

SCHOLARLY FRIENDSHIP
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY:
Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina

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Of the more than 15,480 Byzantine letters surviving,¹ very few are addressed to women, who for the most part remain shadowy figures. One of these women is Theodora Raoulaina,² the recipient of 29 letters from Gregorios II Kyprios,³ two letters from Nikephoros Choumnos,⁴ and one letter each from Maximos Planoudes⁵ and from Constantine Akropolites.⁶

Theodora Raoulaina is one of the very few Byzantine women to have left tangible evidence of her philological activity, which, as is apparent from the content of these letters, was the primary reason for her correspondence with these four

¹ This is the number of the *initia* cited by M. GRÜNBART, *Epistularum Byzantinarum Initia (Alpha–Omega. Reihe A. Lexika-Indizes-Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie, 224)*. Berlin–New York 2001.

² For the basic bibliography on Theodora Raoulaina see *PLP* 10943; C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca 1310 (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, XI)*. Nicosia 1982, 43-44, 140; A.-M. TALBOT, *Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium*, in: C. MANGO – O. PRITSAK (eds.), *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixteenth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*. Cambridge, Mass. 1984, 605-606 (A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*. Aldershot 2001, XVIII).

³ The reference to Gregorios Kyprios (see *PLP* 4590) with his patriarchal name (rather than as George) does not constitute an indication that the letters are written after his ascension to the patriarchal throne (1283). His correspondence consist of 242 letters; 192 of them are found in the edition of Sophronios EUSTRATIADIS, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι*. Alexandria 1910.

⁴ *Epist.* 76 and 77; see FR. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Nova*. Paris 1844 (repr. Hildesheim 1962), 91-94.

⁵ *Epist.* 68 is addressed to Theodora; see P. L. M. LEONE, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae (Classical and Byzantine Monographs, 18)*. Amsterdam 1991, 102-105.

⁶ *Epist.* 60 of the Akropolites' collection has no inscription, but the salutation εὐγενεστάτη καὶ σοφωτάτη κυρία μου can only refer to Theodora Raoulaina; on this identification see CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education* (cited n. 2), 109, 164 and Costantino Acropolita *Epistole. Saggio introduttivo, testo critico, indici a cura di R. ROMANO*. Napoli 1991, 151-156.

eminent Byzantine intellectuals.⁷

Our information about her life is meagre and indirect. Given that her parents, John Kantakouzenos Komnenos Angelos and Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina Komnene⁸ were wed *circa* 1240, that she was their first child and that she married George Mouzalon in 1256,⁹ it seems probable that she was born *circa* 1240 and that her early education was acquired in the court circles of the Empire of Nikaia. She may have continued her studies after 1261 in Constantinople, where she lived with her second husband, John Raoul, whom she married in 1261.¹⁰

Her education was, naturally, based on the study of rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics, and this is evident in her later work. Her accomplishments must have been of a fairly high order, for she not only copied the manuscripts she used for her studies or lent to scholar friends, but also corrected the texts they contained. She was, indeed, one of the very few female copyists known, and she took a keen interest in manuscripts, of which she owned a considerable number, some of them presumably copied by her own hand.¹¹ According to the metrical biblio-

⁷ Her social position, which was not unconnected with her education, certainly played a role here; on this see A. LAIOU, The Correspondence of Gregorios Kyprios as a Source for the History of Social and Political Behavior in Byzantium or, on Government by Rhetoric, in: W. SEIBT (ed.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit. Referate des Internationalen Symposiums zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger* (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994) (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften*, 241). Wien 1996, 91-108, esp. 95. Her connection with Gregorios Kyprios is also confirmed by the support she appears to have given him after he resigned from the patriarchate, while other evidence of her connection with Manuel Planoudes includes three epigrams he composed for the convent of St Andrew in Krisei and the note in his hand referring to her death that is preserved in Monac. 430 (see n. 21). For her activity as philologist, writer and copyist, see *infra* 116-117.

⁸ The sister of Michael VIII Palaiologos, who took the veil under the name Eulogia; see *PLP* 21360.

⁹ See Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. FAILLER (*CFHB*, 24). Paris 1984-1999, I, 8 (= I, 41.9-11): ἀντεισάγει δ' εἰς ταύτην τὸν ἐξ Ἄτραμυτίου Γεώργιον τὸν Μουζάλωνα, συνοικίσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Καντακουζηνῶν Θεοδώραν, τοῦ Παλαιολόγου οὖσαν ἀδελφιδῆν.

¹⁰ Her second husband, John Raoul Komnenos Doukas Angelos Petraliphos (*PLP* 24125) died *circa* 1274; for this marriage see Georg. Pach. (cited n. 9) II, 13 (= FAILLER, I 153.21-155.5): Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Ῥαούλ, υἱὸν τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου Ῥαούλ, ... τῆ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου Μουζάλωνος, πρὸ μικροῦ χηρωθείση τρόπον ὃς εἴρηται, Θεοδώρα, ἀδελφιδῆ αὐτοῦ γε οὖση, Εὐλογίας ἐκ Καντακουζηνοῦ θυγατρὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀταδέλφης, εἰς γάμον συναρμόσας, πρωτοβεστιάριον ἀποκαθίστησι.

¹¹ The number of manuscripts Theodora Raoulaina owned may be inferred from the reference to them in one of Gregorios' letters (see *infra* p. 157, epist. 17.1-3): Παρώσαντο μὲν βίβλους τὰς ἡμετέρας αἰ σαί, κάκ τῆς ἀνεμῆνης αὐταῖς κείσθαι χώρας εἰς τι στενὸν τῆς οἰκίας συνήλασαν· τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσι, καὶ οὕτω πρωτεύουσιν ἐνθαδί. Information about

graphical notes she transcribed one of the most important copies of Simplicius' commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*¹² and a copy of orations of Ailios Aristeides;¹³ both were produced during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261-1282).

Theodora Raoulaina was opposed to the ecclesiastical policy of her imperial uncle, just like her mother, Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina, who she and her sister Anna followed into exile in 1273 to the fortress of St Gregory on the Bay of Nikomedeia,¹⁴ where at her mother's urging she wrote a *Life of Theophanes and Theodore Graptoi*.¹⁵ The duration of her exile is not known, but she was in Constantinople again after the death of Michael VIII (1282). In 1284 she attended the Council of Atramyttion (1284).¹⁶ Between 1285-1289 she restored the convent of St Andrew in Krisei,¹⁷ where she lived, while she built nearby the small mon-

manuscripts belonging to her or that she was interested in (for instance Aristotle, *Meteora*, or mathematical treatises) is given in the letters addressed to her by Nikephoros Choumnos (see n. 4), Maximos Planoudes (see n. 5), Constantine Akropolites (see n. 6) and Gregorios Kyprios (see *infra*).

¹² This is the codex Mosqu. Muz. 3649; see D. HARLFINGER, Einige Aspekte der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Physikkommentars des Simplicios, in: Simplicius, sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie. Actes du Colloque international de Paris (28 Sept.-1 Oct. 1985), I. HADOT (ed.). Berlin-New York 1987, 267-286 (esp. p. 267), with the older bibliography.

¹³ This manuscript is codex Vatic. 1899; see E. GAMILLSCHEG-D. HARLFINGER-P. ELEUTERI, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 3. Rom mit Vatikan. Wien 1997, no. 206 (with the older bibliography).

¹⁴ See Georg. Pach. VII, 2 (= FAILLER, III, 23.23-25): ὅτι ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου φρουρίον συνάμα παιδί τῆ τοῦ Ῥαούλ γυναικὶ ἐξωρίζετο.

¹⁵ The *Vita* (BHG 1793) was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, IV, St Petersburg 1897; repr. Bruxelles 1963, 185-223). For Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina's role in its composition, see ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, 186.9-19: ὀκλάσειαν γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἱ διακορεῖς τοῦ λόγου γενόμενοι διὰ τε τὸ ὑπέραντλον αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν οἰκειότητα, σχολῆ δ' ἂν λέγοιμι ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ ἰλυσπωμένους τῆ ἀμαθία καὶ περιστάσεσιν ἀνηκέστοις, μυρίοις τε θανάτοις καταντλουμένους, εἰ μὴ τοι γε ἡ ἐμὴ δεσπότης καὶ μήτηρ ἢ τῷ Θεῷ εὐλογημένη, ἢ τὴν κλήσιν τῆ πράξει κατάλληλον ἐσχηκυῖα, ὥσπερ τις δικαστὴς ἀπαρέγκλιτος σφοδρῶς μοι τῆ προτέρᾳ καθεῖρξει τοῦτο προσέταττε· ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῆ νῦν ὑπερορία τε καὶ φρουρᾶ τὰ ἴσα διακελεύεται· διὸ καὶ τὸν κυριακὸν λόγον ἐθέμην εἰς νοῦν, τιμᾶν διακελεύόμενον τοὺς γεννήτορας.

¹⁶ See Georg. Pach. (cited n. 9) VII, 21 (= FAILLER, III, 71.13-15): Συνήγοντο τοίνυν ἔνθεν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν πατριάρχην, οἷς συνῆν τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἡ Εὐλογία καὶ γε αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς, ἢ τε Θεοδώρα καὶ ἡ ἐκ δυτικῶν Ἄννα ἢ καὶ βασιλίσσα.

¹⁷ See Georg. Pach. (cited n. 9) VII, 31 (= FAILLER, III, 97.32-99.1): Ἐν ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ ἡ Ῥαούλανα πρωτοβεστιαρίσσα ἐν τῆ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου μονῆ τοῦ τῆς Κρίσεως ἱερὸν οἶκον, εἰς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον καὶ μέγεθος, ἀνιστᾶ. The epigrams of Manuel Planoudes concern the renovation of the convent (τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχοι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου ἠρωελεγεῖοι, ὃν ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴ ἡ πρωτοβεστιαρία, see SP. LAMPROS, Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 13 [1916] 414-418). For the convent see R. JA-

astery of Aristene to shelter Gregorios from the time of his resignation (1289) until his death.¹⁸ Sometime after 1285 she had the relics of Patriarch Arsenios translated to the convent of St Andrew.¹⁹ In 1295 Andronikos II sent her as mediator to Alexios Philanthropenos in Asia Minor.²⁰ According to an autograph note on codex Monac. 430 Maximus Planoudes records that she died as a nun on 6 December 1300.²¹

Gregorios' letters to Theodora Raoulaina form an exceptionally interesting group, not only because, although partially studied,²² they have not yet been published in their entirety,²³ but also because of their subject matter²⁴ and their remarkable familiarity of tone, which conveys and affirms a personal and spir-

NIN, Églises de Constantinople, 28-31, W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen 1977, 172-176, and V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204-1328 (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 1)*. Wiesbaden 1994, 9-10.

¹⁸ See Georg. Pach. (cited n. 16) VIII, 9 (= FAILLER, III, 151.7-10): Καί γε τῷ τῆς Ἀριστηνῆς μονυδρίῳ, ἐχόμενά που κειμένῳ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρίσει μονῆς – ἐκεῖ γάρ ἡ πρωτοβεστιάρισσα Ῥαούλαινα συνήγεν, ἐξ ἑαυτῆς περιθάλλουσα τὰ μεγάλα – φέρων ἑαυτὸν δίδωσιν.

¹⁹ See Georg. Pach. (cited n. 16) VII, 31 (= FAILLER, III, 99.1-4): Καί ἐπεὶ σπουδὴν εἶχεν ἐκείνη πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν καὶ ζῶντα καὶ τελευτήσαντα, ἀξιοὶ βασιλέα καὶ λιπαρῶς δέεται δοθῆναι τὸ σῶμα τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν μονῇ, ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἑναποτεθῆναι τῷ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀνεγερθέντι ναφ' ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν.

²⁰ See Georg. Pach. (cited n. 16) IX, 12 (FAILLER, III, 255.15-17): Καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξελέγοντο ὁ τυφλὸς Ῥαοὺλ Ἰσαάκιος καὶ ἡ πρωτοβεστιάρισσα Θεοδώρα.

²¹ See S. KUGEAS, *Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift Augustanus F. BZ 16 (1907) 586-609* (esp. 590-591 and 601-603): Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ ἁγία κυρία μου ἡ μοναχὴ κυρὰ Θεοδώρα Ραούλαινα Καντακουζηνῆ Κομνηνῆ ἡ Παλαιολογίνα ἡ ἐξαδέλφη τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου, ἐν ἔτει ,ζωθ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ' κατὰ τὴν ς' τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς ὥρα ζ' τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτός.

²² The two most important works relating to their content are the studies by KUGEAS, *Zur Geschichte* (see n. 21, which contains editions of certain letters; see n. 23) and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 91-108. Certain letters are also mentioned in CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education* (cited n. 2), 146-148. For the manuscript tradition of the letters, see W. LAMEERE, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289) (Études de Philologie d'Archéologie et d'Histoire anciennes publiées par l'Institut historique Belge de Rome, II)*. Bruxelles-Rome 1937.

²³ Of the 29 letters, epist. 1 (158 Eustr. = 171 Lam.) and 18 (187 Eustr. = 228 Lam.) have been edited by Eustratiades (based on Vind. hist. 101), epist. 2 (201 Lam.), 17 (227 Lam.), 18 (228 Lam.) and partially epist. 3 (202 Lam.), 7 (206 Lam.), 12 (211 Lam.), 27 (237 Lam.) by Kugeas (based on Leid. B.P.G. 49). Both editors used only apographa of the main manuscripts (Mutin. α. R. 6.19 and Vatic. 1085). On Lameere's numbering of Gregorios' letters see LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 215-218 and the concordance table on p. 169 *infra*.

²⁴ In this regard see chiefly LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 91; see also A. KARPOZIOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XV c. BZ 88 (1995) 68-84*.

itual bond between Raoulaina and the scholarly patriarch.

While the beginning of this acquaintance cannot be dated precisely, it must predate his accession to the patriarchal throne, since even if we accept that all the letters were written after 1283, the familiarity expressed in them implies a relationship of some standing.

THE MANUSCRIPTS²⁵

ATHOS

Lav LAVRA B 39 13th-14th c., parchment, ff. 232

Miscellaneous

ff. 131-193: The manuscript contains 52 letters of Gregorios Kyprios, among them two letters to Theodora Raoulaina: 17 (epist. 1 = 171 Lam.: ff. 146-148v) and 41 (epist. 4 = 203 Lam.: f. 184v), which is inscribed *to an acquaintance* (τινὶ γνωρίμῳ).

Scribe: Constantine, according to an invocation written in the form of a dodecasyllable above the title on f. 1: γενοῦ βοηθὸς χ(ριστ)ἔ τῷ κωνσταντίνῳ.

Literature: S. EUSTRATIADES-SPYRIDON LAURIOTES, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notes from other Libraries* (*Harvard Theological Studies*, XIII). Cambridge 1925, 17; LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 73-74.

LEIDEN, BIBLIOTHEEK DER RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT

LEID. B.P.G. 49 14th c., oriental paper, ff. II, 197, III'

Gregorios Kyprios

ff. 127-194: Gregorios Kyprios, 215 Letters; among them 18 letters to Theodora Raoulaina: 158 (epist. 1 = 171 Lam.: f. 173v-174), 187-196 (epist. 2-4, 6-12 = 201-203, 205-211 Lam.: ff. 187-188v), 208-214 (epist. 17-18, 25-29 = 227-228, 235-239 Lam.: ff. 191-194v).

Scribe: Georgios Galesiotes²⁶

²⁵ The following catalogue does not include the 18th century *apographon* of Leid. B.P.G. 49, Marc. II 169A (it is also an *apographon* of Mutin.) and the 16th century existing *apographa* of Mutin. α.6.R.19 (Ambros. C 270 inf., Paris. 3042, Vatic. 725), with the exception of Vind. hist. 101, on which the Eustratiades' edition of Gregorios' letters is based. On their stemmatic relationship see LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 115-137, and 143-150.

²⁶ See E. GAMILLSCHEG-D. HARLGINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*. 1. Handschriften aus den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. Wien 1981, 57.

Literature: K. A. DE MEYIER, *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Graecae*. Leiden 1965, 67-69; LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 38-50; S. KOTZABASSI, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern (Serta Graeca, 6)*. Wiesbaden 1998, 126-128.

MODENA, BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE

M MUTIN. α.R.6.19 (82) early 14th c., oriental paper, ff. I, 195

Gregorios Kyprios

ff. 7-191v: Gregorios Kyprios, 215 Letters; among them are 18 letters to Theodora Raulaina: 158 (epist. 1 = 171 Lam.: ff. 138-140), 187-196 (epist. 2-4, 6-12 = 201-203, 205-211 Lam.: ff. 174-179), 208-213 (epist. 17-18, 25-29 = 227-239 Lam.: ff. 184v-191v).

Scribe: The letters to Theodora Raoulaina are copied by three different scribes: A. ff. 138-140; he is the principal copyist of the collection (ff. 7-156). B. ff. 174-179, 184v-191. This scribe copied the letters on ff. 169v-190 and added some of the recipients' names in red ink.²⁷ C. ff. 191rv Nikephoros Gregoras,²⁸ who also added the name of Theodora Raulaina as the recipient of letter 212 (237 Lam.) and some other recipients.

Literature: V. PUNTONI, *Indice dei codice greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, in: *Studi italiani di Filologia Classica* 4 (1896) 355-356 (= C. SAMBERGER, *Catalogi codicum graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis italicis asservantur*, Lipsiae 1965, I, 439-440); LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 22-33.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

P PARIS. 2022 14th c., oriental paper, ff. 184

Miscellaneous

ff. 170-176v: Gregorios Kyprios, 22 Letters; one to Theodora Raoulaina (epist. 8 = 207 Lam.: f. 171).

Scribe: Matthaïos of Ephesos.²⁹ The copyist has omitted the names of the recipi-

²⁷ This scribe marked epist. 198 as addressed to Theodora Raoulaina (τῆ Ραουλαίνῃ), whose name has, however, been scored out and replaced by the indication τῷ Θεογνώστῳ.

²⁸ For the identification see I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio*. *Nueva Roma*, 1. Madrid 1996, 326-327. Nikephoros Gregoras is also associated with the letters of Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios in Codex Vatic. 1085, which contains part of his work.

²⁹ E. GAMILLSCHEG-D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*. 2. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*. Wien 1989, 370 (= I 270).

ents and has made various changes to the text of the letters (in the letter to Theodora he has changed the gender of the participles from feminine to masculine). *Literature*: H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et des Départements*, II. Paris 1888, 180; LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 66-70; D. REINSCH, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174*. Berlin 1974, 39-45.

VATICAN, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA

V¹ VATIC. 77 14th c., western paper, ff. II, 258

Ailios Aristeides, Gregorios Kyprios

ff. 235-258: Gregorios Kyprios, 109 Letters. In this collection there are two addressed to Theodora Raoulaina: 44 (epist. 4 = 203 Lam.: f. 246v), 46 (epist. 3 = 202 Lam.: f. 247).

Scribe: Gregorios' letters are written by two scribes: A. ff. 235-248 line 17; B. ff. 248 line 17-258.

Literature: I. MERCATI-P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Codices Vaticani graeci. I. Codices 1-329*. Romae 1923 (repr. 1980) 82-85; LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 57-60.

V VATIC. 1085 14th c., western paper, ff. 265

Nikephoros Gregoras, Gregorios Kyprios

ff. 194-265 Gregorios Kyprios, 234 Letters. The codex includes 27 letters to Theodora Raoulaina, 10 of them occurring only in this manuscript; epist. 25 (= 235 Lam.) has been copied twice: 158 (epist. 1 = 171 Lam.: ff. 244-245), 184 (epist. 2 = 201 Lam.: ff. 254v-255), 191-197 (epist. 11 = 210 Lam., 28 = 238 Lam., 3 = 202 Lam., 25 = 235 Lam., 4 = 203 Lam., 8 = 207 Lam., 12 = 211 Lam.: ff. 256v-259), 199-205 (epist. 5 = 204 Lam., 7 = 206 Lam., 10 = 209 Lam., 13-16 = 212-215 Lam; ff. 259-260v), 214-226 (epist. 17-27 = 227-237 Lam., 29 = 239 Lam., 6 = 205 Lam.: ff. 262-265).

Scribe: Gregorios' letters are written by one scribe.

Literature: LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 33-38.

VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

VIND. HIST. 101 16th c., western paper, ff. III, 154

Gregorios Kyprios

ff. 5-146v: Gregorios Kyprios, 191 Letters; four letters to Theodora Raoulaina: 158 (epist. 1 = 171 Lam.: ff. 110-111v), 187-189 (epist. 2, 25-26 = 201, 235-236

Lam.: ff. 143-145v). This manuscript is one of the two upon which S. Eustratiades based his edition.³⁰

Literature: H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 1. Codices Historici, Codices Philosophici et Philologici.* Wien 1961, 108-109; LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 122-127.

RECENSIO CODICUM

Only fourteen of Gregorios' twenty-nine letters to Theodora Raoulaina are preserved in more than a single manuscript. Of those epist. 1-4, 6-8, 10-12, 17-18, 25-26 (171, 201-203, 205-207, 209-211, 227-228, 235-236 Lam.) are found in the following three codices: Mutin. a.R.6.19, Vatic. 1085, Leid. B.P.G. 49.³¹ In addition, epist. 1 (171 Lam.) is preserved in Lavra B 39, epist. 3 (202 Lam.) in Vatic. 77, epist. 4 (203 Lam.) in both Lavra B 39 and Vatic. 77, and epist. 8 (207 Lam.) in Paris. 2022. The other fifteen letters are found in a single manuscript.

