

THE HIERARCHS' CATALOGUE OF MONASTERY ST. CATHERINE IN MOUNT SINAI

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The following *Catalogue of Hierarchs of Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai* has been completed during the years of study I devoted exclusively to the relationship between Romania and Mount Sinai¹. I do not claim that the present list is characterised by complete historical accuracy, particularly as far as the earlier times are concerned. I must also mention that I have not found sources in all cases, which might deserve a separate study. Initially my intention was not to make a research on the hierarchs of Mount Sinai, as I suspected that a list already existed. I merely tried to work out a *chronological list* of the Sinai leaders for personal use. In time, as I began to understand that there was no such list, I noted the sources I met, although they were printed studies alone, since other types of sources (documents, manuscripts, catalogues etc.) were not available at the time. For these reasons, some of the data presented below does not mention any source.

The main source used in the drawing up of the present list are the catalogues printed so far². I added to these the so-called *Proschinities* of Mount Sinai, among which I chose the first one, printed by Antim Ivireanul at Târgoviște³,

¹ In the year 1997 I started the research on the relationship between Romania and Mount Sinai, under the guidance of University Professor Emilian Popescu, Ph. D, at the Bucharest Faculty of Orthodox Theology, in the Department of Historical Theology, with the Byzantium's History and Spirituality specialisation, with a view to obtaining the title of Ph. D. and after completing the thesis entitled: *Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai, centre of Orthodox Spirituality, and its connections with the Romanian Provinces (XVth-XXIth c.)*, which I am currently working on.

² Καταλόγος Ἀρχιεπισκόπων Σινᾶ ἠν Πανηγυρικός Τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 1400ῃ ἀμφιετηρίδι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ, Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1971, p. 517-519; L. Eckenstein, *Rulers of Pharan and the Convent of Sinai. List tentatively enlarged from Cheikho*, in vol. *A history of Sinai*, London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, W. C. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921, p. VII.

³ The title of the book is: *BIBLION περιέχον τὴν Ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, τό, τε προσκυνητᾶριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους Σινᾶ μετὰ τῶν περίξ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ αὐτό, τὴν τε τάξιν τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ μοναστηρίου, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀρχιεπισκοπήσαντας, καὶ ἐγκώμιόν τι εἰς τὸ Σινᾶ Ὄρος. Τυπωθέν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου καὶ Γαληνοτάτου αὐθέντου Κυρίου Κυρίου Ἰωάννου Κωνσταντινίου μπασαράμια Βοεβόδα, ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας, παρὰ τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης Μητροπόλεως Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Ἀνθίμῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ Μητροπόλει τοῦ Τεργοβύστου, ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ διορθώσει τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις Μητροφάνου γρηγορᾶ τοῦ ἐκ Δωδώνης, ἐν ἔτει ρψμ', κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον* (The book contains St. Catherine's service, the proschinatory of the Saint Mount Sinai with everything around it and everything <existing> there, the rules of the monastery's services, and all who have been archbishops here and a certain encomium for Mount

in the year 1710, and the latest⁴, printed at Venice, in 1817 (printed again at Athens in 1978)⁵. In addition to these, I used the *Praying list of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Bucharest*, former Sinai succursal. The Prayer List contains the names of the Sinai archbishops⁶. Unfortunately the corresponding *Prayer List* of the Sinai Monastery

Sinai, printed in the time of the most glorious and serene ruler, the Lord Lord Ioan Constantin Basarab Voevod, master of the whole Ungrowallachia, by the Most Sanctified and Learned Metropolitan Bishop of the Holy Metropolitan Bishopric fo Ungrowallachia, the Lord Lord Antim of Iviria, in the Holy Metropolitan Bishopric of Târgoviște, and updated by the Most Pious Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigoras of Dodona, in September 1710).

⁴ *Proschinities* of Mount Sinai are still being published. We referred to those prior to the XXth century, characterised by a typical style, which appeared clearly from the first edition issued in Târgoviște.

⁵ Entitled: ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ἱερᾶ τοῦ Ἁγίου καὶ Θεοβαδίστου Ὄρους Σινᾶ, περιέχουσα ἐν πρώτοις μὲν τὴν Ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου καὶ Ἐνδόξου Μεγάλου Προφήτου Μωϋσέως τοῦ Θεόπου· Δεύτερον δὲ τὴν Ἀκολουθίαν τῆς Ἁγίας Ἐνδόξου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Χριστονομίφης, Παρθένου καὶ Πανσόφου Αἰκατερίνης, Ἐπομένως δὲ ἐξιστοροῦσα συντόμως καὶ περιληπτικῶς τὰ τοῦ Θεοβαδίστου τούτου Ὄρους, τουτέστι τὴν Θέσιν καὶ Ἀγιότητα αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς Βασιλικῆς λαμπρᾶς Οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ἐκεῖσε περικαλεστάτου Μοναστηρίου, τὰ τῶν ἐρημητῶν Ἀράβων, τοὺς ἐπισυμβάντας κατὰ καιροὺς μεγάλους κινδύνους τῷ Ἁγίῳ τούτῳ Μοναστηρίῳ, τὰ τε ἔνδον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω περὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶ Προσκυνημάτων, μετὰ τιμῶν θαυμάτων, τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ μέχρι τούτου Ἀρχιεπισκοπήσαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους ἐπισημήσαντας εἰς τοῦτο τὸ Ὄρος Ἁγίους, καὶ ἄλλους ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ μαθήσει διαλάψαντας, καὶ τελευταίον τὴν Ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν Σινᾷ καὶ Ραιθῷ ἀναιρεθέντων Ὁσίων Ἀββᾶδων. Τυποθεῖσα νῦν πέμπτον διὰ δαπάνης τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ Βασιλικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου καὶ Θεοβαδίστου Ὄρους Σινᾶ, Ἐν Βενετίᾳ, παρὰ Νικολᾶω Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1817 (Holy DESCRIPTION, of the Holy and God-trodden Mount Sinai, including first the service of the Saint and Great Prophet Moise, and followed by the Service of the Saint, Most Glorified and Most Wise bride and virgin of Christ, Catherine. Followed by the concise history of this Holy and God-trodden Mount Sinai - that is the establishment and sanctification of this glorious imperial house of the well-known Monastery -, of the hermits of Arab origin, of many hardships endured in time by this Holy Monastery, of the holy pilgrimage sites, of several miracles, of those who have fulfilled pastorate there, as well as of those who have at times drawn people's attention to this Holy mountain and of other men whose virtue and culture has shone, and in the end the Service of the Holy Fathers of Sinai and Raith. Printed now by Nicolae Glyki of Ioanina, the 5th edition, on the expense of the Holy and Imperial Monastery of the Holy and God-trodden Mount Sinai, Venice, 1817).

⁶ The result of the present research made me realise that it is difficult to identify with precision the Sinai hierarchs in earlier as well as in later times, as the various interests and hardships intrinsic to the Monastery's life led to frequent changes and returns of its leaders. See C. Bobulescu, *Chronic of St. Catherine Church*, pp. 27-28; *Mediæval INSCRIPTIONS of Romania. The City of Bucharest*, introduction, chronology, explanatory notes, bibliographical indications and footnotes by Alexandru Elian (editor in chief), Constantin Bălan, Haralambie Chircă, Olimpia Diaconescu, volume I (1395-1800), Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania Publishing House, Bucharest, 1965, pp. 374-377, sect. LXXIII, no. 379. The praying list shows the following list of Sinai archbishops: Ἀναστάσιος, Λαυρέντιος, Ἰωασάφ, Ἀνανίας, Ἰωαννίκιος, Ἀθανάσιος, Ἰωαννίκιος, Νικηφόρος, Κωνσταντῖνος, Κυρίλλος, Δωρόθεος, Νεόφυτος ἢ Κοσμάς corresponding to the names under 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115 and 116 in this catalogue, except for the last two names: Νεόφυτος ἢ Κοσμάς, which are not on the list of known archbishops. Κοσμάς may be associated with Κοσμάς Βυζαντινός (no. 110 in my list). I cannot account for the absence of Νέκταριος II Κρής (no. 107 in my list) and I do not know who Νεόφυτος, the last but one in the list may be. There is another unknown name in C. Bobulescu (*op. cit.*, p. 28): Μακάριος, listed

was not at hand, so I was unable to compare them one to another and both to the present list. The Prayer List mentioned before should also contain the names of Romanian benefactors in Mount Sinai but I have not found its printed version so far.

In addition to the bibliography on Mount Sinai, the following writings played an important part in my research: K. N. Παπαμιχαλόπουλου, *Ἡ Ἱερά Μονή τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ*, Ἀθῆναι, 1932⁷ ἔτι Σ. Δ. Κοντογιάννη, *Τὸ Σιναιτικὸν ζήτημα (ΙΣΤ' - ΙΘ' αἰ.)*, Ἀθῆναι, 1987. Moreover, there is a rich bibliographical list concerning the Sinai hierarchs, which has been partially available to me so far.⁸ I particularly regret not having the opportunity to summarize the study of L. Cheikho, *Les Archeveques du Sinai*, Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth, 2, 1907, pp. 408-421, quoted by L. Eckenstein. On the other hand, I do not know in what way might the published catalogues of Arab, Slavonic and Greek documents enrich the present list⁹.

The present listing comprises all the names I encountered. I subsequently arranged them chronologically, according to the information gathered during my research. Most often than not I provided the corresponding source(s). When I met several hierarchs bearing the same name I enumerated them chronologically and distinguished between them by adding Roman numerals to their names, irrespective of

between Ἰωαννίκιος and Ἀθανάσιος, number 6 in the praying list. On these aspects I am currently preparing a separate study.

⁷ I consider this writing to be the most important presentation of the history of Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai to this day, as it is based primarily on the research on the archives of Sinai (also see prof. Teodor M. Popescu's review in BOR, year LII, no. 3-4, March-April, 1934, pp. 236-237).

⁸ I shall cite in the catalogue's footnotes other works as well, as they are relevant to the present list.

