

**THE LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS
TO EMPEROR THEOPHILOS**



I. Panel with the Virgin Hodegetria

Mid-10th/11th century Ivory. Museum Catharijne-convent, Utrecht, Netherlands.

LITERATURE: J. Beckwith, "Mother of God Showing the Way": A Byzantine Ivory of the Theotokos Hodegetria', *Connoisseur*, 150 (1962), 2-7; K. Weitzman, 'Ivory Sculpture of the Macedonian Renaissance', in *Vortregstexte* (1970), ed. V. Milojević, pp. 1-12, vol. 2 of *Kolloquium über frühmittelalterliche Skulptur Univ. Heidelberg 1968-70* (Mainz, 1971), repr. *Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near Eastern Art* (London, 1981); A. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th-11th Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994).

**The Letter of the Three Patriarchs
to Emperor Theophilos
and Related Texts**

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The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts

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We wish to thank Miss Sophia Kapetanaki and Dr Jonathan Harris, who kindly read the proofs of this book and made valuable comments.

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Finally, we would like to thank Lychnos EPE for their co-operation in the production of this volume.

Foreword

The present edition has had a curious genesis. When the proposal to edit the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* was put forward by Dr Christopher Walter in 1987, it was presented to a London University Seminar organized by Miss Julian Chrysostomides, Dr Athanasios Angelou and Dr Joseph Munitiz. The Seminar had always tried to reach its decisions by common consent, so in this case the group agreed to tackle the collation of manuscripts and the translation of the text. Graduate students and other scholars, who happened to be in London, assisted: thus members of the Seminar during varying periods were Elena Angelides, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, John Davis, Charalambos Dendrinis, Jonathan Harris, Katrina Kavan, Maria Kouli, Diana Maynard, Andreas Meitanis, Annaclara Cataldi-Palau, Andreas Pelendrides, Marios Pilavakis, and a few others for occasional meetings. Dr Walter corresponded from his post in Athens. During our sessions facsimiles of the manuscripts were distributed and examined together. The advantage of having more than one pair of eyes examining a text soon became evident, but to our great surprise and pleasure the common work of struggling to find correct English expressions for the Greek also brought many improvements.

The final stages however required a concentrated effort that would not have been possible during normal seminar meetings. Fortunately we had the support of PORPHYROGENITUS, the Publishing House founded by Miss Chrysostomides. She prepared the translation and incorporated the numerous corrections that had been proposed. The Greek text and apparatus was initially set up by Dr Munitiz, but painstakingly controlled and corrected by Dr Dendrinis. For the various parts of the Introduction the authors mentioned take responsibility, and readers will notice that differences of view about the authenticity of certain parts of the *Letter* have remained unresolved, but are scrupulously represented.

In the end it may not be possible to thank all those who have contributed to the production of this work. Our hope is that the common joy we all felt in holding our seminar sessions will be recognized as the best recompense for the very hard work involved.

Joseph A. Munitiz

List of Abbreviations

- AASS** *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*
- AB** *Analecta Bollandiana*
- ACO** *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, J. Straub, R. Schieffer, 4 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927-84)
- Anastos, 'Council of 754' M.K. Anastos, 'The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754', in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, N.J., 1955), pp. 177-88
- Anastos, 'Ethical Theory' M.K. Anastos, 'The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', *DOP*, 8 (1954), 153-60
- B** *Byzantion*
- BBTT** Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
- BHG** M. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a, etc.) (Brussels, 1957-)
- BMGS** *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BS** *Byzantinoslavica*
- Bury *ERE* J.B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (802-67)*, London 1912
- BZ** *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Cameron, 'The image of Edessa' Averil Cameron, 'The History of the Image of Edessa: the Telling of a Story', *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), 80-94
- Cameron, 'The Sceptic and the Shroud' Averil Cameron, 'The Sceptic and the Shroud' in *Continuity and Change in the Sixth Century* (Variorum, 1981), V, pp. 1-27
- CCSG** *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*
- CFHB** *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
- CPG** M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974-87)

CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
Darrouzès, Notitiae	Darrouzès, J., <i>Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes</i> (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I) (Paris, 1981)
Dobschütz, Christusbilder	E. Dobschütz, <i>Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende</i> (Texte und Untersuchungen 18) (Leipzig, 1899)
Doctrine of Addai	<i>The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle</i> , ed. & tr. G. Phillips (London, 1876)
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DPAC	<i>Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiana</i>
DThC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBΣ	Ἑπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EHR	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
Gauer, Synodalbrief	H. Gauer, <i>Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten</i> (Frankfurt am Main, 1994)
Gero, Constantine	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V</i> (CSCO, Subsidia 52) (Louvain, 1977)
Gero, Leo III	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III</i> (CSCO, Subsidia 41) (Louvain, 1973)
Gouillard, 'Grégoire II'	'Aux origines de l'iconoclasm: le témoignage de Grégoire II?', <i>TM</i> , 3 (1968), 243-307
Grumel, Chronologie	V. Grumel, <i>La Chronologie</i> (Traité d'Études Byzantines I) (Paris, 1958)
Grumel, Regestes	See <i>Regestes</i>

- Janin, *Constantinople*² R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1964²)
- Janin, *Églises et monastères* R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères. La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I 3 (Paris, 1969²)
- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JÖBG* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
- JThS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos* L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715-730)* (Würzburg, 1975)
- Lemerle, *Humanisme* P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1971)
- LTK* *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*
- Mansi J.D. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio ...*, vols. 12 and 13 (Florence, 1766)
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- Munitiz, 'Alternative Ending' J.A. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending to the Letter of the Three Patriarchs (BHG 1386)', *OCP*, 55 (1989), 411-19
- Munitiz, 'Wonder-Working Ikons' J.A. Munitiz, 'Wonder-Working Ikons and the Letters to Theophilos', *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium*, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 8th Conference, Armidale, July 1993, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (1997), 115-24
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- Ostrogorsky, *History* G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J.M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968)
- PG* *Patrologia Graeca*
- PL* *Patrologia Latina*
- REB* *Revue des études byzantines*

- Regestes* *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1932-1979)
- Repertorium* E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 2 vols. in 6 parts (Vienna, 1981-89)
- SC* *Sources Chrétiennes*
- Ščepkina M. Ščepkina, *Miniatjuri Hludovskoj Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977)
- Sem. Kond.* *Seminarium Kondakovianum*
- 'Synodikon' J. Gouillard (ed.), 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire, *TM*, 2 (1967), 1-316
- TM* *Travaux et Mémoires*
- Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival* W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842* (California, 1988)
- TU* *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
- Van den Ven, 'Patristique' P. Van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au Concile de Nicée de 787', *B*, 25-27 (1955-7), 325-62
- Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, trans. H. Grégoire & M. Canard, I-II (Brussels, 1935-1950)
- Vasiliev, 'St Theodore of Edessa' A. A. Vasiliev, 'The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa', *B*, 16 (1942-3), 165-225

Preliminary Remarks

The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* purports to be an official letter in defence of icons, drawn up on the instructions of the three Oriental Patriarchs (of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) after a Synod held in Jerusalem in the year 836 A.D., addressed to the reigning Emperor of Constantinople, Theophilus (829-842).

It was first published in 1864 by the Greek scholar Ioannis Sakkelion¹, and this edition was re-published in 1912-13 with an Italian translation by Mgr Louis Duchesne². In the meantime the art historian Ernst von Dobschütz had tried to draw the attention of scholars to this text³, but without much success. Even after Duchesne's re-publication scholars continued to confuse this Letter with a different text, the Pseudo-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus*, published by François Combefis as early as 1664 and easily available in the *Patrologia Graeca*⁴. However, the original *Letter* gradually became better known⁵ and was described at some length in 1985 by Robin Cormack and studied by Paul Speck in his 1990 publication⁶. The first critical edition with German translation was published by Heinz Gauer while the present edition was on the stocks⁷.

The *Letter* itself divides into four unequal sections: the first and longest (cc. 1-6) is mainly dogmatic, justifying the veneration of icons on theological grounds, either with speculative arguments or with the weight of tradition; the second (c. 7) opens with a description of Christ's physical appearance and gives two Old Testament parallels for

1. 'Εκ τῶν ἀνεκδότων τῆς Πατριακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, 'Επιστολὴ Συνοδικὴ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων (Athens, 1864); another pamphlet edition of the text was published in the same year in Εὐαγγελικὸς Κήρυξ.

2. 'L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IX^e siècle', *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912-13), 222-39, 273-85, 349-66.

3. *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* [TU 18] (Leipzig, 1899).

4. Vol. 95, cols. 345-385. The edition of Combefis first appeared in his work, *Originum rerumque Constantinopolitanarum variis auctoribus Manipulus* (Paris, 1664).

5. Cf. F. Halkin, 'Les différentes éditions de la synodique à l'empereur Théophile', *AB*, 76 (1958), 64. In the following year Cyril Mango drew attention to its relative obscurity, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 61-72.

6. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London, 1985); P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen: Die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf Ikonoklasmus*, Πουκλά Βυζαντινά, 10 (Bonn, 1990).

7. *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandung in sieben Jahrhunderten*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1994). For reviews cf. *BZ*, 88 (1994), 162-5 (Joseph A. Munitiz); *REB*, 53 (1995), 361-3 (Bernard Flusin).

icons, but is made up mainly of a list of fifteen stories concerned with a dozen icons or images; the third (cc. 8-13) resumes the theological argumentation but soon becomes 'historical', as it includes two far-fetched pious stories involving visions of the devil in Aghia Sophia; the fourth consists of closing words, a reference to the image at the front of the document and the conclusion (cc. 14-15).

The authenticity of the *Letter* has raised problems. These derive from 'internal' evidence (such as the plausibility of this text having been commissioned by a Patriarchal commission with the support of an ecclesiastical synod) rather than from the 'external' tradition. The latter is relatively solid: the text is preserved in a 9th century manuscript (A, the uncial vellum *Patmos 48*) which seems to have been produced only some forty years later than the supposed date of the *Letter*⁸, and in a slightly corrected copy (now lost, but from which the 12th/13th century B, *Patmos 179*, and the 15th century O, *Oxon. Bodl. Baroccianus gr. 148*, derive). In addition there are two partial copies in lectionaries that have preserved chapter 7 (the section on miraculous icons), and a further copy, with more changes and a complete new ending, in a later 15th century manuscript (W, *Athos Iviron 381*).

However, the Pseudo-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus*, which is clearly related to the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, is *a priori* evidence that documents of doubtful authenticity were being produced in the late 9th century in defence of the iconophile position, and the question has to be raised with regard to this text. One attempt to answer the question is given in the next section of this Introduction. Other attempts have been published elsewhere⁹. To some extent one has to rely on subjective criteria of probability, and these become uncertain when dealing with so different a period and culture.

Of course, authentic or not, the existence of such a text towards the end of the 9th century is of capital importance for art historians and theologians (hence the lengthy section on *Iconographical Considerations*, which include remarks on the theological aspects), students of language (hence the *Notes on language and style*), and historians of culture. The strictly historical information to be gleaned from this text and from the supplementary texts published with it, is

8. Opinion differs between the ninth and mid-tenth century; see below, pp. xviii, lxxix.

9. For example in the work of P. Speck mentioned earlier; cf. also J.A. Munitiz, 'Wonder-working Ikons and the Letters to Theophilus', in *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium*, Proceedings of AAABS 1993, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (1997), 115-24.

more limited, though reference is made in the notes to some such incidents. It is to be hoped that with the information made available in this edition scholars will be enabled to evaluate anew an indispensable text in the history of the iconoclast movement.

Joseph A. Munitiz

OVERLEAF: *Attacks on Icons*. The marginal illustration, inspired by the facing text of Ps. 68 (69):22 'They Gave me gall ... and they made me drink vinegar' (cf. Matthew 27:34), insinuates that the iconoclasts imitate the enemies of Christ. The one, with hair standing on end, obliterating an icon, represents John VII Grammatikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, mentioned in the *Deposition, Alternative Ending 2*, 36, and *Ps-Damascene Letter*, 16.d.

LITERATURE: Ch. Walter, "'Latter-Day' Saints and the Image of Christ", *REB*, 45 (1987), 205-22, repr. *Prayer and Power in Byzantine and Papal Imagery* (Variorum, 1993), article X.1.



II. The Khludov Psalter, fol. 67^r

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-9th century
 Tempera on vellum.
 State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russian Federation.

An Investigation Concerning the Authenticity of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*

J. Chrysostomides

In the course of preparing this joint edition, some sections in the *Letter* prompted the re-opening of the debate on its authenticity. Though views on this question have been voiced by scholars in the past, the present undertaking differs in an important way. It attempts to trace the rise and development of certain beliefs and ideas contained in these sections of the *Letter*, and thus assess its authenticity in the light both of earlier and subsequent evidence¹. The criterion, used throughout this analysis, is the assumption that this document, which claims to emanate from three patriarchs, was bound to reflect the official belief of the Eastern Churches and therefore could not be in conflict with the accepted doctrine formulated in earlier Ecumenical Councils in accordance with the apostolic and patristic tradition – a point emphasized in the document itself². The resulting investigation extended beyond the *Letter*, into sources whose connection with it had not been so far envisaged. The conclusions reached, it has to be stressed, have not been accepted by all members of the seminar. It is now left to the reader to assess their value.

The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, which belongs to the second period of the Iconoclast movement (813-843), purports to have been written to Emperor Theophilus (829-842) by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, during a synod in Jerusalem in April 836 in the presence of 185 bishops, 17 abbots and 1153 monks. Though the existence of the patriarchs is attested³, the numbers cited have aroused suspicions among scholars on the grounds that such a large gathering could not have taken place in Arab-held Jerusalem⁴, let alone express overtly political sympathies in favour of Byzantium⁵.

1. I should like to thank Dr Jonathan Harris for his advice and comments during the writing of this study.

2. See below 5.a, 9.e.

3. Cf. below p. 1, n. 1.

4. L. Duchesne, *Revue historique d'histoire et de littérature*, 1(IX) (1875), 325-7, review of I. Sakkellion's *editio princeps* of the *Letter*.

5. See below 3.d. L. Duchesne, 'L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IX^e siècle', *Roma e l'Oriente*, (1912-1913), 366; A. Vasiliev, 'The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa', *B.* 16 (1942), 223-4; S.H. Griffith, 'Eutychius of Alexandria on the Emperor Theophilus and Iconoclasm in Byzantium. A Tenth Century Moment in Christian Apologetics in Arabic', *B.* 52

This has led some to consider it a forgery⁶, others to accept it as "a reworked version not much later in date"⁷ than the above mentioned synod of 836, on the basis of the earliest manuscript *Cod. Patmos* 48. Written in majuscule, the Codex is assumed both by J. Leroy and G. Cavallo to have been of southern Italian provenance, while J.A. Munitiz, basing his arguments on the study of B.L. Fonkić and F.B. Poljakov, suggests a Palestinian origin⁸. These scholars attribute the Codex to the ninth century, though Cavallo insists on the late ninth-century. More recently P. Canart suggested a mid-tenth century date⁹. Of the two dates, the later seems to be more in agreement with the internal evidence which suggests tenth rather than ninth, though it would be impossible to say exactly when¹⁰.

A preliminary observation, although self-evident, is that the title (i-viii) could not have been included in the original document¹¹. The reference to the three Patriarchs as ἀνωτάτων could not have come from the writers themselves, a patriarch usually referring to himself as ἐλάχιστος ὑμέτερος¹² or, as in the text of the letter, ἡμεῖς οἱ

(1982), 177. Yet, the letter sent by the desert monks, enclosing the *synodikon* of the late Theodore of Jerusalem, confirmed by Cosmas of Alexandria and Theodore of Antioch, and read in the Council of 787, used harsher expressions. They described themselves and their fellow Christians as living ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, κακοτρόπου πλάνης, ἦτοι Ἀραβικῆς δυσσεβείας, and go on to label the Arabs as ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, and their rule as τῶν μαρῶν ἐπικράτεια (Mansi 12, cols. 1127E, 1130E, 1134D) for the harshness and hatred of the Muslims shown towards them (col. 1131B).

6. See above n. 5. S. Griffith, 'Eutychius of Alexandria', p. 177.

7. Views summarized by R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London, 1985), p. 261 (without citing references), though on p. 122 he declares it 'a careful Byzantine fake' and says 'that the "original letter" never existed'.

8. See A. D. Kominis, Πατριαρχὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens, 1988), p. 124; B.L. Fonkić and F.B. Poljakov, *BZ*, 83 (1990), 23; see also Munitiz, p. lxxix.

9. Cited by H. Gauer, *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), p. xxviii. The same view was expressed to me by Prof. C.N. Constantinides.

10. On the dating of manuscripts in general see the judicious remarks of R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, AD. 400-1600* (Oxford, 1981), pp. xv-xvi.

11. Addressing Theophilos as 'Emperor of Constantinople' is not in accordance with the protocol. He should have been addressed as "Emperor of the Romans". This was noted by the copyist of O and W, who corrected to "Emperor Theophilos in Constantinople". Though in the West, after Charlemagne, the Emperor is addressed by the Papacy as "Imperator Graecorum" (866), or "Imperator novae Romae" (1054), and "Imperator Constantinopolitanus" (1073 and 1089) (ed. A. Tañu, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, series III, vol. I (Vatican, 1943), nos. 323, 372, 375, 382), it is unlikely that the Eastern Patriarchs would have addressed him so.

12. Cf. Mansi 11, cols. 560D-E, 561D.

μέτριοι¹³. Nor could the description of the iconic representation of the Virgin and Christ at the head of the letter have been included in the original, but is rather the work of a copyist, who one assumes had the document with its seal¹⁴ before him, or who may have culled these details from paragraph (14) of the actual letter. On the other hand, the names of the Patriarchs do not appear at the end of the letter, as was customary¹⁵, nor is the date and name of the city where the synod took place, or the numbers of the participants indicated there. One assumes once more, that these details must have been supplied by the copyist. The point in question, therefore, is from where he derived them, for they are crucial elements in assessing the authenticity of this letter.

For example, it seems unlikely that all three Patriarchs could have attended the synod. According to the *Annales* of Eutychios¹⁶, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Christopher, who was to die in that same year, 836, had been suffering from paralysis for some time, and was obliged at some point to appoint a bishop called Peter to carry out the duties of the office in his place¹⁷. Therefore, he can hardly have taken part in a synod in Jerusalem. The absence of the Patriarch from Jerusalem is also implied by the *Life of St Theodore of Edessa*, which states that in that year at Easter the Patriarch of Antioch, accompanied by his bishops, was in the city to visit the Holy Sepulchre and arrange some ecclesiastical matters¹⁸, but makes no mention of the Patriarch of Alexandria. However, it is possible that Christopher's representative attended and that the Patriarch signed the letter later in Alexandria.

The problem of the numbers of the participants is more difficult to resolve, for they are not found in any other surviving source. Given the

13. See below 3.b, 4.a.

14. The expression ἐνετυχάσαμεν (14) would indicate that it was a seal rather than an illumination (cf. above, Title v). The reservations expressed by scholars about the sending of such a representation to Theophilus, an ardent iconoclast, does not take into consideration that under his own roof and to his knowledge his wife prayed before icons, while both his daughters, and presumably his son, were brought up as iconophiles (Theophanes cont., Bk. III, ch. 6, pp. 91-92).

15. Cf. Letter of the three Eastern Patriarchs, Cosmas of Alexandria, Theodore of Antioch and Theodore of Jerusalem (Mansi 12, cols. 1127C-1135B).

16. His name in Arabic, Said ibn Bitriq; Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria (930-940).

17. *PG* 111, col. 1128A-B; Vasiliev, 'St. Theodore of Edessa', p. 222.

18. Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ... πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου ... ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐδέσσης, ed. J. Pomjalovski (St Petersburg, 1892), chs. 41-43, pp. 35-9; discussed by Vasiliev, 'St. Theodore of Edessa', p. 177.

Arab oppression under which the Eastern Churches lived¹⁹, it is most unlikely that they would have been allowed to hold such a large gathering. The question naturally arises as to whether these details are, in fact, interpolations introduced to impress the reader.

Interpolation of texts was not a rare occurrence. It affected all genres of writing. Even during an author's lifetime his work was often tampered with. As early as the second century A.D., St Dionysios of Corinth complained of the falsification of his letters; nor did Origen or the early Fathers escape the falsifiers²⁰. On the contrary with the passage of time the problem was exacerbated, as can be seen from the Acts both of the Sixth (680-681)²¹ and Seventh (787) Ecumenical Councils. The charge of falsification was often levelled against their opponents by the participants in the latter, who displayed great caution against accepting loose folios (πιττάκια), which could have been tampered with. Their awareness of the problem is amply demonstrated in the question put by the astonished Euthymios, bishop of Sardes, to the penitent bishops of Neocaesarea and Amorium, who had placed their faith in extracts read to them from πιττάκια, 'καὶ πῶς ὑμεῖς ἀρχιερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐπεζητήσατε ὀλοκλήρους τὰς χρήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν βιβλίων';²². Some went as far as to question the authenticity of the texts written on a loose sheet of parchment (χάρτην) out of which Tarasios, Patriarch of Constantinople, was about to read the Acta of the Sixth Ecumenical

19. Cf. the letter of the Eastern Patriarchs read out in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Mansi 12, cols. 1127C-1135B). Though this refers to an earlier period, it can be reasonably assumed that the situation would not have altered so drastically in 836, as is attested by a letter their successors wrote in 869. In this letter, too, the Patriarchs stated that they were afraid to write or send their ambassadors to Constantinople in case they aroused the Emir's suspicions, though at the time the authorities showed goodwill. Nevertheless in passing the Emir's message to the Emperor, via the Patriarch of Constantinople, asking for the release of Saracen prisoners, the Patriarchs pleaded that this should be acceded, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς τούτων προσαγωγῆς ἐξημερώσωμεν τὸ ἀρτιαίνον τῶν ἐξουσιαστῶν ἡμῶν (Mansi 16, col. 313D).

20. Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History* I. iv. 23. 2 (Loeb), p. 382. On this subject see G. Bardy, 'Faux et fraudes littéraires dans l'antiquité chrétienne', *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 32 (1936), 280-292.

21. Mansi 12, cols. 225, 228A-B, 332C-D, 348D, 360B-D, 372D-E, 384C, 388A, 392D-E, 393B, 399C-D, 524A-B, 544D-E, 588B, 593A-D. Cf. the remarks of St John Damascene on forgeries of Eriphanios, τυχὸν παρεγγραμμένος καὶ ἐπιπλαστός ὁ λόγος, ἀλλοῦ μὲν ὄν πόνος, ἐτέρου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων (*De Imaginibus* I. 25, ed. Kotter, III, p. 116). See also on this the excellent article by P. Van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au Concile de Nicée de 787', *B.* 25-27 (1955-57), 328 ff.

22. Mansi 13, col. 37B.

Council, and demanded a book. The Patriarch had to explain that this was the original document with the signatures of the participants²³.

Bearing in mind, therefore, the possibility of an interpolation, it now needs to be examined whether the entire letter is a fake, or whether there are any grounds for considering certain passages to be interpolated, in an otherwise authentic document.

In favour of at least partial authenticity, it has to be said that not all the information given in the letter can be dismissed as spurious. There is, for example, circumstantial evidence to suggest the feasibility of the Eastern Patriarchs convening a synod in Jerusalem in 836. The occasion may have been in response to the impending preparations for the iconoclastic council in Constantinople called for 837 under John the Grammarian²⁴. Preparations for such an event must have begun at least a year earlier, that is in 836, under his predecessor Patriarch Anthony I Kassimatas who died shortly before 21 January 837²⁵. It is possible, therefore, that a Jerusalem synod of 836, though with a more limited number of participants, restating the iconophile beliefs, was a direct response to the one envisaged in Constantinople a year later. Moreover, internal historical evidence seems to lend support to the authenticity. Despite the military fluctuations, this period was marked by a series of Byzantine successes along the eastern frontier which began in 831 and were to culminate with the fall of Sozopetra in 837²⁶. These victories

23. Mansi 13, col. 41A-B. See also Van den Ven, 'Patristique', pp. 335 ff.

24. The existence of this council is disputed by scholars (Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 413, p. 42). Evidence for its existence is found in the *Synodikon Vetus* (ed. J. Duffy and J. Parker, *CFHB* 15 [Washington, 1979], § 155, pp. 130-1), which places it in the patriarchate of John the Grammarian. V. Grumel (*EO*, 29 [1930], 99) basing himself on our Letter (10.h), which states that Anthony died soon after the accursed synod, assumes that this must have taken place under Anthony. The assumption of a period necessary for the preparation of the synod under Anthony and its actual meeting under John would resolve the discrepancy. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival* (California, 1988), p. 436 n. 386 basing his chronology on our Letter, which he calls "uninterpolated", without offering further evidence, presumes that the council took place in 833, on the grounds that "the only plausible context for it is immediately before the edict" which Theophilos issued in that year.

25. On that date John the Grammarian was consecrated Patriarch (Grumel, *Regestes* II, p. 42; *idem*, *Chronologie*, p. 436).

26. Theophanes cont., 29-30, pp. 124-6; Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De ceremoniis* I (Bonn, 1829), vol. 1, pp. 503-8; for the Arab sources see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* I, pp. 103-4, 267, 288-9, 370-1.

are echoed in the words of the Patriarchs who looked upon Theophilus as the man to liberate their lands from the Arab yoke²⁷.

On the basis of this historical evidence, therefore, it seems reasonable to accept, at least for the time being, the authenticity of the core of this letter, until conclusive evidence has proved the contrary. On the other hand the divergence of style and content in certain sections seem to exclude the possibility of their having all come from the three patriarchs, or their secretariat. These sections can be divided into four, examined from the point of style, protocol and content²⁸.

I: Salutation a to 6.a, 8.a-f and 14 to 15.

II: 6.b to 7.e.

III: 7.1 to 7.14.

IV: 8.f to 13.d.

Section I: Salutation a to 6.a, 8.a-f, and 14 to 15. In this section, the three characteristic elements (style, protocol and content) show no discrepancies. The argument throughout those passages is based upon the apostolic and patristic tradition of the depiction of Christ and saints, which had been respected in the past by emperors, beginning with Constantine the Great. It stresses the divine source of priestly and imperial authority, and the two different functions assigned to them, laying particular emphasis on the duty of the priesthood to guide men (including emperors) on the right path of salvation. It stresses St Basil's dictum that the honour given to the image passes to the prototype²⁹, and that the image mirrors the prototype. The letter observes a strict protocol in addressing the Emperor. Though he may be considered to have erred (and this is never explicitly mentioned), he is still the θεοστήρικτος emperor and therefore he is addressed with the utmost courtesy, as might have been expected from three eminent ecclesiastical dignitaries, particularly since they wished to convert him to their point of view³⁰.

Section II: 6.b to 7.e. is a different matter. It introduces a quasi-historical exposé on the various dates of the composition of the

27. 3.d. In 838 these hopes were to be dashed with the Arab capture of Amorium, the Emperor's ancestral home (Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* I, pp. 144 ff.; H. Grégoire, 'Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre', *B*, 5 [1929-30], 328 ff.; J.B. Bury, 'Mutasim's March through Cappadocia in A.D. 838', *JHS*, 29 [1909], 120 ff.). See also above p. xviii n. 5.

28. For a linguistic analysis of these sections, see below Harvalia-Crook, pp. xxxix ff.

29. For this passage (5.i) and the rest of the section, see Walter, pp. lxxiv ff.

30. Salutation a, 3c & d; 4a, 15.

four Gospels by the Evangelists, who witnessed Christ in the flesh, and ordered that the various stages of His life be depicted in colours on the walls of churches³¹. This leads on to a description of Christ's human characteristics³², a passage which raises strong doubts concerning the authenticity of the letter, and which therefore has to be examined carefully.

The earliest surviving account of Christ's physical features is a brief passage found in a fragment attributed to St Andrew of Crete (eighth century), contained in a fourteenth century manuscript. In this passage, the authenticity of which has been questioned³³, Christ, who is described as σύνοφρος, εὐδόφθαλμος, μακροπρόσωπος, ἐπίκυφος, εὐήλιξ, wipes His face on a ρόκος, leaving its imprint in colour on the cloth³⁴. Like our *Letter*, this fragment does not make a direct connection between the *acheiropoietos* image and the description of Christ's physical features. The two passages are simply listed as if they were independent of each other.

The next account of the human characteristics of Christ is found in the *Vita deiparae* of the ninth century monk Epiphanius³⁵. This is a more elaborate description, akin to the one in the *Letter*, but with a number of differences, the most striking being that Christ is described in the *Vita* as having a blondish beard, while in the *Letter* he is credited with a black one. These discrepancies suggest that such lists probably began circulating in the ninth century in the post-iconoclastic period, when icon painters after years of suppression were given a free hand, and inevitably both artists and faithful wished to have a clearer view of Christ's human features.

However, one would not expect to find such details in a genuine Patriarchal letter of 836, for it is most unlikely that such lists were officially sanctioned by the Church at the time. Had such a list been given official blessing, one assumes that it would have been mentioned in the letter of Patriarch Germanos I (715-730) to John Synades, where he stated that Christ was depicted in human form, but without giving

31. There is no evidence for this. See below Walter, B. 2, p. lxxv.

32. For the iconographic aspects, see below Walter, B. 4, p. lxxvi.

33. N.B. Tomadakis, 'Η βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησης II (Athens, 1965), p. 192.

34. E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 185*-187*.

35. Dobschütz, p. 302**; Walter, B.4, pp. lxxvi f.

any details³⁶. Similarly, in canon 82 of the Quinisext Council, repeated by Tarasios at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, where it is stated that it was legitimate to portray Christ in human flesh, instead of as a Lamb³⁷, one would have expected to find some guidance concerning His features or some reference to such a list. If both Germanos and the Council failed to mention it, it can be assumed that such a list did not reflect the official view of the Eastern Church.

Section III: 7.1 to 7.14 Much the same can be said about this section which contains a list of miracles performed by icons³⁸. The most important of these relates to the Edessa image of Christ, and therefore this story too has to be examined more closely as an essential element in assessing the authenticity of the *Letter*.

The story of the Edessa image, in the Byzantine context, grew in stages, mutating in the process from a letter to an image, either on board or tile, and finally cloth, which image was supposedly not made by human hands (*acheiropoietos*). It reached its climax in the mid-tenth century *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, when a commemoration of the Translation was officially included in the feast cycle of the Church³⁹. The aim here is not to trace the origins or the conditions which gave rise to the story of the *acheiropoietos* in Syriac, Greek, Latin or Arabic sources⁴⁰, but to try and ascertain, if possible, when exactly it was first recounted in the Greek texts, and by extension what light this throws on the authenticity of the *Letter*.

Most scholars agree that the basis of this *acheiropoietos* story is the letter which, according to the fourth-century historian Eusebios, Christ sent to Abgar, ruler of Edessa. Eusebios quoted a Greek translation from the Syriac and stated that, together with Abgar's letter, it was kept in

36. PG 98, col. 157C. The letter was also read out in the Council of 787 (Mansi 13, cols. 100B-105A).

37. Mansi 13, col. 220B-E.

38. For an analysis of this section, see Walter, A. 1-12, pp. li-lxv.

39. PG 113, cols. 424-53. For an extensive analysis of both the primary and secondary sources on this question, see K. Kavan, *Miracle and Art* (PhD. thesis, University of London, 1995), chs. 2 and 3.

40. Dobschütz, I, pp. 120 ff.; S. Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3 (1931), 238-52; Averil Cameron, 'The Sceptic and the Shroud', in *Continuity and Change in the Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Variorum, 1981), V, pp. 1-27; idem, 'The History of the Image of Edessa: the Telling of a Story', *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), 80-94; H.J.W. Drijvers, 'The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition', in *The Holy Face*, ed. H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf (*Villa Spelman Studies*), in press.

the archives of Edessa⁴¹. The letter is next mentioned, à propos of the siege of Edessa by the Persians in 544, by Procopios who adds that it was said that Christ in his reply to Abgar promised "that never would the city be liable to capture by the barbarians". This postscript, he tells us, was entirely unknown to those who wrote the history of that time, for they never mention it anywhere, but the people of Edessa insisted that they found it with the letter, and caused it to be inscribed on the gates of their city. The fact that it was not referred to before, prompts Procopios to reflect on the reliability of this information, and he concludes that "if Christ did not write this thing ... still, since men have come to believe in it, He wishes to guard the city uncaptured ..."⁴².

The next stage of the story occurs in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius. It is in this source that the letter first becomes an image not made by human hands, prompting the widespread belief among scholars that this story was part of the accepted tradition of the Byzantine Church from at least the late sixth century. Evagrius bases his narrative of the siege of Edessa by the Persians in 544 on Procopios, whom he cites. By way of introduction, he repeats the story of Abgar and the letter, and, like a well trained historian, adduces further evidence by informing the reader that Eusebios read the actual letter which "is famous and worthy of belief among the faithful". Like Procopios he casts doubt on the authenticity of Christ's promise regarding the inviolability of the city, and like him he observes that though something may not be true, faith does bring it about⁴³. Having dispensed with these preliminaries he resumes the narrative of the siege, which is in an abridged form, and, as just mentioned, is based entirely on Procopios, but with a surprising addition in the middle of it.

He relates how the Persians erected an earth mound supported on a timber substructure, at a section of the walls encircling the city, in preparation for the final assault, and how the Romans, by digging an underground passage tried to set the timber on fire to cause the collapse of the mound, but because there was no draught of air the flame failed to get hold of the timber. So far Evagrius followed the gist of Procopios' narrative very closely, but at this point he diverges. Faced with this impasse, he tells us, the besieged had recourse to the holy

41. Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History* I. xiii. 1-22, pp. 84-97, letter pp. 88-90. Cf. *The Doctrine of Addai, The Apostle*, ed. and tr. from Syriac by G. Phillips (London, 1876), pp. 2 ff.

42. *History of the Wars* II. xii. 20-30, (Loeb), vol. 1, pp. 366-70.

43. Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), pp. 174-5.

icon, not made by hands, and which Christ had sent to Abgar who desired to see him⁴⁴. Taking it to the tunnel, they sprinkled it with water and poured some of the water on to the pyre, whereupon the timber immediately caught fire, engulfing everything and reducing it to cinders:

παραυτίκα γὰρ ἐσεδέξαντο τὴν φλόγα τὰ ξύλα, καὶ λόγου θάττον ἀπανθρακωθέντα τοῖς ὑπερτέροις μετεδίδουσαν, ἀπαντα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀμφινεομένην⁴⁵.

Here one would expect the story to end. But not so. The narrative returns to the difficulties of setting the wood on fire and to Procopios's version⁴⁶: when the besieged saw that the smoke rose out of the pile of wood ('Ὡς δὲ τὸν καπνὸν ἀναθρόσκοντα τεθέαντο), in order to hide the fact from the Persians and mislead them into thinking that the smoke rose from the top of the mound and not from underneath, they filled pots with sulphur and bitumen and other inflammable substances and began to throw them on to the top of the mound, thus giving the impression that this was the cause of the fire. But Evagrius had already said that the flames had engulfed the wood and had reduced everything to cinders. It is clear that the result of the sudden appearance of a hitherto unmentioned icon introduces a gross contradiction in the narrative⁴⁷.

This section of Evagrius has always presented a problem to scholars, for contrary to his usual habit, he does not cite the source of his

44. τὴν θεότευκτον εἰκόνα ἦν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο, Αὐγάρω δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πέποιθε: *ibid.*, p. 175,7-9.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 174,15-175,17.

46. Bk II. xxvii. 7-11, vol. I, p. 504.

47. I should like to thank Prof. Michael Whitby (who is preparing an annotated translation of Evagrius) for drawing my attention to two specific points of Evagrius' text, which I had originally misread. However, he rejected the hypothesis of an interpolation. The most important points he raised against a possible interpolation of this passage are the following: a) Evagrius does not really follow Procopios very closely, and that he had his own information to present; b) that he is much more erratic in citing sources and that he is more inclined to refer to written sources than oral ones; c) based on his own 'experience of burning turves on a garden bonfire', he sees no contradiction in Evagrius' description of the timber being reduced to ashes and the flames engulfing everything with the subsequent attempt of the besieged to hide the fact. I should also like to thank Prof. Averil Cameron for kindly reading this introduction. See also her more recent article 'The Mandyion and Byzantine Iconoclasm', in *The Holy Face*, eds. H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf, *in press*.

information⁴⁸. More surprising still, the story does not appear either in Procopios, or in the Syriac hymn on the inauguration of St Sophia in Edessa⁴⁹ – both contemporary to these events. Even the two versions of the list of chapters at the beginning of Book IV of Evagrius's *Ecclesiastical History* fail to mention it. They mention Chosroes's expedition to Edessa, but nothing about the miraculous icon, the climax of the event⁵⁰. The question therefore arises whether this is an interpolation, and if so, when it was introduced?

A careful examination of the Acta of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787 suggests that we are dealing here with an interpolation, and that it was most probably introduced during the iconoclastic controversy. As has already been stated, numerous accusations of interpolations, falsifications and erasures of texts were bandied about during the Council⁵¹. During the Fifth Session the monk Stephen showed the council a book from whose pages the text had been erased. Gregory, the presbyter and hegumen of the monastery of Hyacinthos, then said that he possessed a similar copy (ισότυπον) and asked permission from the participants to read the passage that had been rubbed out from the other copy. Permission having been granted, Stephen the *bibliophylax* promptly read the extract. Not only was the

48. H.G. Bohn in his translation of Evagrius (*History of the Church* [London, 1854], p. 407 n. 1) noted that no mention of the *acheiropoiotos* image is made in Eusebios or Procopios. Similar remarks are expressed by A. Festugière in his French translation of Evagrius (*B*, 45 [1975], p. 387 n. 66), adding "Evagre utilise d'autres sources." Averil Cameron, faced with the same dilemma, concluded that "All this points to an emergence, by some means or other, of a miraculous image at Edessa in the middle of the sixth century" ('The Image of Edessa', p. 86).

49. The expression 'imprinted with a picture not made by hands' refers to the natural patterning in the marble on the walls of the church. Any other interpretation connecting this with the image of Christ is based on a mistranslation. On this see, A. Palmer, 'The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a new edition and translation with historical and architectural notes and a comparison with contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', *BMGS*, 12 (1988), 117-68, part. pp. 128-32. It is perhaps indicative that no mention is made of the existence of the *acheiropoiotos* in the *Syriac Chronicle of Edessa* (ed. I. Guidi, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum Syri*, III. xiv. I, *Chronica Minora I* (Paris-Louvain, 1903/1955), p. 11), though written shortly after Chosroes' first attack on Edessa in 540. For the reliability of this chronicle, see Palmer, p. 123.

50. The entries in the two lists for this particular chapter read: "About Chosroes's expedition against Edessa" and "About the siege of Antioch and what Chosroes did in Edessa and the rest of the cities", pp. 149 and 151. In the first list (nos. 26 and 28, p. 149), the miracles of Apamea and Sergiopolis are mentioned. In contrast, the second list, assumed to be the earlier version, omits any reference to Apamea and Sergiopolis, p. 151.

51. Mansi 13, cols. 36E, 37A-D, 41B, 168D-172D, 173E, 176A-B, 184D-E, 188B-E, 189B-C, 189D, 192D-E.

book none other than the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, the extract was the very one which deals with the difficulties of lighting the fire in the tunnel, the use of the icon and the ensuing conflagration⁵². Wisely, Gregory's extract stopped here, and did not proceed with the rising smoke and the ruse of the besieged to try to hide the fact that they were struggling to light a fire under the mound. One assumes that at least some of the participants would have spotted the discrepancy, that if the whole mound had been engulfed in flames and reduced to ashes there would have been no question of attempting to hide the fact.

It is clear, then, that the story of the *acheiropoietos* was added to the text of Evagrius's *Ecclesiastical History* later, and that the story was not current in the sixth century at all. So when did it become part of the tradition of the Byzantine Church? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the next earliest account of the origin of the *acheiropoietos* in two of the works of St John Damascene (†749): the *De fide orthodoxa* and the *De imaginibus*. This time the image is presented as an imprint of Christ's face on a kerchief with which He wiped His face⁵³.

In the *De fide orthodoxa*, chapter 89, entitled *About Icons*⁵⁴, following the patristic argument and St Basil's dictum (ἡ τῆς εἰκόνοσ τμη ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει), St John proceeds to explain that this tradition of depicting Christ, the Virgin and the saints is an ἀγραφοσ tradition, similar to that of turning eastward when praying, or worshipping the cross ("Ἔστι δὲ ἀγραφοσ ἡ παράδοσις ὡσπερ τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολάσ προσκυνεῖν, τὸ προσκυνεῖν σταυρὸν καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα τούτοισ ὁμοία). At this point the text is interrupted by the insertion of

52. Mansi 13, cols. 189E-192C.

53. This account represents a further mutation in the story of Edessa. In the Syriac text, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (tr. G. Phillips [London, 1876], p. 5), it is Hannan the keeper of the archives that painted a likeness of Christ. As far as we know it is first in the Greek apocryphal *Acts of Thaddeus* (R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. I [Leipzig, 1891], pp. 273-8; tr. A. Walker [Edinburgh, 1870], p. 441) that Christ himself asked for a towel, and having washed his face he wiped it leaving the imprint of his face. The compilation of this work is variously attributed to the third, sixth or seventh century (J. Quasten, *Patrology* I [Maryland-Brussels, 1950], 129-57). However, the earliest extant ms. (*Paris. gr. 548*) is attributed to the 10th century. It is also important to note that the evidence for the pictorial tradition of the *mandylion* supports the hypothesis that the pictures were made for the propagation of the newly established Feast of the Mandylion in the 10th century: K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenetos', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 [1960], 163-84, part. p. 170).

54. Ed. B. Kotter, *Schriften* II (Berlin, 1973), pp. 206-208; *PG* 94, col. 1173.

"a certain story" which seems to deviate from his argument of beliefs based on tradition:

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ τις ἱστορία, ὡς ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ τῆς Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλεως βασιλεύοντι ζωγράφον ἀποστειλαντι τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ὁμοιογραφήσεια εἰκόνα μὴ δυναθέντος τοῦ ζωγράφου διὰ τὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν τοῦ προσώπου λαμπρότητα αὐτὸς ἱμάτιον τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ ζωποικῷ προσώπῳ ἐπιθεὶς ἐναπομάξασθαι τῷ ἱματίῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ οὕτως ἀποστείλαι ποθοῦντι τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ.

There is also a certain story that when the king of Edessa sent a painter to Christ to draw His likeness, he was unable to do so because of the resplendent luminosity of His face; the Lord then Himself placed a cloth (ἱμάτιον) on His own life-giving face to imprint it leaving his likeness on the cloth and this he sent to Abgar who desired to have it.

Then the text, which follows immediately, takes up once more the theme of the ἄγραφος ... παράδοσις⁵⁵. The way this new sentence is phrased, "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ πλείστα ..., links with and emphasizes "Ἔστι δὲ ἄγραφος", and therefore it is clear that the introduction of the story of Abgar not only stylistically breaks the force of the argument, but deviates from its main thrust, namely the apostolic tradition, either written or unwritten, which he has been emphasizing all along⁵⁶.

If so, the insistence on the unwritten tradition and the imprinted cloth do not tally. For an unwritten tradition is something handed down by word of mouth, while the image of Christ is an object to be touched

55. The contrast between what was transmitted in writing (ἔγγραφος) and unwritten tradition (ἄγραφος) — both traditions descending from the apostles through the holy persons who succeeded them — is discussed by the early Fathers, in particular St Basil (*De Spir. sancto* 27, PG 32, cols. 188B-196B), Gregory Nazianzene (*Ep. contra Appol.* 101, PG 37, col. 176A-B), and John Chrysostom (*In 2 Thess. hom.* 4.2, PG 62, col. 488). That St John is expressing here the same belief, is supported by a similar passage in his second homily on icons, "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐγγράφως ἐκηρύχθη τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀγράφως παρεδόθη τὸ εἰκονίζεῖν Χριστὸν τὸν σεσαρκωμένον θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους, ὥσπερ καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ κατ' ἀνατολὰς ἐστῶτας προσεύχεσθαι (*De Imaginibus*, Kotter, III, p. 114). On the written and unwritten tradition see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 156-65; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1977³, repr. 1993), pp. 45-8.

56. Cf. his citation of St Paul's words "hold fast to the traditions you have learnt from us by word or by letter (διὰ λόγου ἢ τε δι' ἐπιστολῆς): 2 Thess. 2:15; cf. 1 Cor. 11:2.

and seen, and therefore cannot be called an unwritten tradition⁵⁷. What can be called unwritten (*ἀγραφος*) is the reputed assumption or explanation that it was Christ who made it. But if John Damascene believed both in the existence of the cloth as an actual object and in the fact that Christ chose to print his face on it, then why does he call it *ἀγραφος*, and more importantly why does he refer to it as an *ιστορία*, thus differentiating between an apostolic tradition and a mere story, a hearsay?

One assumes that had he believed that this was part of the apostolic or patristic tradition⁵⁸ he would not have dispensed with the subject in this cursory fashion, but he would have used the evidence as a pivotal part of his argument on the legitimacy of the worship of icons. On the contrary, for John Damascene it was legitimate to represent Christ, because the invisible God became visible by assuming human flesh⁵⁹, and whose life, suffering and resurrection on earth had been handed down through the apostolic tradition. It is therefore unlikely that he would break his argument to introduce a hearsay story that was not supported by the Apostles. Such a contradiction could not have escaped a man who among his other writings dealt with logic.

The passage in question in its non-interpolated state seems to run as follows:

Ὡς γὰρ ἔφημεν, ... ἡ τῆς εἰκόνης τιμὴ πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει. Ἔστι δὲ ἀγραφος ἡ παράδοσις ὡσπερ τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολάς προσκυνεῖν, τὸ προσκυνεῖν σταυρὸν καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα τούτοις ὅμοια. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ πλείστα οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀγράφως παραδεδώκασι, γράφει Παῦλος ὁ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος "... κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἡμῶν, ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν".

57. The reliability of material representations (*πραγματικαὶ παραστάσεις*) in contrast to the written testimony, which can be tampered with, is highlighted by Anastasios of Sinai (*PG* 89, col. 196A: Αἱ πραγματικαὶ ... παραστάσεις, ἰσχυρότεραι καὶ πιστότεραι καὶ κραταιότεραι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τυγχάνουσι τῶν ρηματικῶν λέξεων τε καὶ βιβλικῶν ῥησεων· αἱ μὲν πραγματικαὶ παραστάσεις, οὐδαμῶς παραγραφῆναι ἢ ραδιουργηθῆναι δύνανται· αἱ δὲ ρηματικαὶ τῶν δέλτων ἐκθέσεις, πολλάκις ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν κακοφρόνων προσθήκας καὶ ὑφαίρεσεις πάσχουσιν. See also Parry, *Depicting the Word*, p. 158.

58. In fact there seem to be no tradition in the early Church even of the existence of a *cheiropoiotos* authentic likeness of Christ, let alone of an *acheiropoiotos*. Both Irenaeus in the second century and Epiphanius in the fourth rejected the Gnostic belief that the portrait of Christ they venerated was made by Pontius Pilate himself when our Lord lived among men (Iren., *Contra haer.*, *PG* 7.1, col. 685B; Epiph., *Adv. haer.* I. ii. xxvii, *PG* 41, col. 373C).

59. *De imaginibus* I. 4: III. 6, Kotter III, pp. 77-8; *PG* 94, col. 1236C.

The second mention of the Edessa *acheiropoietos* in St John occurs not in the main text of his work *De imaginibus*, but in an appendix consisting of a *florilegium* from the early Fathers with scholia⁶⁰. Citing a passage from Dionysios the Areopagite on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, St John argues (in a Platonic manner), that through the visible world the mind is led to contemplate the invisible, the divine and immaterial, and asks why, therefore, should not He who took the form of man and was seen as man be depicted as man for our sake? A similar argument is found throughout the main part of his work. Then follows an additional note which gives the story of Abgar (Λόγος ἄνωθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένος) but in a different version from the *De fide* one. In this case the painter does not even attempt the task, but rather Christ himself forestalls him by pressing the cloth on His face. Moreover, the ἱστορία now becomes Λόγος παραδεδομένος and the ἑμάτιον is turned into a ράκος⁶¹. If indeed this additional paragraph was introduced by St John, one may ask why he gave a different version, and why he did not include it in the main argument, rather than simply as an aside.

Whether these two passages in St John are also wilful interpolations, as in the case of Evagrius, or marginal notes added by a reader which were later incorporated into the text by a scribe, as often happened, is difficult to tell. P. Van den Ven long ago pointed out that a critical study was needed to ascertain whether the appended *florilegia* to St John Damascene's works had been interpolated⁶². He observed that some of the miraculous stories from lives of saints read in the Fourth Session of 787 (a novelty of that council), are also found in the *florilegia* of St John. He therefore set out the first steps towards an investigation of the problem, that is, whether the Council used St John's *florilegia* or whether these were inserted later in his list⁶³. Indeed, the disparity between the brief, purely theological extracts and the long-winded folkloric tales, foreign to St John's speculative and

60. Kotter III, pp. 145-6; *PG* 94, col. 1261B.

61. Kotter II, p. 208,54; III, p. 146,13. It is interesting that the word ράκος is used by the 9/10th century *Life of Michael the Synkellos*, ed. & tr. M.B. Cunningham (Belfast, 1991), p. 66,16. The word σουδάριον of our text occurs in the late ninth century George the Monk Hamartolos who also uses the word ὀδὸνη in two separate entries (ed. C. de Boor [Leipzig, 1904], vol. 1, p. 321; vol. 2, pp. 740, 785; *PG* 110, cols. 920B, 384A); while the word μανδύλιον, in this context, seems to appear for the first time in Theophanes cont. (p. 432,12) in the tenth century. See also, Averil Cameron, 'The Sceptic and the Shroud', p. 11 n. 33.

62. 'Patristique', p. 336 n. 5, p. 337 n. 1.

63. Van den Ven, 'Patristique', p. 336 n. 5, p. 337 n. 1.

philosophic mind, and the lack of profundity of the scholia, invite an investigation⁶⁴. This necessary work does not seem to have been done so far⁶⁵.

As far as the authenticity of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* is concerned, however, the main point is clear. If all three passages, in Evagrius and St John Damascene, are interpolations, then the *acheiropoietos* story is of later date than the early eighth century when St John was writing. That this is so, seems to be confirmed by the fact that there is no reference to the Edessa image in the eighth-century works of the Patriarch Germanos, the chief defender of icons⁶⁶. It seems likely, therefore, that the Evagrius interpolation was introduced sometime before 787, and the Damascene possibly after that date, since he is not mentioned in the Acta of the Council, except with reference to the anathema placed on him in the Council of Hiereia⁶⁷. But that the importance of the story of Abgar in the controversy was seized upon and made use of in the reign of Constantine V (741-775), seems most probable. For seemingly it provided the perfect answer to the iconoclastic argument enshrined in the *Horos* of Hiereia (754), namely, that the only admissible figure of the humanity of Christ was bread and wine which he offered to his disciples. The Eucharist therefore was the image of His life-giving body without the characteristics of His face, so that idolatry should not rise⁶⁸.

64. Out of 116 extracts, 17 of them are scholia and one an *hermeneia*. For example the second scholion on St Basil, p. 147, line 4, goes at a tangent: Δεδοκασα to the end. Out of these extracts, 9 refer to miraculous stories and 2 demonstrate that icons can act as an inspiration towards the divine.

65. In the new edition of John Damascene's works by Kotter III, pp. 144-200, the *florilegia* found at the end of the three *Orations* were simply brought together, and the repetitions eliminated.

66. J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'icône: le témoignage de Grégoire II?', *TM*, 3 (1968), 264.

67. Mansi 13, col. 357B. The manuscript tradition of both Evagrius and John Damascene does not help here, for the earliest derives from the eleventh century in the case of Evagrius, and from the ninth century in the case of St John (Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Bidez and Parmentier, pp. v-xii; John Damascene, ed. Kotter II, pp. xxx-xliii; III, pp. 34-9). The recent revised dating of the *Cod. Patmos 48* (cf. above n. 9) suggests that it might be worth while re-examining the Damascene manuscripts attributed to the ninth century, in order to ascertain whether they indeed belong to that period, or in fact they are of tenth-century production. If so, the Damascene interpolations may be assumed to have been inserted in connection with the transfer of the Mandylicon to the capital in 944.

68. Mansi 13, col. 264A-B: οὕτω καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὄλην ἐξαίρετον, ἡγρουν ἄρτου οὐσίαν προσέταξεν προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφῆν. ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῆ.

The point which concerns us here is when the story was accepted officially by the three Eastern Patriarchates. One piece of evidence, at first sight, seems to suggest that this occurred in the eighth century. At the Council of 769 held in Rome, Pope Hadrian cited his predecessor Pope Stephen (752-757) who had said that he had often heard the story from those coming from the eastern parts of how Christ imprinted his face on a linen cloth and sent it to Abgar. Pope Hadrian also read out from a synodal letter sent to Pope Paul I (757-767) by the three Oriental Patriarchs, Cosmas of Alexandria (742-768), Theodore of Antioch (750/1-773/4) and Theodore of Jerusalem (†767), in which the latter stated that, "Restat mihi tempus enarrandi de Abgaro Edesseno et alia aut similia sanctorum patrum, que et vos melius cognoscitis"⁶⁹, without however explaining, whether he had in mind the Eusebios version of the letter or the later account of the *acheiropoietos*. If it refers to the *acheiropoietos* account, it would be convincing proof that this story was adopted officially by the three Oriental Patriarchates in the second half of the eighth century.

Yet if this were so, it seems very strange that another synodal letter by this same Patriarch Theodore of Jerusalem, and confirmed by the other two Patriarchs, Cosmas and Theodore, which was read out during the Third Session at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, should be silent on this fundamental matter. It would have been most appropriate for Theodore to mention the Edessa *acheiropoietos*, when he says that we do not depict His divine nature, since that is invisible and indescribable, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ χρωματουργοῦντες τὴν εἰκόνα προσκυνούμεν⁷⁰.

It seems likely that, in his letter to Paul I, Theodore was referring to the Eusebios version of the story in which no image is mentioned, while the story of Christ's face imprinted on a cloth, which may well have reached Rome from the East, as Hadrian said, may have not yet been adopted officially by the Eastern Patriarchs⁷¹. That clearly did not

69. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, (*Legum III*) *Concilia II*, pars I (Hannover-Leipzig, 1906), p. 90; Gouillard, 'Grégoire II', pp. 263-4.

70. Mansi 12, col. 1143D; entire text cols. 1135C-1146C.

71. The position of Rome appears clear on this question. Both Pope Stephen and Pope Hadrian pointed out that the New Testament was silent on this matter, though for good measure they cited the passage in John (20:30): *There were indeed many other signs that Jesus performed in the presence of his disciples, which are not recorded in this book*. The two letters supposedly written by Gregory II, which mention the Edessa image, and placed at the beginning of the Acta of 787 by the editors, have been convincingly shown to have been forgeries (Gouillard, 'Grégoire II', pp.

happen until much later. The *Life of St Theodore of Edessa*, who lived in the mid-ninth century and whose life was written by his nephew, does not mention it⁷². Similarly, Theodore Abu Qurrah, the Melkite bishop of Harran (c.800-812, d. c.820), speaks of 'the image of Christ' at Edessa⁷³, but there is no mention either of its miraculous properties or of the Abgar story⁷⁴.

It is true that the Edessa story appears in the letter reputedly sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Leo V, which is contained in the *Life of Michael Synkellos*. Here it has been more successfully interwoven into the argument, but it appears somewhat at variance with the orthodox view, which maintains that the depiction of Christ and the saints was based on apostolic and patristic tradition. For here the Patriarch of Jerusalem (his name does not appear in the document) introduces the story with the question: Τι δὲ λέγωμεν προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους; In other words, this story now takes precedence over the patristic tradition, as it should have done all along if genuine. However, doubts have also been raised as to the authenticity of this letter⁷⁵, while the *Life* is a product of the last years of the ninth century, if not of the tenth. Therefore in either case it belongs to the period after the triumph of Orthodoxy⁷⁶, when the Edessa image with all its accretions had become a *topos*, and had finally been enshrined in the *Narratio Edessena*⁷⁷.

243-307, part. 253, 263-4). For an opposite view, see H. Grotz, 'Beobachtungen zu den zwei Briefen Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 18 (1980), 9-40. It is significant that in the statement on the question of icons read out by the papal legates in the Council of Constantinople in 869, there is no mention of the Edessa mandylion (Mansi 16, col. 400C).

72. Vasiliev, 'St. Theodore of Edessa', p. 179.

73. Latin tr. by J. Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus* (Bonn, 1897), p. 48; German tr. by G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra* (Paderborn, 1910), pp. 328-9.

74. Therefore it cannot be assumed that he is automatically referring to the *mandylion* image. S.H. Griffith presumes that the reference to 'the image of Christ' 'was doubtless the famous *acheiropoiotos*, which John Damascene had mentioned twice in his remarks, in two different works, although Abu Qurrah himself', he admits, "does not speak of the miraculous quality of the Edessa image" ('Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 [1985], 59). If the above analysis is correct, the interpretation of Abu Qurrah's passage on the basis of the Damascene passages can no longer be maintained.

75. *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, ed. and tr. M.B. Cunningham (Belfast, 1991), pp. 13, 66. The editor does not give reasons for her doubts.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

77. *PG* 113, cols. 424-453.

Indeed, one could argue, that had such an official belief existed in the mid-ninth century it would have been expressed in that wonderful scene in the Eighth Session of the Council of Constantinople (869) when Theodore Krithinos was asked why he was prepared to venerate the Emperor's picture on coins but refused to venerate Christ's image. He simply answered, ἀγνοῶ δέ, εἰ ἔστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο πρόσταγμα, καὶ ἀρεστὸν ἐκείνῳ. One would have expected Baanes, the Emperor's representative, to adduce as evidence the *acheiropoietos* since that would have established what Christ's wish was. On the contrary he simply answered in a surly manner, "I have not been sent here for a debate, but in order to counsel you", and departed⁷⁸.

We have therefore to conclude that whatever some fervent iconophiles believed, this was not the official teaching of the Church at that stage. If so, the story of the Edessa *acheiropoietos* could not have been included in an official letter of 836 emanating from three Patriarchs.

In fact, the entire section of the *Letter* in which the Edessa story is contained, seems itself to be an interpolation. The listed miracles have nothing to do with the argument based on the apostolic and patristic tradition put forward in the earlier passages. Their aim, on the contrary, is to prove the legitimacy of the worship of icons by invoking the miraculous aspect.

After the description of Christ's features, which is erroneously attributed to the apostles (7.d)⁷⁹, the passage concludes by insisting "Just as the prototypes are distinguished by the reverence (shown to them) so do their copies take precedence in honour and glory" (7.e). Then immediately after follows the story of the Edessa image, and the miracle the image performed during the Persian siege of the city (7.1.a). It then proceeds to narrate how the apostles themselves built churches in honour of the Virgin, whose portrait was, in one case, miraculously imprinted on the wall (7.3), and in another, painted by St Luke (7.5). More churches are added to the list whose miraculous icons are supposed to strengthen the argument for their worship.

These stories provoke strong doubts as to whether they were included in the original letter, not only on grounds of style, which

78. Mansi 16, col. 388C-E. Theodore's name was inserted among the anathematized in the Acta of 787 (Mansi 13, col. 400B), presumably after 869-70, when Anastasius Bibliothecarius made the Latin translation, from which it is missing.

79. See above n. 31.

borders at times on the illiterate, and the small but indicative errors⁸⁰, but also of content. In answer to this, it could be argued, that similar stories were read out in the Fourth Session of the Council of 787⁸¹. It is true that stories involving miracles and miraculous icons were paraded by the participants, but if one examines their content, an important difference emerges. The two prominent themes in the stories of the Fourth Session are the compassion of Christ and the Virgin⁸², and divine justice⁸³. Sometimes these two elements are interwoven in the same story. But the Council miracles have none of the elements of revenge displayed in some of those contained in the *Letter*, particularly in passages (7.9) and (7.10). The first portrays the Virgin herself sawing off the hands and feet of a man who had insulted her, while in the second story she refuses to give refuge to a man who had apparently previously offended her, but is now appealing to her compassion, and abandons him into the hands of soldiers who put him to death.

It is argued that such stories appear in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschos (c.550-619)⁸⁴. The argument here, however, is not that this sort of story was not in circulation, but that they could not have been reported in an official letter emanating from three Patriarchs. One has only to look at the contrast between the stories read out at the Council and those in the *Letter*. The incident from the *Life of Symeon the Stylite*, for example, read out in the Council, at the suggestion of Joseph, monk and hegoumenos of Herakleia, does not state that the icon actually pushed the three men down the ladder when they were about to throw it down, but each man in turn slipped down and fell: ἀνελθὼν δὲ ἐκείνος καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας ποιῆσαι τὸ προσταχθέν, εὐθέως ἀπερράγη ἀνωθεν κάτω⁸⁵. This is divine justice. Similarly the story told in the Council about the man who gouged the eye from the Virgin's icon with his ox-goad, carries the same message. For when he came out of the church and hit the animal with his stick, the stick broke

80. In 7.12 the Jews, rather than the Roman soldier, are blamed for piercing Christ's side with a lance (John 19:34).

81. Munitiz, 'Wonder-Working Ikons', pp. 115-24.

82. Mansi 13, cols. 24E-29, 64-65.

83. Mansi 13, cols. 76D-80C.

84. Here too one is confronted with the question of authenticity, since the earliest manuscript surviving in fragments dates from the ninth century. In the words of E. Mioni "... même au prix d'une critique très attentive, il reste très difficile de déterminer quelles sont les pièces qui appartiennent effectivement à Moschos": *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 8 (1974), cols. 632-40; quotation on 636.

85. Mansi 13, cols. 76D-77B.

and a piece flew into his eye⁸⁶. The story in the *Letter* does not explain how this happened but compounds the mystery by having his eye replace the one he had removed from the icon. Though punishment as an educative process may be considered as an act of love, sheer violence and revenge go counter to the Christian message, and therefore, once again, could not be part of an *official* letter issued by three Patriarchs.

Section IV: 8.f to 13.d. The clear theological arguments and deference to the Emperor, so prominent in the first section, are lacking in this one⁸⁷. Here the style is a mixture of repetitions, polemics and narrative intercalated with contemporary incidents, some of which are also found in the Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus*⁸⁸. The tone is abusive, the word "iconoclasts" (εικονοκλαστῶν τὰ φρυγάματα) is used for the first time in this text, and the emphasis is on the punishment of eternal fire, awaiting those who do not worship the icon of Christ⁸⁹. The text does not end here but launches into an exhortation which leads the reader through contemporary events to further prodigies and apparitions, including that of an Ethiopian jumping on the altar of St Sophia. These folkloric and fantastic elements would not belong to the apostolic and patristic tradition.

Such discrepancies in style and content give grounds for assuming that the original text contained in sections **Salutation a to 6.a, 8.a-f, and 14 to 15**, went through one stage, or even two stages, of interpolation, when elements were introduced that did not form part of the official teaching of the Church. What individual members of the clergy believed is another matter, as it is clear from the fervour gripping the participants in the Fourth Session of the Council of 787, when a number of them on impulse offered their own selections to be read to the congregation. But ultimately its *Horos*, embodying the official beliefs of the Church, followed strictly the apostolic and patristic tradition⁹⁰.

86. Mansi 13, col. 77C-D.

87. At the very beginning of this section the word *ἔπειτα* seems to contradict the letter's collective authorship and once more points to an interpolation. However, it has been pointed out that it also occurs in the letter written by the two Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, cited in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Mansi 12, col. 1134A), possibly suggesting a parenthetical use of the verb; see below Harvalia-Crook, p. xliii.

88. For example, 28.a-c.

89. 9.a and c. The term 'iconoclast' is also used in *Alt. Ending 2, 66* and in Ps.-Damascene 29.c.

90. Mansi 13, cols. 373-80.

There remains the last question to be considered: if these are interpolations, when, where and why were they introduced?

The most probable date is well after 843 when, as most scholars agree, the restoration of the icons produced an iconoclastic reaction, and icons between 861 to 869 became once more an issue. The iconoclastic reaction must have been serious enough, not only for Photios to feel obliged to launch an attack against it in his homilies and in his letter to the Bulgar Khan Boris, but also for the Eighth Ecumenical Council to condemn iconoclasm once more⁹¹. Hence the intense activity, most probably among the most extreme monastic party in Constantinople, to produce literature that carried the message and disseminated it to a wider public (be it clerical or lay), whose turn of mind was not in tune with theological subtleties. This attitude was also behind the interpolation of the Edessa towel story in St John Damascene's two works, and other compilations, including Ps.-Damascene's *Letter to Theophilus*. It may also be possible that, if the earliest manuscript of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* does indeed belong to the mid-tenth rather than the ninth century⁹², the interpolated version as we have it, could be a product of the events which followed the transfer of the Mandyllion from Edessa to Constantinople in 944.

This study of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* has led to unexpected results, indicating that the tendency to use the texts of Evagrius and St John Damascene as quarries for select passages taken out of context, has inevitably led to misleading conclusions in the past. The investigation has shown that the work of falsifiers was more extensive than previously thought, which in turn reveals not only the passion of the participants on both sides in this long controversy, but also the means they used to prove that their beliefs rested on the highest spiritual authority⁹³. But above all it points to the need for critical editions of texts which so far have been accepted at their face value.

91. F. Dvornik, 'The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm', *DOP*, 7 (1953), 77 ff.; Photios' letter to Khagan Boris: *PG* 102, cols. 652A-56; *Homilies*, XV (ed. S. Aristarchis, *Photii orationes et homiliae* [Constantinople, 1900], I, pp. 266-7, tr. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958], pp. 256-7); XVI (Aristarchis, I, pp. 284-5, Mango, p. 264); *Mansi* 16, col. 388B ff. For a different emphasis of Photios' reaction, see C. Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios' in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 133-40.

92. See above p. xviii n. 9, p. xxxii n. 67.

93. See also Munitiz, 'Wonder-Working Icons', pp. 115-24.

Notes on the Language and Style in the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*

Eirene Harvalia-Crook

It is customary to distinguish three stylistic levels in Byzantine literature: high, middle and low¹. This distinction, however, is not applicable to a great number of Byzantine texts, which are not written in a pure style. The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* falls into this last category. For whatever its nature, provenance and purpose, the *Letter* presents considerable variations in grammar, syntax and style within itself. The fluctuation of the language between the learned or the literary and non-literary *koine*, and the divergence from a sophisticated style to a simple narrative form suggest that the work belongs to different authors, each focusing on different stylistic and linguistic attitudes. To bring into relief these differences, the *Letter* will be divided into three types of text, each with its own characteristics and forming a homogeneous block:

Type I: 3,12-17,24; 79,1-22

Type II: 17,24-33,16; 53,1-77,26

Type III: 33,17-51,17.

Of these three types, only the third can be clearly defined as written in a pure style, which is low level. Of the other two, the first has certain features which prevent it from being defined as high, while the second defies classification because of its mixture of stylistic features. A detailed description, adopted here, will bring out the divergent stylistic and linguistic elements.

Type I:

STYLE. Rhythm and balance, the salient characteristics of this type, are achieved mainly by a number of lexical pairs – a device so common in Byzantine literature as to become a stereotype (e.g., τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων). Predilection for the rhythmical balance produces the following variety of pairing:

a) Lexical pairs, which consist of two isometric words with exactly the same meaning, e.g.: ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς (11,22).

1. See I. Ševčenko, 'Levels of style in Byzantine Prose', *JÖB*. 31 (1981), 289-312.

b) Pairs consisting of two verbs closely related in meaning and joined with καί: χαίρομεν καί γεγήθαμεν (13,23-24); οὐ τεθέαται καὶ οὐχ ὠράθη (9,9-10)².

c) Pairs consisting of two words, closely related in meaning and sharing the same first half of the compound adjective, while the second half provides a different nuance to each word. The juxtaposition of two assonant and, in most cases, isometric words, creates a flowing stylistic effect: θεοπρεπή καὶ θεοειδή (9,18); πολυειδής καὶ πολυσχεδής (11,10); ἀξιόχρεων καὶ ἀξιοπρεπή (13,12).

Balance is also achieved with phrases: ἱερέων μὲν τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους, καὶ βασιλέων τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους (15,17-18); τῶν ὄλων ἐθνῶν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέθηκε Κύριος (15,18-19); or with symmetrical clauses in sharp antithesis: εἰσήγησις τῶν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπαγόρευσις τῶν οὐ πρακτέων (17,1); Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τόπος τυραννικῆς δυναστείας διέστησεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τρόπος θεϊκῆς ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἐχώρισεν ἡμᾶς (13,25-26); or with two isometric words joined by καὶ and sharing the same first compound but not of similar meaning: ἀποκαθίστασθαι καὶ ἀποκληρώσασθαι (15,2-3).

Moreover, assonance is enhanced by the addition of many epithets, which are aptly chosen to echo the first half of the emperor's name, Theophilos, throughout the text. Thus, in the address, the epithets θεοπροβλήτω, θεοστηρίκτω, θεοστέπτω, θεοτιμήτω (3,16-18) keep the focus on Θεόφιλος, while the first compound of the word θεο- is repeated in the five direct addresses to the emperor (13,4-6, 13,15, 13,23, 15,5, 79,22), in the closing paragraph (79,17-22) and occasionally reappears in similar contexts (13,6-7, 13,8, 13,13).

Finally, turns of phrase, such as βασιλέως βασιλέων (3,14), κυρίου τῶν κυρίων (3,14), τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς (5,6), and τέλεια τελείαις (7,9) add elegance and distinction to the style.

The stylistic features of rhythm and balance, together with the characteristic sentence structure, point to a thorough knowledge of rhetorical writing underlying the mild and subdued tone of the section.

SYNTAX. The structure of the sentences is sound, the periods are long and there is a relative variety of secondary clauses. In the first paragraph of the text (1.a-h: 3,13-9,9), which happens to be the longest in the section and the whole *Letter*, participles predominate. Most of

2. For a verb in the aorist joined to a perfect by καί, see J.H. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 142-3; K. Mitsakis, 'The language of Romanos the Melodist', *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 11 (Munich, 1967), 137.

them qualify the subject Υἱὸς Λόγος, to which also secondary sentences refer, thus focusing on the most important part of the paragraph. The participles φέρων, παραστήσας, ἐκτείνας, πηξάμενος, μετρήσας, κατέχων, στήσας, δούς, κατέχων, ποιήσας, παριδών, καλέσας, παιδαγωγήσας, σαρκωθείς, συναναστραφείς, τεκηράμενος, ἀποσώζων, ἀναδεξάμενος, ἐγκαταλείψας and χρηματίζων encapsulate the image of Υἱὸς Λόγος, and their effective accumulation encourages uninterrupted concentration, which an alternative series of relative clauses would fail to achieve. Moreover, the placing of the main verbs after the building up through participles brings the period to a climax, intensifying this concentration. The same principle applies to the second paragraph (2.a: 11,1-11,21), in which the participles, fewer this time, οἰκοδομηθεῖσα, καταγλαῖφορισθεῖσα, συναρμοσθεῖσα, draw the attention once more to the important theme of ἐκκλησία.

There are sufficient conjunctions and particles in this section to make the transition from clause to clause and from paragraph to paragraph smooth and natural.

There is clear differentiation between aorist and perfect.

Monolectic future is used throughout this section.

The optative is only used in its original function of wish³ (79,16-17, 79,20), while the subjunctive has replaced the oblique optative (7,21).

The infinitive⁴ is used in a variety of functions: it replaces the participle (9,5); the articular infinitive is used instead of an abstract noun (17,11); simple (15,7), articular (15,8) and prepositional (7,19) infinitives are used to denote purpose.

Purpose is also expressed by a preposition followed by a substantive: εἰς δόξαν καὶ προσκύνησιν (79,13).

The functional use of relative pronouns is characteristic of this type of text.

The addition of the preposition ἐν in χαίρομεν καὶ γεγήθαμεν ἐν ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις (13,23-24) and in ὁ οἰκτεῖρας ἐν ἐλλεί (11,22), where a simple dative would suffice, can be seen as an extension of the tendency to intensify the meaning of the verb through a preposition. For this reason ἐκ is added to ἀπορφανισθέντες (13,27) to emphasize distance and separation.

The genitive absolute is used in its correct Attic form: 15,20.

3. A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897), p. 561.

4. For the retreat of the infinitive from Byzantine Greek even if the articular infinitive holds its ground. see Jannaris, *Grammar*, pp. 480, 482-83, 579.

MORPHOLOGY. Morphology is very sound. The use of the second Attic declension (13,12) is to be noted as rare⁵.

VOCABULARY. The choice of words is rich and accurate. Together with *θεοηχής⁶, *θεοενήχης (15,7-8) appears to be a neologism.

QUOTATIONS. Quotations are numerous and well integrated into the text, sometimes providing the verbs of the main clause (9,12-14), or entire secondary clauses. At other times they are introduced by various expressions, such as κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον or ὡς γέγραπται.

Type II:

In comparison with type I, the differences of this type cannot be ignored or dismissed as slight variations.

STYLE. The style becomes highly rhetorical and makes quite effective *viva voce* reading. Rhetorical devices abound in this section. The cumulative form of the rhetorical argument, which builds up through a series of questions, conditional sentences and other expressions, is a very important feature and gives the type dramatic momentum. Repetition of the word μάτην at the beginning of each of five consecutive sentences (53,21, 53,23, 53,25, 55,1, 55,3) heightens the pointlessness of the Incarnation and of Christian teachings, if the image of Christ is to be called an idol. It is as if the five statements introduced with μάτην and followed by ἄρα in three cases, have taken the place of rhetorical questions, where the inferential particle ἄρα enhances the meaning each time. Moreover, most of the conditional clauses are used for rhetorical purposes, to discourage contrary thinking. Εἰ γὰρ ... πόσῳ μᾶλλον, which is also used in type I for a different purpose, occurs four times to give a tone of belaboured despair at misunderstanding the truth, which should be obvious to everybody. Five more conditional sentences function as rhetorical devices, and only two as true conditionals. There are also other rhetorical devices (57,1-2, 67,6-7), which determine the style of this type of text, and many rhetorical questions, as such (33,8-10, 55,10-13, 55,16-26, 67,7-9, 77,8-9, 77,13-14), posited forcefully to elicit agreement.

Lexical pairs are not used as skilfully to produce balance and rhythm through assonance, as in type I. They are: a) antithetical, εἰκόνων καὶ εἰδώλων (53,15); ἐνουσίου καὶ ἀνουσίου (53,17); b) two words of similar meaning joined by καί: ἀπόλωλε καὶ διώχεται (55,10); ἀψυχα

5. S. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), p. 118.

6. W.H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), lem. θεοηχής.

καὶ νεκρά (55,17-18); νεκρὸς καὶ ἄπνους (23,11-12); ὁμοῖος καὶ ἰσόρροπος (61,14-15); c) adjectives or nouns, with the same first or second half of the compound: πολυκεφάλους καὶ ἀκεφάλους (19,15-16); φιλομόναχος καὶ φιλοσυμπαθῆς (63,18); συνεσθίων καὶ συμπίνων (23,14); ἀποβολὴν καὶ ἀπόπτυσιν (69,20); ἀνουσίων καὶ ἀνυπάρκτων (53,13-14).

SYNTAX. Type II employs some syntactical features found in type I, but deterioration in the sentence structure betrays an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. The first paragraph (19,1-21), which seems very much like a reworking of the first paragraph on ἐκκλησίᾳ in type I (11,1-21), also contains a series of participles, αὐξηθεῖσα, τελειωθείσα, ἐφαπλώσασα, κραταωθείσα, focusing on ἐκκλησίᾳ, but they are only nominatives absolute, since there is no main verb. Again, the beautifully constructed paragraph, which focuses on Constantine (19,22-21,22) with a series of participles in the nominative: πηξάμενος, βραβεύσας, ἀναγαγών, κατακοσμήσας, causes confusion with the sudden introduction of participles in the genitive. The transition from sentence to sentence is not smooth. The structure is paratactic or uses a number of relative clauses. In general, the syntax is defective because of a tendency to change from another case to the genitive in midstream (21,11, 21,20), to omit the subject of a clause altogether (27,3-4, 55,13-14), to use a participle (25,9, 53,15), or an infinitive (21,15) instead of a finite verb, and to add a participle in the wrong case (27,10, 63,16-17). The problem is intensified in certain passages because of the awkward word order, which detracts from the line of argument. For instance, in a passage already marred by the use of a genitive absolute referring to the subject (21,20-22), the meaning of the participial clause ψυχὴν ἔχούσης νοερῶν suffers because of its undue separation from the word φύσεως.

Of special note is the verb φημί (53,12), where φαμὲν would be expected. Here φημί has lost its numerical and personal value and seems to be used instead of an adverb of confirmation⁷.

Some relative pronouns, placed just before what should be their antecedents, appear as demonstrative pronouns (19,12, 31,19, 65,27), while ἐν οἷς is probably used as a stylistic subtlety⁸. There is a variety

7. For a similar example of φημί used parenthetically with ἀντέφημεν, see Mansi 12, col. 1134A.

8. D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* (Upsala, 1943), p. 11: 'In Palatii historiam lausiacam', *Erano*s, 30 (1932), 99.

of syntactical structures, such as the participle with ὄν (63,23) and the verbal adjective in -τέος (55,18); these, together with the use of the dual⁹, and of the optative (31,21, 31,22) show that the writer aspires to a more learned standard than he can actually maintain.

The use of the prepositions is not always correct: εἰσδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς σεπταῖς ἀγκάλαις (27,13); εἰσφέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μεγάλῃ Σοφίᾳ ἔνδον εἰς τὰ ἄγια (69,23-24).

Moreover, the fluctuation between the use of a singular and a plural verb after a plural neuter exemplifies the inconsistency, which characterizes this type of text.

GRAMMAR. There are some glaring errors: ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν (33,5); ἡττότερον (67,8); τὸν ἐπίγειον instead of τὴν ἐπίγειον αὐθεντεῖαν (21,12); and στρατεύματα ἐνδεδυμένοι (75,1-2)¹⁰. The adjective ἀλμυρέων (75,27) is declined as if it were a third declension noun in its non-contracted form¹¹. A noun has taken the place of an adjective: τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καθηγμένων ἱερωτάτων ἀνδρῶν (73,7).

VOCABULARY. This type of text differs perceptibly from the previous one in its vocabulary. In contrast to type I, which has only πᾶν δὲ εἰδωλικὸν καὶ δαιμονιώδες λατρείας ἄγος (11,11-12) as a concession to bold phraseology, an excessively aggressive tone predominates here, achieved by the use of specific words, which vary between the abusive and the scurrilous. Some are taken from the stock vocabulary associated with the opponents to Christianity, as well as iconoclasts and heretics; for instance, τοῦ παράφρονος Εὐτυχοῦς (21,26), τῶν Μανιχαίων λήρους (31,21-22), οἱ δελταῖοι (53,15); but in other cases, such as αἰρετικὴ βατραχώδης συρφετῖα (19,9), ἀμβλωθρίδιον καὶ ἀτελεσφόρητον κύημα (25,9-10), εἰκονοκλαστῶν τὰ φρυάγματα μετὰ τῶν ψυχοφθόρων καθηγητῶν (59,3-4), stronger terms are used to denigrate the opponent. In general, the vocabulary is very rich and varied. Colourful words, such as ἀγχεμάχοις δπλοῖς (19,6-7), together with various phrases and expressions, are used to evoke vivid images. For instance, Arianism is described in rhetorical phraseology as τὸν τε λαβυρίνθιον ἐκεῖνον καὶ δυσδιεξόδευτον τῆς θεομαχίας ἀρειανικὸν πύργον (21,3-4), and the person who tramples upon the icon of the Cross is μαγαρίτης καὶ ἀρνησῶχριστος¹² καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς ... πίστεως

9. Psaltes, *Grammatik*, p. 156.

10. As in the *Apocalypse* 19:14.

11. Cf. ὕψων, Cant. (LXX) 7:9.

12. For the change of ι to ο see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, p. 29.

(61,10). The word *μαγαριτης*, from *μαγαρισμός*, meaning "pollution", is linked to the verb *μαγαρίζω*, which in the 8th century acquires the meaning "to become a Muslim".

The choice of words is at times rather unfortunate or simply strange: *της μητράς ἐμπερείας τὰ ιδιώματα χαρακτηρίζων* (29,13); *ἤλοις ὀρυττόμενος* (23,10); *τῆς ὀροθεσμίας τῆς ἡμέρας φθασάσης* (69,11-12).

QUOTATIONS. Quotations are numerous and often repeat those already cited in type I. They do not always agree syntactically with the context (e.g. 69,18), or are clumsily joined to the text (57,7-59,2), thus spoiling its flow.

Type III:

STYLE. The text lacks the rhetorical character of type II and assumes an intimate, informal and anecdotal style, which is typical of synaxaries and some hagiographical texts, chronicles and popular narratives. The use of specific features, such as the use of the present tense, and occasional direct speech give it a quality of liveliness. There are no lexical pairs to be found in this type of text, except for *ἀύχει καὶ κομπάζει* (35,10), which seems accidental and not intended to improve the style.

The simplicity of this type contrasts greatly with the sophisticated and meticulous application of stylistic refinements of type I, and with the complicated, if pretentious, tone of type II. But the difference in style and faults of strict syntax do not detract from the significance of the type of text or its relevance to the *Letter* as a whole.

SYNTAX. Inconsequential syntax, ranging from carelessly constructed sentences to blatant errors, is typical of this section. Paratactic construction, which is the norm in popular narratives, is used throughout, with most sentences being introduced by *καὶ* or by a relative pronoun without precise reference. Relative clauses predominate to the exclusion of any other secondary ones. Sometimes the relative clauses, in combination with the nominatives absolute, occasion ambiguity and unintelligible entanglements. A good example is the story of the miraculous *σουδάριον* which typifies all the peculiarities of syntax and grammar of this type of text (33,17-35,12):

(7.1.a) *Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ὄλων, ἔτι ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτευόμενος, τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τῆς ἀγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν σουδαρίῳ τινὶ ἀγίαις χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαις, τὸν ἰδρῶτα τοῦ ἀχράντου προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπομαζάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ, αὐθις ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐναπομάττεται, τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα ιδιώματα, ὡς ἐν χρώμασι τισὶ*

θεία αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖα ἀναδείκνυται, ὡς δέον εἰπεῖν, ἀπαράλλακτον αὐτὸν τὸν ἔνθεον χαρακτηρὰ ἀποσώζων τῷ ἐν τῷ σουδαρίῳ θαυματουργήματι· οὕτως γὰρ ἐγένετο εὐδοκία τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη. (7.1.b) Καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ σεβάσιμον καὶ ἐξεικονισμένον σουδάριον αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν πέπομφε διὰ Θαδδαίου τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀποστόλου Αὐγάρῳ τινὶ τοπάρχη τῆς Ἐδεσσηνῶν μεγαλοπόλεως, δι' οὗ ὡς ἦδη ἐνοπτριζόμενος τὸν πεπομφότα θάμβει καὶ ἐκστάσει συσχεθεῖς, πιστεῖ ἀδιστακτῶ τὸ ἱερὸν δέχεται φῶτισμα, ὅπερ ἐκμαγεῖον ἄγιον ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἢ λαμπροτάτη μεγαλόνυμος Ἐδεσσηνῶν μητρόπολις, ὥσπερ σκηπτρον βασιλικὸν κατέχουσα, αὐχεῖ καὶ κομπάζει, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ λαφ δεικνύντος τοῦ ταύτην αὐτῇ παρασχομένου τὴν χάριν Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

The paragraph starts with two nominative absolutes, *πολιτευόμενος* and *ἀπομαζάμενος*. To enhance the feeling of alacrity, *αὐθις* precedes the main verb *ἐναπομάττεται*, which is correctly given in the historical present. Although *καὶ δὴ*, which introduces the second paragraph, appears correct as noting the transition from the general to the particular miracle, the same principle does not apply elsewhere in this type of text. It seems, therefore, that *καὶ δὴ* is used just as an alternative to *καὶ* and *καὶ γάρ*. The perfect *πέπομφε*, instead of the aorist, must have been considered a stylistic subtlety, since the perfect was not all that common in ninth century hagiographical writings, except on specific occasions; on the other hand, it may be due to the fusion of the functions of the two tenses. Considerable confusion arises next, because *Αὐγάρως*, which should be the subject of *δέχεται*, is missing and has to be inferred from the dative *Αὐγάρῳ* in the previous sentence. *Ἦδη* immediately precedes *ἐνοπτριζόμενος*, even if actuality and present time are inherent in the present tense. The relative *ὅπερ* has lost its relative value and has taken the place of a demonstrative pronoun, with *ἐκμαγεῖον*, which should be its antecedent, placed next to it, reading *ὅπερ ἐκμαγεῖον*. *Δεικνύντος ... Χριστοῦ* is not a correct genitive absolute clause, since the word *αὐτῇ* links it with *Ἐδεσσηνῶν μητρόπολις* in the main clause, a usage common in hagiographical and other texts. Throughout the paragraph the determinative pronoun *ὁ αὐτός*, *αὐτὸς ὁ*, and the personal and possessive pronouns *αὐτός*, *αὐτοῦ* are used in profusion.

The same phenomena reappear throughout this section with characteristic constancy and resultant confusion in its structure. The

frequent use of the nominative absolute is the most serious error, and occasionally follows a certain pattern: successive changes of subject produce nominatives and genitives absolute, the main verb having a different subject. Thus, ὄρων, διάρως and περιπολεύσας (subject: Εὐλάλιος), περιανάψαντος and ἀποτεφρώσαντος (subject: Χοσρόου), main clause: θεία τις δύναμις δίδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισε (35,14-37,2). Also ὀφθείσα and ἔχουσα (ἢ θεομήτωρ) διατεινάντων (subject by inference: εὐνούχων), διαχαράξασης (αὐτῆς i.e. τῆς θεομήτορος), main clause: αἱ ἀρμογαὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐκπεπτόκεισαν (45,7-9).

Similarly the genitive absolute is used either without a main verb (39,13-16), or referring to the subject of the main clause (ὑποδείξαντος, 39,10). Its arbitrary introduction may indicate that it is used occasionally more as a stylistic feature than as a helpful syntactical structure.

An apt illustration of the author's uncertain linguistic background is the insertion of the commonplace expression denoting excuse, ἀλλ' ἐπιλείπει μοι ὁ καιρὸς διηγουμένῳ or ἀλλ' ἐπιλείπει με διηγούμενον ἡ ἡμέρα, changed into ἐπιλείπει ὁ χρόνος διηγούμενος (51,5).

The unavoidable conclusion, therefore, is that this type is written in a haphazard fashion and often lacks clarity because of its confused and tortuous syntax.

GRAMMAR. The grammar is also shaky or often totally wrong. Participles or adjectives do not agree in gender or number with the noun they qualify: e.g. διαρραγέντες and διαθραυσθέντες referring to ἀρμογαὶ (45,7-9); ἐπιτελουμένης wrongly referring to νοτίδος instead to πολλῶν ἰάσεων (51,3-4). There is inconsistency in the use of the cases: e.g. ὄρώντες ... τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἢ τε πορφύρα καὶ ὁ στολισμὸς (37,21-39,1). Verbs are in the wrong conjugation: e.g. κατακοσμάσα (43,3); or conjugated without augment and with altered pluperfect endings¹³: e.g. ἐκπεπτόκεισαν (45,9). A double comparative is used: ἔτι μᾶλλον λαμπροτέραν (39,2-3); as well as a double diminutive: πολυχίνων (41,14). An adverb appears instead of an adjective: ἐν τῇ παραπλησίον πόλει (39,12).