The Primary Witnesses and their copies

As Lameere first noted the two major manuscripts, M and V, are two of the hyparchetypes in the manuscript tradition of Gregory's correspondence.³² On the basis of their contents and their own significant errors none of them can be the exemplar of the other;³³ in addition, V cannot be the exemplar of M because of M's earlier date.

M has only a few errors against V, while V has many peculiar errors and omissions. Moreover, in some cases both manuscripts preserve a slightly different text.

Errors of M against V:

	M	V
7.9	προσθείοι	προσθείη
7.11	ὑπὲρ ἄνω	ὑπεράνω
10.5	προσήκων M ^{ac} : -ήκων M ^{pc}	προσήκων

³⁰ The second one, Vind. phil. 195, does not contain any letter to Theodora Raoulaina. See EUSTRATIADES (cited n. 3), ις' -λε'.

³¹ Leid. B.P.G. 49 is the only *apographon* of Mutin. that preserves the same number of letters to Raoulaina with M; the abovementioned 16th-century apographa (see n. 25) include only some of them.

³² Lameere suggested the lost exemplar of Vatic. 77 as a third hyparchetype. On the relationship among the manuscripts see LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 61.

³³ M and V have differences in the number of the letters which they preserve and in the order of their arrangement; see the table on p. 169.

17.14-15	ἐτέροις ἐδέησεν ἡμῖν ... μετεγγράφειν	ἐτέραν ἐδέησεν ἡμῖν ... μετεγγράφειν
27.4-5	εὐφρανας ... ἢ ἠδύνθης	εὐφρανας ... ἢ ἠδύνθης

Errors of V against M:

	V	M
1.11	ἀπεβάλλετο	ἀπεβάλετο
2.3	παιδεύσει προκειμένην	παιδεύσει προσκειμένην
4.5	εἰδυίας	εἰδεῖα ὡς
6.9	om.	καὶ τοῦτον ... πολλαπλάσιον
7.8	εὐήμεροῦσαν τε	εὐήμεροῦσαν δὲ
8.8	μεταρέοντος	μεταρρέοντος
10.8	εἶπερ δέομαι	ἦπερ δέομαι
10.8-9	καὶ ἴσθι	καὶ ἴοι
26.6	om. ex homoeoteleuton	πῶς δὲ διδασκαλία;
26.15	ἐπίμομον	ἐπίμωμον
27.3	ἐμοὶ θύγατερ	ἐμῇ θύγατερ
28.10	ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐσάγαν	ὁ γὰρ ἐντὸς ἐσάγαν
28.21	δήποτε	δὴ τότε

Textual variations between M and V:

	M	V
1 tit.	τῇ πρωτοβεστιαρία καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς παραμυθητικῇ	τῇ κομνηνῇ ῥαουλαίνῃ κυρία θεοδώρα καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς ἀδελφῇ
2 tit.	τῇ ῥαουλαίνῃ	τῇ ῥαουλαίνῃ κομνηνῇ κυρᾷ θεοδώρα
2.1-2	ἀνὴρ πρᾶγμα κατὰ πολὺ στεργόμενον πέμπει, δόνακας λεπτοὺς ὁποῖοις χρώμεθα γράφοντες	δόνακας λεπτοὺς, ὁποῖοις χρώμεθα γράφοντες, πρᾶγμα κατὰ πολὺ στεργόμενον, ἀνὴρ πέμπει φίλος
2.6	τοὺς γνησίους ἡμῶν δεξιούμεθα	τὰ γνήσια ἡμῶν δεξιούμεθα τέκνα
2.17	τὴν ἀφορμὴν παρεχόμενος	πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν ἀφορμὴν παρεχόμενος
2.23	εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ἀνάπεμπε	εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀνάπεμπε
7.11	ἐπὶ λογικῇ παιδεύσει	ἐπὶ λογικῇ παιδείᾳ
10.2-4	εἰ – ἀναλογίζεσθαι βουληθῆς, καὶ ἔτι τό γε μείζον προσαναλογίζεσθαι, ὅτι	εἰ – ἀναλογίζεσθαι, ὅτι
10.6	μετὰ γε θεὸν ἄγων σε	μετὰ γε θεὸν ἄγων δὲ
10.10-11	κατὰ σὲ ἀντιλήπτωρ ἐν ἅπαντι	κατὰ σὲ ἐν ἅπαντι
10.18	διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίζειν	παρευθὺς ἐγχειρίζειν
11.9	τότε μὲν γὰρ ἕρις	τότε γὰρ μικρά τις ἕρις

11.9-10	καὶ λόγων ἀηδία μὴ προσηκόντων· νῦν δὲ εὐχομαί τε	ἀλλὰ νῦν εὐχομαί τε
26.11-12	καὶ οἶον οἰκονομεῖν σιτία ἢ προσήκε στομάχῳ μὴ δύνασθαι	καὶ οἶον σιτία ἤκιστα δύνασθαι ἢ προσήκε στομάχῳ οἰκονομεῖν
26.16	σοὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μελήσει	σοὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μελέτω
27.2	τοῦ χρέους	τῆς ὀφειλῆς
27.3-4	ἔχεις δοῦσα μείζονά μοι τὴν χάριν	μείζονά μοι ἔχεις δοῦσα τὴν χάριν
27.9	ἢ ἐμοῦ	ἢ ἡμῶν
28.25	μᾶλλον	μάλα
28.31-32	ὡς πρὸς τὸ στόμα	καὶ πρὸς τὸ στόμα
28.32-33	διαγέγονα ὧν ἐν τούτοις	διαγέγονα ἐν τούτοις ὧν
28.36-37	ἐλπίζων ὅσον τῇ ... δυνάμει	ἐλπίζων ὅσον ἤδη τῇ ... δυνάμει
29.1-2	τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων καὶ σεβασμίων	τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων καὶ σεβάσμιος
29.39	δέχοιθ' ἡμᾶς	δέχοιτο ἡμᾶς

An intriguing case is that of letter 235, which is copied twice in Vatican 1085 as numbers 194 and 222 of the collection that V contains. Apart from the errors common to the two copies, 194 and 222, each of them has also its own.

	V 194 and 222	M
25.4	ὡς ἀληθέστατον	ὡς ἀληθέστατα
25.4-5	εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ὄμφακες	εἰσὶ μὲν ὄμφακες
25.6	ἀπογεύεται	ἀπογεύοιτο
25.11	προΐσχειν	προΐσχει
25.12	γομφίων ^{οἰς} καὶ σπλάγγων ^{οἰς}	γομφίων καὶ σπλάγγων
25.15	λάθοι	λάθη
	V 194	V 222, M
25.16	μὴ εἰς δευτέραν	μὴ καὶ εἰς δευτέραν
	V 222	V 194, M
25.13	μεμπτέα	πεμπτέα

Given that they share among others errors the correction of 25.12, it could be suggested that they derive from a common exemplar, rather than that the second copy of the letter derives from a separate manuscript.

Leid. B.P.G. 49 and Vind. hist. 101: Copies of Mutin. α.R.6.19

According to Lameere L and V² stem from Mutin. α.R.6.19, since they repeat all its errors and have additional ones of their own; e.g.

	Leid. B.P.G. 49	M, Vind. hist. 101 ²
1.25	om.	ταῖς ἡμέραις
4.5	εἰδυῖα ὡς	εἰδεῖα ὡς
4.13	ἀμελλητῖ	ἀμελητῖ
26.6	om. ex homoeoteleuton	πῶς δὲ διδασκαλία;
28.2	δὲ	γε

In addition, in many inscriptions Leid. replaces the name of Theodora Raoulaina (τῆ ραουλαίνῃ) with the indicative pronoun τῆ αὐτῆ. There is also one isolated case of agreement between Leid. and Vind. (26.6), which is probably coincidental, because in both cases the omission is due to an homoeoteleuton.

	Vind. hist. 101	M, Leid. B.P.G. 49
1.19	κτίσεως; φύσεως in marg.	φύσεως
1.43	τῆς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας	τοῖς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας
1.48	ὡς τε Προικόνησον	ἕς τε Προικόνησον
1.53	ὠδυνωμένοις	ὀδυνωμένοις
18 tit.	ραουλένη	ραουλαίνῃ
18.6	περιλειμένης	περιλειπομένης
18.51-2	κατὰ τὸ καὶ πάντα	κατὰ τοὺς πάντα
25.7	γνοίῃ τε γεγενημένην	γνοίῃ γεγενημένην
25.15-6	μὴ κέ τις	μὴ καὶ τις
25.16	ἀπρόσιτον	ἀπόσιτον
26.6	ὄσον ... ἄξιον	ὄσου ... ἄξιον
26.8	ἔστῶς	ἐνεστῶς
26.11	γάζετο	ἀπειργάζετο

The Other Witnesses: Lavra B 39, Vatic. 77 and Paris. 2022

These manuscripts contain only a number of Gregorios' letters. Since each has errors and variants of its own, and they do not share binding errors with any of the other manuscripts, it could be suggested that they do not derive from M or V.³⁴ The change of some letters' inscriptions so that they do not include the name

³⁴ The manuscript tradition of Gregorios' correspondence should be rigorously examined, in order to trace the stemmatic relations of the manuscripts; in the case of the letters to

of the recipient could be described as a common variant of the manuscripts. In letter 171 Lav. shares the inscription of Mutin., but in the case of letter 203 it replaces with the phrase *τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων*. In letter 202 Vatic. 77 has instead of Theodora's name the phrase *τινὶ γνωρίμῳ* and in letter 203 the similar *τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων*. On the other hand, Paris. 2022 has no inscriptions. The manuscripts share also the replacement of the feminine participles with masculine ones; e.g., 4.1-2 ἀπιῶν M: ἀπιούσα V¹ Lav; 4.12 φροντίζουσα M: φροντίζων V¹ Lav; 8.10 ἀπολαύουσα MV: καταπολαύων P.

The Content of the Letters

With the exception of epist. 1 (= 158 Eustr., 171 Lam.), which is a letter of condolence addressed, according to the inscription, to Theodora Raoulaina and her sister following the death of their mother, Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina, the remaining letters can be sorted by content into smaller groups.

The largest of these comprises 12 letters on the subject of the exchange or dispatch of various articles, primarily foodstuffs.³⁵ Often, the letter accompanies a gift of some of the produce brought to Gregory by various acquaintances, which he is sending to Theodora Raoulaina; in some cases he is thanking her for things that she has sent to him, while in one instance he is asking her to send him a utensil he needs for the bath. The products Gregory is sending to Theodora Raoulaina are fruit, confectionery, fish, crocus, botargo and fine reeds for reed-pens.³⁶

The second largest group of letters (8) are those in which Gregory is replying to letters he has received from Theodora Raoulaina, or responding to her criticism of letters of his, his tardiness in answering, and similar matters.³⁷

Raoulaina it is very difficult to define it, not only because of the short text, but also because of the changes in the text of the letters, which every scribe has undertaken.

³⁵ This category comprises epist. 2 (201 Lam.), 8 (207 Lam.), 9 (208 Lam.), 13 (212 Lam.), 16 (215 Lam.), 18 (228 Lam.), which is not concerned solely with a gift of food from Theodora Raoulaina, but also touches on her comments on a letter of his and on manuscripts of Demosthenes), 19 (229 Lam.), 20 (230 Lam.), 21 (231 Lam.), 22 (232 Lam.), 24 (234 Lam.), 25 (235 Lam.), 26 (236 Lam.) and 27 (237 Lam.); it mentions a gift of fruit, but is composed chiefly of comments on a letter). Most of these letters are preserved only in Vatic. 1085. Letters with a similar subject can also be found among other of Gregorios' letters; see EUSRATIADIS (cited n. 3) epist. 4, 33, 34, 37 and 84.

³⁶ LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 96-97 contains a commentary on these letters; see also KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (cited n. 24), 71-77.

³⁷ This group comprises epist. 5 (204 Lam.), 6 (205 Lam.), 7 (206 Lam.), 10 (209 Lam.), 14 (213 Lam.), 18 (228 Lam.), 23 (233 Lam.), 27 (237 Lam.) and 28 (238 Lam.). On these letters see LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 93 and S. KOTZABASSI, *Gregorios Kyrios as Reader and Critic*, in: *Realia Byzantina*, S. KOTZABASSI-G. MAVROMATIS (eds.) (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 22). Berlin-New York 2009, 86-87.

Next comes a group of four letters complaining about various ailments be-devilling him,³⁸ two letters about copies of manuscripts,³⁹ and one in which he talks about his problems with mice in the house he was living in.⁴⁰

The Chronology of the Letters

Although the letters to Theodora Raoulaina do not appear in the same order in M and V, they all belong to the group of letters written from the Patriarchate (ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ). In Lameere's arrangement,⁴¹ which is based on the order in which they appear in M, the letters are placed almost exclusively in the final part of the collection, and are thus considered to date from the last years of Gregorios' life. For some of these there is internal evidence that they date from the period of his patriarchate, while for others there is no evidence permitting a safe dating before that time.

The only letter that can be dated with any certainty after December 1284 is epist. 1 (158 Eustr., 171 Lam.), a letter of condolence upon the death of Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina. The remaining letters fall into two groups: those definitely written during the period of his patriarchate (1283-1289: epist. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 21, 27), as may be deduced from internal evidence, and those for which there is no chronological evidence (epist. 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29).

Letter 1 (158 Eustr., 171 Lam.)

According to the superscription in M, this letter is addressed to the *protovestiarisa* and her sister, and is a letter of condolence from Gregory expressing his sympathies to the two women on the death of their mother, Irene-Eulogia Palaiologina, which occurred in early December in the year 1284.⁴² The letter is the only one in which Theodora Raoulaina is not mentioned by name in the superscription, which gives only the title by which she was known; her sister's name is not mentioned at all. Given that the letter was written after the Council of Atramyttion, which Irene Palaiologina attended with her daughters, Theodora Raoulaina and

³⁸ These letters are: epist. 3 (202 Lam.), 4 (203 Lam.), 11 (210 Lam.), 15 (214 Lam.), 17 (227 Lam.) and 18 (228 Lam.).

³⁹ Epist. 12 (211 Lam.) and 18 (228 Lam.).

⁴⁰ Epist. 29 (239 Lam.).

⁴¹ See LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 215-218.

⁴² See V. LAURENT, *Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. IV. Les registes de 1208 à 1309.* Paris 1971, no. 1477; see also V. LAURENT, *Notes de chronologie et d'histoire byzantine de la fin du XIIIe siècle. 1. La date de la mort d'Irène-Eulogie, la sœur de Michel VIII Paléologue, RĒB 27 (1969) 209-213.*

Anna, wife of Nikephoros I Angelos Komnenos Doukas, Despot of Epirus,⁴³ it is very likely that the sister mentioned in the superscription is Anna.

The letter, however, is addressed primarily to the *protovestiarissa* Theodora Raoulaina, who is also the subject of the opening salutation, κυρία καὶ θύγατερ ἐν Χριστῷ; the plural form of address used thereafter confirms that the writer was addressing both women. The salutation θύγατερ ἐν Χριστῷ could be considered as a customary form of address befitting the writer's position, but more likely declares his personal relationship with Raoulaina, which is repeatedly stressed in other letters.

Gregorios has learned of the death of Irene Palaiologina, with whom he was apparently personally acquainted,⁴⁴ and is obliged to write this letter because he was unable to meet Raoulaina and express his condolences to her in person. He was, he says, hastening to Atramyttion on an imperial mission and had hoped to meet Raoulaina and her sister at Kallipolis as they were returning to Constantinople, but they missed each other.⁴⁵ Prevented by the severity of the weather from returning to the capital, he is thus obliged to write this letter to express his sorrow at the loss of their mother and to pray for her divine consolation.

Letter 2 (201 Lam.)

This letter accompanies a parcel of fine reeds, for pens, which Gregorios is sending to Raoulaina. As upon other occasions, Gregorios does not fail to share with Raoulaina gifts brought to him by visitors and friends.⁴⁶ In this instance, and while he is well aware of the trifling value of the gift, Gregorios stresses the importance of the instrument in the writing process, for it is the third agency involved in the production of the letters, following the mind and the hand, and asks Raoulaina to return the reeds, if she has no need of them, and indeed if she has surplus reeds to send them along with those she returns.

While there is nothing in this letter to help date it, its content, nonetheless, clearly shows that Gregorios is actively engaged in writing;⁴⁷ this may refer to the

⁴³ See note 16; on Anna *PLP* 10933.

⁴⁴ This conclusion ensues not only from the expressions of excessive grief but also and primarily from the phrase (epist. 1.11-13): τὴν δ' ὅτι παρακλήσεως ἐστέρηται, ἀνακωχῆς, συμβουλῆς, βοηθείας, πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν καλλίστων, ἃ μοι περιοῦσα τῷ βίῳ παρεῖχεν ἡ ἐκδημήσασα.

⁴⁵ See *infra* p. 146.39-47.

⁴⁶ See *infra* epist. 8, 9, 13, 16, 19-21, 24-26.

⁴⁷ See LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 189.15-24: Τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ταῦτά τε τὰ αἷτια καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ποικίλαι τοῦ σώματος νόσοι ... καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ μεταγράφειν τὰ τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἐκπονήματα, πόνοι. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πένης εἶναι καὶ τῶν βιβλίων κατάκρως ἐρῶν· ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ γράφειν μετρίως

transcription of manuscripts, an occupation he pursued more extensively before ascending the patriarchal throne.⁴⁸

Letter 3 (202 Lam.)

This and the following letter are both found in Vatican 77, where the superscription is not to τῇ Ραουλαίνῃ but to τινὶ γνωρίμῳ.⁴⁹ There is no salutation.

In this letter Gregorios compares his life during the period when he was engaged in the study and scholarship that brought him such delight, albeit without any particular gain, and his present circumstances, when he is confronted with many difficulties, sorrows and adversities and wishes he could escape from these tribulations and return to his books and his studies.

The change in his situation evidently means his elevation to the patriarchal throne; Gregorios describes this change of condition in similar words in his autobiography as well.⁵⁰ This letter must thus have been written after 1283.

Letter 4 (203 Lam.)

Like letter 3, this letter is found in the major manuscripts M and L, and also in codices Vatican 77 and Lavra B 39, where it is given without the name of the person to whom it was addressed.⁵¹ This difference is probably owing to the intention

ἀγαθὰς ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἦν τὰ φίλτατα κτήσασθαι ... βιβλίων ἀντιγραφεὺς γέγονεν ὅσων οὐδεὶς σχεδὸν ἕτερος, τῶν λόγους φημὶ μετιόντων; ΚΟΤΖΑΒΑΣΣΙ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* (cited p. 120), 5-6; ΠÉΡΕΖ ΜΑΡΤÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio* (cited. n. 28), 17-50.

⁴⁸ This hypothesis is based on the fact that in most of the manuscripts he copied he is referred to as Georgios (the exception being manuscript Laur. 87,10, which is annotated with the name Gregorios, which he assumed after his ascension to the patriarchal throne; see ΚΟΤΖΑΒΑΣΣΙ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* [cited p. 120], 9) and the fact that his patriarchal duties left him too little time.

⁴⁹ See also next letter (epist. 4), n. 51.

⁵⁰ See LAMEERE, *La tradition* (cited n. 22), 187.19-28: Τὸ δ' ἐξῆς τοιαῦτα πονεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν, οἱ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπειρῶσαν φόβοι οὐς αὐτῶ τε καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ἡ περὶ τὰ δόγματα καινοτομία καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπέστησε ζάλη, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ψυχῶν φροντίς εἰς ἣν τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτίκα φόβων λυθέντων ἔλκεται καὶ παραδίδοται, καὶ ταῦτα δόξας ἐν ἑαυτῶ βίον ἀπράγμονα τοῦ λοιποῦ ζῆσεσθαι θαυμαστὸν οἶον ὅποιον ἂν καὶ φιλοσόφῳ εἴπουν ἐλευθέρῳ φήσαι προσήκειν. Εἰς γὰρ τὸν ὑπέρτατον τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀνεληλυθὼς θρόνον, ἡ τὸ γε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἀνελκυσθεὶς, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα παρὰ προαίρεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ καιροῖς ἐντετυχηκῶς ἀνωμάλοις ..., and 189.9-11: Ἄλλ' οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ συγχύσει πραγμάτων εἰς τὸ μέσον συναλαθεὶς εἰς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἄλλην τινὰ δυστυχίαν ἐξ εὐδαίμονος καὶ μακαρίας ζωῆς ἀποπεπτωκῶς καὶ ἀφύκτοις ἀνάγκαις ὑποζυγεῖς ...

⁵¹ Codex V¹ has the inscription τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων, and Lav τινὶ γνωρίμῳ.

of the copyist of these last two manuscripts or their originals to strip the letter of its personal character and transform it into a literary text. To this end he has changed the gender of two participles from feminine to masculine.⁵²

In this letter Gregorios Kyprios complains that Raoulaina, who had paid him a visit the previous day and had left him ill (or distressed), forgot to enquire after his condition upon the following day, or to inform him of what was being said against him so that he could prepare himself appropriately.⁵³ This may be taken as a sign that the letter was written during his patriarchate, that is, after 1283, when he faced a variety of problems.⁵⁴

Letter 5 (204 Lam.)

It is a reply to a letter Gregorios had received from Raoulaina and which he had not answered immediately.⁵⁵ The reason he gives for this delay is that night had already fallen and it would have been dangerous for her youthful messenger to return unaccompanied through dangerous districts.

Letter 6 (205 Lam.)

