PREFACE

The following pages are the by-product of various visits to the Monasteries of Mount Athos for the study of Biblical and Patristic MSS. It is impossible for any one to visit these districts without becoming interested in the local history. I trust that Byzantine scholars will pardon my invasion of their province.

It is also probably worth noting that the list of *anecdota hagiographica* could be enormously increased by the consistent cataloguing of the lives of Saints in the various libraries other than the Laura; for the extraordinary wealth of Mount Athos in this respect is obscured by the fact that the Cambridge catalogue of Lambros does not as a rule do more than record the month to which a volume of *βλοτ* belongs. It is of course a help to know which MSS. have *βλοτ*, but the really valuable work of cataloguing the contents has still to be done.

The pleasant duty is once more laid on me of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Trustees of the Revision Surplus, the Hort and the Hibbert Funds. This is the seventh book which I have had published, and of these seven five are entirely the result of grants made to me by some or all of these societies; it is unnecessary for me to say more to prove that I have reason to be grateful for their help.

*Kirsopp Lake.*

*Leiden, 1909.*
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INTRODUCTION

The history of Greek monasticism seems, in all the places in which it flourished, to afford examples of a development passing through three more or less clearly defined periods.

There is first of all the hermit period, in which a desolate piece of country is selected by hermits as affording the necessary solitude for an ascetic life. Secondly, there is the period of loose organization of hermits in lauras; that is to say, a collection of hermits' cells, more or less widely scattered, grows up round the common centre provided by the cell of a hermit of remarkable fame, who has attracted, and in some degree become the leader of, the others. Thirdly, there comes a time when the loose organization of the laura is replaced by the stricter rule of a monastery, with definite buildings and fixed regulations, under the control of an ἱγνοὺμενος or abbot. The passage from the previous stage to this was no doubt frequently hastened by the fact that the Byzantine authorities encouraged monasteries, but were not as a rule favourable to lauras.

The present treatise on the early history of Mount Athos is an attempt to collect the few and scattered pieces of evidence which bear on the
INTRODUCTION

first two stages—the hermit and the laura—on Mount Athos, and to show that no exception is afforded to the general rule of development. Although the evidence is scanty, it is sufficient to prove that there were hermits before there were lauras, and lauras before there were monasteries, on the Holy Mountain.

It would therefore have been logical to divide the discussion into the three periods dominated by hermits, lauras, and convents; but in practice it has proved impossible to do this, for the same man often began life in a monastery, and afterwards became successively a hermit, the centre of a laura, and the founder of a monastery. This is especially the case, naturally enough, in the middle period, when the mountain was occupied partly by hermits and partly by monks in lauras, whom force of circumstances compelled to adopt an increasingly more developed form of organization.

In the following pages I have therefore divided the discussion according to the saints and monasteries which play the chief part in the story. The first division is dominated by Peter the Athonite, who was a hermit, and nothing else, in the middle of the ninth century; his life, the text of which I append, has never previously been published. The chief personage in the second division is Euthymius of Thessalonica, who was first a hermit, and afterwards the centre of a laura, on Mt. Athos. The third division is not connected with the name of a monk who lived on Mount Athos, but with that of
Johannes Kolobos, who about 970 founded close to the mountain a monastery which played a considerable part in forcing the Hermits and lauras of Mount Athos to adopt a more definite organization.

The fourth and last division deals with the position of affairs in the tenth century as revealed by various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite, and includes the final decay of the laura system and its replacement by fully organized monasteries, together with the final absorption of the monastery of Kolobou by the monks of the mountain. For the sake of clearness I have as largely as possible kept the discussion free from any very long quotations from original documents, and have collected the evidence afforded by these in a series of pièces justificatives forming appendices to each chapter.
CHAPTER I

PETER THE ATHONITE

In the Acta Sanctorum for June 12 (also in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. 150, col. 989 ff.) is printed what claims to be the life of Peter the Athonite, as told in the fourteenth century by Gregorios Palamas, the famous opponent of Barlaam in the Hesychast controversy. No one, however, has ever tried to find in this document any serious history concerning Peter, and it was impossible to say whether it was the free composition of Gregory, or based on some earlier tradition from which he had selected the miraculous episodes which edified him, while omitting the historical details which would have interested us.

Fortunately for history, in the Laura on Mount Athos and in other libraries there are preserved MSS. of an earlier life of Peter which was written (so at least it claims) by a certain Nicolaus, and was undoubtedly the source used by Gregory Palamas. This has never been published and, though not a document of the first rank, is worth studying.

Research in menologies would probably reveal the existence of a fair number of MSS. At present, however, the only ones with which I am acquainted are as follows:—
PETER THE ATHONITE

(1) In the Laura on Mount Athos, Cod. Δ 79 (saec. XII. 36. 3 x 25. 0 cm. 2 col. 33 ll.), a beautifully written MS. containing the lives of the Saints and encomia for April, May, June, July, and August. This MS. has been used by M. Louis Petit for his edition of the life of Michael Maleinos;¹ he there ascribes the MS. to the thirteenth century, but although it is exceedingly difficult to date these large hagiographical hands, I doubt if it can be put so late. Indeed my own opinion is that it was written early rather than late in the twelfth century. The last page of the life of Peter is unfortunately missing, but the text can be supplied from the other MSS.

(2) Also in the Laura, Cod. E 190 (written at the expense of Simeon, proegoumenos of the Laura, ἐκ τῆς χώρας Καρύστου, and given by him to the library in 1646). This MS. is clearly a copy of Δ 79, and it was obviously not worth while to collate it: but it is valuable as giving the text of the lost page of Δ 79.

(3) In Rome, Cod. Vat. 1190 (ff. 1003–1012), a MS. written in 1542 for 'Georgius episcopus Sitiensis et Hierapetrensis' and given by him to Pope Paul V.

(4) In Paris, Cod. Coislin. Paris 307 (ff. 398–410), a MS. which formerly belonged to the monastery of Castamonitou on Mount Athos and was obtained from

it (it is almost certain) for Ségui er, the Chancellor of Louis XIV, by the famous Père Athanase, whose story is told by M. Henri Omont in his *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient, aux XVII et XVIIIe siècles*.

(5) Also in Paris, Cod. Coislin. 109, a MS. of the tenth century, which Ségui er most probably also acquired from Père Athanase, containing on fol. 249v f. a short extract (in a later hand) from the life of Peter. This is important because the MS. itself came from τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τῆς ἕπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ ὅσιου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου (on f. 266).

No doubt further investigations would reveal more MSS., but the text of Δ 79 is not bad, and it is not probable that the collation of other MSS. would give any results at all proportionate to the labour of collating them.

In editing the text I have kept strictly to my copy of the MS. except in the insertion of iota subscript, and the treatment of enclitic accents. Where my copy attests a probably corrupt reading, and supports it by a *sic*, I have noted the fact with *sic cod.* Where I fear that I have made a mistake in copying, as the reading is apparently wrong, and is nevertheless not supported by a *sic cod.*, I have noted the fact by *sic* without *cod.* Merely orthographical variations I have printed without comment.

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The Story of Peter's Life.

The story told by Nicolaus is a typical example of the methods followed by the Greek hagiographers. All the emphasis is laid on the visions, miracles, contests with demons, and general asceticism of the saint during his life, and on the history and efficacy of his relics after his death. There is often a tendency to describe all this kind of narrative as unhistorical; but it would be truer to say that it narrates certain abnormal psychological experiences and combines them with a 'Weltanschauung' which is entirely foreign to modern ways of thinking. The Acta Sanctorum would, I think, afford magnificent material to any one who would treat the psychology of the later saints in somewhat the same way as that made famous by Prof. W. James in his Varieties of Religious Experience.

At the same time it is certainly true that this side of the narrative has no importance for fixing the historical facts connected with Peter. It is therefore probably expedient to tell over again in a few words the few purely historical parts of the story, as these afford the only foundation for any discussion of the date of Peter, and of the light thrown on the early history of the mountain by his life.

Peter was originally a soldier (a σχολάριος of the fifth σχολή) who was captured by the Arabs in Syria and imprisoned at Samara—a misfortune which he regarded as the direct result of his neglect
to fulfil a vow to become a monk. He entreated St. Nicolaus to help him, and promised that if he obtained his liberty he would go to Rome, and there take monastic vows. After some difficulty, to overcome which the further intercession of St. Simeon was necessary, the help of the Saints proved effectual, and Peter obtained his liberty. In accordance with his vow he went to Rome and was ordained monk by the Pope. After a short stay in Rome he joined a ship bound for the Levant, but when he was close to Mount Athos the ship was miraculously delayed, and he thus recognized that this was the place in which, as St. Nicolaus had told him, he was to pass the remainder of his days as a hermit. On disembarking he found the mountain uninhabited and lived there for fifty years in a cave. Here he was tempted by devils and in danger from wild beasts, but ultimately was victorious over both. Towards the end of his last year he was accidentally discovered by a hunter, to whom he told his story, advising him to follow his example and adopt the ascetic life. His words had so much influence that the hunter promised to return after a farewell visit to his family; but when he came back the following year, bringing with him his brother and some monks, he found that Peter was already dead. But since according to mediaeval ideas the corpse of a saint is worth even more than his living body, the two brothers proceeded to take away the relics in the boat in which they had come. They rowed and
sailed along the east coast of the mountain, but when they were opposite the monastery of Clementos (where the present Iveron\(^1\) stands), their boat stood still in spite of a favourable wind which filled their sail. So long were they stationary that the monks of Clementos put out to them, and made them land with the relics, the story of which they told very reluctantly, as they felt that it was improbable that they would be allowed to keep them. Nor were they mistaken: the relics were received with many honours and placed in the shrine of the Virgin 'where they are accustomed to hold the annual celebrations'. After this the hunter and his brother departed, but the monks who had accompanied them were not prepared to abandon the relics, and after diverting suspicion by professing a desire to join the foundation of Clementos, stole the body of Peter and sailed off at night to their own country. The monk Nicolaus, in whose name the book is written, says that he was an eyewitness of their departure. The monks who had taken the relics successfully escaped to Phocamin in Thrace, but the miraculous power of their burden becoming known, the bishop and clergy of the place forced them to sell it, and the relics remained permanently in that place.

In this story there are three points which arrest attention as likely to supply material for dating the life of Peter. These are (1) the imprisonment at Samara, (2) the pilgrimage to Rome, (3) the monastery of Clementos.

\(^1\) i.e. the Georgian Monastery,—ἡ μονὴ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν.
(1) Samara. This is the city which is officially known in Arabic history as Sarra-man-raa, on the Tigris above Baghdad. It was the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs from 836, when it was rebuilt by Caliph Mu'tasim, to 892, with the exception of the year 865 when the Caliph Musta'in left it for Baghdad, but was pursued by Mu'tazz who then assumed the Caliphate. The reference to Samara therefore fixes the years between 836 and 892 as the most probable for the imprisonment of Peter. Moreover, the fact that the intermittent war between the Greeks and the Arabs blazed up again in 838—just previously there had been a breathing-space—enables us to say 838 instead of 836.

(2) Pilgrimage to Rome. At most times it would be very improbable for a Greek monk to think of going to Rome to receive the tonsure, and it is certainly very improbable that any Greek writer, after the beginning of the tenth century, would have invented such a story. But during the Iconoclast movement it is not at all unlikely that a monk of the Iconoclastic party went to Rome for this purpose. The Iconoclast movement ceased with the death of Theophilus in 842, so that the story of the pilgrimage to Rome is more probable if it were undertaken in consequence of a vow made before 842 than after that year.

Thus this line of argument, combined with the facts connected with Samara, points to the years between

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1 See Le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1900, especially pages 13 and 311.
838 and 842 as the most probable for Peter's imprisonment and vow.

(3) *The Monastery of Clementos.* This gives less help: all that is known is that in the tenth century there was a monastery of Clementos, which was already decaying and was ultimately absorbed by the new foundation of Iveron. Judging from analogy these early monasteries had a period of about a century for their rise, decline, and fall. This argument would of course be quite worthless by itself as a basis of chronological argument. But as we find that the monastery of Clementos was decaying in the year 980, when it was given to Johannes the Georgian by the Emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos,¹ we should not be surprised to find that it was founded about the year 880. Now according to the life of Peter he was fifty years on Mount Athos: it is suggested by the previous argument that he came there about 840: therefore he died about 890. So far as it goes this fits the other data very well, for the suggestion made by the life of Peter is that the monastery of Clementos did not exist when he came to Mount Athos, and was flourishing at his death.

There are no other points in the life which seem to afford chronological evidence, but the date suggested will enable us to make an easy correction of a puzzling statement at the beginning. The narrator says that Methodius of Patara had commended the example of Peter. This is clearly

¹ See p. 102.
absurd, for Methodius of Patarella lived in the fourth century. But if we eject the words 'of Patarella' from the text as a gloss, the passage may be understood as a reference to the Methodius who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 842, in which case there is nothing improbable in the fact that he heard of the escape of Peter and of the fulfillment of his vow.

The result of this investigation is to show that Peter the Athonite is probably an historical person who lived the life of a hermit on Mount Athos in the ninth century. It remains to ask what is the date of the existing narrative. As the MS. which it is found belongs to the twelfth century and Peter himself belonged to the ninth, any date between these extremes is possible. It is equally obvious that the writer wishes to give the impression that he was himself a younger contemporary of Peter, for he claims to have been an eyewitness of the theft of the relics. If one could be certain that the words 'of Patarella' in reference to Methodius are merely a gloss and not due to the writer himself, there would not be much reason for questioning the truth of this implication. But if the confusion between Methodius of Patarella and Methodius of Constantinople be really due to the writer, it is almost inconceivable that he belonged to the ninth century. In this case the tenth century is probably the date of the writing of the Life. It can hardly be much later in face of the reference to the monastery of Clementos, which
ceased to exist after 980. On the whole I think that the latter is the more probable view for two reasons: (1) Mount Athos is referred to as the Holy Mountain, a title for which I know of no evidence before the tenth century; (2) it is suggested, though not clearly stated, that the monastery was dedicated to the Virgin, whereas Clementos was dedicated to the Baptist, though the foundation which absorbed it was really dedicated to the Virgin. These two points are not worth much in themselves, but are perhaps just sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the tenth century. In this case one must assume either that the writer wished to represent Peter as a contemporary of Methodius of Patara in the fourth century, or, which is much more probable, did not know in the least when Methodius of Patara lived and simply mixed up two people of the same name. In either case the statement made above that the words ‘of Patara’ are a gloss must be taken to mean that they are a gloss on the tradition rather than on the text of the life of Peter.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF PETER THE ATHONITE

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν.
Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.

I, 1. Introduction.

Τὸ τοὺς τῶν ἀγίων βίους καὶ τήν αὐτῶν θεοφιλῆ πολιτείαν ἐγγράφωσι ἐκτίθεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πρὸς ὁφέλειαν καὶ ἦλθον ὁμοιών παραδοθόναι, καλὸν καὶ λᾶν ἐπισφέλεις καὶ θέαρεστὸν τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀκούοντιν ὠνήσεις ὑφή ἑπί τινα γίνεται, καὶ τῷ γράφοντι μισθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁφέλειας τῶν ἀκούοντων. ὡς ὁ μω τὸ παρτικὴ πείσθεις ἐντὸλη κελευόντη τὸν τὸν μακαρισματὸν πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου βίον ἀνάγραφτον γενέσθαι, τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθω ὅρει ἀγγελικὸς πολιτεισμένον, καὶ ἀσάρκως, ἵν' ὑπῆς εἰπὼν, βεβίωσοντος, δικαιον ἐκρίνα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενον θαύματος παρὰ τὸν τρισμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικόλαου αἵρεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν τὸν ἄλλον αὐτοῦ διασφάσαι βίον. Τα δὲ τοῦ θαύματος τούτων ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας πατὴρ ἡμῶν Μεθόδιος ὁ Πατάρων ἐπίσκοπος συνεγράψατο "μοναχῷ" φης "τινὲς τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ πάντα θεϊ ἐπιπεριπετευμένων ἀφίππειν, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ στοιχειούμενοι, τοὐτὸ μοι γεγενείσθαι ὑπὸ Νικόλαον τοῦ παμμάκαρος νεωστὶ τοῦ θαύμα διηγόρευσαν. Πέτρος, λέγοντες, ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ μοναχὸς ἀπὸ σχολαρίων γενόμενος· τοιοῦτ' ἄνθρωπον μονάσαι διάβεβαιοντο. Ὦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ σχολῇ καὶ μετὰ στρατηγοῦ διαφόρων ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἀποσταλέστος πρὸς πόλεμον, ἔτυχεν, οία πολλαχιάς φυλῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις γινέσθαι, τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικρατεστέρων ὁφθέντων, τραπέναι μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, ὑγιήθηναι δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν πλείστος, μεθ' ὅν καὶ ὑπὸ οὗτος ὁ Πέτρος αἴχαμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς τὸν ἀρχόμενον Σαμαράν ἀποστέλλεται (κάστρου δὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀραβῶν ὀχυρώτατον τε καὶ
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ΡΑΙΝΕΝ, ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΡΑΔΥΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΜΕΘΕΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΔΗ ΩΣ
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ΜΕΣΙΤΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩΝΗΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΛΛΟΜΑΙ, ΩΣ ἈΡΑ,
ΔΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΗ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΝΕΣΘΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΩΘΕ ΔΕΣΜΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ,
ΟΝΚΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΙΣ ΘΟΡΥΒΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΜΕΝΟ, ΩΘΕΤΗ ΤΗ ΟΙΚΕΙΑ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΥΓΑΤΟΚΙΣΙΟΝ, ἈΛΛ' ΕΠΙ ΡΩΜΗΝ ΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΑΙ,
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΡΥΦΑΙΟΤΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΕΡΙΜΕΝΟΝ, ΟΥΤΩ
ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΣΘΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗ ΤΟΥ
ΚΟΣΜΟΟΥ ΔΕΙΚΤΙΝΕΟ, ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΑΡΕΣΤΕΙΝ ΘΕΟΝ ὍΣΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΗ-
ΔΕΣΜΟΝΙΟΝ." ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑ ΛΕΓΩΝ Ο ΑΝΥΡ,
ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ ΝΗΣΕΙΑΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΔΙΩΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΣΤΕΙΝ, ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΑ
ΗΜΕΡΩΝ Α΢ΙΤΟΤΕΙΣΤΕΣ. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΤΗ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΑΣ ΤΕΛΟΣ
ΟΠΤΑΝΕΣΙΑΙ ΑΥΤΩ Ο ΤΑΧΥΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΝ ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΥΣ,
Ὁ ΘΕΡΜΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΦΗΣΙ ΠΡΟΣ
ΑΥΤΩΝ, "ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΣΤΕΟΙ ΣΟΥ, ΑΦΕΙΚΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ, ΑΚΗΚΟΑ, ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΝΑΓΜΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΙ ΣΟΥ ΗΚΡΟΑΣΜΑΗ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ
ΕΥΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ὙΠΕΡ ΣΟΥ ΕΛΗΠΑΡΗΣΑ.
4. His second prayer to S. Nicolas.

άλλ’ ἐπείπερ ἀυτὸς βραδὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν ἐκπλωρῆσι ¹ καθοστηκας, γνώθι, ἄδελφε, ὡς οὐ βούλεται σε τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνεβηναι, κρείττον ἣ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὴν σωτηρίαν σου προμηθεύμενο. ὃμως ὃ ὀυν ἐπείπερ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐντολὴ τὸ ἀιτεῖται καὶ δοθήσεται, κρούστε καὶ ἀνοιγόται ὡμί, μὴ ἐκκακήσωμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ καθικτεύειν ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅπερ οἴδε συμφέρον, τὸτε πάντως καὶ ῥηκομοίσει εἰς ἡμᾶς.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν αὐτῶν ἐγκλεισάμενος, γεύσασθαι τε τροφῆς προτρέπομενος, ἀν’ αὐτὸυ ἀναγώρησε. τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τότε μὲν μεταλαβόντας τροφῆς, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἁθεῖς ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ἱκεσίαν μετὰ σπείρας ἐπιτείνυντος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος, σκυθρωτῶ τιν βλέμματι, ὡς ἄθεθεν ἑπέρ αὐτὸυ ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακομόμενος, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὑψηλῇ καὶ πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ “ἐγὼ μὲν, ἄδελφε, πίστευσον, οὐκ ἐπαυκάζῃ περὶ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκβιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδα οἷς τις κρίμασιν ἡ ποιὰ ὅμοιομα τὴν ἄπολυτροσιν ὡμί ἀναβάλλει. πλὴν ἐπειδήπερ εἴωθεν ὁ πολυευπλαγχυνὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῶν πραγματεύεσθαι, ένα μὴ ταχέως λαμβάνοντες καταφρονομένοι ραδίος τῆς χάριτος, θέλει δὲ ίσως καὶ παρ’ ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀξιοθνεῖται τῶν εὐανεστησάντων αὐτῷ, εὖ χων σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδείξῳ προσβεβητὴν ἐξιῶταν. λάβωμεν οὖν αὐτὸν συνήγορον ἄμφοτεροι, μόνον ἐπὶ ἄγενθεσί τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ οἶδα ὡς ἐπινευσείς οὐ νῦν ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα.” τοῦ δὲ εἰρήκτος “καὶ τὶς εἶν ἡμᾶς ἂν, ἄνει δέσποτα, ο πλέον σοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἱλασθησόμενο, σοῦ γὰρ ταῖς προσβείαις καὶ ταῖς προστάσιαις ο κόσμος ἀπας περισσῶκειται;” ὑποθάσας αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας ἔρη Νικόλαος “οἶδας Σωμεὼν τὸν δίκαιον, ὡς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν κύριον τεσσαρονθήμερον προσδεξάμενον ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰσεκόμησεν;” “οἶδα,” φησί, “ἀγίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἁγνοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῖς γὰρ ἄγιοις εὐαγγελίοις ἐστιν ἀνάγραπτος.” ὁ δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος Νικόλαος “τούτον,” ἔφη, “ἀμφότεροι εἰς προσβείαν κινήσωμεν, δύναται γὰρ, ὡς τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου δεὶ παριστάμενοι καὶ πάντως τὰ ἀπερατὰ ἡμῖν πέρας αἴσθον ἀπολήγονται.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ῥ ο ἄγιος Νικόλαος

¹ sic cod.
² sic.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

άπηλλάττετο. διψυχής οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ, πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις καὶ νηστείαις δεδωκὼς, ταῖς Νικολάου πρεσβείαις ἐπικαλεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπέλιπε. καὶ θὰ μοι ἐνταῦθα τήν τοῦ ἀγίου συμπαθεῖαν, ποὺ τὸν ἴκτην ἀποθεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐισηγήσεων αὐτοῦ προμηθεύσασθαι τὸ συμπέρασμα, οὐ κατώκησεν εἰς τοῦτο συμπρεσβεύσῃ καὶ Συμεῶν παραλαβεῖν τὸν δικαίωταν μεθ' οὗ παραστάσις τῆς τρίτης ἐπιφορὰς τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν λυσῖν αὐτῶ τῶν λυπηρῶν ἔχαριστο, “θάρσει” ἔφη, “ἀδελφέ Πέτρε, καὶ τῆς ἀθμίας τοῦ πολέ ἀποκεκυκλώσεως, τῷ κοινῷ μεσίτη καὶ συμπρεσβεύσῃ Συμεῶν τὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐπιθάρρησον.”

