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἀπεφήνατο. Τὸν θεόργιστον Βάρδαν παράλαβε, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νάρθηκος ἔξω κατάκοψον μεληδόν. Αὐτίκα τοίνυν, ἐλκόμενος δῆθεν πρὸς θάνατον, εἶδον, ὅτι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν [536C] χεῖρα ἐπισείων, Ἔκδεξαι, ἔφε, ἀσεβότεκνον· καὶ οὕτως ἐμαυτὸν εἶδον ὡς ὑπαρ καταμελιζόμενον.

Translation

“O, Philotheos, [Bardas] said, I had a dream which crushed my bones and tore my joints. That night, it seemed to me that I was going with the emperor in procession to the Great Church and that I was seeing the icons of the Archangels above and beneath of all windows, looking about the church. When we approached the ambo, there appeared two *koubikoularioi*, it seems, with a severe and grave mien. One seized and bound the emperor and took him to the right side, pushing him off the *solea*, and he condemned him as guilty. Similarly, the other dragged me to the left. Suddenly, I looked around and saw an old man sitting on the patriarchal throne, who resembled exactly the icon of the first apostle, Peter. Around him there were two terrific figures, who looked like *praipositoï*. I saw Ignatius beg at his feet, shedding so many tears, so as the man who was sitting on the throne, sharing his grief, moaned, too. And Ignatius shouted: “You, who hold the keys of the heavenly kingdom, and rock upon which Christ the Lord raised His Church, if the injustice that struck me is not unknown to you, comfort my afflicted old age.” The man who was sitting on the throne said to him: “Show me the one who offended you and God will with the temptation also make a way to escape.¹” Then Ignatius, turning round, pointed to me with his right hand, saying: “He is, Ignatius said, the one who made me suffer more than any other and has not ceased to torment me.” So the one who was sitting on the throne, after making a sign to the one at his right, raising a short sword, gave the sentence before all: “Seize Bardas, the enemy of God, and cut him into pieces outside, before the narthex.” And being immediately brought there to be put to death, I saw him raise his hand toward the emperor in a hostile manner: “Wait, wicked son!” he said. And then, as if I was awake, I saw myself being cut into pieces.”

¹ Cf. *1 Corinthians* 10, 13.

Stamatina McGrath

Byzantine Studies' Fall Workshop: 'The (mis)interpretation of Byzantine dream narratives'.

In the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger* (10th century) written by his disciple Gregory Saint Basil repeatedly warned Romanos Saronites (son-in-law for emperor Romanos I) in person to refrain from aspiring to the imperial throne and to end his efforts to supersede Constantine VII's right to succession. Saronites rebuffed the saint's admonitions with arrogance and cruelty subjecting the holy man to repeated beatings and tortures and causing the death of one of his followers. Saronites then received a final warning in the form of a dream in which a tall oak tree was felled because the nuisance noise caused by a family of crows living in its branches. The Saint appeared in the end of the dream to pronounce the loss of Saronites' social status. Saronites awoke from the dream to find he was stricken by a terrible disease that led to his demise.

Unlike the two extensive and extraordinary dream/visions narrated by the author Gregory in this *Life* (the *Vision of Theodora* and the *Vision of Gregory*) that easily occupy two thirds of its pages the dream of Saronites is very brief and was neither requested by the author nor experienced by him. It is also the only dream in the *vita* that requires interpretation and shares the qualities one would expect to find in dreams interpreted in the *Oneirokritika* of the period (animals and plants that have specific meanings). It is related at the end of the episode describing Saronites' political aspirations and his cruel treatment of those who were beneath him in society and delivers a prophecy that according to Gregory immediately comes true.

The following sections are from the forthcoming edition and translation of the *Life of Basil the Younger* by Alice-Mary Talbot, Denis Sullivan and Stamatina McGrath and correspond to *Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v ruskoj literature*, edited by S.G. Vilinskij, Odessa, 1911-13, 298-299:

24. Τοῦ μακαρίου γοῦν Βασιλείου χρηματίζοντος ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ, τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ θεωρεῖ ὁ Σαρωνίτης ἐν ὄραματι δρῦν εὐστοχωτάτην λίαν καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγηγεργμένην, (f. 25v) τῇ κορυφῇ δὲ αὐτῆς κόραξ ἐπεκάθητο νοσσιὰν ἐπιθάλπων νεοσσοὺς κεκτημένην. Ὅρα οὖν τινὰς ἐληλυθότας ἀθρώους ἀξίνας κατέχοντας ὅπως τὴν δρῦν τεμῶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατεάξωσιν. Ἐφασκον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ κόραξ ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν φωλεύων μεγάλα κεκραγὼς οὐκ ἔα τὸν βασιλέα ἡδέως καθευθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς στρωμνῆς αὐτοῦ. Ἐτεροὶ δὲ ἔλεγον· “Ὁ κόραξ οὗτος μεγάλως παρηνώχλησε τῷ ἀγαπητῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Βασιλείῳ.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ἔτεμον τὴν δρῦν εὐτόνως τῇ ἀξίνῃ, ἡ δὲ ἀποτμηθεῖσα κατέπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Καὶ τινες ῥακοδουτοῦντες προσερχόμενοι καὶ κλώντες τὰ κλάδη τοῦ δένδρου εἰς πυρκαϊὰν αὐτὰ ἠύτρεπιζον. Ἐώρα δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Βασίλειον πρὸς τὴν πτῶσιν τοῦ δένδρου ἰστάμενον καὶ λέγοντα· “Πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται καὶ καίεται. Οὐκ ἐγὼ σοὶ προέλε[299]γον· “Ἀπόστα τοῦ ἀνταρτικοῦ ἐγχειρήματος”; (f. 26) Ἴδου τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ ἐκέκτησο ὕψος ἀφηρεῖθης.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ἀνείθη τοῦ ὄραματος. Πρωΐας δὲ γεγνουΐας εὔρεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ υπερήφανος νόσω δεινῇ βεβλημένον, καὶ συνορῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὸ ὄναρ ἠθύμει λίαν. Παραυτικά οὖν προστάσσει καὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀπολύουσι τὸν δίκαιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἄνους οὐκ ἐκάμφθη εἰς ἰκεσίαν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ὄσιου. Ἴσως γὰρ ἂν ἠύξατο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀπηλλάγη. Ἀλλὰ κακῶς φρονήσας ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ, ὥστε πληρωθῆναι διὰ τάχους τὸ ὄναρ τούτου ὁ παρεδήλου τὸν ἔχθιστον αὐτοῦ θάνατον. Οὕτως οὖν ὁ Σαρωνίτης τελευτήσας δύο υἱοὺς διαδόχους τῆς αὐτοῦ καταλέλοιπεν ὑποστάσεως.

Translation:

Saronites' vision of his impending death

24. On that night while the blessed Basil was in jail, Saronites saw in a vision a ramrod straight¹ oak tree which had grown extremely tall, and on top there sat a crow warming a nest with chicks in it. He saw many men equipped with axes coming to cut down the tree and topple it to the ground. For they said that the crow, hiding out in the oak, was cawing loudly and not permitting the emperor to sleep contentedly in his bed. But others were saying: “This crow has caused much annoyance to Basil, the beloved of God.” Thus they were vigorously cutting down the tree with axes, and when cut, the tree fell to earth. Some raggedly dressed men came and broke off the tree’s branches and were preparing them for fire wood. Saronites saw our holy father Basil standing by the fallen tree and saying: “*Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fireⁱ and is burned.*”ⁱⁱ Did I not [299] say to you previously ‘Refrain from your rebellious undertaking’? Behold therefore, you have been deprived of the lofty position you possessed.” Thereupon he was released from the vision. When dawn came the arrogant man found himself stricken with a terrible disease, and reflecting upon his dream he completely lost heart. Immediately then he gave orders to release the just man from confinement, but the fool was not swayed to go himself and supplicate the holy man. For perchance had Basil prayed for him, he might have been delivered from the illness. But through his wrongheaded thinking during the illness he lost his life to this disease, so that his dream foretelling his most terrible death was quickly fulfilled. Thus Saronites died and left two sons as heirs of his estate.

ⁱ Matt. 3:10, Luke 3:9.

ⁱⁱ John 15.6.

¹ Literally “well aimed” or “truly hitting the mark” (εὐστοχώτατον), which seems somewhat strained. The Paris version (28.F:12) has more simply “with lofty foliage” (ὑψίκομον). But perhaps the reference is actually to Saronites himself.

A. The text:

Theodoros Daphnopates (died after 961); the letter dates to the 960's and, most likely, the reign of Romanos II (959-963), when Daphnopates was made *eparchos*.

ed. J. Darrouzès and L.G. Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1978), 158-171.

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Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ πατρικίου Θεοδώρου καὶ ἐπάρχου τοῦ Δαφνοπάτου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου Βασιλείου πρωτοσπαθαρίου πρὸς τινὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ γαμήλιον ἐορτὴν ἔχοντα.

Ἐγένετό τι περὶ ἡμᾶς, ὃ φίλων θαυμασιώτατε (προσθήσω δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ μυστικώτατε), ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀνακαλύπτειν χρεῶν. Περὶ τὰς ἐωθινὰς αὐγὰς ὕπνος μέ τις ὑπεισῆει τοῦ συνήθο[υ]ς ἡδύτερος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἔοικε πρόμαντις ἀψευδέστατος. Γαργαλισμοὶ γάρ τινες καὶ διατάσεις χειρῶν ἐγκάτων τε ὄλων συστροφῆ καὶ ἡ φυσικῶς ἐγκειμένη τῷ ἥπατι ἔφεσις διαναστάντα ὅλον ἐκλόνουν καὶ διεσάλευον καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ κυμάτων σκάφος ἐχείμαζον καὶ συνέθρ[αυ]ον.

Τὰ δὲ ἦν, ὡς εἰκάζειν ἔχω, τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ συμβεβηκότων ἀψευδέστατα σύμβολα· ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤδη τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ γυμνασίου ἔληγες, καὶ χαίροντες μὲν ἀπήεσαν Ἔρωτες, Ἀφροδίτη δ' ὑποκορίζ[ο]μένη [τὴν ν]ίκην τέως σοὶ παρετίθετο, [ὁ] δὲ νυκτὸς ἐργάτης Ἐρμῆς ὑπεν[ό]στει [τὰ] τῆς χ[ε]ι[ρ]αγωγίας εὖ διαθέμενος, καὶ ἦν τὸ λ[ο]ιπ[ὸν] ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ἀκινδύνῳ τὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἀνδρικῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλεωτικῶ[ς] ἐκείνους ἀγῶνας ἐπαποδυσάμενῳ καὶ ἰκανῶς τῆς ἐφέσεως ἐμπλησθέντι καὶ ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς αὔραις ἀρκούντως ἐπιθαλφθέντι, τότε μοι τῷ δυστυχεῖ ἀκροβολισμοὶ τινες τῶν ἐρωτικῶν τοξευμάτων ἀφανῶς ἐπιπεμπόμενοι ἐτίτρωσκον καθ' ἥπαρ, ἔβαλλον κατὰ καρδίαν, ἐτόξευον κατὰ νοῦν· καὶ ὢν αὐτὸς μετείχες τῆς τελειώσεως, τούτοις ἐγὼ πρὸς ἀπαρχὴν γλυκείας ὀδύνης ἠρεθιζόμεν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν διήγγειλας τὸ ἀγώνισμα, ἐθαύμασα τοῦ πάθους τὸ ἰσοδύναμον καὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν Ἐρώτων τὸ περὶ πάντας κοινωνικὸν καὶ εὐδόμιλον.

Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, φίλη ἐμοὶ καὶ τιμία ψυχῆ, καὶ ὅς κατὰ σὲ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἐπαινετῷ καὶ μακαρίῳ πάθει κεκράτηται, εἴης μοι εὐτυχῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις, κρυφίως καὶ μυστικῶς τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα τῆς θεοῦ μυστήρια τελεσιουργούμενος. Περὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἔστω σοὶ μὲν φροντὶς καὶ συμπάθεια, ὡς ἀποστερουμ[έ]νων μὲν ὢν ποθοῦμεν, καρτερούντων δὲ καὶ ὢν ἀποκίσαμεθα καὶ στερούμεθα· φυλάξαι δὲ τὰ φιλικὰ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ταμιεύσασθαι. [Ἀν]δριάντες ἂν πρότερον καὶ στήλαι χαλκαῖ φωνὴν ἀπορρήξωσιν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων παρ' ἡμῶν ἔκφορον ἔσται.

B. Translation

A Letter of the consul and eparch Theodoros Daphnopates, representing the prôtospatharios Basil to one of his friends who had a wedding party.

My most admirable (and—due to the occasion, let me add—most initiated) of friends, something happened to me and, if to anyone, I should reveal this to you. Early in the morning, sleep entered into me, sweeter than usual and, as it seems, most truthful predictor of what was about to occur. Certain tickling titillations, my hands stretching out, my guts twisting, and desire in my liver, its natural seat,¹ woke me up. I was all shaking and quivering. I was tossed and crashed like a boat in the waves.

All these, as I can gather, were most truthful signs of what had happened to you. For it is when you were already finishing with your erotic exercise, when the Cupids were departing happy, when Aphrodite deceived by your sweet-nothings was granting you the victory, while the worker of the night, Hermes, sunk away having offered a good guiding, and, all-together, when hope had reached a safe state beyond danger, when you, that is, like a man had completed those Herculean struggles of yours, and had satisfied your desire sufficiently, and had taken enough pleasure in the erotic breezes, it is precisely at that very moment that the invisible arrows of Eros began to wound *my* liver, strike *my* heart, pierce *my* mind. While you were reaching climax, I was being irritated by all this, the beginning of a sweet pain. Indeed, when you came to see me and announced your feat, I was amazed at the equal force of our experiences and at how sharing and sociable towards everyone those admirable Cupids are!

My dear and precious soul, and anyone like you conquered by such a praiseworthy and blessed emotion,² may you be fortunate in such endeavors, as you become secretly and mystically initiated in the hidden and inexpressible mysteries of the Goddess. As for me, I ask you that you feel care and sympathy as I am deprived from those whom I desire and as I await those from whom I have been separated and whom I miss. Let us keep these secrets of friends as treasures among us. Statues and bronze columns might break out voice first before I divulge anyone anything of such secrets.

¹ On this idea, first attested in classical Greek poetry, see, e.g., Plutarch, *On Moral Virtue* 450e: ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦπαρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ.

² Cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funeral Oration* on Basil = *Or.* 43.14.

(p. 382) Τὸ δέ γε ἀπόρρητον, πότερον ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπόρρητον σιωπήσω ἢ ἐξαγγελῶ ὡς οἶόν τε ταῖς φιλοθέοις ὑμῶν ψυχαῖς, τὸ θεῖον (15) ὄντως τοῦ ἔωρακότος καὶ ὑπερφυῆς θαῦμα, ὃ δὴ τῆι τελεωτάτη φιλοσοφία παραβάλλων αὐτὸς, ἐξητασμένον τοῖς ὄλοις εὔρηκα μέρεσιν; Ἀλλὰ τί μοι αὐτὸς, ὃ θαυμασία μοι καὶ τριπόθητε κεφαλή, ἐξαγγέλλεις τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ἀπορρήτως νοεροῖς τεθέασαι ὄμμασι; τί μὴ πρὸς πάντας τὸν λόγον θαρρεῖς; Ἀλλὰ σοι μυστήριον ἢ τῶν (20) θειοτέρων ὄρασις γίνεται; ἢ δέδοικας μὴ τίς σοι τῶν πάντων διαπιστήσειεν, ἢ ἀπάτην νυκτερινὴν τὴν ὀπτασίαν ἠγήσαιο; οὐ γὰρ τῆς σῆς ἢ ὄψις δυνάμεως, εἰ μὴ τί μοι μέμφοιο· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερφυῆς σοι τὸ μέτρον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀγχίνου τῆς σῆς διανοίας καὶ ὑψηλὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσοῦτῳ ὕψει κατάλληλον· εἰ δέ (25) μοι καὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραχωρεῖς, καὶ βούλει παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς γλώττης ἐξαγγελθῆναι τὴν σὴν θεοφάνειαν, ἐρῶ ὡς οἶόν τε τὴν φωνὴν σοι τοῦ Δανιὴλ μιμησάμενος. Ἐθεώρεις, ὃ κάλλιστε, εἶπερ δὴ καὶ ἐθεώρεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ τύπωσις ἢ ἀπορρήτου θεάματος τὸ δόξαν ἐκεῖνό σοι ὄραμα· ἐθεώρεις γοῦν (30) ἀνεωγόσι τοῖς ὄμμασι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε σχῆμα καὶ **(383.)** μέγεθος ἐν παραλλαγαῖς λαμπροτέραις καὶ κρείττοσιν· εἰστήκεις δὲ οὐκ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ τοῦ νεῶ ἐδάφει, ἀλλὰ σε αἰ μετέωροι καὶ πέριξ εἶχον στοαί· ἐθεώρεις οὖν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ πάλιν τοῖς προφητικοῖς χρήσωμαι ῥήμασιν, ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν δύο, καὶ ἦσθη τὸ σχῆμα θαυμάσιοι, τὸ κάλλος ἀμίμητοι, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὸν μέγαν εἶχεν (5) ἐνιδρυμένον πατέρα, ἄτερος δὲ νεανίαν τινὰ κατεσέμνυνεν ἀποστολικῶς εἶπεῖν, ταῖς ἐσθήσεσι καταστράπτοντα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἵκασας πρὸς θεῖον ἀπεικασμένον καὶ ὑπερφυῆ ἄγγελον· καὶ σὺ μὲν ἰδὼν ἔφριξας, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπεπήγεις τοῖς ὀρωμένοις· ὃ δέ γε θεῖος ἡρέμα περιεπτύσσετο καὶ ἐπανῆγε πρὸς τὸ θαρραλέον τῆς (10) γνώμης, εἶτα δὴ σε καὶ ἐπανήρετο περὶ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα ἴσως ἐσπούδαζεν, ἢ καὶ ὧν ἐκήδετο ζῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν ἀποκρινάμενος, ἐώκεις ἀναμνησθέντι ὧν πολλάκις ἐκεῖνος τοῖς φιλτάτοις τεθνηκόσιν ἐμέμφετο, ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν θειοτέρων μυστηρίων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταπετάσματος ἵχνος ἢ φαντασίαν ὑπνώτ- (15) τοντι ἐντεθείκεσαν, ἵν' ἔχοι τις σαφὲς εἰδέναι, τίς ἢ ἀνάβασις τῆς ψυχῆς, τίς ἢ λῆξις, ποῖος ὁ κλῆρος τῶν ἀκηράτων μονῶν· τούτων οὖν ἀναμνησθεῖς, αὐτόθεν τὸν μέγαν πατέρα συνείληφας, καὶ τοῖς ὀρωμένοις μὴ συγχυθεῖς, «ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, οὔτε ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιλέλησμαι ὡς ἄρα με ὕπνος ἐξείλετο τῶν αἰσθήσεων, οὔτε τὸ (20) σὸν πρᾶγμα ἠγνόηκα· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ζῶντί σοι προσέχω τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' οἶδά σου τὴν τελευτήν ἀκριβῶς· ἀπάγγελον οὖν μοι ὅπη σοι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχει, καὶ πῆ τοῦ παντὸς κατεσκήνωσας, καὶ εἰ τῶν

