

## THE *EPISTOLARION* OF THEOPHILOS KORYDALEUS

Nearly twenty years ago Kenneth Snipes published a letter by Michael Psellos to Konstantinos, the nephew of Michael Cerularios, transmitted in four late mss dating from the 17th and 18th centuries (Paris. Suppl. gr. 1334, Bucar. 737 (587), Ath. Lavr. 1721 (M30) and Trinity College 1485)<sup>1</sup>. Significantly, this specific letter is found among a group of six letters of the consul of the philosophers in the *Ἐπιστολικοὶ τύποι* of Theophilos Korydaleus. This manual of epistolography was first published in London in 1625<sup>2</sup> by Nikodemus Metaxas, a student and close associate of Korydaleus<sup>3</sup>. Snipes maintained that the six Psellian letters in the three of the four mss (Paris. Suppl. gr. 1334, Bucar. 737, Ath. Lavr. 1721-M 30) have been copied from the *Epistolarion* of Korydaleus and consequently the mss are of no particular value for the reconstruction of the text; on the other hand, the manuscript of Trinity College presents an independent tradition that has no connection whatever with the letters included in the *Epistolarion*.

Snipes concluded that both Korydaleus and the Trinity scribe copied from, or based their text on, a common or similar source. Beyond this fact, he believed, there was no other hint that might link the printed edition and the English manuscript. To support his conclusion he pointed to some textual differences that showed their diverse origins<sup>4</sup>. That the *editio princeps* and the Trinity text dated exactly from the same period was not seriously

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1. See K. Snipes, «A Letter of Michael Psellos to Constantine the Nephew of Michael Cerularios», *GRBS* 22 (1981) 89-107, where also the relevant bibliography concerning the four manuscripts transmitting a group of six letters of Michael Psellos. Cf. also E. N. Papaioannou, «Das Briefcorpus des Michael Psellos: Vorarbeiten zu einer kritischen Neuedition», *JÖB* 48 (1998) 67-116.

2. *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Θεοφίλου, τοῦ Κορυδαλέως. Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων*, Londini, Ex Officina G. S. Typographi, 1625. Hereafter cited as *Epistolarion*. For a thorough bibliographical presentation of the edition see R. J. Roberts, «The Greek Press at Constantinople in 1627 and its Antecedents», *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (1967) 40-41.

3. The *Epistolarion* has not yet merited much attention; see, however, the brief notice by C. Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans: La vie et l'œuvre de Theophile Corydalée (1570-1646)*, Thessaloniki <sup>2</sup>1967, pp. 98-99.

4. Snipes, op.cit., p. 92.

considered, nor that their respective textual differences were minimal and unimportant. Some inferior readings of the printed text are obviously misprints. Snipes was unaware, of course, that Nikodemos Metaxas had brought with him to London in 1622/23 the text of the *Epistolarion* of Korydaleus and that he was willing to lend it to British scholars to be copied. Mitrophanis Kritopoulos, who was at that period studying in Oxford and had close contacts with a good number of English scholars interested in copying Greek manuscripts, in a letter to Matthias Turner, states exactly this fact: «Nikodemos [Metaxas], about whom I have spoken to you, has in his possession a letter writing manual composed by Korydaleus, which is, and by far, better and superior to the one I own [...]. But he wishes to print [the *Epistolarion*] to make it accessible to all scholars. If this is not possible, I shall instruct him to lend it to you to be copied, whenever you wish. If he comes to Oxford, show him this letter and you shall receive it. In case, however, he goes to Cambridge, it is still unclear where he will settle, if you write him inducing the way and manner of the dispatch, he will without doubt send it to you. For he is an exceedingly fair man»<sup>5</sup>. Kritopoulos, therefore, must have been instrumental in publicising among English scholars (such as William and Matthias Turner, Andrew Downes, and especially Patrick Young, the scribe of the Trinity College 1485 manuscript), the *Epistolarion* of Korydaleus long before it was published by Metaxas in London<sup>6</sup>. But it should be said from the outset that Korydaleus' *Epistolarion* has much more to say than the epistle of Psellos to the nephew of Cerularios. In fact its story has not yet been fully told.

In his *Epistolarion* Korydaleus presents the most basic principles of Greek epistolary theory along with a series of illustrative letters belonging to the various categories of epistolary forms. His theoretical discussion of the various genres and the types of letters belonging to them conform to the contents of a handbook preserved in cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 71, fols. 46v-61v, a manuscript of the 16th or 17th century (*Ἐπιστολικῶν χαρακτηρισῶν σύνοψις*)<sup>7</sup>. From some literary borrowings observed in the *Epistolarion*, we

5. C. Davey, «Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνου Κριτοπούλου κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ διαμονὴν αὐτοῦ», *Θεολογία* 41 (1970) 123-124. Concerning Nikodemos' arrival in London, Kritopoulos wrote to Andrew Downes, fellow of Saint John's College in Cambridge and later professor of Greek, that his compatriot wanted to study philosophy in England, *ibid* 128; cf. also C. Davey, «Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches», *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* 3 (1982) 146.

6. For Kritopoulos' learned contacts and his correspondence see M. Renieres, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ φίλοι αὐτοῦ (1617-1628)*, Athens 1893 and I. N. Karmires, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ*, Athens 1937.

