



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Seminar on Editing Byzantine Texts

London 2020

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Acknowledgements

Last year we celebrated the 35th Anniversary of the University of London postgraduate working Seminar on Editing Byzantine Texts with a reunion at Royal Holloway, University of London, Bedford Room, 11 Bedford Square, on 29 March 2019. This gave the opportunity for old and new members to meet, discuss and reflect on its past, present and future.

Founded in 1984 by three fellow Byzantinists based at Heythrop College and Royal Holloway College, this scholarly gathering has since been the focus of postgraduate students, teachers and scholars who are members of various University of London Colleges and Institutes, as well as of visiting and corresponding students and scholars from other cities and countries sharing an interest in Byzantine literature and Greek palaeography. The principal aim is to offer MA and research students and scholars the opportunity to learn and explore in practice methods, techniques and approaches in editing, translating and annotating mediaeval Greek texts from manuscripts, so essential for an in-depth study and appreciation of Byzantine history, thought, literature, and culture. Of no lesser significance is the function of the Seminar as a working space where young students and seasoned scholars meet and work closely together for a common purpose, exchanging views, ideas, information, knowledge and experience in a spirit of freedom, collegiality and friendship. This creates a warm atmosphere embracing and fostering a feeling of belonging to 'the brotherhood of scholars' as our co-founder, the late Julian Chrysostomides stressed.

It is the same spirit and tradition of the old 'federal' University of London (still present in terms of teaching in a number of 'intercollegiate' programmes, among which the MA in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies) that the Seminar has been preserving and promoting across Colleges and Institutes of the University of London today, including Birkbeck, Heythrop (now sadly closed), King's (KCL), Royal Holloway (RHUL), University College (UCL), Institute of Classical Studies (ICS) and last but not least the Warburg Institute and the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), who have been hosting our Seminar meetings for the major part of its life. To the staff and librarians of these Colleges and Institutes we express our warmest thanks for our long and fruitful cooperation. To RHUL we owe a particular debt. From the beginning of its life the Seminar has been organised and conducted under the auspices of its History Department, while since Autumn 1998 this responsibility has been undertaken by staff of the Hellenic Institute, based in the same Department.

Over the last three-and-a-half decades a large number of students and scholars have been contributing to the life and work of the Seminar. Their names and affiliations appear below (pp. 9-11). Some of them have now departed. It is to their loving memory that this booklet is dedicated as a token of gratitude for their contribution to, and love for, true scholarship. We hope that our Seminar will continue its life in the future, preparing the new generation of scholars and teachers.

Charalambos Dendrinos

The Seminar on Editing Byzantine texts (1984-2019)

The University of London Seminar on Editing Byzantine texts was established in Autumn 1984 through a happy coincidence that brought together three Byzantinists working in London. A year earlier, the [Dr Joseph A. Munitiz](#), had returned from the Catholic University of Louvain – having served there for many years as both as founder member of the team that launched the Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (CCSG) in 1976 and contributor to the same Series – to take up an administrative post at Heythrop College in London along with the editorship of *The Heythrop Journal*. [Miss Julian Chrysostomides](#) (†18.X.2018) and [Dr Athanasios Angelou](#), both based at Royal Holloway College, were just launching a seminar, initially with the aim of reading Byzantine literary works. The text they selected was no other than Nikephoros Blemmydes' fascinating *Autobiography*, a new edition of which had just been published by Dr Munitiz in CCSG.¹ Successful contact and arrangements were made and a group of students and scholars headed by our three Byzantinists soon gathered to read and discuss a translation of Blemmydes' *Autobiography*, then in preparation by Dr Munitiz to complement his edition of the Greek text. This translation was completed in 1986 and was published as a separate volume two years later.²

For the next decade the Seminar worked indefatigably preparing a new annotated critical edition and translation of another important text of the second phase of iconoclasm, *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos*. This was suggested by the eminent art historian Dr Christopher Walter (†2014), who contributed to this endeavour by correspondence from the Centre d'études byzantines des Pères Assomptionnistes, which he directed in Athens. In 1989 Dr Munitiz was appointed Master of Campion Hall in Oxford where he remained for the next nine years until his retirement, while the same year Dr Athanasios Angelou returned to Greece to take up his post as Assistant Professor of Byzantine Literature at the University of Ioannina. At the latter's invitation, the Seminar was re-convened on the island of Aegina for a week in July 1990. Dr Munitiz, Dr Walter, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, John Davis, Prof. Micael Kordosis, Maria Kouli, Diana Maynard, and Charalambos Dendrinos took part in this idyllic scholarly symposium, discussing various textual, palaeographical and iconographical aspects of *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs* in the comfort of Professor Angelou's country house, interrupted by regular delicious meals and fine wine while enjoying the view of the adjacent picturesque Aeginitan pistachio grove. In summer 1991 Charalambos Dendrinos visited Mount Athos to examine closer two extant codices of *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs* preserved in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi. More work on the translation and annotation of the text continued by the members of the Seminar under Julian Chrysostomides' directorship. After the completion of the work at the Seminar in 1995 four of its core members undertook to see the critical edition and annotated translation to the printer until its publication in 1997.³ The volume was launched with a Colloquium on the Second Phase of Iconoclasm co-organised by Eirene Harvalia-Crook and Dr Charalambos Dendrinos (RHUL Hellenic Institute) and Prof. Judith Herrin (KCL Centre for Hellenic Studies) at KCL, Strand Building in April 1998, in the presence of a large audience of students and

¹ J. A. Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae necnon Epistula Universalior*, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 13 (Turnhout and Louvain, 1984).

² J. A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, «A Partial Account»*. Introduction, Translation and Notes, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et documents, 48 (Louvain, 1988).

³ J.A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinos eds., *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts* (Porphyrogenitus: Camberley, 1997).

scholars including the co-editors, contributors and members of the Seminar, and Dr Heinz Gauer, editor of the German edition of *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*.¹

It was essentially in this period (1987-1997) that the Seminar developed into a working Seminar on editing Byzantine texts from manuscripts (MSS), joined by MA and doctoral students and scholars conducting research in the field of Greek palaeography and Byzantine literature, theology, history and art in various Colleges and Institutes of the University of London as well as scholars from other cities and countries residing or visiting London. Since then the Seminar follows similar procedure and methodology in the editorial work, only now making full use of electronic resources available.²

The early meetings of the Seminar coincided with the merging in 1985 of Royal Holloway College with Bedford College, to become 'Royal Holloway and Bedford New College' (RHBNC), under which name it still appears in official documents. This made possible for the Seminar to hold its meetings in a spacious classroom in the old Bedford College building and new RHBNC precinct in 11 Bedford Square in London. Originally, the Seminar used to meet in the Autumn and Spring terms usually on Thursdays or Fridays afternoon, 3-5pm or 4-6pm, depending on room availability. Later on, with the end of the 'federal' system and additional pressures on student coursework and staff workload brought about by the independent administrations of each of the University of London Colleges and Institutes (from 2000 onwards), it was decided that the Seminar should meet only in the Spring term. This proved a wise decision for it allowed MA students to prepare themselves better in both Greek language and palaeography by attending classes offered on an intercollegiate basis in the Autumn term.

For many years different members of the Seminar used to undertake the responsibility to carry the heavy volumes of Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* and the Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* to the Seminar meetings as they were, and still remain, indispensable for our research. Though now they can also be consulted electronically in the classroom, they are still there in their physical copies offering us a sense of tradition and permanence. Occasionally, Seminar meetings were followed by visits to pubs by the younger members. Another custom firmly observed over the decades is the farewell Seminar Dinner following our last session in late March, marking the end of the annual Seminar meetings and of the academic term. For some years the restaurant hosting the Dinner was the *Amalfi* in Russell Square, until Julian Chrysostomides discovered that it was using products from the occupied land of Northern Cyprus and hence our move to the sister Italian restaurant *Il Fornello* nearby. It is in the latter's hospitable atmosphere that many questions and problems over Byzantine texts and translations, as well as other academic matters, have been, and are being, discussed between Italian wine and *pasta al salmone*, admittedly without always finding satisfactory answers.

Early Members of the Seminar include (in alphabetical order) Chrysa Alvanou-Nandris (†2015) (RHUL), Elena Angelides (RHUL), John Davis (KCL), Charalambos Dendrinis (RHUL), Jonathan Harris (RHUL), Eirene Harvalia-Crook (Hellenic College, London), Katrina Kavan (Courtauld Institute), Maria Kalatzi (RHUL), Maria Kouli (RHUL), Diana Maynard (KCL), Andreas Meitanis (KCL/RHUL), Andreas Pelendrides (RHUL), Marios Pilavakis (RHUL), Ruth Webb (Warburg Institute), and the late Christopher Walter. In 2000, at the invitation of Miss Julian

¹ Heinz Gauer, *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten*, Studien und Texte der Byzantinistik 1 (Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 1994).

² For details see below, pp. 13 ff.

Chrysostomides, Dr Charalambos Dendrinios undertook to co-direct the Seminar. Following Julian Chrysostomides' passing away in October 2008, at Dr Dendrinios' invitation the Seminar is co-directed with Dr Christopher Wright.

Meanwhile, old and new members have presented and discussed their work at the Seminar. Annaclara Cataldi Palau offered for inspection and discussion her draft edition of the then unpublished *Sacred Arsenal* by Andronikos Kamateros, which she published in 1993.¹ Charalambos Dendrinios presented in 1996/97 two autograph works *On the Circumcision of the Lord* by the fifteenth-century Latinophile scholar and teacher Manuel Calecas, which remain unpublished. Anne Alwis re-worked a group of hagiographical texts from MSS in the Franzoniana Biblioteca discussed at the Seminar, which she included in her PhD thesis (2001).² From his new base in Birmingham Dr Munitiz re-visited the Seminar and presented part of the new edition of Anastasios of Sinai, *Questions & Answers* (initially started by Marcel Richard) and a translation he was preparing, which were later published as separate volumes (2006, 2011).³

In 1997 Professor Costas Constantinides suggested that the Seminar should undertake the challenging task of preparing a new annotated critical edition and translation of the *Correspondence of George of Cyprus* (Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II, 1283-89) (see details in next section). Since then the Seminar continues its work on this important collection of letters. An International Colloquium on *George of Cyprus and his World*, was held at The Hellenic Centre in London on 18 October 2012. Dedicated to the memory of Constantine Leventis (1938-2002) and Julian Chrysostomides (1928-2008), the event was co-organised by RHUL Hellenic Institute, The Hellenic Centre, the Postgraduate Programme of Mediaeval Studies, University of Ioannina, and the Society of Cypriot Studies, and sponsored by The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus, the A. G. Leventis Foundation, The Hellenic Centre, Mr and Mrs Nicholas Egon, and RHUL Hellenic Institute, History Department, and Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The Colloquium opened with Dr Munitiz's reflections on the history, achievements, and prospect of the Seminar, highlighting the ecumenical aspect and deeper meaning of George of Cyprus' work. Several speakers then presented papers that covered various aspects of his life, work and personality: Prof. Costas N. Constantinides (University of Ioannina): "Sailing to Byzantium: the life and career of George of Cyprus", Prof. Aristeides Papadakis (University of Maryland): "George of Cyprus as a theologian", Dr Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), "George of Cyprus and Aelius Aristides: some Considerations on their Works and their Transmission", Prof. Sofia Kotzabassi (University of Thessalonike): "George of Cyprus as a scribe and bibliophile" (*in absentia* the paper was read by Dr Andreas Meitanis), and Dr Charalampos Chotzakoglou (Hellenic Open University): "Art in the era of George of Cyprus". The Colloquium closed with Dr Christopher Wright (RHUL) presenting the Seminar's plans "Towards an electronic annotated edition and translation of George of Cyprus' Correspondence", and Dr Andreas Pelendrides re-reading Julian Chrysostomides' paper on "George of Cyprus: Self-portrait of a Scholar", originally delivered at the Colloquium *Celebrating Cyprus* organized jointly by the Society for the Promotion of

¹ Annaclara Cataldi Palau, 'L'*Arsenale Sacro* di Andronico Camatero. Il proemio ed il dialogo dell'imperatore con i cardinali latini: originale, imitazioni, arrangiamenti', *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), 5-62.

² Anne P. Alwis, *The Celibate Marriages of Saints and Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (PhD thesis, King's College London, 2001); eadem, *Celibate Marriages in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: The Lives of SS. Julian & Basilissa, Andronikos & Athanasia and Galaktion & Episteme* (London, 2011).

³ M. Richard and J. A. Munitiz eds., *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*, CCSG 59 (Turnhout, 2006); J. A. Munitiz, *Anastasios of Sinai, Questions and Answers*, Corpus Christianorum in Translation 7 (Turnhout, 2011)

Hellenic Studies and ICS in memory of Constantine Leventis held in Senate House, University of London in November 2004. In her hitherto unpublished paper Julian Chrysostomides explored George of Cyprus' life, character and personality, reflecting on his achievements and disappointments, his humour, his compassion and determination, and his tenacity in the face of extreme adversity. This last aspect inspired Julian Chrysostomides in establishing the *George of Cyprus Bursaries*, generously funded since 2003 by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus, to support postgraduate students of RHUL Hellenic Institute.

Every year the Seminar resumes its normal meetings during the Spring term in February and March on Fridays. The meetings are currently held in Senate House, University of London, Room 103, Malet St, London WC1E 7HU, at 3-5pm. Scholars and graduate students who are interested in Byzantine texts and MSS are most welcome to participate. It is the hope of all members of the Seminar that it will continue its life and tradition, guarding the principles and ideals of its founders.

Charalambos Dendrinou

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 Konstantinos Palaiologos (RHUL)
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 Spyridon Panagopoulos (Patras)
 Theodora Panella (Birmingham)
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George of Cyprus

George of Cyprus, later the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II, was born on Cyprus around 1241. Since only an elementary Greek education was available there, he studied in the Latin archiepiscopal school in Nikosia, before leaving the island in 1259 to seek a higher education. After failing to become a pupil of Nikephoros Blemmydes in Ephesos, he studied in Nicaea for a time, before becoming a student of George Akropolites in Constantinople during the 1260s. From the mid-1270s he became a teacher himself, instructing students including Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Mouzalon, John Glykys and Manuel Neokaisareites. He entered the clergy of the imperial chapel, and became an advisor of Michael VIII. He was a nominal supporter of the Emperor's negotiations with the West for a Union of the Churches, and was commissioned, along with Manuel Holobolos and Constantine Melitiniotes, to draw up arguments in favour of Union. However, on Michael's death and the reversal of his Union policy by Andronikos II, George was able to distance himself from the former policy. On 11 April 1283 he was raised to the patriarchate, following the death of the Patriarch Joseph, as a compromise candidate amidst the controversies over the Union issue and the strife between the Arsenite and Josephite factions. He presided over the completion of the process of expunging the Union of Lyons and removing its clerical supporters from office. Relations with the Arsenites broke down over the decision to recognise Joseph as a saint, and a bid for reconciliation ended in acrimony at the Council of Adramyttion in 1284. Continued agitation by pro-Unionists against their exclusion led to the Council of Blachernai in 1285, at which the Filioque was debated and a formulation of the Orthodox position on the Procession of the Holy Spirit was issued in the concluding Tomos of the council, drafted by George. The theology of this text aroused fresh controversy, whose escalation led eventually to the Patriarch's resignation in 1289. He died in Constantinople in 1290. He played a prominent part in the intellectual revival of the late thirteenth century, as his correspondence, proverb collection, enkomia, declamations, and Lives of the saints indicate. His Autobiography, possibly inspired by the autobiographical reflections of Nikephoros Blemmydes, is a brief yet precious account of the cultural and "academic" background of his youth in Nicaea and Constantinople.¹

Christopher Wright

¹ See in general C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia, 1982); A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (New York, 1983); idem, 'Gregory II of Cyprus', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed.-in-chief A.P. Kazhdan, vol. II (Oxford, 1991), pp. 876-877.

A new annotated edition and translation of the *Letters* of George of Cyprus

Since 1998 the London University Postgraduate Working Seminar on Editing Byzantine Texts has been preparing a new annotated edition and translation of George of Cyprus' *Letters* to replace the 1908 edition by Sophronios Eustratiades. Each member, or group of members, in turn prepares draft transcriptions and a draft edition and translation of one long *Letter* or several short *Letters* at a time, on the basis of the two principal MSS: *Mutinensis graecus* 82 (= M) and *Vaticanus graecus* 1085 (= V). The material prepared by the member comprise:

1. Separate transcriptions of the *Letter/s* in M and V accompanied by an *apparatus criticus*
2. Edition of the *Letter/s* accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* and an *apparatus fontium*
3. Translation of the *Letter/s*
4. Commentary on the *Letter/s* providing prosopographical and topographical information contained therein, possible date and circumstances of the composition of the *Letter/s*

This material is presented to the Seminar to be scrutinized, verified and discussed in detail. The edition and translation of each *Letter* is then approved by the members usually, though not always, in unanimity. Particular emphasis is placed on the palaeographical examination of the text, including punctuation. Guidelines on the editorial methods adopted at the Seminar are given in a separate section below, pp. 49 ff.

So far over fifty letters have been edited, translated and annotated:

Letter	Addressee	PLP	Initiating editor/translator
1.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
2.	To the Logothete tōn genikōn <Konstantinos?> Akropolites	520	Charalambos Dendrinos
3.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites	7959	Chrisi Kotsyfou
4.	To the same	7959	Anne Alwis
5.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	17856	Anne Alwis
6.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
7.	The Thessalonian <Demetrios> Beaskos	2541	Andreas Pelendrides
8.	The hypertimos Ioannes Mystikos		Andreas Pelendrides
9.	Metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac	8253	Andreas Pelendrides
10.	Xiphilinos	20940	Rupert Smith
11.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Julian Chrysostomides & Charalambos Dendrinos
12.	Ioannes Theognostos iatros	7081	David Bennet
13.	<Ioannes> Theognostos iatros	7081	David Bennet
14.	The Chartophylax of Thessalonike <Ioannes> Stavrakios	26708	Julian Chrysostomides
15.	<Ioannes>Theognostos iatros	7081	David Bennet
16.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Andreas Pelendrides
17.	To the same	20094	Laura Franco
18.	To the same	20094	Christopher Wright
19.	To the same	20094	Christopher Wright
20.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	26708	Eirene Harvalia-Crook

21.	To the same	26708	Julian Chrysostomides
22.	To the same	26708	Julian Chrysostomides
23.	To the same	26708	Andreas Pelendrides
24.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
25.	To the same	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
26.	To the same	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
27.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	17856	Rupert Smith
28.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	26708	Vasos Pasiourtides & Christina Kakkoura
29.	Athanasios Chatzykes	30722	Maria-Christina Campbell
30.	Skoutariotes	26186; cf. 26214	Chrisi Kotsyfou
31.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Eirene Harvalia-Crook
32.	To the same	20094	Eirene Varella & Christina Chartomatzidou
33.	To the same	20094	Andreas Pelendrides
34.	To the same	20094	Andreas Pelendrides
35.	The Chartophylax of Ohrid <Ioannes Pothos> Pediasimos	22235	Fevronia Nousia & Petroula Kostofska
36.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Maria Kalli
37.	Bishop of Priene		Laura Franco
38.	The Logothete tōn genikōn <Konstantinos> Akropolites	520	Charalambos Dendrinis
39.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Julian Chrysostomides & Charalambos Dendrinis
40.	To someone among the disciples		Julian Chrysostomides & Charalambos Dendrinis
41.	To the same		
42.	Nikephoros Choumnos the koaistor	30961	Andreas Pelendrides
43.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Panagiotis Fragkiadakis
44.	To the same	20094	Eirene Kasapi & Panayiotis Tofis
45.	To the same	20094	George Savides & Grigorios Grigoriou
46.	To the same	20094	
47.	Deacon Kallistos	10446	Spyridon Panagopoulos
48.	To himself as if from another		James Holt & Michail Konstantinou Rizos
49.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Spyridon Panagopoulos
50.	To himself as if from another		James Holt & Michail Konstantinou Rizos
51.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	20094	Christopher Budleigh
52.	To the Logothete of the herds Pepagomenos	22350	Elliot Mason
53.	The Grand Logothete	518	Tristan Burt

	<Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalou?> to the Patriarch		
54.	To the Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalou?>	518	Charalambos Dendrinos
55.	To the same	518	Tristan Burt
169.	To the Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	520	Charalambos Dendrinos

George of Cyprus and his correspondents

Below is a list of George's correspondents compiled by Eustratiades (numbers of *Letters* correspond to his edition):

1. Emperor **Andronikos II Palaiologos** (*PLP* 21436). In these letters George describes the critical political and ecclesiastical situation: **132, 133, 134, 137, 138, 142, 143, 146**.
2. Sevastokrator **John Palaiologos**, brother of Andronikos III [**John Palaiologos brother of Michael VIII? John I Komnenos Doukas of Thessaly? Ioannes Tornikes?**] (George reprimands him for breaking his oath with his brother and allying with the Serbian king against him): **131**.
3. **Theodora Raoulaina** (*PLP* 10943), daughter of John Kantakouzenos, niece of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, and wife of (second husband) Ioannes Raoul. She was a devoted friend and supporter of George: **187, 188, 189**.
4. Grand Logothete and protovestiaris **Theodore Mouzalon** (*PLP* 10439), student of George **54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 109, 112, 115, 117, 118, 120, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 149, 150, 151, 183, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185**. George included the following Letters sent to him by Mouzalon: **53, 116, 118, 156**. Cf. **36** (on the composition by Mouzalon of an Oration on St Theodore).
5. Logothete *tōn genikōn* and Grand Logothete **George Akropolites** (*PLP* 518), teacher of George: **2, 38, 39, 111, 169**. Cf. **2, 196?** (on a Canon sent by George to Akropolites).
6. Metropolitan of Ephesos **Isaak** (*PLP* 8253): **9**.
7. Metropolitan of Ephesos **Ioannes Cheilas** (*PLP* 30764), student of George (but later turned against George): **178, 179**. Cf. **121**.
8. The Grand Archdeacon **Konstantinos Melitiniotes** (*PLP* 17856). In the beginning he was a close friend of George but then turned against him and defended Bekkos. He was subsequently deposed and confined in the Monastery of Kosmidion: **5, 27, 61, 72, 75, 88, 90, 97, 103, 110, 192, 193, 196**.
9. The monk **Athanasios Lependrenos** (*PLP* 14741). He accompanied Andronikos III in his campaign in Asia. Later he returned to CP and possibly turned against George: **147, 148**.
10. The monk **Theodosios of Kyzikos** (*PLP* 7172). Friend of George he resided in CP: **84, 85**.
11. The monk **Methodios** (later Metropolitan of Kyzikos) (*PLP* 17597). George sent him a book (with Demosthenes) in a terrible state and asked him to restore and bind it: **73, 100, 101**.
12. The monk **Agathon Koreses** (*PLP* 13174). George asked him to pray for his good health, as he is about to be treated by hydropisia and cathartics: **74, 89**.
13. The monk **Daniel Glykys** (later Metropolitan of Kyzikos) (*PLP* 4263): **126**, possibly the same person (monk of the Monastery of Ostreidion) in **121**.
14. The deacon **Kallistos** (*PLP* 10446): **47, 48**.
15. The **Bishop of Priene** (unknown and not mentioned in other sources): **37**.
16. The monk **Isaites** (possibly the hieromonk Job of the Monastery of Isaites) (*PLP* 7959): **3, 4, 71, 113**.
17. The physician **Ioannes Theognostos** (*PLP* 7081), friend and personal doctor of George: **12, 13, 15, 79, 83, 107, 114, 167**. In Letter **83** George asks him to teach their friend Agallon's son. Cf. Letter **37** (on a doctor who was previously a priest; possibly Theognostos?).
18. The *prōtasēkrētis* **Manuel Neokaisareites** (*PLP* 20094), George's student, who must have lived at another city, perhaps Neokaisareia: **1, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 62, 67, 68, 70, 87, 108, 194**.
19. The historian, scholar and teacher **George Pachymeres** (*PLP* 22186). He held the titles *hieromnēmōn*, *prōtekdikos* and *basilikos dikaiophylax*: **69, 105**. In Letter **69** George asks Pachymeres to clarify a work of his that he finds impossible to understand.