τούτου δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνατείναντος, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Συμεῶν περισκοπήσαντος, ἐντρόμου δὲ ἑλοῦ γενομένου τῷ δεῖ τῆς ὀράσεως, ὁ δίκαιος αὐτῷ παραστὰς Συμεῶν ράβδον χρυσὴν μεταχειρίσμενος, ἐφούδε τε καὶ κίδαριν καὶ ἐπωμίδαια περιβεβλημένος, τοιούτους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχρήσατο ῥήμασιν, "αὐτός," φησίν, "υπάρχει ο τῷ ἀδελφῷ Νικολάῳ ἔνοχλων, καὶ συνεχῶς δεόμενος ἀνεθηκαί σε τής περιεχούσης σε Θλίψεως, καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα φρονήματι, καὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν τούτων δεσμῶν;’" ὁ δὲ μόλις τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀνοιγόντας "ναὶ," φησί, "ἀγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐγώ εἰμι το ταπεινός, ὁ εγγυητὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σην ἀγιωσύνην μεσίτη καὶ πρεσβεύσῃ προβαλλόμενος." καὶ φυλάττεις; φησίν, "ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπερ αὐτῷ καθωμολόγησας, μοναχὸς γενομένος καὶ ἑναρέτως βιῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παράνοιας διεγειρόμενος;” "ναὶ," φησίν, ὑποφθάσας τὸ ἱκετην ἀντέφησα, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος Συμεῶν ἐπειδήπερ φησίν "ἐμένεις οἰς ὠμολόγησας διαβεβαιοῦσι, ἐξελθὼ ἀκολούθως τῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ βούλει βάδίζε, οὐδενί γαρ σε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ὁδοιποτῶν κωλυτικῶν ἐμποδίσατ' ἡ παρακατασχεῖν δυνητε ντα.” τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τῶν πόδας τόσοι σιδηρῶν καθηλωμένους ὑποδείξαντος, ἐκτείνας τὴν ἐν τῇ χειρί ράβδον ὁ ἀγιος Συμεῶν, τῶν τε σιδηρῶν ἐφανέρως, ὡς τίκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τυμπανος, ὡς τοῦτο διαλύσας παραρκῆμα ἡφάνησεν. εἰτὰ ἐξελθὼν τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ὁ δίκαιος Συμεῶν, καὶ συνακολουθῶν αὐτῷ ο Πέτρος ἀμα Νικολάῳ το θεομάρι, τὴν πορείαν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως εὐρέθη ποιομένους, γνωρίσας δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὡς οὐκ ἐνύπνιο τὸ ὄρομεν (ὁνειρόττεσθαι γάρ 1 sic cod.
αὐτός ἐδόκει τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος, τῷ μεγάλῳ Νικόλαῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπειπών, αὐτός μὲν ἤφαντώθη ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, ἐμείνε δὲ μόνοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κηδεμόνι τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Νικόλαῳ παρομαρτών καὶ προσανακείμενος, ὃς μέγας Νικόλαος τὰ πρὸς στίσμον αὐτῷ ἁρασθαι διεκελεύη, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μηδὲν ἔχειν ὁ διατραφήσεται, ὁ τοῦ κυρίου γνώσιος θεράτων Νικόλαος θαρείν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν διακελευσάμενος, εἰςελθείς εἰς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ κήποις παρεγγυησάτο, κακείθεν ὅσα βουλτοῦν τῶν ὁπωρῶν ἑαυτῷ ἀποκομίσασθαι· οὕτε γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου εἰς διατροφὴν εὐπορήσαντος, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὁ μέγας χειραγωγὸς Νικόλαος ἑως εἰς Ῥωμαίαν ἀβλαβῆς διεκόμισεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Γραμμών ἐπέβη γῆς ὁ ἄνηρ ὁ μὲν ἄγιος εἴθες αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλλαττετο, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰπὼν, "καὶρὸς σοι, ἄδελφε Πέτρε, τὰς συνθήκας ἐκπληρώσατε ταχύτατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰλιν τῷ Σαμαρᾷ ἀποκομίζῃς ὡς δέσμοις." ὃς ἀμα μὲν καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀναβολῆς δεδομεν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγιον θεραπεύειν ἐκμηχανόμενος, οὐδὲ εἰς τῷ οἰκείῳ οἴκῳ ἀπελθὼν, οὔτε μὲν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἡ γνωρίμως ἑαυτῶν φανερώσας, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς στουντίας ἀναχαίτισθη, τάχους ὡς εἰς ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἦταν ἐντολήν αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ τὰς εὑρακειστα ἐξείσοδον, πάντες ἀπὸ τῇ φιλόστοργος καὶ συμπαθής, ἡ ὡς πρὸς τὴν παπάγον ἀρίστος τῷ αὐτῷ προσαναχικότι συμπαραμορτεί, ὡς τῶν συνηκολούθει, προτέρεχε, τῷ ἐμπροσθεν προσμαλζεῖ, τὰ ὀστίεστε ἐπέρρωνε, κατευθοῦν ἐν ἁπάσῃ, καὶ ὅμως ἁπέστη τοῦτο ἐως ἃν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ προσήξετε ἐπεχείρησαν. ἀρτι γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγγίζοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τῶν τόπων ἀγωτοῦ, ἀγωομένου δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ τηναίτα τῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησίας προ- εδρεύοντι ὁ μέγας αὐτῶν κατάδηλον καὶ ἐμφανῆ παριστάσει Νικόλαος, νίκτωρ τῷ Πάπα ἐπιστάτας, τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ κείρας κρατῶν, αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὑπεδείκνυε, ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ ἀνεφεύρησε, καὶ ὅπως εὐχήν ἔχειν εἰς τῷ τοῦ κορυ- φαίων τῶν ἀπουσίων ἀποκείμενης σηκῳ καθέξις προσδι- γούμενος, γνωρίσας αὐτῷ ἀμα καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα,
Πέτρον αὐτὸν προσαγαρεύεσθαι εἶπόν, σπεύδειν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ Πάπα υποθέμενος, ὡς ἂν τάχιον τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς περατῆσει. δισπυραθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πάπας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κορυφαίου τέμενος ἀπιόν, ἢν γὰρ κυριακῆ τῶν ἡμερῶν, πάντας περιέχοντας καὶ τῶν προσπαθήσων κατενεῖ τὰ πρόσωπα, εἰ ἂν τῶν δειχθέντα αὐτῷ καθ’ ὑπνοὺς ἀναγνωρίζει καὶ θέασται. καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος προσανασχηκός τοῦ λαοῦ ὁρὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν μέσον τῶν ἄλλων ἱστάμενον νεῦμας δὲ ἀπαξ καὶ δῖα τοῦτον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὡς εἰδε μὴ ὑπακολοῦντα, εἷς ὄνοματος αὐτὸν ἐπιβοῶν ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Πέτρας λέγων ὁ ἀπὸ Γαυκίας ἐκλειον, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰ δὴ ὁ μέγας Νικόλαος ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπελυτρώσατο; τοῦ δὲ ἐμπόντος εἶναι ὁμολογήσαντος, καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θαμβηθέντος τοῦ ἀκόουσαν, ὁ Πάπας αὐτῷ ἀπεκρινάτο μὴν ὡς θαμαμάσης, ἀδελφε Πέτρας, λέγων, ὅτι εἷς ὄνοματός ἐν ἐκάλεσα, ὦν οὐδέποτε τεθείμα τοῦ γὰρ πολὺ καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος νύκτωρ μοι ἐπιστάσα ἀπαντα τὰ κατὰ εὐεργεσίας, καὶ ὡς ἤκεις ἀποθριξόμενος καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποτηληρώσων. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πάπας καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποκείμενος, θεῶ τοῦτον, ὡς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, καθιέρωσε. καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον οὐκ ὅλιγον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντως ἄνθρωπος, κατηχηθεῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ὕφελεαν συντελεύτα, ἀνεχόρησαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ρώμης, εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ μακαριστάτου Πάπα "πορεῖν, τέκνον, ὁ κύριος ἑσται μετὰ σοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς εὑρίσκει τὴν ὀδόν σου, στριψίδων πρὸς πᾶν ἐργον ἀγαθόν, καὶ διάφυλαττων στὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδίων." πεσὼν οὖν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος εἰς τοὺς πόδες τοῦ Παπά λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν "σῶζον, τίμιε πάτερ, σῶζον, μαθητή τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὑπίκεον τῷ ἐγγυνητῷ καὶ ἑστίτου μου τοῦ ἀγίου Νικόλαον," καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν τὸν τε κλῆρον ἀπαντᾷ ἐξῆλθε τῇ πόλεως, ἀπεκεφαλήσας τῆς ἀγαθῆς μη ἐνδούναι προθέσεως, εὐφρῶν δὲ πλοῦτον εἰσήλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνέμος ἐπτύπθεις, καὶ πλεύσαστες ἡμέρας ἐφ’ ἱκανός κατηχηθήσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ τὴν ναῦν προσορμισάντες ἐξῆλθον οἱ ναυτικοὶ τοῦ ὄπτησαν ἄρτους. ἀπελθόντες οὖν ἐν τινι ὄκικις εὐρον πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶς ἐχοντας, ὀπτήσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ καθίσαντες πρὸς ἐστίασιν

3. Peter in Rome, in his interview with the Pope.

III, 1. His departure from Rome.

2. His voyage and miracle of healing.
λέγουσιν εἰς αὐτῶν, "λαβὼν ἄρτον ἅγιον ἀποκόμισον τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ ἁββά ήμῶν." ὥς οὖν ἤκουσεν ὁ τοῦ οἴκου κύριος περὶ τοῦ ἁββά, λέγει τοῖς ναύταις "κύριοί μου, ἐλθέτω ὁ πατήρ, καὶ εὐλογησάτω ἐμὲ σὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν μου, ὅτι ἦδη τῷ θανάτῳ προσεγγιζομεν τῇ χιλεπτῇ ταύτῃ, ὡς ὀράτε, ἀρρωστία περιπεσόντες." τούτων ακοῖς παντες ἐκεῖνοι ἀπελθοῦντες ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ ἁββά. τῇ ἀκραν δὲ ταπείνωσιν περικείμενος καὶ μὴ θέλον εὐανὰς εἰμφανίσαι, πορεύθηναι σὺν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔβολετο. μαθών δὲ ὅτι εἰς αὐτᾶς κατίνισαν τοῦ θανάτου τύλας, καθηφείων ἁμα καὶ σκυθρωπάξων μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔνθισε τὴν θάνατον. ὥς δὲ τῇ θυρᾳ τοῦ οἴκου προσηγιζον, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ "χαίρε" τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ φθεγξαμένου, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρήμα, ὡσπερ ἐκ βαρυτάτου κάρου εἰς εὐανὰς γενόμενος, ἀνέθεορ τῆς κλίνης ὁ ἀσθενῶν, καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ τούτους μετὰ δικρώμα περιπετευσόμενος, ἀνέστη ἐρρωκόμενος καὶ νησίης, παραδόξου τυχών τῆς ίασεως. ἐπιλαβέμενος δὲ τῆς τοῦ οἴκου χερῶς, διέδραμε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἁσθενοῦντων κλίνιδα, καὶ ποιοῦντος τοῦ ἀσθενῶν τοῦ οἴκου εἰς Χριστὸν σφραγίδα, εὐθέως ἵωτο δι’ τῇ νόσῳ κατησχυμένου. Ιασάμενος οὖν πάντας τοὺς εἰς τῷ οἴκῳ ἀρρώστους αὐθεὶς ὑπέστρεψε ἐκ τὸ πλοῖον, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ πάντα τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν γενόμενα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ οἱ ναύται, καὶ δεδωκότες δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, πεσόντες ἃμα προσεκύνησαν αὐτῶ. ὁ οὖν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὁ τῆς ιάσεως τυχών πανοκεί, λαβὼν ἄρτον καὶ ὅλων καὶ ἔλαιον, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ διαβαστάζων αὐτὰ· ὁ δὲ μέγας πατήρ ἡμῶν Πέτρος τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ προαινεῖν ἀπεδέξατο, λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὰ ὑπαρεδέχετο. καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἃμα τὸς συνελθοῦσιν αὐτῶ ἔλαιον ἐμι πικρῶς, λέγειν "δοῦλε γνησίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰ μὴ μικρὰν ταύτην εὐλογίαν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν λήψῃ, ὧδε αὐτῷ παλινοστούμεν εἰς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἡμῶν." μολις δὲ πεισθεῖς ὁ πατήρ, τῶν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον πάντων δυσφησάμενων πρὸς τοῦτο, λαβεῖν αὐτὰ καταδέξατο καὶ χαίροντες ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν εὐχαριστούντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ τούτων θεράπωτο. τούτων οὖν γενόμενων, καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ δοξάσατος εἰς πᾶσι τῶν ἱδίων οἰκετῆς, τῶν ἕκεισι ἐπάραντες οἱ ναυτικοὶ τῆς ἔπει τῷ πρόσω πορείας εἴχοντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τροφὴ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρός.


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ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ἀπ’ ἐσπέρας εἰς ἐσπέραν, οὐγκία ἀρτοῦ ἢ δὲ πόσις ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλασσίου υδάτος ἐνὸς μικροῦ βαυκαλίου.
καὶ διαπλέουσαν ἡμέρας ικανάς, καὶ ἐν τινὶ ἡσύχῳ τόπῳ προσομοβέντες, μικρὸς μετασχόν ἅπτερος Πέτρος ὀρᾷ τὸν πανάχραντον θεοτόκον μετὰ τίνος ὑπερβαλλούσης ἁγίλης φανείαν, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Νικόλαον αἰῶνα καὶ φόβοι καὶ συντόλη πλησιάζοντα, καὶ ἱκτικὸς λέγοντα αὕτη “δεσποινή τοῦ παντός καὶ κυρία, ἐτείπερ τὸν δύσιον σου τοῦτον τῆς χαλεπῆς ζεύγης αἰχμαλωσίας ἐλευθερῶσαι ἡδέλησας, δυσοπτῇ ὑποδείξαι τούτω καὶ τόπων, ἐν ὧν τὸν ὑπόλοιπον τῆς τιθας αὐτοῦ διατελέσει χρόνων, τὰ φίλα θεῷ διαπράττην.” καὶ στραφεῖσα φησὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡ θεοτόκος ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀθω ὥρει ἐστιν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτῶν, ὅπερ εἰς κλήρον ἐμῶν ἀιτησαμένη ἐλήφα παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νεότητος, ἐπὶ τῶν συνοικικῶν, ὕστεροι ἄναγκεροι συνεικόπυρτης, καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν ὑστεροί, ὑστεροὶ, ἀντικεῖον καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἀληθεία καὶ πίστει καὶ διαδέχεται ψυχῆς ἐπικαλοῦμενοι ὀνόμα, τὴν τῇ παρούσῃ ἤμερῃ ἀμερίμνων διανόησι, καὶ τὴν μελλούσαν διʼ ἐργὸν θεορείς κηδονομοῦσα. τάνω γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς ἔχου τοῦτον, καὶ λιαν μοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπευφραίνεται, καὶ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἐστιν ποτὲ ὅτε πληθυσθεὶσε τοῦ τάγματος τῶν μοναχῶν ἀπ’ ἄριστον ἔως ἀριστον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ νεότητος καὶ θεοῦ, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν σωτηρίων ἐντολῶν ἀντέχοντα, εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα αἰώνα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς διακεδασθήσεται, καὶ πλατυνὸ αὐτῶς ἐπὶ νότον καὶ βορρᾶν τοῦ εἰρημένου ὅρους, καὶ κατακυρεύοντον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐως θαλάσσης, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐν πάγη τῇ ψηλῷ περιβόττον θέσῳ, καὶ τῶν διακρατεύοντον ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπερασπίζω.” ἀλλ’ ὅρα μοι πᾶς ὁ παραγγελχοῖν τάδε τῷ διηγηματί δεσποτόν μὲν ἄραις φιλονυξίας, δοῦλον δὲ, συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς ὀμόδουλον, καὶ δεσποτείς πρὸς οἰκέτην κηδεμονίαν καὶ προστασίαν ἐνοσίς δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀστῶν Πέτρου ἀκραίφυστήν πτῶσιν, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δυσχερὰ κατεμαύσατε, καὶ τὴν εὐχήν ἤν ἦν ἤδη εἰς τῷ κύριῳ ἀποδοθῆναι πεπόθηκε, διυπνισθεὶς οὐν ὁ μακάριος ἀκμαῖον ἔτι τὴν ὄπτασιὸν ἔχων ἥχαριστησε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῇ πανάγω τοῦτον μητρὶ, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ Νικόλαῳ ὑνʼ ὡρα ὅσει τρίτη, καὶ πνεύματος εἰπήροον

1 sic cod. 2 sic cod.
PETER THE ATHONITE

4. His arri- 

val at Mount Athos.

τυχόντες ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες: ἐγγυσάντων δὲ ἥδη τῷ Ἀθω ὄρους ἀκροτηρίῳ, αὐθίνης ἔστη τὸ πλοῖον, τὸν ἄνεμον ἐπέπεσεν καὶ τὰ ἱάστα πληροῦντο, καὶ διηπόρουν οἱ ναυτικοί, πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες "τι ἁρά ἐστι τὸ σημείον τούτο, καὶ τὰς παραδόξους αὐτή καινοτομία, ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ χάσματι πελάγους, ἀνέμον ἐπιτηδείου ὄντος, τὸ σκάφος ἔστη παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πορείας;" ταῦτα ἀπορούντων αὐτῶν μέγα στενῶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς ὁ ἄγιος "τεκνία θέλοντας μαθεῖν με καὶ ἐρωτώντα, εἰπάτε μοι, ἵσως γὰρ τῆς διαπορήσεως ὑμῶν ἐπιλύσῃ ἐσομαι, τῆς κληρίσος τοῦ τόπου τοῦτον;" οἱ δὲ εἶπον "τὸ ἄγιον ἔστιν ὄρος, τίμη πάτερ, ὅπερ ἁργῆθην τὴν τοῦ Ἀθω εἰλήφθε προσηγορίαν." καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς "πάχα δὲ ἐμὲ τὸ σημείον τοῦτο γέγονε σήμερον, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐξενεγκαίνετε ἐάσητε με, περαιτέρω προβήναι οὐ δυνάσθεν;" οἱ δὲ διάκρισι συνεχότες, ταῦτα ἱστία χαλάσαντες τῇ γῇ προσήγγισαν, καὶ τοῦτον μετ' ὅνυμων καὶ θρόνων εκβάλλουντες εἰσαν ἐκείστε, λέγοντες αὐτῷ ὅτι "μεγάλης σκέπης καὶ βοηθείας ἱστερήθησαν σήμερον, σοῦ διαιρεθέντος ἡμῶν." καὶ ὁ ἄγιος πρὸς αὐτοὺς "τι ποῦτος ὀλοκλήρετε, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατασκοράσετε, τέκνα, δι' ἐμὲ τὸν πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀνάπλεον; ὁ θεός ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρών, αὐτὸς καὶ ὑμῖν συνοδεύσει, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθοπρόνηση τηρήσει, καμῖος χείρα βοηθείας ὑπέχει ἀπαρχῆς ποιομένον πολιτείας θεοφιλόν." οὕτως εἶπον, καὶ τὸν ἐν κυρίῳ διδωκοὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπαστά κατάπλετε ἐπελάβετο τῆς νῆς, καὶ τῷ τιμῆσθε σταυρῷ σφαγήσας, καὶ ἑπειτίκος "πορεύεσθε ἀδελφοί ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὁ κυρίος εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν," ἐξεπεμψεν εἰς τὰ ἱδία. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπολίας ἐκείνης τὸ ἀνωθερές τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ὑστεροτον ἱρώτα τολλῷ διελθὼν καὶ κᾶτω, πρὸς τὶ πεδίων ἐγένετο ὄμολον καὶ ἐπάρθερον, καὶ μικρὸν τῶν πόνων ἀνέβης, πάλιν ἠμαζτο διερχόμενος περισκόπειν τὸν τόπον ἐν ὁ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ ἐσταί. πολλοῖς δὲ χειραμοὶ καὶ νάπας καὶ γηλόφοις διελθὼν εὑρέ σπῆλαι τίς μὲν σκοτεινὸν, ὡς δὲ βαθεία περιστροφισμένον, ἐν ὁ τοσοῦτον ἐρπτέτων ἐσόμος ὡς, ὑπερβαίνειν οὐρανίων αστέρων πλήθος, καὶ χαλατίαν ἄμοιν, μεθ' ὄν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐνεφύλαξαν πλῆθη, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἔγερνε σμῆνος πειρασμῶν τῷ ἅγιῳ ὡς μήτε γλώσσαν
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χερεσὶν ἄφηγεσθαι, μήτε ἄκοι παραδέχεσθαι. τινὰ γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὀλής ἐκείνης διατειρῶν ἄ τὴν θεόδημον ἔσκεπτον τοῦ σπηλαίου θύραν, κατοίκησεν εἰς αὐτὸ εὐχαριστίων τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς θερίως ἀναπέμπων. οὕτω δὲ τὸν δεύτερον τῆς εἴδομάδος τοῦ ἀγίου καιρὸν διανύσαντος, τὸ καρτερικότατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τολμηρὸν μὴ φέρων ὁ ἦλε τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπίβασκαινων. Σατάν, ἄρας τὴν πανοπλιάν αὐτὸν μετὰ βελῶν καὶ τόξων, εἰσείλε μόνον ἐν τῷ εἴκειν τῷ σπῆλαιο, ἐνθά ὁ μακάριος τὸν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἀδήλης ὄψεις διήνεν ἀγώνα, οὗ δὲ ἄλλῳ λίθους παμμεγέθεσι, ὥσπερ κύλιντες ἔξωθεν, μετὰ φονῶν καὶ κραυγῶν ἐπεμπτον καὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ταῦτα ὅρωντα τὸν ἀγίον λέγειν θί: "πάντως πέφθακεν μοι τὸ πέρας καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς ζωσίν ἀριθμήθησομαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν προστάτης τούτων ἐνδῶν ἐν τῷ σπῆλαιο, η ἦ ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ πανοπλίᾳ τὰ τοξά κατέχοντες ἐδόκουν πέμπειν κατὰ τοῦ ὠσιῶν φονών· ὡς δὲ τῇ ἀνώθων χάριτι σέντερείτο, λέγει ἐν ἐαυτῷ "ἐξελύσωμαι τοῦ σπῆλαιο καὶ γνώσομαι τίς ἡ τοσαύτη μανία, καὶ τί τῶν συνελεγμένων τὸ σύνταγμα." καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἴδε τὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα κύκλω τοῦ σπῆλαιου ἐστώτα, καὶ κραυγὰς ἀφορίστοι καὶ φοβερὰς οὐφεσίν οἰκεύον κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιώντα, καὶ τῷ ὁμοία πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατεῖν τὴν Θεοτόκον ἑπεκάλεστο πρὸς συμμαχίαν, εἰρήκων ὅντος "ἐλάθα Θεοτόκε, βοηθεῖ τῷ δούλῳ σου." καὶ ἂν μα τὸ ἀκούσας τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ γλυκῷ καὶ πεπόθητον ημὶ τῆς θεοτόκου ὄνομα, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα γεγάνασιν ἀφαντο. εἰχετο οὖν πάλιν τῶν ἀγώνων ὁ ἄγιος ἐαυτὸν ἐκδηδοκόν τῷ σπῆλαιο, καὶ προσευχόμενος ἔλεγε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἵσχυρὰς "κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεός μου, μὴ ἐγκαταλείπῃς με," καὶ οὐκέτι ἥκοντο μέχρι καιροῦ τινος. μετὰ ταῦτα πεντήκοντα παρελθοῦσαν ἡμερῶν, πάλιν τῷ προτέρῳ χρησάμενοι σχῆματι οἱ ταλάσσωρι ὑπάλλελονται κατ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κινοῦσι πάντων ἐπηρετῶν ὑοβόλου καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐγχώσον ἐν τῷ σπῆλαιο. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνθεν κακείθεν τρέχειν ἐποίουν οἱ ἀληθήριοι, τὰ δὲ χάσσασι χράδας καὶ ζωντα πειράζασι καταπείνον τῶν ὄκειον, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐρπεῖν καὶ συνίετε καὶ βλοσύρον ὃραμ λαρεσκέαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τούτους τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ
Peter the Athonite

ἐκνευρισμένους τῶν σημείων τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ ὁνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀχράντως μυθεΐσθαι πάντας ἐφυγάθευσε. χρόνου οὖν πληρωθέντος ἐνός, καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἁσκούστος τοῦ μεγαλού πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου, καὶ ὅση ὄντως αὐτῷ καθαιροῦντος τὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὕψωματα καὶ τεχνάσματα, δεινὸν ποιεῖται ὁ ἀλάστορ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡρμήνευ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. καὶ ὅρα οἶα αὐτῷ μεμηχάνεται μετασχηματισθεὶς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων εἰς ἑνά τῶν οἰκειακῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ ὑρομαίος ἐρχεται πρὸς τὸ στήλαιον, καὶ ἀναιδός περιπυκαίμονος, αὐτὸν φιλεῖ ὑποκρίνομενος ὁ τοῦ μίσους ἀνάπλεος, καθάσας ὅρεστο κλαίει καὶ λέγειν οὐτώς: "ἀκηκόαμεν, κύριε ἡμών, πῶς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Σαμαράντα ἀπενέχθεις, καὶ τῇ κακῇ καὶ ὄμοτή ἐκείνη εἰρκτῇ παρεδόθης, πῶς ἐὰν οὗ θεὸς εὐχαίρῃ τῷ παμμάκαρο πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικόλαου τὸν φρουρίου ἐκεῖνου ὑπαπάλυτος ἐκβαλὼν τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων γῇ σε ἀποκατεστήσεσθε, διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁικῷ σου, ἀμα ἐμοὶ τῷ μάλιστα περικαιμιένῳ τὴν καρδίαν, σῆς θέας καὶ ὁμολίας ἐνεκεν πενθοῦσιν ἀπαργηγάριτα πολλάς δὲ πόλεις καὶ κόμις ὃτι πλείστας διαδραμόντες οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν τῆς ἑφέσεως ὑποτυχεῖν, καὶ τὸ ποθοῦμεν ἡμῖν κατίδειν πρόσωπων, ἀπορία δὲ συνεχεῖται, δάκρυσι καὶ δέχοντες τὸν μέγαν ἐπικαλούμεθα Νικόλαου, ἐκλειπαρωίτες, δὲ γλυκύτατε, ἀποκαλύπτει ἡμῖν, ὅπουλε ἡν ἢς, τὸν κεκρυμμένον σε θησαυρόν καὶ οὐ παρεῖδεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνάξιον ἐν πάσι τῃρός, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκάλυψε τάχιστα, τὰ κατά σε φανερώσας. γὰρ οὖν, κύριε μου, ἄκουσόν μου, καὶ προεθυμέων εἴς τὸν οἴκον ἡμῶν (οἴδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς χρώας καὶ περικαλλής ἐστι) καὶ ἰδοὺ πάντες τὸ αὐτοῖς σε ποθοῦμεν πρόσωπων, καὶ δοξατῆ θεός εἰς ἀμφότερος ὃ ἀεὶ δοξάζομενος. περὶ δὲ ἰσχυρίας μὴ ἔστω σοι φροντίς, κάκει γὰρ καὶ μοναστηρία εἰς τάμπολλα καὶ ἰσχυστήρια, ἐν οἷς τῶν ἀπαντά σοι βίον ἰσχυστικὸς διανύουσες. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸς τῆς ἀληθείας λέγει μοι, τὶ τῶν δύο μάλιστα θεός θεραπεύει; ἀναχωρήσει κόσμω καὶ ἔρημα καὶ θυμία, τῇ τε τῶν ἀπορρωγίων πετρών καὶ φαράγγων τούτων διατριβῆ, ἐν οἷς σαυτῶν μόνον, τάχα δ’ οὐδὲ ἐαυτὸν ἦκεστα ὑφελησίεις, ἡ ἀνθρώπων διδασκαλία καὶ ὀνομα καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστροφῆ ἐκ τῆς πλάνης; ἐγὼ γαί ἐστιν
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μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἐκ πλάνης οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιστροφὴ πολλῶν ἔρημικών ὑπερακούσει ἁγίωνας, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μοι τῷ λόγῳ ὁ λέγων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ εἰς ἀναξίων ός στόμα μου ἔσται,

