THE LETTERS OF
IOANNES MAUROPOUS
METROPOLITAN OF EUCHAITA

GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY
BY
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PREFACE

A new edition of the letters of Ioannes Mauropos with English translation and notes, I hope, needs no words of explanation or justification. Their philological and historical interest and their undeniable charm are alone grounds enough for a new edition. The project has been in the making for several years, and it has been encouraged by various friends and colleagues who helped me with their advice and assistance. The challenge to undertake an edition accompanied by a translation in a language that I can never claim to have mastered completely was not a slight one. Yet it was not only patience and stubbornness (or even the need to prove to myself that I could finish what I had once started) that kept me at work. It was also a sense of my indebtedness to several friends and colleagues who were in one or another way associated with my work. That it has come to completion is due to the fact that on various occasions these friends and colleagues made it possible for me to work for a period of time near them in libraries with better facilities than those of my own university. Accordingly, I should like to thank Professors Donald M. Nicol (London), Armin Hohlwege (Munich), Peter Schreiner (Cologne) and Paul Speck (West Berlin) for their warm hospitality while a guest at their respective universities. In this connection, I should also like to express my deepest gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for generously sponsoring my research while working at the Institutes for Byzantine Studies in Munich, Cologne and West Berlin. I am also grateful to several other friends and colleagues who generously gave time and effort to help me. I am especially indebted to Professor John Duffy who read with meticulous care the entire manuscript, correcting mistakes and making essential improvements. I am equally indebted to Professor Athanasios Kambylis for reading the Greek text with his usual thoroughness and for his scholarly advice and invaluable suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Professors George Dennis, S.J., and Diether Reinsch, who took time to read the manuscript of my work and provided helpful advice and criticism. In conclusion, it is a pleasure as well as a duty to express my thanks to the editor of the series, Professor Ioannes Karayannopoulos, who also took a kind interest in my work and accepted it for publication in the Corpus Fontium.
INTRODUCTION

I. IOANNES MAUROPOUS, METROPOLITAN OF EUCHAITA

Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita, was a Paphlagonian who took pride in his land of origin (Epist. 9, 11) despite the low opinion in which his countrymen were held in Byzantium. The name Mauropous figures neither in the Vatic. Gr. 676, the oldest and fullest record of his writings, nor in the works of Michael Psellos. It occurs exclusively in manuscripts containing his canons. The name Mauropous, however, appears as a family name in the eleventh century and later, its members belonging to the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy.

That Ioannes Mauropous was not born in Constantinople but came there at an early age is clear from the explicit testimony of Michael Psellos (Chron. II, 65). Yet his place of birth in Paphlagonia cannot be established with certainty. Follieri suggested that Mauropous was born in Claudiopolis on the basis of one of his epigrams: Σύ δ' εἰ θέλεις, τρίσσεσε τὸν τοῦ Κλαυδίου / φθόνος γάρ οὐδεὶς πατρικῶν γνωρισμάτων. Eustratiades, on the other hand, thought that

1. Oi ἀκραυγείς ἁμμικός Παφλαγόνεις... Epist 9, 12-13; also Epist. 11, 12-14.
6. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. V.
admitting his unenviable origins, Mauropous refers to himself as a nephew of the metropolitan of Claudiopolis. It was a familiar practice in Byzantium in this period for nephews to be called by the name of a bishop uncle, when their own parents were without particular significance.

Psellos says nothing about Mauropous' parents in the *Encomium*. He refers only to a brother of Mauropous who died at an early age. He also, however, mentions two uncles who were ecclesiastics, one metropolitan of Claudiopolis, the other sent as a missionary to Bulgaria. The only other member of his immediate family that we know of is a nephew, Theodoros, whom Mauropous entrusted to the care of Psellos. This same nephew is probably the recipient of Ep. 71. He was also the author of an office dedicated to the memory of Mauropous.

The year of Mauropous' birth cannot be established with any accuracy. From a comment he makes about his age in an epigram he dedicated to the Emperor Konstantinos IX, it is deduced that he must have been born around the year 990. When Psellos met him, sometime between 1028 and 1034, Mauropous was already a mature man and a recognized teacher, while Psellos was a youth studying under him. The year of Mauropous' arrival in Constantinople likewise remains unknown. In one of his epigrams he mentions a family house in Constantinople which he had inherited and in which he taught. It was here that he passed his early years.

Not much is known about Mauropous' career as a teacher. His school was located in his family house which at one point he was forced to abandon. Several of his letters are addressed to his former students and from the references he makes we can assume that he retained a lively interest in their affairs long after they had left his school. His involvement in the education of the young can best be seen in one of his letters to Psellos.

About Mauropous' own studies we know only what Psellos reports in his *Encomium*, that after completing the *ευκλεία και *κέραυνοι* he turned to the study of rhetoric, philosophy and law. Nothing whatever is known about Mauropous' teachers. The recipient of Ep. 20 could have been one of them but unfortunately his name is not stated in the letter. A few of his letters give us a glimpse of his ideas and of his methods as a teacher. Writing to a youth who was about to complete his *σπλογγίζη*, he advised him to study seriously and in depth. His comments on the *σχηματογραφία* indicate that Mauropous had little sympathy with this method. This impression is reinforced by his epigrams nos. 33 and 681. In two other letters addressed to an inquisitive priest, who plagued him with various questions on grammar and biblical theology, Mauropous shows himself as a teacher at work. In his letters he is careful not to violate the canons of epistolography for he knows that, as a teacher, he should set an example to his correspondents of the rules established for letter-writing. It was Psellos who finally brought Mauropous out of obscurity. Before emerging into public life, he had followed the maxim of Epicurus —*ή δε θεοσ—shunning every kind of involvement in affairs of Church and State—in order to avoid *διαστησμάτων*... Sathas, *MB*, V, 145, 4-5.

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entd himself before the Emperor, Konstantinos Monomachos, with apprehension and mixed feelings. He marked the occasion by composing a long poem in which he described his encounter with the Emperor (Epigr. 54). The event must have occurred some time after 1043.

This was not, however, Mauropous' first encounter with the ruling class or for that matter with the imperial household. He seems previously to have had some acquaintance with the family of the Emperor Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034-1041). One of his epigrams describes an icon of the Saviour given as a votive offering by the protovestiarios Georgios, the brother of Michael IV (Epigr. 26).

Nevertheless, Mauropous persistently avoided becoming involved in public life, rejecting any offers made to him. One such offer is described in Ep. 5, one of his earliest letters. It concerns a request that he should enter the patriarchal chancellery as a chartophylax. Such an appointment would have been no mean distinction. Exactly when this offer was made is nowhere documented in the sources.

Vague references to Mauropous' monastic career before his appointment to the see of Euchaita are made by Psellos in the Encomium. The date which Lyubarsky proposes for Mauropous' entry into a monastery in the late 1030's is not proven. Codex Mon. Leid. 43 claims him as a monk of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. For the founder of this monastery, Saint Baras, Mauropous composed an encomium, the text of which is only in part preserved.

Although there is no reason to believe that he ever stopped teaching, Mauropous was persuaded by Psellos to give up the quiet life of a monk and to come to the court of the Emperor Konstantinos Monomachos. Once there, Mauropous busied himself in affairs of State. From the period ca. 1046-1047 several sources illustrate the extent of his involvement and his influence in the imperial court. His two letters 19 and 20 must date from this period for, although they give evidence of his optimism and enthusiasm, they also suggest the extent of his rise to power and the increasing envy of his enemies and friends alike. In another letter occasioned by Psellos' nomination as ἅγιος τῶν φιλοσόφων he pledges his full support (Ep. 23). The Novella of Konstantinos Monomachos founding a school for the study of law, the authorship of which is attributed to Mauropous, date from the same period (1047).

It was Mauropous who was commissioned to draft the Novella and not Psellos or Xiphilinos, whose students significantly were entangled in a dispute over imperial patronage. The selection of Mauropous shows the high esteem in which he was held by the two opposing parties and by the Emperor himself. At this stage he enjoyed the Emperor's confidence and even distinguished himself as the court orator defending the policies which the Emperor had initiated after the Pecheneg War (13 Jan. 1047). In two of his orations delivered in this year he attacked those who disagreed with the Emperor's policy and especially with his decision to disband the troops that were brought to the frontier to fight the Pechenegs. It was the inevitable revolt of the disbanded armies that precipitated the rebellion in 1047 of Leon Tornikios, an upstart relative of the Emperor.

For about three months the city of Constantinople experienced the drama of this rebellion. Tornikios' troops confronted the City in full view of its populace. The dramatic moments of this event, which came to its climax during Christmas of 1047, are described in vivid language by Mauropous in an oration delivered before the Emperor (Orat. 186). But Mauropous did not confine himself to words of praise for the Emperor and scorn for the defeated rebels. He even courageously petitioned the Emperor to show leniency to the defeated soldiers and spare their lives. He made this request in a letter addressed to the Emperor.

23. Sathas, MB V, 163: Πρωτοκλήτης γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀφαῖρεν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱδρυσαν καὶ κήρυκτα τῇ εἰκώνι τῆς προστάτων. See also Epist. 105, Kurz-Drexel II, 135, 12 ff.
24. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psel. 43.
25. The attribution of this work to Mauropous has been questioned by M. Juge, DTC X, 446. For an opposite view, see N. G. Wilson, Books and Readers in Byzantium, Byzantine Books, A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, Washington D.C. 1975, 12.
26. ...καὶ δοκεώντων τοῖς, ἣν μείζων καὶ παλάτων καὶ παρά βασιλείαν καὶ παρὰ κυριαρχίας δομομένων. Epist. 20, 28-29.
27. For the date of the Novella in 1047, see J. Lefort, Trois Discours, 279 ff.
Emperor (Ep. 26), reminding him that it was his duty to care for the lives of the subjects who had been entrusted to him. Any vengeance he might take upon them would be unjust and contrary to the Christian ideals which he purported to exemplify.

Mauropous' relationship with the Emperor cannot be further defined or amplified. In one of his letters he declared that, even though he had been granted access to the Emperor, he had never striven for personal advancement (Ep. 19). Psellos, in his Encomium 33, implied an idealized relationship between Mauropous and the Emperor, to be compared with the friendship of Plato and Dionysius of Syracuse; but this, to say the least, is an exaggeration.

The intrigues and litigations which kept the courtiers of Konstantinos IX busy did not at first affect Mauropous, for he enjoyed the protection and support of Psellos and Ioannes Xiphilinos. His two letters to Xiphilinos concerning a lawsuit into which he was drawn for reasons unknown to us, show that the two men were close friends and that Mauropous depended on Xiphilinos' support (Ep. 28-29). In the period prior to Mauropous' appointment to Euchaia we may also date Ep. 33, addressed to Psellos whose influence in the court, as yet unimpaired by his enemies, was still considerable. Although the two men stayed close during this period of relative security, Mauropous at times felt neglected by the more enterprising Michael Psellos. Power seems to have made Psellos distant even to Mauropous, as Ep. 33 suggests. The tragedy of Mauropous was that the more his position in the imperial court was weakened by his opponents the more he came to depend upon the protection of his former protégé. Their friendship should hardly be idealized, as it has been in a recent study 33, for it gave way to mistrust and misunderstandings, especially during the most critical moments of Mauropous' career. The strain in their relationship did not abate even after Mauropous was forced to leave Constantinople.

The same cannot be said for Mauropous' relations with Ioannes Xiphilinos. We can identify with certainty only two letters addressed to him in this collection (Ep. 28-29). They are concerned only with a particular lawsuit and therefore provide little evidence for assessing the relationship between the two men. A third letter was probably written during Xiphilinos' stay in Olympus in Bithynia (Ep. 59). But there are grounds for believing that Mauropous did not feel the same way towards Xiphilinos as he did towards Psellos whom he considered his protégé. No such teacher-student relationship existed between Xiphilinos and Mauropous. However sincere and strong their friendship might have been, we do not find the same kind of intimacy that Mauropous shared with Psellos. Regarding the third member of the circle, Konstantinos Leichoudes, there are no references in any of Mauropous' letters, nor has it been possible to identify him among the addressees in this particular correspondence.

The main problem concerning Mauropous, a matter of serious dispute among historians who have dealt with his life, is to determine the cause and the date of his removal from Constantinople. Dräseke 34 connected Mauropous' removal with Epigr. 96, "οτε ἀπέστη τῆς συγγραφῆς τοῦ χρονογράφου." Whether this epigram has an autobiographical character is open to question. Even if it has, it merely implies that Mauropous was once silenced by the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos who was displeased with the history he was writing. It does not necessarily follow that the epigram provides the reason for Mauropous' removal from Constantinople. Nor is there any other evidence to show that Mauropous was ever commissioned to write the history of his time. One cannot completely ignore the epigram, controversial though it may be. But it suggests no more than the following facts: the author is not used to telling lies, and he is forced to abandon the history he is writing because he cannot turn it into a hypocrical encomium 35. Whether Mauropous here refers to a specific situation is open to debate. It would be hard to believe that he was writing about someone else. But on the facts available it is impossible to come to any conclusion about the time, place and circumstances of his epigram. The opinion of Dräseke that Mauropous later resumed his work on this supposed history is based on a misunderstanding 36.

If this were not the cause, what were the circumstances which precipitated his ordination and subsequent removal from Constantinople? The ordination was imposed upon Mauropous by force (Ep. 45, 48). Does this imply that his ordination was a punitive act in the disguise of a reward? Mauropous at least gives this impression and there is no reason to doubt him (δὲ γὰρ μόνον προσήν

32. Sathas, MB V, 154-155.
33. Fr. Tinnefeld, Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos, JÖB 22(1973) 153-154, esp. 165, where the theme of friendship in the correspondence of Michael Psellos is treated mainly from a literary point of view.

35. οὐκόνον ἄφεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ γεγραμμένου, ή συγγραφή δὲ μὴ προσχωρεῖται τοῖς χρονογράφοις. οὔκ εἰς διψάων γάρ πρός τά τοῦ μεσοκάτωσι, νόμος τε ταύτην ἐκ τροχῆς ἀποτελέσατο. Epigr. 96, 7-10, Bollig-de Lagarde, 50.
It is important to try to understand what Psellos implied by writing to Mauropous, if the quotation from the Patriarch Michael Keroularios. But in a letter which might have been written in reply to Mauropous' letter Ep. 51, Psellos admitted that had Mauropous stayed any longer in Constantinople he would have suffered an even worse fate. He should consider himself lucky, Psellos added, to have escaped unscathed to Euchaita. He even makes the proposal, not seriously of course, that Mauropous change places with him. This letter was written only a short while after he had been nominated as metropolitan. Psellos had every reason to assure him that he had no option under the circumstances but to submit. Thus Psellos needed to say nothing in his letter about his own involvement in this affair.

It is important to try to understand what Psellos implied by writing to Mauropous, if the expression ἔθεσεν ὠς πρὸ τοῦ παραθέματος, ἵνα μὴ ἔθεσεν ἄφθαρσιν, ἑθυμήσας ἐν ύπο τῷ ἰσημερίτῳ φυλή. The reference is obviously made in connection with the situation prevailing in the imperial court, which Psellos euphemistically calls Eden. The ἰσημερίτων φυλή must be the Emperor himself. Psellos elsewhere uses this expression to refer to the person of the Emperor. The ultimate danger to which Michael Psellos alludes is the Emperor's unpredictable nature and whims might have caused greater ruin to Mauropous. The situation brings to mind the scene which Psellos described in his Chronographia following the downfall of Konstantinos Leichoudes. Mauropous must have fallen from the grace of the Emperor for the same reasons as Leichoudes. The exact cause and the details escape us but they are most likely akin to those that Psellos describes in general fashion in his Chronographia.

The date of Mauropous' appointment has for a long time been a controversial issue. The dates proposed range from 1043 to 1054. A clue which helps to narrow down the period is the passage καὶ τῶν παραθέματος ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρμήνευσι τούτων τοιοῦτον... in a letter of Psellos to Mauropous. Psellos having first described to Mauropous the unstable situation prevailing at court, alludes to another event about which he speaks more openly in his Chronographia. His allusion, probably deliberately cloaked in metaphor, is to the well known love affair that Konstantinos IX carried on in the last years of his reign. The moon which had at this time just risen in the court was none other than the Alan princess with whom the Emperor fell passionately in love.

The period 1050-1052 was a time of trouble during which Leichoudes fell from power (1050) allegedly for not fulfilling the Emperor's wishes (Chron. II, 60). About the same time that Leichoudes was dismissed from office, Mauropous for some unknown reason seems to have been forced to leave Constantinople. To minimize his disgrace and to provide a pretext for leaving the City he was offered the see of Euchaita. For the fact that it was by the Emperor's order that he was sent there we have Mauropous' own testimony, in addition to the vague inferences of Psellos. To be sure, Mauropous could not be outspoken or very explicit about the matter lest he cause serious offence to the person of the Emperor. He considered his appointment to Euchaita to be an exile, often referring to it as such in his letters (Eps. 61, 20-22; 63, 3-5; 66, 18-22). But in his sermons there he never revealed his true feelings to the faithful.
considered his appointment a reward he would have no reason to be bitter about it. In addition even Psellus, who is generally cautious in his letters, once had to admit that Maurous truly suffered a great disgrace aggravated by the fact that he had to endure it in his own land.

Whether the Patriarch Michael Keroularios was also involved in Maurous’ case and to what extent is unknown. Nowhere in his correspondence does Maurous mention the Patriarch’s involvement in his appointment. There is no hint of it in his three letters to the Patriarch (Eps. 64-66). The reference which Psellus makes concerning the Patriarch in the Encomium does not help us either. The encomiast’s effort is obvious. He endeavoured to show that Maurous’ appointment was in recognition of his piety and virtues and was made with the full approval of the Emperor and the Patriarch.

Before leaving Constantinople, Maurous seems to have had to abandon his house which he had transformed into a school (Epigr. 47). He later regained it, however, as he happily narrates in another epigram, through the Emperor’s generosity (Epigr. 48). On the basis of these two epigrams it is assumed that Maurous did not stay to the end of his life in Euchaita but was eventually recalled to Constantinople by Konstantinos IX Monomachos.

The circumstances of these two epigrams are somewhat obscure. Maurous expected that his house would continue functioning as a school under its new owner after he had left. Yet the epigrams do not make clear why he had to abandon the house. The lines λόγος δὲ νυκτὸς πάντα καὶ θεοῦ πόθος / τριτῶν δ’ ἄριθμοι τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν φόβον (Epigr. 47, 34), considered to be the key to this question, do not actually yield the answer. The fear of death and the desire for God were in the mind of Maurous while he contemplated his uncertain future. One wonders, however, if both epigrams were not written at the same time and after Maurous had regained his house. The disappointment Maurous manifested by accusing the house in the epigram of unfaithfulness and

The author of the epigram claims to have contributed to the defence of Konstantinos IX during the rebellion of Leon Tornikios: Εἰ καὶ παρείδες τοὺς ἐμοὺς πόνους ἱνὲς, / οὖς συνειδήκας σπειλεῖσαι τοῖς τρόποις / Λάννοντος ἐμφαί καὶ Βασίλεια τῶν πλάνων, / τῆς παμφυτίρου τοῦ Σατάν ξαναρθός (lines 1-4). The author, by his own admission, like Maurous, has been a teacher. Like Maurous as well, he is a man past his sixtieth year. He approaches the Emperor with the request that he should not be subordinated to much younger teachers who had in fact been his own students: ἐπείρας καὶ ἐξείδικται τῷ τρέφει / Ἰσορροπὼν δεῖξεν μετὰ τοὺς ισορρόπους... / καὶ μὴ ἀνασφαλείς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐπερ πάρα τάτης τῆς ἐνθονίζσεως πλῆκον (lines 35-36, 40-41). But the real motivation of his request is obscured by its poetic phrasing. Nonetheless, it is conceivable that the author, a teacher, had been involved in a professional dispute which he tried to bring to the attention of the Emperor.

Maurous in Epigr. 47 makes it clear that the school which he had established in his house was passing to the hands of another teacher —the reasons are not given— and it was only by the Emperor’s intervention that it was restored to him (Epigr. 48, 4). It is possible that the epigram in Cod. Athen. 1040 is Maurous’ actual request to the Emperor, in order to regain possession of his house and school. The style of the epigram may not seem to be obviously that of Maurous. But nowhere else in his writings is a comparable plea to the Emperor to be found. In addition, Maurous himself admitted that, for the purpose of compiling his works, he had carefully selected only

indifference to his personal drama is a pure invention, in view of the fact that the second epigram holds in store for an unexpected turn of events — its sudden return to Maurous (Epigr. 48)53.

The two epigrams do not seem, therefore, to have been written in connection with Maurous’ departure for Euchaita. On the contrary, they seem to relate to another epigram transmitted in Cod. Athen. 1040, ff. 288'-290", with the title «Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κύριον Κανονοτήτων τὸν Μονομάχον», but without the name of its author54. It is highly likely that this epigram too may have come from the pen of Maurous.

Several of the details seem to argue in favour of this attribution: The author of the epigram claims to have contributed to the defence of Konstantinos IX during the rebellion of Leon Tornikios: Εἰ καὶ παρείδες τοὺς ἐμοὺς πόνους ἱνές, / οὖς συνειδήκας σπειλεῖσαι τοῖς τρόποις / Λάννοντος ἐμφαί καὶ Βασίλεια τῶν πλάνων, / τῆς παμφυτίρου τοῦ Σατάν ξαναρθός (lines 1-4). The author, by his own admission, like Maurous, has been a teacher. Like Maurous as well, he is a man past his sixtieth year. He approaches the Emperor with the request that he should not be subordinated to much younger teachers who had in fact been his own students: ἐπείρας καὶ ἐξείδικται τῷ τρέφει / Ἰσορροπὼν δεῖξεν μετὰ τοὺς ισορρόπους... / καὶ μὴ ἀνασφαλείς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐπερ πάρα τάτης τῆς ἐνθονίζσεως πλῆκον (lines 35-36, 40-41). But the real motivation of his request is obscured by its poetic phrasing. Nonetheless, it is conceivable that the author, a teacher, had been involved in a professional dispute which he tried to bring to the attention of the Emperor.

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54. For the description of the manuscript, see I.-A. Sakkelion, Κατάλογος τῶν χαραγμάτων τῆς Εθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ελλάδος, Athens 1892, 184-185. For the text of the epigram, see Karpozilos, Μαυρόπους, 71-74.
55. Karpozilos, Μαυρόπους, 70-71.
those writings which he felt would represent him in the best possible way⁶⁰.

In a series of epigrams, written before he was elected and while he was awaiting the decision which was going to shape his future, an emotional Mauro-

pous gave vent to his fears and expressed great concern about his fate (Epigrs. 89-92)⁶¹. In these he argues that he did not shun his responsibilities because of a sense of false humility or fearing the loss of the greater security which Constanti-
tinople provided. It was rather because of his conviction of his own unworthi-

ness that he did not wish to assume a bishop's responsibilities.

At the same time, he counters the arguments of those who engineered his appointment to high office, attacking in particular the suggestion that he should seek the advantages, powers and privileges inherent in a position for which he felt no calling. His verses were written in defence of his cherished

maxim A.d0s J3icoaa<;. Although he was leading a very simple life, enjoying only

the barest essentials of existence, he nevertheless felt no desire to abandon it. It was a frugal existence but a free one, untrammelled by the envy and cares which consumed others: ίνας άναδός δεστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλαθέρα / ἴνας κρύτων ἀμοιρός,

ἄλλα καὶ φθόνοις / κτίσις τῶν ὑπό πρόσωπον, οὐδὲ φροντίδες (Epigr. 90, 5-7)⁶². The temptation to accept the position and its many rewards did, however, give him food for thought. In Epigrs. 91-92, he contemplates the prospects he would enjoy in the office, but he then readily rejects them for being inconsistent with his values. He reasons that fame, wealth and applause are ephemeral (Epigr. 91). But as his inevitable nomination approached, his desperation increased. He grew frantic realizing the day was nearing: "Ελκουσι βαθμοί πρόσοψις, ἄθροι

α ζάλη/, / πήγοι φέροντα κυριαγίδω / θρόνοι καλούσιν ω κυβέρνητα, βλέπε (Epigr. 92, 1-3)⁶³. He debated with himself the argument that he should not withhold his services since he had in fact something unique and vital to contribute. The only gift that he would readily admit to having was a

talent for rhetoric. But then he had taught it and the students was proof of his proficiency (Epigr. 92, 39-50). Moreover, he protested that it was now too late for him to accept such a position. But with Epigr. 93 the tone completely changes. It was written after his nomination and it recants all that he has said hitherto. It is not that he had changed his mind. Rather it seems that circumstances had caused him to undergo a radical change of heart. He felt

moreover, that it was even audacious of him to suppose that his will could withstand the pressures placed on him by the hand of an authority which in the end was to ordain the ensuing pattern of his life:

ἐροὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ὣς ο μὲν λόγος μένει,

ἡ πραγμάτων φύσις δὲ τὴν τροπὴν ἔχει ... καὶ δὴ πρὸς ὅσος ξείρας ἐξαιρότα με,

καὶ δὴ κροτοῦντα σφίγγοις νῖκης μέγα

φάνος κραταῖα χειρὶ νῦν συλλαμβάνει,

καὶ τὴν ἄκαμπτον καρδίαν κάμησας βίοι,

ἀγεί φέρει τε, καὶ τίθησιν εἰς μέσον

τῶν ἐκφυγεν δόξαντα πάν ἡμί μέσον (Epigr. 93, 5-6; 35-40)⁶⁰.

Upon his appointment as Metropolitan of Euchaita or perhaps later, Mauropous was raised to the rank of synkellos. This title was given to metropolitans by the Emperor but it entailed no special functions⁶⁴. Mauropous must have been one of the first ecclesiastics to receive this distinction. Invariably he is designated protosynkellos, as in the title of the Encomium which Psellos wrote for him⁶², or synkellos and proedros;⁶³ though it is doubtful whether the rank of his see entitled him to these honorific titles.

Euchaita, a city of Hellenopontos on the road to Amaseia, has been identified

with the Turkish village of Avkat or Avhat⁶⁴. Archaeological studies carried

out in this area established that Euchaita was granted the status of a city in the period 515-518, whereupon it was also raised to a bishopric by the Emperor Anastasios I with Mamas as its first bishop⁶⁵. It was under Photios that Euchai-
ta was raised to a metropolitan see with four suffragan bishops under its juris-
diction⁶⁴. Later the Emperor Ioannis Tzimiskes (969-976) changed the name of the place to Theodoropolis in honour of the patron saint of the city⁶⁶. The

60. Ibid. 48, 49.

61. V. Grumel, Titulature de métropolites byzantins. Les métropoles synkelles, REB 3(1945) 93ff.

62. Sathanas, MB V, 142.

63. Ἰωάννου πύνοι τε καὶ λόγοι τάδε, ος σύγκελλος ἃν καὶ πρόεδρος ἐνθαλτ. Bollig-de Lagarde, VI.

64. H. Grégoire, Géographie Byzantine: Euchaita, BZ 19(1910) 59-61.


66. Grumel, Regesta, no. 527.


56. Epigr. 1, 26-28, Bollig-de Lagarde, l.

57 Bollig-de Lagarde, 42-48.

58. Ibid. 43.

59. Ibid. 45.
annual feast celebrated on the day of Saint Theodore, the patron saint of Euchaita, contributed, of course, to its fame and prosperity.

Yet there is little information concerning the population of the city and its economy in the eleventh century. Our only information is derived from Mauropos' writings. Upon his arrival there, Mauropos wrote to the Patriarch Michael Keroularios complaining that he found the countryside poor and desolate (Ep. 64). In another letter to the Patriarch he mentioned that the arrival of a letter carrier there was considered a rare event because the place was hardly ever visited by travellers, except for tax collectors and recruiting agents for the army (Ep. 65). In his sermons, however, Mauropos presents a strikingly different account of his see. Euchaita is described as a populous and prosperous city with many pilgrims coming there especially during the feast days of its patron saint. In another sermon he refers to Christian refugees in Euchaita, who had fled from their homes in the face of danger, and also implies that in his city as well there was turmoil and unrest. The date of this sermon cannot be established with any certainty. The presence of Christian refugees suggests nonetheless the extent of the mass movement of the Turkish nomads into the area prior to 1071. The reluctance of ecclesiastics to stay in their appointed sees in Asia Minor became an acute problem on the eve of the battle of Manzikert.

Mauropos did not abandon all hope of returning eventually to Constantinople. He made no secret of the fact that he was unhappy and completely disillusioned with his life in Euchaita. He openly confessed his unhappiness to his friends (Eps. 51, 60, 61) and even to the Patriarch himself (Eps. 64-66). He must on more than one occasion have approached the Emperor through Michael Psellus, trying to secure permission to return. Except for a few letters his correspondence with Psellus during this time has not survived (Eps. 51, 60, 63). However, Psellus' surviving letters to him indicate that the two men continued to correspond during Mauropos' stay in Euchaita.

In a letter that was written in the first months of Mauropos' residence in Euchaita, Psellus tried to describe the situation at the court and his efforts to make Mauropos' return possible. At first he wrote that he thought it better that Mauropos stay away because his situation at the court and his efforts to make Mauropos' return possible. At first he wrote that he thought it better that Mauropos stay away because his situation at the court and his efforts to make Mauropos' return possible. At first he wrote that he thought it better that Mauropos stay away because his situation at the court.
duties. Psellos states in his letter that the Emperor intended to restore Mauro-
pous to his former position in Constantinople relieving him of his distress: 67

\[\text{Kai |)ouX6pev6; as dito t<Sv Kugdrtov Siti rpv yakiivtiv pSTayaystv Kai}
\]  

\[\text{dnodoOvat baurtp Kai aaotqS sui trjv Exotioav afrtov}
\]  

\[\text{psTaKaXsixai pc0'}
\]  

\[\text{6or|? cliioig fiv Tfjs Sittflupiaq Kai ps9' oloo rou Sproto;".}
\]  

How long Mauropus remained in Constantinople before he resumed his
office in Euchaita is uncertain. It is possible that he returned to his see at about
the same time that Psellos went to Olympus in Bithynia 60. Psellos is indeed our
only informant about Mauropus' second sojourn in Euchaita. In one of his
letters to Mauropus, Psellos admitted that his friend and former teacher was
indeed sent into exile and the tragedy of his exile was that he had to endure it in
his own homeland 61. This is an admission which Psellos would never have dared
to make while at the court of Konstantinos IX. A second letter was written
while Mauropus was contemplating abandoning his office and retiring to a
monastery 62. Psellos had heard a rumour of this but in his letter he expressed no
opinion about it. He only pointed out that neither a runner nor a soldier give up
their race or post. In the Encomium, which must date from about the same
time as the letter, he voiced the same objections. Were they his own objections or did
he voice the objections of someone else?

In the Encomium the position which Psellos takes on the matter of Mauro-
pous' retirement is truly puzzling. The Encomium was written by Psellos at a
time when both the Emperor Konstantinos IX and the Patriarch Michael Kerou-
larios were dead, as an attempt to prevent Mauropus from abandoning his
position to retire to a monastery. Since this was the idea behind it, to stop
Mauropus' defection, as Psellos put it, the circumstances of his original ap-
pointment as they are presented should be questioned. By overlooking Psellos'
motives and accepting his account unquestionably one is likely to arrive at
completely different conclusions. The time of the composition of the Encomium
has been established beyond any doubt after 1075 65. Given the fact that Mauro-
pus had served in Euchaita for about two decades it is hard to imagine why
Psellos opposed his wish to retire from his post. Among the reasons Mauro-
pus gave for wanting to retire were his advanced age and poor health, which
Psellos could not deny 66.

The ministry of Mauropus to the people of Euchaita covered about
twenty years. He tried to improve the religious life of his flock by correcting
the liturgical books used in the church there, uplifting their spirit with a series
of sermons read during the feast day of Saint Theodore, the patron of the city,
and finally by securing protection and imperial privileges for his Metropolis.
His stay in Euchaita inspired him to write the Vita of Saint Dorotheos of
Chiliokomon 67 and the sermon on Saint Eusebeia, a local saint 68. In other words,
he devoted his life to serving God and his people.

In the end Mauropus seems to have been unconvinced by the arguments
of Psellos. At the time when Psellos composed the Encomium, sometime after
1075, Mauropus was clearly living in Constantinople. Yet the details of his
retreat from Euchaita are not known. One of his letters reveals nonetheless that
at the end he was relieved of his duties and replaced by someone else at the

78. Σό δέ εις επιστημήνιαν ήνεκόν καὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐντὸς γεγονός, δήμησαν τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τὸ
ήσος ἀλλάσσειν καὶ ἀποθέσεις τοῖς λόγοις μη ἐσπείρα τὰς ἐπιρροές, τὰς ἀπαιτήσεως, ὡς
ημίσαι καὶ ἐπίπεδος φυλεῖ τὴν μητρόπολιν... ibid., 273, 21-24.
79. Ibid.
81. Epist. 173, Sathas, MB V, 440-441.
82. Epist. 45, Karts-Drexl II, 77, 6-7. 'Αλλ' οὗ παρά τοῦτο διαποιηθεὶν αὐτοῖς τῶν βαθείων ἀπὸ τῶν ἔγγραφων καὶ πρὸς ἐπιθέσεις παράξενος. Τοῦτο δέ ξενισθὲν γράφει πρὸς τὸν ἐφημὴν ἐγκαθ
δεδομένων, Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 45, dated this letter in the early days of Mauropus' stay
in Euchaita. However, it seems unlikely that Mauropus at this time was already planning to retire
from his position. On the other hand, Psellos' arguments in his letter and in the Encomium are
strikingly similar; cf. Sathas, MB V, 165.
83. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 32; Karpozilos, Μαυρώπος, 46.
84. Sathas, MB V, 164-165.
85. Epiqr. 97-98, Εἰς τὰ δορυφορείαν ἡμερὰς εἰς Εὐσέβεια, Bollig-de Lagarde, 50-51; Sathas, MB
V, 156-157.
légende de Saint Theodore, 276 ff.
87. The Emperor Konstantinos IX renewed the privileges of his predecessors to the church of
Euchaita (Epiqr. 57, Bollig-de Lagarde, 34) and out of gratitude his image was inscribed in Saint
Theodore's cathedral together with the chrysobull he had issued; see also Psellos, Eucumia,
Sathas, MB V, 157.
89. Ort. 188, ibid., 202-207 (= BHG 3 632).
insistence of the people of Euchaita (Ep. 75). In a synodal decree which the Patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos issued in 1072 the name of the Metropolitan of Euchaita is not listed 90. In two other documents issued earlier, on April 26, 1066 and July 9, 1071, his name does not figure either 91. Exactly how long Mauropous spent in office before retiring to the monastery of St. John the Baptist of Petra is therefore not known. The Encomium of Psellus, however, indicates that, apart from a brief sojourn in Constantinople during the last years of Konstantinos Monomachos' reign, Mauropous stayed in Euchaita until the time of his retirement to Constantinople (ca. 1075). His successor may have been Theodoros, the synkellos 92.

His presence in Constantinople after 1075 is attested by other sources. It is clear that he lived in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. In two epigrams written to commemorate sermons given by him in the churches of the Dormition and of the Archangels, Mauropous states that he lives in their vicinity (Epigrs. 27-28) 93. The sermons referred to by the epigrams survive among Mauropous' writings 94. The location of the church of the Archangels near which he lived cannot be ascertained. Yet the church of the Dormition in his neighbourhood may well have been the famous church of the Blachernae because in his sermon he seems to allude to the fire which destroyed that church in 1070 95.

Significantly, the epigrams (nos. 27-28) and the two sermons (nos. 177, 183) were composed during his monastic retirement. There, he lived, according to his nephew Theodoros, to become «full of days» 96. Other sources confirm that Mauropous retired to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra which was indeed in the vicinity of the Blachernae; and it may be assumed that he did so some time after 1075. An allusion to his retreat there seems to be made in a letter of Psellus, in which he thanks Mauropous for a gift be sent to him from the monastery of Saint John of Petra (γέννοιν σοι Ἡ Πέτρα, τιμήτωτα).

91. Grumel, Regesten, no. 896 and 900, Tiftzoglou, 28, no. 27.
92. Laurent, Le Corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire Byzantin, no. 770.
93. Πρόγραμμα εἰς τῶν Κωμήτεως Λόγον, Επιγρ. 27: Πρόγραμμα εἰς τῶν κυρί τόν Ἀγιάγαυν Λόγον, Επιγρ. 28; Bollig-de Lagarde, 12-14.
95. Ovat. 183, ibid., 154.
96. Mercati, Ufficio, 359-360.
97. This letter together with three other is transmitted in Cod. Barber, 240, ff. 146v-147, under the heading εἰς τοὺς κατακεχαλικοὺς, whom C. Weiss, Forschungen zu den noch nicht edierten Schriften des Michael Psellos, Böckh 49(1972) 27, identified with Ioannes Mauropous. Cf. P. Canart, Nouveaux inédits de Michel Psellos, REB 25(1967), no 6, p. 54.
few fragments of his poetry and prose, modestly dedicating them to his friends:

In the case of Mauroupos' collection it would be safe to say that we have a carefully chosen series of letters arranged by the author himself. The codex Vatic. Gr. 676 is the principle manuscript of Mauroupos' writings. The epigrams, the letters and the orations which are transmitted by Vatic. Gr. 676—the only manuscript preserving his collected works—were selected by Mauroupos personally. His choice is representative of his best writing style, one which characteristically avoided every excess and superficiality. The criteria which he used for his entire work, not only for his epigrams as Thiel maintains,⁴⁰⁰ are elaborated in an epigram with which he prefaced his collected works—Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὴν Βίβλιον. Mauroupos wanted to publish only a small part of his writings to represent the character of his work which he believed he had accomplished to no avail. He did not wish to appear as one of those who wrote only to court fame. Thus in contrast to others, he chose but a few fragments of his poetry and prose, modestly dedicating them to his friends:

> ἐγώ δὲ τούτους ἐξελάντο μου τοῖς λόγοις
> πολλάν ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων—ἐμέτρον, οὐκ ἐμέτρον—
> μόνους φέρον διδαμεν τοῖς λόγοις φίλοις,
> ὥς γέμα μικρὸν διφυλής ἀνθοσκόμου...⁴⁰¹

Only a few of the writings he excluded from the collection survive⁴⁰². As regards the actual drafting of the corpus we are inclined to believe that it was completed after 1075, when Mauroupos acquired in Constantinople the leisure necessary to look back at his life and work. Interestingly enough, the best part of his writings (epigrams, letters, orations) cover events and personalities which were more or less connected with the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos. Concerning the period after the death of the Emperor we find few traces in his writings. This is particularly true for his letters and to a lesser extent for his epigrams and orations. To be sure, a series of letters, Eps. 51-76, date from the period of his ministry in Euchaita. Considering, however, the fact that Mauroupos' ministry there covered a period of more than two decades, it is impossible to determine a chronology in those letters that have no concrete chronological indications at all. But even so, from this group of letters the better part dates from the first years of his ministry there and for all practical purposes it concerns persons and events that are more or less linked with the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos.

It is no accident that Mauroupos chose to deal in his correspondence mainly with this period only—a period during which he gained prominence at first as counselor of the Emperor Konstantinos IX and subsequently as metropo-litan of Euchaita. His intention in compiling his correspondence was then to delineate his career which began in the court of Konstantinos IX and reached its climax with his dramatic departure from the city of Constantinople.

It is remarkable that none of the seventy-seven letters in Mauroupos' correspondence bears the name of its addressee. As a result the identification of his correspondents in most cases is impossible. Besides, the letters provide little concrete information and what occasional remarks are made about the addresses are usually vague and insufficient for the formation of definite conclusions. The names of the addressees must have been omitted by Mauroupos intentionally. As he explains in the epigram with which he prefaced his collected works, his intention was to give to the public only a small part of his writings. The letters he chose for his collection represent only a fraction of his correspondence. The selection he made, however, he wanted primarily to be read as literary pieces. It was for this reason that the names of the actual addressees were withheld. In this sense, the seventy-seven letters of the collection are presented by Mauroupos more as literary letters than as confidential personal missives. Were the names of the addressees given, his letters would represent a record of his correspondence with certain individuals. The omission of their names was on his part perhaps also a small act of courtesy towards his correspondents. Be that as it may, except for a few, most of his correspondents remain unidentifiable. Among those whom we can identify are Michael Psellus, Ioannes Xiphilinos, the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos and the Patriarch Michael Keroularios.

Apart from these individuals his other correspondents represent people of a wide variety of backgrounds and professions. Among them were tax collec-
tors, teachers, ecclesiastics, students and judges. Mauropous’ letters are quite diverse. Their thematic content is in fact as varied as the lives and occupations of his correspondents. Some of the letters are letters of introduction, others are simply short notes in which Mauropous requests a favour from the recipient. Yet many of the letters prove quite revealing of the manner in which Mauropous cultivated and exploited his various relationships. The more interesting letters are of course those occasioned by significant events in Mauropous’ own life. Ep. 5, for example, refers to the fact that he was asked to accept the office of chartophylax. Eps. 19-20 were written during the period when he was first brought to the imperial court. Ep. 23 seems occasioned by Psellos’ nomination to become έπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. We observe that Ep. 26 to the Emperor Konstantinos IX concerns Mauropous’ request for humane treatment for the rebels in league with Leon Tornikios. In Eps. 43-45 and 48-50 we see Mauropous on the eve of his election to the see of Euchaita. Finally, Eps. 51-54, 59-61, 63-66 and 75 sent from Euchaita, many of which deal with his activities there, close the corpus. These events can be only partially reconstructed from sporadic references in the letters. Nevertheless, we see a certain logic in the arrangement of this corpus which seems to have resulted from a process of selection made by Mauropous himself. In this particular selection of his letters Mauropous wished to single out and order certain important events in his life. Some of the letters correspond chronologically with significant periods in his affairs, and these definitely appear in the order in which they were occasioned. With certain others, however, such as letters of recommendation, saluting his friends etc., it is questionable if they have been arranged in a strict chronologival sequence. But the general arrangement of the letters is nevertheless a chronologival one. However, the balance of letters in the corpus, those not specifically tied to significant events in Mauropous’ life, seems to have been placed with no concern for chronology. At least, their content does not suggest it.

