

EIGHT LETTERS OF ARETHAS
ON THE FOURTH MARRIAGE
OF LEO THE WISE

*To Professor Socrates Kougeas
for his work on Arethas*

In *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954) 1-40 we, together with Mr C. A. Mango, published nine orations of Arethas from Codex Marcianus Graecus 524, a manuscript written in the second half of the 13th century¹. We publish here the remaining eight texts of Arethas from the same ms., which are in the form of letters or addresses dealing with the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo VI².

The manuscript. Codex Marcianus Graecus 524 is a miscellaneous ms. composed from various pieces taken from other codices, as may be seen by the varieties of paper, ink and numeration. Lambros, who gave a detailed description of its contents³, explains that it consists of nine different parts taken from nine codices, which mostly contained poems. The texts of Arethas form the fifth section of the ms. (ff. 121r-152v), and are in four

¹ Owing to a most regrettable misunderstanding between us (we were in different countries at the time), the transcriptions of these orations were not revised by either. As a result, several inaccuracies appeared in the Greek texts, which have, properly enough, been noted by Darrouzès (*BZ* 48 [1955] 1-3). Fortunately, none of these corrections affects the conclusion drawn from the texts in the historical notes.

² The transcriptions and note on the ms. are the work of Mr Laourdas, who wishes to express his gratitude to the co-editor of «*Hellenika*» Prof L. Politis, who kindly went over the photostats and made several suggestions. The historical commentary and summaries of the texts were written by Mr Jenkins.

³ Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8 (1911) 1-59 and 113-192. The name of Arethas is not mentioned in any of the texts, but that he is in fact the author has been proved by S. Kougeas, Ὁ Καισαρίας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (Athens 1913) 33-35.

quaternions numbered α' , α' (*sic*, for β'), γ' and δ' . The copyist used many abbreviations, in various forms, but he was well educated and his text is nearly faultless.

Many other texts of Arethas remain unpublished still. We hope that one day it may be possible to have access to Codex 315 of the Historical Museum in Moscow; for without a detailed study of its contents no final account of Arethas can be given¹.

¹ About this manuscript, see *A. M. Sangin* in *Viz. Sbornik* 1 (1945) 228-230, and *B. Laourdas*, 'Ο Ἀρέθας περὶ εἰκονομαχίας. *Θεολογία* 25 (1954) 614-622.

THE TEXTS

1.

(134 r) *Νικολάω πατριάρχη εἰς διάκονος ὄν, ἀνθ' ὄν Νικολάου τοῦ Ξυλομαχαιρίου ἐπίκλην ψεύδους ἀλόγτος ἐφ' οἷς κατεῖπεν οὐ τῆς ἀξίας τεύμητο διὰ τὴν συκοφαντίαν.*

1. Λύσιν ἐκείνην εἰδὼς τοῖς τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἀφρανεστέροις,
 5 ἐπειδὴν τοὺς ἔχοντας ἴδωμεν ἐν ἀδήλῳ φυλάττειν τὸ βλάπτιον κατερρα-
 θυμηκότας, οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίου ἔτι τὴν νόσον ἰστᾶν βουλομένην, ἀλλ' ἐπ'
 αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια διαβιβάζειν ἐπείγεσθαι τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνήκεστον
 προάγειν τὸ ἀλγεινόν, τοῦτο συμβαῖνον ἐπὶ τῶν νοθεστέρων εἰδὼς, ἵνα
 μὴ ταῦτόν ἐκείνοις σφαλῶ, ἐξαγορεύω τὸ πάθος ἐγώ, ὃ χθὲς καὶ πρῶην
 10 τὸν ἔσω κατελιηφὸς ἀνθρωπον οὐκ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς δοκῶ μοι τὴν νόσον περι-
 στήσειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις τὸν ὀλεθρον ἀνατείνασθαι, ὡς ἂν φημί
 τοι θεραπευθεῖην τὸ διοχλοῦν ἢ τὸ ἀπευκτότατον βεβαιωθεῖην. εἰ δέ τι
 καὶ δριμυτέροις οὐν τόλμη τε καὶ τραχύτητι χρήσαιτο τὸ ἀλγοῦν ῥήμασι,
 συγγνώμη τῷ πάθει, οὐ κακονοία, μνήμη δὲ τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸ ἔλκος
 15 προσχεῖν βιαζόμενον.

2. Λόγων γὰρ συκοφαντίας κατ' ἐμοῦ στρατευσαμένων ὑπὸ σοὶ
 δικαστῆ καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ συλλόγῳ, καὶ οὕτως δυσέλεγκτον ὡς ἔδοξα
 τότε καὶ παράβολον τῶν πλασαμένων τὸ ἀναιδὲς ἐπιδεδειγμένων, ὥστε
 μικροῦ δεῖν κάμοι τὸ ἀμφίδοξον ἐμποιεῖσαι μὴ πού τι καὶ ὄναρ ἡμάρ-
 20 τηται τί μοι τοιοῦτον ἕπερ ὃ ἐκείνων ἐβούλετο λῆρος, ὅψῃ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐν
 ἤγαγεν εἰς μέσον ὃ τοὺς σοφοὺς τῆ αὐτῶν πανουργία δρασσόμενος τὸ
 ἀπόρρητον, συνέσει βαθείας φρενὸς καὶ γράμμασιν δικαίας χειρὸς αὐτὴν
 κατασεισας τὴν τῆς γλωσσαλγίας ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τῷ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ

πνεύματι ὡς ἄχυρον ἐκφυσήσας καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας παραπέμφας τοῖς ἀν-
 θραξι. καὶ γὰρ μὲν μετέωρος ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε εἰς τόνδε, τὸ ἀττικὸν βάραθρον,
 τὸν λακωνικὸν κατὰ τοῦ συκοφάντου καιάταν, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἀπηνεστέρων
 τε καὶ φοβερωτέρων ἐλπίζων ἀναρραγήναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἀξίαν
 τὸ πονηρὸν οὕτω θηρίον ὑποσχέτην καὶ ἀλλόκοτον. ἔλαθον δέ, τοῦτό γε 5
 δὴ τὸ πολὺ, λύκος εἰς μάτην χανῶν καὶ σκιάν ὄνειροπολήσας καπνοῦ·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον τοῦ γνώσει τὸ ψεῦδος ἡμπόληκα παραδοθῆναι·
 ἔνθα με καὶ πολλοὶ κατφκτιρίσαντο τῶν ἐπιεικείᾳ βίου προελομένων,
 κατηλέησαν δὲ καὶ οἷς εὐγνωμοσύνη ἐπιμελές, καὶ μετ' ἔμοῦ τὸ ἀγανα-
 κτεῖν καὶ τῆς πρὸς σέ μου φιλίας καὶ πίστεως συνηρίθουσιν τὴν ἀπό- 10
 γνωσιν. τί δ' ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν φιλαιτίων τὰ σκώμματα οὐκ ἀλόγως οἶμαι
 δακνόντων οἷς ἐπιτωθάζειν ἐβούλοντο, καλὸν τὸ ἐπαθλὸν φασκόντων τῶν
 πόνων, καλὸν τὸ βραβεῖον; πρόσθεσ καὶ ἄλλο, τῆ περι τοῦτον πίστευτε
 καὶ φιλία οὐδὲ νῦν ἢ βασκανία κατάφωρος, οὐδ' ὅτι φθόνος, οὐκ εὐνοια
 τὸ τῆς ἐγγχειρήσεως. καὶ τί ἂν λέγοιμι τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τῶν λόγων ᾧ 15
 καὶ γενναία ψυχὴ ἔκαμεν ἂν βαλλομένη, πρὸς δὲ καὶ (134v) προσαυ-
 ξόντων ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῶν πραγμάτων;

3. Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν λῆρος ταῦτα μακρὸς καὶ τῆς κατ' ἔμοῦ συκοφαν-
 τίας οὐδὲν τι φαυλότερον ἐξεργασμένος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν δεῖ με
 μαθεῖν, τρανότερον δ' οὖν καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον εἰδείην, ἐπειδὴν οὗτος ὁ 20
 μιαιρὸς καὶ ἀλάστωρ τῶν ἀπαισίων τόκων πατήρ τοῦ ψεύδους ἀποτίση
 ποιήνῃ· ἔως ἂν μηδὲν ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐμεῖ, ὀκνῶ μὴ καὶ προσθήκη ταῦτα
 τῶν πέρουσι· ἀπηγγελέμενων μείζω τὴν ὑπόληψιν καταστήσῃ, ἐπεὶ
 καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει. τίς γὰρ ἔτι αἰδῶς πρὸς ἡδονῆς γίνεσθαι τῆ ὑμῶν δεσ-
 ποτεία πάσαν τοῦ συκοφάντου κατ' ἔμοῦ βλασφημίαν διεξιόντος; τεκμή- 25
 ριον δέ· ὑπὸ σοὶ γὰρ ἀχροατῆ τὸν ἄθεον ἀποκαλοῦντός με καὶ εἰ τι τοι-
 οῦτον ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ (ἡμῶν γὰρ με δικαιοσύνης συνήγορον ὄσα καὶ δι-
 καιοπραγίαν αὐτῆν) μηδαμῶς ἀνακοπῆναι τὴν τόλμαν, ἀλλ' ἐντροφᾶν
 τοῦτῃ ἐφίεσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀφανεῖ τε καὶ καταπτύστῳ ταῖς κατ' ἔμοῦ λοι-
 ποδορίας, ἀνδρός, ὡς ἂν ἴσως ἄλλος ἐρεῖ, πρὶν ἢ πιστεῦσαι φιλία καὶ 30
 πλοῦτῃ καὶ γένει, τᾶλλα ὄσα τὴν κάτω εὐετηρίαν κρατύνεται ἐπὶ τοῖς
 καλλίστοις γνωριμωτάτου· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ με τυχὸν Ἄδραστεία νεμέσει
 τὸ τῆς τύχης μετάρροπον ἐξεκύλισεν καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν σοὶ θρόνον
 ἀνάβασις, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τούτων ἐχρῆν τὸν ἐμὸν ἡγεμόνα, τὸν γνώστην
 καὶ τῆ θεῖα τραπέζῃ καὶ μυστικῇ γλυκάναντά μοι τὸν φάρυγγα, παρο- 35
 ρᾶν, μὴδ' ὄνειδος ἄφρονι δίδοσθαί με, μὴδ' ἐπ' ἔμοι σαλεύειν αὐτῷ κεκρι-
 μένον τὸ τῆς δίκης ἀτάλαντον καθυβρίζεσθαι, ὅτι μὴδ' εἶχέ τι τῶν εἰς

27 ἄξιον ἡμῶντο et supra ἑαυτοῦ scriptum

6 cf. Gaisford Paroem. gr. 73 et 146

τοῦτο φερόντων καταϊτιάσασθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρορώγη καλῶς γε ποιῶν, τί γὰρ οὐκ οἰμώζων ἠσύχαζον; τί δ' οὐχὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπέστελλον ἑμαυτόν; ἀλλ' ἐθάρρουν φιλίᾳ, τῶν ἀφροδισίων φασὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὄρκων ἀμείνονι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο μοι ἀγώνισμα τῆς εἰς σὲ πίστεως καὶ ἀνυποκρί-
 5 του ἀπέκειτο φιλίας, ἀγνωθετοῦντος ὡς ἔοικε τοῦ τῶν πολλῶν φθόνου ἐν βασκανίας θεάτρῳ ὃ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπιχειροίη, ἔχρη' τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑφ' ὁμῶν ὑποτέμεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέχω τὴν χάριν. καὶ τί γὰρ πέρα τούτων ἐπιζητεῖν, ὀπηνίκα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, ἢ τῶν πολλῶν μὲν ἀγάπη ψυγῆ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνταποδιδόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀντεισενεχθῆ τὰ κακὰ πλήρωμα,
 10 μάλιστα δὲ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν· ἔτι μὴ καὶ χεῖροσι, καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν τούτων ἐστίν, ὑποβληθείην· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ χεῖρον, τιμῆς ἔμοι τῆς ὄλιφ βίῳ συναυξηθείσης ὑπὸ γε βασιλεῦσι καὶ πατριάρχαις ἀγίοις ἕωα τε λήξει καὶ ἐσπερίῳ, αἶ τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν πόνων ἀνεμερίσαντο ἔργα καὶ ἀριστεία, νῦν ἀπροφασίστως διολωυίης, ἐνδὸς μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι τοὺς
 15 μοχθηροτάτους κρατήσαντος; θέλει γὰρ οὕτως (καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο;) εἰπεῖν ὃ προκαθεζόμενος. καὶ τίς λόγος οὕτω δραστήριος, τί δαὶ παραμύθιον δσα καὶ σπόγγος ἐκπίνειν εἰδὸς τὸ λυποῦν, τὰς περὶ τούτων ἐμοὶ προλήψεις τοῖς ἀντικαθημένοις μεταρρεῖν ἀναγκάσοντα; καὶ πῶς γὰρ, οὐκ οὐσης λοιπὸν ριτίνης ἐν Γαλααδ, τὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γράμματος, οὐκ ὄντος
 20 ἱατροῦ, λόγου φημί, φαρμάκοις (135 τ) δικαιοσύνης καθαρτικοῖς τε καὶ ἐπουλωτικοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀδίκως πασχόντων δεσμοῦντος συντρίμματα;

4. Σκοπεῖν γὰρ εἴ μοι τὴν ἄλλως καὶ τούτοις δυσφορεῖν περιγίνεται· λέγεται κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ συντίθεται τι τοῖς συκοφάνταις· ἐστῶσιν ὁ λόγος ὡσὶν ἀληθέστερος τῶν ἐπὶ σάγρα· κρατεῖ τοῖς ὅλοις ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἱερός·
 25 ποιναι καὶ τιμωραὶ τὰ τέλη, καὶ ἡ Φαλαρίδος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀρχή. πεφώραταί τι τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ ψευδὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν συκοφαντούντων ἐπάξιον ἐργολαβίας· πολὺς ὁ περὶ συγγνώμης λόγος τοῖς κρίνουσιν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Ἰησοῦ μακροθυμία, τὰ πρόχειρα ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτριῶσι φιλοσοφήματα πάθεισιν, ἐπεὶ κάθηνται πικροὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτῶν λογισταί,
 30 ἐλαίῳ τότε, τὸ παροιμιώδες, τὴν Ἰησοῦ μακροθυμίαν ἀλείψαντες καὶ πρὸς τῆ καταπόσει τῆς καμίλου τὸν κώνωπα διυλίζοντες. καίτοι γε οὐδ' οὗτος πάνυ ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἄγαν κακοῖς εὐμενίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέοις καὶ παλαιοῖς κολάζειν ἀποθεοπίζει τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας καὶ λόγοις καὶ ὑποδείγμασιν, καὶ μὴ τὴν τούτων συγγνώμην ἐτέ-
 35 ροις καταλιπεῖν ἀσυνέτοις παράκλησιν, θεοῦ δὲ ἀρετὴν ὑπερβαλέσθαι, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σφώτατον τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὅποι τε φέρον καὶ πῶς.

22 τὴν ἄλλως cod. 24 σάγρα verbum mihi ignotum σαγρας Hesych.

5. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κριταὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀτυχήμασι· καὶ
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν σκηνὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰρωνεῖα καὶ δορυφόρημα καί, ἔν' ἐπι-
 τετευγμένως ἐρῶ, ἢ Πλάτωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος πόλις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ τέκ-
 ταινε ἐπὶ σὸν φίλον παροικουντά σοι καὶ πεποιθότα τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ φορ-
 τικόν, μὴ δ' οἷς ἢ τύχη, μᾶλλον δ' ἢ τὸ πᾶν ὑπέστησε πρόνοια, πεφι- 5
 λοφρόνηται τὸν ἀνεύθυνον. αὐτὸς ἢ μόνῃ ἐλπίς ἐμποδῶν ἤδη καθίστασθαι.
 ἀνερεθίζειν γὰρ καταμισοῦντα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιστομίζειν τοὺς διαθόλους, ἢ
 θέμις δικαίᾳ φιλίᾳ, τοῦτό ἐστιν οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις προθύεσθαι, ὅπερ ὁ
 καὶ φίλοις καὶ κόσμῳ παντὶ προθυθεὶς εἰσηγήσατο, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς φίλους
 τοῖς μαιφόνους προΐεσθαι σφάγιον. ὁδῶ ποινὴν ὁ συκοφάντης, μαθέτω- 10
 σαν δι' ἐνὸς ὑποδείγματος οἱ λοιποὶ πλανώμενοι σύνοισιν, δεσμοῦντες τὴν
 γλῶσσαν οἷς οὐχὶ χρεῖ, ἀλλὰ μὴ λύοντες. οὐκ ἀμώμητος ἢ τοσαύτη συγ-
 γνώμη παρὰ γε κριταῖς ἐπιστήμοισιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσύγγνωστον
 τίκτουσα. ἀπόνιψαί μοι τὰς χεῖρας, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ Πιλάτον, ἀλλ' οὖν
 τὰς ὑποφίας δικαίῳ ἐξαθωσόμενος ὕδατι. μὴ συγχεῖσθωσαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν πα- 15
 λαιοὶ νόμοι καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντες, μηδ' ἀμβλυώττοι δικαιοσύνη περὶ τὸν
 σπουδαῖον καὶ ἄδικον. ὡς ἐστὶν ἄτοπον τῷ μὲν οἰκέτῃ μικρόν τι τῆς περὶ
 ἡμᾶς ὀλιγωρήσαντι θεραπείας ἀμέλειαν ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ που καὶ μᾶστιξιν
 αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τὸ νωθρὸν τῆς τύχης ἀποξέειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς οἴεσθαι
 δικαιοσύνην αὐχμηράν καὶ ρυπῶσαν περιορῶντας τῇ βραθυμίᾳ τὸ περιδέ- 20
 ξιον ἡμῖν περιποιεῖν ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπόβλεπτον, ἀλλ' οὐκ
 αἰσχίστους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στυγητοὺς ἀποφαίνειν, καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων
 θεῶ τῷ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐναποθνήσκειν ἕκαστον ἀπειλοῦντι κακοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 ἔργοις ἀντιμε (135ν) τραῦντι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν πολλῶν
 δεομένοις πληγῶν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπιγνώμονες τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ καταστάντες θελή- 25
 ματος ἀγνώμονες περὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ὤφθημεν.

6. Οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἐλλογίμων οὐδ' οἷς αἰδῶς τὸ προσκρούειν παρο-
 μαρτεῖ ἢ καινὴ τοῦ παρόντος παρεύρεσις. ἄνθρωπος μιᾶρός, ἀνώνυμος,
 ἀνωνώμων ὀλεθρὸς τῶν ἐκ τριόδων, μὴ κατορχήσαιτο τοῦ ἀγνωτάτου
 ὕμῶν κριτηρίου, μηδὲ τοῖς ἐσομένοις οὕτως ὑπολείπεσθαι τῶν σῶν κατορ- 30
 θωμάτων προστησόμενον λάλημα. εἰ δὲ τις ταῖς ἐμαῖς συμφοραῖς τὸ
 εὐσταθὲς τοῦ ἤθους καὶ ἄτρωτον ἐπιδείκνυται, σοφὸν μὲν οὕτως τι δρᾶ,
 δεδῶσθαι γὰρ καὶ φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἄπορον εἰ καὶ σὺν λόγῳ καὶ
 ὅσον οἶεται ἀντεστραμμένων αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ τοῦ μηδ' οἷς μηδ'
 ὧν προσῆκε χαρίζεσθαι, εἴπερ ἀφιέναι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλο- 35
 τριοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἢ προσευχῇ· πλεονεξία γὰρ ἀντικρυς ἀφ' ὧν οὐκ ἐξὸν
 λαμβάνειν χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτριῶν ἐντροφᾶν ἀγαθοῖς τῷ ἐτέ-

ροις ἀποκειμένῳ φιλοτιμούμενον κατορθώματι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἀπαρακα-
 λύπτως εἰπεῖν, δευσοποιῶ τῇ αὐτοῦ πονηρίᾳ βαφχαῖς σοῦ βουλομένου·
 ἂν μὴ τὴν ἐντρέχουσαν ἀπαλείψῃς τῇ δικαιοῦσαι ὑπόνοιαν, καθάπερ ἠτέ-
 κνωμαι ἀφ' ὑμῶν, τὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ φάναι, ἠτέκνωμαι καὶ ἀνέκπλυτος
 5 ἔσομαι τὸ εἰς ἔπειτα. εὐ δ' ἴστω ἢ ἱερὰ ὑμῶν κορυφή, οἷς ἕνα με τῶν
 μικρῶν ἔσκανθάλισας, ἐζημίωσαι, εἰ μὲν τι καὶ ἄλλο, λέγειν ὀκνῶ φειδοῖ
 τῶν βλασφημοτέρων, ὃ γοῦν τοῖς νῦν διὰ σπουδῆς περισαίνουσι τὸ τῆς
 φιλίας ἔαρ εἰς πρόσωπον δοῦς μέλοι μου καὶ τοὺς ἔσοι τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 συναλγύνονται πάθεισιν. ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν καιροῦ δραττομένους τῶν
 10 κατὰ σοῦ τούτους δοκῇ, οἷς ἔργον νενόμισται κυκᾶν ἅπαντα καὶ κακοῦν
 τὸ ἀκρότατον (ἐπικεχείρηται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρχαιρεσίᾳ τῇ σῆ, οἶδε θεός,
 ἐπίσταται καὶ ὁ ἠτιμωμένος) καὶ μηδὲ τὸν καθεστῶτα πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς
 εὐδαιμονίας ὑμῶν ὄγκον εὐλαβουμένους, ὅση γε δύναμις, ὅν τούτων
 βουλῆς ἐστὶ τὸ πιστὸν παραιρεῖσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει βελτίστης, ὡς
 15 ἢ τε πεῖρα καὶ πρᾶξις τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἐλέγξει λόγων ἀλήθειαν, γυ-
 μνὸν προμάχων ἀπολαβοῦσα τὸ θήραμα. καὶ γὰρ μὲν τοῦτο δέομαι καὶ
 παρίεμαι πρὸς οἷς οὐ τετίμημαι, δέον τὸν φίλον καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐδ' ἔστιν
 εἰπεῖν ἕσον ἀξιώτερον ἄλλων. ἀλλ' ἠτιμῶμαι ὃ καὶ λησται λοχῶντες
 οὐχ ἦττον διέθηκαν ἐκεχειρίας ἤδη τυχεῖν μηδὲ περαιτέρω με τοῖς ἀνια-
 20 ροτέροις ὠθεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας μένειν ἔασθαι, κἂν τούτῳ μοι τὸ φιλό-
 σοφον ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων τοῦ ἡθους καὶ ἄτρωτον. εἰ δ' ἄρα μισθὸν
 ἀποτίνοντα τοῦτον τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρρησίας, ἃ καὶ ὑμῖν ἦν ὅτε
 περὶ πολλοῦ, οὐδὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ἄπαξ ἀπομματισθέντι τυφλῷ ἐν σκότῳ
 διαφέρειν τὸ τοῦ βίου ὑπόλοιπον καὶ δεῖγμα προκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 25 ἀνθρώποις φιλίας ἀκραίφνοῦς τε καὶ πίστεως.

3 Gen. 43, 14

6 Matth. 18, 6

2.

(136 r). *Λέοντι βασιλεῖ ἐναρχομένῳ τῆς διὰ τὸν τέταρτον αὐτοῦ γάμον παρασχεθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπροβούλως ἀταξίας.*

1. *Λόγος σοφὸς εἰς εὐήκοον οὖς, ὁ σοφώτατος παρεγγυᾶ Σολομῶν, καὶ λόγοις σοφοῖς παράβαλε σὸν οὖς· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔργον εὐχῆς*
 5 *ἀκοῦσαι τε λόγον σοφὸν καὶ σώφροσιν ἀκοαῖς καὶ εὐγνώμοσι παραθέσθαι τὰ λεχθησόμενα· οὔτε γὰρ κυβερνήτῃ, κἂν ὅση δὴ χρήσαιτο τῇ τέχνῃ, κέρδος οὐδὲν ἐπειδὴν διαρρέοντι τῷ πλοίῳ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀπασχολῇ, οὔτε διδασκάλῳ σοφῷ περιγενήσεται τις ὄνησις κατὰ πετρῶν, τὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ φάναι Κυρίου, σπεῖροντι καὶ εἰς ἀνέμους, τὸ παροιμιώδες, τὸ τοῦ*

3 Prov. 25, 12

8 Luc. 8, 6

9 Gaisford Paroem. gr. 12

λόγου φιλοπονοῦντι γεώργιον. ὧν μὲν οὖν τυχεῖν ἢ εὐχή, τοῦτο καὶ πάλα
καὶ νῦν· ἃ δὲ τοῖς ἀνεπιστάτως ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κακεντρεχεῖα τρόπων λη-
ροῦσιν ὡς ἂν πολλοὺς συναρπάσαντες τῶν ἀκεραιότερων ἔχοιεν συλλή-
πτορας τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ συνασπισμὸς αὐτοῖς συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ἄλλ’
οὐκ ὀρθὴ κρίσις καὶ δόγμα σεμνὸν τὸ κράτος περιποιῆ, ὃ καὶ μείζω 5
τὴν καταδίκην πορίζειν ἐπίσταται τυφλοῖς δδηγοῦσι τυφλοὺς καὶ πρὸς
τὸν ὅμοιον τε καὶ ὅσιον ἐπισπεύδουσιν δλεθρον, ἃ πρὸς τούτους εἰπεῖν
ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῆλος παρώρμησε καὶ τὸ τοῖς νωθεστέροις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῆ τῆς
ἀγνοίας καθιέμενον πελάγει θανάτου πρόξενον δέλεαρ φωρᾶσαι καὶ διε-
λέγξαι, τοῦτο δὴ μόνον ἐπιπνοῖα κατανύσας κρειττόνων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸ 10
λοιπὸν ἐπανάξομαι.

2. Πυνθάνομαι γάρ τοι τοὺς πάντα περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων σοφοὺς τὴν
ἀγορὰν τε περινοστοῦντας καὶ ὁποιδῆτινας τόπους ἑτέρους διδάσκειν
ἀπερυθριακῶτως τοῖμαν μηδὲν τῶν προκειμένων, μηδ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ σοφῆ
προμηθεῖα πάντας ἀνθρώπους σκανδάλων ἀνέπλησαν ἐλέγχους τε περι- 15
τροπῆς ἀλίσκόμενοι καὶ χαμαιλέοντος τρόπον πρὸς τοὺς παρατυχόντας
μεταχρωννόμενοι, μηδὲν τούτων μηδαμῶς εἰς σκάνδαλον ἀναφέρειν μηδὲ
τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίας ὑποστολὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον αἰτιώ-
μενον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀῖρες τοῦτο φησὶν, οὐδ’ ὅσα τις ἀνηκέστως τῶν πιστῶν
τοῦ πληρώματος τὴν κατατομὴν ἐπαγγέλλεται, τὸ δ’ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀπο- 20
πηδᾶν τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τῆ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκρί-
νειν εἰς μοῖραν ἀντίπαλον, ἄλογον· τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀπόλυτα φθέγγονται
στόματα, μὴτ’ ἑαυτοὺς εἰδόντων μῆτε περὶ ὧν διαβεβαιουῦνται ἐχόντων τι
παριστᾶν εὐλογον. ἔγωγ’ οὖν οἶμαι λέγειν μὲν τι αὐτοῦς, οὐ μόντοι γε
καὶ ὅσον βούλονται· τσοῦτον ἐστὶν ἀῖρες κατόπιν τοῦ ἐνεστώτος κακοῦ, 25
ὡς ἔστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὑποτιμημάτων τεκμήρασθαι, ὅσον ὁ πάντα
ἐξακριβῶν λόγος σταθμοῖς ἀπαρεγκλίτοις (136ν) καὶ μέτροις δικαίοις
ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξεται. ἀλλὰ μοι πρὸ τούτου δοκῶ τὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Δαβιδ
προσφόρως αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξασθαι· υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρ-
διοι; ἔνα τί ἀγαπάτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε ψεῦδος; ἕως πότε κρίνετε 30
ἀδικίαν καί, εἴ τι λοιπὸν ὁ λόγος αἰδοῖ τῶν βλασφημῶν ὑποστελλόμενος,
μέχρι τίνος ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν προκόψετε πλανῶντες τε καὶ πλανώμενοι;

3. Διττῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν τῶν δογμάτων, λογικῶν τε
φημὶ καὶ προσέτι πραγματικῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν δόξαν ὄνομα λαχόντων, ὅσα
δὴ περὶ τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ ἀίδια ἔσθ’ ὅπη καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐνστρεφόμενα 35
ἀμηχάνη τινὶ λόγου δυνάμει τὸ ὑπὸν ἐκμαστεύοντος προτίθενται τοῦτο

καταφανές, τῶν δὲ τῆ πολιτεία τὸ ἑαυτῶν γνῶρισμα κληρωσαμένων (πρακτὰ ταῦτα οἱ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων σοφοὶ κατεφήμισαν), λόγου μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνδιδόντος, πράξει γέ μὴν καὶ διαπονήσει τοῦ τελεί-
 5 οῖς εἶναι κατορθουμένου· καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον αὐθις τριῶν ἐνορωμένων, δόξης καὶ δοξαζόντων καὶ δοξαστῶν, οἷς δὴ τὸ κρεῖττον τε καὶ μὴ συμ-
 παρομαρτεῖν ἀγαπᾷ, ἃ μὲν λόγος ἐπίσταται πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ μέχρι μόνον θεωρίας προβαίνειν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τεχνικαῖς ἀνάγκαις τὸ πῶς εἶναι
 τούτοις θηρώμενος, οὐδὲν οἶμαι δεινὸν ἀποσφαλέντι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς περὶ
 10 ταῦτα ἐγκρίτου προλήψεως τὴν ἐναντίαν τραπέσθαι τε καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι·
 ἔβλαψε γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐλείν ἐπειράσατο οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πά-
 θοι τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ ἀίδια; εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ ὅσα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ταῖς
 μὴ προσηκούσαις περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπολήψεσιν αὐτῷ μὲν τοι τὸ πᾶν ἐλυμή-
 νατο, καὶ πρό γε τούτου τῷ φύσαντι, οὐχ ἤττον αὐτοῦ ἤπερ ἐκείνου
 κατασχεδάσας τὸ βλάσφημον. ὣν δὲ γε πείρα καὶ πράξις τὸ κατορθοῦν
 15 εἰς ἐξάριτον, μικρὰ προσδεομένων τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων συνηγορίας καὶ
 βοηθείας, ἅτε δὴ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφαστότων ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν
 ὅσα καὶ κανόνι σοφῶν προσχρωμένων, πράξει γέ μὴν μὴδὲν ἰδιαζούση
 τοῦ τέλους ἀπαρτίζεσθαι πεφυκότων, τούτων ταῖς μοχθηραῖς δόξαις μεθ-
 20 ἀχόλουθον τυπουμένων καὶ πλαττομένων, αὐτὰ μὲν διόλωλέ τε καὶ ἀνα-
 τέτραπται αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. εἰ δέ τι τὸ περὶ ταῦτα
 τοῦ λόγου χρηστόν τε καὶ δεξιὸν τείνει πρὸς ὄνησιν ἀποικομένων ἤδη
 καὶ διερρυηκότων οἷς τούτων τὸ κατορθοῦν ὑπελείπετο, ἄλλος μὲν ἴσως
 ἐρεῖ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ γέ σχολή, ὁ τοιγαροῦν τῷ καιριωτέρῳ λυμαίνεται
 25 καὶ ὁ τὸ εἶναι παραιρεῖται τῶν ἄλλων, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μεθαρμό-
 ζειν κάκεινα φιλεῖ (ἅμα τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δὴ κἀνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Σταγειρί-
 του φῶμεν, εἰδῆσαι τε τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτοι βουλόμεθα),
 τοῦτο, μὴ ὅτι γέ μὴ γνόντα κατὰ τὸ ἄμεινον αὐτὸν (ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἦν φο-
 ρητόν) ἀλλὰ καὶ γνόντα καὶ ἀδιαφοροῦντα (137γ) περὶ αὐτὸ οὕτω καὶ
 30 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκλέξασθαι πείθειν ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ πρὸς βάραθρον ἐμπλή-
 κτη γνώμη συνθεῖν ἀπωλείας, οὐ πολλῶ χειρὸν τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα δια-
 μαρτίας, ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑπέστησε;

4. Τίς νοῦν ἔχων ἀντείποι, καὶ μάλιστα' ὅταν καὶ πίστεως ἀγιό-
 της ὡσπερ ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὗς Χριστιανούς ηὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐνάμιλλον
 35 τῆ περὶ τὸ σέβας θεϊότητι τὸν βίον τηρεῖν βούλεται καὶ πίστιν ἡγεῖ-
 σθαι χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων νεκράν; οὐ γὰρ μοι τῶν βελτιόνων καταφαίνεται
 καὶ ἀκαταγνώστων εἰ τις τὴν ἐν δόγμασι μεταδιώκων ἐρθότητα τὸ τῶν

