

THE LIFE OF ST IRENE  
ABBESS OF CHRYSOBALANTON

A Critical Edition with Introduction,  
Translation, Notes and Indices

by  
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602E 1 1. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἐπέπαυτο ὁ κατὰ τῶν προσκυνητῶν τῆς εἰκόνης  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ διωγμός, καὶ ἡ ἄλογος ὀρμὴ τῆς ἀπονοίας τοῦ τῶν  
εἰκονομάχων φρυάγματος, τῷ τοῦ τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτασσομένου 5  
νεύματι καὶ κατηγωνισμένη καὶ καταβεβλημένη, ἐβδελύχθη καὶ  
ἐξώσθη καὶ διεφθάρη· καὶ ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐξέλιπεν ὁ πολὺς ἐκείνης  
καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ζῆλος, τῇ τοῦ βίου καταλύσει τοῦ φιλοχρύσου  
καὶ μισοχρίστου Θεοφίλου τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας συγκαταλυθείσης 10  
καὶ τῇ νεκρώσει τῆς τούτου ζωῆς καθάπερ τινὸς οὐρᾶς ὄλκοῦ  
δρακοντιαίου καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου συναπονεκρωθέντος  
δόγματος. Ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνῃ μὲν σύζυγος, πιστὴ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλις  
F Θεοδώρα, τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ τῆς ἀσεβείας γενομένη διάδοχος, εὐθέως  
καὶ ἐκ προοιμίων ἦν διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ὠδίνησεν εὐσέβειαν 15  
ἄρτιωτάτην ἔτεκε καὶ τελείαν, πᾶσι τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἀχράντων εἰκόνων  
καὶ προσκύνησιν ἀνύποπτον καὶ πεπαρησιασμένην ὑφαπλώσασα·  
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ κόσμον, τὴν θεοτερπῆ τῶν  
εἰκόνων ἀνατύπωσιν αὐθις ἀπέλαβεν, ἐν τοίχοις, ἐν πίναξιν, ἐν ὕλαις

PLSK

1 ante tit. add. μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κη' P || 2 ἡγουμένης; add. γενομένης τῆς P ||  
Χρυσοβαλάνου P (hic tantum) || post tit. add. εὐλόγησον P add. εὐλόγησον πάτερ  
LK || 3 ὁ ante τῆς tr. S || 5 τοῦ om. LSK || 17 θεοτερπῆ; θεοπρεπῆ P

5 ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτασσομένου: cf. Prov. 3,34 || 7 ὡσεὶ . . . ἐξέλιπεν: cf. Ps.  
101(102),4 et sim. locc. || 8 μὴ . . . ζῆλος; cf. Rom. 10,2

I. <sup>1</sup> Applied to the Iconoclasts also in *SynodOrthod*, ed. Gouillard, l. 22; later, e.g.,  
in *VMarJun*, ed. Peeters 692C, [Michael III,] ἐφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἐπαύθη  
φρυάγματα.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 13 (PG 35, 1185B), τῇ τοῦ βίου καταλύσει συγκαταλύσω τὸν  
λόγον; cf. also Isid. Pelus., *Ep.* IV 63 (PG 78, 1121A).

<sup>3</sup> A pun on the common imperial epithet φιλόχριστος. Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 30 (PG  
36, 536C), βασιλεὺς ὁ φιλοχρυσότατος καὶ μισοχριστότατος.

## Life and Conduct of Our Holy Mother Irene Abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton

### 1. The Triumph of Orthodoxy

The persecution of the venerators of the image of Christ had now come to an end. Overcome by the will of Him that *scorneth the scornors* and defeated, the senseless rush of the Iconoclasts' rabid arrogance<sup>1</sup> had been abhorred, expelled, and destroyed. Like smoke, its *zeal*, great but *not according to knowledge*, had been dispelled. For with the end<sup>2</sup> of the life of Theophilus, the gold-loving and Christ-hating,<sup>3</sup> this impiety too had been brought to an end; and through his destruction this evil dogma too had been destroyed, like the trailing tail, as it were, of a dragon.<sup>4</sup> The Empress Theodora, who had been married to the Emperor although she was faithful to God,<sup>5</sup> succeeded to his throne but not to his impiety.<sup>6</sup> Already at the very beginning she gave mature and perfect life to the piety with which she in her fear of God had been pregnant, opening the way for all to revere and venerate the undefiled icons safely and candidly. God's Church regained her adornment,<sup>7</sup> the God-pleasing representa-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Greg. Nyss., *VMos*, II 94 (PG 44, 353B), ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄφραος ὁ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
πλήξας ὄλον συναπενέκρωσε τὸν κατόπιν ὄλκον ὃν ἐφέλκεται.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Theodoret, *HRel*, IV 3,4 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 294) ὁ τούτου  
μὲν θεῖος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πιστὸς θεράπων.

<sup>6</sup> Conversely, of Constantine V, *VNicetMed*, xxviiiB (§28), διαδέχεται τούτου τὴν  
βασιλείαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ; of Michael III, *VEuar*,  
ed. Van de Vorst 300,13—14, τοῦ τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονόμου καὶ βασιλείας καὶ  
δυσσεβείας.

<sup>7</sup> A frequent phrase in this context; cf., e.g., Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed. 154,7—8, sim.,  
ibid., 150,15—16; PsSymeon Magistros, ed.cit., 648,3, 650,21—22, 651,19; *VEustr*, ed.  
Papadopoulos-Kerameus 376,4—5. The model appears to be Athanasios, *VAnt*, 82 (PG  
26, 960B) (predicting the defeat of Arianism), πάλιν ταχέως ἀπολήψεται τὸν ἑαυτῆς  
κόσμον ἡ ἐκκλησία.

πάσαις, χαλκῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ, καὶ χαραττομένων καὶ προσκυνουμένων.

- 2 Δευτέρα μὲν ἐπομένη τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς μακαριστῆς βασιλίσης Εἰρήνης — ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρότερον εὐσέβειαν ἐπεδείξατο, τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ μεγάλην συγκροτήσασα σύνοδον ἐν τῇ 5 Νικαέων μητροπόλει καὶ πᾶσαν τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἀντιλογίαν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν συνεληλυθότων πολλῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐπιστομίσασα, ἐγγράφως ἐκτεθεικότων τὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὁμολογίας, ὑφ' ὧν ἐνεφράγη στόμα λαλούντων ἄδικα —, οὐ δευτέρα δὲ τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ σπουδῇ· καὶ γὰρ 10 εἴτι καὶ λείψανον τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας τοῖς πονηροῖς ὑπολέλειπτο, 603A δι' ὧν πάλιν αὐτὴ συνήγαγε πατέρων, οἳ καὶ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ βαστάζοντες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀφανισμῷ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ σιγῇ παρέδωκε παντελεῖ. Εἶτα σοφωτάτη προνοία κρατύνουσα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαινετὴν πανήγυριν 15 παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι συμπαρεκτεινομένην ἐθέσπισε, τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένην τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς πρώτης τῶν νηστειῶν ἑβδομάδος πολυάνθρωπον λιτήν, καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας εἰς δεῦρο καὶ λεγομένην καὶ γνωσκομένην, ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας ἐπώνυμον 20 καὶ μέγιστον συναγόμεθα ναόν, τὴν τε τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἀναστήλωσιν ἐορτάζοντες καὶ τῆς παντελοῦς καταστροφῆς τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἐτήσιον τῷ θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδόντες. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ λίαν ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐπεκράτησεν ἀτιμία· ἐν ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρότερον ὅλοις 25 ἔτεσιν, ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν ἐφ' ἑτέροις τριάκοντα ταῖς αὔραις ἀναφθεῖσα τοῦ πονηροῦ τετυράνηκε, καὶ μεγάλης ἔδει τῆς

PLSK

1 καὶ<sup>3</sup> om. P, qui ἄμα post χαραττομένων add. || 4 καὶ om. P || 6 Νικαιέων LSK || 10 δὲ: καὶ LSK || 19 ἡνίκα . . . ἐπώνυμον om. L

<sup>9</sup> ἐνεφράγη . . . ἄδικα: Ps. 62,12 (63,11) || 12—13 στίγματα . . . βαστάζοντες: cf. Gaί. 6,17

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the office for Vespers on the eve of the Sunday of Orthodoxy (*Triōdion*, ed. Saliberos 135, left col.), τὰς ἐν τοίχοις καὶ πίναξι καὶ ἱεροῖς σκευέσιν ἐγχαραχθείσας ἱεράς Χριστοῦ εἰκόνας . . . προσκυνήσωμεν; and the examples collected by Nikitin in his note on *PMartAmor*, 25,24 (p. 157).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. John Chrys., *Hom. 31 in Io.*, 4 (PG 59, 180), τὴν ἀναίσχυντον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιστομίζων ἀντιλογίαν.

tions on icons, which were painted and venerated on walls and panels, in all kinds of material, bronze, silver, and gold.<sup>8</sup>

In time she was second to the blessed Empress Irene—the latter had at an earlier date shown the same degree of piety in much the same situation, convening the great Seventh Synod in the metropolis of Nicaea and bridling all opposition<sup>9</sup> of the Iconoclasts with the unanimity of the many holy fathers gathered there, men who set down in writing the articles of the Orthodox doctrine and confession whereby *the mouth of them that speak lies was stopped*—, but she was not second to her in faith, zeal, and earnestness. For such traces of this impiety as still remained in evil people she assigned to complete abolition and silence with the help of the fathers whom she in her turn had summoned, men who bore in their bodies the marks of Christ for the sake of His image. Then, to confirm the piety she ordained with wise forethought that praiseworthy feast to endure as long as all time,<sup>10</sup> that celebration which we perform with a populous procession on the Sunday of the first week of Lent, and which to this day we call and know as the ‘Feast of Orthodoxy’.<sup>11</sup> We then assemble in the Great Church named after the Wisdom of God, solemnizing the re-establishment of the holy icons and annually thanking God for the complete destruction of the Iconoclasts.<sup>12</sup> For it was not for a short time that the irreverence of the holy icons had held sway, but for a very long period. To begin with, its tyranny had lasted for fifty-seven entire years, later for another thirty,<sup>13</sup> kindled by the Evil One’s breath, and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. id., *Hom. 27 in Gen.*, 10 (PG 53, 147), τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι συμπαρεκτεινομένην (. . . τὴν τιμωρίαν).

<sup>11</sup> On the Feast of Orthodoxy, see Gouillard in the commentary to his ed. of *SynodOrthod*, pp. 129—138; on the synod summoned by Theodora, *ibid.*, 125—127.

<sup>12</sup> Reminiscent of the beginning of *SynodOrthod* (ed. Gouillard, II. 1—3), ἐποφειλομένη πρὸς θεὸν ἐτήσιος εὐχαριστία καθ’ ἣν ἡμέραν ἀπελάβομεν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν σὺν . . . καταστροφῇ τῶν τῆς κακίας δυσσεβημάτων.

<sup>13</sup> The two iconoclastic periods referred to were 730 (publishing of the edict of Leo III)—787 (the Seventh Synod at Nicaea) and 815 (the Synod of St Sophia)—843. This makes not 30 but 28 years for the second period, and the first had in fact begun already in 726 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor 404,3). For discussions, see the references in J. Moorhead, ‘Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image’, *Byz*, 55 (1985), 165—179, note 2 on p. 166.

B εὐχαριστίας πρὸς τὸν βραδὺν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ ταχὺν εἰς ἀντίληψιν κύριον, τὸν ποιῶντα πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζοντα κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται τῷ βάθει τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ διοικήσεως.

2. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ὄρα τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπερβάλλον τῆς θεοφιλοῦς γυναικός· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς εἶδε συμφέρον μόνον, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐπελάβετο διὰ πίστεως καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας κατορθώματος, τοσαύτην δόξαν ἔστερξεν ἑαυτῇ πραγματευσαμένη, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἀποκειμένης αἰωνίου τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἐξέληται καταδίκης, μηδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐθέλειν ἐνομιζέτο σωτηρίαν. Καὶ τί ποιεῖ; Πάντας εἰς ταῦτο τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκκλησιασαμένη πατέρας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐνηθληκότας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τιμῆς καὶ πληγὰς καὶ μώλωπας ἔτι περιφέροντας, τούτων τοῖς ποσὶ μηδὲν ὑποστελαιμένη προσέπιπεν ἢ βασιλῆς, δάκρυσιν τὰς παρεῖας ἐπιρραίνουσα καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον αὐτοῦ ἐκκαλουμένη καὶ δυσωποῦσα δεήσεις καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν οἰκτίρμονα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον κύριον προσενεγκεῖν, ὅπως φείσεται τῆς ἀθλίας τοῦ συνεύνου ψυχῆς, καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν συγχωρήσεως μεσιτείας ἀνόμημα τῆς ἀτελευτητήτου τιμωρίας ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ. Καὶ δὴ τῆς ἱκετείας ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις τελουμένης ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ δάκρυσιν, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐναπογραφῆναι μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρετικῶν ὀνόματα, ὅσοι τῆς ὁμοίας ἦσαν ἀσεβείας ὑπέρμαχοι καὶ προστάται, συναπογραφῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὁμόφρονος ὄνομα Θεοφίλου, σφραγισθῆναι τε τὸν τόμον καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦτον ἐναποτεθῆναι θυσιαστηρίῳ· ὁ δὴ καὶ γέγονε.

5 Τῶν ἰλαστηρίων δὲ τελειωθεισῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνοιξαντες τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ τὸν τόμον — ὃ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀπάτου φιλανθρωπίας — εὐρίσκουσι μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειλημμένον ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν αἰρετικῶν τὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ὄνομα· καὶ ἐπληρώθη κἀνταῦθα ἢ λέγουσα τοῦ ἀποστόλου νομοθεσία· 'Τί γὰρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις;' Ὡντως

PLSK

9 ἐξελεῖται P || 13 ὑποστελλομένη LSK || 24 καὶ om. P || 25 τελειουμένων LSK || 27—28 τῶν . . . ἀπειλημμένον om. P || 30—8,1 ὄντως . . . ἐνεργουμένη om. L

1 βραδὺν . . . ἀντίληψιν: cf. Iac. 1,19 || 2 ποιῶντα . . . μετασκευάζοντα: cf. Am. 5,8 || 3 τῷ . . . σοφίας: cf. Rom. 11,33 || 5—6 τῆς αἰωνίου . . . ἐπελάβετο: cf. 1 Tim. 6,12 || 26 τοῦ πλήθους . . . σου: cf. Ps. 50(51),3 et sim. locc. || 30 Τί . . . σώσεις: 1 Cor. 7,16

great thanks were due to the Lord, *slow to wrath* but swift to help, He that creates all things and changes them in due season, as He knows in *the depth of His dispensing wisdom*.

## 2. The Emperor Theophilus Redeemed

But behold the abundant virtue of a woman beloved by God! She did not look to her own good only, nor was she content with the glory she had brought on herself by *laying hold on eternal life* through her faith and through the great triumph of Orthodoxy; no, unless she could save her husband from the eternal condemnation that awaits the impious, she neither desired, it was thought, her own salvation. Now what did she do? Assembling all the holy fathers, in particular those who had suffered for the reverence of the holy icons and still bore wounds and bruises, the Empress without reserve fell at their feet. She wetted her cheeks with tears, she urged them to compassion, she beseeched them to pray and supplicate our compassionate and benevolent Lord to spare the wretched soul of her husband and in His goodness liberate him from the eternal punishment, forgiving him, for the sake of their intercession, his severe trespass. While the supplication was being performed over several days, with vigils, prayers and tears, the holy fathers decided that the names of all those heretics who had been champions and leaders of the impiety, together with the name of the like-minded Theophilus, should be inscribed in a document to be sealed and deposited on the holy altar; and this was done.

The days of propitiation went by. On the following day, when they opened the document—O Christ, our King, numerous are *Thy mercies!* ineffable Thy love!—, they found that the name of Theophilus had alone been wiped out from the list of heretics.<sup>1</sup> Thus was fulfilled the statement of the Apostle that says, '*What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou*

2. <sup>1</sup> The model for this episode is the hagiographic *NarrTheophilAbs*, ed. Regel. With lines 20—29 here, cf. esp. pp. 36,9—37,15 (right col.), λαβὼν γὰρ [sc. ὁ Μεθόδιος] τόμον καινὸν ἔγραψεν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου καταρξάντων αἰρετικῶν τῆς βασιλείας τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐντάξας ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ὄνομα, καὶ τοῦτο σφραγίσας . . . ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐναπέθετο. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάντων προσκαρτεροῦντος, . . . τὸν τόμον . . . ἀνοιξας καὶ τῶν μὲν λοιπῶν αἰρετικῶν τὰ ὀνόματα εὖρε γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ χάρτῃ, . . . τὸ δὲ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ὄνομα οὐδ' ὄλως εὐρέθη.

μεγάλα ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη, ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν βουλαῖς ἐστὶν ἁγίων.

3. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ γνώμην καλῶς συνήλθε τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ ὡς αὐτῇ θελητόν — τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν —, ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ Μιχαήλ, ὃν δὴ τῆς βασιλείας εἶχε κληρονόμον, γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀγαγέσθαι καὶ περιβλέπτων, γένους μὲν εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ σεμνυνομένου πίστει, ἀρετῆς δὲ διαφέρουσας κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς εὐγενείᾳ, καὶ σώματος ὥρα διαπρεπῆ καὶ τὰς καθ'ἑαυτὴν νικῶσαν παρθένους· καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπέμποντο γῆν, ὅση τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑποτελῆς ἐτύγγανε βασιλείᾳ. 10

6 Ἄλλων οὖν ἀλλαχόθεν, ὅσοι παρθένους ἔτρεφον τοιαύτας, 604D ἐτοιμαζόντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδι πόλιν παραπεμπόντων αὐτάς, καὶ οἱ τῆς θαυμαστῆς Εἰρήνης πατέρες, ἧς ὁ λόγος ἀπ'ἀρχῆς τοὺς τρόπους βούλεται διηγῆσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἀρετῆς ὥρα ταύτην οὕτω δὴ καὶ σώματος κάλλει διαβεβοημένην ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν, ὅθεν ὄρμητο, πολυτελῶς εὖ μάλα καὶ κοσμίως εὐτρέπισαντες πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀποστέλλουσι, σὺν αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἣτις ὕστερον καὶ τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς θείῳ τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαήλ, τῷ καίσαρι Βάρδα, πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἐχρημάτισεν, ἀνδρὶ τᾶλλα μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, φθόνῳ δὲ διόλου τηκομένῳ καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς χαίροντι καὶ φόνοις. 15

Ἦς οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἦννον οἱ τὰς παρθένους ἄγοντες, ἔδει δὲ τοὺς διὰ τῆς Μυσίας περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας διέρχεσθαι τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ἀκούσασα ἢ σεμνοτάτη παρθένος Εἰρήνη τὰ κατὰ τὸν 20 25

PLSK

1 δέησις ἰσχύει inv. SK || 10 ἐπέμπετο LSK || 14 θαυμασίας LSK

1 μεγάλη . . . ἐνεργουμένη: cf. Iac. 5,16 || 1—2 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἁγίων: Ps. 88(89),8 || 4—5 τοῖς γὰρ . . . τὸ ἀγαθόν: Rom. 8,28

3. <sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the following episode, cf. Introduction, Ch. I. 2, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> According to *VEustr*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 389,18—19, a woman called Theodosia was married to Bardas. This detail must have been unknown to the author of *VI*, where Irene's sister remains anonymous (cf. F. Dvornik, 'Patriarch Ignatius and Caesar Bardas', *BSI*, 27 [1966], 7—22, esp. 17—19, where information from *VI* and *VEustr* is too uncritically combined). Here she is a shadowy figure whom the author seems to forget before the company enters Constantinople. When she appears again (*infra*, ch. 12)

*shalt save thy husband? Surely, the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. Surely, God is glorified in the assembly of the saints.'*

### 3. The Bride-Show Irene Meets St Ioannikios

As all the Empress' designs had succeeded in accordance with her wishes—for *all things work together for good to them that love God*—, she decided to bring home a bride for her son Michael, whom she held as heir to the Empire.<sup>1</sup> The girl should belong to the illustrious and outstanding and to a pious family who took pride in the Orthodox faith, she should excel in moral beauty and spiritual nobility, and be distinguished by corporeal fairness so as to surpass all girls of her age. A proclamation about this was sent throughout all the land that was subject to the Empire of the Romans.

People who reared such girls prepared them and had them escorted from their various lands to the Imperial City. Thus the admirable Irene, whose mode of life this writing will narrate from the beginning, a woman renowned for moral grace and corporeal beauty alike, was given a most rich and splendid outfit by her parents, who sent her to Constantinople from Cappadocia whence she drew her origin. Along with her they sent her sister, who was later married to the Caesar Bardas,<sup>2</sup> the maternal uncle of the Emperor Michael, a man otherwise<sup>3</sup> worth nothing, all consumed by envy and rejoicing in robberies and murders.

In the course of the journey the girls and their escort had to pass through Mysia near the spurs of Mount Olympos.<sup>4</sup> The reverend virgin

her role is merely that of an intermediary between her husband and her sister.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase τᾶλλα μὲν . . . , . . . δὲ . . . here lacks the contrastive force which normally makes its first part approximate to a concessive clause. For the normal use, cf., e.g., *VConstIud*, ed. Delehaye 648C, ἀνὴρ τᾶλλα μὲν ἀγαθός . . . , τοῦτο δ' ἠττώμενος . . . τῷ διαβολαῖς παρέχειν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὄτα; also, text. cit., 654E.

<sup>4</sup> On Mt Olympos (more generally connected with Bithynia) and its monasteries, see Van den Gheyn's *commentarius praeuius* to *VIoann*, pp. 322—325 (nos. 27—31); B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935) (for *VI*, cf. esp. 81 f.); Janin, *Grands centres*, 127—191. — The following story may be compared with *VTheodorImp*, ed. Markopoulos 3,31—38 (= Regel, 4,22—29): Theodora, on her way to the bride-show for Theophilus, heard about a holy man living in seclusion 'in the tower of Nicomedia' (he was called

μέγαν Ἰωαννίκιον, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτημάτων οὐδ' ὀρατός ἐστιν αἰεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὡς ἀξίως οἰκονομία θειοτέρᾳ ἐμφανισθεῖη, μείζον τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πάρεργον ἠγησαμένη, τί μὲν οὐκ ἔλεγε, τί δὲ οὐκ ἐποίει πείσαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνεληλυθέναι καὶ εἶγε δῶν κύριος, φησί, καὶ ὄψεως 5 αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν καὶ ὀμιλίας καὶ εὐχῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνυσιμωτάτων

E ἀξιωθῆναι· πείθονται τοίνυν μόλις καὶ ταύτην ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν ὄσιον.

7 Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν πόρρωθεν ἐρχομένην, καὶ τῷ διορατικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρίσματι προθεωρήσας εἰς οἶον ἄρα καταστήσει τέλος αὐτῇ τὰ τοῦ βίου, μήπω πλησίον γενομένην φησί 10 πρὸς αὐτήν· 'Καλῶς ἦλθες, ἡ δούλη τοῦ θεοῦ Εἰρήνη· σπεῦδε, τέκνον, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν χαίρουσα, σπεῦδε, χρεῖαν γάρ σου ἔχει ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου, ὅπως ποιμαίνης τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρθένους.' Ἡ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε τὸ ἑαυτῆς ὄνομα, ἔκθαμβος ὄλη γενομένη τῷ ἐδάφει προσέρριπεν ἑαυτὴν πρὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ποδῶν, 15 εὐχὴν προσδεχομένη καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογίαν. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ῥημάτων οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐμέλησεν αὐτῇ — 'Τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ κοινόν', ἔλεγε, 'καὶ τῷ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ;' —, μόνη δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡ κλησίς εἰς ἐκπληξιν αὐτὴν ἤγε, λογιζομένην ὅπως ἦν οὐδέποτε ἐθεάσατο καὶ περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἠκηκόει ὀνομαστί προσηγόρευσεν. Ἄναστήσας οὖν 20 αὐτὴν ὁ ὄσιος καὶ λόγοις πνευματικοῖς στηριξας, εὐχαῖς δὲ καὶ εὐλογίαις ἐφοδιάσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πληρῶσαι τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν.

8 Ἐπει δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέλαβον, ἐξίασι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄσοι τε κατοίκησιν εἶχον ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ὄσοις ἦν περὶ τινῶν 25 αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαίων ἐπιδημία, τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ βουλῆς ὄντες καὶ

PLSK

5 ὥστε: ὡς P || δώσει P || 20 ἠκηκόει corrigi: ἠκόει codd. || 26 an suppl. (μετέχ)οντες? (cf. *VMichMal*, ed. Petit 551,7—8, βουλῆς τε συγκλήτου μετέχοντα)

22 ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ: cf. Lc. 2,29

Isaiah; cf. D. Stiernon in *REB*, 35 [1977], 6—11). When she approached him he predicted her future as 'Empress of the Christians'. Ph. Bourboulis, *Studies in the History of Modern Greek Story-Motives* (Thessalonike, 1953), 11, seems to regard one of the episodes as dependent on the other. Some connection is probable, but the motif belonged to the hagiographic repertoire; cf., e.g., *VEuthymIun*, ed. Petit 174,2—175,8 (with St Ioannikios in the same role as here); *VMichMal*, ed. Petit 553,2ff.

Irene had heard what was told about the great Ioannikios, for instance that he, in addition to his other virtues, would not always be visible<sup>5</sup> to all who wished it, but only appeared, by divine dispensation, to those who were worthy of it. Giving a digression priority to the main track,<sup>6</sup> she left nothing unspoken nor undone to persuade her escort to let her climb up to him and, if the Lord would permit, see him, talk with him, and be blessed with his efficacious prayers. Finally they were persuaded and led her up to the holy man.

Seeing her approach from a distance, he foresaw with the divining endowment of his soul what course her life would take and said to her even before she was near him, 'Welcome, Irene, servant of God! Hasten, my child, with joy to the Imperial City, hasten! The Convent of Chrysobalanton needs you to shepherd her virgins!' When she heard her name she was all amazed and threw herself to the ground before his feet, awaiting a prayer and a blessing from him. She cared little about the rest of his words—'What has Chrysobalanton to do with me?', she thought—, it was only the calling of her name that startled her, as she considered how he had addressed by name one whom he had never seen nor heard about. The holy man had her stand up, supported her with spiritual words, gave her provisions of prayers and blessings, and let her *depart in peace* to accomplish the journey that lay before her.

When they arrived in the city, all those of her kin who lived there or were staying there for some important business went out to meet her. They both wished to see with their own eyes a woman whom they had long desired to behold, and held her in respect as the probable fiancée of the Emperor. As holders of patrician dignity they belonged to the council and

<sup>5</sup> To be invisible is sometimes a sign of sanctity; cf., e.g., the case of Constantine the Jew who was made invisible to a band of Arabs when praying in a church (*VConstIud*, ed. Delehaye 638EF ff.); and of Ioannikios, of whom his biographer Peter reports three episodes of this kind (*VIoann* a. Petro, ed. Van den Gheyn 413A—C; 424AB). The real point here is, on the contrary, that Ioannikios was made *visible* 'to the worthy' by God's dispensation. From the point of view of a contemporary witness (like Irene) this would be hard to understand. It is easily explicable, however, if we regard Ioannikios as the author did, i.e. as an established saint, long since dead. For the idea, cf. *VASal*, PG 111, 728A τὸν γὰρ ἄγγελον οὐχ ἐώρων ὡς ἀνάξιος; cf. also *ApophthPatr*, PG 65, 96C.

<sup>6</sup> On the origin of this old antithesis, see the *note complémentaire* on *VPorph*, edd. Grégoire & Kugener, ch. 9,24—28 (p. 89), cited by G. Rossi Taibbi in his commentary on *VEISic*, ll. 845—847 (p. 162). For additional examples, cf. Isid. Pelus., *Ep.* V 108 (PG 78, 1388C), and, from hagiography, e.g. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 86,8; *VEuthymPatr*, ed. Karlin-Hayter 101,14; *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye, 217,5.

προεδρίας και μεγάλα παρὰ βασιλευσι δυνάμενοι, ἅτε τῶν πατρικίων ἔχοντες τιμὰς (οὓς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐκάλουν Γουβερίους, πλούτῳ και δόξῃ περιβλέπτους και ἀρετῇ περιβοήτους), ἅμα μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἰμειρόμενοι ἦν πρὸ πολλοῦ θεάσασθαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἅμα δὲ και 5  
τιμῶντες αὐτὴν, ὡς εἰκόσ, βασιλεῖ μνηστευομένην.

Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔδει πάντως νικῆσαι τὸν ἀγαθῶν ψυχῶν ἔραστὴν, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλευόντων, ὅς τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα καλεῖ και τὰ μήπω γεγονότα ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα ἀφορίζει· ἔφθασε γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ συναφθῆναι γυνή, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα σοφῶς πάντως οἰκονομοῦντος, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον Εἰρήνην εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγάγηται θάλαμον. 10  
"Ὅπερ ὡς ἤκεν εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῇ θαυμασίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ, χαρᾶς ἔπλησε τὴν 9  
ψυχὴν και τῷ θεῷ μεγάλας ἐκείνη τὰς χάριτας ὠμολόγει. Πολλῶν οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι και πρώτοις τῆς πόλεως διὰ τε τὸ κάλλος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ γένους περιφάνειαν πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν ἐλκόντων, οὐδὲ ψιλῇ παραδέξασθαι ἀκοῇ τοῦτο ἠνείχετο, ἀλλ' ὅλη ψυχῇ και προθυμίᾳ τῷ 15  
Χριστῷ νυμφευθῆναι και τούτῳ μόνῳ διὰ παντὸς ἀρέσκειν ἐπεπόθησεν.

605A 4. Πάντων τοίνυν ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν βιωτικῶν και τῶν γῆινων ἀποσεισασμένη τὸν πόθον, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας διεσκοπεῖτο και διηρεῦνα 20  
τόπον κατοικίας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἡσύχιον και θεάρεστον μετελεύσεται βίον, πάσης ταραχῆς και θορύβων ἀπηλλαγμένη. Πολλὴν δὲ περὶ τούτου τὴν ἔρευναν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ποιουμένη τὴν πόλιν, μόλις ποτὲ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἦλθε τῶν προρρηθέντων αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου 'Ιωαννικίου' και παραυτικά τῶν ἄλλων ἀφεμένη πέμπει διὰ σπουδῆς

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2 an leg. ὀνομαστί? (cf. supra 10,20, infra 40,17) || 17 ἐπόθησεν LSK || 20 εὐάρεστον P

6—7 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλευόντων: 1 Tim. 6,15 || 7 ὅς . . . καλεῖ: cf. Rom. 4,17

<sup>7</sup> A model for this phrase seems to be Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 6 (PG 35, 1176B), συγκλήτου βουλῆς μετουσία και προεδρία. Syntax (the vague genitive with ὄντες) and logic (βουλή and προεδρία as parallel constituents of the Senate) of our passage leave something to be desired; cf. app. crit. — There is no need to see here any reference to the dignity of πρόεδρος τῆς συγκλήτου. Examples of similar phrases from hagiography may be multiplied whereas the title, created by Nikephoros Phokas, was extremely rare. Originally it had only one titular (a eunuch) at a time; see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 299. Here, in addition, such a reference would be a harsh anachronism. Cf. O. Lampsides's discussion of the phrase πρῶτον . . . τῆς συγκλήτου in his edition of *VNicMet*, p. 432. — No overall study on the Senate in Byzantium exists. For some important aspects, see A. Christophorou, *Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος* (Athens, 1949) ('Ακαδ.

presidency of the Senate<sup>7</sup> and had great influence with the Emperors; they were called the Goubers, people admired for wealth and glory and renowned for their virtue.

But assuredly the Lover of good souls was to be victorious, the *King of kings*, He who calls *those things which be not as though they were* and appoints those things which have not yet happened as though they already had. For a woman<sup>8</sup> had anticipated Irene in being married to the Emperor, certainly because of God's wise dispensation, that He might bring His virgin Irene to His own chamber. When this reached the ears of the wonderful Irene, it filled her soul with joy and she offered great thanks to God. Many among the magnates and the foremost of the city tried to induce her to marry<sup>9</sup> because of her beauty and the prominence of her family. But she did not endure even to listen to this, no, with all her heart and soul she desired to become the bride of Christ and always to satisfy Him alone.

#### 4. Irene Enters Religion at Chrysobalanton

Disdaining all things of this life and shaking off the desire for earthly goods she daily searched and made inquiries for a dwelling-place in which to pursue her God-pleasing contemplative life, a place secluded from all kinds of noise and disturbances.<sup>1</sup> Making thorough search all over the city, at last she recalled the prediction spoken to her<sup>2</sup> by the great Ioannikios. At once she abandoned all else and speedily sent men to search

<sup>7</sup> Ἀθηνῶν, 'Επετ. τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου, 2); H.-G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1966) (Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsab., 1966, 6).

<sup>8</sup> Eudokia Dekapolitissa, whom Michael married in 855.

<sup>9</sup> πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν ἐλκόντων: cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 56 (PG 36, 568A).

4. <sup>1</sup> Suitable surroundings are essential for monasteries. There are, consequently, many parallels to the following passage. Cf., e.g., *VEuthymPatr*, ed. Karlin-Hayter 27,14 ff., περισκοποῦντος . . . , εἰ ποῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδειότητα τόπου πρὸς μονὴν ἐφεύροιο ἀποκισμένον τῶν θορύβων και ἡσυχον; *VLuclun*, PG 111, 461A, χωρίον . . . μὴ μόνον εὐ ἔχον ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ και ἀέρος ἐν καλῷ κείμενον; further *VNicStud*, PG 105, 909C; *VAlypStyl*, ed. Delehaye 174,33—34; *VAthanAthon A*, ed. Noret 37,32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, 10,12—14.

τοὺς τὴν μονὴν ἀναζητήσοντας τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου. Μαθοῦσα δὲ ὡς ἐν καλῷ εἶη διακειμένη τῆς πόλεως μέρει, εὐκράτως μὲν ἄερος ἔχουσα, ἀγορῶν τε πόρρω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχλήσεων ὠκισμένη, ἄρτι  
**10** δὲ σεμνεῖον εἰς γυναικεῖον μεταμειφθεῖσα — ἢ γὰρ τῶν εἰκονομάχων τυραννίς τὸ ἱερὸν σχῆμα τῶν μοναζόντων διὰ τὸ μέλαν ὡς ἄγος τι <sup>5</sup> τῆς πόλεως ἀπελαύνουσα, πολλὰ τῶν μοναστηρίων ἔρημα τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατατέλλει μοναχῶν, ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ διεσκεδασμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν μετηλλαχότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ μακρυνόντων, φυγαδευόντων, τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀπηγορευκότων —, ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε ταῦτα, ἐχάρη τε λίαν <sup>10</sup>  
**B** καὶ πάντα προθύμως τὰ προσόντα περιδέραϊα τε καὶ κόσμια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος φιλοτίμως ὑποδεχθεῖσα ὡς βασιλικὰς ἐκτίησάτο δωρεάς, τὰ μὲν πένησι καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῆς θεραπαινίσιν δένειμε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μονὴν φέρουσα τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθετο. Καὶ οὕτως κείρεται μὲν τὴν κόμην, συναποκείρεται δὲ ταύτη καὶ πᾶν εἶτι <sup>15</sup> κοσμικὸν καὶ πρόσγειον φρόνημα, μεταμφιέννεται δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων, τρίχινα περιβαλλομένη ῥάκια, τρύχειν οἶα δὴ θέλουσα τὸ ἀπαλὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα καὶ τρυφερόν, ἴν' ὅσον ἐκεῖνο φθείρεται, τοσοῦτο τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαινιζομένην ἔχει καὶ ἀναθάλλουσαν καὶ θεῷ προσεγγίζουσαν. <sup>20</sup>

606F **11** 5. Ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν τὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸν ἐθελούσιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγὸν ὑπελθοῦσαν Εἰρήνην πρὸς πᾶσαν κατὰ θεὸν ὑπακοὴν οὐ μόνον ἐπιτήδειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔτοιμον, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῇ πληροῦσθαι τὸ 'χρηστὸν εἶναι τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὸ φορτίον ἑλαφρὸν' τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς εὐχαρίστως ἔλκουσιν. Ἀντιλογίαν μὲν γὰρ ὅλως οὐκ ἤδει, παρὰ <sup>25</sup> πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις αὐτῇ ὄκνος ἀπῆν, ἐγρήγορις

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10 οὖν om. P || 15 ταύτη: αὐτῇ LSK || 19 ἔχει LS (K legere nequeo)

9 μακρυνόντων φυγαδευόντων: cf. Ps. 54(55),8 || 18—19 φθείρεται . . . ἀνακαινιζομένην: cf. 2 Cor. 4,16 || 24 χρηστὸν . . . ἑλαφρὸν: cf. Mt. 11,30

<sup>3</sup> For 'black' as ἄγος, cf. *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 658E, [a cook black with soot] ὡς ἄγος . . . καταφρονούμενος. On the iconoclastic persecution of monks, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1977), 121 ff.

<sup>4</sup> St Theodora of Thessalonica, entering religion at a convent where her relative Anna is

for the Convent of Chrysobalanton. When she learned that it was situated in a beautiful part of the city, with temperate air, lying far from market-places and other annoyances, and had been recently turned into a nunnery—for the tyranny of the Iconoclasts had banished the monks from the city as a pollution because of the black colour<sup>3</sup> of their sacred habit, and left many of the monasteries devoid of their inhabitants who had been scattered in various directions, some of the monks having left this life with the lapse of time, others *wandering far off* and living in exile without hope of return—, when she heard this, she felt great joy. The necklaces and jewels she wore, and all other things that she kept as imperial gifts ever since she had been liberally received by the Empress, all these she willingly either distributed to the poor and to her own servants or brought to the convent as an offering to God.<sup>4</sup> Then she had her hair shorn, and with it was shorn, too, all her mundane and earthly concern.<sup>5</sup> She also changed her dress, arraying herself in a ragged hair-shirt, as she wished to wear out that tender and delicate body to have a soul that was *renewed* and flourished and approached God to the same extent as the body *perished*.<sup>6</sup>

## 5. The Beginning of Irene's Asceticism

Thus one could see that Irene, joyfully shouldering the voluntary yoke of Christ, was not only able but also always prepared to obey God in all, so that in her was carried out the word, 'Christ's yoke is easy and His burden is light for those who bear it thankfully'. She was wholly unable to raise contradictions. She showed absolutely no hesitation before any

abbess, disposes of her possessions in a similar way, although she brings three of her servants with her to the monastery; see *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 12, ch. 20 (Kurtz, 12,17 ff.). Cf. J. Herrin, 'In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach', in: *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Av. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (London, 1983), 167—190, esp. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VThomLesb*, ed. Delehaye 236B, ἀποκείρεται μὲν τὴν τρίχα, συναποκείρεται δὲ καὶ τύρβην βιωτικῆν; *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 9,24—25, τὴν τε κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκείρεται καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ πᾶν εἴ τι λείψανον κοσμικῆς φροντίδος ὑποσμύχον αὐτὸν ἦν.

<sup>6</sup> This NT passage appears similarly reshaped (with ὅσον . . . τοσοῦτο) in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz 15,14—15.





ἀειθαλῆς παρ'αὐτῆ· κατάνυξις δὲ ἀδιάλειπτος καὶ ἀγαλλίασις  
τοσαύτη πνευματικῆ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον θάλλον ἔχουσαν ἀεὶ τὴν  
τῆς καρδίας εὐφροσύνην ἐμφαίνειν, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον.

Εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν καθηγουμένην ἐπιστημόνως αὐτὴν πρὸς τὰ  
κάλλιστα διεγείρουσάν τε καὶ διερεθίζουσιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ 5  
χάριν μυστικῶς ἐπισκιάζουσιν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διδάσκουσιν.  
'Χωρὶς γὰρ ἐμοῦ', φησὶν ὁ κύριος, 'οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν, καὶ ὁ  
μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος φέρει καρπὸν πολύν.' Καὶ μέντοι  
607A καὶ ἤνεγκεν, ὡς γῆ καλὴ τε καὶ πῖον τὸν θεῖον σπὸρον δεξαμένη καὶ  
12 κεκαθαρισμένη πάσης ὑλικῆς προσπαθείας καὶ σχέσεως. Ψυχὴ γὰρ 10  
τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπῶσα, σώματι κεχρημένη παρθενικῷ, ταχέως εὐρίσκει  
τὴν θεῖαν χάριν ἐφιπταμένην καὶ πάντα γινομένην αὐτῆ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς  
τὴν ἀδελφότητα μέτριον αὐτῆς καὶ ταπεινὸν θαῦμα ἦν οὐ μόνον τῆ  
προεστῶση ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἑώρα γὰρ πάσας τὰς  
ἀδελφὰς ὡς βασιλίδας θεραπαινίδας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας τούτων 15  
ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστη προσφέρουσα.