7. H. Rabe, «Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften», *RhM* 64 (1909) 279-309, esp. 288ff, 303ff.

assume that Korydaleus may have utilised this handbook (or a similar source) for his own book (διὰ τό λίαν δὲ συνοπτικὸν τῆς λέξεως τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀσύμφορα, *Epistolarion* p. 1; δέεται σοβαρότητος – μεθέλκεται, *Epistolarion* p. 26,31-27,2)<sup>8</sup>. The extent of his debt to the anonymous treatise (σύνοψις) at this point cannot be estimated; only a close examination of the manuscript could shed some light on the matter. Be that as it may, Korydaleus distinguishes, following as a rule Aristotle's definitions, three basic categories in letter writing (epideictic, advisory, oratory), each provided with introductory remarks and illustrative letters that must have been written by him.

In a rather concise proemium he notes that epistolography had been neglected during his time and that the various circulating epitomes were of no profit to the students, a standard line in almost all similar handbooks in the following centuries. He next discusses the definition and theory of letters referring to Gregory Nazianzus (his letter to Nikoboulos) and Philostratus (*Epistolarion* p. 3), while in considering the encomiastic type (p. 7) he singles out Julian's letters to Iamblichus<sup>9</sup>, Libanius<sup>10</sup> and Georgius<sup>11</sup>, and also Synesius' letter to Herkulianos<sup>12</sup>. The letters he presents next as examples are clearly his own, although the possibility that some may have been inspired from or based upon older prototypes should not be ruled out. The theoretical setting of his compositions is more Hellenic than Byzantine. He refers repeatedly to his hometown Athens and her past glory (p. 10,5), to ancient Greek personages such as Aloeus (p. 16,30), Solon, Lycurgus, and Demetrios Falereus (p. 30,6ff), to the Muses and even to sacred places and temples such as Helicon (p. 27,8ff, p. 28,15ff). His learned allusions are also drawn from ancient authors and the depository of paroemiographers<sup>13</sup>. References to the

8. For these borrowings see also Rabe, op.cit., pp.304, 306.

9. Epist. 79, W. C. Wright (ed.), *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. 3, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, pp. 262-266; Epist. 187, J. Bidez, *L'Empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1/2, Paris 1960, pp. 238-244.

10. Epist. 53, ed. Wright, pp. 182-184. Epist. 97, ed. Bidez, p. 179.

11. Epist. 67, ed. Wright, pp. 222-226.

12. Epist.139, ed. Garzya, pp. 242-244.

13. *Epistolarion* p. 8,18: κωφὸς ἀνήρ, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ: Pind. *P.* XI, 87. 13,5-6: Δεινὰ γὰρ εὐνοῖαι – ψήφους. Cf. Synes. Epist. 1, 14 (Garzya, p.4). 22,31: Αἰθιοπὰ – μέλαν, *CPG* I, 18,187. 23,29-30: χελιδόνος λαλίστερος, *CPG* II, 183. 26,18: λάθε βιώσας, *CPG* II, 183. 27,7: οὐ παντός – εἰς Κόρινθον, *CPG* II, 591. 32,10: κάλων ἢ λίθον κινουῦσι, *CPG* I,145,146, II,201. 33.3-4: ...τὴν ὑπέραν ἀφείξ τὸν πόδα διώκεις, *Hyr. Fr.* 181. 38,30: ἵππον ἐς πεδίον ἀφείναι, *CPG* II 464. 39.29, 41,18: τῶν φίλων κοινά: *CPG* I, 106,266, II 120,481. 40,19: ὄψει καὶ χωλοῦ δρόμον, Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, p. 55. 41,2-3: λιμοῦ ἀλεωρήν, *Hes. Op.* 404. 45.7-8: σοφὸν κἄν – ἐννοεῖν: *Eur. Hec.* 228. 51.10-11: ἐν πίττη τὸν μῦν, *CPG* I, 206, 275. 56.30: ὀποῖον – ἐπακούσαις, *Hom. Il.* 20,250. 58,2-3: φίλον ἄλλον ἑαυτόν, *Arist. Eth.Nic.* 1166a, *Strömberg* 76. 59,8: ἄκρω δακτύλω, *CPG* I,24, II,5.

Scriptures are few and none, as far as I can ascertain, originate from the Fathers. Christian ideas are mentioned mostly in his introductory remarks and less in his letters except for a few that seem to refer to real or everyday situations. In general he idealises fatherland (πατρίς), ancestry (γένος), noble heritage (εὐγένεια) and devotion to the study of *logoi* and philosophy<sup>14</sup>. Apart from classical allusions, the names employed in his text are archaic conforming more to the context as pun or word play<sup>15</sup>. In certain cases, his theoretical exposition and the points he stresses most therein are clearly reflected in the models he gives, a further proof of their «originality»<sup>16</sup>. Last, the only letter that strikes us as «Byzantine» appears in the form of a letter of recommendation. It is not only its content that defines it as such, but also its tone and argumentation strengthened by a *koinos topos* (the proverbial Homeric horse, p. 38,30-31 = CPG II, 464. 39,29). And in another letter that could be placed in the same category, he employed, as a reproach to a friend, an analogy to Gregory of Nazianzus and his nephew Nikoboulos (p. 59).

Korydaleus' stand towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his time is known to have been at times critical. His overall liberalism and Aristotelian leanings along with his close association with Kyrillos Loukaris had made him suspect in the eyes of conservative elements, almost a traitor to the faith. He had even been branded as a follower of Calvin<sup>17</sup>. Be that as it may, in one of his illustrative letters he voices openly his criticism of the church hierarchy and its low morals: τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διοικήσεως, ἵνα μὴ λέγω δουλοπρεποῦς τυραννίδος (p. 50,19-21, cf. 51,1-5). His (hypothetical) addressee had been known more for his learning than for his piety and yet he had decided to give up teaching for an ecclesiastical career, thereby causing an angry reply from Korydaleus (p. 51,26-28). But, interestingly enough, Korydaleus had also taken up the monastic habit under the name of Theodosios, although he did not keep his vows for very long in the 1620's. Twenty years later he was even raised to the archbishopric of Arta and Naupaktos (1640-42), a post he relinquished when he returned for the last time in Athens. An equally interesting letter is addressed to someone who was unjustly cut off from ecclesiastical communion. But the point Korydaleus raises here is that the addressee has suffered no great harm, since his unjust treatment had become a blessing to him. His expulsion from church

14. *Epistolarion* p. 10,6-15, 11,9 ff, 13,17 ff, 19,19 ff, 27,7 ff.

