THE
EARLY DAYS OF MONASTICISM
ON MOUNT ATHOS

KIRSOOPP LAKE
GIFT OF
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"To Mr. Mary
Cantrell"
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 *aneclidota 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 βιοι belongs. It is of course a help to know which MSS. have βιοι, 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.

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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 ἡγούμενος 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
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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

PETE 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:—
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; 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.

Also in the Laura, Cod. E 190 (written at the expense of Simeon, proegoumenos of the Laura, ἐκ τῆς χώρας Καρυστίου, 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.

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.

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 Seguier, 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 XVIII siècles.*

(5) Also in Paris, Cod. Coislin. 109, a MS. of the tenth century, which Seguier 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 υπεραγίας 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 anyone 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 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 Ἡβρῶν.
(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,\(^1\) 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 Iconolatric 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

\(^1\) 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 Patara lived in the fourth century. But if we eject the words 'of Patara' 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 had heard of the escape of Peter and of the fulfilment 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. in 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 Patara' 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 Patara 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.

II. His imprisonment at Samara.
3. His first prayer to St. Nicolaus.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

Πολυάνθρωπος, ἀποδοθήναι τε τῷ τούτων ἀρχηγῷ, τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἄρταγμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ δυσσεβὴς εἰς δημοσίαν φιλάκην αὐτὸν ἐναπέθετο, καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν σιδήροις βαρυτάτοις κατηπαλίσατο, σωφρονέστερος ὤσπερ τῶν οἰκείων γενόμενος ἐξεστασθῆς, καὶ γιγνος ὡς ἄρα διὰ τοῦτο εἰς προφυγὴν καὶ δουλείαν ἀπεδοθῆ, διότι πολλακίς εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι μοναχὸς καὶ τοῖς κόσμῳ ἀποτάξασθαι πράγμασιν, εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἁνεβάλλετο, ἐποτνιάτο, ἦσχαλλεν, ἐδυσχερανευνα, ἐαυτὸν τῆς βραδυττῆς κατεμέφετο, καὶ δὴ ὡς ἡμιτία παθῶν εὐχαρίστως ὑπέφερε τὰ γενόμενα. ὡς δὲ χρόνος αὐτῶν παρωχύκει ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ πλείστος, καὶ οὐδεμία ἀφορμὴ σωτηρίας ἐπρομηθεύετο, ἐκ πολλῆς συνθείας τῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικόλαου θαυμάτων προσπάρχων, καὶ ἄμα τούτον ἐν τοῖς Θλιβεροῖς ἀρωγὸν ἐπιβοάσθαι μεμελετηκώς, τῇ εἴ έθους παρησία χρησάμενος "ἐγώ," φησίν, "ἀγιε Νικόλαε, οὐδὲ ἂν ἂνξιος εἰμι πάσης σωτηρίας πολλακίς γὰρ μονάσαι τῷ θεῷ ὑποχώμενος, μὴ περατώσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ἥσαν τῷ πλάσαντι, δικάιως καὶ τῆς ἐθάδε ζοφόδους καθείρξεως ἐτυχον. διὰ τοῦ τούτο πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν τῇ ἰκεσίᾳ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ὡς τολμῶ μονάσασθαι, σοὶ δὲ ὡς συνὴσσο ἔχοντι τὰ τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσοκειούσθαι βάρη, καὶ ταῖς δεχόσθε τῶν Θλιβομένων προσεπικάμπτεσθαι, βαρρῶν προσφεύγω καὶ σὲ μεστήν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγυτήν προβάλλομαι, ὡς ἁρα, διὰ σοῦ τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπινευσθείς τῶν δὲ δεσμῶν ἀπολυτρώμενος, οὐκέτα τοῖς κοσμικοῖς θορύβοις ἐπιμενῶ, υδὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ πατρίδι ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκατοκισώμο, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην πορεύομαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου σηκὸ ἀποκειράμενος, οὕτω διατελέσω τῶν ἀπαντά μου τῆς ἑώρις χρόνου, μοναστή ἀντὶ κοσμικοῦ δεικνύμενος, καὶ εὐαρεστείν θεῷ ὅση δύναμις ἐπιτη- δευόμενος."

ταύτα καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείονα λέγων ὁ ἀνήρ, καὶ ἀμα νηστείαις ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδίδους καὶ δεήσειν, ἐβδομάδα ἠμέρων ἀσίτος διετέλεσε. περὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τέλος ὁπότανεται αὐτῶ ὁ ταχὺς τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπίκουρος, ὁ θερμὸς προστάτης καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος, καὶ φησί πρὸς αὐτόν, "καὶ τῆς δεήσεως σου, ἀδελφε Πέτρε, ἀκήκοα, καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν τῆς καρδίας σου ἥρωσαμήν, καὶ τὸν εὐσπλαγχνον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θεόν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐλιπάρησα.
άλλ' ἔπειτε πέρ αὐτῷ βραδὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν εκπλωρῆς ¹ καθεστηκας, γνώθι, ἀδελφε, ὅσοι οὖ βούλεται σε τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνέθησαι, κρείττον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν σωτηρίαν σου προμηθοῦμεν. ἡμώς δ' οὖν ἔπειτε αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ τὸ 'αἰτεῖται καὶ δοθήσεται, κρούεται καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν,' μ' ἐκκακίστως σαρώμενα τινα αὐτῶν καθικτείων ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅπερ οἴδε συμφέρον, τοῦτο τάντως καὶ οἰκονομήσει εἰς ἡμᾶς." ταῦτα εἶπὼν ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν αὐτῶν ἐγκελεστάμενος, γεώσασθαι τε τροφῆς προτρεπώμενος, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησε. τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τότε μὲν μεταλάβο τοῦ τροφῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄθις εἰκότως εἰς ἱκεσίαν μετὰ νηστείας ἐπιτείνουτος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ τάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος, σκυθρωτῷ τινι βλέμματι, ὡς δῆθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακούμενος, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὑφειμένη καὶ πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ "ἐγὼ μὲν, ἀδελφέ, πίστευσον, οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην περὶ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκβιαζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα οἷς τισὶ κρίμασιν ἡ ποιεικονομία τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλεται. πλὴν ἔπειτα ἔδει οὖν τὸ πολυπομπαγχυν τὴν ἀναβολὴν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν πραγματεύεται, ἵνα μὴ ταχεώς λαμβάνοντες καταφρονώμεν ραδίως τὴν χάριτος, θέλει δὲ ἵσως καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἄξωθήναι τῶν εὐαρεστηθάντων αὐτοῦ, ἐγὼ σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδείξω προσβευτὴν ἀξιώτατον. λάβωμεν οὖν αὐτὸν συνήγορον ἀμφότεροι, μονὸν ἐπὶ ἄπευθεσθῇ τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οἶδα ὅσον ἐπινεύσει ὁ θεός δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα." τοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος "καὶ τίς είη ἄρα, ἄγιε δεσπότα, ὁ πλέον σοῦ τὸ θεοῦ ἱλασθήσαμεν, σοῦ γὰρ ταῖς προσβείαις καὶ ταῖς προστασίαις ὁ κόσμος ἀπάς περιστίζεται;" ὑποψιβάσας αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας ἔφη Νικόλαος "οἶδας Σωμών τὸν δίκαιον, ὅσον ἐν χερτὶ τὸν κύριον τεσσαροθήμερον προσδεξάμενον ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰσεκόμησεν; " οἶδα, φησί, "ἀγίε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῖς γὰρ ἄγιοις εὐαγγελίοις ἐστὶν ἀνάγραπτος." ὁ δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος Νικόλαος "τούτου," ἔφη, "ἀμφότεροι εἰς προσβείαιν κινήσωμεν, δύναται γὰρ, ὡς τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἀεὶ παριστάμενος καὶ πάντως τὰ ἀπέραντα ἡμῖν πέρας αἰσιόν ἀποληφόντα." ὃς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπὼν ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος

¹ sic cod. ² sic.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

5. His prayer to S. Symeon, and his escape from prison.

απηλλάττετο. διυπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ, πάλιν ἔστιν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις καὶ νηστείαις δεδωκός, ταῖς Νικόλαου πρεσβείαις ἐπικαλεῖσθαι οὖς ἀπέλιπτε. καὶ θέα μοι ἑνταῖθα τὴν τοῦ ἄγιον συμπαθεῖαν, πῶς τὸν ἵκετὴν ἀποθεραπεύσαι βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν αἰτησεών αὐτοῦ προμηθεύσασθαι τὸ συμπέρασμα, οὐ κατοκῶντες εἰς τούτῳ συμπροσβεντὴν καὶ Συμεὼν παραλαβεῖν τὸν δικαίωταν μεθ’ οὐ παραστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπιφορᾷ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως, ὅτε δή καὶ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῷ τῶν λυπηρῶν ἔχαριστο, “θάρσει” ἔφη, “ἀδελφέ Πέτρε, καὶ τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ πολὺ ἀποσκευασάμενος, τῷ κοίνῳ μεσίτῃ καὶ συμπροσβεντῇ Συμεὼν τὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐπιθάρρησον.”


1 sic cod.
πάραδοξο τοῦ πράγματος, τῷ μεγάλῳ Νικόλαῳ ἐπιμελείσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπειτὸν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡμαντώθη ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, ἔμεινε δὲ μόνον ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῷ κηδεμονίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Νικόλαῳ παροιματῶν καὶ προσανακείμενος. ὁ δὲ μέγας Νικόλαος τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτῷ ἀρασθαι διεκδευτῆτο, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μήδεν ἔχειν ὁ διατραφήσεται, ὁ τοῦ κυρίου γνώσιος θεράτων Νικόλαος θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ διακελευτάμενος, εἰσελθεῖν εἰς εἴν τῶν ἐκείστε ἐπικών παρεγγυῆτατο, κάκειθεν ὁσα βούλητον τῶν ὀπωρῶν ἐαυτῷ ἀποκομίσασθαι. οὔτε γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς διατροφὴν εὐπορήσατο, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὁ μέγας χειραγωγὸν Νικόλαος ἐως εἰς Ῥωμαίαν ἀβλαβὴ διεκόμισεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Γρακίων ἐπέβη γῆς ὁ ἀνήρ ὁ μὲν ἄγιος εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἄπηλλαττετο, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόν, “καίρος σοι, ἀδελφε Πέτρε, τὰς συνθήκας ἐκπληρῶσαι παχύτατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ πάλιν τῷ Σαμαρᾶ ἀποκομίζῃ ὡς δέσμιος,” ὁ δὲ ἀμα μὲν καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀναβολῆς θεδίου τὸ εἴπτιμον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τον ἄγιον θεραπέειν ἐκμηχανόμενος, οὔτε ἐν τῷ οἰκεῖῳ οὐκ ἀπελθὼν, οὔτε μὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡ γνωρίσώμενον ἀναφερόμενον, ὁς ἀν ἵνα ἔποιητο τῇ σπουδῆς ἀναχαιτισθῇ, τάχους ὃς εἰ χεὶς πρὸς Ῥώμην ἤπειρετο ἀποδοθήτων τῷ Κυρίῳ τάς εὐχὰς μετ᾽ ἐξομολογήσεως, ὃς διεστέλλε τὰ χείλη αὐτοῦ. καὶ σκότης μοι ἐνταῦθα, ὁ φίλος τῶν ὀρθοδοξῶν, τῆς τοῦ παμμάκαρος Νικόλαου κηδεμονίας τὸ σύγκριτον, πῶς ὡστε πατήρ φιλόστοργος καὶ συμπάθης, ἡ ὥσπερ πανδαγωγὸς ἄριστος τῷ αὐτῷ προσαναχηκότι ἑκομπαροματεὶ, οὕτως αὐτῷ συνοδοπορεῖ, ἐπικολουθεῖ, προέτρεψε, τὰ ἐμπροσθεν προμάλληξε, τὰ ὁπίσθεν ἐπερρώνω, κατευθοῦν ἐν ἀπασί, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστη τοῦτον ἐως ἃν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ προσήξειν ὡς ἐπεχείρησεν. ἄρτι γὰρ τότε τῇ Ῥώμη ἐγγίζοντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τῶν τόπων ἀγνοοῦτος, ἀγνοουμένου δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ, τῷ 2 τηνικαύτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προερχόμενοι ὁ μέγας αὐτῶν κατάδηλον καὶ ἐμφανὴς παριστήσθη ἑκομπαροματεί, νῦντοι τῷ Πάπᾳ ἐπιστάτα τῶν ἀνδρὰ ἐπὶ χείρας κρατῶν, αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὑπεδείκνυσέν ὅπως μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ ἀνεφρύσατο, καὶ ὅπως εὐχὴν ἔχει ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀποκείρασθαι οὐκ ἑκατέξεις προσδόκιμον, γνωρίσας αὐτῷ ἀμα καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄπομα, 1 sic. 2 sic cod.
Peter in S. Peter's Rome, and his departure with the Pope.

His voyage and miracle of healing.