Οὕτω δὲ προσέκειτο ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὕτως ἐνησχόλητο  
τοῖς τῶν πατέρων βίοις, πᾶν εἶτι καλὸν καὶ πρόσφορον ἐρανίζουσα,  
ὡς στόμα δοκεῖν τῶν θεοπνευστῶν εἶναι ῥημάτων. Καί ποτε τῷ βίῳ  
τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀρσενίου ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στάσιν 20  
κατανοήσασα, ὅπως ἐκτεταμένης ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας εἰστήκει μὲν πρὸς  
ἀνατολάς, περὶ δυσμὰς ἀρχόμενος ἡλίου, κατέληγε δὲ τῆς στάσεως,  
ὅτε τὰς αὐτοῦ κατέλαμψεν ἀνατείλας ὄψεις ὁ ἥλιος, εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς  
ἴσης τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλθοῦσα  
B 13 τῷ θεῷ παράστασιν, κοινοῦται τοῦτο καὶ τῆ προεστῶση. Ἡ δὲ πρῶτα 25  
μὲν ὄκνει κατανεῦσαι, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πράγματος προσαποροῦσα· ὡς  
δὲ ταύτην εἶχε δυσωποῦσαν ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς τὴν  
ἐγγχείρησιν τὰς παρ'αὐτῆς ἐπιζητοῦσαν εὐχὰς, τῷ μετρίῳ τοῦ

PLSK

PI(inc. a τῷ μετρίῳ lln. 28)LSK

11 in marg. add. γνωμικόν PL || 15 τούτων post ἐκάστη (lin. 16) tr. P || 17  
ἐνησχολεῖτο P || 26 προσαποροῦσα: ἐννοοῦσα P || 27 εἶχε: εἶδε P

2—3 τὸ πρόσωπον . . . εὐφροσύνην: cf. Prou. 15,13 || 7—8 Io. 15,5 || 12 πάντα  
γινομένην: cf. 1 Cor. 9,22

5. <sup>1</sup> Cf. *VConstJud*, ed. Delehay 634A, πάσης ὑλικῆς καὶ προσπαθείας καὶ μνήμης  
ἔξω γενόμενον.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 30,16—18, ὃν ἐ τῆς ἡμέρας εὐχῆς ἀρχόμενος καὶ ὀπισθεν

orders given to her. There was in her an unfading wakefulness, an incen-  
sant compunction, and a spiritual joy so deep that with a *cheerful  
countenance* she always showed forth her *glad heart*, as the Scripture  
says.

She received discerning stimulation and encouragement to good deeds  
from the abbess and was mystically overshadowed and taught beneficial  
things by God's grace. '*For without me*', says the Lord, '*ye can do no-  
thing. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much  
fruit*'. And indeed she did bear fruit, like good and fertile earth receiving  
the divine seed, purified from all material attachment and affection.<sup>1</sup>  
For a soul that loves God and is vested in a virginal body will soon find  
divine grace flying to her and becoming all to her. Her modesty and  
humility towards the sisterhood were a wonder not only to the abbess but  
to all who heard of it, for she regarded all the sisters as a servant regards  
queens, performing the meanest services for each of them.

She was so devoted to the Divine Scriptures and so engrossed by the  
Lives of the Fathers, collecting everything good and useful, that she  
seemed a mouthpiece of the God-inspired words. Once she read the Life  
of St Arsenios and learnt about his standing exercises: he had used to  
stand with his hands extended to the east, beginning at sunset, and to cease  
from standing when the rising sun shed light on his face.<sup>2</sup> Then she  
began to covet equality<sup>3</sup> with that brave man in his angelic rather than  
human attendance on God. This she confided to the abbess, who at first  
hesitated to give her consent, raising objections to an enterprise of such  
dimensions. But as she considered how Irene beseeched her still more and  
asked for her prayers as support in the undertaking, she yielded and con-

αὐτοῦ τὸν ἥλιον δύνοντα ἀφιεῖς, οὕτω διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς ἴστασθαι, ἕως πάλιν ὁ ἥλιος  
ἀνατείλας ἐπιλάμψειεν αὐτοῦ τῷ προσώπῳ. The wording of VI (lines 19—21) seems  
to indicate that the description of Arsenios's nightly prayer comes near to an exact  
quotation from his Life. If so, the *Vita* published by Cereteli does not provide a perfect  
model since it says nothing about Arsenios stretching his hands up. This detail is present  
in *ApophthPatr*, PG 65, 97C (=Theod.Stud., *LArsen*, ed. Nissen 253,29), ἔτεινε τὰς  
χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχόμενος, but this text is not a *Vita* (in fact, the author  
of Cereteli's text claims to be the first to arrange the material on Arsenios in the *paterika*  
into a structured whole; cf. text. cit., 1,13—17). Therefore it is more likely that the author  
of VI had seen another text, perhaps one of the unpublished Lives *BHG*<sup>3</sup> 167y, z. For  
Arsenios as an ascetic model, cf. *VLucJun*, PG 111, 460D f.; *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides  
24,15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἴσος II.1.

φρονήματος θαρρήσασα τῆς Εἰρήνης καὶ μηδ' ἄθεοι τὴν προθυμίαν ταύτης εἶναι λογισαμένη, κατένευσέ τε καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν.

Ἡ δὲ καθάπερ εἰς ἀνάκλισιν τινα καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπαυσιν, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν ἔδραμε χαίρουσα, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ πλέον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἀγῶνα μετερχομένη. Ἀρξαμένη γοῦν τῆς 5 στάσεως κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῆς θείας αὐτῆ συνεφαπτομένης χάριτος ἄνωθεν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον εἰς κατόρθωσιν ἦλθε τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ὅλας μὲν νύκτας, ὅλας δὲ ἡμέρας τῇ στάσει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἐκτείνουσαν πρὸς οὐρανὸν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ἀρχομένη τῆς στάσεως τοῦ ἡλίου 10 πρὸς δυσμὰς ὄντος μέχρι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔληγεν ἐσπέρας, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος τὴν ἐπιούσαν πάλιν ἴστατο ἀνατολὴν προσδεχομένη. Καὶ ἦν θαῦμα τῇ προεστῶση ταῦτα, ἦν μόνην συνίστορα τῶν πραττομένων ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ τὸν ἐν κρυπτῷ βλέποντα θεόν. Ἦτις ἠνίκα τὴν Εἰρήνην μειδιῶντι προσώπῳ καὶ ὑπόπλεω πρὸς 15 αὐτὴν ἐρυθήματος ἐρχομένην ἐώρα, βλέμματι τε γαληνῷ καὶ κάτω νεύοντι καὶ λαλιᾷ πραεῖα προσφθεγγομένην, ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σημεῖων καὶ τὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐτεκμηριοῦτο μέτρον.

14 6. Ἐπὶ τρισὶν οὖν ἔτεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν περὶ τοὺς ἀσκητικοὺς ἀγῶνας βλέπων ὁ πονηρὸς ἤσχαλλεν, ἠνιάτο, ἐδυσφόρει· οὐδὲ γὰρ 20 εἶχεν ὅπως αὐτὴν ταῖς οἰκείαις πάγαις ἀλώσιμον θήσεται, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν ὄσα καθ' ἡμῶν πολεμῶν λαμβάνει, παρ' αὐτῆς εἶχε λαβεῖν. Χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετο, ὡς μηδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνὸς χιτωνίου καὶ τριβωνίου καὶ βραχυτάτοις κεκρησθαι πρὸς τὸ μόνον ἀποζῆν ἄρτω καὶ ὕδατι, ποτὲ 25 δὲ καὶ λαχάνοις λίαν ὀλίγοις, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐσπέραν· δόξης δὲ οὕτω καταπεφρόνηκεν, ὡς μηδ' αὐτὰ (τὰ) τῶν τῆς μονῆς προαυλίων αἰσχύνεσθαι περικαθαίρειν ῥυπάσματα. Ὅμως τῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ συνήθει φθόνῳ χρώμενος λογισμοὺς ὑποβάλλειν ἤρξατο, τῆς προτέρας δόξης καὶ τῆς τοῦ γένους περιφανείας ἀναμιμνήσκων, τοῦ πλοῦτου τε καὶ 30

PILSK

6 συνεφαπτομένη P || 10 μὲν γὰρ: γὰρ γὰρ P || 12 ἴστατο πάλιν inv. ILSK  
|| 21 θήσεσθαι I || fort. scr. μηδὲν

14 τὸν . . . βλέποντα: cf. Mt. 6,4 || 24 μηδὲν . . . χιτωνίου: cf. Mt. 10,10

sented, taking confidence in the humbleness of Irene's mind and taking into account that her zeal would not lack the help of God.

She ran to her exercises with joy as if to recline and rest her body, and that though she had not pursued her ascetic struggle for more than a year. She began her standing exercise little by little, but shortly, as divine grace joined her from on high,<sup>4</sup> she reached so far in ascetic mastership that with all eagerness she endured standing for whole nights and whole days, stretching her hands to heaven. Sometimes her standing began when the sun was setting and ended the following evening, sometimes she began to stand when the sun rose, awaiting the following sunrise. This was a wonder to the abbess whom alone, second to God who *sees in secret*, she made privy to her activities. When she saw Irene approach her, with a smile and a blush<sup>5</sup> on her face, talking to her with calm and downcast eyes and in gentle speech, then from these signs she concluded about the measure of her standing exercises.

## 6. Irene Tempted by the Devil

Seeing her prosecute the ascetic struggle in this way for three years, the Evil One was grieved, distressed, and vexed. He was unable to make her an easy prey for his own traps, because from her he could get nothing of what he gets in his war against us. Money and luxury and glory she shunned so much that she did not own more than one frock and one cloak.<sup>1</sup> Her food was a minimal amount of bread and water, just enough to live off, sometimes with some vegetables, and that in the evening. Prestige she so disdained that she was not ashamed even to clean the dirt from the forecourts of the convent. Yet in his usual envy the Devil began to instil evil thoughts in her, reminding her of her former glory and the prominence of her family, of her wealth and abundance of delights,

<sup>4</sup> τῆς θείας . . . ἄνωθεν: cf., e.g., *VAthanAthon* B, ed. Noret 25,2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bas. Caes., *Ep.* XLVI 2,31 (ed. Courtonne, p. 118), καλὸν μὲν τὸ ἐξ αἰδοῦς ἐρύθημα. For κάτω νεύοντι, cf. note 1 on ch. 16, *infra*.

6. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 61 (PG 36, 576B), and see *infra*, ch. 11, *ad fin.*

τῆς τῶν ἡδέων ἀφθονίας, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὑποῦλον  
καὶ μαλακὸν ὑποχαλᾶν. Ἡ δὲ τῷ κεκαθαρμένῳ τῆς διανοίας ὄμματι  
τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι ταῦτα τοῦ πονηροῦ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα, παραυτίκα  
608D πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους διαλογισμοὺς ἀνακαλύπτει τῇ ὁδηγῷ καὶ  
καθηγουμένη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐξαγορεύσεως ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρούσα τῆς 5  
ἐπιτηρείας τῶν προτέρων ὁμοίως ἀγώνων εἶχετο.

15 Μιᾶ δὲ ποτε τῶν νυκτῶν τὰς συνήθεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ποιουμένης  
προσευχᾶς, ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀντίπαλος, εἰς μέλανα καὶ δυσειδῆ  
σηματισθεὶς ἄνδρα, παραστάς ἐκ διαστήματος ὕβριζέ τε θρασέως  
καὶ ἠπειλεῖ, γοητείας καὶ περιεργῶν ἐργάτιν ὀνομάζων αὐτήν, καὶ 10  
σοβαρευόμενος ἐκφοβεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τέλος ‘Ἐμοί’, φησὶν,  
‘ἀντιτάσσει; μικρὸν ἀνάμεινον καὶ γνώσει πάντως, ὅστις ἐγὼ καὶ ἦτις  
ἢ ἐμὴ δύναμις.’ Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσειπεῖν ἐθέλων, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν  
τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνουσαν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαράξαι κατ’αὐτοῦ  
σημεῖον, φυγὰς ὄχετο. 15

Καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς σφοδρότεροι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπιτίθενται ταύτῃ  
λογισμοί, δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐκταράσσοντες καὶ θορυβοῦντες καὶ εἰς  
ἀμηχανίαν ἐμβάλλοντες. Ὅμως ἐπειδὴ συνεχῶς τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν  
θεῶν προσεῖχε γραφῶν, ἐκείνου μνημονεύουσα τοῦ τῶν πατέρων  
ρήματος, ὡς ‘Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἰκανὸς ἀντιστρατεῦσασθαι τῷ 20  
πονηρῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ σκέπῃ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων  
προσπεφυγῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πίστεως τὸν ἐχθρὸν  
E κατατοξεύσει καὶ καταβάλλῃ’, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καταφεύγει, μεσίτας  
προβαλλομένη τὴν πανάμωμον μητέρα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ, τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων Μιχαήλ, τὸν 25  
παρεστηκότα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ Γαβριήλ, οὗ καὶ τὸ τῆς μονῆς  
ἐπώνυμόν ἐστιν εὐκτῆριον’ καὶ πάσας τὰς οὐρανίας δυνάμεις πάντας  
16 τε τοὺς ἀγίους ἐπικαλουμένη τοιαύτην συνετίθει τὴν εὐχήν· ‘Παναγία  
τριας παντοδύναμη καὶ μεγαλοδύναμη, τῇ μεσιτείᾳ τῆς θεοτόκου, τῇ  
πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ 30  
καὶ πασῶν τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων, βοήθησον

PILSK

1 δὲ: τε S || καὶ om. P || ὑποῦλον P || 9 ὕβριζέ: ὕβρεσι P || 10 ἠπειλεῖ  
... περιεργῶν: ἀπειλαῖς ἐβαλλε γοητειῶν P || 19 ἐκεῖνο ILSK || 21 ἐὰν: ἂν  
P || 23 καταβαλεῖ ILSK || 26 παρεστῶτα P || 27 οὐρανίους P || 28  
εὐχήν: add. tit. εὐχή P

25—26 τὸν παρεστηκότα . . . Γαβριήλ: cf. Lc. 1,19

and then to make her yield to the unwholesome softness of pleasure.<sup>2</sup>  
But with her pure spiritual eye she perceived this to be part of the Evil  
One’s plot and immediately revealed all these thoughts to her guide and  
abbess. Finding relief from the attack through her confession, she  
persevered in her struggle as before.

One night, when she was reading her usual prayers to God, the adver-  
sary of our souls, in the guise of an ugly black man, took his stand at  
some distance from her. He insulted and threatened her arrogantly, call-  
ing her a doer of witchcraft and magic, and tried to frighten her with his  
insolence. Finally he said, ‘So you rise against me? Wait a little and you  
will certainly learn who I am and what my power is!’<sup>3</sup> He was about to  
utter still more words, but when he saw her extend her right hand and  
make the sign of the cross against him, he fled.

The following day even more violent temptations than before assailed  
her, terribly agitating and bewildering her and reducing her to helpless-  
ness. Yet she kept reading continuously in the Divine Scriptures, calling  
to mind the word of the Fathers that says,<sup>4</sup> ‘None among men is able to  
wage war against the Evil One unless he seeks refuge in the shelter of the  
Lord and God of hosts, and then, with the faith he has in him, strikes  
down and overthrows the fiend’. Therefore she took refuge in God, bring-  
ing forward as intercessors the all-blameless Mother of God and the Lord  
Jesus Christ, Michael, the archistrategē of the Lord of hosts, and *Gabriel*  
*that stands in the presence of God*, he who has given his name to the chapel  
of the convent. Invoking all the heavenly hosts and all the saints she com-  
posed the following prayer: ‘All-holy Trinity, omnipotent, magnipotent!  
Through the intercession of the Mother of God, through the mediation  
of Michael the archistrategē, of Gabriel the archangel, of all the heavenly  
hosts and all saints, help your servant. *Turn unto me and have mercy upon*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P.P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire — démonologie critique au XIe siècle. La vie inédite de S. Auxence par M. Psellos* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 15 (referring also to chs. 13 and 15, *infra*). For further references to VI in the context of roughly contemporary material, see op. cit., 13, 18, 23, 25. — The scene of temptation was a standardized feature in hagiography since the *Vita Antonii*. Cf., e.g., *VEISic*, ed. Rossi Taibbi, ch. 10, and the editor’s extensive quotation from *VAnt* (845C ff.) in his commentary ad loc. (p. 133).

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., *VLuclun*, Suppl., ed. Martini 105,11—12, μικρὸν ἐπίμεινον [speaks the demon] καὶ εἶση σαφῶς τίς οἶδε σφοδρότερον καίειν.

<sup>4</sup> I have been unable to identify this quotation.

τῆ δούλῃ σου καὶ ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλέησόν με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου.' Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκτείνουσα τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανόν, ποτὲ δὲ τῆ γῆ καταβάλλουσα ἑαυτὴν, ὄλας νύκτας καὶ ὄλας ἡμέρας δάκρυσι τὸ ἔδαφος πλύνουσα τῆς δεήσεως οὐκ ἀφίστατο, 5 μέχρις οὐ θείαν ἄνωθεν ἐπισκιάσασαν αὐτῆς ἔλλαμψιν τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς διώκουσαν ἤσθετο λογισμοὺς.

Οὕτως οὖν ἐφ' ἵκανόν τῆ προσευχῆ καὶ τῆ δεήσει προσκαρτεροῦσαν ὄρων ὁ ἐφορῶν τὰ ταπεινὰ κύριος καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν δοκιμάζων πόθον, πλουσίαν αὐτῇ καταπέμψας τὴν χάριν τοῦ 10 πνεύματος, ἀπρόσιτον μὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ πονηροῦ κατειργάσατο προσβολαῖς, φοβερὰν δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι, καὶ μηκέτι μὲν ζῶσαν αὐτὴν, ζῶντα δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὄλην τὴν ὄλην ἔνθεον, ὄλην πεφωτισμένην, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ φωτιστικὴν, ψυχὰς 17 στόμα θεοῦ ἀξίας ἐξ ἀναξίων. "Ὄθεν καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος ἐν τε τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐν τε συγκλητικαῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις πρὸς αὐτὴν φοιτώσαις καὶ τὰ σωτήρια διδασκομέναις, ὡς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κοσμικῆς μὲν καταφρονῆσαι ματαιότητος, μεταμεῖψαι δὲ τὸν βίον πρὸς τὸ θεάρεστον ὑπὸ συμβούλῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὁδηγῶ ταττομένας.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωαννικίου γεγεννημένας πρὸς 20 αὐτὴν προρρήσεις μῆτε διαπεσεῖν ἔδει καὶ τελείας ἀπηρτίσθαι, ἤγγιζεν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς τῆ καθηγουμένη τῆς μονῆς. Πασῶν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν αὐτῇ θυγατέρων τὴν ὄρφανίαν ὀλοφυρομένων, ὁ τῆς Εἰρήνης θρηῆνος πολλῶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερήρητο γυναικῶν, ὅτι 25 μηδ' ἑτέρα τοσαύτη τούτων ὄση ταύτη καρδίας ὑπῆν συντριβὴ καὶ ταπεινώσις, ἐξ ὧν τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐξαίρετον πηγάζει καὶ τῶν δακρῶν ἢ εἰλικρινεστάτη ῥοὴ διὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν. Περικυκλοῦσαι δὲ τὴν κλίνην ἐν ἣ κατέκειτο τὰ τελευταῖα πνεύουσα, αἱ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας

#### PILSK

12 ὄλην τὴν ὄλην: ὄλην P ὁ τὴν ὄλην I || 17 αὐτῶν om. P || 18 μὲν κοσμικῆς inv. P

I ἐπίβλεψον . . . ἐλέησόν με: Ps. 85(86), 16 et sim. locc. || 8 ὁ ἐφορῶν . . . κύριος: cf. Ps. 112(113),5—6; 137(138),6 || 8—9 τὴν πίστιν . . . πόθον: cf. Ier. 11,20 et sim. locc. || 11—12 μηκέτι . . . ἐν ἑαυτῇ: cf. Gal. 2,20 || 14—15 ἐξάγουσαν . . . ἀναξίων: cf. Ier. 15,19

<sup>5</sup> Here as elsewhere (cf. the passages indicated in the Greek Index, s.vv. συγκλητικός, σύγκλητος) the author emphasizes the fact that many of Irene's visitors are of senatorial rank. This is a hagiographic cliché used since *VAnt* to illustrate the saint's influence over

me, and deliver me from the plotting of the fiend.' Now stretching her hands towards heaven, now throwing herself to the ground, she wetted the floor with tears for whole nights and whole days, and did not cease to pray until she perceived a divine irradiation overshadowing her soul from on high and chasing away the evil thoughts.

Seeing her persevere in invocation and prayer, the Lord, who has *respect unto the lowly* and tries our faith and devotion to Him, sent down the Spirit's grace to her abundantly and made her in future inaccessible to all the Evil One's attacks, but also terrifying to the demons. No longer did she live her own life, but had Christ living in her, all possessed by God, all illumined, or rather illumining, with the power to guide the souls of many to the light of truth, taking forth, *as God's mouth, the precious from the vile*. Therefore the rumour about her spread widely among her kin and among wives and daughters of senators,<sup>5</sup> who approached her and learned the means of salvation. Many of them began to despise worldly vanity and change their lives so as to be pleasing to God, subordinating themselves to her as their counsellor and guide.

## 7. Irene Succeeding the Dead Abbess

As the prophecies that the blessed Ioannikios had spoken to her were not to come to naught, nay, were to be fulfilled, the end of life was drawing near for the abbess of the convent. All her spiritual daughters bewailed their orphanhood, but the lament of Irene by far exceeded that of the other women. No other of them possessed such contrition and humility of heart as she, and from such things the deepest love, the most purely flowing tears will spring for those whose conscience is clear. Surrounding the bed in which she lay breathing her last, they wiped her clean and embraced her and wetted her with tears, some taking care of her hands,

men's souls: although living in the desert or at least in most humble circumstances he could attract men and even women of the highest society. Such is the case with the desert father Arsenios (*VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 22,18—20) as with the 10th-c. urban saint Basil the Younger (*VBlun*, fol. 30, ed. Vilinskij 301,27 ff.). As a contrast Irene's aristocratic visitors represent her own social milieu. If they needed a spiritual guide, Irene was a natural option, for with her they could converse without degrading themselves socially. As a confirmation of her sanctity the aristocratic interest in her is therefore somewhat ambiguous. Contrast the different attitude in *VEuar*, ed. Van de Vorst 320,37 f., συντρέχει δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, κτλ.; *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28, ch. 47, *ad fin.* (Kurtz, 28,5), τοσοῦτοι . . . ἀπὸ πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ παντὸς τάγματος παρεγένοντο.

609A αὐτῆς, αἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ἄλλη ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος μέρος περιέψων, περιεπτύσσοντο καὶ δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχον. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσης ἔμπλεως ἀρετῆς ἢ καθηγημῶν, ἢ πραότης δὲ αὐτῆ τὸ 18 ἐπίσημον. Μόλις δὲ ποτε τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεγνωκυῖαι ἡρέμα πως ἡρώτων θρηνηδοῦσαι, ‘Ποῦ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς καταλιμπάνεις,’ λέγουσαι, 5 ‘ποῦ ποτε τοιαύτης ἡμεῖς μετὰ σε τύχοιμεν προστάτιδος καὶ μητρὸς κηδεμονικώτερον περὶ ἡμᾶς διατεθειμένης, οὕτως ἀγαθῆς, οὕτω πραείας, οὕτως ἐκάστης ἡμῶν τὰ βάρη βασταζούσης καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναπληρούσης τοῦ Χριστοῦ;’ Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ κλαίουσαι 10 τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, κωλύσαι φιλονεικοῦσαι, ἤκουσαν φωνῆς παρ’ αὐτῆς ἰσχυρῆς καὶ λίαν ἀμυδρᾶς καὶ ταῖς ὀξύτερον ἀκροωμέναις ἐνωτισθείσης· καὶ “Ἰνα τί μου’, φησί, ‘τὴν ψυχὴν συνταράσσετε ὀλολύζουσαι; Ἔχετε, τέκνα, ἔχετε τὴν καλῶς ὑμᾶς ποιμανοῦσαν· πιστεύσατε τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς οὖσαν, 15 ὅσον ἐγὼ τῷ γήρᾳ ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναπέπαιται ἐπ’ αὐτῆ. Καὶ ἦν ἐμοὶ πειθήσθε μὴ ἂν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀποβλέψαι — τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὑμῶν Εἰρήνην λέγω, τὴν φωτὸς θυγατέρα, τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ παρακλητοῦ.’ Καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα καὶ ‘Δόξα τῷ ἑλέει σου, κύριε’ τελευταῖον φθεγξαμένη χερσὶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων τὸ πνεῦμα παρέδωκεν. 20

19 Πάντα οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτῆ τὰ κατὰ νόμον ταφῆς ἐπιτελέσασαι καὶ μεθ’ ἑτέρων ἱερῶν κηδεύσασαι ταύτην σωμάτων, ἐπὶ φροντίδα τῆς μελλούσης αὐτῶν ἐστράφησαν προεστάναι. Συναθροισθεῖσαι τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ ναῶ, ὃν εὐκτῆριον ὄντα τῆς μονῆς ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν οἶκον, πᾶσαι μὲν ἀπέβλεψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς 25 τὴν ἀξιάγαστον Εἰρήνην, οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ παράπαν πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρήκασι περὶ τούτου, μὴ καὶ λάθη ταύτας, ὑφορώμεναι, διαφυγοῦσα τῆς μονῆς· ἦδεισαν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ μέτριον τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν καταδέξαιτο τὴν προστασίαν, μὴ τῆς ἄνωθεν προνοίας καὶ ἄκουσαν εἰς τοῦτο κατεχοῦσης αὐτήν. 30

PILSK

3 ἡ<sup>2</sup> om. P || 4 τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς: τῆς ταύτης ζωῆς P || 6 προστάτιδος τύχοιμεν inv. P || 9 ἐν om. P || 15 τὸ γήρας P || 16 ἐπ’ : ἐν P || ἂν om. P || ἀποβλέψετε PI || 17 φωτὸς τὴν inv. ILSK

8—9 τὰ βάρη . . . Χριστοῦ: cf. Gal. 6,2 || 12—13 ἵνα τί . . . συνταράσσετε: cf. Ps. 41(42),12; 42(43),5 || 15—16 τὸ πνεῦμα . . . αὐτῆ: cf. 1 Pet. 4,14 (Is. 11,2) || 17 φωτὸς θυγατέρα: cf. Io. 12,36 et sim. locc.

others her feet, sharing the parts of her body between themselves. For the abbess had every kind of virtue in abundance, meekness being her characteristic trait.<sup>1</sup> When they finally despaired of her life, they gently asked her, lamenting, ‘What will become of us when you leave us? Where shall we find your equal to succeed you as abbess, someone who will love us with deeper care than a mother, being good and meek as you, and *bear the burdens* of each of us *and fulfil the law of Christ* amongst us as you have done?’ As they had said this to her, wailing for a long time and striving, had it been possible, to prevent her departure, they heard her speak with a thin and very faint voice, perceived only by those who had the keenest ears, ‘*Why* do you *disquiet* my soul with your crying? In fact, my children, you already possess your future good shepherd. Believe me, she is as superior to me as I am to you owing to my age, and *the spirit of God resteth upon* her. If you obey my advice not to look for anyone else—, it is your sister Irene I mean, the daughter of light, the lamb of Jesus, the treasury of gifts of the Comforter.’<sup>2</sup> After these words she finally said, ‘Glory to Thy mercy, O Lord’, and entrusted her spirit to the hands of holy angels.

When they had performed for her all the due rites of burial and interred her with other holy corpses, they turned their minds to the concern about their future abbess. Gathering together in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel, which the narrative has shown<sup>3</sup> to be a chapel at the convent, all looked unanimously to the admirable Irene. To her they said nothing at all about the matter, suspecting that she might escape from the convent without their notice. They knew the modesty of her mind: she would not accept the leadership without Providence from on high urging her to it even against her will.

7. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 73 (PG 36, 596B), Δαβὶδ . . . οὐ πολλοὶ μὲν . . . νῆκαι καὶ τρόπαια, ἢ πραότης δὲ τὸ ἐπισημότατον. Similarly, of Moses, Theodoret, *HRel.* XI 2,9—10 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 456).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *VMarlun*, ed. Peeters 705A, τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ . . . πνεύματος. — The first part of this sentence is somewhat problematic. Since τὴν ἀδελφὴν . . . λέγω is not a natural apodosis of the conditional clause Καὶ ἦν . . . ἀποβέψαι (for the structure of the latter, cf. 78,30 f., *infra*), there is apparently no apodosis at all. At first sight this difficulty would seem to be solved by reading ἀποβλέψετε with PI. However, since ἂν, absent in P but present in I, is impossible with ἀποβλέψετε, P is likely to have ‘emended’ (and I distorted) the difficult text still present in LSK. In fact, the suppression of the apodosis may be intended to add to the vividness of the passage by suggesting that the abbess is becoming exhausted (or is eager to mention Irene’s name?).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, 20,26—27.

Ἐν τῷ ναῷ δὲ προσευξάμενοι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην εἶχοντο φερούσης, ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν θεόθεν λάβωσιν ὁδηγόν. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς οἴακας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ὁ πάντα ἄριστος διακυβερνῶν Μεθόδιος τῆς Κωνσταντίνου, ὁ ὁμολογητής, ὃς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκονομάχων ὑπέμεινε, βασιλέων ὑπερμαχούντων τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ προπολεμούντων κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, πολλοῖς δὲ στίγμασι καὶ κινδύνοις κεκοσμημένος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τῶν ἀχράντων εἰκόνων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰρέσεως καταλύτης καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πρόμαχος ἰκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάτων αὐτουργός καὶ πνεύματος ἀνάμεστος ἁγίου καὶ διορατικὸς τὰ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντα καλῶς καταστοχαζόμενος.

20 Ὡς οὖν ἤπτοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ, προφασιζομένη προφάσεις οὐκ ἤθελεν ἢ Εἰρήνη ταύταις συνέπεσθαι· μόλις οὖν αὐτὴν πείσασαι συνοδοιπορεῖν τὸ πατριαρχεῖον κατέλαβον. Ὑπομνησθέντος τοίνυν, ὡς ἔθος, τοῦ μεγάλου Μεθοδίου εἰσίασιν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ πᾶσαι ἅμα πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθη βαλοῦσαι μετάνοιαν ἔκειντο τὴν εὐλογίαν ἀναμένουσαι. Εὐλόγησας δὲ καὶ ἀναστῆναι ταύταις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἠρώτα μαθεῖν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς προστασίαν αὐτῶν· αἱ δὲ 'Μηδεμίαν ἐξ ἡμῶν', ἔφασαν, 'τό γε νῦν ἔχον, ὃ δέσποτα, ἐξειλέχθαι παρ' ἡμῶν· τὸ πᾶν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι ἐν σοὶ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναθέμεναι, πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἠκομεν ἁγιότητα.' Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ 'Οἶδα,' φησί, 'τὴν σεμνοτάτην Εἰρήνην αἰρεῖσθε πᾶσαι, καλῶς γε φρονοῦσαι καὶ θεαρέστως, καὶ χάρις τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκρυψε τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.' Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμεναι οὐδὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι εἶχον, μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ καταβαλοῦσαι ἑαυτάς· Ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν', εἶπον, 'καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡδηγήθης, ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εὐθὺς

PILSK

6 πολεμούντων P || 10 διορατικῶς PILK || 11 στοχαζόμενος LS (κατὰ suprascr. K) || 13 ἐπεσθαι ILSK || πείσασθαι S || 14 τοίνυν: οὖν ILSK

20—21 τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι . . . θεοῦ: cf. Rom. 8,9

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 84,77—78, Μεθόδιον, ἔτι τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τὰ στίγματα περιφέροντα. For the maltreated patriarch in figural representations, cf. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 52 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VTheodorImp*, ed. Markopoulos 10,36—37 (Regel, 13,7—8), Μεθόδιος ὁ αἰόδιμος ὁμολογητής καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πρόμαχος; cf. also *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 904B.

After praying in the church, they took their way to the patriarch to obtain through him their worthy guide from God. At the helm of the see of Constantinople was Methodios, a man excellent in all respects, the confessor who had suffered hard from the Iconoclasts, when emperors were fighting for impiety and waged war against piety. He could pride himself upon many stigmata and dangers undergone for the reverence of the immaculate icons.<sup>4</sup> Therefore he was not only a destroyer of the heresy and a competent champion of Orthodoxy,<sup>5</sup> but also a miracle-worker, filled with Holy Spirit, and a visionary<sup>6</sup> who accurately divined God's decisions.

As they took the road, Irene made excuses and would not follow them. Only with difficulty they persuaded her to go with them and they arrived at the patriarchate. When the great Methodios had been notified, as the custom is, all the sisters went in to him together. Having prostrated themselves in the usual way, they lay awaiting his blessing. He blessed them and exhorted them to rise, and then asked to be informed about whom they had chosen to lead them.<sup>7</sup> 'Your Grace', they answered, 'as yet we have not designated anyone among us. We wish to refer the whole question to God and the Spirit of God which dwells in you, and therefore approach your Holiness.' 'I know', said the God-bearing man, 'that you all elect the venerable Irene. That is a good and God-pleasing choice. Thanks be to God that He has not hidden her virtues from me.' When they heard this they could not even answer from the astonishment and awe they felt. Throwing themselves at his feet they said merely, 'Surely God is in you. By Him you have been guided, you holy man of God!'

<sup>6</sup> διορατικός denotes the ability of divining future events, but also the gift of intuitively reading men's minds and revealing their secrets; the latter is described in ch. 23, *infra*. Cf. J. Gouillard in: *École pratique des Hautes Études, V<sup>e</sup> section, Annuaire*, t. 82 (1973—1974), 218.

<sup>7</sup> Vote by the community was the usual way of electing abbots and abbesses; see R. Janin, 'Le monachisme byzantin au moyen-âge. Commende et typica (X<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *REB*, 22 (1964), 5—44, esp. 25—28. Here the real choice is made by Irene's dying predecessor (*supra*, 24,13 ff.). This privilege was also used by St Athanasia of Aegina according to *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 614,43—45, Εἶτα μετὰ βραχὺ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀνάλυσιν αὐτῆς προγνοῦσα . . . ἐπισυνάξασα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, προεχειρίσατο τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἄρχειν τῶν λοιπῶν, a wording which would rather suggest a normal practice (curiously, this piece of information seems to be lacking in the recently published *Life of Athanasia*; cf. *V AthanasAeg*, ed. Carras, esp. 220,15).

οὐν μηδὲν μελλήσας ὁ πατριάρχης ἐξαναστάς τοῦ θρόνου καὶ  
 θυμιατήριον αἰτήσας, βαλὼν τε θυμίαμα καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογήσας,  
 ὕμνωδίας τε προσφόρου πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος, διάκονον τῆς μεγάλης  
 ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον χειροτονεῖ τὴν Εἰρήνην — ἦδει γὰρ τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ  
 πνεύματι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς καθαρότητα —, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῆς 5  
 ἡγουμενείας ἐπιτίθησι σφραγίδα' καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περὶ προστασίας  
 εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτήν, πλείονα δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τε πίστεως καὶ  
 ὑπακοῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὑπομνήσας κολαστηρίων καὶ αὐθις τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τοῖς εὖ ἢ κακῶς τὸν βίον ἐνταῦθα διανύουσιν ἀναμένει,  
 τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τε ταύταις καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐπευξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν 10  
 αὐτὰς ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

E 22 8. Ἡ μέντοι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς μονῆς ἄρτι τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου  
 F κατὰ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἀναδεξαμένη Εἰρήνη εἰς νοῦν λαμβάνουσα τὰ  
 προρρηθέντα πάλαι αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωαννικίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ 15  
 τὴν ἀπόρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομηθέντα σοφίαν κατανοοῦσα,  
 παρ' ὄλην τὴν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔληγε τῶν δακρύων, τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἐκπληττομένη καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως πολλῶ πλέον νῦν  
 καταβαίνουσα βάθος καὶ ἀναξίαν ἑαυτὴν καὶ τῆς γῆς  
 ὑπολαμβάνουσα, τῆς θείας χάριτος, ὡς εἰκός, δι' ἐπιθέσεως τῶν  
 χειρῶν τοῦ θεοφόρου Μεθοδίου ἐπικαταπτάσης αὐτῆς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ 20  
 πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν συνδιατιθείσης αὐτὴν μετριοφροσύνην. Ὅπερ  
 θαυμάζουσαι αἱ ἀδελφαί, 'Μὴ οὕτω λυπεῖσθαι' παρεκάλουν αὐτήν,  
 'καὶ ἀδημονεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας', λέγουσαι, 'προστασίας' πᾶσαι  
 γὰρ ἡμεῖς πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπακοήν, ἰδοῦ, σοὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν' —  
 ἀγνοοῦσαι πάντως ἄπερ ἐκεῖνη κατὰ νοῦν ἐλογίζετο —, 'καὶ οὐδὲν 25

PILSK

1 μελήσας codd. || ἀναστάς P || 5 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. P || 8 ἐκεῖθεν: μελλόντων  
 P || 9 διανύσασιν I || 14 τὰ om. P || 17 νῦν: ἦν I om. P (sed cf. supra  
 22,25—26)

10—11 ἀπέλυσεν . . . εἰρήνην: cf. Lc. 2,29 || 16 τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Act. 2,11

<sup>8</sup> On this office, see C. Vagaggini, 'L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina', *OCP*, 40 (1974), 145—189, and, more generally, A. G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses. Essai historique* (Rome, 1982), esp. 31 ff. It is still attested for the 10th c. whereas in sources of the 12th c. it is treated as an obsolete phenomenon (Martimort, op. cit., 171 f.). In earlier periods there is a close link between the office of deaconess and that of hegumena, particularly in Constantinople (ibid., 133—137). The minimum age was 40 years (ibid., 150)—the deaconesses were often widows—, so the ordination

Without delay the patriarch rose from his throne at once and asked for a censer. Burning incense and praising God he initiated a hymn befitting the occasion. Then he first ordained Irene deaconess<sup>8</sup> of the Great Church—for through the Spirit in him he knew her purity—, and thereafter consecrated her with the seal of hegumenate. He spoke many words to her about leadership, but still more to the other nuns about faith and obedience, reminding them of the punishments and again of the good things that beyond await those who lead a virtuous or a vicious life here. After a prayer for concord and love among them he let them *depart in peace*.

### 8. Irene Admonishing Herself and the Nuns

Having assumed the leadership of the Convent of Chrysobalanton in accordance with divine Providence, Irene called to mind the prediction long ago spoken to her by the great Ioannikios.<sup>1</sup> Realizing what had been dispensed by God's ineffable wisdom, she could not hold her tears back throughout the journey, stupefied at *the wonderful works of God* and now descending still more into the depth of humility, deeming herself unworthy even of the earth. For when the God-bearing Methodios imposed his hands on her, divine grace, one may presume, flowed down upon her soul and helped to prepare her for the utmost modesty. Wondering at this the sisters begged her not to be so worried and distressed about being their abbess. 'Look', they said, wholly ignorant of the sorrows she bore in her mind, 'we are all ready for every kind of obedience towards you, and you

of Irene could be meant as a counterpart to the premature rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy usual with male saints; cf. Festugière on *VTheodSyc*, 21,24 (vol. 2, 183). But sometimes, as in the case of Blasios of Amorion, the diaconate was a first step towards becoming presbyter (*VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 660A, C, 664B). The inner chronology of *VI* is loose, and it is impossible to be precise about Irene's age on this occasion. Probably however she is meant still to be a young woman. As participant in the bride-show she could hardly have been more, and was probably less, than 18 years old (cf. E. Patlagean, 'L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IV<sup>e</sup>—XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Annales de démographie historique*, 28 [1973], 85—93, esp. 86). Apparently she enters religion very soon after (*supra*, 12,18), begins her standing exercises after another year (*supra*, 18,4—5), and is tempted by the Devil after three more years (*supra*, 18,19). There is nothing to indicate the distance in time to the death of the abbess (*supra*, 24,19—20), but a lapse of more than just another few years seems unlikely. With this calculation Irene would have become deaconess in her early or mid 20s.

8. <sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, 10,12—14.

ἔσται πρόσκομμα παρ' ἡμῶν, ῥάδια πάντα τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπακοῆς θεοῦ διομαλιζούσης σοι ῥοπή·

- 23 'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον κατέλαβον τάς τε συνήθεις εὐχαριστίας ἀπέδωσαν τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ καὶ σιτίων κοινῇ μετέλαβον τραπέζῃ, τὸ ταῖς προεστώσαις ἀφωρισμένον παραλαβοῦσα κελλίον, κλείσασα τὴν θύραν προσήυχετο τῷ βλέποντι ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, συναντιλήψεσθαι αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύουσα τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν προστασίας· καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ ἔδαφος καταρραίνουσα πολλὴν ἤτειτο  
611A καὶ μεγάλην ἐξ ὕψους αὐτῇ καταπεμφοθῆναι τὴν συνεργίαν, 'Σὺ γὰρ εἶ', λέγουσα, 'ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, σὺ εἶπας τοῖς μαθηταῖς "Εἰς ὑμῶν ἐστὶ καθηγητής, ὁ Χριστός"· σὺ εἶ ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων ὁ εἰσάγων αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν αἰώνιον· σὺ εἶ καὶ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος· καὶ εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ ὁδηγὸς ἡμῶν, ἀντιλαβοῦ τῆς δούλης σου καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου ποιμνίου σου καὶ διατήρησον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ δολίου λύκου. Οἶδας γὰρ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς ἀνύειν ὄλως δυνάμεθα μὴ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ βοηθείας ἡμῖν χορηγουμένης.'  
24 'Επὶ πολὺ δὲ προσευξαμένη καὶ μετρίαν ἀνεσιν λαβοῦσα ἤρξατο πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοιαῦτα διαλέγεσθαι· 'Ἄρά γε, ταπεινὴ Εἰρήνη, ἐπιγινώσκεις τὸ φορτίον ὅπερ σου Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐπέθετο; Ψυχὰς ἐνεπιστεύθης, ὑπὲρ ὧν θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ αἶμα ἐξέχεε· καὶ, ὡς ἤκουσας, οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἀντάξιός. Οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ ἀργοῦ λόγου λόγον ἕκαστος δώσει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀπολλυμένης οἷα πείσεται ὁ τὴν φροντίδα ταύτης ἀναδεδεγμένος, εἰ μὴ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς σωτηρίαν. Ἐπαγρυπνεῖν σε δεῖ πάντως περισσοτέρως ἐν εὐχαΐς, καρτερεῖν ἐν νηστεΐαις, τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου βαστάζειν καὶ πάντα φέρειν γενναίως καὶ πράως. Πρόσεχε δὲ σεαυτῇ, μήποτε τὸ σὸν ἐλάττωμα τὸ σε λανθάνον ἀφορμὴ τι τῶν ἀδελφῶν

PILSK

7 τὸν θεὸν om. P, qui ἰκετεύουσα post ἀδελφῶν tr. || 20 τὸν ὄμων PLSK || 25 ἀναδεδεγμένος I: ἀναδεδεμένος LSK ἀναδεξάμενος P || 26 περισσοτέρως om. P || 27 εὐχαΐς: ταῖς εὐ. P || 28 ἑαυτῇ LSK || 29 ἀδελφῶν: add. σου I

6 τῷ βλέποντι . . . κρυπτῷ: cf. Mt. 6,4 || 10—11 Εἰς . . . Χριστός: cf. Mt. 23,10 || 11 ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων: Io. 10,7 || 12—13 ὁ κύριος . . . διδάσκαλος: cf. Io. 13,13 || 14—15 τῆς ἀρπαγῆς . . . λύκου: cf. Mt. 7,15; Io. 10,12 || 20 τὸ φορτίον . . . ἐπέθετο: cf. Mt. 23,4 || 22 ὁ κόσμος . . . ἀντάξιός: cf. Mt. 16,26 || 23—24 ὑπὲρ . . . κρίσεως: cf. Mt. 12,36 || 24—26 ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς . . . σε δεῖ: cf. Heb. 13,17 || 27—28 τὰ ἀσθενήματα . . . βαστάζειν: cf. Rom. 15,1

will meet with no obstruction from us. No, with God's will our obedience will make all your ways easy.'