⁹ Most of the authors quoted above primarily used as source the printed Sinai *Proschinitars*, which offer information that is not always accurate. Being in fact a reprinting of the first edition (Wallachia, 1710) or, in some cases, of versions having been circulated in manuscript, they merely copied the former texts and rendered them topical. This is apparent in the texts quoted below in original and translated. Out of respect for these texts, monuments in the printing and postbyzantine history, but wishing nevertheless to allow a potential future researcher to intervene and alter where necessary, in a more authoritative voice than mine due to archive evidence, I generally preserved the order of the Sinai hierarchs as it is later on presented by modern writers. I only inserted my observations in footnotes. Where the texts of the two *Proschinitars* used are identical or quasi identical I translated only one variant. As for the +frequency of the Sinai names see the following listing: Ἰωάννης (12), Μακάριος (7), Συμεών (6), Ἀθανάσιος (4), Γαβριήλ (4), Γερμανός (4), Κωνσταντῖνος (4), Μάρκος (4), Σολομών (4), Ἀβραάμ (3), Ἀρσένιος (3), Γεώργιος (3), Κύριλλος (3), Πέτρος (3), Πορφύριος (3), Ἀντώνιος (2), Γρηγόριος (2), Δούλας (2), Δωρόθεος (2), Ζαχαρίας (2), Ἰωακείμ (2), Ἰωαννίκιος (2), Λάζαρος (2), Νεκτάριος (2), Σωφρόνιος (2), Ἀγάθων (1), Ἀνανίας (1), Ἀναστάσιος (1), Ἀνδρέας (1), Βέρυλλος (1), Δαμιανός (1), Δανιήλ (1), Εὐγένιος (1), Εὐθύμιος (1), Ἠλίας (1), Θεοδοσίος (1), Θεοδούλος (1), Θεόδωρος (1), Θεώνας (1), Ἰάκωβος (1), Ἰσαάκ (1), Ἰωάσαφ (1), Ἰώβ (1), Καλλίστρατος (1), Κλήμης (1), Κοσμᾶς (1), Λαυρέντιος (1), Λογγίνος (1), Φότιος (1), Ματθαῖος (1), Μιχαήλ (1), Μωϋσέως (1), Νεκτάριος (1), Νικηφόρος (1), Νίλος (1), Παῦλος (1), Σάββας (1), Σιλουανός (1), Σουλβαῖν (1), Χριστοφόρος (1), Jorius (1).

their rank: bishop, hegumen or archbishop (Petru I, Petru II, for instance). For the sake of cohesion, I ordered the entire catalogue using Arab numerals (from 1 to 124) for all names from the first to the very last one. Although not all Sinai hierarchs bore Greek names nor were of Greek origin I enumerated their names in Greek, using Greek letters. The only exception I made was the name of an abbot originating from Moldavia called *Ioachim II Valahul (1510-1540)* in Romanian version, in order to underlie the presence of an abbot of Romanian origin in Mount Sinai, a fact which is too often neglected, despite the information available. In the majority of the histories of Mount Sinai between 1510-1540, there is either no mention of a hegumen in Mount Sinai or mention of the fact that the Monastery was deserted or closed. The Moldavian abbot *Ioachim* lived however in the Sinai Monastery and was its abbot in a difficult period, being accompanied by several disciples of Ukrainian and Romanian origin. The reason why he left Sinai in 1540 together with his disciples and moved to another famous monastery in the Orthodox world (the *Monastery of St. Sava*) – situated in the Hebrew desert – is unknown.

Another exception from the Greek transposition of the Sinai leaders' names is *Jorius*, number 57 in my list. The name is mentioned in L. Eckenstein's catalogue. I do not know what the origin of this name may be.

From the perspective of its historical evolution, Mount Sinai is known as one of the most important pilgrimage sites for Orthodox, Romano Catholic and Muslim believers. Intense religious life has been the characteristic of the site from early times, St. Anthony the Great being a model for the monks in Mount Sinai¹⁰. It is attested that monks met Bedouins, and the latter sacrificed the former when they were short of camels¹¹. Starting from the IIIrd century, there is evidence of profound monastic life, from the point of view of its ascetic-hermitlike dimension. The monks led a quiet life, retired to their hermitage around the Burning Bush, and met only on Saturdays and Sundays, when they celebrated the Holy Liturgy together, in the

¹⁰ St. Onufrie is considered to be the first Christian hermit in Mount Sinai (cf. PANAGIOTOU Γ. ΦΟΥΝΓΙΑ, *Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὡς κέντρον παγγρηγοριανῆς θρησκευτικῆς λατρείας καὶ αἱ περιπέτειαι αὐτῆς διὰ μέσου τῆς ἱστορίας* ἰν Πανηγυρικός... ἢ ριῶ - ριῆ', who mentions NEKTARIOU IEROSOLUMWN, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Ἱεροκοσμικῆς Ἱστορίας*, 1808, p. 75 and M. H. L. Rabino, *Le Monastère de Sainte Catherine du Mont Sinai*, Le Caire, 1938, p. 1): *Τὸ σπήλαιον ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ ἅγιος ὀνούφριος ἠσκήτευσεν ὑπῆρξε τόπος λατρείας διὰ τοὺς προσκηνητάς, καθ' ὅλον τὸν Μεσαίωνα. Περὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος τὸν ἐρημίτην Ὀνούφριον ἐπεσκέφθη ὁ μοναχὸς Παφνούτιος. Τότε διήνυε τὸ 70ὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀσκητικῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς. Τὴν ἀσκητικὴν ζωὴν εἶχε ἀρχίσει ἀπὸ τὴν Θηβαΐδα. Ἡ Θηβαΐς τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην ἠρίθμει περὶ τοὺς 100 μοναχοὺς. Ὁ Ἅγιος Ὀνούφριος δὲν ἠθέλησε νὰ μονάσῃ εἰς τὴν Θηβαΐδα προτιμήσας τὴν κατὰ μόναν ζωὴν, κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλίου καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ. Ἀπὸ τὴν Θηβαΐδα μετέβη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοῦ Ὀρους Σινᾶ, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν πιθανῶς ὑπῆρχον καὶ ἄλλοι ἀσκηταί. (v. σὶ ΠΑΦΝΟΥΤΙΟΣ, *Βίος ὀνούφριου*, PG 73, p. 211-222).*

¹¹ TZIRAKHS NIK. E., *Σινᾶ Μονή*, ἰν *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἑθνηκὴ ἔγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 11, Athens, 1967, p. 168.

central church (εἰς εὐκτήριον οἶκον), erected where the Burning Bush had been seen, according to the tradition. The church brought together spiritually the hermits scattered on the steep and almost inaccessible rocks around, which perfectly met the requirements of an anchorite's lifestyle. During the persecutions initiated by Diocletianus (284-306)¹² the silence was broken by the attacks of the Saracens¹³ and vlemes. In the year 305, on 14 January, were attested for the first time martyrs in the area of Mount Sinai and Raith¹⁴.

In the IVth century the Monastery was known as a famous ascetic and monastic centre of the Oriental world¹⁵. Towards the end of the century, once the Bedouin danger decreased after having seriously threatened Christian settlements, the number of monks increased, as many of them came from the desert of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Fenicia etc. The thrive of the monastic life in Mount Sinai at the end of the IVth century is related to the significant anchoritic development in the Egyptian (Thebaida, Nitria) and Palestinian deserts. An important part for this period when monks from Egypt moved to Sinai in great numbers is likely to have been played by the isolated and inaccessible site of the Burning Bush. At a time when Nitria and Thebaida, for instance, were practically invaded by believers and pilgrims, Mount Sinai was an oasis, enabling monks to retire and isolate themselves from the world thanks to its inaccessibility and to water shortage. The desert and estrangement were palpable here. Palestine, Sinai and Egypt completed a symbolic triangle of anchoritism which would be a reminder to later Christianity. The tradition gives numerous mentions of male hermits; female hermits are attested as well. Declared *religio licita* (313) Christianity was freed from former constraints, which led to the development of early monastic life. The Sinai monks resorted to the protection of Empress Helen, mother of Constantine the Great. Thus, according to

¹² *Ibidem cf. Synax. Eccl. Const.*, p. 289: «ἀννήρεθσαν παρὰ τῶν Ἀγαρήνων ὅσοι πατέρες ἐν τῷ Σινᾷ καὶ Ῥαίθῳ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνός».

¹³ Saracen attacks on the Sinai dwellers took place between 373-410 as well.

¹⁴ See *The Story of Monk Amonius about the Holy Fathers Killed by the Barberians in Mount Sinai and in Raith*, in D. G. TSAMIS, K. A. KATSANI, *Τὸ Μαρτυρολόγιον τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Thessalonica, 1989.

¹⁵ It is worth mentioning that 312 is the year when St. Catherine suffered martyrdom in Alexandria of Egypt, enriching with her name the monastic community in the area. Three centuries later, the monks of the monastery erected by Justinian had a dream in which the place where the relics of the saint were to be found was revealed to them. They brought the relics to the monastery and deposited them in a golden coffin. It seems however that the monastery was to be known under the name of the saint only from the XIth century onwards. Prior to this date it was called *Monastery of the Transfiguration* (ΠΑΠΑΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΒΑΝΓΗΕΛΟΣ, *Le Monastere Sainte Catherine du Sinai*, Cairo, 1980, p. 15). According to several sources, after the XIth century the monastery is also known as: *Al-Tur Monastery* or *Tur-Sinai Monastery* (ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ, *op. cit.*, p. ρκδ').

the tradition and archeological evidence, St. Helen built a church¹⁶ in Sinai in the year 330 dedicated to the Mother of God – situated on the site of the Burning Bush – and a tower intended to shelter the monks¹⁷. Apparently the defence tower alone survived in the time of Justinian (527-565) (πύργoj).

Worshipping musts led to the establishment of the *Bishopric of Pharan*¹⁸, whose aim was to organise the life of hermits and other Christians in the region of

¹⁶ The existence of the church is also signalled by deacon Ephraim, whose description is part of an Arab manuscript in Vatican (286) dating back to the XVIIth century. Also mentioned by Nectarie of Jerusalem, who locates the defence tower built by St. Helen in the same area (*Sinai hier...*, pp. 77-79). Nectarie of Jerusalem visited the Sinai Monastery in the second half of the XVIIth century (cca. 1675). In 1677 he published in Venice a writing entitled *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱεροκοσμικῆς Ἱστορίας* which focuses on the Monastery of St. Catherine (*LE Sinai hier... aujourd' hui, étude topografique, biblique, historique, archéologique*, publiée sous la direction de M. le chanoine L. Prévost, professeur au Grand Séminaire de Rouen avec la collaboration de MM. le chanoine L. Denefeld, professeur à l' Université de Strasbourg; le chanoine M. David, professeur à la Faculté libre des Lettres de Lille; le Docteur Denys Gorce, Docteur ès-lettres, et l' abbé M. Lejeune, Paris (VI^e), P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur, 1936, p. 77, n. 2).

¹⁷ PAPAIOANNOU EVANGHELOS, *op. cit.*, p. 7; *Le Sinai hier... aujourd' hui*, p. 77; etc. The defence tower and the church were erected between 330-335 (***, *Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, in *Παληγγυρικός...*, p. ιζ'; ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ (*op. cit.*, p. ριε'; A. S. ATTYA, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand list of the Arabic Documents and Scrolls microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Mount Sinai in 1954, Baltimore, 1955). All these mentioned in ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ (*op. cit.*, p. ριε' which mentions a *small church* in place before St. Helen's intervention in the Sinai monks' favour: *Τοῦτο ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν ἀποψιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου ἐκείνου θὰ ὑπῆρχε πρόχειρος καὶ ὑποτυπῶδης εὐκτήριος οἶκος διὰ τὴν θρησκευτικὴν ἐξυπηρέτησιν τῶν ἀσκητῶν τοῦ Ὄρους Σινᾶ καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῆς ἀγίας Ἑλένης ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὴν καλυτέραν συγκρότησιν τοῦ μοναστικοῦ βίου. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐνισχύεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι ἡ ἀγία Ἑλένη ἀνήγειρε καὶ πύργον διὰ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀσκητῶν ἀπὸ τὰς ἐπιθέσεις τῶν διαφόρων φυλῶν τοῦ Σινᾶ.* The tower is mentioned for the first time between 373-381 by the Egyptian anchorit Amoniu. According to his description, the ruins of the respective tower could be located within the Monastery, near the Burning Bush, ΑΜΜΟΝΙΩΣ, *Διηγήσεις* 2, ἐκδ. Δ. Γ. Τσάμης, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1989 (4.20, p. 216; P. GROSSMANN, *Neue baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen im Katharinenkloster im Sinai*, Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα, 1988 (p. 557; P. GROSSMANN, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, in vol. ΜΑΝΑΦΙΣ Κ., *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Athens, 1990, p. 29).