This letter, as its author himself says, has no particular subject or purpose, but is an expression of Gregorios' sentiments towards Raoulaina and his gratitude for all she gives him. Thus, while his letters usually begin and end with invocations of benedictions upon Theodora, in this case the whole letter is a prayer that God may comfort her and in recompense for the dolorous days of her life grant her many more of joy, and grant that he may see the fulfilment of his prayers, for which he invokes the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, the angels, John the Baptist and all the saints.

It begins with the words ἐμοὶ ὀπηνίκα τις ἐπέλθη πρόφασις γράφειν πρὸς σέ, εἴθισται, which clearly point to a prior epistolary association that is evidently rooted in the personal bond declared by the words ὅσα δι' αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς, which indicate a relation of protection and support, social and/or financial, for Gregory from Theodora Raoulaina. This personal relationship is confirmed by the phrase καὶ με ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐλέει ἀξιοίη βλέπειν ἐπὶ σοὶ κατὰ τὰς εὐχάς.

⁵² These are the participles ἀπιούσα and εἰδεῖα (εἰδυῖα), which have been replaced by ἀπιὼν and εἰδώς. The same occurs in epist. 8; see *supra* p. 126.

⁵³ See epist. 4.4-6: Καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν σκέμματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ποῖ ποτε βλέπει, γνωρίζει, εἰδυῖα ὡς ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος γνώσις ... οὐκ ὀλίγα οἷς ἂν ὑπάρξῃ, ὀνίνησιν.

⁵⁴ See n. 50.

⁵⁵ There is also a reference to Gregorios' tardiness in replying to a letter from Theodora Raoulaina in letter 10; see *infra* p. 153.16-18.

It is impossible to know precisely what Gregory meant by “dolorous days”. He could be referring to her grief over the murder of her first husband, George Mouzalon, and the death of her second husband, John Raoul,⁵⁶ or to the death of her mother, Irene Palaiologina,⁵⁷ or even to her exile by order of Michael VIII Palaiologos.⁵⁸

The manner in which Gregorios formulates his good wishes may well reflect his prelatival position, in which case the letter was written after 1283.

Letter 7 (206 Lam.)

The letter is written as a reply to one from Raoulaina, whom Gregorios praises for the rhythm of her letter, its intricacies of meaning and its application of the rules of rhetoric, and describes the joy he felt in reading it.⁵⁹

Most of the letter consists of good wishes for Raoulaina, where he refers to those expressed recently in another letter to her. The reference could be to letter 6, but not necessarily so, since that epistle contains an assurance that the invocation of God’s benediction upon her is a constant element of his correspondence.

These good wishes begin with prayers that God may accept her into the kingdom of heaven and grant her happiness and length of days and add to that wisdom she already has wisdom such that she may surpass not only other wise women but indeed all who are distinguished for this quality.⁶⁰ The kind and the style of these wishes, which include the invocation of the intervention of the saints, point to a date of composition after 1283.

Letter 8 (207 Lam.)

This letter is one of those accompanying a gift to Raoulaina, in this case some melons brought to Gregorios by monks ἐκ τῆς περαιίας.⁶¹ He comments that, although smaller than those grown in Constantinople, they are more flavourful, and traces a correlation between their quality and that of the monks, who beneath an unremarkable exterior conceal virtue, one outcome of which is the quality of their produce.

Since Gregorios does not specify where these monks came from, it is impos-

⁵⁶ See *supra* n. 10.

⁵⁷ See *supra* p. 127-128.

⁵⁸ See *supra* p. 117.

⁵⁹ See also S. KOTZABASSI, Gregorios Kyprios as Reader (cited n. 37) 85.

⁶⁰ See *infra* p. 151.11-12.

⁶¹ For fruits as gift see KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (cited n. 24), 74-75 (in Gregorios’ letters see p. 74) and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 97; Gregorios mentioned in his letters to Theodora Raoulaina also cherries (epist. 19) and mulberries (epist. 25 and 26).

sible to say whether the phrase ἐκ τῆς περαίας refers to the opposite shore of the Golden Horn and the north shore of the Bosphorus, or the Asia Minor side, since there were active monasteries on both shores. They brought, as he says, many melons, several of which he is sending to Raoulaina “in blessing” (εἰς εὐλογίαν), referring to the gift as ‘monastic’, a gift from the monks, and as ‘patriarchal’, a gift from himself. This latter epithet marks the letter as having been written between 1283-1289.

Letter 9 (208 Lam.)

This letter is a continuation of some preceding one which accompanied a gift of fruit.⁶² From the description of the fruit (ἐοίκασιν μὲν οὖν τῶν ὁμογενῶν ὄσους τὸ ἐνεστῶς ἤνεγκεν ἔτος καὶ εἰς γεῦσιν τὲ καὶ ὄψιν ἤκασιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδίους εἶναι τὲ καὶ καλλίους) it might be assumed that the gift was the one referred to in letter 8, namely melons. This conclusion, however, is refuted by the next part of the letter, in which Gregorios mentions his second reason for writing to Raoulaina, which is that she should write to the “mother” of the fruit and instruct her to dry some while they are in season, for they are very advantageous in dried form as well. He adds that he is constantly being asked for these dried fruits, which he uses himself, since they are beneficial to one’s physical health. The “mother of the fruit” probably refers to someone in Nicaea with whom Theodora Raoulaina was presumably acquainted, although this person cannot be identified.

The letter was written while Gregorios was patriarch, that is, between 1283-1289, as may be deduced from the words ἔτι καὶ νῦν, γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐξ οὐπερ πατριάρχαι γεγόναμεν.

Letter 10 (209 Lam.)

This letter consists of two parts. In the first, Gregorios exhorts Raoulaina to visit him as soon as may be. He reminds her of how long it has been since they last met, and begs her to bear in mind that she is his child, and indeed a unique child, a child such as no father ever had before, and that he is a father unworthy of such a child. He also says that he esteems Raoulaina next only to God, and on the basis of this relationship requests a visit from her as an obligation towards himself. The reason why he is urging her so insistently to come and see him is that he is in a difficult position and in immediate need of her aid, which he deems more effective than that of any other person.

⁶² See the beginning of the letter (p. 152, epist. 9.1): Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς παρόντας σύ γε ἀπαξίωσης προσέσθαι καρπούς.

In the second part, he mentions the bearer of the letter, a young man called Demetrios, who came to his house at sunset, perhaps bringing a letter from Raoulaina, and did not leave with the letter until after nightfall, since Gregorios had not been able to give it his attention, being occupied with many important visitors. He states that he instructed the young man to return at once to Raoulaina, but wonders whether she received the letter the previous evening or that morning, and asks her to let him know.

The phrases Gregorios uses to describe the difficult situation in which he finds himself – *καὶ ἴθι δὴ, νῦν δὴ μάλιστα, ὅτε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκμάζειν δοκοῦντα τὰ δυσχερῆ, εἰς χρεῖαν ἡμᾶς σοῦ τε καθίστησι καὶ τῶν κατὰ σέ* – could indicate the post-1285 period of his patriarchate, when he began to encounter the vigorous opposition that led to his resignation.⁶³

Letter 11 (210 Lam.)

At the beginning of this letter Gregorios complains that although he has been suffering from pain in the stomach for three days now, and indeed has been so poorly that he thought he would die, Raoulaina has neither sent anyone to enquire after his health nor concerned herself with him, although she is aware of his condition. He will not, however, protest, or ask her to explain her behaviour, but will rather ask about her, who has seemingly returned after some long absence, and about her relations with some unnamed person with whom she had quarrelled, with an unbecoming exchange of words, hoping that her relations with this person have been restored and that they may love one another despite the distance separating them.

It has not been possible to determine when this letter was written.

Letter 12 (211 Lam.)

The subject of this letter is a pair of manuscripts that Gregorios has copied, one for himself and one for Raoulaina. He tells her that he will be sending the volume he has already copied for himself to the bookbinder, to be made into a real book, expresses his willingness to do the same with the manuscript he has already given to her, evidently in unbound form, and asks her to return it to him for this purpose.

There are no indications of date in the letter, but since it is unlikely that he would have had so much time to spend on his manuscripts once he became Pa-

⁶³ See *supra* p. 129 and n. 50.

triarch, we may reasonably assume that the letter was written before 1283.⁶⁴

Letter 13 (212 Lam.)

The subject of this letter is a gift of some sweets⁶⁵ that Gregorios has received from a Syrian friend, a Christian merchant and ship-owner, who had just arrived in Constantinople. Laiou plausibly identifies this man with the merchant Gregorios mentions in epist. 164 Eustr., since he is fairly unlikely to have had two Syrian friends.⁶⁶ That letter tells us that the man was called Symeon, that he was native of Ptolemais, in Palestine, and that he and Gregorios had become friends on a recent visit of his to Constantinople. The friendship arose out of the fact of Gregorios' being a native of Cyprus, no great distance from Symeon's home in Palestine.⁶⁷

Assuming that epist. 164 Eustr. describes the voyage to Pontus during which Symeon made Gregorios' acquaintance in Constantinople, it then follows that epist. 13 (212 Lam.) is of later date, since the gifts presuppose a pre-existing acquaintanceship.

Epist. 13 offers no internal chronological marker. If, however, one accepts that it post-dates epist. 164 Eustr., which is addressed to the Grand Logothete and describes Symeon's account of the Genoese for the information of the Emperor, a letter which must have been written while Gregorios was Patriarch, then letter 13 must also have been written after 1283.

As in other letters, Gregorios begs Raoulaina to accept his gift, although it is but a paltry one.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ See *supra* p. 129 n. 48. In another letter addressed to the monk Methodios (epist. 100 Eustr.; to him see *PLP* 17597) Gregorios wrote about one of his manuscripts containing mostly orations of Demosthenes which needs to be bound by Methodios, whose book-binding abilities Gregorios praises. This letter certainly pre-dated 1283, because the author calls himself Georgios and not Gregorios; see *EUSRATIADADES* (cited n. 3), p. 77 (epist. 100.25-27: μηδέποτε κτήμα ἐμὸν Δημοσθένην γενέσθαι, ἢ σοὶ ὀπωσοῦν φανήναι βαρὺν τὸν Γεώργιον).

⁶⁵ The sweets are "phoinikes" and "melipikta" (honeyed sweets); for the meaning of these terms see *ΛΑΙΟΥ*, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 96 and n. 39.

⁶⁶ See *ΛΑΙΟΥ*, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 94.

⁶⁷ See *EUSRATIADADES* (cited n. 3), p. 159 (epist. 164.1-6): Συμεών τις ἔμπορος ἄνθρωπος, Σύρος τὸ γένος, Πτολεμαῖδος τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πολίτης, φίλος ἐμός, οὐ πάνυ δὲ παλαιός, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄτου περ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκε, πρόσφατος δ' ἦκε, καὶ μοι φίλος γέγονε, ὅτι με Κύπριον ὄντα ἐμάνθανε, καὶ τι διὰ τὴν πατρίδα γειτονοῦσαν Παλαιστίνῃ Παλαιστιναίους προσήκοντα.

⁶⁸ See e.g., epist. 2.3-6: καὶ γε δὴ πέμποντος δεξαμένη, μήτ' αὐτῆς φαυλότητα καταγνώς, μήθ' ἡμῶν σμικρολογίαν κατηγορήσης, εἰ δονάκια στέργοντες καὶ καλαμίσκους, τούτοις ὡς δὴ τισὶ μεγάλοις, τοὺς γνησίους ἡμῶν δεξιούμεθα; epist. 9. 13-14: μήθ' ἡμῶν τὸ σμικρολόγον,

Letter 14 (213 Lam.)

Gregorios assures Raoulaina that he followed her recommendations in composing the letter and asks her to judge it after reading it through several times, so as to avoid what befalls the wayfarer who hurries along the road noticing nothing on either side, whereas if he pursued his path slowly and attentively he would see everything.⁶⁹ The letter contains no indication of date.

Letter 15 (214 Lam.)

In this letter Gregorios tells Raoulaina about the pain in his lower back and legs that has been troubling him for the past six days. It began, he says, on Tuesday morning, in the region of the kidneys and, while not severe at first, gradually increased as the day wore on until he could neither sit nor stand nor walk; and this is now the sixth day, when he is writing this letter to beg her comprehension, for the only thing he can do without hurting is to look down (be bent over).⁷⁰

The letter may be a reply to one from Raoulaina asking either why he has not written to her or why he has not done something else that she was expecting him to do. The absence of a more extensive closure and of the blessings that usually accompany Gregorios' letters is doubtless explained by the difficulty he had in writing and the message-like nature of the letter.

The letter contains no indication of date.

Letter 16 (215 Lam.)

Once again Gregorios is sharing with Theodora Raoulaina a gift brought to him by a visitor, and sending a letter along with it. This time the gift is one of fish from a lake near Nicaea (Askania), which were considered a great delicacy by the people of Constantinople, who indeed, he says, present them garlanded with bay and myrtle, for they are the finest of all fish, whether from lake or stream or sea.

The fish Gregorios is sending to Theodora Raoulaina were brought to him the previous evening, well after nightfall, by a monk who is also a very old friend. Gregorios has no hesitation in remarking that, unlike some others who come

μήτε τῶνδε τὸ εὐτελὲς ὑπολογιζομένη.

⁶⁹ For the letter see ΚΟΤΖΑΒΑΣΣΙ, Gregorios Kyprios as Reader (cited n. 37), 85-86.

⁷⁰ Gregorios mentions the illnesses that plague him in a number of letters (e.g., *EUSTRATIADDES* (cited n. 33), epist. 11, 12, 88, 97, 136, 140, and below in epist. 4, 11, 15, 28 to Theodora Raoulaina); for illnesses in Byzantine letters see P. ΤΙΜΠΛΑΛΕΞΙ, *Medizinisches in der byzantinischen Epistolographie (1110-1453)* (*Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe VII. Abt. B. Geschichte der Medizin*, 9). Frankfurt a.M. 2002, esp. 60, 63, 67, 88, 121, 205.

empty-handed when they pay him a visit, his yesterday's visitor brought him a great many fine fish, and expressed his fondness for Nicaea.

Gregorios' delight in the fish is such, he says, that he would have sent Raoulaina even more, were he not afraid of eliciting renewed protestations that he sends her too much. In order to avoid this he is sending a single fish, and begs her not to be displeased but to accept it with his blessings and best wishes, while assuring her of his conviction that she will find it very tasty and healthful, accompanied as it is by a variety of seasonings.

In two of his letters Gregorios thanks his correspondent, in each case a monk, for a gift of fish.⁷¹ The first (epist. 4 Eustr.) is addressed to Iasites,⁷² and the second (epist. 196 Eustr.) to Gregorios,⁷³ but there is no way of knowing which it was who brought him the fish from Nicaea.

The phrase μετ' εὐλογιῶν πέμπεται καὶ εὐχῶν suggests that the letter belongs to the period of his patriarchate.

Letter 17 (227 Lam.)

The subject of this letter is an exchange of manuscripts.⁷⁴ Gregorios has decided to return to Raoulaina the books he had borrowed from her, which were so numerous, he says, that they displaced his own from their place in a narrow part of his house. The detail is important, because even allowing for some probable rhetorical exaggeration it is indicative of the size of her library. The reason why he has kept them so long is that he found it very useful to read now from one and now from another, which is why he tolerated the disorder they created in his house. He has now decided to return them, however, because the period of fasting (presumably the Great Lenten Fast) which has begun has brought with it another sort of struggle than that of study, which Gregorios finds more important and which is absorbing him to the exclusion of his other pursuits.

Gregorios is nonetheless making an exception for two of the manuscripts, one

⁷¹ About fish as gift in the Byzantine epistolography of the Paleologan period see KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (cited n. 24), 71-72; also LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 96-97.

⁷² For Iasites (Job Melias) see *PLP* 7959.

⁷³ In Eustratiades' edition, the name of the recipient of letter 196 Eustr. (= 119 Lam.) is not mentioned, although he is known to us from a number of manuscripts bearing the superscription τῷ μοναχῷ Γρηγορίῳ.

⁷⁴ Gregory writes about exchanges of manuscripts with a number of other correspondents as well, including John Staurakios (epist. 14, 20, 21, 28 Eustr.), Constantine Meliteniotes (epist. 75 Eustr.), Constantine Akropolites (epist. 38, 169 Eustr.), Manuel Neokaisarites (epist. 11, 26, 59, 62, 89; see also EUSTRATIADES (cited n. 3), epist. 9, 30, 47, 58, 78, 81, 110, 111.

of Ailios Aristeides and one of Demosthenes,⁷⁵ which he wants to keep, for two different reasons. The first contains many errors, and he wants to correct them when he has time.⁷⁶ The other, by contrast, is the best manuscript of Demosthenes he has ever seen, and for that reason he wants to copy parts of it. Foreseeing Raoulaina's reaction at the prospect of her manuscript being used as an exemplar for copying purposes, which is likely to result in its being soiled,⁷⁷ he assures her that he will not attempt the work himself but will commission a professional scribe and friend of his, Melitas,⁷⁸ for a substantial fee. The manuscript, he adds, contains the best works of a number of other famous orators, in addition to a selection of speeches of Demosthenes.

Gregorios accompanies the return of Raoulaina's books with the request that she send him a manuscript of the Ethics of St Basil the Great, which he describes as the wisest and the most useful book of all time. Raoulaina had earlier made him a gift of such a manuscript, which, however, he had never received, either because she had forgotten to send it or because her emissary forgot to give it to him. For this reason he asks her not to wonder at his asking for the manuscript, and hopes that it has not been lost. He also says that it makes no difference whether it is considered to be his or her property, since they can both use and benefit from it.

The two orators in question are the subject of Gregorios' correspondence elsewhere as well, while in addition there exists a manuscript in his own hand of speeches of Demosthenes, codex Paris. 2998,⁷⁹ and one of speeches of Aristeides copied by Theodora Raoulaina.⁸⁰

Given that he signs as 'Georgios' in the invocation of Paris. 2998, it would appear that this work was written before Gregorios ascended the patriarchal throne, a period of his life when, as he relates in his autobiography, he was much occupied with the transcription of manuscripts.⁸¹ He did not, however, give up this pursuit

⁷⁵ Gregorios discusses manuscripts of works by Demosthenes and Ailios Aristeides in other letters as well; see EUSRATIADDES (cited n. 3), epist. 26 (Aristeides), 38 (Aristeides), 62 (Aristeides), 75 (Aristeides), 100 (Demosthenes); PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio* (cited. n. 28), 32-44 and KOTZABASSI, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* (cited p. 120), 6-7.

⁷⁶ Gregorios mentions the correction of texts in manuscripts of his own or belonging to friends in other letters; see, e.g., EUSRATIADDES (cited n. 3), epist. 75 and 169.

⁷⁷ The matter of manuscripts being dirtied in copying is mentioned in the following letters of Gregorios Kyprios: EUSRATIADDES (cited n. 3), epist. 28 and 38.

⁷⁸ For Melitas, see *PLP* 17831. This copyist is also mentioned in epist. 18.37 (*infra* p. 159).

⁷⁹ For the identification see GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, *Repertorium* (cited n. 29), no. 99. Paris. 2998 may well have been the manuscript referred to in this letter.

⁸⁰ For the manuscript see *supra* p. 117 and n. 13.

⁸¹ See *supra* n. 47.

upon becoming Patriarch, as is evident from the invocation in codex Laur. 87,10 where he is mentioned as Gregorios,⁸² and from his letter to Constantine Akropolites asking him for a manuscript of Ailios Aristeides despite the fact that, as he comments, the study of profane writers scarcely befits his position.⁸³

While the letter cannot be dated with any certainty, it was in my view most probably written before Gregorios became Patriarch.

Letter 18 (228 Lam.)

This letter, one of three of Gregorios' to Raoulaina that have already been published,⁸⁴ is fairly long and is divided into three parts. In the first, Gregorios replies to his correspondent's criticism of his letters to her, which she says are very simplistic and read like the letters of a cleric. Gregorios declares himself unwilling to defend himself against this criticism, reminds her that the purpose of a letter is to convey the thoughts of the writer to the reader, wonders whether his letters lack clarity as well as an elevated style, and ascribes her criticism to her desire to see the advancement of those she loves.⁸⁵

The second topic is the copying of a manuscript of Demosthenes. Raoulaina has urged him to remind the scribe to keep it clean and free of any marks or ink blots;⁸⁶ Gregorios assures her that everything will be done as she wishes, and reminds her that the copying season has not yet come, since it is not springtime, and people are not eating meat, and there are as yet no sheepskins available to be prepared for writing material.⁸⁷ He promises, however, that when the conditions are right, as will soon be the case, he will instruct the copyist Melitas to take care of the book, even though the scribe is in any case so careful that even without these reminders he would not have sullied the original but would have returned

⁸² On this subject see *supra* p. 128.

⁸³ See EUSRATIADDES (cited n. 3), epist. 169.3-8: εἰ δ' ὅτι τις ἑλλην ῥήτωρ καὶ πόρρω τῆς θείας αὐλῆς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ γήρωος ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῦ σχήματος οὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὰ θεῖα δὲ σπουδάζειν ἀρμοδιώτερον, σύγγνωθί μοι σοφὸς ὢν καὶ γινώσκειν ἔχων ἐκ σεαυτοῦ ὡς ῥᾶον τοὺς ἅπαξ ἀλόντας τῷ πᾶν λόγων ἔρωτι τὴν φύσιν ἀρνήσασθαι ἢ καταλῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα.

⁸⁴ See KOUGEAS, 598. To this letter see also LAURENT, *Regestes* (cited n. 44), no. 1547 and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 95-96.

⁸⁵ See also in this regard KOTZABASSI, *Gregorios as Reader* (cited n. 37), 88.

⁸⁶ On this topic see *supra* p. 137. Gregorios complains in some other letters about the abuse of manuscripts, which scribes have used as exemplar; see *supra* n. 77.