1 sic cod.
λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῶν, “λαβὼν ἄρτον ζέοντα ἀποκόμισον τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ ἀββᾶ ἡμῶν.” ὦς οὖν ἤκουσεν ὁ τοῦ οἴκου κύριος περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ, λέγει τοῖς ναύταις “κύριοι μου, ἔθετο ὁ πατήρ, καὶ εὐλογήσατός ἐμέ σε καὶ τὸν νῦν μου, ὅτι ἦδη τῷ θανάτῳ προσεγγίζωμεν τῇ χαλεπῇ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἀράτε, ἀρρωστία περιπεσόντες.” τούτων ἀκούσαντες εἴκειοι ἀπελθόντες ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ ἀββᾶτι τῇ ἁκραν δὲ ταπείνωσι περικείμενοι καὶ μὴ θέλον ἕως τὸν ἐμφανίσαται, πορευθήσαται σὺν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐβούλετο· μαθῶν δὲ ὅτι εἰς αὐτὰς κατήντησαν τοῦ θανάτῳ τοῦ κατηφείον ἁμα καὶ σκυθρωπάζων μετ’ αὐτῶν διήμυσε τὴν ὅδον. ὦς δὲ τῇ θήρᾳ τοῦ οἴκου προσήγγισαν, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ “χαίρε” τῷ οἰκοδομῆσά την φθεγξαμένου, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὦσπερ ἐκ βαρυτάτου κάρου εἰς ἕως τὸν γενόμενον, ἀνέθρω τῆς κλίνης ὁ ἀσθενῶν, καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ὅσιον, καὶ τούτων μετὰ δακρύων περιπτύσσομεν, ἀνέστη ἐρρωμένος καὶ ὑγιής, παραδόξου τυχόν τῆς ιάσεως. ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὅσιον χειρὸς, διέδραμε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἁσθενοῦντων κλινίδια, καὶ ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὅσιον τῷ Ἑρατῳ σφραγίδα, εὐθεῖάς ἱνώτο οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατισχυμένοι: ἵσαμένοι οὖν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀρρώστους αὕτης ὑπεστρέφειν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν γενόμενα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ οἱ νῦσται, καὶ δεδώκότες δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, πεσόντες ἁμα προσκύνησαν αὐτῶ. ὁ οὖν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὁ τῆς ιάσεως τυχόν πανοικι, λαβὼν ἄρτον καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ ἔλαιαν, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ διαβαστάζων αὐτά: ὁ δὲ μέγας πατήρ ἡμῶν Πέτρος τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ προαίνειν ἀπεδέχατο, λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτά ὑν παρεδέχετο. καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἁμα τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἐκλαίαν ὅμω πικρός, λέγοντες “δοῦλε γνῶσι τῷ Χριστῷ, εἰ μὴ μικρὰν ταύτην εὐλογίαν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν λήψῃ, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ παλινοποιήσετε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἡμῶν.” μόλις δὲ πεισθείς ὁ πατήρ, τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πάντων δυσωπησάντων πρὸς τότε, λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κατεδέχατο καὶ χαιρόντες ὑπεστρέφειν εἰς τὸν οἴκον αὐτῶν εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ τούτῳ θεράποντι. τούτων οὕτως γενόμενον, καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δοξάσαντος ἐν πάσι τῶν ὁμοιοί οἰκέτην, τῶν ἐκεῖσ’ ἐπάραντες οἱ ναυτικοὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω ρωτεῖας εἶχοντο. ἡ δὲ ἡ μὲν τροφῆ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς

3. The vision of the Theotokos, and
ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ἀπ' ἑσπέρας εἰς ἑσπέραν, οὐγκία ἄρτου ἡ δὲ τὸ ποτός ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλάττιον ὕδατος ἕνος μικροῦ βεακαλίῳ. καὶ διαπλασίας ἡμέρας ικανᾶς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμείς ἄρτῳ προσορμοδέντες, ἐν μικροῦ μετασχῶν ὧν ποὺ ὁ θεοφόρος Πέτρος ὁ τινὶ παναχραντὸν θεοτόκον μετὰ τῶν ὑπερβαλλόντων, οὕτως πανέστοικαν, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Νικόλαον αἰδῶ καὶ φῶς καὶ συστολῆ πλησίαζοντα, καὶ ἱκετικὸς λέγοντα ἀυτῇ "δέσποινα τοῦ παντοῦ καὶ κυρία, ἐπειπέρ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον τῆς χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας ἐλευθερώσας θέη- λήσας, δυσώπητη ὑποδείξαι τούτῳ καὶ τόπων, ἐν δὲ τὸν ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διατελέσει χρόνον, τὰ φίλα θεοὶ διαπράττων, καὶ στραφεῖσά φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ θεοτόκος "ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθω ὅρει ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ, ὅτε εἰς κλήρον ἐμὸν αἰτησαμένη εἰληφα παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νιῶν καὶ θεοῦ, ὅπως οἱ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀναχωροῦσας συγχύσασα, καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν, ὅταν δήμας, ἀντεχόμενοι, καὶ τὸ ἔμων ἁλθεῖα καὶ πίστει καὶ διαθέσει ψυχῆς ἐπικαλούμενοι ὅνωμα, τὴν τε παροῦσαν ζωῆν ἀμέριμνον διανώσας, καὶ τὴν μελλουσαν δὲ ἐργον θεαρέστων κληρονομώσας. τάνυ γὰρ ἐπιτερπώς ἐξίοι τούτων, καὶ λίαν μου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπενφραίνεται, καὶ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἔσται τοτε ὅτε πλησίονται τοῦ τάγματος τῶν μοναχῶν ἀπ’ ἄκρων ἐως ἄκρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ νιῶν καὶ θεοῦ, εἰ γε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν σωτηρίων ἐντολῶν ἀντέχονται, εἰς τῶν σύμπαντα αὐῶν αὐτῶν οὐ διασκεδασθῆσθαι. καὶ πλατυνώ αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ νότον καὶ βορρᾶν τοῦ εἰρήμενον ὅμοιος, καὶ κατακυριέσθωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἓως θαλάσσης, καὶ τὸ ἄνωμα αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ υφηλίῳ περιβότοιν θῆσι, καὶ τῶν διακατεροῦσιν ἐν αὐτῶ ὑπεραστίων." ἀλλ’ ὁμοὶ πᾶς ὁ παρατυγχάνων τῷ διδυματί δεσπότου μὲν ἄκραν φιλανθρωπίᾳ, δουλού δὲ συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς ὁμοδουλον, καὶ δεσποίνης πρὸς οἰκέτην κηδεμονίαν καὶ προστασίαν ἐννοεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅσιον Πέτρου ἀκραμφνεστάτην πίστιν, ἦτις πάντα τὰ δυσχερὰ κατευμάρισε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἦν ἡ ἡμᾶς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδοθήσαν πεποίηκε. δυνατόθεις οὐν ὁ μακάριος ἀκμαίαν ἔτι τὴν ὁπτασίαν ἔχων ἡχαρίστησε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῇ πανάγνῃ τούτῳ μητρί, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρί Νικόλαῳ. ἢν δὲ ὃρα ὡςε τρίτη, καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου 1 sic cod. 2 sic cod.
His arrival at Mount Athos.

4. PETER THE ATHONITE

His cave on Mount Athos full of vermin and devils.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

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χωρείν ἀφηγεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀκοῇ παραδεχεσθαι. τινα γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὀλῆς ἑκείνης διατεμῶν ἃ τῆν θεόδημτον ἐσκεπτὸν τοῦ σπηλαίου θύραν, κατάφηκεν εἰς αὐτῷ εὐχαρίστατών τών κυρίων καὶ ἐξοµολογούµενος νυκτὸς καὶ ἡµέρας καὶ τὰς εὐχας θερμῶς ἀνατέµπων. οὕτω δὲ τὸν δεύτερον τῆς ἐβδοµάδος τοῦ ἀγίου καιρὸν διανύσαντος, τὸ καρτερικώτατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τολµηρὸν µὴ φέρων ὁ ἀει τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπιβασκαίνων Σατάν, ἀρας τῆς πανστρατιάν αὐτοῦ µετὰ βελῶν καὶ τόξων, εἶσει καὶ µονὸς ἐν τῷ ἑκείνῳ τῷ σπῆλαιῷ, ἐνθά ὁ μακάριος τῶν τῆς µαρτυρίας ἀθλήσεως δείχνειν ἄγωνα, οἱ δὲ ᾧλοι λίθους παµµεγέθεις, ὦστερ κυλίντες ἐξεθην, µετὰ φωνῶν καὶ κραυγῶν ἐπεµπτὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ, ὡστε ταύτα ὀρώντα τὸν ἀγίον λέγειν ὅτι “πάντως πέθανεκε µου τὸ πέρας καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς ἔσεσθαι ἁριθµηθήσοµαι.” καὶ ὁ µὲν προστάτης τῶν ἐνδῶν ἦν τοῦ σπῆλαιοῦ, ἦ δὲ ᾧλὴ αὐτοῦ πανοπλία τὰ τῶξα κατέγυρσε ἐθόκου πέµπτες κατὰ τὸν ὅσιον φωνῇς ὡς δὲ τῇ ἀνωθὲν χάριτι ἀσιµή διεισηλείτο, λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ “ἐξελεύσοµαι τοῦ σπῆλαιοῦ καὶ γνώσοµαι τὶς ἡ τοσαύτη μανία, καὶ τὶ τῶν συνειλεµένων τὸ σύνταγµα.” καὶ ἐξαδονν ἐδέ τὰς τῆς πωνήρας πνεύµατα κύκλῳ τοῦ σπῆλαιοῦ εὐστώτα, καὶ κραυγάς ἀφορήτοις καὶ φοβεραῖς ὅψεσθαι οἷς ἦν πατρί τροπία ἐπίσηµον κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστῶν, καὶ τὸ ὅµµα πρὸς οὐρανόν ἀνατείνας τὴν Θεοτόκον ἐπεκαλεῖτο πρὸς συµµαχίαν, εἰρήκως οὕτως “ἀγία θεοτόκε, βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου.” καὶ ἀµα τὸ ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ γλυκὸ καὶ περιστόθητον ἡµῖν τῆς θεοτόκου άνοµα, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρόµα γεγονόσιν ἀφαντοί. εἰχέτο οὖν πάλιν τῶν ἀγίων ὁ ἀγίος εὐαντὸν εἰκεδεχώκος τῷ σπῆλαιῷ, καὶ προσευχόµενος ἐλεγε µετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς “κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεός µου, µή εὐκαταλέπτῃς µε,” καὶ οὐκέτι ἱκουσίντο πφονᾶ µέχρι καιροῦ τῖνος. µετὰ ταύτα πεντήκοντα παρεκεῖσθαι ἡµέρῶν, πάλιν τῷ προτέρῳ Χρησάµενοι σχήµατα οἱ ταλαίπωροι ὀπλίζονται κατ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κινοῦσι πάν ἐρπητῶν ἱσοδόλου καὶ πάντα τὰ θῆρα ἄ ἂν ἐν τῷ ὅρει, καὶ µετ’ αὐτῶν ἁγοῦσιν ἐν τῷ σπῆλαιῷ. καὶ τὰ µὲν αὐτῶν ἐνθεὶ κάκειθεν τρέχειν ἐποίουν οἱ ἀληθήριοι, τὰ δὲ χάµος σαι χρῆσθαι καὶ ἠωνα πειράσθαι καταπεινὸν τὸν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐρπτευ καὶ συρίττευ καὶ βλεποῦρ ὀρᾶν παρεσκεύαζον. ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τούτοις τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ

2. The first attempt of the devils.

3. Second attempt of the devils.
Third attempt of the devils.
Appendix to Chapter I

μᾶς ψυχῆς ἐκ πλάνης ὀδοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπιστροφῆ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ὑπερακοντίατε ἁγίας, καὶ μαρτυρέι μοι τῷ λόγῳ ὁ λέγων ὁ ἀνάγων ἄξιον ἐξ ἀναξίου ὡς στόμα μου ἔσται. πολλὴ δὲ πλήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν εἰσὶν αἱ ἐν μιρίῳς πάθει πλανώμενα, καὶ χριστιανοὶ εἰκότως τοῦ μετὰ θεοῦ αὐτοῦς βοηθήσοντος μυρίων οὐν ἀποκείστεαι σοι μισθός, εἰ γε τοὺς πλανωμένους ἑλθὼν ἐπιστρέφεις πρὸς θεὸν. λοιπὸν οὐν τί μᾶλλα τι τὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὀλοκαρδίως φιλοῦντος σε οἰκέτου ἀναδύῃ ὁδὸν;" τάτη τοῦ δαίμονος λέγοντος καὶ ἂλλα τινὰ μετὰ δακρύων, ἥξιτο διαταράττεσθαι καὶ ὁ ἄγιος, καὶ δάκρυξ βρέχων τοῦ πρόσωπον φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀγγελὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπός ἔφερε με, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἡ πανάχραντος αὐτοῦ μύης ἡ Θεοτόκος, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῇ ἐκείνῃ γνώμῃ καὶ προτροπῇ τῶν ὧδε χωρίσω, ἀλλὰς οὐ χωρίζομαι." ἀμα δὲ τὸ ἀκούσα τὸν δαίμονα τὸ τῆς θεοτόκου ὄνομα εὐθέως ἀφαντὸς γέγονε, καὶ θαμάσας ὁ ἄγιος τὴν σκαφώριαν τοῦ δαίμονος, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφηνύσιδα πεποιηκός, τὰλν ἡγήχασε. νηστεία δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ ἐγκρατείᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ προσευχαῖς ἀνευότοις σχολαίῳς, εἰς ἀκρον ἐφθασε ταπεινώσεως καὶ μέτρον ἀγάπης εἰλικρινοῦς καὶ νοὸς καθαρότητα· διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἡμοῖον καὶ ἐστευδέν ὁ παμπόνηρος τὸν τόνου αὐτοῦ χαλάσαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ῥοπῆς ἀναστείλαι, καὶ μετὰ παραδρομὴν χρόνον ἐπτά εἰς ἀγγελὸν φωτὸς μετασχηματισθεὶς, ἐπισαμένην ἐχόν ἐν ἡ χειρὶ ῥουμφαίαν, ἐστὶ πλησίον τῆς τοῦ σπηλαίου ὅπης, καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν εἶ ὀνόματος ἐφη "Πέτρε, θεραπεύον Χριστοῦ, ἐξελθε καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι λόγους καλοὺς." καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄγιος "σὺ τίς εἰ ὁ λόγος μοι ἀναγγελαί υπισχυόμην ὁφελήμους;" καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς "ἐγὼ εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σε. ἦσχυν οὗν καὶ ἀνδρίζου καὶ χαίρε καὶ ἀγαλλία, ὅτι θρόνος θείος ἠτοίμασται καὶ στέφανος ἀμαράντινος. νῦν οὖν τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καταλιπῶν πορεύθην ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς στύριγμα καὶ ὄφελειαν πολλῶν· κύριος γὰρ ὁ θεός τὴν πηγήν ἐξήρανε τοῦ ὑδατος τὴν πλήσιον σου, διὰ τάς τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἔρημων ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς κατὰ σοῦ γινομένας, ὅτις ἀπολύσασιν ὑδατος μὴ μετέχοντα." ἦν δὲ ὁ πάνσοφος ἐν κακίᾳ οὕτος προ- ἀποστείλας δαίμονα κωλύοντα καὶ διακατέχοντα τὴν τοῦ
6. The vision of the Theotokos and the gift of manna.