¹⁸ The available information regarding the first Christian centuries do not permit to establish the exact foundation date of the *Bishopric of Pharan*, to which the Sinai monks belonged. It is certain however that starting with the second half of the IVth century one can speak about the existence of an ecclesiastical institution in Sinai (*"We know that, from the point of view of the church, the centre of the Peninsula had not yet become the Monastery, but the city of Pharan, the residence of the Bishop of Sinai..."* - Ν. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἱστορικὸ διαγράμμα*, in ΜΑΝΑΦΙΣ Κ., *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Athens, 1990, p. 13). Prior to that date Mount Sinai had been a clerically unorganised but renown and powerful monastic centre. In the story of the Egeria this epoch is adequately characterised as a period of great freedom. Sinai was (conceived as) a place of retreat, where monks could practice successfully and in tranquillity the Christian virtues. The presence of the *Bishopric of Pharan* indicates that there was a senior hierarch since it was related to the Sinai establishments, and on the other hand a certain independence of the Sinai monks. Pharan and Raith, almost deserted today, were then the

Pharan and *Raith*. Justinian (527-565) erected the Sinai Monastery, led by a hegumen whom he offers significant privileges: *authority, autonomy and independence*. From the IXth century onwards one can speak about the *Bishopric of Sinai*¹⁹, the same being valid from the XVIth century for the *Archbishopric of Sinai*²⁰. The association of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *Archbishop of Sinai and Raith* with the autonomous authority in itself of the *Hegumen of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai* led to institutional confusion as regards the exercise of the functions of the *hegumen* of this monastery related canonically to the *archbishop* which was subordinated to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Hence the misunderstanding and erroneous practice of each power: the one exercised internally within the monastery, and the one regarding the relationship between the *archbishop* and the administrative head, namely the *Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, and the other administrative heads of the regions in which properties of Mount Sinai existed. Those privileges, granted exclusively to the autonomous *Monastery of St. Catherine*, are claimed by the *Archbishops of Sinai and Raith* to be extended to the *archbishopric*. The conflict arose in the XVIth century, was resumed in the XIXth century, and ended in 1932 (5 November),

most fertile areas in the region, allowing for the functioning of a Bishopric. The fact that Sinai does not appear in the title of the bishop allows for several interpretations. The *Castre of Pharan*, forming a bishopric initially subordinated to the *Metropolitan bishopric of Petra*, developed simultaneously with the *Sinai Monastery*.

¹⁹ The *Sinai Bishopric* is the continuation of the older *Bishopric of Pharan*. Emperor Marcian (450-457) wrote to Macarie of Pharan to warn about the monophysite propaganda of Theodosie [*Mansi, VII, p. 483, 516*]. In fact, Theodor of Pharan was convicted as monothelite during the 6th ecumenical synod; after that, a successor was no longer chosen probably because of the Islamic expansion. The peninsula is known to have Constantinus as bishop of Sinai, not of Pharan, no later than the date of the 869 synod. It is hard to believe that there were no other bishops of Pharan during this period of Christian obstruction in the context of Muslim expansion, but - if they existed - they are not known. The hegumen accepted the decisions of the 869 synod which may have resulted into his promotion to a bishop's rank, yet not to that of archbishop. *Pharan* appears in a hierarchic list of metropolitan bishoprics as the 24th autocephalous Archbishopric of Jerusalem, while *Sinai* appears as the 25th. This particular aspect is important, as there appeared jurisdictional difficulties. From 1510 to 1540 the bishopric is bereft of Greek/Sinai abbots apparently because of disputes. It seems that the monastery was led by the *abbot* alone.

²⁰ Although according to Patriarch Dositei of Jerusalem the *Bishopric of Sinai* was turned into archbishopric during the time of Nectarie of Jerusalem, formerly of Sinai [Dositei states that: "*The patriarch before us, kir Nectarie, first ordained Anania of Sinai from bishop into archbishop*"], it may have been changed into archbishopric at the end of the XVIth century, when Eugen (1567-1583) signs as: "*archbishop and hegumen of Mount Sinai, subject to Jerusalem*" (1569). In any case, even though the Archbishopric was not autocephalous and the Monastery remained autonomous and independent from any ecclesiastical authority, the Jerusalem patriarchate was to ordain archbishop the monk proposed by the Sinai monks.

during the pastorate of Porfirie III of Sinai. It consisted of three main stages: a) the subordination of the *Bishopric of Sinai* to the patriarchate of Alexandria or to the patriarchate of Jerusalem; b) unsuccessful attempts of Sinai dwellers to achieve absolute independence; c) their right to have a succursal in Cairo, which developed into a longlasting dispute.

Although a small community, the Sinai Monastery is a well defined monastic centre, organised traditionally and continuously from the VIth century to this day. The decisions regarding the organisation of the monastery are taken by the Sinai *synaxa*, consisting of four permanent members: 1) the archbishop or his representative 2) the verger of the monastery, 3) the responsible for external and budgetary issues, and 4) the library man, in charge of the library and of document and manuscript keeping. The Archbishop is independent from any other ecclesiastical institution and has the rank of hegumen as well²¹. He is canonically subordinated to Jerusalem, but has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the monastery; his role is to ordain the hegumen of Sinai. He bears the title of *Archbishop of Sinai, Pharan and Raith and hegumen of the Monastery of St. Catherine*²². According to the stipulations, in case the archbishop dies, his successor must be elected within 50 days. The archbishopric owns a small parish in Raith, made up of nearly 30 (Orthodox) families and administered by a bishop's guardian (administrator). The Monastery contributes to the support of a school intended for the children of the few Orthodox in the region, while the Archbishopric is involved in the administration of the high school *Abetion* of Cairo (primary and secondary school), recognised by the Ministry of Education and Cults of Greece.

The detailed completion of the catalogue remains a task for the future, considering my hope to obtain access to the information in the archives of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai. The information comprised in these archives will undoubtedly reveal new data regarding my area of interest.

²¹ In the same year, after having been ordained archbishop of Sinai, Grigorie II Maniatopoulos (1969-1973) described the state of the Monastery as follows: *"In conformity with the decrees of the emperors and the holy canons, the Monastery of Mount Sinai is autocephalous, independent and autonomous from any authority of the church. It is a coenobite monastery applying the monastic rules of St. Basil the Great. (...) The Monastery is led by the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, assisted by the monastery's Sinaxa and by the Monks General Assembly, which is held every 2 years in order to provide the necessary approvals and changes in the life of the monastery. The Archbishopric of Mount Sinai also has a parish(...)"* (***) *From the life of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in BOR, 3-4, 1969, p. 285-286.*

²² The Greek title is: «ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος καὶ Πανιερώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Σινᾶ, Φαράν καὶ Ραϊθῶ καὶ Ὑπέριμος Πατρός καὶ Ποιμενάρχου» (Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ, ἴν Πανηγυρικός...ρ. κ' - κα').

Bishops (of Pharan or of Aila) prior to the foundation of the Monastery (who sign as protectors of Sinai)

1. Πέτρος Ι τῆς Ἀΐλας (325)²³
2. Νετρᾶς/Νεκτάριος Ι/Νετήρ ,Νατήρ. ἐπίσκοπος Φαράν (IVth century)²⁴
3. Μωϋσεως τῆς Φαράν²⁵
4. Μακάριος Ι τῆς Φαράν (cca. 450-451)²⁶
5. Φότιος τῆς Φαράν ²⁷
6. Θεώνας τῆς Φαράν/Σινᾶ (cca. 536)²⁸
7. Βέρυλλος τῆς Ἀΐλας (451)²⁹
8. Σολομών Ι³⁰

²³ "Before Justinian made manifest his interest in the ascets of Sinai, the region had been eclesiasitcally subject to the bishop of the city of Pharan or to the bishop of Aila. In the first ecumenical synod (325) bishop Petru of Aila signed the synodal acts as bishop of Sinai or Aila (J. L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1822, p. 544), independent of the bishop of Jerusalem. The same happened at the Calcedon ecumenical synod (451), when its documents were signed by bishop Beryllos of Sinai (MANSI, *Concil. Coll. Ampl.*, V, p. 567). In the synod of Constantinople (536) the Monastery was represented however by priest (πρεσβύτερος) Θεώνας (MANSI, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 884, 889). The independence of the Monastery from the bishops of Pharan or Aila is already foreseeable, as it is led by a hegumen elected by the monastic community", Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ, *Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὡς κέντρον παγχριστιανικῆς θρησκευτικῆς λατρείας καὶ αἱ περιπέτειαι αὐτῆς διὰ μέσου ἱστορίας*, ἴν Πανηγυρικός Τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 1400ῃ ἀμφοιετηρίδι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ, Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1971, p. ρκζ'-ρκη').

²⁴ He also appears under the name of Νετρᾶς, Νετήρ, Νατήρ, Arab correspondents of the Greek Νεκτάριος) See L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, who places him after Moses (no. 3 in the present list); K. N. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (*Ἡ Μονὴ τοῦ Ὄρους Σινᾶ*, Ἀθήναι, 1932, p. 220, 418; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517.

²⁵ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, ἴν Πανηγυρικός..., p. 517.

²⁶ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; Ν) ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἱστορικό διάγραμμα*, ἴν K. ΜΑΝΑΦΗΣ, *Σινᾶ. Οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης*, Ἐκδοτικὴ Ἀθηνῶν, p. 13.

²⁷ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; D. G. TSAMIS, *Lives of Sinai Hermits*, Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 1995, p. 223, where the year 536 is to be found. Probably the successor of Macarie to the bishopric of Pharan.

²⁸ Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ, *op. cit.*, p. ρκβ' ; Ν. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 13; v. si MANSI, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 884, 889.

²⁹ Signs at the 451 Synod in Calcedon (Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ *op. cit.*, p. ρκβ'). Vezi si MANSI, *op. cit.*, V, p. 567.