15. Σωτήριχος (p. 19,23), Ἑρμόδωρος (p. 20,6), Καλλίας (p. 23,14), Σωσίας (p. 25,23), Ὁθρυάδης (p. 30,16).

16. See, for instance, *Epistolarion*, pp. 39,27-30; 40,17-19 = 41,8-9; 20-21.

17. Tsourkas, op.cit., pp. 68 ff.

communion did not deprive him from divine grace and sanctity: τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἐκκλησίας ἀπείργεσθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τῆς θείας ἐστὶ πρόξενον χάριτος καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ προσθήκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἔκπτωσις (p. 46,13-15)<sup>18</sup>.

It should by now have become clear that the *Epistolarion* consists of two integral parts: (i) short expositions of the three major categories into which the author divided the epistolikoi typoi (ἐπιδεικτικόν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικὸν γένος), and (ii) letters belonging to these categories and serving as models. The book was obviously designed to be used as a school textbook and must have derived from Korydaleus' long teaching career. Judging from the number and kind of manuscripts that preserve the text, it seems that it must have met a considerable need in school instruction until the beginning of the 19th century<sup>19</sup>. For a period of two hundred years Korydaleus' handbook was used extensively in education, introducing school children to epistolography, before they moved on to Synesius<sup>20</sup>. It is noteworthy, however, that despite its attested continuous use the *Epistolarion* was republished only three times during the 18th century: in Moschopolis (1744) by hieromonachos Gregorios, in Halle (1768) by hieromonachos Ambrosios Pamperis, and in Venice (1786) by the Cypriot archmandrite Kyprianos. The theoretical part of the *Epistolarion* was reprinted once more in 1804 in Constantinople comprising the first part (pp. 1-48) of the *Ἐπιστολᾶριον ἐκ διαφόρων ἐραμισθέν* edited by Vasilios Tzefcharis, which transmits mainly the work of Alexandros Maurokordatos (Iliou, 1804.25). Completely revised and abridged, it appeared for the last time in print, as far as I know, in Vienna (1812) as part of the eighth volume of the *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία ἐλληνικῶν μαθημάτων* by Stephanos Kommitas (Iliou, 1812.20).

The London edition (1625), as stated above, was prepared by Nikodemos Metaxas, a student and close associate of Korydaleus, who is known to have spent four or five years in London (ca. 1622/23-1627)<sup>21</sup>. During his sojourn

18. Cf. *Epistolarion*, p. 46,9-12: τὶ δεῖ σοι τοῦ κοινωνεῖν ἐκκλησίας; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ σὲ πεπονηθῆναι μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν παρ' ἐκείνων, κερδᾶναι δὲ τι καὶ μᾶλλον.

19. Some of the mss are copies of the printed editions, while others were used as school manuals: Athous Laurae 1404 (K117), 1508 (Λ18), 1684 (Λ 193), 1721 (M30), 1722 (M31), 1759 (M68); Athous Xiropotamou 2547.214, 2548.215; Athous Iviron 4864; Athous Vatopeidiou 272, Thessalonicensis Bibl. Univ. 96, Parisinus suppl. gr. 1334, Meteoron Agiou Stefanou 100, 133, Bucar. 737 (587).

20. For the teaching of epistolography and the use of the *Epistolarion* see A. Skarveli-Nikolouroulou, *Μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατία*, Athens 1994, pp. 79-87, 224-225.

21. For the life and career of Nikodemos Metaxas see Dimitrios Grammatikos, *Leben und Werk von Nikodemos II. Metaxas. Die erste griechische Druckerei in Konstantinopel und auf Kephallonia* (Diss.), Mainz 1988 and Letterio Augliera, *Libri Politica Religione nel Levante del*

in the English capital, Metaxas had procured a printing press which he brought back with him to Constantinople (1627)<sup>22</sup>. But aside from the studies he pursued there, Metaxas took the initiative of publishing his teacher's handbook. Whether this enterprise was encouraged by Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris in Constantinople or was simply Metaxas' own initiative alone is not clear. Be that as it may, certain copies of the book carry a dedication to the Lord Keeper, John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, composed by Nikodemos Metaxas, while in other copies the dedication is different and is addressed to Pachomios Doxaras, bishop of Cephalonia and Zakynthos. Apart from the purely practical purposes that may have prompted the author to compose his flattering dedications (almost certainly in order to secure some form of patronage), the common point he stressed strongly in both dedications was the need for books of this kind among the Greeks.

