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 ὑπάρ 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.

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.
Ὡς ἵματις, εἰπέτε ἔχομεν σκοτὸς τοῦ γνῶναι σαφῶς τὴν τούτου πανοργίαν, μη ταχέως φθεγξόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν μηδὲ μηνύσαμεν τὰ γινόμενα, πῶς κατὰ δίαιται τὰς συντυχίας ἑγάζομαι καὶ τίνα τρόπον κατ’ ὁλίγον ἐλαύνει τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, ἐπεὶ φεύγεται ἀφ’ ἡμῶν· ὁ δὲ τὸν τῶν ὠλίγον δαίμων ἐλαύνει καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπὸ κατάστασιν συγχωρήσωμεν τὸν ἀναχώρησιν πνεῦμα καὶ λοιπὸν" καὶ ὁ μίαν τοῦτον ἡμῶν ἔργον· ἑκακωθεῖς ἐκ τούτου ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν συντυχίων μεθυσθεὶς εὐθέως τῷ τῆς πορνείας ἢ τῷ τῆς ὀργῆς ἢ τῷ τῆς λύπης δαίμονι πειράτης, οὕτως μάλιστα λυμαίνονται τῆς καταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν λαμπρότητα.

Τοῦτον δὲ ἤττηθέντα τὸν δαίμονα διαδέχεται ὡς μηδέποτε καὶ νέκρως μετὰ ψυχρότητος πολλῆς τῶν βλεφάρων καὶ χάσματι ἄπειροι καὶ ὕμων βαρούμενοι καὶ ναρκόντες, ἄπερ πάντα τῇ συντόνῳ προσευχῆ διαλύεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιόν.
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.

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

(*) Il Santo nel Vende quae habes mette anche la persona, invitata a vendere.
βήθημεν, καὶ δός πλησίον τοῦ προγνώστικοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπάρ-
χοντος χαρισμάτως, τὸν λογισμὸν ἀνυψώσωμεν.

Ἐν τοῖς πειθομένοις τῷ δαίμονι, πολλάκις προφήτης ἐγέ-
νετο ἐν τοῖς δὲ ἔξοχοινούσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐψεύσατο. Πνεῦμα
ἐν, τῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦτον ἑώρακεν, καὶ νοῦσας αὐτῶν ἥν-
ηκινήτας, δι’ ἐνυπνίου ἐν τοῖς κουφοτέροις προσφήτευσεν.

Οὐδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἐκ προγνώσεως οἶδασιν ἐπεις οἱ φαρ-
μαχοὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν ἒναντίον προλέγεις ἐδώκαστο. — Εἰς Ἀγ-
γελον φωτὸς, καὶ Μαρτύρων εἴδος πολλάκις μετασχηματίζον-
τας, καὶ ἡμῖς προσερχομένους αὐτοῖς καθ’ ύπνους ὑπέδει-
ξεν διωγμυσθέντας δὲ χαρά καὶ οἴσης κατεβάπτοις. — Τοῦ-
το δέ σοι ἔσται τὸ σημεῖον πλάνης: κολάσεις καὶ χρίσεις, καὶ
χωρισμοὺς ὑποδεικνύσωσιν Ἀγγελοῦ: διωγμυσθέντας ἐντρό-
μους, καὶ συκῳδομοὺς ἀπεργάζονται. — Ὁ πάντων ἐν τοῖς ύπ-
νους τοῖς δαίμον πείθεσθαι ἀρξόμεθα, τότε λυπῶν καὶ ἐγρη-
γορᾶς ἐμπαίκτουσιν. Ὁ ἐνυπνίος πεισθεῖς, εἰς ἄπαν ᾠδάκι-
μος. Ὁ δὲ τάσιν ἀπιστῶν, φιλόσοφος ὦτος τὰ σοι τοῖς
κόλασιν, καὶ χρίσιν εὐαγγελιζομένως πίστευε μόνοις. — Εἰ
δὲ ἀπόγνωσις σοι διενοχεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς δαίμονων.

Ὁ τρίτος Τριάδος Ἰσάρθμος ὁρόμος. Ὁ ἐπιθεβηκώς, μὴ
περιβλέψῃ δεξιὰ, ἡ ἀριστερά.

(2) II Cor. XII, 14.
(3) Cioè da Cristo, dal Paradiso, dal bene (non dai parenti o dal mondo, di cui
si incaricano i demoni, come l’A. ha accennato poco sopra).
(4) Tralascia la parte parallela, come fa non raramente, cioè: i demoni 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).

7 — S. G. CLIMACO, Scala Paradisi. I (Trevisan).
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.
(1.) Περὶ Εὐαγγελίου
(1.) Τὰ κατὰ Εὐαγγελίου τὸν ἀοίδιμον διάκονον, ἄνδρα βεβιωκότα κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οὐ δίκαιον ἡσυχάζαι, ἀλλὰ ταύτα γραφῇ παραδοῦναι εἰς οἰκοδομήν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ δόξαν τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἄξιον @1 ἡγησάμενος ἄνθρωπον ἐκτίθεναι, ποὺς τε ἠλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν, (5) καὶ ὡς αὐτῶν ἐξασκήσας ἄξιος τελευτᾷ πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· «Ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἐπλήρωσεν ἐτή πολλά».
(2.) Οὕτως τῷ μὲν γένει ἦν Ποντίκος πόλεως Ἱβορῶν, ὦς χωρεπισκόπου· ἀναγνώστης κεχειροτόνηται παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καισαρέων. Μετὰ τὸν τόθαν τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου προσηχόν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπιτειδειότητι ὁ σοφότατος ἀπαθάντας καὶ παιδείας (5) διαλάμπων Γηγορίος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζεται διαλάμπων Γηγορίος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζεται διάκονον. Εἰκεθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν καταλιμπάνει αὐτὸν τῷ μακαρίῳ Νεκταρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διαλεκτικότατον ὄντα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων. Ἡνθεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει λόγοις νεανιεύμονος (10) κατὰ πάσης αἱρέσεως. (3.) Συνέβη οὖν τούτῳ σφοδρὸς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως τιμῶμεν, εἰδῶλῳ περιπατῆμα γυναικικὴς ἐπιθυμίας, ως αὐτὸς ἢμῖν δηγησάτο, ὅστερον ἔλευθερωθεὶς τὸ φρονοῦν. Αντιράθητι τούτῳ πάλιν τὸ γύναιον ἦν δὲ τῶν μεγιστάνων. Ὁ οὖν Εὐαγγελίος τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦμε- (5) νος καὶ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ αἰσχρὸν συνειδός, καὶ πρὸ ὑπάρχων θέμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς αἰσχυμοσύνης καὶ τὸ ἐπιχαρέσικακον τὸν αἱρέσεων, ἤδειτο τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύων ὅπως παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμποδίσῃ. Τῆς οὖν γυναικὸς ἐπικειμένης καὶ λυπᾶσθαι θέλον ἀναχωρήσῃ οὐκ ἵσχε, δεσμοῖς τῆς θεραπείας ταῦτης (10) καταχωμένος. (4.) Μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἐν γνώσει αὐτοῦ προκοψάσας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος πείρας, ἐπέστη αὐτῷ ἀγγελικὴ ὑπατία ἐν σχήματι στρατιωτῶν τοῦ ὑπάρχου, καὶ ἀρπάζει αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγεί ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ βάλλει αὐτὸν @1 εἰς τὴν λεγουμένην κουστώδιαν, κλοοις σιδηροῖς καὶ ἀλώσῃ- (5) σιν αὐχέναι καὶ χεῖρας καταδησάντων, τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος δῆσθε τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ λεγόντων. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ συνείδησε ήδει ὅτι χάριν ταύτης ψήσται ταύτα, προσδοκόησε τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐντευχηκέναι. (5.) Ἐν τῷ οὖν λίαν αὐτῶν ἀγωνίαν ἄλλης δίκης πραστοτίμης καὶ βασανιζομένης ἐτέρων ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι, ἔμενε σφόδρα ἄγωνιν. Μετασχηματιζέται δὲ ὁ ἀγγελος ὁ τὴν ὑπατίαν παρασχὼν εἰς παρουσίαν γνησίου φιλου, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ δεδεμένῳ μεταξὺ σειρᾶς τεσ- (5)
σαράκοντα καταδίκων· «Τίνος ἐνεκεν κατέχη ἐνταῦθα, κύρι 
διάκονε;» Λέγει αὐτῷ· «Κατὰ μὲν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, 
ὑπόνοια δὲ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχε κατ’ 
ὑπόνοια δὲ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχε κατ’ ἐμοῦ ἀλόγῳ ἐμοὶ ἐνταῦθα 
ζηλοτυπίᾳ πληγείς· καὶ δέδοικα μήποτε χρήμασιν ὁ ἄρχων ἀπεκθαρεῖς τιμωρίᾳ με ὑποβάλλῃ». (6.) Λέγει 
aὐτῷ· «Εἰ ἀκούεις του φίλου σου, οὐ συμφέρει σοι ἐν τῇ 
pόλει ταύτῃ διάγειν». Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐάγριος· «Ἐὰν ὁ 
θεός με ταύτῃ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ ἰδῆς με ἐν 
Κωνσταντινουπόλει, γνώθι ὅτι εὐλόγως ὑφίσταμαι ταύτῃ (5) 
tὴν τιμωρίαν». Λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· «Φέρω τὸ εὐαγ-
gέλιον καὶ ὁμοσόν μοι ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀναχωρεῖς τῆς πόλεως 
tαύτης καὶ φροντίζεις σου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀπαλλάττω 
σε τῆς ἀνάγκης ταύτης». (7.) Ἡνεγκεν οὖν τὸ εὐαγ-
gέλιον καὶ ὁμοσέν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι «Παρ-
εκτὸς μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἢν φθάσω ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον 
tὰ ἰμάτια μου, οὐ μὴ παραμείνω». Τοῦ ὁρκοῦ οὖν προ-
χωρήσαντος ἐπανηλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκστάσεως τῆς 
γενομένης (5) αὐτῶ ἐν τῇ νυκτί καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐλογίσατο ὅτι «Εἰ καὶ @1 
ἐν ἐκστάσει γέγονεν ὁ ὁρκοὺς ἄλλ’ ὁμος ὁμοσα». Βα-
λὸν οὖν πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλοῖον ἔρχεται εἰς Ἰεροσό-
λομα
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 enthrallment that had happened to him in the night And he arose and decided, “Even if this oath came about in an enthrallment, nonetheless, I swore it.” And loading everything aboard ship, he went on to Jerusalem.
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 betrayed to the Latins by the empress through his agency.

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

2 Or, ‘was being sold.’

3 Literally, 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 315v–319r 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 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 the Mother of God instructing the martyr Panteleimon, “See what is wrong with the sick man”.

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 Nikephoros 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.

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 that 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.”

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….

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.”

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. "A nthrax" 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
MIRACLE TALES FROM BYZANTIUM

éterōs γὰρ μὴ ἄν εἶναι δυνατὸν ἐπὶ ζῆν. Τοῦτο οὖν μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο, ἔγω δὲ μετὰ δέους καὶ δακρύων ἄνευστο-
lον.

2 Νῦξ δὲ ἦν ἔτι, τὸ μέσον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς τομῆς. Μικρὸν δὲ ὁσον ἀποκαθευνήσας αὐτὸ τὸ περιορθρὸν καὶ
καθ’ ἄν ἀπολήγει μὲν ἐκαίρον ἢ νῦξ, ἄρχεται δὲ ἢ ἠμέρα, ὡς καὶ δοκεῖν ἄμφω ἀνακεκράσθαι, φοτί μὲν σκότος, σκό-
tει δὲ φῶς, καὶ δὴ ῥόῳ σφήκας πολλοὺς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ τὰ κέντρα ἥρκοτας καὶ ὡστερ αἰχμᾶς προτείνοντας κατ’
ἐμοῦ, ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἔπεισελθοῦσαν οὐκ ἐκάθευ-
dον. Εὐδόκουν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐλῆ καθεύδειν τῇ καὶ τὴν φωλὴν καὶ τὸ ἑτ’ αὐτῆ βλέψον ὅς ἄρο ἔχουση καὶ
tὴν πλάτανον ὅρῳ ἤ καὶ τὸ ὅρῳ ἔρει, ἐπεισελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ
θεασαμένην τὸν κατ’ ἐμοῦ τῶν σφηκῶν πόλεμον, καὶ λα-
βομένην ἄκρον τοῦ ἱματίου τοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ
λοιποῦ σκέποντος σώματος καὶ περιστρέφανταν τῇ χεῖρι,
tὸν πολὺν ἑκεῖνον ὁμαδὸν τῶν σφηκῶν ἀποσβηθήσας τε καὶ
καθελείν καὶ συμπατήσας τοῖς ποσί, καὶ ἐμὲ πάντων ἑκε-

3 Καὶ ἢ μὲν ὄνης ἢ γεγονοῦσα μοι αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ἠμέρας ἢδή
φανερῆς καὶ ὑπολάμπειν ἀρχομένης, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπηλλάγην
tῶν ἀγρίων ἑκεῖνων πόλεως καὶ ἰλιγγόδων, ὡς καὶ μείδιαν
καὶ γαννυσθαί ἐπὶ τῇ μακραί ὅψει, οἱ δὲ ἱατροὶ κατὰ
σπουδὴν μὲν ἠλθοῦν καὶ τὸ σιδήρων μετὰ χείρας εἶχον καὶ
ἀλλήλοις—οἶατε εἰκός—ἀλλήλοις, συνῆθον δέ καὶ αὐ-
τοῖ τὴν μάρτυρα μετ’ ἐμοῦ θαυμαζόντες, ἀνυμνοῦντες,
tάχα δὲ τι ἄν μικρὸν αὐτῆ καὶ ἐπιμερήμονοι ὡς διὰ τὴν
αὐτῆς ἐπισκεψίν καὶ ἱερεῖαν καὶ ἀπόμοιοι γεγονότες.