If we accept the general sequential order in the collection, it is possible to propose a relative dating to the letters according to the period to which they belong. For example, one group of letters (Eps. 1-18) derives from the period 1028-1043, when Mauropous lived in relative obscurity in Constantinople working as a teacher. Another group consists of letters 19-41, which were written in the period 1043-1048, when Mauropous was introduced in the court of Konstantinos IX Monomachos. Letters 43-50 comprise another group dating to the eve of his election to the bishopric of Euchaita (1048-1049). The rest, Eps. 51-76, derive from the period of his ministry to the Church of Euchaita (1049-1075). Significantly, only the last letter of the collection seems to have been written in Constantinople after his retirement from his see. Within the corpus we have observed certain letters to have been grouped together either because they were written on the same occasion (which also suggests a chronological sequence) or because of their subject matter (thematic affinity). For instance, Ep. 10 and 11, both of which were written on behalf of a band of Paphlogionians accused of smuggling, are addressed respectively to a parathalassites (Ep. 10) and a judge (Ep. 11). Letters 12-16 thematically belong together because all five of them are letters composed with a characteristic brevity. Mauropous obviously selected them and arranged them together with this particular quality in mind. Letters 17-18 are addressed to a certain ecclesiastic named Gregorios and in both Mauropous answers questions that had been posed by him on an earlier occasion. Another two letters (Eps. 19-20) deal with the same subject: the criticism of friends who disapproved of Mauropous’ decision to abandon his λάθε βιοσαίνει in order to embark on a new career. Two other letters, Eps. 28-29, were written to Ioannes Xiphilinos who was about to preside in the court as a judge in a case in which Mauropous was involved. Also grouped thematically (and chronologically) are Eps. 60-62 written from Euchaita to former fellow teachers and also Eps. 64-66 which may have been addressed to the Patriarch Michael Keroularios. Finally, letters 69 and 72 have been sent to the same person within a short period of time.

The sequential order in the collection, of course, could not have been made by any one else except by Mauropous. In the commentary, we have attempted to suggest a chronology for those letters that allow us to form a hypothesis discussing at the same time the reasons for assigning a date to them.

For a considerable number, however, it is not possible to make any suppositions, beyond the fact that they belong to one of the periods proposed above. More problematic is the last group of letters dating from Mauropous’ episcopate in Euchaita. Excepting those that were clearly written shortly after his arrival there, the rest cannot be assigned a chronology. Considering that his ministry to the people of Euchaita extends to more than two decades, the letters he has chosen for publication are only a small fraction of his actual correspondence. This fact is also attested by Psellos’ letters, several of which date from this period and show that the two men continued to correspond regularly. Again, we maintain that Mauropous was not interested in publishing a record of his correspondence. He was more interested in giving for publication only a select few that were carefully chosen in order to be read as works of epistolography. On the other hand, Mauropous made a conscious attempt through the selection he made to give a sort of autobiography. This is particularly true in his choice of letters. A good part of them underline his career from his early years to his ministry in Euchaita. In a sense, these letters together with his epigrams
and orations dramatize his life and work. Two of the last letters in his collection, Ep. 75 and 77 were written about the time he retired from his see. The first, we believe to be addressed to his successor. Accordingly, we have dated it around the year 1075. The other, which is the last letter of the collection, must have been written shortly after, when Mauropous returned to Constantinople retiring in the monastery of Saint John Prodromos of Petra, where he passed the rest of his life.

His epistolary style is simple and direct. However, Psellos regards his style as rather austere, though he readily admits that this austerity could all of a sudden blossom like a rose in the middle of winter. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that in his overall style Mauropous makes a conscious attempt to appear restrained, avoiding any kind of excess in the employment of stylistic figures or in the use of overly elaborate language. Psellos sees a possible influence in Mauropous' style from Gregory Nazianzus, but again this is not a pervasive influence. Mauropous, he remarks, approaches the great Cappadocian, but at the end he does not succeed in imitating him. In fact, he holds back as if he were afraid to imitate the style of the Father. So Psellos is inclined to liken his style to that of the rhetor Isocrates, even though again Mauropous proves to be somewhat more moderate.

The «austerity» which Mauropous cultivated in his style reflects to a certain degree his values, character and life-style, a life-style which in his own words avoided every kind of excess. His tendency towards using again and again the same stylized variation on the theme of moderation shows his particular care for this quality. Psellos, who knew his philosophy of life, on more than one occasion censured his moderation because he believed that it was an injustice for a man of his talents to be withdrawn from the world: έγαν' ουν αυτόν πολλάκις τήν άμετρίαν τής δοξίας άνευδοιον... It was this life-style of λάθε βίους that Psellos tried to persuade Mauropous to abandon and at the end he succeeded in convincing him. But Psellos is the first also to admit that this trait of Mauropous' character stems primarily from his «humilitv», which was in accordance with the Christian ideals after which he strove.

To speak of the writing style of Mauropous (or of any other author of the Greek Middle Ages) and of the possible influences that might have shaped it is not an easy task. For one, we are dealing with a language which adhered to stereotyped forms and expressions, i.e. an artificial language that tended to cultivate antiquarian clichés and platitudes and whose stylistic doctrine favoured obscurity. Those who managed against all these odds to develop a personal style praiseworthy for its literary merits and originality are relatively few. But to return to the matter of Mauropous' style and the influence that Gregory of Nazianzus exerted on him, we are inclined to believe that this influence is best seen not so much in his writings as in his philosophy of life. In a sense, Mauropous modelled his life and work after the example of the great Cappadocian and this can be seen in several of his letters and epigrams, especially in those that were composed on the eve of his election to office. His protestations and laments, for instance, are more or less fashioned after his great example. Judging from what he has written in his letters and epigrams, it is clear that he valued most of all his personal freedom and dignity or as he very characteristically put it τό τῆς γνώμης ελευθερία, τό δυνάμεως ἀδιάστατην χρήμα (Ep. 48, 8-9). His option for a life devoted to contemplation and study (or as he calls it, λάθε βίους) is directly connected with his desire to stay free and independent. His involvement in the political life during the reign of Konstantinos IX and eventually his election to the see of Euchaita were at the expense of this free existense, which he so much idealized. In the description of those particular events, both in his letters and epigrams, he consciously imitates Gregory of Nazianzus. In fact, from his references to ancient and Christian authors, which is a standard feature in every collection of letters, Gregory of Nazianzus occupies a very special place. The literary allusions made in a letter, if they are not common place or mere proverbial, to an extern reveal the education and culture of the author. Though again it is dangerous on this basis alone to maintain what this person had actually read or not. At any rate, in the case of Mauropous we can be sure that his quotations from Gregory come directly from his readings. That he had a very good knowledge of the Cappadocian's works it is plainly attested not only from his two letters (Eps. 17-18), where he discusses concrete problems relating to Gregory's Oration, but also from a number of quotations he makes from his works. They are mostly ordinary passages, which as a rule are taken out of their proper context.

103. Τοις τε ἐπιστολομαθίς τότε τως ἔγνωκεν αὐτὸς ὡς ἄλλος οὔδες, καὶ Εἰνάγοι μὲν εὐθὺς οὖτος αὐτῷ 3 κρατιστόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑκατόν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτάξεων ἵνα μηδὲν ἔρχεται παρακεφαλικώς. Psello, Encomium, Sathas MB V, 149, 22-25.
105. Karpizios, Μαυρόπους, 105.
107. ...σωστέττετε δὲ τί περὶ τὰ κράτεια ελεύθερα, καὶ τοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἴδος καὶ τοῦ καταυγο¬

Mauropous' letters have an unquestionable value for the history and culture of eleventh century Byzantium. To utilize them, however, as historical sources is not an easy task. The lack of chronological indications and the fact that they are transmitted without the names of the addressees make this effort often frustrating. Nevertheless, these letters give us an adequate idea of the milieu from which they sprang. They reflect Mauropous' rhetorical training and education and attest to the fact that his associates and friends were for the most part members of the secular and ecclesiastical officialdom. Apart from the fact that these letters mark important epochs in his life, they also display a sobriety which characterizes their content as much as their form. A Cardinal feature in his correspondence is the delicate balance he maintains between the letter as an artistic production and as a way of written conversation with the absent.

III. MANUSCRIPTS

From the correspondence of Ioannes Mauropous there survives a total of seventy-seven letters, transmitted only in one manuscript, Vatic. Gr. 676 (Eps. 1-77). Part of his correspondence, sixty-four letters, survive also in cod. Atheniensis 2429 (Eps. 1-64), while another four letters are to be found as stray items in cod. Fitzwilliam Museum 229 (Eps. 1, 2, 15).

V = codex Vaticanus gr. 676, XI cent. Codex, on vellum, of 317 numbered folios; III additional leaves at the beginning. Leaves measure 27.9 × 20.8 cm. The manuscript is composed of forty-one quaternions, numbered α'-μα'. Apart from the letters, which cover fols. 43' to 114', the manuscript includes several other works of Ioannes Mauropous: 1'-42' epigrams; 115'-317' orations. For a description of the manuscript, see R. Devreesse, Codices Vaticani Graeci, t. III, Vatican City 1950, 130-131.

V, the oldest and most complete manuscript containing the collected works of Mauropous, is not an autograph, but it may well have been written during his lifetime or soon after his death. At the bottom of fol. III' there is a note by a later hand which makes it quite clear that the manuscript at one time belonged to the library of the monastery of Saint George of Mangana: δαπαθα το ενας βιβλίον εις την σεβασμον μονής των Μαγγάνων εις άρρητα των αμαρτωλών, ει της δε βουλήσει αφαιρήσαι ταυτην, ένα δεπιστάται

This manuscript was actually one of many that Gabriel donated to this monastery. A list of books bequeathed by him to the monastery survives in the form of a will in cod. Vatic. Palat. Gr. 138. A few of these books have been identified by Mercati and Volk with surviving manuscripts on the basis of the dedicatory notes which Gabriel inscribed in them. Vatic. Gr. 676 is in all likelihood that listed as no. 5 in the will. Apart from Gabriel's will, Vatic. Palat. 138 contains a series of canons by Mauropous and the office which his nephew Theodoros koiitonites dedicated to him. The codex might have been Gabriel's private copy, for Gabriel seems to have had a taste for Mauropous' writings. It is no accident that Mauropous' writings occupied a prominent place in his library. At the end of the codex, fols. 318'-319' contain an epigram dedicated to Mauropous written and apparently signed by his secretary Isaiah: 'Η βίβλος ήδε Γαβρίηλ μονοτρόπου, ήν και ἀνάλιθεν τῷ σεβασμῷ μονῆς Μαγγάνων μέιτρως Γεωργίου εἰς δήσειν μονῆς σπάνος <κάνον πρὸς ἡμαρτημένον>. Τοῦ γούν ἀφαιρήσαντος ἐκ ταύτης κρόσων ποτίζον τίνηδε ἐκ μονῆς τῶν Μαγγάνων ἀράς φρέκδεις λήτησε τῶν ἀγίων σὺν ταύτης τοῦ μέιτρώος, συμένα κλέος'.

108. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. VII.
113. S. G. Mercati, Ufficio, 347.
115. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. IV.
Yet a closer examination of the script suggests that it is contemporary with Mauropous and that the codex evidently was prepared in his immediate circle. One may conclude then that the codex was written during his lifetime or shortly after his death, so that it should provide a fairly accurate reflection of his choice and what he meant to say.

A = codex Atheniensis B. N. 2429, XIV cent. Codex, on paper, of 327 numbered leaves. Leaves measure 20.5 x 15 cm. Fols. 211'-278' contain the text of sixty-four letters of Ioannes Mauropous. The text of Ep. 64 breaks off in the middle of fol. 278' not to be resumed. Formerly of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Serres, no. 177 (333), it was taken during World War I along with many other manuscripts of the monastery as war spoils to Bulgaria. However, after the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919, the greater part of this collection was returned (1924) and eventually transferred to the National Library in Athens.

A is a miscellany containing mainly theological texts and excerpts from rhetorical works. Its contents have been described in a still unpublished catalogue prepared by the late Prof. Linos Politis. I will, therefore, confine myself to the following remarks: the sixty-four letters of Mauropous (fols. 211'-278') are grouped together with two other epistolographical collections:

fols. 196'-210' "Epistolai kiyro of Leontos to the Sophos of Carystos.

fols. 279'-327' To the Archon Pateriou of the Theologion of Patstolai.

F = codex Fitzwilliam Museum 229, XIV-XV cent. Codex, on paper, of 657 numbered pages written by a variety of hands. Leaves measure 23 x 15 cm. Pages 11 and 13 are taken up by four of Mauropous' letters (nos. 1, 6, 2 and 15). F is a miscellany devoted mainly to the rhetorical works of Libanius (Pp. 15-46, 59-118) and Demosthenes (Pp. 124-591). It also contains various grammatical works, excerpts from theological treatises and various notes. Its miscellaneous contents are described in detail by M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1895, pp. 410-415.

V is a carefully written manuscript so that in general no serious corrections have been made by the editor in the text, except for the accentuation of

celtics, the addition of the iota subscript and the division of words like diα τούτο, diα τά, diα παντός, which are written diα τούτο, diα τά, diα παντός. The present edition of Ioannes Mauropous' correspondence is based on V, the earliest and most complete manuscript. Of little importance for this edition is A, because the alternative readings it offers are inferior. A good many errors of A are due to misreadings of the original: κοινή = κενή | Ep. 6.34. περίτι = περί τά | Ep. 8.11. πεπήγαγος = πεπήγαγος | Ep. 19.11. τό σόν δέ = τοσόν | Ep. 28.15 etc. We note also a confusion in the use of αι, αι, ηι, οι and οι in the different forms of the verbs. But mispellings of this kind are more or less standard in manuscripts. Accordingly, all the orthographical errors of A have not been recorded in the apparatus. A comparison between the variants of V and A shows that A diverges from V primarily in spelling due to oversights or slips of the copyist. On the other hand, A produces substantially the same text as V, so that it is reasonable to postulate that both manuscripts derive from a common exemplar. The text of A, as compared with V, shows that is at least sometimes independent of V. It has separate errors as well as omissions against V. Separate errors include, e.g.: 6.34 κενή = κοινή | Ep. 18.90 τούτο = τόπος | Ep. 38.24 ιδάνηον = ιόντον | Ep. 55.2 οίκτος = οίκτος | Ep. 58.7 ευναγιστής = ευνάγιστης. Also the text of A has, among many other errors, a number of omissions of words and phrases, e.g.: 6.37-42 τά δέ | Κλαών | -οφλαμάν | Ep. 17.17 και μινὸν - προσλαμβάνοντα | Ep. 17.18 έμείς | Ep. 32.13-14 ψυχής σου και. On the other hand, A repeats the same errors as V and displays identical marginal notes in the same place in the text, e.g.: 10.8 γνάθη | Ep. 17.17 μιθος | Ep. 28.19 άραιον. Errors shared with V include, e.g.: 8.15 σου | Ep. 18.105 Βήθαραμα | Ep. 27.7 ο εσθόν | Ep. 31.22 έννοιαν | Ep. 43.8 ελαστικάς | Ep. 43.8 έλαστικάς.

Regarding the variants of F, if we exclude those that are clearly the result of carelessness on the part of the copyist, we are left with some readings which may indicate that F has preserved an earlier form of these four letters of Mauropous. But such a supposition cannot be substantiated on the basis of these few variants alone, for they could also be taken as the work of a later editor: 1.13 ἐπιθέμεν | Ep. 21.21-22 πρήκτος | Ep. 21.21-22 πρήκτος | Ep. 1.35 διατείχισματος | Ep. 21.11 γραφή | Ep. 15.14 προσλέγοντα | Ep. 15.14 προσλέγοντα | Ep. 21.21-22 πρήκτος. V was edited in its entirety in 1881 by Lagarde (= Lag), who laid down the groundwork for a definite text of Mauropous' correspondence. In the introduction to this edition, Lagarde informs us that the text of V had already been copied by J. Boiling, the Vatican librarian, and was subsequently corrected by W. Studemund in 1879. The edition that resulted from this joint effort actually

amounted to little more than a faithful transcription of the contents of V.

In the present edition the letters of Ioannes Mauropopous are arranged in the order in which they are found in V.

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attaleiates</td>
<td>Michaelis Attaliatae Historia, ed. W. Brunet de Presle - I. Bekker, (CSHB), Bonn 1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHG</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bollig-de Lagarde</td>
<td>Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae que in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt, ed. P. de Lagarde - J. Bollig, Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Classe der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 28 (1882)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCH</td>
<td>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFHB</td>
<td>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury, Administrative System</td>
<td>J.B. Bury, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, (The British Academy Supplemental Papers 1), London 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ByzSla</td>
<td>Byzantinoslavico</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPG</td>
<td>E.L. a Leutsch - F.G. Schneidewin, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, I-II, Göttingen 1839-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrouzes, Épistoliers</td>
<td>Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle, ed. J. Darrouzes, (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 6), Paris 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTC</td>
<td>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCS</td>
<td>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig (Berlin) 1897ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunger, I-II</td>
<td>H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, I-II, (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII, 5, 1-2), Munich 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JÖB</td>
<td>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlsson</td>
<td>G. Karlsson, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l’épistolographie byzantine. Textes du Xe siècle analysés et commentés, Uppsala 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karpozelos, Realia</td>
<td>A. Karpozelos, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XXIc, BZ 77 (1984) 20-37</td>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Karpozilos, Μαυρόπος: A. Karpozilos, Συμβολή στή Μελέτη του Βιού και του Έργου του Ιωάννη Μαυρόποδος, (Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Επιστημονική Επετροπά Φιλοσοφίας Σχολής 18), Ioannina 1982

Kurtz-Drexl: Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora, ed. E. Kurtz et F. Drexl, I-II, Milan 1936-41


Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell: Ya. N. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo, Moscow 1978

Oikonomides, Listes de Présence: N. Oikonomides, Les Listes des Présence byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles, Paris 1972


REB: Revue des Études Byzantines


Tomadakes: N.B. Tomadakes, Βυζαντινή Επιστολογραφία, Athens 1969

TM: Travaux et Mémoires

Weiss: G. Weiss, Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 16), Munich 1973

Wolska-Conus, Les Écoles de Psellos: W. Wolska-Conus, Les Écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque, Travaux et Mémoires 6(1976) 223-243

LIST OF SIGNS

V = Vaticanus Gr. 676
A = Atheniensis Gr. 2429
F = Fitzwilliam Museum 229
Lag = Lagarde
<> = addenda
{} = delenda
Nay, I saw the season not as spring but as autumn already advanced. Whence come then, now, this nightingale of spring? It calls not from some grove, nor from a far off wood, but —and this is the most astonishing thing— it flew into my very hands from whence now it sings in the mood of spring-time, casting from nigh a spell over my ears with the sweetness of music. Moreover, this most excellent bird appears to be —if I may become a little exquisite— in voice, a nightingale but in form a swallow. This is so, because on the one hand it sings clearly and sweetly and on the other, it marvellously blends in its appearance two contrasting colours: for the black colour of letters is enhanced by the whiteness of paper, just as the embroideries of an expensive purple are best set off against a bright and translucent cloth. Whether it is a nightingale or a swallow, this magnificent letter has filled my soul with every delight, persuading me to consider the season as a true second spring and to believe those who call this equinox by such a name. One could have assumed that it was indeed the first spring had it not been challenged by the malicious proverb one swallow does not make a spring. And if a second swallow had come flying along with it we would have been clearly convinced then that this was the first, the real spring, indeed, the one that ordinary folk commonly call early spring. But since "goodness is", as they say, "altogether a rare quality", one should consider this good presently, though it comes alone, by necessity also dear, especially since it
contains everything that is most beautiful. For this wise and very dear bird sings to me not only its own melody, but it articulates all kinds of charm, like the song of the sirens and the irresistible force and persuasion of the flute, singing all the harmonious sounds together, and as if she were well prepared for a musical contest or for a performance, she sings with such a clear, strong and magnificent voice, captivating my ears, my heart and hands. So great then is the joy and the admiration with which I listen to this melody and the pleasure I derive from holding and carrying around this fine and melifluous instrument of this marvelous harmony. I pray that I may see with my own eyes its wise and ingenious creator and craftsman and hear him talking with my own ears, so that I may learn with greater certainty the difference that exists between a spring and a stream, or between a letter and a voice that speaks directly and with no obstruction or impediment.

«A candle at high noon» is superfluous as irrigation from a well is superfluous in the middle of winter and letters are equally superfluous when the carrier is a loquacious and talkative fellow. The truth of this statement will be clearly attested by this messenger, because the letters he brings will no longer have a chance to talk, once he begins to speak of his own affairs at length. Therefore, set aside these voiceless syllables to receive the living voice and lend
your ears completely to this marvellous orator so that you may not waste so much water in vain, seeing that it is summer season and the heat that hangs over us becomes stifling and the use of water is indispensible for everything —if indeed he would prefer to speak by the water-clock rather than to speak with wine <in the water-clock>. Let him then commence his usual long speech; as for me, having extended my letter to this point, I hand over the rest to the flowing force of his tongue.

Some unsubstantiated report seems to have upset you and prompted the sudden appearance of the courier with these unexpected letters from you. On the basis of the repeated inquiries that I have made I assure you that I have not discovered any false accusation against you. If, however, you were to be so accused, as you suspect —may it never come about or happen— I will be aware of the matter with God’s help and, to the best of my ability, protect our interests. As it is, knowing that «hostility towards others without cause» is forbidden, I have kept your letter to myself giving rise for no such suspicion in anyone. But this provocation should not be prolonged or extended, especially as it is aimed against your local lord and ruler, a man who (as you well know) has the same influence with the authorities now in power as they have among themselves. Therefore, please, avoid «provoking to wrath a savage man». Practice what you preach by submitting to every authority for the Lord’s sake; strive to silence the ignorance of foolish men by the superior qualities which you

7 τὸ ἀντε ἄδηπον om. F || 8 ἄδηπος scripsi: ὁρα ρυ τα ταις φωνήν οὐ τις Φ
5 τοὺς Lag || 7 γράμματα: γράμματα Α
possess in everything, especially by your well-tempered submission to those in authority. Thus make the most of your time, since as you know, these days are more evil than ever, in the words of the Scriptures. For the rest you will be watched over by God and his angels, who all your life support you in their hands and who, I am convinced, will support you to the end, lest you should strike your foot against a stone or be touched by the lash of such a slander.

With the confidence I have in you through the rights of a neighbour and friend from the times of our fathers and even earlier, I ask on the strength of both one favour from my friend and neighbour: that the bearer of this letter be given a position among the secretaries of your distinguished authority. Look how easily your objection is resolved: you will say, I know well, that you have been burdened with many others like him by the government. But if the government has so much influence with you, excellent friend, will you not give a place to charity, even a small one, you her passionate lover and pursuer? You would, of course, offer a considerable <place in your heart> if I were to request it. That my trust and confidence in you is not baseless, this present request will clearly demonstrate. Fare well and rejoice and may you rise and ascend to ever greater ranks of distinction and glory.

15 Tōn aφrōnōn ἀνθρώπων ἄγνωστος ἐπεδίδε παθομοι, ἐξαισιοραζόμενος τὸν καυρόν, ὅπερ ἤκουσας· ὅτι πονηραὶ νῦν, εἰπερ ποτὲ, κατὰ τὸ ῥήτων αἷ ἠμέραι. Τάλλα δὲ μελησει θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῖς, οἷς οἱ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βιῶν ἐπὶ χειρῶν αἴρουν, καὶ ἀρδόσαι, εἰ ὁίδα, μέχρι παντός, µὴ ποτὲ προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου, µηδὲ µάστες ἡγήσῃς σου ταυτής
20 διαβολῆς.
What rumour has stricken me so unexpectedly? My good friend ordains me as chartophylax? He brings me into affairs and promotes me as guardian of the common weal? I, who have eagerly avoided the limelight? I, who have learned, if any one has, to honour the «live unknown»? I, who cannot easily praise anyone else, not even him who rushes into such vexations and troubles? A man of this kind then, who has lived almost all his life in this manner, is there, in truth, someone who now forces him into public life, demanding that he make a new beginning and enter upon a new way of life? Be silent, man. Stop this kind of talk and plans, please. You consider me very ambitious or think that I admire power or that I am excited by dominions, thrones and honours. I, for whom a small corner and the contemplation of my self and God forever was quite enough all my life? Besides, even if there were someone, altogether passionately disposed to love of glory, how in this storm and amidst these tempests could he be willing and ready to be entrusted not only with a rudder, as you require of me, but to become an officer in command at the bow or even a sailor in the last place? Using sound reasoning and placing security above all else, it would be more opportune to lie down somewhere quietly, wrapped up and trembling near the hold of the ship, from whence one has the advantage of listening with his own ears to the outside storm but not seeing with his own eyes the impending peril. For this advantage that is to look away from evil can bring some rest and relief in difficult times, even if one cannot stop listening to, or escape the waves completely by throwing oneself out on land or sleeping indifferently, like Jonas in the past, and thus escaping the feeling of threat.
To the extent that I am master of myself I will then do this: I will try to stay out of the tempest and the storm, as I am now, and inasmuch as it is possible I will cling to safety. For this office a worthy person shall be found with the help of God. Because even now the devout have not completely disappeared from the face of the earth, according to the old prophetic lamentation, «but there is still someone» among men who is sufficiently capable of performing this excellent service for the Church. Those who administer the affairs of the Church should seek out this person. As for me, knowing quite well my limits and realizing the yoke on my neck and the burden on my back, I yield to those stronger than I, because I love an easy security, perhaps somewhat inglorious but for the most part free from danger. Therefore, pray that your friend may not fail to achieve this, but that he may arrive at the Lord’s harbour of tranquillity by a gentle breeze and so, on a calm sea, and that he be able to cross the rough sea of this age, it would be an exaggeration to say without getting wet, but at least without getting drowned, through the guidance of the mighty hand of God. As for this precarious rather than profitable enterprise, let it be the concern of those who pursue gain, for they would not be displeased to fight with storms or lead the ship through high waves. Because the expectation of gain makes one capable of everything. For anyone who puts no value on pursuing gain and wealth, it is unusually absurd and stupid to take risks in vain.

This is the account you have in the defense of a friend from your friend. I have proposed the same to his Majesty himself and to the other authority, the sacred and more divine. Let this be my defense through you before everyone. May you enjoy the greatest honours and be reckoned and placed among the powerful as one of them, until the blessed and the only almighty receives you as partaker of his own blessedness.

25 ὅποιον ἀνατών ἔστω κύριοι ἐξω σάλβῳ καὶ ἔλξις, ὡσεὶ ἔσομεν νῦν, διαμιμένη παρασάμεθα καὶ καθ’ ὅσον οὖν τε τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀνθεομεθα. ὁ βαθμὸς δὲ τὸν ἐξείνη εὑρήσῃ παρὰ θεοῦ πάντως γὰρ οὐκ ἔξελλε καὶ νῦν εὐλαβής ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν πάλαι προφητικὸν ὀδυρμὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ τὶς ἔτι σινῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἰκανὸς ἔχων ταύτην τὴν καλὴν λειτουργίαν ἐκπληρώσατι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

V f. 47r τούτω δὴ καὶ ζητήσωσαν οἱ ταύτην οἰκονομοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἄνατων εἴδότες, καὶ τὸν τε ζηγών ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐξήνα τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὲ τὸ φορτίον ὑπὲρ τὸν νότον γινόσκοντες, τούτων μὲν τοῖς ἡμῖν δυνατοτέρους παραχρημοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἁγαπῶμεν ἑλαφρὰν σωτηρίαν. ὥσιν μὲν ποιών καὶ ἀδοξῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀκίνδυνον. ταύτης τοιούτοις ἐξου ἡμῖν διαπίσειν σοι τὸν φίλον, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὖρη πραεία καὶ οὕτως ἡμέρᾳ κυμάτι πρὸς τὸν λιμένα τῆς γαληνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καταντήσει, τὸ τραχὺ πέλαγος τούτῳ τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος —πολύ μὲν ἄβροχα εἰπέν, ἀκαταπανήστας δ’ οὖν ὄμος— τῇ τῆς ὑψηλῆς χειρὸς κυβερνήσῃ δυνηθέντα πρόκειται. τῆς δ’ ἐπιφοιλοῦ τοίμῳ πλέον ἡ ἐπικερδοῦς ἐμπορίας ἐκέινος μελέτα, τοῖς τὰ κέρδη μεταδιώκουσι, ὡς μηδὲν δυσχεραίνους πρὸς τὰς καταγίδας πυκτεύοντες καὶ τῆς ναῦδι κλόους πολύχων παραπέμποντες ἰκανὴ γὰρ πρὸς ἀπαντά τοῦ κέρδους ἡ προσοδικία. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὐδὲς χρηματισμὸν πρὸς τε καὶ πλούτου, ἔλογον ἐκτόπως καὶ ἄγροικον διακυνδύνειν ἐπὶ μα—

45 ταῖς.

Tοῦτον ἔχεις ἀπολύσει ὑπὲρ φίλοι καὶ παρὰ φίλοι τοῦτα προσειπείμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὸ κράτος αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἄρχην, τὴν ἐραν τε καὶ θειότεραν ταῦτα διὰ σοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς ἡμῖν ἀπολέοντος. αὐτὸς δὲ μοι χαίρει ἐμπρέφοις ταῖς μεγάλαις ἄρχαις, καὶ ὡς δυνατὸς τοῖς δυνατοῖς συνεκτάδοι καὶ συντάπτου, μέχρις ἂν οἱ μακρόριοι καὶ μόνος δυνάτης τῆς ἀνατολῆς πρὸς προσλαβήματα μακαρίστης μέτοχον.

28 οὖν: cf. Mich. 7,2 || 29 Ps. 13,2

26 διομένουν Λαγ || 29 συναλλ. σcripsi: συναλλ. VA Λαγ || 33 τούτων Α
«Speech sweeter than honey flows from the tongue» of yours, oh excellent one, and from your hands (I do not know how), a swarm of birds comes flying to me as if from a fertile and rich nest. This is «an unexpected invitation to a table or a free banquet», to cite appropriately a «theological» passage, that makes me no longer wonder (even though it is amazing) about that flock of quails which the divine tongues of prophets regard as marvel — that is rained winged birds like the sand of the sea». Indeed, your gift makes even that story believable, dismissing because of its likeness to the miracle the greater part of its incredibility.

So if you wish, regret your transfer from the place you were. Because with what you are doing, rather through what you are experiencing, you confirm the proverb which says «last year always better», thus defining the past as better than the present. For such is, in general, the fickle and hard-to-please nature of human weakness, proverb, but when the desire and the meaning of the proverb somehow and no less seeks again a change from the present, for her appetite for novelty is infinite. But as it was said, if you think so, regret your transfer from Paphlagonia to Boucellarion. However, a disappointment like yours, I think, shall have no place with us, because in your lack of provisions and poverty, as you call it, I take pleasure not in a poor but rather rich way, indulging myself luxuriously in the many and generous gifts received from there. So that even in this respect, therefore, you may appear more distinguished than you really are, saying that you are poor and yet making others rich and likening yourself to «».
you know the One who became poor so that by His poverty we may become rich. But I would rather pray for the other to be said and applied to us, that from his fulness we have all received and certainly not from his poverty, as you now lead me to suspect. I prophesy this, then, to you (being as much an excellent seer as a clever conjecturer) and promise to your fraternity only this much and may God guide my words: do not be disturbed by your first experiences in the office, the future should give you good hopes, because (as you have read) neither the character of a man nor the nature and the virtue of a land are at once appreciated «except through a long period of time and a rather full association». Anyway, it will not take very long (I know that well) to convince you to declare in another way your present «empty happiness», as you call it, new happiness, once you chance upon richer purses and more prosperous cities and households.

As for Claudiopolis, do not reproach her at all for her poverty, being half-dry and half-dead because of the half-blindness of her shepherd, as you yourself write either in jest or in truth. I suppose, the unfortunate city shall stop completely breathing as soon as the second of the despot's eyes is blinded, either by advanced old age or by the hands of others which are skilled at curing eye-disease, like those first miraculous hands. May you always shine forth and display such things, you the bright and radiant eye of the State, and, if possible, may you hold back a little your generous and enriching hand, so that you do not attain one of the two things: either you succeed and you cause grief or — I shall pass over the converse, to avoid blasphemy.
Having confidence in the rights of friendship and in addition to many others believing in the communion of the word, I wanted both to complain to you a little as a friend and to reproach you for your lack of friendship, the undeniable proof of which is if nothing else, the burden which you exercise over those who manage my property there. Respecting, however, those things on account of which we have the confidence to rebuke the wrongdoer and, in addition, honouring your authority, and in order not to make my wound worse now by scratching it, I refrain from blaming you, even if the common talk is in every respect true, but nevertheless I extend my letter from afar to you as if it were my right hand. And I pronounce these griefs as forgotten and I make steadfast agreements for the future and behold, I give and receive pledges, imposing upon you the correction of the above mentioned grievances, if anything like that has happened, and furthermore the retraction of what you said which you should not consider enough to demonstrate only with words but with deeds as well just as it is said in cases that concern even worse things. Upon myself I impose the debt of prayers and the acknowledgment of gratitude to you for this restitution, which I give and render now in a modest way through this letter. My first offering is as follows: may the Father of love, the divine love, repay you on her behalf with magnificent rewards, glorifying you here on earth according to your merit as he is righteous; for He is also glorified in you and by you, and may He, after your departure from here, decorate with the crown of grace your head which is very dear to me.


8 κἂν Lager: κἂν VA || 12 εἶ τε: ἔτι Lager
Every act of kindness affords no little pleasure to those who are not altogether small-minded and who have a meager sense of mercy and can delight the givers no less than the receivers. Because goodness is by nature pleasant and in a sympathetic manner affects the soul which is actively disposed to it. The act of sharing goodness especially with those who, in my judgement are worthy, be assured, is all the more graceful as it is more honorable. But who would be more worthy of receiving something good than this akolouthos, who has excelled above all people and for this reason is dear to everybody and on whose behalf these words are being written in accord with his request and command? You will do well to give him your consideration granting him everything according to his wishes, because he asks nothing impossible or troublesome from you, but only the familiarity of those who are your own, since you are by nature intimately disposed to goodness anyway. As for the rest, honour the man with proper respect and esteem, because while being wise and shrewd in everything, he is not unaware of our very important and most unusual relationship, I mean—but how could I say it suitably—our friendship. Therefore, be convinced and grant the favour altogether, so that you may take no less pleasure yourself in performing this goodness and in the testimony of your conscience. I have done my part, for the man asked nothing more of me. But your part, my brother, I shall surely witness not long from now, perhaps before I depart, and I hope to see it done perfectly, to the extent that our hope guarantees. May your noble nature not put this hope to shame or betray it in any respect. This is the sum of my prayers.
Late and delayed just a little more than expected, but nevertheless the messenger sent to you has returned to the one who sent him. I thank you very much for returning the man whenever you did. Because he has compensated me wonderfully for the loss caused by his delay with the accomplishments of his absence, clear proofs of which he has produced in many ways: showing his hands full of letters with many words and many lines of them; his tongue full of them too, and his mouth telling stories, the best part of which were the enormous applause and the never ending torrent of praise in favour of the ruler and governor of my land.

Indeed, it is good that I have been reminded of his discourse as I started talking. Therefore, leaving aside the other things concerning you, I rejoice with you because of your new office and because of the increase in the territory you govern. From now on you should no longer be called or considered ruler of the Paphlagonians but of the Maryandenoi. Also, I shall venture to say not less of the Paphlagonians as well, because, on the one hand, the name is common to both nations, on the other, we, the pure Paphlagonians have taken the Maryandenoi to ourselves as if they were ours. Advance, therefore, to still greater and more perfect accomplishments, always arranging the present as a stepping stone for future advancement, passing gloriously from our own land to another of ours — they say from home to home — you, you man of God and mine, so that my own sluggishness — rather my total immobility — may somehow appear in the easy mobility of your distinguished promotion, and that I may on this occasion, participate in your honour and joy. May the Lord of glory generously grant you ever more and more such honour and joy. And in the end may He lead you to His blessed happiness as a faithful and good servant and with such good testimony and proclamation.

9: V 51° A 219°-220°
10 καλὸς: κακὸς Λαγ || 20 πάνη κατέρθη: πάνη VA Λαγ
Each has his own trait of family and rank but the best-known trait of the present noble and wise parathalassites is gentleness. For this reason, therefore, in dealing with us, I ask you to become known for your gentleness and not, on the contrary, for roughness, because gentleness, as you know, is numbered among the first of the qualities of the blessed. There is great hope for you also to be deemed worthy of them, for we know that you wish to be admired more for your goodness than your authority and in thinking this way you are wiser than most. Indeed, persuasion is loved more than violence and virtue is respected much more than authority.

Yes, «man of God», we know that the laws for what you call smuggling and for violations relating to it are set up as unmerciful and severe punishment. But again a provision of these laws is this, that they, sometimes, take into consideration the ignorance of the offenders and for the most part pardon such mistaken conduct. They also examine the differences and the characters of the people, who is capable of treachery and villainy and who is most unlikely to be guilty of such a charge. Lastly, in each case they show benevolence and always incline the just and unswerving scale of justice in favour of the imperilled. For this reason we beg you even more that this case be submitted now to the laws of exact judgment, lest ever these men be proven to have been brought up to court in vain and abused rather than prosecuted in a just manner. But even in the event that they are guilty, they should be treated more with benevolence than
according to the law, for the reasons we mentioned, because, as you see, they
behave innocently and without malice. For such is this people, the simple
Paphlagonians, who as you hear, do not know their left from their right hand.
So much we abstain completely from craftiness and deceit, because along with
my compatriots, my case is also at stake.

In a word, therefore, if they appear to be completely free of guilt, deliver
them, oh righteous guardian of the laws, to the law and to justice. But if not, to
God the merciful, because you are yourself merciful and you are urged to
imitate God's clemency, inasmuch as it is fatherly; I hesitate to say that you
should deliver them to me, because of your brotherly love. At any rate, if you
accept the third of my pleas let then these wretched people be completely
excused of the whole accusation or of the greater part, so that your nobility may
also be wholly forgiven without being subject to strictness and such severe and
harsh exactitude.

The servant of my constant messages has something trifling to say to you,
my brother. By giving ear to him and providing him with what he asks, you
shall gratify me, your own friend, considerably and before us, God, who has
granted to you now as you deserve, the power to perform great deeds and may
He enable you in the future to perform still greater.

God also shows kindness most of the time right away — because who else
would, if not he? — but sometimes after he has taken away the soul. But you,
having put my soul to the test for quite some time — in the belief that you are
imitating God by what you are doing — and having almost taken it away by
postponing your kindness, grant me now, my long-suffering lord, grant me this
favour at last, before I depart forever, because restoring the soul to the dead is
only in the power of God alone, certainly not in yours.
have asked you, my lord, for one favour. This I shall certainly pursue, and I shall not give up bothering you until I have, with God's help, attained some success. Your eminence has one of two choices: either to grant the request quickly, leaving aside the excuses, and be rid this annoyance all the sooner, or be magnanimous and noble in dealing with this unpleasant request. In addition to these, or even on behalf of these, may God grant you all your prayers, yet not so slowly lest your faith fail you because of the faint-heartedness which comes from human weakness.

Perhaps I am a burden but I am also of some little help — if I may boast a little. What help do I offer? I give you the opportunity, a different one every time, to serve God, trusting in your loving goodness. For the moment, the opportunity that I give is that I introduce to you this person, this one and this one. Having satisfied their needs accordingly, may God grant you your request in turn.

I am sending you this letter as a pledge of friendship from afar and I make good the agreement, and I put to test your good will. For your part rejoice and reply in like manner and, please, be sure to grant me a glimpse of you sometime.

14

15

16
It seems that he who lives next to a blacksmith must lie awake at night, as the proverb says. But for him who converses with a learned and inquiring man it is quite impossible to become sleepy and sluggish, for his ears are buzzed with constant problems and inquiries as if by horse-flies, and his mind is kept awake as if pricked by a sting. This I know myself from experience with your problems. For you are somewhat loquacious and excessive in your inquiries (I must speak the truth to you the lover of truth) and you oblige me constantly to give an explanation of these, not only when you are by my side, but even from afar you do not cease to stir up my mind, demanding answers and solutions to your problems, so that I do not quite find the time for rest and sleep.

You will now hear my opinion on the questions I have in my hands. For why should I postpone my answer to one who shall certainly persist until he has received it? I too shall begin my discourse with this very point, tον μὲν πρώτον λόγον ἐπιστοσμήνων, and I shall then pay you my other debts in full. But allow me to plead my case by invoking a myth. Once someone asked the elephant to show him his knees and he without hesitation pointed to a camel and said on her back legs. «Because», he said, «what I lack she has claimed to her own advantage, ever since using two instead of one in her back legs». But it occurs to me that with regard to your question (in the passage Τοῦ τοῦ πατρὶ διαφέροντας) I may become witty by pointing out something similar, that the particle πότις has its correlative in the clause ὅτι οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, in which the particle οὐ that is missing in the above mentioned-passage, appears to be superfluous. Thus the particle οὐ must be connected with the particle μὲν so that by restoring these relatives to each other we may accomplish their union, without leaving each of them manqué on its own or deserted and bereft of its partner.

But this explanation is more for your amusement, the serious examination of this matter is as follows: there is a figure of speech which is successfully
cultivated mostly among poets and prose writers in which these two particles are separated, each being employed separately. They call this usage *anapodoton* and *ameristos*, both of which I think indicate one and the same thing. Yet, the particles are related very closely. When they stand in adjacent clauses, they seem to be geometrically opposed to each other, dividing and distributing the sentence among themselves and then again, as if they have to give back a debt, they render it back. But when they are separated from each other, as in our examples, they cannot maintain this relationship in actuality any longer, although somehow they preserve it potentially, but each remains by itself, single and free. For this reason they are called *ameristos* and *anapodoton*, because neither of the two keeps its companion with which it should be both separated and united. Accordingly, they appear incomplete and imperfect, the particle μην lacking a place of repose (διαμικαίως), the particle δὲ a reference (διαφρορά), the former being considered without feet and the latter without head. Nevertheless, even separated they accomplish something more than this. The particle δὲ introduces notions of other things as already mentioned and refers the listener’s mind to them.