VOCABULARY. The language used in this type is far from erudite and therefore the divergence from the other types of text is striking. Since there are no abstract ideas or generalizations, everything is narrated in a matter of fact fashion and expressed in everyday language, with common mistakes which occur in authors lacking a solid linguistic

13. Cf. Mitsakis, *Language*, pp. 69-70; S.E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield, 1992), p. 42.

background. One finds a wide range of idiomatic, imprecise or incorrect words or expressions. The use of ἰδοὺς παλάμαις (37,7) is to be noted not as incorrect but as rare, and probably idiomatic, while the common expression χερσὶν ἰδοὺς (39,13-14) is also employed. Related forms are used indiscriminately, e.g., ἐγκαταλελοιπῶς (39,9-10) instead of καταλελοιπῶς; ὑποδείξαντος (39,10) instead of δείξαντος; περιληφθεὶς (47,10-11) instead of συλληφθεὶς; while there is confusion between κληροδοτῶ (41,9) and κληρονομῶ.

The onomatopoeic word κλόξ (51,15), recorded only in the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*¹⁴, has a unique ending as an adverb. It derives from the same cluster of consonants, which lies at the root of some twenty words denoting animal voices and general noises.

Type III, with all its irregularities, carelessness and out-of-the-way usages, is probably the closest to everyday speech, and, as such, may have preserved a few words that were used in everyday speech but were not recorded in formal writings. This probably explains the early use of the word γόνατον¹⁵, the strange use of perfectly ordinary words, such as ἐγκόλπιος ἐγκάθηται (41,18) or ἐγκόλπιον φέρουσα (43,7), ἄσιναντον (43,15)¹⁶ etc.

Differences between types II and III

Both types of text contain grammatical and syntactical mistakes, and to some extent share a common topic, the narration of miracles. The similarity however is only superficial, since there are striking features that differentiate the one from the other:

Type II is characterized by a rhetorical style, and shows aspirations to attain a high stylistic level. This contrasts greatly with the style of type III, which is characterized by ἀφέλεια, the avoidance of anything profound or involved.

Unlike type III, type II uses the dual and the oblique optative.

In type II there is a quasi-philosophical, quasi-theological content, which appears in the form of questions, comments on life, faith, etc. completely missing in type III.

Abusive vocabulary is used in type II, in contrast to the mild and calm tone of type III.

14. Μέγα Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης, ed. Demetarakos (Athens, 1950), lem. κλόξ.

15. Cf. Lampe, *Lexicon*, lem. γόνατον.

16. Lampe, *Lexicon*, lem. ἄσιναντον.

Type II contains some learned expressions and a rich vocabulary, while type III keeps to everyday vocabulary and phraseology.

Whereas type II has also some of the stylistic characteristics of type I, such as the use of lexical pairs, and looks, at least superficially, as a continuation of that text, type III has none of them.

A great number of quotations are used in type II, while type III uses them only sporadically.

A paucity of syntactical patterns is characteristic of type III, while there is a relative variety in type II.

*The Form of the Letter of the Three Patriarchs*¹⁷

Despite its length and stylistic unevenness, the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* adheres to the epistolary form and the rules that govern it¹⁸, and its various parts appear on the surface to form a unified letter. The emperor is addressed respectfully and according to protocol with a series of titles and epithets, some of which are repeated in four subsequent direct addresses (13,4-5, 13,15, 13,23, 15,5). The sees of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem are mentioned without the actual names of the Patriarchs, who refer to themselves on two occasions as ἡμεῖς οἱ μέτριοι (13,8, 15,5). Type I appears in the salutation, which characteristically ends in ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν, and in the rest of the proem of the *Letter*, as well as in the final paragraphs. It is worth noting that the four direct addresses to the emperor and the references by the Patriarchs to themselves appear only in the two texts of type I.

The transition from type I to type II is smooth, with λοιπὸν ἐπανακτέον ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον (17,24), since part of the latter is a re-working of the former, while the expressions Ὡς προεῖρηται (19,1) and ὡς εἰρηται (19,20) join them together. Type III, which divides type II into two, makes no attempt to integrate with the rest of the *Letter*, and the miracles are introduced awkwardly; yet there is no apparent break in the continuity of the epistolary form, since the continuous narration of the miracles does not require any direct address to the emperor or any reference to the patriarchs, and its loose linguistic connection is offset by its relevance to the current argument of this section, which is ἡ τῶν εἰκόνων σεβασμιότης (33,4-5).

17. On byzantine epistolography see G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et ceremonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine* (Uppsala, 1962); N. Tomadakis, *Βυζαντινὴ ἐπιστολογραφία* (Athens, 1969).

18. See Tomadakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-107.

The continuity is preserved also in the second text of type II where the emperor is addressed with two exhortative imperatives but without any title or epithets. The ending takes up once more the deferential address to the emperor with the use of epithets and titles, while the patriarchs are indicated by the mere mention of their patriarchal and apostolic thrones, as in the beginning.

The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, examined as a whole, looks very much like a rhetorical speech, with a perfectly constructed salutation as its *exordium* (προοίμιον), the skilfully handled exposition of theological tenets as the *narratio* (διήγησις), which was meant to exercise persuasion, the miracles, the actual proof and practical evidence of the theory as its *argumentatio* (πίστις) and the recapitulation at the end with the plea to the emperor as its *peroratio* (ἐπίλογος). This rhetorical scheme could also be said to include a *propositio* (πρόθεσις), in which the case of the iconophiles is clearly stated (3.d), and the *egressio* (παρέκβασις), which denounces the iconoclasts (8.b, 9.a). Whether this was intentional or not is difficult to tell. Their inclusion in the text, however, presents no difficulties, since letter writing was part of rhetoric¹⁹.

The epistolary form of this text, despite the stylistic and linguistic differences, suggests unity of theme and purpose. It is therefore conceivable that the type I of the *Letter* was written with meticulous care by the three Patriarchs themselves or their highest secretariat, while the type II was introduced by others, who were not linguistically as competent, and a *florilegium* with a series of miracles was added to provide the emperor with more persuasive evidence for icon worship. Whether these were made by scribes of the patriarchal secretariat, or were later interpolations, is open to debate²⁰.

19. Cf. Karlsson, *Epistolographie*, p. 15; Tomadakis, Βυζαντινὴ ἐπιστολογραφία, pp. 80-86.

20. For divergent theories on this question, see above Chrysostomides, pp. xx ff.

Iconographical Considerations

Ch. Walter

The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* is, of course, entirely concerned with the legitimacy of the cult of the icons. However, the discourse, often rhetorical, englobes other considerations, notably Christological. From the text certain passages can be extracted as more specifically concerned with the cult of icons and studied together. They can be presented in three groups: icons which work prodigies; the historical origin of icons; the theological justification of icons.

A. *The Dossier of Icon Prodigies*

Before Iconoclasm, the literary genre of *Miracula* was widespread and highly popular. It was, in fact, a continuation of biblical – and notably New Testament – tradition. For many early martyrs a collection of their *Miracula*, of which the Greek text has survived, was added to their *Passion*. For others a collection has only survived in another language, although the original was often likely to have been Greek. Other *Miracula* are known, concerned with Christ's real presence in the consecrated species of the Eucharist. It is not, therefore, surprising that there should also exist *Miracula* concerned with, or at least implying, a close connection between the saintly person and his image.

The *Letter* includes a dossier of twelve icon prodigies (7.1-15), perhaps one of the largest to have survived. Most of these prodigies are reputed to have occurred in the near East, at Edessa, Lydda (Diospolis), Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Alexandria, Berytus and Cyprus. However, at the end of the series, there are two prodigies which would have occurred in Constantinople, while one is said to have occurred on the island of Lemnos in the Cyclades. For only one is no location given.

Although these *Miracula* are well integrated in the text, since the first, concerned with the Holy Face of Edessa, follows directly upon a discussion of images and prototypes, it nevertheless seems fairly certain that the dossier of icon prodigies was either incorporated or later inserted into the original *Letter*. This is a delicate question, which the art historian on his own cannot resolve. I shall make some observations at the end of this section. Meanwhile it will be as well to examine the account of each prodigy, with reference particularly to the earliest allusions to it and its place in the ensemble of Byzantine *Miracula* concerned with icons.

1. *The Holy Face of Edessa*. Three prodigies are recounted: 7.1-2, Christ miraculously imprints his face on a towel (σουδάριον). Christ himself sent the apostle Thaddaeus with the towel to Abgar, king of Edessa, who was so impressed by it that he was converted and baptized. The towel remained in Edessa. When Chosroes, with his Persian army, besieged Edessa, the metropolitan Eulalios carried the imprinted cloth round the walls. As a result, the flames from the fires built up by the Persians round the city were blown back against them by a violent wind.

The shorter version in the *Letter to Theophilus* omits the reference to Abgar's baptism and does not name the metropolitan Eulalios¹. The *Narratio* attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitos includes a more developed account of the prodigies and refers explicitly to the *Letter*².

The texts concerning the Holy Face of Edessa have been collected by E. Dobschütz³. The development of the legend was briefly recounted by H. Leclercq⁴ and by J.B. Segal⁵, neither of whom refer to the *Letter*.

In the first state of the legend, Abgar and Christ exchange letters. After the Ascension, the apostle Thomas despatched Thaddaeus to Edessa, where he miraculously cured Abgar of an illness⁶. According to the *Doctrine of Addai* (early fifth century), Abgar had previously sent an artist, Hannan, to Jerusalem, where he painted Christ's portrait⁷. Procopios, writing about 546, recounts the failure of Chosroes to take Edessa in 544, but does not refer to any miracle. Evagrius (late sixth century) first attributed the failure of Chosroes to a portrait of Christ not made by human hands, sent by Christ to Abgar⁸. An *ekphrasis* in Syriac of the cathedral of Edessa, rebuilt after 524, describes the marble

1. *Letter to Theophilus*, 5.a-5.b; PG 95, col. 352B-C.

2. PG 113, cols. 432-437.

3. *Christusbilder*, pp. 102 ff., 158* ff., 29** ff.

4. 'Jésus-Christ', *DACL* 7, cols. 2459-2461.

5. *Edessa* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 62-6, 76-9.

6. Eusebios, *Hist. eccl.* I. xiii: cf. II. i. 6-7.

7. W. Cureton, *Ancient Syrian Documents relating to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa* (London, 1864); G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai* (London, 1876); A. Desreumaux, 'La doctrine d'Addai. L'image du Christ et les Monophysites', *Nicée II 787-1987*, ed. F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (Paris, 1987), pp. 73-9; see also H.J.W. Drijvers, 'The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition', in *The Holy Face*, ed. H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf (*Villa Spelman Studies*), in press.

8. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), pp. 174-5; cf. PG 86. 2, col. 2748C-2749A.

as "like an image not made by human hand", but it is unlikely that this refers to the portrait mentioned later by Evagrius⁹.

John Damascene († 749) refers twice to the Holy Face: a) Abgar's painter being unable to represent the splendour of Christ's face, Christ himself reproduced it on his μύπτιον¹⁰; b) Christ printed his face on a ράκος¹¹.

In the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), the miracle of the siege is recounted with a reference to τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα.

George Hamartolos (fl. 842-867) refers also to ἡ ἀχειροποίητος εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, which Christ imprinted on a towel (ἐν σουδαρίῳ). He does not, however, refer to the siege¹².

The version in the *Letter* is thus original in several respects with regard to earlier accounts. It attributes the initiative of sending the imprinted towel to Abgar to Christ himself while still alive. It alone names the metropolitan of Edessa at the time of the siege as Eulalios (a name which is not recorded by Le Quien in his bishops' list of Edessa)¹³. It also attributes the relief of the siege to the wind blowing back the flames on the Persians rather than to the flames being quenched. Moreover, apart from the *Letter*, only George Hamartolos uses the term σουδάριον.

There is no evidence as to the actual appearance of the Holy Face previous to its translation to Constantinople in 943. The earliest surviving representation of it is on an icon in Saint Catherine's, Mount Sinai, probably painted before the death of Constantine Porphyrogenitos in 959, since his features are attributed to king Abgar¹⁴.

9. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Englewood Cliff, 1972), p. 58, with references. But cf. A. Palmer, 'The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a new edition and translation', *BMGS*, 12 (1988), 117-67, esp. 128-32.

10. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* IV, 16, Kottler II, p. 208; *PG* 94, col. 1173A.

11. Idem, *De imaginibus*, Kottler III, pp. 145-6, *PG* 94, col. 1261B; cf. *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum*, *PG* 95, col. 320A.

12. Mansi 13, col. 192; George Hamartolos, *Chronicon* IV, *PG* 110, col. 920B.

13. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* II, pp. 953-68.

14. K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandyliion and Constantine Porphyrogenitos', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 (1960), 163-84, repr. *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (Chicago-London, 1971), pp. 224-6; idem, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Icons, I. From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976). See also my article, with further bibliography, written in 1991, 'The Abgar Cycle at Mateič', *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. B. Borkepp (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 221-31.

2. *The Theotokos on a pillar in a church at Lydda.* Two prodigies are recounted as having occurred in this church at Lydda or Diospolis (7. 3-4). In a church built by the apostles Peter and Paul, the image of the Mother of God was miraculously imprinted on a column. Jewish painters, sent by Julian the Apostate to the church, attempted to destroy the picture, but it only shone more brightly.

The *Letter to Theophilus* gives a similar but shorter version. It places the account of Luke's portrait of the Mother of God before this anecdote and omits the account of the prodigy in Aeneas's church, but gives a version of the concluding phrase, *καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ σημεῖα...*¹⁵.

The version given by George Hamartolos is slightly different. He implies that the picture was still extant in his time. He does not name the apostles who built the church, but he calls the picture *ἀχειρότευκτον*. Jews and Hellenes (pagans) failed to destroy it. Hamartolos adds that the apostles invited the Mother of God to see the picture, and repeats that it was not destroyed¹⁶.

Another version exists in a fragmentary text attributed to Andrew of Crete († 740), although the attribution has been questioned. Apparently it is preserved only in *Paris. gr. 1630*, ff. 123^v-124^v, from which it was copied by J.-Fr. Boissonade¹⁷. M. Jugie noted that it is not the only text in which Andrew of Crete writes of Iconoclasm¹⁸. This text begins by recounting that the picture in Lydda, which it calls *ἀχειρόγραφον εἰκόνα*, was still extant. Julian the Apostate heard of it from Jewish artists, but allowed it to remain. The picture was on a *column*. It will be recalled that Julian ordered that columns in Christian churches, plundered from temples, should be returned¹⁹. The fragment then reports the tradition that the apostles (not named) who built the church asked the Mother of God where she had been at the time. (The words of their dialogue are identical in the *Letter*, but not in the *Letter to Theophilus*.) The apostles then went to Lydda, where they saw the picture.

15. *Letter to Theophilus*, 3.e-4.c; PG 95, cols. 349C-352C.

16. PG 110, col. 920B.

17. J.-Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regiiis* (Paris, 1832), pp. 471-3; cf. PG 97, cols. 1301-1304; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 185*-187* (BHG 1125, CPG 8193). For doubts on the authenticity, cf. N.B. Tomadakis, 'Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησης, II (Athens, 1965³), p. 192.

18. M. Jugie, 'Saint André de Crète', *EO*, 5 (1901-2), 386-7.

19. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 4-5 contre Julien*, ed. J. Bernardi (Paris, 1983), IV 86, pp. 216-17.

It therefore seems that this text is the source for the anecdote in the *Letter*, which modifies Andrew's version by giving greater prominence to the miraculous production of the icon and makes another prodigy out of the reference to Julian the Apostate²⁰. However it cannot be excluded that the *Letter* inspired the writer of this fragment.

It was commonly believed that the apostles *did* build and decorate churches "in all the cities and villages from Jerusalem as far as Antioch"²¹. In an eleventh-century Metaphrastic volume, it is recounted that the patriarch Germanos had this picture copied²².

3. *The Theotokos painted by St Luke*. Various prodigies have been recounted with regard to this icon (7.6). However, so far as the *Letter* is concerned, the important point is that an Evangelist should have painted the portrait of the Mother of God. Surely there could hardly be stronger evidence for the legitimacy of icon-painting!

The text in the *Letter to Theophilus* is almost identical²³. George Hamartolos refers twice to the picture, adding, in the first account, that St Luke sent the icon to Theophilus (that is the Theophilus mentioned in the *Acts* 1:1) together with his Gospel and the *Acts of the Apostles*²⁴.

According to a text attributed to Theodore Anagnostes (Lector) (sixth century), and cited by Nicephoros Callistos Xanthopoulos (early fourteenth century), Eudocia (wife of Theodosios II, died in Jerusalem in 460) obtained an icon of the Mother of God painted by St Luke. She sent it to Pulcheria, daughter of the Emperor Arcadius (395-408)²⁵. This painting was identified with the Hodegetria icon. Most scholars have accepted the authenticity of this text²⁶. Yet it seems strange that so important an icon should not be mentioned elsewhere between the sixth and fourteenth century.

So far as I am aware, the only scholar to cast doubt on the Eudocia/Pulcheria tradition is Robert Lee Wolff, with whose scepticism

20. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 219**-221** (BHG 1065m).

21. *Vita S. Pancratii* (BHG 140), Mango, *Art*, p. 137.

22. See below, the Germanos prodigy, 7.14.

23. *Letter to Theophilus*, 4.a; PG 95, col. 349C-D.

24. PG 110, cols. 920B, 989D-992A.

25. PG 86. 1, col. 165A; cf. Mango, *Art*, p. 58.

26. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 269**; M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Vatican, 1944), p. 94; R. Janin, *Églises et monastères. La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I 3 (Paris, 1969²), p. 199; Mango, *Art*, p. 58.

I am inclined to agree²⁷. In that case, the earliest reference to an icon painted by St Luke would be that in the text attributed to Andrew of Crete, along with his account of the picture of the Mother of God at Lydda (7.3-4). According to him, St Luke's picture was taken to Rome, where it remained²⁸. John of Jerusalem also refers to the icon and to its being sent to Theophilus in Rome²⁹.

Whether or not the text attributed to Theodore Lector is authentic, it is clear that the *Letter* contains no reference to the Eudocia/Pulcheria tradition. In later tradition portraits of the Virgin attributed to St Luke abound. Wolff estimated that there were perhaps six hundred such icons!

4. *The Theotokos in a church near Lydda*. This is the only witness to the prodigy (7.6). Aeneas, the paralytic cured by St Peter (*Acts* 9:32-35), built with his own hands, aided by some of the Seventy Apostles, a church in honour of the Theotokos. When it was finished, Jews and Hellenes (pagans) disputed possession of it. The governor closed the church for three days, saying that, when it was reopened, it would be given to whichever group received some token of their faith. After the third day, they all entered the church, where they saw an image of a woman, accompanied by a legend: "Mary the Mother of Christ, the King from Nazareth".

Not only is this a unique witness to the prodigy but also Aeneas, apart from the single mention in the *Acts*, remains an obscure person. He is not included in the lists of the Seventy Apostles³⁰, nor is he commemorated in Synaxaries, nor, apparently, is any *Life* of him extant.

5. *The Virgin and Child in Cyprus*. An Arab shoots an arrow at a representation in mosaic of the Virgin and Child in Cyprus, wounding the Virgin at her knee (7.7). Blood flowed from the wound in abundance. This anecdote is not included in the *Letter to Theophilus*,

27. R.L. Wolff, 'Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria', *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 319-28.

28. *PG* 97, col. 1304B-C.

29. *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum*, *PG* 95, col. 321C.

30. Ps.-Hippolytos, *PG* 10, cols. 953-957; Ps.-Dorotheos, *PG* 92, cols. 1061-1064; *Chronicon Paschale*, *PG* 92, cols. 520-521; Th. Scherman, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden des Dorotheus und verwandten Texte* (Leipzig, 1907) (*BHG* 150-154).

nor is it attested earlier. However, it has excited the interest of scholars³¹.

This is because two mosaic representations of the Virgin and Child in Cyprus are known. Both were already extant at the time when the *Letter* was composed. One is in the southern part of Cyprus at Kiti. In this mosaic the Virgin was represented standing. In the other which is (or was before the Turkish occupation) in a church on the Karpasia peninsula, the Virgin was represented seated. The existence of these mosaics adds plausibility to the anecdote even if neither can be certainly identified with it³².

Other stories exist of a prodigy provoked by an arrow being shot at an icon, notably one attributed to Anastasios of Sinai. In this case the arrow, which was shot by a Saracen at an icon of St Theodore, again caused blood to flow³³. This passage was excerpted by John Damascene³⁴. For icons which bled, see below.

6. *The Magi on the west façade of the church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.* When the Persians captured Bethlehem, they saw representations of their compatriots in the mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi (7.8). For this reason they left the church intact. The implication is, of course, that if non-Christian Persians did not destroy a Christian picture, why should Iconoclasts do so?

There is no other witness to this incident, but some details of the account lend it plausibility. According to a tradition dating back to Eusebios, the Empress Helen was associated with the construction of the church of Bethlehem, which was, indeed, first dedicated to the Mother of God³⁵. Nevertheless the church which now exists was probably built under Justinian, in any case after 560 but before 603/4³⁶. Earlier scholars, for example H. Leclercq, strongly maintained that the existing basilica is the original Constantinian one³⁷. However, excavation of the

31. J.I. Smirnov, 'Hristianskija mozaiki Kipro', *VV*, 4 (1897), 2-3; A.H.S. Megaw and E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythankromi in Cyprus. Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (Washington, 1977), pp. 161-70.

32. A. and Judith Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London, 1985), pp. 43-51; Megaw and Hawkins, *Panagia Kanakaria*, pp. 161-70.

33. F. Nau, 'Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)', *Oriens christianus*, 3 (1903), 64-5 (CPG 7758, B2; BHG 1765s).

34. *De imaginibus* III, 91, Kötter II, p. 184, PG 94, col. 1393.

35. *De vita Constantini* III, 41-43, PG 20, cols. 1101-1105; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 17, PG 67, col. 120; Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 2, PG 67, col. 933.

36. B. Bagatti, *Gli edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem, 1952), p. 12.

37. H. Leclercq, 'Bethléem', *DACL* II, cols. 828-37.

site revealed the original Constantinian foundations, upon which the present basilica was built. Moreover the style of the present apse is not Constantinian³⁸.

Thus the testimony of Eutychios of Alexandria (877-940), which Leclercq called "une mauvaise plaisanterie"³⁹, is, on this point, correct⁴⁰. Later he writes of a visit of Omar (caliph 633-644) to Bethlehem, and of the destruction by the Arabs of the mosaics *inside* the basilica⁴¹. This may seem to clash with the testimony of the *Letter* that the mosaic on the façade was still extant at the time when it was written. On the other hand, the Persian invasion in 614 did coincide with the patriarchate of Zacharias (609-631)⁴².

It is also plausible that the Persians could have taken the Magi with their Phrygian caps for compatriots. This was their established iconography, for example in the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The incident has frequently been cited by scholars since Sakkalion's publication of the *Letter*⁴³.

7. The revenge of the Mother of God for disrespect to an icon in Alexandria. Two prodigies are recounted here concerning the revenge of the Mother of God on persons who did not respect her icon (7.9-10). Both are included in the *Letter to Theophilus*⁴⁴. The first is also recounted in the *Pratum spirituale*⁴⁵, but the second is not attested elsewhere.

In both, the Mother of God displays a certain cruelty. In the first she causes the ligaments of a man who mocked her icon to be fractured, so that his limbs fall to the ground "like leaves breaking off a figtree". In the second she refused to protect a man, who had mocked her icon,

38. J. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (London, 1941), pp. 22-30; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1986⁴), pp. 59-60, 260.

39. Leclercq, 'Bethléem', cols. 828-37.

40. Eutychios of Alexandria, *Annales*, PG 111, cols. 1070-1071; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, II (Vatican, 1947), pp. 32-5.

41. *Ibid.*, col. 1100.

42. V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 451.

43. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, 'La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614', *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II (Paris, 1898), p. 139 = 'The Taking of Jerusalem by the Persians. A.D. 614', *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for 1898*, p. 37; Smirnov, 'Hristianskija mozaiki', p. 2; V. Grumel, 'Images (culte des)', *DThC*, 7 (1992), 769; L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Bethléem. Le sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914), pp. 127-9; Megaw and Hawkins, *Panagia Kanakaria*, p. 73, etc., etc..

44. *Letter to Theophilus*, 6.b-c; PG 95, col. 353A-B.

45. John Moschos, *Pratum spirituale* 47, PG 87, 3, col. 2901C-D (BHG 1076c).

from his enemies. "She turned away from him in the sight of everyone, and handed him over to be put to death as an enemy."

Although these anecdotes are not plentiful, some exist in which the icon or saint defends himself in a way which could be considered not to be particularly edifying. There is, for example, the incident recounted in the *Life* of Symeon the Stylite the Younger, which was adduced at the Second Council of Nicaea and cited by John Damascene⁴⁶. Three men successively climbed a ladder in order to throw down an icon of the stylite. Each time the icon pushed the man away. Another such incident is reported about an icon of St George in Lydda, which a man attempted to damage with a lance⁴⁷. A similar incident is recounted in the *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon⁴⁸. When Theodore's mother discovered that he was in the habit of making nocturnal visits to a shrine of St George, she punished him and tied him to his bed. St George appeared in a vision to Theodore's mother, unsheathed his sword and threatened to behead her if she continued to prevent her son from coming to his shrine.

8. *A crow flies into a man's mouth*. This incident, the only one not to be located, is also recounted in the *Letter to Theophilus*⁴⁹, but not elsewhere (7.11). A man throws a stone at an icon, whereupon a dove flies out of his mouth and a crow flies in.

Even if the incident is not recounted elsewhere, it has many parallels. Pliny the Elder reports the story that when Aristaeus of Proconnesos died, his soul left his mouth in the form of a crow⁵⁰. Demons are reputed to take the form of some repulsive animal when entering or leaving a man's body: a serpent, marmot, lizard or mouse⁵¹; a fly⁵²; a crow⁵³.

46. *Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger*, ed. P. Van den Ven (Brussels, 1962), § 158, I, pp. 139-41; II, pp. 164-5; Mansi 13, col. 76D-E; John Damascene, *De imaginibus* III, Kottler III, pp. 184-5, PG 94, cols. 1393A-1396B.

47. Arculfus, *De locis sanctis* (670), ed. T. Tobler, *Itinera et descriptiones terrae sanctae saec. IV-IX exarata I* (Geneva, 1877), pp. 195-7.

48. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1970), § 9, I, pp. 8-9, II, pp. 11-12.

49. *Letter to Theophilus*, 6.a; PG 95, cols. 352D-353A.

50. Pliny, *Natural History* VII. lii. 174, ed. R. Schilling (Paris, 1977), p. 104.

51. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. Festugière, I, p. 145, II, p. 149.

52. *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin*, ed. E. Sargologos (Brussels, 1964), § 56, 3, pp. 263, 492.

53. Ps.-Psellos, *De daemonibus*, ed. P. Gautier, *REB*, 38 (1980), 160-1; see also K. Svodoba, *La démonologie de Michel Psellos* (Brno, 1927), p. 47.

9. *A Jew stabs a spear into an icon in Berytus*. This was an icon of Christ himself (7.12). A fountain of blood gushed from the wound, performing many healing miracles. The prodigy is not included in the *Letter to Theophilos*. A text describing this prodigy, attributed to Athanasios, was read at the Second Council of Nicaea⁵⁴. Theodore Studite also attributed the account to Athanasios⁵⁵. It would seem, however, that this attribution is spurious⁵⁶.

According to Leo the Deacon (born c.950), John I Tzimisces obtained the icon, which, in fact, would have been a Crucifixion⁵⁷. After his campaign of 975, he deposited it in the chapel of the Saviour by the Chalke Gate, which he had had reconstructed after 971. However, Mango pointed out that this is the only account of the Berytus icon not to call it a portrait⁵⁸.

A similar account of a Jew stabbing an icon was related by Gregory of Tours, but with no specific reference to Berytus⁵⁹.

10. *A Jew stabs an icon of Christ with a dagger in Constantinople*. The icon was set up by the Holy Well at Saint Sophia (7.13). When stabbed through the heart, blood gushed out, spattering the Jew; he threw the icon into the well, where the water became blood. The icon was brought out of the well, the dagger still in place and still spurting blood. The Jew, as a consequence of the prodigy, was converted to Christianity and baptized.

This seems to be the only account of the prodigy in Iconophile sources. However, there are allusions to it in later sources, notably pilgrims' records of their visits to Saint Sophia. A well certainly existed (and perhaps still exists) at the south-east corner of the church. There was the reputed well-head from Samaria, or at least the stone on which Christ sat (John 4:6) beside the well, as well as the stabbed icon. The earliest reference would be in the text of an English pilgrim, which K.N.

54. Mansi 13, cols. 24C-32A, 580C-585D.

55. Theodore Studite, *Letters*, II, no. 199 (to Emperor Michael and Theophilos), PG 99, cols. 1605D-1608B; see also *Antirrheticus* II, 19, PG 99, col. 365B-D.

56. PG 28, cols. 797 ff. (CPG 2262, BHG 780-789b).

57. Leo the Deacon, *Historia* X 4-5, PG 117, cols. 893-897; cf. Zonaras, *Annales* XVIII 25, PG 135, col. 313A.

58. E. von Dobschütz, 'Eine Festerpredigt über das Christusbild von Beryt', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 45 (1902), 382-94; C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 149-51; Janin, *Eglises et monastères* (Paris, 1969²), p. 530.

59. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 22, PL 71, col. 724.

Ciggaar dates to the late eleventh century⁶⁰. A similar account was published by S.G. Mercati⁶¹. The stone and the icon are also listed by Nicolaus Thingeyrensis⁶². Later Russian pilgrims also saw the icon and the stone. However, these later accounts refer to an icon of the Virgin and the Child, not of the Saviour⁶³. On the other hand, in the *Dialogus contra Judaeos*, attributed to Andronicos Comnenos, the icon is said to be of Christ⁶⁴.

It is surprising that so signal a prodigy, reputed to have occurred at Constantinople itself, was not adduced by other Iconophile apologists, also that, unlike the prodigy of the Berytus icon, it was not cited at the Second Council of Nicaea.

Incidentally, the prodigy is recounted in a text which refers specifically to the *Letter*⁶⁵ and in a Metaphrastic volume⁶⁶.

11. *An icon of Christ travels from Constantinople to Rome*. An icon of the Saviour was thrown into the sea by the patriarch Germanos I, in order to save it from destruction by Iconoclasts (7.14). It floated the same day up the Tiber to Rome. It remained upright and shone above the water for three nights. Then Pope Gregory II approached the icon in a boat, calling to the icon to join him, which it promptly did. He had it placed in Saint Peter's.

The *Letter* contains the earliest account of the prodigy, of which a version also exists in Muralt's edition of George Hamartolos⁶⁷. A subsequent account, known as *De imagine dicta romana*, refers explicitly to the *Letter*. In fact it is fairly faithful to its source. Published long ago from a manuscript known as *Colbert 635* (actually *Paris. gr. 635*), it was collated by Dobschütz with three other manuscripts dating

60. 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais', *REB*, 34 (1976), 221, 248.

61. 'Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista latina (1204)', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, 12 (1936), repr. *Collectanea byzantina* II, pp. 475-6.

62. *Catalogus reliquiarum C.P.*, ed. le comte Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*. II (Geneva, 1878), p. 215.

63. G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, 1984), pp. 131-2, 136-8, 160, 163, 183, 220.

64. Andronicos Comnenos, *Dialogus contra Judaeos* § 44, *PG* 133, col. 873.

65. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 216*-219**, 226*-231** (*BHG* 799, 800).

66. E. von Dobschütz, 'Maria Romaia', *BZ*, 12 (1903), 173-214. On the Holy Well, see Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 60-72.

67. George Hamartolos, *PG* 110, col. 921C. Mango, *Brazen House* (p. 120 n. 44) observes that this passage does not occur in the Bonn edition of Hamartolos.

from the twelfth to the fourteenth century⁶⁸. F. de Mély, misreading the account given by Hamartolos, supposed that the icon which travelled to Rome was that taken down on Leo III's instructions from the Chalke Gate⁶⁹. He was followed by Lauer⁷⁰ and Leclercq⁷¹. Mango, however, put the matter straight⁷².

After his *Christusbilder*, Dobschütz published another text about the prodigy. He found it in three manuscripts, the earliest of which, dated by him to the eleventh century, *Paris. gr. 1474*, is a Metaphrastic volume for May to August. There follows an account of five prodigies concerned with icons. Three – the Berytus image, the icon thrown into the well and the Holy Face – correspond to the account given in the *Letter*. However the Germanos prodigy is considerably developed⁷³. Germanos sent *two* icons to Rome, the second being a copy of the Lydda Virgin who had meanwhile acquired the Child Jesus. The icon of the Saviour remained in Rome, but the other one returned miraculously to Constantinople after the Triumph of Orthodoxy. It was placed in the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia⁷⁴.

There is not, apparently, any other reference to the icon being placed in the Chalkoprateia. Yet traditions developed about the prodigy, as witness the accounts of Russian pilgrims. Thus Stephen recounted that in the monastery of the Pantanassa "there is an icon of the Holy Saviour which went by sea to Rome as an ambassador and returned with another letter the same day"⁷⁵. Anthony of Novgorod would have seen this same icon in Saint Sophia⁷⁶.

Unfortunately Majeska's account of the early versions of the prodigy is not quite accurate. In the *Letter* there is no question of the icon of the Saviour returning to Constantinople. In the later version, according to which two icons went by sea to Rome, the one which came back was

68. Dobschütz, 'Maria Romaia', pp. 173-214 (*BHG* 1391a).

69. F. de Mély, 'L'image du Christ du Sancta Sanctorum et les reliques apportés par les flots', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 63 (1902), 113-44.

70. Ph. Lauer, *Le palais du Latran* (Paris, 1911), pp. 93-5.

71. Leclercq, 'Jésus-Christ', col. 2458.

72. Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 119-21. Incidentally M.F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Leon III: propagande ou réalité?' (*B*, 60 [1990], 445-92) calls in doubt the authenticity of the Iconophile account of the removal of the icon from above the Chalke Gate.

73. Dobschütz, 'Maria Romaia', pp. 173-214.

74. C. Mango, 'Chalkoprateia', *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1, pp. 407-408. (*BHG* 1066-1068).

75. Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, p. 377.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

of the Virgin and Child. Thus the Russian pilgrims were plied with folklore which had only garbled tradition behind it.

12. *The icon of St Andrew on a Greek island and loss of an eye.* A priest who was preparing the *prospora* used the lance to gouge out the right eye from an icon of St Andrew (7.15). Immediately his own right eye fell out with a plop and replaced the eye gouged out of the icon.

This account of the prodigy is unique in Byzantine sources. It is important liturgically, for it includes what is probably the earliest dateable reference to the use of a lance to make an incision in the *prospora* in the rite of the *prothesis*. The rite may well date back to Germanos, but hitherto it was only attested certainly from the time of the visit of Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Constantinople in 869-870⁷⁷.

The incident is placed on the island of Lemnos "in the Cyclades". This evident blunder has excited commentary, and amendments have been proposed. Damascenos, who told the story again in his *Thesaurus*, called the island Χειμονός, also situating it in the Cyclades⁷⁸. But no such island exists. Smirnov argued that both names are misreadings of Κίμωλος⁷⁹. He further established that there was once a church dedicated to St Andrew on a promontory at the southern extremity of Kimolos and that the small island adjacent to it was called St Andrew⁸⁰. All this is plausible, but when Smirnov goes on to suggest that Damascenos was not using the *Letter* as his source but another account of the prodigy, on which the *Letter* would also depend, one is inclined to wonder what evidence exists for such a hypothesis.

General Comments on Miraculous Icon Stories

There are several questions which may be raised about this dossier, although it may be impossible to give a certain answer to them.

The first and easiest question would be: why was this dossier incorporated or inserted into the *Letter*? Each anecdote illustrates some

77. Ch. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), pp. 234-5; idem, 'The Christ Child on the altar in the Radoslav narthex: a Learned or a Popular Theme?', *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 1988), p. 221.

78. Damascenos, Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός, ὅπερ συνεγράψατο ὁ ἐν μοναχοῖς Δαμασκηνός ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ στουδίτης, ὁ Θεσσαλονικεὺς (Venice, 1676; but many editions), pp. 378-9.

79. Smirnov, loc. cit. (n. 31), p. 12; Megaw and Hawkins, *Panagia Kanakaria*, pp. 163-4.

80. Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, 14 (Athens, 1930), p. 384.

aspect of the icon. Some do not strictly contain a prodigy. Thus St Luke (7.5) could well have painted a portrait of the Virgin without any supernatural intervention. Similarly the Persians (7.8) could have spared the mosaic of the Magi at Bethlehem just because they wore Phrygian caps. In both anecdotes the point made is that icons were worthy of respect. However, in most anecdotes a prodigy does occur, illustrating the supernatural power of the icon, derived from its prototype. If the icon's power might be manifested beneficently, as in the case of the Holy Face of Edessa (7.1-2), more often the icon suffers or defends or revenges itself.

Some icons, when wounded, shed blood. There are three examples in this dossier: the mosaic at which an Arab shoots an arrow (7.7); the Christ in Berytus pierced by a Jew with a lance (7.12); the icon in Constantinople stabbed by a Jew (7.13.a). The earliest witness to such a prodigy seems to be Gregory of Tours.

There are other cases of icons which bleed. One was seen at the Holy Apostles by Stephen of Novgorod, and by the Armenian Anonymus⁸¹. Another such icon of the Theotokos was in the Peribleptos, Constantinople, when Alexander the Clerk visited the city⁸². Smyrnakis writes of yet another to the right of the parecclesion of St Demetrios at Vatopedi, Mount Athos⁸³. The theme was also taken up on seals⁸⁴.

However, in most of the anecdotes icons defend or revenge themselves on those who insult or damage them. The punishment of the blasphemer varies. He may lose an eye (7.15), or be possessed by a demon (7.11), or lose the power of his limbs (7.11), or be handed over to his enemies (7.10).

In two cases, the prodigy is limited to the miraculous production of a portrait of the Theotokos (7.3-4; 7.6), while in one case, that of the icon which travels to Rome (7.14), the prodigy is quite gratuitous.

While the basic purpose of these anecdotes may be clear, the degree of their veridicity is far less certain. This is a characteristic which they have in common with most early *Miracula*. Yet one or two, curiously, have geographical or temporal links which lend them plausibility. Such

81. Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, pp. 299, 304; S. Brock, 'A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople', *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 4 (1967), 87, § 11, dated to the end of the fourteenth century.

82. Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, pp. 163, 282.

83. G. Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* (Athens, 1903), p. 434.

84. G. Galavaris, 'The Mother of God "Stabbed with a Knife"', *DOP*, 13 (1959), 229-33.

is the case, for example, with the account of the Persians in Bethlehem (7.8), of the mosaic in Cyprus (7.7), and, perhaps, the icon of St Andrew (7.15). Others, concerned with early churches (7.3-4; 7.6), can hardly be accepted.

There remains the delicate question of the moment when this dossier of prodigies was included in the *Letter*. For the art historian, the presumption that they were introduced into the original text raises no difficulty. All the anecdotes either antedate the *Letter* or are attested in it for the first time. Art history supplies no evidence for a later interpolation of the entire dossier. However, what might seem more plausible is the hypothesis that the two Constantinopolitan prodigies are a later interpolation. It is not, of course, necessary that they should be. On the other hand, if the original text was composed in the East, they do stand out as being slightly uncharacteristic (7.13; 7.14).

B. Special Iconographical and Architectural Questions

Apart from the compact dossier of icon prodigies, there are eight passages, scattered through the *Letter*, in which works of art are adduced. These passages are heterogeneous. However, in most cases, they evoke a historical (or pseudo-historical) argument in favour of the cult of icons.

1. *Constantine's coins and churches*. No coins issued by Constantine are known marked unambiguously with a cross or an effigy of Christ. Consequently the argument in this passage (5.d-e) does not carry much weight. In fact a free-standing cross is first attested on the coins of Tiberios II (698-705). A bust of Christ is first attested on the coins of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711)⁸⁵.

As for Constantine having Christ's portrait set up in the churches which he commissioned, as the *Letter* asserts, again no evidence is available.

2. *Apostles as decorators of churches*. As was noted in the dossier of icon prodigies (7.3-4, 6), apostles were reputed to have started building and decorating churches even before the Gospels were written. This would make the date of the first representations of Christ much earlier still. However, once more, no evidence is available (6.a).

85. A. Grabar, *Iconoclisme byzantin, dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), pp. 14-30, fig. 2-19.

3. *Scenes from Christ's Life depicted.* The argument of the preceding paragraphs is developed in more detail. A list of the principal scenes of Christ's *Life* is given, painted *before* the writing of the Gospels. It is interesting to note that, with one exception, they are all represented in the probably contemporary Chludov Psalter: f. 45, Annunciation; f. 2^v, Nativity (but without the Magi); f. 163^v, Presentation; ff. 72^v, 75^v, 117, Baptism; ff. 84^v, 101^v, Miracles; ff. 45^v, 67, 72^v, Crucifixion; ff. 63, 63^v, 82^v, 100^v, Anastasis; f. 44, Women at the Sepulchre; ff. 14, 22, 46^v, 55^v, Ascension; f. 62^v, Pentecost⁸⁶.

The one exception is the scene of Doubting Thomas, which is included in the *Letter*, but is not attested in Constantinopolitan art earlier than the tenth century⁸⁷, although it was to become frequent in manuscript illustration, notably in Lectionaries and the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as in monumental art, for example at Hosios Loukas. However, one instance is known from the eighth century in Santa Maria Antiqua⁸⁸. Even earlier Doubting Thomas was represented on ampoules from the Holy Land⁸⁹, so that the iconographical motif might well be Palestinian in origin. This would fit in with the hypothesis that the *Letter* itself was written in Palestine.

Various lists exist of scenes from Christ's life to be represented. One of the most complete is in the *Life* of St Pancratius of Taormina⁹⁰, although this includes neither Doubting Thomas nor Pentecost.

4. *Description of Christ's physical appearance.* Although the description of Christ's physical appearance is fairly long (7.c-d), much of this passage consists of a somewhat rhetorical explanation of the characteristics of his dual nature, both uncircumscribed and circumscribed by place. Nevertheless some concrete facts are given (especially in 7.d). Christ is said to have been of good stature, three cubits high, with meeting eyebrows, beautiful eyes, a prominent nose, curly hair, slightly bent, robust with a healthy complexion, black beard, skin the colour of ripe corn like that of the Mother of God, long fingers,

86. M. Ščepkina, *Miniatury Hludovskoj Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977) at folio number.

87. For example an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks, illustrated in *Byzantine Art a European Art* (Athens, 1964), no. 59.

88. P. Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII in Saint Maria Antiqua, Rome* (Rome, 1968), pl. 54.

89. A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), p. 25, pl. XV, suggesting a date about 600, pp. 9, 32.

90. See above, 7.3-4, p. lv, n. 21.

a melodious voice, etc.. "With these unique features his theandric appearance is depicted."

There were, of course, many accounts of Christ's appearance, none of which can claim to be authentic. The account in the *Letter* closely resembles that in the treatise of Ulpian the Roman, as Chatzidakis noted⁹¹. Another early, detailed account is to be found in the *Vita Deiparae* by Epiphanius the Monk, which dates from about 800⁹². They differ notably in their estimations of Christ's height. Thus in the *Letter* it is given as three cubits (έν τριπηχάτω μέτρο = 24 παλαισται = 96 δάκτυλοι). Epiphanius the Monk gives it as six feet (ξξ ποδών = 72 δάκτυλοι).

The other texts giving a description of Christ's features which Dobschütz collected are less detailed⁹³. However, one excerpted from Theodore Anagnostes (Lector), which is known in two differing versions, is interesting, because it witnesses to two traditions for Christ's portrait⁹⁴. According to one, he was represented like Zeus, with his hair parted and held back from his face. According to the other, he had short, curly hair. This latter hair style is commonly found in Early Christian portraits of Christ. It is taken up in the *Letter*, while Epiphanius attributes long, blondish hair to Christ. On Justinian II's coins, Christ is represented with long hair, and this became usual in Byzantine portraits, as in the Sinai icon published by Chatzidakis, which he dated to about 532.

On other points, the *Letter* and Epiphanius agree: beautiful eyes, prominent nose, slightly bent, skin the colour of ripe corn. There are consequently reasons to suppose that both the *Letter* and Epiphanius draw on a common tradition. However, the *Letter* retains the ancient

91. M. Chatzidakis, 'Έκ τών 'Ελπίου τοῦ Ρωμαίου', ΕΕΒΣ, 14 (1938), 399-400, 411: new edition by F. Winkelmann, 'Über die körperlichen Merkmalen der gottbeseelten Väter. Zu einem Malerbuch aus der Zeit zwischen 836 und 913', *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich, 1990), pp. 118-19. J. Lowden calls attention to the complexities of the Ulpian text, and concludes that it cannot be considered to have been strictly a "Malerbuch" (*The Illuminated Prophet Books* [Pennsylvania, 1988], pp. 51-5, 61-2, 122-3).

92. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 302**, collating various editions, of which the most recent is that of A. Dressel, *Epiphanius edita et inedita* (Paris-Leipzig, 1843), p. 29. See also Chatzidakis, 'An Encaustic Icon at Sinai', *The Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), 201.

93. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 293**-305**.

94. John Damascene, *De imaginibus* III, Kottler III, p. 196, PG 94, col. 1413; Theodore Anagnostes (Lector), *Ecclesiastica Historia*, PG 86. 1, col. 173A. See also Mango, *Art*, pp. 40-1; G. Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness', *DOP*, 45 (1991), 28-30.

notion that Christ had short curly hair, while Epiphanius's description has been updated.

5. *Parallel of the Tabernacle.* The accounts in *Exodus* of the construction under Moses of the Tabernacle (Tent), together with its decoration which consisted of sculptured images of cherubim executed by Bezalel, are adduced here (7.e) as evidence that, in spite of the prohibition in *Exodus* 20:4-5, both to make and offer cult to images was not considered to be entirely reprehensible. It is then argued that, if cult was in fact offered to images of angels, how much more appropriate to offer it to images of the Man God.

A fundamentalist interpretation of *Exodus* 20:4-5, was basic to the hostility of certain Christian apologists from the second century onwards⁹⁵. This interpretation was revived by the first Iconoclast apologists, notably Constantine of Nacolia⁹⁶, and continued to be used, for example, by bishop Cosmas in his dialogue with the monk George⁹⁷.

The veneration of images of the cherubim, destined to the Lord and not to the stone or gold of which the images were made, was known to the writer of *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, spuriously attributed to Athanasios⁹⁸. The text was excerpted by John Damascene⁹⁹ and later cited by Nicephoros¹⁰⁰.

There are not many specific references to Bezalel in Iconophile apologetics (*Exodus* 31:2). However, one is particularly worthy of being adduced. It is, in fact, an anti-iconoclast miniature in the *Pantocrator Psalter*, f. 165, illustrating *Psalms* 113:12-16. King David is represented approving Bezalel, behind whom is the Tabernacle. At the same time, David dismisses the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian¹⁰¹.

95. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 23 ff.

96. Germanos I, *Letter to John Synades*, PG 98, col. 156. *Regestes* no. 328; *Letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis*, PG 98, col. 176, *Regestes* no. 329.

97. Νουθεσία γέροντος περί ἁγίων εἰκόνων, attributed to George of Cyprus and John of Jerusalem, ed. B.M. Melioranski (St Petersburg, 1901), p. 11; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, pp. 11-12.

98. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, no. 39, PG 28, col. 621 (CPG 2257).

99. John Damascene, *De imaginibus* III, Kotter III, p. 169. PG 94, cols. 1365-1368; cf. *De fide orthodoxa* IV 16, Kotter II, p. 206, PG 94, cols. 1168-1169.

100. Nicephoros, *Antirrheticus* II, *Adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, PG 100, col. 349; idem, *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, PG 100, cols. 776-785.

101. S. Dufrenne, *Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age I* (Paris, 1966), pp. 34-5. There are in fact references to Bezalel in Germanos's *Letter to John Synades*, PG 98, col. 152D, where he is called Beelphegor, and John Damascene, *De imaginibus* I 16, PG 94, col. 1245D, Kotter III, p. 91,42, where he is called Bcseleel.

6. *Paten engraved with Last Supper scene.* The paten in question was engraved with encaustic technique. The Last Supper of Christ along with the twelve apostles was represented on it (10.e-f). Theodore, treasurer of the church of the Holy Apostles and archbishop elect of Syracuse, was invited to trample on the paten as a sign of his solidarity with the iconoclasts. He duly did so.

Encaustic technique was widely practised in painting in antiquity and, in the early Byzantine period, for icons. The colours, mixed with wax, were heated and applied in a fluid state¹⁰². If this paten was also engraved, then the colours would probably have been applied to the cavities as in later cloisonné work. This sort of technique was used for carved clipeate images on the architrave of templons, for example for that, dated to the tenth century, at Sebasteia¹⁰³. Although no paten worked in this way has survived, a close analogy is provided by the Učguli chalice¹⁰⁴.

Again, no paten on which the Last Supper, as such, was represented in any material with this technique has survived. However, two silver patens, dating from the reign of Justin II (565-578), the Stuma paten in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul and the Riha paten, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, are decorated with a scene of the Communion of the Apostles¹⁰⁵. A confusion of this scene and that of the Last Supper is plausible.

7. *Vision of a black devil in Saint Sophia.* The extraordinary visions recounted in this passage (12.a-f) as having occurred in the Great Church¹⁰⁶ have no direct interest for the art historian. However, there are several topographical allusions which imply familiarity with the lay-out of the building. Thus the olive is planted in the ambo, which is placed under the dome (12.b). The first negro enters from the right side of the *mitatorikion*, where the emperor was accustomed to halt (12.c).

102. Chatzidakis, 'Ἐπίτου τοῦ Ρωμοῦτου', pp. 197-8; see also D. Buckton, 'All that glisters...'. Byzantine Enamel on Copper', *Θυμίαμα στὴ μνήμη τῆς Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens, 1994), pp. 47-9.

103. N. Firatli, 'Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sebaste de Phrygie', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 19 (1969), 151-66.

104. N.A. Aladašvili, *Monumental'naya skulptura Gruzii* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 52-6.

105. M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1986), fig. 34 and 35. See also *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, ed. M.M. Mango and S.A. Boyd (Washington, 1992).

106. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* II 16 (c.380-c.450), PG 27, col. 217B; Janin, *Églises et monastères*, pp. 455-6.

The woman robed with the sun stands inside the sanctuary (12.d). The second negro enters from the side of the Holy Well with the emperor. He stands on the altar, his head reaching up to the great *kiborion* (12.e).

The ambo, according to Paul the Silentiary, was indeed placed "in the centre of the wide church, yet tending rather towards the east"¹⁰⁷. Paul the Silentiary described the state of things at the time of Justinian. It is unlikely to have changed by the time that the *Letter* was written.

The *mitatorikion*, a term which derives from the Latin *mutare*, was spelt in various ways¹⁰⁸. It served as a vestry, where the emperor changed his robes. Papadopoulos placed the *mitatorikion* to the right of the bema, that is to say to the right of the celebrant facing towards the nave. He also wrote that it communicated with the prothesis and the north end of the nave. This seems unlikely, particularly at the time when the *Letter* was composed, because there was no prothesis chapel yet in the Great Church. One was indeed improvised at the north-east end, when the Great Entry procession started there.

In fact it is virtually certain that the *mitatorikion* was situated at the south-east end of the church. However, it is not exactly clear from the text of the *Letter* how "to the right of the *mitatorikion*" should be understood. If, as seems likely, the person having the vision was facing east, then the entry of the negroes would have been from the south. To see the woman robed with the sun placed in the sanctuary, again the person having the vision would have had to be facing east.

Although the Holy Well (see above 7.13) is not mentioned in this passage, its location helps to interpret what is written here. There was a colonnade leading from the Chalke Gate to the south-eastern extremity of the Great Church. From there a door led to the Holy Well. Another door then led from the Holy Well to the *mitatorikion*, which had been constructed inside the church. Mango gives the fullest reconstruction of the area¹⁰⁹. Unlike his predecessors he had the advantage of knowing the text of the *Letter*. He calls attention to its topographical exactitude. The person who wrote this passage must have had some familiarity with the Great Church. Thus more than one hypothesis is available as to the place where the *Letter* was written. The entire composition might have

107. Mango, *Art*, p. 91.

108. J.B. Papadopoulos, 'Le mutatorium des églises byzantines', *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), p. 376.

109. Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 149-51. For earlier studies of the area, see above all E.M. Antoniadis, 'Ἐκφρασὶς τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, II (Leipzig-Athens, 1907-9, repr. Athens, 1983), pp. 169-84.

taken place in Constantinople. Alternatively, the passages specifically connected with Constantinople may have been later interpolations.

8. *Illuminated headpiece: picture of Mother of God and Child.* The document carried as a headpiece a picture of the Mother of God with the Child Jesus. It was intended to serve both as a proclamation of faith and an appeal to the authority of the heavenly king.

The headpiece is mentioned in the Title (v) (which may be a later addition repeating information given in the *Letter*), and towards the end of the *Letter* (14) with the words καὶ τὸν τίμον καὶ σεβάσιμον χαρακτήρα τῆς παναγίας θεομήτορος καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθέντος καὶ νηπιάσαντος Θεοῦ Λόγου, ... ἐν τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν τόμου ἐνετυπώσαμεν. The translation of this last word raises some problems: taken in the strict sense it would mean "we have stamped", suggesting that some sort of lead seal was used. There are several examples of seals that incorporate the Theotokos holding the Child on her lap¹¹⁰, but such seals are not normally placed at the start of a document. So the word ἐνετυπώσαμεν may simply mean "we have set (in pictorial form)".

The custom of providing a headpiece to a manuscript dates back to antiquity and continued throughout the Byzantine period. Normally this headpiece was an author portrait¹¹¹. However, it could be the portrait of the patron, as the Vienna *Dioscorides*, in which Anicia Juliana, who commissioned the manuscript before 512, is represented¹¹². Compare also the portrait of an emperor in the *Agrimenses* (*Vat. Pal. lat. 1564*, f. 1), a Carolingian manuscript¹¹³. The practice of representing in the headpiece the person who gave authority to a document was frequent on later chrysobulls, on which the celestial as well as the terrestrial patron might be represented¹¹⁴.

No exact analogy can be cited for the headpiece of the *Letter*. However, it may be noted that, in the frontispiece of the ninth-century

110. W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, 1 Teil: Kaiserhof (Vienna, 1978), nos. 32, 66, 81.

111. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, pp. 37-41.

112. P. Buberl, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, I: *Der Wiener Dioskurides und die Wiener Genesis* (Leipzig, 1937); V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 73, fig. 41; H. Gerstinger, *Dioscurides* (Graz, 1970).

113. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 118, fig. 125.

114. P. Ivić, et al., *The Esphigmenou Charter of Despot Djuradj* (Belgrade/Smederevo, 1989).

Chludov Psalter, f. 1^v, there is above the author portrait of David a clipeate bust of Christ¹¹⁵.

C. Theological Justification of Icons

Although the notion that Christ could be represented in pictorial form and that his portrait, like other icons, could receive cult is implicit throughout the *Letter*, no coherent and structured argument in favour of this notion is developed. Only rarely, *en passant* are its theological implications presented in a more developed form. Near the beginning (1.j), an approximate citation from *Isaiah* 49:16, "I have painted your walls on my right hand", taken in conjunction with associated citations referring directly or indirectly to the inscribed tablets of the Law, can be interpreted as affirming that painting was an ancient and reputable way of representing divine truths. However, this affirmation is not developed here.

The theological subjects treated may be grouped under three headings: the contrast between idols and icons; the theology proper of the icon; Christ both uncircumscribed God and circumscribed man.

1. *The contrast between idols and icons.* The *Letter* discusses the rôle of Christ and Christians in the destruction of idols and the dispersion of their cult in three passages (2.b; 5.a; 8.a-e).

The first (2.b) is summary, affirming that when Christ shed his blood idolatrous worship disappeared. The second (5.a) is also summary. It attributes the disappearance of those who followed the cult of idols to the combat of the martyrs. The third (8.a-e) is more developed.

(8.a) Copies (τυπωθέντα) i.e. icons, homonymous with their prototype, replace idolatrous statues (εἰδωλικὸν ἱνδαλμα). Together with the Eucharist, their veneration introduces the true and only worship.

(8.b) All images have a prototype. If icons are assimilated to idols, their prototype is non-existent.

(8.c) If Christ's image is considered to be an idol, then he became a man in vain, because his rôle was to destroy the cult of idols. The work of the apostles and martyrs was in vain also, since Christians remain, as before the Redemption, slaves of the devil.

115. Ščepkina, *Miniatury*, f. 1^v.

(8.d) It would then follow that all icons should be destroyed, while waiting for a new redemptive process, which would include the introduction of a new Eucharist.

(8.e) If the cult of icons is eliminated, then the whole complex of Christian life and worship disappears with it.

The first passage **(2.b)** preempts the justification of icons, by maintaining that Christ himself destroyed the cult of idols. It would then follow that Christian cult of icons is not in continuity with pagan cult of idols. This was the view of Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople (715-730). He expressed it in his *Letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis*¹¹⁶, in which he also quotes the prophecy in *Zacharias* 13:2, "It shall come to pass, says the Lord of Hosts, that I will utterly destroy the names of the idols from off the land, and there shall no longer be any remembrance of them, and I will cut off the false prophets and the evil spirit from the land". This prophecy had been interpreted by Cyril of Alexandria already as referring to Christ's destruction of idols¹¹⁷. Germanos is reported to have used it in his address to the emperor Leo III¹¹⁸; it is also adduced in the *Letter* **(8.c)**.

The second passage **(5.a)** extends the argument historically by maintaining that the martyrs continued the work begun by Christ.

The third more developed passage **(8.a-e)** introduces a theological distinction between idols and images. The former have no prototype; that is to say that the cult offered to them proceeds no further than the idol. However, images do have a prototype. If an image of Christ is considered to be an idol, then, since an idol has no prototype, it would follow that Christ did not exist. The notion that an idol has no prototype was advanced by Germanos in his *Letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis*¹¹⁹.

The same passage links the cult of images to the sacrifice of the Eucharist. This could have been provoked by the separation which Constantine V (741-755) proposed, together with the synod of 754 in its *Horos*: the Eucharist is the only true 'icon' of Christ¹²⁰. Nevertheless the theological justification of icons is little developed in this passage. It is limited to the list of distinctions **(8.b)**, which, it is

116. *PG* 98, cols. 177-180; *Regestes* no. 330 (Paris, 1989²), p. 6; *CPG* 8004.

117. In *Zachariam prophetam*, *PG* 72, cols. 229-232; *CPG* 5204.

118. *Vita Stephani Junioris*, *PG* 100, cols. 1084D-1085B; *Regestes* no. 331; *BHG* 1666. Cf. *Letter to Theophilus*, **12.b**, *PG* 95, col. 360C-D; *CPG* 8115; *BHG* 1387.

119. See above, note 116.

120. *PG* 100, col. 337A-C; *Mansi* 13, col. 264C.

said, the iconoclasts failed to make. Of these, the first, between images and idols, was virtually self-evident. The second, between prototype and derivative, which can be traced back to Basil¹²¹, was a commonplace of iconophile polemics. Theodore Studite used the terms *πρωτότυπος* and *παράγωγος*, citing Basil¹²². Again Theodore Studite contrasted *ὑπόστασις* not with *οὐσία* but with *φύσις*¹²³. The other distinctions do not seem particularly relevant to the issues of the icon controversy. Their introduction is probably rhetorical. These passages leave the question open whether the authors of the *Letter* were familiar with the arguments used during Second Iconoclasm.

2. *Theology of the icon.* This is the passage in which the theology of the icon is most developed (5.e-j).

(5.e) Christ's figure, form (*χαρακτήρ*), is represented in churches according to the characteristics (*χαρακτηριστικὰ ἰδιώματα*) of his life in the flesh. Nevertheless Christ maintained his divine form (*θεα μορφή*) although he assumed a human form (*ἀνθρωπίνη μορφή*). Here *Philippians* 2:6, is paraphrased. As such, he was seen on earth as a perfect man (*τέλειος ἄνθρωπος*), recognisable as having the tokens, traits (*τὰ τῆς φύσεως γνωρίσματα*) of (human) nature, with an intellectual nature (*ψυχὴν νοερὰν*) and without change of divinity.

Germanos had already affirmed that Christ was represented on icons according to his human form: *τοῦ ἀνθρωπεῖου αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρος, καὶ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπίνης ἰδέας τὴν εἰκόνα τυποῦντες*¹²⁴.

(5.f) The only begotten Son of God the Father and the Logos are one in person and hypostasis (*προσώπῳ καὶ ὑποστάσει*) in two natures (*φύσει*).

This dogma was not in dispute, but the reference in the text of the *Letter* in the next sentence suggests that the authors were familiar with the insinuations of Constantine V and the synod of 754 that those who painted and honoured icons of Christ were either Nestorians or Monophysites.

(5.f) The same names are used for copies, derivatives of the prototype, as for the prototypes (*ὁμώνυμῶς τὰ παράγωγα τῶν πρωτοτύπων*). The copies show the personal features of the visible,

121. Basil, *De Spir. sancto*, xviii 45, ed. Pruche, p. 46, PG 32, col. 149C; cf. *Letter*, 5.i.

122. *Epistulae* II 1, PG 99, col. 1117D.

123. *Antirrheticus* III 1 34, PG 99, col. 405A.

124. *Letter to John Synades*, PG 98, col. 157C; see above, p. lxxviii n. 96.

accidental (non-essential) form (τὰ ιδιώματα τῆς ὁραμένης ἐπουσιώδους μορφῆς τὰ γνωρίσματα).

John Damascene wrote somewhat similarly: Πάσαι μὲν ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, οὐδομῶς εἰκονίζετο. Νῦν δὲ σαρκὶ ὀφθέντος Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφέντος, εἰκονίζω Θεοῦ τὸ ὁράμενον¹²⁵.

Although this statement is in the general line of iconophile tradition, it does not seem that the term ἐπουσιώδης was used to refer to the represented accidents of Christ's human nature in other iconophile writings. However, John Damascene uses it with the same meaning in *Dialectica* VIII¹²⁶.

(5.f) The image of a man (person) is not drawn by nature but by design (οὐ γὰρ φύσει ... ἀλλὰ θέσει).

This was a standard distinction¹²⁷. However, it suggests a familiarity with Constantine V's argument that a true image had to be of the same nature as (consubstantial with) the prototype¹²⁸.

(5.g) The depiction of the image (of Christ) does not imply the differentiation and separation of the hypostatic union of the Logos.

This statement also suggests a familiarity with Constantine V's argument that, since Christ was one person and hypostasis, an image of him either included his divine nature, which was impossible, or separated his two natures, which would imply that Christ had two persons¹²⁹.

Since the same terms are used for the prototype and for the image, there is no question of introducing into the image a differentiation or separation (διαίρεσις, χωρισμός) within the hypostatic unity of Christ. What is represented is Christ as a perfect man (ἀνθρωπος τέλειος). The *Letter* adopts the "common-sense" view that what can be seen can be represented.

(5.h) The quotation from St Paul to the effect that, on earth, our knowledge as well as our vision of Christ is imperfect (I *Corinthians* 13:9-12) justifies the possible inexactitude of a portrait or icon. The *Letter* nevertheless accepts that there was an unbroken tradition from apostolic times of representing Christ. However, more important than

125. *De imaginibus* I, Kotter III, p. 89, PG 94, col. 1245A; CPG 8045, BHG 1391 e-g.

126. Kotter I (Berlin 1969), p. 70,28-31; PG 95, cols. 541, 553B, CPG 8041.

127. Lampe *sub verbo* θέσις, 2, p. 646.

128. H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes* (Leiden, 1969), no. 142, p. 52, PG 100, col. 225A.

129. *Ibid.*, no. 146, p. 53, PG 100, col. 236C.

the fidelity of the representation, was the identity of names (ταύτη τῆ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῆς θεωθεΐσης ἀνθρωπίνης μορφῆς).

(5.i) The passage from Basil was, as remarked, a *locus classicus* for iconophile apologetic¹³⁰. However, Basil was using the analogy of the identity of the emperor with his portrait to show that the Son and the Father in their divine nature are one, not two, Gods. He distinguishes an image according to nature (the Son as image of the Father) from an image by imitation (μιμητικῶς) such as the portrait of the emperor. Possibly the iconoclast argument that only an image by nature was a true icon derives from this text. More important for the iconophiles was Basil's affirmation that cult offered to the image passes to the prototype¹³¹.

(5.j) Although John Damascene was familiar with the *Corpus dionysiacum* and used passages from it to demonstrate the relationship between copy and archetype¹³², it does not seem that he used the text quoted here. It is intended to support the argument that a true icon does not necessarily have to be consubstantial with the archetype.

3. *Christology: Christ both uncircumscribed God and circumscribed man.* The passage (7.a-c) reaffirms the unity of the Son and Logos of God, in spite of the contradiction between the attributes of his divine and human natures: eternal and temporal, visible and invisible, etc. (7.c). Its particular interest lies in the fact that it introduces two terms, probably first used in controversy over icons by Constantine V (741-775). In his divine nature, the Logos is said to be uncircumscribed (ἀπερίγραπτος) (7.a). Later in the list of contrasted attributes (7.c), he is said to be uncircumscribed yet circumscribed in place (ἀπερίγραπτος καὶ τόπῳ περιγραφόμενος).

The contrast between the uncircumscribed divine and the circumscribed human nature was made by Gregory of Nazianzus: περιγραπτὸν σῶματι, ἀπερίγραπτον πνεύματι¹³³. It was also made by Gregory of Nyssa; (ὁ Θεός) ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ἀόριστος, ἀπερίγραπτος ... ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ περιγραφῇ ἑωράτο¹³⁴. A similar contrast is found in John

130. Mansi 13, cols. 377C-380A; see above p. lxxiv n. 121.

131. Cf. John Damascene, *De imaginibus* I. 35, II. 31, III. 48, Kotter III, p. 147, PG 94, cols. 1261D-1264A; *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum*, PG 95, col. 317B.

132. C. Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ* (Paris, 1983), pp. 191-3.

133. Letter 101, ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres théologiques* (Paris, 1974), PG 37, col. 177B, CPG 3032.

134. *Adversus Apollinarem*, ed. F. Müller, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* II 1, *Opera dogmatica minora* (Leiden, 1958), PG 45, col. 1160A, CPG 3144.

Damascene's *Homilia in Sabbatum sanctum*: ὁ μόνος ὡς Θεός ἀπερίγραπτος ... ἐν τόφῳ σωματικῶς περιγράφεται¹³⁵. Moreover one of the anathemas of the Second Council of Nicaea was directed against those who maintained that Christ was not circumscribed according to his human nature¹³⁶. The nature of circumscription was discussed in a different context in a *Letter* of Basil's: what is circumscribed is precisely defined or characterized¹³⁷. The word can be applied to a hypostasis. περιγραπτὸν is distinguished from what is ἀπερίγραπτον, non-particular, general, a term which can be applied to substance or nature. Although it is not certain that this text was used in iconophile apologetics, the distinction is close to that which Theodore Studite would make between the circumscribed portrait of Christ's hypostasis and his two uncircumscribed natures¹³⁸.

Constantine V and the synod of 754 accused the iconophiles of wishing to circumscribe (i.e. delineate on an icon) what cannot be circumscribed: Christ's divine nature. By representing Christ on an icon according to his human nature, the iconophiles separated it from his divine nature. The texts in which this accusation was made vary in their terminology. They are conveniently grouped together by Hennephof¹³⁹. The iconophiles of first iconoclasm either did not take this accusation seriously or failed to grasp its import. So the anathema of the Second Council of Nicaea¹⁴⁰ simply affirmed the traditional teaching that Christ in his human nature was circumscribed.

The two principal iconophile theologians of second iconoclasm, Nicephoros and Theodore Studite, refuted the iconoclast accusation. Nicephoros pointed out that the iconoclasts did not distinguish between circumscription by the hypostasis itself and circumscription by delineating it on an icon¹⁴¹. Theodore Studite made the point that what was delineated on an icon was neither Christ's divine nor his human nature, but his hypostasis according to his visible, human features (χαρακτήρ)¹⁴².

135. PG 96, col. 632A, CPG 8059.

136. Mansi 13, col. 400B; see above, p. lxxiv, n. 121.

137. *Letter* no. 38, ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres* I, pp. 81-92, PG 32, CPG 2900; also attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, CPG 3196.v

138. Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ*, pp. 217-27.

139. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos*, nos. 146, 158, 159, 163, 177.

140. See above pp. lxxiv, lxxvi nn. 121, 130.

141. Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ*, pp. 206-7.

142. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-27.

Such subtleties are not introduced in the argument of the *Letter*. The fact that the terms ἀπερίγραπτος and περιγραφόμενος were used shows that the writers were familiar with the iconoclast argument. However, they did not go beyond the traditional distinction between Christ uncircumscribed in his divine and circumscribed in his human nature. They therefore remained in the line of the apologetics of first iconoclasm: since Christ was visible in his circumscribed human nature, his hypostasis could be represented according to the characteristics of his human nature, that is as seen by us, τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁραμένῃ (7.6)¹⁴³.

143. Cf. above, on 5.e and note 124.

The Manuscript Tradition

J. A. Munitiz

I. Description of the Manuscripts

A *Patmiensis* 48

- parchment (plus paper 1-6 at the beginning, 1-4 at end); 210x160 mm.;
- 413 ff. (f. 131 repeated); double numbering from 200/201;
- the manuscript is made up of two parts: Part 1 (all in one hand) contains the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory (ff. 1-307^v); Part 2 (written in two hands) contains the *Martyria* of Sts Peter and Paul (ff. 308-318), in one hand, and various ascetical and other works in a second hand (ff. 319-334), Nilos, *On Prayer* [frag.], ff. 334^v-348, Maximos, Περὶ ἀγάπης [frag.], ff. 348-357^v, Markos, Περὶ νόμου πνευματικοῦ, etc. [frag.], ff. 357^v-365^v, John of Karpathos, *Chapters* [frag.], ff. 366-378, Basil of Caesarea, *Sermon*, with the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* near the end (ff. 378^v-408^v), but followed by a *List of the Five Patriarchates* (ff. 409-410), and the *Deposition and Anathematization of the Heresiarchs, the Falsely Called Patriarchs, Theodotos, Anthony and John* (ff. 410-412^v, end mutilated);
- gatherings: in Part 1, the first three quaternia are missing; in Part 2, only the first quaternion (42) is numbered, the remaining 13 (not all complete) being unnumbered; the signatures follow Leroy Se1;
- the writing (all three hands) typifies the 9th century right-sloping angled uncial¹, sometimes classified as the 'Palestinian ductus style'², although J. Leroy (quoted by Kominis) and Cavallo suggested a South Italian scriptorium;
- system of lines (for the *Letter*): Leroy 20D1 or 20C1, system 1;
- date: late 9th c. (Sakkellion, Kominis, Cavallo); 9th c. (Leroy); mid 10th c. (Canart, cited by Gauer, *Synodalbrief*, p. xxviii);
- provenance: the writing is more typical of Palestinian productions;

1. Transposed to minuscule in the examples quoted here.

2. B.L. Fonkič and F.B. Poljakov, 'Paläographische Grundlagen der Datierung des kölnen Mani-kodex', *BZ*, 83 (1990), 23: they refer to two dated mss (*Sinait. gr. 210* [861/2] and *Leningrad GPB Greek 216* [862/3 – though this may be 877/8 if the Alexandrian era is being used]) and to four further examples closely related in style and date (9th c.). But these are only a few among others: 'Die rechtsgeneigte Spitzbogenmajuskel palästinischen Duktus ist ferner in zahlreichen Fragmenten griechischer und griechisch-arabischer Handschriften vertreten, die entweder aus Palästina oder vom Sinai in die europäischen Sammlungen gelangten' (p. 24).

- binding: massive in wood covered with leather, mediaeval, but not contemporary;
- owners: the first owner's note (affirming that the volume belongs to the Library of St John's Monastery, Patmos) dates from 1756;
- the sole punctuation used is the colon. Accents are often omitted (regularly over *nomina sacra*, and frequently over prepositions); the circumflex is often displaced onto the first vowel of a diphthong. Breathings (often incorrect) may be square or round. The dairesis is regularly written over the *iota*. Compound words are frequently split into two (e.g. εἰς ἐλθῶν, εἰς ἐδέξαντο). Abbreviations for the *nomina sacra* are common (also for οὐράνιον, ἄνθρωπον, and word endings); the ligature of αὐ is common.

Remarks. The quality of the copyist's work is high, though not perfect: one finds occasional grammatical errors (17,4 ὑπάρχων for ὑπάρχοντες; 17,6 διασωζούσης for διασωζουσιν; 17,21 προαιρούμενοι for προαιρούμενος; 21,19 συν ἀναστρεφόμενα for συναναστρεφόμενος; 25,24 ἱστορήσας for ἱστορήσαι; 31,12 γενόμενοι [with TV] for γενόμενοι; 33,14 ἀνθρώπων for ἀνθρώπου), spelling mistakes (43,7 ἐγκόλιον for ἐγκόλιον; 63,4 θεσμοθέσεων for θεσμοθετήσεων; 65,4 Μαξιμίνου for Μαξιμου; 69,1 περιτρυχθεῖς for περιτρυχωθεῖς) and errors of accentuation (35,19 θεῖά τις for θεία τις [θεία τις OTV]; 47,1 Βηρότω for Βηροτῷ; 55,9 χρίσμα for χρῖσμα).

Bibliography: I. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens, 1890), pp. 37-8; A.D. Kominis, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1988), pp. 122- 4; B.L. Fonkič and F.B. Poljakov, 'Paläographische Grundlagen der Datierung des kölner Mani-kodex', *BZ*, 83 (1990), 22-30.

B Patmiensis 179

- parchment (plus 2 paper fly leaves, 1 front and 1 back); large folio size;
- 310 ff.³ (numbered ff. 1-308, plus f. 119 bis and f. 181 bis);
- contents: various lives of saints, sermons, etc.⁴; item 16 (ff. 206^v-230^v) *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*; items 17-22 (ff. 230^v-267) connected with icons;
- gatherings: ff. 201-232 form four quaternia numbered 22-25;

3. Sakkelion counted 314 ff. in all.

4. The *Vita* of Constantine (ff. 4-25) was published by F. Halkin, who gives a full analysis of the contents.

- all in one minuscule hand, except for 3 first folios and final 2 leaves; the latter added from another manuscript; f. 2 is a pinax in a later hand;
- end of 12th or start of 13th c. (Halkin); 13th c. (Sakkelion);
- provenance: Patmos, *sic* Ehrhard (supported by Halkin), arguing from the collection of documents related to St Christodoulos, founder of the Monastery of St John on Patmos (ff. 82^v-150), which occupy about one quarter of the volume;
- binding: thick wood covered with leather, mediaeval, but not contemporary.

Remarks. Halkin commented on the high quality of the scribe's work, very regular with standard abbreviations for some endings of words; the circumflex will usually follow a rough breathing rather than surmount it; diaeresis is used regularly above *iotas*. Distinctive errors: 5,14 ἄλλοις BO for ἄλλα AW; 7,20 + 9,17 ἐνσάρκου BO for ἐν σάρκι AW; 9,9 κηρύττοντος BO for κηρύττοντες AW.

Bibliography. I. Sakkelion, Πατριακή Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens, 1890), pp. 99-101; E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur Christlichen Legenden [TU 18]* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 234*; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 875-6; F. Halkin, 'Une nouvelle vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos', *AB*, 77 (1959), cf. pp. 63-72.

K Athos, Koutloumousiou 178

- described by H. Gauer, pp. XXXIII-XXXV; transcribed ditto, pp. 153-5, but without the additional material given here;
- 13th c.;
- made up of extracts and shortened versions of various theological works (Athanasios, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, John Damascene, etc.);
- Nr. 14, ff. 16^v-17^v; one column of 32 lines; extracts⁵ from Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilos*:
 - 1) chronology of Four Gospels (Καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον - ἐνομοθέτησε, 3.b-c) + description of Christ (καθὼς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι - χαρακτηρίζεται λόγος, 3.e);
 - 2) four stories (order slightly rearranged so that story of Christ's Edessa cloth precedes those of two Mary icons, as in the *Letter of the Three*

5. Variant readings are noted in the *apparatus criticus* to the text.

Patriarchs): i. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ - ἐκπέμψας, 5.a; ii. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ (...) εὐαγγελιστὴς - μετ' αὐτῆς ἔσται, 4.a; iii. οἱ θεόπται κορυφαῖοι - τὸ σέβας ἀπονεύμαντος, 4.b; iv. Ὅνπερ χαρακτηῖρα - τῷ βάθει τοῦ κίονος ἐφεύρισκον, 4.c;

3) final paragraph (Καὶ πρῶτος μὲν - τοῦ Θεοῦ βραβεύσας, πρῶτιστον (...) καλλιέρημα - ἀνετυπώσατο) from previous place in Ps.-Damascene, 3.a + the quotation from Basil (ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμῆ, ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει) which comes near the end of Ps.-Damascene, 30.b.

These extracts are also to be found in the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*:

1) 6.b-e (longer version) + 7.d (different opening: similar list of characteristics, but adding τρίπηχυ, ἀνεξίκακον, εὐφωνον, and with a different ending);

2) i. 7.1.a-b (longer version); ii. 7.5; iii. 7.3; iv. 7.4;

3) 5.c (four lines) 5.d (5 lines) + 5.i (a single line from a longer quotation).

f. 17^r, 3 stories added after four stories from Ps.-Damascene and before final paragraph: minor errors (like iotacisms, confusion of *omega* and *omicron*, division of words, incorrect breathings) have been tacitly corrected.

Comment. If nothing else, this manuscript demonstrates the continued interest taken in versions of *The Letter of the Patriarchs*, and also perhaps that in the 13th century a text of Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus* was circulating that showed notable differences from the version that is now considered standard. In some respects, e.g. the order of the four stories, this text is closer to *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*. However, the additional stories have only a tangential relevance to the iconoclast controversy, and it seems unlikely that they formed part of a different version of the Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus*.

i. *Miracle of Caesarea Philippi (Paneas)*:

cf. George the Monk, 739,10 ff: Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 114

Ἐν δὲ Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Φιλίππου, τῇ νῦν Πανεάδι, ὅθεν κατήγετο ἡ αἰμορροοῦσα, ἀνδριάς Ἰστατο πρὸ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃν ἐθνικῶ ἔθει εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησεν· τοῦτον κατενεχθῆναι προσέταξεν ὁ δυσσεβῆς Ἰουλιανός, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν, κατ' ἐμπαιγμὸν δῆθεν συράντων Ἑλλήνων τὸν ἀνδριάντα, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ξόανον ὀνόματι Ἰουλιανοῦ στησάντων· τοῦτον δὲ Χριστιανοὶ λαβόντες τὸν ἀνδριάντα, εἰς

ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέθεντο· τὸ δὲ τοῦ παραβάτου ξόανον κατελθὼν πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέφλεξεν· βοτάνη δὲ ἐφύετο ὑπὸ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πάσης νόσου ἀλεξιτήριον, ἥτις καὶ πρὸς φθόνον ἐκίνησεν τὸν ἀποστάτην Ἰουλιανὸν καταστρέψαι τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνδριάντα.

[mg. (Ἐ)τερον θαῦμα cod. 1. κεσσαρεία cod. 5. κατ' ἐμπεγμὸν cod.]

ii. *Miracle of Nikopolis (Emmaus):*

cf. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 139 A.3.

Ἐν Νικοπόλει τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τῇ λεγομένη τὸ πρὶν Ἐμμαούς, ἣ λέγονται θερμὰ ὕδατα, πηγή ἐστὶν παντοίων παθῶν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀλόγων ἰάσεις παρέχουσα· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ φασὶν τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοὺς πόδας ἀπονίψασθαι ἐξ ὁδοπορίας (Ioh. 4:6), καὶ ταύτην καταχωσθῆναι ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰουλιανός.

[mg. Καὶ ἕτερον θαῦμα cod. 1. νικοπόλι a.c., νικοπόλη p.c. cod.]

iii. Ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος, δένδρον ἱσταται περσέα· ταύτης φύλλον ἢ κάρφος ἐὰν λάβῃ τις, πρὸς πάσαν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἰασίς· φασὶν δὲ ὅτι ἠνίκα ὁ Κύριος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐφυγεν τὸν Ἡρώδη, σὺν τῇ Θεοτόκῳ καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενόμενος, κλιθεὶς τὸ δένδρον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν σώζει τὸ σχῆμα τῆς προσκυνήσεως.

[mg. Ἄλλον θαῦμα cod. 1. ἔρμουπόλη cod. 2. λάβοι cod.]

M Venetus Marcianus graecus 575 (coll. 849)

– paper, 290 x 200 mm.; collation with microfilm; autopsy (16.III. 1996);

– binding: Marciana Library, with stamp; spine marked 'Nicetas Stethatus' (the spine binding is in a poor state);

– 399 ff., script: 36 lines per page;

– scribes: various (i) ff. 1-48 [49-50 blank]; (ii) ff. 51-84^f by Nicolao Fagianne; (iii) ff. 84^v-355^v by Gywardos⁶ (cf. Vogel-Gardthausen, pp. 96-7); (iv) ff. 356-399 by Nicolao Fagianne; more than two scribes may have contributed portions of the folios mentioned;

6. E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, I (Vienna, 1981), p. 65, No. 80.

– contents⁷: the present volume is made up of two parts: the first (ff. 1-48), written in double columns, contains Nicetas Stethatos, *de anima* (ff. 1-16) and *de paradiso* (ff. 16-28), Symeon the Younger, *Tractatus ethicus II* (ff. 28-42), Ps.-Damascene, *Epistula ad Constantinum Cabalinum* (ff. 42^v-47^v), *Symbolum athanasianum* (ff. 47^v-48); the second, ff. 51-355, contains its own pinax and a prologue; it is a collection of 122 miscellaneous works, each numbered in the margin, put together by the Monk Joachim at the order of his brother George of Kaïne (near Messina); the Ps.-Damascene, *Letter to Theophilus* is No. 70 (ff. 246-257); it is preceded by No. 69 (ff. 245-246) Cyril of Alexandria, *Capita XII de Orthodoxia contra Nestorium* (PG 77, cols. 120B-121D) and followed by No. 71 (ff. 257-259) Elias Oikonomos and Presbyter of Constantinople, *Narratio de miraculo Deiparae* (BHG 1075e) and No. 72 (ff. 259-264^v) *Narratio de festo ss. imaginum* (ed. F. Combefis, *Novum Auctarium*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1648], pp. 715-739A);
 – date: 1426 A.D. (colophon written by Nicolao Fagianne, on final folio: ‘9 August 6934, ind. 4’.

Remarks. The two parts were bought in Constantinople and donated to the Biblioteca Marciana in 1634 by Jacobo Gallicio. The Ps.-Damascene text is a copy of P, made after the partial mutilation of P⁸.

Bibliography. E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. II (Rome, 1985), pp. 481-8; J. Darrouzès, ‘Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre’, *REB*, 15 (1957), 162; idem, *Documents inédits d’ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), p. 102, n. 1; E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, IA (Vienna, 1981), p. 65, No. 80; M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* [Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 33] (Leipzig, 1909).

O Oxoniensis Bodleianus Baroccianus graecus 148

– paper (watermark, unicorn or basilisc, cf. Briquet 2677/8, Italian early 15th c.); 180 x 254 mm.;

7. Full analysis in the catalogue description of E. Mioni.

8. “Le Paris. 1335, d’après l’index initial (identique dans *Marc.* 575, ff. 51-52v), contenait un dossier arsénite sous les numéros πτζ’ - πθ’ : ... tous ces textes ont disparu du *Parisinus* et cela avant la copie du *Marcianus*”, J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d’ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), p. 102 n. 1.

- 340 plus iii ff., numbered originally with Greek numerals (ink, upper right-hand corner), later with Arabic numerals 338 (pencil, lower right-hand corner) with f. 237 repeated, and f. 314/5 as one;
- contents: collection of sermons and hagiographic texts formed from a collection of manuscripts; main block, ff. 33-234, in one hand (15th c.); pinax and perhaps other parts written by the owner who put them together in 1567 (cf. f. 341), Ioannes Zacharias⁹; he offered it to the 'Schola' of the Mistress (Kyria) of the Angels, in Candia, Crete; later owner, Marco Morosini;
- gatherings numbered (e.g. f. 81 - ια', f. 89 - ιβ', f. 97 - ιγ', f. 105 - ιδ');
- two hands (see Contents), both 15th c.; two columns;
- date: 15th c.;
- present Greek binding may date from Zacharias, when edges of earlier portions were sliced¹⁰.
- ff. 81^r-103^r *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*: preceded by the words (in red ink), ἡ ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ πάσχα κυριακῆ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας, ὅτε ἡ μνήμη τῆς προσκυνήσεως γίνεται τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων, and the distich: Τὰς οὐ πρεπόντως ἐξορίστους εἰκόνας, | Χαίρω πρεπόντως προσκυνουμένας βλέπων. In the pinax (f. ii) there is the following reference to this work: καὶ τὴν ἀναστίλωσιν τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τὴν κυριακὴν τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας φύλλον πα'.
- most of the marginalia (in the hand of the scribe) are explanations of words: f. 86^r right mg. ὀμήγουρις συνάθροισμα (cf. 19,9); f. 86^r bottom mg. συρφετώδεις ὀχλαγωγὸς χυδαίους ψεύστας ἡ- [leg. ἦ] λαποδύτας ἐπαίτας φιλοκερδεῖς ὀγύρτας εἶδος μολι(οβροῦ?) καὶ ἀλλαζῶν καὶ ἀπατεῶν (cf. 19,9); f. 87^r bottom left mg. σπονδάς συνθήκας σπονδάς θυσίας (cf. 21,13); f. 88^v left mg. εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατα ματθαῖον (cf. 25,17); f. 88^v left marg. εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατα μάρκον (cf. 25,23); f. 90^{r-v} εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατα λουκᾶ (cf. 25,25); f. 90^r εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατα ἰωάννην (cf. 27,1); f. 90^r lower right mg. ὠραῖον (cf. 31,14 ff.); the miracle stories (7.1-14) are numbered; f. 91^r top left mg. ἐκμαγεῖον σφραγίς ἐκτόπωμα (cf. 33,18); f. 93^v bottom left mg. φενακίζειν τὸ ἀπατᾶν· μωκία δὲ, ἡ λοιδορία καὶ ὁ ἐμπαιγμὸς (cf. 45,3); f. 94^v top left mg. ἰδρυσις ἐδραία ἀσφάλεια ἢ θεμελίωσις (cf. 49,1); f. 94^v top right mg.

9. E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium, I. Grossbritannien* (Vienna, 1981), No. 164.

10. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Bibl. Bodl.*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1853, repr. 1969), cols. 255-259.

ἀκάτιον τὸ μικρὸν πλοῖον ἢ σκαφήδιον (cf. 49,13); f. 95^v top right mg. δυσφημία κακή ἀγγελία (cf. 53,20).

Remarks. The writing is regular and clear, but with the addition of many spelling errors and faults of accentuation and breathings. O is closely related to B, whose special readings it follows consistently. Nevertheless the use of quotation marks (single and double) by the scribe is of special interest, partly because it helps to identify quotations from authors, partly because it may indicate the parts of the *Letter* that were considered of particular interest. Distinctive errors: 9,3 ἐλπικότων for ἠλπικότων; 9,7 καθὼς for καθ' ὃ; 11,12 ἐξεφάνισται for ἐξηφάνισται; 11,24 ἤλιον for ἥλιος; 11,27 τοὺς αἰώνας for τὸν αἰώνα.