When they had reached the convent, spoken the usual thanks to God the Protector and partaken of a meal at a common table, she took up residence in the cell designated for the abbesses. Closing the door she prayed to *Him which seeth in secret*, beseeching God to assist her in leading the sisters, and wetting the floor with tears she begged that powerful help be sent down to her abundantly from on high, saying, 'Thou art the good shepherd. Thou saidst to the disciples, *One is your Master, even Christ*. Thou art *the door of the sheep* which leads them to eternal salvation. Thou art both the Lord and the Master. And if Thou art our guide, help Thy servant and this little flock of Thine, and protect us from the grasp of the perfidious spiritual wolf. Thou knowest our infirmity: we cannot perform anything whatever unless Thy help is bestowed upon us.'

After a protracted prayer and a modest rest she spoke<sup>2</sup> the following words to herself: 'Do you realize, humble Irene, what a burden Christ has laid on your shoulders? You have been entrusted with souls, and for the sake of souls God even became man and shed His blood. As you have heard, not even the whole world outweighs one single soul. Now, *in the day of judgment* everyone shall *give account* for an *idle word*. If this is so, can you be ignorant of the price for a soul that is lost, to be paid by him who has undertaken to care for her but fails to do all in his power to save her? You must by all means be utterly wakeful in your prayers and persevere in your fasting and *bear the infirmities* of the sisters, enduring all bravely and gently. Take heed to yourself lest one of your faults, although escaping yourself, become a cause of destruction for anyone of

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greek Index, s.v. ἄρχομαι.



ἀπωλείας γένηται καὶ πληρωθῆ ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ λέγον ῥῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι “Τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ἐὰν ὀδηγῆ, ἀμφοτέρω πεσοῦνται εἰς βόθυνον”.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοιαῦτα, οἷς δὴ καὶ θήξασα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ πολλῶ πλείονα διήγειρε τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἀγγελικὴν διόλου βίωσιν ἐλομένη καὶ πολιτείαν, νηστείας μὲν ἀνύουσα πολυήμερους, στάσεις 5 παννύχους, γονάτων ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν τελοῦσα κλίσεις, χαμευνία ξηρᾶ 25 καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἀνέσεως ὅσον κακοπαθείας ἀφορμὴ κεκρημένη, καὶ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τὴν εὐνοίαν σπεύδουσα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ χορηγομένην σύνεσιν διδάσκουσαν ἔχειν καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν μυστικῶς ὀδηγοῦσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 10

Οἷα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἃ ἐδίδασκεν ἡ σοφωτάτη, ‘Οἶδα μὲν,’ 15 C φησὶν, ‘ὧ τίμια θεῶ ἀναθήματα, μηδαμῶς εὐλογον τὴν ἐμὴν οὐθένοιαν εἰς διδασκάλου τάξιν ὑμῶν προκαθῆσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς, ἃς ἐγὼ πέπεισμαι διδασκᾶς εἶναι θεοῦ. Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίματα πάντως ἀνεξερεύνητα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ πολὺτροπος αὐτοῦ σοφία εἰς 15 τοῦτό μου τὴν ταπεινώσιν ἤγαγεν, ἀξιῶ μὴ προσέχειν ὡς διδασκάλω ἀλλ’ ὡς συμβούλω καὶ ἀδελφῇ διὰ τὴν ἐπικειμένην μοι ἀνάγκην’ οὐαὶ γάρ μοι ἔστιν, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν συμβουλευσαίμι. Καὶ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ῥημάτων τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως δι’ ἀγάπην ὑμῖν προσφερομένων’ καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν τὸν βίον τοῦτον τὸν 20 ἀσκητικόν, ὃν ὑπήλθομεν ἐκουσίως, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶ κειμένους μετέλθωμεν νόμους, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ὄφελος οὐδ’ αὐτῆς τῆς πίστεως. Χωρὶς γὰρ ἔργων ἡ πίστις νεκρά.

Ἦκούσαμεν γὰρ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, ζωὴν αἰδίου καὶ ἀτελεύτητον, 26 τρυφὴν ἀκηράτων αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν’ ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ εὐαγγε- 25 λισαμένῳ καὶ ὑποσχομένῳ Ἰησοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, εἰς ὃν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν. Καὶ πιστεύεσθαι τοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοις τοσοῦτοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀφήκαμεν τὰ τοῦ κόσμου τερπνὰ ὡς πρόσκαιρα καὶ μικράν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἠχρηωμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐχ ἰστάμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῶν οὐρανίων οὐ 30 μικρὸν ἡμῖν εὐρισκόμενα κώλυμα. Εἶπερ οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα τούτων

PILSK

2 βόθυνον: βόθρον P || 3 θήξασα L || 18 μοι ἔστιν: ἔστιν ἐμοί P

2 Mt. 15,14 || 9—10 πρὸς . . . ἀλήθειαν: cf. Io. 16,13 || 14 διδασκᾶς . . . θεοῦ: cf. Is. 54,13; Io. 6,45 || 14—15 κρίματα . . . ἀνεξερεύνητα: cf. Rom. 11,33 || 17—19 διὰ τὴν . . . συμβουλευσαίμι: cf. 1 Cor. 9,16 || 23 Χωρὶς . . . νεκρά: cf. Iac. 2,26 || 28—29 πρόσκαιρα . . . ἀπόλαυσιν: cf. Heb. 11,25

the sisters, and the word of Christ be fulfilled upon you that says, “*if the blind lead the blind both shall fall into the ditch*”.

Such were the words she spoke to herself, thereby arousing her soul and provoking it to a still harder training. The mode of life and conduct she had chosen was wholly angelic: she performed fasts of many days’ duration and standing exercises lasting whole nights; she accomplished numberless genuflections; she slept on the floor, using the bed less as a source of rest than of discomfort. By these means she strove to attract God’s benevolence and obtain the sagacity dispensed by Him to teach her and *guide her mystically into all truth*.

Similarly the wise woman taught the sisters, saying,<sup>3</sup> ‘I know, dear devotees to God, that it is by no means reasonable that my worthless person should be your leader in a teacher’s position and teach you, for I am convinced that you are *taught by God*. But since God’s *judgments are unsearchable* and His versatile wisdom, therefore, has led me here, humble though I am, I request that you attend to me not as a teacher but as a counsellor and sister for the sake of the *necessity that is laid upon me*. “*Yea, woe is unto me*”, as the divine Apostle says, if I do not give you profitable advice. Endure the words I speak in my humility: they are brought to you in love. For unless we lead this ascetic life, to which we have submitted ourselves voluntarily, in accordance with the laws laid down for it, we shall have no profit even from faith itself. Yes, *faith without works is dead*.

We have heard of a kingdom of heaven, an eternal and endless life, and an enjoyment of undefiled and everlasting good things. We have come to belief in Jesus our God and Lord who brought these good news and gave these promises: in Him we do believe. Having come to belief in the great good things that were promised, we have left the pleasures of this world as being transient, yielding only petty enjoyment and worthless at that, not only being unstable but even presenting a considerable obstacle for us in reaching the heavenly world. Thus, if we fall short of

<sup>3</sup> The structure of this sentence may be illustrated by *VAntCaul*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 20,3—5, Οἷον δὲ θαῦμα ὅπερ καὶ εἰς Λέοντα τετέλεσται . . . , λελέχθω παρ’ ἡμῶν. Our passage lacks a finite verb corresponding to λελέχθω. For similar ellipses, cf. *VMarIun*, ed. Peeters 698C, Οἷα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐκείνου, ὃς καὶ κτλ.; *VLuclun*, Suppl., ed. Martini 85,29, Οἷον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκείνου χρηστότητος σύμβολον ἀκριβές ἐξῆει κτλ.

ἐκπεσοῦμεθα, ἐλεεινότεραι τάχα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν· ἀποτευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ μάτην ἡμῖν ὄλος οὗτος ὁ κόπος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτευσώμεθα. Εἶπε γὰρ ὁ κύριος·

612D “Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυοὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου 5 καταφρονήσει.” Μία γὰρ οὐσα ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς δύο μερισθῆναι οὐ δύναται· οὐ δύναται ἡ αὐτὴ ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ τρυφᾶν καὶ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, καὶ πτωχείαν χρημάτων ἔχειν καὶ πλουτεῖν ἐν χρήμασι, καὶ ταπεινώσιν τοῦ κυρίου μετιέναι καὶ τὴν κενὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θερίζειν δόξαν.

27 Ἐμεῖς οὖν ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν αὐτῷ. Ἐὰν μὴ 10 καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἀκολουθῆ, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ὄφελος ἢ σωματικὴ μόνον ἀκολουθήσις· ἀλλὰ δέον ἡμᾶς πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διώξαι βιωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ προσπάθειαν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἕξω φαινόμενα τὸν κόσμον φυγοῦσαι τὰ ἐνδον μέσον ὦμεν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐφιέμενα τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἱματίοις ἀνθοβαφέσι καὶ 15 πολυτίμοις κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν, στρωμαῖς ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ μαλακαῖς καὶ πολυτελέσις ἀνακλίνεσθαι, πολυφαγαῖς καὶ οἰνοποσίαις ἀμέτροις βαρύνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν — ἀδικία γάρ ἐστι πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν —, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ κόσμον 20 πράγμασιν ἐντρυφᾶν, οἷς καθάπαξ ἀπεταξάμεθα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τροφᾶς ἡμᾶς ἐχούσας καὶ σκεπάσματα, τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, καθὼς γέγραπται.

Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀγώνισμα τὸ μέγα ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἴη, τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐκεῖνας κτήσασθαι, αἷ σφῶζουσιν ἡμᾶς·

τὴν ἀγνεῖαν τε καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται 25 τὸν κύριον ἀλλ’ ἀκούσει· “Ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής, ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου”,

τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην, ὅτι “Πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται”, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, “ὁ δὲ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται”, 30

PILSK

2 ἀποτευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ: εἰ P || 3 πολιτευσόμεθα I || 18 ἀμετρήτοις I || 20 οἷς om. P || 23 τὸ μέγα om. P || 25 τε om. ILSK || 29—30 εἶπεν . . . ὑψωθήσεται om. PL

1 ἐλεεινότεραι . . . ἐσμέν: cf. 1 Cor. 15,19 || 3—5 Mt. 6,24; Lc. 16,13 || 10 ἡμεῖς . . . αὐτῷ: cf. Mt. 19,27 et sim. locc. || 21—22 τροφᾶς . . . ἀρκεῖσθαι: cf. 1 Tim. 6,8 || 25—26 τὸν ἁγιασμόν . . . κύριον: Heb. 12,14 || 26—27 Is. 26,11 (Odae 5,10) || 28—30 Lc. 14,11

this hereafter, *we are of all people most miserable*. And we will fail herein and all this toil will be in vain for us unless we live according to the laws of Christ. The Lord said, “*No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.*” Being one, the soul cannot be divided into two, nor can the same soul simultaneously enjoy herself and restrain herself, both live in poverty and be rich, both seek the Lord’s humility and win the futile glory of men.

*We, then, have forsaken all and followed Him.* To follow Him will be of no avail to us if we do so merely corporeally, but only if our soul and our whole inner being follow Him too. Yes, we must dispel all desire and attachment to this life from our souls, lest we, outwardly appearing to have fled this world, be inwardly in the very middle of the world, longing to be honoured by men, to adorn ourselves with bright-coloured and precious clothes and delight therein, to lie down on high, soft, and precious beds,<sup>4</sup> to fill ourselves by measureless gluttony and wine-drinking, doing harm to the soul (for doing harm is anything that exceeds the need);<sup>5</sup> and to indulge in those other worldly things to which we have once for all bid farewell before God and the holy angels.<sup>6</sup> No, *having food and raiment, we should, as is written, be therewith content.*

Let it be our work and our hard struggle to acquire such virtues as will save us, namely,

purity and holiness, *without which no man shall see the Lord but shall hear, “Away with the ungodly one lest he behold the majesty of the Lord!”*

Humility, *for whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, as the Lord said, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, 32,6—7 and, *inter alia*, *VlIoann a. Saba*, ed. Van den Gheyn 337B, οὐκ ἐν ὑψηλῇ στρωμνῇ καὶ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ ἠπαλυμένη ἀνέπιπτεν ἀλλ’ . . . ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀνέκλινεν.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VPhilar*, ed. Vasiliev 79,31—32 (edd. Fourmy & Leroy 149,28—29), πᾶν γὰρ τὸ περισσὸν τῆς χρεῖας πλεονεξία ὀνομάζεται, a more natural definition than that presented here.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the office τοῦ μικροῦ σχήματος (*Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 383): Βλέπε, τέκνον, οἷας συνθήκας δίδως τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ ἄγγελοι γὰρ ἀποράτως ἀπογραφόμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν σου ταύτην.



τὴν διηνεκῆ κατάνυξιν, ὅτι “Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ  
28 πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν” τῶν γὰρ  
ἐπεγνωκότων τὴν οἰκειάν ἀσθένειάν ἐστιν, οὐ τῶν πλουτούντων ἐν  
ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ οἰήσει τῆς τοῦ νοῦς αὐτῶν ματαιότητος·

καὶ τὴν ἀοργησίαν, ὅτι “Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ 5  
αὐτοῦ εἰκῆ, ἐνοχὸς ἐστὶ τῇ κρίσει”· εἰκῆ δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶν τὸ μὴ διὰ θεὸν  
γινόμενον. “Εἰ μὴ γὰρ περισσεύσει”, φησὶν, “ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν  
πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ δυνησόμεθα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς  
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.” Τὰ δὲ περιτεύοντα τῆς ἐκεῖνων  
δικαιοσύνης ταῦτα ἐστὶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοιαῦτα ἀπητοῦντο· ὑπὲρ 10  
φύσιν γὰρ ἡ ἀγνεία, ὑπὲρ φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἀόργητον. Ἐφ’ οὗ δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ  
φύσιν παρεγένετο, θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ταῦτα  
F τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο· δωρεῖται δὲ τοῖς αἰτούσι  
μόνοις, καὶ τούτοις μὴ ἐν δισταγμῷ καρδίας· “Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ δίψυχος  
ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ.” 15

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τῶν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων κτήσις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τὸν κόσμον ὠρίσθημεν μισῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἵν’ ἐν πρώτοις  
τέως μὴ ἔχωμεν ἐχθραν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κόσμου ἐχθρα  
εἰς Χριστὸν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀγάπησιν καὶ  
29 φιλανθρωπίαν ἀπολάβωμεν· δεύτερον δέ, νηστεύωμεν, ἀγρυπνῶμεν, 20  
προσευχώμεθα, τοῖς πένησι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σκορπιζώμεν, δάκρυσι τὸν  
κύριον δυσωπῶμεν, ὅπως ἐπιβλέψη ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν καὶ  
ταύτας ἡμῖν χαρίσεται τὰς ἀρετάς. Καὶ γὰρ ἀγνισθεῖσα ψυχὴ θεὸν  
καθορᾷ καθορωμένη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατοικητήριον τῆς θείας  
ἀγαθότητος γίνεται· “Μακάριοι γάρ”, φησὶν, “οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, 25  
ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται”. Μὴ ἀγνοῦσα δὲ ὅθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀγνείαν,  
οὐ καυχᾶται ὡς μὴ λαβοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ταπειοφρονεῖ ὡς λαβοῦσα, καὶ  
ἐστὶν ἀεὶ κατανευγμένη καὶ πλήρης πίστεως καὶ ἐλεημοσυνῶν·

PILSK

7 φησὶν om. P || 11 γὰρ: add. καὶ ILSK || 17 τῷ om. ILSK || 20  
φιλανθρωπίαν: φιλίαν PI || 22 ἐπιβλέψει S || 27 ἀλλὰ . . . λαβοῦσα om. P

1—2 Mt. 5,3 || 4 τῆς τοῦ νοῦς . . . ματαιότητος: cf. Eph. 4,17 || 5—6 Mt. 5,22  
|| 7—9 Mt. 5,20 || 14—15 Iac. 1,8 || 17 τὸν κόσμον . . . κόσμος: cf. 1 Io.  
2,15 || 18—19 ἡ ἀγάπη . . . ἐστὶν: cf. Iac. 4,4 || 20—21 ἀγρυπνῶμεν,  
προσευχώμεθα: cf. Mc. 13,33 || 21 τοῖς πένησι . . . σκορπιζώμεν: cf. Ps. 111(112),9  
|| 22 ἐπιβλέψη . . . ταπείνωσιν: cf. Lc. 1,48 (1 Regn. 1,11) || 25—26 Mt. 5,8  
|| 27 οὐ . . . λαβοῦσα: cf. 1 Cor. 4,7 || 28 πλήρης . . . ἐλεημοσυνῶν: cf. Act. 9,36

Continuous contrition, because *blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*. Yes, it belongs to those who have realized their own weakness, not to those rich in the presumption and imagination of *the vanity of their mind*. Further,

freedom from passion, for *whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment*. “Without a cause” is anything that does not take place through God. *For except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees* (says Holy Writ), we shall not be able to *enter into the kingdom of heaven*. What “exceeds their righteousness” is these virtues, for from those men such things were not demanded: purity is above nature, above nature is also freedom from passion. But when He came who is above nature, being both God and man, He gave these things above nature to those who believe in Him. They are given, however, only to those who pray for them, and even to them not when in doubt of the heart; for *a double minded man is unstable in all his ways*.

The acquisition of these things does not depend on ourselves. For this reason we have been commanded to hate *the world and the things that are in the world*, so that, firstly, we may not henceforth be at enmity with God (for the love of *the world is enmity with Christ*), but rather obtain His love and benevolence; and that, secondly, we may fast, *watch, pray*, distribute our goods among the poor and beseech the Lord with tears to *regard our low estate* and grant us these virtues. Yes, a purified soul will see God as she is seen by Him, and become an abode of divine goodness. As Holy Writ says, “*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*” Not ignorant of whence she has her purity, that soul does not *glory as if she had not received it*, but is humble because she has received it, and is always contrite and full of faith and mercy. Shown mercy by God she

ἐλεηθεῖσα γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάντας ἔλεεῖ καὶ πᾶσι φιλανθρωπῶς συμπαθεῖ. Καὶ οὕτω κάθηται ἐν ἀοργησίᾳ κληρονόμος καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχουσα καὶ πάντα κατέχουσα.

613A Τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φύλακές εἰσι καὶ δᾶκονοι, αἰδούμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες αὐτὴν καὶ περιέποντες· διὸ 5 παρακαλῶ πάσας ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἰχνῶν ὑμῶν ἐφάπτομαι, μὴ ἀποκάμωμεν αἰτοῦσαι τὸν κύριον, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀξιῶση τῶν δωρεῶν αὐτοῦ τούτων τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τελείων καὶ πήξη ταύτας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδαμεν ἀναφαιρέτους, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ἕνεκεν τοῦ 10 ἐλέους αὐτοῦ.'

30 Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ πάνσοφος Εἰρήνη σπλάγγνοις μητρικοῖς οὐ διέλιπε τὰ πνευματικὰ ἑαυτῆς διδάσκουσα τέκνα· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν σπόρον εἰς ἀγαθὴν βάλλουσα γῆν καὶ βλαστάνοντα καὶ αὐξάνοντα καὶ καρποφοροῦντα βλέπουσα ἔχαιρε καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰς 15 εὐχαριστίας ἀπεδίδου.

9. Ἦλθεν οὖν ἐπὶ λογισμὸν αὐτῇ ποτε παράδοξόν τι καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς πίστεως τεκμήριον ἐναργές. Ἦλεγε γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῇ· 'Εἴ μοι διορατικῶς εἰδέναι κύριος ἔδωκε τὰ κρυφῆ παρὰ τῶν 20 ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν γινόμενα, τὰς μὲν ἐπηνώρθουν ἂν σφαλλομένας, τὰς δὲ προκοπτούσας τρέχειν ἂν συνώθουν τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀρετῆς B εὐτονώτερον.' Καὶ ταῦτα λογισαμένη πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν ὅλην ἑαυτὴν ἀδιστακτικῶς ἔδωκε, δάκρυσι πολλοῖς καὶ κλίσεισι γονάτων πολλὴν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου τὴν ἰκεσίαν προσάγουσα. Οὐ γὰρ ἠγνῶει τὸ τοῦ 25 χαρίσματος μέγεθος, τάξιν ἐπέχον δευτέραν τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέτρῳ πίστεως ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος διανενημένων, καθά φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· 'Καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεῦτερον προφήτας.' Ἦνθεν τοι καὶ ταχέως ὑπήκουσεν 31 αὐτῆς ὁ λέγων· "Ἐτι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρω, ἰδοὺ πάρεμι.' Ἐφάνη γὰρ

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2 ἀοργησία: add. καὶ P || 9 ἀναφαιρέτως I || 9—10 ἡμῶν τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν in. ILSK || 13 διέλειπε I || ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 15 ἔχαιρε: χαῖρε L || 20 γινόμενα I || ἂν om. ILSK

3 ὡς . . . κατέχουσα: cf. 2 Cor. 6,10 || 9—11 οὐχ . . . ἐλέους αὐτοῦ: cf. Dan. 9,18 || 14—15 τὸν σπόρον . . . καρποφοροῦντα: cf. Mt. 13,8; Mc. 4,26—28 || 19—20 τὰ . . . γινόμενα (etiam infra 40,7—8): cf. Eph. 5,12 || 25—26 εἰς . . . ἐκκλησίας: cf. 1 Cor. 14,12 || 26 μέτρῳ πίστεως: cf. Rom. 12,3 || 27—28 1 Cor. 12,28 || 29 Is. 58,9

shows mercy to all and is lovingly compassionate to all. Thus she rests free from passion, an heir of both the earthly and the celestial, *as having nothing, and yet possessing all things*. Such a soul has angels of God as guardians and servants, who show her respect and honour her and care for her. Therefore I exhort you all and beseech you, embracing your feet, let us not tire in our prayers to the Lord until He grants us these heavenly and perfect gifts of His and implants them in our souls, inalienable in a way we do not know, *not for our righteousnesses but for His name, for His mercy*.'

These and similar things the all-wise Irene unceasingly taught her spiritual children with motherly love. *Casting her seed into good ground* and seeing it sprout and grow and yield fruit, she rejoiced and gave thanks to God.

## 9. The Gift of Second Sight

Once a strange and awe-inspiring thought came to her mind, clearly testifying to her faith in God. She said to herself, 'If the Lord would grant me the gift of knowing by second sight *those things which are done in secret* by my sisters, I should try to set aright those who fall and stimulate those who are successful to run the race of virtue even more vigorously.<sup>1</sup> With these thoughts she immediately devoted her whole self to prayer, delivering with many tears and genuflexions an intense supplication to God about her idea. She was not ignorant how great a gift this was, being second in order among the things distributed by the Spirit *to the edifying of the church after the measure of faith*, according to the word of the Apostle: '*And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets*.' Swiftly, then, He hearkened to her who says, '*Thou shalt cry, and I will say, Here I am*.' For there appeared from

9. <sup>1</sup> Very similar is *VBIun*, cod. Mosqu. 249, fol. 30—30<sup>v</sup> (ed. Vilinskij 301,32—36), προφητικῶ δὲ χαρίσματι σεμνυνόμενος, ἃς μὲν ἑώρα τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐναρέτως βιούσας ἐπῆνει . . . , ἃς δὲ πάλιν ἑώρα ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐπὶ τισιν ἀτοπήμασι κεκρατημένας, ἀπεδριμύττετο καὶ ὠνείδιζε κτλ.

οὐρανόθεν ἄγγελος θεοῦ, στολὴν ἐνδεδυμένος λευκὴν καὶ τὸ εἶδος  
 ἐξαστράπτων, καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῆ παραστάς χαρᾶς ἐπλήρου  
 ταύτην ὀπόσης ἂν εἴποις· καὶ οὐ μόνον τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ σχήματος  
 οὐ κατέπληξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηγῶς αὐτῆ διελέγετο καὶ φησί·  
 'Χαίροις τοῦ θεοῦ πιστοτάτη θεράπεινα· ἰδοὺ σοὶ κατὰ τὴν αἴτησιν  
 ἀπέστειλέ με κύριος εἰς διακονίαν διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν  
 σωτηρίαν διὰ σοῦ. Ἔσομαι δὲ μετὰ σου διὰ παντός, τὰ κρυφῆ  
 γινόμενα καθ' ἡμέραν σαφῶς ὑποδεικνύων σοι.' Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν  
 C ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπέστη τῶν ὄψεων αὐτῆς· αὐτὴ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν  
 ὑφαπλώσασα καὶ κολληθῆναι τούτῳ βιαζομένη τὴν εὐχαριστίαν  
 οὕτως ἀνέπεμπε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνης οὐ διέλιπεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ὀπτανόμενος αὐτῆ καὶ δῆλα καθιστῶν οὐ τὰ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πᾶσι πραττόμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα.

32 Μετὰ γοῦν τὰς ὀρθρινὰς δοξολογίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάννυχος ἦν ἡ  
 στάσις αὐτῆ, κατὰ μόνας μικρὰν τινα τῷ σώματι τὴν ἄνεσιν διδοῦσα  
 καὶ ὕπνου μεταλαμβάνουσα — οὕτω γὰρ εἶθιστο —, εἰς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ  
 εἰσῆει διακονικόν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὀνομαστὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἑκάστην  
 614D καλοῦσα καὶ ταύτην παρακαθιζομένη ὁμαλῶς πῶς ὑπνίττετο τὰ  
 ἄδηλα καὶ κρύφια· καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων αὐτῆς καὶ  
 διανοημάτων εὐφυῶς καθήπτετο, νύττουσα τὸ συνειδὸς καὶ εἰς  
 ὁμολογίαν τῶν σφαλμάτων καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐρεθίζουσα καὶ παντελοῦς  
 λαμβάνουσα τῶν τοιούτων διορθώσεως ὑπόσχεσιν· ὅπερ ἐξίστασθαι  
 ἑαυτῶν ἐποίει τὰς ἀδελφάς, καὶ οὐκέτι ταύτη προσεῖχον ὡς  
 πρότερον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὴν Εἰρήνην καὶ ὠμολόγουν καὶ  
 ἀνεκήρυττον.

10. Καὶ φήμη τις περὶ αὐτῆς μεγάλη τὰς ἀπάντων ἐντεῦθεν διέθεεν  
 ἀκοάς· καὶ πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ πόλις συνέτρεχε πρόσωπον αὐτῆς  
 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ λόγον αὐτῆς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ εὐχῶν

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8 καθ': add. ἑκάστην I || 13 τὰ om. ILSK || 18 παρακαθίζουσα P (sed cf. infra 102,12) || 27 αὐτῆς: ἐκείνης P

6—7 διὰ . . . σωτηρίαν: Heb. 1,14 || 10 κολληθῆναι τούτῳ: cf. Ps. 118(119),25 || 28 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν: cf. 1 Thess. 3,6

<sup>2</sup> The diaconicon, a development of the Middle Byzantine period, is the room in which the celebrant is invested with the liturgical garments and in which those garments as well as other sacred utensils and books are kept. Here it is the place where Irene usually gathers

heaven an angel of God, clad in a white garment and effulgent of appearance. Taking his stand before her he filled her with an unfathomable joy. Not only did he not frighten her with his marvellous figure, but even spoke gently to her and said, 'Hail, faithful servant of God! Behold, in accordance with your prayer the Lord has sent me to serve you *for them who shall be heirs of salvation* through you. I will be with you always, clearly showing you, day by day, *those things which are done in secret.*' And with these words he disappeared from her sight. Prostrating herself on the floor, striving to cleave to it, she sent up thanks to God, and from that day on God's angel did not cease to appear and reveal to her acts committed secretly not only by the sisters but by anyone.

After the morning doxology she took a short rest in solitude and dozed for a while according to her habit (for her standing prayer lasted all night). Then she went into the diaconicon<sup>2</sup> of the church. Calling each of the sisters in to her, naming their names and having them sit down beside her, she gently made intimations about obscure and secret things. Skilfully hinting at their souls' emotions and thoughts<sup>3</sup> and pricking their conscience, she provoked them to confess their transgressions and repent, and exacted promises of complete improvement of such faults. This made the sisters beside themselves for amazement. No longer did they merely pay heed to her as before but confessed and proclaimed that Irene was superior to human beings.

## 10. Admonitions to Visitors

Thereafter a mighty rumour about her spread to the ears of all, and the whole city gathered before her, *desiring to see* her venerable face, hear a word from her, and enjoy her prayers. To all comers fulfilling the law

the nuns to give them spiritual advice (relevant passages are indicated in the Greek Index, s.v. διακονικόν).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 46,34—35, ἡρέμα πῶς καθήπτετο αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας, ἐλέγχων τὰ τούτοις ἐν κρυφῆ πεπραγμένα. For the whole scene demonstrating Irene's gift of τὸ διορατικόν, which has many parallels in this literature, cf. also *VASal*, PG 111, 704BC. Contrast, on the one hand, the psychologically convincing description of a similar situation in *VAthanaAthon B*, ed. Noret 27,8 ff.; and, on the other, the materialist solution of the problem of supervision in *VNicetMed*, xxivE: Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπιτετραμμένοι ἀδελφοὶ λεληθότως, οἱ ἑκάστῳ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ πραττόμενα τοῖς πατράσιν ἀνήγγελλον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου μὴ τολμᾶν τινα μηδὲ ἀπόντων τῶν προεστῶτων ἄργόν τινα λόγον φθέγξασθαι, τοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς φεύγοντες.

ἀπολαῦσαι. Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προσερχομένοις τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης νόμον ἀποπληροῦσα τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν περιπαθῶς εἰς φανερόν αὐτοῖς ἦγεν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιστροφὴν ἐνήγει ἐνταλμάτων, τὴν τοῦ βίου ματαιότητα διεξιούσα καὶ τὸ τῆς δίκης 5  
 33 ἄφυκτον καὶ τῆς γεέννης τὸν φόβον καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, 5  
 33 Ἐἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα, λέγουσα, ἰδὲ μετάνοιαν τῶν σφαλμάτων τὴν ἄφραστον εὐρωμεν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐκκαθαρθῶμεν, ὡς περ οὐκ ἔστι μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐξομολόγησις καὶ μετάνοια, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῆς 5  
 Ε ἀποκειμένης τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας ἀποφυγῆς.  
 Παρήγγελλε δὲ μάλιστα πάντων ἀκαθαρσίας ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ 10  
 πλεονεξίας καὶ τρυφῆς — ‘τούτοις γάρ’, φησὶν, ‘ὁ πονηρὸς τοὺς ἐν βίῳ κλονουμένους ὡς ἄρκυσις ἰσχυροῖς εὐκόλως καταζωγρεῖ’ —, ἐλεημοσύνης δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι παραπτώμασι 15  
 — ‘πολλὰ γὰρ καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμῖν τὰ προσκόμματα.’ ‘Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν 15  
 γλῶσσαν παιδεύειν μὴ πρὸς ὕβρεις καὶ λοιδορίας εἶναι πρόχειρον —  
 “Ὁς γὰρ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· Μωρέ, ἐνοχος ἔσται τῷ πυρὶ τῆς γεέννης”, ὡς ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ “Ἐν ᾧ κρίματι κρίνομεν κριθησόμεθα”. Εὐκόλος γὰρ ἢ διὰ γλώσσης ἁμαρτία καὶ χαλεπή, 20  
 34 ἁμαρτάνειν πρόχειρον. Τοὺς ὄρκους φεύγειν τελέως καὶ μὴ διασύρειν 20  
 τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιττῶν ἕως καὶ οὐδαμινῶν προφάσεων, ὅπερ φρίττουσι καὶ ἄγγελοι ὀνομάζοντες· καταφρόνησις γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ καταφρονῶν πράγματος καταφρονηθήσεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τί πείσεται ὁ καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ 25  
 θεοῦ; Πῦρ ἡμᾶς δοκιμάσαι περιμένει καὶ διακρίναι τὸν δίκαιον καὶ 25  
 F τὸν ἀσεβῆ. Σεβασθῶμεν καὶ φοβηθῶμεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μὴ περιφρονῶμεν σωτηριάν· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγεν, ἵνα μερίς καὶ κληρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γενώμεθα καὶ μὴ τῷ 30  
 διαβόλῳ μερίς, ᾧ τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον ἡτοιμάσται, ὥστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ 30

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1 ἀπολαύσεσθαι ILSK || 6 λέγουσα: φησι P om. I || 6—7 τὴν ἄφραστον εὐρωμεν: εὐρήσομεν ἄφραστον P || 10 παρήγγειλε ILSK || 16 γλῶτταν P || 17 εἴποι P || ὄρα in marg. I || 27 σεβασθῶμεν καὶ φοβηθῶμεν: σεβώμεθα τοῖνον καὶ φοβώμεθα P σεβῶμεν καὶ βοηθῶμεν I

17—18 Mt. 5,22 || 18—19 Mt. 7,2 || 21 τοὺς . . . τελέως: cf. Mt. 5,34; Iac. 5,12 || 24—25 ὁ καταφρονῶν . . . ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ: Prou. 13,13 || 26 πῦρ . . . περιμένει: cf. 1 Cor. 3,13 || 26—27 διακρίναι . . . ἀσεβῆ: cf. Ps. 10(11),5 || 30 τὸ πῦρ . . . ἡτοιμάσται: cf. Mt. 25,41

of love, she eagerly revealed in her conversations with them what they bore in their souls and urged them on to repentance and conversion to God’s commands, expounding the vanity of life, the inescapability of justice, the terror of Gehenna and the enjoyment of the good, saying, ‘Unless we find redemption through repentance for our faults and are purified from our sins here, then, as there is no room for confession and repentance after our departure, so there will be no escape from the punishment and retaliation that await those who sin.’

She exhorted them most of all to refrain from impurity, greed, and luxury. ‘Therewith’, she said, ‘the Evil One will easily capture, as with strong nets, those who are harassed by life. You must be careful’, she continued, ‘to the best of your ability about mercy and moderation and self-control, and always show repentance for transgressions made, for numerous are our offences every day.<sup>1</sup> You must also train the tongue not to lend itself to presumptuous and reviling speech. For *whosoever shall say* to his brother “*Thou fool!*” *shall be in danger of hell fire*, as we have heard, and *with what judgment we judge we shall be judged*. Sin committed with the tongue is both easy and severe, for whereas other kinds of sin are not readily accessible, sinning with the tongue is ready to hand.<sup>2</sup> Oaths you must avoid completely and not hold God’s name up to ridicule everywhere and on the most extravagant and petty pretexts, the name that even angels tremble to mention; such is contempt of God. And since *whoso despiseth* a thing *shall be despised* thereby, what shall he suffer who is despised by God? *A fire* awaits to *try* us and to distinguish *the righteous* from *the wicked*. Let us show reverence and fear of God, and let us not disregard our own salvation. From non-existence He has promoted us to existence in order that we become God’s portion and lot, not a portion of the Devil for whom the *everlasting fire* is *prepared*, to be thrown with

10. <sup>1</sup> The sentence begun with παρήγγειλε . . . ἀπέχεσθαι continues in direct speech on line 15. Transitions to and from *oratio obliqua* often cause difficulties which may lead to a gliding grammatical structure; cf. note 6 on ch. 13, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bas. Caes., *Hom. in Ps. 33*, 9 (PG 29, 373B), σχεδὸν γὰρ ἢ προχειροτάτη καὶ πολὺτροπος ἁμαρτία ἢ διὰ γλώσσης ἐστὶν ἐνεργουμένη; cf. also Greg. Naz., *Carm. 33*, 59—60 (PG 37, 932A); Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn 4*, 17—18.

βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἀνύποιστον ἐκείνην καὶ ἄσβεστον εἰς αἰώνας  
 τηγανίζεσθαι φλόγα. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαρτάνειν τῆς φυσικῆς ἡμῶν  
 ἀσθενείας ἴδιον, τὸ ἐλεεῖν δὲ καὶ συγχωρεῖν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ  
 φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄγαν  
 οὐθένησαν τοῦτο, οἱ καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι ταύτην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ  
 35 δακρῶν αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπταισμένων τὴν ἄφεσιν.<sup>1</sup> Τούτοις οὖν καὶ τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις πολλοὶ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῇ συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως  
 ἐχόντων κατὰ τὸν βίον διδασκόμενοι καὶ νοουθετούμενοι, καὶ  
 γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παρθένων τῶν περιφανείᾳ γένους σεμνυνομένων,  
 προσεῖχον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀπάγουσαν εἰς ζωὴν μετὰ πάσης  
 10 προθυμίας ἐπορεύοντο πορείαν, διὰ στόματος φέροντες πανταχοῦ  
 τὴν Εἰρήνην καὶ θαυμάζοντες.

11. Αὐτὴ δὲ οὔτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἔληγεν εὐχαριστίας, οὔτε τῆς  
 παννύχου στάσεως ἐνεδίδου. Καὶ δὴ ποτε περὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου ταύτης  
 ἀρξαμένης καὶ τὰς ὀσίας ἐπαράσης χειρας, ὡς ἔθος, εἰς οὐρανόν,  
 15 περὶ που τὸ μεσονύκτιον φάλαγξ δαιμονίων ἀθρόον ἐπιστάσα φωναῖς  
 ἀσήμοις τε καὶ τεταραγμένη βοῇ τὴν ἀκίνητον αὐτῆς διασαλεῦσαι  
 615A στάσιν ἐπειρῶντο. Τούτων δὲ πονηρότερον ἔν οἷα καὶ αὐθαδέστερον  
 πλησίον αὐτῆς γενόμενον ἐώκει ταύτην μυκτηρίζειν καὶ τὰ μίμων  
 φθέγγεσθαι, Εἰρήνην ξυλίνην καὶ ξυλίνοις τοῖς ποσὶ βασταζομένην  
 20 λέγον καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα φλυαροῦν. Καὶ μεταβαλλόμενον αὐθις ὠδύρευτο·  
 "Ἐως πότε τὴν γενεὰν ἡμῶν", φάσκον, "θλίβεις; ἕως πότε ταῖς  
 μακραῖς σου μαστιζεις ἡμᾶς προσευχαῖς; ἕως πότε καίεις ἡμᾶς; ἕως  
 πότε σου ἀνεξόμεθα; Πλήρεις ἡμεῖς ἀνίας τῆς παρὰ σοῦ."  
 36 Εἶτα σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκουν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατατρύχεσθαι καὶ τὰς  
 25 περειὰς τύπτοντα θρῆνον πολὺν ἐξηγεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλη τούτοις τῇ  
 συμφορᾷ. Ὡς δὲ μηδὲν ἤνουν πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς, ἐκείνη

PILSK

3 δὲ ἐλεεῖν inv. IK || 16 δαιμόνων P δαιμονία I || 17 τε om. ILSK ||  
 ἀκίνητον: ἀκοίμητον I || 18 ἐπειράτο I || 20 ξυλίνοις: ξύλοις ILSK || 26  
 τούτοις om. P

10—11 τὴν . . . πορείαν: cf. Mt. 7,14

11. <sup>1</sup> Demons are particularly active and dangerous at midnight (and midday; see A.-J. Festugière on *VTheodSyc*, ch. 16, vol. 2, 179). Cf. *VEuthymIun*, ed. Petit 194,4—5, νύξ ἦν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ μεσαίτατον· καὶ σκόπει μοι ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναίδειαν.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., hard and insensitive, referring to Irene's untiring asceticism, esp. her standing

him into that insupportable and unextinguishable flame and be burnt for ever. Sinning belongs to our natural weakness, whereas it is a work of God's love to show mercy and forgiveness. But this is for those who understand their own great nothingness and who confess it before Him and with tears beg for forgiveness of their sins.' Taught and admonished with these and similar words, many among her visitors, senators as well as people with other positions in this life, and also women and girls who took pride in the prominence of their families, began to take heed to themselves and to walk with all readiness of mind *the way which leadeth unto life*, speaking about Irene everywhere and admiring her.

