

NIKEPHOROS CHRYSOBERGES'  
ENCOMIUM OF THE PATRIARCH JOHN X KAMATEROS:  
A NEW FRAGMENT

ELENI KALTSOGIANNI

Codex *Vindobonensis Phil. gr.* 321 is a rhetorical and epistolographical miscellany, dating to the second half (last third) of the 13th century.<sup>1</sup> It contains works of authors such as Prokopios of Gaza, Michael Psellos, George Tornikes, Nikephoros Basilakes, Efthymios Malakes, Nikephoros Chrysoberges, Nikephoros Blemmydes, Theodore II Laskaris, and Manuel Holobolos. Among the rhetorical pieces preserved in the codex we find an oration on fasting, which is transmitted anonymously, but it can as well be ascribed to Holobolos, almost with certainty.<sup>2</sup>

The oration is preserved on ff. 143v-150r. After f. 145v (μῆμεραις οἱ δι' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες ἅμα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ καὶ τῷ [τὸ cod.] τοῦ Ἰεφονῆ, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην γῆν) the text continues on f. 147r (κατεσκόπουν καὶ περιέβλεπον. μετὰ τόσας καὶ τὸν Ἰωάν φασι πεμφθέντα περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, καταλαβέσθαι τὴν Νινευὶ ...). Thus, the fragment transmitted on f. 146rv belongs to a different text, in all probability a patriarchal encomium, as I shall show in the following.

The fragment under consideration speaks about a person, who stands out for his feeling of mercy and charity actions. He is helpful to the poor, to those who have lost their fortune struck by a disaster, and to all those who are in need in general. He is compared to Abraham, the Danube, Nile and the sun, with regards to his generosity and the beneficial effects of his attitude towards his fellowmen

- 1 For the description of the manuscript, see H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 1: Codices historici. Codices philosophici et philologici (Museion, N.F. IV/1.1)*. Wien 1961, 409-418. See also recently P. AGAPITOS – D. ANGELOV, *Six Essays by Theodore II Laskaris in Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 321: Edition, Translation, Analysis. JÖB 68 (2018) 39-75, esp. 48-60.*
- 2 The problem of authorship, along with the edition of this text is the subject of a separate article, which is under preparation. The oration has been tentatively ascribed to Holobolos by X.A. SIDERIDIS, *Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβώλου ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μιχαὴλ Η΄ τὸν Παλαιολόγον. EEBS 3 (1926) 168-191, esp. 170; cf. HUNGER, *Katalog* (cited n. 1), 413, and AGAPITOS – ANGELOV, *Six Essays* (cited n. 1), 59. According to Agapitos and Angelov, the scribe and original possessor of *Vindobonensis* could be identified with Holobolos; see *ibid.*, 56-60.*

(ll. 1-21). Later on we are informed that this person is a patriarch,<sup>3</sup> who not only embodied mercy with his own deeds, but he also urged the others to follow his paradigm through his advice and his counseling speeches (ll. 22-30); in his rhetorical “strategy” he has surpassed even Themistocles and Pericles (ll. 30-32).

There follows the recount of an incident, which serves as a proof for the efficiency of the patriarch’s teachings. The story is about a metropolitan of Thessaloniki, who was suffering from a fatal illness. The doctors were desperate, for they could offer no remedy, until the patriarch came up: through his teaching he reminded the ill metropolitan of the use of mercy, and urged him to take up charitable actions. Upon this the metropolitan decided to spend money for the poor, and regained his health through charity (ll. 33-68).

This was the result of the patriarch’s unwritten counsel. The rhetor shall now turn to the written one, i.e. the patriarch’s catechetical speech(es), which he evaluates on the basis of rhetorical terms, such as diction (λέξις), composition (συνθήκη), and variation/change (ἀλλαγὴ) [ll. 69-77]. The fragment under consideration breaks up here.

It is clear from the summary given above that we have to do with a patriarchal encomium, a genre of epideictic oratory that flourished especially in the 12th century.<sup>4</sup> Two such texts survive in the *Vindobonensis*: the one is a *didaskalia* of Manuel Karantenos which contains encomiastic passages for the patriarch John X Kamateros,<sup>5</sup> while the other concerns John Kamateros as well, and it is a laudatory oration composed by the *maistor of the rhetors* Nikephoros Chrysoberges.<sup>6</sup>

The encomium of Chrysoberges was delivered, according to the *lemma* ac-

3 Cf. ll. 22-23: οὕτω φωστήρ ὁ πατριάρχου ἐν ἀκτίσι πολλαῖς, τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ὁμοῦ ἐπῆλθε καὶ τοῖς χρείοσι· καὶ τοῖς ἐνδέσμοις ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλως πτωχεύουσι.