κρείττωνων θεωριῶν γέγονας, ἢ ὅλως τίς ἢ λαμπρότης ἢ συγκεκριμένη-
ρωσαι.» Σὺ μὲν οὖν οὕτως, καὶ πλείων τῶν λεγομένων ἢ ἔφεις· (25)
ὁ δὲ ἐβούλετο μὲν τι λέγειν τῶν ἀπορρήτων, οὐκ ἐθάρρει δὲ τὴν
ἐξαγγελίαν, εἰ μὴ ἐπιτραπείη παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος· ἐπυνθάνετο
γοῦν εἰ κάκεινῳ δοκοῦν εἶη ἐξαγγεῖλαι τι τῶν μυστηρίων, καὶ εἰ
ἐπιτρέπει τούτῳ τὴν προφορὰν· ἐξελιπάρεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ
πολλοῖς ἠντιβόλεις στεναγμοῖς τε καὶ δάκρυσιν· ὁ δὲ παντάπασιν (30)
ἀδυσώπητος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἱκετηρίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου τὴν ἀποκάλυ-
(384.) ψιν· οὐ γὰρ εἶη νενομισμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω θησαυ-
ροῖς ταῦτα καταλέλειπται ἀνεκφοίτητα. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐθις πλείω
τὰ δάκρυα, συνηγωνίζετο δέ σοι καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀθρόον παραφα-
νεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τὰς ὑμετέρας λαβὰς, προ-
τρέπει τῷ θεῷ βραχὺ τι μέρος τῶν κεκρυμμένων εἰπεῖν, καὶ μὴ (5)
παντάπασιν ἀμυήτους τοὺς προκειμένους ἀπολιπεῖν· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν
εἰρηκῶς, κεφαλίδα τινὰ βιβλίου ἡρέμα τῶν κόλπων ἐξάγει, ὅποια
δὴ εἰσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰλητάρια, εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἀνελίξας πᾶσαν
ἀνέπτυσεν. Ἐγγράπτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰμὴ ὅσον ἐκέχρωστο
ἀκηράτῳ βαφῇ· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος αὐθις· σὺ δὲ «ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῇ (10)
γλώττῃ, φησὶ, προφέρειν ἐθέλεις τὰ ἄρρητα, ἐν τῇ κεφαλίδι ταύτῃ
τὸν λόγον κατάγραψον.» Ὁ δὲ ἀποροῦντι ἐώκει ὅπως ἂν ποιή-
σαιτο τὴν γραφήν· καὶ ὁ ἐπιτρέψας «μαρτυρικῶ, φησὶ, ταύτην
ἐξύφανον αἵματι.» καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα προτείνας τὴν δεξιάν, οἷα δὴ
καλάμῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ δακτύλῳ ἐκέχρητο· ὁ δὲ τοῦτον συστειλάς, (15)
τὸν μετ' ἐκεῖνον, ὃς δὴ καὶ τρίτος ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ μέσος ἐστὶ, πρὸς
τὴν γραφήν τέθεικεν. Ἀποροῦντι δὲ τῷ πατρὶ ὀπόθεν ἂν κατάρ-
ξαιτο, «τοῖς τοῦ Παύλου φησὶν ἐκεῖνος, ἀπόχρησαι ῥήμασι, καὶ
οἷον πρόγραμμα τοὺς ἀπορρήτους ἐκεῖνου λόγους προθεῖς τοῦ συγ-
γράμματος, οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν ἔπαγε.» Καὶ τὸ πρόγραμμα, «εὐλο- (20)
γητὸς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι.» Καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔδοξας πλείω εἶναι
τὰ γραφησόμενα· ὁ δὲ ἀνελίξας αὐθις τὸ εἰλητάριον, τοσοῦτον γεγρά-
φηκε πρὸς τῷ πέρατι, ὅτι Καλῶς· καὶ ἐπιδουῖς, «ἀλλὰ σὺ τε,
φησὶ, τὰ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς ἐπίστασαι γράμματα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις (25)
ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιδουῖς σαφῆ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐμῆς παράστη-
σον λήψεως.»

Καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθρόον ἀνέπτη χερουβικῇ πτέρυγι· καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου
ἀφέντος σε, εἶχε δὴ τὸ περίορθρον, ἀγωνίας μὲν καὶ φρίκης μεστὸν,
σκιρτῶντα δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτε οὕτως καὶ ἀγαλλόμενον· σὺ μὲν οὖν (30)
ὑπερπέπονθας εἶρηκας, κάγῳ σοι τὴν γλώτταν ἐχαρισάμην εἰς
(385.) τρανοτέραν ἐξαγγελίαν τοῦ ἀμεταβλήτου θεάματος· τὸ δὲ γε ὄρα-
μα οὐκ ἀληθὲς μόνον, οὐδ' ἂν τις βασκαίνων εἰς ἄλλο με παρα-
πέσειεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυστικῶν δογμάτων πεπληρωμένον, οἷς ἐγὼ
ἐντελής, ἵνα μικρόν τι καυχῆσωμαι, τοῖς περὶ τὰ κρείττω βιβλίους
ἐντετυχηκῶς κάκειθεν τι γνοὺς τῶν κρυφίων καὶ ἀπορρήτων. Ὁ (5)
μὲν γὰρ νεῶς ἐν ᾧ μεμύησαι τὸ μυστήριον, τῆς τε ἀληθοῦς μύησεως

σύμβολον καὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους καὶ ἀδύτου θεάματος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι τῶν στοῶν τὴν ὑπερφυῆ τούτου θεωρίαν παραδεικνύουσιν, οἱ δὲ γε θρόνοι τὰς τοῦ λόγου προρρήσεις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναπαύσει τῶν δικαίων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ συμπαρῶν νεανίας, ὁ θεοειδῆς τὴν μορ- (10) φὴν καὶ ὡς ἂν τις κυρίως εἶπη αὐτάγγελος, αὐτὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου ἄγγελος. Ὁ δὲ λόγος εἶπεῖν τι βούλεται περὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῦθα· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθεν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον φᾶναι ἀπόστολον, καὶ δοτὴρ ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν καὶ πρύτανις ὁ θεός, ἀποχετεύουσι δὲ τὰς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πηγὰς ἄλλοι ἄλλοις ἄλλως (15) καὶ ἑτεροίως ἑτέροις ἕτεροι· δυνάμεις γὰρ κρείττους μετὰ γε θεὸν τεταγμένοι τὰ κάλλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἄνω διαίρεσιν τοῖς ἀξιῶσι διδοῦσι· καὶ σώματα δὲ πλάττει μὲν ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ τελευταῖα καὶ προσεχῶς, ἄνω δὲ ταῦτα κρειττόνως διήρηται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ψυχὰ καὶ σωμάτων συνοικίζονται οὐκ ἀίδιον λαχοῦσαι τὴν ὑπαρξιν, (20) ἀλλὰ συνυφανθεῖσαι τοῖς πλαττομένοις ἢ πεπλασμένοις· ἀφείσθω γὰρ τέως τὸ δόγμα ἀδιευκρίνητον, καὶ ὁ ἀπλοῦς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τὴν κάτω σοφίαν λόγος νικάτω· εἶτα δὴ τινες ψυχωθεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαι κρείττους ἐφίστανται, πρὸς τε τὸ καλὸν ἐπευθύνουσαι καὶ τὰ θεϊότερα παρεμφαίνουσαι, διαδέχονται δὲ ταύτας μείζους καὶ (25) τελεώτεροι ἀναγομένοις ἡμῖν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ προκόπτουσι, καὶ αἱ πρὸς τῷ τέλει συγκληρωθεῖσαι τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ συνθέτου παρὰ θεοῦ κατὰ καιροὺς ὠρισμένους πιστεύονται· εἶτα δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορραγεῖσαν τοῦ σώματος ἕτεροι δυνάμεις παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἀναγωγὸς ταύτας καὶ φρουροὺς ἱεροὶ λόγοι φασὶ (λέγω δὲ πάντα (30) περὶ τῶν κρειττόνων, τὴν γὰρ ἑτέραν μερίδα τῷ λόγῳ ἀφήμι νῦν), **(386.)** καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς καθάρσεως ἀναλογίαν μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου μέτρου ταύτην ἀναγαγοῦσαι καὶ ὡς ἐφικτὸν προσάξασαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐθις ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβοῦσαι λήξεσὶ τισιν ἀποκληροῦσι καὶ ἀναπαύσεσιν, οὐδὲ σωματικαῖς, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐνταῦθα τροφὰς, ἀλλὰ νοεραῖς τε καὶ κρείττοσιν· αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ τὸ ἐνοπτρίζεσθαί τι τῆς κατὰ τὴν (5) ἀνάστασιν ὑψηλοτέρας ἀνταποδόσεως· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὕστερον ἢ τελείωσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἦνοικταί τι τούτοις τοῦ θεοῦ καταπετάσματος· καὶ ὁ γε συγκληρωθεὶς ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς τῶν ψυχῶν ἄγγελος, ὁδηγὸς τε αὐταῖς τῶν ἐλλάμψεων γίνεται καὶ κατάρχει πάσης νοερωτέρας κινήσεως, καὶ τὸ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο δὴ ἔργον (10) ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ θεῖος πατήρ ὑπὸ τῷ νεανίᾳ ἐκείνῳ ταττόμενος ἢ συνταττόμενος, τὸν τε ὅμοιον ἐκεκλήρωτο θρόνον, καὶ ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐποιεῖτο τὰ δόξαντα· τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἐκεῖνον ῥαδίως τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ μυστηρίου, ἀλλ' ἀποτετμημένον μεῖναι πρὸς τὰς ἱκετίας ἀδυσώπητον, οὐκ (15) αἰτίαν ἔχει θρασεῖαν διάθεσιν· ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα φιλοσοφώτερος ἡμᾶς λόγος καὶ ὑψηλότερος διαδέχεται, ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ φαινόμενον κόσμος, καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖσε διάταξις καὶ διαίρεσις καὶ πρὸς ὄρασιν ἐναντίως ἔχει πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ὄμματα, καὶ πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀσυμμέτρως πρὸς τὰ νοήματα· ὁ γοῦν τις νοῆσαι μὴ δύναιτο, πῶς ἂν (20) φαντασθεῖη ποτέ; καταδεεστέρα γὰρ ἡ τῆς φαντασίας γνῶσις τῆς

νοερᾶς· ἀλλ' οὐδέ γε αἰ ἀποκληρωθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσι τὸ διῆναι καὶ πτερύσσεσθαι ὅπη βούλονται· τάττονται γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλῳ φρουρῷ, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ ἀφίστανται λήξεως, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ, τοῦ θεοῦ τι ἄνωθεν οἰκονομοῦντος ἀπόρρητον, καὶ (25) νόμος αὐταῖς κρεῖττων μὴ ἂν ποτε ἐξειπεῖν τὰ τῆς ἀποκληρώσεως εἴδη τῶν ὄντων τινί· ἦν δέ τισι τούτων τὸ κρεῖττον ἐφῆ, ἐν μέτρῳ τὰς ἀνακαλύψεις διδόασι, καὶ ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἄρρητα, τὸ δεδομένον μέτρον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει. Διὰ ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν οὐθ' ὁ πατήρ εὐθὺς πυθομένῳ περὶ τούτων τῷ ἀνεψιῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐθ' ὁ (30) ἄγγελος παραυτίκα ἐπέτρεψεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη τὸ ἐνδόσιμον ἄνωθεν, **(387.)** ἐκεῖνός τε προσέτατε, καὶ οὗτος τοσοῦτον ἐπεποιήκει ὅποσον κεκέλευστο· τὸ δὲ πρόγραμμα, ἵνα τὸ ἀληθὲς τῶν κεκρυμμένων ἐνδείξεται, τὸ δὲ γράμμα βραχὺ, ὅτι τὸ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἄρρητον, τῶν δὲ δακτύλων ὁ μὲν συνεστέλλετο, ὁ δὲ μέσος τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστεύετο, ἵν' ὁμοῦ τε τὸ σταυρικὸν σχῆμα ἐν ἀκριβεῖ δειχθεῖ μεσότητι, καὶ (5) τὰ δίκαια τοῦ θεοῦ γνωρισθεῖ κρίματα· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ μεσότης, τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλλείψεις παραλιμπάνουσα· τὸ δὲ γε μαρτυρικὸν αἶμα, αὐτόθεν μὲν γνώριμον, ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ τοῦ λόγου βαθύτερον, ὅτι ταῖς τῶν μαρτύρων μόναις ψυχαῖς ὡς ὑπερφυέσι καὶ κρεῖττοσιν ἡ ἐξαγγελία πεπίστευται· ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐν ᾧ τέθνηκε σχήματι, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὸ παρηλλαγμένον ἀπάτη. Οὕτω πάντα προσφυῆ τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κατάλληλα δόγμασι.

Michael Psellus, *Epitaphius encomiasticus in patriarchem Michaelem Cerullarium*

K.N. Sathas, Ἐπιτάφιοι Λόγοι, vol. 4 [Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi. Athen-Paris: Koromelas- A--Maisonneuve et Cie- Libraires-Éditeurs- 1874]: 303-387

Introduction.

Michael Psellos concludes his encomium for his archrival the Patriarch Michael Keroularios by relating and then interpreting a dream of one of Keroularios' nephews, with whom Psellos was on friendly terms. Though the nephew is never named, he is imagined to be in the audience as Psellos begins the telling of the dream by addressing him directly.

[p. 382] Should I pass over the ineffable in silence (since it is in fact ineffable) or should I make it known to you all, in so far as that is possible, a truly divine and supernatural miracle, which someone else saw but which I myself likened to the most perfect philosophy after examining all of its parts? But why, o wonderful and most blessed soul, did you speak to me of this vision, which you saw secretly with the eyes of your mind? Why don't you tell everyone? Aren't you the one who saw the mystery of the divine? Are you afraid that no one will believe you, or that someone will consider your dream a delusion? Forgive me, but the vision is not within your power. Even if your knowledge was supernatural and your intelligence exceedingly broad and deep, it could never match such sublimity. But if you cede to me this part of the encomium like all of the others and prefer that I declare your theophany, I will do my best, imitating the voice of Daniel [Daniel 2:31-34]. You looked, o blessed one, if indeed you were looking, but what you apparently saw was surely the impression of an ineffable vision. For through the open eyes of your soul, you saw the form of this sanctuary, **[383]** though its expanse was of a different and more luminous brilliance. You were standing, not in the middle of the temple's floor, but among the high columns all around. You were looking, if I may again use the prophetic words, at two thrones, which were both marvelous forms, incomparable in their beauty, and on one sat the great father, and on the other a certain youth was glorified (to speak apostolically), who was dazzling in his robes and appeared to you like a divine and supernatural angel. You shuddered as you gazed upon them and were almost paralyzed by what you saw, but your uncle gently embraced you and brought you back to your senses. He asked you about what he was especially eager to know and about those for whom he had cared when he was alive. After answering his questions, you seemed to remember that he often blamed his deceased loved ones for never appearing to him in dreams with any trace or image of the divine mysteries that were beyond the heavenly veil. He was always eager to know what the ascent of the soul was, what was its destination, what was the inheritance of the pure alone. Remembering this and undeceived by what you were seeing, you suddenly seized the great father and said, "I am not unaware that sleep has robbed me of my senses nor am I ignorant of your condition. I am not

conversing with a living person; I know full well that you have died. Tell me then where your soul is, where in the universe have you resided, and if you have experienced higher visions, and what is this brilliance that completely embraces you.” This is what you said though you desired to know even more. Your uncle wanted to say something about these secrets, but he did not dare unless his superior allowed it. He asked [the angel] if it would be all right to reveal something about these mysteries, and if he would permit him to do so. You yourself entreated him with many groans and tears. But [the angel] was completely unmoved by your pleas and did not grant the revelation. [384] He said that it was not permitted and that these things remained inseparable from the treasures above. There were more tears, and suddenly your brother appeared and joined your struggle. Finally, the angel was unable to ignore your efforts and so allowed your uncle to say a little bit about what was hidden so as not to completely forsake the uninitiated standing before him. Without saying a word, he [the angel] calmly pulled from his robes a scroll, which we call an “εἰλητάριον,” and unrolled its full length. All that was written in it was in pure blood. The angel spoke again, “If you do not wish to say the secrets aloud, write them down here in this scroll.” He appeared to be at a loss about how to do that, but [the angel] directed him, saying, “Write with martyrs’ blood.” He immediately extended his right hand like he was using his second finger as a pen, but [the angel?] drew this one back and put to the writing the one after it, which is the third from each side and the middle [OR, *and he drew this one back, the one after the second finger, which is the third from each side and the middle, and put (the second finger) to the writing*]. The father was unsure where to begin so [the angel] said, “Use the ineffable words of Paul as an introduction to your writing, and from there proceed to the rest.” The introduction was as follows, “The Father of the Lord Jesus, who is to be praised forever, knows that I am not lying” [2 Cor. 11:31]. You expected him to write more, but he rolled up the scroll after adding only “Καλῶς.” He said, “Give heed to what I have written with my own hand and read it to others, giving clear proof of my assumption.”