⁸⁷ It is interesting that Gregorios writes on oriental paper, while the manuscript is to be copied onto parchment. Writing materials are also mentioned in other letters; see, e.g., EUSRATIADDES (cited n. 3), epist. 21, 28, 39, 78, 102.

it to her cleaner than it was to start with.⁸⁸

The third part of the letter concerns some edible gift that Raoulaina had sent him. Gregorios says that he himself only tasted it, for it was very sweet and would have made him thirsty, whereas he avoids eating anything thirst-provoking, and therefore gave it to the children who were with him, who found it delicious.

This letter may possibly be a continuation of the preceding one, concerning Raoulaina's manuscript of speeches of Demosthenes that Melitas was to copy. The fact that it is not yet spring and people are not eating meat would certainly fit with the information in the previous letter that he is writing at the beginning of Lent.⁸⁹ On the other hand, one would in that case have expected some reference to the manuscript of St Basil the Great that he had asked her to send him, but this may have been the subject of a preceding or subsequent letter.

If her characterisation of Gregorios' letters as clerical has to do with his position, then this and the previous letter must be assigned to the period after 1283, a dating that in my view is not supported by their style, since all those known to have been written in that period of his life contain benedictions, which these two do not.⁹⁰

The identity of the children to whom he gave Raoulaina's gift, and what exactly this was, remains a mystery.

Letter 19 (229 Lam.)

This letter was written in the spring of the year and accompanies a gift of cherries to Raoulaina, from a quantity – apparently too much for his own use – which he had received from some acquaintances. He is giving Raoulaina half the cherries, which he describes as new fruit. Having first read the appropriate prayers over them and blessed them with the sign of the cross, so that they may be beneficial to those who eat them, he is sending them with his best wishes.

The custom of blessing the firstfruits is a familiar ecclesiastical practice, and indicates that the letter was written after 1283.

Letter 20 (230 Lam.)

This brief letter is an indirect thank you to Raoulaina for sending him a gift of fish. Afraid, by his own account, to ask the questions he wants to and preferring therefore to remain silent, Gregorios nevertheless wonders why she is spending her money on him and is sending him so many fish. Continuing in mock exag-

⁸⁸ For the scribe Melitas see *supra* p. 137.

⁸⁹ See *supra* p. 136.

⁹⁰ See epist. 8, 9 and 19.

generation, he asks whether she has a fleet of fishing vessels bringing in such a catch that she can send him so great a quantity.

Gregorios refers elsewhere as well to the fact that Raoulaina incurs expenditures for his sake;⁹¹ gifts of fish are also mentioned in letters 3 and 16.⁹²

Letter 21 (231 Lam.)

In this equally brief letter we learn that after a long space of time Raoulaina has visited Gregorios in his retreat, a visit that he is repaying with a gift of some saffron from a quantity brought to him recently by some visitor.⁹³ Here, again, Gregorios adds that he would have sent her more did he not know that she would protest at even this much, and begs her to accept it with his best wishes.

Gregorios describes his place of sojourn as τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσχατιάν, which if not a figure of speech could denote a place either far from the centre of Constantinople⁹⁴ or far from Theodora Raoulaina's house.⁹⁵ From the correspondence we know that before becoming Patriarch he lived for some time at least in the Akataleptos Monastery,⁹⁶ while as Patriarch he probably lived in the patriarchal palace. In another letter, however, he mentions a temporary sojourn in some house and his removal from there to his own dwelling, although without specifying its location.⁹⁷

The phraseology of the good wishes may be an indication that the letter was written after 1283.

⁹¹ This evidence is also confirmed by Georg. Pach. (cited n. 16) VIII, 9 (= FAILLER, III, 151.7-10); see n. 18.

⁹² See *supra* p. 128 and 135.

⁹³ About saffron as a gift see KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (cited n. 24), 91.

⁹⁴ It is not clear what might be considered the centre of Constantinople at that time; the Patriarchate was still in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia, while the customary residence of the emperor was the Blachernai palace.

⁹⁵ After 1285 Raoulaina appears to have lived in the convent of St Andrew, which she renovated; this was located in the southwest sector of Constantinople; see *supra* n. 117-118.

⁹⁶ See in this regard EUSTRATIADES (cited n. 3), epist. 20. For the Akataleptos Monastery see also S. KOTZABASSI, *Zur Lokalisierung des Akataleptos-Klosters in Konstantinopel*, *RÉB* 63 (2005) 233-235; N. ASUTAY-A. EFFENBERGER, *Eski İmaret Camii, Bonoszinsterne und Konstantinmauer*, *JÖB* 58 (2008) 26-27 make a different suggestion concerning its identification. Gregorios mentions his house twice in his correspondence, but without any localisation: first, before he became Patriarch [EUSTRATIADES (cited n. 3), epist. 90: ἦκειν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ], second, when he was Patriarch (IDEM, epist. 160: πατριαρχῶν οἶκος).

⁹⁷ See epist. 29.

Letter 22 (232 Lam.)

In the opening part of this letter Gregorios complains that Raoulaina has not answered his letter, which is why he is writing again, quoting a line from the *Iliad* and asking for a reply (or a promise). The main topic of the letter, and the object of repeated requests, is a copper utensil for the bath, for which Raoulaina has furnished the purchase price but has not referred him to the person who could supply it. He is thus now asking her to send one of her people to help him; otherwise, he says, he will look for it himself at her behest.

The talk of letters with which this one begins could be a continuation of a discussion in preceding letters in which he comments on or replies to Raoulaina's observations.⁹⁸

What the precise purpose of the utensil in question may have been is not clear, nor is the particular bath for which it was intended;⁹⁹ the letter does, however, show that Raoulaina supplied some of Gregorios' financial wants.¹⁰⁰

There is nothing in the letter to indicate when it was written.

Letter 23 (233 Lam.)

Another short letter, which Gregorios himself describes as laconic,¹⁰¹ asks for Raoulaina's understanding. It was written to enquire whether Raoulaina, who was ill, would like Gregorios to visit her. There is nothing in it to indicate its date of composition.

Letter 24 (234 Lam.)

In this brief letter Gregorios expresses his intention to send Theodora Raoulaina a little of the botargo a friend has sent him, for her to taste, since it is fresh and of excellent quality;¹⁰² his only hesitation, as he explains, is that she may not want any, and so he is asking her to let him know.

Similar expressions of hesitation and query occur in other of Gregorios' let-

⁹⁸ See epist. 7, 14, 18, 22.

⁹⁹ On the use of *τήγανον* which Gregorios asks for, see LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 97.

¹⁰⁰ See also *supra* n. 91, and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n.7), 97.

¹⁰¹ As 'laconic' Gregorios characterized a letter that John Staurakios sent him (see epist. 106); see H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft: Abt. 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch, 5)*. München 1978, I, 219.

¹⁰² For *ψοτάριχον* as gift see KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (cited n. 24), 72 and 81, and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 89.

ters also, suggesting that this may be a rhetorical device;¹⁰³ there are, on the other hand, a number of instances where Gregorios sends his intended gift without first asking.¹⁰⁴

The type of benediction points to a date of composition after 1283.

Letter 25 (235 Lam.)

This letter concerns some mulberries that Raoulaina has sent him. Gregorios declares that the fruit has been a favourite of his since he was a boy in Cyprus, but avows that he was unable to eat them, since they were green and sour and would have made anyone eating them ill.

The letter contains no chronological markers, and the concluding wishes are missing.

Letter 26 (236 Lam.)

The fourth of Gregorios' published letters, this was written a year after the one in which he complained about the unripe mulberries he had been sent.¹⁰⁵ With it, he says, he is sending some mulberries to show her how the mulberries he supposes she will be sending him this year should be, that is, ripe, and not green like the previous year's.

There is no indication of date.

Letter 27 (237 Lam.)

This letter is Gregorios' response to that with which Raoulaina replied to letter 26, assuming that the introductory phrase θάρσει περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἀποτίσεως corresponds to the phrase περὶ τῆς ἐν καιρῷ ἀποτίσεως in that letter. Gregorios assures her, however, that she need not worry about when she can repay her debt in respect of his gift of fruit, because she has already given him far more pleasure than could any fruit by writing him a letter, which he read with incomparable satisfaction due to its virtues.¹⁰⁶ He therefore wishes her good health and continued progress in rhetoric and in all the other things he hopes God will grant her, those things, that is, that are pleasing to God and will ensure her a place in His heavenly kingdom.

¹⁰³ See epist. 29.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., epist. 2, 8, 9, 19.

¹⁰⁵ See epist. 25 and LAIOU, *The Correspondence* (cited n. 7), 88.

¹⁰⁶ See KOTZABASSI, *Gregorios Kyprios as Reader* (cited n. 37), 92.

In this letter, as in epist. 10,¹⁰⁷ Gregorios calls Raoulaina his daughter and himself her father, a form of expression that, taken together with the type of benediction, points to a date of composition during his patriarchate.

Letter 28 (238 Lam.)

Gregorios gives an eloquent account of a recent brief illness he has suffered. He begins, using a familiar rhetorical device, by declaring himself unable to describe it, and by stating his intention to attempt nonetheless to do so for his correspondent's sake. The incident began with a headache after his midday nap. The pain increased steadily, but Gregorios suffered it patiently and continued to read until the hour of vespers, when he decided to go out into the cool breeze, which he thought would do him good, and he sat there reading until some dear and important visitor came along.

After they had engaged in conversation, he got up to go to his room and with the movement felt a pain and had to lie down. He also broke into a sweat, and felt dizzy, cold and nauseous. He passed many hours of the night in this state, before the pain subsided and he slept. When he awakened in the morning he felt much better, and now hopes that God will restore him to full health.¹⁰⁸

Letter 29 (239 Lam.)

In the introduction to the letter Gregorios mentions the visit of one Elias, a renowned and most venerable person whom Theodora Raoulaina also knows, a visit which, although long hoped-for, has for a variety of reasons been prevented until now.

The second part describes the problems he had with the house he was living in, namely the emanation of fumes that made him dizzy and a plague of mice that had recently taken up residence there. Gregorios gives a very lively account of their behaviour, which, he says, recalls that of warriors forming up by companies and attacking, one after another, as if engaged in veritable warfare or in field exercises for some future conflict, perhaps against other animals, possibly frogs, as in the famous poem.¹⁰⁹ This combat generates such noise in the house

¹⁰⁷ See *infra* p. 153, epist. 10.4-6.

¹⁰⁸ The description of illnesses was a fairly common epistolary theme for Gregorios and other Byzantine scholars. In the same dramatic style he describes two other cases in a letter addressed to Constantine Meliteniotes, see EUSTRATIADES (cited n. 3), epist. 72 and 103; see also TIMPLALEXI (cited n. 70), 60 and 67. For the illnesses Gregorios describes see *supra* n. 70.

¹⁰⁹ The reference is presumably to the *Batrachomyomachia*. The phrase ποιητικὴν τινα σειρῆνα could be an allusion to Homer (see, e.g., REINSCH, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von*

that he is unable to sleep, and is therefore moving to his own house, which albeit inferior to this one is nonetheless far preferable; and he hopes that he will have God's blessing in this move.

The person mentioned in the letter cannot be identified. Nor is it known where this visit took place.

As regards the second part of the letter, we do not know what house it was that was beset by fumes and mice, nor why Gregory was living there, nor even where his own house was.¹¹⁰

The letter contains no chronological markers.

THE EDITION

The text is based on the main two manuscripts, M and V; in cases of equally correct variants the preference is in general given to the readings of M. From the *apparatus criticus* are excluded the readings of the apographa and the editions. The accentuation and the punctuation of M and V have been taken into account in the present edition. The sequence of the letters in the edition follows Lameere's arrangement.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

I. CODICES

M:	Mutin. α.R.6.19
Lav:	Athous, Lavra B 39
P:	Paris. 2022
V:	Vatic. 1085
V ¹ :	Vatic. 77

II. EDITORES ET VIRI DOCTI

Eustr.:	Sophronios EUSTRATIADIS, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουµενικοῦ πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι. Alexandria 1910
Lam.:	W. LAMEERE, La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289). (<i>Études de Philologie d'Archéologie et d'Histoire anciennes publiées par l'Institut historique Belge de Rome</i> , II). Bruxelles-Rome 193
Kugeas:	S. KUGEAS, Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift Augustanus F. BZ 16 (1907) 586-609

Ephesos [cited p. 121], epist. B20 and p. 265), while the *τινα* also denotes the doubtfulness of the attribution of the work to him.

¹¹⁰ For Gregorios' dwelling-places see *supra* n. 18 and 96.

1

Τῆ πρωτοβεστιαρία καὶ τῆ ἀδελφῆ αὐτῆς παραμυθητικῆ

Σὺ μὲν ἴσως, κυρία καὶ θύγατερ ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐκ ἀπεικότεως ἡμᾶς ἀφίλους
 ἠγγήση καὶ διαθέσεως τῆς κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀμνήμονας, μηδὲν παθεῖν δόξαντας,
 πρὸς τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν σοι συμφορὰν. Τὸ γὰρ δι' αἰσθήσεων ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς πεφυκέναι τὰς κρίσεις ποιεῖσθαι, δώσει που καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν
 5 τοιαύτην σχεῖν τὴν ὑπόληψιν, μηδὲν παρασχόντων τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷον ἐπὶ τῷ
 συμβάντι πεπόνθαμεν αἰσθανθῆναι, οὐ μὴν δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ὡς ἡ ἐκτὸς
 ἔδειξεν αἴσθησις καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα συμβέβηκε· πᾶν μὲν οὖν τούναντίον, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 σφόδρα ὠδυνήθη ἐν ἑμαυτῷ, καὶ πικρίας ἐπλήσθη, καὶ ὅσον οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ'
 10 ἑτέρῳ πάθει πενθήσας, ἐπένθησα. Ταλανίζω τὸν βίον, ταλανίζω καὶ τὴν ζωὴν
 ἑμαυτοῦ· τὸν μὲν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπον, οἷον οὐ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐξ οὐπερ κόσμος καὶ
 βίος συνέστη, πεπλούτηκεν, ἀπεβάλετο· τὴν δ' ὅτι παρακλήσεως ἐστέρηται,
 ἀνακωχῆς, συμβουλῆς, βοθηείας, πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν καλλίστων, ἃ μοι περιούσα
 τῷ βίῳ παρεῖχεν ἡ ἐκδημήσασα.

Ἐστέναξα γοῦν τῆς ὄντως μακαρίας ἐκείνης καὶ τότε τὴν ἐκδημίαν ἀκούσας,
 15 καὶ συχνὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κατήγαγον δάκρυα· καὶ νῦν ἔτι στενάζων οὐ παύομαι·
 τάχα γε μὴν, οὐδὲ παύσομαι, ἕως καὶ λογισμὸς ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, καὶ πνοὴ παραμένει,
 καὶ δύναμις σύνεστιν ἄλλη, τῶν ὧν ἐστέρημαι μνημονεύουσα. Οὐ μόνον δέ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διαδικασίαν μέμνημαι τηνικαῦτα, τρόπον τινὰ πρὸς Θεὸν συστησά-
 20 μενος· καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἔφασκον· “δέσποτα καὶ δημιουργεῖ πάσης φύσεως, εἰς ζωὴν
 ἐκτρέπεις τὴν θανάτου σκιάν, εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν δὲ τὸ θνητὸν μεθιστᾶς, πάντα τὰ
 ποιεῖς καὶ μετασκευάζεις μόνῳ τῷ βούλεσθαι· καὶ ἄπορον οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀδύνατον

1 Epist. 171 Lam. M 158, V 158, Lav 17 ed. Eustr. p. 152-154 (epist. 158)

6-7 ἡ ἐκτὸς – αἴσθησις: cf. Nic. Steth., *Or.* 1, 50.12 (Darrouzès) 9-10 ταλανίζω – τὴν ζωὴν
 ἑμαυτοῦ: cf. Ephr. Syr., *Serm. de virt. et vitiis*, I, 1.1-2 (Phrantzolas, *CPG* 3905) 19-21 εἰς ζωὴν
 ἐκτρέπεις – μόνῳ τῷ βούλεσθαι: cf. LXX Amos 5.8: ἐκτρέπων εἰς τὸ πρῶτ' σκιάν θανάτου; Ps.
 106.14: σκιᾶς θανάτου; Athan. patr. Const., *Epist.* 81.74 (206 Talbot): ὁ θανάτου ἐκτρέπων σκιάν
 εἰς ζωὴν 21-22 ἄπορον οὐδέν – παρὰ σοί: cf. LXX Iob 10.13; 42.2

Tit. τῆ κομνηνῆ βραουλαίνῃ κυρία θεοδώρα καὶ τῆ αὐτῆς ἀδελφῆ V tit. πρωτοβεστιαρέα Lav;
 αὐτῆς M^{sl.al.m.} 6 ὡς om. Lav 8 ἐν om. Lav 9 ταλανίζω^{1,2}: ταλανίζων Lav 11 ἀπεβάλλετο
 V 16 ἔτι add. post ἕως Lav

παρὰ σοί, πᾶς τις οἶδε καὶ πᾶς τις ὁμολογεῖ, ὁ καὶ Θεόν σε γνησίως καὶ εἰδῶς καὶ ὁμολογῶν. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ σὸς νόμος ἄλτος οὗτος εἰς γῆν τοὺς ἐκ γῆς ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ δεῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην θανάτῳ λειτουργεῖν τοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς
 25 γένεσιν ἤκοντας, ἵνα τί μὴ προσέθηκας ἡμέρας ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείνης ὁ χρόνων πατήρ, ὡς συμβῆναι μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν τὴν διάλυσιν; Ἠγώνισται καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς δόξης, ἠνδρίσατο πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀντέστη πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, ἀντικατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα τὴν πίστιν τηρήσῃ, ὡς δὴ καὶ τετήρηκεν. Ἐχρῆν λοιπὸν αὐτὴν καὶ παραμεῖναι μικρὸν· ἐχρῆν καὶ ἔτι περιεῖναι τοῖς
 30 ᾧδε, εἰ μὴ ἑαυτῆς ἔνεκεν, καὶ τῶν στεφάνων — ἔχει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τελείως ἤδη ἀπολαβοῦσα —, τοῦ γοῦν οἰκοδομησαὶ καὶ στηρίξαι καὶ καταρτίσαι τοὺς ἐπηρεαζομένους ὑπὸ τῆς βασκανίας καὶ σαλευομένους καὶ πορθομένους”.

Τοιαῦτ' ἐγὼ δυσανασχετῶν ἔλεγον, ἀγνοῶν πάντως τὸ τῆς προνοίας βάθος, καὶ τὸ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἴχνεσιν ἀβύσσου
 35 τῆς θείας βουλῆς τε καὶ γνώσεως πορευόμενος· πλήν οὕτως ἔχων στεναγμῶν, καὶ ὀδύνης, καὶ σπλάγχνων πυρώσεως, ὡς ὑμᾶς ᾤθηθην αὐτὸς ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ μικρὸν οὕτω τῆς κατεχούσης πικρίας ἀνακωχεῦσαι. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ διχόθεν μοι ὁ πρόσφατος οὗτος ἐπεταχύνετο πλοῦς· τοῦτο μὲν, ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμμάτων μὴ βραδύνειν μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι εἰς Ἀτραμύτιον ἀπαντᾶν κελευόντων, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ ἐλπίζοντος εἰς Καλλιούπολιν ὑμῖν ἐντυχεῖν, ὅπου
 40 διὰ θαλάσσης τὴν πορείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ποιεῖν βουλομένης ὑμᾶς, τὰ βόρεια τῶν πνευμάτων κατεῖχε, κρατοῦντα διὰ τὴν ὥραν — χειμερία γὰρ ἦν — καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας οὐδόλως πνέειν παρέχοντα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιδίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν χειμῶνι καὶ κλύδωνι, καὶ δευτεραῖος, λάβρω ἀπαρκτίᾳ φερόμενος,
 45 εἰς Καλλιούπολιν παραγίνομαι, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας ἀνάγκης ὡς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐντυχίας καταίρειν ἐπειγούσης ἐκείσε· ἀλλ' ᾧδέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὑμῶν τὲ καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ διαμαρτόντι, λύπης ἐπίτασις γίνεται, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐθις ἀναπλέειν διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἔς τε Προϊκόνησον καὶ Πείρινθον, καὶ αὐτὸ Βυζάντιον τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέροντος, οὐ τὴν ἐς αὐτὰ τοῦ βορέου, λυπηρὸς λυπηρῶς ἐκεῖθεν
 50 καὶ δεινῶς σκυθρωπάζων πορευόμεμαι, πεπεισμένος μὴ ἂν ἄλλοθεν δυνηθῆναι παρακληθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξός πως ὁ λόγος· αἱ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῷ πρὸ βραχέος χρόνῳ διενεγκοῦσαι ὑμεῖς, ἱκαναὶ γένοισθ'

23-24 νόμος ἄλτος – ἀποστρέφεται: LXX Gen. 3.19; cf. Greg. Cyr., *Epist.* 60.48-50 (43 Eustr.) 27 πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς – πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας: cf. Eph. 6.12 28 ἵνα τὴν πίστιν – τετήρηκεν: cf. II Tim. 4.7 34 ἴχνεσιν ἀβύσσου: LXX Job 38.16.2 36 σπλάγχνων πυρώσεως: cf. Ps.-Macarius, *Hom. spirit.* 50 (coll. H) 25.116 (204 Dörries – Klostermann – Krüger) μετὰ καὶ σπλάγχνων πυρώσεως) 44 λάβρω ἀπαρκτία: cf. Const. Man., *Hodoepor.* 1.32 (326 Horna) λαβράσας ἀπαρκτίας 50 σκυθρωπάζων πορευόμεμαι: LXX Ps. 37.7

35 τε add. post στεναγμῶν Lav 41 βουλομένους Lav 41 ἡμᾶς Lav 44 καί² Lav^{sl} 45 οὐδέ μιᾶς M 48 Προϊκόνησον M^{ac} V 51 ὑμῶν M^{ec} corr.