³⁰ See «Τιμηθέντος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Μοναστηρίου, κατὰ τὴν Βασιλικὴν καὶ Συνοδικὴν διατύπωσιν καὶ θέσπισιν, εἰς Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, δὲν ἔχομεν πληρεστάτην πληροφορίαν ποιοὶ ἀμέσως ἀρχιεράτευσαν · συνεκάζομεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κόγκην τοῦ βήματος τῆς Ἀγίας Βάτου διὰ ψηφίων γεγραμμένων καὶ φερόντων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἔτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν ἔργον ἐν ἡμέραις Σολομώντος Ἐπισκόπου...» (*As the Holy Monastery was honoured as Archbishopric according to the imperial and synodal act and decree, we do not hold exact information regarding those who were its first archbishops; we present however the mosaic inscription made in a corner of the altar [of the Chapel] of the Burning Bush: "this work was finished in the days of Bishop Solomon"...*). (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 151); K. N. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 418; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517. The inference is that the author of the proschinitary, taking over the information on the wall of

9. Γαβριήλ I³¹
10. Ίώβ I (540-560)³²
11. Σολομών II³³
12. Ἀνδρέας³⁴
13. Κωνσταντῖνος I³⁵
14. Ἰσαάκ³⁶
15. Ἰάκωβος³⁷
16. Ἰωάννης I³⁸
17. Ἰωάννης II³⁹
18. Ἀγάθων⁴⁰
19. Σολομών III⁴¹
20. Ἡλίας⁴²
21. Θεόδωρος τῆς Φαράων (680-681)⁴³

the Chapel, considers Solomon I one of the first "archbishops" of Sinai. This is one of the earliest statements of the opinion according to which the Sinai Monastery was established as *Archbishopric* from its foundation by the Byzantine emperor Justinian (527-565), who would have granted it, in addition to other privileges, the above mentioned title by virtue of a *Neara*. My opinion is that based on this information we can only admit the historical existence of a Sinai bishop named *Solomon*, immediately after the construction had been erected by Justinian. He may be the same as *Solomon II* (no. 11 on my list). In other words, the information found there makes it clear that Solomon was a *bishop* and not an *archbishop*. See note 34.

³¹ See «Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ κάτω τῆς Ἁγίας Τραπέζης τῆς αὐτῆς Ἁγίας Βάτου πάλιν τάδε· ἠμῆσθητι Κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου ταπεινοῦ Γαβριήλ Ὁρουψάου, τάχα καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Σινᾶ"...» (...*Again from [those written] in the lower part of the Holy Mass in the same Chapel of the Burning Bush: "Remember, Lord, Your humble servant, Gavriil Oroupsaos, Archbishop of the Holy Mountain of Sinai"...*). (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 151); K. N. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 418; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517. Archbishop Gavriil may be different from a certain *Gavriil I*, who lived in a period prior to 540. I think that the inscription is more recent and it should not be used as an argument in favour of the existence of Gavriil as early as that.

³² Cf. *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517.

³³ The names from 11 to 20 are to be found in the Sinai mss. 1553 (cf. *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517).

³⁴ *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Ibidem*; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Condemned as a Monophysite by the VIth ecumenical synod.

Hegumens of Sinai⁴⁴

22. Δούλας (cca. 375)⁴⁵
23. Σουλβαίν (sec. IV)
24. Παύλος⁴⁶
25. Μακάριος II (453)⁴⁷
26. Γεώργιος I (550-551)⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Here again the information is rather unclear. Part of the hierarchs known hold the title of hegumen, while others are bishops. The two functions may have coexisted after the foundation of the Monastery by Justinian, by virtue of a local tradition. On the other hand, some sources may retain the capacity of hegumen or abbot alone, depending on the level of information of the author. The capacity of hegumen could be very easily kept and acquired by the Sinai hierarchs, who had proved to be important leaders of the respective community before their election as bishops. It seems that Justinian edited an act regarding the monastery, according to which its hierarch had to be a bishop: *"My Empire honours - he states - with the high ranks the leader of the Sinai monastery (...) who must therefore wear the appropriate garments"* (Migne, PG 86, 1149.). The act (Εἰ δὲ ἀνδράσι τῶν περιδεξίους εἰς ὑπηρετῶν βασιλέων, ἀρχόντων καταστρατηγήσαι, ἢ πόλεων διοικήσεις ἐγχειρισθῆναι ἢ λαοὺς ὀδηγήσαι, ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα τοιαῦτα πᾶττειν δεδομένοις, τῷ κράτει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς φαινόμενα χρήσιμα, τιμὴν ἐπιμετρεῖ τὴν προσήκουσαν. τῶν δ' ὑπηκόων ὅσοι εὐγνώμονες εἰσηγούμενοι, δίκαιοι ἔν εἶεν τὰ τῆς ὑποθήκης τούτων βλέπειν τὸ πέρας ἐπιδεχόμενα ἀνδράσι σεμνοῖς, καὶ βιω καὶ τρῶπῳ Θεῷ πλησιάζουσιν, εὐχ' ὅσα τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς συντεινόντων, ἀλλὰ κρείττω καὶ εἰς ψυχὴν αὐτὴν παραμέμποντα τὴν ὠφέλειαν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κέκεινο περιποιούμενα τούτοις, ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν δεξιᾶς προβαλλομένοις τοῖς αὐτοκράτορι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπικλινές ὥτιον βραβεύειν, καὶ τέλος ἀγειν ἄπερ αἰτήσαντο; Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τῆ δεήσει τιμᾶται τὸ εὐλογον, οὐχ ὅπως διὰ τὴν τούτων παράκλησιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀξίως ἔχει γενέσθαι, τηρικαῦτα μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς αἰτήσεις τούτων ἐπαινετέον τοὺς, καὶ παρεκτέον ἄπερ ἐθέλοιεν, ἴν' εἶεν οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, χαριζόμενῃ. Τοῦτο καὶ ἄρτι τῆ Βασιλεῖ μου πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκτελούμενον, δωρουμένη τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ὄρει Σινᾶ τιμὴν τὴν ὑπέρτιμον. Τοῦτο μὲν δι' ἰκεσίαν, ἣν ἐποίητο πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ ἱερώτατος καὶ ὑπέρτιμος; οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινα ὅπως ἀξίον, μὴ πειθηνίους δοῦναι τούτῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς εὐλογα αἰτουμένῳ, καὶ ἅ μὴ τετελεσμένα, τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἂν προσέξηνσαν. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλως ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅρος αἰδέσιμον, καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἐπαπολαύειν δίκαιον ὄν, καὶ νομίζειν μᾶλλον τιμᾶσθαι τὴν Βασιλείαν μου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοῦτο τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ καὶ δοξάζειν οἶδε Θεὸς τοὺς τοῦτον δοξάζοντας. Ὅρος γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπερηρμένον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς. Ὅρος θεῖον, κατὰ τὸν Ἀβρακούμ, δασὺ καὶ κατάσκιον ταῖς ἀρετῶν ἐργασίαις, καὶ ἀρεταῖς παντοῖαις κατάκοσμον. Εἰ δὲ ἀγιάσματος τόπον καλέσαι τις βούλεται, καὶ οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, προσφύες μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείς ἄκρως ἐχόμενον, κἄν τις θεωρεῖη, πλήρης ὁ θεῖος οἶκος τοῦτος δόξης πολλῆς. πλὴν ἔσται κἄν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τούτοις καιροῖς μέρος δόξης ἀπονεμεμνέον τούτῳ παρὰ τῆς Βασιλείας μου, οὕτω καὶ ἦν εἶχε πάλαι ἴδοι τις ἂν ἔπιτο μείζον, κατὰ τὸν Προφήτην προκόπτουσαν. Ταῦτα γοῦν τὸ παρὸν τῆς Βασιλείας μου πρόσταγμα βούλεται. τιμᾶ γὰρ ἡ Βασιλεία μου τὸν κατὰ καιροὺς ἐν τῷ Σινᾶ προστηρόμενον, τῶν ὑπερτίμων τῷ ἀξιώματι· καὶ διορίζεται συναριθμεῖσθαι τρίτος τοῖς οὕτω τετιμημένοις ἐν ἅπασιν, καὶ συντιμᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς προδόσις, καθέδραις, στάσεσι τε, καὶ συνελεύσεσιν. ἀμφιένυσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄμφια, ὅποια καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὅποσοι τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν ἐκ τῶν ἕκαθε χρόνων καὶ νῦν ἔλαβον, τὰ ἄλλα τε πάντα ὅσα τούτοις, καὶ τούτῳ προσέσται κατὰ μὴδὲν ἔλατούμενα. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγγόνει καὶ ὁ παρῶν ὀρισμὸς τῆς Βασιλείας μου. κατὰ μῆνα ἰουλίον. Ἰνδικτιώνος ΙΔ'. - cf. KONTOGIANNH, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31) is not considered to be authentic, but it has been often referred to.

⁴⁵ D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁴⁶ The names from 23 to 28 are mentioned in the Sinai mss.1553 as well (cf. ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517).

⁴⁷ D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

27. Ζαχαρίας I⁴⁹
28. Συμεών I⁵⁰
29. Γεώργιος II⁵¹
30. Χριστοφόρος⁵²
31. Ἰωάννης III⁵³
32. Δούλας (527)⁵⁴
33. Γρηγόριος I (567)⁵⁵
34. Λογγίνος⁵⁶
35. Ἰωάννης IV (Κλύμαξ)⁵⁷
36. Ἀθανάσιος I Σιναΐτης (?)
37. Ἀβράαμ I⁵⁸
38. Ἰωάννης V⁵⁹
39. Ἀντώνιος I⁶⁰
40. Συμεών II⁶¹
41. Γαβριήλ II⁶²
42. Ἰωάννης VI⁶³
43. Ματθαῖος⁶⁴
44. Συμεών III⁶⁵

⁴⁸ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517; D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁰ *Ibidem.*

⁵¹ *Ibidem.*

⁵² *Ibidem.*

⁵³ The names under no. 29, 31, 33, 35-51 are mentioned in the Sinai mss. 1635 (*cf.* ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517). I believe that the opinion according to which they were bishops of Sinai after the year 730 is partially truthful (*v.* ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517).

⁵⁴ V. BENESEVIC, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum, qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*. Tomus I: Codices manuscripti notabiliores bibliothecae monasterii Sinaitici ejusque metochii Cahirensis, ab archimandrita Porphyrio (Uspenski) descripti, auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae sumptibus legati Porphyriani, Porphyrii descriptionem in ordinem redactam atque suppletam edidit, V. Benešević, Petropoli, 1911, p. 559-560.

⁵⁵ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517. Between 570-593 he was Patriarch of Jerusalem (*cf.* D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

⁵⁶ He appears as hegumen in the Saviour's Transfiguration mosaic. He was probably executed around 565-566 (*cf.* D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

⁵⁷ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 517. He is likely to be St. John Climacus.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁰ *Ibidem.*

⁶¹ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 518.

⁶² *Ibidem.*

⁶³ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁴ *Ibidem.*

45. Μακάριος III⁶⁶
 46. Σωφρόνιος I⁶⁷
 47. Ἀθανάσιος II⁶⁸
 48. Ἰωάννης VII⁶⁹
 49. Πέτρος II⁷⁰
 50. Ἀρσένιος I⁷¹
 51. Ἰωάννης VIII⁷²
 52. Γερμανός I⁷³

Bishops of Sinai

53. Μάρκος I (869)⁷⁴
 54. Κωνσταντῖνος II (until 869/870?)⁷⁵
 55. Μακάριος IV (967?)
 56. Πέτρος III⁷⁶
 57. Σολομών IV (Xth century)⁷⁷
 58. Jorius (1033)⁷⁸

⁶⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁷⁰ *Ibidem.*

⁷¹ *Ibidem.*

⁷² *Ibidem.*

⁷³ *Ibidem.*

⁷⁴ «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ, σττος ᾽. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ωξθ ᾽. εὐρίσκεται ἐν βιβλίῳ παλαιῷ ἀραβικῷ Μάρκος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.» (*BIBLION...* (f. 38^v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ στος ᾽. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 869, εὐρίσκεται ἐν Ἀραβικῷ παλαιῷ βιβλίῳ Μάρκος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.» (*In the year 6377 after Adam and 869 after Christ, can be found [mentioned] in an old Arab book Marcu the Archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); in L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, he is mentioned immediately after Constantine (no. 52 on my list); *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁷⁵ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; D. G. TSAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Although "From 870 until 1091 there is a 221- year gap, during which the Peninsula was governed by Muslims and the connection to Jerusalem is interrupted, the Monastery was led by the abbot alone. In 1091 the situation changed and the fathers elected Ioan" (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517), I met several names of hegumens during this period (see no. 53-57). Constantine participates in the 869 synod held in Constantinople in order to judge Fotie (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 517). Also see MANSI, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 194.