πολλά δε πλήθη εἰς τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν εἰσιν αἰὲν ἐν μυρίοις πάθεσι πλανώμενα, καὶ χρηστοὶ εἰκότως τοῦ μετὰ θεῶν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσοντοι. μυρίοις οὖν ἀποκεισταὶ σοὶ μισθός, εἰ
gε τοὺς πλανωμένους ἑλθὼν ἐπιστρέψειν πρὸς θεῶν. λοιπὸν οὖν τί μέλλεις; τί τῆς μετὰ τοῦ ὀλοκληρίου φιλούντος σε οἰκέτου ἁναξίων ὀδῶν; ταῦτα τοῦ δαίμονος λέγοντος καὶ ἄλλα τίνα μετὰ δακρύων, ἤδεικτο διαταραχτέσθαι καὶ ὁ ἁγίος, καὶ δάκρυσι βρέχων τὸ πρόσωπόν φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἁγγελοσ οὐκ ἁμαρτωλός ἔφερε με, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἡ πανάχραντος αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἡ Θεότοκος, καὶ εἰ μή τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμη καὶ προτροπῆ τῶν ὁδὸς χωρισθῶ, ἀλλ' οὐ χωρίζομαι." ἀμα δε τὸ ἀκούσα τὸν δαίμονα τῷ τῆς θεοτόκου ὀνόμα εὐθείας ἁμαρτος γέγονε, καὶ βαθμάσας ὁ

ένιος τὴν σκαλωρίαν τοῦ δαίμονος, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα πεποιηκὼς, πάλιν ἴσχυσε. ἑρήμεια δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ ἐγκρατεία πολλῇ, καὶ προσευχαῖς ἀνευδότοις σχολάζων, εἰς ἄκρον ἐφθασε ταπεινώτερος καὶ μέτρον ἀγάπης εἰκονίων καὶ νοῦς καθαρότητα. διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἡδομόνει καὶ ἐσπευδᾷν

ὁ παμπόνυρος τῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ χαλάσει, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ῥοπής ἀναστέιλαί, καὶ μετὰ παραδρομήν χρόνων ἐπὶ εἰς ἁγγελοσ φωτός μετασχηματισθεῖς, ἐσπαμένην ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ῥομφαλάν, ἐστὶ πλήσῳ τῆς τοῦ στηλαίου ὅπης, καὶ καλέσας αὐτόν εἰς ὄνοματος ἐφθη "Πέτρε, θέσατον Χριστοῦ, ἔστηθεν καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι λόγος καλὸς." καὶ

λέγει ὁ ἁγίος "οὐ τῆς τις εἰς τὸν λόγον μοι ἀναγγείλαι ὑπερχύριον "οὐφέλμους," καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς "ἐγὼ εἰμὶ κυρίον ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σε. ἵσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζω καὶ χαίρω καὶ ἀγαλλία, ὅτι θρόνος θείος ἱτοίμασται καὶ στέφανος ἀμαραντινος. γὰρ οὖν τὸν τόπον τούτου καταλαβὼν πορεύθη εἰς τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς στήριγμα καὶ ὑφέλειαν πολλῶν κύριος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῆς τῆς μητέρας ἐξήρανε τοῦ ὑδατός τῆς πλησίον σου, διὰ τάς τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἑρπτέων ἐπιδρομάς τὰς κατὰ σοῦ γυνιμένας, ὅπως ἀποσυνέστων ὑδατός μη μετέχοντα." ην δε ὁ πάνσωφος εἰς κακία οὕτως προ-

aposteiλας δαίμονα καλύνοντα καὶ διακατέχοντα τὴν τοῦ

5. Fourth attempt of the devils.
PETER THE ATHONITE

6. The vision of the Theotokos and the gift of manna.

7. The last thirty years of his life.
οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ τροφή πλὴν τοῦ μάνα, οὐκ ἐνδυμα, οὐ σκέπη, ὁ παλαιὸς ὁ τῶν ὠρανίων ἕχων στέγην, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀγαπώμενον κλινών, οὕτως ἐπανεπανέστη ὁ μακάριος· ἐν καίματι μὲν καιμένεν, ἐν ἀνέμῳ δὲ καὶ χιόνι ψυχόμενοι, καὶ ταύτα πάντα ὑπέμεινεν ὑπέρ ἄνθρωπων διὰ τὴν μελλοῦσαν μισθοτητίνα. Ὁτε οὖν ἦθελεν ὁ Κύριος φανερώσαι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, ἀκούοντα τοῦ τρόπου γενέσθαι παρασκεύασε. Θηρεύτης τοῖς τὸν τόξον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν λαβὼν ἐξῆλθε θηρεύσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁρός, πολλὰς δὲ λόγιας φάραγχει βαθείας ἐναποκρήμνους καὶ τὰς ὑλόδεις ῥαχίας τοῦ ὄρους παραμεικόμενος, ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἔνθα ὁ ἄγος τῆς ἀγαλμάτικης ἡπαζέτου πολεμεῖαν, καὶ τὸν ὄρανον ἢ ἐμπορευόμενον πλούτων. Καὶ ἰδοὺ παμμεγέθης ἐλαφὸς τοῦ πλησιάζοντος τῷ σπηλαίῳ ὀρμοῦ ἐξελθὼν σκύθην ποὺ ἦλετο ἐνόπιον τοῦ θηρευτοῦ ἴδων δὲ ἐκείνος ὑπερμεγέθη τε ὑντα καὶ σφόδρα ὀραίου, τάλλα πάντα καταλιπτών ἠκολούθε τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡσπερ δὲ ἐκ προνοίας τὸν ὁ ἐλαφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἐδὼν ἐστὶν ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου, κατίχνους δὲ βαίνοντος τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, καὶ περισκοποῦντος ποιώ τρόπω περιγένεται τοῦ ζώου, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι αἰτείμαντας ἀνὴρ βαθὺς μὲν τὴν ὑπήν, καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας μεῖροι τῆς μήτρας καθιερέσας ἔχουν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σώμα ἀπαν γεγυμνωμένον καὶ παντὸς ἐστιερμένον ἐνδύματος ὅν ἴδων καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ὀραμάτος ἐκπληκτός γεγονός, ἐδείκτε σφόδρα καὶ τῷ θύραμα καταλιπτῶν ὀπισθόσχημως εἶν, καὶ φεύγειν ὅση διάνοια ἤκειτο. ἐωρακος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ μακάριος φυγὴς χρησάμενος φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· ὁ τοῖς τρίτης, τῷ τριάττῃ; τί με φεύγεις, ἄδειφε; καίγω ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, ὦς καὶ σὺ, καὶ οὐ φάσμα δαιμόνιον ὡς ὑπελαβες, δεῦρο πρὸς με, καὶ ἐγγυγη, καὶ ἀναγγέλω σοι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέστειλε σε ὁ κύριος· ἐμφύσοι δὲ τοῦ ἄνδρος ὑποστρέψαντος καὶ θάμβους πλήρους, ἀσπασάμενος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ θαρρεῖν προτρεπόμενος, καθ' εἰρμοῦ καὶ τἄξιν καὶ ἀκολουθιαν πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἀνηγγειλε τῷ ἄνδρι· τῆς τε καθερέξιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τῷ Σαμαρά, καὶ τῆς ἀνάρρυσιν τῆς διά του μεγάλου πατρὸς Νικολαίου.

V, 1.

His discovery by a hunter.
2. The effect on the hunter.

3. The discovery of the relics of Peter by the hunter.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

GREEK TEXT

έντολής τού ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς μετὰ
dιακρίνων τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, ἐκλαυσάν καὶ αὐτοὶ πικρῶς στερηθέντες
tῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμιλίας καὶ εὐχῆς. ὁ ὄνομ τοῦ θηρευτοῦ Ἀδελφὸς
πνεύματι κατεῖχετο ἀκαθάρτω, καὶ ἀμα τὸ προσεγγίσα
cαὶ ἄφασθαι τοῦ λειψάνου ἵνα ιδεῖν φοβερῶτατον θέαμα:
σπαραγμοὶ γὰρ συνεχεῖ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατεσπάραττον,
οὐ τε ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑφαίμοι εἰγένονται καὶ διάστροφοι,
tὸ δὲ στόμα πλήρες ἄφροῦ, καὶ τρίζων τοὺς ὀδόντας ἕβα
λέγων “ὁ Πέτρε, οὐκ ἂρκει σοι τῶν πεντήκοντα τριῶν
χρόνων ὁ διωγμὸς ὥς ἐποίησας εἰς ἔμε, ἔξεστας με τοῦ
σπηλαίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ βούλει με καὶ ταύτης ἐκδίωξας
τῆς κατοικίας μου; οὐκ ἀκούσω σου, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ ἔζειθα,”
καὶ βλεπόντων τῶν ἐστηκότων ἐγένετο φαινότας καὶ
περικάλλης ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου ὅψις, καὶ πολλὰ σπαραμέναν καὶ
διατάραξαν αὐτὸν τὸ τῆς κακίας δαμασών ἀπεστῇ ὡσεὶ
kατοικία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, δε πεσὼν ἔπὶ τῆς
γῆς ἀφασία κατείχετο καὶ ἄφωνη, νεκρὸν μηδέν διαφέρων,
ἐπικαλεσμένων δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ γέροντος καὶ τὴν
δὲ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν τὸν θεοῦ ἡγερθῆ ἐρρωμένος καὶ σωφρονών,
εἰπὼν τὸν ἱάτον ἀδελφό, “εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε μου καὶ
ἀδελφέ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ ἐν καλῷ ἠλθον ὤδε, καὶ ταυτῆς ὡς ὀρές
ἐτυχον ἰάσεως.” ἧρα τοῖνυν καὶ δάκρυσε τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ
ἀραίμενα λειψάνου, εἶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ εἰσελήφθες
ἐν αὐτῷ ὅμως τὴν ὀδὸν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἑπὶ βορράν παραπλέουσας
τοῦ ἀροῦς πλευρᾶς. κατ’ οἰκονομίαν δὲ θεοῦ ἐστὴ τὸ πλοῖον
ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐν ἱστο ς γενόμενον τῆς μονῆς, ἢ ἡ προσηγορία
τὰ Κλήμεντος. μὴ θαυμάστητε δὲ μονής ἀκούσαντες, ἡ γὰρ
τῆς Θεοτόκου πρόρρησις ἦδη προβαίνειν ἥξιτο, καὶ τὸ
ἡ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ σταγόνος ὑδάτος τῆς τῶν κατοικοῦντων
ἐνδείας ἑωραθμένον καὶ ὀλιγότητος, εἰς πέλαγος ἀυξέω
ἀπείρον καὶ πλατυσμόν καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἱς ἁυνόμενον
ἡ τῶν καλῶν συνεργός ψυχόμεθα πρόνοιαν, ὅθεν εὐκαριῶν
ἐστιν εἰπέν καὶ ἤμας μετὰ τοῦ εἰπόντος “ὡς καλοὶ σοι
οἱ οἶκοι Ἰακώβ, αἱ σκηναὶ σοι Ἰσραήλ, ἃς ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος
καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.” ἀπὸ ώρας δὲ τρίτης ἐως ὠρας ἐννάτης,
καὶ κόπταις χρόνοιμοι καὶ ἱστία ἐφαπλώντες, καὶ ἁνεμοὺν
ἐπιτήδειον ἔχοντες μετακινῆσαι τούτῳ ἐκείθεν οὐκ ἵσχυον.
ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰρήμενης μονῆς μοναχοὶ τὸ τε πλοῖον

VI. 1. The journey of the relics to Clementos.

GREEK TEXT
μὴ μετακινούμενον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη καὶ βία χρω-
μένους τοῦ περατέρου προείναι, καὶ ἀστοχούμενος, ἐκθαμβοῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἰκεῖω πορθμίῳ χρησάμενοι ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιπυθάντων παρ’ αὐτῶν τὶ ἀν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι. οὐκ ἐβούλωντο δὲ οὗτοι φανερῶσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ πλασταῖς καὶ ψευδώσει χρώμενοι ἀπολογίας ἐσπευδοῦν τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διασκεδάσαι. ἐπιγνώντες δὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν ἀλλ’ ἐπίπλαστα, μονὸν ἔνευον τὸ πλούον πρὸς τὴν μονήν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ἐμβριμησάμενον δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ προστώς, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς σφυδροτάτας χρησάμενος, κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐμαθεῖ πάντα παρὰ τοῦ θερετῶς, εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ λαμπάδων δραμόντες ἦραν τὸ λείψανον, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν πᾶσαν νόσον δραπετεύοντας τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας αὐθωρῶν ἱωμένους, διαδραμοῦσα δὲ ὅπερ τις κηρὺς ἡ φόμη οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθή όρει συνήθροισε μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα τῆς περιχώρου, καὶ πάντες ἰώντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο οὐ δὴ ποτε κατείχοντο νοσήματι. καὶ ἦν χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις ἐν τῷ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὅρει καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἐξωθεὶν ἀθροισθείσι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἦν καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκείνων ὅτε μοναχοὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον ἠγάγον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ πανσέπτου ναοῦ τῆς παναμηνήτου Θεοτόκου, ἔνθα εἰσέθεισαν τὰς ἐπησίςας συνάξεις ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ὑμνοδίας ἀκαταπαύστους μέχρις ἡμερῶν ἑπτά, κατέθεντο ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιωφρινό καὶ διαφόρως ἀφάμασι μετὰ καθαρᾶς συλλογῆς εἰλισάντες, εἰχον δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ, ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα τότε τῶν νόσων ἐθεράπευε καὶ μαλακίας. οὐτω μὲν οὖν, τοῦ ἅγιου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ὅντος, καὶ διαβοήτου τοῖς θαμμασι γενομένου, ὁ θερετὴς ἀμα τῷ ἱδίῳ ἀδελφῷ τῶν εὐχῶν τῶν γεροντῶν εἰς ἐφόδιον αἰτησάμενοι, τῶν ὅσιον ἐπορεύθησαν χαῖροντες. οἱ δὲ γε μοναῖς ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ τῷ θερετὴς συνανάβαντες ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, κλοπό-
φοροῖσαν τὸ σώμα τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου Βουλευτάμενοι, ὕφαλῳ γνώμη καὶ κεκρυμμένως πλάσματι προσπεσοῦστε, λέγουσι τοῖς πατράσι “γνωστὸν ἐστὼ ὑμῖν, θεοφόροι πατέρες, ἐστ’ οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὃν ὁ κύριος

The relics at Clementos.

The theft of the relics by the strange monks.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

ἀπεκάλυψεν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὤμοι τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν διανύσωμεν.” καὶ τῶν πατέρων μάλα περιχαρῶς δεξαμενῶν τῶν λόγων, ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας ἁρετὰς τῇ ἀπλάστῳ κοσμοῦμενοι, μικρὰς ἐκεῖνοι προσμείναντες ἡμέρας, εἰσόδει ἐνά τέσσαρον ὁ πατὴρ, νυκτιλόχους ἐνέδρας ποιῆσαντες, ὁπερ τινες τοιμασίας, τῷ τάφῳ προσέδραμον, καὶ τοῦτον φόβῳ καὶ σπούδῃ διανοίγαντες, τὸ τίμιον ἔλαβον λειψάνου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὅρωμαί τὸν ἀγιαλὸν πεθακότες, ἐν ἀκατίῳ προσταχθήνετε ἐμβάντες, τοῦ ὄρους φυγάδες ὀχυρότα. τοιτων αὐτίκοις καὶ αὐτόπτης ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐγὼ γεγονὼς Νικόλαος ἐπέφευγε, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἄλλ’ ὅλοι ὁλίγα τινὰ ἐκθέσαν, καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐντάξει συγγράμματι, ὥσ ἐπεὶ δεῖδεν οἱ μετέπειτα τοῦ κόσμου ἀνακεχορηκότες καὶ τῷ ὅρει τούτῳ προσσωμίθεντες, πῶς δεῖ περιστατέω αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποίαις ἀντέχεσθαι πολιτείαι, καὶ μεθ’ ὅλων ἀγώνων καὶ καμάτων καὶ τῶν ὄρων βασιλεία κληρονομεῖται· ὥσ οἱ ἀναπεπτυκότες, καὶ κατ’ ἐμὲ ῥασῳμούντες, καὶ μέγα τούτω μόνων ἡγούμενοι τὸ ῥατηνία τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, τα δ’ ἀλλὰ ἄδεως διαπράττοντες, ἡγουμ ἐπικτησίες σκευῶν ποικίλων καὶ πολυτίμων καὶ ἁγιῶν καὶ κτιμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀλλων, α’ τοῖς φιλοκόσμοις καὶ φιλομερίμνοις εἰσὶ περισσότερα, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν έαυτοὺς ὄφηλεσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὁρόντις τὰ μέγιστα περιβλάττοντι, καὶ βλασφημεῖσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκεκαζοντισν ὄνομα, πολυτείμονας ἀντὶ ἀκτημόνων ὀνομαζόμενοι, καὶ τοῦ τῆς γῆς πλοῦτου κύρως, καὶ τοῦ ωραίου πλοῦτου ἀλύτρωτος. ἄλλα μὴ γένοιτο τινὰ τῶν ἀνευρόταται ἀποστασιμοῖς τῷ βίῳ τῆς ἐναντία τῶν ἐντολῶν πορεύεσθαι, τῆς στενῆς δὲ μάλλον προτιμῶν τῆς πλατείας, καὶ τῆς πενίας τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἀδόξης, καὶ τῆς παρούσης χαρᾶς τῆς νομίζομεν ἐπιτόκου κατηρίζοντι, ἵνα καὶ τῷ παρόντι μὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου διανυσάς, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς ἀναφάρεστον κληρονομήσων βασίλειαν, ἃ οὔδεν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ποθεῖνότερον ἡ τιμιώτερον, τοῖς γε νοὺς ἑχουσί, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προτιμῶσι τοῦ ψεύδους. ἀλλ’ ἐπαναλητὲς ἀοίδας τοῦ λόγου, καὶ διηγητέαν τὰ μετὰ τὴν κλοπὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρὸς γενόμενα θαύματα. ἀραντες τούτων οἱ μοναχοί, καθ’ ἅν ἐποτρόπι, τὸ σῶμα κατιχθηκαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον Φώκομιν,
teloum upo to thema Thrikon' hyn de plhsion toutou pnyh, 
ka par' autth to ariston etoymasontes, twn men thran 
ev h to swma tehsiafristo to to agiou, para fytov kladov 
apmyrhasan elaias, autoi de autovxedi kai liti xhrismenoi 
trapetex evxaristikantas ishtov. Oupw de ta mesa to 
ariston toutou exountow, idou parplihe ei tis xora 
okytorese meta gwnakow kai paidow erxontai, eautous 
sparrontes kai alalazontes, kai Pteron ton megen 
apo ton 'Athow elenlhota epikaloymeno. Tov de tropou 
thesis toiauthis autov alloiswos ou katonikh dihugiasathai: 
sto tis h arxai a tis khrnhis egnhs, ev h o monaxh 
eautov envychov, ou monon vinpei xperferi kai plastei xper-
egyndhs, alla kai xpermynghs, hitis tis xronw tis yli 
kataxosfwnosi okytirion egneveto daimonos xiliarchov, os 
meta twn upo cheira tosaunta ekeine dieprattan, ws mhn 
mown anwropon dioftheirrion, kai daimoso ypotbadlivan, 
allla kai onnous kai kwnas kai boas kai ta loipta twn 
ktnwn apontygesin kai polla thelina ev tis xora kai adhmonia 
hn peri touton. Oustoi touton aima to plhsiasai autois 
to leipsanov touto agiou, envychov men apo tis stous, epeiso-
efrhsan1 de ev tis kwmh ekeiny kai pantas evdoxian, 
kal diatarrptesai tois ev auth katoikoutas epoion. Wos de 
to fytov kai tis phrora xparagmein kai kranh proropelasean2, 
hn idein thaima twn palai thasmaton paradozteron euhis 
apontanta ta daimonia twn anwropolis, kai thernhikhs 
holopynta tis perigouro ekeini elainexh. Tis de 
katalpton exepo, y grafi diasafrhosi twn xenomewn 
tote thasmaton tis xeper amnon plhth; miron gar eudoestato-
ton plhres xenomenon par autthka to leipsanov, hnh idein 
ti touton preniaxei daimoniwna xofrononta, tuflovs 
proion, leprouds kathaimenous, killovs anorboymenos, 
cholois arthia bapidzontas, kai aptaxaplos pashe pantas 
asthenesin apyllagmenous. Ev ois kai tis anh, ev dollos 
etesi okto klinhhs ep tis oikias keimenos, metata kranh 
hntiobilai tous kata to lewphron trichoantas epi tis 
thaumavorghn ekeini pth, tis para pasin axdomen, 
touton apagagein, oi de mallon toun drmon exhonto, h

1 sic cod. 2 sic.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

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ἐκεῖνον ἥκονον· παραθεωρούμενος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον ἠλείας καὶ ἐδοξάσθησαν. οὐ δὲ ἦδη ἀπείρηκε τινὰ πρὸς οἴκτον μὴ ἐπιστήμονος, ἵνα οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἶκου αὐτοῦ ἐνεκτούντες, ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθοῦσις αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐν τάχει διαβαστάσαντες τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς κλίνης, πρὸς τὴν πηγήν ἐπορεύοντο τῆς υγείας καὶ ἀμα τὸ πλησίον γενέσθαι, ἦλατο τῆς κλίνης εὐθὺς, καὶ εἰς τῶν ὀδοιποροῦντων ἐγένετο, οὐ καὶ προλαβὼν καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ περιχαρίᾳ διάκρινε προσπεσών, πάντων εἰς αὐτὸν θεωροῦντων, ἄρτιος τοῦ ἐδάφους ἡγέρθην, ἦχον τινὰ φοβερὸν καὶ τρισμόν τῶν ἄρθρων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡγέσει ἀποτελεσάντων καὶ πάντως ἐδοξαζόταν δύσην τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἴδιόντες καὶ τῷ φρικτον τούτῳ θέαμα. Φήμης δὲ καθ’ ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου διαδραμοῦσης, ἢν ἢδειν ποταμόθεον συφρόνετα τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πλήθη, οἱ τοὺς ἀρρόστους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κραββάταις φέροντες, ἐρρωμένους καὶ ύγείας ἢδοις ποιήσαντας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία διέσωζον, γνώστότιν δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπω υγειόμενον, λαβών πάντα τὸν κλῖρον αὐτοῦ μετὰ θυμιμάτων καὶ κηρῶν σταυροὺς ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τὸ ἄγιον διαβαστάζοντας εὐαγγελίον, τὸ χωρίον κατελαβὼν, ἐνθα τὸ ἰαματοφόρον ὑπῆρχε τοῦ ὀσίου λείψανον, καὶ ώς ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνός, τιμῆς ἐνέκεν προσκοπούσης, κεκρυμμένος ἐβαδίζειν, ἔως ἐλθόντες ἐστήσαν 
ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ, καὶ ποίησαντες εὐχὴν ἐκτενῆ περιεπτύζατο τῷ λείψανον, πρῶτον μεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, εἰθ’ οὔτως οἱ καθεξῆς, καὶ ὃς ὅλης προσκαρτερήσαντες ἔδοξεν θαυμάτων ἄβυσσον προωρύναν, καὶ ἐξεβαμβήθησαν, καὶ δάκρυι βρέχοντες τὰς παρειάς τὸ “κύριε ἐλέησον” ἐκραζόν, καὶ τὸ “δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν παράδοξα θαύματα διὰ τῶν ἑυαρεστοῦντων σοι.” μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλέσας τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λέγει παρακλητικῶς αὐτοῖς “δεόμαι ὑμῶν ἀδελφοί χαρίσασθαι ἡμῖν τὸν θείον τοῦτον, καὶ χρυσοῦ παντὸς τιμιωτέρον θησαυρὸν, καὶ οἰκοδομῆς σικόν εὐκτήριον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτον περιστέλω, εἰς μνήμην ὑμῶν καὶ λύτρων τῶν ἐμὸς πεπλημμελημένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἐνεκεν τῆς χάριτος λήψεθε παρ’ ἐμὸν νομίσματα ἐκατόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχομαι τοιούτων μαργαρίτων πολύτιμων ὡδὲ κάκειστε περιέρχεσθαι, ἡ τῶν λύχνων ὑπὸ τῶν μόδιον

3. The action of the bishop. His purchase of the relics.

4. The complaint of the devils and the attempt to burn the relics.

5. The deposition of the relics in the church.

6. Concluding exhortation.

1 sic.
κόσμῳ ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὐκέτι περὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ματαιωτηνίας ἐαυτοῦ ἀπηχολοῦν, ἀλλ' ὀσμέρα πυρὶ προσλαμβάνοντες,
καὶ ταῖς ἀναβάσεσιν ὦσπερ θεοῦμεν τὰ κάλλη τῶν ὀρωμένων,
καὶ τοῦ βίου τῆς εὐθυνίας ὡς σκιάν παρέτρεχον, καὶ τὰς μερίμνας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ τάλλα, οἷς οἱ φιλοκτήμονες
καὶ φιλότιμοι ἠδύναται, ὡς ἐμπόδιον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπεστρέφοντο,
μονολόγιστον κεκτημένοι διαγωγὴν καὶ μοινότροπον, τὴν
δυσεύρετον καὶ σπανίος ἄρτι γινωσκομένην· οὐ γὰρ τρυφὴς
ἐπεμελώντο, οὐ χιτῶσιν ἀπαλοίς ἐπετέρποντο, ἡ σωματικὴ
ἐξήτων ἀναπαυσιν· οὐδὲ κτήσεις ἐπόθουν καὶ ἐπικτήσεις καὶ
πλατυσμοὺς, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρου ἐτρεχοῦν
tοῦ νοητοῦ, ὃς ἐστι Χριστὸς ἡ ᾨώ καὶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐρανίους ἐδέχοντο τρυφασι, καὶ παρακλήσεις, ὃν
κόρος τοῖς γενσάμενοι σὺν ἐς τε· ὅθεν καὶ τοιαύτας εἰλήφατε
χάριτας, καὶ κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὰ νυκτήρια ἑχοῦσιν,
ἳδε γὰρ πάς ὁ τοῦ θεαρέστου τοῦτοῦ βίου ἀκροατὴς ὁν
φωστήρα τηλαγῆ καὶ παγκόσμιον τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τοῦτοι
θεόν ὅροι εὔνεγηκεν, ὅς ἠγορυπνία, καὶ πόσις, καὶ γυμνότητι,
καὶ ἀστίας, διηνεκεῖ τε πένθη καὶ συντριβῆ καρδίας, ἐν ὅλοις
ἐστει πεντήκοντα καὶ προσὶν ἐαυτῶν ἐκδοῦν, ἀνώτερος γέγονε
καὶ λογισμὸν, καὶ παθῶν, καὶ δαιμόνων, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ
πέφθακε τὸ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἐσχατόν, τὴν ἅκραν λέγω πρὸς
τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν προτιν καὶ μόνην μακαριότητα
batis ἀξιωθείμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρχομεν τὴν τούτου πολιτείαν μιμοῦ-
μενοι, καὶ τοῖς κάθαρις προτερήμασιν ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι,
καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶ γερῶν ἐπιτυχὼμεν παρὰ τῆς
ἀνεκάθῳ πηγῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. ὃ πρέπει πάσα δόξα,
τιμή, καὶ προσκύνησις, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ
Σωτῆρι καὶ παναγάθῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
αἰώνας αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.
CHAPTER II

EUTHYMIUS OF THESSALONICA

The life of Euthymius really brings the monks of Mount Athos into the full light of history. It is a document of primary importance, and there is no reason to doubt that it was really written, as it claims to be, by Basil, a disciple of Euthymius, who afterwards became Archbishop of Thessalonica early in the tenth century. Various writers on Mount Athos have referred to its importance and have published extracts from it, generally in a modern Greek paraphrase; but any reference to these has been rendered unnecessary by the excellent edition of Père Louis Petit,¹ which gives a text based on Cod. Athous Laur. Δ 79 (a MS. of the twelfth century of which, in ignorance of the projected edition of P. Louis, I took a copy in 1908 intending to publish it in the present book), with a partial collation of Cod. Athous Vatoped. 546 (which was written in 1422, but in the opinion of Père Louis Petit often has a better text than the earlier MS.), and with a complete collation of Cod. Athous Pantel. 207, a MS. of the nineteenth century.