ἂν καὶ παραμυθίαν ἐπινοήσασθαι τοῖς ὀδυνωμένοις καὶ φέρειν γενναίως εἰσηγήσασθαι τὰ συμπίπτοντα.

- 55 Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέσταλται τὰς γνησίας δούλας τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ λόγος ἄλλως ὄντα οὐδὲ συμπεπλασμένα ῥημάτια, ἀμυδρὰ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν φλογὸς ἔκφανσις· καὶ πάσης γενοίμην ἀμέτοχος παρακλήσεως, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα περιπαθῶς διετέθην, καὶ ὡς ὑμᾶς ἔσπευδον οὐ μᾶλλον δοῦναι παράκλησιν, ἢ λαβεῖν. Τέως μὲν οὖν παραμυθεῖσθε Θεοῦ μνημονεύουσαι· καὶ ὑμῖν ὑπόθεσις
60 ἔστωσαν, τῆς εὐθυμοτέρας ζωῆς, οἱ Ἀβραὰμ κόλποι, δεξάμενοι τὴν ἱεράν ἐκείνης ψυχὴν· ἔστω δὴ καὶ Θεὸς αὐτὸς παρακλήτωρ, ὃ γε καλῶς ἐκείνη διὰ βίου πολιτευσαμένη, ζῶσα μὲν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ὑμᾶς τὰ τέκνα, μεταστᾶσα δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ὑμᾶς αὖθις τὰ τέκνα παρέθετο· παρακαλεῖτε δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐτέρωθεν δοκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῶν ἐκείνης γνησιωτάτων ὑμῶν τὴν
65 ψυχὴν πεπονθέναι.

2

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ἐμοὶ δῶρον ἀνὴρ πρᾶγμα κατὰ πολὺ στεργόμενον πέμπει, δόνακας λεπτοὺς ὁποίοις χρώμεθα γράφοντες· ἀπόμοιραν τούτων ἐποησάμην καὶ σοί, λόγοις σε χαίρουσαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ παιδεύσει προσκειμένην εἰδώς· καὶ γε δὴ πέμποντος δεξαμένη, μήτ' αὐτῆς φαυλότητα καταγνῶς, μήθ' ἡμῶν
5 σμικρολογίαν κατηγορήσης, εἰ δονάκια στέργοντες καὶ καλαμίσκους, τούτοις ὡς δὴ τισι μεγάλοις, τοὺς γνησίους ἡμῶν δεξιούμεθα· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει, οὐδὲ χρυσὸς μέγα, οὐδ' ἄργυρος, οὐδ' ὅσα τῶν μετάλλων ἄνθρωποι τετιμῆκασιν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν μηδεὶς τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτοῖς ὄντα τυγχάνῃ λυσιτελῆ· ἄγουσι μέντοι τοιαῦτα ὅμως αὐτά, ἀτόπῳ τινι διαθέσει καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ, στοργῇ
10 διακειμένοι περὶ αὐτά.

56 συμπεπλασμένα in marg. habent M et V: συμπεπλεγμένα in textu 59 ὑπόθεσις: ἀπόθεσις Lav 63 αὖθις om. V 63 παρακαλεῖται V

2 Epist. 201 Lam. M 187, V 184 ed. Kugeas, p. 596 (epist. 2)

1-5 δόνακας λεπτοὺς καλαμίσκους: cf. Eust. Thess., *Com. ad Hom. Iliad.* K 467 III, 113.3-4 van der Valk) Δόνακες δὲ εἶδος καλάμου, λεπτοὶ καλαμίσκοι, οὓς οἱ μεθ' Ὀμηρον καλοῦσι δονάκια et B 737 (I, 1, 519.31 van der Valk) λεπτός δὲ ἐστὶ δόναξ ἦτοι καλαμίσκος

Tit. τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ κομνηνῇ κυρᾷ Θεοδώρα V 1-2 ἀνὴρ γράφοντες: δόνακας λεπτοὺς, ὁποίοις χρώμεθα γράφοντες, πρᾶγμα κατὰ πολὺ στεργόμενον, ἀνὴρ πέμπει φίλος V 3 προκειμένην V 6 τοὺς γνησίους δεξιούμεθα: τὰ γνήσια ἡμῶν δεξιούμεθα τέκνα V 7 μετάλων V

- Ἄλλα ταυτί γε ἄπερ ἡμεῖς πέμπομεν, οὐχ' ἀπλῶς οὕτως, μετὰ δέ τινος κρίσεως ὀρθῆς εὐρήσεις τιμώμενα· παιδείας μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφίας κάλλιον χρῆμα, οὐθ' ἦκε ποτὲ Πλάτων φησὶν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, οὐτ' οὐ μὴ ποθ' ὕστερον ἦξει· τοῦγε μὴν τοσοῦτου μόνοι γένοιντ' ἂν ἐκ πάντων ἐπιτυχεῖς, οἷς
- 15 μέλον γράμμασιν ὀμιλεῖν· γράμματα δὲ γράφει νοῦς μὲν πρωταιτίως διὰ χειρός, χεὶρ δὲ διὰ δόνακος, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ μικρὸν πράγμα ἀνθρώπῳ σοφῶ τε καὶ ἀστείῳ γενέσθαι, εὐρηται δ' οὐ φαύλην ὁ δόναξ τὴν ἀφορμὴν παρεχόμενος, τρίτος ὢν ἀπὸ νοὸς γραμμάτων δημιουργός, ὢν χωρὶς οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἐπιστήμη γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν ψυχῇ. Συμπέρανε δὴ μοι σύ, ὡς ἔστιν ἔχον καλῶς, μὴτ' ὡς εὐώνους φαυλίσαι
- 20 τοὺς καλάμους καὶ ἀποπέμψασθαι, μήτ' αὖ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πεπομφότας, ὡς δὴ τινὰς μικρολόγους καὶ ἀγροίκους μωμῆσασθαι. Κεφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δόξουσι δεξιὸν ἔχοντες εἶναι, δεδέχθων, καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς ἐν καλῶ τῆς σῆς οἰκίας δεδόςθω· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ἀνάπεμπε αὐτοὺς αὔθις ὧδε· καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀηδῶς, ὡς δῆθεν ἀποδοκιμασθέντας δεξόμεθα, ἀλλὰ σοὶ καὶ
- 25 χάριν εἰσόμεθα· εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἔχουσα τοιούτους, προσφιλοτιμηθείης οἴκοθεν προσθεῖναι, καὶ προσθεῖσα πλείους ἢ λαμβάνεις ἀποπέμψεις, ἔτι σοι μᾶλλον πολλὴν ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν χάριν ἐσόμεθα.

3

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ἡμῖν ἐν βίῳ διὰ τοὺς λόγους, ἡδέος μὲν οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκεν ἀπολαῦσαι, πολλῶν δ' αἰετῶν ἐναντίων καὶ δυσχερῶν, καὶ τίνων οὐ; Ἄλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐξαρχῆς περὶ λόγους κρίσεως ἐμεμψάμεθα, οὐδὲ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐκείνων τῶν προτιμώντων τὴν παιδευσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐπελαβόμεθα, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ
- 5 μόνῃ ἢ ἐντεῦθεν ἡδονὴ ἀντίρροπος πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐδόκει δυσχέρειαν· καὶ ἦν γε ἀληθῶς πᾶσαν ἀνίαν πόρρω βάλλουσα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἕως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔνδον κατείχομεν τοῦ μακαρίου τῶν λόγων λειμῶνος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα παρὰ τούτους,

15 μέλον V: μέλλον M 15 γράμμασιν: πράγμασιν V^{1ac} 17 γένεσθαι M 17 πρὸς τοῦτο add. ante τὴν ἀφορμὴν V 23 ἀλλ' om. V

12-14 παιδείας μὲν – ἦξει: cf. Pl. *Tim.* 47b: φιλοσοφίας γένος, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὐτ' ἦλθεν οὔτε ἦκει ποτὲ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν 21 κεφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου: cf. *infra* Greg. *Cypr., Epist.* 25.12-13; Greg. *Naz., Epist.* 112, 2.3 (Gally); *In Macchab. laud.* (or. 15) PG 35, 921.38; *Ad cives Naz.* (or. 17) PG 35, 980.38; *In Aeg. adv.* (or. 34) 13.1 (220 Moreschini)

3 Epist. 202 Lam. M 188, V 193, V¹ 26

Tit. τινὶ γνωρίμῳ V¹ 3 ἐξαρχῆς om. V¹ 5 ἐδόκει πρὸς πᾶσαν δυσχέρειαν V 5 γε: τε V¹ 7 παρὰ: περὶ M

ὡς ἔωλα παρεωρῶμεν.

Ἐπει δ' οὐ μέχρι παντός τὴν γνώμην διεσώσαμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰλόμεθα, παρα-
 10 πληξία ἴσως ἀλόντες, ἢ μὴνιδι θεοῦ, ὑποπεσόντες εἰς πράγματα, οἷς οὐδέποτε
 προσέσχομεν πρότερον ἀπιδεῖν, καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν ἢ ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἢ αὐτὰ γε
 ἡμῶν, τί γίνεται; Αἴσθησις τοῦ ἀνιῶντος παντός, κἂν μικρὰν κἂν μεῖζω τὴν
 τοῦ λυπῆσαι δύναμιν ἔχη· καὶ ὀδυνώμενοι, οὐ διαλείπομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ
 μὴ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ πράγματα ἔχομεν, καὶ νοσοῦμεν, καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν, καὶ ὅπερ
 15 τοῖς μὴ ὑπὸ φωτὶ βαδίζουσιν αἱ ὁδοί, λίθοι δηλονότι, καὶ προσκρούματα, καὶ
 συντριβαί, καὶ ἀλγήματα, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὁ βίος σαφῶς. Εἶθε με πάλιν λόγοι, εἶθε
 δέχοιντο βιβλίοι καὶ σχολαὶ δραπέτην τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενον, καὶ τάχ' ἂν
 τὴν τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν διεφύγγανον αἴσθησιν, ἰκανῶς ὡς εἴωθα
 τοῖς λόγοις ψυχαγωγούμενος καὶ τὰς δυσχερείας ἀποκρούμενος.

4

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἐπιλελῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖς ἐν ὁποῖαις ἡμᾶς νοσεραῖς ἀνάγκαις ἐνθένδε ἀπι-
 οῦσα καταλέλοιπας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πέμπειν ὡς ἡμᾶς καὶ περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως
 ἐρωτᾶν ὀλιγόρηκας· καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκῶν ἐκείνων χωρὶς, ἐχρῆν καὶ διὰ
 τὴν ἄλλην περίστασιν ἅμα πρωτὶ πέμπειν, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν σκέμματα τῶν
 5 ἀνθρώπων, ποῖ ποτε βλέπει, γνωρίζειν, εἰδυῖα ὡς ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος γνώσις, κἂν
 ἀμυδρά τις οὔσα τυγχάνῃ, οὐκ ὀλίγα οἷς ἂν ὑπάρξῃ, ὀνίνησιν· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀγαθὰ
 τις προαγγέλλειν ἔχη, πολυπλασίαν διὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν εὐθυμίαν πεποίηκεν,
 ἂν τε τάναντία, ἐλύπησε μὲν πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς γε τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πείρας
 λύπης, τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφήρηκε, τῷ χρόνῳ σαφῶς προαναλώσας αὐτήν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 10 οὐδέποτε δεινὸν ἐπίσης ἐκπλήττει καὶ ἀνιᾶ, προσδοκηθέν τε, καὶ μὴ, ἐπεὶ τό γ'
 αἰφνίδιον, σφόδρα δουλοῖ τὰ φρονήματα. Καὶ σὺ τοῖνυν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῖν δυοῖν
 θατέρου φροντίζουσα, ἢ τοῦ διαρκέστερον εὐφράναι, ἢ τοῦ τὰς ἀνίας ἐλάττους
 ταῖς προαγγελίαις ποιῆσαι, τὸ εἰς γνώσιν ἦκον τὴν σὴν περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀμελλητὶ
 δήλωσον· δήλωσον δὴ καὶ θεὸν ἔχε διὰ παντός ὑπερασπιστὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ
 15 τῆς ὅλης ζωῆς ἀντιλήπτορα.

10 ἦ: εἰς V 15 προσκρούματα M: προκρούσματα V¹

4 Epist. 203 Lam. M 189, V 195, V¹ 44, Lav 41

14 θεὸν ἔχε – ὑπερασπιστὴν: cf. Greg. Cypr. *Epist.* 24.7

Tit. τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων V¹: τινὶ γνωρίμῳ Lav 1-2 ἀπιούσα: ἀπιῶν V¹ Lav 3 τῶν: τὴν V¹ 5
 ποῖ: ποῦ V¹: που Lav 5 βλέπειν V¹ 5 εἰδεῖα ὡς M: εἰδυῖας V: εἰδῶς ὡς V¹ Lav 7 εὐθυμίαν:
 ἐπιθυμίαν V¹ 11 δεῖν M Lav 12 φροντίζων V¹ Lav 13 ἀμελητὶ M^{ac} V

5

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Οὐ λήθη κρατηθεὶς ἐγὼ τὸ σὸν γράμμα κατέσχον παρ' ἐμαυτῶ, κατέσχον
 δὲ ὅμως· ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέστρεφεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς παρωχηκυίας
 ἤδη, νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιλαβούσης, ἔδει καὶ φωτὸς χειροποιήτου, ἔδει καὶ συνοδίτου,
 οὐχ ὅπως αὐτῶ τηλικῶδε ὄντι νηπίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐν ἡλικία ὧν βαδίζειν ἐν
 5 τοιῶδε τῆς ὥρας ἐτόλμα, τοσαύτην οὖσαν τὴν μεταξύ. Ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐς τὸν ὑπὲρ
 κορυφὴν οὐρανὸν σαφῶς ὁ φωστήρ· νῦν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτὸ τὸ μεσαίτατον,
 θάρσος καὶ ὀψοῦν παρέχον, καὶ αὐτὰ γε τὰ τῶν χωρίων ἄβατα ἐπιπορεύεσθαι
 ὡς ἀνύποπτα, καὶ ὁ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤκων, ἔφηβός τις ἢ παραμικρὸν
 ἔφηβος· νῦν οὖν σοὶ καὶ τὸ γράμμα πέμπομεν, ὁμοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἀποδιδόντες ἢ
 10 θέμις αὐτῶ, ὁμοῦ δὲ κάκεινον βεβαιοῦν τὸν νοῦν ὅτιπερ ἠβουλόμεθα μὲν καὶ τῆς
 χθὲς ἔτι πέμπειν· ἀνειργόμεθα δὲ τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ τοῦ κοιμοῦντος ἐκλογιζόμενοι
 νήπιον, τοῦτο δ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄωρον ὑποπτεύοντες, ἀμφοτέρα δὲ ἵνα
 συνελὼν εἴπω, μὴ γράμματά σοι πιστευθεὶς ὁ τοιοῦτος κομίζειν, ἥξει κομίζων
 οὐδοτιοῦν.

6

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἐμοὶ ὀπηνίκα τις ἐπέλθη πρόφασις γράφειν πρὸς σέ, εἴθισται προοίμιον
 ὡσανεὶ καὶ ἐπίλογον τῆς γραφῆς, τὰς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ποιεῖσθαι εὐχάς, δεῖγμα
 τοῦτο τοῦ μνημονεύοντάς σου, αὐτίκα σοὶ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι βοηθὸν
 καὶ σωτήρα πάντων ἔνεκα, ὅσα δι' αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ
 5 ἔστι μοι πρόφασις ἐφ' ἧς καὶ γράμμα συσταίῃ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος καὶ
 αὐτὰ γε τὰ μεταξύ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, πάντα εὐχαί. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ πληροίη κύριος
 πάσης παρακλήσεως τὴν ψυχὴν σου, ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ὀδυνῶν σου, ἀντεπάγοι
 σοὶ εὐφροσύνης ἡμέρας· οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τινα πολλαπλάσιον

5 Epist. 204 Lam. V 199

3 φωτὸς χειροποιήτου: cf. Syn. Cyr., *Enc. calvit.*, 11.13 (210.21 Terzaghi) 7 τὰ τῶν χωρίων ἄβατα: cf. Ioan. Chrys., *Expos. in Ps.*, PG 59, 339.12 9-10 ἢ θέμις: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.73 12 τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄωρον: cf. Georg. Acrop., *Annales*, 63.21-22 (128.12-13 Heisenberg – Wirth)

6 Epist. 205 Lam. M 190, V 226

7 πάσης παρακλήσεως: II Cor. 1.3

4 αὐτῶν M^{ac}

καὶ τοῦτον πολλαπλασίως πολλαπλάσιον. Οὕτω μὲν εὐχομαι καὶ ἐπεύχομαι δέ,
 10 ὅπως τῶν εὐχῶν μου ἀκούει θεός, καὶ με ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐλέει, ἀξιόη βλέπειν ἐπὶ
 σοὶ κατὰ τὰς εὐχάς· οὕτω γένοιτο ἵνα καὶ προσεπεύξωμαι, ταῖς τῆς πανάγνου
 θεοτόκου, ταῖς τῶν ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων, ταῖς τιμίου προδρόμου, ταῖς πάντων
 ἁγίων πρεσβείαις.

7

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἄριστα ἔχον ἔστι τὸ γράμμα, καὶ πᾶσαν χάριν νέμοι σοι κύριος ὁ θεός·
 ὁ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου ῥυθμὸς τό τε συνεστραμμένον τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ ἡ κατὰ
 τέχνην συνθήκη, θυμηδίας με πάσης πεπλήρωκεν. Ὡς πολλά σου ὑπερεύχομαι
 ἀγαθὸν ποίημα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν σε παρήλθεν, ὃ μὴ σοι
 5 ἠκριβωμένως ἐξεπονήθη· ἀπολαύεις τῶνδε μου τῶν εὐχῶν ἅς σοι πρόσφατον
 ἠξάμην, ἅς δὴ καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον αἰεὶ· αἱ δέ εἰσι, πολίτιν σε τῆς ἄνω
 πόλεως γενέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστήσασι τῷ σῷ θεῷ καὶ δε-
 σπότη, εὐημεροῦσαν δὲ καὶ μακροημερεύουσαν καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα δολιχεύειν
 βίον. Προσεπεύχομαι δέ σοι καὶ ταῦτα· προσθεῖη κύριος ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν τῇ σῇ
 10 σοφία καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν λόγων σου, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνον τῶν πάλαι
 γυναικῶν ὑπεράνω φαίνῃ τῶν ἐπὶ λογικῇ παιδεύσει γνωριζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐπὶ μέγα σοφίας ἀρθέντες εἰσίν. Οὕτω γένοιτο
 ταῖς τῆς ὑπεράγνου θεοτόκου, τοῦ προφήτου προδρόμου, τῶν θεοκηρύκων ἀπο-
 στόλων, τῶν μεγάλων ἱεραρχῶν Γρηγορίου καὶ Βασιλείου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννου
 15 τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστήρος, καὶ πάντων ἁγίων σεπταῖς παρακλήσεσι.

8

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Κάμοι μοναχοί τινες ἐκ τῆς περαίας δῶρον ἤκασι κομίζοντες πέποναι· οἱ δέ,
 παρὰ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους καὶ αὐτόχθονας βυζαντίους, ἐλάττους μὲν εἰσι τὸν ὄγκον,

9 καὶ τοῦτον – πολλαπλάσιον om. V

7 Epist. 206 Lam. M 191, V 200 ed. cf. Kugeas, p. 597 (epist. 6)

6 αὶ V 8 δὲ M: τε V 8 τῶν M^c 9 προσθεῖοι M 11 ὑπὲρ ἄνω M 11 παιδεύσει: παιδεῖα
 V 15 παρακλήσεσιν V

8 Epist. 207 Lam. M 192, V 196, P 8

Tit. om. P 1 δῶρα P 1 ἤκουσι P 2 βυζαντίου P

τὴν δὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιότητα, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς, καὶ πολὺ πλεόν ὑπερβάλλουσι
 ταύτη, ἢ καθ' ὅσον ἐλαττοῦνται τῷ ὄγκῳ. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν κεκομίσασιν,
 5 ὀλίγους ἀποκρίναντες, πέμπομεν· τοῦτο μὲν, εἰς εὐλογία, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μοναχικόν,
 εἰ δὲ βούλει, πατριαρχικόν ἐστι τὸ δῶρον, τοῦτο δὲ, ἴν' εἰδείης, ὡς κὰν τοῖς
 ἐξωτερικοῖς καὶ περὶ αἴσθησιν πόνοις, τὰ μοναχῶν ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀρετῆ· ἐκ
 τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας οἶμαι πολιτείας, τοῦ εὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν χειρῶν μεταρρέοντος
 10 ἔργα. Ἀλλὰ δέδεξο πεμπόντων, καὶ εὖ πράττε, θεοῦ πάντοτε καὶ ἐν πᾶσι βοηθοῦ
 ἀπολαύουσα.