It should be noted that the handbook, in the form it was published in London, includes not only the *epistolikoi typoi*, but also a selection of «Letters of Greeks of more recent times», and, as a supplement, a treatise of Korydaleus on Rhetoric (*Περὶ ῥητορικῆς*). The latter appears at the end of the book (pp. 127-189) and is provided with its own title page and date (London 1625). This work will not be dealt with here as it is not related directly to the *Epistolarion*. The selection of «Letters of Greeks of more recent times» (pp. 68-126), however, constitutes a separate unit worth of consideration, since it is included in some form or another in all four editions of the *Epistolarion*. It is preceded by five of Korydaleus' letters, addressed to Kyrillos Loukaris, Dionysios Makris, Nikodemos Metaxas and Sophianos<sup>23</sup> and dating from 1615 to 1621 (pp. 60-67). The subsequent series amounts to 37 letters, 28 of which were written by learned men and ecclesiastics of the late 16th and early 17th century. Chronologically they span the period 1590 to 1607 (pp. 68-107). The remaining nine letters, though placed under the same heading (*Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταγενεστέρων*), do not actually belong to the same unit, for they were written by Michael Psellos, Julian the Apostate, Saint Basil, and Libanios (pp. 108-126). Needless to say, the better half of the *Epistolarion* (pp. 60-126) is taken up by this «anthology» of personal letters of contemporaries, presumably for educational purposes.

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*Seicento: La Tipografia di Nicodemo Metaxas Primo Editore di Testi Greci nell'Oriente Ortodosso*, Venice 1996, pp. 30-35.

22. For an account of Metaxas' role in the establishment of the first Greek Press in the East see Roberts, *op.cit.*, 13-43, esp. 16ff; E. Layton, «Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World», *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15 (1967) 140-168; Gunnar Hering, *Οἰκουμενικό Πατριαρχεῖο καὶ εὐρωπαϊκὴ πολιτικὴ*, Athens 1992, pp. 196-212.

23. Probably identified with Michael Sophianos, professor of philosophy at Padova, cf. Tsourkas, *op.cit.*, p. 100, n. 4.

The inclusion of the letters by Greeks of later times in the *Epistolarion* logically should be attributed to Korydaleus himself. Metaxas in his dedicatory address to John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, in a way ascribed this part to him, though in his address to the bishop of Cephalonia and Zakynthos he does not clarify the issue: Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ προσφωνῶ σοι καὶ τὴν τούτου ῥητορικὴν, καλλίστην τῷ ὄντι καὶ τοιούτῳ πανσόφῳ προσήκουσαν ῥήτορι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινὰς μεταγενεστέρων σοφῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκμασάντων<sup>24</sup>. If Metaxas added this part to the manuscript of the *Epistolikoi tyroi*, what were his sources and by what criteria did he make the selection? The letters he chose from the correspondence of Korydaleus seem to be ordinary missives. The first, to Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris on the occasion (as we presume) of his election to the patriarchal throne (1621), is written in an elegant and involved style. The following two concern a request he addressed to Dionysios Makris (1615-1616) regarding the procurement of two «astrological spheres» he needed for teaching astronomy, and which the then bishop of Kythira had entrusted to a deacon to be sold in Venice.

The sale, however, fell through and in a subsequent letter Korydaleus had to ask his addressee to search for them in Venice and Sicily. Another is addressed to Nikodemos Metaxas (1619), to whom Korydaleus recounts his disillusionment living in Athens and the prospect he had to settle in Crete, where he had been invited to teach; Metaxas, however, had also invited him to Cephalonia, therefore Korydaleus needed time to decide. As to the last letter, to Sophianos, the talk is about some aspect of philosophy, the essence of which eludes us because of the vagueness with which Korydaleus responded to his addressee. Had Korydaleus made the choice, it is doubtful whether he would have selected from his correspondence these particular letters (except for the first) to justify his language and style<sup>25</sup>.

The anthology that follows the text of the *Epistolarion* was most certainly made by Nikodemos Metaxas. The source from which he drew his material

24. *Epistolarion*, p. [γ] from the dedication to Pachomios Doxaras, which is dated 24 January 1624. The copy examined by this writer belongs to the Public Library of Kozani (PA 22). The dedicatory epistle to John Williams bears a later date (21 March 1624).

25. Korydaleus' correspondence is scattered in various mss. In addition to the five letters of the *Epistolarion*, surviving letters have been published by Tsourkas, op.cit., pp. 375-376, 381-382, and more recently by I. E. Stefanis, «Πέντε ανέκδοτες ἐπιστολές τοῦ Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλέως», *Ἑλληνικά* 42 (1991-1992) 103-113 and I. E. Stefanis & Nike Papatriantafillou-Theodoridi, *Εὐγενίου Γιαννούλη τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ Ἐπιστολές*, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 491-496. A total of twenty one letters of Korydaleus have been published as of now, see also V. I. Tsiotras, «Ἀυτόγραφη ἐπιστολή τοῦ Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλέως πρὸς τὸν Antoine Léger», *Ὁ Ἑραμιστής* 20 (1995) 235-242.

in the case of Korydaleus' five letters is not known. Perhaps some of Korydaleus' letters were publicised. The possibility, also, that he might have had access to the personal files of the author should not be excluded. Be that as it may, Metaxas, in printing the letters of Greeks of more recent times, did not rely exclusively on copies of letters circulating but on printed editions as well. Seven of the nine letters of Maximos Margounios<sup>26</sup> presented in the *Epistolarion* (three to the German editor of Augsburg David Hoeschel, one to Patriarch Ieremias, two to Conrad Rittershusius and one to the students of philosophy) were drawn from books already in circulation and probably known to him. The letter to Patriarch Ieremias (Epist. 6) was composed in the form of a treatise (*Περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά*) and was published for the first time in 1591 by I. Wechel. It was written by Margounios in Venice on 13 July 1590 and was printed a year later in Frankfurt am Main together with another short treatise of his on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The publication of these two works was accompanied by Epist. 7, to David Hoeschel, dated Venice, 11 September 1590<sup>27</sup>. As is well known, Margounios had retained for years close ties with several German humanists and had on more than one occasion sent them manuscripts and even his own writings<sup>28</sup>. The remaining five letters by Margounios had appeared: (i) in the preface of an edition of Saint Gregory of Nyssa by David Hoeschel (Epist. 8,10)<sup>29</sup>, (ii) in Saint John Chrysostom's treatise *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* (Epist. 14)<sup>30</sup>, and (iii) in a poetical collection of his, in anacreontic verses, published by Conrad Rittershusius (Epist. 12-13)<sup>31</sup>.