⁷⁶ The contemporary of Manuil Comnen, who is likely to have sent the Sinai monk Gheorghie ambassador to Balduin III of Jerusalem (N. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *op. cit.* (p. 16).

⁷⁷ N. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁷⁸ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

59. Ἰωάννης ΙΧ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (1081-1091)⁷⁹
 60. Ζαχαρίας ΙΙ (1103 or 1114)⁸⁰
 61. Γεώργιος ΙΙΙ (1130-1149)⁸¹
 62. Γαβριήλ ΙΙΙ (1154-1160)⁸²
 63. Ἰωάννης Χ (1164)⁸³
 64. Γερμανός ΙΙ (1177)
 65. Συμεών ΙV (1203-1214)⁸⁴

⁷⁹ «Ἀκόμιν αἰνᾶ. Ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ. Εἰς ἄλλο βιβλίον ἀραβικὸν εὐρίσκεται Ἰωάννης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. οὗτος εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπου εἶπομεν ὀπισθεν, πῶς ἐφονεύθη ὑπὸ τῶν αἰγυπτέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποιμνίου αὐτοῦ, ὡς μάρτυς, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τῆς μονῆς πατέρες ἔταξαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τῶν ἁγίων») (*Again in the year 1091 AC, Ioan the Archbishop can be found [mentioned] in another Arab book. It is Ioan of Athens, about whom I said earlier that was killed by the Egyptians, for his sheep, like a martyr, [a fact for which] the fathers of the Monastery added his name to the catalogue of saints*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ 1091, εὐρίσκεται εἰς ἄλλο βιβλίον Ἀραβικὸν Ἰωάννης Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ φονευθεὶς ἀπὸ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποιμνίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ κανονισθεὶς ὡς Μάρτυς εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον») (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); according to L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, he is attested in the year 1069.

⁸⁰ «Ἔτος κατὰ τὸ τούρκικον, φη'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἀργ'. εὐρίσκεται εἰς ἓνα ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάν Ἐμερ ἔλμουμνη, νὰ ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τοῦ μοναστηρίου Ζαχαρίας») (*In the Turkish year 508 and 1103 after Christ, Zaharia is mentioned in a parchment of sultan Emer Elmumni as archbishop of the Monastery*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Μωάμεθ φη'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1103, εὐρίσκεται εἰς ἓνα ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάνου Ἐμερ Ἐλμουμνη, Ζαχαρίας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁸¹ «Ἔτος τούρκικον, φλη'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἀργλ'. εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σουλτάνου ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γεώργιος») (*In the Turkish year 538 and 1133 after Christ, under the rule of the same sultan, Gheorghe was archbishop*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Μωάμεθ φλη'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1133, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σουλτάνου, Γεώργιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions him as archbishop between 1133/1143; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁸² «Ἔτος τούρκικον, φνα'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἀργμ'. εἰς ἓνα ἄλλον ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάν Καῖμ ἱαμπνες ρηηλά, ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γαβριήλ. Οὗτος ἦτον σοφὸς εἰς τὰ ἀραβικὰ γράμματα, καὶ ἔγραψε καὶ σύνταγμα ἴδιον, κατηχήσεις, καὶ σώζεται εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον») (*In the Turkish year 551 and 1146 after Christ, another parchment of sultan Kaim Ibnes Reila mentions archbishop Gavriil. He knew Arab, [and left] a collection, composed by himself, of writings of catechism, kept in the Monastery*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Μωάμεθ φνα'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1146, εἰς ἄλλον ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάνου Καῖμ Ἰμπνι Ρεῖιλᾶ, Γαβριήλ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, εἰδήμων ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ἀραβικῆς γλώσσης, καὶ Συγγραφεὺς κατηχήσεων, σωζομένον εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον») (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); according to L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, he is mentioned with the year 1146; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518 (he is said to have Arab education – *avrabomage, statof*).

⁸³ «Ἔτος ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, σχοβ'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἀρξδ'. εἰς παλαιὸν βιβλίον, Ἰωάννης ἕτερος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος γράφει μίαν γραφὴν ἀραβικὴν, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ραῖθῳ πατέρας») (*In the year 6672, and 1164 after Christ, in an old book, a different Ioan archbishop writes a letter in Arab and sends it to the fathers in Raith*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σχοβ'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1164, εἰς παλαιὸν βιβλίον, Ἰωάννης Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος γράφει Ἀραβικὴν Ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ραῖθῳ πατέρας») (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁸⁴ «Ἔτος ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρσια'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἀργ'. ἦτον Συμεών ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. οὗτος ἔζησεν ἕως εἰς τοὺς, ρσηη'. οὗτος ἀπέπευσε εἰς τὴν κρήτην, καὶ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τούτου οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ κρητικοὶ ἔδωκαν πολλὰ ὑποστατικά, καὶ ἐκτίσθη τὸ ἐκεῖσε μετόχιον. καὶ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὤρισαν οἱ βενέτικοι τὴν κρήτην, καὶ

66. Εὐθύμιος (1223)⁸⁵
 67. Μακάριος V (1224)⁸⁶
 68. Γερμανός III (1228)⁸⁷
 69. Θεοδοσίος (1239)⁸⁸
 70. Μακάριος VI (1248)⁸⁹
 71. Συμεών V (1258)⁹⁰

αὐτὸς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν βενετίαν, καὶ οἱ βενετικοὶ ἐδέχθησαν αὐτὸν εὐλαβῶς, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς ὁποῦ εἶχε τὸ μετόχιον τῆς κρήτης, πρὶν τῆς ἀλώσεως») (*BIBLION...*, f. 38v-39); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψια'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1203, Συμεών Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Οὗτος ἔζησε μέχρι 1253, καὶ ἔλθων εἰς τὴν Κρήτην, παρέλαβεν ἀφιερῶματα γῆς ἀπὸ εὐπατριδᾶς τῆς Κρήτης, ἡ ὁποία ἀφ' οὗ ἐκυριεύθη ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἐνετοὺς, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰ διὰ χρυσοβούλων προνόμια, ὅσα εἶχε τὸ μετόχειον τῆς Κρήτης πρὸ τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς ἀλώσεως») (*In the year 6621 after Adam and 1203 after Christ, archbishop Simeon. He lived until [the year] 1253. Arrived in Crete, he was donated lands by the Cretan nobility, and then he left to Venice, where he was granted privileges by virtue of parchments which he gave to the [Sinai] succursal in Crete before the fall [of Constantinople] under Turkish rule*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152). The end of his bishopship is uncertain. Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ (*op. cit.*, p. ρκβ) mentions the year 1253, probably from L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, who mentions the 1203-1253 interval. Pope Innocentius III addressed him as *archbishop*, and he had been previously known as dean of the Catholic bishop of Petra (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, *op. cit.*, p. ρκη'; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 128). It seems that the Sinai hierarchs take the title of *archbishop*. "*Bishop Constantine (869) is mentioned as first bishop of the Monastery who took part in and signed the acts of the synod held in Constantinople (869-870) as bishop of Sinai. After that we know that Simeon was named archbishop by pope Innocentius III of Rome, at the beginning of the XIIIth century. Simeon was previously mentioned as dean (Bohqoj evpi,skopoj) of the Catholic bishop of Petra. The title of archbishop for the bishop of Sinai was not ordained before the XIIIth century. The Synod in Constantinople (1782) recognised the autonomy of the Monastery, the election of the bishop of Sinai from among the monks by the Monastery's community and the ordainment of the bishop of Sinai by the Patriarch of Jerusalem*" (Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ, *op. cit.*, p. ρκε')..

⁸⁵ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψλα'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσγ'. ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Εὐθύμιος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψια'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1223, ἦτον Εὐθύμιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6631 after Adam and 1223 after Christ Eftimie was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; Π. Γ. ΦΟΥΓΙΑ (*op. cit.*, p. ρκστ) mentions the year 1222.

⁸⁶ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψλβ'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσδ'. ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μακάριος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἔτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψλβ'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1224, ἦτον Μακάριος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6732 after Adam and 1224 after Christ Macarie was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

⁸⁷ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψλς'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσκη'. ἦτον Γερμανός ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ρψλς'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1228, ἦτον Γερμανός Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6636 after Adam and 1228 after Christ German was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁸⁸ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψμζ'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσλθ'. ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἰρως Σινᾶ Θεοδοσίος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψλζ'. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1229, ἦτον Θεοδοσίος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6637 after Adam and 1229 after Christ, Teodosie was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII. Mentioned in 1229 as well (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518).

⁸⁹ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψνς'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσμη'. εὑρήται πάλιν ἐν παλαιῷ ἀραβικῷ Μακάριος ἕτερος») (*In the year 6756 after Adam and 1248 after Christ a certain Macarie is found [mentioned] again, in an Arab book*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; P. G. FOUGIA, *op. cit.*, p. ρκστ.