### 11. Irene Attacked by Demons

But she did not cease from her thanksgiving to God nor relax from her night-long standing. Once, when she had begun her exercise about sunset, raising her holy hands to heaven, as was her wont, a horde of demons suddenly appeared before her—it was about midnight<sup>1</sup>—and tried with inarticulate shouts and agitated cries to shake her so as to prevent her immobile standing. One of them, being more evil as well as more insolent than the others, seemed to approach her and sneer at her, shouting such words as mimes use to utter. 'Irene is made of wood', he said, 'she is carried by wooden legs',<sup>2</sup> and he spoke still other nonsense. Again he changed his tone and lamented, 'How long will you oppress our race? How long will you lash us with your protracted prayers? How long will you burn us? How long shall we have to endure you? We have enough of the distress that you cause us.'

Then also the rest of them seemed to be afflicted and give vent to loud lamentation, slapping their cheeks as if a great calamity had befallen them. But they made no progress towards the goal which they strived for,

prayers; cf. Rydén, *Symeon Salos*, Index, s.v. ξύλον. What τὰ μίμων was is further exemplified *infra*, 70,20—22. — The activities of μίμοι in 10th-c. Constantinople are graphically illustrated by *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehay, 217,32—218,4 (about the eunuch Sergios), μετὰ γὰρ μίμου τινός, κωμαστοῦ τε καὶ γελοιαστοῦ τυγχάνοντος, εἰς λόγους ἀστείους, οἷα φιλεῖ πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς, ἐληλυθώς, . . . εἰς λοιδορίας ἀλογωτέρας τραπεῖς καὶ σκώμματα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ σκωμμάτων εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἀτιμίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ κατηγοριῶν ἀπομανεῖς ἐκεῖνος, χειρῶν ἄρξας ἀδίκων ὡς καὶ μέθη βαβακχευμένος οἰνοφλυγίας, εἰς μάλιστα κατέληξε καὶ πληγὰς (the scene ends with Sergios half dead in a hospital). Cf. F. Tinnefeld, 'Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)', *Bυζαντινά*, 6 (1974), 321—343.

δὲ ὡσπερ ἀρπαγεῖσα εἰς οὐρανὸν ὄλην εἶχεν ἐκεῖ πρὸς θεὸν τὴν  
διάνοιαν, ἀκλόνητος τὸ παράπαν καὶ ἀπτόητος ἰσταμένη, τὴν χεῖρα  
τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀπλώσαν καὶ πυρσὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θρυαλλίδος ἐπιμύξαν  
καθῆκε περὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῆς ὁσίας. Ὁ δὲ καθάπερ τισὶ ῥιπίσιν  
ἀνάψας, ὄλον μὲν τὸ κουκούλιον σὺν τῷ ἐπωμῖω καὶ τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ  
λάβρως κατακαίων ἦψατο καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν καὶ διεπορεύετο  
καταφλέγων τοὺς ὤμους, τὸ στήθος, τὴν ῥάχιν, τοὺς νεφρούς, τοὺς  
B λαγόνas, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ὄλον ἂν περιῆλθε τὸ σῶμα τὸ πῦρ  
ἐπινεμόμενον, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς εὐχαῖς  
ἐγρηγοροῦσα καὶ τῆς κνίσσης τῶν σαρκῶν ὁσφραινομένη καὶ ἴποῦ  
10 ποτε τῆς μονῆς τὸ καιόμενόν ἐστιν ἐξῆει θροηθεῖσα τῆς κέλλης καὶ  
ῥινηλατοῦσα ἐπομένη τῇ δυσωδίᾳ μέχρι τοῦ τῆς προεστώσης ἔστησε  
τοὺς πόδας κελλίου. Παρακύψασα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καπνοῦ καὶ κνίσσης  
πεπληρωμένον ἰδοῦσα, τῆς θύρας ἐκτροπὴν μόγις ποιησαμένη  
εἰσῆλθε μὲν, εὖρε δὲ — θέαμα φρικτόν — ὄλην μὲν τὴν Εἰρήνην  
15 ἐμπερησμένην, ἀκίνητον δὲ καὶ ἀρρεπῆ καὶ ἀήττητον ἐστηκυῖαν καὶ  
μηδαμῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστρεφομένην πυρκαϊᾶς.

37 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς μόνον σπεύδουσα τὸ κατασβέσαι τὴν φλόγα καὶ τοῦ  
πυρὸς ἐξελέσθαι τὴν διδάσκαλον ἤρξατό τε κλονεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ  
συσσεῖειν, σβεννῦσα τὸ πῦρ καὶ καταστέλλουσα τὴν φλόγα, τὰς  
20 χεῖρας ὀψέ ποτε τῆς ἐκτάσεως ἐκείνη κατενεγκοῦσα, ἴνα τί τοῦτο  
πεποίηκας, τέκνον μου; ἀπεκρίνατο, τί με τοσοῦτων ἀπεστέρησας  
τῇ εὐνοίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν; Οὐ δέον ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν  
τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν  
ὀφθαλμῶν ἄγγελος ὠραῖο θεοῦ πλέκων μοι στέφανον ἐξ ἀνθέων ὧν  
25 ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα

PILSK

I οὐρανοῦς I || 3 ἀπομύξαν I || 4 τισὶ ῥιπίσιν: τι σιριπίσιν LSK τι σιριπίσον  
I || 26 εἶδε: οἶδε codd.

I ἀρπαγεῖσα εἰς οὐρανόν: cf. 2 Cor. 12,2 || 23—24 οὐ . . . θεοῦ: cf. Mt. 16,23; Mc.  
8,33 || 26 ὀφθαλμὸς . . . ἤκουσε: 1 Cor. 2,9

<sup>3</sup> This scene may have a realistic background in the author's experience of a nightly accident, which is here explained in demonological terms and in the end serves as a potential means of martyrdom for Irene (*infra*, line 24 ff.). The phrase πυρσὸν . . . ἐπιμύξαν presents difficulties which seem to admit of two different solutions, both relying on old authority. The first is represented by the author of the *diaskeuē* in the MS V; his version reads, καὶ μέρος τι τῆς θρυαλλίδος ὑπορρίπτει τῷ χιτῶνι ταύτης ὁ δυσμενής, which makes excellent sense. It seems to presuppose the attractive variant ἀπομύξαν ('snuff [a wick]') found in I, but since this passage of V itself is lacking in V, we do

whereas Irene, as if *caught up to heaven*, had her whole mind there with God, standing wholly unshaken and undaunted. Then the demon stretched out his hand and kindled a stick against the lamp-wick.<sup>3</sup> He dropped it around the neck of the holy woman, and it burnt up as if fanned, violently inflaming her whole hood along with the scapular and the shift, and began even to lick her flesh. It went over her, scorching her shoulders, her breast, her spine, her kidneys, and her flanks. As it spread, the fire would soon have encircled her body, had not one of the sisters, who was awake for the nocturnal prayers, smelled the smoke from her flesh and left her cell in fear, thinking, 'In what part of the convent can the fire be?' Tracking the scent she followed the odour to the cell of the abbess and stopped there. Looking in and seeing that it was filled with smoke and steam she only just managed to fling the door open and entered. She found—a terrible sight!—Irene all in flames but standing immobile and unwavering and unconquered, paying no heed whatever to the fire.

As the sister, striving only to quench the flame and remove her teacher from the fire, began to agitate and shake her, extinguishing the fire and putting out the flame, at last she lowered her hands from their extended position and remarked, 'Why did you do this, my child? Why did you deprive me of those great good things through your untimely kindness?'<sup>4</sup> We ought to savour *not the things that be of men, but those that be of God*. Behold, before my eyes there appeared an angel of God twining me a wreath<sup>5</sup> of flowers that *eye hath not seen not ear heard*, and he already

not know what the diaskeuast actually read in his model, and the support of I alone is virtually negligible. The second solution was presented in Agapios Landos's Modern Greek version; it reads, ἦναψε κερὶ ἀπὸ τὴν κανδήλαν (in V. Matthaios, Ὁ μέγας συναξαριστής . . ., vol. 7 [1950], 465), and this can probably be reconciled with ἐπιμύξαν. The references for ἐπιμύσσω in TGL seem irrelevant here (= μυκτηρίζω, 'sniff at', metaphorically); rather it is useful to refer to the cognate nouns μύξα, 'nasal mucus' but also 'lamp-pipe or -wick' (LSJ, s.v.), and μύξωτήρ, 'nostril' but also 'vessel for pouring oil into a lamp' (LSJ, Supplement, s.v.; Frisk, s.v. μύσσομαι). For ἐπιμύσσω they would seem to indicate the sense of 'bring the wick [or pipe] of a lamp near [something, so as to kindle it]'. In either case πυρσός is a rather unspecific term for some kind of burning material, either a piece of the lamp-wick or something else. 'Stick' may be suggested by the usual sense 'torch' (LSJ, s.v., I), but this point is a weak one. Possibly ἐπιμύξαν is corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> Proverbial; cf. Zenobios, *Paroem.*, I 50, ἄκαιρος εὐνοῖ οὐδὲν ἐχθρας διαφέρει; Ignatios of Antioch, *Rom.*, 4,1, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γέννησθέ μοι.

<sup>5</sup> The crown of martyrs is sometimes the prize for a successful ascetic struggle; cf. *VTheo-*



διατεινομένην εἶχε τῇ ἐμῇ τοῦτον ἐπιθεῖναι κεφαλῇ· σοῦ δὲ τῆς προμηθείας ἔνεκεν ἄπεισί με λιπών, ἔχων τὸν στέφανον μεθ'ἑαυτοῦ. Τί οὖν μοι, τέκνον, ἀγνωμοσύνης χεῖρονα τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἀπέδωκας; Μισῶ δωρεὰν προξενουῶσάν μοι ζημίαν.' Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ἡ μαθήτρια, δάκρυα στάζουσα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἤρξατο τὰ προσφύοντα ταῖς σαρκὶ τῆς ὀσίας ῥάκια ζέοντα ἔτι τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐκεῖθεν ἀνασπᾶν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ξένη τις ἐκ τούτων ἀνεπέμπετο εὐωδία μύρου παντὸς καὶ ἄρωμάτων πολυτίμων ἀσυγκρίτως εὐωδεστέρα, ἣτις ὅλην ἐπλήρωσε τὴν μονήν, ἐφ'ἵκανάς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς 38 παροδούντας ἐπευφραίνεσθαι διαρκοῦσα. Ἐπει δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἕτερον ἰμάτιον τῇ ὀσίᾳ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅπερ ταῖς τιμίαις σαρκὶν αὐτῆς ἡ φλόξ συγκατέφλεξε, πορευθεῖσα ἤνεγκεν ἡ ἐπαινετὴ μαθήτρια ἰμάτιον ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐνέδυσσε μητέρα· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῶν αὐτῆς κατορθωμάτων, τὸ μὴ δεύτερον κεκτῆσθαι χιτῶνα, ἀλλ'ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην πέμπτην 15 τοῦ πάσχα τὸν φορούμενον παρ'ὄλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπαμφιένυσθαι καὶ αὐθις καινὸν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι, τὸ μέντοι παλαιὸν ἰμάτιον πενομένην δίδοσθαι γυναικί.

616D 12. Μετὰ γοῦν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τῷ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἰατρῷ τὰς πυρακτωθείσας ἰατρευθεῖσα σάρκας, αὐτὴ μὲν εἶχετο τῶν ὁμοίων· τὸ δὲ τῆς προφητείας χάρισμα ἐπὶ πλέον ἠῤῥαεν αὐτῇ καὶ ἠῤῥαζε καὶ τὰ πόρρω προβλέπειν ἐδίδου. Κυρίλλου γὰρ ποτε πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ εὐνούχου παραγενομένου, ὃς οἰκειότατός τε ἦν καὶ

PILSK

6 προσφύσαντα ILSK || 11 ἰμάτιον om. P || 12 κατέφλεξε S || 14 αὐτῆς: ἑαυτῆς S || 16 ὄλον: ὄλον τὸν I

14—15 μὴ . . . χιτῶνα: cf. Lc. 9,3

*dorThess*, ed. Arsenij 20, ch. 34 (Kurtz, 20,1 ff.): when she has spent a night outdoors in rain and snow, a wreath for the Saint (who is compared with the forty martyrs of Sebaste) descends from heaven. But the nuptial wreath of the bride of Christ may also be suggested (cf. *supra*, 12,15—16; *infra*, 96,1—2). The ideas are juxtaposed in Theodoret, *HRel*, XXIX 6 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, 236): (Marana and Kyra) τὸ γὰρ τοῦ νυμφίου φανταζόμεναι κάλλος εὐπετῶς μάλα καὶ ῥαδίως φέρουσι τοῦ δρόμου τὸν πόνον καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἐπείγονται τῶν ἀγῶνων τὸ τέλος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἐστῶτα βλέπουσαι καὶ τῆς νίκης ὑποδεικνύντα τὸν στέφανον. Cf. Lampe, s.v. στέφανος, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. *MartPolyc*, 15, 2, [when Polycarp was burnt at the stake,] εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἄρωμάτων, and see

kept his hand extended to put it on my head. But because of your concern he left me and went away with his wreath. Why, my child, did you render me an act of consideration worse than ingratitude? I hate a gift that causes me a loss.' When the disciple heard this she began, tears falling from her eyes, with her fingers to pull away the Saint's clothes which, still glowing, stuck to her flesh. And a strange fragrance was exhaled from them, incomparably more fragrant than any perfume and precious scents,<sup>6</sup> which filled the whole convent, for many days sufficing even for passersby to delight in. But as the Saint did not possess another garment but the one that the flame had consumed together with her precious flesh, the laudable disciple went away, and bringing a garment of her own dressed her spiritual mother. For it was also a part of her virtues not to possess a second dress, but once a year at Easter, on the great Holy Thursday, to leave off the one she had been wearing all the year and don a new one, handing the old garment over to some poor woman.<sup>7</sup>

## 12. The Murders of the Caesar Bardas and the Emperor Michael Predicted

After a few days, when her burnt flesh had been cured by the Healer of souls and bodies, she adhered to her former practices. But the gift of prophecy grew ever stronger in her, illumining her so as to let her foresee future events. Once when the eunuch Cyril<sup>1</sup> had come to her, being an

B. Kötting, 'Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 9 (1982), 168—175.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, 18,24. For the practice of changing clothes at Easter, cf. the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator Monastery (Cple), ed. Gautier, ll. 607 ff. (p. 65). It is combined with an act of charity which here rather seems a formalized routine. It appears in a more natural context in *VMarLun*, ed. Peeters 696F: when Maria is dead, a servant explains to her astonished husband, ὅτι μὴ δεύτερόν ἐστι τῇ ἐμῇ κυρίᾳ θαυμάζεις ἰμάτιον εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, ὃ ταύτην λούοντες περιεδύσαμεν· οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνης τῆς φιλανθρώπου ψυχῆς ἰδεῖν γυμνὸν καὶ περιδεῖν, οὐκ ἦν θεάσασθαι πένητα καὶ παριδεῖν.

12. <sup>1</sup> It is notable that a servant of Irene's sister is named whereas his mistress remains anonymous. Cyril's role may be compared with that of another named figure, Irene's 'close friend' Christopher (ch. 22, *infra*): both are links connecting the female world of the convent with the mainly male world outside, a function that the sister could not perform. The two men, one a eunuch, the other probably an elderly person, may reflect the real social network of Chrysobalanton.

εὐνούστατος τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ θεράπων — γυναῖκα δὲ ταύτην  
 ὑστάτην ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω τοῦ καίσαρος ἐδήλωσε Βάρδα —,  
 κατ'ἰδίαν τοῦτον ἀπολαβοῦσα μηνύει δι'αυτοῦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ταῦτα  
 εἰποῦσα· 'Πρόσεχε καὶ φρόντισον τὰ περὶ σεαυτῆς· ὁ γὰρ καῖσαρ,'  
 φησίν, 'ὁ σὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ, ἐμὸς δὲ γαμβρός, συγχωρήσει θεοῦ καὶ  
 κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ἀνεφίκτοις ἐπιβουλήν ὑποστήσεται ὅσον  
 39 οὖπω καὶ τεθνήξεται παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιβουλευσαμένου. Μετ'ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνεψιὸς βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ὡσαύτως πείσεται διὰ τὰς  
 ἀνοσίους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀθεμίτους πράξεις· διαπαίζων γὰρ τὰ θεῖα  
 διαπαιχθήσεται. 'Ἀλλὰ σκεπτέον σοι μήτε θήσῃν ἔκφορα ταῦτα  
 10 μηδενί, μήτε τῷ μέλλοντι κατασχεῖν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα τῶν  
 σῶν τινα συγγενῶν ἀντιβῆναι μὴ διακωλύσαι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ φόνων αἴτιος  
 ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ θεοσεβέσι καὶ βασιλικοῖς κατακεκόσμηται  
 προτερήμασι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεὸς εὐδοκεῖ ἐπ'αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ  
 Ε ὠφελήσει ἐχθρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ.' 'Ἄλλ'ἐκεῖνη τὰς προρρήσεις τῆς ἀδελφῆς  
 πιστὰς εἰδυῖα καὶ ἀναμφιλέκτους, τῷ φίλτρῳ νικηθεῖσα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀνακαλύπτει τούτῳ πάντα τὰ μηνυθέντα. 'Ὁ δὲ σοβαρὸς τε ὢν καὶ  
 ἀπονοίας ἀνάμεστος, ὡς ἀσύνητος οὐ συνῆκε πρὸς θεὸν καταφυγεῖν  
 καὶ τῆς ἀνωθεν τυχῶν ἀντιλήψεως παραδραμεῖν τὸν προκειμένον  
 κίνδυνον, καθὼς πού φησιν 'Ιερεμίας ὅτι "Ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 20 κακῶν αὐτοῦ, μετανοήσω καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν ὧν ἐλογισάμην  
 ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ", ἀλλ' ἐνέκειτο μόνον τὸ ὄνομα ζητῶν τοῦ τὴν  
 40 βασιλείαν διαδεξιμένου μαθεῖν. Οὐκ εἶχε δὲ τὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα· τίς  
 γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος βεβούλευται διασκεδάσαι; 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πολλάκις καὶ διαφόρους πρὸς τὴν ὁσίαν ἀπεσταλκῶς περὶ τούτου  
 25 πεισόμενος εἰς μάτην ἐφαίνετο κοπιῶν, ἕως μετὰ βραχὺ κατὰ τὴν  
 αὐτῆς ἐξέβη πάντα πρόρρησιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καῖσαρ ἀνηρέθη παρὰ τῷ  
 στρατοπέδῳ, βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ  
 F παλατίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος μετὰ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν — ἡνίοχος γὰρ

PILSK

5 γαμβρός: γαυρός P || 8 βασιλεὺς om. P || 12 τι ILSK || μὴ διακωλύσαι  
 om. P || 20 ἐπιστρέφει P || 23 διαδεξιμένου ILSK || 24 ὁ<sup>1</sup> om. ILSK  
 || 28 ὁ om. L || ἐν: καὶ ἐν ILSK

14—15 οὐκ . . . αὐτῷ: Ps. 88(89),23 || 20—22 Cf. Ier. 18,8 || 23—24 τίς . . .  
 διασκεδάσαι: cf. Is. 14,27 || 26 εἰς . . . κοπιῶν: cf. Ps. 126(127),1 et sim. locc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, 8,18—20. Note the predicative ὑστάτην, 'at last, eventually'.

intimate and loyal servant of her sister—the above narrative<sup>2</sup> has shown  
 her eventually to have become the wife of the Caesar Bardas—, she took  
 him aside and informed through him her sister, saying, 'Beware and take  
 care of yourself. By God's permission and inscrutable decisions, such as  
 He is wont to take, the Caesar, your husband and my brother-in-law, will  
 shortly fall foul of a plot and be killed by the plotter. Before long also  
 his nephew, the Emperor Michael himself, will suffer the same fate be-  
 cause of his impious and unlawful deeds: jeering at the divine he will be  
 jeered at.<sup>3</sup> But you must beware of making this known to anyone and of  
 failing to prevent anyone among your kin from intervening against the  
 man who shall seize the sceptre of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Even if the man will be  
 guilty of murder, he is adorned with pious and imperial superiority, and  
 therefore God is pleased with him and *the enemy shall not outwit him.*'  
 But she, knowing that her sister's predictions were trustworthy and in-  
 disputable, and overcome by love for her husband, revealed to him all  
 that she had been told. He however, being proud and full of madness,  
 did not understand, foolish as he was, to seek refuge with God and with  
 help from on high to avoid the danger that lay before him, as in the saying  
 of Jeremiah, '*If he turn from his evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought  
 to do unto him.*' No, he only persisted in seeking to learn the name of  
 the man who was to assume the imperial power. But he had none to tell  
 him, for *who can disannul* what the holy God has *purposed*? As again  
 and again he sent messengers to the holy woman to ask about this, he ap-  
 peared to *labour in vain*, until before long all turned out in accordance  
 with her prediction. The Caesar was killed<sup>5</sup> in front of the army, and the  
 Emperor Michael himself, having entered the Palace of St Mamas after

<sup>3</sup> Similar phrases are used in historiography about Michael III ordaining his drinking companion Gryllos patriarch: *VBMac*, Bonn ed. 244,3, τὰ θεῖα κατέπαιζε; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 109,27, τὰ θεῖα διαπαίζων.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek text could be smoother, which indeed it is in P (cf. the critical apparatus). Nevertheless I believe it to be right as it stands. Firstly, this makes for better symmetry since the two infinitives dependent on σκεπτέον (μήτε θήσῃν and μήτε . . . μὴ διακωλύσαι) will have the same subject; secondly, similar repetitions of negations are found in *VI* (e.g. *infra* 100,27—28, ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται καὶ ἕτερον σωπῆς οὐκ ἄξιον οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι), and elsewhere. Cf. *VNicetPatric*, ed. Papachryssanthou ch. 23, *ad fin.*, with editor's note.

<sup>5</sup> On 21 April 866.

ἦν —, κεκραιπαληκῶς ἐξ οἴνου κατὰ κόρον, οὐ συνεχῶς ἀπήλαυε, κρεουργηθεὶς ἀπέρρηξε τὴν ζωὴν, Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν κατασχόντος· ᾧ τὰ σκῆπτρα ἐπὶ τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην ἐξετάθη γενεάν. Ἐπὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅσον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οὐπερ ἠξίωτο προφητικοῦ χαρίσματος.

5

- 617B 41 13. Γυνὴ δὲ τις τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ γένος ἔλκουσα, προσῆει τῇ θαυμασιωτάτῃ γυναικῶν Εἰρήνῃ, τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς κειραμένη καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μία γενομένη μοναζουσῶν. Ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀεὶ βασκαίνων διαφερόντως πονηρὸς σφοδρῶς ὑποδύς τὸν ταύτης κατὰ χώραν 10 μνηστῆρα, λίαν ὑπέκαιε τοῦτον καὶ κατέτηκε τῷ τῆς μνηστευθείσης ἔρωτι· ὃν ἐκείνη καταλιποῦσα καὶ πάντων καταφρονήσασα διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κύριον φίλτρον τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ὁμοχώρου προσπέφυγεν Εἰρήνης. Ἄγνοῶν δὲ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ὡς οὐ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ὁ τοῦ λοιποῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην διὰ κενῆς ἔρωτος (ἐμάνθανε γὰρ ἤδη ταύτην τὸν 15 χρῆστον ὑπελθοῦσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγόν), ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου ἔργον ἐπηρείας, ἠνιάτο, ἐδυσφόρει, ἐπάσχευεν ὅσα τοὺς τοιοῦτους πάσχειν εἰκός· καὶ τέλος μάγῳ τινὶ προσδραμῶν εὗρεν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπηρέτην τοῦ σατανᾶ δοκιμώτατον πάντα ποιήσασιν τὰ κατὰ θέλησιν αὐτῷ καὶ πληρώσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τῆς 20 Καππαδοκῶν ἐργαζόμενος ἦν.
- 42 Τὴν κόρην δὲ ζέσις καρδίας ἐπεισπεσοῦσα παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ ὄλην ἐκφρενῆ μανικῶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν ποτε μνηστῆρα ταύτης ἔρωτι θήσασα C οὐδὲ καθεκτὴν εἶναι συνεχώρει, τῇ βίᾳ πηδῶσαν, βοῶσαν, στένουσαν, κλαίουσαν, μεγάλη φωνῇ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα 25

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1 κεκραιπαληκῶς: καὶ κεκραιπαληκῶς S || ἀπέλαυε P ἀπήλαυε I || 2 κρεουργισθεὶς I || 6 εὖ γεγονότων: εὐγενῶν I

15—16 τὸν . . . ζυγόν: cf. Mt. 11,30

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed. 208,3—4, Μιχαὴλ δὲ . . . οὕτε τῶν ἵπποδρομιῶν οὕτε μὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκρατοποσιῶν . . . κόρος ἦν. His murder took place on 24 September 867. — On St Mamas's Palace (at modern Beşiktaş), see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, <sup>2</sup>1964), 473 f.

<sup>7</sup> On the significance of this passage for the dating of VI, see Introduction, Ch. I. 2. The natural interpretation of ἢ καὶ is to take it not as truly disjunctive but as marking a climax, as, e.g., *infra*, 110,18—19, ὁμοίαν ἢ καὶ πολλῶ θαυμασιωτέραν; also 74,22; Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. Renauld, vol. I, 3,25, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ μόνος τῆς τε συνεισφορᾶς . . . ἐφρόντιζε (cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* [Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1954], 306). Con-

a horse-race (he used to act as a charioteer), drunk to surfeit with wine<sup>6</sup> which he constantly consumed, was butchered, his life cut short. Basil of Macedonia seized the imperial power after him, and his government was extended to the fourth, nay, fifth generation.<sup>7</sup> Let this suffice as proof of the prophetic gift bestowed on her.

### 13. The Possessed Nun from Cappadocia

A woman from among the nobles, she too deriving her origin from Cappadocia, betook herself to Irene, most marvellous of women, and had the hair of her head shorn, becoming one in the row of nuns in her care.<sup>1</sup> The Evil One, who always in particular envies the good, violently took possession of her suitor at home, inflamed him badly, and broke him down from his love for his betrothed. This man she had left, in contempt of all things for her love to the Lord, taking refuge under the leadership of Irene, her compatriot. As the poor wretch did not realize that his vain and prospectless love for her was not an effect of his own nature (in fact he had already learnt that she had submitted herself to the *easy yoke* of Christ) but a work of the Devil's offence, he was distressed and vexed and suffered all that people in his predicament are likely to suffer. Finally running to a sorcerer he found him, as an approved servant of Satan, promising to do and fulfil all his desires. This was what he was doing in Cappadocia.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the girl was unexpectedly attacked by a seething passion which maddened her with a frantic lust for her former suitor and did not allow her to control herself. Violently leaping, screaming, moaning, crying, and calling out his name in a loud voice, she assured with fearful oaths that

sequently the phrase τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην should be taken merely as a rhetorically strengthened form of πέμπτην and does not imply any real uncertainty (with the latter interpretation the phrase could possibly be taken as a hint at the conditions during Basil II's minority).

13. <sup>1</sup> On the following episode, cf. D. De F. Abrahamse, 'Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period', *ByzF*, 8 (1982), 3—17, esp. 13—14 (comparing a similar story in *ActAnastPers*, ed. Usener 14—20).

<sup>2</sup> This phrase marks the transition between two simultaneous series of events geographically separated. Other cases of the same narrative technique occur *infra*, 90,9 and 102,21 (see note ad loc.).

ἀνακαλουμένην καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτον δῶν τις αὐτῇ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ κόρον ὄψεως ἐπαπολαῦσαι καὶ κοινωνίας, διαβεβαιούσαν ὄρκοις φρικώδεσιν ἑαυτὴν ἀπαγγονῆσαι· εἶτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα πυκνὰ θέουσαν ἦν αὐτὴν ὄραν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπισπεύδουσιν καὶ ταύτην ἀσήμοις κραυγαῖς καὶ σχήμασιν ἀναιδέσιν ἐπιτάττουσαν τῇ θυρωρῷ. Ὡς οὖν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἦκε ταῦτα τῇ μακαρία Εἰρήνη, τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέραις τύψασα χερσίν, Ὅϊμοι τῇ ἀθλίᾳ, εἶπεν, ὅτι ῥαθυμία τῶν ποιμένων οἱ λύκοι τὰ πρόβατα διαρπάζουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πονηρέ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ καταπίης τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλῆς ἢ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ περιτρέψει δύναμις.

43 Καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνθηρες ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ γενομένη, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν μὲν τὰς ἀδελφὰς συνήγαγε, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς νοθεσίαν αὐταῖς διαλεξαμένη καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πάσχουσιν παραδείγματος διασαφῆσασα δύναμιν καὶ ὡς Ἐρεῶν ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτι ὁ ἀντίδικος ἡμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίη, καὶ ὅτι Διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀγέλης αὐτὸν ἔξω περιέναι τε καὶ ὠρύεσθαι θεὸς ἀφήκεν, ἵνα τῷ 618D τούτου φόβῳ συνάγηται πᾶς τις ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος Χριστοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τυγχάνων φρουρίῳ διαγελαῖ τοὺς αὐτοῦ βρυχηθμούς. Παρηγγεῖλε τὸ καθόλου μήτε ἄρτου μήτε οἴνου δι' ὅλης ὁμοῦ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ταύτας ἀπογεύσασθαι, μόναις δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὁπώρας τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀνέχειν ταλαιπωρίαν, καὶ γονυκλισίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐκάστην αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας χιλίας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. Ἐκούσατε γάρ, φησὶ, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰπόντος ὅτι Ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ. Καὶ μήτις ὑμῶν ὑπολαβέτω τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κόπον μηδὲν πρὸς οἰκείαν συντελεῖν ὠφέλειαν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστι τὸ μέγα κέρδος, ἐν τούτῳ κρέματα ἢ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ τάγματος πολιτεία, ἐν τούτῳ γνῶσκονται, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, πάντες, ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταὶ ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους καθὼς ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς.

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1 δῶσαι P || 6 ἦκε: ἦλθε P || 10 καταπιεῖς I || 16 διάβολος: ὁ διάβολος I || 17 καταπίεται P || 19 τούτου: τούτῳ P || 22 ταύτας: ταύτης P || 26 ἐκπορεύεται: ἐξέρχεται P

8—9 ῥαθυμία . . . διαρπάζουσιν: cf. Io. 10,12—13 || 16 ἀγρυπνεῖν . . . καιρῷ: cf. Lc. 21,36 || 16—17 ὁ ἀντίδικος . . . καταπίη: 1 Pet. 5,8 || 19 τοῦ . . . ποιμένος: cf. Io. 10,11 || 26—27 Mt. 17,21 || 28—30 τοῦτο . . . πολιτεία: cf. Mt. 22,38, 40 || 30—31 ἐν . . . ὑμᾶς: cf. Io. 13,34—35

unless someone let her see him with her eyes and enjoy to excess his sight and conversation, she would hang herself. Then one could see her continually running to the gateway, urging her escape and with inarticulate screams and shameless gestures ordering the door-keeper to let her out. When this reached the ears of the blessed Irene, she smote her eyes with both hands and said, 'Woe is me, wretched woman! When the shepherds are careless, the wolves catch the sheep. But you shall not have this pleasure, Evil One, you shall by no means devour the lamb of Christ! Against your own head will the power of my Lord Jesus turn this too.'

When she as usual had entered the diaconicon, she gathered the sisters before her, and having spoken long for their admonition and explained the Devil's power against us, starting from the example of the possessed girl, she said, 'We must watch always, for our adversary the Devil as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour. For this reason God has permitted him to wander about and howl outside the flock, that from fear of him everyone should come together under the shelter of Christ, the good Shepherd, and laugh at his roarings, being, as it were, in a safe fortress.' She exhorted them to take neither bread nor wine whatever during the whole week<sup>3</sup> alike, but to sustain the hardship of the body solely with fruit in the evening, and to make genuflexions to God on behalf of their sister, each of them to a number of a thousand a day.<sup>4</sup> 'You have heard', she said, 'our Lord saying, *This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*. No one among you must think that the toil for our sister does not contribute to our own good. For this brings the great benefit, on this hangs the conduct of the Christian order, *by this shall all men know* (so says the Lord), *that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that*

<sup>3</sup> In fact the following procedure extends over seven days: The 3rd day passed and the 4th dawned (56,9—10); that day was devoted to prayer, and at midnight Irene had the vision of the Virgin (56,24—27); the following (5th) day was Friday, and at sunset she told the nuns about her vision (60,9—13); the next morning (of the 6th day) she sent the possessed nun to the Church of St Anastasia *Pharmakolytria* (62,5—8); on the next (7th) day they celebrated a feast (64,8—9).

<sup>4</sup> A fantastic number which should be compared with the more realistic information on Apollō given in *HMonAeg*, VIII 5 (ed. Festugière, p. 48), ἑκατοντάκις μὲν ἐν νυκτί, τοσαυτάκις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κάμπτων τὰ γόνατα. This already is certainly to be understood as a very severe exercise.

Μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις θῆ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ”.

- 44 Καὶ συνταξαμένη ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς βαλοῦσά τε ταύταις μετάνοιαν ἀντιβαλοῦσαις πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκάστην παρέπεμψε κελλίον. Τῆς 5  
Ε ἔκτενοῦς δὲ ταύτης θερμῶς ἐπιτελουμένης προσευχῆς ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, καὶ πασῶν τούτων τὰς δεήσεις τῆς κεκαθαρμένης 5  
διανοίας τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνούσης τὸν θεὸν Εἰρήνης εὐθυβόλως καὶ ἀπαραποδίστως πρὸς τὸν εὐσπλαγχνον ἀναφερούσης, τρίτη μὲν ἤδη παρῆλθεν ἡμέρα. Περὶ δὲ τὰς 10  
ἀλεκτρυόνων ᾧδὰς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπιούσης, ἐν ὄσφ μὲν εἰστήκει 10  
πρεσβεύουσα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος τεταμένης ἡ ὁσία ἔχουσα, τὸν μέγαν ὄρᾳ Βασιλείον πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς ἐφεστηκότα, τοιοῦτον οἶον αἱ εἰκόνες γράφουσι, λέγοντα πρὸς αὐτήν· “Ἴνα τί οὕτω 15  
κατονειδίξεις ἡμᾶς, Εἰρήνη, καταδεχομένους οἶα δὴ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀθέμιτα παρὰ τῇ κοινῇ γινόμενα πατρίδι; Τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἢ μήτηρ, 15  
ἰδοῦ, πρῶτας αὔριον ἐν Βλαχέρναις παραγίνεται· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα μεθ’ ἑαυτῆς τὴν κακῶς πάσχουσαν σου μαθήτριαν ἐκεῖ τὸ τάχος εὐρέθητι, καὶ πάντως τεύξεται τῆς ἰάσεως.” Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος 45  
εἰπὼν ἀφανῆς ἦν. Ἡ δὲ συνῆκεν εὐθύς, ἅπερ πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ 20  
μεγάλου Βασιλείου βλέπουσα πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας διελέγετο· τοιαῦτα 20  
γὰρ τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ δακρύων εἰρημένα, καὶ βοηθὸν ἐπεκαλέσατο καὶ ῥύστην τῆς κακῶς ἐχούσης γυναικός. Καὶ δὴ 25  
F παραλαβοῦσα ταύτην κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα καὶ δύο προκρίτους τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰς Βλαχέρνας κατέλαβε, καὶ παρ’ ὄλην οὐ διέλιπε τὴν 25  
ἡμέραν δυσωποῦσα τὴν θεοτόκον καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ ναοῦ 25  
διαβρέχουσα δάπεδον.

Ἐσπέρας δὲ καταλαβοῦσης ἄχρι μεσονυκτίου τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς παρέτεινε, περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, ἅτε δὴ κεκοπιακυῖαι, καθεσθεῖσαι μικρὸν ὑπνωσαν. Ἐδόκει δὲ τὴν ὁσίαν 30  
Εἰρήνην ὄρᾳν πρόοδόν τινα φοβεράν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον 30  
έτοιμαζομένην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔδαφος καθαιρόμενον οἶα ἀκριβῶς, καταρραϊνόμενον δὲ παντοίοις αὐθις ἀνθεσιν ἡδυνόοις, καὶ τινὰς

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7 ἀληθεία: διανοία P || 11 ἔχουσα ἢ ὁσία inv. P || 12 ἐστηκότα P || 13 οἶον: ὁποῖον P || 17 μετὰ σεαυτῆς P || 21—22 καὶ . . . ἐπεκαλέσατο: βοηθὸν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλουμένης P || 27 ἱκεσίαν P || 29 ὄρα in marg. P || 31 οἶα om. P || 32 δὲ: τε P, qui αὐθις om.

1—2 Μείζονα . . . αὐτοῦ: Io. 15,13 || 7 ἐν . . . προσκυνούσης: cf. Io. 4,23

*a man lay down his life for his friends.*

Taking leave and prostrating herself before the prostrate sisters she let each go to her own cell. As their assiduous prayer was ardently performed by the whole sisterhood, and the purified mind of Irene, worshipping God *in spirit and in truth*, accurately and freely referred the supplications of all of them to God, the Compassionate, the third day passed by. About cockcrow the following fourth day, while the holy woman stood interceding with her hands lifted up, she saw Basil the Great standing before her, looking such as the icons represent him,<sup>5</sup> and saying to her, ‘Why do you reproach me, Irene, as if I connived at the abominable and unlawful deeds performed in our common native land? Look, tomorrow morning the Mother of God will come to Blachernai. Make your way there quickly with your possessed disciple, then she will surely be healed.’ With these words he disappeared. She recognized at once what she had said the evening before, while contemplating the icon of Basil the Great: these were the words she had spoken amid her tears, calling on him as helper and saviour of the sick woman. In accordance with his command she took the girl together with two selected sisters and went to Blachernai, and all day long she unceasingly supplicated the Mother of God and wet the sacred church-floor with tears.

Evening came, and she prolonged her prayer until midnight along with the sisters; at midnight they sat down and had a short sleep, exhausted as they surely were. In a dream<sup>6</sup> the holy Irene saw an awe-inspiring populous procession being prepared. The floor was minutely cleaned and again strewn with all kinds of fragrant flowers, while some figures in

<sup>5</sup> References to icons are often found in descriptions of visions. They are obviously meant to verify the identification of the appearing saint, in much the same way as Irene’s portrait enables the Emperor to identify her, *infra*, 96,28—29. But the really significant function of icons in this context was probably to provide *models* for visions, in literature and perhaps in life. Cf., for early hagiography, H. Delehaye, *Les legendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1955), 70 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐδόκει determines the accusative-with-infinitive structure of the following section up to ἐξυπνον γεγονέναι at 60,5 (this phrase does not logically depend on ἔδοκει which should only include the content of Irene’s dream). Note the slip into semi-direct speech at 58,23, and cf. *infra*, Grammatical Index, s.v. *indirect speech*.

χρυσοφορούντας θυμῶν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα κατεωδιάζειν ἀπιόντας καὶ ὑποστρέφοντας. Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα βλέπουσιν περιδεῖ γενομένην καὶ πυθομένην, τί ποτ' ἂν εἶη τοῦτο τὸ γινόμενον, ἀκοῦσαι παρά τινος  
46 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκριναμένου· 'Σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ, τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσα ὄλον, ὡς ἢ μήτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ πάρεστιν ὧδε καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ πρὸς 5 τὸν τῆς ἀγίας ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ σοροῦ διάβασιν ποιήσασθαι, ἥς τὸ κλέος πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν οὐρανῷ ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς. Ἔσο τοῖνυν ἔτοιμος· ἴσως ἀξιωθήσῃ ταύτην καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι.'

Καὶ τούτου λαλοῦντος αὐτίκα τοὺς προοδεύοντας τεθεᾶσθαι λαμπροὺς καὶ φωτοειδεῖς στιχηδὸν προπορευομένους, 10 κατεσταλμένους ἐν φόβῳ τινὶ καὶ μεγάλῳ σεβάσματι, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ πλήθους πολλῶν παρεπομένων ὡς ἥλιος ἀστραπτόντων — τὸ μέντοι πρόσωπον αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν ἄστεκτον μὴ καθορᾶσθαι δυνατόν εἶναι φωτοχυσίαν —, περιεῖναι τε τοὺς ἐν 15 ἀσθενεῖα κατακειμένους ἐπισκεπτομένην, ἕως ἔλθεῖν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης μαθήτριαν. Τὴν δέ, τὴν ὀσίαν, πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῆς δεσποίνης καταπεσεῖν περιδεῖ καὶ περίτρομον, ἀκοῦσαι τε κειμένην φωνῆς τῆς πανάγνου Βασίλειον καλούσης καὶ Ἰωάννην, φάναι τε πρὸς αὐτούς· 'Τίνος χάριν καταλιποῦσα τὸ ποιμνιον αὐτῆς ἐνταῦθα 47 πάρεστιν ἢ Εἰρήνη;' Καὶ τούτων θάτερον τὸν Βασίλειον κατὰ μέρος 20 ἅπαντα καταλέξει, ὅσα τε πάθοι ἢ κατὰ πνεῦμα θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ὅσα τε τούτου καταβοῶσα διετέλεσεν, ἀνεχομένου κατὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος γῆν γόητας ἀναστρεφομένους, καὶ ὡς 'Διὰ ταῦτα καταπεφευγέναι', φησί, 'πρὸς τὴν πάντα σου ἰσχύουσαν τῆς ἡμῶν δεσποίνης αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν.'