For instance, our example τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι implies the composition of some other theological encomia that have already been written and compiled by the great Gregory. So that the meaning that the particle δὲ conveys is as follows if someone would like to interpret this passage: «The deeds of Saint Clement and Athanasius, for instance, have received their proper praise from me in full. But what about the Maccabees? Are they not worthy of similar treatment?» Everyone would say so. Thus, the particle μην is already presupposed in the mind before the particle δὲ, even though this is not signified in words. The particle μην indicated the readiness of mind and shows the speaker improvising on the spur of the moment. At any rate, as he begins thenceforth to execute some well-rounded sentence or some other rhetorical figure, before he accomplished it, he had already been carried off by the flow of his discourse to another figure of speech. The mind of that noble orator had been filled with so many ideas, that his memory was swept away by the sudden impact of an onrushing second part of speech as if it were a second wave. You see how much power there is in these particles in hand, even though they are limited to one syllable. Yet this is rather insignificant compared to the rest of the wisdom and theory of grammar, which you, so disdainfully dare to reject completely. So

30 γράφως εὐδοκιμεῖν, ὅ τις συνδέσμης τούτους χωρίζει, καὶ ἔκατερον χρῆται καθ’ ἑαυτὸν καλοῦντα δὲ τούτο ἀναπώδεστον καὶ ἀμέριστον, ἀπέρ οὐχι καὶ ἀμφοῖ τὸ αἷτο παρεκάλει. Εἶπε γὰρ πολλὸς τοῦ συνδέσμου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ συγγενὲς, ὥσε μὲν συμπαράκεινται, δοκοῦν καθάπερ ἐκ διαγράμματός ἀλλήλους ανταδιαρέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μερέζωσθαι. 35 καὶ συμπεριέχειν τὸν λόγον, εἶτα πάλιν ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐκ χρέως ἀναπώδεστον ὑπεξεχόμεθα, ὅταν δὲ καθάπερ ἑαυτᾶς χωρισθένταν ἀλλήλους, ὥσε οἷον τὸ εἶσθα ἐπὶ σαφεῖς ἐνεργείας ταύτην τῆς σχέσεως, εἰ καὶ σοφίας πας δύναμι, ἀλλὰ V f. 55v καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος μὲν, μοναδικὸς καὶ αὐξητικός, δὲν ἀμέριστον καλοῦντα καὶ ἀναπώδεστον, ὡς μηδέτερος ἔχον τὸν ἑαυτὸν κοινονόν, 40 πρὸς ἄν καὶ μεριθεῖσθαι καὶ συνάγεσθαι πέργειν: καθ’ ὁ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀλληλαπτικὰς τι καὶ ἀτελεῖς, ὡς μὲν ἀναπάυσες, ὡς δὲν ἀναφεράς ἀπόριας, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷον ἄποικος, ὁ δὲ οἷον ἀκραφός θαυμασμοῦς, καὶ διεξεύγεται μὲν γενόοις κρατοῦσθαι τι πλέον, ὁ μὲν δὲν συνεισάγας δόνων εἰσέρχεται εὐρέων πραγμάτων ὡς ἂν προελεγμένων, ἐφ’ ἐπαρέχετε τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ 45 ἀκούοντος.

Αἴμετο τὸ προκείμενον τούτο τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι συγγραφήσατε εὐρέως ἑνίας τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας, διαποθηκεύτωσιν ἑκάτερος τὸ μεγάλος καὶ συν- ταχεύτων, ὡς εἰμί τοιοῦτον τὸ συνδέσμον τὸν νῦν, ἐτίς ἀναπώδεστος θελητῶς τία μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν θεόν Κυπριανόν, φέρε ἐπάνω, ἢ τὸν μέγαν V f. 56 δὲ διάνοια προελεύθεται τοῦ δὲν καὶ ὁ μὲν, καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῖς δήμοις συνεκφαίνεται τὸ μὲν δὲν τοῦ ἡγέσιαν παρεστώθη, καὶ ὁ δὲν συγκεκρίθηκεν, ὃς ἂν ἦπερ ἐν εἰσα. ὁ δὲν διανοεῖ προελεύθεται τοῦ δὲν καὶ ὁ μὲν, καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῖς δήμοις συνεκφαίνεται τὸ μὲν δὲν τοῦ ἡγέσιαν παρεστώθη, καὶ ὁ δὲν συγκεκρίθηκεν, ὃς ἂν ἦπερ ἐν εἰσα. ὁ δὲν διανοεῖ προελεύθεται τοῦ δὲν καὶ ὁ μὲν, καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῖς δήμοις συνεκφαίνεται τὸ μὲν δὲν τοῦ ἡγέσιαν παρεστώθη, καὶ ὁ δὲν συγκεκρίθηκεν, ὃς ἂν ἦπερ ἐν εἰσα.


41 ὃ: δ VA || 52 καὶ λαγ: καὶ γα α: 60 καὶ λαγ: καὶ γα
much then concerning your first question. The particle δε, which has caused so many problems for the interpreters and which you called and considered anacoluthon, it seems to me, does not require any treatise, since the explanation is obvious in itself.

I will also explain how the clause "Η διδασκάλου καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἑστίασασθαι ὑμῖν being incorrectly divided, does not render a reasonably clear meaning, thereby leading investigators into great errors, inasmuch as they were once led astray by their inexperience. Because, as the Scripture says, [although you present your offering correctly, you do not divide it correctly], to suitably borrow an unsuitable passage. Different people say different things and all of them, as you know, say quite a lot. For my part, this is my opinion. I do not consider the above-mentioned ἐπί as an adverb, nor do I write it with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark (η) as most of the others do, but I say outright that it is a disjunctive particle (η), and read the sentence as hyperbaton, as follows: εἰς δὲ γὰρ ἐγώ σήμερον I reckon to be parenthetical for the sake of correct style, according to the rhetorical rules and laws. Because when the Father deemed those who were present worthy of being entertained with divine words and discourses, and perceived that they were at a loss as to whence they could procure such a luxury, he did not suffer to ask πῶς τι ὀπίσθεν; (can you perhaps afford such a luxury alone?), but rather in a serious and courageous manner he took a risk with this question ἢ δὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον Παρθένος: (do you reject this), that is to say silently implying ἢ πῶς τι ὀπίσθεν; (and would you prefer my table instead?). Such was his boldness and venturesome spirit. Providing a good reason for his intention, he says καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἑστίασασθαι (today I am your host), that is your teacher. Then in the interval he boasted a little or rather he presented his case more persuasively. He, the all wise one, revealed his superiority in all things by appearing moderate, for these were his wisest accomplishments. When he saw that all of them were astonished and accepting his words in silence, no matter what he said, he quickly seizes their silence as an indication of consent and upon this consent he bases his discourse, having laid a secure foundation entertaining the mind in a marvellous way by announcing his intention and saying «I shall begin then from here». To render the η as an interrogative particle and write it with a circumflex (η), accepting it in place of ἐπί, provides some excuse, but disrupts the structure and harmony of the composition, causing the parts of the sentence to appear wide open and disconnected, and prompting one to think that they need to be fixed by an application of glue, since the preceding and succeeding parts fit together so poorly. Let alone that
through such a triviality the lofty style becomes, without being noticed, pedestrian and seems to be not at all free from being forced. Even more the same holds true also with those who write this particle with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark (f), as if to signify καθ’ α’, and place a full stop after the word βούλεσθε, thus requiring us to accept that with καθ’ α’ γεν’ οτι μενον a new sentence begins, except that they render the whole passage more obscure and incomprehensible. You have then, to the best of my ability, my answer, as you wished, about ἂ βούλεσθε.

With regard to Solon’s greediness, be assured, father, that it has been falsly attributed to him and to that person who has been unjustly assumed to have attributed it to Solon. For the practice of greediness is altogether alien to Solon as likewise alien is this utterance to the speaker <Saint Gregory>, rather to him who did not say it, but who has only falsely been accused of saying it. Because who would know better than he does about Solon’s generosity with money? Who would know more than he about the story and the wonder of Solon and Croesus, which has become known and sung everywhere even by the common folk? He knew this story, of course, better than any other, for he had encompassed all divine and human knowledge, surpassing every other learned man in erudition and exactness. But he did not upbraid Solon here nor, indeed, was he about to do so. Because he understood that it would be the same thing to mock Solon for greediness and Hercules for cowardice. But whom does he ridicule by exposing his vice of greediness? The one who in truth greedily abused the Lydian gold, the man who is justly denounced both by the secular historians and by Gregory himself elsewhere when, in his poems, he writes as follows:

Who shall ever praise this deed of Alcmeon who was the first among the celebrated Athenians and yet he showed himself as weak for money as he ought to have proved himself superior to it for Croesus honoured him with large sums and so continues the story. You will find these iambic verses in his writings about virtue. It was not then Solon who was satirized here for his greediness by Saint Gregory, but Alcmeon. As for myself, I pay less attention to the copies than to the truth of the matter, since I have no other way to detect in them the pure and genuine tradition preserved by time.

105 Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀπληστία κάκευνον κατέφευγεν (σαφῶς ἰσθι, πάτερ) καὶ τὸ κατανεόσασθαι ταῦτά τινος ἄνδρικα ὑπελημμέναν ὁμοίως γὰρ ή τι πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀλληλεία καὶ ὁ λόγος τὸς λέγοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ μη λέγοντος, συκοφαντομένου δὲ λέγειν. τὰς γὰρ ἁμένοις ἑκάτουν ἤγεται περὶ χρήματα μεγαλοφορούσης τῆς ἁμελότητος

110 ἴησεν τὸ κατὰ Σόλωνα τὲ καὶ Κροίσου πράγμα καὶ θάμνα, δὲ καὶ ὅλος δημόδης περιφρονήσει ἔχει πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀοίδομον, ἤδει μὲν σὺν καὶ ταῦτα μάλλοντα κατείχες, ὁ πᾶσαν καὶ θείαν καὶ ἀνθρώπινην γνῶσιν περιλαμβάνει καὶ πολυμεθαί καὶ ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἐλλογμένοις πάντως παρενεγκάνων ἀλλ’ οὐ Σόλωνος ἐνταθήκατο καθαρώτατον, οὐ μὲν οὖν οὔτ’ ἐμβληθήσεν Ἰσον γὰρ ὑπελάμβανε Σόλωνα τὰ σκέπτεν εἰς ἀπληστίαν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς δειλίαν, ἀλλά τινα τὸν ἀπληστὸν προθύμην διασώριν τὸν ταῖς ἀληθεῖαις ἀπληστοῖς κακαγεμημένον τὸν Λυδίῳ χρυσόν, καὶ καλῶς στηλεπιστοῦσαν αἱ τὲ θραβην ἱστορίαι καὶ αὐτῶς ἀλλαχοῦ, οὕτω λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς ἐμέτροις.

120 Ἀλκμάιονος δὲ τίς τὸν ἀλλοστές ποτὲ; δεʼ πρῶτ’ Ἀθηναίων τῶν αὐτόμοις φέρον τοσοῦτον ὁμοίως κριμάτων ἵπτόμενον δόσῃ ἑκὸς ἢ μηνίν πρέπον; Κροίσος γὰρ αὐτῶν πλέον δεξιούμενον

V f. 58v καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας εὐφώμες δὲ τὸ θὰ λαμβάνομεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρετῆς αὐτὸ γεγραμμένοις. οὐκ ἄρα Σόλων ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἰλικιανόν εἰς ἀπληστίαν κατάστασιν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καμάρωδομένον ἢτοι γὰρ ἐγὼ προσέχει τοῖς ἀντροχρῶς ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος. ἦς τε καὶ ἄλλος οὐκ ἐγὼ συνορᾶν ἐν αὐτῶς τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ κακίδηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοίωμον.

130
Now the τεσσαρακοσίακηδέκατον. I also write thus not by any grammatical analogy, but out of habit. It would be more correct for the sake of style to say τεσσαρακοσίακηδέκατον. But because the word was necessary to become declinable and changeable, forced to agree with every case and gender — so that one time it could be called τεσσαρακοσίακηδέκατον and the next τεσσαρακοσιακήδεκα — account of such difficulties. I think these various forms had to be put aside and the iota alone to absorb all the necessary functions, that is signifying an adverbial meaning, as if it had been transformed from τεσσαρακοσίακηδέκατον into τεσσαρακοσίακηδέκα, in the manner now that some understand τρισικοσίακηδέκα, or because the iota is simpler than any other syllable or letter and due to its fineness conforms to every word as its name ← iota⟩ suggests, being by its nature easy to adapt to and agree with all those words to which is added. On the other hand, the innovation appears more absurd with regard to the usage of the word ἐκατονταπλάσιον. What does this τα signify? How was it first introduced here? We do not know where it comes from. For we know ἐκατόχειρα and ἐκατομβίλους cities and ἐκατομβίους sacrifices and we confirm that they are correct and in accordance with the rules of orthography. But ἐκατοντάρθυμος and Τυρείς ἐκατοντακέφαλος seem monstrous, since this strange τα is displayed like another unnatural head together with those one hundred. However, ordinary language has created contrary to what is correct many other new words like these establishing them by force and by outing correct usage.

But up to this point is enough from me. Because of what you are doing, you who are not observing the law, as a righteous person, you persuade me to oust correct usage. You who are not observing the law, as a righteous person, you persuade me to oust correct usage by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unfailing transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length.
Why do you impose labours upon me, holy father, which are unnecessary and demand to learn from me things which, I am certain, you know better than any one else and confront me with constant inquiries about matters that you have studied and examined more than any other? For indeed who else is so wise in matters both divine and human as our Gregorios, the man of God and mine (I shall not hesitate to boast about it), for whom life consists of nothing else but writings and books and continually delighting in the pleasures and the pleasantness of various discourses, in those which in you were reared and particularly in these sacred and divinely inspired, to which you devote most of your life. Therefore, to endeavour to say something to you about them is like teaching an Athenian how to sail or an eagle how to fly. However, this time I shall readily answer your present inquiries for I have learned that I must fulfill a command of my father.

There were three problems, of which the first requires more attention as it concerns the voice of truth, which says through the divine Luke «in one house there will be five divided, three against two and two against three». But when in what follows he counts each one of them separately, he does not yet produce the number five, but rather he adds a sixth, so that there are three pairs, not incomplete but perfect. Yet, you are asking, how, having presented five alone, has he produced the sixth? First of all, it does not seem to me that he relates the sixth, which he brings in, to these proposed five persons, neither does he subdivide again this group of five into six, but I think that the Word in this passage manifests a more mystical meaning, signifying how difficult it is to solve a conflict and how difficult is the path to peace and reconciliation for those who quarrel. Two people who are disputing with each other about two things, could easily be reconciled and brought to harmony. The same is true again when three people are quarreling about three different things, by assigning to each separately one of those highly prized stakes that create the dispute, thus dividing everything equally according to their number. But when three struggle about two things or the opposite, two people about three things, as in the passage, in this case by its very nature it is difficult to determine the struggle and hard to
bring about a compromise, inasmuch as no one is able to handle the problem suitably. At any rate, it would be necessary either to divide and to allot one of the three things to the two persons or by dividing the two things again, forcibly to allot them to the three, so that the equality would be duly preserved. But where there is a division of a thing, there is also a violation of nature that the Word wants to suggest to us, in order to show us the force of the message and the power of the Kingdom, which is indeed most violent and forceful, for the Scripture elsewhere declares openly, men of violence take it by force, or says, «what is impossible with men is possible with God». Perhaps it would be more reasonable not to connect the ensuing six persons with the above, but to accept it as having been added for the sake of example in order to illustrate this necessity, the one that I have already mentioned, and in order to teach the furious and irresistible power of the Gospel, by means of which it is possible to see broken even the unbreakable ties of a natural relationship. In my opinion the following seems more true and the other more convenient. Two against three: that is two relationships opposite three pairs. For as you know, against the father is the son, against the mother is the daughter and against the daughter-in-law is the mother-in-law and vice-versa—three pairs together opposite two such relationships. For a relationship is between two things, even if it is applied to many other cases, to which I shall add next the following in order to interpret and clarify the issue, so that we may accept that, on the one hand, the number three refers to the persons and the triple pairing among them, while on the other the number two refers to the relationship of one person to the other as seen in each of these three pairs. Such was the intention then of this Evangelist accordingly to my judgement and estimation.

On the other hand, the divine Mark does not present the divine Word as being in conflict with himself, if indeed the Lord and lawgiver of the Old and New Testament is one and the same. But while he calls Abiathar an archpriest, history has transmitted Achimelech to us as a priest and not an archpriest, from which it is possible to conjecture that in those years, during which David was fleeing from the presence of Saul, Abiathar had the rank of an archpriest and that Achimelech was at that time entrusted with the priesthood, being appointed on that occasion by him and receiving in this case the duty of performing the order of divine worship daily, through the entire year. Abiathar, perhaps either because of his rank or out of respect for his advanced age, had gained superiority over all the other priests and, on account of this, had been completely released of his duties. For this reason it seems to me that by not being present at...
the events of that time, he was able to escape the danger, contributing in further on the rescue of the king. It would not be unreasonable to assume that Abia-thar was the father of Achimelech, because we find the son of Achimelech to be called, in turn, Abiathar. We know that it was a common practice for the most part among the ancients to bestow the name of the father to their offspring. But by investigating the problem in the following manner, it seems that it is possible to attain a plausible solution. It has been commonly reported that most of the ancients were addressed by two names. It is not unlikely for Abiathar to have been also called Achimelech, an explanation which satisfies most of those who have examined this passage more carefully. For it is possible to assume that Achimelech—"whosoever he be"—was also called Avimelech, the name being very misleading and inconsistent for the most part.

The third problem, a "theological" one, I myself consider nothing but a scribal mistake, for it is clear that it was made due to the ignorance of most. Although they should have retained in the text the name of Joab instead of Absalom, so that the account would accurately fit the <actual> story, subsequent generations wrongly removed the name of Joab, ignoring the truth and introducing in the passage the name of Absalom instead of his. They were induced to this kind of falsehood somewhere in the Scriptures there is mention of the hand of Absalom (for this is how he named the pillar that he had erected). But actually the truth is not so but rather that as I have said. And this becomes clear from nothing else than the story itself. For the story presents David suspiciously asking the woman of Thekoa, who was mediating for the sake of Absalom not openly, but with some contrivance and concealment: "Is not the hand of Joab with you in all this?" As if he were saying oh woman, was it not with the counsel and the advice of Joab (which he called a hand on account of his prowess and energy) that you have invented this sly trick in order to make a petition for the sake of Absalom? It seems to me then that in this case the wise and divine teacher had accepted this as a kind of proverb, very much in keeping with the nature and importance of his illustrious and magnifi-


69 Επισκεύαστον V || 72 δομήμασις Lag || 88 'Αβεσσαλὼν L.agg. || 90 τοῦτο, τάμπα A || 94 παραλαβέναι: paralambēn A
cent intellect, and that many years later the passage was twisted to have suffered such a corruption and change — so that this passage has suffered what the common folk call «a mistake resulting from a correction» — as also happened with that disputed passage in the Invectives, where Solon is being ridiculed for greediness, instead of Alcmeon, as my recent answers have taught you.

It is no wonder at all if someone had the utter boldness to «alter something in those things that should be unaltered», since this kind of innovation appears to have made a bold bid even against the unteachable and unapproachable Scriptures, particularly if you have carefully read the passage «this took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan». The more experienced and wise of our teachers say outright that we must not write Bethany, but Bethabara. Because it is this place Bethabara that it is situated on the other side of Jordan. Bethany is situated not across the Jordan but in the vicinity of Jerusalem, somewhere in the outskirts of the city, as you would agree, having seen those places there yourself. Furthermore, with regard to the passage, «to a village at a distance of sixty stadia», some extend the number to many more, some, on the contrary, limit it to only thirty, pointing out that it is Emmaus rather which is exactly at this distance from Jerusalem. To all such problems they bring forward one solution — that the copies are not infallible nor blameless in their text, an explanation that I have also introduced with good reason in the discussion of this «theological» inquiry.

So much for these problems. What more can one write in a letter? I have dealt with the solutions of the other problems in some other letters and as for the remaining ones, God willing, I shall undertake them in time, only if I perceive that your impartial opinion indeed confirms that they are accurate and exact. Yet nothing could be better than having you hack with us, as you promised, to talk face to face and to hear you discussing both these matters and also the other ones which it is right for us to discuss and investigate. I hope and pray to Him who fulfills «the desire of those who fear Him» that I shall obtain this very soon.
What are you saying, my good man? Am I the one who loves human authority? Am I the one who is fond of human honours? Am I the friend and counsellor of the Emperor and on account of this have become unsociable and inaccessible to the humble? Be silent, father, be silent above all do not attribute to me qualities that more rightly belong to others. Indeed, I fail to understand altogether the precise reason for these respectful statements of the man — so that you may be reminded, if you have forgotten, oh excellent one—who last year was visiting the palace with pomp, carried up to the entrance by carriage (such was his softness and indulgence), walking from there in a more dignified manner with a cane until he came within view and sight of the Emperor, then limping somewhat expertly and sighing softly. To an extent this was real (for dear is the truth), because he had been wounded in the rear, but for the most part, I think, it was invented so that he might appear more venerable (indeed, I hesitate to say, miserable) and on account of it, might be deemed deserving a prized chair. Well then, I at least know that this man, «whether in the body, I do not know» or out of the body, I do not know, God knows — as did most of the people— that he came out of there carrying a bulky bag of many talents of gold and while arriving in appearance, he went away instantly rich and with still greater contempt for all others. About «such a person I shall boast», if one should boast at all, but about myself I shall boast no more. Because, although I had many a time the honour to have a seat in the palace (I ought not lie about it to a friend and a holy man), yet by no means did I have such a reception. I rested my feet but my hands were not taken care of, because I was usually sent away empty-handed and because I was not, like him, as it seems, so very clever or fortunate.

But what are you hiding, as you laugh? Unless I am guessing incorrectly, surely, I suppose, as a wise and shrewd man, you have recognized probably both the act and you have known the actor. Let then your object of inveective be him, since you have chosen once and for all to reproach human lives, while being resolved to ridicule those who are greatly excelled by glory. But you shall attack me more accurately by aiming rather at other persons of mine and reproaching these shortcomings. Indeed, you know well that you shall not fail to find shortcomings in me, just as you would not fail to find wood on a ship or stone in case you might be climbing a stone staircase — to cite a more familiar example from your own experience. Therefore, choose another fault of mine to

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18° Τι λέγεις, ἀνθρώπε, ἡμεῖς δυναστεῖαν ἀνθρώπινην θαυμάζομεν; ἡμεῖς ἐρασταί τις ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπους τιμῆς, ἡμεῖς βασιλέων φιλοὶ καὶ συνεδροὶ καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς τούτων χαρὰν ἀναμίλητοι καὶ ἀπροσοι, εὐθύμης, πάτερ, εὐθυμής καὶ μή τοι προσὸν μᾶλλον ἔτερος ἡμῶν ὡς οἶνα πρόφερε, πάνω

V f. 64v γὰρ ἐνοοοῦν, τίνος μάλιστα ταῦτα τὰ σείμα διηγήματα τὸ πέρασι | φοιτήτος, δὲ βελτίστη, μετὰ δορυφορίας εἰς τὰ βασιλεῖα, ὡς ἂν ἀνάμνησθης, ἐλκύληψαι, καὶ μέχρι μὲν τὸν προθύραν ἐν φορεῖς κοίμωμεὶν (τοσαῦτα τὴν ἡ γὰρ τὸ ἀνόδῳ τρωθεὶς καὶ βλαβεῖα), τὸ ἐνενθέθη δὲ σοφάρωτεν ὑπὸ βαξτηρία βαξίδους, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνίκητοι καὶ θέαντοι

10 τὸ βασιλέως, ὑποσκάφος τὸσος εὐεργές καὶ ἡμέρα στενάδοτος, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ τρίς ἀλήθειαν (φίλη γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθειας ὡς τὸν γλυκὸν πεπληγνότος, πεπληγνότος τὰ μέα τὸ πλέον, ἵνα καὶ δόξη μᾶλλον αἰδοὶς (ἐλεήμονος γὰρ λέγειν ἐκνον), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καθαρά τὰς ἁρωθείς ἡμεῖς, ἔσχατο γενόμενον τὸν τοίχων ἀνθρώπων ὁδός ἐτες ἐν σώματι, οὐκ οὖν ἐτες καὶ οὐκ

15 οὕτως, οὐκ οὖν ὡς θαῦμα ὃς (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων) ὃς ἐξεδώκει ἐκεῖνος, ἀπόδειξεν ἀνείγην ἀδόνι πολυτάλαντος χρίσισι, καὶ πένερ τῆς δοκεῖ τὰ προσελέφθη, ἀντίκειτα εὐδαίμοναν ἐν ἄκαρε, μετὰ πλεονέας ἠτίς τῆς κατὰ πάντων ἑπεροποιηθέντας, περὶ τοῦ τοιτέον καυχώμεθα, ἵνα τι καὶ καυ-

V f. 65r χίμασθαι, ἵνα ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἔσται, ὡς καθαρὰς μὲν πλεονάσκεις, οὐ γὰρ

20 δει νεωτικαὶ, καὶ ταῖς πρὸς φίλον ἄνθρα καὶ ἱερόν, τιμακτήτας δὲ ἐξ ἢσσως οὐδὲν ὀλγάκις ἠξίωσαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πόλεις ἀνασυναγαμίαν, τὰς δὲ γέρας οὐκ ἀδραπάναια, κενὰς γὰρ ἐχαν ἀπεπεμπτίμονα, ἐπεὶ μὲν πάντα ἡμῖν, ὡς δοκεῖν, εὐδαίμονας μιᾷ ἐνεργῆς κατ᾿ ἐκείνον.

'Αλλὰ τι γελῶν ἐγκαλέστη, εἶ μὴ κακὸς ἐξαστάτης, ὃ πού τάχα

25 συνήκας ὡς σοφὸς καὶ ἀγνώσις καὶ τὴν τρίς πράξις ὁμοίαν καὶ τὸν ἐγκαταπέσας ἐπεξελον, οὐδὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐξαστάτης καὶ διαβολὴ, ἐπεὶ ἢτας ἡ χάρις ἀνθρώπινους βοῶς κατέχειν, καὶ σκάπτειν δοκεῖ τοὺς μὲν δέδομα ἐπεξελονουτός, ἡμῖν δὲ βάλεις εὐςτρόφητος, ὦ ἐπεξελον μᾶλλον ταξινομοι καὶ τοῖς ταξινομοιούς οὐ γὰρ ἀτυχεστῆς, εἴ οὐδὲ, παρ᾿ ἡμῖν ἐλαττωμάτω τοῖς, ὡς οὖν ἐν πλευρὶς σανδίκος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τὸν κατὰ λιθίνως κλίμακος ἔνθελε, ἴνα γενηρόμενον ἕξης εἰς τῆς πεπερας καὶ τὸ ὅποδειμα. ἄλλο

19: 11 φίλη - ἀλήθειας: cf. Arist. Eth. Noc. 14, 1096 a 14-17 || 14 II Cor. 12,2 || 18 II Cor. 12,5 ||
30 οὖ ν σανδίκος: cf. Strömberg 100

19: V 65r 234'-235'
11 μέντοι A || 11-12 κερδής Α
reproach, if you wish, but abstain, oh blessed one, from this kind of attack and accusation. Because you yourself are a man with passions like mine and no one among men, or only the rarest of men, has completely despised glory. I shall omit for your own sake, making money and the desire to grow rich. Since I have smitten a peg suitably with a peg, striking a reproach with a reproach, henceforth peace with you and farewell.

You continuously wage war against me and bear a grudge, oh wretched man, at one time accusing me of being idle, calling my silence sluggishness, my contemplative way of life misanthropic and my freedom from distractions conceited, doing nothing else but, as they say, turning «everything upside down». Now, as if «heads have become tails» and the dice has fallen with the other side up, you are reproaching and mocking me for the opposite. The wanton result of your daring is this now: as if you have forgotten your former self, you come as a new prosecutor with new charges against me, indeed, as if you have utterly forgotten those old complaints which many a time you accused me of. But you have changed from your old ways only to the extent that in this case you turn the names of things upside down: calling conversation with many people, thirst for popularity; public recognition, display; benevolence, ambition; and social intercourse, the attempt to please people. In a word, oh man, you seem to me to like nothing about me but for each one of these deeds of mine you carefully lay in wait and you are on the spot to attack and to fight against them whenever one of them manifests itself.

But you, oh excellent one, should no longer act like this, neither should you deny your previous good and wise words of advice, nor should you become unexpectedly «a deer instead of a virgin». But if you are, indeed, still disposed in the same way towards me and you have not changed all of a sudden, elevate yourself to your own philosophic principles which many a time you taught me and acknowledge the present fruit begotten by your own seed. In any case, you
should decide one of the two: either in condemning me you first condemn yourself inasmuch as you have not instructed me well or that you are guilt-free, thus redeeming me also; because good teachers (lest you wish the contrary) teach good lessons and any work is worth as much as its creator and thus is a student worthy of his teacher; acknowledge your gratitude to me, sparing me the accusations, because I have rendered you blessed, for you have delivered your lectures on public life to attentive ears.

Cast off, therefore, the irony, teacher, and do not laugh smartly, unless the picture I draw is wrong, at what I am saying, but be content now with what I am doing and rejoice seeing your seed already being multiplied thirty times over. But take the envy out of your words when I attain a more eminent authority and distinction (because these were your former wise admonitions and counsel) and when you hear that I have greater and more complete influence, even with the Emperor himself and the Patriarch. You should be, therefore, patient and magnanimous, praying that you may have more students of this kind, both obedient and elever. Pray also for my future good repute, for in that respect I refuse to yield to you at all, in spite of the fact that you have completely dissociated yourself from my present good name, because I wish to claim a good portion of this fame in the days to come. Therefore, solicit my success in the future in your prayers, since you were its cause through your admonitions, so that you may act in everything in a suitable manner and one befitting yourself. As with me, may you too see your blessed hopes fulfilled.

I also made a request of the Father, following the example of the Lord, and instead of himself he provided me with another «comforter», but not to stay with me forever (had it been in this manner your gift would have been full and

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I also made a request of the Father, following the example of the Lord, and instead of himself he provided me with another «comforter», but not to stay with me forever (had it been in this manner your gift would have been full and
perfect, my holy and righteous second father, for I shall confess the truth even if it distresses me), but to be taken away from me quickly and before his time, because he called the "comforter" back to himself, as if he had changed his mind. What you do, then is not at all holy, neither does it reflect the divine example, even if you appear so and from what you lead one to suspect, you wish to appear so, enwrapping yourself in a thick cloud and revealing yourself perhaps only to those near you (or simply to those worthy); but to me who am far away and not worthy of such vision, only after some time you send a faint and dim light, that is, these few pieces of a short letter, ordering me to be content with only this — your back. You are probably saying to yourself, "my face shall not be seen by you", unspiritual and earthly man, in this way making me, unspiritual and earthly man, in this way making me, being "earth and dust", it seems, I have not the divine sight.

...Earth and glory at all, nor allowing yourself to condescend for earth. Perhaps you fear that as soon as your purity will communicate to me, the impure one, that you see that, here again, you differ from Him who mankind and who, without committing any sin in the world, by associating and living with us common people, to whom, as the archetype, you raise your sights and you direct your zeal, unless you lie openly against the holy habit, which prescribes the cross and the following of the crucified One.

But, as it has been said, stay unsociable and unfriendly to me, since you wish it, to be inspired only by your own contemplation and that of those to whom this has been granted. As for me, being completely excluded from that first illumination and being deprived of this second hardly before it dawned upon me, I shall necessarily again humble myself and shall contemplate more thoroughly the maxim "know thyself" measuring the brevity and short duration of human life by the presence and departure of the man whom you sent and

tón τρόπον, ὧν πάτερ ἥλιος ἡμέτερος, δικαιοὶ τὲ καὶ ἀγνοεῖ τὸ γὰρ ἄλλης...
took away so soon>. This very fact, a wise man of the past, demonstrated and thereby gained a reputation — when he was asked how long the life of man lasts, he appeared for a while and then disappeared. But even though you are not to be seen, report at least that you are sustained by divine grace, because I am still indulgent even if I am not treated indulgently. Furthermore, may you fare well yourself as well as the good company around you, for it is appropriate for you, the blessed chorus, as someone somewhere said, «to be untiring and carefree»; if you wish, add to it — «and be immortal for ever».

22

saith he, «propose today and listen tomorrow». The saying here is about words and not about gifts. But you, the unfaulningly swift, having been asked for pears in the summer, have just sent them in the middle of winter. You should be congratulated for the promptness of the dispatch; this then is the meaning of «no sooner said than done». But why should I reproach the blameless for the sake of a fruit and suffer like a child instead of behaving like a man? For the appetite for such things is much greater among children than among men. You have actually performed a man’s work as a favour to a friend, sending me the fruit in this season, though it is out of season, and by improvising such a plan you were able to curb my uncontrollable desire for such a luxurious delicacy. Because the cold of the season will suffice to prevent me from eating something cold, which I know is the cause of many diseases of the body, especially mine, which is distressed most of all by attacks of cold. I am therefore grateful to you for taking care of me and for attending to my well-being rather than to my pleasure, delivering me from some future mishap and cutting me off from many of these goods that cause sickness by withholding their dispatch to me until now — to say it somewhat more elegantly. But may you also continue to enjoy good health because you have kept my health intact.

35 σοφών τις ενδιέξομαις ἐθαυμάσθη, ὅτε πόσος ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρωτηθηκε, μικρῶν τις φανεῖς ἀπεκρύπτασο. ἄλλα μοι καὶ μὴ ὀρέωνος, ἀγγέλλοιο γονίν ὕπο τῆς χάριτος συνιηθεμένοις εὐγνωμονεῖμι γὰρ ἐτί, κἂν οὐκ εὐγνῶμονα πάσχωμεν. εἶ τοῖν τέχνης αὐτὸς τέ καὶ ἦ περὶ ἰ αὐλὴ συνιδέα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἑμπόν ἴμην ἐστὶ τῷ χορῷ τῶν μακάρων, ὡς ποιήσομαι ἐν εὐπροσδόκαις ἐναντὶ ἡμῶν πάντα. 36 Καὶ ἐπιτελοῦσα τέτυχεν τῆς ἐπιτελοῦσα τῆς ἐπιτελοῦσα τῆς ἐπιτελοῦσα τῆς ἐπιτελοῦσα 40 τις εἶπεν, ἀκαμάτως εἶναι καὶ ἁπαθῶς; εἴ δὲ βουλῇς, προστίθηε καὶ ἀθανά- τως ἡμίας πάντα.
I was recently surrounded by the sacred chorus of divine philosophy, oh wise head and true head of the philosophers. With them I conversed no less in a friendly than in an intellectual way, and in the end we separated admiring one another. What they admired in me I do not know (I myself am not conscious of anything praiseworthy in me) but there was a lot for me to admire in them: noble nature, intelligence, sagacity, decency, love of learning, erudition, desire and enthusiasm to attend to literary topics (because this is what you call their all-consuming irrepressible ardour) and above all their common understanding and aspiration for that which is good or perfect. What could be better than the promotion and election of my wise Konstantinos to the honours of wisdom and his reception of a teaching chair? You now «haunt the lofty heights of wisdom», as Empedocles says, and «you bring rejoicing to me in the full bloom of song» (to quote this time like Pindar) and appear as «an image of Hermes the Logios», as «a moving» and speaking «library» to our generation of men, «upon whom the end of the ages has come» with such a drought of knowledge and learning. On account of this, therefore, I especially admired and greatly praised these young men and I promised them with an eagerness equal to theirs, my cooperation in their pursuits insofar as these concern the imperial authority and the consent of the rest of the youth who are now devoted to studies and learning.

And to you, my dear and honoured friend, I offer everything that I have and contribute it to your support, above all my whole self, according to your principles and I shall try, with the help of good fortune, to be second to none as far as my support of your learning and friendship is concerned, being second neither to those who are your admirers and pursuers, nor to someone else among those who, with good reason, care about your interests, especially about this divine science, which is already in danger of disappearing from our lives. Having prevailed then in all these —or to speak rather like you, having harmon-
ized all the strings of the lyre with you— take this task in hand with great
determination and adhere to this undertaking with diligence and courage,
under the good guidance of God, who shall bring it to an auspicious end.

24

Even though I write only a few words, nevertheless they are more than
yours; therefore, find fault with neither the scantiness nor the fewness of my
letters, unless you wish to suffer the sound of the reflected echo «whatever
word you speak, such shall you also hear». This much will suffice for you now:
best wishes for everything and may you report that you are rejoicing and
recovering little by little from your past sorrows, and know also that the carrier
of the letter belongs to the circle of my former students. Offering yourself to
him (and it is just to do so) you shall make me rejoice. To sum up what was
said, fare well, which is most appropriate for you because of the time and place.

25

The more you distance yourself by fleeing, the more you are overtaken, so
that you realize that you cannot avoid or escape friendship. Already now you
have been caught like some of your noble self, (if it pleases you to refer to letters in this manner), whose grip and
violence you shall not otherwise escape — unless beforehand you deliver this
man, who offers you these letters, from further unjust violence for my own
sake, because he is one of my most dear friends, whereas violence is to me most
hateful. Therefore, for my own sake — and even more for the sake of justice—
you should rescue this man, on my claim, from holy tyranny. Because the
tyrranny of the priests should be called by this name, just as our war is now a
holy war. And send this man back to me quickly and well-pleased and full of
praises for you on account of your kindness to him. May you appear full of
every joy and very soon be accorded your rightful gains, since this prayer arose
from this occasion.

24

κόδ’ Καίν ὀλίγα τὰ παρ’ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πλέον πάντως τῶν παρά σοι, ὅστε
μὴ τὸ σπάνιον μὴς τὸ σπανιάκες ἐγκαλέστε τοὺς γραφομένους, εἰ μὴ
βούλεις παθεῖν τὸ τῆς ἁπακωμίνης θρόνος, ὅπως κ᾽ ἐσπαργή ἐπο, τόδον κ᾽ ἐπακωδήσατε, καὶ γιὰν σῶν τοσοῦτον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς σὲ: εἰ μοι πράττα διὰ
5 πολλὰ καὶ ἀγγέλλοι τὴν καὶ κατά μικρόν τῆς προτέρας καθημερίας ἐξαναφέροντα. εἶτα μέντοι καὶ τόνδε τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἵππο κάκου τὸν ποτὲ
φοιτητῖν, ὁ σαυτὸν χαρισάμενον, ἑνθα καὶ χαρισάμεθα δίκαιον, ἡμῖν
χαρίν. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων, υψίνοις οὐ καὶ μάλιστα δὲ διὸ σιά
tὴν ὄραν καὶ χάραν.

25

V f. 71r λε’ “Οσοφ φέροντοι μακροίνες, τοσούτω καταλαμβάνει, ἵνα γνῶς ὡς ἡμῖν
κτεῖν φιλία καὶ ἀνοπόδρασον. ἦδο τοιὸν ἐάλλος ἄστερ τις φυγὸς κακιμα-
kάς, καί σε λύνα κατάγει τὸν γενναίον ἡμᾶς, εἰ μοι καλῶν οὖν ἐκεῖνον παρ᾽ ἡμῖν
τα’ ἀλλαγὰ τράμματα ἀν ὄσιν ἀλλὰς ἐκφεύγοισιν μοι τὴν βίαν καὶ τὴν
5 λαβῆν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτον πρότερον, ἵνα σοῦ ταῦτα προσφέρεις, βλα-
ῖς ἀλλής ἀδίκου διὰ τὸν προσβεβοῦτα δύο, ἐπειδὴ μοι καὶ οὗτος τῶν λιῶν
κακοριμένου, κάκειν τὸν πάνω μουσομένου ἐστὶ. χάριν τοιὸν ἡμῖν
καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῦ δικαίου — σάββην τοῦτον δικαίου μοι τὴν ἱερᾶς
τυραννίδος, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ἢ τῶν ἱερέων ἡμῶν, ἄστερ ἦδε καὶ πάλι-
10 μοι ἱερὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ μοι θεόν ἡμῶν ἄναμμα τὸν ἄνθρωπόμητῃ καὶ τῆς
σής ἐυθύμησις ἔρ᾽ οὐς εἰ δεισεται, πλήρη. πλήρης δὲ μοι καὶ ὑπομονῆς
tῆς πάσης καὶ δικαίων ὡς τάχιστα κερδῶν ἐποφθεῖς, ἐπειδὲ καὶ τοῦτο
πειράσης ἐνικήθην ἤ περίστασαι.
To the Emperor

My holy Lord, glorified and crowned by God: «the lamp of the body», according to the divine Scripture, «is the eye». If the eye is shining, «the whole body shall also be full of light» and likewise vice versa; if the eye is full of darkness, the whole body shall thus be full of darkness. Since, then, all of us, your insignificant servants, are considered your limbs under your authority, in the same way as we are to Christ, and you again are not only our eye but the whole head, being an image and likeness and type of Christ, this we all desire, this we ask, for this we constantly pray to God: that your rule, which is governed by God, may last for many years to come and be strong, healthy, prosperous, happy, successful in all respects and glorified in every way. Because if your rule prospers in all these respects, because of divine Grace, the result shall be our common welfare, and nothing harmful shall injure us, nothing troublesome shall grieve us, neither the pressing winter, nor the evil ones numerous though they be, nor the scarcity of the necessities, nor any other misfortune which may be brought to bear upon frivolous men such as myself as a warning and a lesson. For the well-being and the preservation of your glorious rule, I well know, can make sweet all these adversities, and shall indeed make them sweet, «like sweet honey». For when we turn our minds to the welfare of your rule it seems that we no longer feel the vexing troubles and are not mindful of the unpleasantries resulting from them, but we become therefrom filled with joy, drawing our pleasure as if from some ever-flowing spring of the imperial happiness.

For this reason, we beg and entreat and pray you with all our power not to allow grief to take possession of your unconquerable soul to such an extent as to fall completely defeated by it and be cast down to the point of feebleness. Neither should you be incited against the offences of the ungrateful nor should
you be inflamed with justifiable anger against them, so as to betray the stability of your mind and distress a body which is worth more than many others, and distress a noble soul which does not deserve to be afflicted with such suffering. But you should also in this case reflect in a manner befitting your magnificence and sovereignty, and you should manifest now more than for ever before your control over your emotions, on account of which your power is admired more than anything else, for indeed it shines forth with many and great virtues, so that you may even in this respect benefit us, your servants, who are always affected by your own disposition, prospering when you fare well, as it was said, in the opposite case, suffering along with you. You shall thus serve God, the defender of your salvation and of your kingdom, who has put all the rebels under your feet, who has now granted you a bloodless victory over them. He demands no other recompense from you for this alliance but your gentleness alone and your magnanimity towards the guilty. For he proclaims a wonderful promise, saying, if you forgive, I shall forgive and the measure you give will be the measure you receive.