7. The last fifty-three years of his life.

υδατός ρύμην. τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ ἄγιος ἐφόν ταπεινώσεις "τίς εἰμὶ ἐγώ ὁ κύων, ἵνα ἀγγελοὺς κυρίου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με;" καὶ ὁ δαίμων, "μὴ θαυμάζῃς ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς τούτοις ἐν νενίκηκας καὶ Μωσῆν καὶ Ἡλίαν καὶ Δανιήλ, καὶ μέγας ἐκλήθης ἐν οὐρανοῖς διὰ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ὑπομονῆς σου τὸν γὰρ Ἡλίαν ὑπερβέβηκας τῇ ἀσιτίᾳ, τὸν Δανιὴλ τοὺς ἐρπτετούς καὶ θηρίους, τὸν Ἰδβή τῇ καρτερίᾳ. νῦν οὖν ἀναστὰς θεασάς τὴν τοῦ υδατός λείψιν, καὶ τὰχέως ἔξελθων τῶν ὥδε ἀπελθεὶ ἐν μοναστηρίοις τοῖς ἔν τῷ κόσμῳ, κάκε έσομαι μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ ἀφελήσω πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ." καὶ ὁ ἄγιος "ἐγώ, γίνωσκε, ἐὰν μὴ ἐλθῇ ἐν πάσις συνεργοῦσά μοι Θεότοκος, καὶ ὁ θερός τοῦ ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρωγὸς Νικόλαος, τῶν ὥδε οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι." ἀμα δέ τὸ ἀκούσαι τῆς Θεότοκου τὸ ὄνομα εἴθης ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔγνετο τοῦ ἄγιον ὁ δαίμων, καὶ γνοὺς τὰ τεχνάσματα τοῦ διαβόλου ὁ ἄγιος καὶ τὴν 1 αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀπασία ἀσθένειαν, προσήχηξε πρὸς κύριον ἱέγων οὔτως ὁ μὲν ἔχθρος, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεος μου, ὁ ῥυόμενος παρείχεται ἦσθον καταπείνει με, ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ κραταιᾷ χειρὶ σου πειροφυρεῖς με, τὸν δούλον σου, διὸ καὶ εὐχαριστῶ σοι, οτι οὐκ ἀπέστης ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ." ταῦτα λέγων ἔστηκα, καὶ τῇ ἐκεῖνη ἡμέρα 2 νυκτὶ ἀφυπνώσατος αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰόθει, μικρὸν, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἡ ταχεία τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοήθεια, ἡ φιλάνθρωπος Θεότοκος, ἀμα Νικόλαῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ φασὶ πρὸς αὐτόν "ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μὴ δειλιάσῃς, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς μετὰ σου ἑστὶ καὶ ἀναντιρήτως 2 αὐρίων ἀποστέλλεται ἀγγελοὶ τροφῆν οὐρανίαν κομίζων σοι." τοῦτο δὲ προτεταγμένος ἐστὶ κατὰ τεσσαράκονταμερον ἀπὸ τῆς δεύτερος ἑορτας, ὑποδείξει δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ μάνα πρὸς τροφῆν." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτῷ δεδωκότες ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ πεσὼν προσκήνησε τὸν τόπον ἐνθα οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἱσταντο, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἔρχεται ὁ ἄγγελος ψυχῶν ἐπιφερόμενος τῶς οὐρανίους τροφάς, καὶ ὑποδείξεις τὸ μάνα, καθὼς ἡ Θεότοκος ὑπέσχετο, ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. εὐχαριστήσεσα δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ τούτῳ μητρὶ ἠσύχασε καταμόνας ἄσκων, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδιδός ἐτη πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐξελίπον δὲ καὶ αἱ πυκνα φωνάσι τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ τῇ τῷ θεῷ συνεργεῖα καὶ συμμαχίαι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσοῦτοις χρόνοις οὐχ ἐώρακε φώσιν ἀνθρώπων,

1 καὶ τὴν τελ μν τὴν (sine accent.) sic cod. 2 sic cod.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

31

His discovery by a hunter.

V, I.
32

PETER THE ATHONITE

The effect on the hunter.

3.
The discovery of the relics of Peter by the hunter.
έντολής τού ἁγίου καὶ τού βίου αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς μετὰ
dακρύων τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, ἐκλαυσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πικρῶς στερεθήντες
τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμιλίας καὶ εὐχῆς. ὦ οὖν τοῦ θηρευτοῦ ἀδελφὸς
πνεύματι κατείχετο ἀκαθάρτω, καὶ ἁμα τὸ προσεγγίσαμεν καὶ ἁγασθαί τοῦ λειψάνου ἦν ἰδεῖν φοβερότατον θέαμα.
σπαραγμοί γὰρ συνεχίζετο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατεσπάρατον, ὦ
tε ὁθόναμοι αὐτοῦ ὑφαιμοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διάστροφοι, τὸ δὲ στᾶμα πληρεῖς ἀφροῦ, καὶ τριζων τοὺς ὁθόνας εἴδο
λέγων "ὅ Πέτρε, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τῶν πεντηκοντα τριῶν
χρόνων ὁ διωγμὸς ἃν ἐποίησας εἰς ἐμέ, ἐξεόσας με τὸν
στηλαίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν θιουλεί με καὶ ταύτης ἐκδιώκει
tῆς κατοικίας μου; οὐκ ἀκούσω σου, οὔτ' οὐ μὴ ἔξελθος.”
καὶ βλεπόντων τῶν ἑστηκότων ἐγένετο φαινὰ τις καὶ
περικαλλὴς ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄψις, καὶ πολλὰ σπάραξαν καὶ
διατάραξαν αὐτὸν τὸ τῆς κακίας δαιμόνιον ἀπέστη ὡσεὶ
cατόπιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃς πεπόν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς ἀφασία κατείχετο καὶ ἀφωνία, νεκρὸν μηδὲν διαφέρων,
ἐπικαλεσαμένων δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἱερὸν γέρωντος καὶ τὴν
δ’ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡγερθῆ ἐρρωμένοι καὶ σωρφονῦν,
εἰπὼν τῷ ἱδίῳ ἄδελφῳ, “ἐυχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε μου καὶ
ἀδελφέ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ ἐν καλῷ ἡλθον ὡδε, καὶ ταύτης ὃς ὀρᾶς
ἐτυχὼν ἰάσεως.” ἥρα τοῖνω καὶ δάκρυσα τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ
ἀράμενοι λείψανοι, εἰεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῦν καὶ εἰσελθόντες
ev αὐτῷ ἡνων τὴν ὀδὸν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἐπὶ βορράν παραπλέοντες
tου ὀρου πλευρᾶν. κατ’ ὀκονομίαι δὲ θεοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πλοῦν
ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐν ἱςῳ γενόμενον τῆς μονῆς, ἢ ἡ προσηγορίᾳ
to Κλήμεντος. μὴ θαμάσπητε δὲ μονῆς ἀκούσαντες, ἡ γάρ
τῆς Θεοτόκου προορίσας ἢῃ προβαίνειν ἢξατο, καὶ τὸ
ἂν λεγόμενον ἀπὸ σταγόνος ὄδατος τῆς τῶν κατοικοῦντων
ἐνεδίας εὐαρμὸντο καὶ ὄλγοττος, εἰς πέλασοι αὔξειν
ἀπειρον καὶ πλατυσμον καὶ πλῆθος τὸ νυνί φαινόμενον
ἡ τῶν καλών συνεργὸς φιλομόμησε πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲν εὐκαιρὸν
ἔστιν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ εἰπόντος “ὡς καλὶ σου
οἱ οὐκοὶ Ἰακώβ, αἱ σκηναί σου Ἰσραήλ, ὡς ἐπιξῖν ὁ κύριος
καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος,” ἀπὸ ὀράς τῇ τρίτης ἔως ὀράς ἐνατῆς,
καὶ κάπας χρόμενοι καὶ ἰστία ἐφαπλοῦντες, καὶ ἀνέμου
ἐπιτήθειον ἔχοντες μετακινῆσαι τούτο ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἰσχυον.
ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰρμίμηνας μονῆς μοναχοὶ τὸ τε πλοῦν

IV. 1. The journey of the relics to Clementos.
μὴ μετακινούμενον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη καὶ βία χρω-
μένους τοῦ περιατέρω προείναι, καὶ ἀστοχοῦντας, ἔκθαμβοι
ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἰκείῳ πορθμῷ χρησάμενοι ἀπῆλθον πρὸς
αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔπυνθανόντες παρ’ αὐτῶν τί ἂν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι.
οὐκ ἔβουλοντο δὲ οὕτωι φανερῶσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ μυστήριον,
ἀλλὰ πλασταῖς καὶ ξενοθείσης χρώμαινοι ἔσπευδον
τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διασκεδάσασθαι. ἐπιγνώντες δὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ
ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῃ λέγουσιν ἀλλ’ ἐπιπλαστὰ, μόνον ἔνευσαν τὸ
πλούν πρὸς τὴν μονήν, καὶ εὕθες ἄφ’ ἐαυτῶν ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ
τὴν γῆν. ἐμβρυμισάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ προστάσις, καὶ ἀπελαίας
σφοδροτάτας χρησάμενος, κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐμάθε πάντα παρὰ
τοῦ θερετοῦ, εὕθες δὲ μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ λαμπάδων δραμόντες
ἡραν τὸ λείψανον, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ ἤν
ἰδεῖν πάσαν νόσον δραπετεύουσαν τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἀδελφῶν,
καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας αὐθαυρίων ἰμένουσι διαδραμοῦσα
de ὁσπερ τις κηρὺς ἡ φήμη οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ ὁρεί
συνήθοροι μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα τῆς
περιγχώρου, καὶ πάντες ἱόντα καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο ὑ ὁδητὸ
κατειχόντα νοσήματι. καὶ ἢν χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις
ἐν τε τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὁρεί καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἄθροισθείσι,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν εἶκεν οὕτως μοναχοὶ
λαβόντες τό ἄγιον λείψανον ἤγαγον ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τοῦ
πανσέπττου ναοῦ τῆς παναγίτου Θεοτόκου, ἐνθα εἰσέθεσαν
τὰς ἔντησιν συνάξεις ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ποίησαντες ἀγρυπνίας
καὶ ὑμνοδίας ἀκαταπαύστους μέχρις ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, κατέθεντο
ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δεσποινῆς ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου,
ἀλόγη καὶ συμφρονη καὶ διαφόρους ἀρωμασί μετὰ καθαρὰς
συνόνοις εἰλίσαντες, εἶχον δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ, ὅτι καὶ
πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους ἐθεράπευε καὶ μαλακίας. οὐτῳ
μὲν οὖν, τοῦ ἄγιον ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ὄντως, καὶ
dιαβοήτου τοῖς θαυμαστὶ γενομένου, ὁ θερετὴς ἀμα τῷ ἱδίῳ
ἀδελφῷ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἑφόδιον αἰτήσαμεν,
tὴν ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐπορεύθησαν χαίροντες. οἱ δὲ γε μονάζοντες
ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ τῷ θερετῇ συναναβάντες ἐν τῷ στηλαίῳ, κλοπο-
φορῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου Βουλευμάτων,
ὑμῖν γνώμη καὶ κεκρυμμένος πλάσματι προσπεσόντες,
λέγοντες τοῖς πατρᾷς "γνωστὸν ἐστώ ὑμῖν, θεοφόροι
πατέρες, ὡς οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὃν ὁ κύριος
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

...
46 THE ATHONITE

telou

2. The "Chi-

liarch"

devil

36

at Pho-
camin.

2 sic.

The devil

at Pho-
camin.

at Pho-
camin.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

3. The action of the bishop. His purchase of the relics.
κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀκτίνας συστέλλειν τῆς χάριτος.” οἶ δὲ μὴν ἀκροὶ ὡς τὰ ῥηθέντα θελήσαντες παραδέξασθαι, ἐμείναν ἀντιπέπτοντες καὶ μὴ μεθήσειν φάσκοντες, κἂν χρυσοῦ ὑπόχοιοτ χίλια τάλαντα, ὥσ ἂ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος τούτου ἐνεβριμόσατο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἀμα τῷ λοιπῷ καταλάγῳ τῶν ἱερεών, “ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα βούλησθε λαβεῖν,” εἰρηκότες, “ἀπέλθετε τῶν ὁδὲ κεναῖς χερσί,” καταπεθεῖς γεγοναί καὶ ὑποκλινεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐκατὸν εἰληφότες νομίζομεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰδὼν ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρη, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὀσίου στέρναν ὀδυρομενοι, τῇ δὲ ποσότητι τοῦ χρυσίου μικρὸν παραμυθοῦμενοι. ἀναχωρῆσάντων δὲ τούτων, ἱδὼν τις δαιμόνων ἔτρεχε βοήχρώμενος ἀνυποστάτω, καὶ Πέτρον ἀπὸ Σχολαρίων ἀνακαλούμενος, “οὐκ ἄρκετον ἑφάνη σοι τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καταμονίας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους διώξαι, ἐν ὦ ὃν ἐσπευδὸν πλανὰν τοὺς μοναχοὺς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἔρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃδε παρασαγόνας, τῆς μικρᾶς ταύτης βουλῆμένος ἐξορίσας με κατοικίας καὶ ἀναπαύεσος; ἀρτι σου τὸ σῶμα πυρίκαυστον ποιῶ πάντων ὀρώντων, εἰ μὴ ἔσης με.” ἦν δὲ κατέχον ὁ ἀνθρώπος λαμπάδας πυρὸς ἐν ἑκάτεραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ ὥς μόνον ὠρμησε ταύτας ἐν τῷ λειψάνῳ θηναί, γέγονε τις ψόφος καὶ ἤχος βίαίος, καὶ παραχώμα, ὡς ἀστρατή πυρός, ἀπέτη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ δαίμων, ὦρνητικῶς τὸν ἀέρα περιερχόμενον. δοξασάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ τούτων τὸν φιλάθρωπον κύριον λαβὼν τὸ λείψανον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀμα τῷ κλήρῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπίσκοποεῖς ἀνήγαγον, κάκεισε διαφόρω ἀνθενεῖν διάφοροι τῶν συνρήσσων ἀπαλαγέντες ἐν πολυτίμῳ λάρνακι μύρωσ τούτων κατατίθεσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκόμισαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τριαὶ νυχθμέρεις δοξολογίας ποίησαντες, οὕτως ἐκάστος φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ σύμμακτοι εἰς τὰ ἱδία ἱεραί μεχρὶ δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἴσες ἐκείσε ἐπτελοῦνται πολλά, εἰς δόξαν τῆς παναγίας καὶ ὀμοσίους τριάδος, καὶ τιμῆ τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν. τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἀνδελφοι καὶ πατέρες, ἐν πλαξί καρδίας πάντα γράψωμεν καὶ ποιήσωμεν καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πατέρων τὸν ἀκηλιδωτὸν βίον καὶ μικρὸν δεῖ ἀσαρκὸν καὶ ἀσώματον ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐντυπώσαστε καὶ εἰσέβατε καὶ θρησκευέτες τὸ χαύνον ἡμῶν εἰδότες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν μαλακὸν καὶ ἀναδύομενεν ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀπάξ κόσμον καὶ τῶν ἐν