72. Ἰωάννης XI (1265)⁹¹
 73. Ἀρσένιος II (1292)⁹²
 74. Ἰωάννης XII (1299)
 75. Συμεών VI (1306)⁹³
 76. Δωρόθεος I (1324)⁹⁴
 77. Γερμανός IV (1333)⁹⁵
 78. Ἀρσένιος III (1338)
 79. Μάρκος II (1358)⁹⁶

⁹⁰ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ, ρψψς´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, φονη´. ἦτον πάλιν Συμεών. Φασι δὲ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ προτέρῳ, ὅμως φαίνεται νὰ παρητήθη, καὶ νὰ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω διὰ ἐλεημοσύνην») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψιστ´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1258, ἦτον Συμεών Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς λέγεται τῷ προειρημένῳ, ὁ ὁποῖος παραιτηθεὶς, ὡς φαίνεται, περιῆλθεν ἔξω χάριν ἐλεημοσύνης») (*In the year 6656 after Adam and 1258 after Christ, Simeon was archbishop, who as we said earlier resigned, and who apparently travelled outside the Monastery to [gather] support*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹¹ «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ρψθθ´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσζε´. ἕτερος Ἰωάννης») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψιογ´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1265, ἦτον Ἰωάννης Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6773 after Adam and 1265 after Christ Ioan was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹² «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ ρψογ´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ρσζε´. εὐρίσκεται νὰ ἦτον Ἀρσένιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ σψιογ´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1290, ἦτον Ἀρσένιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6798 after Adam and 1290 after Christ Arsenie was archbishop*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 152); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹³ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ ρσιδ´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ατς´. ἕτερος πάλιν Συμεών ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ρσιδ´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1306, ἄλλος Συμεών Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6614 after Adam and 1306 after Christ, another archbishop [named] Simeon*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹⁴ «Ἔτος τούρκιον, ωιε´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ατκδ´. εἰς ἓνα ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάν Μουεγιανδῆ εὐρίσκεται Δωρόθεος») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Μωάμεθ ωιε´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1324, εἰς ἓνα ὄρισμὸν τοῦ Σουλτάνου Μουεγιανδῆ εὐρίσκεται Δωρόθεος») (*In the year 815 after Mohammed and 1324 after Christ, in a parchment of sultan Mouegiandi, is found [mentioned] Dorotei*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, where he is mentioned as archbishop between 1324-1333; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹⁵ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ ρωμα´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ατγ´. ἦτον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γερμανός») (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ρωμα´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, 1333, ἦτον Γερμανός Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6841 after Adam and 1333 after Christ lived archbishop Gherman*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹⁶ «Ἀπὸ ἀδάμ ρως´. Ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ατηη´. εἰς ἄλλο παλαιὸν βιβλίον εὐρίσκεται Μάρκος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. εὐρίσκονται καὶ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχού καταγεγραμμένοι, ὅμως χωρὶς νὰ εἶναι γεγραμμένοι τὸ ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν. εἰς μὲν καὶ τὴν πόρταν τῆς ἀγίας βάτου εὐρίσκεται γεγραμμένον, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος Ἰῶβ, πάνσοφου ἐπίσκοπος. καὶ εἰς ἓν παλαιὸν βιβλίον ἀραβικόν, Ἀθανάσιος ἐπίσκοπος. καὶ εἰς ἄλλο Σάββας, καὶ Ἀβράμιος εἰς ἄλλο, καὶ εἰς ἄλλο Γαβριήλ, καὶ πάλιν Μιχαήλ, καὶ Σιλουανός, καὶ Κύριλλος εἰς ἄλλα») (*In the year 6866 after Adam and 1358 after Christ Archbishop Marcu is to be found [mentioned] in an old book. There are others mentioned in other books, but without any mention of the period during which they lived. On the gate [of the Chapel] of the Burning Bush writes: "Iov most wise bishop", and in an old Arab book: "bishop Atanasie"; "Sava" in another, "Avraam" in another; "Gavriil" in another and again: "Mihail", "Siluan" and "Chiril" in others*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 39); «Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ στωξστ´. ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1358, εἰς παλαιὸν βιβλίον εὐρίσκεται Μάρκος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος») (*In the year 6866 after Adam and 1385 after Christ*

80. Ἰώβ Πάνσοφος ΙΙ⁹⁷
 81. Ἀθανάσιος ΙΙΙ⁹⁸
 82. Σάββας (1429)⁹⁹
 83. Ἀβραάμ ΙΙ¹⁰⁰
 84. Γαβριήλ ΙV¹⁰¹
 85. Μιχαήλ¹⁰²
 86. Σιλουανός¹⁰³
 87. Κύριλλος Ι¹⁰⁴

in an old book is encountered Archbishop Marcu) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518. A certain Marcu is mentioned in the year 1375 as well. The two names may refer to the same person. This is the reason why we did not mention it in the above list.

⁹⁷ See «Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τοῦ Ναοῦ τοῦτου ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς δὲ ἑγένετο Ἐπίσκοπος Ἰώβ ὁ πάνσοφος», ὅτι οἱ τρεῖς ῥηθέντες ἦσαν πρῶτοι ἀρχιερατεύσαντες. Ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μετὰ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν, φανέντος τοῦ Μωάμεθ, μόλις διήρκεσεν ἕνα αἰῶνα εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη· διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν καταστροφὴν καὶ ἐρήμωσιν τῶν τοσούτων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Παλαιστίνην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν Μοναστηρίων, ἀπεμάκρυναν ἐκεῖθεν φυγάδες γεγονότες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους Μοναχοὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνορωμαϊκὴν Ἐπικράτειαν. Ἐξέλιπον λοιπὸν κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διὰ τὰς καταδρομὰς ταύτας, καὶ οἱ Γραικοὶ Μοναχοὶ ἐν τῷ Σινῆ, καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ ἐντόπιοι Μοναχοὶ Ἀραβες, καθὼς περ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον τοῦ Ζωοδόχου Τάφου· ἐχρημάτισαν ναὶ, ἱκανοὶ Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Ἀραβες ἐπὶ τῶν Καλιφῶν, καὶ ἐπομένως τῶν Σουλτάνων τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Παλαιστίνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἐξ Ἀράβων Μοναχῶν, Πατριάρχαι Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ· εὐρηνται δὲ Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι εἰς τε βιβλία Ἀραβικὰ τοῦ Μοναστηρίου καὶ εἰς τινὰς ὁρισμοὺς τοὺς δοθέντας κατὰ καιροὺς τοῖς Σιναΐταις παρὰ τῶν Σουλτάνων τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ ἐφεξῆς.» (...*And the inscription on the gate of this establishment: "Iov the most wise was elected bishop"; so the three previously mentioned were the first archbishops (Iov, Gavriil and Solomon). The strength of the Oriental Empire, after [semperor] Justinian, as Mōhammed showed up, had lasted for as century in those lands; for this reason, and following the distruction and plundering of so many monasteries across Egypt, Palestine and along the Red Sea shore, the monks of our nationality were compelled to leave for the lands under helenoromeic rule and become runaways. Due to these forays the number of Greek monks in the area decreased and the number of Arab monks increased instead, the same [as had happened] in the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; and indeed, during caliphs and sultans in Egypt and Palestine there lived worthy Arab archbishops, and worthy Arab monks as well, patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem; in the Arab books of the Monastery and in several parchments given in time to the Sinai dwellers by the sultans of Egypt are to be found the following archbishops:...*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 151); K. N. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 418; *BIBAION...*, f. 39; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

⁹⁸ «Εὐρίσκομαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι γεγραμμένοι χωρὶς ἔτος ὅμως, εἰς βιβλία Ἀραβικὰ παλαιὰ, Ἀθανάσιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Σάββας, Ἀβράμιος, Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σιλουανός, Κύριλλος») (*We find other data, but [unfortunately] without [mentioning] the year, in several old Arab books: Archbishop Atanasie, Sava, Avraam, Gavriil, Mihail, Siluan, Chiril) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153); *BIBAION...*, f. 39; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

⁹⁹ *BIBAION...*, f. 39; *ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 518.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*. L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

88. Μάρκος III (1446)
89. Ἰωακείμ I (1451 and 1453)
90. Λάζαρος I (1491)¹⁰⁵
91. Μακάριος VII (1481 and 1490)
92. Μάρκος IV (1496)¹⁰⁶
93. Δανιη, I (1507)
94. Λάζαρος II (1510)¹⁰⁷
95. *Ioachim II Valahul (1510-1540)*¹⁰⁸
96. Κλήμης (1514)
97. Σωφρόνιος II (1540-1545)¹⁰⁹
98. Μακάριος VIII ὁ Κύπριος (1545-1547)¹¹⁰
99. Θεοδούλος (1566)
100. Ἀντώνιος II

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁵ «Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ 1486 μέχρι τοῦ 1510, εὕρημεν εἰς τινα φυλαττόμενα γράμματα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὅτι ἐχρημάτισαν δύο Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι, Λάζαρος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Μάρκος ὁ καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων γεγωνός» (*I learned from some letters kept in Egypt that, between 1486 - 1510, two archbishops were ordained, Lazarus, and Marcu, respectively, the latter to become Patriarch of Jerusalem*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153).

¹⁰⁶ Mentioned in the year 1486 as well (ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519); see also note 95 below. Ordained by Gregorie of Alexandria, he apparently led the Sinai until 1505, the year of his election and ordainment as patriarch of Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁷ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519. Ordained by the patriarch of Alexandria. He was apparently elected metropolitan bishop of Athens in the same year.

¹⁰⁸ «Ἐπειτα διὰ μερικῆς περιστάσεως ἔμεινεν ὁ θρόνος χηρεύων τριάκοντα χρόνους... (After that, under certain circumstances, the throne was bereft [for] 30 years) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153). He was of Moldavian origin. It is often said that the throne was bereft for 40 years (ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519), which cannot be true, since the period totals 30 years.

¹⁰⁹ καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἔτει 1540, ἐχειροτονήθη Σωφρόνιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος... (...and again in 1540 was ordained Archbishop Sofroniè) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153). Ordained by German of Jerusalem. ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, mentioned in the year 1540.

¹¹⁰ «...καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τούτου, ἔτος 1545, Μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κύπριος, τοῦ ὁποῦ τοῦ ἀκατάστατον καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον μὴ ὑπομένοντες οἱ Πατέρες Σιναῖται, μάλιστα ὑποκινούμενοι καὶ παρ' ἄλλων, ἐκάθησαν αὐτὸν ἔτος 1547, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ τῶν τριῶν συνδραμόντων Πατριαρχῶν, οἱ τινες διὰ συνοδικοῦ αὐτῶν γράμματος, κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν τοῦ Σινᾶ. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο παρηλθὼν ἔτη δεκαοκτώ, καὶ διωρίζετο εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον Ἠγουμένος. (Ἴδε τὰς αἰτίας τῆς μεταβολῆς ταύτης εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν Χρονογράφον, ἐν τῷ γ' τμήματι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἱστορίας, Φύλ. 205. καὶ 210. Ἔκδοσις 1805.)...» (...and after his death, in the year 1545: that Macarios the Cypriot, whose unstable and disordered nature was not liked by the Sinai fathers, who were certainly advised by others as well, was unfrocked in the year 1547, in Egypt, by the three patriarchs who had come [here], who deconsecrated the Archbishopric of Sinai by virtue of their synodal letter. 18 year later, he became the hegumen of the Monastery. See the reasons of this change in the Arab Chronicle, in the 3rd part of the Holy History, pp 205 and 210, the 1805 edition.) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153). L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII. Unfrocked in 1547, he signs as bishop in 1566. ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, where the Archbishopric of Sinai is said not to have been in place in the 1547-1575 period.