If, therefore, you are held accountable for something as a human being, free these debtors of their charge, so that in your prayers you may become more convincing in securing a similar treatment, using your own forgiveness of the upstarts as a good argument. Besides this a greater proof of magnanimity you shall not have the chance to give at another time, neither shall you erect another more magnificent trophy than by repaying now with long-suffering those who distressed you so. For to strike back at those who have struck us and to return evil to those who started it may perhaps be pleasant but is actually inglorious, since it is a practice common to all men among whom the desire to return pain for pain exists by nature. But to control through long-suffering your justifiable wrath against those who have seriously wronged you and to use philosophy to force this passionate and faint-hearted and contemptuous nature of ours to become an impossible and divine one — this is a rare act among the sons of men and more rare especially among Emperors, whose power and freedom from liability allows them to inflict punishment with an insatiable

\[28\] Hom. II. 11, 514 || 36-37 δς - πόδας σου. cf. Hebr. 2,8; Eph. 1,22 || 40-41 έαν - ἀντιμετρήθησατ. cf. Matth. 6,14, 7,2 || 42-43 άρας - οφελέσας. cf. Matth. 6,12

\[38\] ἀπαντήσα A || 44 άλλας. άλλην Lag
appetite upon those who have offended them or even worse upon those suspected without reason. That is unless one reflects during this confusion of mind on the greater and mightier King and, fearing Him as a greater judge, lays down his insolence and anger right away — reasoning correctly that he has not been put in this position "to slaughter sheep" but to rule over his fellow servants and that the common creator of all shall demand back the blood of each one of these from the hand which shed it — and be quickly brought to his senses and begin to think of compassion, on account of which He who loves the meek has magnified your kingdom exceedingly and glorified you for your great gentleness and mildness more than any previous Emperor. If you will stay free of anger now in this time of anger, or to the extent that as this is possible, you shall control your vengeance, if the former should not prevail, do, indeed, most merciful Lord, imitator of God, add this virtue to your many admirable virtues and reinforce your achievements with a work greater than any example; for if you will add this, you will not allow your natural goodness to suffer any change in this respect, for you are truly fortunate, enviable and blessed, since after this earthly kingdom you shall also receive the heavenly — if indeed the Scriptures tell the truth, promising such a trophy to the benevolent and righteous like yourself.

But we are also fortunate that among other things, we are able in all truth to pride ourselves above all nations in having such an Emperor and Lord, who is far from being vindictive towards such wicked men and even more so toward the innocent. In this spirit we pray and beseech your serenity and our most holy mistresses and Empresses to perform such magnificent tasks and may the Holy Trinity, the indivisible and eternal, sustain you three united for many years to come, for the relief and consolation of the Christian people and for the permanence and union of the churches of God.

55 χαὶ τῆς τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸς πλημμελοῦντας ἢ καὶ μάτων ὑπονοούμενων τὸ σχετικάτων, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν κρείττων βασιλεία καὶ δυνατῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ταράξχῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐννοοίας, καὶ ὡς μείζων κρείττων φοβηθείς, καταβάλη τὸ φρονήματα καὶ τὸν θυμὸν παραστώκα, καὶ λογισμῷ V f. 73v δικαίῳ ἁρπαζόμενος ὡς οὐ προβάτον φραγμῆς, ὡς πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων 60 ἀρχιν ἐπάχθη, ὁν ἐκάστου τῷ αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ διέχειται ὑπὸ τὸσ κοινὸν πλῆθος πάντων ἐπιζητεῖται, συμφωνῆσαι ταχῆς παρ’ οὐατ’ οὕτω καὶ φιλοσοφήσαι τὸ εὐσπαθίδιον, ἐφ’ ἂν τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ὑπερβολήν ἐθαυμάστησαν ὁ τοὺς πραεῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἡμερότητι πολλῇ καὶ πράττῃ πάντας δοξάσας σε τοὺς πρὸ οὐατοῖς, εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸ ἄργη 65 τὸν ἐν ὁρίζῃς φυλάξεις καρδίᾳ ἢ καὶ ὅσον οὖν τὰς μεταρρημάτως τὴν ἐπέκειλεν, εἰ μή τὸ πρῶτον κρατήσῃ καὶ ναί, φιλανθρωπότατε δέσποτα, ναί, θεοῦ μιμᾶτα πρόσετε ἐκ νατοῦ τοῖς πολλοῖς διαμόρφωσαν σου πρόσετε νὰ διὰ τῶν κατεργασμάτων παράδειγματος κράτεσσαν, ὡς εἰ γε προσβήσεις, καὶ τὴν ψυχικὴν ἀγαθότητα μηδὲ ἐναὐδῇ παθεῖ τὸ πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγχαρησίας, εὐστυχῆς ὄντως σοῦ καὶ ἀξιόλογος καὶ Μακάριος, ὁτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείαν ἀπολέγα, καὶ τὴν ὠράνιαν, εἶπεν ἄνωτπες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ εὐθεῖαι κατὰ σὲ τὴν καρδίαν.

V f. 74r Ἐνυποχώνεμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ τέ ἀλλα, καὶ τοιοῦτος βασιλεύει καὶ 75 δέσποτα πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἕνη μετὰ παραρρητά έχουν εναυδάνεσαι, δς οὐδὲ τοῖς οὕτω πονηροῖς πικροῖς ἔστι τοιοῦτον ἀποδέει τοῦτον μη τοιοῦτος, οὕτως οὖν ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τοιαῦτα δεόμενα μεγαλείᾳ ποιεῖτε τὴν τε σὴν γαληνότητα, καὶ τὰς ἁγιωτάτας δεσποίνας καὶ βασιλείας ἠμῶν, οὕς ἡ δεία τριδέ, ὡς ἀδιάφρητος καὶ ἀδιάφρητος ἐν πλαστῖν 80 Κοινοτος συνηρμῆσας εἰς ἀναφηγίαν καὶ παράκλητος τοῦ χριστιανοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ διαμονῆς καὶ καὶ σύστασάν.
My Lord, neither I, when I am provoking you, nor you, when you are being provoked, are doing or experiencing anything unusual. For we are human beings alike, susceptible to passions and we both carry human weakness within us although you are superior to us common folk, as much by the dignity of your office and the honour of your distinction as by the magnitude of your spirit and your other good qualities, whereas I would acknowledge in me nothing good. Because truly I acknowledge in me nothing at all, except perhaps for only one thing, the freedom of my opinion and if I bring myself to obey someone I do so because I have been so persuaded and not because I have been compelled. This has been my habitual attitude more or less «from childhood», an attitude which has grown stronger over the years, and which up to date remains unchanged. As I applied this principle even now in response to the propositions you made, I appeared rather stubborn to your magnificence. Do not think that the reason for this unyielding opposition was prompted by anything else but the fact that I do not suffer to be easily defeated by presumption. Observing such great presumption in the person who made false accusations at the expense of my reputation, I quite contentiously resolved not to give in. Acting in such a way may not have been praiseworthy or the proper thing for me to do, for indeed I know that to the present day I have not been involved in strife with any person at all, but nevertheless at that time, I reacted in a human way.

If, however, a desire for things belonging to others ever possessed me, either now or previously, or I had myself something similar in mind, or accepted the opinion of those who think along those lines or strove after their example, may I then be deprived of my lawful possessions, if I of all persons, who live free from worldly cares should have anything — and beg my daily bread from another's door as a wanderer and a servant. But why should I now maintain strongly and affirm facts to which my whole life bears witness? Such was not at all my attitude, but I came into conflict with him for the reasons I have already expounded. But my anger with you perhaps was not justified or reasonable, not because either I had been unmindful of my own limits or the magnitude of your virtue and the superiority of your eminence (never would I be so much out of my mind) — but perhaps it would be better not to maintain this view too strongly, since in another manner at that time your honour was partly ignored.
From the beginning I was accustomed to admiring your nobility of character. Having known you always as an excellent and moderate man in your dealings, when all of a sudden you attacked me violently and indicated to me that you were the archon and gave proof of your authority, I thought then that I was actually seeing someone else and not the one I knew, and being mistaken perhaps in this respect, I failed utterly to do the right thing. This was the cause, if you ask me, of my pettiness at that time, as you may call it. But I think I should call this the result of my zeal and my ardent friendship towards you. Because those who love exceedingly much have been ordained somehow by nature to feel the pain in their souls more strongly when they experience from those who love a contempt that they did not expect. Let this suffice, please, as for my fault, said very much in truth, even if you do not easily forgive me, judging it perhaps as too elaborate, despite the fact that you have suffered this undesirable incident, forgive me my weakness and grant me your pardon magnanimously, nobly and worthily of your good will, marvellous in every way, so that you too may be not strangers to you. For they are not strangers, those who have treated you with great and true affection. Only the true witness of that, «He who tries the minds and searches the hearts». For His forgiving power is great:

Zein θέαντες τὴν σὴν καλοκαγαθίαν, καὶ ἀεὶ χρηστὸν σε καὶ μέτριον ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων περάσαντες, ὡς ἔσχαιρον σφοράτερον ἦμιν προσηξάχθης καὶ παρεσπημνή των ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς ἀδειοίας ὑπερήφανης.

V. f. 75v ἄλλον δέ τινα ἐβλέπεσθαν ἐπὶ ἀλληλείας ἔδοξαμεν παρὰ τὸν ἦμιν ἐγνασμένον, καί κατὰ τοῦτο τάχα σφαλέντοι τον προσηκότος διημέρισαν.

οὗτος, εἰ κελεύσας, ὁ λόγος τῆς ἡμετέρας τότε μικροψυχίας, ως ὁτί τίνι καλέσας· ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ σημεῖον, ἵππον τοῦ γεγονόντος καὶ διαπίπτου ὀφθαλμός τοῦ περί σε· περικοσά ἀντί ποι ὁ μεγάλος φιλότητας δριμύτητας αἰσθανοῦσα κατὰ πραγμάτων ἄλγησον, ὅταν ἀπροσδόκητον τίδος παρὰ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἔπεροι. Απόχρησθε δὲ μοι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ πατιματοῦτο, ἰδαν ἀλήθεια ἐφημενέον, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἔτερον λόγον ἀπαγορεύεις, οὐ παραδεχθῆναι, κρίνουν ὅτας περίεργον.

Το δ’ ὅτι καὶ συνέβη τὸ ὀβιοῦτον σύμπτωμα, δός συγνώμην τῇ ἁσθενείᾳ, καὶ ἀφές ἦμιν μεγαλουχίας τὸ δόλημα, ἀφές εὔγνως καὶ ἀξίως τῆς σῆς περὶ πάντα βαθμαστῆς ἀγαθοδελείας. ὡς ἂν ἀκοπεῖ καὶ σοι παρὰ τοῦ ἀφιέντος τοὺς ἀφιέσθη, καὶ κύροσα πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ

V. f. 76r ἀλλοτρίως ἄγαθεν· οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως γὰρ ὃς φιλάθιτάς; μὲν χεῖρὶ νῦν οὐκ ὁδὸν πόσα καὶ πόσα, δεὶ δὲ πολλὰ σε καὶ γνωσὶς φιλήσαντες· ὁ ἐν σωφρονὶ πιστὸς μάρτυρι, ὁ ἕτοι μονή καθότι καὶ πιστοίς ἐρωμένως, δὲν ἢν ἴμηρος ἀμαρτάνειν.

κακῶν ἀμνηστάνειν, εἰ τι καὶ παραφασφάμεν· καὶ γνώθη πάλιν τοὺς σοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν σαυτὸ φιλάθοντα φιλῶν ἐσπαναθεῖσαν καταξέσασθαι. διεϊσεν γάρ ἤμι καὶ ἀφῄετον οὐκ ὡς ἀνήρ τοσότου τιμῆς, ὡς τοῦ παντὸς πάσης ἄξιος εἰκότως δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος, ἐς τὸν τινὰς τῶν μικρῶν τινὰ περιπτάσθησαν σκανδαλιζές ἡ προκατα-

λείνην ἦλιον πάσης τρόπος τοῦ σκανδαλοῦν. πρὸς αὐτὸς τοῦν τοῦτο τοῦ νομοδεῖτον ἅπασαν γνωρίμης φιλίας καὶ διεῖν μοι σαυτὸν ὡς τὸ πρότερον· ἔγνωστος ἦν σε πάλιν καὶ γλυκεῖας ἠκούοις προσαλέξας παρὰ σοῦ. ἀλλὰ τι μὴ βάτον ἦμιν τὴν σκυφρουστῇ λοσάς, τὸν ἐφορίσας αἰδεινᾶς, τι μὴ θεραπεύεις τὸ ἄλγημα; βλέπων ἕνεῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς

εὐγνώς, φθέγχας φιλονῦσε, τι καὶ συνέθησεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄναστος ἐνφοιά, ὡς εἰ

V. f. 76v τις λαλήσας πρὸς ἴαστον ρίθον (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ τέλος παρὰ τῆς ἀρρενίας

45-46 ὡς ἀφίεσθε cf. Matth. 6,14 || 49 Ps. 7,10 || 53-54 διὰ - σκανδαλιζές, cf. Marc. 9,42; Luc. 17,2 || 54-55 προκαταλαλέων - σκανδαλιζάμενον, cf. Eph. 4,26 || 60-61 Exod. 33,11

38 γνώμη marg VA
To encourage you to perform some good deed, is neither out of place nor unfitting, for I am letting a race horse loose on the plain and sending a soaring «eagle up high to the clouds». I know that you are spontaneously inclined to such works, without being stirred up by any one and without external motivation. Consider, however, the suppliant who seeks your kindness as one of our household, I dare say, of our family, seeing that I am addressing an Italian and a friend of the Romans. As the one is eager to do good and the other to benefit, you have met each other at a good time. The Lord shall watch over the two of you and judge the strength of each, which of the two is superior and mightier — whether it is yours, the worker of good, so as to overcome and put an end to a suppliants appeal in the way that a drink ends thirst, or rather his, because the enormity of his request proves to be greater than your power of beneficence and allows him to go away still in need and not yet satisfied. Therefore, let your entire attention be directed towards him, since the danger is so great — you can see that it is neither small nor slight — that in such important matters you may end up inferior to me, and that because you are contending about these matters with such an opponent.

But enough of your words of praise and wonderful applause for me, oh most excellent of all. You shall not convince me by ascribing to me nonexistent virtues, especially since the judgement has already gone against you for influencing the votes in my case by your good will towards me. For friendship adorned, as it is with many and various virtues and abounding in all respects in praises.
has this one and only disadvantage: when it comes to a judgement of friends it is
viewed with suspicion and is not easily conceded as trustworthy, whether it be
as witness or as judge. But right here is the most abominable aspect — that
friendship is notably surpassed by enmity itself, being as much inferior to
hate in trustworthiness as hatred is impeachable in its testimonies, as is
confirmed by the proverb. Perhaps it is no wonder that some wise men of
the past dared to call friendship blind. Subsequent generations, it seems to me,
having believed these men divine, debarred friendship from such institutions,
on the basis of your own Roman constitution, which forbids the blind from
access to the tribunal.

Therefore, spare me your praises lest one of the two happens — either you
appear to praise what is unbelievable, or by trying to avoid this danger, you are
carried off to some other worse evil, just like those who fall to the mythical
Scylla because of their fear of Charybdis. You shall be compelled then to injure
friendship, exactly because you treat it with too much honour, by openly de-
nouncing it, in order to dispel any suspicions and appear to bring forth an
impartial verdict — otherwise, it will be necessary to appeal the decision for
being conducted neither with precision nor with correctness. So that neither of
the two happens and so that you remain both a faithful friend and an impartial
judge, become, please, more moderate in the praises of your friends. But may
you at no time cease continually to gather praises for yourself from everyone,
for this is also one of your virtues.

29

[To Ioannes]

Eager is my desire but infirmity makes me hesitant: Between both of these
the blessed occasion of meeting you is a matter of contention, one pressing me
to come to you immediately, the other hereafter and later. To justly arbitrate
the battle and confer victory over the other to the mightier one is not a matter
for your Ioannes, but for you, Ioannes. For there is no good deed which I
believe you are not able to perform, since the spirit of power dwells in you and

άτυχημα: άποκτος έτος τάς κρίσεις τών φιλουμένων, καί οίους είχερής
V f. 77v αὕτη! συγχρητεῖται τό ἄδημον, κάν μαρτυρία, κάν δικαία, ἀλλ᾽ ἐντα-
θὰ τό σχέδιοντα: καὶ παρά τής ἐξήγης αὕτης πλανενκεῖται περιμε-
νῶς, τοιούτων ἐκεῖνης ὀστρεσθόν περὶ τήν πίστιν δοσον ἐν ταῖς μαρτυ-
25 ρίαις ἐκείνῃ τό ἀπαράγμα τούτο τῆς παρομοίας προσμαρτυρεῖται, καὶ
θαυματολογητόν οὐδέν ἐσο, ὅπερ καὶ τυφλὴν ἡδή ταύτην τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν
τίνες εἶναι ἀπετοίμησαν. οίς δικαίοι καὶ τοὺς διστάσων άς ἀνδράς θείους
πιστεύετας τῶν τοιούτων αὕτην πολιτείαν ἀπεροῖρο τού σαν καὶ
ήμας τάχα δη Ρωμαίων τεσσαρεμάτων, ἢ το βήμα τοῖς περί άποκλείει.
30 οὖτε φεύγω μοι καὶ σὺ τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὡς μὴ τῶν δῶ το ἔτερον, ἢ
ἀπίθανα δόξων ἐγκαμίσξαν ἢ τοῦτο σπούδαιν σφυγχεῖν εἰς ἄλλο τι χέρων
ἀπενεχθεῖσα κακόν, ὅπερ οἱ τῇ Σκύλῃ τῇ μυθικῇ περιπέτειες δέν το
πρὸς τὴν Χάρυδιναν ἀνάγκην γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ σφόδρο περίπεπεσ φιλίαν
ζημιωθήναι φιλίαν, ἀντίκρυς αὕτην ἀφίμησομενός, ἵνα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν λέ-
V f. 78r σις καὶ δόξης ἀδεκαστὸν ἐκφερέων τὴν ψήφον, ἢ πάντως ἐφεξακα
κρίσει δέχεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἀπηταστὸ παντάπασιν οὐδ᾽ ὀρθὴ γενομένη, ὡς ἄν
οὖν μισέσθων τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλος ἀμό πιστὸς καὶ δικαίως ἀνεπι-
λήπτος διομένως, ἐγκατεστερεός γίνου μοι τοῖς ὕπερ τῶν σικελων ἐπαί-
νους, σὺ δὲ τὰ πάρα πάντων ἐγκατῇ πρὸς εαυτῶν συλλέγειν ἀδιάστατας,
40 καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν σαν, ἐν χένει καρπ ἀπολυκᾶτι.

29

<Τῷ Ιωάννῃ>

καί

Πρόθυμον ούκ θέος· οἰκνήν ἢ ἀσθένεια. ἀμφοτέρως όυς περίμαχη-
τος οἱ καὶ χαρακτῆρας τῆς εὐθυχοῦς ἐντυγχαίνει εὐθυς τοῦ, τῶν μὲν,
παραχρήμα, τῆς δ᾽, ἐς αὕτης καὶ δῖοντο προσε述θεῖν συς βιαζόμενων, το δὲ διαιτῆσαι προσηκόν-
5 ντος τῇ μάχη καὶ δῶναι τῷ κρίτην τῷ κρίτος κατὰ δικαίου ὦ τοῦ σοῦ
Ἰωάννου, τοῦ Ἰωάννου δὲ σοῦ. ὦ πιστεῖα μηδὲν ἀδυνατεῖν τῶν καλῶν,
the grace of God the almighty is upon you. You shall deal successfully with the issue, then, on the one hand, by strengthening my infirmity with your prayers, and on the other, by giving me reassuring hope — that I can enjoy your presence both to the extent and in the manner that I yearn for, namely to the utmost degree and alone, just as it used to be during our intellectual encounters. Having granted this to me, you should watch the Homeric horse. Otherwise, there is no cause for a writ in your own style, but for the old proverb «on the morrow the weighty matters».

30

I suppose that our affairs shall soon meet with good luck and fortune, because the omen is auspicious and undeniably brings good news. Indeed, what could be better than seeing this newly appeared beautiful star, the Engonasin ascend next to you, next to my sun? He has already begun to cast his rays from above upon us, even though he is surpassed in splendor by the light of the sun, greater than human lights, I mean that of brotherly splendor, thereby suffering a noble defeat which I know well is more graceful than any victory, because this man loves his brother more than himself. On account of this event then I both rejoice and celebrate the happiness of your house, together with you, the golden pair of the wise and good brothers, for I believe that «friends share their possessions» like the proverb says and reason dictates and like a horse attached beside the regular pair I have tied myself to you two on the outside with unbreakable bonds of love. I pray furthermore that our success may be brought to a happy and appropriate completion, for this is also in accordance with your own philosophy — that one should look at the end of one’s life and not to pronounce a successful man happy before his life is brought to an end. Although again some other saying might contradict this, which rightly calls a man here on earth already blessed who is wise in the way you are wise. You are and may you stay in both respects blessed to the end of life, I mean in spirit and
body, or if you prefer, in life and learning. Apart from this, I have no other token more familiar or more appropriate to contribute to you for the great joy occasioned by this event.

I believe that the deeds of your wisdom and authority are in every respect good and just; your decisions, judgments, orders, decrees and simply every act, judicial and rational, in accordance with which you have decided and acted also in the case of this poor man. Now I am pleading neither for a reversal nor for a counteraction, as you accuse me, of the case judged once and for all correctly by you. For indeed, I would be truly mad, if I were to attempt to change this well-taken decision. But I am pleading for a more clear interpretation, as I believe, of that excellent decision pronounced by you. Because some dispute has arisen between the contending parties, as to whom your decision has accorded the recovery of the expenses, for on this particular point the court's decision is not clearly defined. Although the issue has already been decided, it has once more been brought to such a point of difficulty that we request a precise interpretation from you. You who have set the whole case in order may also straighten up this detail, needing no other craftsman in this task than your own hands, which we know to be very experienced in restoring order in other cases as well. This much we beg you only and nothing more, reminding you at the same time of your own laws, which require of you - who are either the ministers and servants or, on the contrary, the rulers and magistrates of the laws - always to foster and treat the imperilled with respect as well as to show benevolence in the interpretation of disputed cases, because I observe that for the most part — by saying this I imply most of the other prudent judges — they accept your interpretation. For it is on account of you who are always law-abiding that the laws of the earth are considered kings. If disputed cases are resolved by others in the spirit of humanity, I suppose for you it is more appropriate, indeed, to manifest greater humanity than any other in your deliberations and to include much benevolence in your decisions, according to the proverb «may he who inflicted the wound also heal it», and again, «may he who first tightened...»
The sick man is forced to seek a doctor, the one in danger a helmsman, and the oppressed a protector. Since ‘everyone who seeks finds’, according to the divine Scripture, this oppressed person also found rather late his own protector and helper, to whom he flees for refuge running under the shelter of his wings, like a traveller exhausted by the stifling heat of summer who flees to the shadow of a great oak tree with its lofty foliage. This letter contributes this much to the need at hand: it guides the sufferer to the one who will take care of his affliction. In addition, it will clearly have the interests of both at heart; for the petitioner that he may appear miserable before the one capable of rescuing him by recounting his misfortune convincingly, and for the rescuer that he may not send the suppliant away equally pitiable, but that he may both assuage the grief of the distressed sufficiently and turn the dejection weighing upon him into joy. For this is both the promise of your throne and of your noble and excellent heart and character. May the grace of God and his mercy be with you and yours.
Behold, with how few drops of words my gold-flowing friend showed his envy towards me because of his wretched laziness. Yet for others he would not grow weary flooding entire seas, but for me he persisted in staying dry for as long as I hear that the Egyptian Nile is flooded with water. And these things in view of such an important business and before such great people and a man of his reputation. Indeed, I shall repeat again and again this reproach and this criticism and I shall not cease complaining, you should know that well, before I find recourse to a fist fight, that I may threaten you with something ordinary. In this manner, perhaps, I shall learn if there is also a heart deep within your good self.

As of now the discourse has been dispatched to you, as you ordered, disclaiming so to say my own tongue as unworthy, and imitating instead your grandiloquent language, which is accustomed to speak falsely in your exaggerated praises not only of others but of me too. So the discourse has been composed with the aim that it might appear in your writings as a part of your exaggerated statements made by you on my behalf. But by being very sparing in this respect the discourse shall be justly acquitted of any slander. Actually the payment, being in conception for such a long period, should have grown large during the long-lasting labour and the whole thing should have been born big. But since I fear for the mother lest she, weak as she is, miscarry, I entrust a lengthy response to a more opportune time; the rest I shall deliver myself, because of my concern for the one who is in labour. But if the mother is strong enough to give birth and to nourish a newborn, why do you not bring all of them to light fully grown, by purposely rousing in the pregnant both the faculties of nourishing and of giving birth?

Yet, this request may prove too much and on behalf of it I must add something more to my thanksgiving. What sort of thing is it that I have to add? May the good and bountiful giver fill you more and more with every blessing.

I no longer pity you on account of your departure, because your departure is not a separation from me who am always near you, but a separation rather from the great evils that are upon me and by which I am surrounded now from all sides and under which even life, dear to all, has become intolerable and hateful to me — for I am very disheartened and distressed with the present situation and expect the future to be even worse than what I am witnessing now. If some of these troubles reach you, do not consider them fire but rather as fire furnace-soot or vapours given off by the fire of our misfortunes that is burning here. Therefore, accept as preferable the lighter among evils and consider, as it is said, that which is not worse as better. In addition, may He who gives the greater things grant you strength of soul, strength of body and consolation from above, because consolation from down here has by now completely disappeared and there is no hope that it will come back to us. Perhaps, it may return to us later if the Lord works a miracle. Because, as it is said, «what is impossible with men is possible with God».

A new protonotarios comes to you. His kind is also concerned with taxation, inasmuch as taxes assume many forms just as the gods in the tragedies. But though this kind of business might be considered as such, yet this particular worker cannot be at all, since he has become a tax collector out of necessity, which, they say, not even God would oppose. Granting to this necessity a necessary forgiveness treat, therefore, this servant of necessity more humanely, allowing him some time to bite off something small, just as a tolerant rider allows his laden horse, or — to cite our Scripture — the way a magnanimous farmer allows his ox when it is threshing grain. Why should it be necessarv all
the time to check the rein or to tighten the halter? These should be somewhat loose, so that they might be able willingly to eat a little surreptitiously and gratefully and not violently break their halter and against their will devour everything without restraint. Indeed, this situation is simply typical of those in necessity, about which you should show your concern or rather your care, by yielding in small matters so that you might be able with better reason to ward off greater ones. Administering then your office with such sagacity, be pleasing before God and men.

36

You were tried but you were helped. You were put to the test but you were not forsaken. You were abandoned but not completely. For the saviour was quick and the redeemer did not delay. The former were by way of insult, the latter by way of goodness; the former were the result of the turbulence and confusion of this life on earth, the latter of heavenly care and charity. Thanks then and praise to the God of the righteous, because He unexpectedly rescued His own righteous man, whom I hope He shall protect ever more. For indeed, “many are the afflictions of the righteous”, as you hear it said, but it is also said that “the Lord delivers them out of them all”. Now we see very clearly that this is fulfilled in you, and because of this we should be thankful and glad rather than grieved and discontented by those things by which we have been tried. The experience of being afflicted we share in common with many others, but to be redeemed happens to very few indeed. For there are many subjected to suffering but few pleasing to God and worthy of His help in such extreme dangers. Leaving aside therefore the grievous experiences of the past, let us revive ourselves as much as we can from the more pleasant, which we have already experienced by the grace of the saviour and expect through His charity to experience hereafter. Certainly, His bountiful mercy shall not desert those like yourself, who fear and love Him. For this very reason, may I behold you again, with my own eyes, you the joy of my eyes, forgetful of all the sad events that have befallen you.
What are you doing, oh marvellous one? You do an injustice to my beloved philosophy by depriving her of a possession most dear of all. Which possession am I talking about? I am talking about the simplicity which she makes as her special ornament in the manner that some others make the exact opposite, extravagance and luxury — a slight taste of which you, the most excellent one, began to give to my simple philosophy, as if you were trying thereby to change and weaken her away from her moderate way of life. For what else could you have intended except to attract the unambitious to the love of honour by such ambitious acts? But since this was your decision, she accepts the present benefaction as from a friend and on account of friendship, but she declines any future one as being a burden which exceeds not only her accustomed way of life but her power as well. And so, therefore, spare me, oh most bountiful one, spare me your threat. For what has a horse in common with learning? It is like straw with wheat. For instead of any other kindness, it would suffice for me to always hear about your dear soul that which is dear to me — to hear that you are in good health and of good cheer, both of which are the first and greatest after the first and most important thing: I speak of your spiritual well-being, which I trust to abide with you more than anything else. But may the other two also abide with you, in order that for this reason our situation too may be better. As things now stand, I am in a sorry and grievous condition, afflicted by sickness in the body and even more so in the soul. However, my hope in God is more powerful than all my grievances; in Him I have put my trust and pray at the same time most earnestly that He not withhold His mercy from us, but rather that He, as our benefactor, fulfill whatever needs we might have and fully assuage your sorrows and mine. But for the present may I attain this state and may I hear the same about you, and with my eyes may I see you returning to us soon.
My Lord honoured by God, I think that your gift of praise to me is appropriate with your own dignity—for you both talk and write in a manner that is customary and befitting you—but to accept this credit is not appropriate for me. I am so absolutely undeserving of such praise that a twofold thought came to my mind on this matter. For as I went through the letter, I was suddenly thrown into confusion by what I was reading, for it did not make any sense, and it occurred to me that there might be an element of truth in the silly proverb, that love is blind as far as a loved one is concerned and that the love of friends has the power to bribe and corrupt the opinions of the judges. But I quickly got hold of myself, and on realizing the situation, I changed my mind to the contrary, having taken into account the impartiality of the speaker as well as his exactitude and truthfulness in all respects, and that he who has been most fair and dear to me could not have deceived me «to no purpose at all» attributing and ascribing qualities to me which I do not possess and that at any rate the truth of the matter must be so, since it is on his word. But when, thanks to good fortune, as it seems, I persuaded myself that this was true, I accepted his testimony as a decree from heaven; I seized the gift in both hands with great joy and regarded it as a good omen in my life. Yet one thought still troubles and disturbs me, lest so persuaded by these very extraordinary praises of yours, I shall no longer be restrained, nor shall I be able to contain myself, but may venture to fly up high in the air because of my fervour or vanity and compel myself to rise up boldly to the clouds since your magnificent words of praise have already given me wings, transforming me incredibly from what I am right now into an eagle. The sequence — what a disaster! bless me, how ridiculous! if someone hears or sees a new Ioannian sea, just as the ancients had an Icarian.

Then who will forgive me for my folly and for my presumption, especially as I was not even able to supply myself with waxen wings and yet I dared soar high in the air above the clouds?
But since I know quite well that your teacher has given to you, who are Apostles, such power in your words as to move even mountains and to be able to accomplish as much as he —for I pass over even greater works than these— then even this attempt of mine is by no means completely hopeless, if I have succeeded in accomplishing something profitable. Because when the unnatural and the impossible were assumed by me as possible on account of your all powerful virtue—if indeed it is impossible for a pedestrian to walk in space and for one who does not fly to use wings—how can I not be exceedingly confident about the natural and the possible? I speak of the elevation of the soul from below, which by nature is most refined and light and is disposed to rise on high whence, it is said, it has its origin. On account of what you have said, I will certainly hope and unhesitatingly believe that my soul shall fare best altogether, since you, divine soul, not only supply me with wings by your praises, but also support me with your prayers.

«In the place of your fathers sons have been born unto you». Thus the divine scripture. However, mine, which is human, adds something of its own. What is the addition? It requires that you become, for the sake of the bearer of this letter, a ruler in the place of a ruler and a protector in the place of a protector. You who change provinces are wholly justified, since you succeed each other in office, in dispensing greater favour to those to whom the previous governors were particularly favorably disposed. In the manner then that this man became very familiar with the judge before you, he understandably seeks the same disposition from your honour. Above all, he requires it as a debt, for he has come to cash in the share of his former protection from you, because you received it by inheritance. But if you become obstinate about the payment, then he requests it as a gift. Whichever then of the two you wish, let him achieve his goal with your help. In any case, let him not return empty-handed to him who has sent him out. And for my sake may you obtain from Him, who is willing to offer and can offer the best, the fulfillment of your expectations and desires. But why do you not write me sometime, something brief?
Overlooking letters from kinsmen and from those in power and having despised every other kind of help, the applicant has had recourse only to this brief letter at hand, hoping perhaps to obtain something more from it than from other means, for he knows that you value friendship more than authority or rather both, and with good reason, as it is proper for a wise person that knows how to employ them both at the right time. Behold then, friendship is endangered in your presence, because she has given offence in a way that she should not have, the suppliant being a friend. Naturally, the task shall be easily accomplished, for it is undertaken by friendship before an excellent and benevolent man. Placing in him her full confidence, she was content regarding this request to limit such a short letter to only a few lines, as you see, which has, however, great power to convince, if I have not believed in vain, in the image of the mustard seed, which although very small, yet, can accomplish a lot, being a perfect imitation of the kingdom of God. Comply, therefore, with the request and for my sake rescue, please, this man in need. Indeed, what could be more necessary for him than not to fail to obtain your goodwill? And may he, who bestows his salvation to all, not cease to preserve you from difficulties.

We know, excellency, that authority <eksousia> is declined like the word property <ousia> not simply as a part of speech and in its one meaning, but even more so in another sense; that is authority is made milder by the property of the man who is in danger and the gifts which come from it. Therefore, supply the deficit from what is left over on the date set by the authority <eksousia> to which you pay taxes and give a share of the property <ousia> to the secular power <dynasteia>. In this manner, you shall somehow manage skillfully to make the authority submit to you, however angered it may be, having easily tamed its violent temper by paying service to its desires, just as a sore liver is soothed with a scratch of the belly.
Your Lacedaemonian speaks few words but speaks to you with a very clear voice. Indeed, I am convinced of it, seeing that I have such a well-disposed listener in you. How could this not be so? I have honoured you in a worthy manner above all others on earth. So please remain for me and for those who care about you a man of such fine quality, and do not any longer criticize brevity of speech. As you know, I am not a man of lengthy speech, just as I am not open-handed. For I deem it more appropriate for a modest person to send modest gifts and write modest letters and for a humble person to send humble gifts and humble letters, so that the matter may be from every aspect in agreement with itself and the whole be in harmony with its corresponding parts. This letter bears witness to the character of your friend, since he does not hesitate now to discuss such trivial things in both respects even with you who are equally great in talking and giving.

For a very long time I was thirsting to learn something pleasant about you, but then your letter carrier appeared, satiating me and making my ears ring continually with his many praises of you; he did not cease, rest, finish or keep quiet until he was sent away by me, having been supplied with these few words at hand, by which I am extending my gratitude to you for the good will already shown to him and exhorting you to even warmer and greater favours. I testify that he is indeed worthy of your favours, because he knows how to repay those who benefit him, with blessings and praises. But give him, please, abundant help of all kinds, particularly in the matters in which he needs it most and on account of which, despite his age he underwent in winter time the trouble of being dispatched to us and become in all respects worthy of your name and lineage. That is to say, you should not neglect anything praiseworthy without imitating it, and may I see or for the present hear that you have been deemed worthy of being distinguished with the highest of honours. Because I am actually leaving your Queen City to you, having undergone an unexpected change of life in a manner known clearly only by the wise steward of our affairs.
The fear which I feared has come upon me, because the ordination is already at hand and the episcopal throne, the annoyance and the things to do than which, as you shall testify yourself, throughout my whole life nothing has been more dreadful to me or more abominable and more to be avoided. But since it thus pleased either the providence which is over all or—I do not know how it pleased—thanks are due to him who has thus arranged matters, thanks to him even for things that I did not wish. Now more than any other time I have the greatest need of your prayers in order to strengthen and support my weakness; I do not know which weakness I shall call greater, whether the spiritual, which is of special concern or that of my wretched body since both are equally weak and altogether useless. However, I have heard that the prayer of the righteous has great power, may I, therefore, receive some timely strength from your prayers. As for the very matter and how and why it happened, you shall learn it quickly by word of mouth, unless it has already reached you, as I can imagine, the rumours having spread by now almost throughout the inhabited world. But do write me as soon as possible regarding this matter and pray for me, rather do not cease to be generous with your prayers, if you care even a little about my situation here.

μὴ ὁδοιροῦμαι μέν τῶν βροντῶν ἠμῶν ἵνα σωσίαν ἔπεις ταῦτα φιλοπόνως σημειομένοις. ἵνα μένοι περιττῶν νῦν δοκεῖ τὸ τοῖς τοιούτοις προσέχειν εἰ γὰρ δεῖ ποτε πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, τότε πιστεύειν, ὡς οἶμαι, ὅτε μηδὲν ἄλλο φεροῦσιν αἱ βρονταὶ ἀπότελεσμα, νυνὶ δὲ τοιούτως, ὡς 5 ὄρεσε, ὄμοιος ἔνθελον ἐπικληθέντας ἡμᾶς, οὐ δοκεῖ καὶ μοῖρας ἐχειν τούτῳ πλεῖν τι ἵππες εἰς ἀπόβασιν ἡδὴ γὰρ ὄπερ ἔδει, γέγονε τε καὶ γίνεται, ἄνδρας γὰρ ἤμεν μετὰ βροντῶν ἐκπεραθέντας. πλὴν ἅλλ᾽ αὕτη καὶ τάλλα ἐνάντια τῆς φιλοθείας προνοίας ἀπαντήσεως τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ὀρθοδοξίας δύμοιος καὶ μὴ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀνισότοι τῶν ἀπόθεμαν καὶ 10 λυπηρῶν.

45: Ἡρείοις μοι φόβοις, ὅν ἐρημοῦσα γειροθεία γὰρ ἡδὴ καὶ βρόνος καὶ χαλάρωσι καὶ πράγματα, ἵνα δὲ ἤμοι φοβηράτεροι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς μαρτυρούσης, ὅπερ δὲ διὰ βίου παντὸς ἀπεκτέτορον καὶ ψευκτέτορον. ἄλλ᾽ ἐπι οὕτω ἔσσαν, εἶπε τῇ προνοίᾳ τῶν δῶν, εἴτ᾽ — οὐκ οὐδ᾽ ὅπερ εἴμοι, 5 χάρις μὲν τῷ οὕτως ὀἴκουσατ, ζητεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρκετοτήτος ὀφείλεται, χρείας δὲ πολλῆς καὶ μεγάλης νῦν ἐπέφερεν ποτὲ ἄλλοτε τῶν αὐτὸν προσευχῆς, εἰς τὸ καταρτίσθαι δηλαξτε καὶ σητρήξει τῇ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄτονιαν, οὐκ ὄμοι παρά τοῦ πλείον φήμα, εἴπε τῆς πονηρίας, ἢς καὶ μάλιστα λόγος, εἴπε τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦρος τούτου σύμματος ἁμοστερός γὰρ ὑσόν το 10 πάντη παρεμένον καὶ ἄρτηκεσκον. δῦμος (καὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου εὐχήν, πολλὰ ἵνα ἠκούσωμεν) γένοιτο τὶς εὐκαίριοι καὶ ἡμῖν ἔσχες παρ᾽ V f. 89r αὐτῆς. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πράξῃ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ποτὲ ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ πώς εἴπει, ἡ φήμη σε διδαξεῖ σαγγῷ, εἰ μήποτε τοῦτο καὶ ἑκατον, ὡς ἐπτάν εἰκάζετε, πάντας ἡμῖν σχεδὸν ποιατά ἡμῖν ἀκούσασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἡς τάχιστα γράφοντες παρ᾽ πρὸς 15 ταῖς καὶ ἔδοιξε, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐλλίπης ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀναφεύγουν, εἰ τι καὶ ὑπέρ ἔμελει σοι τῶν τῆς καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς.
A friendly letter from the East moving as a flash of sunlight has filled both
the eyes and the ears of your friend with splendor. In an instant both the senses
were illuminated by the brilliance of this joyful light. What will happen when the
star itself appears, seeing that its slightest radiance can produce such cheerfulness
in my soul? My true bright star, do show yourself sometime by returning to
us, for I cannot bear to designate you as one of those stars that receive their
motion from another cause, let alone that they are fainter in their light. But
since I have numbered you among the planets, I demand that your orbit be
voluntary and autonomous — for indeed you judges are planets accustomed to
roam about, living every time in a different province. Therefore, I am urging
and pressing hard for your return to us, who for a long time now have desired
your sweet appearance. Indeed, until when are you planning to stay in the East?
You should by this time shine upon us in the West as well, who have sent you
there. May we see you shining forth with the light of virtue, illuminating us
from near at hand and not from afar, for which many a time I have prayed and
expect now already. Concerning the charges which you, the altogether excellent
one, hoped so easily to escape — I mean your unfriendliness and your silence up
to now—I shall listen to you another time, if it will be permitted me to live until
that sweet moment; but it should be permitted me to live so that I may rejoice in
seeing you. And indeed in this judgment I shall certainly show some forgiveness
to the one who has the office to judge others. Only be of good courage and
come back to us rejoicing.