9

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τοὺς παρόντας σὺ γε ἀπαξιώσης προσέσθαι καρπούς, ἐν εὐλο-
 γίαις καὶ αὐτοῦς σοὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἦκοντας λόγῳ· εἰκόασιν μὲν οὖν τῶν ὁμογενῶν,
 ὅσους τὸ ἐνεστῶς ἤνεγκεν ἔτος καὶ εἰς γεῦσιν τὲ καὶ ὄψιν ἦκασι τὴν ἐμήν, ἡδίους
 εἶναι τὲ καὶ καλλίους. Οὐ μὴν δὲ τοῦδε χάριν ἀλλ' οὐπὲρ εἴρηται πέμπονται· καὶ
 5 προσέτι γε λόγῳ δευτέρῳ, τοῦ εἰς μνήμην ἐνάγειν τινά· τίνα δὲ ταύτην; Ὡστ' εἰς
 Νίκαιαν τὴν τῶνδ' ἐπιστέλλειν μητέρα ἕως καιρὸς καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ ἀναξηραίνειν
 κελεύειν ὡς ἔνι πολύν· καὶ γὰρ ὠφέλιμος οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ξηροῦ γε ὄντος ἢ
 10 χρῆσις αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτιπερ ὠφέλιμος, ἴδοις ἂν καθ' ὅλον τὸ ἔτος καὶ μάλα πολλοὺς
 ἦκοντας παρ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ λιπαρῶς τυχεῖν δεομένους, τοῦ μὴδὲν ἀποτυγχάνειν αἰ-
 τοῦντας, ἔθους ἐνάγοντος ἔτι καὶ νῦν, γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐξ οὐπὲρ πατριάρχαι
 γεγόναμεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτός δ' ἐγὼ ὀπηνίκα γ' ἔχω, ἀντ' ἄλλου παντὸς
 τῶν εἰς ὑγίαν τελούντων σώματος κέχρημαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν ἄγε δέχου, μὴ δῆτα
 15 πρὸς ἀηδῖαν καὶ ἀχθηδόνα, ὡς ἐτέρως δέ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἠπίως καὶ προσηνῶς, μὴθ'
 ἡμῶν τὸ σμικρολόγον, μήτε τῶνδε τὸ εὐτελεῆς ὑπολογιζομένη. Οὕτω δέχου, καὶ
 ἅμα εὐλογίαν καὶ χάριν παρὰ θεοῦ.

4 καθ' ὅσον M 4 δὴ: δὲ P 7 ἀρετῆς P 7 ἐκ om. P 8 τῶν om. P 8 μεταρρέοντος V 9
 βοηθοῦ: βοηθοῦντος P 10 ἀπολαύουσα: καταπολαύων P

10

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Εἶ σου δεηθεῖν ὡς ἐμὲ τὴν σήμερον ἐπιστῆναι, τῆς τε διὰ σαυτῆς ἐπι-
 σκέψεως ἀξιῶσαι, οὐκ ἂν εἶην παρὰ καιρὸν δεηθεῖς, εἰ μόνον τὸν χρόνον
 ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐπεσκέφθημεν, ἀναλογίζεσθαι βουληθῆς, καὶ ἔτι τό γε μείζον
 προσαναλογίζεσθαι, ὅτι τέκνον μὲν ἐμὸν σὺ καὶ μονογενὲς τέκνον, καὶ οἶον
 5 οὐδενὶ οὐδέποτε ὑπήρξε πατρί· ἐγὼ δὲ πατήρ, τοιαῦδε προσήκων παιδί, ὃς καὶ
 ἀντὶ πάντων μετὰ γε θεὸν ἄγων σέ, οὐ ποτέ μοι δοκῶ τοῖς ὀρθὰ φρονούσιν ὑπ’
 αἰτίαν γενέσθαι, τὴν διὰ τοσοῦτου ἐπίσκεψιν, ὡς τι χρέος παρὰ σοῦ ἀπαιτῶν.
 Ἀλλὰ δέομαί γε ἤδη, καὶ σὺ γε πέραινε ἥπερ δέομαι καὶ περαίνειν χρεῶν· καὶ
 ἴθι δῆ, καὶ νῦν δὴ μάλιστα, ὅτε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκμάζειν δοκοῦντα τὰ δυσχερῆ, εἰς
 10 χρεῖαν ἡμᾶς σοῦ τε καθίστησι καὶ τῶν κατὰ σέ, εἰ ἄρά τις καὶ ἕτερος ἡμῖν κατὰ σέ
 ἀντιλήπτωρ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ παρεστῶτι, καὶ παρακλήτωρ καὶ σύμβουλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 πάντες τοσοῦτον δεῦτεροι σοῦ τά γε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπόσον ἀληθείας ὄνειράτα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, οὕτως ἔστω· ὁ δὲ γε Δημήτριος ὁ μικρός, ἦκε μὲν ὧδε χθές,
 πολὺ πρὸς δυσμῶν, ἀπηλλάγη δὲ πολὺ μετὰ λύχνων ἀφάς, μόλις καὶ τό τε
 15 γράμμα λαβὼν πρὸς ἡμῶν, μὴ πρότερον ἐγχωροῦν, διὰ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας· οἳ γε
 πολλοὶ τε ὄντες, καὶ οἶοι μὴ παροπτέοι, οὐ δ’ ἡμῖν γε τηνικαῦτα παρώφθησαν,
 ἀλλ’ ἐπειδήπερ τηνικαῦτα λαμβάνει, σπουδῆ καὶ δρόμῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς
 σὲ ἀνακάμπτειν ἀκούει. Εἴτ’ οὖν οἷός τε γέγονε διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίζειν, εἴτε
 σήμερον τοῦτο πράξει, δίδαξον μηνύσασα μὴ ἐπιστῆναι τέως φάσκουσα· εἰ δ’
 20 ἐπισταῖς, ἐπίσχεξ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τὸν λόγον, καὶ πάντως διδάξεις ἐφεστηκυῖα.

11

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Τρίτη μὲν ἡ παροῦσα, ἐξότουπερ τὰ περὶ στόμαχον ἀλγήσαι, τὰ τ’ ἄλλα
 νοσῆσαι ἐδόξαμεν, εἰς τ’ ἀδρανείας τὰς ἐσχάτας καὶ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐκλελοιπέναι

10 Epist. 209 Lam. M 194, V 201

12 ὅπόσον ἀληθείας ὄνειράτα: cf. Ioan. Chrys., *De virginitate*, 58.28 (318 Grillet – Musurillo) οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅσον τὰ ὄνειράτα ἀπολείπεται τῆς ἀληθείας

1 εἶ σου M 3-4 βουληθῆς – προσαναλογίζεσθαι om. V 5 προσήκων M 6 σε: δὲ V 8 ἥπερ: εἴπερ V 9 ἴθι: ἴοι M ex corr., ἴσθι V 11 ἀντιλήπτωρ om. V 18 διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίζειν: παρευθὺς ἐγχειρίζειν V

11 Epist. 210 Lam. M 195, V 191

γεγόναμεν· σύ δ' ὅμως εἰδυῖα, οὐκ ἔπεμψας, οὐκ ἐπύθου, οὐδέ τι τῶν δηλούντων
 πρόνοιαν ἡμῶν εἶναι σοι, διαπέπραξαι. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἐγκείσθω, καὶ λόγους
 5 τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῆσδε ζητείτω, ἄλλος δυσχεραίνετω καὶ ἐγκαλείτω· ἐγὼ δὲ
 τόνδ' εἶσας πράττειν τὸν τρόπον, ἐκείνο γε διερωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν ἐθέλω,
 ποῖ προῆλθεν ὑμῖν τῇ θεοῦ βοήθεια καὶ νεύσει τὰ πράγματα, πῶς νῦν ἔχοντες
 ἐστέ, ἐπειδὴ μόλις συνεληλύθατε, συχνὸν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφεστηκότες· ἔτι τε πότε
 τὸν ἕτερον ἢ πρότερον διαστήσεσθε τρόπον· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἕρις διέστησε, καὶ
 10 λόγων ἀηδία μὴ προσηκόντων· νῦν δὲ εὐχομαί τε καὶ γένοιτο κατὰ τὴν εὐχήν, ἐν
 εἰρήνῃ ἀπαλλαγέντας, σώζειν καὶ πόρρωθεν ὄντας, τὴν τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν ἐπείγεσθαι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους διάθεσιν. Δήλωσον ταῦτά μοι· καὶ σοι θεὸς ἔλεος νέμοι· νέμοι
 δὴ καὶ χάριν, εὐαρεστεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάντα δὴ τᾶλλα πράττειν
 καλῶς.

12

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Τὴν κτήμα μὲν ἐμὸν οὖσαν καὶ πόνημα βίβλον, διαλελυμένην δ' ἔτι, καὶ οὐκ
 ἀκριβῶς βίβλον, νῦν ἐγχειρίζειν βούλομαι τῷ βιβλοποιῷ, ὥστ' αὐτὸν αὐτὴν
 εἰς τελειότητα, διὰ τῆς συνδετικῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης προαγαγεῖν. Ἐθέλω δὲ τὸν
 αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ σπουδαστῇ δρᾶσαι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σὴν, ἦν τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ
 5 ἀτελῆ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν οὖσαν, δώρημά τε τελοῦσαν ἐμὸν πρὸς σέ, οὐ δεῖν ἡγημαί
 καὶ εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ἔτι, ἔαν μένειν ἀτέλεστον, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τοῦ κατὰ
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀμέμπτου, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνην τελείου λείποιο. Ἄλλ'
 ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτως ἐθέλω, ἄμφω μοι πέμψον τῷ κτήματε σύ, — καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω ἐστὸν
 παρὰ σοί —, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τὰς συνδετικὰς ἡπερ ἔφην χεῖρας καὶ βιβλοποιητικὰς
 10 ὑπαχθέντα, τῶν τε δεόντων ἐπιτετευχότα, τοῖς κεχρηῆσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐπι-
 τήδεια γένοιτο τοῦ λοιποῦ κεχρηῆσθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς, διὰ τοῦ συνδεῖσθαι καὶ
 συναρμόσαι τῆς τέχνης παρασχομένης.

9 τότε γὰρ μικρά τις διέστησεν V 9-10 καὶ λόγων – προσηκόντων: ἀλλὰ V 10 δὲ om. V
 13 καὶ¹ om. V

12 Epist. 211 Lam. M 196, V 197 ed. Kugeas, p. 597 (epist. 11)

3 συνδετικῆς – τέχνης: cf. Greg. Cyr., *Epist.* 100.9-10 (77 Eustr.)

4 δρᾶσαι MV 9 ἡπερ V

13

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἐμοί τις ἄνθρωπος φίλος, Σύρος τὸ γένος, χριστιανὸς ἔμπορος, νεὸς κύριος, ἄρτι σὺν νηϊ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βασιλίδα τήνδε πόλιν κατειληφώς, δῶρα τινὰ μέτρια προσκομίσας, —φοινικὲς εἰσι τὰ δῶρα καὶ ἄλλάττα μελίπηκτα ὅποια παρὰ Σύροις σκευάζεται·— τῶν δὴ μετρίων τούτων, βούλομαι μὲν ὅπως καὶ σοὶ

5 ἀπόμοιράν τινα ποιῶμαι καὶ πέμπω· δειλιῶ δ' ὅμως μὴ οὐ προσεῖη πέμψαντος φειδῶ δῆθεν τῆς ἡμετέρας πενίας λαμβάνουσα, οὐχ' ὡς μέντοι γε δι' εὐτελείας ἀπαξιούσα εἶτ' ἔσομαί γε ὡς καταισχνυθεὶς παρὰ σοί. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δεῖν ᾤθηθην ἀξίωσιν μὲν ἀμπρωτα κινεῖν περὶ τοῦδε, ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ καὶ πέμπειν, πέμπειν γε

10 κελουούσης· καὶ τοίνυν ἀξιοῦμεν ἤδη. Καὶ σύ γε ταῦθ' ἤκοντα προσδέχου, κὰν ἦ γε καὶ μετρίων μετριώτερα, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀποπέμπου, ὡς ἂν καὶ δύο ταῦθ' ἅμα σοὶ τῶν τιμιωτάτων προσηκαμένη προσεῖη χάριτας, ἃς εἰσόμεθά σοι, καὶ εὐχὰς ἃς ἀποδώσομεν, οὐ μικρὰν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαν κρίναντες, τὸ μὴ τὴν φαύλην ἡμῶν ἀποστολὴν ἀπαξιῶσαι λαβεῖν.

14

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Καὶ νεῦρα κατὰ τὸ σὸν ἐπίταγμα καὶ ὅστ᾽ αἰ τινὰ ἐμβεβληκέναι φαμὲν τῆ ἐπιστολῆ· διὰ τοιούτων γὰρ ὀνομάτων τὸ δεῖν ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι αὐτὴν ὑπηνίττου φαμὲν καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον εὐ' πως ἔχει αὐτὴν διαθέσθαι, οὐπω δ' ὅμως δῆλον εἰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτῆ, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ κρίνασα

5 γεγονέαι φαίης ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀπαιτήσασα. Κρινεῖ δὲ ὀρθῶς ἐὰν οὐχ ἅπαξ, πλειστάκις δὲ διέληθης αὐτὴν καὶ καθεκάστην πάνυ προσέχουσα· τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως διῆέναι, λέγω δὴ καὶ περὶ ταύτης, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν προκειμένου πάνυ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῆ ἐὰν ἦ, πάνυ δὲ καὶ τὴν φαυλότητα ἐὰν αὐτὴ γε ἦ, ποιῆ λανθάνουσαν· τοῦτο καταμάθοι τις ἂν τελεώτερον κὰκ τοῦ τοῖς

13 Epist. 212 Lam. V 202

3 φοινικὲς non in TLG

3 an φοίνικὲς εἰσι scribendum? 6 εὐτέλειαν V

14 Epist. 213 Lam. V 203

1 νεῦρα – καὶ ὅστ᾽ αἰ: cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 99a6

3 ἔχειν V 7 διέναι V 9 ποιήση V

- 10 ὁδοιποροῦσι συμβαίνοντος· λάθοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνους, οὐδὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ σχολαίως καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐφιστῶντας βαδίζοντας. Εἰ δ' ἄρα κατεσπουδασμένη τις καὶ σύντονος αὐτῶν ἢ πορεία, ἕξω δέ ποι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ διάνοια φέρεται, πάντες εἴποιεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἐκείνοι τὰ ὄντα περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἄλλ' ὡς ἀσφαλῆς τις κριτικῆς λόγων γίνεται, ἀκούσασα ἔχεις ἤδη· καὶ ὅπως εἴης καὶ αὐτὴ οὕτω κρίνουσα, σοὶ
- 15 τοῦ λοιποῦ μελέτω.

15

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ἦν τῆς ἐβδομάδος τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡ τρίτη· ἦν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν ὡρῶν περὶ τρίτην· κάμοί τις ἐνσκήπτει περὶ τε νεφροὺς αὐτοὺς περὶ τε γόμφους ὀδύνη, οὐ πάνυ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα σφοδρὰ ἀλλὰ γέγονε σφοδρὰ προϊούσης τῆς ὥρας· ἐκ ταύτης δὴ, καὶ ἡ καθέδρα δυσχερῆς ἐμοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς καθέδρας ἢ στάσις·
- 5 καὶ ταύτης κάκεινης πολὺ πλέον ἢ βάδισις· οἱ γὰρ ταύτη σπόνδυλοι καὶ τὰ ἄρθρα, ἐξίσου τὲ κάμπτεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀνεγείρεσθαι πεφυκότα τῆς φύσεως οὕτω τούτοις τὸ χρήσιμον ἑαυτῆς συνιδούσης, θάτερον μὲν ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἔκτην, οὕσαν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐνεργεῖν, κάμπτεσθαι δὲ οὐδόλως κωλύονται· ξύνες ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὡς ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι, πλὴν τοῦ πρὸς
- 10 γῆν ἐπινεύειν, ἄλλο τι ἀπόνως ἐργάζεσθαι.

16

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Χθές μοι πολὺ μεθ' ἥλιον δεδυκότα, μοναχός τις ἐφίσταται τῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ γνωρίμων καὶ φίλων, οὐ κενὰς ἔχων χεῖρας κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ὧδε ἀφικνουμένων, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς κομίζων καὶ καλοὺς τοὺς ἰχθύς ὁποίους ἢ μὲν γείτων Νικαίας τῆς πόλεων φιλάτης ἐμοὶ μετὰ γε ἦν οἰκοῦμεν, τρέφει λίμνη· Βυζάντιοι
- 5 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἄγουσι καὶ βρῶσιν ἔχειν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὺς δεῦρο κεκομισμένους ἴδωσιν εἰς δάφνας καὶ μυρσίνας ἐνειλημένους, ὄντων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἐγχωρίων σφίσι, τῶν ὅπουδῆποτε λίμνης ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ

15 Epist. 214 Lam. V 204

6 ὄρθιον: ὄρθριον V

16 Epist. 215 Lam. V 205

6 μυρίνας V

θαλάττης τρεφομένων, βελτίστην· πλείους δὴ τῶν βιθυνῶν τουτωνὶ καὶ καλῶν
 νικαέων ἠβουλόμην πέμπειν πρὸς σέ· ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ ὅπερ εἴωθας ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει
 10 δυσχερανεῖς, οὐ πολλούς, ἕνα δὲ τινα τοῦτον πέμπω, μῆνιν τὴν σὴν, ἵνα που καὶ
 ὀμηρικῶς εἶπω, ἀλευόμενος· μὴ γοῦν ἀπαξιῶ τις τὸν γοῦν ἕνα προσέσθαι. Καὶ
 εἶχον μὲν καὶ αὐθις πως λέγειν ὀμηρικῶς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ εἷς περ ἐόν, πολλῶν ἐστὶν
 ἀντάξιος ἄλλων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, οὔτε μεμπτέος, οὔτ' ἀποπεμπτέος· οὐ λέγω δὲ
 ὁμως οὔτως μὴ ἐπαχθῆς εἶην, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγκωμιάζων ἀποστολὴν καὶ
 15 ταῦθ' ὅπου τὸ πρᾶγμα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπίπροσθεν κείμενον, ἐναργῆ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
 τὴν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ παρέχεσθαι γνώσιν, ἀλλὰ φημι, πρὸ σου μάλιστα τὸν ἰχθῦν, ὅτι
 δὴ σοὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, μετ' εὐλογιῶν πέμπεται καὶ εὐχῶν· καὶ πάντως γε πάντως
 καὶ τῇ γεύσει νοστιμώτατος ἔσται, καὶ τῇ χρήσει ὠφελιμώτατος, μετὰ τοιούτων
 προσαρτυμάτων πεμπόμενος.