Bibliography. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1853, repr. 1969), cols. 255-259; E. Gamillscheg, and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, I. Grossbritannien* (Vienna, 1981), No. 164.

P Parisinus graecus 1335 (olim Regius 2503)

- oriental paper, small format;
- 347 ff.;
- contents: the first part of this manuscript has been badly damaged, with various bits and pieces added at the start (including now [ff. 12^v-14^v] *de synodis*, numbered 22 [κβ'] which should be numbered 122 [ρκβ'] and stood originally at the end of the volume); the body of the manuscript is made up of canonical texts (e.g. Ioannes Zonaras, *Legal Commentary*, and *Letters*), patristic texts, and an arsenal of anti-Latin texts, some of them connected with Cyprus: the Ps.-Damascene, *Letter to Theophilus*, occupies ff. 203^v-219^v;
- script: 36 lines per page; elaborate initials at start of lines; very regular professional hand;
- date: 14th c. (Omont);
- provenance: J. Darrouzès considered the possibility of a Cypriot origin, but concluded: "aucun critère ne permet de dire qu'il a été composé en Chypre. Les textes de polémique antilatine doivent plutôt provenir d'un dossier de Constantinople ou d'un autre centre de l'empire byzantin non soumis aux Latins."¹¹;

11. In *REB*, 8 (1950), 186.

– original number: *Regius 2503*; used by François Combefis for his *editio princeps* (1664).

Bibliography. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1888), pp. 14-16; E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 208*; J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits*, p. 102 n. 1; J.A. Munitiz, 'Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council', *REB*, 32 (1974), 147-86, esp. 161.

T *Dublin, Trinity College 185 (olim E.3.35)*

- parchment; 350 x 240 mm.; only photographs available;
- 261 ff.;
- contents: lectionary, Type A (Ehrhard), which is the oldest; the *Letter* is item 27 (ff. 165-170^V) in Ehrhard's analysis of contents, and bears the marginal note TH̄ KYPIAKH̄ TH̄Σ 'OPΘOΔO(ΕΙ'ΑΣ) (f. 165 top mg.);
- gatherings: number 30 (Λ), lower left hand corner of f. 170^f, suggesting that at least half-dozen quaternia are now missing;
- writing: very regular characteristic 11th c. *Perlschrift*;
- 2 columns, 28 lines per column;
- date: 11th c.; M. Aubineau points out that the date of the transcription is to be distinguished from that of the composition of the Lectionary, which may be 9th c.;
- provenance: F.J. Leroy¹² made the comparison with *Venetus Marc. 17* (c.1000 A.D.) and suggested that both came from the imperial scriptorium in Constantinople;
- truncated text of the *Letter*, which breaks off at the foot of f. 169^V; the following acephalous text was identified by M. Aubineau¹³ as part of a rewritten version of Ps.-Chrysostom's *Second Sermon on Fasting* (CPG 4619).

Remarks. Although the work of a professional scribe, the text suffers from frequent iotacisms, incorrect divisions of words (prepositions separated off), and misplaced accents; the scribe may have been copying from an uncial manuscript, given that one finds some examples of *iota*

12. Reported by M. Aubineau ('Le Cod. *Dublin Trinity College. 185*: Textes de Christophe d'Alexandrie, d'Éphrem et de Chrysostome', *Le Muséon*, 88 [1975], 113), who supports the suggestion as likely.

13. Aubineau, 'Le Cod. *Dublin Trinity College. 185*', p. 113.

adscript (e.g. f. 168^v, col. B, line 27; f. 169, col. A, line 8, τωτ in both cases).

Bibliography. T.K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin-London, 1900), p. 25 (who erroneously gives a 13th c. date); A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, vol. I [TU 50] (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 163-8; M. Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I (Paris, 1968), pp. 1-2; idem, 'Le Cod. Dublin Trinity Coll. 185: Textes de Christophe d'Alexandrie, d'Éphrem et de Chrysostome', *Le Muséon*, 88 (1975), 113-23; J.A. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending to the Letter of the Three Patriarchs (BHG 1386)', *OCP*, 22 (1989), 411-19.

Tir *Tirana graecus 25*

- parchment single folio; 265 x 145 mm.; only second-hand information;
- recto, scribbles, pen tests by different hands; verso, text;
- writing: right-slanting, pointed uncial script¹⁴; one column, 40 lines;
- 9th c.;
- originally part of *Tirana gr.* 6, 8th-9th c. parchment, Gospel Lectionary, 144 ff.;
- text: the catalogue description suggests that the text preserved in this fragment was limited to the Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus*, 4.a-c (Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεσπέσιος ... παραβάτου ἀποσω[ζόμενον]), but in his complementary article W. Lackner states that the text runs from 3.e (καθὼς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱστορικοὶ ...) and includes in addition a fragment found only in *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 7.d (pp. 31,22-33,4, καὶ ὡς φαντασίας ... ἀναγόμεθα θεωρίας).

Remarks. This fragmentary manuscript is an important proof of the early date of attempts to rewrite the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*.

Bibliography. J. Koder and E. Trapp, 'Katalog der griechischen Handschriften in Staatsarchiv zu Tirana', *JÖBG*, 17 (1968), 212; W. Lackner, 'Ein Nachtrag zum Katalog der griechischen Handschriften zu Tirana', *JÖB*, 20 (1971), 246-7.

14. From the description given in the Catalogue, this seems to be a similar script to that of A (Palestinian ductus style).

V Athos, Vatopedi 37

- paper; 209/212 x 140/144 mm.; only microfilm available;
- 272 ff.;
- contents: miscellaneous ascetical works and sermons (some copied from a lectionary): item 22 (Λόγος ιδ', ff. 190-201^v, *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, preceded by Proclus, *Oration for Holy Thursday* (ff. 185^v-190), followed by John Chrysostom, *On Pentecost* (ff. 201^v-211);
- 24-25 lines per page;
- date: ff. 1-8, 13-266, 14th c. (c.1330); ff. 9-12, 267-272, 16th c.;

Remarks. The text is the version preserved in T, but amplifies the scripture quotations at 31,20 (παραλλαγῆς ὁμοίωσις ἢ ἀλλοίωσις for παραλλαγῆς ἀλλοίωσις), 33,11 (add κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἰλασθῆριον [Hebr. 9:5]) and 35,2 (ὃς ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὤφθη for ὃς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη). Similarly, V amplifies at 33,5 (λόγων καὶ χρόνων for χρόνων). The scribe confuses the forms of *beta* and *mu* (both written μ), and pays little regard to correct accents, making numerous orthographic errors (a few of these are recorded in the apparatus).

Bibliography. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios Vatopedinos, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos* [Harvard Theological Studies, 11] (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 13-14 (giving a 15th c. date, but Dr E. Lamberz, who is preparing a new catalogue, kindly informed me of the correct date); J.A. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending', pp. 411-19.

W Athos, Iviron 381

- paper; octavo; only microfilm available;
- ff. 392 (incorrectly numbered up to f. 399);
- contents: miscellaneous collection of dogmatic and devotional works; the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* is item 110 in the Catalogue (ff. 317^v-340), preceded by the Letter of Pope Vigilius to the Patriarch Eutychios of Constantinople (ff. 314^v-317^v) and followed by a letter attributed to Hippocrates (ff. 341-342^v);
- writing: the use of hyphens, the ligatures for ελ (λ̣) and εο (ο̣), the 'hooks' added to letters (easily confused with commas), the large *gammas* and *kappas* (uncial forms), the regular professional script, all suggest a 15th c. hand for ff. 317^v-341;
- date: 1426, cf. f. 399^v + μηνὶ ἀγούστῳ (+ ?) ἔτους ,ζϠλδ' (6934 = 1426 A.D.) τν(δικτιῶνος) δ'.

Remarks. The text of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* preserved in this copy is clearly a re-worked version, as indicated by the altered title (λόγος ἐπιστολμιαῖος instead of ἐπιστολή), by the addition of a long alternative ending (cf. *Alt. Ending 2*), and by the numerous individual readings recorded in the apparatus. However, occasionally W has preserved the correct reading: e.g. 17,5 βραβεύοντες for βραβεύοντα ... ἐν ἑαυτῷ A, βραβεύοντος ... ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (ἑαυτῆς O) BO; 17,8 ἀνώτεροι for ἀνωτέρους A, νεώτεροι BO; 25,22 γεγεν(ν)ημένου for γεγενημένου ABO.

Bibliography. S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1900), No. 4501, pp. 103-109.

II. Relations between Manuscripts¹⁵

α There are some indications for the existence of this sub-group. A has a number of *distinctive readings* (cf. errors listed in the description of this MS.), but gains occasional support from W for some readings against BO: e.g. 7,9 τελείως AW (wrongly) for τελείας BO; 11,7 τῆ AW (wrongly) for τοῖς BO; 17,20-21 τὸν βίον AW (wrongly) for τὸν τοῦ βίου BO; 19,5 κραταιωθείσα AW (rightly) for κρατηθείσα BO; 23,5 θέσει add ἄλλο γὰρ φύσει, καὶ ἄλλο θέσει W (and A in margin); 23,24 οὕτω ... μία AW (rightly; phrase omitted due to homoioteleuton in BO); despite W's considerable *rewriting*, in the form of *amplification* and *clarification*: passim e.g. 5,13 ἐκδεχομένας W for ἐκλαμπομένας A, ἐλλαμπομένας BO; 7,25 αὐτοῦ add τὴν ἀνόμησιν καταγγέλλειν, καὶ W.

β TV and W probably from a sub-group as they quite frequently share the same attempts to correct the text: e.g. 31,11 omit ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (given in ABO); 33,3 καὶ γὰρ καὶ for καὶ γὰρ ABO; 37,1 τοὺς περὶξ (rightly) for τοῖς περὶξ ABO; 39,23 add (rightly ?) καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀφ' ὃ δόμος; 43,1 καὶ for καὶ γὰρ καὶ ABO; 43,11 σὺν διακοσταῖς for ἐν διακοσταῖς ABO; 43,15 ἀσινῆ for ἀσίαντον (ἀσίαν τὸν) ABO (ἀσίαντον correximus); 45,5 omit φησὶν; 45,18 omit καὶ – ἐνδυόμενος; 47,5 κωνσταντινούπολι for κωνσταντίνου πόλει ABO; 47,14 κρουνίζον (-ζων) for κρουνίζουσαν ABO; 49,13-14 omit καὶ ἐλθῶν; 51,5 διηγούμενον for διηγούμενος ABO.

15. Cf. Stemma below, p. xcii.

γ TV a clear sub group, with a different (shortened) title¹⁶, containing a version reduced to the stories of § 7 with a short introduction (lines 1-3 of the Greeting, and part of 7.c-e) and a distinctive ending (preserved only in V)¹⁷. Numerous smaller examples of conjunctive errors are to be found in the passages preserved by these two witnesses. V could not have been copied directly from T: cf. 33,19 ταῖς ἁγίας χερσὶν αὐτοῦ T, ἁγίας χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἰδίας V (with ABOW); 45,2-3 different start to 7.9.

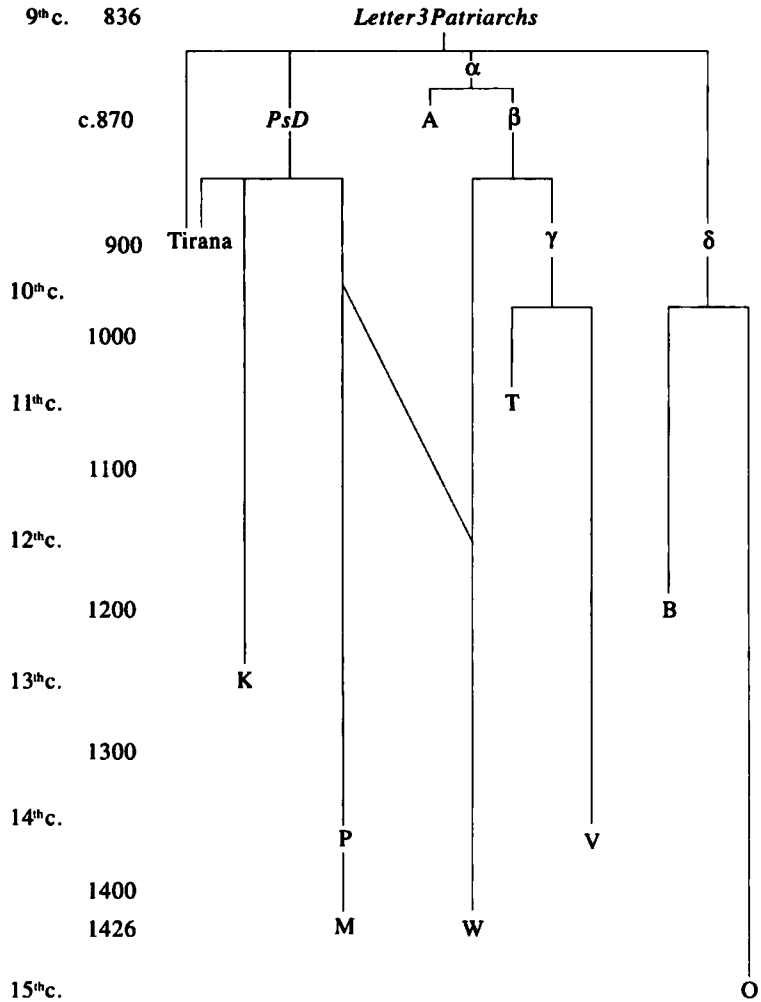
δ BO Again quite distinctive sub-group in which B seems to be the model (probably indirect) for O (cf. distinctive readings of B shared by O); however O has not copied the alternative reading of B at 23,19 προφητεύομεν for λαλοῦμεν (the latter added in the margin of B). Both share consistent small deviations from the text:

e.g. 5,5 ἔσοπτρον + W for εἰσοπτρον A + quot. from Scriptures; 5,13 ἐλλαμπομένας for ἐκλαμπομένας AW; 7,13 ὑπὲρ ἄνω for ὑπεράνω AW; 13,10 ἱκεσίας for ἱκετηρίας (ἱκετηρίους W) AW; 15,3 τὰ πάντα for πάντα AW; 11,14 and 15,27 παλιγγενεσίας for παλιγγενεσίας AW; 23,6 μορφῆ for γραφῆ AW; 27,26 παραδοξότερα τὰ for παράδοξα τέρατα AW; 31,16 σιτόχροον for σιτόχροιον ATVW; 47,7 τὴν καρδίαν for τῆ καρδίᾳ ATVW.

Tirana / Ps.-Damascene. The inter-relation of the Tirana fragment (apparently drawing on both the direct tradition and that of Ps. Damascene) cannot be fixed with any certainty; it could represent an intermediary re-working of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* which served as a source for Ps.-Damascene, or it could draw on both.

16. Aubineau, 'Le Cod. *Dublin Trinity College. 185*', p. 115: this title omits II-v.

17. J. A. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending to the Letter of the Three Patriarchs (BHG 1386)', *OCP*, 55 (1989), 411-19.

III. *Stemma*

- A** *Patmiensis* 48
B *Patmiensis* 179
K *Koutloumousiou* 138
M *Marcianus graecus* 575
O *Bodleianus Baroccianus graecus* 148

- P** *Parisinus graecus* 1335
T *Dublin Trinity College* 185
V *Vatopedi* 37
W *Iviron* 381
Tirana gr. 25

IV. Proposed Corrections to Manuscript Tradition¹⁸

The following list shows corrections of errors that may date from the archetype:

- 21,3 READ πρόρριζον for προριζών ABO, εκ βάθρων (W)
 21,26 READ Εύτυχούς (with W) for Εύτυχίου ABO
 27,4 READ ταύτη for ταύτην ABO, ταύταις W
 31,7 AFTER κρατούμενος ΟΜΙΤ (as probably from a marginal scholion)
 και άπτός (αυτός TVW) έστι κρατούμενος και ψηλαφόμενος
 ΑΒΟΤVW
 31,17 READ εδφωνον* (with W) for εύήφωνον ΑΒΟΤV
 35,7 READ θάμβει* for θάμβω ABO
 35,14 READ ζόλοις (with W) for ζόλα ΑΒΤV (ζόλον O)
 37,9 READ έδειμάμεθά σου* (with OW) for έδήμεθά σου ΑΒΤV
 41,18 READ έγκόλπιος έγκάθηται* for έγκόλποις έγκάθηται A,
 έγκόλπιος κάθηται ΒOW, έγκάθηται (ένκάθηται V) έν κόλποις TV
 43,15 READ άσίαντον for άσιαντον (άσίαν τόν) ABO, άσινή TVW
 49,5 READ τ' 'Αμαντίου* for τὰ μαντίου ΑΒΟΤV, τὰ άμαντίου W
 55,10 READ διφχηται* for διήχηται ABO
 57,2 READ συνετών* for άσυνετών A, άσυνέτων ΒO
 57,13 READ Είρηναίος Λουγδούνου, 'Αμβρόσιος Μεδιολάνων* for
 Είρηναίος Μεδιόλων ABO
 59,4 READ Ουαλεντινος* for Ουαλεντιανός A, Ουαλεντιανός ΒO
 65,19 READ Μεγάλη Γεφύρα for Μεγάλη Γεφύρω ABO
 71,22 READ εισδραξάμενον* for εισδραξαμένου ABO
 73,1 READ θρήνου* for θρήνους ABO
 73,3 READ δεικνύντος for δεικνύντα ABO
 73,13-14 READ περιειλημμένη ... κατακομάσα for περιειλημμένη ...
 κατακομάσαν ABO
 73,19-20 READ παφλάζουσαν βρομιαίαν θείου άπύρου* for
 παφλάζουσαν βρομιαίαν θειον άπυρον ABO
 75,4-5 READ μετ' αυτού for μετ' αυτών ABO
 77,16 READ διαρραγέντα* for διαρραγέν ABO

In addition tacit (mostly) correction has been made of some or all the manuscripts where they 1) confuse ι and η (and similar phonemes), and their errors coincide (e.g. 11,6 καταγλαηφορισθεισα for

18. (*) An asterisk marks corrections originally proposed by I. Sakkellion in his *editio princeps*.

καταγλαϊφορισθείσα); similarly with ο / ω; 2) place occasional accents on τε e.g. 11,13 BW; 39,17 BOTW.

V. Later Tradition of the Letter of the Three Patriarchs

This has been examined to some extent by E. von Dobschütz¹⁹. He divides it into two types:

Type 1 consists of texts that have extracts from the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, e.g. *Paris. gr. 767* (13th c.) ff. 126^V-130; title: ὑπόμνημα διηγήσεως ψυχωφελοῦς ἀθροισθὲν ἐκ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ τῆς εἰς Θεόφιλον τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστολείσης πολυστίχου ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ τῶν προέδρων τοῦ Ἑλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τιμᾶν τε καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰς τῶν ἁγίων σεπτὰς καὶ ἱεράς εἰκόνας.

Paris. gr. 1478 (11th c.), ff. 283-289: διήγησις μερικῆ ἀθροισθείσα ἐκ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Θεόφιλον τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστολείσης πολυστίχου ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τιμᾶν τε καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰς τῶν ἁγίων σεπτὰς καὶ ἱεράς εἰκόνας.

Coisl. gr. 296 (12th c.), ff. 191^V-195: διήγησις μερικῆ ἀθροισθείσα ἐκ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Θεόφιλον τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστολείσης πολυστίχου ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τιμᾶν τε καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰς τῶν ἁγίων σεπτὰς καὶ ἱεράς εἰκόνας

Type 2 (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 213*) consists of manuscripts that contain re-working of stories from the *Letter* into a Sermon intended for Κυριακῆ α' τῶν νηστειῶν, e.g. *Paris. gr. 635* (14th c.), ff. 70, 71, 214^V, 215; *Coisl. gr. 296* (12th c.), ff. 197^V-200; *Monac. gr. 226* (13th c.), ff. 108-113.

Some additional examples have been noticed:

(i) *Hierosol. S. Sabas gr. 105*²⁰ (14th c.), ff. 10-19: excerpts from the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* with the title Κυριακῆ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας. Διήγησις μερικῆ καὶ ψυχωφελῆς ἀθροισθείσα ἐκ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Θεόφιλον τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστολείσης πολυστίχου ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ τῶν προέδρων τοῦ τε Ἑλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τιμᾶν τε καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰς τῶν ἁγίων σεπτὰς καὶ ἱεράς εἰκόνας [Type 1].

19. *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur Christlichen Legenden* [TU, 18] (Leipzig, 1899). Beilage VI, pp. 204*-267*.

20. Cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1891-1915).

(ii) *Argyrokastron* 6²¹ (17th c.), ff. 179^v-180; reference to the wonder-working icon of Germanos (cf. *Letter 7.14*) mentioned by three Patriarchs (John [sic] of Alexandria, Christopher [sic] of Antioch and Basil of Jerusalem).

(iii) *Mosquensis* 9, *cod. gr. 377 (184/185)* (11th c.); Τῆ κυριακῆ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας. Ἐν ἀγίῳ φρέατι τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας. Cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* II, 651.

Of course, one should also bear in mind that the Ps.-Damascene *Letter to Theophilus* represents an indirect channel of transmission for the original *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, and that it became in its turn the source for the *Narratio Edessena* attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitos. But these traditions give little help for the establishment of the original text.

21. Cf. N.A. Bees, 'Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων κωδικῶν τῆς Μητροπόλεως Ἀργυροκάστρου', Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 4 (1952), 143-9.

Conspectus Siglorum

A	<i>Patmiensis 48</i> (9th/10th c.) ²² , ff. 379 ^v -409 ^v
B	<i>Patmiensis 179</i> (12th/13th c.), ff. 206 ^v -230 ^v
K	<i>Koutloumousiou 178</i> (13th c.), ff. 16 ^v -17 ^v
M	<i>Marcianus graecus 575</i> (coll. 849) (1426), ff. 246-257
O	<i>Baroccianus graecus 148</i> (early 15th c.), ff. 81-103
P	<i>Parisinus graecus 1335</i> (14th c.), ff. 203 ^v -219 ^v
T	<i>Dublin, Trinity College 185</i> (11th c.), ff. 165-169 ^v
V	<i>Vatopedi 37</i> (14th c. [c.1330]), ff. 190-201 ^v
W	<i>Iviron 381</i> (1426), ff. 317 ^v -340
Tir	<i>Tirana gr. 25</i> (9th c.; single folio)
<i>Letter</i>	<i>Letter of the Three Patriarchs</i>
<i>Alt. 1</i>	<i>Alternative Ending 1</i> (= V)
<i>Alt. 2</i>	<i>Alternative Ending 2</i> (= W)
<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Deposition</i>
<i>Ps-Dam.</i>	<i>Pseudo-Damascene Letter to Theophilus</i>
<i>Vita Steph.</i>	<i>Vita Stephani Junioris, PG 100</i>
Combefis	F. Combefis, <i>Originum rerumque Constantino-politanarum variis auctoribus Manipulus</i> (Paris, 1664)
Duchesne	L. Duchesne, 'L' iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IX ^e siècle', <i>Roma e l'Oriente</i> , 5 (1912-13), 229-39, 273-85, 349-66
Sakkelion	I. Sakkelion, 'Εκ τῶν ἀνεκδότων τῆς Πατριμακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἐπιστολὴ Συνοδικὴ ... περὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων, (Athens, 1864)
< >	suppleta ab editore
[]	delenda

22. For the divergent views on the date of this codex see above, Munitiz, p. lxxix; Chrysostomides, p. xviii.

Letter of the Three Patriarchs

Title (i) Letter of the most holy Patriarchs, Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch and Basil of Jerusalem¹, (ii) to the Emperor Theophilos of Constantinople², (iii) written in the holy city of Jerusalem in the church of the Holy Resurrection, (iv) concerning the holy, venerable and revered icons, (v) having at its head the holy representation of the all-holy Theotokos Maria, depicted bearing the Saviour in her arms³; (vi) they having gathered together in the holy city along with a great synod, (vii) the number of bishops being 185, abbots 17, and monks 1153, (viii) in the month of April, the 14th indiction, in the year 6344⁴.

Salutation (a) To the most powerful emperor, advanced by God, supported by God, crowned by God, appropriately named Theophilos⁵, *solemnly crowned in glory and honour*⁶ by the divine, powerful and almighty right hand from above of the highest *King of kings, and Lord of lords*⁷, by whom *kings reign and despots hold sway over the earth, and by whom the great are extolled and rulers decree justice*⁸; to the sovereign, victorious, triumphant, eternal Augustus and God-honoured despot: (b) we who have been entrusted with the governance of the apostolic and patriarchal thrones of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, with the assent and invitation of divine providence of the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, and with us those who have been promoted to occupy the ranks of that hierarchy which imitates the celestial one, *from the rising of the sun to its setting*⁹, give greetings to him in the Lord.

1. Christopher of Alexandria (805-836), Job of Antioch (813-843), and Basil of Jerusalem. The dates of the latter are uncertain. They are variously given as 820-845, 836-842 or 847, 832-857: A.A. Vasiliev, 'The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa', *B*, 16 (1942-3), 221 and nn. 215-8.

2. See above Chrysostomides, p. xviii n. 11

3. See above Walter, *B*, 8, p. lxxi; cf. below 14.a.

4. The year since creation, i.e. 836 A.D.

5. Theophilos means 'Beloved of God'. Son of Michael II the Amorian, Theophilos (829-842) extended the theme system both in the north and east; strengthened the economy and acted as a patron of letters, arts and sciences, but also showed zeal for iconoclasm. His pursuit of justice was proverbial and he appears in the 12th century satire *Timarion* as judge in hell (Theophanes cont., pp. 86 ff.; *Timarion*, ed. R. Romano, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione* [Naples, 1974], pp. 29, 32-3; English tr. by B. Baldwin, *Timarion* [Detroit, 1984], pp. 62, 64; C. Diehl, 'La légende de l'empereur Théophile', *Sem. Kond.* 4 [1931], 33ff.; J. Rosser, 'Theophilos (829-842)', *Byzantiaka*, 3 [1983], 37-56; Bury, *ERE*, pp. 120-43, 251-74; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 262 ff.).

6. Heb. 2:9.

7. Cf. Ap. 19:16.

8. Prov. 8:15-16.

9. Mal. 1:11.

(i) Ἐπιστολή τῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν, Χριστοφόρου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἰὼβ Ἀντιοχείας, Βασιλείου Ἱεροσολύμων· (ii) πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· (iii) γραφείσα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἀναστάσει· (iv) περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τιμίων καὶ σεβασμίων εἰκόνων· (v) ἔχουσα ἐν κεφαλίδι τὸν ἅγιον χαρακτήρα τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐξωγραφημένον, ἐν ἀγκάλαις φέρουσα τὸν Σωτῆρα· (vi) συναθροισθέντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει, μετὰ μεγάλης συνόδου· (vii) τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων ρπε΄, ἡγουμένων ιζ΄, μοναχῶν ,αρνγ΄· (viii) μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ΄, ἔτους ,ςτμδ΄.

(a) Τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν θείας πανσθενοῦς παντοκρατορικῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ὑψίστου βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων, δι' οὗ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ τύραννοι κρατοῦσι γῆς, δι' οὗ μεγαιστᾶνες μεγαλύνονται, καὶ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην, δόξην καὶ τιμὴν κατεστεμμένῳ, θεοπροβλήτῳ, θεοστηρίκῳ, θεοστέπτῳ, φερωνύμῳ βασιλεῖ κρατίστῳ Θεοφίλῳ, νικητῇ τροπαιούχῳ αὐτοκράτορι, αἰωνίῳ αὐγούστῳ, θεοτιμῆτῳ δεσπότη, (b) οἱ κατ' ἐπίνευσιν καὶ πρόσκλησιν τῆς θείας προμηθείας τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωαρχειῆς Τριάδος τοὺς οἰακας τῶν ἀποστολικῶν καὶ πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας, Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν οὐρανομμῆτου ἱεραρχίας τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν ἐληλαχότες κατέχειν, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

ABOTVW

1. λόγος ἐπιστολιμαῖος W – ἁγίων πατέρων V – 3-8. πρὸς - σωτῆρα om. TV – 3. post τὸν add. ἐν κωνσταντινῶν πόλει W – κωνσταντινουπόλεως B, κωνσταντινῶν πόλει O, om. W – 4. γραφεῖς W 5. ἁγίων ABOTV, πανσέπτων W – καὶ σεβασμίων om. W – 7. ἐξωγραφησμένην O – 8-9. αὐτῶν - πόλει om. W – 9. μετὰ - συνόδου om. TV – τὸν ἀριθμὸν om. W, post ἐπισκόπων intersp. TV – 10. ρπε΄ ABOW, ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα TV – 10-11. μηνί - ,ςτμδ΄ om. TV, ἀπεστάλη δὲ ἐν ἔτει ,ςτμδ΄ W – 11. post ,ςτμδ΄ add. εὐλόγησον O. πρὸς βασιλέα θεόφιλον, περὶ τοῦ κατα (τοῦ κατα- om. V) σεβάσματος καὶ θαυμάτων τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων add. TV (εὐλόγησον add. V) – 12. τῷ ABOW, τοῦ TV – 14. δι' οὗ - ἐρχόμενον (infra §7b) om. TV – 15. καταστεμμένῳ OV – 16. φερωνύμως A – 18. καταπίνουσιν O, κατεπίνουσιν B – 19. post τῆς add. ζωοποιοῦ καὶ W – 22. ἐληλαχότες W

Text (1.a) Since the Son, the Word, of God the Father, He who surpasses in being, Godhead and beginning, consubstantial and coeternal, *the radiance of His glory, and the stamp of His person*¹⁰, *the impress of the archetype, the exact image*¹¹ of the invisible God, *the identical seal*¹², *the unspotted mirror of the energy of God*¹³, the light from light, the coeternal with the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, *the one who sustains all things by the word of His power*¹⁴; (1.b) the one who established once and for all the intelligible and supracelestial nature of the angelic holy powers, who are called fire and spirit¹⁵, *the Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities and Powers, Splendours, Ascents and Intellectual Potencies, pure and unadulterated natures, for ever moving in choir around the First Cause, enlightened thereby to the most pure effulgence, stamped and formed by the Good to such a degree that they become new lights, enabling them to illumine others by influx and diffusion coming from the First Light, (and they become) singers of hymns to the divine majesty, spectators of the everlasting essence*¹⁶, and enlightened with the radiance of the Trinity, (1.c) the one who spread out *heaven as a canopy*¹⁷, and fixed the earth upon nothing¹⁸, and who *measured the water with his hand, and heaven with his palm, and holds the whole earth in his grasp, he who weighed mountains in scales and measured the valleys in a balance*¹⁹, and who gave sand to the sea as a *boundary*²⁰ and in the turbulent sea a *safe path*²¹, *he who holds the cycle of the earth and the inhabitants therein like locusts*²², (1.d) the one who made man from earth *in the image and likeness*²³ of His goodness, and when man lapsed He did

10. Heb. 1:3.

11. Gregory Nazianzene, *Or.* 38 § 13, *SC*, p. 132,17-18; *PG* 36, col. 325B.

12. Basil, *De Spir. sancto* 64, *PG* 32, col. 185C.

13. Wi. 7:26.

14. Heb. 1:3.

15. cf. Ps. 103 (104):4.

16. Cf. Gregory Nazianzene, *Or.* 28 (Theol. 2), § 31 (ed. A.J. Mason, pp. 17-18; *PG* 36, col. 72B-C).

17. Is. 40:22.

18. Job 26:7.

19. Is. 40:12.

20. Job 38:10.

21. Wi. 14:3.

22. Is. 40:22.

23. Gen. 1:26.

(1.a) Ἐπει οὖν ὁ ὑπερούσιος καὶ ὑπέρθεος καὶ ὑπεράρχιος ὁμο-
 ούσιος καὶ συνάναρχος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς Υἱὸς Λόγος, τὸ ἀπαύ-
 γασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, τὸ
 5 ἐκμαγεῖον τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, ἡ ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀο-
 ράτου, ἡ ἰσότητος σφραγίς, τὸ ἀκηλίδωτον εἴσοπτρον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἐνεργείας, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς, ὁ συναϊδιος τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζω-
 αρχικοῦ Πνεύματος, ὁ φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως
 αὐτοῦ, (1.b) ὁ τὴν νοητὴν καὶ ὑπερουράνιον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν ἀγίων
 δυνάμεων φύσιν παραστήσας διαμπάξ, πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα προσαγο-
 10 ρευομένας, ἀγγέλους τινὰς καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, θρόνους, κυριότητας,
 ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας, λαμπρότητας, ἀναβάσεις, νοερὰς δυνάμεις, κα-
 θαρὰς φύσεις καὶ ἀκιδήλους, περὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἀεὶ χορευού-
 σασ, ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλαμπομένας τὴν καθαρωτάτην ἐκλαμψιν, τοσοῦτον τῷ
 15 καλῷ τυπουμένας καὶ μορφουμένας, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα γίνεσθαι φῶτα,
 καὶ ἄλλους φωτίζειν δύνασθαι, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου φωτὸς ἐπιρροαῖς τε
 καὶ διαδόσεσιν, ὑμνωδὸς θείας μεγαλειότητος, θεωρὸς οὐσίας αἰδίου
 καὶ τῆς Τριάδος αἰγλη λαμπομένας, (1.c) ὁ ἐκτείνας τὸν οὐρανὸν
 ὡσεὶ καμάραν, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπ' οὐδενὸς πηξάμενος, ὁ μετρήσας τῇ
 20 χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κα-
 τέχων δρακί, ὁ στήσας τὰ ὄρη σταθμῶ, καὶ τὰς νάπας ζυγῶ, ὁ δοὺς
 θαλάσση ὄριον ψάμμον, καὶ ἐν ὕδατι ἰσχυρῶ, τρίβον ἀσφαλῆ, ὁ κα-
 τέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ὡσεὶ
 ἀκρίδας, (1.d) ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοί-
 ωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος, παραπεσόντα δὲ τοῦτον μὴ παριδῶν,

ABOW

5. εἴσοπτρον BOW - 9. προσαγορευομένους W - 10. τινὰς καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους om. O - 13. ἐκλαμπομένας BO, ἐκδεχομένας W - καθαρωτάτην ABO, sed corr. Sakkelion - ἐκλαμψιν BOW - 14. ἄλλοις BO - 15. post δύνασθαι add. ταῖς W - 16. post μεγαλειότητος add. καὶ W - αἰδίου οὐσας W - 17. post καὶ add. τῇ W - 20. τὰ om. BO

not neglect him, but summoned him by means of the Law, and schooled him through the prophets, (1.e) but later on *in the fullness of time*²⁴ *on account of the compassionate mercy of God*²⁵ the Father He set Himself to an inscrutable emptying-out, and having taken flesh of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Holy Virgin and Theotokos, and *having lived among men*²⁶, He made manifest the symbols of His own divinity *by signs and wonders and diverse acts of power*²⁷, and He dispensed all things for the salvation of our kind, preserving His own natural properties in each of His natures, both the divine and the human, perfect properties in perfect natures, (1.f) until taking upon Himself our mortality in that He became a man, *a rational animal, mortal, flat-nailed, endowed with mind and receptive to knowledge*²⁸, He graced us with the life-giving power of His resurrection, to the extent that He raised our human adjunct made divine up to heaven, above and beyond every principality, power and domination, and above every name that has been named, *He then took His seat on the right hand of the throne of the majesty of God the Father in heaven*²⁹, (1.g) leaving behind all the symbols of the salvific sufferings of His divine inhumanisation, *according to the testimony of the original eyewitnesses and servants of the Word*³⁰, in order that the tokens of His life in the world and in the flesh be indelible and ever-remembered, so that with the lapse of time these benefits should not perish in the depths of forgetfulness, but be stamped and portrayed in us *by the waters of regeneration*³¹ of the divine baptism, the ablution which took place in the Jordan, for the sake of the purification and reformation of Adam's kind, and by the offering of His body – He proclaims the *remembrance*³² of His salvific sufferings, as it is written, *for as often as you eat this bread and drink from this cup you declare the death of the Lord, and you confess His resurrection till He come*³³ – (1.h) and

24. Heb. 9:26.

25. Luke 1:78.

26. Bar. 3:38.

27. Heb. 2:4.

28. Anastasios Sinaites, *Viae Dux* (CCSG 8: ed. K.-H. Uthemann), II, 5, 137-140, citing sources.

29. Heb. 8:1.

30. Luke 1:2.

31. Titus 3:5.

32. Luke 22:19.

33. 1 Cor. 11:26.

ἀλλὰ καλέσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, παιδαγωγήσας διὰ προφητῶν, (1e)
 ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰῶνων διὰ σπλάγγνα ἐλέους Θεοῦ
 Πατρὸς, καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς κένωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν ἀνεξιχνίαστον,
 καὶ σαρκωθείς ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας παρθέ-
 5 νου καὶ θεοτόκου, καὶ συναναστραφεῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σημείοις τε
 καὶ τέρασι καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι, τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεότη-
 τος ἡμῖν τεκμηράμενος, πάντα ὑκονόμησε πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ γέ-
 νους ἡμῶν, ἐν ἐκατέραις ταῖς φύσεσι θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος,
 τέλεια τελείαις, τὰ φυσικὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτοῦ ἀποσώζων, (1f) ἄχρι καὶ
 10 τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν ἀναδεξάμενος καθ' ὃ ἀνθρώπος γέγονε, ζῶον λογι-
 κόν, θνητόν, πλατυνύχον, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν, τὴν ζωο-
 πάροχον τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο, ἕως οὐ εἰς
 τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ πρόσλημμα ἡμῶν θεωθὲν ἀνήγαγεν ὑπεράνω πάσης
 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος, καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζο-
 15 μένου, κεκάθηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ
 καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, (1g) πάντα τὰ σύμβολα τῶν σωτηρίων
 αὐτοῦ παθημάτων τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καθὼς παρέδωκαν
 ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Λόγου γενόμενοι,
 ἐγκαταλείψας πρὸς τὸ ἀνεξάλειπτον καὶ ἀειμνημόνευτον ἔχειν τῆς
 20 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τὰ γνωρίσματα, ὅπως
 μὴ τῇ χρονίᾳ παραδρομῇ, λήθης θυθοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἀμαρτωθῶσιν,
 ἀλλὰ τυποῦσθαι μὲν καὶ ἐξεικονίζεσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγ-
 γενεσίας τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ γεγνουῖαν θεί-
 25 αν βάπτισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁδამαίου γένους ῥύψιν τε καὶ ἀνάπλασιν,
 καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, τῶν σωτηρίων αὐτοῦ πα-
 θημάτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν καταγγέλλει ὡς γέγραπται, ὥστε οὖν, ὡς
 ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνα-
 τον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε,
 ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ, (1h) ὥστε καὶ πρὸς βεβαιωτέραν καὶ ἀσφαλεστέραν

ABOW

7. τεκμηρόμενος A - 9. τελείας BO, τελείοις AW - post και add. τοῦ W - 10. ἀναδέξα-
 σθαι W - 11. πλατυνύχον om. W - ἐπιστήμης O - 12. ἕως οὐ ABO, και W - 13. τὸν
 om. W - ἀναγαγόν W - ὑπὲρ ἄνω BO - 19. post ἐγκαταλείψας add. s.l. τὰ A - ἀνε-
 ξάλειπτα ἀειμνημόνευτα W - 20. αὐτοῦ! om. W - ἐνοάρκου BO - 21. λίθοις BO (ει λή-
 θοις B a.c.) - 26. τὴν ἀνάμνησιν καταγγέλλειν, και τσρ. post σώματος αὐτοῦ W - ὥστε -
 ὡς ABO, ὁσάκις W - 29. ἄχρις - ἔλθῃ om. W - οὗ ἂν BOW. οὖν ἐάν A

the result of this was to establish a firmer and securer faith in the solemnized holy symbols³⁴ and an unshakable hope in the one who took our form and who was the Son of man, so that those who place their hope in Him should have before their eyes the characteristic distinctive features of His God-like and undefiled form by which He is shown to have become without change a man, *not in imagination*³⁵ or opinion, in shapes and enigmas, as He was for the holy Fathers of the Old Testament, but *as we have heard and seen and felt with our hands*³⁶ proclaiming the Lord God-man and confessing Him in the one person of the Word. (1.i) Even if He has not been seen or beheld in so far as God, being immaterial and incorporeal, impalpable and without quantity and without quality, and immeasurable, yet according to the expression of the Theologian, *The Word Himself became flesh and came to dwell among us, and we saw His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father full of grace and truth*³⁷, who spoke to us *through the veil, that is to say, through His flesh*³⁸, just as the blessed and holy apostles proclaim and announce, *we who ate and drank with Him after He rose from the dead*³⁹. (1.j) We must, therefore, represent the indelible and inviolable offerings of His life in the flesh which are acceptable to God and divine, in accordance with the prophetic utterance, *I have painted your walls on my right hand, says the Lord, and you will be continually before me*⁴⁰, and elsewhere, *Engrave these things upon the tablet of your heart*⁴¹ and *hang them as a chain about your neck*⁴², and elsewhere, *You shall make them all after the pattern which was shown to you on the mountain*⁴³, says the Lord to Moses, and *You shall write them up on your house and on your doors*⁴⁴ so that they are before your eyes day and night⁴⁵.

34. i.e. sacraments.

35. Cf. *Horos* (Nicaea II), Mansi 13, col. 344E.

36. 1 John 1:1.

37. John 1:14.

38. Heb. 10:20.

39. Acts 10:41.

40. Cf. Is. 49:16.

41. Cf. Prov. 7:3.

42. Prov. 6:21.

43. Exod. 25:40.

44. Cf. Deut. 6:9.

45. Cf. Deut. 28:66.

τῶν τελουμένων ἱερῶν συμβόλων πίστιν καὶ βεβαίαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἐν μορφῇ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονότος καὶ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου χρηματίσαντος ἐνδρῦσθαι καὶ καθορᾶσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἠλπικόντων, τῆς θεοειδοῦς καὶ ἀχράντου μορφῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ χαρακτηριστικά αὐτοῦ

5 ἰδιώματα, δι' ὧν δεικνύνται ἀναλλοίωτος γεγονέναι ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ δόκησιν ἐν σχήμασι καὶ αἰνίγμασιν, ὡς τοῖς παλαιοῖς πατράσιν ἀγίοις χρηματίζων, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, θεάνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντες Κύριον ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει κηρύττοντες. (1*i*) Εἰ γὰρ καὶ οὐ τεθέα-

10 ται καὶ οὐχ' ὠράθη καθ' ὃ Θεὸς ὢν ἄυλος καὶ ἀσώματος, ἀναφῆς καὶ ἄποσος, καὶ ἄποιος, καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθης, ἀλλὰ γε κατὰ τὴν θεολόγον φωνήν, ὃ Λόγος αὐτὸς σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, προσομιλήσας ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος,

15 τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ οἱ μακάριοι καὶ θεσπέσιοι ἀπόστολοι κηρύττουσι δοῶντες, οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (1*j*) τοῦ χάριν τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ θεοειδῆ καλλιερήματα ἀνεξάλειπτα καὶ ἀπαρεγχείρητα δέον ἡμῖν ἐμφανίζεσθαι κατὰ τὸ φάσκον προφητικὸν

20 λόγιον, ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ μου χειρὶ, λέγει Κύριος, ἐξωγράφησα τὰ τεῖχη σου, καὶ ἐνώπιόν μου ἔσθη διὰ παντός, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, γράψον αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πλακὸς καρδίας σου, καὶ ἐγκλοῖωσαι αὐτὰ ἐπὶ σῶ τραχήλῳ· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει φησὶ Κύριος τῷ Μωσεῖ, καὶ γράψεις αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας σου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν

25 θυρῶν σου, ὅπως ἔσονται ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

ABOW

3. ἐλπικόντων O - 5. ἀναλλοιώτως BW, ἀναλλοιώτω O - 7. καθὼς O - 9. τῇ om. W - κηρύττοντος BO - 15. θεσπέσιοι AW, θεῖοι BO - 17. τοῦ ABW, τοῦτου O - ἐνσάρκω BO - 18. καλλιερήματα O - 22. ἐκλύωσαι A, ἐκκλώωσαι BO - 24. μωσῆ BO - γράψης ABO - οἰκίας OW - 25. ἔσομαι O

(2.a) However, since the entire great catholic and apostolic Church, that extends *to the limits of the earth*⁴⁶, built on the foundations of the apostles and prophets by our Lord Jesus Christ who established the safety of her columns reaching to heaven, and suffused with the illumination of the divine and supraessential and life-giving and consubstantial Trinity, and fused in one harmonious concord through the union of the All-Holy Spirit and the diverse gifts of those fire-bearing tongues, is revealed to be *an assembly of the first born citizens inscribed in the heavens and a heavenly Jerusalem*⁴⁷, (2.b) and since every multiform and multifarious, base, godless faith of the gentiles has been scattered to the winds, and every idolatrous and demoniacal foul worship has completely disappeared with the shedding of the immaculate blood, flowing from God, the Church is revealed as *sanctified, pure and unblemished, having no stain or wrinkle*⁴⁸, *through the waters of rebirth and the renewal of the Holy Spirit*⁴⁹, and shown to be *a chosen race, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a unique nation*⁵⁰, according to the divine saying, *unique is my beautiful one, unique is my dove, all beautiful is my companion and there is no blemish in her*⁵¹; and elsewhere the holy Apostle says that *Christ gave Himself for the Church, to sanctify her and cleanse her by water in the word, so that He might present the Church to Himself all glorious, and that she might be holy and without blemish*⁵².

(3.a) In truth, He who out of mercy and compassion had pity on our humiliation, *the sun of righteousness*⁵³ *who rose from heaven to shine on us who live in darkness and shadow, raised for us the horn of salvation*⁵⁴, *a mighty and strong and honoured and all-powerful kingdom*⁵⁵, according to the divine expression, *a rod of power*⁵⁶, *and a sceptre of righteousness*⁵⁷, *a rod of iron*⁵⁸, *a rod of inheritance*⁵⁹

46. Cf. Ps. 71:8

47. Heb. 12: 22-23.

48. Eph. 5:27.

49. Tit. 3:5.

50. 1 Pet. 2:9.

51. Cf. Song 6:8; 4:1, 7.

52. Eph. 5:25-27.

53. Mal. 3:20 (4:2).

54. Luke 1:78-9, 69.

55. Dan. 2:38.

56. Ps. 109:2.

57. Ps. 44:7.

58. Ps. 2:9.

59. Ps. 73:2.

(2.a) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα ἡ μεγάλη καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν οἰκοδομηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεμελιώσαντος ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐπιδάσεως τῶν στύλων αὐτῆς Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος τὴν φωτοχυσίαν καταγλαΐφορισθεῖσα, καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος τοῖς τῶν πυρσοφορογλώσσων διαφόροις χαρίσμασιν εἰς μίαν συμφωνίαν συναρμοσθεῖσα, ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος ἀναδείκνυται, (2.b) πᾶσα δὲ πολυειδῆς καὶ πολυσχεδῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν δυσγενῆς ἄθεος πίστις διεσκέδασται, πᾶν δὲ εἰδωλικὸν καὶ δαιμονιώδες λατρείας ἄγος τέλεον ἐξηφάνισται διὰ τοῦ κενωθέντος ἀχράντου καὶ θεορρύτου αἵματος, ἁγία τε καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμωμος μὴ ἔχουσα σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἀναδείκνυται εἰς γένος ἐκλεκτόν, εἰς ἔθνος ἄγιον, εἰς βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον, μία ἐστὶν ἡ καλὴ μου, μία ἐστὶν ἡ περιστερά, ὅλη καλὴ ἡ πλησίον μου, καὶ μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἀπόστολος, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι, ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον, καὶ ἵνα ἡ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος.

(3.a) Τοιγαροῦν ὁ οἰκτεῖρας ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς τὴν ταπεινώσιν ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιφανεῖς ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ καθημένοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ἤγειρε κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν, βασιλείαν κραταιὰν καὶ ἰσχυράν καὶ ἔντιμον πανσθενῆ κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον, ῥάβδον δυνάμεως, ῥάβδον εὐθύτητος, ῥάβδον σιδηρᾶν, ῥάβδον κληρονομίας, ἥτις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ διαφθαρήσεται, καὶ ἡ βα-

ABOW

1. καὶ καθολικὴ post ἐκκλησία trsp. W - 6. καταγλαΐφορισθεῖσα ABO, κατηγλαΐσμένην φέρουσα W - 7. τοῖς BO, τῇ AW - 8. ἐκκλησία om. W - 10. πολυσχεδῆς W - 12. ἐξεφάνισται O - 14. παλιγγενεσίας B, παλιγγενεσίας O - ἀνακαινώσεως W - 17. post μου add. καὶ B - 19. ὁ om. BOW - 24. ἥλιον O - 27. τοὺς αἰῶνας O

*which will never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be left to another people, but it shall beat to pieces and grind to powder all the kingdoms of the world, while itself shall rise up for ever*⁶⁰. This mighty and honoured and powerful kingdom God has placed in your hands, you who were established and honoured by God, most gentle sire, most serene, most benevolent emperor and sovereign advanced by God, and He has invested your divinely crowned head with glory and magnificence and *welcomed you with blessings of goodness*⁶¹. (3.b) Well then, we, the humble and true servants of your divinely sanctioned empire, out of sincere disposition and prayer to the Lord and emperor of the universe, do not cease day and night, during our prayers and supplications, litanies and services, during the eucharistic rites and divine offerings, in the readings of the sacred diptychs, to proclaim the worthy and honoured repute and public acclamation of your devout and divinely established might, and proclaim the praises of your imperial grandeur. (3.c) Therefore, divinely established sire, in the words of the prophet, *Exert yourself, and prosper and reign for the sake of truth and gentleness and righteousness; your throne is founded upon justice and gentleness and righteousness, sceptre of righteousness, the sceptre of your kingdom; because of this, God your God has anointed you above your fellows with the oil of gladness*⁶², *for God will send you a rod of power out of Sion, and you shall hold sway in the midst of your enemies*⁶³. (3.d) For there are three gifts from God, as one of the Fathers has said, kingship, prophecy, priesthood, which are granted to the worthy⁶⁴. For this reason, divinely established and divinely rewarded sire, we rejoice and take pleasure in the acts of bravery and prowess of your triumphant divinely granted victory⁶⁵. For even if a region under tyrannical sway has separated us, nevertheless the way of divine power has not divided us, but bereft of our ancestral inheritance and subservient to a barbarian enemy, we go about all day, emaciated,

60. Cf. Dan. 2:44.

61. Ps. 20:4.

62. Ps. 44:5, 7-8.

63. Ps. 109:2.

64. Cf. John Chrysostom, *De prophetiarum obscuritate*, Homilies 1-2, PG 56, col. 168.8: *προφητεία, καὶ θυσία, καὶ ἱερωσύνη, καὶ βασιλεία*.

65. This victory could perhaps be identified with the one which, in coalition with the Persian Khurramites and the Kurd Nasr (Theophobos in the Byzantine sources), Theophilos inflicted on the Arabs at Charsianon about 835 (Theophanes cont., pp. 112-114; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* I, pp. 124-27).

σιλεία αὐτοῦ λαῶ ἐτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται, λεπτυνεῖ δὲ καὶ λι-
 κμήσει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀναστήσεται εἰς
 τὸν αἰῶνα· ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ ἰσχυρὰν βα-
 σιλείαν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου θεοστήρικτε καὶ θεογέραστε
 5 δέσποτα, πραότατε, γαληνότητε, εὐμενέστατε αὐτοκράτορ, καὶ θεο-
 πρόβλητε ἀναξ, δόξη καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεία καταστέψας τὴν θεόστε-
 φόν σου κάραν προφθάσας ἐν εὐλογίαις χρηστότητος. (3.b) Λοιπὸν
 οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ μέτροι καὶ γνήσιοι θεράποντες τῆς θεοκυρώτου ὑμῶν
 βασιλείας, ἕξ εἰλικρινοῦς διαθέσεως καὶ δεήσεως πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων
 10 Κύριον καὶ βασιλέα, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, εὐχαῖς καὶ ἱκετηρίαις, λι-
 ταῖς καὶ συνάξεσιν, ἱερουργίαις καὶ θείαις ἀναφοραῖς, ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 διπτύχοις, οὐ παυόμεθα τὴν ἀξιόχρεων καὶ ἀξιοπρεπῆ μνήμην καὶ
 ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν θεοστηρίκτου κράτους, καὶ τῆς βα-
 σιλικῆς μεγαλουργίας τὰ ἐγκώμια ἀνακηρύττοντες. (3.c) Τοίνυν προ-
 15 φητικῶς θεοστήρικτε δέσποτα, ἔντεινον καὶ κατενοδοῦ καὶ βασιλευε
 ἔνεκεν ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ὁ θρόνος σου ἐν
 δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι καὶ εὐθύτητι κατήρτισται, ῥάβδος εὐθύ-
 τητος, ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θε-
 ὸς σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου· ῥάβδον γὰρ
 20 δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι Κύριος ἐκ Σιών, καὶ κατακυρίευσεν ἐν μέσῳ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου. (3.d) Τρία γὰρ δῶρα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν
 πατέρων, βασιλεία, προφητεία, ἱερωσύνη τοῖς ἀξίοις δεδωρηται·
 καὶ γὰρ θεοστήρικτε καὶ θεογέραστε δέσποτα, χαίρομεν καὶ γεγῆ-
 θαμεν ἐν ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις καὶ ἀριστείαις τῆς ὑμῶν τροπαιούχου
 25 θεοδωρήτου νίκης. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τόπος τυραννικῆς δυναστείας διέστη-
 σεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τρόπος θεϊκῆς ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἐχώρισεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ ἀπορφανισθέντες ἐκ πατρικῆς ἡμῶν κληρονομίας καὶ ὑπό-
 σπονδοὶ γεγονότες πολεμίοις βαρβάροις τετραχωμένοι, πενθοῦντες
 καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντες, οὕτως πορευόμεθα ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλπῖσι

ABOW

1. δὲ om. O - 4. θεογήραστε O - 5. αὐτοκράτωρ BOW - 6. μεγαλοπρέπεια O - 10. ἱκε-
 σίαις BO, ἱκετηρίαις W - 15. ἔντειναι W - καὶ¹ om. O - 18. ἡ ῥάβδος W - ἔχρισέν A
 - 21. τρία ABW, ὄρια O - παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ proposuit Sakkelion. - 23. θεογείρασαι O - 24.
 ἀνδραγαθείαις σου O - καὶ ἀριστείαις om. W - 29. οὕτω BOW

mournful and sullen, waiting with divine hope for the former state of our imperial happiness and most tranquil life to be restored once more, and to be allotted the mercies we enjoyed in the past, by command of the One who creates and changes all and transforms *the shadow of death into light*⁶⁶.

(4.a) Therefore, divinely established sire, we too, the humble ones, in accordance with the grace granted to us, *in collaboration we appeal to you not to turn a deaf ear*⁶⁷ to our words, but to listen to us with goodwill and patience, to open and incline your ears resounding with God's voice, so that you may heed us; for, *Give an opportunity to a wise man, and he will be wiser; instruct a righteous man, and he will accept you all the more*⁶⁸.

(4.b) Just as God has appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, and thirdly teachers⁶⁹ to establish the glory of the saints, until we all attain to the unity of the faith⁷⁰ in the bonds of peace⁷¹ and love of the orthodox faith of the Holy Spirit, according to the divine saying, *Do not deride the fall of your fellow man, but proceed with caution as far as you can, and give a helping hand to the one who is lying on the ground*⁷²,

(4.c) similarly the Lord placed in His Church those of His priests who were most dear to God, and of the kings those who were most devout, these the Lord of the universe entrusted to the human race of all nations, taking care through them that there should be a unique self-image of His own self among all the nations. And so, on the one hand He established priests as shepherds and teachers for the perfecting of the Church, and on the other hand emperors for the dutiful governance of the world and the peaceful union among nations. **(4.d)** The priests, however, are the caretakers of the lives of good men and of souls, they are preachers of the right dogmas, and guides for the way to God. Their diligence turns the material and earthy into what is weightless, and by means of instruction *and the waters of regeneration*⁷³ and redemption of sins, the administration of the sacred mysteries and the benediction of souls and bodies – by means of which God is cherished and nurtured – increase in each human being the growth of the Holy Spirit. **(4.e)** The emperors on the other hand are the ones in

66. Job 12:22.

67. 2 Cor. 6:1.

68. Prov. 9:9.

69. 1 Cor. 12:28.

70. Eph. 4:11, 13.

71. Eph. 4:3.

72. Gregory Nazianzene, *Or.* 44, 8, PG 36, col. 616B 11-12.

73. Titus 3:5.

θείαις καταδοκούντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἡμῶν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ γαληνοτάτης ζωῆς, πάλιν ἀποκαθίστασθαι καὶ ἀποκληρώσασθαι τὰ ἀρχαῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐλέη τῷ νεύματι τοῦ πάντα ποιῶντος καὶ μετασκευάζοντος καὶ ἐκτρέποντος σκιὰν θανάτου εἰς φῶς.

- 5 (4.a) Τοῖνυν θεογέραστε δέσποτα καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ μέτριοι κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν, *συνεργοῦντες παρακαλοῦμεν, μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν δέξασθαι, ἀλλ'εὐμενῶς καὶ μακροθύμως τὰς θεοενηχῆτους ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν ἀνοίξει καὶ κλίνει, τοῦ ὑπακοῦσαι ἡμῖν δίδου γὰρ σοφῶ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται, γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει*
- 10 *τοῦ δέχεσθαί σε.* (4.b) Καθὼς καὶ ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεῦτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῆς δόξης τῶν ἁγίων, *μέχρις οὗ κατανήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὡς φησὶ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον μὴ γελάσης πτώμα τοῦ πέλας, διάβαινε δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ὅση σοι δύναμις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδου χεῖρα χαμαὶ κειμένῳ,* (4.c) [καθὼς] καὶ ἔθετο Κύριος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἱερέων μὲν, τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους, καὶ βασιλέων τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους, οὐσπερ τῶν ὄλων ἐθνῶν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέθηκε Κύριος, πρόνοιαν δι' αὐτῶν ποιούμενος, τῆς ἐν ὄλοις τοῖς ἔθνεσι μιᾶς αὐτοῖς οἰκειᾶς εἰκόνας οὕσης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς, ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατήρτισε καταρτισμὸν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου εὐσεβῆ διοίκησιν καὶ ἀτάραχον ταῖς γενεαῖς ἔνωσιν. (4.d) Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς, βίῳ εἰσὶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψυχῶν ἐπιμεληταί, δογμάτων τε
- 25 ὀρθῶν κήρυκες, καὶ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ὁδοῦ ἐνδείκται, ὧν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια τὰ παχέα καὶ γῆϊνα, κοῦφα ἀπεργάζεται, διὰ τε τρόπου παιδαγωγίας καὶ λουτροῦ *παλιγγενεσίας* καὶ λυτρώσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ χορηγίας θείων μυστηρίων καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, οἷς Θεὸς κρατεῖται καὶ τρέφεται, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ αὖξει τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου
- 30 Πνεύματος αὖξισιν (4.e) οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, ἐξουσιασταί, οἷς ὑπάρχει

ABOW

1. τὴν ἀρχαίαν, i.e. ἡμέραν sive κατάστασιν - ὑμῶν BO - 2. γαληνοτάτην ζωὴν W - 3. τὰ πάντα BO - 8. ἀνοίξει καὶ. κλίνει BO - ἡμῖν ABO ἡμῶν W - 10. καὶ om. BO - 15. γελάση W - 16. καθὼς codd., fors. οὕτως scribendum - καὶ² om. BO - 17. ὁ κύριος W - 24. ἱερεῖς - εἰσὶν ABW, τοῦ ἱεροῦ, εἰς βίῳ εἰσὶν O - 26. τὰ AW, τοῦ BO - 27. παλιγγενεσίας BO - 29. ὁ Θεὸς proposuit Sakkellion

authority, who legislate on what must be done and forbid what must be not done, who inspire fear in the wicked, and joy in good men. Their aim is the undisturbed maintenance of the good things in life, the establishment of love of mankind and the teaching of peace. Being a sharp blade against the unjust, but inspiring courage in the righteous to speak freely, rewarding everyone who shows devotion to the God of all, they preserve in themselves the image of the future celestial kingdom. (4.f) But, in so far as priests are rulers of souls, and in so far as they are lords of the incorporeal beings, with power according to the divine apostle to *judge angels*⁷⁴, so that they are superior to kingship, to that extent the danger that attaches to them out of carelessness is greater for any negligence, not simply because they do not teach by word of mouth, but because they do not correct actively those who in ignorance lack the means to save themselves. (4.g) For, if criminals who are about to be punished cannot in their defence plead ignorance of human laws, but because of their crimes run the risk of perishing even though in truth they are ignorant of these laws, how much more those who wish to remain ignorant of the divine sayings (run the risk of perishing)? For thus the divine Word proclaimed saying, *The servant who knew his master's will, yet he did not do it, he will be flogged severely, the other one who did not know it, and did not do it, will be flogged less*⁷⁵. Far greater risk runs the one who, though he knew better the dispensation of the holy scriptures, chose not to help those who were ignorant and entangled in the darkness of life, whereas the divine Word exhorts us to be *well-disposed even to the man who sues*⁷⁶ us. *For the humble deserves mercy, while the mighty will be examined with rigour*⁷⁷. Let us then return to the point.

74. Cf. 1 Cor. 6:3.

75. Luke 12:47-48.

76. Matt. 5:25.

77. Wi. 6:6.

- εἰσηγήσις τῶν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπαγόρευσις τῶν οὐ πρακτέων, φόβος τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ χαρὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εἰσί, τήρησις τῶν ἐν δίῳ καλῶν ἀστασιαστος, φιλανθρωπίας ὑπόθεσις, καὶ εἰρήνης διδασκαλία· ὄξεια τομὴ τοῖς ἀδικοῖς ὑπάρχοντες, δικαίοις δὲ θάρσος ἐν παρηρησία, τὴν
- 5 τοῦ τῶν ὄλων Θεοῦ εὐσέβειαν πᾶσι βραβεύοντες, τὴν τῆς μελλούσης ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διασώζουσι οὐρανοῦ βασιλείας εἰκόνα. (4.ϛ) Ἄλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἱερεῖς ψυχῶν ἄρχοντες εἰσίν, ἀσωμάτων τε κυριεύοντες, ἀγγέλους κρῖνειν δυνάμενοι κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον, βασιλείας εἶναι ἀνώτεροι, τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μείζων ὁ ἐπ' ἀμελείᾳ ἐπήρηται κίνδυνος διὰ τὸ μὴ οὐ λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλ' ἔργοις παιδεύειν τοὺς ἐν
- 10 ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ μὴ σώζεσθαι ἔχοντας. (4.g) Εἰ γὰρ οἱ κακοῦργοι κολάζεσθαι μέλλοντες, οὐδεμίαν ἀγνοίαν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νόμων πρὸς ἀπολογία ἀποβάλλονται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπειροὶ τούτων ὑπάρχοντες, τοῖς οἰκείοις πταίσμασι συναπολλύσθαι κινδυνεύουσι
- 15 πάντως, πόσῳ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀμαθῶς περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἔχειν βουλόμενοι; Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Λόγος ἀνεφώνησε· *δοῦλος γὰρ φησὶν ὁ γνούς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μὴ ποιήσας, δαρήσεται πολλά, ὁ δὲ μὴ γνούς καὶ μὴ ποιήσας, δαρήσεται ὀλίγα*· πολλῶ μᾶλλον κινδυνεύσει ὁ πλεῖον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν οἰκονομίαν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ συμπλακέντας κατὰ τὸν τοῦ
- 20 βίου γνόφον βοηθεῖν προαιρούμενος, ὅπου γε καὶ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ εὐνοεῖν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ ὁ θεῖος Λόγος παρακελεύεται· ὁ γὰρ ἐλάχιστος, σύγγνωστός ἐστιν ἐλέους, δυνατοὶ δὲ δυνατῶς ἐτασθήσονται. Λοιπὸν ἐπανακτέον ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον.

ABOW

1-2. φόβος τῶν πονηρῶν om. O - 3. διδασκαλίαν O - 4. ὑπάρχων A - δικαίοις δὲ om. W - 5-6. τὴν - διασώζουσι ABO, τῆς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν εὐσεβείας πᾶσι παρέχοντες, διασωζούσης ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, τὴν τῆς μελλούσης W - 5. τοῦ τῶν ABW, τοῦτων O - βραβεύοντα A, βραβεύοντος BO - 6. ἐαυτῶ A, ἐαυτῆς O - διασωζούσης A - βασιλέως O - 7. τὲ B - 8-9. καὶ βασιλείας εἰσίν W - ἀνώτεροι W, ἀνωτέρους A, νεώτεροι BO - 9. ἀπήρηται BO - 10. οὐ λόγῳ ABO, ἐν λόγῳ μόνῳ W - 10-11. τοὺς - ἔχοντας ABO, τοὺς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀγνοοῦντας σωτηρίαν W - 16. οὕτω proposuit Sakkelion - ἀνεφώνησεν AO, προανεφώνησε W - 17. κυρίου αὐτοῦ add. W - 18. καὶ πολλῶ BO - 20. τὸ ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ συμπλακέντες A, τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι καὶ συμπλακέντι τῷ W - 20-21. τὸν τοῦ βίου BO, τὸν βίον AW - γνόφῳ W - 21. προαιρούμενοι A - γε BOW, δὲ A - 23. εὐγνωστός BO - ἐλέει W

(5.a) So then, since, as has been said above, the great catholic Church had grown and perfected itself and spread the faith, heavenly in grandeur, *to the four corners of the earth*⁷⁸, *from one end of heaven to the other*⁷⁹, and had been strengthened with God-given words, both evangelic and apostolic, and with divinely inspired dogmas, and also with many deeds of prowess in martyrdom and mighty struggles, all those who followed the madness of idolatry disappeared entirely thanks to the hand-to-hand fighting of the invincible and victorious martyrs. Thanks to the divinely inspired, wise and orthodox teachings of the Fathers, every heretical, slimy and spurious assembly was dispersed and scattered to the winds *like chaff from the summer threshing floor*⁸⁰, by the devout and orthodox emperors who withstood the enemy. **(5.b)** The God-loving and orthodox emperors as invincible soldiers of Christ, by means of the holy and great ecumenical councils, have pulled to the ground the heretical siege-engines of impious men, and, *as though inspired, have cut*⁸¹ the many headed and the headless heads of the Hydra and established the pure and orthodox faith as an unshakable pillar, and the Church as the foundation of religion. For there is *nothing bent or tortuous*⁸² in the catholic Church, *for all is straight to those who understand, and right to those that find knowledge*⁸³, *for she is all beautiful, as has been said, and there is no blemish in her*⁸⁴.

(5.c) The first who laid the foundations of the most Christian empire, was Constantine⁸⁵, the just and great, and among emperors the apostle of Christ, who achieved a myriad praiseworthy deeds for the Church of Christ and elevated the most Christian people from under hostile rulers, *from the lowest pit of misery*⁸⁶, and having adorned it with a great many glories, which it is not possible here to describe in detail, he tore

78. Ps. 18(19):4, 71(72):8; Rom. 10:18.

79. Matt. 24:31.

80. Dan. 2:35.

81. Hab. 3:14.

82. Prov. 8:8.

83. Prov. 8:8-9.

84. Song 4:7. Cf. above 2.b.

85. He ruled from 306 to 337; accepted Christianity as one of the official religions. See A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London, 1948); J. Vogt, *Constantine der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1949/1960); T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

86. Ps. 39:3.

(5.a) Ἐπει οὖν ὡς προείρηται ἡ καθολικὴ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία αὐξηθεῖσα καὶ τελειωθείσα, καὶ οὐρανομήκη τὴν πίστιν ἐφαπλώσασα μέχρι περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν, θεοπαραδότοις λόγοις καὶ εὐαγγελικοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς, καὶ θεο-
 5 πνεύστοις δόγμασι κραταιωθείσα, μαρτυρικοῖς τε ἀριστεύμασι καὶ παγκρατιαστικοῖς ἀγῶσι, πάντες οἱ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας ἀγχεμάχοις ὄπλοις τῶν ἀητητῶν καὶ καλλινίκων μαρτύρων τέλεον ἐξηφανίσθησαν, τοῖς τε τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων θεοσόφοις καὶ ὀρθοδόξοις δόγμασι, πᾶσα αἵρετικὴ βατραχώδης συρφετία καὶ ἀγυρτώδης ὀμήγυρις
 10 διεσκέδασται, καὶ διεσκορπίσθησαν ὡς ἄχνη, ἀπὸ ἄλωνος θερινῆς, ἀναρριπιζόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων, ἀνταναιρούντων τοὺς ἐναντίους· (5.b) οἷτινες θεοφιλεῖς καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι βασιλεῖς ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀήτητοι στρατιῶται, τὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων πάσας ἐλεπόλεις τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς γῆν κατέρραξαν διὰ τῶν ἁγίων
 15 μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, τὰς πολυκεφάλους καὶ ἀκεφάλους ὑδρικός κεφαλὰς ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει διακόψαντες, τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν, ὡς στύλον ἀσάλευτον καὶ ἐδραίωμα εὐσεβείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐστερέωσαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σκολιὸν ἢ στραγγαλιῶδες, πάντα γὰρ εὐθέα τοῖς νοοῦσι καὶ ὀρθὰ
 20 τοῖς εὐρίσκουσι γινῶσιν, ὅλη γὰρ καλὴ ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ.

(5.c) Καὶ πρῶτος μὲν, ὁ τὴν κρηπίδα τῆς χριστιανικωτάτης βασιλείας πηξάμενος, ὁ ἐν βασιλευσί τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ δίκαιος καὶ μέγιστος τὰ μυρία καὶ ἀξιέπαινα κατορθώματα, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βραβεύσας, τό τε χριστιανικώτατον
 25 φύλον, ἐκ λάκκου κατωτάτου τῆς ταλαιπωρίας τῶν δυσμενῶν τυραννῶν ἀναγαγών, καὶ πλείστοις αὐγήμασι κατακοσμήσας, περὶ ὧν

ABOW

1. καθολικὴ A, καθολικὴ καὶ B, καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ καὶ ἁγία O - 3. τῶν περάτων W - 5. κρατηθεῖσα BO, κρατυνθεῖσα proposuit Sakkelion - 10. ἄλωνος ABO - 11. ἀναρριπιζόμενα ABO - 17. ἐδραίωμα ABO - 18. τὴν - ἐν et καθολικῇ om. W - ἐστερέωσεν O - 19. στραγαλιῶδες W, στραγγαλιῶδες O et sic corr. Sakkelion, sed cf. Prov. 8: 8 (LXX) - εὐθέα W et sic corr. Sakkelion, εὐθεῖα ABO - 22. τῆς - βασιλείας om. W

out from their foundations the wooden idols and their places of worship, plucked up by the roots the entire idolatrous and godless impiety, and having cast down to earth that labyrinthine and impassable Arian stronghold⁸⁷, set up for war against God, he made the knowledge of the suprasubstantial and life-giving and consubstantial Trinity shine forth to the ends of the earth just as a pillar shining like fire⁸⁸. (5.d) As the first and foremost offering, a token of devotion to Christ our true God, he engraved on the imperial coinage of the state the sign of the salvation-bringing and life-giving cross that had appeared from heaven⁸⁹, and stamped the revered and theandric figure of Christ with his own image on the coin, thus showing that the authority of the celestial emperor, handed over to the earthly one, had established a peaceful truce and a covenant of profound peace, one single flock and one authority over angels and men. (5.e) Similarly (he ordered) that the revered and sacred representation of His life in the flesh, and the unique characteristics of His immaculate form be established and set up in the holy churches⁹⁰, since, *being God in form*⁹¹, He took on *the form of a servant*⁹² becoming like us in so far as *He was seen upon earth*, a perfect man and He *conversed with men*⁹³, showing the recognizable features of human nature that He had derived from the pure Theotokos Mary, in the same way that *He had entered into a communion of flesh and blood*⁹⁴ with us, having a rational soul without any change in His divinity. (5.f) For this very same, only-begotten Son of God the Father, the Word, is one in person and hypostasis in two natures, by reason and by way of the difference. For the natural difference in quality, tightly binding that unity, does away with the confusion of the demented Eutyches⁹⁵, while not admitting the separation of the man-worshipping

87. Arius was the main exponent of this heresy which rejected the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

88. Constantine convened the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325; it formulated a creed, and condemned Arianism. He later seems to have revised his decision and recalled the Arians from exile, while he banished Orthodox clergy, including Athanasios of Alexandria.

89. For the reputed coinage stamped with Christ image, see Walter, B. 1, p. lxxv.

90. See Walter, C. 2, p. lxxiv.

91. Phil. 2:6.

92. Phil. 2:7.

93. Cf. Bar. 3:38.

94. Heb. 2:14.

95. Eutyches (c.378-454), monk and archimandrite of a monastery in a suburb of CP. He opposed Nestorios and supported Cyril of Alexandria, whose ideas were instrumental in developing his doctrine of monophysitism (R. Draguet, 'La christologie d'Eutychès d'après les Actes du synode de Flavien (448)', *B.* 6 [1931], 441-57. For monophysitism in general, see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* [Cambridge, 1972]).

οὐκ ἔστι νῦν λέγειν κατὰ μέρος, τά τε εἰδωλικά ξόανα καὶ τὰ τούτων τεμένη ἐκ θάθρων κατασκάψας, καὶ τὴν εἰδωλικὴν καὶ ἄθεον ἀσέβειαν πρόρριζον ἀνασπάσας ἅπασαν, τὸν τε λαβυρίνθιον ἐκείνον καὶ δυσδιεξόδευτον τῆς θεομαχίας ἀρειανικὸν πύργον εἰς γῆν καταρράξας, ὡς στύλον πυρσοφανῆ τὴν γνώσιν τῆς ὑπερουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος, τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξέλαμψεν, (5.d) πρῶτιστόν τε καὶ ἐξαιρέτον καλλιέρημα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν Θεὸν εὐσεβείας γνώρισμα, ἐγχαράττει τῷ βασιλικῷ τῆς πολιτείας νομίσματι, τό τε οὐρανοφανὲς σημεῖον τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ ζωοποιου σταυροῦ, καὶ τὸν σεβάσμιον καὶ θεανδρικὸν χαρακτήρα Χριστοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνετυπώσατο, ἐνδεικνύντος τὴν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως αὐθεντεῖαν πρὸς τὸν ἐπίγειον γεγυῖαν, εἰρηνικὰς τε σπονδὰς, καὶ θαθείας εἰρήνης συνάλλαγμα, μᾶς ποίμνης γεγυῖας, καὶ μᾶς ἐξουσίας ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων (5.e) ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐνιδρῦσθαι καὶ ἀναστηλοῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις τὸν σεβάσμιον καὶ σεπτὸν χαρακτήρα, τῆς ἐνσάρχου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε ἀχράντου μορφῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ιδιώματα καθὼς ὁ ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, μορφὴν δούλου ἀνέλαβε γενόμενος καθ' ἡμᾶς καθ' ὃ ὠράθη ἐπὶ γῆς τέλειος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρεφόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐμφαίνοντος τὰ τῆς φύσεως γνωρίσματα, καθὼς *κεκοινώνηκεν ἡμῖν σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος*, ψυχὴν ἐχούσης νοεράν, καὶ οὐ τροπὴν θεότητος. (5.f) Εἰς γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, καὶ Λόγος προσώπῳ καὶ ὑποστάσει ἐν δυοῖ ταῖς φύσεσι λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἡ γὰρ ἐν ποιότητι φυσικῇ διαφορὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐπισφίγγουσα, τὴν σύγχυσιν μὲν ἀρνεῖται τοῦ παραφρονος Εὐτυχοῦς, καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν οὐ προ-

ABOW

1. νῦν post λέγειν trsp. W – 2. ἐκ - κατασκάψας om. W (sed cf. infra ll. 3-4) – κατασκάψας corr. Sakkelion, κατασκάψαντος codd. – 3. πρόρριζον correpimus, προριζῶν ABO, ἐκ θάθρων W, πρὸ θιζῶν corr. Sakkelion – ἀνασπάσας ABO, ἀφανίσας W – ἅπασαν om. W – λαβυρίνθειον O et corr. Sakkelion – 6. πρῶτιστον τέ B – 9-10. τοῦ ζωοποιου καὶ σωτηρίου W – 11. ἐνετυπώσατο proposuit Sakkelion – ἐνδεικνύς corr. Sakkelion – 12. αὐθεντεῖαν BOW – 13. τέ om. A – 15. ἀναστηλοῦσθαι καὶ om. W – 16. post ἐνσάρχου add. οἰκονομίας καὶ W – 20. καὶ θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου W – ἐμφαίνων corr. Sakkelion – 23. καὶ² om. W – 26. εὐτυχοῦς W et proposuit Sakkelion, εὐτυχίου ABO

Nestorios⁹⁶. As the same names are used for the copies and the prototypes, the copies display the personal features of the visible non-essential form, those by which it is known, e. g. the hookedness, greyness, whiteness or blackness or similar characteristic qualities; for the image of a person is drawn not by nature but by design. (5.g) For from the depiction of the image one must not assume differentiation and separation of the hypostatic unity of God the Word, but by using the same terms as for the prototype, we understand the united human form by which He was seen as a perfect man, who was seized, spat on the face⁹⁷, struck across the cheeks⁹⁸, His hands and feet bored with nails upon the sacred Cross, His side pierced by the lance⁹⁹, dead, lifeless, His body wrapped in linen-sheet, His head wound about with the towel¹⁰⁰, enclosed in the tomb; the same who rose again from the dead, was seen and touched, and ate together with His God-beholding apostles. (5.h) Because of this identity of names we do not err when we depict the features of His deified human form according to the tradition handed down to the catholic Church by the blessed and divine apostles. As the divine Paul says, *our knowledge is in part and our speech is in part for we now see enigmatic reflections in a mirror, but then we shall see face to face*¹⁰¹. (5.i) And again Basil¹⁰², the pillar of the Church, says, *The image of the emperor is called emperor without there being two emperors and without the sovereignty being split or the glory divided. And as the governing power and authority is one, so the praise (we ascribe to them) is one and not many, because the honour paid to the image passes to the prototype. As in the case of art the resemblance is based on the form, thus in the case of the divine and uncompounded*

96. Nestorios, bishop of CP (428-431); died in Egypt in 451. He gave his name to the doctrine which emphasized the human nature in Christ to the point of speaking of two Persons in Christ, one Divine and one Human, in contrast to the Monophysites who stressed the divine nature, claiming that the One Person had only the one nature.

97. Cf. Is. 50:6; Matt. 26:67; Mark 14:65, 15:19

98. Cf. John 18:22, 19:3; Mark 14:65.

99. Cf. John 19:34.

100. Cf. Matt. 27:59-60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53; John 20:7.

101. 1 Cor. 13:9,12.

102. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea (370/1-379), one of the Cappadocian Fathers, and organizer of Greek monasticism, was educated in Constantinople and the Academy of Athens, in both Christian and classical culture.

οἴεται τοῦ ἀνθρωπολάτρου Νεστορίου· καὶ γὰρ ὁμωνύμως τὰ παρά-
 γωγα τῶν πρωτοτύπων, ἐμφαίνουσι τὰ ἰδιώματα τῆς ὀρωμένης ἐπου-
 σιῶδους μορφῆς, τὰ γνωρίσματα, οἶον, τὸ γρυπὸν, τὸ γλαυκόν, ἢ τὸ
 λευκόν, ἢ τὸ μέλαν, ἢ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τῶν ποιότητων χαρακτηρισματα·
 5 οὐ γὰρ φύσει ἢ εἰκῶν ἐγγέγραπται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ θέσει. (5.g)
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰκόνος γραφῇ διαίρεσιν καὶ χωρισμὸν τῆς καθ’
 ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁμω-
 νυμίᾳ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου, ἦγουν τῆς ἐνωθείσης ἀνθρωπίνης μορφῆς,
 καθ’ ὃ ὠράθη ἄνθρωπος τέλειος, κρατούμενος, ἐμπτυόμενος εἰς τὸ
 10 πρόσωπον, ῥαπιζόμενος εἰς σιαγόνas, ἦλοις ὀρυττόμενος ἐν τῷ
 ἀχράντῳ σταυρῷ χειρᾶς καὶ πόδας, πλευρᾶν λόγῃ κεντούμενος, νε-
 κρὸς καὶ ἄπνους σωματικῶς ἐν τάφῳ κατακλειόμενος, σινδόνι ἐνει-
 λιττόμενος, σουδαρίῳ τὴν κάραν περισφιγγόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν
 ἀνιστάμενος, καθορώμενος, ψηλαφώμενος, συνεσθίων καὶ συμπίνων
 15 τοῖς θεόπταις ἀποστόλοις. (5.h) Ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῆς θεωθείσης
 ἀνθρωπίνης μορφῆς τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἰδιώματα ἐγγράφοντες οὐ
 σφαλλόμεθα, καθὼς παρέδωκαν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ μακάριοι
 καὶ θειοὶ ἀπόστολοι, ὡς λέγει ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος, ὅτι *ἐκ μέρους γι-
 νώσκομεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους λαλοῦμεν· βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι’ ἑσόπτρου*
 20 *ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον βλέψομεν.* (5.i) Καὶ
 πάλιν ὁ στύλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας Βασίλειος φησὶν, ὅτι *βασιλεὺς λέγε-
 ται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκῶν, καὶ οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς, καὶ οὔτε τὸ κρά-
 τος σχίζεται, οὔτε ἡ δόξα μερίζεται· ὡς γὰρ ἡ κρατοῦσα ἡμῶν ἀρχὴ
 καὶ ἐξουσία μία, οὕτω καὶ ἡ παρ’ ἡμῶν δοξολογία μία, καὶ οὐ πολ-
 25 λαί, διότι ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ, ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει, καὶ
 ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνητῶν κατὰ τὴν μορφήν ἢ ὁμοίωσιν, οὕτως καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς θεότητος*

ABOW

1. ἀνθρωπολάτρου O - 3. καὶ τὰ W - 3-4. ἢ ter om. W - 5. ἐπιγγέγραπται BO, ὡς γέγρα-
 πται W - post θέσει add. ἄλλο γὰρ φύσει, καὶ ἄλλο θέσει W, et mg. A - 6. γραφῇ AW, μορ-
 φῇ BO - 9. τέλειος ἄνθρωπος W - 10. εἰς τὰς W - 11. τὴν πλευρᾶν W - 14. συμπίνων
 corr. Sakkelion, συνπίνων codd. - 16. post χαρακτηριστικὰ add. καὶ Sakkelion - 19. λα-
 λοῦμεν AOW, προφητεύομεν sed λαλοῦμεν add. mg. B (cf. 1 Cor. 13:9) - ἐβλέπομεν O -
 20. τότε δὲ W et proposuit Sakkelion cum 1 Cor. 13:12, τότε ABO - 22. καὶ οὔτε ABO, οὔτε
 γὰρ W - 24. οὕτω - μία om. BO - 26. τεχνιτῶν ABO - καὶ om. W

*nature the unity resides in the communion of the deity*¹⁰³. **(5.j)** And again, the divine Apostle says, *We with uncovered face reflect as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, we are transformed into his likeness from glory to glory by the Spirit of the Lord*¹⁰⁴. And so the prototypes are recognized in the copy by the resemblance of the representable characteristics, as the divine Dionysios¹⁰⁵ says, *For the truth is made known in the likeness, the archetype in the image, each one in the other, that is except for the difference in the substance*¹⁰⁶. For anything that cannot be represented is either immaterial and incorporeal and formless, or an apparition without substance and existence, or an aborted and premature foetus.

(6.a) For this reason the holy apostles, *who were the original witnesses and servants of the Word*¹⁰⁷, just as *they have heard and seen and felt with their hands the Word of life*¹⁰⁸, so did they, prior to the writing of the god-inspired Gospels, adorn the holy Church with pictorial representations and artistic mosaics, setting up and depicting the theandric figure of Christ¹⁰⁹. **(6.b)** In fact, the Gospel according to Matthew was written eight years after the Ascension of Christ, composed in Jerusalem and dictated by James the brother of Christ. That is why it also traces the ancestry of the holy Virgin who sprang from the tribe of Abraham and Judah and from the royal descent of David, and sets forth in precise detail the ancestry of Joseph as springing from the same tribe. **(6.c)** The Gospel according to Mark was written in Alexandria ten years after (the Ascension), dictated to him by Peter, the chief of the Apostles, in order to recount how he was chosen by the Master for the apostolic preaching. **(6.d)** The Gospel according to Luke was written in Rome fifteen years after (the Ascension), dictated by the divine apostle Paul for Theophilos¹¹⁰, beloved of God, who had confessed his belief in the apostolic preaching, and for whom

103. Basil, *De Spir. sancto* 18, PG 32, col. 149C.

104. 2 Cor. 3:18.

105. "Dionysios the Areopagite", nom de plume of a sixth century anonymous author claiming to be the disciple of St Paul.

106. Ps.-Dionysios, *De eccles. hier.* 4, 3 (Heil & Ritter II, p. 96.8-9 & *appar. crit.*); PG 3, col. 473C.

107. Luke 1:2.

108. 1 John 1:1.

109. Cf. Walter, B. 2, p. lxxv.

110. Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1.

ἔστιν ἡ ἔνωσις. (5j) Καὶ πάλιν ὁ θεοπέσιος Ἀπόστολος, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος ὥστε τὰ πρωτότυπα ἐν τῇ παραγωγῇ τῶν εἰκονικῶν ιδιωμάτων ὁμοιότητα καθορᾶται, ὡς λέγει ὁ θεὸς Διονύσιος:

5 τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές, ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι δείκνυται, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι, τὸ ἐκότερον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ, παρὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας δηλαδὴ διάφορον. Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀνεξεικόνιστον εἴτε αὔλον καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον ὑπάρχον, εἴτε ἀνούσιον καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον ἴνδαλμα, εἴτε ἀμβλωθρίδιον

10 καὶ ἀτελεσφόρητον κῆμα.