MIRACLES OF SAINT THEKLA

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

It was still night, midway between their decision and the
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

3 49
tree under which the water flows.) After entering and wit-
nessing the wasps’ attack against me, taking the top part of
her bimation (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-
light appeared and began to shine, I found I had been deliv-
ered from that fierce pain and suffering, so that I was even
smiling and gladdened at the blessed vision. Then the doc-
tors came with haste, bearing the knife in their hands, and
conferring with one another, as usual. They went away, how-
ever, 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 visita-
tion and healing.
The miracle happened in this way and such was its resolution. 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,—let me pass by for now how he came to be bishop and gained control of the church,—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 destructive election, as being an impure, unjust, and profane act—and he continued to plot against me in every way possible. 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.4

A black pygmy filled with darkness and doom, who was always loitering around the city streets looking for a handout from those who are accustomed to give alms—Zamaras was the name of this black man—this fellow seemed to approach me while I was sleeping, and held out what we commonly 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
ruminating and disturbed by this vision, our own white Za-
maraş [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 pre-
sent (for there was none), nor with any witnesses coming for-
ward (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
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 au-
thority, as many of them as knew what had befallen me. Thomas,
a holy man and beloved of God (because he takes a great in-
terest 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 straight-
away to the meeting called on my behalf, he railed against
Basil and Euboulos, reproaching their ridiculous machina-
tion against me, the absurd falsehood, the senseless calumny,
the shameless wickedness, at the same time denouncing Eu-
boulos’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, rela-
tives and friends were already preparing for battle against
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 pre-
ferable. Then, while praising God about this, I recalled my
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 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 fastened there *at the shoulder* with a pin. 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. 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 happened. 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 behalf—and now I will discuss that which I was hastening to tell long ago.
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, 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. 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 joysticking 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,
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
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 style—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.
and also on the part of others; and accordingly he wished to give up this business, and could not, on account of the multitude who used to come. And in consequence of such annoyances it became necessary (ἀνάγκη) for him to withdraw from the community; and so he withdrew under the instigation (I believe) of the demons themselves, in company with the other who was attached to him, and they set out, and went in the direction of Ḥamimthā⁴, to a certain village called Beth Musika²; and they had a certain monastery that was there given to them, and they resided in it. And in a similar way again there also multitudes began to flock together to them; and then also the blessed James would again command them authoritatively, and by means of his word demons without number were expelled. Then the evil one, who by means of his crafty tricks finds methods of deceiving men, contrived a method of making a mockery of these blessed men. One night, when the possessed persons were assembled there, there was also a certain young woman there of whom he had taken possession, who was also of worldly appearance³. Her accordingly the demons took, and they clothed...
her in awe-striking forms of phantasmal rays; and they led her up and seated her on the bishops' throne (ἐπίθεα), which is usually placed in the churches or in the chief martyrs' chapels on the dais (στάτας) 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 chapel 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 like an angel of light.' 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 σαββάτου. — 2. Lit. 'house of service', i.e. the private chapel of the monastery, different from the martyrs' chapel ('house of martyrs'). At p. 201 also we find monks sleeping in the chapel. — 3. II Cor., xi, 14.
of brilliant light, and the woman moreover sitting on the throne (ἡγέων), and a semblance of light flashing from her; and their wits were yet more taken from them by reason of their agitation, and they fell on their faces. Then (it is said) she that was sitting commanded them\(^1\) to approach and raise them up; and the fiends approached and took hold of their hands, and they say to them: "Rise, for she has commanded you; and approach, and make obeisance to her." And they on their part rose smitten with fear and robbed of their wits by the sight; and they approached and made obeisance on their faces, as if they supposed that they saw a genuine sight. But that young woman, being unaware even herself of what had happened, spoke with them (that is, the fiend spoke in her), and said to them: "Come, approach me, and fear not. I myself am Mary the Mother of Christ; and my Son sent me to you, because he saw your righteousness and your love toward him, and that you are perfect in your modes of life; and he commanded me to ordain you, and that you should receive the priesthood from me because of your virtuosity. But come approach and receive it.\(^2\) But they, inasmuch as they supposed that they had in truth been granted some heavenly privilege

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\(^1\) Sc. the demons.
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 (σιζη), 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 (phantasma-
σίζη), 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
happened to them, and they went down to Marde to the holy John bishop of Thella¹, who ended his life in the conflicts (ἀγώνα) 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. Constantinina. John’s life is given below (ch. 28). See Severus, Select Letters, v. 19, 15, from which it appears that he was not at Marde after 527 (see p. 39 et al fin. and transil., p. 253, note). — 2. I cannot reconcile this with the fact that the central event happened in a distant monastery. Moreover the word ἰδία (text, p. 228, l. 3) indicates that the author is not speaking at first hand.
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 ὀνόματι, 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.

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”.
Grigory Kessel

**Dream Narratives in Syriac.**

Each of the three saints the fragments from whose lives are provided below were very popular saints in the Church of the East (so-called ‘Nestorian Church’). Qardagh (ca. 4th c.) is presented as a martyr saint, but his life is a legendary one and nothing points to its authenticity. Rabban Hormizd (7th c.) was a founder of a famous monastery in the Northern Iraq that used to be a residence of the Catholicoi of the Church of the East. Joseph Busnaya (died in 979 C.E.) appears as an authoritative monk whose life is described at great detail.

**Bibliography:**


**Life of Rabban Joseph Busnaya (10th c.)**

Syriac text remains unedited. The fragment is transcribed from the manuscript British Library Or. 9378, p. 225-226.

1. Eight days before the day when his [Joseph Busnaya] pure soul departed, one brother had a vision about his death. And after he had seen it he related to me as follows:

   ‘After completing the morning psalms I stood briefly before the cross and [it seemed to me] that I was before the cell of Rabban [Joseph Busnaya] and there was a large crowd of people staying and watching into the sky, filled with admiration and praising God with a loud voice.

   I asked the one who was in front of me why they were staring in the sky, admiring and praising God.

   And he replied: “We look because the sun darkened and its light does not appear”.

   I looked at the sky and saw the sun, which was wrapped in gloom and great darkness and [only] few stars were visible as shining in the sky.

   It was about the third hour as I awoke from my sleep frightened and deeply worried. And while I was thinking about my vision, my guardian angel struck me and said: “The sun that you saw darkened [points] at Rabban Joseph who is going to depart to his Master”.

   After that vision I became certain that the saint would leave shortly.

2. Between the evening and the morning the blessed [Joseph Busnaya] rested and his mind immersed into contemplation and vision that I mentioned earlier. And he remained in that marvelous transformation/change that I was talking about above until the third hour of the day.

   At the third hour, in accordance with what that brother had seen, the sun darkened, and he gave his pure soul into the hands of the angel who guided him. And that angel with the troops of celestial hosts led this holy soul until it ascended above the country where they reside. And [the soul] flew down and up with wings that grew the Holy Spirit and it raised to the place that is not the same as the one where it [first] came and [it is the place] where the first-born reigns. And now [the soul] is there with the souls of saints, children of light, until the day of the revelation of Christ, our Lord, from heaven. Then it will put on its body, his real conjoint/wife/companion, and they will enjoy in the kingdom of Christ in everlasting delight.

3. At the same night, at dawn, a brother while sitting was stunned from a light sleep and had a vision. He seemed to be in a martyrion and suddenly a great and marvelous eagle flew up and entered it. Having circled round the whole martyrion it alighted on the tomb in which once
had been Mar Abraham\(^1\); 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.
Life of Rabban Hormizd (10th-12th c.).


Budge 1902, p. 10-11.
And when deep sleep had fallen upon every one, and as [Rabban Hormizd] was lying upon his bed in the bed-chamber of his parents’ house, and steeped in a sound sleep, a vision appeared unto him from our Lord, who was sitting upon the throne of the glory of His honour, and the heavenly hosts were standing before Him, and were ascribing holiness to the majesty of His appearance. And as soon as the motions of the soul [of Rabban Hormizd] had been united by the sweetness of the vision which [had burst] upon him, and by the unparalleled wonder of the sight of the spiritual beings in their natural state, the King of praise gave the command, and one of those spiritual beings who were standing before the King Christ flew and stood before [Rabban Hormizd].

And [a spiritual being] answered and said to [Rabban Hormizd]: “Man, why do you stand in a country which is not yours, and which is the country of the spiritual beings?”

Then [Rabban Hormizd] replyed saying to the spiritual being: “Because a power took me from my own country, and set me down here; but do no harm unto me, I beseech you”.

And the spiritual being answered and said to him: “Fear you not, o son of man, for it was I who appeared to you to lead you to this country and not to do any harm to you as you said; I have done you no harm up till now”.

Whilst they were holding converse together, suddenly there appeared in the right hand of the spiritual being a splendid and glorious crown of fine gold. And the spiritual being answered and said to the young man: “Behold, o young man, [how] beautiful in its appearance is this crown which I hold in my right hand! If you wish it to be yours I will give it to you. If thou possess spiritual wings like mine, take [the crown], and it will be yours”.
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.)


Abbeloos 1890, p. 16-17.

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
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.

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.

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?”

Walker 2006, p. 42.
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.

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.

\(^2\) 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: […]
The six nightmares of a woman who surrendered to the authority of a sorcerer constitute in fact the sequence of episodes pertaining to a single dream narrative. The presentation will address the unusual literary form of the dream and explore the particularities of its unconventional content.

(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 unmatchable 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.

One woman’s dream in six episodes

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

(1) ... θεωρεῖ ἡ γυνὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπόνους αὐτῆς ἑστάναι αὐτὴν μόνην ἐν πεδιάδι τινὶ καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὴν αἰθίοψ γέρων καὶ ἥρξατ σα ὡς ἐπιπαιγνιάζων καὶ περιπλεκόμενος καταφιλεῖ αὐτὴν καὶ λέγειν: «Καλῶς σε εὗρον, κυρία μου. Δεῦρο, ωραία μου, κοιμηθώμεν ὁμοίως οἱ δύο, καθότι νεώτερος συνεζεύχησας· πολλά σου ἔγω ἐπεθύμου καὶ πρόφασιν ἔξυπνος ὁμοίως πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν συναγάγωμαι. Νῦν οὖν δεῦρο, ὡραία μου σύμβιε, κοιμηθῶμεν ἁμφότεροι, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἔμου ἀπολαύσεις· καθὼς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο κἀκεῖνος τοιαῦτα ἐφθέγγετο, αὕτη τοῦ τρόμου ἐμπεσοῦσα ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ φεύγει καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ ἐξορκίζειν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστῆναι ἐξ αὐτῆς. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο κἀκεῖνος τοιαῦτα ἐφθέγγετο, ἡ γυνὴ βιαζομένη κατ᾽ ὄναρ καὶ πολεμουμένη ἐγένετο...