μυς... Φιλική γραφής εξ ἄνωτον, ὡς ἡλιακή βολις κινήθεισα, τὰς τε
δύσεις τοῦ φιλοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς περιέλαμβαν, ὡς ὅλον εὐθύς ἀμφωτέρωθεν
χαρακτοῦν λαμπρόδονος ἀνάπλησθην, ποταμὸς οὖν δρα μέλλει φανεί-
θαι διὸ ἀστήρ αὐτὸς ἀναφέρας, ὅποτε καὶ μικρὰ τὶς ἐκείνου διαύγεια
5 τασακὴν ἐνεργεῖσθαι δύναται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῖν ἱλαρότητα; ἄναψαν
οὖν ποτὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανίκαν, ὁ ἡμέτερος δότας φωτοβολος ἀστήρ: οὗ
γάρ ἀνεχόμεθα δή σε τοὺς κατημετρήσαντος τούτους συντάκτεις, ὡς ἡ
ἀλλοτριαί αἰτίας δεχομένους τὴν κίνησιν, δῖο γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ τὸ φῶς
ἀμφιλέτορος, ἀλλὰ σε τὸς πλάνης πιθυντές ἀνάφηκαν καὶ γὰρ δή καὶ
V f. 89
πλάνητες ἡμεῖς οἱ κριταὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν! διατρίβοντος
προαριστηκήν ὁσανεὶ καὶ οἰκείων τὴν φορὰν ἀπαίτωμεν. ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ
tὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναποδόμον, τοὺς πάλα ποδοῦντας σοῦ τὴν γλυκεῖναν
φάσιν, ἐπιστεύομην ἢν καὶ κατεπείγομην· ἀχρὶ γάρ τότε ἐμιμενεὶς τοῖς
ἐκεῖ; δὲν ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ σε προτέμουσαι δυτικὸς ἡμῖν ἀναλάμ
15 ψαί. ἔδομεν οὖν σε τῷ ἄρητον φωτὶ φαίνοντα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγύθην τῇ
τὸ ἄρητον ἡμᾶς καταγάζοντα, ἐπολυράχθης εὐλύμενοι, νῦν ἢν καὶ προσ-
δόκωμεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπείρως ἐπολυράχθης οὐ πάντας τὰς
γεννήσεως ἡλιακὰς ὑπεκούσας, τῆς ἀφίλος τῇ λεγίᾳ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἔθερο
σημεῖος, ἀκούσατε οὕτως καὶ καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μέχρι τῆς ἤδιστης ῥάρας ἐκάνει
20 ἡμῖν ἐπιτραπέτη τῷ ξεν. ἄλλῳ ἐπιτραπέτῃ, καὶ ξεσκισαῖς, ἤνοι τῆς τοῦ
ἔκαμπτος καταπολεμάσωμεν, καὶ τὰ τὰς συγγενεῖς ἄλλους ἐρρίζον-
τα, περὶ ταύτῃ τῆς κρίσις ἡμῶν προσενεχθήσομεθα, θάρρησι μόνον ὑπενέχου.
Your deliverance granted to us lately so unexpectedly by the God of mercy, of wonders and marvels, «who alone does wondrous things», was to me the most important event, my most honoured friend. The letter which confirmed the good tidings of this happy event was also important — how could it not be? And where does the bonus come from? Certainly not from the wicked one, as it is written, but on the contrary, from the good and kind one. For the gifts are from my most generous friend, who has a habit of doing good. For these, may God invest you with «the robe of gladness» and may He bestow upon you «the garment of salvation» as a reward for your charity — because not even the dangers you endured in any way diminished that old fervour of your friendship towards us, did not affect your other virtues, with which your perfection was enriched in every way by God: that is those virtues which were with you in the past while you were sailing along smoothly and did not abandon you in the storm, but followed you closely even now when you suffered a shipwreck.

I have only one good report to hear from the West, which in other respects is thriving in adversity — that your holiness is alive and in good health, something that makes up for many other things if not for everything. Thanks then to Him who has granted your well-being to us until now; we place our hopes in Him that He will continue to grant it ever more. Regarding my own bodily and spiritual well-being, both are similar, for I am still just about as sick in both respects. I stop short of saying that it is fatal and that we have died already. The external circumstances of my life are even worse than usual. The only consolation which was left to me, that is my freedom, the truly invaluable treasure, greater and more dear than anything else, is now in danger of being taken away from me. A greater authority is coercing me to accept a bishop's throne and some higher distinctions, thereby striving to bring about by force a change in my pleasant and peaceful way of life. But when and under what circumstances have I stood more in need of your mighty prayers and intercessions? This, then, is the time to grant them and with some liberality, otherwise your child Ioannes.
is gone. May the best prevail and it shall prevail at all events, I have no doubt, if your prayers for me are very eager and ardent. Take up your task quickly then and extend to me from afar your support which I urgently need, if you are still concerned about me. And may you report that you are happy and in good health so that prescinding from all this, I may suffer less from this intrusion into my life, if it should actually occur; and through good tidings concerning your holiness I may be relieved of much of this anguish that results from it.

49

[To Michael]

It seems as if you could not get enough of your absence from me owing either to hatred towards those here or friendship towards those there, which is what I rather suspect. For what pretext could there be for hatred towards me, a compatriot and a partner in studies and learning? But as the saying goes, the lotus takes captive those who taste it and this is the reason for being oblivious for a long time of those at home and the absolute forgetfulness about returning home. But by all means may the desire of returning home come over you anyway; indeed, may it come into your memory. The length of time has made you fonder and all the more desired, my most honourable friend and lord. On this occasion, however, I am introducing to you this man, who comes in my stead, so that you may recognize in him your friend Ioannes, if you still care about him. Likewise your friend Ioannes shall recognize in him his Michael, I mean the ever good and beloved by all, for the good will shown to this man or also the other way around —but let this other way around be dropped— crosses over to Ioannes. Apart from this, may you enjoy good health above all and in addition be of good spirit, for I know that you undoubtedly fare well in the spirit but concerning your bodily health, I am doubtful and uncertain because of the body’s susceptibility to sickness and the ease with which its condition changes.
What have I suffered, you ask, and what is this thing that has happened to me? It is no wonder that you wonder, because even I, who experienced this event, am greatly perplexed and do not believe that it could have happened to me since I had expected anything except to see such a drastic change affecting me despite the fact that I have endeavoured diligently all my life, which you would not deny, to avoid such a turn of things. But perhaps this has come about for my instruction, that I might learn that we humans do not always totally govern our own destinies, but I too—as well as others—must submit to and obey the will of providence, which directs everything, even if what happens is not often what we would want, and that it is impossible to escape and get away from its dictates, even for the most secure or otherwise most stable person. But since he has so decided and the mightier has prevailed and now has me lying defeated beneath his feet, I thank his wise judgment, by which he rules the universe and by which he arranged my affairs in the manner he pleased. What else, then, can be said? I am in great and indispensible need of prayers which are able to strengthen my weakness and exhaustion. For as you know, I abound both in spiritual weakness and in bodily infirmities; either one is enough to bring a halt to any activity of the sick. But when these two meet in one person, that person faces the divine hand, and that person is no other than I myself who speak now, and who need the help of many pious supplications. This debt then which is most necessary and indispensible, is owed to me first and foremost by those who are relatives and who are otherwise close to me, of whom I consider and nominate your holiness as most important.

Therefore, indeed, as the one who is first, be the first to pay your debt of prayers, and just as you are first among all the others together, you should neither abandon any of your privileges here, in favour of somebody else nor should you give (as you have heard) your glory to someone else, but begin to intercede now on my behalf, above all make a start and do not give up until you...
persuade and bend any resistance. And may God bestow on me some of His grace and strength through you, so that I may bear the yoke to which I have submitted without stumbling, and so that becoming transformed through your prayers from unworthy to worthy, I may be declared an agent of my own salvation and of greater praise and glory for you in the eyes of God. But, over and above all, may I see you some time, indeed, may I see you at all events again, before I depart from here, so that I may have through the joy of your divine countenance a clear picture of the joy that the righteous shall have there.

51

[To Konstantinos]

But now it is the opposite. It is not the Lydian who went out to buy troubles, but rather the troubles have purchased and cast the Lydian upon unavoidable dangers which torture him. What is even worse, he has been betrayed altogether and sold out by you, his friends. To add insult to injury, you do not care at all about the friend not even after the betrayal—indeed, that ill fated one has been sold by you and is now gone, since you had not arranged a better way of life for him or looked after his prosperity and honour, as you made him believe, but rather cast him far off as if he were a burden with such a graceful and appropriate excuse, so that you might both get rid of him more easily—and appear to have done not an injustice but on the contrary some great benefit. For this is the greatest stroke of your cleverness that those, who have excelled to the utmost as wise men, must, as it seems, cunningly contrive, when they perform something wrong, not to be regarded as such. But my experience from this event, even though I was unwise before—and for that reason also easily manipulated—has now made me wise. By hard experience, at least, I have learned like the Homeric child. What I learned is that I have been betrayed and that «the friends»—as the popular saying goes—have forsaken the one away from home. So far are they from being attached to a corpse. But the one who is absent is not apart from his friends, but joins them in his memory; through the ears and eyes of the
soul, he delights pleasantly in the voices and faces of his friends and he does not fail to mention them or bring them forth in his talks by extolling their virtues to the full. There are many who can testify to this statement and along with them these letters that come into your hands, to you—a true image of Hermes—honouring you, as you see, with the double gifts of Hermes. On the one hand, as eloquent, I suppose, through the literary and written part of this gift and on the other, as an enterprising person (indeed, allow me this one) through the best acceptable thing to the mortals, according to you, the wise one, which, by shining forth as a burning fire (to speak like Pindar) shall soon warm with its charm the supervening coolness and shall make our friendship see again, for it appears to have been blinded in another way, since its affliction now is really due to forgetfulness and not to affection.

Accordingly, let your wallet take what is its own and your eloquence my discourse and next, if you request, add and conclude by borrowing in this matter something that rings true to me — let friendship claim the friends. Bid farewell to the art of thievery as well as that of debate, the other wonderful powers of Hermes, for these now have nothing in common with me and with literature. Show me once more with deeds that most honoured Konstantinos, I mean the true friend, the faithful, the most kindly disposed, the wise not less in deeds than in words, whose fine qualities and love exceed every measure. I demand back and seek again that one, then — that one may I meet more and above any other, even more may I meet him at a more opportune time, because my whole time is full of cares and anxieties for me on account of you and no one else, who endeavoured to dispose my affairs from another status to this present one. Indeed, I shall repeat these words again and shall do so frequently, until I put the guilty ones to greater shame and persuade and rouse them to greater helpfulness. May you remain none other than such as you were known to be by me, watching over most of all, I should say, your own welfare and everything that concerns divine supervision and providence.

20 τῆς ψυχῆς ο@classical-greek:de; τε καὶ ὅμισσαν τῶν φιλικῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ὅψεός θήκες καταμεμφῇ, διὰ γλύπτῃ τος τούτους οὖν ἀπολείπειν φέρον καὶ ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ καλλιστέρ παντὶ ταύτα τοι' αὐτοῦ δεχθέουσαν, μάρτυρες δὲ πλείστα τοῦ λόγου, μὲν άνω καὶ ταῦτα τά νῦν ἐτι τάς σας χείρας ἣκοντα ὀφανεὶ τινά τόπον δότως Ἐρμοῖ τοις διδάσκοις, ως ὁδὸς. Ἐρμαίκοις σε δόρους φυλο-

30 δοκοῦσαν ἐκτεταμολθάσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἤπαθε λήθη τις τοῦ πάθος, οὐκ ἔχων ἐνφανιζόμενον, ἐνάσκοι, ἀναλάμψοι, ἐκδημητριάρχαι τά τάχω τοῦ φίλον την ἐπιγνωσμένην ψυχήν καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βλέπει θυσίαν, τρόπον ἔτερον
Not only the ancients, as you have read, should be damned for admiring the Greek gods for that mythical ambrosia and nectar, but in addition to them, everyone who through ignorance has pronounced us the leaders of the church, blessed, because we have been invested with a stole and a throne. By now it has become very clear to me through this experience what empty glory means and what the truth of the matter is and that what appears from the outside like the «islands of the blessed» proves to be «empty bliss» when viewed from the inside. And yet, I had foreseen these things in a way no one else had and it was for this reason that I obeyed, being more forced than persuaded; but certainly I have attained a much more perfect knowledge now and my suffering has become a very harsh lesson to me.

Having now realized this yourself, do not be discontent anymore with the magistracy of your province because it is regarded as the very opposite of what it should be and considered as prosperous by the ignorant without reason. For your misfortune, gives you something in common with your friends and this sharing and similarity of experience makes your suffering easier, so that you may regard your life no longer as unbearable but instead may feel a bit relieved and even believe that you are fond of life by looking at our lot. This, lest you appear more ignoble than the mythical hares perhaps, who having completely despised their own cowardice and wretchedness, rushed all together towards a neighbouring lake in order to drown themselves, but drew back suddenly and changed their minds when they perceived that the frogs had dived to the bottom of the lake very quickly out of fear of them, being no less cowards than they. But the most useful and necessary thing above all else is: stay in good health. And may I meet you again soon in person, so that we can lament each other's fortune at closer range.

52: 1-2 'Επιμετειχείς, διπερ άνεγνως, μή μονον οι πάλαι, τούς 'Ελληνιδος θεούς τῆς τε μυθικῆς άμπροσίας καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἀκαίνον θαυμάζοντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀκαίνον καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς ἐκκλησίαν προβεβλημένους ήμᾶς τῶν ἐπωνύμων τούτων καὶ ὁρών τις ἀκαίνον ἑκατέρος φανερώσας ἔδει γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονεν εἰς 5 αὕτης τῆς πείρας σφαγέστερον τι μὲν δόξα ματαία, τί δ' ἀληθεία πράγματος, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐξάθενα μακάρων νήσον δοκοῦντα καὶ μακρὰ τοῖς ἐνότοις εὑρίσκεται γενικόν. καταφθάνας προσήχεσθε ὡς οὔτε ε' τις ἄλλος, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ βιοσθέντες οὐκ ἦτον ἢ πείρας ἐπείξεισθεν νυνι μέντοι σφόδρα τελείαν προσελήφθημεν γνώσει, καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἀκριβέστατον τὸ πάσιμα μάθημα.

V f. 95r Τουτο δὲ μοι καὶ αὕτως εὐδοκεῖ με καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν τῆς ἐπιρρήξεως διοικέσθαι, ός πολλὰ τοῦνταν ἢ προσῆχες ἐπείξεσθεν καὶ μάθην εὑρίσκεσθε τοὺς ἀγνοουσίοις νενομενομένην, εἰς ταύταν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους σε τὸ πάσιμα συνάγει καὶ γίνεται βρῶν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ὁμοιότητι, ὡς 15 μικέτες σε τιθέονται τῶν μιν ἀβλατιδιὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀνενεκεῖ τι βραχος καὶ πιστεύεις καὶ ἐπὶ ζωτικῆς ἐχθγεῖς, πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἴνα ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέπαντα μη καὶ τῶν μυθικῶν ἀγνένεστερος τάχα λαγωνὸς δόξης, οἱ παντελῆ καταγωγῆς ἐκαττολῶν καὶ ἀπλήθητα κατέστην ἄθροι κατὰ τὰς γενομένας λίμνης ὄρησαστας ως διατερος ἀπενεκεκροτεῖς, ἐπέθυκαν ἄριστο καὶ μετέβαλλον, ἐπειτας ἐκεῖνος τῶν ταῦτα βασιλεὺς πρὸ των αὕτως διεατή τοῦ βιοῦ τὴν ταχεῖαν εὐαγγελίαν ἀπορρίπτοντας, ὡς κάσκεν ὡς ὧς ὑπότα νῦν ἄθροι κατόχους, τὸ δ' οὖν χρησιμοτάτον διόμεσκα καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαζότα τόν ἄλλον, ἐγιανεν καὶ σοι πάλιν ἐντόκοιμον δι' ἐκατόν ἀμέσως ήμεσι, ως ἢ τάς τόρκχας ἀλληλος ἐγγυτέρῳ προσανακαλάσασμεν.
Virtue has not disappeared then completely from the face of the earth; but although it has departed and been gone from our midst long ago, yet even now there are found some traces of it surviving among us. And now contrary to any expectation a man has appeared, as it is said, like a *deus ex machina* with words of love, which is the chief among the virtues, and with a concern for this most important of all the moral goods. He is either a remnant of that mythical golden race, a survivor among the human race and escaping notice until now, or (as seems more correct) he has been proclaimed a visible image of Christ's discipleship to our generation by the providence which rules over all, both as a wonder and an example to the beholders. He abounds so much in this good possession (I speak of his love) that he makes haste to take into the nets of his love even those that he has never seen to begin with, imitating the universal net of the gospel, catching not only those near him, but including also those far away and all these at a time when wickedness is multiplied (as it is written) and the love of former and otherwise intimate friends has grown cold.

Know that to me this strange miraculous event seems even unbelievable and that I consider such good fortune beyond my present way of life and situation. But if indeed this is «no dream, but a true vision», I accept the event with great joy and I grasp this precious unexpected piece of luck with both hands and from now on, consider this man to be a friend, most dear of my friends. Moreover, I give my right hand with all my eagerness and I extend this letter from afar as if it were my hand and I am completely and wholly united with him before even seeing him, being mingled with some ineffable and more than sacred ties by reason of which souls are united through love with other souls. In this manner then this newly appeared and unexpected friend has been added to those who are very dear to me from early days. May this writer then be fully designated as one of his friends so that we may render to each other a just debt and moreover from now on, may we not cease imparting this disposition.
Among the many and various evils in which this land abounds I had hoped to find here a single blessing, just like a sweet rose appearing in the midst of thorns, your holiness, oh excellent man of God, father, friend and brother of mine. But even this blessing which I had expected to encounter here is far away from me and on account of its absence and distance, it is impossible to share and enjoy it. But since I have been deprived of this foremost good by ill luck, I gladly do then that which is left in my power: I carry you constantly in my soul and I rest my mind on your image and by remembering you I am relieved and more at ease — because in the midst of my troubles here this is the only thing that I find a consolation, as everything else is filled with much unpleasantness and boredom. For there is such an abundance of unpleasantness and bitterness here that you who have already many a time experienced a lot of other evils and have been taught to be accustomed to the suffering of ills, would admit that these are more burdensome than the ordinary.

If you consider these to be such, then you, the wise and shrewd in everything, can imagine how terrible they are likely to appear to me, as I am completely unaccustomed to and untrained in such matters, having lived far removed from such storms and tempests until now. Reflecting on and considering these things about me, do not neglect the grace which has been granted to you from above, but pour out and share with me, with loving goodness, that which abounds in you, that is: experience in troubles, courage of soul, wise conduct during difficult times and prudence and cleverness in all other matters, for I am lacking experience in all these things. Uplifting me with your letters and guiding to each other or considering each the other a second self or preserve unchanged the exact standard of friendship, which is the greatest of all undertakings and the best and most advantageous of all transactions. But may you appear some time more closely before these physical eyes of mine, in good health and prospering, when I am rejoicing and not being disheartened, so that we may enjoy each other in every thing that we desire.

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V. f. 96ν ἐνυφότες ἀλλήλους ἠγίσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ὄρον τῆς φιλίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔτρεπτον σφεῖτιν, ὅπερ δὴ πραγματεύει ἡ μεγίστη καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀπάντων τὸ λοιπολοιπότατον τε καὶ κάλλιστον. ἄλλα μον τοι καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήμασις ταύταις ὄψεις ἐγγυήτερον ἐποφθείες, ὡς οἷς ἐν ἐχθροτοῖς, καὶ χαίρων οὐκ ἀθεμοίνοντος, ἵνα ἀλλήλοι τῶν πάντων οἷς ποθοῦμεν καταφυγήσωμεν.

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V. f. 97τ ἐν πολλαῖς κακοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις, οἷς ἰνευθεῖται ἡ χώρα, ἐν ἀπειρίᾳ ἡμοῖσαν χρήστοιν ἐν ἀπείρῳ διακηρυχθον, τὴν σιν ἡμῖν ἡμέτατην, ἐδέλεκτος θεός ἀνθρώπη καὶ πάτηρ ἡμέτερη καὶ φίλε καὶ ἀδελφε. ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀγάθον χάριν προσεδόκησα, 5 μακράν ἂν ἐγὼ ἡμίτοι, καὶ μετέχειν οἷς ἐξετάζειν οὐδ᾽ ἀπολαῦειν ἀυτὸν διὰ τὴν ὑποστήσαν καὶ τὴν διάστασαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπηρείας ἄφημεν, ὅτι διὰ τῶν διάστημάτων ἄφημεν, καὶ διὰ τῇ μνήμῃ κουπίζομαι καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐκαίνον γίνομαι, καὶ τούτο μόνον ἐρέθισέ 10 σκότάν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν τίθεν παραπλήσιον, ὡς τὰ ἔγγνα πολλῆς ἀπήδια μοι καὶ ἀκαθάσιος φασίν διὰ τὰς τοιχαίς τὰς δεδουλαμενοὺς τὸν τὸν κακοποθεῖν ἐξ ἐθεοῦ δεδωομένους, τῶν συνήθεις ἐκείνων ὑμελογείται βαρύτερα.

15 Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὕτως ταῦτα, ἐνυφόειται ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς τὰ πάντας κυριεύσω καὶ ἀγχίζουν ὅταν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖς εἰσίν τούτοις ἐπάνθησιν πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἐμφάνιστον τὸν ἀνὰ πόρους ἀποκαλυγμένον κατατείχον καὶ κυμάτων ἀναστάτων. ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενοι πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σκοπὸν μὲν ἀμείβει τῆς ἀναθανάσθησίς σοι χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν περιπετείαν 20 ἐν τῷ πεπραγμάτων καὶ ἐκείνης ἡννοιατίτι καὶ συνήκορουν ἀυσκολούμενος καὶ τῇ πρὶν τὰ ἡμέρας φρονίμησε καὶ δεδομένης τοῦ τὸν παῖς τοῖον ἡς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀποκεννεὶς φιλαγγείας καὶ μεταδόεις, ἀνακτάμονος τὰ διὰ γραφῶν καὶ χειραγωγῶν διὰ λόγων, ὑποτεθείς τε τὸ ἑαυτὸν


54: V 96-97 A 270-271' 10 τήδε στηρίζα τήδε: VA Lag || 16 τα τοιαύτα: ταύτα A
me with your advice, suggesting what is proper and teaching me what is expedi- 
dient and moreover (what is better and more significant), strengthening and 
supporting wholly my inexperience with your prayers so that my strength shall 
not fail me completely. For through the excess of evil my strength has been in 
distress and through the constant flow of misfortunes it has been worn out, and 
on account of this has quickly grown weary. May the God of the just on the day 
of his appearance award you the crown of justice for having been just and may 
he again grant you to my own bodily eyes so that by having enjoyed both your 
spiritual words and your rather divine appearance, I may gather in from you a 
harvest of greater consolation.

55

Very well then, you shall make amends for having granted full freedom of 
speech to a meddlesome fellow. The satisfaction required is the excation of pity 
for this pitiable man, who after wandering from place to place in search of a 
livelihood in hopes of increasing his wealth lost what he already possessed. For 
this reason he now appears before you, a wretched shipwreck from an unsuccess-
ful business venture and an ill-fated voyage in which he lost the ship as well. 
If among you who are sailing along smoothly there is any mercy or even a 
modicum of sympathy for those who are tossed in such storms and endangered, 
give evidence of it now in the case of this man. You shall manifest it by granting 
him a place of refuge under your wings, which the unfortunate ones imagine to 
be silver-plated, just like the dove of the Psalms, and ‘they reckon your back to 
him a place of refuge under your wings, which the unfortunate ones imagine to 
be covered with the brightness of gold’. And yet although most of those have 
experienced failure. In one word — indeed, why should I repeat it many times— he 
shall present his case quite plainly, since he has a loud voice for his own 
sufferings and you should remind yourself to grant him your mercy and care. 
For this is not an impossible command for love. But if you would say that it is 
difficult I also know the divine rewards that come from it; because if goodness 
served him, he again grant you to my own bodily eyes so that by having enjoyed both your 
spiritual words and your rather divine appearance, I may gather in from you a 
harvest of greater consolation.

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νε’ Ὅσιοις δύσεις δίκην ἀνδρί φιλοπράγμοιν μεταδόθει παραρθήσας ἣ 
δίκην δέ οἴκτες ἐσπράοις περὶ τὸν οἰκτρὸν τοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, διὸς τὸν 
ἐκ τόπον κατὰ δὺς ἔχοντος πλανηθές κανεῖθεν ἐλπίς τῆς υἱόσεως 
αὐξάσθαι, καὶ τὰ προδιάγοντα προσπολάσθε, διὰ ταὐτά γὰρ πάρεστι σοι,
5 ναυαγός ἄλλος ἐξ ἀτομοῦ διηράγμα καὶ δυσδημονίας πλοῦς προσαποβά-
λών καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. εἶ τις οὖν Ἑλεος, εἶ τις καὶ μετρία συμπάθεια πάρα τοῖς 
εὐλογοῦσιν ὡμῖν περὶ τοῖς χειμαζόμενοις οὔτα καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, διετ

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τοις ἡμῶν ὑφαλμοῖς, εἶναι καὶ πνευματικά ἐμὰ λόγων καὶ διεστά 
θῶν ὑπολαμάοντας τῆν ἀπὸ σοῦ τελεστέρων νυκτωγίαν τρυγήσωμεν.
If you do not accept empty letters, go ahead then, turn your eyes away from what I have written below. For this letter is of such a sort: barren, without any grace, without any gift and without profit, not on account of its author and his conscience — nay, by the poverty under which I suffer here — but for this reason alone, which we make into an oath. Therefore, my dearest and most excellent of all men, accept in the meantime this simple reply <of mine>, and as a true friend show pity for the misfortune of your friend. Perhaps, if he survives, he may repay you some time for the gift. For the time being I salute you — and may I hear good tidings from you and that you are progressing well. Because now you do not seem to me to be at all capable of any of the forbearance for which I knew you well in former days.

[To Ioannes]

I know that I love my friends without bringing them any gain or profit; it is not because of meanness of soul and pettiness (for this is altogether alien to the thoughts and intentions of your Ioannes) but because of my poverty and the utter scarcity of what is necessary for rendering any service. I should love to be loved by my friends in such a way also. In which way do I mean? Truly, genuinely and sincerely; because to demand anything more than this would be simply a commercial transaction and not in accordance with my generosity of heart so dear to me. You, who have the same name as me, be also of the same disposition in these matters, so that I may perhaps escape your reproaches by quoting someone who said about letter-writing: «I am making melodies that bring no food nor fee». May you succeed in everything and may you prosper so exceedingly henceforth not by climbing but rather by flying over the ascending ranks miraculously on swift wings.

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<Τῷ Ἰωάννῃ>

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57
I love the noble trinity of brothers, the excellent and most sweet fruit of my teaching, as my own children and as my own flesh and blood. You know well that I love you very much and that my affection is very special and that my love is superior, especially if you, as wise and truly erudite, can discern my spiritual disposition. As for the external proofs, which many exact obstinately, as I see, for the demonstration of friendship, I have no capability — but some other masters do, especially those who want to have a share in everything. Regarding the memorandum, I hesitate to say that, although undertaken it had no success. However, the brother was urged to try again as best he could. Its accomplishment and the fulfillment of your desire is in the hands of God. But fare well and be of good spirit all of you and rejoice all together and may you cherish the memory of your former acquaintance and friend.

The wise, divine and kind words of consolation which you wrote me in your letter — by producing old and new from the good treasure and by employing every means for my comfort and consolation — restored me sufficiently, as I was almost fainting before the onslaught of evil. In return for this, may he who abides and dwells in you and walks with you (as I believe), because of the spaciousness of your purity and the breadth of your inner preparation, comfort you. I am very grateful to you, among other things, for your love upon which rests the law and the prophets and which now is found only among a very few, perhaps not even that, since wickedness abounds. But you preserve this love in yourself and do preserve it, I beg you, for love is truly good and worthy of the stores and treasuries of your noble soul.

A letter has now been sent again to our common Lord; please, set it in order for me and guide it aright like the one sent earlier by me and in regard to any additional matter with which my envoy has been entrusted, let him enjoy your complete cooperation, so that he may return to me a herald and a witness of your good will and kind disposition towards us. Finally, hear the rest — may the God of love love you truly and may he grant you his grace as a faithful friend and good servant.
On the contrary, you interrupted me for speaking at length, just like in the past the Thebans stopped the Lacedaemonians who were brief in speech. Now I have no more leisure to talk at length, neither is there any time to articulate long discourses to you, the wise and fond of words; for there are other tasks that weigh upon me, now that in this place a tearful war is pressing hard and I must withstand it by all means at my disposal leaving me no leisure at all. Bygone are those discussions and discourses and the happy life, of which I am now deprived; it seems that they were a dream, and nothing more. But now this is another way of life, a hard one, oh my studies and friends, another mode of living, as it is said, in everything grievous, unpleasant and no longer endurable to me who has experienced it. But in these times of need I gained nothing, neither from my friends, nor—what was more offensive—from my very dear and especially beloved friend. He lives in comfort (and may he continue thus) and for himself he withholds his happiness, according to the wise tragic poet, and does not suffer to share the sufferings of his friend, neither does he extend a helping hand to him in distress. But which hand and of what kind and what is the sign of the help coming thence? May he prosper, my marvellous and dearest of friends, who is special to me now as in the past, the ornament of letters, the temple of wisdom, which she built for herself with love and toil. May I hear such tidings always about him, so that I may thereby feel better, drawing to myself and making my own the prosperity of my friend, since he does not make his own my ill fortune.

\[\text{V f. 100v} \text{ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ πλέον. Ι τὰ δὲ νῦν ἄλλας βίος, ἀλλὰ, τὸ λεγόμενον, διαίτης τὸ καθ' ὅλου καὶ ἀπόθεται καὶ οὐκέτι ποιήτης τοῖς πειραμένοις ἡμῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων τι κέρδος ἐν ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς (τὸ περιπαθήστερον), ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν πάντων μισθώματος καὶ διαφερόντων ἔγινημένος. ἀλλ' ὦ μὲν ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ ἔστι καὶ εἰς καὶ μόνον τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβῶν ἔχει, κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν τραγῳδίαν, τῷ δὲ φίλῳ τῶν πόνων κοινωνεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὐδὲ χρὴν παρεχέναι ἀραγῶν 15 καμένον, ἥ τις ἐκείνη καὶ πολια, καὶ τί το σημεῖον τῆς ἐκείνης ἐπικουρίας; θέτει οὖν ὁ θεωρόμενος καὶ λύπατος μοι τῶν φίλων, ὦ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν διαφερόντας ἢμος, τὸ τῶν λόγων ἀγαλμα, τῆς σοφίας ὁ οἶκος, διαστὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ λυπήθημεν, καὶ ἀκούσατο μοι οὕτω διὰ παντὸς περὶ τούτου, ἱνα ταῦτα γοῦν ἐκαύσω ἔναγμαι, τὴν εὐπραγίαν τῶν φίλων 20 πρὸς ἐμαυτόν ἔγαγ' οὖν ἐπισκόπομεν τὸ καὶ οἰκειοῦμεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἡμῖν δυσπραγίαν.
Oh wretched mind, why are you labouring so long, collecting fantasies, in order to catch that which has escaped you? It was a vision really, not a dream. For indeed, the friend’s letter which was written a long time ago was a vision, as well as he who wrote it, that good and wise Ioannes. And behold I am now six months behind in writing back, because some other greater tasks were more pressing and since your friend was busy he did an injustice to friendship. Instead of writing back a long time ago and right away, I am doing it now after so long and delayed, on the one hand, because I forgot (for I shall not hide the truth), on the other, furthermore, because I was unable owing to misfortunes and to difficult circumstances. That the matter did not escape me altogether is to be appreciated. But forgive me for this delay, my dear friend, who has the same name as me, and do not fault me for my tardiness, but rather pity my misfortune, which has made it impossible to reply promptly to a letter from such a dear friend. For such a long time I have failed to get started in writing a letter. Yet be of good cheer and rejoice in the company of the blessed that surrounds you, and consider me, even though I am away in body, spiritually with you, both when I keep silent and when I write you, and whether I manifest my affection to you or not. Convey my friendship, please, to the other fellow archons and to the good and holy triad, to the one whom I suppose to be still a teacher and to that one and to the other one — I do not know how and in what manner to address these men, fearing lest the river of Heraclitus in the long interval has swept also those people towards another rank and order, while I have been sentenced to live in another world (perhaps in one of those worlds of Democritus), and on account of my removal, know almost nothing about your affairs. May the grace and the mercy of God be with your love.
Neither should I overlook the dearest of all my friends, i.e., those who are the most holy and wise teachers, that is, my very own and my very own. The one because his school became the guide and mentor of my studies, the other because the holy one is my friend, no doubt about it, and he is the foundation of the school. For these reasons, therefore, the two are friends of mine, but also because of the affection which comes from a friendship that dates from farther back. I address both of you then with this same letter, because I have no leisure at this time, nor is there any need, anyway, to write to each of you separately. For even if it is not addressed to one person, the message nonetheless is sent by one only; therefore, for the time being, let this single letter suffice for both of you. Perhaps, God willing, I shall write sometime not only to each of you separately, but to each of my other friends as well. In the meantime, farewell and rejoice in each other, remembering me from time to time as a former associate and friend of all of you, together and each of you separately.

The royal ornament should decorate the Queen City, therefore she keeps you, as she should, in her bosom together with your virtues, eloquence, and your other good qualities, with which you have been properly enriched by divine grace. As for me, she has thrown me away as vile rubbish and rejected me as if I were some refuse or foam as a sea wave does. But since friends share their possessions, I share your prosperity and regard myself as a partaker of your glory and other success. Share with your distant friends—as much as is proper—the cares and adversities of this place «and do not hold on to happiness only for yourself», as the tragic poet says, but take part to some extent in the tribulations of your friend, so that you may be just in every respect, treating friendship and friends with justice and equality. And may your prosperity abide with you even longer so that you may accomplish more good, and still more may it not be taken away but remain with you eternally, even when you pass from this prosperity to that in the life hereafter.

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My holy Lord, thou art indeed more than holy. I imagine that my Lord is wondering why and how your servant has remained silent for so long. But if the spirit of God which dwells in him and his gift of insight would have deemed it worthy to pay some slight attention to this remote place, and would have realized the troubles which I have encountered right from the first moment and almost before I set foot on the ground of this place, I think, on the contrary, he would wonder how I am now able to utter a word; because as if by prearrangement, I had just barely recovered from the toils of the journey, having spent almost two months on the road, when I was immediately met by assaults of winds, enveloped by hurricanes and storms of evil, the sea of trials swelling up against me, perils and calamities confronting me from all sides. These descended upon me all of a sudden and at once so that I lost my senses (to speak the truth), struck by the unforeseen disillusionment of my hopes. I lost not only my wits, as I had thought, but also the sense that I was alive — in such a manner I was carried off and swept completely away by these adversities, miserable, inexperienced, untrained, unprepared for such evils until I was finally thrown into an ocean of the utmost apathy and despondency, so that I can also cite quite truthfully the scriptural «I have come into deep waters and the flood sweeps over me». This then is the reason why «I have been speechless and humbled» until now and why «I kept complete silence, even from good», that is with regard to the letters which I owe from long ago to my Lord.

But now, I do not know how, being relieved by the holy prayers of my Lord, which I have received as a protection against any evil, I was able at last, after almost six months, to hold my head above the waves for a while, in control of myself again and having regained my senses. And as soon as I threw off the sea-water taking a deep breath and rubbed the shock rom my eyes, at first I was...
able to see a little although rather poorly and weakly but then I saw right away my Lord and leader just like another Jesus Christ walking safely above the waves. For my Lord himself has not been free of trials, even if the nobility and the piety of his great soul, no matter what the pressure, would ever surrender its impassibility. But your servant is still swept by the currents of the waves and is greatly exhausted both in body and soul; he imitates the distressed Peter in the sea and shouts to Saviour and teacher — «Lord save me. Salvation is attained through prayer, for I know that even the sea and the winds, according to the Scripture, yield to prayer. Let the sea winds then that engulf me be rebuked and let also the storm of evils, which has already begun to settle and calm down, become a breeze, by transforming its bitterness and feroceness remarkably into mildness.

To write down each one of my difficulties in a letter I consider bothersome and unnecessary, since he who shall be dispatched to you as soon as possible shall very shortly tell you everything more clearly. The essential point in my letter is the salutation of my Lord from your servant, my respect which is due to you now as in the past, my thanksgiving for many things, my acknowledgment for everything. However, if, as is natural for a benevolent and affectionate Lord, you wish meanwhile to learn something about this place here more plainly, I can explain everything briefly. The church and the people which your holy lands and the grace of the Spirit through them allotted me seem excellent and beautiful. For they are, one can say, fairly pious and are already or are becoming well-instructed. Moreover, by the grace and the assent of God and the great help derived from the prayers of my Lord, no one of them, either at the beginning or now, thought to treat your envoy with unfriendliness or to consider him as a trouble and a burden. On the contrary, everybody heard and accepted the election and the elected one with pleasure and they display such great love to me as if they had grown up and lived together with me from childhood. Apart from this, the land is very desolate, uninhabited, unpleasant and without trees, vegetation, woods, or shade, a total wilderness full of neglect, exceedingly bereft of fame and glory. It abounds, however, in the production of grain, although this also is achieved with much toil, but with regard to wine and oil and next to such products, the land is unfortunate owing to its utter poverty and want. I shall also add that it lacks fruit and fish and in addition anything that comforts people like me who are ill, as well as that which is necessary for the enjoyment of a sumptuous table.

\[\text{\vfill}\]
But in place of all these deficiencies the great riches and treasure, that is the blessing of my Lord and his prayers, will suffice for me, for I simply desire this more than every human happiness. If these are with me, I have hardly any care for want of anything else. For these then I beg you and these I ask, having all confidence and trust in the benevolence of your holiness that you shall not deprive your servant of this great gift, as you have not deprived him of any other gift, whether requested or not.

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[To the Same]

My holy Lord, who art near to God, having just chanced upon a letter carrier coming on this road and making his way to the Queen City, I am having him convey to my Lord for the second time the salutation of his servant, snatching the opportunity as an unexpected piece of luck with great pleasure and astonishment. For indeed, I consider it worthy of a miracle not only that this blessed man is pious and just (a very rare trait among people nowadays), but because he is such a person, he passed through here near us, in this remote exile, which scarcely allows any traveller to descend to it, unless perhaps he is some scourge-bearing official or tax-collector or army recruiter or herald of some other new kind of devilment. For such things thrive abundantly here. But he gratified the others as well according to their needs by burdening no one during this troublesome season, but on the contrary, he rather relieved us and in addition to these, he benefited me personally and what is more, through him I was able to convey in this letter my humble salutation to my holy Lord and Chief Shepherd. Once again I pay my respects to you and once again I salute you, for this is, if anything is, wise to render to our lords and masters the gift of honour without any reservation even in a time of tribulations. For the rest, he shall instruct you and inform you with accuracy, having himself seen and witnessed my situation here.
My holy Lord, you are beyond any honoured and glorious salutation. May the oil of exultation — with which God has anointed you above your fellows — anoint you, my Lord, in the same way that your divine letter enriched these dry bones of my own worthlessness; for it appeared to me sweeter and even more well-timed than the dew of Hermon in the Psalm which falls on the mountains of Zion, and I esteemed it more than the rain upon the pastures and even more than those showers upon the grass. That the holy and pure gifts to me I regard clearly as an act beyond my own worthiness and of greater value and fragrance than the precious oil that adorns the beard of the archpriest and the collar of his robes. In return for this may grace and mercy come upon my Lord and chief Shepherd, my benefactor in many ways. Anything greater than this I cannot render in return for his good will towards me the least of all.

But since the one who has arrived from there is for this very purpose present here, he shall personally add whatever is missing in the letter, and explain everything that concerns me, if indeed he is ordered to do so; he shall recount the affairs of the church and moreover testify openly before my fellow servants and brothers there — especially if some of them, as it is likely, are enticed by this false prosperity — lest they also come into this place of torment after my own departure from here, (howsoever and whenever this might be). Instead, by considering the reality more than the glory of the title, they may be safe from such lures, just as my fellow servant, the chartophylax, who, having shown more wisdom and prudence than I, and on the pretext of piety and contempt of glory, stayed «out of the arrows' reach», appearing more distinguished and noble.
But truly, I have faith in the divine effectiveness of the prayers of my Lord and I have great confidence in them, that my faith shall rescue me from these evils here and that it shall deliver your servant — whether in the body, I do not know or out of the body, I do not know — from these daily deaths. May I be deemed then again worthy of your holy response, for I am thirsting with a burning desire for it, as well as for the greatest of all the gifts, the prayers, honoured by God, of my great and divine Lord, to whom I have written again as a humble servant.

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Predicting that the future would not be good, my holy lord, my friend and brother, when I bid farewell just as I was departing, if you have not forgotten, I foretold that my letters would come late because the situation would be rough. Having encountered an even worse situation than I had suspected, I naturally answered your letter later than I had intended, always hoping for some respite and a change for the better, so that I might write something more pleasant instead of the very reverse. Now, as soon as I had — not what I yearn after, for that is still far away— some eager desire and a faint initiative to write, thanks to divine mercy, and as I had begun to believe that I saw him already rising up in the splendor of the sun, I became somewhat more cheerful and breathed with relief, and immediately I recalled with gratitude my debt and I render with eagerness — even if I am overdue — to my Lord, my worship, and to my friend, my greetings; to both I make known through my letter, to the one that my trust is steadfast and to the other, that my love is unchanged. Let your perfection then be addressed with these words and let it accept this most justified debt of love. With regard to our holy and blessed lord, it is now your task and the duty of truly sincere friendship, to arrange everything perfectly and in accordance with my wish, that is, my apology for failing to write earlier, the presentation of this letter, the acceptance of this very trifling offering that I am sending along, and eventually the highly esteemed letter of his response. Having all this been arranged well and in a manner worthy of pure friendship, may it prosper in all regards.

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V. f. 107τε οὕτος καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἡ ὁδὸν τὸ μέλλον προανευμένον, ἡγασμένη μου δέσποτα καὶ φίλε, καὶ δίδαξες, διδασκάλη ταρακούνοις διά τήν τῶν προσχωκόντων πραγμάτων, τραγούδημα συνωτιστομόνοις ὡς καὶ ἀπαίρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐξελέγοις, προανευμένοις, πολὺ δὲ χείρισαν αὐτοὺς ἐντυχών ἢ προεκάσα, εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα εἰς ἐννομοῦν ἀντείραν, δεῖ τινα βραβεύουσαν ἔλεγεν τὸν ἐπαύξανην καὶ μεταβολὴν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρηστοτέροις αὐτῖ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔμοι γραφέναι, νῦν οὖν μόλις τυχών, οὐκ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ πολυμείον, πολύς γὰρ εὰν καὶ δὲ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπερβολικοῖς πρός ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀρχής ἀμφίβολα διὰ τὴν τείνην πελανθρακίαν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἠλίῳ προδιαγραφῇ ὡς καί αὐτῶν ἀναταλατάντα πιστεύσας ὃν, ἐδυσμένωτον ἔσχον τι μικρὸν καὶ ἄνευσα, παραχρήματα δὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου ἑγονόμονα ἐμνήσθηκαν καὶ ἀποδίδομεν πρόμοιον, εἰ καὶ τυχων ὑπερβολικοῖς, τῇ δεσπότῃ μὲν τῆς προσκύνησιν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων, ἀμφότερος γνωρίζον, V. f. 107καὶ τῷ μὲν τὴν πίστιν τὴν δὲ ἐννοίαν ὑμῖν ἀμέτρητος, ἢ μὲν τοῖς τῇ τελείαι καὶ προσέρχετο ταῦτας τὰς συμβαίνεις καὶ τὸ πάντα δικαίωταν φιλάμενο τοῦτο τῆς ἀγάπης ἀπολύμενο τᾶς τῆς δικαιοποιοῦσαν καὶ δείκνυσαν καμάριστας κανάμας οὖν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ἐλλιπονοῦς τῇ ὁντὶ φιλίας, δέ θείαι πάντα καὶ ὡς ἡμῖν καταθεμένως, ἤπειρον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὡςτερίσεως τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπόλογον τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦτον

28 ή - με: Matth. 9.22 || 29 II Cor. 12.2
67: 15-16 εἰ — δύναται: cf. Rom. 13, 8
67: V 107τε
Here everything abounds in adversities. The only relief amidst all of these, with the exception of divine goodness and my hope in it, is the remembrance of my lords and friends, my dearest, noble and holy lord, among whom from the very beginning I have ranked you and everything concerning you special and as very distinguished. And still now I cannot alter this good order, but as it was established in the beginning so it stays and is observed to this time. By all means it shall be preserved as long as there is some perception and memory in me and I will not undertake anything to alter it nor would I even try. But perhaps there is something we can rank before your friendship and glory, I mean your reputation for virtue, since I hardly bother to pay attention to those worldly accomplishments. Nevertheless, may you excel in both, the holy and the profane and may no one surpass you in holiness or in eminence in this life, or in any of the other virtues —apparent or real— but may you always excel in all these, rejoicing together with your people and faring well with your household. Besides this, this letter has nothing greater to offer and set before you.