(6.a) Διόπερ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Λόγου γεγονότες ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι καθὼς ἀκηκόασι καὶ ἐωράκασι καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ Λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν κατεκόσμησαν ζωγραφικαῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ

15 μουσουργικοῖς ψηφίοις πρὸ τῆς τῶν θεοπαραδότων εὐαγγελίων συγγραφῆς, τὸν θεανδρικὸν χαρακτήρα Χριστοῦ ἐγκαθιδρύνοντες καὶ διαχαράττοντες. (6.b) Καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον μετὰ ὀκτῶ χρόνους τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως συνεγράφη ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὑπαγορευθὲν ὑπὸ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου· τοῦ χάριν καὶ

20 ἐκ φυλῆς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Δαυὶδ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀγχιστείας γενεαλογεῖται τὴν ἁγίαν Παρθένον ἐκπλαστήσασαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀκριδέστερον ἐκτίθησιν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς γεγεννημένου. (6.c) Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη ἐγράφη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ὑπαγορευθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου ἱστορήσαι, καθὼς ἐκλέλεκται ὑπὸ

25 τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς κήρυγμα. (6.d) Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ἔτη δεκαπέντε, ὑπαγορευθὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ θεοπεσίου ἀποστόλου πρὸς θεοφιλέστατον Θεόφιλον τότε πεπιστευκότα τῷ ἀποστολικῷ κηρύγματι, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὰς ἀποστο-

ABOW

1. δὲ om. O - 9. ὑπάρχει proposuit Sakkelion - εἴτε ἀμβλωθρίδιον ABO, ἀμβλωθρίδιόν ἐστι W - 17. ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον W - 20. ἀβραάμ codd. - 22. γεγεν(ν)ημένου W et Sakkelion, γεγεννημένον ABO - 23. τὸ δὲ W - 24. ἱστορήσας A et Sakkelion, ἱστορήσαντος W - 26. ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον W - 27. θεοφιλέστατον om. W

the Acts of the Apostles were also written. **(6.e)** The Gospel according to John was written sixty-two years after (the Ascension) at the time of the Caesar Domitian¹¹¹, on the island of Patmos, on which he beheld the divine Revelation. **(6.f)** For this reason these events were earlier ordained to be depicted in the churches¹¹² and thus, using paint colours as if for a book, they portrayed Gabriel's heavenly Annunciation to the holy Virgin Mary in Nazareth, the holy birth of the Saviour in Bethlehem, the angelic divine manifestation to the shepherds, and the beholding with their own eyes of His divine incarnation, the laying down of the infant in the manger wrapped in swaddling clothes in the presence of dumb animals, the path of the star accompanying the astrologer-magi in their kingly gift-bearing to the newly born infant, the reception by the righteous Symeon in his revered arms, the recognition in turn by the righteous Anna; **(6.g)** the holy baptism of the Saviour by the angelical John, the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove on the one who was being baptized, the extraordinary concurrence and manifestation of the marvellous and divine miracles of the Saviour, the voluntary and salvific sufferings, the supernatural life-bringing Resurrection after three days, the annihilation of death, the abolition of Hades, the overthrow of the devil, the seeing of Him by the myrrh-bearing reverent women who touched the immaculate feet of the Saviour, His manifestation to the God-seeing disciples and apostles, Thomas' touching and veneration of Christ's divine side which flowed with life, and of His immaculate hands and feet, the Saviour's Ascension which took place on the holy Mount of Olives; **(6.h)** similarly the strange marvels of the apostolic miracles that followed through the visitation of the Holy Spirit in the shape of fiery tongues.

111. Roman Emperor (81-96); saluted as Caesar by his father Vespasian in 69, he succeeded his elder brother Titus in 81. The title of caesar here must refer to his imperial dignity. The interpretation suggested of the chronological intervals *in relation to the Ascension*, i.e. 33 AD, gives the year 95 AD for the composition of John's Gospel.

112. Cf. above Walter, B. 3, p. lxvi.

λικὰς Πράξεις πεποίηται. (6.e) Τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον, μετὰ
 ἐξήκοντα δύο χρόνους ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ καίσαρος ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ,
 ἐν ἣ καὶ τὴν θεῖαν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθεάσατο, ἐγράφη. (6.f) Διὸ πρότερον
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀνιστορεῖσθαι ἐθεσμοθετήθησαν, καὶ ταύτη ἐν ζω-
 5 γραφικοῖς χρώμασιν, ὡς βίβλω χρώμενοι διεχάραττον τὸν ἐν τῇ Να-
 ζαρέθ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν
 οὐράνιον εὐαγγελισμόν, τὴν ἐν τῇ Βηθλεὲμ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἁγίαν γέν-
 νησιν, τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἀγγελικὴν θεοφάνειαν, καὶ αὐτοψίαν τῆς
 10 θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως, τὴν τῆς φάτνης τοῦ βρέφους ἀνάκλισιν, σπαρ-
 γάνοις ἐνειλούμενον καὶ ἀλόγων ζώων παρεστηκότων, τὸν τοῦ ἀστέ-
 ρος δρόμον συνοδοιοποροῦντα τοῖς ἀστρολόγοις μάγοις τὴν τούτων
 πρὸς τὸ ἀρτιγενὲς βρέφος βασιλικὴν δορυφορίαν, τὴν τοῦ δικαίου
 Συμεὼν εἰσοδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς σεπταῖς ἀγκάλαις, τῆς δικαίας Ἄννης τὴν
 15 ἀνθομολόγησιν, (6.g) τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ Ἰωάννου θεῖαν βάπτι-
 σιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς πα-
 ρουσίαν πρὸς τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, τὴν τῶν παραδόξων καὶ θεϊκῶν
 θαυμάτων τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐξαισίον συνδρομὴν καὶ ἀνάδειξιν, τὰ ἐκού-
 σια καὶ σωτήρια παθήματα, τὴν ὑπερφυῆ ζωηφόρον τριήμερον ἀνά-
 στασιν, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου νέκρωσιν, τὴν τοῦ ᾄδου κατάλυσιν, τὴν τοῦ
 20 διαβόλου καταπτώσιν, τὴν αὐτοψίαν τῶν μυροφόρων σεπτῶν γυ-
 ναικῶν προσαπτομένων ἀχράντοις τοῦ Σωτῆρος ποσί, τὴν ἐμφάνει-
 αν τῶν θεοπτῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων, τὴν τῆς θείας καὶ ζωηρ-
 οῦτου πλευρᾶς καὶ χειρῶν ἀχράντων καὶ ποδῶν ὑπὸ Θωμᾶ
 ψηλάφησιν καὶ προσκύνησιν, τὴν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τῶν Ἐλαιῶν γε-
 25 γονυῖαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν (6.h) ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν
 ἀποστολικῶν θαυμάτων παράδοξα τέρατα διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύ-
 ματος ἐν πυρίναις γλώσσαις εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγонуῖας ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

ABOW

1. πεποίηκε W - 2. ἐξήκοντα δύο spatium rel. W - ἐν τῇ BO - 4. post ἐκκλησίας add. αἱ
 ἱστορίαι W - ἐθεσμοδοτήθησαν W - ταύτη scripsimus, ταύτην ABO, ταύτας W - 5. να-
 ζαρέτ W - 7. τῇ om. W - 9. τὴν ἐν τῇ φάτνη W - 10. ἐνειλυμμένον B, ἐνειλυμμένος O -
 12. δωροφορίαν W - 21. τοῖς ἀχράντοις W - 26. ἀποστόλων O - παράδοξα τέρατα AW,
 παραδοξότερα τὰ BO

(7.a) This definition¹¹³ and teaching has been handed down to the Church, that the only-begotten Son and Word of God and our God, the one without beginning, the eternal, the invisible, the immaterial, the incorporeal, the uncircumscribed, the one without quantity or quality or form, the immeasurable, the intangible, He who *by his word of power*¹¹⁴ drew all things out of non-being into being, who set in order by His thought the angelic and heavenly, incorporeal, intellectual powers, who made man out of the earth, moulding him with His undefiled hands, who Himself became man, born out of Mary, the holy Virgin and Mother of God, He *shared* in our *flesh and blood*¹¹⁵ without change or mutation, (7.b) in so far as He became a man, *a rational animal, mortal, receptive of thought and knowledge*¹¹⁶, three cubits tall, circumscribed within a body and the thickness of flesh in a form seen by us, displaying the characteristics of His mother's likeness and exhibiting the shape of the race of Adam; as the prophet says, *He is a man but who will recognize him?*¹¹⁷ and *Being a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, so that he turned away his face out of shame, he was dishonoured and despised, his form being ignoble and inferior to all the sons of men*¹¹⁸, *he gave his back to the scourges and did not turn his face away from the shame of being spat upon*¹¹⁹. For this our God *was seen upon earth and conversed with men*¹²⁰, and *in truth God shall dwell with men*¹²¹, and, *I saw him coming on the clouds of heaven as the Son of man*¹²². (7.c) For this reason, as the God-given Gospels declare explicitly, God himself is also a man, and is called the *Son of man*¹²³, and is known in an inextricable union of two natures, heterogeneous and not consubstantial, seen in the one composite hypostasis of the Word, word and flesh, without beginning yet within

113. On the Christology of 7.a-c, see above Walter, C. 3, p. lxxvi.

114. Heb. 1:3.

115. Heb. 2:14.

116. Cf. above 1.f.

117. Cf. Jer. 17:9.

118. Is. 53:3.

119. Is. 50:6.

120. Bar. 3:38.

121. 2 Chron. 6:18.

122. Dan. 7:13.

123. Matt. 8:20. Cf. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* 48 (Kotter II, p. 117.34-5).

(7.a) Οὗτος γὰρ ὄρος καὶ λόγος τῆ ἐκκλησία παραδέδοται, ὅτι-
περὸ μονογενῆς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀναρ-
χος, ὁ ἀίδιος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀύλος, ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος, ὁ
5 ἄποσος, ὁ ἄποιος, ὁ ἀνειδεος, ὁ ἀπειρομεγέθης, ὁ ἀνέπαφος, ὁ πάν-
τα ἔξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ παρα-
γαγών, ὁ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις νοεράς,
ἐν νοήματι συστησάμενος, ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον, ἀχράντοις
χερσὶ διαπλάσας, ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου
Μαρίας γεγεννημένος, ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως κεκοινωνήκεν
10 ἡμῖν σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος (7.b) καθὼς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, ζῶον λογι-
κόν, θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν, τρίπηχυς, ἔσω σώματος
καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι περιγραφόμενος τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὀρωμένη μορ-
φῇ, τῆς μητρῶας ἐμφερείας τὰ ἰδιώματα χαρακτηρίζων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ
15 ἁδαμαίου γένους μόρφωσιν ἐμφαίνων καθὼς καὶ ὁ προφήτης λέ-
γει, ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς γνώσεται αὐτόν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ
ῶν καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης, ἠτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη, καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτι-
μον ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν
20 ἄπειστρεψεν ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπυσομάτων οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεισγράφη, καὶ ὅτι
ἀληθῶς κατοικήσει Θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν νε-
φελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον. (7.c) Τοῦ χάριν,
25 καθὼς τὰ θεοπαράδοτα λόγια διαγορεύει διαρρηθῆναι, ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς
καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑπάρχει, καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὀνομάζεται ἐν δυοῖν ταῖς
φύσεσιν τῶν ἑτερογενῶν, καὶ οὐχ' ὁμοουσίῳ τῆς ἀδιασπαστοῦ ἐνώ-
σεως γνωριζόμενος, ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου συνθέτῳ ὑποστάσει καθο-

ABOW; TV (23-27)

1. post ἐκκλησία add. Θεοῦ W - 1-2. ὅτιπερ - ἀναρχος om. O - 11 ἔσω σώματος ABO, ἐν
σώματι W - 13. μητρῶας O - 22. ἐπὶ om. O - 23. τοῦ² ABTVW, τοῦτου O, incipiant rursus
TV: cf. §1a supra. - 24. καθὼς post λόγια trsp. V - 25. ὑπάρχων W - 26. ὁμοουσίαν BO,
ὁμοούσιον T - ἀδιασπαστοῦ TV - 27. τοῦ Λόγου om. W

time, eternal and temporal, invisible and visible, immaterial and material, incorporeal yet within a body, uncircumscribed and circumscribed by place, without quantity yet limited to three cubits high, without quality and yet revealing the qualities of distinctive features, formless and yet displaying a human form, immeasurable but contained, toiling and in agony in the smallness of his earthly flesh, intangible and yet held fast¹²⁴, uncreated and yet a created being, artificer and artifact, moulder and maker of mankind, but also a fashioned being. He *shared the same flesh and blood*¹²⁵ except for sin. He is and He is called son of God and son of man, in the form of God, but characterized by His human form, (7.d) *as the apostles and the original witnesses and servants of the Word himself*¹²⁶ saw Him, and ate with Him, and from the very beginning and far back handed down the tradition to the Church describing His form as being of good stature, three cubits high, with meeting eyebrows, beautiful eyes, a prominent nose, curly hair, slightly bent, robust with a healthy complexion, black beard, His skin the colour of ripe corn like His mother's, long fingers, a melodious voice, pleasantly spoken, gentle, calm, patient, and endowed with other similar properties pertaining to virtue¹²⁷. With these unique features his theandric appearance is depicted, so that *no shadow due to change or alteration of variation*¹²⁸ is detected in the divine incarnation of the Word that might be in accordance with the ravings of the Manichees¹²⁹, and what is true and immutable might be

124. Marginal note: "and to be tangible is to be able to be held and touched".

125. Heb. 2:14.

126. Luke 1:2.

127. Cf. above Walter. B. 4, p. lxvi.

128. James 1:17.

129. Dualistic heresy, supposedly grown out of Zoroastrianism and formulated by Mani, a Persian religious leader (M. Tardieu, *Manichéisme* [Paris, 1981]; I. Rochow, 'Zum Fortleben des Manichäismus im byzantinischen Reich nach Justinian I', *Byzantinoslavica*, 40 [1979], 13-21).

ρώμενος· Λόγος καὶ σὰρξ, ἀναρχος, καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ, αἰδῖος, καὶ πρόσ-
 καιρος, ἀόρατος, καὶ ὄρατός, αὐλός, καὶ ἐνυλός, ἀσώματος, καὶ μετὰ
 σώματος, ἀπερίγραπτος, καὶ τόπῳ περιγραφόμενος, ἀποσος, καὶ ἐν
 5 τριπηχαίῳ μέτρῳ, ἄποιος, καὶ ἐν ποιότητος διαφορᾷ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων,
 ἀνείδεος, καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρωπίνης μορφῆς ἐμφαίνων, ἀπειρομεγέθης,
 καὶ ἐν σμικρότητι σαρκίνου σώματος περιφερόμενος, κοπιῶν καὶ
 ἀγωνιῶν, ἀνέπαφος καὶ κρατούμενος, ἄκτιστος, καὶ κτίσμα, ποιητής,
 καὶ ποίημα, πλάστης καὶ δημιουργὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλάσμα·
 10 *σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος κεκοινῶνῃκεν*, πλήν τῆς ἁμαρτίας· υἱὸς Θεοῦ,
 καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ καὶ ὀνομάζεται, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν
 μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου χαρακτηριζόμενος, (7.d) *καθὼς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτό-*
πται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου γενόμενοι, θεαταὶ καὶ συνε-
 σθητάτορες ἄγιοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν παραδεδωκότες τῇ
 15 ἐκκλησίᾳ, διέγραψαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν, εὐήλικα, τρίπηχου, σύνο-
 φρυν, εὐόφθαλμον, ἐπίρρινον, σὺλότριχα, ἐπίκυφον, ἀνεξίκακον,
 εὐχροιον, γενειάδα μέλαιναν ἔχοντα, σιτόχροιον τῷ εἶδει, κατὰ τὴν
 μητρώων ἐμφάνειαν, μακροδάκτυλον, εὐφωνον, ἡδύλογον, πραότα-
 τον, ἡσυχον, μακρόθυμον, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τῆς ἀρετῆς ἰδιώματα
 20 περιφέροντα, ἐν οἷσπερ ἰδιώμασιν ὁ θεανδρικός αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ
 ἰσότηρται, *ἵνα μὴ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα ἢ παραλλαγῆς ἀλλοίωσις ἐν*
 τῇ θείᾳ τοῦ Λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσει φωραθεῖη κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μανι-
 χαίων λήρους, καὶ ὡς φαντασίας ἰνδαλμα λογισθεῖη, τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ

ABOTVW

1. αἰδῖος - πρόσκαιρος om. V - 4. τριπηχαίῳ W et corr. Sakkelion, add. σώματος V - post
 μέτρῳ add. πεποσωμένος W - ποιότητι V - post ἰδιωμάτων add. θεωρούμενος W - 7.
 post κρατούμενος add. καὶ ἀπτός (αὐτός TVW) ἐστὶ κρατούμενος καὶ ψηλαφώμενος sed
 prob. ex mg. codd. - 9. τῆς om. TV - 10. υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ABOW, ἀνθρώπος TV - ἐστὶ καὶ
 om. O - post Θεοῦ add. ὑπάρχων V - ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν V - 11. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς om. TVW - 12. γε-
 νόμενοι ATV - συνεστιάτορες W - 13. ἄγιοι post ἀπόστολοι trsp. V - 14. ἐκτύπωμα O
 - τρίπηχυν TVW et corr. Sakkelion - 15. ἐπέρρινον O - 16. εὐχροιον corr. Sakkelion - μέ-
 λαιναν V, μέλαινα W - σιτόχροον BO, σιτόχρον corr. Sakkelion - 17. εὐφωνον W et corr.
 Sakkelion, εὐήφωνον ABOTV - 19. ὁ om. V - θεανδρικός V - 20. post παραλλαγῆς add.
 ὁμοίωσις ἢ V; cf. Iac. 1:17 - 21. τῶν om. W - post μανιχαίων add. λόγους καὶ V - 22. ἐν
 φαντασίας (φαντισίας O) ἰνδαλματι BO - τάληθῆ B, τῶληθῆ O

considered an imaginary apparition. *For the truth, as has been said above*¹³⁰, *is made known in the likeness, the archetype in the image, each one in the other, except for the difference in substance*¹³¹. For by means of the sensible symbols we are led to direct contemplation of concepts. (7.e) For the worship of the revered icons has been ordained from the very beginning of ancient times, *as it was revealed to the God-beholding Moses when about to erect the tent, as the Apostle says, you shall make everything according to the model shown on the mountain*¹³². What is the model, but the sculptured image of the heavenly forces of the cherubim constructed by Bezalel the just¹³³? As the Apostle says, *the first tent had its ordinances of divine service, and above it the cherubim of glory*¹³⁴. But if the image of the incorporeal and immaterial beings is honoured, how much more should the picture and image of the creator of the cherubim and seraphim, who without altering became man and appeared in the form of man, be glorified and honoured? Just as the prototypes are distinguished by the reverence (shown to them), so do their copies take precedence in honour and glory.

(7.1.a) And the Lord himself and Saviour of all, while He still lived on earth among men, (left) the impress of His divine face on a towel. Having with His very own divine hands wiped off the sweat of His immaculate face with it, instantly the image of His divine face was imprinted on it. All his personal features were shown, drawn as it were with colours by means of His sacred energy, as we have to say, preserving unaltered His divine characteristics by this miracle on the

130. Cf. above 5.j.

131. Ps.-Dionysius, *De eccles. hier.* 4. 3 (Heil & Ritter II, p. 96,8-9; PG 3, col. 473C).

132. Heb. 8:5, cf. Exod. 25:40.

133. Cf. Exod. 38:1-8; cf. above Walter, B. 5, p. lxxviii.

134. Heb. 9:1, 5.

- ἀναλλοιώτα· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές ὡς προεῖρηται ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι δεικνύται, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι, τὸ ἐκάτερον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ, παρὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας δηλαδὴ διάφορον· καὶ γὰρ δι' αἰσθητῶν συμβόλων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπλᾶς τῶν νοημάτων ἀναγόμεθα θεωρίας. (7.e) Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων σεβασιμότης ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν καὶ ἀρχαίων χρόνων τεθέσπισται, καθὼς κεχρημάτισται τῷ θεόπτη Μωσεὶ μέλλοντι ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν· ὡς λέγει ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει· τίς δὲ ὁ τύπος, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν οὐρανόων χερουβικῶν δυνάμεων ἐκτύπωσις ὑπὸ Βεσελεὴλ τοῦ δικαίου κατεσκευασμένη; Ὡς λέγει ὁ Ἀπόστολος, εἶχεν ἡ πρώτη σκηνὴ δικαιώματα λατρείας· ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς χερουβίμ δόξης. Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἄσωμάτων καὶ ἀύλων δόξη τὸ ἐκτύπωμα, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν χερουβίμ καὶ σεραφίμ ἀνθρώπου ἀναλλοιώτου, καὶ ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος, ὁ χαρακτήρ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐνδοξότητι καὶ τιμότητι· καθὼς τὰ πρωτότυπα διαφέρουσι τῇ σεβασιμότητι, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὰ παράγωγα προὔχουσι τῇ τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ.

- (7.1.a) Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων, ἔτι ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτευόμενος, τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τῆς ἁγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν σουδαρίῳ τινὶ ἁγίαις χερσίν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαις, τὸν ἰδρωτὰ τοῦ ἀχράντου προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπομαξάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ, αὐθις ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἁγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐναπομάττεται, τὰ χαρακτηριστικά αὐτοῦ πάντα ἰδιώματα, ὡς ἐν χρώμασι τισὶ θεία αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖα ἀναδεικνύται, ὡς δέον εἶπεῖν, ἀπαράλλακτον αὐτὸν τὸν ἐνθεον χαρακτήρα ἀποσώζων

ABOTVW

1-2. τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές ὡς προήρηται· ἐν τῷ ὁμοσώματι δεικνύται· τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τῆς εἰκόνος τῶν ἐκάτερον iterum mg. V - 2. ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι ABOTW, τῆς εἰκόνος V - 3. post γὰρ add. καὶ TVW - 4. γὰρ om. TVW - 5. post σεπτῶν add. δὲ TV - post ἀρχαίων add. λόγων καὶ V - 6. καὶ χρημάτισθαι V - μωσῆ ABO, μουσῆ TV, μωσεὶ W - 7. ὡς - Ἀπόστολος om. TV - ποιήσας TV - 8. ἡ B, ἡ O, ἡ ἢ TVW - ἐπουρανόων V - 9. ἡ ἐκτύπωσις TV - 11. post δόξης add. κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἰλασθήριον (Hebr. 9:5) add. V - 12. δόξη καὶ ἀύλων V, καὶ ἀύλων δόξα W, καὶ ἀύλων ἐν δόξῃ proposuit Sakkelion - 13. ἀνθρώπου om. TV - 14. ἀνθρώπων A - ἡ εἰκὼν ABOTV, εἰκὼν διαφέρει W - 15. καθὼς γὰρ TV, καὶ καθὼς proposuit Sakkelion - τῇ σεβασιμότητι ABOTV, τῶν εἰκόνων W - 16. post παράγωγα add. καθ' ἑαυτὰ W - τῇ om. V - τῇ δόξῃ W - 17. καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ V - 18-21. ἐν - μορφῆς αὐτοῦ om. W - 19. ταῖς χερσίν T - ἰδίαις om. T - 20. αὐτοῦ om. W - 20-21. αὐθις - ἐναπομάττεται ABOTV, τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ μορφῆς ὁ χαρακτήρ αὐθις ἐναπομάττεται W - 21. post ἐναπομάττεται add. καὶ W - αὐτοῦ χαρακτηριστικά TV

towel¹³⁵. For it happened thus by favour of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who *was seen upon earth and conversed with men*¹³⁶. (7.1.b) And indeed this revered towel which bore His image, our Lord and Saviour himself sent with Thaddaeus¹³⁷, the holy apostle, to a certain Abgar, king of the great city of Edessa, who, as if he was actually seeing the sender in a mirror, was stunned by amazement and wonder, and accepted the sacred baptism with unwavering faith¹³⁸. This holy imprint the illustrious and famous metropolis of Edessa holds fast like an imperial sceptre to this day, and prides itself and boasts of the miracles and wonders performed among the people by Christ our true God, who granted this favour to the city¹³⁹.

(7.2) In this same city, once upon a time, Chosroes the king of the Persians set the walls on fire with a blaze of olive wood placed all around them, and burnt these to ashes¹⁴⁰. When Eulalios¹⁴¹, the holy metropolitan at the time, saw that the people were just about to die as a result of the great blaze, and raised aloft this revered image, the God-imprinted towel, proceeding in a circle around the walls, a divine force issuing forth in a wind and *violent blast*¹⁴² turned the direction of the blaze against the enemy¹⁴³; it ran through setting on fire the

135. This story and the following ones (7.3, 7.4, 7.5) were used by George the Monk (pp. 784-6).

136. Bar. 3:38. Cf. 1.e. 5.e.

137. He is mentioned in Matthew 10:3 and Mark 3:18.

138. The story of the towel is not mentioned in the Syriac text of the *Doctrine of Addai*. It is only found in the Greek version, *Acta Thaddei* (ed. R.A. Lipsius-M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* I [Leipzig, 1891], pp. 274, 282). For the exchange of letters (but no image) between Christ and Abgar, see Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History* (I. xiii. 1-22, pp. 84-97); Procopios, *History of the Wars* (II. xii. 20-30, pp. 366-70). The passage in Evagrius (p. 175) mentions no towel (*sudarium*) but simply an *acheiropoiotos* image of himself sent by Christ. On the question of the image of Edessa, see also above Chrysostomides, pp. xxiv ff.; Walter, A. I, p. lii.

139. Leo, the reader of Saint Sophia, saw the reputed icon (no mention of a towel) in Edessa sometime before 787 (*Acts of Nicaea II*, Mansi 13, col. 192C-D).

140. Chosroes (531-579) attacked Edessa in May 544. Cf. Procopios, *History of the Wars*, II. xxvii. 1-17, (Loeb) vol. 1, pp. 502-6.

141. The bishop of Edessa in 544 was the Syrian Jacob bar Addai (Baradaeus) (541-578): Dobschütz (*Christusbilder*, p. 119), maintains that Eulalios may still have been an historical figure.

142. Acts 2:2.

143. An *acheiropoiotos* icon used for setting the timber on fire is mentioned in a passage in Evagrius (p. 175). On this passage, see above Chrysostomides, pp. xxiv ff.

τῷ ἐν τῷ σουδαρίῳ θαυματουργήματι· οὕτως γάρ ἐγένετο εὐδοκία
 τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφη. (7.1.b) Καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ
 5 ἐξεικονισμένον σουδάριον αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν πέπομ-
 φε διὰ Θαδδαίου τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀποστόλου Αὐγάρω τινὶ τοπάρχῃ
 τῆς Ἐδεσηνῶν μεγαλοπόλεως, δι' οὗ ὡς ἤδη ἐνοπτριζόμενος τὸν πε-
 πομόφωτα θάμβει καὶ ἐκστάσει συσχεθεῖς, πίστει ἀδιστάκτῳ τὸ ἱερὸν
 δέχεται φῶτισμα, ὅπερ ἐκμαγεῖον ἅγιον ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἢ λαμ-
 προτάτη μεγαλῶνυμος Ἐδεσηνῶν μητρόπολις, ὡσπερ σκῆπτρον βα-
 10 σιλικὸν κατέχουσα, αὐχεῖ καὶ κομπάζει, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ
 λαῷ δεικνύντος τοῦ ταύτην αὐτῇ παρασχομένου τὴν χάριν Χριστοῦ
 τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

(7.2) Ἐν ἧ πόλει ποτὲ Χοσροῦ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, τὰ τεί-
 χη αὐτῆς πυρκαϊᾷ ἐλαιῶνος ξύλοις περιανάψαντος κυκλόθεν κύκλω
 15 καὶ ταῦτα εἰς γῆν κατατεφρώσαντος, ὁ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀγιώτατος
 μητροπολίτης τοῦνομα Εὐλάλιος, ὄρων τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν πυρ-
 καϊᾶς μέλλοντα ἐναποθνήσκειν ἤδη, τοῦτον τὸν σεβάσμιον χαρα-
 κτήρα, τὸ θεοτύπων σουδάριον διάρας, καὶ τὰ τείχη κύκλω περι-
 πολεῦσας, θεία τις δύναμις ἐξελθοῦσα ἀνέμῳ καὶ πνοῇ διαίᾳ, τὴν
 20 πυρκαϊᾶν ἀντέστρεψε τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, καὶ διώδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισε

ABOTVW

1. post ἐγένετο add. καὶ τῇ V - 2. ὃς - ὤφθη ABOT, ὃς ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὤφθη V, ὡς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη W - 6. ἐδεσηνῶν W, αἰδεσινῶν ABOTV, Ἐδεσηνῶν corr. Sakkelion - πόλεως W - δι' οὗ ABOTW, διὰ V - ἐνοπτριζόμενον O - πεπομόφωτα O - 7. θάμβω ABO - συσχεθεῖς TV, σχεθεῖς O - 8. φῶτισμα ATV, δάπτισμα BOW - post λαμπροτάτη add. καὶ TV - 9. ἐδεσηνῶν W, αἰδεσινῶν ABOTV, Ἐδεσηνῶν corr. Sakkelion - 10-11. ἐν τῷ λαῷ om. W - 11. τὴν χάριν παρασχομένου (παρασχόντος W) TVW - 13. ἧ ABTVW, τῆ O - ποτὲ om. BO - χοσροῦ V - τοῦ ABTVW, τῶν O - 14. αὐτῆς ATVW, αὐτοῦ BO - ξύλα ABTV, ξύλον O - 14-15. περὶ ἀνάψαντες...κατατεφρώσαντες TV, περιανάψαντος...κατὰ τεφρώσαντος O - 14. κύκλω om. W - 15. εἰς - καιρὸν ABOTV, κατατεφρώσαι καὶ ἐξεδαφίσαι ἐπαπειλήσαντος, ὁ τῆνικαῦτα W - 16. τοῦνομα εὐλάλιος ABOTV, εὐλάλιος οὗτος ἦν W - 17. ἀποθνήσκειν BO - ἤδη καὶ W - 18. τὸ - σουδάριον om. TV - 19. θεία τις OTV, θεῖα τις A - θείας δυνάμεως ἐξελθούσης W - ἀνέμων BO - 20. ἐδιώδευσε TV

surrounding Assyrians, as did the furnace of the children long ago with the Chaldaeans¹⁴⁴.

(7.3) Also the leading apostles of blessed memory, Peter and John, while preaching in Lydda¹⁴⁵ — also named the city of Zeus, eighteen miles distant from Jerusalem — built with their own hands a house of prayer named after the Mother of the Lord, the Mother of God, and pleaded with her to be present at the sacred enthronement, saying to her, "Where were you, Lady? We have erected a church for you in Lydda. Come and bless its inauguration". And she said to them, "But I was there and I still am with you". At this point, by some divine energy her image was set up on one of the columns of the church, where the Mother of God herself later on being present, gazed at her own imprint and image, and was filled with joy and amazement, and wondered and was astonished at the maternal glory, because God the Word, having become man through her, rendered her honour.

(7.4) This image survived until Julian the Apostate¹⁴⁶ sent some Hebrew painters to be informed of the truth. And indeed when these saw the imprint set on one of the columns of the church, the full length

144. Cf. Dan. 3:23.

145. Cf. Acts 9:32; Walter, A. 2, p. liv.

146. Emperor (361-363); he attempted to revive paganism (G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* [Cambridge, Mass., 1978]; R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* [London-Berkeley, 1976]).

τοὺς πέριξ Ἀσσυρίους, ὡς τοὺς πάλαι Χαλδαίους ἢ κάμιнос τῶν παίδων.

(7.3) Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ κορυφαῖοι καὶ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐν Λύδῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ Διὸς πόλει πρὸ μιλίων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὰς διατριβάς ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, εὐκτήριον οἶκον ἐπ'ὄνοματι τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεομήτορος ἐποικοδομήσαντες ἰδίαις παλάμαις, ταύτην παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἱερατικὴν ἐνθρόνισιν ἐκλιπαροῦντες, ἔφησαν πρὸς αὐτήν, Ποῦ ἦσθα Κυρία; Ἐδειμάμεθά σου γὰρ ναὸν ἐν Λύδῃ· δεῦρο εἰς ἀγιασμόν τῶν ἐγκαινίων αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ἔφησε πρὸς αὐτούς, Κἀγὼ αὐτόθι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἤμην καὶ εἰμί. Καὶ δὴ θεία τινὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ὁ χαρακτήρ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν κίωνων τοῦ ναοῦ ἐγκαθίδρυτο· ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Θεομήτωρ εἰς ὕστερον παραγεναμένη καὶ θεασαμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀπόμοργμα καὶ ἐξεικόνισμα, χαρᾶς τε καὶ θάμβους ἀναπλησθεῖσα, θαυμάσαι δὲ καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνανθρωπήσαντος Θεοῦ Λόγου μητρικῇ εὐκλείᾳ, αὐτῇ τὸ σέβας ἀπονείμαντος.

(7.4) Ὅνπερ χαρακτήρα μέχρις Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου ἀποσφζόμενον, Ἑβραίους τινὰς ἀποστείλαντος ζωγράφους εἰς τὸ πυθέσθαι τὸ ἀληθές· καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐκτύπωμα ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν κίωνων τοῦ ναοῦ καθιδρυμένον ὀρῶντες, ὄλην ἐντετυπωμένην τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣ τε

ABOTVW

1. τοὺς¹ TVW, τοῖς ABO – τοὺς² om. W – 3. ἀπόστολοι om. T – 4. διοπάλοι TVW – 5-6. ἐπὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ABOTV, καὶ κηρύσσοντες W – 6. οἶκον om. TV – 7. ἐποικοδομήσαντες ABOTV, δειμάμενοι W – παλάμαις ἰδίαις καὶ W – 9. ὦ κυρία V – ἐδήμεθά ABTV – σου γὰρ ABO, γὰρ σοι TVW – λύδη καὶ W – 10. post δὲ add. εὐθύς V – ἔφησε om. W – 12. ἐγκαθίδρυστο TV – 13. εἰς ABOT, ἐς VW – παραγενομένη TVW – θεασαμένη post ἐξεικόνισμα trsp. TVW – 14. τε om. TVW – πλησθεῖσα W – 15-17. θαυμάσαι (ἐθαύμασε TV) – ἀπονείμαντος ABOTV, τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντα κύριον ἐμεγάλυνε τὸν τὸ σέβας αὐτῆ ἀπονείμαντα W. – 15. δὲ om. TV, τε proposuit Sakkelion – ἐξεπλάγει TV – ἐνανθρωπήσαντος A, ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ἐξ αὐτῆς TV – 16. Λόγου om. TV – εὐκλείᾳ ABTV, εὐκλεία O – σεβάσιμον V – 18. Narratio haec tamquam ultima pars praecedentis et numerus paulo inferius (ἐτι μάλλον) in W; cf. *Ps-Dam.* 4a. – 18-19. μέχρις – ἀποσφζόμενον ABOTV, ἐσφαστείλας V – 20-p. 39, l. 1. καὶ δὴ -δλέποντες om. W – 21. καθίδρυστο τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο trsp. et mutavit TV, καθιδρυμένου O – post ὄλην add. φημί TV – ἐκτετυπωμένην Sakkelion – εἶτε TV, τὴν τε corr. s. l. V

figure impressed —the purple and the raiment— and they saw her as if she were still looking at and speaking to them, they tried to chisel her out with masons' techniques, only to discover that she shone even more brightly and that the impress in the depth of the column remained unchanged¹⁴⁷.

(7.5) Similarly, the divine apostle and evangelist Luke¹⁴⁸ drew with coloured paints on a tablet the portrait of the All-Pure, the revered and divine features of the holy Mother of God, Mary, while she was still alive and living in holy Sion, thus bequeathing this mirror-image to a later generation. And when he showed it to the Mother of God, she said, "My blessing shall be with it".

(7.6) Similarly, in a city near this very Lydda, Aeneas the paralytic¹⁴⁹, who was cured by Peter the chief (of the apostles), built with his own hands and in co-operation with some of the Seventy disciples of the Lord a house of prayer in the name of the Mother of the Lord and Mother of God¹⁵⁰. And when the work was completed the neighbouring Jews and Hellenes began to quarrel among themselves, for each group wished to usurp it for themselves, and so they had recourse to the governor then in charge. He being a shrewd man, granted them what was advantageous to both saying to them, "Look, we will close the church and secure its doors with seals and place guards for three full days. Afterwards when the doors are opened, the building shall belong to whatever group receives some token of their faith". And indeed after the third day when all had gathered together with the governor and

147. Cf. George the Monk, p. 786.

148. Cf. George the Monk, p. 785; see also Walter, A. 3, p. lv.

149. Acts 9:32-35.

150. See above, Walter, A. 4, p. lvi.

πορφύρα καὶ ὁ στολισμὸς ὡς ἤδη ὀρώσαν καὶ φθεγγομένην βλέποντες, μαρμαρικοῖς τεχνάσμασι ταύτην κατορύξαι πειρώμενοι, ἔτι μᾶλλον λαμπροτέραν καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐν τῷ βάθει τοῦ κίονος ἐφεύρισκον τὸ ἐκτύπωμα.

- 5 (7.5) Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀπόστολος καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς Λουκάς τὸν σεβάσιμον καὶ θεῖον χαρακτήρα τῆς ἁγίας θεομήτορος Μαρίας ἔτι ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὰς διατριβάς ποιουμένης ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σιών, ζωγραφικαῖς ταῖς μίξεσι τὴν τῆς Παναγνοῦ στήλην ἐν πίνακι διεχάραξεν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῇ μετέπειτα γενεᾷ ἐγκατα-
- 10 λελοιπῶς, καὶ ταύτην αὐτῇ τῇ Θεομήτορι ὑποδείξαντος, τῆς δὲ φησάσης, Ἡ χάρις μου μετ' αὐτῆς ἔσται.

- (7.6) Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῇ παραλήσιον πόλει τῆς αὐτῆς Λύδης Αἰνέα τοῦ παραλύτου, τοῦ ἰαθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου, χειροῖν ἰδίαις κτίσαντος εὐκτήριον οἶκον ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεομήτορος, συνεργούντων καὶ ἐτέρων μαθητῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὄντων ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ ἔργου εἰς πέρας ἔλθόντος, οἱ γεινιῶντες Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ Ἕλληνες, τοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς σφετερίζασθαι ἕκαστος τυραννικῶς ἐφιλονεῖκουν, καὶ δὴ προσέρχονται τῷ τότε κρατοῦντι ἄρχοντι· ὁ δὲ ἀγχίνους ὢν, τὸ λυσιτελὲς ἀμφοτέροις
- 15 πρυτανεῦει φήσας πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἴδοὺ κλείομεν τὸν οἶκον, καὶ σφραγίσαι τὰς θύρας ἀσφαλίζομεν, φρουροὺς καθιστώντες ἄχρι τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἤδη· εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνοιγομένων τῶν θυρῶν, οὐτινος φανήσεται γνώρισμα πίστεως, τούτοις ἔσται ὁ δόμος. Καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν τρίτην

ABOTVW

1. πορφύραν καὶ τὸν στολισμὸν p.c. V - 3. λαμπροτέραν om. V - 4. τὸ ἐκτύπωμα om. W - 5. Numerus deest in W; cf. *Ps-Dam.* 4a - post ὡσαύτως add. δὲ T - 6. ὁ λουκάς post θεσπέσιος trsp. W - αὐτῆς ἁγίας καὶ V - 7. αὐτῆς om. hic V - ζωῆς ABOW, οὐσης T, οὐσης V - 8. post πανάγνου add. στολήν καὶ V - 9. ἐν πίνακι om. TV - μετάπειτα O - 12. Numerus 5 in W - παρακλησίω TV, add. οὐση W - λύδης W - 13. ἐνέα ABOTV (cf. Act. 9: 33-34) - 14. κτίσαντος εὐκτήριον ABOTV, εὐκτήριον κατασκευάσαντες W - 17-18. ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ σφετερίζασθαι trsp. W - 18. τυραννικῶς om. W - 19. κρατοῦντι om. TV - post ἄρχοντι add. ἐγκαλοῦντες περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ V - ὁ om. T - 21. ἀσφαλίζομεν TV - 22. ἤδη post καθιστώντες trsp. W - εἴθ' οὕτως - θυρῶν om. W - 23. post δόμος add. καὶ ἤρουν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον πάντων TVW - Καὶ δὴ μετὰ ABOTV, μετὰ γοῦν W

entered the building, lo and behold, they suddenly saw on the western side of the church a tablet painted in the shape of a woman, measuring three cubits high, wearing a purple garment, adorned with carved letters that read as follows: "Mary the Mother of Christ, the King from Nazareth". As all were astonished the governor said to them, "*Whose is this image and this inscription?*"¹⁵¹ The Jews being ashamed and the Hellenes humiliated, they all went away. Thus the blessed apostles bequeathed the church by divine judgement and decree, made evident by the apparition of the Mother of God. And many other miracles and marvels, notable and extraordinary, whose number cannot be estimated, were miraculously performed by her grace through the revered icon of the All-Pure and Mother of God, thanks to which demons are driven out, the sick cured, *lepers cleansed*¹⁵², and cleansed utterly.

(7.7) In the land of the Cypriots, in one of the towns there, such things are enacted to this day. For in this same Cyprus, in the southern part, a house of prayer was erected to the Holy Mother of God, in which there was an icon in mosaic¹⁵³. A certain Arab shot at (the icon) with his arrow at the knee where the Saviour sits on her lap. Immediately blood gushed forth in abundance down to her feet, and so it is to this day.

151. Matt. 22:20.

152. Matt. 11:5.

153. Cf. Walter, A. 5, p. lvi.

ἡμέραν πάντων ἀθροισθέντων ἅμα τῷ ἄρχοντι, καὶ εἰσελθόντων ἔνδον, ἰδοὺ ἄφνω ὀρθῶσιν ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ τοῦ ναοῦ μέρει, στήλην ἐγγεγραμμένην ἐν σχήματι γυναικείῳ τρίπηχῳ τῷ μέτρῳ, πορφύραν ἐστολισμένην ἐγγεγλυμμένοις γράμμασι περιέχουσαν οὕτως, Μαρία ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ναζωραίου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ. Πάντων δὲ καταπλαγέντων φησὶν ὁ ἄρχων, *Τίνος ἢ εἰκῶν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὕτη;* Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι αἰσχυνθέντες, καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐντραπέντες, ἀνεχώρουν πάντες, καὶ οὕτως οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι θεῖα κρίσει καὶ ψήφῳ τῇ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐμφανεία, τὸν ναὸν ἐκληροδότησαν. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ 5 σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῇ τῆς Πανάγνου καὶ Θεομήτορος σεπτῇ εἰκόνι ἔνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαισία ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς, τεθαυματουργηται τῇ αὐτῆς χάριτι, δι' ἧς δαίμονες ἐλαύνονται, ἀσθενοῦντες θεραπεύονται, *λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται*, καὶ μάλα ἀραρώτως.

(7.7) Ἐν τῇ τῶν Κυπρίων χώρα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν αὐτῆς πολιχνίων, τὰ 15 τοιαῦτα ἐνεργούμενα ἄχρι τῆς δευροῦ καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κύπρῳ τῷ πρὸς νοτιῷ μέρει εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου ἐνίδρυται· ἐν ᾧ εἰκῶν ἔστιν ἐκ ψηφίδων ταύτην εἰς τὸ γόνατον ἔνθα ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐγκόλπιος ἐγκάθηται, Ἄραψ τις τοξεύσας εὐθέως ἐξῆλθε διαρρέον αἷμα ποταμηδὸν ἕως ποδῶν κρουνίζον, καὶ ἔστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

ABOTVW

1. συναθροισθέντων TV - 2. μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ TV - ἐγγεγραμμένην V - 3. τρίπηχον TVW et corr. Sakkelion - 4. περιέχουσιν W - 5. post καταπλαγέντων add. ἐπὶ τούτῳ W - 7. Ἕλληνες ἐντραπέντες om. W - 7. ἀνεχώρουν πάντες ABOW, ἀνεχώρησαν κατισχυμμένοι TV - 8. post ψήφῳ add. καὶ V - 9. ἐκληροδοτήθησαν proposuit Sakkelion - πολλὰ om. BOV - καὶ² om. BO - 11. τεθαυματουργεῖται V - 14. Numerus 6 in W - τῶν om. W - τὰ om. W - 15. ἐνεργοῦντα W - 16. προσνοτεῖω A, πρὸς νοτεῖω BO, πρὸς (πρὸς T) νοπαιῖον TV, πρὸς νῶτον W, προσνοτίῳ corr. Sakkelion - 16-17. ἐν ᾧ W - 17. post εἰκῶν add. ἔστιν W - εἰς τὸ γόνατον ABOTV, πρὸς γόνυ W - 18. ἐγκόλποις ἐγκάθηται A, ἐγκόλπιος κάθηται BOW, ἐγκάθηται (ἐνκάθηται V) ἐν κόλποις TV - 18-19. διεξῆλθεν αἷμα ποταμηδὸν διαρρέον *trsp.* W - 18. διαρρέον om. hic V - 19. post αἷμα add. καὶ ὕδωρ διαρέων V - post ποταμηδὸν add. καὶ V - post ποδῶν add. αὐτῆς W - post σήμερον add. ὑποδεικνύον τὰ γνωρίσματα W

(7.8.a) Moreover, Helen¹⁵⁴ of blessed memory, the Godly-minded empress, in the process of discovering the life-giving Cross¹⁵⁵, embellished and decorated with sacred icons the holy and revered places, among which was the holy and famous Bethlehem. There she built a very great church in honour of the Mother of God, and on the outer wall on the west side she depicted in artistic mosaics¹⁵⁶ the holy birth of Christ, the Mother of God holding the life-bringing infant at her breast, and the adoration of the gift-bearing Magi. **(7.8.b)** When the godless Persians plundered all the cities of the Roman Empire and Syria, and burned to ashes the holy city of Jerusalem¹⁵⁷ they took prisoner its patriarch, Zacharias¹⁵⁸, together with two hundred thousand, and also putting to the sword six hundred and sixty-five thousand¹⁵⁹. Then they came to the holy city of Bethlehem. And when they gazed at the pictures of their compatriots the Persian astrologer-Magi, they stood in awe before their picture as if these were still alive, and out of reverence and love for their forefathers they preserved this great church intact and completely unharmed for their sake. Being won over by those who seemed to them to be still alive and seeing, they bestowed the church on them. For this reason alone, this ancient house of prayer has survived until today.

154. Wife of Constantios Chloros, and mother of Constantine I. was born at Drepanon, Bithynia c.250/257.

155. Eusebios provides no information on this matter, but stories circulating about the true cross, by the end of the fourth century, attributed its discovery to Constantine's mother, Helen. See J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992), part. pp. 138-45. For a different view, see A.S. Korakides, 'Η Εὐρεσις τοῦ Ὑψίου Σταυροῦ [Athens, 1983], pp. 35 ff.

156. See above Walter, A. 6, p. Ivii.

157. For the date see Antiochus Strategus, *The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the Year 614*, tr. from the Georgian by N. Marr (St Petersburg, 1909); tr. into English by F.C. Conybeare, *EHR*, 25 (1910), 502-17.

158. Patriarch of Jerusalem (609-628).

159. See L. H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, pt. 4 (Paris, 1926), pp. 926-8.

(7.8.a) Καί γάρ και ἡ μακαρία Ἑλένη ἡ θεόφρων βασίλισσα, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ ἀνευρέσει, τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ σεβασμίους τόπους, καλλιεργοῦσα καὶ κατακοσμῶσα διὰ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν ἔνδοξον Βηθλεέμ, μέγιστον ναὸν τῆς Θεομήτορος ἀνε-
 5 γείρασα, καὶ τῷ πρὸς δύοσιν ἔξωθεν μέρει μουσουργικοῖς ψηφώμα-
 σιν ἐξεικονίσασα τὴν ἀγίαν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν, καὶ τὴν Θεομήτορα ἐγκόλπιον φέρουσαν τὸ ζωηφόρον δρέφος, καὶ τὴν τῶν μάγων μετὰ δώρων προσκύνησιν, (7.8.b) οἱ ἄθεοι Πέρσαι πάσας πόλεις λεηλα-
 10 τήσαντες Ῥωμανίας καὶ Συρίας, καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ
 πυρὶ κατατεφρώσαντες, τὸν τε πατριάρχην Ζαχαρίαν αἰχμαλωτίσαν-
 τες ἐν διακοσίαις χιλιάσιν, ἑτέρας ἑξακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε χιλιά-
 δας κατασφάξαντες, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν πόλιν Βηθλεέμ, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀστρολόγων καὶ μάγων Περσῶν τὰς εἰκόνας θεασά-
 15 μενοι, αἰδοῖ καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῶν προγόνων ὡς ζῶντας αἰδεσθέντες τοὺς
 γεγραμμένους, ἀλώθητον καὶ ἀσίαντον τῆς οἴασοῦν βλάβης, τὸν μέ-
 γιστον αὐτοῖς ναὸν διετήρησαν, ὡς ἤδη ζῶντας καὶ ὀρῶντας βλέ-
 ποντες παρ' αὐτῶν δυσωπηθέντες τὸ οἰκητήριον αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσαντο,
 ὅπερ καὶ μόνον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον διαμεμένηκεν ἀρχαῖος εὐκτήριος
 οἶκος.

ABOTVW

1. Numerus 7 in W - καὶ γάρ om. TVW - post μακαρία add. δὲ TV - Ἑλένη codd., spiritum corr. Sakkelion - 3. κατακοσμοῦσα W et sic corr. Sakkelion - ἐν οἷς om. TV - 4. καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ TV - 4. ἀνήγειρεν TV - 5. τῷ corr. Sakkelion, τὸ codd. - 6. τοῦ χριστοῦ W, χριστοῦ ἀγίαν trsp. O - 7. ἐγκόλπιον A - 8. post πάσας add. τὰς W - λεηλατοῦντες V - 9. ἱερουσαλήμ codd., spiritum corr. Sakkelion - 11. ἐν ABOT, σὺν VW - ἑξακοσίας om. TV - 12. κατέσφαξαν V - post ἐλθόντες add. καὶ V - 13. τὰς om. W et suppressendum proposuit Sakkelion - 15. ἀσίαντον scrīpsimus (cf. Lampe), ἀσίαντον (ἀσίαν τὸν) ABO, ἀσινῆ TVW et proposuit Sakkelion; add. καὶ ὑπέρτερον W - 16. αὐτοῖς om. W, post ναὸν trsp. T, αὐτῆς V et corr. Sakkelion - post ὡς add. γάρ W - βλέποντες om. V - 18. καὶ μόνον om. V - τῆς ABOTW, καὶ V - 18-19. ἀρχαῖος ποτὲ (om. εὐκτήριος) οἶκος incip. nova narratio V

(7.9) Once in the great city of Alexandria a certain person, an *hyparchos*¹⁶⁰ by rank, used to march up and down in the courtyard of the great church, where stood a holy icon of the Mother of God, and kept on mocking and making fun of her¹⁶¹. One day therefore the Mother of God appeared to him when he was still alone and waking up. She had with her, as he said, two eunuchs who stretched out his hands and feet while she traced with her holy finger along his limbs. Suddenly the ligaments of the limbs at the elbows and feet at the ankles fractured and fell to the ground, like leaves breaking off a figtree¹⁶².

(7.10) Similarly, there was another one who, in this very city of Alexandria, dared similar things, and being pursued by the soldiers took refuge with the revered icon of the Mother of God. But she turned away from him in the sight of everyone, and handed him over to be put to death as an enemy.

(7.11) There was another man who once threw a stone at the holy icon of the Saviour out of contempt. Suddenly a dove came out of his mouth and a crow entered in its place; thus instead of the Holy Spirit the dark devil who lived in him became manifested, and in place of light he was clothed in black-dyed darkness¹⁶³.

160. Prefect.

161. Cf. similar story in John Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 47, PG 87. 3. col. 2901C-D; BHG 1076c.

162. See above Walter, A. 7, p. lviii.

163. Cf. above Walter, A. 8, p. lix.

- (7.9) Ποτὲ οὖν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ μεγαλοπόλει, ὑπαρχός τις τῇ τάξει, τὴν ἐν τῷ προσαυλίῳ τῆς Μεγάλῃς Ἐκκλησίας καθιδρυμένην ἁγίαν τῆς Θεομήτορος εἰκόνα, περιερχόμενος πολλάκις φενακίζων καὶ διαμωκίζων οὐκ ἐπαύετο· ἐν μὲν τοίνυν ὀφθεισα αὐτῷ ἡ Θεομήτωρ
 5 ἔτι κατὰ μόνας ὄντι καὶ ἐγρηγοροῦντι, ἔχουσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς δύο φησὶν εὐνούχους, καὶ τούτου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας διατεινάντων, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτῆς δακτύλῳ διαχαραξάσης αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη, αὐθις αἱ ἄρμογαι τῶν μελῶν ἐξ ἀγκῶνων καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐξ ἀστραγάλων διαθραυσθέντες ὡς φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς διαρραγέντες ἐκπεπτώκεισαν.
- 10 (7.10) Καὶ ἄλλον ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὰ αὐτὰ τετολμηκότα, καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν διωκόμενον, πρόσφυγά τε γεγονότα ἐν τῇ τῆς Θεομήτορος σεπτῇ εἰκόνι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἀποστραφεῖσα, πρόχειρον εἰς σφαγὴν ὡς ἐπίβουλον παρέδωκεν.
- (7.11) Καὶ ἄλλου ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἁγία εἰκόνι κατα-
 15 φρονητικῶς λίθον προσρίψαντος, αὐθις περιστερὰ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξεληθοῦσα, κόραξ ἀντεισάγεται, πρόδηλος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁ ἐξοφωμένος διάβολος ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικιζόμενος, καὶ ἀντὶ φωτὸς μελαμβαφὲς σκότος ἐνδυόμενος.

ABOTVW

1. Numerus 8 in W – Ποτὲ οὖν om. VW, sed cf. §7.8 supra – post ἀλεξανδρεία add. δὲ W – ἑπαρχος W – τὴν τάξιν W – 3. post πολλάκις add. καὶ TV – 4. διαμωκίζων W, διεμπαίζων tacite cospexit Sakkelion; mg. add. φενακίζειν τὸ ἀπατᾶν μωκία δέ, ἡ λοιδορία, καὶ ὁ ἐμπαιγμός O – τοίνυν om. W – 5. ἔτι om. W – γρηγοροῦντι W – post ἑαυτῆς add. καὶ W – φησὶν om. TVW – 6. καὶ τούτου (τούτους O) - διατεινάντων ABOTV, ἐκέλευσε τὰς χεῖρας τούτου καὶ τοὺς πόδας διαταθῆναι, καὶ τούτων διαταθέντων W – τοὺς om. TV – διατεινάντος (secunda manu add. -v) V – 7-8. διαχαραξάσης - διαθραυσθέντες ABOTV, διαχαραθέντων, αἱ ἄρμογαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγκῶνων καὶ ἀστραγάλων διαθραυσθεῖσαι καὶ W – 7. ἄρμονιαί V – 8. ἐξ - ἀστραγάλων om. TV – τῶν ποδῶν ἐξ om. W, ποδῶν ἐξ BO – διαθραυσθέντες T, διαθραυσθέντων B (p. c.) O – 9. διαρραγέντες ἐκπεπτώκεισαν ABOTV, διαρραγεῖσαι ἐξέπεσον, καὶ οὕτω γεγονός παρανάλωμα πρὸς διόρθωσιν πολλῶν, αὐτὸς πᾶσιν ἐκήρυτε τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμβάντα W – ἐκπεπτώκασι(v) TV – 10. Numerus 9 in W – αὐτῇ tacite omisit Sakkelion – τὰ αὐτὰ ABOW, τοιαῦτα TV – 11. post καὶ add. ἐγκλήματι περιπεσόντα· W – διοκόμενος O, add. καὶ W – πρόσφυγά τε ABTV, πρόσφυγα W, πρὸς φύγητε O – 12. post εἰκόνι add. ἐν ἡ τὰς βλασφημίας ἐποιεῖτο (et om. καὶ) W – 13. post ἀποστραφεῖσα add. ἡ θεομήτωρ W – παρέδωκε BOW et add. τοῖς διώκουσι W – 14. Numerus 10 in W – 14-15. ἄλλον...προσρίψαντα W – 15. περιστερὰ post αὐτοῦ trsp. TV – 16. πρόδηλον OTV, προδειλως W – 17. κατοικιζόμενος ABOTV, οἰκήσων W – 18. καὶ ἐνδυόμενος om. TVW – μελαμβαφὲς BO

(7.12) Again there was once a Jew in the city of Berytus, who pierced the side of the icon of Christ with his lance, as did the Jews in the past. Suddenly a fountain of blood brimming with life gushed out, miraculously performing many healings on the blind and lame and sick¹⁶⁴.

(7.13.a) And another Jew once in the imperial city of Constantine¹⁶⁵ plunged a dagger into the heart of the icon of the Saviour, which was set up in the Holy Well of the church of the holy great Sophia. Suddenly streams of blood gushed out splattering his face and clothes. Out of fear he threw the icon into that well, and immediately the water became blood. **(7.13.b)** And in fact when the Jew was arrested as a murderer, on account of the garment he wore being red, he showed what he had done, and they brought the icon out of the well carrying the dagger still plunged in its breast. When they saw the icon spurting blood, they were all gripped with amazement and terror. Because of this miracle the Jew was baptized, having believed in the Lord together with his entire household.

164. Cf. above Walter, A. 9, p. lx.

165. Cf. above Walter, A. 10, p. lx.

(7.12) Καὶ ἄλλου ποτὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίου τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀγίαν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ λόγχῃ ἐκκεντήσαντος ὥσπερ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ πάλαι, αὐθις αἵματος πηγὴ ἀνέβλυσε ζώηρτος, καὶ πολλὰς ἰάσεις τυφλῶν καὶ χωλῶν καὶ ἀσθενούντων τεθαυματούργηται.

- 5 (7.13.a) Καὶ ἄλλου ποτὲ Ἰουδαίου ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντίνου πόλει τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ φρέατι ἰδρυμένην τῆς ἀγίας μεγάλης Σοφίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰκόνα μάχαιραν τῇ καρδίᾳ πηξάμενος, αὐθις κρουνοὶ αἱμάτων ἀνέβλυσαν, καὶ τούτου τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια καταρρατισθέντος, ταύτην τῷ φόδῳ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρέαρ ἔρριψε, καὶ εὐθὺς
10 ὡς ὄλον τὸ ὕδωρ αἶμα γέγονε. (7.13.b) Καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἑβραῖος περιληφθεὶς ὡς μαιφόνος τὴν στολὴν πεφοινιγμένην ἔχων, δείκνυσι τὸ δρασθέν, καὶ ταύτην ἀναγαγόντες ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος τὴν μάχαιραν ἤδη πεπηγμένην ἐν τῷ στήθει περιφέρουσαν τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ τὸ αἷμα κρουνίζουσαν δλέποντες, θάμβος καὶ τρόμος ἐπὶ πάντας περιέπεσε,
15 δι' οὗ τέρατος καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος πεφώτισται πανοικί πεπιστευκῶς τῷ Κυρίῳ.

ABOTVW

1. Numerus 11 in W - δηρύτω A - 2. ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ om. V, πρὸς τὴν πλευρὰν W - ὥσπερ οἱ A, ὥσπερ BOT, ὡς V, add. προπάτορες αὐτοῦ W - 3. τὸ πάλαι TV et Sakkelion, πάλαι Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου κρεμαμένου W - 4. τεθαυματούργηκε W - 5. Numerus 12 in W - 5-6. κωνσταντινούπολι TVW - 7. post μάχαιραν add. κρατοῦντος καὶ V - τὴν καρδίαν BO - πηξάμενου W - 8. καταρρατισθέντος A, καταρρατισθέντος BOTV, καταρρατισθέντα W - 9. ταύτην τῷ φόδῳ ABOTV, τῷ φόδῳ οὗτος συσχεθεὶς, ταύτην W - ἀτέρριψε W - 10-11. δὴ - μαιφόνος ABOTV, κατασχεθεὶς οὗτος ὡς φονεὺς W - 11. ἔχων post στολὴν trsp. W - 12. δρασθέν ABOTV, γεγονός W - ἀναγαγών O - post φρέατος add. καὶ W - 12-13. ἤδη - ἐν ABOTV, ἰδόντες ἐμπεπηγμένην W - περιφέρουσαν τὴν εἰκόνα ABOTV, τοῦ κυρίου W - 14. κρουνίζον (-ζων) TVW - 14-15. δλέποντες - τέρατος ABOTV, θάμβει καὶ τρόμῳ συνεσχέθησαν καὶ κατεπλάγησαν W - 14. καὶ τρόμος post πάντας trsp. V - 15. πεφώτισθαι V

(7.14.a) On a certain occasion¹⁶⁶, Germanos¹⁶⁷, the most holy patriarch, because of the destruction of images imposed by the Emperor Leo¹⁶⁸, with much wailing and mournful tears threw another icon of the Saviour, one which was set up in the holy patriarchate of Constantinople, into the sea at a place called T'Amantiou¹⁶⁹, (the icon falling) in an upright position. He had written on a tablet the day and hour (of this event) and attached it to the right hand of the icon, calling out "*Master, Master, save yourself and us because we perish*"¹⁷⁰. (7.14.b) And behold, on the same day in the famous city of Rome, the icon sailed up the Tiber, the river there, standing erect and keeping all but its ankles dry from the salty wetness of the sea; and like a fiery column it shone out above the water for three nights. When His Beatitude Pope Gregory¹⁷¹ saw it, he got into a boat, went up to the icon and said to it, "If you have been sent to us, come towards us". Then the icon, just as the Lord Christ once walked upon the sea¹⁷², came at a swift pace over the waters and entered the boat of itself. His Holiness the Pope embraced it and took it in his arms, as once did the venerable Symeon. Seated in a chariot he held it upright while the people came running together from all directions towards the miracle. He then placed it in the great church of the Holy Apostle Peter.

166. Cf. above Walter, A. 11, p. lxi.

167. Patriarch of CP (August 715-17 January 730). For his career, see L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I von Konstantinopel (715-730)* (Würzburg, 1975).

168. Leo III, the North Syrian, emperor (717-741); in 726 he adopted iconoclasm officially (Theophanes, p. 404; Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.*, (M), p. 130, (B), p. 57; Gero, *Leo III*, pp. 94ff.).

169. Janin, *Constantinople*², pp. 307-8; *Églises et monastères*, pp. 248-50.

170. Matt. 8:25; cf. Luke 8:24.

171. Gregory II (19 May 715-11 February 731), opposed Leo III's policy of iconoclasm (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. I [Paris, 1884], pp. 404-5).

172. Matt. 14:25 and parallels.

(7.14.a) Καὶ ἄλλην ποτὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰκόνα ἰδρυμένην ἐν τῷ εὐαγεί πατριαρχείῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Γερμανὸς ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης διὰ τὴν γεγонуῖαν τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος σύνθλασιν τῶν εἰκόνων, ταύτην ἐν κλαυθμῷ καὶ γοεροῖς δάκρυσι περιελόμενος, 5 ἐμβάλλει αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ εἰς τ' Ἀμαντίου λεγόμενα, ὀρθίῳ τῷ σχήματι, ἐγγράψας ἐν πιττακίῳ τὴν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν, καὶ περιάπτει τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τῆς εἰκόνης τάδε προσφωνῶν, Ἐπιστάτα ἐπιστάτα, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα.

(7.14.b) Καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ῥώμῃ τῷ 10 ἐκέισε ποταμῷ Τιβέρει διέπλευσεν ὀρθοπερίπατος ἄχρι ἀστραγάλων, τὴν ὑγρὰν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὰν ὑγρότητα διασώζουσα, ὡς στῦλος πυρσοφανῆς ἐν τρισὶν νυξίν ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαλάμπουσα· ἦνπερ θεασάμενος ὁ μακαριώτατος πάπας Γρηγόριος, ἐν ἀκατίῳ εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἐλθὼν ἕως αὐτῆς φησὶ πρὸς αὐτήν, Εἰ ἀπεστάλης πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐλθε 15 πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἡ δὲ ὡσπερ τὸ πάλαι περιπατῶν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, δρομαία εἰσδρομοῦσα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, αὐτομάτως εἰσεληλύθει ἐν τῷ ἀκατίῳ, ἦνπερ περιπτυξάμενος καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος ὁ μακαριώτατος πάπας ὡς ὁ πάλαι μέγας Συμεὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ἐν ἄρματι καθίσας, καὶ ταύτην ὀρθιον βαστάζων, παμπληθεὶ τοῦ λαοῦ 20 οὐ συνδρομόντος ἐπὶ τῷ θαύματι, ἀνατίθῃσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ

ABOTVW

1. Numerus 13 in W - εἰκόνα τοῦ σωτῆρος V - 2. πατριαρχίῳ ABOTW, παλατίῳ sed πατριαρχίῳ mg. add. V, corr. Sakkelion - κωνσταντίνου πόλεως AO - 3. τὴν - λέοντος ABOTV, παρὰ τοῦ δυσωνύμου βασιλέως γεγонуῖαν W - 4. ἀγίων εἰκόνων VW - ταύτην om. W - 5. αὐτὴν om. W - τ' Ἀμαντίου corr. ex Zonaras et Patria Constantinopoli, III 96 Sakkelion, τὰ ἀμαντίου W, τὰ μαντίου (fors. ex prototypo) cett. codd. - 6. τὴν ὥραν τε καὶ ἡμέραν trsp. W - 6-7. πρὸσάπτει V - 7. post προσφωνῶν add. αὐτῇ V - ἐπιστάτα ἐπιστάται W - 9. κατ' αὐτὴν ATV, καὶ ταύτην BO, κατὰ ταύτην W, praem. κατὰ τὴν ὥραν καὶ V - 11. στῦλος ABOVW - 13. μακάριος TV - ἀκατείῳ ATV - 13-14. καὶ ἐλθὼν om. TVW - 14. ἕως αὐτῆς om. TV - πρὸς αὐτὴν om. W - post ἀπεστάλης add. παρὰ τίνος W - post ἡμᾶς add. τοὺς εὐτελεῖς κύριε W - 15. μέχρις ἡμῶν W - post δὲ add. ἅγια ἐκείνη εἰκὼν W - τὸ om. W - 15-16. χριστὸς post θαλάσσης trsp. V - 16. post θαλάσσης add. ὀρθοβατοῦσα W - εἰσδρομοῦσα om. W, εἰ εἰσδρομοῦσα - αὐτομάτως om. TV - 17. εἰσεληθούσα TV, εἰσελήλυθεν O - post ἀκατία add. ἐνθα ἦν ὁ πάπας (πατριάρχης sed γράφε ὁ πάπας mg. add. V), ἦν ἐκέισε TV - ἦνπερ ABOW, ἦν (ἦν V) καὶ TV - 18. μακάριος TV - 19. ὀρθιον O - βαστάζων ABOTV, κατέχων W - 20. ἐπὶ τοῦτω τῷ θαύματι συνδρομόντος trsp. TV - ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ναῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ V

(7.14.c) This holy and revered icon of the Saviour emits to this day a salty dampness round our Lord's feet and by means of this moisture many healings, mostly of the blind and paralytic, have been performed.

(7.15.a) Time will run out in narrating the myriad and extraordinary miracles which from of old and from the very beginning have been performed by the energy and power of God. **(7.15.b)** Once upon a time, on one of the islands of the Cyclades named Lemnos¹⁷³, on the southern side, a revered icon of the holy apostle Andrew was set up under the baldachin of the sanctuary in the church of the Holy Apostle Andrew. Once one of the presbyters, while preparing the eucharistic bread, (driven) by folly and madness at the instigation of the wicked devil, raised the lance¹⁷⁴ and going up to the icon gouged out its right eye. Instantly and immediately divine justice caught up with him. His right eye too, with a loud plop, jumped out of his own socket and stuck in the place of the gouged hole, in the eye of the icon.

173. Cf. above Walter, A. 12, p. lxiii.

174. Liturgical knife; see above Walter, A. 12, p. lxiii.

ναῶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου. (7.14.c) Αὕτη ἡ ἁγία καὶ σεβασμία εἰκὼν τοῦ Σωτῆρος μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, τὴν ἀλμυρίδα τῶν ποδῶν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἰχνῶν ἀναπολάζουσα, πολλῶν ἰάσεων διὰ τῆς νοτίδος ἐκείνης ἐπιτελουμένης, καὶ μάλιστα τυφλῶν καὶ παραλύτων.

- 5 (7.15.a) Ἐπιλείπει ὁ χρόνος διηγούμενος τὰ μυρία καὶ ἑξάισια θαύματα ἅπερ ἑξαρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν τετελειούργηται ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμεως. (7.15.b) Ποτὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσῳ λεγομένη Λήμνῳ, ἐν τῷ νοτιαίῳ μέρει τῆς χώρας, ἐν τῷ
 10 ναῶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, εἰκόνας σεπτῆς ἐνιδρυμένης τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, ἐν τῷ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κιβωρίῳ, καὶ δὴ τινὸς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνοία καὶ μανία, ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος κινήθεντος, διάρας τὴν λόγχην ἐν ἧ τούτους ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἐκάθαιρεν, ἀνελθὼν ἑξορῦττει τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς εἰκό-
 15 νος· εὐθέως δὲ καὶ παραυτίκα τοῦτον ἡ θεία δίκη προέφθασε, καὶ τούτου ὁ δεξιὸς ὀφθαλμός, κλὸξ ἀποψηφίσας ἐκπεπήδηκεν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ὀπῶν, καὶ προσκεκόλληται τῷ ἑξορυχθέντι τόπῳ τῷ τῆς εἰκόνας ὀφθαλμῷ.

ABOTVW

1. ἁγίου ἀποστόλου ABOTV, κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων W - post αὕτη add. οὖν TV - 2. post σωτήρος add. ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ W - τῶν ποδῶν om. TV - 3. ἀναβλύζουσα W - 3-4. πολλῶν - παραλύτων ABOTV, πολλές ἐπιτελεῖ τυφλῶν καὶ παραλύτων τὰς ἰάσεις W - 4. ἐπιτελουμένης sic codd. sed ἐπιτελουμένων intelligendum - 5. Numerus 15 hic in A, sed infra (ante Ποτὲ γὰρ) invenitur in BOTV: numerus 14 paulo inferius (εἰκόνας σεπτῆς), invenitur in W - ἐπιλήψη T, ἐπιλήψει proposuit Sakkelion - διηγούμενον TVW - 6. ἐξ ἀρχῆς W et corr. Sakkelion - τετελειούργηται W, τελεσιουργῆται TV - 7. post θεοῦ add. σοφίας καὶ V - post ἐνεργείας add. τε TV - 8. νήσω TVW - λίμνῳ codd., Λήμνῳ corr. Sakkelion - 9. post ἀνδρέου add. τοιοῦτόν τι συνέβη· et numerus 14 mg. W - 9-10. εἰκόνας - Ἀνδρέου om. BO - 10. post τοῦ¹ add. αὐτοῦ TV - 10-11. τοῦ - τινος ABOTV, τῷ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κιβωτίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου ἀνδρέου, τίς W - 10. Ἀνδρέου om. TV - 11. ἀνοία καὶ ABTVW, ἀνοίκαι O - post μανία add. καὶ BO - 12. κινήθεντος V, κινήθεις W - 13. ἐκάθαιρεν O, διοικῶν ἦν W - ἀνελθὼν om. W - 14. εὐθέως δὲ om. W - τοῦτον om. W - 14-15. καὶ τούτου ABO, καὶ γὰρ τούτου TV, τούτου γὰρ W - 15. κλὸξ ABOTV, σκώληξ V, om. W - ἀποψηφίσας O, om. W - ἐκπηδήσας W - 15-16. ἐκ - ὀπῶν om. TV, τῆς οἰκείας ὀπῆς W et proposuit Sakkelion - καὶ om. W - προσκεκόλληθη W - 16-17. τόπῳ - ὀφθαλμῷ ABO, ὀφθαλμῷ, λέγω δὴ τῆς εἰκόνας TV et des. T, τόπῳ τῆς εἰκόνας W

(8.a) For nothing has escaped the Spirit-bearing and God-beholding apostles, but whatever the Holy Spirit spoke through the Law and the prophets, this they transmitted to the universal Church. Moreover, the use of copies reverently depicted in monuments set up in churches or holy places was accepted, because of their identity of name with the prototypes, by the holy Fathers, teachers and devout emperors, who for many years distinguished themselves in triumphant victories. Thus, having pulled down from their pedestals all demonic and idolatrous statues, they introduced the true and only worship of the life-giving and life-originating Trinity by means of the offering of the body of Christ, and accepted veneration through icons, as being symbols and marks of the truth¹⁷⁵. **(8.b)** If, therefore, copies of these images, I mean¹⁷⁶ those of Christ and the saints, were part and parcel of idolatrous practice, it is clear that their prototypes, both in essence and in title are insubstantial and non-existent things, which are spoken of, but do not exist. These wretches ignore the difference between images and idols, prototypes and copies, substance and person, class and species, form and figure, substantial and non-substantial, personal and impersonal. For *wishing to be wise, they have made fools of themselves*¹⁷⁷. As the prophet says, *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and set aside the prudence of the prudent*¹⁷⁸. **(8.c)** If the image of Christ is to be called an idol, as they blaspheme, then it was in vain that Christ became a man. He was rather a contriver of idolatry and responsible for introducing idolatrous scandals among the Christians. It was in vain too that the prophets proclaimed about him, namely, *It shall come to pass in that the Lord will utterly destroy all the idols of the earth, and there shall be no longer any remembrance of them*¹⁷⁹. In vain then has been the struggle and contest of the apostles and martyrs against the idols. In

175. Cf. 2.8. 5.a: on the contrast between idols and icons see Walter, C. 1, p. lxxii.

176. The Greek has φημι (I say), but it is possible that here it is used as parenthetically. "that is to say"; see above Harvalia-Crook, p. xliii.

177. Rom. 1:22.

178. Is. 29:14; cf. 1 Cor. 1:19.

179. Zach. 13:2.

(8.a) Οὐδὲν γὰρ λέληθε τοὺς πνευματοφόρους καὶ θεόπτας ἀποστόλους, ἀλλ' ἅπερ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, ταῦτα καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀγίων πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ βασιλέων εὐσεβῶν ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι
 5 τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκῃ διαπρεψάντων, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασι σεβασμίως τυπωθέντα, τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν πρωτοτύπων τὰ παράγωγα εἰσεδέξαντο· πᾶν δὲ δαιμονικὸν καὶ εἰδωλικὸν ἴνδαλμα ἐκ δάθρων ἀνασπᾶσαντες, τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ μόνην λατρείαν διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ ζωοποιῶ καὶ ζω-
 10 αρχικῇ Τριάδι προσαγηχότες, τὴν δὲ εἰκονικὴν σεβασμότητα ὡς τῆς ἀληθείας σύμβολά τε καὶ χαράγματα, εἰσεδέξαντο. (8.b) Εἰ οὖν τὰ παράγωγα τῶν εἰκόνων Χριστοῦ φημι καὶ ἀγίων, εἰδωλικά ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐμφέρουσι, δηλὸν ὅτι τὰ πρωτότυπα ἀνουσιῶν καὶ ἀνυπάρκτων πραγμάτων, λεγομένων μὲν, μὴ ὄντων δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ὀνομά-
 15 ζονται· ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ δεῖλαιοι διαφορὰν εἰκόνων καὶ εἰδώλων, πρωτοτύπων καὶ παραγῶγων, οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως, γένους καὶ εἶδους, μορφῆς καὶ σχήματος, ἐνουσίου καὶ ἀνουσίου, ἐνυποστάτου καὶ ἀνυποστάτου. Θέλοντες γὰρ εἶναι σοφοί, ἐμωράνθησαν. Ὡς λέγει ὁ προφήτης, Ἐπολεῖ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. (8.c) Εἰ οὖν ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς δυσφημοῦσιν εἶδωλον προσηγόρευται, μάτην ἄρα Χριστὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν, ἐφευρέτης μᾶλλον εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ αἴτιος εἰδωλικῶν σκανδάλων εἰσαγωγεὺς τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς γέγονε· μάτην ἄρα καὶ οἱ προφῆται βοῶσι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἐξολοθρεύσει κύριος πάντα τὰ εἰδωλα τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ἔσται μνήμη· μάτην ἄρα τὸ
 25 κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων ἀγώνισμα καὶ

ABO; V (1-7); W (1-11)

1. πνευματικούς V - ἀποστόλους καὶ Θεόπτας trsp. W - 3. καὶ¹ om. VW - παραδεδώκασι W - καθολικῇ ABOW, ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ V - καὶ² om. W - 5. ταῦτα ABOV, καὶ W - καὶ ἱεροῖς om. V - 6. τυπωθέντων V - 7. textus genuinus des. post εἰσεδέξαντο, sed altera peroratio additur (cf. infra Alt. 1) V - καὶ εἰδωλικὸν om. BO - 10. προσαγηχότες ABO, προσέφερον W - 11. σύμβολα (sine τε) W - textus genuinus des. post εἰσεδέξαντο, sed altera peroratio additur (cf. infra Alt. 2) W - 12. καὶ τῶν ἀγίων BO - 14. πραγμάτων om. O - 18. ὡς codd. ABO, Καὶ ὡς proposuit Sakkellion - 20. δυσφημία· κακὴ ἀγγελία mg. gloss. O

vain has baptism been practised among Christians for the last eight hundred years¹⁸⁰. Empty too has been our faith. We are still slaves and vassals of the devil, source of all evil, who has taken us prisoners. In vain then we bear the name of Christians. (8.d) If therefore the Church, as is said, has accepted idols and wooden statues, they must be destroyed from their very foundations like the idolatrous temples, altars and wooden statues. Let us look forward, then, to another Christ, another Mother of God, other apostles and martyrs, other Fathers and patriarchs and priests, another baptism, another chrism, another body and blood of this other Christ, another adoption as sons. All that was hoped for has been utterly ruined and destroyed. What shall we say to those who not only spit and tread upon the icon and figure of Christ the heavenly king, but also call them idols? What sort of forgiveness will these receive? (8.e) If one spits upon His icon because it is inanimate and motionless, did not Christ too, after he donned his divine humanity, become without life, breath and motion, a corpse shut in a tomb? Are not the holy relics of the apostles, the martyrs and the saints lifeless and dead? Well, ought they then to be spat upon? Are not the bodies of those in cemeteries dead? Is not the church building lifeless and an artefact assembled by human hands, which could be broken up again? Are not the God-inspired Gospels lifeless things and man-made? And this honoured and salvific cross and its representation? Are not the revered altar and the breads of the offertory, the sacred vestments, the sacred offerings and the holy symbols of the Church? Are not the imperial garments made from gold and precious stones, the work of human hands? Yet they are worthy of honour and reverence because they are worn by the emperor.

180. This is one of the rare chronological indications which supports a ninth century date of the *Letter*. There is here a slight discrepancy between the date in the title of the *Letter* (836) and Christ's crucifixion in his thirty-third year.

ἄθλον· μάτην ἄρα τῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα ἐν τοῖς Χρι-
 στιανοῖς πεπολίτευται· κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν· ἔτι ἐσμέν δοῦλοι καὶ
 ὑπόσπονδοι τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίσαντος ἡμᾶς ἀρχεκάκου διαβόλου· μάτην
 ἔχομεν τὴν χριστώνυμον κλησιν. (8.d) Εἰ οὖν ἡ ἐκκλησία ὡς φησιν
 5 εἰδῶλα καὶ ξόανα εἰσεδέξατο, δέον αὐτὰς ὡς εἰδωλικά τεμένη καὶ
 βωμοὺς καὶ ξόανα ἐκ βάθρων ἐδαφίζεσθαι· ἄλλον Χριστὸν προσ-
 δοκῶμεν λοιπόν, ἄλλην Θεοτόκον, ἄλλους ἀποστόλους καὶ μάρτυ-
 ρας, ἄλλους πατέρας καὶ πατριάρχας καὶ ἱερεῖς, ἄλλο βάπτισμα,
 ἄλλο χρίσμα, ἄλλο σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ ἄλλου Χριστοῦ, ἄλλην υἰοθε-
 10 σίαν, πάντα τὰ ἐλπισθέντα ἀπόλωλε καὶ διψήχεται; Τί φήσωμεν πρὸς
 τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως Χρι-
 στοῦ διαπτύοντας καὶ καταπατοῦντας, οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδῶλα
 ἀποκαλοῦντας; Ποίας συγγνώμης τεύξονται οὗτοι; (8.e) Εἰ δὲ ὡς
 ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον ταύτην διαπτύει, τί οὖν, οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς
 15 κατὰ τὸ πρόσημμα τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἄψυχος καὶ ἄπνους
 καὶ ἀκίνητος γέγονε νεκρὸς ἐν τάφῳ κατακλειόμενος; Οὐχὶ τὰ ἅγια
 λείψανα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ δικαίων ἄψυχα καὶ νε-
 κρά; Τί οὖν, ἄρα ἀποπτυστέα; Τὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ὡσαύ-
 τως οὐχὶ νεκρά; Οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἄψυχος καὶ χειροποίητος συ-
 20 νισταμένη ἐκ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάλιν διαλυομένη; Οὐχὶ τὰ
 θεόλεκτα εὐαγγέλια ἄψυχα καὶ χειροποίητα; Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τίμος καὶ
 σωτήριος σταυρὸς καὶ τὸ τούτου ἀπεικόνισμα; Οὐχὶ τιμία <τή> τρά-
 πεζα καὶ οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ ἐνδυταί, καὶ τὰ ἱερά
 ἀναθήματα, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅγια σύμβολα; Τὰ βασιλικά ἐνδύ-
 25 ματα, οὐχὶ ἐκ χρυσίων καὶ λίθων τιμίων κατεσκευάσται, ἔργα χειρῶν
 ἀνθρώπων; Ἄλλ'οὖν γε τιμητέα καὶ σεβάσµα διὰ τὸν φοροῦντα βα-
 σιλέα.

ABO

3. αἰχμαλωτεύσαντος O - 4. ἡ om. BO - 9. χρίσμα A - 10. διψήχεται proposuit Sakkelion,
 διήχεται codd. - 22. art. post τιμία proposuit Sakkelion - 23. αἱ om. BO

(8.f) *Oh how has the wisdom of the wise perished and the prudence of the prudent has been set aside!*¹⁸¹. For wishing to be wise they have made fools of themselves¹⁸², since in their case the god of this world has blinded in all their ways the minds of the unbelievers, of the doubters and unstable, to the extent that they were not illuminated by the Light of the true faith, *He who is the image of the invisible God*¹⁸³, invariable and immutable. (8.g) *All that we have heard, we have recognized, and our fathers have recounted to us, declaring the praises of the Lord and his mighty acts and the wonders he has performed*¹⁸⁴. These are the blessed and holy apostles, the holy Fathers and teachers, Basil¹⁸⁵, Gregory of Armenia¹⁸⁶, the holy martyr, Gregory the great wonder-worker¹⁸⁷, Gregory the Theologian¹⁸⁸, Gregory of Nyssa¹⁸⁹, Amphilochios of Iconium¹⁹⁰, Dionysios the Areopagite¹⁹¹, Irenaeus of Lyons¹⁹², Ambrose of Milan¹⁹³, Athanasios the Great¹⁹⁴, Theodotos of Ancyra¹⁹⁵, and many other

181. Cf. Is. 29:14.

182. Rom. 1:22.

183. Col. 1:5.

184. Ps. 77:3-4.

185. See above, p. 22, n. 102.

186. Considered the founder of the Armenian Church and its first bishop, he lived in the first half of the fourth century. His Vita was written by Agathangelos: G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange* (Louvain, 1973); tr. R.W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, N.Y., 1976); idem, *The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

187. Gregory bishop of Neocaesarea (Pontos) (c.240-270/5).

188. Gregory Nazianzene, one of the Cappadocian Fathers and close friend of Basil the Great; bishop of Constantinople (380-381), of Nazianzus (382-384); died c.390.

189. Brother of Basil the Great, theologian and the youngest of the Cappadocian Fathers; born sometime between 335 and 340, died after 394.

190. Theologian and friend of the Cappadocian Fathers and cousin of Gregory Nazianzene; born c.340/5, bishop of Iconium c.373, he fought against heretics, in particular the adherents of Messalianism; died after 394.

191. See above p. 24, n. 105.

192. Irenaeus of Lyons (c.130-c.200), bishop of Lyons (177/8-c.200), opposed the Gnostics, and in particular Marcion, and stressed the Oneness of the God of the Old Testament and the God who had revealed himself in Jesus.

193. Ambrose, bishop of Milan (373/4-397); an opponent of Arianism; greatly influenced by Greek ideas, especially those of Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzene.

194. Bishop of Alexandria, theologian and philosopher; born 295, elected in 328, died in 373. Opposed to Arianism, and reluctant to reconcile with Arius after his recantation at the local synod of Tyre in 335, Athanasios was exiled to Treves in Germany, and remained there until Constantine's death (337). He suffered the same fate under Constantios II and Julian the Apostate.

195. Theodotos bishop of Ancyra, died c.438/446. The MSS wrongly give Theodosios.

(8.f) Ὡς πῶς ἀπώλετο ἡ σοφία τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ ἠθέτηται ἡ συνέσις τῶν συνετῶν. Θέλοντες γὰρ εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ διψύχων καὶ ἀκαταστάτων ἀνθρώπων, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, εἰς 5 τὸ μὴ ἐναυγάσαι αὐτοῖς τὸν φωτισμὸν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου ἀπαράλλακτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος.

(8.g) Ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἔγνωμεν αὐτά, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὰς αἰνήσεις Κυρίου καὶ τὰς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν οἵτινες εἰσὶν οἱ μακάριοι καὶ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες καὶ διδάσκαλοι, 10 Βασίλειος, Γρηγόριος Ἀρμενίας ὁ ἱερομάρτυς, Γρηγόριος ὁ μέγας θαυματουργός, Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης, Ἀμφιλόχιος ὁ Ἰκονίου, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Εἰρηναῖος <Λουγδούνου, Ἀμβρόσιος> Μεδιολάνων, Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μέγας, Θεόδοτος

ABO

2. συνετῶν corr. Sakkelion, ἀσυνετῶν A, ἀσυνέτων BO - 5. ὅστις O - 8. τοῦ κυρίου BO - 12. νύσις V - 13. ὁ¹ om. A - εἰκονίου codd. sed corr. Sakkelion - 13-14. εἰρηναῖος μεδιόλων codd. sed correctiones proposuit Sakkelion - Θεόδοτος corr. Sakkelion, Θεοδόσιος codd.

holy Fathers, and the synod of the two hundred and eighty nine holy Fathers¹⁹⁶.

(9.a) Shame therefore on the ravings of the iconoclasts together with their soul-destroying teachers, Valentinus¹⁹⁷ and Marcion¹⁹⁸ who preached that Christ's redemption was imaginary; the impious Eusebios¹⁹⁹, the propagator of the Arian impiety; a certain Cypriot, Epiphanides, falsely called so²⁰⁰, for this Epiphanides, a follower of the docetists²⁰¹, was sent into exile by the great Emperor Theodosios²⁰².

(9.b) If somebody among the very ignorant makes the objection that Nebuchadnezzar set up his golden image and that the three holy children refused to worship it because of their love of God²⁰³, let him learn the following. That godless king did not render reverence to the heavenly God, but being vain he appropriated the divine glory for himself. For thus ran the inscription on that famous statue: "Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest god". On account of this, the holy and blessed children turned away from him since he was considered to be only an earthly god, but certainly did not insult him, spit on him, or

196. Sakkelion identified this synod with the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople 680, while admitting that the tradition on the number of council Fathers present is in favour of the number 170. The Patriarchs may be referring to the Quinisext Council in Trullo, 692, where according to the *Synodikon Vetus*, 143 (ed. Duffy and Parker, p. 120), the number of the participants was 240, or they may have accepted another tradition, according to which a further 124 Western bishops were considered to have been (at least morally) present at the Sixth Council (cf. Theognostos, *Thesaurus* XIV, 152-154, p. 84).