(2) ... πάλιν εἰς ὑπόνον ἐτράπη καὶ ἱδοὺ κύων μέγας, μέλας καὶ ἁρύμως περιπλεκόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ στόμα πρὸς στόμα ἐφίλει αὐτὴν ὡς ἀνθρώπος. Σύντρομος δὲ γενομένη ἀφυπνίσθη... (lines 2470-2488)

(3) Πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ὁρᾷ ἑαυτ ὤ αὐτὴν ἐσθίον ὡραία μου καὶ ἀσπαζομένη τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐστῶτα ἄγαλμα, νυττομένη ὑπὸ πορνικῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ συγγένεσθαι μετ’ αὐτῶν. (lines 2491-2494)

(4) Πάλιν δὲ ὅψα κύων ἄραντα αὐτὴν καὶ τρέχοντα. (lines 2494-2495)

(5) Καὶ πάλιν ἐώρα ἑαυτὴν ἐσθίουσαν βάτραχον, ποτὲ δὲ ὅφει ἐρπετὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων χείρονα. (lines 2495-2496)

(6) ... ὅψα κατ’ ὅψα ὡς ἔστωσαν αὐτὴς ὡς ἐπὶ δυσμάς καὶ αὐτὴ ὑμώοις καὶ ὅπως προσευχομένη ὡς ἐμαυτῷ τις παρεγένη τοῦ συγγενεῖας τοῦ συγγενεῖας. Ως δὲ ὅψα ἑρυθρός, ἔρχεται τις νεώτερος πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λέγειν: «Ἐπειδὴ ἠθέραπευσάς με νηστείας, ἵδον παρεγενόμην τὴν αἰτίαν διδάσκοντας με, δι’ ἴδιν τὰ τοῦ λόγου
δείκνυσιν αὐτή τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῆς καὶ φησίν: «Ἰδεί τί σοι ἐποίησεν ὁ μάγος ὁ κατάρατος.» Ἡ δὲ προσέσχε καὶ ὀρᾷ καὶ ἤσαν κεχρισμέναι ἄνθρωπινής κόπρος ἀπὸ ὁ ἀνωθεν ἐως κάτω καὶ δυσωδίαν ἀνείκαστον φέρουσαι. Ὡς οὖν ταύτα ἐθεάσατο ἡ γυνὴ εξέστη καὶ στραφεῖσα λέγει πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον: «Δέομαι σου, τίς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν; Ἀνάγγειλόν μοι.» Ὁ δὲ εἶπε: «Βιγρῖνος ὁ φαρμακὸς καὶ μάγος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλότριος, σοῦ παρασχούσα αὐτῆς αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Νῦν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς εἰκόνεσιν σου εἰ μὴ χρώμα καὶ κόπρος καὶ δαιμόνων φαντάσματα. Ἡ γὰρ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνεκχώρησε μὴ φέρουσα τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων δυσωδίαν καὶ μείωσιν.» Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὀρᾷ τὴν κανδήλαν γέμουσαν οὐρον κύναιον καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτροτρούβῳ ἦν γεγραμμένον τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου τὸ ὄνομα, ὑπεράνω δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἐγέγραπτο: «Θυσία δαιμόνων.» Τούτων τῇ γυναικὶ φανερομένων ὁ νεώτερος ἐκεῖνος ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὴ ἐξυπνὸς γέγονε. (lines 2501-2519)
The six nightmares of a woman who surrendered to the authority of a sorcerer constitute in fact the sequence of episodes pertaining to a single dream narrative. The presentation will address the unusual literary form of the dream and explore the particularities of its unconventional content.

(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...

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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 unmatchable 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.

9. The Gift of Second Sight

Once a strange and awe-inspiring thought came to her mind, clearly testifying 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.' With these thoughts she immediately devoted her whole self to prayer, delivering with many tears and genuflexions an intense supplication 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 (of 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
heaven an angel of God, clad in a white garment and effulgent of appearance. 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 diaconicon 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 thoughts and prickling their conscience, she provoked them to confess their transgressions and repent, hinting at their souls’ emotions and thoughts and pricking their conscience, 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).

1 Cf. VNicetMed. ed. Lampsides 46.34–35, ἵππεις πας χάριτι ἐν χρυσῇ πεπαγμένα. For the whole scene demonstrating Irene’s gift of τὸ διακονικόν, 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 VPathaiNikon A, ed. Noret 27.3 ff.; and, on the other, the materialist solution of the problem of supervision in VNicetMed, καὶ τὸ τραχύ ὡς ἰματισμένον δέλτιον ἐξωθομένος, οἷς ἐπέπεσα τὰς ἐπιτάγματα τοῖς παράσημοι Διηγέονται, ὡς ἐκ τούτου μη πτωχήν τινα μηδὲ ὀμόνοι τῶν προεκτοιτών ἀργὸν τινὰ λόγων ἐλεημοσυνῆς καὶ ἀνειδισμοῦς φιλογονῶν.
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 instincts 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 not as 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 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 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 madá the sýmeron diakoúmena... kai poukás anvállontosv...} na tos pánon elíaitha xovn krínta to leipon, otopion autóth to sýmmatheis sthν tois phaxontas. Cf. also Athanasios B., ed. Norey 41, 47-49 (of Athanasios weeping in a pístwv), tosátho katarx, díkra, kí leis và mòrpho to diákrwv nthn. — 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 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 éna tēs sýmeron and the like, cf. A. Kazhdan in HRel., II 7-8 (Canite & Leroy-Molingen, vol. I, 212-214) the hermit Julian with his abundant tears caused a spring to rise in the desert, (IV TheodoretTh., ed. Arsenij 28-29, chs. 47-48 (Kurz, 23, f.), 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; 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 overflowing 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.

PILSK


12-13 tēs xwriás... tōv éxhvrou: cf. Le. 10,19


4 According to Theodoret, HRel., II 7-8 (Canite & Leroy-Molingen, vol. I, 212-214) the hermit Julian with his abundant tears caused a spring to rise in the desert, (In IV TheodoretTh., ed. Arsenij 28-29, chs. 47-48 (Kurz, 23, f.), the oil of a lamp at Theodora's tomb mystically regenerates, sometimes so copiosu-
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 griefed 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-

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 agressive 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., 'Ως δὲ τῶν κατασχόντων οὐκ ἄνωτο δεῖσίν, κτλ. (in lines 25 ff. the demon speaks of his victim, through the mouth of the latter, in the third person); 72,14.
What is the point of vuxroqjuyov? Since the target of the following mockeries is Irene’s deriding her eating habits during the fasting periods; cf. ascetic prowess (cf. note 2 on ch. II, non leg.).

For the domestic: F

I would seem natural to take vuxroqjuyov as Delhi...A YAEAOe;: cf. Ps. 33(34),8

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 ΝΟΩΠΙΟΥ counoiovorc; see H. Hunger, ‘Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische „Mafia“, RESEE, 7 (1969), 95-107, esp. 96, l. 18 (cf. H.-V. Beyer, ‘Personale Erminlungen zu einem spatbyzantinischern Pamphlet’, BZ, 71 (1977), 13-26, esp. 17 f.). But the context of eating may add a comic effect as in the compound vuxroqjuyov found in an ancient epigram (cf. LSJ, s.v.), and probably in this passage.

there is no advantage.'

21 'What is it, you men, that punishes us to this extent? You despise us and laugh at us only because there has been among you a semblance of powerlessness in yourself?' 'God's power', he said, 'for only with him have you 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 persuade our 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 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

25 who are wholly destitute of communion with the good.' 'What gain do you have from this', asked the holy woman again, 'or what advantage?'

26 'Who', asked the holy woman, 'is that “Prince” you mentioned?’ 'You mock me, it would seem', he answered, 'asking me something 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 ingenuous invention 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, 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 produces 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 persuaded 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

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Does it seem a petty thing to you', he said, 'to have many companions, now in our fall, 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, consoling 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 Ascesis 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 face 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 support. Therefore, when she was to lower her hands, she was unable to draw them together by herself, since the elbows and the shoulders, in consequence 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.
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, 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,
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 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 has sent you these." Then again he let down his hand and brought forth another three similar apples, saying, "Give these to Irene, the abess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton, and say to her, Eat of that which you 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

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, as in trance, a great

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. 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. 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.

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19. The following vision reflects the liturgy for consecration of a church, more especially of its altar; cf. Mikhov Euxology, ed. P. N. Trempeles, vol. 2 (Athens, 1955), 103 ff. Preparations are made by the youths in white in accordance with the liturgy be-
20. Illness Better than Health

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 iliostriou\(^\text{1}\) 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 died—\(^{2}\), then they surrendered all hope and sought refuge with Irene with her great candour before God.

\(^{1}\) For this idea in general, cf. Theodoret, HRel., XXXI 14,6–8 (edd. Canivet & Lerey-Mollengen, 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.

\(^{2}\) The part, γνωσθήσας, logically belongs to τρόπον, not to the subordinate noun ἀπολείας. The text need hardly be changed.

\(^{1}\) Illos triou is the highest of the titles which gave access to the senate; see R. Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1967), 67. When the Gouber-
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 commanded 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 considered unimportant, and so she closed her door and fervently supplicated God. So far about her.

About midnight the Emperor, awake, not dreaming, 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 birds 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 Chrysobalanion.' 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

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16-17 ταῖς ὢραίοις ... σύρανα: cf. Gen. 1,30 et sim. locc.
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 plotting 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.' So if I send for her now', said the Emperor, 'I could find her?' 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 considered guilty should be imprisoned again.

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

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3 εν τοίς μήτε δεδεμοσίων ἤν τοιοῦτον ὕπερτον ὕπερτον 4 διαδράσεις γενήσασθαι: γενήσασθαι δ. Ρ

34 (1935), 402-413.

On this cistern, see R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine (Paris, 1964), 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.
casion, 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 no 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 unexpected arrival of the officials. Meanwhile horses 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 marveled 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, AnaBoll, 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 magniosta, 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 Antonio Kuleba in VAntCw, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 21, 3 (f. In VAntCw, PG 111, 849BC, a chartularios plinidon, belonging to ‘the powerful’ (eik. tòv megidn), 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...
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, PArn, 48 (PG 26, 913A; somewhat different context), and cf. 104,14, infra.
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 of 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. 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
22. 'All'ikana mén kai taúta parašasthámen tía plouton tía ev autì chríntos toù theou' ó logos de biazeTai kai éteron sioúpsis óuk aízan oúk ékiprúntai. 'Anhì tìs tòn súnthen autì kai filon — Xristoforos ónoma autì —, ón diá tìn prosousía eulabeian C dhaidos eixe kai tìmís, kai gníasis òmílesi toúto kai tì polía 30

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.'

Having written and sealed this, she also sent some gifts\(^9\) 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.

\(^1\) 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., toûto ... tì polía vmprouna tòn autìs òmphef). The term ouvìspinìs does not normally imply kinship. But we should probably regard Christopher as a man with close relations to Irene's kin, the Gouber family.
The Dream of Caesar Bardas