ἔργων ἀποδιοπομπήσεται δεξιόν, ῥυπῶν τε τῇ βασιάνῃ τοῦ βίου τὸ ἄχραν-
 τον καὶ τῇ διακένῃ τῆς ὑπολήψεως τὴν ἤττω δόξαν περιποιούμενος
 ἑαυτῇ αἰσχρῶς ἄγαν καὶ ὀλεθρίως, δέον ἀγιασμῷ πολιτείας τὸ ὑπερά-
 γιον ὑποφαίνειν καὶ καθαρότητι βίου ὑποδεικνύναι τὸ ὑπεράμωμον. εἰ γὰρ
 τοῖς συντρόφοις ἡμῖν καὶ οἷς ἐκ γενεᾶς εὐθύς ἔχομεν θηρᾶσθαι πέφυκε
 τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀναλόγως, αἰσθησις δὲ τοῦτο περὶ ἦν καὶ πρὸς ἦν ἔθος τε
 καὶ βελτίστη ἐνοστέφεται ἀγωγῇ καὶ πᾶν τὸ δι' ἐνέργειαν ἀναπόδει-
 κτον, χραίνοιτο δ' ἡμῖν ταῦτα καὶ κισθηλεύοιτο τῇ ὀδελυρίᾳ τῶν ἔργων
 οἷς ὄρᾶν ἔστιν ὡς δι' ἐσόπτρου τὸ ὑπερκείμενον κάλλος, τίς ἔτι ἀπόδει-
 ξις διαρκῆς τὸ ἐπαινετὸν παριστᾶν καὶ μακάριον, ἀντιφθεγγόμενων τῶν
 ἔργων τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ λόγον ἄλλως ἀποφαινόντων τὸ τῆς δόξης σεμνὸν
 καὶ ὑπέρογκον; πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ καθαρῷ προσαψόμεθα, καὶ τί τὸ
 διαπορθμεῖον ἔσται πρὸς τοῦτο, σαπρῷ μὲν κεχηρμένῳ τῷ ἀκατίῳ, αἰσ-
 χροῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐρέταις πρὸς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν φιλυποστρόφως ἔχουσιν αἷσχη
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀποναρκῶσι τῆς καθαρότητος; ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖν καὶ
 15 τὸν ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθέντα θεάνθρωπον τῆς μὲν τῶν λόγων εὐρημοσύ-
 νης μικρὸν ἢ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφασθαι, τοῖς δὲ τὸ πατρικὸν αὐτῷ θέλημα
 ἐκτελοῦσι τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπανοίγειν βουλόμενον. τί δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Σα-
 μαρειτίν αὐτὸς οὐτός φησιν; οὐχ ὅτι πνεῦμα ὁ θεός; ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ πνεῦμα
 λατρείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν προσεῖναι παρηγγυήσατο, ὡς τοῦ μὲν κατὰ
 20 πνεῦμα λατρεύοντος δρῶντος μὲν τι γενναῖον τῇ ὀρθῇ περὶ τοῦ κρείτ-
 τονος ὑπολήψει, ἀλλ' οὕτω τὸ ἀνευθεὲς ἔχοντος μέχρις ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ἔργων ἀλήθεια τὸ σεμνὸν τε καὶ ἄγιον τοῦ δόγματος ἐμπεδώσῃται
 οὐδὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν δογμάτων ἐνίνησιν ἀμεμπτον μὴ τῇ τοῦ βίου σεμνό-
 τητι ἐπισφραγιζόμενον. 25

5. Εἰ δὲ καλὰ μὲν ταῦτα πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ ὄντι καλὰ,
 οὕτω μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόθυμον παντὶ τῷ λυποῦντι
 ποιεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοτον, ἀμισθον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδὲ πολλοὺς ἔχον
 οἱ τοῦ πόνου συνάροιντο, ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρᾶγμα περὶ πολλοῦ
 τε καὶ περισπούδαστον, ἐπεὶ καὶ βραχεῖς οἶδα τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τε καὶ τοῦ
 30 θεοῦ (καὶ εἰ πάντας πλάσματα)· οὕτως ἐν ὧσι ἕνα τὸν κα(137v)τ' ἐκεῖνο
 καιροῦ θεὸν ἡλπικότα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι καὶ σέβασθαι, οὕτως τέλειον Νῶε
 τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν γενεᾷ καὶ σπέρματα βίου δευτέρου ἐν λάρνακι ξυλίῃ δια-
 τηρεῖν πιστευόμενον· τί δ' Ἀβραάμ, τί Λῶτ, τί Μελχισεδέκ, τί παῖδες
 τρεῖς, ἄλλοι τε πάλιν οὗς τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων τὸ πλῆθος ὑπερεκπαλεῖν
 35 τὴν ὑπερορωμένην ὑμῖν παρέχεται ὀλιγότητα; ἄρα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῇ βρα-

6 cf. Aristotelis Eth. Nic. 1142a 23-30

15 in marg. οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ

λέγων μοι Κύριε, Κύριε, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν [Matth. 7, 21]

19 Joh. 4, 24

χύτητι παρεθεωροῦντο θεῶ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ὦ τοῖς πλήθεσι
 γαυριῶν καὶ τῷ χυδαίῳ ὄχλῳ κατεπαιρόμενος. ὦρα σοι καὶ πλοῦτον
 ἀθροΐζειν μὴ τὸν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν, ὧν σπάνις
 πολλή καὶ κόπος καὶ μόχθος ἀνθρώποις τὴν κτῆσιν πορῖσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 5 πηλοῦ καὶ καχλήκων εἰ βούλει καὶ φορυτοῦ, ὧν πλήρης ἅπασα γῆ καὶ
 οὐδὲ πόνος συλλέξασθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ γε τοῦ φωτός λύχνος καὶ πρόδρομος,
 ὁ ἐν γεννητοῖς ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ πρό γε τούτου ὁ κατ' Ἰούδαν τὸν
 Μακκαβαῖον ἱερός Ἐλεάζαρ, εἶτα γυνὴ καὶ παῖδες ἑπτὰ, τί τοσοῦτον
 ὑμῖν εἰς κατάγνωσιν φέροιεν, μὴ πίστεως δόγμασι πολιτείας δὲ παρα-
 10 χαραττομένης μὴ ἀνεχόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐναποθανεῖν ἡδέως ἐλόμενοι; ἢ
 γάρ τοι τοῦ θεοσεπίου ἔνστασις Ἰωάννου, ᾧ τὸ χρυσοῦν τῷ ὄντι στόμα
 ἐπόνυμον, ὀλίγου δεῖν πολλήν τοῖς μικροτάτοις αἰτίαν παρέχεται καὶ
 οὐδὲ μέμφεως ἀφιέμενον, οὐκ εἰδότης φησὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν καλῷ δια-
 τίθεσθαι, γυναῖου δὲ παραφροσύνη τε καὶ ὀλιγωρία τοῖς κακοῦν βουλη-
 15 θεῖσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεκθέμενον, ἄγαν ἀσυμφόρως ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς θλίψασιν
 ἔτι μὴδὲ κυριακῇ παραινέσει τὸ παθεῖν ἑαυτῷ ἐκρατύνετο μὴτέ τι
 ἄλλη σοφῇ εἰσηγήσει πρὸς θεῖους νόμους τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναφερούση
 παράστημα. ἄρ' οὖν ματαία μὲν ἢ τούτων ἐλπίς, πεπλάνηται δὲ τοῦ
 σκοποῦ; καὶ γνώμης ἀμαρτόντες τοῖς νῦν ἀναφανέουσιν ὑμῖν γνώμοσι χρή-
 20 σαιντο τῶν κρειττόνων, οἳ καὶ τὰ βᾶθη τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς εἶοικε κατο-
 πτεύετε καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι ὑπερφυεῖ τῶν βεβιωμένων μισθῷ
 κατευμεγεθῆσατε; πολλή γε χάρις ὑμῖν υπερβάθμιον μὲν αἴρουσι πόδα
 τρυφῇ δὲ σοφίας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰσηγήσασθαι πεπαρρησιασμέ-
 νοις τὸ δέον, οἳ γε μὴ ἔτι βλέπειν τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 25 κατανοεῖν ἂν ἐξισχύσητε εἰς νοῦν παραδοθέντες ἀδόκιμον πράττειν τὰ
 μὴ καθήκοντα.

6. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ μελαγχολίας ἀκράτου ἔτι πρὸς οἷς τῇ ἐναργείᾳ μα-
 χέσασθαι ἠὲ θαδίσαντο, ἔτι καὶ πρὸς ἀναντίρρητον ἐκόντες ἀλήθειαν
 ἀπομύουσι καὶ δόξαν τῷ ὄντι ματαίαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀντηλλάξαντο· οὐ
 30 γὰρ με λέληθε τοῦτο, ὡς οὐ τοῖς αὐτῶν λόγοις αἱ γνώμαι συνέπαινοι·
 οἶδασι μὲν γὰρ κακῶς δογματίζοντες καὶ λίαν ἐπι(138)σφαλῶς καὶ
 ἀσυνέτως οἳ καὶ τῇ πλήξει τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνειδήσεως εἰς Χριστὸν
 ἀμαρτάνοντες. ἀλλὰ τί πάθοιεν φιλίᾳ μεριζόμενοι καὶ ἀπεχθεῖα καὶ τῷ
 τινὲς εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῦ ὄντως ἀποσυλῶμενοι; τὸ δὲ καὶ πλέον ἤπερ αὐτοῖς
 35 ὁ σκοπὸς ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἀσύγνωστον καὶ τὸ τῶν αἰρετιζόντων ὀλε-
 θριώτερον· ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ἀσθενεῖα γνώμης ὁ κράτιστον ἔγνω-
 σαν τῶν δογμάτων ἀντείχοντό τε τούτου καὶ διὰ βίου ἠσπάσαντο, ἀμέλει
 μεταμαθόντες τὸ κρεῖττον τῆς ὀψὲ τάχιστα γεγονάσι διορθώσεως· οἳ δὲ
 καὶ τὸ καλὸν δοκιμάζοντες καὶ τοῖς κατεγνωσμένοις ἀδιαφόρως ἐναπο-

μένοντες οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα ἑαυτοῖς θεῖον ἔλεον οὐκ ἀπέκλεισαν. τίς γάρ
 ἔτι, κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν μέγαν φάναι διδάσκαλον, περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολεί-
 πεται θυσία τοῖς αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν πεποιηκόσιν ἐπίσπαστον;

7. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ εἰς τί μοι λέγειν πολλὰ καὶ μακρὰ, ἐνὸν τὸ τοῦ λό-
 γου κεφάλαιον παραθέμενον πραγμάτων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ
 5 τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμῃ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλέον δολοῦν καλὸν ἀνακρινάντα
 κακῶ, καὶ πρᾶγμα καπηλεύειν χρηστὸν βεβήλων παρεισφθορᾶ τὸ ἱερὸν
 τοῦ λόγου νοθεύοντα; ποθεῖς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τούτων ἥτις ἀκούσαι καὶ
 ὅπως ὀνομαζόμενοι ἱερεῖς τούτοις ἐάλωσαν; ἀλλὰ φθόνος οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπι-
 τηδεύμασι τούτων προσχόντα τὸν νοῦν ἔτι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμφι- 10
 γνοεῖν. οἱ γὰρ τὰ αἰσχίστα ἑαυτοῖς μοχθηρᾶ περιποιησάμενοι γνώμῃ
 καὶ τὴν χεῖρῳ περὶ ἑαυτῶν δόξαν οἱς ἐτόλμησαν βεβαιώσαντες τοῖς ὑπὸ
 χεῖρα, τί οὐκ ἂν δράσαιεν τῶν ὁμοίων τῆς ἐξουσίας πρὸς ταῦτα παρα-
 καλούσης; ὁ γὰρ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ σχολιὸς σχολῆ γ' ἂν [εἶ] τοῦ κρείττονος
 εἰσηγουμένου τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀπόσχοιτο· καὶ ὁ μηδεμιᾶ χάριτι εἰ 15
 μὴ καὶ μέμψει τῶν κρατούντων κακός, πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπος ἔσται τοῦ κρείτ-
 τονος οἰόμενος θεραπείαν τὸ δρώμενον; καὶ ὁ μηδὲν εἰς ἀπολογίαν τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ κακοπραγίας παριστᾶν ἔχων, ὁμῶς τοῖς ἀπαισίσις ἐπιχειρῶν, τίς
 ἂν γένοιτο περὶ ταῦτα ἐπ' ἂν καὶ τὸ δεσπόζον ἐλπίσῃ συνηγοροῦν κατα-
 κτήσασθαι; ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτοῦ προσοφλήσειν τοῖς ἐπιεί- 20
 γουσι τῶν σπουδαζομένων, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐγκαλούμενοι
 εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀναφέρειν τῶν κυριευόντων κατάστασιν· πέρας τὸ προ-
 τεθὲν ἅπαν ἀπέληφε δεξιὸν καὶ κατ' ἐλπίδα ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὡς
 ἢ ἐπαγγελία πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανάγεσθαι.

2 Heb. 10, 26

14 σχολῆ: σχολή cod. si secl.

3.

Τῷ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

1. Πολὺς ὁ λόγος, χρηστότατε βασιλεῦ, πειρώμενος ἡμᾶς θορυ-
 βεῖν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν προσποιούμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνούσῃ ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν προ-
 κειμένων ἐνοστάσει, διχῆ τε διαιρούμενος (138v) οὗτος, καθ' ὅσον οἱ
 5 τῆς ὑπονοίας πατέρες ταῖς περὶ ἡμῶν ἐπέστησαν ὑπολήψεσι καὶ δὴ καὶ
 τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὑμῶν σαλευόμενον κράτος, οἷς οὗτοι κυκᾶν ἔγνωσαν, τὴν
 χεῖρονα βραθεύειν ἡμῖν γνώμην ἴσως οὐ κατοκνεῖ· δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ παρὰ
 τοῦ ἀντιδίκου λόγου λόγος ἐλεῖν τὸν ἀκρατὴν ἂν μόνον ὑπῆ τι τῶν
 θέλγειν εἰδόντων τὸν ἐπαύοντα. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρόθεν εὐμοιρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε

μη μόνον τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν τισιν ἐξελεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς εὐγνώμονα ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἀκοήν, ᾧ τὸ πᾶν κατορθοῦται τῷ λέγοντι, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ θείοις ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ὑψιβρεμέταις ἀνδράσιν ἰκανῶς τε τὰ βᾶθη κατοπεύειν τοῦ πνεύματος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα καθεῖναι βῆθμον καὶ ἀπλοῦν
 5 καθεστῶτα καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ἀσυλλόγιστον; πλὴν οὐκ ἀποκνητέον πρὸς τὴν ἐγγείρησιν· δώσει γὰρ εὖ οἶδα λόγον ἐκεῖνος οὗτος ὃς οἶδε καὶ πέτραν ἀκρότομον εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων ἀναστομοῦν ἵνα διψῶντα κορέσῃ λαόν, κωφόν τε καὶ δῦσκιον λαλίστατον τίθεσθαι, καὶ μαθητὰς ἀγραμμάτους ῥητόρων δεινῶν εὐγλωττοτέρους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ
 10 γνώμης εὐλάβεια τὴν προθυμίαν περιχροτεῖ ἀλλὰ μὴ πάθος ἀνθρώπινον τὸν λογισμὸν ὑποτρέχον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποκινῆ.

2. Αἷς μὲν οὖν αἰτίαις οἱ φιλάδελφοι τῷ ὄντι ἔσαι ἡμέραι συχναιῖς ἡμᾶς βᾶλλουσι καὶ δὴ πείθουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἕσοις ἀρέσκειν σπουδῆ, οὐδεὶς ἔστι σχεδὸν τῶν τῆς Χριστοῦ μερίδος ὃς ἀγνοεῖ. διχῆ γὰρ οὗτοι,
 15 ἧ καὶ φθάνομεν εἰρηκότες, σχιζόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἀλογίαν ἡμῶν καὶ φρενῶν παρακοπήν κατεσκέδασαν ἕσοις τὰ χρησιώτερα περὶ ἡμῶν ἔδοξεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τρόπων κακεντρεχεῖα καὶ πανουργία κεχρηῆσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐνδιέβαλλον ἕσοις ἐνήγεν ἧ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς σκαιότης καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησίον ἦθη τεκμαίρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν παρανοίας ὑπέχω γραφήν, τίς οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν νόσον
 20 αὐθαίρετος ὡς μὴ ἐλέψ τὸ κακὸν ἐποικτίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δίκην καλεῖν καὶ τούτων εὐθύνας εἰσπράττειν ὧν οὐκ αὐτὸς τις κακοδαιμονία δ' ἔστι κύριος; πανουργίας δὲ καὶ τρόπων σκαιότητος κατὰ τοσοῦτον (θεὸς ἔφορος τοῦ λόγου) τὸ ὑπαλλάττον ἡμῖν, καθ' ἕσον αὐτὸς τε τὸ τοῦ ἦθους ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἄδολον περιπεποιήμαι ἑμαυτῷ καὶ τούτους ἀεὶ προκρίνω
 25 τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς φιλίαν ἀρμόζομαι οἷς οὐ καρδία σκαμβή, τὸ τοῦ ψάλλοντος, ψυχῆ δὲ πᾶσιν εὐλογουμένη ἀπλή· τεκμήριον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ πᾶσιν ἐκκεχυμένως καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἔχειν εὐπρόσοδόν τε τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι παρέχεσθαι ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς τραχεῖς καὶ ἀκανθώδεις καὶ δυσπροσίτους ὡς ἄγος ἐκτρέπεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα, φέρε λόγον ὑπόσχωμεν ἤδη
 30 ἐφ' ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἀφώρμηται, περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ἐξ ἐπιρρείας ἡμῖν ἐπεμβαινουσιν, ὡς ἂν εἶδειεν οἱ τε τῷ πνεύματι πλανώμενοι σύνεσιν καὶ οἷς ἀπάτη παράγεσθαι τοῦ ὀρθοῦ μεμηχάνηται εἰρηνικὸν ἐπιβλέφειαν οὗτοι καὶ φίλιον, ἂν ἄρα καὶ βούλωνται, τοῖς ἐνδιαβαλλομένοις, ἐπεὶ περ ἀγαθωσύνην διώκουσιν (139Γ). εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτο,
 35 ἔτοιμος ὑπομένειν πᾶσαν κακότητα οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ὃς ἠδρασμαι καὶ πέποιθα τοῖς ἑμοῖς λόγοις καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ συναπελθεῖν τούτοις εὐχῆς ἔργον εἶδέναι, καλὸν ἐντάφιον τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας παθεῖν ἑαυτῷ μνώ-

μενος, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ σοφὸν ἔγνωκα, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, κράτιστον ὄμιν
 πρὸ θεοῦ φάναί· εἰσηγήσασθαι, καὶ τολμηρῶς μὲν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπανερέσθαι·
 πότερα, τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον ὑποτείνειν κελεύεις τὸν λόγον ἢ τοῦ
 ἡδέος γινόμενον; καὶ μοι δοκεῖν ὅς ἀλήθειαν καλεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἔγνω-
 κας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μόνῃ τὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἀποσαλεύεις ἐλπίδας τῆς ἀλη- 5
 θείας ἐρεῖν. διὸ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς προθύμως τὰ ἐξῆς μετελεύσομαι, μηδὲν
 ταπεινὸν ἢ δοῦλον ἢ βωμολόχον ὑποδύομενος ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἀρχιερεῖ θεοῦ
 τε προσῆκεν εἰπεῖν καὶ βασιλέα που ἐπακοῦσαι· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἄτοπον
 ἀρχιερεῖ θεοῦ λόγοι πολλοῦ τὸ πρὸς χάριν τιμώμενοι καὶ βασιλεῖ πά-
 λιν τὸ πρὸς κολακείαν ἀποκλίνον ἐκλέγεσθαι. 10

3. Αἱ μὲν οὖν τυραννίδες τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῷ ἡδεῖ ἑαυταῖς τοὺς ὑπὸ
 χεῖρα διάγουσαι δουλικῇ τῇ λατρείᾳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον καθυβρίζουσι, αἷς
 δὲ τὸ ὑπήκοον τῇ τῶν γνησίων παίδων ἀνείληπται τάξει καὶ ἀναφέρεται,
 βασιλείας ταύτας καλεῖν ἀνθρώποις νενομίσται καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος αὐτῶν τὸ
 τῶν ὑπεξουσίων συμφέρον προκρίνειν πεπίστευται. εἰ μὲν οὖν εὐκο- 15
 σμίας τοῦ ὑπηκόου τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ βασιλεῖ μέλει, σιγάσθω τὰ τῶν ὑπε-
 ρορίων γάμων καὶ παντελεῖ λήθη παραδιδόσθω, ὡς ἂν ἡδονὴ τε παρευ-
 δοκιμοίη καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ μὴ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἢ τοῦτο παράκλησις εἰς τὴν
 ὁμοίαν τῶν κυριευόντων κατάστασιν τὴν μίμησιν ἀναφέροντι. εἰ δ' ἄσθε-
 νεῖ τὸ ἐπίταγμα, πάλιν ἐγὼ πενθῶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζων πορεύσομαι καὶ 20
 τῷ λυπεῖν βουλομένῳ ἐκκείσομαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρόφασις τὸ πρᾶγμα παι-
 δοποιίας, ᾧ θρόνος τε βασιλείας κοσμηθεὶς καὶ κληρὸς πατρικὸς ἀνα-
 δεχθείη, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὄρω τίς ὁ λόγος μὴ τοῖς τῷ κρείττονι δεδογ-
 μένοις ἀγαπᾶν στέργειν ἀλλὰ βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἀβίαστον, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ
 ὄντος ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς πιστόν τι καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον κα- 25
 τιδεῖν, ἐν μέσοις δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς χρηστοτέροις τὸ τῶν συμφορῶν παρα-
 θυόμενον σκυθρωπὸν, ἐστ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ φθάνον τὴν εὐημερίαν τὸ ἀνιῶν,
 ἐφ' οἷς μετάνοια μὲν τῶν προδιωκομένων, ἀνόγητος δὲ ὁ τῆς ὑστεροβου-
 λίας μετᾶμελος, οὐκέθ' οἷου τέ τινος ὄντος τὸ γεγεννημένον ἀνακαλέσα-
 σθαι. ἔπειτα δέ, τίς ἀνάγκη μὴ χάριν εἰδότα τῷ παρασχόντι τὴν ὦν 30
 ἐπεθυμήσαμεν κτῆσιν αὐθις τὸ ὑπηρετησάμενον ἀποπέμψασθαι. καθάπερ
 τὸ πλοῖον ὃ τὸν πλοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοδαπῆς διεπόρθμευσεν, εἰ
 βούλει καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ὅσα τέως αὐτοὺς ἐμαιεύσατο καὶ πρὸς ἀκμὴν
 ἐπανήγαγε περιδλήματα; παρακατέχοντα δέ, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀχαριστίας καὶ
 φιληδονίας ὑπέχειν ἐπίκλημα καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶ, κατηγο (139v) 35
 ροῦντα δὲ Ἄβραᾶμ τῷ ἐπὶ Ἄγαρ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ παλαιῷ ὑποδείγματι, τὴν
 μὲν ἀποπεμπόμενον μετὰ τέκνωσιν, τὸν δὲ τιθῆναι μὴ ἀπειπάμενον.

4. Δέον κρατεῖν ἡδονῆς καὶ μὴ τὸ κρεῖττον καθυβρίζειν τῷ χεῖρο-
 νι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ θυμοῦ κυριεύων, πάθους οὐ βίαςτου πρὸς κατοχὴν οὐδ'
 εὐκόλως τῷ τοῦ λόγου σφιγγόμενον χαλινῷ, τὰς ἀγῆρως κεκλήρωσαι
 παρὰ πάντων τιμάς, οὕτω γὰρ καὶ θατέρας τῶν περὶ ἀφῆν κρατῶν ἡδο-
 5 νῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα λογισμὸν ἐπιφαίνειν, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ ὀχλή-
 ματι κεχρημένον καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραποδώδεσι πάθεσι δεσποτικῶς ἄγαν καὶ
 ἐμβριθῶς ἐπιτάττοντα. οὐ τί ἂν εἴη εὐδαιμονέστερον; οὕτω με πείσεις
 εὐμενῶς ἐπιθλέπειν τῷ χρῆζοντι καὶ ὁ τούτῳ φίλον προχειρότατον
 κατανοεῖν, οὕτω θεοῦ τοῖς σκηνώμασιν ἐναυλίζειν ὧν οἱ λεπρωῖνες
 10 πόρρω που ἀπελαύνονται. ὅς γὰρ τῶν βιαιοτέρων κρατῶν ἠτιτᾶται τοῖς
 χεῖροσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος ἦντινα μέμψιν οὐχ ὑποδύσεται, μαλακίας
 φημί καὶ ἐθελοκακίας καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο τῶν περὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ἐκλυσιν
 ἐνστρεφομένων. ὅτι δὲ θυμὸς δυσαγωγότερον ἡδονῆς παντὶ τῷ δῆλον τῷ
 καὶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσαντι· οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιοῦντι καθίστανται τὸ ὑπάρ-
 15 ξαν ἀλλ' ἐπεισοδιώδη καὶ ἐξωθεν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπάγεται, τοῦτο τὸ δυσ-
 πειθέστερον ἀναντιρρήτως κεκλήρωται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡσαύτως τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν
 καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν κρατεῖν περιγίνεται. ταύτη τοι καὶ τις τῶν θύραθεν
 σοφιστῶν τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τῶν κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμαρτανομένων ἀσυγγνωστό-
 20 ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ βραζιώνην ἔχειν καὶ μαλακίαν κατατιτάσασθαι.

5. Ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας σφριγῶν ἐμποδῶν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ καταστήσεται
 λόγου, τρυφή τε καὶ ἀδρότης ἢ τοῖς βασιλείοις φιλεῖ ἐναυλίζεσθαι; ἐγὼ
 δ' ἂν εἰ μὲν μηδένα βασιλέων ἐώρων καὶ νέον καὶ τρυφῇ διαρρέοντα,
 ὁμῶς τὸν μὲν ἐφ' ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῷ χαλινῷ τοῦ λόγου τὸ τῆς νεότητος σφρι-
 25 γῶν εὐείκτως κατάγξαντα, τὸν δὲ καὶ ἐφέντα μὲν, μέχρι δὲ δευτέρου λέ-
 χους τὴν γαμικὴν ἀπειπάμενον ὀμιλίαν, ἡξίου ἂν λόγου τὴν ἀνθυπο-
 φοράν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ τῷ ἐνὶ ἀπολήξαντες γάμφ, ὧν Ἄρκά-
 διός τε καὶ ὁ τούτου ἐκφύς Θεοδόσιος, ὀλίγοι δὲ μάλα ἅσοι τῷ δευτέρῳ
 μόνῳ τοῦς τῆς ζωῆς περιέστειλαν ὄρους, τί ἂν ἔτι δρῶντες καὶ τίς ὁ
 30 λόγος ἡμῖν εὐπρόσωπος εἰς ἀποφυγὴν ὑπολείποιτο; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ μὴ
 τρυφᾶν τούτους παριστᾶν ἔχομεν, πολλῷ μόντοι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ κο-
 σμίου ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ τῷ τοῦ ὑπὸ χεῖρα μηδαμῶς ἐπιμώμους καθίστα-
 σθαι. τί δαί; κρυφίας αὐτοῦς οὐ τις καθαρεύειν διατείνεται ἀκρασίας;
 τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἂν πάνυ διατειναίμην, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἱερεῦσι θεοῦ γὰρ σχολή
 35 τοῖς τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν τραυμάτων ἔλκεσι προσκαθῆσθαι, μυῖων γὰρ ἔργα
 μετερχομένοις, ἀλλ' ὅτι τούτων μέλει μελέτω· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ τί (140r)
 καταφαίνεται τῶν βελτιόνων οὐδ' ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων μὴ τί γὰρ δὴ βασι-

4-5 cf. Aristotelis Eth. Nic. 1150a9; Plat. Phaedr. 246, Resp. 439-43.
 18 Aristotelis Eth. Nic. 1150a31.

λέας κατὰ τὰ αἰσχίω φιλοκρινεῖν. ὡς δ' ἂν ἔχω περὶ τούτου, καὶ οὐδὲ
 φαύλως οἶμαι, δηλώσω τῷ λόγῳ. κράτιστον μὲν πάντα τινὰ θρους περι-
 θαλλόμενον ταῖς ὕρξεσι μηδὲν ὅλως ταύταις ἐφείναι, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα
 ἀνάγκη, τὸ δὲ περιττὸν ἀποπέμπεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡσπερ τι τῶν τῆς
 ἀρχῆς παρασῆμων ἦδη καὶ τρυφή καὶ ἀθρότης ἐξαίρετα βασιλεῖ· τοῦ
 ναντίον μὲν οὖν· εἰ μέλλει μὴ διακένῳ σεμνύνεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι, πόνοις
 καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις προσδαπανῆσεται καὶ φροντίσιν ἐφ' ἧ τὸ λυσιτελέστα-
 τον τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀνευρήσειν. εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ ὑπερόριον ἐξηγήθη, δεδόσθω
 γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἔντονον ὅποι παρείκοι
 καταλύοντι ὡς ἂν μὴ τῇ ἄγαν ἐντάσει ὡσπερ τῶν τόξων τὰ διηνεκῶς 10
 ἐντεινόμενα χωρῆ πρὸς τὸ ἄχρηστον, αὐτῷ μόνῳ περιῖσταν τὸ κακὸν
 τῷ τῆς αἰσχύνης λανθάνοντι, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ πᾶσι τὸ ἀτοπον ἐξορχήσασθαι
 διπλῶ τῶν αἰτιαμάτων περιστοιχίζεσθαι, ἧ τε αὐτὸς ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ
 ἧ τοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς ζῆλον ἠρέθισε· σωφρόνων δὲ οἶμαι τῶν τ' ἀγαθῶν
 ἐκλέγεσθαι τὰ πλείω τε καὶ βαρύτερα, κὰν τοῖς κακοῖς τὰ μείονα καὶ 15
 κουφότερα. ἀλλ' εἰ γάμον φῆσει τις τοῦτο φημίσαντα καὶ καινίσαντα
 τοῦ αἰσχύου ἀπαλλάξαι τε καὶ καθᾶραι, ἦν ἂν ἐγὼ φαίην τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ
 βούλημα σύνδρομον, εἰ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι μετεστοιχειοῦτο τὰ πράγματα·
 νῦν δὲ δέδοικα μὴ καὶ κενοσπουδίας ἀλῶμεν· μέχρις γὰρ ἂν ἦ τὰ πράγ-
 ματα πάγια, μηδὲν συντελούντων εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων τῇ φύσει, 20
 μάταιον ἢ σπουδῆ· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ τις πίθηκον εἰς λέοντα μετακαλέσει,
 ἀποχρῶσαν εὖρεν αὐτίκα τῇ προθέσει τὴν βούλησιν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ
 ἐξέστη τῆς ὄψεως ἦν φύσεως, τὸ δὲ ὡσπερ κἀνταῦθα αὖραι, τὸ τοῦ λό-
 γου, ὑπολαβοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἐξεφύσησαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιποῦσαι τῷ
 πράγματι· ἦ τὸ ἀναίδην καὶ ἀπηρυθριακότης τῷ βίῳ ἐμπολιτεῦεσθαι. 25

6. Τί ἔτι; οἱ φιλόανθρωποι τῷ ὄντι καὶ συμπαθεῖς ἡμῖν ἔξουσιν
 οἰκονόμοι τῆς Ἰησοῦ μακροθυμίας, τὸ ἀνεξίκακον πνέοντες καὶ τὸ ἀπη-
 γνὲς ἡμῖν καὶ αὐθαδὲς καὶ σκληρὸν ὀνειδίζοντες. τὸ γοῦν εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν
 τούτοις περίεστι· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἂν οἰκονομικοὶ καὶ
 φιλόανθρωποι εἰ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐνέμειναν ὕψει, μηδὲν τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων 30
 ὑποποιούμενοι καὶ τοῖς οἰκονομουμένοις τὸ συμφέρον ἐκλέγοντες· νῦν
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ἀπεγνωσμένως διαγενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ τίμια τῶν
 κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπισφαλῶς λιχνευόμενοι καὶ τῇ Σίμωνος δωροδοκίᾳ οὕτω
 γε δὴ ἀλισκόμενοι τῆς συμπαθείας γεγονάσιν, οὐχ ἵνα τινὰς σώσωσιν
 — πῶς γὰρ, οἳ γε ἑαυτοὺς ἐξωλέκασι τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀκριβὲς 35
 διαφθεύραντες καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄδυστα βουλομένῳ ἀναπετάσαντες; ἀλλ'

8 ἐξηγήθη supra δεδόσθω scriptum

11 χωρῆ: χωρεῖ cod.