4 For the surviving texts, see H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*. Band 1: Philosophie – Rhetorik – Epistolographie – Geschichtsschreibung – Geographie (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII/5.1). München 1978, 126-129; M. ΛΟΥΚΑΚΙ, Ὁ ἰδανικός πατριάρχης μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ ῥητορικά κείμενα τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνα, in: N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon law, State and Society (Society of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies. Diptycha-Paraphylla, 3)*. Athens 1991, 301-317, esp. 302-304. For the flourishing of the genre in the 12th century, see ead., *Le Samedi de Lazare et les éloges annuels du patriarche de Constantinople*, in: FL. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΑΤΟΥ-NOTARA – TR. ΜΑΝΙΑΤΙ-ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙ (eds.), *Κλητόριον εἰς μνήμην Νίκου Οἰκονομίδη*. Athens – Thessaloniki 2005, 327-345.

5 The text is preserved on ff. 230r-231r. It has been edited by U. CRISCUOLO, *Un’inedita didascalia di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno*. *BollGrott* n.s. 30 (1976) 139-150.

6 The text is preserved on ff. 246r-253v; for its modern editions, see below. On Nikephoros Chrysoberges, see the monograph of M. S. ΑΝΑΓΝΟΣΤΟΥ, *Ένας ρήτορας τῶν χρόνων τῆς παρακμῆς. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Νικηφόρου Χρυσοβέργη*. Athens 2020.

companying it in the manuscript, in 1202, probably at the feast of Epiphany.<sup>7</sup> It has been preserved only in the *Vindobonensis*,<sup>8</sup> and has been edited twice in modern times, by Robert Browning and Myrsini Anagnostou respectively.<sup>9</sup>

Both editors recognized a gap in the text after f. 249v.<sup>10</sup> Up to this point Chrysoberges has dealt with the rules for the composition of an encomium,<sup>11</sup> and praised the origin<sup>12</sup> and education of the patriarch, with special reference to his rhetorical skills both in written and spoken word.<sup>13</sup> There follows a paragraph concerning Kamateros' access to the patriarchal throne, and then the rhetor comes to speak about the patriarch's moral virtues (*ethos*), distinguishing between those that are of benefit only to the person itself, such as self-control (ἐγκράτεια), boldness (τόλμα) and courage (εὐψυχία), and those that benefit the others as well, such as justice (δικαιοσύνη) and imparting (μετάδοσις); profane wisdom, comments Chrysoberges, defines imparting as freeness in giving (ἐλευθεριότης), while Christians call it mercy (ἐλεημοσύνη).<sup>14</sup>

7 For the text's dating, see R. BROWNING, An unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202. *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 5 (1978) 37-68, esp. 38-39 (= R. BROWNING, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World [Variorum Reprints]*. Northampton 1989, no IX), and ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 183-185.

8 Cf. ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 265 and 270.

9 See BROWNING, Unpublished Address (cited n. 7), 48-63, and ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 437-490.

10 See BROWNING, Unpublished Address (cited n. 7), 64, and ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 449. In the following, references will be made only to the most recent edition of Anagnostou.

11 See ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 440.81-441.121.

12 See ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 441.122-443.182.

13 See ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 443.183-449.337.

14 See ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 448.340-449.346: διττὰς ἡμῖν τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῦ ἡθους ὁ λόγος ἐγνώρισε, τὰς μὲν εἰς μόνον αὐτὸν περιεστῶσας τὸν πράττοντα, τὰς δὲ περινεούσας ἐξ ἐκείνου πρὸς ἕτερον, οἷον ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τόλμαν καὶ εὐψυχίαν τοῦ ἐνεργούντος μόνου φασὶ καθότι τούτῳ μόνῳ συνέβαλλον, δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ μετάδοσιν ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς ἄλλους καλὰ παρόσον ἄλλοις συντετελέκασιν ἐφ' ὅσοις ἀπέβησαν. According to Browning and Anagnostou, Chrysoberges alludes here to the Aristotelian distinction between intellectual and moral virtues found in *Nicomachean Ethics* (1103a14-18: διττῆς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐσῆς, τῆς μὲν διανοητικῆς τῆς δὲ ἠθικῆς, ἡ μὲν διανοητικὴ τὸ πλεῖον ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἔχει καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν, διόπερ ἐμπειρίας δεῖται καὶ χρόνου, ἡ δ' ἠθικὴ ἐξ ἔθους περιγίνεται, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα ἔσχηκε μικρὸν παρεκκλίνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους). Closer to the meaning of the text is, in my view, the following passage from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1366a36-b9): ἀρετὴ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν δύναμις ὡς δοκεῖ ποριστικὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ φυλακτικὴ, καὶ δύναμις εὐεργετικὴ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, καὶ πάντων περὶ πάντα· μέρη δὲ ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθεριότης, φρόνησις, σοφία. ἀνάγκη δὲ μεγίστας εἶναι ἀρετὰς τὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις χρησιμωτάτας, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετὴ δύναμις εὐεργετικὴ, <καὶ> διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς δικαίους