An obscure apparition has taken hold of me and I seek to track it down and capture its truth, my most blessed and dear, holy Lord. It is now seven months and I thought I saw my Lord, my father and friend, the consecrated one, I mean you. I do not know where, but I think it was somewhere about in the Queen of the Cities that I saw you very faintly and while asleep. Yet this vision was truly a real appearance, not a dream. For just now the recollection seems to come back; and I saw, I saw my Lord, indeed who abounds in all graces and is accomplished in holiness and every other goodness. And his countenance was like the countenance of the angel and his words were words of life —and the measure of his beauty I cannot describe it, for it is impossible to find anything like it in existence. But again a
thought comes to my mind anew. These were apparitions seen by a body, and
for this reason the vision of the beloved was of short duration, and lasted such a
short time as to become doubtful whether it was seen at all, since it probably
took place in a forgetful head, I mean my own, because only through the eyes of
the soul is it possible to see the one we desire wholly, completely and certainly
—not doubtfully—and to delight utterly in him and to enjoy with pleasure his
many graces. And this place here which keeps us apart is of no significance,
neither the time that has elapsed since our separation nor any other hardship,
because greater than all these was the nature and the power of this appear-
ance, which has the power to see not only through walls and stones, as the
old myth would have it, but through any other obstacle and hindrance that
stands in the way. And in order that I bring to an end quickly the purpose of my
letter to you, know that your holiness remains unforgettably with me. But if this
tribute to your holiness is unprofitable, to me, however, it is not without reward
or profit. Because what could be more important to me than finding relief in the
remembrance of my lord and some consolation in the face of so many—alas,
how many and great they are—evils? But may you be granted to us for a very
long time thus shining over the earth, adorning not only the Synod, but both
the Senate and simply the entire State, with the richness of the virtues that are
liberally bestowed upon you.

The generosity of divine grace is clearly the reason that I now have my
former wise friend as a holy one, so that I may pride myself on these two
excellent qualities as being already my own, if indeed «friends share their posse-
sions», or rather what belongs to one belongs to the other. Therefore, may this
double ornament stay for ever with you, for it is both a decoration and a benefit
to me who is enriched by it; and may I hear and see my friend, who is pleasing
to all the others and especially to me, who exceedingly loves him, inasmuch as I
perceive perhaps better than any other his excellence. May we, who love him
and share in this way his virtue, not be deprived of him either by envy or some
other means. In a word, let him now fare well in body (because his soul is
already impassible, being transformed by the spirit) and may he be filled with
every happiness, both human and divine, at all times.
A servant of a good master obviously is good himself, for he becomes like the master by participating in and witnessing his activities so closely. Therefore, it is no wonder, if you are admirable in every respect, I mean, in virtue and learning as well as in dignity. If in addition to these you are admirable for your friendship, I am not sure that I can give an opinion, since both place and time give cause for suspicion in as much as they are doing us an injustice by keeping us separated so far away and for such a long time from our friend and creating in us the uncertainty whether he has suffered perhaps something ill as a human being, since he is not seeing me nor being seen by me, the dearly beloved, who says (and at the same time he is believed) that he loves me no less in return. May you live then and fare well and be of good spirit and besides, may you maintain for your friend the same disposition — that is, the best. Why? But how could I bear to contribute less to our friendship especially to those who desire to be friends? Or is it not enough that I fall so short of them with regard to their other good qualities? But in love I shall not surrender my claim to any one at all, neither shall I allow anyone to be first before me; but equality I would share, to be sure, especially with you, who are naturally able to add to your love from your blood relationship to us.

With the eyes of the body I can just barely be present with my friends, but with the spiritual and invisible eyes of the soul I can do so in a very substantial fashion, just as I was allowed only a short while ago to see your holiness in a dream. In such a vision I was present with you continually, though not in body, contemplating the richness of your virtues and pleasantly enjoying and delighting myself in it — praying indeed earnestly and at the same time desiring that this common good may be granted to me for a longer time and for my whole life, for there is nothing like it to be seen in our days. May then this be so fulfilled, and may the God of the righteous, among whom you are counted, approve that your holiness stay in life much longer, preserving you ever free from grief and sickness and free of every undesirable and unpleasant experience. Enough concerning these things. But give me in return your blessing, which I desire more than gold and precious stones and may you succeed in everything and everywhere in accordance with your goals, both with regard to the present and even more with regard to the future and the hope of eternal life.

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Exceedingly grievous is the suffering (indeed, it cannot be denied). The death of a son who loved his father is truly grievous and very painful not only to an aged father who so much loved his son—a son young in body but mature in judgment, adorned with knowledge and learning and with all kind of virtues, for which he was deservedly loved by everyone. Such a loss then, is not painful and grievous only to the father, nor only to us who are related by kinship or blood ties and who have from the beginning been connected by great love to him, but I think to everyone who actually experienced the nobleness of the departed or knew of him otherwise by hearsay. Furthermore, I think that there is no one on earth who has not learned and heard it said that this is a truly grievous and sad occasion, and not deemed the event a common loss and misfortune.

But what else could I say about this? What else could we do besides this? That we be reminded of God and of our human nature and that He is the same one who binds and unbinds and who provides a beginning and now claims it back; and that from the start, human nature was condemned to suffer and that death once and for all contains all mortals; and that there has never been anyone among mortals, neither in the past, present or future, who has not been subjected once to this sentence of destruction or who has not suffered it or suffers it now or shall suffer it, even though some sooner, and some perhaps suffer it and absolve it later. There is thus nothing wondrous about our present suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind.

That we be reminded of God and of our human nature and that He is the same one who binds and unbinds and who provides a beginning and now claims it back; and that from the start, human nature was condemned to suffer and that death once and for all contains all mortals; and that there has never been anyone among mortals, neither in the past, present or future, who has not been subjected once to this sentence of destruction or who has not suffered it or suffers it now or shall suffer it, even though some sooner, and some perhaps suffer it and absolve it later. There is thus nothing wondrous about our present suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind.

It would not be irrelevant, in any case, to reflect on this: that He who ordains knowledge as human death. But if his untimely death perhaps distresses us, here nothing else has been bound up with and has so consumed our lives and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind.

But if his untimely death perhaps distresses us, here nothing else has been bound up with and has so consumed our lives and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind and suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind.

And more wisdom than our own judgment or understanding allows. For we think that they are wise. It is He who places under his own authority the time loving of all fathers, and He is likewise more wise than all those who are or ever have been. And He who orders it is He who knows better than all of us to set apart for each his proper time, treating his own people with greater benevolence and more wisdom than our own judgment or understanding allows. For we know nothing about how precisely these matters are ordained and for this reason, just as with everything else, we now surrender ourselves, and indeed we
ought to surrender ourselves completely, to Him who knows and judges better than we our own affairs, to Him who knows how to ordain them in accordance with the proper reason and time.

Reflect on all this, for you excel by the grace of God in prudence, experience and the instruction in these matters more than many others, or rather more than any other; please, bear up under this accident and as much as you can lighten and assuage your misfortune, becoming a comforter to yourself; and employ these thoughts as a charm and any other thought that helps your suffering at this time, so that you may receive, besides the other virtues with which you are adorned, the crown of patience for such great and admirable perseverance. This crown shall be granted to you by the Lord, the righteous judge, on the day of His appearance, when, as I believe, you shall see again your departed whom you lament now, appearing with confidence before the face of the Lord to receive the same glory and comfort from Him.

I pray that you may receive it, for you are worthy of it, for you are both crowned with good works; and instead of this separation and the sorrow and loss that you feel for each other, may you secure again with justification your union with each other entering into the joy of the Lord, where habitation is joyful for all. For the time being, fare well both in body and soul as much as is possible, and may He who comforts suffering souls, as they deserve, also comfort your own soul in ways that He alone knows.

What sort of grammarian do we now have among us, and of what style? Is he Sophoclean? Or by now Aristophanic? I at least would have preferred him to be Aratean and would have liked to hear that he is even more advanced than that and closer to the completion of his schooling. So make haste towards this goal with all speed; and with the sharp wings of the mind flying most excellently through these unmown meadows of the lessons, reach out to the summit of wisdom and without loss of time help out your natural talents towards the best

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41-42 ὅν - ἐμπανεῖαν. cf. II Tim. 4,8 || 48 εἰς - κυρίουs cf. Matth. 2,21


74: V 112v-113r
2-3 προσπετέρῳ Lag: προσπετέρῳ V || 3 ἐγγυτέρῳ Lag: ἐγγυτέρῳ V
achievement through diligence — because «life is short but the arts many» (I mean the intellectual ones that are for you to learn) and you must master all these, should the divine benevolence assent to it, if you are to come very near to human perfection, and become worthy of your family and of the great hopes and prayers bestowed upon you. As for your progress, let it not be an advance which has length without breadth, according to the definition of the slender lines that geometry will teach you, so that you master only schedography, for instance, or only poetry or some other part of any other branches of learning, which are so numerous, and disregard other subjects. But you should apply yourself in depth, breadth and length, in the manner of solid bodies, taking care to learn equally all that is necessary and covering more ground in your studies, so that you may blossom like a fruit-bearing palm-tree and not like a barren reed. This is what I would ask you to do: wish not to seem the best, but strive to become such, advancing to the very depths of learning; and do not run through your studies superficially or only pay perfunctory attention to the lessons as most of the uneducated and ignorant do, so that you may not thus deceive yourself at work or be deceived by others and in the end discover that you have collected winds as treasures and have gathered only barrenness in your hands. But may this indeed be very far from you and from your activities and may you be thought and at the same become complete and equipped for all tasks and may you produce in your own time abundant fruit, like that tree of the Psalms which was planted near the springs of water.


16 ἐκ' ἵσης Λαγ.: ἵσης V || 25 κορυφάτως Λαγ.: κορυφάτω V
An excellent prey has escaped me, oh what a loss! and a friend has slipped by me without addressing a word to me, without looking me up, without being spoken to, without being seen. I do not know what he had in mind and what his pretext was. We had hoped, nevertheless, to accept him not simply as a friend but as a ruler long ago and we were awaiting the event — how would you say?—with pleasure and much praying. But since my friend is occupying my place instead of me, I consider myself not completely unfortunate, neither altogether unlucky; for even if I have not obtained my first wish, clearly on account of the abuse and malice of the evil one, having not lost my second best, I would no longer rank it second but first. However, may the Paphlagonians, who are henceforth happy on account of you, have more enjoyment of your goodness. I consider them already blessed, because in the struggle over you they have defeated me and have been favoured for this common and highly-prized good, I mean your incomparable excellence and piety. May you stay then longer, may you stay with them and may they for a very long time have the full benefit of your worthy and admirable authority.

Beginning with you, by way of preface, and as one of your very own, I would not deny that I love the brothers, who are anyhow worthy of being loved by everybody and especially by me having, as I do, greater rights, if you give to your teachers a few more rights than to others; especially to those who have thus so purely loved you and who have from the beginning provided you with no weak incentive for the pursuit of goodness or the desire for the most excellent accomplishments, in which I know that you excel more than anyone else. For by subjecting your natural impulses to this incentive and being excited even more in this way, you have hastened to the present degree of accomplishment. May you reach perfection, if at this point you still fall somewhat short of the perfect. So much for our most dear brothers from me. If they also deem it worthy to retain in their souls a good memory of their former teacher, perhaps it would be quite natural and not unreasonable. Be that as it may, fare well with all your house and peace and mercy be upon you and yours.

75: V 113”
7-8 δημιουργοί Λόγος: δημιουργοί V || 10 ἐπὶ πλέον Λόγος: ἐπιπλέον V
76: V 113’-114’
13 κανονικοσία Λόγο
My letter may be late, but my memory has reached you already. For my conscience is a witness that I carry you continually in my soul and that I remember those pleasant discussions, our happy fellowship and our sincere friendship and wonderful disposition. Whom would I more justly remember, had I forgotten my dear lords and those very dear children of yours whom I consider as much mine as yours and your whole God-protected household which kindly offered me hospitality and rest not only once but many times and which I gladly visited whenever it was possible for me, something that I never granted to any of the other households, many of which, if not all, were earnestly inviting me? The delay is not then because of forgetfulness—I would not be so ungrateful to my beloved ones—but having been sunk in «deep mire» of miseries (to quote the Psalms) and having been filled with much disgust and nausea, I have suffered the misfortune of those who have lost their appetite, who, when they are once disgusted with some food, dislike even the most pleasant at times. Myself then, since I am neither by nature nor education a liar, having suffered something similar, I am not ashamed to tell you the truth, you the most dear and intimate to me of all other people. But from now on, whenever the time may come (will this time ever come?) with God’s help I shall try to correct this omission. For the time being, farewell, be indeed strong and rejoice all together and remember from time to time our old friendship.
Nay, I saw the season not as springtime but as even then late autumn. Whence did then come to us the nightingale of spring? It calls not from some grove or from a far off wood, but it flew into my very hands from where it now sings casting a spell over my ears. Moreover this most excellent bird appears in voice to be a nightingale and a swallow in form. On the one hand, because it sings clearly and sweetly, on the other, because it blends in its appearance two contrasting colours, just as the black colour of letters is high - lighted by the whiteness of paper.

From the text of the letter it is impossible to establish the context in which it was written. It could be taken as an exercise written in the fashion of a literary letter or as a letter that could be sent to anyone on any occasion. Nonetheless, it was intended as a reply to a letter of Michael Psellus who in turn was prompted to write a lengthy answer; Kurtz-Drexel II, Ep. 105; Karpozilos, 114-115. The «nightingale of spring» is a well known topos which Mauropos employed in order to reply to a letter he had received quite unexpectedly and which he wished to praise for its stylistic excellence. The author of this letter is proven to be his student Michael Psellus. This attribution is established from the reply which Psellus sent to Mauropos upon receiving Ep. 1. Psellus in his letter refers to his teacher's words of praise and specifically to his statement that his letters are likened to a nightingale:

Ep. 1, 3-6

Psellus, Ep. 105: 135, 7-11

In view of Psellus' reply, we may presume that Mauropos' letter was drafted in the context of a lively dialogue which seems to have been maintained
through an exchange of letters. This one most likely dates from the period during which Psellus was still a student of Mauropos (1035-1037). A further indication with regard to the chronology of the letter is the mention in Psellus' reply of Mauropos' decision to take up the monastic habit, an event which is dated about this period; see Karpozilos, *Mauropos*, 27-28.

Psellus discloses that he had expected to receive some answers from Mauropos to the questions he had posed. Instead he got an evasive reply. His question was answered kata to νοούμενον but κατά δὲ το προβεβλημένον τις λέξεως μνείν ἐπ’ έκατον παλιν το ἄρορον (p. 133). What is more important is that he did not consider Mauropos' letter to be a sincere attempt to deal with his questions, but rather that he detected in it some touch of irony. A man of his perfection, however, cannot be captured by natural beauty since his nature is ὒπεργειος, continues Psellus. That, however, he finds pleasure in his letters is again understandable. In his perpetual quest πρὸς τὴν διηνεκή τοῦ καλοῦ κατανόησιν (p. 135), Mauropos also becomes weary because of the body's involvement. It is then that he seeks rest in his letters which become for him a meadow in which he finds repose: εἶτα δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν λείμα τοια ἀραίς διαναποκεφαλεῖσθαι επιστολαίς, ὅτι καὶ η ἡμᾶς ἀπόδεικνυμία ἡμελεῖαι, ὡς ἄρης ἐποικελλίζεται το μέλος καὶ καταφωνεῖ το ἄξολον, ὕπερον σοι τὴν σφίξιν ἐπιτευχθείσα, ὄπου σοι πρὸς τάνταν ἀνοίγεις τὴν ἀκοήν (p. 135, 7-11). Does Psellus simply return the compliment or does he imitate Mauropos? In both letters there is a conscious attempt to exalt the addressee. For Psellus Mauropos is a νοερός ἄνθρωπος, freed from the bondage of matter and dedicated to communion with the divine. Of course on its face value this is an outright compliment which Psellus attributes to his friend without any reservations. In fact, the whole letter is centered upon this motive, his friend's perfection and otherworldliness which in itself becomes a barrier between the two men, virtually keeping them apart. The device Psellus has used is ingenious. He has capitalized upon Mauropos' decision to take up the monastic habit (p. 135, 12), seeing in this a superiority out of which he makes a virtue. In this sense, in Psellus' letter the driving force might be flattery. What is still open to question is Mauropous' letter. If he is, as Psellus says, τῶν ἀνθρώπων πιθανὸν ἐμφοροκυμένος καὶ μόνον προσανέχον θεό (p. 135, 16), that is set apart in his own world, secluded in his own way from his fellows, a seclusion which might be described, in Mauropos' own words, as an autumn which Psellus' letter changed unexpectedly into spring, then the charge of ἀφιλία which Psellus levelled against him can hardly be justified. But again did Psellus mean this seriously or did he use it to clarify his point? That is, in spite of his misgivings towards his friend's detachment he finds now reasons to accept this kind of behaviour as a kind of spiritual perfection before which he succumbs.


7-8 τὴν μὲν φειδὴν ἀνθέλον. τὴν δὲ μορφὴν χελιδών: Both the nightingale and the swallow are employed to denote the coming of spring. According to a legend they were also associated with Athens and the Attic language. Cf. Procopius, *Ep.* 120, Hercher p. 580; Tzetzes *Ep.* 19, 4ff, Leone, 34. Cf. also Karlsson, 106 ff; Hunger, I, 226. For examples of how these themes are employed by tenth century byzantine epistolographers, see Darrouzēs, *Epistoliers*, II 23 4; 65 1; IX 31 5.

23-24 καὶ τὰ θελήματα πάντα... καὶ τὴν τῶν Λυγγον: Letters in which friendship is the basis of the subject matter often employ a series of clichés. This is the case with the verbs θέλειν, κηρεῖν and the substantives φίλτρον and οὐγής. The word οὐγής in the byzantine scholia of the second idyll of Theocritus is defined: οὐγῆς... ἤν φαίνειν καὶ τῇ φύσει ἔχειν ἔρωτικήν τινα πεποθὸν ἀρ´ τος καὶ πάντα ἄπλας τὰ εἰς φίλαν κινοῦντα φάρμακα οὐγγας κλέγοντι; cf. Gaisford, *Poetae minores graeci*, V, 51; Karlsson, 102. Hunger, I, 223-224.

Ep. 2.

A candle at high noon is as superfluous as irrigation from a well in the middle of winter. Equally superfluous are letters when their carrier is an eloquent and talkative fellow. The truth of this opinion shall be testified by my messenger, for in the letters he bears there is no place for loquaciousness, once he starts to speak of his own affairs at length.

The role of the letter carrier became in epistolography an oft repeated theme which as a rule is connected either with the carrier's eloquence, which in effect renders the written message superfluous, with his fickleness which made him unreliable, (ἀλλ... τῶν γραµµατοφόρων ἄνευκα δεκηντοτέρους ήμᾶς εἰς τὸ γράφειν περιοίνειν), Darrouzēs, *Epistoliers* VII 31 3, or with his haste which often did not allow enough time to write a letter, (πέλαξα μὲν γράφειν δ᾽ γραµµατοφόρον ἐκείγοµενος σοῦ ἐπέστρεψεν), ibid., VIII 26 18. Praise is also accorded to carriers, especially if they can be trusted (ibid. IX 17 3). See also Karlsson, 17. Tomadakes, 72-79. Hunger, I, 229-230.
9-10 Πρός ύδωρ - δημιουργεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλεητο: The joke hinges on the idea of πρός ύδωρ δημιουργεῖν, speaking by the water-clock; cf. Demosthenes 41, 30. Mauroposium advises the addressee to give his full attention to the letter carrier, otherwise he will waste a lot of water timing him, especially since they are in the middle of summer, when water is most needed. Unless he would prefer to let the messenger speak with wine in the water-clock!

Ep. 3. [To an ecclesiastic]

It must be some unconfirmed report that disturbed you therefore, and brought to me all of a sudden the letter bearer and these unexpected letters from you. But I have not heard of any false accusations against you. I shall keep your letter without it giving rise to any suspicions from any one. In as much as it affects you, may this provocation pass by, for our days are evil as never before.

The exact cause of the addressee's alarm is not mentioned except that he had been involved in some dispute with a local archon. The fact that the addressee is an ecclesiastic (lines 12-13) could mean that the dispute was over ecclesiastical property.

Ep. 4. [To a government official]

I appeal to our friendship and family ties to let the bearer of the letter come under your service as hypogrammateus.

For a similar prooimion cf. letter no. 7, 1 (φιλικοῖς τε δικαίως καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπερόης θαυμαστέας), in which Mauroposium again seeks to secure some favour for friends. In the above letter Mauroposium attempts to place his protégé in the service of a government official who commanded considerable authority in the State administration. The fact that he already had at his disposal several other hypogrammateis entrusted to him by the iuvocrrsta, a synonym perhaps of ἀρχιπλωτα, supports the hypothesis that the recipient of the letter was an official in the State chancellary. Psello had also worked as hypogrammateus, imperial secretary, at the court of Michael V in 1041., Chron. 1, 103. A similar position he had earlier occupied at the court of Michæl IV (Chron. 1, 75); cf. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 24. Whether Mauroposium’s protégé can be identified with his student and friend Michael Psello is open to question. For the rank of hypogrammateus, his place and duties in the State bureaucracy, see Weiss, 22, 24, 78.

The good friend has chosen me for the office of chartophylax and proclaims me a guardian of the public? I have no interests in the offer and therefore there is no sense in undergoing the risks which this position entails. For this office a worthy person shall be found, who can perform this service. Let those who administer the affairs of the church seek out this person. To the ones concerned I have made known my decision to keep myself out of public life.

1 ὁ καλὸς ἐπισκόπος: With this euphemism Mauroposium refers to his correspondent; cf. line 14: ἀδίκος ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς. The lack of prooimion might suggest here a dialogue between the two men. The designation ὁ καλὸς ἐπισκόπος is not some vague cover with which Mauroposium wished to obscure his correspondent’s identity but only a euphemism necessitated by the simple fact that he began his letter without the usual formalities but drove instead directly to the heart of the problem. Nevertheless the identity of the correspondent remains unknown except for the likelihood that he was a man of considerable influence, as the conclusion of the letter suggests (lines 48-51).

At what time during his life did Mauroposium write this letter? Follieri, Otto Canoni, 10, dates it to 1043, at about the time that Mauroposium was brought to the court of Monomachos, and shortly after Michael Keroularios became Patriarch. Follieri further maintains that, at the suggestion of Keroularios, Mauroposium was invited to succeed one of his own friends in the chancellor. a friend for whom he had written an epigram (Epigr. 34). Anastasi proposes that Mauroposium served as chartophylax while he was a deacon; cf. Michele Psello Encomio per Giovanni piisimo metropolita di Euchaita e protosincello, transl. by R. Anastasi, Milan-Padova 1968, 6. The only evidence of Mauroposium’s diaconate is from the inscription of Codex Monii Aemidiius 43, now lost, in which it is stated that Mauroposium was a monk and archdeacon in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. Nowhere, however, is there any mention of Mauroposium having been chartophylax, although he is regularly designated synkellos, protosynkellos and proedros; cf. Karpozilos, Μαυρόπος, 41-42. The only conjecture that could be safely ventured here is on the παρὰ μικρὸν ἐγγαρέσανα, line 6, which seems to suggest that although Mauroposium did not consider himself too old for the office of the chartophylax, nonetheless he believed that it was too late for him to begin another way of life, especially under conditions which were so unfavourable, (cf. line 13, πῶς ἵν τοι ὑποταγή χειμῶν καὶ παράθυρο...), and in an office which entailed much toil and tribulation for its incumbent. At this point Mauro-
pous then is leading a private life removed from the public sphere; cf. lines 25-26, ἕξοι σάλλοι καὶ ζάλλης ἀπέρε ἐχομεν νῦν, διαμενεν παρασώμεθα...

In view of this fact, Mauropous must be considered still a teacher and a monk. His elevation to office would have entailed his ordination, a thought which made him extremely uneasy and put him on the defensive from the very beginning. The simple fact that he mentioned first his proposed ordination and then his would-be investiture to the office of chartophylax, argues in favour of this view.

The chartophylax, holder of an office within the patriarchal chancellary, ranked fourth in line of precedence. Normally he was recruited among the ranks of the deacons. In contrast to βαθμὸς ἡρός (deacon, priest), which was conferred by sacramental ordination, the chartophylax was possessor of an οἰκονόμος, a function like that of oikonomas, synkellos etc.; cf. H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Handbuch der Altersungewissenschaft XII/2, 1), Munich 1959, 109-111; J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les Ὀφρυσια de l'Eglise byzantine (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6), Paris, 1970, 19-28, 53-59.

The statement ἔχει διὰ παντὸς ἐπετράπη, line 12, implies his monastic vocation and leaves no doubt that by this time Mauropous had made up his mind not to change his way of life. Psellus in the encomium he wrote for Mauropous mentions his monastic vocation and activities as a teacher before he was brought to the court of Konstantinos IX. Encomium, 155, 163; cf. also his Ep. 105, Kurtz-Drexel, 135, 12.

46-48 Τάσσει προετεινόμεθα-καὶ θεοτέραν: Determined not to succumb to any pressure, Mauropous brought his case before the Emperor and the Patriarch. No record of his appeal has survived however, which would inform us of the results of his protest.

Ep. 6. [To a government official]

Your gift of bird game has afforded me such great pleasure that it can only be compared to the Old Testament banquet which the prophet once predicted. But once again you regret that you have been transferred to a new post, that is from Paphlagonia to Boukellarian. You should not be disturbed by your first experience in the office. Be patient and soon you will be completely happy. Claudiusopolis is poor but you should not blame her misery.

The correspondent is called by Mauropous ὁ τῆς πολλῆς λαμπρῆς ὑποθελίζει, a characterization which might give us a hint as to his identity. The man’s mobility from one place to another, his bitter remarks about the misery of Claudiusopolis, and his disappointment after an unsuccessful sojourn in the theme of Paphlagonia argue in favour of the supposition that he was a state official, most likely a provincial judge. Their role as tax collectors in the provinces has been elucidated by Weiss, 48-64.

Is it possible that here we have a letter of Mauropous addressed to Psellus? The possibility should not be ruled out. Michael Psellus began his career as a tax official working first in the Thracians and also in the Boukellarion theme; cf. Ep. 65, Kurtz-Drexel, 99. In what succession he held his various functions in these provinces it is not quite clear. Connected with this period also is his letter to a fellow student no. 11, Kurtz-Drexel, 13; cf. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 25. Be that as it may, Mauropous’ addressee had undergone a similar experience, by seeking like Psellus, his fortune in the theme of Boukellarian.

The material wealth of the city of Claudiusopolis is described by Mauropous’ addressee in bleak colours and the reason for this unhappy situation is τὸ τοῦ ποιμένος ἡμιτυποῖον (line 38). The meaning of this phrase is not altogether clear, but in all likelihood it seems that it is a reference to the local bishop, who on account of his advanced age and poor eyesight was unable to protect the interests of the city. Except if by this phrase Psellus implied the bishop’s overall negligence towards the welfare of his see either by abandoning his folk to the fiscus and the various levies of state officials or by closing his eyes to their plight. In this connection it should be remembered that one of Mauropous’ two uncles had served for a period of time as bishop of this city; Psellus, Encomium, 143, 145.

1-2 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χερῶν-δρνίθων ἀγίαλι: Bird-game as a gift that accompanied a written message is not altogether rare in Byzantine epistolography; see Karpozelos, Realia, 25.

4 τὸ θεολογικόν ἐπίστιν ἐκατόρ Αἰγυπτίων: A reference to a passage of Gregory of Nazianzus - alluded to here by his appellation Θεολόγος - which Mauropous borrowed from Orat. XLIII, PG 36, 501D: τος το θεόν καὶ ἡ θύσα παρῆλθεν, ὄνομα τοῦματος, ἀπαγομένων προδοσία.

18-19 τῆς Παραγεγονότες επὶ τῶν Βουκελλάριων μεταθέσεως: About the themes of Paphlagonia and Boukellarian cf. De Thematibus, Persuici, 71-72. Their boundaries, however, had not remained the same up to the time of Mauropous. Claudiusopolis, for instance in the De Thematibus is mentioned as a city in Boukellarian but Mauropous regards it as a Paphlagonian city. It is also possible that Mauropous referred to these
areas by their ancient names, thus paying little attention to the boundaries that existed in his own day.

Ep. 7. [To a government official]

With the right which friendship and justice give us we have wished to reprimand you in a friendly manner and reproach you for unfriendliness, on account of which its burden to those who manage my affairs has become a torture. As for your recantation, try at least to show it with deeds, thereby imposing upon us the debt of gratitude.

The official of whose unfriendliness Mauropous complained had drawn himself into a dispute which involved Mauropous' property and those entrusted with its care. Mauropous alleged that his addressee's unfriendliness, actually his uncompromising nature, had been witnessed by his own people on whose behalf he had intervened: ἄλλα ἡ γε τῇ τηλικώτητι μαρτίνης πρός τοὺς μετάντας αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἰκονομίαν ἀνευδέξ κατέστη μετέτρων (line 5). Of Mauropous' finances or land holdings we are not well informed. We know only that he possessed a family house in Constantinople (Epigr. 47-48) and that he had built a church in his birth place in Paphlagonia to honour Saint Theodore, and a monastery whose typikon he had instituted alone; Psellos, Encomium, pp. 158-159. Furthermore, we have established that Mauropous had received as charistikion land property of a monastery which he leased in turn to his relatives; Kurz-Drexel, 221. Psellos, the author of the letter, wrote on this occasion to negotiate an agreement for Mauropous with the judge of the area about the value of the land which ἦ τοῦ Πύθωνος μονῆ ἦ; idem, p. 263. From the evidence we have produced it can be assumed that Mauropous was in possession of some property which he administered with the help of his own relatives to whom he at times, as on this occasion, rendered his assistance. The possibility that this letter concerns his land holdings at the monastery of Python should not be ruled out.

Ep. 8.

Benevolence by its very nature is a pleasurable activity, giving equal joy to those who perform it and to those who receive it. Who then would be more worthy to receive a favour than this akolouthos? Honour with your attention the bearer of this letter.

Ep. 9. [To a government official - Michael Psellus?]

The messenger arrived late but his tardiness was compensated for by the good news he brought back about the hegemnon and archon of our homeland Paphlagonia. I think, however, you should no longer be called archon of the Paphlagonians, but of the Maryandenoi as well. I also wish you still greater success and advancement in your career.

The strong interest which Mauropous maintained for his fellow countrymen and particularly for his own clan is attested by several of his letters, (nos. 6-7, 11). The present letter, however, concerns a friend whom Mauropous congratulates upon his recent promotion as hegemnon and archon of Paphlagonia and Maryandenoi, but is no more specific than this as to his identity or the kind of office he received. According to Const. Porphyry., De Thematibus, ed. Pertusi, VI, 22, the metropolis of the Maryandenoi was the city of Claudioupolis. The content of the letter has striking similarities with that of no. 6. The fact that in both the recipient was dwelling in Claudioupolis furthermore suggests that we are dealing with the same person, possibly Michael Psellus, who had been transferred from Paphlagonia to Boukellarion, but nevertheless continued to be unhappy with the misery he found in Claudioupolis. The tone of this letter implies that the addressee has in the meantime succeeded in his goals, an event that allows Mauropous to congratulate him, calling him, I suppose, not in all seriousness hegemnon and archon of the two regions in which he had been involved.

Ep. 10. [To a Parathalassites]

Others take pride in their noble descent and reputation. The parathalassites, however, is mostly known for his gentleness. Treat, therefore, our case with gentleness rather than with harshness for gentleness is numbered among he first of the beatitudes.

The recipient of the letter was an official to whom Mauropous refers to
here only with the name of his office, *parathalassites*. As the name indicates, the man was an official whose duty was the policing of the commerce of Constantinople. In order of precedence, the *parathalassites* stood fourteenth under the city *Eparch* (Bury, *Administrative System*, 139, 36 and 73), but in the tenth and eleventh century this office had gained considerably in importance, Oikonomides, *Listes de Présence*, 381. The text does not allow for any conjectures as to the identity of this particular *parathalassites*. From this same period, however, survive two epigrams of Christophoros Mytilenaios dedicated to the patriarch and *parathalassites* Melias; *Epigr.* 15-16, ed. Kurtz, 9-11.

This letter to *parathalassites* and the next one - addressed to a judge - have a thematic affinity. It is conceivable that both letters were written on the same occasion, and as *Ep.* 11 attests, on behalf of some Paphlagonians who were accused of smuggling.

**Ep. 11. [To a judge]**

We acknowledge that the laws for smugglers and for similar offenders are necessary and therefore strict penalties be meted out to them. Yet we think that we should distinguish between those who are more inclined to crime and those who are less. For this reason we demand the most accurate judgment lest the men be brought forward unjustly and by way of insulting them needlessly. If they be found guilty, let them be treated with leniency. Otherwise deliver them up to God and his mercy.

The letter is addressed to a judge who was about to try some Paphlagonians accused of smuggling. Against this misdemeanour Byzantine law was strict, providing the confiscation of the cargo in question; cf. *Basilica*, LVI, I, 16 (Scheltema-Van der Wal). Mauropos pointed out that the accused were a simple folk, unaccustomed to intrigues. The law, indeed, made a distinction as he hinted, between those who violated them on purpose and those who were led astray by ignorance: διὸ τις κατὰ πλάνην καὶ οὐκ ἀπάτην εἰς κλεπτοτελῆμα ἐμπέσω, διπλοῦν δίδει τὸ τέλος, καὶ οὐκ ἄφαιρονται αὐτὸς τὰ φορτία, *Basilica*, ibid. Whether Mauropos knew this detail is not certain. He did, however, try to show that the case of his compatriots fell under the provision of this law which stipulated that a tax should be paid which was reckoned as twice as much as normal, while the cargo was retained, and not confiscated.

**Ep. 14.**

I have asked my lord a favour and I shall persist until I get it. There are two alternatives that I see: either that he give an immediate answer, thus getting rid of this burden or that he be indulgent about this unpleasantness.

**Ep. 15.**

Perhaps I am becoming a bore but I am giving you an opportunity to serve God, at this time with this request, at some other time with something else. Now I send you these people with the plea that you will fulfill their needs.

4 τὸν η προσέρχει σου - καὶ τὸν η: Reasons of secrecy and security occasionally prompted letter writers to avoid mentioning any names; Tomadakes, 96. In the correspondence of Theodoros Studites and specifically in the letters he sent from his exile the names had been originally substituted with a code on the basis of which, were later entered into the text; Hunger, I, 230. But it is not the same with those letters in which the authors refer to certain individuals with only ὁ δέης, or as it is the case with Mauropos' letter, with τὸν η καὶ τὸν η. Actually such designations most of the time appear in letters of recommendation; see, for instance, Psellos, *Eps.* 52 2, 70, 2, 92, 1, 133, 5, Kurtz-Drexl; Hunger, I, 230 n. 143. One could call them form-letters, as is the case also with the laconic letters comprising nos. 12-16 of this edition; letters that could have been dispatched when the occasion arose without altering anything in the text except for adding in each case the name of the person on whom they were addressed.
whose behalf the letter was written. In this case, the designation ὅ δὲ 
meant in the text a blank which was filled when the need arose. See also 
commentary on letter 61, line 18.

Ep. 16.

I send you this letter to assure you of my friendship and good will.

This group of letters, nos. 12-16, comprise a special category characterized 
by their brevity and known as «laconic letters». As a special category they 
belong almost to every major collection, their length varying from author to 

Ep. 17. [To Gregorios]

When you live next to a coppersmith you are likely to stay awake at night, 
says the proverb; it is the same when you are dealing with an inquisitive fellow 
who never stops bombarding you with his questions, not even from afar. With 
regard now to the particle μὲν in the sentence τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐπιμε-
δῆσαιν and the particle δὲ in the sentence τὸν δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, I believe that 
both signify an anapodoton or ameriston. As for the η in the sentence 
ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἔγνω σήμερον ἑστιάτωρ ὑμῖν, I do not consider it an adverb nor 
do I write it with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark (῾). It is a disjunctive 
particle and I read the sentence as hyperbaton and not like you as an ana-
colouthon.

About Solon's avarice in the passage of Saint Gregory: It was not Solon 
who was satirized for his greediness by the Father but Alcmeon. The discrep-
ancy in this passage is obviously the result of a scribal error. As for the last 
question, I choose to write τεσσαρακοδέκατον and not τεσσαρακοδέκατον 
out of habit and not for any particular reason.

This letter and the next one (Ep. 18) are devoted to the inquiries of an 
ecclesiastic by the name of Gregorios (cf. Ep. 18, 7) on points of grammar and 
historical exegesis. The first question Mauropous dealt with was about the place 
of the particle δὲ in the opening line of an oration by Gregory of Nazianzus on 
the Maccabees (Orat. XV: Ἐγὼ τοὺς Μακκαβαίους. Τι δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι... PG 
35, 912). To the inquiry of the addressee, Mauropous pointed out that Saint 
Gregory following a common practice applied the particle δὲ alone and inde-
pendently in the sentence as a unicum.

The next question which Mauropous proceeded to answer also concerned 
grammar and this time he dealt with the place of η in the sentence ἦ 
βουλασθείκα 
καὶ γὰρ ἔγνω σήμερον ἑστιάτωρ ὑμῖν about the authorship of which nothing is 
said in the text, but identified again with a passage taken from the writings of 
Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. XXXVIII Εἰς τὰ θεωρήματα PG 36, 317a, 4-5): "Η 
βουλασθείκα (καὶ γὰρ ἔγνω σήμερον ἑστιάτωρ ὑμῖν) ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τοῖς παραθή 
λόγον τοῖς καλότες ὑμῖν διαιτομόν. The addressee seems to have voiced the 
opinion that in this passage there is an anacolouthon to which Mauropous replied 
that it would make more sense if it were read as a disjunctive (῾). 

It should be noted that in the surviving commentaries on the homilies of 
Gregory Nazianzus the two passages (Orat. XV PG 35, 192 and Orat. XXXVIII 
PG 36, 317) have not been discussed, obviously because they concern more 
matters of grammar rather than theology. Cf. also Fr. Lefherz, Studien zu 
Gregor von Nazianz: Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten, Diss. der Philo-
soph. Fakultät der Rhein. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Bonn 1958, 
11ff. Nevertheless, Mauropous seems to imply that they had given rise to 
different interpretations among scholars, especially the second passage: πλε-
ίτικα μὲν πράγματα τοῖς ἑξήντατας παρασχέν (line 63); ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλα 
φασι καὶ ὅλα ἄλγα πάντες (line 71).

The third question was about Solon's alleged avarice mentioned in one 
of the orations of the Cappadocian Father. The addressee must have had in mind 
the oration IV of Gregory Nazianzus against Julian the Apostate: τοῦτο μὲν ἢ 
δὴ καὶ πολλὰ τιμῶτες τὴν Σόλωνος ἀπλήστας τοῦ σοφότας καὶ νομοθέτοισ 
ὠρκότος, ἔλεγξε τὸν Ἀλκμαῖον χρυσά... Orat. 4. 72. ed. Bernardi, 
184, 2-5; PG 35, 593E-596A. Mauropous dismissed this passage as a scribal 
error, pointing out that Gregory in his epigrams chastised in fact Alcmeon for 
avarice and not Solon; see PG 37, 701. In this passage then, Mauropous 
concluded, one should read not Solon's but Alcmeon's name. One wonders, 
however, whether Mauropous or his addressee were familiar with the scholia 
of Pseudo-Nonnos (10th c) on this subject; see PG 36, 966D. The scholiast offered 
a spiritual interpretation of Solon's avarice which Mauropous seems to have 
ignored or perhaps not seriously considered: νῦν οὖν ἀπλήσταν καλὸν τὴν 
Σόλωνα ως πλείωνα πλοῦτον τοῦ Ἀλκμαίου χρυσάροις ὑμῖν θεάτασθαι. καὶ 
ὁ πλοῦτος δὲ εὔδαιμον τις περὶ τὸ ἕκτος...

The letter ends with an explanation of why Mauropous has chosen to write 
τεσσαρακοδέκατον and not τεσσαρακοδέκατον. He explained that it was 
not so much a matter of consistency that he wrote in that manner, as his form 
was a question of habit. He further explained that such a usage has now 
prevailed as so many others have for no apparent reason such as 
ἐκατοντακόσιον as opposed to ἐκάτοτε, ἐκατομμύλους etc. For the 
change of the ε to ι (τεσσαρακοδέκατος - τεσσαρακοδέκατος), see St. B.
Aristotle objected.

49-50 A πατήρ τῶν ἁλαρδῶν: The popular saying (κατὰ τὸν δημόσιον λόγον) to which Mauroposes refers is obviously the proverb ὁ γάλακτος βαρεῖ ἐμόνι καὶ βαρεῖ τοὺς γείτονας, which is found in this form in a satirical song about the Empress Theophano, wife successively of Romanos II and Nikephoros Phocas. The meaning of the proverb is that in order to avoid evil consequences, one must avoid evil company and as such it was applied to Theophano’s unsuccessful overtures toward Tzimisces who in the end brought about her ruin. Cf. G. Morgan, A Byzantine Satirical Song? BZ 47(1954) 292-297, esp. 296.