EUTHYMIUS OF THESSALONICA

Euthymius was born in 823 at Opso (or Hopso), an unknown town near Ancyra, and was given by his parents the name of Nicetas. When he was seven years old (i.e. in 830–1) his father died, leaving his wife to bring up Nicetas and his two sisters, Maria and Epiphania. When he was sixteen years old he married a certain Euphrosyne, and became the father of a daughter, Anastaso. Two years later he felt increasingly drawn to the monastic life, and on Sept. 15, 841, deserted his family in that curious manner which forms the first stage in so many lives which have afterwards been canonized.¹ From this time his life may be divided into six periods, (1) life on Mount Olympus, (2) life on Mount Athos as a hermit, (3) on Mount Athos as the head of a laura, (4) at Brastamou as the head of a laura, (5) at Peristerai as the head of a monastery, and finally (6) as a hermit on Mount Athos and on the Island Hiera.

(1) Life on Mount Olympus.² After leaving his family he went to the Mysian Olympus, and approached the famous Johannicius,³ with whom he stayed for a time, and began to earn a reputation for virtue, but shortly afterwards moved on to a neighbouring monastery, presided over by a monk called Johannes, who may perhaps be identified with the Abbot of Antidius, frequently mentioned in the life of Johannicius. Here he took the monastic vows, receiving the name of Euthymius,

and soon afterwards was sent on to the convent of Pissadinon, presided over by a monk named Nicolaus.¹

This seems to have been a regular monastery, not merely a laura, but it cannot be identified with any foundation mentioned in the life of Johannicius. He was successively muleteer, cook, servant to the steward, and waggoner. In these occupations he behaved exemplarily, and employed his leisure in learning to read, and in religious exercises. But after fifteen years of this life the peace of the church was disturbed by the schism which arose in 858 owing to the rival claims of Ignatius and Photius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the monastery of Pissadinon was broken up, as the Abbot Nicolaus thought that Ignatius had been improperly driven out, and refused communion with Photius. Apparently this rendered the Abbot’s position untenable, and he and the leading monks left the monastery. None of those who remained felt able to take the leadership, and Euthymius was attracted to the life of a hermit. He had heard of Mount Athos as a suitable place for solitary life, and decided to go there. But he had not yet received the ‘great Schema’,² and in

¹ In Cod. Vat. 672, f. 97–98 ν there are encomiums by Psellus on a monk named Nicolaus on Mount Olympus: but he is described as the καθηγούμενον τῆς ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ μονῆς τῆς ὀραίας παγγής.

² It must be remembered that among the Basilican monks there are two grades, the μικρόν σχῆμα, which is given with a tonsure, and the μέγα or ἄγγελικυν σχῆμα. At present the latter is frequently not taken until extreme old age, or even just before death. Both these grades are quite independent of
the absence of Nicolaus, and owing to the death of Johannes who had given him the tonsure, he did not at first know how to obtain it. Ultimately, however, he turned to a hermit named Theodore, who is perhaps also mentioned in the life of Johannicius,¹ and after eight days’ preparation obtained ordination. He then started for Mount Athos with a companion named Theosterictus. On his way he passed through Nicomedia (not at first sight the most direct route to Mount Athos, but it was no doubt then, as it certainly is now, easier to go round by Constantinople), and then, for the first time since his departure from Opso, thought of his deserted family, and sent a message to them telling them of his action, and recommending them to follow his example.

The result of his message was that his mother, sisters, and wife embraced a monastic life, leaving only his daughter Anastaso, who remained ‘in the world’ in order to prevent the family from dying out, and became the mother of a son and three daughters.

(2) Life on Mount Athos as a hermit.² Euthymius and Theosterictus reached Mount Athos in safety, but the latter soon returned to Olympus, and Euthymius joined an Armenian named Joseph, whom he found already established as a hermit. With Joseph he began the usual ascetic life, and for

¹ Vita Johannicii, op. cit., pp. 366 ff.
² Petit, op. cit., pp. 27–32.
forty days they tried to live as cattle, moving about on their hands and knees and eating the grass.¹

At the end of the forty days Euthymius proposed that they should live in a cave for three years. To this Joseph consented, but the opposition of the lower creation was so pronounced that at the end of a year he came out, leaving Euthymius to finish the three years alone. The result was that the fame of Euthymius's vow spread, and when he emerged from the cave a number of monks gathered round him, and he became the head of a laura.

(3) The laura of Euthymius on Mount Athos.² There are no chronological data in the life of Euthymius to fix accurately the beginning of this period of his life, but the laura must have been founded about four years after Euthymius left Olympus; this cannot have been earlier than 862, and probably was at least one year later. It seems to have been the usual type of a loosely knit together body of monks, gathered round a leader, and assembling for religious services, but not otherwise living in common, and possessing no monastic buildings.

On two occasions Euthymius left the laura. The first time was in consequence of a message brought

¹ The reason given for this strange form of asceticism is a perverted interpretation of Ps. xlix. (LXX, xlviii.) 12, 20. 'Man being in honour hath no understanding: he is compared to the cattle that have no intelligence, and is made like unto them'; and the idea is that, by really living like cattle, they might perhaps recover the lost gift of the likeness to God (ἡ καὶ τίκνα χάρα), and so, by being 'made like unto' the cattle and by having 'no understanding', they might come to 'be in honour'.

to him by Theosterictus from Theodore, the hermit who had given Euthymius the ‘great Schema’, asking him to come and bring him to Mount Athos. Euthymius at once journeyed to Olympus, where he found that Theodore was exceedingly ill. However, he managed to bring him to Athos, and, when the life of the laura proved too severe, made him a cell at Macrosina, a locality which is now unknown, but is described by Basil, the writer of the Life, as ‘near the villages’. It was probably therefore not far from the north end of the mountain. Shortly before his death Theodore moved to Thessalonica, and was buried there in the church of St. Sozon, and this induced Euthymius to leave his laura for the second time in order to visit the tomb. Here his fame had preceded him, and he became the centre of a crowd of admirers who tried to kiss him, expecting to derive from his touch some miraculous benefit. In order to avoid this annoyance he went a short distance out of the city, and took up his position on a pillar (in the way made famous by Simeon Stylites), on which he was ‘raised visibly nearer to God’ and he could preach his lessons separated by a safe distance from his admirers. His preaching met with success, but the life did not please him; so he returned to Athos after commending the care of Theodore’s tomb to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who was also named Theodore. This Archbishop appears as a signatory of the Council of Constantinople in 869, and was also present at the installation of Theopiste (daughter of St. Theodora) as Abbess in
the previous year, but there is no evidence as to the year in which he became Archbishop; it would seem from the data in the life of Euthymius that his visit to Thessalonica must have taken place not earlier than 863, and more probably as late as 865; it is therefore probable that Theodore\(^1\) became Archbishop of Thessalonica at least as early as 865 and perhaps earlier. Before leaving Thessalonica Euthymius was ordained deacon, and, it would seem, priest. M. Petit in his edition of the Life thinks that the ordination was in the first place only to the diaconate, and that priest's orders were given later. It is, however, surely more probable that they were given simultaneously, for the reason alleged is the difficulty of Communion in a desert place in the absence of a priest.

On his return to Mount Athos Euthymius stayed for 'some years' in his laura, but after a time the love of solitude returned, and taking with him two companions, Symeon and Johannes Kolobos, he went to the island of Neon (now St. Eustratius), which can be seen in the distance from Mount Athos. Here, however, he can scarcely be said to have settled, for soon after reaching the island the monks were captured by Arabs. Either miraculous intervention or the superstitions\(^2\) of the Arabs

\(^1\) M. Louis Petit has a note on Theodore in the *Échos de l'Orient* (iv, 1901, pp. 2, 18 f.).

\(^2\) It must be remembered that Mohammedans are forbidden by their law to interfere with monks or priests. This fact, which is often forgotten by those who think of Islam as a persecuting religion, explains why monks were usually released, and why
helped them: for the Arab ship made slow progress, and thinking that this was due to the malign influence of the monks, the Arabs took them and disembarked them on the island. The monks followed up their good fortune by demanding the return of their baggage (‘implements, hair shirts and books’ says the writer), and in the end attained their object, as the baggage ship was also driven back to the island. This incident is an admirable example of the way in which the simplest incident assumed a miraculous character to monastic eyes. For there is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the narrative; there is nothing miraculous¹ in a shift of wind or a delaying current anywhere in the neighbourhood of Athos; and in releasing the monks and restoring their property the Arabs were only obeying the precepts of Islam, which they had been tempted to forget. But what is here obvious is not always so clear, and there is probably much history in the Acta Sanctorum irrecoverably concealed by the miraculous explanations which have been added to it.

After their escape from the Arabs Euthymius and his friends had no desire to remain on the island, and returned to Mount Athos. But even here safety was no longer attainable: a raid was made on the mountain, and some monks were captured:

the monasteries in Macedonia were not, as a rule, destroyed, unless they were too obviously used as fortresses.

¹ Experience has almost made me inclined to regard as miraculous a voyage round Mount Athos in a sailing boat which is not prolonged by these variations.
Euthymius felt that it was unwise to remain, and the laura was disbanded. The monks who decided to leave Athos separated into three groups. One, headed by Symeon, went to Greece; another followed Johannes Kolobos to Siderocausia (probably not far from Athos); and the third went with Euthymius himself to Brastamou, the modern Brasta in Chalcidice near Polygorus. Of the first group nothing more is known; the second had a short but important history which is discussed in the next chapter; and of the third we know only what is told us in the Life of Euthymius. The date of these events cannot be fixed: it must lie somewhere between 863, the earliest possible date for Euthymius’ visit to Thessalonica, and 871, the date of the foundation of St. Andreas at Peristerai (see p. 50). As he was ‘some years’ on Mount Athos after the visit to Thessalonica, 866 seems the earliest possible date for the foundation of the laura at Brastamou, and 867 or even 868 is perhaps more probable.

(4) The laura of Euthymius at Brastamou. Euthymius’ new foundation seems to have approached almost more nearly to the nature of a convent than to that of a laura. He built cells for the monks, and frequently visited them, but personally he preferred to live in a ravine some distance away. His fame spread and attracted many visitors. Among them was a certain Onuphrius, who is mentioned as a distinguished ascetic. Of course this is not the Egyptian who is mentioned in the Acta Sanctorum,

and nothing more is known of St. Onuphrius of Athos, but that such a person really existed need not be doubted, for in the second ‘typicon’ of the mountain one of the signatories is that of the Abbot of Onuphrius, and Peter the Athonite is very often accompanied in the pictures on Mount Athos by Onuphrius. One may suspect that originally it was Onuphrius, the Athonite, not the Egyptian, who was thus celebrated, but the matter is complicated by the fact that the feasts of Peter the Athonite and Onuphrius of Egypt fall on the same day—June 12.¹

Euthymius seems at this time to have led rather a restless life wandering about the ravines of Athos, and at intervals visiting his laura at Brastamou, among the monks of which was Joseph his old Armenian friend, whose relics, preserved in the cave in which he had died, the writer of the Life says that he had seen. This would seem to imply that Basil, the writer of the Life, was once a monk at Brastamou.

During one of Euthymius’ periods of retirement it was revealed to him that he should leave his laura and found a monastery on the site of an ancient church of St. Andrew at Peristerai near Thessalonica; therefore taking with him his friends Ignatius and Ephraim from Brastamou he departed for Thessalonica.

(5) Euthymius’ monastery at Peristerai.² He had no difficulty in finding Peristerai, a village about four hours to the east of Thessalonica, and recognized a fountain as identifying it with the place which he had seen in his vision, and after some digging

¹ Did they always do so?  
at a spot which he indicated the remains of an old church were discovered. Aided by the money and labour of the pious, but hindered by demons who contrived frequent accidents, he built a monastery on the spot,¹ and succeeded in finishing it in 871. The new foundation was liberally endowed and furnished by the neighbouring laity, and soon attracted many monks. Among them was Basilius,² the writer of the Life, who, however, received the tonsure from Euthymius not in the monastery, but in the church of St. Demetrius at Servilia (now Ormulia), on the peninsula Longos, where there seems to have been a kind of hermitage used by the monks.

For fourteen years Euthymius ruled the monastery, and no doubt became a person of considerable importance, but the Life gives us no historical information, though it supplies interesting specimens of his progress, sermons, wonderful cures, and prophetic insight—foretelling, for instance, to Basilius that he would become a bishop. But towards the close of this time, either in 882 or 883, he seems to have taken some part in a settlement between the Erissiotes, the monastery of his old friend Johannes Kolobos, and the hermits of Mount Athos, for his name appears among the signatures to the agreement which was ultimately reached. A full account ³ of this agreement and the controversy to which it put an end will be given in the next chapter.

¹ M. Petit mentions that Prof. Kinch, of Copenhagen, has found the ruins of this monastery: see Festschrift til J. L. Ussing i anledning hans 80 aarige fødselsdag, Copenhagen, 1900, and Byz. Zeitschr., 1902, pp. 663 f.
³ See pp. 68-70.
About 883 Euthymius again began to be restless, and summoned to Peristerai his daughter’s family (the date is fixed by the statement that it was forty-two years after he had left his family and wife), and made his grandson, Methodius, Abbot of Peristerai, and his granddaughter, Euphemia, abbess of a convent which he built on ground bought for the purpose. The relics and altars of these foundations were consecrated by Methodius, Archbishop of Thessalonica. The date of this archbishop’s consecration is not known, but it must have been after 882, when Gregory (see p. 82) was in office. He seems to have died in 889.

(6) Euthymius’ last days as a hermit.\textsuperscript{1} After thus settling his affairs Euthymius returned to his old ascetic life. First he went back to the pillar on which he lived during his first visit to Thessalonica, then he retreated to Mount Athos, but as he was constantly pursued by disciples he finally went on May 7 to the little island of Hiera, probably the modern Ginra, not far from Volo. He was accompanied by only a single monk, Georgius, and died on the island on October 15. His relics were then brought to Thessalonica by the monks Paulus and Blasius, who went to Hiera for the purpose on January 13. The year of his death is difficult to fix. The writer says that it was in the second indiction that he went to Hiera. This ought to be either 884 or 898. The former seems rather early, for it was only in 883 that he summoned his family, but the latter seems equally too late, though

\textsuperscript{1} Op. cit., pp. 48-51.

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M. Louis Petit accepts it, and so allows fourteen years for his last period of life as a hermit. Personally, I should prefer the early date, and suppose that the stay on the pillar and on Mount Athos only lasted a few weeks; for the impression given by the Life is that Euthymius did not live long after leaving Peristerai. It is, however, of course possible that the 'second indiction' is wrong. Perhaps it was originally 'eighth indiction', as a confusion between $\beta$ and $\eta$ is not uncommon.

The importance of the information concerning Mount Athos contained in this story needs no emphasis. The most interesting points may be summed up as follows: (1) as early as 859 when Euthymius went first to Athos there were already hermits there—for instance, his Armenian friend, Joseph—and, as we know from other sources, Peter the Athonite was also living at the time; but there is no reference to a convent or even to a laura of monks. (2) A few years later Euthymius himself was the centre of a definite laura. (3) Although Euthymius, Johannes Kolobos, and Symeon left the laura with some of the monks it is more probable than not that others remained, and, as the next chapter will show, there was a considerable number of monks or hermits on the mountain between 870 and 880. (4) There is no reference to a definite monastery as distinct from a laura, and no mention of Clementos—the monastery which the Life of Peter the Athonite states to have been in existence c. 890.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

THE MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREAS
AT PERISTERAI

The foundation of Euthymius at Peristerai had not a very long or distinguished history. The last that we read of it in the life of Euthymius is that the saint, on leaving the monastery, appointed his grandson Methodius to be abbot. Seeing that this Methodius must have been under thirty, and was probably not older than twenty-five, the wisdom of this act is open to question, but whether it led directly to bad results is unknown. What, however, is certain is that during the next eighty years the monastery fell into bad hands and became disreputable. This is proved by the Typicon of Athanasius the Athonite, in which it is stated that the monks had lived for a long time in an absolute disregard of monastic propriety. At this point the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas intervened; he was the patron of Athanasius and had promised to endow his new foundation, the monastery now known as 'the Laura'. He therefore seized the opportunity of suppressing a scandal and helping a friend by a single stroke of statesmanship, and transferred the control of St. Andreas to Athanasius.

The effect of this transference is only known to us from one source—Athanasius’ Typicon. He was entirely satisfied with the results achieved, though we may justifiably doubt whether the monks of Andreas would have endorsed his judgement. Exactly what he did is unknown, but at any rate in 970, when the Typicon was written, a certain Stephanus was Abbot of St. Andreas, and enjoyed the complete confidence of Athanasius. We may surmise that he had been sent from the Laura to carry out a plan of
reform. It would seem, however, that the reformation was somewhat superficial, for Athanasius was not prepared to recommend the appointment of any further abbot after the death of Stephanus. He directed that Stephanus should not be disturbed in his lifetime, nor be called upon for his accounts, but that after his death the management of the convent should devolve directly upon the abbot of the Laura.

It is easy to see that this arrangement boded ill for the future independence of St. Andreas, and that the quiet and peace which Athanasius promised to the monks was merely that which the tiger offers to the lamb.

There remained, however, one source of protection—an appeal to the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, to whom Euthymius had especially commended his foundation. We have no evidence as to the date when this appeal was made, but a Chrysobull of Constantine IX, alluded to by Gerasimos Smyrnakes, seems to mark the end of a struggle between the Lauriotes on the one hand, and the Peristeriotes supported by the Metropolitan of Thessalonica on the other, in which the emperor intervened. According to this the emperor removed the monastery of St. Andreas from the protection of the bishop, and handed it over absolutely to the Laura.

This completed the work of Nicephorus and the ruin of the convent, which became merely a source of income for the Laura.

Its further history is unknown: at present the Laura has no property in the district of Peristerai, so that it either lost it in one of the many periods of unrest in Macedonia, or sold it to some one else.

I append the extract from the Typicon of Athanasius and the statement of Gerasimos Smyrnakes, on which this reconstruction of the history of the monastery is based.
A. Extract from 'The Typicon of Athanasius' Concerning the Monastery of St. Andreas in Peristerai. [P. Meyer, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, pp. 119-21.]

Εἰδέναι όν χρῆ, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν Περιστερῶν ἦτοι τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου μονῆς, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν τελοῦσα κατὰ τὴν τῶν δύο εὐσεβῶν χρυσοβουλλίων περιοχῶν τε καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ τε ἀοιδίμου καὶ τρισμάκαρας βασιλέως τοῦ κυρίου Νικηφόρου καὶ τοῦ ἐτί περιόντος εὐσεβῶς ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ νυν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρωμαίων σκέπτρα διέποντος διατεθεμένοις ἡμῖν οὕτως ἐδοξε διατάξασθαι βουλόμεθα τοῖς Στέφανον τὸν εὐλαβήσιμον μοναχὸν καὶ καθηγούμενον, καθὸ καὶ προνοεῖται καὶ ἄρχει τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, μένεις ἄδιάστητον καὶ ἀλογαρίστον, ὡστε μὴ ἔχεις ἑπαθείας τινὰ τῶν μεθ᾽ ἡμᾶς μετακινεῖς αὐτὸν ἡ παραλῦσιν τῆς ἐπιστασίας τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τῶν Περιστέρων, ἐν τάσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἥμη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὐδιάλεξαν ἡμῖν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐγχυρῶν μεγάλως ἀνέτασε καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμε καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ὑποταγὴν ἐνεδείχατο καὶ βελτίστες πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ μονῇ πεποιηκέναι φαίνεται· ὃ δὲ γε πειρώμενος, μετὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς τῶν βίων ἀπολιπεῖν, τῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχας μετακινεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἡ ἄλλως πως καθ᾽ οἰονόμητο τρόπον θλίψιν τὴν οἰκονομῆς αὐτῶ ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλότριος ἐστός τῆς ἡγίας καὶ χωρικῆς καὶ ὑμοουσίου τριάδος, ἐξέτω δὲ τὴν κατάραν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν μᾶλλον μὲν ὅρων ἐντέλλομαι καὶ μηνομενέσθαι αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς εἰπτελομέναις ἄδιαλείπτως θείαις λειτουργίαις παρὰ τῶν τῆς Λαύρας πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ζώντας καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδεῖς μνήμην αὐτῶ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ βίου μετάτασιν τοῦ εἰρημένου μοναχοῦ Στέφανου τοῦ εὐλαβηστάτου καθηγούμενον, ἐβουλόμεθα καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προεστώτος προβληθῆναι καὶ ἄθες ἡγούμενον· ἀλλὰ ἐπειδή πάντα καθιελθεῖται τὰ τῆς μοναχικῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρὰ τῶν προηγησαμένων
ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΑ

ék makroú toú xorónou, kai ἀδιαφορία πολλή kai ἀμελία
catékountai schedóν ἀπαντεῖ τῇ τῆς μονῆς μοναχία, συνειδόμεν
oikonomía χρήσασθαι πρὸς τῷ πρὸς ἔνα βλέπειν καὶ υφ'
ένα τελείων, ἤγουν τοῦ προστώτα τῆς Λαύρας, πάντας τοὺς
ἐν τῇ δηλουμένη μονῇ, ὡστε τῇ μοναρχίᾳ συνελαβήναι πρὸς
τοῦ πνευματικóτερον, ἐν τῇ ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ ἃπαντιδίας
καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἐν τῇ βρομασίᾳ καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς ἡ δουλεία
καὶ ὁ κόπος, ἡ ἡ ὁδοπορία καὶ ἡ ἡλικία, ἡ ἡ νόσος ἐκαστοῦ
καὶ ὁ νεώτερος κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπαιτεῖ προβάλλεσθαι δε διορίζο-
μεθα παρά τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προστώτος, ἐκ τῆς Λαύρας,
oikonomíous τῇ σχηματιστάτους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, διασκέδαι
καὶ δοκιμασά πολλά αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ υφ'
αυτῶν μοχλῶν, ὡστε τοῖς μεν διοικονομεῖσθαί προσηκάντως
τὰ σωματικóτερα, τοῖς δὲ καταρτίζεσθαι καὶ συγκροτείσθαι
τοις σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν τοῖς κατ’ ἀρετὴν λόγοις τε
cαὶ τρόποις καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ θεόν πράξεσιν τούτων
γαρ γενησομένοι, σὺν θεῷ φάναι, πέποιθα πολλήν παρ'
ἀλλήλων καὶ εἰ διαφορίαν καὶ αναφανύναι κοινωνικῶς καὶ μοναρχι-
κῶς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὁφέλειαν μὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν
tῆς Λαύρας μικτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλάς καὶ αὐθεντικῆς μονῆς
ἐκ διαφορίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μηδὲν διαφερομένων, ἄλλωσ'
ἀπὸ τὴς ἀγάπης συναγωμένων ἐνωσιν καὶ ὁμοφρο-
σύνην τῷ ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ μονὴν τὴν πρῶτην ἀρχήν ἀφοράν
καὶ εἰ τῆς ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπωφελῆ ταύτην καὶ σωτηρίου οἰκονομίαν
πειραθεὶς καταλαύοι ποτε, ἀλλότριος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, ἡ
δὲ ἀγάπη ἐστίν ὁ θεός.

Β. EXTRACT FROM GERASIMOS SMYRNAKES, ΤΟ ἈΓΟΝ ὉΡΟΣ, p. 45.

... καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου [τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου]
pαρεχωρεῖτο τῇ Λαύρᾳ τῷ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μοναστήριου
tοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου ὀλος
ἀνεξάρτητου ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης...
CHAPTER III

JOHANNES KOLOBOS, HIS MONASTERY, AND THE HERMITS OF MOUNT ATHÔS

It will be remembered that Johannes Kolobos, the friend of Euthymius, is mentioned in the life of the latter as leading away part of the laura of monks on Mount Athos and settling at Siderocausia. The life of Euthymius tells us no more about him; but he, and a monastery which he founded, appear several times in a series of documents referring to Mount Athos, the interpretation of which affords almost the only clue which we possess to the history of the mountain during the period immediately after the dispersal of the laura of Euthymius.

These documents, which will be found on pp. 76–86, are as follows:—

(a) Part of a Chrysobull of Basil the Macedonian (before A.D. 881). (See Appendix A.)

(b) The report of a Thessalonian official, named Thomas, on a boundary dispute between the Erissiotes and the Athonites (A.D. 881). (See Appendix B.)

(c) The agreement arrived at in this dispute by the two parties (A.D. 881). (See Appendix C.)

(d) The official decision, ratifying this agreement, by the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (A.D. 882). (See Appendix D.)
(e) A Chrysobull of Leo the Wise (? A.D. 900).
(See Appendix E.)
It is unfortunate that we only possess a little fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil, which was probably given to Johannes Kolobos himself, but the greater part of its contents and the events which led up to its promulgation can be reconstructed from the Chrysobull of Leo. The facts appear to be these:—

After the separation of Euthymius and Johannes Kolobos and the partial dispersal of their laura on Mount Athos, the most important events on Mount Athos and the neighbourhood were (1) the foundation of a monastery by Johannes Kolobos near Mount Athos, and (2) the constant disturbance of the Athonite lauras and hermitages by the Erissiotes.