Saying this he took flight on cherubic wing. You awoke and met the dawn full of anguish and fear but also exulting as never before and transformed. You told me what you had experienced, and I rendered what you said about this unchangeable vision into [385] a more lucid account. The dream was not only true – no one could ever convince me otherwise – but it was also full of mystical teaching, about which I am an expert, if I might boast a bit, since I’ve read books about these hidden and secret matters and know something about them. The sanctuary in which you were initiated into the mystery is a symbol of the true initiation and of the mystical and innermost vision; the tall columns signify the supernatural *theoria* of this spectacle, and the thrones indicate the proclamations of the Word that give rest to the just; the youth who was present, divine in form, the epitome of an angel, one might say, was none other than the angel of the Word. Here our account would like to say something about philosophy. As the divine apostle says, although every gift from heaven is perfect, and God is the granter and lord of everything good, some draw from that source in one way and some in another. The higher powers that are arrayed immediately after God give the best things to those worthy on account of

their higher station. Nature fashions bodies last and in succession, but even these participate in a higher division since with them souls reside, which are not allotted eternal existence but are woven together with what has been formed or created. But enough of this obscure teaching; let the simple message of the Gospel defeat its inferior wisdom. Further, certain higher powers have been set over those of us who have been granted souls, directing us to the good and showing us what is more divine, and these powers are themselves received by others more perfect, who further advance us in our ascent to the good and who, since they have been allotted a station near the end, are entrusted by God with separating the composite [of soul and body] at preordained times. Still other powers receive the soul that has been separated from its body, whom sacred texts call guides and guardians (I am only talking about the higher powers, omitting for now discussion of the lower ones). **(386)** They raise the soul in proportion to its purity up to its just measure, approaching God as near as possible. These powers then receive the soul's allotment from God and assign to it a particular station and refreshment, not in a bodily sense according to our kind of nourishment, but spiritually and higher. These allotments reflect the higher reward afforded by the resurrection. Although the perfection of their souls would come later, some of the divine veil was lifted for them. The angel who has been allotted good souls becomes the guide of their illuminations and governs all of their more spiritual movement, and whatever he thinks is appropriate is the task of these souls. Therefore, the divine father, subordinate to or perhaps aligned with that angelic youth, was allotted a similar throne, and as if by his permission, he did what the angel thought appropriate. The fact that the angel did not easily permit the proclamation of the mystery but remained deaf to these pleas is not due to arrogance. Even here a more philosophical and higher explanation occurs to us: the vision of the world beyond sensation and of its order and divisions is the opposite of what our eyes can see, and the knowledge of these things is incommensurable with our own concepts. How can someone imagine what he could never comprehend (since the knowledge of the imagination is inferior to that of the mind)? Not even the souls that have been allotted a station are free to move and fly about wherever they want. They are subordinate to a guardian angel and do not leave their own station unless he allows them. God distributes from on high a bit of this mystery, but they are forbidden to declare the forms of the revelation to any being. But if He does speak of higher things to them, he reveals this in a certain measure, and whoever is entrusted with these secrets does not exceed the measure that has been granted. Therefore, the father did not immediately answer when his nephew inquired about these things, nor did the angel immediately allow him to do so. But as soon as permission was granted from on high, **(387)** the angel ordered him, and he did only what he was commanded. The introduction was written in order to declare the truth of what is hidden. The writing was brief because these things are secret. Regarding the fingers, the one that was drawn back and the middle one that was entrusted with the writing, this was done in order to display the form of the cross in the exact middle and to acknowledge that the judgments of God are just, since the middle excludes both excesses and deficiencies. The martyrs' blood speaks for itself, but it also carries a deeper meaning, that the proclamation is only entrusted to the souls of

martyrs since they are supernatural and higher. The father was seen in the form in which he died so that his altered state would not appear as a delusion. So everything is both natural and supernatural and in agreement with divine teaching.

Catia Galatariotou

This dream in Psellos' funeral oration for his mother raises issues of both cultural and personal significance regarding e.g. classification (dream / vision / hallucination / self-induced trance?...), beliefs about the soul of the dead, the use of dreaming as autobiographical tool, the conscious and unconscious purposefulness of dreaming (why dream this? why record it?).

U. Criscuolo, ed., *Michele Psello. Autobiografia: Encomio per la madre. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario* (D'Auria, Napoli 1989) 128.1247 - 129.1275.

20. Βούλομαι μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν | μητέρα μετενεγκεῖν, ἕτερος δέ με λόγος ἀνθέλκει καὶ περὶ τὸν πατέρα καταναγκάζει φιλοχωρεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὄφεις νυκτερινή', εἴ γε μὴ καὶ αὕτη λόγος ἐστίν, ἢ ἔμφυτος καὶ παρὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναδιδόμενος καθ' ὃν οἶδε τὰ ὄντα ἢ ἔξωθεν καὶ θεϊότερος ὑποδεικνύων τῇ ψυχῇ ἀφιεμένη τοῦ σώματος τὴν τῶν ἐστῶτων ἀλήθειαν. μικρὸν δέ τι προσλήψομαι.

Ἐσφάδαζέ μοι ὁ λογισμὸς μαθεῖν ἐθέλοντι οἷας ὁ πατήρ τετύχηκε λήξεως. ἐσπέρας γοῦν πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως πολλὰ περὶ τούτου τῷ Κρείττονι προσευξάμενος καὶ πού καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρός ψυχὴν πρὸς τοῦτο ἐφελκυσάμενος, καὶ αὐθις ὡσανεὶ καταναγκάσας δεῖξαι ὄπη κεχώρηκεν, ἀπήειν ὕπνου μεταληφόμενος. ὅποσον οὖν μέτρον κατέδαρθον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγνοῶ, ὥμην γοῦν ἀναβλέψας ἀθρόον, εἴ γε μὴ ὥμην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀληθὲς τὸ ὄφθεν. τέως γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐωράκειν τὸν πατέρα μετὰ τοῦ σχήματος οὐ τέθαπτο, ἐξόχως καλλίονα ἢ τὸ πρότερον.

Ἐγεγήθει γοῦν ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιρτήματι καθαρῶ ἀνέφερε τὴν ψυχὴν, τὰ τε ὄμματα, πυρσοὶ τινες ἐκειθεν ἐστέλλοντο καὶ ἡ χαροπότης τὸ μέτρον παρήλλακτο· ἦν οὖν ἐκότερον, καὶ τὸ νοούμενον παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον, ὑπερκείμενα καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τοῦ νοῦ. προσήει γοῦν μοι ἀνθρωπικώτερον καὶ τὴν ἐπαφὴν οὐχ ὑπέφευγεν, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου ἐφάπτεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθήπτετο | καὶ με τῇ συνήθει προσαγορεύσας φωνῇ· « τέκνον — ἔφη — καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν πλέον ποθοῦμενον, θάρρει δὴ ἐπ' ἐμοί. ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἐτεθνήκειν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐωράκειν — οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν λῆξιν εἰπὼν — καὶ πολλὰ δὴ περὶ σοῦ τὴν ἄρρητον ἐκείνην φύσιν κατεδεήθην καὶ ἐλιπάρησα ».

Catia Galatariotou

Ugo Criscuolo, *Michele Psello. Autobiografia. Encomio per la madre. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario* (M. D'Auria, Napoli 1989) 128.1247-129.1275.

Translation

Now while I wish to speak directly of my mother, yet I am rather drawn towards another subject matter and am compelled to a place occupied by my father – not to words as such but rather to a night vision [ὄψις νυκτερινή], even if this is not in itself a speech, and whether it is innate and emanating from the soul, in virtue of which one cognises the things that exist, or whether it comes externally, of greater, divine providence, intimating the incontestable truth regarding the disembodied soul.

My mind was tormented with yearning to know what kind of ending befell my father. I had been deprived of sleep, for in the evening before the sight [ὄψις] I had been praying fervently to the Lord about this and had been drawing up from wherever my father's soul to this end too - so as to hereafter compel it, as it were, reveal where he had retired. How long I then slept soundly through the night I do not know, but anyway I suddenly saw, I think – or rather I do not think, for what I saw was real [αληθές]. Anyway, upon opening my eyes I saw my father in the monastic garments in which he had been buried, infinitely more beautiful than before.

He was in a state of absolute delight; there was a spring of purity in his soul's step; and as for his eyes, they glowed like torches, their brightness immeasurable. Both what I perceived of him in my mind [το νοούμενον] and what I saw with my eyes were thus beyond both sensibility and reason. At any rate, he accosted me more like a human being and he did not avoid contact but rather allowed himself to be touched, and he touched me too; and, addressing me with his familiar voice, he said: "My then and now much loved child, be happy for me! For I at once died and saw God" - that is exactly how he spoke of his ending – "and have much entreated and fervently prayed to that Divine Being for you".

In this dream, a eunuch hurriedly arrives on horseback, an old man stands in front of an icon, and a woman walks on wooden beams above the ground. The dream is taken from the *Vita Lazari in monte Galesio*, an eleventh-century saint's life packed with dreams and visions. The dream is interpreted in the text as a prediction that Lazarus will not die as yet. I chose this dream because of some bizarre features that seem typically dream-like: the events seem unrelated, there is a sense of anxiety and urgency, and the persons in the dream are vaguely familiar to the dreamer, and yet outer-worldly.

Greek text:

Οὕτω γοῦν ἐν θρήνοις ὄντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντος τῆς τελευτῆς, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεὸς βουλόμενος δεῖξαι, ὅτι αὐτὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δύναμιν κοπιάσαντα καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ τὸν δρόμον καλῶς τελέσαντα ἔμελλε λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτὴ ἀποκειμένην μεταστῆσαι ἀνάπαυσιν, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν σωτηρίαν ἔτι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βίβιναι αὐτὴ συνεχώρησεν, ὄναρ τινὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ματθαί τοῦνομα οὕτως τοῦτο ὑποδεικνύει.

207. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀγρυπνίας εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κελλίον ὁ ἀδελφὸς μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαυθῆναι ἀνακλιθεὶς ἐκ τῆς λύπης ἧς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶχε καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ὕπνῳ κατενεχθεὶς, ἐδόκει ἑαυτὸν ὁρᾶν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρους τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς μονῆς εὐνοῦχόν τινα ἰππότην ἰδεῖν ἔνδον τῆς μονῆς εἰσελθόντα· ὃς τοῦ ἵππου σπουδαίως ἀποβάς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ἀπέβη. Ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς προσυπαντήσας προσεκύνει αὐτὸν. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει τοῦτον ὑπάρχειν· ὃν καὶ ἐπηρώτα, πότεν τε ἦκει καὶ πῶς ἐνταῦθα καὶ διὰ τί παραγέγονε. Καὶ ὁ· «Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, φησί, ἤμην, καὶ εἰ μὴ συντόμως προέφθασα, ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἅγιος νῦν ἂν ἐτελεύτησε.» Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν εἰπὼν, εὐθὺς βαδίζων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνδον εἰσῆλθεν. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς εἰσελθὼν ἔνδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάλιν ἐδόκει τινὰ γηραιὸν ἄντικρυ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰκόνας ὁρᾶν ἐστῶτα· ὃν καὶ κριτὴν ἤκουεν εἶναι. Στρέψας δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος, ὁρᾶ γυναικὰ τινα μελανειμονοῦσαν ἐξελθοῦσαν τοῦ στόλου καὶ διὰ τῶν τριῶν ξύλων τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν κρηπίδων τῶν ἀψίδων τεταμένων βαδίσασαν πρὸς τοὺς ποσὶ τοῦ γηραιοῦ ἐκείνου ἐλθοῦσαν πεσεῖν καὶ ὡσπερὶ εὐχαριστοῦσαν αὐτὸν προσκυνεῖν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ μοναχὸς ἀνεθείς τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ὀραθέντα εὖ διακρίνας ἔγνω μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἄρρωστί τὸν πατέρα μέλλειν τελευτᾶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρέλευσιν τριῶν χρόνων, ὧν ἐδήλου ἡ τῆς ὀραθείσης αὐτὴ γυναικὸς ἐπάνω τῶν τριῶν ξύλων βάδις.

Gregory the Cellarer, *Vita Lazari monachi in monte Galesio*, ed. H. Delehay, in: *Acta Sanctorum Novembriis*, vol. III (Brussels 1910), 508–588, §206–207, pp. 571E–572A.

English translation

However, with the brothers in mourning like this and with the father already at death's door, our benevolent and merciful God wished to make it clear that although He was going to transport Lazaros in the future to the repose reserved for him in heaven, because he had labored and struggled in a manner beyond ordinary human nature and strength and had *finished his race* well, He would allow him to go on living this life a while longer for the salvation of many people. He revealed this as follows in a dream to one of the brothers, called Matthew.

For, after the end of the vigil, this brother lay down in his cell for a little rest and fell asleep as a result of his grief over the father and the exertion of the vigil. While he was sleeping, he seemed to see himself standing in front of the church observing a eunuch who approached the entrance to the monastery on horseback from a northerly direction and came inside. The eunuch hurriedly dismounted from his horse and went straight to the church where the monk met him and made obeisance to him, for it seemed that the eunuch was already known to him. When Matthew asked him where he had come from, how he had got there, and why he had come, he replied, "I was with the emperor, and unless I'd hurried and got here first, your holy father would now be dead." He said this to the monk and immediately walked into the church. The monk went inside the church too, and there he seemed to see an old man, whom he gathered was a judge, standing in front of the icon of the Savior. Turning his eyes to the right, he saw a woman dressed in black come out of the pillar and, proceeding by way of the three wooden beams that extended upon the bases of the arches, go over to the old man. She fell at his feet and made obeisance as if she was thanking him. The monk immediately awoke from his sleep and came to himself; he carefully considered what he had seen, and understood that the father was not going to die from that illness, but only after three more years had passed, as was indicated by the way the woman in his vision had walked upon the three beams.

The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint. Introduction, translation, and notes by Richard P.H. Greenfield. Byzantine saints' lives in translation 3. (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 2000), pp. 300-302.

ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί σοι συνεβουλεύσαντο οὗτοι οἱ φιλόσοφοι; ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἶπε· μὴ προσθήσῃς τοῖς μῶλωσί μου μῶλωπας καὶ ταῖς ὀδύνας ὀδύνας. οὐ δεῖ γάρ σε τὰ τοιαῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τούτων ὑπεροχὴν καὶ κακίαν. ἢ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐκ ἠλπίζόν σε ἐξ ἐμοῦ ποτε μυστήριον ἀποκρῦψαι. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀποκαλύψεις τὸ τοιοῦτον εὐνοοῦση σοι, σχολῆ ἂν ἐτέρῳ πιστεύσῃς. 5 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· τί με ἐπερώτας, ὦ γύναι, περὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας σου καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ τῶν φιλάτων; ἢ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἐκφευξόμεθα τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι σοι ἀνταλλαγῆ, τί γάρ σου ἡμῖν τιμιώτερον; ἀλλὰ δέομαί σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν τινι τουτῶν τῶν φιλοσοφούντων μὴ πιστεῦσαι, 10 ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναιρῆσαι τινὰ πρὸ τοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ εὐνοήτοις ἀνακοινῶσαι τὸ βούλευμα. οὐκ οἶδας, ὡς ἐχθρωδῶς πρὸς σὲ οἱ φιλοσοφούντες διάκεινται, ὡς πλῆθος ἱκανὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου ἀνηρηκότα; μὴ ὄρα τούτου τοῦ φθόνου ἐπιλαθέσθαι. ἔδει σε μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτοις τὸν ὄνειρον διηγήσασθαι, ἀλλ' εἴ μοι πείθῃ, ἐρώτησον τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητὴν γέροντα περὶ τοῦ ὄνειρου. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβάς ἀπῆε πρὸς τὸν ἀσκητὴν, καὶ ἀπερ εἶδε, τούτῳ ἀνήγγειλεν. ὁ 15 δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μὴ πτοηθῆς, βασιλεῦ. οὐδὲν γάρ σοι ἀνιάρων ἐπισυμβήσεται. δηλοῦσι γάρ οἱ δύο ἰχθύες, οὓς ἐώρακας ἐπὶ τῶν οὐραίων βαδίζοντας, ὡς πρέσβυς ἤξει σοι ἐκ τινος τῶν μεγιστάνων δύο ἐλέφαντας πολυτίμους ἐπαχρόμενος.

2 ἔφη P1 – μῶλωπα V2O1.

2-3 καὶ ... ὀδύνας om.P1O1W1.