101. Ἀβραάμ ΙΙΙ

102. Νίλος

Archbishops of Sinai

103. Εὐγένιος (1567-1583)¹¹¹104. Ἀναστάσιος (1583-1592)¹¹²105. Λαυρέντιος (1592-1617)¹¹³106. Ἰωάσαφ ὁ Ῥόδιος (1617-1661)¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ «Ἄφ' οὗ λοιπὸν γέγονε τὸ συνοδικὸν, νὰ μὴ ποιήσωσι πλέον οἱ πατέρες Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον, ἀλλὰ Ἠγούμενον, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Μακάριον τελείως διώξαντες ἐκάθηραν, ἐπέρασαν χρόνοι ιη´. καὶ ἐποίησαν Ἠγούμενον. ὅμως βλέποντες ὅτι τὸ κακὸν προβαίνει εἰς χειρότερον, διέλυσαν, ὡς εἶπομεν, τὸ κακῶς κριθέν καὶ κυρωθὲν ἐκεῖνο συνοδικὸν, καὶ γέγονεν ἄλλο, τὸ ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου, καὶ εὐθύς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐχειροτόνησαν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τὸν κύρ Εὐγένιον, τὸν ὁποῖον εἶχον πρότερον, καὶ ἔζησεν ἀφ' οὗ ἐχειροτονήθη, χρόνους, ιζ´ ») (*From the issue of the stipulation by the synodal act according to which the fathers would no longer have an archbishop but a hegumen to lead the Monastery to the time when Macarios was victimized and eventually unfrocked passed 18 years. And they elected hegumen. But as it became apparent that the situation worsened, they annulled the act and obtained another from [patriarch] Ieremia [of Constantinople], and afterwards, in the same year, they ordained archbishop chir Evghenie who lived [another] 17 years.*) (BIBAION..., f. 39-39v); «Ἀλλὰ βλέποντες οἱ Πατέρες, ὅτι τὸ κακὸν ἦν μέγα, προβαίνουν εἰς ὄλεθρον, ἄνευ γνησίου ποιμένου καὶ προσετώτος, ἀνέτρεψαν τὸ κακῶς κριθέν καὶ κυρωθὲν ἐκεῖνο Συνοδικὸν, διὰ τοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ Δευτέρου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκδοθέντος ἑτέρου, ἔτος 1565, καὶ εὐθύς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον χειροτονηθεὶς, κατέστη πάλιν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τοῦ Σινᾶ, ὁ Εὐγένιος, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔζησεν ἔτη ιζ´ ») (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1565-1583 period; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, states that he was archbishop for 17 years, during which the Chapel of St. John Baptist in Sinai was built by Alexandru Mircea Voevod.

¹¹² «Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον τούτου ἐχειροτονήθη ἀναστάσιος, ἔζησε καὶ αὐτὸς χρόνους, η´.» (BIBAION..., f. 39v); «Μετὰ τούτων ἐχειροτονήθη Ἀναστάσιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἐν ἔτει 1583 ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη η´ ») (*After that Archbishop Anastasie was ordained in the year 1583 after Christ and lived [another] 8 years*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; K. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 422; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519.

¹¹³ «Μετὰ τὸν ἀναστάσιον, ὁ κύρ Λαυρέντιος, ἔζησε δὲ οὗτος χρόνους, κδ´ ») (*After Anastasie, chir Lavrentie [who] lived [another] 24 years*) (BIBAION..., f. 39v); «Μετὰ τούτων Λαυρέντιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἐν ἔτη 1592, ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη κδ´ ») (*After this: Archbishop Lavrentie, In the year 1592 after Christ, who lived [another] 24 years*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153). L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1572-1617 period; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, mentions the year 1592 and the length of his office (24 years). I chose to respect, from Lavrentie onwards, the dates in Σ. Δ. ΚΟΝΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ(*Τὸ Σιναϊτικὸν ζήτημα (1ΣΤ΄, -1Θ, αἰ...)*, Ἀθήναι, 1987, *passim*.

¹¹⁴ «Τούτου θανόντος, ἐχειροτονήθη ὁ κύρ Ἰωάσαφ, ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἐν ἔτει αχιζ´. τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς εἰς τὰς λ´. ἡμέρᾳ δ´) καὶ ἀρχιεράτευσε χρόνους, μ´ ») (*When he died, was ordained chir Ioasaf of Rhodos, that is in the year 1617, on 30 September. Length of his office: 40 years*) (BIBAION..., f. 39v); «Μετὰ τούτων Ἰωάσαφ ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἐν ἔτει 1617, καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη μ´ ») (*After this: Ioasaf of Rhodos, in the year 1617, who lived [afterwards] [another] 40 years*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 153). L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1617-1658 period; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, mentions the year 1617 and the length of his office (24 years).

107. Νεκτάριος ΙΙ ὁ Κρής (1661)¹¹⁵
 108. Ἀνανίας Βυζαντινός (1661-1671)¹¹⁶
 109. Ἰωαννίκιος Ι Πελοποννήσιος (1671-1702)¹¹⁷
 110. Κοσμάς Βυζαντινός (1702-1707)¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ «Μετ' ἐκέινον ἐψηφίσαν τὸν κύρ Νεκτάριον διὰ ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, καὶ ἀπερχόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐχειροτόνησαν αὐτὸν Πατριάρχην Ἱεροσολύμων») (*After this they elected archbishop chir Nectarie, but when he arrived in Jerusalem [to be ordained] they ordained him Patriarch of Jerusalem*) (*BIBAION...*, f. 39v); «Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐψηφίσθη Νεκτάριος ὁ Σοφώτατος, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, διὰ τὰ χειροτονηθῆ, ἐχειροτονηθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμητῶν Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δ' ἐχειροτονηθῆ εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν τοῦ Σινᾶ Ἀνανίας Βυζάντιος, ὁ ὁποῖος μετὰ 10 ἔτη παρητήθη») (*After this was elected Nectarie the most wise. As he went to Jerusalem to be ordained, he was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, and as archbishop of Sinai was ordained Anania the Byzantine. After 10 years he resigned*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 153-154). L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519, mentions the same year 1661 and that he was known as *The Wise* (Sofw,tatoj). He became patriarch of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁶ «Καὶ γέγονεν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὁ κύρ ἀνανίας ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἀρχιεράτευσεν δὲ χρόνους 10. καὶ ἐποίησε παραίτησιν») (*And chir Anania the Byzantine was elected archbishop. After 10 years he resigned*) (*BIBAION...*, f. 39v); see the preceding note; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, mentions the 1667-1677 and 1658-1668 periods. He is said to have been archbishop for 7 years until 1668 (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519).

¹¹⁷ «Καὶ ἐχειροτονηθῆ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὁ κύρ Ἰωαννίκιος Πελοποννήσιος, καὶ ἀρχιεράτευσεν χρόνους, λε' 35. εἰς τοῦτου τὸν καιρὸν ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ ὑψηλότατος αὐθέντης Ἰωάννης Κωνσταντῖνος Μπασαράμπας Βοεβόδας ὁ μέγας Μπραγκοβάνος, καὶ Ἠγεμὼν πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας, μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἄρχοντος μέγα Σπαθαρίου Κυρίου Μιχαήλ Καντακουζηνοῦ, τὴν ἱεράν καὶ περικαλῆ Μοῦνην τοῦ Ῥιμνίκου, καὶ ἀφιέρωσαν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ Θεοβᾶδιστον ὄρος τοῦ Σινᾶ») (*And chir Ioanichie of Peloponese was ordained. He was archbishop for 35 years, during which His Highness Lord of Ungrowallachia, the most great Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu Voievod together with the honourable archon and great sword bearer chir Mihail Cantacuzino, built the holy and most beautiful Monastery of Râmnicul Sărat] and consecrated it to the God-trodden Mount Sinai*) (*BIBAION...*, f. 39v); «Μετὰ τοῦτον Ἰωαννίκιος Πελοποννήσιος ἐν ἔτει αχξη'. καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη λε' 35. Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρχιερατείας τοῦτου ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ ὑψηλότατος Αὐθέντης πάσης Οὐγκροβλαχίας Ἰωάννης Κωνσταντῖνος Βασσαράμπας Βοεβόδας, ὁ Βραγκοβάνος, μετὰ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου Ἀρχοντος μεγάλου Σπαθάρη Μιχαήλ Καντακουζηνοῦ, τὴν ἱεράν καὶ περικαλῆ Μοῦνην τοῦ Ῥιμνίκου, καὶ ἀφιέρωσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ Σινᾶ») (*After this: in the year 1668 Ioanichie of Peloponese who lived [another] 35 years, during which His Highness Lord of the entire Ungrowallachia, Ioan Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu Voievod together with the most honourable archon [and] great sword bearer Mihail Cantacuzino, built the holy and most beautiful Monastery of [the city of] Râmnicul Sărat] and consecrated it to Mount Sinai.*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII, mentions the following dates: 1677-1703; 1668-1703; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519, mentions the year 1668.

¹¹⁸ «Μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν ἐκέινου, ἀρχιεράτευσεν ὁ κύρ Κοσμάς χρόνον ἕνα, καὶ ἐποίησεν παραίτησιν ἰδιοθέλητον, καὶ ἰδιόγνωνμον») (*After his death, chir Cosma was archbishop for one year, and he eventually resigned of his own will*) (*BIBAION...*, f. 39v); «Μετὰ τοῦτον Κοσμάς Βυζάντιος, καὶ μετὰ παρέλευσιν ἐνὸς ἔτος, προσεκλήθη Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἔπειτα μετετέθη εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας») (*After this: Cosma the Byzantine. After a year he resigned [and] was demanded to be patriarch of Constantinople. He subsequently moved to the patriarchate of Alexandria*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the year 1705 as reference date for his office; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519, mentions the year 1704; AMANTOΣ writes that he was abbot between 1703-1706 and that there was no archbishop in Sinai for two years (*Sinai...*, p. 61). He is said to have become patriarch of Constantinople later on.

111. Ἀθανάσιος Ι' Βερρόιαϊος (1708-1720)¹¹⁹
 112. Ἰωαννίκιος ΙΙ ὁ Λέσβιος (1721-1728)¹²⁰
 113. Νικηφόρος Μαρθάλης ὁ Γλυκὺς (1729-1747)¹²¹
 114. Κωνσταντῖνος ΙΙΙ (1748-1759)¹²²
 115. Κύριλλος ΙΙ διν Χρετα (1759-1790)¹²³

¹¹⁹ «Καὶ ἐψηφίθη καὶ ἐχειροτονήθη ὁ νῦν κύρ Ἀθανάσιος, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Βερρόιας. Ἐχειροτόνηθη δὲ εἰς τοὺς ψηφ'. Ἰαννουαρίου, ς'. Παρὰ τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου Χρυσάνθου Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων» (*And then was elected and ordained today's [archbishop] chir Atanasie, [originating] from the Veria diocese. He was ordained on 6 January 1708, by His Beatitude Patriarch Hrisant of Jerusalem*) (*BIBLION...*, f. 39v); «Μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀθανάσιος Βερρόιαϊος, ἔτος ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ αἴψοτ'. καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη ιβ'» (*After this: Atanasie of Veria, In the year 1706 after Christ. He lived [another] 22 years.*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1706-1718 period. He is mentioned as archbishop in the year 1707 and remembered for his arguments with the fathers of Sinai (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519).

¹²⁰ «Μετὰ τοῦτον Ἰωαννίκιος Λέσβιος, ἔτος αἴψη'. καὶ ἔζησεν ἔτη ια'» (*After this: Ioan of Lesbos, in the year 1718. He lived another 21 years*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1718-1729 period. He is said to have been archbishop in the year 1718 (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519).

¹²¹ «Μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἠγούμενος, κατὰ τὸ Μετόχειον τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, Νικηφόρος Μαρθάλης, ὁ Γλυκὺς ἐπονομαζόμενος, ἐκ Χάνδακος τῆς Κρήτης, ἔτος αἴψκθ'. παρητήθη δὲ μετὰ παρέλευσιν ἐτῶν κ'. καὶ ἀπέθανεν εἰς τὴν Πατρίδα του μετεκομίσθησαν δὲ τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον» (*After this: in the year 1729, the one who was hegumen in Constantinople of the [Sinai] succursal called Prodromu, Nichifor Martalis, so-called Glichis, originating from [the town of] Handaka in Crete. After 20 years he resigned and died in his country [namely Crete, n.n.]. His remains were moved to the Monastery.*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1729-1749 period. MANAFHS and AMANTOS consider 1728 to be the first year of his office. The year 1749 is found to be the final year of his pastorate. We are told that he resigned after 20 years, and was given by Silvestru of Antioch the title of *His Beatitude* (*ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519). He assumed the task of printing the first Proskunita, rion of Sinai (*BIBLION...*, Târgoviște, 1710).