197. Valentinus of Rome, second century Gnostic, who rejected the incarnation, on the grounds that matter was considered to be alien to divine nature.

198. Second-century Gnostic, who denied that Christ, the redeemer, was born of a woman.

199. Eusebios, bishop of Nicomedia (325, 328/9-342); upheld the cause of Arius after his condemnation at the synod of Egypt in 320, exiled after the council of Nicaea, but recalled three years later and restored to his see. Despite this, he remained a staunch supporter of Arius.

200. His name in Greek means "illuminator". This Epiphanides is unknown. Sakkelion (p. 196) suggested Epiphanios son of Carpocrates, a Gnostic.

201. They believed that the appearance of the divine Christ in the flesh was a mere illusion (δοκῆσις, from δοκέω, to seem).

202. Theodosios I (379-395), who by his edict of 380 declared Orthodoxy the true faith, and condemned Arianism at the First Council of Constantinople in 381.

203. Cf. Dan. 3:1.

Ἀγκύρας, καί ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ οἱ διακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα ἑννέα τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων σύνοδος.

5 (9.a) Αἰσχυνέσθωσαν λοιπὸν εἰκονοκλαστῶν τὰ φρυάγματα, μετὰ τῶν ψυχοφθόρων καθηγητῶν αὐτῶν, Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ Μαρκίων ἐν φαντασίᾳ τὴν Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν λέγοντες γεγονέναι, Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἀσεβῆς τῆς ἀρειανικῆς δυσσεβείας πρόβολος, Ἐπιφανίδης τις Κυπριώτης καὶ ψευδώνυμος· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἐπιφανίδης τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν Δοκητῶν γεγωνῶς, ἐξόριστος γέγονεν ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

10 (9.b) Εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἁγαν ἀμαθῶν διαπορεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀναστηλωθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ χρυστῆς εἰκόνος, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν παίδων θεοφιλείας μὴ προσκυνηθείσης, μανθανέτω ὁ τοιοῦτος. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἄθεος βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος τῷ οὐρανίῳ Θεῷ τὸ σέβας ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν θεϊκὴν δόξαν ὡς κενόδοξος ἐσφειρίζετο· οὕτως γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκείνης, Μέγιστος
15 θεὸς Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, διὰ τοι οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ μακάριοι παῖδες ὡς ἐπίγειον νομιζόμενον θεὸν ἀπεστράφησαν, ὅλως οὖν οὔτε ἐνύβρισαν,

ABO

1. Ἀγκύρας proposuit Sakkelion, ἀγκύρων codd. – 4. οὐαλεντιανὸς A, οὐαλεντιανὸς BO, correctionem proposuit Sakkelion – 6. Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ Καρποκράτους proposuit Sakkelion – 8. δοκητῶν AB, δογμάτων O – 11. ναβουχοδονόσωρ AO – 12. θεοφιλείας codd. sed corr. Sakkelion – 16. ναβουχοδονόσωρ codd. – διὰ τοι AB, διὰ τοῦτο O

revile him. (9.c) If on that occasion those who had not worshipped the image of the tyrant king were delivered to the flames, will not those be liable to eternal fire who do not revere, but just the opposite, even spit on the icon of the heavenly King, Lord of heaven, earth and underworld, who is our God and Saviour Jesus Christ?

(9.d) Since whoever tramples upon or rejects the image and shape of the life-giving Cross in whatever material it may be depicted, though made by human hand, is a foul infidel²⁰⁴ and a denier of Christ and has made himself alien to the whole Christian faith because of the insult he is already levelling at the prototype, *how much greater punishment and eternal condemnation do you think, will be deserved²⁰⁵* by anyone who sets aside the revered and honoured image of the crucified One, who sanctified the Cross, and how much more so if he tramples it underfoot and spits upon it? Such a person is similar and equivalent to those Jews who spat in His face, struck Him on the head with a rod and slapped Him. As the great wonder-worker Gregory says, *Let all those be anathema and alien to the religion of the Christians who do not venerate the Cross of Christ and the image of the human form that lies upon it, and the depiction on icons of His theandric features, as being of the incarnate God Word rather than of just a mere man²⁰⁶.*

204. From *μωροπειζω*, see G.W. Lampe. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961); see also above Harvalia Crook, p. xlv.

205. Heb. 10:29.

206. It has not been possible to find this quotation among the extant writings of Gregory Thaumaturgos.

οὔτε κατέπτυσαν, οὔτε ἐλοιδόρησαν. (9.c) Εἰ οὖν οἱ μὴ προσκυνήσαντες τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ τυράννου βασιλέως πυρὶ παρεδόθησαν, πῶς οὐ πυρὸς αἰωνίου εἰσὶν ἔνοχοι, οἱ μὴ τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως καὶ δεσπότη, ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ προσκυνοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον μᾶλλον ἐμπτύοντες;

(9.d) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπέπερ ὁ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, ἕξ οἴασον ὕλης ἐγγεγραμμένον, καίπερ χειροποίητον ὄντα πατῶν ἢ ἀθετῶν, ὡς ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀνάγων, μαγαρίτης καὶ ἀρνησὸχριστος καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς ὀλικῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καθέστηκε, *πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χεῖρονος ἀξιωθῆσθαι τιμωρίας* καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου ὁ τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ σεβάσιμον εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, τοῦ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀγιάσαντος, ἀπαναινόμενος, *πόσῳ μᾶλλον καὶ καταπατῶν καὶ ἐμπτύων;* Οὗτος ὁμοῖος καὶ ἰσορροπὸς ἐστὶ τῶν ἐμπτυσάντων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τυψάντων αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλάμῳ, καὶ ῥαπισάντων αὐτόν, καθὼς λέγει ὁ μέγας θαυματουργὸς Γρηγόριος, *ὅτι Οἱ μὴ προσκυνοῦντες τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἰκόνα, καὶ τὴν ἐν εἰκόσι γραφὴν τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὡς Θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκωθέντος, καὶ οὐχ' ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψιλοῦ, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας ἀλλότριοι.*

ABO

7. cf. *Alt. I*, 5-6 - ἐπέπερ om. *Alt. I* - 8. ἐγγεγραμμένον *Alt. I* - 9. ἄγων *Alt. I* - 10. ἀρνησὸχριστος *Alt. I* et sic corr. Sakkellion - ὀλικῆς om. *Alt. I* - 11. καθέστηκεν πίστεως, πόσον *Alt. I* - ἀξιωθῆσεται *Alt. I* - 13. τοῦ² om. *Alt. I* - τόν om. BO - 14. πόσῳ μᾶλλον om. *Alt. I* - 15-16. καὶ - αὐτόν om. *Alt. I* - 17. καθὼς καὶ ὁ μέγας λέγει *Alt. I* - θαυματουργὸς om. *Alt. I* - 18. ἐπ' αὐτῷ codd., ἐν αὐτῷ *Alt. I* - 19. post ἐν add. τοῖς *Alt. I* - 21. εἴτωσαν BO - 21-22. τῆς - ἀλλότριοι codd., ἀλλότριοι τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν *Alt. I*

(9.e) But as the Holy Church of God received from the very beginning and from the start, and was confirmed in, so she remains unchanged in, drawing on the apostolic traditions, the enactments of the Fathers, the holy pronouncements of the Patriarchs, the legislation of the great and orthodox emperors, in short drawing on all the ordinances and regulations of the Church hierarchy, *from the rising of the sun to its setting*²⁰⁷, all being in agreement in thought, speech and inspiration on these matters (of the icons), all having distinguished themselves in reverence towards them, having pleased God in their regard, been distinguished in their respect, and honoured by the Holy Spirit in the performance of miracles, in the gifts of inspiration, foreknowledge and diverse spiritual powers, whose holy relics poured forth fragrant myrrh after their death, and through the faith in Christ Jesus our Lord the Church has attained great liberty of spirit.

(10.a) Imitate the devout and Christ-loving Emperor Constantine, son of blessed Helen; during a full thirty-four years he distinguished himself *by his great devotion and reverence*²⁰⁸; he subdued all the barbarian nations, making them *a footstool for his feet*²⁰⁹, holding sway with a divine power under the standard of the cross, as was mentioned above²¹⁰. **(10.b)** Indeed, so compassionate and well disposed towards the monastic state was this righteous Emperor that they recount²¹¹ how on one occasion, when certain accusers had handed him writs against priests and monks, this God-loving man ordered the documents to be burnt at once and he of blessed memory exclaimed, "If I were to see with my own eyes a priest or a monk committing a fault, I would personally spread out my cloak and cover him". What emperor has ever existed more respectful of God and more kindly than this saint? Truly, on the day of judgement *for those who practise what is just, mercy and justice will meet*²¹².

207. Mal. 1:11.

208. Tim. 2:2.

209. Ps. 8:7.

210. See above 5.c-d.

211. *BHG* 369n. Various versions of this story exist: cf. F. Halkin, *AB*, 85 (1969), 440.

212. Is. 64:5; cf. Gen. 24:49; Lev. 19:15.

(9.e) Ἀλλά καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν ἡ ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παρέλαβε καὶ ἐκραταιώθη καὶ διαμένει, ἐξ ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων, ἐκ πατρικῶν νομοθετήσεων, ἐκ πατριαρχικῶν θεηγορημάτων, ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων θεσμοθετήσεων, ἐκ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἱεραρχικῶν διακοσμήσεων καὶ διατάξεων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ὁμοφρονούντων, τὰ αὐτὰ στοιχούντων, τὰ αὐτὰ συμπνεόντων, ἐν τούτοις εὐσεβῶς διαπρεψάντων, ἐν τούτοις Θεῷ εὐαρεστησάντων, ἐν τούτοις διαλαμπρύντων, ἐν θαυματουργίαις καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀξιοθέντων, θεοφορίας καὶ προγνώσεσι καὶ ποικίλοις χαρίσμασι, καὶ μετὰ πότμον μύρον εὐωδίας τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν λείψανα ἀναβλυσάντων, καὶ πολλὴν παρηγοσίαν ἐν πίστει τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν κεκτημένη.

(10.a) Μίμησαι τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόχριστον βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον, υἱὸν τῆς μακαρίας Ἑλένης, ἐν ὅλοις τριάκοντα τέσσαρσι χρόνοις διαπρέψαντα ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι, πάντα τὰ βάραθρα φύλα ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ὑποτάξας τῇ σταυροφόρῳ θεῖα δυνάμει κραταιούμενος, καθὼς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται.

(10.b) Καίπερ τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλοσυμπαθῆς καὶ φιλομόναχος ὁ δίκαιος βασιλεύς, ὅτιπερ φησὶν ἐν μὲ τινῶν κατηγορῶν ἐπιδόντων αὐτῷ πιττάκια κατὰ ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν, ταῦτα μὲν παρευθὺ καῦσαι ὁ θεοφιλῆς ἀνὴρ ἐκέλευσε, τάδε φήσας ὁ ἀοίδιμος, ὅτιπερ, Ἐὰν ἴδω τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου ἱερέα ἢ μοναχὸν ἐν τινι παραπτώματι, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς τὴν χλαμίδα μου ἀπλώσας ἄν, ἐσκέπασα αὐτόν. Τίς οὖν ἄρα θεοσεβέστερος καὶ εὐσυμπαθέστερος ἐν βασιλευσί τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου; *Συναντήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ποιούσι τὸ δίκαιον ἐν κρίσει, ἔλεος καὶ δικαιοσύνη.*

ABO

3. θεηγορημάτων O - 3-4. θεηγορημάτων-βασιλέων om. Duchesne - 4. θεσμοθετήσεων BO et Sakkellion, θεσμοθέσεων A - 10. ποικίλαις BO - 12. κεκτημένη copeximus, κεκτημένοι codd., κεκτημένων Duchesne - 13. cf. *Ps-Dam.* 27c - 19. post τινῶν add. ἡμερῶν O - 20. παραυτίκα O - 22. μοναχὸν ἢ ἱερέα trsp. BO - 23. χλαμίδα O et Duchesne - 24. συμπαθέστερος BO

(10.c) Follow in the footsteps of that great luminary of piety, the orthodox Emperor Theodosios, who shone forth crowned by his religious faith. So outstanding a devout follower of Christ and of the monastic state was this religious personage, that during the war against the tyrant Maximus²¹³ in the Western regions, when he found himself in a very critical situation because of the enemies' large numbers — there were three hundred thousand of them while his own army numbered only thirty thousand soldiers — he sent a messenger to one of the most saintly of the monks, imploring him as an ally to give him the support of prayer. The monk in question was called Donatus. **(10.d)** This very holy and divinely inspired monk, foreseeing by God's help what the future would be, sent to the religious Emperor his own hairshirt and cloak, along with the hood from his head and his staff. The magnanimous Emperor, full of hope, joyfully received these things with faith and having embraced them, he donned them in place of breastplate, helmet and *broadsword*²¹⁴, and gripping the staff in place of a lance he mounted his horse. At that point an angelic host, sent by God, appeared on fiery horses, and turning the tables proceeded to hurl the enemy one and all into the trenches which the enemy had dug there as a hunting trap, while the commanders captured the tyrant alive at Megale Gephyra²¹⁵ and threw him at the feet of the Emperor. **(10.e)** What can be more sublime than this for anyone with some sense? How could he have been judged worthy to have the angelic host come as reinforcements on his behalf? Was he not also a venerator of the holy icon of Christ? Examine and see his sacred offerings, the sacred vestments, and sacred vessels. Touch and look at the sacred paten, on which is engraved with encaustic technique the Last Supper of Christ along with his twelve apostles²¹⁶. **(10.f)** With regard to this sacred

213. Sakkelion (p. 38 n.3) points out that Maximus is the name given by Zonaras (III. 13, p. 85,4-12; *PG* 134, col. 1172A), but that other ecclesiastical historians identify the tyrant as Eugenios, and the monk who presented Theodosios with his staff as an Egyptian monk called John (cf. Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* 5. 24, *PG* 82, col. 1252A; Cedrenus, v. 1, p. 568; *PG* 121, col. 617C). The usurper Eugenios (392-394), who sought support from the pagan party against Theodosios I, seems to be more appropriate, since Magnus Maximus (383-388) posed as a champion of Orthodoxy. Both taken prisoner, Eugenios at Frigidus and Maximus at Aquileia, were put to death (E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1959], pp. 194-207).

214. Ap. 19:15, 21.

215. In the MSS this is given as Gephyros. See Gauer, *Synodalbrief*, p. 61 n. 2.

216. See Walter, B. 6, p. lxix.

(10.c) Ἰγνηλάτησον τὸν μέγαν τῆς εὐσεβείας λαμπτήρα Θεοδόσιον τὸν ὀρθόδοξον βασιλέα, πίστεως εὐσεβοῦς στέμματι κατηγλαϊσμένον. Ὡστε τοσοῦτον ἦν καὶ οὗτος φιλόχριστος καὶ φιλομόναχος ὁ εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ, ὅτι περὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ τυράννου Μαξίμου πόλεμον ἐν
 5 τοῖς ἔσπεροις μέρεσιν, ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ πολλῇ συσχεθεὶς ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων πληθύνει, τριακοσίων χιλιάδων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων στρατευμάτων τριάκοντα χιλιάδων ὄντων, ἀποστέλλει ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ὀσιωτάτων μοναχῶν παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν εἰς εὐχὴν σύμμαχον ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτῷ· Δονάτος δὲ τοῦνομα αὐτῷ. (10.d) Ὁ δὲ ὀσιώτατος
 10 καὶ θεοφόρος μοναχός, θεόθεν προγνοὺς τὸ μέλλον, ἀποστέλλει τῷ εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ, τὸν τε τρίχινον χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κάρας κουκούλιον, καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ εὐέλπης καὶ μεγαλόψυχος βασιλεύς, περιχαρῶς μετὰ πίστεως ταῦτα δεξάμενος καὶ περιπτυσάμενος ὡς θώρακα καὶ κόρυθα καὶ ῥομφαίαν
 15 δίστομον ἐνεδύσατο, τὴν τε βακτηρίαν ἀντὶ δόρατος κατέχων ἐφ' ἵππου γίνεται. Καὶ δὴ θεία τις ἀγγελικὴ παράταξις ἐφ' ἵπποις πυρίνοις ἐφίσταται, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄρδην ἐν τοῖς βοθύνοις, [ἐν] οἷς ὤρυσαν ἐν παγίδι θηρευτῶν ἀντιστρεπτικῶς ἐκείσε κατέβαλον, τὸν τε τύραννον ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Γεφύρᾳ οἱ σατράπαι ζῶντα χειρωσάμενοι,
 20 τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ βασιλέως προσέρριψαν.

(10.e) Τί τοῦτου τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ὑψηλότερον; Πῶς κατηξίωται ἀγγελικῆς στρατιᾶς παράταξιν συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι; Οὐχὶ καὶ οὗτος προσοκνητῆς ἦν τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ εἰκόνας; Ἐρεῦνησον καὶ ἴδε τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ ἀναθήματα, τὰς ἱεράς ἐνδυτάς, τὰ ἱερὰ σκευή· ψηλά-
 25 φησον καὶ ἴδε τὸν ἱερὸν δίσκον <εἰς> ὄνπερ ἐγκαυστῷ καλλιεργήματι ὁ μυστικὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεῖπνος μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων κεκόλαπται. (10.f) Ὅνπερ ἱερὸν δίσκον Θεόδωρος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῶν

ABO

1. cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28a – μέγα A – 4. μαξιμίνου A et *Ps-Dam.* – 9. δονάτος BO, δόνατος A (cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28a) – §10d, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28b – 18. ἐκεῖ O – 19. Γεφύρα *Ps-Dam.*, γεφύρω codd. – ζῶντα om. BO – 21. cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28c – 22. συλλήπτορα BO – 23. post Ἐρεῦνησον cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28d – 25. εἰς scripsimus ex *Ps-Dam.* – ἐγκαύστῳ proposuit Sakkellion – 27. §10f, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 28d

paten, when Theodore²¹⁷, the treasurer of the Church of the Holy Apostles, was elected to be archbishop of the city of Syracuse he wrote out his profession of faith and placed it upon the said paten. Anthony²¹⁸ then said to him, "If you want to convince us that you are of like mind with us, trample on the paten". Theodore, who was vainglorious and riddled with the lust for power, promptly carried out the order, without shame or blushing. (10.g) What forbearance and patience on the part of Jesus Christ! How was this conduct less blasphemous than that of Balshazzar?²¹⁹ How did it fall short of Judas' insolence? *Will not God bring these things to account?*²²⁰ Yes, indeed, for *Cain will be avenged sevenfold, but Lamech seventy times sevenfold*²²¹. Can such conduct be possible, Emperor, among the archbishops and patriarchs of the kingdom of the Christians? (10.h) However, not much time passed and the wretched Theodore²²² encountered and underwent an untimely fate. Because of such utterances *from his loud sounding tongue*²²³, he suffered dreadful pangs in his tongue, proper to somebody who has fallen into the depths of evil deeds and despaired of himself, like another Iscariot. He was struck by an unseen blow from the angel of the Lord and as in the case of the God-opposing Herod, worm-infested sores broke out on his tongue. As for the accursed Anthony, once their falsely named and blasphemous synod had been held²²⁴, he was completely consumed by a very

217. Theodore Κρῆτινος, archbishop of Syracuse, sometime after 827 and before 844 (J. Gouillard, 'Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclasme', *B*, 31 [1961], 387-401). His name in the list of those anathematized in 787 (Mansi 13, col. 400B), is a later addition, missing from the original Latin translation (399B). For his presence in the Council of Constantinople (869), see above p. xxxiv. He is also mentioned among the anathematized in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (ed. Gouillard, p. 57,176).

218. Anthony I Kassimatas, Patriarch of Constantinople (821-837); lawyer, monk, and abbot of the monastery of Metropolitou (Janin, *Églises et monastères*, p. 197); having been the iconophile bishop of Syllaion in Pamphylia he joined the iconoclasts during Leo V's reign, and was named by him patriarch in 821. He was anathematized in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (ed. Gouillard, p. 57,173; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 140-1); see also below *Deposition*, p. 134.

219. Dan. 5.

220. Ps. 43:22.

221. Gen. 4:24.

222. Gauer under the impression that both prelates suffered from the same affliction, and considering this to be unlikely, replaced Theodore with Anthony (*Synodalbrief*, *app. font.* p. 61,31). None of the arguments put forward justify the alteration.

223. Ps. 11 (12):3.

224. The time sequence suggests that this iconoclast synod took place just before 837, the year of Patriarch Anthony's death (see above Chrysostomides, p. xxi n. 25). Treadgold links this synod with Theophilos' edict of 833 against the iconophiles, and assumes that it took place at the same time (*Byzantine Revival*, pp. 280-1, 436 n. 386).

Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων ψηφισθεὶς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Συρακουσέων πό-
 λεως, ποιήσας ἰδιόχειρον, τέθεικεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ προορηθέντι δίσκῳ
 καὶ φησὶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πρὸς αὐτόν, Εἰ πληροφορεῖς ἡμᾶς ὁμόφρων
 ἡμῶν εἶναι, πάτησον αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ φιλόδοξος, τῷ πάθει τῆς φιλαρ-
 5 χίας τετρωμένος ἐτοιμότητα τὸ κελευσθὲν ἀναιδῶς καὶ ἀνευθριά-
 στως ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεόδωρος. (10.g) Ὡς τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυ-
 μίας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τί τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Βαλτάσαρ ἀσεβείας
 ἡττώτερον; Τί τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Ἰούδα τολμηρίας ἀσθενέστερον; Οὐχὶ ὁ
 10 Θεὸς ἐκζητήσει ταῦτα; Ναι καὶ πάντως, ὅτι ἐπτὰκις ἐκδεδίκηται
 <ἐκ> Κάιν, ἐκ δὲ Λάμεχ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτὰ· οὕτως ἄρα ὁ βασι-
 λεὺ ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ πατριάρχαις τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Χρι-
 στιανῶν; (10.h) Οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου, καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος ἄωρον
 μόρον ὁ ἄθλος διήνυσε καὶ διήμειψε· διὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς με-
 15 γαλορρήμονος γλώσσης, δύσθεα γλωσσαλγήματα τοῦ ἐμπεσόντος εἰς
 βάθη κακῶν, καὶ ἀπογνότος ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλου Ἰσακariώτου· ὡς ὁ
 Ἡρώδης ὁ θεομάχος, ὑπ' ἀγγέλου Κυρίου ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ παταχθεὶς,
 σκωλήκων ἔλκη ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ ἀνέβρυσε· καὶ ὁ θεήλατος
 Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τὴν ψευδώνυμον θεομάχον σύνοδον αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀσθε-

ABO

1. τῆς AB, τῶν O - 2. τεθείκει A - αὐτόν O et tacite corr. Sakkelion - 6. §10g. cf. *Ps-Dam.*
 28e - 9. ἐκδικεῖται BO - 10. ἐκ addidimus cum LXX - 12. θεόδωρος ABO, cf. *Ps-Dam.*
 28e, Ἀντώνιος proposuit Gauer - 14. τοῦ AB, τούτου O - 15. ἀπογνότος corr. Sakkelion.
 ἀπογνότια A, ἀπογνώτια BO - 17. ἔλκη codd. - θεοήλατος BO

serious illness. Even now the patient Jesus put off the sequel, perhaps offering him the opportunity to repent, while afflicting and making an example of his loud-sounding tongue²²⁵. Truly, *their throats were open graves*²²⁶, so that even in life he forecast the corruption of the worms awaiting him, the promise of a sleepless future.

(11.a) There is another story heard and told that is worthy of tears, wonderful and astonishing. The Emperor Michael²²⁷, your father, appointed one of the devout men, called Michael, to the archbishopric of the great city of Ephesus, as he was well known and beloved. The Emperor commanded that he should be consecrated by the so-called pseudo-Patriarch Anthony as soon as possible. (11.b) When the day of his appointment arrived – it happened to be Sunday, the most important day of the week – Michael was full of anxiety and doubt as to the consecration, for he was extremely devout and orthodox. He was of Amorian stock and one of the Emperor's close relatives and friends. Indeed, God, *He who does not desire the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent and live*²²⁸, who *uncovers depths out of darkness*²²⁹, and *foresees more powerfully*²³⁰ what is thought than what is visible, by means of vision and revelation He showed him that his patriarch had rejected and spurned God. (11.c) Thereupon he said he saw a man attired in a luminous and angelic light saying to him, "Come here and I will show you the patriarch by whom you are about to be consecrated today." And lo and behold, he took him into the great Church of St Sophia, through the sacred doors of the sanctuary, and the person who had appeared shouted sternly and threateningly with a fearsome gaze, saying the following, "Come out accursed one, come out unworthy one, come out anathematized one". (11.d) And lo and behold,

225. Ps. 11 (12):3.

226. Ps. 5:10.

227. Michael II (820-829), founder of the Amorian dynasty, adopted a policy of reconciliation by recalling the iconophile exiles but without restoring the veneration of the icons. He was himself a convinced iconoclast, as his letter to Louis the Pious makes clear (Mansi 14, cols. 417 ff.; Theophanes cont., pp. 47 ff.; Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 203).

228. Ez. 33:11.

229. Job 12:22.

230. Heb. 11:40.

νεία βαρυτάτη περιτρυχωθεῖς· ἀλλ'ὁ μακρόθυμος Ἰησοῦς ἀναβάλλεται, καιρὸν ἴσως διδοὺς μετανοίας, μαστίζων καὶ παραδειγματίζων τὴν μεγαλορρήμονα γλῶσσαν· τάφος γὰρ ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν· κεχημάτικεν ἔτι ζῶν, σαπρίαν σκολήκων τῶν μελλόντων

5 ἀκοίμητον διαδοχὴν προμηνυόντων.

(11.a) Ἔτερον δὲ διήγημα ἄξιον θρήνου, θάμβους τε καὶ ἐκστάσεως γέμον, καὶ λαλούμενον καὶ ἀκουόμενον Μιχαὴλ τοῦ βασιλέως πατρός σου ψηφισάμενός τινα τῶν εὐλαβῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦνομα Μιχαήλ, εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τῆς Ἐφεσίων μεγαλοπόλεως θρόνον,

10 ὄντα γνῶριμον καὶ προσφιλῆ, κελεύει αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου ψευδοπατριάρχου Ἀντωνίου τάχιον χειροτονηθῆναι. (11.b) Καὶ δὴ τῆς ὀροθεσμίας τῆς ἡμέρας φθασάσης, ἐπίσημος δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Κυριακὴ ἦν, ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ ἀμφιβολίᾳ τῆς χειροτονίας, ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πάνυ εὐλαβὴς καὶ ὀρθόδοξος, Ἀμοριαίῳ τῷ γένει καταγόμενος, ἐκ τῶν ἄγαν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως. Καὶ δὴ

15 ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν, ὁ ἀνακαλύπτων βαθέα ἐκ σκότους, καὶ τὰ νοούμενα ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀρώμενα κρεῖττόν τι προβλεψαμένον, δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ δι' ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως τὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου αὐτοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν

20 ἀποβολὴν καὶ ἀπόπτυσιν. (11.c) Καὶ ὀρᾷ φησὶν ἄνδρα φωτοφανῆ καὶ ἀγγελικῆ λαμπρότητι κατηγλαῖσμένον λέγοντα αὐτῷ, Δεῦρο δεῖξω σοὶ τὸν πατριάρχην ὑφ' οὗ μέλλεις σήμερον χειροτονεῖσθαι. Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μεγάλῃ Σοφίᾳ ἔνδον εἰς τὰ ἅγια θύρᾳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· καὶ κράζει ὁ φανείς μετὰ αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀπειλῆς βλοσυρῷ τῷ βλέμματι τάδε λέγων, Ἔξελθε κατάρα-

25 τε, ἔξελθε ἀνάξιε, ἔξελθε ἀναθεματισμένε. (11.d) Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄφνω

ABO

1. περιτρυχθεῖς A - 3. λάρυγξ codd. - 4. σαπρίαν σκολήκων om. BO - 5. ἀκοίμητων BO - 6. θάμβους corr. Sakkelion. Θάμβου codd. sed cf. infra §11e. - 12. ὀροθεσμίας A, ὄροθεσμίας BO, ὀροθεσίας proposuit Sakkelion - 14. πάνυ AB, πᾶν O - 16. τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν BO - 18. προβλεψάμενος proposuit Sakkelion - 19. Θεοῦ proposuit Sakkelion - 25. βλέμματι A, ὀμματι B, ὀματι O

suddenly a black man with the aspect of an Ethiopian came out from under the holy altar of the sanctuary. His face was dark, his right hand, withered completely, hung down as if it were dead, while his left arm trembled and was stained with blood from the elbow down to the nails. He came up to him and the white one said to the dark man, "Look, your servant has come to you, Zophinezer servant of Samael²³¹ set your seal on him". So the black man stretching out his hand sprinkled Michael's face with blood which ran profusely as if from a source, and made the sign of a twisted cross obliquely, like the letter X, on his head, saying to him "*You are my son, I have given birth to you today*"²³². (11.e) Then the resplendent angel who had appeared said to Michael who was seeing all this, "What do you want then? As you heard, here is your father and patriarch". When Michael recovered from his astonishment and surprise, he put off the consecration because he fell ill from despondency and despair.

(11.f) Let no one call in doubt the divinely revealed vision to the aforementioned Michael. For Athanasios the Great, in the city of Alexandria at the time of the blasphemous heresy of the Arians, saw in a dream a huge black man dancing on the altar. He related this dream to the Arian George, nicknamed the Cappadocian monster, who shortly after usurped the patriarchal throne of Alexandria²³³. (11.g) Moreover Anthony the Great²³⁴ with his prophetic eye saw in a waking vision a wild ass going round the altar in a circle and kicking the revered altar with both his hind legs²³⁵. Not long afterwards the leaders of the Arians took over the churches. As the prophet says about the men of God, *your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions*²³⁶.

231. Samael, the chief of satans, the principle of evil, identified with the serpent, carnal desire and with the angel of death (G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels* [London, 1967]).

232. Ps. 2:7.

233. He held the see between 356 and 361. Cf. Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* 2. 11, PG 82, cols. 1025B-1029A; Epiphanius, *Contra Haer.* III. 76, PG 42, col. 516BC; D. Gorce, *DHGE* XX, cols. 602-10. For Athanasios see above p. 56 n. 194.

234. Egyptian ascetic (c.251-356), whose eremitic life was widely imitated. His life was written by St Athanasios (*Vita Antonii*, PG 26, cols. 837-976; English tr. by R.T. Meyer, *The Life of Anthony* [London, 1950]; R.C. Gregg, *Athanasius: the Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus* [New York, 1980]; T.D. Barnes, 'Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The problem of The Life of Anthony', *JThS*, 37 [1986], 353-68).

235. Cf. Athanasios, *Vita Antonii*, PG 26, cols. 957-960.

236. Joel 2:28; cf. Acts 2:17.

- ὑποκάτωθεν τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἐξεληλύθει ἀνὴρ μέλας τῷ εἶδει Αἰθίοψ, ζοφερὰν τὴν ὄψιν ἔχων, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τέλεον ὡς νεκρὰν κρεμαμένην, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον χεῖρα ὄλην τρέμουσαν καὶ ἤμαγμένην, ἐξ ἀγκῶνων καὶ μέχρι ὀνύχων, καὶ ἦλθεν ἕως αὐτοῦ· καὶ φησὶν ὁ λευκοφανῆς πρὸς τὸν ζοφώδη ἄνδρα, Ἴδου ὁ ὑπηρέτης σου πρὸς σὲ ἐλήλυθε, σφράγισον αὐτὸν Ζοφινεζέρ ὑπέρετα τοῦ Σαμαήλ. Ὁ δὲ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα, ἐρράντισεν αὐθὺς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τῷ αἵματι ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς κρουνηδὸν ἐκβλυστάνον· τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν λελοξευμένως ὡσπερ χῑ διεσημανεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, φήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος Αἰθίοψ, *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. (11.e)* Εἶτα λέγει ὁ φανείς φωτοειδῆς ἄγγελος πρὸς τὸν ὄρῳντα Μιχαήλ, Τί οὖν βούλει; Ἴδου ὡς ἤκουσας ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης σου. Ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θάμβους καὶ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως ἐξυπνος γενόμενος ἀναβάλλεται τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει εἰς ἀσθένειαν περιπαρεῖς. (11.f) Καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖτω περὶ τῆς θεόθεν ἀποκαλυφθείσης ὀπτασίας τῷ προορηθέντι ἀνδρὶ Μιχαήλ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πόλει, ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν θεομάχῳ αἰρέσει, κατ' ὄναρ τεθέεται Αἰθίοπα μέγαν κατορχούμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὅπερ καὶ διεξήλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀρειανόφρονα Γεώργιον τὸν λεγόμενον Καππαδόκιον τέρας, τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰσδραξάμενον μετ' ὀλίγον. (11.g) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος τῷ προορατικῷ ὄμματι καθ' ὕπαρ βλέπει ὄναγρον κύκλω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου περιεστειχισμένον, καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθεν τοῖν ποδοῖν, τὴν τιμίαν τράπεζαν λακτίζοντα· οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἔξαρχοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας παρέλαβον. Ὡς λέγει ὁ Προφήτης περὶ τῶν θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν, *ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν, ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν, ὀράσεις ὄψονται.*

ABO

3. ἐξηραμμένη BO – 5. λευκοφαῆς tacite corr. Sakkelion – 19. κατ' ὄναρ corr. Sakkelion, καθ' ὄναρ codd. – μέγα codd. et Sakkelion, cf. §10c – 22. εἰσδραξάμενον corr. Sakkelion, εἰσδραξάμενου codd. – 24. περιεστειχισμένον A. περιεσχισμένον BO – 25. λακτίζοντες O

(12.a) There is another distressful story worthy of tears. For we must not interpret as simple imaginings and fictitious representations the things of God, who discloses to His chosen ones the outcome of future events. On the contrary, they should be interpreted as genuine divine revelations which He makes manifest to those *of pure heart*²³⁷, in the same way that He revealed the future to his prophets by means of dreams and riddles. (12.b) By the same token, a divine vision as to future events was revealed to one of our holy church leaders on the same day that the divinely appointed Patriarch²³⁸ was deposed. The man who had the vision said, "Behold, I saw in the great church an olive-tree laden with fruit planted in the middle of the ambo. Its top reached up to the great dome, its branches hanging with all sorts of fruit encompassed the whole of the church. (12.c) And lo, from the right side of the *mitatorikion*²³⁹ where the emperor customarily halts, a huge negro came out holding an axe in his hands and proceeded to attack the roots of the olive on either side, felled it completely to the ground, and obliterated it. Having planted in its place a wild tamarisk with branches full of thorns, he went out of the church. At once, the entire church was filled with billowing smoke lit up by stinking, sulphurous fiery flames without heat. (12.d) And behold inside the sanctuary stood *a woman robed with the sun*²⁴⁰, and tearing her robe and crying aloud she rushed out. (12.e) Lo and behold, from the side of the Holy Well entered a huge negro, pitch-black in appearance, walking together with the emperor. He stood on top of the sacred altar, his head reaching up

237. Cf. Matt. 5:8.

238. Patriarch Nicephoros I (806-815), historian and theologian, exiled by Leo V in 815 died in 829 (*Vita Nicephori*, by Ignatius the Deacon, ed. C. de Boor, in *Nicephori archiepiscopi constantinopolitani opuscula historica* [Leipzig, 1880], pp. 139-217; ed. and tr. by C. Mango (*CFHB 13*) (Washington D.C., 1990); P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* [Oxford, 1958]; cf. review by J. Gouillard, *BZ*, 51 [1958], 403-5).

239. On this see above Walter, B. 7, p. lxix.

240. Apoc. 12:1.

- (12.a) Καὶ ἄλλο δὲ διήγημα γοερὸν καὶ θρήνου ἀξιὸν οὐχ ὡς φάσματά τινα καὶ νοὸς ἀναπλάσματα δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ [ὑπὸ] τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐκβάσεις τῶν μελλόντων δεικνύντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀληθεῖς τὰς θείας ἀποκαλύψεις τῶν ἤδη καθαρῶν τῇ
- 5 καρδίᾳ φανεροῦντος, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦ Θεοῦ κεχηματίσται τὰ μέλλοντα δι' ἐνυπνίων καὶ δι' αἰνιγμάτων. (12.b) Οὕτω καὶ τινὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καθηγεμόνων ἱερωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, θεία τις ὄπτασία τῶν ἐσομένων διαδεικνύται, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ὁ θεσπέσιος πατριάρχης ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκβέβληται· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ δλέπων
- 10 ὅτι, εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐλαία κατάκαρπος πεφυτευμένη ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ἧς ἡ κορυφή ἀφικνεῖτο ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου τρούλλου, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Μεγάλην Ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς κλάδοις περιειλημμένη, καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις ἰδιώμασι τῶν καρπῶν κατακομῶσα. (12.c) Καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τοῦ μιτατορικίου ἔνθα
- 15 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἔθους ἴσταται, ἐξέρχεται ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ μέγιστος, πέλυκα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐλαίας τῇ ῥίζῃ προσράξας τῆδε κάκεισε, ταύτην διαμπάξ εἰς γῆν κατέρραξε καὶ ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε· καὶ δὴ ἀγριομύρικά τινα ἀντιπηξάμενος, ἔχουσαν κλάδους ῥάμνου, ἐξῆι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ αὐθις πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία πα-
- 20 φλάζουσαν βρομαίαν θείου ἀπύρου πυρὸς φλόγα, τὴν ἀνάβλυσιν ἐπλημύρησε. (12.d) Καὶ ἰδοῦ ἔνδον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου γυνή τις περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, περιϊσταμένη, τὸν χιτῶνα διασχίσασα, ἐξῆι ὀλολύζουσα μέγα. (12.e) Καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἁγίου φρέατος εἰσεληλύθει μέγιστος Αἰθίοψ, μέλας τῷ εἶδει, σὺν τῷ βασιλεύοντι
- 25 εἰσπορευόμενος, καὶ ἔστη ἐπάνω τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ

ΑΒΟ

1-9. Καὶ ἄλλο δὲ - ἐκβέβληται omisit per errorem Duchesne, p. 362 - 1. θρήνου corr. Sakkelion, θρήνους codd. - post ἀξιὸν add. καὶ Sakkelion - 1-2. φάσματι τινά...ἀναπλάσματα O - τοῦ om. A - 3. δεικνύντα codd., δεικνύμενα Sakkelion - 6. οὕτως A - 7. καθηγεμονίων O - 9. ἐκβέβλητο Sakkelion - 13. περιειλημμένην codd. - κατακομῶσαν codd. - 17. ἐφανῆ O - 18. ἀγριομύρηου O, ἀγριομύρικην proposuit dubitanter Sakkelion - ἔχουσαν om. O - 19. παφλάζουσαν Sakkelion, παμφλάζουσαν codd. - 20. θείου ἀπύρου Sakkelion, θεῖον ἀπύρον codd. - 21. ἐπλημύρησε codd.

to the great baldachin, while soldiers dressed in black uniforms surrounded the emperor. The negro began to dance on the sacred altar, spat high up into the air and uttered blasphemous words. The emperor and his soldiers, together with the whole crowd, along with, and in imitation of, the negro spat and mocked so that their shouting was heard everywhere. Then the emperor sent out his governors and generals to collect the whole multitude to the assembly of the dancing negro in order to insult and dishonour the Theotokos Mary, the mother of Jesus from Nazareth". (12.f) Behold, here the vision came to an end. The fruitbearing olive, planted *in the house of the Lord and in the courts of our God*²⁴¹ that bloomed forth, is Nicephoros, *the just* and spiritual *palm-tree*. The negro who danced with the emperor is the intruding infiltrator, Theodotos²⁴², the heresiarch and false patriarch; *the woman robed with the sun*²⁴³ is the Church of Christ, robed in the intelligible sun of true piety, whose divinely woven robe of orthodoxy was torn; the insults and spittings are the slanders of the impious who have dared to blaspheme.

(13.a) Many other notable miracles and marvels, of things visible and invisible, signs of divine wrath were revealed by God to many and worthy men. Most of these are worthy *of lamentation, dirge and woe*²⁴⁴ because, *on account of them, the wrath of God came upon the disobedient sons*²⁴⁵. It is manifest to all that the wrath of God has fallen on the ignorant and stupid people of perdition: *plagues, earthquakes, floods, eruptions of the surface of the earth, gushing forth of salty and boiling waters, violent deaths, civil wars, barbarian*

241. Ps. 134:2.

242. Patriarch Theodotos Melissenos Kassiteras (815-821), under whose presidency the Council of 815 repudiated the icons (P.J. Alexander, 'The Iconoclastic Council of Saint Sophia and its Definition', *DOP*, 7 [1953], 37-66). His name appears in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy among the anathematized (ed. Guillard, p. 57,173).

243. Cf. Apoc. 12:1.

244. Ez. 2:10.

245. Eph. 5:6.

ἀφικνεῖτο ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου κιβουρίου, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα μελαμ-
 βαφέσιν ἱματίοις ἐνδεδυμένοι περιεκύκλουν τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἦν ὁ
 Αἰθίοψ κατορχούμενος ἐπάνω τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, καὶ ἦν ἐμπτύων
 5 αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ, σὺν παν-
 τι τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐφαμίλλως καὶ ἀκολουθῶς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἐμπτύοντες καὶ
 ἐνυδρίζοντες, ὥστε ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν αὐτῶν, εἰς
 πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν. Καὶ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαποστέλλει ἄρχοντας
 καὶ στρατηγούς συναγαγεῖν παμπληθεὶ πάντας εἰς τὸν συναθροί-
 10 σμὸν τοῦ ὄρχουμένου Αἰθίοπος, τοῦ ὑβρίσαι καὶ ἀτιμάσαι τὴν θεο-
 τόκον Μαρίαν, τὴν τοῦ Ναζωραίου Ἰησοῦ μητέρα. (12.ϛ) Ἴδου τὸ
 ὄραθὲν πέρας εἴληφεν· ἡ γὰρ κατάκαρπος ἐλαία, ἡ πεφυτευμένη ἐν
 οἴκῳ Κυρίου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀύλαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐξανθήσασα, Νι-
 κηφόρος ὁ δίκαιος καὶ πνευματικὸς φοῖνιξ ὑπάρχει· ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ ὁ
 15 σὺν τῷ βασιλεὶ κατορχούμενος, ὁ ἀντίσρακτος καὶ παρείσρακτος Θε-
 ὀδοτος ὁ αἰρεσιάρχης καὶ ψευδώνυμος πατριάρχης· ἡ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον
 ἐνδεδυμένη γυνή, ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, ἡ τὸν νοσητὸν ἥλιον τῆς εὐσε-
 βείας περιβεβλημένη, καὶ τὸν τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας θεοῦφαντον χιτῶνα
 διεργηγμένη· ὕβρεις δὲ καὶ ἐμπτύσματα, τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν
 20 ἀσεβῶν βλασφημίας δυσφημήματα.

(13.α) Καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐξαισία τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα τῆς τοιαύτης
 θεομηνίας ὄρατῶν καὶ ἀόρατῶν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀξίοις ἃ θεόθεν ἀπε-
 καλύφθη· καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων πλείονα, *θρήνου, καὶ μέλους, καὶ*
 25 *σοῦαι ἄξια, δι' ἃ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπει-*
θείας, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀπαίδευτον λαὸν καὶ ἀσύνετον, καὶ πᾶσι
προδήλως ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνέσκηψε· λοιμοί· σεισμοί· καταποντι-
σμοί· ἀναδρασμοί γῆς, ἄλμυρέων καὶ ἐκβραζομένων ὑδάτων· θάνα-

ABO

1. κιβωρίου BO – μελεμβαφέσιν BO – 4-5. μετ' αὐτῶν A, μετ' αὐτὸν BO – 5. συμπαντι
 A – 11. ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ BO – μητέρα om. O – 19. διεργηγμένον B, διεργηγμένος O – τῆς
 om. A – 22. ὄρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα proposuit dubitanter Sakkellion – 24. post σοῦαι cf. Ps-Dam. 24d

*incursions*²⁴⁶, burning of churches, abandonment of countryside and cities, people being led into captivity, *like sheep to the slaughter*²⁴⁷, marched as far as Ethiopia, India and the far eastern corners of the earth; slaves and captives, *youths and virgins, old men with younger men*²⁴⁸, all ages utterly destroyed. *For the fathers will eat sour grapes and the children's teeth will be set on edge*²⁴⁹, and *I says the Lord, I visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation*²⁵⁰. (13.b) What is this pitiful sight and spectacle? Unabated is the anger of the hostile devil against the holy image of Christ the saviour, implacable the war of the opposing force of the enemy against the immaculate figure of the holy Mother of God, irreconcilable the hatred against the saints of that same Christ. How many emperors have waged war against the Church of Christ, how many tyrants have oppressed her? (13.c) But, even though for a short while they were given leave, *like frothing fierce sea waves*²⁵¹ that dash against a firm rock, they were broken up, *for the gates of Hades shall never prevail against her*²⁵², *for they are men and they die as men and fall as one of the princes*²⁵³. While the Church, indeed, has crowned herself with the trophy of immortality. *For God is in the midst of her and she will not be shaken, for God shall succour her in the early dawn*²⁵⁴. (13.d) For if the great Jacob, the patriarch, set up a pillar of stone and poured oil and called it *a fearsome place of the Lord and gate of heaven and house of God*²⁵⁵, how much more worthy of honour, reverence and veneration are the symbols of the Church? For if *nations revere the dust of his feet*²⁵⁶, how much more will they honour and revere the features of his form?

246. Cf. Basil, *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 408,31-32.

247. Cf. Is. 53:7; Acts 8:32; Rom. 8:36.

248. Ps. 148:12.

249. Ez. 18:2.

250. Exod. 20:5; Deut. 5:9.

251. Jude 13.

252. Matt. 16:18.

253. Ps. 81:7.

254. Ps. 45:5.

255. Gen. 28:18.

256. Is. 49:23.

τοι ἑξαίσιοι· πόλεμοι ἐμφύλιοι· ἔθνῶν ἐπιδρομαί· ἐμπρησμοὶ ἐκκλη-
 σιῶν· ἐρημώσεις χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων· αἰχμαλωσίαι λαῶν, ὡσεὶ πρό-
 δατα εἰς σφαγὴν πορευόμενα μέχρι Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ εἰς
 ἀνατολὰς γῆς· δοῦλοι καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι· νεανίσκοι καὶ παρθένοι, πρε-
 σβύτεροι μετὰ νεωτέρων καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία ἄρδην συντετέλεσται· οἱ
 5 γὰρ πατέρες φάγωσι τοὺς ὄμφακας, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αἰμωδιάσωσι, καὶ
 ἐγὼ φησι Κύριος ἀποδιδούς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρί-
 τῆς καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς. (13.b) Τί τοῦτο τὸ ἔλεεινὸν δράμα καὶ θέ-
 αμα; Ἀκατάληκτος ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ ἀντιπάλου διαδόλου κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας
 10 εἰκόνης τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ· ἄσπονδος ὁ πόλεμος τῆς ἐναντίας τοῦ
 ἀντικειμένου δυνάμεως, κατὰ τῆς ἀχράντου μορφῆς τῆς ἁγίας Θεο-
 μήτορος· ἀκατάλλακτος <ἡ> ἔχθρα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χρι-
 στοῦ. Πόσοι βασιλεῖς ἐπολέμησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πό-
 σοι τύραννοι κατεδυνάστευσαν κατ'αὐτῆς; (13.c) Ἄλλ'εἰ καὶ μικρὸν
 15 παρεχωρήθησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς κύματα θαλάσσης ἄγρια ἐπαφρίζοντα, ὡς
 εἰς στερεὰν πέτραν διαρραγέντα διελύθησαν· πύλαι γὰρ ἄβου οὐ κα-
 τισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς, ἄνθρωποι γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ ὡς εἰς
 τῶν ἀρχόντων πίπτουσι. Καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀθανασίας τρόπαια ἀνε-
 δήσατο· ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐ σαλευθήσεται, βοηθήσει
 20 αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πρὸς πρῶτῳ πρῶτῳ. (13.d) Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μέγας Ἰακώβ ὁ πα-
 τριάρχης λίθου στήλην ἀνεγείρας καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπιχύσας, τόπον Κυρί-
 ον φοβερόν, καὶ πύλην οὐράνιον καὶ οἶκον Θεοῦ ἀνηγόρευσε, πόσῳ
 μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύμβολα τιμώτερα καὶ σεβασμώτερα καὶ
 προσκυνήσεως ἄξια; Εἰ γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνή-
 25 σουσι τὰ ἔθνη, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς μορφῆς αὐτοῦ σε-
 βασθήσονται καὶ προσκυνήσουσι;

ABO

3. σφαγὴν AB, φυγὴν O – μέχρις Sakkellion – 6. αἰμωδιάσωσι Sakkellion, ὠμωδιάσωσιν A, ὀμωδιάσωσι B, ὀμωδιάσωσιν O – 10. χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος BO – 12. ἡ ἔχθρα Sakkellion, ἔχθρα ἢ Ps-Dam. – 16. εἰς AB, εἰ O – διαρραγέντα Sakkellion, διαρραγέν codd. – 18. ἐνε-
 δύσατο BO – 19. ὁ om. BO – 23. καὶ σεβασμώτερα om. O

(14) Therefore as proof and confirmation of the holy and inspired tenets of faith which have been piously defined by us, we have stamped at the heading of this *tomos*, our orthodox confession of faith, the honoured and revered countenance of both the All-Holy Mother of God, the Theotokos Mary, and of Him, the Word of God, who took flesh from her and became an infant²⁵⁷. (This we have done) as (a mark of) pride of our faith, as a crown of beauty, sceptre and seal of the King in heaven. We have shown to your sagacity, full of divine wisdom and divinely taught Majesty, the divine and heavenly and orthodox doctrine of the whole eastern diocese of patriarchal and apostolic sees, which have set forth inviolate and unadulterated the divinely originated tenets of the Church, thus following the Definition of our holy Fathers to the glory and veneration of the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, the pride of the orthodox faith, and to the praise of your pious reign.

(15) May the All-Sovereign and All-Powerful right hand of the Most High preserve your divinely-guarded and divinely-beloved Majesty, most mighty Theophilos and eternal Augustus. May your reign continue in profound peace and tranquillity, eternal and unshaken in triumphant victory together with your Christ-loving subjects through the mediation of the All-Holy Mother of God and Theotokos Mary and all the saints. Amen. Farewell Emperor, most beloved of God²⁵⁸.

257. Cf. above **Title (v)**, p. 2.

258. The final words are once more a play on the Emperor's name, "Theophilos" (Beloved of God); cf. above **Salutation (a)**, p. 2 n. 5

(14) Διὸ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ δεβαίωσιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν εὐσεβῶς
 δογματισθέντων εὐσεβῶν καὶ θεοπνεύστων λογίων, καὶ τὸν τίμον
 καὶ σεβάσμιον χαρακτήρα τῆς παναγίας θεομήτορος καὶ θεοτόκου
 5 Μαρίας, καὶ τοῦ ἔξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθέντος καὶ νηπιάσαντος Θεοῦ Λό-
 γου, ὡς καύχημα τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως καὶ στέφανον κάλλους καὶ
 σκῆπτρον καὶ βοῦλλαν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως, ἐν τῷ κεφαλαίῳ
 τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν τόμου ἐνετυπώσαμεν,
 δεικνύντες πρὸς τὴν θεόσοφον ὑμῶν ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ θεοδίδακτον βα-
 10 σιλείαν, τὸ ἔνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον καὶ ὀρθόδοξον φρόνημα πάσης ἀνα-
 τολικῆς τῶν πατριαρχικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων διοικήσεως,
 ἀπαραχάρακτα καὶ ἀνόθευτα ταῦτα τῶν ἐνθεαστικῶν δογμάτων τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας διατεθέντων, ἐπόμενοι τῷ ὄρω τῶν θεσπεσίων ἡμῶν πα-
 τέρων, εἰς δόξαν καὶ προσκύνησιν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζω-
 15 αρχικῆς Τριάδος, καὶ καύχημα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, καὶ ἔπαινον
 τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν βασιλείας.

(15) Ἡ παντοκρατορικὴ καὶ πανσθενὴς δεξιὰ τοῦ Ὑψίστου φυ-
 λάξει τὴν θεοφροῦρητον ὑμῶν θεοφιλεστάτην βασιλείαν κράτιστε
 Θεόφιλε καὶ αἰώνιε αὐγουστε· εἰρηνικωτάτη πολυετῆς βασιλεία, καὶ
 γαληνικωτάτη, αἰώνιος καὶ ἀσάλευτος τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη σὺν παντὶ
 20 τῷ ὑπηκόῳ φιλοχρίστῳ λαῷ διαμένοι αἰωνίζουσα, πρεσβείαις τῆς
 παναγίας θεομήτορος καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων
 ἀμῆν. Ἐρρωσο θεοφιλέστατε αὐτοκράτορ.

ABO

1. §14, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 30d – 3. πανάγνωσ O – 14-15. καὶ ἔπαινον τῆς εὐσε bis B – 16. φυλάξει Sakkelion, φυλάξει AB, φύλαξον O – 20. ὑπήκω BO – διαμένοι Sakkelion, διαμένη A, δια-
 μένει BO

Alternative Ending 1

(1) Thus we confess and proclaim that the holy Virgin Mary is genuinely and truly Theotokos. We also accept the holy apostles as eye-witnesses and servants of the Word. We accept God's holy prophets and martyrs, and the holy Fathers and teachers who have correctly designated the word of Christ's truth. (2) We accept the holy and ecumenical councils, of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers at Nicaea¹, of the one hundred and fifty Fathers in Constantinople², of the two hundred at Ephesus³, of the six hundred and thirty at Chalcedon⁴, of the one hundred and sixty-four in Constantinople for the second time⁵, then again of the two hundred and eighty-nine⁶; we accept (that) of those in Nicaea the second time⁷, which was gathered at the time of the holy and orthodox patriarch Tarasios⁸ for the sake of orthodox doctrines, in order to honour and revere the venerable icons, and that in the great church of Saint Sophia at the time of the very holy patriarch, Nicephoros⁹. (3) We accept all those they accepted, and we reject and anathematize all those that they canonically and lawfully rejected and anathematized, and we place them under canonical interdict. Hereby, along with the divinely inspired decree and canon, we subscribe the following: Believing in the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, we embrace the honoured icons. Let those who think otherwise

1. First Ecumenical Council, Nicaea I (325), see *Letter*, p. 20, n. 88

2. Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople I (381), reaffirmed the Nicene creed. But, as far as the Holy Spirit and the Son were concerned, it stated that the difference between them is that the Son is "begotten of the Father", while the Spirit "proceeds from the Father".

3. Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus I (431), which condemned Nestorianism.

4. Fourth Ecumenical Council, Chalcedon (451), see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92, n. 33.

5. Fifth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople II (553), where the so-called *Three Chapters* (the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa) were condemned on suspicion of Nestorian leanings.

6. Sixth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople III (681) against the monothelites; cf. above *Letter*, p. 58 n. 196

7. Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II (787), see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 106, n. 73.

8. Patriarch (784-806); formerly a layman and secretary to the Empress, with theological training and statesmanlike qualities. He presided over the Seventh Ecumenical Council. See, *Vita Tarasii*, ed. I.A. Heikel, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 17 (1891), pp. 391-439; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 128-9.

9. Either the Synod of 814 (*Regestes* 391) or that of 815 (*Regestes* 393); Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending', p. 418. Cf. below *Alt. Ending 2*, 48, 64-65; *Deposition*, 7.

- (1) Ὁμολογοῦμεν σὺν καὶ κηρύττομεν, τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοτόκον· δεχόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους ὡς αὐτόπτας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Λόγου· δεχόμεθα τοὺς ἁγίους τοῦ Θεοῦ προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας καὶ
- 5 διδασκάλους, τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀληθείας· (2) δεχόμεθα τὰς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους, τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτῶ ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
- 10 διακοσίων, τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πάλιν, ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα τεσσάρων, καὶ πάλιν διακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα ἑννέα· δεχόμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ δευτέρον, ἐπὶ Ταρασίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πατριάρχου ἐπὶ ὀρθοδόξων
- 15 δογμάτων συγκροτηθεῖσαν, εἰς τιμὴν καὶ προσκύνησιν τῶν σεβασμίων εἰκόνων, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Σοφίᾳ, ἐπὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου. (3) Καὶ οὕς μὲν ἐδέξαντο, δεχόμεθα, οὕς δὲ κανονικῶς καὶ ἐνθέσμως ἀπεβάλλοντο καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀποβαλλόμεθα καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν, καὶ κανονικῇ καθαιρέσει καθυποβάλλομεν· καὶ τῷ θεοπνεύστῳ ὄρω καὶ κανόνι ὑπογράφομεν τάδε, πιστεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον
- 20 καὶ ζωαρχικὴν Τριάδα, καὶ τὰς τιμίας εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμεθα· οἱ μὴ

1. σὺν om. AW - τὴν bis scripsit V, καὶ τὴν AW - 3. καὶ ὑπηρέτας om. W - Θεοῦ λόγου A - post δεχόμεθα add. καὶ AW - 4. καί² om. A - τοὺς om. AW - 7. τῆ¹ W - ἁγίων om. A - 8. ρν¹ AW - ἁγίων πατέρων W - 9. σ¹ A - καλχηδόνι V - χλ¹ AW - καὶ om. W - 10. πάλιν om. AW - ρξδ¹ A, ρξε¹ W - 11. σπθ¹ AW - post ἑννέα add. πατέρων W - τὸ δευτέρον ἁγίαν καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον AW - 12. ἁγιωτάτου W - post πατριάρχου add. γεγονοῦσαν AW - 13. post τῶν add. τιμίων καὶ AW - 14. καί² om. A - 15. post ἁγιωτάτου add. καὶ ὀρθοδόξου AW - 16. ἀπεβάλλοντο VW - 18. κανονικῶς AW - ὑποβάλλομεν AW - ὄρω V - 19. post ὑπογράφομεν add. ὡσπερ κάκεινοι et incipit textus alius W - 20. ζωαρχικὴν des. mutila A

be anathema; let those who do not hold thus be expelled far from the Church. Such is the faith that has brought light to the whole world.

(4) Therefore those who attempt to overturn any of the lawful traditions of the universal Church – be they icons, or pictorial representation, or the shape of the cross, or anything else, as Chrysostom says, *Who undermines any part of the Church destroys the whole*¹⁰ –, if they are priests, let them be suspended from all functions, if they are monks or lay persons, let them be anathematized and excommunicated from the Church. (5) The reason is that anyone who tramples upon and rejects the icon and shape of the life-giving Cross, no matter from what material it is painted, although man-made, is a foul infidel¹¹ and enemy of Christ, and he has made himself alien to the faith of Christians because of the insult he is already levelling at the prototype itself. How much greater punishment and eternal condemnation, do you think, will be deserved by anyone who sets aside, and tramples underfoot, and spits upon the sacred and revered icon of the crucified One, who sanctified the cross? (6) Such a person is similar and equivalent to those Jews who spat upon His face. As the great Gregory says, *Let all those be anathema and alien to the religion of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ who fail to venerate the cross of Christ and the man-shaped image that lies upon it, and the divine-human features of Him painted on icons, as being of the incarnate God the Word rather than of just a mere man*¹². Praise to Him for ages upon ages, Amen.

10. We have been unable to trace this quotation.

11. Cf. *Letter*, 9.d. See also above Harvalia-Crook, p. xlv.

12. Cf. *Letter*, 9.d.

οὕτω φρονούντες, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν, οἱ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες, πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωχθήτωσαν. Αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀποστόλων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν πατέρων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισεν.

- (4) Οἱ οὖν τολμώντες ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν ἐνθέσμων τῇ καθολικῇ
 5 ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδεδομένων, ἢ εἰκόνων, ἢ εἰκονικὴν ἀναζωγράφειν, ἢ σταυροῦ τύπον, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὡς λέγει ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὅτι ὁ τὸ τυχόν τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιελών, τὸ πᾶν κατέλυεν, εἰ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶεν, παντάπασι καθαιρήσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ μοναχοὶ καὶ λαϊκοί, ἀναθεματιζέσθωσαν, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωκέσθωσαν. (5) Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὴν
 10 εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐξ οἴασον ὕλης ἐγγεγραμένον καίπερ χειροποίητον ὄντα, πατῶν ἢ ἀθετῶν, ὡς ἦδη ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἄγων, μαγαρίτης καὶ ἀρνησίχριστος, καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καθέστηκεν πίστεως· πόσον
 15 δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας, καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου, ὁ τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ σεβάσμιον εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀγιάσαντος, ἀπαναινόμενος καὶ καταπατῶν, καὶ ἐμπτύων; (6) Οὗτος, ὁμοῖος καὶ ἰσόρροπός ἐστι, τῶν ἐμπτυσάντων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων· καθὼς καὶ ὁ μέγας λέγει Γρηγόριος, ὅτι οἱ μὴ
 20 προσκυνούντες τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἰκόνα, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσι γραφὴν τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρος, ὡς Θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκωθέντος, καὶ οὐχ' ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψιλοῦ, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα, καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν.

4. Οἱ...τολμώντες scripsimus, τοὺς ... τολμόντας V - 6. ἀλλ' ὅτι V - 8. οἱ V - 9. post γὰρ add. ἐπεὶ περ Letter 9d - 12. ἀνάγων Letter 9d - ἀρνησόχριστος Letter 9d - 13. post τῆς add. ὀλικῆς Letter 9d - πίστεως καθέστηκεν trsp. Letter 9d - πόσῳ Letter 9d - 14. ἀξιωθήσασθαι Letter 9d - 15. post σταυρωθέντος add. τοῦ Letter 9d - 16. post ἀπαναινόμενος add. πόσῳ μᾶλλον Letter 9d - 18. post Ἰουδαίων add. καὶ τυψάντων αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλάμῳ καὶ θαιπασάντων αὐτόν. Letter 9d - λέγει ὁ μέγας (et add. θαυματουργός) trsp. Letter 9d - γρηγόριος V - 20. ἐν V, ἐπ' Letter 9d - ταῖς om. Letter 9d - 22. ἀλλότριοι post θρησκείας trsp. Letter 9d - post τῆς add. τῶν χριστιανῶν Letter 9d - 23. τοῦ - Χριστοῦ om. Letter 9d

Alternative Ending 2

(1) But indeed the primeval enemy the devil, that insidious one who wasted away with jealousy and envy of good men, did not cease to whip up his tumultuous gusts into a fierce hurricane.

(2) Constantios¹³, the successor to the sceptre of Constantine's empire, unsound scion of that great tree, threw the paternal foundations into great turmoil and upheaval, and being deceived by stupid and foolish Arian minds he declared against the Church a war which was worse than that of idolatrous superstition. Having shaken the bulwarks and pillars of the Church he dashed them down: Julius¹⁴, the pope of Rome, Athanasios the Great of Alexandria¹⁵, another holy Paul of Constantinople, the Confessor¹⁶, the famous Eustathios of Antioch¹⁷, and with him he condemned the leading holy Fathers to exile. He then entrusted the holy of holies to impious and accursed men. Then came his followers and accomplices, Julian¹⁸, Satan's first-born, the apostate and transgressor, similarly Valens¹⁹ who though not an apostate was indeed a persecutor and enemy of Christ.

13. Constantios II Emperor (337-361), adopted Arianism despite the resolutions of the Council of Nicaea, and exiled many bishops including Liberius, bishop of Rome. Though he allowed the return of Athanasios to Alexandria in 346, he personally attacked him at the Council of Arles in 353, and again at Milan in 355. This forced Athanasios to take refuge with the Fathers of the Egyptian desert.

14. Julius I, Pope (337-352). Defended orthodoxy against the Arians and gave refuge to Athanasios at Rome in 339, when he was deposed from the see of Alexandria. Two of his letters survive in Athanasios' *Apology against the Arians*, PG 25, cols. 281A-308C, 344B-348A.

15. See above, *Letter*, p. 56, n. 194.

16. Bishop of Constantinople (337-339, 341-342, 346-351). Restored to the see by the orthodox party for the second time in 341, he relinquished it in 342 in favour of Macedonios, who was elected by the Arian party in that year (*LTK*, VIII, col. 212; *DPAC*, II, cols. 2629-30).

17. Bishop of Antioch (324/5-330); he opposed the Arians at the Council of Nicaea, but was subsequently deposed as a result of their activities, including those of Eusebios of Caesarea (*DPAC*, I, cols. 1301-2).

18. See *Letter*, 7.4, p. 36, n. 146.

19. Emperor (364-378); he received baptism from Eudoxos, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, just before his Gothic campaigns in 367. On his return to Constantinople in 369 he unleashed a persecution against the orthodox.

(1) Ἄλλά γε ὁ πολέμιος καὶ ἀρχαῖος διάβολος ὁ καὶ ἐπίβουλος φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τῶν καλῶν τετηκώς, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τὴν πολυτάραχον αὐτοῦ καταγίδα ὡς λαίλαπα ἀγρίαν ἀνακινῶν.

(2) Καὶ Κωνσταντίος μὲν ὁ τὰ σκήπτρα διαδεξάμενος τῆς βασιλείας του μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ῥίζης αὐθωρὸν σεσαθρωμένος ὄρηξ, οὐ μέτριον κλόνον καὶ τάραχον τῆς πατρικῆς κρηπίδος εἰσβαλὼν, πόλεμον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χεῖρονα τῆς εἰδωλικῆς δεισδαιμονίας, ταύτην διετάρραξε, σκαιότητι καὶ εὐηθείᾳ τῶν ἀρειανικῶν φρενῶν φενακίζόμενος. Τοὺς γὰρ προδόλους καὶ στύλους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διασείσας κατέρραξεν Ἰούλιον, τὸν πάπαν Ῥώμης, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν μέγαν Ἀλεξανδρείας, Παῦλον ἄλλον θεσπέσιον τὸν ὁμολογητὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Εὐστάθιον τὸν περιώνυμον Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ λογάδας ἁγίους πατέρας ἐξοστρακίστους κατεδίκασε. Καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἐναγέσι, τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄγια ἐνεχείρισεν. Αὐτίς ὄπαδοὶ καὶ συνεργοί, Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος υἱὸς τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὁ ἀποστάτης καὶ παραβάτης, ὡσαύτως καὶ Οὐάλης, καὶ εἰ οὐκ ἀποστάτης, ἀλλὰ γε χριστοδιώκτης καὶ χριστομάχος.

(3) But soon after there arose the star of western luminaries, the great *archistrategos* of Christ and imperial successor, Theodosios²⁰. He rose from the heights of piety like a bright star and dispersed all the heretical whirlpool, the hiss and confusion of Macedonios²¹ who fought against the Spirit, and scattering him to the winds like a bubble or like soot from a furnace, with the holy synods and meetings of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers he planted the great holy symbol of our faith in Christ as inviolable in the Church and established it on firmer foundation²².

(4) The successors of this man, aptly named for his piety²³, Arcadios²⁴, Honorios²⁵ and Theodosios²⁶, received the crown, this gift from God, and guided by the two hundred holy Fathers, devout guardians of the laws, and with the sling of the Word, they drove out, like a fox from the ecclesiastical vineyard of Christ, the monster of Antioch who subsequently appeared, that is Nestorios²⁷, the Jewish believer and man-worshipper, who had been promoted to the great imperial patriarchal throne.

20. See *Letter*, p. 58, n. 202.

21. Bishop of Constantinople. Elected by his party c.342 he was forced by the intervention of Constans to relinquish his see to Paul in ?346/8. He was later reinstated, but expelled at the Council of Constantinople in 360. From then on he became known as the leader of those who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, claiming that he was a being similar to the angels, subordinate to the Father and the Son, and maintained that the relationship between these two excluded a third Person (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 15, PG 67, cols. 357B-C-361C; Sozomenos, *Eccl. Hist.* 27, PG 67, cols. 1200A-1204A).

22. The Council of Constantinople I (381), which is considered to have promulgated the definitive version of the Creed, established the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Persons in the Trinity.

23. The name "Theodosios" means "the God-given".

24. Emperor (395-408); elder son of Theodosios I, he was proclaimed Emperor by his father when still a boy in 383. In his reign, and undoubtedly with his assent, John Chrysostom, who had antagonized the palace by his strictures on luxury and waste, was banished from Constantinople twice (Bury, *LRE* I, pp. 106-58).

25. Honorios Flavios, son of Theodosios I, ascended the throne as Emperor of the West (395-423). He supported the orthodox Church and persecuted heretics, including Donatists and Manichees (Bury, *LRE* I, pp. 106-211).

26. Theodosios II Emperor (408-50), son of Arcadios. Though he first supported Nestorios he later on reluctantly took part in the condemnation of Nestorianism; he convoked the Council of Ephesus in 449 and supported its rulings, including the one which prohibited any alteration to the Nicene creed (Bury, *LRE* I, pp. 212-35; C. Luibheid, 'Theodosios II and Heresy', *JEH*, 16 [1965], 13-38).

27. See *Letter*, p. 22 n. 96.

(3) Ἄλλ'αὐτίκα γοῦν ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ τῆς δυτικῆς λαμπαδοφορίας ἀσπῆρ, ὁ μέγας Χριστοῦ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ βασιλικὸς διάδοχος, ὡς ἔξ ἀκρωρείας ἀνατείλας τῆς εὐσεβείας φωστῆρ Θεοδόσιος, πᾶσαν αἰρετικὴν Χάρυβδιν, σύριγγάς τινας καὶ ἴλιγγας τοῦ πνευματομάχου Μακεδονίου διασκεδάζων, τοῦτον ὡς πομφόλυγα ὡς αἰθάλην καμίνου ἀνερρίπισε, καὶ συνόδοις ἀγίαις καὶ συνδρόμοις τῶν ἀγίων ῥν' πατέρων, τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας Χριστοῦ ἅγιον σύμβολον, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρεγχείρητον ἐμπήξας, ἠδραίωσε.

(4) Τοῦτου τοῦ φερωνύμου τῆς εὐσεβείας διάδοχοι, Ἀρκάδιος, 10 Ὀνώριος καὶ Θεοδόσιος, θεογέραστον στέφος εἰληφότες, τὸ ἐς ὕστερον ἀναφανέν Ἀντιόχειον τέρας, καὶ ὅπως εἰπεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐληλαχότα πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον, ἰουδαιόφρονα καὶ ἀνθρωπολάτρην Νεστόριον, ὡς ἀλώπεκα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς 15 διακοσίων ἀγίων πατέρων τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ Λόγου ἐξήλασαν.

(5) Then again *the gangrene spread*²⁸, that is Eutyches²⁹ and Dioscoros³⁰, *who placed truth in injustice*³¹; they were led astray from the very womb; they uttered falsehoods. Yet *injustice has lied to herself*³². For Marcian³³, the greatest guardian of the laws of imperial piety, with the gathering of the six hundred and thirty holy Fathers as auxiliaries, destroyed them like cave-dwelling vermin.

(6) Then again some other dolphins, seeming to blow out fiery, impious breath, sprinkled abroad the bitter heresy of God's suffering³⁴. These were Severos³⁵, Jacob³⁶, the wretched Peter³⁷ and some others, the spittle of the impious (heresy), in common with whom the imperial and tyrannical hand of Zeno³⁸ and Anastasios³⁹ took the field. These the God-guided synod of the devout Emperor Justinian the Great⁴⁰ and of the hundred and sixty-five holy Fathers expelled from the ecclesiastical assembly like famished dogs at dusk.

28. 2 Tim. 2:17.

29. See *Letter*, p. 20 n. 95.

30. Dioscoros I, Patriarch of Alexandria (444-451). A follower of Cyril of Alexandria, he went further, maintaining that Christ preserved a single nature at the incarnation. He gave his support to the Monophysite monk Eutyches at the Council of Ephesus (449), which deposed Patriarch Flavian. However, he was himself deposed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

31. Rom. 1:18.

32. Ps. 26:12.

33. Emperor (450-457), who succeeded Theodosios II. He convened the Council of Chalcedon (451), which reversed all the decisions of the 'Robber' Council of Ephesus (449), and established that Christ had two natures but one hypostasis.

34. The Theopaschite heresy taught that the Godhead, and not only God incarnate had suffered.

35. Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (512-518), exiled by Justin I, was condemned once more under Justinian I at a synod in Constantinople in 536.

36. Jacob Baradaeus, monophysite bishop of Edessa (542-578), he established a rival Monophysite episcopate against the Chalcedonians.

37. Peter (Μοϋϋς "hoarse"), the Fuller, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria (intermittently from 470 to 488), though he did not ascend the throne until his Chalcedonian predecessor's death in 482. His willingness to compromise failed to satisfy either the Monophysites or the Chalcedonians. He inserted in the *Trisagion* chant (Holy God, holy Mighty, holy Immortal), the words "who was crucified for us", thus leading to the theopaschite controversy.

38. Zeno, Emperor (474-5, 476-91); for political reasons, in an attempt to bring reconciliation between the Monophysites and Chalcedonians, with the approval of Patriarch Acacius, he issued the *Henoticon* (Edict of Union), recognizing the first three Ecumenical Councils. The main issue of the Christological controversy, however, was side-stepped by the avoidance of the terms 'two natures' or 'one nature'. This compromise failed to satisfy either the followers of Chalcedon or the Monophysites. In fact this move led to the Acacian Schism with Rome.

39. Anastasios I, Emperor (491-518); he began by accepting Zeno's *Henoticon*, but gradually leaned towards monophysitism.

40. Justinian I, Emperor (527-565), adopted an anti-monophysite orientation and sought reconciliation with Rome in his bid to reconquer the lost territories in the West. He took interest not only in the re-organization of the church but also in theological disputes and wrote treatises on the subject. He convened the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

(5) Εἶτα πάλιν ἡ γάγγραινα νομὴν λαβοῦσα Εὐτυχῆς καὶ Διόσκορος, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχοντες, ἐπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ γαστροῦ· ἐλάλησαν ψευδῆ. Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ· ὁ γὰρ μέγιστος τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐσεβείας νομοφύλαξ Μαρκιανός, τῇ
 5 τῶν συνασπιστῶν ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα ἁγίων πατέρων συνδρομῇ, ὡς τραγλοδύτας χοιρογρυλλίους τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς γῆν κατέρραξεν.

(6) Εἶτα πάλιν ἄλλοι δελφῖνες τινὲς ὡς πυρίπνοον ἀσεβείας ἄσθμα ἀποφυσῶντες, τὴν ἀλμυρὰν τῆς θεοπασχίας κατερράντισαν αἴρεσιν, Σεβῆρος, Ἰάκωβος, Πέτρος ὁ δεῖλαιος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῆς
 10 ἀνοσιουργοῦ ἀποπτυελίσματα· μεθ' ὧν ἡ βασιλικὴ τυραννικὴ χεὶρ Ζήνωνος καὶ Ἀναστασίου κατεστράτευεν, οὕσπερ ἡ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ τῶν ρξε' ἁγίων πατέρων θεόδωρος σύνοδος, ὡς ἐσπερινοὺς λιμώττοντας κύνας τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀμηγύρεως ἐξήλασαν.

(7) Later again, those attackers of the ecclesiastical bulwarks, Honorius of Rome⁴¹, Sergios⁴² of the imperial city, Paul of Alexandria⁴³, Macarios of Antioch⁴⁴, bishops and patriarchs, (led) by the resourceful arch-leader of evil, burst out into the land of the monothelites and were lawfully sentenced for their impiety to the condemnation of anathema by the devout Justi(nia)n along with the help of the hundred and seventy holy Fathers⁴⁵.

(8) These and many other heresies were scattered to the wind like straw *from the threshing floor in the summer*⁴⁶, or like *stormy sea-waves*⁴⁷ were broken up. Yet the *crawling crooked serpent*⁴⁸, *the enemy of our race, the devil, who like a roaring lion prowls around looking for someone to devour*⁴⁹, that hunting net made up of many strands of evil thoughts, he, the sower of tares, contrives to see what he can find. Igniting another volcano of impiety, and like a sea-monster agitating the Jewish depths, he contrived a thunderous sound of waves of blasphemy, a ceaseless confusion and agitation of Manichean heresy⁵⁰. By proposing that the incarnation of God the Word was an alteration and had the slur of a perversion, mixing his bait with honey and putting forward piety as a pretext and donning the mask of Christianity he injected impiety into the entire Roman state and empire.

41. Honorius I, Pope (625-638); because of his conciliatory attitude in the Monothelite controversy, he was accused and condemned of heresy, though it is open to question whether he was a Monothelite.

42. Sergios I, Patriarch of Constantinople (610-638); in his attempt to reconcile the Monophysites with Chalcedon, he first adopted the doctrine of a single energy; when this was opposed by Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem, Sergios propounded his new doctrine of one will.

43. Paul, Patriarch of Alexandria (537-540), sided with the Monophysites and allowed them to honour his predecessor Dioscoros (444-451), as a saint. Paul was deposed at the synod of Gaza (538-9).

44. Macarios, Monothelite Patriarch of Antioch (?-681); having defended monothelitism and monenergism in the Council of Constantinople III (681) before the papal legates, he was deposed.

45. Emperor Justinian II (689-695 and again 705-711); calling himself *servus Christi*, he was the first to stamp the figure of Christ on the reverse side of his coins. He convened the Quinisext Council, known also as *In Trullo* (691-2), which mainly dealt with ecclesiastical administration and discipline. The condemnation of those mentioned took place earlier at the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople III (681), convened at the demand of Emperor Constantine IV.

46. Dan. 2:35.

47. Jude 13.

48. Is. 27:1.

49. 1 Pet. 5:8.

50. See *Letter*, p. 30, n. 129. This sentence is abbreviated in the Ps.-Damascene, *Letter to Theophilus*, 9a, where the reference to the Manichees does not appear.

(7) Εἶτα πάλιν οἱ πρόβολοι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πυργοβάρεων, Ὀνώριος Ῥώμης, Σέργιος ὁ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως, Παῦλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μακάριος Ἀντιοχείας, πρόεδροι καὶ πατριάρχαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολυμηχάνου καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τῶν κακῶν, εἰς τὴν τῶν μονοθελητῶν γῆν κατερράγησαν καὶ ἀξίως τῆς δυσσεβείας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς Ἰουσι<νια>νοῦ τῇ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ἀγίων πατέρων συνδρομῇ τῷ τῆς κατακρίσεως ἀναθέματι κατεδικάσθησαν.

(8) Αὗται καὶ πλείονες ἕτεραι αἱρέσεις ὡς ἄχυρα ἀπὸ ἄλωνος θερινῆς ἀναρριπισθεῖσαι, ὡς κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης διελύθησαν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἕρπων σκολιὸς ὄφεις, ὁ ἀντίδικος τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διάβολος, ὁ περιπατῶν ὡς λέων καὶ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίη, μηχανᾶται τί ἄρα εὐρήσει ὁ πολύπλοκος τῶν νοημάτων ἄρκυς, ὁ σπορευὺς τῶν ζιζανίων. Ἄλλον τινὰ δούρκανον τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀνάψας, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν θυθὸν ὡς θαλάσσιον κῆτος διαταράξας· ἕρκος κυμάτων βλασφημίας, τάρραχον καὶ σάλον ἀκαταπράυντον μανιχαϊκῆς αἱρέσεως· τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως ἀλλοίωσιν καὶ παρατροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα σκευωρεῖ, μέλιτι τὸ δέλεαρ συγκεράσας, καὶ προσχήματι εὐσεβείας προσωπεῖον Χριστιανισμοῦ ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἀσέβειαν προβάλλεται ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ, περιπίου

For about a hundred and thirty years⁵¹ he distributed and spread this incurable gangrene and worsening epidemic among the offspring of impiety.

(9) When Theodosios⁵², descendant from a stock from Adramytion, had been entrusted with the imperial sceptre, and Yazid⁵³ was exercising authority over the Arabs, two certain individuals, enemies of God and offspring of Jewish enemies of God, who always and everywhere exalt themselves *against the Lord* and rage *against His Christ*⁵⁴, busying themselves with portentous nonsense and ribaldries, magic and demonic divinations, on the pretext that they were pursuing some research in astrology, they came to the Arabian royal court in their wanderings, being relatives of the Isaurian Jews, and announced themselves to the aforementioned Yazid. They initiated him into certain prophesies about a long and happy life, prosperity and long-lived stability, should he be able to destroy the Christian decorations in the churches, namely, if he were to remove from the church precincts as soon as possible the figure of Jesus the Nazarene and of Mary who gave birth to Him⁵⁵. (10) And that man who lusted for life and lived like a hog, yielded to the advice of those tricksters, and caused consternation among all the eastern Churches. But the wretch was deceived, for shortly afterwards divine justice overpowered him. His son Zafar⁵⁶ having succeeded to the throne and wishing to kill these men, on the grounds that they were false prophets, failed in his aim. For they fled to the Isaurian frontier, doubling back once more on their tracks.

51. Cf. J. Gill, 'The life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon', *OCP*, 6 (1940), 114-39, esp. p. 128 n. 2. If the letter is supposed to be written in 836, the reference here to *circa* 706, is difficult to reconcile with the dates of the historical rulers and patriarchs involved; one would have expected the figure ρ' (110), referring back to 726. It is possible that the number 130 is a corruption.

52. Emperor Theodosios III (715-717); a tax-gatherer who was forced by the army of the Opsikion to accept the throne (Theophanes, p. 385; Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.* (M) p. 118, (B) p. 50).

53. Khalif Yazid II was actually in power a few years later, from 720 to 722.

54. Ps. 2:2.

55. See A.A. Vasiliev, 'The iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721', *DOP*, 9 (1956), 25-47.

56. Yazid II was succeeded by his younger brother Hisham (724-743) and not by his reputed son Zafar: cf. Theophanes, p. 403; F. Gabrielli, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

τούς ρλ' χρόνους ἤδη τὴν ἀνίατον ταύτην καὶ ὀπισθότονον γάγγραιναν νομὴν διανέμων καὶ διασκορπίζων τοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας σπέρμασι.

- (9) Τοιᾶδε Θεοδοσίου τοῦ ἐκ γένους Ἀτραμυτινῶν ὀρμωμένου
 5 καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ σκῆπτρα ἐγκεχειρισμένου, Ἰεζᾶ τε τοῦ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐξουσίας, δύο τινὲς θεομάχοι Ἑβραίων θεομάχων παῖδες, οἱ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντοτε τραχηλιῶντες κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ φρουαττόμενοι, τερατείαις τε καὶ βωμολοχίαις, φαρμακείαις καὶ δαιμονιώδεσι μαντεύμασι σχολάζοντες,
 10 ὡς δῆθεν ἀστρολογικὴν τινα μεταδιώκοντες ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἀγκιστείας τῶν Ἰσαυρικῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπάρχοντες, περιπλανώμενοι καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλικὴν αὐλήν, καὶ καταμηνύονται τῷ προρρηθέντι Ἰεζᾶ· καὶ τοῦτον χρησιμφδίαις τισὶ πολυευζωσίας καὶ εὐημερίας καὶ πολυχρονίου διαμονῆς μουσῆνται, εἰ ἄραγε
 15 τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταρράξει διακόσμησιν τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δυνηθεῖη, τὸν τοῦ Ναζωραίου Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης Μαρίας χαρακτῆρα δηλονότι ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν περιβόλων τάχιον ἀπαλείψας. (10) Καὶ δὴ ὁ φιλόζωος ἐκεῖνος καὶ χοιρόβιος ἄνθρωπος, ὑπέϊξε τῇ συμβουλῇ τῶν ἀπατεῶνων ἐκείνων, καὶ πάσας
 20 τὰς τῆς ἐφᾶς ἐκκλησίας διεσάλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἠπατήθη ὁ δεῖλαιος· μικρὸς γὰρ χρόνος παρήλθε καὶ τοῦτον ἡ θεία δίκη ἐχειρώσατο. Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ζάφαρ διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτους βουληθεὶς ὡς ψευδομάντας ἀποκτεῖναι, ἤμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ· φυγάδες γὰρ ὄχοντο ἀνακάμψαντες πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσαυρικοῖς μεθορίοις.

4. τοιᾶδε προφάσει ex *Ps.-Dam.* 9a fors. corrigendum – § 9, cf. *Ps.-Dam.* 9b – 18. § 10, cf. *Ps.-Dam.* 9c – 23. ψευδομάνταις fors. corrigendum, cf. *Ps.-Dam.* 9d

(11) Then they lay down by a spring in order to cool themselves from the heat. And behold a certain youth named Leo⁵⁷, handsome in aspect, impressive in looks, tall, of good stature, an artisan by trade from which he made his livelihood, appeared on the scene. Weary from the journey, having removed the burden off his beast, he sat down by the spring, so that he might revive himself from the heat, for it was midday in the summer. (12) Then those experts in ventriloquism, most skilled in sorcery, instructed him that he would become master of the Roman Empire. At this Leo, who was taken aback and in doubt, given his extremely lowly status, was informed on oath by the haters of Christ, that these things must come to pass. In turn they asked him to guarantee on oath that once the prophecies were fulfilled he would satisfy all their wishes. And he promised with exceeding joy to do what they had asked. Nearby there was a church of the great martyr St Theodore. (13) The artisan Leo went into it and grasping the holy doors of the sanctuary, while the Jews stood at the porch of the church, he named the holy martyr as his guarantor. They received his oath and again each went his own way.

57. Emperor Leo III (717-741), according to Theophanes (p. 391), was transplanted by Justinian II from Germaniceia to Thrace with his parents, as part of that emperor's policy, and promoted to *spatharios* by him during his bid to recover his throne (705-711).

(11) Εἶτα εἰς πηγὴν τινὰ ἀνέπεσον ἀναψύχοντες τὴν φλεγμονὴν τοῦ καύσωνος. Καὶ ἰδοὺ νεανίσκος τις, τοῦνομα Λέων, καλὸς τῷ εἶδει, ὠραῖος τῷ κάλλει, εὐμήκης, εὐήλιξ, θάναυσος τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν ζωὴν ποριζόμενος. Καὶ δὴ κεκμηκῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, καὶ τὸν φόρτον ἐκ τοῦ ὑποζυγίου περιελόμενος, ἐκαθέσθη καὶ

5 αὐτὸς παρὰ τῇ πηγῇ, ἀναψύχων ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ καύσωνος· ὦρα γὰρ ἦν ἔκρη καὶ θερινή. (12) Εἶτα οἱ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων μῦσται μαντικώτατοι, μουσῦνται αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας τὰ σκῆπτρα. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Λέοντος ἀναβαλλομένου καὶ διαποροῦντος

10 πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εὐτελείας, ὄρκους πληροφορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν μισοχρίστων, ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως δεῖ γενέσθαι. Καὶ δὴ αἰτοῦνται αὐτὸν δεβαιωθῆναι αὐτοῖς δι' ὄρκου ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶν αὐτῶν θέλημα, ἀποτελεσθέντων τῶν χρησιμοδοτηθέντων αὐτῷ, ἀποπληρωσῆαι· ὁ δὲ ἐκ περιχαρείας, ἐπηγγείλατο καθὼς ἠτήσαντο· ἦν γὰρ

15 ναὸς πλησίον, τοῦ ἁγίου μεγάλου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου. (13) Ἐν τούτῳ εἰσελθὼν ὁ θάναυσος Λέων, καὶ περικρατῆς γενόμενος τῶν ἱερῶν θυρῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐστῶτων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῷ προστόφῳ τοῦ ναοῦ, δέδωκεν ἐγγυητὴν τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυρα, καὶ δέχονται τὸν ὄρκον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐθις ὄχοντο ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

(14) At the time Sissinios, of patrician dignity, was in charge of the command of the Anatolikon⁵⁸, and was going round the country enlisting an army. The artisan Leo enlisted in this and within a short time was promoted to the highest rank and honoured by the Emperor Theodosios, the one from Adramytion, with the rank of *spatharios*⁵⁹. (15) He was then sent by him to the western provinces of Campania, Amalfi and Naples⁶⁰, that had fallen under foreign yoke. With the assistance of a naval force of one hundred and twenty ships he captured these areas, and having arbitrated peace with a triumphant victory he returned to the palace and was proclaimed caesar and supreme emperor⁶¹ by the army. (16) And so, Theodosios the most gentle emperor came to meet him with immense joy, and taking off the crown from his own head, he placed it on Leo. Thus without any challenge or opposition Leo was entrusted with the imperial sceptre⁶².