3 ὀδύνας] μου ὀδύνα V2 – σε] om.P1; σοι W1 – ὑπεροχὴν] ὑπόνοιαν V2; ὑπερβολὴν P1.

4 ἐξ ... ἀποκρῦψαι] ποτε μυστήριον ἀποκρῦψαι (ἀποκαλύψαι O1) ἀπ' (ἐξ O1) ἐμοῦ P1O1; ποτε μυστήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποκρῦψαι W1 – μὴ om.W1.

5 ἀποκρῦψῃς W1 – ἂν] δ' ἂν O1; γ' ἂν W1 – πιστεύσῃς]; πιστεῦσαι F1V2.

6 αὐτῇ om.V2 – τῆς ... σου] τῆς σῆς ἀπωλείας P1O1W1.

7 τῶν ἐμοὶ inv.P1 – τοῦ] τὸ P1O1 – μὴ om.V2.

8 σοι] σου W1 – ἀντάλλαγμα P1O1W1.

9 ἵνα om.P1O1 – τινι] τινος F1; τινα V2 – τούτων τῶν φιλοσόφων W1 – πιστεύσῃς W1.

10 ἔτι] αὐτῶν O1 – ἀναιρήσῃς W1 – τινὰ πρὸ τοῦ] ἕτερον πρὶν ἢ P1O1W1 – εὐνοή-

τοις] εὐνοϊκοῖς P1W1; ἀνοήτοις O1 – ἀνακοινώσῃς W1.

10-11 βούλημα W1.

11 ὡς] ὅτι P1 – πρὸς] εἰς P1; περὶ W1.

12 ἱκανὸν om.V2 – πρὸ ὀλίγου ἐξ αὐτῶν inv.W1 – προηρηκότα V2 – ὄρα τούτου] οἴου (οἴει O1) τούτους P1O1W1 – φθόνου] φθόνου P1O1W1.

12-13 ἐπιλαθέσθαι F1.

13 ἔδει σε om.O1 – τούτοις] τοῦτον V2 – τὸν ὄνειρον τούτοις inv.W1.

14 ἐπερώτησον P1 – περὶ] τὰ περὶ O1W1 – τοῦ om.O1 – ὄνειρου] ὄνειρου σου V2.

15 τὸν] τὸν τοιοῦτον P1O1W1.

16 αὐτῷ om.W1 – βασιλεῦ] ὦ βασιλεῦ P1W1; om.O1.

17 δύο om.O1 – ἐπὶ τῷ οὐραίῳ βαδίζοντας] ἐώρακας inv.W1 – τῶν ὀρέων F1V2.

17-18 πρέσβεις W1.

18 ἤξει σοι] ἤξουσιν W1 – τινος] τινων W1 – ἐπαχρόμενοι W1.

αἱ δὲ δύο νῆτται, ἅς προσπετομέναις σοι ἐώρακας, σημαίνουσιν, ὡς καὶ Περσῶν ἤξει σοι πρέσβυς δύο ἵππους σοι τῶν γενναίων ἐπιφερόμενος. ὁ δὲ ἔρπων ἐπὶ σοι ὄφρις δηλοῖ τὸ ἐνεχθῆναι σοι σπάθην, οἷαν οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε. τὸ δὲ δι' αἵματος βαπτίζεσθαι σε ἐμφαίνει τὸ πεμφθῆναι σοι δεξιῶμα ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν λάμπον
 5 ἐν τῷ σκότει. τὸ δὲ ὕδατι δεξιωθῆναι δηλοῖ τὸ διαφόροις σε στολαῖς δεξιωθῆναι. τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ὄρους σε λευκοῦ βεβηκέναι τεκμήριον ἐναργές ἐστι τοῦ ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος λευκοῦ ἐποχθῆναι σε. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου πύρ προῦπογράφει σοι τὸ δέξασθαι στέφανον πολυτελῆ παρά τινος τῶν μεγίστων βασιλέων. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου τύπτοντος ὀρνέου ἄρτι οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνομαι. δηλοῖ γὰρ μερικὴν
 10 τινα λύπην καὶ ἀποστροφήν πρὸς ποθοῦμενον πρόσωπον. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιγενήσεται σοι μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. ὁ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν γέγονε. καὶ ἦκον κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν οἱ πρέσβεις πάντα, ὅσα εἶπεν ὁ ἀσκητής, ἐπιφερόμενοι. ὅπερ ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐκθαμβος γεγονῶς ἔφη· δεῖ τὸν νουνεχῆ παρὰ μόνων δέχεσθαι λόγους τῶν φίλων. εἶτα ἰδὼν τὰ δῶρα ἔφη· οὐ δεῖ με ἐξ αὐτῶν
 15 σφετερίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναλάβετε ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἅμα καὶ τῇ εὐνουστάτῃ μου ὀμεινέντιδι. τὰς γὰρ ὑμετέρας ψυχὰς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τεθείκατε. ὁ δὲ πρωτοσύμβουλος εἶπεν· οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοιαῦτα δῶρα λαμβάνειν. δικαιοῦτερον γὰρ

1 ἅς προσπετομέναις] ἄσπερ (ὡς O1) περιπετομέναις (πετομέναις W1) P1O1W1 – σοι om.O1W1 – καὶ om.W1 – Περσῶν] παρὰ (ἐκ W1) Περσῶν O1W1.

2 ἤξει σοι] ἤξουσι W1 – πρέσβεις W1 – σοι² om.V2 – τῶν ... ἐπιφερόμενος] ἐπικομιζόμενος τῶν γενναίων P1 – ἐπιφερόμενοι W1.

3 σοι¹] σε W1.

4 βαπτισθῆναι V2.

5 ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ P1W1; ἐν σκότει O1 – ὕδατι] δι' ὕδατος O1; δι' ὕδατι W1 – δεξιωθῆναι δηλοῖ] ἀπολουθῆναι σε προμηγνῆει P1O1W1.

6 σε om.V2 – ἐπιβῆναι V2; ἐπιβεβηκέναι O1 – τοῦ τὸ V2W1.

6–7 τεκμήριον ... ἐποχθῆναι om.O1.

7 σε] σοι P1 – τῆς om.F1 – τὴν κεφαλὴν V2.

8 σε ante στέφανον add.V2 – πολῦτιμον W1 – τινος τῶν] τικων F1; τικων τῶν V2; τινι τῶν O1 – μεγίστων] μεγιστάνων P1O1; om.W1 – βασιλέων om.O1.

10 ἀποστροφήν O1 – πρόσωπον] ἀνθρώπου

πρόσωπον P1 – ταῦτα] τοῦτο O1 – πάντα om.O1W1.

10–11 ἐπιγενήσονται F1.

11 σοι] σοι πάντα W1 – μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ] καθ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ F1; καθ' ἡμέραν ἐβδόμην V2 – καὶ¹ om.O1 W1 – καθ' ἡμέραν ἐβδόμην F1V2; κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐβδόμην W1 – ἐγένετο V2.

12 κατ' ... ἡμέραν] κατὰ ταύτην P1O1W1 – πάντα] πάντες V2; om.W1 – προεῖπεν P1 – ὁ ἀσκητής προεῖπεν (εἶπεν W1) inv.O1W1.

13 ἄπερ P1O1W1 – καὶ om.O1.

14 λόγους τῶν φίλων] τῶν φίλων λόγους V2; τῶν φιλάτων τοὺς λόγους W1 – φίλων] φιλάτων P1; φιλοῦντων O1 – με om.W1.

15 σφετερίσασθαι P1 – ἀναλάβεθε P1 – καὶ om.W1.

15–16 ὀμεινέντιδι μου inv.W1.

16 τέθεικα F1.

17 εἶπεν] ὑπολαβῶν ἔφη (εἶπεν O1) P1O1 W1 – τὰ τοιαῦτα P1 – δῶρα τοιαῦτα inv.W1.

17–1 δικαιοῦτερον ... λαμβάνειν] ἀλλ' O1.

Stephanites kai Ichmelates

Chapter Seven

124. The king said, 'I understand this. Tell me, how is it possible for a king to keep his household safe from harm and in what way, preferably, by forbearance or a good conscience or sharing? (235, 2) And the philosopher said in reply, 'Good sense and forbearance are superior to all things, and in addition to these the intelligence of intelligent counsellors, then also the most excellent and intelligent wife. And let this be an example, the thing that happened to one of the kings of the Indians. 125. For it is said that one night a king had eight most terrible dreams. He was frightened, and having woken from his sleep, summoned all his philosophers and told them what he had seen in his sleep. And they said to him, 'You have seen a vision that is worthy of wonder, and we must spend seven days considering the details of this if we are going to be able to rescue from harm.' As they left they spoke to one another and said, 'Not much time has elapsed since this dreadful king killed a countless number of us. Now, therefore, our God is thinking of us, and has put this man into our hands. And we, in order to be rid of him, must agree these things with him, 'that you kill your wife and her son, and in addition to these your son, your chief counsellor, the chief secretary, the white elephant on which you ride, the other two great elephants, the horse, and the camel, and you put their blood into a bowl, by means of which we would both cleanse you and chant pain-allaying incantations, rescuing you from the grievous things which are about to befall you'. After considering these matters they approached the king and said, 'We have searched in the writings and we have found that there is no other path of safety for you except by you doing such-and-such.' 'I want,' said the king, 'them to be safe and me to die.' And they said, 'Do not prefer anything to your own soul, for everything is inferior to this.' So the king, having listened to these things and become exceedingly sorrowful, fell onto his bed, wondering what to do. News of the

king's despondency spread everywhere, and his chief counsellor, learning of it and having discovered the trick, concluded that he ought not to speak to the king personally about this, but first to speak to his wife, and he said to her, 'I see that the king is extremely sorrowful, and I fear that those false philosophers have concocted a trick against him through malice, wanting to destroy him utterly. But question him about the reason he is now so despondent, and when you have learnt it reveal it to me.' She went to him, sat by his head, and said, 'Tell me, O king, what those philosophers have advised you?' And the king said, 'Don't add wounds to my bruises and grief to my grief. You ought not to inquire about such things, owing to their superlative wickedness.' She said, 'I did not expect you ever to conceal a secret from me. For if you do not disclose such a thing to me, who is well-disposed to you, you will hardly be able to trust anyone else.' And he said to her, 'Why are you questioning me, O wife, about your own destruction, and that of all those who are dearest to me?' She said, 'I and the others will not run away (237, 8) to prevent an exchange for you happening.¹ For what is more precious to us than you? But I beg you, O king, that after my death you will not put your trust in any of those philosophers, nay more, that you will not have anyone killed before communicating the decree to the well-wishers under you. Do you not know the extent of the hostility the philosophers feel towards you, on the grounds that you killed a considerable number of them a short time ago? See that you don't forget this ill will. To begin with you should not even have described the dream to them, but instead, if you take my advice, ask our local old hermit about it.' He immediately got on his horse and went off to the hermit, and told him what he had seen. **And the hermit said to him, 'Do not be afraid, O king, for nothing terrible is going to happen to you. For the two fish that you saw walking on their tails show that an ambassador will**

¹The printed text as it stands (237, 8) presents grammatical problems.

come to you, bringing two valuable elephants from one of the courtiers. And the two ducks that you saw flying towards you show that a Persian ambassador will come to you, bringing two thoroughbred horses. The snake creeping on you shows the bringing to you of a broadsword, the like of which no one has ever seen. You being baptised in blood shows the sending to you as a pledge of friendship a purple cloak that is bright in darkness. And the fact of being greeted with water makes clear that you are greeted with special garments. The fact that you walk on a white mountain is a clear sign of you being carried upon a white elephant. And the fire on your head indicates to you the receiving of a sumptuous crown from one of the very great kings. But about a bird striking you on the head, I reveal nothing just now, for it makes clear some particular grief and a turning back to a longed-for person. And all these things will happen to you after seven days.' Which indeed happened on the seventh day, and on that very day all the ambassadors came, bringing all the things that the hermit had said. Seeing this the king was amazed, and said, 'The sensible man should only accept the words of his friends.' Then, seeing the gifts, he said, 'I should not take these for myself, but you, together with my most kind wife, take them. For you have entrusted your souls to me.' The chief counsellor said, 'We subjects should not receive such gifts, for it is more just that your descendants receive these things from you.' But the king said, 'You became the principal cause of my deliverance, and you are worthy of countless good deeds.' Then the king took the white elephant, and gave one of the horses to his son, and the valuable sword to his chief counsellor and sent the remaining sumptuous garment to the hermit. He commanded his chief counsellor to take the remainder, together with the king himself, to his wives, for he had two who were very dear to him: she who had advised him to ask the hermit about the dreams, and another. He set before them the crown and the purple cloak, and said to the one who had advised him, 'Choose of the two whichever you

prefer, either the crown or the purple cloak, so that the other may take the one that is left.' And she, not knowing which one to choose, looked towards the chief counsellor, and he nodded to her to choose the garment. But it happened at that moment that the king looked up and saw that the chief counsellor had nodded at the garment to the woman. But she, seeing that his head did not come up again, but stayed nodding down, took the crown. And the chief counsellor kept his eyes lowered for forty years so that the king would suppose that his eyes were afflicted in that way and that it had not been a nod that was made to his wife. If he had not done this his life would have been at risk. So one day she who had taken the crown, having been crowned with it, brought rice to the king on a platter. But when the other one saw her she put on the purple cloak, and when she entered she filled the place with light. So when the king saw her he longed for her, and said to the other one, 'What was wrong with you, that you rejected a purple cloak such as this, and chose the crown?' And she, filled with anger, threw the platter at the king's head and the rice went all over him. Upon which the king became exceedingly angry and ordered his chief counsellor to cut off her head and in no way to spare her. He seized her and went out, debating with himself whether the king would ever regret her death. For this reason he handed her over to some women, and ordered that she should be treated with every honour. And the king, having become exceedingly regretful and remembering her kindly disposition towards him, was most despondent. So the chief counsellor, noticing the king's despondency, said to him, 'No benefit comes to anyone from anxious thought and worry, but rather exhaustion of the body, as one of the wise men said, 'Your anxious mind is eating your body.' Therefore be cheerful about those things for which there is no remedy, lest you suffer the same thing as the doves. **126.** For it is said that a male and a female dove filled their nest with very wet grain, and they both resolved not to touch the hoarded grain before the sustenance from outside ran out. But

when summer came, and the sun drew up the moisture in the grain, the mass of it shrunk completely to a tiny amount. When the male dove saw this he suspected the female of having eaten it up, and for this reason he kept striking her cruelly until he killed her. But winter arrived and the grain swelled up again, and the dove realised that he had killed his spouse unjustly. Because of this he mourned ceaselessly and died of grief. **127**. Thus those who do not bear up and do not master their anger will suffer. **129a**. But why do you care, O king, about one woman from among the countless ones you have besides her? Having given up being delighted by these, you mourn only for the one who has died.' **129b**. When the king had heard these things he became exceedingly sorrowful lest he had killed his wife, and he said to him, 'So because of one word from me you did such an abominable thing.' And he said, 'One word from a sensible man cannot be changed.' But the king said, 'No one is faultless in everything, and perfection is to be found in no man.' After much debate, and after the king had despaired, the chief counsellor brought his crown-wearing wife before him. Upon seeing her the king became exceedingly joyful and presented the counsellor with expensive pledges.

βιούντων και φιλοθέως ἀπεκαλύφθη. Οὐ ἔνεκεν, ὡς σῆμαι, και τὰ σύμβολα τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτενοῦς ἱκεσίας τοῦ ὀσίου τῷ λίθῳ ἐπετυπώθη, φανεράν ἔτι και ἐπίδηλον βουλομένου καθιστᾶν τοῦ Θεοῦ κἀνταῦθα τὴν τε τοῦ οἰκείου θεράποντος
 25 πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίαν και οἴας τετύχηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐνοίας ὁ ὄσιος, και ὅτι τὴν δικαίαν ὀργὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τούτου ἀπέστρεφεν ἱκεσία και τὸ δεινὸν ἦρε και ὄσης λοιπὸν ἀξιοῦνται τῆς σωτηρίας οἱ λαχόντες αὐτὸν πρὸς Θεὸν πρέσβυν θερμότητον.

67. "Οτι δὲ ἡ ἐνεργοῦσα χάρις ἐπὶ τῷ ὀσίῳ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι μόνοις και μνήμης ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ και ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δῆπουθεν τοῖς δοκοῦσι μικροῖς και οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ὅτε νομιζομένοις τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐνδείκνυσι και ἐνέργειαν,
 5 δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα ῥηθησομένου. Στέφανος ὁ τὰς δημοσίας και τοῦ κοινοῦ λειτουργίας ἀεὶ πιστευόμενος, ᾧ τὸ ἐπώνυμον δῆλον τοῖς πᾶσι διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίσημον· ζῶν γὰρ ἔτι και οὗτος και περιῶν δείκνυται, τὸν μονήρη βίον νῦν ἀσπασάμενος· ἐν χρεῖα ποτὲ καταστάς ἐλαίου, τῷ ἰδίῳ ὑπηρέτῃ ||
 10 ἐπέσκηψε καταλαβεῖν πρὸς τάχος τὸ τῆς μονῆς ἐργαστήριον, ἐν
 K 164β ἐν ᾧ εἰώθασι συντρίβεσθαι τῶν ἐλαιῶν οἱ καρποὶ και ὀργάνοις τισὶ και λίθου βάρει τὸ ἐλαιον ἐκπιέζεσθαι, και κενὴν ὑδρίαν ἐλαίου πληρῶσαι και ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. Οὐ δὴ γενομένου και τοῦ ἐλαίου πρὸς βίαν ληφθέντος, οὐ μέλλων ἦν ὁ ἅγιος,
 15 οὐδ' εἰς ἀναβολὰς τιθέμενος τὰ τῆς ἐκδικήσεως. Νύκτωρ γὰρ ἐπιφανεῖς τῷ Στεφάνῳ ὑπνώττοντι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅστις εἶη ἐφανέρου, εἶτα και χαλεπαίνοντι εἰκῶς και δι' ὀργῆς τὸ πρᾶγ-

24. τε om. K || 28. λαχόντες B: βαλόντες K
 67: 2. ἐν B: ἐπὶ K || και μνήμης ἀξίων B: τοῖς λόγου και μνήμης ἄξιον K ||
 4. δείκνυσι K || 10. πρὸς B: ὡς K || τῷ . . . ἐργαστηρίῳ K || 11. εἶωθεν BK || συντρίβεσθαι scripsi: ἰατρεύεσθαι τῶν ἐλαιῶν οἱ καρποὶ B: ὁ τῶν ἐλαιῶν καρπὸς ἀποθλίβεσθαι K

men who lived reverent and God-loving lives. On this account, I believe, the symbols of the saint's earnest supplication of God were engraved on the stone. God wished to make plain and clear therein His own servant's intimacy with Him and the great goodwill the saint received from Him, and that his supplication turned away God's just anger and lifted the terror. God showed also what salvation they are deemed worthy of who have obtained the saint as their most ardent go-between with God.