120-124 According to the Migne edition (PG 37: 701), there is a line missing from the epigram of Gregory of Nazianzus as cited by Mauropous. Accordingly, after line 121 there should be supplied ἀνὴρ γένε τι καὶ κράτει πελάν μέγα. Also the following variants should be taken into consideration: 121 Ἀθηνάν: Ἀθηναίων Mg; 123 δοσιμέρ: δοσιμέρων Mg.


Ep. 18. [To Gregorios] Why do you force upon me unnecessary labours, holy father, by posing problems about which you know more than anyone else? And who could be more erudite than you who have devoted a lifetime to the study of books and sacred scriptures? I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to answer your questions. In the first passage (Luk. 12,52), the Evangelist does not seem to me that he produces next to the proposed five persons an invented sixth. The number three refers to the persons and their triple association that exists in them as pairs. In the passage of Mark 2,26 it is not unlikely for Aviathar to have been called Achimelech. The third problem concerning the passage in Saint Gregory, I consider it nothing but a scribal mistake, therefore I think we should retain in the text the name of Joab instead of Absalom. Similar scribal errors occur also in the New Testament, because copyists are not infallible nor blameless in their writings.

The addressee is the same person as that of the proceeding letter (διὸ αὐτῷ πρὸ μικροῦ σε διδάσκοντο παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀποκρίσεις, line 100). Maurus in his previous letter dealt only partially with the questions the addresser put to him, mainly the philological ones leaving inquiries on the Old and New Testament to be dealt with as a unit in this letter. The first question concerns the passage of Luk. 12,52, in which there are six persons numbered instead of the five mentioned in the beginning. Maurus offered an allegorical interpretation. He took the ensuing inconsistency in the Scripture to represent the Divine Mystery of the Word and the division its proclamation brings to the world. A more obvious solution to the problem which Mauroposes does not take into consideration is that both the daughter and the daughter-in-law could be the same person; see, for instance, Origen's interpretation of this passage. M. Rauer, Origenes Werke. Neunter Band. (GCS 49) Berlin 1952, 265. Mauroposes, instead, offered an allegorical interpretation seeing in this passage a violation of nature's laws which the Word brings about in order to illustrate the power of the Gospel. For a similar interpretation, see Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. XXXIX, PG 36, 352-353A: Τί δὲ ἡ μάχαιρα; Ἡ τοιῷ τοῦ Δόγου, ἡ
Mauropous next discusses the seeming inconsistency between Mark 2, 26 and 1 Reg. 21, 2 concerning the true name of the archpriest. Mark states that King David encountered Abiaathar the archpriest in the Temple whereas in the Old Testament is said to have met the priest Ahimelech. Mauropous proposed that at that time the archpriest might have been Abiaathar, but that it was the priest Ahimelech who was actually ministering in the Temple. In addition, he suggested that Abiaathar may in fact have been Ahimelech’s father, as it is suggested elsewhere in the Scriptures or that Abiaathar may have also been called Ahimelech. Mauropous in answering this question may have drawn from the scholia on the Gospel of Mark, in which the same interpretation is given: εποιείτο δὲ διὰ διώκμον γεγενήσαται τὸν Ἄβιμέλεχα, ὡστε εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἄβιάθαρ... J.A. Cramer, Catena Graecorum Patrum in N.T., I. Oxford 1840, 293.

The third problem discussed in the letter concerns a supposed scribal error. Mauropous maintains that in the encomium which Gregory of Nazianzus composed for Saint Athanasius one should read «the hand of Joab» and not «the hand of Absalom»: καὶ ἂν τὸ μὲν δρᾶμα ἔτερον, ἤ δὲ χείρ Ἀβεσσαλὼμ μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος. Orat 21, 15, ed. Mossay, 140, 6-7; PG 35, 1097B. Mauropous supports his argument by producing as evidence II Reg. 14, 19: Μή ἢ χείρ Ἱωάδ... The context in which Gregory of Nazianzus employs the biblical phrase in question is the rebellion of Gregory of Cappadocia against Saint Athanasius; cf. the commentary of J. Mossay in Grégoire de Nazianze Discours 20-23 (Sources Chrétiennes 270), 140, n. 2. If in this rebellion of Gregory of Cappadocia against Athanasius, his spiritual father, Gregory of Nazianzus saw a direct analogy to the biblical drama of King David and his son Absalom then the correction proposed by Mauropous is not justified at all. Mauropous, however, is convinced that Saint Gregory had originally written χείρ Ἱωάδ, thereby interpreting the passage in a new light. This reading in the light of II Reg. 14, 19 implies a behind the scenes action. In the tumultuous events of the period 338-339, which led to the expulsion of Saint Athanasius from his see, Mauropous visualizes also a behind the scenes action in which the moving power was what he calls the «hand of Joab», that is Gregory of Cappadocia. This intriguing possibility is supported from the first part of the sentence καὶ ἂν τὸ μὲν δρᾶμα ἔτερον (PG 35, 1097B). Excluding, of course, an original mistake by Gregory of Nazianzus, Mauropous suggests that subsequent scribes replaced the correct reading being misled by another biblical passage, II Reg. 18, 18, which, however, cannot be properly linked to the events described in Gregory’s oration.

Scribal mistakes have often caused misunderstandings, Mauropous maintained, as, for example, in John 1, 28, where one should read «Bethabara» and not «Bethany» as the place beyond the Jordan river. Probably he knew that Origen championed this view by estimating that Bethany was close to Jerusalem at a distance of only fifteen stadia, whereas the river Jordan was further away at least a hundred eighty; Origenes, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, IV, Leipzig 1903, 149, 12-20. Other scholiasts and interpreters of this passage note that the more exact copies of the Gospel of John read Bethabara: Χρη δὲ γινώσκειν ότι τὰ ἐκρημοὶ τῶν αὐτογράφων ἔνα Βεθαβάρη περιέχει οὐκ ἤγαγεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἀλλ’ εὐρείας τοῦ Ιερουσαλήμ: I. A. Cramer, Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, II, Oxford 1841, 190-191; cf. also PG 106, 1217D. Drawing from such arguments (lines 106-107) and from the readings of certain manuscripts of the Gospel of John, Mauropous concluded that even the Scriptures are not free of scribal errors. Another example would be Luk. 24, 13, in which it is stated that Emmaus is located sixty stadia from Jerusalem. Others, however, maintain that the town is located at a distance of only thirty stadia and others again say that it is even further than sixty. The controversy to which Mauropous alludes is connected with a less strongly attested reading of one hundred sixty stadia in Luk. 24, 13 found in certain manuscripts probably originating in Palestine where from early times there were at least two towns known by the name of Emmaus. For a discussion of this problem, see R. Janin, Emmaus, in Dictionnaire d’histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastiques, XV, 427-429.

78 το δὲ θεολογικόν τε καὶ τρίτον: Contrary to the two previous problems discussed, which concerned questions on biblical exegesis, the third is devoted to a passage of Gregory Nazianzus. Thus, the θεολογικόν is a reference to his appellation as θεολόγος, by which Mauropous refers to him also in other instances; see Ep. 6, 4: τὸ θεολογικόν εἶναι εὐκαρπον.

Ep. 19.

You accuse us of admiring human power and of being friends and counselors of kings and that for this reason we have become unsociable and unapproachable? Must you be reminded that it was you who went last year to the palace accompanied by attendants, brought in on a carriage and that you came out of there with a bag of gold? As for me, I may have sat at the table of the Emperor, but with such pomp and gifts I was never honoured.
Mauropous' decision to give up his seclusion, which he most vividly describes in Ep. 5, must have been received with an amazement mixed with envy. Some probably thought that what he did was scandalous and others that it was a betrayal. At least this letter and the next one suggest it.

We assume that this letter was written some time after Mauropous was introduced to the court of Konstantinos IX by Psellos; Chron. II, 65-66. The date of this event which is only briefly mentioned by Psellos is established as ca. 1043. On this occasion Mauropous wrote also Epigr. 54, οτο πρωτόν έναντι θανατού τοις βασιλείσι. Because of this association with the palace he was accused by the addressee, an ecclesiastic (lines 3, 20), whose identity remains unknown, of vanity and opportunism. Mauropous replied that unlike his accuser, he did not exploit his friendship with the Emperor so much as to be rewarded by him: κανείς γάρ έχων ἀπεκτείνωμην, ἡκε μή πάντα ήμικρ, ὡς έικεν, εὐθυκίας μηδέ συνεφής κατ' ἐκείνον (lines 22-23). The κατ' ἐκείνον we take to imply the addressee. Though Mauropous refrains from speaking directly about his correspondent's actions in the palace, his remarks nevertheless make plain this person's vanity and greed: ίνα γνωρίστρεν ἡκάτη εκ τῆς πέμας καί τὸ ἐπόδησμα (line 31); ίνα χάριν σιν τὸν παραλείπο τὸ χρηματιστικόν καί φιλόποιον (line 35).

2 ἡμεῖς βασιλείδων φίλοι: The close association of Mauropous with the Emperor Konstantinos IX is mentioned also by Psellos, Encomium, 154; διότι τε ἀμφιλεί καί ἐκοινώνεται τῶν ἀπορρήτων καί παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ συνθήματα τῶν πρακτικῶν ἐλέμονας.

4-18 P. Magdalino in an article on Byzantine Snobbery, in The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries, ed. by Michael Angold, Oxford 1984, 70, has paid particular attention to this passage, arguing that here we have a case of «Byzantine snobbery in action and in context». Whether this is the case with Mauropous' letter is rather doubtful. At any rate, it seems that Magdalino has not realized that the man who arrived at the palace with pomp and Mauropous' addressee are one and the same person.

Ep. 20. [To a teacher]

You always seem to wage a war against me, using all kinds of pretexts and complaints. At one time you accuse me of being idle and at another you abuse me and mock me for the opposite. In short you like nothing about me. But in reality I think it is you who are to blame, because you have failed me as a teacher, lest you wish to acknowledge your gratitude to me, since I have proven that you have delivered your lessons to attentive ears. You would be better off were you to put your irony aside and rejoice with me watching your seed multiplying.

Mauropous' accuser this time is a former associate of his, whose attacks are here readily dismissed as amounting to sheer envy. About his identity the letter does not yield any concrete information. One might suppose that he had been a former teacher of Mauropous still active in his profession (lines 23ff, 35ff). Indeed, Mauropous calls him «teacher» but he does it in an ironic or rather sarcastic mood (line 27). Actually it were more his former counsels and admonitions for success, which Mauropous had at last put into practice that qualified him in his eyes to be called a teacher. It is possible to assume that their rift had its roots in their profession as teachers and that it became even more accentuated after Mauropous' latest success. Seeing this letter against this background, Mauropous' decision to abandon the λάθε βιωός must have given rise to controversy among his colleagues.

17-18 μηδ' Ἑλλασ - δριττος παρθένου: This proverb occurs in Libanios, Ep. 695, 2 and 1533, 3, in the scholia to Achilles Tatius 157, 1 and in Arethas, Scr. Min. II, 126, 12. It was said when an innocent was punished in the place of the guilty one. In this sense, the proverb goes back to the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Cf. R. Strömberg, A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemographers Göteborg 1954, 55; E. Zalzmann, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Libanios, Diss., Tübingen 1910, 21.

23 ἑπεειδή - μαθήματα: This seems to be a proverbial phrase, but I have not been able to locate the exact source. However, it was also used, but in a different context, by Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. XXXVIII, PG 36, 316C, from whom Mauropous may have borrowed it: ἑπεοειδή κακῶν διδασκάλων κακὰ τὰ μαθήματα.

Ep. 21. [To an ecclesiastic]

The «comforters» that I asked for stayed with me only for a short while. Your decision to take him away is unjust and against the divine will, even if you think that your deeds imitate it. At any rate, I shall now ponder the loss of a friend and how quickly he came and left.

The recipient of the letter was either a high-ranking church official or perhaps an abbot, the latter suggested by the remark: εί μη τοῦ σχήματος...
Notwithstanding the danger of placing this letter in a context other than its proper one, we are nonetheless inclined to propose that it belongs thematically and chronologically to the same setting as the last two letters.

The wise man of the story is Pythagoras. Mauropos has in mind Aphthonios, *Progymnsmata*, 4, from which the story is probably taken. The passage of Aphthonios has been applied by various authors in different contexts: See G. Fatouros, *Textkritisches zum Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates*, JÖB 26 (1974) 124.

Ep. 22.

You have delayed in sending the pears I had asked for, and now that they have arrived in the middle of winter it is out of season. But that is all right because with your promptness you have possibly protected us from some illness.

In the correspondence of several Byzantine authors the topic of sending or receiving a gift often provided the occasion for developing out of an ordinary act of courtesy literary *topoi*, such as the one in this letter. For this and on the dispatch of letters accompanied by gifts of fruit, see Karpazlos, *Realia*, 21ff. Using this everyday and rather mundane incident, the delayed arrival of a shipment of fruit, Mauropos has produced a fine example of a "thank you" note for the delayed gift. This is done with such fine irony that one is not sure whether his purpose is to mock, to thank, or both.

1 *Σήμερον πρόβαλα καὶ αὔριον ἄκροφι: Μαυροπός* begins his letter with a quotation from Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, 2, 9, 2 (II 88 Kayser), which must have become proverbial for its meaning. The words, according to Philostratus, belong to the sophist Aelius Aristides, who, when he was asked by the emperor Marcus Aurelius upon their meeting in Smyr-
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campaign for a higher position for their master, and better privileges for themselves. On the other hand, Wolska-Conus, Les Écoles de Psellos, 228-229, connected Mauropous' letter to the naming of Psellos as teacher of philosophy, a nomination which was bestowed upon him by Konstantinos IX at about the same time as Xiphilinos was named head of the law school. That the two men were appointed to their respective positions at the same time is attested to by Psellos himself, Encomium of Xiphilinos, Sathas MB IV, p. 433. This event is also mentioned by Attaleiates 21, 18 who makes reference to Psellos' promotion as teacher: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὑποκείμενον ἐπιμελήτη μαθήματος, προέδρου τῶν φιλοσοφῶν προχειρισμένους ἀνδρὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς διαφέρουσα γνώσει... Attaleiates places the nomination in the context of the educational reform of Konstantinos IX and the founding of the law school. Of course we have no details about the activities of Psellos as a «promoted» teacher of philosophy. Whether he continued to teach as πρόεδρος τῶν φιλοσοφῶν in his own private school, as he did before, with the support and approval of the Emperor and not in a new imperial establishment we do not know. It is certain however, that his nomination put him on the imperial payroll and that he was entitled as such to teach rhetoric and philosophy; Sathas MB IV, 434: οὕσπερ γὰρ ἐς μισθοφόραν ἡμᾶς καταστήσας ἐπί τῆς λόγους, αὐθέντα ἀνακάλλεται πρὸς ἐμοίνα, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπετύμη μυστερίων ἀποτέλεσας καὶ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἔτερος, ἐρωτᾶ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἡπτορικὴν ἐξανάκτησιν καὶ τι καὶ φιλοσοφίας παραμυθοῦν, ὄ δε τεχνὸν τούτο τά νομικά...

Finally, the chronological arrangement in the letters of Mauroposes argues against the assumption of Weiss, 69ff. Actually it was written after the nomination of Psellos as διάκοτος τῶν φιλοσοφῶν (1407), a title, however, which Mauroposes seems to ignore at this time, perhaps because it was not yet officially introduced. It should be noted also that P. Lemerle, Le Gouvernement des Philosophes, Cinq études sur le Xle siècle byzantin, Paris 1977, 221-223, placed the letter in an altogether different context maintaining that at this time Psellos wanted to secure a teaching position in the school of Saint Peter in Constantinople, a position which he finally received with the help of his students, to whom Mauroposes also refers in his letter.

20 πρὸς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνήκει: Correctly, P. Speck, Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel, Munich 1974, 23, n. 5, has noted that there were no separate courses offered which prepared some for a teaching career and others for the State service. There was only one curriculum that was offered, regardless of one's aspirations. Mauroposes promised his support to them whether they wanted to become teachers or State officials.

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Short and unpunctual my letters might indeed be considered, but I think my writing habits are better than yours; therefore, do not complain. The bearer of the letter is a former student of mine.

Ep. 25.

The further you retreat the more you are pursued and you will not get rid of me until you fulfill my request: to rescue this man from the danger with which he is beset.

Letters of this kind as a rule spare us those details which the bearer was expected to supply himself. Consequently we are again left with only a few hints from which we gather that the man was involved in some kind of conflict with the «holy tyranny», a euphemism for the power of the church (?).

Ep. 26. To the Emperor [Konstantinos IX Monomachos]

The candle of the body is the eye. When it is lit the whole body is illuminated and vice-versa, when it is darkened the whole body is darkened. Since we are parts of your body, my Despot, in the manner that we are part of the body of Christ, you are not only for us the eye but the whole head, because you are the representative of Christ and in His likeness. On account of this truth, we pray for your welfare, because when you prosper we also prosper, regardless of the adversities we encounter. We also pray that you will not allow yourself to be grieved or become excited with thoughts of revenge against the ungrateful nor should you be inflamed with justifiable anger against them. You will indeed render a service unto God, who gave you this bloodless victory, if you will show your mercy and forgiveness to those who rose in rebellion against you.

Mauroposes, in this masterpiece of Byzantine epistolography, pleads with the Emperor Konstantinos IX to spare the lives of the captured soldiers who took part in the crushed rebellion of Leon Tornikios (1047). The principal argument which Mauroposes put before the Emperor was the following: you were made ruler to rule over lives given to you by God and for which you will be held accountable. A brilliant step on the part of Mauroposes, who was anxious to prevent a witch hunt, which could begin at a signal from the Emperor.

The outbreak of Leon Tornikios revolt, its escalation and dramatic mo-
ments is described in considerable detail by Psellos, *Chron. 11*, 8ff.; loan. Skylitzes, *Thurn*., 438-442; Attaleiates, 22-30. Another important source for the same event is the oration which Mauropos held after the city was freed from the besiegers: χαριστήριος λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ καθαρμένῃ τῆς οἰκονομίᾳ; *Orat. 186*, Bollig-de Lagarde, 178-195. The two leaders and protagonists of the rebellion Leon Tornikios and Ioannes Bataztes were taken prisoner and condemned to be blinded. Both Psellos, *Chron. 11* 29 and Mauropos, *Orat. 186*, 193-194, point out that the punishment of the captured rebels became the subject of deliberations and that there were different opinions voiced on the fate of the defeated. Mauropos in his discourse, which he delivered on Dec. 29, 1047, implies that neither he himself nor the Emperor approved of this punishment. Significantly, the Emperor refrained from inflicting it upon the rest of the rebels despite the different views on the matter (*ibid*. 193-194). In his letter to the Emperor, Mauropos pleaded the case of the defeated who were on the verge of annihilation, because they were powerless at the mercy of a ruler whose wounded pride would make him irresponsible. More than that a certain segment of the populace was demanding the punishment of the defeated. The letter must have been written, then, immediately after the capture and punishment of Tornikios and Bataztes and certainly before Mauropos delivered his oration on Dec. 29, 1047, because in his panegyric the Emperor is presented as an adherent of clemency and good will. Furthermore, from the letter it becomes quite clear that the Emperor at that point had not yet been convinced of the necessity of showing moderation towards the defeated partisans of Leon Tornikios; cf. Lefort, *Trois Discours*, 281-282; Karpozilos, *Mavropouλος*, 142-145. Actually he was more inclined to a punishment which would serve as an example to any other future usurper. Mauropos, however, dissuaded him with his letter perhaps because he feared new troubles. The purpose of his oration was to pacify the spirits of agitation and to justify the imperial policy. Both the letter and his oration prove that Mauropos at this period was enjoying the confidence of the Emperor, being one of his principal advisers, a fact that is also mentioned by Psellos, *Encomium*, 154.


2-3 ὁ λόγος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθολογός: In the opening lines of the letter Mauropos alludes to the punishment the Emperor in his anger meted out to Bataztes and Tornikios. Ingeniously connecting this cruel act to the biblical passage (Matt. 6:22, Luk. 11:34) he warns him against any other similar action towards the partisans of the two captured leaders. For a similar use of the metaphor ὁ λόγος τοῦ σώματος, see Theodoros Studies, Ep. 185, PG 99, 1569B: καὶ ἄλλην (πῶς γὰρ οὖν) τῶν λόγων τοῦ σώματος ἀπολογείκανι....

14-15 ὁ δὲ πείλος χειρῶν - ἢ σπάνις: This is certainly another important indication for the chronology of the letter (winter of 1047) and also a reference to the hardships of that period; cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 441-442: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χειρός ἔπιστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαστῶν ἐπάνων...

56 εἰ μὴ τῶν κρείττων βασιλεία: For the double implication of the emperor as master of the world and slave of Christ, see Dölger, *Byzanz*, 23; Treitsinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser*, 146, n. 8.

78 καὶ τῶν ἀγωστάς δεσποινας καὶ βασιλείσσας: Mauropos alludes to the Empress Zoe and her sister Theodora, who together with the Emperor are likened to an invisible triad (inc 79), a metaphor which he uses also in his epigrams, cf. *Epigr. 54*, 118ff.

Ep. 27.

To provoke someone or for someone to become provoked is nothing new in our experience; it is part of our human nature and existence. The only difference between you and me, my Lord, is that you are a man of rank and nobility whereas I have nothing to boast about. Perhaps the only possession that I can claim is my freedom of thought and my conviction about it. For I prefer to be persuaded about something but never to accept an opinion by force. It was because of this conviction that I may have appeared to you somewhat quarrelsome. If, however, I did behave so, it was not because I have no respect for you, it was only because I do not suffer to be easily defeated by presumption.

To attempt a sketch of Mauropos' personality only from fragmentary inferences is perhaps unfair both to him and the historical truth. Yet this letter, to a certain extent, completes his portrait. The letter is an apology of his for having wounded the feelings of his addressee, a man of rank and authority. Mauropos has nothing to show in comparison except for τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἑλεοτέρον, a trait of his character that Psellos knew quite well: τις γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γνώμης εὐθυτέρος ἢ τις σοφία στέμμα δικαία τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρηματίσα τινι περὶ τοῦ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρηματίσα τίνι περὶ τοῦ τῆς πράξεως ἐχρηματίσα τινι. *Encomium* 155.
The details which are essential in establishing the rift between the two men are also missing from the letter. The few allusions that are made suggest that Mauropos for some reason was reluctant to yield to his addressee and his clan. The person referred to in ἐν διδόντες τὴν κατανευθομένην and the ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνον μὴν ἀντικατορθοῦν, (lines 14 and 25), is, we suppose, one and the same but is not the addressee - πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν, the second person involved, is contrasted next with πρὸς δὲ σὲ τυχόν (line 26).


Ep. 28. [To Ioannes Xiphilinos?]

To urge you to do me a favour is only natural. It would be like urging an eagle to fly, or a horse to run. Besides we are not strangers to each other. But take care not to overexaggerate when you speak about me. Friendship is blind and therefore cannot be a good judge. Moreover, others might become suspicious and therefore suggest that you proceed with moderation in your defence of me. Spare me then your praises, so that you may remain both a friend and at the same time an impartial judge.

4-6 τὸν δὲ ταύτης - φιλοράμιαν: Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 50, has pointed out that Mauropos here alludes to his friend's familiarity with Roman law, a hint that makes it possible to identify Mauropos' addressee as Ioannes Xiphilinos. The study of law as being a hering bequeathed to them from the Romans is actually a topos: cf. for instance Psellos' Epitaphios to Anastasios Lyza, ed. Weiss, p. 279: ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μοισαν προσελεγήσας. Mauropos' familiarity with Roman law is also praised in a similar fashion by Psellos, Encomium, 148: οὐδὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας σοφίας ἡμεληκόος... That the letter was most likely addressed to Xiphilinos is better attested by the next letter, no 29, in which Xiphilinos' name Ioannes is explicitly mentioned and also his profession as judge - ἀλλὰ ἄφρα ὅτι τῇ ἁγωγῇ κατά σὲ (Ep. 29, 12).

The addressee will in his capacity as a judge participate in Mauropos' case. However, in what kind of situation Mauropos is involved the letter does not specify.


25 τὸ ἀπαράγατον - προσμερτεύει: We do not know the proverb to which Mauropos here refers, but it seems that phrases like ἀπαράγατο


Ep. 29. To Ioannes

My desire to see you is contradicted by my ill health which wants to postpone it for another time. You, not I can decide, Ioannes, which party shall win, because you have the power to fulfill my request.

12 τὸν ὄμηρικον ἵππον ὄρα: Implied is perhaps the proverb with which Mauropos opens his previous letter no 28, ἵππον γὰρ ἐπαφῇ πεδίῳ τοῦ δρομικοῦ, lines 1-2. By referring to the ὄμηρικος ἵππος Mauropos pleads for an immediate action and response from his addressee. That is, if the addressee grants his request, Mauropos will come like the ὄμηρικος ἵππος, so great is his pόθος. A similar passage which may shed some light on Mauropos' use of this proverbial phrase may be found in Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. XI. III, FG, 36, 592B: ἀλλ' ἐκμετανάστατα με ταῖς ἅθνας χρόνον οὐχί συχνόν, ποιεῖ τὸν ὄμηρι-

ków ἵππον ὁ πόθος καὶ τὰ δίσιμα ῥήξας τῶν κατεχόντων, κραυὰν κατά πεδίον καὶ πρὸς τὸν σύννομον ὀφερόμενην.

12 cf. δ' ὁν: for its usage by byzantine epistolographers, see Karlsson, 144ff.

12-13 χάρας ὅτι τῇ ἁγωγῇ κατὰ σὲ: the phrase is taken from the jargon of the judges (also another indication to the addressee's profession); cf. for instance the expressions χάρας τῇ ἁγωγῇ or χάραν ἔχει ἡ ἁγωγή, Basilika XVIII, 1, 7, p. 871; XVIII, 1, 13, p. 872, ed. Scheltema-Van der Wal.

Ep. 30. [To Ioannes Xiphilinos?]

Certainly good fortune will come upon you because the sign is good and promising. On account of this event I rejoice together with both of you and pray that your success may be brought to an auspicious end.

Wolska-Conus, Les Écoles de Psellos, 229, connected this letter with no 23, supposing that it is addressed to Psellos and that it refers to the ascending career of his colleague Ioannes Xiphilinos and particularly to the success of their school, where philosophy and law were taught. The «defeat» of the one brother, καλὴν ἠττομένος ἤτταν (line 7) is taken to mean the concessions
which Xiphilinos was forced to make as to the curriculum of their school, a matter of dispute between the two teachers and their students, which was resolved through the mediation of the Emperor. Its stylistic similarities with ποιμ. 30, 2 (κατά τί γὰρ θηριστάτερον γένοιτο - τί δ᾽ οὐ γένοιτο κάλλιον τούτοις ἐμοὶ σοφοῖ; Ep. 23, 11) make this identification of the addressee plausible.

3-4 Τὸν ‘Ενγόνασιν - παρανατέλλοντα: Both manuscripts (V and A) transmit ἐν γονασί, but the context, I think, requires to read instead the name of the constellation Ἐνγόνασις, as it is transmitted in some manuscripts Ἐνγόνασις. Aratus, Phainomena 63-70, describes Engonasin (The Man on his Knees) as a constellation which is often seen rising and setting on the selfsame night (616-618). Engonasin appears among the northern constellations like a man sitting on bended knee with his right foot resting on the head of the Dragon. According to later interpretations this constellation represents Hercules; cf. M. Erren, Die Phainomena des Aratos von Soloi. Untersuchungen zum Sach und Sinnverständnis, Wiesbaden 1967, 43-45. The depiction of Engonasin as a man laboring and wrestling and yet being the victor was probably known to Mauropous from Aratus' Phainomena. Mauropous applied this depiction to the one of his two addressees, whom he likened to an ἄριστος ὀπισθώς διήπτης. I suppose, in order to stress his defeat which was more graceful than any victory (lines 5-6).

Ep. 31. [To a judge]

Your decision, in the case of this poor man, as far as I am concerned, was good and just. What I am now asking is not meant as a contradiction. I am pleading only for a more clear interpretation of your pronouncement. I wish to know which party will pay the cost of the court.

The impersonal style and content of the letter make it unlikely that it was addressed to Xiphilinos, as Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 50, suggests.

Ep. 32. [To a judge]

The suffering seek relief from a doctor and those caught in a storm trust their lives to the helmsman. Since everyone who seeks shall find, as the Scripture says, at the end this wretched man has also found his own protector in you.

13 τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ θρόνου: Probably implied is the addressee’s profession as a judge.
about time he received an answer from him, a sign that he is still his friend (lines 16-17). It is in relation to this metaphor that Psellus answered back that νῦν δὲ ὁ τόκος ὑμᾶς περιστίςεσθαι, implying that the circumstances were not favourable for complying with Mauropous' wishes. As to his charge that he has been unfriendly to him, Psellus replied that ever since the two were separated and Mauropous stopped writing to him (was there a quarrel between them?) he ceased also to write to Mauropous. All this talk, of course, was only leading to the main point of his letter, that Mauropous has often changed his mind about him and has now once again become critical of him because of his difficulties (line 30). But their friendship stands above these adversities and should neither be dependent upon external events nor be conditioned by them: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔξωθεν ἡμᾶς περιστίςεσθαι, πεπήγαγο δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὠσπέρ δὲ ἄλλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν (p. 52, line 3). There is no doubt that Psellus' letter must have been written in response to Mauropous' letter, and at a time of crisis for him. The next question to ask is: at what time were these two letters written? Psellus' letter seems to have been drafted soon after Mauropous was ordained bishop of Euchaita. He addresses him as ὅσπερ ἐνεποίησεν, but no mention is made of his bishopric. He also alludes to the holy myron of his ordination (p. 52, lines 19-24). However, the first mention that Mauropous makes of his election comes much later, in letter no 45, although the preliminaries to it are implied in several other letters, 34, 37-38, 43-44. In view of this fact, we may assume that Psellus might not have responded immediately to this letter, but only after the storm had passed. This explains in part why Mauropous was already critical of him, entertaining no real hopes. If this holds true, then Psellus had failed to act as a friend even though he tried to save face by arguing that friendship must be independent of the events that take place around us.

Ep. 34.

I no longer pity you for being removed from this place, because you have been spared the problems that confront me. Life has become unbearable here, so I think you are better off where you are. If some of our problems reach you they are nothing but the smoke from the fire that goes on here.

The situation in the letter could be part of that which Psellus describes in his Chron. II, 65ff, namely his falling from power together with a group of former favourites of Konstantinos IX. Whether Mauropous' addressee was part of this group is not certain.
your gift but I ask you to spare me in the future your generosity. At present, I am in a grievous situation suffering both spiritually and physically.

The opening lines remind us of a letter of Saint Basil addressed to Olympius: oia puvei, o tosmatise, ti tiv filηn hym penvn ki filofoforias toropvn tivs ἐρχατίας ἐπελαύνων (Epist. 4, ed. Courtonne, p. 15, 1-2). Both letters deal with the same situation: they are written as a protestation and as an act of courtesy, acknowledging the reception of a gift, whose richness does not conform to the simple way of life the authors live. Mauropous has used the letter of Saint Basil as a prototype and has enlarged upon its theme.

I ἄλκεις τὴν φιλην φιλοσοφίαν: In both letters the authors designate their simple mode of life with the term «philosophy». Already from the time of the christian fathers the term «philosophy» became applied to the full discipleship of Christ, that is as a characterization of the life of askesis and of the renunciation of the world; cf. Fr. Dölger, Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und φιλοσοφία in byzantinischer Zeit, in Byzanz und die europäischen Staatenwelt, 197-208, esp. 198-199. G. Podskalsky, Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz (Byzantinisches Archiv no. 15) Munich 1977, 21-22.

10-11 τί γὰρ τὸ ἄλογον: The word play ἄλογον - λόγος obviously alludes to the gift of the addressee which in Mauropous' words did not do justice to his simple way of life devoted to intellectual pursuits. The word play may also allude to the very nature of the gift that he received, namely a horse. This supposition could be substantiated to a degree, if we take literally the contrast that follows next: ἅς τὸ ἄλογον πρὸς τὸν στόν (line 12). For the sending of a horse as a gift, a not so uncommon gesture, since it is witnessed by several examples, see Karpozelos, Realia, 27ff. For the word ἄλογον in Greek and Byzantine sources, see G. N. Hatzidakis, Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik, Leipzig 1892, 34-35.

Ep. 38. [To a high-ranking ecclesiastic]

I am not really worthy of your words of praise and of the recognition you have bestowed upon me. In fact, I wondered whether you were not biased when you made this decision. However, your letter in the end convinced me that you were quite serious and sincere; otherwise, you would not have written it. It was then that I decided to accept your advice as a divine call. But now I am afraid that having been persuaded by you I will not be able to restrain myself from emotion any longer. What I fear is that I will eventually end in a disastrous flight as Icarus once did. Who would ever forgive my foolishness in daring to fly without even having waxen wings? Not to mention, of course, the ridicule that I would suffer. Imagine, next to the Icarian Sea also an Ioannion one. But now that you have made the impossible quite possible through your efforts, I am confident that you will not only sustain me with words of praise but with your prayers as well.

The occasion of the letter is Mauropous' candidacy for a bishopric. The ὁρμή and the ἐπανός awarded to him by his addressee, despite all his protestations, seem to point to the qualifications that made him eligible for the office in the first place. The identity of the addressee, unfortunately, cannot be fully established. Most likely, he was a high ranking ecclesiastic who had obviously played a key role in Mauropous' nomination. He is addressed θεοτόκισσα (line 1), a title usually reserved for bishops; cf. Lampe. The passage ἄλλα ἐπείπερ, εἴ δὲ ὁίδα, τοὶς ἀποστόλοις (line 28), further suggests that he had been fully empowered in this affair by someone else, possibly by the Patriarch; ὅ ὄμετερος διὰδοχικός (line 29) seems at least to imply this. In which case, the addressee might well have been a bishop. Furthermore, the passage alludes to a biblical text (Mat. 21, 21; Joh. 14, 12) to illustrate, on the one hand, Mauropous' stubborn resistance, and on the other, the extraordinary powers of his addressee.

17 ἐν δὲ ὁμοι ἔτι θεορεῖν με καὶ θράττειν. Cf. his Epigr. 91, 6-8, Bollig de Lagarde, 44, which seems to have been written upon the same occasion as this letter. Debating the prospect of his candidacy, Mauropous wrote: πολλοὺς θρόνους φέρουμεν νυμφηλός ἀνώ. ἔγω δὲ γιὰνεν ἕκαλεν τεταλαμένον αὐξ ἡν τε νεών καὶ κατὰ ξητοῦ μένειν...

There is an obvious connection between these verses and the above passage. In both, the prospect of his elevation to office is described as an ascent destined to failure.

But interestingly enough, Psellos too writes about Maurepous' «ascent» using the exact same metaphor, as if he had in mind at the time he was writing both Maurepous' letter and epigram. He is presenting Maurepous as unwilling to be brought forward and likens him to a bird that out of fear does not dare to fly (ὅ δε, τοσοῦτον το θερινὸν ἠπλάκει, ὅσπις δὲ δεδώκοι τὸν παλινόν ἄρα, οὔθε ἐπὶ τοῦ φαλαοῦ λαμαθῶν ἐμεμονήκει, Encomium, 155). Yet at the insist-
ence of the Emperor and the Patriarch he was elevated to office, an act described by Psellus as a flight of a young eagle (ibid., p. 155).

Ep. 39. [To a provincial judge]

The man I am introducing to you was favoured in the past by your predecessor. You should receive him, then, in the manner to which he is accustomed.

The person, in all probability a tax collector, on whose behalf the letter was written had enjoyed the patronage of a previous provincial judge. Mauropous seems to imply that in the provinces the occupants of new positions, as a rule, avoided altering the order which their predecessors had maintained. Thereby, the perquisites which their predecessors had come to enjoy were not diminished in any way. If that was the case, Mauropous had a strong argument for his request. The letter suggests that the individual he was introducing expected to be financially accommodated by the newly appointed judge to this province: ὅπως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥοπής μέρος εἰσπράττόμενος πάρεστιν (line 10).

Ep. 40.

The petitioner seems to despise the help of relatives and of powerful friends, hoping instead to achieve his ends through this short letter. He also knows that you respect friendship more than authority. Comply, therefore, with his request.

1 ἐπιστόλιον: For the term, see Tomadakes, 33, 91.

2 ἐπιστόλιον: For the term, see Tomadakes, 33, 91.

Ep. 41. [To a government official]

You can tame an authority by trying to buy it off. Pay then what is due this power. By appealing to her appetite you will gain more.

1 Note the word play ἔξουσια - ἔσοσια, whereby Mauropous by contrasting the words ἔξουσια and ἐσοσια assigns to the former, the «power/authority», a secondary role before «the essence/the real substance», which is in this case the endangered «property» of the addressee.

Ep. 42. [To a government official]

Do not construe my brevity and my small gift to be a fault. You know that I am neither loquacious nor open-handed. It is more appropriate for a modest man like me to forward a modest reply and a modest gift to a man such as you who knows how to talk a lot and to give away plenty.

1 The whole letter is conceived as a series of opposites and parallels: πατριαρχεία, βασιλεία, βυζαντινός, μικρός, μεγάλος, ἄφθονος, ἄλλος, ἄλλος etc. On the theme of brevity in epistolography, see the commentary on letter no. 17, 154-156.

Ep. 43.

I have been wanting to hear good news of you for some time now, but when your messenger came he overwhelmed me with your praise, not stopping until he left. I am indebted to you for the kindness you will show to him. I must inform you that, for reasons that are only known to the wise steward of our affairs, I am soon leaving the City.

The last part of the letter is of special interest to us because of the information concerning Mauropous' imminent departure from Constantinople. For this unexpected development in his life, hinted at for the first time in Ep. no 38, Mauropous does not apparently wish to give an explanation in writing.

2 For the role of the messenger in byzantine epistolography, see the commentary on Ep. 2.

15 ὁ σοφὸς ὁ ὀικονόμος: implied is the Emperor Constantinos IX Monomachos, who insisted upon Mauropous' election to office; cf. Psellus, Encomium, 155. Mauropous mentions him elsewhere in his writings, but always in the same obscure language (χάρις μὲν τῷ οὖσαν ὁμονομήσαντι Ep. 45, 5; ὁ κρείττων ἐκρήτησεν καὶ ἐπηθήνετας ἡμᾶς ὕπο πόδας ἐχει καμένους Epigr. 50, 10-11). That he was forced to the bishopric, he states not only in his letters (cf. Ep. 48, 11), but also in his inaugural address to the people of Euchaita: ἥν γὰρ τολμήσας νεανίσκασας, τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ θαρρήσας τὸ μισμάθημα περὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τέλος ἐνδούναι (Orat. 184, p. 162).
That which the thunder forebode is certainly not good news to you or to us. As for me, it is not necessary to pay any attention to the omens now that my time has run out. That which was to happen, has already taken place.

To a concerned friend, disturbed by rumours about Mauropous' fate, this reply was definite: the matter of his removal from Constantinople (cf. Ep. 43) was settled and, as Mauropous put it, ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐδείκτεσθαι τὸ καὶ γίνεται. His last phrase καὶ γίνεται might imply that his ordination had not yet taken place.

Ep. 45.

What I feared all along has now come to pass - the ordination, the bishopric, everything I dreaded, and wished at all costs to avoid. But since Providence is pleased, I am grateful. It is now, therefore, that I need your prayers and support more than ever before. As to the actual reason for my election, how it came about and why - you will hear about it soon, if you have not already, since the news is now spreading very fast.

We might have come nearer to the identity of the man who was behind Mauropous' ordination had he not decided at the last minute to change the subject, thus leaving his sentence incomplete: ἐξερχόμενος τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς τοῦ προσκυνήματος... (line 4). This is, nonetheless, indicative that it was not divine Providence alone, which was responsible for his fate (cf. Ep. 43). As to the details of his investiture and the course of events that preceded it, the news was spreading quickly. With this statement Mauropous obviously meant that his case had created considerable sensation in Constantinople.

I χορηγεία: The χορηγεία here can simply be a synonym for χορηγοθεία; cf. Lampe. As a terminus technicus it means, however, the ordination of the lower clergy. Mauropous seems to have employed it in its wider sense to indicate his ordination. The prooimion of the letter brings to mind the first lines of Epigr. 92. 1-3, Bollig-de Lagarde 45.

Ep. 46. [To a provincial judge]

You must be likened to a planet; that is more fitting to your profession. Provincial judges constantly move around, never settling in one place. You should, therefore, return to the West of your own accord. As for the charges that I have levied against you concerning your unfriendliness, we can discuss them when you return.

Weiss, p. 38, has drawn from this passage, as well as from other sources, conclusions, about the difficulties inherent in the profession, at the time, of provincial judges and their constant moving from place to place.

18 τῆς ἀφηλίας - συγίς: On the motif of silence, connected here with the complaint of ἀφήλια, see Hunger, I, 221-222; Tomadakes, 109-111.

Ep. 47.

There is no doubt at all that it was God who delivered you so unexpectedly. The gifts that you have sent to me, along with your letter, show once more your usual generosity, and that your friendship remains unchanged despite the difficulties you have endured.

Ep. 48. [To a high ranking ecclesiastic]

The only news I am expecting to hear from the West, which thrives on contention, is that you are still enjoying good health. My health, however, is not so good, either physically or spiritually. Furthermore, life has become very difficult for me. The only thing that still comforts me is my freedom, my most treasured possession. But even this is in danger of being taken away from me, for they have imposed upon me thrones and ranks, altogether disrupting the quiet life to which I was accustomed. If you do not do something to help me, you will never see me again.

Mauropous is, at this time, somewhere east of Constantinople, still hoping to prevent his ordination by appealing to powerful friends like his addressee, a high-ranking ecclesiastic, to intervene on his behalf, εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ τούτο θρόνον... (line 20). The West, from which he expects nothing good, cannot be placed anywhere else but the Capital which is thriving in adversity. The place of his abode, nonetheless, cannot be determined, although it must have been at some distance from Constantinople if we are to take him literally when he writes καὶ βασιλείας ἀρχαίον ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀναγκαστικὴν βοηθίαν (lines 17-18). Worth noting is his remark that he had been forced by an authority he fails to name to abandon the quiet life he enjoyed in order to embark on a promising ecclesiastical career: εἰκὸς τῆς τράνου θράπειας καὶ βασιλείας προκοπαῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας βασιλείας...
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(lines 10-11). This same authority contested his right to maintain his quiet mode of life - μεταβολήν ἐς ἀνάγκης ἐπενεγκαίν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίῳ φιλονεικούσης (lines 11-12).