The proof of the foundation of this monastery, to which I shall refer in future as Kolobou, is established by the direct references in the Chrysobulls of Leo and Romanus. The date of its foundation and its exact position are less easily determined, and must be considered separately.

The date of the foundation of Kolobou. The limits between which this date must be fixed are 866 and 881. The former is the date before which the separation of Johannes from Euthymius cannot be placed, the latter is the date before which the Chrysobull of Basil was given, and it is plain from the Chrysobull of Leo that when this was given the monastery was in existence. It is obvious that neither of the extreme dates is probable. In dis-
cussing the chronology of the life of Euthymius (p. 48) I have shown that 867 or 868 are probable dates for the separation of the two monks, and I think the impression gained by reading the documents referring to the boundary dispute which was closed in 881 (see Appendices B, C, D), and the allusions made in them to the Chrysobull, is that this had been given some time previously.

There is some slight evidence for dating the Chrysobull A.D. 872\(^1\) or 875, and these dates seem to me not improbable.

If then we allow two years for Johannes to establish himself in his new home and for a sufficient number of monks to gather round him, and accept 872–5 as the date of the Chrysobull, we can fix the foundation of Kolobou with fairness between 869 and 873. The history of Johannes thus presents a striking but quite natural parallel to that of Euthymius. Each left Mount Athos with a small following of monks who had belonged to the dispersed laura, and each founded a new monastery within the course of the next few years. One wonders whether Symeon, the leader of the remaining party of monks from Mount Athos, did the same in Greece.

\(^1\) Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *op. cit.*, p. 22, gives this date. Kosmas Vlachos, *op. cit.*, p. 19, gives 885, but this is probably an unacknowledged quotation from Gedeon, *op. cit.*, p. 79, who also gives 885—probably a misprint for 875 derived from MS. Panteleemon, 281, p. 203 (a nineteenth-century document), which gives 875, indiction 2. This cannot be right as it stands, but if we suppose the frequent confusion of minuscule \(\beta\) and \(\gamma\) the indiction would correspond to the year.
The position of Kolobou. The two Greek monks Gerasimos Smyrnakes¹ and Kosmas Vlachos² differ completely on this point. The former says that Kolobou was on the Megale Vigla (see map), and the latter that it was to the north of Erissos.³ Neither gives any reasons or discusses the point, but I think that the evidence for both views can be derived from the documents relating to the boundary dispute and from the Chrysobull of Leo.

The evidence for a position on the Megale Vigla is as follows:—The decision of the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (see Appendix D) in describing the boundary line between the Erissiotes and the Athonites says that it starts at the beginning of the Ammoulian gulf, runs up a ravine as far as the land of the monastery of St. Christina to a group of trees, then crosses over to another ravine, goes over the hill and comes down to Globutzista (the present Chromitza, according to tradition, which I see no reason to doubt), goes over the ravine to a clump of trees and straight on towards the sea as far as an old γύστερνη,⁴ then bends towards the neighbouring neck of the hill on which is the old wall of Kolobou which is within the land of the Athonites.

To follow this boundary in detail is difficult. I have

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³ Or Hierissos: the latter is no doubt the original form, but I adopt Erissos because it is the name which is now always used—at least in my experience.  
⁴ The Proegoumenos Chrysostomos tells me that γύστερνη is a well; the word is strange to me.
never been to the spot; and the map does not give quite sufficient detail, but the general course which it implies is clear enough to show that the 'old' wall of Kolobou was a little beyond Chromitza on the Megale Vigla. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the monastery stood within the wall.

This suggestion finds a superficial support in the Chrysobull of Leo, which confirms the right of the monks of Kolobou to graze cattle in the lands of the Kamena, not far from the Vigla, though, as will be shown, the real meaning of the Chrysobull probably points in another direction.

The evidence for a position near Eriissos, between it and Mount Athos, is to be found in the report of Thomas Kaspax in A.D. 881 (see Appendix B). The beginning of this document is unfortunately missing, but it is clear that the boundary between the lands belonging to the monastery and to the peasantry had been fixed, but not that between the peasantry and Mount Athos. That is to say that starting from the land side and going towards the mountain there was first the monastery of Kolobou, secondly the land of the peasantry, and thirdly the land of the monks of Mount Athos: the boundary between the first and the second had been fixed, but not that between the second and third.

This view is confirmed by the statement of Thomas a little later that the Athonites had claimed that their jurisdiction began at the boundary of the Castrum of Eriissos, not merely at the boundary of the district, so that their land
began with the boundary of the monastery of Kolobou; for this clearly implies that the boundary of the castrum and of the monastery were identical.

As between the two views as to the locality of Kolobou, it therefore seems to me that the evidence is in favour of Erisso. The exact spot within the limits of Erisso seems impossible to define, but at all events the boundary of the monastery's jurisdiction on the Athos side was the boundary of the castrum.\(^1\) The monastery itself must have been either within or on the other side of the castrum.

But, it may be said, what about the 'old wall of Kolobou' mentioned above as on the Vigla? Is it not possible to argue that the monastery itself was on the Vigla and that the castrum of Erisso was only under its jurisdiction?

The answer to this suggestion is to be found in a consideration of the Chrysobull of Leo (see Appendix E). Here it is stated that the monastery of Kolobou possesses the control of the domain of Erisso, and the pasturage only of the Kamena with their vineyards and orchards. The meaning, in the light of the documents of the boundary dispute, must be that the monastery has two sets of possessions, one in Erisso and the other near the Kamena (close to the Vigla), and that the monastery itself is near the first, not the second. Here we have the true explanation of the 'old wall of Kolobou' in the decision of Katakalon Kaspax; it was the wall, not of the

\(^1\) This is, no doubt, what Kosmas Vlachos means by the northward part of Erisso.
monastery itself, but of the vineyards and orchards which belonged to it.

Subsidiary evidence that this is the true solution of the problem of the locality of Kolobou may be found in the Chrysobull of Romanus, &c. (see Appendix A to the next chapter), and in the agreement between Johannes the Georgian and the Protos of Mount Athos (see Appendix C to the next chapter). In the former document, ratifying the Chrysobull of Leo, the pasturage, &c., of the Kamena is omitted and only the jurisdiction of Erissos mentioned. This may be of importance for the history of the monastery, or merely accidental, but in any case it suggests that the monastery was at Erissos rather than on the Vigla. In the latter document it is clear that the monks of Mount Athos had been in the habit of staying in the monastery of Kolobou when they went to Erissos to buy necessities for themselves. This may possibly only mean that they stayed at Kolobou on the way, and so be compatible with a situation on the Vigla, but the plain sense is naturally that Kolobou was in Erissos.

Siderocausia and Erissos. There is therefore not much danger of error if we say that between the years 869 and 875 Johannes Kolobos founded a monastery in or close to the castrum of Erissos. The question then arises as to the relation of this foundation to that of Siderocausia mentioned in the life of Euthymius. To this no definite answer can be given, as it is impossible to determine whether Siderocausia was a district or a village. The passages
which bear on the point are (1) the reference in the life of Euthymius, cap. 26; \(^1\) (2) the reference in the Chrysobull of Leo,\(^2\) and I think that neither is quite decisive.

In the Life of Euthymius, we are told that Symeon went to Greece, Johannes to Siderocausia, and Euthymius to Brastamou. The last named is now a village and perhaps was so then, but it is obvious that Euthymius’ laura was not founded exactly in a village, even if it were near to one, so that even Brastamou probably means merely the district in which the village of that name was. The analogy of the use of the wide term Greece for the destination of Symeon supports this view, and according to it Siderocausia was probably a district and may have been a name given to that in which Erissos was situated. At the same time the possibility that there was a village of that name is certainly not excluded.

In the Chrysobull we are told that the monks of Kolobou forged a document entitling them to τὰ χωρία ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Ξλωμοῦτκῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν. It does not seem plain whether Siderocausia and Chlomoutla are villages or districts. I incline to think that the latter may be the hilly district in Chalcidice at pre-

\(^1\) Καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ μακάριος τοῖς Σιδηροκαυσίοις λεγομένοις προσουκίζεται, Συμεὼν δ᾽ ὁ θαυμάσιος τῇ Ἑλλάδι διαπορθημένος, Εὐθύμιος δ᾽ ὁ ἱερὸς καὶ ἕμετερος ἐν τοῖς Βραστάμου λεγομένους τόπους τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μετατήθησιν. Pet. op. cit., p. 37.

\(^2\) p. 85. Appendix E.
JOHANNES KOLOBOS

sent called Cholomondas, but this is not certain, and I fear that the exact identification of the localities in this neighbourhood could only be accomplished by somewhat prolonged wanderings from village to village. The local tradition¹ of Mount Athos does not appear to be unanimous. Gerasimos Smyrnakes thinks that Siderocausia is a name which was given to the whole district of Chalcidice because of its mines, Kosmas Vlachos asserts that it was a village near Erisso, and M. Petit (Vie de S. Euthyme, p. 80) says that it is 'actuellement Μαδεμυχώρια, près de Hier iso'. None give any reason for their views. The Proegoumenos Chrysostomus of the Laura told me that Siderocausia was a district just beyond (i.e. north of?) Erisso, and that there are in existence documents which prove this, but he never showed me any or quoted them. Still I think that the balance of probability is that he is right.

If this be so the foundation mentioned in the Life of Euthymius may be the same as that in the Chrysobull of Basil. If not, we must assume that Johannes did not stay long at Siderocausia. In any case the history of its foundation parallels that of St. Andreas at Peristerai by Euthymius. The enthusiasm of the Eriessiotes was aroused by Johannes as that of the Peristeriotes was by Euthy-

¹ If it be a tradition: my impression is that the monks claim the prestige of the 'tradition of the mountain' for the view which they happen to be supporting, for they rarely agree with each other, and still more rarely produce proof.
mius, and land and other presents were showered on him by the pious. The crowning point was a gift from the emperor ratified by a Chrysobull.

The Chrysobull given to Johannes Kolobos. Whether he went to the emperor primarily for the sake of obtaining endowment for his monastery must remain doubtful. At any rate he not merely succeeded in obtaining the gift of the domain of Erissos, but also pleaded the cause of the hermitages and lauras on Mount Athos so skilfully that the emperor's Chrysobull protected the Athonites against all aggression or intrusion, and appointed Johannes and his foundation as the protectors of the mountain. Such is the story given in the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E) which confirmed that of Basil. It appears from this that the hermits and monks of the mountain had been suffering from intrusion, obviously from the laity of Erissos, and this fact seems to dispose of a suggestion, first made by Uspenski,¹ that the gift of the domain of Erissos implies that it was deserted at this time. The general tone of the Chrysobull of Leo also suggests that the primary reason of the Chrysobull being granted, and the possibility of its being asked for, was this aggression on Mount Athos by the Erissiotes.

¹ This suggestion is rendered plausible by Uspenski owing to a mistake by which he dates the boundary dispute about 984. Gerasimos Smyrnakes, not quite grasping this, has introduced two disputes, in which the same names occur, one in 881 and the other in 984.
The importance of the Chrysobull to Johannes is obvious; it at once made him the Hegoumenos of a rich and powerful monastery, and the protector of the whole of Mount Athos. Its value to the hermits and the monks of the lauras was no less. Previously their position had been anomalous: each little laura—to some extent each hermitage—implied some degree of clearing the land and cultivating the soil. But this also implied the creation of a more or less desirable property, and the question of the right to exclude others at once became important. No doubt there was a general tradition in favour of respecting hermits, yet this would not always go very far, and in the absence of documents they could scarcely appeal to the law for protection. But the Chrysobull regularized their position, and they could now appeal for protection to the powerful Hegoumenos of Kolobou, who controlled the district from which alone aggression was geographically possible, or, if he proved unfaithful to his trust, they could invoke the imperial help, which was pledged to them by the deed of Basil.

Thus the Chrysobull was of enormous advantage both to the Athonites and to Kolobou. But it was less excellent for the Erissiotes who seem to have been shut out on both sides. The monks of Kolobou claimed control over the Castrum, and the monks of Mount Athos claimed all the rest. The exact division was perhaps not quite clear, but between the two sets of monks the Erissiotes were being squeezed out of existence.
It was probably this situation which gave rise to two boundary settlements, of which the second is extant, and contains a sufficient allusion to the first to enable us roughly to reconstruct it.

The first boundary dispute, between Kolobou and the Erissiotes. The question seems to have arisen very soon as to the exact meaning of the control of the territory of Erissos which had been given by Basil; and when the matter came before Thomas Kaspax of Thessalonica he found that the boundaries of Kolobou had already been settled by other people. This settlement he ratified. It is impossible completely to reconstruct it, but I think that the general sense of the broken lines at the beginning of his report (Appendix B) can only be that when he came to investigate the district he found that it consisted of two parts, the κλασματική γῆ and the ἀποκληρωθείσα γῆ, of which the former lay between the latter and Mount Athos, clearly defined on the west (or land) side but not demarcated towards the mountain.

This division he accepted, and ratified the arrangement by which Kolobou took all the western or landward part while the Erissiotes took all the rest. No statement is made as to what there was still further inland, or whether it was part of the domain of Erissos.

1 This family seems to have been numerous and powerful in Thessalonica at this time; we have in the 'Decision' (Appendix D) Katakalon the governor, Thomas the epoptes, and Stephanos of Bardanopulos, and Zoetes or Zooektes, and there was a monastery Kaspakos on Mount Athos.
The second dispute. The arrangement described above settled the boundary between Kolobou and the Erissiotes, but Thomas had not thought it necessary to define the boundary of the Erissiotes and the Athonites, who immediately began to complain, maintaining that according to the Chrysobull of Basil their territory ran up to the boundary of Kolobou.

Judging from the fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil which remains, and from the references to it in that of Leo, the contention was technically not untenable. Basil says that the boundary of monks is to be the ἐνορία of Erissos, and Leo says that his father Basil had given Kolobou the right "κατέχεων τὴν ἐνορίαν" of Erissos. Apparently Thomas Kaspax had decided that the ἐνορία was the Castrum, not the whole district, when he was investigating the claims of Kolobou and the Erissiotes. The Athonites probably argued that this definition of terms ought to hold good in considering their claims, and that according to it they had the control of the whole district up to the Castrum itself.

The Erissiotes, on the other hand, claimed that the Athonite border was at the Zygos, the next ridge after the Vigla: we are not told whether they produced any evidence in support of their claim.

Between these two claims Thomas Kaspax had to decide. Reading between the lines of his report one may, I think, see that he recognized the legal
strength of the Athonite position, but felt that it was bad equity to leave the Erissiotes, as he says, without any property at all.

He therefore sent the two parties away to agree on the general outline of a division of the disputed land, which was afterwards properly drawn up and ratified by the στρατηγάτης Katakalon Kaspax.

The division agreed upon roughly divided the disputed ground; its general course has been already discussed (p. 60), but the mention of the monastery of Christina is noticeable.

It may mean that there was a monastery or a laura there, but perhaps more probably it only means that St. Christina—wherever that may have been—had property at that point.

It is interesting to notice that Euthymius appears to have interested himself in the matter, as his name appears among the signatures to the report of Katakalon Kaspax. What, however, did Johannes Kolobos do? The name of his monastery does not appear among the signatories, but I suspect that the signature to the agreement, Ἰωάννου ἣγουμένου τοῦ Ἀθωνος, is his, and that he assumed the title in virtue of the protectorate over the mountain given him by Basil.

*The settlement and its results.* The position of affairs at the end of this settlement in 882 may therefore be defined as follows.

The monastery of Kolobou had obtained control over the Castrum of Erissos, and had a protectorate over the monks of Mount Athos as against all
intruders on the mountain; between the Castrum and the domain of the Athonites was a piece of land which had been allotted for public use to the inhabitants of Erissos and to certain neighbouring monasteries. Kolobou also possessed some vineyards and orchards on the Athos side of the boundary where the monastery of St. Christina also had some property, while on the other hand the Athonites had a spot called the καθεδρα τῶν γερόντων reserved for them in the territory of the Erissiotes. The whole arrangement was ratified by Katakalon Kaspax, the governor of the Thema of Thessalonica, and the Erissiotes paid the sum requisite to secure their property.¹

The conclusion of the settlement is the last act of Johannes Kolobos² (assuming that he is the Hegoumenos of Athos) of which we know anything. Probably, like Euthymius, he was now an old man and did not live much longer, but the history of his monastery can be traced for a little more than a century longer.

¹ This payment has surely been misunderstood by Uspenski and others who follow him. They appear to think that the Athonites had sold land to the Erissiotes and then disputed the boundaries of what they had sold. It seems to me that the point of the dispute was that the Erissiotes had bought ground from the public authorities which the Athonites claimed in virtue of an earlier deed allotting it to them.

² It is worth noticing that MSS. exist of a Life of Paisius written by him (inc. ὁσπερ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βίου . . . desin. ταῦτα εἰρήσω). See codd. Paris. 1093¹, 1547², suppl. 759¹. There is also a MS. in the Laura.
It cannot be said that the conduct of the monks of Kolobou reflects credit on their training. They appear first as forgers, and secondly as oppressors of the hermits of Mount Athos and their other neighbours, and lastly as losing their property because of their inhospitality.

The forgery of the Monks of Kolobou. The story of the forgery is related at the beginning of the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E). It appears that the monks were not satisfied with the position in which the boundaries settlement of 882 had left them. They wished for the control, not merely the protectorate, of the mountain, and for further possessions inland.

They found their opportunity at the accession of Leo in 886, and forged a document, apparently a map of some sort, which they took to the emperor together with the Chrysobull of Basil for confirmation. Leo, without looking into the matter closely, granted their request. By this means they secured control of nearly the whole mountain, and villages of (in ?) Siderocausia and Chomoutla (Cholomondas?), the monasteries of Moustaconos, Kardiognostou, and Luka, together with the meeting-place of the hermits (καθεδρα των γερόντων).

It is probably impossible to identify these places, but it is clear that the forgery was planned in the grand style, and gave the monastery of Kolobou the control of the whole of the surrounding districts.

The protest of the Athonites. As soon as the monks had obtained the imperial confirmation they began a career discreditable to themselves, oppressive to
their neighbours, and ultimately disastrous to their foundation.

They abused the hermits of the mountain, took the clearings for the benefit of their flocks, and treated the whole country as their own possession, until at last peasants and hermits made common cause and sent Andreas, ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς καὶ “πρῶτος” ἡσυχαστής τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρους, to intercede for them with the Emperor.

The ‘Protos’. This reference to the πρῶτος is of great importance for the history of the growth of the common organization of the monasteries on Mount Athos, and the question may be raised whether πρῶτος ought to be regarded as a title or as an epithet of ἡσυχαστής. In his invaluable Haupturkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, p. 29, Dr. Ph. Meyer assumes that the former alternative is correct, and regards this passage as the earliest reference to a Protos of the mountain, though he does not quote the text. I doubt, however, whether he is justified in doing this (grammatically πρῶτος is here so clearly adjectival), especially as there is no evidence that the title was used elsewhere before the tenth century, though later, as Gedeon has shown (ὁ ᾍθως, p. 85), it was used in Thessaly at Meteora and at Latros, and it seems to me probable that in the Chrysobull of Leo πρῶτος is not the technical term which it had become by the third quarter of the tenth century (cf. Vita Athanasii Athonitae by Pomjaloivski, pp. 20 ff.).

In any case it is noteworthy that the title must
have been quite recent, as it does not appear in the list of the signatures to the boundary settlement a few years previously. There the leader of the monks is called the ἴγουμενος τοῦ Ἀθωνος, and, as I have said, he is perhaps identical with Johannes Kolobos.

It is, I suspect, probable that the origin of the title πρῶτος may be found in this controversy of the Athonites with the monks of Kolobou. The former wished to appear before the emperor, and were not able to send their usual representative, the Abbot of Kolobou, for the very good reason that he was actually the person of whom they wished to complain. They therefore selected the most prominent hermit, and the adjective by which they (or the emperor) described him was afterwards used as a title. The office, thus originated to meet a special need, was found so convenient that it was perpetuated, and was firmly established by the time of Athanasius.¹

The victory of the Athonites over Kolobou. The mission of Andreas to the emperor proved successful; Nicephorus, the Proto-Spatharios, held an inquiry which revealed the fraud of the monks of Kolobou; the forgery was destroyed, and the emperor gave a new Chrysobull protecting the Athonites, and tying the monks of Kolobou down closely to the original terms of the Bull of Basil. There is a significant lack of direct confirmation

¹ The later history of the office of Protos can be studied in Meyer, l. c.
as to the 'Protectorate' over the mountain, from which it might be assumed that the monastery lost their privilege, and nothing is especially said to the possession of the καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων.

With this incident the first chapter of the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos was closed. For the history of the mountain its importance is to be found in the fact that it shows that at the beginning of the tenth century there was no definite monastery on the mountain; there were hermits, and, as we know from the life of Euthymius, some of these hermits were associated in lauras. Moreover, the necessity of defending their interests from the encroachments of the monks of Kolobou had forced them to take common action under the leadership of the most prominent of their number.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

A. Extract from a Chrysobull of Basil earlier than A.D. 881

... Τοὺς τῶν ἐρημικῶν βίου ἐλομένους καὶ τὰς καταμονὰς καὶ διατριβάς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθωνος λεγομένῳ ὀρεὶ ποιησαμένους, καὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς σκηνὰς ἐκεῖ πηξαμένους, παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρια-ζόντων καὶ τῷ ὀρεὶ τοῦ κράτου προσομορούντων ἐπηρεαζομένους, καὶ μὴ συγχωροουμένους καθαροῦς καὶ ἀταράχους τὰ τοῦ οἰκεῖου λογισμοῦ διεπιστείλαιν, ὁ θεοσυνεργητὸς ἡμῶν βασιλεία δίκαιον ἡγήσατο διὰ τούτῳ ἡμῶν τοῦ σιγιλλίου τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθορύβους καὶ ἀταράχους διάγειν, εὐχέσθαι τε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν γαληνώ-τητος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν συντήματος, ἔξασφαλιζόμεθα πάντας ἀπὸ ταῖς στρατηγῶν, βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἦσθα ἐσχάτου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δουλείαν κατα-πιστευομένου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ χωριάτας καὶ ἄνω τοῦ ἐν τῷ μυλώνι ἀληθοῦς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπηρείσθη τὶς τοὺς αὐτῶν μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καθὼς ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ ἡ ἐνορία καὶ τὴν ἔσω πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὁρος εἰσέρχεσθαι τίνας, μήτε ποιμένας μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτῶν, μήτε βουκόλους μετὰ τῶν βουκολίων αὐτῶν... .

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski (Boстомохъ Христианский, Асоои, Киве, 1877, part 3, p. 295), who is quoting from a MS. which is found in the library of Philotheon.

B. The πραξίς of the ἐπόπτης, Θωμᾶς Κάσταξ, as to the boundary between Erissos and the Monks of Mount Athos, A.D. 881–2

... ἐπειδὴ ἡ κλασματική γῆ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ... ἐστὶ, καὶ συνήνωται τῷ ὀρεί τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ ἡ ἀποκλίρω-
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

θεία γῇ τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ . . . ἡ μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων διεχωρίθη, καὶ σύνορα ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῆς τε μονῆς καὶ τῶν χωριατῶν ἐγένετο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διαχωρισμὸν κατελήπτου τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ διόριζεν τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν 'Άθωνα, κατείχον οἱ χωριάται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἐνέμοντο. οὐ μὴν προέβη πρὸ τούτου διαχωρισμὸς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ 'Άθωνος, ἵνα ἐκ τούτου ἐδικήνητο ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπικράτεια, κάκειθεν ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ, ἡ παρὰ τῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων κατεχομένη. ἀλλ' οὔτως συγκεχωμένη καὶ ἀδιάγωντος ὑπήρχεν ἡ ἐκάστου δεσποτεία διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μέχρι τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐποτικὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κλάσματος διάπρασιν. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κάστρου 'Ερισσοῦ οἰκητῶν κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν διέπρασαν [1. διέπρασα] εἰς αὐτούς, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ συνόρων, αὐτῶν τε τῶν ἐξωνησάντων τῆς τοῦ κλάσματος γῆς καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ 'Άθωνος διὰ τὸ τηνύκατα μηδεμίαν φιλομενίαν παρὰ τινος κινηθῆναι, οὕτε παρ' ἡμῶν περιεργώτερον ἐξετάσθη ἡ ἐπολυτραγμονήθη περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν.

Ἀποστειλαντες οὖν μετὰ τούτο οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ 'Άθωνος ἐδείχθησαν τοὺς βασιλείς ἡμῶν τοὺς ἁγίους, καὶ ἐδέξαντο τῷ Στρατηγῷ καὶ ὧν Κουλας, ἵνα διαχωρίσωσι τὰ δίκαια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητῶν τοῦ Κάστρου, ἀπαιτήσωσι δὲ ἑγγραφὰν ἀσφάλειαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἰκήτορας, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι παρενόχλησι πως ἐπάγων τοῖς μοναχοῖς, καὶ ἀποστειλάντες ἦγαγον τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ 'Ερισσοῦ καὶ ἐνόπιον ἁμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ἐπέτραχαν μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν μοναχοὶ τοῦ 'Άθωνος προεβάλλουσι τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεσποτείαν εἰς τὸ ὀροῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κλάσματος κώδιξ ἀναγράφεται δημόσια εἰς πρόσωπο τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ 'Άθωνος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς ἀσφάλειας τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Βασιλείου πάσαν ἅδειαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν παρέχουσι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν (sic) τοῦ 'Ερισσοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐσω, καὶ ὅσον τοῦτον ἐνορίαν οὐ τῆς ὑποταγῆν τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάστρου λέγοντες, ἐπειρώντο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατοχῆς εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ
χρυσοβούλλων βοήθειαν, εξ ὧν συνέβαιν πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα κλασματικὰ τόπια ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον μηδὲν ἐναπομένειν τοῖς οἰκήτοροι τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ. Πάλιν δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκήτορες ἐνίσταντο μέχρι τοῦ Ζυγοῦ εἶναι τὴν κλασματικὴν γῆν καὶ ἐως τοῦ τοιοῦτον τόπου δεσπόζειν αὐτοῖς, τους δὲ Ἀθωνίτας ἐξουσιάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν Ζυγοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ ἀπλῶς πολλαὶ φιλονικήσαντες περὶ τούτου τὸ γάρ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτερῶν στασιαζόμενον τοῦτο ἦν, τοῦ ὀρθοῦν τὸ τὸν ἐνθα ἐμελλὼν γενέσθαι σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δίκαια.