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

"Ω Φιλόθεε, ἔφε, ὡραμα ἐδόν, καὶ πάντα μου συνέτριψε τὰ ὅστά, καί τούς ἁμικρῆς τῆς ὀσφυὸς μου ἔλυσεν· ὅμην γὰρ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ὡς δῆθεν προελεύσεως ὤσθης, εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσίνεαν· [536A] κατὰ πάσας δὲ θυρίδας τὰς ἄνω καί τὰς κάτω εἰκόνας ὡρὰν ἐκάθισε πρὸς τὸν ναὸν βλεποῦσας. Καὶ ὅτε πλησίον ἦμεν τοῦ ἄμβος, άφθαρεν στους κοινοτούςοις δύο ἀπότομοι καὶ ἐμβριθεῖς· ἵνα μὲν δέσμιον τὸν βασιλεία λαβόν, καὶ ἔπει τὰ δεξιὰ καταστρέφων, ἐξοφθητὸ τῆς σολέας, κατακρίνων ὡς ὑπεύθυνον· ἐμὲ ὁ ἐτερος ὀμοιοτρόπως διὰ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀπήγαγεν. Ἀφεν δὲ περιβλεψάμον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν συνθρόνοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθήμενον ἄρδα γηραλέον, ἀπαραλλάκτως ἐπιβλεψάμενος τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτῷ δόθην ταῦτα παρειστήκεις σοβαροὶ, πραποισοῖς τάξιν ἐπιφαίνοντες. Ὄρω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς γόνατος του καθημένου τὸν Ἡγανίταν ἰκετεύοντα, καὶ πολλοὶς ἀκρυπτοὶ μετὰ ἐνεπεξεργαζόμενον αὐτὸς, ὡς κάκειν αὐτὸ συλλυπώμενον στενάζαν. [536B] Καὶ αὐτὸς ἔβδομεν· Κλείσοντος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πέτραν ἐν Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιφαίνετο, εἰ οἶδας, ὅτι ὑδῆθης, παραμύθησόν μου τὸ πολύλιπτον γῆρας. Ὄ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Δεξιῶν, ἔφε, τὸν ἀδικήσαντά σε, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς σύν τῷ πειρασμῷ ποιήσει καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν. Καὶ στραφεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἡγανίτας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐπέδειξεν ἐμὲ, λέγων. Οὕτως περισσότερον πάντων ἐλθήσατο· καὶ κόρον τῆς κατ᾽ ἑορτῇ ἐμοῦ ἔδχεν ὡς ἐσχῆν. Νεῦσας σύν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου πρὸς τὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καθεστηκότα, καὶ κυρδίαν πάνω μέχριαν ἐκβαλόν, εἰς ἐπίκοινα κατὰ ἐπιφαίνοντα. Τὸν βασιλεῖαν Ἰγνάτιον παραλάβει, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νάρθηκος ἐξεικότος μελπόμενον. Αὐτίκα τούτων, ἐλκόμενος δῆθεν πρὸς θάνατον, ἔδω, ὅτι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν [536C] χείρα ἐπισέειν, ἔκκεες, ἔφε, ᾿αισβότηκεν· καὶ αὖτος ἐμαυτὸν ἐδόν 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 praipositoi. 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.” 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 bearings 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 Saronies’ 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 russkoj 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 ὅραμα δρῦν εὐστοχωτάτην λίαν καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἐγηγερμένην, (f. 25v) τῇ κορυφῇ δὲ αὐτῆς κόραξ ἐπεκάθητο νοσσιὰν επιθάλπων νεοσσοὺς κεκτημένην. Ὁρᾷ οὖν τινας ἐληλυθότας ἀθρόους ἀξίνας κατέχοντας ὡς τὴν δρῦν τεμῶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατεάξωσιν. Ἐφασκον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ κόραξ ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν φωλεύων μεγάλα κεκραγὼς οὐκ ἔως τὸν βασιλεά ἡδέως καθευδῆσαι ἐπὶ τῆς στρωμνῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ετεροί δὲ ἔλεγον···“Ὁ κόραξ οὗτος μεγάλως παρηνώχλησε τῷ ἀγαπητῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Βασιλείῳ.” Ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν ἔτεμον τὴν δρῦν εὐτόνως τῇ ἄξινη, ἡ δὲ ἀποτμηθεῖσα κατέπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Καί τινες ῥακοδυτοῦντες προσερχόμενοι καὶ κλώντες τὰ κλάδη τοῦ δένδρου εἰς πυρκαϊὰν ἠὐτρέπιζον. Ἑώρα δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Βασίλειον πρὸς τὴν πτῶσιν τοῦ δένδρου ἱστάμενον καὶ λέγοντα· “Πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται καὶ καίεται. Οὐκ ἐγὼ σοι προέλ[299]γον· “Ἀπόστα τοῦ ἀνταρτικοῦ ἐγχειρήματος”· (f. 26) Ἰδοὺ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ ἐκέκτησι ύψος ἀφρέθης.” Ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν ἀνείθη τοῦ ὅραμας. Πρωίας δὲ γεγονὺς εὗρεν ἑαυτὸν καταλείπητος ὑποστάσεως ταῦτα προσερχόμενοι καὶ κλώντες τὰ κλάδη τοῦ δένδρου εἰς πυρκαϊὰν αὐτά ὑπερήφανον. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Βασίλειον πρὸς τὴν πτῶσιν τοῦ δένδρου ἱστάμενον καὶ λέγοντα· “Πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται καὶ καίεται. Οὐκ ἐγὼ σοι προέλ[299]γον· “Ἀπόστα τοῦ ἀνταρτικοῦ ἐγχειρήματος”; (f. 26) Ἰδοὺ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ ἐκέκτησι ύψος ἀφρέθης.” Ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν ἀνείθη τοῦ ὅραμας. Πρωίας δὲ γεγονὺς εὗρεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ ύπερήφανος νόσου δεινή βεβλημένοι, και συνορῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τὸ ὄναρ ἢλμυρές ἔτελεν. Παραυτίκα οὖν προστάσει καὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀπολύουσι τὸν δίκαιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἄνως οὖκ ἐκάμφθη εἰς ἱκεσίαν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ὅσιο. Ἡσυχία γὰρ ἄν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀπῆλθεν. Αὐλὰς κακῶς φρονίσας ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ, ὅταν πληρωθῆναι διὰ τάχους τὸ ὄναρ τοῦτοῦ ὁ παρεδῆλον τὸν ἔξθιστον αὐτοῦ δίκαιον. Οὕτως οὖν ὁ Σαρωνίτης τελευτήσας δύο ύποις 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 straight\(^1\) 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 firewood. 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 fire and is burned.” 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.

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\(^{ii}\) John 15.6.

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\(^{1}\) Literally “well aimed” or “truly hitting the mark” (ἐὐστοχώτατον), 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.


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B. Translation

A Letter of the consul and eparch Theodoros Daphnopates, representing the protospatharios 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, 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, 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.

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

Τὸ δὲ γε ἀπόρρητον, πότερον ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπόρρητον σωπῆσῃ ἢ ἐξαγγελεῖ ὡς οἶνον τε ταῖς φιλοθεόις ὑμῶν ψυχαῖς, τὸ θεῖον (15) ὄντως τοῦ ἑωρακότος καὶ θαυματουρίας καὶ ὑπερφυῆς θαύμα, ὁ δὲ τῇ τελεωτάτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ παραβάλλειν αὐτὸς, ἐξητασμένον τοὺς ὀλίους εὐρήκα μέρεσιν; Ἀλλὰ τί μοι αὐτὸς, ὡς θαυμασθεῖς καὶ τριπόθετες κεφαλῆς, ἐξαγγέλλεσσι τῇ δὴ ἢ ἀπορρήτως νοεροῦς τεθέασαι ὑμῖν; τί μὴ πρὸς πάντας τὸν λόγον θαρρεῖς; Ἀλλὰ σοι μυστήριον ἢ τῶν (20) θειοτέρων ὡς σύνειας γίνεται; ή δέδοικα μὴ τίς σοὶ τῶν πάντων διαπιστήσεις, ἢ ὑπάτη τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ ἡ γῆ πρός τὸ θαυμάσιον ἡγήσατο, ὥσπερ τῆς σῆς ἢ ὡς δυνάμεως, εἴ μὴ τί μοι μέμφοις· εἴ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερφυὺς σοὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀγχίνου τῆς σῆς διανοιᾶς καὶ ψυχῆς, ἁλλ' ἦν σοὶ τοῦ ἑωρακότος καὶ θαυματουρίας καὶ τῆς σῆς ἡ ὑπερφυὴ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ ἰδιαίτερο τῆς σῆς διανοιᾶς καὶ ὑψηλὸ, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν παρακεχαρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀλλοίς, καὶ βούλει τῆς ἑωρακότος καὶ θαυματουρίας καὶ τῆς σῆς ἡ ὑπερφυὴ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ ἰδιαίτερο τῆς σῆς διανοιᾶς καὶ ὑψηλὸ, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν παρακεχαρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀλλοίς, καὶ βούλει τῆς ἑωρακότος καὶ θαυματουρίας καὶ τῆς σῆς ἡ ὑπερφυὴ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ ἰδιαίτερο τῆς σῆς διανοιᾶς καὶ ὑψηλὸ.
κρειττόνων θεωριῶν γέγονας, ἢ ὀλος τής λαμπρότης ἢ συγκεκληρωσαί.] Σύ μὲν οὖν οὕτως, καὶ πλεῖον τῶν λεγομένων ἢ ἔφεσις· (25) ὁ δὲ ἐβούλετο μὲν τὶ λέγειν τῶν ἀπορρήτων, οὐκ ἐθάρρει δὲ τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν, εἰ μὴ ἐπιτραπέζη παρὰ τοῦ κρειττονος· ἐπιυιάντετο γοῦ εἰ καίκειν δοκοῦν εἰ̇ ἐξαγγελιαι τι τῶν μυστηρίων, καὶ εἰ ἐπιτρέπει τοῦτῳ τὴν προφοράν· ἐξελιπότερες δὲ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ πολλοὶς ἁντιβολεὶς στεναγμοῖς τε καὶ δάκρυσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ παντάπασι (30) ἄδυσώπητος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἱκετηρίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· Ως δὲ καὶ αὖθις πλεῖον τὰ δάκρυα, συνηγωνίζετο δὲ σοι καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀθρόον παραφανεὶς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν ἀγγελόν τὰς ὑμετέρας λαβάς, προτρέπει τῷ θεῷ βραχὺ τι μέρος τῶν κεκρυμμένων εἰπεῖν, καὶ μὴ (5) παντάπασιν ἀμυήτους τοὺς προκειμένους ἀπολιπεῖν· ὁ δὲ εἰρηκὼς κεφαλίδα τινὰ βιβλίου ἠρέμα τῶν κόλπων ἐξάγει, ὡς δὲ εἰσὶ τὰ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν εἰλητάρια, εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἀνέπτυξεν ἀνέπτυξεν. Ἐγέγραπτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰμὴ ὅσον ἐκέχρωστο ακῆρατῳ βαφῇ· οὐ γὰρ εἴη νενομισμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω θησαυροῖς ταῦτα καταλέλειπται ἀνεκφοίτητα. Ως δὲ καὶ αὖθις πλεῖον τὰ δάκρυα, συνηγωνίζετο δὲ σοι καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀθρόον παραφανεὶς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν ἀγγέλον τὰς ὑμετέρας λαβάς, προτρέπει τῷ θείῳ βραχύ τι μέρος τῶν κεκρυμμένων εἰπεῖν, καὶ μὴ (10) παντάπασιν ἄδυσώπητος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἱκετηρίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· ὁ δὲ εἰρηκὼς κεφαλίδα τινὰ βιβλίου ἠρέμα τῶν κόλπων ἐξάγει, ὡς δὲ εἰσὶ τὰ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν εἰλητάρια, εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἀνέπτυξεν ἀνέπτυξεν. Ἐγέγραπτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰμὴ ὅσον ἐκέχρωστο ακῆρατῳ βαφῇ· οὐ γὰρ εἴη νενομισμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω θησαυροῖς ταῦτα καταλέλειπται ἀνεκφοίτητα.
σύμβολον καὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους καὶ ἀδύτου θεάματος, αἱ δὲ μετέωραι τῶν στοῶν τὴν ὑπερφυή τούτου θεωρίαν παραδεικνύουσιν, οἱ δὲ γε θρόνοι τὰς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πηγὰς ἄλλοι ἄλλοις ἄλλως (15) καὶ ἐτεροίως ἐτέρους ἐτέρους· δυνάμεις γὰρ κρειττῶς μετὰ τὰ τὸν θεὸν τεταγμένα· καὶ τὰν κάτω μερίδα τοῦ ψυχοῦς παραλαμβάνουσιν ἡμῖν, ἀναγωγοὺς ταύτας καὶ φρουροὺς ἱεροὶ λόγοι φασὶ (λέγω δὲ πάντα περὶ τῶν κρειττῶν, τὴν γὰρ ἔργον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ θεῖος πατὴρ ὑπὸ τῷ νεανίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἢ συνταττόμενος, τὸν τε ὁμοίον ἐκεκλήρωτο θρόνον, καὶ ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ἑπιτρόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐποιεῖτο τὸ δόξαντα· τὸ δὲ μηδ’ ἐκείνων ῥεδίως τὴν ἕξαγγελίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ μυστηρίῳ, ἀλλ’ ἀποτετμημένοι μείναι πρὸς τᾶς ἱκετίας ἀδυσώπητον, σὺκ (15) αἰτίαν ἔχει δοκεῖσθαι διάθεσιν· ἀλλὰ κάνταται φιλοσοφώτερος ἡμᾶς λόγος καὶ ψυχολόγος διαδέχεται, ὥσπερ τὸ φαινόμενον κόσμος, καὶ ἢ ἐκείπε διάταξις καὶ διαιρέσις καὶ πρὸς ὅρασιν ἐναντίως ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ἴμμετρα ὀμματα, καὶ πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀσυμμέτρως πρὸς τὰ νόηματα· ὁ γοῦν τὰς νοησιάς μὴ δύνατο, πῶς ἄν (20) φαντασθεὶ ποτε; καταδεεστέρα γὰρ ἡ τῆς φαντασίας γνώσις τῆς...
νοερᾶς· ἀλλ’ οὕδε γε αἱ ἀποκληρωθείσαι ψυχαί ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσι τὸ διέναι καὶ περύσεσθαι ὧπη βουλοιντο· τάττονται γάρ υπὸ ἀγγέλῳ φρουρῷ, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ ἀφίστανται λήξεως, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνῳ δοκεῖ, τοῦ θεοῦ τι ἄνωθεν οἰκονομοῦντος ἀπόρρητον, καὶ (25) νόμος αὐταῖς κρεῖττος μὴ ἀν ποτε ἐξειπεῖν τὰ τῆς ἀποκληρώσεως εἴδη τῶν ὅντων τινὶ· ἢν δὲ τις τούτων τὸ κρεῖττον ἐφῇ, ἐν μέτρῳ τὰς ἀνακαλύψεις διδόσαι, καὶ ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἄρρητα, τὸ δεδομένον μέτρον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει. Διὰ ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν οὐθ’ ὁ πατὴρ εὐθὺς πυθομένω περὶ τούτων τῷ ἀνεψιῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐθ’ ὁ (30) ἀγγελος παρατικά ἐπέτρεψεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη τὸ ἐνδόσιμον ἄνωθεν,
(387.) ἐκεῖνος τε προσέτατε, καὶ οὕτος τοσοῦτον ἐπεποιήκει ὁπόσον κεκέλευστο· τὸ δὲ πρόγραμμα, ἵνα τὸ ἀληθὲς τῶν κεκρυμμένων ἐνδείξηται, 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 γνωρισθῆναι κρίματα· τοιοῦτον γάρ ἡ μεσότης, τὰς υπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλλεῖψεις παραλιμπάνουσα· τὸ δὲ γε μαρτυρικόν αἶμα, αὐτόθεν μὲν γνώριμον, ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ τοῦ λόγου βαθύτερον, ὅτι τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων μόναις ψυχαῖς ὡς ὑπερφυές καὶ κρεῖττοντο ἡ ἐξαγγελία πεπίστευται· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐν ὧ τεθνήκει σχῆματι, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον ἀπάτη. Οὕτω πάντα προσφυῆ τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆ καὶ τοῖς θείοις κατάλληλα δόγμασι.
Michael Psellus, *Epitaphius encomiasticus in patriarchem Michaelem Cerullarium*


**Introduction.**

Michael Psellus concludes his encomium for his archrival the Patriarch Michael Keroularios by relating and then interpreting a dream of one of Keroularios’ nephews, with whom Psellus was on friendly terms. Though the nephew is never named, he is imagined to be in the audience as Psellus 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, 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 is 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 “εἱλητάριον,” 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?).