¹²² «Μετὰ τοῦτον Κωνσταντῖνος, πατρόθεν Κρής, μητρόθεν Βυζάντιος, ἔτος αἴψμθ'. παρητήθη δὲ μετὰ παρέλευσιν ἐτῶν ι'. καὶ ἀπερχόμενος εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπέθανε καθ' ὁδόν μετεκομίσθησαν δὲ καὶ τούτου τὰ λείψανα εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον. Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρχιερατείας τούτου ὠκοδόμησε καὶ ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὸ Σινᾶ τὴν ἐν Μολδοβία Μονὴν τοῦ Φισιτζίου, ὁ ὑψηλότατος αὐθέντης Μολδοβλαχίας Μιχαήλ Ῥακοβίτζας Βοεβόδας» (*After this: Constantine, from Crete after his father and from Byzantium after his mother, in the year 1749. He resigned after 10 years and died on his way to Constantinople. His remains were taken to the Monastery. During his office His Highness Lord of Moldavia, Mihail Racoviță Voievod, erected and consecrated to Sinai the Fâstâci Monastery in Moldavia.*) (*ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ...*, p. 154); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII mentions the 1749-1759 period; *ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ...*, p. 519, mentions the year 1749 and the fact that Mihail Racoviță Voievod built and offered to Sinai the Fâstâci Monastery. I have not found a confirmation of the fact whether he is the same person as the abbot replacing Nichifor Marthales in the Mpalata/(Constantinople) succursal, the former abbot of the Monastery of St. Parascheve in Iasi, a Sinai succursal as well.

¹²³ «Μετὰ τὸν αἰδῖμον Κωνσταντῖνον, ἐψηφίθη ὁ κλεινὸς Κύριλλος, ὁμώμενος ἐκ Κρήτης, καὶ εὐρισκόμενος ἐν Σμύρνη, κἀκείθεν δὲ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Πόλιν, ἐχειροτονήθη κατὰ τὸ αἴψμθ'. Ὀκτωβρίου ιζ'. ἀρχιερατεύσας χρόνους λ'. καὶ μῆνας γ'. Ὅλον δὲ τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μία σειρά βασάνων, ἠγωνίσθη ὀλοψύχως ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τοὺς προκατόχους αὐτοῦ, ἕνεκεν τῆς καλῆς διοικήσεως καὶ συστάσεως τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Μοναστηρίου. ἐποίμανε ἐν θερμότητι ζήλου, καὶ πνευματικῆ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ οὐρανόθεν ἀδελφότητα. τύπος ὧφθη καὶ παράδειγμα ἀρετῆς πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα

116. Δωρόθεος II Βυζαντινός (1794-1797)¹²⁴

117. Κωνσταντῖνος Ι΄ Βυζαντινός (1804-1859)¹²⁵

Ἄδελφοῖς καὶ Πατράσιν· ἐπέδραμεν εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, καὶ πολλὰς Βασιλείας καὶ Ἐπικρατείας τῆς Εὐρώπης διήλθεν, ἐν αἷς πολλοὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τῇ γλυκύτητι τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἐφώτισε, καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ὁδήγησεν εἰς ὁδὸν σωτηρίας. Τέως δὲ ἀπελθὼν τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Μολδοβίαν, χάριν βοήθειας, καὶ ἀσθενήσας ὑφ' ἐνὸς οὐρανοῦ πυρετοῦ, ἐπλήρωσεν ἐν Ἰασιῶ τὸ κοινὸν χρέος, τῷ αψ]΄. ἔτει, Ἰαννουαρίου ιβ΄. ὁ ἀείμνηστος. Ἐμεινε δὲ χηρεύουσα ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ χρόνου γ΄. καὶ μῆνας ζ΄. Μετεκομίσθησαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ λείψανα εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον, καὶ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον, ἔνθα κείνται καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπων ἐν κιβωτίοις») (*After the worth mentioning Constantine was elected Chiril, who originated from Crete and who [at the time of the election] was in Smyrna. After that he came to the Holy City and was ordained on 17 October 1759. During his bishopship of 30 years and 3 months he was tortured many times and he suffered for all his predecessors, because of the welfare and proper administration of the Monastery. He was very zealous, wise in spiritual matters and bestowed his knowledge upon the monastic community. He proved a model and a paradigm of virtue to all fathers and brothers both before and after [his election]. He reached many lands on the Earth and travelled across many empires and kingdoms of Europe, where he enlightened many Christians with the sweetness of his words and led them on the way to redemption by the morality of his works. When he eventually arrived in Moldavia for the second time to gather support, weakened by fever, he gave his final breath in Iasi, on 12 January 1790. And the Archbishopric was bereaved [of its leader] for 3 years and 7 months. His remains were taken to the Monastery and placed in the cemetery, next to [the remains] [which are buried in coffins] of the other archbishops.*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 154-155); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, only gives the year 1759, but states that he was archbishop for 30 years.

¹²⁴ «Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μακαρίτην τοῦτον, ἐψηφίσθη ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης Δωρόθεος Βυζάντιος, εὐρισκόμενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Μολδοβίαν Αὐθεντικῇ Μονῇ τῆς Φορμώσας Ἠγούμενος· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπάρας, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔχειροτονήθη τῷ αψ]δ΄. ἔτει, Σεπτεμβρίου α΄. Ἀρχιεράτευσεν χρόνους β΄. καὶ μῆνας ι΄. ἀνὴρ ἀπλοῦς μὲν καὶ συνεσταλαμένον πνεύματος, τὰ δ΄ ἄλλα εὐλαβῆς καὶ ἐνάρετος. Εὐρισκόμενος δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἀσθενήσας ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ πυρετοῦ, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου ὁ ἀείμνηστος. Ἐμεινε οὖν χηρεύων ὁ θρόνος διὰ τὰς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνωμαλίας, χρόνους ζ΄. καὶ μῆνας δ΄.» (*And after this worth mentioning man was elected archimandrite Dorotei the Byzantine, hegumen of the princely Monastery Frumoasa in Moldavia. So that, leaving that place and arriving in Jerusalem, he was ordained on 1st September 1794. He was archbishop for 2 years and 10 months, [being] simple and reserved, pious and virtuous in everything. When he was in Egypt he caught fever and passed into eternal life. So the archbishopric was bereft because of the hardships of the time for 7 years and 4 months.*) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 155); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII gives the 1794-1796 period. He is said to be archbishop in the year 1789 and to have lived another 3 years (ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519).

¹²⁵ «Μετὰ τὸν Μακαρίτην Δωρόθεον, διεδέχθη τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὁ νῦν ἀξίως ἀρχιερατεύων Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Β΄. καὶ αὐτὸς Βυζάντιος, ὅς τις εἶξας τῇ τῶν Πατέρων κοινῇ διὰ ψήφων προσκλήσει, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ οὐ ἔλαχε διοικῶν Μοναστηρίου, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Πόλιν κατὰ τὰς Βασιλικὰς καὶ Σινοδικὰς ἀρχαίας διατυπώσεις, ἔχειροτονήθη τῷ αωδ΄. ἔτει Νοεμβρίου στ΄. ὄν ὡς εὐφρόνως διοικοῦντα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πρεσβυγενές, περίδοξον τοῦτο Μοναστήριον, ἀγωνιζόμενόν τε μετ' ἐνθέρμου προθυμίας καὶ ἀκαμάτων μόχθων, πρὸς ἀπάντησιν τῆλικούτων ἀνυπερβλήτων δυστυχημάτων, οἷα οὐδέποτε ὁ πρὸ τούτου ροῦς τοῦ χρόνου ἐπέφερεν εἰς τὸ Σεπτὸν αὐτὸ Προσκύνημα τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, καὶ ποιμένοντα ἐν ζήλῳ καὶ πατρικῇ κηδεμονίᾳ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἀδελφότητά, διαφυλάξαι Κύριος ὁ Θεός») (*After the worth mentioning Dorotei there followed the one who is now the worthy Constantine II the Byzantine, who submitting to the call of the common vote of the Fathers left the Monastery, whose administrator happened to be, and arriving in the Holy City, according to the old imperial and synodal stipulations, was ordained on 6 November 1804. He administered wisely this holy many old and glorious Monastery, may the Lord God protect*

118. Κύριλλος III Βυζαντινός (1859-1867)¹²⁶
119. Καλλίστρατος (1867-1885)¹²⁷
120. Πορφύριος I (1885-1904)¹²⁸
121. Πορφύριος II Λογοθέτος (1904-1926)¹²⁹
122. Πορφύριος III Παυλίνου (1926-1968)¹³⁰
123. Γρηγόριος II Μανιατόπουλος (1969-1973)¹³¹
124. Δαμιανός Σαμαρτζές (1973-)¹³²

him, and strived with fervent goodwill and indefatigable effort to overcome so many unconceivable misfortunes, as never before have there been brought by this course of time over this holy Orthodox worshipping site, and to pastorate with zeal and under the Fathers' blessing the community entrusted to him.) (ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., p. 155); L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII. His pastorate started in 1794 and ended in 1830 when he became patriarch of Constantinople. After that he remained protector of Sinai until 1859 (ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519).

¹²⁶ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, provides the same dates I mentioned in the above list. He is said to have been victimized by the Sinai dwellers and accused of not having been an appropriate choice nor a good administrator. Former abbot of the Fâstâci Monastery in Moldavia.

¹²⁷ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519; L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII provides the 1877-1885 period. There may be a printing error, namely the year 1877 instead of 1867.

¹²⁸ L. ECKENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. VII; ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519.

¹²⁹ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, his pastorate lasted 42 years; he died at 91.

¹³¹ This is the last name in the list of archbishops of the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ..., p. 519, according to which he was born in Boutza of Smyrna (Middle East), elected archbishop in Cairo on 4 January 1969 and ordained – for the first time in the history of the Sinai Monastery – in Athens, by the representative of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, on 2 February 1969. His enthronement took place in Sinai on 13 April 1969 at the Second Resurrection service. This was an exception from the tradition due to the fact that *the Monastery was under occupation*.

¹³² According to my information, he is the only one among the archbishop of Sinai who has visited Romania from 1864, when the *monasteries' possessions were secularised* – that is around 3/16 May 1981, date mentioned under his signature given on the first page of the ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ..., a gift to the Bucharest Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Theological Institute by then, accompanied by the following note: Διὰ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βουκουρεστίου. † Samartzèj Damianóji – For the Library of the Theological Institute of Bucharest † IPS Damian Samarzes -, where Sinai had a number of properties and interests. It is worth mentioning as well that the Romanian Patriarchate preserved a tight relationship with Mount Sinai along these years, which the rich correspondence between them bears witness to.