1 sic.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

κόσμῳ ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὕτε τὶς κοσμικὰς ματαιοποιίας ἐσωφόροι ἀπησχόλουν, ἀλλὰ ὀσμέρα τυρί προσλαμβάνοντες, καὶ ταῖς ἀναβάσεσιν ὡσπέρ θεούμενοι τὰ καλλὴ τῶν ὀρωμέων, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν εὐθηνίαν ὡς σκιὰν παρέτρεχον, καὶ τὰς μερίμνας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ τάλλα, οἷς οἱ φιλοκτήμονες καὶ φιλόφυλοι ἤδονται, ὡς ἐμπόδιον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπεστρέφοντο μουσικὸν κεκτημένοι διαγωγῆν καὶ μουώτσου, τὴν δυσεύρετον καὶ σπανίοντο ἄρτι γυνωσκόμενον· οὐ γὰρ τρυφῆς ἐπεμελέωντο, οὐ χιτῶσιν ἀπαλοῖς ἐπετέρποντο, ἡ σωματικὴ ἔχθνων ἀνάπαυσιν οὐδὲ κτῆσεις ἐπόθουν καὶ ἐπικτῆσεις καὶ πλατύσμους, καθάτερ ήμεῖς, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρου ἔτρεχον τοῦ νοητοῦ, ὡς ἔστι Χριστὸς ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς ὀφανίας ἐξέχοντο τρυφᾶς, καὶ παρακλῆσεις, ὢν κόρος τοῖς γεωσμένοις οὐκ ἔστω ὃθεν καὶ τοιαύτας εἰλικρίνεις χάριτας, καὶ κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὰ μυκητήρια ἔχοντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ πάσας ὁ τοῦ θεαρέστου τούτου βίου ἀκροατὴς οἶον φωστήρα τηλαυγῆ καὶ παγκόσμιον τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο θέλειν ὄρος ἔζηνεγκεν, ὡς ἀγρυπνία, καὶ πόνο, καὶ γυμνότητι, καὶ ἀσιτία, δημοκρίτει τε πένθη καὶ συντρικτῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν ὀλίσθε σετε πεντήκοντα καὶ προσε ἐαυτὸν ἐκδοῦς, ἀνώτερος γέγονε καὶ λογισμῷ, καὶ παθῶν, καὶ δαιμόνων, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πέφθακε τὸ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἐσχατον, τὴν ἁκραν λέγω πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν πρώτην καὶ μόνην μακαριότητα· ἦς ἄξιωθείμεναι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐργοὶ τὴν τούτου πολιτείαν μιμοῦμενοι, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θεόν προτερήσασιν ἐγκαλλωπίζομενοι, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ὀμοίων αὐτῶ γερῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν παρὰ τῆς ἀεινάου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. ὃ πρέπει πάσα δύσα, τιμή, καὶ προσκύνησις, σὺν τῷ ἀναρχῷ πατρί καὶ τῷ ζωοτοφῷ καὶ παναγάθῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας αἰῶνων. 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 1903 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 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. 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. After leaving his family he went to the Mysian Olympus, and approached the famous Johannicius, 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,

1 Petit, op. cit., pp. 16–19.  
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 there are encomiums by Psellus on a monk named Nicolaus on Mount Olympus: but he is described as the καθηγούμενον τῆς ἐν τῷ Ὄλυμπῳ μονῆς τῆς ὁραίας πηγῆς.

² It must be remembered that among the Basilican monks there are two grades, the μικρὸν σχῆμα, which is given with a tonsure, and the μέγα or ἀγγελικὸν 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, 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. 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 sacerdotal rank: Euthymius, for instance, was not yet a deacon, nor did he become one for many years.

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, xlvi.) 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 κατ’ ἐκόνα χάρας), 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 miraculous 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.

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 account³ 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 Festskrift til J. L. Ussing i anledning hans 80 aarige fødselsdag, Copenhagen, 1900, and Byz. Zeitschr., 1902, pp. 663 f.
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.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

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 reform 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 οὖν χρή, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν Περιστερῶν ἦτοι τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου μονῆς, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ διεσπείαν τελεύτης κατὰ τὴν τῶν δύο ἐυσεβῶν χρυσοβουλλίων περιοχὴν τε καὶ διάταξιν του τε ἁωνίου καὶ τρισμάκαρος βασιλέως τοῦ κυρίου Νικηφόρου καὶ τοῦ ἐτὶ περιόντος ἐυσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ κυρίου Ιωάννου τοῦ νυν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος διατιθέμενοι ἡμῖν ὑώς ἐδόξει διατάξεισθαι: Βουλώμεθα τοίνυν Στέφανον τοῦ εὐλαβεῖστατον μοναχὸν καὶ καθηγούμενον, καθὼς καὶ προσεῖται καὶ ἄρχει τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, μένειν ἀδιάσειστον καὶ ἀλογαρίαστον, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐπαθείας τυφα τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς μετακινεῖν αὐτὸν ἡ παραλύει τῆς ἐπιστασίας τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ, ἔστειλι καὶ ἐδούλευεν ἡμῖν ὅλῃ τῇ ἴσχυι αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐγχυρωῦν μεγάλως ἀνέπαισε καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμε καὶ τὴν ἀρμοδίου ὑποταγὴν ἐνδείξατο καὶ βελτιώσεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ μονῇ πεποιηκέναι φαίνεται: ὁ δὲ γε πειρόμενος, μετὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς μετακινήσαι αὐτὸν ἡ ἄλλως πως καθ' οἰκονήστε τρόπον θλίψιν τὴν οἰκονοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλότριος ἐστος τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, ἐχέτο δὲ τὴν κατάραν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν μᾶλλον μὲν ὦν ἐντέλλομαι καὶ μηνυόμενοι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτελεύμαιναι ἀδιαλείπτως θελέως λειτουργίας παρὰ τῶν τῆς Δαύρας πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ζωντας καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτησίως μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελείσθαι: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ βίου μετάστασιν τοῦ εἰρήµένου μοναχοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καθηγουµένου, ἐβουλώμεθα καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Δαύρας προεστῶτος προβληθῆναι καὶ ἀθίς ἡγουµένου. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντη κατηµέληται τὰ τῆς μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρὰ τῶν προηγησαµένων
ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΑ

καὶ ἀδιαφορία πολλῇ καὶ ἀμελίᾳ κατέχονται σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ τῆς μονῆς μοναχοί, συνείδομεν οἰκονομία χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ πρὸς ἕνα βλέπειν καὶ ύφ᾽ ἕνα τελεῖν, ἢγον τὸν προστότα τῆς Δαύρας, πάντας τοὺς εἰ τῇ δηλομένῃ μονῇ, ὅστε τῇ μοναρχίᾳ συνελαθήναι πρὸς τὸ πνευματικότερον, ἐν τε ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ ἡλιοφώσεις καὶ ἀναγνώσεων, ἐν τε βρῶμασι καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς ἡ δουλεία καὶ ὁ κόπος, ἡ ἡ ὁδιστορία καὶ ἡ ἡλικία, ἡ ἡ νόσος ἐκάστου καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια κατὰ καυρὸν ἀπαίτεται προβάλλεσθαι δὲ διορίζω-μεθα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Δαύρας προστότοισ, ἐκ τῆς Δαύρας, οἰκονόμους τε χρησιμωτάτους καὶ προσβητέρους, διασκέψει καὶ δοκιμασία πολλῇ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν συν αὐτῷ καὶ ύφ᾽ αὐτῶν μοναχῶν, ὡστε τοῖς μὲν διοικομεῖοισθαι προσηκόντως τὰ σωματικῶτερα, τοῖς δὲ καταρτίζεσθαι καὶ συγκροτεῖσθαι τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν λόγοις τε καὶ τρόποις καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ θέον πράξεις τούτου γὰρ γενησομένου, σὺν θεῷ φάναι, πέποιθα πολλὴν παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀναφανῆται κοινωνίκως καὶ μοναρχικῶς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὡφέλειαν· μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαύρας μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλάκις δηλωθείσης μονῆς εἰ διαρχίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μηδὲν διαφερομένων, ἅλλος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀγάπης συναγομένων ἐνωσιν καὶ μομοφρο- σύνην τῷ ὑπὸ μιᾶν καὶ μόνην τὴν πρότην ἀρχὴν ἀφορᾶν, καὶ εἰ τις ἢμῶν τὴν ἐπωφελῆ παύσῃ καὶ σωτηρίων οἰκονομίαν πειραθῇ καταλύσαι ποτὲ, ἄλλοτριος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, ἢ δὲ ἀγάπη ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

B. Extract from Gerasimos Smyrnakes, το "Αγιον Ὄρος, p. 45.

... καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου [τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου] παρεχορεῖτο τῇ Δαύρᾳ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη μοναστήριον τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Ἄνδρεοῦ τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου δόλως ἀνεξάρτητον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης ...
CHAPTER III

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

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.

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\(^1\) 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 Ȝ and ȝ the indication would correspond to the year.
The position of Kolobou. The two Greek monks Gerasimos Smyrnakes and Kosmas Vlachos 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. 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 γυστερνων, 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

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 γυστερνων 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 Erissos, 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 Erissos, 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 Erissos. The exact spot within the limits of Erissos 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. 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 Erissos 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 Erissos, 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 Erissos 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 Erissos.
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 Χλωμοτλῶν 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-

² p. 85. Appendix E.
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 tradition\(^1\) 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 Erissos, and M. Petit (*Vie de S. Euthyme*, p. 80) says that it is ‘actuellement Μαδεμοχώρια, près de Hierisso’. 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?) Erissos, 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 Erissiotes was aroused by Johannes as that of the Peristeriotes was by Euthy-

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\(^1\) 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 934. Gerasimos Smyrnakes, not quite grasping this, has introduced two disputes, in which the same names occur, one in 881 and the other in 934.
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 κλασματικὴ γῆ and the ἀποκληρωθεῖσα 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 Zoektes, 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 “κατέχειν 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 στρατηγλάτης 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, 'Ιωάννου ἡγούμενου 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 καθέδρα 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. ἀστέρ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βίου . . . δεσιν. ταύτα εἰρήνω). See codd. Paris. 1093, 1547, suppl. 759. 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" ἡσυχαστὴς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους, 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 ἡσυχαστῆς. 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 (ὅ Ἀθως, 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 Pomjalovski, 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 ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἀθωνοῦ, 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 καθεδρα των γεροντων.

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 τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον ἐλομένους καὶ τὰς καταμονὰς καὶ διατριβὰς εὖ τῷ τοῦ Αθωνος λεγομένῳ ὅρει ποιησαμένους, καὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς σκηνὰς ἐκεὶ πηξαμένους, παρά τῶν ἐπιχωρια-ζόντων καὶ τῷ ὅρει τούτῳ προσσυμορούντων ἑπηρεαζομένους, καὶ μὴ συγχωρουμένους καθαρῶς καὶ ἀταράχως τὰ τοῦ ὁικείου λογισμοῦ διεπιτελεῖν, ὁ θεοσωφέργητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία δικαίων ἡγήσατο διὰ τούδε ἡμῶν τοῦ σιγμαλίου τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθορύβους καὶ ἀταράχους διάγειν, εὐχεσθαῖ τε οὐπέρ τῆς ἡμῶν γαληνο-τητος καὶ οὕπερ τοῦ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν συστήματος, ἡξασφαλιζόμεθα πάντας ἀπὸ τε στρατηγῶν, βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου αὐθαρίστου τοῦ δουλείαν κατα-πιστευομένου, ἐτί δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ χοριάτας καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἐν τῷ μυλῶνι ἀληθοντος, ἢν μὴ ύπηρεάσῃ τις τοῦς αὐτοὺς μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθός ἐστι τοῦ Ἕρμισσοῦ ἡ ἐνορία καὶ τὴν ἐστο πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Αθωνος ὥρος εἰσέρχεσθαι τοῖς, μὴτε ποιμένας μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτῶν, μὴτε βοικόλους μετὰ τῶν βουκολίων αὐτῶν... 

The text is taken from Porphyryrus Uspenski (Βοστοκ Χριστιανικίων, Ασουρ, Kiev, 1877, part 3, p. 295), who is quoting from a MS. which is found in the library of Philotheon.