17

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Παρώσαντο μὲν βίβλους τὰς ἡμετέρας αἰ σαί, κακ τῆς ἀνειμένης αὐταῖς
 κεῖσθαι χώρας, εἷς τι στενὸν τῆς οἰκίας συνήλασαν· τοσαῦτα γάρ εἰσι, καὶ οὕτω
 πρωτεύουσιν ἐνθαδί. Ἐφέρομεν δ' ὁμως τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν, ἕως ἦν
 καὶ ἡμῖν αὐταῖς ἐντυγχάνειν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλην μεταλαμβάνουσι· τὸ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν
 5 κέρδος, ὃ γε οὐ φαῦλον οἶδα συνερανεζόμενος ἐμαυτῷ, εὐψυχεῖν ἐπειθε καὶ
 δυσχεραίνειν μηδέν, εἴ τι πως ταῖς οἰκείαις καὶ παροραῖσθαι συνέβαινε. Ἀλλὰ
 νῦν αἰ σεβασμιώταται ἡμερῶν ἐφεστᾶσιν αἰ νήσιμοι, καὶ ἀγῶνα τοῦ περὶ τὰς
 βίβλους ἕτερον ἠδίω πολλῶ καὶ κρείττω προβάλλονται, ὃς ἀφέλκων τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκων, ἀνέπεισε καὶ τάσδε, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔθ' ἡμῖν περὶ
 10 αὐτὰς ὄντος ἔργου, πρὸς τὴν σφῶν σὲ ἀναπέμπειν κυρίαν. Ταύτη τοι καὶ ἤκουσι
 πλὴν τῆς Ἀριστείδου καὶ Δημοσθένους, αἰ πᾶσαι· διατί δὴ σοὶ πλὴν τῶν εἰρημένων
 αἰ πᾶσαι; ὅτι τὴν μὲν φαύλως ἔχουσαν τῆς γραφῆς, διῆναι χρὴ ἠνίκα καιρός,
 καὶ διορθοῦσθαι ὅποι παρείκοι· τῆς δ' οὔσης ἀρίστης τῶν δημοσθενικῶν, λέγω
 15 δὴ ἵνα καὶ ἀσφαλῶς λέγω, αἷς ἐμοὶ περιτυχεῖν ἐγένετο, ἑτέραν ἐδέησεν ἡμῖν ἐξ
 αὐτῆς μετεγγράφειν. Ἀλγήσεις ἐκ συμπαθείας καὶ ἀχθεσθήση, ἀκούσασα τὴν

10-11 μῆνιν – ἀλευόμενος: cf. Hom. *Il.* 5, 444; 16, 710 12-13 πολλῶν – ἄλλων: Hom. *Il.* 11, 514

9 ὡσάν V

17 Epist. 227 Lam. M 208, V 214 ed. Kugeas, p. 598 (epist. 12)

2 τοσαῦτα V 6 τοῖς οἰκείοις MV 10 ἀναπέμπειν V 14 ἑτέραν V: ἑτέροις M 15 τῆς ante συμπαθείας add. V

μετεγγραφὴν, μὴ δῆτα σύ γε· ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐγὼ μετεγγράφεται Μελιτᾶς, καὶ οὗτος οὐ πᾶσαν αὐτήν, οὐδὲ ἀμισθί, μέτρια δὲ τῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μισθοῖς· τίσι τούτοις; ὄλην ἡμῶν λήψεται τὴν βίβλον, τὴν ἔχουσαν μὲν τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων τοὺς ἐξειλεγμένους τὲ καὶ λαμπροὺς, ἔχουσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρων ἐν λόγοις πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ καλοὺς καὶ μάλα ῥητορικοὺς. Τοῦ τοίνυν τὰς μὲν πέμπεσθαι σοι τῶν βιβλῶν, τὰς δ' ἔχεσθαι, αὕτη δὴ τις αἰτία· σὺ δὲ μοι ἀνθ' ὧν λαμβάνεις, πέμπε σπουδῆ τὴν τῶν Ἠθικῶν, ἐκείνων δὴ Ἠθικῶν, ἅπερ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ πάσης ψυχῆς, ἢ οὐρανία Βασιλείου ἐξεπονήσατο καὶ συνέταξε φρήν, ὧν οὐτέ τι χρῆμα σοφώτερον ἕτερον, οὐτ' ὄνησιμώτερον οἶδα τῷ βίῳ φανέν, πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ σύμπαντι χρόνῳ φανέντων. Ἐρεῖς οἶμαι, ὅτι πάλαι μοι δῶρον τοιαύτην τινὰ βίβλον μέμνησαι δοῦσα, καὶ διαπορήσεις πῶς αὐθις ἀρτίως, ὡς μηδὲν εἰληφώς, ἐξαιτῶ· ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν δέδωκας, οἶδα καὶ λέγω, εἰληφέναι δὲ καὶ ἔχειν, οὐ λέγω· καὶ τοῦτο συμβῆναι ἢ τῷ μηδὲ τὴν πρώτην διὰ λήθην πεμφθῆναι, ἢ τῷ τῷ πιστευθέντι διακομίζειν, διακομίζειν ἀμεληθῆναι. Ἄλλ' εἴ γε τὸ βιβλίον μὴ παραπολέσθαι, καὶ πάντως γε σωζομένου, εἴτ' ἐμὸν λογίζοιτο κτῆμα εἴτε σόν, οὐδὲν διοίσει, τοῦ μὴ κοινήν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ, κοινήν δὴ καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

18

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἀφελῆ σοι τινὰ φησ εἶναι γράμματα καὶ ἐκδήλως πρεσβυτερικά, ἃ πρὸς ἡμῶν σοι πέμπεται γράμματα· εἴτ' οὐχ' ἰστᾶς ἄχρι τοῦδε τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ἐπάγεις, τοῖς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἔχουσι πρέπουσαν. Οὐ πλήττομαι πρὸς τὸν λόγον, εἴτουν ψόγον, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συνηγορίαν χωρῶ, ἐχόντων ὡς ἢ παρὰ σοῦ ψῆφος βούλεται οὐπω διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πάντη μεμπτοῖς εἶναι προσέσται, ἀρετῆς ἔτι περιλειπομένης αὐτοῖς, τῆς καὶ πάντων γραμμάτων κατ' ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς· εἴη δ' ἂν αὕτη, ἀμείωτον διαβιβάζειν πρὸς ὃν γράφεται τὸ τοῦ γράφοντος νόημα. Ἦ ἔχεις σὺ μεθ' ἧς ἐπικέκληκας ταπεινότητος, καὶ ἀσάφειαν ἐπικαλεῖν οἷς ἐπικέκληκας, καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι μὴ δύνασθαι; οἷς δὲ ταῦτα

22-24 τὴν τῶν Ἠθικῶν – φρήν: cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae morales*, PG 31, 691-869 et J. Gri-bomont, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων, vol. 53, Athenae 1976, p. 33-131 (CPG 2877) 23-24 οὐρανία – φρήν: cf. Ignat. Diac., *Epistulae*, 34.4 (96 Mango – Efthymiadis)

17 ἀμισθεῖ? V 21 δ' ἔχεσθαι: δέχεσθαι V 28 καὶ² om. V

18 Epist. 228 Lam. M 209, V 215 ed. Eustr. p. 197-199 (epist. 187), Kugeas, p. 598-599 (epist. 13)

10 μὴ ἐπικλητέον ἐστίν, οὐ φαίης ἐκεῖνοις, ἀρετὴν ἐνεῖναι τίνα, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ παντὶ
καὶ τρόπῳ τοῦ εὖ ἀμοιρεῖν δικαιοῦσαι; Πλὴν δοκεῖς σύ γέ μοι, μὴ μόνον αὐτὰ
τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ἀπαλλαγέντα, καὶ τίνα τόνον ἀμείνω λαβόντα, μηδέποτε
ἐπαινεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν ὑπὲρ τᾶλλα γένοιτο, ὅσα ποτε γέγονε καλά, καὶ οὕτως ἔτι
15 μὴν ζητεῖν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν· αἴτιον δὲ – μαρτυρήσω γὰρ τάληθῆ – οὐχ’ ὅτι φιλαί-
τιός τις εἶ καὶ σοι τῶν καλῶν δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδέν – τίς γὰρ οὕτω πόρρω
τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, ὥστε περὶ σοῦ τι τοιοῦτον μέχρι καὶ τοῦ ἐννοῆσαι
τολμῆσαι; – ἀλλ’ ὅτι μήτ’ αὐτὰ καθ’ αὐτὰ δοκιμάζεις τὰ γράμματα μήτε μὴν πρὸς
τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κρίνεις· ἐπεὶ, ἐφαίνεται’ ἂν καὶ μετρίως γ’ ἔχειν κρειττόνως ἢ ὡς
20 νῦν καταφαίνεται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βούλημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξετάζεις τῆς σῆς· τὸ δὲ ἐστίν,
ὑπερβάλλειν αἰεὶ παντὸς τοῦ φαινομένου, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις καλόν, ὡς ἄπειρον
ἀτεχνῶς εἶναι, καὶ οἷον αὐτοῦ μέτρον μὴ εἶναι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἡλικίην ἂν τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν
ἔχοντα φανεῖται τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔνι τῷ ἀπείρῳ παρισωθῆναι, οὐκ
ἀποχρῆναι οὐδ’ ἀρέσκειν λεγούσης σου ἀκουσόμεθα· τὸ δ’ ἐνδεὲς ἐγκαλοῦσης
καὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ κρεῖττον ἀπαιτούσης αἰεὶ· οὐκ ἔνι τοίνυν ἐλπίσαι ἀκοῦσαι, οὐκ
25 εὐφημίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις παρὰ σοῦ, οὐκ ἔπαινον, οὐκ ἐγκώμιον· ἀγαπητὸν δὲ εἰ καὶ
μὴ τούναντίον, εἴπερ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνα τούτων ἀξιοῦσιν, ὅσα καὶ κατὰ βούλησιν
αὐτοῖς ἐκβαίνει, ἢ καὶ κρεῖττω βουλήσεως· ἃ δ’ ἀποπίπτει, ὁμοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς
καὶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἐκπίπτει. Οὐ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἀνιασόμεθα, οὐδ’ αὖ δεῖσαν
γράφειν, ἀμβλύτερον γράσομεν· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐξομαι καὶ δὴ εὐχομαι, σὲ
30 μηδέποτ’ ἀποκαμεῖν, ζητοῦσαν τὴν ἐν τῷ καλῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίδοσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ
τῆς ἀμείνονος περὶ ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας, οὐχ ἕτερον ὡς τόδε τεκμήριον· εἶεν.

Τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐπισκῆπτειν τῷ γραφεῖ ἐπιτάττεις, ἄστικτον
τηρεῖν διόλου, καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον. Ἔσται γε οὕτω, καὶ ἐπισκῆψομεν· ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴν ὁ
τοῦ μετεγγράφειν ἐνστατὴν καιρὸς, νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐνέστηκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἔαρ ἔτι, οὐδὲ
35 κρεωφαγοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων, εἰς γραμμάτων ὑποδοχὴν·
ἐσεῖται δὲ ὅμως ταῦτα μετὰ μικρόν, καὶ τότε καὶ γράφειν ἐπιβαλοῦμεν, ἄφθονα
τὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντες ὑποκείμενα, τότε καὶ τῷ γραφεῖ Μελιτᾶ, οἷον
ἐπιτάττεις τὸ βιβλίον συντηρεῖν, ἐπιτάξομεν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος
μάτην γεγωνὸς ἔσται καὶ περιττῶς· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὕτω καὶ παραγγελμάτων
40 χωρὶς, τῶνδε τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἐστίν, ὥστε καὶ ἄπερ ταῖς χερσὶν ἑαυτοῦ
γράφει καὶ στρέφει καὶ ἐπαφᾶται, πάντῃ ῥύπου διαφυλάττει ἀγγεύοντα. Εἰ δὲ
τοιαῦθ’ ὄραν ταῦτα παρέχεται, τί περὶ τῶν πρωτοτύπων λογιζέσθαι χρή, ὧν

22 ἀπείρῳ παρισωθῆναι: cf. Areth. Caes., *Schol. in Arist. Cat.*, Sch. 215.7 Share

15 σοι: σὸν M^{ac} 19 δ’ ἐστίν V 21 μέτρον V 22 παρισωθῆναι V 27 ἢ om. V 34 ἔτι
M: ἔστι V

ὄφθαλμοῖς καὶ μόνοις ἀντιλαμβάνεται πόρρωθεν; εἴποις, οἷς γράφει ἐμβλέψασα, ὡς φαιδρότερα τῶν χειρῶν ἀποτίθεται, καίπερ γράμματα καὶ μέλαν ἐπιβαλῶν, ἢ
45 τὴν ἀρχὴν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνηρεῖτο.

Ἴσως ἐθέλεις ἀκοῦσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς χθὲς πεμφθείσης τροφῆς, τίς καὶ ποία ἔδοξε γευσάμενοις· ἠδεῖά τις ἔδοξε, νόστιμος, καὶ σφόδρα φαγεῖν ἀγαθή· ἄλλοις μέντοι γε τοιαύτη, οὐκ ἔμοιγε. Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὐκ ἔμοιγε; ὅτι σπούδασμα ἐμὸν καὶ μάλα ἴδιος ἀγών, δίψους ἀπαλλαγῆναι ζητεῖν, οὐκ ἐπισπάσασθαι δίψος· ἢ δέ,
50 ποιητικὴ μάλιστα τοῦ φευκτοῦ τούτου, οὐκ ἀποτρεπτικὴ κατεφαίνεται. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐμαυτῷ, παρασυρεῖς τῇ γλυκύτητι, λάθω βλάβην προσενεγκῶν, κατὰ τοὺς πάντα τᾶλλα δεύτερα τοῦ ἐν γεύσει καλοῦ τιθεμένου παιδᾶς, γευσάμενος μόνον, ἄλλοις ἀφήκα φαγεῖν, οἷς οὐδὲν ἔμελλε δίψους, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ δίψους βλάβης, καὶ τὰ πολλῶ τούτων ἐμφαγοῦσι διψητικώτερα.

19

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Κεράσους μοι σήμερον τῶν ὀρωμένων τῶνδε πλεῖν ἢ διπλασίας, καρπὸν νεοφανῆ καὶ τοῦ ἔτους πρῶτον ὡς ἀπὸ δένδρων ἤκασι κομίζοντες τῶν γνωρίμων τινές· τούτων καὶ σοὶ πέμπομεν τὸ μέρος, τὸ σωτηριωδέστατον σταυροῦ ση-
5 μείον ἐπιβαλόντες αὐταῖς καὶ εὐλογίας ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ εὐχὰς ἐπειπόντες, ἵνα τοῖς γευομένοις ἔχοιεν τι καὶ τῆς γεύσεως ὀνησιμώτερον οἱ καρποί. Καὶ δέδεξο δὴ εἰ μὴ ὅτι καρπὸς πρῶτος καὶ τίνα τρόπον ξενίζων, ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τε καὶ εὐλογίας αἶ σοι παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ τούτων ἤκουσι καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρις εἶη μετὰ σοῦ.

20

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Πάνυ σε ὑποπτήσω, ἐπεὶ ἔμελλον σοὶ μηνύσαι, τί ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν ἰχθύων πέμπεις πλῆθος; μὴ ἄκατοι ἀλιευτικάι εἰσί σοι, καὶ πολλῶν ἠκόντων σοι

52 τᾶλλα M 54 πολλῶ M: πολλὰ V

19 Epist. 229 Lam. V 216

20 Epist. 230 Lameere V 217

1 ἔμελον V

- έντεϋθεν, πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπεις πάντως ἐκδαπανῶσα τὰ σαυτῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς, διὰ παντὸς ἀναλίσκεις τοὺς μηδένα κόρον εἰδότας; Ἄλλ' οὐ χρὴ γε ἀπλήστῳ
 5 ὀρέξει καὶ λίχνῳ ἐξυπηρετεῖν. Ταῦτα ἄν σοι διεμνησάμην, εἰ μὴ με πολὺ δέος εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχει, φθέγγομαι οὐδὲ ἔν, ἧ ὅσον φάναι ὅτι πεφόβημαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλόμενός τι λέγειν, ὅμως σιωπῶ.

21

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ἐπειδήπερ διὰ χρόνου εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσχατιὰν παραγέγονας δεῖν ἔκρινα δώρω σε τινὶ δεξιῶσασθαι· διὸ καὶ δεξιοῦμαι αἰεὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ νῦν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ὧν δὴ καὶ ὄναιο ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷδε ἀρτίως τῷ ὀρωμένῳ. Ἔστι δὲ κρόκου
 5 τῖς σταθμὸς βραχύτατος, ἐλάχιστον μέρος τοῦ παντὸς ὃν μοι πρόσφατον ἀνήρ τις κεκόμικε· πάντως δὲ πολὺ πλέον ἔπεμπον ἄν τοῦδε, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον τοῦτ' ὑπενόουν σε δυσχερείας οὐκ ἄνευ προσησομένην. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν δέδεξο καὶ εἴη σοι βοηθὸς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τελεσιουργὸς ὁ θεός.

22

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ὅσάκις περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπέστειλα καὶ ἀπελελόγησαί μοι οὐδοτιοῦν, ἐπιστέλλω καὶ αὐθις δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου φημί, νημερτὲς μὲν δὴ μοι ὑπόσχεο καὶ κατάνευσον, ἢ ἀπόειπε, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἔπι δέος ὄφρα ἐὺ εἰδέω τί καὶ ποιήσω ἐπ' αὐταῖς.
 5 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν οὕτως· δεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐθις ὑπομνήσαι περὶ οὗ πολλάκις καὶ πρότερον· τηγάνου ἐκ χαλκοῦ εἴπερ τινος καὶ ἑτέρου χρήζων ἔστιν ὁ λουτήρ· τούτου τὸ τίμημα κατεβάλου προθύμως, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρίασθαι σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ ἀζημίως οὐ δίδως. Κέλευσον οὖν τῶν σῶν τινὶ εἶπερ σοι τοῦτ'

21 Epist. 231 Lam. V 218

8 τελεσιουργὸς ὁ θεός: cf. Procl., *Theol. Plat.*, 4, 74.9 Saffrey – Westerink

4 βραχύτητος V

22 Epist. 232 Lam. V 219

2-3 νημερτὲς – εἰδέω: Hom. *Il.* 1, 514-515

ἀρεστόν, ἡμῖν τοῦθ' ὑπηρετῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, πάντως γε καὶ τοῦτο τῇ
10 σῇ προστάξει, ζητήσομεν τὸν ὠνησόμενον.

23

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Λακωνικόν σοι τὸ γράμμα, καὶ τῇ τοῦδε μὴ μέμφου βραχύτητι· καὶ ἤκων
ἐγὼ παρὰ σοὶ καχεκτούση τοσοῦτον, καὶ μὴ ἤκων, δειλιῶ· τὸ μὲν, μὴ παρακαίρια
πράττων, φορτικὸς νομιζοίμην· τὸ δέ, μὴ ἀμνήμων τις δοκοίην, ὧν μάλιστα
5 ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἄν, εἰ μὴ τι γ' ἕτερον ἐντεῦθεν ψυχαγωγῆσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ θατέρῳ ἐδράσης.

24

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἰωτάριχόν μοι ῥυτὸν ὅποιον τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς Ἰστρος καὶ Τάναϊς
τρέφει, πέμπει τις σήμερον τῶν φίλων ἐμοί. Ἡβουλόμεν τοῦ πεμφθέντος τοῦδε
ὡς βραχύτατον ἀπογεύσεως χάριν ἀποστέλλειν· ἐπεὶ, δύο ταῦτα, καὶ ἀρτιφανές
ἐστι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν καλῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ. Οὕτως ἠβουλόμεν,
5 ἀλλ' ὑπέπτηξα σέ. Κέλευσον οὖν σὺ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰ πέμπειν χρή, καὶ ἀποστε-
λοῦμεν· ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε πρὸς τὴν πράξιν ταύτην θαρρούντως οὐκ ἔχομεν. Οὕτω
ποίει, καὶ θεὸν ἔχε διὰ παντὸς ὑπερασπιστήν.

25

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ὅτι μὲν ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πατρίδι παλαιᾶς συνηθείας φίλην ἐμαυτῷ τὰ συκάμινα
βρῶσιν ἐπὰν ἐφεύρω ποιούμαι, ἂν ἔξαρνος γένωμαι, πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθεύειν

23 Epist. 233 Lam. V 220

24 Epist. 234 Lam. V 221

7 θεὸν – ὑπερασπιστήν: cf. *supra* Greg. Cyr., *Epist.* 4.15

1 ἰωτάριχον V

25 Epist. 235 Lam. M 210, V 194 et V 222 ed. Eustr., p. 199-200 (epist. 188)

γενήσομαι· ὅτι δὲ ἄ πέμπεις ἐσθίειν βούλομαι μὲν, καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἦσθιον, οὐ
 δύναμαι δέ, οὐδ' ἂν ἐκβιασθείην, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς ἀληθέστατα φθέγγομαι. Εἰσὶ μὲν
 5 ὄμφακες ἀκριβῶς, ἄβρωτα δηλονότι παντὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος· εἰ δὲ τις λιχνευόμενος
 ἀπογεύοιτο, οὐκ εἰς καλὸν ἂν τὴν πείραν, οὔτε τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, οὔτε τῷ στομάχῳ,
 γνοίη γεγενημένην· τί τοίνυν; ἢ παρὰ τῷ φυτῷ πλείονος ἀπολαύειν ἡλίου
 καὶ πεπαίνεσθαι συγχωρεῖτω τις, ἵνα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεύσει δοκοίη τι
 κεχαρισμένον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκφέρειν, ἢ ψῆφον τιθέσθω, μόνοις μὲν σκωλήκων
 10 τοῖς μεταξουργοῖς τὰ τοιάδε τῶν δένδρων τροφήν ἀγαθὴν ἐκφύειν τὰ φύλλα,
 καρπὸν δὲ οὔτε τῷ ζῶων ἐτέρῳ οὔτε δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προῖσχει, εἰ μὴ τις αἰρεῖται
 καὶ γομφίων καὶ σπλάγχων πολεμίαν τροφήν εἰσενέγκασθαι. Κεφάλαιον τοῦ
 λόγου· ἢ ἀμείνονα ταῦτα πέμπειν, ἢ μὴδὲ πεμπτέα εἶναι τὴν πρώτην, μὴ καὶ
 15 προτείνας, ἀτροφίαν ἀντὶ τροφῆς λάθη ἑαυτῷ προσφερόμενος· οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι μὴ
 καὶ εἰς δευτέραν ἡμέραν ἀπόσιτον μείναι τὸν ἀψάμενον κἂν ἐνὸς καὶ ὡς βρῶσιν
 προσενεγκάμενον.

26

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἄπερ ὁρᾷς πεμπόμενά σοι συκάμινα, μὴ διὰ τινὰ φιλοτιμίαν πέμπεσθαι
 νόμιζε· ἀλλὰ δάνειόν ἐστι ταῦτα βιαίως ἐπιρριπτόμενον, κατὰ τρόπον τῆς
 δυναστῶν ἐμπορίας, οἱ μικρὰ καταβαλλόμενοι, δοκοῦσι μὲν τοὺς τῶν ἀθλίων
 γεωργῶν ὠνεῖσθαι καρπούς, ὠνοῦνται δὲ οὐδαμῶς, μῆθ' ἐκόντων ἐκείνων τὸ
 5 καταβληθὲν δεχομένων, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη μῆτ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀναιρουμένων
 ὅσου τὸ νόμισμα ἄξιον. Ἔστι δ' ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ τις διδασκαλία· πῶς δὲ διδασκαλία;
 ἵνα τὰ μετὰ μικρὸν πέμπεσθαι μέλλοντα παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς – πέμψεις δὲ
 οἶδα ὥσπερ τὸ παριὸν ἔτος, οὔτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐνεστῶς – εἴη ἔχοντα κατὰ

4-5 εἰσὶ μὲν ὄμφακες: cf. Hom. *Od.*, 7.125; Aesop., *Fabul.*, 15a.2-3 (22 Hausrath – Hunger) 10
 μεταξουργοῖς non in TLG 12 γομφίων καὶ σπλάγχων πολεμίαν: cf. *infra* Greg. Cyr., *Epist.*
 26.9-10 12-13 κεφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου: cf. *supra* Greg. Cyr., *Epist.* 2.21

4 ἀληθέστατον V 194, V 222 4 γὰρ post μὲν add. V 194, V 222 6 ἀπογεύεται V 194, V 222
 11 ζῶφ ἐτέρῳ V 222 11 προῖσχειν V 194, 222 12 γομφίων^{οις} V 194, V 222 12 σπλάγχων^{οις}
 V 194, V 222 13 πεμπτέα M V 194: μεμπτέα V 222 14 τῆν: τὸ V 194^{ac} 14 χείρας M 15
 λάθοι V 194, V 222 16 καὶ om. V 194

26 *Epist.* 236 Lam. M 211, V 223 ed. Eustr., p. 200-201 (*epist.* 189)

6 πῶς δὲ διδασκαλία om. V

ταῦτα. Ἐπέμπετο γὰρ τότε, εἰ μένησαι, ἄωρά τινα ὀδοῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ στομάχῳ
 10 πολέμια, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τὸ τέμνειν δευτέραν τροφήν ἀργούς, τὸν δὲ
 ὀξώδη καὶ ψυχρὸν ἀπειργάζετο καὶ οἶον οἰκονομεῖν σιτία ἢ προσήκε στομάχῳ
 μὴ δύνασθαι· ἀλλ' ἄ γε νῦν πέμψεις, ὠραίως ἕξει καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
 καρποῦ λυμανθῆναι συμβῆναι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέτερον.