20. Βουλόμασι μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα μετενεγκεῖν, ἔτερος δὲ με λόγος αὐθέλκει καὶ περὶ τὸν πατέρα καταναγκάζει φιλοξωρεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ λόγος, ἀλλ’ ἁγίας νυκτερίνης, εἰ γε μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ λόγος ἔστιν, ἡ ἐμφυτος καὶ παρὰ τῆς φυχῆς ἀναδιδόμενος καθ’ ὅν τίς ἔστιν ἠκούσθη καὶ θειότερος ὑποδεικνύων τῇ φυχῇ ἀριστευόμενον τοῦ σῶματος τῆς τῶν ἑσπέρατος ἀλήθειαν, μικρὸν δὲ τι προσλήψωμεν.

Ἐσφάδαζε μοι ὁ λογισμὸς μαθεῖν ἔθελοντι οἷς ὁ πατὴρ τετύχηκε λήξεως, ἐσπέρας γοῦν πρὸ τῆς ὀδες ύπόλη περὶ τούτῳ τῷ Κριττεινι προσευξημένος καὶ ποιο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φυχὴν πρὸς τούτῳ ἐφελκυσάμενος, καὶ αὐθές ὠρανεὶς καταναγκάζαται διέχαι ἄπω χειρὶ ἑκατόρηκεν, ἐπῆεν ύπνου μεταληψάμενος, ὅποιον σὺν μέτρων κατεδάφισθον τῆς νυκτὸς ἁγίας, ὡς οὖν γοῦν ἀναβλέψας ἄθρούν, εἰ γε μὴ ὡς οὖν, ἀλλ’ ἢν ἀληθὲς τὸ ὁφθέν, τέως γοῦν, ὡσπερ ἄνοιξας τοὺς ὅφθαλμοις, ἐωράκειν τὸν πατέρα μετὰ τοῦ σχήματος οὗ τέθατο, ἐξόχως καλλίστα ὁ τὸ πρότερον.

Ἐγενήθη γοῦν ἄτεχνος καὶ σκηνημάτι καθαρῶ ἀνέφερε τὴν ψυχήν, τὰ τε ὄμματα, πυροῦ τενε ἐκείνην ἐστέκλωντο καὶ ἐπὶ χειροπότης τοῦ μέτρου παρῆλθεντο· ἢν οὖν ἐκέφερον, καὶ τὸ νοοῦμενον παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὄρμομενον, ὑπερεχείμα καὶ τῆς αὐθεσμίας καὶ τοῦ νοῦ. προσεῖ αὐτής μοι ἀνθρωποκόμοις καὶ τὴν ἐπαφήνων ύπέρισχεν, ἀλλ’ ἑδίδου ἐφάπτεσθαι, ὁ δὲ καὶ κύτος ἀνθήποτε καὶ μὲ τῇ συνήθει προσαγορώσας φωνῆς «τέκνον — ἐφ᾽ — καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν πλέον πολυμενον, ἰδὼν δὴ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί. ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἐτεθυκέναι καὶ τόν Θεόν ἐωράκειν — οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν λήξιν εἰκόνων — καὶ πολλὰ δὴ περὶ σοῦ τὴν ἀρρητοῦ ἐκείνην φύσιν κατεδηθῆναι καὶ ἐλιπάρθησα.»
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 is 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 (ἀληθές). 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 (τὸ 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”.

Translation
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 ἡδὴ ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντως τῆς τελευτῆς, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεὸς βουλόμενος δεῖξαι, ὅτι αὐτὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἄνθρωπόν καὶ δύναμιν κοπάσαντα καὶ ἁγιοσάμενον καὶ τὸν δρόμον καλῶς τελέσαντα ἕμελλε λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐν θύραις αὐτὸ ἀποκειμένην μετατίθεσαι ἁρπασάντα, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν σοφίας ἐτη ἐν τῇ διὰ τῇ βίᾳ ἢ εἶναι αὐτῷ συνεχόμενην, ὅποι τι τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ματθαί τοῦ νόμου οὕτως τοῦτο ὑποδεικνύει.

207. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀναπνοίας εἰς τὸ ἅγιόν καὶ τὸν πατρὸς ἡδὴ ἐπὶ τῆς θύραις ὄντως τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεὸς βουλόμενος δεῖξαι, ὅτι αὐτὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἄνθρωπόν καὶ δύναμιν κοπάσαντα καὶ ἁγιοσάμενον καὶ τὸν δρόμον καλῶς τελέσαντα ἕμελλε λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐν θύραις αὐτὸ ἀποκειμένην μετατίθεσαι ἁρπασάντα, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν σοφίας ἐτη ἐν τῇ διὰ τῇ βίᾳ ἢ εἶναι αὐτῷ συνεχόμενην, ὅποι τι τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ματθαί τοῦ νόμου οὕτως τοῦτο ὑποδεικνύει.

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.

ανάγγελον μου, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τι συνεβολεύσαντο οὕτως οἱ φίλοι σου; ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔπες μὴ προσφῆσαι τοῖς μάλωψι μου μάλωτας καὶ τοῖς ὀδύναις ὀδύναις. οὐ δὲ γὰρ σὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι δίκη τὴν τούτον ὑπεροχήν καὶ ταχύν. ἦ δὲ εἶπεν οὐκ ἤμπιεν σὲ εἷς ἐμοῦ ποτε μυστηρίων ἀποκρύφθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀποκαλύφθησα τὸ τοιοῦτον εὐνοοῦσθε σου, σεβὴλ ἂν ἐτέρῳ πιστεύσῃς. κ. 36 δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ τί με ἀπερώτατος, ὡς γάρ, περὶ τῆς ἀπολείπεσα σου καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ τῶν φιλάτων; ἦ δὲ εἶπεν ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ οἱ λαοὶ οὗ ἐξερευνήθη συμμικτῶς σου ἀντιλέγομαι. ταύρα σου ἦμιν τιμώτερον, ἀλλὰ δεδομαὶ σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν εὖνε ὁπλευρὰν τὰς τοῦτων τῶν φιλανθρωπίνων μὴ πιστεύσαι, ἐκτὸς ἂν ἀναφησίς τινα πρὸ τοῦ τούς ὡς σώθησα τοῖς εὐνοεῖσθαι τὸ βου-

10 λεμά. οὐκ οἴοισας, ὡς ἔχουσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῶν φιλανθρωπίνων διάκεισθαι, ἡς πλή-

θος ἦκανν οὔτως ἐκ αὐτῶν πρὸς ὅλους ἀνιγκρήτως, μὴ δέρα τούτοις τὸ φθόνον ἐπι-

λιθέως. ἐπεί σὲ μὴ μὴν ἀρχήν τούτων τὸν ὄνειρον διηγήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ ἐμὲ παῖς, ἔρωτεν τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀσκηθὴν γέροντα περὶ τοῦ ὄνειρον. δὲ εὔος τοῦ ἐπιπεδὸς αὕτης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσκήθην, καὶ ἄπερ εἴθε, τοῦτῷ ἀνήγγειλεν. δ. 15 δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ μὴ πτοηθῇς, βασιλεῦ. ὡδὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀναφέρει ἐπισυμβηκεῖ. ληλούσα γὰρ ὃς δύο λεμάς, οὓς ἐκάρακας ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφραίων βαδιζόντων, ὡς πρέσ-

βις ἤξει σοι ἐκ τοὺς τῶν μεγαστάνων δύο ἔλεγοντας πολυτίμους ἐπικρόμενος.
1 ἀς προσπετομένας] ἀπερ (ὡς Ο1) περιπετομένας (πετομένας W1) P1Ο1W1 – σοι om.O1W1 – καὶ om.W1 – Περσῶν) παρὰ (ἐκ W1) Περσῶν Ο1W1.
3 σοὶ3] σε W1.
4 βαπτίσθηναί V2.
6 σε om.V2 – ἐπιβίβασθαι V2; ἐπιβεβηκέναι om.Π1Ο1W1.
8 σαντι στέφανον add.V2 – πολὺ στίμων W1 – τῶν τῶν τῶν Π1Ο1; om.W1 – βασιλέως om.Ο1.
10 ἀπερ] ἀπερ om.Π1Ο1W1 – καὶ om.Ο1.
13 ἀπερ P1Ο1W1 – καὶ om.Ο1.
15 σφετέρισθαι P1 – ἀναλάβεται om.Π1Ο1W1.
16 ὁμοιότητι om.Π1Ο1W1.
17 ἀπείποι ὁπολοξῶν om.Π1Ο1W1 – τὰ τοιοῦτα P1 – δόρα τοιοῦτα om.Π1Ο1W1.
18 ἀντικαταστάθησθαι om.Ο1.
Stephanites kai Ichnelates

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.' 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

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The 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.
THE LIFE OF SAINT NIKON

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

24. τη ομ. K || 28. λαχόντες B: βαλόντες K
67: 2. εν B: ἐπὶ K || καὶ μνήμης άξιων B: τοῦ λόγου καὶ μνήμης άξιων K ||
4. δεικνύσι K || 10. πρὸς B: ὡς K || τῷ... ἐγερθησάμενος K || 11. εἰσόδην BK || συντεταγμένοι συριστὶς: ἱερεύνησα τῶν ελαίων οἱ καρποί B: ὡ τῶν ελαίων καρποί ἀποθελίσθησα K
μα ποιούμενος, ός ὑπόδικον τόν ἄνδρα ἀπεφήνατο, καὶ τά ἐσχατά αὐτῶν διαθήσεις κακά ἤπειρε τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης ἔνεκα. Τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου ληπθέντος καὶ ὄσπρεν ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ ἀπολογομένου καὶ μιθαδικοῦ ἐτί τοιουτόν τι κατατολμησάει σύν πολλά τῷ δέει ἐπαγγελλομένου, ἐμείν τέως αὐτῶν τῷ λη- 
φιθέν Ξαλον ἐκείνου ἐπέτατε. Καὶ ὃς ἢμείν μὲν ἐδοκεὶ τό 
Ξαλον, ἐκείνου δὲ ἢ τοῦ ἡμείν προσκήπεται ἐπε- 
κτείνεσθαι. Ὑς δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολειφθήθαι Ξαλον ἐν τού 
πιστώσεως αὐτῶν ο Στέφανος διετείνετο, ἐκείνος καὶ οὐδε 
ἐπήγε τῷ ἡμείν, εἴτε καὶ προσηπεῖε, ὅς, εἰ μὴ τάχος 
ἀποδημήτο τῷ ἀρχιρεθέν Ξαλον, καὶ αὐτά τά ἐγκατα αὐτῶν συμ- 
παραληφθήναι τῷ ἡμείν. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ξαλον καὶ σύν- 
τρομος ἁνακτα, καὶ ὅπερ ἠθήν τῳ ὑπνῷ συμβαλὼν ἁρα- 
βότος καὶ ἀναμφίλέτως, σπου ὅποι πολλῇ τῷ ληφθέν Ξαλο 
τῷ ἄργαςτηρίῳ ἐπανέσωσε. || καὶ τά τῆς ὅρκιας ἢ δια- 
γούμενος τρανγύλωτης καὶ πάσιν ἀεὶ διαμαρτυρόμενος σφυ- 
κτατοι καὶ ἀπώκοισα τῷ προσφάγεν θλῶς ἐν τοίς 
τῷ μονῇ διαφέρουσι, ἡ τολμᾶν ἐν τούτοις ἡν ὑπο- 
διάξει. Τούτου τῶν παίδων Γεώργιον, ὀλήγησεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμέ- 
ρων τῷ τῆς παραπληγίας πάθει πεπικούκλωτα, ὡς μηδέν ἤλθῃ 
ἀποκαθαρία ἢ πάσης ξυρκίας τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἢ τῷ 
λέγων μόνῳ τῶν ἐπιθέων δελεάζεσθαι, ὁ μέγας μόνος ἐρρο- 
σατο τῷ τούτω θείῳ τεμένει προσπεφευγότα, πᾶσι καὶ ἢ 
ἐν τῷ ἄργατηρίῳ τῆς μονῆς θυματηρίῳ ἐκτυπωθεῖσα καὶ δια- 
χαραχθείσα ὑγρίνῳ καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ ἐνδός τῆς παράδοσιμοις δι' 
εἰκονικής ἐκτυπώσεως ἠριθήλητον χορήγαι.
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.)