Τελευταῖον οὖν οἰκεία προθέσει ἤρεσθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀφιλονεκὸν (τὸ πλέον δὲ διὰ τὸ συγκεκριμένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἀδιάγραμτον), καὶ διωρίσαντο τὸ τὸν ἐνθά ἐμελλὼν γενέσθαι τὰ σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα αὐτοῖς. τοῦ δὲ Στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τζουλά, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, κρατησάντων μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπιτόπιος καὶ διαχωρίσαι αὐτοὺς, καθὼς καὶ ἤρεσθησαν ἐπιδοῦναι τε ἀμφοτέρους καὶ λιβέλλους τῆς τοιαύτης ἡμῶν πράξεως, ὡσάντως καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαδικαζομένων εἰς τούτῳ, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἀπέρατον αὐτῶν γνώσκουν οὐ κατένευτα ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἄτυχεν ἀπὸ φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελθεῖν ... ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ, εἰς ὅπερ ἤρεσθητε, ἐξασφαλίσασθε ἀμφοτέροι πρὸς με, ἵνα ἀμεταμελήτως καταδέξησθε τοῦτο.

Καὶ ἐξερχόμενο (sic) καὶ ἐξασφαλίσασθον ἀμφοτέρους ἐνόρκος, τὸν ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα διαχωρίζειν ἀμφοτέρους σύνορα. ἐξασφαλίσασθεν χάρι τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ Τζουλάς καὶ ὑπομνήμα τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἐμφαίνον τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀρέσκειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν ἀναντίρρητον ἐνέργειαν. Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν ἀσφάλειας διὰ τὴς τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὑπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βεβαιωθείσης, ἐξηλθοῦν ἐπιτόπιος καὶ διείσδυσαν (I. διείσδυσα;) κατὰ τὴν ἐγγραφὴν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν εἰ ὅτι ἤρεσθησαν τὸ τὸν. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς διακατοχῆς τοῦ τούτου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μέχρι τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων, πᾶσαν τὴν μετάξυ ὑστών γῆν, ὡς κλασματικήν, διέτρεψα τοῖς οἰκήτοροι τοῦ Κάστρου, καὶ ἤρεσθησαν καὶ παρέλαβον αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀνελάβοντο λίβελλον παρ᾽ ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῇ ἴσοτητι, ἀπὸ ὀθάλασαν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἅθωνα παρεδόθη.
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tois monaxoīs toiv autōv ōropos kai ἐπεδόθη αὐτoīs ὑπόμοναι kai περιορισμὸs eis oikiein autōn ἀσφάλειαι kai ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν ἀμφίβολον τοι ὑποτέχνεσος ἐωs τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων, καθώς kai ὁ λεβελὸς αὐτῶν περείχει, ὄποιτως kai oi monaxoi toiv Ἀθωνος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων kai πρὸs τῶν Ἀθώνα.

Πλὴν τούτω μόνων kai παρὰ τῶν οἰκητῶν toiv Κάστρου kai ἔτι ἐλογομάχητο, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κολύσσαθαι τυχῶν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν εἰς καίρον ἐθνικὴς ἐφόδου τῇ προφάσει τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ του μὴ εἰσέρχεται kai περισσάζεται εἰς τὸ ταιοῦτον ōρος, kai περὶ τούτου ἦν οἰκονομηθῇ, μανδρεία δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν μὴτε μελισσουργεία, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἁδεῖας οὐσίας ἀνευ ἐξιδόσεως τῶν μοναχῶν εἰσάγει τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, μεγάλως γὰρ εἰς τούτο οἱ μοναχοὶ παρενοχλόυντο. ἔπει ἀπὸ τῶν ταιοῦτων συνόρων kai πρὸς τῶν Ἀθώνα kai ὀλιγοστὴ kai ἀχρείᾳ γῆ ὑπέρτου ἀπεκληρώθη τοῖς μοναχοῖς. kai γὰρ οἱ οἰκητῆρες τοῦ Κάστρου ἔχουσι μὲν kai ἦν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐξωνήσατο γῆν, ἔλαβον δὲ kai ἐσχάτως ἐκ προστάξεως βασιλικῆς kai τοῦ ἁγίου μου αὐθέντου kai ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ὡσεὶ χιλίων μονῆων, kai οὐ δύνανται λέγειν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτάρκειαι αὐτῶν.

Ἡ δὲ λεγομένη "καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων" ἐν ἑτέρῳ μέρει ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ ὑπὸ [sic., ἀπὸ;] τῆν γῆν τοῦ κλάσματος τοῦ Καμένου, ἀπεδόθη δὲ διὰ χρυσοβουλλοῦ τοῖς μοναχοῖς, καὶ ὀρίσθη παρ’ ἡμῶν kai ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι ἡμῶν ἀντεγράφη, ἐνα ὑπὸ κατέχθαι παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν καθὼς kai προκατέχετο.

Τάυτα ἔμοι τῷ δούλῳ σου δίκαια διοικήσαι ἀνεφάνῃ. ὁ δὲ ἁγίος μου αὐθέντης τῷ δίκαιῳ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπειπάμενος, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὀδηγήσαιτο.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op.cit., pp. 315 ff. The writer says that his text is derived from a MS. in the library of the monastery of Coutiloumousi on Mount Athos which bears the title: Γράμματα ἀρχαία σωζόμενων τῶν πρωτοτύπων ἐν τῷ Πρωτάτῳ, ἀντιγραφέντα δι’ αἰτήσεως τοῦ πανοσιολογισμοῦ ἀρχιμαθητοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Κουτλουμοῦσι κυρίου Γρηγορίου. With reference to
the ἀρχή τοῦ πρωτοτύπου διεφθαρμένη.

Gerasimos Smyrnakes, op. cit., p. 23 f., quotes this document from ἐξασφαλισμένων δὲ αὐτῶν to the end. I have not noted his variations which do not affect the sense, because it seems less likely that they are derived from the original document at Caryes than that they are merely emendations of the text given by Uspenski.

C. The Agreement between the Monks of Athos and the Erissiotes as to the Boundary between Their Domains

Σίγνων Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, ήγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ὀρθογο-μάτου.
Σίγνων Μεθόδιου μοναχοῦ, ήγουμένου μονῆς τῆς ἁγίας Χριστίνης.
Σίγνων Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ, ήγουμένου τοῦ Σεπλαϊώτου.
Σίγνων μοναχῶν ἀπὸ Κεντάρων.
Σίγνων Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Χαλόμα.
Σίγνων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γορᾶζδου.
Σίγνων . . . πάντων.
Σίγνων Βασιλείου.
Σίγνων πάντων μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνός.
Σίγνων Ἰωάννου, ήγουμένου τοῦ Ἀθωνός.
Σίγνων Κυνηγοῦ τοῦ Νεπροβάδη.
Σίγνων Θεοδόρου.
Σίγνων Ἀρκαδίου μοναχοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.
Σίγνων πάντων τοῦ Καστρου.

[In the original each of these signatures is written round a cross.]

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς ύιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Ἡμεῖς οἱ προγεγραμμένοι καὶ τῶν τιμίων καὶ ξωποιῶν σταυροῦς ἱδιοχείρος πῆλαν τῆν παρούσαν ἐγγραφον ἄσφαλείαν καὶ τελείαν διάλυσιν ποιοῦμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς Ἡμᾶς ἤσπασάρη
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Ἀσιχρήτη ἐπόπτη Θεσσαλονίκης. ἤμεις μὲν οἱ ἦγουμενοι μετὰ τῶν χωριῶν ὑπὲρ πᾶσι τῆς κοινότητος τῆς χώρας, ἤμεις δὲ ὁ Ἀθωνιτὴς μοναχὸι ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνοῦ τοῦ ὄρους.

'Επειδὴ πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἐπώλησαν εἰς τοὺς χωριάτας τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν, οὐ διεχώρισαν δὲ τὸ ἔως ποὺ ὤφειλον διεστρέφειν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες καὶ ἐκεῖθεν οἱ Ἀθωνιταὶ, διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήλθομεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκη, καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πανευφήμου πρωτεῦππου Κατακάλων, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἁγιώτατον ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Θωμᾶ βασιλαρίου τοῦ Τζουλά, καὶ Ζωῆτου [ὁ, Ζωῆτου; cf. the διαχωρισμὸς of Κατακάλων] βασιλαρίου κριτοῦ, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ προειρημένον ἐπάππου, ἐγκλησιν ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπιζητοῦμεν χωρίσθηκαν τὰ τοῦ Ἀθωνοῦ ὄρια ἀπὸ τῆς διαπραθείσης γῆς.

Καὶ ἤμεις μὲν οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τὴν ἡμετέραν διασποτείαν ἐως τῶν Ζυγοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν. ἤμεις δὲ ὁ Ἀθωνιτὴς ἀντελέγομεν πάλιν ὅτι κατὰ πολὺ μέρος ἀνήκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξωθείσης γῆς.

Περὶ τούτων πολλᾶ φιλονικήσαντες συνείδομεν ἀμφότεροι καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν γενέσθαι οὐτως,— ἵνα ἀπὸ τὸ πλῆρωμα τῶν χωραφίων τοῦ Κυροῦ Μεθώδιου 1 πρὸς τὸν Ζυγόν κατοῦν τὰ σύνορα ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ζυγόν πάντα χωραφιά τε καὶ χέρσα ἵνα ὁκτά τῆς διασποτείας τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τὰ τοιοὰτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρισσόν ἵνα δοκίμα τῆς διασποτείας τῶν ἀγορασιῶν καὶ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ. καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἤμεις οἱ Ἀθωνιταὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τοιοῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρισσόν ἐχομεν ἐξωθιάζω τὰ σύνορα ἐπιζητοῦμεν, μήτε ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τὰ τοιοῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα ἐχειν τινὰ ἐξωθιάζων.

Καὶ εἰς ταῦτα συμφωνήσαντες καὶ ἀρεσθέντες ἐξησφαλίσαμεν πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐπίτην ἵνα κατανυγῆς καὶ ἐξέλθῃς καὶ διαχωρίσης ἡμᾶς καθὼς καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν.

Οἷον δὲ μέρος ἀντιλογῆσαι καὶ οὐκ ἁγιοβείσαι εἰς ταῦτα

1 i.e. the monastery of S. Christina. Cf. signatories, and the διαχωρισμὸς of Κατακάλων.

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tà προειρήμενα, εν πρώτοις ἄριστης ἐστὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὀμοουσίου Τριδός, καὶ ξένος τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ τῆς μοναχικῆς καταστάσεως, ἐπειτα καὶ καταδικάζεται δικαίωμένου τοῦ ἐμενους καὶ στέργωτος μέρους εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα σύμφωνα.

"Εξαθεν δὲ τούτων ἔχειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν καθέδραν τῶν Γερόντων τῶν ἐν τῷ Χρυσοβουλλίῳ μνημονευόμενην.

Εἰς ταύτα πάντα ἀρεσθέντες προστάζαμεν τοὺς τιμίους καὶ ξωοποιοὺς σταυρούς, γραφόντος τοῦ ὠφος διὰ χειρὸς Δημητρίου κληρικοῦ κουβουκλίων καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου, εὖ μην Μαίω Ἰνδικτόνος ἰε.

Γρηγόριος ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης μάρτυς τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ὑπέγραψα ἱδιοχειρώ.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Ὑστώς βασπαθάρης, νοτάριος τῶν κουμερκῶν πάρεμι ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις μάρτυς ὑπέγραψα ἱδιοχειρώ.

Βασιλείου κανδιδάτος ο Σερινάρης πάρεμι κτλ.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Μιχαὴλ κληρικός πάρεμι κτλ.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Γρηγόριος βασπαθάρης ὁ Φωσκός πάρεμι κτλ.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op. cit., p. 318.

D. DECISION OF Κατακάλων Κάσταξ AS TO THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTIC LAND OF MOUNT ΑΘΟΣ AND THE TERRITORY OF HIERISSOS. A.D. 882

Τῶν βασιλεών ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἐδεξάμεθα πρόσταγμα ἵνα ἁμα Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Ζωήτῳ Κάστακος (sic) ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ θέματος ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπιτοπίως ἐν τῇ ἑνορίᾳ τοῦ Ἰερισσοῦ καὶ διαχωρίσωμεν τὴν γῆν τῶν τε μοναχῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθων καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου Ἰερισσοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Ὑστώς Κάστακος καὶ ἐπόπτου τοῦ μειροκοβαῦλου, καὶ ἐνδον ἀποστυλείσθης πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς ψήφου Κοσμᾶ τοῦ πανευφήμου μαγίστρου. Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πεποικαμεν καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τότον ἁμα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἦτοι τῷ ἀρχιεπι-
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

σκόπῳ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι Κάστακε συμπαρόντων ἧμῖν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὁσιώτατον ἐπισκόπου Ἕρκουλων, Παρίλου Κάστακος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν Στεφάνου, καὶ ἔγγρατα τῆς οἰκειακῆς τραπέζης Ἀναστασίου Κάστακος καὶ πρὸς τὴς πτέρνης Ἰερασιαλήνης Ἀνδρέου Κάστακος καὶ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ θέματος, Κωνσταντίνου κληρικοῦ καὶ κουβουκλησίου, Θεοδώρου κληρικοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἰερασιαλήνης, Ἐυθυμίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Ὀρφανοῦ, Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου, Στεφάνου Κάστακος τοῦ Βαθανούτου, Νικόλ Αμανότου, Δημητρίου δειγ., τῶν Βηθριών καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν διεχωρίσαμεν τὴν γῆν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ὡς τοῖς Ἀθωνίτοι καὶ τοῖς οἰκητάροις Ιερισου, ποιήσαντες τὴν κατ᾽ ἀρχὴν τῆς νοτίας θαλάσσης, ἤγγον ἀπὸ τὴν κατ᾽ ἀρχήν τοῦ κάλπου τῆς Ἀμμουλιαίης.

Καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ διαχωρισμὸς οὗτος ἀπαρχήσται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βαθῶν ῥυῶν τῶν κατέναντι κείμενοι τῶν λεγόμενον παλαιῶν παλαιῶν τῆς Ἀμμουλιαίης καὶ ἀνατρέχει ὡς πρὸς τὰ χωράφια τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἀγίας Ἑρμοσίνης, ἐν οὗ τόπῳ καὶ καισαυρεία ἵσταται ἐκ πολλῶν λίθων συγκειμένη καὶ ύποκάτω τῆς λιθώστρειας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἵσταται ὁδὸς καθεξῆς λαυρατώμεναι, καὶ ἀποδίδει τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρις ἐτέρω ῥύκων, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ῥύκον ὑπερβαίνει τὸ ῥάχων καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὴν Γλούσσαντίστα, καὶ πέραν τοῦ ῥύκος εἰσὶ ὁδῖς καὶ πτελέας λαυρατώμεναι καὶ καθεξῆς τῇ ἰσότητι ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν γνυστέρων ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ παρακείμενον αὐχένων ἐν οὗ ἔστιν τὸ λιθομάδιον τοῦ ἄρχον τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐσωθεν τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τῶν Ἀθωνίτων καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐχένων ἀποδίδει εἰς πεδίνον τόπον ἐν οὗ ἐστὶ βρουδεῖας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τόπων καθεξῆς ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ ἀντικείμενον αὐχένων, καὶ κατέρχεται τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς βορείης.

Ὅτω διαχωρίσαντες καὶ σύνορα τῆς τραγανός, καθὼς καὶ οἱ τόποι διεχώρισεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐγγράφως τὴν πρᾶξιν ἧμῶν

1. Ὀρθογομότου? Cf. signatories to the agreement on p. 80.
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ἀποσημειωσάμενοι ἐπιδεδώκαμεν ἀμφοτέρος τοῖς μέρεσι — κατέχουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνοῦ καὶ τὴν καθήδραν τῶν Γερώντων, καθὼς καὶ προκατείχον αὐτὴν, κατὰ τὴν δώμαθιν τοῦ Χρυσούλλου αὐτῶν — σφραγίσαντες διὰ μολύβδου τῇ συνήθει σφραγίδι ἡμῶν, μηνὶ Ἀγνούστῳ, ἰδικτιών ἀ, ἰτηφ.1 [882 A.D.]
+ Κατακάλων Κάσπαξ, στρατηλάτης Θεσσαλονίκης.
+ Γρηγόριος, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης.
+ Ευθύμιος, μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Περιστερῶν.

And the others, whose names are given in the first part of the document.

The text is taken from the Βυζάντινα Χρονικά, vol. v, 1898, pp. 485 ff. [published in St. Petersburg and in Leipzig by K. L. Rickev] from a collection of documents copied from a MS. in the Laura by the Proegoumenos Alexandros of that monastery. The original is said, I believe correctly, to be extant in the archives of the κοινότης at Caryes.

E. CHRYSOBULL OF LEO VI

...πᾶσης παρευχλήσεως ... ἐλευθεριάζοντες περιστάσεων ... τῷ ὀμματί ... τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερεύχοντο, τοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς ἀπασί ... πάλαι μὲν ὅ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατήρ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς σιγίλλοι εἰς αἰτήσεως Ἡώνιου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κολοβοῦ λαβεῖν ἔκκαίσωσε τοῦ περιπλανεῖσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὄρει σχολάζοντάς τοὺς θείους ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ αὐτοῦ Ἡώνιον νεουργήθεισαν μονὴν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοίας καταπλαίειν, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ἐριστοῦ καὶ μόνον. Καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης θείας κελεύσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπὶ χρόνοις τινὰς κρατησάσθης: ὕστερον δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς Κολοβοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ

1 Gerasimos Smyrnakes, l.c., p. 23, quotes the last part of this document. He gives the same year, but the fifteenth instead of the first indiction.
πλαγίως διδάσκοντες ὡς ἐν τάξει ἐπικυρωτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ
λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως σιγιλλίου ἐπεξήγησαν, ἐν
ὡς παράλογος τῆς τοῦ σιγιλλίου μετενεχθέντες τάξεως,
χαριστικής τούτοις, ὡς οὖκ ἠφέλε, διεγράψατο, καὶ περι-
ορισμὸν εκθέμενοι σχεδὸν τὸν ὅλον εἰς δεσποτείαν καὶ
κυριότητα κατακρατήσαντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ
χωρία, ἀπὸ τὸς Λεγομένου Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν
Χλωμομάλων καὶ ἄλλων τιμῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ
μοναστηρὶα ἀπὸ τοῦ Μοντάκωνος, τοῦ Καρδιογνώστου,
cαὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ, καὶ τὴς τῶν γερόντων ἄρ-
χαίαν κατέδραν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιοικοῦ ὄρους
Ἀθωνος Ἀνδρέας ὁ εὐλαβεῖστατος μοναχὸς καὶ πρῶτος,
ἡσυχαστής τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους ἀπὸ προσώπου πάντων τῶν
ἐκείς σχολαζόντων θείων ἄνδρων, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατα-
λαβών, ἐδέχθη τῆς ἤμετρας βασιλείας ἀναδιδάξας ὡς οἱ τῆς
μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπειλημμένοι προφάσεως,
cαὶ εἰς δικαίωμα τῆς ἄδικος τηρικαύτα γενομένης κατά
πανοργίαν περιγραφῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χάρτην προκομίζοντες,
cατεκράτησαν τὸ ὅλον ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ
σχολαζόντας θείους ἄνδρας, ὡς υπὸ ἰδιὰν παροικίαν, πολλάκις
dιαπληκτιζόμενοι, ἀποφαινόμεναι καὶ ἀποδιώκοντι, ὡσπέρ ἀπὸ
οἰκείων κτημάτων, ἱσχυρῶς διατείνονται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
νομαδικὸν προάστεον τὸν ὅλον διακρατοῦντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ
tῶν πλησιαζομένων χωρῶν εἰσάγοντες τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ
tὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων νομῆς κομιζόμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπε-
λαύνειν αὐτῶν ἐκείθεν παντελῶς ἐκβιάζονται. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ
cαὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῶν εἰρημένων χωρῶν συνανθέοντες τῷ
αὐτῷ εὐλαβείστατῳ ἄνδρι περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πλευνεξίας καὶ
παράλογων κατασχέσεως τῶν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατε-
βώσαν. Περὶ δὲ δεξαμενοῦ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Νικηφόρος,
ὠ ἐπώνυμον τοῦ Ἐὐπρίαξη, ἀκριβῶς διερευνήσατο, τῇ
ἀλήθειαν ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν ἄνσωζαν, καὶ
dεξαμενὸς παρὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν ἀμφότερα αὐτῶν τῷ
μέρῃ, τῇ βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβεῖν προσέταξεν. Καὶ δὴ,
ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Νικηφόρου, δοθέντος
παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον
τῆς οἰκείας μονῆς Παχωμίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου μοναχῶν, καὶ
ἀμφότερον τῶν μερῶν παραγενομένων, καὶ ἐξετασθέντων
κελευστεί τής βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Στεφάνου μαγίστρου καὶ Κων-
σταντίνου βασιλικοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ πρωτοσπάρτην, καὶ Βασιλείου πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ἐπὶ τοῦ
περιωύμενον σεκρέτου τῶν ἁσπεριτῶν, εὑρέθησαν ταῖς ἀλη-
θείαις παραλόγοις προγραφέντα τὰ τοιαύτα τόπια ἐν τῷ
παραλόγῳ γενομένῳ χάρτῃ τής βασιλείας ἡμῶν. Ὑπὲρ δὴ
cαὶ αὐτοί οἱ προειρημένοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ
ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πάντων συνωμολογήσαντες κατέθεντο.
Ταῦτα οὖν ἡ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία παρ’ αὐτοῖς
ἀναμαθοῦσα καὶ ταῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκούσ εἰμένος ἐπικλή-
νασα, ἐπετάξατο τοὺς τοιούτους τηνικά τα παραλόγως γενο-
μένων χάρτην διαρρηχθῆναι, διαφιλάττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὴν
γνώμην του ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως
πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνικὸ καθὼς καὶ ἀπαραθέκτων ἀπὸ παντο-
οιαίς ἐπηρείαις καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς ἐγγυμοσύνης
παρασκευής, ὅσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία κατέχει ἀκανοτό-
μητα τὰ ἰδία δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ
ἀρκεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸν χάρτην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς
ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐνορίας Ἐρισσοῦ διακράτησιν,
καὶ τὴν κατανομὴν ὑμῶν τῶν Καμένων σὺν τοῖς τόποις
τῶν ἀμπελώνων καὶ κηπουριῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μόνων.
Τὰ δὲ λοιπά πάντα κλάσματα τῶν τῶν Καμένων καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν, κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῶν κλασματικῶν ἔλευθεροι καὶ νέμεσθαι
αὐτὰ πάντας τοὺς παρακειμένους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς περισσο-
πήραν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ δινηκὴ δικαίωσιν τοῦ τῶν μέρους τῶν
ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἀθωνικῆς ἀσκητῶν, καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἀπόλαυσιν
καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν
εὐσθεῖες σιγιλλώνδες ἐν μεμβρανώις γράμμα ἐπικρυφτικῶν
τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως
ἐπιθυμηθῆναι τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνικῳ ἀσκητῶν ἐκελεύσαμεν, γεγενημένον
catà tòn ... μήνα ... ἤδηκτ ... , ἐν ὦ καὶ τῷ ἠμέτερον
eὐσθεῖες καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημόνατο κράτος ...
CHAPTER IV

THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS AND THE COMING OF ATHANASIUS

The last chapter described the state of things at the beginning of the tenth century, when the monks of Mount Athos had triumphed over their oppressors and ‘protectors’, the monks of Kolobou, and were beginning to adopt something of the nature of a common organization. The next few years are blank. The only ray of light, and that a very feeble one, is afforded by the Chrysobull of Romanus which ratified those of Basil and of Leo. As was pointed out, nothing was said in the Chrysobull of Leo as to the protectorate over the mountain or about the καθήδρα τῶν γερόντων; but both these points are mentioned in the Chrysobull of Romanus, which belongs either to the year 919–20 (or perhaps the year 934–5, only the indiction being given). A possible interpretation of this fact is that the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos still continued, and that the former insisted that the meaning of the Chrysobull of Leo was to confirm that of Basil, and thus to grant them a protectorate over the mountain, while the monks of Mount Athos insisted, more or less as a counter-claim, on their privileges in connexion with the καθήδρα τῶν γερόντων. If this be so it would
appear that both parties succeeded in establishing their claim.
If the tradition of the mountain be trustworthy, one other point of interest ought to be added. According to this Basileios, the writer of the life of Euthymius, who was Metropolitan of Thessalonica some time after 905,¹ founded a monastery (or laura?) on Mount Athos. This monastery is further identified with the ruined foundation on the north coast of the mountain, and according to two MSS. of the book called Ἀθωνίας,² in the Russian convent on Mount Athos, was known as the monastery τοῦ Πύργου, or as τοῦ Σωτήρος; it would also appear to have been dedicated to the Ascension, and perhaps the full name was τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Σωτήρος, just as the full name of Pantocrator is τῆς μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ παντοκράτορος. That this monastery existed is of course certain, but in the absence of corroborative proof it is far from being equally certain that it was founded early in the tenth century by Basileios of Thessalonica. It is interesting to note that according to the life of St. Bartholomew of Simeri³ it was early in the twelfth century the property of a Byzantine named Kallimeris, who gave it to Bartholomew. The

¹ Cf. Petit, Saint Euthyme le jeune, p. 6, and Échos de l’Orient, iv (1901), p. 221.
² Cod. Ath. Pantel. 5788 and 5789. For the facts concerning the book Ἀθωνίας, see Gedeon, ὁ Ἀθως, p. 69. It was written by Sophronios Kallijas, before 1855, and published at Smyrna after 1870.
latter reformed it, and it is stated in his life that it therefore obtained the nickname of the monastery of the Calabrian. Of this name no trace can be found in any surviving tradition. Finally, in 1281, according to the Ἀθωνιάς, it was absorbed by the neighbouring monastery of Chelandariou.