B. The πρᾶξις of the ἐπόπτης, Ὀμμᾶς Κάσπαξ, as to the boundary between Erissos and the Monks of Mount Athos, a.d. 881–2

... ἐπειδὴ ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τοῦ Ἑρμισσοῦ... ἐστὶ, καὶ συνήνωται τῷ ὅρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ ἡ ἀποκλιρω-
θείσα γῆ τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ... ἡ μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων διεχωρίθη, καὶ σύνορα ἀναμετάχθη αὐτῆς τε μονῆς καὶ τῶν χωριστῶν ἐγένετο, κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν διαχωρισμῶν κατελύτων τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ δωρεὰν τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πυὸροι τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἁθωνα, κατείχον οἱ χωρίαται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστηρία καὶ ἐνέμοντο. οὐ μὴν προέβη πρὸ τούτου διαχωρισμὸς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἁθωνος, ἣν ἐκ τοῦτον ἐδείκνυτο ἐως τοῦ ἐστὶ η ὁ μοναχῶν ἐπικράτεια, κάκειθεν ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ, ἡ παρὰ τῶν χωριῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων κατεχομένη, ἀλλ’ οὗτος συγκεκριμένη καὶ ἀδιάγραμτος ὑπήρχεν ἡ ἐκάστου δεσμοποιεῖ διὰ τὸ μῆ γενέσθαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκείστε ἐποπτικήν διάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν κλάσματος διάπρασιν. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κάστρου Ἐρισσοῦ οἰκητῶροι κατεχομένης κλασματικῆς γῆν διέπρασαν ἤ ὁμοίως, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ συνόρων, αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐξωπηγάντων τῆς τοῦ κλάσματος γῆς καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἁθωνος διὰ τὸ τηνικά τοῦ μιθείαν τιλικειάν παρὰ τίνος κινηθῆναι, οὔτε παρ’ ἧμῶν περι- εργότερον ἐξετάσθη ἡ ἐπολυπραγμονή περὶ τοῦ δια- χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν.

Ἀποστειλάντες οὖν μετὰ τούτο οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἁθωνος ἐδείχθησαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγίους, καὶ ἐδείξαντο ὁ τὸ Ἐρισσόν καὶ ὁ Τζουλάς, ἵνα διεχωρίσωσι τὰ δίκαια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκήτωρός τοῦ Κάστρου, ἀπαιτήσωσι δὲ ἐγγραφοὺς ἀσφάλειας τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἰκήτορας, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι παρενόχλησθιν τινα ἐπάγειν τοῖς μοναχοῖς. καὶ ἀποστειλάντες ἤγαγον τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ ἐνόπτου ἀμφότεροι ἡμῶν ἐστησαν μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἁθωνος προσβάλλοντο τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀδεσποτείαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κλάσματος κόμψου ἀναγρά- φεται δήμοσια εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἁθωνος, οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τῆς ἀσφάλειας τοῦ χρυσο- βουλίου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Κυρίου Βασιλείου πᾶσαν ἀδειάν καὶ ἐξοστείλων παρέχεσθος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν (sic) τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐσω, καὶ ὡς εκ τούτου ἐνορίαν οὐ τὴν ὑποταγήν τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάστρου λέγοντες, ἐπειρώντο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατοχῆς ἐναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ
χρυσοβουλλών βοήθειαν, εξ ὧν συνέβασαν πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα κλασματικὰ τόπια ἱδιοποιεῖσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐμὲν ἐναπομένειν τοῖς οἰκήτορι τοῦ Ἑρμισοῦ. Πάλιν δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκήτορες ἐνίσταντο μέχρι τοῦ Ζυγοῦ ἐναι τὴν κλασματικὴν γῆν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου δεσπόζειν αὐτοὺς, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθωνίτας ἔξουσιάζειν ἀπὸ τὸν Ζυγὸν καὶ τὴν ἑσσάμενοι, καὶ ἀπλῶς πολλὰ φιλοσκέψαντες περὶ τοῦτον. τὸ γὰρ παρ᾽ ἀμφώ διαστασίαζομένον τοῦτο ὅν, τὸν ὁμοσθήναι τὸτο ἔνθα ἐμελλὼν γενέσθαι σύνορα τὰ διαχαρίζοντα τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δίκαια.

Τελευταίον οὖν οἰκείαι προθέσει ἁρέσθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀφιλώνεικον (τὸ πλέον δὲ διὰ τὸ συγκεκριμένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ οἰδίγνωστον), καὶ διαφόροντα τότον ἔνθα ἐμελλὼν γενέσθαι τὰ σύνορα τὰ διαχαρίζοντα αὐτοὺς. τοῦ δὲ Στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Τζουλά, οἱ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεσκόπου, κρατησάντων μὲν τὸν γενέσθαι ἐπιτοπίας καὶ διαχαρίζασαν αὐτοὺς, καθὼς καὶ ἁρέσθησαν ἐπιδούναι τῇ ἀμφοτέρῳ καὶ λιβελλοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης ἡμῶν πράξεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀμφιτέρων τῶν διαδικαζόμενων εἰς τοῦτο, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἀπέρατον αὐτῶν γινόμενον οὐ κατένεσα ἀπλώς καὶ ὁς ἔτυχεν ἀπὸ φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελθεῖν ... ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν, εἰς ὅπερ ἁρέσθητε, ἐξασφαλίσασθε ἀμφότεροι πρὸς με, ἵνα ἀμεταμελήτως καταδεξησθε τοῦτο.

Καὶ ἐξέρχοντο (sic) καὶ ἐξασφαλίσαντο ἀμφότεροι ἐνώρκιας, τοῦ ἁρέσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰκε γενέσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα διαχωρίζειν ἀμφοτέρους σύνορα. ἐξασφαλισμένων δὲ αὐτῶν δεδώκασιν ὁ τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὁ Τζουλά καὶ ὑπόμνημα τοῖς μονοχοῖς ἐμφαίνον τὴν ἀμφότερων ἁρέσκειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν ἀναντίρρητον ἐνέργειαν. Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν ἀσφαλείας διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιεσκόπου ύπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βεβαιωθείσης, ἐξῆλθον ἐπιτοπίες καὶ διεχόριαν (I, διεχόρια;) κατὰ τὴν ἐγγραφήν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν εἰ δὲν ἁρέσθησαν τόπον. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς διακατοχῆς τοῦ τόπου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μέχρι τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων, πάσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ὅσον γῆν, ός κλασματικῆν, διέσπασα τοῖς οἰκήτορι τοῦ Κάστρου, καὶ ἁρέσθησαν καὶ παρέλαβον αὐτήν, καὶ ἀνελάβοντο λίθους παρ᾽ ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῇ ἱσότητι, ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθώνα παρέδοθη
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 Coutloumousi on Mount Athos which bears the title: Γράμματα ἄρχαία σωζομένων τῶν πρωτοτύπων ἐν τῷ Πρωτάτῳ, ἀντιγραφέντα δι’ αἰτήσεως τοῦ πανσιολογιστάτου ἄρχιμανδρίτου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Κουτλουμούση κυρίου Γρηγορίου. With reference to...
the πράξεις of Θωμᾶς it says: ή ἀρχή τοῦ πρωτοτύπου διεφθαρμένη.

Gerasimos Smyrnakes, op. cit., p. 23 f., quotes this document from ἔξασφαλισμένων δε 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

Σήγνον Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ὑρθογο-μάτου.
Σήγνον Μεθοδίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου μονῆς τῆς Ἀγίας Χριστίνης.
Σήγνον Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου.
Σήγνον μοναχῶν ἀπὸ Κεντάρων.
Σήγνον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Χαλούμα.
Σήγνον Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γοράζδου.
Σήγνον . . . πάντων.
Σήγνον Βασιλείου.
Σήγνον πάντων μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἱλαρον.
Σήγνον Ἰωάννου, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἰλαρον.
Σήγνον Κυνήγου τοῦ Νεπροβάδη.
Σήγνον Θεοδώρου.
Σήγνον Ἀρκαδίου μοναχοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.
Σήγνον πάντων τοῦ Κάστρου.

[In the original each of these signatures is written round a cross.]
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III 81

ἀσηκριτή ἐπόπτη Θεσσαλονίκης. ἦμεις μὲν οἱ ἡγούμενοι μετὰ τῶν χωριάτων ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς κοινότητος τῆς χώρας, ἦμεις δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται μοναχοὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος τοῦ ὄρους.

Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ χρόνου των ἐπώλησαν εἰς τοὺς χωριάτας τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν κατεχομένην κλασματικήν γῆν, οὐ διεχόρισαν δὲ τὸ ἐως τοῦ ὀφείλουσι δεσπόζειν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες καὶ ἐκέθεν οἱ Ἀθωνῖται, διὰ τούτῳ εἰσῆλθομεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη, καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πανευφήμιου πρωτεπόττου Κατακάλων, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Θωμᾶ βασπαθαρίου τοῦ Τέουλα, καὶ Ζωήκτου [I. Ζωήτου? cf. the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων] βασπαθαρίου κριτοῦ, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐπόπτου, ἐγκλησιν ἐποιησάμεθα ἐπιζητοῦντες χωρισθῆναι τὰ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὁριά ἀπὸ τῆς διατραβείσης γῆς.

Καὶ ἦμεις μὲν οἱ τῆς χώρας ἔλεγομεν εἰναὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν δεσποτείαν ἐως τοῦ Ζυγοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῶν Ἀθωνίτων. ἦμεις δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀντελέγομεν πάλιν ὅτι κατὰ πολὺ μέρος ἀνήκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἧς ἐν τῷ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐξουθείσης γῆς.

Περὶ τούτων πολλὰ φιλουκήσαντες συνείδομεν ἀμφότεροι καὶ συνεβιβάζομεν γενέσθαι οὕτως,—ίνα ἀπὸ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν χωραφίων τοῦ Κυροῦ Μεθοδίου 1 πρὸς τὸν Ζυγόν κοποῦν τὰ σύνορα ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ζυγόν πάντα χωραφία τε καὶ χέρα τα ἰνα ἄτι τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν Ἀθωνίτων, ἀπὸ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἔρισσόν ἵνα ὁδί πάντα τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν ἀγορασάντων καὶ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, καὶ μήτε ἦμεις οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἔρισσόν ἐξουσιάν τὸ σύνολον ἐπιζητεῖν, μήτε ἦμεις οἱ τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν "Ἀθώνα ἐχειν τῖνα ἐξουσίαν.

Καὶ εἰς ταῦτα συμφωνήσαντες καὶ ἀρεσθέντες ἕξοφιλα-σάμεθα πρὸς σε τὸν ἐπόπτην ἵνα κατανυγῆσαι καὶ ἐξελθῆσαν καὶ διαχωρίσῃ ἡμᾶς καθὼς καὶ συνεβιβάσθησιν.

Ὁλον δὲ μέρος ἀντιλογῆσει καὶ οὐκ ἄσμενίσει εἰς ταῦτα

1 Ι. ο. the monastery of S. Christina. Cf. signatories, and the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων.

LAKE. M. A. F
The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op. cit., p. 318.

D. Decision of Katakalow Kásttaξ as to the boundary between the monastic land of Mount Athos and the territory of Hierissos. A.D. 882

Τὸν βασιλέαν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἐδεξάμεθα προσταγμα ἵνα ἄμα Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Ζωῆτῳ Κάστακος (sic) ἐπὶ τοῦ οἶκειον καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ θέματος ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπιτοπίως ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τοῦ Ἰερισσοῦ καὶ διαχωρίσωμεν τὴν γῆν τῶν τε μοναχῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνὶ καὶ τῶν οἰκητῶν τοῦ κάστρου Ἰερισσοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Θωμᾶ Κάστακος καὶ ἐπόπτου τοῦ μειροκοβοῦλου, καὶ ἔδωκαν ἀποσταλέσης πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς ψήφου Κοσμᾶ τοῦ πανευφήμου μαγιστρῶν. Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πεποίηκαμεν καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τόπων ἄμα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἦτοι τῷ ἀρχιεπι-
Καὶ τῇ δηλωθέντι Κάστπακι συμπαρόντων ἤμιν Ἡμάνου τοῦ ὅσιωτάτου ἔπισκόπου Ἑρκοῦλου, Παρίλου Κάστπακος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν Στεφάνου, καὶ ἐγγύστα τῆς οἰκειακῆς τραπέζης Ἀναστάσιον Κάστπακος καὶ πρὸς τῆς πόρτης Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀνδρέου Κάστπακος καὶ χαρτοναρία τοῦ θεματος, Κώσταντίνου κληρικοῦ καὶ κούρουκλησίου, Θεοδώρου κληρικοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἱγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἱγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Ὀρφανοῦ, Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἱγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου, Στεφάνου Κάστπακος τοῦ Βαρδανοπούλου, Νίκου Ἀμανυτοῦ, Δημητρίου δειχ. τῶν Βημαρίων καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν διεχορίσαμε τὴν γῆν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερών, ἣτοι τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκιτόρων Ἰερισσοῦ, ποιήσαντες τὴν κατ’ ἀρχὴν τῆς νοτίας θαλάσσης, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τὴν κατ’ ἀρχὴν τοῦ κολποῦ τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς.

Καὶ ἔστιν ὁ διαχωρίσμος οὕτως· ἀπάρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τὸν βαθὺν ρύακα τῶν κατέναντι κείμενον τῶν λεγομένων παλαιῶν παλαίτων τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς καὶ ἀνατρέχει ὡς πρὸς τὰ χωράφια τῆς μονῆς τῆς άγίας Χριστίνης, ἐν φ' τότε καὶ λιθοσωφειά ἱσταται ἐκ πολλῶν λίθων συγκεκιμένη καὶ ύποκάτω τῆς μονῆς λιθοσωφεῖας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν ἱστανται ὁρῶν καθέξις λαυρατώμεναι, καὶ ἀποδίδει τῇ ἴσοτητι μέχρις ἐτέρου ρύακα, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ρύακα ὑπερβαίνει τὸ ῥαγών καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὴν Γλοκτούτζιστα, καὶ πέραν τοῦ ρύακος εἰς δρῦς καὶ πετλέαι λαυρατώμεναι καὶ καθέξις τῇ ἴσοτητί ὡς πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσαν ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν γυστέρων ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ παρακείμενον αὐχένειν ἐν φ' ἐστιν τὸ λιθομάνδριον τὸ ἁρχαίον τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐσωθεὶν τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐχένειν ἀποδίδει εἰς πεδινὸν τόπον ἐν φ' εἰς βρουλέα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τόπων καθέξις ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ ἀντικείμενον αὐχένειν, καὶ κατέρχεται τῇ ἴσοτητι μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς βορείης.