ἵνα τὸ τοῦ γάμου ἀνύδριστον χράναντες πάντα σχεδὸν βλάψωσιν, εἰ γε
 τὸ κρεῖττον τοῦ χείρονος διδασκάλιον εἰς τὸν τοῦ προεστῶτος ζῆλον
 αἰεὶ καταφεύγοντος· οὐδ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις μικρά τις
 ἰσως (140ν) καὶ οὐ καιρία προσγέναιτο βλάβη τῇ καινοτομίᾳ, ὅς λόγος
 5 οἰκονομίας, μεγίστη δὲ τῷ οἰκονομουμένῳ ἢ σωτηρία καὶ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσι
 ζηλωτὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον, ἀλλ' ἔν' αὐτοῖς μὲν τὰ αἰσχίῳ περιποιηθεῖη
 ὅσα τε κατὰ σῶμα, ὅσα περὶ ψυχὴν ἕρια πατέρων μετακινουσὶν αἰῶνια
 καὶ τῇ πλήξει τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνειδήσεως εἰς Χριστὸν ἀμαρ-
 τάνουσι, τῷ δ' οἰκονομουμένῳ ψυχῆς ὀλεθρος τῆς πολιτείας μετατιθέντι
 10 θεσμόν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστία καὶ καταφρόνησις οὐ καθ'
 ἱερέας ἠρώσι διαγενομένους τῷ πράγματι, βωμολόχῳ δὲ χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ
 τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηλεύοντας, οὔτε Καίσαρι τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰδότες ἀπο-
 διδόναι, οὐ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ θεὸν μὲν παρὰ φαῦλον θεμέ-
 νους τὸ πᾶν δὲ μετακλιθέντας εἰς Καίσαρα. ἐξ οὗ τί γίνεται; ἐπεσθαι
 15 μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεῷ, ἀνθρώποις δὲ διδαχθῆναι θεὸν, καὶ ἡδο-
 νὴν μὲν νικᾶν, ἠττάσθαι δὲ ἀρετήν. καὶ ταῦτα πότε; ὀπηγίκα τῇ θαι-
 μασίᾳ καὶ ἀνθρωπόφρονι αὐτῶν ἐνστάσει καὶ διαστάσει μέχρι ῥημάτων
 ψιλῶν τὸ σεμνὸν ἐπιδειγμένη καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἦσον τὸ ἄγος καὶ οἶον ἀπα-
 σιν ὑπογράψαι τὸν ὀνικὸν μύλον ἑαυτοῖς προσπορίζοντας, κύνας τε ἐπὶ
 20 τὸ ἴδιον ἀπέραμα ἀναστρέψαι καὶ συλληφθῆναι τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν
 αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀμαρτωλόν, ὥσπερ ἀνέγνωμεν.

7. Ἄλλὰ πατέρες τῷ πράγματι συνηγορήσουσι τοὺς οὕτω σφα-
 λέντας ὑποτιμώμενοι, οἷς καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔψονται, πατέρες τῷ ἀμεί-
 νονι μεταχρωννύμενοι καὶ πλαττόμενοι; ἀπλοῦς ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὲν παρά-
 25 κλησιν οἶσθα πρὸς ἀμαρτίαν τοὺς θεοφόρους τὸ ἐπιτίμιον γράφοντας.
 οὐδὲν μὲν ἐγὼ λέγων κατέλημμαι, λευκὴν δὲ τὴν ψῆφον ὃ ταῦτα πρε-
 σβεύων ἀποίσεται. εἰ δ' ὅπερ φόβος, ὃ κόλασις καὶ ἀποτροπὴ τοῦ κακοῦ
 καὶ πᾶν ὃ σωφροσύνης χαλινὸς βούλεται, τίς οὕτω τὸ ἀναιδὲς ἐψησκή-
 σατο ὡς ταῦτα μὴ ἐρυθριᾶν, οὐχ ὅπως φημί προτείνειν, ἀλλ', ὃ μετριώ-
 30 τερον, κἂν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἵέναι παραχωρεῖν; εἰ γὰρ ὁ,τι γεγράφασι τοῖς
 ἀπλότῃ καὶ ἀπροσεξίᾳ μᾶλλον δὲ μαλακίᾳ καὶ ἀνοίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν τε-
 τρωμένοις ἐπουλωτικὸν φάρμακον ἀξιοῖς ὃ μέγας διδάσκαλος τούτῳ
 θαρροῦντας μὴ ἀνακρούειν τῷ τοῦ λόγου χαλινῷ μηδ' ἀναχαιτίζειν τὰς
 ἀλόγους ὀρμάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἔτοιμον ἀκεσώδυνον ἀποδλέποντας ἀφειδεῖν
 35 τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἔρμαιον μὲν
 τοῖς ῥαστωνεύουσι τὸν βίον τὰ τῶν κανόνων, αὐτοῖ δ' οἱ πατέρες κακο-
 πολιτείας εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀμωμῆτου πίστεως ἀνατρέ-

ποντες. οὐ τί ἂν ἐμπληκτότερον; ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε καὶ ἰατρικὴν αἰτιά-
σαιτό τις τῶν νόσων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ γνώσει τοῖς ἐπιτιμωμένοις τοῦ
σφάλματος, οὐδὲ πολλῇ πλέον ἐναπομένουσι τῷ μιάσματι, οὐ μετ' ἀπα-
γόρευσι τῶν ἐπιτιμῶν τε (141r) ταγμένων καὶ παρακοῆν τῶν θεοφιλῶν
εἰσηγήσεων (ὁ καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς διαπέπρακται, κἄν ἐκόντες αὐτοὶ ἐπι- 5
λέλησθε) τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ προστέτακται φάρμακα, εἰ μὴ πού γε προ-
αισθανομένους μὲν ἡμᾶςπραχθῆναι ἐξοργίζει τὸ κακόν, πραχθὲν δὲ συν-
ηγόρους καὶ ἐπαινέτας προσλήψεται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πλέον Εὐρύβατος ἔξει
καὶ Κιλίκων εἰς τρόπων φαυλότητα. δι' ἧ γε δὴ πρὸς οἷς μετὰ τῶν τε-
λωνῶν καὶ ἔθνικῶν ἀποθήσεται τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου φρικτῆ ἀποφάσει. ἔτι 10
καὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ Βασιλείου ὁ καταφρονητῆς ἐπακούσεται, ὡς τῶν προτι-
μώντων τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέ-
λιον μὴ καταδεχομένων ζωὴν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ λόγος.

8. Πῶς δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἔτι θαρρήσῃ τοῦτον παρακαλεῖν ἰατρὸν καὶ
χρησθαι τούτῳ ὑγιείας ψυχῆς συνεργῶ, ᾧ μένειν ἐξὸν ἀλωβῆται τοῖς 15
ἱεροῖς εἰκοντα δόγμασιν, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτρέπετο, αὐτῷ μὲν πραγμα-
τευόμενος τὸ ἀσύγνωστον τῇ παροράσει (οὐκέτι γὰρ κατὰ Παῦλον περὶ
ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία τοῖς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν πεποιηκόσιν ἐπίσπα-
στον), ἀφαιρούμενος δὲ τὸν θεραπεύοντα τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ τινα εἶναι
πιστεύεσθαι; καὶ τῷ μὲν τοῖς λεαίνουσι παραχρωμένῳ χρησόμεθα ἰατρῶ, 20
τὸν δὲ τοῖς στύφουσι καὶ τὰς ὀρμὰς ἀποτέμνουσι τῶν ἀισχίστων ἀπο-
διοπομπησόμεθα; καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ νῦν μὲν τὰ σωτήρια συμβουλεύοντι τὸν
νοσὸν οὐ προσέξομεν, συντρέχοντι δὲ τοῖς ἀτόποις τῶν ἔργων ὡς ἀγγέλῳ
Κυρίου πεισόμεθα; καὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὲν δίκαιος ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ
ὡς οὔτε δὴ πολιτικῇ νόμῳ οὔτε πνευματικῇ τὸ δύνασθαι ποριζόμενος· 25
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι τὸν ὑπὸ κριτηρίῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην φανερὰν κατα-
στήσαντα μεταγινώσκει καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι παραδέχεται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ πνεύ-
ματος νόμος καὶ αὐστηροτέρας ὑπάγει ποινὰς ὃν οὐκ ἐλέγχῳ φορῶντα
τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καταλάβοι, συγκρούπτοντα δὲ τῷ πάντως συνήδεσθαι καὶ
συνηγορεῖν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ἐνοχῆς ἀπολύεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ συντρέχοντος ταῦτα, 30
μεταμαθόντος δὲ τὸ θεόν. ἡδὺς ὁ ταῦτα προτείνων ἂν μόνον εὐρήσῃ τὸν
παραγόμενον. καὶ γὰρ δέος ἀστάθμητοι ὄντες καὶ Εὐριπόν τινες καὶ ἀμ-
πώτιδες μὴ πάλιν ἐτέρως ὑπαναγνώσωνται τοὺς νόμους τοῖς παρατυ-
χοῦσι μεταλλοιούμενοι, καὶ Σησιχόρειον ἄσωσι μέλος πολλά τὴν ἀπλό-
τητα κτακερτομήσαντες. 35

9. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἐπάσιον ἡμῖν ἐπιστήσουσι φέροντες καὶ τὸ κατ'
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἀναμοχλεύσουσιν ἔργον, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῷ μετὰ

9 Gaisford Paroem. gr. 43, 51 10 Matth. 18, 17 11 PG 32
col. 808 B 18 Heh. 10, 26 36 cf. Theophanem ed. de Boor 470, 25-28

χειρα συμβαλλόμενον πράγματι, εἰ γε τὸ μὲν δεύτερον ὑπισχνεῖτο γάμον, ὃ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις εἰ καὶ βραχέσιν ἄγαν αὐτοκράτοροι προδιδήνυστο, καὶ νόμῳ βοηθουμένοις πολιτικῶ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος κατὰ δεύτερόν φασι πλοῦν τῷ ἀσθενεῖ (141ν) τῆς φύσεως συγγιγνώσκουσι· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον οὐ κατὰ παροιμίαν οὐτ' ἄλλω τινὶ λόγῳ προσευπρούμενον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπεγίνωσκον μηδὲν με πλεόν τὴν κατ' αὐτὸ ἱστορίαν συνεπισχύουσαν, ἔφερον ἂν πρῶως τὸν λόγον· ἔως δ' ἂν κάκεινον ὄρω τὸν καιρὸν πολλὰ πράγματα τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι ταύτῃ γε δὴ παρασχόμενον τῇ περιπετεῖα καὶ οὐπω παυσάμενον πρότερον τὸ κακὸν μέχρις ἂν εὐλόγῳ τὸ προσουνοικουῦν αἰτιάματι ἐκβεβλήσθαι τῷ φαρμακείαις ὑπορύττειν τὸν γάμον ἐλέγχετο, εἰς ἀέρα, τὸ παροιμιώδες, δέρειν φημί τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ μοιχείαν ἀναιδεύσαιτό τις τῷ πράγματι παρομαρτεῖν καὶ τούτου Ταράσιον τοῖς προκειμένοις φωρᾶσαι, ὃ καὶ συγγνώμη ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς τετίμηκεν ἐκκλησία. παρήμι τὰς ἀπεχθείας ὑποβλεπόμενος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί δεῖ πατέρων αἰσχύνῃ ἀνακαλύπτειν καὶ ἀτιμία πατρὸς ἐναδρύνεσθαι, μήτε τῷ Χάμ σωφρονιζόμενον ἀτοπήματι, μὴ τοὺς θεῖους θεσμοὺς εὐλαβούμενον, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς νόμους ἀνάγειν πειρᾶσθαι ἃ καὶ μόνον ὑποτρέχοντα τῇ μνήμῃ ἐχρῆν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστία σεμνύνειν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τὰ πρὸ Εὐκλείδου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ τινος ἐμπήρῳ πατὴρ ἐχρήσατο σώματι ἤδη καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ἔχειν νοῦν ἔχων τις ἀξιώη, ὅτι μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς παραγομένους ἢ τοῦ αἵτιου μεταβαίνειν πέφυκε λύθη· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔστηκε μέχρις ἐκείνου, τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ἢ τυχοῦσα φυλακὴ μὴ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀλῶναι πηρώμασιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μόνον ὑπεῖδοντο ὡς ἀφυκτον τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἀπαξ ἀλόγτες τῷ ἐκ προγόνων πηρώματι ἀνάγκη τοῦτο πολλὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνων λυμάνεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἴ τι καλὸν τῶν πατέρων ζηλῶν τὸ περιττὸν ἐγκαλύπτομαι εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν θεῶ τοῦτο ὑπερτιθέμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ Παῦλον τὸν μέγαν ἀκούω μιμῆσθαι παρεγγυῶντα ἑαυτὸν οὐ κατὰ τὴν Τιμοθέου περιτομὴν οὐδ' εἴ τι φρονῶν ἄλλο ἀνθρώπινον ἐξηγύσατο, ἀλλ' ὃ Χριστὸν αὐτὸ μιμησάμενος πεπραγμάτευται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σκοποῦντι, ὃ μόνον λοιπὸν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων καταληφθεῖεν οὐχ ἱεροὶ πατέρες, οὐ νόμοι πολιτικοὶ διατάγματα γράφοντες· ποῦ γὰρ τις τούτων ῥητῶς τέταρτον κατινόμασε γάμον, εἰ μὴ ποῦ τις γελοίως δέος ἐπιφημίση τοῖς νομοθέταις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου, καθάπερ φασὶ τῆς τριάδος τοῖς δαίμοσι; τούναντίον μὲν οὖν εἰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀνακαθάραντες τῇ τοῦ τρίτου διαβολῇ τὸ ἐχόμενον πάμπαν ἀπεσκοράκισαν, Βασιλείῳ δὲ

3 Aristotelis Eth. Nic. 1109a 35 11 Eustath. 1215, 50 16 Gen. 9, 22; Lev. 18, 7 26 ζηλῶν in marg. ἔξωθεν τὸ ζηλοῦν 28 Acta 16, 3; Gal. 5, 2-11; cf. PG 101, col. 537 C. 29 Cor. 11, 1 36 cf. Zepos Jus gr. rom. 2, 128

τῷ σοφῷ τὸν ὑπερεκπεσόντα τὸ μέτρον τῆς διγαμίας οὐκέτι τῷ τοῦ γάμου προσρήματι σεμνύνειν δοκεῖ. ὁ τοιγαροῦν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνακάρθαρσις νόμων τῇ τοῦ προηγουμένου γάμου ὕβρει καὶ ἀποτρίψει ἀτοπώτατον ἀνεδίδαξε καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον πατέρων στόματα θεολόγων τὸ μὲν τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ὡς ῥύπασμά τε εἶδε καὶ ἐλογίσατο, τὸ δὲ ὡς γένους ὑπερό(142r)ριον ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ συμφῶ συναγόμενον λήθη παντελεῖ ἐμωμήσατο, τούτου κατ[άρ]ξαι σοί, τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοκράτορι, κακοδαιμόνως προσνεῖμαι ἄγαν εὐλαδῶς διακειμένος ἐπέχω, καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τὴν τοιαύτην ψῆφον τε καὶ ἐνστασιν ἑαυτῷ κρατυνόμενος.

10. Κἀγὼ μὲν οὕτως· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ τοσοῦτον φιλῶν μὲν βασιλέα ὥστε τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συνεργεῖν, διαβέβληται δὲ τοῖς θεοφόροις πατράσι, δικάσει τῇ ἀνυπερβλήτῃ ταύτῃ φιλίᾳ εὐ οἶδα καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ, τῆς χρείας ἀπολούμενος καὶ τὸ πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου διαπορευόμενον πῦρ, ὃ καὶ τὰς τῶν διδασκάλων οἰκοδομὰς δοκιμάσει καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεμελίου Χριστοῦ ἀναξίας ἐκδαπανήσει, κἀμὲ τὸν κατάπτυστον Ἰσως τῇ φωτιστικῇ αὐτοῦ καταστράψει· δυνάμει μὲχρις αἵματος ἀντικαταστάντα πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἀνεπιστάτως καινοτομούμενα. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, σοφώτατε βασιλεῦ· εἰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἡγῆνται πατέρας τὸ προκειμένον ὑποτιμωμένους, χρήσθωσαν τῇ τούτων ὑποτιμήσει· μηδὲν ἕλως ὑπεδλεπόμενοι, καὶ οἰκονομία μηκέτι τὸ πρᾶγμα καλεῖσθω εἰς τὴν τῶν πατέρων κρίσιν ἀναπεμπόμενον. εἰ δ' ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς συνδοκεῖ, σχολαζέτωσαν οἰκονομίαι· ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἰκονομίαι ἢ εἰκοφθορίαι καὶ οὐσαί τε καὶ ὀνομαζόμεναι. οἱ γὰρ μὴ κρίσει· λελογισμένοι ἐξανυόμενοι τὰ σωτήρια ἀλλ' ἀρεσκεία, τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποσκοποῦντες τιμὰς, τοῦ φόβου λαθόντες Κυρίου, παίζουσι μὲν πολὺ πρότερον ἑαυτοὺς ὀλέθριον παιδιάν, εἰς μάτην δὲ τὸ διδόμενον τῷ λαμβάνοντι ψιλῇ γλώσσει καὶ ἀραιοῖς τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐκπτύμενον.

11. Ἐχεις τὴν ἡμετέραν, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀπολογίαν καὶ οὐδὲ φλύην οἶμαι ἢ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὸ ἦττον ἔχουσαν ἀποφέρεισθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ δρᾶσαι οἶαν τε πᾶν ὅ,τι καὶ βούλοιτο ψυχὴν, μηδὲν ταπεινὸν ἢ καταβεβλημένον ἐννοουμένην μηδ' ὅπερ βασιλικῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ κράτους τοῦ ἀνωθεν συνιεῖσαν ἀνάξιον. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν κατ' εὐχῆς ἔργον χωροῖη τὰ πράγματα, τῇ γνώμῃ σὺνδρομος ὁ λόγος καὶ χάρις θεῶν· εἰ δ' ὅ πᾶς τις τῶν βελτιόνων ἀπεύξαιτο, ἐμοὶ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ὅση δύναμις ἀφωσίωται καὶ πρὸς ἀθώωσιν ἀφορᾷ τὰ τῆς πράξεως ὃ θεῖος χρησμός ὑποβάλλεται· εἰ τι δ' ἀντιπαῖον τῷ λόγῳ, τῇ τῶν ἀκροατῶν εὐγνωμοσύνη τοῦτο προσανακείσεται.

1 PG 32 col. 673 A 17-18 *ibid.* coll. 732 C, 805 A - B 7 κατ[άρ]ξαι
lectio incerta 35 ὁ θεῖος χρησμός in marg: εἰ μὴ ἦλθον καὶ ἐλάλησα
αὐτοῖς, ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχον [Joh. 15, 22]

4.

Τῷ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

1. <A> μὲν οὖν προσῆκε, χρηστότατε βασιλεῦ, κράτει τοσοῦτῃ
 ἡμᾶς τε καθ' ἑρέας εἰπεῖν καὶ σὲ βασιλείῳ παιδρυνόμενον ἀρετῇ ἐπα-
 5 κοῦσαι τοῖς τε φιλανθρώποις καὶ συμπαθέσιν ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῖς εὐγνώμονι
 τρόπῳ καὶ φιλαδέλφῳ γνωρίσαι, τοιαῦτά τε καὶ τοσαῦτα, οὔτε περιττῷ
 καὶ παρέλκοντι τῷ πλήθει τὸ περικορές τε (142v) καὶ ὀχληρὸν ἐπερχό-
 μενα, οὐ τῷ ἀκαίρῳ τε καὶ ἀχρήστῳ πρὸς ματαιότητος ὕβριν μετανι-
 στάμενα, εἴ τι δ' ἑκατέρῳ καλὸν προσλαβόμενα καὶ πλήθει τὸ μέτριον
 10 οὐκ ἐγκαλυπτομένους οἷς τὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ μερίδος σεμνόν τε καὶ ἅγιον
 νόμοις οὐδὲν σαφές ἔχουσι καὶ παραγράφτοις ἢ καὶ πάλαι τεθνηκόσι τῇ
 ἀχρηστίᾳ διαφθείρειν βουλεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐλᾶν,
 τὸ τοῦ λόγου, παρωσαμένους ἐξ αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀμαθίας, μήπω τῆς ἀπὸ
 τῆς κόπης, ὃ δὴ φασί, ταλαιπωρίας ἀπηλλαγμένους, ἐτι πνέοντας ἀντλου
 15 καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἀηδίας, εἰς τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄδυστα παρεισφθείρον-
 τας ἑαυτοὺς πλήρει στόματι κακίας, ἀμαρτωλοὺς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθήκην
 ἀναλαμβάνοντας, μισθόντας παιδείαν, διώκοντας μάταια, χαλινὸν σω-
 φροσύνης ἀποσειομένους, λόγους τῷ ὄντι Βασιλείου φρενός, οὓς εἴ γέ τις
 ὑπὴν σωφροσύνη πόρρωθεν ἔχρῃν ἀκούοντας ἀγαπᾶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πελά-
 20 ζουσιν ἀναιδῶς καὶ στρεβλοῦν οὐ παύονται τολμηρῶς καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω
 ἐκβάλλοντες συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτῶν τῇ αἰσχίῳ· γνώμη βιάζονται· φέρε δὴ
 φέρε, εἴ πως δυναίμην (δυνήσομαι· δ' εὐ οἶδα, καὶ θρόνου διάδοχος ὦν
 καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς τούτου τὸ δύνασθαι ποριζόμενος) καὶ τούτων φωρᾶσαι
 τὸ ἄλογον κάκεινου τὸ ἐρήμην καταδικαιτηθῆναι προσαφελεῖν.

25 2. Φασί γάρ τοι οἱ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα θράσει πολλῶ κινεῖν
 βέροντες ἐπιμελές ὑπάρξαι Βασιλείῳ τῷ θεῷ γράφοντι· Ἀμφιλοχίῳ,
 ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἐκ γειτόνων εἰς τὸν Ἰκονίου δὲ παραγγέλλοντι θρόνον, μάλα
 καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ σεμνότατον τοῖς λογικοῖς θρέμμασι σπουδαζόμενον, τὴν τε
 πολυγαμίαν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείᾳ εἰσκρίνα· βραχεῖ τιτι πλέονι τοῦ δευ-
 30 τέρου περιβαλλομένην εὐθύνη, καὶ τῇ τοῦ τρίτου ὑφέσει πρὸς δέκατον
 γάμον καὶ εἰκοστὸν καὶ ὅποι δ' ἂν τις καὶ βούλοιο παρεκτείνειν, κατὰ τὴν
 Σολομώντειον βδέλλαν ἢ τὴν μυθικὴν ὕδραν τοῦ κόρου καὶ τῆς πονηρᾶς
 βλάστης οὐκ ἀπολήγουσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀλκμήνης [ἦ] τῷ
 Χαλδαίῳ προῦκειτο Σαρδαναπάλῳ γράφειν καὶ ταῦτα ἵπποις καὶ ἡμιό-

2 "A suppl. 19 ὁπῆν Jenkins εἰπεῖν cod. 33 ἦ secl.

νοις νομοθετοῦνται, εἶχον ἂν οὐκ ἀηδῶς τῷ ληρήματι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄνδρες
 μὲν οἱ θεσμοθέται κατὰ πνεῦμα φθειγόμενοι ἀγιωσύνης, Χριστοῦ δὲ
 τάττοντες μερίδι τὸν νόμον καὶ ταύτην ἀσφαλῶς διατάττοντες, ἄρ' οὐχὶ
 τὸ βλάσφημον ὑπερπετές καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ὕδρευς; ἐγὼ
 μὲν οἶμαι, εἴ γε τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνέργειαν δύσφημον τῆς περὶ τὸ ἐνεργ- 5
 γοῦν πονηρᾶς ὑπείξεως ἦττον νεμόμισται. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὗτοι ἐξ ἀρᾶς καὶ
 ψεύδους διαγγελήσονται, τὸ ἄδόμενον, ἐν συντελείᾳ, μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν
 εὐλαδηθέντες, μὴ τὸ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀκολάστως ἐφείναι, ἀμέτρῳ δὲ τινι
 λύσσει τῇ περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον πλεονεξία καὶ τὰ σαρκὸς πάθη (143r) ἐξο-
 μοιούμενοι, ἐκείνος ἂν ἀγνοῆ, ὅς οὐκ ἐφορᾶν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεὸν ἀγνόν 10
 ἡγεῖται καὶ καθαρώτερον, καὶ τσοῦτον αὐτῷ μέλον τοῦ καθαρῶ βίου
 καὶ τοῦτον ἡμῖν βραβεῦσαι καὶ εἰσηγήσασθαι ὡς καὶ παρθένου τόκῳ
 τὴν μετ' ἐμοῦ καινίσαι· ἀναστροφὴν, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι συνεσταλμέ-
 νον τρυφῆς ἐνδεᾶ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης περιπαθοῦς ἀπολαύσεως ἀνειργό-
 μενον, αὐτὸν τε παιδεύειν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι καὶ δὴ καὶ Παῦ- 15
 λον τὸν θεῖον τούτου προστήσασθαι κήρυκα.

3. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως, κακοὶ κακῶς. τίς δ' ἡ παράνοια ἢ λῆρον
 μακρὸν ὠδίνῃσέ τε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἐξ ἀπονοίας τῶν μήθ' ἑαυτοῦς εἰδόντων, μὴ
 περὶ ὧν διαθεβαλοῦνται ἐχόντων τι παριστᾶν εὐλογον, ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν
 ἔλεῖν καὶ προθυμίᾳ καταδαλεῖν μείζονι. ἢ γὰρ τοὶ περὶ τριγᾶμων μελαγ- 20
 χολῶσα διάτασις καὶ πολυγᾶμων, ἢ περ εὐθὺς ἰσχυρίζονται, τῷ συνδέ-
 σμῳ φάσκοντες τὸ πάντῃ διάφορον ὑπεισέρχεσθαι τῶν συναπτομένων, ὡς
 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῇ αὐτῇ τῷ προτέρῳ ὑποτιμήσει ὑπάγεσθαι, οὐ χαλεπὴ
 πρὸς καθάρεισιν τῷ μὴ παρέργως τῆς γραφῆς ἐπακούοντι· πολλὰ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ συνδέσμῳ δοκεῖ μὲν ὑπαλλάττειν τὸ λῆγον πρὸς τὸ 25
 ἡγούμενον, μένει δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον κατὰ χώραν τὰ τῆς ἐννοίας, ὡς τὸ «οἱ
 γηγενεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων» καὶ «ἐγκατέλιπε θεὸς τὸν ποιή-
 σαντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐτοῦ» ἐκδιδάσκει με· εἰ γὰρ
 τοὶ καὶ πλεον εἰσφέρει τὸ ἐπαγόμενον, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ προκειμέ-
 νου ἀπορρηγνύμενον, ὡς περ ἐπὶ τοῦ «οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὸ 30
 ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν». φημί γὰρ κἀγὼ ἐπάγειν μὲν τι διάφο-
 ρον ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῶν πολυγᾶμων ὄνομα, ὄνειδος δέ· οὐ μέντοι γε διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐφ' ἐτέρων πάντῃ φῶμεν ἤδη καὶ πάντως ἐξωθεῖσθαι τὸ διὰ τούτων δη-
 λούμενον· οὐ γὰρ τσοῦτον γνώμης ὁ τσοῦτος ἀνὴρ διημάρτανεν, εἴ γε
 καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐτέροις, οὐ τοῖς τριγᾶμοις νῦν μόνοις, ὁ λόγος ἀρμόζοιτο, ὡς 35
 ἄρτι μὲν λόγῳ φάσκειν τῶν πατέρων τούτους ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι, ἔτι δ' ἐναύ-

5 Matth. 12, 31 7 Ps. 58, 13 16 1 Cor. 7, 29 21 PG 32 col 673 A
 27 Ps. 48, 2; Deut. 32, 15 31 Ps. 148, 4 36 PG 32 col 673 A

λων τῶν ῥημάτων ὑπόντων καὶ τῶν χεῖλεων ῥεόντων τὸν λόγον αὐθις
 εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς μὲν πατράσιν ἀμνηστουμένους ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι μηδὲ-
 λως, γνώμης δ' οἰκείας τοῦ περὶ τούτων κρίσιν καὶ διάγνωσιν ἔχε-
 σθαι. Κοροίθου, βέλτιστε, ταῦτα καὶ Μαργίτου ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐν πάντων
 5 στόμασιν Ἀκκοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνδρὸς ἢ τὰ τε ἄλλα προσεῖναι καλὰ καὶ
 τὸ ἐμφρονέστατον πᾶσιν ἀοιδιμον. πίστις τοῦ λόγου τὸ μηδ' ὡς κατὰ
 πολλῶν τὴν κατὰ ποιότητα τοῦ πράγματος κλησὶν προΐοντα ἐπενεγκεῖν·
 τί γὰρ φησιν «ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον;» καίτοι γε ἔχρην οἶμαι εἰ
 παραλλάττουσαν εἰσηγεν ἐνταῦθα πολυ(143ν)γαμίας τὴν τριγαμίαν,
 10 ὡσπερ μετὰ ταῦτα προθυμηθεῖη, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς ἦετο μὴ καθ' ἐνὸς
 τῶν ὀνομάτων τῆ ἐπιφορᾶ, περιληπτικῆ δὲ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆ φωνῆ με-
 γίστην ὑμῖν ταύτην προσνέμοντα ῥοπήν χρήσασθαι. βπου γε μικρὸν τοῦ
 λόγου προβάς καὶ καθ' ἐνὸς τοῦ τριγάμου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαγαγῶν ὁ λό-
 γος, κριτῆς ἀληθῆς μετὰ βραχὺ δοκιμάσει, τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ἐννοίας πολλὰ
 15 παρέσχεν ὑμῖν πράγματα κατὰ πολλῶν εἰληφθαι τοῦτο βιάζεσθαι· νῦν
 δὲ οὕτω τοῦ προκειμένου μνησθεὶς δῆλός ἐστιν ὡς οὐχ ὑμῖν τῆ δ' ἡμε-
 τέρα γνώμη συνέπαινος.

4. Ἄλλ' ἕτερον καὶ οὕτω διατείνονται κακοδαιμόνως τὸν τρίγαμον
 ἐνταῦθα σημαίνειν τοῦ πολυγάμου; εἰ κωφοῦ θύραν ἐλάθομεν κόψαντες
 20 τοῖς προεφωδημένοις, βοήσωμεν γεγωνότερον· ἐκεῖνο τοῦτο τὸ καὶ κατὰ
 παιδᾶς μάθημα ὡς ὁ τρεῖς ἀρχὴ πλήθους ἐστίν, ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρώτου
 τὸ πλήθος ἀφωρμημένον πρὸς τοὺς ἐξῆς παραπέμπεται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ
 ἄτοπον, πῶς δαὶ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἄλογον, τὸ μὲν ἐτέρωθεν προσλαμβάνον τι
 ἔχειν ἐπ' ἀδείας τὸ προσληφθέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξαν στέρε-
 25 σθαι τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ οὐπερ ἀρχὴ ἢ καὶ πηγὴν εἰς πολλὰ ρεύματα σχι-
 ζομένην αὐτὴν μὲν ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν ναμάτων, τὰς δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀφέσεις
 πλημμυρεῖν τοῖς ρεῖθροις, σοφώτατοι, ἀξιώητε; ἀλλ' οὐ σὺν λόγῳ τὸ
 ἀξιούμενον· πρώτη γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπολαύουσα οὕτω καὶ
 τοῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐνδίδωσι· δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ τῷ τρία ἐν δίκῃ τὸ πολὺ πρό-
 30 τερον ἐνυπάρχον ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὰ μετ' ἐκεῖνο παραπεμφθήσεται. καὶ
 μοι μηδὲν ἐπηρεάσης πικρῶς ἐναλλόμενος εἰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξηρηθῆσθαι τὰ
 μετ' αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ὑπέστησε, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ πρώτως τῆς τοῦ πλήθους
 ἰδιότητος μετεσχηκῶτι συνέπεσθαι τὰ ἐφεξῆς. σὺ δὲ βιάση τῶν αὐτῶν
 διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν κάκεινα οἷς τε ἡ τάξις ἐφυστερίζουσα πῶς κατα-
 35 λαμβάνεται καὶ οἷς ἐκπάλιν τὸ προτερεύειν ἀποκεκλήρωται τῷ σχέσει
 τινὶ συνδεῖσθαι τὰ κατ' ἐκβεθηκυῖαν εἰδους ἑτερότητα θεωρούμενα, κα-
 κῶς οὕτως καὶ ἀφιλοσόφως εἰδῶς καὶ ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν τὸν πλησίον
 ποτίζειν αἰρούμενος καὶ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο δυσωπηθεὶς ὡς οὐδ' οἷς πρὸς τί πῶς

ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν ἔνεστι τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο κατιδεῖν μάθημα. Ἐν γὰρ ἐκεῖ
καὶ ταῦτό πως τὸ συνδέον, ὃ δὴ φασὶ σχέσιν, κατείληπται, οὐ μέντοι
ταῦτα διὰ τοῦτο οὐ τὸ συνδέον, οὐ πολὺ πρότερον, ἢ τῷ συνδέσμῳ συνά-
πτεται. ἢ γὰρ ἂν οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεδεῖτο τε καὶ συνήγετο, μηδενὶ τῷ
ὑπαλλάττοντι τὸ ἰδιόζον ἐμφαίνοντα. εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνώ- 5
τερον φιλοσοφῆσαι, ἐν οἷς τὸ ταῦτόν, ἐν τούτοις πῆ καὶ θάτερον ἀναντιρ-
ρήτως ἔστιν ὁρᾶν, καὶ οἷς οὐ θάτερον, οὐδὲ τὸ ταῦτόν. τίτι γὰρ ἂν τινα
καὶ διενέγκοι καὶ κοινωνοῖη ἄπερ ἢ παντελεῖ τῇ ἰδιώσει ὁρᾶται διά-
φορα ἢ τῇ ἀπαραλλάκτῳ ταυτότητι πρὸς ἀδιάκριτον ἔνωσιν πιεζόμενα,
πλὴν εἰ μὴ πού τις ἀνάλογος ὁμοιότης ἐνθεωρεῖται (144r) ἢ κοινωνιῶν 10
τινὶ ταῦτα συνάπτοντο πρὸς αὐτὸ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχοντα (ὃ γὰρ κα-
λεῖν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα κομψοῖς ἔδοξε), τάχα δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ πρὸς τί πως
ἔχοντος οὐσίας, εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλως τοῖς ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐπαιρόμενος πρὸς
τι πάντα φιλονεικοῖη, τρόπον ἄλλον ὃν κἂν τοῖς ἐναντίοις πᾶσι τὴν
πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα μεταχωροῦσαν μεσότητα, δεινῶς σπαράσσων τὸν λόγον 15
καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐνάργειαν καὶ γνώσιν συγχέων καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος,
ἐν μηδενὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὄρων ἐστάναι φιλοσοφεῖν ἀνεχόμενος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα, τίς ὁ καταναγκάζων ἔτι ἢ τὰ τῇ τάξει δεύτερα τοῖς
πρώτοις εἰς ταῦτόν ἄγειν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους με-
θέξει καὶ τᾶλλα κοινοῦν, ἢ τὰ πρῶτα συνείρειν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς καὶ πάντη 20
τὸ ταῦτόν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν ἀπὸ τούτων αὐθις ἐνωτικῶς ἐκδεχομέ-
νοις ἢ τὸ διάφορον ἑκατέρων πρὸς ἑαυτὰ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐνδείκνυται;
εἴη γὰρ ἂν οὕτω πάντη ταῦτά. ὃ μὴδὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἄλλο τὴν ὑπαρξιν
ἔχουσιν, ἢ περ ἐφθήμεν εἰρηκότες, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πρὸς τι λαχοῦσι τὴν
κλήσιν, οὐχ ὅτι γε δὴ τοῖς κατὰ ποσὸν ἀνίσοις, ἐπορευθήσεται· ἐνὶ γὰρ 25
μόνῳ. εἰ καὶ ταῦτῳ κἀκείνῳ καὶ διαφόρῳ, τῇ διαγούσῃ πρὸς ἄλληλα
σχέσει καὶ ταῦτα χαρακτηρίζεται. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, οὐδεὶς λόγος λοι-
πὸς καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς ἐξῆς καλεῖν ἀριθμοὺς καὶ πάντα τὸν τρία ὄσα μετ'
ἐκείνον ἢ κατὰ πλήθος ἀοριστία σωρεύειν ἐπέιγεται.

5. Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοήν ὁ λόγος ἐβάθυνε· διὸ 30
δὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγέντες καὶ τῶν εὐχερεστερῶν γενόμενοι τὸ ἀνωτέρω
παρειμένον ἡμῖν ἀποπλήσομεν. καὶ γὰρ ἔφαμεν τὰ συνδεόμενα οὕτως
ἐπάγειν μὲν τι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' ἑτέραν διάνοιαν περιττόν, μὴ μέντοι
καὶ πρὸς διάστασιν παντελεῖ λυμαινόμενον· ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο, σκοπὸς ἀπο-
πληροῦν αὐτίκα τῇ προθέσει τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο προῖων οὗτος 35
σαφέστατον καταστήσεται. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεται, οὐκέτι

1 cf. Aristotelis Categ. 6 a - b; PG 101 col. 793 C 3 cf. Por-
phyrii In Categorias pp. 42 - 3 11 cf. PG 101 coll. 793C, 796A
13 cf. Plat. Sophist. 255 D 36ss PG 32 col. 673 B

πολυγαμίας ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἢ ὅσον φασὶν ἐπιψαῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ οὐ χάριν πολυγαμίαν τὸν τρίτον ἐκάλεσεν (ὀνειδεὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ διασῦρειν ὡς καὶ πορνείαν κεκολασμένην), τὸν πάντα δὲ λόγον τῷ τρίτῳ τέως καταναλώσει, οὐχ ἦττον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ ψόγον πολυγαμίαν κατανομασθαι τὴν τριγαμίαν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Σαμαρείτιν τοῦ κυριακοῦ ἐλέγχου ἐπεισόδιον· δι' ὧν τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπερεκπεσόντας οὐκέτι τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ τὸ ῥητὸν ἀναπτύσσων ἀξιοὶ σεμνύνειν προσηγήματι· διδῶσιν νοεῖν κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐννοίας ἀκόλουθον, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐπ' ἄλλου λαμβανόμενου, ὡς ἀκαταγνωστότερον τριγαμία πολυγαμίας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέπρωκε μόνον, ὑπερεκπέπτωκε δὲ πολυ(144ν)γαμία· οὐδὲ γὰρ μάτην τῷ ῥήματι προσκείμενον ἢ ἐπίτασις, εἰ γε, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, ἴωτα ἔν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τοῖς θεσμοθέταις παρείληπται. εἰ δὲ μέσον τὸ ἐκπεπτωκὸς ἐστώτων καὶ ὑπερεκπεπτωκῶτων, εἰκότως καὶ τριγαμία τῷ κρείττονι τῶν μετ' αὐτὸ καθυπερτεροῦσα τῆς τάξεως καὶ εἰ τι πρόσσει· τοῖς μεσουμένοις τούτων παραπολαύσεται, καλῶν μὲν τῶν καλλιόνων, κακῶν δὲ τῶν κακιόνων· ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ταύτῃ γάμου μὲν ὄνομα ποσῶς ἐφέεται τῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γειτονήματι πορνείας δέ, εἰ καὶ κεκολασμένης τῷ προσπελάζειν τοῖς ἐνευθηνουμένοις· τῷ ἀκολάστῳ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος καὶ ἀπάτῃ· ἐξ οὗ γε δὴ καὶ τὸ κατ' αἰτίαν παραλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπόδειγμα οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ λόγον παρεχομένου, ὡς καὶ μικρὸν ἄνω ὀλοσχερέστερον προδειίληπται, καθ' ὅν τὸ μὲν πολὺ τοῦ γάμου ἀπεσκοράκισται, τὸ δὲ τῆς πορνείας κεκολασμένον ἐπανορθωτικῶς τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιφημίζουσιν.

6. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ὅσιον κατεφαίνεται πρᾶγμα, μήπω γε παντάπασι τῶν ἀκαταγνωστοτέρων ἀπηρητημένον ἢ τοῖς δυσφημοτάτοις συντάττεσθαι καὶ ὧν ἢ βδελυρία, ἢ ἵπερ αὐτῷ τούτῳ δοκεῖ Βασιλείῳ, ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἀπῆκισται. καὶ οὐχὶ τούτοις μόνοις τὸ διάφορον ἤδη κατοπτεύεται καὶ γνωρίζεται, ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τάξει βαθμῶν τε καὶ ἀριθμῶν τοῦ ὑποτιμῶντος χρόνου καὶ ἡμοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξάντη φανῆναι τῶν οὕτω κακῶν περιγίνεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τῶν ἀγίων, δημοσιεύων τῇ ἐκβολῇ τὸ ἀμάρτημα κατὰ τὴν μοιχείαν συνεγνωκυῖαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μετανόια μὲν ἀποτριβομένην τὸ ἄγος (οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ στάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ κακοῦ συνιέντα πρὸς φόνον ἐξοπλιζούσῃ· τοῦτο γὰρ, σοφώτατε, βούλεται τὸ σὸν παρανοούμενον κακοσχόλως), ἐπὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις δὲ καταδικαῖς οὐχ ὑποβάλλον, εἰ γε τὸν λόγον ἱκανὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Βιάνωρ πιστώσασθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ δημοσίᾳ, μὴ ἰδίᾳ ἱερᾶσθαι παραχωρούμενος, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχου καταλιπόντες πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ μεθιέμενοι. αὐτοὶ γε μὴν τὴν δημοσίαν καταδί-

κην τῇ διαστάσει τοῦ συζυγίου παρεξηγούμενοι οἰκονομείσθε μὲν τι τῷ
κακῷ τὸ ἀνήκεστον, πόρον τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις οὔτε γῆς φασιν οὔτ' οὐρανοῦ
ἀπτόμενον ἀνευρίσκοντες. ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἐπιτεύξεταί δόλιος θήρας· πόθεν
γὰρ ἔξεις τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦτο κανόνων λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, καίτοι γε
τοῖς φθάσασι πλέον ἢ κατὰ βαλανέα, τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος φθέγγεσθαι, 5
καταν(145r)τληθέντες τὴν ἀκοήν, ἐξ οὗ γε τῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ εὖ ἐπενεχθῆ-
ναι περιγέγονεν ἐν τῷ γυνῶναι· εἰ μὴ τι πάθος τῷ λόγῳ προσίστατο, ὡς τὸ
πορνείαν πρὸς τῶν πατέρων ὠνομάσθαι κεκολασμένην τὸν τρίτον. καὶ
τὸ μὴ πάντῃ ἀπειργεῖν τοὺς τοῦτον μετερχομένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἄν
τινι διαφέρειεν. τὸ μὲν τοῦ τῆς ἀνειμένης πορνείας αἰρετωτέρου, τὸ δὲ 10
τοῦ μὴ δημοσίαις ὑποδαλλομένου καταδίκαις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ καθ' ἑτέρου
ταῦτα· τοῦ τρίτου δ' ἐπισκῆπτεται γάμου ὃν οὐδὲ νόμῳ τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν
ἀγεσθαι ἢ ἱερά γλώσσα ἀπέφηνε, κάμοι οὐπω καὶ τήμερον ἑτέρως γινώ-
σκειν κατὰ τὸ ἄμεινον κέκριται.

7. Εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλος τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφώτερος, οὐδεὶς φθόνος αὐτῷ τῆς 15
τοσαύτης σοφίας οὐδὲ φροντίς Ἰπποκλείδῃ, τὸ παροιμιαζόμενον. εἰ δ'
ὅτι τῷ τοῦ πλήθους ὀνόματι κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἐξῆς ὁ τρίτος, κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ
τἄλλα ἔτ' ἀμαθῶς τούτοις ἐνίστατό τις προσνέμεσθαι ὅσα προσεῖναι τῷ
προηγούμενῳ, ληφθεῖη οὐ σωφρονούντος ὁ λόγος· πρὸς οἷς γὰρ οὗτος
ἀναποδείκτω φάσει ἐκδίδωσιν ἑαυτόν, ἔτι καὶ τεχνικοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἦτις 20
ἀποῖσεται. εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ πάλιν τὰς διαλεκτικὰς ἐφόδους ἕτερον τρόπον
κινεῖν, εὐρήσομεν πολλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὴν ἀτοπίαν προσευποροῦν· καὶ
γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἃ γένη τοῖς κατὰ ταῦτα περιδεξίσις ἔθος καλεῖν, ὀνό-
ματος μὲν κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἴδοις κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἔλαττον,
οὐ προφορᾶ, οὐ τῷ πράγματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἰσότητι πάσῃ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸ 25
ἐνδιδόμενον, ἃ δὲ τούτου τετύχηκεν οὐκ ἄν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδιδόντα τῶν
πολλὰ ταῦτα παρεσχηκότων καθίστασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ μύρμηξ εἰς ἐλέφαντα
τῇ καινῇ ταύτῃ χάριτι μεταβάλοι, οὐκ ἐλέφας εἰς μύρμηκα, τῷ πρὸς
ἐν ἀνάγεσθαι γένος καὶ ζῶον ἑκάτερον καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι· οὐ χρε-
μετιστικὸν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ γελαστικὸν ἵππος ὀφθήσεται. οὐκ οὐκ ἀντιδοίῃ 30
ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις τῶν καθ' αὐτό· διόπερ οὐδὲ γάμος ὁ τρίτος τοῖς μετ'
αὐτόν, ὃν ἀποκεκρίσθαι τῶν ὁμογενῶν πατέρων ἱερῶν στόματα ἱερά
ἀπεθέσπισε τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἀπόδειξιν κατα-
δούμενα, ἀλλ' ὄνομα μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ οὐσίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινώσε-
ται, τὰ δ' ἀποτεταγμένα ἑαυτῷ ταμιεύσοιτο. διὰ τοι ταῦτα τοῦτον μὲν 35
ἐντὸς πυλῶν ἴστησι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκωσθῶνις καταιονᾶ ὀπίσσις καὶ

3 ἀπτόμενον Jenkins ἀπτομένην cod. 28 χάρι, τι cod.

τὸν ἄπαξ ἀλόγῃ πορνείας ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς γένηται θυρῶν (ὕφει-
 ται γὰρ οὗτος ὁ γάμος τῆς τοιαύτης πορνείας τῇ μὴ τελείῳ τῇ κατ'
 αὐτὸν αἰσχροτήτι ἐξετάζεσθαι), τὸν δὲ ὑπερόριον τῶν ἀγῶν περιδύλων
 ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ ὑπερόριον ἐκλεξάμενον τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἡδονὴν μετὰ πολ-
 5 λὴν ὡς ἀσύμφορον περὶ (145v) ραν τῆς λογικῆς τε καὶ ἔμφρονος προτι-
 μήσαντα, χρόνῳ τὲ τῷ ἴσῳ τοῦ πολλάκις τῇ παραχρῆσει τοῦ θήλεος
 τὴν χρεῖαν ἠτιμηκότος καταδικάζει, τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου ἀφομοιωῶν
 καὶ τὸ φάρμακον καὶ χωρισμῶ τοῦ μιάσματος καὶ ἀλλοτριώσει τὸ τὴν
 λώθην παρεσχηκὸς σοφῶς ἄγαν καὶ προμηθῶς ἀποικονομούμενος. οὐδὲ
 10 γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως μαθήσει τὰ φάρμακα ὁ τὴν ἰατρειάν πεπιστευμένος εἰ
 μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ τὸ διαζύγιον πραγματευθῆται. ἀλλ' οὐ προσὸν τῷ
 κανόνι, ἐρεῖς; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις οἷς ὑπερβάλλοντι τῷ κακῷ σαφῆς τε καὶ
 πρόχειρος ἡ δικαίωσις. ἢ σὺ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ ἀδελφομιξίαν, ὅτι μὴ τῷ
 κανόνι τοῖς τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἐργασαμένοις ἢ ἀλλοτριώσις ἐγκρατεῖται,
 15 οὕτως ἔαν οἰκοδομοῦσαν μὲν τῇ μετανοίᾳ, καθαιρουσαν δὲ τῇ ἐπιμόνῳ
 λύσει τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀνάκτορον. ἀλλ' οὕτε τὸ πάντη δῆλον ὑπομνήσεως
 ἐχρηζεν, ὅτι μὴδ' ἄλλῳ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξωθουμένων συνήφθαι παραχωρεῖται τὸ
 αἰσχος, καὶ τοῖς ὧδε μανείσιν ἢ τῆς αἰσθήσεως χρεῖα προσμαρτυρήσεται.

8. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τις κατ' ἀνδρα φιλοπονώτερον τοῖς παροῦσι ἐν-
 20 ασχολήσει τὸν νοῦν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῇ παντελεῖ καταλείψεται ἀμνηστία εἰς
 ἀναντίρρητον ὑμῖν τὸ κράτος περιποιούμενον. τί γὰρ ἂν τις νοῦν ἔχων
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλοῖε ἐπ' ἂν τοῦ θεσμοθέτου τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπακούσῃ μη-
 κέτι τοὺς πολυγάμους τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔνεχομένου σεμνύ-
 νειν ὀνόματι, σαφέστερον ἄλλο μαρτύριον ἐρευνώμενος, ἐκείνου προδή-
 25 δου καὶ παιδὶ καθεστῶτος ὡς τῷ γε ἀναξίῳ καὶ τὸ εἶναι ὑπερ ἀνάξιος
 φιλεῖ πάντως παρέπεσθαι, καὶ ὅ γε τοῦ κρείττονος δλισθήσαντι τοῦ
 γάμου καὶ σεμνοτάτου οὐδεὶς λόγος μὴ τῷ χείρονι τῆς πορνείας ἐνοχε-
 θῆναι καὶ πράγματι καὶ ὀνόματι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν μεταξὺ γάμου τε καὶ
 πορνείας ὄνομα ὅ συνάφειαν ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα μετακαλέσομαι. σὺ δὲ
 30 τῷ μὴ προχείρως προσκεῖσθαι τῷ περὶ τούτου λόγῳ ὅν τρόπον ἢ θερα-
 πεία προβαλεῖ ἀνάγωγον, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς σωτηρίαν παρασκευάσαις τὸν
 κάμνοντα; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν πείσῃς καὶν πάνυ διαρραγείης· ἀλλὰ λημώντων,
 βέλτιστε, καὶ παρακοπτόντων τὸ πάθος, οἳ καὶ τὸ παρὰ πόδας ἀγνοοῦσι
 χρυσίον ὅτι μὴ κόλπῳ τοῦτο μὴδὲ χερσὶ φέρουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὅτι τὰ
 35 τῆς πολιτείας ἀποσαλεύειν πεπίστευται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἄργον πανό-
 πτην αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ μύθου εἰ οἷόν τε δεῖν γίνεσθαι ὥστε μὴδὲ τι τῶν φαι-
 λοτάτων λανθάνειν καὶ ὁ μεγάλην κατὰ καιρὸν τὴν βλάβην παρέξεται.

9. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖν εἰ φιλαυτίας ἀπαλλαγείημεν καὶ ἀπαθῶς ἐπι-

βλέπομεν τοὺς λεγομένοις, ἀδεκάστῳ κριτῇ τῷ ἑαυτῶν χρώμενοι συνει-
 δότι, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεήσει τοὺς πόρρωθεν θηρᾶν τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἀλλὰ
 κἀντεῦθεν κατίδοιμεν τάχιστα ὅπερ ἀπέγνωμεν, πολλὰ τῆς ῥαθυμίας
 ἑαυτοῖς προσμεμψάμενοι· τὸ γὰρ τοι σεσιωπῆσθαι (146r) τὸ προκει-
 μενον τοὺς πατράσι· καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν μετ' αἰτίας τῷ θεῷ ἀνδρὶ εὐλογον
 5 τοὺς κανόσιν αὐτοῦς ὑποβάλλειν καὶ προσέτι προεγνωσμένῳ τινὶ παρα-
 πέμπειν (ὅτι δῆλον ὅτι ἤν(ξ)ατο), τί ἂν ἄλλο ἢ τῷ ζητούμενῳ ταῦτα
 εὐθυδόλως ἐφίστησι· σεσίγηται γάρ, ὅσον ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, τὰ μῆτε γάμου
 ἀρχὴν εἰσηγούμενα μῆθ' ὅσα γε τ' ἀνθρώπινα ἐξαμαρτανόμενα ἐπεὶ καὶ
 πατροκτονία τῷ Ἐξηκαστίδου Σόλωνι, ὑποβέβληται δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον 10
 τοὺς κανόσιν ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ τῷ Χριστοῦ κλήρῳ ἐπηρεάζοντος, ὡς ἂν μὴ
 τῷ ἀρέτῳ δεσμοῦ καὶ ἀνέτῳ κινούμενα πλημμελῶς τῷ τε μηδὲν ἀπε-
 σκευάσθαι τοῦ πονηροῦ ἄχθους ἀκάθαρτα διὰ βίου περιορῶτο, τῷ μιᾶρῳ
 συντηκόμενα καὶ τῷ χείρονι, πορνείας μιάσματα ἐνεχόμενα. ἢ τί· γε ἄλλῃ
 προσηνείμοις τὸ εὐλογον, εἴπερ τὸ ἀθεράπευτον τοῦ θεραπευομένου χει- 15
 ρον γινώσκεται; καὶ τί τὸ σμήχον; οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ἐκπιώτους περικαθαίρει
 τοῦ γάμου (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν πατέρες ἀφώρισαν),
 ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἀσελγαίνοντας, ὁ τῆς Βασιλείου
 φιλανθρωπίας τεκμήριον. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο, τῷ δῆλον ὅτι καθίστησιν ἐναρ-
 γές τοὺς μὴ κατ' Ἰουδαίους βύειν εἰδόσι τὰ ὤτα καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῆς 20
 ἀληθείας ἀπειθῶς καταμύουσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐχομένους καλὸν ὑμῖν κατα-
 φάσκειται τοὺς πόρνους τῆς ἑαυτῶν βδελυρίας τῇ μετανοίᾳ προσάγεσθαι,
 δεδόσθω καὶ τούτοις· εἰ δ' οὐ κάκεινο κἂν εἰ μὴ γέγραπται (καίπερ
 ὑμῖν εἰωθὸς τῷ ἀγράφῳ κατοχυροῦσθαι καὶ ἰσχυρίζεσθαι), πῶς τοῦτο
 ὑμεῖς, οἷς τὰ χεῖλη παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν κρείττωνων κυριεύ 25
 μενοι τὸ ἐπελθὸν φθέγγασθαι; ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ σχολὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐνάργειαν
 ἀπομάχεσθαι.

10. Ἄλλοτριόσθωσαν τοιγαροῦν, ὦ σοφώτατοι, καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπι-
 γνώμονας· ὅτι καὶ ἰδιώτου κρείττων ῥήτωρ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοῖς χρήσασαιτο,
 καὶ ψυχικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑατέον, κατὰ Παῦλον 30
 εἰπεῖν τὸν μέγαν διδάσκαλον, ρίζαν πικρίας ἄνω φύουσαν ἀκχαίρετον
 ἢ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας οὐ τῷ τυχόντι μίαινοι καὶ τῷ ἐξῆς βίῳ μεγάλην κα-
 κίας παράκλησιν ἐπιδείξεται. οὐχ οὕτως σοφὸς σὺ τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ τὰ
 ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐκ προστάγματος αἰρήσειν ἡμᾶς μόνῃ τῷ βούλεσθαι συν-
 35 ἐργῷ χρώμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ πλέον πορνείας ἀμάρτημα τῇ κεκολα
 σμένη πορνείᾳ συναριθμηθήσεται, πλείστης ὁσῆς κἂν τούτῳ συγγνώμης τυ-

7 ὁ τῷ cod. ἢ
 28 ὑμᾶς cod.

χόν εἰ μὴ τῷ βάρει ἀντίρροπον, φειδοῖ δὲ (146v) τῇ παρ' ἀξίαν παιδείᾳ
 κατὰ γκεται· οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξούλης γραφῆς ὑμᾶς ἀθωώσεται· ἔστ' ἂν
 κάλλους δρῶμεν· ἰδέαν τῷ μοναδικῷ τῆς ἐννοίας τὸ κατὰ πλῆθος τῆς ἐκφορᾶς
 συναρμόζουσας καὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μέγαν Βασιλείον ἀποχρῶντα τὰ οἰκεία
 5 κρατύνεσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν· δεῖ ἐν προσιμίοις τῆς κατὰ
 ταῦτα δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς οὕτω πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον γράφει, τὸν χρόνον
 ἴσως τῆς σιωπῆς αἰτιώμενον, «ὀλίγοι γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὁδοῦ ἔμπειροι
 καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑπηρεσίας». εἰ γὰρ τι δυνάμε-
 νον ἐνορῶτο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων τινῶν μεταληφθῆναι τῇ μιᾷ καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν
 10 τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διαγόντων ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῆς ὑμετέρας τεθρῆρας, σοφώτατοι,
 ἀναπτύξαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί τις καὶ δρῶν λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα
 τῇ πίστει; καὶ τὸ συνιέναι παρομαρτεῖ καὶ τῷ διελεῖσθαι ὀρθῶς τὸ προ-
 ενεγκεῖν λογισμὸν ἀνεπίληπτον· τῷ δὲ βραθύμῳ καὶ ἐθελοκωφοῦντι οὐδὲν
 ἴαμα. καίτοι καὶ εἰ μηδεὶς λόγος τῷ ἀντιλέγοντι ἢ καὶ εἰ πρὸς ἀγχώ-
 15 μαλον προῦδαινε τὰ τῆς μάχης; οὐδ' οὕτως ἔχει τῇ χεῖρονι δόξῃ προσ-
 τιθεμένους αἰσχύειν μὲν ἑαυτοὺς τὴν πολιτείαν δὲ μυρίας βδελυρίας
 ἀναπιμπλάναι, τοιοῦτον τῇ θρεψαμένη καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου προαγαγούσῃ
 τὸ γηρωκόμιον ἀποτίνοντας. χρῆναι γὰρ οἶμαι ἐν οἷς λόγων ἰσοσθενείᾳ,
 τὸ κρεῖττον τῷ ἀκαταγνώστῳ βραθεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ πολλῷ τῷ πε-
 20 ριέντι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐξάνίσταται, ὑμῖν καταλείπομεν σοφοῖς
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν χριταῖς, εἰ μὴ κἀνταῦθα ταῖς ἐναντίαῖς ῥοπαῖς μεταρρεῖτε
 καὶ ἐπικλίνεσθε. Αἰδέσθητε, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀνακάθαρσιν τῆς
 πολιτικῆς θεσμοθεσίας, ἀλλ' οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔργον καὶ τὰς
 κατ' ἐκεῖνο περὶ τῶν προκειμένων γενναίας ἀποφάσεις καὶ σῶφρονας. ἀλλ'
 25 ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τῷ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀκολουθεῖν σεμνοὶ καὶ φιλότιμοι,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πρὶν ἐπιλελησμένοι κακοὶ καὶ τοῖς τῶν πατέρων κατὰ
 τῶν πατέρων ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τῆς καθαρᾶς πολιτείας κεχρησθαι· γινώσκον-
 τες, τῇ χρεῖᾳ πάντως τὸ τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ
 πιστὸν οὐδαμῶθεν ἑαυτοῖς διοικούμενοι, ἀλλὰ κἀντεῦθεν κόνις τοῖς ἄλλοις
 30 βραδίως τοῖς προστυχοῦσι μεταβαλλομένη δεικνύμενοι, ἃ μὲν ἐνεγράφη τε
 καιρῷ καὶ περιστάσει μετακινούμενοί τε καὶ συγχεόμενοι, ἐκεῖνα δὲ
 πάλιν μεταγραφόμενοι ἔσα καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀνατίθεται καὶ ὑμῖν μείζω
 τὴν αἰσχύνην περιποιούμενα ὡς οὐχ ἐστώσῃ κρίσει τὴν γνώμην ἐρεί-
 δουσι, τύχης δὲ μείζονος ἐφέσει σκοτοδιωίωντες τὸν νοῦν ἢ πάντα βρα-
 35 δίως παίξειν ἐπίσταται, κύθων φασὶ καὶ ἀστραγάλων (147r) μετὰ πτω-
 σιν τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀποφαίνουσα. ἄλλην Ἀντιφῶντος τοῦ Ραμουσίου τε-

27 κσχρῆθε cod.

τραλογίαν τοὺς νόμους ἐργάζεσθε, τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀμετά-
 θετον αἰσχροῦς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ θλεθρίως σαλεύοντες· καίτοι· γε κάκεινο
 συνιδόντες ὡς ἢ μὲν τοῦ καλοῦ φύσις σῶφρονι λόγῳ κρατυνομένη καὶ
 ἐκ μυρίας τῆς ἀποφάσεως προΐουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλατεῖα ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν-
 5 τολή, τὸ τοῦ ψάλλοντος, πρὸς ἕν τι πέρας τὸ ἐξ ἀμόμονος συντελείας
 καὶ μίαν κορυφὴν ἀνατείνεσθαι, ἦν δὴ καὶ Σολομῶν αἰνιττόμενος εἰς
 μίαν περιστεράν, τὸ τοῦ ἄσματος, κάλλος ὑπελυγῆνατο, τὸ δὲ κακὸν
 ἀσάθμητον καὶ ἀπέραντον τῇ αὐτονόμῳ τῆς ἀλογίας ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῆς
 ἀρχῆς πρὸς πολυσχιδές τι καὶ ἀόριστον αἰσχος χεόμενον· καὶ δεῖν τὸν
 ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα τὸ μὲν αἰεὶ τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀνευρύνειν φιλοπονίᾳ μηδὲν
 10 ὑπερόριον ἐννοούμενον, τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀπειρον ὑποτέμνεσθαι, ἐχρῆν καὶ
 αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῦς χρηματίζοντας πολίτας μὴ τὴν φύσιν ὑβρίζειν, μὴ τὴν
 πολιτείαν ἀλάστορι γνώμῃ δολοῦν νόθοις καὶ κιβδηλοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γινομένων· πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἔσῃ δυνατῇ τὸ μὲν
 τῆς σωφροσύνης πλειστηριάζειν ἐφόδιον, εἴ τι δ' ἀκρασίας ἐχόμενον
 15 μειοῦν κατεπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνυπαρξίαν εἰ οἶόν τε χωρεῖν ἐκδιάζε-
 σθαι. ἀλλ' ἵνα πάντα ἀφείδους τοὺς φαυλισμοὺς ὑπολογίσωμαι καὶ τὰ αἰσχη-
 οὺς ὑποδέβληται μὲν ταῦτα, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ φιλεῖν βασιλέα διαρρηγνύμενοι
 οὐ καταδύετέ ποι γῆς ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῆν ἀνέχεσθε ταύτας χάριτας δεσπότη
 τιννόντες καὶ φίλῳ, θεῖόν τε καὶ ἀνύδριστον τοσοῦτῳ συρφετῷ ταῖς σύμ-
 20 βουλαῖς ὑμῶν χραίνοντες κράτος, καὶ νοῦν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἀφροδισίων
 ἀκράτορα παρασκευάζοντες ἐρεθισμάτων; οὐκ ἔχω τίς γένωμαι οὐδ' ὅτι
 καὶ χρήσομαι ἑμαυτῷ τοιοῦτοις ἀνδράσι συζῶν καὶ συναριθμούμενος.
 ἀλλὰ θεὲ τῶν βίων καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους, ὅς ζῶν κοινωνικὸν ἐπλασας
 ἄνθρωπον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐνδεὲς τῇ παρ' ἀλλήλων εὐπορίᾳ ἀναπληροῦ-
 25 σθαι μηχανησάμενος, μὴ μοι δοίης, οὐχ ὅπως φημι! φίλῳ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ
 κατ' ἐχθρῶν οὕτω διαγενέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζειν αὐτοῖς ἅ πᾶσιν
 ἐπίσταμαι βδελυκτά τε καὶ ἀποτρόπαια.

11. Κἀγὼ μὲν οὕτως· εἰ δὲ σοι φίλον, φιλανθρωπότατε βασιλεῦ,
 30 πάλιν γὰρ πρὸς σὲ τείνω τὸν λόγον, τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ παραρριπτεῖσθαι
 σκηνώμασιν εἴκε τῇ λόγῳ, λοιπὸν καὶ τούτων μισήσας τὴν ψυχοβλαβὴ
 καὶ κατάπτυστον συνηγορίαν οὐς καὶ μικρῶν ἂν τις εἴλε λημμάτων, μὴ
 τί γε δὴ βασιλικῆς ἀρεσκείας καὶ παρρησίας, ὡς γὰρ ἂν θεῷ καὶ ἡμῖν
 πείθη, σοφώτατε βασιλέων καὶ προμηθέστατε. τούτοις ἔποιο δὲ μέχρι τοῦ
 35 δεῦρο βασιλικῶς καὶ πατρικῶς κατακτησάμενος τὸ ὑπήκοον καὶ ἡμῶν
 (147v) ἀγαπήσας τὰ τῆς χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς ἢ λόγῳ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ κρά-

3 συνιδόντας cod. 27 ἅπασιν cod.

5 Ps. 118, 96 7 Cant. 6, 8

τος ἀνεδήσατο. τῶν μὲν ἐκ μέσου γενοῦ ὡς ἀκαθάρτων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων πρὸς τὴν παρῖνεσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ κολλήθητι, μᾶλλον δὲ θεῶ οὐπερ ἡμεῖς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δι' οὐ σοὶ ἡ σωτηρία. καὶ ἄνες ἡμῖν ἵνα ἀναψύξωμεν πρὸ τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν ὑμῖν τὰ συμφέροντα ἐπευχόμενοι, καὶ δὴ δευρὸ γε οὕτω καὶ
 5 τοῖς θεοῦ σκηνώμασιν ἐναυλίσθητι, τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἐμπιπλάμενος καὶ τῷ χειμάρρῳ τῆς τούτου τρυφῆς ποτιζόμενός τε καὶ μεθυσκόμενος· ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν εὖ ἴσθι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προτιμήσομεν ἀγάπης, πάντα δὲ παρ' οὐδὲν λογιούμεθα, σκύδαλα μὲν τὰ κατὰ γῆν τιμιώτατα νηπίων δὲ βέλη τὰ δεινότατα ἠγησάμενοι.

9 Ps. 63, 9

5.

Στεφάνῳ ὑπογραφεῖ βασιλέως τῶν ἀπορρήτων φίλῳ ἀνδρί.

1. Μέμφεται μοι ὁ περιφανέστατος, ὅποι δὴ πυθάνομαι, πατρικίως Σαμωνᾶς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαγγέλλεις ἀφίλους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀχαρίστους ἀποκαλῶν, κἄν μηδεὶς λόγος τούτων ἡμῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν
 5 ἐκκόπτειν τῆς εὐσεβείας παράγοντα διατέτακται. ἀλλὰ καινὸν τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἴσως, ὅτι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἣ καὶ τὸ ξενοχαρὲς περισπούδαστον καὶ τὸ φιλόκαινον ἀγαπώμενον καὶ οὐπω εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐγνωσμένον ἀνθρώποις, ὧν αὐτὸς τίς ἐστὶν αἴτιος, ἐτέροις τοὺς ψόγους ἀνατιθέναι καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον τῷ μαθητῇ μέμφεσθαι, ὡς οὐχ ἐτέρως κατ'
 20 αὐτὸν γ' ἐκείνον διαγενομένη ἦ καὶ τῷ φίλῳ τυχὸν ζηλοῦντι τὸν φίλον καὶ ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπεύδοντα τοῦτον δεικνύναι, ᾧ καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἐν τούτῳ ἐστίν, εἴπερ τὸν φίλον ἄλλον αὐτὸν ὁ Σάμιος σοφὸς ἀφωρίσατο. τὸ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως ἐπιμαρτυρία τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μέμφους καὶ διαβολῆς, ὡς αὐτοὶ βούλονται· ἐπεὶ καὶ γραφεὺς καὶ πᾶς τις ἄλλος τῶν
 15 περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς τὸν προεστῶτα μιμούμενος καὶ τῶν ἀρχετύπων καὶ προκειμένων εἰς τὴν τῆς τέχνης ἀνάληψιν τὴν μίμησιν μεταχειριζόμενος, ἐπαίνων οὐ ψόγων ἐπάξιος.