Καὶ πάλιν ἀκοῦσαι λεγούσης 'Τὴν Ἀναστασίαν μοι καλέσατε', καὶ παραστῆναι δύο γυναῖκας αὐτίκα, ὧν τὴν μίαν, σχῆμα περικειμένην μοναχικόν, τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ᾤετο λέγεσθαι πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιστραφεῖσα, 'Περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς μαθητευομένης τῆ Εἰρήνη 30 B γυναϊκός', φησί, 'μετ' ἐπιμελείας ἐξετάσαι ἐπείχθητι, συνεργὸν εὐροῦσα καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Βασίλειον, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὡς λαβοῦσα χάρισμα παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεραπειᾶς

PILSK

2 γινόμενην LSK || 9 τούτου: τοῦτο S || 10 στιχηδὸν I || πορευομένους P || 11 κατασταλμένους I om. P || 16 δέ, τὴν: δ' P δὲ I (cf. infra 102,5—6) || 17 τε: δὲ ILSK || 24 ἰσχύουσαν σοῦ inv. P || δεσποίνης ἡμῶν inv. P || αὐτὴν om. P, qui ἄ supra ἡμῶν scr. || 31 εὐροῦσα: λαβοῦσα P || 32 μου post θεοῦ tr. P || καί<sup>2</sup> om. P

golden clothing scented the air with incense, walking up and down.

Very frightened at this sight and asking what was going on, she dreamt that she heard someone answering her, 'Who are you to be wholly ignorant that the Mother of God is here and that she has been pleased to proceed from the Great Church<sup>7</sup> to that of the Holy Casket, the fame of which is far greater in heaven than on earth? Be ready! Perhaps you will be permitted to see and adore her.'<sup>8</sup>

Presently, while he was speaking, she saw the participants in the procession walking in line, bright and luminous, dignified by a certain awe and deep reverence.<sup>9</sup> The Mother of the Lord went about with a numerous company of attendants who shone bright as the sun, yet *her* face was invisible because of its unbearable effusion of light. She visited those who lay ill until she came just to the disciple of Irene. She, the holy woman, fell at the feet of Our Lady in deep awe and trembling. Lying there she heard a cry from the all-holy Lady calling for Basil and John and saying to them, 'Why has Irene left her flock and come here?' Out of the two Basil told her in detail about all that her daughter in the spirit had suffered and about the accusations with which she continued to charge him, because he tolerated sorcerers dwelling in their native land. 'For this reason', he concluded, 'did she seek refuge in Thine all-powerful might, O Lady.'

Again Irene heard her saying, 'Call for Anastasia!' At once two women<sup>10</sup> appeared, one of whom was dressed in a monastic habit and was called (it seemed to her) 'the Roman'. Turning to the other the Mother of God said, 'Hasten, with the help of St Basil, to inquire carefully into the illness of Irene's disciple and let her be healed, for you have received the gift of effecting such ends from my Son and God.' Then Anastasia

<sup>7</sup> I.e., of Blachernai. On this church with the famous chapel of the Holy *Soros*, see Janin, *Siège de Cple*, 161—171; L. Rydén, as in note 11, *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *V Athan Athon* B, ed. Noret 68,25—26, εἰσῆγαγέ με εἰς τὸν βασιλέα [i.e. Christ] καὶ ἠξιώθην τοῦτον ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 52 (PG 36, 564A), τοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστηκότας ἐν φόβῳ τινὶ καὶ σεβάσματι. — For parallels to the following procession visiting patients who wait to be cured, cf. *Mir Artem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 62, 18 ff.; *V Theodor Thess*, ed. Arsenij 30 f., ch. 51 (Kurtz, 30,14 ff.); *V Theophan*, ed. Kurtz 20,15 ff. (in a small private chapel); *V ASal*, PG 111, 640A—C. For a recent discussion of Christian *incubatio*, see Fernández Marcos's introduction to his ed. of *Mir Cyrilo* (using mainly early material).

<sup>10</sup> On the two Anastasias, see P. Devos, 'Sainte Anastasie la Vierge et la source de sa passion, *BHG*<sup>3</sup> 76z', *Anal Boll*, 80 (1962), 33—51, esp. 33—35.

ἀξίωσον.' Ἔδοξαν οὖν ἢ τε Ἀναστασία ὃ τε Βασίλειος ἅμα προσκυνήσαντες τὴν ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίαν τραπέσθαι σπουδῆ· καὶ τούτων οἰχομένων φωνὴν ἀκουσθῆναι παρά τινος πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην λέγουσαν· "Ἀπελθε εἰς τὸ μοναστήριόν σου καὶ ἰαθήσεται ἐκεῖ." Καὶ τῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ἤχῳ φωνῆς ἐξυπνον γεγονέαι.

48 Διυπνισθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄραθέντα ἀναλεγομένη, θαυμάζουσα κατηφιῶσα διετέλει· ἀφυπνίσασα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας διηγήσατο ταύταις ἅπαντα, καὶ δοῦσαι δόξαν τῇ θεομήτορι, ὡς ἀψευδέσι τοῖς ὄραθεῖσι πιστεύσασαι, πρὸς τὸ μοναστήριον ὑπέστρεψαν. Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ ἡμέρα.

Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀδελφαῖς τὸν τῆς μονῆς εὐκτήριον οἶκον εἰσιούσα τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς πληρῶσαι διηγήσατο τὸ ὄραμα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πάσας εἶχε μὴ διαπιστούσας ἀλλ' ἐκπληττομένας τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἶρειν πάσαις διεκελεύσατο καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον ἐξ ὅλης βοᾶν τῆς καρδίας, προκειμένης αὐτῶν τῆς πασχούσης καὶ μηδὲν σεμνὸν τῇ παραφορᾷ τῶν φρενῶν καὶ λεγούσης καὶ ποιούσης. Ἀλλὰ τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ κυρίου, ἀκουστάς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ; Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ταύταις ἢ δέησις παρετείνεται καὶ δάκρυσι τούτων τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ κατερραίνεται ἔδαφος, ὠράθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἰπτάμενοι ἢ τε καλλίμαρτυς Ἀναστασία καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, καὶ φωνή τις τούτων ἠκούετο πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην λέγουσα· "Ἀπλωσον τὸν κόλπον σου καὶ δέξαι ταῦτα καὶ μηκέτι ἡμᾶς 49 ὄνειδιζε." Ὑφαπλώσασα δὲ δέχεται καταφερόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀπόδεσμον ὡσεὶ λιτρῶν βάρους τριῶν. Συνδραμοῦσαι δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξιστάμεναι, τύπτουσαι τὰ στήθη τὴν θεοτόκον ἐδόξαζον. Ἀνάψασαι δὲ κηροῦς ἤρξαντο διαλύειν τὸν ἀπόδεσμον· ὃ δὲ εἶχεν ἔνδον παντοδαπὰς ἐνειλημένας περιεργίας, καὶ εἶδωλα μολίβδου κατεσκευασμένα δύο, τὸ μὲν τοῦ μνηστήρος, τὸ δ' ἕτερον τῆς κακῶς ἐχούσης ἐοικότα μοναχῆς, 30 περιπλοκὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα ποιούμενα καὶ θριξὶ καὶμίτοις καταδεδεσμημένα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῆς πονηρίας σοφίσματα καὶ τὸ

PILSK

1 ὃ τε: καὶ ὁ P (cf. 80,9, infra) || 2 Καππαδοκίαν: τὴν K. P || 6 διαλεγομένη L, ἀνα suprascr. || 7 ἀφυπνισθεῖσα LSK || 9 ὄραθεῖσι: ὄραμασι ILSK || 12 εἰσιούσα . . . πληρῶσαι: εἰσιούσα καὶ . . . πληρῶσασα P || 12—13 τὸ ὄραμα διηγήσατο inv. P || 13 πάσαις LSK || 15 πάσαις αἶρειν inv. ILSK || 22 τούτων om. P || 30 ἐοικότα om. P

14 τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ: Act. 2,11 || 17—19 τίς . . . αὐτοῦ: Ps. 105(106),2

and Basil seemed to make obeisance together and then in haste to set out for Cappadocia. When they were gone a voice was heard of someone saying to Irene, 'Go to your convent, there she will be healed.' At the sound of that voice she woke up.

Awake and recollecting her dream, she remained wondering and dejected. When she also had roused the others, she told them everything, and giving glory to the Mother of God they returned to the convent, trusting the dream to be unerring. The day was a Friday.<sup>11</sup>

About sunset she went into the chapel of the convent to perform the usual prayers and related the vision to the other sisters. When she was assured that they all felt no distrust but were amazed at *the wonderful works of God*, she enjoined all to raise their hands to heaven and from the depths of their hearts to cry, 'Lord, have mercy!', as the possessed girl lay before them, speaking and acting unseemly in her disordered state of mind. But *who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? who can shew forth all His praise?* As their prayer was protracted over a long time and the church-floor was wet with their tears the martyr Anastasia and Basil the Great were seen flying through the air and a voice was heard from them saying to Irene, 'Unfold your garment and receive this, then reproach us no more.' From the air there was let down a package weighing about three pounds, and this she received in her unfolded garment. Running together, excited at the wonderful occurrence, all the sisters beat their breasts and extolled the Mother of God. Lighting candles they began to undo the package which contained a variety of magic devices wrapped in it: two idols made of lead, one resembling the suitor, the other the sick nun, embracing each other and bound together with hairs and threads, then some other contrivances of malignancy, and inscribed on them the

<sup>11</sup> The preceding vision appears to be a replica of the imperial procession in connection with the doxology at Blachernai on Friday nights; see L. Rydén, 'The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov', *AnalBoll*, 94 (1976), 63—82, esp. 67—72 (the passage of *VASal* discussed there [848C ff.] lacks the element of *incubatio* present here, 56,27 ff., *supra*). The Virgin is said to pass from the 'Great Church' (i.e. St Mary at Blachernai) to the Holy *Soros* (*supra*, 58,5—6), but Irene seems to witness only the preparations and the first stages of the procession since she does not move from the Great Church (the reference at 56,24—26 must be to this church). The day after the vision should have been Saturday, not Friday. Using the key-word 'Friday' to help the reader identify the scene, the author may simply have put it in the wrong place. Or is the vision meant as an anticipation of the real procession which (one may imagine) is being prepared in the Palace when Irene tells the nuns what she has seen? Cf. Const. Porphy., *De Caer.*, Bonn ed. 551,4, τῇ παρασκευῇ ἔωθεν προέρχεται ἅπανα ἢ σύγκλητος, κτλ.

τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς κακίας ὄνομα καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ κλήσεις ἐγγεγραμμένας. Καὶ διετέλεσαν οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν ἀπόδεσμον διαλύουσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν εὐχαριστοῦσαι.

Πρωῖας δὲ ἤδη γενομένης κηρὸς καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ περίεργα 5 ταῦτα ταῖς συνούσαις ἐν Βλαχέρναις αὐτῇ δυοῖς μοναζούσαις 620D ἐγγχειρίσασα, παραδοῦσά τε ταύταις καὶ τὴν κακῶς ἔχουσαν πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἀπέστειλε τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἐκκαταστάσιος καὶ προσφορὰν καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπιδοῦσα παρήγγειλε τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τῆς μάρτυρος λυχνίαις ἐπιβαλεῖν, τὴν προσφορὰν δὲ τῷ 10 θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως προσκομισθῆναι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τοὺς κηρὸς 50 ἀνάψαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ. Πορευθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὰ διωρισμένα τελέεσσαι τῷ τῆν τοῦ ναοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπιτετραμμένῳ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τὰ τοῦ θαύματος καθὼς παρηκολούθηκε διηγοῦντο. Δοξασάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν θεόν, λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ ναοῦ προεστὼς τὰς 15 γυναῖκας κάτεισιν εἰς τὸν τῆς μάρτυρος τάφον, εὐχαριστήσας τε σὺν αὐταῖς καὶ χρίσας ἐλαίῳ τὴν πάσχουσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λυχνιῶν ἀνῆλθεν αὐθις εἰς τὸν ναόν· καὶ τούτῳ κομισθῆναι ἐκκεκαυμένους αἰτήσας ἄνθρακας ἤρξατο κατακαίειν τὰ γοητεύματα. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν 20 θαῦμα τῷ θαύματι παρεπόμενον· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν 25 E γοητευμάτων τὸ πῦρ ἔδαπάνη, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῶν ἀφανῶν λυομένη δεσμῶν πρὸς ἔμφρονα τὴν κατάστασιν μετεβάλλετο, εὐχαριστοῦσα καὶ δοξάζουσα τὸν ῥυόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα κατατεφρωθέντα ἤδη πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἐχώρουν, κραυγαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγοῦντο, χοιρείων ὡσπερὶ φωνῶν ὅταν τις ἀκούει πολλῶν

PILSK

6 αὐτῇ ἐν Βλαχέρναις inv. P || 7 τε: δὲ ILSK || 10 τῷ τάφῳ P || 12 τὰ om. L || 17 ἐν αὐτῷ om. LSK || 21 καὶ om. P || 24 κραυγαῖς LSK || 25 ἀκούει P

<sup>12</sup> τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς κακίας: Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 10 (PG 35, 1180C); cf. Lampe, s.v. δημιουργός, A.1.

<sup>13</sup> This magic procedure, a kind of *defixio* or κατάδεσις, can be paralleled with examples from Antiquity on, and from many parts of the world; cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1951), 194, with notes on p. 204 f. Especially well-known today is such 'homoeopathic' sorcery from the Voodoo religion of modern Haiti, but its 'simple psychological roots' (Dodds, loc. cit., note 92) are universal. The author of *VI* does not conceal a keen interest in the matter, and even the priest of St Anastasia knows how to deal with it (*infra*). Such ambivalent attitudes to un-orthodox activities are not surprising; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978), 268 f.

name of the author of the evil<sup>12</sup> and appellations of his servant demons.<sup>13</sup> Thus they spent the rest of the night undoing the bundle and thanking the Mother of our God.

When morning came she entrusted candles and incense and the contrivances just mentioned to the two nuns who had been with her at Blachernai. Committing to them the sick girl she sent them to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia;<sup>14</sup> giving them oblatory gifts and oil she asked them to put the oil in the lamps at the martyr's tomb, to have the oblatory gifts brought to God as thanksgiving through the priest, and to light the candles in the church. They went away, and after performing all according to the prescriptions they told the caretaker of the church and the clergy how the miracle had come about. All who heard it praised God, and the priest in charge of the church went down to the tomb of the martyr with the women. Praising God together with them and anointing the possessed nun with oil from the lamps there,<sup>15</sup> he went up into the church again. Asking to have glowing charcoals brought to him, he began to burn the instruments of sorcery. Now one miracle could be seen following the other. As the fire consumed each of the instruments of the sorcery, so the woman was liberated from her invisible ties and restored to soundness of mind, thanking and praising him who had saved her. Reduced to ashes, all the objects were already disappearing into nothingness when screams resounded from the charcoals, like the squeals one may hear when swine<sup>16</sup> are butchered in great numbers. This threw

<sup>14</sup> I.e., the Church of St Anastasia *Pharmakolytria* near the portico of Dominus. As a kind of mental asylum, this church seems to have been especially popular in the 10th c. For the identification, see L. Rydén, 'A Note on Some References to the Church of St. Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th Century', *Byz.* 44 (1974), 198—202; for some contemporary parallels to this text, see id., 'The *Life* of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the *Life* of St. Andreas Salos', *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko* . . . = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), 568—586, esp. 581.

<sup>15</sup> This usage is well known, e.g. for St Artemios (*MirArtem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 5,5 ff., 24,2 ff., 61,21 ff.); Sts Cyrus and John (*MirCyrJo*, VII 3 and XXXVI, ed. Fernández Marcos pp. 253 and 322 ff., respectively; cf. the editor's comment in his introduction, pp. 137—138); St Theodora of Thessalonica (*VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 30, ch. 50, end [Kurtz, 30,4 ff.], etc.; cf. E. Patlagean, 'Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX<sup>e</sup>—XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in: *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale* [Rome, 1984], 39—67, esp. 46). Note, among later examples, *VAthanaAthon* B, ed. Noret 70,7 ff., 73,20 ff., 74,7 ff.; *MirEugen*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 48,11 ff., 93,6 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf., e.g., *VASal*, PG 111, 717A (of demons), χοίρων γὰρ δίκην . . . θρηνοῦντες.



σφαττομένων· ὅπερ τοὺς παρευρεθέντας πάντας εἰς φόβον τε μέγαν ἐνήκε καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ φεύγειν παρεσκεύασε, μεγάλην εἶναι τῆς μάρτυρος τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀνακράζοντας. Τοιαῦτα θαυματουργεῖν οἶδε θεὸς δοξάζων τοὺς αὐτὸν δοξάζοντας. Αἱ μέντοι σταλεῖσαι παρὰ τῆς ὁσίας Εἰρήνης ἅμα τῇ τεθεραπευμένη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπανελθοῦσαι καὶ τὰ 5 παρηκολουθηκότα ταῦτα θαυμάσια τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἐπήκοον ἀπαγγέλλουσαι, πρὸς περισσοτέραν ταύτας εὐχαριστίαν προθυμοτέρας διετίθεσαν· καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον μεγάλην ἑορτὴν τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐώρταζον ἀπολύτρωσιν.

- F 51 14. Κατάνυξις μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσας ἐντεῦθεν συνεῖχε τὰς ἀδελφὰς 10 καὶ συνετήρει, πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ φόβον καὶ πόθον συνδέουσα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων τὴν ὁσίαν προέχουσαν καὶ πλείονα περιεχυμένην αὐτῇ καθορᾶν ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς προκοπὴν ἐν τῇ προκοπῇ τῆς 621A ταπεινώσεως καταλαβόντες ὥρισαντο καὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ταπεινώσεως οἱ πατέρες καὶ πραότητος. 15 Ὅθεν καὶ τὸ δάκρυον ὥσπερ τινὸς ἐκ πηγῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς ῥεῖθρον ἐβλύζεν ἀένναον, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, ὀπηνίκα τὸν ἐπιφανέντα θεὸν προσάγων ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ ἱερᾷ τεθυμένον τραπέζῃ. Ἐννοουμένη γὰρ ὅπως ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀναφῆς καὶ ἀπερίληπτος ἢ ἀκατάληπτος οὐ μόνον σάρκα θνητὴν καὶ 20 φθαρτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας κατεδέξατο σωτηρίας ἐνδύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαιασθῆναι, καὶ νεκρὸς πρόεισιν, εἰς τροφὴν ἡμῖν καὶ πόσιν τὸ ἄχραντον σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἶμα ὃ ἐξέχεε προτιθέμενος, ἵνα τῷ ἀλήπτῳ διὰ τῶν ληπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψαυστῶν τῷ ἀναφῆ καὶ τῶν ὀρατῶν τῷ ἀοράτῳ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀνακραθῆ φύραμα καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει 25 δίκην πυρὸς πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος μεταστοιχειωθῆ δόξαν τε καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζήσιν ζωὴν τὴν ἀκήρατον, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πίπτουσα διάβροχον ὄλον ἐποίει τὸ παρακείμενον ἔδαφος.
- 52 Αἰδουμένη δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κακοῦργος ἤπερ ἂν τις κλέπτων

PILSK

3—4 τοιαῦτα . . . δοξάζοντας om. L, lacuna trium litterarum indicata || 3 οἶδε: εἶδε SK || 8 τὴν om. L || 11 θεοῦ: θεὸν καὶ ILSK || 27 ἀκήρατον: add. καὶ P || 28 παρακείμενον om. P || 29 τοῦτο P || κακοῦργος post τις tr. P || ἂν om. P

4 δοξάζων . . . δοξάζοντας: cf. 1 Regn. 2,30

14. <sup>1</sup> Bas. Caes., *De renuntiatione saeculi*, 10 (PG 31, 648AB).

all those present into great fear and made them flee from the church shouting, 'Great is the power of the martyr!' Such miracles God can work, He who *honours* them that *honour* Him. Those who had been sent out by the holy Irene along with the girl who was healed returned to her, and relating the miraculous events in the presence of the other sisters increased their zeal for still more abundant thanksgiving. Thus on the next day they celebrated the sister's deliverance with a great feast.

#### 14. Irene's Compunction and Abundant Tears

Hereafter compunction held fast and controlled all the sisters, uniting them in fear of God and devotion to Him. But the Saint, as one could see, by far surpassed them and was immersed therein more deeply than they. In fact the Fathers<sup>1</sup> comprehended and defined the progress of the soul by progress of humility, and the recognition of piety by recognition of humility and meekness. Therefore the tears<sup>2</sup> gushed forth from her eyes like an ever-flowing stream from a spring, especially at the time of divine service, when the priest presented the manifest God offered on the holy table. Considering how the Invisible, the Impalpable,<sup>3</sup> the Incomprehensible or Inconceivable One not only condescended to put on mortal and corruptible flesh for our salvation, but also to be sacrificed, and how He, being dead, proceeds, setting forth to us as food and drink the immaculate body and the venerable blood which He shed in order that the compound of which we are composed be mixed with the intangible through the tangible, with the impalpable through the palpable, with the invisible through the visible,<sup>4</sup> and like fire be transformed into the nature of the glory and splendour of Divinity through the union with Him, and live the eternal, the undefiled life—, then she fell down on her face and made the whole floor beside her wet with tears.

Rather being ashamed of this, like a criminal who steals or commits

<sup>2</sup> Excessive shedding of tears was one of St Arsenios's gifts; cf. *ApophthPatr*, PG 65, 105CD, and see Speck's note on Theod. Stud., *Iamb* 82 (p. 237), with lit. On Byzantine attitudes to tears, see Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 62.

<sup>3</sup> For the idea, cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 38, 2 (PG 36, 313B), ὁ λόγος παχύνεται, ὁ ἀόρατος ὀράται, ὁ ἀναφῆς ψηλαφᾶται, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly *VDemetr*, ed. Delehaye 300B, τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ὀρωμένων καὶ νοουμένων καλῶς φουραθεῖσαν οὐσίαν. Cf. Lampe, s.v. φύραμα, 2.c.

B ἢ τι τῶν ἀτόπων ἐργαζόμενος, τοῖς ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς ἀνιμωμένη τὴν ὑγρότητα διανίστατο· ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν εὐχερὲς αὐτῇ διηνεκῶς, τί μηχανᾶται; Λιθοξόον λάθρα μεταπεμψαμένη λάκκον ὀρύξαι τούτῳ μικρὸν ὑπέδειξε παρὰ τὸν ἀφορισμένον αὐτῇ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεῖους ὕμνους συνῆδεν ἐστῶσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, καὶ 5  
 συμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ὀμφαλιδίῳ καλύψαι. Καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἱερουργίας ἐτίθει μὲν ἑαυτῆς τὸ πρόσωπον κατὰ γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμνίσκου, βραχίοσι δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις περιτειχίζουσα, δακρυροοῦσα οὐκ ἀνίστατο, μέχρις ἂν ὑπερβλύσας κατάφωρον αὐτὴν ἔμελλε ποιεῖν, ἢ τοῦ λανθάνειν οὐχ ἦκιστα ἔμελε. Καὶ διέμεινεν 10  
 ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἀλαλητὶ διηγούμενος.

53 15. Ὡσπὴν δὲ καὶ κατὰ δαιμόνων αὐτῇ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ πατεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δωρησάμενος παρέσχετο, τὸ παρὸν ἱκανὸν παραστήσασθαι. Λύπην γὰρ αὐθις ἐτέραν ὁ πονηρὸς ἐπενεγκεῖν πονηρευόμενος τῇ ὀσίᾳ, τὸν μισθοῦ τὸν 15  
 τῆς μονῆς ἀμπελῶνα καλλιεργοῦντα, κείμενον ταύτης ἐχόμενα, νέον τε ὄντα καὶ δυσκᾶθεκτον ταῖς ὀρμαῖς — Νικόλαος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα —, πρὸς ἔρωτά τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ κεκίνηκεν ἀσκουμένων. Καὶ  
 C δὴ νενικημένος ἤδη καὶ τῆς μυσσαρᾶς ὄλος γενόμενος ἐπιθυμίας, 20  
 νύκτας ὄλας κύκλῳ τῆς μονῆς περιῶν, ὄθεν ἂν ἔνδον αὐτῆς γένοιτο καὶ τῇ ποθουμένῃ συγκαθευδήσοι, λίαν ἐπιμελεστάτην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῆν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ εἶα τοῦτον ἠρεμεῖν ὁ τῆς κακίας εὐρετής, μιᾶ τῶν νυκτῶν σκοτόμαιναν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταχέας, εἰσιέναι μὲν διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς μονῆς ἔπεισε νομίζειν, καὶ τοῦ κελλίου τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐντὸς γενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύτης 25

PILSK

1 ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς ἰ. P || 2 ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν: γινόμενον P || 4 ὑπέδειξε: ἐπέταξε P || 5 ἐστῶσα συνῆδεν ἰnv. P || 6 μετὰ: μεταξύ P || 8 ἐπιτειχίζουσα P || 10 ἔμελε: ἔμελλε codd. || 14 ἱκανῶς παραστήσεται P || 15 πονηρευόμενος: πειρώμενος P || 17 δὲ om. P || ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἰnv. ILSK || 18 τινος om. ILSK || 21 συγκαθευδήσαι I

12—13 τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . τοῦ ἐχθροῦ: cf. Lc. 10,19

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 31,18—19, ῥάκος ὕπην αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ᾧ τὸ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστακτὶ ῥέον ἀπέσμηχε δάκρυον.

<sup>6</sup> According to Theodoret, *HRel*, II 7—8 (Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 212—214) the hermit Julian with his abundant tears caused a spring to rise in the desert, ἢ δὲ πηγὴ διέμεινε μέχρι καὶ νῦν (8,1). In *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28—29, chs. 47—48 (Kurtz, 28,7 ff.), the oil of a lamp at Theodora's tomb mystically regenerates, sometimes so copious-

an improper act, she wiped up the moisture with her clothes before standing up;<sup>5</sup> but as this was not easy for her to do continuously, what did she contrive? Secretly sending for a stonemason she gave him a hint to cut out a small pit at the appointed place in which she used to stand singing the divine hymns together with the sisters, and conceal it with a cover of equal size. Hereafter, at the time of service she lowered her face to the earth above the reservoir. Making a wall around it with her two arms, the tears flowing, she did not rise until overflowing<sup>6</sup> it was on the verge of betraying her, her to whom it was a major concern to escape notice. Telling its silent tale, the reservoir has remained until the present day.

### 15. The Possessed Vine-Dresser Nicholas

How great a power against demons He had given her, who let His disciples tread on all the power of the enemy, the following episode will suffice to demonstrate. The Fiend, in his malice preparing still another affliction for the Saint, instilled love for one of the nuns of the convent into the man who was paid to look after its vine-yard, which was situated close by. He was a young man with unruly instincts<sup>1</sup> who was called Nicholas. Already conquered and wholly a victim of his abominable desire, he walked about the convent for whole nights, doing his utmost in order to enter it and sleep with the one he coveted. As the inventor of the evil would by no means leave him in peace, he one night shed darkness over his eyes and made him believe that he went in through the gateway of the convent, entered the cell of the beloved girl, lay down on her bed, embraced her

ly that a vessel has to be put below to collect it; this lamp μέχρι τῆς σήμερον διαρκεῖ καιομένη . . . καὶ πυκνῶς ἀναβλυστάνουσα . . . ἵνα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀλαλήτῳ φωνῇ κηρύττη τὸ ἔλαιον, ὁποῖον αὐτῆς τὸ συμπαθὲς πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας. Cf. also *VAthanAthon* B, ed. Noret 41,47—49 (of Athanasios weeping in a πτυστήριον), τοσαῦτα κατέχευεν . . . δάκρυα, ὡς καὶ λιμνάζεσθαι τὸ δακρυοδόχον ἀγγεῖον. — Water regenerating in a spring and even oil in a burning lamp are no far-fetched ideas. But what about tears in an artificial pit in the floor? It would, however, be difficult to dispose of the tears since this would leave us with a 'silent tale' told by a pit that is empty. The adaptation of an old literary motif to a new milieu was not wholly successful here. — On ἕως τῆς σήμερον and the like, cf. A. Kazhdan in *Byz*, 54 (1984), 186 f.: such phrases imply a relatively short distance between the narrator and the event and refer to existing objects and conditions. As far as the pit in the church-floor is concerned, this may of course be the case here. — On ὀμφαλιδίον, cf. Greek Index, s.v.

15. <sup>1</sup> νέον . . . ὀρμαῖς: cf. Greg.Naz., *Or.* 43, 15 (PG 36, 513D)



ἀνακεκλίσθαι κλινιδίου περιπλακῆναί τε καὶ τὰ καταθύμια ποιεῖν.

54 Ἐν ὄσῳ δὲ ταῦτα πληροῦν ὤφειτο, εἰς γῆν τε κατερράγη καὶ  
κυλιόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χόδου ἀφρόν τοῦ στόματος ἀπέπτυε καὶ τὰ τῶν  
δαιμονιζομένων ἔπασχεν ἅπαντα. Συνηγμένων οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν  
γειτονούντων, οἷα δὴ ταῖς τούτου θορυβηθέντων κραυγαῖς, γενομένης 5  
δὲ καὶ πρωΐας καὶ τοῦ τῆς μονῆς διανοιγέντος πυλῶνος, τὸ συμβάν  
ἢ θυρωρὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδοῦσα περιπαθῶς ἀπαγγέλλει τῇ ὀσίᾳ· ἢ δὲ  
ἀκούσασα τὸ κακόν, ὅθεν ἂν ἔφυ τῷ τῆς διανοίας θεοφεγγεῖ διηρεῦνα  
βλέμματι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιγνοῦσα, δακρύσασα τῆς καθέδρας  
ἀνέθορε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑψοῦ διάρασά φησίν· Ἐὐλογητὸς κύριος, ὃς 10  
οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς θήραν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ἀποστέλλει  
γοῦν αὐτίκα τοῦτον εἰς τὸν τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας ναόν·  
622D ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διακονουμένων ἀλύσει καὶ  
πέδαις καταδεσμευθεὶς συνείχετο καρτερεῖν τὴν ἴασιν.

Ἦς δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἡμέραι διήλθον καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν, 15  
ἠθύμει ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ μακαρία Εἰρήνη καὶ τῇ μάρτυρί πως ἦν  
55 ἐνοχλοῦσα· ἐκεῖνη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄναρ ἐπιφανεῖσα φησὶ· Πειράζουσα  
πάντως ἡμᾶς ἄρα τὸν δαιμονῶντα παρέπεμψας ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὴ  
φιλότατη; Ἀλλ' ἴσθι, τῆς θεραπείας οὐκ ἄλλως εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ τεύξεται·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦμεν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τεθησαυρισμένην ἰσχύν. 20  
Καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀδημονοῦσα καὶ περίλυπος διήγε τὴν  
θαυματουργίαν εὐλαβουμένη, ὅθεν καὶ μεταστείλασθαι τοῦτον  
ἀποκνέουσα ἦν· μαθάνουσα δὲ πάλιν τὴν πιέζουσαν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκην,  
πέμψασα δεδεμένον ἦγαγε ταῖς ἀλύσει καὶ προσέταξεν ἀποδεθῆναι  
τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ κιόνων ἐνὶ τῆς μονῆς. Διεσκοπεῖτο δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, πῶς 25  
ἂν διαλάθοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη. Ἐἰ γὰρ ταχινὴ τούτῳ γένηται, φησὶ,  
θεραπεία, γνώσονται πάντες καὶ οὐκέτι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνενόχλητα  
E ἔσεται· διὸ τὴν ἴασιν δέον ἡμᾶς μέσῳ μετελθεῖν, ἵν' οὕτω τὰς τε τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων ὀχλήσεις ἀποκρουσώμεθα καὶ τῷ πάσχοντι θεὸς παράσχη  
τὴν λύτρωσιν. Ἦρξατο γοῦν καθημερινὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ 30

PIV (inc. mutil. a [εὐλα]βου[μένη] lin. 22) LSK

20 οὐδὲ: οὐ P || 23 ἀποκνέουσα: ὀκνοῦσα P || 29 παράσχοι ILSK (V non leg.)

10—11 εὐλογητὸς . . . τοῖς ὀδοῦσι: Ps. 123(124), 6 || 13—14 ἀλύσει . . .  
καταδεσμευθεὶς: cf. Lc. 8, 29

<sup>2</sup> On attitudes to sexual fantasies in dreams and nightly pollutions, see G. Dagron,  
'Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines',  
in: *I sogni nel medioevo. Seminario internazionale Roma, 2—4 ottobre 1983*. A cura di  
T. Gregory (Rome, 1985), 37—55, esp. 45 f.

and did what he desired.<sup>2</sup>

While in his imagination he achieved this he was hurled to the ground.  
Rolling on the earth and foaming at the mouth he suffered all the anguish  
of demoniacs. The neighbours, naturally alarmed by his screams,  
gathered at this sight. In the morning, when the gateway of the convent  
was opened, the door-keeper saw with her own eyes what had happened  
and reported it eagerly to the holy woman. Having heard about the  
disaster, she inquired with the divinely enlightened eye of her spirit into  
its origin. Realizing the cause she sprang up from her seat in tears, raising  
her hands high, and said, '*Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as  
a prey to the teeth of the Evil One.*' Then she immediately sent him away  
to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia, and there he was kept to  
await the cure, bound *with chains and in fetters* by those attending on  
such people.<sup>3</sup>

Many days passed by but he obtained no cure. As the blessed Irene was  
impatient hereat and somehow importuned the martyr, the latter ap-  
peared in a dream and said to her, 'Surely, dearest sister, it was in order  
to try me that you sent me the demoniac? Then you should know: he shall  
not obtain the cure save through you. I am not ignorant of the power de-  
posited by God as a treasure in you.' When day came she was worried  
and grieved in reverent fear of the miracle-working; therefore she even  
shrank from sending for the man. But when she learnt again about the  
affliction that oppressed him, she summoned him and had him brought,  
bound in his fetters, and commanded that he be tied to one of the columns  
of the convent church. For herself she considered how she could escape  
notice in curing him. 'If he get a rapid cure', she thought, 'all will know,  
and my situation will no longer be undisturbed. Therefore I must proceed  
with moderation about the cure, so as to ward off annoyances from  
people while letting God deliver the possessed man.' So she began to make  
daily prayers for him together with the sisters, in order that a gradual pro-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 13 on ch. 13, *supra*. — When considered insane by his master, the young  
Andreas Salos was afforded the same treatment in the same church; *VASal*, PG 111, 640A.  
To bind the mentally disturbed (and the epileptics, who could hardly be distinguished from  
them) was not regarded as inhumane, even when it was not necessary for practical reasons  
(to prevent an aggressive patient from injuring other people, etc.). This is clear both from  
*VI* here and from the passage of *VASal* just referred to; the initiative to Andreas's  
treatment is taken by his master who is very fond of him and leaves a considerable sum  
of money for his care. The real object of the binding is however not the patient but his  
demon; cf. *infra*, 70, 22 f., Ἦς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δεσμῶν, κτλ. (in lines  
25 ff. the demon speaks of his victim, through the mouth of the latter, in the third person);  
72, 14.

τῶν ἀδελφῶν δεήσεις, ἴν' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον λάθοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη.

Καὶ δὴ ποτε τῆς ἱεράς ἐπιτελουμένης μυσταγωγίας, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἅγια πρὸς τὴν ἱεράν διαβιβάζεσθαι τράπεζαν, ἄφνω σκιρτήσας ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν χειρῶν κατέχουσαν αὐτὸν διαρρήξας ἄλυσιν, ὥρμησε βρύχων κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ τοῦτον χανῶν 5 διαμασήσασθαι τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν εἰς φόβον καὶ ἀγωνίαν ἐνέβαλεν.

- 56 Ἀνθορμήσασα δὲ τὸ τάχος ἢ ὁσία ἐπετίμησέ τε τούτῳ ἐμβριωμένη, καὶ μηκέτι προβῆναι κελεύσασα ἀκίνητον ἔστησε καὶ ὑπότρομον· μικρὸν δὲ τοῦ τρόμου ἀνεθείς — ὦ τῆς ἀκαταλήπτου σου, Χριστέ, 10 δυνάμεως — βιάζων ἦν ἑαυτὸν σφόδρα μεταστῆναι καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο, σειραῖς ἀφανέσι καὶ πολλῶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀλύσεων ἰσχυροτέραις τῷ προστάγματι τῆς ὁσίας κεκρατημένος. Τελειωθείσης δὲ τῆς λειτουργίας μόνη τῷ ναῷ ἐναπομείνασα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεῖσα ἀνέστη μὲν 15 τῆς προσευχῆς, ἔστη δὲ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ μισαροῦ πνεύματος καὶ φησίν· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σοὶ λέγω τῷ 20 πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ πνεύματι, εἶπέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐτόλμησας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα, καὶ τίς σε ἀπέσταλκε. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν μετάστασιν ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν ὕβρεσιν ὡς τῶν δεσμῶν ἠμύνετο πρόξενον, ἄνυκτοφάγον καὶ ἄξυλόποδα καὶ 25 δαμάζουσαν καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγον ληρωδήματα. Ὡς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δεσμῶν, ὡμολόγει καὶ ἄκον ἅπαντα, καὶ Ἐἰ μή με, φησίν, ὁ κύκλω σου παρεμβάλων ἐμάστιζεν ἄγγελος, οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεώς σε ἤξιωσα ἄν. Λέγω σοὶ δὲ ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀποστερήσας ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσε καὶ τῆς συνάξεως καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας· ὡς δὲ καὶ μιᾶς ἡράσθη διακαῶς τῶν σῶν μαθητριῶν, ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα 30 τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ πληρῶσαι τούτῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σὲ εὑρισκὼν ἐμποδῶν μοι γινομένην, κατανοήσας αὐτὸν παντός με κενὸν τοῦ κωλύοντος εἰσηλθὼν καὶ ἐνῶκησα. Σὺ δὲ τίνας ἔνεκεν

PIVLSK

1 λάθη P || 15 μισαροῦ: πονηροῦ P || 17 πνεύματι om. P || 18 τίς: εἴ τις VLSK || 21 σιδηροκαρδίαν I || 24 παρεμβάλλον P || 28 ἐγὼ om. ILSK (V non leg.)

16 Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι etc.: cf. Lc. 10,17 || 24 ὁ κύκλω . . . ἄγγελος: cf. Ps. 33(34),8

<sup>4</sup> What is the point of νυκτοφάγος? Since the target of the following mockeries is Irene's ascetic prowess (cf. note 2 on ch. 11, *supra*), it would seem natural to take νυκτοφάγος as deriding her eating habits during the fasting periods; cf. *supra*, 18,26 (very little food,

cedure should conceal the fact that she had healed him.

Now, once when the holy service was in progress and the sacraments were being carried over to the holy table, the man suddenly sprang up. Breaking the chains which bound him at the throat and the hands, he rushed against the priest, gnashing his teeth, and struck fear and anxiety into him as he gaped to bite him. Rapidly moving towards him, the holy woman censured him with rebuking words. Commanding him to advance no further she made him stand still and quivering. When he had relaxed somewhat from his quivering—incomprehensible is Thy power, Christ!—, he struggled hard to escape, but could not, restrained, at the Saint's command, with invisible ropes much stronger than the perceptible fetters. When service was at an end she remained alone in the church. She threw herself to the floor, and after beseeching God with tears for a long time she stood up from the prayer, rose on to question the abominable spirit and said, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I say to you, evil and unclean spirit, tell me the cause why you have dared to enter into this creature of God, and tell me who sent you.' At first he strove to escape and ward off the holy woman with insults as being the cause of his fetters, calling her 'night-eater',<sup>4</sup> 'wooden leg', 'insatiable stander', 'iron-hearted', 'subduer of stones' and such frivolous names. But as he was not released from the fetters binding him, he agreed, though unwillingly, to all and said, 'Unless *the angel encamping round about* you was flogging me, I would not even deem you worth an answer. But now I tell you, the man has already for a long time detached himself from service and communion. As he also fell passionately in love with one of your disciples, this was reported to the Prince<sup>5</sup> and I was sent to satisfy his desire. When I found you becoming an obstacle to me, I observed that he was devoid of all that could hinder me, so I entered and made him my dwelling-place. But you, why do you injure me, chasing me from my

καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐσπέραν), 54,22 f. (just some fruit τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν). Nightly activities are apt to cause suspicion, as shown by a satirical pamphlet of the 14th c. which refers to a conspirator called Markos as Νυκτίβιος συμποσίαρχος; see H. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische „Mafia"', *RESEE*, 7 (1969), 95—107, esp. 96, l. 18 (cf. H.-V. Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen zu einem spätbyzantinischem Pamphlet', *Βυζάντιος. Festschr. für H. Hunger* . . . [Vienna, 1984], 13—26, esp. 17 f.). But the context of eating may add a comic effect as in the compound νυκτιλαθραιοφάγος found in an ancient epigram (cf. LSJ, s.v.), and probably in this passage.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. B. Rubin, 'Der Fürst der Dämonen', *BZ*, 44 (1951), 469—481, esp. 475—478.