(17) And *Behold, magi from the east, not with gifts*⁶³ as in the case of Christ, but the aforementioned Jews, came rushing into the palace, reminding the Emperor of the fulfilment of the omens and prophecies and mercilessly demanding what was owing to them. When he offered to pay it most readily, they said to him, (18) "We ask this from you most mighty Emperor, to remove the figure of Christ the Nazarene and of his mother Mary from every church and wipe them out entirely. Should you do this you will be destined to rule and reign in wealth and prosperity for long years and the throne will continue with you for a hundred years. However, if you fail to do this, you are destined to be

58. Σισσίνιος ὁ Πασσιλάς (*Vita Stephani*, PG 100, cols. 1121C, 1140B; Gauer, *Synodalbrief*, p. 95 n. 2). He was anathematized in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Mansi 13, cols. 400A, 416C). On the Anatolikon, see below p. 112, n. 98.

59. This, according to Theophanes (p. 391), occurred under Justinian II.

60. With the exception of Ps.-Damascene and George the Monk (p. 737), who both seem to be basing their narrative on the *Alt. Ending 2* or on a similar version, no other source refers to Leo's dubious presence in Italy. Both Nicephoros (*Hist. Synt.*, [M], p. 120, [B], p. 52) and Theophanes (p. 395) state that he was *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme.

61. The title ἀντοκράτωρ βασιλεύς appears in an Athonite document of 897, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, *Actes de Lavra I* (Archives de l'Athos V, Paris, 1970), p. 89; cf. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 99,5; Theophanes cont., p. 466, et al.

62. He was crowned emperor on 25 March 717. The decision to force Theodosios III to abdicate because of his inability to rule was taken by both the military and civil parties (Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.*, [M], 120, p. [B], p. 52).

63. Cf. Matt. 2:1-2.

(14) Ἦν δὲ τότε τῆς ἀνατολικῶν στρατηγίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέχων, Σισίνιος, τὴν ἀξίαν πατρίκιος, στρατολογίαις τὴν χώραν περιπολῶν. Ἐν αἷς ὁ δάναυσος Λέων στρατολογηθεὶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς προκοπὴν μεγίστην ἀναβιδάζεται, σπαθαρικῶ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τοῦ
5 αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Ἀτραμυτινοῦ τιμηθεὶς.

(15) Καὶ δὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐσπέρια μέρη ἐκπεμφθεὶς Καμπανίας καὶ Ἀμαλφείας καὶ Νεαπόλεως τότε βαρβαρισσῶν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰ ἐκεῖσε ναυστολικῶς διὰ κατέργων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ρκ', καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη τὴν εἰρήνην θραβεύσας, καταλαμβάνει τὰ βασιλεια,
10 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγορεύεται καῖσαρ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεύς. (16) Καὶ δὴ Θεοδόσιος ὁ πρῶτατος βασιλεύς, προῦπαντᾶ μετὰ περιχαρείας, καὶ ἄρας τὸ στέφος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας κορυφῆς, περιτίθει τῷ Λέοντι, καὶ οὕτως ἀκλονήτως καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως ὁ Λέων ἐγχειρίζεται τὰ βασιλικά σκήπτρα.

(17) Καὶ ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν οὐχὶ μετὰ δώρων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ προρρηθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι δρομαῖοι εἰσελαύνουσιν εἰς τὰ βασιλεια, πέρας τῶν οἰωνισμάτων καὶ μαντευμάτων αὐτῶν ἀναμμνήσκοντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀσυγχώρητον ἐξαιτούμενοι· τοῦ δέ, ἐτοιμότατα ἐπαγγελλομένου διδόναι, φασὶ
20 πρὸς αὐτόν· (18) Τοῦτο αἰτούμεθα παρὰ σοῦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἵνα τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ Ναζωραίου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας, ἐκ πάσης ἐκκλησίας περιέλῃς καὶ τελείως ἀπαλείψῃς· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσεις, μέλλεις ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐν εὐζωίᾳ καὶ εὐημερίᾳ ἐπὶ μηκίστοις χρόνοις, καὶ διαμενεῖ σου ἡ βασιλεια, ἐν ἔτεσιν
25 ἑκατόν· εἰ δὲ ὑπέρθῃ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, μέλλεις τάχιον ὥς ὁ Ἀρτέμιος

destroyed like Artemios and Apsimar⁶⁴. (19) He, the gullible and shaky in his faith, as if his nostrils were being pinched tight by a snake and he were unable to breathe any more, most readily ordered the undertaking.

(20) What folly, what derangement, what madness! The master of the whole Roman Empire was trampled under the feet of slaves! The most Christian emperor became a vassal to the Jews! The one, who by the power of God was entrusted with the sceptre of the empire, made captive! Thus the one who lusted for life and bore a name of ill omen, or rather the one who was named after a wild beast, went out of his mind and instead of an emperor became a foe, instead of a sovereign, a tyrant.

(21) He was the first to lay siege to the fortified ecclesiastical towers and capture their leaders. And like the false paralytic did to his benefactor, so did the wretch beat with his own hands the foremost of all, the leader, Germanos⁶⁵, the great patriarch, and exiled him from the Church. He then found a certain Anastasios⁶⁶, a bishop, of like mind and way of thinking, in sympathy with the Jews, and brought him instead into the office, entrusting him with the governance of the Church. (22) At once all the revered icons of the Saviour Christ and of the Mother of God, and of every saint were destroyed in every church of the Roman Empire. They scraped them, smashed them, poured oil on them and delivered them to the flames. They also trampled on them in mockery, the wretched men, and threw them into muddy canals and sewers.

(23) Oh Christ, what forbearance and ineffable patience you showed them! How is it that the gaping earth did not swallow them, as it did in the past to Dathan and Abiram⁶⁷, or how did heaven suffer such an impious act and not bring down fire or a thunderbolt there and then to burn those who dared such things! But surely it was because of your love for mankind that you waited for their repentance.

64. Apsimar assumed the name of Tiberios II (698-705), and Artemios that of Anastasios II (713-15).

65. Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730), deposed after he refused to sanction an imperial edict concerning icons without an ecumenical council (Nicephoros, *Hist. Synr.*, [M], p. 130, [B], p. 58). The reference to the false paralytic has not been identified.

66. Patriarch (730-754); he was not a bishop, but a high cleric in Saint Sophia according to Nicephoros (*Hist. Synr.*, [M], p. 130, [B], p. 58); a *syngelos* according to Theophanes (p. 409).

67. Deut. 11:6.

καὶ ὁ Ἀψίμαρος ἀναιρεθῆναι. (19) Ὁ δὲ εὐήθης καὶ ἀστηρικτος τῇ πίστει, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ὄφεως τοῖς δυοῖ μυκτηῖροι πιεσθεῖς, μὴ δὲ ἀναπνεῖν ἔτι ἰσχύων, ἐτοιμότατα τὸ ὑποτιθὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

- (20) Ὡ τῆς ἀνοίας, ὦ τῆς παραπληξίας, ὦ τῆς φρενοδλαβείας.
- 5 Ὁ δεσπότης πάσης Ῥωμανίας, δουλικοῖς ποσὶ καταπεπάτηται· ὁ χριστιανικώτατος βασιλεύς, Ἑβραίοις ὑπόσπονδος γίνεται· ὁ τὰ σκηπτρα τῆς βασιλείας ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένος, ὑπὸ θεομάχων ἀνδρῶν αἰχμάλωτος καθέστηκεν. Ὁ γοῦν φιλόζωος καὶ δυσώνυμος, μᾶλλον δὲ θηριώνυμος, ἀλλοιωθεὶς τὰς φρένας, ἀντὶ βα-
- 10 σιλέως, γίνεται πολέμιος, ἀντὶ ἐξουσιαστοῦ, τύραννος.

- (21) Καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς πυργοβάρεις πολιορκήσας κατέλαβε τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς αὐτῶν· τὸν δὲ προὔχοντα πάντων καὶ ἀρχηγέτην τὸν μέγαν πατριάρχην Γερμανὸν ἰδίαις χερσὶ τυπήσας ὁ δεῖλαιος ὡς ὁ πάλαι ψεύδει παράλυτος τὸν εὐεργέτην,
- 15 ἐξωστράκισε τῆς ἐκκλησίας· Ἀναστάσιον δὲ τινα τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρόεδρον, ὁμόφρονα καὶ ὁμογνώμονα καὶ ἰουδαιόφρονα εὐρών, ἀντεισήγαγε τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἶακας αὐτῷ ἐγχειρήσας. (22) Καὶ εὐθέως πᾶσαν σεβάσμιον εἰκόνα τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Θεομητόρος καὶ παντὸς ἀγίου, ἐκ πάσης Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέ-
- 20 στρεφον, ξέοντες καὶ συνθλάττοντες καὶ ἀναχρίοντες καὶ πυρὶ παραδιδόντες· κατεπάτουν δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ δεῖλαιοι μυκτηρίζοντες, καὶ εἰς βορβορώδεις καὶ ὀλεθρίους κανάλους ἐναπορρίπτοντες.

- (23) Ὡ Χριστέ τῆς τότε ἀνοχῆς σου καὶ ἀφάτου μακροθυμίας σου. Πῶς οὐ κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς ἡ γῆ χάνασα, ὥσπερ πάλαι Δαθὰν
- 25 καὶ Ἀβειρών, ἢ πῶς ὑπήνεγκε τοιοῦτον ἀνοσιούργημα ὁ αἰθὴρ καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως κατήγαγε πῦρ ἢ σκηπτὸν καὶ κατέκαυσε τοὺς ταῦτα τετολμηκότας, ἀλλὰ τῆς σῆς πάντως τοῦτο φιλανθρωπίας τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεχόμενος.

(24) This sacrilege persisted for a considerable time, and not only did he not repent but rather, in despair because of his madness, he remained the same until his last breath. But the Awesome One, who deprives rulers of breath and inspires fear in all the kings on earth, seeing him remain unrepentant for all he had done, slew and destroyed him.

(25) His son, Constantine Copronymos⁶⁸, succeeded to the imperial sceptre. He too belonged to the godless heresy, but he was very much worse than his father, for he reviled the Church of Christ more than his father. How is it possible to understand how a wretch like this could have fallen like lightning or a thunderbolt on such a great Roman Empire? (26) However, divine justice demonstrated even before his death to what a pit and depth of hell he was to descend. For as he was breathing his last, he lamented his own deeds in a loud voice proclaiming to all, "The forecourts of hell!" What is more trustworthy than his own cry? Therefore, as he himself bore witness to the truth about hell, he has been sentenced like that rich man whose tongue was parched by the flame of fire.⁶⁹

(27) Another Leo⁷⁰, his son, succeeded him. He was milder in his impiety, although he was of the same blood and belief, and shortly afterwards was removed from the living.

(28) His wife Eirene, sent to the Church by God like another Helen, succeeded to the throne together with their son⁷¹. With Tarasios⁷², the most holy Patriarch of Constantinople, as her collaborator they

68. Constantine V (741-775). The second nickname of Copronymos, Caballinos (Horsey), is clearly derived from his love of horses, and this may be true of the first, rather than from the questionable story in Theophanes (p. 615; on this see Gero, *Constantine*, pp. 169-75). He convened the Council of Hieria in 754, which formulated the iconoclasts' beliefs. Its *Horos* survives in the Acts of the Council of 787 (Mansi 13, cols. 204-364; Anastos, 'Council of 754', pp. 177-88; Gero, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.).

69. Luke 16:24.

70. Leo IV (775-780); under him, his father's aggressive policy against the icons and monks ceased, and he even appointed monks to bishoprics, though he punished high officials who openly worshipped icons (Theophanes, pp. 449, 453).

71. Constantine VI (780-797) being a minor, Eirene took over the regency. Her unwillingness to relinquish power after his majority, led to Constantine being ousted, and her ruling in her own right (797-802). See Theophanes, pp. 464 ff.

72. See above p. 82 n. 8.

(24) Ἐπὶ χρόνου δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγου τοῦ ἀνοσιουργήματος τούτου ἐκταθέντος, οὐ μόνον οὐ γέγονε μετάμελος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀπογνούς ἐξ ἀπονοίας, ὁ αὐτὸς μέχρι τελευταίας αὐτοῦ ἀναπνοῆς μεμένηκεν. Ὁ δὲ φοβερός καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος πνεῦμα τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ φοβερός ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, τοῦτον ἰδὼν ἀμεταμέλητα διακείμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε, διεχειρίσατο καὶ ἀπώλεσε.

(25) Καὶ διαδέχεται τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς βασιλείας, Κωνσταντῖνος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Κοπρώνυμος, τῆς ἀθέου αὐτοῦ αἰρέσεως ὑπάρχων καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν δεινότερος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὑπέρογκα γὰρ ἐδυοσφήμησε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, ὑπὲρ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. Ὡς πῶς ὁ δύστηνος οὗτος ὡς πρηστήρ οὐράνιος ἢ σκηπτὸς ἐλογίσθη τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ πεσών. (26) Καὶ πρὸ θανάτου ἔδειξεν ἡ θεία δίκη, εἰς ποῖον ἄρα βάραθρον καὶ πυθμένα ἄδου μέλλει οὗτος καταντᾶν· τὰ γὰρ ἔσχατα ἀναπνέων, αὐτὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὀλολύζων μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ τὰ προαύλια τῆς Γεέννης πᾶσιν ἀνεκήρυττε. Τί οὖν ἀξιοπιστότερον τῆς οἰκείας φωνῆς; Διὸ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ Γεέννης καταδεδίκασται ὡς ὁ πλούσιος ἐκεῖνος ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν τηγανιζόμενος.

(27) Τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος Λέων ἕτερος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, γαληνότερος γέγονεν ἐν δυσοσείᾳ, εἰ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἵματος τε καὶ δόγματος ἦν, οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ζώντων ἀρθέντος.

(28) Καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς τούτου γαμετῆς σὺν υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τὰ σκήπτρα διαδεξαμένης ἐκ Θεοῦ ὡς ἄλλης Ἐλένης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκπεμφθείσης, τὸν ἀγιώτατον Ταράσιον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινου-

4. πνεῦμα τῶν *correximus*, πνεύματι W - 7. post Κωνσταντῖνος cf. *Ps-Dam.* 12b - 12. § 26, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 14d - 19. § 27, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 15a - 22. § 28, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 15b - 23. διαδεξάμενος W

summoned the Second holy synod in Nicaea⁷³. Scattering all the heretical sophistries of madness, the assembled three hundred and fifty holy Fathers commanded that holy and revered icons be represented in God's churches. For what is distinguished by its antiquity is more worthy of respect.

(29) Almighty King, to the foolish deceivers who ask how is it possible to accept images when we accept nothing else for which we have no scriptural testimony, we would say that the non-scriptural traditions of our holy leaders, the apostles and divinely inspired Fathers and teachers, maintained today by the Church, are far more numerous than the scriptural ones⁷⁴. Indeed as the Apostle also says, *Keep the traditions as I have entrusted them to you*⁷⁵, either by speech or letter⁷⁶. And elsewhere, *If an angel from heaven or you yourselves deviate from what you have received, let it be anathema*⁷⁷. (30) For who taught us to pray facing the east? What scripture commands that we should make the sign of the cross on our food and drink, and on our very own face? And the symbolic rites of baptism which we keep through tradition, how can we⁷⁸ present them through the written word? The same applies to every established order of the Church. If therefore, in accordance with the divine quotation we accept these on trust and not on proof⁷⁹, and we accept all His works on trust, why do

73. The Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II (787), which restored the veneration of icons.

74. Some members of the seminar expressed preference for the following translation: (29) Almighty King, to the foolish deceivers who ask how is it possible to accept images when we accept nothing else for which we have no *written* testimony, we would say that the *unwritten* traditions of our holy leaders, the apostles and divinely inspired Fathers and teachers, maintained today by the Church, are far more numerous than the *written* ones. ... (30) ... What *writing* commands that we should make the sign of the cross on our food and drink, and on our very own face? And the symbolic rites of baptism which we keep through tradition, how can I present them through the written word?

On the tradition handed down in writing (ἔγγραφως) and unwritten tradition (ἀγγραφως), cf. Basil, *De Spir. sancto*, 27, PG 32, cols. 188B-196B; Gregory Nazianzene, *Ep.* 101, PG 37, col. 176A-B; Chrysostom, *In 2 Thess. hom.* 4, 2, PG 62, col. 488). See also K. Parry, *Depicting the Word* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 156-65; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1977⁵, repr. 1993), pp. 45-8; cf. above Chrysostomides, p. xxix ff.

75. 1 Cor. 11:2.

76. 2 Thes. 2:15.

77. Gal. 1:8-9.

78. Text has 'I present' instead of 'we present'.

79. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:4-5.

πόλεως συνεργὸν ἐχούσης, ἁγίαν σύνοδον συγκροτοῦσιν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τὸ δεύτερον· καὶ πᾶσαν αἰρετικὴν φρενοβλαβείας ἐρεσχελίαν διασκεδάσαντες, οἱ συλλεγέντες τῷ ἁγίῳ πατέρι, τὰς ἁγίας καὶ σεβασμίους εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ἀνιστορεῖσθαι προσε-
 5 τάχασι· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαιότητι διαφέρον αἰδεσιμώτερον.

(29) Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ματαιόφρονas καὶ φρεναπάτας κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι μηδενὸς ἑτέρου ἀγράφως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθέντος πῶs δεῖ τὰς εἰκόνας παραδέχεσθαι, εἴπομεν ἂν, ὅτι ἃ
 10 ἔξ ἀγράφων παραδόσεων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων κατέχει σήμερον ἡ ἐκκλησία, πλείονα εἰσὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος οὕτω φησί· Καθὼs παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰs παραδόσεις κατέχετε, εἴτε διὰ λόγου, εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆs· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· Κἂν ἄγγελος ἔξ οὐρανοῦ, κἂν ὑμεῖs αὐτοὶ παρ' ὁ παρελάβετε κολοδώσητε, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα. (30) Τῖs
 15 οὖν ὁ διδάξας κατ' ἀνατολὰs προσεύχεσθαι; Ποία γραφὴ προστάσει ποιεῖν σταυρὸν εἰs βρῶμα καὶ πόμα, καὶ εἰs τὸ ἴδιον ἐκάστου πρόσωπον; Τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος σύμβολα ἅπερ ἐκ παραδόσεωs ἔχομεν, πῶs διὰ γραφῆs παραστήσω; Ὅμοίωs καὶ πᾶσαν κατάστασιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ἐν πίστει καὶ οὐκ ἐν
 20 ἀποδείξει κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστει,

you shun this one essential holy symbol of the Church? If you reject one, then you reject the rest. If you retain all, then you might as well accept this one, for the Church has received many traditions, with Scripture being silent about them.

(31) In a number of writings about icons it is said that the Son is called *the image* and *the exact figure*, and *the impress*, and *the seal*, and *the radiance* of the God and Father, *for He is the radiance of the eternal Light* and *the unspotted mirror of the energy of God*⁸⁰ and the image of His goodness. For God said, *Let us make man in our image and likeness*⁸¹, and the Apostle said, *He who is the radiance of His glory and the stamp of His person*⁸²; and St Basil, *He who is the image of your Goodness, the identical seal, showing in him you the Father, for you fashioned man and honoured him with your image*⁸³; and again he said, *And they set forth the signs of the holy flesh and blood of your Christ*⁸⁴, and Gregory who is great in theology, (spoke of) *the impress of the archetype, the precise seal, the exact image*⁸⁵. Many more similar sayings are contained in the divine writings.

(32) Just as when an emperor is absent in a far-off land, his portrait, set up in the city, is *called emperor, without there being two emperors and without the sovereignty being split or the glory divided*⁸⁶. On the contrary, the highest in the land honour it and the rulers make obeisance to it and the people salute it. (In doing this) they do not consider it as a piece of board but pay their respects to the person it portrays. And none of the subjects would ever dare to spit on it or throw a stone against it, as if it were a lifeless statue. Should one dare to do this, he is punished not as if he insulted a lifeless image, but he is condemned as if he had insulted the very emperor, *for the honour of the image passes to the prototype*⁸⁷. However, when the emperor is present they do not direct their gaze to the image, but look at the actual emperor and

80. Wi. 7:26.

81. Gen. 1:26.

82. Heb. 1:3.

83. Basil, *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 322.

84. Basil, *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 329.

85. Gregory Nazianzene, *Or.* 39 § 13, *PG* 36, col. 325B.

86. Basil, *De Spir. sancto* 18, *PG* 32, col. 149C.

87. Basil, *De Spir. sancto* 17, 45, *PG* 32, col. 149C.

τί τὸ ἐν καὶ καιρίον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποφεύγεις ἄγιον σύμβολον; Εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀποβάλλῃ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ· εἰ δὲ πάντα κατέχεις, καὶ τὸ ἐν πολ-
 λά γὰρ ἢ ἐκκλησία παρέλαβεν ἐν τῇ σεσιωπημένῃ γραφῇ.

(31) Ὅτι δὲ πολλαχῶς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς περὶ εἰκόνων ἀναγινώ-
 5 σκεται, εἴρηται· εἰκὼν γὰρ καὶ χαρακτήρ ἀπαράλλακτος, καὶ ἐκ-
 σφράγισμα, καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς
 λέγεται ὁ Υἱὸς· ἀπαύγασμα γὰρ ἐστὶ φωτὸς αἰδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον
 ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος
 αὐτοῦ. Εἶπε γὰρ ὁ Θεός, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ'εἰκόνα ἡμετέ-
 10 ραν καὶ καθ'ὅμοίωσιν. Καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς
 δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλει-
 ος· Ὅς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, σφραγὶς ἰσότητος, ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς σὲ τὸν Πατέρα· πλάσας γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ
 σῇ εἰκόνι τιμήσας αὐτόν. Καὶ πάλιν φησί· Καὶ προθέτες τὰ ἀντί-
 15 τυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Καὶ ὁ ἐν
 θεολογίᾳ μέγας Γρηγόριος· Τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, ἢ μὴ κι-
 νουμένη σφραγὶς, ἢ ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν. Καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς διάφορα ἐμφέρονται.

(32) Ὡσπερ γὰρ βασιλέως ἀπόντος ἐν χώρᾳ μακρᾷ, ἢ τούτου
 20 εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐστῶσα βασιλεὺς λέγεται, καὶ οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς
 εἰσὶν, οὔτε τὸ κράτος σχίζεται, οὔτε ἡ δόξα μερίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὑπατοὶ τιμῶσι, καὶ ἀρχοντες προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπαντῶσιν
 οὐχ ὡς εἰς σάνιδα βλέποντες, ἀλλ'εἰς τὸν ἐγγραφόμενον τὸ σέβας
 ἀπονέμουσι. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις τολμήσειε πώποτε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς εἰς
 25 ἄψυχον ἀνδριάντα βλέπων, ἐμπτύσαι ἢ λίθον προσρίψαι· εἰ δὲ τολ-
 μήσειε τοῦτο, οὐχ ὡς εἰς ἄψυχον εἰκόνα ὑβρίσας κολάζεται, ἀλλ'ὡς
 εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ὕβριν ἀγαγὼν κατακρίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἢ
 τῆς εἰκόνας τιμῇ, ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει. Ὅταν δὲ ὁ βασι-
 λεὺς παραγένηται, οὐχὶ τὴν εἰκόνα βλέπουσιν, ἀλλ'αὐτὸν ἦδη τὸν

for this reason they make obeisance to him and fall before him. What shall we say to those who not only spit and trample upon the icon and figure of the Heavenly King, but also call them idols? What sort of forgiveness will these receive? Oh, how *has the wisdom of the wise perished and the prudence of the prudent has been set aside!*⁸⁸

(33) Shortly afterwards Nicephoros⁸⁹, the most orthodox among emperors, succeeded that empress, and in their turn his sons and heirs, Staurakios⁹⁰ and Michael⁹¹ succeeded him, and they maintained the faith in Christ steadfast and unshaken. (34) But the sower of tares⁹² and the enemy of the just raised another named after the wild beast, Leo⁹³, who roared and bellowed against the churches of God and of our Saviour. (35) For during the reign of Michael who held the sceptre in an orthodox manner, a poor woman, possessed by the spirit of divination⁹⁴, a ventriloquist, was brought into the city, I do not know how, and by virtue of the divinatory demon inside her announced a change of emperor. (36) Then a certain individual, one of the nondescript penniless vagabonds of the city, by the name of John⁹⁵, who held the rank of reader and lived in the holy monastery of the

88. Is. 29:14; 1 Cor. 1: 19.

89. Nicephoros I (802-811), Eirene's able finance minister (γενικός λογοθέτης) who was brought to power after a palace revolution against her. The positive views expressed here are shared by the *Vita Nicetae* (AASS, 1 April, p. xxix.31), in contrast to Theophanes (pp. 476-7) and Theophanes cont. (p. 8), who are both critical of the fiscal measures he introduced to prop up the economy. See also P.E. Nivais, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephorus I* (Athens, 1987); E. Frances, 'L'Empereur Nicéphore I^{er} et le commerce maritime byzantin', *BS*, 27 (1966), 41-7.

90. Emperor (811), succeeded his father, killed on the battlefield against the Bulgars. Mortally wounded himself in the same encounter, he was forced to abdicate and retire to a monastery, where he died three months later (Theophanes, pp. 492-4; Theophanes cont., p. 12).

91. Michael I Rangabe (811-813); he was not Nicephoros's son, but his son-in-law, and was brought to power by the army and the senate (Theophanes, p. 493).

92. Cf. Matt. 13:24-40.

93. Leo V the Armenian, emperor (813-820); following a Byzantine defeat by the Bulgars and Michael's deposition, he was proclaimed emperor (Theophanes cont., pp. 16 ff.).

94. Text "Pythonic spirit".

95. The reader John has been identified with John the Grammarian (L. Bréhier, 'Un patriarche sorcier à Constantinople', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 9 (1904), 261-8; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 135 ff. See also below *Deposition*, p. 134, n. 1).

βασιλέα ὀρώσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσκυνῶσι καὶ προσπίπτουσι.
 Τί φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ ἔπουρα-
 νίου βασιλέως διαπτύοντας καὶ καταπατοῦντας, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ
 καὶ εἰδῶλα ἀποκαλοῦντας; Ποίας συγγνώμης τεύξονται οὗτοι; Ὡ
 5 πῶς ἀπώλετο ἡ σοφία τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ ἠθέτηται ἡ σύνεσις τῶν συ-
 νετῶν.

(33) Εἶτα Νικηφόρος ὁ ἐν βασιλευσιν ὀρθοδοξότατος ταύτην
 διαδεξάμενος, αὐτὸν δὲ πάλιν υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι, Σταυράκιος καὶ
 Μιχαήλ, καὶ δεβαίαν καὶ ἀσάλευτον ἀμφοτέροι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πί-
 10 στιν διεφυλάξαντο. (34) Ἄλλ' ὁ τῶν ζιζανίων σπορευὺς καὶ τῶν δι-
 καίων ἀντίπαλος, ἤγειρεν ἕτερον θηριώνυμον Λέοντα, ὠρῶμενον
 καὶ μυκώμενον κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιῶν·
 (35) Μιχαήλ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθοδόξως τὰ σκήπτρα ἰθύνων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
 ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ, εἰσῆχθη ἐν τῇ πόλει γύναιον πενιχρόν,
 15 πνεῦμα Πύθωνος ἐγγαστριμύθῳ περιφερόμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐν
 αὐτῇ πυθωνικοῦ δαίμονος, βασιλέως ἐναλλαγᾶς τερατευόμενον.
 (36) Καὶ δὴ τις τῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν ἀγυρωδῶν τῆς πόλεως,
 τούνομα Ἰωάννης, ἀναγνωστικῶ βαθμῶ τῇ εὐαγεῖ μονῇ τῆς ἀγίας

divine Theotokos Hodegetria⁹⁶, having gained the confidence of the ventriloquist, initiated himself into the events that were to occur in the future, namely, the swift change of emperor, his successor's great and marvellous restoration of the empire, that he would live for thirty years in full enjoyment of wealth, prosperity and triumphant victory, provided he brought about the complete removal of the icons and the utter destruction of their memory. "His name will be Leo, an Armenian by descent"⁹⁷. She also prophesied to her fellow-initiator, John the reader, that he would be recompensed with the greatest good fortune by Leo and that he would be raised, honoured and exalted very, very greatly.

(37) At once the Leo, who was a patrician and also the *strategos* of the armies of the Anatolikon⁹⁸, having been initiated by John into these things, assured him with oaths, promising to fulfil all that he was supposed to do against the icons. Thereupon he tonsured the Emperor Michael and unworthily took possession of the Empire. "For it is through me", he said, "that God, who is before all ages will be glorified, *the God by whom kings reign, and tyrants rule over the earth*"⁹⁹.

(38) So this man took possession of the throne and became a fervent emulator and imitator of the previous impious rulers, Leo and Constantine, kinsmen of the Isaurians¹⁰⁰, who had reigned for many years living in plenty and prosperity, in accordance with the divine utterance, *Behold these are sinners and yet they prosper always and amass wealth*¹⁰¹.

96. Janin, *Églises et monastères*, pp. 199-200. John's presence in the monastery of Ὁδηγήτρια at the time of Leo V's assumption of power may be an anachronism; tradition attributes the founding of that monastery to Michael III.

97. Similar story, with certain variations, in Theophanes cont., p. 22.

98. For the Greek word ἄρμα, meaning "army" or "a specific region where an army was stationed", see J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 200-20, where up-to-date research on the subject is succinctly summarized.

99. Prov. 8:15-16.

100. On the supposed Isaurian origin of Leo, a theory long ago abandoned, see Gero, *Leo III*, pp. 1 ff.

101. Ps. 72:12.

Θεοτόκου τῶν Ὀδηγῶν σχολάζων, παρρησιασάμενος τῇ ἐγγαστρι-
 μύθῳ μυεῖται αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων πρόγνωσιν, τὴν τε τοῦ βασι-
 λέως ταχεῖαν ἐναλλαγὴν, τὴν τε τοῦ διαδόχου τῆς βασιλείας ἀπο-
 κατάστασιν μεγάλην καὶ ὑπερφυῆ καὶ ἐν τριάκοντα χρόνοις ἐν
 5 εὐζωίᾳ καὶ εὐημερίᾳ καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη διαβιῶναι, εἰ ἄρα γε
 τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων καθάρσεις τέλειον καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν ἕξα-
 φανίσει. Λέων δὲ τοῦνομα αὐτῷ ἔσται, ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἀγχιστείας κα-
 ταγόμενος, χρησιμοδοτεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν συμμύστην Ἰωάννην καὶ ἀνα-
 γνώστην, ὡς μεγίστης τύχης ἀξιωθήσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ
 10 ὑψωθήσασθαι καὶ δοξασθήσασθαι καὶ μετεωρισθήσασθαι σφόδρα
 σφόδρα.

(37) Αὐτίκα οὖν ὁ Λέων πατρίκιος ὦν καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἀνα-
 τολικῶν θεμάτων, ταῦτα μνηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ
 μεθ' ὄρκων θεβαιώσας αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος πληρῶσαι ὅσα
 15 κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων ὑπέθετο διαπράξασθαι, τὸν βασιλέα Μι-
 χαὴλ ἀποκείρας, τῆς βασιλείας ἀναξίως ἐκράτησεν· ὅτι δι' ἐμοῦ
 φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πρὸ αἰῶνων δοξασθήσεται, παρ' οὗ βασιλεῖς βασι-
 λεύουσι, καὶ τύραννοι κρατοῦσι γῆς.

(38) Ἐκράτησε τοίνυν αὐτός, γέγονε δὲ θερμὸς ζηλωτῆς καὶ μι-
 20 μητῆς τῶν προβεβηκότων δυσσεβῶν ἀνάκτων, Λέοντος καὶ Κων-
 σταντίνου τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀγχιστείας γεγονότων, καὶ πολυχρονί-
 οῖς ἔτεσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκεσάντων, εὐθηνίαις τε καὶ εὐημερί-
 αῖς θεβιωκότων κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον· Ἰδοὺ οὗτοι ἁμαρτωλοί, καὶ
 εὐθυνοῦντες εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατέσχον πλούτου.

(39) Thereupon he began to investigate and make inquiries into certain prophecies and learned horoscopes, and through Basil, a *chartouarios* of the *exartesis*¹⁰², came across a certain Sabbatios from Samaria¹⁰³, who was wandering hither and thither in taverns and seances. He met him this way. Sabbatios, having put a heavy chain round his neck and iron fetters and bound himself tightly, like the gods of the ancient Egyptians, shut himself in the vaulted heating system of the once great baths of Dagisteus¹⁰⁴. (40) At dead of night, behold the Emperor, who was usually accompanied by his body-guards, came now alone, solitary and completely unarmed, along with Basil to the place where Sabbatios was shut up, a dark place where one had to feel one's way, as long ago Julian the Apostate¹⁰⁵ had done when he dedicated himself to the devil at the instigation of the Jewish astrologers. Oh, how *the wisdom of the wise has vanished!*¹⁰⁶ How the ruler of the world has become deranged and altered! What did he do then this great and fearsome emperor? He threw himself at the feet of the soothsayer and asked him for predictions, saying, "What shall I do and what shall I provide, so that I may always lead my life in happiness, wealth and with triumphant victory?" (41) And he, the crooked Sabbatios, belched forth from his irascible heart and said, "You, oh Emperor, have attained good fortune and will become famous among the kings on this earth. But if you wish to see a prosperous life and be in full command over the Scythian Bulgarians, destroy completely all memory of icons. And behold, you are destined to reign and rule for a full thirty-two years¹⁰⁷, together with your son Constantine, and to subjugate the Scythian Bulgarians; and you will fix your golden sword in the middle of Bulgaria within the Brazen Threshing-floor¹⁰⁸. *But whatever you do, do it swiftly*¹⁰⁹, leaving no trace of an icon, neither above nor below ground".

102. Cf. N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 120-1, 316.

103. Cf. Theophanes cont., p. 26.

104. Cf. A.G. Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), pp. 372-5.

105. See *Letter*, 7.4, p. 36, n. 146.

106. Is. 29:14; 1 Cor. 1:19.

107. The choice of 32 years is puzzling; it may refer to the length of reign of Constantine I.

108. This reference to the Brazen Threshing-floor has not been identified.

109. John 13:27.

(39) Καὶ ἤρξατο ἐρευνᾶν, ἐξερευνήσεις ποιούμενος εἰς μαντείας
 τινὰς καὶ μαθηματικὰς ἀστρολογίας· καὶ διὰ Βασιλείου χαρτουλα-
 ρίου τῆς ἐξαρτύσεως εὐρῶν τινὰ Σαββάτιον ἐκ Σαμαρείας, ᾧδε
 5 ἀκείσει περιπλανώμενον, ἐν καπηλείοις καὶ μαντεύμασιν, ὄρᾳ
 αὐτὸν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. Περιβαλλόμενος ὁ Σαββάτιος ἄλυσιν μεγίστην
 ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, καὶ σιδηροπεδήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ περισφίγξας κατὰ
 τοὺς χρονικῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεοῦς, περικλείει ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς καμιν-
 αίοις κούφοις τοῦ ποτὲ μεγάλου Δαγιστέως λοετροῦ. (40) Καὶ νυ-
 κτὸς θαθείας οὔσης, ἰδοὺ ὁ ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων φρουρούμενος βασι-
 10 λεὺς μόνος μεμονωμένος γυμνὸς καὶ ἄοπλος ἅμα τῷ Βασιλεῖ πα-
 ραγίνεται, ἐν οἷς τόποις ξεζοφωμένοι καὶ ψηλαφητοὶς ὁ Σαββά-
 τιος ἦν ἐγκεκλεισμένος ὡς πάλαι Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης, ὑπὸ
 μαθηματικῶν Ἑβραίων τῷ διαβόλῳ ἑαυτὸν ἀναθέμενος. Ὡ πῶς
 ἀπώλετο ἡ σοφία τοῦ σοφοῦ. Ὡ πῶς ἐξέστη τὰς φρένας ὁ κοσμο-
 15 κράτωρ καὶ ἡλλοίωτο. Τί οὖν ὁ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς βασιλεὺς; Προ-
 σίπτει τοῖς τοῦ μάντεως ποσὶ, καὶ χρησμούς αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ
 καὶ φησί· Τί ποιήσω καὶ τί πορίσομαι, ὅπως ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ
 εὐζωίᾳ καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκῃ διώσωμαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον;
 (41) Ὁ δὲ σκολιὸς Σαββάτιος, ἠρεῦξατο ἐκ τῆς ὀργίλου αὐτοῦ
 20 καρδίας καὶ εἶπεν· Σὺ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εὐτύχησας καὶ ὀνομαστὸς
 ἔσῃ ἐν βασιλεῦσι τῆς γῆς· εἰ δὲ καὶ θέλεις εὐήμερον ἰδεῖν ζωὴν
 καὶ περικρατῆς γενέσθαι Σκυθικῶν Βουλγάρων, πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν
 εἰκόνων μνήμην τέλεον ἐξαφάνισον καὶ ἰδοὺ μέλλεις ἐν ὅλοις λδ'
 χρόνοις μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου Κωνσταντίνου ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν,
 25 καὶ τοὺς Βουλγάρους καθυποτάξαι· καὶ πῆξεις τὴν χρυσοῦν ῥομ-
 φαίαν σου μέσον τῆς Βουλγαρίας ἕσω τῆς χαλκῆς ἄλωνος. Ἄλλ'
 ὁ ποιεῖς, τάχιον ποιήσον, μῆτ' ἐν ὑψηλοῖς μῆτ' ἐν ὑπογείοις ἀπο-
 σκίασμα εἰκόνοσ ἀφείς.

(42) The Emperor was exceedingly glad at these tidings. Relying on empty hopes, he promised that what had been ordered would be carried out as soon as possible, lest the thirty-two years of appointed time might fly out of his hands like a bird, and escape and fly away. But the miserable man was deceived, being ignorant of the divine utterance which says that, *though you climb up to heaven*¹¹⁰ and establish your throne there, and *though you set your nest among the stars* and though you build up a dwelling place among the clouds *thence I shall bring you down*¹¹¹, says the Lord, for truly no one knows the future without fail. (43) This wretched man carried out his part of the bargain as soon as possible, and first he summoned the most holy Nicephoros¹¹², the patriarch, and revealed to him his design. The Patriarch shut his ears and stopped the sinner's mouth with quotations from the prophets and the Apostle, and sent him away, leaving him ashamed of his preliminary discourse. Having failed with the Patriarch, the Emperor summoned the reader John. But the latter, afraid of the patriarch's excommunication, took refuge in the church. Having failed with him as well, Leo investigated carefully what to do, and was informed about a certain Anthony, bishop of Syllaion¹¹³.

(44) And when he proposed to him his heart's deceitful promptings, he¹¹⁴ consented to destroy every single pictorial representation if he obtained the (patriarchal) throne. (45) When the most holy Patriarch heard of this, he summoned Anthony into the presence of the bishops who happened to be there. Anthony denied that he knew anything of the sort, and to assure them fully he sat down and wrote the following in his own hand before the synod:

(46) "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I Anthony, metropolitan by the mercy of God, have put my signature to the following: I believe in the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, I venerate the revered and holy icons. May those who do not think thus be anathema; may those who do not hold these beliefs be expelled far from the Church. This is the faith of the apostles, this is the faith of the Fathers, this faith has brought light to the inhabited world, this faith has established the Church. Therefore, those who dare after

110. Cf. Amos 9:2; Is. 14:12.

111. Abdias 1:4.

112. See *Letter*, p. 72, n. 238.

113. See *Letter*, p. 66, n. 218.

114. Namely, Anthony.

(42) Καὶ περιχαρῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις, κεναῖς ἐλίσιον ἐπεριδόμενος, τὰ προσταχθέντα τάχιον πληροῦν ἐπηγγείλατο, μήπως ἢ τῶν λδ' χρόνων προθεσμία ἐκπετασθεῖσα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς πτηνόν, διαδράση καὶ ἀποπτῆ. Ἄλλ' ἠπατήθη ὁ δαίλαιος, 5 ἀγνοῶν τὸ προφητικὸν λόγιον τὸ φάσκον, ὅτι ἐὰν ἀναβῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν κάκει τὸν θρόνον σου πῆξης, καὶ ἐὰν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἄστρον θῆσεις νοσσιάν σου, καὶ ἐὰν ἔσω τῶν νεφελῶν καλιάν σου ἐνιδρύσης, ἐκεῖθεν σε κατεάξω λέγει Κύριος· ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπίσταται. (43) Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δύστηνος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ 10 τάχιον πληροῖ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, προσκαλεῖται τὸν ἀγιώτατον Νικηφόρον τὸν πατριάρχην, ἀποκαλύπτων τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ· ὁ δέ, θύσας τὰ ὄψα, καὶ ἐμφράξας τὸ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου στόμα προφητικοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἀπεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πρωτολογίας ἐάσας κατησχυμένον. Ἀποτυχῶν δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσκαλεῖται τὸν ἀνα- 15 γνώστην Ἰωάννην· οὗτος δὲ πάλιν τὸν ἀφορισμὸν τοῦ πατριάρχου δεδιώς, προσπέφευγε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Εἶτα ἀποτυχῶν καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐζήτηε ἐπιμελῶς τί ποιήσει, καὶ μηνύεται αὐτῷ Ἀντώνιος τις ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Συλέου.

(44) Καὶ προσαναθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ δόλια ῥήματα, συνέθετο πᾶσαν εἰκονικὴν ἀνατύπωσιν ἐκποδῶν ἀφανίσει εἰ 20 ἄρξει τοῦ θρόνου. (45) Τοῦτο μεμαθηκῶς ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης, προσκαλεῖται τὸν Ἀντώνιον κατενώπιον τῶν παρευρεθέντων ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ ἤρνήσατο μηδὲν τι τοιοῦτον εἶδέναι, καὶ πρὸς πληροφορίαν πάντων καθίσας ἔγραψεν ἰδιοχείρως ἐνώπιον τῆς συνόδου 25 οὕτως· (46) Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, Ἀντώνιος ἐλέω Θεοῦ μητροπολίτης χειρὶ ἐμῇ ὑπέγραψα· πιστεύω εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωαρχικὴν Τριάδα, τὰς τιμίας καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας ἀσπάζομαι· τοῖς μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦσιν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, οἳ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες, πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωχθή- 30 τωσαν· αὕτη ἢ πίστις τῶν ἀποστόλων, αὕτη ἢ πίστις τῶν πατέρων, αὕτη ἢ πίστις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισεν, αὕτη ἢ πίστις τὴν ἐκκλη-

this to think differently, if they are priests let them be laid under full deposition; if they are monks or laymen let them be placed under anathema."

(47) Having put his seal to this and given it to the Patriarch and the synod he went out, like another Judas, and went back to the beast-named Emperor saying to him, "I gave the Patriarch and his clique something to mock them so as not to have to worry."

(48) When the holy Nicephoros heard this, he immediately convened a synod of two hundred and seventy holy Fathers in the Great Church¹¹⁵ and mounting the ambo proclaimed the following:

(49) "May Anthony, the new Arius, be bound in heaven and on earth¹¹⁶ in the name of the consubstantial and life-giving Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, of St Peter, chief of the apostles, of the twelve holy apostles of Christ, of the three hundred and eighteen divinely inspired Fathers, of the great and ecumenical holy synods, of the great patriarchal, and episcopal, and apostolic holy sees, and by me who consecrated him, and similarly those who are in communion with him. As the prophet says, *Even if you mount up like an eagle, and even if you set your nest among the stars, thence I shall bring you down says the Lord*¹¹⁷; and also our Lord Himself says, *None of them will perish, except the son of perdition*¹¹⁸; and again, *If your right eye offends you, tear it out and fling it away*¹¹⁹; and about the fig-tree, *Cut it down: why should it go on burdening the soil?*¹²⁰ and *May no one ever again eat fruit from you*¹²¹.

115. Synod of 814 or Synod of 815, see 65, p. 128, n. 152.

116. Cf. Matt. 16:19; 18:18.

117. Abdias 1:4.

118. John 17:12.

119. Matt. 5:29.

120. Luke 13:7.

121. Cf. Matt. 21:19; Mark 21:14.

σίαν ἐστήριξεν. Οἱ οὖν τολμήσοντες μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτέρως φρονῆσαι, εἰ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ, τελεία καθαιρέσει ὑποβαλέσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες καὶ λαϊκοί, τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυποδληθήτωσαν.

5 (47) Καὶ ταῦτα σφραγίσας καὶ δοὺς τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐξῆλθεν ὡς ἄλλος Ἰούδας, καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν θηριώνημον βασιλέα, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· Δέδωκα τῷ πατριάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ χλευάσας, χώραν ἀμεριμνίας.

10 (48) Ταῦτα μεμαθηκώς ὁ θεῖος Νικηφόρος, σύνοδον εὐθύς συνεκρότησε, σοῦ ἁγίων πατέρων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ ἀμβωνος ἐξεφώνησε τάδε·

15 (49) Ἀντώνιος ὁ νέος Ἄρειος, δεδεμένος ἔστω ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Τριάδος ἐκ Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐκ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁγίου Πέτρου, ἐκ τῶν ἰδῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων, ἐκ τῶν
20 ἁγίων τιῶν καὶ ὀκτῶ θεοφόρων πατέρων, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μεγάλων καὶ πατριαρχικῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων, καὶ παρ' ἑμοῦ τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ. Καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει, ὅτι ἐὰν μετεωρισθῆς ὡς ἀετός, καὶ ἐὰν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν
25 ἄστρων θήσῃς νοσοσιάν σου, ἐκεῖθεν σε κατεάξω, λέγει Κύριος, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸς λέγει, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας· καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίξῃ σε, ἔξελε αὐτόν, καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· καὶ περὶ τῆς συκῆς, ἔκκοψον αὐτήν· ἵνα τί καὶ τὴν γῆν καταργεῖ; καὶ μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ
καρπὸν φάγη τις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

4. § 47, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 21d – 8. § 48, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 22a – 11. § 49, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 22b – 14. ἁγίου κοπεξιμύς, ἁγίων W – 19-20. cf. *supra* § 42 – 19. μετεωρισθεῖς W – ἀναμέσων W – 20. θήσεις W – 24. καταργῆ W

(50) That cowardly and beast-named Emperor immediately sent the most holy Patriarch into exile and kept him under strict military guard¹²². In like manner he expelled all the high-ranking clergy from the Church, thus creating confusion and universal disorder. For everywhere the high priests and chief-shepherds were beaten, exiled and incarcerated, while the priests and monks were mocked and driven out like slaves. As for the holy image of our Saviour Jesus Christ and of the Mother of God and all those of the saints, they were thrown down from each place, scraped, cut into pieces, trampled upon, smeared, consumed by fire or cast into sewers and canals. Oh, what was your forbearance, Merciful one!

(51) And though you were insulted by him, You endured for three years waiting for his repentance. But the blasphemer was deceived by the false prophet Sabbatios. For divine justice, Almighty Emperor, laid hands on him in the Church of the Lord, where he had gouged and obliterated the divine figure of Christ our God. **(52)** This fearsome, proud, long-lived, victorious and prosperous Emperor kept his imperial authority for only three years from then, for, as has already been said, he was slain in the Church of our Lord. And the man who had been kept in iron-fetters and guarded very securely in prison, and whom all expected to be dead, Michael, your father watched over by God, was proclaimed emperor in his place¹²³.

(53) And you, most mighty Emperor, as a faithful and devout man, who has been entrusted with this inheritance by God, hasten to know without fail the One who has offered you this gift, and uphold in your turn the tradition of the holy Fathers, which is in harmony with the teaching of the holy apostles. Do not emulate those heresiarchs who reigned before you, but rather those who defended the Church of God in an orthodox way: Constantine the Great, who is counted among the

122. He replaced Nicephoros with Theodosios Melissinos Kassiteras (815-821), one of his courtiers (Theophanes cont., p. 28). He appears among the anathematized in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (ed. Gouillard, p. 57,173).

123. Leo V was murdered in Saint Sophia on Christmas Day 820 by the followers of Michael II the Amorian (820-829). See Theophanes cont., pp. 38-41.

(50) Ὁ δὲ δειλαιὸς ἐκείνος καὶ θηριώνυμος βασιλεὺς, τὸν ἀγιώ-
 5 ταιον εὐθύς πατριάρχην, ἐν ἔξορίᾳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀσφαλείᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν παρεφύλαττεν· ὁμοίως καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς
 ἐκδιώξας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σύγχυσιν καὶ ταραχὴν παγκόσμιον πεποί-
 10 ηκε. Πανταχοῦ γὰρ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ποιμενάρχαι, ἐτύπτοντο,
 ἐξωρίζοντο, ἐφυλακίζοντο· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ μοναχοί, ἐμυκτηρίζοντο
 καὶ ἐδιώκοντο ὡς ἀνδράποδα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρι-
 15 στοῦ ἀγία εἰκὼν, καὶ τῆς Θεομήτορος καὶ παντὸς ἀγίου ἀπὸ παν-
 τὸς τόπου κατεργάσαστο, ξομένη, τεμνομένη, καταπατουμένη, ἀνα-
 20 χριομένη, πυρὶ δαπανωμένη, καὶ εἰς ὑπονόμους καὶ κανάλους ἐκρι-
 πτομένη. Ὡς τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου φιλάνθρωπε.

(51) Καὶ σὺ μὲν ὕβρισθεις παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐμακροθύμησας μέχρι
 χρόνων τριῶν, ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν τούτου μετάνοιαν· ὁ δὲ βλασφημή-
 15 σας, ἠπάτηται ὑπὸ τοῦ ψευδομάντιδος Σαββατίου. Ἡ γὰρ θεία δί-
 κη κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, διαχειρίζεται αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου, ἔνθα
 καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τὸν ἅγιον Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐξορούξας
 ἠφάνισε.

(52) Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ φοβερός καὶ ἀλαζῶν καὶ πολυετής καὶ νι-
 κητής καὶ εὐζῳίτος βασιλεὺς, τρεῖς μόνους ἔκτοτε χρόνους διαρκέ-
 20 σας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἐν ναῷ Κυρίου ὡς εἴρηται κατασφάττεται· ὁ δὲ
 ἐν σιδηροδέσμοις καὶ ἐν φυλακαῖς καὶ πολλῇ ἀσφαλείᾳ κατάκλει-
 στος, καὶ παρὰ πάντων προσδοκώμενος ἐν νεκροῖς, Μιχαὴλ ὁ πατήρ
 σου ὑπὸ Θεοῦ φρουρούμενος, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται.

(53) Καὶ σὺ σὺν κράτιστε βασιλεῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν ταύτην ὡς
 25 πιστὸς καὶ θεοσεβὴς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐμπιστευθεὶς, σπεῦσον ἀπλανῶς
 γνωρίσαι τὸν δωρησάμενον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἁγίων
 πατέρων τὴν συμφωνοῦσαν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίᾳ,
 κράτησον καὶ αὐτός, καὶ μὴ ζηλώσης τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλεύσαντας
 30 αἰρεσιάρχας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὀρθοδόξως τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν φυλά-
 ξαντας, τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον, τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις καὶ ἀποστόλοις

saints and apostles of Christ, Theodosios the Great and his sons¹²⁴, and the succeeding orthodox rulers. For even if you live and continue and reign for a full hundred years, will you not die like your forbears, and strangers will inherit your wealth? For small and great will be judged in the next life.

(54) Therefore you, who have been crowned by God, being mindful of the example of many and great men, pay attention to how you proceed, and let it not be like a fool but like a wise man; for destruction comes suddenly on the impious, and *their ruin is like a sudden squall*¹²⁵. So, do not fall *into the trap of hell*¹²⁶, or like a lion into a cage, or like a leopard's whelp into the hunter's net. But having been entreated, look favourably upon the prayers of the humble, and do not set at naught our request. (55) And just as the Holy Church of God received from the very beginning and from the start, and was confirmed in, and remained unchanged in, drawing on the apostolic traditions, the enactments of the Fathers, the holy pronouncements of the patriarchs, the legislation of the great and orthodox emperors, in short, drawing on all the ordinances and regulations of the Church hierarchy, *from the rising of the sun to its setting*¹²⁷, all being in agreement in thought, speech and inspiration with us, (56) we have never kept silent, God-honoured Emperor, on these matters during the reign of the emperors who lived before. On the contrary, we have admonished, pleaded, reminded, rebuked in accordance with the divine saying, *You shall rebuke your neighbour, so that you will have no share in his guilt*¹²⁸; and as if they were our fathers, brothers, children, lords, masters we have exhorted them, drawing them towards the model of religious observance. On account of this we beseech your Majesty, imploring you with goodwill and respect, lest we be condemned because of the timidity of our speech for not proclaiming the right belief.

124. See *Letter*, p. 58 n. 202; *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 nn. 24, 25, 26.

125. *Prov.* 1:27.

126. *Prov.* 9:8.

127. *Mal.* 1:11.

128. *Lev.* 19:17.

Χριστοῦ συναρίθμον, τὸν μέγαν Θεοδόσιον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς καθεξῆς ὀρθοδόξους. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ζῆς καὶ διαμένεις, καὶ ἐπὶ ὄλοις ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι βασιλεύσεις, οὐχὶ μεταταῦτα ἀποθανῆ καὶ σὺ ὡς οἱ πατέρες σου, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον σου ἀλλότριον διαδέξονται;

5 Μικρὸς γὰρ καὶ μέγας ἐκεῖ ἑτασθήσεται.

(54) Λοιπὸν οὖν θεόστεπτε, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ὑποδείγματα ἔχων, βλέπε ἀκριδῶς πῶς περιπατεῖς, μὴ ὡς ἄσοφος ἀλλ' ὡς σοφός, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐξάπινα ἔρχεται ἡ ἀπώλεια, καὶ ἡ καταστροφή ὁμοία καταιγίδι. Μὴ οὖν ἐμπαρῆς εἰς πέταυρον

10 ἄδου, ἢ ὡς λέων εἰς γαλαάγραν, καὶ ὡς σκύμνος παρδάλεως, εἰς τὰ δίκτυα τῶν θηρευόντων. Διὸ παρακληθεὶς ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν τῶν ταπεινῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐξουδενώσης τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.

(55) Καὶ καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν ἡ ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παρέλαβε καὶ ἐκραταιώθη καὶ διαμένει, ἐξ ἀποστολικῶν παρα-

15 δόσεων, ἐκ πατρικῶν νομοθετήσεων, ἐκ πατριαρχικῶν θεηγορημάτων, ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων θεσμοθετησάντων, ἐκ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἱεραρχικῶν διακοσμήσεων καὶ διατάξεων, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ὁμοφρονούντων, τὰ αὐτὰ βεβαιούντων, τὰ αὐτὰ συμπνεόντων ἡμῖν, (56) ταῦτα θεοτίμητε βασι-

20 λεῦ, οὐδέποτε ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προβεβιωκότων βασιλέων σεσιωπήκαμεν, νουθετοῦντες, παρακαλοῦντες, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, ἐλέγχοντες κατὰ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον· ἐλεγμῶ ἐλέγξεις τὸν πλησίον σου, καὶ οὐ λήψῃ δι' αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν· ὡς πατέρας, ὡς ἀδελφούς, ὡς τέκνα, ὡς κυρίους, ὡς δεσπότας, παρεγγυώμενοι, εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας παρέλ-

25 κοντες ἐκμαγεῖον. Τοῦ, χάριν, παρακλητικῶς καὶ εὐμένεστατα ἐκλιπαροῦντες, καὶ τὸ σὸν κράτος καθικετεύομεν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ὑποστολῇ τοῦ λόγου, τὸ μὴ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνακηρύττειν κατακριθῶμεν.

(57) We, Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, Basil of Jerusalem together with the one hundred and eighty-five bishops, seventeen abbots, one thousand one hundred and fifty-three monks wrote and sent you this letter, mighty Emperor, with the signatures of each participant, name and place of his bishopric, metropolis, monastery and village. The statement of the orthodox faith composed by us contains the following:

(58) Since it is in accordance with the divinely inspired voice which says, *By the mouth of two witnesses or three shall every word be established*¹²⁹; and again, *If two of you agree on earth about any request you have to make, that request will be granted by my heavenly Father*¹³⁰; and again, *Where two or three have come together in my name, I am there in their midst*¹³¹; (59) and again, *Receive the Holy Spirit; if you forgive people their sins, they shall be forgiven them, if you consider them unforgiven they shall remain unforgiven*¹³²; and again, *Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven*¹³³; (60) and again, *It is not for these alone that I ask, says the Lord, but for those who also believe in me through their word, so that they may be one, as you, Father, are in me, and I in you; and the glory which you gave me I have given to them so that they be perfectly one, and that the world may learn that you have loved them as you loved me, and that where I am, they may be with me, so that they may look upon my glory which you have given me*¹³⁴; (61) and the divinely inspired apostle Peter says, *By giving the Holy Spirit to them, as he did to us*¹³⁵, *He gave his gift equally to other nations*¹³⁶, as in fact they spoke in tongues and prophesied¹³⁷; and the apostle Paul, that *God appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers to establish the glory of the saints*¹³⁸; (62) therefore, we the humble, to the extent that we have attained the rank given us by the grace of the

129. Matt. 18:16; cf. Deut. 19:15; 2 Cor. 13:1. For this and the following paragraphs, cf. below *Deposition 1-7*.

130. Matt. 18:19.

131. Matt. 18:20.

132. John 20:22-23.

133. Matt. 18:18.

134. John 17:20-24.

135. Acts 15:8.

136. Acts 11:17-18.

137. Acts 19:6.

138. Eph. 4:11-12.

(57) Ταῦτα ἡμεῖς, Χριστόφορος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἰώβ Ἀντιοχείας, Βασίλειος Ἱεροσολύμων, σὺν ἐπισκόποις ῥπέ, ἡγουμένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, μονάζουσι χιλίους ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τρισί, συγγραφῶν ἐχουσῶν ἑκάστου ὄνομα καὶ τόπον ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ μητροπόλεως καὶ μονῆς καὶ χώρας. Ὁ δὲ συντεθεις παρ' ἡμῶν λίβελλος ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ἔχει οὕτως (58) Ἐπει τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τὴν θεόλεκτον φωνὴν τὴν φάσκουσας, ὅτι ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῆσεται πᾶν ῥήμα· καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγματος οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ πάλιν, οὗ γάρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἕμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμί ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν (59) καὶ πάλιν, λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἂν τινων ἀφήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς, ἂν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι ἐὰν δῆσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (60) καὶ πάλιν, οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ᾧσι καθὼς σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν σοὶ· καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς ἵνα ᾧσι τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἔν, καὶ ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κόσμος ὅτι ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας, καὶ ἵνα ὅπου εἰμί ἐγὼ κακεῖνοι ᾧσι μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι (61) καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος, φησί, δούς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῖν, τὴν ἴσῃν δωρεάν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καθὼς ἐλάλησαν γλώσσαις καὶ προεφήτευσαν· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, ὅτι ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῆς δόξης τῶν ἁγίων (62) διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ μέτριοι, εἰς δ' ἐφθάσαμεν κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύ-

1. § 57, cf. *Letter titulus* - 7. § 58, cf. *Ps-Dam. 1a. et Dep. (=A)* - 13. § 59, cf. *Ps-Dam. 1b* - 15. ὅτι W, ὅσα *Dep.* - 16. § 60, cf. *Ps-Dam. 1c* - μόνον *Dep.*, om. *Ps-Dam.*, μόνων W - 21-22. τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν *Dep. et Ps-Dam.* - 22. § 61, cf. *Ps-Dam. 1d* - φησὶν *Dep. et Ps-Dam.* - 24. καθὼς καὶ *Dep. et Ps-Dam.*

Holy Spirit, who determines the ranks and successions of the patriarchs and priests, who anoints priests and emperors, and sends out prophets, as it has been granted to us, as it is said, *to be foreknown*¹³⁹ for his wonderful work, He who has shown us *the ways of salvation*¹⁴⁰, He who has chosen us to become *ministers of the new covenant*¹⁴¹, servants of the holy *mysteries*¹⁴², chief priests and authors of consecration in the appointing of priests and chief priests for the illumination and sanctification of the catholic and apostolic Church, as the prophet says, *I shall pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons ... and your young men shall see visions*¹⁴³, in the hope that the energy of the divine grace, by partaking, participation and succession of the holy Fathers and patriarchs who have lived before us, will dwell and operate in us, (63) following the definition and canon of the divinely inspired apostles and holy Fathers, we believe in the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, the indivisible and unconfused divinity, the nature beyond all beginning and eternal, three Persons and one substance, the unlimited existence which transcends numbers. We confess that He became the Word of God for our salvation at the end of the ages, by his divine birth from the holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary, *in so far as He entered into full communion of flesh and blood*¹⁴⁴ with us, except for sin, in two natures in the one Person of the Word, operating in each of the substances by energies and wills, all that was divine and all that was human, in accordance with the holy and ecumenical synods of the holy Fathers.

139. Cf. Rom. 8:29.

140. Cf. Acts 16:17.

141. 2 Cor. 3:6.

142. Cf. 1 Cor. 4:1.

143. Acts 2:17 (Joel 3:1).

144. Heb. 2:14.

ματος τοῦ ἀφορίζοντος τάξεις ἁγίας πατριαρχῶν καὶ ἱερέων, τὸ
 χριον ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀποστέλλον προφήτας καθὼς ἔχαρι-
 σθη ἡμῖν, τοῦ εἶναι ἡμᾶς προεγνωσμένους εἰς τὸ θανατοῦν αὐτοῦ
 ἔργον, ὡς φησί, ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν ὁδὸς σωτηρίας, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος
 5 ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι διακόνους τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, λειτουργοὺς τῶν
 ἁγίων μυστηρίων, ἀρχιερεῖς δὲ καὶ τελετάρχας, εἰς τὸ καθιστᾶν ἱε-
 ρεῖς καὶ ἱεράρχας, εἰς φωτισμὸν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς
 ἐκκλησίας καθὼς καὶ ὁ προφήτης οὕτω φησὶν· *ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ*
πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ
 10 *ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται*· ἐλπίζοντες τὴν
 αὐτὴν κατὰ μέθεξιν μετοχὴν καὶ διαδοχὴν τῶν προβεβιωκότων
 ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ πατριαρχῶν, τὴν τῆς θείας χάριτος ἐνέργειαν
 καὶ χάριν, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐμπεριπατήσαι καὶ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι, (63) τῷ
 15 ὄρω καὶ κανόνι ἐπόμενοι τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων
 πατέρων, πιστεύομεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωαρχικὴν
 Τριάδα, τὴν ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀσύγχυτον θεότητα, τὴν ὑπεράρχιον
 καὶ ἄϊδιον φύσιν, καὶ τὴν τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἐνιαίαν οὐσίαν, τὴν
 ἀόριστον καὶ ὑπεράριθμον ὑπαρξιν, ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων
 τῶν αἰώνων Θεοῦ Λόγου γενονυῖαν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
 20 θείαν γέννησιν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας,
 καθὼς κεκοινώνηκεν ἡμῖν σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, πλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας,
 ἐν δύο φύσεσιν, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει, ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν ἐκα-
 τέραις ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνεργείαις καὶ θελήσεσι, τὰ τε θεῖα, τὰ τε
 25 ἀνθρώπινα, κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους τῶν ἁγίων
 πατέρων.

1. post ἁγίας add. ἱεραρχικῶν διακοσμήσεων, καὶ βαθμούς καὶ τάξεις *Dep.* - 4. ὡς φησί, om. *Dep.* - σωτηρίας W, εἰς σωτηρίαν *Dep.* (Act. 16:17) - 8-10. καθὼς - ὄψονται om. hic *Dep.* - 10. post ἐλπίζοντες add. καὶ *Dep.* - 11. μέθεξιν om. *Dep.* - 13. καὶ² om. *Dep.* - 13-15. τῷ ὄρω - πατέρων cf. *Dep.* 6 et *Ps-Dam.* 1e - 15. πιστεύοντες *Dep.*, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 2 - καὶ¹ om. *Dep.* - 22. post δύο add. ταῖς *Dep.* - post μιᾷ add. τῇ *Dep.* - 23. θελήσειν *Dep.*

(64) Thus we also confess and proclaim that the holy Virgin Mary is genuinely and truly Theotokos. We also accept the holy Apostles as eye-witnesses of the Word. We also accept God's holy prophets and martyrs, and the holy Fathers and teachers who have correctly designated the word of Christ's truth. We accept the holy and ecumenical synods, of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers at Nicaea¹⁴⁵, of the one hundred and fifty holy Fathers in Constantinople¹⁴⁶, of the two hundred at Ephesus¹⁴⁷, of the six hundred and thirty at Chalcedon¹⁴⁸, of the one hundred and sixty-five in Constantinople the second time¹⁴⁹, then again of the two hundred and eighty-nine Fathers¹⁵⁰; **(65)** we accept the holy and ecumenical synod which took place at Nicaea for the second time¹⁵¹ during the patriarchate of the most holy and orthodox Patriarch Tarasios for the sake of the orthodox doctrines, in order to honour and revere the venerable icons, and that in the great church of Saint Sophia at the time of the most holy and orthodox patriarch, Nicephoros¹⁵². We accept all those they accepted, and we reject and anathematize all those that they canonically and lawfully rejected and anathematized and we place them under canonical interdict¹⁵³, and we subscribe, as they did, to the divinely inspired definition and canon. Let those who think otherwise be anathema; let those who do not hold thus be expelled far from God and the Church.

145. The First Ecumenical Council (325), see above *Letter*, p. 20, n. 88.

146. Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople I (381). See *Alt. Ending 1, 2*.

147. Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus I (431), which condemned Nestorianism. See also above *Alt. Ending 1, 2*.

148. Fourth Ecumenical Council, Chalcedon (451), see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92, n. 33.

149. Fifth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople II (553); see *Alt. Ending 1, 2*.

150. Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople III, 681) against the Monothelites. See *Alt. Ending 1, 2*.

151. Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II (787), see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 106, n. 73.

152. Either Synod of 814 (*Regestes* 391) or Synod of 815 (*Regestes* 393); Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending', p. 418. See also above 48; cf. *Alt. Ending 1, 2*; *Deposition*, 7.

153. For 64-65 cf. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending', pp. 414-15.

(64) Ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ κηρύττομεν καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μα-
 ρίαν, κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοτόκον. Δεχόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπο-
 στόλους ὡς αὐτόπτας τοῦ Λόγου. Δεχόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τοῦ
 Θεοῦ προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας, καὶ ἁγίους πατέρας καὶ διδασκά-
 5 λους τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀληθείας. Δε-
 χόμεθα τὰς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους, τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς
 ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἡν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διακοσίων, τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, χλ', τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντι-
 νουπόλει, ρξε', καὶ πάλιν, σπθ' πατέρων. (65) Δεχόμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐν
 10 Νικαίᾳ τὸ δεύτερον ἁγίαν καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον ἐπὶ Ταρσίου
 τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πατριάρχου γεγонуῖαν, ἐπὶ ὀρθοδό-
 ξων δογμάτων συγκροτηθεῖσαν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ προσκύνησιν τῶν τι-
 μίων καὶ σεβασμίων εἰκόνων, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Σοφίᾳ
 ἐπὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πατριάρχου. Καὶ οὓς
 15 μὲν ἐδέξαντο, δεχόμεθα, οὓς δὲ κανονικῶς καὶ ἐνθέσμως ἀπεβάλον-
 το καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀποβαλλόμεθα καὶ ἀναθεματίζο-
 μεν, καὶ κανονικῶς καθαιρέσει ὑποβάλλομεν, καὶ τῷ θεοπνεύστῳ
 ὄρω καὶ κανόνι ὑπογράφομεν ὡσπερ κάκεινοι. Οἱ μὴ οὕτω φρο-
 νοῦντες, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν, οἱ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες, πόρω τοῦ Θεοῦ
 20 καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωχθήτωσαν.

1. § 64, cf. *Dep.* 7 - 3. post αὐτόπτας add. καὶ ὑπηρέτας *Dep.* - post τοῦ¹ add. Θεοῦ *Dep.* -
 4. καὶ² om. *Dep.* - 7. ἁγίων bis om. *Dep.* - τῶν ἐν Κ. - πατέρων mg. W - 8. ante τῶν² add.
 καὶ *Dep.* - 9. ρξδ' *Dep.* - πατέρων om. *Dep.* - § 65, cf. *Dep.* 7 - 11. ἁγίου *Dep.* - 13.
 καὶ³ om. *Dep.* - 15. ἀπεβάλλοντο W - 18. post ὡσπερ κάκεινοι scripsit τάδε: πιστεύοντες
 εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζῶα καὶ sic des. mutila *Dep.*

(66) We reject and anathematize every heresy and false synod of impious and corrupt men, who have torn themselves away from the catholic Church and form rival assemblies, which do not teach the word of Christ; also every iconoclast and enemy of the icons who does not worship the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Mother of God and all the saints. Such men we both reject and anathematize. We believe in, and we confess, *one God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen*¹⁵⁴, and so forth as the church of God in her proper teaching holds fast.

(67) Indeed, these things, though we have exposed only a small proportion, are sufficient for the attentive reader. Our Christ and Lord, in His kindness, seeing your slow-hearted devotion, will thrust out the rulers but only the heretical ones¹⁵⁵.

154. Constantinopolitan creed.

155. This abrupt ending may indicate that the text here is incomplete.

- (66) Ἀποβαλλόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ ψευδοσύνοδον ἀσεβῶν καὶ κατεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων, ἀποσχιστῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παρασυναγῶγων, μὴ ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ πάντα ἀνθρωπον εἰκονοκλάστην καὶ εἰκονομάχον, καὶ μὴ προσκυνούντα τὸ ἀφομοίωμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Θεομήτορος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ ἀποβαλλόμεθα καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων, καὶ καθεξῆς καθὼς ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὀρθοτομοῦσα κατέχει.
- (67) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα ἐξεθέμεθα, ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ ἐπιμελῶς ἀναγινώσκοντι, αὐταρκές ἐστι. Χριστὸς δὲ καὶ κύριος ὡς εὐεργέτης, ἰδὼν νῦν ὑμῶν νωθοκάριδιον σέβας, ἄρχοντας ὡσει, αἰρετίζοντας μόνους.

Deposition and Anathematization

Deposition and Anathematization of the Heresiarchs, the Falsely Called Patriarchs, Theodotos, Anthony and John¹.

(1) Since it is in accordance with the divinely inspired voice which says that, *By the mouth of two witnesses or three shall every word be established²*; and again, that *If two of you agree on earth about the request you have to make, that request will be granted by my heavenly Father³*; and again, *Where two or three have come together in my name, I am in their midst⁴*; (2) and again, *Receive the Holy Spirit; if you forgive people their sins, they shall be forgiven them, if you consider them unforgiven they shall remain unforgiven⁵*; and again, *Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven⁶*; (3) and again, *It is not for these alone that I ask, says the Lord, but for those also who believe in me through their word, so that they may be one, as you, Father, are in me, and I in you; and the glory which you gave me I have given to them so that they be perfectly one, and that the world may learn that you loved them as you loved me, and that where I am, they may be with me, so that they may look upon my glory which you have given me⁷*; (4) and the divinely inspired apostle Peter says, *By giving the Holy Spirit to them, as he did to us⁸, He gave his gift equally to other nations⁹*, as in fact *they spoke in tongues and prophesied¹⁰*; and the apostle Paul, that *God appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers to establish the glory of the saints¹¹*, (5) therefore, we the humble, to the extent that we have attained the rank given us by the grace of the Holy Spirit, who

1. For Theodotos Melissinos, see *Letter*, p. 74, n. 242; for Anthony, p. 66 n. 218 ; John VII the Grammarian (837-843), largely responsible for the drawing up the synodal acts of 815, was appointed under Theophilus, his former pupil (Theoph. cont., pp. 32, 121; see also Lemerle's excellent study, *Humanisme*, pp. 135-47). All three were anathematized in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (ed. Gouillard, p. 57,173). See *Alt. Ending 2*, 58-65.

2. Matt. 18:16; cf. Deut. 19:15, 2 Cor. 13:1.

3. Matt. 18:19.

4. Matt. 18:20.

5. John 20:22-23.

6. Matt. 18:18.

7. John 17:20-24.

8. Acts 15:8.

9. Acts 11:17-18.

10. Acts 19:16.

11. Eph. 4:11-12.

**Καθαίρεσις και ἀναθεματισμὸς
τῶν αἰρεσιαρχῶν ψευδωνύμων πατριαρχῶν
Θεοδότου, Ἀντωνίου, Ἰωάννου**

- (1) Ἐπεὶ τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τὴν θεόλεκτον φωνὴν τὴν φάσκουσαν,
5 *ὅτι ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα*· καὶ
πάλιν, *ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς
πραγματος οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*· καὶ πάλιν, *οὗ γάρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συ-*
νηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἕμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν (2) καὶ πάλιν,
10 *λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἃν τινῶν ἀφήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφέωνται*
αὐτοῖς, ἃν τινῶν κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται· καὶ πάλιν, *ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε*
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (3) καὶ πάλιν, *οὐ περὶ*
τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πι-
στευόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσι καθὼς
15 *σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι*
δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ὧσι τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν, καὶ ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κό-
σμος ὅτι ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας, καὶ ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι
ἐγὼ, κἀκεῖνοι ὧσι μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἣν
ἔδωκάς μοι (4) καὶ ὁ θεοπέσιος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος φησὶν, *δοὺς τὸ*
20 *πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκε*
τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καθὼς καὶ ἐλάλησαν γλώσσαις καὶ προεφήτευσαν καὶ
ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, *ὅτι ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον*
ἀποστόλους, δεῦτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους πρὸς καταρ-
25 *τισμὸν τῆς δόξης τῶν ἁγίων* (5) διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ μέτριοι εἰς δ
ἐφθάσαμεν κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύμα-

4. §§ 1-6, cf. *Ps-Dam.* 1a-2, et *Alt.* 2 (=W), 58 ss. – 6. τῆς om. *Ps-Dam.* – 7. τοῦ om. *Ps-Dam.*
– 13. μόνων *Alt.* 2, om. *Ps-Dam.* – 17. ἠγάπησας bis A – 18. δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν A, ἐμὴν δό-
ξαν *Alt.* 2 – 19. φησί *Alt.* 2 – 21. καί¹ om. *Alt.* 2 – 22. ἀπόστολος om. *Ps-Dam.* – 23. πρὸς
om. et desinit *Ps-Dam.*, add. τὸν *Alt.* 2

determines the holy orders of the hierarchical arrangement, the ranks and successions of the patriarchs and priests, who anoints priests and emperors, and sends out prophets, as it has been granted to us *to be foreknown*¹² for his wonderful work, He who has shown us *the ways towards salvation*¹³, He who has chosen us to become *ministers of the new covenant*¹⁴, servants of the holy *mysteries*¹⁵, chief priests and authors of consecration in the appointing of priests and chief priests for the illumination and sanctification of the catholic and apostolic Church, in the hope that the energy of the divine grace, by participation and succession of the holy Fathers and patriarchs who have lived before us, will dwell and operate in us, for as the prophet says, *I shall pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons ... and your young men shall see visions*¹⁶, (6) therefore we following the definition and canon of the divinely inspired apostles and of the holy Fathers in the holy and catholic and apostolic Church, where the definition and canon and acclamation of the celebrants takes place in unison *in a voice of exultation and confession*¹⁷, we hold fast and acknowledge, holding fast the keys, as an unshaken foundation and pillar of the faith of the catholic Church, and as an anchor of piety, the holy and orthodox tenets, and we subscribe to the following:

Believing in the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, the indivisible and unconfused divinity, the nature beyond all beginning and eternal, three Persons and one substance, the unlimited existence which transcends numbers, we confess that He became the Word of God for our salvation at the end of the ages, by his divine birth from the holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary, *in so far as He entered into full communion of flesh and blood*¹⁸ with us, except for sin, in two natures, in the one Person of the Word, operating in each of the substances by energies and wills, all that was divine and all that was human, in accordance with the holy and ecumenical synods of the holy Fathers.

12. Cf. Rom. 8:29.

13. Cf. Acts 16:17.

14. 2 Cor. 3:6.

15. Cf. 1 Cor. 4:1.

16. Joel 2:28; Acts 2:17.

17. Ps. 41:5.

18. Cf. Heb. 2:14.

τος τοῦ ἀφορίζοντος τάξεις ἁγίας ἱεραρχικῶν διακοσμήσεων, και
 βαθμοῦς και τάξεις πατριαρχῶν και ἱερέων, τὸ χριον ἱερεῖς και βα-
 σιλεῖς και ἀποστέλλον προφήτας, καθὼς ἔχαρισθη ἡμῖν τοῦ εἶναι
 ἡμᾶς *προεγνωσμένους* εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὁ ὑποδείξας
 5 ἡμῖν *ὁδοὺς εἰς σωτηρίαν*, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι *διακόνους*
τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἁγίων *μυστηρίων*, ἀρχιερεῖς
 δὲ και τελετάρχας εἰς τὸ καθιστᾶν ἱερεῖς και ἱεράρχας εἰς φωτι-
 σμὸν και ἁγιασμὸν τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς και ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας, ἐλπίζοντες και τὴν αὐτὴν κατὰ μετοχὴν και διαδοχὴν τῶν
 10 προβεβιωκότων ἁγίων, πατέρων και πατριαρχῶν τὴν τῆς θείας χά-
 ριτος ἐνέργειαν και χάριν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐμπεριπατῆσαι και ἐμπολιτεῦσα-
 σθαι καθὼς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει, *ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου*
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, και προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν, και οἱ νεανί-
σκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται· (6) τοίνυν τῷ ὄρω και κανόνι ἐπόμεθα
 15 τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀποστόλων και τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐν τῇ ἁγία και
 καθολικῇ και ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔνθα ὁμοφώνως ὁ ὄρος και
 κανὼν και ἤχος τῶν ἑορταζόντων ἐν *φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως και ἔξομο-*
λογήσεως, γίνεται ὡς ἀκράδαντον κρηπίδα και ἔρεισμα πίστεως
 τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἀγκυραν εὐσεβείας κατέχομεν και
 20 ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν εὐσεβῶν και ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων, τὰς κλεῖς κα-
 τέχοντες, τοιάδε ὑπογράφομεν.

Πιστεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν, ὁμοούσιον και ζωαρχικὴν Τριάδα,
 τὴν ἀδιαίρετον και ἀσύγχυτον θεότητα, τὴν ὑπεράρχιον και ἀίδιον
 φύσιν, και τὴν τρισυπόστατον και ἐνιαίαν οὐσίαν, τὴν ἀόριστον
 25 και ὑπεράριθμον ὑπαρξιν, ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν αἰώ-
 νων Θεοῦ Λόγου γεγонуῖαν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν θείαν γέν-
 νησιν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου και θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καθὼς *κεκοι-*
νώνηκεν ἡμῖν σαρκὸς και αἵματος, πλήν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐν δύο ταῖς
 φύσεσιν ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν ἑκατέραις
 30 ταῖς οὐσίαις, ἐνεργείαις και θελήσεσιν, τὰ τε θεῖα τὰ τε ἀνθρώπινα,
 κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας και οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων.

1-2. ἱεραρχικῶν - τάξεις om. *Alt. 2* - 4. post ἔργον scripsit ὡς φησὶ *Alt. 2* - 5. εἰς σωτηρίαν
 Α. σωτηρίας *Alt. 2* - 8. post ἐκκλησίας scripsit καθὼς και ὁ προφήτης οὕτω φησὶν ἐκχεῶ
 - ὄψονται (Joel 3:1) *Alt. 2* - 9. και! om. *Alt. 2* - post κατὰ add. μέθξιν *Alt. 2* - 12-14.
 καθὼς - τοίνυν om. hic *Alt. 2* - 14. ἐπόμενοι *Alt. 2* - 15-21. ἐν - ὑπογράφομεν om. *Alt. 2* -
 22. πιστεύομεν *Alt. 2* - post ἁγίαν add. και *Alt. 2* - 28. πλήν τῆς ἁμαρτίας in mg. Α - ταῖς
 om. *Alt. 2* - 29. τῇ om. *Alt. 2*

(7) We confess and proclaim that the holy Virgin Mary is genuinely and truly Theotokos. We also accept the holy Apostles as eye-witnesses and servants of God the Word. We also accept God's holy prophets and martyrs, and the holy Fathers and teachers who have correctly designated the word of Christ's truth. We accept the holy and ecumenical synods, of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers at Nicaea, of the one hundred and fifty Fathers in Constantinople, of the two hundred at Ephesus, of the six hundred and thirty at Chalcedon, and of the one hundred and sixty-four in Constantinople the second time, then again of the two hundred and eighty-nine; we accept the holy and ecumenical council which took place at Nicaea for the second time during the patriarchate of the holy and orthodox Patriarch Tarasios for the sake of the orthodox doctrines, in order to honour and revere the venerable icons, and that in the great church of Saint Sophia at the time of the most holy and orthodox patriarch, Nicephoros¹⁹. We accept all those they accepted, and we reject and anathematize all those that they canonically and lawfully rejected and anathematized and we place them under canonical interdict²⁰, and along with the divinely inspired definition and canon, we subscribe to these things: Believing in the holy and consubstantial and li[fe-giving Trinity ...²¹

19. See *Alt. Ending 1, 2*; *Alt. Ending 2, 64-65*.

20. Cf. Munitiz, 'An Alternative Ending', pp. 414-5.

21. For the missing text see above *Alt. Ending 1, 3*.

(7) Ὁμολογοῦμεν και κηρύττομεν και την ἁγίαν παρθένον Μα-
 ρίαν κυρίως και ἀληθῶς θεοτόκον δεχόμεθα και τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπο-
 στόλους ὡς αὐτόπτας και ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου· δεχόμεθα και
 5 τοὺς ἁγίους τοῦ Θεοῦ προφήτας και μάρτυρας, ἁγίους πατέρας και
 διδασκάλους τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀλη-
 θείας. Δεχόμεθα τὰς ἁγίας και οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους, τῶν ἐν Νι-
 10 καίᾳ τριακοσίων δέκα και ὀκτὼ πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντίνου
 πόλει ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διακοσίων, τῶν
 ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα, και τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πό-
 15 λει ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα τεσσάρων, και πάλιν διακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα
 ἑννέα· δεχόμεθα και την ἐν Νικαίᾳ τὸ δεύτερον ἁγίαν και οἰκουμε-
 νικὴν σύνοδον ἐπὶ Ταρασίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου και ὀρθοδόξου πατριάρχου
 γεγυσιαν ἐπὶ ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων συγκροτηθεῖσαν εἰς τιμὴν και
 15 ἁγία μεγάλη Σοφία ἐπὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου και ὀρθοδόξου
 πατριάρχου. Καὶ οὗς μὲν ἐδέξαντο, δεχόμεθα, οὗς δὲ κανονικῶς
 και ἐνθέσμως ἀπεβάλλοντο και ἀνεθεμάτισαν, και ἡμεῖς ἀποβαλλό-
 μεθα και ἀναθεματίζομεν, και κανονικῶς καθαιρέσει ὑποβάλλομεν,
 και τῷ θεοπνεύστῳ ὄρω και κανόνι ὑπογράφομεν τάδε· πιστεύοντες
 20 εἰς την ἁγίαν και ὁμοούσιον και ζωαρ[χικὴν Τριάδα ...

1. Ὁμολογοῦμεν tot in fine. cf. *Alt. 1* (=V); hic add. οὖν *Alt. 1* - και² om. *Alt. 1* - 3. και ὑπη-
 ρέτας om. *Alt. 2* - Θεοῦ om. *Alt. 1, Alt. 2* - και² om. *Alt. 1* - 4. post μάρτυρας add. και *Alt.*
2. add. και τοὺς *Alt. 1* - 7. post ὀκτὼ add. ἁγίων *Alt. 1, Alt. 2* - 8. ρν' A - post πενήκοντα
 add. ἁγίων πατέρων *Alt. 2* - σ' A - 9. καλκηδόνι A - χλ' A - και om. *Alt. 2* - 10. ρξδ'
 A, ρξε' *Alt. 2* - 10-11. σπθ' A, add. πατέρων *Alt. 2* - 11. τὸ om. *Alt. 1* - 11-12. ἁγίαν - σύ-
 νοδον om. *Alt. 1* - 12. ἁγιωτάτου *Alt. 2* - 14. τιμίων και om. *Alt. 1* - 15. post ἁγία add.
 και *Alt. 1, Alt. 2* - και ὀρθοδόξου om. *Alt. 1* - 17. ἀπεβάλλοντο *Alt. 1, Alt. 2* - 18. κανο-
 νικῆ *Alt. 1* - καθυποβάλλομεν *Alt. 1* - 19. ὄρει *Alt. 1* - post ὑπογράφομεν add. ὡσπερ
 κακεῖνοι et incipit textus alius *Alt. 2*

Pseudo-Damascene, *Letter to Emperor Theophilus*

**Pseudo-Damascene, *Letter to Emperor Theophilos*
on the Holy and Venerated Icons¹**

(1.a) Since² it is in accordance with the divinely inspired voice which says, *If two of you agree on earth about any request you have to make, that request will be granted by my heavenly Father³; for Where two or three have come together in my name, I am there amidst them⁴; (1.b)* and again, *Receive the Holy Spirit, if you forgive people their sins, they shall be forgiven them, if you consider them unforgiven they shall remain unforgiven⁵; and again, You shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel⁶; and then again, that Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven⁷; (1.c)* and elsewhere, *It is not for these that I ask, says the Lord, but for those also who believe in me through their word, so that they may be one, as you, Father, are in me, and I in you; and the glory which you gave me I have given to them so that they be perfectly one, and that the world may learn that I loved them as you loved me, and that where I am, they may be with me, so that they may look upon my glory which you have given me⁸; (1.d)* and the divinely inspired apostle Peter says, *By giving the Holy Spirit to them, as he did to us⁹, He gave his gift equally to other nations¹⁰, as in fact they spoke in tongues and prophesied¹¹; and again the great Paul, the preacher and teacher of the inhabited world, says, *God appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers¹², (1.e)* therefore, following the definition and canon of the divinely inspired apostles, and of the holy and blessed Fathers, in the great Church of God, where the definition and the acclamation of the celebrants are*

1. The title in the mss is *Letter of our Holy Father John Damascene to Emperor Theophilos on the Holy and Venerated Icons*.