20. The deacon, *chartophylax* and scholar **Ioannes Stavrakios** (PLP 26708): **12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 76, 77, 82, 99, 108**. In Letter **99** George criticizes him for having characterised him as arrogant.
21. The chartophylax of Ochrid and *hypatos tōn philosophōn* **Ioannes Pediasimos** (PLP 22235): **35**. Ioannes recommended a certain Doukopolos to George, who needed to be instructed in philosophy. George responded by stating the disciplines which Ioannes is able to teach (in Bulgaria): grammar, poetics, rhetoric, syllogistics, and geometry.
22. The rhetor **Manuel Holobolos** (PLP 21047). He supported George against Bekkos. George, at Holobolos' request, forgives the Kyrizhnoi or Oxyrrizitai monks who associated themselves with Bekkos: **92, 96, 122**.
23. The Logothete of the *agelai* **Pepagomenos** (PLP 22350). Possibly identified with Nikolaos Pepagomenos, author of an encomion on St Martyr Isidore: **22**.
24. The scholar **Sapōnopoulos** (PLP 24840): **63, 64, 65, 80, 86**.
25. **Xiphilinos** (PLP 20940): **10, 81**.

The list below, which is updated as we proceed with the editing of *Letters*, indicates the addressees in **M, V, L** (Leiden B.P.G. 49) and **E** (Eustratiades):

No	M	No	V	No	L	No	E
1.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	1.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	1.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	1.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
2.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos?> Akropolites	2.	To the Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos?> Akropolites	2.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> Akropolites	2.	To the Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos?> Akropolites
3.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites	3.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites	3.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites	3.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites
4.	To the same	4.	To the same	4.	To the same	4.	To the same
5.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	5.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	5.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	5.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
6.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	6.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	6.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	6.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
7.	The Thessalonian Demetrios Beaskos	7.	The Thessalonian Demetrios Beaskos	7.	The Thessalonian <Demetrios> Beaskos	7.	The Thessalonian <Demetrios> Beaskos
8.	The <i>hypertimos</i> Ioannes Mystikos	8.	The <i>hypertimos</i> Ioannes Mystikos	8.	The <i>hypertimos</i> Ioannes Mystikos	8.	The <i>hypertimos</i> Ioannes Mystikos
9.	Metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac	9.	Metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac	9.	Metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac	9.	Metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac
10.	Xiphilinos	10.	Xiphilinos	10.	Xiphilinos	10.	Xiphilinos
11.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	11.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	11.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	11.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
12.	Ioannes Theognostos <i>iatros</i>	12.	Ioannes Theognostos <i>iatros</i>	12.	Ioannes Theognostos <i>iatros</i>	12.	Ioannes Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
13.	To the same	13.	To the same	13.	To the same	13.	<Ioannes> Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
14.	The Chartophylax of Thessalonike <Ioannes> Stavrakios	14.	The Chartophylax of Thessalonike <Ioannes> Stavrakios	14.	The Chartophylax of Thessalonike <Ioannes> Stavrakios	14.	The Chartophylax of Thessalonike <Ioannes> Stavrakios
15.	<Ioannes> Theognostos	15.	<Ioannes> Theognostos <i>iatros</i>	15.	<Ioannes> Theognostos	15.	<Ioannes>Theognosto s <i>iatros</i>
16.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	16.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	16.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	16.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
17.	To the same	17.	To the same	17.	To the same	17.	To the same
18.	To the same	18.	To the same	18.	To the same	18.	To the same
19.	To the same	19.	To the same	19.	To the same	19.	To the same
20.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	20.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	20.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	20.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios
21.	To the same	21.	To the same	21.	To the same	21.	To the same

22.	To the same	22.	To the same	22.	To the same	22.	To the same
23.	To the same	23.	To the same	23.	To the same	23.	To the same
24.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	24.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	24.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	24.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
25.	To the same	25.	To the same	25.	To the same	25.	To the same
26.	To the same	26.	To the same	26.	To the same	26.	To the same
27.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	27.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	27.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes	27.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
28.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	28.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	28.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios	28.	<Ioannes> Stavrakios
29.	Athanasios Chatzykes	29.	Athanasios Chatzykes	29.	Athanasios Chatzykes	29.	Athanasios Chatzykes
30.	Skoutariotes	30.	Skoutariotes	30.	Skoutariotes	30.	Skoutariotes
31.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	31.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	31.	The Protoasekretes <Manuel> Neokaisarites	31.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
32.	To the same	32.	To the same	32.	To the same Protoasekretes	32.	To the same
33.	To the same	33.	To the same	33.	To the same Protoasekretes	33.	To the same
34.	To the same	34.	To the same	34.	To the same	34.	To the same
35.	The Chartophylax of Ohrid <Ioannes Pothos> Pediasimos	35.	The Chartophylax of Ohrid <Ioannes Pothos> Pediasimos	35.	The Chartophylax of Ohrid <Ioannes Pothos> Pediasimos	35.	The Chartophylax of Ohrid <Ioannes Pothos> Pediasimos
36.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	36.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	36.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	36.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
37.	The Bishop of Priene	37.		37.	The Bishop of Priene	37.	Bishop of Priene
38.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	38.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	38.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	38.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites
39.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	39.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	39.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	39.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
40.	To one of his students	40.		40.	To one of his students	40.	To someone among the disciples
41.	To the same	41.		41.	To the same	41.	To the same
42.	The Quaestor Nikephoros Choumnos	42.	The Quaestor Nikephoros Choumnos	42.	The Quaestor Nikephoros Choumnos	42.	Nikephoros Choumnos the koaistor
43.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	43.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	43.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	43.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
44.	To the same	44.	To the same	44.	To the same	44.	To the same
45.	To the same	45.	To the same	45.	To the same	45.	To the same
46.	To the same	46.		46.	To the same	46.	To the same
47.	Deacon Kallistos	47.	Deacon Kallistos	47.	Deacon Kallistos	47.	Deacon Kallistos
48.	To himself as if from another	48.	To himself as if from another	48.	To himself as if from another	48.	To himself as if from another
49.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	49.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	49.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	49.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
50.	To himself as if from another	50.	To himself as if from another	50.	To himself as if from another	50.	To himself as if from another
51.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	51.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	51.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites	51.	<Manuel> Neokaisarites
52.	The Logothete of the Herds Pepagomenos	52.	The Logothete of the Herds Pepagomenos	52.	The Logothete of the Herds Pepagomenos	52.	To the Logothete of the herds Pepagomenos
53.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalón?>to the Patriarch	53.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalón?>to the Patriarch	53.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalón?> to the Patriarch	53.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalón?> to the Patriarch
54.	The Grand Logothete	54.	The Grand Logothete	54.	The Grand Logothete	54.	To the Grand Logothete

	<Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalon?>						
55.		55.		55.		55.	To the same
56.		56.		56.		56.	To the same
57.		57.		57.		57.	To <Manuel> Neokaisareites and <Nikephoros> Choumnos
58.		58.		58.		58.	To Skoutariotes
59.		59.		59.		59.	To <Manuel> Neokaisareites
60.		60.		60.		60.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites/Theodore Mouzalon?>
61.		61.		61.		61.	To the same
62.		62.		62.		62.	<Manuel> Neokaisareites
63.		63.		63.		63.	Saponopoulos
64.		64.		64.		64.	To the same
65.		65.		65.		65.	To the same
66.		66.		66.		66.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
67.		67.		67.		67.	<Manuel> Neokaisareites
68.		68.		68.		68.	To the same
69.		69.		69.		69.	<George> Pachymeres
70.		70.		70.		70.	<Manuel> Neokaisareites
71.		71.		71.		71.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites
72.		72.		72.		72.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
73.		73.		73.		73.	The monk kyr Methodios
74.		74.		74.		74.	The monk Agathon Koreses
75.		75.		75.		75.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
76.		76.		76.		76.	Stavrakios
77.		77.		77.		77.	To the same
78.		78.		78.		78.	George Marmaras
79.		79.		79.		79.	Ioannes Theognostos
80.		80.		80.		80.	Saponopoulos
81.		81.		81.		81.	Xiphilinos
82.		82.		82.		82.	Stavrakios
83.		83.		83.		83.	<Ioannes> Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
84.		84.		84.		84.	The monk Theodosios of Kyzikos
85.		85.		85.		85.	To the same
86.		86.		86.		86.	Saponopoulos
87.		87.		87.		87.	<Manuel> Neokaisareites
88.		88.		88.		88.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes

89.		89.		89.		89.	The monk Agathon Koreses and <Manuel> Neokaisareites
90.		90.		90.		90.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
91.		91.		91.		91.	<Theodore> Mouzalon and his other students
92.		92.		92.		92.	The rhetor <Manuel> Holobolos
93.		93.		93.		93.	The <i>Epi tōn Deeseon</i>
94.		94.		94.		94.	To the same
95.		95.		95.		95.	To the same
96.		96.		96.		96.	The rhetor <Manuel> Holobolos
97.		97.		97.		97.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
98.		98.		98.		98.	The <i>Epi tōn Deeseon</i>
99.		99.		99.		99.	Stavrakios
100.		100.		100.		100.	The monk Methodios
101.		101.		101.		101.	To the same
102.		102.		102.		102.	Ioannes Phakrases
103.		103.		103.		103.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
104.		104.		104.		104.	Doukaites
105.		105.		105.		105.	<George> Pachymeres
106.		106.		106.		106.	Stavrakios
107.		107.		107.		107.	<Ioannes> Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
108.		108.		108.		108.	The <i>protoasekretes</i> <Manuel> Neokaisareites
109.		109.		109.		109.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites>
110.		110.		110.		110.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
111.		111.		111.		111.	The Grand Logothete <i>kyr</i> Georgios Akropolites
112.		112.		112.		112.	The Grand Logothete <Georgios Akropolites>
113.		113.		113.		113.	The monk <Iob Melias> Iasites
114.		114.		114.		114.	<i>Kyr</i> Ioannes Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
115.		115.		115.		115.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
116.		116.		116.		116.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon> to the Patriarch
117.		117.		117.		117.	The Patriarch to the same
118.		118.		118.		118.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon> to the Patriarch

119.		119		119		119.	The Patriarch to the same
120.		120		120		120.	To the same
121.		121		121		121.	The monks of the Ostraidion Ioannes Cheilas and Daniel
122.		122		122		122.	The rhetor <Manuel> Holobolos
123.		123		123		123.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
124.		124		124		124.	To the same
125.		125		125		125.	To the same
126.		126		126		126.	The monk Daniel Glykys
127.		127		127		127.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
128.		128		128		128.	To the same
129.		129		129		129.	To the same
130.		130		130		130.	To the same
131.		131		131		131.	The Sevastokrator <i>kyr</i> Ioannes
132.		132		132		132.	The Emperor <i>kyr</i> Andronikos <II> Palaiologos
133.		133		133		133.	To the same
134.		134		134		134.	To the same
135.		135		135		135.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
136.		136		136		136.	To the same
137.		137		137		137.	The Emperor <Andronikos II Palaiologos>
138.		138		138		138.	To the same
139.		139		139		139.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
140.		140		140		140.	To the same
141.		141		141		141.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
142.		142		142		142.	The Emperor <Andronikos II Palaiologos>
143.		143		143		143.	To the same
144.		144		144		144.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
145.		145		145		145.	To the same
146.		146		146		146.	The Emperor <Andronikos II Palaiologos>
147.		147		147		147.	The monk Athanasios Lependrinos
148.		148		148		148.	To the same
149.		149		149		149.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>

150.		150		150		150.	To the same
151.		151		151		151.	To the same
152.		152		152		152.	To the monk [not stated]
153.		153		153		153.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
154.		154		154		154.	To the same
155.		155		155		155.	To the same
156.		156		156		156.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>to the Patriarch
157.		157		157		157.	The Patriarch to the same
158.		158		158		158.	The Protovestiaros <Theodore Mouzalon> and his sister
159.		159		159		159.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
160.		160		160		160.	To the same
161.		161		161		161.	The Protosevastos and Protovestiaros <Theodore Mouzalon>
162.		162		162		162.	To the same
163.		163		163		163.	To the same
164.		164		164		164.	To the same
165.		165		165		165.	To the same
166.		166		166		166.	To the same
167.		167		167		167.	<Ioannes> Theognostos <i>iatros</i>
168.		168		168		168.	The Protovestiaros <Theodore Mouzalon>
169.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	169	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites	169		169.	The Logothete <i>tōn genikōn</i> <Konstantinos> Akropolites
170.		170		170		170.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
171.		171		171		171.	To a learned monk
172.		172		172		172.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
173.		173		173		173.	To the same
174.		174		174		174.	To the same
175.		175		175		175.	To the same
176.		176		176		176.	<Ioannes> Cheilas
177.		177		177		177.	To the same [<i>sic</i>] Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
178.		178		178		178.	The Metropolitan of Ephesos <Ioannes Cheilas>
179.		179		179		179.	To the same

180.		180		180		180.	The Grand Logothete <Theodore Mouzalon>
181.		181		181		181.	To the same
182.		182		182		182.	To the same
183.		183		183		183.	The Protovestiarios <Theodore Mouzalon>
184.		184		184		184.	To the same
185.		185		185		185.	To the same
186.		186		186		186.	The Protovestiarios <Theodore Mouzalon> to the Patriarch
187.		187		187		187.	<Theodora> Raoulaina
188.		188		188		188.	To the same
189.		189		189		189.	To the same
190.		190		190		190.	"From the Patriarch"
191.		191		191		191.	To an archbishop
192.		192		192		192.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
193.		193		193		193.	To the same
194.		194		194		194.	<Manuel> Neokaisareites
195.		195		195		195.	To one of his students
196.		196		196		196.	[No addressee stated]
197.		197		197		197.	<Konstantinos> Meliteniotes
198.		198		198		198.	
199.		199		199		199.	
200.		200		200		200.	
201.		201		201		201.	
202.		202		202		202.	
203.		203		203		203.	
204.		204		204		204.	
205.		205		205		205.	
206.		206		206		206.	
207.		207		207		207.	
208.		208		208		208.	
209.		209		209		209.	
210.		210		210		210.	
211.		211		211		211.	
212.		212		212		212.	
213.		213		213		213.	
214.		214		214		214.	
215.		215		215		215.	

The manuscript tradition

The fullest account of the manuscript tradition of George of Cyprus' (Patriarch Gregory II's) *Letters* is that by the Belgian scholar William Lameere (1904-82), in his *La tradition manuscrite de la Correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, Patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)* (Brussels-Rome, 1937).¹ According to an exchange of letters between George and Theodore Mouzalon, George initiated the collection himself, probably after becoming patriarch.² In this exchange, in which he asked Mouzalon to return any in his possession, George explained that he had been reassembling his letters, selecting only those worth preserving with suitable editing and having these copied for posterity.³ According to Mouzalon's reply, this was to be part of a larger collection of George's literary works ('συγγράμματα').⁴ It is unclear to what extent this project was realised during George's lifetime. No exemplar of such a larger collection has so far been identified.⁵

Leaving aside two lost manuscripts, **Turin, B. VI. 48** and **Escorial, B. IV. 24**, destroyed by fire in 1671 and 1904, Lameere ranked **Modena, gr. 82, α. R. 6. 19 ('M')** and **Vat. gr. 1085 ('V')** as the main witnesses in terms of age and scope, transmitting 215 and 225, respectively, of George's 242 known letters, in combination 229 different letters. In each case a new heading appears after the first 114 letters marking the rest as ones issued during his patriarchate.⁶ With few exceptions the two manuscripts follow an identical sequence until the later stages where **V's** final fifty-two letters follow a very different order. These include thirteen letters not transmitted by **M**, ten of which are addressed to Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina.⁷ Based on shared readings in the first 158 letters, Lameere judged the two manuscripts, despite their differences, to depend, for the most part, on a common archetype, probably one of several containing the original collection as completed after George's death under the direction of members of his circle such as Nikephoros Choumnos or Theodora Raoulaina.⁸

¹ On the formation and transmission of Palaiologan letter-collections more generally see further reading below, p. 31.

² Lameere Nos. 168-70 (Eustratiades Nos. 155-7) - around mid-way through those headed in the main witnesses as dating from George's patriarchate.

³ 'ἐπιστολάς τὰς ἑμαυτοῦ, ἄλλοθεν ἄλλην ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὦ συλλέγων, καλλιγραφεῖν δίδωμι, βουλόμενος αὐτὰς εἰς πικτίον (V: πικτίον) ἔχειν ἀθρόας, ... τὰς μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλας συνηθροικῆναι μοι δοκῶ σχεδὸν πάσας καὶ τῷ γραφεῖ δεδωκῆναι, ἐκείνας μὲντοι μόνας οὐ συντεταχέναι ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὄσαις ἀπολυθῆναι πρὸς σὲ τὴν σοφωτάτην ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκε κεφαλὴν'. Lameere No. 168 (M 135^v: ll. 14-16, 24-5, 136^r: ll. 1-4; V 243^r: ll. 9-10, 14-17); 'καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσεις πέμψας, βελτίους δε ἀμωσγέπως αὐτὰς ἀπολήψη, ἐπελθόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπισκεψαμένου, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσι τῶν πλημμελημάτων εἰς δύναμιν βεβοηθηκότος.' Lameere No. 168 (M 136^r: ll. 15-19; V 243^r: 22-4). 'ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἐγὼ τὰς πάσας τῶν ἐπιστολῶν χάρταις ἐναπογραψάμενος, διαμένειν εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα βίον ἀφείναι, ὡς δὴ τις λογικῆς καλλιτεχνίας ὑπόμνημα, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ αὐτὰς ἀξίας τοῦ περιεῖναι κατελιθῆα, ὡς μετριωτάτας ἀπολεξάμενος, ἐκβιάσας κἀν τούτῳ ναὶ μὴν καὶ τυραννήσας τὸν καταψηφισάμενον λογισμὸν, δίδωμι τῷ γραφεῖ ... ἐκ τῶν ἀπασῶν ὀλίγας μετεγγράψαι πεποικῶς, τὰς πάσας αὐθις σοὶ ὡς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις πέμπω συνηθροικῶς. ... ἀφάνισον τοῦ λοιποῦ τὰς πάσας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀμαθίας ἐμοὶ μείωσον ἔλεγχον.' Lameere No. 170 (M 137^v: ll. 4-11, 17-19, 21-3; V 243^v: ll. 28-33, 244^r: ll. 1-2,4)

⁴ 'ἐπίταττε συντάττειν αὐτὰς ταῖς λοιπαῖς τὸν τὴν θαυμασίαν γράφοντα βιβλὸν ἢ σου τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ σοφωτάτης ψυχῆς αὐτὰς τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συγγράμματα δέχεται,' Lameere No. 169 (M 136^v: ll. 22-6; V 243^v: ll. 8-10).

⁵ Lameere, p. 9. See also, however, Sofia Kotzabassi, 'Περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίου ὡς ἀπ' ἄλλου προσώπου. Παρατηρήσεις στὴν αὐτοβιογραφία τοῦ πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου Β' Κυπρίου', *Hellenika* 58 (2008), pp. 279-291 (p. 286) on the potential relevance in this context of **M's** thirty-four missing quires.

⁶ For doubts over the absolute reliability of this distinction, with particular reference to George's letters to Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina, see Kotzabassi, 'Zur Überlieferung von Briefcorpora in Palaiologenzeit' in C. Brockmann et al. (eds.), *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages* (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 232-3.

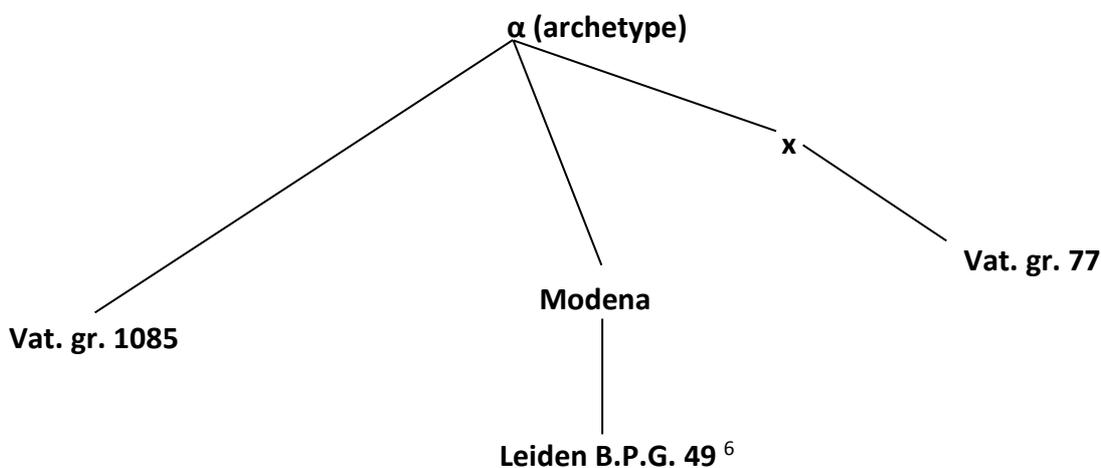
⁷ In total, **V** contains fourteen letters not found in **M**, its 113th letter (Lameere No. 117) differing from **M's** (Lameere No. 116).

⁸ Lameere, pp. 29-31, 37-8 and 156-8. On Raoulaina's possible involvement, see also Elisa Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82 (α. R. 6. 19) e le Lettere alla Principessa Teodora Raulena: un testimone 'speciale' nella tradizione dell'epistolario di Gregorio di Cipro (ca. 1240-1290)?', *Scripta*, 9 (2016), pp. 31-56.

Lameere picked out eleven other secondary manuscripts transmitting selections of letters ranging from 15 to 107 in number as valuable independent witnesses, both for the additional thirteen letters transmitted by them and for the quality of some of their variants.¹ The largest of these, **Vat. gr. 77**, shared certain peculiarities with the two main witnesses, suggesting to him that it might also depend, directly or indirectly, on the same archetype.²

Although the overall sequencing of letters in these selections diverges greatly from the ordering of the main witnesses, there are enough sub-sequences of similar ordering within several of them to suggest some degree of dependence on a similar archetype.³ Two also include headings characterizing selections as taken from a pre-patriarchal or patriarchal sub-collection.⁴

In general, the evidence available was insufficient for Lameere to determine the interrelationships of these manuscripts to any great extent or go beyond the following rudimentary *stemma* for the main manuscript group:⁵



The following section identifies all manuscripts from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries through which George's literary letters are known to have been transmitted.⁷ Those judged by Lameere to be of most value for the establishment of the text are shown in bold. Those judged by him to derive, directly or indirectly, from others and to be eliminable as independent witnesses, are shown in reduced italics (with the additional sign **(M)** in the case of those derived from the **Modena**). Those preceded by an asterisk are lost. Four others not mentioned by

¹ The divergence between Lameere's numbering and those of M, V and the Eustratiades edition (*Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος Α'-Ε'* (1908-1910) mainly reflects Lameere's positioning of these additional letters within the collection based on his assessment of their relative chronology. For a concordance, see Lameere, pp. 215-18.