Οὕτω διαχωρίσαντες καὶ σύνορα τῆς αὐτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ τόπος διεχορίσεων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐγγράφωσε τὴν πράξιν ἡμῶν

1 Ἡ Ὀρθογομαγόν οὐ Cf. signatories to the agreement on p. 80.
And the others, whose names are given in the first part of the document.

The text is taken from the Βυζάντια Χρονικά, vol. v, 1898, pp. 485 f. [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

... τάσης παρενοχλήσεως ... ἑλευθεριάζοντες περιστάσεων ... τῷ ὁματί ... τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερείχοντο, τοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς ἀπασί ... τᾶλαι μὲν ὁ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατήρ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς συγγίλλου έξ αἰτήσεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κολοβοῦ λαβεῖν ἑδικαίωσε τοῦ περιφυλαττεθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀρεί σχολακοντας τοὺς θείους ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσει, καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ τήν παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου νευρυγνείσαν μονῆν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοιας κατασπαλαίειν, καὶ κατέχειν τήν ἐνοριάν τοῦ 'Ερισσοῦ καὶ μόνον. Καὶ τής τοιαύτης θείας κελεύσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ λήξει πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπὶ χρόνους τινὰς κρατησάσης: ὑστερον δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς Κολοβοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἠμετέρας αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ

1 Gerasimos Smyrnakes, I. c., p. 23, quotes the last part of this document. He gives the same year, but the fifteenth instead of the first indiction.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

πλαγίως διδάσκοντες ὡς ἐν τάξει ἐπικυρωτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως σιγιλλίου ἐπεξήγησαν, ἐν ὧν παραλόγως τῆς τοῦ σιγιλλίου μετενεχθέντες τάξεως, χαριστικῆς τύπου, ὡς οὐκ ὥσελε, διεγράφαντο, καὶ περιορισμὸν ἐκέχεμενοι σχέδον τὸν ὄλον εἰς δεσποτεῖαι καὶ κυριότητα κατακρατήσαντες Ἀθώνα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χωρία, ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Χλωμοτύλων καὶ ἀλλῶν τινῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ μοναστηρία ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουστάκωνος, τοῦ Καρδιογνώστου, καὶ τοῦ Αθανασίου καὶ τοῦ Δούκα, καὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχαίαν καθέδραν. Ἐπειδή δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιωνύμου ὄροις Ἀθωνος Ἀνδρέας ὁ εὐλαβεστάτος μοναχὸς καὶ πρῶτος, ἱσυνάστης τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους ἀπὸ προσώπου πάντων τῶν ἑκείστη σχολαζόντων θείων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν βασιλέουσαν καταλαβὼν, ἐδείξθη τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἀναδιδάξας ὡς οἱ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπειλημμένοι προφάσεως, καὶ εἰς δικαίωμα τῆς ἀδίκου τηνικάτα γενομένης κατὰ πανυργίαν περιγραφῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χάρτην προκομιζόντας, κατεκράτησαν τὸ ὄλον ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθώνος, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σχολαζόντας θείους ἀνδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ ἰδιὰν παροικίαν, πολλάκις διαπληκτιζόμενοι, ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ ἀποδιώκομεν, ὡσπέρ ἀπὸ οἰκείων κτημάτων, ἵσχυρῶς διατείνομεν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις νομοδικὸν προδάστειν τὸν ἄλον διακρατοῦντες Ἀθώνα, καὶ τῶν πλησιαζοῦσών χωρῶν εἰσάγοντες τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων νομῆς κομιζόμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπελαύνει αὐτοὺς ἐκείθεν παντελῶς ἐκθαίζονται. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῶν εἰρημένων χωρῶν συνανελθόντες τῷ αὐτῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας καὶ παραλόγου κατασχέσεως τῶν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατεβόσαν. Περὶ ὧν ἐξάμενος ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Νικηφόρος, ὁ ἐπόνυμον τοῦ Ἐντράξῃ, ἀκριβῶς διερευνηθείσας, τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὖν ἔχειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν ἀννεγγατο, καὶ ἐξάμενος παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἀμφότερα αὐτῶν τὰ μέρη, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβεῖν προσέταξεν. Καὶ ὡς, ἐπὶ τῇ παρονυσίᾳ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Νικηφόρου, δοθέντος παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς οἰκείας μονῆς Παυσιμίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου μοναχῶν, καὶ ἀμφότεροι τῶν μερῶν παραγενομένων, καὶ ἐξετασθέντων
κελεύσει τής βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Στεφάνου μαγιστροῦ καὶ Κων-
σταντίνου βασιλικοῦ πρωτοσταθηρίου καὶ πρωτασικρίτου,
καὶ Βασιλείου πρωτοσταθηρίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ἐπὶ τοῦ
περιωνύμου σεκρέτου τῶν ἀσκητών, εὐρέθησαν ταῖς ἀλη-
θείαις παραλόγως προγραφέντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τόπια ἐν τῷ
παραλόγῳ γενομένῳ χάρτῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν. Ὅπερ ὅτι
καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ προειρημένοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ
ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πάντων συνομολογήσαντες κατέθεντο.
Ταῦτα οὖν ἡ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία παρ’ αὐτῶν
ἀναμαθθοῦσα καὶ τὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκώς εὐμενῶς ἐπικλη-
νασα, ἑπετάξατο τὸν τοιοῦτον τηνικάτα παραλόγως γενό-
μενον χάρτῳ διαρρηχθῆναι, διαφιλάττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὴν
γνώμην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως
πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι σχολάζοντας μοναχοὺς ἀπαρενοχ-
λήτους ἀπὸ παντοίας ἐπηρείας καὶ τῆς ὡς εἰκός ἐγγινομένης
παρανοχλήσεως, ὡσαυτώς καὶ τὰ χωρία κατέχειν ἀκαντό-
μητα τὰ ἱδία δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ τῆς μόνης τοῦ Κολοβοῦ
ἀρκεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸν χάρτην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς
ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐνορίας Ἐρισσοῦ διακράτησιν,
καὶ τὴν κατανομὴν μόνην τῶν Καμένων σὺν τοῖς τῶν
ἀμπελώνων καὶ κηπουρίων αὐτῶν καὶ μόνων. Τὰ δὲ
λοιπὰ πάντα κλάσματα τῶν τε Καμένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν,
κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν κλασματικῶν, ἐλευθερίασθαι καὶ νέμεσθαι
ἄτα πάντας τοὺς παρακεκλείμενους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς περισσο-
τέραν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διήρκει δικαίωσιν τοῦ τε μέρους τῶν
ἐν τῷ άρεί τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀσκητῶν, καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἀπολαυσί
καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τὸ παρόν ἡμῶν
εὐσεβὲς συγκλίδεις ἐν μεμβρανίωι γράμμα ἐπικυρωτικῶν
τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιδοθῆναι
τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι ἀσκητῶν ἐκελεύσαμεν, γεγενημένον
κατὰ τὸν . . . μῆνα . . . ἰδίκτ . . ., ἐν ὦ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον
εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος . . .

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op. cit., p. 296.
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 καθέδρα 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 καθέδρα 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 'Αθώνιας,\(^2\) 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 Simeri\(^3\) it was early in the twelfth century the property of a Byzantine named Kallimeris, who gave it to Bartholomew. The

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\(^2\) Cod. Ath. Pantel. 5788 and 5789. For the facts concerning the book 'Αθώνιας, see Gedeon, ὁ Ἀθώς, p. 69. It was written by Sophronios Kallijas, before 1855, and published at Smyrna after 1870.

\(^3\) *Acta SS.* Sept., vol. viii, p. 821 c.
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 'Aθωνιάς, 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
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 at Caryes. One of these communities (or perhaps one of the hermits) lived on the hill known as the Zvyös, and to this Athanasius attached himself. Mention is also made of another monk named Paul, who was called ξηροποτάμιων, 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.

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, 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.’
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 ἡσυχασται 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 καθεδρα τῶν γερόντων to which reference was made in the Chrysobulls of Basil and Romanus. It therefore becomes important to inquire what this καθεδρα 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 Erissos to Caryes during the tenth century. Its position is fixed by one tradition at Purgoudia, by another at Proboli.1 I believe that the whole of

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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 καθεδρα 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 Erissos in order to buy provisions and clothes. It was, in fact, what the monks would now call a kováki in Erissos, 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 Erissos. If this 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 Erissos 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.

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1 . . . εἰχον ἀρχηθεν συνήθειαν . . . παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν καὶ ἐσθεῖαν . . . πρόσωπά τινα ἐμφανῆ τῶν ἀρχαίων γερόντων seems to me a paraphrase for the καθέδρα, and ἐξερχόμενοι εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα στανίως διὰ τινα χρεῖαν 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
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 ἠγούμενος καὶ κοινβουκλίστος, the last signatory of the Τυπικόν of John Tsimisces (Meyer, op. cit., p. 187).
² Perhaps the abbot who was afterwards the Πρῶτος.
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 foundation of the great Laura of Athanasius a century later. So far as we can see, the most important incident in this period was the acquirement 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-Athanasian 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 ὁνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος Ρωμανὸς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, Στέφανος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ρωμαῖων.

Τὸ ταῖς ἀγάθαις πράξεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ ταύτας ἐπικυροῦν βασιλικῆς ἐστὶν ἀληθὸς προνοίας καὶ ἀγχισθείας, ὡς ἂν μόνιμον ἦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἐς ἅιε, διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸ Ἱμῶν βεβαισιλευκῶτων χρυσόβουλλον ἐπιδεδωκότον τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἁθων ἄσκηται, τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ἁμετέρα ἐπισκεφαμένη καὶ ἀποδεξαμένη βασιλεία, διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικυροῖ χρυσόβουλλίου λόγου, τοῦ παραφυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὅρι θεολογοῦν τὰς ἁρμονίας κατασκηνώσεις, καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ 'Ιωάννου νεοργηθείσαν μονὴν τῆς τοιαυτῆς προνοίας καταπολαίες, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ 'Ερισσοῦ καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἀπλῶς πάν ἃ τι ἐτερῶν ἐν τῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀναγράφεται, ἀπαραποιήτων διαφυλάττεσθαι, μῆτε προσθήκης μῆτε ύφαιρέσεως τῆς οἰκασίων γνωμένης. Πλὴν τούτο διορίζομεθα, ἑνα καὶ ἡ ἐμφερομένη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀρχαῖα τῶν χεροῦντων καθέδρα ἀπαρενόχλητος διατηρεῖται ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπνείας ἀγγαρείας καὶ ἤμισσας, τῆς ὥς εἰκὸς ἐγγυνομένης παρὰ τε ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἄλλου παντός, καθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς βεβαιὸν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς χρηματιζόντος τοῦ παρόντος ἢμῶν εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβουλλίου λόγου γεγενημένου κατὰ τῶν αὐγοῦστον μῆνα τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπεινεμίσεως ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβῆς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσήμανον κράτος.

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, op. cit., p. 299.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER IV 103

B. EXTRACT FROM A DOCUMENT AT IVERON, REFERRING TO A CHRYSOBULL OF BASIL BULGAROKTONOS, A.D. 980.

... καὶ τοῦ παναοιδιμού βασιλέως Κύριος Βασιλείου τοῦ Πορφυρογέννητου Χρυσόβουλλος γεγονός κατὰ τὸ 5 ν. ἡ [Α.Δ. 980] ἐτὸς τῷ μοναχῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συγκέλλῳ τῷ Τορνικῷ, κατὰ τρόπον ἀνταλλαγῆς ὑπαγορεύουν αὐτῶ δωρηθήναι τῇ μονήν τὴν Λεοντίας ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ τῇ μονήν τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐν Ἐρισσῷ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ μονήν τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἦτις ἐπὶ ὀνόματι μὲν τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καθοδριταί, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὁρος τοῦ Ἀθωνα διάκειται, ἀνθ' ὄν παρατήσατο δύω μονάς, τῆς τε μονῆς τῆς Ἰβηρίσσης, τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τυγχανούσης, καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Φωκᾶ τῆς ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι διακειμένης. . . .

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


† Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς ὁ Πρώτος. † Ἀθανάσιος μοναχὸς ὁ τῆς Λαύρας ἠγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Φακινός. † Δανιὴλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος ὁ Ἀττιάνος. † Ἰλαρίων μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος τοῦ Εὐροκάστρου. † Θεόδωρος μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Ἀρσένιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Διονύσιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Δούκας μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Φιλάδελφος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Γεώργιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Κύριλλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἠγούμενος. † Κοσμᾶs
μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγοῦμενος. †Νεόφυτος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγοῦμενος.
† Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Κατάρρη.
† Δωρόθεος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγοῦμενος.
† Παύλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγοῦμενος. †Νικόλαος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγοῦμενος τοῦ Βατεπεδίου.