67. That the active grace of the Holy Spirit reveals its power and effectiveness for the saint not only in great matters, worth remembering, but even in those that seem small and are never considered, will be made clear from what now will be said. A certain Stephen was always entrusted with public affairs and community services. His surname is clear to all on account of the man's distinction — for he can be seen still alive and surviving, having now embraced the monastic life. Once being in need of oil, he ordered his servant to go quickly to the workroom of the monastery. There the fruits of the olive trees were customarily crushed and with tools and stone weights oil squeezed out. Stephen ordered him to fill the empty pitcher with oil and bring it to him. This was done and the oil taken by force. But the holy man did not hesitate, nor did he delay in the matter of retribution. He appeared by night to Stephen while he slept, and first he made clear who he was. Then he seemed harsh and angry at what had happened. He put the

μα ποιούμενος, ὡς ὑπόδικον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπεφήνατο, καὶ τὰ
 ἔσχατα αὐτῷ διαθήσειν κακὰ ἠπειλεῖ τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης
 20 ἔνεκα. Τοῦ δὲ ἀγωνία ληφθέντος καὶ ὡσερ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπο-
 λογουμένου καὶ μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοιοῦτόν τι κατατολμῆσαι σὺν
 πολλῷ τῷ δέει ἐπαγγελλομένου, ἐμεῖν τέως αὐτὸν τὸ λη-
 φθὲν ἔλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἐπέταττεν. Καὶ ὃς ἐμεῖν μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ
 ἔλαιον, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἔτι καὶ ἔτι τὸν ἔμετον προσαπήτει ἐπε-
 25 κτείνεσθαι. Ὡς δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολελειφθαι ἔλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἐγ-
 κάτοις αὐτοῦ ὁ Στέφανος διετείνετο, ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὖθις βίαν
 ἐπῆγε πρὸς τὸ ἐμεῖν, εἶτα καὶ προσηπειλεῖ, ὡς, εἰ μὴ τάχιον
 ἀποδοίῃ τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν ἔλαιον, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ συμ-
 παραληφθῆναι τῷ ἐμέτῳ. Περιδεῆς οὖν ὁ Στέφανος καὶ σὺν-
 30 τρομος ἀναστάς, καὶ ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὸ ὄναρ συμβαλὼν ἀρα-
 K 165α ρότως καὶ ἀναμφιλέκτως, σπου||δῆ πολλῇ τὸ ληφθὲν ἔλαιον
 B 673 τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ ἐπανεσώζε· || καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἦν διη-
 γούμενος τρανογλωττία καὶ πᾶσιν ἀεὶ διαμαρτυρούμενος φευ-
 κταῖον καὶ ἀπώμοτον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ προσφάειν ὅλως ἐν τοῖς
 35 τῇ μονῇ διαφέρουσιν, ἢ τολμᾶν ἐν τούτοις κἂν ὀπωσοῦν ἀφι-
 διάζειν. Τούτου τὸν παῖδα Γεώργιον, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέ-
 ραις τῷ τῆς παραπληξίας πάθει πεπτωκότα, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλως
 ἀπόνασθαι ἐκ πάσης ἰατρικῆς τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἢ τῷ
 λίχνῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἐλπίδων δελεάζεσθαι, ὁ μέγας μόνος ἐρρύ-
 40 σατο τῷ τούτου θείῳ τεμένει προσπεφευγότα, καθὼς καὶ ἡ
 ἐν τῷ ἀργυραίῳ τῆς μονῆς θυμιατηρίῳ ἐκτυπωθεῖσα καὶ δια-
 χαραχθεῖσα γραφὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος τῆς παραδοξοποιίας δι'
 εἰκονικῆς ἐκτυπώσεως ἀριδηλότερον νῦν παριστᾶ.

17.-18. τῷ πράγματι K || 19. αὐτὸν B || ἠπειλεῖ κακὰ transp. K || 20. ὑπὲρ
 ἑαυτοῦ B: αὐτοῦ K || 27. προσαπειλεῖ BK || ὡς B: ὅτι K || 28. ἀποδῶ K
 || 33. διαμαρτυρούμενος BK || 35.-36. σφαδάζειν K || 37. παραπλήξεως K
 || μηδὲ K || 39.-40. ὁ μέγας . . . τεμένει B: τοῦτον τοίνυν ὁ μέγας τῷ θείῳ
 τούτῳ τεμένει K || 41. ἀργυρίῳ K || τῆς μονῆς θυμιατηρίῳ om. K || 43. K
 add. παραδόξως ἴασατο post παριστᾶ

man on trial and threatened to bring the final evils on him
 for his great daring. Stephen was caught in agony and was
 defending himself as it were and in great fear promised never
 again to dare such a thing. And he ordered him to vomit up
 the stolen oil. And he seemed to vomit the oil, but the saint
 asked him to continue the vomiting again and again. And when
 Stephen asserted that there was no longer any oil left in his
 bowels, that one again forcefully urged him to vomit. And then
 he threatened in addition that, if he did not quickly return
 the stolen oil, his very bowels would come up with the vomit.
 And so Stephen in great fear and trembling got up and under-
 stood definitely and without doubt what the dream made clear.
 He returned the oil which had been taken to the workshop
 in great haste. And with clear tongue he was narrating the facts
 of the vision and always bearing witness to all that touching
 monastic property in any way is to be avoided and foresworn,
 or to dare in these matters even to have anything to do with
 it. A few days later Stephen's son Gregorios fell ill with the
 suffering of paraplegia so that he got no benefit from all
 medical skill or knowledge nor was he enticed by any morsel
 of hope. The great one alone saved the boy who took refuge
 in his divine precinct. The writing stamped and engraved on
 the silver censer of the monastery and the very picture of the
 miracle in the form of an ikon now show [this] quite clearly.

Dreams and Historiography: Nocturnal Visions of the Future in the Past

1. (From a 12th-century history of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, founder of a remarkably successful dynasty, by his rather well educated and ambitious daughter, Anna Komnene.)

A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis XL/1*. Berlin - New York: De Gruyter- 2001.
15.6.6-8

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπειθῆς ὁ βάρβαρος ἦν, ὅποια τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦθη ἀγέρωχα, μονονοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν νεφῶν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οἰομένων. ὄνειρος δὲ τις ἐφίσταται αὐτῷ νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀπατηλὸς οὔτε ἐκ Διὸς πεμφθεὶς οὔτε μὴν ἐποτρύνων πρὸς μάχας τὸν βάρβαρον, καθάπερ ἢ γλυκεῖα φησὶ ποίησις, Νηληϊῶ υἱὶ εἰοκῶς, ἀλλὰ τάληθ' ἃ βαρβάρῳ προμαντευόμενος. ἐδόκει γὰρ τάχα μῦας ἐν τῷ ἀριστῶν ὁμαδὸν περιχυθέντας αὐτῷ καὶ ὄν κατήσθιεν ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφαρπάσαι σπεύδοντας. τοῦ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς διατιθεμένου καὶ ἀποδιοπομπεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντος, αἴφνης εἰς λέοντας ἀλλαξαμένους τὴν φύσιν καὶ ὑπερισχυκότας αὐτοῦ. διωπνισθεὶς δὲ τῷ συνοδοιποροῦντι τούτῳ στρατιώτῃ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διηγείτο τὸν ὄνειρον, πυνθανόμενος τί ἂν βούλοιο. τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς μῦας τε καὶ τοὺς λέοντας διαλύοντος τοῦ ὄνειρου αὐτὸς [δὲ] πιστεύειν οὐκ ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ σπουδαίως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως τῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἶχετο, σκοποὺς δὲ τάχα προαπεστάλκει ἐφ' ᾧ περιθρῆσαι, μὴ τινες ἐχθροὶ εἰς προνομήν ἐξεληλύθεισαν. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Μασοῦτ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐντετυχηκότες μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς ἤδη καταλαμβάνοντι καὶ ὁμιλήσαντες τούτῳ ξυνθέμενοί τε τῇ ἐκείνου κατὰ τοῦ Σαῖσαν γνώμῃ, ἐπέστρεψαν μηδένα ἑωρακέναι διαβεβαιούμενοι.

[The Byzantine emperor cautions the Sultan not to set out just yet, or, if he must, to do so under escort of a well-armed Roman contingent] But the barbarian would not even consent to this, for these barbarians are ever arrogant in mind and imagine that they even overtop the clouds. ... But a dream came to him at night, not a deceptive one, nor sent by Zeus, nor for that matter did it incite the barbarian to battle, as sweet poetry says, 'in appearance like the son of Neleus,' but it predicted the truth to the barbarian. For he dreamt that while he was breakfasting swarms of mice encompassed him, and while he was eating they snatched the bread out of his hands; and, as he was disdainful of them and tried to drive them away, they suddenly changed into lions and overpowered him. On waking he told his dream to the Emperor's soldier who was accompanying him and enquired what it meant. The man interpreted the mice and lions of the dream as enemies, and yet the Sultan would not believe but pushed on his journey hurriedly and without taking precautions. He had indeed sent scouts ahead to look round and see whether any enemies had come out foraging. The scouts met Masut already approaching with a large army and after conversing with him, they agreed to his designs upon Saisan, and returned and assured the latter that they had not seen anyone.

2. (From a late 12th-century history of the siege and occupation of the empire's second largest city, Thessalonike, by invading Norman armies, as told by the bishop of the city, Eustathius, himself a prolific writer, classical scholar, and teacher).

S. Kyriakidis, *Eustazio di Tessalonica. La espugnazione di Tessalonica. Palermo, 1961.* 140, 12-18.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐνταῦθα ποθῶν φαίνεται προσιστορηθῆναι καὶ οἷα σήματα τῶν μελλόντων προυφάνη, ἀκουέτω βραχυλογικῶς καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν ἐκτιθεμένων. Ἐν πρώτοις μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄνειρατα, ὅποια καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ οἶδε γραφὴ μηνυτικὰ μελλόντων εἶναι, προελάουν οἷα πεισόμεθα. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγελῶμεν ἐξουθενοῦντες τὰς καθ' ὕπνου δηλώσεις καὶ διαστολὴν οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐξευρίσκειν ὀράματός τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἅπερ ὕπνος φαίνει

But if at this point anyone exhibits a desire to be told the story of the sort of signs which revealed in advance what was to happen, let him listen briefly as we tell the story of these things. First of all, there were the dreams of virtuous men, the sort which even scripture acknowledges forecast the future; these predicted the sort of things we would suffer. And we mocked them, reckoning as nothing the pronouncements of dreams and not willing to recognize the discrepancy between a vision and the remainder, which sleep brings.

3. (The life of Emperor Basil I (867–886), the founder of the Macedonian Dynasty, is the only extant secular biography in Byzantine literature; in its importance and as an instance of the genre it is comparable to Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*. Composed in the circle of scholars around Basil's grandson Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and at his instigation as early as 957 and 959, the *Vita Basilii* is one of the main sources for the cultural and political history of Byzantium and its neighbours in the 9th and 10th centuries.)

Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur. Recensuit Anglice vertit indicibus instruxit Ihor Ševcenko. 9.1-33.

(see pdf. attachment)

John Tzetzes, Letter 58 (ed. P. A. M. Leone) pp. 84–86, addressed to the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180).

TEXT

Τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Μανουήλ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ

Τῷ παγκρατίστῳ κράτει τῆς θεοπροβλήτου κραταιᾶς καὶ ἀγίας βασιλείας σου ὁ ἀνάξιος δοῦλός σου συγχαίρω, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ νίκης ἄγγελος εὐαγγέλου ἐξ εὐαγγέλων ὀνείρων σοι γίνομαι, εἰ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἵππον δέξῃ τοῦ κράτους σου σύμμαχον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ ἀνάξιος δοῦλος τοῦ κράτους σου «οὔτε τι μάντις ἐὼν οὔτ' οἰωνῶν σάφα εἰδῶς» οὐδ' ὑπάρχων ἀββᾶς ἢ παπᾶς ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἀρετὴν μετερχομένων τινά, ὀνείρους δὲ ἄντικρυς μαντείας καὶ χρησμοδῆματα βλέπων ἐνίοτε γινώσκω τὰ τούτων ἀποτελέσματα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ βρωμάτων ἢ κραιπάλης καρηβαρῶν καὶ κατόχιμος ὕπνῳ γινόμενος ὀνειροπολῶ, ἀλλὰ νήφων τε καὶ ἀκράϊπαλος καὶ μηδὲ καθεύδων σχεδόν. ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἴσασι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφασκούσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι. ἐγγωνιάζειν γὰρ εἰωθῶς καὶ μήτοι γε ἀγοράς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λεωφόρους περιερχόμενος, ἀναπνεῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν κλίνην ὡς καθευδήσων τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ εἰώμην καθεύδειν· ψυλλῶν γὰρ νέφος ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν ἄμετρον στρατιάν μοι ἐπεστρατεύετο καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐτειχομάχει με. τοσοῦτῳ κακῷ περιστοιχιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τὸν τοῦ Ἰξίου ἐστροφοδινούμην τροχὸν ὀλονύκτιος μέχρι τοῦ ὑπαυγάζειν ἡμέραν, ἐπιμύσας δὲ τότε τῷ κόπῳ καὶ ταῖς ὀδύναϊς μόλις τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄυπνος ἔτι ὑπάρχων ἐδόκησα περὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεωμακέλλου περιπατεῖν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐντυχεῖν Βασιλείῳ τινὶ χρυσοχῶ τὴν τέχνην, πλησίον ἐργαστηρίου τινὸς μυρεψοῦ Στρατονίκου Κονδοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντι βιβλίον· καὶ ἐδόκει μοι πρῶτον εἶναι τὸ βιβλίον τῶν εὐτελῶν πλὴν τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὡς δὲ ἤκουσα τούτου ἀναγινώσκοντος εἶπον· «κύριε Βασίλειε, οὐκ εἰσι ταῦτα τοῦ Δεξίππου τὰ Σκυθικά;» καὶ τούτου εἰπόντος μοι «ναί» εἶπον ἐγώ· «καὶ τίς σοι ἔδωκε ταῦτα;» ὁ δὲ εἶπέ μοι· «ὁ βουλλωτῆς». δύο δὲ εἰσι βουλλωταί, πατὴρ Θεόδωρος τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος διάκονος· ὃν υἱὸν μᾶλλον ἐδόκησα εἶναι τὸν δόντα. καὶ ἐθαύμασα τοῦτο

τριπλῶς, ὅτι τε ὀλιγογράμματος ὦν ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ στοιχειώδη μόνον παιδευθεὶς γράμματα τοιοῦτον ἀνεγίνωσκε βιβλίον, καὶ ὅτι κατωτέρω πολὺ οἰκῶν ἔδωκε μοι τότε πλησίον τοῦ Στρατονίκου ἐργαστηρίου οἰκεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι ὄπερ βιβλίον ἔδόκουν ποθεῖν ἀναγνῶναι ἐγώ, ὁ βουλλωτῆς ἔδωκε τῷ ῥηθέντι χρυσοχόῳ ἀναγινώσκειν. ἦν δὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κεκομμένα τινὰ σειραδῶματα ἔχον καὶ τινὰ φύλλα ὡς ἐκ πυρὸς ῥυτιδωθέντα· πλὴν ἔλεγον ὅτι, εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅμως καλὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει καὶ οὐ φροντὶς περὶ φύλλων καὶ σειραδῶματος. ἔκρινα γοῦν Βασίλειον χρυσοχόον εἶναι τὴν σὴν κραταιοτάτην βασιλείον αὐτοκρατορίαν, ἣτις κατωτέρω μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν κατώκει τοῦ Στρατονίκου, χέασα δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ δεξαμένη τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἵππον εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐκ τοῦ βουλλωτοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ στρατηλάτου ἢ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου, υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ πίστεως χρηματίζοντος, βουλλωσάντων αὐτῶν καὶ δεσμησάντων τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τοῦ Κονδοῦ Στρατονίκου ἀνελεύσεται, τουτέστι θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἁγίοις βοηθούμενος καὶ χρυσῷ δεξάμενος σύμμαχον καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Σκυθικὴν κονδῶς καὶ συντόμως ἐργάσῃ νίκην καὶ τρόπαια. ὡς δοῦλος ἀνάξιος μὲν, φιλαυτοκράτωρ δὲ καὶ φιλόπατρις ἔγραψα.