2. Ἴνα γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ἀφεις θεῖά τε καθεστῶτα καὶ κρείττω ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἷς ὡς ἔοικε φιλῶν με θεὸς πρὸς τὸ εὐθὲς ἐπανήγαγε, δι' ἃ
 20 καὶ τὸ σκληρόν τε καὶ αὔθραδες καὶ ἀμείλικτον ἐγκαλοῦμαι, καίτοι γε οὐ τοιοῦτος τοῖς διὰ πείρας ἐγὼ γνωριζόμενος ἢ ὅσον ἐν τούτοις ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ ἔμμονον καὶ ἀσάλευτον ἐπαινετὸν καὶ μακάριον καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Κύριον πεποιθῶτων δεῖγμα καὶ γνώρισμα, (148r) ὡς ὄρος Σιών ἀμετα-

θέτως ἠδρασμένων τε καὶ παγίως καὶ τῇ τῶν καλῶν κρίσει τὸν πόδα
 ἐρείδειν εἰδότην ἀκλόνητον, καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τούτων
 προκινδυνεύειν σκοπὸν τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκστατικὸν τε καὶ εὐπερίτρε-
 πτον καταγέλαστον, λαγῶ βίον, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τὸ ζῆν ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζον
 καὶ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου ταρτάρου τοῖς μὴ βεβαίοις τῷ κρείττονι πρό- 5
 ξενον, οἷς γὰρ δὴ ἀκλόνητως ἐστάναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φίλον ἐν μηδενί
 τινασσόμενον ὁ δὲ κάλαμον ἐαυτὸν κατεστήσατο ἀνέμῳ παντὶ μετακλι-
 νόμενον καὶ σφαίραν ἀστάτῳ βάσει κυλιομένην ὀρώμενον, ἀγόμενος μὲν
 καὶ περιφερόμενος ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πλανῶν δὲ καὶ πλανώ-
 μενος καὶ πονηρῶν δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ γοήτων ἀποφερόμενος. ἀλλ' 10
 οὐχ αὕτη ἔρις Ἰακώβ, οὐδ' οὕτως κληρὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευὶ ἐν μέσῳ δοθή-
 σεται τῶν ἐαυτῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ τοὺς ἐμούς φησι κατανέμων κληρὸς ἐν
 πνεύματι :

Β. Ἴνα γὰρ πάντα καταλιπὼν, ἧ καὶ δεδήλωται, ἐπεὶ πολλοῖς
 δοκῶ τὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Λῶτ γελοιάζειν τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν Σιδόμων προσα- 15
 γορεύοντος, ἂν μόνον ἐνὸς τούτου τῶν καλῶν φίλων μνησθῶ καὶ ταῖς
 αὐτῶν μὲν ὁμολογίαις βεβαίων, φιλεγκλημόνων δὲ καὶ μεμφιμοίρων οἷς
 οὐκ εἰκόσ, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τόπος λοιπὸς οἱ παραβύσω ἐμαυτὸν, «πά-
 τον ἀνθρώπων» κατὰ τὸν σὸν εἰπεῖν Ὀμηρον «ἀλεείνων», αὐτοὶ δ'
 οὐκ ἐγκαλύπτονται, οἷς ἐπέστησαν πρὸς μίμησιν φέροντες, ποιούμενοι 20
 ἐγκλημα τῇ δυναστείᾳ. τὴν ἀπόνοιαν λογιστέον, ἧ τῷ τῆς τύχης δοκῶ
 ἐπαιρομένη τε καὶ φλεγμαίνουσα οὐκ ἄγει σχολὴν τοῖς δικαίοις τε καὶ
 ἀμώμοις ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ κατευθύνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ καλὸν τὸ
 τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἐμμένειν (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) καὶ τοῖς τὸ δέον εἰσηγομένοις
 μισθοὺς διαπραγματεύειν ἀξίους, τί οὐκ ἀνέμειναν οὗτοι, χάριν εἰδότες 25
 τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν (παρίημι γὰρ τὰ τούτων ἔτι ἀνώτερα καὶ ἄ θεὸς ἐν δίκῃ
 κρινεῖ); τί μὴ καὶ μισθῷ τετιμῆκασι καταλλήλῳ τῆς σοφῆς αὐτοῖς συμ-
 βουλῆς καὶ καταθυμίου; ἀλλὰ κακὰ ἀγαθῶν ἀνταποδεδώκασι, δίκαιά γε
 μόνον ἐνὶ τούτῳ ποιοῦντες, χρῆνα: γὰρ οἶμαι τ' ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ὧν ἡμεῖς
 ἀξιοί, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοιαῦτα πάντως ἐγνώρισαν τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν 30
 τοιοῦτοῖς ἐδεξιούντο τὸν σύμβουλον, οἷς εἰ μὴ μεθαρμοζόμενοι τοῖς ἐναν-
 τίοις τῶν νῦν πραγμάτων συμβαίνουεν. οὐκ ἔχω τίνα δικαιότεραν ἄλλην
 δρίσομαι κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν ἢ ταύτην ἧς αὐτοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γνώμης
 ὑπῆρξαν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς συμβούλοις παραίτιοι. καὶ τί τοῦτο; τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 φιλανθρωπίας ἐκβολὴν τε καὶ ἀλλοτριώσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις οὗτοι τῶν 35

18 πάτον: πάντων cod.

4 Demosth. 18, 263 11 Gen. 49, 5-8; cf. PG 101 col. 1072 C
 16 Gen. 19, 15-25 19 Iliad. 6, 202 28 Ps. 37, 21

αὐτῶν καταγωγῶν τὴν στέρῃσιν. ἀλλὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς (148ν) διαγωγῆς ἀλλότρια ταῦτα; ἀλλὰ Παύλῳ τῷ συνεργῷ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τοῦτο βουλόμενον; ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστῷ πάλιν αὐτῷ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ᾧ κρίματι τὸν ὑπόδικον κρίνομεν ἀποθεσπίζει κριθῆσεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τὸν οἷς αὐτός τις 5 πράττει τὸν ἕτερον κατακρίνοντα τοῖς τῶν πονηρῶν θησαυροῖς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν περιπτωτικῶς παραπέμπεται. εἰ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ἀνατιθέασι τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲν μὲν εἰς ἀπολογίαν οἶμαι τούτῳ σοφὸν παρὰ πάντας αὐτὸν ἐγνωκῶτι καὶ κρείττονα καὶ γνώμην ἐτέροις ὑποθέσθαι δραστήριον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἄλλου λαβεῖν· καὶ ὅτι μὴ τῷ Ἀδάμ, μὴ τῇ 10 Εὐᾶ συνήνεγκεν ἀλλήλοις ἐπανατιθεμένοις τὸ τῆς ἀπάτης κακὸν οὐδὲ τῆς καταδίκης ἐξείλετο. εἰ δὲ τι δεῖ καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῖς προκειμένοις, καὶ πλείονος τυγχάνειν τῆς κατακρίσεως, ἐγνωμεν τοὺς τῷ κακῷ συνεργουντάς τισι καὶ τούτους συνεπισχύοντας, εἰ τῷ πιστώσασθαι τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρωπος ἱκανός, ἀλλ' ὅς τὸ κράτος ἀπάσης κτίσεως ἀποφέρεται, θεοῦ υἱὸς καὶ θεός, ὅς τῷ Πιλάτῳ μέγα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν 15 ὕδρευς τὸ κατάκριμα σωρευόμενον ἐπιστάμενος τὸν παραδιδόντα μείζονι καθυπέβαλεν ἁμαρτία.

4. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὕτω ψυχρᾶς καὶ ἀνυποστάτου εἶληχεν ἀπολογίας, ὥσπερ ὁ λόγος ὑπέστησεν. τί δὲ φαῖεν τοῖς ἐναγχος τετολημμένοις; τίνα ταῦτα πάλιν τῆς ὑπογούου κακώσεως (αἰτιάσεως οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν); τί δὲ καὶ κατεργάσασθαι ταύτῃ σκοπὸς αἰρήσεων οὕτως ἡμᾶς; βαβαὶ τῆς εὐκολίας· δειλαῖος τῆς προσδοκίας καὶ ἐκπιπτως, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνήνυτον διοικούμενος, εἰ στιγματίζα καὶ καταδίκῳ καὶ ἀνδραπόδῳ καὶ τοιοῦτων ἀξίῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐσπούδακε πραγματεύσασθαι. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀξίῳ μὲν, θυμὸς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο παρέθηξε, τίς λόγος 25 ἡμῖν θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δουλεύοντος καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴοι ὀρθὸν λογίζομένου καὶ οὐδ' ἂν κρειττόνως θεῷ ἐννοούμενον καὶ οὕτω τιμᾶν θεοῦ ἱερέας εἰδότες; ὣν ὑποίσειν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν καταδίκην, ἥτις ποτ' ἂν ἢ ὑπὸ θεῷ μάρτυρι, διετείνατο, καὶ ἐκ προστάγματος καὶ βίας 30 τοῦτο λαβεῖν ἤλπικεν ὃ μὲν οἷς πολλοῖς στεναγμοῖς τε καὶ δάκρυσιν ἐρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀποτρίψῃται τὸ ἄγος, ἀλλ' οὐ συζῶν τούτῳ καὶ προσκολλώμενος. εἰ δὲ βίᾳ, τί μὴ καὶ θεῷ οὕτω προσφερόμεθα, «ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ» φάσκοντες «ὁδοὺς γὰρ σου εἰδέναι οὐδόλωσ βουλόμεθα», ὃ τοῖς πάλαι ἀπεγνωσμένοις τεθρύλληται; ἢ φαινομένην ἀλλ' οὐκ οὔσαν τὴν 35 τοῦ δεινοῦ λύσιν ἐπιζητούμεν καὶ ἐπιπόλαιον, οὐδὲ τοῦ βάθους ἀπτομένην ἀλλ' ἐξωθεν ἐπιχρῶννυμένην, αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι ἐρικυβαν πορνικῶν τρόπον ὑπογραφῶν τε καὶ ἐντριμμάτων καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς συναρπάζου-

σαν; ἀλλ' οὐ σοφὸν τοῦτο, οὐδὲ Λέοντος τοῦ πάνυ, εἰ μὴ γε λημῶ, εὖ
πολὸ μὲν τέως τὸ περὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ θερά(149γ)ποντας εὐ-
λαθές, ἀμύθητος δ' ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον χρηστότης καὶ γνώσις τὰ βέθη
τῆς γραφῆς ἐρευνημένη, βουλῆς τε θεοῦ καλλυνομένου· οὐκ οὐκ ἐκείνου
τὰ νῦν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παίζοντος. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ συγγνωστέον, ἀλλὰ 5
μήποτε τοσοῦτον μανείημεν ὡς τῶν τε νόμων ἐπιλαθέσθαι Κυρίου καὶ
ἀνθρωπίνους εἶξαι προστάγμασι. πῶς ὁ ζητῶν, εἰρήσεται γάρ, εὐρήσει
τὸ καταθύμιον, οὐθεραπεία τοῦ κρείττονος μεταδιώκων τὸ σύγγνωστον
(ποῦ γάρ ἢ δι' ἐξαγρευσεως ἐπαινουμένη ταπεινώσις;) ἀλλ' ἐξουσία τοῦ
κράτους ὀργῶσαν ἔτι τὴν νόσον ἰστᾶν παρακελευόμενος, οὔτε Κυρίου 10
τὸν τῆς σωτηρίας οἶκον οἰκοδομοῦντος, οὐκ ἐπὶ πέτρας τῶν θεμελίων
καταβαλλομένων, ψάμμω δ' ἐρείδομένων καὶ πηγνυμένων, ἀνέμοις καὶ
λαίλαπι εὐχερῶς κατασύρεσθαι; εἰ δὲ καὶ διακένω συγγνώμη σπουδῆ
τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐξαλείφειν, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἴσως προβήσεται ὅσον τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς δόξαι, θεὸς δὲ οὐ παραλογισθήσεται, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισφαλῶς παί- 15
ξομεν· παραμενεῖ γὰρ πάντως τὰ στίγματα τῆ ψυχῆ εἰς τὸ πολλὰς
δαρῆναι· πρὸς ἔλεγχον συντηρούμενα. οὐδὲ γὰρ θησαυρῶ τις ἀμόχθως
ἄν ποτε, βέλτιστε, περιτύχοι, οὐ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπαλλάξει τῶν σπείλων μὴ
πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλυσιν πραγματευσάμενος πρότερον καὶ τὸν καθαί-
ρειν οἶόν τε τιμῆ προσλαθόμενος· τί γάρ, φησὶν ὁ ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν 20
ὑπὲρ πάντας, ποιήσατε καρποὺς ἄξιους τῆς μετανοίας;

5. Τί δαί καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου μεταστήσει γνώμη; τίς χεῖρ
βαρεῖα σαλεύει με ταύτης; οὐχ οὕτω τι φρικτόν, οὐχ οὕτω φαιδρὸν ὃ
τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου μου προτιμῆσω ἀγάπης, οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φιλίαν
ἔχειν τι πλέον καταφρυάττεσθαι ταύτης, ἐμὴν γε γνώμην, ἔάσω, ὡς 25
οὐ τοσοῦτον θεοῦ φίλτρον ὅσον αὐτῇ δύναται διαθεῖναι φέβω θορυβοῦσα
καὶ ἡδονῆ κλέπτουσα, μικροῖς καὶ ἐφημέροις τῶν αἰωνίων καὶ ἀνεκλεί-
πτων ἐξαπατῶσά τε καὶ παράγουσα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδ᾽ βεθηκῶς
ὀπηνίκα καὶ τῷ ἐκεῖ κριτηρίῳ ἀπασχολεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν κρᾶτιστον καὶ
τοὺς μισθοὺς κατὰ πύδας τῶν βεθιωμένων προσδέχεσθαι. ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ 30
μὴ τοῦτο, προσῆκε γοῦν ἀμετάθετον εἶναι τοῦ κρείττονος τοῦτον ἐκεῖ-
νον ὃν καὶ λόγος ἀργὸς καὶ ἐγκατάλειμμα ἐνθυμίου ὑπόδικον πυρὸς
καταστήσεται καὶ λύσις ἐντολῆς ἐλαχίστη μεγίστου ζημιώματος αἰτιά-
σεται, μὴ ὅτι γε ταῦτα ὦν οὐχ ἕτερός τις ἢ Βασίλειος δὲ θεσμοθέτης
οὗτος οὐ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καθέδρας ἠξίωμα. πῶς οὖν ἀντιφθέγγομαι; οὐ 35
λόγω, πράγματι δὲ τῷ σοφῷ καθηγήτορι; εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς φέρετε,
ἀνθρώποι; μὴδὲν εἰς φύσιν ἡμῶν ἔχοντες πλέον, ὅτι τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμο-

7 Matth. 7, 8 11 Ps. 126, 1 12 Matth. 7, 26-7 16 Luc. 12, 48
20 Matth. 3, 8

ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπιφροσύνῃ, καὶ τοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦτο παιδοτριβη-
 σαντες, τί ἂν ἐρῆ Κύριος, καὶ τίνας ἀπαιτήσῃ· δίκας Βασίλειος ὑπ'
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ δικαίῳ κριτῇ, φιλίᾳ καὶ χάριτι ἀνθρωπίνῃ τῆς τῶν δοθέν-
 των εἰς τήρησιν θεσμῶν φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντα·
 5 6. Ἄλλ' οὐ κατὰ Βασίλειον ἐμοὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς; ἀλλὰ καλὸς ὁ
 νόμος καὶ τηρητέος, οἷόν ποτ' ἂν ἔξει τὸν (149v) κήρυκα, ὅτι καὶ δῶρον
 οὐκ ἀτιμάσομεν πολυτελές τε καὶ κάλλιστον τῇ τοῦ διακονουμένου σικ-
 χαίνοντες ἀισχρότητι. τί γάρ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων παρὰ
 10 φαῦλον ἂν ἦγοτο τὸ κήρυγμα ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον θεοὶ καὶ
 οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ λησταιὶ καὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἀλιεῖς καὶ ἀγράμματοι καὶ πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων, εἴ γε Παύλῳ πιστέον, εἰς ἁμαρτίαν πλεονεκτοῦντες καὶ περι-
 κάθαρμα καὶ περίψημα; ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ βίῳ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τὸ χρη-
 στὸν μάθημα ἐκπτυσθήσεται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προφάσεις πλουτούντων ἐν
 ἀμαρτίαις, θεοῦ δ' αὖτη φωνὴ ἢ λέγουσα «ἂ λέγουσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἱερεῖς
 15 ποιεῖν ποιεῖτε» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν δράσει πᾶν ὅτι βούλοιο τὸν
 μανθάνοντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ ταμειουθήσεται κριτηρίῳ, ἥπερ
 Παύλῳ δοκεῖ, ἢ πυρπολούμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ζημιούμενος ἢ καὶ
 μισθὸν λαμβάνων τῆς ἱεράς κακοπαθείας ἀντίδοσιν. οὐκ οὐκ κρινεῖς τὸν
 20 διδάσκαλον νῦν; οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν, ὅτε καὶ ὑγιῆς καὶ διαβλέπειν
 σοὶ ταῦτα ἀλυμάντως ἐξῆν μὴδὲν ὑποπτον ἐκ προπαθείας ἐκφέροντι.
 ὅτι μὴδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ὁ ἰατρὸς μὴδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θηρίοις ὁ τῶν θρεμ-
 μάτων φύλαξ μὴδ' ἀρεσκόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ κύνα τις ἐπιστήσει τῇ
 ποιμνῇ καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον τοῖς λύκοις ἰδεῖν ἂν μὴ τῷ κεκτημένῳ τοῦ
 ποιμνίου προκινδυνεύων φανῆ καὶ ὑλακῆ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὸ νόθον τε καὶ
 25 μὴ διακρίνη τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἀπτόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον ὅς εἰ καὶ ἀίσχρὸς
 τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ γνώμην ἐκείνου φαυλότερος εἰδῶς δὲ γε τὴν μάνδραν
 ἀκριβῶς περιέρχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς θήρας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ τοιοῦ-
 τος, οἷον ὑπειληφθαι βούλει καὶ φῆς· τί δαί σοι οἱ συμπνέοντες, οἱ
 30 καλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ διαρρέοντες, οἱ τὰς τῆς
 βασιλείας ὑμῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀξιῶσεις κενώσαντες καὶ τούτων τὸ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας σεμνὸν ἀίσχρῶς ἄγαν καὶ ἐπιβούλως ἐμπορευσάμενοι, καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν Σίμωνος δωροδοκίαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξωσάμενοι, καὶ ταῦτη γε δὴ
 οἰκονομοῦντες μὲν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου καταφρονήσαντας διδα-
 35 σκαλλίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου αὐτοῦ ὀλιγωρήσαντας ἀγιότητος; ἐξ
 ὧν τί δῆ; εἰς τὴν τῶν λαϊκῶν τε καὶ ἔθνικῶν ἀπερρίφθαι δοξομανίαν
 καὶ τάζειν, μισθὸν τοῦτον ὑπερφυῆ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οἰκονομίας ἔρωτι κοσμι-
 κῆς δόξης λαμβάνοντας.

7. Εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον τῆς ψυχῆς, προκάθισον τὸν ἀνόθευτον δικαστὴν, τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτὸ λέγω. τίνα περὶ τούτων, οὐχ ὑπόληψιν φημί, πληροφορίαν δὲ φέρεις, ἧς πολλάκις κάμοι κεκοινωνήκας, λόγῳ τῶν Νικίωνων, τῶν Πέτρων, τῶν Σακῶν, τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ταῖς σειραῖς τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀμαρτημάτων σφ:γγόμενοι, τὸν καλὸν σοι τοῦτον συνεκρότησαν 5 χορὸν τε καὶ ἔρανον (οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐκείνο φημί, ὡς καὶ γνώμης τῶν μετὰ χεῖρα χρηστῆς ἀμαρτάνοντες, οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἄννας, (150r) οὐ Καϊάφας τὸν Χριστὸν ἀτιμάζοντες); εἶτα διὰ τοιούτων ἔλκεις ἀπὸ Κυρίου τὸν ἔλεον; ἀπὸ τούτων θερίζεις τὸ τῆς μετανοίας γεώργιον; ἐκ τούτων ἐπισπᾶ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τὸ σύγγνωστον; ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἐξανίστασαι, 10 ἀπὸ βρυόντων σαπροῖς ἔλκεις θεραπείαν ἐλπίζεις τοῦ τραύματος; ἀλλὰ τυφλοὶ, τὸ παροιμιῶδες, τυφλοὺς. ἢ πάλιν τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπαναγνώση θεσμόν, καὶ εἰ περιτροπῆς ἐλέγχῳ ἀλίσκοιο μηδὲν εὐλαβούμενος οὐχὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἱερέων τῷ λόγῳ δὲ παρεγγυῶντα πείθεσθαι. καὶ πῶς πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὰ κρείττω διδάσκοντας οὐ τούτων ἦσθα μνημονικός, 15 ἀλλὰ τότε πρὸς θάτερον ἐβελοκωφῶν τῷ βίῳ, συκοφαντῶν τοὺς καθαιρόντας καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἀπεσκοράκιζες, νῦν δ' οὕτως ὄξυς ἀναπέφηνας καὶ εὐμαθῆς τῷ λοιπῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ μηχανῆς φασὶ σχεδιώτερος. εἰ δὲ κάμῃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς βιάσῃ βρόχοις ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τούτων ὕμῶν ἐπιεικῶς θαυμάσω τὸ διάφορον, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ βλέπων, τὸ σωτήριον 20 καταπτῶν ἀτοπον. τεκμήριον δ' οὖν ὡς τῶν ἐλπίδων διέψευσθε, τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ὑπολήψει ὑμῖν δεδιότας μετακλιθῆναι τοῖς χεῖροσι· τοῦτο μαρτύριον, ἔλεγχος τοῦτο τῆς ἡμῶν ἀκαταγνώστου πολιτείας. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτης συνίστωρ, πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχαιρείᾳ ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένος, ἐλεῖν ἐκθύμως τὸν νῦν ἐλκώμενόν τε καὶ κατάπτυστον· 25 εἰ μὴ που κάκεινο σκηνὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐπαινέτας ἦδη κατασιχύνοντας ἀλίσκειν σπουδῇ. καὶ γὰρ δέος οὐκ ἄδεές, θ δὴ φασιν, εἶχεν· οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ φρικτοῦ ἐγχειρήματος ὡς ταῦτα προορωμένους, οἷς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν βιοτεύειν τοῦ μετὰ θορύβου βασιλεύειν ἤρεσκε μάλιστα; τί γὰρ ἡμῖν, οὐδὲν δέον κυρίττειν τε καὶ κυρίττεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ φιλο- 30 σοφίας συναυξηθὲν ἀπραγμον καπηλεύειν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώμαις ἀντεξαγόμενον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς θεοῦ τότε μὲν τοιοῦτος, νῦν δὲ κακός; ἀμαρτωλός; ἂν δὲ καταθύμιος ἔσομαι, τίς οὐράνιος, εἰς, ἀμίαντος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ εἰ τι ἕτερον Παύλῳ δοκεῖ τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα σημαίνοντι; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὀπίσω χωρεῖν ὑμῶν 35 καὶ ἀπεναντίας καταναγκαζόντων ἐστάναι. πολλὴ γὰρ χάρις ἀμαρτωλοῖς τοῖς ὁμοίοις δανείζουσι.

8 ἀτιμάζοντες incertum

12 Matth. 15,14 13 Matth. 23,3 27 cf. Plat. Symp. 198 A 34 Heb. 7,26

Θ. Κεφαλαίον δε τοῦ λόγου ἐν κατὰ ἡμῶν ἀκωνύτων οὐδὲν
 μηδὲν ἡμῶν τῶν κατ' ἐλπίδας ἀπώναντο, ἐνδὸν τοῖς πάντα τολμῶσι καὶ
 τὸ δυσῶδες τῆς συκοφαντίας μεταδιώκουσι τῷ ταῦτα διατάξαντι Βασι-
 λείῳ τὴν ὑπαρχον ἐκείνην βλασφημίαν ἐπι(150ν)φημίσαντας πραγμά-
 5 των ἀπηλλάχθαι; τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον τοῖς εἰς ἅπαντα προχείροις περιλοι-
 πον. τίς γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐκόλου ἀνέξεται; ἕως δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος
 μὲν ὁ ταύτης πατήρ αὐτῆ βλασφημία ἀπόλωλε, μηδὲν ἐκ ταύτης Βασι-
 λείου λυμηνάμενος τῆ δόξῃ, ἣ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία τῷ τούτου καλλω-
 πίζεται δόγματι, οὐδὲν ὑπολογιζομένη τῆς Διουσιού ἀρχαιζούσης τῶν
 10 ἐκκλησιῶν διατυπώσεως, ὅτι μὴ νόμος τοῦτο, κἂν ἱεράν ταύτην οἱ
 αἰεὶ τῷ πνεύματι πλανώμενοι ἀπάγωνται ἄγκυραν, λεπτή τινι ταύτη
 μηρίνθῳ ἀποσαλεύοντες, τί γὰρ μὴ καὶ τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἡγαπημένου
 περὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους παράδοσιν συνετήρησαν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῖς
 θεοφόροις κράτιστον πείθεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ Βασιλείου τοῦ ὀλη συνόδῳ
 15 τὰ τοιαῦτα παρισουμένου καταυθαδίζονται, κἂν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν τοῦτο τοῖς
 σώφροσι, μέχρις ἂν οὖν οὗτοι μὲν τοῖς παροῦσιν αἰσχύνῃ ἐνδύονται,
 τὰ Βασιλείου δὲ ἀνθῆ καὶ κρατύνηται καὶ τὸ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον συγκρο-
 τῆται τούτοις καὶ ἐπαγάλληται, μικρὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς τε πονηρᾶς ὑπο-
 λήψεως τῶν πάθει ἐνοχλουμένων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας φροντίσομεν ἢ τοῦ
 20 μακροῦ τούτων ἀνεξόμεθα λήρου, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὶ βούλονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ
 λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογήσομεν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἀνεξόμεθα καὶ βλασφημού-
 μενοι παρακαλέσομεν καὶ πάντα ποιήσομεν καὶ οὐδὲν παραλείψομεν
 ὅσα τῶν ὅσα μάλιστα φιλοῦντων εἰκός· φιλοῦντος γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ παρ'
 ἔμοῦ νῦν πραττόμενον, κἂν μηδεμία τοῦ καλοῦ αἰσθησις, τὸ γὰρ τοι τὴν
 25 ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦς κεκριμένα ἀποτελεῖν οὐ δίδωσι ταῦτα νοεῖν, συνή-
 σουσι δὲ ἐπειδὴν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καταμαρανθῆ πῦρ καὶ λόγος ὁ πάντα
 κρίνειν εἰδῶς ἐπιστῆ· καὶ γὰρ τότε τῶν φιλοκρινούντων ἀνέξομαι ὡς τὰ
 γε νῦν λόγος ἄλλως καὶ κόμπος ὀδόντων τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἐπίχαρις. ὁ δὲ
 πάλιν ἐπιχειροῦσι διὰ τοῦ μιανοῦ Ἐυλομαχαίρη, ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιτιθέμενοι
 30 ὡς τοίχῳ κεκλιμένῳ τὴν τούτου τιμὴν ἐν δίψῃ ἀπώσασθαι σπεύδοντες,
 ἐντεινοντες ὡς γε οἶονται τόξον αὐτῶν, πρᾶγμα πικρὸν, κραταιούμενοι
 ἑαυτοῖς λόγον πονηρὸν, κρύπτοντες παγίδα ὡς ἂν ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ κατα-
 τοξεύσωσιν ἄμωμον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς βάλλοντες, ὁ καὶ τὴν βολὴν αὐτοῖς δῆθεν
 καιρίαν ἐργάσεται, ἄρα ἢ ἐμοί τι πλέον καὶ αὐθις τὸ κράτος ἢ τοῖς
 35 ὑποβεβληκόσι τὴν ἀκρατον αἰσχύνῃ περιποιήσεται; οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.
 βέλος νηπίων ἡγήμαι· ταῦτα· συμπληρούτω γὰρ μοι τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Δα-

βίβ, ὅτι καὶ ἐξασθενήσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱ γλῶσσαι αὐτῶν καὶ θνητοὶ αἰώνιον λήψονται.

9. Ταῦτα εἰ φιλεῖς λάλησον τῷ πατρικίῳ ἀπολογίαν ὧν ἡμῖν μέμ-
φεται, εἰ μὴ τί σοι ἄλλο τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῶν παρευδοκίμει, ὅτι μηδ' ἀλη-
θῶς ἠδραστοὶ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ὡς ἔοικεν ὄλωσ τε (151r) καὶ τοῦ 5
καιροῦ. οὐχ ὅτι ἡ τῆς σῆς δεόμεθα συνηγορίας ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου βοηθείας,
τό[τε] γάρ μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθῶν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἴσως τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐγνωκότες
μέμφωνται· ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἢ τὸ πλεόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄγαν
φιλεῖς καὶ αὐτόν, ὡσπερ διατείνῃ, φιλεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸν χρηστὸν βασιλέα,
ὄρκον σοι τοῦτον προτείνω ὃν σὺ δοκεῖς μέγιστον καὶ ταύτην ὑπόδειξον 10
αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὄρκῳ δὲ ταῦτα προτείνω τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑμῶν
δοκιμάζων πόθον· δέδοικα γάρ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ τοῦ καιροῦ τούτῳ τὰ
πρὸς φιλίαν, χῆτει, φασί, τοῦ βίου τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξωνούμενος.

7 τὸ cod.

7 Iliad. 4, 183 etc.

6.

*Λέοντι βασιλεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πολυγαμίαν εἰς συνηγορίαν πα-
λαιοὺς προσκομιζόντων πατέρων.*

1. Ναί, Διονύσιον ἐπιγινώσκω, θεόσοφον βασιλεῦ, καὶ οἷς ἐπέ-
στησάς με οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον ἐντετύχηκα, οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον ἠγγόνηκα
ἀγνόημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ τῷ ἀξιούντι πλατὺν γέλωτα 5
προσοφλήσαι· πῶς γάρ, ὅς γε Μάρκῳ πειθόμενος τῷ σοφῷ, φερούσης
τάχα πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ φύσεως δεξιότητος, τὸ «ἀκριδῶς ἀναγινώσκειν»
ποιούμαι περὶ πολλοῦ; ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνο τίθεμαι περισπούδαστον, οὕτω
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς σοφῆς εἰσηγήσεως τὸ «τοῖς περιλαλοῦσι μὴ ταχέως 10
συγκατατίθεσθαι».

2. Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἠγγόνησαν οἱ τοὺς κανόνας διαθέμενοι μακάριοι
πατέρες τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Διονυσίου, οὕτω λέγειν εἰμί πρόθυμος ἔστ' ἂν καὶ
τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἐντετυχηκότες τῷ βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἠφειδηκότες
ὄρω, τοῖς κανόσι δὲ τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότες ἔπεσθαι παντὶ σθένει κεκριτό-
τας, ὅτι καὶ Παῦλον ἐώρων τὸν ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἀναπτάντα καὶ τὸν 15
ἀθεάτων ἐπόπτῃν καὶ ἀκουστῇν γεγονότα πολλῷ τῷ ἀποτόμῳ κατὰ τῶν
οὕτως ἀμαρτανόντων χρώμεγον. ἢ εἰ μὴ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ Διονυσίῳ δεῖ πεί-

4 Primus edidit Papadopoulos - Kerameus (Varia Graeca Sacra 1909, 267-268) ex codice Cosinitsae anno 1686 scripto.

8 Marc. Antonin. I, 7

15 2 Cor. 12, 2

θεσθαι, ἀφανίζεσθωσαν μὲν κανόνες καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἂ καὶ
μόνα λοιπά, ἀντεισαγέσθω δὲ ἡ ἀνετος καὶ ἀπαιδαγωγήτος πολιτεία
χριστιανοῖς, οὐκ ὄντος δραστηρίου φαρμάκου ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐμῶν μολώπων
προσῶζον ἀποστυφθεῖη σαπρότατον, οὐκ οὔσης ῥιτίνης ἐν Γαλααδ, τὸ
5 τοῦ ἱεροῦ γράμματος, οὐδὲ τρόπου τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τε καὶ στάσεως·
ἄλλωστε δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ νόμος ὅς γε κατάστασιν ἀρχαίζουσαν διατυποῖ ἐκ-
κλησίας, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων καὶ τότε μὲν εἰσέτι δὲ καὶ νῦν παρὰ τισιν
ἐκκλησίαις ἐθῶν κεκρατηκότων οἷς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν γείτονα δεδοκί-
μασται. ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξειθικότας καὶ γυναιξὶ συνέ-
20 σονται οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἀδιαφόρως τὰ γαμικὰ ἐπαφειθεῖη
συζύγια· εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους τῶν θείων ἀξιώσομεν μυσ-
τηρίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο τινὲς ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἀπλοϊκῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων, καὶ
τὰ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας ὡς ἐκείνοις ἡμῖν (151v) ἐπιτελεσθεῖη οὐ τῷ
ἐπιτυχόντι διαφόρῳ τῶν νῦν ἐπιτελουμένων διενηνοχότα. ἀκούω δὲ καὶ
15 Ἀλεξανδρείας, τῶν κυριακῶν ὑπαναγινωσκομένων λογίων, τοὺς προέ-
δρους μὴ ἐπανίστασθαι, ἡμῶν ὡς τι τῶν ἐξαχίστων λογιζομένων τὸ κα-
θέδρα προσανέχειν τούτου γινομένου. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς
Ἰταλοῖς, συνεισάκτους ἐπάγεσθαι (ἴσως ἀποστολικῶ ἔθει, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ
γυναϊκας ἀδελφὰς περιήγον), καὶ πολέμοις τοὺς ἱερᾶσθαι λαχόντας ἐγ-
20 κρίνεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὔτε νόμος, ἢ φθάνομεν εἰρηκότες, τὸ ἰδιάζον κἄν νέον
κἄν παλαιὸν ἢ, οὔτε τὸ μέχρι δεῦρο σεσιγημένον ἀνανεοῦν δίκαιον, πα-
λαιοὺς δὴ τινὰς νεκροὺς ἀναμοχλεύειν πειρώμενον καὶ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα.
ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, μὴ τοσοῦτον λογισμοῦ ἀποσφαλεῖην, θεῶ τῶν ὄλων καὶ Κύ-
ριε, ὅς δίδως ἀνθρώπῳ σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς τοῖς ἐνεργουμένοις συν-
25 τάττειν κράτος θεοφιλὲς καὶ τῶν πιστῶν ἐγκαλλώπισμα, μεθ' ὧν οἱ τοῖς
ἑαυτῶν συνηγορεῖν ἐνθυμήμασιν ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐχόμενοι τοὺς σω-
φρονοῦντας συνάγουσι, μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ σκάλλοντες. τὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ κα-
πνὸν φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι, Διονυσίῳ δῆθεν πειθόμενοι.
ἀλλ' εἴη μοι μετὰ Παύλου καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἐκείνων τετάχθαι οἱ Διονύ-
30 σιον ἀγνοήσαντες σώφροσι τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας κατέλεξαν καὶ χώρα τῆ
προσηκούσῃ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ὡς θέμις πάντη τούτους ἀλλοτριώσαντες.

5 τρόπου: τόπου C 24 ἐνεργουμένοις: in marg. ἔφασκον δι: καὶ
τοῖς δαιμονῶσιν ἔφασται μετὰληψις τῶν θείων μυστηρίων C 31 post
ἀλλοτριώσαντες, in marg. ζῆται τὴν Διονυσίου γραφὴν πρὸς τὸν ἰγ' κανόνα τῆς
στ' οἰκουμένης συνόδου [Rhall. Potl. 2, 333-6]. Τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ρωμαίων
λέγει [sc. M. Aurelium], αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐν τῷ α' τῶν ἡθικῶν αὐτοῦ μὴ ταχῶς
ἀναγινώσκειν φησί. C

5 Jerem. 8, 23 15 Sozom. 7, 19, 6 27 cf. Diog. L. 8, 18
28 Gaisford Paroem. gr. 224

7.

Λέοντι βασιλεῖ κακοῦν ἐναρχομένῳ.

1. Σοὶ μὲν, πανάγαθε βασιλεῦ, πολλή χάρις τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἔοικε κηδεμονίας, ᾧ γε, παρὸν τὸ προτεθὲν ῥᾶστα πᾶν ἐκτελεῖν (οὐδὲν γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐμποδῶν), οὐ κατακέχρησαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δίκην κα-
 λεις καὶ λόγου μεταδίδως δικαιολογίας. ἀνθ' ὧν κάμοι περιέγεγονε τὸ
 θαρρεῖν καὶ πρὸς γενναίαν ἀπολογίαν διαναστῆναι· οἷς γὰρ ὁ ἐγχειρῶν
 νόμος ἀργός, ἐπὶ τὸ πείθειν πάντως ἢ καὶ πεισθῆναι λοιπὸν ἢ ὀρμή.
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ σκόπει, χρηστότατε, εἰ σοὶ τι μέλλω καὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον περὶ
 τῶν προκειμένων ἐρεῖν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, τίς ἔτι λόγος μὴ τῷ ἤττονι
 λόγῳ με ὑπαγόμενον αἰσχύνῃν τε προσόφλειν καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τι ἄλλο τὸ τῆς
 δίκης ἐνδίδωσιν αὐστηρόν; καὶ μοι μὴδὲν δυσχερές, γαληνότετε, πάθοις
 ὅς κρῖσιν ἀγαπῶν, ἢ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύουσι τιμὴν περιτίθῃσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ
 παρόντα κατέστησας, εἰ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντιλογίας λόγοις σκοπὸν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν ποιοῦμένοισι ἡμῖν συναναφαίνοιτό τι πικρίας ἐχόμενον, ἐπεὶ
 τοι καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι πικρὸν ἢ σοφῇ παροιμία κρατύνεται, ἄλλωστε
 καὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνα προκειμένου μοι θεῖν ὀπηνίκα μὴδενὸς
 κήδεσθαι τῶν ψυχῆν παραιτουμένων ἐπάναγκες.

2. Καλεῖς ἐπὶ δίκην, φιλανθρωπότατε· ποῖαν ταύτην καὶ τίνα καὶ
 τίς καὶ παρὰ τίσι καὶ πότε κεχρημένην καὶ τίνι διώκοντι; δίκην τε
 γὰρ ἐλαύνεις ἢ πάλαι ὑπὸ πολλοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι τοῦ τότε καιροῦ συκο-
 φαντία ἐλήλεγχο, καὶ ἔτισεν ἂν τὴν ἀξίαν ὁ συκοφάντης εἰ μὴ τίς με
 λόγος τῆς τοῦ (152r) Κυρίου μακροθυμίας ὑποδραμῶν τὸ πᾶν τῆς δι-
 καίας ὀργῆς προκατέλυσε. μάρτυρες τούτων ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ γε
 καὶ νῦν ὅς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης μεταχειρίζει πηδάλιον εἰς τοὺς
 συγκέλλους τῆνικάδε τελῶν, καὶ Χριστοφόρος ὁ βέλτιστος σύγκελλος,
 Κυζίκου τότε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνων, ὅς παραχρῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν χρη-
 στότητα ἐμακάρισε καὶ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου κακοήθειαν ἐβδελύξατο καὶ
 οὕτως ὡς μὴ ἂν αὐτῷ δίκαιον τῷ συκοφάντῃ ἀποφυγῆς τόπον περι-
 λειφθῆναι ἐμβριθεῶς ἀποφήνασθαι. Σάββατον ἦν τὸ μέγα καὶ θεῖον καθ'
 ὃ ταῦτα συνεκροτεῖτο καὶ τόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας τὸ ἱερὸν μιτατώριον, ἐπι-
 θάλλεις δὲ κρῖσιν, σοφώτατε, ἀνδρὶ τῷ βάρει τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν ἱερῶν
 κάμνοντι κανόνων καὶ ταύτῃ γε δὴ κεκλιμένῳ ὡς τοίχῳ καὶ ὡς φραγμῷ
 ἀπεωσμένῳ, ὃν κἂν ὅς, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, δάκοι, αὐτὸς ὢν τῶν τοιοούτων
 ἡμῶν παθῶν τὸ κριτήριον, βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤκόντων εἰς ἀνή-
 νυτον περαινόμενος (ἅπαν γὰρ ὑποπτήσσει τὴν δυναστείαν), ὅς καὶ δη- 35

1 Sol: poi cod.

12 ἢ cod.

34 κριτήριον incertum

μοσιολογίας ὑποστάσεις, οὐ κατὰ βασιλέα τοῦτο ποιῶν, κατάγεις τὸν συκοφαντήν τὸ ψεῦδος συλλέξασθαι καὶ πάλιν ἀνάγεις τὴν ἠθροισμένην αὐτῷ τερατεύσασθαι μιανίαν, καὶ ταῦτα προστάγματι καὶ λόγοις ὑψηνεμίσι τε καὶ ψιλοῖς, οὐ πράγμασιν ἀληθείαι καὶ βεβαίαις, οἷς καὶ δοθεῖσι
 5 μόγις ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ἀλίσκεσθαι πέφυκε· τίς γὰρ καὶ πράγματος βεβαιότης οὐ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔγνωμεν, ὡς ὁ γε Ἰωάννης ᾧ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ῥαβδοῦχος ἀληθείας συνηγορούσης παρέστηκε;

3. Προκαλῆ δέ, δικαιοσύνη, τοῖς διαφοροῖς ἐμοὶ κριταῖς χρήσασθαι· ἀλλ' οὐπω τοῦτο καὶ τήμερον ὅσα κριτὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰδέναι εἰς
 10 νόμους ἀνθρώπων ἀναφερόμενον· κατηγορεῖ δὲ ἀνθρώπιον μιανόν τε καὶ δύσχρηστον, οὐδ' ἄξιον ζῆν μὴ ὅτι γε βασιλεὶ ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ μυρίαὶ ταῖς πλημμελείαις ἐνεσχημένον οἷς τέ τισιν ἐνταῦθα ἐάλω ἐργολαβοῦν, ὅπερ δεδήλωται, καὶ οἷς ἀνὰ Ἑλλάδα πεφώραται καὶ δίκην τούτων, εἰ καὶ μὴ πασῶν, ἀποτίσαν, ὅπηνίκα με ἡ θεοφρούρητος ἡμῶν βασιλεῖα
 15 Ἑλλάδι ἀπέστειλε πολλῶν τοιοῦτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ῥυπασμάτων τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν ἐκπονήσαι καὶ διαγύσασθαι, καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ὑπόδικον ὁ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος χειμῶνος πολλοῖς μὲν ἀρχιερεῦσι λυθῆναι τῆς καταδίκης ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσατο, τυχεῖν δ' οὐδαμῶς δεδύνηται τοῦ σκοποῦ. ἀλλ' ὁ γε τῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα πατέρων ἔκτος κανῶν, ὅς ταυτηνὶ τὴν βασιλίδα
 20 τῶν πόλεων ἱερὸν δικαστήριον ἐκλήρωσατο, πόρρω πόρρω ποιεῖται τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν διαγνώσεων κίγκλιδος τοῦς ταῖς ποιότησι ταύταις περιστοιχομένους (152v) καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτῶν παρέχοντας γνώρισμα.

4. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ οὐδὲ θείων θεσμῶν, οὐ πολιτικῶν νόμων ἐχόμενα τὰ μετὰ χειρὸς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγχειρούμενα, σαφῶς ταῦτα
 25 ὑπέστησε. καὶ μὲν, συμπαθέστατε βασιλεῦ, τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς χρώμενος δικαιοσύνη ἀποκλείσης τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐφεδρεύουσι τὰ ὅσα, καὶ τὸν θρασὺν καὶ αὐθάδη καὶ ἀλαζόνα καὶ διὰ ταῦτα λοιμὸν Ἐυλομαχαίρην τῆς δικαίας τιμῆς ζημίας, δίκαιον ὄντα πολλῶν ἕνεκεν ἀπολωλέναι, ὅς οὐκ ἔδεισεν ἀναιδεστάτῃ γνώμῃ σκινδαψοῦς ἡμῖν ἐγκλημάτων ἀναπλάσασθαι
 30 καὶ τραγέλαφους καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ καὶ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ θείου ἀοίδιμον τὴν Ἀρσενίου περιφερομένην ἀνανεώσασθαι χεῖρα, εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω προβαίης, χάρις θεῷ ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπέστησας σεαυτὸν ἐφ' αἵματι ἀθῶν, ᾧ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὡς γε οἶομαι ἐγκαυχᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐξείλου τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἐκ θανάτου, τοῦς ὀφθαλμοῦς σου ἀπὸ δακρύων καὶ τοῦς πόδας σου ἀπὸ
 35 ὀλισθήματος· οὐ τί ἂν ἐμοὶ κερδαλεώτερον ἄλλο τῷ μὴ κατὰ σάρκα διαγενομένῳ ὑμῖν καὶ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ χάριν εὐποτημίας καί, ὅ φασιν οἱ σοφοί,

9 cf. Pap. Ker., Var. Gr. Sacr. 263 ll. 4-6 19 Rhall. Potl. 2, 181, ll. 10-14
 31 cf. PG 25 col. 364 B

γαστρὸς ἕκατι; τυχὸν δέ τι καὶ πλέον τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἔξεις ἔτι μὴ
 τοιοῦτω καθάρματι διεπαίχθης τῷ κρείττονι προσνεμόμενος. εἰ δέ με τὰ
 χεῖρω νικῆθῃ, τῆς δίκης μὲν ἀσθενοῦσης ἀντιδιδομένων δ' ἡμῶν τοῖς
 ὀργῶσι τοῦμοῦ πιεῖν αἵματος, ἐμοὶ μὲν τὸ ἐκεῖ κριτήριον ἀποκείσεται
 εἰς δικαίωσιν δ μὴ πρόσωπον οἶδε θαυμάζειν μηδὲ δυνάστην ἐντρέπε- 5
 σθαι, τῇ δ' ὑμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ εὖ οἶδα μεταμελήσει κἂν τούτῳ ὡσπερ
 ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλοις μετέγνωκας καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσας πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων
 καὶ ἀλαστόρων γνώμαις πειθόμενος (εἰ καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ὑμῖν τῷ μετα-
 μέλῳ συνήνεγκε), λογισθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παιδιὰ τὰ
 παρόντα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ψάμμου οἰκοδομῶν κατ' οὐδὲν ἄμεινον· καὶ γε 10
 τοιοῦτους αἰεὶ πολέμους ἡμᾶς διώκειν εὐξόμεθα.

2 με τὰ cod.

8.

Τῷ αὐτῷ μετὰ ἐστίασιν τραχέσιν ἐφορμήσαντι λόγοις.

1. Οὔτε καθέδρας, φιλανθρωπότατε βασιλεῦ, ἐφιέμενος ἐπισκόπων
 (πῶς γάρ, θεοὶ μόνον ἐπένευσα αἰδοὶ καὶ βίᾳ μεταπεισθεὶς πατρὸς καὶ
 δεσπότου; ἴσασι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, ἐπίσταται καὶ χρόνος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
 παραταθείς), οὔτε οὖν θρόνων ἐπιθυμία, οὐ δόξης κενῆς ἔρωτι καὶ τῷ 5
 τίς εἶναι νομίζεσθαι παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν παροῦσαν κατέστην ἀπολο-
 γίαν· τί γάρ μοι καὶ δόξης τῆς ὄντως ἀλλοτριούσης καὶ θάττον δραπε-
 τεύουσας; ἀλλὰ κατέστην ὅτι μοι τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος τῇ προτεραίᾳ
 ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ...

Primus edidit Kougeas.

9 cetera desunt.

HISTORICAL COMMENT¹

I. *Chronology.* These documents fall, chronologically, into two groups. The first comprises No: 1 only, which can be dated on internal evidence to shortly after March 1, 901 (No: 1 § 3).

¹ Please note the following abbreviations: *Sokr. B. Kougeas*, 'Ο Καιοαρίας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (Athens, 1913), cited as *Kougeas*; *N. Porou*, *Imperator Lev VI Mudry i ego Tsarstvovanie* (Moscow, 1892), cited as *Porou*; Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, ed. G. A. Rhallis,

The second group, comprising Nos: 2-8, is exclusively concerned with Arethas' opposition to the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo VI. The last but one of this group, No: 7, can be accurately dated on internal evidence. It tells us that Arethas is to be tried a second time on a charge of impiety, that Euthymius is already patriarch, and that the winter of 906-7 is already over (No: 7 § 2, 3). No: 7 therefore is datable to the spring of 907, and probably to March, since "no long time" after the appointment of Euthymius (V. E. 55/9), who became patriarch in late February, Arethas came back from exile to make his peace with Euthymius and the court. The dates of two others, No: 5 and 8, can be fairly closely established. The short fragment of No: 8, the latest of the group, belongs probably to the end of March 907 (see below). No: 5, §§ 4 and 8, refers to the impending trial of Arethas, for which. No: 7 is his defence; but at least a part of it (§§ 3 and 4) seems to refer explicitly to Nicholas Mysticus, who is still not deposed and still working for the fourth marriage of the emperor; therefore December 906 or January 907 is the most probable date for No: 5.

Nos: 2, 3, 4, 6 provide little internal evidence for a close dating. They are all bitter attacks on Leo's fourth marriage, which is assailed with every kind of scriptural and Aristotelian argument. What does emerge from them all is that Nicholas Mysticus is still patriarch; and, as the chief advocate of the marriage at this time, he is the the chief target of Arethas' abuse. Now, as we shall see (below, p. 340), it is beyond all question that Nicholas continued his efforts to break down Arethas' opposition to the fourth marriage at least until 6 January 907, after which he seems to have given up in despair and to have himself adopted that line of resistance to it which, in after years, he claimed to have followed from the first. Hence we shall not be wrong in adopting early January 907 as a *terminus ante quem* for these four letters. But what is the *terminus post quem*?

It seems clear that the emperor Leo had no intention, or at least expressed none, of marrying Zoë Carbonopsina until after the birth of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which was his sole

M. Pottis (6 vols., Athens, 1852-59), cited as R. - P; *Vita Euthymii*, ed. *C. De Boor* (Berlin, 1888), cited as V. E.

object in forming the liaison¹. There are arguments for placing Constantine's birth either in May or in September of 905; but it is not important for our discussion to decide between them. It can at least be said that Nos: 2, 3, 4, 6 cannot be earlier than May 905; and this is confirmed by an actual reference in No: 3, § 3, to the birth of the child. But there are reasons for believing that these four letters, which are very similar in tone to one another (indeed, Nos: 3 and 4 form parts of a single diatribe), may be placed in a narrower period than this, namely, in the period between May 906 and January 907. First, it was only after Leo's illegitimate fourth marriage (April 906; below, p. 337) that Nicholas began openly to work for the "dispensation" and to persuade his metropolitans in the same direction. It was then that he encountered the stiff opposition of Arethas, and, as we have said, Nicholas and his policy are the chief objects of Arethas' attack. Secondly, it was only after the fourth marriage had taken place that Leo was banished canonically from the church. Now, in No: 3, § 4, we have a clear reference to this: Arethas urges Leo to adopt his advice and rid himself of Zoë, so that he can once more "dwell in the tabernacles of the Lord" from which he is outcast. No: 4, § 11, twice refers to the same. Nos: 3 and 4 therefore are certainly datable after April 906. Thirdly, it is remarkable that whereas Arethas led the opposition to the marriage in conjunction with Epiphanius of Laodicea², yet at the christening of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (January 6, 906) Epiphanius alone is mentioned as protesting. Why was this? The obvious explanation is that Arethas was not there to protest. In No: 7, § 3, Arethas says, "Your God-guarded Majesty sent me to Hellas to finish and fulfil the purification of those many churches from their defilements". This mission appears to have been made necessary by the Saracen devastations of Greece between the years 902 and 904. If the concluding ceremonies of repair and re-dedication were performed by Arethas in Thessalonica (captured July 31, 904) and elsewhere, they were probably not ready for his participation in them before late in 905. If his mission lasted some months between 905 and 906, he would certainly not have been in Constantinople at the time of Con-

¹ V. E. 114; *Popov*, 97, note 4.

² V. E. 41/2, 26-27; *Kougeas* 74-75.

stantine's christening, and perhaps not at the time of the fourth marriage itself. It is impossible not to wonder whether he may not have been purposely sent out of the way during these events, to which he was bound to have taken very strong exception. What need was there to send the Archbishop of Caesareia all the way to Hellas, in order to do what could have been done just as easily by the local bishops?

With all this in mind, we think it certain that the second group of letters (Nos: 2-8) falls within the period May 906 to March 907.

The order in which the texts should be arranged chronologically is exactly that of the manuscript. No: 1 is of course the earliest, datable to 901. The title of No: 2 shows that it is datable to the beginning of the trouble over the marriage, at least as far as Arethas had to do with it, and it therefore precedes 3-8. Nos: 7 and 8 are respectively from early and late March 907¹. No: 5, as we saw, dates from the turn of the years 906-907. And Nos: 3-4, a single diatribe in two parts, which contain no reference to the forthcoming trial of Arethas, fall naturally between Nos: 2 and 5.

II. *The Fourth Marriage of Leo VI.* The emperor's third wife, Eudocia, died on April 12, 901. She was delivered of a son, who was christened Basil after his paternal grand-father², but who died immediately. The throne which Basil I had thought to be firmly established in his family was still without an heir. Not one of his sons had begotten a surviving male child. In deciding to marry a fourth wife, Leo had no consideration in mind but the paramount duty of producing a son to succeed him³. Not long after the death of Eudocia⁴, he began to think of a new union. By the summer of 904⁵ Zoë Carbonopsina was living in the Palace as his mistress. In May or September 905 she gave birth in the Purple Chamber to a male infant, the future emperor Constantine VII. Leo's next objects were to baptize the child, to have him acknowledged as the legitimate heir to the throne, and to marry his mother. The patriarch Nicholas, like a true

¹ On the date proposed by *Kougeas* (p. 20) for No: 8, see below.

² De Cerimoniis, ed Bonn., 643/19-20.

³ *Popov* 97 note 4.

⁴ PG CXI, col 196 C.

⁵ Cont. Geo Mon., ed. Bonn., 862/14.

successor of Photius (below, p. 340), was prepared to support these plans. But he met with resistance from many of his (Ignatian) bishops. The christening of Constantine with full imperial honours was carried out on January 6, 906. But it was only agreed to by the clergy (and not by all of them)¹ on the understanding that Leo should abandon his mistress. However, three days later, on January 9, he received her back into the Palace, and there she remained until he persuaded the presbyter Thomas to marry them. He then with his own hand placed the imperial crown on her head².

It is important for the chronology of our documents to determine as closely as possible the date of this marriage. We know that it took place after 9 January 906, which is the date on which Zoë, still unmarried, returned to the Palace. We may conclude that it took place before 1 May 906, when the patriarch Nicolas made his first offer to provide "dispensation" for it by receiving Leo into the church at the festival of the encaenia of the Nea³. We know also that it took place *μετά τὴν ἑορτήν*⁴. Is this festival the Epiphany (January 6) or Easter (April 13)? Other evidence suggests the latter. Nicholas stated six years later⁵ that the papal delegates arrived in Constantinople "in the eighth or ninth month" after the marriage. The delegates in question arrived in February 907⁶. April 906 was ten months before this date; but January was thirteen. It seems most probable that the marriage took place immediately after April 13, perhaps on the following Sunday.

III. *Attitude of Church and State on Fourth Marriages.*

The early Christian Church, free to interpret as it liked the words of 1 Corinthians 7, was not severe on marriages contracted one after the other by the same person. Dionysius the Great of Alexandria (c. 200-265) was one of those who interpreted the words of St. Paul in a very liberal spirit (No: 6 § 2). The Latin Fathers, Jerome and Ambrose and Austin, were of the same

¹ V. E. 37/16-17.

² PG CXI, col. 197 A-B; Cont. Geo. Mon. 865/9; V. E. 60/25; *Popov* 105-106; *G. Kotias*, Léon Choerosphactès (Athens, 1939) 49-63.

³ V. E. 38/8; cf *ibid.* 44/21.

⁴ Cont. Geo. Mon. 865/8-9.

⁵ PG CXI, col. 201 A.

⁶ V. E. 123-124; *Popov* 132-133.

opinion¹. But in the Eastern Church since the 4th century the rule governing fourth marriages was that laid down or implied by Canons 4, 50 and 80 of St. Basil (MPG XXXII, cols. 673, 732, 805; R. - P. IV, 102-107, 203-205, 242-245). These edicts are discussed at very great length by Arethas in No: 4 (§§ 2, 3, 5 etc.). Canon 4 is not, as he points out, relevant to fourth marriages, since the phrase *τριγάμων και πολυγάμων* means not "persons who marry three times and persons who marry more than three times", but "persons who marry three times, that is, polygamists", an interpretation which is supported by Canon 50. Canon 80, on the other hand, deals expressly with persons who marry more than three times, stigmatizes this practise as "bestial and wholly alien to the human race", and imposes a penance of probably eight years². There are certainly ambiguities in Basil's ordinances, taken together; and of these ambiguities the friends of Leo were quick to take advantage. But to the candid reader the obvious implication is, not only that such marriages entail heavy punishment, but also that they are not marriages at all, which implies the separation of the parties before the period of penitence can begin. It was some centuries before the civil law was revised in conformity with the canons. But the *Procheiros Nomos* of Leo's father Basil I, datable to the years 870-879, at last made this revision, and interpreted very fairly the sense of the canons in question: "A law was laid down by the ancients, and confirmed by the most pious Justinian, whereby those who wished might extend cohabitation as far as a fourth marriage; he had in mind, no doubt, to how many persons it naturally happens that their partners in marriage die early, when they themselves are still youthful, and nothing can resist their natural desires; so that it happens to such that they are debarred from chaste wedlock, and turn to criminal intimacies. We, who are subject to the same natural weakness, might well adhere to the ancient laws in this regard; but we see that the sacred (sc. canon) law forbids it. For this reason Our Serenity, wishing to curb the abandoned passions of those in love, forbids anyone to proceed to a fourth cohabitation, and orders that those who have proceeded to a third shall be subject to the canonical penalties of the Church; so that the same writ shall run in the

¹ *Popov* 148 note 8.

² R. - P. IV 244-245.

case of a third cohabitation as in that of a second. Let it now be absolutely clear to all, that if any shall dare to proceed to a fourth marriage, which is no marriage, not merely shall such a pretended marriage be of no validity and the offspring of it be illegitimate, but it shall be subject to the punishment of those who are soiled with the filthinesses of fornication, it being understood that the persons who have indulged in it shall be separated from one another"¹. The canonical penalty against those who married even a third time was re-inforced, in very vigorous language, by Leo VI himself in his 90th Novel², at a time when he had no idea that he himself would one day transgress up to this point, and beyond it.

This revision or "purification" of the civil law by both Leo's father and by Leo himself is alluded to by Arethas in No: 3, § 9 and No: 4, § 10. There can be no doubt that so far as both canon and civil law went Arethas and his party had an unanswerable case. And as both the civil laws had been issued under the name of Leo himself, his action in violating them was doubly unfortunate.

IV. *The Church Parties; Attitude of Arethas.* It has been realized, at least since the publication of Popov's book³, that the Church at this time was still divided into two parties, just as it had been a generation before. The supporters of Nicholas inherited the broader, more worldly policy of the Photians, which tended to support the wishes of the emperor. The supporters of Euthymius inherited the narrower, more conservative and more independent tradition of the Ignatians. If this is so, how then, asked Popov, did it come about that on this occasion the party traditionally favourable to the worldly policy of the emperor (the Photians) should have resisted the fourth marriage of Leo VI, and the party which traditionally upheld the scruples of the Church against all secular interference (the Ignatians) allowed that marriage to be recognized? But the first of these two questions rests on a

¹ *Zepos, Jus Graeco-Romanum*, 2 128 - 129; cf. 6, 235.

² ed. *Noailles - Dain* 296 - 299.

³ 160 - 165; cf. *Ivornik, The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948) 276 - 277.

misunderstanding of the conduct of the Photian - Nicholaän party from the date of the marriage until January 907. The fact is that during all these months Nicholas, in the true Photian tradition, did his utmost to persuade his bishops to agree to a dispensation in favour of the marriage. It is true that in the period before the marriage actually took place Nicholas himself had not been wholly consistent in this policy. Arethas repeatedly accuses him of wavering from one side to the other (Nos: 3, § 8; 4, § 10; 5, § 2, etc.). He was obviously torn between loyalty to the emperor and dread of splitting the church (below, p. 341). A passage of the V. E. (43/27-28) shows that some time before 907, perhaps as early as 905¹, he had made with his bishops a declaration of unanimous opposition to the marriage, or at least a declaration that no decision either way should be taken except on a unanimous vote. But there can be no doubt that the tenour of his whole policy between May and December 906 was in favour of recognizing the marriage. Certainly, when he wrote to the Pope in 912², he pretended that he had consistently opposed it. But this is false: not only does V. E. prove it so³, but also the writings of Arethas, both of this and later periods, show conclusively that at this time Nicholas was strongly in favour of the marriage, and Arethas against it. Writing to Nicholas in 912, when their rôles had been reversed, Arethas says: "I was following you when I changed my mind (sc. in favour of the marriage): for you at that time were very loyal to the emperor and most eager to admit him into the church.... I do not know what caused you to turn about and adopt a stiff and harsh attitude instead of the more humane and loyal one which you had hitherto maintained"⁴.

So loyal in fact was Nicholas to the designs of the emperor that the author of V. E. was able to attribute his subservience to blackmail (p. 38). But there was one thing that not even he would do: and that was to start a new church quarrel by a partial

¹ This earlier decision from which Nicholas has now seceded is often referred to by Arethas (cf. Nos: 3, § 8; 5, §§ 3, 5). The statement of V. E. (pp. 37, 43) that Nicholas was as early as 905 blackmailed into taking the part of Zoë and her unborn child cannot be accepted without independent testimony. ² PG CXI, cols. 196-201.

³ Cap. XI-XIII; cf. *De Boor* *ibid.* 160 ff.

⁴ *Varia Graeca Sacra*, ed. *Papadopoulos-Keramevs* (S. Peterburg, 1909) 264/22-30.

and unilateral decision in Leo's favour. Nicholas had been appointed patriarch by Leo in 901 on the understanding that he was to be "guardian of the peace", that peace which his predecessor Cauleas had recently made between the Photian and Ignatian parties. Many passages bear witness to the capital importance of this church unity in the eyes of Nicholas¹. He was only prepared to grant official dispensation if his bishops were unanimous. But to this unanimity there was one insuperable obstacle: the resistance of Arethas².

Arethas was himself by tradition and education a Photian of the Photians³. He had until 901 been a close friend of the Photian patriarch Nicholas (No: 1, §§ 2,3). Yet here, in 906 and 907, we find him writing as an orthodox Ignatian, with a bitter personal hostility to his one-time friend⁴. He uses all the stock Ignatian invectives, abusing the sudden elevation of an upstart layman to the patriarchate (No: 4, §§ 1, 10), and the wordly and time-serving policy of the Photian/Nicholaän party in general (Nos: 2, § 7; 3, §§ 6, 10; 5, § 6), who regard the emperor's whim as *ἄγραφος νόμος* (No: 4, § 9). He takes up a stiffly conservative attitude against 'Tarasius' dispensation for Constantine VI (No: 3, § 9). He is the friend and teacher of a rigidly Ignatian pupil, Niketas Paphlago⁵. And he is in touch, through the same Niketas, with the Ignatian/Euthymian party (below, p. 344). How is this change of front to be explained?

Great scholar as Arethas was, his private character appears to have been very far from estimable. His betrayal of his pupil Niketas in 907 was especially odious⁶. There is reason to think that he had from the first been envious of the elevation of Ni-

¹ V. E. 43/24 - 44/10; *Varia Graeca Sacra* 256/16 - 22.

² That by the end of 906 Nicholas had got the great majority to follow him can be inferred from Nos: 2, § 5; 5, § 3, where Arethas admits that his own party of opposition is a small one. ³ *Kougeas*, 5.

⁴ Cf. his repeated jeering at Nicholas' myopia: Nos: 4, § 8; 5, § 4; cf. *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 8 (1912) 305/27.

⁵ Below, p. 344. *Papadopoulos-Kerameus*, in *Viz. Vrem.* 6 (1899) 22-23, wonders how Niketas can have been a pupil of Arethas and yet have written against Photius in the *Vita Ignatii*. He did not realise that between 903 and 906 Arethas had changed parties.

⁶ V. E. 58/9 - 12.

cholas to the patriarchate¹, an office which he coveted for himself and hoped, as Popov acutely conjectures², to obtain in succession to Euthymius. This latent enmity was certainly increased by the refusal of Nicholas to take any action against Xylomachaeris in 901 (below, p. 351). Arethas therefore, after his appointment as archbishop of Caesareia in 902 or 903³, joined the opposition party in the Church. We have suggested above (p. 335) that it was in view of his inevitable hostility to the fourth marriage that he was sent abroad during the critical period when Nicholas hoped to induce the Church to sanction it. This plan failed; and on his return Arethas entered the struggle with ardour. The emperor knew very well from what quarter the opposition arose, and made every effort, through Nicholas himself (below, p. 344), through his protovestiary the patrician Samonas (No: 5, § 1), and through his agent Xylomachaeris (No: 7, § 3) to overcome it. But Arethas stood firm. At last, in January 907 Nicholas himself could no longer hope for a unanimous dispensation. Faced with the alternatives of splitting the Church or resigning himself, he was true to the terms of his original appointment and chose the latter. In this way Arethas had his revenge.