In similar language charged with emotion Mauropous describes the same situation in a series of epigrams, nos. 89-93, written also on the eve of his elevation to office. Despite his protestations this same authority forced him to accept his nomination:

...καὶ τι γὰρ παθεῖν ἔδει,
εἰς τὸν δυνάστην ἔμπαισάτα τὸν μέγαν;
οὐκοῦν ἐκαμήθην, καὶ κρατήσεις εἰς ἔπαν,
ὑπῆκολον ἡ ἡ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὸ φορτίον,
καὶ μέρισμα εἰς τοῦ παντοφόρου κράτους,
ὅ δέστα πᾶσαν ἐκβιάζεται φίλον,
καὶ σκληρότης τις αὐτὸχρημα τυχάνοι. (Epigr. 93, 52-58.
Bollig-de Lagarde 49).

The only one, however, who exercised such authority and dispensed such orders was the Emperor. Cf. Psellus, Encomium, p. 155: εἴθ’ ἐκκατέρωσε διαλεβόντες, ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ αὐτόκράτε, ἐκάθεθεν δὲ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἵθελεν λαχάνι, μὲν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις, θάμπη δὲ ἡταλθᵦ... ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης θρόνου τίθαι καὶ ἕξοροισιν αὐτὸ ὁστὶ τινε κρείττονι τὰ Ἑλβύτα.

Ep. 49. To Michael

It is the hate for the people here, or perhaps the love for those around you that keeps you away from us. The latter seems more probable because I see no reason why you should hate your fellow countryman and associate. But as the saying goes, you have tasted the lotus fruit and forgotten your friends at home. In the man I am referring to you, you will see me; and in the manner you treat him, I will see my friend, Michael.

There is very little in this letter which supports Dräseke's attempt to connect it with the ecclesiastical events of the period 1053-1054; Dräseke, Johannes Mauropous, p. 486-487. There is also little support for Dräseke's hypothesis that Mauropous addressed this letter to Michael Keroularios and sent it to him with Michael Psellus. The addressee's name is indeed Michael but nowhere is it stated that he is an ecclesiastic. On the contrary, he is called an archon, a state official. Furthermore, it is not Mauropous who is away from home, as Dräseke maintains, but his correspondent. What seems more probable is that Mauropous is writing to a friend, maybe a former student (line 4), who happens to be away from Constantinople and to whom he is referring someone seeking a favour.

Ep. 50. [To a high ranking ecclesiastic]

I never expected this turn of events that has brought about such a drastic change in my life despite all my efforts to resist it. Perhaps this is to remind me that we are not free to do as we please. The mightier has prevailed and his wise judgment has decided my destiny. I am in need of your prayers.

Before embarking upon his new career as Metropolitan of Euchaita Mauropous turned to a relative to ask for his support. Who this person was there is no way to determine. Perhaps the help which Mauropous desired from his relative concerned his forthcoming ordination, for he seems to allude to the ordination and the acclamation ἄγειος which the people raised at the consecrating their bishops (line 31); cf. Bas. Ep. 230; Eus. h.e. 6.29.4. Accordingly the words μηδ’ ἐναπάθη... τοῖς σεαυτῷ προσβλεπιτης... ἕς τοις πάσιν καὶ καιμέναι (lines 25-28), seems to point to the desire of Mauropous to be ordained to office by the addressee. Yet the identity of the recipient of the letter is not disclosed, nor his rank or status. Mauropous refers to his seniority but in very obscure language, leaving us uncertain as to his position in the Church hierarchy (24ff).

11-12 ὁ κρείττον ἐκράτης: cf. Epigr. 93,37, Bollig de Lagarde, 49.

16-17 πλεονεκτοῦμεν - ἄροπροςτήμος: About his poor health Mauropous makes occasional remarks though avoiding to give any details (cf. Ep. 48). Nevertheless he believed that this handicap alone was reason enough to be spared the bishopric; cf. for instance his remarks in the inaugural address to the church of Euchaita, Orat. 184, Bollig - de Lagarde, 161.

Ep. 51. To Konstantinos [Psellos]

The Lydian did not go out to buy troubles, but the troubles have purchased and cast the Lydian upon dangers and tribulations. Indeed, he has been betrayed and sold out by you, his friends. You have abandoned a friend to his fate, having persuaded him that you care for him. But you actually disposed of him as if he were a burden to you, finding an excuse to send him away for no

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reason at all. I now realize that my friends have abandoned me, although I have not forgotten them, as my letter and gift attest. Your friendship should be demonstrated by deeds too. My present situation, the result of your unkind involvement in my affairs, promises only anxiety and cares.

This letter must have been addressed to Konstantinos Psellos (cf. line 38). Also the comparison of Psellos to Hermes, which appears elsewhere in the letters, (cf. Ep. 23), is further evidence that Psellos must have been Mauropous' addressee. Mauropous' apparent bitterness concerning the Emperor's responsibility for his situation is also to be seen in other letters (cf. nos. 45, 48, 50). In this letter, however, he deplores Psellos' stand throughout the period of crisis. He levels against Psellos and his other friends some serious charges. He accuses them of abandoning him to an unpleasant fate and furthermore of contending self-righteously that they acted in his interest. He suggests furthermore that they are in fact helping him (lines 4-12). The only other reason at all. I now realize that my friends have abandoned me, although I have not forgotten them, as my letter and gift attest. Your friendship should be demonstrated by deeds too. My present situation, the result of your unkind involvement in my affairs, promises only anxiety and cares.

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that his situation was not so grave as he maintained. On the contrary. Mauropous suggests that recent developments in his own career deserved more consideration and concern. Hence the fable of Aesop as a paradigm. We have no clue as to the identity of his correspondent. We know only that he was stationed somewhere in the provinces as a government official (line 11) and that he was disillusioned and dissatisfied with his position.

Ep. 53.

We know that virtue is not completely gone from the world for we still see some signs of it in our midst. Indeed, a man has come with good words and love. He is shown as a living example of Christ's discipleship, brought forward by divine Providence. Sceptical of this miracle, at first, I now rejoice and consider the man a dear friend.

A message full of sympathy for Mauropous provided the occasion for this letter. The writer was not one of his acquaintances. In fact, the two men never having met before explains the surprise in Mauropous' reply. In contrast to those who forgot him (cf. Ep. 51), the unexpected sympathy of this person moved Mauropous deeply.

Ep. 54. [To an ecclesiastic]

Among the many evils in which this country abounds, I had hoped to find at least one good, a rose among thorns, your holiness. This good, which I had hoped to find here, is now far away and the distance makes it impossible to enjoy. There is so much anguish in this place that even you, who are accustomed to such situations, would agree that it is indeed difficult to endure. Do not neglect therefore, to send your advice and guidance on matters concerning, which I lack experience.

Addressed to an ecclesiastic (line 3), the letter is written from Euchaita, shortly after Mauropous' arrival. His first impression of the place is painted in bleak colours, which remained unchanged in subsequent letters throughout his residence there (Eps. 60, 64-66).

7-9 κατὰ μέχριν - τῇ μνήμῃ κοινίσιμοι: The separation is an obstacle for friendship, but the distance that keeps the friends apart is bridged by the μνήμη. On this theme and on the topos ἄρουσια - παρουσία, see Tomasides. 108-109: Karlsson. 40-45; Hunger. I 224.

Ep. 55. [To a judge]

You have given freedom of speech to a meddlesome fellow, and, therefore, you should make amends. You should show mercy towards this ruined man whose entire fortune was lost. If you have any sympathy, show it to him by granting him your protection.

The letter discusses the plight of a financially ruined merchant. Mauropous intervened to secure on the man's behalf the sympathy of the addressee, who had been drawn into the case as a judge.

Ep. 56.

If you do not accept empty letters, do not read this one also for it reflects only the writer’s poverty. Answer his simple letter and pity his misfortune and perhaps he will live long enough to repay you. But, alas, it seems you do not now possess the forbearance for which you formerly were known.

Ep. 57. To Ioannes

I love my friends without offering them any profit or advantage. But this is because of my poverty, not because of pettiness. Besides, expecting from friends something other than true friendship is like striking a bargain, and this is against my principles.

The subject here concerns some request which for some reason Mauropous was unable to comply with. The identity of the addressee remains unknown, except that his first name, Ioannes, is hinted at by the ἔξω τοῦ διαδόχου ἡμῶν (Line 8). The saying ἄνω τὰ κ' ἀδόρτητα φορμής μηλί (Lycophr. Alex. 140) is appropriate to the fruitless reply that Mauropous sent.

Ep. 58. [To three former students]

My love is sincere and true and my loyalty needs no proof. With regard to your petition, I hesitate to say that it was rejected. However, the brother was urged to try again.

The letter is addressed to three former students of Mauropous of undis- closed identity. Whether they were blood brothers or associated in another sense, perhaps spiritual, is not indicated. Neither is their present position suggested, although they are designated as συμφωνεῖν καὶ λόγων, an appellation quite appropriate for teachers.
Ep. 59. [To an ecclesiastic]

Your wise advice and words of consolation have alleviated my sufferings. You are truly a man of God, a real treasury of his divine charity. I have sent another letter to our common despot; see that like my last it receives attention. I beg you to show your cooperation to my messenger so that I may hear a good report about you upon his return.

Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 46, maintains that this letter was addressed to Psellus. Actually there is little in the text to support this supposition. We know only that the addressee of the letter had on an earlier occasion facilitated the delivery of a letter from Mauropos to their «common despot» and that it had received proper attention (lines 12-13). The κοινός δεσπότης could be the Emperor, as Lyubarsky suggests, but we have no reason to believe that it might not as well be the Patriarch, or, for that matter, any other high ranking official, since this appellation was not exclusively reserved for use by either the church or state. The fact that the person in question is referred to as κοινός δεσπότης could signify that the addressee, like Mauropos, was a man of the cloth. This seems more probable than Lyubarsky’s supposition, since the biblical passage which Mauropos employed in order to praise the addressee’s faith and charity could hardly be applied to Psellus, whom Mauropos, as a rule, praised more for his erudition than for his faith (Ep. 23, 5). Moreover, in this letter we have no elements of that familiarity which characterized the relationship of these two men.

Ep. 60. [To Michael Psellus?

Now I do not have the leisure to speak with the wise ones any longer. Those meetings and discussions which I so much miss are now a thing of the past. The reality of the present is unpleasant and difficult. I lead now a completely different kind of existence. What makes matters worse is that I feel that my friends, even my dearest one, are not interested in me.

What occasioned this letter, which in all probability is addressed to Psellus (lines 3, 11-12), cannot clearly be established. The πολύδικος πόλεμος (line 5), refers to the difficulties Mauropos encountered in Euchaita. From other references in the letters we know that his relations with the people of the city were not particularly good (cf. Ep. 66 and also Ep. 80, Sathas, MB V, p. 313-314). The cause of his problems there, however, is not clear either. From Psellus we learn that Mauropos’ opponents, all citizens of Euchaita, complained to the Emperor Konstantinos IX and that the situation on that occasion was saved because of his timely intervention (ΟI ἐκ τῶν Ἐξαρτόν... λύκοι γὰρ τυγχάνοντες γεγόνασιν... Ἑλπίσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σάρκας ἔδειξεν (Ep. 80, Sathas, ibid., 313). At the end the Emperor was persuaded by Psellus and dismissed the accusations against Mauropos; ibid., p. 314. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 46. The unceremonious tone with which the letter begins rather suggests that it is part of a continuing dialogue. Possibly Mauropos is responding here to an earlier complaint of Psellus concerning his silence (cf. Eps. 227, 269, Kurtz-Drexel, 272-273, 314-315).

2-4 οὐκέτα - λόγους: The topos that men of letters should write and at the same time receive long letters in contrast to all the rest occurs in the correspondence of Libanius, Ep. 45, 5 (369 Forster), ed. Fatouros - Krischer, 110 and 373. Cf. also the request of Julian to his teacher Proairesius Ep. 26, ed. Weiss 68: οὐκέτα μὲν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς σοφοῖς μακρὸς πάνω καὶ μεγάλους ποιεῖτε τοῖς λόγοις, ἣμιν δὲ ἅρκει καὶ τὰ βραχᾶ πρὸς ἅμας.

13 καὶ μόνος - τραγῳδίαν: For a discussion of this passage, see the commentary on letter no. 63, 8-9.

Ep. 61. To Ioannes

Ioannes’ letter was real and not a dream. And yet after six months I still fail to answer. I have been besieged by many problems and difficulties. Therefore, do not blame me for the delay and the injustice done to our friendship, but blame circumstances which were so adverse. Convey my friendship to colleagues and to the other three teachers. Sentenced, as I have been, to live in the world of Democritus, I am totally ignorant of your news.

The letter was written from Euchaita in reply to a letter received six months earlier (lines 4-5). The addressee, Ioannes, must have been a school teacher; the χορὸς τῶν μακάρων is in all probability a reference to his school. His colleagues, ὁ τε βλότοι συμφόρωντες, were likewise teachers, as were also the other individuals whom Mauropos singled out, ὁ ἐπὶ οἶμα διδασκάλοις, ὁ δεινὸς τε καὶ ὁ δεινός (lines 17-18). The καλὸς καὶ σοφὸς ‘Ἰωάννης (line 5) probably is Mauropos’ friend Ioannes Xiphilinos. Xiphilinos’ association with the School of Law which the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos founded in Constantinople, is well known. If it could be shown that Mauropos actually speaks about this school and its teachers, then it would be safe to assume that the addressee was indeed Mauropos’ close friend, Xiphilinos. Mauropos
feared that the teachers about whom he inquired might have faced a fate similar to his own, dismissal from the school and a resulting «new kind of existence». The river analogy τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον δεδομένος ποταμόν (line 19) is obviously employed to illustrate the constant flux of events taking place at this time. He seems to refer specifically to the purges which the Emperor had begun in this period; cf. Psellos, Chron., II 66f. If this supposition proves correct, Xiphilinos may be assumed to be the addressee. Furthermore, it may be adduced that he remained active in the school for a length of time following Mauropous’ departure from Constantinople.

18 ὁ δὲνὰ τε καὶ ὁ δὲνα: The substitute of a name with the designation ὁ δὲνα, as this letter proves, does not occur only in letters of recommendation; cf. the discussion on letter 15, line 4. There were other reasons as well that prompted Mauropous to avoid any mention of names. Most important of all, he wanted his letters to be read for their literary merit and not as a record of his correspondence. This also explains why all the names of his addressees are missing from his letters. That he took pains to observe this principle can be shown from the next letter, Ep. 62, line 2, where he refers to his addressees with the designation ὁ ἐμὸς τε καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς.

19 τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον δεδομένος ποταμόν: Mauropous refers to Heraclitus’ philosophical maxim ποταμῷ γὰρ ὅτι ἐστιν ἑμβριαν κλίτοις τῇ ἀτόμῳ (Heracl. 91). This saying was understood to suggest the constant flux of all things.

21 ἐν τοῖς τῶν Δημοκρίτεων: Democritus was attacked by the Epicurean school for holding the view that only atoms and the void are real. Mauropous probably had this in mind; therefore, he compared his existence to the void which Democritus proposed as a dimension of the only true reality. (Cf. Democ. Frag. B 117, ed. Diels-Kranz). A rather similar thought is expressed by Psellos when he states in one of his letters, ετρόπον γοῦν τινα Δημοκρίτεος ἐμί καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, παρὰ μέρος νεκρῶν καὶ πενθόνων. Epist. 95, Kurtz-Drexel, 123, 25-27; cf. also Nikephoros Gregoras. Epist. 4, ed. Bezdek, 241, 26.

Ep. 62. [To two teachers]

I shall not overlook my dearest friends and most wise teachers, one because he was my mentor, the other because he, the holy one, is unique and in him the school is embodied. Besides, there is a spiritual bond between us all. I have not addressed you separately because I have no leisure, nor do I find it necessary to do so. God willing, I shall write to each of you and also to my other friends.

The recipients of this letter were two former teachers of Mauropous. The information we have on his education is scarce. Psellos, Encomium, 143ff, mentions only that Mauropous’ first teachers were two of his uncles and that he continued later his education with others. This letter does not disclose any significant details about the school he attended; neither does it give us the names of the teachers to whom he is writing. Although there is some ambiguity as to the exact meaning of lines 2-5, it is clear in any case that the two teachers referred to above taught in a school of their own. One seems to have been Mauropous’ real mentor and to him, he says, he owed his learning. The other seems to have been the owner of the school (lines 2-5). Both teachers it seems were men of the cloth; hence their being addressed as ἐγγύηται (line 2).

2 μακεναί: it was the common designation for teachers and in the eleventh and twelfth century this term referred to the teachers of church schools as well; cf. Speck, Die Kaiserliche Universität, 30, n. 10; 62, n. 31 and P. Lemerle, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantins, Paris 1971, 257, n. 45.

2 τὸν ἐμὸν τε καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν: see commentary on letter 61, line 18.

3-4 καθηγημένοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι: Mauropous, apart from the fact that he echoes a passage from Gregory Nazianzus (ἐμί καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἀπὸ καθηγημένων καὶ διδάσκαλων... Orat. XLIII PG 36, 512A), here seems to have employed the words καθηγημένων - διδάσκαλων rather as synonyms and not in a technical sense, thereby making a distinction between two types of teachers, as is the case with these two terms in a letter of Julian the Apostle; ep. 61 (42), ed. J. Bidez, I, 2 Paris 1924, 75, 16; Speck, Die Kaiserliche Universität, 10, n. 46.

Ep. 63.

It is most appropriate that a royal ornament should decorate the Queen City. She has embraced the virtues and wisdom with which the divine grace has endowed you, while I have been cast afar like rubbish. Nonetheless, I rejoice in your good fortune as a friend should. But do not try, as the tragedy says, to enjoy your well being alone, without communicating it, oblivious of your friends who are away from you and of their cares.
with Mauropous' correspondence; both predate the three previously mentioned manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus. The question of the authorship of this letter has been briefly discussed by P. Gallay, *Les Manuscrits*, 128-130; *Saint Gregoire de Nazianze Lettres I*, Paris 1964, XXXVI-XXXVIII, who concluded that the letter must have been written by Gregory to Nectarius his successor in the see of Constantinople, congratulating Nectarius for his elevation to office. The Paris. Gr. 902 bears in fact the heading npo; NsKxdpiov KcDvaxavxivoujrd-<; xeipoxovqOevxa pexa xfjv a6xou imoxcopriaiv. But how has this letter {Ep. 88 ed. Gallay) slipped from the six major families of manuscripts preserving Gregory's correspondence? Its presence in three late manuscripts, reasons Gallay, signifies that there had been another major source of Gregory's correspondence now lost. Mauropous, on the other hand, could not be the author, Gallay further argues, because he had no reason to write such a letter as this from Euchaita, since he was content with his position there. But Gallay's reasoning does not appear to be at all correct, for even a casual perusal of Mauropous' correspondence proves exactly the opposite. The content of the letter could fit precisely Mauropous' situation as well. It further suggests that the letter was not written only to congratulate someone for being nominated to a new office. We must consider also the author's reminder to the addressee that while he prospered, he should be more mindful of his unlucky friend who was removed by unfortunate circumstances from the Queen City:

koivcovei 8 Kai arixo; oaa SeI x6>v fevxauGa <ppovxi8a)v Kai Ttepvoxaosv xoi; ootfc drcoSqpon; Kai prj privo; xo xpTioxriv ditoXaptiv Sx (lines 7-8).

Would Gregory have addressed Nectarius, a rather insignificant person, in this manner? It is also hard to explain in what sense Nectarius would have been considered a πατέρειον αφαντῆς in that he was a rather obscure figure and certainly not an intimate friend of Gregory. Comparing this letter to the others sent by Gregory to Nectarius (nos. 91, 151, 185 and 186, ed. Gallay), we note that there are obvious and substantial stylistic differences. To be more specific, Gregory writes him not in such an intimate language, because his letters to him are more or less impersonal and rather formal. The «atmosphere» of *Ep. 88* does not fit with any of the other four letters addressed to him. On the other hand, there are stylistic similarities between this letter and another one by Mauropous (*Ep. 60*):

\[ Ep. 60. 12-14 \]
\[ και μύονος τό χρηστόν ἀπολαβάν \]
\[ ἔχει, κατά τήν σοφήν τραγωδίαν, \]
\[ ἐπετέλεσεν καὶ τήν πάνων κοινωνεῖν \]
\[ ὧν ἰδίᾳ ἄνεχεται... \]

\[ Ep. 63. 8-10 \]
\[ καὶ μη μύονος τό χρηστόν ἀπολαβάν \]
\[ ἔχει, τούτο δὲ τό τῶν τραγωδῶν, ἄλλα \]
\[ τῇ δὲ φίλᾳ τῶν πάνων ἐμέρει συναντήσα- \]
\[ βάνος τῷ φίλῳ... \]

The thematic affinity of *Ep. 63* (*Ep. 88 ed. Gallay) with other letters of Mauropous shows that he could have been as well the author of this letter. In fact, his plea to be remembered by his more fortunate friends while he lived in Euchaita constitutes a major theme in his correspondence (*Ep. 63*, 51, 54, 67-69).

The matter of the authorship of *Ep. 63* cannot be then so easily resolved; to be sure, not on the grounds alone that Gallay has proposed. Notwithstanding the difficulties for an attribution of its authorship to one or the other, it is worth mentioning that in an oration of Psellos composed in honour of Theodora, the last in line of the Macedonian dynasty, the opening lines of his speech bear some resemblance to the opening lines of *Ep. 63* (*Ep. 88 ed. Gallay):

Kurtz-Drexli, I, 1.1-3

Ep. 63.1

'Εξεί τότε τήν εἰσαίσμαν ταύτην... ὧν οἰκεῖον κόσμον ὄλον ὄλον ἀπο- λαβήν...

Ep. 64. To the Patriarch [Michael Keroularias]

I think that my holy lord may wonder how and for what reason his servant could have continued so long in silence. But if he were to come and see this remote place and acquaint himself with the difficulties I have continually had to encounter here, he would be amazed that I am still alive. After having travelled for two months to get here, I was assaulted immediately and beset with all manner of evil storms. Now, after six months here, and reinforced by your prayers, I find that I can again keep my head above the waves. The messenger will explain everything. In case you insist, however, I will state briefly only that I have been received well. Yet the land is desolate, sparsely populated and poor. But it is your prayers that are what really matter to me and I treasure them above everything.

The exact circumstances which surrounded Mauropous' arrival in Euchai-
disheartened. His journey lasted almost two months (line 10), an unusually long time considering the distance he had to cover. The difficulties which he describes so dramatically in the letter perhaps are not overexaggerated. The toils of his long journey, which seriously affected his health, are mentioned also in his inaugural speech to the people of Euchaita (Orat. 184, Bollig - de Lagarde, 161).

He must have started his journey from Constantinople still in the winter time, a fact that explains all the hardships he had to endure, arriving in Euchaita in the early Spring of 1050. This is documented beyond any doubt by his inaugural address which was delivered on Easter Sunday of that year (Orat. 184, pp. 164-165). His first impression of the Church of Euchaita was positive and in his first speech to the faithful he expressed his satisfaction especially for the great pomp with which he was received by them (Orat. 184, pp. 164-165). The picture of Euchaita given in this letter does not agree with the one found in Mauropous' sermons; Orat. 180, p. 132; 184, p. 160. In the sermons, Mauropous describes Euchaita as a populous and rich city, although we cannot now verify its size during this period with any certainty. We only know that its annual feast of St. Theodore, the patron saint of Euchaita, attracted many pilgrims and merchants who brought with them a certain prosperity to the city; cf. Karpozilos, Μαυρόπους, 42-43.

58-62 ἀπὸ κορυθῆς ἐπιτίθει: Built midway between the Halys and Iris rivers, Euchaita, observed Mauropous, produced satisfactory harvests of grain. But at the same time, he complained that the land was not productive for the cultivation of olive oil or for the vine. A similar complaint was voiced by Leo metropolitan of Synada in a letter to the Emperor Basil II: Ἐλαίον γὰρ ὡς γεωργίαν· τότε κοῦλν τός "Ἀντισείσμης ἔθημεν πάνεν οὖν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς δόξαν, ὄψης καὶ τεχνῆς λαθούσα τῆς θέσεως, Darrouzès, Epistoliers, III, 143 198. The transport of salted fish or of fresh fruits from coastal centers to the interior is occasionally mentioned in the sources. But by the time the transport came to the market most of it was rotten to the dissapointment of the more demanding customers; consider, for instance, the complaint of Gregorios Antiochos in a letter to Eustathios of Thessalonika: Darrouzès, ByzSta 24(1963) 65.33ff: Karpozilos Realia, 21. On the other hand, Nikolaos Mesarites in his Reisebericht mentions that on his way to Nicæa he met in a place called Neakonis a mule: caravan transporting salt fish carefully laid in baskets: καὶ δοιπόροις συνομήλια, τετρασιμένα ἐγείρον τί ήμοιόν αὐτομοσμένη φορτωταγών ἐκπομπομένη καλαθίων ἱνδής, ἵνα μὴ καὶ διαλύσει πρὸς ἄλληλα προστίθεμέν τις συγχωρός καὶ κοιλούρος μεταφοράς. A. Heisenberg, Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, Sitz. d. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Philolog. und hist. Klasse, 1922, V, 45.21-24.

The coming of a courier here gives me the chance to address your holiness a second time. The opportunity is unique because so few people come through here, except for scourge-bearing lords, tax collectors and army recruiters. He will convey all that I wish to tell you, having witnessed the situation that exists in this place.

Mauropous gives the impression that Euchaita, except for the periodic visits of oppressive state officials, was completely cut off from the rest of the world during this time. However exaggerated such a claim may seem (consider, for instance his sermons which give us a totally different picture, nos. 180, 184) we must note that at this time the provinces, including the region around Euchaita, grew steadily alienated from Constantinople. One of the reasons for this increasing polarization was the systematic economic exploitation of them by the Capital; cf. N. Svoronos, Remarques sur les Structures Économiques de l'Empire Byzantin au Xe Siècle, TM 6(1976) 49-67, esp. 67, n. 66.

The work of the φορολόγος, tax collector, had to be authorized by the province judge. On the other hand, the στρατηγός was an official in the service of the λογοθετῶν τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ, which was responsible for seeing that especially in times of emergency the people fulfilled their various obligations to the army. The στρατηγός as a subordinate official was primarily responsible for recruitment of men into the army; cf. Dölger, Beiträge, p. 21, n. 7; H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'Administration de l'Empire Byzantin aux IX*-XIe Siècles, BCH 84(1960) 17.

May my Lord rejoice in God as I have rejoiced in reading my Lord's letters. Neither my person nor my anointment make me worthy of his gift. He
that came witnessed the condition of the church and will supply the details that I omit. He will be able to testify on my behalf before my colleagues. His evidence will be especially valuable considering that they may have been mistakenly seduced by erroneous notions of the prosperity here. They should, however, be as careful as the chariophylax, who, on the pretext of humility, avoided this danger. But I trust - I have confidence in my faith - that your servant will soon be liberated from the scene of his tribulations.

The arrival of the envoy may be associated with Mauropos' preceding letters, which had been so full of bitter complaints. The presence of the Patriarch's envoy seems to have pacified Mauropos, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon relieved of his unpleasant situation which elsewhere he described as πολύθρακος πόλεμος (Ep. 60, line 5). The gift of the Patriarch to him, mentioned in the letter (line 9), is probably the holy myron. The practice, to send as a blessing the holy myron, was customary not only for the Patriarch, but for bishops as well; cf. Karpozelos, Realia, 29.

10-12 τοῦτο δὲ ἔμοι: Mauropos here does not have in mind only the book of Psalms paraphrasing verse 132:2, but he has in fact borrowed a whole passage from Gregory of Nazianzus, changing only slightly the wording (Orat. XI, PG 35: 832 C):

τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς υπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ μόρον τοῦ κοσμοδύντος ἀρχερέως τε πάγωνα καὶ διὰν ἐνδόματος πολύ τιμιώτερον καὶ εὐώδετερον ἔμοιγε.

19-20 πρὸς τὴν πνευμόνην ταύτην εὐσφράλλαν: In his first sermon to the Church of Euchaita, Mauropos emphasized that he did not secure his nomination with money neither did he have any interest in the richness of this province; Orat. 184, p. 162, 163.

Ep. 67. [To a metropolitan]

You will recall that as I was about to take leave of you, I predicted that my future would not be bright and that due to various difficulties my letters would arrive late. The difficulties I anticipated proved worse than I could imagine. I hope this explains why I am late in writing. Please, present my letter along with this ordinary fruit offering to our holy Lord and see that I receive from him a favourable response.

16-17 πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιακὴν-μακαριότητα: in all probability implied is the Patriarch Michael Keroularios.

19-20 τὴν αὐτήν τε τοῦτον εἰσαγωγήν. The introduction of a letter to high ranking officials or to the Emperor and the Patriarch through an intermediary was a common practice. Mauropos on more than one occasion asked Psellos to intervene on his behalf and introduce his letters to the Emperor; cf. Eps. 80, 182, 183, Sathas MB V, 314.3-6; 464.26-27; 465.6-9. On such an occasion, Psellos wrote back describing the effect of reading before the Emperor one of these letters: τὴν δὲ γε ἐπιστολὴν σου, τὴν καλὴν ὅμοιοι σου, πολλὰς διεξελήλυθε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχαῖους λόγους συνέχων κακῶς σοι τὸ ὑπάρχον ἄνηστευσάμην. Eps. 80, Sathas MB V, 314. 3-6.

20 τῆς φαυλότατης καρποφορίας: It is difficult to determine the nature of the gift Mauropos sent from Euchaita to the Patriarch. The word καρποφορία, however, should not be taken literally, i.e. bringing forth a gift of fruit, but in a wider sense. It could also mean - as in this case - an offering, perhaps, of gold; with this meaning it appears in the Miracula S. Georgii, ed. J.B. Aufhauser, Teub. 1913, II, 108-113.

Ep. 68.

There is an abundance of every kind of evil here; my only comforts are my faith in divine goodness and the possibility that I will be remembered by my good lords, particularly, by you. My friendship towards you, of course, is constant and shall remain unchanged for as long as I am able to retain my memory and senses.

This letter rehearses once more the familiar theme that contrary to having forgotten a valued friend and correspondent, the memory of this unidentified addressee is Mauropos' only comfort. For this theme in epistolography, cf. Ep. 54.
Ep. 69. [To a metropolitan]

I have seen you in a vision, I do not know where; I think it was in the
Queen of Cities, but the memory will not come back. It was a magnificent
vision of incomparable beauty, though it lasted not long. I know no time or
place for it - its power, however, penetrates wall and stone as in the ancient
myth, and overwhims every obstacle.

The designation of the addressee as «μαθητής τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος» is equally applicable
to metropolitans and patriarchs. Yet the fact that he had been a metropolitan is
evident from the comment Mauropous makes about him, that he had been
actively involved in the synod and in the senate, distinguishing himself to some
measure in both (line 28). The membership of ecclesiastics in the senate during
the eleventh century is documented in the sources. The Patriarch, however,
seems not to have belonged in the ranks of the senate; cf. A. Christophilopou-
lou, 'Η Σύγκλητος είς τὸ Βυζαντινόν Κράτος, 'Επετηρίς τοῦ 'Αρχείου τῆς
'Ιστορίας τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ Αικαλοῦ, 2(1949) 57ff. The dream to which Mauro-
pous devotes so much space is a pure invention, taken from the large depository
topoi in Greek Epistolography. It is linked with the «Aristophanes myth», (Plato, Symposium, 191 A), which is alluded to briefly by the statement as ὁ
παλαιός μαθητής. This topos is centered on the idea that true friendship is not
bound by time and place; cf. Karlsson, 62 ff. The letter, as Mauropous infor-
ms us, was written in the seventh month, in all probability after his arrival in
Euchaita.

Ep. 70. [To Michael Psellos?]

Through the work of divine grace our friend, whom we thought formerly
to be merely wise, is now also holy; so that if indeed among friends everything is
common, we may pride ourselves in his two qualities as if they were our own.
May these qualities be perpetuated, for they are indeed an ornament and a
profit to us.

The addressee had decided to take up the monastic habit. Lyubarsky's
supposition that the recipient of the letter should be identified with Psellos,
whose sojourn at Olympos in Bithynia is dated ca. 1054, is open to question;
J.N. Lyubarsky, Psel v otnosenijach s sovremennikami, Ioann Mavropod,
Ioann Ksifilin, Konstantin Lichud, Palestinskij Sbornik 23(1971) 126. An allu-
sion to Psellos' erudition, if Psellos is the recipient, might be seen perhaps in
Mauropous' remark that their friendship is profiting now that piety is added to
Psellos' learning.

Ep. 71. [To a relative]

An attendant of a good master himself becomes good by imitation alone. It
is therefore natural that you happen to be excellent in all things - in virtue,
learning and in dignity. As to our friendship, we shall not betray it, for in
addition to the love that binds us, we are linked also by ties of blood.

The only known relative of Mauropous about whom there is some scanty
information is a nephew by the name of Theodoros. He had been an imperial
official (κοιτωνίς καὶ βασιλικός νοτάριος), and the author of an akolouthia
dedicated to the memory of Mauropous, transmitted in a XIII/XIV c. manu-
script; cf. Mercati, Ufficio, 347-369. For the position of κοιτωνίς and βασιλι-
κός νοτάριος, see Bury, Administrative System, 135, 139, 142. Oikonomikos,
Listes de Presence, 305, n. 93 points out that the office of the βασιλικός νοτάριος
was connected also to the imperial koiton. In a letter Mauropous once
inquired about a nephew who had been placed under the tutordship of Psellos.
Psellos' letter (Kurtz-Drexl no. 265, p. 310) is the response he wrote to the one
by Mauropous describing the nephew's progress. In another letter (Kurtz-Drexl
no. 34, p. 56), Psellos wrote again about the nephew's progress as a student with
him. It is possible that the δυάδος δισεκάτης (line 1) under whom the recipient
of the letter is a school teacher, perhaps Psellos himself.

Ep. 72. [To a metropolitan]

My eyes may not be able to behold you, except as in a spiritual encounter
such as the dream I experienced a little while ago. I cherish this vision above
everything else.

The recipient of the letter is the same as that of letter no. 69. Having not yet
received a reply to his previous letter, Mauropous wrote a second time with the
hope of finally getting an answer.

Ep. 73.

Your suffering is exceedingly grievous, it cannot be denied; for grievous
indeed and very painful is the death of a son to a loving father. The death of a
son, young, mature and gifted in every respect. The loss is not grievous to the
father alone but to those of us who are relatives and kinsmen - and to every one
else who has known his goodness personally and by hearsay. Death is universal,
some suffering it earlier, others later. He who orders death is our loving and
wise Father, who knows better than we. Reflect upon these thoughts so that
along with your other virtues, you may be decorated with the crown of patience and perseverance.

This is a letter of condolence addressed to a father bereaved of his son. It is possible that Mauropous was related to the family of the deceased. In the first part of the letter (lines 1-11), the commiseration, Mauropous draws on the virtues of the deceased and emphasizes the loss suffered. A consolation follows (lines 12-33) on the nature of man and his ephemeral existence, and the letter concludes with an exhortation to the mourner (34-52). This rhetorical connection is observed by Demetrius and Libanius and in some of St. Basil’s letters of consolation (cf. J. Mitchell, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 299-318). The consolation which Mauropous offers to his addressee is deeply rooted in the Christian belief of the immortality of the soul and reward for endurance for God’s sake. His aim is to strengthen and maintain his addressee’s faith in God’s decrees, however difficult and painful they may be. The πάθος in the human nature from which man cannot be detached or rise above, Mauropous implies, is that which determines man’s mortality (cf. Mitchell, p. 317).

**Ep. 74.** [To a youth]

What sort of a grammarian do we now have among us? Is he Sophoclean or Aristophanean? I myself would prefer him to be Aratean and close to the completion of his studies. Make haste then, because life is short and the Arts many. You must persist if you are to become perfect, worthy of the expectations and hopes of your family.

Behind Mauropous’ questioning whether the youth be Sophoclean or Aristophanean might lie the more basic question of whether he was versed in the Sophoclean tragedies or the Aristophanean comedies and which of the two styles he preferred. Mauropous, however, preferred him as imitator of the poet Aratus of Soli (ca. 315-240), the editor of Homer, whose poetry would also give an elementary knowledge of astronomy; cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983, 152. The style which Aratus employed is known for its simplicity, sobriety and grace. Perhaps, Mauropous wished that the youth would imitate this stylistic simplicity. He might also have implied that Homer should not be neglected, but that one should become well versed in his epics that he might amend the text himself, as Aratus did. His corrections on the Homeric text became known as ἀπάντατο.

Mauropous addressed the youth as γραμματικός, that is as grammarian, the meaning of which is not altogether clear. Lemerle, *Le Premier Humanisme*.

100. n. 86, accepts the γραμματικός as a teacher, but with caution. Arguing against this opinion, Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität*, 63, n. 32 maintains that there is no precise term to characterize the functions of the γραμματικός. Mauropous seems to have employed the word with good-humored irony to flatter the scholarship of the youth. The curriculum of the ἐγκύκλιος pædeia which the youth was about to finish must have covered the most basic subjects, including the schedos and the reading of Homeric and other poetry and rhetoric as well; cf. for instance, the testimony of Michael Psellus, *Chron. I*, 55. 2-3: οὕτω μὲν γενειάδοις, ἀρτί δὲ παραγείλας εἰς τοὺς ποιητικοὺς λόγους... Mauropous’ attitude towards the schedographia was rather negative (cf. Epigr. 33, Bollig - de Lagarde, 18-19; Karpozilos, *Mauropous*, 91-94.

**Ep. 75.**

A friend has slipped by us without being spoken to or seen. I do not know why or with what excuse. I had hoped to receive him long ago not simply as a friend but as a lord. However, since he, our man, was chosen instead of me by our people, I consider myself not unfortunate. The lucky Paphlagonians have now the privilege of enjoying your benevolence, having prevailed over me in your favour, preferring your excellence.

Where and how Mauropous might have met his addressee is not indicated in the text. From this letter we assume that at one point, certainly before he retreated to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra, Mauropous was succeeded by someone else as Metropolitan of Euchaita, probably the recipient of the letter. When he wrote the letter the matter of his succession seems to have been settled; cf. Lyubarsky, K. Biografija Joanna Mavropoda, *Byzantinobulgariica* 4 (1973) 49. Mauropous ascribes to the people of Euchaita a decisive role in his removal from office. Yet the cause of his retreat from Euchaita is not mentioned, specifically whether or not it had come about as a result of a dispute with the Paphlagonians. We have, however, from another source a hint that Mauropous had faced certain problems in his province (cf. *Ep. 60*, 4 ff; also *Ep. 80*, Sathas MB V, 313-314). About who else was involved in his removal and for what interests, we are in the dark (cf. *Ep. 66*, 17 ff). Mauropous, appears to be, nonetheless, pleased with the final result. The remark that he had lost his see καὶ τὸν καθαρὸν καὶ φυλόν τοῦ ποιητοῦ makes it clear that it was not by his own free will relieved of his duties nor in the manner he expected.

The Italian scholar believes that the letter was addressed to an *archon* and not to the successor of Mauropous in the see of Euchaita. Accordingly, the letter concerns a dispute in which Mauropous had been involved over the property of the monastery of Python. Without excluding this possibility, I believe that this letter is unrelated to this controversy (see the commentary on Ep. 60).

*Ep. 76.*

I would not deny that I love you, for you are worthy to be loved by everybody and particularly by me. That is, if you allow me the privilege, accorded a former teacher who led you to the pursuit of the goodness which made you so different from the rest. Having been influenced by this goodness you have now reached your present stage of advancement. May you reach even perfection, in case that you may now in some respect be short of it.

*Ep. 77.*

I think of you, even if I refrain from writing you. How could I ever forget our friendship, your family and your home where I often found hospitality. But drowned in difficulties and filled with disgust, I suffer now with nausea which makes me like those who are averse even to the most appetizing dish. In a more opportune time I shall try to compensate you for this omission.

It is significant that the last letter in this collection should close with this disillusionment. The letter gives us no hints as to Mauropous’ whereabouts. It is possible that this particular letter was chosen on purpose to signify the end of one existence and the beginning of another. The lines from Gregory Nazianzus, his great example, ταυτών πάσας ομοσπον δικαστάς, οι δ' ἐπισημένοι πρός τι τῶν βραβευμάτων ἁπαθούμε... *Orat. XXXI PG 36: 133C,* though taken out of context, nevertheless underline his pessimism. In any case, this letter marks a turning point in his life; in all likelihood his retirement to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra in Constantinople.
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UNIDENTIFIED

Ηρατό τις τις τοτ' τους ἐλέφαντα ποι τὰ
γόνατα ἔχει· ὦ δὲ μελλήσας αὐθέν, ἄλλα
τὴν κάμηλον δείξας «ἐν τοῖς ὀρείσσοις», ἔπειν, ἀκλίνην· ἐν γὰρ ἐλεφάντων ἐμοί, ψήσιν, ἀκλινέστηκεν αὕτη, δυσίν ἂν· ἐνὸς ἐν τοῖς κατόπιν χραμέννιν: 17.18-21
δ' τοῖς πλαστοῖς ἀρέσκει τοῖς ἀμέτρητοιν
to στὸ τὸ χορὸν ὑποκειμένον: 18.74-75
tὸ παρά τοῖς θάλασσας ἐξομοίως ἐκ διορθώσεως
σφάλματος: 18.97-98
ἀς που τις ἔπειν, ἀκαμάτας ἂναι καὶ
ἀκομῆς· 21.39-40
τοσοῦτον ἔκλεινας ὅστερον παρὰ τὴν πιστὰ
δοὺν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίας ἔκλειν τὸ ἀπαράγα
gντων ὑπὸ τῆς παρομίας προσμιτρείται· 28.24-25
ἐκ τῶν καθ' ὁμᾶς ταχα δὴ· Ὀρμαίκων θεσπισμά
tων, ἄ τὸ βῆμα τοῖς πηροῖς ἄποκλείει·
28.28-29
tῆς νυχθῆς, τῆς λεπτοτῆτος φώσει καὶ
κούπης καὶ ἄνω φεροῦσα παυσάγωσα δόνει, ἄς
λόγου, καὶ τὴν θυατῆς ἔξεις γένειν·
38.36-37
καὶ ὅτι ἐπίληπον, (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἕμωδες)
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