Ἐν ὁνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νιὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, Ὑσυμάς μοναχὸς Πρώτος καὶ οἱ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἡγοῦμενοι οἱ τῶν τιμίων σταυροὺς ἱδιοχείρως πήξαντες, τούτεστι προτάξαντες καὶ υποτάξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὁνόμασι ἡμῶν, τὴν παρούσαν ἐγγραφὸν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀπενεθεύθη ἡ ἱδία διάλυσιν, τιθέμεθα καὶ ποιοῦμεν οἰκεία ἡμῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐτο-προαίρετον βούλη, καὶ ὅπε ἕκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἦ βίας ἢ χρείας ἢ μετὰ ὀδύναμον, ἀλλ’ ὄλως οἰκεία προθέσει καὶ βούλησε πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀρει μοναχῶν, εἰς ὑμᾶς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναχῶν καὶ ἡγοῦμενον τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην τοῦ Ἰβηρα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ πρεσβύτερον εὐθύμων τὸν ὕον σου, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα διαδόχους ὑμῶν τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὴν συνεργία θεοῦ ποιηθεῖσαν Ἀλαφάν ἡγιομονεῖσα, τὴν ἐπὶ ὁνόματι τῆς παναγίας Θεοτοκίου ἱδρυμένην καὶ λεγομένην τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἐπὶ ὑποθέσει τοιοῦτον:—

Ἑπεδὴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μοναστηρίον εἶχον ἀρχήθηκεν συνήθειαν ὦν ἐν τῷ Ὀρει διατελέσατε μοναχοὶ ὦτε παυστεῖς ὄλγοι υπῆρχον, ἐξερχόμενοι εἰς Ἰερισσὸν σπανίως διὰ τινὰ χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν ἐνιόστε καὶ ἐσθίεινε καὶ τοῦτο τίνας εἰς αὐτῶν τῶν ὄλγων καὶ εὐαριστήτων καὶ οὐγκ βουλόμενος ἐκαστος, ἀλλ’ πρὸς ἐρωτοποιεῖ τινα ἐμφάνη τῶν ἀρχαίων γέρωντων. Διὸ καὶ γογγυσμὸς πολλάκις καὶ φιλονεικία μεταξὺ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκείνητο, πειραμένων καὶ ἐτέρων παραβαλεῖν καὶ μή συγχρομομενῶν, ὡς ἡδὴ καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦσιν ἡγοῦμενον τὴν μονήν μη βουλόμενον, ἐτα καὶ εἰς πλήθος ἐπεκταθείστων τῶν ἐν [τῷ Ὀρει] μοναχῶν, ἐγόγγυζον οἱ τῆς μονῆς καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν μοναχῶν τους διὰ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἡγοῦμενος φιλίαν παραβαλοῦσαν ὀνειράκια τῇ μονῇ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ δόμος ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐδ’ ἄλλος παρέβαλε τῇ μονῇ μοναχός ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πλέον τῶν ὡκτὸς ἡ δέκα ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων ἢ ὡτο θυλοναί οὐδείς τῶν ἀρχαίων οὔτε εἰς ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων ἐτυχε ἐν τῇ
1 Johannes Tzimisces. 2 Basil Bulgaroktonos.
γενόσθαι αὐτῶν θαρρήσαντες τῇ ὑμῶν ἀγωνίᾳ καταγωγίᾳ ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς 'Ιερισσοῦ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως; ἵνα οἶς ἐξέλθη τις ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρῶς παραβάλλειν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καταγωγίᾳ. Ὕμεις δὲ οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο ἐξέλατε μόνον τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μεῖζόνα ἀπερ οὐκ ἥλπίζαμεν πεποιήκατε καὶ ἐδωρήσατε ἡμῶν πρώτων μὲν αὐλῖν καὶ οἰκήματα πολλά τε καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπέρ ἐκ τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ πρωτοπατῆ ἐξω-νήσασθε εἰς λς ὑπέρτυρα, ἐν οἷς καταμένοντες ὅτε διὰ χρείαν παραβάλλομεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ἀναπαύομεν ὑπερεχώμεθα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσίότητος. ἔπειτα δὲ κατανεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν ὡς οἰκείων λογιζόμενοι σωτηρίαν ἡμᾶς ἐδωρήσατε καὶ ἀμπελώνα καλλιστὸν καὶ εὐφορὸν ὑπάρχοντα μὲν τῆς μουῆς, καλλεργηθέντα δὲ καὶ φυτευθέντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν μετ᾽ ἔξωδον καὶ κόπον ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων, ὅταν πλυνθ᾽ ὡσεί λ σὺν τῷ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμπελώνος καὶ τοῦ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν φυτευθέντος ἐκτίμηθείς διὰ χαράγματος χρυσὸν λίτρας ἔ. Δὲ ἀ εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐπὶ τούτοις πάσι καὶ ὑπερεχώμενοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀρε-τῆς καὶ ἀγίότητος, ἐξασφαλίζομεθα ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας μη ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀδεινὰν τῶν ἀπάντων, εἴτε εἷς ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περίοντων, εἴτε τῶν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶς ἐν τῷ Ὀρεί καταλυμανομένων ἡ ἐλευθερομένων κύνης ἡ ἀγωγή οἰανδόποτε πρόφασιν ἐχόντων εὐλογὸν τε καὶ ἀλογὸν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρήμενης οἰου, ὑπὲρ ἦς οὐδὲ ταῦτα γράφειν εὐλογοῦν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς συνήθειαν ἦν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ ὁλιγοστοὶ εἶχον ἐν τῇ μονῇ παραβαλεῖν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγουμένου διὰ φιλίαν καὶ θεσμὸν ἀγάπης ἀποδε-χομένου αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἰάν τις φωραθῇ οὐ μόνον κινῶν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐώς ἴδου ῥήματος ἐνοχλεῖν ἡ παραπτεραίνειν εἴτε ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἴτε τῶν ύμετέρων διαδόχους τῆς τοιαύτης ἑνεκα ὑποθέσεως, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὴν κατάραν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τῶν ἀπ᾽ αἰώνων εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐστὶ κεχωρισμένος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίαν Τριάδος καὶ γένηται ἡ μερίς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀρνητῶν τῶν νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σταυρωσάντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀκούσθαι τούτων ἡ παρ᾽ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἡ παρὰ τοιούτων νόμων, ἀλλὰ διώκεσθαι αὐτοῦ
Then follows permission to build a house near the common harbour of Galiagra or Kaliagra, without, however, any right to the ground being given.]

ταύτα συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἐγράφη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη κατενώπιον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον μὴνα τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἱνδικτίων, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι καὶ ἀρεσθέντες κατὰ πάντα προσέξαμεν καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς σὺν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἡμῶν ἱδιοχείρος μηνὶ καὶ ἱνδικτίων τῇ
το το Αγιον Όρος, 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. ἐν ἐτεὶ τριακοστῷ... [Vat. 8074, &c.]
Adrianus et Natalia. Passio. inc. Μακιμμανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου...
Aecatherina. Passio. inc. τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτου... [Par. 118027, &c.]
Agathonicus. Passio. inc. Μακιμμανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς...
Alexius (ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τοῦ θεοῦ). Vita. inc. ἐγένετο ἄνηψ ἑυσεβής...
[Vat. 86678, &c.]
Alypius. Vita. inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων... [Vat. 8059, &c.; Par. 5793, &c.]
Anastasia. Vita. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καυροὺς... [Vat. 86618, &c.]
Andreas Cretensis. Vita a Niceta Patricio. inc. οὗ θεμιτὸν ἐστὶ...
Anthimus. Passio. inc. βασιλείουνοι τῷ τρικαίτα... [Par. 15063.]
Arsenius. Vita. inc. πολλαί τῶν σπουδαίων ... [Vat. 819; Par. 1548, &c.]

Artemius. Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος Ἰουλιανοῦ ... [Par. 769, &c.]

Athenogenes. Passio. inc. ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ ... [Par. 1447, &c.]

Auxentius. 1. Vita a Psello. inc. ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡμῖν ... [Vat. 672.]

2. Vita. inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ έξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ... Basiliscus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς βασιλείας Μαξιμιανοῦ ... Bendemianus. Passio. inc. τὸ ἐαρ φιλοῦνα ... Blasius. Passio. inc. Βλάτσιος δ ὑμῖν ... [Vat. 1245, &c.]

Cerycus et Iulitta. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. δοσπέρ οὐκ ἐστὶ ... [Vat. 820.]

Charalampius. Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ... [Ottob. 92; Par. 1452.]

Christina. Passio. inc. τὴν Χριστόνυμον ... Christopherus. Passio a Petro Italo. inc. Δεκίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ... desin. τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτη.

Cointus. Passio. inc. στέφανος μὲν οὖν ... Conon. Passio. inc. πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσσεβοῖς πίστεως ... Constantinus Imp. 1. Vita et inventio Crucis. inc. τὸν τοῦ μακαριωτάτον ... [Vat. 974, &c.; Par. 1453, &c.]

2. Encomium a Constantino Acropolita. inc. ἀρά τις εὐσεβείας ζῆλον αὐχῶν ... [Par. 978.]

3. Vita. inc. τὰ κάλλεστα τῶν διηγήματων ... Cosmas Acropolita. Vita. inc. νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς ... Cosmas et Damianus. 1. Vita. inc. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... 2. Vita. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκεῖνους ... Cyrus et Iohannes. Vita. inc. οἱ μὲν συντήροις λόγος ... Cyrilillus ep. Alexandriae. Hypomnema ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. ἀρδῆ μὲν ὑπὸ πολυχείμων ... Cyrilillus Philectus. Vita a Nicola Catasecepeno. inc. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ... Demetrios. 1. Passio. inc. οὗτος Μαξιμιάνος ὁ βασιλεύς ... 2. Encomium ab Iohanne Stauracio. [Vat. 1572, &c.; Par. 1485, &c.]

3. Encomium a Gregorio Palama. inc. εἰρήνη δὲ λίπων ... Dionysius Areopagita. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. εξ ὁρῶν μὲν ... Dometius Persa. Passio. inc. ἤργετε μὲν ἦν Περσῶν ...

Eleutherius. Passio. inc. ἀναλύσατος Ἀδριανοῦ ... Euphemia. 1. Vita. inc. ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ ... [Vat. 797.]

2. Encomium a Theodoro Vestro (Βέστρου). inc. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡ ἀνα-βαίνουσα ... Eupraxia. Vita ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. γυναῖκα ἁνδρεῖαν ...
Fausta, Euclasius, Maximinus. Passio. inc. kar' εκείνου τον καιρόν...

Georgius. 1. Encomium ab Arcadio Cyprio. inc. συγκαλεί πάλιν ἡμᾶς...
2. Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. inc. καὶ τίς ἀν παραδράμοι...
3. Nativitas, Vita et Passio. inc. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἄνδρων ἀρίστων...
Gregorius Sinaita. Vita a Callistio Patriarcha. inc. οὖτος ο διαφανῆς σωτήρ...
[ Cf. BHG., p. 52.]

Hilarion. Vita. inc. ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν...

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

Iacobus Persa. 1. Passio. inc. Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων...
2. Passio. inc. τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς...
3. Passio. inc. καὶ εκείνου τον καιρόν...

Isaacius, Faustus et Dalmatia. Vita. inc. ὁ μέγας οὐτός καὶ βαυμαστός...

Isidorus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἐνθεον...
[ Cf. Vat. 203319, &c.]

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

Iohannes Baptistæ. 1. Encomium ab Aetio presbytero Constantinopolitano. inc. πολλοὶ μὲν ἤδη...
2. Translatio manus a Theodoro Daphnopato. inc. ιδοὺ καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν...
[ Vat. 82318, &c.; Par. 144910, &c.]
3. Decollatio a Theodoro Ptochoprodromo. inc. καλῶς ἐφηρ-μοσαν...
4. Decollatio. inc. κακῶν ἐστίν...
5. a Simeone Logotheta. inc. ἵωάννου τὸ μέγα κλέος...
6. Inventio. inc. ὁ ἀγαθότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ...

Iohannes Climacus. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. οὐδὲν τιμώτερον ἀφετής...
[ Par. 75517.]

Iulianus. Passio. inc. βία διώγμου...
[ Vat. 1667213.]

Laurentius. Passio. inc. εἰδωλικοῦ ποτὲ κλύδων...

Lazarus Galesiota. 1. Vita. inc. ὁ πλάσας κατὰ μόνας...
2. Vita a Georgio vel Gregorio Xiphilino. inc. ὁ τῶν κατὰ θεῖν...

This justifies the inscriptions in a later hand in cod. Par. 755.
Lucas apostolus. 1a. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ἰνάκοπος . . . desin. . . . εὑρενός τουτί το βραχύ.
1b. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. ἰνάκοπος, δ ἀνεσις . . . desin. . . . τῇ ἐν σοι τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι.
2. Vita. inc. ταῖς μνείαις τῶν ἀγίων . . .
3. Encomium ab Hesychio Hierosolymitano presbytero. inc. φύσι τοῦ σιωπαί . . .