² Lameere, pp. 60-1. Lameere, however, denounced Vat. gr. 77 for its many errors and eccentricities ('leçons fantaisistes') and judged it to be, though worth consulting, a less valuable witness than most of the other selections (Lameere, pp. 60 and 171).

³ See Lameere, pp. 213-14 for details of the individual sequencing in these and three other lesser manuscripts.

⁴ Vat. gr. 1696 and Athos, Lavra B 39, respectively. See list of manuscripts below.

⁵ Lameere, p. 61. For a suggested modified stemma going back to a supposed original collection of 182 letters assembled under George's direction, see Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82', pp. 49-56. For an alternative view on the primacy of M and the possible role of John Glykys in its copying, see also Stavros Kourouzes, "Ο λόγιος οίκουμενικός πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκὺς (Συναγωγή εἰδήσεων καὶ ἀνέκδοτα αὐτοῦ ἔργα)", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 41 (1974), pp. 297-405, esp. 302-11.

⁶ Recognized by Lameere (pp. 38-50) as copied from M by the patriarchal scribe George Galesiotes, who also participated in the copying of M (193^v-194^v) and, possibly, Ivron 184, one of the manuscripts containing selections, as detailed below. Eliminable as an independent witness but capable of providing evidence for the text of M where the latter has suffered later damage.

⁷The 'Pinakes' website of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>) identifies seven other manuscripts containing examples of George's letters, all of which relate to patriarchal documents rather than literary compositions, the most common of which is a Pittakion addressed to Andronikos II.

Lameere are underlined. There is also a separate list of links for those manuscripts accessible through the internet.

The Manuscripts

	Folios	No. of letters ¹
s. xiii^{ex}- xiv		
Modena, gr. 82, α. R. 6. 19 ('M')	7 ^r -191 ^v	215
Athos, Lavra B 39²	131 ^r -193 ^r	52
Naples, II. E. 20³	291 ^r -297 ^r	39
<u>Vat. gr. 1891⁴</u>	42 ^r –50 ^r , 59 ^r	24
Vat. Reg. gr. 147 ⁵	142 ^v -151 ^v	8
Vat. gr.42 ⁶	74 ^v	2
s. xiv		
Vat. gr. 1085 ('V')	194 ^r -265 ^r	224
<i>Leiden, B.P.G. 49 (M)</i>	127 ^r -194 ^v	215
*Turin, B. VI. 48 ⁷	1r-144v	190
Vat. gr. 77⁸	235 ^r -258 ^v	107
Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr 195⁹	98 ^r -137 ^v	98

¹ Including duplicates.

² Judged by Lameere (p. 75) to derive from a different exemplar to M, V and Vat. gr. 77, though one with a similar letter sequence, as it does not share a lacuna with them in the text of Lameere No. 157, of which these four are the sole witnesses. Opening title (131^r – τοῦ ἀγιώτατου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κυροῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου ἐπιστολαὶ γραφεῖσαι ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ - indicates that it was copied, at least in part, from an exemplar with a patriarchal period grouping.

³ One of two witnesses combining works by Aristides with a selection of George's letters and other works (see also Vat. gr. 77). For its association with the Chora monastery and the role of its main scribe as a copyist of V, see Inmaculada Pérez Martín, 'Gregory of Cyprus and Aelius Aristides: some considerations on the transmission of their works', paper presented to the International Colloquium on George of Cyprus and his World, The Hellenic Centre, London October 2012 (accessible on line at: [GregoryofCyprusAristidesConf.pdf](#)) and 'Elio Aristide en el Monasterio de Cora' in F. Hernández Muñoz (ed.), *La Tradición y la Transmisión de los Oradores y Rétores Griegos* (Berlin, 2012), p. 229.

⁴ Not included by Lameere (see earlier note). Contains a selection of twenty-three separate letters (one duplicated) ranging between some of the earliest and latest in M and V but in a wholly unrelated order (Lameere Nos. 37, 30, 128, 119, 87, 40, 136, 68, 33, 196, 190, 223, 219, 217, 5, 191, 180, 194, 181, 193, 6, 2, 7, 223 (D)). As noted by Paul Canart, margin numbers (with a highest of vζ' against Lameere No. 40) may indicate selection from a larger exemplar different in sequence from M and V (Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1745-1962* (Vatican, 1970), p. 523). For further discussion of this manuscript, see Ilias Chrysostomidis, 'Η συλλογή των επιστολών του Γεωργίου Γρηγορίου Κυπρίου στον κώδικα Vat. gr. 1891', paper presented at the Fourth *Parekbolai* Symposium on Byzantine Literature and Philology 'Editing Byzantine Learned Texts: Problems and Prospects' Thessaloniki, Friday 14 December, 2018 (publication pending).

⁵ Combines all eight surviving letters addressed to Andronikos II (Lameere Nos. 145-7, 150-1, 155-6 and 159) with plays by Aristophanes, the *Batrachomyomachia* and works by Lucian and others. Thought by Lameere (p. 78) to have been compiled for school use. Contains no letters not in M or V. According to Lameere (p. 172) of negligible importance for the establishment of the text.

⁶ Contains two brief letters (Lameere Nos. 31-2) copied from a larger collection within a miscellany of ancient authors. For its possible origin in the patriarchal school, see Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la Transmisión de los Textos Clásicos en Bizancio* (Madrid, 1996), pp. 85-6.

⁷ Formerly B. I. 27. Destroyed in 1904 fire but described in Foerster (ed.) *Libanii Opera*, vol. 1.2 (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 343-4.

⁸ Occupies final quires of manuscript otherwise comprising works of Aristides. Probably s. xiv^{1/4} based on watermark (Briquet 3778 - Bologna 1312). Letters copied by two scribes, second of whom thought also to have copied Vat.gr. 1696 (see below). Contains no letters not in M or V.

⁹ Codex B in the Eustratiades edition. Includes six (Lameere Nos. 89, 91-2, 119, 123 and 126) not found in M or V. Grouped by Lameere with Vat. gr. 1696, with which it shares several readings (Lameere, p. 94). Lameere No. 32 appears twice..

	Folios	No. of letters ¹
s. xiv (ctd.)		
Vat. gr. 1696 ²	1 ^r -41 ^v	86
Athos, Iviron 184 ³	3 ^r -17 ^v	70
Milan, Bibl. Ambr. M 51 sup. ⁴	300 ^r -307 ^r	31
Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr 149 ⁵	310 ^r -325 ^v	27
Paris, BN gr. 2022 ⁶	170 ^r -177 ^v	22
Venice, Marc. gr. 452 ⁷	202 ^v -204 ^r	5
s. xiv-xv		
Turin, B. V. 10 ⁸	127 ^r -134 ^v	24
<u>Paris, BN supp. gr. 1177</u> ⁹	1 ^r -10 ^v	16

¹ Including duplicates.

² All letters from the pre-patriarchal period (heading 1^r - Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου γραφεῖσαι πρὸ τοῦ πατριαρχείου). Includes seven not in M or V (Lameere Nos. 89, 119 and 123-7), for three of which (124, 125 and 127) it is the sole witness (Lameere, pp. 87-91 and 162-8). Similar hand to Vat. gr. 77, 248^r-258^v, as noted by Ciro Gianelli in *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1684-1744* (Vatican, 1961), p. 23, n.1. Part of manuscript collection bequeathed to Vatican Library by Alvise Lollino (1552-1625). Possibly also that previously owned by Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523) and believed by Lameere (p. 54) to have been lost to a fire in 1687 (see Donald Jackson, 'A List of the Greek Manuscripts of Domenico Grimani', *Scriptorium* (2008), pp. 164-9 (No. 143)).

³ Total of seventy as reported by Lameere (pp. 71 and 213) includes incomplete first and last letters. First letter (Lameere No. 130) numbered ιζ', suggesting to him the loss of sixteen other letters. As 18^r-22^r blank, selection may also have ended prematurely. Includes four not in M or V (Lameere Nos. 89, 91-2 and 174), for the last of which it is the sole witness. Lameere No. 90 appears twice. Total given by Lameere, who was reliant on photographs for this manuscript (p. viii), compares to only sixty-three itemised by Spyros Lambros in his *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1900), pp. 49-50. For the possible involvement of George Galesiotes in its copying, see Kourouzes, 'Λόγιος οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ', p. 311, n. 2 and Pérez Martín, 'El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la Evolución de la Grafía de Jorge Galesiotes', *Scriptorium* 49.1 (1995), p. 50.

⁴ Dated by Lameere (p. 56) as s. xiv^{ex}/ s. xvⁱⁿ but dated to s. xiv¹ on the basis of watermarks and script by Eva Villani ('Le sezioni Lambda e Rho dell'Ecloga vocum Atticarum aucta di Tommaso Magistro nel codice Ambrosiano M 51 sup.', *Aevum*, 86, 2012, pp. 713-758. Contains no letters not in M or V. Judged by Lameere (p. 172) to be of negligible importance for the establishment of the text.

⁵ Includes one letter (Lameere No. 119) not in M or V. Thought by Lameere (pp. 99-100) to derive from the same independent exemplar as BML, Plut. 86.8, based on a similarity of sequencing between the two manuscripts and other shared readings.

⁶ Copied by Matthaïos of Ephesos (Manuel Gabalas) in s. xiv^{1/4}. See Diether Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos in Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 43-4. Includes two letters (Lameere Nos. 241-2) in no other recognized witnesses. The second of these also appears as an example of a consolatory letter, with or without alternative attributions, accompanying a treatise on letter-writing of uncertain authorship in four other manuscripts: Vat. gr. 306 (s. xiii-xiv), Copenhagen GKS 1985 (s. xiv-xv) and Paris BN gr. 2671 and Florence BML Acq. 39 (both s. xv). According to Lameere (pp. 60 and 69-70), probably copied directly from an archetype independent of M and V.

⁷ Excerpts only from five 'patriarchal-period' letters (Lameere Nos. 146, 182-3, 200 and 203). Part of miscellany copied by Makarios Chrysokephalos in the late 1320s. See Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*, vol. II, *Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300-625* (Rome, 1985), pp. 226ff.

⁸ Contains one letter (Lameere No. 126) not in M or V and only otherwise known from Vat. gr. 1696 and ÖNB phil. gr. 195.

⁹ Not included by Lameere. Manuscript comprises two separate fragments 1^r-4^v and 5^r-10^v from a larger collection containing Lameere Nos. 3 (incomplete), 4, 6-8, 9 (incomplete), 35 (incomplete), 37, 74, 53-6, 75-6 and 77 (incomplete), all of which are also in M and V.

	Folios	No. of letters ¹
s. xv		
*Escorial, B. IV. 24 ²	1 ^r -122 ^v	203
Florence, BML, Plut. 86.8 ³	240 ^v -50 ^v	63
Naples, II C 33 ⁴	483 ^r -490 ^r	15
Florence, BML, Plut. 56. 3 ⁵	209 ^r -216 ^v	5
<u>Vat. Ottob. gr. 213</u> ⁶	223 ^v -225 ^r	3
Turin, B. VII. 4 ⁷	215 ^v	1
s. xvi		
<i>Brussels, Bibl. Roy. IV. 485 (M)</i> ⁸	1 ^r -133 ^v	191
<i>Vienna, ÖNB hist.gr. 101 (M)</i> ⁹	5 ^r -146 ^v	191
<i>Milan, Bibl. Ambr. C.270 inf. (M)</i> ¹⁰	5 ^v -94 ^r	167
<i>Paris, BN gr. 3042 (M)</i> ¹¹	6 ^r -119 ^r	156
<i>Vat. gr. 725 (M)</i> ¹²	20-96	123
<i>Munich, BSB gr. 50</i> ¹³	102 ^v -111 ^r	24
<u>Escorial, X. II. 12</u> ¹⁴	149 ^v -153 ^v	5
<i>Leiden, Vulc. 17 (M)</i> ¹⁵	42 ^r -44 ^r	3
Milan, Bibl. Ambr. C 114 sup. ¹⁶	–	Excerpts

¹ Including duplicates.

² Formerly Z. IV. 20. Destroyed in 1671 fire. See Lameere, pp. 17-21 and Gregorio de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Escorial, 1968), p. 58.

³ Includes one letter (Lameere No. 119) not in main M or V. Thought by Lameere (pp. 99-100) to derive from the same independent exemplar as ÖNB phil. gr. 149 (see above).

⁴ Series of letters on an unattributed basis including as its eighth, as reported by Lameere (pp. 82-5), one found in no other witness (Lameere No. 122). Discrepancies between Lameere (p. 213) and the catalogue description in the identification of four letters, the latter identifying (or misidentifying) the eighth letter (Lameere's No. 122) as Eustratiades No. 89 (= Lameere No. 90), which already features as the fourth in the series. See E. Mioni (ed.), *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, vol. I (Rome, 1992), pp. 238-9. Dated 1495 at 476v.

⁵ Contains no letters not found in M or V. Thought by Lameere (p. 82) to have been originally compiled for school use and judged by him (p. 172) to be of negligible importance for the establishment of the text.

⁶ Not included by Lameere. Contains under heading 'τοῦ κυπρίου' three letters also transmitted by M and V (Lameere Nos. 15, 22 and 24) followed by two others of uncertain attribution.

⁷ Badly damaged in 1904 fire. Includes single letter (Lameere No. 221) with variant opening to those in M and V (Lameere, p. 47, n.1).

⁸ Copied by Andreas Darmarios in 1560. Known to Lameere as 'the Frankfurt manuscript' from its early 19th-century location (Lameere, pp. 137-40). Includes Autobiography in opening folios.

⁹ Codex 'A' in the Eustratiades edition. A detailed index of letters compiled from it by Peter Lambeck and published in his *Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca caesarea vindobonensi, liber octavus* (Vienna, 1679), cols. 1066-90 was reprinted by Migne in *PG 142*, cols. 421-432. Copied in Italy between 1560 and 1590 (Lameere, pp. 122-7).

¹⁰ Lameere, pp. 119-122.

¹¹ Lameere, pp. 127-37.

¹² Copied by Darmarios in 1560. Also includes the additional texts from M 192^r-194^v.

¹³ Judged by Lameere (p. 172) to have been copied from Turin, B. V. 10.

¹⁴ Not included by Lameere. Copied by Darmarios or one of his team according to de Andrés Martínez (*Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. II (Madrid 1965), p. 282).

¹⁵ Copied by the scholar Bonaventure de Smet ('Vulcanius' – 1538-1614) from Leiden, B.P.G. 49 (Lameere, pp. 140-2).

¹⁶ Excerpts from an unspecified number of George's letters included towards end of a collection of Planudes' letters in 33^v-112^r (see Lameere, p. 113, n. 1). Manuscript thought by Ilias Taxis to have been copied in part from Iviron 184 (I. Taxis, *Les Épigammes de Maxime Planude* [Berlin, 2017], p. 39.)

Other MSS of unknown date lost in 1671 fire

	Folios	No. of letters ¹
*Escorial, M. I. 02 ²	1 ^r -43 ^v	96
*Escorial, B. V. 13 ³	1 ^r -60 ^v	36

Manuscripts accessible online

Vatican

Vat. gr. 42	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.42
Vat. gr. 77	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.77
Vat. gr. 725	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.725
Vat. gr. 1085	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1085
Vat. gr. 1696	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1696
Vat. gr. 1891	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1891
Vat. Reg. gr. 147	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.gr.147
Vat. Ottob. gr. 213	https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.213

Vienna

ÖNB phil. gr 149	http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6325807
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Paris

BN gr. 2022	https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107222460/f176.image
BN gr. 3042	https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723752v/f10.image
BN supp. gr. 1177	https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004432x/f2.image

Florence

BML Plut. 56. 3 and 86.8	http://mss.bmlonline.it/
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Leiden

B.P.G. 49	https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1599245#page/1/mode/1up
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¹ Including duplicates.

² Formerly Z. I. 1. For description based on earlier catalogue entry, see Lameere, p. 53 and Gregorio de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Escorial, 1968), pp. 279-80.

³ Formerly I. V. 3. See Lameere, p. 53 and de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos*, p. 63.

Further Reading

Elisa Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82 (α. R. 6. 19) e le Lettere alla Principessa Teodora Raulena: un testimone 'speciale' nella tradizione dell'epistolario di Gregorio di Cipro (ca. 1240-1290)?', *Scripta* 9 (2016), 31-56

Sofia Kotzabassi, 'Zur Überlieferung von Briefcorpora in Palaiologenzeit' in *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, eds. C. Brockmann et al. (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 231-8

Alexander Riehle, 'Epistolography as Autobiography: remarks on the letter-collections of Nikephoros Choumnos', *Παρεκβολαί* 2 (2012), 1-22.

Franz Tinnefeld, 'Zur Entstehung von Brief Sammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit', in *Πολύπλευρος Νοῦς. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, eds. C. Scholz and G. Makris, *Byzantisches Archiv* 19 (Munich-Leipzig, 2000), pp. 365-81

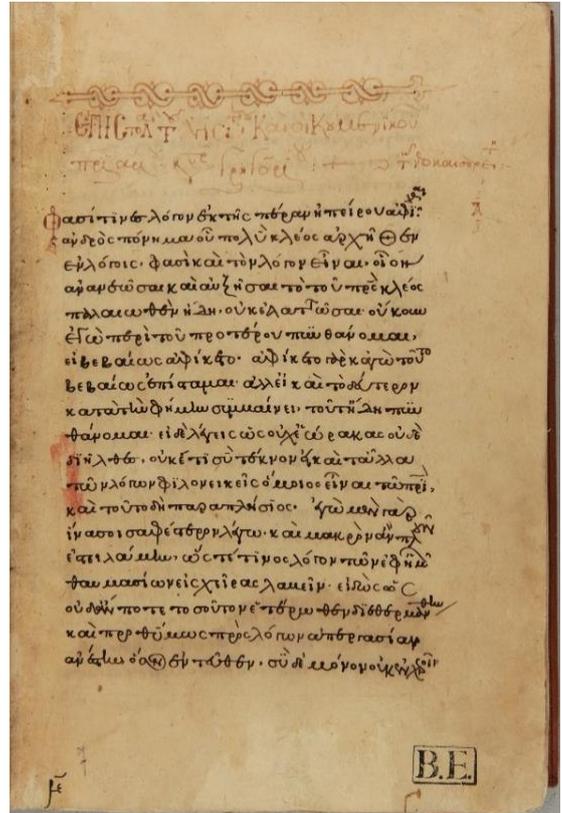
Niki Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoride, 'Γύρω από το θέμα της παράδοσης των βυζαντινών επιστολών', in *Μνήμη Σταμάτη Καρατζά: ερευνητικά προβλήματα νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας και γλωσσολογίας. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Θεσσαλονίκη 5-7 Μαΐου 1988*, eds. A. Kehaya-Lipourli and T. Petridis (Thessaloniki, 1990), pp. 93-100

James Holt

The principal MSS and their scribes

M Mutinensis graecus 82 (Puntoni),¹ α. R. 6. 19²

Dating	s.xiii ^{ex} - s.xiv ⁱⁿ
Binding	Camel-brown leather following rebinding in 1962. Previously in 18 th -century fawn leather binding
Material	Oriental paper (text leaf 230/5mm x 155/60mm)
Layout	Single column, text area 170-185 x 100-115mm, 24-28 lines (Leroy UO2/1) ³
Folios	I (vac), ff. 1-169, 170 (vac), 171-95, 195 ^v (vac), 1 ¹ - III ¹ (vac) (ff. 12-13, 34 and 142 nearly contemporary replacements for original folios, the stubs of which remain) ⁴



f. 7^r

¹ Vittorio Puntoni, 'Indice dei Codici Greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena' *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 4 (1896), pp. 439-40. For detailed descriptions of the manuscript, see also William Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la Correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, Patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)* (Brussels-Rome, 1937), pp. 22-33 and E. Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82 (α. R. 6. 19) e le Lettere alla Principessa Teodora Raulena: un testimone 'speciale' nella tradizione dell'epistolario di Gregorio di Cipro (ca. 1240-1290)?', *Scripta* 9 (2016), 33-47. We are indebted to Dr Inmaculada Pérez Martín of the Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y del Oriente próximo, CCHS-CSIC in Madrid for generously sharing with us the unpublished results of her own inspection of the manuscript including, in particular, her differentiation of its scribal hands. All references to George's letters follow Lameere's numbering as set out in his concordance (*La tradition manuscrite*, pp. 215-18).

² Digital images of *Mutinensis graecus* 82 (III C 3) are available to members on request, for the sole purpose of our Seminar, courtesy of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena (BEUM). We are grateful to James Holt for donating the CD containing these images (now held at RHUL Hellenic Institute), and to Dr Annalisa Battini of BEUM for her kind permission to publish them without further charge "if the publication is freely available to the public" (email of 18 July 2015). We would also like to thank Dr Paola Di Pietro Lombardi, formerly of the Ufficio Manoscritti della BEUM, for kindly providing us with information relating to how the manuscript may have reached BEUM.

³ Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la Transmisión de los Textos Clásicos en Bizancio* (Madrid, 1996), p. 326

⁴ Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite*, pp. 23, 27-8.

Quire gathering 1 x 6 (6) + 23 x 8 (190) + 1 x 5 (195)

Quire numbering In Greek numerals at beginning (recto, bottom left) and end (verso, bottom right) of quire, starting with λε' (35) on 7^r and ending νη' (59) on 191^r with numbering of last three quires from 175^r in different hand.¹ Consistent with ff.1-6 being a later inclusion.

Watermarks On Western paper used for front and rear endpapers. 'Three mountains' similar to Briquet 11652, 11656 and 11662 (Italy 1434-72).²

Ornament Headbands, titles, text numbering, initial letters and addressees in various shades of red.

Contents **George of Cyprus (Patriarch Gregory II) (c1240-90) selected works**

1 ^r -6 ^v	Autobiography ³
7 ^r -191 ^v	215 letters (1-88, 90, 93-116, 118, 128-73, 175-203, 205-211, 216-228, 235-40) including, at f.191 ^r l. 4-20, a fragment from Neilos Ankyranos, <i>Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης</i> , c. 12, <i>inc.</i> εἰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ψήφου, <i>des.</i> ὀνίνησι τὰ ὄντα βλέπουσαν at 191 ^r , l. 4-20. ⁴
192 ^r -193 ^r	Ἀπόφασις - encyclical announcing synodal sentence against Unionist clergy, <i>inc.</i> ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν, συνάμα τῆ περι αὐτῆν ἱερωτάτη ⁵ (τέλος in red ink at foot of 193r)
193 ^v	Παραίτησις - letter of abdication, <i>inc.</i> ἐμὲ προυβίβασαν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν πατριαρχικὸν ⁶
193 ^v -194 ^r	Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, <i>inc.</i> δέσποτα τιμιώτατε, ἐπειδὴ ἀσφαλῶς γνῶναι ⁷

¹ For the possibility that the missing 34 quires may be those of Vat. Gr. 2219 containing the letters of Athanasius I (1230-1310), see Pérez Martín, 'El Vaticanus gr.112 y la Evolución de la Grafía de Jorge Galesiotes', *Scriptorium* xlix (1995), pp. 49-50.

² Charles-Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Geneva 1907).

³ Ed. Lameere, in *La Tradition Manuscrite*, pp. 173-194.