TRANSLATION

To our mighty and holy emperor kyr Manuel the Purple-born

Almighty Emperor, I, your unworthy servant, congratulate the all-potent power of your divinely acclaimed, powerful and holy Majesty, and I shall be the harbinger of joyful tidings, brought on by joyful dreams, foretelling victory, provided your Majesty receives the Scythian cavalry as your ally.

Although I, your unworthy servant, ‘am no diviner and know very little about omens’ (*Odyssey* 1.202), and am not an abbot or a priest or someone living a pious life, I have dreams which are altogether divinatory or oracular and I sometimes understand their outcomes as if I were a true seer because I never dream under the burden of excessive food or drink or having fallen into a deep slumber, but I am always temperate and sober and barely asleep. This conduct and disposition of mine being known to many people, last Sunday at daybreak something memorable happened to me. As I prefer to keep to

myself and don't usually wander about the streets and the marketplace, I had gone to bed [early], as always, in order to sleep. But it was impossible for me to fall asleep because a cloud of fleas, more numerous than the innumerable army of Xerxes, had set out against me, besieging me from all directions. Surrounded by such an evil, I started tossing and turning in my bed faster than the wheel of Ixion, all through the night right up to daybreak.

Only then did I manage to barely close my eyes succumbing to my exhaustion and pain, and while I was still almost awake, it appeared to me that I was walking about the market of Leomakellos, and that, next to the workshop of a perfume maker by the name of Stratonikos Kondos, I ran into a certain goldsmith called Basil reading a book. And at first it seemed to me that it was a cheap copy of the Holy Scriptures, but when I heard him reading, I exclaimed: 'But Master Basil isn't this the *Scythica* of Deuxippos?'. He answered 'Yes', so I asked him, 'And who gave this book to you?'. And he answered 'The sealer (*boullōtēs*)'. Now, there are two sealers: one named Constantine, and the other is his son Theodore, who also happens to be a deacon. And I thought that it must be he, the son, who had given the book to Basil. And I wondered about three things. First, how could Basil, who was barely literate, be reading this book? Secondly, although he lives further down the road, how could his house appear to me to be near the workshop of Stratonikos? And, furthermore, on top of these, I wondered about one more thing: This being a book that I had been longing to read, how could the sealer have offered it to the aforementioned goldsmith? The book's binding, however, was broken in several places and some of its pages were shriveled up as though singed by fire. Nonetheless, I was thinking that even so, the book contained a perfectly good treatise and it didn't matter about the pages or the binding.

I judged that the goldsmith Basil represented [in the dream] your mighty imperial Majesty, who lives further down the road from Stratonikos's workshop than it appeared to me [in my sleep], but who –having lavished gold upon the Scythian cavalry and received them as allies through the intercession of the sealer (*boullōtēs*) Theodore Stratelates or his son in faith Constantine the

Great, both of whom sealed off (*boullōsantōn*) your enemies and put them in chains— will come up to the workshop (*ergastērion*) of Stratonikos (= the conqueror of an army) Kondos (*Kondos* = *kondōs* = soon). That is to say that with the help of God and the aforementioned saints, and having received as an ally the Scythian cavalry by the use of gold, you will soon achieve (*ergasēi*) a great victory and many trophies.

Being an unworthy servant, but full of love for my emperor and country, I wrote to you about these things.

ἔχειν · καὶ ὅταν κερφώ(153^v)ση αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ματαία αὐτῶν οἰ-
ήσει ὁ διάβολος, ποιεῖ « κατανευγμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ θανα-
τῶσαι »² καὶ πληθύνει τὰ δάκρυα ἐν αὐτοῖς. Εἰσι δὲ καὶ πρό-
θυμοι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν κακοεργεῖ ἐργασία ἀκόπως ἐπιτελοῦντες τὸ
πρακτικόν (116), ὡς μὴ ὄντος τοῦ παρεμποδίζοντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
καὶ συνεργοῦντος, ἕως οὗ πτωματίση αὐτούς. Φησὶ γάρ τις ·
« Παίδευσις ὑπερηφάνοις πτώμα, σκόλοψ δὲ δαίμων, ἐγκατάλειψις
δὲ ἔκστασις »³. Μακάριος λοιπὸν ὁ μὴ ἠττηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις,
ἀλλ' ἀξιοθελὴς τῶν προτέρων καταπολαῦσαι · ὧν γένοιτο ἡμᾶς
ἐπιτυχεῖν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἃ εἶπον περὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν δακρῶν οὐκ ἐκ
πειράς, ἀλλ' ἐκ στοχασμοῦ καὶ ἀναγνώσεως, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν σὺν
Θεῷ ἐπίστανται | οἱ πρακτικοί. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔφην πειθόμενος τῷ
ἀγίῳ Νείλω φάσκοντι · « Λέγειν χρὴ καλὰ καὶ τὸν μὴ καλὰ
πράττοντα, ὅπως ἄρξῃται τῶν ἔργων, τοὺς λόγους αἰσχυρόμε-
νος »⁴. Καὶ πάλιν · « Σχηματίζον τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὐχ ὅπως ἀπατή-
σης, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὠφελήσης τοὺς βλέποντας »⁵.

8. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος μοι τοῦ ὁσίου, εἶρηκα πρὸς αὐτόν · Ἄββᾶ,
τῶν μὲν δουλικῶν καὶ νυκτικῶν δακρῶν πείραν οὐ κέκτημαι. Πε-
ρὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἐπηρείας ἐπιγινόμενων ἡμῖν, εἰ κελεύ-
εις, ἐρῶ σοι. Καὶ ὁ ὁσιος · Εἰπέ. Κἀγὼ · Ἄδελφόν τινα ἐδε-
ξάμην ὡς ἐτῶν ὄντα τριάκοντα, ὃς στρατευόμενος κατὰ κόσμον
διὰ τινα δυστυχίαν κατέλειπε τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ θέλων
ταπεινωθῆναι καὶ βαστάσαι τὸν ἐπελθόντα αὐτῷ πειρασμόν. Ἄ-
πελθὼν δὲ | (154^r) καὶ εὐρών τινα κυκλευτήν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰ
ἑαυτοῦ ἱμάτια καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὰ ἐκείνου. Καὶ ἀποκείρας αὐτὸς
ἑαυτὸν οἰκειαῖς χερσὶν εὐθὺς ἤρξατο μωροποιεῖν καὶ περιῆει ἐν
τῇ πόλει ἄλλα ἀντ' ἄλλων λέγων καὶ ποιῶν · εἶτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ
ἔχειν αὐτὸν πείραν τοῦ προσαιτεῖν ἢ, πῶς εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, οὐ
παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τις ἄρτον ἢ ἄλλο τι. Ποίησας οὖν ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ
νῆστις διερχόμενος ἤλθε πλησίον κήπου τινός. Ὁ δὲ κηπουρὸς
ἦν καθαίρων κράμβας καὶ τὰ σαπρὰ ἐξωθῶν, ἃ καὶ λαβὼν ὁ αὐ-
τοχειροτόνητος μοναχὸς ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν. Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ κη-
πουρὸς, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ μίαν κράμβην. Καὶ φαγόντι αὐτὴν δέδωκε
καὶ ἑτέραν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ φαγεῖν καὶ ταύτην δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἄρτον.
Ὁ δὲ ἐκ πρώτης προσβο|λῆς δούς νῶτα κατέλιπε τὸ μωροποιεῖν.

9. Ἦν δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔχων πνευματικὸν πατέρα, ἄνδρα ἀρετῆ
πάσῃ κεκοσμημένον, ὃς ἦν μαθητευθεὶς ἀγίῳ τινὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ

² Ps. 108 (109), 16 — ³ CLIM., Grad. 23 (P.G. 88, 968A) — ⁴ NIL, Sent. 46 (P.G. 79, 1244d) — ⁵ Id., *ibid.* 45 (P.G. 79, 1244d).

αὐτὸ τὸ βιβλίον· καὶ τούτου χάριν οὐ μὴ με κατακρίνη ἢ συνείδησις διὰ τὴν κτήσιν τῆς βίβλου. Ἐλπίζω δὲ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν μου ὅτι καὶ πάλιν σὴ ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλω τινὶ καταλείψω αὐτήν. Ἐκτοτε τοίνυν ζήσας ὁ ὄσιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὡσεὶ μῆνας πέντε ἡσθένησε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον. Κἀγὼ ἀγνοῶν ἔπεμψα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ μαθεῖν περὶ τῆς ὑγείας αὐτοῦ καὶ κομίσει μοι τὰς ἀγίας τούτου εὐχάς. Ἐδρε δὲ τὸν γέροντα τὰ τελευταῖα πνεύοντα, ἐρρωμένον δὲ τῷ φρονήματι. Ὅς καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἀδελφὸν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν βίβλον εἰπὼν· Δὸς ταύτην τῷ ἀββᾶ σου | (156^r) καὶ ἄσπασαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑμοῦ. Οὐδέτι γὰρ θεάσομαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ μικρὸν ἡσυχάσας παρέδωκε τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν τῷ Θεῷ.

12. Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ὁ ὄσιος Αὔξέντιος — τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ — ἔστειλέ μοι τῷ τότε τὸν προρρηθέντα ἀτοχειροτόνητον μοναχόν, ὃς καὶ ἀσμένως δεχθεὶς παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀγίαν εὐχὴν τοῦ γέροντος καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἦν σὺν ἡμῖν. Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν ὄσιον ἄνδρα ἐκείνιον καὶ πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα πλουτοῦντα ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι τῶν δακρύων ἐζήλωσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐργάσασθαι ἢ σπεῖραι ἀπήρξατο θερίζων ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει¹, ὡς ᾤετο. Βλέπων δὲ ἐγὼ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἠρώτων αὐτὸν λέγων· Μὴ κλαίεις; Ὁ δὲ· Καὶ | τίς εἰμι ἐγώ; Ὁ κλαυθμὸς τῶν ἀγίων ἐστίν. Οὐκ ἐπέιθετο γὰρ ὁμολογήσαι μοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Παρατηρήσας δὲ αὐτὸν πολλάκις εὗρισκον ἐν μεγάλῳ πένθει καὶ ὀδυρμῷ. Μὴ δυνάμενος λοιπὸν γνῶναι τὰ δάκρυα πόθεν εἰσὶ, πάλιν ἠρώτησα αὐτόν· Κλαίεις; Καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Τίς εἰμι ἐγώ; Τὰ δάκρυα τῶν ἀγίων εἰσίν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὑπάρχω ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀκάθαρτος. Ἠθέλησα οὖν παρατηρήσαι αὐτόν ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί. Κἀκεῖνος ἔφαλλεν ἀπὸ κατανυκτικοῦ κανόνος τροπάρια ὀκτώ. Ἐν δὲ ἕκαστον ὄημα πεντάκις ἢ δεκάκις ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ἔλεγε μετ' ὀδυρμῶν καὶ θρήνων γοερῶν. Ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τοῦτο ἐποίει, ἔφαλλον ἐγὼ τὰ ἀπόδειπνά μου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψαλτῆρος καθίσματα (120) τέσσαρα. Κἀκεῖνος | (156^v) εἶχε τῆς τρίτης ψόδης τὸ τροπάριον (121). Τοῦτο ἰδὼν καὶ ἀκούσας κατήγγησα αὐτόν καὶ ἀπήλθον ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ μου. Θέλων δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον νοῆσαι εἰ ἐκ δαιμόνων εἰσὶ τὰ δάκρυα αὐτοῦ, εἶπον τῷ διακονοῦντί μοι ἀδελφῷ· Παρατήρησαι τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὅταν εὗρῃς αὐτόν ἐν τῷ δαιμονικῷ αὐτοῦ ὀδυρμῷ, ἔκδεξαι ἕως οὗ καταλήξῃ ἢ σατανικὴ αὐτοῦ ἐργασία. Καὶ τότε σκῶψον αὐτόν ὡς ἀεργῇ καὶ μὴ συγκοπιῶντα

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Καὶ πρόσεχε τί σοι μέλλει ἀποκριθῆναι, ἵνα μοι εἴπῃς αὐτό. Ὡς οὖν ἔσκωπεν αὐτόν, ἤρξατο ταράσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· Ὡ τῆς συμφορᾶς. Ὅταν ὀργισθῇ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν χριστιανόν, παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν Ἑβραίῳ προστάτῃ. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθον τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίωξα αὐτόν μήπω πληρώσαντα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνιαυτόν. Ἴδιον γὰρ ὑπερηφανίας τὸ ἐξουθενεῖν καὶ θυμοῦσθαι· τὸ γὰρ δάκρυον ἐκ φιλοθείας, ἐκ φιλοδοξίας, ἐξ οἰνοφλυγίας, ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἀθυμίας καὶ θλίψεως.

13. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐν τινι μοναστηρίῳ τῆς πόλεως ἠσύχασε. Καὶ ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν ὄρα αἰσθητῶς τοὺς δαίμονας ὡς διακόνους τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ἔχοντας καὶ τινα βασιλικὸν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ λέγοντας αὐτῷ ὅτι· Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆ βουλῆ καὶ¹ τῆς συνόδου τετύπωκε ποιῆσαί σε πατριάρχην διὰ τὴν προσοῦσάν σοι ἀρετὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαγεῖν σε ἐκ πένθους εἰς παράκλησιν. « Μακάριοι γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται »². Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀνάξιον | (157^r) ἑαυτὸν τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὕψους ἀπεκάλει. Καὶ οἱ δῆθεν διάκονοι ἐπέμενον λέγοντες· Ἠράσθη σου τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τῶν δακρύων ὁ Θεὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὠδήγησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ σοῦ. Ἐξελεθόντων τοίνυν αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθε καὶ ὁ μελλοπατριάρχης, πειριώμενος δῆθεν ἀποκρυβῆναι ἐκ ταπεινοφροσύνης. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τινὰ γνωστοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσελθὼν λέγει· Κλείσατε, κλείσατε τὰς πύλας. Οἱ δέ· Καὶ τί ἐστί; φασίν. Ἀναγκασθεὶς λοιπὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἔφη· Ποιῶ ἐγὼ τὰ νῦν πατριάρχην. Ἐκθαμβοὶ δὲ γεγονότες συνεχῶς ἠτένιζον πρὸς αὐτόν μὴ ἔχοντες τί εἰπεῖν ἢ νοῆσαι. Εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν τέλειον ἐκστάς τῶν φρενῶν, ὄψας τὰ ἱμάτια ἐξῆλθε γεγυμνωμένος | περιπολῶν τὴν πόλιν, ἐσθίων τε καὶ ποιῶν ἃ μὴ δεῖ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ πεπλήρωκε χρόνους ὀκτῶ καὶ πρὸς, τέλειος ἐκστατικὸς ὢν. Ὁ γὰρ ἀγνωστὸν ἐνέδραν πολεμίων σφάζεται εὐχερῶς· καὶ ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς τὰς αἰτίας τῶν παθῶν καταπίπτει ῥαδίως.

14. Ταῦτ' εἰρηκότος μου πρὸς τὸν ὄσιον, ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε· Τίς τῶν σοφῶν πλούσιον ἄσωτον θεασάμενος ἐλαίας ἐσθίοντα καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντα ἔφη· Εἰ οὕτω κατὰ γνώμην ἠρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω παρὰ γνώμην ἐδείπνεις¹. Ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, εἰ οὕτω κατὰ γνώμην ἐμωροποιεῖ, οὐκ ἂν παρὰ γνώμην ἐξέστη. « Παιδεύσει γάρ σε ἡ ἀποστασία σου, φησί, καὶ ἡ κακία σου ἐλέγξει σε »². Ὡστε καὶ ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας εἰδός ἐστιν. Ὅταν

42, 13. —¹ καὶ C: om. L —² Matth. 5, 4.

42, 14. —¹ Cf. MAX. CONF., Serm. 61 (P.G. 91, 988A) —² Jerem. 2-19

CHAPITRE 53.

1. Ἐπει δὲ κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα καιρὸς τῷ παντὶ πράγματι, καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν¹, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀρχὴν μὴ καὶ τέλος ἔχουσαν, βούλομαι εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ ὁσίου τοῦδε ἀνδρός. Οὗτος ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος τριακοστὸς ὢν ἀπήρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν Θεῷ. Καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη ἀσκήσας τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἡσυχάζων οὐκ ἠσθένησεν ἐν τοῖς τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν· οὐ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἤλγησεν, οὐ τοὺς ὀδόντας, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν μελῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἐνενηκοστὸς δὲ τρίτος γεγωνὸς τοὺς τρεῖς² ποτὲ μὲν ἐνόσει μικρόν, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ. Μόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ γήρωσ καὶ τῆς ἀνευδότου ἀσκήσεως ἦν καταπεπονημένος. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐνενηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ | (191^τ) σπανίως ἀνίστατο. Οὕτως τοίνυν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν φθορεὺς διάβολος καὶ φθονήσας μήπως ἐν γήρει καλῶ καταλύσῃ τὸν βίον, ὡς μὴ ἰσχύσας ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ τῆς νεότητος αὐτοῦ δελεάσαι αὐτόν, τί βουλευέται καὶ τί ποιεῖ ὁ ἀλάστορ; Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄμεμπτον Ἰὼβ ἐπολέμησεν εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα^{2α} αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν σπιλῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἰσχυσεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα εὐρῶν τὸν δίκαιον μὴ κεκτημένον τι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου πλὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥρμησε κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐφεύσθη ὁ παμμήχανος καὶ παγκάκιστος. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν· «Ὁὐ μὴ σε ἀνώ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω»³, «οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτὸν πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἐποίησε σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν | ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ὑπενεγκεῖν»⁴.