Mamas. Passio. inc. τοῦ τῶν ἄγιων μαρτύρων πόνους . . . desin. . . . ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ ὁ ἄγιος Μάμας. [Par. 7722, &c.]
Marcianus et Martyrius. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ τελεωθήναι τῶν μακαριώτατον Ἀλέξανδρον . . . desin. . . . εὐτελεωθήσαν οὖν οἱ ἄγιοι. [Par. 146828.]
Maria Magdalena. Vita. inc. ἵνα τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλούντας . . . desin. . . . φιλοτίμως κατέθετο.
Maria Junior. Vita et miracula. inc. ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν . . . desin. . . . νόσου ἀπαλαγών. [Vat. 8009.]
Marina. 1. Passio. inc. οὐδέν οὕτως ἤδυνε . . . desin. . . . ἐχεῖ προσβείουναν. [Vat. 82021; Coislin. 30739.]
2. Encomium a Gregorio Cyprio. inc. καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαν ἀρα . . . [Palat. 594, &c.; Par. 8312.]
Martinianus. 1. Vita. inc. ἰνάκοπος . . . desin. . . . τῷ πάντων δεσπότη. [Vat. 8009, &c.; Par. 145010.]
2. Vita. inc. ἐγιναστὰ τῆς σκέψεως Παλαιστίνης δρος ἐστὶ καλούμενον τόπος κιβωτοῦ . . . [Vat. 866109, &c.]
Martyres XI. 1. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καρυῶν . . . [Par. 11647, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. ἵνα μὲν τὰ Ἁρμαίων . . . [Vat. 124510, &c.; Par. 77214, &c.]
Meletius Galesiota. Vita. inc. δεόνται μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους . . .
Menas, Hermogenes, Eugraphus. Passio ab Athanasio Alexandrinno. inc. τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος . . . [Vat. 82112, &c.; Par. Coisil. 363s., &c.]
Menas in Cotnaeo. 1. Passio. inc. ἐτοιμ ἐπιτέρου τῆς βασιλείας . . . [Vat. 8039, &c.; Par. 145424.]
2. Miracula. inc. ἵνα τις γυνὴ . . .
3. Miracula, a Timotheo Alexandrinno. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τῆν τελευτην . . . [Vat. 797223, &c.; Par. 145425, &c.]
Menodora, Metrodora, Nymphodora. Passio. inc. ἤδη μὲν τοῦ τελείου . . . desin. . . . ἐμαρτύρησαν δὲ αἱ ἁγίαι.
Mercurius. 1. Passio. inc. Δείκως ἥμικα καὶ Βαλλερανῶς . . . desin. . . . καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριον. [Vat. 8058, &c.; Par. 5798, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. Δείκως ἥμικα . . . desin. . . . καὶ θεραπείας ἀπέλαβον.
Michael archangelus. Miraculum in Chonis a Pantoleone diacono. inc. μεγάλαι καὶ πολλαί . . . desin. . . . καὶ κρατήσει τῆς δεξιᾶς. [Vat. 6541, &c.; Par. 5016, &c.]
Michael (iamaetikos) Hypomnema. inc. ουτος ο μακαριος ... desin.
... ουτω δοξαζει ο θεος.
Moses Aethiops. Encomium. inc. δοσπερ αδυνατον ... desin.... οθ τας ουσιας ειχαι. [Par. 145934.]
Nephon Halmyropolitanus. Vita. inc. μυστηριον βασιλεως κρυπτων ... desin. έτελεωθη ο δος Νηφων.
Nephon (Konstantanvs). Vita (epitome?). inc. ει μυστηριον βασιλεως ... desin.... εν τω ναοι των αγιων αποστολων.
Nioeophorus. Passio. inc. ουδεν ζοικεν αγαπης ... desin.... κοσμηθηναι στεφανους. [Vat. 12459, &c.; Par. 15003, &c.]
Nioetas. 1. Passio. inc. των αγιων μαρτυρων ... desin.... ιχειν λογου τα ικητηρια. [Par. 5209, &c.]
2. Sermo a Theodoro Mousaloni. inc. μεγα τε δειγμα ... desin.
... και ημων δε αυτων.
3. Passio. inc. εν τας ημερας εκειναι ... desin.... η δε καταθεσις της τουαιτης πετρας.
Nicolaus Myrensis. 1. Vita. inc. απαντας μεν ... desin.... αγροκος τις των τας εσχατιας οικουντων.
2. Encomium a Basilio Lacedaemoniens. inc. οι των αρετων ... desin.... των θεων λεων.
Onuphrius. 1. Vita. inc. αρετης ζηπανω ... desin.... και μεμημενον.
2. Vita. inc. θειας αγαπης και ερωτος ... desin.... ημας στεσωμενος.
[Par. 11701.]
3. Vita (et Paphnutii). inc. έλεγον περι του αδηθα ... desin.
... και ποιησαντες ευχην.
Pachomius. 1. Vita. inc. ο Καριος ημων ἱησους Χριστος και πηγη ... desin.... έις ζηλουν αυτων εναγομεθα. [Vat. 8199, &c.; Par. 8819, &c.]
2. Vita et miracula. inc. ουτως αληθης η θυριλλομενη ... desin.... εις μισηνων και σεφελειαν.
Paisius. Vita a Ioanne Kolobo. inc. δοσπερ τα τερπνα του βιου ... desin.... τατα εληον θω. [Par. 10993, &c.]
Panteleemon. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. θαυμαστος ο θεος ... desin.... έγγονοι. [Vat. 67992; Par. 118030.]
Paulus apostolus. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. πασα μεν ερτη ... desin.... και ευ οιφανεις. [Par. 7551.]
Paulus et Petrus. Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. inc. ουχ απλως μεν ... desin.... διουν η λαμπροτης.
Petrus apostolus. 1. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ηδεια της ημερας η χαρη ... desin.... σου ημων εξουμολογουμαι.
2 (Διους). inc. δοκι του τον κορυφαιον ... desin.... και εμεγαλυνας.
[Vat. 8179, &c.; Par. 2368, &c.]
Petrus et reliqui apostoli. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. τι καλη της εκκλησιας η ταξις ... desin.... υπο ζυγων ένα.

LAKE, M. A.
Philemon. Vita. inc. ἐλευθερίαν περὶ τοῦ ἄββα Φιλήμωνος... desin...
tὸ καλοῦμενον μαλάκιον.

Philippus Apostolus. Encomium. inc. ἀποστολικὴς μνησθήναι...
desin... τὰ μνημοσύνα σου πανηγυρίζομεν. [Par. Coisl. 1213.]

Phocas. Passio ab Asterio Amasiae. inc. ἱερὸς μὲν καὶ θεοπάτιοι...
desin... κηρύττουσα Κύριον. [Vat. 794, &c.; Par. 1489, &c.]

Probus, Tarachous, Andronicus. Epistola XI fratrum. inc. Πάμφιλος καὶ Μαρκίων... desin... τῇ εὐθύτητι καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Proclus et Hilarius. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Μαξίμιανοῦ... desin...
... μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Πρόκλου.

Sabbas. Vita. inc. οὖδὲν οὕτω κυνῆσαι... desin... καὶ εἰρήναιαν διαγωγὴν. [Vat. 812, &c.; Par. 1195, &c.]

Sabbas Vatopedinus. Vita a Philotheo Constantinopolitan. inc. Σάββας ὁ θαυμάσιος... desin... καὶ ἀστασιαστὸν.

Sadoth. Passio. inc. μετὰ τὸ τελεωθῆναι... desin... ἐν πόλει καλούμενον Βηθλεαιάτη. [Vat. Ottob. 92; Par. 1452.]

Sergius et Bacchus. Passio. inc. ἐτος ἡνύετο... desin... προστά-

γματι θεοῦ.

Silvester Romanus. Vita. inc. οὐδὲν σεπτοὶ... desin... πολλῶν καμάτων. [Vat. 816; Par. Coisl. 3073.]

Sophronius Hierosolimitanus. Encomium ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. οἱ τῶν θεϊκ ἔτος καὶ μακαρίους... desin... πάθει πραγμῶν.

Stephanus Junior. Vita. inc. θείον τι χρῆμα ἡ ἁρτη... desin... ἡ
καὶ ἡμεῖς παραστάθημεν. [Vat. 8051, &c.; Par. 436, &c.]

Stephanus protomartyr. 1. Hypomnemata. inc. διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτήρος... desin... μετέκακαν τὰ λείψανα.

2. Translatio a Psello. inc. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς... desin...
... καὶ ἀντιλήπτορος Στέφανου.

3. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο κατὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκεῖνον... desin... ἐτελευθη
de ὁ ἄγιος πρωτομάρτυρς. [Vat. 6797.]

4. Translatio. inc. καὶ πῶς ἄν τις αἰτίας... desin... τοῦ πανάγου
σου σώματος.

Stephanus Romanus. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοῦς χρόνους Οὐαλλεριανοῦ...
desin... μονᾶς. [Par. Suppl. 241.]

Symeon ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ ὄρει. 1. Vita a Claudio (?) Cyprio. inc. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντας θέλω... desin... ὑγιείᾳ ἀριθμόντων
τοὺς εὐαρεστήσας.

2. Vita. inc. Ἰουστῖνου τοῦ πάλαι... desin... ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

Symeon Junior Theologus. Vita. inc. χρῆμα θερμῶν ἁρτη... desin...
... ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκκλησία. [Par. 1610; cf. Combeïs, Bibliotheca graecorum Patrum auctarium novissimum, ii, 119-29.]

Symeon Stylites. Vita ab Antonio. inc. ἑυερὶ καὶ παράδοχον...
desin... ἐπιτελοῦνται τοῖς πιστοῖς. [Vat. 797, &c.; Par. 760, &c.]
Theodorus Stratelates. 1. Passio. *inc. Δικυίῳ τῷ βασιλεί ... [Vat. 820, &c.; Par. 976, &c.]
2. Encomium ab Euthymio. *inc. τῷ θεοῦ δόρου ... Theodorus Tyro. 1. Passio. *inc. Μαξιμανὸς καὶ Μαξιμῖνος οἱ βασιλεῖ ... [Par. 520?]
2. Passio (?) [εἰς τὸ πρῶτον Σάββατον τῶν Νηστείων]. *inc. Μαξιμανὸς καὶ Μαξιμῖο ... [Vat. 1245.]
Theodosia encomium a Stauricio Chartophylaci Thessalonicensi. *inc. ὁ λόγος τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας ... Timotheus Apostolus. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc. τῇ δαίο τῷ Τιμόθεῳ ... desin. ... εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας. [Par. 755.]
Trypho. Passio. *inc. ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος ... desin. ... καὶ Κλαυθί ν' Ἀκυλίνον. [Vat. Ottob. 92.]
Xene Romana. Vita. *inc. πᾶσα ἡ πολιτεία ... desin. ... ἀμφότεροι ἰγαλλόμενοι. [Vat. 866*; Par. 1219.]
Xenophon. Vita. *inc. διηγήσατο τις μέγας γέρων ... desin. ... ἕνα μῆ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ῥαθμῷ. [Vat. 866*; &c.; Par. 1313, &c.]

LIST II

Alypius. Nov. 26. [A. 35.] *inc. Καλὸι μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων ἄθλοι ... desin. ... τοῦ τούτου αὐτοῦ θεράπωντας δοξάζοντα ... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805, &c.; Par. 579.]
Andreas Cretensis. Encomium. Jul. 4. [A. 40.] *inc. Μέγα ἀνθρώπος καὶ τίμιον ἄνηρ ... desin. ... λυμένα σωτηρίον ... Anna. Sermo in conceptionem S. Annae ab Euthymio monacho et synecello. Dec. 9. [A. 36, A. 37.] *inc. Σήμερον ὁ ἀκατάληπτος ... desin. ... προελθόντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐλησθοῦ ... κτλ.
Febronia. Jun. 25. [A. 40.] *inc. Οὔδεν τῆς πρὸς Θεοῦ ἀγάπης ... desin. ... τοιαύτα τὰ ἑπέρ αὐτῆς γέρα κτλ.
Iacobus Persa. Nov. 27. [A. 35.] *inc. Ἀρκαδίου τα Ῥωμαίων διάποντος σκήπτρα ... desin. ... παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱερακίων ἄξιωθησται. [Codd. Vat. 805*, &c.; Par. 579.]

1 The shelf-number in the library of Prodromou.
Iohannes Calybita.  Jan. 14.  [A. 39.] inc. Τυραννικὸν τι χρῆμα τεκότων... desin. ... τὸ δένδρον ἀκόλουθον τῷ καρπῷ εἰς δόξαν κτλ.  [Codd. Vat. 793\(^{13}\), &c.; Par. 236\(^{3}\), &c.]

**Maximus** Aug. 13.  [A. 40.] inc. Ἡρακλεῖον τῶν σκήπτρων... desin. ... ἀναθεματί ὑποβαλεί κτλ.

**Mercurius.** Martyrium.  Nov. 26.  [A. 35.] inc. Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων... desin. ... τιμῶντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριον ... κτλ.  [Codd. Vat. 805\(^{2}\), &c.; Par. 579\(^{6}\), &c.]

**Michael archangelus.** Narratio Pantoleonis diaconi.  Nov. 8.  [A. 34.] inc. Μεγάλαι καὶ ποικίλαι καὶ πολλαὶ... desin. ... χάρη 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\(^{1}\), &c.; Par. 501\(^{6}\), &c.]

**Onuphrios** Jun. 12.  [A. 40.] inc. Ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος... desin. ... μεμνημένους σοῦ... κτλ.

**Pachomius.** Encomium.  Mai. 15.  [A. 40.] inc. Τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὄντως μνητήριον... desin. ... κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀριστεύματα κτλ.

**Petrus.** λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἀλύσεως τοῦ ἁγ. καὶ κορυφ. τ. ἀποστ. Π.  Jan. 16.  [A. 39.] inc. Ὁσιὸ τῷ κορυφαίου... desin. ... διανύσας βίον δοξάζοντες... κτλ.  [Codd. Vat. 817\(^{8}\), &c.; Par. 236\(^{3}\), &c.]


**Saba.** Dec. 5.  [A. 36.] inc. Οὐδὲν οὕτω κυησάς ψυχήν... desin. ... ἐρυμαίου διαγωγὴν χάριτι... κτλ.  [Codd. Vat. 812\(^{2}\), &c.; Par. 1195\(^{10}\), &c.]

**Stephanus junior.** Nov. 28.  [A. 35.] inc. Θείων τι χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετή καὶ πολλῶν ἀξία... desin. ... ᾗ καὶ ὡμᾶς παριστάμενεν εὐχαίρει αὐτοῦ... κτλ.  [Codd. Vat. 805\(^{11}\), &c.; Par. 436\(^{2}\)].

**Thomas.** Hypomnēma.  Oct. 6.  [A. 33.] inc. Πάλαι μὲν τὰς κατὰ γῆν... desin. ... τοῦ νοθεῦ ἡλίου καθάρως ἐπελάμψατο.  [Codd. Vat. 798\(^{5}\), &c.; Par. 774\(^{17}\), &c.; Regin. 56\(^{4}\); Ottob. 399\(^{4}\).]
HAGIOGRAPHICAL MSS.

LIST III

Aetius
Antonius
Arcadius Cyprius
Asterius
Athanasius Alexandrinus
Basiliius Lacedemoniensis
Callistus Patriarcha
Claudius Cyprius
Constantinus Acropolita
Euthymius

Georgius vel Gregorius Xiphilinus
Georgius Acropolita
Gregorius Cyprius
Gregorius Palamas
Iohannes Kolobos
Iohannes Stauricius
Iohannes Zonara

Nicetas Patricius
Nicetas Rhetor

Nicolas Catascepenus
Panteleus Diaconus
Petrus Italus
Philotheus Constantinopolitanus
Proclus
Psellus
Simon Logotheta
Stauricius
Theodorus Daphnopatus
Theodorus Mousalon
Theodorus Ptochoprodromus
Theodorus Vestrus
Timoteus Alexandrinus

Iohannes Bapt.
Symeon Stylites.
Georgius.
Phocas.
Menas.
Nicaeus Myrensis.
Gregorius Sinaita.
Symeon το θαυμαστα ope.
Constantinus Imp.
Theodorus Stratelates, Anna (Prodromou).
Lazarus Galesiota.
Georgius, Paulus et Petrus.
Marina.
Demetrius.
Paisius.
Demetrius.
Eupraxia, Cyrillus Alex., Sophronius.
Andreas Cretensis.
Cyrillus Philectus.
Michael (in both libraries).
Christophorus.
Sabbas Vatopedinus.
Iohannes Apost.
Auxentius, Stephanus.
Iohannes Bapt.
Theodosia.
Iohannes Bapt.
Nicetas.
Iohannes Bapt.
Euphemia.
Menas.
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