2. Absence of formal letter opening. Cf. *Deposition*, lines 1 ff. and *Alternative Ending 2*, 58-61.

3. Matt. 18:19.

4. Matt. 18:20.

5. John 20:22-23.

6. Matt. 19:28; cf. Luke 18:30.

7. Matt. 18:18.

8. John 17:20-24.

9. Acts 15:8.

10. Acts 11:17-18.

11. Acts 19:6.

12. 1 Cor. 11:28; cf. Eph. 4:11.

Τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ,
ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον,
περὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων

- (1.a) Ἐπεὶ τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τὴν θεόλεκτον φωνὴν τὴν φάσκουσαν,
5 ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγμα-
τος οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ
ἐν οὐρανοῖς· οὗ γὰρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνο-
μα, ἐκεῖ εἰμί ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν (1.b) καὶ πάλιν, λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον
ἂν τινων ἀφήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς, ἂν τινων κρατῆτε,
10 κεκράτηνται· καὶ πάλιν, καθίσεσθε ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες
τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (1.c) καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, οὐ περὶ τούτων
δὲ ἐρωτῶ φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ τοῦ
15 λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ᾧσι καθὼς σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοί,
κἀγὼ ἐν σοί· καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς,
ἵνα ᾧσι τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν, καὶ, ἵνα γινῶ ὁ κόσμος, ὅτι ἠγάπησα
αὐτούς, καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας, καὶ, ἵνα ὅπου εἰμί ἐγώ, κἀκεῖνοι ᾧσι
μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἣν δέδωκάς μοι (1.d)
20 καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος φησὶ, δοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς
ἔθνεσι, καθὼς καὶ ἐλάλουν γλώσσαις καὶ προεφήτευσαν· καὶ πάλιν ὁ
μέγας Παῦλος καὶ κῆρυξ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ διδάσκαλος φησὶν,
ὅτι ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δευτέρων
25 προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους (1.e) τοίνυν τῷ ὄρω καὶ κανόνι
ἐπόμενοι τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ μακαρίων
πατέρων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔνθα ὁμοφρόνως καὶ ὁμο-

MP

4ss. § 1a-2 cf. *Dep.* (=A) 1 ff. et *Alt.* 2 (=W) 58-61 - 5. post ὅτι add. ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύ-
ρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῆσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα (2 Deut. 19:15; Mt. 18:16), καὶ πάλιν *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 7.
post ἐν add. τοῖς *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - post οὐρανοῖς add. καὶ πάλιν *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 9. ἀφένονται *Dep.*,
Alt. 2 - 10-11. καθίσεσθε - αὐτοῖς om. *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 11. ὅσα MP *Dep.*, ὅτι *Alt.* 2 - ἐὰν *Dep.*,
Alt. 2 - 12-13. καὶ ὅσα - οὐρανῷ om. *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 13. ἀλλαχοῦ MP, πάλιν *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 -
τούτω M - 14. post ἐρωτῶ add. μόνον *Dep.*, add. μόνων *Alt.* 2 - 17. γινώσκη *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 -
18. ἠγάπησα MP, ἠγάπησας *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 (et cf. Ioh. 17:23) - 19. τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν *Alt.* 2 -
ἔδωκας *Dep.* - 20. φησὶν *Dep.* - 21. ὡσπερ *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - τὴν om. *Dep.* - ἔδωκε (om. ὁ
Θεός) *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 22. καὶ¹ om. *Alt.* 2 - ἐλάλησαν *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - προεφήτευσαν *Dep.*, *Alt.*
2 (cf. Act. 19:6) - πάλιν om. *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 23. μέγας MP, ἀπόστολος *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - καὶ²-
φησὶν om. *Dep.*, *Alt.* 2 - 25. post διδασκάλους incipit alius textus in *Dep.* 4-5ss. et *Alt.* 2 62

unanimously celebrated *in a voice of exultation and confession*¹³, we hold fast the same symbols of the orthodox faith and the keys of the devout and orthodox tenets, and we subscribe to the following:

(2) Believing in the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, we confess the incarnate economy of God the Word and the holy ecumenical synods; similarly we also kiss the revered icons, just as we do the form of the life-giving Cross and the divinely inspired Gospels. Let those who do not think thus be anathema; let those who do not believe thus be expelled far from the Church. This is the faith that has brought light to the inhabited world. Therefore those who dare to think differently or overturn any of the ecclesiastical customs or traditions, we place under anathema and expel them. For there is *nothing bent or tortuous*¹⁴ in the catholic Church, *for all is straight to those who understand and right to those that find knowledge*¹⁵, *for she is all beautiful*, as has been said, *and there is no blemish in her*¹⁶.

(3.a) The first¹⁷ who laid the foundations of the most Christian empire, was Constantine¹⁸, the great and just, who was the apostle of Christ among the emperors, who achieved a myriad praiseworthy deeds for the Church of God and who cast down to earth that labyrinthian and impassable Arian stronghold¹⁹ set up for war against God; he made the knowledge of the suprasubstantial and life-giving, consubstantial Trinity shine forth to the ends of the earth just as a pillar shining like fire. As the first and foremost offering, a token of devotion to Christ our true God, he engraved on the imperial coinage of the state the sign of the salvific Cross that had appeared from heaven, and stamped the revered and theandric figure of Christ along with his own image on the coin²⁰, thus showing that the authority of the celestial emperor had been handed over to the earthly one (and established) a peaceful truce and a covenant of profound peace, one single flock²¹ and one authority over angels

13. Ps. 41:5.

14. Prov. 8:8 (LXX).

15. Prov. 8:9.

16. Song 4:7.

17. Cf. *Letter*, 5.c-e; B. Hemmerdinger, 'Les sources de BHG 1387', *OCP*, 34 (1968), 145-7.

18. See *Letter*, p. 18 n. 85.

19. See *Letter*, p. 20 n. 87.

20. See Walter, B. 1, p. lxxv.

21. Cf. John 10:16.

γνώμῳ ὁ ὄρος καὶ ὁ ἦχος τῶν ἑορταζόντων ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως καὶ ἔξομολογήσεως γίνεται· τὰ αὐτὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως σύμβολα τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων τὰς κλεῖς κατέχοντες, τοιαυτάδε ὑπογράφωμεν.

- 5 (2) Πιστεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα, ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἕνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, καὶ τὰς ἁγίας οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους· ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς τιμίας εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμεθα ἐπίσης τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τῶν θεολέκτων εὐαγγελίων· οἱ μὴ οὕτως φρονοῦντες, ἀνάθεμα
10 ἔστωσαν· οἱ μὴ οὕτως πιστεύοντες, πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωχθήτωσαν. Αὕτη ἡ πίστις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισε. Τοὺς οὖν τολμῶντας ἐτέρως φρονεῖν, ἢ ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν θεσμῶν ἢ παραδόσεων, τούτους ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ ἀποβαλλόμεθα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σχολιὸν ἢ στραγγαλιῶδες πάντα
15 γὰρ εὐθέα τοῖς νοοῦσι, καὶ ὀρθὰ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσι γινώσκιν· ὅλη γὰρ καλὴ ὡς εἴρηται καὶ μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ.

- (3.a) Καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ τὴν κρηπίδα τῆς χριστιανικωτάτης βασιλείας πηξάμενος, ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ μέγας καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ τὰ μυρία ἀξιέπαινα κατορθώματα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ βραβεύσας, τὸν τε λαβυρίνθιον ἐκεῖνον καὶ δυσδιεξόδευτον τῆς θεομαχίας ἀρειανικὸν πύργον εἰς γῆν καταρράξας, ὡς στῦλον πυρσοφανῆ τὴν γινώσκιν τῆς ὑπερουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος, τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξέλαμψε· πρῶτιστον καὶ ἐξαιρετον καλλιέρημα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν
20 Θεὸν εὐσεβείας γνώρισμα, ἐγχαράττει τῷ βασιλικῷ τῆς πολιτείας νομίσματι· τό τε οὐρανοφανὲς σημεῖον τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, καὶ τὸν σεβάσμιον καὶ θεανδρικὸν Χριστοῦ χαρακτῆρα ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνετυπώσατο, ἐνδεικνύντος τὴν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως αὐθεντίαν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίγειον γεγонуῖαν· εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς, καὶ
30 βαθείας εἰρήνης συναλλάγματα, μᾶς ποιίμνης γενομένης, καὶ μᾶς

MPK

5. cf. *Dep.* 6; *Alt* 2 63 – 7. ἁγίας s. l. P – 14. cf. *Letter* 5b – 15. εὐθεῖα MP – 17. cf. *Letter* 5c-e, – 17-28. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν - ἀνετυπώσατο K – 19. ὁ μέγας καὶ δίκαιος MP, ὁ δίκαιος καὶ μέγιστος *Letter*, l. c., ὁ μέγιστος K – καί² post μυρία trsp. *Letter*, l. c. – post μυρία add. καὶ K – 20. Θεοῦ KMP, Χριστοῦ *Letter*, l. c. – 20-23. τὸν τε λαβυρίνθιον - ἐξέλαμψε om. K – cf. *Letter* 5c – 24. καὶ ἐξαιρετον om. K – ἡμῶν Θεόν P, Θεὸν ἡμῶν M

and men. (3.b) Similarly (he ordered) that the revered and sacred representation of His life in the flesh, and the unique characteristics of his immaculate form be established as *He was seen upon earth*, a perfect man and *He conversed with men*²² showing the recognizable marks of human nature that He had derived from the pure Theotokos Mary, according to the tradition handed down to the catholic Church by the blessed and divine apostles, who on the basis of the writing of the god-inspired Gospels, adorned the holy church with pictorial representations and artistic mosaics, setting up and depicting the theandric figure of Christ. In fact the Gospel according to Matthew was written eight years after the Ascension of Christ. The Gospel according to Mark was written ten years after (the Ascension). The Gospel according to Luke was written fifteen years after (the Ascension). The Gospel according to John was written after thirty-two years²³ at the time of Domitian.

(3.c) For this reason even earlier it was ordained that there should be depictions in the churches, portraying in pictorial colours the following: the angel's Annunciation to the Virgin in Nazareth, the birth in Bethlehem, the vision to the shepherds, the gift-bearing of the magi, the path of the star, the reception by the righteous Symeon, the baptism by John, the manifestation of the marvellous and divine miracles, the voluntary sufferings, the wondrous life-bringing Resurrection, the divine Ascension to heaven, and the subsequent apostolic miracles.

(3.d) This was handed down to the Church as definition and teaching, that the only-begotten Son and Word of God and our God, the one without beginning, the eternal, the immaterial, the incorporeal, the one without quantity or quality, the immeasurable, the intangible, the One who drew all things out of non-being into being, who with His word set in order the angelic and heavenly, incorporeal powers, *who measured heaven with his palm, and holds the earth in his grasp, and measured the water with his hand*²⁴, who moulded man with His undefiled hands, who Himself became man, born out of Mary, the holy Virgin and Mother of God, *He shared in our flesh and blood*²⁵ without

22. Cf. Bar. 3:38.

23. Sixty-two years in the *Letter* (6.e); the error in Ps.-Damascene may have arisen from a confusion over Greek numerals (ξ' and λ'). For the next paragraph see *Letter*, 6.f-g.

24. Cf. Is. 40:12.

25. Heb. 2:14.

ἐξουσίας ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων· (3.b) ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐνιδρῶσθαι καὶ ἀναστηλοῦσθαι τὸν σεβάσιμον καὶ σεπτὸν χαρακτηῖρα τῆς ἐνσάρκου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε ἀχράντου μορφῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἰδιώματα, καθὼ *ὠράθη ἐπὶ γῆς τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοῖς*
 5 *ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη*, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐμφαίνοντος τὰ γνωρίσματα, καθὼς παρέδωκαν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ μακάριοι καὶ θεσπέσιοι ἀπόστολοι, κατακοσμοῦντες αὐτὴν ζωγραφικαῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ μουσουργικοῖς ψηφίσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεοπαραδότων εὐαγγελίων συγγραφῆς, τὸν θεανδρικὸν
 10 χαρακτηῖρα Χριστοῦ ἐγκαθιδρύνοντες. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον μετὰ ὀκτῶ χρόνους τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως συνεγράφη· τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, μετὰ δέκα· τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, μετὰ δεκαπέντε· τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, μετὰ τριάκοντα δύο ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ.

(3.c) Διὸ καὶ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀνιστορεῖσθαι ἐνομο-
 15 θέτησε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ζωγραφικοῖς χρώμασι διαχαράττων τὸν ἐν τῇ Ναζαρετ τοῦ ἀγγέλου εὐαγγελισμὸν τῇ Παρθένῳ· τὴν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γέννησιν· τὴν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοψίαν· τὴν τῶν μάγων δωροφορίαν· τὸν τοῦ ἀστέρος δρόμον· τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Συμεῶν εἰσοδογὴν· τὴν ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισιν· τὴν τῶν παραδόξων καὶ θεϊκῶν θαυ-
 20 μάτων ἀνάδειξιν· τὰ ἐκούσια παθήματα· τὴν ὑπερφυῖ καὶ ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν· τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν θεϊκὴν ἀνάληψιν· καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν ἀποστόλων τερατουργήματα.

(3.d) Τοῦτο γὰρ ὄρος καὶ λόγος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδέδοται, ὅτι-
 περ ὁ μονογενὴς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀναρχος,
 25 ὁ αἰδιος, ὁ ἄυλος, ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ ἀποσος, ὁ ἀποιος, ὁ ἀπειρομεγέθης, ὁ ἀνέπαφος, ὁ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών, ὁ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις τῷ λόγῳ συστησάμενος, ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ μετρήσας, τὴν δὲ γῆν κατέχων
δρακί, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μετρήσας, ὁ χερσὶν ἀχράντοις τὸν
 30 *ἄνθρωπον πλάσας, ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου*

MPK

6. post καθὼς cf. *Letter* 5h – 7. post κατακοσμοῦντες cf. *Letter* 6a-e – 10-15. καὶ γὰρ - ἐνομοθέτησε MP, ἔθεσομοθέτησαν K – 14. § 3c. cf. *Letter* 6f-h – ἀνιστοροῦσθαι MP – 15. ζωγραφικαῖς MP – 23. § 3d. cf. *Letter* 7a-b

change or mutation, in so far as He became a man, *a rational animal, mortal, receptive of thought and knowledge*²⁶, three cubits tall, identical to ⟨us⟩, circumscribed within a body and the thickness of flesh in a form seen by us, displaying the characteristics of His mother's likeness and exhibiting the shape of the race of Adam.

(3.e) For this reason He was featured in the way that the ancient writers describe his appearance, of good stature, with meeting eyebrows, beautiful eyes, a prominent nose, curly hair, slightly bent, with a healthy complexion, black beard, His skin the colour of ripe corn like His mother's, long fingers, a melodious voice, pleasantly spoken, very gentle, calm, patient, forbearing and endowed with other similar properties pertaining to virtue²⁷. With these particular features his theandric appearance is depicted, so that *no shadow due to change or alteration of variation*²⁸ is detected in the divine incarnation of the Word that might be in accordance with the ravings of the Manichees²⁹, ⟨and what is true and immutable might be considered an imaginary apparition. *For the truth is made known in the likeness, the archetype in the image, each one in the other, except for the difference in substance*³⁰. For by means of the sensible symbols we are led to direct contemplation of concepts⟩.

(4.a) For the divine ⟨apostle⟩ and evangelist Luke drew with pictorial paints on a tablet the portrait of the All-Pure Mother of God, Mary, when she was actually still alive in Jerusalem and living in Holy Sion, thus bequeathing this mirror-image to a later generation. And when he showed it to her, she said, "My blessing shall be with it".

26. Cf. *Letter*, 7.a-b, p. 28.

27. Cf. *Letter*, 7.d, p. 30 ; Walter, B. 4, p. lxvi.

28. James 1:17.

29. See *Letter*, p. 30 n. 129.

30. Cf. *Letter*, 5.j, p. 24.

Μαρίας ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως χρηματίσας, *κεκοινώνηκε σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος* καθὼς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, *ζῶον λογικόν, θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν*, τρίτηχ, ἴσος περιγραφῆς καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι περιγραφόμενος, τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρωμένη μορφῇ, τῆς μητρῶας
5 ἔμφερειας τὰ ἰδιώματα χαρακτηρίζων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀδαμαίου γένους μόρφωσιν ἐμφαίνων.

(3.e) Τοῦ χάριν χαρακτηριζόμενος καθὼς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱστορικοὶ διαγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν· εὐήλικα, σύνοφρον, εὐόφθαλμον, ἐπίρρινον, οὐλόθριξιν, ἐπίκυφον, εὐχροιον, γενειάδα μέλανα
10 ἔχοντα, σιτόχροον τῷ εἶδει κατὰ τὴν μητρῶαν ἐμφάνειαν, μακροδάκτυλον, εὐήφωνον, ἠδύλογον, πρᾶτάτον, ἡσυχον, μακρόθυμον, ἀνεξίκακον, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τῆς ἀρετῆς πλεονεκτήματα περιφέροντα, ἐν οἷσπερ ἰδιώμασιν ὁ θεανδρικός αὐτοῦ χαρακτηρίζεται λόγος, ἵνα μὴ *τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα ἢ παραλλαγῆς ἀλλοίωσις* ἐν τῇ
15 θείᾳ τοῦ Λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσει φωραθεῖη κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μανιχαίων λήρους, <καὶ ὡς φαντασίας ἰνδαλμα λογισθεῖη, τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτα· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι δεικνυται, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι, τὸ ἐκάτερον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ, παρὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας δηλαδὴ διάφορον> καὶ γὰρ δι' αἰσθητῶν συμβόλων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπλᾶς τῶν
20 νοημάτων ἀναγόμεθα θεωρίας.>

(4.a) Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεοπέσιος <ἀπόστολος> καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς Λουκᾶς, τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον χαρακτήρα τῆς πανάγνου θεομήτορος Μαρίας ἔτι ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτῆς ζωῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ τὰς
25 διατριβὰς ποιουμένης ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σιών, ζωγραφικαῖς τε μίξεσι τὴν τῆς Πανάγνου στήλην ἐν πίναξι διεχάραξε, καὶ ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῇ μετέπειτα γενεᾷ ἐγκαταλελοιπώς. Καὶ ταύτην αὐτῇ ὑποδείξαντος, τῆς δέ, φησάσης, Ἡ χάρις μου μετ' αὐτῆς ἔσται.

MPKTir

2-3. cf. *Letter 1f* – 5. ἀδαμαίου γένους *correximus ex Dep.*, ἀδαμαίους MP – 7. § 3e. cf. *Letter 7d* – 7-14. § 3e. cf. *infra* § 4c. K et fragmentum in Tir – 8. αὐτοῦ MP, τοῦ Χριστοῦ KTir – 9. ἐπίρρινον MP, ἐπίνον Tir – οὐλόθριξ K, <οὐ>λότριχα Tir – εὐχροον Tir – μέλαιναν K – 10. σιτόχροον Tir – 11. εὐήφωνον om. K – 14. λόγος KMP, ἄνθρωπος Tir – 15. post φωραθεῖη add. ἢ Tir – τοὺς om. Tir – 16. λογισθὲν Tir – 16-20. καὶ ὡς φαντασίας - Θεωρίας *addidimus ex Letter 7d et Tir*, om. MP – 17. post ἀληθές add. ὡς προσηρῆται *Letter, 7d* (cf. *Letter 5j*, *quod deest in Ps-Dam.*) – 18. δηλαδὴ om. Tir – 19. γὰρ om. Tir – 21. § 4a. cf. *Letter 7.5*; Καὶ γὰρ - ἔσται K – ὁ θεοπέσιος MPTir, καὶ ὁ πανεύφημος K – ἀπόστολος om. KMPtir; *addidimus ex Letter 7.5* – καί² om. KTir – 24. τε MP, ταῖς K, om. Tir – 26. post αὐτῇ add. τῇ θεομήτορι *Letter. l. c.*

(4.b) There is an even more marvellous occurrence. The God-seeing and leading apostles, Peter and John, while living in Lydda – also called the city of Zeus, eighteen miles distant from Jerusalem – built a house of prayer named after the mother of the Lord and Mother of God and pleaded with her to be present at the consecration of the church. And she said to them, "But I am here with you". At this point by some divine energy her image was set up on one of the columns, where the Mother of God herself later on being present, and having gazed at her own imprint, was filled with joy and amazement, and wondered and was astonished at the maternal glory and good fortune, because He, who became man through her, rendered her honour.

(4.c) This image survived until Julian the Apostate³¹ sent some Jewish painters. And as a result when they saw the imprint (of the Theotokos) set on one of the columns of the church, the full length figure impressed, the purple and the raiment, and they saw her as if she were still looking at and speaking to them, they tried to chisel her out with masons's techniques, only to discover that she shone even more brightly and remained unchanged in the depth of the column.

(4.d) And many other miracles and extraordinary marvels are performed by the same divine energy through the revered icon of the All-Holy Mother of God, thanks to which demons are driven out, diseases are cured, lepers are cleansed, miracles are performed and every weakness and feebleness (becomes) strength³².

(5.a) And the Saviour of all and Lord Himself, while He still lived on earth among men, (left) the impress of His divine face by wiping it off on a towel, and sent it with Thaddaeus, the holy apostle, to a certain Abgar, ruler of the great city of Edessa. He had wiped off the divine

31. See *Letter*, 7.4, p. 36, n. 146. For the preceding stories cf. *Letter*, 7.5, 7.3.

32. Cf. Matt. 4:23, 10:1.

(4.b) Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ παραδοξότερον· οἱ θεόπται κορυφαῖοι ἀποστολοὶ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐν Λύδδῃ τῇ καλουμένην Διοσπόλει, πρὸ μιλίων δεκαοκτῶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ τὰς διατριβάς ποιούμενοι, εὐκτῆριον οἶκον ἐπ'ὄνοματι τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεομήτορος οἰκοδομήσαντες, καὶ ταύτην παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἐνθρονίαισιν ἐκλιπαροῦντες, ἔφησε πρὸς αὐτούς, Κάγῳ αὐτόθι μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμί. Καὶ δὴ θεία τι καὶ ἀοράτῳ ἐνεργεῖα, ὁ χαρακτήρ αὐτῆς, κίονι ἐνὶ καθίδρυστο· ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Θεομήτωρ παραγενομένη καὶ θεασαμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἐκτύπωμα, χαρᾶς τε καὶ θάμβους ἀναπλησθεῖσα, θαυμάσαι δὲ καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἕξ αὐτῆς ἐνανθρωπήσαντος μητρικῆ εὐκλείᾳ καὶ εὐκληρίᾳ, τὸ σέβας ἀπονεύμαντος.

(4.c) Ὅνπερ χαρακτήρα μέχρι Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου ἀποσωζόμενον, Ἑβραίους τινὰς ζωγράφους ἀποστείλας, καὶ διὰ τό, τὸ ἐκτύπωμα ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν κίωνων τοῦ ναοῦ καθιδρυμένον ὄρωντες ὅλην ἐντετυπωμένην τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣ τε πορφύρα καὶ ὁ στολισμός, ὡς ἤδη ὄρωσαν καὶ φθεγγομένην βλέποντες, μαρμαρικοῖς τεχνάσμασι ταύτην κατορύξαι πειρώμενοι, ἔτι μᾶλλον λαμπροτέραν καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐν τῷ βάθει τοῦ κίονος ἐφεύρισκον.

(4.d) Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ θαυμαστά τέρατα ἐν τῇ τῆς παναγίας Θεομήτορος εἰκόνι, τῇ αὐτῇ θείᾳ ἐνεργεῖα διαδεικνυνται, δι' ἧς καὶ δαίμονες ἐλαύνονται, νόσοι θεραπεύονται, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, δυνάμεις ἐνεργοῦνται, πᾶσα μαλακία καὶ ἀσθένεια ῥώννυται.

(5.a) Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τῶν ὄλων Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι πολιτευόμενος, τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τῆς ἀγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν σουδαρίῳ ἀπομαξάμενος, Αὐγάρῳ τινὶ τοπάρχῃ τῆς Ἐδεσηνῶν μεγαλοπόλεως διὰ Θαδδαίου τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀποστόλου ἐκπέμψας, καὶ τὸν θεῖον

MPK^Tir

1. § 4b, cf. *Letter* 7.3 – παραδοξώτατον Tir – 1ss. οἱ (sed Αἰ) θεόπται - ἀπονεύμαντος K – 3. ιη' Tir – 4. καὶ Θεομήτορος om. Tir – 6. ἐνθρονίαισιν KMP^Tir, ἱερατικὴν ἐνθρονίαισιν *Letter*, l. c. – ἐκλιπαροῦντες om. Tir – ἔφησεν Tir – πρὸς αὐτούς KMP, αὐτοῖς Tir – 7. ἡμ<ην> Tir – ἀοράτῳ P – 8. ἐνὶ om. K^Tir – καθίδρυστο KMP, ἐνίδρυτο Tir – παραγεναμένη Tir – 9. καὶ θεασαμένη MP^Tir, θεασαμένη et post ἐκτύπωμα. trsp. K – χαρᾶς ex *Letter* et Tir scripsimus, χαρᾶ KMP – 10. πλησθεῖσα Tir – θαυμάσαι - ἐκπλαγῆναι om. Tir – 11. καὶ εὐκληρία om. et add. αὐτῇ Tir, add. αὐτῇ K – 13. § 4c, cf. *Letter* 7.4; Ὅνπερ χαρακτήρα - ἐφεύρισκον K, sed ἡ ante χαρακτήρα add. K – ἀποσωζόμενον desinit hic Tir – 14. ζωγράφους τινὰς K – τό' om. K – 15. καθιδρυμένον K, καθιδρυμένην MP – 16. πορφύραν καὶ τὸν στολισμόν p.c. V – 20. § 4d, cf. *Letter* 7.6c – 24. § 5a, cf. *Letter* 7.1; Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ - ἐκπέμψας K – σωτὴρ MP, θεός K – 26. μεγαλοπόλεως K

sweat of His face, preserving thus all his personal features on it. This imprint the illustrious and famous city of Edessa holds fast like an imperial sceptre, and prides itself and boasts of the miracles and wonders performed among the people by Christ our true God, who granted this favour to the city³³.

(5.b) In this same city once upon a time Chosroes the king of the Persians speedily lighting a fire with the wood of olive-trees placed all around the city, burnt these to ashes³⁴. And the then saintly metropolitan, seeing that the people were already about to die as a result of the great blaze, and taking up this revered image divinely imprinted on the towel, went round the walls, while a divine force issuing forth in a wind and violent blast turned the direction of the blaze against the enemy³⁵; it ran through setting on fire the surrounding men, the Assyrians, as had happened with the Chaldeans³⁶.

(6.a) There was another man who once lifted a stone against the icon of the Saviour out of contempt. Straightaway a dove came out of his mouth and a crow entered in its place; evidently instead of the Holy Spirit the dark devil lodged (in him), and in place of light he was clothed in black-dyed darkness³⁷.

(6.b) There was another person in the city of Alexandria, a *hyparchos* by rank, who used to march up and down before the holy icon of the Mother of God which stood in the courtyard of the great church, often mocking and making fun of her³⁸. One day the Mother of God appeared to him when he was still waking up. She had with her two eunuchs who stretched out his hands and feet while she traced with her holy finger along his limbs. Straightaway the ligaments of the limbs at the elbows and feet at the ankles, fractured and fell to the ground, like leaves breaking off a figtree.

(6.c) There was another one in this very city, who dared such things, and being pursued by the soldiers took refuge with the revered icon of the Mother of God. But she turned away from him in the sight of everyone, and handed him over to be put to death as an enemy.

(6.d) And often many who dared to be offensive were punished by no ordinary justice.

33. See *Letter*, p. 34 n. 138.

34. See *Letter*, p. 34 n. 140.

35. See *Letter*, p. 34 n. 143.

36. Cf. Dan. 3:23.

37. See Walter, A. 8, p. lix; *Letter*, 7.11.

38. See Walter, A. 7, p. lviii; *Letter*, 7.9 and 7.10 for the following.

ιδρώτα τοῦ προσώπου ἐναπομάττεται, τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀποσώζων ἐν τούτῳ. Ὅπερ ἐκμαγεῖον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἢ λαμπροτάτη μεγαλώνυμος Ἐδεσηνῶν πόλις, ὡσπερ σκήπτρον βασιλικὸν κατέχουσα, αὐχεῖ καὶ κομπάζει, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ λαῷ δεικνύοντος, τοῦ ταύτην αὐτῇ τὴν χάριν παρασχομένου Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

5 (5.b) Ἐν ἧ καὶ ποτε καὶ Χοσρόου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τῷ τάχει, αὐτῆς πυρκαϊᾶν ἐλαιῶν ξύλα περιανάψαντος κυκλόθεν κύκλῳ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς γῆν κατατεφρώσαντος, ὁ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀγιώτατος μητροπολίτης ἰδὼν τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν πυρκαϊᾶς ἤδη μέλλοντα
10 ἐναποθνήσκειν, τοῦτον τὸν σεβάσμιον χαρακτήρα τοῦ θεοτυπώτου σουδαρίου διάρας καὶ τὰ τείχη περιπολεύσας, θεία τις δύναμις ἐξελθοῦσα ἐν ἀνέμῳ καὶ πνοῇ διαίᾳ, τὴν πυρκαϊᾶν ἐνέστρεψε τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, καὶ διώδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισε τοὺς πέριξ, ὡς τοὺς Χαλ-
15 δαίους, τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους.

(6.a) Ποτὲ γάρ τινος καταφρονητικῶς λίθον διάραντος ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰκόνι, εὐθύς περιστερὰ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξελθοῦσα, κόραξ ἀντεισάγεται· προδήλως ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ὁ ἐξοφωμένος διάβολος κατοικιζόμενος, καὶ ἀντὶ φωτός, μελεμ-
20 βαφὲς σκότος ὑποδυόμενος.

(6.b) Καὶ ἄλλος γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πόλει ὑπάρχου ὄντος τῇ τάξει, τὴν ἐν τῷ προαυλίῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἁγίαν τῆς Θεομήτορος εἰκόνα, περιερχόμενος πολλάκις φενακίζων καὶ διαμωκίζων, ἐν μιᾷ ὀφθεισα αὐτῷ ἔτι γρηγοροῦντι, ἔχουσα μεθ' αὐτῆς
25 δύο εὐνούχους· καὶ τούτου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας διατείναντες, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτῆς δακτύλῳ διαχαραξάσης τὰ μέλη, εὐθύς αἱ ἄρμογαὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξ ἀγκώνων, καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐξ ἀστραγάλων θραυσθέντες, ὡς φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς διαρραγέντες ἐκπεπτώκασι.

(6.c) Καὶ ἄλλον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τοιαῦτα τετολημκότα,
30 καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν διωκόμενον, πρόσφυγόν τε γεγονότα τῇ τῆς Θεομήτορος σεπτῇ εἰκόνι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἀποστραφεῖσα, προὔχειρον εἰς σφαγὴν ὡς ἐπίβουλον παραδέδωκε.

(6.d) Καὶ πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλάκις τολμηρῶς προσκρούσαντας, οὐχ' ἡ τυχοῦσα δίκη ἐκόλασεν.

MP 7. § 5b, cf. *Letter* 7.2 – τῷ τάχει MP, τὰ τείχη *Letter* – 8. κύκλοθεν MP – 15. ἀσσυρίας M – 16. § 6a, cf. *Letter* 7.11 – 17. αὐθὺς *Letter*, l. c. – 19. μελεμβαφὲς MP et BO, μελαμβαφὲς ATVW – 21. § 6b, cf. *Letter* 7.9 – 22. προαυλία M – 23. φαινακίζων MP – 27. χειρῶν MP, μελῶν *Letter*, l. c. – ἀστραγάλων MP – 29. § 6c, cf. *Letter* 7.10

(7.a) I will run out of time in narrating the stories which from of old and from the very beginning have been authorized by the holy prophets, apostles, Fathers and teachers.

(7.b) For nothing has escaped the Spirit-bearing and God-beholding apostles, but whatever the Holy Spirit spoke through the Law and the prophets and the Gospels, this they taught, this they preached, this they transmitted, with this they adorned the holy Church to the four corners of the earth, from the time of the glorious Advent of Christ until the end of time.

(7.c) But indeed³⁹ the primeval enemy of our race the devil, that insidious one, who wasted away with jealousy and envy of good men, did not cease to whip up his tumultuous storm of heresies like a fierce hurricane.

(7.d) Constantios⁴⁰, the successor to the sceptre of Constantine the Great's empire, unsound scion of that great tree, threw the paternal foundations into great turmoil and upheaval, and being deceived by stupid and foolish Arian minds he declared against the Church a war which was worse than that of idolatrous superstition. Having shaken the bulwarks and pillars of the Church he dashed them down: Liberius, pope of Rome⁴¹, Athanasios the Great of Alexandria⁴², another Paul of Constantinople, the Confessor⁴³, the famous Eustathios of Antioch⁴⁴, and with them he condemned the spiritual leaders and holy Fathers to exile. He then entrusted the holy of holies to impious and accursed men. Then came his followers and accomplices, Julian⁴⁵, Satan's first-born, the apostate and transgressor, similarly Valens⁴⁶ who though not an apostate was indeed a persecutor and enemy of Christ.

39. Cf. *Alt. Ending 2*, 1, p. 88.

40. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 88 n. 13.

41. Pope (352-366); despite Constantios's pressure, Liberius refused to sign the condemnation of Athanasios, imposed at Milan by imperial command. In consequence he was deposed and the Arian Felix was consecrated as anti-pope (355-365). He replaces Pope Julius I in the list given in *Alt. Ending 2*, 2, p. 88.

42. See *Letter*, p. 56 n. 194.

43. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 88 n. 16.

44. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 88 n. 17.

45. See *Letter*, 7A, p. 36, n. 146.

46. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 88 n. 19.

(7.a) Ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος διηγούμενον τὰ διηγήματα ἅπερ ἐξ ἀρχαίων καὶ ἄνωθεν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων νενομοθέτηται.

5 (7.b) Οὐδὲν γὰρ λέληθε τοὺς πνευματοφόρους καὶ θεόπτας ἀποστόλους, ἀλλ' ἅπερ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις, ταῦτα καὶ ἐδίδαξαν, ταῦτα καὶ ἐκήρυξαν, ταῦτα καὶ παρέδωκαν, ταῦτα καὶ ἐκόσμησαν τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ περᾶτων τῆς οἴκουμένης, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδόξου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, μέχρι τερμάτων αἰῶνος.

10 (7.c) Ἄλλὰ γε ὁ πολέμιος καὶ ἀρχαῖος τοῦ γένους ἐπίβουλος διάβολος, φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τῶν καλῶν τετηκώς, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τὴν πολυτάραχον αὐτοῦ καταιγίδα, ὡς λαίλαπα ἀγρίαν τῶν αἰρέσεων ἀνακινῶν.

15 (7.d) Καὶ Κωνσταντίος μὲν ὁ τὰ σκήπτρα διαδεξάμενος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ῥίξης σεσαθρωμένος ὄρηξ, οὐ μέτριον κλόνον καὶ τάραχον τῆς πατρικῆς κρηπίδος εἰσβαλὼν πόλεμον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, χεῖρονα τῆς εἰδωλικῆς δεισιδαιμονίας, τῇ τῶν ἀρειανικῶν φρενῶν φενακιζόμενος ἀπάτη, τοὺς προδόλους καὶ στύλους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κατασεισας κατέρραξε· Λιβέρριον μὲν πάπαν Ῥώμης, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν μέγιστον Ἀλεξανδρείας, Παῦλον ἄλλον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν ὁμολογητὴν, Εὐστάθιον τὸν περιώνυμον Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς λογάδας καὶ ἁγίους πατέρας ἔξοστρακίστους κατεδίκασεν, ἀνθρώποις ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἐναγέσι, τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια ἐνεχειρίσατο. Αὐθις ὀπαδοὶ καὶ συναρ-

25 γοί, Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος υἱὸς τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὁ ἀποστάτης καὶ παραβάτης, ὡσαύτως καὶ Οὐάλης, εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἀποστάτης, ἀλλὰ γε χριστοδιώκτης καὶ χριστομάχος.

MP

1. § 7a, cf. *Letter* 7.15a – 4. § 7b, cf. *Letter* 8a – 5. ἅπερ *Gauer*, ὅπερ *MP* – 10. § 7c, cf. *Alt.* 2 §1 – 14. § 7d, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 2 – 18. φαινακιζόμενος *MP* – 19. Λιβέρριον *MP*, Ἰούλιον *Alt.* 2 – 22. αὐτῷ *Alt.* 2 – καὶ² *om.* *Alt.* 2

(7.e) But soon after there arose the spiritual star of Western luminaries, Theodosios the Great⁴⁷ against Macedonios⁴⁸, who fought against the Spirit and who was exiled from the patriarchal throne; with the synods and gatherings of the holy Fathers, he planted the greatest holy symbol of our faith in Christ as inviolable in the Church and established it.

(8.a) The successors on his imperial throne were Arcadios and Honorios and their successor, Theodosios, the son of Arcadios⁴⁹. Then again the *gangrene spread*⁵⁰, Nestorios⁵¹ the manworshipper, Eutyches⁵² and Dioscoros⁵³ *who placed truth in injustice*⁵⁴. Yet *injustice has lied within herself*⁵⁵. For Marcian⁵⁶, the greatest guardian of the laws of imperial piety, with the gathering of the holy Fathers, crushed the impious to the ground.

(8.b) Then again some others sprinkled abroad the bitter heresy of God's suffering⁵⁷. These were Severos⁵⁸, Jacob⁵⁹, Peter the Fuller⁶⁰ and some others, the spittle of the impious heresy, in common with whom the imperial and most tyrannical hand of Zeno⁶¹ took the field. These the God-guided synod of the devout Emperor Justinian the Great and the holy Fathers expelled from the ecclesiastical assembly like famished dogs⁶².

(8.c) Later again, the attackers against the ecclesiastical bulwarks, Honorius of Rome⁶³, Sergios of the imperial city⁶⁴, Pyrrhus⁶⁵,

47. See *Letter*, p. 58 n. 202.

48. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 n. 21.

49. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 nn. 24, 25, 26.

50. 2 Tim. 2:17.

51. See *Letter*, p. 22 n. 96.

52. See *Letter*, p. 20 n. 95.

53. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 30.

54. Rom. 1:18.

55. Ps. 26:12.

56. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 33.

57. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 34.

58. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 35.

59. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 36.

60. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 37.

61. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 38.

62. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 40.

63. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 94 n. 41.

64. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 94 n. 42.

65. Monothelite Patriarch of Constantinople (638-641, 654); prior to his elevation he helped in drafting the *Ekthesis* in 638, which restated the Chalcedonian doctrine on the Trinity and Incarnation, but affirmed that Christ had only one will without confusion of his two natures.

(7.e) Ἄλλ'αὐτίκα γοῦν ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ τῆς δυτικῆς λαμπαδηφορίας πνευματικὸς ἀστὴρ ὁ μέγας Θεοδοσίος, κατὰ τοῦ πνευματομάχου Μακεδονίου ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου ἐξοστρακισθέντος, συνόδοις καὶ συνδρομαῖς ἁγίων πατέρων, τὸ μέγιστον τῆς εὐσεβείας Χριστοῦ ἁγίον σύμβολον τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρεγγχείρητον ἐμπήξας ἐδραίωσε.

(8.a) Τούτου τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχοι, Ἀρκάδιος καὶ Ὀνώριος, καὶ τούτων αὐθις, Θεοδοσίος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρκαδίου δλαστός. Εἶτα πάλιν ἢ γάγγραινα νομὴν λαβοῦσα, Νεστορίου τοῦ ἀνθρωπολάτρου, 10 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Διοσκόρου, τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων. Ἄλλ'ὄμως ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ· ὁ γὰρ μέγιστος τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐσεβείας νομοφύλαξ Μαρκιανός, τῆ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων συνδρομῇ, τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς εἰς γῆν κατέρραξεν.

(8.b) Εἶτα πάλιν ἄλλοι τινες τὴν ἀλμυρὰν τῆς θεοπασχίας, κατεργράντισαν αἵρεσιν· Σεβήρος, Ἰάκωβος, Πέτρος ὁ κναφεύς, καὶ 15 ἄλλοι τινὲς τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ἀποπτυνελίσματα· μεθ'ῶν ἡ βασιλικὴ Ζήνωνος τυραννικωτάτῃ χεῖρ κατεστράτευσεν, οὔσπερ ἡ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων θεοδρόμος σύνοδος, ὥσπερ λιμώττοντας κύνas τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς 20 ὁμηγύρεως ἐξήλασεν.

(8.c) Εἶτα πάλιν οἱ πρόβολοι κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πυργοβάρεων· Ὀνώριος Ῥώμης, Σέργιος ὁ τῆς βασιλίδος, Πύρρος,

MP

1. § 7e, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 3 – λαμπαδοφορίας *Alt.* 2 – 2. πνευματικὸς *om.* *Alt.* 2 – 4. συνδρόμοις *Alt.* 2 – 6. ἠδραίωσε *Alt.* 2 – 7. § 8a, cf. *Alt.* 2 §§ 4-5 – 14. § 8b, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 6 – 17-18. τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως *Alt.* 2, τῶν εὐσεδῶν βασιλέων MP – 19. θεόδρομος *Alt.* 2 – 21. § 8c, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 7

Paul⁶⁶, Cyros of Alexandria⁶⁷, Macarios of Antioch⁶⁸, Theodore of Pharan⁶⁹, led by the resourceful arch-leader of evil, were flung into the land of heresy, being lawfully sentenced to the condemnation of anathema by the devout and great Justi(nia)n along with the God-selected synod of the holy Fathers⁷⁰.

(9.a) After these and many other heresies were scattered to the wind *like straw from the threshing floor in the summer*⁷¹, and like *stormy sea-waves*⁷² were broken up, what did the crawling *crooked serpent*⁷³, the *enemy of our race the devil*⁷⁴, that sower of tares contrive? He ignited another volcano of impiety and heresy against the unchangeable and unaltered incarnation of God the Word, so that for about a hundred and thirty years⁷⁵ he spread this incurable and untreatable gangrene with the following pretext. (9.b) When Theodosios⁷⁶, descendant from a stock from Adramytion, had been entrusted with the imperial sceptre, and Yazid⁷⁷ was exercising authority over the Arabs, two certain individuals, enemies of God and offspring of Jewish enemies of God, who always and everywhere exalt themselves *against the Lord* and rage *against His Christ*⁷⁸, busying themselves with portentous nonsense and ribaldries, magic and demonic divinations, on the pretext that they were pursuing some knowledge in astrology, in their wanderings they came to the Arabian royal court, being relatives of the Isaurian Jews. At this

66. Monothelite Patriarch of Constantinople (641-653); he probably participated actively in the drafting of the imperial edict, known as the Τύπος περί πίστεως (the Rule of faith), an attempt to put an end to the controversy over the wills or energies, by forbidding any discussion of the subject. It did not however denounce the Monothelites, and thus failed to pacify the Chalcedonians.

67. Cyros of Phasis, Patriarch of Alexandria (631-642); in his attempt to reconcile the Monophysites with the Chalcedonians he proposed the doctrine of a single energy (ἐνέργεια) in Christ.

68. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 94 n. 44. The name is misspelt (as Makaris) in Ps.-Damascene.

69. Theodore, Monothelite bishop of Pharan (-622); he supported Patriarch Sergios's formula of a single energy or activity in Christ, for which he was condemned at the Lateran Council in 649.

70. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 94 n. 45.

71. Dan. 2:35.

72. Jude 13.

73. Is. 27:1.

74. 1 Pet. 5:8.

75. See *Alt. Ending 2*, 8, p. 96 n. 51.

76. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 96 n. 52.

77. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 96 n. 53.

78. Ps. 2:2.

Παῦλος, Κῦρος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μάκαρις Ἀντιοχείας, Θεόδωρος ὁ
 τῆς Φαράν, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολυμηχάνου καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τῶν κακῶν, εἰς
 γῆν τῆς αἰρέσεως κατεργάθησαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς μεγάλου Ἰου-
 5 στι<νια>νοῦ τῆ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων θεοσυλλέκτῳ συνόδῳ, τῆς κα-
 τακρίσεως ἀνάθεμα κληρωσάμενοι.

(9.a) Εἶτα τούτων καὶ πλειόνων αἰρέσεων ὡς ἄχυρα ἀπὸ ἄλωνος
 θερρινῆς ἀναρριπισθέντων, καὶ ὡς κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης διαλυ-
 θέντων, τί σὺν ὁ ἔρπων σκολιὸς ὄφεις, ὁ ἀντίδικος τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν
 διάβολος, <μηχανᾶται> ὁ σπορεὺς των ζιζανίων; Ἄλλον τινὰ βουρ-
 10 κανόν, τῆς ἀσεβείας <ἀνάψας> καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως, κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Θε-
 οῦ Λόγου ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἀναλλοιώτου σαρκώσεως, ἤδη περὶ τοῦς
 ρλ' χρόνους τὴν ἀνίατον ταύτην καὶ ἀθεράπευτον <γάγγραιναν>
 νομῆν διανέμων, τοιᾶδε προφάσει. (9.b) Θεοδοσίου τοῦ ἐκ γένους
 Ἄδραμυτινοῦ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά σκῆπτρα ἐγκεχειρισμένου, Ἰεζᾶ τε
 15 τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐξουσίας, δύο τινές θεομάχοι
 Ἑβραίων θεομάχων παῖδες, οἱ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντοτε τραχηλιῶντες κατὰ
 τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ φρυαττόμενοι, τερατείας
 τε καὶ συμβολομαχίαις καὶ φαρμακείαις καὶ δαιμονιώδεσιν οἰωνί-
 σμασι σχολάζοντες, ὡς δῆθεν ἀστρολογικὴν τινα μεταδιώκοντες
 20 ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἀγχιστείας τῶν Ἰσαυρικῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπάρχοντες,

MP

1. Μάκαρις MP, Μακάριος Alt. 2 – 3-4. Ἰουστίνου MP et Alt. 2 – 6. § 9a, cf. Alt. 2 §8 – 9.
 μηχανᾶται addidimus ex Alt. 2 – 10. ἀνάψας addidimus ex Alt. 2 – κατὰ correximus, καὶ
 MP – 12. γάγγραιναν addidimus ex Alt. 2 – 13ff. §§ 9b-11d, cf. Alt. 2 §9-10 – 18. βωμο-
 λογίαις Alt. 2

point they announced themselves to the aforementioned Yazid. They initiated him into certain prophecies about a long and happy life, and long-lived stability, should he be able to destroy the Christian decorations, namely, if he were to remove from the church precincts the theandric figure of Jesus Christ our Saviour and of the Mother of God, who gave birth to Him. (9.c) And that man who lusted for life and lived like a hog, yielded to the advice of the tricksters, and caused consternation among all the Eastern Churches. But the wretch was deceived, for shortly afterwards divine justice overpowered him. His son having succeeded to the throne and wishing to kill these men, on the grounds that they were false prophets, (failed in his aim). (For) they fled to the Isaurian frontier doubling back once more on their tracks.

(10.a) Then while they were cooling themselves at a spring in the heat of the boiling sun behold a certain youth named Leo⁷⁹, handsome in aspect, of an attractive face, tall, an artisan by trade from which he made his livelihood, appeared on the scene. Then having removed the load off his beast he sat down by the spring, so that he might revive himself from the heat, for it was about midday. (10.b) Then those experts in ventriloquism revealed to him that he would become master of the Roman Empire. At this, Leo, who was taken aback and in doubt, given his extremely lowly status, was informed on oath by the haters of Christ, that these things must come to pass. In turn they asked him to promise them on oath that once the prophecies were fulfilled whatever they asked would be granted by him without delay. Nearby there was

79. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 98 n. 57.

πλανώμενοι, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλικὴν αὐλήν, καὶ νῦν καταμηνύονται τῷ προρρηθέντι Ἰεζᾶ, καὶ τούτῳ χρησιμο-
 5 δίας πολυευζωίας καὶ πολυχρονίου διαμονῆς μυσθῆνται, εἰ ἄρα γε τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταρράξει διακόσμησιν δυνηθεῖη, τὸν τοῦ
 σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θεανδρικὸν χαρακτήρα καὶ τῆς
 αὐτὸν τεκούσης Θεομήτορος ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν περιδόλων
 ἀπαλεῖψαι. (9.e) Καὶ δὴ ὁ φιλόζωος ἐκεῖνος καὶ χοιρόβιος ἄνθρω-
 10 πος, ὑπέιξε τῇ συμβουλῇ τῶν ἀπατεῶνων, καὶ πάσας τὰς τῆς ἐφᾶς
 ἐκκλησίας ἐσάλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἠπατήθη ὁ δεῖλαιος· [οὐ] μικρὸς γὰρ
 χρόνος παρήλθε, καὶ τοῦτον ἡ θεία δίκη ἐχειρώσατο. Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς
 αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τούτους βουλευθεὶς ὡς ψευδο-
 μάντις ἀποκτείνει, <ἤμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ>· φυγάδες <γὰρ> ὄχοντο
 ἀνακάμψαντες πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσαυρικοῖς μεθορίοις.

(10.a) Εἶτα εἰς πηγὴν τινα ἀναψύχοντες τῇ φλεγμονῇ τοῦ καύ-
 15 ματος· ἰδοὺ νεανίσκος τίς, τοῦνομα Λέων, καλὸς τῷ εἶδει, ὠραῖος
 τῷ προσώπῳ, εὐμήκης τῷ σώματι, θάναυσος τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ
 αὐτῆς τὴν ζωὴν ποριζόμενος. Καὶ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὑποζυγίου τὸν φόρτον
 περιελόμενος, ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ ἀναψυχόμενος τῷ
 καύσωνι· ὥρα ἦν ὥσει ἕκτη. (10.b) Εἶτα οἱ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων
 20 μῦσαι, μυσθῆνται αὐτῷ κατάρξει αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας
 τὰ σκηπτρα. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Λέοντος ἀναβαλλομένου καὶ διαπο-
 ροῦντος, πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εὐτελείας ἀφορῶντος,
 ὄρκους πληροφορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν μισοχριστῶν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως δεῖ
 γενέσθαι. Καὶ δὴ αἰτοῦνται αὐτὸν ὀρκωμοσίας λόγοις πληροφο-
 25 ρηθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα εἰ ἄρα γε εἰς πέρας τοῦτο ἄγοιτο, πᾶν
 ὀτιοῦν αἰτηθεῖη αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνυπερθέτως δοθεῖη αὐτοῖς· ἦν

MP

2. τοῦτον *Alt. 2* - 3. πολυευζωίας MP, τισὶ πολυευζωίας καὶ εὐημερίας *Alt. 2* - 4. post διακόσμησιν *add. τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις Alt. 2* - 6. θεομήτορος MP, μαρίας χαρακτήρα δηλονότι *Alt. 2* - 7. ἀπαλεῖψαι MP, τάχιον ἀπαλείψας *Alt. 2* - 8. post ἀπατεῶνων *add. ἐκεῖνων Alt. 2* - 9. οὐ *delendum cum Alt. 2* - 11. post αὐτοῦ *add. Ζάφαρ Alt. 2* - 12. ἤμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ *addidimus ex Alt. 2* - γὰρ *addidimus ex Alt. 2* - 14. § 10a, cf. *Alt. 2* §§ 11-13 - post τινα *add. ἀνέπεσον Alt. 2* - τὴν φλεγμονὴν *Alt. 2* - καύματος MP, καύσανος, καὶ *Alt. 2* - 16. προσώπου MP, κάλει *Alt. 2* - post σώματι *add. εὐήλιξ Alt. 2* - 17. post δὴ *add. κεκμηκῶς ἐκ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας Alt. 2* - 18. ἐκαθέσθη *Alt. 2* - ἐπὶ MP, παρὰ *Alt. 2* - 18-19. ἀναψυχόμενος - καύσωνι MP, ἀναψύχων ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ καύσανος *Alt. 2* - 19. post ἕκτη *add. καὶ θερινῇ Alt. 2* - 20. post μῦσαι *add. μαντικώτατοι Alt. 2* - 22. ἀφορῶντος *correcimus, ἀφορῶντα MP, om. Alt. 2*

a church of the martyr St Theodore. (10.c) The artisan Leo readily went at once into it and grasping the holy rails of the sanctuary, while the Jews stood at the doors of the church, named the holy martyr of Christ as his guarantor. They received his oath and again each went his own way.

(11.a) At the time there was a man whose name was Sissinios⁸⁰, of patrician dignity, in charge of the command of the Anatolikon, who was going round the country enlisting an army. The artisan Leo enlisted in this, and within a short time was promoted to the highest rank and appointed by the Emperor Theodosios to the rank of *spatharios*. (11.b) He was then sent by him to the western provinces of Campania, Amalfi and Naples⁸¹, that had fallen under foreign yoke. With the assistance of a naval force of *dromon*⁸² numbering one hundred and twenty he captured these areas, and having arbitrated peace with a triumphant victory, he returned to the palace and was immediately proclaimed caesar and supreme emperor⁸³ by the army. (11.c) And so, Theodosios the most gentle emperor came to meet him with immense joy, and taking off the crown from his own head, he placed it on Leo. Thus without any challenge or opposition Leo was entrusted with the imperial authority⁸⁴.

(11.d) Leo on account of his reputation having become famous, it was not, *Behold, magi came from the east, with gifts to adore the Christ*⁸⁵, but behold certain Magoundaian magicians and Gazarene sorcerers⁸⁶ came rushing into the palace to receive with joy the fulfilment of their omens and prophecies. Then having been welcomed by the new Emperor they mercilessly demanded what was owing to them. When he offered to pay it most readily, and said "What is it?",

80. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 100 n. 58.

81. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 100 n. 60.

82. See H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 410 ff.

83. See *Alt. Ending 2*, 15.

84. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 100 n. 62.

85. Cf. Matt. 2:1-2.

86. Natives of Magyda and Gaza (Gero, *Leo III*, p. 76) but with the connotation of Persian astrologers and Babylonian magicians (Lampe).

δὲ παραπλήσιον ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου. (10.e) Καὶ εὐθύς ἐτοιμότατα εἰσελθὼν ὁ θάνασος Λέων, καὶ περικρατῆς γενόμενος τῶν ἱερῶν καγκέλλων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἔδωκεν ἐγγυητὴν τὸν μάρτυρα Χριστοῦ, ἐσιώτων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς πυλῶσι τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ δέχονται τὸν ὄρκον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐθις ὤχητο ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

(11.a) Ἦν δὲ τότε τῆς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν στρατηγίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέχων πατρίκιος, τοῦνομα Σισίνιος, στρατολογίας τὴν χώραν περιπολεῶν· ἐν αἷς καὶ Λέων ὁ θάνασος στρατολογηθεὶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς προκοπὴν μεγίστην ἀναδιβάσεται, σπαθαρικῶ ἀξιώματι προχειρισθεὶς, ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου. (11.b) Καὶ δὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐσπέρια μέρη ἐκπεμφθεὶς, Καμπανίας καὶ Ἀμαλφείας καὶ Νεαπόλεως τότε βαρβαρισσαῶν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐν πλωτηρσίοις δρόμοισι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ρκ', καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη τὴν εἰρήνην βραβεύσας, καταλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ εὐθύς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγορεύεται καίσαρ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεύς. (11.c) Καὶ δὴ Θεοδόσιος ὁ πρῶτατος βασιλεύς, προὔπαντ' ἁρμοποιός, καὶ ἄρας τὸ στέφος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας κορυφῆς, περιτίθεισι τῷ Λέοντι, καὶ οὕτως ἀκλονήτως ὁ Λέων καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως, τὰ βασίλεια ἐγχειρίζεται.

(11.d) Περιδοῆτου δὲ ἐπιφημίαις γενομένου τοῦ Λέοντος, οὐκ ἰδοὺ Μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἦλθον προσκυνῆσαι μετὰ δώρων Χριστῷ ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ Μαγουνδαῖοι τινες φαρμακοὶ καὶ ἐπαιδοὶ Γαζαρηνοὶ, δρομαῖοι εἰσελαύνονται εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, πέρρας τῶν οἰωνισμάτων καὶ μαντευμάτων αὐτῶν χαρᾷ εἰσδεχόμενοι· εἶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ νέου ἀνακτος δεξιολαθηθέντες, τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποτινύουσιν ἀσυγχώρητα τοῦ δέ, ἐτοιμότατα ἐπαγγελλομένου διδόναι, Τί ἄρα ἔφη ἔστι

MP

1. post ἁγίου add. μεγάλου *Alt. 2* - 2. γενόμενος *Alt. 2* - 3. καγκέλλων MP, θυρῶν *Alt. 2* - 5. ὤχοντο *Alt. 2* - 7. § 11a, cf. *Alt. 2* §§ 14-16 - τῆς τῶν *copeximus*, τίς τῶν MP, τῆς *Alt. 2* - 8. περιέχων MP, κατέχων *Alt. 2* - 9. περιπολῶν *Alt. 2* - αἷς *copeximus ex Alt. 2*, οἷς MP - 12-13. καμπανίαν...ἀμαλφείαν...νεαπόλιν MP, *copeximus ex Alt. 2* - 13. βαρβαρισσαῶντων MP, *copeximus ex Alt. 2* - 14. ἐν - δρόμοισι *copeximus*, δρόμοισι MP, ναυτολικῶς διὰ κατέργων *Alt. 2* - 14-15. τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη *copeximus ex Alt. 2*, τροπαιοφόρον νικητὴν MP - 16. καίσαρ MP - 21. ἐπιφημίαις, cf. *Alt. 2* §§ 17-19 - 21-24. περιδοῆτου - Γαζαρηνοὶ MP, Καὶ ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν οὐχὶ μετὰ δώρων ὡπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ προσρηθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι *Alt. 2* - 24. εἰσελαύνουσιν *Alt. 2* - 25. χαρᾷ *copeximus*, χαρὰν MP - 25-26. χαρὰν - ἀσυγχώρητα MP, ἀναμνήσκοντες τὸν βασίλεια καὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀσυγχώρητον ἔξαιτούμενοι *Alt. 2* - 27. ἔφη ἔστι P, ἔστι M

they answered him, "We ask this from you, most mighty Emperor, to wipe out the figure of Christ the Nazarene and of his mother Mary from every church painting. By doing this you and your family will be destined to rule and reign for a hundred years. However, if you fail to do so, you are destined to be destroyed swiftly like Artemios (and) Apsimar"⁸⁷. He, the gullible and shaky in his faith, as if his nostrils were being pinched tight by a snake and he were unable to breathe any more, most readily ordered the command to be carried out.

(12.a)⁸⁸ Having been clearly shown to be a heretic, nevertheless he assumed the skin of a fox and lived as a devout man, acting at first with deceit. Ten years later⁸⁹ he breathed a heresy into the Church and having assembled the people subject to him, this wild beast and lion-named one roared like a lion among them saying, "You must not worship the icons, for the painting of icons is the same as the making of idols". *Indeed his throat is an open sepulchre*⁹⁰ and his heart *a plastered wall*⁹¹. (12.b) When Germanos⁹², the herald of true doctrine, got to know of this he said to him, "Emperor, when Christ our Lord and Saviour became incarnate from the pure blood of the holy Mother of God and was seen by us a perfect circumscribed man, every idolatrous cult was banished, and 736 years have passed⁹³ from the time of his sojourn on earth and of the world-saving teaching of the apostles until now, and the holy Fathers who came during those years never thought anything like this about the holy icons. On the contrary the six holy Ecumenical Councils, which adopted them, ordained that we should venerate and not destroy them. You should know, Emperor, that if you persist in this, I am ready to die for the revered icons. For the image of Christ bears his name in so far as he was *seen in the flesh and lived*

87. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 102 n. 64.

88. The passage contained in sections 12.a to 14.b inclusive is taken from the *Vita Stephani*.

89. In 726.

90. Ps. 5:9.

91. Acts 23:3 (Ez. 13:10-15).

92. For Germanos, see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 102, n. 65. The passage (13.a), taken from the *Vita Stephani*, is found in the mss. before 12.b. Whether inadvertently or deliberately placed there, is difficult to tell. However, since it makes no sense in its original place, it has been moved to its chronologically correct position to facilitate the reader.

93. The *Vita Stephani* is usually dated to 808 (cf. Gill, 'Stephen the Younger', p. 129); here the author seems to assume that Germanos is speaking in 6237 A.M. (i.e. 729/730 A.D.), and calculates from 5500, instead of 5508.

ταῦτα; οἱ δέ, φασί, Τοῦτο αἰτούμεθα παρὰ σοῦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἵνα τὸν χαρακτηρὰ τοῦ Ναζωραίου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας, ἐκ πάσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἀπαλείψῃς· ὅπως τοῦτο ποιῶν, μέλλεις ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἄχρι χρόνων ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ σου· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπέρθη, μέλλεις τάχιον ὡς ὁ Ἄρτέμιος <καὶ> ὁ Ἄψιμαρος, ἀναιρεθῆναι. Ὁ δὲ εὐθήθης καὶ ἀστήρικτος τῇ πίστει, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ὄφews τοῖς δυοῖ μυκτῆρσι πιεζόμενος μηδὲ ἀναπνεῖν ἔτι ἰσχύων, ἐτοιμότητα τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

(12.a) Τούτου δὲ καταδήλου αἰρετικοῦ δειχθέντος, ἀλώπεκος δὲ
 10 χρῶμα ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ ὑπούλως πως τὰ πρῶτα διεξελθὼν, εὐσεβεῖν διετάττετο· μετὰ δὲ δέκατον χρόνον, αἴρουν ἐμπνεῖ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαὸν ἐκκλησιάσας, μέσον πάντων λεοντοειδῶς βρύξας ὁ ἀνήμερος θῆρ καὶ λεοντώνυμος, εἶπεν, Εἰδωλικῆς τεχνουργίας ὑπαρχούσης τῆς τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνατυπώσεως, οὐ δεῖ ταύ-
 15 ταις προσκυνεῖν. Ὅντως τάφος ἀνεργμῆνος ὁ λάργυξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖχος κεκονιαμένος ἢ τούτου καρδία. (12.b) Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας κῆρυξ Γερμανός, δηλοῖ πρὸς αὐτόν, Βασιλεῦ, τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἀχράντων αἱμάτων τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου, καὶ τελείου αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 20 ὀφθέντος καὶ περιγραπτῶ, πᾶσα εἰδωλικὴ λατρεία ἐκποδῶν γέγονεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ συναναστροφῆς, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ κοσμοσώστου διδασκαλίας ἕως τῆς νυνί, ἔτη ψλς', καὶ οἱ ἀνά μέσον τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις περιελθόντες ἅγιοι πατέρες, περὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων, τοιοῦτόν τι οὐκ ἐνενόησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ
 25 ἅγιοι ἕξ οἰκουμενικαὶ σύνοδοι ταύτας αἰροῦσαι, προσκυνεῖσθαι διετάξαντο καὶ οὐ καταστρέφεισθαι. Σὺ δὲ βασιλεῦ γίνωσκε, ὅτι εἰ τούτου κρατήσεις, ὑπὲρ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἐτοιμῶς ἀποθανοῦμαι· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκῶν, τὸ αὐτοῦ φέρει ὄνομα καθὼ ἐν

MP *Vita Steph.*

1. post φασί add. πρὸς αὐτόν *Alt. 2* - 3. ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας MP, ἐκκλησίας περιέλης καὶ τελείως *Alt. 2* - 3-4. ὅπως - ποιῶν MP, εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσεις *Alt. 2* - 4-5. ἄχρι - σου MP, ἐν εὐζωίᾳ καὶ εὐημερίᾳ μηκίστοις χρόνοις, καὶ διαμενεῖ σου ἡ βασιλεία, ἐν ἑτεσιν ἑκατὸν *Alt. 2* - 5-6. Ἄρτέμιος - ἀναιρεθῆναι *copeximus*, ἀρτεμίσιος, ὁ ἀψίμαρος, ὁ ἀναστάσιος ἀναιρεθῆναι MP. *Alt. 2* (ὁ Ἄναστάσιος om. *Alt. 2*) - καὶ add. *Alt. 2* - εὐηθῆς MP - 7. τοῖς *copeximus* ταῖς MP - πιεσθείς *Alt. 2* - μὴ δὲ MP - 9. τούτου incip. *Vita Steph.* - ἀλώπεκος MP - 10. πῶς MP - 20. περιγραπτῶ *Vita Steph.*

*among men*⁹⁴. (12.c) When the Emperor heard this, he roared like a lion and sent his officers, sword in hand, to the patriarchal palace, bidding them to oust the holy man from there with blows and insults. When Germanos stepped down and embraced the monastic life, Leo appointed to the office of patriarch the impious Anastasios⁹⁵ by a show of arms and not by the vote of those who show reverence to God, and he betrayed and handed over to the palace all the affairs of the Church. (13.a)⁹⁶ Not long afterwards Leo too *died as man and fell like one of the princes*⁹⁷. But when his life was broken off and he perished in eternal fire, he left in his place his foul offspring, I mean Constantine⁹⁸. This one then was the tree that grew from evil root; hoarding up in his soul every deadly poison, he destroyed, smashed, trampled down, and set on fire every holy icon to be seen. (13.b) The champion of the arrogant devil then removed all the representations of Christ's divine incarnation, and similarly he rejected the maternal mediation of the All-pure Mother of God and her access to God the Word, who took flesh from her. He also shook off the mediation of the saints⁹⁹, and threw the God-inspired books of the holy Fathers into the fire. Loathing the God-loving and Christ-loving order of monks, the hater of Christ drew up a list of nuns to join them in matrimonial arrangements; he destroyed the revered habits by fire, and burnt the revered beards of holy monks and the venerable and holy grey hair in roaring flames¹⁰⁰. (13.c) He who was darkened in his soul called this monastic habit one of darkness, and those who were part of the monastic order he called unmentionables and idolaters because of their worship of the icons. He assembled all his subjects and he made them

94. Cf. Bar. 3:38.

95. See *Alt. Ending* 2, p. 102 n. 66.

96. See above p. 164 n. 92.

97. Ps. 81:7.

98. See *Alt. Ending* 2, p. 104 n. 68.

99. See Mansi 13, esp. cols. (Christ): 252A-B, 256A-B, 256D-257B; (Theotokos): 272A-D, 277C-E; (saints): 300A-B. See also, M.V. Anastos, 'The Ethical Theory of Images formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', *DOP*, 4 (1954), 151-60; Gero, *Constantine*, pp. 53 ff.

100. Cf. Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.*, (M), pp. 152-4, 156, (B), pp. 71-2, 74; Theophanes, p. 437; Mansi 13, cols. 434E-435A. See also Gero, *Constantine*, pp. 113 ff.

σαρκὶ ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφη. (12.c) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θρύξας ὡς λέων, ξιφήρεις σατράπας ἀποστείλας ἐν τῷ πατριαρχικῷ οἴκῳ, πυγμαῖς καὶ ὄνειδισμοῖς κατενέγκαι τὸν ἅγιον, τῶν ἐκεῖσε προσέταξεν· οὕτινος κατελθόντος καὶ τοῦ μονήρους βίου συμμετόχου γεγονότος, τὸν ἀσεβῆ Ἀναστάσιον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης προβάλλεται στρατιωτικῶς, καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ Θεοῦ εὐσεβείας, ὅστις τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντα, τοῖς βασιλείοις προέδωκε. (13.a) Οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ διαμέσου, καὶ ὁ Λέων ὡς ἄνθρωπος θηήσκει, καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων πέπτωκε· τούτου δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἀπορρήξαντος καὶ τοῦ αἰώνιου πυρὸς γεγονότος παρανάλωμα, ἀνέστησεν ἀντ'αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐκείνου μαρὸν γέννημα, Κωνσταντῖνον φημί. Οὗτος οὖν τὸ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐκείνης ῥίζης δένδρον, δηλητήρια παντοῖα ὀλέθρια τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ θησαυρίσας, πορθεῖ, συστρέφει, καταστρέφει, πυρπολεῖ ἅπασαν ἁγίων εἰκόνων θέαν. (13.b) Πάντα χαρᾶ κτηρα τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ σαρκώσεως περιελόμενος, ὡσαύτως καὶ τῆς παναγίας Θεομήτορος τὴν μητρικὴν αὐτῆς πρεσβείαν καὶ παρηγοσίαν πρὸς τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθέντα Θεὸν Λόγον ἀπαναινόμενος, ὁ τοῦ ὑπερηφάνου διαδόλου ὑπασπιστής, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πρεσβείας ἀποσειόμενος, τὰς τε τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων θεοπνεύστους βίβλους πυρκαϊᾷ ἐμβαλὼν, τό τε φιλόθεον καὶ φιλόχριστον τῶν μοναζόντων τάγμα μυσσαττόμενος ὁ μισόχριστος, τὸν τε ἱερῶν παρθένων κατάλογον γαμκοῖς συναλλάγμασι περιζευγνύων, τῆς εὐλαθείας τὰ ἐνδύματα πυρὶ κατακαίων, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν μοναστῶν σεδασμίαν γενειάδα καὶ πολιὰς αἰδεσίμους καὶ τὰς θείας κάρας, 25 βρομαίῳ κατακαίων πυρὶ. (13.c) Σκοτίας δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο καλέσας, ὁ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐσκοτισμένος, τοὺς ὑπ'αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα καταλεγόμενους, ἀμνημονεύτους ἐκάλεσε καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας προσκύνησιν. Ἄπαντα δὲ τὸν ὑπ'αὐτοῦ λαὸν ἐκκλη-

MP *Vita Steph.*

5. Ἀναστάσιον, cf. *Alt.* 2 §21 – 8-14. § 13.a, Οὐ – θεάν ante § 12.b, Γνοῦς δὲ τοῦτο MP – 11. cf. *Alt.* 2 §25 – 14. ἁγίων *correximus ex Vita Steph.*, ἁγίαν MP – 28. αὐτοῦ *correximus ex Vita Steph.*, αὐτὸν MP

swear in the presence of the life-giving body and blood of Christ¹⁰¹, of the immaculate cross on which Christ stretched his arms for our sake, and of the Holy Gospels, through which Christ admonishes us not to take any sort of oath¹⁰², that they would not worship a holy icon, but call it an idol, and that they would not receive communion from any monk or even greet him at all. Oh, what quibbling! (13.d) Then he found an instrument, similar in type and word, a man who belonged to the priestly order and who in addition bore the same name and shared the same thoughts; he placed him at the head of the Church, not with the assent of God and the priests, but by his own trickery. They both mounted the ambo and the irreligious Constantine¹⁰³ was clothed with the chasuble and the *homophorion* at the hands of the Emperor Constantine. Oh, what unworthiness! The man in armour becomes a consecrator, the one bent on war and slaughter becomes a celebrant, the one married unlawfully to three wives sets himself up as an ordainer of priests.

(14.a) From then on, the foul couple having become bound together in an unlawful connection, public proclamations were sent forth to the governors¹⁰⁴ of provinces and their bishops (asking them) to come to the capital for the synod against the revered icons which was to take place¹⁰⁵. (14.b) Once the tyrant had ruined utterly the revered church of the wholly-undefiled Mother of God in Blachernae, the sinful man, together with his namesake, the betrayer of Christ's flock, presiding over a synod of renegade false-priests, in this all-sacred temple they held an abominable and hateful synod, calling the revered icons "sculptured idols". Then they anathematized Germanos¹⁰⁶, the holy and orthodox bishop of the Church, calling him a "wood-worshipper".

101. The iconoclast argument, as enshrined in the *Horos* of Hieria, was that the only admissible figure of Christ was the bread and wine of the eucharist (Mansi 13, col. 264A-B).

102. Matt. 5:34.

103. Patriarch of Constantinople (754-766); former bishop of Syllaion elected on the 8 August to succeed Anastasios who died early in that year, took part in the Council of Hieria as patriarch only in the last session. He was later to be dethroned, exiled and finally decapitated (*Vita Stephani*, PG 100, col. 1112BC; Theophanes, pp. 437-9; Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.*, [M], p. 159, [B], pp. 73-75. See also Gero, *Constantine*, pp. 129 ff.).

104. The unusual term "arch-satrap" is used here.

105. Constantine of Syllaion was appointed patriarch long after the Council had convened.

106. On the anathema against Germanos, see Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos*, pp. 173-4.

σιάσας, ὁμόσαι πάντας πεποίηκε, προτιθεμένων τοῦ τε ζωοποιοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν τε ἀχράντων ξύλων ἐν οἷς Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χειρὰς ἐξέτεινε καὶ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, δι' ὧν Χριστὸς παρακελεύεται ἡμᾶς μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως, μὴ προσκυνῆσαι εἰκόνα ἁγίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην εἶδωλον καλεῖν, μῆτε ἐξ ἀδβᾶ κοινωνῆσαι, ἢ τὸ χαῖρε τὸ σύνολον δοῦναι αὐτῷ. Ὡ τῆς ἐρεσχε-
 5 λίας. (13.d) Ὅμοιοτρόπον δὲ καὶ ὁμόηχον εὐρῶν ὄργανον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμώνυμον καὶ ὁμόφρονα τινὰ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπάρας, οὐχὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἱερέων ψήφω
 10 ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ πανουργίᾳ, τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι ἀνελθόντων, ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως χειρῶν Κωνσταντίνου, Κωνσταντίνος τὴν ἱεράν ὁ ἀνίερος ἐνδιδύσκειται διπλοῖδα καὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον. Ὡ τῆς ἀναξίας· ὁ ἀσπιδηφόρος, ἱεροθέτης, καὶ ὁ πολέμοις καὶ φόνοις ἐσχολακῶς, ἱερουργός, καὶ ὁ τρισὶ γυναίξιν παρανόμως συζευχθεῖς,
 15 τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονητῆς καθίστατο.

(14.a) Ἐκ τούτου οὖν συμπλεχθείσης τῆς μαρᾶς ξυνωρίδος ὡς παρανόμου σειρᾶς, προγράμματα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἐξεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἀρχισατράπας σὺν ἐπισκόποις, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβεῖν, πρὸς τὸ σύνοδον γενέσθαι κατὰ τῶν σεπτῶν
 20 εἰκόνων. (14.b) Τοῦ δὲ τυράννου τὸν σεβάσμιον <ναὸν> τῆς παναχράντου Θεοτόκου τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις κατορούξαντος, σύνοδον ἀθετούντων ψευδοἱερέων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ ὁ ἀλιτήριος προκαθεσθεῖς ἅμα τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ προδότῃ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης, τὴν μυσαρὰν καὶ ἐχθρῶδη ἐπιτελοῦσι σύνοδον, ἀγαλματικά εἶδωλα τὰς
 25 σεπτὰς εἰκόνας καλέσαντες. Εἶτα Γερμανὸν τὸν θεῖον καὶ ὀρθότομον τῆς ἐκκλησίας <πρόεδρον> ἀναθεματίσαντες, ξυλολάτρην ἀπε-

MP *Vita Steph.*

9. ἐπάρας corr. Combefis, ἀπάρας MP – 12. ἱεράν MP, μαρὰν *Vita Steph.* – 13. ἀναξιότητος *Vita Steph.* – 14. εἰσοδεχθεῖς *Vita Steph.* – 20. ναὸν *addidimus ex Vita Steph.* – 21. post Βλαχέρναις *add.* χαρακτήρα Combefis – 26. πρόεδρον *addidimus ex Vita Steph.*

Oh, what is the obtuseness of the enemy! What blasphemy! What perversion! Having hurled numerous blasphemies, those abominable false priests shouted aloud the last and the worst of all, pronouncing that wretched phrase, "Today salvation has come to the world, for you, Emperor, have delivered us from the idols". What a distressing cry, which having thundered forth darkened the sky and shook the earth, defiled the air, and alienated from God all those who shouted it¹⁰⁷. (14.c) Truly, *the fool shall speak foolish words and his heart shall conceive vanities*¹⁰⁸. As a result of such blasphemies from this tyrant, who was both godless and unworthy of the most Christian imperial purple, thunderbolts crashed from the sky upon the earth, the stars fell to the earth no longer able to suffer such tyrannical pride, the elements shook, the earth quaked in confusion, there were successive earthquakes, terrors, and omens from heaven¹⁰⁹. (14.d) The wretch himself, afraid of the expected wrath, fled as a fugitive and migrant to the city of Nicomedia¹¹⁰. What Diocletian¹¹¹, or Maximian¹¹², or Trajan¹¹³ had blasphemed in such a manner against the Christians, he who was unworthy to be called a Christian? But *the day of judgement*¹¹⁴ came to pass and divine justice caught up with him; and he became a reliable witness against himself, even as he was breathing his last. For he lamented and shouted in a loud voice saying, "The forecourts of hell!". What is more trustworthy than his own cry, *in so far as you did not recognize the time of God's visitation*¹¹⁵. For out of his exceeding

107. Thus ends the long passage taken from the *Vita Stephani*.

108. Is. 32:6.

109. Cf. Luke 21:11, and below 24.d.

110. There seems to be some confusion on the sequence and interpretations of events. It was during Artabasdos's revolt that Constantine attacked Nicomedia and captured Nicetas, the rebel's son (Nicephoros, *Hist. Synt.*, [M], p. 136, [B], p. 62).

111. Roman emperor (284-305); he ordered the last great persecution against the Christians.

112. Galerius Valerius Maximianus, Roman emperor (305-311); he launched a policy of repression against the Christians, which was maintained until the issuing of the general edict of toleration in 311.

113. Roman emperor (98-117); though the Christians remained an illegal sect, liable to punishment, he forbade organized persecution.

114. Is. 34:8.

115. Luke 19:44.

κάλεσαν. Ὡς τῆς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πωρώσεως. Ὡς τῆς βλασφημίας. Ὡς
 τῆς παρατροπῆς. Πάμπολλα δὲ αὐτῶν βλασφημησάντων, τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον καὶ πάντων χειρόν, ἠλάλαξαν τὴν ἐλεεινὴν ἐκείνην οἱ μαροῖ
 5 ἀνίεροι ἐκείνοι φωνὴν καὶ εἶπον, Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι
 σὺ βασιλεῦ ἐλυτρώσω ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν εἰδώλων. Ὡς φωνῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς,
 ἣτις ἐκδομηθεῖσα, οὐρανὸν κατεζόφωσε καὶ γῆν συνέσεισεν, αἰθέ-
 ρα τε ἐμίανε, καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτὴν κεκραγότας, Θεοῦ ἀλλοτριούς
 ἐποίησεν. (14.c) Ὡς ὅντως ὁ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει, καὶ ἡ καρδιά
 10 αὐτοῦ μάταια νοήσει· διὰ γὰρ τὰς τοιαύτας βλασφημίας τοῦ ἀθέου
 τυράννου καὶ ἀνάξιου τῆς χριστιανικωτάτης ἀλουργίδος, οὐράνιοι
 κερανοὶ κατέσκηψαν ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ ἄστρα μὴ φέροντα τὴν δεσπο-
 τικὴν ὕβριν, εἰς γῆν κατέπιπτον, στοιχεῖα ἐδονεῖτο, γῆ ἐκλονεῖτο
 ταραττομένη, σεισμοὶ ἀλλεπάλληλοι, φόβητρα καὶ σημεῖα ἐξ οὐρα-
 15 νου. (14.d) Αὐτὸς ὁ δειλαῖος δεδιὼς τὴν παραδοκουμένην ὀργὴν,
 φυγὰς καὶ μετανάστης ἐπὶ τὴν Νικομηδέων πόλιν ὤχητο· ποῖος γὰρ
 Διοκλητιανός, ἢ Μαξιμιανός, ἢ Τραϊανός, τοιαῦτα ἔδρασε κατὰ
 Χριστιανῶν δυσφημήματα, ὁ ἀνάξιος τῆς χριστιανικῆς προσηγο-
 20 ρίας; Ἡμέρα γὰρ κρίσεως παρέστη, καὶ τοῦτον ἡ θεία δίκη προέ-
 φθασε, καὶ μάρτυς ἀξιόπιστος αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἔτι περὶ τὰ ἔσχα-
 τα πνέων, ὀλολύζων ἠλάλαξεν ἐν μεγάλῃ τῇ βοῇ τάδε λέγων, Τὰ
 προαύλια τῆς γεέννης. Τί οὖν ἀξιοπιστότερον τῆς οἰκείας φωνῆς,
 ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνω τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ; Ὑπέρογκα γὰρ

vanity he had blasphemed against the Church of Christ, calling the worshippers of Christ idolaters.

(15.a) His offspring, the second Leo¹¹⁶, having succeeded to the empire brought about by his very calm and peaceful conduct, a change in the tumultuous sea besetting the church, as if beguiling the storm of waves into calm. The course of his life and his burial was completed in peace in the company of his appropriately named wife¹¹⁷.

(15.b) Once more a new Helen and a new Constantine¹¹⁸, the son of Eirene, like a rose and lily sprang up among the thorns, rescuing the Roman empire from paganism and Judaism. Together with them was the new Silvester¹¹⁹, the great and famous patriarch Tarasios¹²⁰, who convened a holy ecumenical Synod and scattered all heretical madness¹²¹, because *the Holy Spirit of God was upon him*¹²². *Shining like stars in the firmament*¹²³, as the original eyewitnesses and servants of the Word had handed down to the Church¹²⁴, those God-inspired and blessed apostles, so also the God-bearing holy Fathers and the divinely inspired and ecumenical orthodox synods decreed to maintain and revere all the salvific and life-giving symbols of Christ. As the divine Scripture says, *Show me your face and let me hear your voice, for your face is beautiful and your voice is sweet*¹²⁵. For among Christians there is no new God, nor has a strange God been worshipped among them¹²⁶, because *who is God but our Lord Jesus Christ, or who is God except him?*¹²⁷. (15.c) Where are the accusers of Christ, the accusers of priests, those who have alienated themselves from the name of Christians, those who have disappointed themselves of the future

116. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 104 n. 70.

117. Word-play on name of Eirene (peace).

118. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 104 n. 71.

119. Silvester I, Pope (314-335); he sent legates to the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325.

120. See *Alt. Ending 1*, p. 82 n. 8.

121. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 106 n. 73.

122. Luke 2:25.

123. Cf. Philip. 2:15.

124. Cf. Luke 1:2.

125. Song 2:14.

126. Ps. 80:9.

127. Ps. 17:31.

ματαιότητος ἐβλασφήμησε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, εἰδωλολάτρως τοὺς χριστολάτρως ἀποκαλῶν.

- (15.a) Ἄλλὰ τούτου ὁ βλαστὸς ὁ δεύτερος Λέων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς βασιλείας διαδεξάμενος, γαληνικωτάτη καὶ εἰρηναία διαγωγῇ, τὸν
- 5 πολυτάραχον κλύδωνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μετήνεγκεν, ὡς ἐκ ζάλης καὶ τρικυμίας ταύτην ψυχαγωγήσας· οὕτινος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ταφή ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῇ φερωνύμφῃ συζύγῳ διατετέλεσται. (15.b) Αὐθις πάλιν νέα Ἑλένη καὶ νέος Κωνσταντῖνος υἱὸς Εἰρήνης, ὡς ῥόδον καὶ κρίνον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἐκφύντες, ὡς ἐξ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ Ἰουδαϊ-
- 10 σμοῦ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν πολίτευμα ἀνακαλοῦνται· μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ νέος Σίλδεστρος ὁ μέγας καὶ αἰίδιμος πατριάρχης Ταράσιος, ἀγίαν οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον συγκροτήσας, πᾶσαν αἰρετικὴν φρενοβλάβειαν διεσκέδασεν, ὅτι πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἅγιον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ φαίνοντες καθὼς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ
- 15 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ Λόγου, θεσπέσιοι καὶ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ θεοφόροι ἅγιοι πατέρες, καὶ αἱ θεόπνευστοι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ ὀρθόδοξοι σύνοδοι, πάντα σωτήρια καὶ ζωοποιὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σύμβολα κατέχειν τε καὶ σεβάζεσθαι· καθὼς φησὶ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον, *Δεῖξόν μοι τὴν ὄψιν σου καὶ ἀκούτισόν με*
- 20 *τὴν φωνήν σου, ὅτι ἡ ὄψις σου ὠραία καὶ ἡ φωνή σου ἠδεῖα· οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς Θεὸς πρόσφατος, οὐδὲ προσκεκύνηται παρ' αὐτοῖς Θεὸς ἀλλότριος, ὅτι τίς Θεὸς πάρεξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ τίς Θεὸς πλὴν αὐτοῦ;* (15.c) Ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ χριστοκατήγοροι, οἱ ἱεροκατήγοροι, οἱ ἑαυτοῦς τῆς χριστωνύμου κλη-
- 25 σεως ἀποξενώσαντες, οἱ ἑαυτοῦς τῆς μελλούσης ἐλπίδος τῶν Χρι-

MP

3. post Λέων cf. *Alt.* 2 §27 – 8. post Ἑλένη cf. *Alt.* 2 §28 – 11. Ταράσιος, cf. *Alt.* 2 §28 – 18. post σεβάζεσθαι conjecit ἐθέσπισαν Combefis

hope of Christians, the sinful men who have gone astray from the womb of the baptismal font, the deceitful lips which utter lawlessness against God and the catholic Church, and who in their arrogance and contempt distort every *divinely inspired and beneficial writing*¹²⁸ to fit their own desires, who *have trampled upon the Son of God and considered worthless the blood of the covenant by which they were sanctified, and affronted the Spirit of God's grace*¹²⁹ by which they were ordained, the false priests and false Christians who have called the holy and pure Church of Christ a polluted altar, those who did not know the difference between the sacred and the profane, the clean and the unclean? We ought to write much more, but we would run short of ink and paper, let us therefore return to the point in question.

(16.a) Once more the appropriately named Nicephoros¹³⁰, who amongst the emperors was a very devout and orthodox servant of Christ, and similarly his sons in the orthodox faith and heirs and successors to the Empire, preserved the faith steadfast and unshaken for Christ, and committed the Church pure and undefiled *having no stain or wrinkle*¹³¹ to the great archpriest and patriarch Nicephoros. (16.b) But once more the appropriately named beast of impiety, fell upon us attacking and roaring like a lion¹³². The plague of this soul-destroying heresy attacked in the following circumstances.

(16.c) While Michael and Theophylact¹³³, both very beloved of God and devout men, were governing the Empire, and the affairs of the Church of God enjoyed the most profound calm, and all the hierarchs with their priests and devout monks led quiet and tranquil lives in complete piety and reverence, I do not know how to put it, a monster, strange in appearance slipped into the all-blessed City. A certain woman from the outskirts had given birth to a baby, whose upper limbs down to the navel were all of a child, but the lower limbs were of wild beasts, lions, leopards and wolves. These shapes could move so that each of

128. 2 Tim. 3:16.