[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).


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 Porphyrogennetos 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)
Τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ κυρίῳ Μανουὴλ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ

Τῷ παγκρατίστῳ κράτει τῆς θεοπροβλήτου κραταιᾶς καὶ ἁγίας βασιλείας σου ὁ ἀνάξιος δοῦλός σου συγχαίρω, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ νίκης ἄγγελος εὐαγγέλου εξ εὐαγγέλων ὅνειρων σοι γίνομαι, εἰ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔποιην δέξῃ τοῦ κράτους σου σύμμαχον. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ ἀνάξιος δοῦλος τοῦ κράτους σου «οὔτε τι μάντις ἡμῶν σάφα εἰδώς» οὔδ᾽ ὑπάρχων ἄφθαση ἢ παπᾶς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν μετερχομένων τινά, ὅνειρος δὲ ἀντικρυς μαντείας καὶ χρησμῳδήματα βλέπων ἔνιστε γινώσκω τα τούτων ἀποτελέσματα. οὔδὲ γὰρ ἐκ βρωμάτων ή κραιπάλης καρηβαρῶν καὶ κατόχιμος ὑπνί, ἐπεστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἱσασί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφαύσκουσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰωθὼς καὶ μήτοι γε ἀγοράς, ἀλλ᾽ οὔδὲ λεωφόρους περιερχόμενος, ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμὴν κλίνην ὡς καθεύδων τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ εἰώμην καθεύδειν· ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἱσασί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφαύσκουσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰωθὼς καὶ μήτοι γε ἀγοράς, ἀλλὰ λεωφόρους περιερχόμενος, ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμὴν κλίνην ὡς καθεύδων τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ εἰώμην καθεύδειν· ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἱσασί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφαύσκουσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰωθὼς καὶ μήτοι γε ἀγοράς, ἀλλὰ λεωφόρους περιερχόμενος, ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμὴν κλίνην ὡς καθεύδων τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ εἰώμην καθεύδειν· ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἱσασί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφαύσκουσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰωθὼς καὶ μήτοι γε ἀγοράς, ἀλλὰ λεωφόρους περιερχόμενος, ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμὴν κλίνην ὡς καθεύδων τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ εἰώμην καθεύδειν· ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἱσασί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπιφαύσκουσαν κυριακῆς ἡμέραν τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη μοι.
τριπλῶς, ὧτε τὰς ὀλιγογράμματος ἦν ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ τὰ τρώτα καὶ στοιχειώθηκεν μόνον παιδευθεὶς γράμματα τοιούτων ἄνεγίνωσκε βιβλίον, καὶ ὅτε κατωτέρω τολῆς ὃδεκει μοι τότε πλησίον τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ ἐργαστηρίου οἰκείν, καὶ τούτο δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔθαμβαζον, ὦτε ὅπερ βιβλίον ἐδόκουν ποθεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν ἣν δὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κεκομμένα τινὰ σειράδωμα τὸ ὑπὸ καὶ τὶνα φύλλα ὡς ἐκ πυρὸς ῥυτισθέντα· πλὴν ἔλεγον ὅτι, εἰ καὶ τοιούτον ἔστιν, ὅπως καλὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει καὶ ὡς φροντίς περὶ φύλλων καὶ σειράδωματος, ἑκρίνα γοῦν Βασίλειον χρυσοχόον εἶναι τὴν κράταιοτάτην βασίλειον αὐτοκρατορίαν, ἤτις κατωτέρω μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν κατῴκει τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ, χέασα δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ δεξαμένη τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἱππὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν ἔχει τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ στρατηλάτου ἢ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου, ύποι αὐτοῦ διὰ πίστεως χρηματίζοντος, βουλλωσάνων αὐτῶν καὶ δεσμησάνων τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν τῷ Ἱστορικῷ τὸν Κονδού Ἱστορικοῦ ἀνελεύσεται, τουτέστι θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ῥήθεισι μέν ἄγοις βοηθοῦμενος καὶ χρυσῷ δεξάμενος σύμμαχον καὶ τὴν ἱππὸν τὴν Σκυθικὴν κονδῶς καὶ συντόμως ἔργαση νίκην καὶ τρόπαια. ὡς δοῦλος ἄναξιος μὲν, φιλαυτοκράτῳ δὲ καὶ φιλοπατρίς 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.
ἐχεῖν· καὶ ὅταν κεφάλῳ(153) σοι αὐτῶν ὑε- σει ὁ διάβαλος, ποιεῖ «κατατεθυμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ θανατῶσαι» 2 καὶ ἀπεθάνει τὰ δάκρυα ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἐψι δὲ καὶ πρό- θυμοι ἐν τῇ ἐκτόνῳ κακοεργεί ἐργασίᾳ ἰαόπως ἐπιτελοῦτος τὸ πρακτικόν (116), ὡς μὴ ὄντος τοῦ παρεμποδίζοντος, ἀλλὰ μάλλον καὶ συνεργοῦντος, ὡς ὁ πτωματίζῃ αὐτοῖς. Φησὶ γάρ τις: «Παθεῖσις ὑπερφάνοις πτώμα, σκόλου δὲ δαίμων, ἐγκατάλειψις δὲ ἐκάτασις». 3 Μακάριος λοιπὸν ὁ μὴ ἡπτηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἄξιοθελείς τὸν προτέρων καταπολαβάται · ἕν γένοιτο ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν. Ἔγιό δὲ ἐπί τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν δακρύων οὐκ ἐκ πείρας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ στοχασμοῦ καὶ ἀναγνώσεως, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν σὺν Θεῷ ἐπιστανται | οἱ πρακτικοὶ. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπήν πειθομένως τῷ ἀγίῳ Νεήλο φάσκοντι: «Δέγειν χρῆ καλά καὶ τὸν μὴ καλὰ πράσεται, ὅπος ἀρέστη τῶν ἔργων, τοὺς λόγους αἰσχυνομένους». 4 Καὶ πάλιν: «Σχηματίζου τὴν ἀρετήν, οὐχ ὅπως ἀπατή- σης, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὀψελθήσης τοὺς βλέποντας». 5

8. Ταῦτα εἴποντος μοι τοῦ ὀβόλου, εἰσῆρα πρὸς αὐτὸν: Ἀββᾶ, τῶν μὲν δουλικῶν καὶ νόταν δακρύων πείραν ὡς κέκτημαι. Πε- ρὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν δαιμονίας ἐπηρεαζόμενων ἡμῶν, εἰ κελεύ- εις, ἐρῶ σοι. Καὶ ὁ σιωπης· Ἐλπ. Καὶ ὁ Ἀδελφόν των ἐδε- ξάμην ὡς ἐτῶν ὄντα τριάκοντα, δε στρατευόμενος κατὰ κόσμον διὰ τῶν δυστυχιῶν κατέλειψε τὴν στρατευήν αὐτός, μὴ ἔκλειν ταπεινωθῆναι καὶ βαστάσαι τῶν ἐπελθόντα αὐτῶ περισσῶν. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ (154) καὶ εὐφών των κυκλευτήν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκατον ἱμάτια καὶ ἁναλάβητο τὰ ἐκεῖνον. Καὶ ἀποκελίασα αὐτὸς ἐκατόν οἰκείας χερσὶν εὐθὺς ἥξισατο μορφοποιεῖν καὶ περιηγέη ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄλλα ἄντι ἀλλὸν λέγον καὶ πούτων: εἶτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτῶν πείραν τῶν προσατείνῃ ἡ, πῶς εἰσέχεται οὐκ ἔχω, οὐ παρειχέναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄρτον ἡ ἄλλο τι. Ποιήσας δὲ ἡμέρας ὁκτώ νύστις διερχόμενος ἠλθεῖ πλησίον κήπου τινός. ὁ δὲ κηπουρός ἦν καθάπερ κράμας καὶ τὰ σαπὸλ ἔβοθὼς, ὁ δὲ λαμβάνει ὁ αὐτοκεφαλοτόντος μοναχὸς ἥξισατο ἐσθίειν. Ὑς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ κη- πουρός, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ μίαν κράμην. Καὶ φαγοῦντε αὐτὴν δέδωκε καὶ ἔτεραν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ φαγεῖν καὶ ταῦταν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἄρτον. ὁ δὲ ἐκ πρότης προσβα ζῆς δους νότα κατέλεις τὸ μορφοποιεῖν.

9. Ἡν δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔχον πενεματικὸν πατέρα, ἀνδρα ἀρετῆς πάσης ἐκοσμημένον, δὲ ἦν μαθητεθεὶς ἀγίῳ τινὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ

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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 τοῦτον χάριν ὁμοίᾳ λεπτοπλάσιαν· ἢ ἑπικούριον· διὰ τὴν κτήσθαι τῆς βιβλίον. Ἑλπιζὼ δὲ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν· μονὸν οὐκετὶ πάλιν σῇ ἑστὶν· ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος τινὶ καταλείψω ἀπήν. Ἑκότο τῶν ζήσας ὦ σῶσαι ἀνήκει· καὶ μᾶς πέντε ἡσυχίαν τὴν πρὸς θάνατον. Κἀγὼ ἀγγείον ἐπερίματος ἀδελφόν τῷ μαθητῷ περὶ τῆς ἡγεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ νομίσας με τὰς ἁγίας τοῦτον εὐχές. Ἔδει δὲ τὸν γέροντα τὰ τελευταία πρόκειται, ἄρρομένον δὲ τῷ φρονήματι. Ὁς καὶ ιδὼν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰδώνος αὐτὸ τὴν βιβλίον εἰσέρχεται. Δόξα τῶν τῷ ἀββάσιν | (156) καὶ ἀσπασάται αὐτὸν ἑξ ἐμοῦ. Οὐκέτι γὰρ θεάσομαι αὐτόν ἐν τῷ νῦν Αἴων. Ταῦτα εἰσέρχεται καὶ μικρὸν ἱστορίας παρέδωκε τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχή τῷ Θεῷ.

12. Ὅποιος τοιρασθῇ ὁ σῶσαι Ἀδελφίας — τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ · ἐκτελέ μοι τῷ τότε τὸν προφητήκτην αὐτοχειροτόνητον μοναχὸν, ὃς καὶ ἀσμένως δεχθεὶς παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν εὐχήν τοῦ γέροντος καὶ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἦν σὺν ἡμῖν. Εἰδώς δὲ τὸν ὅσιον ἀνέθει καὶ πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα πλουτοῦσθαι ἐν τῷ χάρισμα τῶν δακρύων ἐξήλωσεν αὐτὸν. Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐγκαθαίραν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀδικούς ἔθισέν περὶ ἐν ἀναλλάσσει 1, ὡς ὕπο. Βλέπον δὲ ἔγω τοὺς ὀρθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἡρωτῶν αὐτὸν λέγων · Μὴ κλαίεις · Ὁ δὲ · Καὶ τὰς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ · Ὁ κλανθμός τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν. Οὗτος ἐπελευκοῦς γὰρ ὁμολογήσας μοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Παρατηρήσας δὲ αὐτῶν πολλῶν εὐθύσων ἐμείοις ἐν μεγάλῳ πένθει καὶ ὀνομάζον. Μὴ δυνάμενος λοιπὸν νῦν ἔναρξαν πόθον εἰπάν, πάλιν ἡρωτάσατο αὐτῶν · Κλαίεις; Καὶ εἰπὲ μοι · Τὰς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ; Ἡ δάκρυα τῶν ἁγίων εἰσέρχεται. Ἔγω δὲ ἀνθρώπος ὑπάρχω ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀκάθαρτος. Ἡ ἀθέλεια σὺν παρατηρήσας αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί. Κάθετος ἐγινάλλος ἀπὸ κατανυκτικοῦ κανόνος τροπαία ὁκτώ. Ἔν δὲ ἱκανον ἐσθίμα πεντάμειας ἡ δεκάμειας καὶ πλεῖον ἐλέγερ μετ᾽ ὀρθωμοῖς καὶ βρηκόν γοερῶν. Ὁς δὲ ἑκατέρος τοῦτο ἐπηρεάζεται, ἐγινάλλος ἔγω τὰ ἀπόδεικτά μου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψυλλήματος καθισμάτων (120) τέσσαρα. Κάθετος | (156) εἰς τὴς τρίτης φόδης τοῦ τροπαίου τῶν (121). Τοῦτο ἰδὼν καὶ ἀποφθέγματα κατήχησα αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπήλθαν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ μου. Θέλων δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον νοήσας εἰ ἐν ὀρατοίς εἰς τὰ δάκρυα αὐτοῦ, εἴητο τῷ διανοοῦντι μοι ἀδελφῷ. Παρατηρήσας τὴν δείνα καὶ ἤταν εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ δαιμονικῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι, ἐπεξερεύη ἐως ὅτι καταλήψῃ ἡ σατανικὴ αὐτοῦ ἐρώτασις. Καὶ τότε σκόπων αὐτὸν ὡς ἄργη καὶ μὴ συγκοπήσων

42, 12. — 1 Cl. Ps. 125 (126), 5.
τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς. Καὶ πρόσεχε τι σοι μέλλει ἀποκριθῆναι, ἵνα μοι ἐπίσης αὐτό. Ὡς οὖν ἔκακωσαν αὐτόν, ἤρεσε ταράσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν: "Ὡς τῆς συμφορᾶς. Ὄταν δριμιθῶν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν χριστιανὸν, παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν Ἐβραῖω προστάτη. Ὡς δὲ ἐμαθὼν τὸ φόνον αὐτοῦ, οὕτω ἔκακώσαν αὐτὸν μήπω πληρώσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐναντίον. Ἡδον ἁγὸς ύπερφιλαγίας τὸ ἐξουθενία καὶ θηράσθαι· τὸ γὰρ δάφνου ἐκ φιλοθείας, ἐκ φιλοδοξίας, ἐξ σινοφιλίας, ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἀθημίας καὶ θλίψεως.

13. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐν τινι μοναστηρίῳ τῆς πόλεως ἤσύχασε. Καὶ ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν ὁδὸς αἰσθητῶς τοὺς δαίμονας ὡς διακόνως τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ἔχοντας καὶ τίνα βασιλικών μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ λέγοντας αὐτὸν ὅτι: Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ συνόδου τετεροκόμη ποιησάται σε πατριάρχην διὰ τῆς προσόφολος σοι ἀφετηρία πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπεῖν σε ἐκ πένθους εἰς πολύκλησιν. "Μακάριοι γὰρ, φησίν, οἱ πενθοῦσες, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρακληθήσονται". Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας ἁνάξιον (157) ἐναντίον τοῦ τοιοῦτον ὑψὸς ἀπεκάλει. Καὶ οἱ δὴ θείς διάκονοι ἐπέμενον λέγοντες: Ἡράκλης σοῦ τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τῶν διορθῶν ὁ Θεός καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁδήγησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ σοῦ. Ἐξελθόντων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐδόθης ἐξῆλθε καὶ ὁ μελλοπατιάρχης, πειρώμενος δήθεν ἀποκυρίζην εἰς ταυτεπαροφώσκην. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τινας γνωστῶς ἑαυτῶ καὶ εἰσελθὼν λέγει: Κλεῖσάτε, κλεῖσάτε τὰς πύλας. Ὅτι δὲ· Καὶ τί ἔστι· φασίν. Αναγκασθεὶς λοιπὸν παύς αὐτῶν ἔφη· Πῶς ἔγω τὰ τῶν πατριάρχης. Ἐκκαμβησι δὲ γεγονότες συνεχῶς ἠτένιζον πρὸς αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχοντες τί εἴσηεν ἡ νοοῦσαι. Εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν τέλεον ἐκστάς τῶν φρενῶν, ζίγαις τὰ μέσα ἐξῆλθε γεγυμνομένον | περιπολῶν τὴν πόλιν, ἐσθίων τε καὶ ποιῶν ὁ μὴ δεί. Καὶ ἰδοὺ πεπληρῶσει χρόνον ὅκτω καὶ πρὸς, τέλεος ἐκστατικὸς ὄν. Ὅ σῶρον ἐνδέχομαι πολεμιῶν σφάζεται εὐχερὸς καὶ ὁ μὴ εἰδώς τὰς σκέπας τῶν παθῶν καταπλήττει ραδίως.

14. Ταῦτα εἰρημένοις μοι πρὸς τὸν μόνον, ἀποκριθεῖς εἶπε· Τις τῶν σοφῶν πλαύσιον ἁπάντων θεωσάμενος ἐλαίας ἔσθιοντα καὶ ὄψιν πίνοντα ἔφη· Εἰ οὖν κατὰ γήμην ἡρίτας, οὐκ ἂν οὖν παρὰ γνώμην ἐδείκνυες. Ὅποτε καὶ ὁ ἄδελφός, εἰ οὖν κατὰ γνώμην ἐμφανοῖε, οὐκ ἂν παρὰ γνώμην ἐδέσθη. "Παλιδεύεις γάρ σε ἡ ἀποστασία σου, φησίν, καὶ ἡ κακία σου ἐλέγχησε σε". Ὅστε καὶ ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας εἶδος ἔστιν. Ὅταν

42, 14. — 1 Cf. MAX. Conf., Serm. 61 (P.G. 91, 988a) — 2 Ierem. 2. 19
LA MESSE DU DIABLE

CHAPITRE 53.

1. "Étai dé kata tôn Solomônta kairoς tòu panta prágmati, kai kairos tou tekein kai kairos tou ἀποδανεῖν 1, kai oîn ἔστιν εὔφειν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰώνι ἀρχήν, μή καὶ τέλος ἔχουσαν, βούλομαι εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ ὅσιον τοῦ ἄνδρος. Οὗτος ὁ πα-


3. Εδώς τοίνυν ὁ κατάρατος σεβαστὸς δείχνωσιν αὐτὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἔνδοθεν τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν, πρόθεσιν, δίσκους, ποτήρια καὶ ποτηροκαλύμματα (159). Εἰσέρχονται οἱ μηθερίης αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν αὐτῶν, ποιοῦσι προσκομιδὴν καὶ ἀπήχαντο τῆς μυσαρᾶς αὐτῶν λειτουργίας. Εἶτα βλέπει ὁ δοσίς τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἱδοθ ήρθη ἐν ἑιπτῇ ἡ στέγῃ τῆς κελλῆς καὶ γέφονεν | (192) εὐφηχουρός, ὅταν χωρεῖν ἑσωθὲν τῶν κατάρατος σεβαστὸς καὶ τοὺς οἴνον αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ δοσίς ἐστὶ εἰς τὸ ἅπαν τῆς κελλῆς καὶ προσσῆκον τοῖς λοσσοναγοῖς λειτουργοῖς αὐτῶν ἥκουν μὲν τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτῶν, οὖν ἄδικον δὲ ταύτα ἐπιγινώσκα τέως δὲ εἰπὼν τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεωιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἠδυνηθῇ ἀπεκκαθοῦν ή ἁμήν, ἁμήν, γένεται, γένεται. Εἶτα εἰπόντος τοῦ μηθερίους ἑποέθετε, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κατάρατος σεβαστὸς καὶ μετέλαβε τῆς αἰσχρότητος. Εἶτ᾽ ὀφθα ταὶ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες. Ὁ δὲ γέφων ἀχλεῖτο μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν λογισμῶν τοῦ εἰςελθέντων καὶ μεταλάβεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ λέγειν: Ἐπὶ ἐστι θελήμα Θεοῦ, εἰπέν μοι ἔχει ὁ σεβαστὸς. Εἰ δ᾿ οὖν, τίς εἰμί, ὁ ἀνάξιος; | Ὁ γὰρ φιλάθλοςκός καὶ ἑλκομένος Θεὸς οὐ παρείδη τὴν ταπείνωσιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ταπείνωσιν αὐτοῦ ἐμνήσθη αὐτὸ καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ παρεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὸν κοιμώμασί. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ γέγονεν, τάχ᾿ ἂν τὰς φρένας αὐτοῦ ἀπάλεσεν. Οὕτως οὖν τελεσθείς τῆς μυσαρᾶς

53, 3. — 1 τάχ᾿ Κ: τάχα Λ.
αὐτῶν κακοφυγίας, ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῶν δαμόνων αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ φαινομένῃ σκηνῇ.

4. 'Ὁ δὲ ὁσίου ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου στάσεως κοσμίας πάνω ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ σκοτάσθη λογισμῶν. Χρούσατος δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ μαθητής αὐτῶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ὁσίος· Ὁ θύετε ἔρηματον; Ὁθ ὁμολόγηθε ἀποδαθήθην; Ῥήσσετε τὸ γῆρας μου· Ὁθ ὁδηγήτε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν μου· Δόναμα ἐγὼ ἀχλίσεις τοσάκτες ὑπὸ | (192γ) τῶν κοσμικῶν ἔχειν καὶ λειτουργίας ἑκτῆσθαι ένδοθέν τοῦ κελλίου μου· 'Ὁ δὲ· Συγκεχώρησόν μοι, ἀββᾶ, οἷς οἰδά τί λέγεις. Καὶ ὁ· Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁδ πιστεύεις, τοῖς ἔργοις πίστειν. Καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς· Ποτις ἔργοις; 'Ὁ δὲ· Ὁθ ὁδηγῇ τὸν σεβαστὸν μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν· Καὶ δηγήσατο αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῶ. 'Ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς φησιν· 'Εγὼ ἔξω ὁ λέγεις τὸ οἰονόμον οἷς ὁρῶ. Καὶ ὁ· Καὶ τὸ κελλίου μοι οἷς ὁρῶς ἀπεκεφάλες, οἷς ὁρῶς τὸ δισκοποτήριον αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ καλύμματος ἐνδοθέν ὑπὸ ἁκρήν. Καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐκροας τὴν στέγην τοῦ κελλίου καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὁθ ὁρᾶς ταῦτην; 'Ὁ δὲ· Ναὶ, πλὴρος ὁ ἄν. 'Ὁ μαθητής δὲ· Ἡ στέγη, ἐξαίρετη, ἥν καὶ ἔστη. Καὶ ὁ· Εἰς δὲ τὸ δισκοποτήριον τὰ ἔξοχα εἰπεῖν, δεικνύω αὐτῷ τῇ χειρί. 'Ὁ μαθητής οἰν ὅρας αὐτῷ λέγειν· Ὁθ ἔστη τὸ βασιλέαν σου· Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· Ναὶ, τέως δὲ τὸ κελλίου ἀπεκεφάλες ἔστων. Ἡράξατο λοιπὸν ὁ μαθητής τούτων τὰς ὑφεις καὶ λέγων· Ὅταν μου, ἔξεσθε. 'Ὁ δὲ· Ἐξέσθησά σο, εἰπεῖν. 'Εγὼ γὰρ τὰς φρένας μου κέντημαι. Καὶ ὁ· Κακαὶ φρένες.

5. Τούτων οὖτος ὁμιλούντων δὲ ἰλικὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ποτὲ μὲν ἐπανήχειτο πρὸς έαυτόν, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ. Εἰχον δὲ οἱ ἄδελφοι πλῆθυν πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ λέγουσι τῷ θεῷ· Θέλεις ἵνα καλέσωμεν τὸν μοναχὸν; Ναὶ, φησίν. Ἐλθον τοις μοναχῷ καὶ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν ἔρπτο πρὸς αὐτόν· Ποις ἔχει ἡ ἀγιωσύνη σου; 'Ο δὲ· 'Ὡς οἱ συνάδελφοι μου οὐτοί λέγουσι, κακῶς. Καὶ ἄλλω | (193)γάζατο αὐτῷ ἀπαντά τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς· Ὁθ ἐποιήσατος ἐν τῷ παθητῷ αὐτῶν; Δόξα τῷ ἀγίῳ Θεῷ. Καὶ ὁ· Ἐβολεύσας μὲν κοινωνίας διὰ τὸ ἔχειν μὲ ἡμέρας μη μεταχειρίστατο τῶν θείων μυστηρίων καὶ ἱδελπίων. Ἐξεδεχόμεν δὲ λέγων εἰ ἔστι θέλημα Θεοῦ, ἔχει μοι καὶ ὁ σεβαστὸς εἰπεῖν· εἰ δὲ οὖν, οὐ. Καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν μοι οὐ μετέλαβον. Καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς· 'Οντος· ἀββᾶ, εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγω σου ὧτι, εἰ

53. 5. — 1 ὁσίοι μοναχὸν τοῦτον εἶναι Νικόλαον τὸν Καθακετήν τὸν συνγράφαντα τὸν βίον τοῦ σώματος ἀληθῶς καὶ τάστα λέγοντα in margine L (I. 128y)
Two bad dreams in *The Life of Cyril Phileotes* by Nicholas Kataskepenos


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 seedng 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 loathsome 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 *imagining*. 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.
AD GEORGIIUM ACROPOLITAM

'Epistolae tui quod tuum magni basiliæs tui Româniae pater
'Joanum tui Doyna, pater Theodoro, tui Æskari pro tui magni
philosophon pater Georgion ton 'Agoropolitwn pro ton ton Magnone
nous presbites.