After this we know nothing about the history of the mountain until the middle of the tenth century, when the various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite give us some valuable information as to the history of the mountain during the second half of this century.

These documents are (1) the life of Athanasius the Athonite. This important document was written by a younger Athanasius who had been a monk at the laura under the saint, and wrote during the abbacy of Eustratius, the second abbot. The original MS. is said to be extant—I see no reason to doubt the fact—in the archives of the Laura, and there are several copies in various libraries on Mount Athos and elsewhere. One of these copies, now in the Library of the Synod at Moscow (No. 398 in the catalogue of Vladimir), has been published, with useful indices, by J. Pomjalovski, St. Petersburg, 1895. It would no doubt be desirable to have this collated with the original, but for historical research the printed text is a sufficient basis of investigation.

(2) The Typicon or Kanonicon of Athanasius. This is also probably still extant in the original document, but is not shown to visitors. It is published, from probably trustworthy copies, by
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Ph. Meyer in *die Haupturkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*.

(3) The Typicon of the Emperor Johannes Tzimisces, also published in the *Haupturkunde* of Ph. Meyer.

From these documents a tolerably good idea can be formed of the condition of the monks on the mountain in the second half of the tenth century, of the end of the history of the monks of Kolobou, and of the changes introduced by Athanasius.

*Athanasius the Athonite.* Athanasius, whose name before he became a monk was Abraham, was the son of a rich and well-born family at Trebizond. He was born early in the tenth century, but his father died before his birth and his mother shortly afterwards, so that he owed his bringing up first to a friend of his mother and afterwards to relations in Constantinople. In this city he made the acquaintance of Michael Maleinos, the abbot from Mount Kymina, and his nephews Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, the latter being the future emperor. He followed Michael to Kymina to the monastery, which was based on the model of the Studium; but after a time left it, and went to Mount Athos. Here he tried to escape the notice of Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, who were looking for him, by changing his name and feigning to be a peasant. There were on the mountain apparently a comparatively small number of monks, some living in communities and some as hermits, who acknowledged to some extent the supremacy of one monk, the Protos, who allotted hermitages or cells to those who desired them.
They assembled for the three great feasts of the year at the laura\textsuperscript{1} at Caryes. One of these communities (or perhaps one of the hermits) lived on the hill known as the Ζυγός, and to this Athanasius attached himself. Mention is also made of another monk named Paul, who was called Ξηρόποτάμωνος, probably because he lived (again either as the head of a laura or as a hermit) at the place called Xeropotamos, where there is now a monastery of that name.

Athanasius could not keep his identity a secret. First, the Protos—at that time a monk named Stephanos—discovered him, but consented to keep his secret and gave him a hermitage three stadia distant from Caryes, and ultimately he was found by Leo (according to the Vita, p. 24) or by a monk named Methodius who was sent by Nicephorus (according to the Kanonicon, Haupturkunde, p. 104), and was persuaded to build a laura like that of Michael Maleinos at the expense of Nicephorus. This he did at the place called Melana where 'the Laura' still stands. According to the Vita the church at Caryes was at the same time enlarged by the generosity of Leo.

It is interesting to note that among the monks who joined Athanasius was Nicephorus, a Calabrian, who had formerly been a companion of Fantinus. It is further stated that when Nicephorus came to join Athanasius, Fantinus went to Thessalonica.

\textsuperscript{1} The present Protaton: it has long lost the title of laura, which is now only given to the foundation of Athanasius.
This corroborates the short account of Fantinus given in the *Acta SS.* Aug., vi, pp. 621 ff., which also states that Fantinus came to Thessalonica at the end of his life. There is in the Laura a MS. written, in a hand and style closely resembling the school of Nilus,¹ the friend of Fantinus, in 970, by a scribe named Lukas. It is far from impossible that Nicephorus introduced the Calabrian style of writing into the Laura, or that Lukas like himself came from Calabria.

The importance of this story for the history of the monks on Mount Athos is that it establishes (1) That Caryes had become, by the middle of the tenth century, the general centre of the monks. (2) That there was a generally recognized chief monk, called the Protos. (3) That there were three fixed times in the year—Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption of the Virgin—at which the whole body of monks used to assemble for the services in the Church at Caryes. (4) That there were dotted about the mountain various settlements of monks, varying from hermitages to lauras, and of these we can place one on the Zygos, one at Caryes, and one at Xeropotamos, while we know from other sources that there was another, called Klementos, on the site of the present Iveron. Thus the monastic development of the mountain, c. 950, may fairly be said still to belong to the ‘laura period’.

*The Chrysobull given to Athanasius and the position*

¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies* 1903–4, ‘The Greek Monasteries in South Italy.’
it created. The coming of Athanasius and his friendship with Nicephorus introduced a new factor into the life of the monks. He obtained from the emperor money with which to build a new and magnificent foundation, and to this was granted a Chrysobull giving it various valuable possessions and complete independence from all control by any except the imperial authority. Thus, whereas there was formerly only the monastery of Kolobou with the semblance of a protectorate (among monks, as elsewhere, often more advantageous to the protector than valuable to the protected), there was now founded, on the mountain itself, a rich and powerful monastery containing over eighty monks, all of whom could go to Caryes, and take part in the affairs of the general commonwealth of monks, and at the same time could claim at any moment that, by the virtue of the Chrysobull of Nicephorus, their own interests were immune from any interference by the other fathers. If we consider that the other settlements consisted of only a few monks each, the unfairness of this arrangement is obvious; the new foundation could probably swamp all the others, if voting or discussion went by the numbers of monks and not by foundations.

The appeal of the Athonites against Athanasius. That friction arose in this way between Athanasius and the other monks is certain, but we possess little knowledge of the details. So long as Nicephorus lived it was obviously impossible to appeal to him against the Athanasian monks; but after his death
his successor, Johannes Tzimisces, was approached by the monks under the Protos Athanasius (who is not to be confounded with the saint) and the monk Paul (whether Paul of Xeropotamos or another is not certain) who drew attention to the quarrels between Athanasius and the other monks. Their accusation was that Athanasius interfered with and worried the others, and that no means of peace could be found. An imperial inquiry was therefore held under Euthymius, a monk of the Studium, who decided that the quarrel was chiefly due to the attempts of Satan to make mischief, reconciled the monks, and drew up a series of regulations for the future conduct of the mountain. Among these regulations the part of the enactment, which for the present purpose is important, is that the annual meetings at Caryes should be reduced from three to one, and strictly confined to abbots and hermits.

The victory of Athanasius, and the rule of the Studium. The general effect of this regulation was to give Athanasius more rather than less freedom, even though those of his monks who were neither κελλιωται nor ἡσυχασταί could no longer come to Caryes. Moreover the choice of a Studite to conduct the inquiry was itself practically a decision in favour of Athanasius, for the Laura—a laura only in name—was founded on the model of the Studium. Indeed it would not be too much to say that the real question at issue was whether Mount Athos should keep the loose organization of the old days or adopt the stricter regulations intro-
duced by Theodore the Studite, adopted by Michael Maleinos on Mount Kymena, and brought thence by Athanasius to Mount Athos. Obviously the choice of Euthymius, himself a monk of the Studium, was practically the doom of the old life and the triumph of the Studite system.

The result was the rapid foundation of other monasteries with the same or almost the same constitution as the laura. But with their foundation begins a new period in the history of Mount Athos, which falls outside the purpose of the present treatise.

The end of Kolobou. It remains to trace the closing scenes in the history of Kolobou and its ultimate absorption by the monks of the mountain.

The point on which friction arose in the second half of the tenth century between Kolobou and the monks of Mount Athos was the καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων to which reference was made in the Chrysobulls of Basil and Romanus. It therefore becomes important to inquire what this καθέδρα really was.

The view which is usually held by those of the monks who have ever heard of it is that it was the meeting-place of the monks under the presidency of the Protos, and that it was moved from Erisso to Caryes during the tenth century. Its position is fixed by one tradition at Purgoedia, by another at Proboli.¹ I believe that the whole of

¹ I am not quite sure where Proboli is: it does not appear on any map which I have seen, but I understand from the monks that it is a little south of Xerxes' canal.
this theory, including the identification of the site, is quite modern and of no intrinsic value. The most important evidence as to the site is that in the report of Thomas Kaspax it is apparently defined as not being in the neighbourhood of the boundary between the Athonites and the Erissiotes, from which I conclude that it was in or near the town itself. The idea that the monks used to come to Erissos for general meetings is bound up with the prevalent view that the early monasteries were all near the canal of Xerxes and that Athanasius the Athonite was the first to go to the mountain itself. If so, of course a general meeting-place at Erissos is more probable than one at Caryes, but I am inclined to combat the whole theory. It is true that the tradition which ascribed the foundation of the monasteries Xeropotamos and St. Paul to a certain Paulus, son of Michael the Emperor, is bound up with an obvious forgery (cf. Meyer, op. cit., p. 30), but this does not alter the facts that there was a Paulus of Xeropotamos in the time of Athanasius, that a monastery of some sort—Klementos—existed before the time of the latter close to the present site of Iveron, and that the monks were accustomed to meet at Caryes, long before the foundation of the Laura, and had a little church there, as the life of Athanasius explicitly states. Therefore I think that the theory which confines the monks to the canal end of the mountain and makes Erissos a convenient place for meetings is baseless. If so, the καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων cannot have been used
for the purpose of general meetings, and I suggest that it was merely a house at which the monks or hermits used to stay when they came to Erissoς in order to buy provisions and clothes. It was, in fact, what the monks would now call a κονάκι in Erissoς, belonging partly to Kolobou and partly to the Athonites, but chiefly to the former.

If this theory be correct (it is, of course, quite as much a guess founded on general considerations of probability as the rival view), the next important stage in the history of Kolobou is connected with the last by the καθέδρα.

It appears from the document given by the Protos Thomas to Johannes the Georgian in 985 (Appendix C) that there was a prolonged struggle between Kolobou and the Athonites as to the right which the latter had to hospitality in the monastery when they came to Erissoς.¹ It does not actually identify this with the καθέδρα, but it very nearly does so, and in the absence of evidence I think it is fairly safe to assume that this is the meaning of the passage. Otherwise we have the improbable theory that there were two spots in Erissoς which were a source of contention between the Athonites and Kolobou, that they were both used by the same people, but that documents referring to the one never mention the other.

¹... εἰς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν συνήθειαν ἐπι αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν καὶ ἐπιθεῖν... παραβάλειν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν καὶ ἐπιθεῖν... πρόσωπα τινα ἐμφανῶς τῶν ἀρχιστῶν γεροντών seems to me a paraphrase for the καθέδρα, and εἰς ἔρχομαιν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σπανίως διὰ τινα χρείαν defines the use to which it was put—not consultation between monks, but shopping in the village.
Assuming that my view may be correct, we can then easily reconstruct the history of the dispute up to the end of the separate existence of Kolobou.

As the monks on the mountain increased in numbers the frequency of their visits to Erissos became greater, and the constant arrival of monks at the quarters set apart for the purpose became an intolerable nuisance to Kolobou. Originally, no doubt, the γέροντες covered all the monks from the mountain, at least by courtesy, just as it does now, but strictly not every monk is a γέρων in the technical sense, and probably the first step of the monks of Kolobou was to enforce the distinction, and to inquire carefully as to the bona fides of travellers who claimed to be Athonite γέροντες. The procedure, though natural, must have given rise to constant friction, and at last the monastery refused to keep up the custom any longer. From the point of view of the monks of Kolobou this was the end of the matter, and it was reached about 975.

It may be argued that the Chrysobull of Basil and Romanus would have prevented this if the καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων had been the quarters in which the Athonites stayed at Kolobou, but it must be remembered that Chrysobulls, though a good argument in a court of law, were of no value against an abbot who shut his doors, especially when the same Bulls had once made him in some way the Protector of the Mountain.

But though the monks of Kolobou might regard the matter as settled, the Athonites, who were
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rapidly growing in numbers and importance, were naturally not disposed to leave it where it was. If Kolobou would not receive them as guests it must be made to acknowledge them as masters, and they made appeals to the emperor to give them the monastery. Athanasius of the Laura, 'the Studite' (probably Euthymius the Studite, cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 31), and Johannes the Georgian petitioned John Tsimisces for this purpose, and two requests were addressed to Basil, one by the monks Sabas¹, Malenas, and Thomas² Pitharas, and a second by Georgias Chalandare; but none of these attempts were successful. Finally, however, in 980, Johannes the Georgian, who possessed monasteries in his own land, effected an exchange with the emperor, giving the monasteries of Iverissa in Constantinople and S. Phocas in Trebizond in exchange for the monasteries of Leontia in Thessalonica, of Kolobou in Erissos (see Appendix B), and of Clementos on Mount Athos.

This, of course, completely altered the case, and Johannes, who was anxious to found a Georgian monastery (the present Iveron) in place of the little laura of St. John the Forerunner at Clementos, conceded the Athonites all that they wished in Erissos, purchased still more land for them, and built them a good house for their use when visiting the town.

¹ Perhaps Σάββας μοναχὸς καὶ ἄγοιμος καὶ κονδουκλεύτω, the last signatory of the Τυπικὸν of John Tsimisces (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 187).
² Perhaps the abbot who was afterwards the Πρῶτος.

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This is the end of the known history of Kolobou; I do not think that it is ever mentioned again in extant documents, and there can be little doubt but that it rapidly became merely a dependency of Iveron, little, if at all, differing from a farm.

It only remains to sum up the broad results of this investigation. The life of Peter the Athonite and the first period of the life of Euthymius on Mount Athos seem to be the best attested proofs which exist for the hermit period on the mountain. No doubt there were many more whose names have been forgotten. We have no right even to assume that Peter was the first hermit on the mountain: it is quite possible that he had many predecessors, and that he should rather be regarded as owing his fame to the fact that the end of his life overlapped the beginning of the next period. On the other hand, there is no proof that this was the case; Peter and Euthymius remain as the two definite examples of hermits on Mount Athos in the ninth century, nor is there any historical proof that there were any earlier.

After the hermit period comes that of the lauras —loosely organized bodies of hermits who met together at intervals and had a common centre in the cell of some one outstanding anchorite. This period is represented by the second part of the life of Euthymius and by the various scraps of

1 Cf. the mention of Joseph the Armenian and Onuphrius in the life of Euthymius.
evidence which cover the period from his leaving the mountain shortly before 870 to the founda-
tion of the great Laura of Athanasius a century later. So far as we can see, the most important incident in this period was the acquisition of privileges for the monks by Johannes Kolobos and the subsequent struggle between the monks of the monastery of Kolobou and those on the mountain for the advantages offered by these privileges. The most notable result of this struggle was a marked tendency to a more developed organization and the recognition of Caryes as a centre for the monks under the leadership of one of their number called the Protos.

This type of loose organization and the period which it marked was closed by the triumph of the Studite system introduced by Athanasius, and with his triumph the present history of the mountain may be said to begin; for from that day to this it has represented the continuance of the Studite system, with developments and changes of detail, it is true, but with no essential or constitutional revolution unless the introduction of idiorhythmism be so regarded. The treatment of this long period, still unclosed, would be the worthy subject of much research, and could probably be carried out successfully if the monks would open their archives, but it is outside the purpose of this treatise, which only professes to deal with the pre-Athanasiian history of the mountain, and is closed by the triumph of that saint and the introduction of the Studite system.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER IV

A. Chrysobull of Romanus, Constantine, Stephanus, and Constantine, A.D. 919.

Ἐν ὠνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νιόου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Ῥωμαίος καὶ Κωνσταντίνος, Στέφανος καὶ Κωνσταντίνος πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίον.

Τὸ ταῖς ἁγαθαῖς πρόξεσιν ἐπάκολουθείν καὶ ταύτας ἐπικυροῦν βασιλικῆς ἑστὶν ἁληθῶς προνοιας καὶ ἀγχυνοιας, ὡς ἂν μόνιμον ἦ τὸ ἁγαθὸν καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἐς ἀεί, διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν βεβασιλευκότων χρυσόβουλλων ἐπιδεδωκότων τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνί ἀσκηταῖς, τούτο καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπισκεφαμένη καὶ ἀποδεξαμένη βασιλεία, διὰ τὸν παρόντος αὐτῆς εὐσεβοῦ ἐπικυροὶ χρυσοβουλλίῳ λόγῳ, τοῦ παραφυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπετελεῖται ἁγιασμοὶ ἀνάμεσα ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσεωι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ Ἰωάννου νεοφύτους μονῆν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοιας καταπολεμάει, καὶ κατέχει τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ερισσοῦ καὶ μόνων, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ἐς τι ἑτέρον ἐν τῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀναγράφεται, ἀπαραπόθυτον διαφυλάττεσθαι, μήτε προσθήκης μήτε ὑφαινέσως τῆς οἰκουμένης γινομένης. Πλὴν τοῦτο διοριζόμεθα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐμφερομένη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἁρχαίᾳ τῶν γερόντων καθέδρα ἀπαρενόχλητος διατηρήθηται ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρεασίας ἀγγαρείας καὶ ζημίας, τῆς ὡς εἴκος εὐγινομένης παρά τε ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἁρχόντων καὶ ἄλλων παντός, καθὼς ἢν καὶ εἰς ἁρχῆς, ὡς βεβαίου καὶ ἀσφαλοῦς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῶν εὐσεβοὺς χρυσοβουλλίᾳ λόγῳ γεγενημένου κατὰ τὸν ἁγιούστον μηνά τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπιεικήσεως ἐν ψήφῳ καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσήμανον κράτος.

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op. cit., p. 299.
B. Extract from a Document at Iveron, Referring to a Chrysobull of Basil Bulgarkotkonos, a.d. 980.

... καὶ τοῦ παναυδίμου βασιλέως Κύριος Βασιλείου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου Χρυσόβουλλος γεγονός κατὰ τὸ νυνη [a.d. 980] ἔτος τῷ μοναχῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συγκέλλῳ τῷ Τορνικίῳ, κατὰ τρόπον ἀνταλλαγῆς ὑπαγορεύων αὐτοῦ διώρθων αὐτῖν τῆν μονὴν τῆν Λεοντίας ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ τῆν μονὴν τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐν Ἑρίσσῳ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆν μονὴν τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἥτις ἐπὶ ὀνόματι μὲν τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καθύριται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὦρος τοῦ „Ἀθώνα διᾶκειται, ἀνθ’ ὄνα καρπηθήσατο δύο μονών, τῆς τε μονῆς τῆς Ἐβηρίσσης, τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν πόλεων τυχανούσης, καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Φωκᾶ τῆς ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι διακειμένης. . .

The text is taken from Uspenski, op. cit., p. 333.

C. Settlement of Part of the Estate of Kolobou on the Monks of Mount Athos by Johannes the Georgian, a.d. 985.

† Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς ὁ Πρῶτος. † Αθανάσιος μοναχὸς ὁ τής Δαύρας ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Φακινός. † Δανιήλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος ὁ Ἀτζιπάνος. † Ἰλαρίων μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ξηροκάστρου. † Θεόδωρος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἀρσενίος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Διονύσιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Δούκας μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Φιλάδελφος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Γεώργιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Κύριλλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Κοσμᾶς
μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος. ἩΝεόφυτος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος.
† Στέφανος μοναχός καὶ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Κατζάρη.
† Δωράθεος μοναχός καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος.
† Πάωλος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος. ἩΝικόλαος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Βατεπεδίου.

Ἐν ὁνόματι τοῦ πατρός καὶ τοῦ γιου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Θεοῦ, τοῦ μοναχοῦ Πρώτου καὶ τοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἡγούμενος τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ἱδιοχειρὸς πῆξαντες, τούτοις προσέχοντες τὰ σοῦ ἐνόμασιν ἡμῶν, τὴν παρόσιαν ἐγγραφὴν ἀσφαλείαν καὶ ἀπενεκδεχὴν ἣδη διάλυσιν, τιθέμεθα καὶ ποιούμενοι οἰκεῖα ἡμῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐτο―προαιρέτων οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀναγκῆς ἡ βίας ἡ χρείας ἡ μετὰ ὀλόκληρον, ἀλλ' ὀλοκληρωτὰ προθέται καὶ βουλήσει πάντων τῶν ἔν τῷ ὁ πρεσβύτερός μοναχῶν, εἰς ὁμοῖα τὸν εὐλαβεῖστατον μοναχὸν καὶ ἡγούμενον τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἰσημαριανόν καὶ πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ πρεσβύτερον εὐθύμων τῶν ὑψίου σου, καὶ εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τάτα διαδόχους ἡμῶν τοὺς μελλόντας εἰς τὴν συνεργίαν θεοῦ ποιηθέσαι Ἀδάμαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τὴν ἑπιμορφούσαι τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου ἰδρυμένην καὶ λειωμένην τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἐπὶ ὑποθέτει τοιαδήπερ:"—

Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μοναστήριον εἶχον ἀρχιζε οὐκ ἔγραφεν συνήθειαν οἱ ἐν τῷ ὁ πρεσβύτερος μοναχῶν οὐτε παντελῶς ὑπῆρχον, ἐξερχόμενος εἰς Ἰερισού σταυροῦ διὰ τῶν χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν παραβαλείν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν ἐνώπιον καὶ ἐσθε νει καὶ τούτῳ των ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὄλγων καὶ οὐκ διαφυγόμενος ἐκαστὸς, ἀλλ' πρὸς τῶν ἑμίφανε τῶν ἁρχαίων ἑροτονῶν. Διὸ καὶ γογγυσμόι πολλάκις καὶ Φιλοςκιά μεταξὺ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκείνωτο, πειραμένων καὶ ἄρμων παραβαλείν καὶ μὴ συγχωρομένων, ὡς ἡ ἡ καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦσα ἡγούμενον τὴν μονὴν μὴ βουλομένου, εἶτα καὶ εἰς πλῆθος ἑπεκταθέντων τῶν ἐν [τῷ] ὁ πρεσβύτερος μοναχῶν, ἐγόγγυσκον οἱ τῆς μονῆς καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοῖς διὰ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἡγούμενος φιλίαν παραβαλόντας ὀλιγάκις τῇ μονῇ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ὅτι ἐπεκοήσην καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλος παρεβαλε τῇ μονῇ μοναχός ἐκ τοῦ ὁ ρομάμεροι τοῦ νῦν, πλεόν τῶν ὁκτὼ ἡ δεκα ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων εἰς τοῦ δρολοῦ τοῦδε τῶν ἁρχαίων ὀχτες εἰς ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων ἑτοχεν ἐν τῇ
μοὴν ὀιασδηπτεῖ ἀναπαύσεως. Ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ δὲ προσνυτε-μησαμεν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς δοθῆναι εἰς ἔξοψιαν τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ὀρέω. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ κυρὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βασιλέως ἑν προσνυτεμήσεν οὐ τε μοναχὸς ὁ Στουδιατὸν καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ τῆς λαύρας τῶν Μελανῶν ἡγοῦμενοι καὶ οἱ εὐλαβεστατοὶ μοναχὸς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰβρη ἀξιώσαντες δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὴν εἰρημένην μονήν, καὶ οὐ κατεσχεῖτο ὁ βασιλεὺς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ τῶν εὐσεβεῖς βασιλεύοντος ἀπεστείλαμεν μετὰ γραμμάτων δεητικῶν τὸν μοναχὸν Ἡρῴα τὸν Πιθαρᾶν καὶ τὸν μοναχὸν Σάββαν τῶν Μαλλίνων, αἰτημάτων περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς· καὶ οὔτε τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατένευσεν εἰς τὴν αἰτίσσων ἡμῶν. ᾿Ως δὲ καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τούτῳ ἐγράψαμεν διὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ λεγομένου Χελανδάρη πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακομιόμενον οὐδέλοιπον ἡκουσθῆναι ἀπηλπίσαμεν παντελῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρέβαλλεν ἔκτοτε. Τούτω δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῆς ἡμιμαραί ἐκείνης συνθήκης ἐκκοπείσης διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὡς εἰρηται καὶ διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἐκ τινος εὐλόγου ἡ εἴσοδιας γεγενήσαι τῇ συνόδῃ τῆς ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ μόνον φιλίας τοῦ καθηγομένου νεόκοσμος τῆς μονῆς ὠστε καὶ ἀφ’ ὅτου παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μοναχὸς Στέφανος καὶ ἡγοῦμενοι οὔδε κάν ἐν τῷ πυλῶνυ συνεχώρησα παρακύπτειν τινὰ εἰς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐφρύαντες ἐκατοστὸς αὐτὸν καθὼς ἡπναμέθα ὅτε διὰ χρέαις εἰς Ἱεροσολύμων παρεβάλλομεν, ὡς μηδεῖαν πρόφασιν εὐλόγων ἐγοντας τὸν ἡγοῦμεν ἐκπεράζεις οὔδε ἐως ψιλοῦ ῥήματος. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ εἰρήμενα οἰκονομήσατο τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδοθῆ ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ εἰς τελείων κυρίοται καὶ ἀναφαίρετον δεσποτείαν καὶ προσεκυρώθη δι’ εὐσεβεῖς χρυσαβούλλου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυρὶ Βασιλείου τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εἰςεγερτάτη λαύρᾳ τῆς λεγομένης τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Εἴτε καὶ ἐξίδωος πολλὰς καταβιάλατες καὶ κύστις ὑποστάντος καὶ εἰς ἐμφάνειας καὶ εὐτορίας αὐτὴν καταστήσατες ἀνακοδόμησαν ἐπτομόν αὐτὴν ἀπεργάσισθαι, καὶ ἔπει συνήργησεν ὁ Θεός ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἴσοδίαν καὶ δεσποτείαν

1 Johannes Tzimisces. 2 Basil Bulgaroktonos.
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gενέσθαι αυτὴν θαρρήσαντες τῇ ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνῃ καταγωγώμον ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς Ἰερισσοῦ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως; ἢν ὅτε εξέλθη τις ἐκ τοῦ "Ορους παραβάλλειν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καταγωγῷ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τούτο εἶσατε μόνον τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀλλὰ μεῖζόνα ἀπέρ οὐκ ἡπιζάμενε πεποιήκατε καὶ ἐδώρησάθε ἡμῶν πρῶτον μὲν αἰλιν καὶ οἰκήματα πολλὰ τε καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπέρ ἐκ τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ πρωτοσπάτα ἐξω