It is at this point that our fragment should be inserted. Folio 249v ends with the passage: γενόμενος ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἐπανάγω πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν· ἐγκράτειαν ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ πράττοντι συστελλόμενα· ἃ καὶ μήπω προεδρεύων ἐκ παιδὸς ἐφυλάξατο, ιδιώτερον τυγχάνειν ἔγνω καλὸν· καὶ ᾧ μονήρες τὸ χρῆμα τῆς ἀρετῆς· καὶ ἄκοινον ἰδιάζεται· τὸν πρόεδρον δὲ καθόσον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἐτέρων εἶναι πεφιλοσόφηται· τοῖς πρὸς τι ἄλλο ἐπιτρέπειν μᾶλλον χρῆναι καλῶς, ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιτείνει τὸ φίλοικτον.<sup>15</sup> Folio 146r, on the other hand, begins with the phrase: καὶ τῷ ἐλέω προστίθεται· καὶ τῇ παλιντραπέλω ταύτη περιφορᾶ· ἢ τ[.....]αναις κοτύλαις αἰεὶ διαλυμαίνεται ἐνήτας, ἐνδέξιός αὐτὸς ἀντανίσταται, which both syntactically and at the level of meaning fits the ending passage/phrase of f. 249v.

As for the end of our fragment, this also fits perfectly before the beginning of f. 250r. As we have seen, at this point Chrysoberges turns to Kamateros' catechetical speech(es), which he evaluates in terms of rhetorical style. This evaluation continues normally on f. 250r, and covers the next pages of the text:<sup>16</sup> (f. 146v) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἄγραφον παραίνεσιν ὑπετύπωσα· καὶ ἦν ἐκ λόγου πνεύσας μόνου κοινοῦ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ προφορικοῦ, πνοὴν ζωῆς τῷ θνήσκοντι ἐπεισέπνευσε, δίκαιος ἂν εἶην λέγειν καὶ τὴν γραπτὴν· τὴν πρότριτα (πρώτριτα cod.; cf. *infra*) κατηχητικὴν· ἦν ὡσπερ πλάκα θεόγραφον χριστιανοῖς εὐτύπωτον ἀνεγράφετο· ἀνέρχομαι δὴ καὶ αὐθὶς ἐπὶ μικρὸν θαυμάσαι ταύτης τὸ προφαινόμενον· τὴν λέξιν· τὴν συνθήκην· τὴν ἀλλαγὴν· καθάπερ ὅταν δέσποινα μεγαλοπρεπῆς· καὶ πλάσιν παρεστήσατο εὐρρυθμον· καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέσιν || (f. 250r) ἔστιλψεν ἀμφιέσμασιν· οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ τὸ καπνηρὸν καὶ μέλαν καὶ ἀσαφές, [...] τινος ἀκαίρου περιτροπῆς· ὕφ' ὧν ἢ τοῦ νοὸς συγγέεται διαφάνεια· οὐδεὶς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἄνους ἐκτραχυσμὸς· οὐδέ τις ἄλογος παρασύνθεσις, οὐδὲ σχημάτων σύνοδος ἀνεπιφανῆς· ἐξ ὧν ἑλληνισμὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμὸς ἀλλήλοις ὁμοτίμως ἐπέρχονται· καὶ πέφυκεν ἐντεῦθεν ἢ σύντηξις· καὶ τὰ ἐν λόγοις ὡς ἐπίμικτα τέρατα.

With regards to the constitution of the codex, Hunger has reconstructed the

καὶ ἀνδρείους μάλιστα τιμῶσιν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἢ δὲ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ χρήσιμος ἄλλοις· εἴτα ἐλευθεριότης· προΐενται γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀνταγωνίζονται περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὧν μάλιστα ἐφίενται ἄλλοι.