⁴ CPG 6048. PG 79, 984D-985A. Included as text B in list of texts described by Lameere as relating to George's abdication (*La Tradition Manuscrite*, p. 203). The attribution to Neilos (Ankyranos) on f. 191r is a supplementary title alongside an original attribution to George. The fragment also appears following George's autobiography in BML Plut. 56.3, f. 182^v

⁵ Text A in Lameere's list of abdication texts. See Vitalien Laurent (ed.), *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I. iv *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1485 (pp. 275-6), where it is assigned by the editor to a second anti-Unionist synod in around January 1285 rather than to George's first synod of April 1283 (cf. Sophrone Pétridès, 'Sentence Synodique contre le Clergé Unioniste (1283)', *Échos d'Orient* t.14, n° 88 (1911), pp. 134-6.

⁶ Text E in Lameere's list of abdication texts (Laurent, *Regestes* no. 1517 (pp. 310-11, c. June 1289) For an account of the circumstances of its submission, in which the text itself is also included, see Pachymeres, *Hist.* viii, 6-10 (Albert Failler (ed.), *Georges Pachymérés. Relations Historiques, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 24 (Paris, 1999), vol. III, pp. 138-51).

⁷ Text C in Lameere's list of abdication texts (Laurent, *Regestes* no. 1516 (pp. 309-10). f. 194r (ll. 37-8) erroneously records date as May of the second indiction in the year AM 6799 (=1291). It should be AM 6797 (1289), which would accord with the indiction. A marginal note (προτέρα δὲ αὐτῆ τῆς παρατήσεως) states that this text should have preceded the παραίτησις in the manuscript. Leiden BPG 49, which Lameere (*La Tradition Manuscrite* p. 47) identified as copied from Modena α. R. 6. 19, follows the corrected order (f. 196).

	194 ^v	George Moschabar , Ἀνακήρυξις τῆς εὐσεβείας - declaration of George of Cyprus' orthodoxy, <i>inc.</i> εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ¹
	195 ^r	Maximos Planudes , Letter 1, ll. 2-11 (ed. Leone), untitled, <i>inc.</i> ἐπήνεσα] τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε σιγᾶν, <i>des.</i> πρὸς ἑτέρους αὐτόμολος γίνομαι. ²
Note of ownership	195 ^r :	Hic liber est mei Benedicti de Ovetarijs ³ de Vincentia Secretarij Serenissimi, d(omi)ni Regis Jerusalem Cipri et Armenie etc. Mcccclij
Other notes	114 ^r :	Ση(μείωσαι) τ(ὸν) κυρ(όν) Ὑάκινθ(ον) τ(ὸν) Λεπενδρην(ὸν) κυ(ρόν) Ἀθανάσ(ιον) τ(ὸν) Γωρυανί(την) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) Περιστερήν: - ⁴
	190 ^r :	+ πρότερον δὲ αὕτη τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ λήθην ἐτέθη ὕστερον: +
	193 ^v :	προτέρα δὲ αὕτη τῆς παραιτήσεως:-
Hands⁵		
1 - Lameere A (Plate 1) ⁶	1 ^r - 6 ^v	Autobiography. Black ink. Light red titles. Scholarly hand with some exaggerated letter forms.
2 - Lameere B (Plate 2)	7 ^v -167 ^v l. 6 (excl. 11 ^v , l. 24-13 ^v , 34 ^{r-v} and 142 ^{r-v})	Letters 1-88, 90, 93-116, 118, 128-173 and 175-196. Black ink (58v-66r brown) with titles in light brownish-red by same hand or, possibly, Hand 1 and corrections and insertions on 26 ^v -27r, 68 ^r , 75 ^v , 84 ^r , 98 ^r , 122 ^r , 138 ^r , 148 ^r , 148 ^v by Hand 3. Principal copyist with formal and elegant archaising hand conjectured by Kourouses to be that of John Glykys, Patriarch of Constantinople 1315-19, on basis of George's description of calligraphy of addressee, thought to be Glykys, in Letter 101. ⁷

¹ Text D in Lameere's list of abdication texts. See also Laurent, 'Un Polémiste Grec de la Fin du XIII^e Siècle: la vie et les oeuvres de Georges Moschabar', *Échos d'Orient* t. 28 n^o 154 (1929), pp. 129-58.

² *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Amsterdam, 1991), Letter 1, ll. 2-11. Leone eliminated Modena α. R. 6. 19 from his recension as having no distinctive readings or definable position within the transmission.

³ Cf. *Benedicti de Onctariis* in Thomas Allen, *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries* (London, 1890), p. 10 and *Benedicti de Ductariis* in Puntoni (*op. cit.*), p. 440.

⁴ Marginal note explaining the words 'τούς τῶν μοναχῶν λογάδας' in Letter 147 addressed to Andronikos II. On the Arsenite monks Hyakinthos (PLP 29458), Athanasios Lependrenos, the addressee of Letters 160 and 161 (PLP 14741), Lazaros Gorianites (PLP 4321) and Makarios Peristeres (PLP 22465), their prominence at the Synod of Adramyttion in 1284 and subsequent activities, see Pachymeres, *Hist.* iv, 18-19, vi, 24, vii 21-2 and viii 12 and 23 (Failler, vols. II, pp. 378-85 and 616-19 and III, pp. 68-77 and 150-7).

⁵ See Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite*, pp. 24-5, Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio*, pp. 326-7 and Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82', pp. 34-42.

⁶ For all plates see Appendix I.

⁷ Stavros Kourouses, 'Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκὺς (Συναγωγὴ εἰδήσεων καὶ ἀνέκδοτα αὐτοῦ ἔργα)', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 41 (1974), pp. 302-11.

3 (Plates 3-4)	11 ^v l. 24-13 ^v , 34 ^{r-v} and 142 ^{r-v}	Letters 7, 9 (init.), 42-44, 173 (fin.) and 175. Replacement folios. Unruled. Brown ink. Bright red titles in same hand. ¹ Archaising hand conjectured by Lameere to be Hand 4 (his C) imitating Hand 2.
4 - Lameere C (Plate 5)	167 ^v l. 7- 175v, 177 ^r l. 4-187 ^r l.14 188v l. 17-190 ^r , l. 6	Letters 197-203, 207-211, 216-228 and 239. Brown ink with bright red titles in same hand. More cursive, less formal than Hand 2 with greater use of abbreviations.
4 (5) (Plates 6-9)	176 ^r -177 ^r and 187 ^r l. 15 - 188 ^v l. 16	Letters 205-206 and 235-237. Considered by Bianchi to be in a separate hand, which she conjectures to be that of Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina (RGK III 206) in support of her hypothesis that she played a leading role in the completion of this collection giving it a <i>terminus ante quem</i> of 1300, the year of her death. ²
5/(6) - Lameere D (Plates 10-12)	190 ^r l. 7-191 ^r l. 3	Letter 238. Unruled. Brown ink. Red titles. Cursive hand believed by Pérez Martín to be probably the hand of Nikephoros Gregoras but conjectured by Bianchi to be that of 'Manuel' (RGK II 354), copyist of other manuscripts associated with George. ³
6/(7) - Lameere E (Plate 13)	191 ^r l. 4-20	Neilos Ankyranos fragment. Unruled. Faded brown ink. Informal cursive hand with some exaggerated letter forms.
7/(8) - Lameere F (Plate 14)	191 ^v -193 ^r	Letter 240 and Ἀπόφασις. Unruled. Brown ink. More regular, rightwards sloping hand.

¹ Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite*, pp. 27-8. See also Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82', p. 34, attributing the insertion at 98^r, ll. 18-21 to Scribe 3.

² Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82' pp. 34 and 38-42. Theodora's reputation as a copyist herself, in addition to her role in directing a scriptorium, rests on superscriptions in two manuscripts (Vat. gr.1899 and Moscow, GIM, mus. 3649) attributing the writing of the manuscripts to her, as detailed in Boris Fonkich, "Заметки о греческих рукописях советских хранилищ. 1 Московский автограф Феодоры Раулены", *Visantisjij Vremennik* 36 (1974), p.134 and pl. I. See also Maria Luisa Agati. "Una Dotta Copista e Bibliofila: Teodora Raulena" in G. Passarelli (ed.) *La Civiltà Bizantina: donne, uomini, cultura e società* (Milan, 2001), pp. 390-394 and Sofia Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina", *Parekbolai*, 1, 2011, pp. 115-170.

³ Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio p. 327* and 'El Escorialensis X.I.13: una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nicéforo Gregorás en el Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86/87 (1993/94), p. 27. See also Sofia Kotzabassi 'Zur Überlieferung von Briefcorpora in Palaiologenzeit' in Brockmann, C. et al. (eds.), *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages* (Wiesbaden, 2014), p. 237. For the alternative attribution to 'Manuel', copyist of Par. suppl. gr. 642, ff. 74^r-181^r and 225^r-304^v and Par gr. 2998, ff. 2^r-4^r and 363^r-386^v (letters of Gregory of Nazianzus), see Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82', p. 42. Tentative identifications for this copyist include Manuel Neokaisareites (PLP 20094) and Manuel Holobolos (PLP 21047), each of whom feature as an addressee in several of George's letters. See Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio p. 27* for Neokaisareites and Dieter Harlfinger, 'Einige Aspekte der Handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Physikkomentars des Simplikios' in I. Hadot (ed.), *Simplicius, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, sa Survie* (Berlin, 1987), p. 286 for Holobolos.

8/(9) (Lameere G)	193 ^v -194 ^v	Παραίτησις, Ἐπιστολή πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων and Ἀνακήρυξις. Unruled. Brown ink. Fine, regular hand identified by Lameere as that of George Galesiotes (RGK I 57). ¹
Plates 15-16.		
9/(10)	195 ^r , ll. 1-7	Planudes fragment. Light brown ink. Neat regular hand.
Plate 17.		
Benedetto degli Ovetarii ²	195 ^r	Latin note of ownership in faded red ink (cf. Vat. Urb. gr. 122, f. 301).
Plate 17.		
Unidentified Western hand	59 ^v , 61 ^v , 62 ^r , 63 ^v , 64 ^r	Repetition/overwriting in black ink of words affected by fading at bottom of text area.

Provenance

Acquired in the mid-15th C by Benedetto degli Ovetarii of Vicenza (see ownership note), a Padua-educated canon lawyer and notary and associate of Gregorio Correr (1409-64) and other Venetian humanists.³ Held chancellery posts in the service of Cardinal Antonio Correr of Bologna (1369-1445) and Pietro Donato, Bishop of Padua (1380-1447), and, by 1452, at the Lusignan court in Cyprus, his name appearing, variously transcribed, in collections of Lusignan documents from the reigns of John II (1432-58) and Carlotta (1458-63)⁴. Last recorded in 1461 as owner of Vat. Urbin. gr. 122 (*s. xi*), a selection from Aristides with marginal annotations attributed to his humanist contemporary Angelo Vadio.⁵

Some of Benedetto degli Ovetarii's letters and other writings survive in a miscellany of letters and other literary works by himself and others dating from

¹ Lameere, *Tradition Manuscripte*, p. 48. George Galesiotes (c. 1275/80–1357) was also the copyist of Leiden BPG 49 (inscription on f. 127^r: Χριστὲ βοήθει τῷ σὺ Γεωργίῳ τῷ Γαλισιώτῃ) and, possibly, sections of Ivron 184. See Pérez Martín, 'El Vaticanus gr.112', p. 50.

² As correctly identified by Jean Darrouzès, in his 'Autres Manuscrits Originaires de Chypre', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 15 (1957), p. 151. See also Robert Browning and Costas Constantinides, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 30)*, (Washington, 1993), pp. 18-20 and Constantinides, 'The Copying and Circulation of Secular Greek Texts in Frankish Cyprus', *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν* 21 (1995), p. 23.

³ Benedetto degli Ovetarii is among the literary figures from Vicenza's past profiled by the 18th-century cleric and antiquarian, Fra Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria (born Paolo Calvi). See his *Biblioteca e Storia di quegli Scrittori così della Città come del Territorio di Vicenza*, vol. 2.1 (Vicenza, 1772), pp. 85-112. See also I. Holgate, 'Paduan culture in Venetian care: the patronage of Bishop Pietro Donato (Padua 1428–47)', *Renaissance Studies* 16 (2002), pp. 1-23.

⁴ *Benedictus de Onetariis* in a Lusignan charter of February 1459 in Louis de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, vol. 3. (Paris, 1855), pp. 94-6 and *Benedictus de Ovetariis* in a diplomatic response to the Venetian senate of January 1454 in Mas Latrie (ed.), 'Documents Nouveaux Servants de Preuves à l'Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan', *Collections de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Mélanges Historiques*, 4 (Paris, 1882), pp. 379-84 and in a grant of July 1459 in Adrien Pascal *Histoire de la Maison Royale de Lusignan* (Paris, 1896) (1896), pp. 96-7.

⁵ Transcribed in Cosimo Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1895), p. 207 as *hic liber Aristidis philosophi est mei Benedicti de Auctariis de Vincentia, Cancellarii dñi Regis Ierusalem (sic) Cypri et Armenie. 1461. On Angelo Vadio's annotations, see Rudolf Stefec, 'Die Griechische Bibliothek des Angelo Vadio da Rimini', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 54 (2012), pp. 140-1.*

the 1450s (Venice, Marc. lat. xi 100)¹, extracts from which exist in a Maurist copy (Paris, BN lat. 11886)², and as isolated examples in other later Italian collections.³ The manuscript may have reached Cyprus with others following the marriage of Helena Palaiologina to John II in 1441.⁴

Believed by Lameere to have been used by Andreas Darmarios in 1560 in the copying of Vat. gr. 725, leading him to conjecture that it could have been among fifteen or more manuscripts which the Biblioteca Estense, then in Ferrara, acquired from Darmarios probably in autumn of the same year.⁵ Subsequent research on tail-edge markings at the Estense has suggested that it may have reached the library, then in Ferrara, in the 1570s, together with other similarly marked volumes, as part of its core collection of Greek manuscripts deriving from the library of Alberto III, Pio of Carpi (1475-1531), much of which had previously come from the library of the scholar, translator and copyist, Giorgio Valla (ca. 1447-1500).⁶

Bibliography

M. L. Agati. 'Una Dotta Copista e Bibliofila: Teodora Raulena' in G. Passarelli (ed.) *La Civiltà Bizantina: donne, uomini, cultura e società* (Milan, 2001), pp. 390-394

T.W. Allen, *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries* (London, 1890)

Fra Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria, *Biblioteca e Storia di quegli Scrittori così della Città come del Territorio di Vicenza*, 6 vols. (Vicenza, 1772-82)

¹ Formerly owned by the Venetian antiquarian and dramatist Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), whose library also included the illuminated bilingual psalter now known as the Hamilton Psalter (s. *xiii/xiv*), which once belonged to Carlotta of Lusignan (Berlin, MS 78.A.9 (Ham. no.119)).

² Leopold Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits de Saint-Germain-des-Prés Conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale, sous les Numéros 11504-14231 du Fonds Latin* (Paris, 1868), p. 27.

³ Paul Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries* (Leiden, 1963-92), vol. 2, 255a-b, 259b and 268a, vol. 5, 523a and vol. 6, 243a and 259b.

⁴ E.g., Vat. gr. 1158 (Gospels) and 1208 (Acts), later presented by Carlotta of Lusignan, when in exile in Rome, to Innocent VIII. See Apostolos Vacalopoulos, 'Une Reine Grecque de Chypre mal comprise par les Historiens, Hélène Paléologue (1442-1458)' in *Πρακτικά τοῦ πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14-19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, vol. 2 (Nicosia, 1972) 277-280 and Robert S. Nelson, and John Lowden. 'The Palaeologina Group: additional manuscripts and new questions', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), p. 67.

⁵ Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite*, pp. 114-18. Lameere (pp. 137-42) also believed that Darmarios had, directly or indirectly, copied another manuscript from Modena α. R. 6. 19. Lameere knew of this copy only from a summary description printed in 1817, when it was owned by the Frankfurt bibliophile Georg Kloss. It is now identifiable as Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, iv 485, which in 1829 entered the Thomas Phillipps collection (Phillipps 4592) and was acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1967 (Sotheby Phillipps New Series, Third Part 26 June 1967 lot 628, pp. 38-9).

⁶ See Paola di Petro Lombardi, 'I Codici Greci e Orientali di Alberto III Pio', in M. Rossi, M. Ferretti and L. Giordano, *Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio da Carpi Collezionisti e Mecenate* (Carpi, 2004), p. 222.

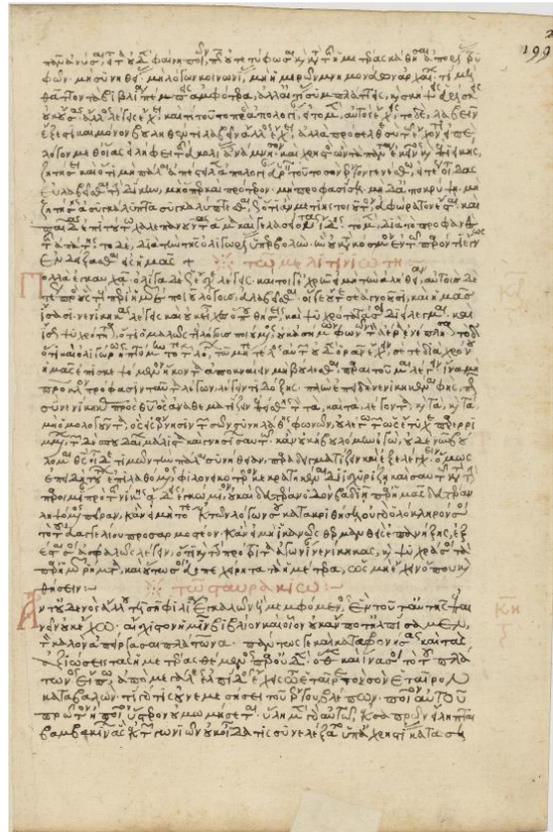
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James Holt

V Vaticanus graecus 1085¹

Dating	s. xiv ^{2/3} 1 ^r -96 ^v and 119 ^r -273 ^r between 1330s and 1350s ²
Binding	19 th C. Light-yellow board bearing arms of Pius IX (1846- 78) and the Cardinal Librarian, Jean-Baptiste-François Pitra (1869-89)
Material	Western paper (text leaf 290 x 205mm)
Lay-out	Single column
Folios	<I-II>, 273 (+193 a-c), <III> ¹ (97 ^v , 193 ^v , 193 a-c, 215 ^{r-v} and 273 ^v blank)
Quire gatherings	8 x 12 (96), [1] (97), 8 x 2 (113), 4 x 1 (117), [1] (118), 6 x 1 (124) and 8 x 19 (273 incl.193 a-c)



f. 199^r

¹ Vat. gr. 1085 is accessible online in black and white microfilm form on the Digital Vatican Library (DVL) website at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1085

² For a date in the 1330s, on the basis of watermarks, see Winfried Bühler (ed.), *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia vulgari ceteraque memoria aucta* vol. 1, *Prolegomena* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 258-9 and Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio* (Madrid 1996), p. 314. For a possible *terminus post quem* of 1351, based on the inferred dating of Nikephoros Gregoras Letter 44 (29^v-31^v), see Pietro Leone (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae* (Matino 1982-3), vol. I, pp. 20-1 and his earlier article, 'La Corrispondenza di Niceforo Gregora' *Quaderni del Siculorum Gymnasium* 8. *Studi di Filologia Bizantina* II (1980), p. 203. All numerical references here to Gregoras' letters follow the numbering in Leone's edition. For a date in the second half of the 14th century on the basis that Gregoras' career continued beyond 1350, see William Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite de la Correspondence de Grégoire de Chypre* (Brussels, 1937), p. 35.

Quire numbering	<p>Quires 1-7 (ff. 1-56): α'-ζ' in the centre of the lower margin of the first and last page.</p> <p>Quires 8-12 (ff. 57-96): η'-$\iota\beta'$ to the right of the lower margin of the first page and in its centre on the last page (64^v and 72^v also with α' and β' in the centre of the lower margin).</p> <p>Quires 13-25 (ff. 97-193c): $\upsilon\gamma'$-$\kappa\varepsilon'$ in the centre of the lower margin of the last page only (149^r, 157^r and 165^r with β', γ' and δ' also to the right of the lower margin).</p> <p>Quires 26-35 (ff. 194-273): $\kappa\zeta'$-$\lambda\varepsilon'$ in the centre of the lower margin of the last page with α'-ι' in the centre of the lower margin of the first and last page (ι' overwritten with α' on 266^r).</p>
Watermarks (by folio)	<p>Mostly dateable to s. xiv ^{2/4} with those on ff. 97-118 around a decade later.</p> <p>1-48,165-80 Crossed swords: Mošin and Trajčić (MT)¹ 3353 (1333-4), cf. Briquet² 5148 (1331), 5150 (1337)</p> <p>50, 79-96, 119-24 Six-pointed star: MT 3740 / Briquet 6013 (1322)</p> <p>51-4 Sleigh-bell: similar to MT 4501 (1334), cf. Briquet 6257 (1330s)</p> <p>57-78 Cherries: MT 4149 (1323), similar to MT 4148 (1322), cf. Briquet 7415 (1316-48)</p> <p>97-113 Ram's head: similar to MT 1124 (1350/6), cf. Briquet 15465-6 (1331-47)</p> <p>114-17 Two circles intersected by cross: similar to MT 2042 (ca. 1350) and MT 2039 (1350/60)</p> <p>118 Ox: not catalogued but similar to MT 1587 (1349-58)</p> <p>125-40 Horseshoe: not catalogued but also found in Vat. Chig. R.IV.12, ff. 39-44)³</p> <p>141-64, 167/70,196/9, 219/24, 226-57 One-handled pot: MT 6888 / Briquet 12474 (1335)</p>

¹ Vladimir Mošin and Seid Trajčić, *Filigranes des XIIIe et XIVe ss.* (Zagreb, 1957).

² Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Geneva 1907).

³ Vat. Chig. R.IV.12 also exhibits other watermarks dating from 1321-1330. See Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio*, p. 332.

	158/63, 160/1,194-225, 229/30, 245/6, 243/8	One-handed pot: MT 6884 (1334-6)
	181-93c, 258- 65	Banner: MT 3699 / Briquet 5976 (1328), Harlfinger ¹ Étendard 5 (1337)
	267-9, 273	Six-pointed star: MT 3743 (1333-4), cf. Briquet 6014 (1331-2)
Ornament	Headbands, titles, text numbering, initial letters and addressees in light red, mauve or violet ink.	
Contents ²	I	Latin index (attributed to Francesco Gozzadini (d. 1673)) ³
	1^r - 140^v	Nikephoros Gregoras (1293/5-1358/61) - selected letters (73)⁴ and other works
	1 ^r (title)	ποιήματα νικηφόρου τοῦ γρηγοῤῥᾶ βιβλίον α ⁵
	1 ^r - 49 ^v	Letters: 99-101, 103, 105, 108-14, 52, 115, 69-74, 40-68, 20-2
	49 ^v - 51 ^r	Appeal to Theodoros Metochites about astronomy ⁶
	51 ^r - 59 ^r	Letters 23-30
	59 ^r - 60 ^v	Letter to Gregoras from Andronikos Zaridas ⁷
	60 ^v - 63 ^v	Letter 32
	63 ^v - 65 ^v	Oration to Andronikos II (1282-1328) in Ionic dialect ⁸
	65 ^v - 67 ^v	Letters 33-4 and 36
	67 ^v (heading)	Ἀρχὴ λόγων
	67 ^v - 67 ^v	To the almond tree ⁹
	67 ^v - 70 ^r	Letters 37-38 and 1
	70 ^r - 72 ^v	Eulogy of Andronikos II based on his love for the works of Plato ¹⁰

¹ Dieter and Johanna Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften II* (Berlin 1980)

² For the most detailed published description of the manuscript's contents (limited to ff. 1-140), see Rodolphe Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras: l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris 1926), p. xxi.

³ Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite*, p. 34.

⁴ Including two duplicates: Letter 1 (70^r and 130^{r-v}) and Letter 52 (15^v-16^r and 33^r).

⁵ Cf. Vat. gr. 1086, 2^v - τῶν τοῦ νικηφόρου τοῦ γρηγοῤῥᾶ ποιημάτων βιβλίον δεύτερον. See Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, vol. I, pp. 63-4 for the view that 1^r - 140^v were copied at Gregoras' direction from an earlier, heavily corrected compilation (Leone's z) and that Vat. gr. 1086 was a second and later compilation by him, the numerical distinction reflecting the relative chronology of the two collections.

⁶ Included by Gregoras in his *Romaïke Historia* (Bk. viii, c. 7). See Ludwig Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia* 1 (Bonn 1829), pp. 321-7.

⁷ A pupil of Planudes and correspondent of George Lakapenos. See Leone, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae* (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 71 and 74 and Ludwig Voltz, 'Die Schriftstellerei des Georgios Lakapenos', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2 (1893), p. 223.

⁸ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae ad imperatorem Andronicum II Palaeologum orationes', *Byzantion* xli (1971), pp. 510-15.

⁹ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae Opuscula nunc primum edita', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata*, III-IV, t. 2 (1970-1971), pp. 745-51

¹⁰ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae ad imperatorem Andronicum II Palaeologum orationes', pp. 503-10.

73 ^r - 75 ^r	Apologia to Andronikos II on declining the office of Chartophylax
75 ^r - 77 ^v	Refutation ('Αντιλογία') of those who deny the wretchedness in man ¹
77 ^v	Prologue to Eulogy of Andronikos II
77 ^v - 81 ^r	Eulogy of Andronikos II on his wisdom and eloquence ²
81 ^r - 85 ^r	Philosophical dialogue <i>Philomathes</i> ³
85 ^r - 88 ^r	Letter on the dating of Easter addressed to Demetrios Kabasilas ⁴
88 ^r - 93 ^r	Declamation ('Μελέτη'): the Plataean envoys addressing the Spartans ⁵
93 ^r - 97 ^r	Life of Kodratos the Martyr ⁶
98 ^r - 107 ^v	Sermon on the nativity, presentation and upbringing of the Theotokos ⁷
108 ^r - 117 ^r	Sermon on the Annunciation ⁸
117 ^r - 128 ^r	Life of Michael the Synkellos ⁹
128 ^r - 130 ^v	Letters 11, 13-14 and 1
130 ^v - 132 ^v	Funeral oration for Andronikos II (d. 1332) ¹⁰
132 ^v - 134 ^v	Funeral oration for Theodoros Metochites (d. 1332) ¹¹
134 ^v - 135 ^v	Letters 9-10
136 ^r - 137 ^r	Consolation to Andronikos III (1328-41) on the death of his mother ¹²
137 ^r - 138 ^v	Letter 15
138 ^v - 140 ^v	Letter to Palaiologos containing preface to Gregoras' commentary on Synesios, <i>On Dreams</i> ¹³
140 ^v	Letter 16
140 ^v (note)	ἕως ὧδε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ γρηγοῤῥᾶ

¹ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae *Antilogia et Solutiones Quaestionum*', *Byzantion* xl (1970), pp. 480-7.

² Cf. *Romaïke Historia* (Bk. viii, c. 8). See Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia* 1, pp. 327-9.

³ Leone, 'Il 'Φιλομαθῆς ἢ περὶ ὑβριστῶν' di Niceforo Gregora', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 8-9 (1971-72), pp. 185-201.

⁴ See Hans-Veit Beyer, 'Demetrios Kabasilas, Freund und späterer Gegner des Gregoras', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 39 (1989), pp. 135-77. Cf. Vat. gr. 1086, 75^r, where the addressee is Joseph Rhakendytes (Joseph the Philosopher).

⁵ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae Opuscula nunc primum edita', pp. 751-66.

⁶ Leone, 'La *Passio Sancti Codrati* di Niceforo Gregora', *Επετηρὶς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 47 (1987-89), pp. 284-94.

⁷ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae de Sanctissimae Deiparae Nativitate, Praesentatione atque Educatione Oratio', *Quaderni Catanesi di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 3 (1991), pp. 7-29.

⁸ Leone, 'Nicephori Gregorae Oratio in Annuntiationem Sanctissimae Deiparae', *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986-87), pp. 319-38.

⁹ 9th-century abbot of the Chora monastery (d. 846). For edited text see Fedor Shmit, 'Кахриэ-Джами. I. История монастыря Хоры. Архитектура мечети. Мозаики Нарфиков', *Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе (Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople)* XI (1906), Appendix II, pp. 260-79.

¹⁰ Cf. *Romaïke Historia* (Bk. x, c. 1). See Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia* 1, pp. 465-74.

¹¹ Cf. *Romaïke Historia* (Bk. x, c. 2). See Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia* 1, pp. 474-81.

¹² Cf. *Romaïke Historia* (Bk. x, c. 6). See Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia* 1, pp. 490-5.

¹³ Paolo Pietrosanti, *Nicephori Gregorae Explicatio in librum Synesii De insomniis* (Bari 1999), pp. 123-9.

141^r - 185^v	Maximos Planudes (c. 1255 - c. 1305)
141 ^r - 167 ^v	Dialogue on Grammar ¹
167 ^v - 185 ^v	On Syntax ²
186^r - 193^v	Pseudo-epigraphical letters
186 ^r - 187 ^v	'Euripides', Letters 1-5 ³
187 ^v - 191 ^v	'Hippokrates', Letters 1-5, 11-16, 18, 20 and 22 ⁴
191 ^v - 193 ^v	'Herakleitos', Letters 9, 1-14 ⁵
193 ^v	'Diogenes' Letter 1, fragment from opening: <ὕ>μεῖς μὲν ἐμοῦ φυγὴν κατεψηφίσασθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῶν μονὴν (initial letter omitted for later rubrication) ⁶
193 a-c	Blank <i>Inserted slip in French on 193a^v referring to text of Onosander Strategikos in Par. gr. 2445</i>
194^r - 272^v	George of Cyprus, Patriarch Gregory II (c. 1240 - c. 1290)
194^r - 265^r	224 Letters ⁷
194 ^r (heading)	Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κῦρ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου
194 ^r - 214 ^v , l.28	Letters 1-84, Letter 85 (des. ὄθεν καὶ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ εἷς τινα τῶν)
214 ^v inf. - 215 ^r	Blank
215 ^v	Letter 88 (inc. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ)
215 ^v - 222v	Letters 90, 93-115 and 117*-18
223 ^r (heading)	Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι ἐν τῷ πατριαρχ[εῖῳ]
223 ^r - 265 ^r	Letters 128-73, 175-84, 186-90, 120*, 121*, 191-6, 201, 199-200, 197-8, 218, 223, 210, 238, 202, 235, 203, 207, 211, 224, 204, 206, 209, 212*, 213*, 214*. 215*, 216, 225-6, 219-21, 217, 222, 227-8, 229*, 230*, 231*, 232*, 233*, 234*, 235-7, 239 and 205 (235 duplicated)
	* one of thirteen letters not otherwise transmitted, including ten of the twenty-nine written to Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina. ⁸

¹ Ludwig Bachmann (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1828), pp. 1-101.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 103-66.

³ Hans-Ulrich Gösswein (ed.), *Die Briefe des Euripides* (Meisenheim, 1975), pp. 67-87.

⁴ Demetrios Sakalis (ed.), *Ἰπποκράτους Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἐκδοσὴ κριτικὴ καὶ ἐρμηνευτικὴ* (Ioannina, 1989), pp. 95, 233-6, 297-300, 304-16, 332-6 and 338.

⁵ Jacob Bernays (ed.), *Die Heraklitischen Briefe: ein Beitrag zur philosophischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Literatur* (Berlin 1869), pp. 90-96, 7-8, 17-18 and 22-5.

⁶ Eike Müseler (ed.), *Die Kynikerbriefe 2: kritische Ausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung* (Paderborn 1994), p. 2.

⁷ *All references to Gregory's letters follow Lameere's numbering as set out in his concordance (La Tradition Manuscripte pp. 215-18).*

⁸ See Sofia Kotzabassi, 'Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyrios and Theodora Raoulaina', *Parekbolai I* (2011), pp. 121 and 126.

	266^r - 272^v	Proverbs ¹
	266 ^r - 269 ^r	First alphabetical series
	269 ^r - 272 ^v	Second alphabetical series
	272 ^v - 273 ^r	Other abbreviated proverbs (non-alphabetical) ²
Notes of ownership	None	
Other notes	194 ^r upper margin (start of George of Cyprus section) dodecasyllabic scribal prayer: + Χ(ριστ)ὲ προηγοῦ τῶν ἐμῶν πονημάτων +	
Hands	Folios	Text
1 (Plate 1) ³	1 ^r - 2 ^v , 3 ^v - 43 ^r , 44 ^r - 56 ^v including titles and initials in red (quires 1-7). Cf. Vat. gr. 1086, 37 ^r - 68 ^v , 108 ^r l. 13 - 109 ^v l. 26 ⁴	Gregoras: letters and Appeal to Metochites
2 (Plate 2)	3 ^r , 43 ^v Cf. Vat. gr. 2219, 100 ^r -273 ^v . Some similarities also with Hand 5 below. ⁵	Gregoras: letters
3 (Plate 3)	57 ^r - 72 ^v including titles and initials in mauve (quires 8-9)	Gregoras: letters and rhetorical works
4 (Plate 4)	73 ^r - 96 ^v (quires 10-12) 119 ^r - 131 ^r , l.7, 131 ^v - 140 ^v 141 ^r - 180 ^r Cf. Vat. gr. 2205 (copied by Γεώργιος Ἀναγνώστης (RGK III 135) in 1330-1) ⁶	Gregoras: letters, rhetorical works and Life of Kodratos Gregoras: Life of Michael the Synkellos (end), letters and rhetorical works Planudes: Dialogue on Grammar and On Syntax (part).

¹ See Winfried Bühler (ed.), *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia*, vol. 1, pp. 258-9 for a brief description of this section of the manuscript.

² The attribution of this 'third collection' to Gregory of Cyprus is questioned by Bühler (*Zenobii Athoi Proverbia*, vol. 1., pp. 283-5).

³ For all plates, see Appendix II.

⁴ Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio*, p. 50.

⁵ Pérez Martín, 'El "Estilo Hodegos" y su Proyección en las Escrituras Constantinopolitanas', *Segno e Testa* 6 (2008), p. 443, n. 199.

⁶ Comparison suggested by Dr Pérez Martín. Vat. gr. 2205, containing works by Eusebius of Caesarea, was copied for an official in the Imperial Palace. See Enrica Follieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Selecti* (Vatican, 1969), tab. 43 and Alexander Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani Saeculis XIII et XIV Scripti Annorumque Notis Instructi* (Vatican, 1964), pp. 135-6 and tab. 108.

5 (Plates 5 and 6)	97 ^r , 98 ^r - 118 ^v (including title, standard initials and ὠρ(αῖον) marks in violet) Marginal annotations on 5 ^r and 15 ^v l. 1 and corrections in green on 119 ff. ¹	Gregoras: Life of Kodratos (end), Sermons and Life of Michael the Synkellos (part).
	More regular than other hands showing influence of 'Hodegon' style. ² Cf. Vat. gr. 1086, [3 ^r - 20 ^r]. Watermarks also support a slightly later dating.	
6 (Plate 7)	181 ^r - 273 ^r (including titles and standard initials). Cf. Naples II. E. 20, (1 ^r -6 ^r , 7v-107 ^r , 108 ^r -297 ^r , 304v-306v) ³	Planudes: On Syntax (end) George of Cyprus: letters Proverbs
Nikephoros Gregoras ⁴	15r, ll. 29ff. - autograph insertion ⁵	Gregoras: Letter 114 ⁶
Other possible hands ⁷	131 ^r , ll. 7ff. 180 ^v , ll. 1-22	Gregoras: Funeral Oration for Andronikos II (part) Planudes: On Syntax (part)

All hands, in their different ways, exhibit the archaising tendency of the Metochites and Hodegon styles.

¹ Pérez Martín, 'El Estilo Hodegos' p. 443, n. 199

² See Pérez Martín, 'El Estilo Hodegos', pp. 431-443 on the use of this script within the Chora *scriptorium* under Gregoras and the prominent role of a copyist designated by her as 'Anonymous G.'.

³ See I. Pérez Martín, 'Gregory of Cyprus and Aelius Aristides: some considerations on the transmission of their works', paper presented to the International Colloquium on George of Cyprus and his World, The Hellenic Centre, London October 2012 (accessible on line at: [GregoryofCyprusAristidesConf.pdf](#)). See also Pérez Martín, 'Elio Aristide en el Monasterio de Cora' in F. Hernández Muñoz (ed.), *La Tradición y la Transmisión de los Oradores y Rétores Griegos* (Berlin, 2012), p. 238 (pl. 8), showing Naples E II.E.20, f. 291^r containing heading identifiable as Gregoras' hand in upper margin. Hand 6 is attributed to George Galesiotes (RGK I 57) by Elisa Bianchi in her article 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82 (α. R. 6. 19) e le Lettere alla Principessa Teodora Raulena: un testimone 'speciale' nella tradizione dell'epistolario di Gregorio di Cipro (ca. 1240-1290)?', *Scripta*, 9 (2016), p. 47 but without supporting evidence.

⁴ See Appendix III – The Hand of Nikephoros Gregoras

⁵ See Ihor Ševčenko, 'Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras' in F. Barišić (ed.), *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky 2*, Зборник радова Византолошког института (*Recueil des travaux de l'institute d'études Byzantines*) (Belgrade 1964), reprinted in *Ševčenko's Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London 1981), item XII, p. 441.

⁶ Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, vol. II, pp. 300-1 (Letter 114, ll. 82-94).

⁷ See Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, vol. I, p. 21 (based on a description of the manuscript by Canart).

Provenance Copied in Constantinople, probably in the monastery of St. Saviour in Chora, under the direction of Nikephoros Gregoras. Included in the Vatican Library inventory compiled by Fabio Vigili in 1508-10.¹

May have reached the Vatican by the latter part of the 15th century, if correctly identified among those referenced in Antonio de Thomeis' *Convivium Scientiarum*, a vernacular poem describing the library of Sixtus IV (1471-84).²

Among those taken by the French in 1797 and held in the Bibliothèque Nationale until 1815, where the proverb section was collated by the Hessian diplomat and scholar, Friedrich Bast.³

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¹ Giacomo Cardinali, *Inventari di Manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana sotto il Pontificato di Giulio II (1503-13), Studi e Testi* 491 (Vatican, 2015), p. 167.

² Antonio de Thomeis, *Convivium Scientiarum in Laudem Sixti Quarti Pontificis Maximi*, ed. Fabio Carboni and Antonio Manfredi, *Studi e Testi* 394 (Vatican, 1999), pp. 73 and 228.

³ Paolo Vian, 'Per le Cose della Patria Nostra'. *Lettere inedite di Luigi Angeloni e Marino Marini sul recupero dei manoscritti vaticani a Parigi (1816-1819)*, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XVIII, Studi e Testi* 469 (2011), p. 790. For Bast's collation and his notes now held in the Bodleian, see Bühler (ed.), *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia*, vol. 1, pp. 118, n. 18 and 259, n. 52. Bibliothèque Nationale stamps appear on 1^r and 273^v with those of the Vatican Library superimposed.

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James Holt

Guidelines for editing the text

The work undertaken in our Seminar meetings involves, briefly speaking, a thorough checking (1) of the draft transcription of the Greek text from the two principal MSS; (2) of the draft edition; and (3) of the draft translation of the text – in the process discussing various palaeographical, textual, prosopographical, and other information and points of interest.

Each member of the seminar is provided with photocopies of Eustratiades' edition, along with facsimiles of the two principal extant MSS, *Mutinensis graecus* 82 (III C 3) (**M**)¹ and *Vaticanus graecus* 1085 (**V**).² A third MS, *Leidensis* B.P.G 49, is also occasionally consulted.³ One or more members are assigned (on a voluntary basis) a longer *Letter* or several short *Letters* respectively, and are expected to present the following in typewritten copies. Please use double space so that we can insert corrections and notes by hand between the lines if necessary.

1. Transcription.

Two separate transcriptions of the *Letter* should be produced, one from **M** and one from **V**, so that the two are then carefully collated/compared to produce the edition of the *Letter*. Each transcription is preceded by the sigla of the MSS and respective folio number (recto/front or verso/back) and line (e.g., **M** f. 26r.2-12, **V** ff. 23r.21-23v.5). Transcribe the text by typing it (preferably using Word for PC, with Palatino Linotype Unicode Greek fonts)⁴ letter-by-letter, word-for-word, adding breathings, accents, apostrophes and other diacritics, and punctuation, as and when they appear in the MS.

In the transcription please use the following conventions:

- Separate words
- Capitalise proper names, and names of months and days of the week (e.g., Ἰωάννης, Μάρτιος, Παρασκευή)
- Expand abbreviations and contractions placing letters omitted within round brackets (e.g. κ(αὶ) ἄν(θρωπος)
- Place double dot over *iota* (ῑ) and *upsilon* (ῥ) when placed by the scribes to distinguish these two letters when combined in ligature (e.g., γῖγνομαι) or when used as a *diuresis sign/trema* to distinguish two vowels not forming a diphthong (e.g., ἄῖδιος).

¹ On consulting digital images of *Mutinensis graecus* 82 (III C 3), please see above, p. 31 n. 2.

² B/W microfilm images of *Vat. gr.* 1085 are accessible online; see above, p. 39 n. 1.

³ *Leidensis* BPG 49 is accessible on line (in colour digital images) at: <https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=2488573> (last accessed: 28 January 2018).

⁴ On the installation and use of the Greek polytonic font see below, p. 61.

- Place mute *iota* and *hyphen* only when scribe uses these in the MS (e.g., Τῷ Μελιτηνιώτῃ, διατοῦτο).¹
- Place single vertical line to mark change of folio (e.g., λογο|θήρας) and place new folio number in the left-hand margin on the same line (e.g., f. 23r).

Pay particular attention in placing various punctuation signs in the transcription of the text exactly as they appear in each MS, for these signs are not always identical in **M**, **V** and **E**. Our scribes use a rich punctuation system in order to guide the reader. This is not always helpful in understanding the text as these signs were placed to express various degrees of pause without necessarily aiming at clarifying the syntax and structure of the text but rather at drawing attention to pauses for rhetorical reasons, guiding the reader while delivering the text in front of an audience. Thus the following signs are used: lower, middle and high points (. · ¨), lower and middle commas (, ·), mark of interrogation (;), and full stop (: or ~). These can be typed by using ‘Insert’, ‘Symbol’, while the level can be adjusted through ‘Home’ and **x**₂ or **x**² (placed beside the Symbols **B / u** for **Bold Italic** and **underline**).

Spelling errors, omission of accents/breathings, omission/transposition of words, lacunae, and other palaeographical and textual observations should be recorded in the *apparatus criticus*, a separate section placed under the transcribed text (adding respective line numbers in **bold** for easy reference (e.g., **9** ὄτε: ὄτε V).

Here is a list of abbreviations used in the *apparatus criticus*:

acc.	accentus, -um	ex cor.	ex correctione	pp.	paginae
add.	addidit, -erunt	f.	folium	post cor.	post correctionem
adn.	adnotatio	ff.	folia	r	rectum (folium)
al.	alii, alibi	<i>ibid.</i>	ibidem	ras.	rasura, -am
al. man.	altera manus	illeg.	illegibilis	rec.	recentiora
ante cor.	ante correctionem	in marg.	in margine	scil.	scilicet
<i>appar.</i>	apparatus	in marg. inf.	in margine inferiore	scr.	scripsit, -erunt
ca.	circa	in marg. sup.	in margine superiore	sign.	signum
cap.	capitulum	ind.	indicavit	spir.	spiritus, -um
capp.	capitula	inf.	infra	spur.	spurius, -a
cf.	confer	ins.	inseruit	sq.	et sequens (pagina, linea, folium)
cnc.	cancellavit	inv. ord.	inverso ordine	sqq.	sequentes, -ia
cod.	codex	lac.	lacuna		(paginae, lineae, folia)
codd.	codices	lem.	lemma		
col.	columna	lin.	linea, -am		
coll.	columnae	litt.	littera, -ae	sscr.	superscripsit, -tum
del.	delevit	<i>loc. cit.</i>	loco citato	sup.	supra
dub.	dubium, -a	man. alt.	manus altera	suppl.	supplevit
ed.	edidit, editio	man. rec.	manus recentior	titul.	titulus
edd.	ediderunt, edditiones	man. post.	manus posterior	transp.	transposuit
ep.	epistula	adn.	adnotatio	v	versum (folium)
epp.	epistulae	om.	omisit, -erunt	vid.	vide
eras.	erasit	<i>op. cit.</i>	opere citato	viz.	videlicet
		p.	pagina		

¹ The mark of *hyphen* (ὕφ'έν or ὕφέν) is found in the character set of Palatino Linotype, under ‘Symbols’. On the use of this conventional mark see D.J. Murphy, ‘Hyphens in Greek Manuscripts’, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 36.3 (1995), 293-314.

2. Edition

An edition of the text of the *Letter* is based on a careful and detailed collation/comparison of the transcribed text of **M** with that of **V** and that of Eustratiades (E). Copy the text from **M** in a new file; this will become the edited text once the collation is completed. Place the transcription of **V** in front of you and go through the text checking against the transcription of **M** word-for-word, changing different letters, words, accents/breathings, punctuation signs etc., which you encounter as you compare the edited text you are working on with the typed transcribed text in **V**. Whenever there is discrepancy you have to think which reading is best in terms of correct spelling, syntax etc. The reading which you consider correct/superior you keep in the edited text and that which you consider erroneous/inferior you record in the *apparatus criticus* using the abbreviations listed above (e.g., **11** ὦς M: ὄς V). If you are uncertain about these discrepancies you should consult the MSS again.

Once you have completed the collation of **V** with **M** and have recorded all variant readings and other differences in the *apparatus criticus*, you proceed with the same method to collate the edited text with Eustratiades' edition (**E**), which was based on two later Vienna MSS, *Vindobonensis Historicus graecus* 101 (A) and *Vindobonensis Philologicus graecus* 195 (B).¹ Once more, you place **E** in front of you and go through the working text checking against **E** word-for-word, identifying variants and other discrepancies which again you need to decide whether you consider correct/superior or erroneous/inferior in comparison to the edited text you have established before. You then record the variants and changes in the *apparatus criticus* as before.