ἀδικεῖς με διώκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου;’ ‘Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἔφησ  
 ἄρχων;’ ἤρετο ἡ ὁσία. ‘Τάχα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμπαίζεις μοι’, ἀπεκρίνατο,  
 ‘ἂ μὴ ἀγνοεῖς ἐρωτῶσά με’ τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ἢ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν οἶος  
 ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὰς μεγάλας ἀριστείας αὐτοῦ τίς ἀγνοεῖ; ‘Ο τὸν Ἀδὰμ  
 τῆ σοφιστικῆ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη τοῦ παραδείσου ἐκβαλὼν 5  
 623A καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτίκα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ θνητὸν ἀναδείξας — τί οὖν, οὐ  
 58 μέγα σοι τοῦτο δοκεῖ; Ἡ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἀλληλοφονίας, τὰς  
 εἰδωλολατρείας, τὸ γλυκὺ δέλεαρ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὴν παρατροπὴν τῆς  
 συνουσίας, τίς ὁ κατασκευακῶς πλὴν ἐκεῖνου; Ἀλλὰ τοὺς φόνους  
 τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένων 10  
 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ τὰ σχίσματα τίς ἤρτυσε, τίς  
 τετέλεκεν; Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἀνεσκολόπισεν; Ἀλλ’ ἔλαθεν  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ παρεσφάλημεν σφάλμα μεῖζον πάντων σφαλμάτων’ εἰ μὴ  
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνῆρέθη, οὐκ ἂν με σὺ τοιαῦτα νυνὶ δεσμὰ περιβαλοῦσα  
 15 διέπαιζες ὡς ἀνδράποδον ἐτάζουσα. Τοῦ τηλικούτου γὰρ καὶ  
 τοσοῦτου τῆ ἰσχύϊ δεθέντος περιφρονούμεθα καὶ διαγελώμεθα  
 παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὡς εἶγε ἦν ἀπολελυμένος, τίς ἡμῶν ἠδύνατο τῆ δυνάμει  
 ἀντιστῆναι; ‘Τί δέ ἐστι’, φησὶν ἡ ἁγία, ‘τὸ ταύτην ὑμῖν ἐμποιοῦν τὴν  
 Β ἀδυναμίαν;’ ‘Ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις,’ εἶπε, ‘μόνοις γὰρ ὑμῖν κατηλλάγη  
 θεός, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτῳ ἐχθροί· ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς κἄν ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, 20  
 ἀλλ’ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα ποιήσας θεός. Ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι  
 πεπεῖκαμεν τοὺς ἀνελόντας Ἰουδαίους, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ  
 χρισμένοις οὐ τολμῶμεν προσεγγίσειν· τίς γὰρ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ  
 59 δημιουργῷ αὐτοῦ δύναται; Ἀργοὶ δὲ καθῆσθαι οὐ δυνάμεθα’ οὐδὲν  
 γὰρ ἀργόν, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. Καλὸν δὲ ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἅτε 25  
 δὴ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παντελῶς ἔρημοι μετουσίας, πονούμεθα,  
 ἀσχολούμεθα καὶ σπουδάζομεν περὶ ταῦτα τὰ τρία· ἢ τοὺς  
 καταλλαγέντας ἀπιστᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ τοὺς ἀπισταμένους σκευῆ  
 ποιεῖσθαι πάλιν ἡμέτερα, ἢ τοὺς πάντη κενοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ  
 ἀγαθοῦ εἰς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ὄρας, ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι.’ ‘Καὶ ποῖον ὑμῖν 30  
 ἐκ τούτου τὸ κέρδος,’ ἤρετο πάλιν ἡ ὁσία, ‘ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια;’ ‘Καὶ

PIVLSK

3 ἀγνοεῖς: ἀγνοοῦσα IVLSK || γὰρ om. L || ἢ τίς: τίς δὲ P || 6 οὖν: γοῦν  
 P || 7 ἦ: καὶ IVLSK || ἀλληλοφονίας IL || 14 δεσμὰ: δεσμὰ με VLSK ||  
 16 τὴν ἰσχύϊν P || 31 τὸ om. VLSK

9—10 τοὺς . . . προφητῶν: cf. Mt. 23,30—31; Lc. 13,34; Rom. 11,3 (3 Regn. 19,10,  
 14) || 19—20 κατηλλάγη . . . ἐχθροί: cf. Rom. 5,10

house?’ ‘Who’, asked the holy woman, ‘is that “Prince” you men-  
 tioned?’ ‘You mock me, it would seem’, he answered, ‘asking me some-  
 thing you are not ignorant of. For who has not heard, who does not know  
 what kind he is? Who is ignorant of his great prowess? He who in his in-  
 genious inventiveness and pride drove Adam out of Paradise and at once  
 showed the first man to be destructible and mortal. Why, does this not  
 seem great to you? And the internecine slaughters after that, the  
 idolatries, the sweet incitement of lust,<sup>6</sup> the aberrations of sexuality,  
 who but him prepared them? The murders of the prophets and of all the  
 others who paid honour to God’s name, and the heresies and schisms,  
 who arranged them, who accomplished them? And Jesus himself, who  
 crucified him? But he escaped us and we were deceived through the  
 greatest of all deceptions. For if he had not been executed, you would  
 not now have laid these fetters on me and mocked me, questioning me  
 like a slave. You despise us and laugh at us only because there has been  
 bound one so great and so strong that if he were set free, nobody would  
 be able to withstand our power.’ ‘What is it’, said the Saint, ‘that pro-  
 duces this powerlessness in you?’ ‘God’s power’, he said, ‘for only with  
 you has God been reconciled, whereas we are enemies to him. Even if  
 Jesus is a man, he is still the God who has made all. Ever since we per-  
 suaded his murderers, the Jews, to kill him, we do not dare to approach  
 those anointed with his blood. For who can stand against his creator? We  
 cannot sit idle, for nothing that God has made is idle. But unable to do  
 good, because completely devoid of participation in the good, we toil and  
 are busy and eager about three things: either to make the reconciled revolt  
 against God, or again to make those who revolt into our own instruments  
 or, as you can see, to appropriate to ourselves, as our dwellings, those  
 who are wholly destitute of communion with the good.’ ‘What gain do  
 you have from this’, asked the holy woman again, ‘or what advantage?’

<sup>6</sup> On this old theme, see M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité. Introduction, texte critique, trad., comm. et index* (Paris, 1966), 506, note 3.

μικρόν σοι τοῦτο φαίνεται, τὸ πολλούς', φησίν, 'ἔχειν κοινωνούς, νῦν μὲν τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μελλουσῶν κολάσεων;'

- 60 Ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἀλγήσασα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περιδακρυς γενομένη ἐπετίμησέ τε σφοδρότερον ἢ ὅσια καὶ ἐξελεθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πόρρω γενέσθαι τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῆς προσέταξε· σπαράξαν δὲ καὶ 5  
C καταρράξαν τοῦτον εἰς γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Δοῦσα δὲ χεῖρα κειμένῳ ἀνέστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον τῷ μετώπῳ ποιήσασα τούτου ἐκάθισε· καὶ νουθεσίαις αὐτὸν ἐπεστήριξε καὶ παρήγγειλε τῆς ἀπλήστου βρώσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ κόρον οἰνοποσίας ἀπέχεσθαι, τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεδρεύειν, διηνεκῶς προσεύχεσθαι καὶ 10 οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου· καὶ 'Τοῖς ἐρωτῶσί σε', φησί, '“Τίς ὁ ἰασάμενος;” “Ὁ θεός”, ἀποκρίνεσθαι, “ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῶν ἀρχιστρατήγων Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριήλ”.' Καὶ οὕτως ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν εὐχαριστοῦντα καὶ δοξάζοντα τὸν θεόν.

16. Ὡσπερ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπὲρ πάντων προσῆγε 15  
61 τῷ θεῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ταύτην ἐπλήρου, τῆς συνήθους στάσεως ἔχομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀεὶ σχετικῶς διακειμένη. Νίπτουσα γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐκμάττουσά τε καθαρωτάτῳ ἐκμαγείῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ λεκάνην ὕδατος τῷ ἑαυτῆς διὰ τοῦτο κειμένην εἶχε κοιτῶνι, οὕτω τοὺς βραχίονας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνουσα 20 τῆς προσευχῆς ἀπήρχετο. Καὶ παρέτεινε τὴν στάσιν ποτὲ μὲν πανημέριον, ποτὲ δὲ παννύχιον ἢ καὶ νυχθημερεύουσιν, πολλάκις καὶ δισημερεύουσιν καὶ τὴν τρίτην πληροῦσαν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἴστατο μὴ τι τῶν ὑποστηριζόντων ἐρειδομένη. Διὸ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἡνίκα κατενεγκεῖν ἔδει, οὐκ εἶχε τοὺς 25 βραχίονας ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς συστεῖλαι, τῶν ἀγκώνων καὶ τῶν ὤμων τῆ βία τῆς ἀνατάσεως καὶ τῷ μήκει τῆς ἐκτάσεως πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν 624D ἀνθισταμένων κλίσιν. Προσφωνοῦσα δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταῖς οἰκειωτέραις βοήθειαις ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν τοὺς ἀρμούς φοβερόν τινα κρότον ἐκφέροντας. 30

PIVLSK

7 τῷ κειμένῳ K || 8 νουθεσίαις: νουθεσίας ἀξιώσασα P || ἐπεστήριξε VLSK || 12 ἀποκρίνασθαι VLSK || 18 τε: δὲ I || 23 δὲ ὅτε ILSK (V non leg.) || 25 εἶχε: ἡδύνατο μόνη P || 26 ἑαυτὴν P || 27 ἀναστάσεως L || καὶ . . . ἐκτάσεως om. L

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 10 (PG 35, 1180C), αἱ ἀποστατικά δυνάμεις καὶ φθονεραί, πολλοὺς κοινωνοὺς ζητοῦσαι τοῦ πτώματος; cf. also id., *Or.* 43, 48 (PG 36, 560A), in a dialogue between St Basil and a *hyparchos*, τί δέ; Οὐ μέγα σοι τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν τετάχθαι καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς;

'Does it seem a petty thing to you', he said, 'to have many companions, now in our fall,<sup>7</sup> hereafter in the future punishments?'

Grieving at this in her soul and full of tears the holy woman censured him harshly and commanded him to go out of the man and betake himself far away from her boundaries. Then he left the man, convulsing him and hurling him to the ground. Giving him a hand as he lay there Irene raised him up, and making the sign of the cross on his forehead she made him sit. She supported him with admonitions and exhorted him to abstain from insatiable eating and from drinking wine to surfeit, to attend church, to pray continuously and thus to evade the ambushes of the Devil, and she said, 'Those who ask you, Who has healed you? you shall answer, God, through the intercession of the archistrateges Michael and Gabriel.' Thus she let him go, and he thanked and glorified God.

## 16. Irene's Continued Asceticism and Levitation The Bowing Cypresses

As she incessantly offered thanks to God for everything, so for this too did she perform them, clinging to her usual standing exercises and always affectionately disposed towards them. After washing her hands and face<sup>1</sup> and wiping them off with a clean towel—to this end she had a basin of water standing in her chamber—, she stretched her arms to heaven and began the prayer. She extended her exercises to last now for a whole day, now for a whole night or even for a day and a night. Often they were protracted over two or three days, and it even occurred that she remained standing for a whole week without leaning against any support. Therefore, when she was to lower her hands, she was unable to draw her arms together by herself, since the elbows and the shoulders, in consequence of the severe stretching and the prolonged extension, resisted their natural flexibility. Calling for those among the sisters that were closest to her she received help, and one could hear the joints emit a terrible cracking.<sup>2</sup>

16. <sup>1</sup> Irene cleans her hands and face before stretching them to heaven. The motivation for this may be derived from a thought expressed in the following way by Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 4,8—16, κάτω βλέπε ὡς κατακεκρήμενος . . . καὶ τὰς χεῖρας σου συνεσταλμένας ἔχε· ταύτας ἀναιδῶς πρὸς θεὸν μὴ ἐκτείνης, ἃς πολλάκις ἤπλωσας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν. Cf. also Lampe, s.v. νίπτω, I.A.4.b.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat similar effects of extreme asceticism are reported, e.g., for Abraames by

E 62 Παρ' ὄλην δὲ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα τεσσαρακονθήμερον νηστείαν  
 οὐτ' ἄρτου οὐθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ὄψου μετελάμβανε πρὸς βρῶσιν πλήν  
 μόνου μέλιτι μεμιγμένου σπέρματος κανάβευς καὶ ὀλίγων ὄπωρῶν,  
 καὶ τούτων ἅπαξ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείονων ἡμερῶν  
 καὶ ὕδατος βραχυτάτου· ἐξ ὧν δέρμα μόνον τοῖς ὀστέοις 5  
 προσπεφυκὸς τὸ πάναγνον ἐκείνης καθωρᾶτο σῶμα. Κἂν ταῖς  
 ἑορταῖς δὲ ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς ἄπνους διετέλει κατὰ μόνας ψάλλουσα·  
 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ προαύλιον περὶ μέσας ἐξιούσα  
 νύκτας, ὄμματα καὶ χεῖρας πρὸς θεὸν αἴρουσα τὰς προσευχὰς  
 ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν κύκλον τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάλλος ὀρῶσα 10  
 καὶ μέγεθος, καὶ τερπομένη καὶ χαίρουσα καὶ τὸν ἐκτείνοντα  
 μεγαλύνουσα. Καί ποτε — κατὰ θεῖαν πάντως οἰκονομίαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ  
 θαῦμα κρυπτόμενον μείνη — προκύψασαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν μίαν, οὕτω  
 συμβάν, τῆς ἰδίας κέλλης ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν τὰς χεῖρας μὲν ἄνω πρὸς  
 οὐρανὸν ἐκτεταμένης ἔχουσας, κρεμαμένην δὲ τῆς γῆς ὡσεὶ πήχεις 15  
 δύο καὶ προσευχομένην ἄεριον· εἶτα κύψασαν καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν  
 F προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμουσαν, τὰς ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ προαυλίου δύο  
 κυπαρίσσους ἐστηκυίας, εὐμεγέθεις καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον  
 ἀναβεβηκυίας μέρος, ἠρέμα πως συσσειομένης, ὑποκυπτούσας τε  
 καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὰς κεφαλὰς μέχρι γῆς τιθείσας καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἔγερσιν 20  
 63 προσδεχομένης. Ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ὀσίας ἐγηγεμένης, μὴ πρότερον  
 ἀνατεῖναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν τὰ δένδρα κεφαλὰς, ἕως ἐλθοῦσαν  
 ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τούτων κορυφὴν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλεῖν, καὶ  
 οὕτως οἰονεῖ εὐλογηθέντα πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐθις ἀποκαταστῆναι  
 στάσιν. 25

PIVLSK

11 ἐκτείναντα P || 12 ὄραμα φοβερὸν in marg. P || 15 ἐντεταμένης S ||  
 fort. suppl. (ἀπὸ) τῆς γῆς || 22 ἐλθούσης P

11 τὸν ἐκτείνοντα: cf. Ps. 103(104), 2 et sim. locc.

Theodoret, *HRel*, XVII 2, 3—6 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 34), τοσαύτη γὰρ αὐτὸν φασιν οἱ συγγεγονότες ἀγρυπνία καὶ στάσει καὶ νηστεία καταδαμάσαι τὸ σῶμα ὡς ἀκίνητον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαμείναι χρόνον, ἥκιστα βαδίζειν δυνάμενον. A development of the motif is found in *VEuprax*, 731E, [her asceticism made her so stiff that] οὐδὲ χεῖρα ἠδυνήθησαν διπλῶσαι αὐτῆς οὐδὲ πόδα, ἀλλ' ἔκειτο ὅλη ὡς ξύλον ἄφωνον. But in our passage the elaboration of the theme borders on the grotesque.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing here suggests any knowledge of cannabis as a narcotic drug (cf. the effects of cannabis-seed used in vapour-baths by the Scythians according to Herodotos, IV 75). Irene's mixture is hardly less innocent than, say, those cakes consisting of various kinds of nuts

During all the forty days of fast before Easter she took neither bread nor any other food save cannabis-seed<sup>3</sup> mixed with honey and a little fruit, and that once a week, sometimes, at intervals of several days, also a minimal quantity of water. As a consequence her all-holy body appeared as mere skin clinging to the bones. At the Dominical feasts she continuously kept awake, singing psalms in solitude. Often she also went out into the forecourt of the church at midnight, and raising eyes and hands towards God offered prayers, gazing at the sphere of the stars and the beauty and greatness of the firmament, delighted and rejoicing and praising Him who *stretches it out*. Once—surely by divine dispensation, lest the miracle should remain hidden—one of the sisters happened to peep out of her cell just to behold Irene hanging in the air about two cubits above the ground and praying with her hands extended towards heaven.<sup>4</sup> Two lofty cypresses were standing on either side of the forecourt, reaching far up into the air. As Irene bent forward and prostrated herself before God, they trembled gently together and bowed their crowns to the ground along with her, waiting for her to rise. But even when the holy woman stood upright, the trees did not raise their crowns until approaching she made the sign of the cross on each of them; then, as if blessed, they returned to their erect position.<sup>5</sup>

and seed mixed with honey (so-called παστέλι) which are widely sold as sweets in modern Greece. I have seen no other examples of cannabis-seed used as ascetic food (normally κάνναβις and related words refer to hemp fibre). That it was used as food may be inferred, however, from an anonymous text περὶ χυμῶν, βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων (cf. J.A.M. Sonderkamp, 'Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *DOP*, 38 [1984], 29—41, esp. 31), of which ch. 43, περὶ καναβοκόκκου, reads (ed. Ideler, 272), Δύσπεπτον καὶ κακοστόμαχόν ἐστι, καὶ κεφαλαλγές τε καὶ κακόχυμον θερμαίνει δὲ ἱκανῶς; and, later, from an interpolation in the Ptochoprodromic poem *To the Emperor* (edd. Hesselring & Pernot, 78, app. crit., 129j), παστελλοπούλης, καρυδάς, κανναβοσησαμᾶτος (. . . ἂν ἤμουν).

<sup>4</sup> Among similar cases of levitation, cf. *VIoann* a. Saba, ed. Van den Gheyn 352BC, ὁ εὐστράτιος βλέπει αὐτὸν μακρόθεν ἐκτεταμμένον εἰς προσευχὴν, καὶ . . . ἄχρι δύο πηχῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα κρεμάμενον; further *VEustr*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 389, 2—4; *VASal*, PG 111, 712D. — The parallels, as well as some examples of demonic levitation in *VTheodSyc* collected by Festugière in his commentary on ch. 46, 15 of that text (vol. 2, 202), seem to indicate that the bare genitive τῆς γῆς here, in itself curious enough, should be complemented; cf. app. crit.

<sup>5</sup> This scene has a less elaborate counterpart in *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 892, 30—33 (on the *koimêsis*): when the Virgin went up to the Mount of Olives to pray, something wonderful happened, κλίνουσι γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄρος φυτὰ πρὸς γῆν ἑαυτά, καὶ ὡσπερ ἔμψυχα δοῦλα τὸ προσῆκον σέβας τῇ δεσποίνῃ ἀποπληροῦσι.

Ἐφ'ὧ τὴν τῆς θεᾶς ἐπιτυχοῦσαν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ συσχεθεῖσαν  
 διαλογισμοῖς τεταράχθαι, μὴ καὶ φάντασμα ἢ τὰ βλεπόμενα· τριῶν  
 γὰρ ἢ καὶ πλέον διελθεῖν ὥρων διάστημα τούτων ὑπενόει γινομένων.  
 Ὅμως πιστωθῆναι θέλουσα τὸ τῆς ὀσίας κατασκοπῆσαι κελλίον  
 ἔδραμεν, καὶ μὴ εὐροῦσα ταύτην ὑπέστρεψε καταλαβοῦσα τὴν 5  
 εἴσοδον ἄρτι ποιουμένην ἐκ τοῦ προαυλίου. Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐδεδίδει  
 τὸ μυστήριον ἐκκαλύψαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετ'οὐ πολὺ ταῖς κορυφαῖς  
 τουτωνὶ τῶν κυπαρισσῶν ἀπηωρημένα σηρικῶν ἐξ ὑφασμάτων  
 ἐγχειρίδια ὥρωντο, θαυμασίαν οἶαν τὴν τέρψιν τοῖς ὄρωσι παρέχοντα  
 — ἅπερ ἐκείνη πάντως ταῖς πανάγνοις χερσὶν αὐτῆς προσέδησεν, ὡς 10  
 πολλάκις καὶ ὡσαύτως ὑποκεκλιμένας ἔχουσα τὰς τούτων κεφαλὰς  
 — ἑτέρα τε τὴν ἑτέραν διηρώτων αἱ ἀδελφαί, 'Τίς ὁ ταῦτα', λέγουσαι,  
 625A 64 'προσδήσας καὶ τὸ δυσανάβατον ὕψος ἀναβεβηκέναι δυνηθεῖς', εἶτα  
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀσίαν αὐτὴν, ὡς ἂν ἀγνοοῦση μετὰ θαύματος ταῦτα  
 δακτύλοις δεικνῦσαι, ἐπηρώτων. Ἡ μὲν τοιαύτην ἐδίδου τὴν 15  
 ἀπόκρισιν· 'Ἱερά τις', φησί, 'τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα, τέκνα μου, νομίσας,  
 εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀνήρτησε τὰ ὑφάσματα.' Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θαύματος αὐτόπτις  
 γενομένη, προφάσεως ἐντεῦθεν λαβομένη, πάντα κατὰ μέρος ὅσα  
 τεθέεται ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς διηγῆσατο. Ἀκούσασαι δὲ ταῦτα, φόβου καὶ  
 20 χαρᾶς πλησθεῖσαι τὰς ψυχὰς, δάκρυά τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπέσταζον  
 καὶ αὐτῇ διεμέμφοντο, ὅτου χάριν μὴ καὶ ταύτας διύπνισε καὶ  
 κοινωνοὺς τῶν φοβερῶν ἐκάλεσε γενέσθαι θεαμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα  
 ὅτι καὶ τριῶν ὥρων παρεληλυθέναι διεβεβαιοῦτο καιρόν. Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ  
 δὲ διαδοθὲν ἤδη τὸ μυστήριον ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν γνοῦσα, τὴν  
 κατατυχοῦσαν ἢ ὀσία τοῖς τοιοῦτοις θαυμασίοις ἰδίᾳ καλέσασα, 25  
 δριμύτερόν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνιδουῦσα φησὶν· 'Ἀρά γε καὶ σφάλλουσαν  
 εἶπερ κατεῖδες ὡς ἄνθρωπον, οὕτως ἂν ταχέως τὸ ἡμέτερον  
 ἐθριάμβευσας τραῦμα;' Ἡ δὲ ὅπως οὐ διέλαθεν ἐκπλαγεῖσα, τοῖς  
 ποσὶν εὐθέως προσπεσοῦσα τῆς ὀσίας ἔμφοβος καὶ ἔντρομος ἦτει τὴν  
 30 B συγχώρησιν· παραυτίκα δὲ καὶ τυχοῦσα παραγγελίαν ἐδέξατο, μὴ ἂν  
 ἄλλο τί ποτε τοιοῦτον ἐκκαλύψαι πρὸς τινὰ τὸ παράπαν. Ὡσαύτως

PIVLSK

8 κυπαριτῶν P || 9 ἑωρωντο P || 10 αὐτῆς scripsi: αὐτῇ I VLSK om. P ||  
 10—11 ὡς . . . κεφαλὰς om. P || 12 τε τὴν ἑτέραν: μὲν ἄλλην P || 14 δὲ om.  
 P || ἂν ἀγνοοῦση: ἀγνοοῦσαν P || 15 δακτύλοις δεικνῦσαι: δεικνῦσαι τοῖς  
 δακτύλοις P || ἢ: καὶ ἢ P || 18 προφάσεως . . . λαβομένη om. P || 20  
 ὀφθαλμῶν: ὀμμάτων VLSK || 29 τὴν om. P || 31 ἄλλο τί: ἄλλοτέ PIVL (K  
 legere nequeo)

At this the nun who had witnessed the scene was beset by fear and  
 anguish and disturbed by evil thoughts, lest the sight be a phantom; for  
 she surmised that the event had extended over three hours' time or even  
 more. Seeking confirmation, however, she ran to inspect the cell of the  
 Saint, and not finding her there returned and met her as she was just enter-  
 ing from the forecourt. For the moment she feared to reveal the secret.  
 But after a short time kerchiefs of silk-web<sup>6</sup> were seen hanging in the  
 crowns of the cypresses, bringing amazing delight to the spectators—  
 surely Irene had fastened them with her all-holy hands, as the tree-tops  
 often thus bowed before her. Then the sisters asked one another saying,  
 'Who has been able to climb the insurmountably high trees and attach  
 the webs to them?' Thereafter they asked the holy woman herself, in  
 amazement pointing to the kerchiefs as if she were ignorant, and she gave  
 the following answer: 'Someone who considered these trees sacred, my  
 children, has suspended the webs to God's glory.' Taking this as a pretext,  
 the nun who had been eyewitness of the miracle told the sisters in detail  
 all she had seen. On hearing this, distilling tears from their eyes as their  
 souls were filled with fear and joy, they reproached her for not rousing  
 them and calling them to join her in the awe-inspiring sight, particularly  
 since she maintained that a span of three hours had elapsed. Learning,  
 meanwhile, that the secret had already spread to the ears of the sisters,  
 the holy woman called aside the nun who had perceived the miracle and  
 said with a sharp glance at her, 'If you had observed me committing a  
 sin, a human being as I am, would you then too have blazed my defeat  
 abroad so rapidly?' Astonished that she had not escaped notice she fell  
 at the Saint's feet at once and, afraid and trembling, asked forgiveness.  
 She obtained it straightway and received an instruction never to reveal  
 anything of the kind to anyone whatever. Likewise Irene assembled the

<sup>6</sup> In the first place these textile objects serve as proof that the cypresses have been  
 involved in a miracle. When the nuns have seen them, they need not doubt that the story  
 told by the eyewitness (cf. *infra*) is true. However, the term ἐγχειρίδιον may have been  
 chosen for its liturgical connotations. In a pseudo-Sophronian text of the 12th c. (cited  
 by Lampe, s.v.) this poorly attested word is used as synonymous with ὄρραριον (or ὀθόνη),  
 i.e., the narrow strip of silk worn over the left shoulder by an officiating deacon (see  
 Lampe, s.vv.). This would suggest the idea that Irene performs a nocturnal liturgy  
 wonderfully assisted by the two trees. — For garments in a tree (in different context),  
 cf. *TrAthar*, ed. Talbot 72,1—2, with the editor's comm. on p. 130.



δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συναγαγοῦσα πάσαις ἐνετείλατο μηδὲν περὶ αὐτῆς μέγα λέγειν μηδαμῶς, ἕως ἂν με', φησί, 'κύριος τοῦ παρόντος μεταστήσῃ βίου'. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα δι' αὐτῆς θεὸς ἐπετέλει θαυμάσια, καὶ πάντα σιωπῇ καλύπτεσθαι τό γε νῦν ἔχον ἐβούλετο.

65 17. Ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου μνήμην ἐορτάσασαν, μετὰ 5 τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ὑπέμνησεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὡς εἶη τῆς γῆς ποθεν μῦς ἀνιῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τράπεζαν περιερχόμενος, καὶ δεῖ τῷ μουσαρῶ κώλυμα γενέσθαι τοῦ μηκέτι μολύνειν τὸν τόπον τὸν ἅγιον. Γενομένη δὲ περίλυπος, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὁ τε ἱερεὺς αἶ τε πᾶσαι ἀδελφαί, ὁ μὲν ἰδίᾳ, αἶ δὲ κοινῇ, τῆς ἐορτῆς χάριν αὐτάρκη τὴν 10 ἐστίασιν ἐποιοῦντο, τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτῆς ἔνδον ἐκείνη καὶ περὶ τούτου τῷ θεῷ ἐντυγχάνουσα ἦν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἐστιαθέντες ἤδη τῷ θεῷ προσέφερον ἅμα, τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελουμένην καλέσασα λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· "Ἀπελθε καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου νεκρωμένον κείμενον μὺν ἀραμένη ἔξω που ῥίψον ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας." 15 Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ συνεισῆει καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς προσευξόμενος, καὶ νεκρὸν ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ὄντα τὸν μὺν θεασάμενος, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ὁσίας C προστάγματι ἐξῆει βοῶν ὡς· 'Θαυμαστός ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ'.

66 18. Κατὰ γοῦν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα περὶ που τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς 20 νυκτὸς φωνή τις ἀοράτως ἐγένετο τῇ ὁσίᾳ λέγουσα· 'Τὸν τὰς ὁπώρας σοι κομίζοντα σήμερον ναύκληρον ὑπόδεξαι χαίρουσα, καὶ φάγεσαι καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου.' Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὀρθρινὴν δοξολογίαν δυσὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσκαρτερεῖν τῷ τῆς μονῆς προσέταξε πυλῶνι, καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ καταλαβόντι, ὅστις ἂν καὶ εἶη, τῆς εἰσόδου 25 παραχωρήσαι προθύμως. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτή', φησί, 'μικρὸν ὅσον ἔξειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.' Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπιούσης εἴσεισι καὶ ὁ προσδοκώμενος, καὶ συνήντησαν ἀλλήλοις. Ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὴν προεστῶσαν μαθῶν, βαλεῖν ὥρμησε μετάνοιαν καὶ προέλαβε τοῦτον ἐκείνη· καὶ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐβάδιζον, εἰσελθόντες δὲ καὶ 30

PIVLSK

5 δὲ: γὰρ IVLSK || 7 θείου om. L || 9 αἶ τε πᾶσαι: καὶ πᾶσαι αἶ P || 11 καὶ om. P || 11—12 τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου ἰnv. P || 13 ἐπιμελουμένην P (V legere nequeo) || 16 προσευξόμενος P || 17 αὐτὸν om. P || 18 ὡς om. P || 23 δὲ: γοῦν IVLSK

18—19 θαυμαστός . . . αὐτοῦ: Ps. 67(68),36 || 20—21 τετάρτην . . . νυκτὸς: cf. Mt. 14,25

other nuns and commanded them all in no wise to speak highly of her, until the Lord (as she said) would remove her from this life. In fact God performed many other wonderful deeds through her, and she wished them all to be veiled in silence for the time being.

## 17. The Mouse on the Altar

Once when she had celebrated the memory of Basil the Great, the priest told her after the divine liturgy that a mouse had come up from somewhere in the ground and circled about the table of the divine sanctuary. Now the loathsome creature had to be prevented from defiling the hallowed place again. She was deeply grieved, and while the priest and all the sisters, the former for himself, the latter together, had a satisfying meal for the sake of the festival, she supplicated God about this inside her chamber. After the meal, when they offered thanks to God together, she summoned the overseer of the church<sup>1</sup> and said to her, 'Go and take up the mouse which lies dead before the entrance to the sanctuary and throw it out on the dunghill.' Meanwhile the priest had joined them to pray, and since he had seen that very mouse dead, he was amazed at the holy woman's command and went out crying, 'Wonderful is God in his saints!'

## 18. The Apples from Paradise

About *the fourth watch of that night* a voice invisibly reached the Saint saying, 'Receive gladly the skipper who will bring you fruit today. You shall eat and your soul shall rejoice.' After the morning doxology she bade two of the sisters to wait at the gateway of the convent and readily to admit the first comer, whoever it be. 'However', she continued, 'I will myself come out to you for a short while.' And behold, as she was going the expected man entered and they met. On learning that she was the abbess he hastened to make obeisance, but she anticipated him, and they stood up and went to the church. They entered and after a prayer sat down,

17. <sup>1</sup> Conceivably, this vague term refers to the monastic office of ἐκκλησιάρχισσα, the function of which is defined, e.g., in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Theotokos *Kecharitōmenē*, ch. 20 (Miklosich-Müller, 5, 350). Cf. P. de Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Rome, 1942), 408.

προσευξάμενοι ἐκαθέστησαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ ὅσια ‘Πόθεν σου’,  
 φησί, ‘πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἢ ἀγάπη ταπεινῶσιν ἤκει;’ Καὶ ὃς  
 ἀπεκρίνατο· ‘Θαλασσοπόρος εἰμί, κυρία μου, τῆς νήσου Πάτμου  
 καλουμένης οἰκήτωρ· ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦς εἰσέλευσιν  
 ἐπιούμην, γενόμενός τε περὶ τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς νήσου ἀοίκητον  
 μέρος, εἶδον ὠραιότατον γέροντα καὶ θεοειδῆ ἀναμένειν ἡμῖν  
 626D κελεύοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλοῖον ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ εἶα στῆναι φορὰ,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ τόπου κρημνώδους ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐστὼς  
 ἐπέταττεν, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι  
 προσταττόμενον· εἰδὼς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον,  
 10 67 γεγωνοτέρα φωνῆ στῆναι τὸ πλοῖον ἐπετίμησε. Καὶ εὐθέως ἔστη μὴ  
 προβαίνειν ὄλως δυνάμενον, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ δέους πλήρεις γενόμενοι πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἠτενίζομεν· καὶ ἰδοὺ πεζεύων κατὰ τῶν κυμάτων ἤγγισεν ἡμῖν.  
 Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τρία μῆλα ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου εἰς χεῖράς μοι ἔδωκεν εἰπὼν·  
 “Διασωθεῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν διακόμισον τῷ πατριάρχῃ  
 15 Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ ἔρεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν· Ταῦτά σοι ἀπέστειλεν ὁ μένων.” Εἶτα  
 πάλιν βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐξήνεγκεν ἕτερα τρία παραπλήσια φήσας·  
 “Καὶ ταῦτα πάρασχε Εἰρήνη τῇ ἡγουμένη τῆς μονῆς τοῦ  
 Χρυσοβαλάντου καὶ εἶπε αὐτῇ· Φάγε ἀφ’ ὧν ἢ καλὴ σου ψυχὴ  
 ἐπεθύμησεν· ἄρτι γὰρ ἤκω κομίζων ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ  
 20 Ε τοιαῦτα.” Εὐλόγησας δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπέλυσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἐν  
 εὐχαίς. Καὶ νῦν πληρώσας τῷ πατριάρχῃ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον, ἤλθον καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγιότητα τὸ προσταχθέν μοι τελειῶν. Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα  
 ἢ ὅσια καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων ὑποπλησθεῖσα, τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ  
 ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ πολλὴν ἀπεδίδου τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.  
 25 Ἐκβαλὼν οὖν ὁ ναύκληρος τὰ τρία μῆλα ὑφάσματι κεκαλυμμένα  
 ἐντίμῳ καὶ νήματι χρυσῷ περιηθησμένῳ δέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας  
 αὐτῆς· ὧν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν;  
 Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ εἶλκον τὸ γένος, ὅθεν ἢ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐξώρισται καὶ ἄ  
 φθαρτὸς γενόμενος οὐκ εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός. Ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν πολλῆς  
 30

PIVLSK

5 γενόμενός τε: γενόμενος P || 8 τε: add. δὲ IVLSK || 9 πληρῶσαι: πληρώσομεν  
 P || 14 ἐκ om. P || 16 πρὸς αὐτόν: αὐτῷ P || 23 μοι om. P || 30 εἶδεν:  
 οἶδεν VLSK

3—4 τῆς νήσου . . . καλουμένης: Aroc. 1,9 || 13 πεζεύων . . . κυμάτων: cf. Mt.  
 14,24—25 || 16 ὁ μένων: cf. Io. 21,22 || 19—20 φάγε . . . ἐπεθύμησεν: cf. Eccl.  
 6,2 || 24—25 τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ . . . μαθητῇ: cf. Io. 13,23 et sim. locc.

then the Saint said to him, ‘Whence, Your Charity, do you come to me, humble woman?’ He answered, ‘Mistress, I am a seafaring inhabitant of *the isle that is called Patmos*. When in the course of my voyage here I approached the uninhabited part of our island, I caught sight of a beautiful and godlike old man who ordered us to stop. As the rush of the wind, however, did not allow the ship to halt, the more so as the place from which he gave this command was rocky, we had no means of obeying his behest. Realizing himself how helpless we were, he bade the ship in a loud voice to halt, and so it did at once, wholly unable to advance.<sup>1</sup> Full of fear hereat we gazed at him; and behold, he approached us *walking on the waves*! He produced three apples out of the fold of his garment, gave them into my hands and said, “When you are safe in the Imperial City, carry them to the Patriarch Ignatios and say to him, He who tarries has sent you these.” Then again he let down his hand and brought forth another three similar apples, saying, “Give these to Irene, the abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton, and say to her, Eat of that which your good soul has desired, for that is what I have now come to bring you from Paradise.” Praising God, he dismissed us and our ship with prayers. Now that I have fulfilled what was due to the patriarch, I have come to Your Holiness to accomplish the command given to me.’ When she heard this, her eyes filling with tears, the holy woman returned great thanks to God and to the disciple whom He loved. Producing the three apples, which were covered in a precious cloth decorated with flowers of golden thread, he gave them into her hands. Their beauty and size and fragrance—why, needless to speak thereof! For they drew their origin from that place whence our kind is banished and which no mortal eye has seen. The man

18. <sup>1</sup> This miracle varies rather originally a theme appearing in several texts, e.g. the hagiographic romance *VTheoctistLesb*, ed. Delehay 230DE, and the legendary *VPetrAthon*, ed. Lake 26, top, and 33—34. Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, ‘La Vie ancienne du saint Pierre l’Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique’, *AnalBoll*, 92 (1974), 19—61, esp. 43.

παρ'αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ δεξιώσεως ἀξιωθείς, συνταξάμενος αὐτῇ ἀνεχώρησεν.

- 68 Ἐκεῖνη δὲ ὄλην ἡμερῶν ἑβδομάδα νηστεύσασα, ὀλόκληρον τὸ ἐν οἰκείαν ἐδώδη ἐποίησατο, καὶ διήρησεν εἰς ὄλας ἡμέρας 5 τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ τῆς βρώσεως ἰσχύϊ τοῦ μήλου, μήτε τροφῆς ἑτέρας μήτε πόσεως δεηθεῖσα τὸ σύνολον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσης F θυμηδίας ἐμπιπλώσα τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ὀσφρήσεις εὐωδία· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἦν ἀναδιδομένη καὶ τσαύτη, ὡς νομίζειν θυμιαμάτων τινῶν καὶ μύρων πολυτίμων συνθέσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ κατασκευὰς καθ'ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ μονῇ καὶ τὸν ἄερα 10 καταχρώνυσθαι ταῖς ἡδυνόοις ὀσμαῖς. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσχα μεγάλης καταλαβούσης ἑβδομάδος καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐφρονητικῆς προσέταξε πάσαις ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μεταλαβεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, καθ'ἣν δηλαδὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς συνεστιαθεῖς καὶ τῆς ψυχοτρόφου παρέδωκε τὸν τύπον ὁ 15 κύριος τραπέζης. Καὶ κατατεμοῦσα μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν τὸ ἕτερον μῆλον διένειμεν αὐταῖς οὐκ εἰδυῖαις, τί ἄρα καὶ εἶη τὸ ἐσθιόμενον· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἐν αἰσθήσει γενόμεναί τινος ὑπερφουδῶς χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐξεπλήττοντο. Τὸ δ'ἄλλο φυλακτικῆρον ἑαυτῇ διετήρησε συνεχῶς ὀσφραινομένη καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαλλιάσεως μὴ λειπομένη. 20

- 69 19. Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκεῖνη, καθ'ἣν καὶ τὰ ἄχραντα πάθη τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ παρὰ πᾶσι πιστοῖς ὑμνολογεῖται, πολλῶν ἑώρα

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8 ὀσφρήσεις ante τῇ (lin. 7) tr. P || τοιαύτην P || τσαύτην P || 11 ὀσμαῖς I || 12 μεγάλης om. P || 12—13 ἁγίας πέμπτης ἡμέρας: μεγάλης πέμπτης P || 14 δηλαδὴ: δηλονότι P || 18 τοῦτο . . . αἰσθήσει: ἐν αἰσθήσει δὲ μόνον P || 20 μὴ λειπομένη: ἀεὶ γινομένη P

<sup>2</sup> In *HMonAeg*, VIII 40 (ed. Festugière p. 62 f.) we are told that Apollō, while celebrating Easter in a mountain cave together with five disciples, was visited at night by some unknown men bringing various kinds of fruit as well as honey, milk, and bread from Paradise to the monks, who happened to lack food. This, and the similar story in Cyril of Skythopolis's *VtoSab* (ed. Schwartz 211,1—14), develop the motif of a miraculous food supply, which certainly reflects a major material problem for the Desert Fathers; see, e.g., *HMonAeg*, II 9, VIII 6, XII 14 and 15 (ed. cit., p. 37 f., 48 f., and 96 f., respectively). A more formalized story in Theodoret, *HRel*, VI 12 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 362) relates how Symeon the Old meditated at the Sinai until after a week of total fasting he heard a heavenly voice telling him to partake of the food served before him, ἐκτείνας δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τρία μῆλα εὐρῶν καὶ τούτων ἐμφορηθεῖς ὡς ὁ δεδωκὼς παρηγγύησεν, ἰσχύος τε γέγονεν ἀπάσης ἀνάπλεως καὶ μετὰ θυμηδίας τοὺς συνόντας, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡσπάσατο. Sometimes the supernatural fruit (not necessarily apples) appears in connection with a visit to, not from, Paradise. This is the case with Paternouthios who is said to have visited Paradise,

was treated with much honour and hospitality by her, then bid her farewell and left.

And she, after fasting for a whole week, made the whole of one apple her food. Its nourishing power permitted her to endure for forty whole days without any other food or drink whatever; nay, with the fragrance of her mouth she rather even saturated the sisters' sense of smell with full delight.<sup>2</sup> For such was its quality and intensity as it was exhaled, that one believed that mixtures and preparations of incenses and precious perfumes were being made in the convent every day, so as to tinge the air with their sweet smells. Hereafter, when the Great Week of Divine Easter came and the Holy Thursday was at hand, she commanded all the sisters to partake of the sacraments that evening in which truly the Lord, having supper with His disciples, handed down the model of the soul-sustaining table.<sup>3</sup> After Communion she cut the second apple and distributed it among them. They did not know what their food was; they were merely amazed at the sensation of a marvellous delight and mirth. The third apple she kept for herself as an amulet, continuously smelling it and never lacking the joy it afforded.