15 Here and in the following the passages of the edited text are given according to the manuscript, as far as accentuation and punctuation are concerned.

16 Up to the end of f. 205v. Cf. ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 453.466. Here ends the whole chapter of the encomium concerning the patriarch's *ethos*; cf. ANAGNOSTOU, Χρυσοβέργης (cited n. 6), 452.460-453.466: τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἡθους ὡδε συγγέγραπται· καὶ παρεῶ τὰ πολλὰ ποσῶ διωρισμένον συνεχεῖ ποσῶ συναντιμετρῶν τὴν διατετημημένην συλλαβαῖς λαλιὰν τῷ συναφεῖ τοῦ χρόνου τούτῳ ποσῶ· ἐν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀγράφων πράξεων συλλαβῶν κάκ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἄλλο συμβουλιῶν, ὡς ἐκ δυεῖν αὐτίκα προτάσεων περαίνω τὸ τοῦ λόγου συμπέρασμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μεταξύ τοῖς βουλομένοις παρεμβεβλήθησαν.

order of folios and quires in the respective parts of the manuscript as following: 8 (143), 3 (146), 4 (150) ... 8 (249), 6 (7-1, for f. 309 is missing before f. 256: 255).<sup>17</sup> Our findings show that one more folio is missing from the quire comprising ff. 250-255: this is f. 146, which should be placed at the beginning of the quire, before f. 250; thus, we have to do with a quire consisting originally of eight folios, and now missing its first and last folio, which have been misplaced. As for the quires between ff. 144-150, we are left with a quire of two folios (ff. 144-145) and another one comprising four folios (ff. 147-150).<sup>18</sup> Hunger's schema should thus be modified as following: 8 (143), 2 (144-145), 4 (147-150) ... 8 (249), 8 (146+250-255+309).

One last point to discuss is the identity of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, who was "cured" through Kamateros' advice. John Kamateros occupied the patriarchal throne of Constantinople between 1198-1206; by that time the episcopal chair of Thessaloniki was held, for the second time, by Constantine Mesopotamites. Mesopotamites was appointed metropolitan of Thessaloniki for the first time in late 1196-spring 1197. He was replaced for a short while, after he fell into disgrace, by John Chrysanthos, but he was restituted to his post before 1204, probably soon after the death of his adversary, George II Xiphilinos, in July 1198; he held "typically" this office until ca. 1227.<sup>19</sup> Given the fact that Chrysoberges addressed his encomium to Kamateros in 1202, the incident concerning the ill metropolitan of Thessaloniki should be placed between 1198-1202, i.e. at the beginning of the second episcopacy of Mesopotamites.<sup>20</sup>

In the edition of the fragment that follows the accentuation and punctuation of the manuscript have been maintained. Some lower stops have been replaced with upper stops and vice versa.

17 Cf. HUNGER, *Katalog* (cited n. 1), 418.

18 Or rather a quire of six folios (144-145, 147-150)?

19 On Constantine Mesopotamites, see V. LAURENT, *La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle*. *BZ* 56 (1963) 284-296, here pp. 285-286, 288-292; K. VARZOS, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, vol. 1-2 (*Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται*, 34). Thessaloniki 1984, vol. 2, 577-578; A. STAVRIDOU-ZAFRAKA, *Νίκαια καὶ Ἡπειρος τον 13ο αἰῶνα. Ἰδεολογικὴ ἀντιπαράθεση στὴν προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν τὴν αυτοκρατορία (Ἐταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 7)*. Thessaloniki 1990 [repr. Thessaloniki 1991], 151-153; R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites, The History. Introduction, Translation and Commentary (Oxford Studies in Byzantium)*. Oxford 2007, 163-164; ANAGNOSTOU, *Χρυσοβέργης* (cited n. 6), 138.

20 Chrysoberges was personally related to Constantine Mesopotamites, whom he addressed as his "benefactor" in an oration dating between 1192/93-1195. For the edition of this text, see S. KOTZABASSI, *Ένας ανέκδοτος λόγος του Νικηφόρου Χρυσοβέργη στον Κωνσταντῖνο Μεσοποταμίτη*. *Ἑλληνικά* 42 (1992) 291-301; Kotzabassi (p. 296) suggests that the two men were schoolmates, who later followed different careers.