Having established what you consider the best possible text in terms of orthography and punctuation, you proceed with finalising the edited text. You place in the left-hand margin of line 1 Eustratiades' and Lameere's sigla (**E** and **L**) with their respective numberings of the *Letter*, followed by the full inscription of the *Letter* with the name of the addressee. You keep full names if these appear in **M** and **V** while you place omitted names within <pointing brackets>. The sigla **M**, **V**, **E** and their respective folio numbers/pages are placed under the edited text, followed by the *apparatus criticus*, recording variant readings, corrections, deletions, additions, transpositions of words, etc. observed in **M**, **V** and **E**. In our edition we have been using a positive *apparatus criticus*, in the sense that we give the full reference of the reading in all MSS (**M** and **V**) and **E** (e.g., **12** τέλος M: τέλειος **VE**). The advantage of the positive *apparatus criticus* is that it is clearer and helps in categorising the various observations for use in a separate section on the paleographical and textual examination of the text. In

¹ See Sophronios EUSTRATIADES, *Ἑκκλησιαστικός Φάρος*, τόμος Α', Τεύχος Β' (1908), 91-106, accessible online at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, Psifiothiki AUTH digital collections (accessed: 15 October 2017): [Introduction & Letter 1, http://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/140860](http://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/140860).

the negative *apparatus criticus* we give only the variant words of MSS and **E** not adopted in the edited text (e.g., **12** τέλειος **VE**). The advantage in this case is economy.

The final step involves the reading of the text and the identification of any direct quotation from, or indirect allusion to, a source (classical, Scriptural/biblical, Patristic, or common proverb). This is recorded in a separate section, the *apparatus fontium*, placed right above the *apparatus criticus* and below the sigla and folio/page numbers of **M**, **V** and **E**. Each entry in the *apparatus fontium* gives the respective line/lines of the identified phrase in the edited text, followed by the first and last word of the phrase quoted, separated by a dash if it refers to the whole phrase, or three stops if it refers only to certain words within a phrase; then the name of author and/or source, the title of work, Book/Chapter/section, followed by details of the edition of the work (e.g., **3-4** ὁ – ἐκπορεύεται] Ιοη. 15:26 [with reference to the Gospel of St John Chapter 15, verse 26: ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται]). If the phrase simply alludes to a source then we add the abbreviation for confer/compare (e.g., **3-4** Πνεῦμα ... ἐκπορεύεσθαι] cf. Ιοη. 15:26).

In principle, in our edition we try to keep as faithful to the MSS as possible, using certain conventions that the modern reader would reasonably expect:

- Correct spelling errors
- Maintain Byzantine conventions, such as joined words in adverbial expressions (e.g., διατοῦτο and not διὰ τοῦτο).
- Follow closely the punctuation in the MSS, mainly in **M** and alternatively in **V**, substituting middle points and middle commas either with commas or, more rarely, with dashes (– ... –) or parentheses.
- Omit double dot over *iota* (ÿ) and *upsilon* (ü) when placed by the scribes to distinguish these two letters when combined in ligature (e.g., γῆγνομαι) but keep it when used as a *diairesis* sign/*tremma* to distinguish two vowels not forming a diphthong (e.g., ἀῖδιος).
- Add mute *iota* when necessary.
- Place acute accent on oxytones followed by punctuation mark (e.g., καλὸς καγαθός').

In our attempt to grasp the often obscure meaning and establish the best possible edited text we have found that the best way is to produce a draft translation (double spaced) and revise it in parallel with reading and editing the Greek text, sentence-by-sentence, revisiting it as the meaning is gradually unravelled. This leads to the next stage.

3. Translation and notes

An annotated translation of the *Letter* is based on a good understanding of the text and thorough research on the various information it gives (names of persons and places, events, MSS, etc). You have already drafted a translation while working on the edited text, which has hopefully helped you understand the basic concept behind the *Letter* (e.g., a complaint, a request, or both). By reading and rereading the edited text and trying to make sense of it, you start drafting a working translation, which will be corrected, improved and polished in the Seminar. This perhaps is the most fruitful and exciting stage of the Seminar meetings, when we are trying to unravel obscure passages in these highly rhetorical epistolary texts. The footnotes added to the translation explain the most important points and information in the *Letter*. More extensive notes, especially of philological and palaeographical nature, appear in the next section, the commentary.

4. Commentary

The Commentary accompanying the *Letter* includes prosopographical information on the addressee and other persons appearing in the *Letter*, accompanied by their respective number in *PLP* (Erich Trapp et al. eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 1-12 [Vienna, 1976-1995]), also adding numbers of other *Letters* addressed to them by George of Cyprus. It also gives further information on toponyms, terms, events and other points of interest in the text, accompanied by references and full bibliography related to the specific *Letter*. Unclear points are highlighted for further research.

Photocopies of folios of the extant MSS and of the draft edition and translation of the text examined are prepared by the co-directors of the Seminar and are distributed to members, whose main task is to check the draft versions prepared by a member of the Seminar and to suggest corrections and emendations, in the process raising questions and offering suggestions and other information in all aspects (palaeographical, philological, historical, theological, etc) in an attempt to better understand the meaning and assess the value of the often obscure Greek text. Following a thorough checking by each member (in rotation) of the transcription of the text from the facsimile of the MS, the draft edition of the Greek passage and its draft English translation are read aloud by a native-Greek speaker and English speaker, respectively. The next step involves a usually lengthy and occasionally hot discussion in an attempt to finalise the edition of the Greek text and render it in good, readable English. Needless to say, it is not always possible to successfully complete such an ambitious task within a two-hour session, and therefore the process resumes in the next session. The advantage of a week of thorough

research and hard thought is apparent, as re-worked or fresh ideas, different approaches, more in-depth understanding and new discoveries are brought back to the Seminar for discussion. This is a constant, fruitful and exciting feature of our weekly meetings, intensified by occasional e-mail correspondence among members during the week.

V 194^r 4 – 194^v 11

f. 194^r β' + λογοθέτη τῶν γενικῶν τῶ ἀκροπολίτη : ~

Ὁ μὲν κανὼν, τοῦ μάρτυρος συνεπιλαβομένου, εἶ τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπῆλθεν ἄξιον
τῆς ἐκείνου χάριτος καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ φθέγξασθαι, καὶ τὴν χθὲς· καὶ ἔτι τὴν πρὸ
τῆς χθὲς, ἤνυσται καὶ πέρας ἔχει· ὅστις δ' αὐτὸν οἶον καὶ ἀμαγινώσκεσθαι
5 γράψει, παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν· εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἐμὲ, ἐγὼ μὲν γράφειν καὶ εἰδυῖαν
ὁμολογῶ, καὶ ἰσχύουσιν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα· ὅτι δὲ γράφοντος χειρόνως ἔχειν
συμβαίνει τὸν ἀσθενῆ ὀφθαλμὸν, ἄλλοις τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
f. 194^v παραχωρῶ· ἐγὼ δὲ εἶην ὡς ὁ μὴ εἰδῶς | μὴ δὲ ἰσχύων, εἰ ταύτη γε ἔχοντος,
ἄμεινον ἔσται τῶ ὀφθαλμῶ· καὶ γὰρ οὐσης ζημίας, τῆς μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρα
10 ἀργεῖν· τῆς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ καχεξίας· οὐσης δὲ ἀνάγκης, τούτων
ἡμῖν τὴν ἐτέραν προσεῖναι εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀμφοτέρας· ἐλοίμην ἐγὼ τὴν πρώτην·
ἐλάττονα μὲν οὐσαν, βελτίονα δὲ ὡς ἐν συγκρίσει δύο κακῶν, οὐχὶ τὴν δευτέραν
τὸ μείζον ἐν δυστυχήμασιν ἔχουσαν· ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἄνωθεν ἔλεγον, εἶπερ
15 ὑμῖν πέμπειν· τὸν κανόνα κελεύεις εὐκρινῶς ἔχοντα τῆς γραφῆς ὡσπέρ που
δίκαιον καὶ ἐμφανίζεσθαι, πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρότερον ὅστις αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀτεχνῶς
γράφει πεμπέσθω + : ~

Edition

β' (E β', L2) Λογοθέτη τῶν γενικῶν τῶ Ἀκροπολίτη

Ὁ μὲν κανὼν, τοῦ μάρτυρος συνεπιλαβομένου, εἶ τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπῆλθεν ἄξιον
τῆς ἐκείνου χάριτος καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ φθέγγασθαι, καὶ τὴν χθῆς, καὶ ἔτι τὴν πρὸ
τῆς χθῆς, ἦνυσται καὶ πέρας ἔχει· ὅστις δ' αὐτὸν οἶον καὶ ἀμαγινώσκεσθαι
5 γράφει, παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν· εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἐμὲ, ἐγὼ μὲν γράφειν καὶ εἰδυῖαν
ὁμολογῶ καὶ ἰσχύουσαν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα· ὅτι δὲ γράφοντος, χειρόνως ἔχειν
συμβαίνει τὸν ἀσθενῆ ὀφθαλμόν, ἄλλοις τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
παραχωρῶ· ἐγὼ δὲ εἶην, ὡς ὁ μὴ εἰδῶς μὴ δὲ ἰσχύων, εἰ ταύτη γε ἔχοντος ἄμεινον
ἔσται τῶ ὀφθαλμῶ· καὶ γὰρ οὔσης ζημίας, τῆς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἀργεῖν, τῆς
10 δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ καχεξίας, οὔσης δὲ ἀνάγκης τούτων ἡμῖν τὴν
ἐτέραν προσεῖναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀμφοτέρας, ἐλοίμην ἐγὼ τὴν πρώτην, ἐλάττονα μὲν
οὔσαν, βελτίονα δὲ ὡς ἐν συγκρίσει δύο κακῶν, οὐχὶ τὴν δευτέραν τὸ μείζον ἐν
δυστυχήμασιν ἔχουσαν· ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἄνωθεν ἔλεγον, εἵπερ ὑμῖν πέμπειν τὸν
κανόνα κελεύεις εὐκρινῶς ἔχοντα τῆς γραφῆς, ὥσπερ που δίκαιον καὶ
15 ἐμφανίζεσθαι, πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρότερον ὅστις αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀτεχνῶς γράφει πεμπέσθω.

M 8r – 8v 11, **V** 194r 26 – 194v 7, **E** I (1908), 9-10

5 γράφει post cor. (e γράψαι) M || 8 μὴ δὲ MV: μηδὲ E || 9 μὲν bis acc. M || 14 ὥσπερ που E: ὥσπερ που MV || καὶ ME: om. V

Translation

2 To <Konstantinos> Akropolites, *logothete tôn genikôn*

Constantinople (?), ca.1282 - Palm Sunday, 11 April
1283

The canon was finished and completed yesterday, or even the day before, by the help of the Martyr, if indeed something worthy of his grace inspired me in thought and words. However, we have no one who will copy it, so that it is
5 legible. If you suggest me, I admit that my hand has both the skill and ability to do so, but as it happens my weak eye got worse while I was writing, and so I concede this task and privilege to others. I would have already done so, as someone would who was both unskilled and incapable, if actually this would have been better for my eye. In fact, faced with this problem resulting from both
10 my slow hand and weak eye, and being forced to add the other drawback,¹ if I had not had to face both of them,² I would have preferred the first one,³ being the lesser of the two evils and preferable by far, and not the second one,⁴ which is the greatest misfortune. But as I said above, if you insist that I should send you the canon in a legible hand, as perhaps it is right that it should appear, send us first
15 someone who will copy it skilfully.

¹ Namely, the absence of a scribe.

² That is, his physical weakness and the absence of a scribe.

³ Meaning, not to have a scribe.

⁴ Namely, not to be able to use both his hand and eye.

Commentary

1. PROSOPOGRAPHY

Ἀκροπολίτης Κωνσταντῖνος (PLP 520)

Letters addressed to him: possibly β', λη', λθ', ρξθ'¹

Born 1250/55 - died in or after May 1324.

λογοθέτης τῶν γενικῶν, 1282 - ca. 1294

μέγας λογοθέτης, post 1294² -1321

The eldest son of the scholar, teacher, historian and civil official George Akropolites

An anti-unionist

Restorer of the Monastery of the Anastasis in CP

A prolific hagiographer and hymnographer. He composed encomia and sermons to approximately 30 saints as well as homilies on religious festivals and occasions

He also composed minor rhetorical works, and a chronicle from the foundation of Rome to 1261 (cod. Vindob. Histor. gr. 99, ff. 15-35)

His 194 surviving *Letters* have been edited by R. Romano (see below)

Works:

For a list of his published & unpublished works, as well as his correspondents, see R. Romano ed., *Costantino Acropolita. Epistole* (Naples, 1991), pp. 18-29

2. CHRONOLOGY:

The *Letter* must have been sometime composed between 1282, when Constantine held the titular office of λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ/τῶν γενικῶν (cf. inscription of the *Letter*) and Palm Sunday, 11 April 1283, date of George of Cyprus' elevation to the Patriarchal throne.

3. NOTES:

1. λογοθέτης τῶν γενικῶν: originally the head of the major fiscal department (γενικόν), which dealt with taxes, collection of payments and land assessment. After 1204 the office of *logothetes tou genikou* became merely titular, and was often rendered to intellectuals, such as Georgios and Konstantinos Akropolites and Theodoros Metochites. See V. Laurent, 'Notes de titulature byzantine, 4: Le logothète du trésor sous le premiers Paléologues', *Echo d'Orient* 38 (1939), 368-70; R. Guiland, 'Les logothètes: Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 29 (1971), 11-24 (with a prosopographical list); N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), index, esp. pp. 303, 313-314 with n. 146.

2. Ὁ μὲν κανὼν, τοῦ μάρτυρος: a yet unidentified canon to an unspecified martyr.

13-14. τὸν κανόνα: see above, note to line 2.

¹ Eustratiades , p. 82, no. 5, included erroneously these Letters (2, 38, 39, 169) among those addressed to Konstantinos' father and *megas logothetes*, Georgios Acropolites.

² Cf. R. Romano ed., *Costantino Acropolita. Epistole* (Naples, 1991), p. 17 with n. 29.

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Greek Polytonic Linotype font

A. How to activate Greek Polytonic Linotype font in the computer:

1. Go to START → CONTROL PANEL → REGIONAL AND LANGUAGE OPTIONS → LANGUAGES → DETAILS → ADD → INPUT LANGUAGE: GREEK (ALSO SELECT KEYBOARD LAYOUT/IME: GREEK POLYTONIC → OK → SETTINGS: APPLY
2. At the bottom right of the screen (together with the other images of programmes, you will see the LAN (for LANGUAGE) option. Press EL to select Greek. A small image with a keyboard will appear next to that of EL. Press Greek Polytonic
3. Open a document in Winword. Select Font Palatino Linotype. Make sure that you have selected EL for Greek (see above, item 2). Type a few letters to confirm that it writes Greek characters.

B. How to use Greek Polytonic Linotype:

1. Once you make sure the Greek characters appear on the screen, you can write polytonic Greek using the following combinations (Select English UK and not US keyboard)

acute accent	press : and the letter	acute alpha	
grave accent	press] and the letter	grave alpha	
circumflex accent	press [and the letter	circumflex alpha	
smooth breathing	press ' and the letter	smooth alpha	Alpha
rough breathing	press @ and the letter	rough alpha	Alpha
smooth and acute	press / and the letter	smooth acute alpha	Alpha
rough and acute	press ? and the letter	rough acute alpha	Alpha
smooth and grave	press # and the letter	smooth grave alpha	Alpha
rough and grave	press ~ and the letter	rough grave alpha	Alpha
smooth and circumflex	press = and the letter	smooth circumflex alpha	Alpha
rough and circumflex	press + and the letter	rough circumflex alpha	Alpha
mute <i>iota</i> subscript	press { and the letter	alpha with subscript iota	Alpha

2. For Greek numbers and symbols (e.g., ζ , \mathcal{D}) and other combinations of letters with accents and mute *iota*, etc. (e.g., α , ω , η , etc.), in Winword top MENU select INSERT → SYMBOL (Font: NORMAL TEXT; Subset: BASIC GREEK or GREEK EXTENDED) → select the letter/symbol you wish from the Greek fonts → INSERT

Questions and *desiderata*

- Investigate further the hands that added the inscriptions of the *Letters* in M
- Investigate further the addressees of *Letters* on the basis of different inscriptions in extant MSS

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ Τῶν ἁγίων Κωνσταντίνου
 καὶ Θεοδοσίου ἑπισκόπων ἁγίων καὶ καθολικῶν
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Νίκαιας ἐναντίον τῶν ἑρесьων
 τῆς ἐκείνης ἐποχῆς

Φασι τὶ μὲν λόγον β' κτ' ἡ πείρονα αὐτῶν
 ἀνδρῶν πόρνημα οὐ πολὺ κλέος ἀρχὴ θ' βμ
 ἐμλόποις φασι καὶ τὸ μλόγον εἶναι οἷον
 ἀμάρτωσαι καὶ αὐξήσαι τὸ τοῦ πρὸς κλέος
 πλάσιω θ' ἡ δὴ οὐκέτι αὐτῶσαι οὐ κοινῶς
 εἶπω πρὸς τοῦ προτέρου πῶ θάομαι
 εἰ βεβαίως ἀφίκατο ἀφίκατο γὰρ καὶ τὸ
 βεβαίως σβπίταμαι ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ δ' αὖτε
 κατατὴν φήλω σμμάγει τὸ τ' ἡ δὴ πῶ
 θάομαι εἰ δὲ λέγεις ὡς οὐχ' ἄρα καὶ οὐδὲ
 δὴ ἡ λ' ἔσθ' οὐκέτι σὺ τὸ κ' μ' ἄκα τὰ γ' αὐ
 τῶ μλόπων φίλον κείσ' ὅμοιος εἶναι τῶ πρὸς
 καὶ τοῦτο δὴ παραπλήσιος ἔγωγε ἡ γὰρ
 ἴνα σοι σαφὲς ἔσθ' ἡ γ' αὖτε καὶ μακρὸν ἄν' ἡ
 εἴπει λάμνω ὡς τὸ τιμολόγον πῶ μ' εἶ
 θ' αὐμασίων εἰς χεῖρας λαμείμ εἰδὼς ὡς
 οὐδ' ἂν ποτε τοσοῦτο μ' ἔσθ' ἡ δὴ θ' ἡ δὴ
 καὶ πρ' ἡ μ' εἰς πρὸς λόγων ἀπ' ἡ γ' αὖτε
 ἀρ' ἄλλ' ὅσ' ἡ δὴ τ' ἡ δὴ σὺ δὲ μ' ἡ γ' αὖτε

λ
 5

7
 f

B.E.

✠ Τη κοίτη χυρίκη φορφή χυμνη +
 Ο Τεσιν ταζομβρος κημρ ήκω φελλομβρ
 τλη προσμδω, οίδα σοσμοσι πθρη
 ωθη τοσβρ χειρισαν. εκθβρημ πραζ
 μβα κομβσι. οίδα και ωσπροθυμοσ
 εδδω το καταμχθβρ και τβλω φρυπα
 τηρ χρειαφ. τιομ μωβρ διδυμοισ Ο
 φωσφοροσ και θβρω ακμη μω και οισει
 ρη τομβα κομσφρ παρ τω ηκασιρ. φμ
 ομ εκκομκοτασ αιταω πασθαφ η φπε
 γραφασ το θβρινορ ημρ ματιορ χειρ
 γλιοσ παρ ρβωι φηραι χμμραι. φδεμ
 τουτο παρ αφαρ τω βουσιρ, ουκ εκφρ
 αλλ ημρ γραφορ ουδε ρηκβρ. αιτει
 μηδβρ. μηδε παρ βεργαζου. και
 τοισδε τοισ ρημασιρ φρα παρ τω ημ
 ωσπερ τισ ββρωσ τη τπσ βλ παιδωσ
 βωι τυχιαμ χει παρ τ ηουχασομ +

✠ Τρβο και σφρει +
 Ο ρημνορ μωσ γραφφρ πεσ κυδρακ ο
 ηδ πατμομβρορ, απη φρ τισορ μινσλοησ.
 οίδασ ισωσ τορ πατγωγορτ. ειδδω, αλ
 λη ρουτοσ γε, οτισε προλαβει η εδειγο
 γραφωτ περ ημ και απε φαλκοτ. ημ δε
 προσεμυασ, ωσ ταρ ημ ρωρ βρυγμβρ

ἔτι μάλλον αὐτῶν παῖσι μὲν ἀναβλήθητε· καὶ ὅτε ἐμὴ
 κῆρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ κλοῦσ' κερποῦ, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ
 τὰς φαντασίας ἡδονὰς πληθύνετε·

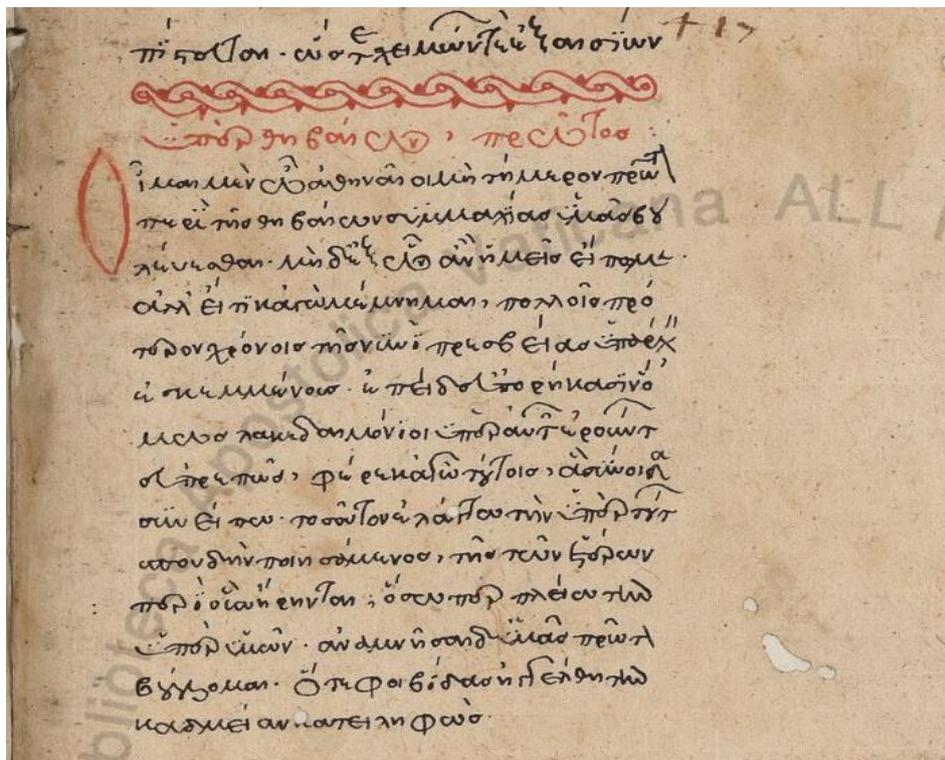
† τῶ αὐτῶ : †

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ χείρας πρὶ ἀέχλω, ἐμὴ πέμψει ἢ
 ἢ μαστράματι δὲ τῶν, ὁλίγωρ εἰς ἀνεκείνω
 δόξειν ἐνόμισα καὶ σαφῆ πρὸ φρόνησιν· ὅθεν
 καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ πόλαιον καὶ ἀφθλῶ τὸ ὑπὲρ θέμεν,
 κέκλει καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναρῶναι πέμψαι· εἶτα
 δὲ καὶ ὡσαύτῳ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖς δεῦρα· δὲ θλαθεῶν
 αὐτὸ ἐχων εἰς χεῖρας ἡδὴ καὶ πθέρπει λέγει,
 εἰ πέμψειν γε ἄμεινον, ἢ θάτερον πρᾶττεν.
 εἰ θάτερον βέλτιον· τὸν δὲ λεθεῶν παφλαγῶν
 ἰγνᾶττον, τὸν παλασμένῶν τῶν ὡσαύτῳ τυχῶν
 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τὸς, λυμηνδῶνον καὶ λυ
 - μωνόμηνον ἔτι, καὶ γε ἐμὴ λήξειν ποτε λυμᾶς
 νεσθαι κατὰ πολλὰ ἀπὸν οἰαν φάσκοντα, ὅτι
 καὶ μένος αὐτῶ φησὶ διδάσκει καὶ λοσδῶν
 θείας· ὁ δὲ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μορὸς δὲ καὶ οὐκ
 ἀμτιποιοῦ μένος· ἡμᾶς δὲ πᾶν τοῦ
 μαρτίου φρονοῦντ^{ασ} κλήρομ^{ασ} καὶ φυλά
 ξεται μὲν αὐτὸς· φιλάζουσαι δὲ, καὶ ὅστις
 αὐτῶ φίλος· τοῦτον πόμω πολὺ χεῖρ λέγει ἀπὸ
 - φθῶνος, σήμερον πρὸς σὲ διὰ πέμψομαι
 καὶ φησὶ, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀρχὴν προβαίνειν ἢ σᾶ