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδήπερ ἀκήκοας τί ταῦτα πεμπόμενα βούλεται, περὶ τῆς ἐν καιρῷ
 15 ἀποτίσεως, ὡς μὲν φιλότιμος ἔσται, ὡς δ' ἐπίμωμον οὐδὲν ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν
 ἁωρίαν, σοὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μελήσει.

27

Τῇ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Θάρσει περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἀποτίσεως· οὐ μήποτε ὅσον τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς
 ἀνάγκην ἔλθῃς τοῦ χρέους· καὶ λέλυσσο λοιπὸν τοῦ δέους καὶ τῆς φροντίδος.
 Ταυτὶ μὲν οὕτως· σὺ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ἐμὴ θύγατερ, ἔχεις δοῦσα μείζονά μοι τὴν
 χάριν, παρ' ἣν ἔλαβες τῇ ἀποστολῇ τῶν καρπῶν· καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον εὐφρανας
 5 οἷς ἔπεμψας, ἢ ἠδύνθης αὐτῇ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν. Ἐπεμψας δὲ καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν
 ἀποστολὴν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἐγὼ δεξάμενος καὶ ἀναγνούς, ἐκτόπως ἠγάσθην
 αὐτήν, τῆς τε συνεχείας τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τοῦ προσφόρου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν
 ἑξαγγελίαν συνθήκης· οὐ λόγος τοῦτο θωπευτικός, — οἶδας γὰρ ὡς παντὸς
 μᾶλλον κολακικὸν τὸ ἦθος, ἢ ἐμοῦ —, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτω κατ' ἐμὴν κρίσιν εἶχε τὸ
 10 ἐπιστόλιον.

Εὐ πράττε καὶ ὑγίαινε τὰ πάντα· καὶ τέρπε σου τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐν λόγοις
 εὐδοκιμοῦσα καὶ ἐν ὅσοις ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμεῖν σε αὐτὸς εὐχεται· ταῦτα δὲ ἐστίν,
 ἐφ' ὁπόσοις θεὸς εὐφραίνεται καὶ δοξάζεται, καὶ βασιλείαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν αἰώνιον
 γέρας παρέχει.

9 ὀδοῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ στομάχῳ πολέμια: cf. *supra* Greg. Cyr., *Epist.* 25.12: γομφίων καὶ σπλάγγνων
 πολέμια 11 ὀξώδη καὶ ψυχρὸν: cf. Archigenes, *Fragm.* 21 (14.5 Brescia) ἔστι δὲ τῇ κράσει ψυχρὸς
 καὶ ὀξώδης

11-12 οἰκονομεῖν – δύνασθαι: σιτία ἤκιστα δύνασθαι ἢ προσήκε στομάχῳ οἰκονομεῖν V 15
 ἐπίμωμον V 16 μελήσει: μελέτω V

27 *Epist.* 237 Lam. M 212, V 224 ed. cf. Kugeas, p. 600 (*epist.* 14)

Tit. τῇ αὐτῇ M al. manu 2 τοῦ χρέους M: τῆς ὀφειλῆς V 3 ἐμὴ M: ἐμοὶ V 3-4 ἔχεις – χάριν
 M: μείζονά μοι ἔχεις δοῦσα τὴν χάριν V 5 ἢ V: ἢ M 9 ἐμοῦ M: ἡμῶν V

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

Ἐμοὶ μὲν οἷον τὴν ἔναγχος συνηνέχθη παθεῖν, ἠβουλόμεν οἷος τ' εἶναι διηγεῖσθαι, οὐ ῥάδιον δὲ ὄμως· ἀλλὰ πειράσομαί γε σὴν χάριν εἰπεῖν.

Ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἢ τὸ παραβραχὺ μεσημβρία, καὶ τροφῆς μεταλαχῶν καὶ εἰς ὕπνον τραπεῖς, βραχὺ τε καταδαρθῶν καὶ διυπνισθεῖς, ἔδοξα
 5 τοὺς μὴνιγγας ἀλγεῖν μετρίως τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶτα καὶ τὸ μέσον σφοδρότερον· καὶ προϊούσης τῆς ὥρας, τὴν ὄλην αὐτὴν καὶ ἔτι σφοδρῶς. Ἔφερον ταῦτα τέως καὶ βιβλίῳ ἐγκύπτειν οὐκ ἀπειργόμην. Ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσπεριναὶ δῆπουθεν ἦσαν ὥραι καὶ ἔδει τὰ τῶν ὕμνων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι Θεῷ, καὶ ἀφωσιώτό γε, ἐπῆλθε τηνικαῦτα
 10 μοι προκύψαι τοῦ δωματίου, καὶ μικρὸν προελθεῖν ὥστ' ἀέρι ψυχρινῷ ἐντυχεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐντὸς ἐσάγαν δόξας τεθερμάνθαι, ἔδοξέ πως καὶ τοῦ ἄλγους τῆ κεφαλῆ αἰτιώτατος γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ γε προῆειν, σκιερῷ τε προβὰς ἐνέτυχον τόπω· καὶ ἄνεμος ταύτῃ ἐπέπνει μάλα ἐμοὶ προσηνῆς.

Ὡς δὲ παρὰ τὸν τόπον καθέζομαι, τό τε βιβλίον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων, καὶ τὰς ὄψεις παρέχων αὐτῷ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν νοῦν προσέχων, μὴνύεται τις τῶν
 15 θεσπεσιῶν καὶ φίλων ἤκειν ἀνδρῶν· ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἅμα τὲ ὀρῶ ἤκοντα, καὶ ἅμα ἰδὼν ἐξανέστην, φιλοφρόνως τε δέχομαι, καὶ παρακαθῆσθαι κελεύω. Οὐ μὴν πολὺ τι προῆλθε τῆς ὥρας ὁμοῦ καθημένων, καί με τις εἴσεισι λογισμός, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄρα τι κοινολογεῖσθαι οὗτος· αἰρεῖται μὲν, ἀναδύεται δὲ ἠκιστα τοὺς περὶ ἡμᾶς — ἔτυχον γὰρ τινες περιεστῶτες,
 20 ἀκροατὰς ἔχειν ἐθέλων τῶν λόγων. Ἀμέλει, καὶ ἀνίσταμαι, καὶ μεταβαίνω τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ δωματίου προβαίνω, ὅθεν κεκίνημαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ δὴ τότε ὑπερισχύει τὸ ἄλγος, δούσης οἶμαι τὴν ῥοπὴν τῆς κινήσεως, καὶ ὅπως καθῆσθαι οὐκ εἶχον, ὥστε κατήνεγκα ἑμαυτόν, καὶ μάλα ἄκων κατέκλινα. Ἰλιγγοὶ ἦσαν τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ ταραχαὶ τῶν ἐντὸς, καὶ ἐπιεικῶς δεινῶς ἐναντίων· ἤλγει δὲ τὰ
 25 ἄνω πολὺ μᾶλλον σφοδρῶς, καὶ βοαὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ φέρειν μὴ δυναμένου· ἰδρῶς δὲ τις ἅμα πολὺς τε καὶ ψυχρὸς περιεχεῖτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ μετὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὸ λοιπὸν ἴδρου σῶμα, ἰδρώτα καὶ τοῦτο γε πολὺν καὶ ψυχρόν, ἐρρίγώσα τε ἐκτόπως τὸ ἀποτοῦδε καὶ μάλα μοι ἔδοξα δεῖσθαι σκεπασμάτων· αἰτήσαντος ἐπηνέχθη πολλὰ, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἦν ἐπιτεθειμένων.

28 Epist. 238 Lam. M 214, V 192

Tit. τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ: + προτέρα δὲ αὐτῆ τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ λήθην ἐτέθη ὕστερον in M manu Nisephorī Gregorae 2 γε MV 8-9 τηνικαῦτα μοι: μοι M^{sl}: μοι τηνικαῦτα V 10 ἐντὸς M: αὐτὸς V 21 δὴ τότε M: δῆποτε V 24 ἐνάντιον M^{pc} 25 μᾶλλον M: μάλα V

- 30 Ἐπέλαβε νύξ οὕτως ἔχοντος καὶ προῆκε, καὶ εἰς ἔμετον τρέπομαι· βιαίως δὲ
τρέπομαι καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ γε δὴ πως ἐδόκει ἀποσπώμενα τὰ σπλάγχνα, ὡς πρὸς
τὸ στόμα ἀνωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἔξω ἐπείγασθαι· πόρρω νυκτῶν ἦν, κἀγὼ διαγέγονα ὦν
ἐν τούτοις ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῆς ὥρας. Καὶ τότε οἰκτεῖρει θεός· καὶ ἀνίησί πως ἡ ὀδύνη,
καὶ ἔπεισιν ὕπνος, καὶ ῥᾶον ἐντεῦθεν ἔχων ἐγώ, τῆς ἡμέρας καταλαμβάνω τὸ
35 φῶς. Οὕτω παραμικρὸν ἦλθον κινδύνου, οὕτω καὶ σωτήηρος τυγχάνω θεοῦ,
ἔχω δ' ἀρτίως, ὑγιῶς μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἀσθενῶς δέ, ἐλπίζων ὅσον τῆ τοῦ
σεσωκότος δυνάμει καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπολήψασθαι· ὁ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον χαρισάμενος
καὶ ὁ τῷ πρῶτῳ πάντως ἔπεται δώσει· εὖροις δ' ἂν τῆ ὑγείᾳ, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν ἕτερον
40 ἐτέρῳ, τὴν εὐρρωστίαν ἐπόμενον· οὐκοῦν καὶ εὐρρώστους ἡμᾶς ποιήσοι ὁ καὶ
κελεύσας ὑγιαίνειν θεὸς καὶ ὑγιαίνομεν.

29

Τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ

- Ὁ θεσπέσιος πρεσβύτης Ἡλίας – ἔστι δέ σοι τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων καὶ
σεβασμίων ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οἶσθα πάντως αὐτόν –, οὗτος ἐκ πολλοῦ γνώμης
ἔχων ὡς ἡμᾶς ἰκέσθαι, μόγις σήμερον αὐτὴν ἴσχυσεν εἰς πέρας προενεγκεῖν, τῶν
εἰργόντων περαίνειν διακοπέντων. Ἰκετο δὴ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν περιχαρῶς
5 ὀρώμεν, πάλαι κεκρυμμένον ἡμῖν οὕτως αὐτόν ἤκοντα βλέπειν· οἶμαι δὲ οἶμαι
μῆδ' αὐτόν ἀηδῶς ἔχοντα τῶν ὧδε ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ τις
τρόπον ἕτερον φαίη, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ' ἀηδῶς ἴσως, ὅτι ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάττετο, τάχα
που ὄψεται σε, οὐκ ἐς μακράν, τάχα σοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔρει. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος
ἐρεῖ, ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ τούτου λόγους ἀφείξ, ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν
10 μεταβήσομαι, οὐκοῦν ἕτερ' ἀνθ' ἐτέρων, αὐτὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀκριβῶς λέγων τὰ
ὄντα. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν παροξυσμῶν ἡμῖν ὀχληρά, καὶ τοῦ προτρέχοντος αὐτῶν
ἢ καὶ συνεισβάλλοντος ρίγους, ἀνεῖσθαι μετρίως δοκεῖ, καὶ πως ἐκκελύσθαι, οὐ
μὴν δὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος ἀπορίαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτὸς ἀϋπνίαν· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ ἐπίτασιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν λαμβάνει ταυτὶ λέγοιμεν
15 καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ὕφεσιν ἰσχυρότερα γίνεται, ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἂν ἡμῖν ὁ γ'
ἡσθημένος ὡς πόρρω που φερομένοις τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ οὐ τὰ ὄντα οὐδ' ἂ

31 ὡς M: καὶ V 32 ὦν ante ἐν τούτοις habet M, post habet V 36 ἤδη post ὅσον add. V 39
εὐρρωστίαν MV 39 εὐρρώστους MV

29 Epist. 239 Lam. M 213, V 225

Tit. τῆ Ῥαουλαίνῃ M manu Nicephori Gregorae 2 σεβάσιμος V 12 ἐκκελύσθαι V 16
ἡσθόμενος V

προϋθέμεθα φάσκουσιν· οὐ μόνον δ' ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων ὀχληρῶν, λεγέσθω γὰρ τέως ἀπιέναι, ἀντανέστη τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε κολουσαι σώματος ὑγείαν, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκείνων δυνάμενα.

- 20 Ἡ εὐρεία καὶ μεγάλη ἦδε οἰκία, ὀμιχλώδεις ἤδη καὶ βαρεῖς ἀναπέμπει ἀτμούς· οἱ δέ, σίνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἀνιόντες διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων σίνουσιν αὐτὰ σπλάγχνα διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς εἰσπίπτοντες· σίνουσι δὴ, ἀλλὰ τί κύκλω περίεμι καὶ οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἄντικρυς λέγω; αὐτὴν ὄλην ἡμῶν βλάπτουσι καὶ λυμαίνονται τὴν ζωὴν. Πλουτεῖ δὴ καὶ τί δ' ἕτερον ἢ οἰκία, μάλα καὶ τότε εἰς ἀνίαν ἡμῶν, μυῶν
- 25 πληθος, ὃ πρόσφατόν ποθεν ἐπιβρίσαν αὐτῇ οὐ πάλοι οἶμαι ὄν ἐγκάτοικον ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόπεδον οἰκεῖον πεποίηται· μᾶλλον δὲ ἴν' εἶπω σαφέστερον, εἰς δύο ἑαυτοὺς στρατεύματα τάξαντες, εἶτα τὰ τῆς οἰκίας ἄκρα διανεμιάμενοι καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ πηξάμενοι χάρακας, ἀντεπίασιν ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖθεν πῶς ἂν εἴ-
- 30 ποις ἀγρίως καὶ προσρήγνυνται· οὐχ ὡς μῦες, φαῦλα δὴ τινα καὶ ἀσθενέστατα ζῶα, ἀλλ' ὡς τινες θυμοειδεῖς καὶ γενναῖοι ὀπλίται, ὁμοῦ μεγάλοις ὀρυμαγδοῖς καὶ πατάγοις. Καὶ οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν πότερον ταῦτα πόλεμος ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς, καὶ μῦες κατὰ μυῶν οὕτως ὀργίζονται καὶ ἐξάλλονται, ἢ γυμνασία καὶ ἄσκησις πραγμάτων πολεμικῶν, ἃ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἴσως ἔσται αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τίνα μὲν ζῶων βεβαίως οὐκ οἶδα, τάχα δὲ πρὸς βατράχους, ὃ καὶ ἄλλοτε πρότερον ὡς λέγεται
- 35 συμβάν πρὸς ψόδην οὐκ ἀτερπῆ ποιητικὴν τινα σειρήνα ἠρέθισεν· ἀλλ' οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαράξεων τούτων καὶ ψόφων κακόν εἰσι μέγα, τὸν ὕπνον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι. Ὅθεν καὶ μεταβαίνομεν, σὺν θεῷ δὲ ἢ κίνησις εἶη καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἰκίαν, τὴν πλέον ἡμῖν γλυκεῖαν, ἢ ὅσον τῆς εἰρημένης ἠλάττωται· ἢ δέ, δέχοιθ' ἡμᾶς, εὐμένης δ' εἶη θεὸς καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς
- 40 ταύταις ἐπευδοκῶν δέχοιτο, μὴ μόνον ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ κυρίου προκόποντας.

35 πρὸς ψόδην – σειρήνα ἠρέθισεν: cf. Pseudo-Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia*

24 τί δ': τόδ' V 30 ὀρυμαδοῖς V 39 ἠρημένης V 39 δέχοιθ' M: δέχοιτο V

CONCORDANCE TABLE

Ed.	Lam.	Eustr.	Kugeas	M	V	Lav	V ¹	P
1	171	158		158	158	17		
2	201		2	187	184			
3	202			188	193		46	
4	203			189	195	41	44	
5	204				199			
6	205			190	226			
7	206		6	191	200			
8	207			192	196			8
9	208			193				
10	209			194	201			
11	210			195	191			
12	211		11	196	197			
13	212				202			
14	213				203			
15	214				204			
16	215				205			
17	227		12	208	214			
18	228	187	13	209	215			
19	229				216			
20	230				217			
21	231				218			
22	232				219			
23	233				220			
24	234				221			
25	235	188		210	194 222			
26	236	189		211	223			
27	237		14	212	224			
28	238			214	192			
29	239			213	225			

INITIA EPISTOLARUM

Ἄλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς παρόντας σύ γε ἀπαζιώσης προσέσθαι καρπούς,	9
Ἄπερ ὄρας πεμπόμενά σοι συκάμινα, ἢ διὰ τινα φιλοτιμίαν	26
Ἄριστα ἔχον ἔστι τὸ γράμμα, καὶ πᾶσαν χάριν νέμοι σοι	7
Ἀφελῆ σοι τινὰ φῆς εἶναι γράμματα καὶ ἐκδήλως πρεσβυτερικά,	18
Εἶ σου δεηθείην ὡς ἐμὲ τὴν σήμερον ἐπιστῆναι, τῆς τε διὰ σαυτῆς	10
Ἔμοι δῶρον ἀνὴρ πρᾶγμα κατὰ πολὺ στεργόμενον πέμπει	2
Ἔμοι μὲν οἶον τὴν ἔναγχος συνηνέχθη παθεῖν	28
Ἔμοι ὀπηνίκα τις ἐπέλθη πρόφασις γράφειν πρὸς σέ,	6
Ἔμοι τις ἀνθρωπος φίλος, Σύρος τὸ γένος, χριστιανὸς ἔμπορος	13
Ἐπειδήπερ διὰ χρόνου εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσχατιὰν παραγέγονας	21
Ἐπιλελῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖς ἐν ὁποῖαις ἡμᾶς νοσεραῖς ἀνάγκαις	4
Θάρσει περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἀποτίσεως	27
Ἡμῖν ἐν βίῳ διὰ τοὺς λόγους, ἡδέος μὲν οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκεν	3
Ἦν τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡ τρίτη	15
Καὶ νεῦρα κατὰ τὸ σὸν ἐπίταγμα καὶ ὅσα δὴ τινα ἐμβεβληκέναι	14
Κάμοι μοναχοὶ τινες ἐκ τῆς περαίας δῶρον ἤκασι κομίζοντες	8
Κεράσους μοι σήμερον τῶν ὀρωμένων τῶνδε πλεῖν ἢ διπλασίας	19
Λακωνικόν σοι τὸ γράμμα, καὶ τῇ τοῦδε μὴ μέμφου βραχύτητι	23
Ὁ θεσπέσιος πρεσβύτης Ἡλίας – ἔστι δέ σοι τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων	29
Ὅσακις περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπέστειλα καὶ ἀπελελόγησαί μοι	22
Ὅτι μὲν ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πατρίδι παλαιᾶς συνηθείας	25
Οὐ λήθη κρατηθεὶς ἐγὼ τὸ σὸν γράμμα κατέσχον παρ' ἑμαυτῶ	5
Πάνυ σε ὑποπτῆσσω, ἐπεὶ ἔμελλον σοι μηνύσαι	20
Παρώσαντο μὲν βίβλους τὰς ἡμετέρας αἰ σαί,	17
Σὺ μὲν ἴσως, κυρία καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐν Χριστῶ, οὐκ ἀπεικότως	1
Τὴν κτήμα μὲν ἐμὸν οὖσαν καὶ πόνημα βίβλον	12
Τρίτη μὲν ἡ παροῦσα, ἐξότουπερ τὰ περὶ στόμαχον ἀλγῆσαι	11
Χθές μοι πολὺ μεθ' ἡλίον δεδουκότα, μοναχός τις ἐφίσταται	16
Ἰωτάριχόν μοι ρυτὸν ὅποιον τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων	24

ABSTRACT

The twenty-nine letters of Gregorios II Kyprios to the *protovestiarissa* Theodora Raoulaina constitute one of the most numerous groups of his correspondence and provide a complete picture of friendship between intellectuals in the late Byzantine period. The article provides an edition of and commentary on all of them (for twenty-three of them this is the first edition).

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