2. Ἔθος εἶχεν Ἰωάννης (157) ὁ σεβαστὸς (158) καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ παμμακαρίστου βασιλέως καὶ γαμβρὸς τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἅγιον γέροντα καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀμιλιῶν καὶ ἀγίων εὐχῶν ἐπαπολαύειν. Ὅπερ εἰδὼς ὁ διάβολος, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωσ καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας παραλελυμένον, τὴν ἀσκησίν τε περᾶναντα καὶ τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ λαμπρυνθέντα καὶ τῷ Θεῷ οἰκειωθέντα καὶ τὰς παμμηχάνους μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ τέλειον καταργοῦντα, δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ αἰσθητῶς ἐνδοθεν τῆς μονῆς πλησίον τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ σκηπὴν ἰσταμένην ἔσωθεν κλίνην ἔχουσαν ἐστρωμένην καὶ ὑπὸ κοκκίνων ταπήτων σκεπομένην καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν σεβαστὸν ἐ|(191^υ)πικαθήμενον καὶ ὑπὸ ὄχλου παριστάμενον.

53, 1. —¹ Cf. Eccl. 3, 1-2 —² Supplétez ἐνιαυτούς —^{2α} Cf. Job 1, 12 —³ Cf. Deuter. 31, 6 —⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 13.

Ὡς οὖν ἔβλεπεν αὐτὸν ὁ ὄσιος ἀντικρὺ αὐτοῦ, ἐθαύμαζε τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐμέμφετο τῷ σεβαστῷ ὡς τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ σὺνηθες πράξαντι, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὡς μὴ κωλύσασιν αὐτόν. Εἶτα ἔρχεται ὁ δῆθεν σεβαστὸς πρὸς τὸν γέροντα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Χαίροις. Ὁ δὲ ἀντιχαιρετίσας αὐτὸν προσετρέφετο καθίσει. Ὡς δὲ ἀπήρξατο συντυγχάνειν τῷ γέροντι, ἤρξατο θολοῦσθαι ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὅσον ἐπλήθυνε τοὺς λόγους ὁ δῆθεν σεβαστὸς, τοσοῦτον ἐθολοῦτο τῇ διανοίᾳ ὁ ὄσιος, ἕως οὗ ἀπειργάσατο αὐτόν ὡς ἐξεστηκότα. Ὁ γὰρ ἰὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτου οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα μείζω δύναται ποιῆσαι κατὰ συγκώρησιν Θεοῦ. Εἶτα λέγει αὐτῷ· Οἶδας οἶαν πίστιν κέκτημαι εἰς σέ. Ὁ δὲ· Ναί, φησί. Καὶ ὅς· Τούτου χάριν ἐπιποθῶ λειτουργίαν τελεσθῆναι ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ σου καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ μεταλαβεῖν. Ὁ δὲ· Ἴδὸν τὸ κελλίον καὶ σὺ ὡς κελεύεις ποιήσον, μὴ εἰδὼς ὁ ἐλάλει.

3. Εὐθὺς τοίνυν ὁ κατάρατος σεβαστὸς δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἔνδοθεν τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν, πρόθεσιν, δίσκους, ποτήρια καὶ ποτηροκαλύμματα (159). Εἰσέρχονται οἱ μηϊερεῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν αὐτῶν, ποιοῦσι προσκομιδὴν καὶ ἀπήρξαντο τῆς μυσσαρᾶς αὐτῶν λειτουργίας. Εἶτα βλέπει ὁ ὄσιος τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἰδὸν ἤρθη ἐν ὀπίῃ ἢ στέγη τῆς κέλλης καὶ γέγονεν | (192^r) εὐρύχωρος, ὥστε χωρεῖν ἔσωθεν τὸν κατάρατον σεβαστὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ὄσιος ἔστη εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κέλλης καὶ προσσχὼν τοῖς λυσσοργοῖς λειτουργοῖς αὐτοῦ ἤκουε μὲν τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἠδύνατο δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιγνῶναι. Τέως δὲ εἶπον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἠδυνήθη ἀκηκοέναι ἢ ἀμήν, ἀμήν, γένοιτο, γένοιτο. Εἶτα εἰπόντος τοῦ μηϊερέως· Προσέλθετε, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κατάρατος σεβαστὸς καὶ μετέλαβε τῆς αἰσχύνης. Εἶθ' οὕτως καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες. Ὁ δὲ γέροντος ὠχλεῖτο μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν λογισμῶν τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν σὺν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ λέγων· Εἴ ἐστι θέλημα Θεοῦ, εἰπεῖν μοι ἔχει ὁ σεβαστὸς. Εἰ δ' οὖν, τίς εἰμι, ὁ ἀνάξιος; | Ὁ γοῦν φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεὸς οὐ παρείδε τὴν ταπεινώσιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἐμνήσθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτόν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ παρεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ κοινωρῆσαι. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γέγονε, τάχ' ¹ ἂν τὰς φρένας αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσεν. Οὕτως οὖν τελεσθείσης τῆς μυσσαρᾶς

αὐτῶν κακουργίας, ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ φαινομένῃ σκηνηῇ.

4. Ὁ δὲ ὄσιος ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγους στάσεως κοπιήσας πάνυ ἐκαθέσθη ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ σκοτώσει λογισμῶν. Κρούσαντος δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ὄσιος· Οὐκ ἔστε χριστιανοί; Οὐ βούλεσθε ἀποθανεῖν; Οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε τὸ γῆράς μου; Οὐχ ὄρατε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν μου; Δύναμαι ἐγὼ ὀχλήσεις τοσαύτας ὑπὸ | (192^v) τῶν κοσμικῶν ἔχειν καὶ λειτουργίας κεκτηῖσθαι ἐνδοθεν τοῦ κελλίου μου; Ὁ δὲ· Συγχώρησόν μοι, ἀββᾶ, οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις. Καὶ ὅς· Κἂν ἐμοὶ οὐ πιστεύῃς, τοῖς ἔργοις πίστευσον. Καὶ ὁ μαθητῆς· Ποίους ἔργους; Ὁ δὲ· Οὐχ ὄρας τὸν σεβαστὸν μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν; Καὶ διηγῆσατο αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ μαθητῆς φησιν· Ἐγὼ ἐξ ὧν λέγεις τὸ οἰοοῦν οὐχ ὄρω. Καὶ ὅς· Κἂν τὸ κελλίον μου οὐχ ὄρας ἀσκεπές, οὐχ ὄρας τὸ δισκοποτήριον αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦ καλύμματος ἐνδοθεν ὄντα ἀκμήν; Καὶ ὁ μαθητῆς ἐκπλαγείς ἐκρουσε τὴν στέγην τοῦ κελλίου καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐχ ὄρας ταύτην; Ὁ δὲ· Ναί, πλὴν οὐκ ἦν. Ὁ μαθητῆς δὲ· Ἡ στέγη, ἔφη, ἦν καὶ ἔστι. Καὶ ὅς· Εἰς δὲ τὸ δισκοποτήριον τί ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, δεικνὺς αὐτὸ τῇ χειρὶ. Ὁ μαθητῆς οὖν ἄρας αὐτὸ λέγει· Οὐκ ἔστι τὸ βανκάλιον σου; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· Ναί, τέως δὲ τὸ κελλίον ἀσκεπές ἐστίν. Ἦρξατο λοιπὸν ὁ μαθητῆς τύπτειν τὰς ὄψεις καὶ λέγειν· Οὐαὶ μοι, ἐξέστης. Ὁ δὲ· Ἐξέστης σύ, εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς φρένας μου κέκτημαι. Καὶ ὅς· Κακαὶ φρένες.

5. Τοῦτων οὕτως ὁμιλούντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ποτὲ μὲν ἐπανήρχετο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ. Εἶχον δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πίστιν πρὸς τινὰ μοναχὸν καὶ λέγουσι τῷ ὀσίῳ· Θέλεις ἵνα καλέσωμεν τὸν μοναχόν¹; Ναί, φησίν. Ἐλθὼν τοιγαροῦν ὁ μοναχὸς καὶ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· Πῶς ἔχει ἡ ἀγιοσύνη σου; Ὁ δὲ· Ὡς οἱ συνάδελφοί μου οὗτοι λέγουσι, κακῶς. Καὶ διη- | (193^r) γῆσατο αὐτῷ ἅπαντα τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς· Οὐκ ἐκοινωνήσας ἐκ τοῦ ποιηρίου αὐτῶν; Δόξα τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ. Καὶ ὅς· Ἐβουλόμην μὲν κοινωνῆσαι διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἡμέρας μὴ μετασχόντα τῶν θείων μυστηρίων καὶ ἤθελον. Ἐξεδεχόμην δὲ λέγων εἴ ἐστι θέλημα Θεοῦ, ἔχει μοι καὶ ὁ σεβαστὸς εἰπεῖν· εἰ δ' οὐκ, οὐ. Καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν μοι οὐ μετέλαβον. Καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς· Ὅντως, ἀββᾶ, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ λέγω σοι ὅτι, εἰ

53, 5. —¹ δοκεῖ μοι τὸν μοναχὸν τοῦτον εἶναι Νικόλαον τὸν Κατασκευαστὴν τὸν συγγράψαντα τὸν βίον τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντα in margine L (f. 128^v)

Two bad dreams in *The Life of Cyril Phileotes* by Nicholas Kataskepenos

Ed. E. Sargologos, *La vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+1110)* (SubsidHag, 39, Brussels, 1964): mid twelfth century.

I

In the first case, the author, in conversation with his subject, is determined to tell a story, after asking the saint about his own experience of weeping. The story involves the dangerous nature of tears both for a revered ascetic and for an opportunistic veteran. The vision comes in section 13 (here in bold).

42.8-13 Nicholas tells a story to illustrate tears that come from the devil, in which a monk has a false vision

42.1-7 show Nicholas asking the saint if he can weep at will, and the saint describing his experience of tears (with florilegium)

42.8. At these words of the holy man, I replied, ‘Abba, I have no experience of servile or filial tears. But if you allow me, I will speak of those which are due to attacks of the Devil’. And the holy man said, ‘Speak’, And I said, ‘I took in a brother of about thirty years who had given himself to a military career, but who as the result of a misfortune, had abandoned the army, not wanting to humiliate himself and suffer the consequences of his testing. So going off and finding a wandering monk, gave him his cloak and took his in exchange. And then he cut his hair with his own hands and proceeded to act the fool; he went round the town speaking and saying and doing things, among others, like this, either because he had no experience of begging, or—and I don’t know what to say—lest anyone give him bread or anything else. So he had fasted for eight days when he came upon a garden. The gardener was cleaning cabbage, taking out what was spoilt; but the one who had turned himself into a monk took his leavings and set to eating them. The gardener when he saw him gave him a cabbage. And when the man had eaten it, he gave him another. Then, when he had eaten the second cabbage, he gave him some bread. And so, after the first attack of the devil, our man turned his back to him and ceased to play the fool.

42.9-11 deal with his spiritual father Auxentios, himself spiritual son of a father from the Black Mountain, who made himself sick by weeping.

42.12 And so thus holy Auxentios, for that was his name, sent me again the brother mentioned above, who had made himself a monk. He was received among us with joy because of the request of the geron and the commandment of Christ and he lived with

us. This brother knew that his spiritual father possessed to a high degree the gift of tears, and was envious of it. Before working and seeding he thought he could come again with rejoicing. Looking him in the eye, I asked him, 'Are you weeping?' He replied to me, 'Who am I? weeping is for saints. I am a sinner and an impure man'. I therefore wanted to observe him during a night. He sang eight troparia of a katanyktic canon, and repeated each word five or six times or even more with lamentations and groanings. While he was doing that, I was saying *apodeipna* and four *kathismata* from the psalter. And he had the *troparion* of the third ode. Seeing him and hearing this, I left and went back to my cell. But as I wanted to know whether his tears came from demons, I said to the brother who served me, 'Watch so-and-so and when you find him in diabolic lamentations, wait until he ends his demonic work; then reprimand him as idle and not taking any part in the work of his brothers. Pay attention to what he replies and report back to me. When he reprimanded him, the brother began to be troubled and to say, 'What a misfortune. When God is angry with a Christian, he gives him to a Jewish protector.' And when I learned of his arrogance I drove him out of the monastery; he had not yet spent a year with us. The nature of pride is to be mistrustful and to become angry. Tears may come from the love of God, or from ambition, drunkenness, demonic discouragement or affliction.

42.13 So going off to a certain monastery in the City, he became a hesychast. And within two months, he saw with his senses **the demons as deacons of the Great Church having with them some imperial person (basilikon) and saying to him that 'The emperor, having taken the counsel of the synod, has decided to elect you patriarch because of your virtue, to bring you from mourning to consolation. Blessed, says the Gospel, are they that mourn for they shall be comforted.'** Hearing this, he declared himself unworthy of such an honour. But the alleged deacons insisted, 'God has taken in affection your work and tears and has even led the emperor to think of you.' When they had left him, the future patriarch set out immediately under the pretext of hiding himself in humility. Going off to some people he knew, he went in and said, 'Close the doors, the doors'. And they said, 'What is this?' And compelled by them he said, 'I am going now to be patriarch'. Amazed, they stared at him and didn't know what to say or to think. A little time later he completely lost his reason, threw off his clothes, and went out completely naked and went about the town, eating and doing what is not appropriate. Eight years or even more passed while he was in this state of folly. He who does not observe the inroad of the enemy is easily slaughtered, and he who does not know the causes of the passions falls easily.

42.14 *The holy man tells a story in reply about eating with the senses.*

42.15 *The holy man says that whoever thinks he has visions of the senses in prayer is misguided and probably Messalian.*

II

In the second case, the ageing ascetic sees a φαντασία, is persuaded that he has been fooled, but after prayer recovers for a while his good health. Structurally the story begins the section (chapters 543-55) on the old age and death of the holy man. The φαντασία is not so clearly delineated, but should be seen as including 53.2 as well as 53.3.

53.1: *announces the old age of the saint at his 94th year, when the Devil thought he might have a chance with him.*

53.2-4: The Devil's Mass

53.2. The Devil organizes a false liturgy

John the sebastos, nephew of the blessed emperor and brother-in-law of the protostrator, was in the habit of coming to do proskynesis to the elderly saint and of putting to good use his conversation and holy prayers. The Devil knew it. Since he saw that the saint was paralysed by old age and weakness, and had ended his askesis which was famous for his freedom from passions, and that he was on good terms with God and had reduced to powerlessness the most cunning of devilry, he showed him through the means of his senses, in the monastery and near his cell, **an erected marquee. Inside it was a couch, strewn and covered with red rugs, where the sebastos was sitting, surrounded by a crowd. Seeing him opposite him, the saint was amazed. He blamed at once the sebastos for behaving like this against custom, and his brothers for not preventing him. The so-called sebastos came towards the *geron* and said: 'Greetings'. He greeted him in his turn and invited him to sit. But when he approached, the reason of the old man began to trouble him. The more the so-called sebastos redoubled his words, the more the saint was troubled in his reason until he became as it were outside of himself. For the venom of the words of the Devil was able to produce this effect, and worse, through the permission of God. Then the sebastos said to the saint, 'you know what faith I have in you', and the saint replied, 'Yes'. The sebastos replied, 'It is for this reason that I wish for a liturgy to be celebrated in your cell and that I take communion.'** The saint, not realizing what he was saying, replied: 'Here is the cell; do as you propose.'

53.3 Immediately the accursed sebastos showed him an illusion, on the interior of his cell, **an altar, the prothesis, patens, chalices and veils for the holy vessels. Then false priests entered with their co-celebrants, made the preparations and began their loathesome liturgy. The saint then saw, with the eyes of his body, that in the twinkling of an eye the roof of his cell had**

been taken off with a rush and it became spacious enough to hold the accursed sebastos and his retinue. The saint held himself at the edge of his cell, paying attention to the frenzied celebrants; he heard the words they pronounced without understanding them. Then they read the epistle and the gospel. In their responses he could hear only the words ‘amen, amen, let it be, let it be’. When the false priest said ‘Approach’, the accursed sebastos went and took communion in this horrible liturgy. All those who were with him did the same. The old man, tormented by numerous thoughts, wondered if he should go in and take communion with them, but he did not want to and he said, ‘If it is the will of God, the sebastos must tell me, otherwise, who am I, unworthy man?’ But God, who is good and merciful, did not fail to notice his humility; he remembered him in his humiliation and delivered him from his enemies. He did not allow him to communicate. If he had, without doubt he would have lost his reason. **When this abominably wicked event was over, the sebastos went out with his demons and went into the tent which appeared to be there.**

53.4 Cyril learns that not everyone can see the tent

The saint, much wearied by this mindless combat, sat in great distress and darkness of **imaginings**. Since he had knocked, his disciple came and the saint said to him, ‘Aren’t you Christian, aren’t you going to die? Don’t you pity my old age? Don’t you see my exhaustion? Can I really be bothered in this way by people of the world and have liturgies said in my cell?’ The disciple said to him, ‘Excuse me, Father, I don’t understand what you are saying.’ The other said, ‘If you don’t believe me, trust the reality’. The disciple said, ‘what reality?’ And the saint said, ‘don’t you see the sebastos with his retinue and his tent?’ Then he related everything which had happened. The disciple protested, ‘I don’t see anything you describe.’ The saint said, ‘but if you don’t see my cell without a roof, surely you see the chalice, the paten, and the veils inside?’ The disciple was shocked and knocked on the roof of the cell, and said, ‘Don’t you see that?’ He said, ‘Yes, but it wasn’t like that’. The disciple replied, ‘the roof was there and still is there.’ The saint said, ‘What have you to say about the chalice?’ and he showed him in his hand. The disciple lifted it and said, ‘isn’t this your little flask?’ ‘Yes’, he replied, ‘but up to now my cell had no roof.’ The disciple then began to strike his face saying, ‘Woe is me, you have lost your mind.’ ‘It’s you who have lost it’, said the saint, ‘I still have my wits.’ ‘Wits in a bad way’, retorted the disciple.