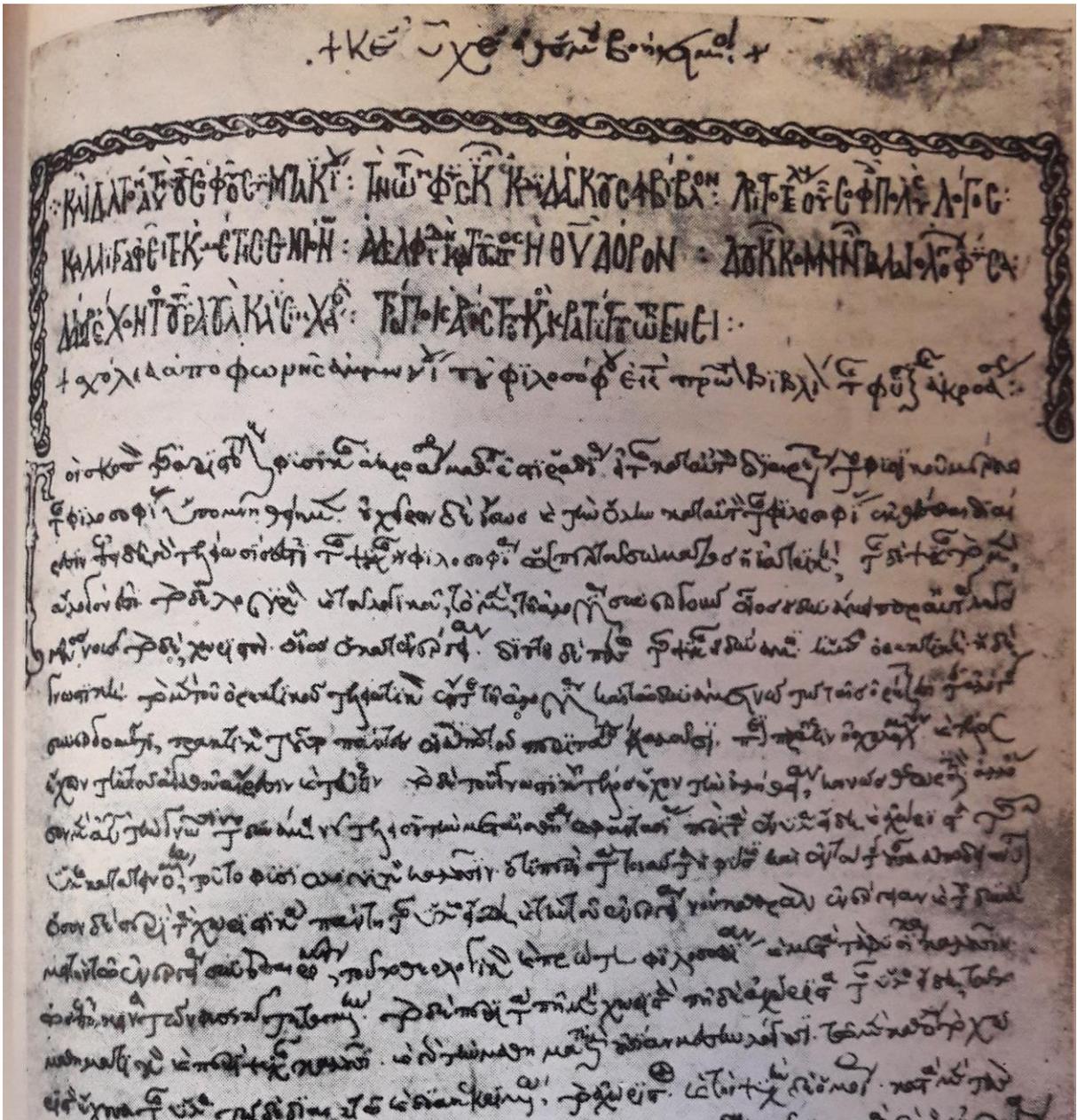
6. Hand 4/(5) - 176r Theodora Raoulaina (?)

αιτιολογησεν ησαν πληρη +
 + τη ραυλαι +
 Επει οτι κικα ποσ επιληπε φασισ παφπισ σε
 ειθισαι προσιμωσαν εις επιληπον τρεφει
 τας επεσου προσθυποι ειθισαισ, δεφει
 ποτο, του μηλων ορτασ οδ αυτικισοι κτ
 θησικα ελθιασ βοηθου ισα παρτω κερκισο
 ελθωτηρ δε κρυσ φισημεσ. αλλη ραυλαι
 μη προφασισ εφησ κερκισοσ η.
 δια του το ιδα κτελ αυταε τη μαζι του
 επισολισοι παντ οχαι τοι δε εν κληροικε
 πασοσ προελησασωτηρ φημεσ. τοσ ημω
 των οδωωσου, δε τετατοισοι οφροσιν
 ημωσ. δε κασ τηρ εθιμικηρωμ, δελατιρ
 πολλαπλασιον, κπουτον πολλαπλασιωσ πολα
 λαπλασιον. δε τωμ οχαι, κεπλομ δε.
 ο ποσ των οχων κελουοσ. και μεθυσω
 εαυτου ελεθι, αζοι βλεπιδισοικατ τασ
 οχασ. οτω κμοτο, ιρ κπεσσοξωμ,
 τασ οτησ παναμ δε ανω, τασ τωρ κπωιωρ
 διουαμωμ. τασ τιμιδπεσ δε ομ, τασ

8. 'Theodora Raoulaina' - Vat. gr. 1899, 9^r and 417r (Aristides)

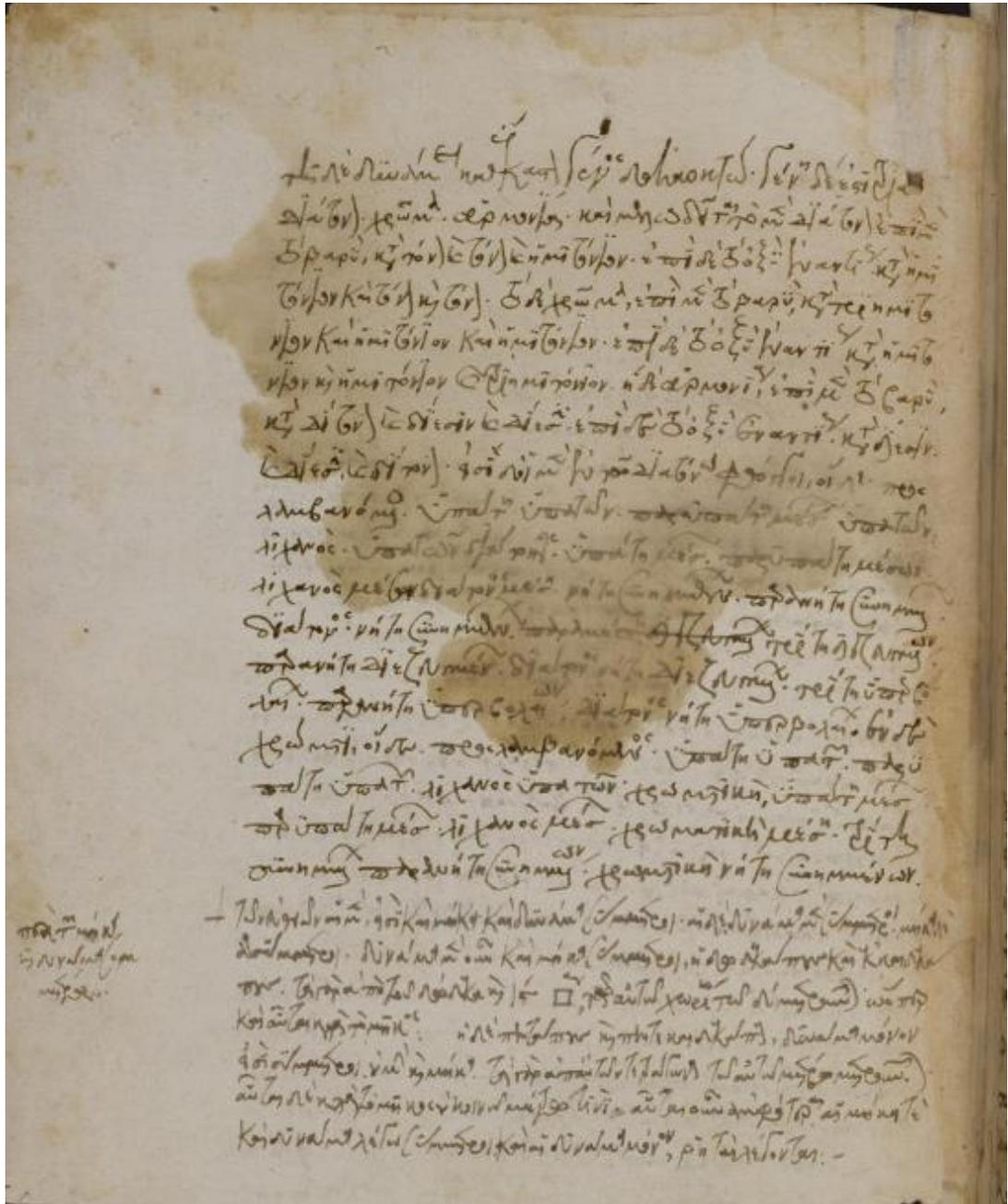


9. 'Theodora Raoulaina' - Moscow GIM, mus. 3649, 1^r, ll. 1-20 (Simplicius)



11. Nikephoros Gregoras - Heidelberg pal. gr. 129, 87^v

(Illustrating both types of script used by Gregoras in this manuscript as distinguished by Pérez Martín, that in ll. 1-18 (her 'second' style) seen as closest to Modena α. R. 6. 19, 190^r-191^r.)¹



¹ Pérez Martín, "El Escorialensis X.I.13", p. 27 and *El Patriarca Gregorio* p. 327.

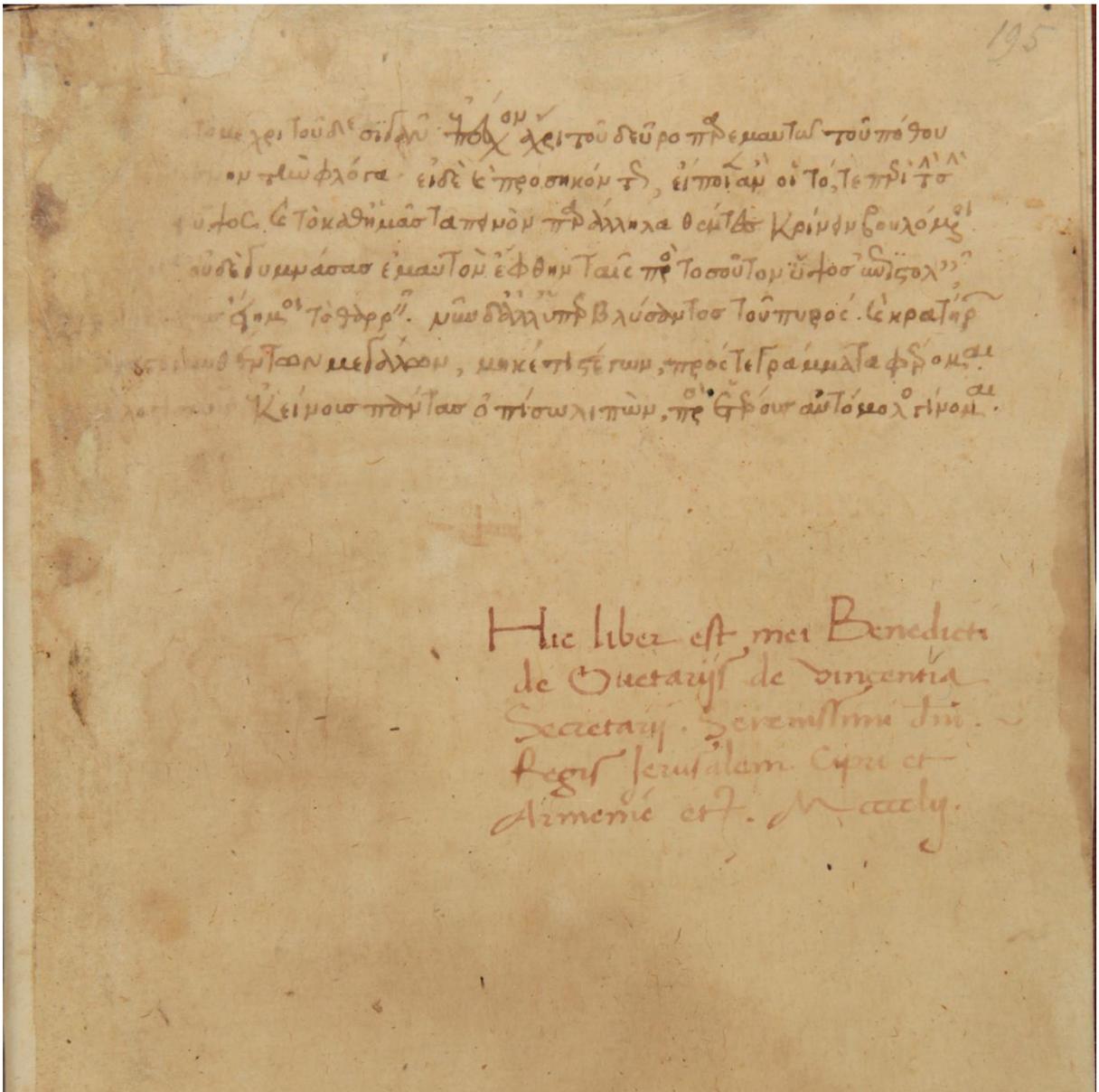
Ποσειδωνος

Ε με προβίβασθαι ες τον θρονον του πρι δευκορ και ες το πρι
 ανης ται της αρχιερωσωνης δεξωμ, ου τε αι εμαυτου αποστα
 οτε αι τωρ εμων φιλων σωδρος. Αλλα η η φη, ως οι δε μερ, ες
 οπει δε τουτο γε γορε και δε τε λεσα εως κ τον ηδη και προς ες
 το δε το λει του εγνη, ωδρ ε ε ποιοσω και ελεβορι ως τε το σω σιδρ
 σαλιζομενοω και της κκλησιας απο δι εσθμενοω, ες φρημ
 ογαετη και ερωσαι αυ, η. Αλλα το σωδασμ του το, ες του
 μηδ τον η εγω εβουλομεν προεβαεμ. εως τε και εβωωτημ
 ως ουκ αν ηδαι τα α αυτη εσηρηγενοι τοσ φρημ εγω το πρι δευ
 καταλιπων, κ του με σου γενομεν. εκηρηχομενη πη χωρ μεμ
 οτε εμδη τως ορωμ τα της κκλησιας εχοντα. Αλλα ηδη σασ
 μελλορ απεδομενοε τη εκκλησια και αλληλοισ τοω σιδρ σαλι
 ζομενοω ορδμ, η εμαυτον την τοιαυτην κα τε χεινδρ χει. εμ δε
 και δια την αυτην του τωμεντω, φερηνη και την τωρ ψυβλαφ
 σιδρ σαλιωρ οργιδρ, ωδραι ετησρ ποιοουμεαι του θεου ο περ
 δευκορ και της αρχιε της πρι αρχιε και του δεξωμα ε
 εμεν τοι και της ιερωσωνης. οπει ται ετη λεσω του με του ου,
 φυλαξω εμαυτω δια βίου ωδρ τοι. οτι και δια μενηνη την φρη
 μενη των πολλων ετηρηνη και προς την κκλησιαν αυτην ε
 βρωσην, ποιοουμεαι την τοιαυτην ωδραι ετησρ, εμενη οτι εμαυ
 ενοιδαι τι πρ εαν τι, δε φεβορ της ιερωσωνης αυ. εμ δε τ
 και βρεσ του χοι που σω εδωκια εϋ, Αλλον κλβεασαι πρι δευ
 και ες τον θρονον του πρι δευκορ και την αρχιερωσωνη ταυτων
 οναβι βασαι. ος αν και ερω συμμαχω και βορω, οσα και ανο
 νικος πρι αρχιε και αρχιερ δε γνηστος, ες εμτα δε σω τα
 της εκκλησ με εν σω εγειν και ησ σω απειμ δω η. και γε μοι το
 τουτο, οικτηρεως του με γα λου εϋ και ορ ημω η εϋ χει. δλω
 που μενου ταις της ωδρα γμου δε σω οινης ημωρ ωδρ θεμον κ εδ
 ρηι τορος και πδη των εμ δε γωρ ωδρ βεσαι ε.

+ δε σω τ ημω ε ωειδη εσφαλως ερωμαι ηη της ως εχ βρωμ
 πειε ωειδε χον ημω ε ε ημω, του το βεβαιω εσο ειδω. οτι
 και πρι αρχιε, ουκ ελλω ε δε βαμενη πρι δευ, γενε ε. οτι με
 οπει λωιδε φερηνη τον του εϋ λαορ, και ε μενη και ποικι
 της κκλησιας σιδρ σαλιω σα. και εηως εφορ, η του τ κ
 ερωμ την ωδρ εμαυτου φση βορ σω εμ. ως ε προ ορ το ε
 χρορου ου δεμ τι πλιον ες φερηνη και τον αρχιε δε σκο ωρ

τε λ η
 πρε ζω τ
 εδ ωρ αι η

17. Hand 9/(10) - 195r, ll.1-7 (Planudes)
with Benedetto degli Ovetarii ownership note



Appendix III

The Hand of Nikephoros Gregoras

The hand of the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras (1293/5 - 1358/61) has been much investigated since Alexander Turyn, in the 1950s, identified him with the Gregoras whom the 15th-century bibliophile, John Cortasmenos, named in a marginal note as the writer of an authorship note above the title to the Introduction to Astronomy (Στοιχειώσις Ἀστρονομική) by Gregoras' patron and mentor, Theodoros Metochites (1270-1332) in Vat. gr. 1365.¹

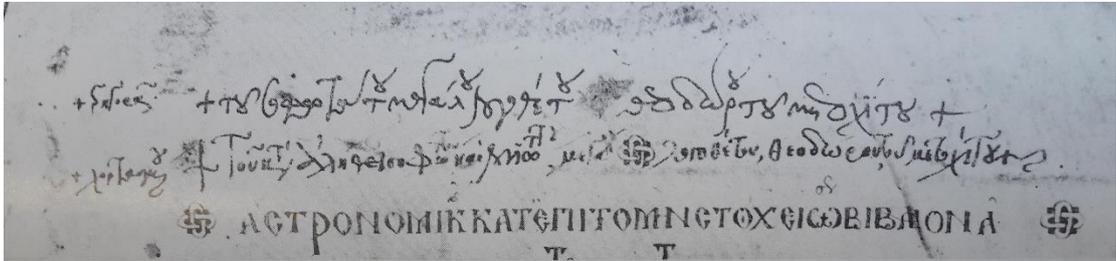


Fig. 1: Vat. gr. 1365, 1^r - Theodoros Metochites, Στοιχειώσις Ἀστρονομική, autograph notes by Chortasmenos and Gregoras (l.1 '+ γρηγορά + τοῦ σοφωτάτου μεγάλου λογοθέτου θεοδώρου τοῦ μετοχίτου +)

The leading role in identifying further examples of Gregoras' hand was played by Ihor Ševčenko, notably in his 1964 essay 'Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras'.² Ševčenko's findings have since been extended by a number of different scholars.³ To date, this has involved almost sixty manuscripts, most of which are listed in a 2005 survey article by Daniele Bianconi.⁴

Using Vat. gr. 1365 as the basis of his analysis, Ševčenko identified fifteen manuscripts that he believed or suspected to have been partly written or annotated by Gregoras. Among the first was Vat. gr 116, the final pages of which, containing two fragments mounted in reverse order, he recombined correctly to form an almost complete text of a Gregoras letter (Leone 120).⁵

¹ A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Manuscripts of Euripides* (Urbana, 1957), pp. 393-5.

² I. Ševčenko, 'Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras', in F. Barišić (ed.), *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky 2*, Зборник радова Византолошког института (*Recueil des travaux de l'institute d'études Byzantines*) 8 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 435-450, reprinted in I. Ševčenko, *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London, 1981), XII.

³ See, in particular, for an illustrated analysis of its more distinctive letter-forms, B. L. Fonkich, 'Nouveaux Autographes de Nicéphore Gregoras', a paper given at the Fourth International Congress on Greek Palaeography, Oxford 1993 and published as 'Новые автографы Никифора Григоры', in his *Греческие рукописи европейских собраний. Палеографические и кодикологические исследования 1988-1998* (Moscow, 1999), XI, pp. 62-79.

⁴ D. Bianconi, 'La Biblioteca di Cora tra Massimo Planude e Niceforo Gregora: una questione di mani', *Segno e Testo*, 3 (2005), pp. 391-438.

⁵ P. L. M. Leone (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae* (Matino, 1982-3), vol. 2, pp. 312-14.

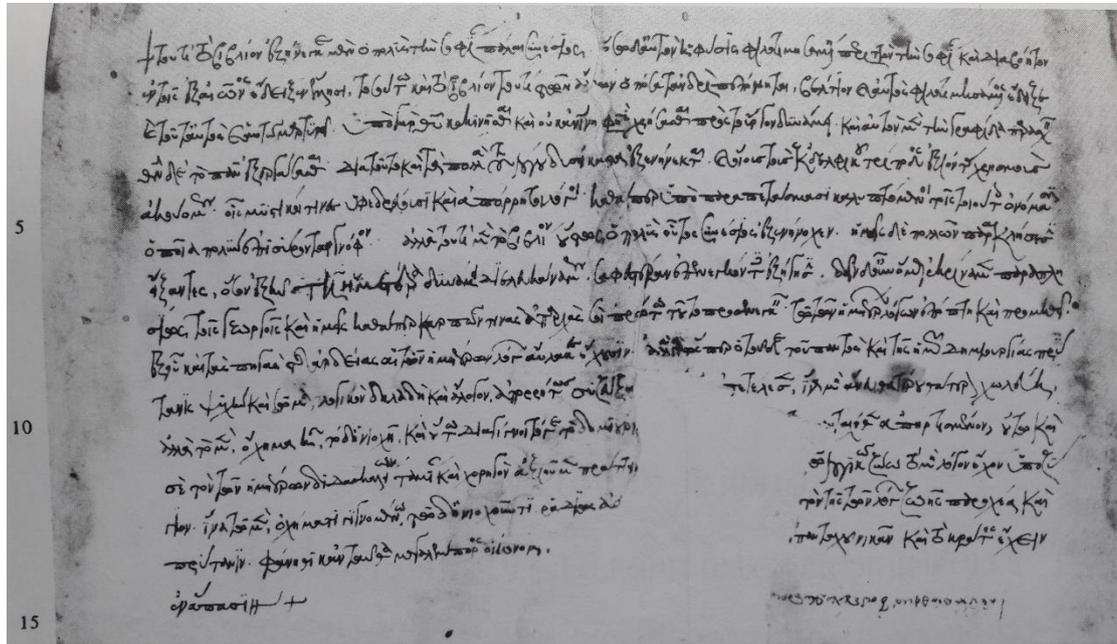


Fig. 2: Vat. gr. 116, 231^r - 230^v as recombined by Ševčenko – Gregoras Letter 120

Table 1 below lists some of the particular similarities in *ductus* highlighted by Ševčenko in his comparison.