νήσασθε εἰς λα ὑπέρπυρα, ἐν οἷς καταμένοντες ὑμεῖς διὰ χρείαν παραβάλλομεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι ὑπερευχόμεθα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος. ἔπειτα δὲ κατανυγέντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁπάτασιν ἡμῶν ὡς οἰκείων λογιζόμενοι σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἐδώρησάθε καὶ ἀμπελώνα κάλλιστον καὶ εὐφορον ὑπάρχοντα μὲν τῆς μονῆς, καλλεργηθέντα δὲ καὶ φυτευθέντα παρ’ ὑμῶν μετ’ εξόδων καὶ κόπων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ὄντα πλούθια ὡσεὶ λ σὺν τῷ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμπελώνος καὶ τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῶν φυτευθόντος ἐκτιμηθεὶς διὰ χαράγματος χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἐ. Δι’ αὐτήν αὐθαριστούντες ἐπὶ τούτους πάσι καὶ ὑπερευχόμενοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀρε-

τῆς καὶ ἁγιότητος, ἔξοασφαλίζομεθα ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας μὴ ἐξεινεῖ εὐούσιαν καὶ ἀδειάν των ἀπάντων, ἐπὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιούντων, εἰτε τῶν μεθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Ὀροῖ καταλημμανομένων ἡ ἐλευσομένων κίνησιν ἡ ἀγωγὴν οἰαντότοτε πρόφασιν εὐχώντων εὐλογον τε καὶ ἀλογον ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς, ύπερ ἡς οὐδὲ ταύτα γράφειν εὐλογον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἤν οἱ ἀρχαίοι καὶ ἀληγοστοὶ ἐγχον ἐν τῇ μονῇ παραβαλέω του κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγουμένου διὰ φιλίαν καὶ θεσμὸν ἀγάπης ἀποδε- κομενον αὐτοὺς. Καὶ εάν της φωραθη οὐ μόνον κινῶν περὶ τῆς τοιαῦτης ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐως νυξιοῦ ῥήματος ἐνοχλείνη παραπικραίνει εἰτε ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰτε τοὺς ἅπατος διαδόχους τῆς τοιαῦτης ἐνεκα ὑποθέσεως, ἢν ἐχεὶ τὴν κατάραν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ θεοφάρων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τῶν ἀπ’ αἰώνοις εὐαρεστησάιτων τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἔστι κεχωρισμένος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐμοιουσίου Τριάδος καὶ γένηται ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀριστάντων τῶν νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σταυροσάντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀκούσθαι τούτων ὑπαρ’ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἡ παρὰ πολιτικῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ διώκεσθαι αὐτῶν
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER IV

ἐκ παντὸς κριτηρίου ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ἀρνητὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ὦ μόνον δε τούτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα εἰργάζεται καὶ εὐποιεῖ εὐρήσασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστρέψθαι δίχα νόμου καὶ ἐρωτήσως πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς μέρος μετὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οἰκήματος καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ εἰθ’ ὄντως ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βεβαιὰν καὶ ἀρραγὴ καὶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν ἔγραφον τε καὶ ἐνυπόγραφον ἀσφάλειαν, ὥς ἂτε ἐκ συμφώνου παρὰ πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονότων μετὰ προθέσεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εὐχαιριστίας τῆς προσηκούσης. Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ποτε καιρὸν ἡ χρόνῳ τὴν εἰρημένην μόνην, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, εὖ ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθῆκαι καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ σακκέλῃ προσκυνώμεθα, ἢ εἰς ἐτερον σεκρέτου, ἢ τινα πρόσωπων τότε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἐρευνού μοναχοί σὺν τῷ Πρωτῷ, διὰ πάσης εὐλόγου ἢ ἀλόγου δικαιολογίας, ἢ οἰσαθῆτο προφάσεως ἢ ἀποστρέψωσι τὰ προειρημένα οἰκήματα, ἀπερ ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοπατα ἐξωθίσασθε καὶ ἐδωρήσασθε ἡμῖν, πρὸς τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν μέρος καὶ τὴν εὐαγγελισάντην ἡμῶν λαύραν τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Ὡς ἂν μετ’ εἰρημηκῆς καταστάσεως καὶ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς συζώμων ἀλλόλης καὶ συνδικούμενοι ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἐρευνοι κατά θωμὸν γενομένων πάσης φιλονεκίας καὶ οἰσαθήποτε ἐχθρᾶς καὶ γογγυσμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλόλους. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κτητῶν τῆς μονῆς [τοῦ] Κολοβοῦ καθαρὸς ἐκταλαι τῶν χρόνων εἰχον ἐθος τοῦ νέμεσθαι ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἐρευνοι τὴν αὐτὴν συνήθειαν θελομεν φυλάττεσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰε χρόνον, μη ἐχοντος τινος ἐξουσίαν καταλύειν τὸ τοιών ἐθος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων...

[Then follows permission to build a house near the common harbour of Galiagra or Kaliagra, without, however, any right to the ground being given.]
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προγεγραμμένη. Ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ χειρὸς Φαντίνου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἠγομένου μονῆς τοῦ Σικελοῦ μοναχοῦ Λουκᾶ ἐτος ἑπτάχρονος.

Copied from τὸ Ἀγιον Ὀρος, pp. 37–9. Gerasimos Smyrnakes gives no clue as to whether the original exists or whence he has obtained it.

The same text, but omitting the signatories at the beginning and inserting only as far as Στέφανος at the end, is given by Alexandros Lauriotes in the Βυζάντινα Χρονικά, vol. v, pp. 489 ff.
HAGIOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The following lists call for but little explanation. List I contains the names and incipits of the lives of Saints found in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos. For convenience I have added the references to similar MSS. in Rome and Paris, and further research would no doubt add to the number, and would probably also show that some of my ‘lives’ have actually been published. It is a pity that it was not possible to give the references to the actual MSS. in the Laura, but the librarian Chrysostomus was not willing to allow me the use of his catalogue for this purpose, though he was kind enough to give the list of the unpublished items. A complete catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. on Mount Athos is greatly to be desired, but until it can be produced the present list may be of interest. List II similarly gives the unpublished lives of Saints in the library of Prodromou near Serres; this is in comparison with the Laura a small collection, but it has some fine MSS., which the courtesy of the librarian allowed me to study, and to extract the unpublished lives of Saints. I cannot absolutely vouch for its completeness, but I do not think that it is probable that there is much more unpublished Hagiographical material in the library. List III gives in alphabetical order the writers to which the authorship of various lives in the preceding lists is ascribed: when not otherwise stated the reference is to List I.

LIST I

Aeopsumas. Passio. inc. εν ίται τριακοστῳ... [Vat. 8074, &c.]
Adrianus et Natalia. Passio. inc. Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ τυφάνου...
Aeatherina. Passio. inc. τοῦ παρακόμον καὶ ἀσβεστάτου... [Par. 118027, &c.]
Agathonicus. Passio. inc. Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς...
Alexius (ὁ ἀνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ). Vita. inc. εγένετο ἕνηρ εὐσεβὴς...
[Vat. 86629, &c.]
Alypius. Vita. inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων... [Vat. 8059, &c.; Par. 5799, &c.]
Anastasia. Vita. inc. κατὰ τοῦ καροῦ... [Vat. 86648, &c.]
Andreas Cretensis. Vita a Niceta Patricio. inc. οὐ θεμιτών ἵστη...
Anthimus. Passio. inc. βασιλεὼν τὸ τηκυκάτα... [Par. 15069.]
HAGIOGRAPHICAL MSS.

Arsenius. Vita. inc. πολλαὶ τῶν σπουδαίων . . . [Vat. 8193; Par. 15481, &c.]

Artemius. Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος Ἰουλιανοῦ . . . [Par. 7694, &c.]

Athenogenes. Passio. inc. επὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ . . . [Par. 144710, &c.]

Auxentius. 1. Vita a Psello. inc. ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡμῖν . . . [Vat. 6725.]

2. Vita. inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἔξοδοι τῆς . . .

Basiliscus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς βασιλείας Μαξιμιανοῦ . . .

Bendemanus. Passio. inc. τὸ ἐν τῷ φιλοῦσιν . . .

Blasius. Passio. inc. Βλάσιος ὁ μάρτυς . . . [Vat. 12454, &c.]

Cerycus et Julitta. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ὀσπερ οἶκ ἐστι . . . [Vat. 8203.]

Charalampius. Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν . . .

[Ottob. 9212; Par. 14524.]

Christina. Passio. inc. τὴν Χριστιάνην . . .

Christophorus. Passio a Petro Italo. inc. Δεκα τὴν αἰτωκράτερα . . .

desin. τῷ τῆς ζωῆς ἁγίῳ . . .

Cointus. Passio. inc. στείφανος μὲν οὖν . . .

Conon. Passio. inc. πάλιν ὅ τις δισεβεῖς πιστεύει . . .

Constantius Imp. 1. Vita et inventio Crucis. inc. τῶν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου . . . [Vat. 9743, &c.; Par. 14533, &c.]

2. Encomium a Constantino Acropolita. inc. ἀρά τις εὐσεβείας . . . [Par. 9783.]

3. Vita. inc. τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν διηγημάτων . . .

Cosmas Acropolita. Vita. inc. νόμος ἐστι παλαιός . . .

Cosmas et Damianus. 1. Vita. inc. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ . . .

Χριστοῦ . . .

2. Vita. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους . . .

Cyrus et Johannes. Vita. inc. ὁ μὲν σωτήριος λόγος . . .

Cyrillus ep. Alexandriae. Ηγυμνήματα ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. ἁρβη μὲν ὁ παλιχούμων . . .

Cyrillus Philectus. Vita a Nicola Catacepeno. inc. εὐλογητὸς . . .

ἡ θεοῦ . . .

Demetrius. 1. Passio. inc. ὅτε Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ βασιλεύς . . .

2. Encomium ab Iohanne Stauracio. [Vat. 15724, &c.; Par. 148511, &c.]

3. Encomium a Gregorio Palama. inc. ἐμοὶ δὲ λίν . . .

Dionysius Areopagita. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. εἰς ὅρους . . .

μὲν . . .

Dometius Persa. Passio. inc. ήργηκε μὲν ἡ Περσῶν . . .

Eleutherius. Passio. inc. ἀναλύσαςτος Ἀδριανοῦ . . .

Euphemia. 1. Vita. inc. ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονίῳ . . . [Vat. 7975.]

2. Encomium a Theodoro Vestro (Βίστρον). inc. τίς αὕτη ἡ ἀνα- βαίνουσα . . .

Eupraxia. Vita ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. γυναίκα ἀνδρείας . . .
Fausta, Enulosius, Maximinus. Passio. inc. κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν...

Georgius. 1. Encomium ab Arcadio Cyprio. inc. συγκαλεῖ πάλιν ἡμᾶς...
2. Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. inc. καὶ τὶς ἀν παραδράμοι...
3. Nativitas, Vita et Passio. inc. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἄνδρῶν ἄριστων...
Gregorius Sinaita. Vita a Callisto Patriarcha. inc. οὗτος ὁ διαφανὴς σωτὴρ...
[ Cf. BHG., p. 52.]

Hilarion. Vita. inc. ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλει ἐστίν...
[Vat. 79818, &c.; Par. 148017, &c.]

Iacobus frater domini. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore.1 inc. ὃς γυνεία...
[Par. 75514, &c.]

Iacobus Persa. 1. Passio. inc. Ἀρκαδίου τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ...
2. Passio. inc. τῆς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων γῆς...
3. Passio. inc. κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν...

Isaicius, Faustus et Dalmatia. Vita. inc. ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ βασιλεὺς...

Isidorus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἐνθοῦν...
[Cf. Vat. 208319, &c.]

Iohannes Apostolus. 1. Translatio. inc. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...
2. Encomium a Proclo. inc. οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι εἰναγγελισταί...
[Vat. 82115, &c.]

Iohannes Baptistæ. 1. Encomium ab Astio presbytero Constantiopolitano. inc. πολλοὶ μὲν ἡγη...
2. Translatio manus a Theodoro Daphnopato. inc. ίδιον καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν...
[Vat. 82313, &c.; Par. 144910, &c.]
3. Decollatio a Theodoro Ptochoprodromo. inc. καλῶς ἐφήρμοσαν...
4. Decollatio. inc. κακῶν ἐστιν...
5. a Simeone Logotheta. inc. Ἰωάννου τὸ μέγα κλέος...
6. Inventio. inc. ὁ ἀγαθὴτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία...

Iohannes Climacus. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. οὐδὲν τιμίωτερον ἀρετῆς...
[Par. 75517.]

Julianus. Passio. inc. βία διωγμοῦ...
[Vat. 166721.]

Laurentius. Passio. inc. ἐλθὼν κοῦ ποτὲ κλύδωνος... desin. ἀγιώτατοι
μάρτυρες.

Lazarus Galesiota. 1. Vita. inc. ὁ πλάσας κατὰ μόνας... desin.
... ἀνὴ ἡ πολιτεία, οὗτος ὁ βίος.
2. Vita a Georgio vel Gregorio Xiphilino. inc. ὁ τῶν κατὰ θέαν...
desin... καὶ θεοφιλῶς διανύσαντες.

1 This justifies the inscriptions in a later hand in cod. Par. 755.
HAGIOGRAPHICAL MSS.

Lucas apostolus. 1a. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. δ λαμπρότης... desin... εἰμενός τουτι το θεαχύ.
1b. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. δ λαμπρότης... desin... τῇ ἐν σοὶ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι.
2. Vita. inc. ταῖς μνείαις τῶν ἁγίων...
3. Encomium ab Hesychio Hierosolimitano presbytero. inc. φύσσφ τοῦ σωτάν...

Mamas. Passio. inc. τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων μαρτυρῶν πόνου... desin...
εἰμαρτύρησε δὲ ὁ ἁγιος Μάμας. [Par. 7728, &c.]

Marcianus et Martyrius. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ τέλειωθην τῶν μακαριώτατον Ἀλέξανδρον...
desin... ἐτελειώθησαν οὖν οἱ ἁγιοι.
[Par. 14638.]

Maria Magdalena. Vita. inc. ἔγρω τοὺς ἐμῆ φιλούτασ... desin.
... φιλοτίμης κατίθετο.

Maria Iunior. Vita et miracula. inc. ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξωθεν...
... νόσου ἀπαλαγήν. [Vat. 8006.]

Marina. 1. Passio. inc. οὐδὲν ὁμοὺς ἦλθεν... desin...
... ἅχειος προσβεβουσαν. [Vat. 82021; Coislin. 30739.]
2. Encomium a Gregorio Cyprio. inc. καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρα...
[Palat. 594, &c.; Par. 8312.]

Martinianus. 1. Vita. inc. ὁν τρόπον... desin...
... το πάντων δειστη. [Vat. 8006, &c.; Par. 145010.]
2. Vita. inc. ἐγγίστα τῆς πόλεως Παλαιστίνης ὃρος ἐστὶ καλούμενον...
τόπος κιβασοῦ... [Vat. 866109, &c.]

Martyrea XL. 1. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καρνών... [Par. 11647, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. εἰσέ μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων...
[Vat. 124510, &c.; Par. 7721, &c.]

Meletius Galesiota. Vita. inc. δέονται μὲν κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοισ...

Monas, Hermogenes, Eugraphus. Passio ab Athanasio Alexandrino. inc. τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος...
[Vat. 82112, &c.; Par. Coislin. 3681, &c.]

Monas in Cotnaceo. 1. Passio. inc. ἑτούς δευτέρου τῆς βασιλείας...
[Vat. 8038, &c.; Par. 145424.]
2. Miracula. inc. ἡν τῆς γυνῆ...
3. Miracula, a Timotheo Alexandrino. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν τελευτη... [Vat. 79723, &c.; Par. 145425, &c.]

Monodora, Metrodora, Nympodora. Passio. inc. ἡδη μὲν τοῦ τελειοῦ... desin... εἰμαρτύρησαν δὲ οἱ ἁγια.

Mercurius. 1. Passio. inc. Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ Βαλλερανδός... desin...
... καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαρτυρῶν Μηρκυρίων. [Vat. 8058, &c.; Par. 5798, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. Δέκιος ἡνίκα... desin... καὶ θεραπείας ἀπέλλαβον.

Michael archangelus. Miraculum in Chonis a Pantoleone diacono.
inc. μεγάλαι καὶ πολλαὶ... desin... καὶ κρατήσει τῆς δεξιάς.
[Vat. 6548, &c.; Par. 5018, &c.]
Michael (laiamikos) Hypomnema. inc. oitos o makarios... desin.
...oitos doxei o theos.

Moses Aethiops. Encomium. inc. osteper adiuavon... desin... o
tais oriais eixeais. [Par. 14534.]

Nephon Halmyropolitani. Vita. inc. mousthirom bapxiies krupon...
desin... etelewth o daisos Neffon.

Nephon (Kosostostos). Vita (epitome?). inc. ei mousthirom bapxiies...
desin... en nan tov agion apostelov.

Nicothoros. Passio. inc. othein taukev agape... desin... kosa-
thina stefanov. [Vat. 1245, &c.; Par. 1500, &c.]

Necetas. 1. Passio. inc. tov agion marifron... desin... echein
logon to mukhtima. [Par. 520, &c.]
2. Sermo a Theodoro Mousaloni. inc. megia ti deigma... desin.
...kai hmei di autov.
3. Passio. inc. en taia hmerais ekeinai... desin... h de katheiesis
thi tounaistis petras.

Nicolaus Myrens. 1. Vita. inc. apostas mien... desin... agroko
thi tov tov ephaxitov oikoutov.
2. Encomium a Basilio Lacedaemoniens. inc. or tov dretov... desin...
tou theou alew.

Onuphrius. 1. Vita. inc. ares tos epanos... desin... kai memnemou.
2. Vita. inc. theias agapis kai ekrotopos... desin... hmais se
swmimoun. [Par. 1170.]
...kai poimaves eixhon.

Pachomius. 1. Vita. inc. o Koryos hmwn thsoy Xristos kai pegg...
desin... els zelov autov enagymva. [Vat. 8194, &c.; Par.
881, &c.]
2. Vita et miracula. inc. orwos eltheis h yrellonemep... desin.
...els mirmos kai afeleias.

Paisius. Vita a Ioanne Kolobo. inc. osteper ta terpan tov biou...
desin... tova eirheta. [Par. 1093, &c.]

Panteleemon. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. thwmastron o theon...
desin... ekynov. [Vat. 6794; Par. 1180.]

Paulus apostolos. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. pasa min
orti... desin... kai en ophroov. [Par. 755.]

Paulus et Petrus. Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. inc. oix
aplai min... desin... opon h lafmp sto.

Petrus apostolos. 1. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. hdeia th
hmeras h charis... desin... ou hmei exomologovr.
2 (euneas). inc. osoi to tov korupfin... desin... kal exegadun.
[Vat. 817, &c.; Par. 236, &c.]

Petrus et reliqui apostoli. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ti kal
thi elknthias h tazis... desin... upo suno eva.

LAMZ, M.A.
Hagiographical MSS.

Philemon. Vita. inc. ἐλευγον περὶ τοῦ ἄββα Φιλήμονος ... desin.
... τὸ καλοῦμενον μαλάκιον.

Philippus Apostolus. Encomium. inc. ἀποστολικὴς μυσθήμαται ...
desin. ... τὰ μνημονεύει τὸ τιμητικὸν μνήμεν. [Par. CoisI. 12116.]

Phocas. Passio ab Asterio Amasinac. inc. ἱερὸς μὲν καὶ βεστιάσιον ...
desin. ... κηρύττεινα Κύριον. [Vat. 79420, &c.; Par. 148914, &c.]

Probus, Tarachous, Andronicus. Epistola XI fratrum, inc. Πάμ-
φιλος καὶ Μαρκίων ... desin. ... τῇ εὐδότητι καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ὑσιὼν Χριστοῦ.

Priscus et Hilaris. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανὸ ... desin.
... μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Πρόκλου.

Sabbas. Vita. inc. οἰδὲν οὔτω κυήσαι ... desin. ... καὶ ἱππαναι
διαγωγή. [Vat. 8121, &c.; Par. 119510, &c.]

Sabbas Vatopedinus. Vita a Philotheo Constantinopolitano, inc.
Σάββα τὸν θαυμάσιον ... desin. ... καὶ άστασιαντον.

Sadoth. Passio. inc. μετὰ τὸ τελεσθῆναι ... desin. ... εν πὸλι
καλουμένη Βηθλειμί. [Vat. Ottob. 9225; Par. 145225.]

Sergius et Bacchus. Passio. inc. ἓτοι ἡμέρα ... desin. ... προστά-
γημα θεοῦ.

Silvester Romanus. Vita. inc. οὐ μὲν σεπτὸ ... desin. ... πολλῶν
κατάμαν. [Vat. 81611; Par. CoisI. 3071.]

Sophrinius Hierosolimitan. Encomium ab Ioanne Zonara.
inc. οἱ τοίς θεοῖς καὶ μακαρίοις ... desin. ... πόθῳ πραΐων.

Stephanus Iunior. Vita. inc. θείων τῷ χρήμα ἡ άρετή ... desin. ... ἡ
καὶ ἡμῖν παρασταίμενο. [Vat. 80511, &c.; Par. 4367, &c.]

Stephanus protomartyr. 1. Hypomnema. inc. διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτήρος ...
... desin. ... μετέθηκαν τὰ λείψανα.
2. Translatio a Pæello. inc. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ... desin.
... καὶ αὐτήληπτορος Στεφάνου.
3. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο κατὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκεῖνον ... desin. ... ἐγελειωθῇ
de ὁ αγιος πρωτόγραμος. [Vat. 67927.]
4. Translatio. inc. καὶ πῶς ἄν τις αἰτίας ... desin. ... τοῦ πανάγου
σου σώματος.

Stephanus Romanus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τούς χρόνους Οὐαλλεμανοῦ ... desin. ... μοναδ. [Par. Suppl. 2419.]

Symeon ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὁρεῖ. 1. Vita a Claudio (?) Cyprio. inc.
εὐλογησε ο ὁ θεός ὁ πάντας δέλου ... desin. ... συγκαταρμήθη
μῖν τοὺς εὐαρέστησας.
2. Vita. inc. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ πάλαι ... desin. ... ἵππιαυχόν ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν.

Symeon Iunior Theologus. Vita. inc. χρήμα τῆρων ἀρετὴ ... desin.
... ἐπιδιώκοντι ἐκκλησία. [Par. 1610; cf. Combes, Bibliotheca
graeorum Patrum auctarium novissimum, ii, 119-29.]

Symeon Stylites. Vita ab Antiocho. inc. ξένου καὶ παράδοχον ...
... desin. ... ἐπιστελοῦται τοῖς πιστοῖς. [Vat. 7971, &c.; Par. 7609, &c.]
LIST II


Iacobus Persa. Nov. 27. [A. 35.] inc. Ἀρκασίου τὰ Ρωμαίων διάποντος σκέπτρα . . . desin. . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βραβείων ἄξιομαθῆται. [Codd. Vat. 805, &c.; Par. 579.]

1 The shelf-number in the library of Prodromou.
HAGIOGRAPHICAL MSS.

Iohannes Calybita. Jan. 14. [A. 39.] ἵνα τυραννικὸν τὸ χρῆμα τεκῶντων... desin. ... τὸ δένδρον ἀκόλουθον τῷ καρπῷ εἰς δόξαν κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 79313, &c.; Par. 2364, &c.]

Maximus Aug. 13. [A. 40.] ἵνα Ἰρακλείου τῶν σκήπτρων... desin. ... ἀναθέματι ὑποβαλεῖ κτλ.

Mercurius. Martyrium. Nov. 26. [A. 35.] ἵνα Δέκιος ἡρίκα καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων... desin. ... τιμῶντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριον... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805ψ, &c.; Par. 579ψ, &c.]

Michael archangelus. Narratio Pantoleonis diaconi. Nov. 8. [A. 34.] ἵνα Μεγάλαι καὶ ποικίλαι καὶ πολλαὶ... desin. ... χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου. Contains stories relating to Satan, Adam, Abraham, Balaam, the body of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Goliath, Sennacherib, Constantine, the Argonauts, &c. [Codd. Vat. 654, &c.; Par. 501, &c.]

Onuphrios Jun. 12. [A. 40.] ἵνα Ἀρηθῆς ἐπαινοῦ... desin. ... μεμημήνους σου... κτλ.

Pachomius. Encomium. Mai. 15. [A. 40.] ἵνα τὸ τῆς ὀικονομίας ἄνων μυστήριον... desin. ... κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἁριστεύματα κτλ.

Petrus. λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἀλήτως τοῦ άγ. καὶ κορυφ. τ. ἀποστ. Π. Jan. 16. [A. 39.] ἵνα ὁσοὶ τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου... desin. ... διανύομεν βίον δοξάζοντες... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 817ψ, &c.; Par. 236ψ, &c.]


Saba. Dec. 5. [A. 36.] ἵνα Οὐδὲν οὐτῶν κυνήγεσιν ψυχήν... desin. ... ἐξηραίου διαγωγῆς χάριτι... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 812ψ, &c.; Par. 1195ψ, &c.]

Stephanus Junior. Nov. 28. [A. 35.] ἵνα Θείων τὸ χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ πολλῶν ἄξια... desin. ... ἡ καὶ ὑμᾶς παριστάτημεν εὐχαίς αὐτοῦ... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805ψ, &c.; Par. 456ψ.]

Thomae. Hypomnemata. Oct. 6. [A. 33.] ἵνα Πάλαι μὲν τὰς κατὰ γῆν... desin. ... τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου καθαρώς ἑπελάψατο. [Codd. Vat. 798ψ, &c.; Par. 774ψ, &c.; Regin. 56ψ; Ottob. 399ψ.]
### List III

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<td>Antonius</td>
<td>Symeon Stylites.</td>
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<td>Arcadius Cyprius</td>
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<td>Callistus Patriarcha</td>
<td>Gregorius Sinai.</td>
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<td>Claudius Cyprius</td>
<td>Symeon ἐν τῷ βαυμαστῷ δρε.</td>
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<td>Nicolas Catascepenus</td>
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<td>Pantoleo Diaconus</td>
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