Meospnîkion èxegevwîmyn, toû kosmikou dhlaði kýndamou, è xo-
mologicasâs òtê Kûrî καλ Θεό μου tâ tis kardias mou. apertii-
nwos de tê ' Arêtê kai gnôs èk èkeini to oumêdos elêndni tia tón
Kûrono òlo épiblæbas, sunomílon autî. pollon de chrônî deil-
5 òntos tê sunomilherèi ëmyn, proß tás aghas toû èwphorôn kathn-
têsas kai ò sullòros ëmene, kai ò èwphoros ënëtaîe kai tôn l 85r
fussfuson êmhnse, òs kai èkasth kai èfronase tihn òrfhîon. de tôn
dei mou faneñ sunomilhse ton ëmbros kai tê auton geitniasèi dia tês
èkaton ðègîas dielêðen mou tâs euðhas prôs tôn Kûrôn, èpê èwron
10 autôn, elêchê mou hì ' Arêtê ' Iâa tî balneis àtaktos, kai ou me-
mâhian en philosophia periptatein kai ën lógh ì斯塔icen tâs

I Argumentum. 'Philosophia duce mentem meam ad Dominum extulit,
cius beneficio errores debellare potui'.

Extat hæc epistula etiam in cod. V, f. 112r (tit. tui auton pro tui no-
terebus scep analogia sitiis; mesonik-tion gath anapirsthmoun igeodilis boulous synomaleb tis Kyriou scep, mhi nataleinas prosteron tis boulous scep de emou wos eidos, mhi peripodepseis tis ton tropon dhais te kai anortofis, kolostetas te 15 kai natochxomata, tis ton sasvnon ovdanta basarios, kai ei mhi authe kaiw os sunihtis, eporevou an epi tropous epidechymenous nekroous. evno de ton eidosofon eowakos orhphalos proo ekeino enerohxia dhelis, tis akra atephos meamathkos kai tis analohkis mesotheta ton sunolon mh eidos. polunamarteta ton tovnon odro tis anam-nematata. prosochomata gar exon poiyli tis nupi goreha en aloph kai hlon blecon lamiophaf, tois tis dradioi odrous apatatos kai amfros authe proaspas dhelis, ti tahta poietis enantion periplh kai natakonsevnon kai legon moi. ti dris. evno de kypila-se diebolon dia tis dradioi odrion estotais stolous ekta, odhnes oikon poluklet hrephon, ei oth exochopto phoschusai polllai, katevthen autai proo eanatos emebozento, mese de erwos basilea panu lamioph, kai ete meon erwos in tis ton oikon kai autios kalloynh eneduto, ete de eti exo ekeinou kai autos ton oikon ekalluo kai ekallhontos in diadose kai antidosei a kalloynh, eti tis oikon te kai ton anaktos. erwos de de kai epodexan meostin odshn kratihon, on kai thumaton plados exoilo, poros ton de ton oikon erwos doulos en phosin hdohtas kai leghontas. de eso enforon, enexen poedhen, o de enedces fesen erwos drimeta tis na anaktosena kai ton oikon de emvnekama nipte kai apoipontris tis aistros xi-35 ste. evno de akousas auton, kai tis synomolnon chrhoton simboulou paralabon, eporevith eis to anaktoro. kai tis en ton proasalhia me deipowmenos elshen, olgyas masthion me, erwos me gar prooskoitpon eni tis elshon, proterepodos authe eteis poietis kai tis synodnous mou symbolou chrhotis. etan de elshldomen, edo-40 f. 67r f. 68r f. 69r kai eteous synoesochomounos, kai tois meh esbolontas kal

ἐμοντάς τὰ βρώματα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσθίοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐμοντάς, τῶς γε περὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἄλγοντας, ὡς ἀπεκτά τὰ ἀετρά φέροντας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπεκτέον ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἀναγομένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνίοντας. ἐμὲ δὲ μόνον εἰς ἐξ ἄλλον διαδεξάμονοι ἀνή-
ζαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφήν καὶ ὡς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἀνακτὸς ἐνεργίζο-
ῄνα με αὐτοὶ διετάζοντο. εἰτε γοῦν καὶ ὁ ἄναχ οὗτος τῆς κορυφῆς
μου ὄμολο, εἰτε τῆς ταλαιπώρου μου καρδίας νοερὰς κατεράγησε,
μόνος οἶδας αὐτός.· ἐν οἷδα δὲ, διὶ καὶ πάντων με τῶν τῆς δαίμ-
ὸν ἔδεσθαντο ἐνέκλησε, μικρὸς δὲ καὶ δύο ἄδελφας ἐκ τοῦ ἄνδον κο-
τόνος ὁ βασιλέας ἄγαγων περὶ ἐμὲ ἔστησε, καὶ τύμφας μοι αὐτῶς
προφητισμότα· αἱ καὶ κατεύθυνον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμὸν πλεκόμεναι οὐκ
ἔχοντο, καὶ τούστον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔρωτος ἐξεβακενήθην εὖ ἡ
τοῦ νοὸν, διὶ καὶ μέλη τινὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀναλαμβανόμενοι ἠδον ἐγκυ-
ματῶν τὸν βασιλέα. μικρὸς δὲ πρὸς δυομάς ἡδη ἐρχομένου καὶ τοῦ
ἡλίου, ἔδειξεν αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν πολυφροσύνην καὶ συνήθη δρό-
μον δεχεθην' ἀλλ' ἦλθε καὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, εἰτε ἐπὶ πλεῦν
λαμπρονὼν αὐτῷ, εἰτε ἀνακάλυψαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ὁδὴν τέως 1. 57.
γε εἶδον καὶ διὶ τὸν ὑπάρχον ὁ ἡλίος δεχόμενο, καὶ πανταχῦ ἔλαμ-
πεν, ἐν διαδόσι οἰκτίνα τολμήσαντ' ἐν συναφείᾳ συνημένην τῷ
ἡλίῳ τῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὡς γοῦν εἰς τῷ τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκτορον
συνέδραμον καὶ ἡ ἄκτις καὶ ὁ ἡλίος, οὐκ ἔχουν κἂν στενάζει ἐκ
τῆς λαμπρότητος. ταῦτα γοῦν αἱ ἐμαί σὺζυγοί ἄδελφας θεασάμενοι,
κεπτοὺς ὠραίους τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοθέν ἐνδυμάτων ἐξάσκασαν, τοὺς
ὀρφαλότοις μοι περεκάλυπτο, καὶ ὡς ἐσότρεψον ὅραν μὲ ἐπέκει
καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλος ὠράς τινα τὸν ἡλίον ὑπόδαιη, ἢ ὕθες, ἔλεγον.
καὶ ἐβίβαζεν εὼ τῷ ἡλίῳ, τῇ ἄκτινι τῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, διαμαίλαν πλο-
κὴν ἀφρότον πάνυ καὶ ἀνεκάλλητον. ταῦτα οὗτος ἐγὼ καὶ τερ-
πόμενος (ὀιδὲς γὰρ ἐν ἀκίνητή τῆς ὑδείας γεύσασται καὶ οὐκ ὕστη
tο τοῦ νοὸς) ἐξίλθον ἔχων σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς δύο ἄδελφας ταῦτας, χερῶ
τε ὁμοὶ φεροῦσας καὶ αὐτὰς σὺν ἐμοὶ λαμπάδας περιφανείς, ὡς

48. ἀλλ' Φ: ἄλλος V. || 49. ἀδικεῖται ετ' ἀμα θέας εἶτοι V. || 49. καὶ πάντων με τῶν τῆς V: ἐκ πάντων με τῆς Κ. || 52. καὶ κατεύθυνος F: τῇ ὑπερὶ τύτην V. || 53. καὶ F: καίω V. et max. εὼ τῶν F: αὐτοίς τε κατὰ τῶν V. || 55. τῶν βασι-
λέα V: τῷ βασιλεί F. || 57. αὐτὸ ομ. Φ. πλεῦν F: πλεῦντα V. || 58. λαμπρομνὼν
V: λαμπρομνών F. || 59. καίω | οὐκ ἔχουν (sic) V. || 64 sq. ἐξάσκασα ετ' ἀμα
ἐσότρεπτα ut vid. V. || 68. ὅραν F: ἔραν V.
εξεχειρίουσι τοῦ τούτων μοῦ, μήτηρ, δέ τοῦ σαυτοῦ περισσοτερῶν γυναικῆς, ἡνὶ δέδωκα διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς περιοχῆς, τὸ διέμενον τοῦ τούτῳ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ τῆς διακόλουχος καυστικῶν. σὺν

f. 88r τούτων καὶ θάνατος ζυγοῦς τί μοι δέδωκα | καὶ ἅπαν εἰρήκατον, δὲ 75 καὶ συγγάγει αὐτὸν αἰροῦσαν ἑπάνω μου ἐπίθουν, ὡς πλέον δεδομένου μου ἢ τῆς ἐκείνης μητρὸς ἀναφάρατον. ἔβαλες θύτην ἐνικονομητήν ἡμῶν κατάκτησην καὶ οὕτως τὰς λαμπάδας ἐβούθησαν οὕτω τὸ ἐξ οὗν ὅθεν ἔξεσθε ἐπιστέλλοντο, ἐλθὼν δὲ οἱ τάσσατε ποδαντρεῖς εἰς οὐκετὸν σέμινωμα τὸ ημωδέτερον ἡμῶν, ὡς γονὸν μέσον τοῦ πλῆθους εὐδηλόδου καὶ ἐβαίνωμεν, ὡς εἰκὸς πάντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐβλέποις· καὶ δοὺς μὲν τοιαῦτα γένεια ἐλθὼν καὶ τὰς ᾧδεις λαμπάδας, καὶ τὸ γάτος ἐφερεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλιτοῦ δὲ εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἡμῶν λόγον, ἢ ἐξ ἐκείνων τοῦ βασιλέως, συνομιλήσων ἡμῶν· διὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐλθὼν, χείρος μορφασθέντας καὶ καταμονάζοντας 80 ἡμῶν διελέτο. μικρὸν δὲ διεξάντων ἡμῶν, μέλαναν τῇ γυνῇ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπήδησε μετα πολλοῦ ἐμβαθύσεως ἀγχοτρόφου τις, ως ψετοῦ, τοῦ φρονήματος, ἔφυσαν μὲν τὸ στέρνεν περιορισθηκαὶ τοὺς ὅρθιον ποιῆσαν καὶ ἀναφοράς ἡμῶν ἐπεμβαίνουσα, στεφάνῳς τε πεντεχμένους φέρονσα τρεῖς ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐκλεῖσθαιν καὶ λεπταν, ἐπὶ 90 μήχαν τοῦ και κοιλῶν, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν λεπτότατον ταῦτα τούτος ἐνδυμάτα βεβαιμένα ουκάλος τοῦ καὶ πολυμεροῦ, ως γονὸν τοῦ ἡμῶν φωνατομενή εξήμενε διάνατον, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβλέποις· ἀλητεῖς κείρας καὶ τοῦτος κείνατε· αὖθις τοῖς δούλοις προστεθεμένη, χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαράγησον, χρηματί δοκότας κεῖναι 95 ἡμῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ γένεια φέροντες, τὰς λαμπάδας ταῦτα τὸ τῶν ἡμῶν κατατάξανταν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν κατατήρησαν· ἔστω τὸ δοῦν αἱ λαμπάδες εξῆμπτον καὶ οἱ πλημμάτωσε κατεξάγοντο καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες ἐτυφλώστησαν καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐλατήσαντο καὶ τὸ γύναιον διεκεῖται καὶ τὸ μέλος ἡμῶν ἀνήρχετο. τούτων οὖσοι γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἡμῶν νυκτὸς ἐπιτρώσκοντο μᾶλλον οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους ἐνεπείραν ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ λαμπάδες ἐκσυγκομοῦντο τῇ τῶν βασιλέως λόχων περὶ.
τὰς αὐγὰς δὲ πάλιν ἐλθόντος τοῦ ἕλιου, ἡμεῖς καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀνάκτο-
ορον ἀνεδράμομεν, σκηπτοὶ δὲ τίνες τοιοῦτος τοῦ μειωμένος οὐρανοῦ.
106 δὲν ἐπέκειντο καὶ τὸν τε θάλαμον γυναικόν οἶν δύο στέφανοι, ὁ ἄπλος
καὶ λεπτὸς, μέγας τε καὶ ποικίλος, τὸν πάντη λεπτὸν ἐνθὲν κάνειθεν
σώφρονες διέφρηζαν, καὶ τὸ γυναικὸν θάνηκε.

Τοιαῦτα τῶν, ὁ καλὴ μου ἡ σεπτὴ κεφαλὴ, ἡ τιθηνὸς Φι- f. 88v
λόγοφρα ἐγελθοῦσα με μεσονυκτίων τοῦ κοσμικοῦ κύλημαθον διὰ τῆς
110 σημαδεῖον ἐδίδαξεν· ἀτινα καὶ σὺ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οἶδας, καὶ τοῦτον ἔξηροις ὥρας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μεγαλειώτητι.