53.5: *The monks bring in a specialist to hear about the φαντασία*

53.6: *Cyril takes stock and prays*

53.7: *Cyril apologizes to the brothers and Nicholas explains to him the importance of communion (with florilegium)*

53.8: *Cyril recovers the florilegium and, for a while, his good health.*

II

AD GEORGIUM ACROPOLITAM

Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα, κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Δάσκαρι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν
 φιλόσοφον κυρὸν Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Μαρκίω-
 νος πρεσβείας.

Laur.
59, 35
f. 85r

Μεσονύκτιον ἐξεγειρόμην, τοῦ κοσμικοῦ δηλαδὴ κλυδασμοῦ, ἐξο-
 μολογήσασθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ μου τὰ τῆς καρδίας μου. ἀπητη-
 κῶς δὲ τῇ Ἀρετῇ καὶ γνοῦς ἐξ ἐκείνης τὸ ἀμέσως εἰδέναι τινὰ τὸν
 Κύριον ὅπως ἐπιβλαβὲς, συνωμίλων αὐτῇ. πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου διε-
 5 θόντος τῇ συνομιλήσει ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὰς αἰγὰς τοῦ ἑωσφόρου κατήν-
 τησα· καὶ ὁ σύλλογος ἔμενε, | καὶ ὁ ἑωσφόρος ἀνέτειλε καὶ τὸν
 φωσφόρον ἐμήνυσεν, ὃς καὶ ἐπέστη καὶ ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑφήλιον. ὅρστων
 δέ μοι φανέν συνομιλῆσαι τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γειτνιάσει διὰ τῆς
 ἐκείνου θέρηης διελθεῖν μου τὰς εὐχὰς πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων
 10 αὐτόν, εἰρημέ μοι ἡ Ἀρετή· ἵνα τί βάλνεις ἀτάκτως, καὶ οὐ με-
 μάθηκας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ περιπατεῖν καὶ ἐν λόγῳ διατρίβειν τὰς

I.
[XLIX]

f. 85v

I Argumentum. *Philosophia duce mentem meam ad Dominum extuli, cuius beneficio errores debellare potui*.

Extat haec epistula etiam in cod. V, f. 112r (tit.: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κυρὸν Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην) || 7. ὄφ' ἡλιον V. || 10 sq. cfr. Paul. Thess. II, 8, 6. || 11 sq. cfr. Prov. VIII, 20.

τρίβους σου και ἐν συνέσει διεξιέναι σου τὰς ὁδοὺς; μεσονύκ-
 τιον γὰρ ἀνεπιστημόνως ἐγερθεὶς ἠβούλου συνομλεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ
 σου, μὴ καταλέαντας πρότερον τὰς ὁδοὺς σου δι' ἐμοῦ ὡς εἰκός, μὴ
 περισκοπήσας τὰς τῶν τόπων θύνας τε και συστροφάς, κοιλότητάς τε 15
 και κατορυχώματα, τὰ τῶν κακίωνων δυσάδυντα βάραθρα, και εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ
 κἀγὼ σοι συνήνησα, ἐπορεύου ἂν ἐπὶ τόπους ἐπιδεδεγμένους νεκρούς·
 νυκτὶ δὲ τὸν ἑωσφόρον ἑωρακῶς ῥαγδαίως πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐξορμησά-
 ῃς ἠθέλησας, τὰ ἄκρα ἀτέχνως μεμαθηκῶς και τὰς ἀναλογητικὰς μεσό-
 τητας τὸ σύνολον μὴ εἰδώς. πολυαμάρτητά σου τοίνυν ὄρω τὰ ὀρμή- 20
 ματα· προσκόμματα γὰρ ἔχων πολλὰ τῇ νυκτὶ πορεύῃ ἐν ἀλογίᾳ
 και ἥλιον βλέπων λαμπροφάη, τοὺς τῆς ὀράσεως δρους ἀτάκτως και
 ἀμέσως αὐτῷ προσάψαι ἠθέλησας. τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ἐνατένισον περι-
 f. 86^v κύκλω και κατασκόπευσον και λέξον μοι, | τί ὄρας; ἐγὼ δὲ κύκλω-
 σε διελθὼν διὰ τῆς ὀράσεως εἶδον ἐστῶτας στύλους ἑπτὰ, οἵτινες 25
 οἶκον πολυκλεῖ ἔφερον, ἐξ οὗ ἐξήρχοντο φωτοχυσίαι πολλαί, κάκει-
 θεν αὐταὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἐμερίζοντο· μέσον δὲ ἐώρων βασιλέα πάνυ
 λαμπρόν, και ὅτε μὲν ἐώρων ὅτι τὴν τοῦ οἴκου και αὐτὸς καλλονὴν
 ἐνεδύετο, ὅτε δὲ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖνου και αὐτὸς τὸν οἶκον ἐκάλλυνε
 και ἐκαλλύνοντο ἐν διαδόσει και ἀντιδόσει αἱ καλλοναί, ἢ τοῦ οἴκου 80
 τε και τοῦ ἀνακτος. ἐώρων δὲ και τράπεζαν μεστήν οὖσαν κρατήρων,
 ἣν και θυμάτων πλῆθος ἐξώπλιζε, πόρρω που δὲ τοῦ οἴκου ἐώρων
 δούλους ἐν φωνῇ ἠχοῦντας και λέγοντας· ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων, ἐνθεν
 πορεύθητι, οἱ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς φρενῶν δράμετε εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἵνα και
 τὸν οἶνον ὃν ὑμῖν κενέρακα πῆτε και ἀπολιπόντες τὰ ἀσχιστα ζή- 85
 σητε. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν, και τὴν ἣ συνομλοῦν χρηστὴν συμ-
 βουλον παραλαβὼν, ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ἀνάκτορον· και τις ἐκ τῶν
 προαυλίων με δεξιωσάμενος εἰσήξεν, ὀλιγάκις μαστίζων με, ἑώρα με
 γὰρ προσκόπτειν ἐπὶ τὴν εἴσοδον, προτρεπούσης αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖν
 και τῆς συνούσης μου συμβούλου χρηστῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθομεν, ἐώ- 40
 f. 86^v ρων και ἐτέρους συνεισερχομένους, και τοὺς μὲν ἐσθλιοντας | και

12. διεξιέναισιν F. cfr. Hesai. XL, 14. || 12-14. μεσονύκτιον - ὁδοὺς om. V.
 || 16. τὰ ante κατ. F; maluisse κατορυχώματα; sed καταρυχώματα F, κατο-
 ρυχώματα V. κακίωνων vix rectum; num κακίων? item δυσάδυντα fuerit δυσόδυντα
 vel ἄδυντα. || 17. κἀγὼ (om. σοι) F. || 20. τὸ om. V. || 21. προσκόμματα F. || 22.
 λαμπροφάη V. δρους] πόρους? || 28. και αὐτὸς post καλλονὴν V. || 80. ἢ V: οἱ
 F. || 83. φωναίς V. || 84. οἱ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς F: εἰ δὲ ἐνδεής V. cfr. Prov. XII, 11. || 86.
 χρηστὸν VF; correxi cl. 40. || 88. προαυλίων V. || 89. προσκόπτειν F: προσκοπεῖν
 V. || 40. μου] malim μοι. εἰσῆλθωμεν F. || 41. εἰσερχομένους V.

ἐμοῦντας τὰ βρώματα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσθλόντας καὶ οὐκ ἐμοῦντας, τέως
 γε περὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀλγοῦντας, ὡς ἀπεπτα τὰ σῆτα φέροντας· ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἀπεντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς τροπέξης ἀναγομένους, ἀλλὰ
 45 κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνιόντας. ἐμὲ δὲ μόνον εἰς ἐξ ἄλλου διαδεξάμενοι ἀνή-
 ξαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας τοῦ ἀνακτος ἐνθρονίζε-
 σθαι με αὐτοὶ διετάξαντο. εἴτε γοῦν καὶ ὁ ἀναξ αὐτὸς τῆς κορυφῆς
 μου ἦματο, εἴτε τῆς. ταλαιπώρου μου καρδίας νοερώς κατεκράτησε,
 μόνος οἶδεν αὐτὸς· ἐν οἶδα δέ, ὅτι καὶ πάντων με τῶν τῆς δαιτὸς
 50 ἐδεσμάτων ἐνέπλησε, μικροῦ δὲ καὶ δύο ἀδελφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἔνδον κοι-
 τῶνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγαγὼν περὶ ἐμὲ ἔστησε, καὶ νύμφας μοι αὐτὰς
 προσηρομόσατο· αἱ καὶ κατενώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμοὶ πλεκόμεναι οὐκ
 ἤσχυνοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔρωτος ἐξεβακχεύθη ἐγὼ
 τὸν νοῦν, ὅτι καὶ μέλη τινὰ ἐκείνων ἀναλαμβάνόμενος ἦδον ἐγκω-
 55 μάζων τὸν βασιλέα. μικροῦ δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἤδη ἐρχομένου καὶ τοῦ
 ἡλίου, ἐώρων αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν κυκλοφορικὸν καὶ συνήθη δρό-
 μον διέρχεται· ἀλλ' ἦλθε καὶ οὗτος εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, εἴτε ἐπὶ πλεόν
 λαμπρῶν αὐτό, εἴτε συνομιλήσων τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ οἶδα· | τέως f. 87^r
 γε εἶδον καὶ ὅτε τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ ἥλιος διήρχετο, καὶ πανταχῆ ἔλαμ-
 60 πεν, ἐν διαδόσει ἀκτινα τηλεπρεπῆ ἐν συναφείᾳ συνηνωμένην τῷ
 ἡλίῳ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὡς γοῦν εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκτορον
 συνέδραμον καὶ ἡ ἀκτὶς καὶ ὁ ἥλιος, οὐκ ἴσχυον κἀγὼ ἀτενίσαι ἐκ
 τῆς λαμπρότητος. ταῦτα γοῦν αἱ ἐμαὶ σύζυγοι ἀδελφαὶ θεασάμεναι,
 κεστοὺς ὠραίους τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοθεν ἐνδυμάτων ἐξάσασαι, τοὺς
 65 ὀφθαλμούς μου περιεκάλυπτον, καὶ ὡς ἐσόπτρῳ ὄραν με ἐκέλευον,
 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ὄραν τινα τὸν ἥλιον δύνασθαι, ἢ οὕτως, ἔλεγον.
 καὶ ἐβλεπον ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τῇ ἀκτίνι τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, θαυμασίαν πλο-
 κὴν ἀρρητον πάνυ καὶ ἀνεκλάλητον. ταῦτα οὕτως ὄρων ἐγὼ καὶ τερ-
 πόμενος (οὐδείς γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνης τῆς ὕψεως γεύσῃται καὶ οὐκ ἐκστῆ
 70 τοῦ νοός) ἐξῆλθον ἔχων σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ τὰς δύο ἀδελφᾶς ταύτας, χερσὶ
 τε ὁμοῦ φερούσας καὶ αὐτὰς σὺν ἐμοὶ λαμπάδας περιφανείς, ἃς

48. ἀλλ' F: ἄλλους V. || 45. ἀνιόντας et mox δεξάμενοι V. || 49. καὶ πάντων
 με τῶν τῆς V: ἐκ πάντων με τῆς F. || 52. καὶ κατενώπιον F: τῇ ὡπί ut vid. V.
 || 53. καὶ F: κἀγὼ V. et mox ἐγὼ τὸν F: αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τὸν V. || 55. τὸν βασι-
 λέα V: τῷ βασιλεῖ F. || 57. αὐτό om. F. πλεόν F: πλεόντα V. || 58. λαμπρῶν
 V: λαμπρῶνων F. || 62. κἀγὼ | οὐκ ἴσχυον (sic) V. || 64 sq. ἐξάσασα et mox
 ἐσόπτω ut vid. V. || 68. ὄρων F: ὄραν V.

ἐξερχομένοις ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως μύστις, μήτηρ δὲ τῶν σὺν ἐμοὶ πε-
 ρικαλλεστάτων γυναιῶν, ἡμῖν δέδωκε διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας περιφανές,
 τὸ θερμότερόν τε τοῦ νοεροῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς διακρίσεως καυστικόν. σὺν
 f. 87^r τούτοις καὶ ῥάκος εὐτελές τι μοι δέδωκε | καὶ λαν τραχύτατον, ὃ 75
 καὶ συγνάκις αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αἰρουνσαι ἐπάνω μου ἐτίθουν, ὡς κληρον δε-
 δωρημένον μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖνων μητρὸς ἀναφαίρετον. ἐβαδίζομεν τοί-
 νυν ἐν χαρμονῇ· ἐνιοὶ δὲ ὄρωντες ἡμῶν κατεκἀγχασον καὶ οὔτε τὰς
 λαμπάδας ἤδοῦντο οὔτε τὸ ἐξ οἴκου ἐξεπορευόμενα ὑπεστέλλον-
 το, εἶχον δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ποιῶντες εἰς οἶκτον σέμνωμα τὸ κωμῶδειν 80
 τὰ ἡμῶν. ὅτε γοῦν μέσον τοῦ πλήθους εἰσῆλθομεν καὶ ἐβαίνομεν, ὡς
 εἰκὸς πάντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐβλεπον· καὶ ὅσοι μὲν τοιαῦτα γύναια εἶ-
 χον καὶ τὰς ὁμοίας λαμπάδας, καὶ τὸ ῥάκος ἔφερον, ἅπερ οὐκ ἄλλο-
 θεν εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον, ἢ ἐξ ἐκεῖνου τοῦ βασιλέως, συνωμί-
 λουν ἡμῖν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον, χειρὰς προφοῦντες καὶ καταμωκώμενοι 85
 ἡμῶν διελύοντο. μικροῦ δὲ διεξιόντων ἡμῶν, μέλαινά τις γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ
 πλήθους ἐπήδησε μετὰ πολλοῦ ἐμβριθοῦς ἀγγιστρόφου τε, ὡς φέτο,
 τοῦ φρονήματος, ἄττουσα μὲν τὸ στέρον περιστροβοῦσά τε τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμούς καὶ ἀναιδῶς ἡμῶν ἐπεμβαίνουσα, στεφάνους τε πε-
 πλεγμένους φέρουσα τρεῖς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς· ἄπλοῦν καὶ λεπτόν, ἐπι- 90
 f. 88^r μήκη τε καὶ ποικίλον, καὶ ἄλλον | πάντη λεπτότατον· τὰ δὲ ταύτης
 ἐνδύματα βεβαμμένα ποικίλως τε καὶ πολυμερῶς. ὡς γοῦν τὸν ἡμῶν
 φροναττομένη ἐξήτει θάνατον, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβόησεν· ‘αἴρετε χει-
 ρας καὶ τούτους κτείνετε’· αὐθὺς τε ταῖς δουλίαι προτρεψαμένη,
 χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐρράντιζον, χρήμασι δοκοῦσα κτείνειν 95
 ἡμᾶς. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ γύναια φέροντες, τὰς λαμπάδας τε καὶ τὰ ῥάκη
 ἐχοροστάτον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν κατεπέμβαιεν· ὅσῳ τε ὅσον αἱ
 λαμπάδες ἐξήπτοντο καὶ οἱ πλησιάσαντες κατεφλέγοντο καὶ οἱ φεύ-
 γοντες ἐτυφλώτοντο καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐλυμαίνοντο καὶ τὸ γύναιον
 διεπρίετο καὶ τὸ μέλος ἡμῶν ἀνήρχετο. τούτων οὕτως γενομένων δι’ 100
 ὀλης νυκτὸς ἐπιτρώσκοντο μᾶλλον οἱ τοῦ ἀντιθέτου μέρους εἰς ἀπει-
 ρον· ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ λαμπάδες ἐπυρσοῦντο τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰσχύϊ πρὸς

72. cfr. Sap. Salom. VIII, 4. τῶν σὺν ἐμοὶ F: σὺν ἐμοὶ τῶν V. || 79 sq. ὑπε-
 στείλοντο V. || 83. ἅπερ F: ἄσπερ V. || 84 sq. κατὰ — εἶχον om. V, sed supra
 lin. add. m.¹ || 85. δέ] δέγε V. || 89. τοὺς στεφάνους F. || 92. ἡμῶν V: ἐμὸν
 F. || 95. ἐρράντιζον F: ἐρράντιον ut vid. V. || 99. μαχόμενοι V.

τάς αὐγάς δὲ πάλιν ἐλθόντος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἡμεῖς καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀνάκτορον ἀνεδράμομεν, σκηπτοὶ δὲ τινες τομῶς τοῖς μαιφόνοις οὐρανό-
 106 θεν ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῦ τε ἀσέμνου γυναιου οἱ δύο στέφανοι, ὁ ἄπλοῦς καὶ λεπτός, μέγας τε καὶ ποικίλος, τὸν πάντη λεπτὸν ἐνθεν κἀκείθεν οὐραντες διέρρηξαν, καὶ τὸ γύναιον τέθνηκε.

Τοιαῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ καλή μου | καὶ σεπτὴ κεφαλή, ἡ τιθηνὸς Φι- f. 88^v
 λοσοφία ἐγείρασά με μεσονυκτίου τοῦ κοσμικοῦ κλυθασμοῦ διὰ τῆς
 110 συμβούλου ἐδίδαξεν· ἄτινα καὶ σὺ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οἶδας, καὶ τοὺς
 τούτων ἐξηκριβώσω λόγους ἐν φιλοσοφίας μεγαλειότητι.