26. For the correspondence of Maximos Margounios see K. Dyobouniotes, «Μάξιμος Μαργούνιος», *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 4 (1920) 155ff. esp. 728 ff; Ch. Astruc, «Maxime Margounios et les recueils parisiens de sa correspondance», *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949) 211-261; P. K. Enepekides, «Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margunios, Bischof von Kythera (1549-1602)», *JÖBG* 1 (1951) 13-66; P. K. Enepekides, «Maximos Margunios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten», *JÖBG* 10 (1961) 93-145; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, New York 1966, pp. 173-177; G. Fedalto, *Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al «De Trinitate» di S. Agostino (1588)*, Brescia 1967, pp. 291-350; E. Litsas, «Σχετικά με τὴ χειρόγραφη καὶ ἔντυπη παράδοση τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Μάξιμου Μαργουνίου», *Ἐπιπέλα: Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997) 277-295.

27. É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (= Legrand, XV-XVI), vol. 2, pp. 420-421. Diovousiotis, op.cit., 323-324, 387-388, Enepekidis, «Maximos Margunios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten», op.cit., 106-107.

28. Legrand, XV-XVI, vol. 2, p. lviii; P. K. Enepekides, ibid. 93-145.

29. Legrand, XV-XVI, vol. 2, pp. 90-91.

30. É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle* (= Legrand, XVII), vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

31. Legrand, XVII, vol. 1, pp. 4-7. Epist. 11, which is also included in the edition, is a letter of Conrad Rittershusius to David Hoeschel regarding his Latin translation of the nine anacreontic hymns by Margounios.



Only two of Margounios' letters, one to Hoeschel (Epist. 9) regarding the dispatch of a manuscript containing the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, and one to Samouelos (possibly identified with Samuel Seladios who is known to have corresponded with Hoeschel) (Epist. 15), do not appear to derive from a book. But, interestingly enough, the three letters that follow, two by Kyrillos Loukaris to Hoeschel (Epist. 16-17), and one by Leontios Eustratios<sup>32</sup> to the same German humanist<sup>33</sup> (Epist. 18), are also drawn from the very same book that contained Margounios' letter Nr.14. All three refer (indirectly, no doubt) to Hoeschel's efforts to publish Saint John Chrysostom's oration *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* and his concern about the fortunes of Leontios Eustratios, who had provided him eleven years before the edition, with a codex of this particular treatise<sup>34</sup>.

The selections from the correspondence of Frangiskos Kokkos (Epist. 19-24) and Maximos the monk (Epist. 25-32) date from the first decade of the 17th century. They are mostly letters of a personal nature devoted to friendship, particularly those Kokkos wrote to the bishop Dionysios of Herakleia of Pontus. Kokkos' six letters in the anthology are written in an elegant and somewhat inflated style, devoid of any practical information. Yet, they could have served as models to the students of epistolography<sup>35</sup>. The letters of Maximos, identified with Maximos Peloponnesios<sup>36</sup>, on the other hand, relate to everyday situations. They are letters to monks and ecclesiastics regarding ordinary matters such as the borrowing of books, friendship and the exchange of letters. But apart from these ordinary matters, there are interesting references, such as to the death of the famed Meletios Pegas, his spiritual father and mentor (Epist. 25, 28, 29), and to Nikephoros, abbot of the monastery of Saint John the Theologian, under whom Michaelos Krales, one of Maximos' addresses, had studied earlier (Epist. 32). This subunit closes with a letter of the above mentioned Nikephoros to Maximos the monk praising his learning and erudition (Epist. 33). It is evident that this letter of Nikephoros served as a pretext so that Maximos could be acclaimed as a letter writer<sup>37</sup>.

32. K. Sathas, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, Athens 1868, p. 182; Legrand, *XV-XVI*, vol. 2, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

33. Legrand, *XVII*, vol. 1, pp. 20-21.

34. Legrand, *XV-XVI*, vol. 2, p. xlvi.

35. Legrand, *XVII*, vol. 3, pp. 149-153, mentions eight letters of Kokkos, six of which are derived from the *Epistolarion*.

36. G. I. Zaviras, *Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν Θέατρον*, Athens 1972, pp. 454-455. E. Litsas, whom I wish to thank for his communication regarding Maximos Peloponnesios, is preparing now an edition of the letters of this 17th century author.

37. For the career of Nikephoros and his correspondence see Hierotheos Florides, «Περὶ

The *Epistolarion* closes with a cluster of nine «Byzantine letters»: (i) five authentic ones by Psellos (along with an oration of his that has been taken as a letter), and (ii) three spurious ones attributed to Julian the Apostate, Saint Basil, and the sophist Libanius. The inclusion of Psellos' six letters among the «letters of Greeks of more recent times», poses a problem with regard to their manuscript tradition. The letter to Konstantinos, the nephew of Kerularios, appears independently only in the *Epistolarion* and in the Trinity College manuscript, both of which derive from a common source and most certainly from the manuscript which Metaxas brought with him to England. The Byzantine letters printed in the *Epistolarion* must have been copied from an anthology or a school manual. Furthermore, the authors were all renowned and recognised as letter writers from an early date.