While these documents fully explain the respective attitudes of Nicholas and Arethas towards the fourth marriage in this initial period, they do not solve the second difficulty posed by Popov. That up to January 907 Photians should have supported the marriage and Ignatians opposed it was in keeping with the traditions of their parties. But how can we explain the fact that after Nicholas had at length been forced by Ignatian intransigence to give up the idea of a dispensation and to resign, the Ignatian party themselves, headed by Euthymius and Arethas, should have turned about and themselves given the dispensation?⁴ It is hardly possible to disagree with Popov's explanation⁵ that the Ignatian party, which had been "out of office" since the death of Ignatius himself (877), was prepared to make this sacrifice of their principles in order to get the affairs of the church once

¹ Cf. B. Z. 47 (1954) 36/8-9.

² 160 note 1.

³ B. Z. 47 (1954) 2-3.

⁴ cf. V. E. 53/17-18; 75/6-10; Mausl 18, 336/2-5.

⁵ pp. 164-165.

more into their own hands. They could plead that the dispensation had been approved by Rome, for whose judgement they had great veneration. But their sudden change of front after their opponent had, by their own intransigence, been forced to abdicate, can only be called cynical opportunism.

V. *The Crisis, December 906 to January 907.* The fourth marriage of the emperor, which, as we saw, probably took place in late April 906, automatically subjected him to the canonical interdict whereby he was excluded from taking any part whatever in the church ceremonies during a period of four years¹. He had known that such would be the result of his action, but relied on his patriarch's loyalty to secure him dispensation²: that is to say, a decision of the church to make a special case of the marriage, so that it could be recognized and condoned. The patriarch Cauleas had been forced to make such a concession in the matter of Leo's third marriage to Eudocia in 900, and this had been agreed to on grounds of political necessity³. But it was clear that there would be opposition to dispensing a fourth.

Nicholas, if the V. E. is to be trusted⁴, was at first prepared to issue dispensation on his own authority, and to receive the emperor into the church as early as 1 May 906, just after the marriage had taken place. He repeated this offer on the 6 August. It is however probable that Arethas was absent at least on the former of these occasions, and perhaps Nicholas had in mind to take this favourable opportunity to present his bishops with a *fait accompli*. But the emperor had other ideas. He wished for the sake of his son to make it clear beyond all doubt that his marriage had been legitimized; and since this could not be done by unanimous verdict of his own bishops, he determined to apply to Rome and the other eastern patriarchates also. The appeal to Rome was a master stroke: it could not fail to please the Ignatians, who had relied on Rome in their struggle with Photius; and Rome herself was certain to respond favourably, since she could not resist the chance of interfering once more in the church affairs of Constantinople, and moreover relied

¹ R. - P. 4, 244 - 245.

² cf. No: 5, § 4; PG CXI, col. 1144 D; Popov 98.

³ PG CXI, cols. 197 D - 200 A.

⁴ pp. 38, 44.

on Byzantine help in her struggle against the Saracens¹. The delegates from these sees could not arrive before the following February; so Leo decided to wait, at least until he was certain of what their verdict would be, before accepting the invitation of Nicholas².

His refusal was unfortunate: for the next time that Nicholas renewed it, Christmas Day 906, he was already promising more than he could perform without the certainty of schism in his church. The opposition, led by Arethas, had in the meantime developed strongly³. And although the Nicholaëans tried by all means to persuade their colleagues that no question of heresy was involved to justify opposition to the court⁴, and though Leo himself, through his agent Xylomachaeris, put strong pressure on the dissident bishops⁵, neither arguments nor threats were efficacious. When Christmas Day came and the emperor, now certain of the support of the foreign patriarchates, was willing to accept the invitation to enter the church, Nicholas drew back, and postponed his invitation for twelve days until Epiphany.

The V. E.⁶ states that between August and Christmas Day 906 Nicholas, whose support of Leo had previously been secured by a threat of prosecution for treason, changed his mind and opposed the emperor because he had learned meantime that Leo intended in any case to dethrone him. This is false. On Christmas Day 906 Nicholas was still doing all he could to overcome the opposition of the Ignatians and Arethas to the marriage. This is proved by a document of unquestioned authenticity, a letter written to Arethas himself a few days after Christmas by his friend and pupil Niketas Paphlago⁷. On the evening of that very Christmas Day 906 Niketas was summoned to the patriarchate. Here he found Nicholas and with him Niketas' own uncle Paul the sakellarios, a strong supporter of the court party. Dinner was brought in, but Niketas refused all refreshment. Then the struggle began. Nicholas told Niketas that the emperor suspected him (Niketas) of being the chief cause of Arethas' resistance to the marriage. Sarcasm, tears, threats and promises

¹ *Ρορον*, 116.

² *Varia Graeca Sacra* 264/24 27; V. E. 38/11-15.

³ *Ibid.* 42/27-29.

⁴ No: 2, § 2.

⁵ No: 7, § 3.

⁶ p. 39.

⁷ *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημον* 8 (1912) 301-306.

were all applied to make Niketas abandon his position. But Niketas remained firm; and said, very reasonably, that it was absurd to suppose that a pupil could have such a decisive influence on his master. It was probably only then that Nicholas saw that his efforts on Leo's behalf were hopeless, and that he would have to give them up. It was a triumph for the Euthymian opposition, to whom Niketas lost no time in disclosing all that had passed¹.

Epiphany came, and once more Nicholas had to confess that he could not redeem his promise, owing to the relentless opposition of Arethas². If all would agree to the dispensation, he said, he would agree with them; otherwise, he could not³. He then summoned his bishops to the patriarchate, made them reaffirm a declaration that they would all stand together, come what might, and waited for the inevitable deposition⁴.

Then came the great change-over of the party policies. Nicholas, who for the past eight months had warmly supported the marriage, now perforce abandoned it and resigned his office on the respectable pretext that his conscience would not allow him to grant the dispensation (February 907); and this fiction he maintained in his letter to the Pope, written in 912⁵, in which he uses many of the same arguments against the fourth marriage which Arethas had previously-used against him. The Euthymians, on the other hand, who had always opposed the marriage, now used the authority of Rome to grant the dispensation⁶, and their leader became patriarch. Arethas, who as the most violent opponent of Leo's plans hitherto, was the especial object of the imperial resentment, was threatened with and perhaps actually subjected to a prosecution for impiety, an old charge originally brought against him in his Photian days. But although he went temporarily into banishment⁷, he was not deprived of his see, and he soon returned to make his peace with the court, at the

¹ Ibid. 305: ἕκαστον οὖν ὃ εἶπεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ λημῶν καὶ ὁ κρατῶν (Nicholas) τοῖς περὶ Εὐθύμιον ἐξ ὑπογυίου δεδήλωκεν (sic: but the correct reading is obviously δεδήλωκα).

² V. E. 41/1-2.

³ Ibid. 43/24-25.

⁴ *Ρορον*, p. 126, notes that Nicholas consented to resign in order to avoid the anomaly of two patriarchs, since, whether he resigned or not, Leo was certain to appoint another who would do his will.

⁵ PG CXI, cols. 196-220.

⁶ V. E. 54.

⁷ Ibid. 55/12-13.

expense of all his finely expressed principles. It is probable that he had all along intended to do this, and that his prosecution and exile were by this time no more than a farce. The object of his policy, the dismissal of Nicholas, had been achieved, and he could now turn over to the court with the Euthymians, with whom he had doubtless had an understanding (above, p. 344). Leo, having won over Euthymius, had no motive to be hard on Arethas and was ready enough to welcome him back into favour.

The only convinced opponent of the fourth marriage who remained consistent to the end was Niketas Paphlago. He was confounded by the volte-face of his party and of Euthymius in particular. He wrote a savage attack on the emperor and his new patriarch¹, and retired to a hermitage near the Bulgarian frontier. He was brought back and would have been severely punished if Euthymius had not interceded for him. It is melancholy to record that Arethas was one of those who demanded that the punishment should be carried out on him². Niketas escaped and took refuge during two years in the country. It was perhaps at this time that he wrote his *Life of St. Ignatius* (907-909). At the end of it he stigmatizes³ "the whole line of Photius' successors who shared with him the ambition to rule", which certainly implies a good number of patriarchs since Photius, and probably includes the renegade Ignatian Euthymius⁴.

VI. *The Revolt of Ducas*. We have followed the story of the fourth marriage as far as the spring of 907, where these texts of Arethas leave off. It is a story most discreditable to both church parties, though casting some credit on the patience and diplomacy of Leo and Samonas. But it is not possible to omit all reference to a curious story preserved in the V. E. According to this story, Nicholas was in league with the rebel aristocrat Andronicus Ducas, who deserted with his son Constantine to the caliph about this time; and a letter supposedly written by Nicholas to Andronicus fell into the emperor's hands, and was used by him to blackmail the patriarch into complying with the emp-

¹ V. E. 57, 12-14. ² Ibid. 58/10. ³ PG CV, col. 573 C.

⁴ *Popov*, 161 note 5, records that Fr. Gerasim Yared, in *Christ. Chten.* 2 (1873) 329, was the first to note that this passage referred to patriarchs at least as late as Nicholas.

eror's wishes in the matter of his fourth wife and son during the years 905 - 906¹.

This is not the place for a re-examination of the credibility of the story, or of the chronological problems which, if it were true, it would raise. The conduct of Nicholas during the years 906 and 907 is perfectly understandable without such intervention from outside. If Grumel is right² (and his solution, though by no means reconciling all the testimonies, appears upon reflection to be the most probable), then Ducas did not revolt before the autumn of 906, and did not go over to the caliph till the spring of 907. Therefore the story of a letter of Nicholas to the rebel written in 905 cannot be true. That such a letter was produced on 6 February 907 to persuade some bishops to secede from him to the Euthynians³, is probable enough; but, as Popov suggests⁴, it was probably a forgery of Samonas. This solution does not rule out the possibility that Nicholas, in desperation, had towards the end of 906 come to some sort of an understanding with Ducas; and for this there is independent evidence⁵. But it is quite unnecessary, as well as chronologically difficult, to date this understanding as early as 905, as the V.E. does: in seeking for a solution in favour of his emperor Nicholas was merely acting in accordance with his Photian principles.

SUMMARIES AND COMMENTS

No. 1

Title: Letter written while still Deacon to the Patriarch Nicholas, because Nicholas surnamed Xylomachaeris, convicted of false witness, had not been properly punished for slander.

Summary: § 1. Internal diseases, if the patients are careless enough to conceal them, grow worse and become fatal. I must speak out about the sorrow that preys upon me, and either procure relief or be assured of the worst. I may speak harshly; but my excuse must be the pain which I suffer. § 2. A slanderous charge was made against me before you and the ecclesiastical tribunal. The charge was so circumstantial that even I myself began to wonder whether I had not unconsciously committed the crime alleged. At last, however, one arose who exposed

¹ Cap. XI - XIII.

² *Échos d'Orient* 36 (1937) 201 - 207.

³ V. E. 47/21 - 30.

⁴ pp. 101 - 102.

⁵ *Cont. Geo. Mon.* 867/11 - 12.

the plot and demolished the accusation. I naturally supposed that the accuser would have been most severely punished. But nothing was done to him beyond the exposure of his lies. Many good men sympathized with me over this, and commiserated with me on my betrayal by my trusted friend. My enemies laughed at me, and said the case had been well worth bringing. The credit of the accuser was scarcely damaged in the eyes of his friends. § 3. Of course the charges were all unfounded; but I shall feel safe only when the slanderer is properly punished. So long as he is not, there is the fear that he may re-appear with a supplement to his charges of last year, and have better success. When he accused me of atheism and other crimes in your hearing, his outrage went unchecked, though he himself was a low wretch and I am distinguished by every advantage of birth and wealth. But when you were made patriarch, it seemed that you would give me no satisfaction in the affair, though my friend and spiritual father. I should perhaps not have pressed my demands; but I relied on our friendship. If I must strive so hard for this friendship against those who envy me, surely you can help me by repressing their hostility. But I will beg for no favours. I will find blessing in the hatred of men, and be thankful I am no worse off. Yet how could I be? What could be worse than that one who has been honoured by emperors and patriarchs in east and west, who have divided among them the triumphs of my industry, should lose all reputation at the whim of villains? No: there is no balm in Gilead, no justice to bind up my broken heart! § 4. I have this too to complain of: when a charge is trumped up against me, the holy tribunal at once accepts the whole as gospel truth, and penalties are denounced against me. But when the charge is proved slanderous, then the talk is all of the "long-suffering of Christ" and mercy for the slanderer (though the judges are severe enough on what touches themselves). Jesus was merciful; but He ordained the punishment of sinners both by precept and example. § 5. So much for my judges. The process must be regarded as a sham. Surely you will not overlook this in the case of an old friend, the favourite of fortune and Divine Providence? Christ teaches us to lay down our lives for our friends, not to hand them over to murderers. The slanderer must be made an example. Such indulgence is harmful and blameworthy. Law and justice demand the penalty. How can we punish our servants for some slight negligence when we ourselves overlook far more serious matters? § 6. The despicable accuser has insulted your holy tribunal. It is all very well to display your impartiality at the expense of my misfortunes; but it is hard to believe that any impartial observer can think that the accuser has been fairly treated with such indulgence: he cannot be excused who takes another's goods and wantons in another's plenty. I have been soiled by his wickedness and you only can wash me clean. If you neglect it, you sin against God. Your indulgence to those who now fawn on you is an insult to me and my sympathizers. And if you think that by such indulgence you have silenced your enemies, the bad men who worked against your elevation to the patriarchate and are still envious of your success, then

you are making a big mistake, as you will soon find when you are left naked to their attack. Do you then, the best of all my friends, avenge my dishonour, even though my enemies have for the moment called a truce to their slanders and you make such a show of mercy towards them. If the slanderer is properly punished, blindness will doubtless cause him to alter his ways, and he will be an example to others of your own true friendship and fidelity.

Comment: This letter can be dated with fair accuracy. From No: 7, § 2 we learn that Arethas' prosecution took place on Easter Saturday, and from the present letter, § 3, that it took place "last year". Since then Nicholas has become patriarch (§§ 3, 6). Therefore our letter is datable a short while after 1 March 901, the date of Nicholas' elevation¹; and the date of the prosecution must have been Saturday, 19 April 900.

The story can be pieced together from several references in Nos: 1, 5 and 7. The ostensible prosecutor was one Nicholas Xylomachaeris², who was perhaps a "basilikos", a member of the imperial secret police. But No: 7, § 2 makes it clear that the real mover in the affair was the emperor himself, who ordered Xylomachaeris to collect the evidence and conduct the prosecution. The main charge, among others, was that of impiety or "atheism" (§ 3). The case was heard before an ecclesiastical tribunal which sat in the *metatorion* (imperial robing-room) in St. Sophia. The judges included Euthymius, at that time synkellos, Christopher bishop of Cyzicus, and Nicholas himself, at that time a layman and imperial private secretary (*mystikos*)³.

The charge of atheism was perhaps no more than a pretext, such as might be brought forward against any Photian churchman who took too much interest in secular learning, especially in secular philosophy. We may suspect, from Leo's personal interest and from the fact that the charges were revived against Arethas by the same prosecutor in 907, again with a political motive (above, p. 345), that a political motive lay behind the earlier prosecution also. Between October 899 and July 900 (to give the outside limits⁴) two major conspiracies were set on foot against Leo's person: that of Basil the Epeiktes and that of Leo's brother

¹ See Grumel, in *Échos d'Or.* 35 (1936) 9.

² No: 1, Tit.; 5, § 8. The name seems to mean "wooden sword", which may indicate that the man began life as a gladiator or stage-player.

³ No: 1, §§ 2, 3; 7, § 2.

⁴ Grumel, *op. cit.* 32-34.

Alexander. It is perhaps not fortuitous that Arethas' trial fell in the very middle of this dangerous period (19 April 900). There is no subsidiary evidence to connect Arethas with either Basil or Alexander. But it is strange that Leo should have taken a personal interest in the marshalling of evidence on which to try a deacon for impiety.

The prosecution, though artfully framed, broke down through the intervention of a certain John Rhabdouchos¹. Arethas was acquitted, became reconciled with Leo, and was shortly afterwards appointed by him to be official orator to the Palace². Arethas was grateful to the emperor, whose mercy and repression of anger he extolled both then and afterwards³.

With the conduct of his friend Nicholas Mystikos he was not so well satisfied. No steps had been taken to punish Xylomachaeris, who by Arethas' acquittal had been convicted of false witness. When Nicholas became patriarch in the following year (1 March 901), Arethas expected that, out of friendship, Nicholas would at once have proceeded against Xylomachaeris; but Nicholas did nothing, with the result that Arethas' name was not cleared and Xylomachaeris not fully discredited. This is the occasion of our No: 1. It is not clear from it what steps Arethas thought that Nicholas could take in the matter; and the suggestion, in the last sentence, that Xylomachaeris might be blinded, seems to be fantastic. In any case Xylomachaeris had imperial protection, and it was not likely that Leo would abandon a useful servant to the wrath of Arethas. But the incident may well be of great importance for what followed (above, pp. 341-2). Arethas was not the man to forget an injury; and his supposed betrayal by Nicholas was in all probability the motive for his defection to the Euthymian party a few years later.

The significance of all this is, therefore, plain enough. Whatever the real cause of the action against Arethas, the ostensible case had been got up by the Ignatians. Their leader was Euthymius, whose influence with Leo was great. When the case broke down,

¹ No doubt a near relation of Leo R., who became (but it is not clear when) both magister and logothete; see *De Admin. Imp.*, ed. *Moravcsik*, 32/81-84; *G. Kolias*, *Léon Choerosphactès* (Athens, 1939) 12, 60, 128-9. The Rhabdouchoi were thus of the neo-classical party, and John would be a likely person to take up Arethas' defence.

² *B. Z.* 47 (1954) 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 30/65-72; below, No: 3, § 4.

and the Photian Nicholas became patriarch, Arethas naturally applied to him for vengeance. But Nicholas was in a difficult position. Though a Photian, he had been appointed patriarch to keep the peace between the two church parties¹. He was thus reluctant to embitter the opposition by violent action against Xylomachaeris at the very outset of his patriarchate. Arethas urges (§ 6) that Nicholas' leniency will not in the end reconcile his (Ignatian) enemies who worked against his elevation, and will only offend his own (Photian) party. But Nicholas remained firm. His conciliatory policy was honourable to him; but it ruined him. Five years later Arethas saw his chance to be revenged. Over the question of the Tetragamia he joined the Ignatian/Euthymian faction, resolutely opposed any compromise, and thus brought about the dismissal of his friend and benefactor (above, p. 342).

It is to be noted that No: 1 is the only letter in our group which is datable before the Tetragamia controversy. It seems probable that its inclusion here is in the nature of a *scolion* on the second trial of Arethas in 907 (Nos: 5, 7), at which the same prosecutor appeared; and an indication of the nature of the quarrel which led Arethas in 906-907 to take up an extreme Ignatian position against Nicholas.

No: 2

Title: To the emperor Leo, at his beginning that disturbance unadvisedly provoked in the Church over his fourth marriage.

Summary: § 1. I beg from my emperor a fair hearing for my words of wisdom. A pilot wastes his skill in a leaky boat, and a teacher can do no good if his message falls on stony ground. You should heed me, and stop your ears to those silly and malicious counsellors who mislead the multitude of innocent folk. The blind are leading the blind. I am moved to denounce them, and to expose the deadly nature of the bait which they are dangling before their victims. § 2. I hear that these evil counsellors are going up and down telling everyone that the question of the fourth marriage need involve no scandal or disunion. There is no heresy here, they say, nothing which threatens an incurable breach among the faithful: so that to secede from the Court and to form an opposition party on this issue is unreasonable. This sounds plausible. But there is none the less a heresy here, as I shall show irrefutably later on. § 3. Men's opinions are of two kinds, concerned with theory

¹ B. Z. 47 (1954) 5.

and with action. The former relate to things divine and unseen, which are brought to light by the unaided power of the reason. The latter are the so-called "actable", of which, though here too reason supplies the motive, the distinguishing mark is performance. In either category we have three factors, belief, believers and objects of belief, accompanied by correct or incorrect judgement. Now, where the operation is purely theoretical, there is nothing very terrible in error: for error can do no harm to the immortal objects of belief, even though the author of such error may ruin himself and perhaps his father too, whose blasphemy he spreads abroad no less. But where the operation is practical, that is, concerned with action affecting others beside the originator, the effect is far more ruinous. Persistence in recognized wickedness and the effort to pervert others to it are the ruin of others beside oneself; and this is far worse than any error of the purely intellectual faculty. § 4. Christian doctrine itself demands that works should accompany faith. It cannot be right for a man to renounce works while pursuing purity of faith, or to soil with impure deeds the faith which should appear in the purity of his life and conduct. We have an innate faculty of intuitive perception, by which we instinctively form our notions of right conduct and apprehend the undemonstrable; if this faculty is corrupted by foulness of deeds wherein the celestial beauty should be mirrored, then the contradiction between our works and our faith will expose the latter as hypocrisy. This is what Jesus meant by saying "Not everyone that saith unto me Lord, Lord, etc.", and by His telling the Samaritan woman that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, that is, the truth that comes from purity of conduct. § 5. Everyone accepts this, but few have the courage to apply it. How few are the men of God, like Enoch, Noah, and the others! But God did not despise them because they were few, far from it! But you who boast of your big battalions, have laid up for yourselves not gold and silver but mud and chaff. Why do you think that John and before him Eleazar would condemn you? Not for your faith, but for the conduct which has disgraced your faith. John Chrysostom has been much blamed by little men, who say that by his obstinacy he brought about his own ruin when he had no divine command to do so. So all these men were deluded, were they? They should have taken advice from you! They would indeed have been grateful for such capital guides, who have not the wit to understand the works of God, or even their own in a clear case of right and wrong. § 6. Surely it is mere madness for you thus to sin against the light. I well know that these men do not really believe what they profess. They know that they are spreading wrong doctrine. They cannot hope for forgiveness, for their conduct is worse than heresy. Heretics are at least genuinely convinced, and, if they learn better, recant later on. But to know what is right and yet to persist in error is unpardonable. What sacrifice is there for sins willingly embraced? § 7. But why should I go on, and corrupt the fairness of my speech with their foulness? How can such be the conduct of men who call themselves priests? And yet, if such is their own nature, what crime will they not commit if authority urges them

on? The naturally crooked man is not likely to grow straight if his superior encourages his crookedness. And he who sins for the love of it will be the more outrageous if he thinks that his sin will be defended by his master. These men should be grateful to the master who thus drives them forward. The omens are all favourable for success when every transgression can be justified by reference to the transgressor.

Comment: This letter may have been written at any time between May and December 906 (above, p. 336). The word *ἐναρχομένῳ* in the Title would suggest an earlier rather than a later date between these limits. But it is not certain exactly when Arethas himself returned from Hellas to take up the chief rôle in resistance to the marriage (above, p. 336); and it may well be that Nos: 2, 3 and 4 are all datable near to the end of the year.

Almost the whole letter is directed against the Nicholaän party in general, and it does not contain the personal attacks on Nicholas himself which are a feature of succeeding letters (above, p. 341). No: 2 is also distinct from 3-6 in that the Nicholaän attack on St Basil's canons has not yet developed. At present, the Court faction in the Church is merely trying to avoid schism over a question which, as they say, involves no heresy and may thus fairly be subject to compromise (§ 2). Arethas therefore confines his argument to the claim, based on both Aristotle and Holy Scripture, that works must accompany faith and that purity of life must accompany purity of profession. He admits that right thinking men such as himself are a very small minority; and ends with a typically Ignatian attack on the time-serving policy of his Photian colleagues (above, p. 341).

No: 3

Title: To the same, on the same subject.

Summary: § 1. Two lines of attack have been developed against me owing to my resistance in this matter; and perhaps even Your Majesty, perplexed as you are, may be tempted to think ill of me. My opponents adduce plausible arguments; and for my part I do not know how to win your ear, or how to plumb the spiritual depths of my god-like and high-thundering antagonists, simple and untutored as I am; but I must not shrink. God can provide words for the dumb, when their cause is righteous. § 2. The whole Church knows what accusations are daily made against me by my good brothers. They are, as I said, of two kinds: my friends are told that I am mad, and my enemies, who judge others by themselves, that I am malicious. If I am mad, then I am not responsible for

what I do and should be an object of pity. As for the charge of malice and crookedness, God knows that my nature is simple and guileless, and that I make my friends among those who are like me. But let me get to the subject. Perhaps I can teach my detractors some sense. If not, I am ready to stand by my words and suffer for the truth. But I must begin by asking Your Majesty this: do you really want the truth, or just something pleasant to hear? I think you will say, the truth. Very well, then. I will speak out in words of truth which it befits a bishop to use to his emperor. § 3. Tyrants abuse their subjects for their own pleasure; but true emperors regard their subjects as their children, and subordinate their own pleasures to their subjects' good. If then an emperor must care for the morals of his people, there must be no talk of any illicit marriage, which would be the worst possible example to the subject. If the excuse for such a marriage is the procreation of heirs for the throne, then I have two things to say: first, it is best to submit to fate's decrees in this matter and not try to circumvent them, especially since in this life one can never be sure that one's plans will turn out well, and one may live to regret them when it is too late; second, why can you not now dismiss with thanks the woman who has given you the child you desired, as we dismiss a ship when her cargo is discharged or throw away the husk which has brought the fruit to maturity? If you keep her, you are guilty both of ingratitude and wantonness, and you spurn the example of Abraham, who dismissed Hagar but kept and reared Ishmael. § 4. Licentiousness must be mastered. You have won renown by your control of anger. You must now master the sensual pleasures, exalting the sovereign reason and trampling down the servile passions. You will thus persuade me to accede most readily to your request, and will again dwell in the tabernacles of the Lord, from which the unclean are excluded. A man who has conquered the stronger passions and then succumbs to the weaker must incur the charges of effeminacy and cowardice. For it is obvious that anger is harder to master than lust since its occasions are not in our own control. § 5. Well but (you will say), the lust of youth cannot be controlled, and sexual license resides in palaces. But there have in the past been many young emperors who have controlled this lust, some marrying once only, some twice at most. Arcadius and his son Theodosius married only once, and very few have even gone to a second marriage. So what defence can be found for you? We must regard these emperors, not merely as moderate, but as the very pattern of self-control and as shining examples to their subjects! Well but (you may ask), could anyone seriously maintain that they abstained from fornication? I would not go so far as this: it does not become a priest of God to settle like a flesh-fly on the wounds of the soul, and to pass judgement on the faults of past emperors. But I will say this: it is best of all to have absolute control of the physical passions and to give them no license at all. An emperor should not wear wantonness like an imperial decoration: on the contrary, his life should be laborious and unselfish. But if he should slip in human wise as may concede something to the urge of nature, so that he be

not ruined, like a bow, from overmuch straining), then let the evil be confined to him alone and his shame be hid, and let him not incur a double guilt by publishing his shame abroad. Of two evils let us choose the less. But if anyone says we can rid ourselves of the shame by calling this liaison a "marriage", this might be an argument if we could change things simply by changing their names. But we cannot. We may call an ape a lion, but it still remains an ape; and your labour is in vain. § 6. I know that these merciful dispensers are full of talk about the long-suffering of Christ, and of my harshness and cruelty. They would indeed be truly dispensers and truly merciful if they regarded their own high position and were not influenced by ignoble motives and the interest of those to whom they grant dispensation. But, as it is, they are guilty of greed and simony; they have degraded their own high-priesthood and soiled the fair name of marriage. Their example is most pernicious. They are not doing a little harm in order that great salvation may result; but are disgracing themselves by perverting the canons of the Fathers, ruining him to whom they give dispensation, and spreading impiety among other men, who see their priests chaffering the things of God for grace and favour. They are rendering unto Caesar both the things which are Caesar's and the things which are God's. The result is infidelity and license. They have hanged the mill-stone about their necks; like dogs they have returned to their vomit, and as sinners they are caught by the works of their hands. § 7. But (they say) the Fathers consent, and grant a lenient penalty to those who thus sin. If you can show me any passage of the Fathers which encourages sin, then I say no more. But if such sin is everywhere held up as abominable, then who could be so shameless as even to suggest it? It is true that the Fathers granted some healing medicine to souls corrupted through ignorance rather than vice. But if you, our great teacher, are to rely on that, and encourage people to give free rein to licentiousness, then the canons will be a godsend to the wanton, and the Fathers themselves will be the instigators of wickedness. This will be to blame the disease on the doctors. These holy remedies of the Fathers were not intended for those who were conscious of their sin and, though forbidden, persisted in it. This would imply that we should, while condemning sin before it is committed, become its friends and supporters when it has been committed. This is rascality beyond that of Eurybatos and the Cilicians. Its author shall have his portion with the publicans and gentiles. Let him hearken to St Basil, who saith that "there is no account of them who prefer pleasure to the life of holiness". § 8. Who would ever again call on him as a physician to the soul? Are we to call in the doctor who uses palliatives, and to reject him who uses astringents and the surgeon's knife? Nay, shall we neglect the doctor when he gives good advice, and yet obey the same doctor when he counsels evil? His authority is based neither on civil nor on spiritual law: for the civil law refuses to allow a judge to change his mind, and spiritual law punishes severely those who condone sin. How can we be sure that such waverers will not change their minds once again? § 9. Doubtless they will dig up the affair of Tarasius and Constantine

VI. But how is this relevant, since Tarasius merely sanctioned a second marriage, for which there were precedents? A fourth marriage is quite unheard of. But this is not all. Constantine's affair caused great scandal, which was not removed until previous co-habitation had been denounced as inimical to the state of marriage. So that this is not a good case for them to cite. But (you will ask) do I go so far as to call Constantine's marriage adultery, and accuse Tarasius of having condoned this? I am prepared to accept what the Church has pardoned; but I think it better not to uncover the shames of our predecessors, or to try to make laws out of them. They should be forgotten, like pre-Euclidean geometry. A father's deformity need not descend to his son; still less should the father's sin be embraced, after full warning, by his children. (As for myself, if I have any virtue comparable with that of the Fathers, I leave it unsaid, for St Paul exhorts us not to imitate this or that human being, but only Christ.) So I say, that neither Fathers nor laws can be cited in support of a fourth marriage. On the contrary; those who purged the stain of a third utterly rejected the notion of a fourth; and St Basil would not even give the name of marriage to any union after the second. Of that which both the revised civil code and the Fathers denounce I hesitate to accuse Your Majesty. But I remain firm in my resistance. § 10. So, if there be anyone whose love of his emperor leads him to condone license and to confute the Fathers, I well know that Your Majesty yourself will condemn him when this crisis is past; and that he will be consumed by that heavenly fire which will shine radiantly on me. In a word, if they can find in the Fathers indulgence for this marriage, let them use it and do away with the need for dispensation. If not, let there be no talk of dispensation, which is in fact destruction. Those who act not for salvation but with their eye on worldly rewards are playing a dangerous game, and the gift they offer is worthless. § 11. This, Your Majesty, is my defence. If it cannot succeed as I would wish, yet it is noble and worthy of your own dignity. If you are persuaded by it, then thanks be to God! I have done all I can to wipe away the stain and guilt of impurities that all good men must abominate. If my words are unpalatable, I must trust to the generosity of my audience.

Comment: The first sentence of No: 4 shows that it is a continuation of No: 3. The two letters were therefore written at one time, and form a single diatribe. The date must again be between May and December 906, at a period after the composition of No: 2 (above, p. 336).

The first part of No: 3 (§§ 1 - 5) is addressed to the emperor personally. Leo is urged to realize the true significance of his high position, to abandon all thoughts of his illegal "marriage" and to dismiss his concubine. Only thus can he be received again into the church. § 5 actually condones imperial fornication if it can be kept secret. Even this is better than publishing it abroad

and calling it marriage. §§ 6-10 are an attack once more on the Nicholaän "dispensers"; and the latter part of § 7 and all of § 8 are a personal attack on the worldly and wavering policy of Nicholas himself. The Nicholaäns have now begun to re-interpret the canons, and to say that the Fathers grant indulgence. Arethas rightly protests against this interpretation, which is a deliberate encouragement to licence. In fact, whatever forgiveness the Fathers may have extended to sinners was certainly not meant for those who sinned deliberately in the knowledge that indulgence would be granted.

It is plain that the Nicholaäns, disappointed of an unanimous "dispensation", were now attacking the very canons which forbade plural marriages and the civil code based on them (above, p. 338). If it could be proved that the canons did in fact sanction a fourth marriage, no dispensation would be needed (§ 10). But this Arethas defies them to do; and passes on, in No: 4, to a detailed refutation of the arguments put forward by his casuistic opponents.

No: 4

Title: To the same, on the same subject.