## 19. Irene's Future Fame Predicted

On that night when the undefiled Passion of the Redeemer and Lord Jesus is celebrated in hymns among all faithful, she saw,<sup>1</sup> as in trance, a great

tasted its fruit, and brought back to the world a big fig which healed all the sick who smelled it (*HMonAeg*, X 21—22; ed. cit., p. 84); and the cook Euphrosynos, who according to *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 658F ff. (cf. *SynaxCP*, 34,59 ff.) was spiritually moved to Paradise together with his abbot. As the latter was unable to have a taste of its fruit, the cook gave him three apples which the abbot found in his hands when he woke up from his vision (on this episode, see H. Grégoire in *Byz*, 5 [1929—30], 412 f.; his reference for Paternouthios should now be updated as above). The formulaic use of three apples in some of these stories is apparently a secondary feature, helping to give formal stability to a literary convention which had lost the contact with its original milieu. — The symbolic potential of apples has been variously exploited in literary contexts, but their role in the passages quoted here has not attracted much attention; cf. the lit. cited by L. Breyer in his translation of the *Vita Basilii (Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron* [Graz/Wien/Köln, 1981]), 25, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς ψυχοτρόφου καὶ τραπέζης: the phrase is also found, e.g., in *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 893A.

19. <sup>1</sup> The following vision reflects the liturgy for consecration of a church, more especially of its altar; cf. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, ed. P. N. Trempelas, vol. 2 (Athens, 1955), 103 ff. Preparations are made by the youths in white who in accordance with the liturgy be-

λευχειμονούντων πληθύν ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει γεγονυῖα, περικυκλούντων  
 τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἁδούσας, οἱ καὶ κιθάρας χερσὶ κατέχοντες ὕμνους τινὰς  
 μελωδεῖν ἀνεκλαλήτους ἐδόκουν τῷ Χριστῷ ἔναρμονίως, νεανίας  
 ὄντας πάντας καὶ φωτοειδεῖς· εἶτα καὶ φιάλας φέροντας μύρων τῆ  
 τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ταύτας ἀποκενοῦν τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἡ εὐωδία 5  
 ἀσύγκριτος καὶ τὸ πᾶν πληροῦσα. Καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἄνδρα τινά,  
 λευχείμονα καὶ τοῦτον, ὠραῖον, εὐμεγέθη, λάμποντα τὸ πρόσωπον  
 ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ᾧ καὶ πολλὴν προσῆγον τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μετ'εὐλαβείας τὴν  
 ὑπάντησιν ἐποιοῦντο· καὶ αὐτὸς σινδόνα τούτοις πανευπρεπῆ καὶ  
 627A οἶον βασιλικὴν παρέσχετο τὰ κενωθέντα μύρα τῆ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ λίαν 10  
 ἀκριβέστατά τε κατακαλύψαι καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸν τῷ  
 θυσιαστηρίῳ προσκαρτεροῦντα τεθεαμένον ἄγγελον ἐν κατηφείᾳ  
 μεγάλη πρὸς τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀνακεκραγέναι βοῆ· “Ἐως πότε, κύριε;”  
 70 Καὶ φωνὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσαν· “Ἐως ἂν ἦξη ὁ δεῦτερος 15  
 Σολομὼν καὶ τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω καὶ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω γένηται  
 συμμιγῆ· τότε καὶ ὁ κύριος ὑψωθήσεται ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ θεραπαίνης μεγαλυθήσεται μνημόσυνον.” Καὶ εὐθὺς  
 ὑποφωνήσασαν τῶν λευχειμονούντων τὴν πληθύν· “Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις  
 θεῷ”, πρὸς οὐρανοὺς ἀναπτῆναι. Ταῦτα δὲ μεθ'ἡμέρας στρέφουσα  
 κατὰ νοῦν ἡ ὁσία, τοῦτο συνιέναι νενόμικε, τὸ μήτε ταύτην 20  
 δοξαστήσεσθαι πρὸς γε τὸ παρόν, μήτε τὴν μονὴν αὐτὴν καὶ  
 μεταστάσης αὐτῆς, ἕως ἂν αἱ μαθητευθεῖσαι ταύτη τῷ βίῳ περιῶσιν·  
 ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔλεγε, τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν αἰτησαμένη πρὸ ὀλίγου, τὴν τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων πάντως ἐκκλίνουσα τιμὴν καὶ τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ ζητοῦσα  
 B μόνην. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὑπετίθει, φεύγειν ἀεὶ τὰς ἐξ 25  
 ἀνθρώπων διδάσκουσα τιμὰς· “Οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατόν”, φησί, “τὴν μὴ τὰς  
 τοιαύτας ἀποστρεφομένην ψυχὴν τὴν δόξαν ἰδεῖν ποτε τοῦ θεοῦ.”

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3 νεανίας: νέους P || 14 ἦξει P ἦξει I || 18 λευχειμόνων IVLSK || 19  
 δὲ om. P || 20—21 ταύτην . . . μήτε om. P

7—8 λάμποντα . . . ἥλιος: cf. Mt. 17,2 || 13 ἕως πότε et 16 τότε . . . ὑψωθήσεται:  
 cf. Ps. 12(13),2—3; Is. 2,11 et 17 || 18—19 δόξα . . . θεῷ: Lc. 2,14 || 23—26  
 τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . τιμὰς: cf. Io. 5,41 et 44

sprinkle the altar with *myron* and cover it with a silk-cloth (cf. text. cit., 138—139). For some  
 reason the ceremony begun cannot be fulfilled (this explains the dejection of the angel in the  
 sanctuary), but it will be, according to the heavenly voice, when the second Solomon comes.  
 The foundation of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon is the Old Testament model

throng in white clothing surrounding the singing sisters. Holding lyres in  
 their hands they seemed harmoniously to sing ineffable hymns to Christ,  
 all being youths of luminous appearance. Then they brought bowls of  
 fragrant oil which they emptied on the table of the sanctuary. The  
 fragrance was incomparable and everything was imbued with it. After a  
 short while she saw a man, he too in white clothes, beautiful, tall, *his face*  
*shining as the sun*, whom they showed great honour and met with  
 reverence. He gave them gorgeous and, as it were, royal silk to cover ac-  
 curately and safely the oil emptied on the holy table. On seeing this, the  
 angel waiting in the sanctuary cried aloud in deep dejection to the tall  
 man, ‘*How long, O Lord?*’ And a voice was heard saying to him, ‘Till  
 the second Solomon shall come and the heavenly and the earthly worlds  
 shall intermingle. Then *the Lord shall be exalted* in this place and His ser-  
 vant’s memory shall be magnified.’ At once the throng in white clothing  
 seemed to answer, ‘*Glory to God in the highest*’, and fly up to heaven.  
 Turning this over in her mind during the day, the holy woman interpreted  
 it thus: neither was she to be glorified in the present age nor, even after  
 her death, was the convent itself, as long as her disciples remained in life.  
 In fact she had, as she said, prayed to God for this shortly before, trying  
 wholly to evade honour from men and seeking that which *comes from*  
*God only*. This was also her advice to the sisters, as she taught them  
 always to shun honour from men, saying, ‘It is impossible for a soul not  
 avoiding such honour ever to see the glory of God.’

constantly referred to in this context (text. cit., 107,2, 108,12, 133,6), so the ‘second  
 Solomon’ here is most probably the re-founder of the church, who in future will make  
 it possible to proceed with the interrupted ceremony. The church is of course that of St  
 Gabriel of Chrysobalanton, for the luminous youths appear together with Irene’s own  
 nuns. With the help of the author’s own explanation (ll. 20—22), the vision can be  
 interpreted thus: After Irene’s death she and her convent will fall into oblivion for a certain  
 period of time. Then there will appear a new founder who will restore the convent to  
 its former glory and also give the forgotten Irene her deserved place among the saints.  
 — The author did not bother to explain the obvious weak point in this, namely, how  
 it was possible to write Irene’s Life when nobody remembered her and written documents  
 apparently did not exist. — For τὰ ἄνω . . . γένηται συμμιγῆ (l. 15 f.), cf. text. cit.,  
 108,1, ‘Ὡς τοῦ ἄνω στερεώματος τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, καὶ τὴν κάτω συναπέδειξας  
 ὠραιότητα, κτλ. This unification of the terrestrial and celestial worlds is brought about  
 by the consecration; cf. *ibid.*, 110,1—2, σήμερον τῆς ἀπροσίτου δόξης σου ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις  
 τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς παγέντα σοι ναόν, οὐρανὸν κατεσκεύασεν. For the thought, cf. *VPetrAtr*,  
 ed. Laurent 85,6, (θεὸς ὁ . . .) ἐνώσας τοῖς οὐρανίοις τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ μίαν ποίμνην  
 κατασκευάσας ἀμφότερα.

20. Εύξασθαι δέ τις αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας αἰτήσασα γνώμης ἀπλότῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συγκαλεσαμένη καὶ πάσας εἶπε· ‘Πιστεύσατέ μοι, τέκνα, παρρησίας εἴ τινος ἔτυχον πρὸς θεόν, τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἂν ἦτῃσα, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὑγείᾳ σωματικῇ παρ’ ὄλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν χρόνον μηδεμίαν ὑμῶν διατελέσαι· οἶδα 5 γάρ, ἀκριβῶς οἶδα, ὅτι τοῦ σώματος κάμνοντος πολλή τις ὠφέλεια προσγίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς χάριν διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κηδεμόνι τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὁμολογοῦσι θεῶ.’

C 71 21. Ἐν ἔτι τῶν ἐκείνης θαυμασίων προστεθείσθω τῇ διηγήσει, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς ἐγγύτητος καὶ παρρησίας μαρτύριον ἐναργές. 10 Φθόνῳ τινὲς κινούμενοι, οἷα πολλὰ τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις περὶ τὰ παρόντα ποιεῖν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑποτίθησι, διαβάλλουσι πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν ἐγγύθεν τῇ ὁσίᾳ καὶ φιλουμένων αὐτῇ συγγενῶν τινα, τῇ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων ἀξία τετιμημένον καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ κατὰ κόσμον λαμπρὸν περιφανείᾳ. Καὶ τὸ τῆς διαβολῆς οὐ μικρόν· ‘Τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἅπαντα’, φησί, ‘καὶ 15 μελετῶν ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦ σοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζων κράτους.’ Ὁ δὲ μηδ’ ἐρωτήσεως κἂν γοῦν ψιλῆς περὶ τοσοῦτου καὶ ταῦτα πράγματος ἀνασχόμενος, συλληφθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα προστάξας ἐν τινὶ τοῦ παλατιοῦ ζοφώδει κατέκλεισε φυλακῇ, μηδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδότα τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσήκοντες 20 628D διαψιθυριζόμενόν πως περὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἠκηκόεισαν τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐναπορριφῆναι τοῦτον βυθῷ διασκοπεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδ’ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλ’ ἐν νυκτί, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ ταφῆς αὐτοῦ τύχοι τὸ σῶμα, 72 μηδενὶ τῶν οἰκειῶν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τούτου γνωσθείσης ἀπωλείας, πάντων ἀπογνόντες πρὸς τὴν πολλὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἔχουσαν τὴν 25 παρρησίαν καταφεύγουσιν Εἰρήνην, δάκρυα τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον

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2 τῶν . . . πάσας: πάσας συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφὰς P || 13 συγγενῶν τινα: συγγενῇ IVLSK || 17 γοῦν om. P || 23 τύχη I || 26 τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον om. P

20. <sup>1</sup> For this idea in general, cf. Theodoret, *HRel*, XXXI 14,6—8 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 294, with note 1). There it is stated that illness is no evil thing, a simple negation of the traditional view. Here its positive benefits are emphasized, as, e.g., in *VLuctun*, Suppl., ed. Martini 106,11—13, τὸ νοσεῖν . . . γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ καιριώτατον, ὥστε πρὸς τὸ ἐθέλειν εἶναι μοναχὸν ἀληθῆ πλείστα συνεισφέρει καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν.

21. <sup>1</sup> *Illoüstrios* was the highest of the titles which gave access to the senate; see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1967), 67. When the Goube-

## 20. Illness Better than Health

When one of the sisters in the simplicity of her mind asked Irene to pray for health of body, she called them all together and said, ‘Believe me, children, if I possessed any candour before God, I would first of all pray that none of you should pass one single day of your entire lifetime in corporeal health. For I know, I know very well that when the body is ill, the soul will benefit greatly,<sup>1</sup> especially for such as offer thanks for this to God, the Guardian of our souls.’

## 21. The Liberation of Irene’s Imprisoned Kinsman

One more of her wonderful deeds should be added to the narrative, a clear proof of her proximity to God and her freedom of speech before Him. Driven by envy some people slandered one of the holy woman’s beloved close relatives before the Emperor, an act such as the Evil One often will induce those passionate about mundane things to commit. It was a man honoured with the dignity of *illoüstrios*<sup>1</sup> and distinguished with other worldly prominence. The slander was of no petty purport for it said, ‘He is plotting and preparing against Your Majesty all that traitors are wont to do.’ The Emperor did not even tolerate a simple question, and that about such an important issue, but ordered the man to be arrested and confined him to a dark dungeon in the palace, leaving him ignorant even of the cause of the Emperor’s wrath. When the man’s family heard a rumour whispered around the Imperial Palace that the Emperor was planning to have him thrown into the depth of the sea—not at daytime but at night, so that his body would not even be buried, since none of his relatives would learn in what way he had died<sup>2</sup>—, then they surrendered all hope and sought refuge with Irene with her great candour before God.

rioi are introduced (*supra*, 10,24 ff.), they are said to be senators and patricians. Patrician dignity was open to all *illoüstrio*i (see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 294—295), thus it would seem somewhat awkward to call a man *illoüstrios* if he was a patrician as well. But since this man is said to have paid honour to Irene’s memory ‘during the whole of his life’ (*infra*, 110,25 ff.), he must be considered much younger than Irene herself (dead at 97), so he is probably not meant to be included among the Gouberioi present at her arrival in Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> The part. γνωσθείσης logically belongs to τρόπου, not to the subordinate noun ἀπωλείας. The text need hardly be changed.

κενοῦντες τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ βοηθῆσαι ταῖς εὐπροσδέκτοις εὐχαῖς τῷ συγγενεῖ ἀδίκως κινδυνεύοντι παρακαλοῦντες αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ — καὶ τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίησε πρὸς ταῦτα ψυχὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπιαν ἐξησκημένη καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τῆς ἀγάπης νόμον καλῶς ἀποπληροῦν ἐπισταμένη; — σφόδρα περίλυπος γενομένη, στενάξασά τε βαρὺ καὶ 5 δακρῦσασα τούτους μὲν ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν οἴκαδε καὶ μὴ ἄθυμειν. “Ἄλλ’ ἐλπίσωμεν”, φησὶν, “ἐπὶ κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει.” Δεύτερα δὲ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἠγησαμένη, κλείσασα τὴν θύραν ἰκέτευε τὸν 10 θεὸν ἐκτενωῶς· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνη.

Ἦ βασιλεὺς δὲ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ ὄραν ἐδόκει 10 τὴν ὁσίαν Εἰρήνην παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγουσαν· “Βασιλεῦ, ἀναστάς αὐτίκα τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπόλυσον ὃν καθεῖρξας ἀδίκως· οὐδὲν γὰρ σοι τῶν κατ’ αὐτοῦ λαλουμένων ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ψεῦδος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ συκοφαντία. Εἰ δ’ οὖν ἄλλ’ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον κατὰ 15 σου κινήσω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἐγερῶ σοι καὶ σφαγὴν, ὥστε σου καὶ τὰς σάρκας βορὰν προκεῖσθαι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.” Τὸν δὲ ταραχθῆναι καὶ θυμῷ 73 ζέσαντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀντειπεῖν· “Τίς καὶ πόθεν εἰ σύ, τοιαῦτα ἐμοὶ προπετῶς ἀπειλεῖν ἀποτολμῶσα; τίς δέ σοι καὶ τῆς εισόδου ὁ παραχωρήσας ἐν ὥρᾳ τοιαύτῃ;” Καὶ ἀποκριθῆναι τούτῳ· “Ἐγὼ ἢ 20 Εἰρήνη εἰμι τῆς τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου μονῆς ἢ ἠγουμένη.” Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον εἰποῦσαν, νύξασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὴν τούτου πλευρὰν ἀναχωρήσαι. Ἄλλὰ τίς μὴ θαυμάσει τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ τεράστια; Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν πλευρὰν ὀδυνηθεὶς τεθορυβημένος ἀφυπνίσθη, εἶδεν αὐτὴν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ βαδίζουσαν, 25 ἀπιοῦσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενομένην ἤδη τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐξιοῦσαν· καὶ κράζειν εὐθὺς ἤρξατο ὥστε πᾶσιν αὐτῷ τοῖς σωματοφυλακοῦσιν οὐκ ὀλίγον γενέσθαι τὸν τάραχον, πτοηθεῖσι μὴ τι καὶ πάθοι τῶν 30 ἀδοκῆτων ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἦρετο γοῦν τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τὸν πρῶτιστον, ὃν δὴ καλοῦσι παρακοιμώμενον· “Οὐχ ἐώρακας τὴν τοῦ κοιτῶνος

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7 καὶ om. L || 8 τὰ: τῶν IVLSK, sed cf. *VLucUn*, PG 111, 465A, τὸ μηδὲν πάντα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἠγησάμενον; cf. etiam *VAlypStyl*, ed. Delehaye 184,10—11, *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 29, c. 48 ad fin. (Kurtz, 28,33; etiam ibid. 40,5) || 10 περί: περί που VLSK || 13 ἐστὶν om. IVLSK || 20—21 εἰμι ἢ Εἰρήνη inv. P || 21 ἢ ἠγουμένη ante τῆς tr. P || 26 καὶ . . . ἐξιοῦσαν om. PI || 27 εὐθὺς om. IVLSK || τοῖς αὐτῷ inv. P

16—17 τοῖς θηρίοις . . . οὐρανοῦ: cf. Gen. 1,30 et sim. locc.

Totally draining their eyes of tears they begged her to help their unjustly accused relative with her acceptable prayers. What could a soul trained in God’s benevolence and well knowing to fulfil His law of love have done in this situation? Utterly grieved and deeply sighing and weeping she commanded them to go home and not to be disheartened, saying, ‘Let us set our hopes to the Lord, He will help.’ What else she had in hand she considered unimportant, and so she closed her door and fervently supplicated God. So far about her.<sup>3</sup>

About midnight the Emperor, awake, not dreaming,<sup>4</sup> seemed to see the holy Irene standing beside him, saying, ‘Emperor, stand up at once and release from prison the man you have unjustly confined. None of the accusations brought to you against him are true; no, they are lies and slander. Otherwise I will stir the King of heaven Himself against you, and raise a war and a slaughter against you, so that your flesh will provide food for the *beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air.*’ He was agitated, and seething with anger answered her, ‘Who are you and where do you come from, daring to threaten me with such insolence? And who let you in at this hour?’ She replied, ‘I am Irene, the abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton.’ This she said not once but thrice, and pricking him in the side the last time she retired. But who shall not marvel at the wonders of God? As he woke up, alarmed by the pain in his side, he saw how she walked before his eyes, went away, and reaching the door passed out of the chamber. Then he began to shout so that a great tumult arose among all his bodyguards, excited lest the Emperor had met with some danger. He asked the foremost of his confidants, the so-called Chamberlain, ‘Did

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 2 on ch. 13, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> According to line 24 ff., only the very end of Irene’s appearance is a waking vision, namely when after rousing the Emperor she walks out of his chamber before his eyes. Likewise, at 96,29, the Emperor is said to have seen her threatening him κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Cf. also 92,11, 96,7. But the opposition implied by ὕπαρ — ὄναρ is here rather that between a ‘real’ vision and an imaginary sight; both may appear in dreams. See G. Dagron, ‘Rêver de Dieu . . .’ (note 2 on ch. 15, *supra*), 42.

ἐξελθοῦσαν νυνὶ μοναχὴν; Ὁ δὲ ἀχανὴς εἰστήκει, μὴ καὶ παραφρονῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑποτοπάζων· ὅμως ἀπεκρίνατο μηδὲν  
 74 τοιοῦτον μήτε θεάσασθαι μήτε γενέσθαι· Ἄλλ' ἴδου πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ  
 θύραι κεκλεισμέναι ἀσφαλέςτατα καὶ φρουρούμεναι, αἱ κλεῖς δὲ  
 ὑποτεθειμέναι τῇ ἐμῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν στρωμνῆ, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν πρὸς  
 5 τὸν σὸν τὸ παράπαν εἴσοδος κοιτῶνα.' Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐν  
 ἑαυτῷ, Ἐννοῶ ἀληθῶς, εἶπεν, ὡς θεία τις ἦν ὄρασις τὰ ὄραθέντα  
 μοι.'

Πρωῖας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαγαγὼν τῆς φυλακῆς τὸν κατεχόμενον  
 παρίστησι τε αὐτὸν καὶ φησὶ· Τίσι μαγείαις χρησάμενος ἀπειλὰς ἡμῖν  
 10 ἐν ὄνειροις καὶ θορύβους ἔπεμψας, ὡς ἂν σοι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων  
 γοητειῶν διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβουλὰς σου  
 βασιλείας; Ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον βλέπων ἦν ἐπὶ  
 δεξιὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρεστῶτας· μόλις δὲ ποτε  
 ἀπεκρίνατο· Πέποιθα ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐδέποτε μάγῳ συνέτυχον  
 15 οὐδ' ἠνέσχετό μου, βασιλεῦ, τοιοῦτον ἀκοή ἀσέβημα δι' ὅλης τῆς ζωῆς  
 παραδέξασθαι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, μὴ γένοιτο, βουλὴν  
 ἐγὼ — μάρτυς κύριος — ἠντιναοῦν ἐνενόησα.' Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 629A 75 πραότερόν πως διατεθεὶς Ἐπιγινώσκεις δέ τινα', ἤρετο, Ἐιρήνην ἐν  
 μοναστηρίῳ λεγομένῳ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ διάγουσαν; Ἄναι, φησὶ,  
 20 βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐγγιστά που τῆς Ἀσπαρὸς ἐστὶ τῶν  
 γλυκῆων ὑδάτων δεξαμενῆς.' Καὶ εἰ νῦν ἀποστείλω, εἶπεν ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς, εὐροίμι ταύτην ἂν; Ἐκ παντός, ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐδὲ γάρ  
 ποτε τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἔξεισι μοναστηρίου.' Παραυτίκα τοίνυν τὸν τε  
 πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν  
 25 μεγιστάνων μετὰ τῆς συνήθους ἐξαποστείλας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπόμενον  
 τούτοις καὶ ζωγράφον εἶναι παρήγγειλεν, ὕφ' οὗ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης  
 πρόσωπον εἰκονισθὲν αὐτῷ κομισθεῖν, ὅπως γνώσωμαι, φησὶ, τὸν  
 ὄραθέντα μοι χαρακτῆρα.' Ταῦτα δὲ προστεταχῶς τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ  
 30 αὐθις τὸν ὑπεύθυνον αὐτῷ νομιζόμενον κατέχεσθαι διωρίσατο.

Ἡ μέντοι ὁσία Εἰρήνη τὰς κατὰ τύπον ἐπικαίρως πληρώσασα

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3 γενέσθαι μήτε θεάσασθαι inv. P || 12 διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται: γένηται δ. P ||  
 τὰς: τὰς σὰς P || ἐπιβουλὰς σου: ἐπιβουλὰς P || 13 μὴ: μηδὲν IVLSK, qui  
 τι om. || 14 ἐπ' om. P || 16 ἀκοή τοιοῦτον inv. P || fort. suppl. (ἢ) ἀκοή  
 || 17—18 βουλὴν ἐγὼ μὴ γένοιτο inv. I βουλὴν suprascr. L || 22 εἶπεν: ἔφη I  
 || 23 ἂν: ἄρα IVLSK || 24 ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 25 καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον om.  
 S || 28 κομισθῆναι P || γνῶ P || 29 δὲ om. P

you not see the nun who just left the chamber?' He stood aghast, suspecting the Emperor of being mad. Yet he answered that he had not seen any such thing, and no such thing had happened. 'No', he continued, 'all the doors are safely locked and guarded, and the keys are still under my bed where I have put them. From absolutely nowhere is there a way into your chamber.' Returned to his senses the Emperor said, 'Now I know for sure that my sight was a divine vision.'

In the morning he had the prisoner led out of the dungeon, brought him forward and said, 'What magic did you use to threat and confuse us with dreams, trying through such sorceries to escape the consequences of your plottings against our Imperial Majesty?' Unable to say anything to this, the man only looked to the right and to the left at those who stood by, but at last answered, 'By God, I am convinced that I have never spoken with a sorcerer, and throughout my life, Emperor, I have refused even to listen to anyone speaking of such a sacrilege. No—the Lord is my witness—, far be it from me to have planned any assault against Your Majesty!' Somewhat mollified the Emperor asked, 'Do you know one Irene living in a convent called Chrysobalanton?' 'Yes, Emperor', he said, 'the convent is situated quite near the sweet-water cistern of Aspar.'<sup>5</sup> 'So if I send for her now', said the Emperor, 'I could find her?' 'Certainly', he answered, 'she never leaves her convent.' Immediately dispatching the Master of the Robes and the Treasurer and some others from among the grandees with their usual retinue, he commanded that a painter should also be in their company. By him Irene's face should be portrayed and brought to him, so that he might recognize, as he said, the features of his vision. Having given this order he resolved that the man he considered guilty should be imprisoned again.

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

<sup>5</sup> On this cistern, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 204—205. Several monasteries are known to have existed in this rather rural district; see id., 'Les sanctuaires du quartier de Pétra (Constantinople)' *EO*, 34 (1935), 402—413.

προσευχάς, εἰς τὸ διακονικὸν γενομένη τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσας συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφάς φησι πρὸς αὐτάς· 'Ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ὄναρ μοι συνέβη παρὰ βασιλέως ὄραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεγιστᾶνας ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ πολλὸν ἰπέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὄχλον ἐπισυρομένους καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μηδὲ ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῆς μονῆς τὸν ὄλον χωρητὸν εἶναι. 5  
 "Ὅμως εἴ τι καὶ συμβαίη τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μηδαμῶς θροηθῆτε, καὶ

**B 76** κύριος τὸ συμφέρον πάντως οἰκονομήσει.' Αἱ δὲ φόβῳ καὶ δειλίᾳ ληφθεῖσαι τὰς χεῖρας θατέρα προστριβουσαι θατέραν ἐν μεγάλῃ λύπῃ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦντο.

Καὶ παρευθὺς ἦκον οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένοι, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος 10 καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶν φαινομένων ἢ θυρωρὸς φοβηθεῖσα, τὸν τῆς μονῆς ἠνεωγμένον λιποῦσα πυλῶνα ὄχετο δραμοῦσα τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον ἔλευσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ τὰ τε ἐνδότερα τὰ τε τῆς μονῆς ἐξώτερα πλήρη τῶν ἵππων ὠρᾶτο καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων· ὅπερ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγην πτόησιν 15 ἐνεποίει, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς ὁσίας πρόρρησιν ἔτι τοῖς ὠσὶν ἐχούσαις ἔναυλον. Πράως δὲ τοὺς τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀποβαίνοντας πρὸς αὐτάς ἔχοντας ὀρῶσαι, τοῦ φόβου μὲν ἀνείθησαν, τῆς διδασκάλου δὲ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐξεπλήττοντο. Μηνύει τοῖνυν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι τούτοις διὰ μιᾶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ ὁσία, πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσελθόντας ἐκεῖσε 20 ταύτην ὄψεσθαι. Εἰσίασιν οὖν οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τὰ προστεταγμένα ὠσὶν οἰκείους παρὰ βασιλέως ἐδέξαντο, καὶ προσευξάμενοι τῆς ὁσίας ἀνέμενον τὴν ἔλευσιν. Νέφεσι δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου διατειχίζουσι τὰς λαμπηδόνας ἀλαμπῆ συνέβαινε τὸν ἀέρα τυγχάνειν. Ἦκε τοῖνυν καὶ ἡ ὁσία διὰ τῆς πλαγίας θύρας πρὸς αὐτούς· προηγησαμένη δὲ τῆς 25 προσκυνήσεως προσκυνοῦντας εἶχε καὶ τούτους. Καὶ δὴ ἀνανεύοντες εἶδον ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνατέλλουσαν τοῦ τιμίου αὐτῆς προσώπου· καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεσον χαμαί,

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6 θροηθεῖητε IVLSK || 12 ἀνεωγμένον P || 17 ἰποζυγίων VLSK || 20 ἐκεῖ P || 21 οὐ πάντες ἀλλ': ἅπαντες P || 23 ἔλευσιν: ἀφιξιν I || 23—24 νέφεσι . . . διατειχίζουσι τὰς λαμπηδόνας: νεφῶν . . . τὰς λαμπηδόνας διατειχίζόντων P || 26 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. IVLSK || 27 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>: ἐκ τοῦ P

28 ἀπῆλθον . . . χαμαί: Io. 18,6

<sup>6</sup> Why 'unexpected'? Since Irene had warned 'all the sisters' (*supra*, line 1 f.) about the arrival of the Emperor's men, the only explanation possible seems to be that the door-keeper did not belong to the sisterhood but had the position of a secular servant, much like the vine-dresser Nicholas (*supra*, ch. 15) and, probably, the maid Euetheia (*infra*, ch. 22). The social structure of Byzantine nunneries included the two categories of nuns who sang the

casation, went into the diaconicon of the church, and gathering together all the sisters said to them, 'This night I had a dream in which I saw grandees sent out to us by the Emperor, bringing with them a numerous crowd of horsemen and footmen, so large that there was not room for them all in the courts of the convent. Yet if something of the kind should happen, you must by no means be troubled: the Lord will surely dispense a favourable issue.' But they were beset by fear and anxiety and kept wringing their hands in great distress.

Presently the men sent out by the Emperor arrived. Leaving the gates of the convent open in fear of their multitude and magnificence of appearance, the door-keeper ran away to announce the unexpected<sup>6</sup> arrival of the officials. Meanwhile horses<sup>7</sup> and mules were seen thronging both inside and outside the convent. At first this inspired great excitement into the sisters, especially since they had the holy woman's prophecy still ringing in their ears. But when they saw that the men dismounting the horses were friendly disposed towards them, they relaxed from their fear and marvelled at the foreknowledge of their teacher. Through one of the sisters the Saint gave a signal to the grandees to enter the church and see her there. Not all went in but only as many as had received the orders from the Emperor with their own ears, and after a prayer they waited for the holy woman to arrive. As clouds screened off the light of the sun, the day happened to be dark. The Saint came in to them through the side-door. Taking the lead in prostration, she made the men too prostrate themselves, and when they raised their eyes, they saw a flash of lightning suddenly rise from her precious face. Unable to bear it, *they went backward and fell to the ground*, like those who had come to arrest Christ,

liturgy and nuns who worked in the household. But besides, servants and even slaves were not uncommon; see J. Leroy, 'Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite', *AnalBoll*, 82 (1964), 409—429, esp. 417 with note 1.

<sup>7</sup> People on horseback seem to have constituted a common feature in Constantinopolitan urban life, at least as far as the relatively well-to-do are concerned. E.g., as the Emperor Theophilos, as usual riding his horse through the city one Friday, was approached by some nuns supplicating him about the maltreatment by two landed *magistroi*, the latter appeared to have followed the nuns on horseback (*De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* ed. Regel 41, 14—24). In *VTheophan* (ed. Kurtz 17, 30) a certain Myron, *kandidatos* and secretary of the author's father, thus not a man of high rank, rides his own horse on an errand in the city. A noble woman appears on horseback near the monastery of the young Antonios Kauleas in *VAntCaul*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 21, 3 ff. In *VASal*, PG 111, 849BC, a *chartoularios-plaimōn*, belonging to 'the powerful' (εἰς τῶν μεγάλων), but perhaps not to the highest society, rides his horse near the Hippodrome. In the 12th c., Benjamin of Tudela was impressed by the luxurious life of the Constantinopolitans, e.g. the fact that they ride





καθάπερ οἱ συλλαβεῖν ἐλληλυθότες τὸν καθηγητὴν αὐτῆς καὶ νυμφίον Χριστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὄλον πεπλήρωκε τῆς φωτοχυσίας τὸν ναόν. Προσερχομένη δὲ χεῖρας ὠρεγεν ἐκάστω καὶ διανίστα τούτους λέγουσα· ‘Τεκνία μου, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἄνθρωπος εἰμι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσθένειαν περικειμένη τῆς φύσεως. Ἄλλὰ τί κόπους ὑμῶν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀποστείλας ὑμᾶς ἄπιστος; Εἶπατε γοῦν αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα, ἅπερ ἔδοξεν ἐν ὄνειρῳ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούειν.’ ‘Ἀπόλυσον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς· οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄδικον εἰργασμένος οὐδὲ κατὰ τῆς σῆς μελετήσας βασιλείας. Εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ λαληθέντα σοι πάντως ἔξει καὶ πέρασ, καὶ κύριος οὐ βραδυνεῖ, ὅτι πᾶσιν ἐγγύς ἐστι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.’ Οἱ δὲ μήπω τοῦ προτέρου τελέως ἀνεθέντες φόβου, καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες δέει πολλῶ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον· ‘Ἀπαγγελοῦμεν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν σὴν πρόσταξιν· ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ μικρὸν καθεσθεῖσαν τῆς σῆς ἡμῖν ψυχοφελοῦς ὁμιλίας μεταδοῦναι.’ Τοῦτο δὲ δυοῖν ἔνεκα παρ’ αὐτῆς ἤτησαν, ἐνὶ μὲν ὥστε τῆς τιμίας αὐτῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων ἀπολαῦσαι ῥημάτων, ἑτέρῳ δὲ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐπίταγμα καὶ τὸν ζωγράφον ἐκτελέσαι, τῷ παρέλκοντι τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀκριβέστερον τὸ ταύτης εἶδος διαγράψαντα.

Λαβόντες τοίνυν τὸ τῆς ὄσιας ἐκτύπωμα καὶ μετ’ εὐχῶν αὐτῆς προπεμφθέντες πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα τούτους ὑπέστρεψαν ἀπαγγείλαντες αὐτῷ, ὅσα τε εἶδον ὅσα τε ἤκουσαν παρ’ αὐτῆς. Εἶτα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτης ὑποδεικνύουσι, καὶ ἅμα τῷ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιβαλεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν βασιλέα, ἀστραπή τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ὀξέως ἐκπηδήσασα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ φοβερὸν περιήστραψε, καὶ μέγα τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου πεποίηκεν ἀνακεκραγέναι· ‘Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου.’ Καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ εἰστήκει ἐννεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν χαρακτῆρα βλέπων καὶ διὰ θαύματος ποιούμενος, ὅπως ἐκείνης αὐτῆς ἐστὶν, ἦν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἑώρα διαπειλουμένην αὐτῷ. Μηκέτι γοῦν ἀμφιβάλλων τοῖς ὁράμασιν ἐξάγει τὸν

PIVLSK

3 προσελοῦσα P || 9 εἰ: ἐὰν IVLSK || 12 ἀνεθέντος P || 15 εἴνεκα VLSK || 27 σου ἔλεος inv. VLS σου suprascr. K || καί² om. P || 29 ἑώρακε I

5 τὴν . . . περικειμένη: cf. Heb. 5,2; cf. etiam Act. 14,15 || 10 κύριος . . . βραδυνεῖ: cf. Sir. 35(32),19 || 10—11 πᾶσιν . . . ἀληθεία: cf. Ps. 144(145),18 || 26—27 ἔλεησον . . . σου: Ps. 50(51),3

her Teacher and Bridegroom; for it flooded the whole church with its brightness. Approaching, she stretched her hands towards each of them and made them stand up, saying, ‘My children, do not be frightened. I am also a human being,<sup>8</sup> *compassed with the natural infirmity* of humans. But why did he who sent you cause you trouble in his distrust? Only tell him again what he believed to hear from me in the dream: ‘Release the man from prison. He has done no wrong, nor has he plotted against Your Majesty. Otherwise the words spoken to you will surely come true, and the Lord will not delay, for He is *nigh unto all them that call upon Him in truth*’.’ When they heard this, being not yet fully relaxed from their former fear, they said to her in great dread, ‘We will report all to the Emperor according to your command. But we pray you, sit down for a short while and give us part of your soul-benefitting conversation.’ This they requested from her with two intentions, firstly to enjoy her precious appearance and her God-inspired words, secondly to enable the painter to perform the Emperor’s command, delineating her face the more accurately as the conversation was protracted.

Bidden farewell with her prayers, they returned with the image of the holy woman to him who had sent them, reporting to him all they had seen and all they had heard from her. Then they showed him her image, and just as the Emperor cast his eyes on it, a flash of lightning suddenly sprang up from it, gleaming terribly before his eyes, and made him cry aloud in terror, ‘*Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy lovingkindness!*’ Greatly appalled he stood speechless for a long time, looking at the portrait in amazement that it showed exactly the woman who had threatened him in his dream. No longer doubting his vision he led the prisoner out

their horses like princes’ [whereas ‘no Jew is allowed to ride a horse, except for R. Solomon the Egyptian, who is the King’s doctor’]; see the trans. by A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 136.

<sup>8</sup> For parallels to this phrase, which is common in the context, see D. Papachryssanthou, ‘La Vie ancienne . . .’ (note 1 on ch. 18, *supra*), 45, note 1. Add Athanasios, *VAnt*, 48 (PG 26, 913A; somewhat different context), and cf. 104,14, *infra*.

κατεχόμενον τῆς φυλακῆς εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι διεκώλυσεν αὐτῷ  
 E τὴν ἄδικον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὴν μελλόντων  
 ἐπενεχθῆναι τούτῳ δεινῶν προφανῶς ἐλυτρώσατο. Γράφει δὲ πρὸς  
 τὴν ὁσίαν ἐπιστολὴν τὸν τύπον ἔχουσαν τοῦτον· 'Κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξίν  
 σου, θεράπεινα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν κατεχόμενον, ὡς ἐδήλωσας, ἀθῶν 5  
 ὄντα τῆς φυλακῆς, ἰδοὺ, σοὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. 'Επιγράφωντες δὲ καὶ  
 χάριτας, καθότι διὰ σοῦ τῆς ἐπηρτημένης δίκης ἡμεῖς ἀπηλλάγημεν,  
 καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμεν ὧν ἐσφάλημεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν·  
 ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς πεισθῆναι τῇ κελεύσει σου τῆς σῆς ἀξιοθέντας  
 ἐπιφανείας καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλῆσαι σοι. Σύγγνωθι τοίνυν μητρικῇ 10  
 συμπαθείᾳ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἴλεων τῇ πολλῇ σου παρρησίᾳ χρωμένη  
 ποίησον ἡμῖν· ἔσται δέ σου γνώριμον τὸ συμπαθές, ἐὰν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 οὐκ ἀπαξίωσης τὴν παρουσίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵν' ἐγώ τε καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα  
 τῇ τῶν ἡγιασμένων σου χειρῶν εὐλογηθῶμεν ἐπιθέσει. Εἰ δέ σοι τοῦτο  
 μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε πάντως ἐλευσόμεθα πρὸς σε καὶ 15  
 δεηθυσόμεθα τάχα δευτέραν διὰ ὄχλησιν δευτέρας καὶ συγγνώμης.'  
 80 Δεξαμένη δὲ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς διὰ τινος τῶν τοῦ  
 κοιτῶνος αὐτῇ σταλέντα δῶρα βασιλικά, χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἀντιγράφει  
 F καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ· 'Ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ὢν, βασιλεῦ, πάντοτε  
 συγκαταβαίνειν οἶδε ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν· φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ καὶ οὐ 20  
 θελήσει θέλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν  
 αὐτόν. Σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ μὴ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ δὸς δόξαν. Πλὴν  
 οὔτε τὴν βασιλείαν σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν οὔτε τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ταπεινώσιν πρὸς σὲ πρέπον ἐστίν· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶ σοι χρεῖα γυναιίου  
 πενιχροῦ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦ. Ἔχεις δὲ τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, ὧν αἱ χεῖρες 25  
 εἰς τὸ ἀγιάζειν μόνον ἐτάχθησαν, τὸν ἅγιον ἡμῶν πατέρα καὶ  
 πατριάρχην, τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ὀρθοδόξου  
 ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας τῶν μοναστηρίων, καὶ ἐὰν  
 θέλης ἐνωτίζεσθαι τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν νουθεσίας, καὶ τὸν θεὸν  
 θεραπεύσεις καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσάν σοι βασιλείαν εὐσεβῶς καὶ 30  
 σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως ἔση κυβερνῶν. Εἰ δὲ τῷ σκοπῷ σου βουλευθῆς  
 ἀκολουθῆσαι, εὖ ἴσθι, ὡς οὔτε μεταστειλόμενος οὔτε μὴν

PIVLSK

11 ἴλεω VLSK || 16 δευτέρας δι' ὄχλήσεως P || 22 ἀλλὰ om. P || 24 ἐστίν·  
 ἐστὶν ἀφικέσθαι P || 30 θεραπείσης VLSK || 31 βουλευθείης P

20—22 οὐ θελήσει . . . αὐτόν: cf. Ez. 18,23 || 22 μὴ ἡμῖν . . . δόξαν: Ps. 113,9 (115,1)

of his confinement, thanking God that He had prevented him from the unjust murder of the man and manifestly rescued him from the evils that would in consequence have befallen him. Then he wrote a letter to the Saint with the following content: 'Servant of Christ, according to your command we have released the prisoner from his confinement, for he is, as you have shown, without guilt. Assigning you gifts, since through you we have been rescued from the imminent punishment, we beg for forgiveness for whatever wrong we have done your Highness. When we were granted your epiphany, we should have obeyed your command and by no means bothered you. Forgive us with motherly sympathy and make God gracious to us, using your great freedom of speech. Your sympathetic heart will be apparent of you do not decline to pay a call on us so that I and the Empress might be blessed with the laying on of your sanctified hands. If this does not please you, then we will certainly come to you and beg for a second forgiveness for importuning you a second time.'