Three letters, as I have already remarked, are spurious and have not been transmitted in the best manuscripts. The aim, however, of the compiler was to offer to the public interesting reading, not authentic text. Psellos' satirical attack of his priest is certainly savage but also humorous<sup>38</sup>. His three letters to Konstantinos date around 1054, that is from the period he downed the monastic habit, on account of which he was not permitted to attend the banquet celebrating Konstantinos' wedding<sup>39</sup>. In a fourth letter he recounts his tribulations as he followed an expedition of Romanos Diogenes against the Seltzuk Turks in 1069<sup>40</sup>, whereas his last is addressed to Romanos after his defeat in Mantzikert (1071). It is a notorious letter of consolation to the blinded Emperor and has become the subject of much talk because of the dubious role of Psellos in the downfall, and even the blinding, of the unfortunate Romanos<sup>41</sup>.

The last three letters of the *Epistolarion* had been recognised as spurious long before they were printed. The exchange between Julian and Saint Basil supposedly took place on the eve of the emperor's fateful campaign against Persia<sup>42</sup>. To punish the Saint for spreading false rumours against him, Julian imposed upon him to deliver a thousand pounds of gold, threatening otherwise to lay waste the city of Caesarea. The Saint dismissed with dignity the threats of the arrogant emperor, who had once studied the holy

Νικηφόρου του Χαρτοφύλακος», *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 2 (1885) 65-81.

38. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, vol. 1, Milan 1936, pp. 65-68.

39. Epp. 1, 83-84, K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 5, Venice - Paris 1876, pp. 219-222, 318-321. On the dating of these letters see J. N. Ljubarkij, *Michail Psell Licnost' i Tvorcestvo*, Moscow 1978, pp. 63, 68.

40. For the text of this letter and commentary, see Snipes, op.cit., pp. 99-107.

41. Ep. 82, Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 5, pp. 316-318; Ljubarkij, op.cit., p. 31.

42. Epp. 40 and 41, *Saint Basil the Letters*, vol. 1, R. J. Deferrari (ed.), Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 230-239.

scriptures but forsook them to embrace idolatry. As to the last letter, it is supposedly addressed by Libanios to his former pupil Saint John Chrysostom, whose eloquence had brought him fame and recognition even by the emperor and his sons (Theodosius and the heirs to the throne, Arcadius and Honorius are implied)<sup>43</sup>.

By now it should have become clear that Nikodemos Metaxas included in the treatise of Korydaleus a series of «illustrative» letters derived from a variety of sources. Departing from tradition and the practice observed in the epistolographical manuals, he presented contemporary letter writers by simply copying their letters from the prefaces of various books, as in the case of Maximos Margounios, Kyrillos Loukaris, and Leontios Eustratios. In this connection, it should be noted that the letters were presented in the *Epistolarion* according to the year of their original publication. His other sources, with regard to Frangiskos Kokkos and Maximos the monk, cannot be traced at this time. We should stress, however, that the contemporary letters Metaxas added to the treatise of Korydaleus in the two subsequent editions did not remain untouched. The editors, who were all ecclesiastics, drastically reduced the number of contemporary letters from 42 to nine or ten. They chose to keep one or two from each author, eliminating Frangiskos Kokkos altogether. Complying with the trend of their times they included, instead, other material. In the Halle edition (1768), for instance, the nine letters of contemporaries were followed by Aphthonius' *Προγυμνάσματα* and notes on chronology. This innovation later became a standard feature of the *Epistolaria* that circulated widely in the second half of the 18th century, by which time they were mainly written in the vernacular. The last edition (Venice 1786) reproduced practically the corpus of 1625 with the addition of 16 fictitious letters from the correspondence of Libanios and Saint Basil.

A synoptic table of contents of the *Epistolarion* follows, pp. 300-303.

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43. Epist. pseudepigraphae 9, *Libanios Opera*, R. Foerster (ed.), Leipzig 1922, vol. XI, pp. 570-571.

| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Incipit</i>                      | <i>Author</i> | <i>Recipient</i> | <i>Date</i> | 1625            | 1744                 | 1768           | 1786            | <i>Editions</i>                                 |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|---|
| 1             | Τέρπει και ζωα και φω-<br>τά        | Korydaleus    | Loukaris         | 1621        | London<br>60-62 | Moschopolis<br>58-61 | Halle<br>67-69 | Venice<br>89-91 | —   |
| 2             | Εγπέρ ποτε και νών ούχ<br>ήμισα     | Korydaleus    | Makris           | 1615        | 62-64           | —                    | —              | 93-95           | —   |
| 3             | Εϋ σοι γένοικο πολλών               | Korydaleus    | Makris           | 20.02.1616  | 64-65           | —                    | —              | 95-96           | —   |
| 4             | Έχει τι δεξιόν και ή διά-<br>στασις | Korydaleus    | Metaxas          | 17.08.1619  | 65-66           | —                    | —              | 96-98           | —   |
| 5             | Οίς άπαταεύς με τώ γρά-<br>φειν     | Korydaleus    | Sophianos        |             | 67              | —                    | 70             | 99-100          | —   |
| 6             | Εγώ τώ του νού πεπερόν              | Margounios    | Ieremias         | 13.07.1590  | 68-77           | —                    | —              | 101-115         | 1591 (Legand, XVI-XVI,<br>vol. 2, p. lxxv, 420) |
| 7             | Και βασιλει ποτέ ύδωρ               | Margounios    | Hoeschel         | 11.09.1590  | 78              | 61-62                | 71             | 116-117         | 1591 (Legrand, XV-XVI,<br>vol. 2, p. 421)       |
| 8             | Υπειξα σου τώ προ-<br>στάγματι      | Margounios    | Hoeschel         | 4.02.1592   | 78-79           | —                    | —              | 117-118         | 1593 (Legrand, XV-XVI,<br>vol. 2, p. 91)        |
| 9             | Τώ του ιεροϋ Νύσσης<br>ιερώτατον    | Margounios    | Hoeschel         | 18.12.1592  | 79-80           | —                    | —              | 118-119         | —   |
| 10            | Τώ μεν ιερώ Γρηγοριώ<br>τώ Νύσσης   | Margounios    | Students         |             | 80-81           | —                    | —              | 120-122         | 1593 (Legrand, XV-XVI,<br>vol. 2, p. 90)        |
| 11            | Πολλών μεν και άλλων<br>ένεκα       | Rittershusius | Hoeschel         |             | 82-83           | —                    | —              | 123-125         | 1601 (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, pp. 4-5)        |
| 12            | Και τώ περι έμέ σου ούκ<br>άγεννές  | Margounios    | Rittershusius    | 5.03.1600   | 83-84           | —                    | —              | 126-127         | 1601 (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, pp. 5-6)        |
| 13            | Πολύ μοι τώ προς σε<br>φίλτρον      | Margounios    | Rittershusius    | 31.08.1599  | 84-85           | —                    | —              | 127-128         | 1601 (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, pp. 6-7)        |
| 14            | Τώ έπίχαρί σου των τρώ-<br>πων      | Margounios    | Hoeschel         |             | 85-86           | —                    | —              | 129-130         | 1602, (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, pp. 19-20)     |

| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Incipit</i>                         | <i>Author</i> | <i>Recipient</i>         | <i>Date</i> | 1625<br><i>London</i> | 1744<br><i>Moschopolis</i> | 1768<br><i>Halle</i> | 1786<br><i>Venice</i> | <i>Editions</i>                            |
|---------------|--|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 15            | Λόγους λόγων άντυθη-<br>ρώμααι         | Margounios    | Samuelos                 | 23.02.1593  | 86-87                 | 62                         | 71-72                | 130-131               | —  |
| 16            | Καί τούτο πώς σοι δο-<br>κεί           | Loukaris      | Hoeschel                 |             | 87-88                 | 63                         | 72-73                | 132-133               | 1602, (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, pp.20-21) |
| 17            | Τόν σοφόν Λεόντιον<br>περί άττα        | Loukaris      | Hoeschel                 |             | 88                    | 63-64                      | 73                   | 133                   | 1602 (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, p. 21)     |
| 18            | Ουδέν τούτου πλέον ή<br>δι βιβλοι      | Eustratios    | Hoeschel                 |             | 88                    | 64                         | 74                   | 134                   | 1602, (Legrand, XVII,<br>vol. 1, p. 21)    |
| 19            | Τί ούν ήμιν, ώ φιλη και<br>ιερά κεφαλή | Kokkos        | Dionysios of<br>Heraclea | 1.09.1605   | 89-90                 | —                          | —                    | 135-137               | —  |
| 20            | Ει τοσοϋτον ήμās εξήρ-<br>τησεν        | Kokkos        | Dionysios of<br>Heraclea | 23.04.1605  | 91                    | —                          | —                    | 138-139               | —  |
| 21            | Έμοι μετά εξότουπερ<br>έγνωσο          | Kokkos        | Dionysios of<br>Heraclea | 18.01.1604  | 92-93                 | —                          | —                    | 139-141               | —  |
| 22            | Έγώ σου τοίς γράμμα-<br>σιν            | Kokkos        | Dionysios of<br>Heraclea | 1.06. s.a.  | 93-94                 | —                          | —                    | 142-144               | —  |
| 23            | Διττήν έκομισάμην έπι-<br>στολήν       | Kokkos        | I. Voustronios           |             | 95-96                 | —                          | —                    | 145-147               | —  |
| 24            | Ίδού, τά γράμμαατα ά-<br>πηγήρευται    | Kokkos        | Symeon                   | 23.04.1605  | 96-97                 | —                          | —                    | 147-149               | —  |
| 25            | Έλπής ήμιν οϋ πάνω σμι-<br>χρά         | Maximos       | Matthaios                | 7.01.1602   | 98-99                 | 64-65                      | 74-75                | 150-151               | —  |
| 26            | Ήμην τοίς πολλοίς και<br>παντοδαποίς   | Maximos       | Nathanael                | 1602        | 99                    | —                          | —                    | 151-152               | —  |
| 27            | Ουδέν ζμεινον δοκώ μοι                 | Maximos       | Anvakoum                 | 1602        | 99-100                | —                          | —                    | 152-153               | —  |
| 28            | Τό χαρπειν τοίς χαίρουσαι              | Maximos       | George                   |             | 100-102               | —                          | —                    | 153-156               | —  |
| 29            | Έναγχος τοίς ύμετέ-<br>ροις φιλικοίς   | Maximos       | Arsenios and<br>Anthimos | 1602        | 102-104               | —                          | —                    | 157-159               | —  |

| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Incipit</i>                       | <i>Author</i> | <i>Recipient</i>     | <i>Date</i> | 1625              | 1744             | 1768       | 1786              | <i>Editions</i>             |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 30            | Ὅτι μὲν ἄριστα ὑμῖν<br>τὸν γηραιὸν   | Maximos       | Ioannes              | 1602        | London<br>104-105 | Moschopolis<br>— | Halle<br>— | Venice<br>159-160 | —                           |
| 31            | Καλῶς τοῖς θεολόγοις<br>εἴφηται      | Maximos       | Gabriel              |             | 105-106           | —                | —          | 160-161           | —                           |
| 32            | Πενταετῆ φασὶ τοῖς τῷ<br>Πυθαγόρᾳ    | Maximos       | Michaelos<br>Krallis | 1602        | 106               | —                | —          | 162-163           | —                           |
| 33            | Χαίρω σοφῶν ἐντυγχά-<br>νων          | Nikephoros    | Maximos              | 7.03.1607   | 107               | 65-66            | 75-76      | 163-164           | —                           |
| 34            | Καὶ ποταπὸς παπᾶς                    | Psellos       | —                    |             | 108-111           | 66-69            | 76-80      | 165-169           | K-D., I, 65-68*             |
| 35            | Οἶδα ὅτι ἐρᾶς ἐπιστο-<br>λῶν ἐμῶν    | Psellos       | Konstantinos         |             | 111-113           | —                | —          | 170-172           | Snipes, pp. 99-100          |
| 36            | Αὐθέντα μου καὶ ἀδελφῆ<br>Psellos    | Psellos       | Konstantinos         |             | 113-116           | —                | —          | 173-177           | Sathas, Epist. I, 219-222.  |
| 37            | Εἰ δέ μοι νόμος                      | Psellos       | Konstantinos         |             | 116-119           | —                | —          | 177-181           | Sathas, Epist. 83, 318.     |
| 38            | Ἐγὼ δὲ ἤμην ἱερὰ                     | Psellos       | Konstantinos         |             | 119-121           | —                | —          | 181-185           | Sathas, Epist. 84, 321      |
| 39            | Ἀπορώ παντάπασιν                     | Psellos       | Romanos              |             | 121-123           | —                | —          | 185-187           | Sathas, Epist. 82, 316-318. |
| 40            | Τὸ ἔμφυτόν μοι ἐκ πα-<br>δόθεν       | Julian        | Saint Basil          |             | 123-124           | 69-71            | 80-82      | 188-189           | Deferrari, I, 230-234**     |
| 41            | Μικρά σοι τὰ τῆς πα-<br>ρούσης τύχης | Saint Basil   | Julian               |             | 125-126           | 71-72            | 82-84      | 190-192           | Deferrari, I, 234-238       |
| 42            | Δεξιόμενός σου τὸν λό-<br>γον        | Libanios      | John Chryso-<br>stom |             | 126               | 72               | 84         | —                 | Foerster, 570-571***        |
| 43            | Εἰ ταῦτα γλώττης ἀργο-<br>τέρας      | Libanios      | Saint Basil          |             | —                 | —                | —          | 193               | Foerster, 583               |

\* E. Kurtz & F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, vol. I, Milan 1936.

\*\* *Saint Basil the Letters*, R. J. Deferrari (ed.), I, IV, Cambridge, Mass., 1972/1970.

\*\*\* *Libanios Opera*, R. Foerster (ed.), vol. XI, Leipzig 1922.

| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Incipit</i>                        | <i>Author</i> | <i>Recipient</i> | <i>Date</i> | 1625<br><i>London</i> | 1744<br><i>Moschopolis</i> | 1768<br><i>Halle</i> | 1786<br><i>Venice</i> | <i>Editions</i>        |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 44            | Τὸ μὴ συνεχῶς με γρά-<br>φειν         | Saint Basil   | Libanius         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 193-194               | Foerster, 583-584      |
| 45            | Μάλλον ὄτι μὴ πάλαι<br>σοι            | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 194-195               | Foerster, 584-586      |
| 46            | Εἰ μὲν τι περὶ τοὺς λό-<br>γους       | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 196                   | Foerster, 587          |
| 47            | Πᾶς μὲν ἐπίσκοπος                     | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 196-197               | Foerster, 587-588      |
| 48            | Εἰ τὸ κερδαίνειν τοῦτο<br>γριτίζειν   | Saint Basil   | Libanius         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 197                   | Foerster, 588-589      |
| 49            | Οὐ πάύση Βασίλειε τὸν<br>ιερὸν        | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 198                   | Foerster, 589-590      |
| 50            | Λέλυταί σοι τὸ δούσθου-<br>μον        | Saint Basil   | Libanius         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 198                   | Foerster, 590-591      |
| 51            | Ἄρα Βασίλειε μὴ τὰς<br>Ἀθήνας         | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 199                   | Foerster, 594-595      |
| 52            | Δεχομένοις μὲν ἡμῖν                   | Saint Basil   | Libanius         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 200                   | Foerster, 595          |
| 53            | Ἦ χρόνων ἐκείνων                      | Libanius      | Saint Basil      |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 200                   | Foerster, 596          |
| 54            | Σὺ μὲν ὄλην τὴν τῶν πα-<br>λαιῶν      | Saint Basil   | Libanius         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 201                   | Foerster, 597          |
| 55            | Οἱ λόγοι τὴν φύσιν ὑπό-<br>πετερον    | Saint Basil   | A notary         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 202                   | Deferrari, IV, 282     |
| 56            | Ὅρθά γράφε                            | Saint Basil   | A scribe         |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 202-203               | Deferrari, IV, 282-284 |
| 57            | Πάθους ἀπήνητησε τῇ<br>καθ' ἡμᾶς χώρα | Saint Basil   | Theodosios       |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 204                   | Deferrari, IV, 346-350 |
| 58            | Πῶς σοι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ                   | Saint Basil   | Julian           |             | —                     | —                          | —                    | 204-207               | Deferrari, IV, 198-202 |