129. Hebr. 10:29.

130. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 110 n. 89. The 'appropriately named' "Victory-Bearer" must refer to his victory over the Slavs in the Peloponnese in 805, which led to the restoration of Byzantine power after more than two centuries of Slav domination.

131. Eph. 5:27.

132. Leo V; see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 110 n. 93.

133. Michael I Rangabe; see *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 110 n. 91. Theophylact was his son (Theophanes, p. 494).

στιανῶν ἀπελπίσαντες, οἱ πεπλανημένοι ἀπὸ μήτρας τῆς θείας κο-
 λυμβήθρας ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια τὰ λαλοῦντα
 κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνομίαν, ἐν ὑπερηφα-
 νία καὶ ἐξουδενώσει, οἱ πᾶσαν γραφὴν θεόπνευστον καὶ ὠφέλιμον
 5 στρεβλοῦντες κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ κα-
 ταπατήσαντες, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἠγγασάμενοι ἐν ᾧ
 ἠγιάσθησαν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐν ᾧ ἐχειροτονήθησαν
 ἐνυδρίσαντες, οἱ ψευδοῖερεῖς καὶ ψευδοχριστιανοί, οἱ τὴν ἁγίαν
 καὶ καθαρὰν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, τράπεζαν ἡλιοσημένην ἀποκαλέ-
 10 σαντες, οἱ μὴ εἰδότες διαφορὰν ἁγίου καὶ βεδήλου, καθαροῦ καὶ
 ἀκαθάρτου; Πολλὰ ὤφειλον γράψαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰσχύομεν διὰ μέλανος
 καὶ χάρτου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν.

(16.a) Αὐθις ὁ φερώνυμος Νικηφόρος ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσι τοῦ Χρι-
 στοῦ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ ὀρθόδοξος θεράπων, ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ τῆς
 15 εὐσεβείας υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχοι, δεδαί-
 αν καὶ ἀσάλευτον τὴν πίστιν διατηρήσαντες τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ με-
 γάλῳ ἀρχιερεὶ πατριάρχῃ Νικηφόρῳ, παρέθεντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κα-
 θαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον, μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα. (16.b) Ἄλλ'
 αὐθις πάλιν ἡμῖν ὁ φερώνυμος τῆς δυσσεβείας θῆρ, ὡς λέων ἀρπά-
 20 ζων καὶ ὠρυόμενος ἐνέσκηψεν· ἡ δὲ λύμη τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχοφθό-
 ρου αἰρέσεως, τοιαῦδε προφάσει ἐνέσκηψε.

(16.c) Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ εὐσεβε-
 στάτων ἀνδρῶν τὰ βασίλεια ἰθυνόντων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θε-
 οῦ οὐσης ἐν θαυυτάτῃ γαλήνῃ, καὶ τῶν ἱεραρχῶν πάντων ἡσυχον
 25 καὶ ἤρεμον βίον σὺν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ εὐλαβέσι μοναχοῖς διαγόντων
 ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰπεῖν, τέρας ξενο-
 φανὲς εἰσέδου εἰς τὴν πανευδαίμονα πόλιν· γυναικὸς τινὸς τῶν
 ἐγχωρίων τετοκυίας βρέφος, τὰ μὲν ἄνω μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἕως τοῦ
 ὀμφαλοῦ, εἶχε πάντα παιδός, τὰ δὲ ὑποκάτω, θηρῶν ἀγρίων λεόν-
 30 των καὶ παρδάλων καὶ λύκων· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦσαν αἱ μορφαὶ κι-

MP

13. Νικηφόρος, cf. *Alt.* 2 §§ 33-34 – 22. § 16c, cf. *Alt.* 2 §§ 35-36 – 26. οὐκοιδόπως MP –
 26-p. 177, l. 1. i. τέρας - σχηματισμόν, cf. - Ps.-Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III 30, 2-3
 (ed. Kroll, p. 131, ll. 9-14)

their forms was distinguishable¹³⁴. But a certain female, a ventriloquist¹³⁵ driven by the air-borne spirit of divination¹³⁶ which spoke within her, forecast a quick succession of emperors. (16.d) Then the Christ-loving Emperor handed that loathsome woman to one of his private attendants for safe keeping. At the time a certain individual, one of the nondescript poor of the city, by the name of John¹³⁷, who held the rank of reader and lived in the holy monastery of the divine Theotokos Hodegetria¹³⁸, having gained the confidence of the ventriloquist, initiated himself into the events that were to occur in the future, namely the change of emperor, his successor's great and marvellous restoration of the empire, that he would live for thirty years in full enjoyment of wealth, prosperity and triumphant victory, provided he brought about the complete removal of the sacred icons and the utter destruction of their memory. "His name will be Leo, an Armenian by descent." She also prophesied to her fellow-initiator, John the reader, that he would be recompensed with the greatest good fortune by the same Leo and that he would be raised, honoured and exalted very, very greatly, above every other office and position, as none of his predecessors before him.

(17.a) At this point Leo¹³⁹, a patrician and *strategos* of the province of the Anatolikon¹⁴⁰, happened to be in the blessed (City) when a certain Nicephoros nick-named Kinnarios¹⁴¹, initiated him into the ventriloquist's sorceries. At the same time a wandering pseudo-hermit, who hoodwinked the innocent people with falsehoods and divinations, was introduced by the same Nicephoros to the patrician

134. This passage, beginning with 'a monster' was taken from Ps.-Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III. 30, 2-3, ed. Kroll, I (Berlin, 1926), p. 131,9-14; cf. S. Gero, 'The Alexander Legend in Byzantium: Some Literary Gleanings', *DOP*, 46 (1992), 84.

135. See *Alt. Ending* 2, 35, p. 110.

136. 'Pythonic spirit' in the text.

137. For John the Grammarian, later patriarch of Constantinople, see *Deposition*, p. 134 n. 1.

138. See *Alt. Ending* 2, p. 112 n. 96.

139. Leo V the Armenian; see *Alt. Ending* 2, p. 110 n. 93.

140. The Greek gives here *ἐπαρχία* instead of *θέμα* as in *Alt. Ending* 2, 37, p. 112 n. 98. An *eparchia* was an administrative subdivision of a theme, but Leo was in charge of the entire theme of the Anatolikon.

141. On this nick-name, i.e. either an inhabitant of the island Kinaros or an official at the imperial palace who served at table, see W. Seibt, 'Über das Verhältnis von κινάριος', *BZ*, 72 (1979), 34-8; Gauer, *Synodalbrief*, p. 107 n. 1.

νούμεναι, ὥστε γινώσκειν ἐκάστου τὸν σχηματισμόν· ἀλλὰ γε
 [ἐαυτὴν] ἢ ἐγγαστριμυθος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ προσφωνούντος πνεύ-
 ματος Πύθωνος ἐναερίου, τὴν τῶν βασιλέων ταχεῖαν διαδοχὴν τε-
 ρατεύεται. (16.d) Καὶ δὴ ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεύς, τὸ ἐβδελυγμένον
 5 τοῦτο γύναιον, παραδίδωσιν εἰς φρουρὰν ἀσφαλῆ, ἐνὶ τῶν οἰκείων
 αὐτοῦ μυστικῶν θεραπόντων. Καὶ δὴ τις τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν
 τῆς πόλεως τοῦνομα Ἰωάννης, ἀναγνωστικῶ βαθμῶ τῇ εὐαγεῖ μονῇ
 τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν λεγομένων Ὀδηγῶν σχολάζων, παρρησια-
 σάμενος τῇ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ, μνεῖται αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων πρό-
 10 γνωσιν, τὴν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐναλλαγὴν, καὶ τοῦ διαδόχου τῆς βα-
 σιλείας ἀποκατάστασιν, μεγάλην τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆ, καὶ τριάκοντα
 χρόνους ἐν εὐημερίᾳ καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκῃ διαβιδῶναι, εἰ ἄρα γε
 τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων καθαίρεισιν τέλεον ποιήσας, τὸ μνημόσυνον
 αὐτῶν παντάπασιν ἐξαφανίσας· Λέων δὲ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἐξ
 15 Ἀρμενίων ἀγχιστείας καταγόμενος· καὶ δὴ [φησὶ] χρησιμωδεῖ καὶ
 τὸν συμμύστην ἀναγνώστην Ἰωάννην, ὡς μεγίστης <τύχης> ἀξιω-
 θήσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λέοντος, καὶ ὑψωθήσεσθαι καὶ δοξασθή-
 σεσθαι καὶ μετεωρισθήσεσθαι σφόδρα σφόδρα ὑπεράνω πάσης
 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν κατ' αὐτόν προβεβηκότων.
 20 (17.a) Καὶ δὴ Λέοντος πατρικίου ὄντος καὶ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τῶν
 ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχίας, ἔνδον αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῇ εὐδαίμονι, Νικηφό-
 ρος τις ὁ παρωνύμως Κιννάριος λεγόμενος, μνεῖται τῷ Λέοντι τὰ
 τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου μαντεύματα· καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τις τῶν κυκλαρίων
 ψευδερημιτῶν, ψευδολογίαις καὶ μαντεύμασι τὸν ἀπειρόκακον
 25 λαὸν διαχλευάζων, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρου εἰσάγεται τῷ Λέοντι

MP

2. ἐαυτὴν MP, ἐαυτῇ Combefis, sed lacuna vel error videtur – 5-6. οἰκείων θεραπόντων
 cotepeimus, οἰκείων αὐτοῦ καὶ μυστικῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων MP – 9. αὐτόν Alt. 2 – 16.
 τύχης addidimus ex Alt. 2 – 20. § 17a, cf. Alt. 2 § 37

Leo, and this man initiated him into sorceries which were similar and equivalent to those spoken by the woman ventriloquist. And Leo, being a lover of worldly things and of fame, and by disposition a man of an ardent heart, assured them with a binding oath that he would bring these things about, as he had the spark of impiety hidden within his heart.

(18.a) When Leo took possession of the imperial sceptre he became an exceptional emulator and imitator of the previous impious rulers, Leo and Constantine, kinsmen of the Isaurians¹⁴², who had ruled for many years and had smashed the insolence of the barbarian foes by brave deeds in war, living in plenty and prosperity¹⁴³. **(18.b)** Thereupon he began to examine and make inquiries about certain prophecies and learned astrologers, (asking) to be informed about them, and he invited a certain Basil, a *chartoularios* of the so-called *exartesis*¹⁴⁴, and confided in him about the matter. The latter, although he was at a loss, promised, like a subservient slave, to do what was ordered. **(18.c)** Indeed, he found a man, a native of Salambria, who was wandering hither and thither in taverns and gatherings, busy with prophesies and omens. Arranging the initiation by this man – his name was Sabbatios¹⁴⁵ – into the prediction concerning the emperors, Basil advised him to indulge the Emperor in whatever he wanted. Thereupon Sabbatios, having placed a very heavy chain round his own neck and bound himself tightly with iron fetters, shut himself in the vaulted heating system of the great baths of Dagisteus¹⁴⁶. Then Basil, fulfilling as soon as possible the imperial wishes, led the Emperor to the diviner's seer. **(18.d)** It was in the dead of night, and a darkness where one had to feel one's way, and lo and behold the Emperor, who was usually accompanied by his armed body-guards, came now alone, solitary, completely unarmed and without weapons along with Basil in the underground chambers and gloomy subterranean places, as long ago Julian the Apostate¹⁴⁷ had done when he made a pact with the devil

142. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 112 n. 100.

143. Cf. *Acta 787* (Mansi 13, col. 356B).

144. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 114 n. 102.

145. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 114 n. 103.

146. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 114 n. 104.

147. See *Letter, 7.A*, p. 36, n. 146.

πατρικίῳ, καὶ οὗτος μνεῖται αὐτῷ τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ ἐφάμιλλα τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου τερατεύματα· ὁ δὲ φιλόκοσμος καὶ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ, διαπύρῳ διαθέσεως καρδία, ταῦτα μεθ' ὄρκου ποιεῖν ἀμεταθέτου ἐδεδεικνύσαστο, ἔχων ἐγκάρδιον ἐγκεκρυμμένον τῆς ἀσεβείας σπινθήρα.

- (18.a) Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Λέοντος τὰ βασίλεια σκῆπτρα κεκρατηκότες, περισσότερος ζηλωτῆς καὶ μμητῆς γίνεται τῶν προεβηκότων δυσσεβῶν ἀνάκτων, Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀγχιστείας γεγονότων καὶ πολυχρονίοις ἔτεσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκεσάντων, πολέμων δὲ ἀνδραγαθήμασι [καὶ] πολεμίων βαρβάρων θράσος καταβαλόντων, εὐθηνίαις τε καὶ εὐημερίαις δεδιωκότων.
- (18.b) Καὶ δὴ ἤρξατο ἐξερευνᾶν ἐξερευνήσεις, μαντείας τινὰς καὶ μαθηματικούς ἀστρολόγους, τοιαῦτα αὐτῷ χρησιμῶδεσθαι, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος Βασίλειον τινὰ χαρτουλάριον τῆς λεγομένης Ἐξαρτήσεως, θαρρεῖ αὐτῷ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος· ὁ δέ, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γεγυνώς, ὡς δοῦλος ὑπήκοος ποιεῖν τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται.
- (18.c) Καὶ δὴ εὐρών τινὰ ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Σαλαμβρίας ὧδε κάκεισε περιπλανώμενον, ἐν κατηλίαις καὶ κυκλεύμασι, μαντείας καὶ οἰωνίσμασι, καὶ μέλλων τῶν βασιλέων πρόγνωσιν μνεῖσθαι, Σαββάτιον οὕτω λεγόμενον, ὑποτίθεται αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ καταθύμια τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίσασθαι. Καὶ δὴ περιβαλὼν ἑαυτῷ ὁ Σαββάτιος ἄλυσιν μεγίστην τῷ τραχήλῳ, καὶ σιδηροπέδαις ἑαυτὸν περισφίγξας, περικλείει ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Δαγιστέως μεγάλου λοετροῦ τῶν καμίνων κούφοις. Καὶ δὴ ὁ Βασίλειος τὰ βασίλεια καταθύμια τάχιον ἐκπληρῶν, προσαγῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ μάντει τοῦ Πύθωνος. (18.d) Νῦν δὲ θαθεῖα ἦν καὶ σκότος ψηλαφητόν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων δορυφόρων φρουρούμενος βασιλεύς, μεμονωμένος γυμνὸς καὶ ἀοπλος σὺν τῷ Βασιλείῳ παραγίνεται ἐν ὑπογείοις καὶ καταχθονίοις ἀμειδέσει τόποις, ὡς ποτὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης, ὑπὸ τοῦ μαθη-

MP

6. § 18a, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 38 – 12. § 18b, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 39 – 23. περικλείει *Alt.* 2, περικλείησιν MP – 25. § 18d, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 40 – τοῦ Πύθωνος *correximus*, τῆς Πύθωνος MP

at the instigation of the Jewish astrologer. Oh, how *the wisdom of the wise has vanished!*¹⁴⁸ How *the prudence of the prudent has been set aside!*¹⁴⁹ How *those wishing to be wise have made fools of themselves!*¹⁵⁰ What did he do then this great and glorious and fearsome emperor? He threw himself at the feet of the soothsayer and asked for predictions, as once Alexander did when he entered the temple of Serapis together with his soul-companion Candaules, in order to find out what was going to happen in the future¹⁵¹. (18.e) He saw some attendants, their eyes flashing fire and one said to him, "Hail Alexander, do you know who I am?" And he, "Wherefrom master?" And the magus, "I am Sesuch, the earthshaking king, I have not prospered as much as you, and you will acquire an immortal name". And he, "How so my lord?" And he said, "Come in to behold your protector". Alexander entered and saw a mist shot through with fire and Serapis sitting on the throne, whom he had once seen at Racunta being worshipped by mortals. Alexander said, "My lord, how many years will I live?" And Serapis answered, "It is better for a mortal not to know when he will die, for once one has learned the day of death a person is as good as dead expecting that day. But to suffer in ignorance, this provides oblivion so that one is not aware even that one is going to die"¹⁵².

(19.a) Then the meddlesome Emperor said to the seer and soothsayer, "What shall I do and what shall I provide so that I may always lead my whole life in happiness and wealth and with triumphant victory?" (19.b) And Sabbatios said to him, "You, emperor, have attained good fortune and will become famous among the kings on this earth. But *if you wish to have life, and desire to see prosperous days*¹⁵³ and to become master of foreign nations and barbarians, then destroy completely all memory of icons, and you are destined to reign and rule for a full thirty-two years, together with your son lord Constantine, and to subjugate the Bulgarians, and you will fix your sword in the middle of Bulgaria within the Brazen Threshing-floor of

148. Is. 29:14; 1 Cor. 1:19.

149. Is. 29:14; cf. 1 Cor. 1:19.

150. Rom. 1:22.

151. Cf. Ps.-Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III 30, 2-3 (ed. Kroll, p. 131,9-14); Gero, 'The Alexander Legend', p. 84.

152. The passage contained in 18.e was taken from Ps.-Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III 24 (ed. Kroll, pp. 123 ff.).

153. Ps. 33:12.

- ματικοῦ Ἑβραίου τῷ διαβόλῳ σπονδιζόμενος. Ὡ πῶς ἀπώλετο ἡ σοφία των σοφῶν. Ὡ πῶς ἠθέτηται ἡ σύνεσις τῶν συνετῶν. Ὡ πῶς οἱ θέλοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν. Τί οὖν ὁ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ φοβερὸς βασιλεὺς; Προσκυλινδεῖται τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ Πύθωνος, χρησιμφοδοτίας αἰτεῖται, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ποτὲ μετὰ Κανδαύλου συμψύχου αὐτοῦ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν Σάραπιν, ὥστε μαθεῖν τὰ ἀποθησόμενα (18.e) καὶ ὄρᾳ τινὰς ἀστράπτοντας ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνακειμένους, ἕνα δὲ λέγοντα αὐτῷ, Χαίροις Ἀλέξανδρε· οἰδᾶς με τίς εἰμί; Ὁ δέ, Ποῦ κύρι; Ὁ δέ μάγος, Ἐγὼ εἰμι Σεσοῦχ ὁ σεισμοκράτωρ βασιλεὺς, οὐ τοσοῦτον δ'εὐτύχησα, ὅσον σύ, καὶ σῆψις ὄνομα ἀθάνατον. Ὁ δέ, Πῶς κύριε; Ὁ δέ, λέγει, Εἰσελθε ἔνδον ἵνα θεάσῃ τὸν προστάτην. Εἰσέρχεται Ἀλέξανδρος ἔνδον, ὄρᾳ ὀμίχλην πυραυγῆ, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου δν ποτὲ εἶδεν ἔν Ῥακούντιδι προσκυνούμενον ἑροτοῖς Σάραπιν· εἶπε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· Κύριε, πόσα ἔτη ζήσομαι; Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Σάραπισ, Καλὸν μὲν θνητὸν ὄντα, μὴ εἶδεναι πότε τελευτᾷ προσδεχόμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀφ'ἧς ἡμέρας ἔμαθεν, ἐτελεύτησε· τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ παθεῖν, τοῦτο λήθην παρέχει τὸ μὴ ἔχειν κατὰ γνώμην εἰ καὶ ὄλως τελευτᾷ.
- (19.a) Εἶτα φησὶν ὁ πολυπράγμων βασιλεὺς τῷ προγνώστῃ καὶ μάντει, Τί ποιήσω καὶ τί πράξω ὅπως ἐν εὐζωίᾳ καὶ εὐημερίᾳ καὶ τροπαιοφόρῳ νίκη διαδιῶμαι με τὸν ἅπαντά μου χρόνον; (19.b) Καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Σαβδάτιος, Σὺ μὲν ὦ βασιλεῦ εὐτύχησας, καὶ ὀνομαστός ἔση ἐν βασιλευσὶ τῆς γῆς· εἰ δὲ θέλεις ζῶην καὶ ἀγαπᾶς ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς, καὶ κυριεῦσαι ἔθνῶν καὶ βαρβάρων, πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων ἐξαφάνισον μνήμην τέλεον, καὶ ἰδοὺ μέλλεις ἐν ὅλοις τριακονταδύο χρόνοις μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεῦειν, καὶ τοὺς Βουλγάρους καθυποτάξεις, καὶ πῆξεις τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου μέσον τῆς Βουλγαρίας, εἰς τὴν

MP

7 § 18e, cf. Ps. - Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*. III 24 (ed. Kroll, p. 123 ss.). cf. F. Pfister and U. Riedinger, 'Ein Zitat...', *BZ* 48 (1955), pp. 86-88 - 9. Ποῦ κύρι MP, Πῶς, κύριε; legit Combefis, Οὐ, κύριε corr. Kroll - Σεσοῦχ MP, Σεσόγχιωσις ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ in *Historia Alexandri Magni*, (cf. l.c.) - 11. σχεῖς MP - 14. Σάραπιν MP, Σέραπιν corr. Combefis - 15. ditto - 16. πότε MP, μέλλει addendum coniecit Combefis - τελευτᾷ corr. ex *Historia Alexandri Magni*, (l.c.), τελευτᾶν MP - 18. ditto - 20 ss. §§ 19a-b, cf. *Alt.* 2 §§ 40-41 - 22. εὐτύχησας *Alt.* 2. εὐτύχισας MP, ηὐτύχισας corr. Combefis

their court. But *whatever you do, do it swiftly*¹⁵⁴, leaving no trace of an icon, neither above nor below".

(20.a) The Emperor became exceedingly glad and was eager to carry out unhesitatingly what had been ordered, lest the thirty-year¹⁵⁵ limitation might fly out of his hands like a fleeing bird, and escape. He summoned therefore the aforementioned John the reader and entrusted to him the details of his plan. But John, afraid of the Emperor's orders, most readily promised to carry out what had been commanded. **(20.b)** Empowered with imperial authority, he collected all the books of the monasteries; and once he had searched for the written prohibitions against idols, they stitched them together against the revered icon of Christ. Then counting Christ to be like Bel or Dagon¹⁵⁶, they incinerated His sacred icons. **(20.c)** But the fanatical Emperor did not stop at that. He summoned the most holy Nicephoros¹⁵⁷, the patriarch, and showed him the select documents and the fantastic rantings that had been collected by John, which looked like childish stories. Thereupon the most holy and wise teacher of the Church demolished these like a cobweb, and for a while the Emperor felt shame and abstained from his plot. However, John, afraid of the Patriarch's excommunication and worn out by a chance illness, begged the Patriarch to accept his long overdue repentance, asking to be forgiven for his rashness and to be allowed to undertake monastic penance, which then took place.

(20.d) The Emperor, having failed in his efforts and being at a loss, was pondering whom to find as a collaborator, when he was informed about the metropolitan Anthony¹⁵⁸, who was in Syllaion, and he ordered him to come to the palace as soon as possible.

(21.a) Thereupon the Emperor said to him, "Collaborate with us, metropolitan, to get what we want and I shall appoint you to the patriarchal throne." He promised most readily to do what was commanded. **(21.b)** When the most holy patriarch Nicephoros learned

154. John 13:27.

155. In 19.b. the time-span is given as 32 years (cf. *Alt. Ending* 2, 41, 42), while here and in 25.d as 30 years.

156. Cf. Is. 46:1.

157. See *Letter*, p. 72 n. 238.

158. See *Letter*, p. 66 n. 218.

χαλκῆν ἄλωνα τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅπερ ποιεῖς, ποιήσον τάχιον, μήτε ἄνω ἀφίης εἰκόνα, μήτε κάτω.

- (20.a) Περιχαρῆς οὖν γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὰ προσταχθέντα ἀνευδοκίως ἐκπληρῶσαι ἐσπούδαζε, μήπως ἢ τῶν λβ' χρόνων ὄρο-
 5 θεσία ὡσπερ ὄρνεον ἐκπετασθέν, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ διαδράσῃ. Προσκαλεῖται οὖν τὸν προρρηθέντα ἀναγνώστην Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἀνα-
 τίθεται αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς σκήψεως· ὁ δέ, ἐτοιμότητα φοβηθεὶς τὴν τοῦ
 βασιλέως κέλευσιν, ποιεῖν τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται. (20.b) Καὶ δὴ
 βασιλικῆ χειρὶ τὰς βίβλους πάσας τῶν μοναστηρίων περιαθροίσας,
 10 καὶ ἀνερευνήσας τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων γραφικὰς ἀπαγορεύσεις, ταύτας
 προσέρραψαν τῇ σεβασμῖα εἰκόνι τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὡς γὰρ τὸν Βῆλ
 καὶ Δαγῶν τὸν Χριστὸν λογιζόμενοι, τούτου τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας
 κατέκαυσαν. (20.c) Καὶ δὴ οὐκ ἀναπέπανται ὁ ἐπισπουδαστὴς βα-
 σιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ἀγιώτατον Νικηφόρον τὸν πα-
 15 τριάρχην, δεικνυσὶν αὐτῷ τὰ συλλεγένητα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πιττά-
 κια καὶ μυθικὰ λογίδρια ὡς μειρακίσκων ἀθύσματα· ὁ δὲ ἀγιώτα-
 τος καὶ σοφὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος, ὡσπερ ἰσθὸν ἀράχνης
 ταῦτα διέλυσε, καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐλαβηθεὶς, ἀνακωχὴν ποι-
 εῖται τοῦ σκέμματος. Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης δεδιὼς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρ-
 20 χου ἀφορισμόν, συμβεβηκυῖα δὲ νόσῳ περιτρυχωθεὶς, ἡμελημένην
 μετάνοιαν ἐξαιτεῖται παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου, συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τῆς
 προπετείας, καὶ τῇ μοναδικῇ προσδραμεῖσθαι μετανοίαν· ὅπερ καὶ
 γέγονεν.

- (20.d) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀστοχίᾳ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων
 25 γενόμενος, διενοεῖτο τίνα ἄρα εὐρήσειε συνεργόν· μνησεται δὲ
 αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἀντωνίου ὄντος ἐν τῷ Σιλέῳ· ὁ
 δέ, τάχιστα αὐτὸν κελύει τὰ βασιλεια προφθάνειν.

- (21.a) Καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, Συναγώνισαι ἡμῖν ὃ μη-
 τροπολίτα εἰς ὃ βουλόμεθα, καὶ πρόεδρόν σε καταστήσω τοῦ πα-
 30 τριαρχικοῦ θρόνου. Ὁ δὲ ἐτοιμότητα τὰ προσταχθέντα ποιεῖν
 ἐπαγγέλλεται. (21.b) Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης Νικηφόρος,

MP

3. § 20a, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 42 – 4. ἀνευδοκίως MP – λβ' χρόνων *coppeximus cum Alt.* 2, λ' χρό-
 νων MP – ὄροθεσία cf. *supra*, p. 69.12 – 14. post Νικηφόρον cf. *Alt.* 2 § 43 – 26. ὄντος
coppeximus, ὄντι MP – Συλέου *Alt.* 2 – 28. § 21a, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 44 – 31. § 21b, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 45

this, he summoned Anthony and said, "Can this be so?" And he said, "God forbid, my lord, that this should be so, or that I should act thus, but in order to assure you more fully I will place the crosses in my own hand to a statement of orthodoxy." This he quickly did in the presence of the most holy metropolitans who happened to be there with him, just as he had signed such things at his consecration, (21.c) "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I Anthony, metropolitan of Syllaion by the mercy of God, have put my signature to the following: Believing in the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, we venerate the revered icons. May those who do not think thus be anathema; may those who do not hold these beliefs be expelled far from the Church. This is the faith of the holy apostles, this is the faith of the Fathers, this faith has brought light to the inhabited world. Therefore, those who dare after this to subvert any of the ordinances which have been entrusted to the Church, or any pictorial depiction, or any representation of the cross, if they are priests let them be laid under full deposition; if they are monks or laymen let them be anathematized."

(21.d) Having put his seal to this he went out of the holy patriarchate. When the Emperor learnt this, Anthony said to him, "We have tricked them, sire, so that you need not be worried about what they think". What a new Manichee, thinking like a Persian! What stupidity! What madness! Among the Christians he acts as a Christian, among the Jews, he acts as a Jew.

(21.e) Indeed, the two of them, John and Anthony, sitting down as if at a feast, mixed their poisoned wine in the bowl of the heretics, and twisted the *divinely inspired and beneficial*¹⁵⁹ Scriptures to suit their own desires, expounding fictitious and soul-destroying teachings, prattling about the revered icons as idols.

προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτόν, εἶπεν, Εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει; Ὁ δὲ φησί, Μὴ γένοιτο ἡμῖν ὧ δέσποτα τοῦτο, μηδὲ τι πρᾶξιαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείονα πληροφορίαν, τοὺς ἰδιοχείρους μου σταυροὺς ὑπογράψω τῷ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας λιδέλλῳ ἐπόμενος. Ὅπερ καὶ τάχιον κατὰ παρ-
 5 ρουσίαν τῶν συνευρεθέντων ἀγιωτάτων μητροπολιτῶν πεποίηκεν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὑπέγραψεν (21.c) Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, Ἄντωνιος ἐλέφ Θεοῦ μητροπολίτης Σιλέου, χειρὶ ἐμῇ ὑπέγραψα· Πιστεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα,
 10 τὰς τιμίας ἀσπαζόμεθα εἰκόνας· οἱ μὴ οὕτως φρονούντες, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν, οἱ μὴ οὕτως πιστεύοντες, πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωχθήτωσαν. Αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν πατέρων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισε. Τοὺς οὖν τολμῶντας μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν ἐνθέσμων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρα-
 15 δεδομένων, ἢ εἰκονικὴν ἀναζωγράφειν, ἢ σταυροῦ ἐκτύπωμα, εἰ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ, παντάπασι καθαιρείσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες ἢ λαϊκοί, ἀναθεματιζέσθωσαν.

(21.d) Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπισφραγισάμενος, ἐξῆγει τοῦ εὐαγοῦς πατριαρχείου· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἔφησεν ὁ Ἄντωνιος,
 20 Ἐχλεύασαμεν αὐτούς, ὧ δέσποτα, ὅπως ἀμεριμνότερος ἔση ἐπὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα. Ὡ τοῦ νέου Μανιχαίου καὶ περσόφρονος. Ὡ τῆς ἀνοίας. Ὡ τῆς φρενοβλαβείας. Ἐν Χριστιανοῖς, χριστιανίζει· ἐν Ἰουδαίοις, ἰουδαίζει.

(21.e) Καὶ δὴ προκαθεσθέντες οἱ δύο, Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἄντωνιος,
 25 ἐκέρασαν εἰς κρατῆρα τῶν αἵρετικῶν πεφαρμακευμένον οἶνον· καὶ δὴ Γραφὰς θεοπνεύστους καὶ ὠφελίμους, στρεβλοῦσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, προβαλλόμενοι ἐπιπλάστους καὶ ψυχοφθόρους διδασκαλίας, εἰδωλά τε τὰς σεβασμίας εἰκόνας βατταρίζοντες.

(22.a) Then the great archpriest, Nicephoros, the revealer of God, convened a synod of the holy Fathers, numbering two hundred and seventy, clothed in their vestments, in the great church of Saint Sophia¹⁶⁰. With them a great number of priests and monks of the Queen City were assembled. Then the most holy patriarch mounting the ambo anathematized the heresiarch, calling out the following: "Anathema to Anthony, the new Arius, whose teaching is akin to that of the Paulicians". The congregation, "Anathema". (22.b) The most holy patriarch said, "Anthony, the new Arius, is bound now and in the future, in heaven and on earth¹⁶¹ in the name of the consubstantial and life-giving Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, of St Peter, the chief of the apostles, of the holy twelve apostles, of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, of the great and ecumenical holy synods, of the great patriarchal and apostolic holy sees, and by me who consecrated him, and similarly those who are in communion with him, because he is an enemy of Christ, a transgressor of his signed confession of faith, an apostate of the orthodox faith, an iconoclast, an idolater, an accuser of Christ, a persecutor of Christians, a killer of priests, the defilement of all things sacred, the accursed in the eyes of the patriarchs, the *abomination of desolation*¹⁶², the first apostasy, the precursor of Anti-Christ, *the man of lawlessness, the son of perdition who has been revealed*¹⁶³ in the present time". Such were the praises of the wretched Anthony.

(23.a) What then, of this accomplice and collaborator, the appropriately named precursor of Anti-Christ, from whose mouth proceeds the burning blast of blasphemy, the false seer Balaam, the ventriloquist's initiate? What of these two centurions on the enemy side, these new Pharaonic sorcerers and magicians, the astrologers, Jannes and Jambres?¹⁶⁴ What then of the one who had the character of a lion, roaring like a lion against the Church? He imitated Leo, the founder of

160. See *Alt. Ending 2*, 65, p. 128 n. 152.

161. Cf. Matt. 16:19; 18:18.

162. Dan. 12:11; cf. Matt. 24:15; Mark 13:14.

163. 2 Thess. 2:3.

164. 2 Tim. 3:8. Cf. S. Gero, 'Jannes and Jambres in the Vita Stephani Junioris (BHG 1666)', *AB*, 113 (1995), 281-92.

(22.a) Ὁ οὖν μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς Νικηφόρος ὁ θεοφάντωρ σύνοδον ἁγίων πατέρων συναθροίσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν σοῦ, καὶ πάντων τὰς ἱερατικὰς στολὰς ἀμπεχομένων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἁγία Σοφίᾳ, τῆς τε πληθύος τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως ὁμοῦ συναθροισθέντων, ἀνελθὼν ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι, ἀνεθεμάτισε τὸν αἰρεσιάρχη, τάδε ἀναβοῶν Ἀντωνίου τοῦ νέου Ἀρείου παραπλήσιον Παυλικιανῶν, ἀνάθεμα. Ὁ λαός, Ἀνάθεμα. (22.b) Ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης φησὶν Ἀντώνιος ὁ νέος Ἀρειος δεδεμένος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Τριάδος, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων δεκαοκτῶ πατέρων, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων πατριαρχικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων, καὶ παρ' ἑμοῦ τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες, ὡς χριστομάχος, ὡς παραβάτης τῶν ἰδιοχείρων σταυρῶν, ὡς ἀποστάτης τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ὡς εἰκονοκλάστης, ὡς εἰδωλολάτρης, ὡς χριστοκατήγορος, ὡς χριστιανοδιώκτης, ὡς ἱεροκτόνος, τῶν ἱερέων τὸ μύσος, τῶν πατριαρχῶν ὁ ἐξάγιστος, τὸ δδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, ἡ πρώτη ἀποστασία, ὁ πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας ὁ ἀποκαλυφθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ. Ταῦτα τὰ ἐγκώμα τοῦ ἔλεεινοῦ Ἀντωνίου.

(23.a) Τί οὖν ὁ συνεργὸς καὶ συμμετοχὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ φερώνυμος πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, οὗ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπορεύεται τῆς βλασφημίας κλίβανος πυρός, ὁ ψευδομάντις Βαλαάμ, ὁ τῆς ἐγαστριμύθου μύστης, οἱ δύο τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας ἑκατόνταρχοι, οἱ νέοι Φαραωνιτικοὶ φαρμακοὶ καὶ ἐπαιδοὶ Ἰάννης καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς οἱ μαθηματικοί; Τί οὖν ὁ τὸ λεόντειον εἶδος ἔχων, λεόντεια βρυχώμενος κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Μιμεῖται τὸν ἀρχηγέτην Λέοντα τῆς αἰρέ-

MP

1. § 22a, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 48 – 7. Ὁ λαός, Ἀνάθεμα. om. M – 8. § 22b, cf. *Alt.* 2 § 49 – 12. ἁγίων om. M – 26. ψευδομάντης MP

this heresy, and as that Leo had done with the holy Germanos, this one too expelled the most holy Nicephoros of blessed memory from the patriarchal throne and all those who agreed with him, and condemned to torture and exile the most holy archpriests and monks who opposed him. (23.b) What next? Jacob, the beloved one was turned out and Esau, the hateful one even before birth, was introduced in his stead¹⁶⁵; and elsewhere thieves and robbers went up into the atrium of the Church, the holy altar was defiled, once more the Jews rejoiced, once more they shouted aloud clapping their hands, once more they swaggered and exulted against the Nazarene Christ of God whom they had crucified, as they saw these things being done. Once more the Montanists¹⁶⁶ gained control.

(24.a) What next? Leo roaring fiercely, as if he had rushed from a forest, and bellowing against the Church and against her Christ, filled the blessed City with confusion and scandals; wailings, laments, tears and sighs spread from every side, for death was twofold, of souls and bodies. (24.b) Moreover he spurned the Protector and Guardian of his empire saying, "*Leave me alone, Jesus the King, we do not want to know your ways*"¹⁶⁷. And using stones and dung and lumps of mud they threw them, spitting, at the face of His revered image placed at the Chalke Gate and tore it to the ground¹⁶⁸. The Jews once subjected him to stoning¹⁶⁹, calling him a Samaritan and madman¹⁷⁰, but He

165. Gen. 25:19-34.

166. An apocalyptic movement founded in the second century in Phrygia, Asia Minor, by Montanus. The Montanists believed that the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was manifesting himself to the world through the prophet Montanus and his two prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla; they broke away from the institutionalized Church. However the name may refer to a break-away Jewish sect (cf. A. Sharf, 'The Jews, the Montanists and the Emperor Leo III', *BZ*, 59 [1966], 37-46).

167. Job 21:14.

168. The destruction of the icon of Christ over the Chalke Gate is attributed to Leo III by Gregory II's letter to Leo, considered by some a forgery (Gouillard, *Grégoire II?*, pp. 243-307), and in Theophanes (p. 405). It is not however mentioned in the letters of Germanos I, or in Nicephoros' history. The authenticity of this information was questioned long ago; more recently by M.-F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?', *B*, 60 (1990), 445-92. Ps.-Damascene here has either confused the two emperors (which is more likely), or he is referring to another icon, restored over the Gate during the intervening period.

169. John 8:59.

170. John 8:48.

σεως ταύτης, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος τὸν θεσπέσιον Γερμανόν, καὶ οὗτος τὸν αἰοδιμον καὶ ἀγιώτατον Νικηφόρον τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου ἐξωστράκισε, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατ'αὐτὸν ἀγιωτάτους ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ μονάζοντας, βασάνοις καὶ ἐξορίαις κατεδίκασε. (23.b) Τί οὖν; Ἐξάγεται 5 Ἰακώβ ὁ ἡγαπημένος, ἀντεισάγεται Ἡσαΐ ὁ μεμισημένος καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως, ἀναβαίνουνσιν ἀλλαχόθεν οἱ κλέπται καὶ λησταὶ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βεβήλωται τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον, πάλιν Ἰουδαῖοι χαίρουσι, πάλιν ἀλαλάζουσι μέγα κροτοῦντες τὰς χεῖρας, πάλιν θρηνουοῦσι καὶ γεγάννυνται κατὰ τοῦ Ναζωραίου Χριστοῦ 10 τοῦ Θεοῦ ὃν ἐσταύρωσαν, ταῦτα δρῶμενα βλέποντες, πάλιν Μοντανισταὶ χώραν ἔλαβον.

(24.a) Τί οὖν; Ὁ Λέων μέγα ὡς ἐκ δρυμοῦ ὠρούμενος καὶ μωκόμενος κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτῆς, ταραχῶν καὶ σκανδάλων τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ἐμπύλησιν, οἰμωγαὶ τε 15 καὶ θρῆνοι καὶ δάκρυα, στεναγμοὶ πανταχόθεν διέτρεχον διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων. (24.b) Καὶ δὴ τὸν φύλακα καὶ φρουράρχην τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀπώσατο εἰπών, Ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰησοῦ βασιλεῦ, ὁδούς σου οὐ δουλόμεθα εἰδέναι. Καὶ τούτου τὸν σεβάσμιον χαρακτήρα τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ Πύλῃ, λίθοις 20 καὶ κόπροις καὶ πηλώδεσι μάζαις ἐμπτύοντες, εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ προσέριπτον, διαρρήξαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦδαφος. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ποτὲ λίθοις αὐτὸν ὑπέβαλον, Σαμαρείτην καὶ δαιμονῶντα

MP

9. θρηνουοῦσι corr. Combefis - γεγάννυνται MP - 18. βολόμεθα MP - 18-19. τούτου τὸν P. τουτόν M

walked through their midst¹⁷¹; while these acted worse than those; truly the enemy scoffs at the Lord, and a foolish people virulently attacks his name¹⁷². For the Lord himself holding in his hand the image of Caesar Tiberius and saying, "*Whose image and inscription is this?*"¹⁷³", did not insult it, but on the contrary rendered what was owing, as due to caesar, and paid the tax.

(24.c) Oh, what a lawless people, stupid and foolish! *Against whom did you open your mouth, and against whom did you wag your tongue?*¹⁷⁴ But what sufferings does the Word endure even now! Blasphemed by the impious, he puts up with the insolence, because He is forbearing; praised by the pious He extends his forbearance, thus perhaps giving time to the former to repent, while He tests our affection, lest we lose heart both in our affliction and in our struggle for piety. (24.d) In addition there came more deeds worthy of lamentation, on account of which the wrath of God came upon the disobedient people¹⁷⁵, as has been said above¹⁷⁶ and has become manifest to us all: *famine, plagues, earthquakes, floods*, violent death, *civil wars*¹⁷⁷, rebellions of tribes, burnings of churches, the abandonment of villages and cities, peoples led into captivity, *like sheep to the slaughter*¹⁷⁸, as far away as Ethiopia, India and the far eastern corners of the earth; slaves and captives, *youths and virgins, old men with younger men*¹⁷⁹, all ages have been utterly destroyed. For *the fathers will eat sour grapes and the children's teeth will be set on edge*¹⁸⁰; and again, *I visit the sins of the fathers upon the children*, says the Lord, *to the third and fourth generation*¹⁸¹.

171. Luke 4:30.

172. Ps. 73:18.

173. Matt. 22:20.

174. Is. 57:4.

175. Cf. Eph. 5:6.

176. See above 14.c.

177. Basil, *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 408.31-2.

178. Is. 53:7; Acts 8:32.

179. Ps. 148:12.

180. Cf. Jerem. 38(31):29.

181. Exod. 20:5; cf. Deut. 5:2.

αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦντες, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορευέτο· οὗτοι δὲ χεῖρονα τούτων ἔδρασαν, ὄντως ἐχθρὸς ἠνείδισε τὸν κύριον, καὶ λαὸς ἄφρων παρώξυνε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος τὴν τοῦ καίσαρος Τιβερίου εἰκόνα ἐν χερσὶ κρατήσας καὶ εἰρηκῶς,
 5 *Τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὕτη; οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀπέδωκεν ὡς καίσαρι καὶ τὸν κῆνσον ἐτέλεσεν.*

(24.c) Ὡς λαὸς ἄνομος, μωρὸς καὶ ἀσύνετος, ἐπὶ τίνα ἠνοίξατε τὸ στόμα καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα ἐχαλάσατε τὴν γλῶσσαν ὑμῶν; Ἄλλ' ὅσα πάσχει καὶ νῦν ὁ Λόγος, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀσεβούντων βλασφημούμενος,
 10 καὶ ἀνέχεται τὰ τῆς ὑβρεως, μακρόθυμος γάρ· παρὰ δὲ τῶν εὐσεβούντων εὐφημούμενος, καὶ ἀναβάλλεται τὰ τῆς μακροθυμίας, τοῖς μὲν, ἴσως καιρὸν διδοὺς μετανοίας, ἡμῶν δὲ δοκιμάζων τὸν πόθον, εἰ μὴ ἐκκακοῦμεν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσι. (24.d) Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων πλείονα καὶ θρηγῶν ἄξια διὰ

15 *ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀπειθείας ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πρόδηλα γεγονόασιν· λιμοί, λοιμοί, σεισμοί, καταποντισμοί, θάνατοι ἐξαίσιοι, πόλεμοι ἐμφύλιοι, ἐθνῶν ἐπαναστάσεις, ἐμπρησμοὶ ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐρημώσεις χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων, αἰχμαλωσίαι λαῶν ὡσεὶ πρόβατα εἰς σφαγὴν πορευόμενα, μέχρῃς*
 20 *Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ εἰς ἀνατολὰς γῆς, δοῦλοι καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι νεάνιδες καὶ παρθένοι, πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ νεωτέρων, καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία ἄρδην συντετέλεσται· Οἱ γὰρ πατέρες φησὶ φάγωσι τὸν ὄμφακα, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αἰμοδιάσουσι, καὶ πάλιν, Ἐγὼ φησὶ Κύριος ἀποδιδούς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς.*

MP

1. αὐτὸς δε MP – 14ss. cf. *Letter 13a* – 23. αἰμοδιάσουσι MP; ἡμοδιάσαν *Jerem. 38 (31):29*

(25.a) The time came when the divine sword of the almighty right hand of the Highest slew him, and threw him like a large beast into his cage. As the prophet says, *Behold I will bring strange plagues on you, and they will draw their swords against you and against your fine knowledge, and they will bring down your beauty to destruction and they will bring you down and you shall die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea. Will you indeed say, I am God, before those that slay you? But you are a man and not God*¹⁸². **(25.b)** *Beneath you they will spread decay and the worm will be your covering*¹⁸³. *They that see you will wonder at you and say, "This is the man that troubled the earth, that made kings shake, that turned the whole world into a desert, destroyed the cities and did not free those being led into captivity". All the kings of the earth have slept in honour, each man in his house, but you will be flung out on the mountains, like a loathed corpse along with the many dead who have been pierced with swords and gone down to Hades*¹⁸⁴. **(25.c)** So that all may know that *the Lord is strong*¹⁸⁵ and a mighty king, who alternates the kings on earth, *wisdom and power are his*¹⁸⁶, *his is the strength and might*¹⁸⁷, *who exalts the lowly, and raises up those that are lost*¹⁸⁸. *He places kings upon thrones*¹⁸⁹, *He changes kings and the minds of the princes of the earth*¹⁹⁰. **(25.d)** Where then were the false soothsayers and cheats? Where were the thirty triumphant years¹⁹¹ of the one obsessed with this earth, who did not govern in accord with the heavenly King?

(26.a) What then did *He do, who kills and brings to life, who leads down to the grave and raises up, who humbles and exalts?* He raised to his throne the most gentle and most serene Emperor, appropriately named Michael¹⁹², after the *archistrategos* of his force, who imitated Christ, *saying to them that were in bonds, "Go forth", and bidding those*

182. Ezek. 28:7-9.

183. Is. 14:11.

184. Is. 14:16-19.

185. Ps. 23:8.

186. Job 12:13.

187. Job 12:16.

188. Job 5:11.

189. Job 12:18.

190. Job 12:24.

191. See above p. 182 n. 155.

192. See *Letter, 11.a*.

- (25.a) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ θεία τῆς παντοκρατορικῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου μάχαιρα τοῦτον διεχειρίσατο, καὶ ὡς θῆρα μέγαν εἰς τὴν γαλαέγραν αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλε, καθὼς καὶ ὁ προφήτης λέγει, Ἴδοὺ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σὲ ἄλλοτρίους λοιμοὺς καὶ ἐκκενώσουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν
- 5 ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἐπιστήμης σου, καὶ στρώσουσι τὸ κάλλος σου εἰς ἀπώλειαν, καὶ καταβιδάσουσί σε καὶ ἀποθανεῖς θανάτῳ τραυματιῶν ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης. Μὴ λέγων ἐρεῖς θεός εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀναιρούντων σε; Σὺ δὲ ἦς ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐ θεός.
- (25.b) Ὑποκάτω σου στρώσουσί σοι σῆψιν, καὶ τὸ κάλυμμά σου
- 10 σκώληξ. Οἱ ἰδόντες σε θαυμάσονται ἐπὶ σέ καὶ ἐροῦσιν, Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ παροξύνων τὴν γῆν, ὁ σείων βασιλεῖς, ὁ θεὶς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπαγωγῇ οὐκ ἔλυσε· πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν τιμῇ, ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, σὺ δὲ ῥιφήση ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὡς νε-
- 15 κρὸς ἐβδελυγμένος μετὰ πολλῶν ἐκκεκεντημένων καὶ τεθνηκότων μαχαίραις καταβαινόντων εἰς ἄδην. (25.c) Ἴνα γινῶσι πάντες, ὅτι κύριος κραταῖός καὶ ἰσχυρὸς βασιλεὺς, διαλλάσσων βασιλεῖς γῆς, παρ' αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ δύναμις, παρ' αὐτῷ κράτος καὶ ἰσχύς, ποιῶν ταπεινοὺς εἰς ὕψος, καὶ ἀπολωλότας ἐξεγείρων, καθιζάνων βασι-
- 20 λεῖς ἐπὶ θρόνων, διαλλάσσων βασιλεῖς καὶ καρδίας ἀρχόντων γῆς. (25.d) Ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ ψευδομάντις καὶ ἀπατεῶνες, ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ τριάκοντα τροπαιοφόροι χρόνοι τοῦ ἐπιγειόφρονος, καὶ μὴ τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχοντος μετὰ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως;
- (26.a) Τί οὖν ὁ θανατῶν καὶ ζωογονῶν, ὁ κατάγων εἰς ἄδου καὶ
- 25 ἀνάγων, ὁ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀνυψῶν; Ἐξήγειρε τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, τὸν φερώνυμον τοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ τὸν πρῶτατον καὶ γαληνότατον βασιλέα, χριστομμῆτως λέγοντα, τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐξέλθετε, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότει ἀνακαλύφθητε· ἐξάγων

MP

2. θῆραν MP – 4. λοιμοὺς corr. (sec. LXX) Combefis, λμοὺς MP – 6. ἀποθάνη Ezeq. 28:7-9 – 8. ἦς MP, εἰ Ezeq., 1. c. – 9. κατακάλυμμά Is. 14:11-12 – 10. θαυμάσουσιν Is., 1. c. – 10-11. ὁ ἄνθρωπος om. M – 12. ἐπαγωγή Is., 1. c. – 17. διαλλάσσων P – 26. τοῦ om. MP. coniect Combefis et corr. ἀρχιστρατήγον MP

*that were in darkness, "Be revealed"*¹⁹³, leading forth the prisoners in his might, and similarly making the rebellious dwell in tombs¹⁹⁴; breaking up every unjust bond, he brought up out of the pit of misery¹⁹⁵ those kept in exile, oppression and bitter slavery, and filled the Roman Empire with every joy and gladness of heart; for the Lord gave goodness, and the flower-bearing earth brought forth its blessings and its fruit¹⁹⁶. *The right hand of the Lord has wrought mightily, the right hand of the Lord has exalted him*¹⁹⁷, and by his great glory crushed his enemies¹⁹⁸. (26.b) What then of the most peaceful and serene Emperor? Because of this, he has slept in peace, and *his tomb will be in peace*¹⁹⁹, for he will meet those who have shown mercy in judgement, for *mercy triumphs over judgement*²⁰⁰.

(27.a) When He, who has raised the horn of salvation for his people by his own arm²⁰¹, raised you from the other's root in preparation for his throne, you the one supported by God, you the great emperor, appropriately named "Theophilus" after the love of God, in the power of the salvation of His right hand, the Master and Lord of the universe placed a mighty, powerful and honoured kingdom in your hands²⁰².

(27.b) Consider the past generations of most devout and faithful emperors, how their glory and dignity is everlasting; *they were buried in peace*²⁰³, and their graves and *their bones bring forth blossom from their place*²⁰⁴, and their Lord reigns because their souls are in His hand. (27.c) Imitate the devout and God-loving Emperor Constantine, son of blessed Helen²⁰⁵; during a full thirty-four years he distinguished himself by his great devotion and reverence²⁰⁶; he subdued all the

193. Is. 49:9.

194. Ps. 67:6.

195. Ps. 39:3.

196. Ps. 66:7.

197. Ps. 117:15-16.

198. Cf. Exod. 15; Ps. 67:7.

199. Is. 57:2.

200. James 2:13; Is. 64:4.

201. Luke 1:69.

202. Dan. 2:37.

203. Sir. 44:14.

204. Sir. 46:12.

205. See above Letter, pp. 18, 20 nn. 85, 88.

206. 1 Tim. 2:2.

πεπεδημένους ἐν ἀνδρεία, ὁμοίως τοὺς παραπικραίνοντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τάφοις· πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας διαρρήσσω, ἀνήγαγεν ἐκ λάκκου ταιλιπωρίας, τοὺς ἐν ἔξοριαις καὶ θλίψεσι, καὶ πικρῇ δουλείᾳ κατεχομένους· πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ θυμηδίας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν ἐνέπλησεν· ἔδωκε γὰρ ὁ Κύριος χρησιμότητα, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀνθηφόρος βλαστάνει τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς. Ἡ δεξιὰ Κυρίου ἐποίησε δύναμιν, ἡ δεξιὰ Κυρίου ὑψωσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, συνέτριψε τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. (26.b) Τί οὖν ὁ εἰρηνικώτατος καὶ πραότατος βασιλεὺς; Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ κεκοίμηται, καὶ ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ· συναντήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ποιούσι τὸν ἔλεον ἐν κρίσει, κατακαυχᾶται καὶ ἔλεος κρίσεως.

(27.a) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἐγείρων κέρας σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν θραχίονι αὐτοῦ, ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ φυτὸν βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, σὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ φερώνυμον τῆς θεοφιλίας ἀνακτα ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, βασιλείαν κραταιὰν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἔντιμον ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου ὁ τῶν ὄλων Δεσπότης καὶ Κύριος θεοστήρικτε δέσποτα. (27.b) Ἐμβλεψον εἰς ἀρχαίας γενεὰς τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ πιστῶν βασιλέων, πῶς ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια αὐτῶν ἀτελεύτητος ὑπάρχει· ἐτάφησαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ οἱ τάφοι αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀστέα αὐτῶν, ἀναθάλλει ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν, καὶ βασιλεύει αὐτῶν Κύριος, ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν, ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσί. (27.c) Μίμησαι τὸν εὐσεβεῆ καὶ φιλόθεον βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον υἱὸν τῆς μακαρίας Ἐλένης, ἐν ὅλοις λδ' χρόνοις διαπρέψαντα ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι,

barbarian nations, making them *a footstool for his feet*²⁰⁷. This man was so well disposed towards priests and monks and was so loved by God, that they recount how on one occasion, when certain accusers had handed him writs against them, he burnt them at once, and this Emperor of blessed memory said, "If I were to find a priest or a monk committing a fault, I would personally spread out my cloak and cover him"²⁰⁸. What emperor has ever existed more respectful of God, kind, and more compassionate than this saint?

(28.a) Follow in the footsteps of that great luminary of piety, the devout Emperor Theodosios²⁰⁹, who shone forth crowned by his orthodox faith. To such an extent was he a devout follower of Christ and of the monastic state, that during the war against the tyrant Maximus²¹⁰ in the western regions, when he found himself in a very critical situation because of the enemies' large numbers – there were three hundred thousand – he sent a messenger to one of the most saintly of the monks, imploring him to come as his ally to his rescue. His name was Donatus. **(28.b)** This very holy and divinely inspired monk, foreseeing by God's help what the future would be, sent to the Emperor his own hairshirt and cloak, along with his hood and staff. The magnanimous Emperor, full of hope, joyfully received these things with faith and having embraced them, he donned them, and gripping the staff in place of a lance he mounted his horse. At that point an angelic host, sent by God, appeared flying on fiery horses, and turning the tables proceeded to hurl the enemy one and all into the trenches which the enemy had dug there as a hunting trap, while the commanders captured the tyrant alive at Megale Gephyra²¹¹ and offered him at the feet of the Emperor. **(28.c)** What can be more sublime than this for anyone with some sense? He who had been judged worthy to have the angelic host come as reinforcements on his behalf, was he not also a devout venerator of the Holy Trinity and of the icon of Christ? Examine and see his sacred offerings, the sacred vestments and sacred vessels. Touch

207. Ps. 8:7.

208. Cf. *Letter*, 10.b, p. 62 n. 211.

209. See *Letter*, p. 58 n. 202.

210. See *Letter*, p. 64 n. 213.

211. See *Letter*, p. 64 n. 215.

πάντα τὰ φύλα βάρβαρα ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ὑποτάξας. Ὡστε τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλοἰερεὺς καὶ φιλομόναχος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καὶ θεοφιλῆς, ὅτιπερ φασὶν ἐν μιᾷ κατηγορῶν ἐπιδωσάντων πιττάκια κατ'αὐτῶν, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς καῦσαι, φῆσαι δὲ οὕτως ὁ ἀοιδι-
 5 μος βασιλεὺς, ὅτιπερ, Ἐὰν εὖρω φησὶν ἱερέα ἢ μοναχὸν ἐν τινι παραπτώματι, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς τὴν χλαμύδα μου ἤπλωσα ἂν καὶ ἐσκέπαζον αὐτόν. Τίς ἄρα θεοσεβέστερος καὶ φιλάγαθος καὶ συμπαθητικώτερος ἐν βασιλεῦσι τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου;

(28.a) Ἰχνηλάτησον τὸν μέγαν τῆς εὐσεβείας λαμπτήρα Θεοδό-
 10 σιον τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα, πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου στέμματι κατηγλαϊσμένον. Ὡστε τοσοῦτον ἦν καὶ οὗτος φιλόχριστος καὶ φιλομόναχος, ὅτιπερ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ τυράννου Μαξίμου πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσιν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ πολλῇ συσχεθεὶς ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων πληθῦτι τριακοσίων χιλιάδων, ἀποστέλλει ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ὀσιωτάτων
 15 μοναχῶν, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν εἰς εὐχῆς συμμαχίαν ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτῷ. Δονάτος δὲ τοῦνομα αὐτῷ. (28.b) Ὁ δὲ ἁγιώτατος καὶ θεοφόρος μοναχὸς θεόθεν προγνοὺς τὸ μέλλον, ἀποστέλλει αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρίκινον αὐτοῦ χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ἐπώμιον καὶ τὸ κουκούλιον καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ εὐελπις βα-
 20 σιλεὺς περιχαρῶς μετὰ πίστεως δεξάμενος ταῦτα καὶ περιπτυσάμενος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐνδυσάμενος, τὴν δὲ βακτηρίαν ἀντὶ δόρατος κατασχών, ἔφιππος γίνεται. Καὶ δὴ τίς θεία ἀγγελικὴ στρατιὰ ἐφ' ἵπποις πυρίνοις ἰπτάμενοι, ἐφίστανται, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄρδην ἐν τοῖς βοθύνοις [ἐν] οἷς ὤρουξαν ἐν παγίδι θηρευτῶν, ἀντιστρεπτικῶς
 25 ἐκείσε κατέβαλον, τὸν δὲ τύραννον ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Γεφύρᾳ οἱ σατράπαι ζῶντα χειρωσάμενοι, τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ βασιλέως προσέφερον. (28.c) Τί τούτου τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ὑψηλότερον; Ὡς κατηξίωται ἀγγελικὰς στρατιάς συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, οὐχὶ καὶ οὗτος εὐσεβὴς ἦν προσκυνητῆς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, καὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ εικό-
 30 νος; Ἐρευνήσον καὶ ἴδε τὰ ἱερά αὐτοῦ ἀναθήματα, τὰς ἱεράς ἐνδυ-

MP

2. Ὡστε MP, Καίπερ *Letter* 10b – φιλοἰερεὺς MP, φιλοσυμπαθῆς *Letter*, l. c. – 3. φη(σὶν) MP – 6. χλαμύδα MP, χλανίδα *Letter* (AB), l. c. – 9. § 28a, cf. *Letter* 10c – μέγα M – 10. καταγλαϊσμένον corr. Combefis, κατηγλαϊσμένος MP – 12. Μαξίμου *comeximus* ex *Letter* (B0), μαξιμίμου MP et A – 14. post χιλιάδων scripsit τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων στρατευμάτων τριάκοντα χιλιάδων ὄντων *Letter*, l. c. – 14-15. ὀσιωτάτων μοναχῶν *comeximus* ex *Letter*, l. c., ὀσιωτάτω μοναχῷ MP – 15. εὐχῆς συμμαχίαν MP, εὐχὴν σύμμαχον *Letter*, l. c. – 16. § 28b, cf. *Letter* 10d – 18. τὴν ἐπωμίδα *Letter*, l. c. – κουκούλιον MP – 22. ἐφ' ἵππου *Letter*, l. c. – 26. προσέφερον MP, προσέρριψαν *Letter*, l. c. – 27. § 28c, cf. *Letter* 10c – δς MP, Πῶς *Letter*, l. c.

and look at the great paten, on which is engraved with encaustic technique the Last Supper of Christ along with his twelve apostles. (28.d) With regard to this sacred paten, when Theodore²¹², the treasurer of the Church of the Holy Apostles, was elected to be archbishop of the city of Syracuse by the archbishop of the Queen City, this Theodore wrote out his godless profession of faith and placed it upon the paten. Anthony²¹³ then said to him, "If you want to convince us that you are of like mind with us, trample on the paten with your feet". Beguiled by the passion of the lust for power, he promptly carried out the order and trampled on it, without shame or blushing. (28.e) What forbearance and patience on the part of Jesus Christ! What then? *Will not God bring these things to account?*²¹⁴ Yes, indeed, for *Cain will be avenged sevenfold, but Lamech seventy times sevenfold*²¹⁵. Does this befit the archbishops of the kingdom of the Christians? What about the ill-fated Theodore? He failed to gain his office and died a painful and untimely death.

(29.a) Most devout lord, imitate the subsequent emperors, Arcadius²¹⁶ and Honorios²¹⁷ and Theodosios²¹⁸, Leo²¹⁹ and Marcian²²⁰ and the devout emperors who came after them; for all of them were of one godly mind. Let those emperors who died in impiety bury²²¹ and lament their own dead souls, for the sighs of those who suffered injustice become the hell of the unjust. Reflect upon and consider the passing of kings and lords who lived in the past, how they passed by like a fleeting dream; when they thought they were definitively established, then they were definitively destroyed, for when the impious fall, the just take fright.

(29.b) And you²²², good lord, even if you live and continue and reign for a full hundred years, will you not later die like your fathers? *Both small and great have a place in the next life, and the servant is*

212. See *Letter*, p. 66 n. 217.

213. See *Letter*, p. 66 n. 218.

214. Ps. 43:22.

215. Gen. 4:24.

216. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 n. 24.

217. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 n. 25.

218. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 90 n. 26.

219. Leo I, emperor (457-474); he vigorously suppressed the Eutychian heresy in Egypt.

220. See *Alt. Ending 2*, p. 92 n. 33.

221. Cf. Matt. 8:22.

222. Cf. *Alt. Ending 2*, 53, p. 120.

τάς, τὰ ἱερὰ σκευή. Ψηλάφησον καὶ ἴδε τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῦ δίσκον, εἰς ὄνπερ ἐγκαυστικοῖς καλλιεργήμασιν, ὁ μυστικός τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεῖπνος μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐγκεκόλαπτο. (28.d) Ὅνπερ ἱερὸν δίσκον Θεόδωρος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων, ψη-
 5 φισθεὶς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Συρακουσῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως, καὶ δὴ οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ποιήσας τὸ ἄθεον αὐτοῦ ἰδιόχειρον, τέθεικεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, καὶ φησὶν Ἄντωνιος, Εἰ πληροφορεῖς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁμόφρων ἡμῶν εἶναι βούλει, πάτησον αὐτὸν τοῖς ποσὶ σου. Ὁ δέ, τῷ πόθῳ τῆς φιλαρχίας θελγόμενος, ἔτοιμότατα <τὸ κελευσθὲν> ἀναιδῶς καὶ ἀνερευθριάστως
 10 αὐτὸν κατεπάτησεν. (28.e.) Ὡ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τί οὖν; Οὐχὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκζητήσει ταῦτα; Ναι καὶ πάντως, ὅτι ἐπτάκις ἐκδεδίκηται ἐκ Κάϊν, ἐκ δὲ Λάμεχ, ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά. Οὕτως ἄρα πρέπει τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Χριστιανῶν;
 15 Τί οὖν ὁ δύστηχος Θεόδωρος; Ἡστοχώση τῆς ἀξίας θανάτῳ ἀώρῳ δύσθνητος γεγονῶς.

(29.a) Μίμησαι θεοσεβέστατε δέσποτα καὶ τοὺς μετέπειτα βασιλεῖς, Ἀρκάδιον καὶ Ὀνώριον καὶ Θεοδόσιον, Λέοντα καὶ Μαρκιανόν, καὶ τοὺς κατ'αὐτοὺς θεοσεβεῖς βασιλεῖς· πάντες γὰρ ὁμόφρονες καὶ θεόφρονες. Ἄφες τοὺς νενεκρωμένους ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ βασιλεῖς θάψαι καὶ κλαῦσαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν νενεκρωμένας ψυχάς· οἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων στεναγμοί, τῶν ἀδικούντων κόλασις γίνεται. Ἐνόησον καὶ ἴδε τῶν βεβιωκότων βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων τὴν πάροδον, πῶς ὡς ἐνύπνιον ἐκπετασθὲν παρῆλθον, ὅταν ἐδόκουν εἰς τέλος
 20 κατεστηρίχθαι, τότε εἰς τέλος ἀπώλοντο· ἀσεβῶν γὰρ καταπιπτόντων, δίκαιοι ἔμφοβοι γίνονται. (29.b) Τί οὖν καὶ σὺ ἀγαθὴ δέσποτα, εἰ καὶ ζῆς καὶ διαμένεις καὶ βασιλεύεις ἐν ὄλοις ἑκατὸν ἔτεσιν, οὐχὶ <μετὰ> ταῦτα ἀποθανεῖς ὡς οἱ πατέρες σου; Μικρὸς καὶ μέγας ἐκεῖ ἔστι, καὶ θεράπων οὐ δεδοικῶς τὸν Κύριον αὐτοῦ· μία

MP

2. καλλιεργήμασιν MP - 3. κεκόλαπται Letter 10e - § 28d, cf. Letter 10f - 6. οὗτος bis scripsit P - 8. βούλει deest in Letter, l. c. - 9. τοῖς ποσὶ σου deest in Letter, l. c. - post de scripsit ὁ δὲ φιλόδοξος Letter, l. c. - πόθῳ MP, πάθει Letter, l. c. - θελγόμενος MP, τετρωμένος Letter, l. c. - τὸ κελευσθὲν addidimus ex Letter, l. c. - 11. αὐτὸν κατεπάτησεν MP, ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεόδωρος Letter, l. c. - § 28e, cf. Letter 10g - 15-16. cf. Letter 10h - 24. παρῆλθε MP - 26. γίνονται MP - 28. μετὰ addidit Combefis

not afraid of his Lord²²³; for there is only one way into life, and the way out is the same for all, for no king had any other sort of birth as a beginning²²⁴. (29.c) Look favourably upon the prayers of the humble, and do not set at naught their entreaty²²⁵. Have pity on your Churches, console the bereaved, encourage those who grieve. Put an end to the schisms among the Churches. Silence the ravings of the evil-minded iconoclasts. Put down swiftly heretical uprisings by the might of your just rule and the power of your piety. Recall the prisoners, gather together those who are dispersed, and unite the holy catholic and apostolic Church²²⁶ in one concord, in one bond of love, in the deep peace of the orthodox and most pure faith. (29.d) For how long are the children of the Romans to be reproached by all Christians for being iconoclasts and heretics? Arouse the power of your piety, and take pity on your people, which had been dispersed and scattered like the lost ones of the house of Israel²²⁷. (29.e) What is this pitiful sight? Unending is the anger of the hostile devil against the holy icon of the Saviour, implacable the war of the enemy against the immaculate figure of the holy Mother of God, irreconcilable the hatred against the saints of Christ. How many emperors have waged war against the Church, how many tyrants have oppressed her? But even though for a short while they were given leave, yet the gates of hell shall never prevail against her²²⁸.

(30.a) Although we have many proof texts drawn from the holy Fathers in defence of the revered dogmas, it is not necessary for us to bring force to bear on the divinely taught wisdom of your imperial sagacity, but in accordance with the divine saying²²⁹, we fulfil our duty with exhortation and good will, lest by refraining from speech, we be condemned to disrepute. For we have never kept silent on these matters during the reign of the emperors who lived before. On the

223. Job 3:19; 7:2.

224. Wi. 7:5-6.

225. Ps. 101 (102):17.

226. Basil, *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 337.

227. Matt. 10:6.

228. Matt. 16:18.

229. 1 Tim. 5:1.

- γὰρ εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν θῖον, ἔξοδός τε ἴση, οὐδεὶς γὰρ βασιλέων ἔσχεν ἑτέραν γενέσεως ἀρχήν. (29.c) Ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν τῶν ταπεινῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐξουδενώσης τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν. Οἰκτείρησον τὰς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοὺς πενθοῦντας παραμύθησαι. Τοὺς ἐν θλίψει
- 5 παρακάλεσον. Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Σθέσον τὰ φρυάγματα τῶν κακοδόξων εἰκονοκλαστῶν. Τὰς τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐπαναστάσεις ταχέως κατάλυσον ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς δικαίας βασιλείας σου, καὶ τῷ βραχίονι τῆς εὐσεβείας σου. Τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνακάλεσαι, τοὺς ἐσκορπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, καὶ συναψον τὴν ἀγίαν
- 10 καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς μίαν ὁμόνοιαν, εἰς ἓνα σύνδεσμον ἀγάπης, εἰς θαθεῖαν εἰρήνην τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀκραιφνεστάτου πίστεως. (29.d) Ἔως πότε παρὰ πάντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἱ Ῥωμαίων παῖδες εἰκονοκλάσται καὶ αἰρετικοὶ ὀνειδίζονται; Ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυναστείαν τῆς εὐσεβείας σου, καὶ οἰκτείρησον τὸν λαόν σου τὸν διεσκορπισμένον καὶ διεσπαρμένον ὡς ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ. (29.e) Τί τοῦτο τὸ ἔλεεινὸν ὄραμα; Ἀκατάπαυστος ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ ἀντιπάλου διαβόλου κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας εἰκόνας τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἄσπονδος ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ ἀντικειμένου κατὰ τῆς ἀχράντου μορφῆς τῆς Θεομήτορος, ἀκατάλλακτος ἔχθρα ἢ πρὸς
- 20 τοὺς ἁγίους Χριστοῦ. Πόσοι βασιλεῖς ἐπολέμησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, πόσοι τύραννοι κατεδυνάστευσαν; Ἄλλ'εἰ καὶ μικρὸν παρεχωρήθησαν, ἀλλὰ πύλαι ἔδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς.

- (30.a) Πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ γραφικὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἔχοντες γράφειν, οὐ δέον ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς τὴν τῆς
- 25 βασιλικῆς ἀγχινοίας θεοδίδακτον σοφίαν ἐκβιάζειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον λόγον, παρακλητικῶς καὶ εὐμενέστατα ἐκπληροῦμεν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ὑποστολῇ τοῦ λόγου, τῷ μὴ εὐδοκιμεῖσθαι κατακριθῶμεν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων βασιλέων σεσιωπήκα-

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contrary, we have admonished, and pleaded, as with lords, masters, fathers, and brothers, lest we be deprived of God because of our keeping quiet.

(30.b) But to provide further knowledge and ever more trustworthy confirmation of the orthodox faith, just as the most pure and immaculate Christian religion ⟨has held⟩ from the very beginning to this day, with the apostolic tradition ratified by God, in all the Churches, as befits God and gives grace and dignity in the service of the Lord, the harmoniousness of the holy and revered icons shines and strikes the eye in narrative decorations on the walls and tablets and sacred vessels; moreover we kiss with honour and reverence the form of the life-giving Cross and the God-inspired Gospels, and pay our respects and honour to the prototypes believing with Basil the Great, that *the honour paid to the image passes to the prototype*²³⁰. **(30.c)** How much more worthy of worse punishment will be he who rejects or disowns the Lordly figure of Christ, who Himself has sanctified the cross? As a complete apostate and as alien to the Christian name, he will be subject and condemned to eternal damnation.

(30.d) Therefore²³¹ as proof and confirmation of the God-inspired affirmations decreed by us, we have represented at the heading of our confession of the divinely proclaimed and unsullied *Tomos* of orthodoxy, the honoured and revered countenance of both the All-Holy Mother of God, Mary, and of Him, the Word of God, who took flesh from her and became an infant. ⟨This we have done⟩ as ⟨a mark⟩ of pride of our faith, as a crown of beauty and as an imperial sceptre, thus showing to your God-bearing and divinely taught Majesty, the divine and heavenly doctrine of the orthodox faith of the whole eastern diocese, in accordance with the divine saying, *Give an opportunity to a wise man, and he will be wiser; instruct a righteous man and he will accept more instruction*²³².

230. Basil, *De Spir. sancto* 18.45, PG 32, col. 149C; ed. Pruche, p. 406.

231. Cf. *Letter*, 14, p. 78.

232. Prov. 9:9.

(31.a) Obeying the Definition of the God-bearing Fathers, who have pronounced and decreed in accordance with the apostolic traditions and ancient customs of the Churches, thus, believing in the Holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity we kiss the honoured icons. May those who do not think thus be anathema; may those who do not confess thus be expelled far away from the Church. This is the faith of the apostles, this faith has brought light to the Church. **(31.b)** Therefore, those who dare to think differently, or to overturn any of the traditions which have been lawfully handed down to the Church, be it the form of the cross, or pictorial representation, or anything else to be found in the holy Church that had been handed down in accordance with the ancient customs of the Fathers and of the devout and faithful emperors, if they are priests they should be laid under full deposition and anathematized, if they are monks or lay persons let them be subjected to the same anathema and deprived of holy communion. **(31.c)** We decree this at the command and with the authority of the Holy Spirit, and at the express order of the great Archpriest, our Saviour Jesus Christ, *Who has made an ordinance and it shall not pass away*²³³, who has closed the abyss, and sealed it with His awesome and glorious name. Let the whole earth stand in reverence before his countenance, because *He is fearsome and who shall withstand him?* and *It is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God*²³⁴, because *every breath*²³⁵ and creation is contained in his grasp, and *His kingdom (is) the kingdom of eternity, and his dominion will be for every generation*²³⁶. Glory be to the All-Holy Trinity, our God, for ever and ever. Amen.

233. Ps. 148:6.

234. Hebr. 10:13.

235. Ps. 150:6.

236. Ps. 144:13.

- (31.a) Ἐπόμενοι τῷ ὄρω τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων τοιάδε πεφω-
 νηκότων καὶ θεοπισάντων, κατὰ τὰ ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις καὶ
 τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, οὕτως πιστεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν
 καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα, τὰς τιμίας εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμε-
 5 θα. Οἱ μὴ οὕτως φρονοῦντες, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν· οἱ μὴ οὕτως ὁμο-
 λογοῦντες, πόρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιωχθήτωσαν. Αὕτη ἡ πίστις
 τῶν ἀποστόλων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐφώτισε. (31.b) Τοὺς
 οὖν τολμῶντας ἐτέρως φρονεῖν ἢ ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν ἐνθέσμων τῆ
 ἐκκλησία παραδεδομένων, ἢ σταυροῦ ἐκτύπωσιν, ἢ εἰκονικὴν ἀνα-
 10 ζωγράφησιν, ἢ ἄλλοτιοῦν τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδε-
 δομένων κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ
 πιστῶν βασιλέων, εἰ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ, παντάπασι καθαιρέσει ὑποβάλ-
 λεσθαι καὶ ἀναθεματίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες καὶ λαϊκοὶ εἰσὶ, τῷ
 αὐτῷ ἀναθέματι κατακρίνεσθαι καὶ τῆς θείας κοινωνίας ἀφορίζε-
 15 σθαι. (31.c) Ταῦτα ὀρίζομεν τῇ κελεύσει καὶ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος καὶ τῷ ὄρω καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως καὶ
 σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *ὃς ἔθετο πρόσταγμα καὶ οὐ παρε-*
λεύσεται, τοῦ κλείσαντος τὴν ἄδυσον καὶ σφραγισσαμένου αὐτὴν
τῷ φοδερωῖ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. Εὐλαβείσθω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ
 20 *προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι φοδερός ἐστι, καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται αὐτῷ; καὶ*
φοδερόν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζῶντος, ὅτι πᾶσα πνοή καὶ
κτίσις, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ περιείληπται, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, βασι-
λεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ
καὶ γενεᾷ. Δόξα τῇ παναγίᾳ Τριάδι τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
 25 *τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

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INDEX VERBORUM

(The asterisk* indicates verbs and nouns which are not found
in the *Lexica* of Lidell & Scott or Lampe.)

ἀββα(ς) 169.5	83.15, 95.6, 99.15, 99.19, 103.18,
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PLATES

προυμειν καὶ σε ρα φ ἱεροσάμου
 χροίω του - καὶ βρ μορ φηρ μω
 πεγο ὄτος ἰο χρε ακτηρ και ηκ
 βυδο ξε ο τι τι και τι με ω τι τι και
 θωσ γαρ τα ποταμο τῶν πεδύων
 φφουσι τις μασηρ τη τῶν τῶν σου
 τον κηρτα ποταμο γαρ περὶ τοῦ ποτι
 μακκαδρ ξη και αὐτος δε ο κελυ
 ο σερ τῶν ἄλων ἔτι ἐπι τῆ σπυλυ
 τῆ ηκ. τὸ δε μακκαδρ οματις αἰμα
 μορ φησ αὐτοῦ βρ αλωσ ματις τα
 τα αὐτῶ χαρ ακτηρ οτι και αλωσ
 ἰδιώματα ὡσ βρ χαρ μασι γη
 θωσ αὐτοῦ βρ βρ γη α φ ρη και υτ
 ὡσ δε ορ ἱπειν. αλωσ αλω κτηρ
 αλωσ τῶν βρ θεσ χαρ ακτηρ α
 αλω σῆρ. τῶ βρ τῶ σουδαρ
 σαματουρ κηρτα. αὐτωσ ερ
 ἰερετο και τῶ εὐδοκίω του σρ
 ημαρτῶ χυ. αὐ ἰερετο αρωσ
 τῆσ τῶσ και αλωσ και τῶν αρωσ
 σωαρ φτ φη και δα του το σρ
 μασηρ ορ και δεσ κομ ἰορ αρωσ.

6

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

ix	FOR	Belfast - Translations	READ	<i>Belfast - Translations</i>
ix	FOR	<i>BHG</i> ... (Subsidia ... etc.)	READ	<i>BHG</i> ... [Subsidia ... etc.]
ix	FOR	Bury <i>ERE</i> ... -67), London 1912	READ	Bury, <i>ERE</i> ... -67) (London, 1912)
x	FOR	Darrouzès, J., ... (Géographie ... I)	READ	J. Darrouzès, ... [Géographie ... I]
x	FOR	E. Dobschütz ... (Texte - 18)	READ	E. von Dobschütz ... [TU, - 18]
x	FOR	H. Gauer,	READ	H. Gauer ed.,
x	FOR	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine ... Constantine V (CSCO ... 52)</i>	READ	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine ... Constantine V [CSCO ... 52]</i>
x	FOR	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine ... Leo III (CSCO ... 41)</i>	READ	S. Gero, <i>Byzantine ... Leo III [CSCO ... 41]</i>
x	FOR	'Aux origines	READ	J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines
x	FOR	V. Grumel ... (Traité ... I)	READ	V. Grumel ... [Traité ..., I]
xii	ADD	<i>VV Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>		
xiii, n. 2	FOR	<i>Oriente 5</i>	READ	<i>Oriente, 5</i>
xiv, n. 9	AFTER	earlier	ADD	(n. 6)
xviii, n. 6	FOR	n. 5.	READ	n.5;
xxi, n. 61	AFTER	Cunningham	ADD	[<i>BBBT</i> , 1]
xxii, n. 29	FOR	see Walter,	READ	see below Walter,
xxiii, 12	FOR	ράκος	READ	ράκος
xxvii, n. 49	FOR	(Paris ... 1955)	READ	[Paris ... 1955]
xxvii, n. 49	FOR	<i>Corpus - Orientalium</i> , ... (Paris - 1955)	READ	<i>CSCO</i> , ... [Paris - 1955]
xxx, n. 57	FOR	196A: ... ρηματικῶν ... ραδιουργηθῆναι ... ρηματικαί	READ	196A): ... ῥηματικῶν ... ῥαδιουργηθῆναι ... ῥηματικαί
xxxi, 15	FOR	ράκος	READ	ράκος
xxxii, 67	AFTER	Damascene,	ADD	<i>De imag.</i> ,
xl, n. 6	FOR	W.H. Lampe,	READ	G.W.H. Lampe,
xlviii, n. 14	FOR	ed. Demetrakos	READ	ed. D.B. Demetrakos
lviii, n. 43	FOR	769;	READ	col. 769;
lix, n. 53	FOR	Svodoba	READ	Svoboda
lx, n. 58	DEL.	(Paris, 1969 ²)		
lxi, n. 67	FOR	George Hamartolos	READ	<i>Chronicon</i>
lxiii, n. 77	FOR	1200'	READ	1200
lxiii, n. 80	ADD	ed. P. Drandakis		
lxxvii, n. 91	FOR	Winkelman ... Merkmalen	READ	Winkelmann ... Merkmale
lxxvi, n. 131	AFTER	1264;	ADD	Ps.-Damascene,
lxxvi, n. 133	AFTER	1974),	ADD	p. 42,
lxxviii, n. 143	AFTER	Cf. above,	ADD	p. lxxiv,
lxxxix, 11-13	FOR	ἁλλοίωσις	READ	ἁλλοίωσις [cf. Iac. 1:17]
lxxxix, 20	FOR	[Harvard-Studies,	READ	[<i>Harvard-Studies</i> ,
xc, 3	FOR	(lines 1-3,	READ	(lines 1-2,
xcii	FOR	<i>Letter3Patriarchs</i> ... PsD	READ	<i>Letter of 3 Patriarchs</i> ... Ps.-Dam.

xciv, n. 19	FOR	<i>Christusbilder: Untersuchungen - Beilag</i>	READ	<i>Christusbilder,</i>
xcv, 21	FOR	<i>Oriente', 5</i>	READ	<i>Oriente, 5</i>
xcvi	FOR	F. Combefis, ... <i>Constantinopolitinarum</i>	READ	F. Combefis, ... <i>Constantinopolitinarum</i>
24, n. 106	FOR	(Heil	READ	(ed. Heil
28, n. 123	FOR	(Kotter	READ	(ed. Kotter
32, n. 131	FOR	(Heil	READ	(ed. Heil
42, n. 155	FOR	[Athens, 1983]	READ	(Athens, 1983)
58, n. 196, 7	FOR	<i>Thesaurus XIV</i>	READ	<i>Thesaurus XIV</i> (ed. Munitiz)
64, n. 213, 4	FOR	Theodoret ... Cedrenus	READ	Theodoretos ... Cedrenos
70, n. 233, 1	FOR	Theodoret	READ	Theodoretos
72, n. 238	FOR	<i>Vita Nicephori</i> , by Ignatius ... (<i>CFHB 13</i>)	READ	<i>Vita Nicephori</i> by Ignatius ... [<i>CFHB 13</i>]
82, n. 9, 1	FOR	Munitiz,	READ	see Munitiz,
94, n. 50, 1	FOR	Ps.-Damascene, <i>Letter</i>	READ	Ps.-Damascene <i>Letter</i>
100, n. 61, 2	FOR	(<i>Archives de l' Athos V</i> , Paris, 1970)	READ	[<i>Archives de l' Athos</i> , V] (Paris, 1970)
128, n. 145	FOR	(325), see	READ	(325). See
128, n. 148	FOR	(553); see	READ	(553). See
128, n. 151	FOR	(787), see	READ	(787). See
164, n. 89	FOR	In 726.	READ	In 726 A.D.
176, n. 134	FOR	passage, ... monster'	READ	passage, ... monster',
188, n. 168	FOR	Grégoire II' ... Nicephoros' history.	READ	Grégoire II' ... Nicephoros' <i>History</i> .
207	FOR	Gamillscheg ... Halfinger	READ	Gamillscheg ... Harlfinger
210, 1	AFTER	344B	ADD	; see below, John Damascene (Pseudo-)
210	FOR	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Lettres</i>	READ	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Letters</i>
210	FOR	Callisthenes (Pseudo)	READ	Callisthenes (Pseudo-)
210 (bis)	FOR	Constantine Porphyrogenitus,	READ	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos,
211	FOR	Dionysios (Pseudo)	READ	Dionysios (Pseudo-)
211	FOR	Eusebios ... <i>Vita Constantini</i> ... (Berlin 1975)	READ	Eusebios ... <i>Vita Constantini</i> ... (Berlin, 1975)
214	FOR	Cyril the Philcotes, ... ed. Sargologos	READ	Cyril the Philcotes, ... ed. E. Sargologos
215	FOR	Barnes, T.D., 'Angel ... 68)	READ	Barnes, T.D., 'Angel ... 68
216	FOR	Clermont- ... en 614,	READ	Clermont- ... en 614',
218	FOR	Griffith ... 'Eutychius ... Theophilus	READ	Griffith ... 'Eutychius ... Theophilus
218	FOR	Halkin ... Théophile, ... 64	READ	Halkin ... Théophile', ... 64
219	FOR	Mango, C. ... 'The Liquidation 133-40	READ	Mango, C.... 'The Liquidation pp. 133-40
220	FOR	Mango ... ed.	READ	Mango ... ed.,
221	FOR	Runciman, S.	READ	Runciman, S.,
222	FOR	Winkelman ... Merkmalen ... 1990)	READ	Winkelman ... Merkmale ... 1990), pp. 107-127

† Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος, μετὰ μόχθων καὶ πόνων τε κλαυθμῶν καὶ
ὀδυρμῶν, διὰ χειρὸς ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ ζεόντων εἰκονοφίλων,
διατριβόντων καὶ σπονδαζόντων τὰς θείας καὶ ἱερὰς γραφάς,
δι' ἀναψυχὴν τε ἡμετέραν, οὐ μὴν καὶ εὐφροσύνην,
καθ' ἑβδομάδα δὲ ἐπὶ δώρον ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ
συμμελετούντων, ὅτε ποτε Πέμπτας, ὅτε Παρασκευάς,
ἐν περικαλλεῖ νήσῳ Βρετανία, ἐν περιδλέπτῳ
πόλει Λονδίονιον καλουμένη, ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεῖ
καὶ ὁμονύμῳ Πανσπονδαστηρίῳ,
ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἴζϛ',
ἀπὸ δὲ σαρκώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ
Λόγου καὶ λυτρωτοῦ τῶν
ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ,
μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ γ',
ἡμέρᾳ Τετάρτῃ,
ᾠρᾳ ἐνάτῃ,
ἰνδ. ε'.

καὶ οἱ ἀ-
ναγινώ-
σκοντες
εὐχέσθε
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, καὶ
εἴ τι σφαλερὸν εἴη, συγχωρήσαν-
τες διορθώσατε, ὅτι τὸ ἁμαρτά-
νειν πά-
θος ἀν-
θρώπι-
νόν ἐστι.

καὶ εἴ τις πονηρὸς ἢ σκολιώδης, ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄψεως ὀρηθθεῖς,
τολμήσειεν ἄν, δι' ἐγκαύστου ξηρογραφίας ἀνατυποῦσθαι
εἰκονικῶς πᾶν ἐκτύπωμα ἐκ τῆς δέλτου ταύτης,
ἄνευ ἡμετέρας νεύσεως, ἧγον κυρωμένου
καὶ σημανθέντος πιττακίου
τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

αξόδοφε Θωῶλακνωτῆ τσελετννοψῆ
νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων·
ἀμήν.
† † †