Summary: § 1. Such, Your Majesty, is my exhortation to you (No: 3), which has been, I think, neither superfluous nor irrelevant. But since I see many who do not scruple to corrupt Christ's flock by citing obscure and obsolete laws, arrogant, ignorant men who are invading the precincts of the saints and the Testament of God, and who continue to wrest and pervert the words of St Basil; then surely I must say what I can to confute them, since I am St Basil's successor in the see of Caesareia § 2. These men say that St Basil, in a letter to Amphilo-chios bishop of Iconium, condones polygamy subject to a slightly more severe penance than is applied to bigamy; and that, if three marriages are allowed, so may ten or twenty. If this argument were used by Hercules writing to Sardanapalus, I should think it a very good joke. But since these are men who undertake to make laws for a Christian people, I must regard their blasphemy as worse than the sin against the Holy Ghost, if to encourage sin be even worse than to commit it. But they shall be punished for it, since it is a pure God who oversees us and holds purity so dear that He chose a pure Virgin for His birth, and taught us that our life should be spent in purity and sobriety. § 3. But we must examine their arguments more closely. They fasten on Basil's conjunction of "trigamists" and "polygamists" (sc. in Canon 4), and say that he here conjoins two different classes of persons, so that the latter are to be indulged with the same easy penalty as the former. This is nonsense. There are many

passages, even in Holy Scripture, where the conjoined phrase implies not difference from, but extension of, the former. The addition of "polygamists" here certainly does add something: it adds disgrace. But we are not justified in applying everything said in this Canon about trigamists to those who marry more than three times. St Basil would hardly have stated (Canon 4) that both classes were penalized by the Fathers, and then in the same breath (Canon 80) that polygamists were in fact not mentioned by the Fathers at all. This is to make him out a buffoon. It is obvious that (in Canon 4) he is speaking of one and the same class of persons; and indeed he says "they call *this sort of thing* (i. e. trigamy) polygamy", which he would not have done if he had in this Canon been distinguishing between the two classes, as he is later careful to do. He thought that here he had included them all in the single comprehensive term, "trigamists, *that is to say*, polygamists". Where lower down he speaks specifically of trigamy, you will find it difficult to apply his words wholesale to those who marry any number of times, since he draws a distinction between them. For the moment, what you say is on my side of the question. § 4. But if you are deaf to this, let me remind you of what children learn at school, namely that three is the beginning of plurality. You cannot cut off the other plural numbers from the source whence they derive plurality, any more than you can cut off streams from their fount. Three is plural, and the following numbers similarly, which derive their plurality from it. And do not accuse me of attributing identity to different species in virtue of this common relationship. These numbers are identical only in their relationship to the idea of plurality. This bond of plurality is indeed one and the same, but that does not imply the identity of the elements which it binds: for perfectly identical elements would require no bond. Thus, of any two separate elements of which sameness can be predicated, otherness can also be predicated: otherwise they would either be wholly undifferentiated or else wholly different. We speak therefore of a similarity, which resides in their common relationship to something else; or perhaps such similarity may exist without a common external relationship, unless one adopts the wholesale relativity of Plato. If this is so, there is no need to predicate identity between the earlier and later elements in a series because of their common participation in plurality. As I say, they are the same only in their relationship to a single, prior conception. If not, all numbers after three might as well be called three equally. § 5. Perhaps this is too deep for most people; so let us return to the main argument. As was said at the start, of two conjoined notions the second may be an extension of, not a differentiation from, the first. St Basil therefore hardly mentions polygamy again in this place (Canon 4). But if he devotes the rest of the Canon to trigamy only, it is certainly not that he considers polygamy less shameful, as may be seen from his citation of the story of the Samaritan woman. When he says that those who sin over and over again in this respect do not deserve the name of husband or wife, he speaks according to the sense, and implies that in series of marriages a

third is less culpable than a fourth. Note the intensification which is supplied by the preposition. If trigamy is a mean between the extremes of innocence and abandoned guilt, then it must be less hurtful than what follows it in the series. So that, by comparison with innocence, trigamy does not deserve the name of marriage; but by comparison with abandoned guilt he calls it fornication indeed, but "moderate fornication". The Fathers therefore call a third marriage "moderate fornication", with a view to its amendment, but anything beyond this they altogether reject. § 6. A third marriage, then, though by no means respectable, was not considered to be among the worst of sins whose stench (as St Basil thought) sundered them from human society (Canon 80). But there are other differences between a third and a fourth marriage, of order, degree, penalty, etc. St Basil (Canon 80) expels the polygamist from the holy precinct, and so publishes his sin of adultery and gives him the chance to wash it away by repentance; he does not encourage a conscious sinner to worse sin, as you will have him do. True, he does not subject him to "public condemnation"; but "public condemnation" is not, as you maintain, the same thing as divorce from the concubine; and this false interpretation of yours leads you to give indulgence to incurable sin. It is hard to see on what eanonical authority you based yourselves. You have repeatedly been told that the Fathers regarded even a third marriage as fornication, if "moderate" fornication. No one would quarrel with allowing trigamists into church, since moderate is better than abandoned fornication; or with excusing them from public condemnation. But none the less third marriages are condemned by St Basil as without the law (Canon 50), and you cannot get round this. § 7. But if anyone urges that a third marriage, by transmitting to fourth or fifth marriages the idea of plurality, also transmits to them its other qualities, then he is talking nonsense. We shall find his proposition untenable in philosophical argument. Different species do not communicate their differentia to one another by virtue of their participation in a single genus. Elephants and ants are both of the genus "animal", but they do not become one another. A man does not neigh, a horse does not laugh. Similarly, a third marriage does not become a fourth; both are pluralities, but their other characteristics remain their own. That is why St Basil allows the trigamist inside the church, as being not yet past all remedy; but the polygamist he regards as outcast, and treats him as an habitual fornicator (Canon 80). A wise decision. You who are called in as doctor in this case will never cure it without insisting on divorce from the concubine as a preliminary. But (you will say) this separation is not specified by the Canon. No; nor does it specify punishment for incest. Do you condone that, because it is not mentioned? What is self-evident needs no injunction. § 8. I would ask you also to remember the evil example you are setting. Who in future will bother to listen to St Basil, with this example before him? The waverer will always follow a bad precedent, and a man who has once profaned his marriage will now have no impediment to his embracing sheer fornication. There is no half way between marriage and fornica-

tion. But you will not realize this; so how can you save the sinner? Your conduct is that of a purblind man who cannot see the gold at his feet; and yet you are entrusted with problems of morals. But such a supervisor should have the eyes of Argus if he is to detect and ward off evil. § 9. The true explanation of St Basil's words is simple enough to the candid observer. How do we explain the fact the Fathers are silent on polygamy, and yet that St. Basil himself thought it reasonable to subject it to a canonical ruling? Surely thus: that the Fathers omitted to mention sins that were outside the pale of human conduct, just as Solon's code did not mention parricide; whereas St Basil thought it reasonable to subject polygamy to the Canon because the evil was already invading the Church, and in order that the sin might not be left neglected and unrestrained. Neglect is surely worse than treatment. And what was his remedy? Not the remedy already prescribed for trigamy by the Neocaesareian Fathers, but one which should touch the already abandoned fornicator; which is a proof of St Basil's mercy. This must be clear to all who are not wilfully deaf or blind. If you are persuaded that it is right to recover the persistent fornicator through repentance, then let it be repentance which is offered him. But if you cannot offer proper repentance unless you find it written (though it is your habit to base yourself rather on the unwritten code), how can you have the insolence to speak of repentance? § 10. Away then with your arbiters. The professional knows his business better than the amateur, and the man of the spirit better than the man of the world. The root of bitterness must not be allowed to flourish and corrupt. That which is "worse than fornication" (Canon 80) must no longer be accounted as mere "moderate" fornication (though it may obtain pardon if the proper punishment is not remitted by unseemly indulgence). Your trespass must be prosecuted. We must see the idea of beauty harmonizing the unity of its entity with the plurality of its manifestations, and the doctrine of St Basil confirmed. As for me: you know that St Basil elsewhere writes that he has "few who know the way and are qualified for these services". I only wish that the combined duty of messenger and polemic did not fall on me alone. But what can one do with an impious people? Right judgement requires intelligence and unprejudiced reasoning, but there is no remedy for the wilfully blind. Yet even if I had no arguments, or if yours were as good as mine, even so it would be wrong for you to take the worse path and shame yourself and fill the state with rottenness. What a reward to pay to the state that has nurtured you and advanced you so far! Where arguments are equal, the purer should prevail; but in this case, I leave it to you to judge if the victory has not gone in overwhelming measure to truth. Respect therefore, if not that purification of the civil code already effected, at least those noble and pure decisions which you yourself once made on this subject. Then you were worthy and dignified in your adherence to the Fathers; but now you have changed and cite the Fathers against the Fathers and have bartered faith for opportunism, and are like dust blown hither and thither by every breath, now yielding and now recanting. You destroy our laws by speaking

now on one side now on the other, like the Tetralogies of Antiphon. Yet you know that the nature of good is to proceed up from a myriad images to a single head, whereas evil is unstable and unlimited and proceeds like an echo from a single origin to a myriad confused reverberations. A good man must increase goodness by toiling for virtue and rejecting vice; and the good citizen must keep the body politic healthy by cultivating chastity and expelling licence. I am surprized that you, who claim to love the emperor so well, should reward him by advising him to subject his reason to his desires. I am ashamed to be one with you. God has made us one of another; but may I never give such dreadful advice to a friend. or even to an enemy! § 11. Your Majesty (to return to you), this is what I have to say. If you would be a door-keeper in the house of your God, reject the ruinous counsel of those who are unworthy of your confidence and favour. In so doing, you will be obeying the voice of God. Ere we part, let me pray that you may dwell once more in the tabernacle of the Lord and drink of His sweet waters. If not, know this, that I will not reject His love, and will laugh to scorn the feeble assaults of my enemies.

Comment: The date of this letter is the same as that of No: 3, of which it is the continuation (above, p. 335).

Arethas now turns to an examination and confutation of the Nicholaän interpretation of St Basil's Canons (4, 50 and 80). Canon 4 begins *Περὶ τριγάμων καὶ πολυγάμων τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρισαν (οἱ πατέρες) κανόνα ἐν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἀναλόγως*. The Nicholaäns chose to interpret this as meaning "those who marry thrice *and* those who marry more than thrice"; from which it followed that *both* third *and* fourth, fifth or sixth marriages could be allowed, subject to a period of penitence. Arethas (§ 3) shows that in this phrase of the Canon the conjunction joins two classes which are not distinct, but of which the second is the extension of the first: that is to say, the phrase means "As regards trigamists, *that is*, polygamists...". Therefore Canon 4 takes account only of those who marry three times, and has no relevance to a fourth marriage. This is proved by reference to Canon 80, which begins *Τὴν δὲ πολυγαμίαν οἱ πατέρες ἀπεισιώπησαν*: obviously, therefore, the "polygamists" of Canon 4, whom the Fathers subjected to the canon of bigamy, cannot be the same as the "polygamists" of Canon 80, of whom the Fathers have made no mention. Further proof is found in the later words of Canon 4, *ὀνομάζουσι γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον (sc. τριγαμίαν) οὐκ ἔτι γάμον, ἀλλὰ πολυγαμίαν*, that is, "the Fathers call this sort of thing, third marriages, 'poly-

gamy' ". So that Canon 4 may be left out of account in discussing fourth marriages.

Besides, continues Arethas (§ 4), it is not possible to separate tri-gamy from poly-gamy without denying plurality to three, which is in fact (as grammarians teach children) the origin of plurality itself. But to say that three and more-than-three are both plural does not imply that they are in all respects identical, which is what the Nicholaäns would like it to imply. It merely implies that they are bound by a common relationship, a *πρός τι*, namely, to the concept of plurality, and in other respects remain separate and individual. This philosophical argument is resumed at § 7, where the Nicholaäns are accused of maintaining that what is applicable to a third marriage must be applicable also to a fourth or fifth or sixth. This is rejected by an appeal to the Categories of genus and species. One species does not transmit its characteristics to another by virtue of participation in the same genus. Three and more-than-three are species of the genus plural. But they are not on that account to be held identical in their differentia.

In fact, it is clear that third and fourth marriages differ from one another in degree of guilt (§ 6). The one is "moderate", the other "abandoned" fornication. The one may be allowed to stand after a long period of penitence, the other must be dissolved before any penitence can begin. This last point was of crucial importance: for, if it were conceded, Zoë and all her powerful relatives would be banished from the court (§§ 6, 7; cf. No: 5, § 4). The Nicholaäns therefore maintained that separation of the parties was not prescribed by the Canon (§ 7); indeed they went further, and identified this separation with the "public condemnation" from which the Canon expressly excuses the polygamist. Arethas rightly exposes this sophistry, and points to the revised civil code, which was itself based on the Canons and in which such separation is expressly enjoined (above, p. 339).

This long diatribe is directed almost wholly at the Nicholaäns and at Nicholas personally, who is the corrupt physician of §§ 7 and 8. The philosophical arguments of §§ 4 and 7 are drawn from Aristotle's Categories and the Commentaries on them by Porphyry and Photius. They are weak and unconvincing, but interesting as showing the influence of Aristotle on the modes of thought among educated men of the day. It is not possible to

deny that some such juggling with the Basilian Canons was attempted by the court party, aided by the rediscovered Aristotelian logic. Nicholas himself sought out a canon of Athanasius and a ruling, though uncanonical, of Dionysius of Alexandria (below, p. 368), by which he so far convinced the emperor that, as the chronicler states¹, he was prepared to introduce legislation allowing all men to marry four times.

Arethas' exposition of the Basilian canons is more satisfactory, and agrees with that of the jurists who amended the civil code in their light. Although the arguments are sometimes questionable and the citations, such as that of Bianor's case (§ 6), irrelevant, on the whole Arethas position is far less sophistical than that of his opponents.

No: 5

Title: To Stephen His Majesty's private secretary, a friend.

Summary: § 1. I understand that the patrician Samonas and you yourself are calling me a false and ungrateful friend to His Majesty; but this is nothing to me, since we are commanded to pluck out even our right eye if it offend. The fact is that the emperor, having chosen to adopt a quite unheard-of policy, now blames his friends for quarreling with it; though, as he admits, my only quarrel with him arises from my having hitherto tried to follow him too closely, for which I ought to be commended rather than blamed. The best copyist is he who follows his archetype most faithfully. § 2. I abstain from discussing those high and holy principles in which God has trained me, and through which I now incur the charges of cruelty and obstinacy; my friends know that I am obstinate only in those matters where firmness is praiseworthy and is the mark of those who trust in God and stand resolutely by the truth even unto death, rejecting as damnable all extravagance and levity. But he is as reed shaken by the wind, unstable in everything, perverting and perverted. Was not this the strife of Jacob, the lot of the sons of Levi (*sic*, ? Reuben). § 3. But, as I say, to leave higher considerations aside, see how I am treated: They call me Lot mocking at the destruction of Sodom, to mention only one of the witticisms made at my expense. I am shunned of all men, as Homer says of Belerophon. But they are not bashful in the monstrous examples they put forward for the imitation and ruin of our imperial house. Their worldly fortune has corrupted them, to the exclusion of right principle. For if it be right to adhere to decisions and reward the givers of good advice, why do they not stand by what was agreed and reward me? But they

¹ Cont. Geo. Mon. 866/1-4.

have given me evil in return for good: justly enough from their point of view, no doubt, since they knew quite well the rights and wrongs of the affair, and would not now be doing me wrong if they had themselves adhered to the right. I can wish for them no more fitting reward than which they have given to their good counsellor, namely that they should be expelled from God's mercy as they have expelled me from my dwelling-place. Such spiteful and censorious conduct is alien to the teaching both of Christ and St Paul. And if they put the blame for what they do on another, I may tell this all-wise counsellor that this in no defence. Adam and Eve got no good out of blaming one another. Indeed we know that those who encourage a wrong-doer are more guilty than he: for Christ thought Judas more guilty than Pilate.

§ 4. And what of this recent charge against me (or rather insult, for you cannot call it a serious charge)? Imagine trying to proceed against me in this manner: His Majesty is much mistaken if he thinks he can secure his own exculpation through the plots of a common criminal and slave. If his excuse is that anger has driven him to attack me thus, then what shall we think of one who is the tool of his own anger and lust, who regards his own whim as law, and insults the priest of God? He persists in a course which he knew from the start would entail his condemnation. He thinks that by imperial decree and by force he can obtain that pardon which can only come through penitence and dismissal of the pollution to which he clings. If he applies force, then we must say to him "Depart from me, for we will not know thy ways". Or do we wish for a seeming and specious solution of the problem, a mere colouring? But this is unworthy of Leo, whose piety and good government have hitherto been above reproach. God forbid that I should break His laws at thehest of man: How shall a man have his heart's desire by pandering to his disease through an exercise of authority? "Except the Lord build the house". If the stain is to be covered by a worthless indulgence, this may satisfy men, but God is not deceived. The garment cannot be washed clean unless proper means are taken to cleanse it.

§ 5. Nothing shall shake me at least from this principle. Earthly friendship shall not sunder me from God's love, especially now that I am old and must think of my reward for what I have done in life. If this is true of me, an emperor should be even more steadfast. His sophistry and lack of scruple put him in danger of hell-fire; but the slightest deviation from the commandment in him will be signally punished, especially against a commandment of St Basil, whose see I hold. I must be true to him; if you, being men, are angry with me for breaking my compact with you (though it was you who taught me how), what will my Lord and St Basil say to me at the Judgement if I have not kept that which was entrusted to me?

§ 6. You tell me that my repute is not equal to that of St Basil? But it is the law, not the expounder, that we must reverence. We must not reject a noble gift because the bringer of it is ugly. We do not reject Our Lord's message because the Apostles were men of humble stock and profession. It was through the lips of a sinner that we received the Lord's command "Do that which your priests tell you to do". Only so can the pupil be formed

aright, whether the teacher himself be condemned or commended in the hereafter. Will you then persist in judging your teacher? You did not do so when you were healthy. I know that the doctor is not welcome to his patients, nor the watch-dog to the wolf. A herdsman does not choose a dog who, for all his good looks, will not keep off the wolf; he chooses one that may be less handsome and intelligent, but is more diligent and conscientious. I am one of the latter kind. The others, your supporters, are the worldlings who drain your empire's riches and traffic in simony, giving indulgence to you but profaning the Lord's teaching and His sanctuary. Should not their portion be with the gentiles? § 7. Examine your own conscience. What comfort can you find, as you so often say you do, in your Nikon or Peter or Sacus, those sinners who make up your fine throng of supporters? Were they men who had merely made an error of judgement? Is it on such examples that you base your hopes of mercy and forgiveness? Go back and re-read the law of God, and see if you are not neglecting the words of St Matthew 23, 8. Why could you not take heed of the good advisers? You are ready enough now to pick up anything said on the other side. But if you are trying to catch me in the same snare, I can only marvel that two people, looking at the same problem, should take such totally different views of it. As far as I am concerned, your hopes have been disappointed: none of your powerful favourites has been able to terrorize me into desertion. This is proof of my rectitude; of which you yourself are witness, for you did all you could to promote my election to my see, me, whom you now call a shabby, degraded wretch! Or perhaps my election was a trick, designed to make me your friend and to stop me from bringing your plans to shame? I should indeed have been afraid of my own shadow if I had at that time anticipated such a fearful crisis as this, I, who would rather live quietly alone than govern an empire in strife. Why should I want to enter such a hull-fight, and barter away my philosophic repose? Such I was when you supported me; but now I am a wretched sinner, though I can again become all that is holy if only I will do what you want! But no: such conduct is for your supporters in this matter. § 8. But why do they bother to attack me? Why not simply say that St Basil himself approves their blasphemy, and leave it at that? But such trickery is intolerable. The father of this blasphemy must perish with it, and the Church be adorned with the true teaching of St Basil, rejecting the antiquated rule of Dionysius (which was never a canon, although these misguided teachers have cast off St Basil's anchor and ride only on the thread of Dionysius; they are ready enough to listen to the Fathers when it is a question of rejecting St John's version of the Passion, and yet here insult St Basil, whose authority is equal to a whole synod). So, until they repent and reinstate St Basil's doctrine, I shall care nothing for the rule of those who are enslaved by their passions, nor listen to their nonsense. I will return good for evil, and do all a good friend can; for I am your friend, whatever you may now think of me. You will realize it when the fire of passion is extinct and reason reasserts her rule. Then I will listen to my detractors,

whose speech is now mere idle words of hatred. As for the attack which they are reviving against me through Xylomachaeris, but which will redound fatally on themselves, I cannot say which will be greater, my second victory or their shame. Their darts are the weapons of children. § 9. Read this to the patrician Samonas, if our friendship is true and not dictated by mere interest. Not that I need your defence or his help; but the blame should rest where it belongs. If you are also the close friend of the emperor, then show this letter to him as well. It will be a proof of whether you are indeed his friend: for I fear you too may be attached to him for worldly reasons only.

Comment: Arethas refers in §§ 4 and 8 to his impending re-trial on the accusation of Nicholas Xylomachaeris. We know that the defence against this charge was composed when Euthymius was already patriarch (No: 7, § 2), but probably only a very short time after he had become so (above, p. 334). The trial, therefore, if it ever took place, came not later than late February or early March 907, and was probably not impending before the end of 906. On the other hand, undoubted references to Nicholas Mysticus in § 3 ("the all-wise counsellor"), § 4 ("if I am not half-blind") and § 6 ("the fine looking but cowardly and useless watch dog", cf. Kougeas 73 note 2), show that Nicholas is still patriarch and still working for the dispensation. This he seems to have abandoned on 6 January 907 (above, p. 345). We shall therefore not be far wrong in dating No: 5 to the end of 906.

The private secretary Stephen is known as the recipient of at least one other letter from Arethas¹. Samonas, as we know, took a prominent part in forwarding the emperor's cause over the fourth marriage², and deeply resented the patriarch's desertion of that cause³. This letter is, however, addressed mainly to the notice of the emperor himself. §§ 1, 2 and 4-7 have direct reference to Leo. It is important to establish that in § 7 Leo is the person addressed, as the citation of St Matthew 23, 3 and the reference to pressure put on Arethas by the emperor's favourites seem to prove: for in the same paragraph we read "You (the emperor) used many a device to win me for election (to the archbishopric of Caesareia), though now you call me a despicable wretch". Now, the election of Arethas was certainly late in 902, if not in 903⁴, at a time when Eudocia, the emperor's third wife,

¹ Kougeas 83, 146-147.

² V. E. cap. XIV.

³ *ibid.* 74/3-6.

⁴ B. Z. 47 (1954) 3.

had been dead at least eighteen months and when Leo must have been considering, at least in his own mind, the advisability of marrying again. This suggests that at the time of his election Arethas was still outwardly a Photian and a friend of Leo and the court; and that Leo had him made archbishop in the hope that he would remain so. Indeed, Arethas in this very paragraph hints that this was so. His defection to the Ignatian / Euthymian faction therefore took place probably after his election, in 903, when he was at last free to show his animosity against Nicholas.

No: 6

Title: To the emperor Leo, concerning those who adduced the ancient Fathers in support of polygamy.

Summary: § 1. Yes, Your Majesty; I have read and pondered the passages of Dionysius. But while I have learned from Marcus Aurelius to read thoroughly, I have also learned from him to be slow of belief. § 2. It may be, as you say, that some of the Fathers were not acquainted with Dionysius' book; but those who admittedly had read it, rejected it and ordained that sinners should be subject to the Canons. St Paul himself was strong in condemning this sin. If Dionysius is now to be followed, the Canons are nothing and a reign of unrestrained licentiousness will follow. There is no law which obliges us to adopt the customs of the Church in ancient times; there were then, and indeed there are now, many individual practices among the several churches which their neighbours are not required to follow. Bishops used to marry, and madmen were admitted to the sacrament. Do you wish us to do the same? Even to-day in Alexandria bishops do not rise when the Gospel is read, which we should think very irregular. Catholics allow the clergy to be ministered to by women, and even to fight in battle. But these individual practices, whether old or new, are not laws; we have no right to dig up old customs in order to confound sacred law. I hope I may not be so foolish as to rank my sovereign among madmen, with whom your corrupt advisers seem to confound the sane by perverting them with the notions of Dionysius. Let me stay with St Paul and the Fathers, who banished sinners and madmen alike.

Comment: There is no reason to date this brief letter out of its context: it was probably written very shortly after No: 5, that is, at the end of 906 or the beginning of 907. At No: 5, § 8 we have already a reference to the ruling of Dionysius, which is enlarged upon in No: 6.

Dionysius the Great, archbishop of Alexandria (c. 200-265), was one of those who interpreted St Paul's ruling on marriages

(I Cor. 7) in a very liberal spirit¹. He wrote a book, of which only one fragment survives, but that fragment is significant: "misfortunes should be regarded with pity rather than hatred"². It is clear that Dionysius had no objection to fourth marriages, and many good and wise men of his day agreed with him (above, p. 337). But Arethas maintains that the ruling of Dionysius cannot be regarded as canonical (No: 5, § 8; 6, § 2), and that the practice approved by him is antiquated and alien.

It is a question whether the "Canon of Athanasius" which, according to the V. E.³, Nicholas dug up to condone the fourth marriage of Leo, may not have been in fact this ruling of Dionysius. It is not otherwise clear to what canonical letter of Athanasius Nicholas can have referred.

No: 7

Title: To the emperor, beginning to ill-treat him.

Summary: § 1. I am grateful to Your Majesty that you have not abused your power in this case, but have summoned me to a fair trial where I can defend myself. I beg you to give me careful hearing, for if my defence fails, the penalty will be severe. You must not take it amiss if my words are bitter: truth is bitter, they say, and I am fighting for my life. § 2. You summon me to trial. But on what sort of charge? One which was long ago denounced by many bishops of that day as calumnious, and of which the author would have been properly punished if I had not taken pity on him. Witnesses of this are, among others, the present patriarch Euthymius, who was then *synkellos*, and Christopher *synkellos*, then bishop of Cyzicus. The latter commended my virtue and execrated my accuser. It was Easter Saturday, and the case was heard in the *mitatorion*. I was weak from my Easter austerities. But the worst of my sufferings was the conduct of my emperor, who had sent a slanderer down to collect his false evidence in the public stables. It was mere talk; there were no proofs, or in any case not such as to have any weight against a bishop. One cannot prove that of which the very existence is doubtful, as John Rhabdouchos said. § 3. You call me before judges who are my enemies; but this is illegal. Then, the accuser is a man of the vilest character; his own crimes are legion, among them being those which he committed, and has not yet expiated, in Greece, when I was sent there by Your Majesty to re-dedicate the profaned churches. He is still liable to prosecution for having, during

¹ Cf. St Jerome, MPL 22, col 511.

² C. L. Feltoe, *The letters and other remains of Dionysius of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1904) 256-257.

³ 38/19; 42/19.

this past winter, tried to force several bishops into releasing Your Majesty from the ban, though without success. He is just the sort of man whom the Synod of Constantinople prohibited from giving evidence in an ecclesiastical court. § 4. I have thus made clear that the case against me cannot be maintained either in ecclesiastical or in civil law. If you consent to punish Xylomachaeris for his ridiculous accusations against me (which he keeps on producing as the Eusebians kept on producing the supposed haud of Arsenius against Athanasius), then thanks be to God that you have kept yourself in the right path, and so much the better for me, who have no personal motive in quarreling with you. But if the worse should prevail and I am given up to those who seek my blood I put my trust in the heavenly tribunal which cannot be corrupted; and you will repent it, just as you have always repented, though too late, actions which you have been persuaded into taking against me. For the whole process will be judged by all as the merest farce.

Comment: This letter is most important for chronology. In the first place, it combines (§ 2) with No: 1, § 3 to give us the exact date of Arethas first prosecution for impiety, when he was still deacon (he forgets himself when, in No: 7, § 2, he says that the charges preferred in 900 were not such as to prevail against a bishop, for he was not bishop at the time). The date was Easter Saturday, 19 April 900 (above, p. 349). Secondly, it gives clear indications (§§ 2, 3) of the date of the second trial, or accusation. § 2 states that in 900 the present patriarch was synkellos. This can only refer to Euthymios, since Nicholas never was synkellos. Therefore Euthymios is now patriarch, and the defence of Arethas was written not before the end of February 907. Again, in § 3, Arethas says that Xylomachaeris is εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ὑπόδικον δ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος χειμῶνος πολλοῖς μὲν ἀρχιερεῦσι λυθῆναι τῆς καταδίκης ἡμᾶς ἐδιάσατο, τυχεῖν δ' οὐδαμῶς δεδύνηται τοῦ σκοποῦ (we must however read ὑμᾶς for the senseless ἡμᾶς); "he is even now liable to prosecution in that during the past winter he enforced on many bishops that you should be freed from the condemnation". Xylomachaeris, therefore, doubtless on the instructions of Leo and Samonas, tried to put pressure on, that is, to blackmail, several bishops of the opposition party so as to have the emperor released from the ban. The winter in question was plainly that of 906-907, since Leo was under no ban in the previous winter. This winter is now over; so that we are again brought to the early spring of 907. Now, we know from the V. E.¹ that Arethas

¹ 55/9 · 13.

came back to Constantinople to make his peace with Leo and Euthymios very shortly after the latter became patriarch, perhaps as early as March itself. All of which indicates that his trial and exile must be dated to the end of February or the beginning of March 907.

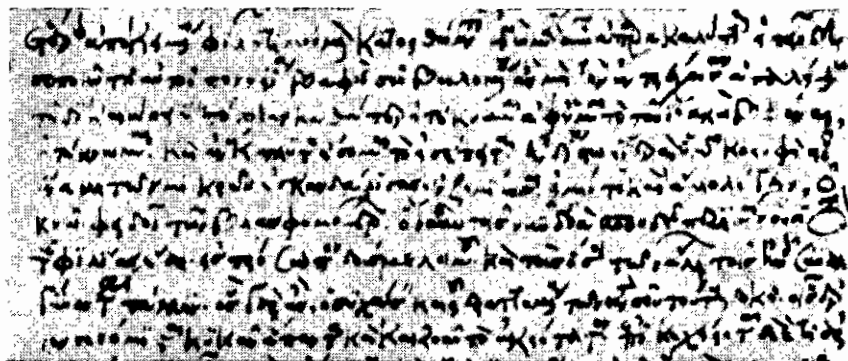
The details of the charge against Arethas in 907 are unknown, since we have some reason to think that the main part of what here purports to be his defence is missing. After briefly recapitulating the circumstances of his previous trial and abusing the prosecutor, Arethas goes on (§ 4): "That the present proceedings against me are unjust and conform neither to divine nor civil law, this has clearly demonstrated". As we have it, it has demonstrated no such thing. We might therefore place a lacuna between §§ 3 and 4, and assume either that the defence proper was never written or that Arethas later suppressed it.

It is however probable that both in 900 (above, p. 349) and in 907, while the charges against him were connected with his theological opinions, the motives behind the prosecutions were political. There can be little doubt that the object in 907 was to remove him and with him his opposition to the emperor's fourth marriage. A similar instance of using a charge of impiety to cover a political motive is seen in the action taken against Leo Choerosphaktis in the same year. Choerosphaktis was exiled ostensibly for unorthodoxy and profanity; but he lay under strong suspicion of treachery, which had nothing to do with his orthodoxy¹. It is interesting to note this use of charges of heresy by the government of the day, when it did not wish to lay bare the true motives of its actions.

It is not certain that Arethas was ever actually brought to trial on this second occasion. This letter is addressed to the emperor, not to his judges. It is certain that as late as the end of February proceedings were still threatened against him. But his short exile in Thrace may not have been the result of a formal condemnation by an ecclesiastical tribunal; and his speedy return and "conversion" to the court may have rendered a formal trial unnecessary.

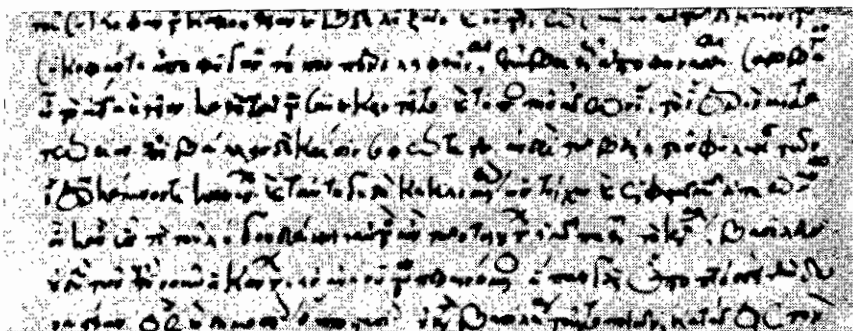
¹ Vizantiyskiy Sbornik, ed. Levtchenko (Moscow, 1945) 237/51 - 52.

Fig. 1.



Marcianus graecus 524, f. 135v, lines 12 - 20 (Arethas letter 1, paragr. 6, page 298, lines I - II).

Fig. 2.



Marcianus graecus 524, f. 152, lines 5 - 12 (Arethas letter 7, paragr. 2, page 331, lines 27 - 332, 1). See the app. cr. in page 331, line 34.

Title: To the same, who had assailed him with rough words after dinner.

Summary: § 1. It is known to all, and has long been known, that I accepted a bishopric only out of respect to my father and sovereign; so that I make the following defence not out of any desire for a bishop's throne or for a position of importance at your court. I make it because yesterday Your Majesty...

Comment: Kougeas¹ dates this fragment to 2 February 907, because he thinks that the "dinner" in question is that referred to in V. E. (44/13 ff.). But if Arethas was removed from Constantinople along with Nicholas on that same evening (1st February), it is not likely that he would have had leisure or materials to embark on a long defence next day. Besides, his words are surely more suitable to the occasion when he came back from exile to the capital and made peace with Leo². His condemnation meant loss of throne, repute and court favour. An apology for past conduct meant saving all three. So, having nothing more to gain from obstinacy, he made the apology. As for the "rough words" in the Title, it is likely enough that on his return from exile Arethas had to endure some bitter sarcasms from Leo, who was, as Arethas once observed³, prone to making wounding reflections.

If this is accepted, the chronological order of the manuscript arrangement of all eight letters is preserved.

Addenda et corrigenda. 296,24 Jenkins corrects the app. crit. with ref. to Stephanus s.v. Σάγρας 31 καμήλου 298,8 εὐς με λοιμοῦ? see fig. 1 line 7 301,31 ἐν ᾧσι εἶνα: Ἐνῶς Jenkins 309,32 εὐριποί 315,3 Jenkins suggests ταῦτά διὰ τοῦτο τὸ συνδέον, ὃ 316,35 ὑποβάλλομεν 319,29 αὐτὸν 321,31 σκηνώμασιν, εἶκε τῷ λόγῳ λοιπὸν 324,31 συζῶντος 331,34 lectio incerta in fig 2, line 6 354 last line should be corrected: as who may concede.

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¹ p. 20.

² V. E. 55/22-23; in late March, we suppose.

³ Varia Graeca Sacra, 265/18-19.