Table 1 – Similarities of *ductus*: Vat. gr. 1365 and Vat. gr. 116

Vat. gr. 1365, 1 ^r		Vat. gr. 116, 231 ^r - 230 ^v
σο		<u>σο</u> φίαν (l. 1), <u>ο</u> σον (l. 7)
φ		<u>φ</u> άνηθι (l. 14)
ω	<u>σοφω</u> τάτου	<u>τῶν</u> (ll. 8, 9 and 12), <u>παραπλησίω</u> ς (ll. 7-8), <u>ράδιω</u> ς (l. 13)
τα		<u>παραπε</u> τάσμασι (l. 5), <u>έπισυρόν</u> ται (l. 6) <u>πρύ</u> τανις (ll. 9-10) <u>κάν</u> ταῦθα / <u>παν</u> ταχοῦ (l. 14)
με	<u>με</u> γάλου	<u>μ</u> έν (l. 1) <u>με</u> γαλέμπορος (l. 14)
λογ	<u>λο</u> γοθέτου	<u>λό</u> γου (l. 4), <u>λο</u> γικῶ (l. 14)
θ	λογο <u>θ</u> έτου (<u>θ</u> εοδώρου)	<u>θ</u> ατέρου (l. 10)
οὔ	τοῦ	<u>παν</u> τα <u>χ</u> οῦ (l. 14)

Ševčenko identified similar authorship notes in Gregoras' hand in three other manuscripts: Vat. gr. 303 (ff. 1^r and 2^v), Paris gr. 1776 (f. 1^r) and Paris gr. 2003 (f. 3^r).¹

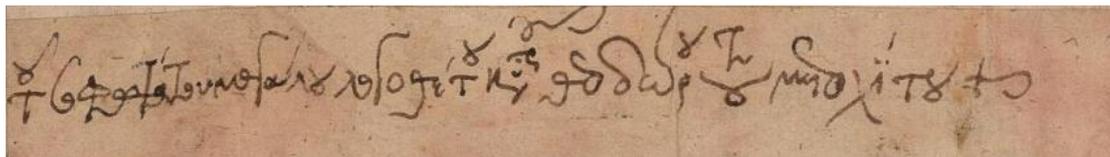


Fig. 3: Vat. gr. 303, 1^r - authorship note for Theodoros Metochites, *Commentaries on Aristotle*

A comparable sequence of words appears in a scholion at f. 2^v of Vat. gr. 1086, another manuscript identified by Ševčenko as containing insertions attributable to Gregoras.²

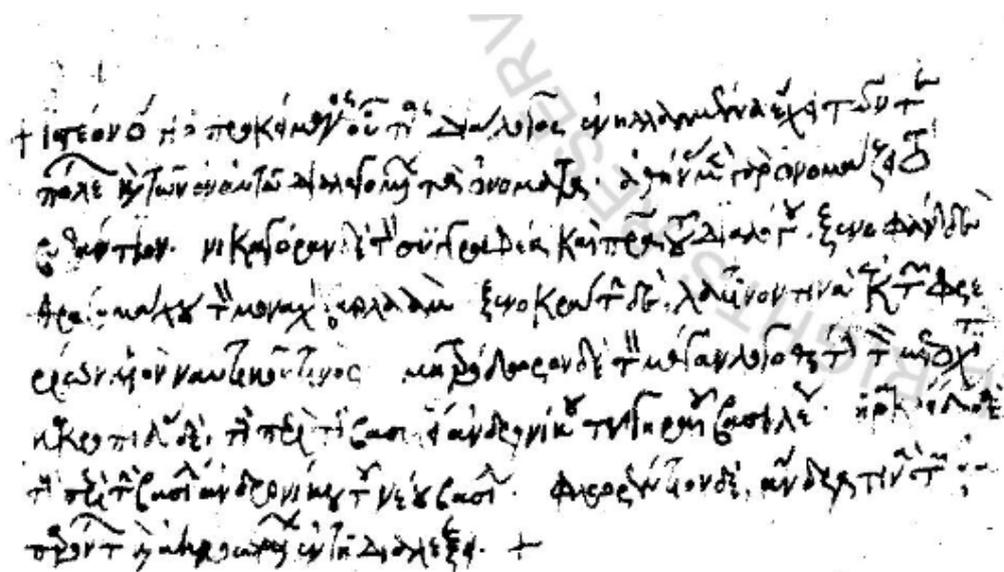


Fig. 4: Vat. gr. 1086, 2^v: scholion to Gregoras' dialogue *Phlorentios* l. 5 (end): 'μέγαν λογοθέτ(ην) τ(ὸν) μετοχίτ<ην>

¹ See also Ševčenko *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), pp. 281-3 and Plates V-VI.

² See also Vat. gr. 1086, ff. 28^r, 94^v, 151^r (pasted insertion), 210^r and, possibly, 218^r.

Based on this analysis Ševčenko also detected Gregoras' hand in Vat. gr. 1085, f. 15 in an insertion to the text of Letter 114 (Leone).¹

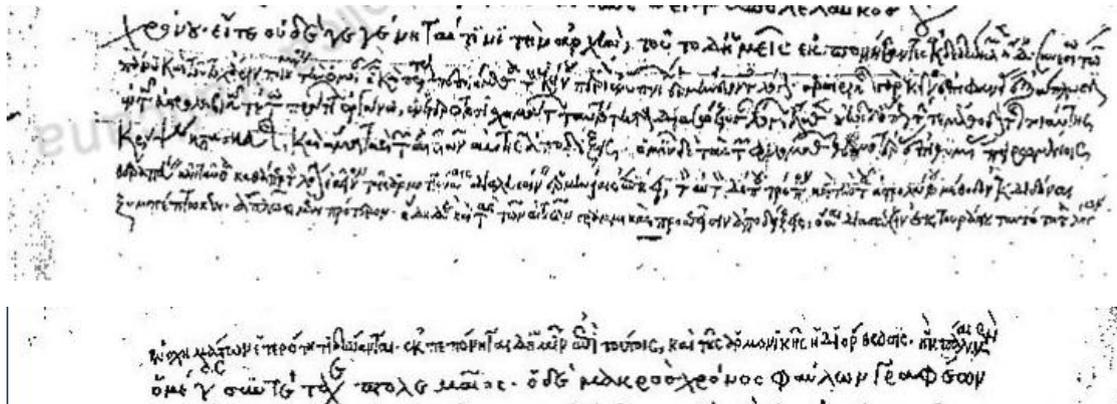


Fig. 5: Vat gr. 1085, f. 15^r, ll. 29-34 (incl. pasted substitution on ll. 30-1) and f. 15^v, ll. 1-2

Other manuscripts identified by Ševčenko as partly written or annotated by Gregoras were Vat. gr. 165, 303, 1087 and 1095, Venice, Marc. gr. Z. 312 and 325, Paris. gr. 1776 and 2003 and Heidelberg, Palat, gr.129, plus, more tentatively, Vat. gr. 164 and Paris. gr. 1276.

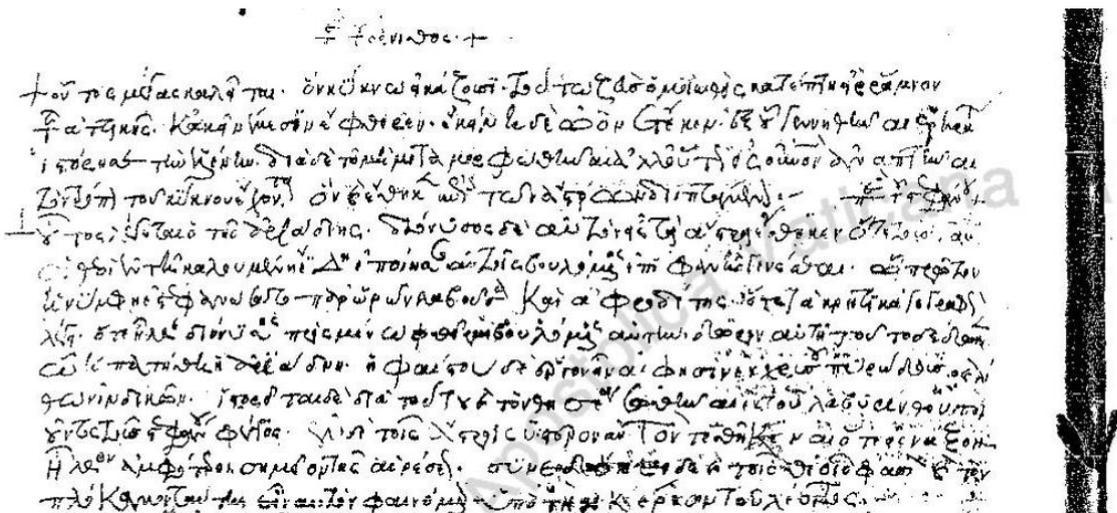


Fig. 6: Vat. gr. 1087, ff. 312^v, ll. 1-14 (extract from Gregoras' treatise on astrolabe)

¹ Inserted text from 15^r, l. 29 to 15^v, l. 1 reads: ...έκπονήσαντες έκδεδώκαμεν ήδη, Συνεσίω τῷ πάνυ και τοῦτο χάριν ποιούμενοι τήν όμοίαν, ή και πρότερον πεπονημέθα τόν εκείνου Περί ένυπνίων έρμηνεύοντες λόγον' σφαιρικῆς γάρ εκείνος έπιφανείας λόγον έξάπλωσιν έν τῷ άστρολαβικῷ τούτῳ πράττων όργάνω, έν έτερότητι σχημάτων ταύτότητα διασώζουσιν λόγων, έλαθην οὐκ οἶδ' όπως τήν τε μέθοδον τῆς τοιαύτης κρύψας κατασκευῆς και άμα τās τών αιτιών αὐτῆς άποδείξεις, ήμῖν δέ τās τών φιλομαθῶν θερμότερας έπιθυμίας πειρωμένους θεραπειών κάνταῦθα καθάπερ τόν λόγον εκείνον τās άρμυτοῦσας διαλευκαίνειν έρμηνείας έπήγει, τόν αυτόν δήπου τρόπον και τήν τοῦ άστρολάβου μέθοδον έκδιδόναι ξυμπέπτωκεν' άπλῶς μέν πρότερον' ήδη δέ και τās τών αιτιῶν γραμμικās προσθεῖσιν άποδείξεις, όσαι διασώζειν έκ τοῦ ράστου ταύτότητα λόγων έν σχημάτων έτερότητι δύνανται' έκπεπόνηται δ' ήμῖν έπί τούτοις και τῆς Άρμονικῆς ή διόρθωσις, ήν πάλαι μέν... (Leone Letter 114, ll. 82-96).

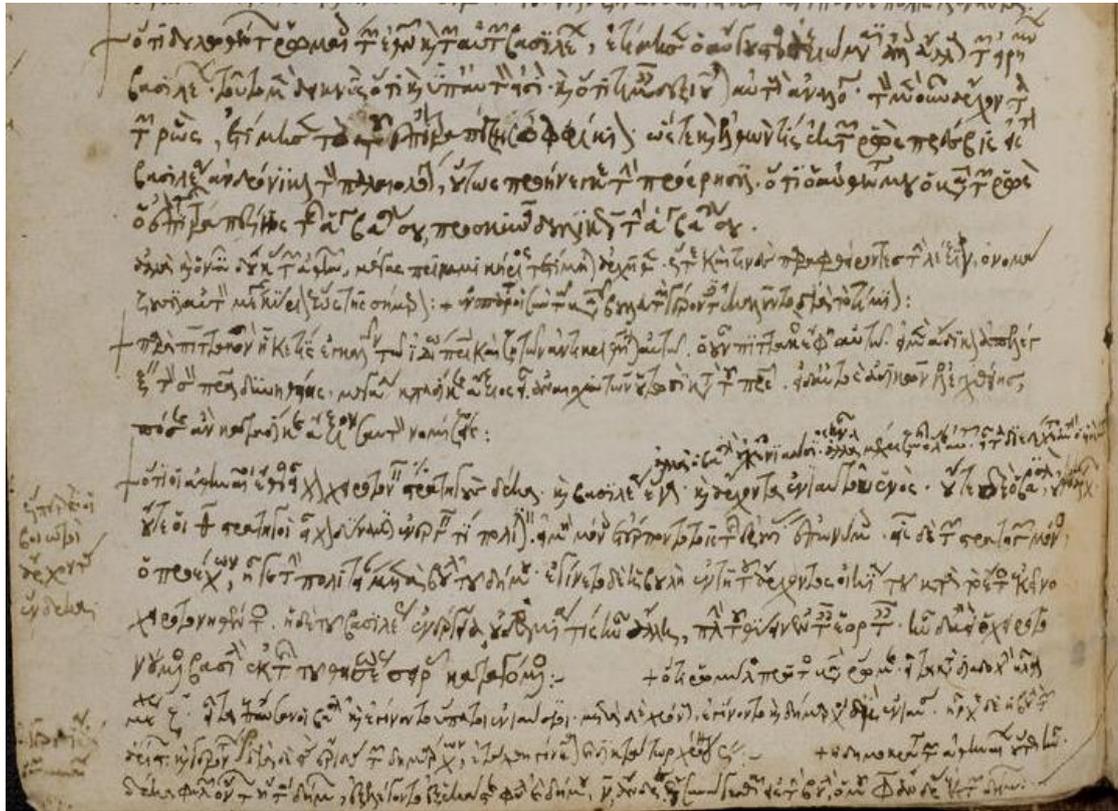


Fig. 7: Heidelberg Palat. gr. 129, f. 37^v ll. 21-38 (Gregoras notes on Aristides)

Bianconi, in his 2005 survey article ¹ (pp. 408-9), described Gregoras' hand as having the typical informality of a scholarly hand (rapidity of *ductus*, variability between simpler and more intricate forms, angularity, frequent use of ligatures, sometimes extravagant, slight rightward slant, flourishes, exaggerated accents linked to related letters or abbreviations) combined with a taste for contrast within the sequence of letters, as exemplified by crescent-shaped *beta* and *sigma*, tall *gamma*, miniscule *delta* with extended curve and other letters, such as *zeta*, *kappa*, *xi*, *rho*, *tau* and *chi*, typically stretching above and/or below the line, as occasionally also with miniscule *eta*, *theta*, tall *iota* in ligature, *lamda* and *nu*, combined with a showiness in end-strokes for a strong visual impact. Particular features, reflecting a taste for contrast and exaggeration, include:

- *Letters* - curved bilobular *beta*, tall majuscule *gamma* with wavy cross-stroke, protruding *zeta* with initial curl and final flourish, *iota* with a similar end-flourish, particularly in ligature, tall and curved *kappa* with a slightly humped second stroke sometimes ending with a curl, tall *tau* either in single stroke with horizontal on left only or in two strokes with vertical bisecting horizontal equally;
- *Ligatures* - square-formed combinations linking *iota*, *rho*, *tau* or *phi* with *alpha*, *iota*, *omicron* or *omega*; *zeta*, *mu* or *rho* linked to following letter with vertical stroke; angular *epsilon-xi* with the eye of epsilon formed with a clockwise stroke; *epsilon-pi* with *epsilon* reduced to a tip in combination with the first straight stroke of the consonant; *omicron-upsilon* with circumflex;
- *Other distinctive sequences* - e.g., *μεγ-*, *λογ-* and *-ενο-*.

¹ Bianconi, 'La Biblioteca di Cora', pp. 408-9.

Bianconi went on to review 55 manuscripts (as summarised in Table 2 below) in which Gregoras' hand had by then been discerned in headings, indices, section numbers, other insertions and annotations and in longer sections of text, including some attributions regarded by him as more dubious and other new ones of his own.¹

Table 2: Manuscripts containing script attributed to Gregoras as surveyed by Bianconi

<p>Vatican Vat. gr. <u>116</u>, <u>130</u>, 138, 156, 164, 165, 182*, <u>228</u>, 303, 996, 1029, 1085 (f.15), <u>1086</u>, <u>1087</u>, 1095, 1365, 1594, 1721†, <u>1898</u>, 2660† Urb gr. 102*, 151, Barb gr. 182</p> <p>Venice Marc. gr. 239, 312, 314*, 320*, <u>325</u>, 330, 375 and VI.10</p> <p>Florence BML. Plut. 69.6, 70.3, 70.5, 85.9†</p> <p>Modena α.R.6.19 (gr. 82), ff. <u>190r</u>, l. 7-191^r, l. 3²</p> <p>Naples III. B 10</p> <p>Oxford Bodl. Clarke 39</p> <p>London BL Egerton 2624</p> <p>† <i>Attributions questioned by Bianconi</i> * <i>New attributions by Bianconi</i> <i>Underlining indicates extended passages</i></p>	<p>Paris Par. gr. <u>1276</u>, 1665, 1672, 1776, 2003, 2345, 2396 Par. Coisl. 173</p> <p>Munich BSB gr. <u>529</u></p> <p>Wolfenbüttel Gud. gr. 85</p> <p>Heidelberg Pal. gr. 129</p> <p>Vienna ONB phil. gr. 95, jur. gr. 2†</p> <p>Moscow Sinod. gr. 52 (Vlad. 156)</p> <p>El Escorial X.I.13* and Φ. I.18*³</p>
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To these can be added Vat. gr. 112 and Vat. Pal. gr. 140⁴ and Naples II. E. 20.⁵

¹ Bianconi, 'La Biblioteca di Cora', pp. 412ff.

² I. Pérez Martín, 'El Vaticanus gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes' *Scriptorium* (1995), p. 49 and Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio*, pp. 326-7 and plate 12. For an alternative identification, see E. Bianchi, 'Il Manoscritto Mut. gr. 82 (α. R. 6. 19) e le Lettere alla Principessa Teodora Raulena: un testimone "speciale" nella tradizione dell'epistolario di Gregorio di Cipro (ca. 1240-1290)?', *Scripta*, 9, 2016, p. 42.

³ On this two-volume collection of classical authors, thought to have been copied by George of Cyprus and others in the 1280s, see Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio*, pp. 36-50.

⁴ See P. Canart, 'Additions et Corrections au *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 3' in J. M. Martin (ed.), *Vaticana et Medievalia, études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Florence, 2008), pp. 58-60, referencing, for Vat. gr. 112 (ff. 119^r-134^v), I. Ševčenko, "Additional Remarks to the Report on Levels of Style" *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/1 (1982), p. 232 and, for Vat. Pal. gr. 140 (ff. 17r and 18r), M. Bandini, "Niceforo Gregora lettore di Senofonte", in E. Jeffreys (ed.) *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006* (Aldershot 2006), vol. II, p. 181.

⁵ See Pérez Martín, 'Elio Aristide en el Monasterio de Cora' in Hernández Muñoz, F. (ed.), *La Tradición y la Transmisión de los Oradores y Rétores Griegos* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 229, 238 (pl. 8).

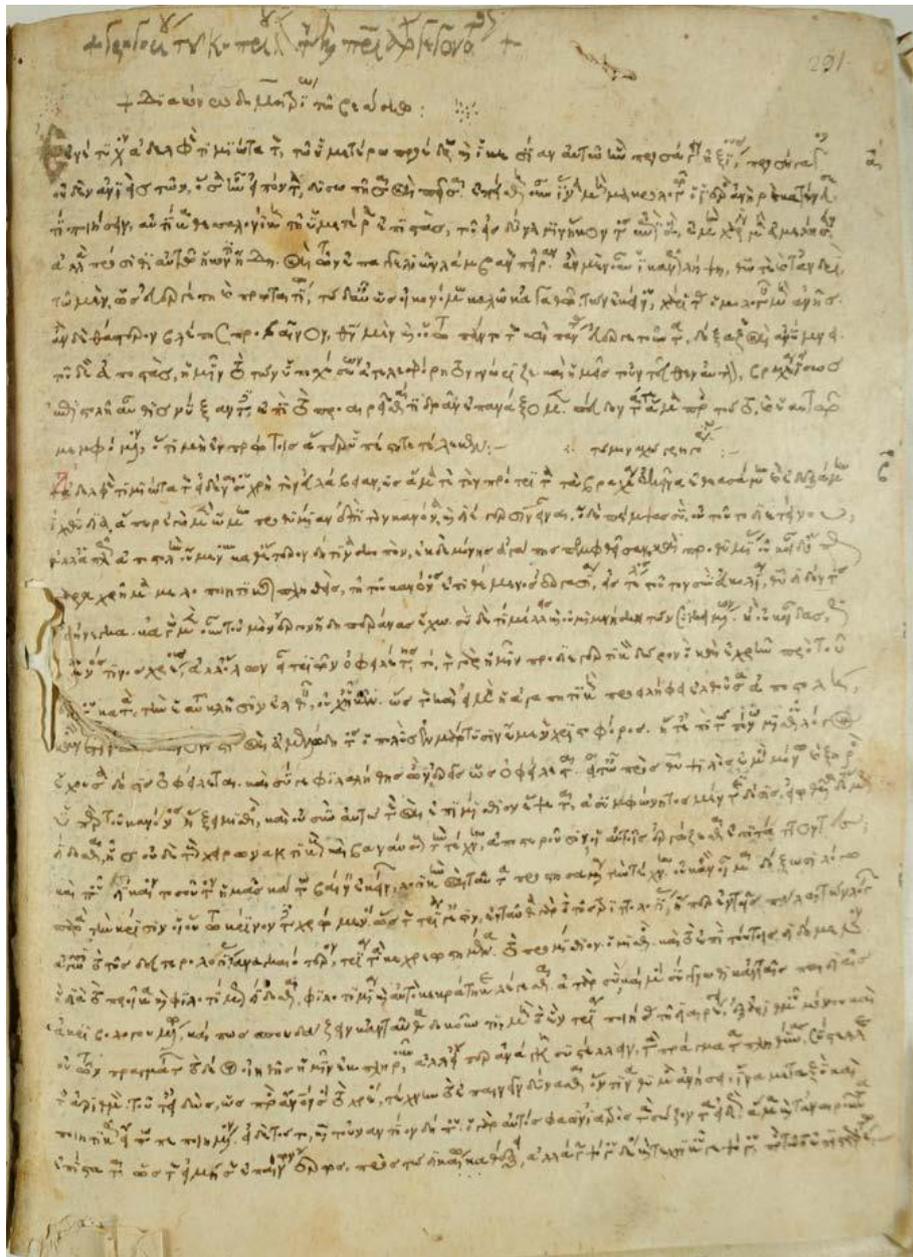


Fig. 8: Naples II. E. 20, 291r - note in the upper margin reading + Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου τοῦ Π(α)τριάρχου γεγονότος + at start of section containing selection of Gregory of Cyprus' letters

James Holt