...] || (f. 146) καὶ τῷ ἐλέῳ προστίθεται· καὶ τῇ παλιντραπέλῳ ταύτῃ περιφορᾷ· ἢ τ[.....]αναις κοτύλαις αἰεὶ διαλυμαίνεται πένητας, ἐνδέξιος αὐτὸς ἀντανίσταται· καὶ εἴ τι χρῆ [ἐκ] τῆς ἀγίας ἰστορηῆσαι γραφῆς, 'εἰ σὺ' φησιν 'ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ'· τοῦθ' ὅπερ [καὶ] Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης πρότερον πρὸς Λῶτ ἐλάλει

5 τὸν ἀδελφόπαιδα. οὕτω μεταρρυθμίζει πᾶν ἐπαρίστερον· καὶ πεπτωκόσι προσβοηθεῖ· καὶ χεῖρα τούτοις δίδωσι τὴν φιλόφρονα· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπάνθρωπον περιφορὰν καὶ ἄνισον ἀνταγωνίζεται· καὶ περιτρέπει πενομένοις τὰς συμφορὰς ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῖς ἐκ πεπλουτισμένων πτωχεύουσιν· οἷς μᾶλλον ἐδοκίμασε προσαρκεῖν (εἴπερ γε πάντα παρελήλυθε πικρασμὸν· ἐπὶ εἰς εὐζωίαν ἄνθρωπος

10 πεφθακῶς, παλινζωίαν ἀνταλλάττοιο χεῖρονα)· τοῖς ἐγκλήροις ὧδε διακονεῖν· τοῖς ἐκ λαώδους ἐρχομένοις πληρώματος· σεμνεῖοις· φροντιστηρίοις (σπεύδει ὁ λόγος πλήθουσι τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἐπιτρέχει τὰ πλείω τμητικῶς πρὸς γοργότητα) μιγάσιν· ἐφησυχάζουσι· τοῖς ἐμφρούροις· τοῖς ὑποδέσμοις· ἅσασιν ὁ μέγας οὗτος κρουνὸς, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μιᾶς πολύστομος ἐπισχίζεται· Ἴστρος ἐπιτέλλων κατὰ τὴν

15 ποίησιν ἱερός, ὃν ἐν πενταπόροις προχοαῖς ἰστόρησαν ἐφελίσσεσθαι· ἢ Νεῖλος ἐπταπόροις στόμασιν ἀνοιγόμενος· ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἀξιολογουμένων ἐν ποταμοῖς, παντοδαπαῖς διατομαῖς εἰς μοίρας ἔρχοιτο πλείονας· ἢ ὅπως μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ τοῦ ἐλέους φῶς ἐνσκευάσωμαι, καθάπερ ἥλιος ἀναβάς· ἀέρα· ὕδωρ· γαῖαν ἅμα κατέλαμψε· τὰ πρὶν σκοτοειδῆ καὶ ἀπρόοπτα· τὴν ἐπηρμένην φύσιν

20 καὶ τὴν κατώρροπον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ πέφυκε φέρεσθαι· αἱ δ' οὖν ἀκτίνες ἄχρονοι ἐπανίσχουσιν.

2 ἢ – διαλυμαίνεται: cf. Arist., *Plut.* 435 (ἢ ταῖς κοτύλαις αἰεὶ με διαλυμαίνεται) 3-4 εἰ σὺ φησιν – δεξιὰ: cf. Gen. 13.9 (οὐκ ἰδοὺ πάσα ἡ γῆ ἐναντίον σου ἐστὶ· διαχωρίσθητι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· εἰ σὺ εἰς ἀριστερὰ, ἐγὼ εἰς δεξιὰ· εἰ σὺ εἰς δεξιὰ, ἐγὼ εἰς ἀριστερὰ) 11 τοῖς ἐκ λαώδους – πληρώματος: cf. Greg. Antioch., *Laudatio patriarchae Basilii Camateri* 32-33 Loukaki (ἐκ τῆς κατὰ κόσμον ἦκοντα μοίρας καὶ τοῦ λαώδους πληρώματος) 12 τμητικῶς πρὸς γοργότητα: cf. Hermog., *De ideis* II, 1.79-80 Rabe (ἔστι μὲν τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν γοργότητα μάλιστα εἶδος λόγου τὸ τμητικόν); *ibid.*, 84-85 (τμητικὸς δὲ λόγος καὶ γοργὸς μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς θεωρεῖται); *ibid.*, 92-100 (νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν σχημάτων λέξομεν, ἃ τμητικὰ ὄντα κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐστὶ καὶ γοργά. σχήματα μὲν οὖν τοῦ εἶδους τάδε. τὸ ἀσύνδετον κομματικόν, οἷον «προσήλθε τῇ βουλῇ, προβούλευμα ἐγράφη». τὸ κατ' ὄνομα κομματικόν, οἷον Ἄμφιπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Μεθώνην, Παγασάς, καὶ αἱ πυκναὶ καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἐξαλλαγαί, οἷον «τὸ πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβὼν, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν, πάλιν Ποτίδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἶτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς) 14-15 Ἴστρος – ἐφελίσσεσθαι: cf. Dion. Perieg., *Orbis descriptio* 298-301 Brodersen (Ῥήνῳ δ' ἐξείης ἐπιτέλλεται ἱερός Ἴστρος / αὐτός, ἐς ἀντολίην τετραμμένος ἄχρη θαλάσσης / Εὐξεινῶν, τόθι πᾶσαν ἐρεύγεται ὕδατος ἄχνην / πενταπόροις προχοῆσιν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ Πεῦκην) 15-16 Νεῖλος – ἀνοιγόμενος: cf., e.g., Dion. Perieg., *Orbis descriptio* 264 Brodersen (ἐπταπόρου Νεῖλοιο νενασμένον ἔλλαχον ἄστου)

5 ἀδελφόπεδα V μεταρρυθμίζει: sic V pro μεταρρυθμίζει 5-6 πρὸς βοηθεῖ V

Οὕτω φωστήρ ὁ πατριάρχου ἐν ἀκτίσι πολλαῖς, τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ὁμοῦ ἐπῆλθε καὶ τοῖς χερείοσι· καὶ τοῖς ἐνδέσμοις ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλως πτωχεύουσι. καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς μὲν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐνησκήσατο· ἑτέροις δ' οὖν οὐ παρήνευσε· καὶ συμβουλήν  
 25 καίριαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐξέλάλησε· καὶ τύπον οἴκτου διὰ τῆς γλώττης ὡσεὶ καὶ σφραγιστῆρος τινὸς ἀνθρωπικαῖς καρδίαις οὐκ ἐτυπώσατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ διδαχαῖς τοιαύταις οὐχ' ἦττον ἢ ποιήσεσιν ἠρίστευσεν ὁ σοφώτατος. οὐ γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα μόνον ὁ κρατερός τοῦ πνεύματος αἰχητήης κατὰ τῆς ἀπανθρώπου φορᾶς· μετὰ  
 30 στρατηγὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ῥήτωρ εὖσημος κεχηματίκε· τοὺς ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν περιθρύλλους Θεμιστοκλεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ Περικλεῖς ἐς τόσον παραμειψάμενος, ἐφόσον καὶ ἡ στρατηγία πνευματικῆ, καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ ψυχαῖς οὐ σώμασιν ἐπικαίριος.

Ἀλλὰ συνέβη τοῦτο παράδοξον. τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην γὰρ αὐτὸς σιωπῶν, καὶ μὴ περισαλπίζων ἐν τῷ πράττειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἐλάλησε. διδάσκειν  
 35 γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους οὕτω περὶ ταύτης οὐκ ὤκνησε· καὶ τὸν καλὸν διαναβάλλεσθαι βουλευτήριον. ταύτης ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκ θνήσκοντος ἀνεστῶς· καὶ ἀνθομολογούμενος ζώγρια· οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον τῷ λόγῳ παρεμβαλεῖν κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας ἐπαγωγὰς ἡμᾶς ἐκ μέρους ἀποδεικνύοντας. ἔστι τίς πόλις Μακεδόνων μητρόπολις· οἶδατε πάντες ἦν Θετταλοὶ ἀπέσχον οἰκήτορες. Θέρμην  
 40 || (f. 146v) ἐκείνην οἱ [αλαιοὶ κ]ατωνομάκασι· καίσαρ δ' ἐκεῖ νικήσας τὸ ἀντιπράκτον ὁ περιθρύλλη[τος] νίκην τῷ ἐθνικῷ ἐπιβαλὼν ὀνομαστικῶ, Θεσσαλονίκην συνθετὴν κλησὶν ἐπέγραψε. ταύτης ὁ πρόεδρος ἐπεκέκλιτο· καὶ ἡ θανάσιμος ἔρρεπε· καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπῆν τῶν εἰς τοῦτο παρακαλούντων. ἡ νόσος ἐγκίνδυνος· ὁ χρόνος περίψυκτος· ὁ κάμνων κατάρυσσος· ὁ τράχηλος ἐν πνιγμοῖς. ἐπέφριττον  
 45 τὰ νεῦρα· τὸ πνεῦμα διελαμβάνετο· τᾶλλα τὲ πάντα τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ· ἀναστελλόμενα φάρμακα· ὑποχωροῦντες οἱ νοσοκόμοι· ἡ τέχνη ἀπογινώσκουσα. ἐνταῦθα

28 κρατερός – αἰχητήης: cf. Hom., *Il.* 3.179 (βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχητήης) et 4.87 (Λαοδόκῳ Ἀντηνορίδῃ κρατερῶ αἰχητῆῃ) 33-34 μὴ περισαλπίζων – ἀρετὴν: cf. Matth. 6.3-4 (σοῦ δὲ ποιούντος ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ γνώτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου, ὅπως ἦ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ) 38-42 ἔστι τίς – ἐπέγραψε: cf. Michael Rhetor, *Oratio ad Manuelem imperatorem* 139.4-6 Regel (τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων λέγω μητρόπολιν, ἦν ὁ πάλαι μὲν χρόνος Θέρμην ἐκάλεσεν, ὁ νῦν δὲ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ νίκην συνθεῖς ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπιφημίζει τῇ πόλει σύνθετον); Menand. Rhetor, *De orat.* I, 358.9-11 Russell – Wilson (νίκης δέ, οἷόν φασι τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη τῶν Θετταλῶν οἰκισθῆναι ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων); Ioh. Malalas, *Chronographia* 145.11-17 Thurn (τῆς δὲ Μακεδονίας ἐβασίλευσε Φίλιππος ἔτη κ', ὅστις νικήσας ὑπέταξε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ κτίζει πόλιν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἦν ἐκάλεσε Θεσσαλονίκην, τὴν πρώην λεγομένην κώμην Θέρμας. Διονύσιος δὲ ἐξέθετο ὅτι εἰς ὄνομα βασιλίσσης μιᾶς τοῦ γένους Φιλίππου μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκλήθη Θεσσαλονίκη)

26 οὐκ ἐτυπώσατο V post corr.: ἐνετυπώσατο? a. corr. 39 an ἐπέσχον? 44 κάμνων scripsi: κάμνος V κατάρυσσος: hapax legomenon

δὴ καθὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ θαλάττης ἀρπαγέντας φασὶν ἐς κῦμα τὴν πνοὴν ἐρρεύγεσθαι μέλλοντας τῆς πέτρας εὐρεθείσης ποθὲν καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ἐνδράττεσθαι· καὶ δὴ τυχὸν ἀνασώζεσθαι, οὕτω παρῆν ἡ πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ στερέμνιος πρόβολος·  
 50 καὶ ὁ καμῶν αὐτῆς ἀμφοδράττετο. καὶ εἴ τι που μὴ ψεῦδος ἦν τὸ περὶ Ὀδυσσεᾶ ποτὲ, ὃς ἀμβροσίῳ κρηδέμνῳ ἐμβυθίῳ ἐπιτυχῶν ἐπὰν ῥοθίοις ὕφαλος ἀνεπάλαιε· καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνον τανύσας ἐς γῆν σωτήριον ἀνεπέμπετο· ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὁ πατριάρχης τῷ ἀγχομένῳ ἦν αὐτίκα ἐνστέριος· ἐν μέσαις πλημμυρίσι θανατηραῖς κλωστήρ τι[ς] ἄρρηκτος ἄντικρυς πλειόνων αὐτῷ ἡμερῶν ἐξ ἐντυχίας μόνης  
 55 ἐπικλώθων συνέχειαν.

Πῶς ἂν προαγάγῃ ὁ λόγος εἰς ἔκπληξιν ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰς ἔκθεσιν ἢ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου διδασκαλίαν· ἢ τὴν ἐτοιμίην τοῦ ἀνακειμένου πειθῶ· ἢ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἐκτροπήν· ἢ τὴν τῆς ὑγείας προσέλευσιν. ὁ μὲν, αὐτίκα τὸν θαυμαστὸν εἰσήγεν ἀνθρωποκόμον τὸν ἔλεον· καὶ τῷ ἀνακειμένῳ τοῦτον ἐκ διδαχῆς ἀνεγνώριζεν· ὁ δὲ, τῆς ἀνθρωποκομίας ταύτης ἀνεμνήσκετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης τὴν γλώτταν οἶα κλω[σ]τὴν εὐστροφον ἐκείνῳ ἐπέρριπτεν· ὁ δὲ, πρὸς ἔλεον πενήτων μᾶλλον ἠνοίγετο καὶ θάνατος ἀνετρέπετο· καὶ ἡ ῥαότης ἄλλοθεν ἀντεισήρχετο. καὶ ἦν ἀντιπερίστασις ἀτεχνῶς· τὸ γὰρ χρυσίον ὁ κάμων ἀποκενῶν, τὸν ἐξ ὑγείας ὄλβον ἀντεισεκόμιζε. τότε προφανῶς διττοὺς ἐπέγνωμεν μαχητὰς τὸν ἔλεον  
 60 καὶ τὸν θάνατον· οὓς ἐκ παραιφάσεως ἀγαθῆς ὁ πατριάρχης ὠτρυνε μάχεσθαι· καὶ ὑπεσκέλιζε τὸν θάνατον ἔλεος· τυκτὸν ἐκείνον κακὸν κατὰ τὸν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Ἄρην καὶ ἄλλοπρόσαλλον· ἐφόσον ἐκ παρηκοίας τὲ προσαρτητὸς ἐσκεύασται τὴν ἀρχὴν· καὶ ὅτιπερ ἐτέροις ἐξ ἐτέρων πελάζειν εἴωθεν ἀναλωτικός.

Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον· καὶ στήλῃ τίς τοῦ γεγονότος ἔμπνους ἐπανέστη καὶ  
 70 λαλητή, αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ὁ ἀναστάς τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐκτιθέμενος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἄγραφον παραίνεσιν ὑπετύπωσα· καὶ ἦν ἐκ λόγου πνεύσας μόνου κοινού ὁ μέγιστος καὶ προφορικοῦ, πνοὴν ζωῆς τῷ θνήσκοντι ἐπεισέπνευσε, δίκαιος ἂν εἶην λέγειν καὶ τὴν γραπτὴν· τὴν πρότριτα κατηχητικὴν· ἦν ὡσπερ πλάκα θεό-

49 ἡ πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας: cf. Matth. 16.18 (καγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς) 50-52 τὸ περὶ Ὀδυσσεᾶ – ἀνεπέμπετο: cf. Hom., *Od.* 5.346-347 (τῆ δέ, τόδε κρήδεμονον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τανύσσαι / ἄμβροτον· οὐδέ τί τοι παθεῖν δέος οὐδ' ἀπολέσθαι) 65 παραιφάσεως ἀγαθῆς: cf. Hom., *Il.* 11.793, 15.404 (ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἐταίρου) 66-67 τυκτὸν – ἄλλοπρόσαλλον: cf. Hom., *Il.* 5. 830-831 (τύψον δὲ σχεδίην μῆδ' ἄζοο θεοῦρον Ἄρηα / τοῦτον μαινόμενον, τυκτὸν κακόν, ἄλλοπρόσαλλον) 69 στήλῃ – ἔμπνους: cf., e.g., Greg. Nyss., *In sanctum Ephraim*, PG 46, 821C7-9 (πατρὸς τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀναγράφοντες, καὶ οἶον εἰς στήλῃν ἔμπνουν καὶ ζῶσαν τὸν ἐκείνου βίον ἡμῖν ἀνεγείροντες) et AHG Oct. 18, can. 23, ode 9.12 (ἔμπνουν ὡσπερ στήλῃν εἰς αἰεὶ διαμένουσιν) 72 πνοὴν ζωῆς ἐπεισέπνευσε: cf. Gen. 2.7 (καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς)

47 ἐρρεύγεσθαι: sic V pro ἐρεύγεσθαι 51 an ἀντεπάλαιε? 52 στέρνου V 73 πρότριτα V



75 γραφον χριστιανοῖς εὐτύπων ἀνεγράψατο. ἀνέρχομαι δὴ καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ μικρὸν  
 θαυμάσαι ταύτης τὸ προφαινόμενον· τὴν λέξιν· τὴν συνθήκην· τὴν ἀλλαγὴν·  
 καθάπερ ὅταν δέσποινα μεγαλοπρεπῆς· καὶ πλάσιν παρεστήσατο εὐρυθμον·  
 καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέσιν [ ...

University of Ioannina

#### ABSTRACT

The article is concerned with a hitherto unidentified fragment of Nikephoros Chrysoberges' encomium of the patriarch John X Kamateros. The fragment is transmitted on f. 146rv of the codex *Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 321* (13th century), which also preserves the rest of the encomium (ff. 246r-253v); f. 146rv should be placed between ff. 249v-250r, thus filling a *lacuna* in the text, already indicated by its editors. In terms of content, the fragment under consideration offers some interesting information regarding the person of a metropolitan of Thessaloniki, who held this office during Kamateros' patriarchate, in all probability Constantine Mesopotamites.