Having received the letter and the gifts which the Emperor sent her along with it through one of the chamber servants, Irene wrote to the Emperor in her own hand: 'Being good, Emperor, God is always wont to overlook our infirmities. He loves mankind and has no *pleasure at all that the wicked should die but that he should be converted and live. Not unto us, then, but unto His name give glory.* It is not suitable, however, that Your Imperial Highness should visit me nor that I in my humility should visit you, for you have no need of a poor sinful woman. You have people to bless you, the hands of whom are assigned solely to sanctifying: our Holy Father, the patriarch, the bishops of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, the spiritual fathers of the monasteries. If you are willing to listen to advice from them, you will both serve God and be a pious and wise and righteous ruler of the empire entrusted to you. But if you wish to pursue your intention, you should know that neither if you send for me nor

ἐλευσόμενος ὄψει τὸ παράπαν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν θεὸν παροξυνεῖς· καὶ ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου σκεπάσει σε πάντως ἐκ παντὸς πειρασμοῦ.<sup>7</sup>

81 Ταῦτα γράψασα καὶ σφραγίσασα καὶ τινα χάριν εὐλογίας ἀνταπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ· οἷς δὴ καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὅτι μὴ ταύτην ἀξιοῦται θεάσασθαι, περὶ τούτου μὲν οὐκέτι δεῖν ἔγνω βιάσασθαι· συνεχέστερον δὲ πέμπων καὶ εὐχῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ῥημάτων ἀφθόνως ἀπήλαυε διὰ τῶν ἐρχομένων, καὶ πολλὴν παρ' αὐτῆς εὐρίσκων ἦν τὴν παράκλησιν. Ὁ μέντοι διασωθεις τοῦ κινδύνου 5  
631A συγγενῆς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εὐχαριστίας τούτους ἐπλυνε δάκρυσι. Διαναστήσασα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαριστίας πρὸς θεὸν εἰποῦσα ῥήματα, πολλαῖς δὲ τοῦτον σθενώσασα παραιnéσει καὶ βίου λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύοντος ἐπιτρέψασα, 'Εἰ μὴ γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν', φησί, 'καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καταφρόνησιν ἐγκαταλειφθῶμεν, 15 οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιφέρειν ὁ πονηρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς πειρασμούς.' Καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ θεὸς γρηγορεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς πειρασμούς, διεμαρτύρατο, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξεν. Εὐφροσύνης ἡμέραν καὶ χαρμονῆς τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας τὴν σήμερον ἔκρινε γενέσθαι· καὶ 20 τράπεζαν κοινὴν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐτοιμάσασθαι παντοδαποῖς κεκοσμημένην ἀσκητικοῖς ἐδωδήμασι, καὶ τούτῳ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς εἰς δόξαν συνειστιάθη θεοῦ· εἶτα τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συγγενέσιν εὐφροσύνης αὐτὸν πλείονος ἀφορμὴν καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν. 25

22. 'Ἄλλ' ἵκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα παραστήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται καὶ ἕτερον σιωπῆς οὐκ ἄξιον οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι. 'Ἀνὴρ τις τῶν συνήθων αὐτῇ καὶ φίλων — Χριστοφόρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ —, ὄν διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐλάβειαν 30  
C δι' αἰδοῦς εἶχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ γνησιῶς ὠμίλει τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ

#### PIVLSK

1 ἐλευσόμενος: ἐλθὼν P || 2 σκεπάσει VLSK || 8 ἀπέλαυε P ἀπήλαυε I || 11—12 καὶ . . . τοῦτον in marg. scr. SK || 16 ἐπιφέρειν . . . πειρασμούς: ἰσχὺν ὁ πονηρὸς τοὺς πειρασμούς ἐπιφέρειν P || 17 καὶ<sup>3</sup> om. P || 18 πειρασμόν I || 20 σήμερον . . . γενέσθαι: ἡμέραν λογίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ P || 21 ἐτοιμάσαι P ἐτοιμάσθαι L || 28 οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι: διηγῆσασθαι P

2 ἡ δεξιὰ . . . σκεπάσει: cf. Sap. 5,16 || 17—18 γρηγορεῖν . . . πειρασμούς: cf. Mt. 26,41 || 26—27 τὸν πλοῦτον . . . τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Eph. 1,7 et sim. locc.

if you come here will you by any means see me, but rather annoy God. And if you listen to me, the right hand of the Supreme will surely protect you from every temptation.<sup>9</sup>

Having written and sealed this, she also sent some gifts<sup>9</sup> in return to the Emperor. He was very grieved hereat, since he was not permitted to see her, but decided not to persist in his entreaty. Yet through messengers, whom he frequently sent to her, he fully enjoyed her prayers and words and derived great comfort from her. Again, the kinsman who had been saved from the peril threw himself at her feet and washed them with tears of gratitude. Raising him and uttering many words of gratitude to God, she supported him with many admonitions and exhorted him to begin a life of service to God, and she said, 'Unless we are abandoned through our sins and through disdain of Christ's commands, the Evil One has no power to impose temptations on us.' And since our Shepherd and Teacher and God warned us always to *watch and pray* in order that we might not *enter into temptation*, she taught the man to do so continuously. She decided that the present day should be a day of joy and rejoicing at his salvation, and ordered that a common table be prepared, decorated with all kinds of ascetic foods. To God's glory she shared the meal with him along with the sisters, then she sent him away, a cause of still greater joy and happiness for his wife, his children, and all his kin.

## 22. Christopher's Death Predicted

Although this will suffice to show forth *the riches of God's grace* in her, the narrative strives to reveal another deed which does not deserve to be concealed. A man among her close friends called Christopher,<sup>1</sup> whom she held in respect and honour because of his inherent piety, candidly con-

<sup>9</sup> On the Byzantine habit of sending gifts with letters, see A. Karpozelos, 'Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X—XII c', *BZ*, 77 (1984), 20—37. To judge from the numerous examples adduced by the author, in most of which various kinds of food figure as gifts, Irene may have sent the Emperor a sample of the produce of the convent's garden or vineyard.

22. <sup>1</sup> Cf. note 1 on ch. 12, *supra*, on the eunuch Cyril. Irene's role in relation to Christopher is not that of a spiritual mother, it is rather Christopher who acts as Irene's adviser (line 30 f., τούτῳ . . . τὰ πολλὰ θαρροῦσα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχεν). The term συνήθης does not normally imply kinship. But we should probably regard Christopher as a man with close relations to Irene's kin, the Gouber family.

θαρροῦσα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχεν, — οὗτος ὑγιής τε ὢν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκ  
 τινος ὄχλησιν ὑφορώμενος νόσου τῷ σώματι, ἐπεὶπερ ὁμιλίας  
 συνήθους ἔτυχεν, ἀπιέναι μέλλων, βαλὼν μετάνοιαν τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς  
 ἔθος, ἤτησε παρ' αὐτῆς. Ἡ δὲ πραεὶα φωνῆ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἔπιθι,  
 τέκνον, ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσαι μετὰ δικαίων τὸ πνεῦμά σου.<sup>5</sup> Ὁ δὲ  
 συνετὸς ὢν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὀξύτατος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶναι ῥῆμα τὸ  
 λεχθὲν ὑπέιληφεν, ὅθεν καὶ διαταραχθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν σύντρομος ἔστη  
 καὶ κατηφής. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ τοῦτον οὕτως ἔχοντα ἢ ὅσια, ἀνακτᾶσθαι  
 λόγοις ἤρξατο μειλίχοις, Ἐπιθουρηθῆς, τέκνον, λέγουσα, ἔννοιά  
 μου τὸν νοῦν ἀλλαχοῦ τις εἶχε συνεστραμμένον, καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἢ  
 83 γλῶσσά σοι τὴν εὐχὴν οὕτω δι' ἀπροσεξίαν. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἄτε  
 πεπειραμένος αὐτῆς οὐ μετεβάλετο· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ παρακαθισαμένη  
 τοῦτον πάλιν ὁμιλίας ἀπῆρχετο, πρὸς εὐθυμίαν μεταθεῖναι  
 σπουδάζουσα, καὶ προβαίνουσα τοῖς λόγοις παρήγει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν καὶ  
 632D τὴν σὺν Χριστῷ ζωὴν τὴν ἀνώλεθρον. Πρὸς δὲ κατάνυξιν αὐτὸν καὶ  
 δάκρυα κινήσασα, ὡς ἔγνω τούτου καθεστηκυῖαν ἤδη τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ  
 γαληνιώσαν, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ οἴκοι κατέλαβε καὶ  
 τροφῆς μετέλαβε, περὶ πού τοὺς ἐπιλυχνίους ὕμνους οὐδὲν πλέον  
 εἰπὼν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο μόνον· Τὴν κεφαλὴν μου, τὴν κεφαλὴν μου, τῆ  
 20 γῆ καταβληθεὶς ἐξέψυξεν. Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐπω δῆλον ἦν.  
 Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος τῆ ὀσίᾳ συνταξάμενος ἀπῆει, μία τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 — ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γνησίως εἶχον — λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν·  
 84 Ἰνα τί οὕτως ἀπελογήσω, κυρία μου, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κατὰ πάντα  
 Χριστοφόρῳ; Καὶ ἰδοῦ, περίλυπος ἄπεισιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ λίαν  
 25 κατώδυνος τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἡ δὲ Ἄπελθε, τέκνον, φησί, καὶ οὐχ  
 εὐρήσεις τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἂν  
 ἐξεφώνησα λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄσῳ διαλεγομένη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤμην,  
 νεανίαν εἶδον λαμπρὸν τῷ εἶδει καὶ τῇ καταστολῇ τοῦ ἐνδύματος  
 ὀπισθεν ἔστηκότα τούτου καὶ δρεπάνην ἠκονημένην ὀξέως τῆ δεξιᾶ  
 30

PIVLSK

5—6 ὁ δὲ συνετὸς: συνετὸς δὲ P (cf. supra 58,16) || 6 ὁ ἀνὴρ: ἀνὴρ I || 12  
 μετεβάλλετο IVLSK || 14 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. VLSK || 16 σὺν: ἐν P || 18—19  
 κατέλαβε . . . μετέλαβε: καταλάβοι . . . μεταλάβοι P || 22 οὖν P || 30 δρεπάνον  
 IVLSK

18 ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ: cf. Lc. 2,29 || 30 δρεπάνην . . . δεξιᾶ: cf. Apoc. 14,14

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Theod. Stud., *Cant.* XVII 1 (Pitra, p. 373), τὸν μεταστάντα εὐσεβῶς ἐκ τῶν  
 προσκαίρων μετὰ δικαίων ἀνάπαυσον.

versing with him and confiding most of her concerns to him—, this man,  
 who was healthy and had no reason to expect corporeal trouble from any  
 illness, had had one of his habitual conversations with her. When he was  
 about to leave, he fell on his knees and asked, as was his wont, for a prayer  
 from her. She said to him in a gentle voice, 'Go, my son, may God let  
 your spirit rest among the righteous.'<sup>2</sup> The man, who was intelligent and  
 keen of mind, surmised that her words were no mere phrase, and deeply  
 disturbed in his soul he stood trembling and dejected. When the holy  
 woman saw him in this condition, she began to cheer him up with gentle  
 words, saying, 'Do not worry, my son, thoughts kept my mind distracted,  
 and lack of attention made that prayer for you slip from my tongue.' But  
 since he knew her by experience he would not be comforted, and therefore  
 she had him seated beside her and started to talk afresh, eager to bring  
 him round to cheerfulness. She proceeded with her words to advise him  
 about the Kingdom of Heaven, the enjoyment of the eternal good, and  
 the imperishable life with Christ. She moved him to compunction and  
 tears, and when she perceived that his soul was settled and calm, she let  
 him *depart in peace*. About the time of the lighting-up hymns,<sup>3</sup> when he  
 was home and had taken some food, he said merely 'My head, my head!',  
 and no more, whereupon he fell to the ground and gave up the ghost. But  
 this was not yet known.<sup>4</sup>

When he had bid farewell to the holy woman and left, one of the  
 sisters—in fact they all had sincere feelings for him—asked her, 'Why,  
 Mistress, did you answer Christopher, our all-faithful friend, in that way?  
 See, now the man leaves utterly distressed and grieved in his soul.' 'Go,  
 my child', she answered, 'you will not find him among the living. I would  
 not have uttered a word of that kind without reason; no, while I was  
 speaking to him, I saw a youth standing behind him, brilliant in his ap-  
 pearance and his dignified attire and holding a *sharp-edged sickle in his*

<sup>3</sup> See A. S. Korakides, *Ἀρχαῖοι ὕμνοι: I. Ἡ ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία "Φῶς ἰλαρὸν  
 ἀγίας δόξης . . ."* (Athens, 1979); text of the hymn, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> With this somewhat vague phrase (for which cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 52 [PG 36, 564A],  
 in a more suitable context) the narrative takes a step back to the point where Christopher  
 leaves Chrysobalanton (cf. next line, Ὡς οὖν . . . συνταξάμενος ἀπῆει, κτλ.). A modern  
 author would probably have handled the problem of narrating simultaneous events differ-  
 ently, e.g., including the details of Christopher's death altogether in the message of  
 Eueθεια on her return to the convent (*infra*, 104,7—8), so as to save the point of the  
 story to be revealed at the end. Cf. note 2 on ch. 13, *supra*.

E κατέχοντα, καί τινες συνεστῶτας καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ τῆς ζωῆς δακτύλοις ἀριθμοῦντας καὶ μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας ἐσπέρας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων εἶναι τὸ πέρας τὴν ψῆφον ἐκφέροντας. Ὅμως δ' οὖν τὴν παιδίσκην Εὐθήθειαν καλέσατε. Καὶ δὴ παραστάσης, Ἰορέυθητι, τέκνον,' εἶπε, 'παρὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ φίλου Χριστοφόρου, καὶ τὰ 5 κατ' αὐτὸν ὅπως ἔχει διερωτήσασα ταχέως ἡμῖν ἀνάγγελον ἐλθοῦσα.' Ὑποστρέψασαν δὲ καὶ ζῶντα τοῦτον εἰποῦσαν οὐχ εὐρηκέναι τὴν παιδίσκην μαθοῦσαι, ἀπηνεώθησαν πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν ἀνέπεμπον τῷ τοιαύτης αὐτὰς καταξίωσαντι τῆς παιδαγωγῶ. Ἐξ ἐκείνου τοίνυν εἴ ποτέ τι μετὰ τὴν ἐντυχίαν εὐχὴν 10 ἔλεγεν ἐξιόντι, προσεῖχον ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ᾧτινι ἂν Ὁ θεός', εἶπεν, 'ἀναπαύσαι σε, τέκνον', ἀναντιρρήτως αὐτὸν παρὰ πόδας ἢ τελευτῆ κατελάμβανεν.

85 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον οὖσαν ἔδει τὸ κοινὸν ἀποτίσαι χρέος, τὸν θάνατον — εἴ γε δεῖ θάνατον ἐκείνης ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ 15 μετὰστασιν εἰς οὐρανούς ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀνάβασιν καὶ τελείαν ἐγγύτητα —, μανθάνει καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὴν οἰκειὰν ἠγνόησε τελευτὴν ἢ καὶ τὰς ἄλλων προλέγουσα; Καὶ ἀκούει παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀκούειν εἰκός, λαλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος. Παρῆν μὲν οὖν ἕκτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ μῆνος Ἰουλίου, καθ' ἣν τοῦ τῆς 20 F μονῆς ναοῦ, ὃς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ ἴδρυται, τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἐτήσιος μνήμη τελεῖται. Προσευχομένης δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· 'Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπιτελέσεις, Εἰρήνη, τῶν ἐγκαινίων τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπερχόμενον ἔτος· τρίτη δὲ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρα καινὸν ἔσται μετ' ἀγγέλων τῷ θρόνῳ παραστᾶσα τῆς 25 θεότητος.'

Ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περαιωθέντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰουλίου πάλιν ἐπιστάντος μῆνος, παρ' ὅλην ἑβδομάδα ἡμερῶν ἄσιτος τῇ προσευχῇ προσεκαρτέρει καὶ τῇ στάσει. Τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων δὲ τελέσασα μνήμην καὶ τῶν θείων μεταλαβοῦσα μυστηρίων, τροφῆς μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς 30

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6 ἀπάγγελον P || 10 εὐτυχίαν IK || 14 αὐτὴν: ταύτην P || 16 εἰς . . . ἀνάβασιν om. L || 22 προσευχομένη VLSK (cf., e.g., supra 10,10—11) || 24—25 τῆς σήμερον: μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμέρα P || 25 μετ' ἀγγέλων ἔσται in. P

25 ἡμέρα . . . ἔσται: cf. Ps. 32(33),3 et sim. locc. || 28—29 τῇ προσευχῇ προσεκαρτέρει: cf. Rom. 12,12

right *hand*. Together with the youth some figures were standing, counting the years of Christopher's life on their fingers and concluding to each other that those years would come to an end the present evening.<sup>5</sup> But now call for the maid Euthetheia.' As the latter stood before her, Irene said, 'Go, my child, to the house of our friend Christopher. Ask how he is, then come here quickly and tell us.' Returning, the maid reported that she had not found him alive, and when the sisters learnt this they were all struck dumb and sent up glory to God who had granted them such a teacher. From now on, if she said a prayer to someone who was to leave after a conversation with her, they paid close attention, and for anyone to whom she said, 'May God let you rest, my child', it was beyond doubt that death would precipitately overcome him.

### 23. Irene's Last Words, Death, and Interment

Herself a human being, Irene had to pay the common debt of death—if in her case it should be called death rather than a removal to heaven or an ascent and a perfect proximity to God—, and she learnt about this too from the Spirit.<sup>1</sup> For how could she, who used to predict the death to others, have been ignorant of her own death? She heard it, as it is likely for the worthy to hear, by the Spirit's own words. It was on the twenty-sixth of the month of July, the day on which the consecration of the convent's church, which is dedicated to the archangel Gabriel, is annually commemorated. As she prayed, the Holy Spirit said to her, 'Now, Irene, and in the year to come you will celebrate the consecration day. But on the third feast-day from today you will *sing a new song* along with angels, standing before the throne of the Godhead.'

When that year was at an end and the month of July again had come, she persevered in her prayer and her standing exercises, abstaining from food for a whole week. Having celebrated the memory of the consecration and partaken of the Divine Mysteries, she took no food whatever except

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VASal*, ed. L. Rydén (forthcoming), Appendix C, εἶδε τὸν θάνατον ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτα, ψῆφον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναμένοντα· κατεῖχε δὲ δρέπανον ὅξυ καὶ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέμενεν.

23. <sup>1</sup> On some characteristic traits in this chapter, cf. D. Abrahamse, 'Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period', *GOTR*, 29 (1984), 125—134, with references to *VI* and other hagiographic texts.

τὸ παράπαν ἐτέρας ἐγεύσατο, τὸ δὲ μῆλον ἐκεῖνο τὸ σεβάσμιον, ὅπερ τὸν ἐπιστήθιον καὶ ἡγαπημένον τῷ Χριστῷ μαθητὴν μεθ' ἐτέρων δύο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ παρ' ἐαυτῆς τοῦτο τετηρηκέναι φυλακτῆριον αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωκε — καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸ 5  
 τῶν ὀσφραντῶν ἐαυτῆς διακριτικῶς πρὸς εὐπάθειαν προσφέρουσα —,  
 86 τοῦτο μόνον μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεκκλαλήτου φαγοῦσα, καὶ πληρώσασα τῆ διαμασῆσει πᾶσαν τὴν μονὴν ἀσυγκρίτου πάλιν τῆς εὐωδίας τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Παντελεήμονος μνήμην ἐορτάσασα, τῆ ἐπαύριον περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ἀγωνιᾶν ἐφῆκε καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, καὶ εὐχῆ τὴν 10  
 εὐχὴν συνάπτουσα πυκνὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνέτεινε,  
 633A δάκρυα ποταμηδὸν προχέουσα καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἔδαφος καταρραίνουσα καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ὄλον διάβροχον τιθεῖσα χιτῶνα, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς διαταραχθείσας τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ διαπορουμένας τολμῆσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τοσοῦτου 15  
 κλαυθμοῦ ζητῆσαι μαθεῖν. Ἡ δὲ μόλις ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀπεκρίνατο·  
 87 Ἐξήμερον, τέκνα μου, τοῦ παρόντος ἀπάρασα βίου πρὸς ἕτερον ἄπειμι κόσμον αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐκέτι μου τὸ πρόσωπον ὄψεσθε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ ὥρα τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφέστηκε ἀναλύσεως. Ἐξετε δὲ τὴν κυρὰν 20  
 Μαρίαν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ εἰς μητέρα πνευματικὴν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἀνωθεν εὐδοκεῖ, καὶ καλῶς ὑμῶν αὕτη προστήσεται. Σπουδάσατε δὲ διὰ τῆς στενῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τεθλιμμένης εἰς τὸ πλάτος τῆς αἰωνίου καταντῆσαι ζωῆς. Μισήσατε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ· ματαιότης γὰρ ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. Μισήσατε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, ἵνα ταύτας κερδήσητε, ἀντιπίπτουσαι τῷ θελήματι τούτων καὶ ἀγαπῶσαι 25  
 τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον θέλημα. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ κριτηρίου προστήσεται κρινομένοις, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς ἀνιστάμενοι τοῖς σώμασι  
 B καὶ μηδένα τῶν συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων εὐρίσκουσαι βοηθόν, ποταπῆ διακεισόμεθα τῇ διαθέσει ἀναλογίσασθε· μόνος γὰρ εὐρίσκεται τότε δυνάμενος ἡμᾶς τῆς καταδίκης ἀπολύσαι Χριστὸς ὁ κρίνων, ὁ καὶ 30

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3 καὶ . . . τετηρηκέναι om. L || 10 ἐνάτην IVLSK || 20 μητέραν I || 21 δὲ om. S || 24 ἵνα: ὅπως IVLSK

2 τὸν . . . μαθητὴν: cf. Io. 13,23 et sim. locc. || 10 περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην: cf. Mt. 27,46 et sim. locc. || 19 ἡ ὥρα . . . ἀναλύσεως: cf. 2 Tim. 4,6 || 21—23 διὰ . . . ζωῆς: cf. Mt. 7,13—14 || 23 μισήσατε . . . κόσμῳ: cf. 1 Io. 2,15 || 23—24 ματαιότης . . . ματαιότης: Eccl. 1,2 || 24—25 μισήσατε . . . κερδήσητε: cf. Io. 12,25

that venerable apple which, as the above narrative has shown,<sup>2</sup> the beloved disciple at the bosom of Christ had sent her together with another two, and which she had preserved by herself as an amulet—in fact she kept it as a constant help to remove any dejection from her, for it comforted her with the wonderful nourishment it brought to her sense of smell. When she with ineffable joy had but eaten this apple and by chewing it again<sup>3</sup> had filled the whole convent with its incomparable fragrance, she celebrated the day of the divine great martyr Panteleimon.<sup>4</sup> The following day, *about the ninth hour*, she seemed to be in anguish and distress. Joining prayer to prayer she repeatedly turned her eyes to heaven, shedding tears in floods and wetting the floor beneath her, soaking all her clothes. Shocked and perplexed at this strange situation, the sisters took courage to approach her and asked to learn the cause of this lamentation. With difficulty at last she answered them, 'Today, my children, I shall leave this life and go to another, eternal world. You will no more see my face, for behold, *the hour of my departure is at hand*. But you will have the mistress Maria as a spiritual mother in my stead. That is pleasing to God on high, and she will be a good leader for you. Hasten along the *strait and narrow way* to reach the wide plain of eternal life. Hate the world and the things that are in the world: *vanity of vanities! all is vanity*. Hate your souls that you may win them, resisting their will and accepting only the will of God. There will be no advocate for us when we are judged before the fearful tribunal. You may conclude in what predicament we will find ourselves when we shall stand up with our bodies naked, finding none of our kith and kin to help us. The only one who can free us from condemnation then will be Christ the Judge, He who

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, ch. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, 86,5—6.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 27 July. — According to PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 243,3 (see App. A, *supra*), one of two churches at Chrysobalanton was dedicated to St Panteleimon. In VI there is only one church, apparently with a *parekklētion* dedicated to St Theodore (cf. *infra*, note 11), and this must certainly be taken as sound information. That Panteleimon appears in both texts, although in different roles, cannot however be mere coincidence. It would be possible to reconcile the contradictory pieces of evidence by identifying the church of St Panteleimon in *Patria* with the *parekklētion* in VI. This chapel may have been rededicated when Chrysobalanton was refounded, and the choice of St Theodore, the former general, must have been natural for members of a family with its roots in the military nobility of Cappadocia. A link with the past was established, with this hypothesis, by the new *ktētores* by placing Irene immediately after Panteleimon in the feast calendar.

προλέγων ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς νῦν καὶ καταφρονούμενος.<sup>7</sup>

88 Τοιαύτας καὶ τελευταίας ποιησαμένη τὰς παραινέσεις, ὄμματα καὶ χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν διάρασα, 'Κύριέ μου καὶ θεέ,' εἶπεν, 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱέ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν 5 ἀντίλυτρον τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τοῦτό σου τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον. Τήρησον αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, σκέπασον αὐτὸ τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερυγῶν σου καὶ διατήρησον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπηρεϊῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος ὁ ἐλεῶν καὶ σώζων, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ 10 ἐξουσία, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ γενόμενος ἡμῖν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, καὶ σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ σε δοξολογοῦμεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.' Καὶ ταῦτα εὐξαμένη ἐκάθισε καὶ ἤρξατο μειδιᾶν, οἷα δὴ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὴν ἀγαθῶν 15 διαδέξασθαι πολλῶν ἐν συναισθήσει γενομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας αὐτὴν ἀγγέλους φωτοειδεῖς ὄρῳσα καὶ ἠδομένη, οἷς δὴ πάντως καὶ φιλικῶς προσωμίλει συνεχέστατα· καὶ παρατίκα τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἔλαμψεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Ὡσπερ δὲ μεταλαβεῖν ὕπνου δόξασα 20 μικρὸν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καλυψαμένη τὴν ἱεράν αὐτῆς ψυχὴν ἀπέδοτο τῷ θεῷ. Καὶ εὐθέως θροῦς διηγείρετο, καὶ θρῆνος καὶ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὄδυρμος πολὺς ταῖς κατὰ πνεῦμα θυγατράσιν αὐτῆς 25 διηχεῖτο, καὶ συναποθανεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἔθελούσαις αὐτῆ· τὴν γὰρ ταύτης στερῆσιν οὐ φορητὴν ὄλωσ ἐνόμιζον.

Διαδοθείσης δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἐν ἀκαριαίᾳ ῥοπῇ πᾶσα συνέρρεον πρὸς τὴν μονὴν ἢ πόλιν σχεδόν, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν 25 θύραν χωρεῖν βιαζόμενα ταῖς εἰσόδοις τῆς πληθύος· τῶν ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰκάζετο ῥεύματα. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν συγκλητικῶν γυναῖκας ἅμα καὶ θυγατέρας ἀπολιμπανομένας ἦν ὄραν τῆς συνελεύσεως· καὶ

PIV(usque ad τῆς πληθῆος lin. 25)LSK

4 κύριέ μου: κύριε P || 6 ἀντίλυτρον: λύτρον ὑπὲρ P || 14 διαδέξασθαι P || 16 συνεχέστατα om. P || ὄρα in marg. P || 17 ὁ om. I ante corr. om. V || 25—26 τῶν . . . ῥεύματα om. P

5 υἱέ . . . ζῶντος: cf. Mt. 16,16 || ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός: Io. 10,11 || 5—6 ὁ δοὺς . . . ἀντίλυτρον: 1 Tim. 2,6 || 6—7 εἰς . . . ποίμνιον: cf. Lc. 23,46; 12,32 || 7 τήρησον . . . ὀνόματί σου: cf. Io. 17,11 || 8 τῇ . . . πτερυγῶν σου: cf. Ps. 16(17),8 et sim. Iocc. || 9—10 σοῦ . . . ἡ δύναμις: cf. Mt. 6,13 || 10—11 ὁ γενόμενος . . . ἀπολύτρωσις: cf. 1 Cor. 1,30 || 16—17 τὸ . . . ἥλιος: cf. Mt. 17,2

foretells this and urgently exhorts us, although He is now despised.'

When she had given these final instructions, she raised hands and eyes to heaven and spoke, 'My Lord and God, Jesus Christ, *Son of the living God, good Shepherd, who gave Yourself a ransom for our souls, into Thy hands I commend this little flock of Thine. Keep it through Thine own name. Hide it in the shadow of Thy wings and protect it from the offences of the Evil One; for Thou art alone to show mercy and bring salvation, and Thine is the might and Thine is the power. Yes, Thou art the One who is made unto us righteousness and sanctification and redemption, and we thank Thee and praise Thee for ever. Amen.*' After this prayer she sat down and began to smile<sup>5</sup> as if she had perceived the many good things which were waiting to receive her,<sup>6</sup> and seen and rejoiced at the light-like angels who would carry her away,<sup>7</sup> certainly those angels with whom she had often spoken as a friend; and suddenly her *face shone as the sun*. Then she closed her eyes, as if expecting to sleep for a short while, and rendered up her holy soul to God. At once there rose a clamour, and crying and lamentation and wailing echoed loud among her spiritual daughters, willing, had it been possible, even to die with her. In their mind it was wholly intolerable to lose her.

Her death became known everywhere, and in a moment almost the whole city gathered before the convent. The forecourt would not hold them as it was pressed by the entering multitude,<sup>8</sup> for they were like a streaming river. Not even wives and daughters of senators failed, as one

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *VPhilar*, ed. Vasiliev 83,11—12, ἔλαμψεν ἄφνω τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἤρξατο ὑπομειδιᾶν (corresponding to Fourmy & Leroy, 159,26—27); *VASal*, PG 111, 888A, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνακλιθεῖς . . . μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ ἄφηκε τὸ πνεῦμα; also *VPetrArg*, ed. Cozza-Luzi 14, ch. κ', *ad fin.*; *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz 16,19; *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 26, ch. 43 (Kurtz, 25,20—21); and, more remote, Athanasios, *VAnt*, 92 (PG 26, 972B).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye, 209,10—11, εἰς προοίμιον . . . τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μελλούσης αὐτὸν διαδέχεσθαι χαρᾶς καὶ λαμπρότητος.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *VConstIud*, ed. Delehaye 644F, ὑπ' ἀγγέλων φωτοειδῶν τὴν ψυχὴν [read ἡ ψυχὴ] ἀποφέρεται.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28, ch. 47 (Kurtz, 28,3—7), ἄφνω δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν . . . ἡ φήμη [sc. of a miracle after Theodora's death] δραμοῦσα πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ θαύματος συνεκάλεσε· καὶ τοσοῦτοι . . . παρεγένοντο, ὡς μηκέτι χωρεῖν τῶν συντρεχόντων τὸ πλῆθος μηδὲ τὰ τοῦ μοναστηρίου προαῦλια. The same vague phraseology as in *VI* (in a similar context) is found in *VDalm*, ed. Gedeon 148, left col., bottom, (ἀπάντων συντρεχόντων . . .) ὥστε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν χωρεῖν τοῦ μοναστηρίου αὐτοῦ.

αὐται γὰρ πᾶσαν αἰδῶ παρῳσάμεναι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὀσίας ἔθειον  
λείψανον, ἀγιασμὸν ἀρύσασθαι σπεύδουσαι, αἱ μὲν τῇ προσψαύσει,  
αἱ δὲ καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ὄρασει, ὅσαις μὴ τῆς ἀφῆς ἢ τοῦ πλήθους παρεχώρει  
φορά.

Ὅψε δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς μόγις ὁ ὄχλος μετρίαν ἐδίδου τὴν ἄδειαν τὰ 5  
πρὸς τὴν κηδεῖαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σώματος ἐκείνου ταῖς μοναζούσαις  
ἐτοιμάσασθαι. Ἀνῆπτον δὲ λαμπάδας καὶ κηρούς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι  
τῆς συγκλήτου συνεληλύθασιν ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα  
μύρα τε καὶ θυμιάματα τῶν εὐωδιστάτων καὶ πολυτίμων ὑπὲρ μέτρον  
634D 90 ἀφειδῶς ἀνηλίσκετο. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα ταῦτα τῆς ἐκ τοῦ χρωτὸς 10  
αὐτῆς ἀναδιδομένης εὐωδίας ἀντισχεῖν, καίπερ ὄντα πολλά,  
κεραννύμενα δὲ πως αὐτῇ παράδοξόν τινα καὶ τί γὰρ ἕτερον ἢ θείαν  
τὴν ὄσμην ἀπετέλουν. Τιμήσαντες δὲ τὸ παρθενία καὶ ἀγιασμῶ  
τετιμημένον ἐκείνο σῶμα, καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ὠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς τὸν  
ἐνοικήσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσαντα μεγαλύναντες θεόν, τότε 15  
μὲν ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ συνέστειλαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τάφον καινὸν  
εὐτρεπίσαντες ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ χριστομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τῷ τῆς  
μονῆς συνημμένῳ ναῶ ἐντίμως κατέθεντο, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἢ καὶ πολλῶ  
θαυμασιωτέραν ἀναπέμπον εὐωδίαν, καὶ ψαλμοῦσαις πάλιν καὶ  
φωταψαῖας ταύτην καταγεραίροντες τὸ μυστήριον ἐχαρακτήριζον τῆς 20  
ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀποκειμένης αὐτῇ φωταγωγίας καὶ δόξης ἀνεκφράστου.

91 Λέγεται δὲ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη τριῶν  
δεόντων παρεκταθῆναι καὶ γνώρισμα γήρους ὄρασθαι μηδὲν διὰ τὸ  
τῆς παρθενίας ἄνθος τὸ ἀμάραντον. Ὁ μέντοι συγγενὴς ἐκεῖνος, ὄν  
ἐρρύσατο τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ μακαριωτάτη χειρῶν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἐν παντὶ 25  
τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον παραγινόμενος καὶ

PIV(inc. a πάλιν lin. 19 post lacun. unius fol.)LSK

11 διαδιδομένης P || 12 ἢ: ἢ καὶ I || 14 σῶμα ἐκείνο inv. P || 15 ἐν αὐτῷ:  
τούτῳ P || μεγαλύνοντες PLSK || 22—23 τριῶν δεόντων ἔτη inv. IVLSK ||  
23 γήρως P

15 ἐνοικήσαντα . . . θεόν: cf. 2 Cor. 6,16 (Lev. 26,12)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 73, quoting a similar passage in Michael Attaleiates. Though apparently a literary cliché, the expression does reflect actual attitudes: such behaviour did not befit decent women.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 80 (PG 36, 601B), σπουδῆ δὲ ἦν ἐκάστω . . . τῷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφύρου σκίμπος καὶ ψαῦσαι μόνον . . . , τῷ δὲ τῆς θεᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι μόνῃς (of people at St Basil's bier).

could see, to join the crowd; no, surrendering all shame<sup>9</sup> they, too, ran to the Saint's corpse, eager to win sanctification, some through contact, others, whom the pressure of the multitude did not allow to touch her, through mere sight.<sup>10</sup>

Only late at night did the crowd give the nuns some opportunity to prepare for the interment of her holy body. Lamps and candles were kindled, especially by all those of senatorial rank who had countless thronged together. Beyond measure, magnificent perfumes and incenses of the most fragrant and precious kind were unsparingly lavished upon it. Despite their multiplicity however, they could not match the fragrance that issued from her skin, but somehow mixing with it produced a scent that was amazing and—what else could it have been?—divine. After venerating the body, venerable as it was with virginity and sanctity, and with spiritual hymns and songs praising God who had *dwelled and walked in* it they shrouded it in a coffin. Soon after they prepared a new tomb in the Chapel of Theodore,<sup>11</sup> the martyr of Christ, which is annexed to the church of the convent. There they solemnly buried her, the corpse emitting the same, nay a much more wonderful fragrance. Honouring her with psalm-singing and lighting of lamps they represented the mystery of the illumination and the ineffable glory which was in store for her in heaven.

It is told that her lifetime extended over a hundred years but three<sup>12</sup> and that no sign of old age was seen in her: for the flower of virginity never fades. That relative however, whom the blessed woman had rescued from the Emperor's hands,<sup>13</sup> continued throughout his lifetime to visit

<sup>11</sup> Normally monks and nuns were buried outside their monasteries, sometimes at a cemetery with a special funeral chapel. A tomb inside the monastery, e.g. in a *pareklésion*, as seems to be the case here (cf. note 4, *supra*), was a privilege accorded to especially distinguished members of the community, such as *ktētores* and *ktētorissai*, etc., and of course saints; consequently, such arrangements are often mentioned in hagiographic texts (cf., e.g., *VNicetMed*, xxxiiD; *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 921CD; *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 669A; *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye 233,16 ff.). For the archaeological evidence, see G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), 40—58, and cf. the more limited discussion in A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ* (Athens, <sup>2</sup>1958), 146—147.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A.-M. M. Talbot, 'Old Age in Byzantium', *BZ*, 77 (1984), 267—278, esp. 269 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, ch. 21. For this passage, cf. Introduction, Ch. I. 3.



E τὴν μνήμην αὐτῆς ἐπιτελῶν λαμπρότατά τε καὶ πολυτελέστατα, καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οὕτως ἀποδιδούς ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ μεταστάση.

24. Καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τιμία ταύτης σορὸς πάσης ὠφελείας πηγὴ, καὶ πᾶς τις προστρέχων αὐτῇ καὶ ὧν ἂν δέοιτο τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπιζητῶν, 5 ἐτοιμοτάτην εὐρίσκει καὶ πρόσφορον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τοῖς ἀγαπήσασι κακίαν ὑπὲρ ἀγαθωσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ὑπὲρ τὸ λαλῆσαι δικαιοσύνην εἰς δικαστήρια ἔλκονται, 'οἷς ἥττημά ἐστὶν ὅλως,' κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, 'ὅτι κρίματα ἔχουσι'· φεῦ γάρ, ὅτι 'ἀδελφὸς μετὰ 92 ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται.' Καὶ 'διατί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε,' φησὶν, 'ἀλλὰ ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδελφούς; ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε 10 ὅτι ἄδικοι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι;' Καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνοι, οἷς ὁ ἥλιος παροργιζομένοις ἐπιδύεται. Τῆς γὰρ ὑπερεχούσης πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμος γενομένη καὶ τελείαν εἴληψε τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν τὴν χάριν παρ'αὐτῆς. Χριστὸς γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὃ F καταλλάξας ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ πολεμωθέντας διὰ τῆς 15 ἁμαρτίας. Ἄρρητῶ γὰρ καὶ θείᾳ δυνάμει δίδωσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον καταλλάττεσθαι τοῖς οὐ χθὲς καὶ σήμερον καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἡγριωμένοις καὶ τεθριωμένοις καὶ μηδ'ἀκοῇ τὰς κλήσεις θάτερον ἀνεχομένοις ἐνωτίζεσθαι θατέρου· καὶ τοῦτο χαρίζεται τῷ πίστει προσερχομένῳ καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης 20 ἀνακαλουμένῳ τὸν οὐ πρὸς καιρὸν παρέκλινε θεσμὸν ἐπηρεασθεῖς. 'Ἀγγέλων γάρ,' φησὶ, 'τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ συνέσει τετιμημένων τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας μεταμέλεσθαι.' Καὶ εἰημέν γε τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης τηροῦντες νόμον ταῖς αὐτῆς μεσιτεῖαις, ὥστε γινώσκεσθαι πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπ'αὐτῆς μαθητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, 25 τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῇ μιᾷ θεότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἄμην.

PIVLSK

11 ἐκεῖνος L || 19 ἐνεχομένοις P || 22 ἀνθρώπων: τῇ ἀνθρώπων VL

5—6 τοῖς ἀγαπήσασι . . . δικαιοσύνην: cf. Ps. 51(52),5 || 7—11 1 Cor. 6,6—9 || 12 οἷς . . . ἐπιδύεται: cf. Eph. 4,26 || 12—13 τῆς γὰρ . . . εἰρήνης: cf. Phil. 4,7 || 14 Χριστὸς . . . ἡμῶν: cf. Eph. 2,14 || 14—15 ὁ καταλλάξας ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ: cf. 2 Cor. 5,18 || 25—28 ᾧ . . . Ἄμην: cf. Heb. 13,21

her tomb and commemorate her in a most splendid and lavish way, thus incessantly offering thanks to her even when she was dead.

## 24. Irene the Peacemaker

Even now her revered coffin is a source of every kind of benefit, and everyone approaching it in search of the cure of whatever his prayers include, will find it ready and helpful, especially such as are dragged into court by people who love *evil more than good* and *lying rather than to speak righteousness*. 'To have lawsuits at all is defeat for them,' according to the divine Apostle. Yes, it is a shame that 'brother goeth to law with brother.' 'Why do ye not rather take wrong,' he continues, 'but do wrong and defraud, and that your brethren? Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?' Again the same applies to those upon whose wrath the sun goes down. For being named after the *peace which passeth all understanding*, she had received from her in full measure the gift of making peace. Yes, *Christ is our peace*, He who hath reconciled us to Himself by the cross when we had been made His enemies by sin. With ineffable and divine power He will, above reason, let people be reconciled with each other, people who not only since yesterday and today and the day before yesterday, but even for a long period have been angry and brutal to each other and have not endured even to hear each other's names. This He will confer on whomsoever approaches Him in faith and recalls the commandment of love from which he, deceived, did momentarily deviate. For 'it is for angels not to sin', as the saying goes, 'but for men endowed with reason to repent when they do sin'.<sup>1</sup> So may we observe the law of love through her intercession, that it be known to all that through her we are disciples of Christ, to whom is due all *glory*, honour and veneration, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the one Godhead and Kingdom, now and *for ever and ever*. Amen.

24. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 40, 7 (PG 36, 365BC), τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως, . . . τῆς ἀγγελικῆς . . . , τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπων.