

Doctoral Dissertation

**Rhetoric, Exegesis and Florilegic Structure
in Philagathos of Cerami**
**An Investigation of the *Homilies* and of the
Allegorical Exegesis of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika***

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To my beloved son, Petre

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	6
List of Abbreviations	8
Introduction.....	10
Scholarship and Methodology	12
Approaching the Allegorical <i>Interpretation</i> of Heliodorus' <i>Aethiopika</i>	19
The <i>Homilies</i> of Philagathos: Editions.....	31
The Chronology of the <i>Homilies</i>	32
The Author and His Time: Preaching, Monasticism and Greek Culture	36
PART I: <i>Homilies</i>, 'Internal Drama' and Emotions.....	50
1. The Drama of the Incarnation: <i>Economy</i> and Emotions	57
2. Narrativity and Dramatization	67
3. Novels, Drama and <i>Homilies</i>	72
3.1. The Great Recognition Scene in the <i>Aethiopika</i> and Mary Magdalene's Recognition of Jesus .	73
3.2. Charikleia's Weeping when the Doors were Locked and the Apparition of Christ through the Closed Doors.....	76
3.3. The Restoration of Theagenes and the Resurrection of the Widow's Son	78
3.4. Blending Emotions in the <i>Homilies</i> : the Imprint of the Novel	79
3.5. Emotions and Audience	82
Conclusions	90
PART II: Rhetorical Techniques in the <i>Homilies</i> of Philagathos	93
1. Rhetorical Lament in the <i>Homilies</i> : Philagathos on the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain	93
2. <i>Ekphrasis</i> in the <i>Homilies</i>	108
2.1. Descriptions of Works of Art: the <i>Ekphrasis</i> of the Cappella Palatina.....	109
2.2. The <i>Ekphrasis</i> of the Church of St. Mary of Patir (Rossano, Calabria).....	118
2.3. The <i>Ekphrasis</i> of the Painting of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents.....	119
2.4. The <i>Ekphrasis</i> of St. John the Baptist and the Description of Herodias' Daughter Licentious Dancing.....	129
2.5. <i>Ekphrastic</i> Vignettes in the <i>Homilies</i>	142
2.6. <i>Ekphrasis</i> of Persons: a Sleeping Deacon and a Man Enraged.....	145
2.7. <i>Ekphrasis</i> of Storms in the <i>Homilies</i>	148
Conclusions	154
3. The Practice of Narration (δύγησις) in the <i>Homilies</i>	155
3.1. The Story of a Sacrifice: Jephthah's Daughter and Charikleia.....	155
3.2. A Story about Seduction: Tamar and Thisbe.....	161
3.3. The Story of Theodora and Denderis.....	166
4. <i>Synkrisis</i> and <i>Antithesis</i> in the <i>Homilies</i>	173
4.1. Virginal Womb and Sealed Tomb	174
4.2. The Virgin and the Mystic Fire of Aphrodite	176
4.3. Transfiguration and Passion.....	178
4.4. On the Road of Emmaus and the Great Recognition Scene in the <i>Aethiopika</i>	179
4.5. Healing Miracles and Antithetical Thought.....	181
4.6. Parables and Antithetical Thought: the Imprint of the Novel	187
Conclusions	194
PART III: Exegesis and Florilegic Structure	196
1. Christian Authorities and Florilegic Perspective	197
1.1. Demons and Angels	203
1.2. Embodiment and Human Nature	208

1.3. Death and Mourning	218
1.4. Swine and Pleasure	232
1.5. The Transfiguration of the Lord and Elijah's Vision.....	236
1.6. Lazarus' Decaying Body	239
Conclusion	243
PART IV: The Literal/Historical Sense (ιστορία) and Ancient Polemics.....	245
1. The <i>Monogenes</i> (Μονογενής) of Makarios Magnes: The 'Pagan' Source	248
1.1. The Textual Transmission of Makarios Magnes' <i>Monogenes</i>	253
1.2. Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments	254
1.2.1. The Gerasene Demoniac	255
1.2.2. "If you have faith the size of a mustard seed..."	268
1.2.3. "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood has not revealed this to you..." ..	271
1.2.4. He did not say, "You are Christ" but "the Christ."	274
1.2.5. "There is none good but one, that is, God."	277
1.2.6. "You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent and have revealed them to babes." ..	279
1.2.7. "This is the disciple who testifies to these things and who wrote them down."	281
2. The <i>Contra Galilaeos</i> of Julian the Apostate in the <i>Homilies</i> of Philagathos.....	282
2.1. "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."	284
2.2. "Sell your possessions and give to the poor."	288
2.3. "And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands..."	289
3. Anti-Christian Arguments with Unspecified Authorship in the <i>Homilies</i>	292
3.1. "Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee;"	292
3.2. About the Massacre of the Innocents and Herod	294
3.3. "So long have I been with you, and yet you have not known Me, Philip?"	296
3.4. "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" and "I saw you under the fig tree."	298
3.5. "Behold My hands and My feet..."	299
3.6. "And there are also many other things that Jesus did, which if they were written one by one..."	301
4. Apocryphal Literature in the <i>Homilies</i>	303
4.1. Nathanael and the Massacre of the Innocents	303
4.2. The Paralytic who Struck the Lord	304
4.3. James, the Lord's brother and the fortune of Josef	304
4.4. The Courtesan and "the Cloth that had been Wrapped round Jesus' Head"	305
5. The <i>Quaestiones et Responsiones</i> Literature and the <i>Homilies</i> of Philagathos	306
5.1. The Genealogy of Jesus Christ	307
5.2. The Transfiguration of the Lord	310
5.3. The Passion of the Saviour	316
5.4. The Hour of the Resurrection	317
5.5. The Resurrection Narratives	319
5.6. The Ascension into Heaven	320
6. Scriptural <i>Aporiai</i> and Philagathos' Usage of Christian Sources	321
6.1. "A Sower Went Out."	322
6.2. "To sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give." (Mc. 10:40)	323
6.3. After the Resurrection "We Ate and Drank with Him."	325
6.4. "When They Saw Him, They Worshiped Him; but Some Doubted."	327
6.5. "You Shall See Heaven Open, and the Angels of God Ascending and Descending upon the Son of Man."	330
7. The Literal Sense: Wording, Grammar and Manuscripts.....	333
8. The Literal Sense: Erudition and Scientific Learning in the <i>Homilies</i>	339

8.1.	“You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart”	341
8.2.	“I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven.”	343
8.3.	Medical Theory and Demonic Possession	347
8.4.	“Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves.”	351
8.5.	The Curative Properties of Mustard Seeds	355
	Conclusions	357
PART V: Spiritual Exegesis		360
1.	Names and Numbers	367
2.	Virtue and Perpetual Progress.....	384
PART VI. The Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus’s Aethiopika: a Contextual Reading		397
1.	Heliodorus’s <i>Aethiopika</i> in Byzantium	397
2.	Authorship, <i>Mimesis</i> and Florilegic Habit in Philip-Philagathos’ ἐρμηνεία.....	401
3.	Philip-Philagathos’ ἐρμηνεία and the Spiritual Interpretation of the Song of Songs.....	411
4.	Exegetic Structure: Philagathos’ <i>Homilies</i> and Gregory of Nyssa’s <i>De vita Moysis</i>	421
5.	Contemplation and Anagogical Ascent: The Doctrine of Perpetual Progress	425
6.	Arythmology and Etymology.....	436
Conclusions.....		446
APPENDICES		453
Appendix 1		454
The <i>Homilies</i> of Philagathos		454
Appendix 2.....		470
Homily 6		470
Appendix 3.....		476
Homily 84		476
Homily 85		487
Appendix 4.....		491
Translation: “An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia from the voice of Philip the Philosopher” ...		491
Appendix 5 – Figures		505
BIBLIOGRAPHY		509

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St. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, Homily 25

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List of Abbreviations

<i>BBGG</i>	<i>Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata</i>
<i>BMFD</i>	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typica and Testaments</i> , ed. John Tomas and A. Constantiniades Hero (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001)
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CCSG</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EEBS</i>	<i>Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
<i>Ehrhard, Überlieferung</i>	<i>Ehrhard, A. Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , vol. III. Berlin – Leipzig 1952.
<i>GNO</i>	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> , ed. Wernerus Jaeger et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1961–)
<i>hom.</i>	<i>Philagathos' homily (for the full title see Appendix 1)</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>La tradizione</i>	<i>La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale: Filagato da Cerami philosophos e didaskalos – copisti, lettori, eruditi in Puglia tra XII e XVI secolo</i> , ed. Nunzio Bianchi, Bari: Edipuglia, 2011
<i>Loeb</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> , Second Series, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890–1900)
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857–66)
<i>PGL</i>	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<i>SicGym</i>	<i>Siculorum Gymnasium</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>

Note on Citation of Primary Sources

All references to primary sources either in the *PG* or *PL* collections include volume number in the series, followed by column(s) and section(s). As for our major primary source, the *Homilies*, the references include the number of the homily, followed by the section, the edition and the page number. For the homilies extant in the *PG* alone, we first indicate the number of the homily according to order established by Giuseppe Rossi-Taibbi (see APPENDIX 1), then we give the number of homily from the *PG*, followed by the column(s) and section(s) [e.g. *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, *PG* 132, coll. 844B)]. The references to the allegorical *Interpretation* of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* (hereafter referred to as the *Interpretation* or ἐρμηνεία) include the lines, followed by the edition and the page (e.g. *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 35–41, ed. Bianchi, 50). The references to material in the *CSEL*, *CCSG*, *GNO* and *SC* collections include volume number in the series, followed by pages and where appropriate, lines.

All translations of primary sources are my own unless otherwise noted. Throughout the thesis I have used various colors for indicating parallel passages in Philagathos' homilies and his sources. By doing this I aim, on the one hand, to highlight Philagathos' embroidery of sources and, on the other hand, to help the reader track these passages more easily.

Introduction

The present dissertation attempts to offer the first comprehensive analysis of Philagathos of Cerami's œuvre. Probably born in the last quarter of the XIth century in northeastern Sicily, at Cerami, Philagathos is mostly known for authoring a substantial collection of homilies for the Sunday readings and the feasts of the liturgical year, the so-called "italo-griechische Homiliar" (A. Ehrhard). The collection of sermons was brought to Constantinople around the middle of the XIII century and it spread in the entire Byzantine world. The enormous number of manuscripts in which the text has been preserved testifies for its popularity – i.e. there are more than two hundred manuscripts containing sermons from the Italo-Greek homiliary. It is the aim of this dissertation to explain this avowed popularity. Philagathos was also the author of two short epigrams on Galen and he may have written a grammatical handbook, but what mostly ignited the interests of scholars was his allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* (i.e. ἐμνηεῖα) whose authorship has been a matter of scholarly dispute (see below).

The analysis of Philagathos' sermons focuses on three interrelated aspects: the compositional method, the rhetorical technique and the theological frame. Part I begins with discussing the emphasis on depicting emotions in Philagathos' *Homilies* by drawing on Henry Maguire's characterization of the Byzantine homily as a rhetorical form concentrated on the display of emotions or as 'an internal drama.' The analysis takes its starting point from the constitutive Christian notion of incarnational *economy* as conveyed by Philagathos. Mirroring the Byzantine theological tradition, the homilist portrays Christ as teaching the proper display of emotions. The analysis looks at Philagathos' usage of dialogue and monologue, two important rhetorical techniques in Byzantine homiletic writing for making the audience experience the reality of the events narrated in the Gospel. Underlined by the dogma of the Incarnation, the expression of emotions is particularly dependent on the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. In fact, throughout this section, I pin point the significance of novels, the references to the classical culture and Christian tradition as sources and models for the Philagathos' *Homilies*. Thereafter, in the second part, I investigate the relationship between the *Homilies* and the Byzantine rhetorical tradition and I address the influence of the rhetorical techniques of *ekphrasis*, *diegesis*, *synkrisis*, *antithesis* and *threnos* upon Philagathos' sermons. First, I look at the rhetorical lament (θρῆνος) as illustrated by the sermon "On the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain." Then, I turn to Philagathos' extensive recourse to the rhetorical genre of *ekphrasis* throughout the sermons. Next, I analyse Philagathos' practice of narration (διήγησις) by looking at the dramatic representation of the story of Tamar in the homily "On the Book of Generation of Jesus Christ" and the rendition of the story (λόγος διηγηματικός) about Theodora, the wife of the iconoclast emperor Theophilos (813–842) and Denderis, the entertaining fool at the imperial court. Finally, I look at the use of *antithesis* and *synkrisis* in the sermons with an emphasis on the novelistic influence on Philagathos' antithetical style.

In the next section, I discuss Philagathos' method of theological exegesis. First, I argue that the compositional technique of these sermons reflects a deeply entrenched florilegic habit. In this connection, I point out that the *Homilies* correspond to the Byzantine attitude of authorship

termed by Paolo Odorico “culture of collection” (*cultura della syllogé*).¹ Thereafter, the analysis follows the exegetic division established by the homilist himself. Thus, first I address the exegesis according to the ‘literal–historic’ sense (ἱστορία) and then the spiritual interpretation (θεωρία) displayed in the *Homilies*. At the literal level, I reveal that Philagathos systematically collected from a wide array of sources scriptural difficulties related to the Gospel reading of the day. Among them, we encounter extensive borrowings from Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes* and from Emperor Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* to the extent that it transmitted previously unknown passages from this lost work. In this connection, I indicate Philagathos’ usages of apocryphal literature and his extensive reliance on the exegetic tradition of *quaestiones et responsiones*. Besides scriptural ἀπορία Philagathos amassed from his sources passages on various themes as human nature, death, pleasure; he collected scientific explanations of natural phenomena as the description of lightning, of storms, he gathered up various explanations deemed appropriate to clarify the meaning of the Scripture as were the attributes of the mustard seed, the mandrake, the sykamore, the pods that the swine ate, the anatomy of the eye, the peculiarities of the serpents.

Then, turning to Philagathos’ “spiritual” (θεωρία) interpretation I point out that the continuous reliance on the allegorical interpretation of numbers and names characterizes Philagathos’ exegetic style. In particular, I show that Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor were decisive in shaping Philagathos’ spiritual interpretation. The former is the most cited author in the *Homilies*. Gregory’s writings were thematically harvested and incorporated in the sermons. Besides ample literal citations, the imprint of Gregory of Nyssa is conspicuous in original adaptations of his theological doctrines. Thus, the doctrine of perpetual progress, of the cardinal virtues or the treatment of hagiographical material is modelled on Gregory of Nyssa’s exegesis. In what regards the emphasis on etymology and arithmology I point out that Philagathos’ exegesis is preeminently modelled after Maximus Confessor’s *Ad Thalassium*.

In the last part, I turn to Philagathos’ allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* to which I apply a similar structure of analysis. In other words, I address the rhetorical strategy, the exegetic technique and the theological doctrines displayed in the commentary. At variance with the scholarly consensus which considers ἐρμηνεία as part of the Neoplatonist interpretative tradition I argue that the exegetical practice displayed in the allegory reflects Gregory of Nyssa’s allegorical exegesis and doctrine of spiritual progress from the *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and *The Life of Moses*. In what regards the etymological and arithmological exegesis displayed in the ἐρμηνεία I show that this feature bespeaks the influence of Maximus Confessor’ method, which closely mirrors the exegetic technique and the theological doctrines conveyed by Philagathos’ *Homilies*. The analysis takes into account the extensive intertextual evidence that binds Philagathos’ *Homilies* with the allegorical exegesis of *Aethiopika*. The text is situated in the context of the rediscovery of the genre of the novel in Komnenian Byzantium and the Byzantine tradition of allegorical interpretation of secular literature.

¹ Paolo Odorico, “Cadre d’exposition / cadre de pensée — la culture du recueil,” in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 89–108.

Scholarship and Methodology

“And, after all, what is originality?
It is merely undetected plagiarism.”
Herbert Paul

In Byzantine scholarship Henry Maguire in particular drew attention to Philagathos of Cerami's homiletic corpus. In Maguire's works the *Homilies* serve as a prominent illustration of his important methodological point that the literary tradition is seminal for understanding Byzantine works of art.² Continuing Maguire's approach in the same field of art history, Nektarios Zarras identified Philagathos' *Homilies* as an essential source for illuminating various aspects of the iconographic cycle of the eleven *Eothina* pericopes in the Palaiologan period.³ In fact, as Zarras pointed out in his valuable study, Philagathos authored the most complete collection of homilies on the *Eothina* in consequence of the final compilation of the liturgical book of the Pentekostarion.⁴ These contributions inspired my analysis by their ability to locate Philagathos' exegetic innovations within the vast field of Byzantine ecclesiastical literature and overall made me more attentive to the particulars of his exegesis.

Philagathos' *Homilies* captured the scholarly attention by the surprising array of rhetorical models which the homilist appropriated for his compositions. Specifically, Nunzio Bianchi,⁵ Aldo Corcella,⁶ Eugenio Amato,⁷ Gaia Zaccagni⁸ and Cristina Torre⁹ authored

² See Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); id., “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament” in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 215–233; id., “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” *DOP* 31 (1997): 123–174; id., “Medieval Art in Southern Italy: Latin Drama and the Greek Literary Imagination,” in id., *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), VII, 219–39.

³ Nektarios Zarras, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος των Εωθινών Ευαγγελίων στην Παλαιοολόγεια μνημειακή ζωγραφική των Βαλκανίων* [The Iconographic Cycle of the Eothina Gospel Lections in Palaiologan Monumental Painting] (Centre for Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki: 2011); I am grateful to Nektarios for having offered me his book on the iconographic cycle of the *Eothina*; see also id., “The Iconographical Cycle of the *Eothina* Gospel Pericopes in Churches from the Reign of King Milutin,” *Zograf* 31 (2006): 95–113; id., “Narrating the Sacred Story: New Testament Cycles in Middle and Late Byzantine Church Decoration,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), 239–276.

⁴ Id., *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος των Εωθινών Ευαγγελίων*, 60.

⁵ Nunzio Bianchi, “Tempesta nello stretto ovvero Filagato da Cerami lettore di Alcifrone,” *Bollettino dei Classici* 26 (2005), 91–97; id., “Filagato da Cerami lettore del *De domo* ovvero Luciano in Italia meridionale,” in *La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale. Filagato da Cerami philosophos e didaskalos. Copisti, lettori, eruditi in Puglia tra XII e XVI secolo*, ed. Nunzio Bianchi, (Bari: Edipuglia, 2011), 39–52; id., “Filagato da Cerami lettore di Eliodoro (e di Luciano e Alcifrone)” in Nunzio Bianchi, *Romanzi greci ritrovati: tradizione e riscoperta dalla tarda antichità al Cinquecento* (Bari: Stilo Editrice, 2011), 29–46.

⁶ Aldo Corcella, “Note a Filipo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami), *Commentatio in Charicleam*,” *Medioevo greco* 9 (2009), 45–52; id., “Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo,” *BZ* 103 (2010), 25–38; id., “Tre nuovi testi di Procopio di Gaza: una *dialexis* inedita e due monodie già attribuite a Coricio,” *Revue des Études Tardo-Antiques* 1 (2011), 1–14; id., “Riuso e reimpiego dell'antico in Filagato,” in *La tradizione*, 11–21.

⁷ Eugenio Amato, “Procopio di Gaza modello dell'*Ekphrasis* di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo,” *Byzantion* 82 (2012), 1–16.

⁸ Gaia Zaccagni, “La *πάρεργος* αφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa,” *RSBN* n.s.35, 1998, 47–65; ead., “Un giullare alla corte di Theodora: narrazione ad incastro nell'omelia filagatea Per la Festa dell'Ordossia (XXII Scorso = XLI Rossi Taibbi),” in *La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale*, 63–73.

important contributions on Philagathos' *mimesis* of rhetorical models. The present analysis expands on Philagathos' usage of authorities looking both at Christian and classical sources alike. The focus is placed on the overall compositional technique that informs the Italo-Greek collection of sermons. Based on a detailed survey of sources, I show that a vast florilegic standpoint lurks behind Philagathos' exegesis. The sermons expose a method of citation based on a system of reading subsumed to his preaching activity. The homilist winnowed the source texts according to topics related to the theme of the sermons.¹⁰

For observing Philagathos' practice of citation a few methodological remarks about the Byzantine literary context and the Byzantine notions of authorship are apposite.¹¹ First, the present investigation assumes a contextual approach to citations and allusions. This is in fact the instrument, which renders visible the florilegic structure of the sermons. In the first place, the analysis considers the function and meaning of the citation into the new context, and then attempts to determine the pattern of textual appropriation and adaptation of theological doctrines, scientific theories, various descriptions, etc. into the new text. However, the original context of the fragment, or doctrine incorporated into the sermons becomes equally important. This context 'explains' and disambiguates Philagathos' allusions and borrowings often hard to pin down as the homilist's quotations may involve even one word only. Furthermore, I point out that the homilist often relies on various Christian commentaries for what may appear just ordinary scriptural quotations. These appropriations become visible when taking into consideration the wider exegetic context of Philagathos' sources. For instance, as to anticipate the results of the analysis, Philagathos' numerous citations from the Song of Songs and from the Minor Prophets are dependent on Gregory of Nyssa's *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*.

In dealing with Philagathos' appropriations, methodological difficulties are posed by relating lost treatises with fragments derived from them. In particular, I point out that Philagathos extensively draws on the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, a treatise partially lost.¹² The *Monogenes* is important because it contains the most extensive exposition of pagan rebukes on the New Testament that have subsisted from Late Antiquity.¹³ It is thought to be transmitting anti-Christian rebukes from Porphyry of Tyre's *Contra Christianos*, notwithstanding the fact that the precise textual relation between the *Monogenes* and the *Contra Christianos* is highly

⁹ Cristina Torre, "Su alcune presunte riprese classiche in Filagato da Cerami" in *La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale*, 21–39; ead., "Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele," *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 15 (2008): 63–119.

¹⁰ Philagathos' compositional method is somehow similar with Iakovos Monachos' technique but without any clumsiness in stitching the phrases borrowed from his sources; cf. Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Iakovos Monachos and Spiritual Encyclopedias," in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 234–235.

¹¹ For the Byzantine practice of authorship see the study of Stratis Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹² Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, ed. Richard Goulet, Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire, I – II vol, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003 (hereafter referred to as Goulet, *Monogénès*).

¹³ Cf. John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 168.

controversial.¹⁴ In addition, Nunzio Bianchi discovered in Philagathos' *Homilies* an unknown passage from Emperor Julian's lost work *Contra Galilaeos* (Κατὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων)¹⁵ and other textual variants of Julian's arguments known from different sources but in a redaction that deserves a discussion *per se*. Besides, we point out that Philagathos transmits other genuine pagan reprimands unknown from any other source. In relation to lost works, it should be added that Philagathos was acquainted with Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, as Aldo Corcella revealed.¹⁶

Arguably, the most challenging and disturbing aspect of approaching fragments of lost works is that the authors would make semantic changes to the quoted works. This is the case with Makarios' *Monogenes* which pretends to be a dialogue between a Christian but actually is a literary fiction. Nevertheless, the existence of a genuine source (i.e. *Contra Christianos*) for the pagan's discourse can not be doubted, despite Makarios' consistent redactional input.¹⁷ In what regards Philagathos' own appropriations from Makarios' *Monogenes*, there are only few literal citations from the treatise in the *Homilies*, which otherwise abound in appropriations of scriptural ἀπορίαι, theological interpretations and rhetorical embellishments from this late-antique testimony of Christian-pagan polemics.

Sabrina Inowlocki, in a pioneering work on the practice of citation in Late Antiquity, reveals that the purpose informing the method of quotation was not to corrupt and falsify the original text but to make it "express its essence more clearly."¹⁸ The cited texts were liable to endure modifications since the meaning was more important to them than the phrasing and ultimately it is argued that the "line between literal citation and allusions is very unclear because it was useless to the ancients."¹⁹ Clearly, the citation was not effected with the desire of locating

¹⁴ This aspect is discussed in Part IV, "The *Monogenes* (Μονογενής) of Makarios Magnes: The 'Pagan' Source," 230–264.

¹⁵ The fragments were published by Nunzio Bianchi, "Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galileos* di Giuliano (dalle omelie di Filagato da Cerami)," *Bollettino dei Classici* 27 (2006), 89–104.

¹⁶ Aldo Corcella, "Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo," *BZ* 103 (2010): 31–34.

¹⁷ For Makarios' alterations of his source see Richard Goulet, *Monogénès*, vol. I, 76–89; id., "Porphyre et Macaire de Magnésie" *SP* 15 (1984), 448–452; Olivier Munnich, "Recherche de la source porphyrienne dans les objections «païennes» du Monogénès: l'enjeu des citations scripturaires" in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 75–106; additionally, the manner of approaching the biblical citations in the *Monogenes* confirms the reality of a pagan source; the latter observed that "Plus globalement, on notera que, à aucune occasion dans l'ensemble du traité, Macarios ne reprend l'Adversaire sur la forme du texte scripturaire qu'il avance. Cela signifie que, même en cas de divergences patentes entre celui-ci et le text «reçu» de l'évangile, le traité se fonde sur le postulat que l'adversaire dispose de données textuelles incontestables. En définitive, au-delà de la complexité des phénomènes de refonte littéraire que manifeste le Monogénès, Macarios de Magnésie témoigne de l'existence d'un adversaire que ses connaissances et sa dialectique rendent particulièrement redoutable; paradoxalement, l'effet de l'emphase expressive et de jeux littéraires est de réduire la force de l'objection, de faire basculer dans la farce celui qui traite les chrétiens de bateleurs. (103)"

¹⁸ Sabrina Inowlocki, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors: His Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 40–47 shows that modifications of texts were in fact a better rendition of the truth, as for instance is highlighted by the example of Aristobulos, a Jewish Philosopher, who cited Aratus, but replaced the word "Zeus" from the poems with "God," for he believed the meaning of the words refers to God, not to Zeus.

¹⁹ Ariane Magny, "Porphyry in Fragments: Jerome, Harnack, and the Problem of Reconstruction," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 18 (2010): 534.

a passage.²⁰ Instead, a reference by name was used either to appeal to the authority of the cited author or to mark him as dissenting from the conveyed demonstration, whereas an anonymous citation was preferred to one by name “when they wanted to take advantage of what their predecessors had written.”²¹ In addition to this, as I. G. Kidd remarked “we must remind ourselves of the unreliability (...) of ancient reporters, in the sense of the freedom in quotation they allowed themselves, based often on memory (...).”²²

Ariane Magny underscored the applicability of a contextual approach to the textual transmission of lost works for establishing a new collection of fragments of Porphyry’s *Contra Christianos*.²³ In her studies of the Porphyrian fragments as preserved by Jerome, Magny demonstrated that it is crucial for unearthing references to the pagan-Christian polemic to inspect the context of discussion from Jerome’s text. Significantly, the author observes that Jerome often when refuting Porphyry related discrepancies and contradictions in the Gospels not attributed straightforwardly to his pagan opponent. Magny concluded “that it is possible to infer that he is actually answering Porphyry’s points” revealing thus other possible Porphyrian fragments in Jerome’s texts.²⁴ Earlier, André Benoît formulated a similar insight: “on s’est trop focalisé sur les

²⁰ Inowlocki, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors*, 33–40; she explains that the ancients “choose or not to mark the use of citation.” When they choose to indicate a citation clearly, they (or their scribes – another complication!) mark it with a sign in the margin, as can be seen in manuscripts, as well as with linguistic markers (e.g., *lego*, etc.).”

²¹ Guido Schepens, ‘Jacoby’s FGrHist: Problems, Methods, Prospects,’ in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997), 166: “As a rule they only cited their precursor’s name when they disagreed or wanted to show off their better knowledge. First, the reference by name always needs to be examined critically before we can think of using it as evidence for reconstructing the contents of lost works.”

²² G. I. Kidd, in “What is a Posidonian Fragment?” in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. Glenn W. Most, 225–236, addressed the case of Posidonius of Apameia whose œuvre is entirely fragmentary, but unlike Porphyry’s treatise, is not transmitted in a polemical context.

²³ Ariane Magny, “Porphyry in Fragments: Jerome, Harnack, and the Problem of Reconstruction” *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 18 (2010): 515–555, described her *desideratum* to integrate the context in which the Porphyrian fragments were transmitted, proposing to revise Harnack’s work and “to contextualize it, with the ultimate goal of establishing a new collection of fragments embedded in their context, a collection which will be easier to consult in the future, and which will make a contribution to the interpretation of Porphyry and of the wider debate between Christians and non-Christians (554–555);” see also ead., “Méthodologie et collecte des fragments de Porphyre sur le Nouveau Testament chez Jérôme,” in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens : un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut des études augustiniennes, 2011), 59–74; Magny stressed that her contextual approach relied on Guido Schepens and André Laks’ method for reconstructing lost historical texts; cf. Guido Schepens, ‘Jacoby’s FGrHist: Problems, Methods, Prospects,’ in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997), 144–172; André Laks, “Du témoignage comme fragment” in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. Glenn W. Most, 237–276.

²⁴ As to make this clear by way of an example, the existence of other possible Porphyrian fragments in Jerome could be inferred, as Magny indicated in “Porphyry in Fragments,” 549 from Jerome’s, *Abridged Commentary on the Psalms* 77 (= Harnack, *Fr.* 10) (CCL 78:66–67) where the apologist justifies the discrepancies between the Gospel’s account of Jesus’s death: *Quomodo illud in Euangelio scriptum est, scriptum est in Matthaeo et Iohanne quod Dominus noster hora sexta crucifixus sit, rursum scriptum est in Marco quia hora tertia crucifixus sit. Hoc uidetur esse diuersum, sed non est diuersum. Error scriptorium fuit: et in Marco hora sexta scriptum fuit, sed multi pro ἐπισήμῳ graeco putauerunt esse gramma. Sicut enim ibi error fuit scriptorum, sic et hic error fuit scriptorum, ut pro Asaph Esaia scriberent; also in the *Commentary on Matthew* 13.35 (SC 242: 284) where he discusses Psalm 77: *Quod quia minime inueniebatur in Esaia, arbitror postea a prudentibus uiris esse sublatum. Sed mihi uidetur in principio ita editum, quod scriptum est: per Asaph prophetam dicentem...et primum scriptorem non intellexisse Asaph et putasse scriptoris uitium atque emendasse nomen Esaiae, cuius uocabulum manifestius erat.* As we know from other sources, these arguments may be related to Porphyry’s critique of Christianity.*

citations expresses sans se rendre compte que le contexte des réfutations était modelé par les arguments porphyriens.”²⁵ What needs to be emphasized for the present study is that Magny revealed that “without the context of the discussion, the ‘falsities’ noted by Porphyry remained unidentified.”²⁶ Drawing on a similar contextual approach I reveal that several allusions and citations embedded in Philagathos’s *Homilies* go back to ancient pagan polemicists. In particular, I show that Philagathos alludes and cites from Makarios’ *Monogenes* without referring to its source. Moreover, I argue that a contextual approach permits us to unveil other possible arguments that pertain to Christian-pagan polemic. Therefore, it will be necessary to map the evidence brought by Philagathos within the context of anti-Christian polemics.

The contextual approach to citations and allusions is part of a more general (but recent) trend in Byzantine studies. Ingela Nilsson recently investigating the narrative techniques of twelfth-century Byzantine literature applied a narratological framework for unfolding the multilayered structure of Byzantine literary texts. This approach underlined the positive meaning of *mimesis* for Byzantine literature.²⁷ Since the presence of *mimesis* is intrinsic to the nature of literature insofar as any text reveals the influence of previous texts, the assessment of the function and meaning of literary imitation into the new context represents an important aspect.²⁸ As Nilsson put it:

“Quand il s’agit de citations ou d’allusions, il est important de ne pas signaler seulement la source, mais surtout de reconnaître la fonction de l’emprunt. Nous devons rompre avec l’habitude de limiter notre travail philologique à la simple classification de sources. Il nous faut en revanche essayer de les comprendre dans le nouveau contexte, et non simplement localiser toutes les citations d’un texte pour savoir exactement d’où elles viennent [...], sans comprendre pourquoi l’auteur choisit de les employer dans un contexte concret.”²⁹

²⁵ A. Benoît, “Le Contra christianos de Porphyre: où en est la collecte des fragments?” in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*, ed. André Benoit, Marc Philonenko and Cyrille Vogel (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1978), 268.

²⁶ Magny, “Porphyry in Fragments,” 548, discussing Jerome’s *Letter* 57 to Pammachius, observes that Jerome, besides answering Porphyry’s charges against the evangelists, refers to other textual discrepancies between the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the evangelists without expressly naming Porphyry’s rebukes. She suggests, reasonably in my opinion that “these examples could mean that Porphyry discussed exactly these issues.”

²⁷ Ingela Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014); for the same positive reassessment of Byzantine imitation, see ead., “The same Story but Another. A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium”, in *Imitatio-Aemulatio-Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Wien, 22–25 Oktober 2008), ed. A. Rhoby and E. Schiffer (Vienna, 2010), 195–208.

²⁸ Ingela Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 74: “Un autre avantage de l’approche de Genette est qu’il ne regarde pas l’imitation comme quelque chose de négatif, puisque la transcendance textuelle caractérise toute littérature, quelle qu’elle soit. La notion de transtextualité montre la complexité des relations transtextuelles en même temps qu’elle souligne les aspects positifs de l’imitation: c’est ainsi quelle peut nous aider à décrire et, par conséquent, à mieux comprendre la littérature byzantine, qui a un caractère absolument polyphonique et dialogique, pour employer encore une fois des termes modernes.”

²⁹ Ingela Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, 29.

Without doubt, the notion of imitation/mimesis (μίμησις) of model writers and submission to authority defines the Byzantine understanding of authorship.³⁰ This cultural disposition presupposed a fixed canon of classics offered as sanctioned models for appropriation and imitation.³¹ The rhetorical treatises effectively canonized these models (i.e. – of Hermogenes, Aphthonios and Dyonysios of Halikarnassos among the most influential). They paraded exemplary authors (i.e. Plato and Homer, Demosthenes, Gregory of Nazianzus) and hypostatized their particular discursive agency: Homer was the ποιητής, Gregory of Nazianzus the θεόλογος, David the ψαλμωδός. This rhetorical culture implied a kind of *palimpsestic* mental framework since the literary composition and the authorial subjectivity contained therein was cast in the *logos* of sanctioned authorities. As a scholar put it, in this culture “to be oneself was in effect to also be another. It meant that one must reenact a set of *typoi* and *topoi*, generic rhetorical types and patterns, for presenting subjectivity.”³² It is telling that the twelfth century Byzantine dramatic composition, *Christus Patiens* (Χριστὸς πάσχων) mostly consisted in passages taken from Euripides.³³ The aim was not the cultivation of originality but the creative imitation of classical predecessors.³⁴ In relation to *Christus Patiens*, Margaret Mullett aptly commented: “the ability to combine lines and half - lines from four Euripidean tragedies to create a Byzantine tragedy was not plagiarism but genius.”³⁵ The same literary mindset, as to give another example, accounts for Procopius of Caesarea’s usage of famous passages from classical authors for describing contemporary events (e.g. the appropriation of Thucydides’ famous plague description for the account of the plague that struck Constantinople in 542 AD). Again, as Averil Cameron put it: “To regard this as plagiarism, damaging to his integrity as a writer, is to misunderstand the process completely.”³⁶

The Byzantine readers were trained to recognize authors, allusions, or citations whereas the writers strove for casting their discourse through *mimesis* into established scripts: because to speak with authority and persuasion meant to speak through the voice of sanctioned models. This cultural attitude of absolute deference to authorities and rejection of innovation was termed by Paolo Odorico “cultura della συλλογή” (i.e. ‘the culture of collecting’). Although it was theorized in relation to the so-called “Byzantine Encyclopedism,” the concept may have a wider

³⁰ Herbert Hunger, “On the imitation (mimêsis) of antiquity in Byzantine literature,” *DOP* 23–4 (1969–1970), 15–38; on the Byzantine notion of authorship see the volume edited by Aglae Pizzone, *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature: Modes, Functions and Identities* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014).

³¹ See for instance, J. H. Jenkins, “The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature,” *DOP* 17 (1963), 39–52; Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca, “La littérature Byzantine et le réalisme,” *Études Byzantines et Postbyzantines* 1 (1979), 77–78; Herbert Hunger, “The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric,” in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott (Birmingham: The University, 1981), 37.

³² Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*, 135–136.

³³ Hunger, “On the imitation (mimêsis) of antiquity in Byzantine literature,” 34–35: “A third of the 2610 lines of *Christus Patiens* (Χριστὸς πάσχων) is borrowed from Euripides, the Medea and the Bacchae having the greatest share in the contribution, some others of his plays following in this order: Hippolytus, Rhesus, and, far less often, Orestes, Hecuba, and The Trojan Women.”

³⁴ For the concept of originality see the volume *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. Littlewood, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995.

³⁵ Margaret Mullett, “No Drama, No Poetry, No Fiction, No Readership, No Literature,” in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 237.

³⁶ Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1985), 38.

significance for Byzantine mentality.³⁷ Indeed, Odorico considers it to be “più che una tecnica espositiva: è un modo di intendere la vita e la produzione intellettuale o politica.”³⁸ John of Damascus’ preface to his selection of philosophical topics eminently illustrates this understanding of authorship. While explaining to his addressee, Kosmas of Maiouma, the principle that guided his work, John stated: “As I just mentioned, I shall not say anything of my own (ἐρῶ ἐμὸν οὐδέν) but, having collected in one book the toils of the most outstanding of teachers, I will, in the best way I can, present to you an abbreviated discourse following in everything your command.”³⁹ Although it refers to a particular category of texts instrumental for rhetorical and compositional practice (*gnomologia*), John of Damascus’ understanding of authorship echoes a more dominant Byzantine model circumscribed by a desire to create through *mimesis*, through the citations and references from the accepted tradition.⁴⁰

Michael Psellos’ own description of the practice of authorship affords another glimpse into the Byzantine mimetic tradition. After enumerating the list of texts and authors, which he arduously studied for creating his rhetoric, Psellos confessed: “My discourse, however, is varied and adorned by all of them and what comes from each one of them is mixed into my single form [*idea*]. I am one originating in many. Yet if someone reads my books, many from one might appear.”⁴¹ For Psellos, as Papaioannou argued, the Byzantine mimetic tradition manifested in the complex modulation of ancient *logoi* for rhetorical self-fashioning. For most authors *mimesis* consisted in linguistic borrowings contextually adapted to describe events, adorn descriptions, etc.⁴²

The practice of literary imitation often presumed a process of memorisation and systematization of knowledge. This is emphasized by Quintilian’s appraisal of imitation, which remained pertinent to generations of rhetoricians from antiquity throughout the Byzantine period: “we shall do well to keep a number of different excellences before our eyes, so that different qualities from different authors may impress themselves on our minds, to be adopted for use in

³⁷ Paolo Odorico, “La cultura della *συλλογή*,” *BZ* 83 (1990): 1–21; it is particularly suggestive that Psellos equated the practice of excerpting sources and compilation with the philosophical and rhetorical activity; on the same subject see Odorico, “Cadre d’exposition / cadre de pensée — la culture du recueil,” in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 89–108.

³⁸ Odorico, “La cultura della *συλλογή*,” 19.

³⁹ John of Damascus, *Capita philosophica* (Dialectica), ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos I: Institutio elementaris*. Patristische Texte und Studien 7 (Berlin, 1969), 53.60–63; the translation is taken from Panagiotis Agapitos, “Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: the Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike,” *Modern Greek Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. Gregory Nagy and Anna Stavrakopoulou (London: Routledge, 2003), 9.

⁴⁰ Cf. Odorico, “Cadre d’exposition / cadre de pensée — la culture du recueil,” 96: “Enfin, je voudrais signaler que la célèbre phrase de Jean Damascène ἐρῶ ἐμὸν οὐδέν, considérée parfois comme la renonciation à toute innovation, doit être plutôt comprise comme une volonté de créer par citations et références, d’autant plus qu’il utilise dans le même passage le lexique technique de la culture du recueil.”

⁴¹ Psellos, *On the Styles of Certain Writings*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Michael Psellus de operatione daemonum cum notis Gaulmini. Accedunt inedita opuscula Pselli* (Nuremberg, 1838 = repr. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1964), 52, 4–9: Καὶ εἴ γε δεῖ καὶ τοῦμὸν εἰπεῖν, τῆς μὲν ἐκάστων ἀπολέλειμμαι ἀρετῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ποικίλλεται δέ μοι διὰ πάντων ὁ λόγος καὶ παρ’ ἐκάστων εἰς μίαν ἰδέαν συγκίρναται, καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν εἰς· εἰ δέ μοι τις ἀναγινώσκει τὰς βίβλους, πολλοὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς γένοιντο. Trans. in Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 127.

⁴² For the multiple shades of *mimesis* in Byzantine literature, see Ingela Nilsson’s narratological approach, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, 41–48.

the place that becomes them best.”⁴³ The *aliud ex alio haereat* is an important image because it points to the significance of memorisation for the practice of authorship. Although, for Byzantine education the “arts of memory” of the kind that developed in the Latin West have not been documented, memorisation of texts was an essential part of Byzantine education.⁴⁴ In this regard, the testimony of Michael, bishop of Ephesus in the early eleventh century is particularly valuable. Michael records that young pupils learnt Homer by heart at school, memorizing from thirty up to fifty lines a day.⁴⁵ A masterful imitation of exemplary authors demanded their internalization. The Byzantine collections of sentences illustrate the same *mimetic* habit achieved through memorisation. Photios and John of Damascus perceived the usefulness of *gnomologia* by the swiftness of fruition that “the memorisation of many beautiful and varied sentences” brings about through continuous study.⁴⁶ As to go back in time, Agathias, the sixth century historian, said: “It is necessary to spend more time on reading the ancient sages again, because of *mimesis*.”⁴⁷ Recently, Elizabeth Jeffreys observing the spectacle of citations unfolding in the letters and homilies of Iakovos suggested that memorisation might have played an important role in the production of these texts.⁴⁸ In sum, the analysis of Philagathos’ practice of citation in the *Homilies*, which clusters and combines passages from different sources reckons on these notions of imitation/*mimesis*, florilegic habit and memorisation.

Approaching the Allegorical *Interpretation* of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*

Philagathos’ other work, the allegorical *Interpretation* of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* (“Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἐρμηνεία τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου – An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia from the voice of Philip the Philosopher”) received extensive attention in past and recent scholarship.⁴⁹ The scholarly debate regarding the *Interpretation* started as early

⁴³ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, X, 2, 1, ed. and trans. Butler, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), IV, 88–89: “plurimum bona ponamus ante oculos, ut aliud ex alio haereat et, quod quique loco conveniat aptemus.”

⁴⁴ Cf. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Elizabeth Jeffreys, “Iakovos Monachos and Spiritual Encyclopedias” in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium*, 238.

⁴⁵ Michael of Ephesus, in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 20, ed. G. Heylbut (Berlin: Reimer, 1892), 613, I. 4–7.

⁴⁶ This is what Photios declared in relation to Joannes Stobaeus’ *Anthology*; cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167, ed. Henry, t. II p. 159: Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς μὲν ἀνεγνώσκουσι αὐτὰ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰληφόσι πείραν ἐκείνων, ὅτι διὰ συνεχοῦς αὐτῶν μελέτης οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ποικίλων νοημάτων, εἰ καὶ κεφαλαιώδη, μνήμην καρπώσονται. Κοινόν δ’ ἀμφοτέροις ἢ τῶν ζητουμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὗρεσις, ἐπειδὴν τις ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαίων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ πλάτη ἀναδραμεῖν ἐθελήσῃ. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ τοῖς ῥητορεύειν καὶ γράφειν σπουδάζουσιν οὐκ ἄχρηστον τὸ βιβλίον. A similar emphasis on learning through memorisation is expressed by John of Damascus in the Introduction to the *Sacra Parallela* ed. M. Lequien, *Sancti Joannis Damasceni... opera omnia quae exstant*, t. II, Paris 1712, 279 (= PG 95, 1044): Ὅν δὲ τρόπον οἶνος ὕδατι συγκραθεῖς, ἡδὺς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτερπὴ τὴν χάριν ἀποτελεῖ· οὕτως καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ ὅλου τοῦ συγγράμματος, σύμμικτος οὖσα ἀπὸ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν, πολλὴν ἔχει, τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις ἀναγινώσκειν ψυχαγωγίαν, τοῖς δὲ φιλοπονοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν εὐμάρειαν· πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντυχάνουσιν, ὠφέλειαν.

⁴⁷ Agathias, *Historiae*, III, 1, 4, ed. R. Keydell (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 2, Berlin, 1967), 84: δέον γὰρ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς σχολαίτερον ἀναλέγεσθαι μιμήσεως ἕκατι.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Jeffreys, “Iakovos Monachos and Spiritual Encyclopedias” in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium*, 239.

⁴⁹ See the following discussion.

as the beginning of the twentieth century and revolved around the authorship of the treatise. The main issue at stake at that time was to identify which ‘pagan’ Neoplatonist was hidden beyond the nickname Philip the Philosopher, the name given to the author in the very manuscript where the text was preserved.⁵⁰

The ‘Neoplatonic’ hypothesis appeared to be seriously shaken when it became manifest that a prolific preacher, Philip the Philosopher, lived in twelfth century Norman Sicily. As Philip embraced the monastic habit, he changed his name to Philagathos.⁵¹ Noteworthy, the name given to the homilist in the most accurate textual tradition of this homiletic corpus, which has all the chances of going back to a collection of the *Homilies* made during the lifetime of their author (viz., the Italo-Greek branch of the textual tradition) was indifferently Philip the Philosopher or Philagathos with the important addition Κεραμίτης ‘of Cerami.’ Thus, the title indications from the Italo-Greek branch of the manuscript tradition proved beyond any doubt that Philagathos of Cerami, the author of an impressive collection of sermons, was the same person as Philip the Philosopher. Aristide Colonna and Bruno Lavagnini were the first to identify Philip the Philosopher with Philagathos of Cerami.⁵²

The debate concerning the authorship appeared to be decisively settled with the contribution of Carolina Cupane.⁵³ The author documented the most conspicuous lexical identities and similarities of allegorical method between the *Interpretation* of Philip the Philosopher and the *Homilies* of Philip-Philagathos of Cerami. Finally, concluding the new critical edition of the text, Nunzio Bianchi carried out a systematic survey of the problem of authorship in the introductory study that accompanied the edition by subjecting “[il] testo dell’ ἐρμηνεία (motivi, immagini, espressioni, singoli vocaboli) con quello delle omelie di Filagato [...]”.⁵⁴ Suffice it to say that the intertextual evidence certifies the unambiguous identity in terms of technical terminology, vocabulary, imagery, allegorical method or metrical features between Philagathos’s *Homilies* and the allegorical exegesis of *Aethiopika*.

⁵⁰ First, William Abbott Oldfather in “*Lokrika*: Anhang B: Über den angeblichen Autor des Bruchstückes: Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἐρμηνεύμα τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου,” *Philologus* 67 n.s. 21 (1908): 457–463, argued that Philip, the author of the allegory, was an anonymous Neoplatonist of the fifth century CE (or later); Oldfather argued that the text was published with the title “from the lips of Philip the Philosopher” (ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου) because the anonymous writer intended that the fragment be taken as the work of Philip of Opus, Plato’s student, the *Interpretation* being thus a piece of usual anachronistic pseudo-epigraphy; this hypothesis was not convincing given the allusion to Christianity from the text; safeguarding the idea of Oldfather that the treatise was the work of a Platonic philosopher, Kurt von Fritz in “Philipp von Opus und Philipp der Philosoph,” *Philologus* 92 (1937): 243–247 suggested that the author must have been an emulator of Plato “aus Byzanz” working in the latter part of the fifth century CE and not later in Constantinople.

⁵¹ See below, n° 137.

⁵² Aristide Colonna, “Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo,” *Bolletino del Comitato per l’edizione nazionale dei classici* n.s. 8 (1960): 25–28; Bruno Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria,” *BBGG* n.s. 28 (1974), 4.

⁵³ Carolina Cupane, “Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος ε διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna,” *SicGym* n.s. 31.1 (1978), 1–27: “Un esame puntuale e comparato fra il testo dell’opuscolo e quello delle omelie filagatee permette ora da aggiungere nuovi dati a quelli già individuati dallo studioso (i.e. Aristide Colonna) e di eliminare ogni dubbio in merito, tanto numerosi sono i punti di contatto fra i due scritti e frequenti le riprese letterali. Mi limiterò qui a segnalare le più evidenti, poichè un’esemplificazione completa sarebbe superflua.”

⁵⁴ Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 23 (for the textual dossier collected see *ibid.*, 24–36).

Despite the solid evidence in favour of Philagathean' authorship for the *Interpretation*, the thesis that the ἐρμηνεία is part of the Neoplatonist allegorical interpretative tradition remained so entrenched in the literature that it is necessary to discuss the methodological and conceptual points that buttress this attribution. There are several studies devoted to the ἐρμηνεία that enshrine the text within the Neoplatonic allegorical reading of Homer.⁵⁵ Thus the contributions of Leonardo Tarán, Richard Hunter, Gerald Sandy, Graeme Miles and Augusta Acconcia Longo proposed a narrative that ascribed a philosophical affiliation (Neoplatonic/Neopythagoric) to the treatise of Philip-Philagathos, in terms that polarize between the allusions to Christianity and the classical philosophical concepts identified in the text. The underlying debate is extensively reflected in the broader scholarship.⁵⁶ The scholarly endeavours

⁵⁵ A list of the contributions exclusively dedicated to Philip's *Interpretation* includes Leonardo Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*," in *Chercheurs de sagesse. Hommage à Jean Pépin*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé et al. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992), 203–30; idem, *Academica: Plato, Philip of Opus, and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975), 115; Augusta Acconcia Longo, "Filippo il Filosofo a Costantinopoli," *RSBN* 28 (1991): 3–21; Gerald Sandy, "A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Ethiopian Story," in *ΟΠΙΩΠΑ, la belle saison de l'hellénisme: Études de littérature antique offertes au recteur Jacques Bompaigne*, ed. Alain Billault (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 169–78; Richard Hunter, "Philip the Philosopher' and the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus," in *On Coming After. Studies in Post Classical Greek Literature and its Reception*, Richard Hunter, vol. 2/3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 829–844; Graeme Miles, "The Representation of Reading in 'Philip the Philosopher's' Essay on Heliodorus," *Byz* 79 (2009): 292–305; Augusta Acconcia Longo, "La 'questione' Filippo il Filosofo," *Nea Rhome* 7 (2010): 11–39.

⁵⁶ Scholars like Guglielmo Cavallo, Paul Canart, Hans Gärtner, Andrew Dyck, Nigel Wilson, Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, Panagiotis Roilos, and Ingela Nilsson have accepted the Philagathean authorship of the ἐρμηνεία; other scholars like Ilaria Ramelli, Tim Whitmarsh, Santo Lucà, Vera von Falkenhausen, André Jacob, Panagiotis Agapitos or Cristina Torre disavowed this attribution and accepted a Late Antique dating; cf. Guglielmo Cavallo, "L'età normanna. Vicende di libri e di testi fra Palermo e Bisanzio," *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Vera von Falkenhausen, Marcello Gigante (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1982), 579; Paul Canart, "Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux," *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978): 135–37; Hans Gärtner, "Protheoria zu Heliodors Aithiopika," *BZ* 64 (1971), 323; Andrew Dyck, *Michael Psellus: the Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 85; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1983), 216–17; Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, "Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St. Symeon the Stylite," *Annuario. Istituto Romano di cultura e ricerca umanistica* 4 (2002): 96; Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington DC: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2005) 130–133; Ingela Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 179; Ilaria Ramelli, *I romanzi antichi e il Cristianesimo: contesti e contatti* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2012), 132 acquiesced that "benché non sia possibile ricostruire un sistema di pensiero organico dall'opera, tuttavia gli influssi neoplatonici sono molto forti" with arguments depending on Gerald Sandy's study, "A Neoplatonist Interpretation of Ethiopian Story," in *ΟΠΙΩΠΑ, la belle saison de l'hellénisme: Études de littérature antique offertes au recteur Jacques Bompaigne*, ed. Alain Billault (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 169–78; Tim Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel. Returning Romance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 132–133 and footnote 136 relying on the studies of Leonardo Tarán and Gerald Sandy accepts the late antique dating of the exegesis defining it as an "ancient allegoresis of *Charicleia* and *Theagenes*, attributed to the mysterious (and undatable) Philip the Philosopher." S. Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII," *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60, (1993): 1–91: 86–87; id., "Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria Medioevale," *Archivio Storico per la Calabria et la Lucania* 74 (2007), 93–94; Vera von Falkenhausen, "Reggio bizantina e normanna," in *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*, (Soveria Mannelli, 1991), 280; André Jacob, *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, 110: "In un saggio recente è stato dimostrato in modo convincente che i dettagli topografici del Commento di Filippo ci riconducono a Costantinopoli e che lo stesso Filippo il Filosofo, come già ipotizzato da tempo (von Fritz, 1937, 243–247) altri

that were exclusively devoted to comprehensive and systematic analysis of the ἐρμηνεία remained at best neutral when not outrightly rejecting the possibility of approaching the text contextually, namely in light of Byzantine allegorization and the general practice of authorship in Byzantium.⁵⁷ Indeed, an analysis of the text that would take into account the rich intertextual evidence that links the ἐρμηνεία with the *Homilies* of Philagathos, with the practice of rhetorical authorship in Byzantium and with the Christian tradition of the Song of Songs in a broader context of blossoming of allegorical interpretation of secular literature and the rediscovery of the novel in Komnenian Byzantium is still wanting.⁵⁸ This will be in fact the goal of our undertaking.

Among the studies devoted to the ἐρμηνεία a prominent position is occupied by the essay of Leonardo Tarán, the modern editor of Parmenides, who called into question the twelfth century attribution of Philip's exegesis.⁵⁹ The core issue in Tarán's endeavour was to prove that the tendency of the allegorical interpretation of our work was typical to late Platonism and that it did not contain any peculiarly Christian dogma that would indicate that the *Interpretation* "could hardly have been written much later than the sixth century A.D."⁶⁰ What is most important to retain from Tarán's approach is the decontextualization of every concept from the ἐρμηνεία. As to illustrate his method we cite the interpretation given to the notion of piety (εὐσέβεια) that features in Philip's ἐρμηνεία:

non è che un neoplatonico cristiano del V secolo (Acconcia Longo, 1991, 3–21)." Panagiotis Agapitos, "Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus," in *Studies in Heliodorus*, ed. R. Hunter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 128, n° 21; Cristina Torre, "Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna," *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 15 (2008): 85.

⁵⁷ See above footnote 49.

⁵⁸ Panagiotis Roilos in *Amphoteroglossia: A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 130, n° 79 remarked the need of a research that would corroborate the intertextual evidence that links the commentary with Philagathos' *Homilies*, "in the broader context of the renewed Byzantine interest in allegorization in the eleventh and twelfth centuries"; Philip's ἐρμηνεία is referred to in important contributions on Byzantine literature placed in its appropriate twelfth century context – see in this respect: N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1983), 216–17, Hans Gärtner, "Charikleia in Byzanz," *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969): 47–69 and Ingela Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: La Littérature au XII^e siècle*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 178–179.

⁵⁹ Leonardo Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*," in *Chercheurs de sagesse. Hommage à Jean Pépin*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé et al. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992), 203–30.

⁶⁰ Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation," 229; A clear tension in Tarán's theory is prompted by the fact that he had to square the author's Christianity, which he admits, with the fact that in his opinion the *Interpretation* does not contain any peculiar Christian dogma, and moreover, that it has been written for "an audience which at the very least included many pagans, or perhaps was mainly pagan. Such an unlikely setting for twelfth century Southern Italy leads us to infer that our work was written several centuries earlier than that date, and, hence, that its author could not have been Philip-Philagathos" (ibid., 229). Thus, Tarán considered that it is only likely, "though not certain, that Philip, the author of our treatise, was a Christian," and believed that "since these (viz. 1 Cor 3:13 and Song 1:3) are the only two quotations or references to Biblical texts, one may reject without further ado Colonna's claim that Philip refers to the Bible 'con frequenti richiami'" (ibid., 207 and n. 24). Even the citation from Paul, "though significant and pointing to the probability that the author of the allegory was a Christian, does not imply that our work is of a peculiarly Christian character" (ibid., 228). Notwithstanding, even when Tarán admits that there are other items that pointed to the author's Christianity, he considers that "they are either not relevant to, or not decisive for, the question of the identity of Philip" (ibid., 207) bestowing us an eccentric image either of a Neoplatonic Pagan philosopher that repeatedly quotes from the Christian scriptures or of a Christian Neoplatonist with little regard for Christian dogma.

“One should note that εὐσέβεια appears already in Plato [*Eutypbro* 13 B 4, *Republic* 615 C 3, *Laws* 717 B 1] as a virtue and that in the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* (in all probability a work of the latter half of the fourth century B.C.) εὐσέβεια had already been identified with θεοσέβεια and considered to be the highest virtue [*Epinomis* 977 E 6 and 989 B 1-2]. This conception of the highest virtue as the knowledge of, and reverence for, the divine appears also in the Stoics and in later Platonists as well, and is central to our work.”⁶¹

Manifestly, Tarán explains the concept of piety (εὐσέβεια) from our text (l. 61, ed. Bianchi) by detaching it from the work and by defining it in the terms of classical philosophical tradition. The image conveyed by Tarán’s study is that of an peculiar synthesis of Neoplatonic, Aristotelian, Stoic and Neopythagorean notions.⁶² The outcome of Tarán’s archaeological approach renders Philip’s ἐρμηνεία a kind of wreckage of philosophical concepts and turns its author into an “eclectic dilettante.”⁶³

Philip’s ἐρμηνεία features prominently in Richard Lamberton’s comprehensive analysis of Neoplatonic allegorization from Late Antiquity to Dante.⁶⁴ In Lamberton’s narrative of historical progression of the allegoric tradition, the allegory of Heliodorus’ novel is placed between Plotinian Neoplatonism and Proclus. Lamberton presents the *Interpretation* of Philip-Philagathos as primarily depending upon Neoplatonic philosophy yet drawing “equally on the pagan tradition of defensive allegory and on the tradition of Christian homily.”⁶⁵ He considered that “[it] is impossible to date with certainty the fragment or its author, ‘Philip the Philosopher,’ and nothing is known of the latter beyond the text in question. The novel it explains, Heliodorus’s *Aethiopika* (or *Theagenes and Charikleia*), dates from the third or possibly the fourth century. The interpretive text reflects the intellectual world of pagan Neoplatonism with a considerable admixture of Christian learning, and although it could have been written as early as

⁶¹ Ibid., 217.

⁶² Thus for Tarán the doctrine of cardinal virtues belongs to middle Platonism (l. 121–122, ed. Bianchi), the exegesis of number 7 is evidence of Neopythagoric arithmology (cf. Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 2016), the union of mind, soul and body (l. 124–125, ed. Bianchi) is pointing to the Aristotelian triad νοῦς–ψυχή–σῶμα (ibid. 219); the concept of ὑπόστασις that explains the composite name of Charikleia as the unity of soul and body (l. 111–113, ed. Bianchi: οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα σύνθετον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι συντίθεται καὶ νοῦς σῶματι, μία μετ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένη ὑπόστασις) is Aristotelian; the notion that the soul must rid itself of the body as matter for contemplating true being is Platonic (ibid., 223), but this idea is nowhere stated in Philip’s commentary; “the specific reference to ἡ ὑλικὴ δυνάς (l. 140, ed. Bianchi: ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ὑλικῆς δυνάδος ὑπέρτερος γένηται) definitely points to Neopythagorism,” whereas “the doctrine of Eros ultimately goes back to Plato; the notion of the soul’s “sober drunkenness” (μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σῶφρονα l. 144–155, ed. Bianchi) is Platonic or the sea as a metaphor for matter: we should note that the salt-see, the sea itself and the waves became in late Platonism a symbol for matter” (ibid., 225, and n° 126) referring to— ἄλμης καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων (l. 157 ed. Bianchi). In fact, as we detail later (see the chapter: *The Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus’s Aethiopika: a Contextual Reading*) all these concepts and ideas are closely reminiscent of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor’s writings.

⁶³ Ibid., 229.

⁶⁴ Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 144–161.

⁶⁵ Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 157 states that the *Interpretation* shows “the clear influence of Christianity because it probably belongs to a period when pagan Neoplatonism’s practical concern with textual exegesis was a thing of the past.”

the late fifth century, there is some reason to suspect that it may be an archaizing Byzantine composition.”⁶⁶ Lamberton’s analysis became influential, as Rita Copeland for instance, based on Lamberton’s study, inserted Philip’s ἐρμηνεία into her narrative of pedagogical discourses that Late-antique philosophy bequeathed to the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ In Copeland’s view, the pedagogical discourses nourished in the Neoplatonist tradition of interpretation prepared the stage under different institutional conditions (i.e. the Christian Middle Ages) for setting an epistemological limitation to subordinate social strata.⁶⁸ Copeland includes Philip-Philagathos’ ἐρμηνεία among the discourses that predicate the access to the textual meaning and to the mysteries contained therein upon educational advancement.⁶⁹

In the space of Italian scholarship Augusta Acconcia Longo assiduously upheld the Late-antique dating of Philip ἐρμηνεία in two contributions.⁷⁰ Acconcia Longo’s theorizing was channeled by the debates around the thesis that regarded the ἐρμηνεία being the work of an anonymous Neoplatonist living in the Vth – VIth century as emerged from the studies of W.A. Oldfather, K. Von Fritz and D’Orville.⁷¹ Since it appeared taken for granted that the author was a Neoplatonist living in the Vth – VIth century the debate centered upon identifying the location of the dramatic setting and to establish whether Philip of the ἐρμηνεία was the same with Philip of Opus, the disciple of Plato. Acconcia Longo follows K. von Fritz and D’Orville, which placed the dramatic setting of the ἐρμηνεία in Constantinople, but disputed the exact location within the city given by K. von Fritz.⁷² The new location proposed by Acconcia Longo is credited to befit “il contenuto filosofico del discorso, che già i primi editori e commentatori hanno inquadrato nel neoplatonismo del V secolo.”⁷³

The author believed that the crucial aspect of the ἐρμηνεία is the identification of the dramatic setting of Philip’s defense of the novel. Acconcia Longo believes that the opening of the piece – Ἐξιώντι μοί ποτε τὴν πύλιν Ῥηγίου τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἄγουσαν καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴν – refers to the road that led through the gate of Ῥηγίας from the

⁶⁶ Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 148–157, offers a rather extensive treatment of Philip’s *Interpretation* but he appears to know only the contribution Aristide Colonna for a later dating, which is referred to in rather imprecise terms: “Karl Praechter (*Die Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin: Mittler, 1926, 647) emphasized its [i.e. of the ἐρμηνεία] affinities with Alexandrian Neoplatonism as distinct from that of Iamblichus and that of Proclus. Aristides Colonna’s observation that Theophanes the Keramite (tenth-eleventh centuries [sic!]) used a similar pseudonym (see his edition of Heliodorus, pp. 365–66) does not prove either that Theophanes was the author or that the work is as late as the tenth century” [here cited from p. 148, n° 12]. It is also illustrative that the study cited (i.e. p. 149, n° 14) for the controversy of authorship is Leonardo Tarán, *Academica: Plato, Philip of Opus, and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975), 115, n° 510.

⁶⁷ Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 69–70.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 24.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 24 where it concludes: “The Neoplatonism of late antiquity, with its particular agenda of dignifying myth and fiction as philosophy and as theology, takes us at the heart of the divorce between pedagogical literalism and hermeneutical inquiry.”

⁷⁰ Augusta Acconcia Longo, “Filippo il Filosofo a Costantinopoli,” *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 28 (1991): 3–21; ead., “La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo” *Nea Rhome* 7 (2010): 11–39.

⁷¹ W. A. Oldfather, Lokrika, *Philologus* 67 (1908), 457–463; K. von Fritz, “Philipp von Opus und Philipp der Philosoph,” *Philologus* 92 (1937): 243–247; J. Ph. D’Orville, *Miscellanea Observationes Criticae*, VII, (Amstelandomi, 1736), 377 cited from the contribution of Oldfather.

⁷² Augusta Acconcia Longo, “Filippo il Filosofo a Constantinopoli,” *RSBN* 28 (1991): 5.

⁷³ Ibid., 18–19.

imperial palace to the city walls of Constantinople – “Ἡγήα era detta infatti la strada a portici che dalla porta Χαλκῆ del palazzo imperiale arrivava fino al foro di Costantino.”⁷⁴ This interpretation assumes that the Ἡγίου in the opening line is a scribal error for Ἡγίας – “errore commesso quando l’antico toponimo Ἡγήα non era più in uso e l’unico nome ancora comprensibile, vicino nella grafia e nel suono, in una Constantinopoli ormai mutata nell’aspetto e nelle abitudini, era quello della πύλη Ἡγίου.”⁷⁵ From this assumption it is inferred that the scene of the debate implied in l. 42–44⁷⁶ could be the church “S. Maria di Calcopratia, posta lungo la strada che dalla Ἡγήα scendeva verso il Corno d’Oro.”⁷⁷ This interpretation stands upon an unnecessary emendation of the text and reflects the continuation of the foundational *Neoplatonic* thesis in what regards the philosophical orientation of ἐρμηνεία, which runs as a red thread throughout the approaches devoted to Philip’s commentary. In her second study devoted to the ἐρμηνεία entitled “La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo,” the analysis downplayed the similarities between the ἐρμηνεία and the *Homilies* of Philagathos brought forth by the contributions of Cupane and Bianchi and proposed another location for the dramatic setting.⁷⁸ For the approach presented here I highlight the method and the assumptions that are fundamental to Acconcia Longo’s position. In short, ἐρμηνεία could not have been written by Philagathos, because the allegory is a genuine Neoplatonic philosophical treatise:

“[I]l punto cruciale del discorso è la sostanziale diversità tra l’ Ἐρμηνεία, che è un’opereta filosofica, il cui autore è un neoplatonico «praticante», che fin dalle prime parole sottolinea la sua appartenenza a quella «scuola», adottando anzitutto un modello letterario neoplatonico, la terminologia, le categorie concettuali, il tipo di critica letteraria, e le omelie di Filagato, dove il neoplatonismo, filtrato attraverso gli scritti dei Padri della Chiesa, Gregorio di Nissa soprattutto, diventa ornamento della frase, citazione, orpello letterario.”⁷⁹

The ascription of Neoplatonic affiliation to Philip’s ἐρμηνεία and the contextualization of the treatise within the Neoplatonic allegorical exegesis of Homer remains common in the scholarship. In the footsteps of Tarán’s study, Gerald Sandy set to unveil the taken for granted Neoplatonic underpinnings of the treatise: “Platonic in form, Philip’s allegorical exegesis is decidedly Neoplatonic in its conception of literary interpretation.”⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁶ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 42–44 (ed. Bianchi, 50): ἐλθόντες οὖν εὗρομεν τοὺς φίλους ἀολλέας πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τοῦ νεῷ ἀπεκδεχομένους ἡμᾶς. ἀποδοὺς οὖν τῇ δεσποίνῃ Παρθένῳ τὰς εὐκυίας εὐχὰς [...].

⁷⁷ Acconcia Longo, “Filippo il Filosofo a Costantinopoli,” 15.

⁷⁸ Acconcia Longo, “La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo,” 35: “Non più, quindi, il centro della città con la via Regia e la chiesa di Calcopratia della mia precedente ricostruzione, ma la Porta di Reggio e il vicino santuario «fuori le mura» della Vergine τῆς Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆς, edificato, secondo Procopio, da Giustiniano.” The author basically reverts to the hypothesis of K. von Fritz and D’Orville.

⁷⁹ Acconcia Longo, “La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo” 27; for the Neoplatonic tendency of the work the author relies on Leonardo Tarán’s contribution.

⁸⁰ Gerald Sandy, “A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Ethiopian Story,” in Ὅπισθα, *la belle saison de l’hellénisme: Études de littérature antique offertes au recteur Jacques Bompaire*, ed. Alain Billault (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 169–178 (the citation is from p. 172).

Thereafter, Richard Hunter in an important contribution “‘Philip the Philosopher’ and the *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus” preferred to avoid the conundrum of authorship and the dating of the exegesis and believed that “even in the absence of a known context [...] we may cautiously hope to understand what Philip’ is doing.”⁸¹ Beyond the familiar Neoplatonic thesis through the filiation of Tarán and Sandy’s studies, the contribution draws important parallels with the (proper) Byzantine tradition of interpretation of Heliodorus’ novel (through the study of Hans Gärtner)⁸² in particular with the *Protheoria* of John Eugenikos and presents a close reading of the ἐμπνεῖα in relation to the novel itself.

Finally, in a recent study devoted to Philip-Philagathos’ *Interpretation*, Graeme Miles insisted once more that his approach addresses “Philip’s interpretive practice itself and in particular with the way in which interpretation is represented. Though consensus about the date would of course be helpful in discussing the text, the reading which I wish to develop is affected very little.”⁸³ Following the scholarly Neoplatonic consensus, Miles argues that Philip’s defense of the novel “draws especially on Neoplatonic philosophy and Pythagorean number symbolism.”⁸⁴ It is important to note that Miles accepts the attribution of the work to Philagathos,⁸⁵ but his emphasis on “the standard Neoplatonic reading” and his mapping of philosophical concepts downplayed Philagathos’ reliance on the Christian tradition in terms of allegorical practice and imagery.⁸⁶ It is again remarkable that Miles’ essay perpetuates the same pervasive divide between the references to Christianity and the Neoplatonic allegorisation. The author refers to “the infrequency of direct references to Christianity”, “to the relatively low profile of Christianity,” to the “passing reference to the interpretive tradition of the *Song of Songs*.”⁸⁷

The suggested opposition between Plato, Homer in relation to the perceived dwindling references to Christianity in the case of ἐμπνεῖα common to these approaches is decidedly inaccurate. They bespeak a scholarly arbitrary division, in my opinion, derived from the fact that the Neoplatonic reading was sharply distinguished from the interpretive tradition of the *Song of*

⁸¹ Richard Hunter, “‘Philip the Philosopher’ and the *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus,” initially published in *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*, S. Harrison, M. Paschalis, and S. Frangoulidis (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing and Groningen University Library, 2005), 128–138 is reprinted in *On Coming After. Studies in Post Classical Greek Literature and its Reception*, Richard Hunter, vol. 2/3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 829 – 844 (the references in the text are to the later; for the citation see p. 832).

⁸² Hans Gärtner, “Charikleia in Byzanz,” *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969): 47–69.

⁸³ Graeme Miles, “The Representation of Reading in ‘Philip the Philosopher’s’ Essay on Heliodorus,” *Byz* 79 (2009): 294–295.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 293; the author substantiate the ‘Neoplatonic consensus’ by a reference to Sandy’s study.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 294, where Miles correctly remarks: “A convincing series of parallels with the known works of Philagathos have, however, been identified by Cupane, and often overlooked in subsequent scholarship on the ‘Interpretation’. Given the cumulative weight of the evidence assembled by Cupane, the attribution to Philagathos may be considered secure.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 301: “Philip’s interpretation itself is in some respects a standard Neoplatonic reading: the journey of Theagenes and Charicleia is read as the journey of the soul to its true, spiritual home. In broad outline this is precisely the interpretation which was also applied to the *Odyssey* from Middle Platonism onwards.”

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 301: “[i]n building up an interpretive position from which to approach the *Aethiopika*, Philip seems prudently to have chosen to lean towards Plato and Homer (at worst incongruous) rather than Christian scripture (potentially blasphemous).”

Songs.⁸⁸ In fact, the postulated Neoplatonic tendency of Philip's commentary and the implicit analysis of the ἐρμηνεία from the perspective of Late-Antique hermeneutics remained unchallenged precisely because the Christian exegetical tradition on the *Song of Songs* was not actually considered when assessing the elaborate structure of meaning in the ἐρμηνεία.⁸⁹ This scholarly misapprehension derives in part from the failure to note that while the vocabulary is identical with the Neoplatonic exegetical tradition, the meaning is modulated through the synthesis achieved by the Christian Fathers. I will show that the 'technical' language of the allegory does not imply a philosophical meaning (i.e. Neoplatonic, Neopythagoric, etc.) outside a Christian framework. In fact, the terminology is entirely consistent with the Patristic usage. Putatively, 'Platonism' and 'Aristotelianism' do not exist as such in Byzantine intellectual history before the controversies between Plethon and Scholarios in the XVth century.⁹⁰ The ancient philosophical categories and terminology remained subordinated in Byzantium to the Patristic synthesis that assimilated and transformed the classical philosophical thought into the new Christian worldview.⁹¹

The scholarly approaches to Philip's ἐρμηνεία share this firmly entrenched assumption that Christianity is incompatible with (Neoplatonic) philosophy appear to represent a more general trend in the scholarship.⁹² Such labels like 'Platonism,' 'Neopythagorism' or 'Neoplatonism' used throughout the studies reviewed here are conveying the idea of a discursive autonomy of ancient philosophy in Byzantium. As Michele Trizio explained in a different context but equally applicable here such labels are 'vague and inaccurate' and cannot "account for the genuine historical complexities" of the contexts in which they appear.⁹³ Discussing the

⁸⁸ Even when these traditions were regarded compatible, the reference to the *Song* is treated as an exterior appendage to the Neoplatonic reading; in the sense see the comments of Graeme Miles, "The Representation of Reading in 'Philip the Philosopher's' Essay on Heliodorus," 300 and Richard Hunter, "'Philip the Philosopher' and the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus," 837–838.

⁸⁹ It should be said that Hunter's contribution is rather exceptionally in the scholarship of the ἐρμηνεία, for he connects Philip's defense with an important passage from Origen's introduction to his commentary to the *Song*; what Hunter does not notice is that ἐρμηνεία depends upon a similar passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Homilies*, which clearly goes back to Origen (see our chapter: *The Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's Aethiopika: a Contextual Reading*).

⁹⁰ G. Karamanolis, "Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle" in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. Katerina Ierodiakonou, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 253–282.

⁹¹ The scholarly assessment of the interplay between Christianity and classical philosophy (especially Platonism) spans from approaches that regard Greek philosophy the agent of corrupting a 'genuine' Christianity to evaluations that consider the appropriation of Greek philosophy instrumental to an apologetic aim which actualized the Christian message in a different historical and cultural milieu; the former approach considered Christianity, upon undergoing the process of Hellenization, of being in radical discontinuity with the message of the Gospels (i.e. the paradigmatic example for this approach is Adolf von Harnack, whereas the latter is typified by the works of Jean Daniélou, Heinrich Dörrie, etc.); for a recent overview of scholarship and assessment on the issue see Ilaria Ramelli, "Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism: Re-Thinking the Christianization of Hellenism," *VigChr* 63 (2009): 217–263.

⁹² Michele Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project," *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 74 (2007): 252–257; cf. Ramelli, "Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism: Re-Thinking the Christianisation of Hellenism," 239–240.

⁹³ Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy," 258–259, in reference to Klaus Oehler's, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter: Aufsätze zur Geschichte des griechischen Denkens* (Munich: Beck, 1969); the author added that "[t]he same can be said about the other great commonplace on the reception of ancient Greek philosophy in Byzantium, namely the so-called «concordism» between Aristotle and Plato, often mentioned in connection with the problem of

scholarly assessment of Michael Psellos' relation to pagan philosophy Trizio remarked that the postulated discursive autonomy of Neoplatonism within Byzantine culture made Psellos "the last Neoplatonist" (C. Zervos) or "a subversive who renounced Christianity in favor of Hellenic religion (A. Kaldellis)."⁹⁴ Indeed these learned "contributions seem once again to imply the idea that dealing with ancient and late ancient philosophy means somehow to be part of that tradition."⁹⁵ However, for Psellos the wisdom conveyed by philosophy was only a pale reflection of the Christian revelation.⁹⁶

The tenacity of the conundrum concerning Philip's ἐμπνεῖα, besides a selective reception of scholarship,⁹⁷ derives from assumptions of authorial practice that draw a wedge between the composition of a so-called Neoplatonic allegory and ordinary Christian sermons. It was not regarded consistent that a preacher may have also been the author of an allegory that imitates a Platonic dialogue. This approach to Byzantine authorship has limited validity. It is useful to draw here a parallel with the dispute about the authorship of Procopius of Caesarea's writings. It may be remembered that the Procopian controversy started with the discovery of the *Secret History* in the Vatican Library in 1623 and consisted of two main strategies: "either to deny him authorship of the *Secret History* altogether (the most extreme, and now discredited

universals [i.e. A. C. Lloyd, "The Aristotelianism of Eustratius of Nicaea," in *Aristoteles Werk und Wirkung. Mélanges P. Moraux*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1986, 341–351].

⁹⁴ Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project," 253; for Psellos as "the last Neoplatonist" see C. Zervos, *Un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle: Michel Psellos, sa sa vie, son œuvre, ses luttes philosophiques, son influence*, of Paris 1920; repr. New York 1973); for Psellos as "a subversive who renounced Christianity in favour of Hellenic religion" see Anthony Kaldellis, *The argument of Psellos' Chronographia*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 185ff cited by Trizio p. 253; in the chapter "Michael Psellos and the Instauration of Philosophy," 191–224, Kaldellis speaks of "Psellos' philosophical revolution (p. 194)" maintaining that "few would go as far as he did in replacing the Christian component of Byzantine culture with Greek philosophical alternatives (p.191)."

⁹⁵ Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy," 256 commented: "The range of his [i.e. Psellos] philosophical knowledge is surely impressive, but this is not enough, I think, to permit us to apply categories like «la religion des philosophes» to cite the title of the famous article by Jean Gouillard [J. Gouillard, "La religion des philosophes," *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976) 305–324], or expressions like «christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz», as suggested by the title of a very well known book by Perikles Joannou [P. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz. Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos*, Ettal, 1956]."

⁹⁶ Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy," 255 convincingly argued that the hypothesis of Psellos' authoring a philosophical project that aimed reconciling Christianity with Neoplatonism is actually contradicted by Psellos' meticulous attitude to "stress the differences between Christian theology and ancient Greek philosophy, constantly reminding his pupils that only the former can be considered a source of truth." Trizio emphasized the necessity to take into account the rhetorical strategy of Psellos, which is informed by a traditional pedagogical attitude towards ancient philosophy instrumental for achieving the state of *polymatheia* or full education that a teacher should display; a similar assessment on Psellos' achievements has been expressed by Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 14–15: "[...] Psellos is seen as introducing sweeping breaks from the Byzantine tradition," "[a]ll this notwithstanding, it is misleading to conceptualize Byzantium's growth as a radical cultural shift and – what interests us – to regard Psellos as the author who personified this shift."

⁹⁷ This aspect of selective scholarship is also noted by Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 24, n°46: "Non sempre quanti si sono occupati dell' ἐμπνεῖα mostrano di aver preso conoscenza del contributo della Cupane: è il caso, per esempio, del pur pregevole lavoro di Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Helliodor's *Aethiopica*," in *Chercheurs de sagesse. Hommage à Jean Pépin*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé et al. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992, 203–30) [...]. Tarán is no exception, for the study of Cupane is ignored in the studies that approached the *Interpretation* (i.e. Gerald Sandy, Richard Hunter, Graeme Miles, and Richard Lamberton).

view) or more commonly to explain the differences in terms of his psychology, his responses to changing personal and political circumstances.”⁹⁸ In the words of Cameron, the scholarly dilemma amounted to the question: “how could one and the same man have written the admired *History of the Wars* and this scurrilous pamphlet (i.e. the *Secret History*)?” For it was regarded difficult to relate the *Wars*, framed in the ‘objective’ and ‘rationalist’ mode of classical Greek historiography, with the *Buildings*, a panegyric that extolls the Justinianic building programme, and the *Secret History*, a diatribe that even asserted the demonic nature of Justinian and Theodora.⁹⁹ The dilemma was “to explain the relation between the works without resorting to a crude developmental or psychological view.”¹⁰⁰ Margaret Mullett suggested that we can reach a solution to this problem “only by defining the generic cast of individual works and by assessing their significance (avoiding the easy trap of assuming that once a genre is defined then the author is not being ‘sincere’).”¹⁰¹ Cameron showed the Byzantine author expressed the multiple shades of the perceived reality of Justinian’s régime through the rhetorical templates of the contemporary Byzantine rhetorical culture.¹⁰² It should be added that such debates that dispute the authorship of a literary composition in terms of generic difference are not uncommon in Byzantine scholarship.¹⁰³

The history of Procopian scholarship and the reception of Philip-Philagathos’ *Interpretation* follows a similar pattern, despite certain particularities. In what regards Procopius, Cameron noted that upon Haury’s critical edition, which established the identity of style between the *Wars*, the *Secret History* and the *Buildings*, the controversy around the authorship of *Secret History* just melted away. It remained “a most pressing problem [...] that of methodology — how to read Procopius.”¹⁰⁴ It may appear curious but the authorship of Philip’s ἐρμηνεία persisted despite overwhelming textual evidence that established similarities of style and vocabulary between the *Interpretation* and the *Homilies*. For, one may add, it persisted the problem of methodology – how to read Philagathos. Therefore, if it is to draw the parallel with the Procopian question further, a ‘thick’ contemporary Byzantine context will make the *Interpretation* appear less ‘philosophical/Neoplatonic’ and more Byzantine both in terms of rhetorical strategy and spiritual doctrines conveyed. To sum up, the analysis of the ἐρμηνεία is meant to complement the study of the *Homilies*. While first documenting Philagathos’ ample

⁹⁸ Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1985), 2.

⁹⁹ Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 2, noted: “his works have usually been considered so sharply different that the problem of finding an explanation for these differences has preoccupied the secondary literature.”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., ix.

¹⁰¹ Margaret Mullett, “The Madness of Genre,” *DOP* 46 (1992), 238; see also ead., “New Literary History and the History of Byzantine Literature: a Worthwhile Endeavour?” in *Towards the new literary history of Byzantium*, ed. P. Odorico and P. Agapitos (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2002), 39–41.

¹⁰² Cameron explained that “[t]he three works of Procopius ... represent different sides of the reality of Justinian and of Procopius’ perception of it; in this régime freedom of speech was denied, and it was unlikely that a writer could express himself fully in any single type of work. Procopius had to write three apparently very different works to find his full expression” (Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 10).

¹⁰³ A similar example is represented by the works of Nonnus of Panopolis, the *Dionysiaka* and the paraphrase of the Gospel of John, which were believed to be written by different authors; cf. Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 176.

¹⁰⁴ Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, ix–x.

usage of Heliodorus' novel throughout the *Homilies*, I point out that the ἐρμηνεία itself builds upon the same exegetic technique and Christian models exhibited in the *Homilies*.

The *Homilies* of Philagathos: Editions

Visae sunt mihi homiliae huius Ceramei Tauromenitani episcopi piae, doctae et elegantes, atque adeo dignae qua ad commune commodum et proferantur et perlegantur.

Franciscus Scorsus, *Theophanis Ceramei homiliae, Proemium II*, PG 132, coll. 120

Sixty-two of Philagathos' *Homilies* were first published by the Jesuit Franciscus Scorsus at Paris, 1644, with a Latin version and notes of exquisite theological erudition. After the *editio princeps* of Scorsus and the important study of Albert Ehrhard on the "italo-griechische Homiliar,"¹⁰⁵ Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi (1924–1972) unravelled the textual tradition of this homiletic corpus (cf. *Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'omiliario di Filagato da Cerami*). Taibbi splendidly retrieved the forsaken authorship of this collection and explained the multifarious denominations ascribed to Philip-Philagathos in the various branches of the textual tradition (i.e. the most common being "Theophanes Kerameus, archbishop of Taormina in Sicily," – τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ῥητορικωτάτου Θεοφάνους ἐπισκόπου Ταυρομενίου τῆς Σικελῶν ἐπαρχίας τοῦ ἐπὶ κλῆν Κεραμέως, Gregorius Kerameus, John Kerameus¹⁰⁶) as resulting from a forged identity probably occurring in Constantinople at the middle of the XIIIth century.

Taibbi structured the critical edition of the 88 sermons in three volumes according to the liturgical calendar of the Byzantine church, of which only the first appeared containing the sermons for fixed feast days of the *Menologion* (35 homilies).¹⁰⁷ The homilies for the mobile feast days were assigned to the second volume (homilies 36–70). Finally, to the third volume were assigned homilies 71–88 on the Matins Resurrection Gospels (τὰ ἱε' ἐωθινὰ εὐαγγέλια) and other sermons of smaller length and lesser refinement.¹⁰⁸ But, the untimely and tragic death of Taibbi (20 July 1972) left unaccomplished the envisaged critical edition of Philagathos' sermons.¹⁰⁹ It appears that the last two volumes were in an advanced redactional stage, but eventually Taibbi's work remained incomplete.¹¹⁰ Jean Darrouzès underscored the splendid achievement of Rossi-Taibbi but pointed out that "comme le texte n'est pas traduit, on était en droit d'espérer que l'annotation, celle des sources spécialement, fût plus abondante."¹¹¹ Indeed, the main issue with Rossi-Taibbi's otherwise excellent critical edition is that he does not indicate

¹⁰⁵ Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, vol. III (Berlin–Leipzig 1952), 631–681.

¹⁰⁶ G. Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'omiliario di Filagato da Cerami*, 79, n° 2: "Solo successivamente, a partire dal XIV sec., nei mss. della stirpe orientale fu inserito Θεοφάνους (ramo sinaitico), ovvero Γρηγορίου (tipo II). Più tarda ancora la aggiunta Ἰωάννου (ms. I)."

¹⁰⁷ *Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, ed. Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, vol. 1, *Omelie per le feste fisse*, Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1969.

¹⁰⁸ For the titles and numeration of the homilies according to the order established by Rossi-Taibbi, see Index 1.

¹⁰⁹ B. Lavagnini-M. Ganci, "Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi (1924–1972)," *Byzantino-Sicula* II (1975), IX–XVIII.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., XIII "Ne fanno fede le sue carte, dalle quali risulta che Egli non aveva solamente tracciato il piano dell'opera, ma anche avviato e portato avanti la collazione e la costituzione del testo per il II e per il III volume, non esclusa la trascrizione degli inediti (B. Lavagnini-M. Ganci)." Cf. Lidia Perria, "La clausola ritmica nella prosa di Filagato da Cerami," *JÖB* 32 (1982): 365–373 announced the imminent publication of the remaining two volumes by Enrica Follieri. Cf. Nunzio Bianchi, *Prospetto e sinossi delle edizioni delle omelie di Filagato da Cerami*, 145.

¹¹¹ Jean Darrouzès, "Review of Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno. A cura di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi. Volume I: Omelie per le feste fisse," *Revue des études byzantines* (29) 1971: 323–324.

or identify (most often) the sources in the *apparatus*.¹¹² Considering the florilegic habit that informs Philagathos' compositional technique this aspect is crucial for assessing the *Homilies*. Besides Rossi-Taibbi, Stefano Caruso has published another three homilies¹¹³ and Gaia Zaccagni edited homily 41 and a part of the homily 37.¹¹⁴ Then, Nunzio Bianchi has edited a fragment from a homily addressed to the Virgin¹¹⁵ and Cristina Torre two other homilies.¹¹⁶

The Chronology of the *Homilies*

The arrangement of the homilies according to the liturgical calendar of the Byzantine Church is clearly not the original one, as Scorsus once believed,¹¹⁷ for the sermons in the Italo-Greek textual tradition did not follow the Byzantine εὐρυθμία. An anonymous scribe wrote after the end of 35 homily, that “the old copy which had been brought from Sicily [to Constantinople] was not arranged in such a good order (οὕτως εὐρύθμως), but it was we who laboured over it and, having first made a table of contents according to the proceeding of the *typikon*, we arranged all the discourses straightway.”¹¹⁸ When this collection of sermons was brought to Constantinople around the middle of the XIII century it spread to the entire Byzantine world. Rossi Taibbi knew over a hundred manuscripts,¹¹⁹ but at present, it can be ascertained that there are over 240 manuscripts containing sermons of Philagathos.

Taibbi suggested that the disposition of the sermons in the Italo-Greek textual tradition may perhaps correspond to the chronologic order of their composition and delivery.¹²⁰ This remains however uncertain and only a few of Philagathos' homilies may be dated with some probability. Among them, the most acclaimed is the sermon delivered in the royal chapel at the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul observed on June 29, which contains an *ekphrasis* of

¹¹² This aspect has been also underlined by Aldo Corcella: “per le omelie editate da Rossi Taibbi (e da Caruso) occorre completare il quadro delle riprese da autori profani e comprenderne modalità, funzione e significato; per quelle mal editate da Scorso, o non editate, occorre innanzitutto poter disporre di un'edizione affidabile.”

¹¹³ Stefano Caruso, “Le tre omelie inedite ‘Per la Domenica delle Palme’ di Filagato da Cerami,” *EEBS* 41 (1974): 109–132.

¹¹⁴ Gaia Zaccagni, “La πάρεργος αφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa,” *RSBN* 35, (1998), 47–65; ead., “Filagato, hom. XLI. Edizione e traduzione,” in *La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale: Filagato da Cerami philosophos e didaskalos – copisti, lettori, eruditi in Puglia tra XII e XVI secolo*, ed. Nunzio Bianchi, Bari: Edipuglia, 2011, 149–163.

¹¹⁵ Nunzio Bianchi, “Frammento omiletico inedito per la Vergine: Filagato da Cerami, hom. LXXXVI,” *BBGG* s. III, 6 (2009), 307–311.

¹¹⁶ Cristina Torre, “*Inediti di Filagato Kerameus dall' Ambros. C 100 sup. (Omelie LVI e LVIII Rossi Taibbi)*,” *Bizantinistica* 14 (2012): 105–151.

¹¹⁷ Franciscus Scorsus, *Proemium* II, *PG* 132 coll. 125: “Non est alia series harum homiliarum, quam eam qua sunt evangelia per dies Dominicos festosque sanctorum per annum Graecorum ritu digesta.”

¹¹⁸ *Neapolit. gr.* 66, f 202^v, *Scorial. gr.* 575, f 138^r, *Vatic. gr.* 2194, f. 196^v, *Vatic. Gr.* 657, f 115^v, *Ambros. gr.* 955, f 114^v; cf. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, XXIV: Παρατηρητέον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἦν οὕτως εὐρύθμως συντεταγμένον τὸ ἀπὸ Συκελίας ἀνακομισθὲν παλαιὸν ἀντίγραφον, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὕστερον φιλοπονήσαντες καὶ πῖνακα πρότερον ποιήσαντες κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ Τυπικοῦ τοὺς λόγους εὐθὺς ἅπαντας συνετάξαμεν.

¹¹⁹ Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, xxv–xxxvii; a revised *stemma codicum* on xxxix.

¹²⁰ Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, XXXII: “Un elemento di classificazione, del tutto esterno, è l'ordine di successione delle omelie, che, se εὐρύθμως συντεταγμέναι, appartengono alla stirpe delle famiglie bizantine; se invece sono disposte in ordine diverso, cronologico forse, ma non liturgico, si collocano nella tradizione italo-greca.”

the chapel. The date of Philagathos' sermon is a matter of scholarly controversy, as it only may be inferred from the few known dates concerning the construction and decoration of the building. It was argued that at the end of the *prooimion* Philagathos alludes to a sermon he delivered that year at the *encaenia* of the Chapel, celebrated on 28 April 1140, when the great charter of endowment was issued.¹²¹ In light of this background, the delivery of the oration was assigned to 29 June 1140, on the evidence of the 1140 charter. It is known that the construction of the Cappella Palatina began after Roger II assumed the royal title in 1130. The main parts of the structure must have been completed by 1140 when a royal charter of foundation was issued for the Chapel (28 April 1140). Then, the famous mosaic decoration must have been partially set in place by 1143. For this is the year recorded in the inscription at the base of the dome of the sanctuary. The decoration was completed only under Roger's son and successor, William I (1154–66).¹²² Nevertheless, as Kitzinger argued, the reference to the wall mosaics makes it more likely to have been written in the late 1140s or early 1150s. Consequently, Philagathos' reference to the oration delivered at the *encaenia* would refer to the commemoration of the original consecration, which “undoubtedly did take place in the Cappella Palatina annually.”¹²³ In addition, a *terminus ante quem* may be suggested for the sermon. The fact that Philagathos refers to the king and not to the kings as he does in other sermons¹²⁴ could indicate the time when Roger was king alone, that is before 8 April 1151 when Roger associated his son William I to the reign. Therefore, the latest date for the delivery of the sermon may have been the Feast of the Holy Apostles from the preceding year, 29 June 1150.¹²⁵

In the presence of Roger II, probably in the Cappella Palatina, Philagathos delivered one of his homilies “For the Palm Sunday.”¹²⁶ The sermon includes a panegyric section devoted to the king. For the homilist the celebration has a twofold quality: it is both divine and royal, since the “pious emperor” (ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς) attended it.¹²⁷

¹²¹ G. Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami*, LV; for a discussion on the translation of the Philagathean phrase in question see below n° 417.

¹²² Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1950), 25–27; E. Kitzinger, “The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: an Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects,” *The Art Bulletin* 31, 4 (1949): 269–70; Guido Di Stefano, *Monumenti della Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. with additions by W. Krönig (Palermo, 1979): 37–40; Slobodan Ćurčić, “Some Palatine Aspects of the Capela Palatina in Palermo,” *DOP* 41 (1987): 125; Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom*, 15–16.

¹²³ Kitzinger, “The Date of Philagathos' Homily,” 306.

¹²⁴ *Hom.* 4, 23 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 31).

¹²⁵ *Hom.* 27, 1–3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174–75); a partial English translation is available in W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 121; the text has been translated in Italian by Bruno Lavagnini, “Filagato da Cerami. Omelia XXVII, pronunciata dal pulpito della Cappella Palatina in Palermo,” (Palermo, 1992), 9–10.

¹²⁶ *Hom.* 50 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 26, PG 132, coll. 541–549): Εἰς τὴν Βαΐφόρον· Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ Πανόρμῳ εἰς τὴν λιτὴν παρουσίᾳ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥηγὸς Ῥογερίου.

¹²⁷ *Hom.* 50 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 26, PG 132, coll. 541): Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἑορτὴ δυσὶν ἀνταζομένη μαρμαρυγαῖς, θεία τέ ἐστι καὶ βασιλική. Οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὴν σωτήριον προμηνύει ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου κατάλυσιν, καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν, θεϊκαῖς ἀκτίσι πυρσεύεται. Οἷς δὲ ποικίλως αὐτὴν ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς κατεκόσμησε τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τῇ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐνδημίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ κλήρου ὑμνωδίᾳ, τῇ παμπληθεῖ δημαγωγίᾳ, βασιλικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ πανήγυρις. Τίς οὖν ἔσται μοι λόγος πρὸς ἑκάτερα μεριζόμενος, καὶ τῷ ἑορτῆς μεγέθει κατάλληλος, καὶ βασιλικῇ δόξῃ ἀρμόδιος; ὥς νῦν γε τρέμω καὶ δέδοικα, **ἰδρῶτι ῥαινόμενος**, καὶ φόβῳ κρατούμενος, καὶ δειλίᾳ ἐχόμενος, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δειλαινόμενος, καὶ τὸν νοῦν κραδαινόμενος, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν παλλόμενος, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὸν τόνον ἀνακοπτόμενος, ὅτι βασιλικάϊς ἀκοαῖς ὑπαντλῶ λόγον ἀλμυρὸν τε καὶ ἄτοπον.

Therefore, the feast being illuminated by a double radiance is both divine and royal. The feast was kindled by divine rays in that it foretells the redemptive Resurrection, the dissolution of death, and our restoration, but the celebration is imperial in that the pious emperor has adorned it in various ways: by his presence, by the sojourn of the bishops, by the hymning of the clergy, by the immensity of the folk assembled. What, then, will be my discourse if is divided for each of two, yet corresponding to the greatness of the feast and suiting to the royal splendour? Truly I tremble now and I am afraid, *sprinkled by sweat*,¹²⁸ seized by fear and by timidity withheld, petrified the soul, *the mind shuddered*,¹²⁹ the heart quivering, the intensity of my voice faded, because I draw up a bitter and unfitting speech.



Palermo, Cappella Palatina, mosaic of west wall of nave, Christ flanked by St. Peter and Paul (photo: Layne Cannon)

The royal title given to Roger only allows us to place the sermon in the broad interval of his rule. Roger was crowned king on Christmas Day 1130 in Palermo and ruled alone, as we have seen, until 8 April 1151 when Roger associated his son William I to the reign. Therefore, the earliest

¹²⁸ The formulation *ἰδρῶτι ραινόμενος* is reminiscent of Synesius, *Catastases*, Oration 2, 5, 29: ποσάκις ἐξανέστην ὑπέρασθμος, *ἰδρῶτι ραινόμενος*, ὁμοῦ τὸν ὕπνον καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἀπολιπὼν, ὃν κατατείνας ἔφευγον ὀπλίτην πολέμιον. The fact that Philagathos inspired himself from Synesius is confirmed by a passage from *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132 coll. 444 A) unambiguously based on Synesius' text; see below, the discussion at pp. 72–73.

¹²⁹ The lexical choices are reminiscent of Gregory of Nyssa's description of mystical ascent; e.g. Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Mosis*, 1, 43: τὸ σῶμα τῷ φόβῳ κραδαινόμενος – "his whole body so trembled with fright."

date for the sermon is 15 April 1131, the date when the Palm Sunday fell in that year, respectively 19 March 1150, the date of the feast in that year.

A narrower dating range is afforded by *hom. 4* (“For the Exaltation of the Precious and Life-Giving Cross,” 14th September) preached at Rossano (Calabria), on account of Philagathos’ reference in the epilogue to the “faithful kings” (τοὺς πιστοὺς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς) fighting “the impious Ishmaelites” (ἄθέων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν).¹³⁰ As Stefano Caruso pointed out, the usage of plural hints at a moment when the royal throne was occupied by two sovereigns.¹³¹ There are two admissible instances of co-rulership: a) when Roger II and William I co-ruled between 8 April 1151 and 26 or 27 February 1154 (the latter being the date of King Roger’s demise); b) when William I associated his three-year-old son Roger to kingship in 1156 until 1161 when Roger was killed amid a general baronial rebellion; this revolt was also accompanied by a Muslim revolt in Sfax “against all the Franks and the local Christians.”¹³² However, Philagathos’ sole indication of the “the impious Ishmaelites” and the “pious kings” without any hint at the revolt of the Norman barons makes the former period (i.e. between 8 April 1151 and 26 or 27 February 1154) more likely as it befits Roger’s struggles to secure his conquered towns on the north African coast. Furthermore, if we follow this hypothesis, considering that the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross” falls on 14 September, then the sermon was delivered either in 1151, or in 1152, or in 1153.

Philagathos appears to have alluded to the political upheavals from Sicily. In another homily for the Palm Sunday pronounced in Messina, the homilist prayed to God for “our pious sovereign, the mightiest King William, to guard his rule in many years and to humble those who oppose (ἐναντιούμενους) him.”¹³³ The reference to the king’s opponents may point to the baronial revolts in Sicily and on the south Italian mainland between 1155 and 1157. The gravity of these revolts was heightened by the dual intervention of German and Byzantine forces on the mainland, which threatened the very existence of William I’s new kingship. Philagathos may allude to this context, and in this connection we may further note that precisely in the city of Messina, William gathered his army and fleet and launched his expedition against Brindisi in the spring of 1156. Another option for interpreting Philagathos’ ἐναντιούμενοι is the major baronial revolt which started with the murder of Maio of Bari in 10 November 1160, during which the king and his family were taken prisoner and the heir of the throne, Roger, was killed (March 1161).¹³⁴

¹³⁰ *Hom. 4* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 23–31): Εἰς τὴν Ὑψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ· Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

¹³¹ Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea,” 201–201.

¹³² Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 172.

¹³³ *Hom. 52* (ed. Caruso, 121–123): Πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ διὰ παντὸς ὑπερυξώμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως, τοῦ κραταιοτάτου ῥηγὸς Γουλιέλμου, τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις μακραιώσει καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ταπεινοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους αὐτῷ [...]. Cf. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea,” 210–212.

¹³⁴ Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West*, trans. Graham A. Loud, Diane Milburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 166–171; these revolts in Sicily and the Italian mainland coincided with the Muslim revolts against the Normans from the north African coast; see for this, Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, 172–175.

Another homily with a *terminus post quem* is *hom. 6*.¹³⁵ The Italo-Greek manuscript tradition records that homily was preached at the Monastery of Christ Saviour (San Salvatore) in Messina shortly after the death of the first cantor.¹³⁶ It opens with the preacher's confession of being seized by grief and not being able to withhold his tears as he beholds the empty seat of the first cantor.¹³⁷ Stefano Caruso insightfully explained that in all likelihood the first cantor recalled in this sermon is the monk Cyprian mentioned in a document from 1141 as signed by the first cantor Cyprian (Κυπριανός Πρωτοψάλτης) implying, therefore, that this homily was delivered after that year.¹³⁸ Moreover, probably Cyprian was one of the twelve monks from Rossano invited by King Roger II a little before 1130 to inhabit the new monastery of Messina.¹³⁹ Thus, he must have been an old acquaintance with Philagathos, himself a monk from the monastery of Theotokos Odegetria of Rossano.

The Author and His Time: Preaching, Monasticism and Greek Culture

Philip-Philagathos the Philosopher more commonly referred to as Philagathos, the name he assumed, after becoming a monk in Rossano at the Monastery of New Hodegetria in Calabria emerges as a fascinating figure of Byzantine culture and monasticism.¹⁴⁰ He was probably born in the last quarter of the XIth century in northeastern Sicily, at Cerami a small town between Nicosia and Troina, which in 1063 witnessed a momentous battle fought between the Arabs and the Normans in their conquering of Sicily.¹⁴¹ Renowned for his distinguished learning as the epithet ὁ φιλόσοφος certifies¹⁴² he turns out to be one of the most important representatives of

¹³⁵ *Hom. 6* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 37–44).

¹³⁶ This is indicated in the Italo-Greek branch of the manuscript (Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀκρωτηρίου ἀποθανόντος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου – “Pronounced at the Great Monastery of the Saviour of the Promontory <in Messina> after the death of the protopsalt”). See Rossi-Taibbi, 1969: LV.

¹³⁷ *Hom. 6, 1* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 37).

¹³⁸ S. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea (Omeli IV, VI e IX di Rossi Taibbi),” *SicGymn*, 31 (1978): 209.

¹³⁹ Timothy Miller, *Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ Saviour (San Salvatore) in Messina*, in *BMFD*, 637.

¹⁴⁰ The fact that Philippos the Philosopher also had a monastic name is proved by the following inscription contained in the codex *Vaticanus Barberinus Gr. 465*, which gives both the names of this author βίβλος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου Φιλίππου τοῦ Κεραμίτου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθέντος Φιλαγάθου μοναχοῦ. “A book of the wisest and most educated Philippos of Cerami, who, upon embracing the divine and angelic appearance changed his name to Philagathos the Monk” in Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie*, xxiv, n. 25 and xxxvi.

¹⁴¹ The exact location and the very name of Cerami has been to some extent a matter of debate in the scholarship since it can denote as well locality from Calabria; see Cristina Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 15 (2008): 84–85; Lucà, “Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria Medioevale,” *Archivio Storico per la Calabria et la Lucania* 74 (2007), 88, n. 145; Falkenhausen, “Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia” in *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee*, ed. C.D. Fonseca (Galatina: Congedo, 1986), 173.

¹⁴² Philagathos' name was associated with the appellative ‘the Philosopher,’ which was persistently used alongside his new monastic name as for instance in the *Codex Matritensis Graecus* 4554: ὁμιλία Φιλαγάθου πόννημα τοῦ φιλοσόφου or in the *Codex Ambrosianus Graecus* 196: Πόννημα Φιλαγάθου μοναχοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

the intense cultural renewal from the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, most notably during the reigns of Roger II (1130–1154) and William I (1154–1166).¹⁴³

His learning, which probably brought him the appellation ‘the philosopher’ – ὁ φιλοσόφος – strikes the reader somewhat unexpected, since it seems to have been accomplished by self-sustained efforts in a career that is generally confined to Southern Italy. In a homily delivered in his fatherland in the Church of Saint Andrew – ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου –, Philagathos speaks of his education and describes himself of being nurtured there “with the milk of primary education.”¹⁴⁴

“The argument of the present feast is for me the payment in full of an old obligation, not the showing off of wisdom. For I have not come adorned with words nor to be seen eager for honor in my fatherland through a more charming and impressive speech. Well, I wish, as it could be, to pass over my love of knowledge by shunning the puffing of vain glory. But since this holy shrine of the First-Called [of the Apostles, i.e. St. Andrew] served us as a nurse, by offering the nipple of the first lessons, and by bestowing [us] the learning of the holy letters just like streams of milk, yet neither in abundance nor feeding us to satiety, but just as much as [those] breasts past their prime could gush forth, save that it laid down the means for the [future] fulfillment. Well then, I render back to this Church, as to a nurse, the payment for my upbringing, fulfilling the retribution for the benefits referred to by the proverb [cf. Ex, 21:23–25; Lev. 24:18–21; Deut. 19:21]. And I become fellow-worshipper with you, o gathering most beloved by God, and I delight in the dear soil, seeing my fatherland piously celebrating the commemoration of [our] saints. Well, I shall be for you celebrant of the spiritual banquet, if it pleases you. On the other hand, you, as virtuous guests, receive with pleasure that which was set forth, by consuming these [offerings] gladly with the teeth of the mind, so that we should leave henceforth by taking profit for our soul.”

Ἔμοι τῆς παρούσης ἑορτῆς ἡ διάλεξις παλαιοῦ χρέους ἐστὶν ἔκτισις, οὐ σοφίας ἐπιδειξις· οὐ γὰρ λόγοις ὠραϊσθησόμενος ἦκω, οὐδὲ φιλότιμος ὀφθῆναι τῇ πατρίδι **λαμυρωτέρα γλώττη καὶ πομπικῇ**.¹⁴⁵ τὴν δ’ ἐμήν, ὡς ἂν ἔχοι, φιλοσοφίαν λανθάνειν ἐθέλω, τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἐκκλίνων τὸ φύσημα. Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερὸς οὗτος τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου σηκὸς παιδόθεν ἡμᾶς οἷα τιθηνὸς ἐμαιεύσατο, τῶν πρώτων παιδευμάτων παρασχὼν τὴν θηλήν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων τὴν μάθησιν ὡς γάλακτος ῥοὰς ἐπιδούς, οὐ δαψιλῶς μὲν οὐδ’ εἰς κόρον, ἀλλ’ οἷα ἃ

¹⁴³ S. Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita’ del sec.XII,” *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60, (1993): 1–91; P. Canart, “Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978): 103–162; G. Cavallo, “L’età normanna. Vicende di libri e di testi fra Palermo e Bisanzio,” *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Vera von Falkenhausen, Marcello Gigante (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1982), 542–581; id., “La trasmissione scritta della cultura greca antica in Calabria e in Sicilia tra i secoli X–XV. Consistenza, tipologia, fruizione,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 4 (1980): 157–245.

¹⁴⁴ *Hom.* 18, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 118).

¹⁴⁵ The formulation appears indebted to the *Vita et Miracula Niconis*, *Vita et miracula (e cod. Kutlunus. 210)*, 208, 16: καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις βαδίζων ποσὶν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ ἄφρονος καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων εἰς ἅπαν ἔρημος, **λαμυρωτέρα γλώττη καὶ πομπικῇ**—τοιούτον γὰρ ἡ περιχάρεια—τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκάλει σύζυγον ἐξ ὀνόματος.

μαζὸς πηγάσῃ παρήλικος, πλὴν ὅτι τὰς εἰς τελείωσιν κατέβαλεν ἀφορμάς· ἀποδίδωμι λοιπὸν τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ, ὡς τιθηνῶ, πληρῶν τὴν τῆς παροιμίας ἀντιπελάργωσιν. Καὶ συνθιασώτης ὑμῖν, ὃ θεοφιλέστατον ἄθροισμα, γίνομαι, καὶ γάννυμαι τὸ φίλον ἔδαφος τὴν πατρίδα¹⁴⁶ ὁρῶν τὰς τῶν ἀγίων μνήμας εὐσεβῶς ἐορτάζουσιν. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐστιάτωρ, εἰ δοκεῖ, λογικῆς ὑμῖν πανδαισίας γενήσομαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς δαιτυμόνες σπουδαῖοι, μεθ' ἡδονῆς τὰ προτεθέντα εἰσδέξασθε, ἀρπαλέως αὐτὰ τοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὁδοῦσι κατέδοντες, ἵν' ἀπέλθοιμεν ἐντεῦθεν καρπωσάμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

Philagathos' desire for learning initiated in his fatherland, as he states, was accomplished in the other monastic libraries of Southern Italy, preeminently at Rossano in Calabria at the Monastery of New Hodegetria where he became a monk. However, the amount of learning displayed in his sermons and his scholarly interests could make one wonder if he had studied at Constantinople at some moment of his career. Considering Philagathos's propensity to speak about himself he would probably prided himself on recounting such a voyage in his sermons.¹⁴⁷ It is however likely that he went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem since in *hom. 54* while describing the location of Zebedee's house in Jerusalem in a lofty place Philagathos declares that the house is indeed in such a position – ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ἱστορήσαμεν – “as we have observed with our own eyes.”¹⁴⁸

Philagathos preached throughout the Norman Kingdom. Besides Rossano, we find him in Palermo, in the Cappella Palatina, in the Church of St. John of the Hermits (San Giovanni degli Eremiti), at Cerami, his birthplace, as we have seen, at Reggio, at Taormina, in the church of the Monastery of the Holy Saviour in Messina.¹⁴⁹

Overall, from Philagathos's rhetorical exhortations to various congregation we may note his fondness for mystical vocabulary, further suggesting a spiritual relationship between fellow-initiates. The mystical vocabulary is usually connected with references to the Eucharist and confession.¹⁵⁰ From these texts we may draw several conclusions about the composition of his audience. Thus, the sermon for the Feast of St. Philip the Apostle imparts to us an interesting information concerning the presence of a throng of poor people at the liturgical celebration

¹⁴⁶ Philagathos' formulation is reminiscent of *Vita et Miracula Niconis*, 4, 4: τὸ τε φίλον καὶ πατρῶον ἔδαφος. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In laudem Athanasii (orat. 21)*, PG 35, coll. 1097 A: ἀλλὰ μοι παρητήσθω τὸ φίλον ἔδαφος ἡ πατρίς [...].

¹⁴⁷ M.B. Foti, *Il monastero del S. mo Salvatore in lingua phari. Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale*, (Messina, 1989), 107; Gašpar, “Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St. Symeon the Stylite,” 95; cf. Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 87; cf. Lucà, “Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria Medioevale,” 85.

¹⁴⁸ *Hom. 54* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 27*, PG 132, coll. 568A); for additional evidence for this trip of Philagathos see Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna,” 87–88.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Rossi Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 70–71. Cf. Appendix 4.

¹⁵⁰ An illustrative example is *Hom. 14*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 92): Μυστικὸν ἡμῖν δεῖπνον ἡ θεόλεκτος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου φωνὴ προτιθῇ σήμερον, οὐ σωματικῆς τρυφῆς αἷτιον, ἀλλὰ ψυχικῆς ἀπολαύσεως πρόξενον. Ἐαυτοὺς οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, πρὸς τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐτοιμάσωμεν, κατέδοντες ἀρπαλέως τὰ νοήματα, ὡς ἐδέσματα, ἵν' ἀπέλθοιμεν ἕκαστος κορεσθέντες τῆς οὐρανίου τροφῆς, τῆς μὴ βαρυνούσης κόρῳ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐλαφρυνούσης τοῦ νοῦ τὸ πτερὸν πρὸς τὴν ἄνω φορὰν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γῆινων καὶ χαμερπῶν ἀναγούσης πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια.

(«πάρεστι γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, πενομένων ἐνταῦθα πληθύς»)¹⁵¹ He preached in front of distinguished audiences as in the famous sermon delivered in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo for the feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul,¹⁵² or the sermon for the Palm Sunday pronounced in the presence of King Roger in Palermo.¹⁵³ There are sermons pronounced in front of monastic congregations, as is for instance the sermon “On the Widow’s Son” pronounced at the Monastery of the Saviour in Messina. Philagathos calls his congregation “company gathered by God” («ὦ θεοσύλλεκτε θίασε»)¹⁵⁴ Similarly, in *hom.* 34 the preacher refers to his monastic audience as “assembly of fathers” («ὦ πατέρων ὁμήγουρις»)¹⁵⁵ In other places he calls them brothers (ἀδελφοί) which might equally indicate a monastic congregation.¹⁵⁶ In *hom.* 68, Philagathos details the composition of his audience as fathers (πατέρες), brothers (ἀδελφοί) most beloved children (τέκνα πρόσφιλέστατα) and honorable women (τίμια γυναῖκα).¹⁵⁷ Likewise, in *hom.* 32, Philagathos refers to his congregation as made from every gender and age (παντὸς γένους καὶ ἡλικίας).¹⁵⁸

How much more splendid is today the attendance at the teaching discourse and brighter now [appears] to me the gathering of people, because every kind and every age has run to the feast and made the assembly shine like the light of the rainbow; and today the Church sets before us truly a meadow of spring which blows out the graces of spiritual flowers. Well, I had felt the same as some unskilled musician at a populous festival urged on to strike the many-stringed instrument and sing a melody both sweet and harmonious. But what shall I do? I will move this sour and discordant tongue and the mother of the Word will order my speech for the benefit of my listeners.

¹⁵¹ *Hom.* 17, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 111): [...] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὁρῶν τὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Φιλίππου σηκὸν τῇ τοῦ λαοῦ πληθὺ στενοχωρούμενον, τὴν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν χάριν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐκπλήττομαι, καὶ σιγῇ παρελθεῖν τὴν πανήγουριν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἀποστόλου συνεισενέγκωμεν· ὁ μὲν ἀγρυπνίαν πάννουχον καὶ χαριστερίους ψᾶς, ὁ δὲ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον καὶ δέησιν πρέπουσαν, ἄλλος τὴν τῶν ἐπταισμένων μετάνοιαν, ἕτερος τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πένητας ἔλεον (πάρεστι γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, πενομένων ἐνταῦθα πληθύς), καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι προσενέγκωμεν, καὶ κενὸς ὀφθῇτω μηδεὶς. “Accordingly, when I behold the holy shrine of great Philip cramped with a crowd of people I am amazed at the grace given by God to [his] saints, and I cannot endure to pass by the festival in silence. Therefore, let one contribute one thing, one another for the feast of the apostle. Let one offer a vigil lasting all the night and thanksgiving odes, other a contrite heart and befitting prayers, another repentance for sins, another one compassion for the poor – for a throng of poor people is present here, as you see, – and another something else and let no one be seen empty.”

¹⁵² *Hom.* 27 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174–182); see for the text, Part II, chapter 2.1., “Descriptions of Works of Art: the Ekphrasis of the Cappella Palatina,” 98–108.

¹⁵³ *Hom.* 50 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 26, PG 132, coll. 541–549); the text is cited above at p. 29.

¹⁵⁴ *Hom.* 6, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 45).

¹⁵⁵ *Hom.* 34, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 232).

¹⁵⁶ *Hom.* 6, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 52); *Hom.* 19, 18 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 130). See also *Hom.* 43, cod. Matrit. Gr. 4554, f 181^v, «ὦ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί».

¹⁵⁷ *Hom.* 68, cod. *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 183^v: Εγὼ μὲν, ὦ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί καὶ τέκνα πρόσφιλέστατα καὶ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τρύφημα καὶ τίμια γυναῖκα, δεδιὼς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς τὴν βλάβην καὶ ἀπώλειαν, ὡς εἰκὸς νοουθετῶ, παραινῶ καὶ διδάσκω, ὡς χρέος τοῦτο ἐμοί, καὶ διάταγμα τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, τό γε ἐστὶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς ἀναξίους ἀνθρώπους.

¹⁵⁸ *Hom.* 32, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 221).

Ὡς λίαν μοι λαμπρότερα τὴν σήμερον ἢ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀκρόασις, καὶ μοι φαιδρότερον νῦν τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ συνάθροισμα, παντὸς γένους καὶ ἡλικίας δεδραμηκότος εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, **καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἱριδος αὐγαῖς ἀποστύλβειν ποιοῦντων τὴν**¹⁵⁹ σύναξιν, καὶ λειμῶν ἐαρινὸς ἀτεχνῶς ἡμῖν ἡ Ἐκκλησία δείκνυται σήμερον, λογικῶν ἀνθέων ἀποπνέουσα χάριτας. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτον ἐπεπόνθειν ἀπείρω τινὶ μουσικῷ ἐν πολυπληθεῖ πανηγύρει προτρεπομένῳ κινῆσαι πολύχορδον ὄργανον, καὶ μέλος ᾄσαι λιγυρόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον. Ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; Ἐγὼ μὲν κινήσω τὴν γλῶτταν ταύτην τὴν ἀγλευκῇ τε καὶ ἄμουσον, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Λόγου μήτηρ ῥυθμίσει τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων ὠφέλειαν.

In other sermons, Philagathos speaks of his ill condition and desire to preach.¹⁶⁰ Undoubtedly, for reaching the distant corners of the kingdom, Philagathos' preaching presupposed a strenuous effort. This is echoed in the homily for the Feast of Saint Pankratios. The homilist speaks of the toils he endured as he journeyed from Palermo to Taormina for celebrating the major local feast.¹⁶¹

And even if we have become very weary with regard to the body in consequence of our trip from Palermo, yet we must do violence to our weakness and for the splendour of the feast we must furnish the addition of our sermon; for the weakness of the body will not prevail that much as to make our pursuit for virtuous deeds more spiritless.

Κἂν γοῦν ἐκ τῆς Πανορμῆθεν ὁδοιπορίας γεγόναμεν τὸ σῶμα κατάκοποι, ἀλλὰ βιαστέον ἡμῖν τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς ἐορτῆς χορηγητέον τὴν τοῦ λόγου προσθήκην· μηδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύσει ἀσθένεια σώματος, ὥς τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδὴν ἀμβλυτέραν ἐργάσασθαι.

Often Philagathos' career is associated with a presumed creation of an office – ὀφφίκτιον – of preaching by the Normans, which would suggest the existence of an institutionalized control over religious education.¹⁶² In the *prooimion* of *hom. 53* he seems to refer to a teaching dignity –

¹⁵⁹ Philagathos appropriates the construction from Gregory of Nyssa's description of the outward appearance of the sacred tent of witness; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum (homiliae 15)*, GNO 6, 44, 5–7: [...] σύγκρατον ἐκ πάντων, **καθάπερ ἐν ἱριδος αὐγαῖς ἀποστύλβειν ἐποίει τὴν** αὐγὴν τοῦ ὑφάσματος. "A blend of all these, it made the brightness of the cloth shine like that of the rainbow" (trans. Norris, 47).

¹⁶⁰ A fine example is the homily "For the Man who Owed Ten Towsand Talents," pronounced in the archiepiscopal church of Rossano; *Hom. 2*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 10): Οἱ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ τῶν νέων διδάσκαλοι τότε πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν τῶν μαθημάτων ἴεσθαι τεκμαίρονται τὰ μεράκια, ὅταν ἐκόντα πρὸς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον θαμίζωσι, μήτε τὴν ἀπειλὴν τῶν μυσταγωγῶν, μήτε τὰς μάστιγας τῶν παιδαγωγῶν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐνδεδελεχῇ καὶ μετ' ἐπεῖξεως ποιοῦντες τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων ἀνάληψιν. Οὕτως ἐγὼ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν τεκμαίρομαι, φίλον ἀκροατήριον, ὅτι με, καὶ ἀπειρηκότα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς πόνους τοῦ σώματος, διανιστᾷ πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὸ ὑμέτερον πρόθυμον. "The gymnastic masters and the teachers of the young at that moment urge the lads to rush to the lessons when they are wont to come willingly to the school, neither by awaiting the threats of the teacher, nor the whips of the trainer, but by making the acquirement of knowledge continuous and with haste. In this manner, I urge your progress toward God, beloved auditory, that even when I am often disheartened by the sufferings of my body, I stand up ready for your teaching." Another important example is *Hom. 9*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 61); the text is cited at p. 82–83.

¹⁶¹ *Hom. 29*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 191): Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον.

¹⁶² Carolina Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος ε διδάσκαλος: Contributo alla storia ed alla cultura bizantina in età normanna," *Siculorum Gymnasium* n.s. 31 (1978): 9–16; Rossi Taibbi, "Prolegomeni," LIII, noticed that

διδασκαλική ἀξία – which apparently has been assigned to him by a vote (ψηφος) that promoted him as the first of the revered clergymen (πρῶτος τῆς ἱερᾶς λογάδος τῶν τιμίων ἱερέων γενόμενος).¹⁶³

Who will then provide me with speech that can be divided into three and adapted for each part [of the public]? For it would have been better to award the teaching dignity to those who are the first in age and speech. But since your votes have prevailed and with the grace of the Holy Spirit I was promoted – unwilling – to this function, becoming the head from the saintly chosen of the honoured priests, I proceed to my didactic speech, trusting in your prayers, as I will interpret for you today, as powerful I can, these holy sayings of the Gospel that were read aloud to your ears.

Τίς οὖν λόγον παράσχοι τριχῇ μεριζόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος συναρμοζόμενον; Ἐχρῆν γὰρ τὴν διδασκαλικὴν ἀξίαν παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἡλικία καὶ λόγῳ προέχουσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ὑμετέρα ψηφος ἐκράτησε καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάριτι ἄκων πρὸς τὸν βαθμὸν τούτον ἀνήχθην, πρῶτος τῆς ἱερᾶς λογάδος τῶν τιμίων ἱερέων γενόμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν λόγον ἴημι, αὐτὰς τὰς σήμερον ἀναγνωσθείσας ὑμῖν ἱερὰς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ῥήσεις ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀκοαῖς, ὥς δυνατόν, ἐξηγούμενος.

Carolina Cupane thought that this *prooimion* might allude to the creation of a didactic career by Roger II for a body of preachers, following the Byzantine model represented by the office of *didaskaloi*, whose origin is commonly traced back to an initiative of Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos (1084–1111) and later, to the famous novella of Alexios Komnenos from 1107 to which Philagathos would have alluded according to Cupane.¹⁶⁴ We only know that Sabas from Misilmeri, styled as Philagathos’ disciple, became later a preacher as a sermon of his is preserved among the works of our author. This indicates that Philagathos was involved in teaching as well.¹⁶⁵ If for Constantinople this order of preachers is disappointingly hard to find, for the Norman Kingdom nothing of the kind can be traced whatsoever.¹⁶⁶ Jean Darrouzès pointed out that the rather generic reference to a διδασκαλική ἀξία should not be read according

Philagathos possessed a διδασκαλική ἀξία and furthermore suggested that the very styling of Philagathos as ὁ φιλόσοφος is to be connected to an ὁφρίκιον of preaching.

¹⁶³ *Hom.* 53, 1 (ed. Caruso, 124).

¹⁶⁴ Cupane, “Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος,” 15; for the *novel* of Alexios Komnenos see Gautier, “L’édit d’Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé,” *Revue des études byzantines* 31 (1973): 165–201; the hypothesis proposed by Carolina Cupane has been received with diffidence in the scholarship; cf. Santo Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita’ del secolo XII,” 78–79 considers as entirely arbitrary the suggestion that the Normans set an order of preachers; equally Gašpar, in “Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy” 96, regards as questionable the hypothesis of Cupane as to the institutionalization of religious teaching in the Norman Kingdom.

¹⁶⁵ Saba’s homily is extant in the *Matrit. Graec.* 4554 among the homilies of Philagathos, and was edited by Stefano Caruso, “Un’omilia inedita di Saba di Misilmeri” in *Byzantino-Sicula II: Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi* (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1975), 139–164.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 60, 91–92, remarked that no seals have been preserved and that “they could scarcely have constituted an order” (92).

to the institutional framework of Constantinople.¹⁶⁷ In fact Philagathos as a hieromonk (ἱερομόναχος) does not exactly match the profile of the *didaskaloi* that appear in twelfth century Byzantium, since these are not known to have been hieromonks. Although we would like to know more about the διδασκαλικὴ ἀξία of Philagathos or about the presumed knowledge of Alexios' novel what remains however clear is that the Norman kings supported his missionary activity.

Philagathos' preaching throughout the Norman Kingdom prompted Lavagnini to describe the religious situation in Sicily as not much dissimilar to that encountered in Crete. Returned to Christian rule in 961 the island was evangelized by itinerant preachers – i.e. Ioannes Xenos (St. John the Hermit) and Nikon the 'Metanoieite'.¹⁶⁸ Philagathos's would represent the same tradition of apostolate for Southern Italy, in the footsteps of Luke, the Calabrian Greek bishop of Isola di Capo Rizzuto. The latter in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest was ordaining priests who spread over the island of Sicily, preaching the Gospel but, unlike Philagathos, he was also challenging the Latins on dogmatic issues.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the activity of Luke of Bova confirms that the Norman rulers supported the missionary activity of this Greek bishop from the diocese of Rhegium.¹⁷⁰ Julia Becker asserted that "la sua attività di cura d'anime poneva Luca in assoluta sintonia con la organizzazione della Chiesa latina intrapresa dai conti normanni."¹⁷¹ He styled himself as διακονητὴς τῆς μεγάλης Ῥηγινῶν μητροπόλεως, and his preaching encompassed not only Calabria but also Sicily.¹⁷²

Furthermore, it may be ascertained that Philagathos' undertaking is to be connected with the fact that he was among the Greek monks invited to Sicily from Calabria by King Roger II in order to revive the Greek monastic communities on the island.¹⁷³ Within the Norman religious policy the foundation of the Monastery of Holy Saviour in Messina, is generally recognized as an important part of the systematic project of Roger II to organize and revive Greek monasticism.¹⁷⁴ In May 1131, Roger II decreed that Holy Saviour of Messina should become the mother house of a congregation of subordinate monasteries. The royal monastery – μονὴ βασιλική – acquired jurisdiction over forty-one monasteries in Sicily and Calabria and was independent of any ecclesiastical authority. It was subordinated only to the Norman king for right of appeal and for

¹⁶⁷ Jean Darrouzès, "Review of Filagato da Cerami," *Revue des études byzantines* (29) 1971: 324.

¹⁶⁸ A. Louth, "Nikon the 'Metanoieite': Preaching the Gospel within the Byzantine Empire," in *Greek East and Latin West. The Church AD 681–1071*, (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007), 241–262; *The Life of Saint Nikon*, text, translation and commentary by D.F. Sullivan (Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1987), 7–18.

¹⁶⁹ Lavagnini, "S. Luca vescovo di Isola e la cronologia del suo viaggio in Sicilia (1105)," *Byz* 24 (1964), 69–76; Julia Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni dopo la conquista della Sicilia (1080–1130)," *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 73 (2006), 68–69; *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. G. Schirò, (Palermo: Palumbo, 1954), 122–128.

¹⁷⁰ P. Joannou, "La personalità storica di Luca di Bova attraverso i suoi scritti inediti," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 29 (1960): 224–226.

¹⁷¹ Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni dopo la conquista della Sicilia," 69.

¹⁷² Joannou, "La personalità storica di Luca di Bova," 224.

¹⁷³ Rossi Taibbi, "Prolegomeni," *Ivi*; Lavagnini, "Aspetti e problemi del monachesimo greco nella Sicilia normanna," in Ἀτακτα. *Scritti minori di filologia classica, bizantina e neogreca* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1978), 631–635.

¹⁷⁴ Vera von Falkenhausen, "L' Archimandritato del S. Salvatore in lingua phari di Messina e il monachesimo italo-greco nel regno normanno-svevo (secoli XI–XIII), in *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria*, ed. G. Fallico, A. Sparti and U. Balistreri (Palermo, 1994), 48–49.

the ratification of the election of the archimandrite. Among the new residents of the abbey, there were “grammarians, calligraphers and teachers of our sacred books who were sufficiently trained in profane literature.” They prided themselves in having collected beside the familiar sacred books, “other books not pertaining to our sacred writing, treatise from the alien courtyard insofar as they strived after the sacred knowledge.”¹⁷⁵

The monastery became a spiritual and cultural point of reference that gathered the Greek elite from the island and from the region of the straits as the monastery of the Holy Mother of God at Rossano in Calabria, the ferment of the Orthodox monastic renewal that eventually spread into the entire Norman kingdom, did for the continental part of the kingdom. Associated with the Monastery of the Holy Saviour were the famous *Judex Tarentinus* (Κριτής Ταραντινός)¹⁷⁶ and his younger contemporary Eugenios of Palermo.¹⁷⁷ The first was Master Justiciar of the royal court from 1159 to 1171 while Eugenios, a Sicilian Greek with a reputation of mathematician, poet and translator pursued a long official career at the court of Norman kings in the second half of the twelfth century. Eugenios was among the constellation of scholars grouped round King William I (1154–1166), famous for his patronage of art and learning. Eugenios’s translation from Arabic into Latin of Claudius Ptolemy, *Optica*, is the only form in

¹⁷⁵ The *typikon* of Christ Saviour ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *Novum patrum bibliotheca*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Rome, 1905), 126: Προσέτι τούτοις καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισυνήξαμεν τοὺς [...] εἴτα γραμματικούς καὶ καλλιγράφους, καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν θείων βιβλίων καὶ ἡμετέρων, τὴν ἕξω παιδείαν ἱκανῶς ἡσκημένους. Καὶ βίβλους πολλὰς καὶ καλλίστας συνήγαγον τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ οὐχ ἡμετέρας καὶ θείας γραφῆς καὶ τῆς πάντῃ οἰκείας ἡμῖν· Χρυσοστομικά τε συγγράμματα καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγορίου τοῦ πάνυ, τοῦ ὁμωνύμου αὐτοῦ Νυσαέως, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων· ἄλλα μὲν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀσκητῶν συγγραφὰς τῶν τε ἀπλουστέρων καὶ τῶν τελειωτέρων, ἱστορικά τε καὶ ἕτερα τῶν τῆς θύραθεν καὶ ἀλλοτρίας αὐλῆς, ὅποσα πρὸς τὴν θείαν γνῶσιν συντείνειεν· ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα τοὺς βίους τῶν πατέρων ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκουσιν, καὶ πάντας τὰς μεταφράσεις ἃς...ὁ σοφώτατος ἐκεῖνος Συμεὼν ὁ λογοθέτης συντέταχε. “In addition to these, we introduced others [...] scribes and calligraphers, and teachers of our sacred books who were sufficiently trained in profane literature. We collected many beautiful books pertaining to our own sacred writings, totally familiar to us, as well as [other books] not pertaining to our sacred writings. We collected the compositions of [St. John] Chrysostom, of the great father Basil, of Gregory the very great Theologian, and of his namesake [Gregory] of Nyssa, and of the other fathers and teachers inspired by God. We collected other compositions and works of ascetic writers, both the simple ones and also the more advanced, as well as historical works and other treatises from the outer and alien courtyard, insofar as they strive after the sacred knowledge. Other books [we obtained] which teach us about the lives of the fathers and contain the paraphrases which that most wise Symeon [Metaphrastes] the Logothete composed [...]” trans. Timothy Miller, *BMFD*, 643–47; see also Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato,” 10; Agostino Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell’ambiente monacale greco dell’Italia meridionale,” in *L’eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, ed. A. Pertusi (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1965), 413; Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita’ del secolo XII,” 72; Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami,” 81–82.

¹⁷⁶ E. Jamison, “*Judex Tarentinus*. The Career of *Judex Tarentinus magne curie magister justiciarius* and the Emergence of the Sicilian *regalis magna curia* under William I and the Regency of Margaret of Navara, 1156 – 1172,” in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 289–344; cf. Vera von Falkenhausen, “I funzionari greci nel regno normanno,” *Byzantino – Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia: L’arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l’Islam*, ed. Mario Re and Cristina Rognoni, Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici “Bruno Lavagnini”, 2009, 188–190.

¹⁷⁷ In his poems Eugenios describes the close relation he enjoyed with the archimandrite of the monastery of San Salvatore (*Eugenii Panormitani, Versus Iambici*, ed. Marcello Gigante, Palermo: Palumbo, 1964, *epigramma XIV in coemeterium monachorum*, 97–98); for Eugenios of Palermo remains essential the work of Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenios of Sicily, His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the Historia Hugonis Falcando Siculi*, London: Oxford University Press, 1957; cf. Cristina Torre, “Tra Oriente e Occidente: I giambi di Eugenio di Palermo,” *Miscellanea di studi storici* 14 (2007): 177–213.

which the work has survived.¹⁷⁸ He had much in common with his elder contemporary Henry Aristippus the translator of the Platonic dialogues *Phaedo* and *Meno*.¹⁷⁹ In 1158 he went as one of the royal ambassadors to Constantinople and he brought back with him to Sicily as a gift from the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, Greek manuscripts from the imperial library, notably the *Almagest*, and perhaps, as Evelyn Jamison suggested, the elusive ‘Prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl’, that allegedly has been rendered from Greek into Latin by the same Eugenios of Palermo.¹⁸⁰

Historians have much discussed whether the idea of the federation of Greek monasteries is an inspiration from the mainland Benedictine abbeys or from the Byzantine monastic confederation of Mount Athos and they generally agreed that the Byzantine model prevailed.¹⁸¹ The definitive introduction of the Stoudite cenobitic reform into Italo-Greek monasticism is an effect of the contacts between Constantinople, the Holy Mountain and Sicily that existed at the beginning of the twelfth-century as personified by the figure of Bartholomew of Simeri.¹⁸² With the reform of Bartholomew, Italo-Greek monasticism becomes an institutionalized cenobitic structure from what was previously regarded as a dynamic interplay between eremitism and cenobitism with a monastic life regulated more by the imitation of the charismatic leader than by the monastic law.¹⁸³ Bartholomew travelled to Constantinople sometime between 1110 and 1118 and enlisted the prestigious patronage of none other than Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118). From the Life of Bartholomew we learn that the Byzantine emperor and members of the Senate donated books, icons and other precious objects for the monastery of the Mother of God the “New Hodegetria” at Rossano in Calabria.¹⁸⁴ It has been surmised that among the books

¹⁷⁸ This was first printed by Gilberto Goti *L’ottica di Claudio Tolomeo da Eugenio ammiraglio di Sicilia ridotta in latino*, Turin, 1885; A. Lejeune has provided an excellent critical edition, *L’Optique de Claude Ptolémée*, Leiden: Brill, 1989.

¹⁷⁹ Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenios of Sicily, His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the Historia Hugonis Falcando Siculi*, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, xviii.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 21–32.

¹⁸¹ Agostino Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell’ambiente monacale greco dell’Italia meridionale,” in *L’eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI-XII, Atti della II settimana di studio sull’Alto medioevo* (Milan 1963), 382–435; *id.*, “Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco ed il monachesimo bizantino nell’alto medioevo,” in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall’VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale* (Bari, 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969, Padova: Italia Sacra, Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica: 1973, vol. II), 473–520; Falkenhausen, “L’Archimandritato del S. Salvatore,” 41–52.

¹⁸² Gaia Zaccagni, “Il *Bios* di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235),” *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 33 (1996), 192–228; for an assessment of Bartolomeo of Simeri’s activity see Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell’ambiente monacale greco dell’Italia meridionale,” 429, where he is presented as the Theodore the Studite of Southern Italy.

¹⁸³ Enrico Morini, ‘Il monaco e un angelo.’ La testimonianza di S. Nilo e la riforma monastica italo-greca del X secolo,” *BBGG* 7 (2010), 151 “Questo persistente dualismo eremo-cenobio sarà risolto in modo assai meno equilibrato dalla seconda riforma monastica italo-greca, quella avviata, in età già normanna, tra XI e XII secolo, quando vediamo s. Bartolomeo da simeri interdire perentoriamente, nel del Patir di Rossano la possibilità di vivere da esicasti nell’ambito del suo monastero,” Ann. W. Epstein, “The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and monks in South Italy,” *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 44.

¹⁸⁴ “Il *Bios* di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235), 221–222: λαβὼν μεθ’ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὓς ἤδει πρὸς ἐνοδίους κόπους ἔχοντας ἱκανῶς, πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Νέαν Ῥώμην ἀπαίρει, καὶ Ἀλεξίῳ καὶ Εἰρήνῃ τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις ἐντυχὼν βασιλεῦσιν - οὗτοι γὰρ τῷ τότε τοὺς οἰακάς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ὀρθοδοξότατα ἴθουνον - λαμπρᾶς δεξιώσεως παρ’αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου πάσης τυγχάνει, πολλοῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντων καὶ πλουσίοις τοῖς χαρίσμασι δεξιοῦνται, ἐν τε σεβασμίαις εἰκόσι καὶ βίβλοις καὶ σκεύεσιν ἱεροῖς, τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετὴν

donated to the new foundation could have also been codices containing ‘profane’ texts thought as useful “for the study and understanding of the sacred writings,” which resonates with the provision recorded in the Preface of the Typikon of the Holy Saviour that mentioned, as we have noted, certain “teachers of our sacred books who were sufficiently trained in profane literature.”¹⁸⁵

Having (probably) enlisted the patronage of the Norman kings, Philagathos’ missionary activity recalls Roger II’s commission of Neilos Doxapatres (κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου μεγάλου ῥηγὸς Ῥογερίου) to write in 1142/3 a treaty on the “Order of the Five Patriarchates” (Τάξις τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων) otherwise an open denunciation of the authority of Rome and of the Western Empire.¹⁸⁶ Formerly patriarchal notary in Constantinople and even *protoproedros* of the *synkelloi*, Neilos took the monastic habit, and left for unknown reasons for Sicily, where he surfaced at the court of Roger II. This polemical work aimed at redefining the topography of the Christian world: “since the time when Rome ceased to be an imperial capital, because it fell into slavery to foreign peoples, the barbarians and Goths, and is still in their power, it has fallen from the imperial dignity and thus from its ecclesiastical preeminence.”¹⁸⁷

The sweeping scope of Neilos’ treatise reminds of al-Idrīsī’s new work on geography for Roger II destined to be an “entertainment for him who would like to roam through the world.” In the Arab tradition, the book was simply known as “King Roger’s book.”¹⁸⁸ Metcalfe notes that “the patronage of al al-Idrīsī work in Arabic by Roger II was unusual, if not exceptional” and he added that “in some respects, it was matched by Roger’s commissioning of Nilus Doxapatris’ ‘History of the Five Patriarchs’ in Greek...”¹⁸⁹ If al-Idrīsī’s work was meant to define the political geography of his realm, it is tempting to see Neilos’s treaty symbolically describing its “spiritual” geography.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Neilos wrote a monumental theological anthology, *De oeconomia Dei* which amasses samples of texts from a striking variety of authors, recently

ἔχων προσδοποιοῦσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πείθουσιν πρὸς τοῦτο ψυχάς. On the travel of Bartolomeo of Simeri to Constantinople see Mario Re, “Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Constantinopoli,” *RSBN* 34 (1997): 71–75; F. Burgarella, “Aspetti storici del Bios di san Bartolomeo da Simeri,” in V. Ruggieri and L. Pieralli, *EYKOΣMIA, Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S. J., Soveria Manelli*, (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2003), 129–133; G. Breccia, *Nuovi contributi alla storia del Patir. Documenti del Vat. gr. 2605*, (Rome, 2005), 77–83.

¹⁸⁵ See above note 175.

¹⁸⁶ *De Thronis Patriarchalibus*, ed. S. Le Lemoine, *Varia Sacra seu Sylloge variorum opusculorum graecorum ad rem ecclesiasticam spectantium*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1685, repr. in *PG*, vol. 132, coll. 1079–1115. Neilos affirms that he had written even a previous shorter treaty at king’s request; cf. *De Thronis Patriarchalibus*, *PG* 132, coll. 1084 B: Πανευγέστατε Αὐθέντα μου, περὶ ἧς μοι ἔγραψας ὑποθέσεως μέμνημαι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ καστελλίῳ Πανόρμῳ ὦν, ἔγραψα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀντίληψιν, πλὴν οὐχ οὕτω πλατύτερον, ὥς νῦν ἠρώτησας. Νῦν δὲ πολλὰ εἰσι τὰ ἐρωθέντα καὶ χρειαί λεπτοτέρας γραφῆς, καὶ διηγήσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παντὸς πόνου καταφρονήσας (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ χρέους ἐστὶν ἀπαραιτήτου ὀφειλόμενον, τὸ ὁλοψύχως ἐκπληροῦν τὸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μεγαλυπερόχου ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιταττόμενόν μοι, μετὰ προτροπῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μου Πατρὸς), πειράσομαι διὰ βραχέων ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν διὰ γραφῆς σαφοῦς παραστήσαι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα μοι.

¹⁸⁷ Neilos Doxapatres, *De Thronis Patriarchalibus*, *PG*, vol. 132, coll. 1100B.

¹⁸⁸ Amara Allaoua and Nef Annliese, “Al-Idrīsī et les Hammûdides se Sicile: nouvelle données biographiques sur l’auteur du Livre de Roger,” *Arabica* 48 (2001): 121–127; Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West*, trans. Graham A. Loud, Diane Milburn (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2002), 102.

¹⁸⁹ Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2003), 102.

¹⁹⁰ V. Laurent, “L’oeuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatris,” *Echos d’Orient*, 36 (1937): 15.

interpreted as exemplifying what has been termed as ‘Byzantine encyclopedism.’¹⁹¹ If Neilos could be described as codifying the theological lore, Philagathos would be the great populariser of the essential principles of the Christian life.

Neilos’ acknowledgement that he wrote at the behest of Roger II suggests that his work must have served the ruler’s state-building policy.¹⁹² Roger II insofar as he supported Greek culture and spirituality was perhaps aiming at associating the realm with the ‘Byzantine commonwealth’ and to create an ideological grounding for the kingdom and at the same time to provide a deterrent for a potential hostile papal policy by questioning the legitimacy of primacy, which Neilos justified theologically.¹⁹³ The Norman ideological claim is best revealed by the famous image of King Roger from the mosaic panel from the Church of St. Mary’s of the Admiral in Palermo. The image of King Roger is essentially different from its Byzantine visual prototype for the face of the king was assimilated to the image of Christ.¹⁹⁴ Considered to be a Norman visual innovation, the ‘Christomimetic’ appearance of Roger is usually interpreted as a statement about Norman sovereignty conceived as deriving its origin and power not from pope or emperor but from God alone.¹⁹⁵ The Norman royal ideology is also reflected in Philagathos’ sermons. An eloquent example is the panegyric setting of his ekphrasis of the Cappella Palatina. For Philagathos, Roger II was a “dispenser of many and great benefits for us,

¹⁹¹ For a recent assessment of Neilos Doxapatres’ work and activity, and particularly on his *De Oeconomia Dei* see Ilse De Vos, *Good Counsel Never Comes Amiss: Nilus Doxapatres and the De Oeconomia Dei: critical edition of book I, 164-263* (PhD Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2010), 1–139; I wish to kindly thank here Ilse De Vos, for providing me a hard copy of her dissertation; see also Stefaan Neirynck, “The *De Oeconomia Dei* by Nilus Doxapatres. Some Introductory Remarks to the Work and its Edition & Chapter I, 40: Edition, Translation and Commentary,” *Byz* 80 (2010): 265–74; Vera von Falkenhausen, “Nilo Doxapatre,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 1992, 610–613; Stefano Caruso, “Per l’edizione del ‘*De Oeconomia Dei*’ di Nilo Doxapatres,” *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986–1987): 250–283; id., “Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina dell’XI-XII sec. nel *De oeconomia Dei* di Nilos Doxapatres, *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia normanna*, Palermo: Palumbo, 1973, 1–12.

¹⁹² cf. Salvatore Tramontana, *La monarchia normanna e sveva*, (Turin: Utet, 1986), 609; see also J. Spiteris, *La Critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome: Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 1979), 126–53 and M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale. Rinascita e decadenza, sec. XI-XIV*, (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 78, who thinks one ought not overstate Neilos’ importance stating that he is not representative of the monastic spirit of Sicily and, in fact, came to Sicily from Constantinople to inflame an anti-Roman spirit. He argues that “non c’è da pensare neppure lontanamente ad un proposito meditato di Ruggero II di un capovolgimento della giurisdizione romana nell’Italia meridionale, anche se tutta la requisitoria antiromana del Doxapatris ne esprimesse il desiderio formale.”

¹⁹³ For the relation between the Norman rulers and the Papacy see Hubert Houben, “Il papato, I Normanni e la nuova organizzazione ecclesiastica della Puglia e della Basilicata,” *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 53 (1986): 15–32; Graham A. Loud, “The Papacy and the Rulers of Southern Italy, 1058–1198,” in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 151–185; In addition see J.-M. Martin, “Hellénisme politique, hellénisme religieux et pseudo-hellénisme à Naples (VII^e – XII^e siècle),” *Néa Πόμνη/ Nea Rhome, Rivista di studi bizantinistici* 2 (2005): 59–77.

¹⁹⁴ William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), “On the Self-Sufficiency of the Image in King Roger’s Sicily,” 148–149; Kitzinger, “On the Portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo,” *Proporzioni* 3 (1950): 30–35.

¹⁹⁵ William Tronzo, “Byzantine Court Culture from the Point of View of Norman Sicily,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington: Harvard University Press, 1997), 108–109; id., *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, 149.

surpassing in piety and greatness of mind the rulers of the present and of the past, as the rays of the sun exceed the light of the stars.”¹⁹⁶



Palermo, St' Mary's of the Admiral, mosaic of Roger II crowned by Christ (photo: Alex Bay)

It may be surmised together with Santo Lucà that an intellectual circle thrived in the region of the strait of Messina involving the city of Reggio di Calabria (Ρήγιον), Messina and the Greek-speaking region from northeastern Sicily, Val Demone.¹⁹⁷ In this sense, perhaps it is not just a coincidence that precisely the city of Reggio di Calabria furnishes the dramatic-setting for Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' novel. For the mentioning of “many lovers of letters (πολλοὶ τῶν φιλολόγων) scoffing at Charikleia's book” may be alluding to a real debate about the appropriate method of reading erotic fiction.¹⁹⁸ Then, it is significant that a copy of Achilles Tatius's novel (*Vat. Gr.* 1349+1391) has been produced in the first half of the same century at Messina. The novel might have been available to Philagathos as he was closely associated with the Monastery of the Holy Saviour.¹⁹⁹ In fact, as we will point out, *Leucippe and*

¹⁹⁶ *Hom.* 27, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174): “Ὅς δὴ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γενόμενος ἡμῖν παροχεύς, εὐσεβεία τε καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη πάντας νικήσας τοὺς νῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, ὅσον τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀγλαΐας τὰ ἡλιακὰ σελαγίσματα [...].”

¹⁹⁷ Lucà, “Note per la storia della cultura greca,” 93–94: “nella zona dello stretto (Reggio, Messina, e i centri del Val Demone), comè già nella Rossano del secolo X, abbia operato qualche circolo dotto di estrazione laico – patrizio, in cui gli adepti, appartenenti agli intellettuali reggino-messinesi di formazione e cultura bizantina, dedicavano i loro passatempi letterari dilettandosi anche nella lettura e nel commento di romanzi amorosi.”

¹⁹⁸ See the discussion at p. 403–405.

¹⁹⁹ *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, 25; Canart, “Le livre grec en Italie méridionale,” 147; Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita,’” 84–85, t. 17; id., “Note per la storia della cultura greca,” 55–56, 93; for Philagathos association with

Clitophon and especially Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* were quite instrumental for Philagathos's exegesis in the *Homilies*. The manuscript transmitting Heliodorus' novel and the ἐρμηνεία (*Marc. Gr. Z 410*) was itself copied in Southern Italy perhaps in Terra d' Otranto, either in the second half of the twelfth or at the beginning of the next century.²⁰⁰

Perhaps, with such an intellectual circle is to be connected the special commission of the famous illustrated manuscript of John Skylitzes's chronicle.²⁰¹ Most likely it was copied at Messina in the third or fourth decade of the twelfth century. Nigel Wilson proposed that it was commissioned by the Norman court, but more likely the creation of the Madrid Skylitzes (*Matrit. Vitr. 26–2*) is to be explained as a sponsorship of the Calabro-Byzantine patriciate.²⁰² The chronicle, *Synopsis Historion*, (Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν) covers the history of Byzantine Empire throughout the years 811–1057. The Madrid Skylitzes is the only surviving illustrated manuscript of a Greek chronicle. It has been described as representing a swan song of a displaced Byzantine identity of the Italo – Greeks that forcefully asserted itself at the moment it reached the acme that foreshadowed the near dissolution into what was becoming a predominantly Latin speaking environment.²⁰³ It has been emphasized that this elite, especially clerics and notaries was emboldened to immigrate from the continent to Sicily, with the establishment of Norman power, when the government was shifted to Messina from Mileto during the regency of Adelaide, and then to Palermo around 1112.²⁰⁴

this monastery see Caruso, "Note di cronologia filagata," 209; Duluş, "Philagathos of Cerami and the Monastic Renewal in the Twelfth-Century Norman Kingdom," 60.

²⁰⁰ Bruno Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria," *BBGG* 28 (1974): 5, note 9; see also, André Jacob, in *Codici Greci dell'Italia Meridionale*, 110.

²⁰¹ André Grabar, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid*, Venice: Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1979; Vasiliki Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2002; Elena Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past: The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscript of Skylitzes and Manasses*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

²⁰² N. Wilson, "The Madrid Skylitzes," *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978): 209–219; M. B. Foti, "Il monastero del San Salvatore in 'Lingua Phari.' Proposte scritte e coscienza culturale (Messina, 1989), 52–58; M. Re, "A proposito dello 'Skylitzes' di Madrid," in *La memoria. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Palermo* 3 (1984): 329–341; Ihor Ševčenko, "The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the light of its new dating," in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, hrsg I, ed. I. Hutter and H. Hunger (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 117–130; Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del secolo XII," 57 appreciated that the manuscript represents "nelle intenzioni del committente, la celebrazione eroica della storia dei greci, e di converso la sublimazione della bizantinità italo-meridionale, proprio nel momento in cui essa era costretta a subire l'onta della disfatta ad opera dei Normanni, che ormai minacciavano anche le sponde orientali dell'impero. E del resto – come rileva Ihor Ševčenko – non si comprendono nè le ragioni, nè gli interessi che avrebbero avuto i Normanni nel commissionare un manoscritto così riccamente illustrato, che non conteneva nè una storia del mondo, nè un'opera strettamente contemporanea;" cf. id., "Note per la storia della cultura greca," 84–85 where Lucà does not exclude a Norman patronage, arguing that the production of the manuscript is "connessa verosimilmente col patriziato calabro-siculo e forse anche col concorso normanno per il tramite di Giorgio di Antiochia" (p. 84).

²⁰³ Peter Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church in Southern Italy," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 218, 223; See also Vera von Falkenhausen, "I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere," in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Bari, 1979), 139; H. Houben, "Religious Toleration in the South Italian Peninsula during the Norman and Staufen Periods," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 324.

²⁰⁴ Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del secolo XII," 45 and 56.

The patronage of the same Calabro-Byzantine patriciate, transferred to Messina in the first decades of the XII century, has been used cogently to explain the production of *Vat. gr. 300*, a manuscript containing medical texts commissioned by Philippos Xeros (Φίλιππος ὁ ξηρός) a physician from Reggio active in Messina around 1135.²⁰⁵ Paleographical evidence has revealed that a hand identified in the Madrid Skylitzes as well has copied a part of the manuscript.²⁰⁶ Connected with the intellectual milieu from Messina, it is important here to consider the two short epigrams on Galen ascribed to Philagathos in the manuscript *H. 45* from the Archivio di San Pietro containing Galen's *De medendi methodo*, which further integrates our author within the general cultural context of the time, whose peculiarities and interests he prominently shared.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, ed. Paul Canart and Santo Lucà (Grottaferrata: Retablo, 2000), n° 30, 85–86 (Lucà).

²⁰⁶ A detailed discussion on the relation between *Vat. gr. 300* and *Matrit. Vit.* 26–2 is found in “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita’ del secolo XII,” ch. III: “Lo Scilitze di Madrid e il *Vat. gr. 300*,” 36–63.

²⁰⁷ *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, n° 47, 113–114 (Canart); Irigoin, “L’Italie méridionale et la transmission des textes grecs du VII^e au XII^e siècle,” 94; Lucà, “Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria Medioevale,” 87.

PART I: *Homilies*, ‘Internal Drama’ and Emotions

While publicizing the salvational economy, the rhetoricity of Byzantine homilies, as Henry Maguire argued, expresses and shapes a specific form of representing religious experience.²⁰⁸ Analyzing the interaction between Latin liturgical drama and the Byzantine rhetorical imagination in Southern Italy, with Philagathos’ sermons featuring as a prominent source, Maguire explained that “rhetoric became for the Byzantines another kind of visual drama, one that maintained the fixed forms and good order of icons.”²⁰⁹ In relation to Philagathos’ sermon on Christ’ appearance along the road to Emmaus (Lc.24:13–35), Maguire noted that it presents “an internal rather than an external drama, one which explored the emotional shifts experienced by the two disciples at far greater length than the Latin plays.”²¹⁰

The sermon “For the Fifth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*”²¹¹ and the Latin play *Peregrinus* performed in the liturgy in the Cathedral of Palermo at some point during the reign of Roger II (1130–1154) formed the backdrop for Maguire’s comparative analysis of Byzantine and Latin dramatic traditions in Southern Italy. Instead of developing a liturgical drama of the kind that blossomed in the West in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Byzantines created a drama through the “rhetoric of sermons such as those given by Philagathos.”²¹² The Byzantines were thus enchanted by words that made the immovable icons speak. For “the techniques of rhetoric,” (i.e. *ekphrasis*, *diegesis*, *synkrisis*, *antithesis*) Maguire argued, “enabled the Byzantines to create a drama of images, in which the icons themselves spoke to each other and to their audience, without losing any of their fixity and good order. Through rhetoric, the Byzantines created a true drama of images, rather than a counterfeit performance of actors.”²¹³

The characterization of the Byzantine homily as a rhetorical form concentrated on the display of emotions or as ‘an internal drama’ according to Maguire’s terminology, offers a broader perspective for approaching Philagathos’ sermons and in general the Byzantine rhetoricized homilies. Indeed, the ‘dramatic’ sermon may be perceived as the counterpart of the doctrine of the icon, which alone can represent to sight the deeds of the Scripture. For the Byzantines, a theatrical play could not mimic a holy character because scrupulous physiognomic traits were established for each major saint. In painting their representation was expected to abide to their acknowledged portrait type.²¹⁴ That any person might impersonate a holy figure in a theatrical performance was considered improper for the Byzantines. In this sense it was argued

²⁰⁸ Henry Maguire, “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament” in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 215–233; id., “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” *DOP* 31 (1997): 123–174; id., “Medieval Art in Southern Italy: Latin Drama and the Greek Literary Imagination,” in id., *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), VII, 219–39.

²⁰⁹ Id., “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament” in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 219.

²¹⁰ Maguire, “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament,” 229.

²¹¹ *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 32, PG 132, coll. 648–658).

²¹² Maguire, “Medieval Art in Southern Italy: Latin Drama and the Greek Literary Imagination,” 229.

²¹³ Id., “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament,” 219.

²¹⁴ Id., *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saint and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 5–47.

that the doctrine of the icon prevented the incorporation of visual theatrical spectacle into the religious service.²¹⁵ As it does not possess an objective reality the icon can not be reduced to realism or theatrical spectacle.²¹⁶ For the iconophile thinker, theatrical representation falls into the realm of the idol. Because, as Marie-José Mondzain explained, “[t]o say that the icon wanted to be a picture and not an idol or representation is to say that it institutes a gaze and not an object. Participating entirely in the Pauline reign of similitude and enigma, it aims at no ‘resemblance’ other than assimilation, the ad-similation of seeing and being seen.”²¹⁷ This thinking considers the kind of realism inscribed in the dramatic play the opposite of iconic thought.²¹⁸ In addition, the performative aesthetic of the Divine Liturgy is thought of being motivated by this aversion for theatrical spectacle.²¹⁹

Emotions are inscribed in the very doctrine of the icon. Mondzain made a compelling argument for the centrality of the icon in Byzantine thought. She argues that iconicity founds a new, visual order of power defined as “empire of emotions.”²²⁰ The power of the icon derives from placing the believing viewer in the presence of the Incarnation without institutional mediation. From this perspective the icon becomes the battleground for marking the ultimate source of authority and power in the Christian society.²²¹ But what Mondzain emphasized most

²¹⁵ Cf. Maguire, “Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament,” 217; see also the insightful study of Andrew Walker White, *The Artifice of Eternity: a Study of Liturgical and Theatrical Practices in Byzantium* (PhD Thesis: University of Maryland, 2006), 46–91.

²¹⁶ Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, underlined that the image fought not to fall in the category of representation; essentially, the icon is a place of movement: “the contemplative gaze produces the truth of the icon, the truth as an existential relation. Consequently, *form becomes inobjective and settles upon its own emptiness*. [my emphasis] The icon’s obvious disinterest in both realism and Classical-style aesthetic idealization bears witness to its bitter struggle against the simulacra of the *morphé*.” (p. 91). The author underscores that “[i]conic anthropomorphism should never be taken for representative realism: the figure is only there in order to show the emptiness and absence of what it indicates to the gaze...” (p. 96). Mondzain concludes: “The reign established on the truth of the image cannot, in any way, be a reign of ontological truth. Truth is an image: there is no image of truth” (p. 222).

²¹⁷ Ibid., 70.

²¹⁸ Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, 69–117; ead., “Iconic Space and the Rule of Lands,” *Hypatia* 15 (2000): 65.

²¹⁹ See for this Andrew Walker White, *The Artifice of Eternity*, 54: “A close reading of the Divine Liturgy indicates that Chrysostom and his predecessors took specific steps to avoid the perception that they were creating a drama. The first and most important step was the avoidance of what Aristotle calls enactment: at no time during the Liturgy do any of the celebrants – priests, deacons, chanters – assume the role of a character, fictive or historical. The “I” of the celebrant is that of the human being himself, not an Oedipus or Prometheus, and certainly not a Christ or Apostle. And there is evidence that Chrysostom’s ritual aesthetic was rooted in the liturgical practice of the earlier Christian community.”

²²⁰ Marie-José Mondzain, “Can Images Kill?” *Critical Inquiry* 36 (2009), 28 remarks: “Ten centuries ago, Christian thought recognized the real question regarding the construction of a community to be how to control the passions and the voice in the visible. That is what first established the legitimacy of the image not only in freeing it of its mortifying and confusing power but also in giving it a lifesaving and even a redemptive power. Not only is the image visible and the face-to-face encounter doesn’t kill, but the image also effects a purification of darkness. It is no longer the tragic speech of the Greeks but the image that calms the violence of all passions.” Mondzain stressed that through the power of the image “[t]he Church established an empire, an empire over emotions” (p. 32).

²²¹ In this sense Mondzain explained in *Image, Icon, Economy*, 165 that “what interests the iconoclast emperors is to become, in the name of a fight against idols, the absolute masters of political, juridical, administrative and military representation, and the sole practitioners of earthly mimesis.” The icon abolished mediation: “[w]herever there is an icon; the gaze of God is present. It does not need a sacred architectural institution” (p. 162); the political underpinnings of the Iconoclastic Controversy were also highlighted by Peter Brown, “Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of

is the consequence of the doctrine concerning icons. Foremost that belief relies on the gaze:²²² “[t]he church perfectly understood that whoever monopolizes visibility conquers thought itself and determines the shape of liberty. From the specific standpoint of provoking belief or obtaining obedience, there are no great differences between submitting to a church council or to CNN.”²²³

In *hom. 51*, Philagathos formulated the traditional iconic doctrine by weaving in passages from Basil of Caesarea’s *De spiritu sancto* and Gregory of Nyssa’s *Oratio catechetica magna*. The preacher stated the anagogical function of the icon:²²⁴

“*In fact the honour paid to the icon, as great Basil said, passes to the archetype. And in this manner through the perception of the senses we are greatly led up to piety. For we behold in the holy representations our Lord and God miraculously born from the Virgin, endowed with gifts by the wise men from the East, lifted up by the aged arms of Simeon, touched by the right prophetic hand when naked among the streams of the river, [then] effecting extraordinary miracles by the mere utterance of a word and exercise of His will, the restoration of the dead to life anew, the fear with which He inspired devils, His walking through the sea by the surface of the water turned into solid ground [for His feet], His abundant banquets in the wilderness, the daring of the traitor, that wicked judgement, the spreading [on the Cross], the burial, the Resurrection, the ascent into Heaven. And beholding these things impressed with colours we believe to see them as manifestly (ἐναργῶς) present. For painting has the capacity to represent the events as if they were [unfolding] before the eyes.*”

ἡ γὰρ τιμὴ τῆς εἰκότος, ὡς ὁ μέγας εἶπε Βασίλειος, ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον ἀναφέρεται.²²⁵ Καὶ οὕτω διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως πρὸς εὐσέβειαν μειζόνως χειραγωγούμεθα. Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτυπώμασι τὸν Δεσπότην ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν ἐκ Παρθένου παραδόξως τικτόμενον, ὑπὸ μάγων δωροφορούμενον, πρεσβυτικαῖς ὠλέναις τοῦ Συμεὼν βασταζόμενον, γυμνὸν ἐν τοῖς ποταμίαις

the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *English Historical Review* 88 (1973): 1–34; the distinguished scholar noted: “the icon merely filled a gap left by the physical absence of the holy man” (p. 13). Icons disputed the emperors the embodiment of earthly *mimesis*. “Holy men and icons were implicated on an even deeper level. For both were, technically unconsecrated objects” (p. 21).

²²² As an aside, we may recall here Thomas Mathews’ portrayal of the Late Antique Christian – pagan conflict as “a war of images.” In *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 10, Mathews writes: “The decline of the gods, I would like to suggest, had much to do with the bankruptcy of their images and the appearance of a more forceful set of divine images. As with politicians, nothing is more important to gods than image.”

²²³ Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, 223; actually, the French philosopher formulated a far-reaching argument about the relevance of iconic thought beyond the mere confines of Byzantine history: “Yet iconic doctrine is not only the first real system of thought concerning the freedom of the gaze in its encounter with painting, it is also the first meditation on idolatry, conceived no longer as a divergence from this or that religion, but as an anthropological fact from which no one can escape” (p. 169). With Byzantium, she writes, “[t]he process of globalizing the image across the whole world has begun” (p. 162). There is no limit to the spread of the power of the image. In fact, “[w]e are today heirs and propagators of this iconic empire” (p. 151).

²²⁴ *Hom. 51*, 7 (ed. Zaccagni, 154–155).

²²⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, 18, 45, PG 32, coll. 149B–152A.

ρεύμασι προφητικῇ δεξιᾷ χειραπτούμενον, ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ παράδοξα θαύματα ῥήματι μόνῳ καὶ ὁρμῇ τοῦ θελήματος, τὴν τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον αὐθις ἀνάλυσιν, τὸν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων φόβον, τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης πορείαν ὑποχερσουμένου τῇ βάσει τοῦ ὕδατος, τὰς ἐν ἐρήμῳ δαψιλεῖς ἐστιάσεις²²⁶, τοῦ προδότου τὴν τόλμαν, τὸ ἀσεβὲς ἐκεῖνο κριτήριον, τὴν στρώσιν, τὴν ταφήν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀναφοίτησιν· καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἐντετυπωμένα τοῖς χρώμασιν, ἐναργῶς αὐτὰ βλέπειν οἴομεθα· οἶδε γὰρ γραφὴ παριστᾶν ὡς ἐν ὄψει τὰ πράγματα.

The citation of Saint Basil about the honor conveyed to the prototype has been abundantly invoked during and after the Iconoclastic controversy. Explicitly cited by John of Damascus in *On the Divine Images*, the saying underlines the theological position of the Nicene Council of 787.²²⁷ In the original context, Basil sought to define the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, encapsulated by the formula “one substance, three persons” (μία οὐσία, τρία πρόσωπα). To clarify his argument about the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, Basil used the analogy of the imperial images: “How, therefore, if they are one and one, are there not two gods? Because we speak of an emperor, and of the emperor’s image, and not of two emperors...In the same way that the sovereignty and power over us is one, so the glory that we render to it is not plural but one; because the honor rendered to the image passes on to the prototype.”²²⁸

The function of the icon, Philagathos stated, is not just to instruct and remind but to make present (ἐναργῶς βλέπειν) through sense perception (διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως) the drama of the incarnation. This doctrinal point made by amassing citations from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa about the function of the image corresponds to the theology of the icon as elaborated during the second iconoclasm.²²⁹ With the triumph of Orthodoxy the icon was reestablished as the appropriate mean for knowing, honoring, and making present the hidden God through his Incarnate Son. The same applies to speech and hearing, although the faculty of sight takes

²²⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica Magna*, 23, 18–28: ἐν ῥήματι μόνῳ καὶ ὁρμῇ τοῦ θελήματος παρ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένην, τὴν τε τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἀνάλυσιν, καὶ τὸν [κατὰ] τῶν δαιμόνων φόβον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα παθῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης πορείαν, οὐ διαχωροῦντος ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα τοῦ πελάγους καὶ τὸν πυθμένα γυμνοῦντος τοῖς παροδεύουσι κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μωυσέως θαυματουργίαν, ἀλλ’ ἄνω τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ὕδατος ὑποχερσουμένης τῇ βάσει καὶ διὰ τινος ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιτυπίας ὑπεριδούσης τὸ ἴχνος, τὴν τε τῆς τροφῆς ὑπεροψίαν ἐφ’ ὅσον βούλοιο καὶ τὰς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ δαψιλεῖς ἐστιάσεις τῶν ἐν πολλαῖς χιλιάσιν εὐωχομένων [...]. The same chapter from Nyssen’s oration inspired a refined set of antitheses from *Hom.* 79 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 692C–D); furthermore, in *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 493A–496A), Philagathos refers to the “ransom theory”, which Gregory of Nyssa exposed in this chapter from the *Oratio catechetica Magna*.

²²⁷ Jaś Elsner, “Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium,” *The Art Bulletin* 94 (2012), 379 and 382–383. For the period of Byzantine Iconoclasm see Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (c.680-850): The Sources, an Annotated Survey* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001 and *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); see also, Leslie Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).

²²⁸ Trans. Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, 30.

²²⁹ Cf. Jaś Elsner in “Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium” pointed out that during the Iconoclastic Controversy the theological discussion moved from questions pertaining to ontology (e.g. as the possibility of circumscribing the incarnate Christ in painting, the nature of the icon as idol or not) to epistemological issues “about how images may or may not be appropriate as a means for accessing the hidden God” (381); the author concluded that after 787 “iconoclasm was now wholly a debate about appropriate epistemology—about how the holy is to be known, worshiped, and approached” (p. 383).

precedence over hearing, a classical consideration informed by the ancient science of optics.²³⁰ John of Damascus most eloquently expressed this understanding. The written word and the material image are the two kinds of icons that sanctify our senses and “open the visceral body to discourse.”²³¹

I say that everywhere we use our senses to produce an image of the Incarnate God himself, and we sanctify the first of the senses (sight being the first of the senses), just as by words hearing is sanctified. For the image is a memory [ἀνάμνησις]. What the book does for those who understand letters, the image does for the illiterate; the word appeals to hearing, the image appeals to sight; it conveys understanding.²³²

For Philagathos, as a heir of this tradition, both image and words render present to our senses the entire *economy*. About the faculty of speech having the virtue of retrieving and reviving the events recounted in the gospel Philagathos writes in the homily “On the Widow’s Son.” After vividly speaking about the Resurrection of the widow’s son to the point of making the listeners’ eyes brimming with tears, Philagathos remarked: “to me the commemoration aroused such a description, so that I seemed to be present in that place, and behold the tragic events” (ὥς δοκεῖν παρεῖναι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ ὁρᾶν τὰ τοῦ δράματος).²³³

Philagathos’ statement that he seemed to behold the tragic events recalls the imaginative involvement achieved by the compositional exercise of *ekphrasis*. The ancient or Byzantine rhetoricians defined the exercise as “descriptive speech bringing the subject vividly (ἐναργῶς) before one’s eyes (ὅπ’ ὄψιν).”²³⁴ In fact, by claiming that his discourse made him feel as if he was witnessing the absent spectacle Philagathos describes the psychological effect of *enargeia*, the technical term used in the definitions of *ekphrasis* for describing the ability of speech or writing to convert listeners into ‘spectators.’ In order to move the audience and to make them feel the emotions befitting the events described, the speaker must himself be moved.²³⁵ Quintilian, in Book 6 of the *Institutio oratoria* begins his discussion of *enargeia* with the involvement of the speaker in the events he is relating. He draws an analogy with actors whom, he says, he has seen withdrawing from the stage in tears on account of their intense involvement in the story.²³⁶

²³⁰ Gervase Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 30; Bissera Pentcheva has particularly highlighted the importance of the science of optics and of the underlying theory of vision known as *extramission* for iconic thought. See for this Pentcheva, “The Performative Icon,” *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), 631–655.

²³¹ Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, 59.

²³² St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), 31.

²³³ *Hom.* 6, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40).

²³⁴ Cf. Aphthonios, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 36, 22–23 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 116); for the theory of *ekphrasis* in an ancient writing see Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); for the Byzantine rhetorical theory see Stratis Papaioannou, “Byzantine *Enargeia* and Theories of Representation,” *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (2011): 48–60.

²³⁵ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 90.

²³⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 6, 2, 27–28.

The origin of theories of *enargeia* clarify its function. Kathy Eden indicated that *enargeia* developed from forensic oratory as ‘the narrator set out to reproduce the vividness of ocular proof through language’ in the absence of physical verification.²³⁷ It aimed to achieve the unrealizable situation of a judge who was not merely hearing the events but even witnessing the facts unfolding before his eyes. Quintilian, in Book 8 of the *Institutio oratoria*, expressed this distinction by contrasting the plain statement of facts (*narratio*) with their vivid evocation which alone is thought effective for it triggers a sight in the mind. Quintilian considered it a great skill to be able to speak of a matter ‘so that it seems visible.’²³⁸ Scholars believe that the process of visualization implied in ancient rhetorical theory and expressed by the concept of *enargeia* was “far more widespread and developed among ancient audiences than among modern readers.”²³⁹

In this connection, it is worth noting that in Byzantine writing the stylistic quality of *enargeia* is augmented with a theological value. The term becomes synonymous with truth and the self-evidence of reality.²⁴⁰ Already in the patristic usage *enargeia* moves from the restricted domain of rhetorical composition into the vocabulary of metaphysics.²⁴¹ Thus in the *Suda*, the tenth-century dictionary, *enargeia* is treated in two separate entries, which convey both the stylistic quality of discourse and the philosophical meaning:

epsilon 1126:
Ἐνάργεια: ἡ τῶν λόγων λευκότης καὶ
φανότης.
“Enargeia: The whiteness and luminosity
of discourse.”

mu 761:
Μετ’ ἐναργείας: μετ’ ἀληθείας.
“With *enargeia*: With truth.”

The term is common in the *Homilies* of Philagathos for highlighting the visibility and truthfulness of the divine dispensation. In this sense, *enargeia* is associated with the mystery of the Cross prefigured in the story of David²⁴² and the appearance of the Lord after the Resurrection when the disciples gave him to eat “a piece of broiled fish and of a honeycomb.”²⁴³ In this context *enargeia* is the self-evidence of Lord’s Resurrection and of his divine *economy*:

But also perceive the type (εἶδος) of the food as a clearly visible (ἐναργὲς) proof (symbol/τεκμήριον) of the divine dispensation (οἰκονομίας), ‘a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb.’ [Lc. 24:42] ‘Fish’, on the one hand, because when he became man and shared in the sea that is our life he lived without tasting the saltiness of sin, in the manner of fish which remain unaffected by the salty sea; and on the other hand, ‘broiled’ because when flesh was united with the fire of

²³⁷ Kathy Eden, *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 72–73; cited in Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 89–90.

²³⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 8, 3, 62.

²³⁹ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 95.

²⁴⁰ Papaioannou, “Byzantine *Enargeia* and Theories of Representation,” 50–52.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, PG 132, coll. 748B); See also *Hom.* 4, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 28): Ἀλλὰ μικροῦ διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἱστορία Δαβὶδ, τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σταυρὸν μυστηρίου ἐναργῆς οὕσα προτύπως, ἣν παραδραμεῖν ἥκιστα θεμιτόν.

²⁴³ Luke 24: 42–3.

divinity it had nothing of the porous or moist aspects of our flabby existence. And besides, when he was dragged to the passion and received a myriad kind of offenses he was voiceless in the manner of a fish not contending nor opening his mouth, in accordance with the prophetic voice of Isaiah [Is. 53:7]. What then signified the honeycomb? Since he tasted gall when he was nailed to the cross [Mt. 27:34] he healed the pleasant sense of taste of our ancestor by the opposite bitterness, for he had fulfilled the entire dispensation (οικονομίαν) on behalf of our nature, having imparted us the illumination and the sweetness which the honey and the honeycomb given to the Lord to eat were a clearly visible image.²⁴⁴

Commenting on the Lukan passage, the homilist offers here a remarkable definition of economy as the assumption of the totality of human condition except for that of sin. For Philagathos, Christ came in the salty sea of life for healing the senses of man setting the model of redeemed affect and desire.

Then, *enargeia* is associated with the *parables* of the Lord. In the homily “On the Lawyer who Tempted the Lord” (the 8th Sunday of St. *Luke*) pronounced from the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of Rossano, Philagathos writes:

“A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he was attacked by robbers. They stripped him of his clothes, beat him and went away, leaving him half dead.” [Lc. 10:30] Observe how graphically (ἐναργῶς) the story depicted (ὑπεζωγράφησε) the fall, which we have suffered when we slipped out from the heavenly Jerusalem to lying near the ground and bending to the earth (for ‘Jericho’ signifies ‘near the ground’ and ‘descent’); the ancestor of our stock having descended hither and being stripped of the garment of incorruptibility by reason of his disobedience and having received many wounds from his sins, became entirely tarnished.²⁴⁵

Drawing an analogy with the visual arts as the usage of ‘ὑποζωγραφέω’ reveals, the preacher invites the audience to visualize the scene. For the parable is meant to render clearly visible (ἐναργῶς) the drama of man’s fall and redemption. This association between visual

²⁴⁴ *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, PG 132, coll. 748B–749B): “Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς βρώσεως ἐναργῆς τῆς οἰκονομίας τεκμήριον, ἰχθύος ὁπτοῦ μέρος, καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου. Ἰχθύος μὲν, ὅτι περ ἀνθρωπήσας, καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίου γενόμενος τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἀμαρτίας ἔμεινεν ἄγευστος, ὃν τρόπον ὁ ἰχθὺς τῆς θαλαττίας ἄλμης τηρεῖται ἀμέτοχος· ὁπτοῦ δὲ, ὅτι τῷ πυρὶ τῆς θεότητος ἐνωθεῖσα ἡ σὰρξ, οὐδὲν τι χαῦνον, καὶ ὑδερῶδες τοῦ πλαδαροῦ τοῦδε βίου ἐφέρετο. Καὶ μὴν πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἐλκόμενος, καὶ τὰ μύρια τῶν ὕβρεων εἶδη δεχόμενος, ἰχθύος τρόπον ἄφρονος ἦν οὐκ ἐρίζων, οὐδὲ κραυγάζων, οὐδὲ ἀνοίγων τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν προφητικὴν Ἡσαίου φωνήν. Τί δὲ τὸ κηρίον ἐδήλου τῶν μελισσῶν; Ἐπειδὴ χολῆς ἐγεύσατο, ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ προσεπὶ γυνυτο τὴν εὐήδονον τοῦ προπάτορος ἀλθαίνων γεῦσιν διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας πικρότητος, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πᾶσαν πεπληρωκῶς, λοιπὸν μεταδίδωσιν ἡμῖν φωτισμοῦ καὶ γλυκύτητος, ὧν ἐναργῇ σύμβολα τὸ μέλι, καὶ τὸ κηρίον βρώμα τῷ Κυρίῳ γενόμενα.

²⁴⁵ *Hom.* 12, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 80–81): «Ἀνθρωπὸς τις κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἱεριχὼ καὶ λησταῖς περιέπεσεν, οἱ καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ πληγὰς ἐπιθέντες ἀπῆλθον ἐάσαντες αὐτὸν ἡμιθανὴ τυγχάνοντα». Ἄθρει πῶς ἐναργῶς ὁ λόγος ὑπεζωγράφησε τὴν πτώσιν, ἣν δὴ πεπόνθαμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁνῶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὴν χθαμαλὴν καὶ κοίλην γῆν ὀλισθήσαντες (Ἱεριχὼ γὰρ χθαμαλὴ καὶ κατὰ βας ἐρμηνεύεται)· εἰς ἣν καταβάς τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὁ ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας διὰ παρακοῆς ἐκδυθεὶς καὶ πολλὰς δεξάμενος τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀμαρτίας πληγὰς, στιγματίας ὅλος ἐγένετο.

representations and verbal eloquence features prominently in Philagathos' *Homilies*. In the sermon "For the Holy Innocents" to the literary description of the massacre, the homilist associated the *ekphrasis* of a painting.²⁴⁶ Ultimately, this parallel goes back to Gregory of Nyssa's writings. About visual arts and faculty of speech Gregory explained: "painting, even if it is silent, is capable of speaking from the wall and being of the greatest benefit When scenes of martyrdom are painted on the walls of a church ... this is of the greatest benefit and is like writing."²⁴⁷

Overall, the usage of *enargeia* and the ekphrastic quality of Philagathos' sermons (more about this later) reveals the fusion of rhetorical artifice with the Christian message. the theological concept of *economy* substantiate unity. As Marie-José Mondzain put it: "the expenditure of holy eloquence and images that touch people is part of the direct effect of salvational economy. Here too, there is principle nonwastage: truths must no be dispensed through speech without art."²⁴⁸

1. The Drama of the Incarnation: *Economy* and Emotions

"In the past God spoke to our ancestors through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom also he made the universe." Hebrews 1: 1–2

Descriptions of bodily sensations and sense perception were important resources in Christian exegesis. Philagathos inherited this emphasis from patristic exegesis, but also drew extensively on the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus which undoubtedly represents a peculiar feature of this homiletic corpus. These descriptions aim is to achieve the dramatic reenactment of the events narrated in the Gospels being. For the emotions refer to *economy* (οἰκονομία), to the Christian dogma of the incarnation as the actualization of God's redemptive plan to the whole creation.

The theological notion of *economy* (οἰκονομία) denotes the progressive unfolding of the incarnational mystery, as divine pedagogy manifested in the former times in the Law and the Prophets and later in the fleshly appearance of the Word of God. Thus, the emphasis on emotions and sense perception is consequential to the drama of the Incarnation. For the word of God must embrace pleasure and pain, the specifics of the regimen of the flesh for accomplishing the redemption of human nature. Philagathos formulated the relation between Christ's redemptive plan and human senses in the homily on Lazarus. The preacher explained the unfolding of the events leading to Lazarus' Resurrection as part of Christ's strategy of making manifest the miracle to all human senses.

²⁴⁶ *Hom.* 24, 9–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 159–160); see below, Part II, chapter The Ekphrasis of the Painting of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents, " pp. 106–114.

²⁴⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio laudatoria sancti magni martyris Theodori*, PG 46, coll. 737D–740B; the text is cited in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 37; here, the translation is taken from Thomas Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 16.

²⁴⁸ Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy*, 59.

For that reason he commanded the men themselves to loose him when He said, “Loose him, and let him go,” [Jn. 11:44] that they may no longer be able to disbelieve [the Resurrection] upon having been assured through all of the senses. Through their own voice, by which they said when indicating the grave, “come and see,” [John 11: 34] through the sense of sight when they recognized the dead and beheld his Resurrection, through the sense of hearing when they listened the great and loud-sounding voice, “Lazarus, come forth,” [Jn. 11:43] through the sense of smell when they felt the foul odour when lifting the rock, through the sense of touch when they loose the bounded hands and feet, and by the cloth which wrapped his face [Jn. 11:44]. Therefore, that great voice signified the proclamation of the Gospel, through which the human nature bounded by hands and feet with the ropes of sins and lying down in the grave of unbelief came to the true life since the cloth from its eyes was stripped off, that is to say, that cloud which veiled the [sight] and *darkened the gleamings of the soul*, from which [the human nature] upon being released by the apostles and teachers was set free to pass over to the blessed life.²⁴⁹

This explanation underlines the exegetical attitude in the sermons centered on the vivid reenactment of the story of salvation. It may also stand as a theological justification for the preacher’s propensity for depicting the human passions (τὰ πάθη) and sensations throughout the sermons. Philagathos’ interpretation is common in patristic literature. Specifically, it comes close to John Chrysostom’s second homily on Lazarus. The actions Jesus did, Chrysostom explained, sought to provoke the bystanders to witness the miracle so that they may not be able to raise doubts about it. All their senses acquiesced the Resurrection of Lazarus. For their voice uttered ‘Come and see,’ [Jn. 11:34] their hands lifted the stone, and loosened the grave-clothes, their eyes saw Lazarus coming forth, then their ears heard His voice, and, finally, their smell perceived the foul smell, for Martha said, ‘Lord, by this time there is a stench, for he has been dead four days’ [cf. Jn. 11:33–41].²⁵⁰ Besides a possible *Chrysostomic* influence, the final section of the text carries the imprint of Michael Psellos’ oration for the beginning of Lent.²⁵¹ The

²⁴⁹ *Hom. 49* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 25*, PG 132, coll. 540B–C): Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους λῦσαι τὸν ἀναβεβιωκότα ἐπιτάττει εἰπών· «Λύσατε αὐτὸν, καὶ ἄφετε ὑπάγειν.» ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχῃσι βεβαιωθέντες διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων. Διὰ μὲν τῆς οἰκειᾶς φωνῆς, ἧς τὸν τάφον ὑποδεικνύντες ἔλεγον· «Ἐρχου καὶ ἴδε,» διὰ δὲ τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπεγνωκότες καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν θεασάμενοι, διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῆς μεγάλης καὶ γεγωνοτέρας ἐνωτισθέντες φωνῆς· «Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω,» διὰ τῆς ὁσφρήσεως τῆς δυσωδίας ἐν τῷ αἶρειν τὴν λίθον αἰσθόμενον, τῇ ἀφῇ, λύοντες τὸν δε δεδεμένον χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ σουδαρίῳ περικεκαλυμμένον τὸ πρόσωπον. Ἡ μεγάλη οὖν ἐκείνη φωνὴ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ἐσήμανε κήρυγμα, δι’ οὗ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἡ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας δεδεμένη ταῖς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σειραῖς, καὶ κειμένη ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπιστίας σορῷ, πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ μετῆλθε ζωὴν, περιαιρεθέντος τοῦ σουδαρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ **ἐπιπροσθοῦντος** νέφους, **καὶ ζοφοῦντος τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς**, ἀφ’ ὧν λυθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων, ἀφείθη πορευέσθαι πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν.

²⁵⁰ John Chrysostom, *In Joannem homilia LXIII*, PG 59, coll. 351.

²⁵¹ Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora, Oration 4*, 68–71 (ed. A. R. Littlewood): ὁρᾶτε γὰρ τουτὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν τὸ παχὺ καὶ ἀντίτυπον, τὸν **ἐπιπροσθοῦντα ζόφον τῆς ψυχῆς ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς**, ὕστερον προσυφανθὲν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ προσαρτηθὲν τῇ φύσει, βαρὺ καὶ βρῖθον ἐφόλκιον, ἀφ’ οὗ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς κακίας γευσάμενοι τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκλείσθημεν· “Behold this body of ours, the thick and the solid, the obstructing darkness for the gleamings of the soul, which at a later moment was interweaved with our souls and attached to our nature, a

depiction of human nature from Psellos' oration is in fact abundantly cited elsewhere in the *Homilies*.²⁵²

One of the most powerful passages on emotions from Philagathos' sermons is the understanding of Christ's economy as the overcoming of the regimen of pleasure and pain and the sanctification of the cosmos consummated by his nailing to the cross. Philagathos writes:²⁵³

[11.] The saying that "the Son of Man must be lifted up" *delivers [us] a twofold meaning*.²⁵⁴ [Jn. 3:14] the impalement in the height, which he received for our sake; for since the earth was sanctified by his undefiled feet through his walking and the sea by his stepping²⁵⁵ on the waves, in the same way he had to sanctify the air by his raising on the Cross. In the same way he reveals his majesty which was glorified on the Cross in respect of his human condition. For in which he seemed to be condemned, in that [i.e. the Cross] he condemns the ruler of this world for he was seen stronger than the passions by which man was ruled, that were pain and pleasure. For he has defeated pleasure on the mountain, neither making the rocks bread [Mt. 4:3], nor having yielded in the testing to the other counsels [Mt. 4:1–11]; yet he was seen as stronger than pain at the time of the Passion when the adversary pitted all against him. [12.] Traitor the disciple, fugitives the pupils, Peter denying, *swords and torches, chains and whips, blows on the cheeks, face spat upon, a wounded shoulder, treacherous spectators, wicked judgment, cruel decree, soldiers taking delight in their dark comment with mockery, sarcasm and strokes from a reed, nails, gall and vinegar* and finally the Cross; *Then, what*

heavy and laden bark, through which after having tasted from the tree of evil we have been excluded from the tree of life."

²⁵² Cf. *Hom.* 6, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44); *Hom.* 12, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81); *Hom.* 34, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 235); see below, Part III, chapter 1.2. Embodiment and Human Nature," pp. 193–195.

²⁵³ *Hom.* 3, 11–13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 21–22): [11.] Τὸ δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διττὸν ὠδίνει τὸν νοῦν· τὴν τε εἰς ὕψος ἀνασκολόπισιν, ἣν δι' ἡμᾶς κατεδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἔδει, ἀγιασθείσης τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ ποδῶν διὰ τοῦ βαδίσματος, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων πεζεύσεως, ἀγιασθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀέρα διὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ ἀνυψώσεως· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ἐδοξάσθη διὰ Σταυροῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἔδοξε κατακριθῆναι, ἐν αὐτῷ κατακρίνει τὸν κοσμοκράτορα, κρείττων ὀφθεὶς τῶν παθῶν ὑφ' ὧν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεκράτητο· τάδ' ἦσαν λύπη καὶ ἡδονή. Ὡν τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν ἐν τῷ ὄρει νενίκηκε, μήτε τοὺς λίθους ἀρτοποιήσας, μήτε ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις συμβουλίαις πεισθεὶς τῷ πειράζοντι· λύπης δὲ κρείττων ὤφθη μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν, τοῦ ἀντιπάλου κατ' αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν πάντα ἐκπολεμώσαντος. [12.] Προδότης ὁ μαθητής, φυγάδες οἱ φοιτηταί, ἔξαρνος ὁ Πέτρος, *μάχαιραι* καὶ *δᾶδες* καὶ *ξύλα* καὶ *φάσγανα*, *σαγόνες* *ράπιζόμεναι*, *πρόσωπον ἐμπυρόμενον*, *νώτος πληγαῖς ἐκδιδόμενος*, *μάρτυρες ψευδεῖς*, *κριτήριον ἀσεβές*, *ἀπόφασις ἀπηνής*, *στρατιῶται κατατροφῶντες τῆς σκθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως ἐν χλευασμοῖς καὶ εἰρωνείαις καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐκ καλάμου πληγαῖς, ἥλοι καὶ χολή καὶ ὄξος*, καὶ τελευταῖον Σταυρός. *Τίς οὖν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιοῦντων ἢ ἄμυνα;* «*Πάτερ, συγχώρησον αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν*». Οὕτω καὶ τὴν λύπην μακροθυμία νικήσας καταστρατηγεῖ τὸν ἀντίπαλον, τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ νίκης τὸν τρόπον ὁδοποιήσας ἡμῖν. [13.] Τῇ γὰρ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀποχῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς λυποῦντας *πραότητι καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ* μιμηταὶ τοῦ Δεσπότης γινόμεθα, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ νίκης ἐπαθλὸν κομιζόμεθα τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

²⁵⁴ The formulation (διττὸν ὠδίνει τὸν νοῦν) is reminiscent of Cyril of Alexandria's writings; see for instance *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 1, 25, 6: Ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος διττὴν ὠδίνει τὴν θεωρίαν. Id., *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 517, 11: Διττὴν ὠδίνει ταυτὶ τὴν διάνοιαν. See also id., *Commentarii in Joannem*, 2, 393, 2: καὶ διττὴν ὁ λόγος ὠδίνει τὴν ἔννοιαν. Philagathos may have borrowed this formulation from Cyril's commentaries; noteworthy, Cyril's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* features prominently among Philagathos' sources.

²⁵⁵ Noteworthy the word πέζευσις 'stepping' is a hapax.

requital for those perpetrating these? “Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing” [Lc. 23:34]. Therefore, in this way having defeated pain by his endurance, he overcame the adversary making ready the way for us by his victory against him. For by the flight from pleasure and by the meekness and patience with respect to those who grieve us we become imitators of Christ and acquire the kingdom of heaven as reward over the victory against evil.

For Philagathos as for the entire Christian tradition the cross embraces and sanctifies all Creation in God’s creative and redemptive economy. Yet, the homilist portrays the scandal of the cross in terms of Christ’s mastering the emotions of pleasure and pain. That man was ruled by pleasure and pain corresponds to the ascetic mindset as typified for instance in the Evagrian corpus. For Evagrius most *logismoi* presuppose the workings of pleasure or the oscillation between pain and pleasure.²⁵⁶ At the same time the passage reveals the homilist’s florilegic habit by the appropriation of a rethorical enumeration about the passion of the Saviour from Gregory of Nyssa’s *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*.²⁵⁷

At the summit of the drama of redemption stands the mystery of the Resurrection. All Christ’s salvific actions are a preparation and a leading up to the acceptance of this mystery. In this manner following the Fathers, Philagathos explains “the dispensation (οἰκονομία) of our God and Saviour:”²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Kevin Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory of Nyssa: Mind, Soul and Body in the 4th Century* (Farnham: Ashgate 2009), 76.

²⁵⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, GNO 8, 1, 196–197: Μάθετε γάρ, φησίν, ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρῶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ. ἕτερον χρῶμα ἢ μακροθυμία ἢ ποσῶς τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου ἐπιφανεῖσα. **μάχαιρά τε καὶ ξύλα καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ μαστιγες, σιαγόνες ραπιζόμεναι, πρόσωπον ἐμπυτόμενον, νῶτον πληγαῖς ἐκδιδόμενον, κριτήριον ἀσεβές, ἀπόφασις ἀπηνής, στρατιῶται τῆς σκυθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως κατατρυφῶντες, ἐν χλευασμοῖς καὶ εἰρωνεῖαις καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐκ καλάμου πληγαῖς, ἦλοι καὶ χολή καὶ ὄξος** καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότερα ἄνευ αἰτίας αὐτῷ προσαγόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πολυτρόπου εὐεργεσίας ἀντιδιδόμενα. **τίς οὖν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων ἢ ἄμυνα; Πάτερ, συγχώρησον αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσι.** μὴ οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν ἄνωθεν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν ἐπιρῆξαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ χάσματι γῆς ἐξαφανίσει τοὺς ὕβριστάς ἢ ἐπεκβαλεῖν ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τοῖς βυθοῖς ποιῆσαι τὴν γῆν ὑποβρύχιον ἢ τὴν Σοδομικὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπομβρίαν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν σκυθρωπῶν ποιῆσαι διὰ προστάγματος; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἤνεγκεν **ἐν προῳότητι καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ** ὁ τῷ σῶ βίῳ δι’ ἐαυτοῦ νομοθετῶν τὸ μακρόθυμον. οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα περὶ τὴν πρωτότυπον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, πρὸς ἣν ὁ βλέπων καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνην ἐναργῶς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καλλωπίζων μορφήν εἰκὼν καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ζωγραφούμενος.

²⁵⁸ *Hom.* 6, 3–4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 38): «Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐπορεύετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Ναῖν». Ἐπειδήπερ ἡμῖν εἰς διδασκαλίαν πρόκειται σήμερον ἢ τοῦ ἀναβεβιωκότος ἐν τῇ πόλει Ναῖν νεανίου ὑπόθεσις (ταύτην γὰρ ὁ ἱερὸς Λουκᾶς ἀφηγήσατο), φέρε ζητήσωμεν πρότερον τί βούλεται τῷ Σωτῆρι τῶν νεκρῶν ἢ ἀνάστασις. Εἰ γὰρ πεπίστευται ὡς ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ τῶν φθαρτῶν καὶ γηϊνῶν πρὸς ἀπαθὴ ζῶην μετὰγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον (φιλανθρωπία γὰρ γέγονεν ἢ διὰ θανάτου τιμωρία κατὰ τὴν Θεολόγου φωνήν, τὴν προσαφθεῖσαν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν ἀλόγων φύσιν ἀποκαθαίρουσα), τίς ἄρα εὐεργεσία τὸν ἅπαξ λυθέντα τῆς ἐπιπόνου ταύτης ζωῆς αὐθις ἐπανάγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολυπαθὴ βιοτήν; Φαμέν τοίνυν, πατρικαῖς ἀκολουθοῦντες φωναῖς, ὡς οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἦν ἔργοις πιστώσασθαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἵνα μὴ διὰ λόγων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἔργων ἀποδείχῃ. [4.] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ πίστιν ἦν τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, διὰ τῶν κατωτέρω ἀρξάμενος, ἡρέμα πως τὴν πίστιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσερεθίζει τοῖς μερίζοσι, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν μειρακίων διδάσκαλοι καταλλήλως τοὺς διδασκομένους ἀνάγοντες, τέως μὲν ἀπλᾶ τὰ στοιχεῖα διδάσκουσι, προεθισθέντα δὲ τὰς συλλαβὰς ἐκπαιδεύουσι καὶ οὕτω ἐπὶ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀνάγουσιν. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρότερον μὲν τὰς νόσους θεραπεύει καὶ φυγαδεύει δαιμόνια, εἶτα τὴν ἴασιν δίδωσι τοῖς βεβλαμμένοις τὰ αἰσθητήρια· μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ὑγίαν χαρίζεται τοῖς διὰ νόσων ἀπεγνωσμένοις τῷ θανάτῳ γειννάσασιν, ὡς τῇ τοῦ Πέτρου πενθερᾷ καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου παιδί. Οὕτω προοδοποιήσας τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὸ μυστήριον, διὰ τοῦ παρόντος θαύματος ἀνακαλύπτει τοῦτο τρανώτερον.

In that time He went into a city called Nain” [Lc. 7:11]. Since today it is set before us for teaching the story about the young man raised from the dead in the city of Nain (as holy Luke narrated this), let us first inquire what purpose has the Resurrection of the dead for the Saviour. For if it is believed that death carries man from the perishable and earthly existence to the life unaffected by passion (for the punishment of death became a benefaction to man according to the Theologian’s saying, having purified human nature from the irrational parts attached to the soul),²⁵⁹ then, what benefit is to bring back anew the one who was once loosened from this existence of toil to the life permeated with much suffering? Well then, following the precepts of the Fathers we say that this was the dispensation of [our] God and Saviour to made by works the Resurrection trustworthy, so that it may be made known not only by words, but by deeds as well. Well, since the miracle of the Resurrection was mighty and beyond faith (ὕπερ πίστιν), he incites gradually the faith of man for the greater things beginning with the lower actions, just as the teachers of the pupils are leading them up in orderly fashion; for a time they teach them the single letters, then they acquaint them with the syllables and in this way they lead them up to words (λέξεις) and phrases (λόγους). Just so the Lord first heals illnesses and chases away demons, then imparts healing to those crippled as regards their organs of sense; after these, he gives freely health to those on the verge of death because of some incurable sicknesses, as with Peter’s mother-in-law [Mt. 8:14; Lc. 4:38–40] and the centurion’s servant. [Mt. 8:5–13; Lc. 7:1–10] Having prepared beforehand the mystery of Resurrection in this way by the present miracle he reveals this more clearly.

But *economy* also concerns the display of rhetoricity in relation to the drama of salvation. Since Christ assumed flesh in the womb of Mary for humanity’s sake, divine truth could be expressed in language intelligible to any man. The *economic* principle looks over rhetoric as an instrument of pedagogy.²⁶⁰ From this perspective, Marie-José Mondzain argued, “rhetoric is a secondary effect of the economy, not the reverse.”²⁶¹ In the words of St. John Chrysostom, the word is the only remedy for salvation: “nay there is but one method and way of healing appointed, after we have gone wrong, and that is, the powerful application of the Word. This is the one instrument, the only diet, the finest atmosphere. This takes the place of physic, cautery and cutting, and if it be needful to sear and amputate, this is the means which we must use, and if this be of no avail, all else is wasted.”²⁶²

Philagathos understands Christ’s redemptive work as pedagogy about the proper display of emotions. The token of perfection is love (ἀγάπη), which Christ revealed by his death on the

²⁵⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 38, 12, PG 36, coll. 336.

²⁶⁰ For an excellent exposition of this concept see Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy: the Byzantine Origins of the Contemporary Imaginary* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 11–66.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 13: “The great novelty of the patristic economy is to have abandoned the word *rhetoric*, which for the church fathers designated nothing more than a species of an infinitely larger genus: the manifestation of truth in life. Rhetoric no longer reduces to modes of reasoning and tropes of speech: once it has become economy, it concerns the tropes of our relation with the Logos of God, who is its model.”

²⁶² John Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood*, 4, 3 (trans. W. R. W. Stephens, in *NPNF* 1/IX, 70).

cross. As Paul Blowers recently put it for the entire patristic tradition “the triune Creator premeditated the utility of death not only for fulfilling his punitive purposes against sin but for revealing the depth of his sacrificial love for creation, as the divine freedom to create was constrained solely by the Creator’s boundless love.”²⁶³ Philagathos details this teaching in the homily “For the Eleventh *Eothinon*,” which contains an extensive reflection on the distinction between *philia* and *agape*. The preacher comments on the fickleness of human nature, typified by Peter, which Christ teaches how to control his improper desires and emotions by using irony:

“Simon, son of Jonah, do you love (ἀγαπᾷς) Με?” Since in the farewell address he commanded them many things concerning love (ἀγάπης) [Jn. 13:34–35], that this is the token of perfection, to lay down *your life for your friends* [Jn. 15:13], the very thing which Christ fulfilled, but which Peter denied being seized by fear, for this reason he skilfully uses such irony (κατειρωνεύεται) towards Peter since he did not guard the distinctive feature of love. For by the saying, “more than these” [Jn. 21:15], he indirectly reminds him of that over-bold tongue, which at the time of the passion boasted: “And even if others are made to stumble [Mark 14:29], I will lay down my life for Your sake” [Jn. 13:37]. Therefore, he says, do you venture even now to pride yourself that “You love Me (ἀγαπᾷς) more than these?” [Jn. 21:15] Then, what [does] Peter? He neither denies that he loves him (ἀγαπᾷν), nor does he confess it boldly, but he accommodates the answer to the [weakness of the human] nature, and says: “Yes, Lord; You know that I love You with affection (φιλω̃).” [Jn. 21:15] In this way from what he suffered, he learned. In this way, the discomfiture made him tested, inasmuch as he is not longer emboldened by every desire but made aware of the weakness of [human] nature. “For the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.” [Mt. 26:41] For he sets before as witness to his reasoning that he loves him with affection (φιλεῖ): “Lord, You know that I love You with affection (φιλω̃).”²⁶⁴

The distinction between *philia* and *agape* which the homily addresses is difficult to render into English as the occurrences of these terms in the Gospel pericope [i.e. Jn. 21:15–18] are generally translated by the all-embracing ‘love.’ Philagathos reads the dialogue between Christ and Peter after the Resurrection as a textual pun meant to affirm the distinctive and

²⁶³ Paul Blowers, *Drama of Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology and Piety* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 309.

²⁶⁴ Philagathos, *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 705B–705C): «Σίμων Ἰωνᾶ, ἀγαπᾷς με;» Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς συντακτηρίοις λόγοις, πολλὰ περὶ ἀγάπης αὐτοῖς ἐνετειλάτο, ὅτι τῆς τελείας τοῦτο ἐστὶ γνώρισμα, τὸ θεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ Χριστὸς μὲν ἐπλήρωσεν, ὁ Πέτρος δὲ ὑποτρέσας ἠρνήσατο, διὰ τοῦτο εὐφυῶς τοῦ Πέτρου οἶον κατειρωνεύεται· ὡς τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἴδιον μὴ φυλάξαντος. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· «Πλεῖον τούτων,» πλαγίως πως ἀναμνήσκει αὐτὸν τῆς θρασείας ἐκείνης φωνῆς, ἣν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν ἐκαυχῆσατο· «Κἂν τινες σκανδαλισθῇσονται, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν μου ὑπὲρ σοῦ θήσω.» Ἄρα οὖν, φησὶ, θαρσεῖς καὶ νῦν ἐγκαυχῆσασθαι, ὡς «Πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαπᾷς με; » Τί οὖν ὁ Πέτρος; Οὐτ’ ἀναίνεται ἀγαπᾷν, οὔτε θρασέως ὁμολογεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει μετρεῖ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ φησιν· «Ναὶ Κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλω̃ σε.» Οὕτως ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν, ἔμαθεν· οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡ ἡττα πεποίηκε δόκιμον, ὥστε μὴ παντὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς προθυμίᾳ θαρρῆναι, ἀλλ’ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν· «Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἢ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.» [Matthew 26: 41] Μάρτυρα δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὅτι φιλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον παρίστησι· «Κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλω̃ σε.»

superior quality of love as *agape* over *philia*. The preacher stresses this difference by depicting the emotions that seized Peter when confronted by Christ.²⁶⁵

«He said to him the third time, “Simon, son of Jonah, do you love Me (φιλεῖς)?”» [Jn. 21: 17] He changed the third question, for he did neither say “Do you love Me,” nor did he add “more [than these],” but “be it so, He says, since you do not confess to love [Me] (ἀγαπᾶν), but [only] to regard Me with affection (φιλεῖν);” and Jesus marked in this wise his affectionate regard (φιλίαν) for him: «Tend My sheep. Peter was grieved because He said to him the third time, “Do you love Me with affection (φιλεῖς)?”» The thing, which prompted Peter to be grieved, was the negation [implied in] the third question and the change of the question. For indeed by the questioning he was reminded of his third denial. Indeed, Peter was grieved, because for the first and for the second time he was tested whether he loves him (ἀγαπῶν), yet for the third time whether he regards him with affection (φιλοῖν), which was inferior to love (ἀγάπη). Thrown into disorder for he did not think at all that he loves with affection, for the circumstances surrounding the time and the events [i.e. of the Passion] would have exposed him that he did not love Christ with affection. Therefore, he entrusted everything to him who knows the secrets of the heart and said: “Lord, You know all things; You know that I love You with affection (φιλω).” [Jn. 21:17] You, he says, o Lord, equally know the future through the past, [but] you do not ignore the eagerness of my soul; truly then, you know that as much as my strength could carry me I was devoted to loving you (φιλίας). But, if yet again the natural weakness is going to trouble me, this is also known to you alone.”

Undoubtedly, the usage of dialogue and monologue underlines the vividness of the events recounted. Philagathos extends the dialogue between Peter and Jesus as the homilist imagines what else might have been said between them. He often resorted to this strategy for achieving a dramatic effect in the homilies.²⁶⁶

Besides the doctrine of love, Christ teaches the proper display of grief. Sorrow is a frequent emotion mentioned in homiletic writing in connection with Christ. For an important scriptural episode about pain and grief features Jesus’ weeping at Lazarus’s grave in John 11. As may be expected, this episode prompted much interpretation. Philagathos writes about the

²⁶⁵ Philagathos, *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 712C–713B): «Λέγει αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον· Σίμων Ἰωνᾶ, φιλεῖς με;» Παρήλλαξε τὴν τρίτην ἐρώτησιν· οὕτε γὰρ «Ἀγαπᾶς με» εἶπεν, οὕτε «Πλεῖον» προσέθηκεν, ἀλλ’ εἶεν, φησί· ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλὰ φιλεῖν· καὶ οὕτω τὴν φιλίαν ἐπίδειξαι· «Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου. Ἐλυπήθη ὁ Πέτρος ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον, Φιλεῖς με;» Τὸ πείσαν τὸν Πέτρον λυπηθῆναι, ἢ ἐκ τρίτου ἄρνησις ἦν, καὶ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς ἐρωτήσεως. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἐρωτηθῆναι, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῆς τρίτης ἤλθεν ἄρνήσεως. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ πρώτον μὲν καὶ δευτέρον ἐτασθῆναι εἰ ἀγαπῶν, τὸ τρίτον δὲ εἰ φιλοῖν, ὅπερ τῆς ἀγάπης ἕλαττον ἦν, ἐλυπήθη· θορυβηθεὶς μὲν μὴ πως αὐτὸς οἶεται φιλεῖν, καιροῦ δὲ καὶ πραγμάτων περιστάσις ἐλέγξει τοῦτον, ὥς οὐ φιλεῖ. Ἀνατίθην οὖν ἅπαντα αὐτῷ τῷ εἰδότε τὰ κρύφια, καὶ φησι· «Κύριε, σὺ πάντα οἶδας, σὺ γινώσκεις ὅτι φιλω σε.» Σὺ, φησὶν, ὦ Δέσποτα, ἐπίσης τῷ παρωχηκότι τὸ μέλλον ἐπίστασαι, σὺ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς τῆς διανοίας τὸ πρόθυμον· ἀλλ’ οἶδας, ὥς ὅσον εἰς ἰσχὺν ἤκεν ἐμὴν τῆς σῆς φιλίας ἐξήρηται· εἰ δ’ ἔτι πάλιν καὶ σύμφυτος ἀσθένεια περικραδανθῇ, καὶ τοῦτό σοι μόνῳ γνωστόν.

²⁶⁶ See below, chapter Narrativity and Dramatization,” 63–68.

episode in his homily on Lazarus emphasizing like most other homilists writing on this subject the manifestation of Christ's human nature by the display of emotions and his self-control.²⁶⁷

“‘Therefore, when Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who came with her weeping, He groaned in the spirit and was troubled.’ [Jn. 11:33]. For just as he was truly God, in this wise he was truly man, and he showed forth in accordance with the accommodation [to human nature] all those emotions within us which are deprived of sin; he was not overcome by them ever yet, but only when, in which place and as much as he wanted. As his sacred flesh is troubled and inclines toward grief, he does not allow it to become overwhelmed by the emotion of his sorrow, but he censures it by the strength of the Holy Spirit, and in a manner reproves it, for this is the signification of ‘He was troubled;’ and he leads back [the emotion] to its proper measure, which was to weep gently and showed the self control befitting the human nature. He did not lament, but wept; for with weeping a loud cry is yoked together. Therefore, He wept, because he does not deny the likeness with the human nature, but blends humanity with the divine. And indeed, he wept like a man, furnishing us an example and marking out to what extent one should indulge in piteous wailing and shed tears for the departed.”

«Ἰησοῦς οὖν ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν κλαίουσαν καὶ τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους κλαίοντας, ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν». Ἐπειδὴ, ὥσπερ ἀληθῶς ἦν θεὸς, οὐπω καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν ἀδιαβλήτων εἰσὶ παθῶν συγκαταβατικῶς ὑπεδέξατο, οὐ μὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡττητο πώποτε, ἀλλ’ ὅτε, καὶ ὅπου, καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐβούλετο. Ταρассομένης δὴ οὖν καὶ νευούσης πρὸς λύπην τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς, οὐκ ἀφίησιν τῷ τῆς λύπης πάθει γενέσθαι κατάφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος δυνάμει ἐπιτιμᾷ ταύτη, καὶ ἐπιπλήττει τρόπον τινά· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τό· «Ἐνεβριμήσατο» καὶ μετάγει πρὸς τὸ μέτριον, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ ἡρέμα δακρῦσαι, καὶ ὅσον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐνδείξασθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἔκλαυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐδάκρυσεν· τῷ γὰρ κλαυθμῷ συνέζευκται τις ὁλολυγῇ· ἐδάκρυσεν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀρνεῖται τὴν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὁμοιότητα, ἀλλὰ μίγνυσι τοῖς θεϊκοῖς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Καὶ ὡς μὲν ἄνθρωπος δακρῦει, τύπον παρέχον ἡμῖν, καὶ μέτρον ὀρίζων πόσου δεῖ ἐπικλᾶσθαι πρὸς οἶκτον καὶ τοῖς κειμένοις ἐπιστάζειν τὸ δάκρυον·

Philagathos explains that by showing restraint in his expression of sorrow, Christ imparts to us the rightful manner of weeping. He conforms here to an important preoccupation of Christian writers for confining gestures of uncontrolled grief. For violent grief remained a lasting vestige in the funeral rituals of lamentation.²⁶⁸ Most vehement of all, John Chrysostom denounced the practice: “Dost thou pluck thy hair, and rend thy garments, and wail loudly, and join the dance, and keep throughout a resemblance to Bacchanalian women, and dost thou not think that thou art offending God? What madness is this? Will not the heathen laugh? Will they not deem our

²⁶⁷ *Hom.* 49 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 529D–532B).

²⁶⁸ See for this Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2002), 27–35.

doctrines fables? They will say, ‘There is no Resurrection – the doctrines of the Christians are mockeries, trickery, and contrivance.’²⁶⁹ Henry Maguire considered John Chrysostom to be the source for Philagathos’ exposition.²⁷⁰ Indeed, Philagathos’ remarks share similar features with John Chrysostom’s exegesis of the episode. Much the same Chrysostom wrote: “He wept, and is troubled; for grief is wont to stir up the feelings. Then rebuking those feelings...he restrained his agitation, and so asks: ‘Where have you laid him?’”²⁷¹ Notwithstanding these similarities, Philagathos’ passage is actually modelled on Cyril of Alexandria’s explanation of Christ’s weeping as can be observed below:²⁷²

«Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν κλαίουσαν καὶ τοὺς συνεληλυθότας αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους κλαίοντας, ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ εἶπε Ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν;» Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ Θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς, πάσχει μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· ἀρχομένης δὲ πῶς ἐν αὐτῷ κινεῖσθαι **τῆς λύπης, καὶ νεύουσης ἤδη πρὸς τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἁγίας σαρκὸς, οὐκ ἀφίησιν αὐτὴν τοῦτο παθεῖν** ἐκλύτως, καθάπερ ἔθος ἡμῖν. ἐμβριμᾶται δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, τουτέστι **τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιπλήττει τρόπον τινὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκί·** ἡ δὲ, τὸ τῆς ἐνωθείσης αὐτῇ θεότητος οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα κίνημα, τρέμει τε καὶ θορύβου πλάττεται σχῆμα. τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι σημαίνειν τὸ Ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτόν· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐτέρως ὑπομείνῃ θόρυβον; ταραχθήσεται γεμὴν κατὰ τῖνα τρόπον ἢ ἀθόλωτος ἀεὶ καὶ γαληνιώσα φύσις; ἐπιτιμᾶται τοῖνον ἢ σὰρξ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἰδίαν διδασκομένη φρονεῖν.²⁷³

The preacher’s emphasis on emotions springs foremost from Christ’s incarnational *economy*. They are an integral part of the doctrinal message conveyed by the sermons. Through emotions, Christ exposes the frailty of human condition, the liability to passions, suffering, to grief and sorrow. Christ himself played out completely the drama of human suffering by submitting to human emotions and at last to death itself in his crucifixion. Preeminently at the time of the Passion, Philagathos explains, Christ proved “stronger than the emotions by which man was ruled, that were pain and pleasure.” By his submission, Christ taught men to overcome the emotions caused by pleasure and pain. By laying down his life, he showed them “the token of perfection” as ἀγάπη (*Hom.* 80: τῆς τελείας τοῦτό ἐστι γνῶρισμα).

²⁶⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem homiliae*, *Hom.* 62, PG 59, coll. 346 (trans. Charles Marriott in *NPNF* 1/XIV, 14).

²⁷⁰ Henry Maguire, “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” 143.

²⁷¹ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem homiliae*, *Hom.* 63, PG 59, coll. 350.

²⁷² Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem*, 2, 279–280.

²⁷³ “Then, when Mary came where Jesus was, and saw Him, she fell down at His feet, saying to Him, ‘Lord, if You had been here, my brother would not have died.’ [Jn. 11:32] Now since Christ was not only God by Nature, but also Man, He suffers in common with the rest that which is human; and when grief begins somehow to be stirred within Him, and His Holy Flesh now inclines to tears, He does not allow it to indulge in them without restraint, as is the custom with us. But ‘He groans in the spirit,’ that is, in the power of the Holy Spirit He reproves in some way His Own Flesh: and That, not being able to endure the action of the Godhead united with It, trembles and presents the appearance of trouble. For this I think to be the signification of ‘He was troubled;’ for how otherwise could He endure trouble? Shall that Nature which is ever undisturbed and calm be troubled in any way? The flesh therefore is reproved by the Spirit, being taught to feel things beyond its own nature” (trans. Thomas Randell, 121–122).

Then, the miracles Christ performed made plain the drama of salvation as unfolding within the horizon of human senses. In this manner, Philagathos pictured the Resurrection of Lazarus. For the foul odour which emerged when the rock of Lazarus' grave was lifted, the cloth which wrapped his face, the loud-sounding voice, "Lazarus, come forth" which Christ uttered in front of the tomb, pointed to all human senses. Besides, Christ himself acted as a teacher of emotions. By weeping gently over the death of Lazarus (*hom.* 49: τὸ ἡρέμα δακρῦσαι) Christ revealed to men the decorous display of grief and sorrow. By submitting to death — even death on a cross Christ triumphed over 'the emotions by which man was ruled, that were pain and pleasure.'

2. Narrativity and Dramatization

Speech is a powerful lord, that
with the smallest and most invisible body
accomplishes most god-like works.
It can banish fear and remove grief and
instill pleasure and enhance pity.
Gorgias, *Helen*, 8²⁷⁴

The Christian message is fleshed out as a story. Despite the ostensible simplicity of this observation, the configuration of Christianity as narrative is considered paramount for the diffusion of Christianity.²⁷⁵ In fact, the narrativity of the biblical text has been at the forefront of discussion in the scholarship on the Gospels in the past decades.²⁷⁶ “Scripture does not state its doctrine as doctrine,” writes Buber, “but by telling a story, and without exceeding the limits set by the nature of the story.”²⁷⁷ Considerations on this linguistic form have highlighted the ubiquity of narrative as the universal code of giving meaning to the world. “To raise the question of the nature of narrative,” writes Hayden White, “is to invite reflection on the very nature of culture and, possibly, even on the nature of humanity itself. So natural is the impulse to narrate, so inevitable is the form of narrative for any report on the way things really happened, that narrativity could appear problematical only in a culture in which it was absent – or, as in some domains of contemporary Western intellectual and artistic culture, programmatically refused.”²⁷⁸

For Byzantine texts, Scripture is the implied ‘narrative.’ As one scholar explained, all the literary traditions the Byzantines inherited (e.g. the Homeric epic or the Greek tragedy, the novelistic writing, etc.) were grafted into “[t]he best known and most vital story, the narrative governing all other narratives, that of divine Providence, a story with an acknowledged beginning, middle, and, quite significantly, an inexorable end.”²⁷⁹ In relation to this story of salvation is in fact measured the originality of the Byzantine sermon.²⁸⁰ For, the dependence of

²⁷⁴ Gorgias, *Helen*, 8 (trans. George Kennedy, in *Readings from Classical Rhetoric*, eds. Patricia P. Matsen, Philip Rollinson, Marion Sousa, Southern Illinois University Press, 1990, 35).

²⁷⁵ The significance of the narrative aspect for Christian religion is underscored by Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 89: “Christianity was a religion with a story. Indeed, it possessed several different kinds of stories. But two were preeminent: Lives, biographies of divine or holy personages; and Acts, records of their doings, and often of their deaths. Narrative is at their very heart; for whatever view one takes of the evolution of the Gospels, the remembered events and sayings from the life of Jesus were in fact strung together in a narrative sequence and ever afterward provided both a literary and a moral pattern.”

²⁷⁶ The scholarship on the subject is immense as it represents the preoccupation of Redaction Criticism (Redaktionsgeschichte), Reader-Response Criticism or Narratology (etc.); see for instance the volume edited by Frank McConnell, *The Bible and the Narrative Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

²⁷⁷ Martin Buber, *On the Bible: Eighteen Studies*, ed. Nahum Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 30.

²⁷⁸ Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality,” in *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 8.

²⁷⁹ Emmanuel Bourbouhakis and Ingela Nilsson, “Byzantine Narrative: The Form of Storytelling in Byzantium,” in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 264.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Mary Cunningham, “Innovation or Mimesis in Byzantine Sermons?” in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. R. Littlewood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), 76; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Divine Rhetoric. The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther* (Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), 31–32.

the homily on the biblical text enables the modern commentator to observe the continuities and changes in the treatment of a parable or miracle story across the centuries.

A much-loved technique in Byzantine homiletic writing for achieving vividness and emotional effectiveness is the usage of monologue and dialogue. Significant scholarly attention has been devoted to this aspect in recent years. In particular, Marry Cunningham laid emphasis on the originality achieved by Byzantine homilists through this rhetorical device.²⁸¹ According to Cunningham, “[t]he use of dialogue enhances the authority of the preacher as he reveals his ability to interpret and even paraphrase biblical readings. Furthermore, dialogue may function as a method for conveying doctrinal teaching to the congregation in a way that, like artistic depictions of festal scenes, is vivid and easy to understand.”²⁸² Scholars have sometimes described the sermons that contain dialogues as ‘dramatic’ and associated them with a postulated Byzantine tradition of liturgical drama.²⁸³ However, their ‘dramatic’ quality does not account for a staged, sacred drama but merely attests the continuity of rhetorical education in Byzantium.²⁸⁴ Passages of dialogue in sermons were in fact derived from the utilization of *ethopoiia*, a rhetorical tool concerned with “the imitation of the character of a proposed speaker” by imagining what would the person say in a certain context.²⁸⁵

Philagathos appealed to this rhetorical device for reviving and making present the stories narrated in the Gospel. An example for this is the homily about “the Man Healed at the Pool of Bethesda.” The homilist dramatizes the conversation of Jesus with the sick man:

And first he puts to test his patient endurance and says: “Do you want to be made well?” [Jn. 5:6], and the sick man: “Sir, I have no man to put me into the pool when the water is stirred up.” [Jn. 5:7] Listen to the response of a simple man. **He was not angry at the question, nor did he say:** What do you mean, sir? You are looking at someone who has been paralysed for thirty eight years [cf. Jn. 5:5] and is still waiting, and are you mocking me when you ask this absurd question? “Do you want to be made well?” Nothing of the kind did the man utter: “for, if I had not wished, I would not have come here.” But the Lord asks him forbearingly and

²⁸¹ In particular, Marry Cunningham analyzed this feature of Byzantine homiletics; see Cunningham, “Innovation or *Mimesis* in Byzantine Sermons?”, 69–71; ead., “Andreas of Crete’s Homilies on Lazarus and Palm Sunday: the Preacher and his Audience,” *SP* 31 (1997): 22–26; ead., “Andrew of Crete: A High-Style Preacher of the Eighth Century,” in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Marry B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 280–281; for the narrative techniques of the Christian literature see Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, 89–119.

²⁸² Mary Cunningham, “Dramatic Device or Didactic Tool? The Function of Dialogue in Byzantine Preaching,” in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (London: Ashgate, 2003), 113.

²⁸³ George La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX, con Rapporti al Teatro Sacro d’Occidente*, Grotteferrata: “St. Nilo,” 1912; id., “The Byzantine Theatre,” *Speculum* 11 (1936): 171–211.

²⁸⁴ Andrew Walker White, *The Artifice of Eternity*, 75.

²⁸⁵ See for instance Aphthonios’ account of *ethopoiia* in *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, ed. George A. Kennedy, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 115–117.

gently and this man replies with abasement and despondency: “Sir, I have no man to put me into the pool when the water is stirred up.” [Jn. 5:7]²⁸⁶

Philagathos records the words which the sick man might have said but refrained from. The exposition appears closely modelled on John Chrysostom’s dramatization of the story.²⁸⁷ For illustrating the emotional intensity of the scene Philagathos turned to a section steeped in dramatic vocabulay (i.e. τῆς τραγωδίας τὸ μέγεθος, etc.) and appropriated John Chrysostom’s rhetorical questions.

Perhaps the most suggestive example of dramatic section from Philagathos’ sermons is the vivid account of Jesus’ encounter with the widow of Nain. The passage encloses the preacher’s own monologue and an affectionate *ethopoia* of the widow sparked by Christ’s command: “Do not weep.” Philagathos writes:²⁸⁸

And seeing the widow in this manner half naked, drenched by blood and tears, He was shaken [Lc. 7:13], being by nature compassionate as He unites [human nature] in Him out of His goodness towards man, and He addressed the woman with a voice full of divine grace: “Do not weep.” [Lc. 7:13] O divine voice, that you relieve such a huge burden of grief! For if another had ordained her not to cry, would she have not spurned the admonition and cast off the admonisher as if an enemy? Truly, when grief is in full bloom it does not accept words of consolation, just as when tumours when scratched before they soften and suppurate break open afresh in a more virulent manner. [14.] Perhaps looking at Him, she might have said something stern and grim: “O senseless man, behold

²⁸⁶ *Hom.* 56, 7–8 (ed. Torre, 119–120): Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δόκιμον αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται τῆς ὑπομονῆς, καὶ φησί· « θέλεις ὑγιῆς γενέσθαι; », ὁ δέ· « Κύριε, ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω, ἵνα ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ». [8.] Ἀκουσον ἀπλοῦχοῦ ἥθος φωνήν. **Οὐκ ἔδυσχέρανε πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν, οὐκ εἶπε**· « Τί λέγεις ἄνθρωπε; ὁρᾷς με παραλελυμένον τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἐνθάδε προσμένοντα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπεγγελῶν τὴν ὑπόψυχρόν μοι ταύτην προσαγάγῃς ἐρώτησιν· θέλεις ὑγιῆς γενέσθαι; » οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος· « Εἰ γὰρ <οὐκ> ἂν ἐβουλόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἤρχόμην ἐνταῦθα ». Ἀλλ’ ὁ Κύριος ἀνεξικάκως καὶ **πρῶως** ἐπερωτᾷ καὶ οὗτος ἐν ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀθυμῖα πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν ἀποκρίνεται· « Κύριε, ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω, ἵνα ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ».

²⁸⁷ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, *Hom.* 37, PG 59, coll. 207: “Hear now what he says, and learn the greatness of his sufferings (τῆς τραγωδίας τὸ μέγεθος). For when Christ had said ‘Wilt thou be made whole?’ ‘Yea, Lord,’ he saith, ‘but I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool.’ What can be more pitiable (ἐλεεινότερον) than these words? What more sad (περιπαθέστερον) than these circumstances? Seest thou a heart crushed through long sickness? Seest thou all violence subdued? He uttered no blasphemous word, nor such as we hear the many use in reverses, he cursed not his day, **he was not angry at the question, nor did he say (οὐκ ἔδυσχέρανε πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν, οὐδὲ εἶπε)**, ‘Art Thou come to make a mock (διασύραι) and a jest (κωμωδεῖν) of us, that Thou asketh whether I desire to be made whole?’ but replied gently (πρῶως), and with great mildness, ‘Yea, Lord’; yet he knew not who it was that asked him, nor that He would heal him, but still he mildly relates all the circumstances and asks nothing further, as though he were speaking to a physician, and desired merely to tell the story of his sufferings (πάθος) (trans. Charles Marriott, rev. Kevin Knight, *NPNF* 1/XIV, 16).

²⁸⁸ *Hom.* 6, 13–14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 42): Καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χήραν οὕτως ἡμίγυμνον, αἵματι φυρωμένην καὶ δάκρυσιν, εὐσπλαγχνίσθη ὁ φύσει φιλόανθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθότητος, καὶ φωνὴν ἀφίησι τῇ γυναικὶ ὄντως θείας χάριτος ἐμπλεων· « *Μὴ κλαῖε* ». Ὡς θεία φωνὴ τοσοῦτον ἄχθος λύτης κουφίσασα. Εἰ γὰρ τις ἕτερος μὴ κλαίειν αὐτῇ ἐπετέλλετο, ἄρα οὐκ ἂν ἀπέπτυσε τὴν νουθήτησιν καὶ ὥς ἐχθρόν τὸν νουθετοῦντα παρηγκώνισατο; Ἀκμάζουσα γὰρ λύπη παραμυθητικῶν λόγων ἐστὶν ἀνεπίδεκτος, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν ρευματικῶν νοσημάτων κακοηθέστερα ἐπιζαίνεται μᾶλλον πρὶν πεπανθῆναι θεραπευόμενα. Εἶπε γὰρ ἴσως δριμύ τι ἀπιδούσα καὶ βλοσυρόν· « Ὡς τῆς ἀκαιρίας ἄνθρωπε, ὁρᾷς οἶον κάλλος ὁ θάνατος πρὸ ὥρας ἐμάρανε καὶ ὅτι ἄπειμι τῇ γῇ κατακρύψουσα τὸ ἐμὸν φῶς, τῆς ζωῆς μου τὴν ἄγκυραν. Καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ μετρίῳ τινὶ πάθει φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπιτάττεις καὶ *Μὴ κλαῖε* λαλεῖς· ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδήρου τὰ σπλάγγνα κεχάλκευσαι ».

what beauty untimely death has withered and that I go to bury my light in the earth, the anchor of my life. And for the sake of moderate suffering you command me to remain indifferent and tell me, “Do not cry?” It seems *your heart is forged from adamant or steel*.²⁸⁹ [15.] But the woman felt nothing of the kind. As soon as she heard, “Do not cry,” she fell silent. For what reason? Because with the word of God, He instilled a sweet consolation in this soul, lifting up her mind towards good hope. For she stood exalted regarding the future. But why do I delay to add what is the sweetness of the story and what admirable [to it]?

The section harbours an allusion to Pindar, probably inherited from the indirect transmission of the poet’s works.²⁹⁰ In addition to the homilies just cited, there are similar imaginative reenactments of dramatic dialogues in Philagathos’ sermons. In the sermon “For the Eighth Resurrection Gospel,” the homilist elaborates on the dialogue between Jesus and Mary Magdalene [Jn. 20:11–18].²⁹¹ As in the homily on the raising of Lazarus the emphasis is placed on the senses through which the Resurrection is apprehended. Philagathos skilfully renders the emotional intensity of the scene:²⁹²

Either because the day was shining brightly, and her sight was blunted by the flowing of tears, but rather more this [undiscerning] arose from the iconomy of the divine power. “Woman, why are you weeping? Whom are you seeking?” – the word is for rebuking and chastising her disbelief. For he ought to say this: despite having seen me with the other Mary, and embraced my feet [cf. Mt. 28:9] still you

²⁸⁹ Pindar, fr. 123, 4–5; in its original context the verse refers to homoerotic love with Pindar describing his desire for his beloved Theoxenus of Tenedos: “but whoever has seen those rays / flashing from Theoxenus’ eyes / and is not flooded with desire / has a black heart forged from adamant or steel / with a cold flame, (...)” (Pindar, fr. 123, 2–6 (trans. William Race, *Pindar, Fragments*, Loeb Classical Library 485, 364–365).

²⁹⁰ See for this Cristina Torre “Su alcune presunte riprese classiche in Filagato da Cerami,” in *La tradizione*, 33–35; the verse assumed almost the function of a proverb.

²⁹¹ *Hom. 77* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 34, PG 132*, coll. 673C–676B).

²⁹² *Hom. 77* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 34, PG 132*, coll. 676B–680A): Τῆς τε ἡμέρας διαυγαζούσης, καὶ τῆς ὥσεως τῇ ῥοῇ τῶν δακρυῶν ἀμβλυνομένης, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τοῦτο οἰκονομία. «Γύναι, τί κλαίεις; τίνα ζητεῖς;» ἐπιπλήττοντός ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν κατονειδίζοντος· ἔοικε γὰρ τοῦτο λαλεῖν· Μετά τῆς ἄλλης Μαρίας θεασαμένη με, καὶ τοὺς πόδας κρατήσασα, ἔτι μένεις ἀμφίβολος; Ἀλλ’ οὐτε τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως ἥσθετο, οὐτε αὐτὸν ἐπέγνω τὸν λέγοντα· οἰηθεῖσα δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐκείσε κήπου εἶναι μελεδωνόν, λέγει αὐτῷ· «Εἰ σὺ ἐβάστασας αὐτόν, εἰπέ μοι ποῦ ἔθηκες αὐτόν, κάγω αὐτόν ἄρῶ» [John 20:15]. Καλῶς αὐτὸν κηπουρὸν ὑπετόπασεν· νέος γὰρ ἦν Ἀδάμ, τὸν πρῶτον κηπουρὸν καὶ φύλακα, τὸν τῆς Ἐδέμ κήπου ὅλον ἀναδεξάμενος· καὶ ἐν κήπῳ παραδοθεὶς, καὶ ἐν κήπῳ κατατεθείς, ἵνα τὸν κήπον τοῦ παραδείσου τῷ Ἀδὰμ αὐτῆς χαρίσῃται. «Εἰ σὺ ἐβάστασας αὐτόν, εἰπέ μοι ποῦ ἔθηκες αὐτόν.» Τί μετέθηκες, φησὶ, τὸν νεκρὸν; βδελυττόμενος ἴσως, καὶ μὴ θέλων ἐν τῷ κήπῳ σου κεῖσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ ὀλιγώρως καὶ ἀκηδῶς ἔρριψας ἄταφον; εἰπέ μοι, ποῦ τοῦτον μετέθηκες, ἵνα αὐτὴ τὸ εὐάγαλον τοῦτο φορτίον βαστάσασα, μετακομίσω ἐνθα δὴ βούλομαι. Τί οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ; Τοσαύτη νωθεῖα ἐνισχυμένην ὀρῶν, καὶ μηδένα λογισμὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔχουσαν, διὰ μόνης τῆς κλήσεως ἐπανάγει αὐτὴν εἰς συναισθησιν. «Μαρία» στραφεῖσα ἐπέγνω τὴν γλυκεῖαν φωνήν, καὶ ἐκ περιχαρίας μάλα πολλῆς ἀπεκρίθη· «Διδάσκαλε» ἐπιγνοῦσα τὸ σύννηθες πρόσημα, καὶ ἅμα ὥρμησε τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι ποδῶν· ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως εἴργεται, καὶ ἀκούει· «Μή μου ἄπτου.» Μὴ προσεγγίσῃς, φησὶ, μηδὲ ἄψασθαι πειραθῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι σαρκὸς ἐπιφέρω παχύτητα, ὥς ἀφαῖς ὑποκεῖσθαι ταῖς σαῖς. Κἄν τρόπῳ συγκαταβάσεως πρὸ μικροῦ τοὺς ἐμοὺς πόδας μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Μαρίας κεκράτηκας, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο οἰκονομία ἦν καὶ βεβαίως τῆς ἐγέρσεως. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδοῦσα, καὶ φωνῆς ἀκουτισθεῖσα, καὶ χερσὶ κατασχούσα, ἔτι μένεις ἀβέβαιος, καὶ ὥς νεκρὸν νοστοῦσα ζητεῖς, «μή μου ἄπτου.» τοσαύτης ἀπιστίας περικειμένη ἀχλὺν. Ἡ τάχα τὸ, «Μή μου ἄπτου» καὶ νοητὴν δηλοῖ ἐπαφὴν· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐρευνῆσαι πῶς ὠκονόμητο τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὸ μυστήριον.

remain in doubt? But neither did she notice the rebuke nor did she recognize the speaker, and having supposed that he was the keeper of that garden, she says to him, “If You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him and I will take Him away.” [Jn. 20:15] She surmised correctly him to be the gardener, for he was the new Adam, the first gardener and keeper, who had received the entire Garden of Eden; for in the garden he was handed over, in the garden buried, [cf. Jn. 19:40] so that anew the garden of heaven is graciously bestowed upon Adam. “If You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him. Why, said she, did you transport the deceased? Feeling perhaps a loathing for him and not wanting him to lie buried in your garden, did you hurl him unburied scornfully and heedlessly? Tell me, where have you laid him that I may bore this pleasant burden; verily I will carry him back hither.” What then the Saviour? Seeing her seized by such a slowness of mind, not even having one thought of Resurrection, he leads her towards awareness by just calling her, “Mary!” Turning she recognized His sweet voice and out of her exceeding joy she answered, “Teacher!” As she recognized the habitual address, at once she rushed to take hold of the undefiled feet. But she is prevented from [this] undertaking and listens, “Do not cling to Me. Do not come near, he said, nor try to touch me. For I am not still carrying the thickness of the flesh that could be given to your touchings. And even if a little before by way of divine accommodation you held fast my feet together with the other Mary, yet that was [permitted] by dispensation (οἰκονομία) and assurance of Resurrection.” Therefore, after you have seen him with the eyes, heard his voice, held him fast with your hands, still you remain uncertain and having returned [to the grave] you seek him as though [he were] dead, “Do not cling to Me,” [because you were] surrounded by the mist of so much unbelief. Or perhaps the [command], “Do not cling to Me,” also signified the spiritual touch. For she wanted to investigate how the mystery of Resurrection was effected.”

The emotional intensity of the scene featuring the resurrected Christ and the incredulity of Mary Magdalene is achieved by the amplification of the dialogue and the reiteration of Christ’s question [Jn. 20:15]: “Woman, why are you weeping?” Besides, the preacher places the scene into the context of God’s entire dispensation for humanity. The gardener, which Mary supposed to behold [Jn. 20:15], is Christ “the New Adam, the first gardener and keeper.” The preacher establishes a typological connection between the Garden of Eden and with the garden in which Christ was handed over and buried.²⁹³

Philagathos’ usage of dialogue and monologue springs from his preoccupation to make the audience experience the reality of the events narrated in the Gospel. Other examples include the disciples’ conversation with Christ on the road to Emmaus²⁹⁴ or Peter’s monologue upon witnessing the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor.²⁹⁵ As Mary Cunningham pointed out

²⁹³ John 19:41: “Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb in which no one had yet been laid.”

²⁹⁴ *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 656 A–C).

²⁹⁵ *Hom.* 31, 31 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 217–218).

these dramatic devices were an effective didactic tool for conveying the Christian message “in a way which is easily understandable.”²⁹⁶

3. Novels, Drama and *Homilies*

The homilist’s fondness for dramatization can be gauged by the usage of theatrical terminology and the extensive usage of the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. It may be recollected here that the Byzantine literary sensitivity approached the semantic field of drama mostly for depicting scenes of extreme emotional intensity without implying the provision of staged dramatic representations (play-acting). The Byzantines did not perceive ancient tragedy as a performed theatrical spectacle but as a recited rhetorical representation. Panagiotis Agapitos cogently commented about the single Byzantine ‘liturgical play’ *Christus patiens* that it was “not a testimony for the staging of passion plays in Byzantium. Rather, it is a witness to the rediscovery of drama as a vehicle for the rhetorical display of πάθη, πένθη, θρήνοι and οἰμωγαί.”²⁹⁷

As we have noted above, in the homily “On the Widow’s Son,” Philagathos recounted the events “so that I seemed to be present in that place and behold the tragic events” (ὁρᾶν τὰ τοῦ δράματος).²⁹⁸ The word δράμα here describes a sight, a spectacle imagined through *enargeia* and reenacted in rhetorical performance. Just as the icon “has the capacity to represent the events as if they were [unfolding] before the eyes”²⁹⁹ so is the preacher able to make the audience behold the subject matter as living action through his words. Philagathos absorbed theatrical terminology mostly from the patristic tradition and the ancient novels.³⁰⁰ This corresponds to the cultural Byzantine mindset which associated the novels with ‘drama’ and theatrical terminology on account of their quality of depicting lamentations, sorrowful events scenes of emotional intensity or ‘unexpected reversal of fortunes.’³⁰¹

In the same way, Philagathos made consistent use of the late antique novels for describing miracles, Resurrection scenes or for representing the various emotions experienced by biblical characters. Thus, in what follows, we look at Philagathos’ technique of perusing the novels for contexts apt to recall biblical scenes and for their quality of depicting emotions.

²⁹⁶ Mary Cunningham, “Andrew of Crete: A High-Style Preacher of the Eighth Century,” 280.

²⁹⁷ Panagiotis Agapitos, “Narrative, Rhetoric, and ‘Drama’ Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus” in *Studies in Heliodorus*, ed. R. Hunter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142–43.

²⁹⁸ *Hom.* 6, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40).

²⁹⁹ *Hom.* 51, 7 (ed. Zaccagni, 155): οἶδε γὰρ γραφή παριστᾶν ὡς ἐν ὄψει τὰ πράγματα. “And beholding these things impressed with colors we believe to see them as manifestly (ἐναργῶς) present. For painting has the capacity to represent the events as if they were [unfolding] before the eyes.”

³⁰⁰ See for instance *Hom.* 38 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, *PG* 132, 17, coll. 392 C): Καὶ γὰρ ἐξέστησαν αἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων δυνάμεις κατανοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθότητα. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἡ τῆς παραβολῆς δραματοργία λόγον ἐμφαίνει ἐμφατικὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπλήξεως in fact, the faculties of angels were utterly confounded, when they understood the goodness of God towards man. For this reason the dramatical composition of the parable exhibits an expressive wording [appropriate to] for such an astonishment.

³⁰¹ Panagiotis Agapitos, “Narrative, Rhetoric, and ‘Drama’ Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus”, 128–143.

3.1. The Great Recognition Scene in the *Aethiopika* and Mary Magdalene's Recognition of Jesus

Philagathos' fascination with Heliodorus' novel may be observed in the homily "For the Eighth Resurrection Gospel." The Gospel lection assigned to the eighth *Eothinon* is John 20:11–18, which describes the day of Lord's Resurrection, when Mary Magdalene went to the tomb. The pericope presents Mary Magdalene standing outside the tomb weeping, her dialogue with the angels, and finally her conversation with Christ whom she did not recognize at first. Philagathos relied on the novel for describing the emotional shifts undergone by Mary Magdalene as her suffering was changed into joy as she recognized Jesus. In short, this is a context apt to recall the novel. In the words of Philagathos:³⁰²

Mary thus being astounded by the shape of the angels and struck down with amazement was standing quivering in front of that incredible sight. The angels in fact, so as to deliver her from her agony, as though seeking curiously to know the cause of her tears, they have led her by their appearance and voice to believe that the Lord was stolen. 'Woman, why are you weeping? [Jn. 20:15] Why do you suppose that someone carried out a theft, while he was guarded by such sentinels? You see the angels sitting one at the head and the other at the feet [Jn. 20:12] and do you still consider the treasure to have been plundered? Moreover, who [could be] this reckless corpse-robber or grave-burglar unashamed that would steal the king while guarded by angelical array?' But Magdalene was so much without sense that nothing from the present happenings was she able to figure out. Besides, she held fast to her conceit and said: "they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him." [Jn. 20:13] What she said to Peter and to John before, she now spoke it to the angels. But, oh admirable perseverance! Oh praiseworthy curiosity! [For] her beloved did not overlook her; the one searched after did not let her be plunged into disbelief, but beholding the fervent desire all at once he was standing there. "For having turned around and saw Jesus standing there, and did not know that it was Jesus." [Jn. 20:14] But what was that which persuaded her to abandon the conversation with the angels and to turn back? From the countenance and the posture of the angels, she felt that someone shadowed her back. For when the Lord appeared, the angels leapt up forthwith from their sitting,³⁰³ having indicated the one standing by their shifting of their sight. So then, Mary when she saw this she turned her gazing. She did not recognize who was the one who asked her: "Woman, why are you weeping? Whom are you seeking?" [Jn. 20:15]

³⁰² *Hom.* 77 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 34, PG 132, coll. 673C–676B).

³⁰³ It is tempting to see in the formulation "the angels leapt up forthwith from their sitting" – οἱ ἄγγελοι εὐθὺς τῆς καθέδρας ἀνέθορον a parallel with the opening scene of the novel, *Aethiopika* 1, 2, 5: Καὶ ἅμα λέγουσα ἡ μὲν τῆς πέτρας ἀνέθορεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ θαύματος ἅμα καὶ ἐκπλήξεως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πρηστήρος τῆς ὄψεως βληθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλον ὑπεδύετο θάμνον· "As she spoke she leapt up from the rock. Thunderstruck with wonder and terror at the sight, the bandits on the hillside scattered and dived for cover in the undergrowth" (trans. Morgan, 354). Support for this suggestion may be derived from the fact that Philagathos used the same scene of the novel in the homily "On the Widow's Son" (*Hom.* 6, 12, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41–42); see below, chapter 3.3. The Restoration of Theagenes and the Resurrection of the Widow's Son," pp. 67–68.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Μαρία, ἐκπλαγεῖσα τῇ μορφῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ αὐτὸς γεγονυῖα, τῷ παραδόξῳ θεάματι **ὑπότρομος** ἵστατο· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, λύοντες αὐτὴν **τῆς ἀγωνίας**, φιλοπευστοῦσι δῆθεν τὴν τῶν δακρύων αἰτίαν μαθεῖν, διὰ τῆς ἐμφανείας καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἀπάγοντες αὐτὴν τοῦ οἶσθαι κλαπῆναι τὸν Κύριον. «**Γύναι, τί κλαίεις;**» **Τί νομίζεις** κλοπὴν ὑποστῆναι τὸν ὑπὸ τοιούτων φυλάκων φρουρούμενον; Ὁρᾷς ἀγγέλους ἐφεζομένους, ἓνα πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ ἓνα πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ συληθῆναι νομίζεις τὸν θησαυρόν; Καὶ τίς οὗτος νεκροσύλης ἀναιδής, ἢ τυμβωρύχος θρασὺς, ὡς βασιλέα κλέψαι παρατάξει ἀγγελικῇ φυλαττόμενον; Ἀλλ’ ἦν ἄρα ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ τοσοῦτον ἡλίθιος, ὡς μηδὲν τι τῶν ὄντων ἐκ τούτου καταστοχάσασθαι· ἔτι γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπολήψεως εἶχετο, καὶ φησι· «Ἦραν τὸν κύριόν μου, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν.» Ὁ πρότερον εἶπε Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις λαλεῖ. Ἀλλ’, ὦ τῆς καλῆς καρτερίας! ὦ τῆς ἐπαινετῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης! οὐ παρεῖδεν αὐτὴν ὁ ποθούμενος· οὐκ ἀφῆκε τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ βυθίζεσθαι ὁ ζητούμενος· ἀλλὰ τὸν ζέοντα πόθον ἰδὼν, αὐτομάτως ἐφίσταται. «Στραφεῖσα γὰρ ὀπίσω καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν.» Τί δὲ τὸ πείσαν αὐτὴν καταλείπει τὴν μετ’ ἀγγέλων διάλεξιν, καὶ ὑποστρέφει εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω; Ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων ὄψεως καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἥσθετό τινος ἐπισκιάσαντος αὐτῇ τὸ μετάφρενον. Ἐπιστάντος γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου, οἱ ἄγγελοι εὐθὺς τῆς καθέδρας ἀνέθορον, τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ὄψεως τὸν ἐπιστάντα δηλώσαντες. Ὁ δὲ Μαρία θεασαμένη τὴν ὄψιν ὑπέστρεψεν· οὐ μὴν ἐπέγνω, τίς ἦν ὁ πυθόμενος· «Γύναι, τί κλαίεις; τίνα ζητεῖς;»

It is perhaps spectacular to observe that the description of Mary Magdalene’s bewilderment at the tomb is modelled after Heliodorus’ novel. For the homiletic scene is reminiscent of the astonishment which seized the Ethiopian queen Persinna when Charikleia produced forth the crucial recognition-token of her true royal identity. Charikleia disclosed the band (ταινία) which her mother Persinna wrote ‘in royal Ethiopian script’³⁰⁴ for explaining the motives which led her to expose Charikleia. The novelistic episode to which we turn is illustrative for Philagathos’ reading of the novel:³⁰⁵

And with these words she brought forth the band that her mother had laid out beside her and that she wore around her waist, unfolded it, and presented it to Persinna. The instant she saw it, the queen was struck down with amazement, and some time passed while she scrutinized first the writing on the band and then the girl; she was seized with a fit of palpitations, perspiration streamed from every pore, as joy at the return of what had been lost combined with perplexity at this incredible and unlooked-for turn of events, and with fear that Hydaspes might be suspicious and incredulous at these revelations, possibly even angry and vengeful; so that even Hydaspes became aware of his wife’s anguished astonishment and said: “What is this woman? Why are you so affected by the appearance of this

³⁰⁴ *Aethiopika*, 4, 8, 1, ed. Colonna, 236: “ἐλθὼν τε οὗ κατηγόμην οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐλάχιστον ὑπερθέμενος ἐπελεγόμην τὴν ταινίαν γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς οὐ δημοτικοῖς ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐστιγμένην, ἃ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱερατικοῖς καλουμένοις ὁμοίωται.”

³⁰⁵ *Aethiopika*, 10, 13, 1–3 (ed. Colonna, 548–50).

document?” “Sire,” she answered, “lord, husband. I have nothing more to say. Take the band and read it. It will tell you all there is to tell.”

Καὶ ἅμα λέγουσα τὴν συνεκτεθεῖσαν ἑαυτῇ ταινίαν ὑπὸ τῇ γαστρὶ φέρουσα προῦφερέ τε καὶ ἀνείλησασα τῇ Περσίννῃ προσεκόμιζεν. Ἡ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδεν ἀχανὲς τε καὶ **αὔρος ἐγεγόνει** καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα τῇ ταινίᾳ καὶ τὴν κόρην αὐθις ἐν μέρει περιεσκόπει· **τρόμῳ** τε καὶ παλμῷ συνείχετο καὶ ἰδρῶτι διερρεῖτο, χαίρουσα μὲν ἐφ’ οἷς εὔρισκεν ἀμηχανοῦσα δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῶν παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἄπιστον, δεδοικυῖα δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ὑδάσπου τῶν φανερουμένων ὑποψίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἣ καὶ ὀργήν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, καὶ τιμωρίαν. Ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἐνορῶντα εἰς τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὴν συνέχουσαν **ἀγωνίαν** «**ἦ ὦ γύναι**» εἶπεῖν «**τί ταῦτα**; ἢ τί **πέπονθας** πρὸς τὴν δεικνυμένην γραφήν;» Ἡ δὲ «**ἦ βασιλεῦ**» εἶπε «καὶ δέσποτα καὶ ἄνερ, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι πλέον, λαβὼν δὲ ἀναγίνωσκε· διδάσκαλός σοι πάντων ἡ ταινία γενήσεται.»

This epiphanic moment of great emotional intensity when Persinna recognized the band she embroidered is alluded to in the sermon. Philagathos’ appropriation is certified by the lexical choices and the contextual parallelism with the novel. Mary Magdalene “struck down with amazement (**αὔρος γεγонуῖα**) was standing quivering (**ὑπότρομος**) in front of that incredible sight” literally corresponds to Persinna’s reaction (**αὔρος ἐγεγόνει** καὶ... **τρόμῳ** τε καὶ παλμῷ συνείχετο) at the sight of the band. But the parallelism does not stop here. The question Jesus asked, “Woman, why are you weeping?” – («Γύναι, τί κλαίεις;») comes close to the question Hydaspes asked, “What is this woman?” («ἦ ὦ γύναι» εἶπεῖν «τί ταῦτα;»). Undoubtedly, Philagathos perceived a similarity between the two scenes and triggered his association. Besides, the band in the novel is the teacher (διδάσκαλος) through which the fullness of divine economy is comprehended (cf. *Aethiopika*, 4, 9, 1). This aspect equally invited a correspondence with the Christian economy as imparted by the ‘band’ of Scripture.

Furthermore, the homily encloses another allusion to Heliodorus’ novel. For describing the moment of the day when Mary Magdalene went to the tomb, Philagathos used the word «**σκιόφως**» for illustrating the ‘boundary (**μεταίχμιον**) between day and night. Now, etymological pun «**σκιόφως**» “twilight” is a Heliodorean *hapax* coined from mixing “shadow” (σκία / σκιάω – shadow, dark, overshadow) with “light” (φῶς), with no other attestation beside Philagathos.

Hom. 77 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 34, PG 132, *Aethiopika*, 5, 27, 1 (ed. Colonna, 312): coll. 660C):

“Now on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene went to the tomb early, while it was still dark” [Jn. 20:1]. The evangelical reading wanted to make manifest the boundary between night and day, which is called twilight.

While these discourses and facts were unfolding, the sun at that very moment was coming down toward the sunset, and brought about the twilight that boundary between day and night; and the sea on a sudden became rough, perhaps adjusting to the change of season, or perhaps stirred by a certain will of fortune;

«Τῇ μιᾷ τῶν Σαββάτων Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται πρῶτῃ, σκοτίας ἔτι οὕσης, εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον.» Βούλεται μὲν δηλῶσαι τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μεταίχμιον, ὃ σκιόφως ὠνόμασται.

Τούτων καὶ λεγομένων καὶ γινομένων ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ἀκριβῶς εἰς δυσμὰς περιελθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπετέλεσεν, ἡ θάλασσα δὲ αἰφνίδιον ἐτραχύνετο τάχα μὲν τροπὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ λαβοῦσα τάχα δὲ που καὶ τύχης τινὸς βουλήματι μεταβληθεῖσα.

The homily “For the Eighth Resurrection Gospel” is suggestive for Philagathos’ method of drawing associations with the novel. Most significantly, the homilist’s manner of alluding to Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* reveals a process of interiorisation and profound assimilation of the novelistic script.

3.2.Charikleia’s Weeping when the Doors were Locked and the Apparition of Christ through the Closed Doors

In the homily for the ninth Eothina which treated the apparition of Christ through the closed doors (Jn. 20:19), Philagathos recollected the emotions which wrestled the Apostles after the Passion. Again, the imagery employed bespeaks the imprint of Heliodorus’ novel. But first, Philagathos’ text:

At night-fall they gathered together in the house of Sion,³⁰⁶ and while shattered by grief in regard to the Teacher and deeply stirred for fear of the Jews [cf. Jn. 20: 19], they discussed about the Passion clustered together in one, fanning their souls with the fair promises of the Saviour. Thereupon, He comes in the evening to them and stands in the midst so as to be clearly seen by all [cf. Jn. 20: 19; Lc. 24:36]. But in a higher sense, evening was to the disciples. For their mind was darkened by the mist of sorrow, as they indeed believed the Sun of righteousness to still be hidden in the earth.

Hom. 78 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 35, *PG* 132, coll. 681C–684A):

Νυκτὸς γὰρ συνηγείροντο ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σιών, καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ Διδασκάλου λύπη ἀσχάλλοντες, καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβῳ ἀλύοντες, εἰς ἓν συνιόντες ἀνεκοινοῦντο τὸ πάθος, ταῖς χρησταῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαις τὰς ψυχὰς ῥιπίζόμενοι. Ἐφίσταται γοῦν ὁψίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἴσταται μέσον, ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι καταφανῆς. Ὑψηλοτέρῳ δὲ τρόπῳ, ὁψία ἦν τοῖς μαθηταῖς· ἦσαν γὰρ **τῇ ἀχλύϊ τῆς λύπης ἐξοφωμένοι** τὸν λογισμὸν ᾧοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ γῆν ἔτι κεκρύφθαι τῆς διακαιουσύνης τὸν Ἥλιον.

³⁰⁶ In the Christian tradition, the house on Mount Sion in Jerusalem was considered the site of the Last Supper and the place where the Apostles stayed in Jerusalem, the “upper room” mentioned in Acts 1: 13; as early as the fourth century the site of the Last Supper was an important Christian pilgrimage place.

For depicting the fear and the grief, which darkened the Apostles' mind, Philagathos appealed to Heliodorus' description of Charikleia's grief aroused by the capture of her beloved Theagenes by the bandits of Bessa under the leadership of Thyamis:³⁰⁷

And so saying, she flung herself face downwards on the bed. She held the mattress clasped tight in her arms, sobbing and moaning from the depths of her heart, until her sorrow grew past bearing, and a **mist of sorrow stole over her, and** an agitation of mind overwhelming her **which having darkened her conscious mind** caused her to slip, despite herself, into a slumber in which she remained till long after daybreak. Her failure to appear as normal surprised Kalasiris, whose search for her led him to her room. He knocked loudly on **her door** and called Charikleia repeatedly by name until he at length awakened her. She, alarmed at this sudden call, and confused at the disorder both of her person and apartment; yet, **went to the door, unbolted it, and let him in**" (trans. Morgan mod., 480).

Καὶ ἅμα λέγουσα ῥίπτει κατὰ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἑαυτὴν ἄθρόον καὶ περιχυθεῖσα περιέβαλλε λύζουσά τε καὶ βρύχιον ἀναστένουσα, ἕως αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν **λύπης ἀχλὺς** τε καὶ ἱλιγγος ὑποδραμῶν καὶ **τὸ νοερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ζοφώσας** πρὸς ὕπνον ἔλαθεν ὑποφέρων καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν ἤδη λαμπρὰν κατέχων, ὥστε καὶ ὁ Καλάσιρις θαυμάζων καὶ παρὰ γε τὸ εἰωθὸς οὐχ ὀρωμένην ἐπιζητῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον ἀφικόμενος ἔπαιέ τε σφοδρότερον **τὰς θύρας** καὶ ὀνομαστὶ συνεχῶς Χαρίκλειαν ἀνακαλῶν ἀφύπνιζεν. Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς κλήσεως διεταράχθη τε καὶ ὥς κατελήφθη σχήματος **ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας** ὀρμήσασα τὸν τε μοχλὸν παρήνεγκε καὶ πρὸς εἴσοδον τῷ πρεσβύτῃ διέστελλεν.

What is remarkable in Philagathos' appropriation is the formal contextual parallelism, which the preacher established between the novel and the Gospel. We may first note that the scene of Charikleia's lament, which "locked the doors securely behind her" (*Aethiopika* 6, 8, 3: **τὰς θύρας** εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς **ἐπικλεισαμένη**) and gave herself to piteous lament is reminiscent of the account of the Gospel. For the evangelist stated "Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said to them, 'Peace be with you,' 'when the doors were shut'" – **τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων** (Jn. 20:19). Besides, Charikleia's statement "the room is empty, widowed of Theagenes" frames a space of emotion corresponding to Christ's absence from the midst of the Apostles, which the miracle reverses. Then, Charikleia's dirge which starts with her pledge "to smash this lamp to the ground – τοῦδε τοῦ λύχνου τῇ γῇ προσαραχθέντος" for a Christian minded reader triggered associations with the common theme in the lamentation of Christ as the 'light shut in the grave' to which Philagathos actually alludes. Thus, we may suggest that the spatial details that accompanied the description of Charikleia's lament bolstered Philagathos' association of the two contexts. Moreover, when considering Philagathos' allegorical exegesis, which equated Charikleia's longing for Theagenes as the soul's quest for Divinity, the appropriation of Charikleia's lament over the death of Theagenes become entirely natural for conveying the sorrow of the Apostles over the death of Christ. Furthermore, the same passage is alluded in Philagathos' *Interpretation*

³⁰⁷ *Aethiopika*, 6, 9, 1–2 (ed. Colonna, 346).

for the emphasis it placed on chastity. There, the preacher said, “Charikleia excelled so much in chastity that even in her dreams and reveries she averted intercourse with her lover.”³⁰⁸ This notion of chastity that extends to dreams is a clear allusion to Charikleia’s dirge in *Aethiopika*, 6, 8, 4: “if you are alive, as I hope, come and sleep beside me, my love; appear to me in my dreams at least. But even then respect me, my friend, and preserve your bride’s virginity for lawful wedlock...” (*Aethiopika*, 6, 8, 5). It may be also added that this novelistic episode was also evoked in Philagathos’ homily “On the Widow’s Son.” The description of Charikleia as possessed by a frenzy of despair (βάκχιόν τι οἰστρηθεῖσα), tearing off her clothes and her hair is reminiscent of the widow’s gestures of bereavement in the sermon.

3.3. The Restoration of Theagenes and the Resurrection of the Widow’s Son

From what has already been said, it should be clear that Philagathos scrutinized the novels for finding correspondences with the subject of his sermons. A similar usage of Heliodorus’ novel can be perceived in the homily “On the Widow’s Son.” For rendering the astonishment of the mother upon seeing the Resurrection of her son, Philagathos draws on the opening scene of Heliodorus’ novel, which pictures Charikleia embracing and kissing Theagenes, “seeming as if she could yet scarcely believe of holding him in her arms.”³⁰⁹

Hom. 6, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41-42):

Ἡ δὲ μακαρία μήτηρ ἐκείνη, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ
Δεσπότητος καλινδουμένη καὶ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ τῷ
παιδί περιπλεκομένη, **ἠπίσται κατέχουσα** καὶ
διὰ πάντων μετήμειπτο τὸ πένθος εἰς
ἀγαλλίασιν.

Heliodorus, *Aethiopika* 1, 2, 6 (ed. Colonna, 58).

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, τὰ ὄντα δὲ οὐπώ
ἐγίνωσκον· ἡ δὲ ἀθρόον κατενεχθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὸν
νεανίαν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ περιχυθεῖσα
ἐδάκρυεν, ἐφίλει, **κατέματτεν**, ἀνῶμωζεν,
ἠπίσται κατέχουσα.³¹⁰

The scene in the novel is again suggestive for Philagathos’ appropriation. It pictures a site of devastation full of corpses and the “a maiden of such extraordinary beauty that one might have taken her for a goddess.” She is attending Theagenes fallen in a “deep and almost deadly trance.” Only the sight of the maiden and her affection drew him upward from the province of death. Then, some Egyptians pirates enter the scene being “thunderstruck with wonder and terror” at the vision of the maiden which they thought to be a goddess. But, when they beheld the maiden embracing the young men they asked in doubt: “How could a god behave like that?” they said. “How could a divine being kiss a corpse with such passion?” First, we note the neat parallelism with the sermon, for the image evoked by the question of a God touching a corpse is precisely reflected in the story of Christ’s reviving the son of the widow. Furthermore, as we show elsewhere, this opening scene of the novel (*Aethiopika* 1, 2) is alluded to in Philagathos’

³⁰⁸ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, l. 75–78 (ed. Bianchi, 52).

³⁰⁹ Heliodorus, *Aethiopika* 1, 2, 6 (ed. Colonna, 58).

³¹⁰ “Suddenly, the girl throwing herself down onto the young men and embracing him all around, wept, kissed him, wiped off the blood and sobbed, seeming as if she could yet scarcely believe she held him in her arms” (trans. Morgan, 354–355).

Interpretation where it is interpreted as an allegory of the soul's spiritual ascent.³¹¹ Once more, it may be suggested that Philagathos' appropriation of Heliodorus' novel in the *Homilies* is not merely rhetorical but consistent with the Christian allegorical meaning ascribed to the novel.

3.4. Blending Emotions in the *Homilies*: the Imprint of the Novel

Philagathos exploited the novels for describing the emotional shifts suffered by the characters of the sacred story. The description of concurrent emotions which a person simultaneously experience corresponds to a classical *topos* often exploited in the Byzantine religious texts, particularly in the *ekphraseis* of works of art.³¹²

A good example for this is the description of Herod's emotions extant in the sermon "For the Commemoration of the Decollation of the St. John the Baptist." Philagathos reports that Herod's soul was divided by 'shame, love and anger,' when he was rebuked by St. John over his unlawful liaison with her brother's wife Herodias. Philagathos' depiction is informed by Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*.

Hom. 35, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240–241):

Ὅρων γὰρ Ἡρώδης ῥαγδαίως τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἐλέγχοις τοῦτον μαστίζοντα, ἀνυποστόλῳ τε θάρσει τὸ δυσῶδες τῆς φαύλης πράξεως ἐκπομπεύοντα, πολλοῖς ἐμερίζετο τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰσχύνῃ, ἔρωτι καὶ θυμῷ· ἡσχύνετο τοῦ κήρυκος τὸ ἀξίωμα, ὠργίζετο ἐλεγχόμενος, ὁ ἔρωσ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἀνέφλεγε, καὶ τέλος ἡ φιληδονία νικᾷ τὸ ἀνδράποδον.

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 24, 3:

ὥς δὲ προϊούσα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέτυχε, πᾶσαν μαθοῦσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμεμέριστο πολλοῖς ἅμα τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰδοῖ καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ζηλοτυπία. ἡσχύνετο τὸν ἄνδρα, ὠργίζετο τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὁ ἔρωσ ἐμάραινε τὴν ὀργήν, ἐξῆπτε τὸν ἔρωτα ἢ ζηλοτυπία, καὶ τέλος ἐκράτησεν ὁ ἔρωσ.³¹³

The preacher transposes into the sermon the vivid description of emotions which seized Melite. Believing that her husband, Thersander, has perished at sea Melite married Clitophon, who also believed Leucippe (his beloved as well as his cousin) to have died at sea. Then, when she learned the truth her heart was "the scene of conflicting emotions — shame, and anger, and love, and jealousy. She felt shame as regarded her husband, and anger at the letter: love made her anger inclined to cool, while jealousy fired her love, though love was in the end victorious" (*Leucippe and Clitophon*, 5, 24, 3). Philagathos appeals to this moment of intense emotions for depicting Herod's turmoil when Leucippe finds out that both Thersander and Leucippe are alive.

³¹¹ See the discussion at pp. 407–408.

³¹² In this sense Henry Maguire in "The Description of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *DOP* 31 (1977): 166–71, spoke of a *topos* in relation to the mingling of contrary feelings in Late-Antique and Byzantine *ekphraseis* which he included among the *topoi* employed by Byzantine writers for achieving realism. See also id., "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *DOP* 28 (1974): 132–134.

³¹³ "When she went on and finished the rest of what was written, and so learned the whole truth, her heart was the scene of conflicting emotions — shame, and anger, and love, and jealousy. She felt shame as regarded her husband, and anger at the letter: love made her anger inclined to cool, while jealousy fired her love, though love was in the end victorious" (trans. Gaselee, *Loeb* 45, 291–93).

Philagathos applies a similar imaginative reenactment of emotions surrounding the episode of the Transfiguration of the Lord. The event narrated in Luke [9: 27–36] is part of a larger section devoted to the identity of Jesus. Immediately after the Lord was recognized by Peter as “the Christ, the Son of the Living God,” [Mt. 16:16; cf. Lc. 9:20] he announced to them the approaching passion and death. Then the Lord took Peter, James, and John “up to a high mountain”—by tradition Mount Tabor—and was “transfigured before them” [Lc. 9:28]. Overwhelmed by that miraculous experience, Peter said “Master, it is good for us to be here;” [Lc. 9:33]. Philagathos goes on to recreate these condensed emotional shifts for his listeners saying:³¹⁴

But what was the leader thinking when he said this: “it is good for us to be here [Mc. 9:5]?” For what reason does he accept to reside in the mountain and reject living in the town, and prefer the wilderness of the mountain to the mansion in the city? He heard the Lord manifestly foretelling them the passion and often interpreting the matter concerning Him, one time: “Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be delivered to the Gentiles, and He will be put to death” [Mt. 20:18–19; cf. Mc. 10:33–34; Lc. 18:31–33], another time [saying]: “as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up [Jn. 3:14];” yet at another time when He recalled the precedent concerning Jonah: “for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth” [Mt. 12:40]. Upon listening these things, Peter had his soul split by many conflicting emotions; he was inwardly consumed by grief, by anger, by perplexity, that he is going to be separated from the Teacher; he was boiling with anger when considering the daring of the Jews, astonished about Him and pondering what to do: “Whether shall I leave the teacher to suffer alone or shall I go with Him to death?” Divided by such conflicting emotions, he did not dare openly to obstruct the Lord and restrain his desire (for he attempted this just once as he had received the penalties for his rashness when he heard: “get thee behind me, Satan” [Mt. 16:23]); for as he beheld the stillness of the mount and the prophets attending by and the cloud overshadowing them, he thought that if we stay here, we would avoid the snares of the Jews.

Ἀλλὰ τί λογισάμενος ὁ κορυφαῖος ταῦτ' ἔλεγε· «Καλὸν ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι»; Τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καταμονὴν ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς ἀποσεύεται, καὶ τῆς ἐν πόλει κατοικίας τὴν ἐρημίαν τοῦ ὄρους ἀσπάζεται; Ἦκουε τοῦ Κυρίου φανερῶς τὸ πάθος αὐτοῖς προκηρύττοντος καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον συνεχῶς ἀνελίττοντος, νῦν μὲν· «Ἴδου ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἀποκτανθήσεται», νῦν δέ· «Ὡς περ Μωϋσῆς ὑψωσε τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου»· ἄλλοτε τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάνη παραδείγματος μνημονεύοντος· «Ὡς περ ὁ Ἰωάνης ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου <ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς>». Καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα, **πολλοῖς ἐμερίζετο τὴν ψυχὴν· λύπη, θυμῷ, ἀπορίᾳ** ἐτυρπολεῖτο τὰ σπλάγχνα, τοῦ

³¹⁴ Philagathos, *Hom.* 31, 30–31 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 217).

Διδασκάλου μέλλον χωρίζεσθαι, ἔξεε τῷ θυμῷ, ἐννοῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ τόλμημα, ἱλιγγία περὶ αὐτοῦ διαπορῶν· «Πότερον ἀπολίπω μόνον παθεῖν τὸν καθηγητήν, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς χωρήσω μετ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον;». **Τούτοις τοῖς πάθεσι μεριζόμενος**, ἀπαρακαλύπτως μὲν ἐπισχεῖν τὸν Κύριον καὶ κωλύσαι τῆς ὁρμῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν (ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦτο τολμήσας, εἰλήφει τῆς προπετείας τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἀκούσας· «Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ»)· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἡσυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δορυφοροῦντας καὶ τὴν νεφέλην ἐπισκιάσασαν, ἐνενόησεν ὥς, εἰ ἐνταῦθα μένομεν, τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλίνειμεν.

This vivid description of Peter’s feelings who had his soul “split by many conflicting emotions, for he was inwardly consumed by grief, by anger, by perplexity” and the explanation given to each emotion, grief at the separation from the Teacher, anger at the Jews, perplexity at Christ’s announcement of his passion is structurally modelled on the same episode from *Leucippe et Clitophon*, which Philagathos used for portraying Herod’s emotions.

Another example of depicting the emotions harbored in the sacred text is the case of Judas Iscariot. The Gospel of Matthew records Judas’ regret over his betrayal of Jesus to the Sanhedrin for thirty silver coins. In the sermon “On the Passion of the Saviour” Philagathos portrays him as inwardly split by shame and grief:³¹⁵

“Pilate therefore delivered him to be crucified. But that daring Judas as long as he saw Christ being tried he did not not change his mind. Perhaps he thought that after mocking him for a short time, later they would free him. But upon seeing that he was condemned and given up to the soldiers, goaded by the stings of conscience, oscillating between shame and sorrow (**αἰδοῦς τε καὶ λύπης ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος**) and thinking at the reproaches from [the lips of] all, as might be expected, he threw down the pieces of silver in the temple, confessing to have sinned and hanged himself [cf. Mt. 27:5].”

The formula employed for introducing Judas’ conflicting emotions (**ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος**) is common in the Byzantine religious texts being also present in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*.³¹⁶ Finally, “the greatest shame and reverence” are the concurrent emotions which enfold Martha when Jesus came near the tomb of Lazarus

³¹⁵ *Hom.* 54 (ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, coll. 576D): Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πιλάτος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα σταυρωθῇ· ὁ δὲ τολμητίας Ἰούδας ἕως ἑώρα κρινόμενον τὸν Σωτῆρα, οὐ μετεβάλλετο· ὥστε γάρ, ὥς ἐπὶ βραχὺ χλευάσαντες αὐτὸν, ὕστερον ἀπολύσουσιν. Ἰδὼν δὲ, ὅτι κατεκρίθη, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἦν ἔκδοτος, καταξαινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος, αἰδοῦς τε καὶ λύπης ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ πάντων ὀνειδισμοὺς, ὥς εἰκὸς, λογιζόμενος, ρίπτει ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὰ ἀργύρια, ἡμαρτηκέναι ὁμολογῶν, καὶ ἀπάγχεται.

³¹⁶ In Theodor Studites’ *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, the formula describes the emotions which seized St. John the Baptist when Christ demanded to be baptized; the Forunner struggled between the duty to obey Christ and his unworthiness; cf. *Catechesis* 32, 89, 28–30: Πῶς οἶει τὸν πρόδρομον **ἐν μεταιχμίῳ δύο παθῶν γενόμενον**· τὸ μὲν πρὸς ὑπακοὴν συνωθούμενον· τὸ δὲ πρὸς συναίσθησιν τῆς οἰκίας ἀναξιότητος ἀντωθούμενον· The same formula introduces the emotions which the mother of Maccabees felt at the courage of her sons fighting impiety in Gregory of Nazianzus’ *In Machabaeorum laudem (orat. 15)*, 35, 925: τέως μὲν χαρᾷ καὶ φόβῳ σύμμικτος ἦν, καὶ **δύο παθῶν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ**· [she] was pulled throughout by two concurrent emotions, joy and fear ...; for the novel see *Aethiopika*, 6, 1, 2 (ed. Colonna,): Καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπουσι **λύπης** τε ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ καὶ **χαρᾷ** ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπίζομένοις **ἐν μεταιχμίῳ** σαλεύουσιν ...; “Here then they left her, struggling between sorrow for their departure, and joy for the promised hope of seeing her lover.”

“Besides, being seized by the greatest shame and reverence, she believed that the Lord could not suffer to draw near the tomb due to the lurking foulness of the body lapsed into destruction.”³¹⁷

The management of emotions and senses figures prominently in Philagathos’ understanding of Christ’s redemptive economy. The focus of this analysis was placed on the allusions and citations appropriated from the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus and their literary contexts. We pointed out that the preacher grafted the novelistic narrative into the story of salvation, perhaps a development rooted in Philagathos’ allegorical reading of the novel.³¹⁸ Thus, in the sermon “For the Fifth Resurrection Gospel,” the homilist described the emotional shifts experienced by two disciples while they were walking on the road to Emmaus by drawing on Heliodorus’ novel. We showed that the emotions experienced by the disciples when confronted with the miracle of Resurrection stretching from grief, despair to unbounded joy were based on the final sequence of the novel, which features the revelation of Charikleia’s identity.

3.5. Emotions and Audience

Thus far, we have mostly looked at emotions as an integral part of the doctrinal exposition, as was for instance the exegesis of Christ’s weeping which manifested the dogma of the Incarnation, or the reality of Resurrection revealed by the episode of Lazarus. Then, we noted the appeal to emotions is also an integral part to his rhetorical style. Nevertheless, the preacher also describes the emotions he experienced in his pastoral endeavour to which we now turn paying attention to the rhetorical models which informed Philagathos’ compositions.

As once John Chrysostom, Philagathos struggles with the faithful’s ingrained practice of taking oaths and fostering of trials.³¹⁹ In the homily about the Paralytic in Capernaum (Mc. 2: 1–12) the homilist introduces his feelings by the habitual formula – ἐν μεταχμίῳ γένόμενος:³²⁰

While I hasten to apply myself to the habitual teaching I am losing the strenght of my voice for I reached a state of spirit verging between wrath and grief; I am suffering the same pain which afflicts the peasant for he sheds much sweat on the ground but at the time of harvest plucks but few spikes. Indeed, although I preach at each assembly, I see no benefit accrued. How many times have I grew weary shouting and became utterly panting, sprinkled by sweat, when I exhorted you to repel the trials at the time of liturgy and to gather for the instruction? How many times have I bid you to avoid taking oaths? But to you the admonition appears a

³¹⁷ *Hom.* 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 536B): Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ, ὑπὸ πλείστης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἡγεῖτο προσεγγίσει τῷ τάφῳ τὸν Κύριον διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀηδίαν τοῦ πρὸς φθορὰν διαβρέυσαντος σώματος.

³¹⁸ See for this PART VI. The Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus’s *Aethiopika*: a Contextual Reading,” 375–422.

³¹⁹ For John Chrysostom’s exertion against the habit of taking oaths within the wider framework of his preaching and theological thought, see David Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom on Divine Pedagogy. The Coherence of his Theology and Preaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 271–2.

³²⁰ *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132 coll. 444A).

trumpetry, a vain snapping of words. And the wretched me I seem sowing everything in the water or else upon a rock not having moisture. Indeed, some persons pierced by reproaches run from the instruction as the lunatics flee from physicians. (...) I say these things pierced by affection for you and yearning ardently for your benefit, and as the divine Jeremiah says, “my heart is torn within me” [Jer. 4:19].

Ἐπειγόμενος τῆς συνήθους διδασκαλίας ἐφάψασθαι, ἀνακόπτομαι τὴν φωνὴν θυμοῦ καὶ λύπης ἐν μεταχειρίῳ γενόμενος· ταῦτόν γὰρ πάσχω ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδρῶτας καταβαλλομένῳ τῇ γῇ, ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θέρους ὀλίγους δρεπομένῳ τοὺς στάχυν. Καθ’ ἐκάστην γὰρ συνέλευσιν διαλεγόμενος, οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶ προσγενομένην ὠφέλειαν. **Ποσάκις** ἐκοπίασα κράζων, ἐγενόμην **ὑπέρασθμος, ἰδρῶτι ῥαινόμενος**, παραινῶν τὰς δίκας παραγκωνίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συνάξεως, καὶ πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀθροίζεσθαι; **Ποσάκις** ὑπεθέμην τῶν ὄρκων φυγὴν; Ἀλλὰ λῆρος ὑμῖν ἡ νοουθεσία δοκεῖ, καὶ λόγων κρότος διακενῆς. Καὶ ὁ δειλῖος τὰ πάντα ἐγὼ εἰς ὕδωρ ἔοικα σπεῖρειν, ἢ πέτραις ἰκμάδα μὴ ἔχουσαν· Νυττόμενοι γὰρ τινες ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνειδισμῶν φεύγουσι τὴν διδασκαλίαν ὥσπερ τοὺς ἰατροὺς οἱ παράφρονες. (...) Ταῦτα φημι τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς φίλτρῳ νυττόμενος καὶ τῆς ωφέλειας ὑμῶν διακαῶς ἰμειρόμενος καὶ, ὃ φησι ὁ θεῖος Ἰερεμίας, *τὰ αἰσθητήρια σπαρασσόμενος*·

The Byzantine rhetorical tradition prescribed that speaking about oneself required the imitation of established stylistic models. In this sense, for picturing his emotions, Philagathos appeals to Synesius of Cyrene’s *Catastases*, a source hitherto unknown to have been present in the homiletic corpus. The bishop of Cyrene wrote two speeches known as the *Catastases* that described the situation in Lybia during the years of 411–413. They were intended to draw the attention of the Imperial Council as to save and maintain Pentapolis within the Empire.³²¹ The second oration to which Philagathos appeals is a sorrowful account of the province plundered by barbarians. The preacher’s self-portrayal as sprinkled by sweat is in all likelihood taken from Synesius account of his despair at the disaster which befell Pentapolis. Synesius writes:³²²

“We run, we are captured, wounded, enchained, sold. How many times have I arisen from my sleep blissful that I abandoned servitude. How many times have I woke up panting exceedingly, sprinkled by sweat, for the end of my sleep was at once the end of my strained course for fleeing a heavy armed enemy. Hesiod for us alone says naught that hope remains within the storage jar [*Works and Days*, 96];³²³ we are all discouraged and downhearted.”

³²¹ For an analysis of these speeches, see Jay Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher-bishop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 168–171.

³²² Synesius, *Catastases*, Oration 2, 5, 27–33 (ed. N. Terzaghi).

³²³ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 96–98: μούνη δ’ αὐτόθι Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δόμοισιν / ἔνδον ἔμμενε πίθου ὑπὸ χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύραζε / ἐξέπτη· “Only Anticipation remained there in its unbreakable home under the mouth of the storage jar, and did not fly out” (trans. Glenn Most in Hesiod, *Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006, 95).

φεύγομεν, ἀλίσκόμεθα, τιτρωσκόμεθα, δεδέμεθα, πιπρασκόμεθα. **ποσάκις** ἐξανέστην ἄσμενος, ὅτι δεσπότην ἀπέλιπον· **ποσάκις** ἐξανέστην **ὑπέρασθμος, ἰδρῶτι ῥαινόμενος**, ὁμοῦ τὸν ὕπνον καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἀπολιπών, ὃν κατατείνας ἔφευγον ὀπλίτην πολέμιον· μόνοις ἡμῖν Ἡσίοδος οὐδὲν λέγει, τὴν ἐλπίδα τηρήσας εἴσω τοῦ πίθου· πάντες ἀθαρσεῖς καὶ δυσέλπιδες.

Then, besides Synesius, the invocation of the prophet Jeremiah 4:19 is in all likelihood derived from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Adversus Eunomianos*.³²⁴ The context in Nazianzus is meaningful for Philagathos' appropriation. Nazianzus bemoans in the prologue of his oration the spoiling of the sacred mysteries by the rushing into controversy and chastise with fatherly compassion the errancy of the faithful and the attitude of his opponents as Philagathos deplores in the sermon the habit of taking oaths. As Gregory, he is 'torn within' for sowing his words in vain:

Hom. 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21 PG 132 coll. 444 A):

Ταῦτα φημὶ τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς φίλτρῳ νυττόμενος καὶ τῆς ωφέλειας ὑμῶν διακαῶς ἰμειρόμενος καὶ, ὃ φησι ὁ θεὸς Ἱερεμίας, **τὰ αἰσθητήρια σπαρασσόμενος**·

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Adversus Eunomianos* (*orat.* 27), 2, 12-21:

φέρε, τοσοῦτον γοῦν ἡμῶν ἀνασχέσθωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι σπλάγχνοις πατρικοῖς κινουμένων καί, ὃ φησιν ὁ θεὸς Ἱερεμίας, **σπαρασσομένων τὰ αἰσθητήρια**, ὅσον μὴ τραχέως τὸν περὶ τούτων δέξασθαι λόγον, (...).³²⁵

Philagathos' rhetorical display of emotions is further illustrated in the homily "About the Lawyer who tempted the Lord." The sermon pronounced at Rossano "after the return from Sicily",³²⁶ offers us an example of Philagathos' usage of the literary tradition for describing the affectionate relation with his audience.³²⁷

"The parched earth, rugged and scorched, does not long for rain as much as I crave to see your faces, oh most cherished assembly. Truly when I was there with you, I did not feel so much the longing (for that which we have at hand and under our sight is sluggish for igniting desire), but when I was separated from you, I understood how tyrannical is desire, and it appeared me akin to truth the saying of those from the outside that 'lovers grow old by separation.'"

³²⁴ The verse is rare occurrence in the Christian exegetic tradition; according to TLG there are only two attestations; yet the form of Philagathos' citation together with the attribution to Jeremiah finds the exact analogy in Gregory of Nazianzus; cf. Jeremiah 4:19: τὴν κοιλίαν μου, τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ, καὶ **τὰ αἰσθητήρια** τῆς καρδίας μου· μαιμάσσει ἡ ψυχὴ μου, **σπαράσσεται** ἡ καρδία μου, οὐ σιωπήσομαι, ὅτι φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, κραυγὴν πολέμου. "O my soul, my soul! I am pained in my very heart! My heart makes a noise in me; I cannot hold my peace, Because you have heard, O my soul, The sound of the trumpet, The alarm of war."

³²⁵ "Well then, let these spies bear with us, moved as we are with fatherly compassion, and as holy Jeremiah says, torn in our hearts; [Jeremiah 4: 19] let them bear with us so far as not to give a savage reception to our discourse upon this subject" (trans. Charles Browne and James Swallow in *NPNF*, vol. 7, 578–579).

³²⁶ Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, LIV; the rubric in *Matrit. gr.* 4554, f. 95^{vb} reads: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑποστροφὴν.

³²⁷ *Hom.* 12, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78).

Οὐ τοσοῦτον αὐχμώδης γῆ καὶ κραναὴ καὶ κατάξηρος τῶν οὐρανίων ὄμβρων ἐφίεται, ὅσον ἐγλιχόμεν αὐτὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὄψεις ἰδεῖν, θεοφιλέστατε σύλλογε. Ἦνίκα γοῦν παρήμην ἐνταυθοῖ μεθ' ὑμῶν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἡσθανόμην **τοῦ πόθου** (τὸ γὰρ πρόχειρον καὶ βλεπόμενον ἀργὸν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν), ὅπηνίκα δὲ κεχώρισμαι ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἔγνων τὸν πόθον τὸν βίαιον τύραννον, καὶ μοι ἐγγὺς ἀληθείας ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ τοῖς ἔξω λεγόμενον, γηράσκειν τοὺς ποθοῦντας τῷ χωρισμῷ.

Rossi-Taibbi indicated in the critical edition that the citation on love and separation goes back to Theocritus.³²⁸ However, Philagathos attributes the saying to a generic ‘external wisdom’ which rather points to an indirect transmission. Eugenio Amato suggested that Philagathos’ citation of this aphorism was mediated through Procopius of Gaza, an author which Philagathos knew as will be further revealed throughout this section.³²⁹ Indeed, the same concept is expressed in Procopius’ letters:

Procopius of Gaza, *Ep.* 26, 1–3 (ed. Garzya/Loernetz):

Εἰ **τοὺς ποθοῦντας** καὶ μία **γηράσκειν** ἡμέρα ποιεῖ, ἐξ ὅσου με χρόνου γεγηρακέναι δοκεῖς, οὕτω μὲν σου βληθέντα **τῷ πόθῳ** – τίς γὰρ πειραθεὶς οὐκ ἐρῶν ἀπαλλάττεται; – τοσοῦτον δὲ χρόνον ἐστερημένον τῆς θέας;³³⁰

Procopius of Gaza, *Ep.* 90, 1–3 (ed. Garzya/Loernetz):

Εἰ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ἡμέρα μία πρὸς γῆρας ἀρκεῖ, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἀριθμῶν ὅποσα δὴ γεγηράκαμεν. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἤμεν εὐδαίμονες σέ τε ὀρῶντες καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀντεχόμενοι· καὶ ἦν ἡμῖν πάντα χρηστά, ὅψις ἡδίστη, λόγοι κατακηλοῦντες τὴν ἀκοήν, γνώμη χορηγοῦσα τὴν εὐνοίαν. καὶ ὃ τί τις ἐπόθει καλόν, ἥρκει πρὸς σέ μόνον ἰδεῖν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξαίφνης ἔρημοι πάντων ἡμεῖς (...).³³¹

It is also tempting to see in Philagathos’ refined description of his longing through the simile of the scorched earth craving for rain an allusion to Euripides’ fragment 898, which Francesca Angiò convincingly traced back to *Hippolytus Veiled*, a play now lost.³³²

Euripides, *fr.* 898 (ed. Kannicht, 7–8):

ἐρᾷ μὲν **ὄμβρου γαῖ'**, ὅταν **ξηρὸν** πέδον / ἄκαρπον αὐχμῷ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχη·
the earth passionately craves for rain when the dry land / barren by drought needs moisture.

³²⁸ Theocritus, *Idyll* XII, 2, (ed. A. S. F. Gow, 92) : οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσιν. “but they that yearn grow old in a day” (trans. A. S. F. Gow in Theocritus, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950, 93).

³²⁹ E. Amato, “Procopio di Gaza modello dell’ *Ekphrasis* di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo,” 12–13.

³³⁰ “If one day only makes the lovers to grow old, by how much time do you think that I grew old, after having been smitten so much by the desire for you (for who after having tried you has not departed loving you?), and after having being bereft of you for so much time.”

³³¹ “If for lovers one day only is sufficient for growing old, you would not arrive at counting for how much time we have grown old. Not long ago we were happy seeing you and having you with us; everything was deserving to us: your sweetest countenance, your discourses which were enchanting the ear, your mind which gave forth kindness. But now on a sudden we are bereft of that all (...).”

³³² Francesca Angiò, “Il fr. 898 Kannicht di Euripide e la nuova Hypothesis dell’ *Ippolito kaluptovmeno* (PMich. inv. 6222a e POxy. LXVIII 4640),” *Atene e Roma* 1 (2007): 159–168.

The passage was excerpted in John Stobaeus' *Anthologium* (1, 9, 1–14) in a section “About Aphrodite Urania and Heavenly Love” (Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης οὐρανίας καὶ ἔρωτος <θείου>), which may be a likely source for Philagathos given the documented presence of the *Anthologium* in Southern Italy.³³³

Another remarkable example for Philagathos' spiritual relationship with his audience is the homily “About the Men possessed by the Legion of Demons” delivered in the archiepiscopal church of Rossano. While expressing his tenderness for his congregation Philagathos laments the illness of his body:³³⁴

The disease of my body restrains my tongue, but the desire for the perfection of the Church unloosens it. The pain forces me to keep silence, the love persuades me to speak, and the speech before you is to me a consolation for my sickness. Such is the perfect love: on the one hand it overlooks whatever happens from without, on the other it delights looking at the beloved object. But now that it is not possible to indulge to satiety in desire and to revel with you in so many words as my eagerness wills, we utter some few words lavishing both in disease and in love, neither wasting away [my speech] by tediousness, nor making it dull by longer silence. Well, let there be the word of the Gospel which was read today the ground of my speech to you.

This refined introduction ecloses an allusions to Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. The homilist appropriates a snippet from the novel which is part of the opening scene in which Charikleia rescues the wounded Theagenes from descending in the world of death through the power of love. As we shall argue in a different section, the same passage from the novel is referred to by Philagathos in his allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' novel.³³⁵

Hom. 9, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 61):

Τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀκραιφνὴς ἀγάπη· τῶν μὲν
ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων ὑπερφρονεῖ, πρὸς δὲ
τὸ φιλούμενον ἀφορῶσα ἡδύνεται.

Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 1,2 (ed. Colonna, 58–60):

Οὕτως ἄρα πόθος ἀκριβὴς καὶ ἔρωσ
ἀκραιφνὴς τῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων
ἀλγεινῶν τε καὶ ἡδέων πάντων ὑπερφρονεῖ,
πρὸς ἓν δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ

³³³ Santo Lucà, “Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale,” *RSBN* 44 (2007), 76 argued that *Esc.* Σ II 14 a Stobean testimony dated to the XIth/XIIth century originates in Southern Italy. This is also indicated by Amato, “Procopio di Gaza modello dell' *Ekphrasis* di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo,” 13, n° 50.

³³⁴ *Hom.* 9, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 61): Ἐπέχει μου τὴν γλῶτταν ἡ νόσος τοῦ σώματος, λύει δὲ ταύτην ὁ πόθος τοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος. Οἱ πόνοι σιγὰν ἀναγκάζουσι, τὸ φίλτρον λαλεῖν ἀναπείθει με, καὶ μοι παρηγορία τῆς νόσου ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμιλία καθίσταται. Τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀκραιφνὴς ἀγάπη· τῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων ὑπερφρονεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον ἀφορῶσα ἡδύνεται. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς κόρον τῷ πόθῳ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοσοῦτοις μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐντρυφῆσαι λόγοις, ὅσον ἡ προθυμία βούλεται, κἂν ὀλίγ' ἄττα φθεγξώμεθα καὶ τῇ νόσῳ καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ χαριζόμενοι, τὴν μὲν τῇ μακρηγορίᾳ μὴ καταζαίνοντες, τὴν δὲ τῇ μακροτέρᾳ σιγῇ μὴ ἀμβλύνοντες. Ἔστω δὲ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμιλίας λαβὴ ἡ σήμερον ἀναγνωσθεῖσα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου φωνή.

³³⁵ See below, Part VI. 5. “Contemplation and Anagogical Ascent: The Doctrine of Perpetual Progress,” 421–431.

From the many places in which Philagathos preached, the public at Rossano elicited his most affectionate remarks.³³⁷ In *hom. 31* pronounced at the pulpit of the Archbishopric of Rossano –Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ῥουσιάνων –, Philagathos evokes the pleasure to behold his congregation, which he describes as “his people” («τὸν ἐμὸν λαόν, τὸ θεοφιλὲς ποίμνιον»).338 The account assumes an ekphrastic perspective:

A shepherd’s emotions when he sees his herd increasing and gathered in a verdant and luscious pasture (when he is seated on a lofty peak and observing the flock as it clusters together he is joyful and rejoices and starts to sing a pastoral song), his emotions are similar to mine at the present feast. For when I see my people, the herd pleasing to God, which so much run in to the holy shrine in which is placed the image not made by hands of our most holy Queen, I rejoice and I am glad and I am in eager haste for giving the sermon, in which I am going to set out in detail the mysteries of the present great feast.

Οἷόν τι πάσχειν εἰώθει ποιμήν, πληθυνθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγέλην ὁρῶν καὶ ἡθροισμένην ἐν χλοερᾷ πόα καὶ γλαφυρᾷ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ (τότε γὰρ ἐφ’ ὑψηλῆς τινοῦ σκοπιᾶς κεκαθικῶς καὶ βλέπων ἐν κύκλῳ περιηθροισμένον τὸ πόμνιον, χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ ἄδει μέλη τὰ νόμια), τοιοῦτον ἐμοὶ συνέβη περὶ τὴν παρούσαν πανήγυριν. Ὅρων γάρ τὸν ἐμὸν λαόν, τὸ θεοφιλὲς ποίμνιον, οὕτω σπουδαίως πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν σηκὸν εἰσδραμόν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀχειρότεθκτον ἴδρυται τῆς πανυπεράγνου Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀπεικόνισμα, εὐφραίνομαι καὶ χαίρω καὶ πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐπείγομαι, διηγησόμενος τῆς παρούσης μεγάλης ἐορτῆς τὰ μυστήρια.

But perhaps the peak of Philagathos’ propensity for emotional evocation is represented by the homily “On the Widow’s Son.”³³⁹ As he begins his sermon in front of the monastic

³³⁶ “[S]o totally does vehement affection, and sincere love, overlook or disregard whatever happens from without, be it pleasing or terrifying; and confines and employs every faculty, both of soul and body, to the beloved object” (trans. Rowland Smith, 4).

³³⁷ The indications as to the place and the occasion of the preaching event are given in the Italo-Greek branch of the manuscript tradition; topographical rubrics are conserved in Matrit. gr. 4554 and 4570 Vatic. gr. 2009 (Bas. 48), Ambros. gr. 196 (C 100 sup.), Vatic. gr. 2006 (Bas. 45), Ambros. gr. 401, Marc. gr. II 45; see, Rossi Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 70–71. Philagathos delivered numerous sermons at Rossano; in fact the topographical rubrics from the Italo-Greek branch of the manuscript tradition which mention «Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς» in all likelihood refers to the archiepiscopal church of Rossano; an argument supporting this is *Hom. 12* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78–84) which mentions the location of the sermon as «Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑποστροφὴν» (“Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric after the Return from Sicily”); among the critically edited homilies there are 9 sermons delivered «ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς»; judging from the manner of addressing his audience it is manifest that the location of the preaching event is Pulpit of the Archbishopric of Rossano; furthermore, it is also possible that the sole indication «Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι» encountered in many sermons may refer to Rossano; there are 10 such sermons.

³³⁸ *Hom. 31*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 206); for a similar display of emotion prompted by the preacher’s reunion with his flock at Rossano inspired from Procopius of Gaza’s letters see *Hom. 12*, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78); see below, Part I. chapter 3.5. Emotions and Audience,” 80–82.

³³⁹ *Hom. 6* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 37–44).

congregation of the Monastery of the Saviour in Messina, the homilist describes his pain while looking at the empty seat of his departed friend:

Although I had been eager to make another argument as introduction to my speech my mind is turned to another thing, o company gathered by God. For when I cast my eye to the left choir of the church and I had seen empty the place of our brother, whom the sickle of death cut out a little time before, I lost my mind having been filled with tears. For I am not strong to struggle against the pain at the parting of friends taken away by death, but truly uninstructed [ἀτεχνῶς ἀφιλόσοφος]. And now the streaming of tears betrays me, and my inward parts are shaken by the memory [of the person] and the heart is torn apart when I think at the shortness of our life.

Ἄλλην ὑπόθεσιν ὀρμημένος προοίμιον τοῦ λόγου ποιήσασθαι, ἐξετράπην πρὸς ἄλλο τὸν νοῦν, ὃ θεοσύλλεκτε θίασε. Ἐπιβαλὼν γὰρ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν πρὸς τὸν εὐώνυμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας χορὸν καὶ κενὸν ἑώρακὼς τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν, ὃν πρὸ μικροῦ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου δρέπανον ἐξεθέρισε, ἱλιγγίασα δακρύων ὑποπλησθεῖς. Εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνδρεῖος ἀνταγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὴν διὰ θανάτου τῶν φίλων διάζευξιν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς ἀφιλόσοφος. Καὶ ἐλέγχει με αὐτίκα καταρρέον τὸ δάκρυον, καὶ ἀναστρέφεται τὰ σπλάγχνα τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ ἡ καρδία σπαράσσεται, λογιζομένου τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν τὸ ὠκύμορον.

As we have noted earlier, “the empty seat” evokes the memory of Cyprian, an old companion of Philagathos.³⁴⁰

The display of emotions in the Homilies bears witness to an elaborate technique underlined by a florilegic stance. A fine example is in the *prooimion* of the sermon for the Sunday of the Last Judgment, for which Philagathos turned to various models. He took the opening passage of Nyssen’s sixth homily on the Beatitudes, which commented on the paradoxical promise of seeing God (Mt. 5: 8: “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God.”). Then, the homilist borrowed a passage which described “the terrible judgment of Christ,” from Gregory’s *Homily on the Sixth Psalm*. Besides these models, Philagathos weaved into the text a phrase taken from the Pseudo-Lucian’s *Affairs of the Heart* (known as the *Amores* in Latin, and as *Erōtes* in Greek). The work is a narrated dialogue, which explores the best type of love. The phrase Philagathos inserted into his text is from the introductory part of the dialogue, when Lycinus is asked to ‘decide whether he considers superior those who love boys or those who delight in womankind.’ Philagathos’ appropriation is undergirded by the theme of impartial judgement. He united the passages as follows:

Hom. 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. B-D):

Οἶον τι πάσχουσιν οἱ ἀπό τινος ὑψηλῆς ἀκρωρείας εἰς ἀχανές τι κατακύπτοντες πέλαγος, τοιοῦτον νῦν ἐπεπόνθειν ἐγὼ

Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll: 1264:

Ὅπερ παθεῖν εἰκὸς τοὺς ἔκ τινος ὑψηλῆς ἀκρωρείας εἰς ἀχανές τι κατακύπτοντας πέλαγος, τοῦτό μοι πέπονθεν ἢ διάνοια, ἐκ

³⁴⁰ See above, p. 32.

ἰλιγγιάσας ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνωσθείσαις **τοῦ Κυρίου φωναῖς καὶ γεγονῶς ὅλος μετέωρος**, καθάπερ **ἀπὸ τινος σκοπιᾶς** ἀνατείνας τὸν νοῦν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φοβερὸν λογοθέσιον. Καὶ πῶς τὴν γῆν τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος φαντάζομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αἰῶνος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πληθύν, καὶ τὴν φρικτὴν αὐτοῦ διανέμησιν, τὴν στάσιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, τὴν ἐν τοῖς λαιοῖς ἀποκλήρωσιν, τὰς μυριάδας τῶν ἀγγελικῶν παρατάξεων, τὸν φοβερὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ τότε **ἀδέκαστον** οἶον ἐν ζυγῷ μέσον ἀμφοῖν ἐφεζόμενον **καὶ ἰσορρόπῳ πλάστιγγι** τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν **ταλαντεύοντα**, τῶν ἀμοιβῶν τὰς ἐναντιότητας, ἔνθεν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, τὴν μακαρίαν Ἐδέμ, τὴν τῶν πραέων γῆν, τὰς τῶν δικαίων μονάς, ἐκείθεν **τὰ φοβερά κολαστήρια, τὸ πῦρ** τὸ παφλάζον, τὸ ἐξώτερον σκότος, τὸν τῶν ὀδόντων βρυγμόν, **τὸν ἄφθιτον τῆς συνειδήσεως σκώληκα τὸν ἀεὶ μύζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν δι' αἰσχύνης καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν κακῶς βεβιωμένων τὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἀνακαινίζοντα**. Ταῦτα τῷ νῷ λογιζόμενος ἰλιγγῶ καὶ κραδαίνομαι· ἀριδὴλως γὰρ ἡμῖν πάντα τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεικόνισεν.

The feelings of those who look down from some high peak on a vast sea below, such a thing I just felt, for I become dizzy when the words of the Lord were read and entirely stood hanged in suspense, as if having stretched out my mind from a peak towards that dreadful account. And how could I imagine the land of weeping, the multitude of men from the beginning of time, its frightful

τῆς ὑψηλῆς **τοῦ Κυρίου φωνῆς, οἶον ἀπὸ τινος** κορυφῆς ὄρους, εἰς τὸ ἀδιεξίτητον τῶν νοημάτων βλέπουσα βάθος. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ὄρος ἡμίτομον, κατὰ τὸ παράλιον μέρος ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος δι' εὐθείας ἀπεξεσμένον, οὗ κατὰ τὸ ἄνω πέρας ἄκρα τις προβεβλημένη πρὸς τὸν βυθὸν ἐπινένευκεν· ὅπερ οὖν παθεῖν εἰκὸς, **τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης σκοπιᾶς**, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ ὕψους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει διακύπτοντα θάλατταν· οὕτως **ἰλιγγῶ** μου νῦν ψυχῇ, ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ **τοῦ Κυρίου φωνῇ γενομένη μετέωρος**. *Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὁρῶνται.*³⁴¹

Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 4, 10-16 (ed. M. D. Macleod):

ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πληγεὶς ἐκατέρῳ καθάπερ ἀκριβῆς τρυτάνη **ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα πλάστιγγιν ἰσορρόπως ταλαντεύομαι**, σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν **ἀδεκάστῳ** κριτῇ τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ βέλτιον αἵρήσῃ. πάντα δὴ περιελὼν ἀκκισμόν, ὃ φιλότης, ἦν πεπίστευκέν σοι ψῆφον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρώτων κρίσις, ἥδη φέρε.³⁴²

Gregory of Nyssa, *In sextum Psalmum*, 5, 190, 8–22 (ed. Mc Donough):

τίς γὰρ **τῆς φοβεράς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κρίσεως** μνήμην λαβὼν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ συνειδότη τῷ ἰδίῳ σπαράσσεται καὶ φόβῳ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ συνέχεται; κἂν πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἑαυτῷ συνεγνωκῶς τύχῃ τὸν βίον; ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῆς κρίσεως βλέπων, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ λεπτότατα τῶν παροραμάτων εἰς ἐξέτασιν

³⁴¹ “People who look down from some high peak on a vast sea below, probably feel what my mind has felt, looking out from the sublime words of the Lord as from a mountain-top at the inexhaustible depth of their meaning. It is the same as in many seaside places, where you may see a mountain cut in half, sliced sheer on the seaward side from top to bottom, at whose upper end a projecting peak leans out towards the deep. As a person might feel who from such a view-point looked down from the great height on the sea at the bottom, so my mind spins now, sent reeling by this great saying of the Lord. ‘Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God’” (trans. Stuart George Hall in *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Beatitudes*, ed. Hubertus Drobner and Albert Viciano, Brill: Leiden, 2000, 66).

³⁴² “For I who have been smitten by both passions hang like an accurate balance with both scales in equipoise. But you, being unaffected by either, will choose the better of the two by using the impartial judgement of your reason. Away with all coyness, my dear friend, and cast now the vote entrusted to you in your capacity as judge of my loves” (trans. A. M. Harmon in *Lucian Vol. VIII, Loeb*, 157).

division, the standing at the right, the lot at the left, the myriad of angelic orders, the dreadful king, impartial at that moment when sitting as upon a balance in the middle of both sides and weighing our deeds on the scales in equipoise and putting in balance the various requitals, on this side the kingdom of heaven, the blessed Eden, the land of the meek, the dwelling of the just, on the other side the terrible tortures, the seething fire, the outer darkness, the gnashing of teeth [Mt. 25:30], the imperishable worm of consciousness [Mc. 9: 47–48], which forever sucks the soul by shame and keeps reviving the sufferings through the remembrance of our foul deeds. Reckoning these [thoughts] in my mind, I lose my head and I tremble; for the Gospel described all these things for us in a clear manner.

ἄγεται, καταπτοεῖται πάντως τῇ τῶν φοβερῶν προσδοκίᾳ, οὐκ εἰδὼς εἰς ὃ τι αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως καταλήξει πέρας. τούτου χάριν ὡς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς λαβὼν **τὰ φοβερά κολαστήρια**, τὴν γέεναν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ σκοτεινὸν **πῦρ** καὶ **τὸν ἀτελεύτητον** τῆς συνειδήσεως **σκώληκα** τὸν ἀεὶ μύζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν δι' **αἰσχύνης** καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν **κακῶς βεβιωμένων τὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἀνακαινίζοντα**, ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ ἰκέτης γίνεται δεόμενος μὴ τῷ θυμῷ ἐκείνῳ παραδοθῆναι πρὸς ἔλεγχον μήτε διὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐκείνης ἐπαχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπλημμέλησε παιδευσιν.³⁴³

One may reiterate Philagathos' consistent appropriation of Nyssen's imagery for picturing the shuddering of the mind at the Last Judgement. For 'dizziness' in Gregory's works describes the vertigo which grips a man before the abyss of the divinity.³⁴⁴ Overall, the homily is suggestive for Philagathos' florilegic stance and illustrative for the manner of drawing on Gregory of Nyssa's works, extensively employed throughout the sermons.

Conclusions

In this part we have first referred to Henry Maguire's characterization of the Byzantine homily as 'internal drama' centered on the display of emotions. Apart from drawing on classical rhetorical models, the Byzantine rhetoricized homilies, as were Philagathos' sermons, constitute a specific form of representing religious experience. They may be considered complementary to the iconic doctrine. For the sermons, as if giving speech to pictures, aim to make present through language the story of salvation. It is manifest that the striving for emotional vividness springs from Christ's incarnational economy. In this sense, Philagathos underscored that Christ

³⁴³ "Who in fact upon remembering the terrible judgment of Christ would not be immediately torn apart in his own conscience and seized by fear and anguish? Moreover, even if he may have a clear conscience of having led his life for the better, still, when looking at the severity of the judgement, in which the smallest of faults is examined, he is kept utterly astounded at the expectation of dreadful outcomes, because he does not know which would be for him the decision of the judgement. Then, it is for this reason that while holding under his eyes the frightful punishments – that Gehenna, the gloomy fire, the undying worm of consciousness [Mt 8.12], which forever makes the soul moan through shame and revives its sufferings through the remembrance of his foul deeds. Now the suppliant forthwith implores God praying not to be handed over to his wrath at the cross-examination, nor suffer punishment for his trespasses through God's anger."

³⁴⁴ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten homiliae* VII, PG 44, coll. 729D–732A.

embraced the full range of human emotions for restoring their appropriate functioning tainted by sin.

With consummate artistry the homilist exploited the visualization techniques implied in ancient rhetorical theory, as illustrated by the utilization of the rhetorical exercise of *ekphrasis* and the associated concept of *enargeia*. Similarly, for representing the emotional intensity of the Gospel scenes, the homilist made use of monologue and dialogue. Examples involve the warmhearted conversation of Jesus with the sick man at the pool of Bethesda, his affectionate dialogue with the widow of Nain or Mary Magdalene's solicitous dialogue with the resurrected Jesus.

Perhaps most indicative for Philagathos' proclivity for dramatization is the extensive reliance on the late-antique novels. Doubtlessly, this is an emblematic feature of this homiletic corpus. The homilist's manner of alluding to Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* reveals a process of interiorisation and profound assimilation of the novelistic script. For the events in the novel form a *sui generis* template for picturing the Gospel narratives. Thus the great recognition scene from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* constitutes the model for rendering the emotions which Mary Magdalene experienced at the tomb of Jesus Christ. Similarly, for conveying the emotions which battled the Apostles after the Passion, Philagathos retrieved a novelistic context which presented a spectacular contextual parallelism. The homiletic account of Jesus' apparition "when the disciples were together, with the doors locked for fear of the Jewish leaders" [Jn. 20:19] is modelled after a scene of sorrow from the novel, which features Charikleia's suffering as 'grown past bearing' in a similar setting with "the doors licked behind her." The same pattern recurs in the homily "On the Widow's Son" for rendering the bewilderment of the mother upon seeing the Resurrection of her son. The appropriation consists of a tiny vignette « ἡπίσται κατέχουσα » which nicely bridges the novelistic context with the theme of the sermon. For in the novel Charikleia embraces the wounded Theagenes fallen in an "almost deadly trance," "seeming as if she could yet scarcely believe of holding him in her arms." Considering the manner and the extent of Philagathos' usage of Heliodorus' novel we have suggested that these appropriations presuppose the reading of the novel as a mystical allegory of the soul's yearning for the divine.³⁴⁵

We have also pointed out Philagathos' consistent application of the late-antique novels for describing the concurrent emotions experienced by the characters of the sacred story. Examples involve the description of Herod's emotions when he was confronted by the St. John the Baptist or the representation of St. Peter's sentiments when he witnessed the Transfiguration of the Lord. These depictions are modelled on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*.

Apart from the doctrinal exposition, Philagathos referred to the emotions he experienced in the pastoral endeavour. Among the rhetorical models Philagathos used special mention should be given to Pseudo-Lucian's *Affairs of the Heart* (known as the *Amores* in Latin) and Synesius of Cyrene's *Catastases*, sources hitherto unknown to have been used by the South Italian preacher. In addition, we have further documented the homilist's usage of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. To sum up, for the depiction of emotions Philagathos extensively turns to Christian and profane models

³⁴⁵ For a detailed analysis of Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* see below, Part VI, 392–440.

alike. For the most part we have underscored the novelistic appropriations and their remarkable contextual correspondance with the subjects of the sermons.

PART II: Rhetorical Techniques in the *Homilies* of Philagathos

The preacher's fondness for emotional evocation is further evidenced by the handling of the rhetorical techniques of *diegesis*, *ekphrasis*, *synkrisis*, *antithesis* and *threnos*. These structuring devices enabled ancient writers and readers to organize, recollect, and internalize the texts. Assuredly, for understanding the audience's experience of these texts as well as for assessing the refinement of Philagathos' exegetic technique the recognition of these devices is essential. In what follows we proceed by first observing Philagathos' wielding of the rhetorical lament, then we approach the use of *ekphrasis* and conclude with the practice of *synkrisis* and *antithesis* in the *Homilies*.

1. Rhetorical Lament in the *Homilies*: Philagathos on the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain

The sermon "On the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain" illustrates Philagathos' usage of rhetorical lament. In terms of rhetorical refinement this one of Philagathos' greatest sermons. It encloses descriptions of a wide range of emotions, from excessive displays of sorrow to astonishment and great happiness.³⁴⁶ As we noted above the sermon was pronounced at the Monastery of Christ Saviour (San Salvatore) in Messina shortly after the death of the first cantor.³⁴⁷ The emotional involvement which Philagathos displays indicates that the deceased must have been an old friend of him.³⁴⁸

The sermon exhibits an ekphrastic perspective on the events leading to the Resurrection of the Widow's son. The account of the episode in the Gospel is sparse but the narrative introduces several facts apt for rhetorical development. Luke (7:11–15) the Evangelist reports the miracle in a few lines:

"Now it happened, the day after, that He went into a city called Nain; and many of His disciples went with Him, and a large crowd. And when He came near the gate of the city, behold, a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother; and she was a widow. And a large crowd from the city was with her. When the Lord saw her, He had compassion on her and said to her, 'Do not weep.' Then He came and touched the open coffin, and those who carried him stood still. And He said, 'Young man, I say to you, arise.' So he who was dead sat up and began to speak. And He presented him to his mother."

Clearly, Christ approaching the city, then the sight of the dead man, the large crowd and the short address contain the kernel for a powerful evocation, which was seized by Philagathos. In this

³⁴⁶ For an excellent introduction to the Byzantine funerary literature see Panagiotis Agapitos, "Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: The Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike" in *Modern Greek Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. Gregory Nagy and Anna Stavrakopoulou (Routledge: London, 2003), 5–22.

³⁴⁷ This is indicated in the Italo-Greek branch of the manuscript (Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀκρωτηρίου ἀποθανόντος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου – "Pronounced at the Great Monastery of the Saviour of the Promontory <in Messina> after the death of the protopsalt"). See Rossi-Taibbi, 1969: LV.

³⁴⁸ See above, Part I, chapter 3.5. "Emotions and Audience," 84.

sermon, the preacher's ability to conjure the absent sight reaches *virtuoso* levels. The same emphasis on depicting emotions observed in the sermon on the Massacre of the Holy Innocents by the twofold account of the slaughter (i.e. Philagathos first described the Massacre itself and then again he repeated it in the *ekphrasis* of the painting) is illustrated again here in the compositional structure of the homily. For in its first part, it encloses a lengthy citation from Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*, which incorporates almost all Nyssen's account of the episode of Christ raising Lazarus, while in the second part Philagathos introduces his own description, so that he is able to present the episode twice over. First, the preacher acknowledges his reliance on Nyssen's words, which is a rare stance in the *Homilies* if only considering the extent of his dependence on Gregory's works:

There was a city in Judea called Nain. A widow there had an only child (for I would be mad if I change the words of Nyssen in this place). For the child was no longer a child in the sense of being among boys, but already passing from childhood to man's condition; [thus] the Gospel calls him 'a young man.'

Ἦν τις πόλις κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ναϊν. Παῖς ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ μονογενὴς χήρα τινί (μαινοίμην γὰρ εἰ τὰς ἐν τούτῳ φωνὰς τοῦ Νυσσαέως ἀμείψαιμι). Ἦν οὖν ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἔτι τοιοῦτος οἷος ἐν μειρακίοις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρα τελῶν· νεανίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.³⁴⁹

Philagathos' remark about the Nyssen's words expresses the central concept of Byzantine culture, namely of *mimesis*. After this lengthy citation, Philagathos displays his own account modulated by a consummate florilegic perspective. As we shall see, he embroiders the text with evocative imagery drawn from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on Psalm 44*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Sermons on the Beatitudes* and *Life of Saint Macrina*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *In praise of the Maccabees* (oration 15), then the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Nylus of Ancyra' *Epistle 6* and perhaps Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra's *Narrations*. In what follows I present a translation of the text:³⁵⁰

[7.] The child was lovely and beloved by everybody. The maidens prayed to be brides for such a spouse; the married to have such sons. The elderly clung to the youth, as to their own child. And the widow mother rejoiced embracing her son again and again, and kissed the *bloom of his lips and the redness of his cheeks*, and at one time twisted *the locks of his hair*, at another *slipped at blowing his curls in the wind*. Perhaps the miserable mother imagined herself leading a bride towards the beautiful youth and observed the maidens so as to select the

³⁴⁹ Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 38–39); cf. Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*, 217, 47–220, 19; as can be observed by the sample cited below, Philagathos' quotes *verbatim* Nyssen's text with a few minor modifications; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, 217, 47–51: Νάιν τινὰ πόλιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν **ἱστορεῖ ἡ Γραφή**. Παῖς ἦν ἐν ταύτῃ μονογενὴς χήρα τινί, οὐκέτι τοιοῦτος παῖς, οἷος ἐν μειρακίοις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρα τελῶν. Νεανίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει **ὁ λόγος**.

³⁵⁰ Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 7–15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 39–43); I give a block translation so as to offer a panoramic view of the flow of the text; I have rendered Philagathos' elegant Greek as close as possible to the original text, hoping not to make the text obscure; for the Greek text see Appendix 2.

most excellent, and she dreamt of the crown and the bridal chamber and the nuptial song. And yet more, the child was for her an oath she would take in the uncertain proceedings of the law: “So much I would have benefited from my only child, so much I would have kissed his crown of glory, so much I would have tendered his young, so joyfully I would have yielded up my life in the arms of my son.” [8.] For the mother lived only for her child, her one sweet consolation: *But envy cut off these bright hopes by snatching away the poor lad from life in his very youth. A grievous and tragic affliction fell on the mother.* What soul do you think that miserable mother carried, if indeed she has a soul then, watching her beloved departing³⁵¹ and giving up his last breath, and only just granting his mother his end and farewell? How can I put into words, that as the youth withered away in a short time because of a violent fever, the mother stood fearfully by, quivering, burning up her entrails, withering her lips, tearing her hair, baring her chest, unveiling her head, *divided between hope and fear, gazing steadfastly at the not blinking child, with eyes open wide*, and almost breathing out her life along with him, *while the condition of his body gradually decayed and the strength of his body diminished*, and when the soul was spent, the child expired? How can one look upon this? How might one endure it? How would one not depart from this life together with the deceased? The remembrance therefore provoked me to this [discourse], so that I seemed to be in that place and to behold the tragic events.

[9.] For the entire city of Nain came together for the burial of the deceased, and a great noise arose and *the lament was confused, a wailing of men, a shrieking of women, a screeching of maidens*, the crying of children, *all was full of tears*. The youth lay stretched out on his back upon the bier, like a towering pine or a cypress tree, which the onslaught of winds has violently shaken and torn out by its roots,³⁵² a pitiable spectacle and occasion for tears, even though the rose of his cheek has become pale, it still reveals the remnants of a great beauty. The wretched mother, by the things she did and by the words she uttered, drew out with greater force the tears of those gazing at her, *just as a bird watching her young being devoured, when a snake creeps in to attack, she flutters about her nest chirping shrilly all over and yet without being able to defend them*. And perhaps the words of Micah are being fulfilled in her: “Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the owls.” [Mich. 1:8]

[10.] For she lost her mind because of suffering and filled with a frenzy of despair by the evil opposing her hopes, she went around the streets, lacerated her grey hair, tore at her cheeks, [and] smiting her chest and head with stones she revealed the breasts with which she had nursed. And turning pitifully to the crowd:

³⁵¹ The expression “watching her beloved departing” (ὁρῶσαν ψυχορραγοῦντα τὸν φίλτατον – i.e. “ψυχορραγέω” – “let the soul break loose”) is a specific expression which alludes to the popular belief of the soul’s frightful struggle before departing with the host of angels attending by; see for this belief Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, 4–5 and 25–27.

³⁵² The metaphor of the young lying dead like “a towering pine or a cypress tree” corresponds to an ancient simile for death pictured as “uprooted tree,” which was already established in the Homeric tradition. Thereafter, the cypress tree is a presence in the journey of the dead man in the Netherworld: “You will find to the left of Hades’ halls a spring, / and standing by its side, a white cypress tree. / Do not go near this spring.” This association of the dead with the cypress tree endured to this day. (Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, 201–202).

“Have you perhaps,” she said, “gathered, O you who are here, to see the marriage of my son, and to dance in celebration at his wedding, and to eagerly impart your joy to me? I am grateful for your ready kindness. But the bridegroom lies asleep refusing the wedding.”

[11.] When she said these things and tore her cheeks with her nails, she unleashed fountains of tears and blood together, and as she walked around the bier of the one lying [there], she spoke with the deceased as if he were living. “What is this, my child, what is this long road, with no way back, that you walk? What is [for you] such swiftness for departing? For I was unaware that I was not imagining for you, my child, the bridal chamber, but death, and not to be lighting the wedding lantern, alas, but the one at your tomb. I have been vainly dreaming to see both the bridal and then immediately the child’s crowns; thinking that I might become a grandmother and a mother-in-law, [but] I am not named a mother [any longer]. I have been vainly dreaming to see both the bridal and then immediately the child’s crowns; thinking that I might become a grandmother and a mother-in-law, [but] I am not named a mother [any longer]. Oh, woe’s me! For I saw you dying, for I ought to have given up my life in your arms, and be honored by you in preceding funeral rites. How happy [are those] mothers, whose children attend their deaths. To what end have I observed this spectacle? When will you return to me, O my son? When will I look upon you again?” When she said these things, every mother cried, and the fathers lamented.

[12.] When they proceeded outside the gates of the city, the multitude flocked to the burial, [and] when she saw from afar those digging the grave, *she ran raving towards the bier; and she embraced the corpse and bound her own limbs to the limbs of the child, and embraced him closely, and caressed him with mournful lamentations.* “O my child,” she said, “what kind of wedding is prepared for you? How is this bridal chamber adorned for you? Awake, my darling, and listen your old mother lamenting. Shake off this heavy sleep, which rushed upon you in such an untimely manner! Have pity on your mother’s hoary age and hear. *Alas! You are silent and that sweet mouth withheld by silence and darkness* is spread upon the lamps of your eyes. You dwell beneath a rough stone and deep darkness, and shall I see the sun? But no, this is not just. *On your grave I shall fix a hut, and perhaps you would come forth to me, and I shall hear you talking,* or rather I shall bury myself with you, my darling, and aged flesh will be consumed along with your youthful bones.” In this manner she bitterly lamented, *not hastening to accede to the funeral of the deceased, but seeking to have her fill of suffering, the wailing was stretched out by her to the greatest extent.*

[13.] But now since I behold your eyes imbued with tears out of compassion and since the intensity of my voice faded out in the remembrance [of the events], after having banished away the eyes’ tears let us move towards the most graceful meaning of the story. Therefore, the soul of this youth arrived at the province of death, to that darkness and gloom, full of abhorrence; [for] he traversed the earth, “whose bars are the everlasting barriers,” as the fugitive among the prophets said [Jonae 2:7].³⁵³ But the Saviour hastened from

³⁵³ The prophet Jonah is poetically referred to as the ‘fugitive’, on account of his flight “from the presence of the Lord” by going to Jaffa instead of the city of Nineveh where God commanded him to go (Jonae 1:1–3).

Capernaum, having just cured the centurion's boy, fallen in the evening of life; He hastened on foot, as was His habit, making the journey with measured step, at once teaching us not to disparage the seriousness of the [soul's] condition by a disorderly walk, yet at the same time inspiring confidence that even if the dead were shut in the grave, He will raise him, as with Lazarus. [...]

[16.] So then, the Bestower of life comes, and grasps with a divine hand the one lying dead. And those who carried him stood still – thinking that perhaps He wishes to embrace the corpse –, but [Christ] with commanding voice calls upon the dead: “Young man, I say to you, arise.” [Lc. 7:14] And forthwith, oh what a miracle! For Hell has been broken, and the soul sprung from the realm of the dead, and the one who was dead sat up, and leapt down from the bier, and all things become new and wonderful. For the tomb of death remained deprived of death.³⁵⁴ And the gravediggers, having thrown the shovel and the mattock down, run towards the miracle; and the miracle changed their tears into joy. Fear and consternation seized those gathered there, and some of them, I think among those who were more simple minded, wiped off their eyes, as if believing that they behold these things in a dream. Whereas that happy mother, wallowing at the feet of the Lord, and embracing the child with her other hand, *seeming as if she could yet scarcely believe that she was holding him in her arms*, and because of this [her] sorrow was wholly changed into great happiness. Therefore, to summarize everything, at that time the sun saw that Davidic prophecy fulfilled, “a mother rejoicing over her child” [Ps. 112 (113): 9] and glorified the Dispenser of life and our Lord Jesus. So, then, this astounding miracle ended in this way, procuring the greatest benefit to our souls, and much more for all those, who being pierced by compunction shed forth tears of affection, which we believe to be efficacious in cleansing the filth of our souls.

This extensive citation reveals that Philagathos exploits all the traditional themes recommended in laments. Menander prescribed the rhetor to address the appearance of the fallen young by asking: “What beauty he has lost – the bloom of his cheeks – the tongue now silent! The soft beard wilted! The locks of hair no longer to be gazed at! The glances of the eye, the eyeballs at rest! The tendrils of the eyelids, tendrils no more! All fallen in ruin!”³⁵⁵ Then, if the deceased was young or on the eve of marriage, the rhetor should base his lament on the bridal chamber, the alcove on the hymeneal songs giving way to dirges, on the wedding–torches preparing the funeral fire. Menander further recommends that the speech should refer to the three periods of time, the visible events, the manner of death, the gathering attending the funeral, the grief of the mother and father, the beautiful past and the bright hopes aroused by him.³⁵⁶

Philagathos is faithful to these *topoi* in laments, which he culls from his readings. The association of wedding with funeral rites is derived from Gregory of Nyssa.³⁵⁷ But similar

³⁵⁴ Philagathos' text reads here Ὁ χαρωνίας τάφος ἔμεινε κενοτάφιον. (Hom. 6, 16, Ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 43); it is an elegant antithetical parallelism between “τάφος” and “κενοτάφιον” (“tomb/empty tomb”) a word play difficult to render into English. Literally the sentence means: “The grave belonging to Charon remained an empty grave.”

³⁵⁵ Menander Rhetor, *On Epideictic Speeches*, II, 16, 436, 16–21 (ed. and trans. Russell and Wilson 1981, 204–207).

³⁵⁶ Menander Rhetor, *On Epideictic Speeches*, II, 16, 435, 1–30 (ed. and trans. Russell and Wilson 1981, 202–205).

³⁵⁷ Philagathos, 6, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41): Ἐλάνθανον ἄρα φανταζομένη σοι, τέκνον, οὐ θάλαμον, ἀλλὰ θάνατον, καὶ λαμπάδα ὑφάσαι οὐ γαμήλιον, οἶμοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτάφιον. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio consolatoria in*

formulations are also encountered in Achilles Tatius' novel.³⁵⁸ For the widow's gestures of caressing her son, the preacher's stitches together the words of Gregory of Nyssa from his first homily on the Beatitudes.

Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 39):

Ἡ δὲ χήρα μήτηρ ἔχαιρε θαμινὰ περιπλεκομένη τῷ υἱῷ³⁵⁹ καὶ φιλοῦσα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους ἄνθος καὶ τῆς παρειᾶς τὸ ἐρύθημα, καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους ποτὲ μὲν ἀναπλέκουσα, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνεῖσα ταῖς αὖραις περισοβεῖν.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll 1204, 45–51:

Ποῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἄνθους τὰ σύμβολα; ποῦ ἡ εὐχροια τῆς παρειᾶς; ποῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους ἄνθος; ποῦ τὸ βλοσυρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι κάλλος τῇ περιβολῇ τῶν ὀφρύων ὑπολαμπόμενον; ποῦ ἡ εὐθεῖα ῥίς, ἡ τῷ κάλλει τῶν παρειῶν μεσιτεύουσα; ποῦ αἱ ἐπαυχένιοι κόμαι; ποῦ οἱ περικροτάφιοι βόστρυχοι;³⁶⁰

Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1204, 26–28:

ὅτι σοι ὑπερσφριγῶσιν αἱ χεῖρες πρὸς κίνησιν, καὶ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ ἄλμα οἱ πόδες, καὶ περισοβεῖ ταῖς αὖραις ὁ βόστρυχος, (...).³⁶¹

Then, for evoking the hopes thwarted by the youth's untimely death Philagathos extracts two passages from Nyssen's *Life of Saint Macrina*. The first refers to the untimely death of Naucrati, Macrina's younger brother. The second concerns the sudden death of the young man betrothed to Macrina.

Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40):

ὁ δὲ φθόνος ῥαγδαῖος ἐπεισπεσὼν ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας,

Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, 4, 23–24 (ed. P. Maraval):

Ὁ δὲ φθόνος ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν

Pulcheriam, ed. A. Spira, 9, 468–469: θάλαμος τέκνοις οὐ τάφος παρὰ πατέρων σπουδάζεται, στέφανος γαμικὸς οὐ ξίφος φονικόν, γαμήλιος λαμπὰς οὐ πῦρ ἐπιτάφιον. “For bridal chamber, not the grave is to the young prepared by their fathers, wedding-crown not slaying sword, nuptial torch, not funeral fire.” See also Gregory of Nyssa, *De deitate filii et spiritus sancti*, PG 46, coll. 569: Τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ πῆξω τὸν θάλαμον; Τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν εὐφροσύνην παρασκευάσω τοῦ γάμου; Καὶ ἄψω ἐπ’ αὐτῷ οὐχὶ λαμπάδα γαμήλιον, ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἐπιτάφιον; Such bridal chamber will I set him? Such blissful marriage will I make him? Will I kindle him not nuptial lamp, but funeral fire?

³⁵⁸ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 1, 13, 6: τάφος μὲν σοι, τέκνον, ὁ θάλαμος· γάμος δὲ ὁ θάνατος· θρῆνος δὲ ὁ ὑμέναιος. “Your bridal chamber, child, is the grave, your wedding hymn, the funeral dirge, your nuptials songs these wailings” (trans. S. Gaselee, 42–43).

³⁵⁹ The usage of “περιπλέκω” here is reminiscent of a passage of Gregory of Nyssa (cf. *De opificio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 224, 24: περιπλεκομένην προκειμένῳ τῷ πτώματι.), which Philagathos actually cited in full just below (cf. *Hom.* 6, 12, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 42).

³⁶⁰ “Where are the things of your present flowering? Where is the colour on your cheek? Where is the bloom on your lips? Where are the lovely eye-lashes pointed up by the curve of the eyebrows? Where is the straight nose fixed between the beautiful cheeks? Where is the hair upon the neck? Where the curls round the temples?” (trans. Stuart George Hall, “Homily I”, 29).

³⁶¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Beatitudes*, “Yet you glory in your youth (...), because your hands are strong for lifting, your feet agile for jumping, your curls blow about in the wind (...)” (trans. Hall, 28).

ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐλεεινῇ τῇ νεότητι.³⁶²
νεότητι· βαρὺ δέ τι καὶ τραγικὸν πάθος τῇ
μητρὶ συνηέχθη.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, 9, 5–7 (ed. P. Maraval): **Εἶτα βαρὺ τι καὶ τραγικὸν πάθος** ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἀντικειμένου **τῇ μητρὶ συνηέχθη**, ὃ παντὶ τῷ γένει πρὸς συμφορὰν τε καὶ πένθος ἐπήρκεσεν.³⁶³

This degree of precision in weaving into the text of the sermon passages on the same subject is suggestive for Philagathos' method. Then when describing the mother's conflicting emotions Philagathos bases his account to the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicolas of Myra*. The passage from the Life adapted in the sermon features a father astounded and "divided by fear and joy" at the miraculous apparition of his son, who previously has been taken in captivity.³⁶⁴ Philagathos' characterization of the young lying on the bier with "eyes open wide, not blinking" is meant to be particularly evocative, for in the funeral ritual the eyes and the mouth were immediately closed after death ensued.³⁶⁵ For this image, Philagathos appears to draw on Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra's *Narrations* (a Late antique monastic tale of martyrdom), which presents a striking lexical and contextual parallelism with the homily. In Pseudo-Nilus' *Narrations* a mother is described lamenting for her dead boy while gazing "with eyes open wide, without blinking – ἀσκαρδαμυκτῶν κεχηνότι τῷ βλέμματι."³⁶⁶ Furthermore, Philagathos, as Menander advised, describes how the youth slowly withered away availing himself of Basil of Caesarea's interpretation of *Psalm* 44, which vividly depicted the decay of our perishable nature:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40):

Πῶς παραστήσω τῷ λόγῳ, ὅπως ὁ μὲν νέος τῷ σφοδρῷ πυρετῷ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐμαραίνετο, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ παρίστατο περιδεῆς καὶ υπότρομος, ἀπνηθρακωμένη τὰ σπλάγχνα, πεφρυγμένη τὰ χεῖλη, κεκαρμένη τὴν κόμην, γυμνὴ τὰ στέρνα, ἀπαρακάλυπτος τὴν κεφαλὴν, **ἐλπιδὶ καὶ φόβῳ μεριζομένη, ἐνατενίζουσα τῷ παιδὶ ἀσκαρδαμύκτῳ καὶ κεχηνότι τῷ**

Vitae et Miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Miracula tria, ed. G. Anrich, 15, 7–15:

ὁ οὖν πατήρ, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὁράματι καὶ φάσμα βλέπειν ὑπονοήσας δαιμόνιον, ἠπόρει καθ' ἑαυτόν, **ἐνατενίζων ἀσκαρδαμύκτως** τῷ ὁρωμένῳ καὶ μηδ' αὐτός τι λαλῆσαι δυνάμενος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ οὕτω διακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφασία κεκρατημένων, ὁ πατήρ, μικρὸν ἀνανήψας **φόβῳ τε καὶ χαρᾷ** μεριζόμενος, ἡρέμα φωνήσας (...).³⁶⁸

³⁶² "But Envy cut off these bright hopes by snatching away the poor lad from life" (trans. W. K. Lowther Clarke, 24).

³⁶³ "Then there fell on the mother a grievous and tragic affliction, contrived, I think, by the Adversary, which brought trouble and mourning upon all the family" (trans. Lowther Clarke, 31).

³⁶⁴ *Vitae et Miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Miracula tria*, 15, 7–15 (ed. G. Anrich).

³⁶⁵ Cf. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, 5.

³⁶⁶ Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes septem de monachis in Sina*, 6, 1, 11–12 (ed. F. Conca).

³⁶⁸ "So the father, astounded by the vision and surmising to behold a demonic apparition, pondered in himself, gazing steadfastly at the sight without blinking and unable to utter a word. After they stood in this manner for a long time and being seized by speechlessness, the father, then coming a little to his senses, divided by fear and joy, gently uttered: "My child," he said, "Basil, do I see truly you, my dearest son, or the apparition is the sight of a phantasm?"

βλέμματι, καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτῷ συνεκπνέουσα, ἕως κατὰ βραχὺ, **ὑπορρεούσης αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕξεως καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τόνων ἐλαττουμένων** καὶ δαπανωμένου τοῦ πνεύματος, ὁ παῖς ἐναπέψυξε. Πῶς εἶδε; Πῶς ὑπέμεινε; Πῶς οὐ συναπῆλθε τῷ τελευτήσαντι; Ἐμὲ γοῦν τοσοῦτον ἀνεπτέρωσεν ἡ ἀνάμνησις, ὥς δοκεῖν παρῆναι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ ὁρᾶν τὰ τοῦ δράματος.

Cf. Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes septem de monachis in Sina*, 6.1.11–12 (ed. F. Conca):

καὶ ὥσπερ ἐμβροντηθεὶς ἀθρόα νεφῶν συμπαταγούτων ἡχῇ, οὐτ' ἐκλαιον λοιπὸν οὐτ' ὠδυρόμην, ἀλλ' ἀτενῶς ἔβλεπον πρὸς αὐτὸν **ἀσκαρδαμυκτῶν κεχηνότι τῷ βλέμματι**.³⁶⁷

Basil of Casarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, Psalm XLIV, PG 29, coll. 388:

Εἰς ἀκμὴν δὲ ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὸ στάσιμον τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπολαβὼν, πάλιν ἄρχεται κατὰ μικρὸν ὑφαιρῆν πρὸς τὸ ἐλαττον, **ὑπορρεούσης αὐτῷ λεληθότως τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕξεως, καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων ἐλαττουμένων**, ἕως ἂν, ὑπὸ γήρωος κατακαμφθεὶς, τὴν εἰς ἔσχατον δυνάμεως ὑφαίρεσιν ὑπομείνῃ.³⁶⁹

Philagathos' emphasis on violent gestures of bereavement may attest the endurance of an age-old practice of mourning. For the violent tearing of the hair, lacerating of cheeks or smiting the chest and the head "were not just acts of uncontrolled grief, but part of the ritual indispensable to lamentation throughout antiquity."³⁷⁰ In the twelfth century, the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena records similar practices of wailing.³⁷¹ However, these displays of grief may point to a literary convention in laments. In the *Aethiopika*, for instance, Theagenes is described mourning for his beloved Charikleia by "striking his head and tearing his hair."³⁷² From an art historical perspective, Henry Maguire singled out Philagathos' sermon "On the Widow' Son" as a source for the depiction of emotions in art. Maguire emphasized that "the Byzantine traditions of homilies and church poetry can illuminate the depiction of sentiment in art."³⁷³ In this sense, the emphasis on emotions, and especially on sorrow in Byzantine religious literature, prefigured the depiction of violent gestures of mourning for New Testament scenes in the paintings of the thirteenth century.³⁷⁴

And the child replied, "I am," saying "your only child Basil, whom the miserable and bloodthirsty hands of the Hagarenes robbed from your arms and from my mothers carrying me into captivity in the island of Crete."

³⁶⁷ "After that I did not weep or lament but just stared at him with eyes open wide, without blinking, as if stunned by the sudden sound of clashing storm clouds" (trans. D. F. Caner, 117).

³⁶⁹ "But after he has reached the prime of life and partook from the steadiness of the age, begins again little by little to dwindle, while the strenght of his body gradually decaying and the strength of his body diminishing, until bended down by old age, awaits the taking away of the last vestige of power."

³⁷⁰ Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow," 126–132; Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, 163.

³⁷¹ Alexiad, XI. 12, 2 (ed. Leib).

³⁷² Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 2, 1, 2 (ed. Colonna, 118–9).

³⁷³ Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow," 173; the influence of the Byzantine religious literature upon art is explored by Maguire in *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

³⁷⁴ Id., "The Depiction of Sorrow," 172–173.

As we have noted, Philagathos assumes an *ekphrastic* perspective as if he was participating in the events themselves. This is a topos recalling the definition of *ekphrasis* as a “speech placing the thing shown before the eyes” and thus turning the speaker or the audience into spectators. As Ruth Webb explained, *ekphrasis* “is a form of language which achieves the linguistically impossible, appealing to the sense of sight, and bringing the referent into the presence of the audience.”³⁷⁵ Indeed, by making the audience feel present at the events the preacher aims at recalling the same emotions as if it were at the miraculous sight. In this sense, Philagathos’ evocation was truly effective, for he writes: “But now since I behold your eyes imbued with tears out of compassion and since the intensity of my voice faded out in the remembrance of the events...” This reference to the audience’s weeping represents a rare instance in Byzantine homiletics since records of interaction between preacher and audience are rare after the sixth century as Theodora Antonopoulou indicated.³⁷⁶

But most arresting in Philagathos’ sermon is the usage of Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* and of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*.³⁷⁷ Their quality of depicting lamentations, sorrowful events, scenes of emotional intensity, their abundant use of *ekphrasis* made them particularly suitable for rhetorical appropriation. Thus for depicting the funeral convoy and that woeful dirge, Philagathos appeals to Achilles Tatius’ *ekphrasis* of the storm. The vivid portrayal of the despair, which seized the passengers when the ship was tossed by the winds being almost engulfed by the waves, is readjusted to the context of the sermon:

Hom. 6, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40):

[9.] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις Ναῖν πᾶσα συνέρρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἔκκομιδι τοῦ νεκροῦ, καὶ θροῦς ἐγγέγονει πολὺς καὶ θρήνος ἦν συμμιγής, ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή, παρθένων κωκυτός, παίδων κλαυθμυρισμός, πάντα δακρύων ἀνάμεστα.

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 3, 2, 8:

ἦν οὖν ἀνέμων μάχη καὶ κυμάτων· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἡδυνάμεθα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηὸς σεισμοῦ. συμμιγής δὲ πάντων ἐγένετο βοή· ἐρρόχθει τὸ κῦμα, ἐπάφλαζε τὸ πνεῦμα, ὀλολυγμὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἀνδρῶν, κελευσμὸς ναυτῶν, πάντα θρήνων καὶ κωκυτῶν ἀνάμεστα.³⁷⁸

Next, for depicting the misery and the distress of the mother after loosing her only son, Philagathos draws on Heliodorus’ novel. The preacher reforges for the sermon the episode of Kalasiris’ lamenting over the alleged death of Charikleia and Theagenes. The image Heliodorus presents is picturesque. Kalasiris roams round the place of battle and sorrows like a bird whose nest has been made waste by a serpent that devours her young laid before her eyes. The bird is

³⁷⁵ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 52.

³⁷⁶ Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 108.

³⁷⁷ Several studies have indicated allusions to the novels in the homilies of Philagathos, but the dossier has not been exhausted; cf. Mircea Duluş, “Philagathos of Cerami and the Monastic Renewal in the Twelfth-Century Norman Kingdom,” in *La tradizione*, 60–62; Nunzio Bianchi, “Filagato da Cerami lettore di Eliodoro (e di Luciano e Alcifrone)” in *Romanzi greci ritrovati*, 34; Aldo Corcella, “Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo,” *BZ* 103 (2010), 29–31.

³⁷⁸ “It was a fight between wind and water: we could never keep still in one spot owing to the shocks imparted to the vessel. A confused noise of all kinds arose—roaring of waves, whistling of wind, shrieking of women, shouting of men, the calling of the sailors’ orders; all was full of wailing and lamentation” (trans. Gaselee, Loeb 45, 139).

afraid to come near, yet cannot endure to desert them. She flies mournfully round the scene of her wretchedness pouring in vain her motherly complaints into ears deaf to her wails. By his dramatic image, Philagathos understands how to render the despair of the widow:

Hom. 6, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40):

Aethiopika, 2, 22, 4, (ed. Colonna, 154–156):

Ἡ δὲ ἀθλία μήτηρ, οἷς ἐποίει καὶ οἷς ἐφθέγγετο, πλέον τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν βλέπόντων ἐπεσπᾶτο τὰ δάκρυα, **ὥσπερ τις ὄρνις πορθομένης** ὁρῶσα τοὺς νεοσσούς, **ὄφεως προσερπύσαντος, περιποτᾶται τὴν καλιὰ** περιτρύζουσα καὶ **ἀμύνειν οὐκ ἔχουσα**. Καὶ τάχα τὰ τοῦ Μιχαίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεπλήρωτο· «Κόψεται καὶ θρηνήσει, περιπατήσεται ἀνυπόδητος καὶ γυμνή· ποιήσεται κοπετὸν ὡς δρακόντων, καὶ πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων *Σειρήνων*».

«Καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ πλάνη, ὦ πάτερ, ἦν λέγεις;» «Παίδων» ἔφη «πρὸς ληστῶν ἀφαιρεθεὶς καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδικοῦντας γινώσκων **ἐπαμῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἔχων** εἰλοῦμαι περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ θρήνοις παραπέμπω τὸ πάθος, **ὥσπερ οἶμαί τις ὄρνις ὄφεως αὐτῇ τὴν καλιὰν πορθοῦντος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς** τε τὴν γονὴν θοινωμένου προσελθεῖν μὲν ὀκνεῖ φεύγειν δὲ οὐ φέρει, πόθος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πάθος ἀνταγωνίζεται, τετριγυῖα δὲ **περιποτᾶται** τὴν πολιορκίαν εἰς ὧτα ἀνήμερα καὶ οἷς ἔλεον οὐκ ἐγνώρισεν ἡ φύσις ἀνήνυτον ἱκετηρίαν τὸν μητρῶον προσάγουσα θρήνον.»³⁷⁹

Then, the citation from Micah about weeping and mourning adjoined to the citation from Heliodorus is also significant for it points to Philagathos' technique of amassing texts on extreme display of emotions. But perhaps what is more striking is that at a closer look he introduces an allusion to Gregory of Nazianzus' oration, *In praise of the Maccabees* for the comparison of death with the serpent:

Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Machabaeorum laudem (orat. 15)*, 35, 925:

Ἡ δὲ γενναία μήτηρ, καὶ ὄντως ἐκείνων τῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὸ μέγα τοῦ νόμου θρέμμα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, τέως μὲν χαρᾷ καὶ φόβῳ σύμμικτος ἦν, καὶ δύο παθῶν ἐν μεταίχμιῳ· χαρᾷ, διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα· φόβῳ, διὰ τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κολάσεων· καὶ ὡς **νεοσσούς ὄρνις, ὄφεως προσερπύζοντος**, ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἐπιβούλων, **περιίπτωτο, περιέτρυζεν**, ἡντιβόλει, συνηγωνίζετο, τί μὲν οὐ λέγουσα; τί δὲ οὐ πράττουσα τῶν πρὸς νίκην ἐπαλειφόντων; Ἦρπαζε τὰς ρανίδας τοῦ αἵματος, ὑπεδέχετο τὰ λακίσματα τῶν μελῶν, προσεκύνει τὰ λείψανα· τὸν μὲν συνέλεγε, τὸν δὲ παρεδίδου, τὸν δὲ **παρεσκεύαζεν**.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ “And how came you to be a wanderer, father?” –“Being deprived,” said he, “of my children by robbers; knowing those who had injured me, but unable to contend with them; I roam about this spot, mourning and sorrowing; not unlike a bird whose nest a serpent has made desolate, and is devouring her young before her eyes. She is afraid to approach, yet cannot bear to desert them; terror and affliction struggle within her; she flies mournfully round the scene of her calamities, pouring in vain her maternal complaints into ears deaf to her wailings and strangers to mercy” (trans. Rowland Smith, 47).

³⁸⁰ “In turn, their brave mother, true genetrix of heroes so distinguished for the magnitude and purity of their goodness, the mighty and high-souled nursling of the law, was pulled throughout by two concurrent emotions, joy and fear, she was joyous over their show of courage, she feared for the future and the excruciating punishments it would bring; and just as a bird chirps shrilly and flutters about her brood when a snake or some other predator is

At the lexical level, the similarities between Gregory and Philagathos are noteworthy. The fact that the combination between “προσερπύζω / προσέρπω” (i.e. to creep up), περιπέτομαι (i.e. to fly around) and περιτρύζω (i.e. to grunt round about), the latter a very rare occurrence,³⁸¹ do not appear, as far as it can be ascertained, in any other patristic or Medieval Greek texts, deserves special mention here. The context in Gregory presenting the Maccabean mother lamenting the death of her seven sons matches the widow’s bewailing of her only son in Philagathos’ sermon. Then, the simile of death imagined as a snake devouring the young of the bird is identical. Furthermore, Gregory’s notion and exhortations for willingly embracing martyrdom may have made an impression on Philagathos since it finds a parallel in his sermon “For the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee.”³⁸² We may also add that the image of the serpents creeping in (προσερπύσαντες) for brinking our death is a dear one to the South Italian preacher.³⁸³

Furthermore, the sight with the widow running frantically towards the coffin is inspired from a scene loaded with intense emotions in Heliodorus’ novel. After having been separated from her beloved, Charikleia recognizes Theagenes from afar and “runs raving towards him, and, falling on his neck, embraced him closely, breathing out her passion with lamentations.”³⁸⁴

Hom. 6, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41–42):

Ὡς δὲ τῆς πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἔξω ἐγένοντο, τοῦ πλήθους ἐφεπομένου τῇ ἐκφορᾷ, μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα τοὺς τὸν τάφον ὀρύττοντας, **ἐμμανὴς ἐπὶ** τὸν κράβαττον **ἵεται**· καὶ περιχυθεῖσα τῷ πτώματι καὶ μέλεσι μέλη τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς συναρμόσασα, **ἀπρὶξ εἶχετο καὶ γοεροῖς κατησπάζετο θρήνοις**·

Aethiopika, 7, 7, 5 (ed. Colonna, 378):

Κατ’ ἴχνος γὰρ ἐφεπομένη τοῦ Καλασίριδος καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀναγνώρισασα τὸν Θεαγένην, ὁζὺ γάρ τι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐρωτικῶν ὄψις καὶ κίνημα πολλάκις καὶ σχῆμα μόνον κἂν πόρρωθεν ἢ κἂν ἐκ νότων τῆς ὁμοιότητος τὴν φαντασίαν παρέστησεν, ὥσπερ οἰστηθεῖσα ὑπὸ ὄψεως **ἐμμανὴς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἵεται καὶ**

slithering to attack, she entreated and flinched at every blow. Was there anything she did not say, anything she did not do to spur them to victory? She collected the jets of their blood; she scooped up the battered remnants of their limbs; she kissed what was left of her children; she rallied one as she surrendered another (...)” (trans. Martha Vinson, 79–80).

³⁸¹ According to *TLG* the verb περιτρύζω is attested in the corpus only 16 times and from the authors that have employed this verb only Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodore Studites (i.e. there are 7 occurrences in the works of Studites) are relevant for a discussion on Philagathos’ sources; noteworthy, an identical context is found only in the cited passage from Gregory’s *In Machabaeorum laudem*.

³⁸² *Hom.* 37 (ed. Zaccagni, 53, 3–8).

³⁸³ *Hom.* 3, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 19): Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ πονηροὶ ὄφεις τῷ γένει παντὶ **προσερπύσαντες** ταῖς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀμυχαῖς τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἐθανάτωσαν, τούτου χάριν ὑποδύεται τὸ τοῦ ὄφεως ὁμοίωμα ὁ Θεὸς «ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας», ὡς φησιν Παῦλος, γενόμενος καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθεροῦται τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τοῦ ὑπελθόντος τὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἶδος καὶ γενομένου καθ’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν αὐτομολήσαντας. Trans.: “Since the wicked serpents creeping into the entire human kind through the bitings of sin brought death to our nature, God put on for this reason the likeness of the snake, becoming, as Paul said, “in the likeness of sinful flesh [Romans 8:3];” and so is man delivered from sin on account of [His] assuming the form of sin and by making Himself similar to us when we went willingly towards the serpent.”

³⁸⁴ Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 7, 7, 5 (ed. Colonna, 378).

«Τέκνον, λέγουσα, τοιοῦτός σοι θάλαμος **περιφῦσα τοῦ αὐχένος**³⁸⁵ **ἀπριξ εἶχετο καὶ**
 ἐτοιμάζεται; Τοιαύτη σοι παστὰς **ἐξήρτητο καὶ γοεροῖς** τισι **κατησπάζετο**
 καλλωπίζεται; **θρήνοις.**³⁸⁶

Then, Philagathos through an *ethopoiia* enhances the intensity of the widow's lamentation. As it is known, the rhetorical exercise of *ethopoiia* or the imitation of the character of a person aimed at describing internal psychological states, expressed through direct speech. But, for the widow's imagined speech, Philagathos relies once again on Heliodorus' novel, precisely on Theagenes' wailing the death of Charikleia and on Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, a text which Philagathos used in the homily "On the Massacre of the Holy Innocents," as we have seen.

Hom. 6, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41 – 42):

Οἷμοι, σιωπᾶς καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ στόμα κατέσχε
σιγὴ καὶ ζόφος περικέχυται ταῖς λαμπάσι τῶν
 ὀφθαλμῶν. Καὶ σὺ μὲν ὑπὸ λίθον οἰκήσεις
 τραχὺν καὶ σκότος βαθύ, ἐγὼ δὲ βλέψω τὸν
 ἥλιον; Οὐ μὲν οὖν, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκός. **Πρὸς τῷ**
σῷ τάφῳ πῆξομαι τὴν καλύβην, καὶ τάχα
μοι φανήσῃ καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούσομαι,
 μᾶλλον δὲ συνταφήσομαί σοι, ποθοῦμενε, καὶ
 τοῖς σοῖς νεαροῖς ὀστέοις σάρκες γηραιαὶ
 συντακῇσονται».

Aethiopika, 2, 4, 3 (ed. Colonna, 122):

Οἷμοι, σιωπᾶς καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ
 θεηγόρον **στόμα σιγὴ κατέχει καὶ ζόφος**
 τὴν πυρφόρον καὶ χάος τὴν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀνακτόρων κατεῖληφεν· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ
 ἀφεγγεῖς οἱ πάντας τῷ κάλλει
 καταστράψαντες, οὓς οὐκ εἶδεν ὁ φονεύσας,
 οἶδα ἀκριβῶς. Ἄλλ' ὦ τί ἂν σέ τις ὀνομάσειε;
 νύμφην; ἀλλ' ἀνύμφευτος.³⁸⁷

Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*, 1,
 16–21 (ed. Amato, 463):

πρὸς τῷ σῷ τάφῳ πῆξομαι τὴν παστάδα,
καὶ τάχα μοι φανήσῃ καὶ λαλοῦντος
ἀκούσομαι. ὅρα μοι τὸν πατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ
 τὸν σόν, εἰ βούλει, καὶ δάκρυσον, οἱ ἐπὶ σέ
 μόνον ὀρῶντες ἐπ' ἐσχάτη γήρα τὴν ἐρημίαν
 μανθάνουσι.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Philagathos recalls again this Heliodorean passage in *Hom.* 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52, 20–24 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, *PG* 132, coll. 361C–D): Ἐπιταχύνασα οὖν τὴν πορείαν, πρώτη τῷ πατρὶ δυστυχῶς ὑπαντᾷ **καὶ περιφῦσα τοῦ αὐχένος** μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ πόθου θερμοῦ **κατησπάζετο**, χαριστηρίους ἀφιεῖσα φωνάς.

³⁸⁶ "Chariclea followed close after Calasiris. The eye of a lover is quick as lightning in recognizing the object of its passion – a single gesture, the fold of garment, seen behind, or at a distance, is sufficient to confirm its conjectures. When she knew Theagenes afar off, transported at the long-wished-for sight, she ran frantically towards him, and, falling on his neck, embraced him closely, breathing out her passion with lamentations." (trans. mod. Rowland Smith, 155).

³⁸⁷ "Alas! you are silent; that mouth, formerly the interpreter of the will of heaven, is dumb, and darkness and destruction have overwhelmed the priestess of the gods. Those eyes glance no more whose lustre dazzled all beholders, whose brightness, if your murderer had met, he could not have executed his purpose; what shall I call you? Bride? But you were not married; wife? but the contract has been a fruitless one;" (trans. mod. Rowland Smith, 32–33).

³⁸⁸ "On your grave I will fix my bridal chamber, and perhaps you would come forth to me, and I will hear you talking. Behold my father, or rather your own, if you wish, and bemoan them: having sight only for you in their extreme old age they learn solitude" (trans. based on Pierre Maréchaux, 463).

The *ethopoia* of the widow lamenting concludes with another unacknowledged citation from Gregory of Nyssa's own account of the episode. The passage selected is full of emotion:

Hom. 6, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 42):

Οὕτως ἐπετραγώδει, μὴ ἐπισπεῦσαι
συγχωροῦσα τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κηδεῖαν, ἀλλ'
ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῦ πάθους ζητοῦσα, ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς
παρατείνουσα.

Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, PG
44, coll. 220, 20–27:

Τί τοίνυν πάσχειν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν
μητέρα; οἶονεῖ πυρὶ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις
ἐγκαταφλέγεσθαι, ὥς πικρῶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
παρατείνειν τὸν θρήνον, περιπλεκομένην
προκειμένῳ τῷ πτώματι, ὥς μὴ ἂν
ἐπισπεῦσαι τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κηδεῖαν, ἀλλ'
ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς παρατείνουσιν.³⁸⁹

Finally, we have noted before that Philagathos' appealed to Heliodorus *Aethiopika* for rendering the astonishment of the mother upon seeing the Resurrection of her son.³⁹⁰ The text is moulded after the scene of the novel which presents Charikleia embracing her wounded Theagenes "as if she could yet scarcely believe of holding him in her arms."³⁹¹

A rhetorical lament is also included in *hom.* 11 probably preached at Rossano.³⁹² The account of the lament over the death of Jairus' daughter is short. This is probably because the preacher had to accommodate a lengthy Gospel lection (Lc. 8:41–56) in this sermon. Philagathos writes:³⁹³

Πολλὰ ἐν ὀλίγοις ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς περιέλαβε, θρήνον ὑφάνας τῷ διηγήματι·
μονογενῆς, φησὶν, ὑπῆρχεν ἡ παῖς. Ὁρᾷς τὸ βάρος τῆς συμφορᾶς, ὥς ἐν ὀλίγοις
ὁ λόγος τὸ πάθος ἐξετραγώδησε; Τί γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐδήλωσεν; Οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνης
θανούσης εἰς ἕτερον τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπιδεῖν παιδίον καὶ στήσαι τὸ δάκρυον·
μονογενῆς γὰρ ὁ τόκος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δωδεκαετὴ τὴν παῖδα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ τῆς
ἡλικίας ἐμφαίνει τὸ χαριέστατον, ὅτε τὸν ὑμέναιον αἱ κόραι φαντάζονται καὶ
νυμφίον ὥραϊον καὶ παστάδα γαμήλιον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ κάλλους ἐρίζουσιν τῇ
φυσικῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ κομμωτικά τινα προστιθέασιν, ὥς ἂν τοῖς ὀρφῶσιν ὀφθεῖεν καλαί.
Τάχα που καὶ μνηστῆρες ἐφοίτων πολλοί, καὶ ἄμιλλα ἦν τούτοις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, τίς
ἂν προκριθεὶς γένοιτο τῆς παρθένου ἀνὴρ. Καὶ προμνήστριαι ἀμοιβαδὸν
εἰσιοῦσαι, καὶ ἄλλη ἄλλον νυμφίον ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξαίρουσα τὸ κῆδος ἐπέσπευδεν.
Ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ ἐλπίδας ἡ νόσος διαδέχεται, ἀπειλοῦσα τὸν μετ' ὀλίγον

³⁸⁹ "What then, think you, were his mother's sorrows for him? how would her heart be consumed as it were with a flame; how bitterly would she prolong her lament over him, embracing the corpse as it lay before her, lengthening out her mourning for him as far as possible, so as not to hasten the funeral of the dead, but to have her fill of sorrow!" (Trans. H. A. Wilson in *NPNF* II/5, 570).

³⁹⁰ See the discussion at p. 136.

³⁹¹ Heliodorus, *Aethiopika* 1, 2, 6 (ed. Colonna, 58).

³⁹² *Hom.* 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 71–77).

³⁹³ *Hom.* 11, 3–4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 72).

ἐσόμενον θάνατον. Ἴεται οὖν ὁ πατήρ τὰ σπλάγχνα τῷ πάθει φρυγόμενος καὶ
 ζεύσῃ καρδίᾳ προσάγων τῷ Σωτῆρι τὴν δέησιν.³⁹⁴

The report is modelled on Gregory of Nyssa’s exposition of the raising of the Widow’s son,³⁹⁵ a text which Philagathos cited at length in the sermon “On the Raising of the Son of the Widow.” The preacher expands the habitual parallelism between wedding and funeral recommended in laments when the deceased is young. For the twelve years old maiden was at her “the most graceful time of life, when the girls are imagining the wedding song, the beautiful bridegroom, and the bridal chamber,” Philagathos writes.

When Jesus reached the ruler of the synagogue’s house, Luke reports, “Now all wept and mourned for her” (8:52). For describing their weeping, Philagathos recalls the same passage from Achilles Tatius’ novel on the *ekphrasis* of the storm,³⁹⁶ which he used for the Widow’s lament:³⁹⁷

Therefore, the maiden has died, and those from the household were crying, as was fit, and they wept, and the lament was confused, tumultuous concourse of relatives, crying of the inmates, shrieking of women, wailing of men, all was full of lamentations and tears. For what reason did He drive out the others from the house, leading in only maiden’s parents and three disciples?

οὖν νέηλυσ ἐτεθνήκει, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔκλαιον, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἐκόπτοντο, **καὶ θρήνος ἦν συμμιγής**, συνδρομὴ συγγενῶν, **κωκυτὸς** οἰκετῶν, **ὀλολυγμός**

³⁹⁴ “The evangelist encompassed many things by few words, weaving lamentation into the story. The maiden, it says, was the only child. Do you see the weight of the misfortune, how the text recounted in a few words the tragedy of her suffering? What does it reveal by these words? As she was dying, the parents did not have [where] to look to another child and to stop weeping; for she was their only child; yet by saying that the maiden was twelve years old the account indicates the most graceful time of life, when the girls are imagining the wedding song, and beautiful bridegroom and bridal chamber; and many [of them] contending over beauty add to their natural glamor certain *embellishments*, so that they would be seen beautiful by those beholding [them]. Perhaps many suitors were frequenting them, and there was among them a candid contest for marriage as who would be selected the husband of the virgin. In addition, women attending to the wedding followed in succession whereas another [bride] exalting intensely another bridegroom was urging on the marriage. But the sickness prevailed over the hopes for the maiden threatening nearly of bringing her death. Then, the father parching his entrails in this suffering hastens and brings with a blazing heart the supplication to the Saviour.”

³⁹⁵ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 217–220: Παῖς ἦν ἐν ταύτῃ **μονογενῆς** χήρα τινί, οὐκέτι τοιοῦτος παῖς, οἷος ἐν μεираκίοις εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἤδη ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρας τελῶν. Νεανίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος· **πολλὰ δὲ ὀλίγων** διηγείται ἡ ἱστορία· **θρήνος** ἀντικρύς ἐστι τὸ **δυήγημα**. Χήρα, φησὶν, ἦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡ μήτηρ. **Ὅρῃς τὸ βάρος τῆς συμφορᾶς, πῶς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ πάθος ὁ λόγος ἐξετραγώδησε; Τί γάρ** ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδοποιίας ἐλπίς, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκλείποντι συμφορὰν θεραπεύουσα· **χήρα γὰρ ἡ γυνή**. Οὐκ εἶχε πρὸς ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ κατοικομένου βλέπειν· **μονογενῆς γὰρ ὁ τόκος**. Ὅσον δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κακὸν, παντὶ ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν τῷ μὴ ἀπεξενωμένῳ τῆς φύσεως. Μόνον ἐν ᾧδισιν ἐκείνον ἐγνώρισε, μόνον ταῖς θηλαῖς ἐτιθηνήσατο· μόνος αὐτῇ φαιδρὰν ἐποίει τὴν τράπεζαν·

³⁹⁶ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 3, 2, 8: ἦν οὖν ἀνέμων μάχη καὶ κυμάτων· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἡδυνάμεθα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηὸς σεισμοῦ. **συμμιγής** δὲ πάντων ἐγίνετο βοή· ἐρρόχθει τὸ κύμα, ἐπάφλαζε τὸ πνεῦμα, **ὀλολυγμός** γυναικῶν, **ἀλαλαγμός** ἀνδρῶν, κελευσμός ναυτῶν, **πάντα θρήνων καὶ κωκυτῶν ἀνάμεστα**. “It was a fight between wind and water: we could never keep still in one spot owing to the shocks imparted to the vessel. A confused noise of all kinds arose—roaring of waves, whistling of wind, shrieking of women, shouting of men, the calling of the sailors’ orders; all was full of wailing and lamentation” (trans. Gaselee, Loeb 45, 139).

³⁹⁷ *Hom.* 11, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 75).

γυναικῶν, οἰμωγὴ ἀνδρῶν, πάντα θρήνων καὶ δακρύων ἀνάμεστα. Διὰ τί δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκβαλὼν τῆς οἰκίας, μόνους εἰσάγει τοὺς γονεῖς τῆς παιδὸς καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς μαθητάς;

The plurality of contexts which Philagathos simultaneously employs illustrates the refinement of the composition. The recurrent passages from Achilles Tatius³⁹⁸ and Gregory of Nyssa³⁹⁹ which surface in different homilies point to Philagathos' florilegic technique that parcels sources into thematic clusters. For the homilist amassed vignettes on sorrow and despair, most prominently from the works of Gregory of Nyssa and the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus for reaching the emotional intensity of the events recounted.

³⁹⁸ Besides the two instances analyzed in this section, the same passage from *Leucippe and Clitophon* describing the storm is adapted in *Hom.* 10, 5–6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68–69) to the miracle of Christ calming the furious storm suddenly arised when Jesus and his disciples were crossing the Sea of Galilee in a boat (Mark 4: 35–41); see for this, Part II. 7. Ekphrasis of Storms in the Homilies,” 143–148.

³⁹⁹ There are numerous instances when the same passages from Gregory of Nyssa's works are transposed in different homilies; besides the quotation from *De opificio hominis* from *Hom.* 6 and 11 analyzed above, the same passage from Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll 1204 employed by Philagathos in *Hom.* 6, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 39) is extensively used in *Hom.* 64 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, coll. 825A).

2. *Ekphrasis* in the *Homilies*

A distinctive mark of Philagathos' homiletic corpus is their ekphrastic mode.⁴⁰⁰ The South Italian preacher lingers on descriptions of mourning, lamentation, madness, dancing, images of despair or arousal of desire, falling into temptation and a vivid description of a man devoured by rage, a visual illustration of pleasure or an account of a storm at sea.

Ekphrasis was one of the compositional exercises, which a Byzantine student would first encounter in the *Progymnasmata*, a series of progressive exercises designed to train skills of argumentation and exposition in the early years of rhetorical education.⁴⁰¹ Four versions of these introductory exercises were accessible to the Byzantine rhetorician, the exercises of Aelius Theon, of Nicolaus the Sophist, of Aphthonios and the exercises attributed to Hermogenes. Yet, the preliminary exercises of Aphthonios from the fourth century were the more widely used.⁴⁰² The composition of an *ekphrasis* was one of the more advanced exercises after narrative, commonplace, refutation/confirmation, *encomium*, *synkrisis* and *ethopoia*. Aphthonios defines *ekphrasis* in line with entire Roman Greek rhetorical tradition as "descriptive language, bringing what is shown vividly before the eyes" (– Ἐκφρασὶς ἐστὶ λόγος περιγηματικὸς ὑπ' ὅψιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον).⁴⁰³ As Ruth Webb explained, *ekphrasis* is thought of expressing a similar function with visual art: "it is a vivid visual passage describing the subject so clearly that anyone hearing the words would seem to see it."⁴⁰⁴ *Ekphrasis* could be applied to any subject: "to persons and things, occasions and places, dumb animals and, in addition, growing things: persons, as Homer does, "He was round shouldered, dark skinned, woolly haired"; to cities, battles or seasons."⁴⁰⁵

The specificity of *ekphrasis* over the other compositional exercises is represented by the quality of language and its effect on the listener embodied in the concept of 'vividness' or *enargeia* (ἐνάργεια). *Enargeia* represents the appeal to the audience's imagination through descriptive discourse which makes the audience feel present at the events described. It is thus constitutive to the function of *enargeia* to arouse the emotions belonging to the events described.⁴⁰⁶ Nikolaos the Sophist commenting on the definition of *ekphrasis* explained that by 'vividness' (*enargeia*) *ekphrasis* "differs most from narration (διήγησις); the latter gives a plain

⁴⁰⁰ For the aspects involved in assessing innovation and originality in Byzantine sermons see Mary Cunningham, "Innovation or *Mimesis* in Byzantine Sermons?" in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. R. Littlewood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), 67–80.

⁴⁰¹ The theory of language and of visual representation underlying *ekphrasis* has been the object of Ruth Webb's pioneering studies; "To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': *Ekphrasis* and Art in Byzantium," *Art History* 14 (1991): 1–18; ead., "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in 'Ekphraseis' of Church Buildings," *DOP* 53 (1999): 59–74; ead., *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

⁴⁰² The treatises are accessible in the excellent translation of George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

⁴⁰³ Aphthonios, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 36, 22–23 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 117).

⁴⁰⁴ Webb, "To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': *Ekphrasis* and Art in Byzantium," 5–6.

⁴⁰⁵ Aphthonios, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 37, 1–12 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 117).

⁴⁰⁶ For the concept of *enargeia* see Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 87–106; for the Byzantine understanding of the term see Stratis Papaioannou, "Byzantine *Enargeia* and Theories of Representation," *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (2011), 48–60.

exposition of actions, the former tries to make the hearers into spectators.”⁴⁰⁷ In an explicit manner, the rhetorician illustrates the effect of vividness with an example inspired from Thucydides: “it belongs to a narration to say ‘The Athenians and Peloponnesians fought a war,’ and to ekphrasis to say that each side made this and that preparation and used this manner of arms.”⁴⁰⁸

The Byzantine commentators remarked that *ekphrasis* provided training for the elaborate narration. In the Anonymus scholia to Aphthonios, the rhetor is reminded that “there being three types of diegesis, simple (*haplous*), confirmatory (*enkataskeuos*) and elaborate (*endiaskeuos*), [the exercise of] *diegema* gives us practice in the first two, while *ekphrasis* gives us practice in the elaborate type.”⁴⁰⁹ For *ekphrasis* befitted the depiction of variagated “events as for example, descriptions of war, peace, a storm, famine, plague, an earthquake.”⁴¹⁰ Indeed, in the handbook *On Invention*, attributed to Hermogenes, it is recommended that “if the facts are few and rather clear (φαιδροτέρα) we shall use the highly developed manner (τῷ ἐνδιασκεύῳ τρόπῳ), not sparing any of the supports from the manner of treatment.”⁴¹¹ As an example of “highly developed” narration is cited a passage from Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy*: “An awful sight, men of Athens, and piteous. For when recently we were on our way to Delphi, we could not help seeing it all – houses razed to the ground, walls dismantled, the land destitute of men in their prime, only a few weak women and mere boys and miserable old men.”⁴¹²

In what follows we address the contexts of *ekphrasis* in the *Homilies* focussing on the rhetorical models that informed them. We proceed with addressing Philagathos’ use of *ekphrasis* for describing works of art and buildings. Then we look at the other subjects of descriptions from the sermons (i.e. Salome’s licentious dancing, the *ekphrasis* of a sleeping deacon, of a man enraged or of a storm).

2.1. Descriptions of Works of Art: the *Ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina

Philagathos’ *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina is among the few substantial architectural descriptions preserved from the Byzantine period.⁴¹³ The description attracted the interest of the

⁴⁰⁷ Nikolaos, *Progymnasmata*, 68, 9–10, ed. H. Rabe (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 166).

⁴⁰⁸ Nikolaos, *Progymnasmata*, 69, 1–3, ed. H. Rabe (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 167).

⁴⁰⁹ Anonymus scholia to Aphthonios, in C. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, 2, 55, 8–16 (trans. in Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 207); John Doxapatres, *Homiliae in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, in Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, 2, 509, 5–9.

⁴¹⁰ Aelius Theon, *Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 118, 22–23 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 45); Hermogenes, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 22, 17–19 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 86).

⁴¹¹ Hermogenes, *On Invention*, 2, 7 ed. H. Rabe, 123 (trans. Kennedy, *Invention and Method. Two Rhetorical Treatises from the Hermogenic Corpus*, Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2005, 57).

⁴¹² Hermogenes, *On Invention*, 2, 7 ed. H. Rabe, 124 (trans. Kennedy, *Invention and Method*, 57).

⁴¹³ Other Late-antique and Byzantine *ekphraseis* of works of art include Paul the Silentiary’s description of Hagia Sophia, Choricius of Gaza’s *ekphrasis* of the mosaics St. Sergius in Gaza, Photios’ *ekphrasis* of the Pharos Church, Nikolaos Mesarites and Constantine of Rhodes’ account of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, Constantine Manasses’ *ekphrasis* of a palace mosaic and of Creation, or Leo Choirosphaktes’ *ekphrasis* of Leo VI’s bath, as to give a few examples; cf. Henry Maguire, “Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art,” *DOP* 28 (1974): 111–140; for Paul the Silentiary’s *ekphrasis* see Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, “The

modern scholarship mostly for its references to the architectural and decorative specifications and their relation with the chronology of the decoration of the Chapel.⁴¹⁴ Besides examining the rhetorical models, which informed the composition the present analysis considers the *ekphrasis* within its panegyric setting and relation to Norman ideology. The *ekphrasis* was an implicit praise of Roger's kingship. It is part of the *prooimion* (προοίμιον) of a sermon delivered in the royal chapel at the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul observed on 29 of June. The chapel itself was dedicated to St Peter, the patron from whom Roger received the kingdom as its foundation charter specified.⁴¹⁵ Philagathos begins:

[1.] I rejoice in you, O city, and in you divine shrine of kings, for people of every age streamed into you today, as well as those esteemed for their condition, and such a great throng of priests who adorn the present feast. Of all these things God is foremost the cause, from whom proceeds and comes to pass everything that is good for men, and in second place the pious sovereign, Saviour and gracious when he beholds his subjects, for he reserves his rage for foes.⁴¹⁶ He after having provided us many and great benefactions, and after having surpassed all his contemporaries and predecessors alike by piety and greatness of spirit as much as the *rays* of the sun eclipse the shining of the stars, and yet one thing, this here, placed the sign of his truly royal and great character, this most delightful temple of the Holy Apostles, which he built in his palaces as foundation and bulwark, *greatest beyond compare, fairest and most magnificent of its newly-created beauty, glittering with light, blazing with gold, shining brightly with mosaics and blooming with pictures*; which anyone yet having seen it many times if he turns again to see it, becomes filled with wonder and astonishment as if he would just behold it for the first time as he wanders with his sight all over.

[2.] The ceiling is truly an insatiable sight to contemplate and a miracle to see and to hear speaking therein; embellished with the finest carvings in the form of little baskets, and gleaming from every side with gold it imitates the sky, when the serene night air *shines all around with the choir of stars*. The columns, then, which sustain most magnificent vaults, lift up the ceiling to an incredible height.

Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context in Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 47–82; see also Paul Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829–1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 141–166; for Nikolaos Mesarites' *ekphrasis* see G. Downey, "Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47 (1957): 857–924; Nektarios Zarras, "A Gem of Artistic *Ekphrasis*: Nicholas Mesarites' Description of the Mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: 'The Sad Quarter of a Century'?* ed. Alicia Simpson (Athens, National Hellenic Research Foundation: 2015), 261–282; see also Beatrice Daskas, "Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. New Critical Perspectives," *Parekbolai* 6 (2016) 79–102.

⁴¹⁴ Ernst Kitzinger "The Date of Philagathos' Homily for the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul", in *Byzantino-Sicula II. Miscellaneo di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi*, (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1975), 301–306; W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 15.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 200.

⁴¹⁶ This type of characterization that inspired both fear and kindness was applied by Byzantine eulogists to imperial characters; for instance, observe Ana Comnena's description of Alexios: "His dark eyebrows were curved, and beneath them the gaze of his eyes was both terrible and kind" (*The Alexiad*, III.3.2 trans. E. R. A. Sewter, 132).

Yet, the most sacred pavement of the temple is truly *like a spring meadow* for being beautified with variegated pieces of marble as it had been adorned by flowers, *except for the fact that flowers wither and change, while this meadow is unfading and eternal because preserves in itself an everlasting spring*. Then, marbles of various colors cover all around every wall, whereas a small golden pebble adorns their superior part, yet only to the extent that the chorus of holy images does not enwrap [the surface]. As for the place [devoted to the celebration] of the ineffable mysteries, *a panel of marbles* encloses the space ordained for priests; herein one may both find restfulness and stand secure, yet to delight the vision with a spectacular sight. Besides, *this* [shelter] *stands as an encumbrance, supposing that a reckless and unholy person would be eager to transgress into the innermost precincts*.

[3.] Then the holy altar, which glitters with flashings from silver and gold, bedazzles the spectator. As for the other sublime things let them be honoured by silence. The entire shrine itself gently joins the chanters in singing the divine hymns, *just like the caverns when the sound comes back again by repercussion*. Furthermore, a great number of tapestries hang suspended [on the walls], whose cloth was woven from threads of silk intertwined with strands of gold and with other different colours, which *the Phoenicians have embroidered with a truly marvellous and sophisticated skill*. Clusters of lanterns, so to speak, competing with each other illuminate the church with unceasing light, making the *nights shining like days*. Then, of the vessels of silver and gold ordained for the sacred rite what discourse could describe their beauty or tell their number? But time presses me to divert my discourse to the explanation of the divine Gospels. Well then, having reserved the particulars [i.e. of the building and its fittings] for the Feast of Dedication,⁴¹⁷ let us listen to the holy sayings.

⁴¹⁷ The conclusion of the *ekphrasis* is considered critical for establishing the date of the sermon; the crux of the matter is the interpretation of the aorist ταμιεύσαντες; Giuseppe Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami*, LV considers that it points to the sermon Philagathos preached before at the *encaenia* of the Chapel in 28 April 1140; Ernst Kitzinger does not interpret differently the aorist and translates the sentence in this way: “Since we have dealt with the particulars [scil. of the building and its fittings] on the feast of the dedication, let us listen to the holy sayings” (trans. in “The Date of Philagathos’ Homily,” 303); Scorsus, on the other hand, in the Latin translation that accompanied his *editio princeps* of Philagathos’ sermons ascribes to ταμιεύω its principal meaning as “saving up, reserving for future use,” thus pointing to a future sermon to be delivered at the *encaenia*: “Therefore the things pertaining to the particulars [of the building and its fittings] that still remain to be said are saved up for the Feast of Dedication; let us now listen to the holy sayings” – *Itaque quae etiamnum supersunt dicenda singulatim reserventur ad festum Encaeniorum diem; ac nos interim sacra audiamus eloquia* (Scorsus, *Hom.* 55, PG 132, 956A). We incline here to translate “ταμιεύσαντες” with “having reserved,” supported by Philagathos’ frequent usage of “ταμιεύω” in similar structures with the same meaning; see for instance *Hom.* 20, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134); this translation does not upset the dating of the sermon late into Roger’s reign, but rather renders unlikely the early dating because if the *encaenia* mentioned in the text concerns the Feast of Dedication celebrated on April 1140, then the sermon must have been delivered in June 1139, which is an early date for envisaging the decorations alluded in the sermon to have been set into place. Furthermore, another argument for this interpretation may be derived from the organizing principle in *ekphraseis* as a discursive journey that ‘leads around the listener’ (λόγος περιηγηματικός) in a progression that starts from the general while reserving the details of the decoration to the last; for instance, Constantine of Rhodes in his *ekphrasis* of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople pledges to refer in more detail to the figural decoration after he has dealt with the general architecture of the building. See for this Liz James (ed.), Constantine of Rhodes, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*. With a new edition of the Greek text by Ioannes Vassis (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); see also Ruth Webb, “The Aesthetics of Sacred

[1.] *Συνήδομαί σοι, πόλις, καὶ σοί, θεῖε τῶν ἀνακτόρων ναέ, πάσης ἐπὶ σε σήμερον ἡλικίας χυθείσης, καὶ τῶν ὅσοι τὴν τύχην ἐπίδοξοι, ἱερέων τε τοσοῦτων τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν ἐπικοσμούντων πανήγυριν. Τούτων δὲ πάντων αἴτιος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Θεός, παρ' οὗ πᾶν ὃ τι χρηστὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προῆλθε καὶ γίνεται, δεύτερον δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐσεβῆς, σωτὴρ, εὐμενής, ὅτε τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὀρᾷ· τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις τὸν θυμὸν ταμιεύεται. Ὅς δὴ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γενόμενος ἡμῖν παροχεύς, εὐσεβεία τε καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη πάντας νικήσας τοὺς νῦν καὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ὅσον τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀγλαΐας τὰ ἡλιακὰ σελαγίσματα, ἐν καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλικῆς ὄντως καὶ μεγάλης ψυχῆς, τὸν τερπνότατον τοῦτον τῶν κηρύκων ναόν· ὃν καθάπερ κρηπῖδα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἐδείματο, μέγιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ κάλλει καινοτέρῳ διαπρεπέστατον καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσῷ διαυγέστατον καὶ ψηφίσι στιλπνότατον καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον. Ὅν τις ἰδὼν πολλάκις, καὶ πάλιν ἰδὼν, ὡς νῦν αὐτῷ πρῶτον φανέντα θαυμάζει καὶ τέθηπε, πανταχοῦ τῇ θεᾷ πλανώμενος.*

[2.] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὄροφος ἅπληστός ἐστι θεᾷ καὶ θαῦμα ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, γλυφαῖς τισι λεπτοτέrais εἰς καλαθίσκων σχῆμα ποικιλλομέναις ὠραϊζόμενος, καὶ πανταχόθεν τῷ χρυσῷ περιαστράπτων μιμεῖται τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅτε καθαρᾷ αἰθρία τῷ τῶν ἀστέρων χορῷ περιλάμπεται· κίονες δὲ κάλλιστα τὰς ἄντυγας ἐπερείδουσαι, εἰς ἀμήχανον ὕψος τὸν ὄροφον αἵρουσι. Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον δάπεδον ἀτεχνῶς ἐαρινῷ λειμῶνι παρείκασται ποικίλῃ μαρμάρων ψηφίδι, ὡς ἄνθεσι καθωραϊζόμενον, πλὴν παρ' ὅσον τὰ μὲν ἄνθη μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται, ὁ δὲ λειμὼν οὗτος ἀμάραντος καὶ αἰδίου, τηρῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἔαρ ἀθάνατον. Πᾶς δὲ τοῖχος ποικιλία μαρμάρων περικαλύπτεται· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀνωτέρω χρυσῇ καλύπτει ψηφίς, ὅσα μὴ συνείληφεν ὁ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων χορός. Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρρήτου τελετῆς χωρίον μαρμάρων θώραξ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περικλείει τὸν χῶρον, ἐφ' ὧν ἔστιν ἐπαναπαύεσθαι τε καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐστάναι καὶ τέρπειν τῇ θεᾷ τὴν ὄψιν. Κώλυμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν, εἴ τις προπετῆς καὶ ἀνίερος εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικίῃ.

[3.] Ἡ δὲ θεία τράπεζα, ταῖς ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ μαρμαρυγαῖς ἀπαστράπτουσα, καταπλήττει τὸν θεατὴν. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ταύτης τιμάσθω σιγῇ. Ὁ ναὸς δὲ ἅπας τοῖς ἄδουσι τοὺς θεῖους ὕμνους, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄντρα, ἡρέμα συνεπηχεῖ, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπανιούσης πρὸς ἑαυτὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον. Παραπετασμάτων δὲ πλήθος ἡώρηται, οἷς τὴν μὲν ὕλην νήματα παρέσχε σιμῶν, συνυφανθέντα χρυσῷ καὶ διαφόροις βαφαῖς, τὴν δ' ἐργασίαν οἱ Φοίνικες θαυμαστῇ τινι καὶ περιέργῳ τέχνῃ ποικίλαντες. Πυκνοὶ δὲ λαμπτήρες πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἀμιλλώμενοι τὸν ναὸν δαδουχοῦσι τῇ ἀκοιμήτῳ λυχνοκαΐᾳ, ἴσα ταῖς ἡμέραις τὰς νύκτας φωτίζοντες. Τῶν δ' ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου σκευῶν, ὅσα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς τελετῆς, τίς ἂν τὸ πλήθος ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἐξείποι λόγος; Ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς κατεπείγει μεθέλκων τὸν λόγον εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων Εὐαγγελίων ἐξήγησιν. Τὰ γοῦν

Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in 'Ekphraseis' of Church Buildings," 67; a similar progression is evidenced in Procopius and Paul the Silentiary's *ekphraseis* of Hagia Sophia, first referring to the architecture, then the surface decoration, then the fixed furnishings, then the movable furnishings; see for this Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context in Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 58.

κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἑορτῇ ταμιεύσαντες, τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκούσωμεν.

The description is set within a panegyric framework devoted to Roger II (1130–54), “the pious *basileus* and Saviour who surpassed all his contemporaries and predecessors alike by piety and greatness of spirit as much as the rays of the sun eclipse the shining of the stars.” The term *basileus* applied to the Norman king carries ideological underpinnings, for it is otherwise well-known that Roger represented himself clad in the garb of the Byzantine emperor being crowned by Christ in the narthex of George of Antioch’s church of St. Mary’s of the Admiral, or that he used porphyry for the royal tombs, only for emphasizing a conception of sovereignty that claimed the same standing with the Byzantine emperor.⁴¹⁸

Then, the metaphors Philagathos employed are reminiscent of formulations from the royal charters. The king shining like the sun echoes closely the arenga (preamble) to the Greek charter, issued in 1122, for the abbey of St. Mary of the Patir at Rossano in Calabria. For it says: “as the rising sun shines its rays over everything, and lights and warms all those both near and far, so in the same way can I illuminate renowned piety and display it like a shining sun.”⁴¹⁹ Then, the celebration of the building as the culmination of Roger’s kingship, which “placed the sign of his truly royal and great character” mirrors the remarks made in the royal charter of foundation issued for the Chapel. For the charter acknowledged that the monument marked the “restoration” of kingship in Sicily, since “the kingdom which was for a long time in abeyance has through the Redeemer’s benevolence been fully restored to its original state, honourably promoted and exalted.”⁴²⁰ Unambiguously, Philagathos propagates the Norman royal propaganda when he names the chapel “divine shrine of kings.” For the theory of *restitutio regni* applied to the newly established kingdom precisely credited Palermo as the seat of kings, capital and metropolis.⁴²¹

Among the rhetorical models invoked for Philagathos’ *ekphrasis* were Choricus of Gaza’s *Laudatio Marciani* and Paul the Silentiary’s *ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia.⁴²² Notwithstanding, precise textual references to these texts cannot be pinned down in Philagathos’ sermon. Instead, the preacher draws on Procopius of Gaza’s *Descriptio horologii* and Lucian’s *De domo*, as Nunzio Bianchi and Eugenio Amato have first indicated.⁴²³

The *ekphrasis* opens with spelling out the overall beauty of the shrine. The alliterative and hyperbolic statements are literally taken from the opening lines of Lucian’s *De domo*, a

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 24–45.

⁴¹⁹ Quoted by Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50; this charter is now lost, but it survives in a sixteenth-century Italian translation.

⁴²⁰ The translation is taken from H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, 55.

⁴²¹ Hélène Wieruszowski, “Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, in Twelfth Century Political Thought,” *Speculum* 38 (1963): 51–52.

⁴²² Maria Fobelli, “L’*ekphrasis* di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina e il suo modello,” *Medioevo: i modelli*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2002), 267–75.

⁴²³ N. Bianchi, “Filagato da Cerami lettore del *De domo* ovvero Luciano in Italia meridionale,” in *La tradizione*, 39–52; E. Amato, “Procopio di Gaza modello dell’*Ekphrasis* di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo,” *Byz* 82 (2012): 7–8.

speech that addressed the problems which confronted the orator when performing in magnificent places. It mainly addresses the idea of achieving sight through words.

Hom. 27, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174):

ὄν καθάπερ κρηπίδα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἐδείματο, **μέγιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ κάλλει** καινότερῳ διαπρεπέστατον **καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσῷ** διαυγέστατον καὶ ψηφῖσι **στιλπνότατον καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον**. Ὅν **τις ἰδὼν** πολλάκις, καὶ πάλιν ἰδὼν, ὡς νῦν αὐτῷ πρῶτον φανέντα θαυμάζει καὶ τέθηπε, πανταχοῦ τῇ θεᾷ πλανώμενος.

Lucian, *De domo* (ed. Bompaigne, 1, 6-11):

οἶκον δέ **τις ἰδὼν** μεγέθει **μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσῷ στιλπνότατον καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον** οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι, εἰ τύχοι περὶ τούτους διατρίβων, καὶ ἐνευδοκιμῆσαι καὶ ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι καὶ βοῆς ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς μέρος τοῦ κάλλους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περισκοπήσας ἀκριβῶς καὶ θαυμάσας μόνον ἄπεισι κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογον καταλιπὼν, μήτε προσειπὼν μήτε προσομιλήσας, ὥσπερ **τις ἄναυδος ἢ φθόνῳ** σιωπᾶν ἐγνωκῶς;⁴²⁴

These grandiloquent statements correspond to the standard *ekphrastic* *aporia* on the impact of physical sight and its representation into words.⁴²⁵ The same idea of novel beauty is expressed for instance in Michael Rhetor's description of Hagia Sophia portrayed as an "eternal novelty of wonder, which remains unaltered even for those who frequently visit the Church."⁴²⁶ Philagathos' astonishment in front of the insatiable beauty of the Chapel represents an important aspect of *ekphraseis*.⁴²⁷ For, as Ruth Webb explained *ekphraseis* are foremost preoccupied with conveying the emotional response evoked by the work of art.

The author describes the wooden ceiling roof executed in the *muqarnas*, or stalactite, a technique that originated in the Islamic world. The description of the ceiling of the nave as gleaming with gold imitating the serene sky at night sprinkled with light carries again the imprint of Lucian's *De domo*:

Hom. 27, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174–175):

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ **ὄροφος** ἅπληστός ἐστι θεᾷ καὶ θαῦμα ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, γλυφαῖς τισι

Lucian, *De domo* (ed. Bompaigne, 8, 1-5):

Καὶ τοίνυν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου **ὄροφή**, μᾶλλον δὲ κεφαλὴ, εὐπρόσωπος μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτήν,

⁴²⁴ "Then can it be that on seeing a hall beyond compare in the greatness of its size, the splendour of its beauty, the brilliance of its illumination, the lustre of its gilding and the gaiety of its pictures, a man would not long to compose speeches in it, if this were his business, to seek repute and win glory in it, to fill it with his voice and, as far as lay in him, to become part and parcel of its beauty?" (Trans. Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, Loeb, 1961, 177).

⁴²⁵ Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in 'Ekphraseis' of Church Buildings," 67; the same idea of novel beauty is expressed for instance in Michael Rhetor's description of Hagia Sophia portrayed as an "eternal novelty of wonder, which remains unaltered even for those who frequently visit the Church."

⁴²⁶ C. Mango and J. Parker Mango, "A Twelfth-Century Description of St Sophia," *DOP* 14 (1960): 236.

⁴²⁷ Photios, for instance, recalls in his tenth homily "with how much joy and trembling and astonishment is one filled" upon entering the Church of Hagia Sophia (*Hom.* 10, 5, ed. Laourdas, 102); cf. Webb 1999: 68; the topos of rejoicing over contemplating works of art is also present in Procopius' *Descriptio horologii*, (ed. Amato, op. VIII, 2. 17-18), the other major rhetorical model for Philagathos' *ekphrasis*.

λεπτοτέραις εἰς καλαθίσκων σχῆμα ποικιλλομέναις ὠραϊζόμενος, καὶ πανταχόθεν τῷ χρυσῷ περιστράπτων μιμεῖται τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅτε καθαρᾷ αἰθρίᾳ τῷ τῶν ἀστέρων χορῷ περιλάμπεται· κίονες δὲ κάλλιστα τὰς ἄντυγας ἐπερείδουσαι, εἰς ἀμήχανον ὕψος τὸν ὄροφον αἴρουσι.

τῷ χρυσῷ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον κεκόσμηται, ἐς ὅσον καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ διαστήματος περιλαμπόμενος καὶ ἐκ διαλείμματος ἀνθῶν τῷ πυρί.⁴²⁸

The reference to the incredible height of the ceiling is a frequent topos in *ekphraseis*. For instance, Paul the Silentiary mentions “the roof of the boundless church,” which no cypress tree could ever cover.⁴²⁹

For illustrating the pavement of the Chapel rendered in *opus sectile*, Philagathos made recourse to the meadow metaphor again appropriated from Lucian’s description of the frescoes on the walls of the Hall.⁴³⁰

Hom. 27, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 175):

Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ τὸ ἀγίωτατον δάπεδον ἀτεχνῶς ἐαρινῷ **λειμῶνι** παρείκασται ποικίλῃ μαρμάρων ψηφίδι, ὥς ἄνθεσι καθωραϊζόμενον, **πλὴν παρ’ ὅσον** τὰ μὲν ἄνθη **μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται, ὁ δὲ λειμὼν οὗτος ἀμάραντος καὶ ἄϊδιος**, τηρῶν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ **τὸ ἔαρ ἀθάνατον**. Πᾶς δὲ τοῖχος ποικιλία μαρμάρων περικαλύπτεται· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀνωτέρω χρυσῇ καλύπτει ψηφίς, ὅσα μὴ συνείληφεν ὁ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων χορός.

Lucian, *De domo* (ed. Bompaigne, 9, 4-14):

τὸν δὲ ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς ἐκάστου καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔαρος ὅψει καὶ **λειμῶνι** δὲ εὐανθεῖ καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι παραβαλεῖν· **πλὴν παρ’ ὅσον** ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀπανθεῖ καὶ **μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται** καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὸ κάλλος, τοῦτι δὲ **τὸ ἔαρ ἄϊδιον καὶ λειμὼν ἀμάραντος καὶ ἄνθος ἀθάνατον**, ἅτε μόνῃς τῆς ὀψεως ἐφαπτομένης καὶ δρεπομένης τὸ ἡδὺ τῶν βλεπομένων.⁴³¹

The imagery of a flowery field was well adapted to the floor of Cappella Palatina built in five differently colored stones: “porphyry (dark red), serpentine breccia (dark green with light green strips), cipollino (white with gray flecks), giallo antico (ranging from a pale yellow to dark orange), and a fine-grained white limestone.”

Then, for describing the chancel screen that delimited the sanctuary from the rest of the Chapel, Philagathos drew inspiration from Procopius of Gaza’s *Descriptio horologii*:

Hom. 27, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 175):

Procopius, *Descriptio horologii*, op. VIII, 4,

⁴²⁸ “The ceiling of this hall—call it the face if you will—well-featured itself, is as much embellished by the gilding as heaven by the stars at night, with sprinkled lights and scattered flowers of fire” (trans. Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, Loeb, 1961, 185).

⁴²⁹ The text is cited in Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, “The Architecture of Ekphrasis,” 57.

⁴³⁰ *De domo* 8, 1–5 (ed. Bompaigne), trans. Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, Loeb, 1961, 178.

⁴³¹ “The rest of the decoration, the frescoes on the walls, the beauty of their colours, and the vividness, exactitude, and truth of each detail might well be compared with the face of spring and with a flowery field, except that those things fade and wither and change and cast their beauty, while this is spring eternal, field unfading, bloom undying. Naught but the eye touches it and culls the sweetness of what it sees” (trans. Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, Loeb, 1961, 178).

Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρρήτου τελετῆς χωρίον **μαρμάρων** θώραξ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περικλείει τὸν χώρον, ἐφ’ ὧν ἔστιν ἐπαναπαύεσθαι τε καὶ μετ’ ἀσφαλείας ἐστάναι καὶ τέρπειν τῇ θεᾷ τὴν ὄψιν. **Κώλυμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν, εἴ τις προπετῆς** καὶ ἀνίερος εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων **ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ.**

13–16 (ed. Amato, 140):

ὁ **μαρμάρων** πτυχὶς τῶν κίωνων τὰ μέσα συνέ[χει, ὀξέων] σκολόπων αὐτοῖς ἐμπεπηγότες σιδήρου, **κώλυμα τοῦτο τῶν εἴ τις προπετῆς καὶ ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ.**⁴³²

When the journey of his speech reaches the description of holy altar ‘glittering with flashings from silver and gold.’ Philagathos highlights the emotional response of the spectators bedazzled at the sight.⁴³³ Next, inspired from Lucian’s work, Philagathos praises the Chapel for sheltering and accompanying the singing of the divine hymns:

Hom. 27, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 175):

Lucian, *De domo* (ed. Bompaire, 3, 9–19):

Ἡ δὲ θεία τράπεζα, ταῖς ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ μαρμαρυγαῖς ἀπαστράπτουσα, καταπλήττει τὸν θεατὴν.⁴³⁴ Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ταύτης τιμάσθω σιγῇ. Ὁ ναὸς δὲ ἅπας τοῖς ἄδουσι τοὺς θεῖους ὕμνους, **ὥσπερ τὰ ἄντρα, ἡρέμα συνεπηχεῖ, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπανιούσης πρὸς ἐαυτὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον.**

Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερήδιστον, οἶμαι, οἴκων ὁ κάλλιστος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν λόγων ἀναπεπταμένος καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ εὐφημίας μεστὸς ὧν, **ἡρέμα** καὶ αὐτὸς **ὥσπερ τὰ ἄντρα συνεπηχῶν** καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις παρακολουθῶν καὶ παρατείνων τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῖς ὑστάτοις τῶν λόγων ἐμβραδύνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὥς ἂν τις εὐμαθὴς ἀκροατὴς διαμνημονεύων τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τὸν λέγοντα ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀντίδοσιν οὐκ ἄμουσον ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτά· οἷόν τι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὰ αὐλήματα τῶν ποιμένων αἱ σκοπιαὶ ἐπαυλοῦσαι, **τῆς φωνῆς ἐπανιούσης κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον** καὶ **πρὸς αὐτὴν** ἀναστρεφούσης.⁴³⁵

Lucian’s celebration of the Hall as a harbourage of speech that ennobles both the distinguished hearer (i.e. the *πεπαιδευμένοι*) and magnifies the orator expresses the condition of

⁴³² “A slab of marble, with a sharp palisade made of iron occupies the space between the columns; this is a hindrance, supposing that a reckless person would be eager to transgress it.”

⁴³³ For *ekphrasis* and emotion see Webb, “Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium,” 9–11.

⁴³⁴ Philagathos expression “καταπλήττει τὸν θεατὴν” echoes perhaps the formulation of Procopius, *Descriptio horologii*, (ed. Amato, op. VIII, 4): μέλλει τοὺς τὸ παρὸν ἔργον ὁρῶντας **ἐκπλήξει[ν] τοὺς θεατάς**. It may have struck with wonder those who behold the present work, the spectators.

⁴³⁵ “It is very delightful, I think, that the fairest of halls should be flung open for the harbourage of speech and should be full of praise and laudation, reechoing softly like a cavern, following what is said, drawing out the concluding sounds of the voice and lingering on the last words; or, to put it better, committing to memory all that one says, like an appreciative hearer, and applauding the speaker and gracefully repeating his phrases. In some such way the rocks pipe in answer to the piping of the shepherds when the sound comes back again by repercussion and returns upon itself” (trans. Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, Loeb, 1961, 179).

educated men, who alone are able to delight in literary virtuosity. In a sense, by imitating Lucian, Philagathos paraded and assumed this condition of the lettered man.⁴³⁶

Furthermore, considering the extensive presence of Procopius of Gaza in this sermon, and in general in Philagathos' oeuvre, the usage of the verb "συνήδομαι" in the very opening of the *ekphrasis*, as Eugenio Amato suggested, is reminiscent of a similar occurrence in Procopius' *ethopoiia* of *Phoenix* which begins with this term:⁴³⁷

Hom. 27, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174):

Συνήδομαί σοι, πόλις, καὶ σοί, θεῖε τῶν
ἀνακτόρων ναέ (...).
I rejoice in you, oh city, and in you divine
shrine of kings (...).

Procopius of Gaza, *Phoenix* (ed. Amato, op.
VII, 1, 200, 4A):

Συνήδομαι μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, (...).
For I rejoice with you Hellenes, (...).

In conclusion, Philagathos' *ekphrasis* articulates an aesthetic experience that underscores the emotion aroused by the Chapel framed through the *mimesis* of the literary tradition. By drawing on Lucian's dialogue Philagathos summons the image of the *rhetor* as conveyed by *De domo*. The *rhetor* cannot "endure to be a silent spectator of beauty" but construes in words an equivalent to the monument he is describing unlike the ordinary men "unable to say anything adequate to what they see" but merely takes their joy in silence.⁴³⁸ Philagathos, then, like Lucian's *rhetor*, portrays himself as lover of beauty (φιλόκαλος) and a lettered man (πεπαιδευμένος), which by his speech complements the material building.⁴³⁹

Thus, Philagathos' description illustrates the appropriation of Byzantine aesthetic, religious and political scripts on behalf of the Norman dynasty. By praising the beauty of the Chapel, the preacher praised Roger's kingship. Anthropologist Alfred Gell emphasized that artefacts of all kind prompt the viewers to infer the origin of the object and its creator's agency, which are perceived as 'objective embodiments' of power.⁴⁴⁰ In this sense, the Cappella Palatina was a statement of legitimacy imparted by Philagathos' *ekphrasis*. Finally, the description transmitted certain architectural 'facts' of the chapel in place in its Rogerian phase, namely the completion of the wooden ceiling, the marble revetment, the chancel screen, the existence of wall-hanging tapestries, and the Rogerian wall-mosaics.

⁴³⁶ This idea underlying Philagathos' *mimesis* is finely conveyed by Nunzio Bianchi, "Filagato da Cerami, lettore del *De domo*," 52.

⁴³⁷ The same verbal form occurs in another text of Procopius of Gaza, in *Ep.* 114, 2 (ed. Garzya/Loenertz): Τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ γραμμάτων ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς μὲν εἰκότως τῆς γνώμης ἐθαύμασα, τῇ δὲ Βηρυτίων **συνήδομαι πόλει** εἰ τοιοῦτον ἔχει προβεβλημένον, ὥς ἀρετῆς καὶ λόγων ποιεῖσθαι φροντίδα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐλαύνοντος. "Upon seeing your greatness through your letters to me, on the one hand I naturally marveled at your good reason, on the other hand I rejoice in the city of Berytus if it presented such a plea that made a careful use of words and moral virtue when stricken by such an adversity of time."

⁴³⁸ Lucian, *De domo*, 1–3 (Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, *Loeb*, 1961, 176–79).

⁴³⁹ Lucian, *De domo*, 4 (Harmon in *Lucian* vol. I, *Loeb*, 1961, 180–81).

⁴⁴⁰ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20–21 and 68–72.

2.2. The *Ekphrasis* of the Church of St. Mary of Patir (Rossano, Calabria)

In the sermon “For the Exaltation of the Precious and Lifegiving Cross” (14th September) delivered at the Monastery of *St. Mary of Patir* at Rossano (also known as of New Hodegetria) is extant a short *ekphrasis* of the church. Rossano, we may remember, was the place where Philagathos became a monk and where he recited many of his sermons.⁴⁴¹ Founded by Bartholomew of Simeri in 1095 the monastery was renowned for the miraculous icon of the Holy Mother of God.⁴⁴² The Hodegetria was probably a donation of Emperor Alexios Komnenos, which Bartholomew received when he sojourned in Constantinople sometimes between 1110 and 1118.⁴⁴³

Hom. 4, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 23):

[1.] I behold today the august ceiling of this great church, which imitates the heavenly vault and the most sacred pavement truly like a meadow blooming with flowers embellished by such diverse assembly of people, then the succession of the holy clergy just like clouds that gently drizzle when they attend the life-bringing cross placed in the middle, the tree of life, the kingly sceptre, the plunderer of demons, the overthrower of sin, the reason of the salvation of all, whose honoured exaltation we have come today to celebrate, which verily is the visible symbol of men’s raising up from earth to the heavens through the Cross.

[1.] Ὅρῳ σήμερον τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦδε ναοῦ τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄροφον τὴν οὐρανίαν μιμούμενον ἄντυγα, ὡς δὲ λειμῶνα πολυανθῇ τὸ ἀγιώτατον δάπεδον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ ὠραϊζόμενον τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ συνελεύσεως, ὡς δὲ ψεκαζούσας νεφέλας τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου κατάλογον, μέσον δορυφοροῦντα τὸν ζωηφόρον Σταυρόν, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, τὸ βασιλικὸν σκῆπτρον, τῶν δαιμόνων τὸν ἀναιρέτην, τῆς ἀμαρτίας τὸν καθαιρέτην,⁴⁴⁴ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας τὸν αἴτιον, οὗ τὴν σεβασμίαν ἀνύψωσιν πανηγυρίζοντες ἤκομεν, ἥτις δὴ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἐναργὲς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ Σταυροῦ ἀνελκύσεως.

The content of the description with the ceiling imitating the sky or the comparison of the pavement with a meadow blooming with flowers and the wording coincides with the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina. It can be inferred that the latter predates this sermon on the Exaltation

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, LIV.

⁴⁴² For the cult of the Hodegetria of Constantinople in Southern Italy see M. Bacci, “L’eredità della Hodegetria: la Madonna di constantinopoli nel Meridione d’ Italia,” in *Il pennello dell’ evangelista. Storia della immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca*, ed. M. Bacci (Pisa, 1998), 403–420.

⁴⁴³ For Bartholomew travel to Constantinople see Mario Re, “Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Constantinopoli,” *RSBN* n.s. 34 (1997): 37–43; G. Breccia, “Dalla ‘regina delle città’. I manoscritti della donazione di Alessio Commeno a Bartolomeo da Simeri. Ὁπώρα. Studi in onore di mgr. Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno, *BGG* 51 (1997): 209–224.

⁴⁴⁴ Noteworthy, a similar word play “ἀναιρέτην/ καθαιρέτην” occurs in Basil of Caesarea’s *Sermo 11* (sermo asceticus et exhortatio de renuntiatione mundi) [Dub.], *PG*, 31, coll. 641: Δανιὴλ δὲ ὁ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀνὴρ, κρατήσας γαστροῦ, βασιλείας Χαλδαίων κατεκυρίευσεν, εἰδώλων καθαιρέτης γενόμενος, καὶ δράκοντος ἀναιρέτης, λεόντων παιδαγωγός, ἐνανθρωπήσεως Θεοῦ προαγορευτής, καὶ μυστηρίων ἀποκρύφων ἐξηγητής. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina moralia*, 959, 2–4: Ἰουδαϊσμός ἐστιν, ὁ πρῶτος νόμος· Ὁ δεῦτερος δὲ, τοῦ πάθους μυστήριον. Ὁ μὲν σκιώδης, δαιμόνων ἀναιρέτης.

of the Life-Giving Cross. In the epilogue, Philagathos prays for ‘the pious kings fighting the godless Ishmaelites.’⁴⁴⁵ Now, the ‘pious kings’ can only be Roger II and William I who ruled together between 8 April 1151 and 26 February 1154 and fought against the Arabs in Africa.⁴⁴⁶ Therefore, the latest date for the recitation of the sermon may have been 14 September 1153, the date of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross before the demise of Roger on 26 February 1154). For the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina we have noted before that it probably dates between the late 1140s and 29 June 1150. Finally, the connection between the two sermons indicates the profound assimilation of Lucian’s *De domo* since the comparison of the pavement with the meadow or the ceiling imitating the sky can be traced back to the Lucianic dialogue. This imagery became part of Philagathos’ vocabulary and was retrieved in all likelihood through memorization as the loosened semblance between the *ekphrasis* of the Patir and Lucian’s *De domo* suggests. In fact, only the evidence offered by the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina warrants the recognition of this literary model.

2.3. The *Ekphrasis* of the Painting of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents

In the homily *For the Feast of the Holy Innocents* preached from the pulpit of the Archbishopric of Rossano,⁴⁴⁷ Philagathos describes Herod the Great’s infanticide. The story of Massacre of the Innocents inspired numerous rhetorically accomplished accounts in the Byzantine religious literature. The rich tradition of sermons devoted to this episode was inaugurated by St. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395)⁴⁴⁸ and St. John Chrysostom (c. 349 – 407),⁴⁴⁹ and continued by Basil of Seleucia († c. 468),⁴⁵⁰ Romanos the Melodist (c. 490 – 556),⁴⁵¹ or John of Euboea (mid-8th century),⁴⁵² so as to refer to the most evocative compositions. The originality of Philagathos consists mainly in attaching a description of a painting within the account of the Massacre, as an *ekphrasis* within an *ekphrasis*.

The story of the Innocents is narrated by Matthew in just two sentences with the second being a biblical quotation.

“Then Herod, when he saw that he was deceived by the wise men, was exceedingly angry; and he sent forth and put to death all the male children who were in Bethlehem and in all its districts, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had determined from the wise men. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying: “A voice was heard in Ramah, / Lamentation, weeping, and great mourning, / Rachel weeping for her children, / Refusing to be comforted, because they are no more.”⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁵ *Hom.* 4, 23 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 31).

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea,” 201–201.

⁴⁴⁷ Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami*, liv.

⁴⁴⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio in diem natalem Christi*, PG 46, coll. 1144D–1145D.

⁴⁴⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Herodem et infantes*, [Dub] PG 61, coll. 701–702.

⁴⁵⁰ Basil of Seleucia, *Oratio XXXVII, De infantibus*, PG 85, coll. 388–400.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Romanos the Melodist, *Hymnes* II, Str. 10–18, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, (SC 114, Paris: Cerf, 1965), 216–226.

⁴⁵² John of Euboea, *Sermo in Sanctos Innocentes*, PG 96, coll. 1504B–1505A.

⁴⁵³ Mt. 2: 16–17.

As a simple narration (ἀπλῇ διήγησις) this text was apt to inspire a ‘highly elaborate’ (ἐνδιάσκευος) *diegesis*. To a Christian preacher seasoned in rhetoric the potential for ekphrastic development of the Gospel story of the Massacre was manifest. In line with the homiletic tradition, Philagathos seized this potential and turned the episode into an ‘ekphrastic’ *endiaskeuos*. After citing and refuting anti-Christian reprimands that chastised Christ for not preventing Herod’s massacre and derided his flight to Egypt, the preacher introduced the detailed account of the Massacre:⁴⁵⁴

[6.] Indeed, other reasons for the massacre of children could be added, but the uproar that then arose resounds in the ears of my mind, as well as the atrocious command given against the children, and the voice heard in Ramah, and woe, and Rachel’s lamentation, which in that place was weighing upon her speech [Mt. 2:17–18]. But what word could be seemly for recounting a suffering as great as this? Whoever could describe appropriately with woeful words the magnitude of that misfortune? Oh horrendous spectacle! Oh terrible darkness, which at that time spread over Bethlehem! Oh loud cry of women, and children’s weeping when snatched away towards destruction! The fathers wailed, they fell down before the soldiers kneeling, beseeching them; *a mother embraced her child* and a father called his offspring. A woman rushed out fleeing, carrying the child as a burden upon her shoulders, but the henchmen’s running was faster. [7.] They collided with each other and mingled voices arose. The soldiers *blustered terrible threats, flashing forth like snakes with savage eyes*. The mothers wept bitterly, drenched by blood and tears; the babes sobbed when pitiably cleaved asunder. For the swords, randomly raining down upon them, inflicted horrendous mutilations. One was deprived of hands, while one died with legs cut in half. *Another had his head cut off, having detached the body’s most important part*; another one was entirely cut, since wrath acting spontaneously brought death to every single one.

⁴⁵⁴ Hom. 24, 6–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158–160): [6.] Ἦν μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας προσθεῖναι τῆς τῶν νηπίων σφαγῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐνηχεῖ μου τὰς τοῦ νοδὸς ἀκοὰς ὁ τότε γενόμενος θόρυβος, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῶν παίδων ἀπηνέστατον πρόσταγμα, καὶ ἡ ἀκουσθεῖσα φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ, καὶ τὸ Οὐαί, καὶ ὁ θρήνος ὁ τῆς Ῥαχὴλ ἐκεῖ τὸν λόγον ὑφέλκεται. Ἀλλὰ ποῖος ἐφίκοιτο λόγος, εἰς τοσούτου πάθους ἀφήγησιν; Τίς ἀξίως ἐκτραγωδήσειε τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης τὸ μέγεθος; Ὡς θέας ἀπευκτῆς, ὧς γνώφου δεινοῦ, κατασχόντος τότε τὴν Βηθλεέμ. Ὡς γυναικῶν ὀλολυγῆς, οἰμωγῆς τε παίδων ἀρπαζομένων εἰς ὄλεθρον. Ἐθρήνουν πατέρες, προσέπιπτον τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἰκέτευον, καὶ μήτηρ περιεκέχυτο παῖδα, πατήρ δὲ ἀνεκαλεῖτο γονὴν. Ὡρμα γυνὴ πρὸς φυγὴν, φόρτον τοῖς ὤμοις τὸ παιδίον ἐπάγουσα· ἀλλ’ ἦν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὁ δρόμος ὀξύτερος. [7.] Ἀλλήλοις δὲ συνεκρούοντο, καὶ φωναὶ συμμιγεῖς ἀνηγείροντο· ἠπειλουν οἱ στρατιῶται δεινόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες, ἡγριωμένοις δεδορκότες τοῖς ὄμμασιν. Ὡλόλυζον μητέρες αἵμασι πεφυρμέναι καὶ δάκρυσιν· ὠλοφύροντο νήπια ἐλεεινῶς συγκοπτόμενα. Τὰ γὰρ ξίφη, ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἐπ’ αὐτὰ φερόμενα ἀθλίως ἠκρωτηρίαζε· καὶ τὸ μὲν χειρῶν ἀπεστέρητο, τὸ δὲ τῷ πόδε συντριβὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀπώλετο· ἄλλο κατεάγη τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοῦ σώματος τὰ καίρια παρασπώμενον, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐτέμνετο, ὥς ὁ θυμὸς ἐδίδου αὐτοματιζῶν ἐκάστῳ τὸν θάνατον. Ὡς πόσοι παῖδες, μέσον τμηθέντες, ἡμίθνητοι μεμενήκασιν, μὴδὲ τελευτὴν ὀξυτέραν κερδαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ δαπανώμενοι. Παῖς παρέθεε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ψελιζούσῃ φωνῇ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀνεκαλεῖτο. Ἀλλὰ στρατιώτης ἐξάπινα εἰσδραμών, ἀφηρεῖτο τῷ ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν· φθεγγομένου δ’ ἄρα τοῦδε, ἡ κἀρα κατεμίχθη τῇ κόνει. [8.] Ἐξάγει γάρ με ὁ λόγος τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως φθέγγασθαι· πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν τὸ πάθος τότε συνεῖληφε, καὶ τραγωδίας Ἐρινὺς τῇ Βηθλεέμ ἐπεκώμαζε, τοῖς οἴκοθεν αὐτὴν πολέμοις μαστίζουσα. Καὶ πρεσβύτες μὲν ἐδυσχέραине τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον κατατιώμενος, ὥς πάθεσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς παροῦσι τετηρηκότα, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ὥς βρδύνοντα κατεμέμετο· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὅτι καὶ γέγονε μήτηρ ὠδύρετο· ἐμακαρίζοντο δὲ παρθέναι καὶ στεῖραι, καὶ θηλυτόκοι καὶ ἄγονοι. Τάχα δὲ καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινὸν ἦν τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐξ ἐταιρείας ἢ αἵματος ἢ τρόπου ἀνακοινοῦμενον.

Oh, how many children cut in half laid half-dead, not even having the benefit of a swifter death, but they expired only slowly. A child ran to his mother, and called her with faltering voice. But a soldier rushing towards him with the sword immediately severed his head; and “while he was yet speaking his head was mingled with the dust;” (for the speech leads me up to utter poetical words). [8.] Calamity struck every generation at that time and a tragic Erinys⁴⁵⁵ assaulted Bethlehem, scourging it with internecine fights. And indeed the old man bewailed, cursing his many years, for having kept him alive only to bring him the present misfortunes and he blamed death for being slow to arrive; whereas the mother lamented that she had become a mother; happy instead were the virgins and the barren women, and those who had begotten girls, or the childless lot. Yet perhaps, even these women participated in the misfortune because of friendship, blood, or natural affection.

This extensive and bloody narration of the Massacre lies within a sanctioned pattern in Byzantine homiletics for describing this episode. As Henry Maguire pointed out, the delight for cruel detail was absorbed into religious literature from descriptions of war and calamities.⁴⁵⁶ When composing an *ekphrasis* of a war the rhetorical manuals prescribe that “we shall treat events both from the point of view of what has gone before, what was included within them, and what results from them; we shall first recount events before the war: the raising of armies, expenditures, fears, the countryside devastated, the sieges; then describe the wounds and the deaths and the grief, and in addition the capture and enslavement of some and the victory and trophies of the others.”⁴⁵⁷ Philagathos’ *ekphrasis* encloses the last two stages of these three periods. For it presents the massacre unfolding in time and the aftermath of the calamity by describing the mothers’ lamentation.

The unfolding of the bloodshed is an elaborate weaving of passages most prominently derived from Procopius of Gaza’s *Monody for Antioch* of which only few fragments remained⁴⁵⁸ and Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homily on the Nativity*. The opening questions expressing anxiety and hesitation of the *rhetor*’s ability to find words adequate to the misfortune are a well-established convention in laments. Gregory of Nyssa formulated similar questions in relation to the same New Testament episode in his *Homily on the Nativity*, which in all likelihood inspired

⁴⁵⁵ In Greek mythology, the Erynies were chthonic deities of vengeance; we may note that these deities are often mentioned in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* where they are associated with theatrical language; the lexical affinities with the dramatic language employed in the *Homilies* are patent; it may suffice to refer here to *Aethiopika*, 2, 4, 1: Κάν τούτω **τραγικόν** τι καὶ γοερὸν ὁ Θεαγένης βρυχώμενος «ὦ πάθους ἀτλήτου» φησὶν «ὦ συμφορᾶς θεηλάτου. Τίς οὕτως ἀκόρεστος **Ἐρινὺς** τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς **ἐνεβάκχευσε** φυγὴν τῆς ἐνεγκούσης ἐπιβαλοῦσα, κινδύνοις θαλασσῶν κινδύνοις πειρατηρίων ὑποβαλοῦσα, λησταῖς παραδοῦσα, πολλάκις τῶν ὄντων ἀλλοτριώσασα; for similar theatrical terminology in the Philagathos’ *Homilies* see also *Hom.* 9, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 65): Ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάθη **ἐκβακχεύει** τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ποιεῖ μαίνεσθαι (...); *Hom.* 35, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 242) τῷ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι κορικῶς ἀποξύσασα τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ, ὥσπερ κορυβαντιῶσα **ἐβάκχευε**, (...). *Hom.* 24, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158): Τίς ἀξίως ἐκτραγώδησειε τῆς συμφορᾶς...

⁴⁵⁶ See for this H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 24–27.

⁴⁵⁷ Aelius Theon, *Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 119, 14–21 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 46); Hermogenes, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 10, 13–20 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 86).

⁴⁵⁸ For the allusions to Procopius of Gaza’s *Monody* in Philagathos’ sermons see A. Corcella, “Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo,” *BZ* 103(2010): 31–34.

Philagathos' formulations.⁴⁵⁹ From Procopius' Monody⁴⁶⁰ written in relation to the devastating earthquake from 526 that flattened Antioch, Philagathos takes the image of the mothers embracing their sons:

Hom. 24, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158–159): Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*
Ἐθρήνουν πατέρες, προσέπιπτον τοῖς (=Bekker, 169, 4–5, fr. incert.):
στρατιώταις, ἰκέτευον, **καὶ μήτηρ Περιχεόμαι**: αἰτιατικῇ. Προκόπιος· “**καὶ**
περικέχυτο παῖδα, πατὴρ δὲ ἀνεκαλεῖτο **μήτηρ περιεκέχυτο παῖδα**.”⁴⁶¹
γονήν.

Then the portrayal of the soldiers as ‘flashing forth like snakes with savage eyes’ is borrowed from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homilies on the Beatitudes*. In Nyssen’s sermon, this imagery was applied to the passion of rage. The reference to Gregory consisting in just one word is clarified by Philagathos’ extensive reliance on Nyssen’s homily in the sermon “On the Men possessed by the *Legion of Demons*” (*Hom.* 9).

Hom. 24, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158–159): Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1285:
ἡπεύλουν οἱ στρατιῶται δεινόν τι καὶ *beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1285:
δρακοντῶδες, ἡγριωμένοις **δεδορκότες** τοῖς **ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων**
ὄμμασιν. Ὡλόλυζον μητέρες **αἷμασι περιγραφὴν ἐξωθοῦνται**, ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ
πεφυρμέναι καὶ δάκρυσιν. ὠλοφύροντο **δρακοντῶδες** πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν
νήπια ἐλεεινῶς συγκοπτόμενα. **ἀτενίζοντες**.⁴⁶³

Cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 65):

Ὅφθαλμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων
περιγραφὴν ἐξωθοῦντο, ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ
δρακοντῶδες δεδορκότες πρὸς τὸν
λυπήσαντα, (...).⁴⁶²

“The eyes protrude beyond the surrounding eye-lids, staring bloodshot and like a snake’s so as to hurt.”

⁴⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio in diem natalem Christi*, PG, 46, col. 1145: Τίς ἂν ὑπογράψει τῷ λόγῳ τὰς συμφοράς; “Who could describe by word these terrible misfortunes?” For other examples, see Alexiou 2002: 161–165.

⁴⁶⁰ For monody as rhetorical genre see Menander Rhetor, *On the Epideictic Speeches*, 2, 16 (*Menander Rhetor, A Commentary*, ed. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, 200–207); a famous example of monody is the one composed by Aelius Aristides in the second century A.D. when Smyrna was destroyed by an earthquake; the composition is said to have moved Emperor Marcus Aurelius to tears and even inspired him to restore the ruined city.

⁴⁶¹ Trans.: “to embrace (Περιχεόμαι, cf. *LSJ* s.v. περιχέω, p. 1393): with Accusative. Procopius [of Gaza]: and the mother had embraced her child.”

⁴⁶² Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 13: “The eyes wrenched out beyond the limit of the eye-lids, were flashing forth something bloody and gazing snake-like to the one tormented by this [i.e. demonic possession].”

⁴⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily VII on the Beatitudes*: “The eyes protrude beyond the surrounding eye-lids, staring bloodshot and like a snake’s so as to hurt” (trans. Stuart George Hall, 80).

The vivid description of being drenched “by blood and tears” evokes a literary convention often encountered in laments.⁴⁶⁴ This emphasis on extreme gestures of bereavement is recurrent in Philagathos as we observed in the sermon “On the Widow’s Son.”⁴⁶⁵

Then, other passages from Procopius and Gregory are intertwined in the sermon sparing no gruesome detail that might bring the scene before the eye.

Hom. 24, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158–159):
ἄλλο κατεάγη τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοῦ σώματος τὰ
καίρια παρασπώμενον, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐτέμενετο,
 ὡς ὁ θυμὸς ἐδίδου αὐτοματίζων ἐκάστῳ τὸν
 θάνατον. **Ὡ πόσοι** παῖδες, **μέσον** τμηθέντες,
 ἡμίθητοι μεμενήκασι, **μηδὲ τελευτὴν**
ὄξυτέραν κερδαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ
 δαπανώμενοι. Παῖς παρέθεε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ
ψελλιζούσῃ φωνῇ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀνεκαλεῖτο.

Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*
 (=Bekker, 153, 21–23): **Κατεάγη**: γενικῇ.
 Προκόπιος ἐκ τῆς Μονωδίας Ἀντιοχείας:
 “**ἄλλος κατεάγη τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ σώματος**
τὰ καίρια παρασπώμενος.”⁴⁶⁶

Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*
 (=Bekker, 153, 24–26, fr. incert.): Κερδαίνω:
 αἰτιατικῇ. Προκόπιος “**Ὡ πόσοι μέσοι** ξύλων
 ἀλληλοῖς ἀντερειδόντων ἐγίνοντο, **μηδὲ**
τελευτὴν ὄξυτέραν κερδαινόντες.”⁴⁶⁷

Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio in diem natalem*
Christi, PG 46, coll. 1145:

ἀλλ’ ἀκροᾶται τοῦ ἄλλου ἤδη φθεγγομένου
 καὶ **ψελλιζομένη τῇ φωνῇ τὴν μητέρα** μετὰ
 δακρύων **ἀνακαλοῦντος**. τί πάθη; τίς γένηται;
 τῇ τίνος ἀντιβοήσῃ φωνῇ; τῇ τίνος οἰμωγῇ
 ἀντοδύρηται;⁴⁶⁸

Concluding the first section of the *ekphrasis* Philagathos cites *Iliad*, X. 457, which presents Diomedes beheading Dolon: “Diomedes sprang upon him with his sword and smote him full upon the neck, and shore off both the sinews, and even *while he was yet speaking his head was mingled with the dust.*”⁴⁶⁹ By this poetical twist, Philagathos perhaps evokes the hopelessness of children’s flight and their implacable death; for the citation recalls the narrative context of *Iliad* with Dolon who despite being a fast runner was hopelessly hunted down by Diomedes and Odysseus in a swift pursuit with help from the goddess Athena.

⁴⁶⁴ See for this Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2002), 162–64.

⁴⁶⁵ e.g., Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 42): Καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χήραν οὕτως ἡμίγυμνον, **αἵματι φυρωμένην καὶ δάκρυσιν** (...). “And seeing the widow in this way half naked, drenched by blood and tears [...]”

⁴⁶⁶ Trans.: “be broken into pieces [– κατεάγη – cf. LSJ s.v. κατάγνυμι, brake, shatter, p. 887]: with Genitive. Procopius [of Gaza] from the Monody for Antioch: Another had his head broken off being deprived of body’s most important part;”

⁴⁶⁷ Trans.: “gain, derive profit [cf. LSJ s.v. κερδαίνω, gain, spare oneself, avoid, p. 942]: with Accusative. Procopius: Oh, how many got in the middle when the wooden beams thrust against each other, not even having benefit a swifter death.”

⁴⁶⁸ “And she was listening as the other was ere now speaking and calling in tears her mother with a faltering voice. Oh, what is to befall her? Who could take this? By whose voice could her cry be answered? By whose weeping could her lamentation be surpassed?”

⁴⁶⁹ Homer, *Iliad*, X. 455–57 (trans. T. A. Murray, *Iliad*, London and New York 1924, 469).

Hom. 24, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 159):

Ἀλλὰ στρατιώτης ἐξάπινα εἰσδραμών,
ἀφηρεῖτο τῷ ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν·
φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦδε, ἡ κάρα
κατεμίχθη τῇ κόνει.

Homer, *Iliad*, 10.457:

φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη
κονίησιν ἐμίχθη. (=Odyssey,
22.329)⁴⁷⁰

For augmenting the vividness of the literary description, Philagathos inserts the *ekphrasis* of a painting of the Massacre, which he claimed to have seen with his own eyes:⁴⁷¹

[9.] I saw this [scene of] suffering painted in colours on a panel, and I was moved to pity and tears. For that tyrant Herod was depicted sitting on a high throne haughtily, looking with wide-open eyes, fierce and savage. While he rested his left hand upon the upraised and sheathed sword, he stretched forth his right hand [and] he seemed to be ordering the soldiers to cut off without pity the mothers. And springing like beasts they slaughtered mercilessly the wretched [lads]. The painter also represented the miserable mothers, lamenting piteously as they mixed [their] tears with blood. And one tore her hair, another scraped the skin of her cheeks with her nails, another tore her robe, and laying bare her chest, showed her breast, now without the feeding baby. Another gathered the scattered limbs of the slaughtered child. And another holding on her knees her newly murdered child wept bitterly. [10.] And since the artist could not provide a voice to the colours, he imprinted the lamentations in letters. For it seemed that the woman lamented in this manner: “Oh, hapless child of a more miserable mother, unaware of the sword, and for an untimely death engendered! Oh womb, fertile in vain! Oh, fruitfulness admired, though it gladdened me a little, yet wretchedness wholly returned to me! Oh, tender limbs and sweetly stumbling tongue, yet now, alas,

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 455–457, “Diomedes sprang upon him with his sword and smote him full upon the neck, and shore off both the sinews, and even while he was yet speaking his head was mingled with the dust” (trans. A. T. Murray, 469).

⁴⁷¹ Hom. 24, 9–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 159–160): [9.] Εἶδον ἐγὼ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος χρώμασι γεγραμμένον ἐν πίνακι, καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον ἐκινήθην καὶ δάκρυα. Ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐκεῖνος Ἡρώδης ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινοῦ θρόνου σοβαρῶς ἐφεζόμενος, δριμύ τι καὶ θηριῶδες ὄρων κεκηνότι τῷ βλέμματι. Ὅρθον δὲ στήσας ἐν κολεῷ τὸ ξίφος, τὴν λαίαν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ διανέπανε, τὴν <δὲ> δεξιᾶν προτείνων ἐπιτάττειν ἐφκει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνηλεῶς θερῖσαι τῶν νηπίων τὴν ἄρουραν. Οἱ δὲ θηριοπρεπῶς ἐπιθρώσκοντες, ἀφειδῶς τὰ δειλαία κατεμέλιζον. Ἐγραψεν ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ τὰς ἀθλίας μητέρας οἰκτρὸν συνιστώσας θρῆνον καὶ τοῖς αἵμασι κιρνῶσας τὰ δάκρυα. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔτιλλε τὰς κόμας, ἡ δὲ τοῖς ὄνυξι τὰς παρειὰς περιέδρυφεν· ἄλλη διέρρησσε τὸν πέπλον, καὶ τὰ στέρνα παραγυμνοῦσα τὸν μαστὸν ὑπεδείκνυ καταλειφθέντα τοῦ θηλάζοντος ἔρημον· ἑτέρα δὲ τοῦ κατακοπέντος παιδίου τὰ διεσπαρμένα μέλη συνέλεγε· καὶ ἄλλη νεοσφαγὲς ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κρατοῦσα τὸ νήπιον, πικρῶς ὠλοφύρετο. [10.] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ εἶχεν ὁ τεχνίτης φωνὴν ἐνθεῖναι τοῖς χρώμασιν, ἐσήμανε τοὺς θρήνους τοῖς γράμμασιν. Ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐπιτραγωδεῖν ὧδέ πη τὸ γύναιον· «ὦ παιδίον δυστυχὲς ἀθλιωτέρας μητρός, ἐλάνθανες ἄρα ξίφει καὶ θανάτῳ ἄωρῳ τικτόμενον. ὦ μάτην γονίμου γαστρός, ὦ ζηλωτὴς εὐτεκνίας, ἐπ’ ὀλίγον μὲν εὐφρανάσης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἀνιώσης τὴν δειλαίαν ἐμέ. ὦ μελῶν ἀπαλῶν, καὶ γλώττης ψελλιζούσης ἡδύ, νῦν δὲ φεῦ σιγησάσης ἐσχάτην σιγὴν. ὦ δεξιᾶς ἀδίκου ξιφῆρους, ὅτι μὴ πρὸ σοῦ, παιδίον, τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἐγρεο, σπλάγχχνον ἐμόν, ἀποτίναξον τὸν βαρὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον, ὃν σοὶ ὁ ἀπηνὴς στρατιώτης ἐνέθηκεν, ὕφαπλώθητι ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τῆς σῆς ἀθλίας μητρός, ἐπιλαβοῦ τοῦ πρὶν σοὶ ποθουμένου μαζοῦ, ἐπίδειξον τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ σύνηθες ἐκεῖνο μεδίαιμα». Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀφῆκε τὸ ἀπηνὲς τοῦ τυράννου ἐπίταγμα. [11.] Τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἐφκει, καὶ συνεῖρεν ἴσως τὰ τῆς Νιόβης καὶ τῆς Ἀλκίστεως· «Μάτην ἄρα σε, τέκνον, ἐξεθρεψάμην, / μάτην ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάνθην πόνοις. / Ζηλῶ δ’ ἀγάμους καὶ γυναῖκας ἀτέκνους· βέλτιον γὰρ μὴ τεκεῖν ἢ τικτεῖν εἰς δάκρυα».

keeping everlasting silence! Oh, that the unrighteous right hand, armed with a sword, had not slain the mother, instead of you, oh child! Awake my child, shake off this heavy sleep, which the cruel soldier has cast you into! Compose [yourself] upon the elbows of your miserable mother! Lay hold of your once beloved breast! Show forth that sweet and constant smile!” But the tyrant’s cruel command did not permit it. [11.] It appeared seemly to say such words and perhaps the words of Niobe and Alcestis add [to them]:

“In vain, oh child, I nourished you,
In vain, I laboured and was worn out by toils;
I envy the unmarried lot and the childless women;
For it is better not to have given birth than giving birth to tears.”

Philagathos’ statement of being ‘moved to pity and tears’ evokes the standard emotional response aroused by the work of art. This is a constituent element in the *ekphraseis* of paintings from Late Antiquity onwards.⁴⁷² In a Christian context, Gregory of Nyssa expresses a similar emotion when prefacing an *ekphrasis* of a painting of the Sacrifice of Isaac: “I often saw the representation of this suffering in painting, and I could not pass by this spectacle without [shedding] tears, so vividly the art brought the story before my eyes.”⁴⁷³ Unfortunately, it remains uncertain whether Philagathos described a real painting as Henry Maguire was inclined to believe⁴⁷⁴ or that he based his account on the literary tradition. Considering the fact that Gregory of Nyssa was the author most cited by the South Italian preacher, the latter hypothesis takes precedence.

An important literary model for Philagathos’ *ekphrasis* of the painting is Procopius of Gaza’s *Description of the Image placed in the City of Gaza*, a source hitherto unknown to have been present in the homiletic corpus. Procopius’ renowned *ekphrasis* illustrates the two main episodes from the Euripidean tragedy *Hippolytus* *Stephanephorus*.⁴⁷⁵ The first scene set within the palace features Theseus, king of Athens, lying on his bed, at the centre of a hypostyle hall. Two of the servants (the boy bearing the fan and the boy in charge of the hounds), repose next to their master’s bed. Close to the king’s bed sits his wife, Phaedra. In Procopius’ account, she is depicted restless, tormented by her hopeless and tragic love for her stepson, Hippolytus. An Eros

⁴⁷² James and Webb, “*Ekphrasis* and Art in Byzantium,” 9–11.

⁴⁷³ Gregory of Nyssa, *De deitate filii et spiritus sancti*, PG 46, coll. 572C: Εἶδον πολλάκις ἐπὶ γραφῆς εἰκόνα τοῦ πάθους, καὶ οὐκ ἀδακρυτὴ τὴν θεὰν παρῆλθον, ἐναργῶς τῆς τέχνης ὑπ’ ὅψιν ἀγούσης τὴν ἱστορίαν.

⁴⁷⁴ Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, 27: “the more one studies surviving paintings of the Massacre, the more difficult it becomes to dismiss the existence of the painting described by Philagathus. For by the twelfth century many of the descriptive clichés had been incorporated into the artistic tradition; artists no less than orators could develop an *ekphrasis* of the Massacre”; id., “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” *DOP* 31 (1977), 13.

⁴⁷⁵ For Procopius of Gaza’ *ekphrasis* see, H. Buschhausen, “L’église Sainte-Marie, la salle d’Hippolyte et l’*Ekphrasis* de Procope de Gaza,” in *Mosaïques byzantines*, ed. M. Piccirillo (Lyon 1989), 161–177; Rina Talgam, “The *Ekphrasis Eikonos* of Procopius of Gaza: The Depiction of Mythological Themes in Palestine and Arabia during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries,” in *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, eds. B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 209–234; Vlastimil Drbal, “L’*Ekphrasis Eikonos* de Procope de Gaza en tant que reflet de la société de l’Antiquité tardive,” in *Ekphrasis: la représentation des monuments dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves: réalités et imaginaires*, ed. Vladimir Vavřínek, Paolo Odorico and Vlastimil Drbal (Prague: Byzantinoslavica 2011): 106–122;

figure, hovers above her holding a torch and points toward a painting of Hippolytus hunting a lion, signifying Phaedra's indomitable desire. An old nursemaid, reading the thoughts of her mistress, is persuading her to write a letter to Hippolytus expressing her love, while another Eros figure standing with legs crossed, is helpfully handing Phaedra a quill and ink. Two maidservants watch the scene; one appears to be explaining to the other what is wasting the queen by pointing to the painting of Hippolytus. A third girl is bringing a box containing Phaedra's jewels. The second scene takes place in the mountains and features Hippolytus accompanied by Daphne and their servants as they horse ride when the old nursemaid, Phaedra's messenger, appeared.⁴⁷⁶ Now, Philagathos resorted for his description of Herod to Procopius' account of the first scene which features Theseus fallen asleep in the palace.

Hom. 24, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 159):

Ὅρθον δὲ **στήσας** ἐν κολεῷ τὸ ξίφος, τὴν λαιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ **διανέπαιε**, τὴν <δὲ> δεξιὰν προτείνων ἐπιτάττειν ἔφκει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνηλεῶς θερίσαι τῶν νηπίων τὴν ἄρουραν.

Procopius of Gaza, *Descriptio imaginis*, 13 (ed. P. Friedländer):

ὅπως δὲ μὴ λάθῃ παραρρυέν, **ὄρθον** τοῦτο **στήσας** τὸ σῶμα ἀνέκλινε, λαιῷ συνέχων τῷ πήχει καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρειδόμενος.

Procopius of Gaza, *Descriptio imaginis*, 10 (ed. P. Friedländer):

τὸ δὲ παρὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μῆκος ἀποκαμὼν ἐπὶ κλίνην ἐτράπη καὶ **διαναπαύει** τὸ σῶμα, τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸ πνῖγος ἀποπεμπόμενος ὕπνω.⁴⁷⁷

Philagathos' description of Herod as "while he held upraised – **ὄρθον δὲ στήσας** – the sword into its sheath he rested – **διανέπαιε** – his left hand upon it" – has close parallels with Procopius of Gaza's description of the boy bearing the fan from the main scene of the painting, which features Theseus asleep surrounded by servants and his wife, Phaedra. Taking advantage of his master's sleep, the boy abandoned his duties and fell asleep: "But that he may not slip off, while holding upright this (i.e. the fan) – **ὄρθον** τοῦτο **στήσας** – he leaned his body, bending on his left forearm and propping up his head on the hand for precaution against falling." Furthermore, Philagathos' formulation τὴν λαιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ **διανέπαιε** recalls Procopius of Gaza's similar usage of διαναπαύω for picturing Theseus who "rests his body" – **διαναπαύει** τὸ σῶμα – while lying on his bed at noon at the centre of a hypostyle hall. Admittedly, these are tiny allusions for locating Philagathos' source of inspiration. Notwithstanding, when corroborated with Philagathos' extensive usage of Procopius of Gaza's *ekphrasis* for disclosing a sleeping deacon

⁴⁷⁶ P. Friedländer presented his critical edition with a reconstitution of both scenes, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza des Prokopios von Gaza. ΕΚΦΡΑΣΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΣ* (Vatican City 1939); the images are also reported by Vlastimil Drbal, "L'Ekphrasis Eikonos de Procope de Gaza en tant que reflet de la société de l'Antiquité tardive," 108–109.

⁴⁷⁷ Trans.: "But at present, having grown weary at the height of the day [Theseus] turned to his bed and rests his body, bidden to sleep by the stifling heat of noon."

during the liturgy in a different sermon,⁴⁷⁸ the hypothesis that Philagathos' description of Herod is based on Procopius' *Descriptio imaginis* seems well established.

Philagathos recounts the scene as if unfolding in time with Herod seeming to order the slaughter of the children, followed by the soldier's onslaught and the mothers gathering the scattered limbs and wailing the deaths of their children. By this temporal progression, Philagathos follows the recommendations given in *ekphrasis* as to chronologically divide the actions in stages: preparation, action and aftermath. Thus, Philagathos first describes Herod "sitting haughtily with wide-open eyes" ordering the soldiers "to cut off without pity the land of infants." Then follows the second stage of the description, the slaughter of the children intertwined with a catalogue of excessive gestures of bereavement.

As the technique of *ekphrasis* prescribes with respect to style, Philagathos' language aims to reflect the events described.⁴⁷⁹ For achieving this stylistic quality, the homilist appropriated snippets referring to savagery from Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*. First, the characterization of the soldiers who are "springing like beasts" – οἱ δὲ **θηριοπρεπῶς ἐπιθρόσκοντες** – is indebted to Cyril's exegesis of Mich. 2:10–11:

"He distilled into their mind and heart an intoxication through error in which they rightly perish in a frenzy befitting wild animals employing utter audacity and abuse."⁴⁸⁰

κατεστάλαξε δὲ καὶ εἰς νοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ καρδίαν, τὴν διὰ πλάνησεως μέθην, ἐφ' ἣν δικαίως καὶ ἀπολώλασι, **θηριοπρεπῶς ἐπιθρόσκοντες**, παντί τε θράσει καὶ δυσφημίᾳ χρώμενοι.⁴⁸¹

Then, Philagathos' statement that the soldiers "chopped unmercifully the wretched [lads]" – **ἀφειδῶς τὰ δειλαία κατεμέλιζον** – goes back to Cyril's exegesis of Michaias 3: 1–4:

"[Y]ou made savage and heartless attacks on my sheep [...] skinning the sheep, tearing their flesh, chopping it unmercifully, and, as it were, cooking it in a pot."⁴⁸²

ἀνήμερον κατὰ τῶν ἐμῶν προβάτων ποιούμενους τὴν ἔφοδον [...] τοὺς ἀποδέροντας μὲν τὰ πρόβατα, καταζαίνοντας δὲ καὶ σάρκας, καὶ **καταμελίζοντας ἀφειδῶς** καὶ οἶον ἔψοντας διὰ χύτρας.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁸ See for this, Part II, chapter 2.6 *Ekphrasis of Storms in the Homilies: a Sleeping Deacon and a Man Enraged*," 140–142.

⁴⁷⁹ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 57.

⁴⁸⁰ Trans. Robert Hill in Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 2, *The Fathers of the Church* vol. 116 (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America, 2008), 209.

⁴⁸¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1, ed. P. E. Pusey, 640.

⁴⁸² Trans. Robert Hill, 213.

⁴⁸³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1, ed. P. E. Pusey, 645.

Finally, Philagathos introduces the lamentation of the disconsolate mothers inscribed in the painting: “since the artist could not impart voice to the colours, he signified the lamentations with letters.” By adding speech to the voiceless image of the painter, Philagathos enhances the vividness of the visual representation by marking the climax of the mothers’ suffering.⁴⁸⁴ The *ekphrasis* concludes with a citation of verses from Euripides, which recall the atrocious suffering of Niobe and Alcestis:

Hom. 24, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 160):

Τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἔωκει, καὶ συνεῖρεν ἴσως τὰ
τῆς **Νιόβης** καὶ τῆς Ἀλκήστεως·
«**Μάτην ἄρα σε, τέκνον, ἐξεθρεψάμην,
μάτην ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάνθην πόνοις.
Ζηλῶ δ’ ἀγάμους** καὶ γυναικας **ἀτέκνους**·
βέλτιον γάρ **μὴ τεκεῖν ἢ τίττειν εἰς
δάκρυα**».

Euripides, *Troïades*, 758–760:

διὰ κενῆς ἄρα
ἐν σπαργάνοις σε μαστὸς **ἐξέθρεψ’** ὅδε,
μάτην δ’ ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάνθην πόνοις.⁴⁸⁶
cf. Euripides, *Medea*, 1029–1030:
ἄλλως ἄρ’ ὑμᾶς, ὦ **τέκν’**, **ἐξεθρεψάμην,**
ἄλλως δ’ **ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάνθην πόνοις,**⁴⁸⁷

Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, X, 35–36 (ed. H. Rabe):

Ἡθοποιίας μελέτη· τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους
Νιόβη κειμένων τῶν παίδων. Οἷαν ἀνθ’ οἷας
ἀλλάσσομαι τύχην ἅπαις ἢ πρὶν εὖπαις
δοκοῦσα; καὶ περιέστη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἔνδειαν
καὶ μήτηρ ἐνὸς οὐχ ὑπάρχω παιδὸς ἢ πολλῶν
τοῦτο δόξασα πρότερον. ὥς ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν
μὴ τεκεῖν ἢ τίττειν εἰς δάκρυα. τῶν οὐ
τεκόντων οἱ στερηθέντες εἰσὶν ἀτυχέστεροι·
τὸ γὰρ εἰς πείραν ἦκον ἀνιαρὸν εἰς
ἀφαίρεσιν.⁴⁸⁵

Euripides, *Alcestis*, 882:

ζηλῶ δ’ ἀγάμους ἀτέκνους τε βροτῶν.⁴⁸⁸

It can be observed that the first two verses are reminiscent of Euripides’ *Troïades* (*The Daughters of Troy*). Similar verses, but without the emphasis on “worthlessness” – μάτην – as in

⁴⁸⁴ James and Webb, “*Ekphrasis* and Art in Byzantium,” 10; cf. 129–130; this rhetorical device of adding speeches to *ekphraseis* is analyzed by Henry Maguire, “Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art,” *DOP* 28 (1974): 129–130.

⁴⁸⁵ “An Exercise in Characterization: ‘What Words Niobe Might Say when Her Children Lie Dead.’ ‘How great is the change in my fortune! —childless now, once seeming blessed with children. Abundance has turned into want and I who earlier seemed the mother of many children am now not the mother of one! As a result, I ought not to have given birth to start with, rather than giving birth to tears. Those deprived are more unfortunate than those not having given birth; for what has once been experienced gives pain when taken away’” (trans. George Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 116).

⁴⁸⁶ Euripides, *The Daughters of Troy*, 758–760: “In vain and all in vain, / This breast in swaddling-bands hath nurtured thee” (trans. Arthur Way in *Euripides*, Vol. I, *Loeb*, 417).

⁴⁸⁷ Euripides, *Medea*, 1029–1030: “For naught, for naught, my babes, I nurtured you / And all for naught I laboured, travail-worn” (trans. Arthur Way in *Euripides*, Vol. IV, *Loeb*, 365).

⁴⁸⁸ Euripides, *Alcestis*, 882–884: “I envy the lot / Of the man without wife / Without child: single-wrought / Is the strand of his life” (trans. Arthur Way in *Euripides*, Vol. I, *Loeb*, 481).

Philagathos recur in *Medea*. The last verse goes back to Euripides, *Alcestis* whereas the reference to Niobe in association with the third verse cited by Philagathos appears in the rhetorical tradition, particularly in Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata*. In all likelihood, the verses are derived from a rhetorical compilation that grouped them according to the theme of mourning or suffering. For the verses from *The Daughters of Troy* are part of Andromache's lament, which she uttered upon hearing that her baby son, Astyanax, has been condemned to die. Niobe is a type for mourning being mentioned as such in the *Iliad*, when Achilles tries to console Priam for Hector's death.⁴⁸⁹ According to myth, Niobe lost all of her twelve children (or more according to different versions), slain by Apollo and Artemis. Alcestis, on the other hand, gives up her life for Admetus, her newly wed husband; the verse cited by Philagathos is part of Admetus' lamentation when overwhelmed by sorrow for 'parting from the loving and leal.'⁴⁹⁰

Thus, in the pure ekphrastic tradition, Philagathos' *ekphrasis* aims at imparting the emotional effect aroused by the imagined representation of this New Testament subject to his audience by recreating the sight of the bloodshed.⁴⁹¹ The intensity of the scene is conveyed by 'seeing' in the painting the quasi-temporal unfolding of the massacre, while at the same time 'hearing' through an *ethopoia* the comfortless mothers' lamentation.

2.4. The *Ekphrasis* of St. John the Baptist and the Description of Herodias' Daughter Licentious Dancing

The centrality of *ekphrasis* and emotions in Philagathos' *Homilies* is further exposed by the sermon "On the Beheading of St. John the Baptist" (Mc. 6: 14–29; Mt. 14:1–12; Lc. 9: 9). The sermon was delivered at the liturgical commemoration of the Decollation of the Forerunner on 29 August in the Church of *St. John of the Hermits* (San Giovanni degli Eremiti) in Palermo during one of Philagathos' sojourns in the capital. Roger II built the church situated near the Palazzo dei Normanni between 1142 and 1148 when the king entrusted it to the hermits of Montevergine. Thus, the late 40s serve as *terminus post quem* for this homily.⁴⁹²

What characterizes Philagathos' sermon is the elaborate *ekphrastic* account of the events leading up to John the Baptist's death. It contains a picturesque *ekphrasis* of St. John the Baptist, of Herodias' arts of seduction, of Salome's appealing appearance as well as a vivid portrayal of the emotions that divided Herod's soul when the prophet chastised him. Besides, the sermon encloses an *ekphrasis* of Herodias' daughter's (whom Flavius Josephus identifies as Salome) lascivious dance, which is one of the most extensive accounts of her performance in the Byzantine homiletic literature.

A detailed analysis of the sources reveals a meticulous composition that merges evocative vignettes borrowed from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Martyr Gordius*, Gregory of Nyssa's

⁴⁸⁹ *Iliad* 24, 708–12.

⁴⁹⁰ Euripides, *Alcestis*, 880–82.

⁴⁹¹ In this sense, Ruth Webb defined the function of ekphrasis as aiming "to induce the audience to share the speaker's state of mind by placing them imaginatively in his position" (Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion*, 149).

⁴⁹² R. Di Liberto, "Norman Palermo: Architecture between the 11th and 12th century," in *A Companion to Medieval Palermo*, ed. A. Nef (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167–68; T. Torregrossa, "Il complesso monastico di San Giovanni degli Eremiti a Palermo," *Archivio Storico Messinese* 65 (1993): 15–49.

Eulogy of Saint Basil, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and Clitophon, Lucian of Samosata's *Toxaris*, Alciphron's *Letters* and the Homeric poems (*Iliad* 16, 235 and *Odyssey* 9, 191).

The fragments selected here⁴⁹³ are illustrative for certain stylistic features often encountered in Philagathos' sermons, as is the rhetorical use of *homoiototeuton*.

[4.] For this Herod, madly lusted for the bed of his brother Philip, debauched with his wife and tore her away from Philip, killed him by guile, fornicated in an unseemly manner with the adulteress and banished his lawful wife, the daughter of Areta, the king of the Arabs,⁴⁹⁴ which was legitimately united with him in marriage. In those days, John the Baptist gave up his wasting away in the wilderness and came to the river Jordan, and made manifest to the multitude the dawn of the proclamation [of the Gospel]. *He had a shaggy and savage-looking appearance because of his having been in the wilderness from childhood; his hair was squalid, filthy, with flowing locks and overshadowed by the mass of his own hair.* His beard was thick and body dried-up from his debilitating manner of living; wrapped up in rugged clothes and tightened by a hard belt, *he covered only those parts of his body, which seemed more becoming to be concealed; for the rest he endured patiently the adversities of heat and cold, with "unwashed feet and sleeping upon the ground,"*⁴⁹⁵ [*Iliad* 16, 235] and so that I may say something from the external wisdom, *"was not like a man that lives by bread,"* [*Odyssey* 9, 191]⁴⁹⁶ but he was an angel improperly subjected to such a body. [5.] After he baptized the Lord, he became the chastiser of Herod's lascivious passion, "It is not lawful," [he was] saying, "for you to have dealings with your brother's wife. Why do you disgrace yourself by mocking thy brotherly bridal-bed and mounting lawless couches? *It is not lawful for you to have your brother's wife.*" [Mark 6: 18] But saying these things was like singing to an ass and talking to the deaf. For assuredly Herod seeing the prophet violently flogging him with rebukes and parading the filthiness of his foul deeds openly and fearlessly, *had his soul split*

⁴⁹³ *Hom.* 35, 4–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240–242).

⁴⁹⁴ Areta was the king of the Nabataeans (9 BC–40 AD), the Arabian kingdom situated between the Sinai and the Arabian Peninsula with the city of Petra in Jordan as its capital; in the *Antiquities of the Jews* (18, 5, 1) Josephus reports that his daughter Phasaelis married Herod Antipas but fled later to her father when she discovered that Herod intended to divorce her upon falling in love with his brother's wife, Herodias; then at the first occasion Areta made war with Herod and destroyed his army; King Areta is also mentioned in the *NT* (2 Cor. 11: 32).

⁴⁹⁵ In all likelihood, the expression is an unacknowledged Homeric allusion to *Iliad* 16, 235: "But around dwell thy priests, the Selli, with unwashed feet, and sleeping upon the ground" (trans. Buckley, 293); the verse was often cited in the Christian tradition and expressly attributed to Homer, as for instance in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Contra Julianum imperatorem* 1 (*orat.* 4), PG 35, coll. 593: τοὺς ἀνιπτόποδας καὶ χαμαιεῦνας, ὃ φησιν ὁ σοὶς Ὅμηρος, ἵνα τινὰ δαιμόνων τιμῇ τῷ πλάσματι (...). "These men, 'With feet unwashed, and with the earth for bed' (as thy Homer hath it, in order that he may do honour to one of his demons by the fiction)"; Philagathos' Homeric appropriation was remarkably apt for depicting John the Baptist, the prophet of the Lord on account of the 'typological' connection established between the two contexts for the verse in *Iliad* refers to the prophets of Zeus attending the oracle of Dodona.

⁴⁹⁶ *Odyssey* 9, 191; the verse is taken for the poet's description of the land of the Cyclops picturing their isolated manner of living and appearance; cf. *Od.* 9, 190–192: "For he was fashioned a wondrous monster, and was not like a man that lives by bread, but like a wooded peak of lofty mountains, which stands out to view alone, apart from the rest" (trans. Murray, *Loeb*, 317).

up by many conflicting emotions — shame, love, and anger; he was ashamed before the herald's standing, enraged when chastised; for love greatly inflamed the anger and the lust for pleasure prevails at last over the one who has been taken captive. For he was untrained and completely uneducated [and] could not tame his desire by some illustrious reasoning.

[4.] Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης οὗτος, τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φιλίππου κοίτῃ λελυττηκῶς καὶ τὴν γυναικα τούτου μεμοιχευκῶς καὶ ταύτην τοῦ Φιλίππου ἀφηρηκῶς, καὶ αὐτὸν δόλῳ πεφονευκῶς, τῇ μοιχαλίδι συνῆν ἀπρεπῶς, τὴν νομίμως αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν ἐξωθηκῶς, θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀράβων Ἀρέτα τυγχάνουσιν. Ἦν δὲ τῷ τότε Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστὴς ἀπολιπὼν τὰς ἐν ἐρήμοις διατριβὰς καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἰορδάνου ῥοάς, καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμφαίνων τοῦ κηρύγματος τὰς αὐγὰς. Δασὺς μὲν καὶ ἀπηγριωμένος τὴν ὄψιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδότην ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἀνατροφὴν, αὐχμηρὰν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥυπῶσαν καὶ καταβόστρυχον, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἰδίων τριχῶν σκιαζόμενος· βαθὺς τὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ λεπτῇ διαίτῃ κατεσκληκῶς, ἐσθῆτι τραχεῖα συνεσταλμένος καὶ ζώνῃ σκληρᾷ ἐκεῖνα μόνα καλύπτων τοῦ σώματος, ὅσα εὐσχημονέστερα δοκεῖ καλυπτόμενα, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς διακαρτερῶν πρὸς τὰς τοῦ θάλλους καὶ κρύους ἐναντιότητας, ἀνιπτόπους καὶ χαμαιεύνης, ἴν' εἴπω τι καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν, «οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑκὸς ἀνδρὶ σιτοφάγῳ», ἀλλ' ἄγγελος ἦν ἀτεχνῶς τοιοῦτ' ὅπως σώματι χρώμενος. [5.] Οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τὸ χειραπτῆσαι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀκολασίας ἔλεγχος γίνεται. «Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι, λέγων, ἀδελφοῦ κοίτῃ συγχαίνεσθαι. Τί σαυτὸν αἰσχύνεις, λέχος ἐνυβρίζων ὁμόγιον καὶ ἐπιδέμνια βαίνων παράνομα; Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναικα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου Φιλίππου». Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λέγων, ἄδιν πρὸς ὄνον ἐφ' ἑκὸς καὶ κωφῶ διαλέγεσθαι. Ὅρων γὰρ Ἡρώδης ῥαγδαίως τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἐλέγχοις τοῦτον μαστίζοντα, ἀνυποστόλῳ τε θάρσει τὸ δυσῶδες τῆς φαύλης πράξεως ἐκπομπεύοντα, πολλοῖς ἐμερίζετο τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰσχύνῃ, ἔρωτι καὶ θυμῷ· ἡσχύνετο τοῦ κήρυκος τὸ ἀξίωμα, ὠργίζετο ἐλεγχόμενος, ὁ ἔρωι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνέφλεγε, καὶ τέλος ἡ φιληδονία νικᾷ τὸ ἀνδράποδον. Ἀμελέτητος γὰρ ὢν καὶ λίαν ἀπαιδαγώγητος, οὐκ εἶχεν ἀναπαλαῖσαι λογισμῷ γενναίῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν.

After a refined rhetorical use of *homoioteleuton* in the opening of the passage⁴⁹⁷ for the description of Herod's foul deeds, Philagathos delineates a remarkable portrait of St. John the Baptist. For this, the preacher relies on several snippets culled from different *ekphraseis* of persons.⁴⁹⁸ First, the preacher resorted to Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Martyr Gordius*. The image of Gordius as 'a savage-looking man with squalid hair' descending from the mountains to the theatre for proclaiming the Gospel in the arena prompting his execution was well adapted to

⁴⁹⁷ For the description of Herod's foul deeds, we note the accumulation of perfect participles and adverbs ending in 'ως' ('λελυττηκῶς,' 'μεμοιχευκῶς,' 'ἀφηρηκῶς,' 'πεφονευκῶς,' 'ἀπρεπῶς,' 'νομίμως,' 'ἐξωθηκῶς' – noteworthy, the perfect participle of 'ἐξωθέω' – i.e. to thrust out, to banish – is only attested in Philagathos). In the last section (*Hom.* 35, 9, Rossi-Taibbi, 242), a similar word play occurs on Herod's name ('ὁ κτηνώδης Ἡρώδης' – the beastlike/monstrous Herod).

⁴⁹⁸ In the progymnasmata the *ekphrasis* of persons is often illustrated by the Homeric line, "Round-shouldered, swarthy-skinned, woolly-haired, (*Od.* 19, 246, of Eurybates)" or the lines about Thersites "He was bandy-legged, lame in one foot, and his two shoulders / Stooped over his chest" (*Iliad* 2, 217–18)." See for this Aelius Theon, *Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 118, 3–7 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 45); cf. Aphthonios, *The Preliminary Exercises, Ekphrasis*, ed. Rabe, 36, 3–6 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 117).

recall the image of John the Baptist in the sermon. At the same time, Philagathos intertwined this image with Gregory of Nyssa's picturesque description of Elijah's neglect of the body and careless attire from Nyssen's *encomium* to Basil.

Hom. 35, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240):

Δασὺς μὲν καὶ ἀπηγριωμένος τὴν ὄψιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδότην ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἀνατροφὴν, αὐχμηρὰν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥυπῶσαν καὶ καταβόστρυχον, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἰδίων τριχῶν σκιαζόμενος· βαθὺς τὴν ὑπὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ λεπτῇ διαίτῃ κατεσκληκῶς, ἐσθῆτι τραχεῖα συνεσταλμένος καὶ ζώνῃ σκληρᾷ ἐκεῖνα μόνον καλύπτων τοῦ σώματος, ὅσα εὐσχημονέστερα δοκεῖ καλυπτόμενα, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς διακαρτερῶν πρὸς τὰς τοῦ θάλπου καὶ κρύους ἐναντιότητας, ἀνιπτόπους καὶ χαμαιεύνης, ἔν' εἶπω τι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν, «οὐδὲ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ σιτοφάγῳ», ἀλλ' ἄγγελος ἦν ἀτεχνῶς τοιοῦτ' ὅπως σώματι χρώμενος.

Basil of Caesarea, *In Gordium martyrem*, PG 31, coll. 497:

Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπέστρεψε τὸ θέατρον τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας, ἀνὴρ ἀπηγριωμένος τὴν ὄψιν, διὰ τὴν χρονίαν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διαίταν αὐχμηρὰν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν, βαθὺς τὴν ὑπὴν, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ῥυπῶν, κατεσκληκῶς ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, βακτηρίαν φέρων, καὶ πῆραν ἐνημμένος· οἷς πᾶσιν ἐπέπρεπε τις χάρις, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς αὐτὸν περιλάμπουσα.⁴⁹⁹

Gregory of Nyssa, *In Basilium fratrem*, 5 (ed. O. Lendle):

τότε ἀναδείκνυσιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἠλίαν ἀντίρροπον ἔχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς νόσου τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν θεραπεύουσαν δύναμιν, ἄνδρα, ἐν ὑπεροψίᾳ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος, αὐχμῶντα τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἰδίων τριχῶν σκιαζόμενον, ἰδιαστὴν τῷ βίῳ, σεμνὸν προσιδεῖν ἐν ἀμειδεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ συννενευμένον τῷ βλέμματι δέρματι αἰγείῳ τοσοῦτον τοῦ σώματος σκέποντα ὅσον εὐπρεπέστερόν ἐστι καλυπτόμενον, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ διακαρτεροῦντα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θάλπου τε καὶ κρύους ἀνωμαλίαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον.⁵⁰⁰

Furthermore, to this colourful description Philagathos adds a tinge from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. For the epithet “with flowing locks” – “καταβόστρυχος, -ον” is a particularly refined touch as the word is a very rare occurrence being attested in the *TLG* corpus only 12 times. The reference in

⁴⁹⁹ “So he immediately turned the theatre upside down by the unexpected sight, being a savage-looking man with squalid hair because of his long sojourn in the mountains, with a long beard, filthy clothes, his entire body hardened, carrying a stick and fitted with a pouch” (trans. P. Allen in *Let Us Die that We May Live. Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine*, London, 2003, 62).

⁵⁰⁰ “At this time, God lifted up Elijah who brought compensation to the magnitude of people's mischief. While having the ability of caring [for the others], the man neglected to care for his body; he kept his face unwashed and overshadowed by the mass of his own hair; he was a recluse in his manner of life; he appeared majestic yet with a gloomy countenance; he had a contracted vision and thus much was he covered by a goatskin as it was more seemly to be covered; for the rest he endured everything patiently in the open air and in spite of any anomaly of heat and cold nothing could turn him back” (trans. Richard McCambly).

the sermon can be pinned down to Heliodorus' description of Theagenes in the *Aethiopika*.⁵⁰¹ This passage from the novel also inspired Philagathos' subsequent description of Herodias' daughter, which clarifies Philagathos' appeal to the novel for "καταβόστρυχος."⁵⁰² Then, Philagathos supplements his *ekphrasis* with two Homeric allusions (*Iliad* 16, 235 and *Odyssey* 9, 191) remarkably apt for depicting John the Baptist. Although not mentioned in the critical edition, the expression with "*unwashed feet and sleeping upon the ground*," is in all likelihood an unacknowledged Homeric allusion to *Iliad* 16, 235: "But around dwell thy priests, the Selli, with unwashed feet, and sleeping upon the ground."⁵⁰³ For the verse was often cited in the Christian tradition and expressly attributed to Homer, as for instance in Gregory of Nazianzus.⁵⁰⁴

We have noted before that for depicting Herod's conflicting emotions the preacher was inspired by the novelistic episode featuring Melitte in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*.⁵⁰⁵ Yet, in relation with this citation we may further note the preacher's seeming discrimination of the different senses of 'shame' associated with "αἰσχύνῃ" ("shame", "dishonor") and "αἰδῶς" ("shame," "self-respect"). The former ("αἰσχύνῃ") related to "αἴσχος" ("ugliness," "deformity") refers to retrospective shame for deeds that have disgraced us whereas the latter ("αἰδῶς") indicates the prospective check, which can inhibit action that would endanger one's own honour.⁵⁰⁶ Accordingly, Herod's soul was consumed by "αἰσχύνῃ" and not by "αἰδῶς" as Philagathos' source has it (cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 24, 3: **ἐμεμέριστο πολλοῖς ἅμα τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰδοῖ καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ**). For in the novel Melite has not fulfilled her carnal desires and her marriage bed was still undefiled.

Then, the depiction of Herodias' arts of seduction, which encloses an ethopoietic passage with her address to Herod, is again accomplished through a mosaic of vignettes appropriated from Lucian's dialogue, *Toxaris, or Friendship* and Heliodorus' novel. Philagathos writes:

Hom. 35, 6 – 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 241):

[6.] When the adulteress perceived that Herod shrank back at the prophet's reprimand ("for Herod feared John," [the Gospel] says "and heard him gladly") – she became a raving maenad beholding these things and fearing that the reproof may prove stronger than his desire, she molded herself according to a more sullen countenance and having shed forth streams of tears, uttered indignant complaints to the lecherous one. "What could be more intolerable," she said, "than having the one sitting on the royal throne and dignified by purple robe and crown be insulted by a squalid and sackcloth clad Jew and to be debarred from doing what was

⁵⁰¹ *Aethiopika*, 7, 10, 4 (ed. Colonna, 384–386);

⁵⁰² The text is cited at p. 124.

⁵⁰³ *Iliad* 16, 234–5 (trans. Buckley, 293).

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus' *Contra Julianum imperatorem* 1 (orat. 4), PG 35, coll. 593: τοὺς ἀνιπτόποδας καὶ χαμαιεῦνας, ὃ φησιν ὁ σὸς Ὅμηρος, ἵνα τινὰ δαιμόνων τιμήσῃ τῷ πλάσματι (...). "These men, 'With feet unwashed, and with the earth for bed' (as thy Homer hath it, in order that he may do honour to one of his demons by the fiction)"; Philagathos' Homeric appropriation was remarkably apt for depicting John the Baptist, the prophet of the Lord on account of the 'typological' connection established between the two contexts for the verse in *Iliad* refers to the prophets of Zeus attending the oracle of Dodona.

⁵⁰⁵ See the discussion above at p. 69.

⁵⁰⁶ See for this Douglas Cairns, *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

pleasing and delightful, for it is permitted for you to cut off by kingly power the shameless and disdainful tongue or to make the reckless man food for beasts, [and] least of all to yield [to him] and to be a coward.” [7.] Then, though inflamed with conceit by the words of the courtesan (*well, the words of a harlot are indeed persuasive for a sluggish lover when blended with tears*), did not try to quench the lamp by death for he revered the virtue of the man, yet verily he concealed him under a basket,⁵⁰⁷ as so he shut him up in prison and threw him in a dungeon. But neither did the mouth of the prophet remain silent, nor did the wrath of the harlot lessen. For the struggle banded them together, on the one side the prophet’s [struggle], which wished to deliver the king from uncleanness, and on the other side the harlot’s, who wished rid of her desire’s constraint and sought only for an opportunity to satiate her unbounded rage; and the matter proceeded according to her intention, since the evil always wins.

[6.] Ἡ δὲ μοιχαλὶς, ὥς ἦσθετο τὸν Ἡρώδη ὑποτρέσαντα τοῦ προφήτου τὸν ἔλεγχον (ἐφοβεῖτο γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Ἡρώδης τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἡδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουε), ταῦτα βλέπουσα ἢ μαινὰς καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ ὁ ἔλεγχος ὀφθῇ κρείττων τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἑαυτὴν σχηματίσασα πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον καὶ λιβάδα δακρύων ἐνστάξασα, πρὸς τὸν θηλυμανῆ ἐσχελίαζε· «Τί τούτου γένοιτ’ ἂν δεινότερον, λέγουσα, τὸν ἐπὶ θώκου βασιλικοῦ ἐφεζόμενον καὶ λαμπρυνόμενον ἀλουργίδι καὶ διαδήματι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου σακκοφοροῦντος ἀνχοῦντος ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπείργεσθαι πληροῦν **τὰ θυμήρη καὶ φίλα**,⁵⁰⁸ ἐξὸν βασιλικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τεμεῖν τὴν γλῶτταν τὴν ἀναιδῆ καὶ ὑβρίστριαν, ἣ θηρίοις τὸν τολμητίαν ποιῆσαι βοράν, ἥκιστα δὲ ὑποπίπτειν καὶ μαλθακίζεσθαι;». [7.] Ὑποχανωθεὶς οὖν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς κασσωρίδος ὁ δείλαιος (πιθανοὶ γὰρ λόγοι μαχλάδος πρὸς ἐραστὴν βλάκα, δάκρυσι κεραννύμενοι), θανάτῳ μὲν σβέσαι τὸν λύχνον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σεβαζόμενος, καλύπτει γε μὴν τοῦτον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον, ἐγκλείσας εἰρκτῇ καὶ ποδοκάκκη ἐνθεῖς. Ἄλλ’ οὔτε τοῦ προφήτου τὸ στόμα σεσίγηκεν, οὔτε ὁ θυμὸς τῆς μαχλάδος ἐλώφησεν. Ἐρὶς δὲ συνειστήκει ἀμφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν προφήτου, ὅπως τοῦ μύσους ἀπαλλάξῃ τὸν βασιλέα, τῆς δὲ μαχλάδος, ὅπως τὸν κωλυτὴν τοῦ πόθου ἀποσκευάσῃται, καὶ εὐκαιρίαν ἐζήτει τὸν ἀκόλαστον ἐμπλῆσαι θυμόν· καὶ μέντοι τετύχηκε τοῦ βουλήματος· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὰ χεῖρωνα νικᾷ.

The imagery of “the sluggish lover” (βλάκα ἐραστὴν) is borrowed from Lucian’s dialogue, *Toxaris, or Friendship*. Charikleia, the icon of seduction in the dialogue, serves as model for Herodias in the sermon. Charikleia is the wife of Demonax, who seduces the enormously rich

⁵⁰⁷ The reference to St. John as “concealed under a basket” (μόδιον) identifies the prophet as the light while pointing to Matthew 5:15: “Nor do they light a lamp and put it under a basket (μόδιον), but on a lampstand, and it gives light to all who are in the house.”

⁵⁰⁸ The formulation «θυμήρη καὶ φίλα» is recurrent in Cyril of Alexandria, an author which Philagathos frequently exploited; e.g. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 2, 214, 1 – 2: [...] εἰ μὴ δρᾶν ἔλοιτο τὰ αὐτοῖς **θυμήρη τε καὶ φίλα**, καὶ παραχωροῦντες ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἑτέροις [...]. Id., *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 639, 14–17: [...] καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀκριβῆ τὴν κατάληψιν ἔχειν ὑποπλαττόμενοι, **τὰ θυμήρη καὶ φίλα** τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἀπήγγελον, ψυχρὰ καὶ ἀπόπτυστα ζητοῦντες λημμάτια, [...].

Deinias. This is the context of Philagathos' appropriation, which invites a close parallelism with Herodias who entices Herod, despite her being married with Philip, Herod's brother.

Hom. 35, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 241):

Lucian, *Toxaris vel amicitia*, 15:

Ὑποχαυνωθείς οὖν **τοῖς** λόγοις τῆς κασσωρίδος ὁ δαίλειος (πιθανοὶ γὰρ λόγοι μαχλάδος πρὸς **ἐραστὴν βλάκα**, **δάκρυσι κεραυνόμενοι**), θανάτῳ μὲν σβέσαι τὸν λύχνον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σεβαζόμενος, καλύπτει γε μὴν τοῦτον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον, ἐγκλείσας εἰρκτῇ καὶ ποδοκάκκη ἐνθεῖς.

κύειν τε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ σκήπτεται – ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο **βλᾶκα ἐραστὴν** προσεκφυρᾶσαι – καὶ οὐκέτι ἐφοῖτα πρὸς αὐτόν, φυλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ τάνδρῳ λέγουσα πεπυσμένου τὸν ἔρωτα.⁵¹⁰

Hom. 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52, 19–21):

ἔξεισι τοῦ θαλάμου πάντων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ κάλλει ἐπισπωμένη πρὸς ἑαυτήν. **Εἶπες ἂν ἰδὼν σελήνην πλησιφαῇ τοῦ νέφους ἄρτι προκύπτουσαν**.⁵⁰⁹

Aethiopika, 5, 8, 5 (ed. Colonna, 282):

Ὁ δὲ χαυνωθείς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἅμα τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀπατηθεὶς ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν τῆς ὥρας, ἀπ' εὐτελοῦς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἐσθῆτος **οἶον νέφους αὐγὴ σεληναίας διεξέλαμπεν**.⁵¹¹

Noteworthy the combination between “βλᾶκα” and “ἐραστὴν” occurs in the *TLG* corpus only in Philagathos and Lucian, which buttresses the Philagathean appropriation.⁵¹² Furthermore, this vivid description of Herod's enticement bespeaks the influence of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. In the novel Mitranes, a commander of Persian garrisons, is spiritless, full of vanity and easily “inflamed with conceit praises.” Not a great commander he is defeated and miserably slain (*Aethiopika* 8, 1, 6). Mitranes is a fitting image for Herod equally “inflamed with words,” later defeated in battle by Areta and wretchedly expiring. Notwithstanding, Philagathos' reliance on this episode from the novel is illuminated by the sermon “About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee.” The preacher relates the story Jephthah's daughter (Jud. 11: 30–39) interspersed with snippets taken from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*.⁵¹³ Among them is the passage from the novel (*Aethiopika*, 5, 8, 5) which features Mitranes inflamed with conceit by Nausikles praises over his great exploits, which in all likelihood stands behind Philagathos' formulation, “Ὑποχαυνωθείς οὖν τοῖς λόγοις”. In the novel, Mitranes' fawning in flatteries leads him to ignore the true

⁵⁰⁹ “She goes out from the bridal chamber drawing to herself by her beauty the eyes of everybody. If you had seen her, you would have said that she was the full moon just peeping out from the clouds.”

⁵¹⁰ She “pretended to be with child by him (this too is an effective way to fire a sluggish lover); moreover, she discontinued her visits to him, saying that she was kept in by her husband, who had found out about their affair (trans. A. M. Harmon, Lucian, vol. V, *Loeb*, 128–129).

⁵¹¹ “And he (i.e. Mitranes), though inflamed with conceit by these praises, really believing the truth of what was said (being deceived by the name), he remained smitten nonetheless with the beauty of the maiden, which shone out under a sorry garb, like the moon from beneath a cloud” (Trans. based on Rowland Smith, 109).

⁵¹² For this Lucianic allusion, see also Nunzio Bianchi, “Filagato da Cerami lettore del *De domo* ovvero Luciano in Italia meridionale,” in *La tradizione*, 47.

⁵¹³ Some of these allusions are discussed by Gaia Zaccagni, “La πάρεργος αφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa,” *RSBN* n.s.35 (1998): 47–65; see also the discussion below at pp. 155–161.

identity of the maiden he rescued, “which shone out under a sorry garb, like the moon from beneath a cloud.” Now, by this image Philagathos pictures Jephthah’s daughter coming to greet her victorious father as “the full moon just peeping out from the clouds” in the sermon 37.⁵¹⁴ Furthermore, the formulation “δάκρυσι κεραννύμενοι” is a combination attested in the *TLG* corpus only in Philagathos and Heliodorus.⁵¹⁵

However, the most arresting aspect of Philagathos’ sermon is the *ekphrasis* of Herodias’ daughter’s lascivious dance. In the Gospels, Salome is merely reported of having “pleased” Herod.⁵¹⁶ Yet, borrowing from Alciphron’s *Letters* (1, 12, 1) and Heliodorus’ novel (*Aethiopika*, 6, 6, 1–2) Philagathos gave an amplified description of Salome’s performance, which, the homilist explained, stupified the spectators’ mind and provoked Herod’s ominous oath.

[8.] For an opportune day occurred when Herod’s birthday feast arrived, for indeed it was on this day that this slayer of the prophet – how I wish it had not happened – has slipped out from the maternal womb, [and] a lavish feast was prepared by him, [and] as guests many nobles have been invited, as well as the high officers and all those of Galilee who were esteemed for their status. Then, when the drinking was in full swing, the inebriated host procures another delicacy for the feast. Herodias had a little daughter born from her legitimate marriage with Philip, *a charming and not unappealing looking, but of uncommon impudence, reckless and shameless, truly the representation of her viperish mother. The adulterous mother embellishing her daughter more gracefully and dressing her up in wedding dress sent her out dancing in front of those sumptuously feasting. And she stepped out among the guests instead of being ashamed as a girl should be and wiping off all modesty from her countenance* danced as if filled with Corybantic frenzy, wildly moving her hair, twisting herself indecently, lifting up her elbows, disclosing her breast, raising up one of her two feet, laying herself bare by the swift bending of her body, and perhaps revealing something of those parts, which are unfit to be spoken; with unabashed expression she turned the eyes of the beholders toward herself, and by gestures of every kind she stupefied the spectators’ mind. [9.] At that moment, Herod truly seemed more beastlike than human, probably [he was] an object of derision, since he provided a young girl, a virgin, as it seems, to behave so shamelessly in the sight of men. Then, there was

⁵¹⁴ Although this is not a literal citation from the novel, the context in the sermon with several images drawn from the *Aethiopika* (i.e. *Aethiopika*, 2, 30, 6; 2, 33, 3–4; 7, 7, 5; 5, 2, 6) strengthens the derivation novelistic derivation;

⁵¹⁵ The same formulation features in *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 656 B), which is splendidly modelled on *Aethiopika* 10, 38, 4 (ed. Colonna, 594): ‘Υφ’ ἧς καὶ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρὸς συμφωνίαν ἡρμόζετο, χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης συμπεπλεγμένων, γέλωτι δακρύων κεραννυμένων (...) – “By these events [the divine intervention] brought into the most perfect harmony the greatest opposites, joy and sorrow blended together; tears mingled with laughter.” See below pp. 163–165; Furthermore, the same combination is attested in *Aethiopika*, 5, 4, 5 (ed. Colonna, 274): Καὶ πάντων ἅμα εἰς λήθην ἐμπεσόντες εἶχοντο ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀλλήλων οἶονεῖ συμπεφυκότες, ἀγενεῦοντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ παρθενεῦοντος ἔρωτος κορεννύμενοι δάκρυσι δὲ ὕγροῖς καὶ θερμοῖς εἰς ἀλλήλους κεραννύμενοι καὶ καθαροῖς μόνον μιγνύμενοι τοῖς φιλήμασιν· “And forgetting all the world, and clinging together as though forming but one body, yet they were satiated of pure and virgin love mingling abundant and warm tears and only sharing chaste kisses.” This passage is equally significant and reinforces once more the imprint of the novel upon *Hom.* 35, 7, for the idea of chaste and pure love referred to in this Heliodorean passage underlines Philagathos’ allegorical interpretation of the novel.

⁵¹⁶ Mt. 14: 6 and Mc. 6: 22.

a further increase of evil for the dance of the *Maenad-born dancer pleased him. Being possessed by an ardent passion for her mother and overcome by drunkenness*, and although it was *nothing* that the newcomer having asked, [Herod] promised her that he would even divide the kingdom for the sake of her obscene twistings and wild twirling of her feet, and he added to the promise a vow, the enslavement of licentiousness.

[8.] Γενομένης γὰρ ἡμέρας εὐκαίρου καὶ τῶν γενεθλίων ἐνστάντων, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ προφητοκτόνος οὗτος (ὡς οὐκ ὄφελε) τῆς μητρικῆς νηδύος ὠλίσθηκε, πολυτελῆς μὲν εὐωχία τούτῳ ἡτοίμαστο, καὶ δαιτυμόνες πολλοὶ μεγιστάνες ἐκέκληντο καὶ χιλίαρχοι καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅσοι τὴν τύχην ἐπίδοξοι. Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ πότου ἀκμάζοντος, ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ γενόμενος πάροινος ἄλλην παρασκευάζει τοῦ δείπνου τρυφήν. Θυγάτριον ἦν τῇ Ἡρωδιάδι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου νομίμων κηδευμάτων τεχθέν, *ἀστεῖον μὲν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον, ἄλλως δὲ ἰταμὸν* καὶ προπετὲς καὶ ἀναίσχυντον, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀσπίδος μητρὸς ἀπεικόνισμα. Ταύτην *κοσμήσασα* ἡ μοιχαλὶς μήτηρ *ἀβρότερον* καὶ νυμφικῶς περιστείλασα, πρὸς τοὺς εὐωχουμένους ὀρχησομένην ἐξέπεμψεν. Ἡ δέ, ὡς ἐν μέσῳ γένοιτο τῶν δαιτυμόνων, *πρὸς τῷ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι κορικῶς ἀποξύσασα τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ*, ὥσπερ κορυβαντιῶσα ἐβάκχευε, σοβοῦσα τὴν κόμην, ἀσέμνως λυγίζομένη, ἀνατείνουσα τὴν ὠλένην, παραγυμνοῦσα τὰ στέρνα, θάτερον τοῖν ποδοῖν ἀναστέλλουσα, τῇ ταχείᾳ τοῦ σώματος συστροφῇ παραγυμνουμένη, καὶ τάχα τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὑποδεικνύουσα, ἀναιδεῖ τε προσώπῳ τοὺς τῶν ὀρώντων ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἐπιστρέφουσα, καὶ σχήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἔμπληκτα ποιοῦσα τῶν θεατῶν τὰ φρονήματα. [9.] Ἦν δὲ ἄρα τότε ὁ κτηνώδης Ἡρώδης σωφρονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς εἰκός, καταγέλαστος, μείρακα παρθένον τό γε δοκεῖν ἐν ὄψεσιν ἀρρένων οὕτω παρασκευάσας ἀναισχυντεῖν. Πρόσθεσις δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, ὅτι καὶ ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ τῆς μαιναδογενοῦς ποδοστροφῆς ἢ ὀρχησις. Τῷ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς *ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ μέθῃ κάτοχος ὢν*, καίτοι μηδὲν αἰτησάσης τῆς νεήλδος, ἄχρι τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῇ διελεῖν ἐπηγγεῖλατο ἀντὶ πορνικῶν λυγισμάτων καὶ ποδῶν ἀτάκτου στροφῆς, καὶ ὅρκον τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ ἐπέθηκε τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας ἀνδράποδον.

The description of Herodias' daughter is elaborate. It is a mosaic of vignettes on impudence plucked from Lucian's dialogue *Toxaris*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* and Alciphron's letters, as it follows:

Hom. 35, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 242):

Θυγάτριον ἦν τῇ Ἡρωδιάδι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου νομίμων κηδευμάτων τεχθέν, *ἀστεῖον μὲν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον, ἄλλως δὲ ἰταμὸν* καὶ προπετὲς καὶ ἀναίσχυντον, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀσπίδος μητρὸς ἀπεικόνισμα. Ταύτην *κοσμήσασα* ἡ μοιχαλὶς μήτηρ *ἀβρότερον* καὶ νυμφικῶς περιστείλασα, πρὸς

Cf. *Lucian, Toxaris vel amicitia*, 13:

Ἡ Χαρίκλεια *δὲ ἦν ἀστεῖον* μὲν τι γύναιον, ἐταιρικὸν δὲ ἐκτόπως καὶ τοῦ προστυχόντος αἰεί, καὶ εἰ πάνυ ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ ἐθελήσειέ τις.⁵¹⁸

Cf. *Aethiopika* 1, 9, 1 (ed. Colonna, 74):

Οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ μοι τὴν μητέρα τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, πρὸς δευτέρους ἀπεκλίνετο γάμους,

⁵¹⁸ "Charicleia was a dainty piece of femininity, but outrageously meretricious, giving herself to anyone who happened to meet her, even if he should want her at very little cost" (trans. Harmon, 125–127).

τοὺς **εὐωχομένους** ὀρχησομένην ἐξέπεμψεν. Ἡ δέ, ὡς ἐν μέσῳ γένοιτο τῶν δαιτυμόνων, **πρὸς τῷ μὴ αἰσχυνοῖναι κορικῶς ἀποξύσασα τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ** (...).

Alciphron, *Epistulae*, 1.12.1:

Μέμηνας, ὃ **θυγάτριον**, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐξέστης. ἐλλεβόρου δεῖ σοι, καὶ οὐ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἀντικύρας, ἥτις, **δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξυσαι τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου.**⁵¹⁷

ἐπὶ μόνῳ μοι παιδὶ σαλεύειν ἐπιμεμόμενος, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις ἐπείσῃγει **γύναιον ἄστεϊον** μὲν ἀλλ' ἀρχέκακον, ὄνομα Δημαινέτην.⁵¹⁹

Aethiopika 1, 11, 3 (ed. Colonna, 74):

Θίσβη **παιδισκάριον** ἦν αὐτῇ ψάλλειν τε πρὸς κιθάραν ἐπιστάμενον καὶ **τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον.**⁵²⁰

The adjective ἄστεϊον ('charming') employed for the characterization of Herodias' daughter is resonant with two literary contexts familiar to the homilist. 'Charming' (ἄστεϊον) is the attribute applied to Charikleia in Lucian's dialogue. As we have seen before Charikleia is the literary model, which the homilist used for describing Herodias. But the same attribute is assigned to Demainete in the *Aethiopika*. Demainete is one of the negative images of *eros* in the novel, furnishing thus another fitting parallel for the portrayal of Herodias' daughter. Moreover, the same novelistic passage seems to bear upon Philagathos' description of Jephthah's daughter in the homily "About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee."⁵²¹

Besides these literary contexts, Philagathos' description of Herodias' daughter as "not unappealing looking" (τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον) recalls the image of the slave-girl, Thisbe, which is another symbol of licentiousness from Heliodorus' novel. Thisbe, like Demainete, illustrates the negative image of *eros*, the Pandemic love of lust and seduction being another appropriate model for Herodias' daughter.⁵²² Furthermore, for depicting the impudence of Salome, Philagathos stitched a passage from Alciphron's letters. The preacher borrows from Charope's reply to her daughter Glaucippe, who just threatened to hurl herself for the cliffs if forced to marry with the one her father promised to betroth her.

However, more allusions to Heliodorus' novel can be intimated in Philagathos' description. The characterization of Herodias' daughter as "of uncommon impudence" (ἄλλως δὲ ἱταμόν) is reminiscent of another ekphrastic passage from the novel, namely of Arsake's

⁵¹⁷ "My dear, you are mad, and truly out of your wits. A dose of hellebore is what you need, and not the common kind either, but the kind that comes from Anticyra in Phocis—you who, instead of being shamefaced as a girl should be, have wiped all modesty from your countenance" (trans. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes in Alciphron, *Letters I, Letters to Fishermen*, Loeb 383, 64–65).

⁵¹⁹ "After the death of my mother, he was disposed to marry a second time, thinking it ill to anchor all his hopes on me, his only child. So he took to wife a woman, pretty enough, but the cause of much evil for his house. Her name was Demainete" (trans. Morgan, 359).

⁵²⁰ "She had a young slave called Thisbe, skilled in music and not unappealing looking."

⁵²¹ Note the similar formulation from the *Hom.* 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, *PG* 132, coll. 361C–D) – 'Επ' αὐτῇ δὲ μόνῃ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐσάλειψεν ὁ πατὴρ διάδοχον... – and the correspondent passage from the novel – ἐπὶ μόνῳ μοι παιδὶ σαλεύειν ἐπιμεμόμενος, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις ἐπείσῃγει **γύναιον ἄστεϊον** μὲν ἀλλ' ἀρχέκακον, ὄνομα Δημαινέτην (*Aethiopika* 1, 9, 1 ed. Colonna, 74). See also the discussion at p. 141–142.

⁵²² See for this J. R. Morgan, "The Story of Knemon in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*," *JHS* 109 (1989): 99–113; Ken Dowden, "Heliodorus: Serious Intentions," *CQ* 46 (1996): 267–285.

portrayal of Theagenes and Charikleia, the latter termed “an outlandish wench, not unappealing looking but of uncommon impudence (ἄλλως δὲ ἰταμόν).” Noteworthy, Philagathos employed the same passage in his *ekphrasis* of St. John the Baptist.⁵²³ Thus, the key passage from the novel reads as follows:

«Γινώσκω» ἔφη «τὸν νεανίαν» ἡ γραῦς. «Εὐρύς τις ἦν τὰ στέρνα καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὄρθιον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους αἶρων καὶ εἰς **κορυφὴν**⁵²⁴ τοὺς ἅπαντας ὑπερέχων γλαυκιῶν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ ἐραστὸν ἅμα καὶ γοργὸν προσβλέπων, **ὁ καταβόστρυχός** που πάντως ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρειὰν ἄρτι ξανθῷ τῷ ἰούλῳ περιστέφων, ᾧ **γύναιόν** τι ξενικὸν **οὐκ ἄωρον** μὲν **ἄλλως δὲ ἰταμόν**, ὡς ἐδόκει, προσδραμὸν αἰφνίδιον περιέφυ καὶ περιπλακὲν ἐξήρητο· ἢ οὐ τοῦτον λέγεις, ᾧ δέσποινα;»⁵²⁵

Furthermore, Philagathos’ description of the sumptuous banquet bespeaks once more the imprint of the *Aethiopika*. In novel Nausikles prepares “a more brilliant banquet than usually” and commands his daughter to embellish herself more gracefully (**ἀβροτέραν**) and to dress herself more lavishly willing to solace his friends after their fatigues.⁵²⁶ This is a remarkably fitting context for Philagathos’ description of the sumptuous banquet prepared by Herod in which the daughter of Herodias is embellished more gracefully (**ἀβροτέραν**) for the entertainment of the guests.

Yet perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Philagathos’ sermon is the minute description of Salome’s dance. Besides the rhetorical models discussed above, we may surmise behind the homilist’s indulgence in conveying erotic details the stylistic influence of Procopius of Gaza’s *Descriptio imaginis*. Vlastimil Drbal highlighted this quality of Procopius’ *ekphrasis* in which

⁵²³ i.e. the prophet pictured ‘with flowing looks’ (καταβόστρυχός) goes back to the novel.

⁵²⁴ We have noted before that the epithet “with flowing locks” – “καταβόστρυχος” was used by Philagathos for the portrayal of St. John the Baptist; now, the word “κορυφή” (i.e. “head,” “top,” “apex”) is almost a ‘technical’ theological term; “κορυφαῖος” is traditionally associated with St. Peter “the corypheus, the head, who was first among the Apostles;” this formal resemblance with Christian theological vocabulary may have been obvious to Philagathos and triggered perhaps associations with Christian themes; in this sense the association of the passage with St. John the Baptist is natural considering that he was the last and the greatest of the prophets (cf. Luke 7: 28).

⁵²⁵ *Aethiopika*, 7, 10, 4 (ed. Colonna, 384–386): “I know the young man,” replied the old servant, “his chest and shoulders were broad; his neck straight and lifted with pride above all others and from his stature he dominated all the rest; his eyes glaring fiercely, yet their terrible looking was at once lovely; his beautiful locks clustered on his shoulders and the first growth of golden down appeared upon his cheek. An outlandish wench, not without beauty, but of uncommon impudence, it seemed to me, ran suddenly up to him embraced him and hung upon his neck holding him fast. Is not this man you mean, mistress?” (trans. based on Rowland Smith, 158–159).

⁵²⁶ *Aethiopika*, 6, 6, 1–2 (ed. Colonna, 338): Ὁ δὲ Ναυσικλῆς τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνείναι τῶν φροντῖδων αὐτοὺς βουλόμενος καὶ τι καὶ ἕτερον πραγματευόμενος ἐστίασιν τε λαμπροτέραν ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς παρεσκεύασε καὶ μόνοις σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ἀφῆκεν **ἀβροτέραν** τε τοῦ εἰωθότος ὀφθῆναι τὴν παῖδα καλλωπίσας καὶ **πολυτελέστερον κοσμήσας**. Κάπειδῃ τῆς **εὐωχίας** ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει, λόγων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄρχεται τοιῶνδε (...). Trans. “Nausicles, willing to solace his friends after their fatigues, and having, besides, a further private end of his own, prepared a more brilliant banquet than usually and invited them alone and his daughter, whom he commanded to adorn herself and to dress more lavishly so as to appear more splendid than usual. When it seemed they were sufficiently satiated he thus addressed them.”

the author saw a reflection of the late antique society of Gaza.⁵²⁷ The description of Phaedra includes details missing from Euripides' play. The transparent garment which unveils her appealing body in Procopius' description recalls Philagathos' characterization of Salome's performance:

Procopius of Gaza, *Descriptio imaginis*, 17 Philagathos, *Hom.* 35, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, (ed. P. Friedländer): 242):

“by the thin tunic she revealed something of those parts, which are unfit to be spoken.” “[...] laying herself bare by the swift bending of her body, and perhaps revealing something of those parts, which are unfit to be spoken.”

[...] λεπτῷ δὲ χιτωνίσκῳ πολὺ **τι καὶ τῶν** [...] τῇ ταχείᾳ τοῦ σώματος συστροφῇ
ἀπορρήτων ὑπέδειξεν παραγυμνουμένη, καὶ τάχα **τι καὶ τῶν**
ἀπορρήτων ὑποδεικνύουσα.

Philagathos' account of Salome's lecherous dance is surely surprising when considering the anxieties conjured by the image of the dancer in patristic literature and the rhetorical conception of language as a force, which may affect the conscience through the power of words. For evocative descriptions were thought of having the same efficacy in stirring the imagination of the audience as the sight itself. This is, for instance, a recurrent theme in St. John Chrysostom.⁵²⁸ In a famous passage, Chrysostom writes in relation to the image of the dancer:

“For as soon as the tongue has uttered the name of the dancer, immediately the soul has figured to itself his looks, his hair, his delicate clothing, and the man himself who is more effeminate than all. Another again fans the flame in another way, by introducing some harlot into the conversation, with her words, and attitudes, and glances, her languishing looks and twisted locks, the smoothness of her cheeks, and her painted eyelids. Were you not somewhat affected when I gave this description?”⁵²⁹

This moral dimension on the act of imagining as potentially sinful is already stated in the Gospels.⁵³⁰ Chrysostom merely vouches here the recurrent apprehension in the patristic sources on the theatre over the moral safety of the viewer. Elsewhere, Chrysostom argues that one should avoid the mere sight of a prostitute, since such sights creep into the viewer's mind and it

⁵²⁷ Vlastimil Drbal, “L’Ekphrasis Eikonos de Procope de Gaza en tant que reflet de la société de l’Antiquité tardive,” in *Ekphrasis: la représentation des monuments dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves: réalités et imaginaires*, ed. Vladimír Vavřínek, Paolo Odorico and Vlastimil Drbal (Prague: Byzantinoslavica 2011), 111.

⁵²⁸ See for this Ruth Webb, “Salome’s Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium,” in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 131–34.

⁵²⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, *Hom.* 18, PG 59, coll. 119–20 (trans. G. T. Stupart, in *NPNF*, 165).

⁵³⁰ Matthew 5: 27–28: “You have heard that it was said to those of old, ‘You shall not commit adultery.’ But I say to you that whoever looks at a woman to lust for her has already committed adultery with her in his heart.”

impossible not to be affected by them.⁵³¹ In the twelfth-century Zonaras commenting on the council of Trullo held 691–2, which outlawed public spectacle and dancing, explained that such sights were bound to arouse wantonness in the audience.⁵³²

The closest analogy to Philagathos' *ekphrasis* of Herodias' daughter dance in terms of vividness is Basil of Seleucia's sermon *In Herodiadem*.⁵³³ In Basil's sermon Salome's performance is pictured as "a true image of her mother's wantonness with her shameless glance, her twisting body, pouring out her emotions, raising her hands in the air, lifting up her feet she celebrated her own unseemliness with her semi-naked gestures."⁵³⁴ Philagathos' detailed description of Herodias' daughter's dance makes manifest once more the preacher's proneness for achieving vividness, even beyond moral concerns, one may say. The lexical choices of the passage, with an emphasis on theatrical language (i.e. "κορυβαντιάω" – to celebrate the rites of the Corybantes, to be filled with Corybantic frenzy; "ἐκβακχεύω" – excite to Bacchic frenzy), rare words (i.e. "ἡ κασσωρίς, -ίδος" – "harlot" is attested in the *TLG* corpus just 12 times) or even a *hapax* (i.e. "μαιναδογενής, -οῦς" – "maenad-bred," or "maenad-descended"), illustrate the refinement of the composition.

Finally, another literary model may be surmised in Philagathos' text. The preacher's characterization of Herod as "*possessed by an ardent passion for her mother and overcome by drunkenness* (τῷ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ μέθῃ κάτοχος ὢν)" when he yielded to the murderous desire of Herodias is perhaps inspired by Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*. Skylitzes writes about Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959) seizing the rule as follows:

"*He died on the spot* (i.e. Constantine's commander of horse) but Constantine, even though he had been driven back, was possessed by an ardent desire to be emperor just as man overcome by drunkenness and was no longer thinking clearly."

καὶ θνήσκει μὲν οὗτος εὐθύς, ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρωτι οἷά τι **μέθῃ κάτοχος ὢν** καὶ μὴ καθεστῶτας ἔχων τοὺς λογισμοὺς (...).⁵³⁵

The historiographer's emphasis is placed on Constantine's ardent desire to be emperor, which not even the slaying of his commander of horse "deflect him in the least from his pronounced intent," as Skylitzes wrote. Thus this context may have offered a parallel for Herod's lust and desire which did not stave off at taking the life of St. John. In addition, this suggested appropriation of Skylitzes may receive further weight when considering that the Chronicle of Skylitzes informed Philagathos' sermon "For the Feast of Orthodoxy and for the Holy Icons."⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ John Chrysostom, *Contra ludos et theatra*, PG 56, coll. 266.

⁵³² Cf. Shaun Taucher, "Having Fun in Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 143; Zonaras, *Syntagma*, ed. G. A. Rhallis and Potles 2nd vol. (Athens 1852).

⁵³³ Basil of Seleucia, *Oratio XVIII in Herodiadem*, PG 85, coll. 226D–236C.

⁵³⁴ Trans. Webb, "Salome's Sisters," 136.

⁵³⁵ John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum, The Life of Constantine VII, Porphyrogennetos*, 2, 35–36:

⁵³⁶ For Philagathos' usage of Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum* see the homilist's treatment of the The Story of Theodora and Denderis, discussed below at pp. 150–156.

To sum up, the homily offers an example of exquisite appropriation of ‘profane’ and religious literary models for the vivid rendition of Salome’s dance, St. John the Baptist’s portrayal and the depictions of Herod and Herodias’ conflicting emotions. At the same time, the sermon reveals the centrality of *ekphrasis* and the emphasis on emotions for Philagathos’ style.

2.5. *Ekphrastic Vignettes in the Homilies*

This ekphrastic perspective may be perceived throughout the sermons as the preacher leads the audience to visualize the episodes of the Gospel. The homily “About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee” is an illustrative example. Philagathos imagines the vainglory of the Pharisee as a terebinth tree which unexpectedly has lost the leaves affected by a blast of wind:

“‘God, have mercy on me, a sinner.’ [Lc. 18:13] He does not seek to be justified, for he considers himself unworthy to receive this, but beseeches God to be merciful to him. From this point onward the situation is reversing; on the one hand the Pharisee like a tree flourishing with the fruit of keeping the commandments on a sudden shaken off by the violent wind of vainglory is seen naked *as a terebinth tree which lost the leaves*, according to Isaiah’s saying [cf. Is. 6:13]; on the other hand [the tax collector] heavy laden with the lead of avarice with one discreet word puts away the entire burden of evils.”⁵³⁷

The terebinth is a tree famous for its great size and abundant foliage.⁵³⁸ It never grows in forests, but stands isolated in an open-savanna like grove where nothing else towers above the low brushwood. It seems an inspired image for the Pharisee boasting of his deeds. Then, the specification provided in the parable that “Two men went up to the temple to pray” [Lc. 18:10] prompted Philagathos to visualize a temple situated above the city. The text abounds in architectonic terms (στοαί, κρηπίδες, λίθιναι, βαθμίδες, πύλαι) and adverbs of place (κάτωθεν, ἀμοιβαδόν, ἔξωθεν, ἄχρι).⁵³⁹

In a similar manner Philagathos appeals to architectonic terms for picturing the suffering of the women “crippled by a spirit for eighteen years.” [Lc. 13:11] Philagathos invites the audience to see the misery:

⁵³⁷ *Hom. 37* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 16, PG 132*, coll. 369B): «Ὁ θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ.» Οὐ δικαιωθῆναι ζητεῖ, ἦδει γὰρ ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν τοῦτο λαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἵλεων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρακαλεῖ τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀντέστραπτο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φαρισαῖος οἷα τι δένδρον κομῶν τῷ καρπῷ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν φυλακῆς, ἐξαίφνης, ὡς ὑπὸ ῥαγδαίου πνεύματος τῆς κενοδοξίας ἐκτιναχθεὶς, ὥραθη γυμνὸς ὡς *τερέβινθος ἀποβεβληκυῖα τὰ φύλλα*, τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰπεῖν, ὁ δὲ πεφορτισμένος τῆς φιλαργυρίας τὸν μόλυβδον ἐνὶ λόγῳ νουνεχεῖ, τὸ πᾶν βάρος τῶν κακῶν ἀποτίθεται.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Daniel Hillel, *The Natural History of the Bible: An Environmental Exploration of the Hebrew Scriptures* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 271.

⁵³⁹ *Hom. 37* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 16, PG 132*, coll. 357D): «Ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσευξασθαι, ὁ εἰς Φαρισαῖος καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τελώνης.» Ἐκ τοῦ εἰπεῖν «ἀνέβησαν», φαίνεται ὡς μετεωρότερος ἦν τῆς πόλεως ὁ ναός· στοαὶ γὰρ κάτωθεν ἐκ τῶν κρηπίδων καὶ ἀψίδες ἀμοιβαδόν τὸν ναὸν ἐπερείδουσαι εἰς ὕψος αὐτὸν μετεώριζον· ἔξωθεν δὲ λίθιναι βαθμίδες ἐκ τῶν χθαμαλωτέρων ἄχρι τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ ναοῦ διηγείροντο, ὡς παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐρίσκειν ἀνωφερῇ τὴν εἰσέλευσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν· «Ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν.»

Behold the stretching of the illness and consider the magnitude of her affliction for how many years the wretched one was bended down to the ground beast-like, neither being able to gaze to the fair sky nor capable of observing the appearance of the persons she met with, but bowed down after the manner of a crescent-shaped portico (μηνοειδῶς καμπτομένη δίκην στοᾶς), because a demon weighed her down just like some load of lead and curved her back.⁵⁴⁰

Often, Philagathos borrows *ekphrastic* vignettes from various sources attuned to the subject of his exposition. One of them is Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* heretofore an uncharted source exploited by the homilist. The treatise was composed in the final quarter of the 4th century perhaps during the reign of Valens (A.D. 364–378) and preserves genuine anti-Christian arguments most likely rooted in Porphyry's criticism of the Gospels.⁵⁴¹ In the *Homilies* of Philagathos there are several citations from the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes. In fact, as we show in some detail in a different section, Philagathos lavishly collected difficulties related to the Gospel from this Late-antique treatise.⁵⁴² In what follows we cite the homily "About the Lawyer who Tempted the Lord" in which Philagathos retrieves an *ekphrastic* snippet from the *Monogenes*.⁵⁴³

In that time a certain lawyer approached Jesus and tested Him, saying, "Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" [Lc. 10:25] This hypocrite lawyer supposed that he would cheat the Lord through a feigned inquiry, thinking that he would be taught by him some new teaching contrary to [the law of] Moses, so that he would hold a calumniating word seized under the pretence of a fair action. On which account he comes near [Christ] with a seemly appearance and word, but having a twisted judgement and unrighteous, speaking in a devious manner and to say it prophetically 'walking crooked and devious.' [cf. Prov. 2:15] Indeed, he sinned in his attempt and was caught in the snare, which he concealed. "For He catches the wise in their own craftiness" [1Cor. 3: 19; cf. Job 5:13;] and shrewdly he catches this man in the commandments which he boasted to keep.

[2.] «Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ νομικός τις προσῆλθε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, πειράζων αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· Διδάσκαλε, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;» Ὡς τοιοῦτος νομικός τῇ πεπλασμένη πύσει ἡπεροπεῦσαι τὸν Κύριον, νομίζων καινὴν τινα διδασκαλίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μνηθῆναι τοῦ Μωσέως ἀντίθετον, ὥς ἂν λαβῆς εὐλόγου δραξάμενος κινήσει γλῶσσαν κατήγορον. Διὸ καὶ πρόσσεισι **σχήματι καὶ λόγῳ σεμνῷ, γνώμῃ δὲ διαστρόφῳ καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῇ, καμπύλως διαλεγόμενος** καί,

⁵⁴⁰ *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 452 B): Ὅρα τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἐπίτασιν, ἐννόησον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τὸ μέγεθος· ἐν πόσαις ἐτῶν περιόδοις εἰς γῆν ἢ ἀθλία κέκυφε κτηνηδόν, μήτε πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια κάλλη ἐνατενίζειν ἰσχύουσα, μήτε τὰς ὄψεις τῶν συναντῶντων περιθρεῖν δυναμένη, ἀλλὰ μηνοειδῶς καμπτομένη δίκην στοᾶς, τοῦ δαίμονος οἷά τινος μολυβδίνου βάρους βρίθοντος καὶ τὸν νῶτον συγκάμπτοντος.

⁵⁴¹ The date of Makarios' work is discussed in R. Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, (Paris: Vrin, 2003) vol. I, 57–65; for the date of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* see S. Morlet "Comment le problème du *Contra Christianos* peut-il se poser aujourd'hui?", in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 23.

⁵⁴² See the chapter "Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments," 254–281.

⁵⁴³ *Hom.* 12, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78–79).

προφητικῶς εἰπεῖν, τροχιάν σκολιάν πορευόμενος. Ἦμβροτε μέντοι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος καὶ συνελήφθη ἐν τῇ παγίδι, ἣ ἔκρυπεν· ὁ γὰρ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ἐν αἷς ἐκόμπαζεν, ἀλίσκει σοφῶς.

As anticipated above, the account is modelled on Makarios' text, which cites an analogous occurrence when a certain ruler asked Jesus the same question: "Good Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" [Luke 18:18]. Makarios writes:⁵⁴⁴

Καὶ δέξαι ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας χάριν ἱκανὴν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐτοίμως δ' ἔ<χω> καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς πεῦσιν ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν περὶ τοῦ «Πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς». Ἄνωθεν δέ σοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐρῶ τὸ διήγημα· πλούσιός τις τῷ Χριστῷ προσελθὼν, **σχήματι μὲν σεμνῷ, γνώμῃ δ' ἀγκύλῳ καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῇ, καμπύλῳ** διελέγετο φάσκων· « Τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; » ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς πατὴρ εὖνους ἡπίως ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· « Τήρει τὰς ἐντολάς. »⁵⁴⁵

In the *Monogenes*, Makarios answers to a pagan objection said in reference to the statement: "Sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven." [Mt. 19:21]. This commandment was particularly unpalatable to the pagan critics of Christianity. Julian attacked the same teaching on similar arguments derived from the consequences of the commandment.

Noteworthy, the same ekphrastic vignette borrowed from the *Monogenes* turns up in the homily "On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy." Philagathos writes:

ἀλλ' ὁ τὰ κεκρυμμένα εἰδὼς, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ἐμβατεύων κρυπτοῖς, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἐξωθεν ἀπεῖδεν σχηματισμὸν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλύπτει τὸ ἐνδοθεν δύσπιστον· ἦδει γὰρ, ὡς **σχήματι μὲν ἦκει σεμνῷ**, καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ ἐγκεκάλυπτο εὐπρεπῆς, σκολιᾷ δὲ **γνώμῃ καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῇ καμπύλῳ** ἀντιβολεῖ. Διὰ τοῦτο φησιν· «Ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη,» [Lc. 9:41; cf. Mc. 9:19] μονονουχὶ λέγων· Τί μέμψιν προσάγεις τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ οὐ σαυτὸν αἰτιᾷ διχονοοῦση ψυχῇ προσερχόμενος; Οἱ γὰρ μαθηταὶ πολλοὺς ἀπήλασαν δαίμονας τῶν προσελθόντων αὐτοῖς μετὰ **πίστεως**. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον· «Κύριε, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου.» [Lc. 10:17] Οὐ μεμάθηκας, ὡς **πίστις** ἅπαντα κατορθοῖ; **Πίστει** ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος τοῦ παιδὸς εἰλήφει τὴν ἴασιν· **πίστις** ἡ θαυμαστὴ αἰμόρρους εἰργάσατο τὴν ἐπαινουμένην κλοπὴν. **Πίστις** ἀπήλασε τὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα δαίμονα τὸ τῆς Χαναναίας θυγάτριον. Πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς διψυχῶν ἀδυναμίαν ἐπιτάττεις τοῖς μαθηταῖς; «Ὡ γενεὰ **ἄπιστος** καὶ διεστραμμένη!» Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς μόνον τὸν

⁵⁴⁴ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 12 (ed. Goulet, 108, 27–110, 5).

⁵⁴⁵ Trans.: Consider this response sufficient in what regards this story [i.e. the healing of the man possessed by the legion of demons]; well, I am ready for addressing the next question which concerns the passage: "If you want to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me." [Mt. 19: 21] However, I will discuss the account of the issue starting from above. A rich man approaching Christ with a noble bearing but having a judgement twisted and unrighteous, he uttered guilefully when he said: "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" [Lc. 18:18] He (Christ) responded him kindly not like a teacher but as a well-disposed father saying: "Keep the commandments." [Mt. 19:17]

ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν γενεὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτίθουσιν ἔγκλημα, ἐξεταστέον καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον τοῦ ῥητοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν.⁵⁴⁶

Philagathos sweeps away the indictment of the disciple's inability to heal the boy and explains their failure on account of the boy's father lack of faith, which the homilist portrays by recalling Makarios' depiction of a certain ruler (τις ἄρχων). In addition, the vividness of the scene is enhanced by the rhetorical repetition of the word 'πίστις – faith' contrasted with faithlessness (ἀπιστία).

The examples cited above show that Philagathos harvested the treatise of Makarios Magnes for embellishing his own exegesis with vivid imagery.⁵⁴⁷ It is also significant that the homilist employs the same ekphrastic vignettes across different contexts. Conceivably, this is indicative of a process of memorization couched behind Philagathos' compositional technique.

2.6. *Ekphrasis of Persons: a Sleeping Deacon and a Man Enraged*

Philagathos predilection for descriptions carved out from the literary tradition may be further exposed by the account of a sleeping deacon during the exposition of the doctrine and a vivid description of a man enraged. In the homily explaining the lection, "The lamp of the body is the eye" (For the Third Sunday after Pentecost, Matthew 6: 22–23), Philagathos writes:⁵⁴⁸

But I see that honourable deacon oppressed by sleep; as I kept an eye on him for a long time I saw him quivering just as though suffering from catalepsy, the eye foggy, the body lacking support, the soul as if flying away, though his body is still alive; with the other forearm slackened by sleep and only just lightly touching the cheek with the end of his fingers. But, you there, what's the matter with you for being weighed down by untimely slumber? Why do you shame yourself being enslaved to sleep at the time of the instruction? For if you had seen a frenzy woman dancing or a lewd harlot chanting words of wantonness, you would have

⁵⁴⁶ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, *PG* 132, coll. 473 A–B): "The one who knows the hidden things and pierces into the secrets of the heart does not look at the external disposition, but unveils the incredulity lying within. For he perceived that he comes with a noble bearing and his speech was seemly enwrapped, but with a judgement twisted and unrighteous he was entreating [him] in a snaky manner. For this reason, Christ says: "O faithless and perverse generation," [Lc. 9:41; cf. Mc. 9:19] just as equally saying: "Why do you bring a blame upon [my] disciples and not incriminate yourself for being divided in your soul? For the disciples expelled many demons from those approaching them with faith. For weren't they saying: "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in Your name." [Lc. 10:17] Haven't you learnt that faith accomplishes everything? By faith the centurion [cf. Mt. 8: 5–13] received the healing of his servant. By faith the admirable woman who had a flow of blood did her celebrated theft [cf. Mc. 5: 25–29]. Faith chased away the demon tormenting the daughter of the Canaanite [cf. Mt. 15: 21–28; Mc. 7: 24–30]. Therefore how do you, who are vacillating, ascribe feebleness to the disciples? "O faithless and perverse generation!" But since not only towards [this] man, but towards every generation of his sort he lays the accusation of faithlessness and perversion, one must also scrutinize in a different manner the meaning of the saying.

⁵⁴⁷ For the various issues surrounding Makarios' treatise and the fragments transmitted by Philagathos see below the chapters: "The *Monogenes* (Μονογενής) of Makarios Magnes: The 'Pagan' Source," "The Textual Transmission of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*" and "Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments," pp. 248–281.

⁵⁴⁸ *Hom.* 63 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 42, *PG* 132, coll. 813D–816A).

kept yourself awake, both your sight and your sense of hearing. But now when the divine words are explained the leaden weight of your torpor presses hard upon the eyelids.

Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ τὸν βέλτιστον ἐκεῖνον διάκονον ὕπνῳ βαρούμενον· ἐφ' ἱκανάς γὰρ ὥρας ἐπιτηρήσας εἶδον ὡς κάτοχον κραδαινόμενον, καὶ **τὸ βλέμμα** χαῦνον, καὶ τὸ σῶμα **στηριγμάτων ἐπιδεόμενον**, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀφιπταμένην, καὶ **ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ σώματος**· θάτερον δὲ **πῆχυν τῷ** ὕπνῳ **λυόμενον καὶ μόλις ἄκροισ δακτύλοις τῆς παρειᾶς ἐπιψαύοντα**. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τί πάσχει, ὃ οὗτος, ἀκαίρῳ νυσταγμῷ βαρυνόμενος; Τί δὲ σαυτὸν αἰσχύνεις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὕπνῳ δουλαγωγούμενος; Εἰ δὲ καὶ **ποδοστρόφον μαινάδα** ὀρχουμένην ἐώρας, ἢ **κασσωρίδα μαχλῶσαν** ἀσελγείας ἄδουσαν ῥήματα, ἄγρυπνον ἂν ἐτήρεις καὶ ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοήν. Νῦν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐρμηνευομένων φωνῶν ἢ τῆς ἀκηδίας σοι μολυβδὶς ἐπιβαρύνει τὰ βλέφαρα.

Bitter irony and humour permeates the description of the deacon.⁵⁴⁹ The colorful language (i.e. “ἡ κασσωρίς,” “μαινάς,” “μαχλάω”⁵⁵⁰) is reminiscent of the sermon on the Beheading of St. John the Baptist. What is perhaps most fascinating about Philagathos’ account, however, is the way in which the homilist appropriates and tailors to his own ends Procopius of Gaza’s *Description of the Image placed in the City of Gaza*, and in particular to Procopius’ description of Phaedra:⁵⁵¹

“But what is this I experience? I am deceived by the art of the painter and think all this is alive, and my sight forgets that this is a painting. Let me speak about Phaedra, not to her. Her form proves her love. You can see her moist eye, her mind unsettled by passion, her body lacking support, her soul wandering, though her body is still alive. A couch laid under her for sitting yet lying close to the [king’s] bed, as was fitting, sustains her back and sends to the small bed. Behold the forearm slacked by passion and only just lightly touching the cheek with the end of the finger.”⁵⁵²

Ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο πέπονθα; τῇ τοῦ ζωγράφου τέχνῃ πεπλάνημαι καὶ ζῆν ταῦτα νενόμικα καὶ λανθάνειν τὴν θέαν, ὅτι πέφυκε γράμματα. οὐκοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαίδρας, μὴ πρὸς ἐκείνην φθεγγώμεθα. τὸ γὰρ σχῆμα ταύτης ἐλέγχει τὸν ἔρωτα. ὁρᾷς ὑγρὸν **τὸ βλέμμα καὶ** νοῦν τῷ πάθει μετέωρον **καὶ σῶμα στηριγμάτων ἐπιδεόμενον, ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀποδημοῦσαν καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ σώματος**. δίφρος ὁ μὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἔδραν ὑπέστρωται, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῇ κλίνῃ, ὡς εἰκὸς, ὑποκείμενος ἀνέχει τὸν νῶτον καὶ **πέμπει τῷ σκίμποδι**. ὁρᾷς δὲ **πῆχυν** καὶ πάθει **λυόμενον καὶ μόλις ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τῆς παρειᾶς ἐπιψαύοντα**.

⁵⁴⁹ Irony and humour are among the distinctive feature of Byzantine literature “after the revival of fiction” as Margaret Mullett argued; see for this M. Mullett, “Novelisation in Byzantium: Narrative after the Revival of Fiction,” in *Byzantine Narrative*, ed. John Burke et al. (Byzantina Australiensia 16, Melbourne, 2006), 1–28.

⁵⁵⁰ “μαχλάω” – “fornicate,” “wanton” is a relatively rare word attested in the TLG corpus 39 times, being common in Cyril of Alexandria with 8 attestation; the same form occurs in Cyrilian text Philagathos’ lavishly used; i.e., *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 17, 10: καὶ τοῦτο μαχλῶσαν καὶ πεπορνευμένην.

⁵⁵¹ Procopius of Gaza, *Descriptio imaginis* (ed. P. Friedländer, 17).

⁵⁵² A part of this *ekphrasis* is translated by George Kennedy in his *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 173–74.

What sparked Philagathos' adaptation of Procopius of Gaza's *ekphrasis* for portraying the sleeping deacon is the analogy provided by the painting, which depicts Theseus asleep in the palace a few lines above: "Theseus is asleep and the members of his household take advantage of the opportunity. But sweet sleep holds not Phaedra. Instead of sleep, Love has taken possession of her heart. What is happening to you, woman? You suffer in vain from a love which cannot succeed. How will you persuade him who knows self-restraint?"⁵⁵³ This detail featuring Theseus sleeping is peculiar to Procopius' *ekphrasis*. The description is modelled on Euripides' *Hippolytus Stephanephorus*, but in the play Theseus is reported to have been away in a state visit (lines 281, 660) when the first events unfolded.⁵⁵⁴ As we have noted above, Philagathos seems to have also employed Procopius of Gaza's *Description of the Image* for his *ekphrasis* of a painting of the Massacre of the Innocents, which he claimed of having seen with his own eyes.⁵⁵⁵

A similar ekphrastic account surfaces in the sermon "About the Men possessed by the Legion of Demons" pronounced at Rossano. After citing and refuting anti-Christian reprimands cited from the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes,⁵⁵⁶ Philagathos describes a man seized by a burst of rage.⁵⁵⁷

With regard to the fact that the passions inflame men with frenzy and drives them mad, think at those consumed by envy; [think] at those devoured by raging lusts and piercing desires for the others bed. For the condition of anger and the foulness of those enraged simply does not differ from the state of those possessed by demons. Once I saw a man unduly enraged and I commiserated our human nature. The eyes wrenched out beyond the limit of the eyelids were flashing forth something bloody and gazing snake-like to the one tormented by this. He had his inward parts contracted with gasping for breath, the veins of the neck swelled fermenting and the tongue fearfully thickened; the voice became involuntarily shrilled as the air-passage **straitened. The lips turned livid by the dispersal of the bile congealed**, so that they cannot contain the spittle in the mouth, but cast out foam along with wanton words; his hands and legs unresting and shaking of whole his body. Well then, are not those things common to those possessed by demons and to those enraged?

Ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάθη ἐκβακχεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ποιεῖ μαίνεσθαι, ἐννόησον τοὺς ὑπὸ φθόνου τηκομένους, τοὺς τῶν ἄλλοτρίων δεμνίων δριμεῖς καὶ λυσσώδεις ἔρωτας. Τὸ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος καὶ ἡ τῶν θυμουμένων ἀσχημοσύνη ἀτεχνῶς τῶν δαιμονίωντων οὐκ ἀπολείπεται. Εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτε θυμούμενον ἄνθρωπον πέρα τοῦ

⁵⁵³ Trans. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 173.

⁵⁵⁴ For an analysis of Procopius' *ekphrasis* from the perspective of art historical and archeological evidence see Rina Talgam, "The 'Ekphrasis eikonos' of Procopius of Gaza: the Depiction of Mythological Themes in Palestine and Arabia during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," in *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, ed. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 209–234.

⁵⁵⁵ See the discussion above, p. 125.

⁵⁵⁶ I discuss these citations in the chapter "Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments," 254–281.

⁵⁵⁷ *Hom.* 9, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 65–66).

δέοντος καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἐταλάνισα. Ὁφθαλμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων περιγραφὴν ἐξωθοῦντο, ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες δεδορκότες πρὸς τὸν λυπήσαντα, ἄσθματι δὲ πυκνῶ τὰ σπλάγχνα συνείχετο, διοιδοῦσαι δ' ἐωρῶντο τοῦ αὐχένος αἱ φλέβες, ἡ γλῶσσα δὲ δεινῶς ἐπαχύνετο, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ στενουμένης τῆς ἀρτηρίας ὥζύνετο, καὶ τὰ χεῖλη τῇ ὑποσπορᾷ τῆς χολῆς ἐπήγγνυτο πελιδνούμενα, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι σύελον⁵⁵⁸ περικρατεῖν δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφρὸν συνεκβάλλειν ταῖς ὕβρεσι· χεῖρες δὲ καὶ πόδες ἄστατοι, καὶ βρασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. Ἄρ' οὐ κοινὰ ταῦτα τῶν δαιμονώντων καὶ τῶν θυμουμένων;

This vivid description is taken from Gregory of Nyssa's seventh *Homily on the Beatitudes*.⁵⁵⁹ Nyssen's sermon interprets Mt. 5: 9 ("Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God") and examines the passions which the peace cures, foremost the passion of rage, then envy and hypocrisy.

2.7. Ekphrasis of Storms in the Homilies

Among the subjects recommended for the exercise of *ekphrasis* in the *progymnasmata* is the description of a storm. In the homily for the Feast of St. Nicholas, Philagathos described a storm, which broke out when he crossed from Sicily into Calabria. The preacher united passages on the subject, which he culled from Gregory the Presbyter's *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Alciphron's *Letters* and Gregory of Nyssa's treatise *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*.⁵⁶⁰ We may unwrap Philagathos' technique by placing side by side his rhetorical models:

Hom. 20, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 132):

Gregory the Presbyter, Vita sancti Gregorii Theologi, 3, 10 (ed. Lequeux):

⁵⁵⁸ Given the evidence provided by Nyssen's text we should prefer "πτύελον" instead of "σύελον," which besides this instance is only attested in a later writer, yet with the same meaning: cf. Gennadius Scholarius, *Translatio commentarii Thomae Aquinae De anima Aristotelis*, 2, 21, 85: Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ εἶναι σύελον ἐν τῷ στόματι εὐτηκτον καὶ συντηκτικὸν τῆς γλώττης, δι' οὗ τὰ λαμβανόμενα ὑγραίνονται, ὡς δύνασθαι οὕτω καταλαμβάνεσθαι τὸν αὐτῶν χυμόν. Even in this case one may hesitantly wonder in the absence of paleographic evidence if "σύελον" may not be a corruption from "πτύελον."

⁵⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1284–1285: Ὑφαιμος καὶ διάστροφος τῶν δαιμονώντων ὀφθαλμὸς, παράφορος ἡ γλῶσσα, τραχὺ τὸ φθέγμα, ὀξεῖα καὶ ὑλακώδης ἡ φωνή. Κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, κλόνος κεφαλῆς, χειρῶν ἐμπληκτοὶ κινήσεις, βρασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἄστατοι πόδες, μία τῶν δύο νοσημάτων ἡ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπογραφή. [...] ἐπικρατήση τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὑπερζέσῃ τὸ περικάρδιον αἷμα τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τῆς θυμώδους διαθέσεως ἀπανταχῇ κατασπαρείσης τῷ σώματι, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοθεν συνθλιβομένων ἀτμῶν, στενοχωρεῖται πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αἰσθητήρια· ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων περιγραφὴν ἐξωθοῦνται, ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν ἀτενίζοντες· ἄσθματι δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα συνέχεται· διοίσουσι δὲ κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος αἱ φλέβες, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα παχύνεται· καὶ ἡ φωνὴ στενουμένης τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐκουσίως ὀζύνεται· καὶ τὰ χεῖλη τῇ ὑποσπορᾷ τῆς πυκρᾶς ἐκείνης χολῆς πηγγνύται καὶ περιμελαινεται, καὶ δυσκίνητα γίνεται πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαστολὴν καὶ ἐπίμυσιν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν πτύελον ἐν τῷ στόματι πλεονάζοντα περικρατεῖν δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαλεῖν τοῖς ῥήμασι, τοῦ βεβιασμένου φθόγγου τὸν ἀφρὸν παραπτύοντος.

⁵⁶⁰ Nunzio Bianchi analyzed the rhetorical models employed by Philagathos in this sermon in the study "Tempesta nello stretto ovvero Filagato da Cerami lettore di Alcifrone," *Bollettino dei Classici* 26 (2005), 91–97; Bianchi pointed out the usage of Alciphron's letters and Gregory the Presbyter's *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*; yet the references to Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms* remained unnoticed.

Πλέοντι γάρ μοί ποτε περί δύσιν Πληϊάδος **τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμόν**, ὃς μεταξύ Ῥηγίου καὶ Σικελίας ρευματοδῶς καταφέρεται, **καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ταραχώδους ὄντος καὶ μὴ ἔχοντος εὐπλοῖαν, ἐξαίφνης θύελλα** τις σφοδρὰ καὶ **καταιγὶς** ἐπεισφρήσασα, φοβερὸν ἡπεῖλει **τὸν κίνδυνον**. **Ἀχλὺς γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποβέβηκε, καὶ πάντα ἦν πανταχόθεν συννέφελα, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνεμοι ἀρασσόμενοι περιεκύκων τὸ πέλαγος**. Ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐποίει τὸ δέος καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς πάντων ὑπέθραττε, τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν ἄκατον φέρεσθαι, **ὅπουπερ** ἢ Χάρυβδις περί ἐαυτὴν **ἀνείλουμένη δίκην στροφάλιγος σχίζεται τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος** αὐτανδρὰ τὰ προστυχόντα πλοῖα καταβροχθίζουσα.

“Once while I was sailing at about the season of the setting of the Pleiades through the Sicilian strait, which in between the city of Reggio and Sicily has the water flowing like a flux and being a foul weather and unfavourable for navigation, a violent storm and hurricane having arisen on a sudden portended a terrible danger. A mist has spread under the sky, and all was clouded from every quarter, yet the winds, dashing against each other, stirred up the sea. It inspired a tremendous fright and shocked everybody’s minds, for it happened that the ship was carried under the waves towards that place, where Charybdis rolling up around herself is broken off by the force of the wind swilling together with the men the ship befallen thither.”

⁵⁶¹ “Then while I was sailing the Parthenios Sea during a foul weather and unsuitable for navigation a violent wind arising on a sudden caused great peril to our soul.”

⁵⁶² “The sea, as you observe, is ruffled, a mist has spread under the sky, everything everywhere is clouded over, and the winds, dashing against each other, give warning that they will almost immediately throw the sea into turmoil. (...) That is why we hear report of sailors who, near the promontory of Malea or the strait of Sicily or swept into the Libyan sea, run aground or founder.”

⁵⁶³ “Hurricane is named the violent wind, which does not strike straight but turns around itself in a swift whirlpool, which thereafter falls violently into the water, just as if an enormous rock was thrown down, [and] the sea having been pushed back by its weight is forcibly cleaved asunder by the force of the blast in the very same place where the wind crashed, while the falling of this weight sputters the water upwards on every side.”

Πλέοντι δ' οὖν τὸ Παρθένιον πέλαγος **ἐν καιρῷ ταραχώδει τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντι εὐπλοῖαν, ἐξαίφνης** ἐπελθὼν πνεῦμα ἐξαίσιον τὸν περί ψυχῆς ἔφερε **κίνδυνον**.⁵⁶¹

Alciphron, *Epistulae* I, ep. 10, 1 (ed. M. A. Schepers, 11–12):

Τὴν μὲν θάλατταν, ὡς ὀρᾶς, φρίκη κατέχει καὶ **τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποβέβηκεν ἀχλὺς καὶ πάντα πανταχόθεν συννέφελα, καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀρασσόμενοι ὅσον οὐπὼ κυκῆσειν τὸ πέλαγος** ἐπαγγέλλονται. (...) ὅθεν ἀκούομεν τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὸ Μαλέας ἀκρωτήριον, τοὺς δὲ **κατὰ τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμόν**, ἄλλους δὲ εἰς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος ῥύμη φερομένων ἐποκέλλειν ἢ καταδύεσθαι.⁵⁶²

Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, 9–23 (ed. J. McDonough, *GNO* V, 59):

καταιγὶς δὲ λέγεται βίαιος ἄνεμος οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας προσπίπτων, ἀλλὰ περί ἐαυτὸν **ἀνείλούμενος** δι' ὀξείας **στροφάλιγος**, ὃς ἐπειδὴν ἐμπέσῃ ποτὲ βιαίως τῷ ὕδατι, καθάπερ τινὸς πέτρας ἐγκαταβληθείσης μεγάλης, ὑποκλυσθεῖσα τῷ βάρει **ἢ θάλαττα σχίζεται κατ' ἀνάγκην τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος**, ὅπουπερ ἂν ἐνσκήψῃ βρίσας ὁ ἄνεμος, τῆς τοῦ βάρους ἐμπτώσεως ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναπτυνούσης.⁵⁶³

Philagathos composes a similar ekphrasis of a storm in the homily “About the Castigation of Waters” pronounced for the feast of St. Demetrios (26th October). The description was sparked by the Gospel reading of the day (Mt. 8: 23–27; the same episode is narrated in Mark 4: 35–41 and Lc. 8: 22–25). The account of the evangelists is brief. One evening Jesus and his disciples were crossing the Sea of Galilee in a boat, when “furious storm came up on the lake, so that the waves swept over the boat.” Jesus was in the stern, sleeping on a cushion. The disciples woke him and said to him, “Lord, save us! We’re going to drown!” Philagathos elaborates on the account of the Gospel mainly drawing on the same passage from Gregory of Nyssa’s “On the *Inscriptions of the Psalms*”, which he used in homily for the Feast of St. Nicholas (see above).

Philagathos, *Hom.* 10, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68):

Λέγεται δὲ λαῖλαψ βίαιος ἄνεμος, καθάπερ τις χερμὰς **ἐμπίπτων** εἰς θάλασσαν, **οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐθείας**, ἀλλὰ δίκην **στροφάλιγγος ὑποκλύζων τῷ βάρει** τὰ κύματα, ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ **βριθόμενον διὰ τῆς ἐμπτώσεως** ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω εἰς ἄφρον ἑκπαύεσθαι· ὃ δὲ καὶ τότε συμβέβηκεν. Ἐκ καθαρᾶς γὰρ αἰθρίας ἀχλὺς τὸν ἀέρα ἐξόφωσε καὶ ὁ αἰθήρ ἐγεγόνει συννέφελος· δεινὸς δὲ λαῖλαψ ἐπεισπεσὼν τὴν ναῦν περιέτρεπεν, ὥς μικροῦ δεῖν γενέσθαι αὐτὴν ὑποβρύχιον.⁵⁶⁴

Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, ed. J. McDonough, *GNO* V, 59, 9–19:

«Εἶπεν γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ ἔστη πνεῦμα καταιγίδος.» τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀνακτέον τὸ νόημα. ἢ γὰρ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου φωνὴ τὸ τῆς καταιγίδος πνεῦμα ἐργάζεται. καταιγὶς **δὲ λέγεται βίαιος ἄνεμος οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐθείας προσπίπτων**, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνειλούμενος δι’ ὀξείας **στροφάλιγγος**, ὃς ἐπειδὴν ἐμπέσῃ ποτὲ βιαίως τῷ ὕδατι, καθάπερ τινὸς πέτρας ἐγκαταβληθείσης μεγάλης, **ὑποκλυσθεῖσα τῷ βάρει** ἢ θάλαττα σχίζεται κατ’ ἀνάγκην τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπουπερ ἂν ἐνσκήψῃ **βρίσας** ὁ ἄνεμος, **τῆς** τοῦ βάρους **ἐμπτώσεως** ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναπτουούσης.

Besides the undisputed usage of Gregory of Nyssa in this passage, Philagathos’ wording is dimly reminiscent of Achilles Tatius’ opening of his *ekphrasis* of a storm in book 3.⁵⁶⁵ Later on in the sermon, Philagathos actually alludes to this novelistic episode. He writes:⁵⁶⁶

“And Jesus was sleeping” [Mc. 4: 37; Lc. 8: 23]. Since he foresaw the tempest coming, He permitted the winds to smite the sea while he was reposing. For, if he had been awake or the rising of the waves hadn’t happen or having arisen he had

⁵⁶⁴ Considering Philagathos’ adaptation of Nyssen’s text for the sermon we may further note the similarity of Philagathos’ wording with Gregory’s *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, ed. J. McDonough, *GNO* V, 59, 1: **ὑποβρύχιον** ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἐργασίαν. Besides, the term ὑποβρύχιον (i.e. “under water”, “below the surface”) is often used in Nyssen’s works as a metaphor for the life of sin; cf. *De virginitate* 4, 6, 10 (ed. M. Aubineau): τὴν ὑποβρύχιον λέγω ταύτην ζωὴν (...).

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon* 3, 1, 1: Τρίτην δὲ ἡμέραν πλεόντων ἡμῶν ἐξ **αἰθρίας** πολλῆς αἰφνίδιον **ἀχλὺς περιχεῖται**, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπωλόλει τὸ φῶς. “On the third day of our voyage, the perfect calm we had hitherto experienced was suddenly overcast by dark clouds and the daylight disappeared” (trans. S. Gaselee, *Loeb* 45, 135).

⁵⁶⁶ *Hom.* 10, 5–6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68–69).

calmed the tumult from its very beginning or if he hadn't accomplished this, he would have appeared to them unable [to still the waves]. And perhaps the disciples would not have turned for supplication, if he was awake, but now with the occasion of His sleep all these followed after. For as the wind was whistling, the waves seething, the roar of the current roaring, the boiling spume, the rowing stopped, the ship fully flooded with water, – for thus says holy Mark, “the waves broke over the boat, so that it was nearly swamped” [Mc. 4: 37] – the disciples completely hopeless, despairing for their own life, in great fear, quivering and terrified, awaked the Lord saying: “Lord, save us! We’re going to drown!” [Mt. 8:25] For they ought to consider that even when *lying asleep corporeally, He could have saved them as God, but they were imperfect, as it seems, and immature in their [spiritual] understanding.*

«Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδεν». Ἐπειδὴ προήδει τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι κλύδωνα, δίδωσιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῶσαι τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἄδειαν δαΐζει τὴν θάλασσαν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγρηγορῶς ἦν, ἢ οὐκ ἐγένετο τῶν πνευμάτων ἢ ἐπανάστασις, ἢ γενομένων κατεύνασεν ἂν τὸν τάραχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἢ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀδυνατεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε. Τάχα δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἰκεσίαν ἐτράποντο, ἐγρηγορότος αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ τῇ τοῦ ὕπνου προφάσει ταῦτα ἐπηκολούθησε. **Παφλάζοντος οὖν τοῦ πνεύματος** καὶ κυκωμένου τοῦ κύματος καὶ ὑπηχούντος τοῦ ρεύματος καὶ **τοῦ ἀφροῦ περιζέοντος, παυσαμένης τε τῆς εἰρεσίας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γεγονότος τοῦ σκάφους** (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ἱερὸς Μάρκος φησὶν, ὥς· «Τὰ κύματα ἐπέβαλλεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ὥστε γεμίζεσθαι αὐτό»), ἀπογνόντες τελέως οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ τὴν σφῶν ζωὴν ἀπελπίσαντες καὶ περιδεεῖς γεγονότες, **παλλόμενοι** καὶ πεφρικότες **ἀφύπνου** τὸν Κύριον φάμενοι· «Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα». Καίτοι ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς συνιδεῖν ὅτι, καὶ καθεύδων σωματικῶς, διέσωζεν αὐτοὺς θεϊκῶς, ἀλλ’ ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς ἄρα καὶ ταῖς φρεσὶ νηπιάζοντες.

The image of the ‘whistling of wind’ (**Παφλάζοντος οὖν τοῦ πνεύματος**) is seemingly inspired from Achilles Tatius’ novel. This imagery is incorporated in the passage which Philagathos cited in two of his sermons when he pictured the lament over the death of the Widow’s son and over the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue.⁵⁶⁷

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 3, 2, 8:

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐδυνάμεθα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηὸς σεισμοῦ. συμμιγῆς δὲ πάντων ἐγένετο βοή· **ἐρρόχθει τὸ κύμα, ἐπάφλαξε τὸ πνεῦμα, ὀλοολυγμὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἀνδρῶν, κελυσμὸς ναυτῶν, πάντα θρήνων καὶ κωκυτῶν ἀνάμεστα.**⁵⁶⁸

In addition to *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the preacher embroidered in the *ekphrasis* vignettes taken from the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, Lucian’s *Toxaris* and perhaps

⁵⁶⁷ Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40) and *Hom.* 11, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 75); see also the discussion below at p. 153.

⁵⁶⁸ “It was a fight between wind and water: we could never keep still in one spot owing to the shocks imparted to the vessel. A confused noise of all kinds arose—roaring of waves, whistling of wind, shrieking of women, shouting of men, the calling of the sailors’ orders; all was full of wailing and lamentation.” (trans. S. Gaselee, *Loeb* 45, 139).

Heliodorus' novel. The collected passages as we may observe below share a common thematic field with the sermon:

Hom. 10, 5–6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68–69):

Παφλάζοντος οὖν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ κυκωμένου τοῦ κύματος καὶ ὑπηχοῦντος τοῦ ῥεύματος καὶ **τοῦ ἄφρου περιζέοντος, παυσαμένης τε τῆς εἰρεσίας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γεγονότος τοῦ σκάφους** ... ἀπογνόντες τελέως οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ τὴν σφῶν ζωὴν ἀπελπίσαντες καὶ περιδεεῖς γεγονότες, **παλλόμενοι** καὶ πεφρικότες **ἀφύπνουν** τὸν Κύριον φάμενοι· «Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα».

Cf. *Aethiopika*, 5, 22, 3–4:

Ἀνηλάμην ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως **παλλόμενος** καὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους ὃ τι πέπονθα ἐρομένου «Τάχα» ἔφην «ὠψίσθημεν τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ τεθορύβημαι **ἀφύπνισας** πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε ἀνίστω καὶ τὰ ὄντα συσκευάζου τὴν Χαρίκλειάν τε ἐγὼ μετελεύσομαι.»⁵⁶⁹

Lucian, *Toxaris vel amicitia*, 20, 18–21:

καὶ μοι ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τῶν κυμάτων, τὸν ἦχον τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπικλωμένου, **τὸν ἄφρον περιζέοντα**, τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν· εἶτα ἀποπνιγόμενον ἐκείνον καὶ μόγις ἀνακύπτοντα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντα τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπηδῶντα εὐθὺς καὶ συννέοντα καὶ δεδιότα μὴ προαπόληται αὐτοῦ ὁ Δάμων.⁵⁷⁰

Makarios, *Apocriticus seu Monogenēs*, 3, 12 (ed. Blondel, 85, 41–86, 5 = Goulet, 4–9, 122):

Τυπτόμενον γοῦν ἐκ πρόρας τὸ σκάφος αἰφνιδίου καὶ ῥαγδαίου πνεύματος ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐπιτρέχοντος **παυομένης τε τῆς εἰρεσίας** τῷ συρμῷ τοῦ κλύδωνος, **ὑπεράντλου** δὲ γυρηδὸν **γινόμενου τοῦ σκάφους**, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις νύξ ἀσέληνος καὶ βαθυτάτη σκιά τὴν ὄρασιν πνίγουσα ἀπογνῶναι τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐποίει.⁵⁷¹

The citation from the *Monogenes* is excerpted from the response given to the pagan philosopher's objection to the episode of Christ walking on the water when the ship of the apostles was tossed by the waves (Mt. 14:22–32; Mc. 6:45–53; Jn. 6:15–21). Then, the allusion to Lucian's *Toxaris* carries a consistent contextual parallelism with the Gospel. It pertains to the story about Damon and Euthydicus, which is staged during a storm. They were on a voyage from Italy to Athens when a great tempest fell upon them “at about the season of the setting of the Pleiades” (*Toxaris*, 19,1: περὶ δύσιν Πλειάδος). This is also the formulation from Philagathos' sermon for the Feast of St. Nicholas (*Hom.* 20, 2: Πλέοντι γάρ μοι ποτε **περὶ δύσιν Πληϊάδος**).

⁵⁶⁹ “I started up, trembling, at the vision and when Theagenes having asked what ailed me, I said: ‘Perhaps we shall be too late for the ship’s sailing out of port and waking up I was tormented at this thought. But you, get up and collect our baggage, and I will go to seek Chariclea.’”

⁵⁷⁰ “I beg you, envisage the tumult of the seas, the roar of the breaking water, the boiling spume, the night, the despair; then one man strangling, barely keeping up his head, holding his arms out to his friend, and the other leaping after him at once, swimming with him, fearing that Damon would perish first.” (trans. A. M. Harmon, Lucian, vol. V, *Loeb*, 139).

⁵⁷¹ “At least then, the ship being stricken at the prow, while a sudden blast of wind thrust in their eyes, which through the sweep of billow made them stop the rowing, whereas the ship flooded all over with water, and in addition to these, a night without moon and a very deep dark stifling their vision caused the sailors to despair for their salvation.”

From Lucian's *Toxaris* Philagathos picks up the vivid description of the sea from which Euthydicus saved his friend Damon fallen into water. For Philagathos, the contextual parallelism with the Gospel triggered the appropriation of the passage. For "the roar of the breaking water, the boiling spume, the night, the despair; then one man strangling, barely keeping up his head, holding his arms out to his friend" is reminiscent of the context of the Gospel. Matthew writes that it was "the fourth watch of the night" when Jesus came to them. Then, Peter began to sink when he saw the wind and was saved by the Lord who "stretched forth his hand, and took hold of him" (Matthew 14: 31).

In the homily For the Tenth Resurrection Gospel (Jn. 21:1–4), Philagathos recalls the same snippet from Achilles Tatius' *ekphrasis* of storm, which he employed in the homily "About the Castigation of Waters."

Well then, we also see at another time the disciples tossed around when the Lord was standing near and calming then the turmoil of their soul and the waves of the sea; for he also commanded Peter to walk on the waves and to come to him. While treading on the watery path just as on the dry land and seeing *the roaring of waves and the whistling of wind*, he became fearful and was almost sinking into the sea if the divine grace had not snatched him up quickly. For what reason? Since he did not wrap the outer garment of faith [cf. Jn. 21:7] although he was going to walk upon the waves.

Ὁρῶμεν τοίνυν καὶ ἄλλοτε τοὺς μαθητὰς κλυδωνιζομένους ἐπιστάντα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν τάραχον, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ κύματα κατευνάσσαντα· ἐπιτρέψαντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον πεζεῦσαι διὰ τοῦ κύματος καὶ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὃς δὴ καθάπερ ἐπὶ ξηρᾷ διαστεῖβων τὴν ὑγροκέλευθον,⁵⁷² καὶ ὁρῶν ὡς ἐρρόχθει⁵⁷³ τὸ κῦμα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπάφλαξε, περιδεὴς γενόμενος, μικροῦ δεῖν ἐποντίζετο, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον ἡ θεία χάρις φθάσασα ἤρπασε. Διὰ τί; Ἐπειδὴ μέλλων κατὰ κυμάτων πεζεεύειν, τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἐπενδύτην οὐ διεζώσατο.

Thus, the preacher draws a comparison between the action of Peter walking on the water as reported in the Gospel of Matthew [Mt. 14:22–32] and Peter's reaction at the apparition of resurrected Christ by the Sea of Galilee. Philagathos inserted the novelistic image featuring the "roaring of waves [and] the whistling of wind" (**ἐρρόχθει τὸ κῦμα, ἐπάφλαξε τὸ πνεῦμα**)⁵⁷⁴ for picturing the blowing wind and the rough sea as Peter sunk below the waves.⁵⁷⁵

At this point it may be opportune to underscore Philagathos' recurrent usage of certain passages and snippets in different sermons. This feature hints at a process of memorisation informing the compositional process of the sermons. For the various ekphrastic vignettes as the descriptions of storms or various scenes portraying intense emotions that the homilist retrieved in

⁵⁷² The refinement of Philagathos' composition can be contemplated in the employment of rare words as «ὕγροκέλευθος, ον» "having wet paths" with just 17 attestations in the Greek corpus of literary texts (TLG).

⁵⁷³ The form «ἐρρόχθι» given by Scorsus is an erroneous phonetic confusion for the «ἐρρόχθει», the grammatical form given by Philagathos' source; the copyist of Matrit gr. 4554 gives «ἐρρόχθη», as well f. 216^f.

⁵⁷⁴ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 3, 2, 8 (trans. S. Gaselee, *Loeb* 45, 139).

⁵⁷⁵ *Hom.* 79 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 697C).

the appropriate contexts seem to document a rather organized memorization. Significant examples involve Philagathos' rhetorical usage of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, of Gregory of Nyssa and Michael Psellos, of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*, a source extensively used in the *Homilies* (more about this later), etc.⁵⁷⁶

Conclusions

To summarize, the exercise of *ekphrasis* is Philagathos' chief rhetorical strategy profusely applied throughout the sermons. Besides descriptions of works of art, such as the renowned *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo or the *ekphrasis* of a painting featuring the massacre of the Holy Innocents, Philagathos exercised the technique for describing natural phenomena such as storms and lightning, for illustrating the Gospel stories with piercing descriptions, such as Salome's licentious dancing, or for vividly explaining various theological themes, such as the traits of human nature, the workings of sin or of pleasure, etc.

Preeminently, Philagathos' ekphrastic elaborations bring to light the refinement and the extent of his learning. For the array of rhetorical models which inform these compositions is dazzling. Thus, the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina is indebted to Lucian's *De domo* and to Procopius of Gaza's *Descriptio horologii* and *Phoenix*. For the *ekphrasis* of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, Philagathos turned to Procopius of Gaza's *Monody for Antioch*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Homily on the Nativity* and *Homilies on the Beatitudes*. The text encloses allusions to Homer and citations from Euripides.

The summit of Philagathos' ekphrastic technique is perhaps represented by the account of St. John the Baptist and the depiction of Salome's shameless dancing, fashioned from vignettes and allusions to the ancient novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, Lucian of Samosata's *Toxaris*, Alciphron's *Letters*, the Homeric poems and appropriations from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Martyr Gordius*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Eulogy of Saint Basil*. Another arresting example is the ironical description of a sleeping deacon modelled after Procopius of Gaza's *ekphrasis* of a painting featuring Phaedra and Hippolytus, a text previously undocumented in the *Homilies*. Overall, Philagathos' ekphrastic technique reveals a florilegic pattern, which the following chapters will further point out.

⁵⁷⁶ See chapter IV. 1. 2 "Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments," 254–281.

3. The Practice of Narration (διήγησις) in the *Homilies*

We have briefly referred to the narrative mark of the Christian message. In what follows, we look at Philagathos' treatment of narrative episodes. First, we turn to the story of Jephthah who sacrificed his only daughter when returning victorious from war. Then we pass to Philagathos' account of the story of Tamar from the Old Testament who disguised herself as a prostitute for seducing Judah. These stories are suggestive for Philagathos' treatment of scriptural narratives. Finally, we look at Philagathos' narration of a historical event, the story about Theodora, the wife of the iconoclast emperor Theophilos and Denderis, the entertaining fool at the imperial court, who witnessed the empress venerating the holy icons and disclosed the event to the emperor. Once again, the analysis endeavours to point out the rhetorical models that informed Philagathos' compositions. In this sense, we indicate that the description of Jephthah's daughter and of Tamar follow closely events and descriptions from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*.

The words used to describe Philagathos' treatment belong to the common rhetorical vocabulary (i.e. διήγησις, ἀφήγησις, διηγέομαι, λόγος διηγηματικός). The two word groups pertaining to ἀφήγησις and διήγησις are used to describe a historical narration. The term ἀφήγησις is employed by the fifth Century rhetor Nikolaos who explains it in relation with *ekphrasis*.⁵⁷⁷ Nikolaos writes: "there being five parts of a speech, as has been said often — *prooimion*, narration, *antithesis*, solution, epilogue—, *ekphrasis* will rehearse us for the narrative part, except in so far as it goes beyond bare description (ψιλή ἀφήγησις), but what is elaborated in *ekphrasis* incorporates clarity and brings before the eyes those things with which the words are concerned, and all but makes spectators."⁵⁷⁸ Thus the distinction between narration and *ekphrasis* stands in the amount of sensible detail conveyed by the account. The stylistic virtues associated with narrative in the *progymnasmata* are persuasiveness, clarity, brevity, Hellenism. But persuasiveness is the most important virtue for it is applicable only to narrative. According to John of Sardis, a tenth-century commentator, persuasiveness may be achieved through emotion, vividness and telling the truth.⁵⁷⁹

3.1. The Story of a Sacrifice: Jephthah's Daughter and Charikleia

Now, let us turn to the story of Jephthah narrated in chapters XI and XII of the Book of Judges and related by Philagathos in the homily "About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee." After citing Gregory of Nyssa's *De oratione dominica*, for explaining the difference between

⁵⁷⁷ Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Ashgate: Burlington), 55 remarked that the distinction between διήγησις and ἀφήγησις is not merely formal; in Nikolaos' *Progymnasmata* διήγησις is said of a narration that is told in the narrator's persona whereas ἀφήγησις is applied 'to a dramatic narration told by a character, as in comedy and tragedy.' Furthermore, this distinction seems to have been carefully observed in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* as Aglae Pizzzone argued; cf. "When Calasiris got Pregnant: Rhetoric and Storytelling in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*", in *The Purpose of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity: From Performance to Exegesis*, ed. Alberto Quiroga (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 139–59.

⁵⁷⁸ Nikolaos, *Progymnasmata*, 68, 18–70, 6, ed. H. Rabe (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 167).

⁵⁷⁹ John of Sardis, *Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, 23–4, ed. Hugo Rabe (Rhetores Graeci 15, Leipzig: Teubner, 1928).

prayer (προσευχή) and vow (εὐχή) in relation to Lc. 10: 1–8 (“Two men went up to the temple to pray (προσεύξασθαι), one a Pharisee and the other a tax collector”), Philagathos introduces the story of Jephthah:

It is profitable to listen to the fugitive prophet when he says to God, “all that I have vowed I will pay to thee,” [Jonae 2: 9] and about Jephthah who after having sacrificed his daughter the Scripture says that he fulfilled his vow [Jud. 11: 39]. But why do you knit your brows looking at each other? It seems to me that you do not know the story. Well, even if the narration is incidental to the present argument, nevertheless having summarized the greater part in my account I will describe it to you summarily.

Ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ φυγάδος προφήτου λέγοντος πρὸς Θεόν· “ὅσα ηὐξάμην ἀποδώσω σοι,” καὶ περὶ Ἰεφθάε θύσαντος τὴν παῖδα φησὶν ἡ γραφή ὡς ἐτέλεσε τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ τί πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπιδόντες ὑμεῖς συνεστείλατε τὰς ὀφρῦς; Οἶμαι τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰκόκατε ἀγνοεῖν. Ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ πάρεργος ἡ ἀφήγησις πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν, ὅμως ἐπιτεμὼν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πλείονα, ἐπιτροχάδην ταύτην ὑμῖν διηγῆσομαι.

The preacher brings in the episode seemingly in response to the ignorance of the audience. As a tale of human sacrifice the story of Jephthah has a complicate exegesis and was rarely mentioned in post-patristic literature. The story was however often invoked during the Christian–pagan debates in Late Antiquity.⁵⁸⁰ Notwithstanding, Philagathos’ interest in the story is aroused by its evocative and emotional content, which he bolstered with vivid imagery derived from Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*. In the second part, Philagathos refitted Gregory of Nyssa’s account of Abraham and Isaac from Nyssen’s *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam* for his rendition of story of Jephthah.

As in the sermon on the raising of Jairus’ daughter and the Widow’s son, Philagathos intensifies the most dramatic aspect of the story, in this case the encounter between father and daughter. The ingredients for rhetorical refinement and dramatization are given in the Scripture: “When Jephthah came to his house at Mizpah, there was his daughter, coming out to meet him with timbrels and dancing; and she was his only child. Besides her he had neither son nor daughter. And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he tore his clothes, and said, ‘Alas, my daughter! You have brought me very low! You are among those who trouble me! For I have given my word to the Lord, and I cannot go back on it’” [Jud. 11: 34–36].

After reviewing the cardinal elements of the Jephthah’s story, his going to war against the Ammonites and his rash vow to God, Philagathos writes:

⁵⁸⁰ In reference to this story John Chrysostom says in *Ad populum Antiochenum* (homiliae 1–21), PG 49, coll.: 147: Καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπίστων ὠμότητα ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν διὰ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην· “And I know, indeed, that many of the unbelievers impugn us of cruelty and inhumanity on account of this sacrifice;” St. Augustin records the impious adversaries of the Scriptures, who on the basis of the episode of Jephthah accused the Jews of having performed and practiced human sacrifice (cf. *Questionum in Heptateuchum libri septem*, questio 49); in this polemical context the story is also referred to in the Pseudo-Justinus Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 5, ed. J.C.T. Otto (Jena: Mauke, 1881; repr. 1969), 454, section A; the place of Jephthah sacrifice in anti-Christian polemic is briefly discussed by Giancarlo Rinaldi, *Biblia Gentium. Primo contributo per un indice delle citazioni, dei riferimenti e delle allusioni alla Bibbia negli autori pagani, greci e latini di età imperiale* (Roma: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1981), 301.

Henceforth the narration has something sad [about it]. Jephthah had a daughter, [his] only child, exceedingly beautiful; she already reached the age of marriage. Upon her alone was the father launching all his hopes, believing to have her as successor of his kin and heir; and perhaps he began his prayers when often coming to the temple from [invoking] his child. As she received the good tidings of her begetter's victories, filled with joy she is rising up very quickly and after having decked herself in wedding dress she goes out from the bridal chamber drawing to herself by her beauty the eyes of all. If you had seen her, you would have said that she was the full moon just peeping out from the clouds. So hastening her step, fatefully first she met her father, and, falling on his neck embraced him with reverence and warm affection, making sounds of gratefulness. *In view of this Jephthah wailed aloud and said:* "Woe's me, daughter, for I have made a vow to God to sacrifice you." But she, – and here behold the noble spirit of a beautiful virgin –, [although being] a little saddened by the unexpected statement she recovered herself and having banished all cowardice from her soul, became wholly subjected to the fatherly will; [she was] stifling, on the one hand, the tears pressing hard upon the eyes, and on the other hand like a vernal nightingale pouring out her melancholic song gently said to her father: "Father, if upon me you have opened your mouth towards God, fulfill according to that which you have opened your mouth for."

As we have abundantly documented, when Philagathos describes scenes of emotional intensity a novelistic context is usually involved. The rendition the Jephthah's story is not an exception. For the narration encloses snippets taken from the Heliodorus' novel, which Gaia Zaccagni accurately identified:⁵⁸¹

Hom. 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος Aethiopika*, 2, 30, 6 (ed. Colonna, 174):
ἀφήγησις, 52 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, *PG* 132, coll. 361C–D):

Τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἔχει τι σκυθρωπὸν ἢ διήγησις·
 θυγάτριον ἦν τῷ Ἰεφθάε καὶ μονογενὲς καὶ
μάλα καλόν, ἥδη **τοῦ γάμου τὴν ὥραν** ἔχον.
Ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ μόνη τὰς ἐλπίδας **ἐσάλευεν** ὁ
 πατὴρ διάδοχον τοῦ γένους καὶ κληρονόμον
 ταύτην ἔξιν ἡγούμενος· **τάχα** που καὶ εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν προσφοιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς παιδὸς ἀπῆρχετο
 τῶν εὐχῶν. Αὕτη τοῦ φύντος εὐαγγελισθεῖσα
 τὰ τρόπαια καὶ χαρᾶς ὑποπλησθεῖσα
 ἐξανίσταται μάλα γοργῶς καὶ νυμφικῶς

Ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ὠμώμοστο ὥς ἐκεῖνος
 ἐπέσκηπτεν, ἄγει με παρ' ἐαυτὸν καὶ δείκνυσι
 κόρην ἀμήχανόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον κάλλος, ἦν
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπτά ἔτη γεγονέναι ἔλεγεν ἐμοὶ δὲ
 καὶ **ὥρα γάμου** πλησιάζειν ἔφκει, οὕτως ἄρα
κάλλους ὑπερβολῇ καὶ εἰς μεγέθους ἔμφασιν
 φέρει προσθήκην.⁵⁸²

Aethiopika, 2, 33, 3–4 (ed. Colonna, 178):
 Καὶ ἔστι νῦν ἡ παῖς ἐνταῦθα σὺν ἐμοὶ παῖς
 μὲν οὖσα ἐμὴ καὶ ὄνομα τοῦμόν
 ὀνομαζομένη, **σαλεύω γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ** τὸν βίον

⁵⁸¹ Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 60–65.

⁵⁸² "When I had taken such an oath as he required, he conducted me to his house, and showed me a girl of wonderful and more than mortal beauty: He affirmed she was but seven years old; but she appeared to me to be almost of a marriageable age, so much did her uncommon beauty seem to add even to her stature. I stood for some time motionless, ignorant of what was to follow, and ravished with the sight before me;" (trans. Rowland Smith, 56).

ἐαυτὴν κοσμήσασα ἔξεισι τοῦ θαλάμου
πάντων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ κάλλει
 ἐπισπωμένη **πρὸς ἐαυτήν**.

καὶ ἔστι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ εὐχῆς κρείττων,
 οὕτω τάχιστα μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν
 εἴλκυσε τάχιστα δὲ εἰς ἀκμὴν καθάπερ ἔρνος
 τι τῶν εὐθαλῶν ἀνέδραμεν· ὠραιότητι δὲ
 σώματος οὕτω δὴ τὰς πάσας ὑπερβέβληκεν
 ὥστε **πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς** Ἑλληνικὸς τε καὶ ξένος
ἐπ' αὐτήν φέρεται καὶ ὅπου δὴ φαινομένη
 ναῶν ἢ δρόμων ἢ ἀγορῶν καθάπερ ἀρχέτυπον
 ἄγαλμα πᾶσαν ὄψιν καὶ διάνοιαν ἐφ' ἐαυτὴν
 ἐπιστρέφει.⁵⁸³

First, the scene from the novel alluded to in the sermon encloses a similar happening with the story of Jephthah. Namely, the oath taken by Jephthah corresponds in the novel to the oath Charikles took when Sisimithres allured him with a gift of priceless jewels. Heliodorus recounts that the oath Charikles swore concerns a ‘maiden of uncommon beauty, almost of a marriageable age.’ Thereafter, Philagathos weaves into the portrayal of Jephthah’s daughter Charikles’ description of the maiden’s beauty “which draws to her the eyes and thoughts of all.” Besides, the emphasis on Charikleia’s chastity forcefully asserted in the same paragraph buttressed the contextual parallelism between the novel and the Scripture. Jephthah’s daughter bewailed her virginity on the mountains (Jud. 11: 38), whereas Charikleia consecrated her life to Artemis: “she obstinately refuses to marry and pledges to lead a life of celibacy...She is inexhaustible in the praises of virginity; places it next the life of the gods-pure, unmixed, uncorrupt. She is equally skillful in depreciating love, and Venus, and marriage” (*Aethiopika* 2, 33, 5). This is a key passage from the novel which underlines Philagathos’ *Interpretation*.⁵⁸⁴

Then the dramatic encounter between daughter and father is garnished with references to the novel:

Hom. 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52, 20–24 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, PG 132, coll. 361C-D):

Εἶπες ἂν ἰδὼν σελήνην πλησιφαῖ τοῦ νέφους ἄρτι προκύπτουσαν. Ἐπιταχύνασα οὖν τὴν πορείαν, πρώτη τῷ πατρὶ δυστυχῶς ὑπαντᾷ καὶ **περιφῶσα τοῦ αὐχένος** μετ’αἰδοῦς καὶ πόθου θερμοῦ **κατησπάζετο**, χαριστηρίους ἀφιεῖσα φωνάς. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ

Aethiopika, 7, 7, 5 (ed. Colonna, 376-378):

Ἡ Χαρίκλεια κατ’ ἴχνος γὰρ ἐφεπομένη τοῦ Καλασίριδος καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀναγνωρίσασα τὸν Θεαγένην, ὃξὺ γάρ τι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐρωτικῶν ὄψις καὶ κίνημα πολλάκις καὶ σχῆμα μόνον κἂν πόρρωθεν ἢ κἂν ἐκ νώτων τῆς ὁμοιότητος τὴν φαντασίαν παρέστησεν, ὥσπερ οἰστρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ ὄψεως ἐμμανὲς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἵεται καὶ **περιφῶσα τοῦ αὐχένος**

⁵⁸³ “This child is now with me: I have given her my name, and all my cares are centred in her. Her improvements exceed my warmest wishes. She has learned my language with surprising quickness: she has grown up to perfection like a flourishing plant. Her beauty is so transcendent as to attract every eye upon her, both Grecian and foreign. Wherever she appears – in the temple, in the course, or in the market place – she draws to her the looks and thoughts of all, like the model statue of some goddess” (trans. Rowland Smith, 58–59).

⁵⁸⁴ In fact the reference to Charikleia as **τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ζάκορον** (*Aethiopika*, 2, 33, 3-4, ed. Colonna, 178) reminds of Philagathos’ *Interpretation* (l. 151–152, ed. Bianchi, 55): ἡ δὲ Ἀρτεμις οὐ κωλύει τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ἀλλ’ ὁρῶσα **τὴν ζάκορον** παρθένον πληγὴν ἐρωτικὴν δεξαμένην ἀνέχεται.

Ἰεφθάε ἀνῶμωξε καὶ «οἶμοι, θύγατερ, εἶπεν, ὅτι σε καταθύσειν ἡδυσμένην Θεῷ».

ἀπρίξ εἶχετο καὶ ἐξήρητο καὶ γοεροῖς τισι **κατησπάζετο θρήνοις**.⁵⁸⁵

Cf. *Hom.* 6, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 41):

Ὡς δὲ τῆς πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἔξω ἐγένοντο, τοῦ πλήθους ἐφεπομένου τῇ ἐκφορᾷ, μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα τοὺς τὸν τάφον ὀρύττοντας, **ἐμμανὴς ἐπὶ τὸν κράβαττον ἵεται· καὶ περιχυθεῖσα τῷ πτώματι** καὶ μέλεσι μέλη τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς συναρμόσασα, **ἀπρίξ εἶχετο καὶ γοεροῖς κατησπάζετο θρήνοις**.

Aethiopika, 5, 8, 5 (ed. Colonna, 282):

Ὁ δὲ χανωνθεὶς τοῖς ἐπαίνουσι καὶ ἅμα τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀπατηθεὶς ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν τῆς ὥρας, ἀπ' εὐτελοῦς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἐσθῆτος **οἶον νέφους αὐγῇ σεληναίας διεξέλαμπεν**.⁵⁸⁶

Cf. *Hom.* 35, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 241):

Ὑποχανωνθεὶς οὖν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς κασσωρίδος ὁ δεῖλαιος...(...)

Jephthah's daughter depicted as "the full moon just peeping out from the clouds" corresponds in the novel to Mitrane's bewilderment at the beauty of the maiden which "shone out under a sorry garb, like the moon from beneath a cloud." Then, the ardent embrace between Charikleia and Theagenes informs the dramatic encounter between daughter and father in the sermon. It is the same image Philagathos used for portraying the heartbroken mother embracing her dead child in the homily on the "Raising of the Son of the Widow."

Next, the preacher adds a further refinement to the lament of the maiden again inspired from the novel:

Hom. 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, *PG* 132, coll. 361C-D): *Aethiopika*, 5, 2, 6 (ed. Colonna, 270):

Ἡ δέ - ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα σκόπει μοι εὐγενὲς φρόνημα παρθένου καλῆς - μικρὸν ἐπιστυγνάσασα τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀνέλαβεν ἑαυτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν δειλίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα, ὅλη τοῦ πατρικοῦ θελήματος γίνεται· ἄγχουσα μὲν τὰ δάκρυα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπειγόμενα, **οἶα δέ τις ἡρινὴ ἀηδὼν αἴλινον μυρομένη ᾠδὴν**, ἡρέμα

ἕως ὅπῃ ποτε καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀνελίττων τόπους ἦσθετο γυναικὸς λαθραῖόν τι καὶ γοερὸν **οἶον ἡρινῆς ἀηδόνης αἴλινον ᾠδὴν** ἐν νυκτὶ **μυρομένης**, ἐπὶ τε τὸ δωμάτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ θρήνου χειραγωγούμενος ὥρμησε (...).⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁵ "Chariclea followed close after Calasiris. The eye of a lover is quick as lightning in recognising the object of its passion – a single gesture, the fold of garment, seen behind, or at a distance, is sufficient to confirm its conjectures. When she knew Theagenes afar off, transported at the long-wished-for sight, she ran frantically towards him, and, falling on his neck, embraced him closely, breathing out her passion in mournful lamentations" (trans. mod. Rowland Smith, 155).

⁵⁸⁶ "And he (i.e. Mitrane), though inflamed with conceit by these praises, really believing the truth of what was said (being deceived by the name), he remained smitten nonetheless with the beauty of the maiden, which shone out under a sorry garb, like the moon from beneath a cloud" (trans. based on Rowland Smith, 109).

⁵⁸⁷ "After passing and repassing many times, without knowing it, the same passages, at last he heard the soft voice of a woman lamenting, like a vernal nightingale pouring out her melancholy notes at eventide. Led by the sound, he advanced towards the apartment;" (trans. Rowland Smith, 103).

λέγουσα τῷ πατρί· «Πάτερ, εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἥνοιξας
τὸ στόμα σου πρὸς Κύριον, πλήρωσον ὁ
τρόπον ἥνοιξας τὸ στόμα σου».

In the novel Knemon heard a gentle voice of a women lamenting “like a vernal nightingale pouring out her melancholic notes.” It was Charikleia bewailing her separation from Theagenes, for she was now “alone exposed to the assaults of cruel Fortune” (*Aethiopika*, 5, 2, 7). Arguably, Philagathos searches for contextual similitudes in the novel. As in other homilies, a pattern may be observed in the selection of passages from the novel. For Philagathos grouped together in this homily the novelistic passages that referred to Charikleia, to her beauty, to her chastity and to her sorrows.

In the last section, Philagathos directly addresses the audience and explains the moral dimension of the story. At a closer look, the text is in fact an adaptation of Gregory of Nyssa’s *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*, a detail which escaped to the critical editor of the text.

Hom. 37 (ed. Zaccagni, 53, 3-8):

“What have you endured in respect of the narration, all of you who are fathers and have learned the affection towards your children from this ordeal? How could a father accept to slain his only daughter by his own hand, so beautiful, so pure, so sensible and loving her father? How could he not be choked with tears seeing the girl’s beauty and hearing the sweet voice of his only child? Another Abraham *Jephthah became, and a new Isaac the maiden.*”

Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*, 9, 469:

“You assuredly know, all of you who are fathers and have sons and have learned from nature the natural affection towards your children, how likely would have been Abraham disposed, if he had only looked towards the present life alone, if he had been a slave of nature, if in this present existence he had reckoned the sweetness of life.”

Τί πεπόνθατε πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν ὅσοι πατέρες ἐστὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας στοργὴν ἐκ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς ἐδιδάχθητε; Πῶς δέχεται πατὴρ αὐτόχειρα σφαγὴν μονογενοῦς θυγατρός, οὕτω μὲν καλῆς, οὕτω δὲ σώφρονος, οὕτω δὲ νουνεχοῦς τε καὶ φιλοπάτορος; Πῶς οὐ κατεπνίγη τοῖς δάκρυσιν τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς γλυκείας ἀκούων φωνῆς τῆς μονογενοῦς; Ἄλλος Ἀβραὰμ γέγονεν Ἰεφθάε, νέος δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἡ νεάνις·

οἶδατε πάντως ὅσοι πατέρες ἐστὲ καὶ παῖδας ἔχετε καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα στοργὴν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐδιδάχθητε, ὅπως εἰκὸς διατεθῆναι τὸν Ἀβραάμ, εἰ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν μόνην ἀφεώρα ζωὴν, εἰ δοῦλος τῆς φύσεως ἦν, εἰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ζωῆς ἐλογίζετο.

Philagathos uses the consolatory example of Abraham offering his beloved son as a sacrifice to God, which Nyssen gave to Theodosius and Flacilla over the loss of their daughter, Pulcheria. Nyssen recalled what Abraham might have felt when the child of promise born to him in his old age, was demanded back by God when he merely blossomed. But Abraham, says Nyssen, trusted God who laid in store for his son something better than the present life.

Philagathos thus reads Nyssen's account of Abraham's near sacrifice of Isaac into the episode of Iephthah's immolation of his daughter. The preacher juxtaposed Isaac's submission to the fatherly will with Iephthah's daughter obedience. Nevertheless, Philagathos' typological association of Abraham and Isaac with Iephthah is rather exceptional in Greek patristic.⁵⁸⁸ For Iephthah's vow was generally viewed with condemnation. John Chrysostom explains in his *Homilies on the Statues* (*hom.* 14) that by this mindless vow actually fulfilled, God put a stop to all such future vows. That the calamity might be always remembered a ritual of wailing the sacrifice for forty days was established.⁵⁸⁹

3.2. A Story about Seduction: Tamar and Thisbe

The refinement of Philagathos' narrative technique may be observed in his treatment of the story of Tamar. The homilist introduces the story after discussing the genealogy of Jesus Christ. Drawing on the *questiones et responsiones* literature, Philagathos inquires for what reason Christ traced his descent from disreputable and gentile women.⁵⁹⁰ The vivid and dramatic representation of this biblical story is to the best of knowledge without parallel in Greek homiletics.⁵⁹¹

In the Scripture, Tamar is first portrayed as marrying Judah's eldest son, Er. Because of his wickedness, God (Gen. 38:7) killed Er. Then Judah asked his second son, Onan, to provide offspring for Tamar so that the family line might continue. Philagathos described the aftermath as follows:⁵⁹²

He (i.e. Onan) thinking that, if Tamar would give birth, her beauty would be wasted away by reason of labor, and that the child born from him would be reckoned heir of her first husband, contrived an impious scheme. But how will I decorously express the indecorous? Save that the Holy Writ is not ashamed to say this that the loathsome Onan carried out the deeds of pleasure, that he did not make use of the mother's womb that by which generation is effected. The evil-hating justice loathed him; and he dies as well. Tamar thus falling twice into widowhood and experiencing her marriages like dreams, and not being blessed with a child, she cast her eye towards Judah's third son Shelah, which was just a lad, and she was waiting to receive him in marriage, not for eagerness of pleasure, but longing to bear offspring from the seed of Abraham.

⁵⁸⁸ A rare instance of this association of Iephthah's sacrifice with Abraham's offering surfaces in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Epigrammata*, Book 8, epigram 51: Δῶκε Θεῷ θυσίην Ἀβραὰμ πᾶν, ὥς δὲ θυγάτρα κλεινὸς Ἰεφθάε, ἀμφοτέροι μεγάλην. μήτερ ἐμή, σὺ δ' ἔδωκας ἀγνὸν βίον, ὑστάτιον δὲ ψυχὴν, εὐχολῆς, Νόννα, φίλον σφάγιον. Maximus Confessor refers to this episode in *Questions and Doubts*, Question 33, which he interprets in a symbolic manner; Iephthah, the son of a harlot (cf. Judges 11: 2) points to our fornicating nature, whereas the daughter signifies the Lord who came forth without sin from our nature 'with regard to the flesh.'

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum* (homiliae 1-21), PG 49, coll. 147.

⁵⁹⁰ This query is discussed in Part IV. 5. 1, "The Genealogy of Jesus Christ," 307-310.

⁵⁹¹ An extensive treatment is also found in Cyril of Alexandria's *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, PG 69, coll. 308-312, but without any dramatic elaboration; a short symbolic interpretation of the episode is given by Maximus Confessor in *Quaestiones et dubia*, Section 31.

⁵⁹² *Hom.* 10, 5-6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68-69).

Ὅς δὴ λογισάμενος ὥς, εἰ **ἐπίτεξ** γένοιτο Θάμαρ, **ἐκ τῶν ὠδίνων** τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς μαρνανθήσεται, καὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς τὸ τεχθὲν λογισθήσεται, βουλὴν σκέπτεται πονηράν. Ἀλλὰ πῶς σεμνομυθήσω τὸ ἄσεμνον; Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀγία Γραφή οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὰ μὲν τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπετέλει ὁ βδελυρὸς, οὐ μὴν <δὲ> παρῆχε ταῖς αὐλαξί τῆς μήτρας ἐκεῖνο, δι’ οὗ ἐνεργεῖται ἡ σύλληψις. Μυσάττεται τοῦτον ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη, καὶ τελευτᾷ καὶ αὐτός. Οὕτως ἡ Θάμαρ ὑποπεσοῦσα χρεῖα διπλῇ καὶ **ὥς ὀνείροις τοῖς γάμοις πελάσασα**, καὶ οὐδὲ **παιδὸς εὐμοιρήσασα**, εἰς τὸν τρίτον παῖδα Σηλῶμ, ὄντα μειράκιον κομιδῇ, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐνεπῆρειδε, караδοκοῦσα τοῦτον λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἐρῶσα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραμιαίου σπέρματος γλιχομένη τεκεῖν.

The reason given for Onan’ misdemeanour that the beauty of Thamar would be wasted away by labour is an original addition of Philagathos perhaps inspired by Choricus of Gaza’s *Opus* 29.⁵⁹³ In addition, the preacher weaves into his account a fitting passage drawn from Procopius of Gaza’s lost *Monody for Antioch*:⁵⁹⁴

Oh, my bridal chamber, which you destroyed just before it was constructed! Oh, newly wedded wife, upon which you fetched praises, by lavishing every auspicious word, calling her well-minded and chaste – and if only you had known the future, you would have surely added unfortunate! For how else could be the woman which as in a dream foretasted her marriage and which only knew her husband at the same time when she bewailed him? Indeed, a pitiable lamentation is set before our eyes.

Ἀλλ’ ὦ μοι παστάδος, ἦν πρὶν μικροῦ γε παγῆναι διέλυσας· οἴμοι συνοίκου νέας, ἦν ἐπαίνους ἦγες διὰ πάσης εὐφημίας ποιούμενος, εὖνουν καὶ σώφρονα καλῶν – εἰ δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἦδεις, πάντως ἂν καὶ δυστυχοῦσαν προσέθηκας. **ὥς ἐν ὀνείρῳ τῷ γάμῳ πελάσασα**, καὶ σύνοικον τοιοῦτον ὁμοῦ τε μαθοῦσα δὴ καὶ θρηνήσασα; καὶ πρόκειται θρήνος ἐλεεινός·

When Thamar realized that Judah is reluctant to give her his last and youngest son Shelah she contrived a scheme in order to bear a child in Judah’s line. “So she took off her widow’s

⁵⁹³ We note a certain thematic and lexical similitude with Choricus of Gaza’s *Opus* 29, “A Spartan Citizen,” which groups together the same motives as in the sermon (i.e. worry about beauty, childbearing and the pangs of labour, albeit in a different sense; cf. Choricus of Gaza, *Opus* 29, 2, 7 (ed. R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig): Ἀτύχημα Σπαρτιάταις ἐπεκόμασεν ἀπρεπές· καὶ κάλλους λοιμὸν ἐνόσει τὸ θῆλυ καὶ παιδοποιίας ἐλπίς φοβερώτατον ἦν, ὥστε πυκνῶς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀλλήλας ἠρώτων· μή τις κύουσα τυγχάνει; **ἐπίτεξ** δὲ πᾶσα πλέον ἡθύμει **λογιζομένη** τὸν τόκον ἥπερ τῶν **ὠδίνων** τὸν κίνδυνον. καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαιδίας ὀδυνηρὸν ἄλυτον ἦν. “An unseemly misfortune beset the Spartans: baby girls were sickened with a disease affecting their appearance, and there was such a great fear of begetting children that often the women asked each other, ‘She isn’t pregnant, is she?’ As the time of giving birth approached, every woman became more worried, speculating more about the child than about the danger of labor. The pain of childlessness ceased to be a cause of distress” (trans. George Kennedy, in *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity. A Translation of Choricus of Gaza’s Preliminary Talks and Declamations*, ed. Robert Penella, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 160–161). Notwithstanding the contextual differences, a certain parallelism may be thus imagined between Onan worried about the beauty Tamar and the Spartans worried about the beauty of their offspring.

⁵⁹⁴ Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*, 1, 22, 20.

garments, covered herself with a veil and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place which was on the way to Timnah” (Gen. 38: 14). When Judah passed by and saw her, he thought she was a harlot, and asked for her services. Philagathos amplifies this story rich in dramatic detail into an elaborate narrative as follows:⁵⁹⁵

Sava the wife of Judah died [Gen. 38:12]; It was the time of shearing the sheep, and it was fated that Judah had to pass through her village [i.e. of Thamar] for reaching the flocks of sheep. As Thamar apprehended this, she stripped off her mournful clothing, clothed in bridal attire, put on her trappings, then reclining before a brothel near the road and lying there in wait she watched eagerly her father-in-law passing over. Well, when the day was already declining Judah came accompanied by his servant shepherd (the shepherd was called Eiras). [9.] Therefore, as Thamar saw them drawing near, she begins her play, contriving such things that could wipe off through the excess of wantonness all shame from their faces inflaming her father-in-law towards desire, by gestures, by guffaws, by sinuous movements; uncovering for a moment her veil, just so much as to reveal her beauty, and yet keeping hidden her bodily shape, both at once hiding who she was and yet arousing the lust of the beholders. Thereupon the illustrious Judah is seized by her beauty and thinking that she was one of those who offer pleasures for sale, he uses his servant as a pander, and makes known through him that he welcomes her at night, promising that he would send her a young goat. She grasps his offer with alacrity, while affecting no indifference. When the night brought them together and Thamar had the prey into the net, while she made him puff up with conceit by her flatteries and then again inflamed him through her prudish indifference, she requested as pledge for sending her the promised goat, the staff, and the cord and the signet [Gen. 38:18]. Judah having become entirely ravished by the yearning after her, forthwith he takes off the cord, throws off quickly the staff, he gives even the signet for this [craving]. Well, I shall keep silence about the matters [happened] thereafter in the night, yet thus much I would say that the names of both changed their principles, and Thamar became spouse (Θάμαρ δάμαρ) and the father-in-law a lover (ὁ κηδεστής ἐραστής). At dawn, Judah leaps from the bed and surreptitiously flees, so that he could hide the deed in the dark. Thamar, therefore, knew that she conceived and when the day was growing bright, she went home, carrying [with her] the pledges as the prize of her victory.

[8.] Ἐτεθνήκει Σαυὰ ἡ τοῦ Ἰούδα γυνή. Καίρως ἦν τῆς τῶν προβάτων κουρᾶς, ἔδει δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν δι’ ἐκείνης τῆς κώμης διελθεῖν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία. Τοῦτο ἡ Θάμαρ ὥς ἦσθετο, ἀπεδύσατο τὰ πενθικά, ἐνεδύσατο τὰ νυμφικά, ἐπλάσατο ἡθη ἑταιρικά, μετήμειπεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὰ πορνικά, προσέθηκε κάλλη κομμωτικά καί, περί τι χαμαιτυπεῖον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λεωφόρου καθίσασα καὶ ὁδοιδοκοῦσα, ἔκαραδόκει τοῦ πενθεροῦ τὴν διέλευσιν. Ἦδη δὲ κλινούσης ἡμέρας, ἔτετο Ἰούδας καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ οἰκέτης ποιμὴν (Εἴρας ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκαλεῖτο). [9.] Ὡς οὖν ἡ Θάμαρ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς πλησιάσαντας, τοῦ δράματος ἄρχεται, τοσαῦτα πλαττομένη, ὅσα αἱ

⁵⁹⁵ *Hom.* 22, 8–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 144).

δι' ἀκολασίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀποξύσασαι τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ, νεύμασι καὶ καγχάσμασι καὶ λυγίσμασι τὸν κηδεστὴν εἰς πόθον ὑφάπτουσα· ἀνακαλύπτουσα μὲν ἐπ' ὀλίγον τὸ θέριστρον, ὅσον τὸ κάλλος ἐνδείξασθαι, εἶτα κρύπτουσα τὴν μορφήν· ὁμοῦ τε λανθάνουσα τίς εἴη, καὶ ὑποκνίζουσα τῶν ὁρώντων τὸν ἔρωτα. Ἀλίσκεται οὖν τῷ κάλλει ὁ βέλτιστος Ἰούδας καί, νομίσας χαμαιτυπεῖον εἶναι καὶ μίαν τῶν τὰς ἡδονὰς πωλουσῶν, χρῆται τῷ οἰκέτῃ προαγωγῷ, καὶ μηνύει ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦτον ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτῇ πέμψειν ἔριφον· ἡ δὲ ἀρπάζει τὸ ῥῆμα περιχαρῶς, ἀκκισαμένη μηδέν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νύξ αὐτοὺς ἐκοινώσατο, καὶ εἶσω δικτύων ἡ Θάμαρ εἶχε τὸ θήραμα, κολακείαις αὐτὸν **ὑποχαυνώσασα** καὶ αὖθις **τοῖς ἀκκισμοῖς ἀναφλέξασα**, ἐνέχυρα ζητεῖ τῆς τοῦ ἐρίφου ἀποστολῆς τὴν ῥάβδον καὶ τὸν ὁρμίσκον καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον. [10.] Ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἡμέροις αὐτῆς γεγωνῶς ὅλως ἐξίτηλος, ἀποζώννυται τὴν ζώνην εὐθύς, τὴν ῥάβδον γοργῶς, δίδωσι πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον. Καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ νυκτὸς ἔργα σιγήσομαι, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὡς τῶν ἀμφοτέρων αἱ κλήσεις μετήμειψαν τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ γέγονεν ἡ Θάμαρ δάμαρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς ἐραστής. Ὁρθροῦ δὲ γενομένου, ἀναθρόσκει τῆς εὐνῆς ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ κλέπτει σιγῇ τὴν φυγὴν, ἵνα τὸ πραχθὲν τῷ σκότει διαλάβῃ. Ἐγὼ οὖν ἡ Θάμαρ κυφορήσασα τὴν καταβολὴν· ἡμέρας δὲ σκιδναμένης, ὥχετο οἰκαδε, ὡς ἄθλα νίκης φέρουσα τὰ ἐνέχυρα.

Philagathos pictures the enacting of the drama (τοῦ δράματος ἄρχεται) by recalling literary contexts of love, desire and seduction. First, the preacher makes use of Alciphron's letters for depicting Thamar's lascivious performance, which erases all shame from the eyes of the beholders. Noteworthy, this image from Alciphron was also tailored for depicting Herodias' daughter's licentious dance.⁵⁹⁶ Then for outlining Thamar's arts of seduction Philagathos conjures up the episode of Thisbe seducing Knemon. Thisbe was Demainete's attractive slave-girl which she used to carry through an intrigue against Knemon.

Philagathos, *Hom.* 22, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, Alciphron, *Epistulae*, 1, 12, 1: 143):

Ὡς οὖν ἡ Θάμαρ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς πλησιάσαντας, τοῦ δράματος ἄρχεται, τοσαῦτα πλαττομένη, ὅσα αἱ δι' ἀκολασίας ὑπερβολὴν **ἀποξύσασαι τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ, νεύμασι καὶ καγχάσμασι καὶ λυγίσμασι** τὸν κηδεστὴν εἰς πόθον ὑφάπτουσα· ἀνακαλύπτουσα μὲν ἐπ' ὀλίγον τὸ θέριστρον, ὅσον τὸ κάλλος ἐνδείξασθαι, εἶτα κρύπτουσα τὴν μορφήν· ὁμοῦ τε λανθάνουσα τίς εἴη, καὶ ὑποκνίζουσα τῶν ὁρώντων τὸν ἔρωτα.

Μέμνηας, ὃ θυγάτριον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐξέστης. ἔλλεβόρου δεῖ σοι, καὶ οὐ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἀντικύρας, ἥτις, **δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξυσαι τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου.**⁵⁹⁷

Aethiopika, 1, 11, 3 (ed. Colonna, 74):

Θίσβη παιδισκάριον ἦν αὐτῇ ψάλλειν τε πρὸς κιθάραν ἐπιστάμενον καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον. Τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐμὲ καθήσιν ἐρᾶν μου δῆθεν προστάξασα, καὶ ἦρα παραχρῆμα ἡ

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. *Hom.* 35, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 242): Ἡ δέ, ὡς ἐν μέσῳ γένοιτο τῶν δαιτυμόνων, πρὸς τῷ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι κορικῶς **ἀποξύσασα τῶν προσώπων πᾶσαν αἰδῶ**, ὥσπερ κορυβαντιῶσα ἐβάκχευε (...).

⁵⁹⁷ “My dear, you are mad, and truly out of your wits. A dose of hellebore is what you need, and not the common kind either, but the kind that comes from Anticyra in Phocis—you who, instead of being shamefaced as a girl should be, have wiped all modesty from your countenance” (trans. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes in Alciphron, *Letters I, Letters to Fishermen*, Loeb 383, 64–65).

Θίσβη, καὶ ἡ πολλάκις πειρῶντά με
ἀπωσαμένη τότε παντοίως ἐφείλκετο
βλέμμασι νεύμασι συνθήμασιν.⁵⁹⁸

The preacher's reliance on the episode of Thisbe for representing Thamar's enticements is confirmed by the homily "On the Prodigal Son" where the same novelistic passage pictures the allurements of pleasure.

Hom. 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 384D–385A):

Against the chaste, the noble-minded, and the one prevailing over passions they carry a raging war, placing all around allurements, seasoning the poison with honey and pouring death in golden bowls. After they had captured the prey into the snare and have made even the soul enslaved to the habit of evil, then, only then, they render arduous the gratification procured from evils, for when men searingly strive for pleasures they are pierced by the madness of desire not unlike those dreadful enticements of courtesans, which only hunt after the young with gestures, with sinuous movements of the body, with guffaws and compliances till they ignite the fire of desire; and then changing themselves, they affect indifference exciting the lovers.

Τῷ μὲν γὰρ σωφρονοῦντι, καὶ λογισμῷ γενναίῳ τῶν παθῶν κατευμεγεθοῦντι,⁵⁹⁹ ῥαγδαῖον ἐπιφέρουσι πόλεμον, πανταχόθεν περιστῶντες τὰ θέλητρά, μέλιτι τὸ δηλητήριον παραρτύοντες, καὶ χρυσαῖς φιάλαις κινῶντες τὸν θάνατον. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἴσω παγίδος συσχῶσι τὸ θήραμα, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἔξει τοῦ κακοῦ δουλαγωγήσωσι, τότε δὴ τότε δυσχερῇ ποιοῦσι τῶν κακῶν, τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ὥς ἂν διακαῶς ἔχοιεν πρὸς αὐτάς, τῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οἴστρω νυττόμενοι· κατὰ τὰς δεινὰς τῶν ἐταιρίδων, αἱ μέχρι τότε τοὺς νέους ἀγρεύουσι **νεύμασι, καὶ λυγίσμασι καὶ καγχάσμασι, καὶ συνθήμασιν**,⁶⁰⁰ ἕως ἂν ἄψωσι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ πῦρ. Εἴτα μεταβάλλουσαι ἀκκίζονται, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὑποκνίζουσαι.

Beside the episode of Thisbe, we may think of other scenes from the novel for Philagathos' portrayal of Thamar's actions. Thus, the attitude of Isias from Chemnis towards her husband similarly described as affecting prudish indifference at the toils she put her beloved or Mitranes puffing up with conceit at the flatteries of Nausikles appear to have influenced the preacher's description.

⁵⁹⁸ "She had a slave girl by the name of Thisbe, a not unattractive creature who could sing to the harp. She set Thisbe on to me – yes, to fall in love with me! – which Thisbe, of course, immediately did! And although she had often rejected my advances, she now began to lead me on in every way she could, with looks, gestures and various other tokens" (trans. Morgan, 361).

⁵⁹⁹ The formulation «τῶν παθῶν κατευμεγεθοῦντι» is reminiscent of Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 405, 9–10: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον τὸ κατανδρίζεσθαι **παθῶν** καὶ **κατευμεγεθεῖν** ἡδονῆς ἐκτόπου καὶ μυσαρᾶς καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ἐπιθυμίας (...).

⁶⁰⁰ The word combination involving «**νεύμασι**» and «**συνθήμασιν**» is attested in the *TLG* corpus only in Philagathos and Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* which further brings to light the imprint of the novel upon the Italo-Greek collection of sermons.

Hom. 22, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 144):

Ἐπεὶ δὲ νύξ αὐτοὺς ἐκοινώσατο, καὶ εἴσω δικτύων ἢ Θάμαρ εἶχε τὸ θήραμα, κολακείαις αὐτὸν ὑποχαυνώσασα καὶ αὖθις τοῖς ἄκκιμοῖς ἀναφλέξασα, ἐνέχυρα ζητεῖ τῆς τοῦ ἐρίφου ἀποστολῆς τὴν ῥάβδον καὶ τὸν ὀρμίσκον καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον.

Aethiopika, 6, 4, 1 (ed. Colonna, 334):

δεινὴ δὲ ἐκείνη καὶ ἀπροφάσιτος αἰτίας ἐγκλήματά τε καὶ ἄκκιμοὺς ἀναπλάσαι κατ' ἐμοῦ.»⁶⁰¹

Aethiopika, 5, 8, 5 (ed. Colonna, 282):

Ὁ δὲ χαυνωθείς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις

Cf. *Hom.* 35, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 241):

Ὑποχαυνωθείς οὖν τοῖς λόγοις

Foremost, we note Philagathos' concurrent usage of multiple rhetorical models, specifically the *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus, Procopius of Gaza's *Monody for Antioch* and the *Epistles* of Alciphron. The precise application of these models for representing the story of Thamar bespeaks their internalization.

The stylistic refinement of the sermon is demonstrated by the use of *homoioteleuton* (i.e. κλοπεύς, σφαγεύς, σπορεύς, βασιλεύς; πενθικά, ἐταιρικά, πορνικά, κομμωτικά), asyndeton, rare words (e.g. –κάγχασμα is attested in the *TLG* corpus just three times) or word plays (i.e. ἡ Θάμαρ / δάμαρ, κηδεστής / ἐραστής).

3.3. The Story of Theodora and Denderis

In the sermon “On the Holy Icons” delivered for the Sunday of Orthodoxy,⁶⁰² Philagathos expounds the meaning of the feast by resorting to a rhetorical narration.⁶⁰³ What is captured in this sermon is the modelling of the historical sources for articulating a profound theological meaning. Philagathos introduces his exposition saying:

The discourse will be for us in narrative form making clear by an unadorned and simple story from which occasion the celebration of this feast took its beginning. Ἔσται δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν διηγηματικὸς σαφηνίζων ἐν ἀκατασκεύῳ καὶ ἀπλῶ διηγήματι ἐκ ποίας λαβῆς ἢ τῆς ἐορτῆς ταύτης συνέστη ἀρχή.

After exposing the events in a ‘simple narrative’ form, Philagathos decorates the exposition with a kind of aromatic (οἶον ἡδυσμα). He recounts the story about Theodora, the

⁶⁰¹ “She is but too skilfull to concoct against me complaints without fundament and yet affecting indifference towards me.”

⁶⁰² The sermon was edited by Gaia Zaccagni, “Filagato, *Hom.* XLI. Edizione e traduzione” in *La tradizione*, 150–161; it should be noted that Marcianus gr. II 45, f. 61v gives the title Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβονι τῇ Κυριακῇ τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας, which perhaps should be preferred to the title given in the *Matritenses* gr. 4554+4570, f. 27v since it may provide the indication of the place of preaching, as the expression ἐν τῷ ἄμβονι usually is associated with Rossano, which is Philagathos' habitual place of preaching; cf. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, *PG* 132, coll. 425–442.

⁶⁰³ Gaia Zaccagni, “Un giullare alla corte di Theodora: narrazione ad incastro nell'omelia filagatea per la Festa dell'Ortodossia (XXII Scorso=XLI Rossi Taibbi)” in *La tradizione*, 63–69; ead., “La πάρεργος αφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa,” *RSBN* 35 (1998), 47–65; Mircea Duluz, “Philagathos of Cerami and the Monastic Renewal in the Twelfth-Century Norman Kingdom: Preaching and Persuasion” in *La tradizione*, 53–62.

wife of the iconoclast emperor Theophilos (813–842) and Denderis, the entertaining fool at the imperial court, who witnessed the empress venerating the holy icons and disclosed the event to the emperor. The earliest surviving version of the story with minor variations is in Theophanes Continuatus' *Chronographia*. The episode was incorporated in the post-iconoclastic historiographies and besides Theophanes is extant in John Skylitzes, George Kedrenos, John Zonaras' historical accounts and Michael Glykas' *Chronicle*.⁶⁰⁴ Philagathos narrates the event with significant alterations. He writes:⁶⁰⁵

“This was Theodora, the truly celebrated [queen], which shared with the emperor according to the law of nature, but she did not partake of heresy, although she pretended this, because of the rudeness of the emperor; she hid the holy icons into a box and revered them secretly. And, at one time, it happened to take place the following incident: – let it be told like an aromatic: a certain mad man was reared at the court, ugly in his appearance and abhorrent, of the sort Homer rendered Thersites, which was rattling and stammering with [his] tongue uttering senseless words. The imperial courts reared such persons, above all as consolation for grief and relish for longings. This man was called Benderis, I think, if you would like to know even his name. He was accustomed to enter unhindered in the imperial chambers and one day he entered unnoticed and caught the empress Theodora holding holy icons in her hands and embracing them with reverence and warm affection. Then, having gazed earnestly at the divine images that greedy fellow asked the empress what were the objects she kissed which she held in her hands. She says to him naturally and just as childishly: “These are my beautiful children,” she says. The monster, then, immediately leaves the room and reports these things to the emperor, which at once surmised what was all about – actually he held before the suspicion that the saint honors the divine forms–, and being deeply shaken and full of anger, springs from the throne and comes towards her, and falling in with her, as she was leaving the room, he chastized her with many imprecations, calling her sacrilegious to the uttermost degree and a slave of images, he the one who was truly impious and lawless. But behold the wisdom of the saint and the her great readiness towards the answer: ‘Untimely and in vain you grow angry, o emperor; actually, I was gazing at the mirror, as usual, and I was binding with more decency the veil of my head. Well, this loathsome while gazing earnestly at the mirror believed that I behold figures of icons.’ In this way did the blessed deceive the suspicion of the emperor.”

Αὕτη δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρα ἡ τῷ ὄντι αἰοίδιμος, ἥτις ἐκοινώνει μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως, οὐ μὴν μετεῖχε καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως, ἀλλ’ ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀπήνειαν· ἐν κιβωτίῳ δὲ τινι θείας εἰκόνας ἐγκρύπτουσα, λάθρα

⁶⁰⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. Bekker ([...]), 629, 4–630, 10; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 5, 34–60; George Kedrenos' *Synopsis historiōn* 104, 22–106, 2 in *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Skylitzes*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vol. (CSHB, Bonn, 1838–1839); *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri xviii*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, vol.3 (CSHB, Bonn, 1897); *Michaelis Glycae annales*, ed. I. Bekker, (CSBH, Bonn, 1836); the story is also recorded by Ephrem in the XIVth century; see *Ephraem Aenii Historia chronica*, ed., Odysseus Lampsidis (CFHB 27, Athens, 1990), 2346–69.

⁶⁰⁵ *Hom.* 51, 5 (ed. Zaccagni, 152–153).

θεραπεύουσα κατησπάζετο. Καὶ ποτε συνέβη γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον – λεγέσθω γὰρ οἶον ἥδυσμα. Ἐτρέφετό τις τοῖς βασιλείοις παραπαίων ἀνὴρ αἰσχρὸς τὴν μορφήν καὶ εἰδεχθῆς οἶον τὸν Θερσίτην παρίστησιν Ὅμηρος, ἀκαιροβόας ὢν καὶ ὑποβατταρίζων τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ παρακεκομμένα φθεγγόμενος. Τρέφουσι δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους αἱ βασιλικαὶ αὐλαὶ ὡς τὰ μάλιστα λύπης παραψυχὴν καὶ πότοις ἥδυσμα. Βένδεριν, οἶμαι, τοῦτον ὠνόμαζον, εἶπερ ὑμῖν μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. Οὗτος εἰωθὼς ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θαλάμοις ἀφυλάκτως εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἵσεισι κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ἐν μιᾷ καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀνγοῦσταν Θεοδώραν ἱερὰς εἰκόνας κρατοῦσαν ἐν ταῖν χειροῖν καὶ μετ’ αἰδοῦς καὶ πόθου θερμοῦ⁶⁰⁶ κατασπαζομένην αὐτάς. Ἀτενίσας οὖν καὶ ὁ μολοβρὸς ἐκεῖνος τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτυπώμασιν, ἤρετο τὴν βασιλίδαν τί ἂν εἶεν ἃ ταῖς χερσὶ κρατοῦσα φιλοίῃ. Ἡ δὲ ἀπλοικῶς οὕτω καὶ οἷα παιδικῶς “Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ καλὰ μου παιδία,” φησίν. “Ἐξείσιν εὐθὺς τοῦ θαλάμου ὁ εἰδεχθῆς καὶ ἀπαγγέλει ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα ὑποτοπάσας ὅπερ ἦν – καὶ γὰρ προενίσχετο ὑπολήψει ὡς ἡ μακαρία σέβοιτο τὰς θείας μορφάς –, ἐμβριμησάμενος βαρὺ τι καὶ θυμικὸν ἀναθρόσκει τοῦ θρόνου καὶ εἵσεισι πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῦ θαλάμου ὑπεξιούσῃ ὕβρεσι πλύνει πολλαῖς, ἀσεβεστάτην ἀποκαλῶν καὶ εἰδόλων θεράπαιναν ὁ τῷ ὄντι ἀσεβῆς καὶ παράνομος. Ἀλλὰ μοι σκόπει τὸ συνετὸν τῆς μακαρίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐτοιμώτατον· φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν γοργῶς ἅμα καὶ συνετῶς: “Ἀκαίρως ὀργίζῃ καὶ μάτην, ὦ βασιλεῦ· τῷ γὰρ κατόπτρῳ συνήτως ἔτυχον ἀτενίζουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς κρήδεμνον δεσμοῦσα εὐσχημονέστερον· τῷ γοῦν ἐσόπτρῳ ἐνατεινίσας καὶ οὗτος ὁ βδελυρὸς εἰκόνων τύπους ᾤετο καθορᾶν.” Οὕτως ἡ μακαρία τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόνοιαν παρεκρούσατο.

The Byzantine historians rendered the episode in a uniform manner, highlighting Theophilos’ soothing his anger because Theodora disguised her veneration of icons through an ‘inferior’ and ‘unmanly’ gesture, her gazing herself in the mirror. Stratis Papaioannou investigating the representations of subjectivity in Byzantium noted “the remarkable reluctance of Byzantine writers to write about gazing at oneself in a mirror (...). The instances are truly rare (I have counted about ten—most of which are discussed below) and the usual attitude is to present such gazing in a negative light. It is seen as an act done by markedly inferior subjects, with whom Byzantine readers are not to identify.”⁶⁰⁷ The story of Theodora and Denderis is among the few anecdotes from the Byzantine literature that presented the self in the contexts of self-reflection and mirroring.

Philagathos’ text is closer to Skylitzes’ *Synopsis historiōn* and to Theophanes Continuatus’ *Chronographia*.⁶⁰⁸ Besides, the scene was also illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes, the illuminated manuscript of Skylitzes’ *Synopsis historiōn* (Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν) produced in the Norman Kingdom at Messina in the twelfth century. We render here Skylitzes’ account as a

⁶⁰⁶ *Hom.* 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, 52, 21–22 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, PG 132, coll. 361C): περιφῶσα τοῦ ἀχένος μετ’ αἰδοῦς καὶ πόθου θερμοῦ κατησπάζετο, χαριστήριους ἀφιεῖσα φωνάς.

⁶⁰⁷ Stratis Papaioannou, “Byzantine Mirrors: Self-Reflection in Medieval Greek Writing,” *DOP* 64 (2010), 85.

⁶⁰⁸ Apart of some minor lexical variations, Skylitzes and Theophanes Continuatus’ account are substantially similar in portraying the episode.

backdrop for observing Philagathos' remodelling of the story since this was in all likelihood the source for the sermon:⁶⁰⁹

ἐτρέφετο παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνδράριον παρακεκομμένον καὶ τῷ Ὀμηρικῷ Θερσίτῃ παρόμοιον, Δένδερης⁶¹⁰ ὄνομα τούτῳ, ἄσημά τε φθεγγόμενον καὶ γέλωτας κινοῦν καὶ θυμηδίας ἔνεκεν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνδαισιώμενον. τοῦτο γοῦν εἰσπηδῆσάν ποτε κατὰ τὸν τῆς αὐγοῦστης κοιτωνίσκον θείας εἰκόνας κατέλαβεν αὐτὴν περιπτυσσομένην. ταύτας ἰδὼν οὗτος ὁ παραπαίων τί τε εἰσὶν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ πλησιαίτερον ἐλθὼν κατεμάνθανεν. ἡ δὲ βασιλίς, 'τὰ καλά μου', ἔφησεν ἀγροικικῶς οὕτως, 'νινία, καὶ ἀγαπῶ ταῦτα πολλά.' εἰσιῖατο τῆνικαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαβάνα τὸν αἰσχρὸν τοῦτον νεανίσκον ἤρετο, ὅποι ποτὲ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν μάνναν ἔφησεν εἶναι, τὴν Θεοδώραν οὕτω καλῶν, καὶ θεάσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ καλὰ νινία τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ἐξαίρουσαν. συνῆκεν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πλήρης ὀργῆς γενόμενος ἐξανέστη τε τῆς τραπέζης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθύς ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς ὕβρεσι πλύνων καὶ εἰδώλων λάτριν ἀκολάστῳ γλώσσει ἀποκαλῶν. καὶ ἅμα διεξήκει τοὺς λόγους τοῦ μυσσαροῦ. ἡ δὲ τέως μὲν τὸν θυμὸν καταστορεννῶσα τοῦ βασιλέως· 'κακῶς ὑπείληφας,' ἔλεγεν, 'ὦ βασιλεῦ. οὐχ ὡς ὑπόπτεισας ἔχει καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια. τῷ δὲ κατόπτρῳ μου ἤμην ἐνατενίζουσα μετὰ τῶν θεραπεινίδων, καὶ τὰς τικτομένας ἰδὼν ὁ Δένδερης ἐκ τούτου μορφὰς ἐλθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ἀφρόνως τὰ μηνυθέντα'. καὶ τὸν μὲν βασιλέως θυμὸν τοῖσδε κατεπράυνε τοῖς λόγοις, τὸν Δένδερην δὲ παιδεία καθυπέβαλε πρεπούση, πείσασα μὴ ποτε λέγειν περὶ τῶν νινίων τινί. διὸ τῆς δεσποίνης κατεπαιρόμενός ποτε ὁ Θεόφιλος ἡρώτα τὸν Δένδερην, εἰ πάλιν ἄρα τὰ καλά νινία ἢ μάννα ἀσπάζεται. ὁ δὲ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπιθεὶς τὴν δεξιάν· 'σίγα, σίγα περὶ τῶν νινίων,' ἀντέφησε, 'βασιλεῦ'. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν συνεκύρησεν ὧδε.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ That Philagathos made recourse to Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiōn* is also indirectly confirmed by the sermon "For the Commemoration of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist;" the preacher's characterization of Herod as "possessed by desire and overcome by drunkenness"—*ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ μέθῃ κάτοχος ὢν*—is reminiscent of Skylitzes' description of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos as "being possessed by a desire to be emperor like a drunk man—τῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρωτι οἷά τι *μέθῃ κάτοχος ὢν*."

⁶¹⁰ In Philagathos' account, the name of the fool is Βένδερης; a confusion explicable by the closeness between δ and β in Byzantine pronunciation.

⁶¹¹ "There was a pitiful fellow leaving at the palace, the eunuch named Denderis, not unlike Homer's Thersites. He said such odd things that people laughed at him, he was maintained in the palace to entertain people. Now one day he bursts into the empress' boudoir and surprised her kissing the sacred icons. When the fool saw them he asked what they were, and he came nearer to find out. Speaking like a peasant, the empress said: 'These are my pretty dolls and I love them very much!' The emperor who was at the table when this deformed young man came to him, asked him where he had been. The eunuch replied that he had been with 'mama,' for that is what he called Theodora; also that he had seen her taking pretty dolls from under her pillow in her chamber. The emperor took the point: in great wrath he left the table and went to her immediately. He hurled verbal abuse at her calling her (with his unbridled tongue), among other things, idolatress, repeating as he did so what the deformed one has said. The empress meanwhile, placating the emperor's wrath, said: 'O, emperor, you have misunderstood; the truth is not as you perceive it. I was looking at myself in the mirror, attended by my handmaids. Denderis saw the faces reflected in it and, from that, he witlessly came and reported to you what you said!' With these words she assuaged the emperor's wrath. She condemned Denderis to a suitable punishment, convincing him never again to say anything to say anything about the dolls to anybody. So that once when Theophilus was infuriated with the Sovereign Lady, and asked Denderis whether 'mama' was still kissing her pretty dolls setting his hand to his lips, the fellow replied: 'Hush emperor, hush! Not a word about the dolls!' That is how the matter went" (trans. John Wortley in *John Skylitzes - A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 55-56).

The report underlines that Theodora's veneration of icons is tolerated because mirror gazing is a debasing gesture. As Papaioannou put it "for the purposes of the story, mirror gazing is an appropriate lie, expected of a woman."⁶¹² For the self-reflection subverts and empties of meaning the contact with the sacred as was framed by the iconodules and places the worship of images into the realm of inferior beings and frivolity.

Philagathos' account differs in a significant manner from Skylitzes and the historians' versions. Arguably, Philagathos elevates and dignifies the story. In historiography, the entire setting is trivial. The discourse is self-consciously in low style for the empress, as the historians recorded, was 'speaking like a peasant.' For Theodora responded to Denderis by using the vulgar word "ninia": 'these are my pretty-dolls and I love them very much.' Then the detail recorded by the historiographers that the emperor was having his meal when he burst full of anger against Theodora underlines the common and undignified setting. In the sermon, however, the setting of the event is patently different. When Denderis gives him the tidings, the emperor is sitting on the throne. Then, the queen's apology for her gazing in the sermon is placed on her seemliness. She was gazing alone at the mirror for binding with more decency (εὐσχημονέστερον) the veil of her head. The contrast with the historiographers' account is again manifest. They all state that Theodora is gazing at the mirror with her handmaids. Furthermore, what is "speaking like a peasant" in the historiographers becomes "talking naturally and just as playfully (childishly) in the sermon saying, "These are my beautiful children." (Ἡ δὲ ἀπλοικῶς οὕτω καὶ οἷα παιδικῶς "Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ καλὰ μου παιδιά," φησὶν). Here we reach the most intriguing aspect of Philagathos' account. For any referencies to the puppet-dolls from the historiographers' accounts are missing in the sermon. As Gaia Zaccagni noted, the preacher perhaps considered incongruous with the standing of a saintly empress to refer to puppet-dolls.⁶¹³

But by preferring children (παῖδια) instead of dolls (νινία), arguably, the story becomes permeated by theology. For under the statement that "these are my beautiful children" (Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ καλὰ μου παιδιά) may be read the iconodulic confession. The empress is gazing at the images of her children, which like an icon leads the mind to the living model.⁶¹⁴ Indeed, this may be the reason for Philagathos's interplay of "παιδικῶς" and "παῖδια" versus "ἀγροικικῶς" the word given by the historiographers.

In terms of rhetorical models, should not be left unmentioned the usage of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* in the final exhortations of the sermon. The maxim urging the faithful to confess their sin is taken from the novel:

Hom. 41 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 20, PG 132, coll. *Aethiopika*, 4, 5, 6–7 (ed. Colonna, 228): 441C):

"And so when by reason of being ashamed "For I am not suffering from the evil eye, one minimizes sin, he will nourish the snake but, as it seems to me, from another kind of

⁶¹² Papaioannou, "Byzantine Mirrors: Self-Reflection in Medieval Greek Writing," 87.

⁶¹³ Cf. Zaccagni, "Un giullare alla corte di Theodora," 67: "il significato di una simile risposta non appare chiaro e parlare di bambole (pupas) sembrerebbe fuori luogo: cosa avrebbe docuto farsene un'imperatrice adulta di bambole?"

⁶¹⁴ This idea is insightfully suggested by Zaccagni, "Un giullare alla corte di Theodora," 67.

and more vigorous he makes the serpent sitting upon the navel, as Job said [cf. Job 20:14-16]. Just as the stag with his natural might puts to death the snakes by dragging them out from the nooks of the earth, in the same manner the confession by uncovering the hidden passions of the heart hands them up to destruction. In fact, any passion, if quickly known is easily cured, whereas if concealed remains untreated; then, neglected by time becomes almost incurable. Therefore, why do you avoid the healing, as those when seized by delirium repudiate the physicians? Why are you afraid of confession, as those affected by madness fear water? Proceed hastily, do not be ashamed by the priest;”

Ὡστε ὅς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκφανλίζει αἰδουμένος, τρέψει τὸν ὄφιν, καὶ ἰταμώτερον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐπ’ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενον δράκοντα, ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰώβ. Καθάπερ δὲ ἡ ἔλαφος φυσικῇ δυνάμει τοὺς ὄφεις ἐκ τῶν μυχῶν τῆς γῆς ἀνέλκουσα θανατοῖ, οὕτως ἡ ἐξομολόγησις τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀνακαλύπτουσα πάθη, ἀφανισμῷ παραδίδωσι. **Πάθος γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ὀξέως γνωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον· τὸ δὲ εὐλαβούμενον, ἀθεράπευτον· τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ παραπεμπόμενον, ἐγγὺς ἀνίατον.** Τί οὖν φεύγεις τὴν ἰατρείαν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἰατροὺς οἱ ἐνισχημένοι φρενίτιδι; Τί φοβῇ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ δεδοίκασιν οἱ λυσσόδηκτοι; Πρόσελθε **θαρρόντως**· μὴ αἰσχυνθῇς τὸν ἱερέα·

illness.’ ‘Why do you conceal it then, my daughter, and not tell it openly, so that we could find some relief? Am I not for you perhaps a father, in age at least, and more in the affection that I have for you? Am I not a well-known acquaintance, and even an intimate friend of your father? Reveal me what torments you. You have in me a trustworthy friend and if you want, bounded by oath. Speak without fear, and do not increase your suffering by remaining silent: in fact, any passion, if quickly known is easily cured, whereas if neglected by time becomes almost incurable. For silence is the nourishment of illnesses, but when confessed is easily alleviated.’”

« (...) Νοσῶ γὰρ οὐ βασκανίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐτέραν τινά, ὡς ἔοικε, νόσον.» «Εἶτα ἀποκρύπτεις» ἔφην «ὦ τέκνον, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ θαρσοῦσα λέγεις, ὅπως ἂν καὶ βοηθείας εὐπορήσαιμεν; οὐχὶ πατήρ εἰμί σοι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ πλεον τὴν εὐνοίαν; οὐ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ γνώριμος καὶ ὁμόψυχος; ἐκφαίνει ὁ κάμνεις· ἔχεις ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ πιστόν, εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἐνώμοτον· λέγε **θαρσῆσασα** μηδὲ χορήγει τῷ λυποῦντι μέγεθος σιωπῶσα· **πάθος γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ μὲν ὀξέως γνωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον, τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ παραπεμπόμενον ἐγγὺς ἀνίατον.** τροφή γὰρ νόσων ἡ σιωπή, τὸ δὲ ἐκλαλούμενον εὐπαραμύθητον.»

Philagathos draws a meaningful parallel with the novel. Kalasiris begs Charikleia to confess her anguish that she may be cured. Besides being ‘an intimate friend of Charikleia’s father’ Kalasiris is a priest of Isis, the mystagogic figure of the novel. He is “the teacher who draws the soul toward the moral beauty (ὁ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ σύρων) and leads her (i.e. Charikleia) towards the sublime things of mystical knowledge,” as Philagathos writes in the *Interpretation*. Thus, the entreaties of the priest Kalasiris befitted the exhortations of the Christian priest in the sermon urging the confession of sin to cure the souls. Besides this novelistic adaptation, John Klimakos’

Ladder of Divine Ascent seems to inspire the image of confession as the stag dragging out the snakes from the heart of the earth.⁶¹⁵

To summarize, Philagathos' rendition of the story about Theodora and Denderis channels a negative account of self reflection into conveying iconic theology. From a narrative which associated mirror gazing with an inferior condition fit for servants and self deception, the account of mirror gazing came to express the iconic doctrine that 'the honour paid to the icon refers to the living model (the archetype).' Philagathos found wanting the historical account at glorifying Theodora's orthodoxy and 'upgraded it.' The *ekphrasis* of Denderis illustrates this refinement. The onomatopoeic "ὑποβατταρίζω" (i.e. "to babble," "talk foolishly") is a Philagathean happax⁶¹⁶ and the adjective ἀκαιροβόας (i.e. "untimely shouting") equally applied to Denderis is a word attested just 3 times in the TLG corpus. Noteworthy, in the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria "ἀκαιροβόας" brands Thersites, the Homeric model invoked for Denderis in Philagathos and in the historiographers.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ St. John the Ladder in *Scala paradisi* (PG 88, step 25, coll. 992) speaks of a spiritual stag that destroys the impure passions of vainglory and pride adding that humility causes a deadly bane of hypocrisy and calumny 'dragging out this snake from the heart's earth to be killed and done away with.'

⁶¹⁶ The verb "ὑποβατταρίζω" a derivation from "βατταρίζω" is relatively rare but is attested in lexica and sources which Philagathos used in the *Homilies*; the latter surfaces in the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra (Vita et Miracula, 75, 65, ed. D.F. Sullivan, The life of Saint Nikon, Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College Press, 1987)*, in Lucian's *Juppiter Tragoedus* (27, 9 ed. Bompaigne), in Nilus of Ancyra's letters (PG 79, Book 3, epistle 229, 7).

⁶¹⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2, 7, 59, 2–3 (ed. M. Harl, H.-I. Marrou, C. Matray, and C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965).

4. *Synkrisis* and *Antithesis* in the *Homilies*

Synkrisis (comparison) and *antithesis* (contrast) are prominent stylistic devices in biblical and Christian literature. We may remember here, that these techniques constitute the cardinal didactic device for the Lord's parables. Their importance has been underscored for the letters of Saint Paul which bespeak a refined rhetorical and intellectual artistry.⁶¹⁸

In rhetorical writing *synkrisis* is defined as a "speech setting the better or worse side by side bringing the greater together with what is compared to it."⁶¹⁹ Nicholaus the Sophist adds another definition "synkrisis is parallel scrutiny of goods or evils or persons or things, by which we try to show that the subjects under discussion are both equal to each other or that one is greater than the other."⁶²⁰ *Antithesis* was a fundamental stylistic device in Byzantine religious writing as it was an established rhetorical tool for expressing the oppositions in Christian thought. A renowned example is Gregory of Nazianzus' *Third Theological Oration*. There, Gregory explained Christ's dual nature through an effusion of *antitheses* making plain the embeddedness of this figure of speech to the Christian message: "He was wrapped in swaddling bands, but at the Resurrection he unloosed the swaddling bands of the grave. He was laid in a manger, but was extolled by angels, disclosed by a star and adored by Magi...He hungered—yet he fed thousands...He thirsted—yet he exclaimed: 'Whosoever thirsts, let him come to me and drink.'...He weeps, yet he puts an end to weeping...He is weakened, wounded—yet he cures every disease and every weakness. He is brought up to the tree and nailed to it—yet by the tree of life he restores us."⁶²¹

These rhetorical techniques outlined a *sui generis* 'Byzantine habit of thinking in pairs' as Henry Maguire felicitously put it. *Synkrisis* and *antithesis* carried important consequences for the forms of artistic expression. Maguire indicated that the inclination of 'thinking in pairs' expressed in homiletic literature constitutes the hermeneutical dimension and the model for the juxtaposition of feasts and Gospel stories in Byzantine paintings and mosaics.⁶²² In his words: "[t]he most fundamental bond between Byzantine art and rhetoric was in the practice of *synkrisis* and *antithesis*. Through these two techniques, Byzantine artists maintained the continuity of their traditional narratives and portrait types, while at the same time they captured transitory events and emotions and made them timeless by locking them into a static balance of different time periods, past, present, and future."⁶²³

Philagathos made abundant use of *antithesis* and *synkrisis* in his *Homilies*. As in much Byzantine writing the preacher resorted to antithetical thought for depicting Mary's role in the history of salvation, the paradoxical aspects of Christ's Resurrection or the various miracle stories from the Scripture. There are sermons entirely structured around *synkrisis*, as the homily

⁶¹⁸ Christopher Forbes, "Comparison, Self-Praise, and Irony: Paul's Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric," *New Testament Studies* 32 (1986): 1–30.

⁶¹⁹ Aphthonios, *The Preliminary Exercises, On Synkrisis*, ed. Rabe, 31 (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 113).

⁶²⁰ Nicholaos the Sophist, *On Synkrisis* (trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 162).

⁶²¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration 29: On the Son*, 19–20 (trans. L. Wickham and F. Williams in *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning: The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*, Leiden: Brill, 1991, 258–59).

⁶²² Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, 53–83.

⁶²³ Id., "Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the Portrayal of the New Testament," 225.

“For the third Sunday of Lent” which encloses an original and extensive comparison between Peter and Moses mostly based on Maximus Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of perpetual progress.⁶²⁴ In what follows, we will mostly highlight the usage of ‘profane’ rhetorical models – chiefly the ancient novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius – and of Christian sources for the practice of *antithesis* in the sermons.

4.1. Virginal Womb and Sealed Tomb

In the homily on the Ninth *Eothinon*, for scrutinizing the mystery of Resurrection Philagathos gives way to the habit of ‘thinking in pairs’. The homilist places side by side Christ’s virginal birth, his Resurrection from the sealed tomb and apparition through the closed doors. This is an original juxtaposition nowhere else formulated with such precision in Byzantine homiletic writing.⁶²⁵

He comes therefore and enters by divine might when the doors were shut [John 20:19] setting up this sign, that his nature should no longer be considered according to the flesh, for it has partaken in a more perfect manner in the incorruptibility of the divine glory. He also indicates that in this manner He has leapt from the virginal womb and has come out of the sealed stone of the tomb. For neither has he ravaged the virginal keys when he was born, nor the seals of the tomb [Mt. 27:66] when he rose from the dead, nor has He opened the doors when He was seen [appeared to the] by the Apostles. “Then the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord.” [Jn. 20: 20]

Hom. 78 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 35, *PG* 132, coll. 681C– 684A):

Ἐρχεται οὖν, καὶ εἰσεῖσιν ἀλκῇ θεϊκῇ **κεκλεισμένων** τῶν θυρῶν, σημεῖον τοῦτο τιθεῖς, μηκέτι τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν κατὰ σάρκα νοεῖν, τῶν θεϊκῶν αὐχημάτων τελεώτερον μετασχοῦσαν τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ. Δείκνυσι δ’ ὅτι καὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ τῆς **παρθενικῆς νηδύος** ἐξέθορε, καὶ τοῦ ἐνσεσημασμένου λίθου τοῦ μνήματος ἐξελήλυθεν. Οὔτε γὰρ **τὰς παρθενικὰς** κλεῖς ἐλυμήνατο γεννηθεῖς, οὔτε **τὰς σφραγίδας** τοῦ τάφου ἐξαναστὰς, οὔτε τὰς θύρας ἀνέωξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὀφθεῖς. «Ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Κύριον.»

These juxtapositions enables us to observe Philagathos’ compositional technique and the extent of his originality. For, we may establish a textual connection between these *antitheses* and

⁶²⁴ *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, *PG* 132, coll. 457–469); for the sources and theological concepts underlying the comparison between Moses and Peter, see below, pp. 382–384.

⁶²⁵ Cf. Nektarios Zarras, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος των Εωθινών Ευαγγελίων στην Παλαιολόγια μνημειακή ζωγραφική των Βαλκανίων* [The Iconographic Cycle of the Eothina Gospel Lections in Palaiologan Monumental Painting] (Centre for Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki: 2011), 190–199; Zarras underlined the importance of Philagathos’ exposition for understanding the theological basis for the iconographic type of Christ’s apparition through the closed doors in various pictorial representations dating from Milutin’s reign (1282–1321); see also id., “The Iconographical Cycle of the *Eothina* Gospel Pericopes in Churches from the Reign of King Milutin,” *Zograf* 31 (2006): 95–113.

Michael Psellos' oration "On Crucifixion,"⁶²⁶ in which Psellos put forward set of *antitheses* between the virgin birth of Jesus and humanity's painful mode of generation. Psellos writes:

And behold the wonderful antithesis between the events regarding Christ and our sufferings (πάθη). Since from bodily pleasure had commenced the sufferings of giving birth (τὰ τῆς συλλήψεως) with our ancestors and because their coupling had some innate predisposing (προηγουμένην/guiding) principle, God abolished the suffering (πάθος), by having been conceived beyond nature without conception (ἄνευ συλλήψεως) in the virginal womb and so he abrogated the pain which accompanied pleasure, by having been born, on the one hand, from a mother which brought him forth [ᾠδινησάσης] [cf. Mich. 5:2–3], on the other hand by having delivered the one who bore him [τεκοῦσαν] from the pangs of childbirth; and then truly the more miraculous thing, he had made a seal of virginity precisely in that she had given birth. *Who has believed this report?* [Is. 53:1] *Who has seen such a sight?* And to whom of all has the divine mystery been revealed so clearly? [cf. Is. 53:1]⁶²⁷ Or else, although the miracle was foretold by many, yet [this was done] only obscurely as it were possible by means of symbols; for the sealed book [cf. Jer. 39:11], the closed door [cf. Ezech. 44:1–2], the new book [cf. Is. 8:1] and what goes with them, were announcing the virginal womb and the childbirth thereafter [cf. Is. 7:14].

Καὶ ὅρα τὴν θαυμασίαν τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη ἀντίθεσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκ σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς τοῖς προπάτορσιν ἐγεγόνει τὰ τῆς συλλήψεως καὶ ὁ τούτων συνδυασμὸς φυσικὴν τινα εἶχε προηγουμένην ἀρχήν, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ πάθος θεός, καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἄνευ συλλήψεως ἐν **παρθενικῇ νηδύϊ** τεχθεῖς, εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην τῇ ἡδονῇ ὁδύνην ἀνεῖλε, γεννηθεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ᾠδινησάσης τοῦτον μητρός, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ᾠδῖσι πόνων τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἐλευθερώσας, καί, τό γε παραδοξότερον, αὐτὸν τὸν τόκον **σφραγίδα παρθενίας** τῇ γεννησαμένη πεποιηκώς. τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ταῦτα; τίς εἶδε τοιοῦτον θέαμα; τίνοι δὲ τῶν πάντων καθαρῶς οὕτως ἀπεκαλύφθη τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον; ἢ πολλοῖς μὲν προέγνωστο τὸ θαῦμα, ἀμυδρῶς δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐν συμβόλοις· τὸ γὰρ ἐσφραγισμένον βιβλίον καὶ ἡ **κεκλεισμένη πύλη** καὶ ὁ καινὸς τόμος καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα **τὴν παρθενικὴν νηδὺν** καὶ μετὰ τὸν τόκον ἐκήρυττον.

It seems that Philagathos identified in Psellos' oration lexical hooks consistent with the episode of Christ's apparition through the closed doors [Jn. 20:19–23]. For the expression of Psellos "the seal of virginity" (**σφραγίδα παρθενίας**) or the reference to Ezekiel's prophecy about "the closed door" (ἡ **κεκλεισμένη πύλη**)⁶²⁸ invited associations with the Resurrection narrative under scrutiny (cf. Jn. 20:19: **κεκλεισμένων** τῶν θυρῶν and the reference to the seal of the tomb – τὸν τάφον **σφραγίσαντες** – in Mt. 27:66). Thereafter, Philagathos developed an original juxtaposition between Christ's apparition through the closed doors, his coming out of the

⁶²⁶ Michael Psellos, *Orationes hagiographicae*, Oration 3, *In crucifixionem*, (ed. E.A. Fisher, 576–599).

⁶²⁷ Isaiah 53: 1: κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνοι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

⁶²⁸ Ezekiel 44: 2: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ εἰσελεύσεται δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἔσται κεκλεισμένη.

tomb without breaking the seals (τὰς σφραγίδας τοῦ τάφου) and his leaping from the virginal womb (τῆς παρθενικῆς νηδύος ἐξέθορε) without breaking Mary's virginity.

By a similar juxtaposition between virginal birth and Christ's walking through the closed doors homilist explains the meaning of the "house of Sion." Philagathos writes that Christ came and stood among the disciples through the closed doors signifying the world in which Christ came through the virgin doors of his unstained mother: "For the house of Sion in which the apostles concealed themselves alluded to this world to which Christ came passing gently through the closed virginal doors of the undefiled maiden."⁶²⁹

4.2. The Virgin and the Mystic Fire of Aphrodite

The feasts dedicated to the Virgin represented a favourite theme for *antithesis* in homiletic literature which overrun the boundaries of literary expression. Henry Maguire showed that the relation between the feast of Nativity and Dormition was first expressed in homiletic literature and then was emulated in Byzantine paintings and mosaics. Mary's role at the birth of Christ and Christ's office at the death of the Virgin was a favourite theme for *antithesis*. Leo VI gives clear evidence for this 'thinking in pairs' in relation to Theotokos: "because you held God when he was clothed with flesh, you are held in the hands of God when you are divested of flesh."⁶³⁰ It is meaningful to recollect here the mid-twelfth century mosaics of the Martorana, in Palermo which magnificently depict the *antithesis* between Nativity feast and the Dormition in Byzantine art. Maguire characterized this juxtaposition as the most graceful rendition of this *antithesis* in Byzantine art.⁶³¹

Philagathos also appealed to *antithesis* for referring to the feast of the Dormition (*Hom.* 86). The homilist contrasted the generation of the Virgin according to nature and her assumption into heaven beyond nature as she laid her holy soul into the hands of the Son and God.⁶³² In the homily for the Feast of the Annunciation, the homilist juxtaposes the image of the unconsumed burning bush and the human nature encapsulated by Mary. The Virgin as Theotokos (Birthgiver of God) carries the fire of divinity yet suffers no harm. The parallel between God's incarnation and the bush being burnt without being consumed is traditional in Byzantine literature. But apart from the common theme, Philagathos' formulation is indebted to Achilles Tatius' novel. The preacher writes in the opening of the sermon:⁶³³

Today the Church is mystically lightened and set on fire holding the first celebration of all feasts. Today the wall of separation begins to be loosed and

⁶²⁹ *Hom.* 78 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 35, PG 132, coll. 689B: ἡ δὲ τῆς Σιών οἰκία ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐπηλυγάζαντες ἑαυτοὺς, τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἠνίττετο εἰς παραγένονεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡσυχῇ κεκλεισμένας διελθὼν τὰς παρθενικὰς πύλας τῆς ἀμολύντου νεάνιδος.

⁶³⁰ Leo VI, *Hom.* 12, 122–123 (ed. Antonopoulou, 171): Ἐβάστασας Θεὸν σάρκα ἡμφιεσμένον· βαστάζει Θεοῦ παλάμαις, ἀπαμφιασμένη τὴν σάρκα.

⁶³¹ Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, 66.

⁶³² *Hom.* 86, 6–10 (ed. Bianchi, 309): παραδόξω αὐτῆς μεταστάσης ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀποθεμένης μὲν τὴν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἁγίαν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ. τιμηθείσης δὲ μεταστάσει θεοπρεπεῖ· ὁμοῦ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τέθνηκεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐγείγεται. From this homily only a fragment has been preserved.

⁶³³ *Hom.* 25, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 162).

mystically with the earth the heavens are united [cf. Eph. 2: 14]. Today the Archangel's greeting changed into joy the woeful castigation of our first mother and the old sullenness has been removed. Today the Virgin Mary succeeds to the Seraphimic thrones ineffably bearing the one who has been borne on them. Today the mystery of the burning bush is revealed fulfilled, because the fire of divinity mingles with the nature as firewood consumed [Ex. 3: 2].⁶³⁴ For this feast, being the crown of all other feasts embraces many mysteries.

Σήμερον ἡ Ἐκκλησία **δαδουχεῖται μυστικῶς καὶ πυρσεύεται**, τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἑορτῶν πανήγυριν ἄγουσα. Σήμερον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει τῆς ἔχθρας τὸ μεσότοιχον λύεσθαι, καὶ τῇ γῇ **μυστικῶς** συνάπτεται τὰ οὐράνια. Σήμερον τὴν τῆς προμήτορος λυπηρὰν ἐπιτίμησιν ἀρχαγγελικὸς ἀσπασμὸς μετήμειψεν εἰς χαράν, καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ σκυθρωπότης ἠφάνισται. Σήμερον τοὺς Σεραφικοὺς θρόνους ἡ παρθένος Μαριὰμ διαδέχεται, ἀρρήτως βαστάζουσα τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐποχούμενον. Σήμερον τὸ τῆς βάτου μυστήριον πληρούμενον δείκνυται, τῇ φρυγανῶδει φύσει προσπλακέντος τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς θεότητος. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἑορτή, κορωνὶς οὖσα πασῶν ἑορτῶν, πολλὰ περιέχει **μυστήρια**.

Philagathos' formulation draws on the episode of Melite. Striving to seduce Clitophon, Melite describes herself being aflame with the mystic fire of Aphrodite. This strange fire furiously burns her entrails but having the fuel in itself, it spares the object of its flames:

Believe me, Clitophon, I am all afire—would that I could shew it to you—would that the fire of love had a like nature with that of the common element, in order that I might set you aflame by my embrace; but, as it is, this fire of mine, unlike other kinds, has its fuel in itself, and in lovers' embraces it seems to burn up furiously but to spare the object of those embraces. O strange and mystic fire, fire that glows in secret and will not transgress the limits of the victim on whom it preys! Let us then, my dearest, become initiates in the sacred rites of Aphrodite" (trans. Gaselee, *Loeb*, 267–69).

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 15, 6:

πίστευσόν μοι, Κλειτοφῶν, καίομαι· ὄφελον ἡδυνάμην δεῖξαι τὸ πῦρ· ὄφελον εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τῷ κοινῷ τοῦ ἔρωτος πυρί, ἵνα σοι περιχυθεῖσα κατέφλεξα· νῦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτο μόνον τὸ πῦρ ἰδίαν ὕλην ἔχει καὶ ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς συμπλοκαῖς ἀνακαιόμενον λάβρον τῶν συμπλεκομένων φεῖδεται. ὦ **πυρὸς μυστικοῦ, πυρὸς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δαδουχομένου, πυρὸς** τοὺς ὄρους αὐτοῦ φυγεῖν μὴ θέλοντος. Μυηθῶμεν οὖν, ὦ φίλτατε, τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης **μυστήρια**."

This impressive convergence of the novel with the Scripture underlines Philagathos' adaptation of Achilles Tatius' passage. In fact, the very notion of "the strange and mystic fire" which for the homilist invited associations with the burning bush goes back to the interplay between the novel and the Scripture. Glen Bowersock noted that there are several stories from

⁶³⁴ Philagathos sets a contrast between the unconsumed burning bush and the perishable human nature which is termed "φρυγανώδης" (i.e. of or belonging to the class of undershrubs), a term related to "φρύγανον" (i.e. dry stick; mostly in pl., firewood).

the Gospels echoed in the novels. We may here recollect that the turning of water into wine in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (2, 2, 4–6) ascribed to a miracle of Dionysos upon first entering the city of Tyre is reminiscent of the episode of Christ instituting the Eucharist in the Gospels. Bowersock remarked that the phrasing and the language is far too close for the parallelism to be accidental.⁶³⁵ Dionysos’ proclamation: “this is the water of early autumn, this is the blood of the grape (τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁπώρας ὕδωρ, τοῦτό ἐστιν αἷμα βότρυος)” unambiguously alludes to the language of the Gospels (cf. Mt. 26: 26–28: Take, eat; this is my body...Drink ye all of it; For this is my blood of the new testament – τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου ... τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου...). Once more, Philagathos’ usage of the novel points to a technique of reading which sieved the novels for common themes with the Scripture, besides merely plucking ‘raw-material’ from the novel.

4.3. Transfiguration and Passion

Theological thought and antithetical style are inherently fused together in the *Homilies*. This can best be appraised by the refined set of antitheses which Philagathos drew between the Transfiguration and the Passion.

“Well, why has the miraculous Transfiguration happened? Because the moment of the Passion was coming near, and the snare of the Jews was set up, and the Dispensation on our behalf was about to receive its conclusion, and the cross was already set up, that the disciples may not be affected at the things done by the Jews, as their mind was shaken at the time of the passion, [since] the one which earlier they acknowledged through the words of Peter as the Son of God, yet when beholding him later impaled on the cross like a blameworthy one they could consider [him] a mere man, he fortifies them with the miraculous sight, so that, when they would see him given up and in agony and rejecting the cup of death [Mt. 26: 39] and dragged in the high priest’s courtyard [Mt. 26: 57-58], they would recall the ascent on [Mount] Thabor and that not unwillingly was He handed over to death, He who has put on the glory of divinity and testified as the Lord’s beloved Son [Mt. 17: 5]. If the disciples saw [Christ’s] face beaten and spat upon, they should no longer be caused to stumble when they remembered that this was the face that shone brighter than the sun; if they saw him cloaked in purple out of mockery, they would believe that this was who on the mountain had put on light as a mantle; if they say him fastened to the cross between two malefactors, they would understand that this was the one who had appeared between Moses and Elias, like a Lord flanked by his guard; if they saw him covered by the earth as a corpse, they would reflect on this being overshadowed by the cloud of light.”⁶³⁶

⁶³⁵ Bowersock, *Fiction as History*, 125–130.

⁶³⁶ *Hom.* 31, 6–7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 208): Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν ἡ παράδοξος γέγονε Μεταμόρφωσις; Ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ πάθους καιρὸς ἐγγιτνιάζε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐβεβαιούτο ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομία ἐμελλε πέρας εἰσδέξασθαι, καὶ ὁ σταυρὸς ἤδη ἐπήγγυτο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάθοιεν, ἐν τῷ τοῦ πάθους καιρῷ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑποκραδαινόμενοι, καὶ ὃν πρότερον διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πέτρου γλώττης Υἱὸν Θεοῦ ὡμολόγησαν, ὕστερον ὁρῶντες ἀνασκολοπιζόμενον ὡς κατάκριτον, ψιλὸν νομίσωσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπιστηρίζει τοὺτους τῷ παραδόξῳ

Like Cyril of Alexandria or Anastasius of Sinai the homilist considers the event of Christ's Transfiguration as a cure to the scandal of the cross which Christ administered to his disciples.⁶³⁷ However, the splendid rhetorical and intellectual skill sets apart Philagathos' exposition as one of the most expressive juxtapositions of Transfiguration and Passion within Byzantine homiletic literature.

4.4. On the Road of Emmaus and the Great Recognition Scene in the *Aethiopika*

Another example for Philagathos' usage of *antithesis* is the sermon for the Fifth *Eothinon*. Philagathos deploys an elegant succession of contrasting statements for describing the mixed feelings, which seized the apostles as they walked towards Emmaus. This is one of the passages from Philagathos' *Homilies*, which prompted Henry Maguire, to note the opposite approaches to the dramatization of the Gospel story in the Greek rhetorical tradition versus the Latin liturgical plays.⁶³⁸ The emphasis on the emotional shifts experienced by the two disciples conveyed in the sermon is "at far greater depth than the Latin plays."⁶³⁹ Philagathos starts by describing the encounter of Jesus with the disciples who "explained to them what was said in all the Scriptures concerning himself [Luke 24: 27]."⁶⁴⁰

Thus after he cleansed the mist from their spiritual eyes, and removed the foolishness which occupied their minds, when the day was already fading and having drawn near to the village, he pretended to continue [the journey] further. But those alongside Cleopas having their souls heated by the fire of his teaching and holding fast their mind as it were [enchanted] by a holy siren, were unable to endure the separation and compelled him to abide with them, bringing before [as a pretense] the shortness of time. "Abide with us, for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent" [Lc. 24: 29]. He wittingly accepted, intending to lead them up to a purer knowledge. In that place the table is set before and the unleavened bread; for it was the third day after the leaven was lifted on the Feast of the Passover. Then, as he knew, he revealed himself in the breaking of bread, and having been seen anew he concealed [himself] and a new emotion seized the disciples, divided between joy and tears. Whom they thought, they had, and whom they had they did not recognize, and whom they found they lost. For having seen him, they rejoiced,

θεάματι, ἴν', ὅταν ἴδοιεν αὐτὸν προδιδόμενον καὶ ἀγωνιῶντα καὶ ἀπευχόμενον τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως περιελκόμενον, ἀναλογισθῶσι τὴν ἐς τὸ Θαβώριον ἄνοδον, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄκων παρεδόθη πρὸς θάνατον ὁ τὴν δόξαν ἀμπεχόμενος τῆς θεότητος καὶ Υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἀγαπητὸς μαρτυρούμενος. Ἄν τὸ πρόσωπον θεάσαιντο ῥαπιζόμενον καὶ πτυόμενον, μηκέτι σκανδαλισθῶσιν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ἔλλαμψιν τοῦτου ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπεμπάζοντες· ἂν πορφύραν χλευαστικῶς περιχλαινιζόμενον, αὐτὸν εἶναι πιστεύσωσι τὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει περιβαλόντα τὸ φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον· ἂν ἐν μέσῳ δύο κακούργων τῷ ἱκρίῳ πηγνύμενον, αὐτὸν κατανοήσωσι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ Μωσέως καὶ Ἡλιοῦ ὡς Δεσπότην δορυφορούμενον· ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὡς νεκρὸν καλυπτόμενον, τῆς φωτεινῆς νεφέλης ἐνθυμηθῶσι τὴν ἐπισκίασιν.

⁶³⁷ Cf. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 115–117.

⁶³⁸ Maguire, "Latin Drama and the Greek Literary Imagination," 229–30.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 229.

⁶⁴⁰ *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 656 B).

for having been bereft of him they wailed, they grieved for not having known him, they repented for what they had carelessly said. In all likelihood they blamed their own sluggishness, because the grace of his teaching had not led them to the knowledge [of him]. “Did not our heart burn within us while He talked with us on the road, and while He opened the Scriptures to us?” [Lc. 24: 32]. But what does this mean? A certain ineffable and ardent power always followed with the words of the Saviour, kindling the listeners’ mind and enclosing a certain love-inspiring spark of persuasion. Thence at that time when he unveiled the Scriptures to them, they were intimately burning, having been enraptured by the heavenly charms.

Οὕτω τὴν ἀγλὺν ἀποκαθάρας τῶν νοητῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν σφίσιν ἡλιθιότητα ἐξάρας τῶν λογισμῶν, ἥδη κλινούσης ἡμέρας, τῇ κόμῃ πεπλησιακῶς, προσεποίει τὸ πορρώτέρω πορεύεσθαι. Ἄλλ’ οἱ περὶ Κλεόπαν διαθερμανθέντες τὰς ψυχὰς τῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας πυρὶ, καὶ καθάπερ ἱερᾷ σειρῇ ἐνισχημένοι τὸν νοῦν, τὴν διάστασιν ἐδυσχέρανον, καὶ παρεβιάζοντο αὐτὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς καταλῦσαι, τὸ στενὸν τοῦ καιροῦ προβαλλόμενοι. «Μεῖνον μεθ’ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλικεν ἡδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα.» Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἥτταν ἐκὼν ἀπεδέχετο, μέλλων ἐμβιβάζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀκραφνεστέραν ἐπίγνωσιν. Ἐκεῖ τράπεζα παρατίθεται, καὶ ἄρτος ἄζυμος· τρίτη γὰρ ἦν τῆς ἐν τῷ Πάσχα τῆς ζύμης ἄρσεως. Καὶ τότε, ὡς ἔγνω ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου φανεροῖ ἑαυτὸν, καὶ φανεῖς αὐθις ἀπεκρύπτετο, καὶ πάθος τοὺς μαθητὰς κατειλήφει καινὸν, χαρᾷ καὶ δάκρυσι μεριζόμενον. **Ὅν γὰρ ἐζήτουν, εἶχον, καὶ ὃν εἶχον ἠγνόουν, καὶ ὃν εὔρον ἀπώλεσαν**· ἔχαιρον ἰδόντες, ἔκλαιον στερηθέντες, ἠνιώντο μὴ γνωρίσαντες, μεταμελοῦντο ἐφ’ οἷς προπετῶς διελέγοντο. Τὴν σφῶν νοθεῖαν ὡς εἰκὸς κατεμέμφοντο, ὅτι μὴδὲ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἡ χάρις πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγάγετο. «Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς;» Τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; Εἶπετο τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγοις ἀεὶ ἄρρητός τις ἰσχύς καὶ διάπυρος, διαθερμαίνουσα τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐνιῆσα ἐρωτικὸν τινα σπινθῆρα πειθοῦς. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τότε ἀνακαλύπτοντος αὐτοῖς τὰς Γραφάς, συνήθως διεθερμαίνοντο, κηλούμενοι ταῖς αὐτοῦ θεαίαις ὕψι.

Perhaps the most arresting aspect in Philagathos’ artful description are the antithetical assertions: “Whom they thought, they had, and whom they had they did not recognize, and whom they found they lost.” What has escaped previous commentators is that the template for these formulations is the final sequence of Heliodorus’ novel, which features Charikleia, and Theagenes about to be offered as a human sacrifice. At that moment, Sisimithres and Persinna reveal the truth of Charikleia’s royal descent which brings a complete reversal of fortunes. The entire populace rejoiced “young and old, rich and poor” and the human sacrifice is abolished forever and turned into a sacrifice free of all stain. Through this scene of extreme emotional intensity, Philagathos conveyed the joy of the Lord’s Resurrection and rendered the abrupt change of emotions, which the disciples experienced. The antithetical statements, which explain the paradoxes of Charikleia’s adventures although not literally cited by the homilist, are to my mind the spark and inspiration for the antitheses displayed in the sermon:

By these events [the divine intervention] brought into the most perfect harmony the greatest opposites, joy and sorrow blended together; tears mingled with laughter; the most hideous horror transformed into celebration, those who wept at once laughed; those who grieved at once rejoiced; **they found those whom they have not sought and lost those whom they thought to have found**; and finally the expected human slaughter was transformed into a sacrifice free of all stain (trans. Morgan mod., 586).

Aethiopika 10, 38, 4 (ed. Colonna, 594):

Ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρὸς συμφωνίαν ἡρμόζετο, χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης συμπεπλεγμένων, γέλῳτι **δακρύων κεραννυμένων**, τῶν συγγνωτάτων εἰς ἐορτὴν μεταβαλλομένων, γελώντων ἅμα τῶν κλαιόντων καὶ χαιρόντων τῶν θρηνοῦντων, **εὕρισκόντων οὓς μὴ ἐζήτουν καὶ ἀπολλύντων οὓς εὕρηκέναι ἐδόκουν**, καὶ τέλος τῶν προσδοκηθέντων **φόνων εἰς εὐαγεῖς θυσίας μεταβαλλομένων**.

This scene appears remarkably felicitous to render the astonishment and bewilderment experienced by the disciples upon the Resurrection of Christ and in particular the appearance on the road to Emmaus. But there is another spectacular convergence between the novel and the Scripture which could not have escaped Philagathos. The reference to “a sacrifice free of all stain” undoubtedly recalled the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist. For the entire patristic tradition in both East and West placed a great emphasis on this aspect of the Eucharist.⁶⁴¹ In addition, this passage from the novel is reminiscent of other contexts from the *Homilies*.⁶⁴² Thus, we may conclude once more that Philagathos’ usage of the novel is impressed on the confluence of Scripture and novel.

4.5. Healing Miracles and Antithetical Thought

In the foregoing pages we have considered examples of antithesis that concern the Virgin and Christ. In what follows we observe the juxtapositions and the contrasts between the various miracles of Christ. In the sermon “On the Raising of Lazarus” Philagathos employed several *antitheses*. First he juxtaposed the differences in Christ’s behaviour towards those whom he healed drawing a contrast between Christ’s gentle command to Jairus’ daughter, “Little girl, I say to you, arise,” and the piercing shout addressed to Lazarus, “Young man, I say to you, arise.”

Hom. 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 537C):

«Now when He had said these things, He cried with a loud voice, “Lazarus, come forth!”» [Jn. 11: 43] And when He had raised Jairus’ daughter, and when He had brought to life the widow’s son, He did not seem of having shouted with a loud voice, but He had taken them by the hand and gently uttered, to the maiden,

⁶⁴¹ John Zizioulas, *The Eucharistic Communion and the World*, ed. Luke Ben Tallon (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 50–58.

⁶⁴² As we have noted above (p. 121, n° 511) the formulation δάκρυσι κεραννύμενοι is similar to the expression from the passage under discussion here (i.e. *Aethiopika* 10, 38, 4: δακρύων κεραννυμένων), which is attested in the *TLG* corpus only in Philagathos and Heliodorus; cf. *Hom.* 35, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 241) = *Aethiopika*, 5, 4, 5 (ed. Colonna, 274).

“Little girl, I say to you, arise,” [Mc. 5: 4] to the boy, “Young man, I say to you, arise” [Lc. 7: 14]. But hither [i.e. at Lazarus’ Resurrection] He had called him with a piercing shout. Wherefore? Because those having recently died their soul was somewhere near to the body (for that voice of the Fathers terrifies us [saying] that until the third day the soul is looking after his own body), whereas calling forth the soul of Lazarus from some place afar, He had cried with a loud voice.

«Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκραύγασε· Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω.» Καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἰαείρου ἐγηγερκῶς, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας ἐζωοποιηκῶς, οὐ φαίνεται μεγάλη φωνῇ **κεκραγῶς**, ἀλλὰ τῇ χειρὶ **κεκρατηκῶς**, καὶ ἡρέμα **πεφωνηκῶς**, τῇ μὲν· «Ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου· τῷ δέ· Σὺ, λέγω, ἀνάστηθι.» Ἐνταῦθα δὲ διαπρύσιον κέκραγε.⁶⁴³ Διὰ τί; Ὅτι ἐκείνων προσφάτως τεθνηκότων,⁶⁴⁴ ἐγγύς που τοῦ σώματος παρῆν ἡ ψυχὴ (πατρικὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς φωνὴ δυσωπεῖ, ὥς μέχρι τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἐπισκέπτεται), τὴν δὲ Λαζάρου ψυχὴν μακρόθεν ποθὲν ἐκκαλούμενος, κέκραγε μεγάλῃ φωνῇ.

Then, Philagathos further drew an *antithesis* between Lazarus’ decaying body and the condition of those healed by Christ and raised from the dead as was the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue and the Widow’s son. The homilist emphasized the *antithesis* which he appropriated from Nyssen’s account of Lazarus from *De opificio hominis*:

Hom. 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, *PG* 132, coll. 540A–B):

“For he did not raise from sickness a person in his final gasps, as the child of the centurion, nor bring back to life a child just deceased, as the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, nor he set free from his bier a young man just brought to the tomb, as in the city of Nain, but a man already past the prime of life, a decaying corpse, because the body damped in the dank earth decays by necessity. By a single

Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, *PG* 44, coll. 221, 1–20:

“Four days had already passed since the event; all due rites had been performed for the departed; the body was hidden in the tomb: it was probably already swollen and beginning to dissolve into corruption, as the body mouldered in the dank earth and necessarily decayed [...]. At this point the doubted fact of the general Resurrection is brought to proof by a more manifest miracle; for one is not raised

⁶⁴³ The combination between **διαπρύσιον** “piercing, thrilling” and **κράζω** “scream, shriek” has an almost formulaic character in Philagathos; cf. *Hom.* 19, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 130), *Hom.* 54 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, *PG* 132, coll. 569A); in addition, the formulation goes back to Cyril of Alexandria (from 11 attestations in the *TLG* corpus 6 are in Cyril); cf. *Commentarii in Joannem*, 1, 488, 18: ἀναβοήσσει δὲ μέγα καὶ **διαπρύσιόν τι κεκραγῶς** ἀφίξεται.

⁶⁴⁴ The expression “προσφάτως τεθνηκότων” is perhaps inspired by Achilles Tatius’ novel; for the combination between – θνήσκω and πρόσφατος finds the exact and single analogy in *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 11, 5–6: Ἐφεσίαν τὸ γένος, ὄνομα Μελίτην· πλοῦτος πολὺς καὶ ἡλικία νέα. **τέθνηκε** δὲ αὐτῆς **προσφάτως** ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ θάλασσαν· Trans.: “she is an Ephesian by race, her name is Melite; she is very rich, and young. Her husband has recently died at sea.” This suggestion gains further strenght when considering that this episode from the novel was otherwise lavishly used by Philagathos for the portrayal of Herod’s emotions in *Hom.* 35, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240–241); see above, chapter 3.4.

Blending Emotions in the Homilies: the Imprint of the Novel,” 79–82; it should be also added that the adjective πρόσφατος, ὄν “fresh”, “recent” is often said of a “fresh, decomposed body, or of a corpse miraculously preserved” (cf. *LSJ*, 1529); it is used in this sense in Hecuba’s lamentation over Hector’s dead body in *Iliad*, 24, 757: νῦν δέ μοι ἐρσήεις καὶ **πρόσφατος** ἐν μεγάροις / κεῖσται—“But now thou liest, to my sorrow, in the palaces, fresh and lately slain (trans. Buckley, 465);” therefore, it cannot be ruled out that Philagathos’ formulation in this place is anything much than a fortuitous coincidence with the novel.

call this body was returned to life anew and the one who was bound with bandages leaped forward. Assuredly, it was a miracle no less than the Resurrection to be hands and feet bound and have the face covered with a cloth and to hurriedly walk in this manner. But there is something more wonderful in the matter. Since the custom of the Jews was to entomb the corpses with myrrh and aloes for preserving the bodies of the dead for a longer time, thus making them glutinous and hard to tear away [from the strips of linen]; hence, it is at hand to conjecture how great was the power of the word, which easily set apart all these from the body.”

Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ νόσου τις ἀνέστη πρὸς αὐταῖς ὧν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς, ὡς ὁ τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου παῖς, οὐδὲ ζωοποιεῖται παιδίον ἄρτιθανές, ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου θυγάτριον, οὐδὲ νεανίας μέλλων ἄρτι τῷ τάφῳ προσάγεσθαι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς σοροῦ ἀναλύεται, ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ναῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνὴρ ἤδη ἔξωρος, καὶ νεκρὸς ἔωλος **μυδῶντος ἐν τῷ εὐρῶτι τῆς γῆς, καὶ διαπίπτοντος ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τοῦ σώματος** **μιᾶ κλήσει** πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν ἐπανέρχεται, καὶ ὁ κειρίαις δεδεμένος ἐφήλλατο. Τὸ γὰρ δεδέσθαι χειρὰς καὶ πόδας, καὶ σουδαρίῳ κεκαλύφθαι τὴν ὄψιν, καὶ βάδιζειν τροχαλῶς οὕτως ἔχοντα, θαῦμα ἦν οὐχ ἦττον τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἄλλο παραδοξότερον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔθος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις σμύρνη καὶ ἄλῳ ἐνταφιάζειν εἰς τὸ διαρκέσαι τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν, κολλητικὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δυσαισθητὰ· στοχάσασθαι προσήκει πόση τις ἦν τοῦ λόγου ἡ δύναμις ἡ ταῦτα ῥαδίως τοῦ σώματος διακρίνασα.

from severe sickness, nor brought back to life when at the last breath—nor is a child just dead brought to life, nor a young man about to be conveyed to the tomb released from his bier; but a man past the prime of life, a corpse, decaying, swollen, yet already in a state of dissolution, so that even his own kinsfolk could not suffer that the Lord should draw near the tomb by reason of the offensiveness of the decayed body there enclosed, brought into life by a single call, confirms the proclamation of the Resurrection, that is to say, that expectation of it as universal, which we learn by a particular experience to entertain.”⁶⁴⁵

Τέσσαρες ἦσαν ἤδη μετὰ τὸ πάθος αἱ ἡμέραν πάντα ἐπεπλήρωτο τῷ κατοικομένῳ τὰ νομιζόμενα, τάφῳ κατεκρύβη τὸ σῶμα. Ἐξωδῆκει κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς διαφθορὰν διελύετο, **μυδῶντος ἐν τῷ εὐρῶτι τῆς γῆς, καὶ διαπίπτοντος ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τοῦ σώματος**. [...] Τότε τὸ ἀπιστοῦμενον τῆς καθολικῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔργον δι’ ἐναργεστεροῦ τοῦ θαύματος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἄγεται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ νόσου τις ἀνίσταται χαλεπῆς, οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῖς τελευταίαις ὧν ἀναπνοαῖς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ἐπανάγεται, οὐδὲ παιδίον ἄρτιθανές ζωοποιεῖται, οὐδὲ μέλλων τῷ τάφῳ προσάγεσθαι νεανίας πάλιν ἐκ τῆς σοροῦ ἀναλύεται· ἀλλ’ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐξώρων, νεκρὸς, ἔωλος, ἐξωδικῶς ἤδη, καὶ λελυμένος, ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι προσεγγίσει τῷ τάφῳ τὸν Κύριον, διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀηδίαν τοῦ διαπεπωκότος σώματος, **μιᾶ κλήσει** ζωοποιηθεὶς πιστοῦται τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ, τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσδοκώμενον, ὃ ἐπὶ μέρους τῇ πείρᾳ ἐμάθομεν.

A similar pair of juxtapositions was evoked in the homily “On the Healing of the Centurion’s Servant.” Philagathos catalogued Christ’s miracles into pairs according to the sexes of those Christ cured and the type of the illness removed. The homilist first explained, “Since the

⁶⁴⁵ Trans. W. Moore and H. A. Wilson in *Gregory of Nyssa, Dogmatic Treatises*, NPNF II/5, 571.

human nature is divided into male and female, [Christ] willingly offers benefaction to each gender. For both man and woman have fallen out of the commandment, hence both [of them] partook of the benefaction.” Then he pairs the miracles as follows:⁶⁴⁶

And he heals the one whose nerves were weakened and the frame of the body ruined [cf. Mt. 9:1], but he also did not neglect the woman verged to the earth and utterly bent over [Lc. 13:11]. He dragged very many away from their demonic frenzy [cf. Lc. 8:27], but he also healed the little daughter of the Canaanite when she was troubled with demons [Mt. 15:28] He delivered Zacchaeus from the injustices of tax collecting [Lc. 19:9]. But he also purified the lecherous harlot of her foul sins [Lc. 7:47]. Simon the Pharisee invites the Lord to dinner [Lc. 7:36], but Martha also welcomed him in her house [Lc. 10:38]. He cures the boy of the centurion, delivering him from his disease [Mt. 8:13; Lc. 7:10]; but he also rebuked the fever that was violently burning in Simon’s mother-in-law [Mt. 8:15]. He accomplished such a removal of her illness that she gathered strenght to minister, although she was expecting to die forthwith. You will see revived the expired widow’s son [Lc. 7:14], but also Jairus’ daughter [Mt. 9:25; Mc. 5:41]. And the sacred company of the disciples followed him, but also the women (μαθήτριάι) attended him, becoming apostles of [Lord’s] Resurrection [Lc. 24:1].

Philagathos contrasts the readiness of Christ who immediately answers the pleas of the centurion (Mt. 8:5–13) and his rejection of the Canaanite’s entreaties (Mt. 15:21–28). These opposite reactions have been a constant subject for *antithesis* in Byzantine homiletics. Christ’s indifference to the woman’s plight and the apparent heartless rejection of her plea is particularly underscored.

In a sermon attributed to St. John Chrysostom, the homilist commented on Christ’ silence when the Canaanite woman was crying out “Lord, Son of David, have mercy on me” – saying: “Did you see her endurance, her courage, her perseverance? ‘But he said not a word in reply.’ A strange thing! She appeals to him, she begs him, she bewails her misfortune; she magnifies her tragedy, she describes her suffering in detail, and the lover of man does not reply, the Word is silent, the fount is shut off, the doctor withdraws his remedies. What is this strange thing? What is this paradox? You approach others, but then this woman approaches you, do you drive her away?”⁶⁴⁷ With less rhetorical ardor, Philagathos frames the same *antithesis* in his sermon through a juxtaposition of Christ’ behavior to different supplicants:

⁶⁴⁶ *Hom* 65 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 44, PG 132, coll. 828D): Καὶ θεραπεύει τὸν παρειμένον τὰ νεῦρα, καὶ λελυμένον τὰς ἀρμονίας τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν νενευκυῖαν εἰς γῆν καὶ συγκύπτουσιν ἀφήκεν ἀνήκεστον. Τοῦ κορυβαντιᾶν ἐκ δαιμόνων πλείστους ἀπέσπασεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαναναίας θυγάτριον ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ὄχλούμενον ἐθεράπευσε· τὸν Ζακχαῖον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ τελωνεῖν ἀδικιῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μαχλῶσαν πόρνην τῆς δυσώδους ἀμαρτίας ἐκάθηρε. Σίμων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καλεῖ τὸν Κύριον εἰς ἐστίαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Μάρθα τοῦτον εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπεδέξατο. Ἀλθαίνει τὸν τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου παῖδα ἀπαλλάξας αὐτὸν τοῦ νοσήματος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πυρετῷ ἐπιτιμήσας σφοδρῶς τὴν πενθερὰν Σίμωνος φλέγοντι, τοσαύτην ἐποίησε τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, ὥς πρὸς τὸ διακονεῖν ἐπιρρῶσαι τὴν ἤδη προσδοκωμένην τεθνήξασθαι. Ὅψει δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνιστῶντα μὲν τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν τῆς χήρας υἱὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Ἰαεῖρου θυγάτριον. Καὶ μαθητῶν αὐτῷ ἐφείπετο θῖαςος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθήτριάι διηκόνησαν, ἀπόστολοι γεγονυῖαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως.

⁶⁴⁷ St. John Chrysostom, *In dimissionem Chananaeae* (dub.), PG 52, coll. 453: εἶδες τὴν καρτερίαν; τὴν ἀνδρείαν; τὴν ὑπομονήν; Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῇ λόγον. Καὶνὰ πράγματα. Παρακαλεῖ, δέεται, κλαίει τὴν συμφορὰν, αὔξει

“Jesus said to [the centurion], ‘I will come and heal him.’ [Mt. 8:7] Why did he answer so readily, and straight away he brought the cure, and yet he was not wont to do this in other cases? For to the father of the lunatic boy who knelt before him and asked the healing of his suffering [son], he first chastised saying ‘unbelieving and perverse generation’ [cf. Mt. 17:17]. To the Canaanite who entreated fervidly for her daughter, he said: ‘It is not possible to take the children’s bread and give it to the dogs.’ [Mt. 15: 26; Mc. 7: 27] But in the present case, as soon as he heard that ‘my boy lies at home paralyzed,’ he hastens to the cure. Why? Truly since the one who scrutinizes the hearts and discerns the disposition of the soul, knew how great the faith of the centurion was. For he measures the grace according to the faith and undertakes the healing immediately, so that the ardent piety of the gentile may be shown forth to the Jews attending by.”⁶⁴⁸

Philagathos’ interpretation of the episode is traditional. For instance, Basil of Seleuceia in a highly rhetoricized sermon on the healing of the centurion’s son asks the same question: “Why, therefore, tell me, O Lord, did the daughter of the Canaanite not meet with the same readiness, for she was also imploring for the same [benefaction] through her mother.”⁶⁴⁹ Similarly, Basil understands Christ’s behavior as a strategy to elicit the public confession of the gentiles’ faith and to reveal the Jews’ lack of faith.⁶⁵⁰ To the conspicuous stillness of Christ he writes: “O philanthropic silence, in the guise of misanthropy! Loud-voiced silence, accuser of the Jews! For through her such things to the Jews he uttered. Do you see, O Jew, the Canaanite’s nobility of birth? Do you see the blessed fruit from the derided root? She did not know Moses, your lawgiver, yet she recognized the Lord of Moses. She did not know the prophets, yet she believed in the one who was prophesized. And she perceived the signs and confessed him the Son of David. You denied God after his miracles, but she believed in him before his miracles.”⁶⁵¹ These

τὴν τραγωδίαν, διηγείται τὸ πάθος· καὶ ὁ φιλόανθρωπος οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται· ὁ Λόγος σιωπᾷ, ἡ πηγὴ κλείεται, ὁ ἱατρὸς τὰ φάρμακα συστέλλει. Τί τὸ καινόν; τί τὸ παράδοξον; Ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέχεις, καὶ ταύτην ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἐλαύνεις;

⁶⁴⁸ Hom. 65 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 44, PG 132, coll. 829C–832A): « Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν θεραπεύσω αὐτόν. » Διὰ τί οὕτω ῥαδίως ὑπήκουσε, καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν εὐθὺς ἐπήγαγε, καίτοι οὐκ εἰωθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν; Τῷ τε γὰρ πατρὶ περὶ τοῦ σεληνιαζομένου παιδὸς γονυπετοῦντι, καὶ ζητοῦντι τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ πάσχοντος ἐπιπλήττει πρότερον, γενεὰν ἄπιστον καὶ διεστραμμένην εἰπών. Καὶ τῇ Χαναanaία περιπαθῶς ἀντιβολουμένη περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς· « Οὐκ ἔξεστιν, εἶπε, λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς κυναρίοις. » Ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ὁμοῦ τε ἤκουσεν, ὅτι « ὁ παῖς μου βέβληται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραλυτικός, » καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπείγεται. Διὰ τί; Ἐπειδὴ ὁ τὰς καρδίας ἐρευνῶν καὶ μέχρις ἐννοιῶν ψυχῆς ἐξικνούμενος, ἤδει τοῦ ἐκατοντάρχου τὴν πίστιν ὁπόση τις ἦν. Τὴν χάριν οὖν πρὸς τὴν πίστιν μετρεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἴασιν ὑπισχνεῖται γοργῶς, ὥς ἂν ἡ διάπυρος εὐλάβεια τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἰουδαίοις δειχθῇ.

⁶⁴⁹ Basil of Seleuceia, *Oratio XIX, In centurionem*, PG 85, coll. 237D: Τί οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, Δέσποτα; μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐτοιμότητος ἢ τῆς Χαναanaίας θυγάτηρ ἔτυχε, καὶ ταῦτα διὰ μητρὸς ἰκετεύουσα;

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., coll. 240B: Βούλεται γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν πίστιν ὀφθαλμοῖς Ἰουδαίων δημοσιευθῆναι, καὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης θεατὰς παραστήσαι τοὺς ἀγνώμονας Ἰουδαίους. A similar interpretation is given in St. John Chrysostom, *In dimissionem Chananaeae* (dub.), PG 52, coll. 455: Σκόπει πῶς διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ γυναικί, ἵνα ἀποκριθῇ Ἰουδαίοις· ἢ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα σιγῇ, φωνὴ ἀγνωμοσύνης τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένετο.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., coll. 249B: Ἐλέησόν με. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ λόγον. Ὡς φιλόανθρωπου σιωπῆς ἐν ἀπανθρωπίας προσχήματι! ὦ σιωπῇ μεγαλόφωνος Ἰουδαίων κατήγορος! Δι’ αὐτῆς γὰρ τοιαῦτα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐφθέγγετο· Ὁρᾷς, Ἰουδαῖε, Χαναanaίας εὐγένειαν; Ὁρᾷς ἐκ ρίζης διαβεβλημένης καρπὸν ἐπαινούμενον; Οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὸν Μωϋσέα τὸν σὸν, καὶ τὸν Μωϋσέως Δεσπότην ἐπέγνωκεν· οὐκ οἶδε προφήτας, καὶ πιστεύει τῷ προφητευθέντι· καὶ εἶδε σημεῖα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δαυὶδ ὁμολόγησε. Τὸν Θεὸν ἠρνήσω μετὰ θαύματα, καὶ τούτῳ πρὸ θαυμάτων ἐπίστευσεν.

antitheses aim to dramatize the Gospel account by magnifying Christ's initial rejection of the Canaanite woman's pleas. On this aspect Philagathos centers his doctrinal exposition which is bound to explain the paradox implied in Christ's rejection of a gentile seeking salvation with the universality of the Christian message.

Besides achieving dramatic effect the placing of miracles side by side serve to illustrate the advancement of Christ's salvational economy. An eloquent example is the homily "For the Tenth Resurrection Gospel," which interprets the apparition of the Lord 'by the Sea of Galilee. When early in the morning Jesus stood on the shore' [Jn. 21:1–14]. Philagathos assesses the meaning of Christ's apparition by comparing it with Christ's previous actions that converge around 'the sea' as the walking on the sea [Mc. 6:45–51] and the numerous "proceedings towards the sea."⁶⁵²

Hom. 79 (Scorsus, *Hom. 36*, PG 132, coll. 692C–D):

Hence the fishing-nets, the boat, the endless labor during the whole night had all been fruitless." That night they caught nothing." [Jn. 21:3] But when the morning came, when the Son of righteousness brought up the morning having risen from the grave as from the east, the sweet one came, the provider of light became visible, and as he came he did not proceed towards the sea, neither did he walk upon the waves, which he accomplished miraculously before the passion, when the surface of the water was dried up for his stepping and supported His divine step by a firm resistance. But as he came he *stood on the shore* [Jn. 21:4], perhaps revealing this, that he became out of the lively sea because the human nature which he assumed was changed into immortality, being no longer afflicted by the weaknesses of the flesh as by waves, but standing on the shore of incorruption.

Τὰ γοῦν ἐντεῦθεν δίκτυα καὶ πλοῖον, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς **κόπος ἀνήνυτος**. «Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίασαν οὐδέν.» Πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ Ἥλιος, ὡς ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, τοῦ τάφου ἀνατείλας πρωΐαν εἰργάσατο, ἦλθεν ὁ γλυκὺς, ἐφάνη ὁ ἀπόροχος τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ ἐλθὼν οὐκ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐδὲ πεζεύει κατὰ κυμάτων, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ πάθος **ἐθαυματουργήσεν, ἀποχερσωθείσης τῇ βάσει τῆς ἐμφανείας τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιτυπίας τὸ θεῖον ἵχνος ἐπεριδοῦσης**. Ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν ἔστη εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, τάχα τοῦτο δεικνὺς, ὡς ἀποθανατισθὲν ἤδη τὸ πρόσλημμα διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἔξω τῆς βιωτικῆς θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, οὐκέτι ταῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσθενείαις, ὡς κύμασι συνεχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῆς ἁφθαρσίας ἰστάμενον.

Philagathos gives meticulous attention to the topographical contrast between Christ's apparition "after he was raised from the dead" and his previous manifestations at the sea. The sea is the figure of this world subjected to death and corruption quite naturally opposed to the shore where Christ stood unaffected by the waves after the Resurrection. This interpretation is not incongruous with Old Testament imagery in which the land signifies the realm of promise and

⁶⁵² Philagathos' reference to Christ "proceeding towards the sea" may allude to variegated contexts in the Gospels; in this sense it is enough to mention here that all the actions of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark have the Sea of Galilee as their focal point; see for this Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, "The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 363–377.

safety in opposition to the sea, the symbol of chaos and destruction.⁶⁵³ Philagathos' symbolic interpretation of the episode by juxtaposing Christ's actions is original, although he weaved in it passages from different sources. Consistent with his compositional technique, Philagathos appropriates in this instance a passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio catechetica*,⁶⁵⁴ employed elsewhere as well,⁶⁵⁵ and perhaps a reference to Gregory's *Homilies on the Beatitudes*.⁶⁵⁶

4.6. Parables and Antithetical Thought: the Imprint of the Novel

The homilist made abundant use of comparative and antithetical thought for the exegesis of the Lord's parables. They are read as example stories which teach virtue and expose vice. This hermeneutical stance informs Philagathos' reading of the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. To picture vice and virtue is perhaps the most distinctive aspect of all ancient literature.⁶⁵⁷

Philagathos explains Jesus' strategy of placing side-by-side two men of contrary disposition as illustration of virtue and vice.

“But when [the Saviour] wishes to make a comparison (σύγκρισιν) between virtue and vice, he places side-by-side two men of contrary disposition, as the rich man and Lazarus [Lc. 16:19–31], and the two sons which were ordered by their father to go to the field and the two women grinding at the mill, of which one is taken, the other left; [Mt. 24:40–41] and also, the two sons of which one remained with his father whereas the other became a swine-keeper [Lc. 15:11–31], which were an illustration of virtue and vice. Well, in this place putting side-by-side arrogance and humility he chose the Pharisee and the Tax Collector [Lc. 18:9–14].”⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵³ Malbon, “The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee,” 375.

⁶⁵⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 23: καὶ τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης πορείαν, οὐ διαχωροῦντος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πελάγους καὶ τὸν πυθμένα γυμνοῦντος τοῖς παροδεύουσι κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως θαυματουργίαν, ἀλλ' ἅνω τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ὕδατος ὑποχερσουμένης τῇ βάσει καὶ διὰ τινος ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιτυπίας ὑπεριδούσης τὸ ἴχνος [...].

⁶⁵⁵ The same passage from Nyssen's work is consistently used in *Hom.* 51, 7 (ed. Zaccagni, 154–155).

⁶⁵⁶ Philagathos' formulation « κόπος ἀνήνυτος » is similar to Gregory of Nyssa's expression from *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1244: « ἀνήνυτον ἐπιδείκνυνται κόπον ».

⁶⁵⁷ A. Spira, “Le temps d'un homme selon Aristote et Grégoire de Nysse: stabilité et instabilité dans la pensée grecque” in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe - XIIIe siècle*, ed. Jean-Marie Leroux (Paris: CNRS, 1984), 284: “Le « temps d'un homme », sa vie, est donc jugé dans l'antiquité d'après la façon dont il a exercé la vertu. C'est pourquoi la présentation littéraire d'une vie est, elle aussi, dominée par ce principe, ce qui provoque ce manque de réalisme et d'historicité si choquant pour notre mentalité moderne. Car le lecteur y cherchait avant tout le modèle d'une vertu – ou de son contraire. Une biographie ancienne est de la philosophie pratique appliquée.”

⁶⁵⁸ Philagathos explains the Lord's parables in *Hom.* 37 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, PG 132, coll. 357A): Ὅπηνίκα δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας σύγκρισιν ἐθέλοι ποιήσασθαι, δύο ἀνθρώπους ἐναντιογνωμονοῦντας παρίστησιν, ὡς τὸν πλούσιον καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κελευσθέντας εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὰς δύο τὰς ἐν τῷ μύλῳ, ὧν τῆς μιᾶς παραλαμβανομένης ἡ μία ἀφίεται· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δύο υἱοὶ ὧν ὁ μὲν ἔμεινε συνὼν τῷ πατρί, ὁ δὲ συμβῶτης ἐγένετο, ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἦσαν ὑπόδειγμα. Κάνταῦθα γοῦν παράλληλα τιθεὶς οἴησιν καὶ ταπεινῶσιν τὸν φαρισαῖον καὶ τὸν τελώνην παρέλαβεν.

A parable is thus a comparison (σύγκρισιν) between virtue and vice. It is this didactic approach which stands behind Philagathos' interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* read as a placing side by side of virtue and vice.⁶⁵⁹

The homilist underscores the antithetical style of the Lord's parables in the homily "About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee." The Scripture presents a Pharisee and a tax collector going up to the temple to pray. The Pharisee stands boldly in the temple reciting his prayers of self-congratulation, whereas the tax collector stood 'at a distance, beat his breast and said, 'God, have mercy on me, a sinner' [Lc. 18: 9–14]. In Philagathos' reading, the parable presents the antithesis between the uttermost of evils and the perfection in virtue:⁶⁶⁰

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τελωνεῖν ἔσχατόν ἐστι κομιδῇ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἅτε περιεκτικὸν
Since to be tax collector is indubitably the uttermost of all evils, because is encompassing robbery, arrogance and avarice, which the Apostle called idolatry, whereas the Pharisee's greater boasting of all is considered to observe the exactness of the law and to be pure of every taint, (for 'Pharisee' signifies 'pure'), for this reason the Saviour inserts in the parable the uttermost among misdeeds and the perfection in virtue. For he knew that **the example arising from those who are greater in rank incites to imitation.**

ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλαργυρίας, ἣν ὁ Ἀπόστολος εἰδωλολατρίαν ἐκάλεσε, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαρισαίων αὔχημα πάντων ἐνομίζετο κρεῖττον ὡς τοῦ νόμου τηροῦν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ παντὸς καθαρεῦον μολύσματος (Φαρισαῖος γὰρ καθαρὸς ἐρμηνεύεται), διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔσχατον ἐν ἀδικίαις καὶ τέλειον δῆθεν ἐν ἀρετῇ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ παρεντίθησιν. Οἶδε γὰρ **ἐρεθίζειν εἰς μίμησιν τὸ ἐκ τῶν κρεῖττόνων παράδειγμα.**

For describing this opposition the homilist appealed to vivid imagery and etymology. In addition, as can be observed below the account bespeaks the imprint of Achilles Tatius' novel:

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 1, 5, 6:

"for love stories are the very fuel of desire; and however much a man may school himself to continence, by the force of example he is stimulated to imitate it, especially when that example proceeds from one in a higher position than himself" (trans. Gaselee, *Loeb*, 19).

ὕπεκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός. κἂν εἰς σωφροσύνην τις ἑαυτὸν νοουθετῇ, τῷ παραδείγματι **πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν ἐρεθίζεται**, μάλιστα ὅταν **ἐκ τοῦ κρεῖττονος ἢ τὸ παράδειγμα.**

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 54-55 (ed. Bianchi, 51): «ἐκ παραλλήλου ἀμφοτέρα τίθησιν ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν».

⁶⁶⁰ *Hom.* 37 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, PG 132, coll. 356B).

Besides the example cited above, the definition of mimesis surfaces again in the homily recited for the Feast of St. Procopius (8th of July).⁶⁶¹ This allusion, which escaped previous scholarly attention, highlights the importance attached to the novel for Philagathos' exegetic technique. Philagathos draws on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* for explaining the function of Lord's prophecies to his disciples. The prophecies enable the disciples "to stand unshaken in temptations and bear with a lighter heart when those sufferings come, because the foreknowledge of suffering makes dull the cowardice provoked by fear." This is a maxim adopted from Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* on the foreknowledge gleaned from dreams. To this Philagathos adds another maxim taken from the novel on the nature of imitation:

Hom. 28, 6 (ed. Rossi -Taibbi, 184):

«Εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν πάντων μεμίσηκεν». Ἐπειδὴ παραπλέκειν ἐβούλετο τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὅσα οἱ μαθηταὶ πείσεσθαι ἔμελλον, τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τὰς θλίψεις, τὸ μῖσος, τὸν διωγμὸν, ἣν γὰρ ἐπάναγκες ταῦτα προειδέναι αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἂν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς προρρήσεσιν ἐπερειδόμενοι, ἀκράδαντοι μένοιεν ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς καὶ **πάσχοντες κουφότερον φέροιεν, τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ παθεῖν** τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φόβου δειλίαν ἐπαμβλυνούσης. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοῖς παρατίθησιν· **οἶδε γὰρ ἐρεθίζειν πρὸς μίμησιν τὸ τῶν κρείττωνων ὑπόδειγμα.** Φησὶν οὖν ὅτι· «Οὐ χρὴ λυπεῖσθαι, εἰ τοσούτοις ἀνιαροῖς προσπαλαίσετε. Εἰ γὰρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου οὐκ ἐφείσαντο, ποίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς φειδῶ ἐπιδείξονται; Εἰ τοσαῦτα πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐπαρωνήκεισαν, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς διαπράξαιντο; Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πονηρῶν συναγήοχα, ἀκολούθως ὑμᾶς οἱ πονηροὶ μεμισήκασιν».⁶⁶²

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 1, 3, 2:

αἱ δὲ Μοῖραι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρείττονες ἄλλην ἐτήρουν μοι γυναῖκα. φιλεῖ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον πολλάκις ἀνθρώποις τὸ μέλλον νύκτωρ λαλεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα φυλάσσονται μὴ παθεῖν (οὐ γὰρ εἰμαρμένης δύνανται κρατεῖν), **ἀλλ' ἵνα κουφότερον πάσχοντες φέρωσι.** τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης ἀθρόον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐκπλήσσει τὴν ψυχὴν ἄφνω προσπεσὼν καὶ κατεβάπτισε, τὸ δὲ **πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν** προσδοκώμενον προκατηνάλωσε κατὰ μικρὸν μελετώμενον τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀκμήν.⁶⁶³

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 1, 5, 6:

ὑπέκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός. κὰν εἰς σωφροσύνην τις ἑαυτὸν νοουθετῇ, τῷ παραδείγματι **πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν ἐρεθίζεται,** μάλιστα ὅταν **ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ἢ τὸ παράδειγμα.**⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ *Hom.* 28, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 184).

⁶⁶² "If the world hates you, you know that it hated Me before it hated you." [John 15:18] Since Jesus wanted also to weave in the discourse all that which the disciples were destined to suffer, intrigues, afflictions, hatred, persecution, it was necessary to foretell them these things, in order that leaning upon His lordly prophecies they would stand unshaken in temptations and bear with a lighter heart when those sufferings come, because the foreknowledge of suffering makes dull the cowardice provoked by fear. For this reason, he lays before them his own [sufferings]; as he knew that the example arising from those who are greater in rank incites to imitation. So, he says that: 'Thou hast no need to be distressed if you have to wrestle with such grievous disasters. For if they did not have consideration for Me the Lord, what sort of consideration will they be showing to you? If such great offenses they have hurled upon the teacher, how would they not maltreat the pupils? As from among the wicked I have gathered you, for that the wicked hate you.'"

⁶⁶³ "But Fate stronger than the will of man was reserving another to be my wife. Providence sometimes foreshews the future to men in dreams, not so that they may be able to avoid the sufferings fated for them, for they can never get the better of destiny, but in order that they may bear them with the more patience when those sufferings come:

In the novel, the maxim on imitation illustrates the arousal of desire through love stories since “shame, which prevents a man going astray, is converted into boldness by the approval of one of higher rank” (*Leucippe and Clitophon*, 1, 5, 6). Philagathos retains the maxim for the stress it laid on the unswayable force of mimesis and applies it to the explanation of Gospel.

Antithetical thought forms the substance of Philagathos’ exposition of the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lc. 10:25–37). The wounds that the Good Samaritan bounds up by pouring on oil and wine prompted the homilist to elaborate a refined *antithesis* between piety and impiety, wantonness and chastity, greediness and charity:

“So he went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine”; [Lc. 10:34] He bound fast the stroke of impiety, putting on the bond of piety. He purifies the wound of wantonness dripping on the astringent wine of chastity. He wipes off the inclination for greed pouring forth the oil of charity. In this way by the commandments He binds up the wounds and through his teaching girds up the wickedness and soothes the faint-hearted one with the hope of future things.⁶⁶⁵

Philagathos then associates the wine and the oil with temper (θύμος) and desire (ἐπιθυμία) as the two impulses towards evil, which Christ comes to assuage. Noteworthy, the interpretation is coloured once again with imagery derived from Heliodorus’ novel. Philagathos drew on Charikleia’s advice for Theagenes, which taught him the way to soothe Arsake’s raving desire:

Hom. 12, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 82):

“For indeed astringent was the wine, cheerful the oil. Or perhaps since the impulses towards evil rush out just as though from two springs, from temper and desire, on one hand he calms the seething of anger by the smoothness of the oil, on the other hand he compresses the dissolution of desire by the roughness of the wine.”

Aethiopika, 7, 21, 4 (ed. Colonna, 412):

“Feed this barbarian’s woman desire with promises; play her along and so ensure that she does not turn spiteful; allay with hope and soften the seething of her desire with fair promises” (trans. Morgan mod., 508).

for when disasters come all together and unexpectedly, they strike the spirit with so severe and sudden a blow that they overwhelm it; while if they are anticipated, the mind, by dwelling on them beforehand, is able little by little to turn the edge of sorrow” (trans. Gaselee 45, 13).

⁶⁶⁴ “For love stories are the very fuel of desire; and however much a man may school himself to continence, by the force of example he is stimulated to imitate it, especially when that example proceeds from one in a higher position than himself” (trans. Gaselee, *Loeb* 45, 19).

⁶⁶⁵ *Hom.* 12, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 82): «Καὶ προσελθὼν κατέδησε τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ ἐπιχέων ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον». Δεσμεῖ τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν πληγὴν, ἐπιθεῖς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας δεσμόν· καθαίρει τῆς ἀκολασίας τὸ ἔλκος, τὸν στυπτικὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιστάζας οἶνον· ἀποσμήχει τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν ὄρεξιν, τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης νομοθετήσας τὸ ἔλαιον. Οὕτω διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν συσφίγγει τὰ τραύματα, διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐπιστύφει τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ λεαίνει τὸν μικρόψυχον τῇ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι.

Στυπτικὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ οἶνος, ἰλαρὸν δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον· Ἡ τάχα, ἐπειδὴ αἱ πρὸς κακίαν ὀρμαὶ ὡς ἐκ δύο τινῶν πηγῶν, θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, διάπτουσι, τὸ μὲν **τοῦ θυμοῦ φλεγμαῖνον καταμαλάττων** ὑποσχέσει **τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ μαλάσσει** τῇ τοῦ ἐλαίου λειότητι, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκλελυμένον ὑποστύφει τῇ τοῦ οἴνου αὐστηρότητι.

Then, the sermon for the feast of *St. Panteleimonos* provides us another example of *antithesis*, which carries a discrete trace of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. Philagathos entreats the faithful to emulate the saint by symbolically juxtaposing the saint's ordeals with the desired demeanor of the faithful:⁶⁶⁶

The martyr endured the swords and the daggers; you bear the tongues sharpened for railing you! That person quenched the might of fire; you put out the indwelling of the kindled passions and the unbridled anger that boils you up arousing you to cause pain in requital.

Ὑπέμεινεν ὁ μάρτυς ξίφη καὶ μαχαίρας· ὑπόφερε σὺ γλώσσας ἡκονημένας εἰς λοιδορίαν. Ἔσβεσεν ἐκεῖνος **πυρὸς ἐρωήν**· ἀπομάρανον σὺ τὴν ἔνδον πυρκαϊάν τῶν παθῶν καὶ θυμὸν ἀλόγιστον ζέοντα καὶ διεγειρόμενον **πρὸς ὄρεξιν ἀντιλυπήσεως**.⁶⁶⁷

The expression “the might of fire” goes back to the story regarding the ‘pantarbe’ jewel in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*.⁶⁶⁸

The dream was an oracle set into verse and beatified Kalasiris pronounced it. He either appeared to me when I fell asleep without realizing or else I saw him in the very flesh. And these were his words, I think: When bearing pantarbe (παντάρβην), fear (τάρβει) not the might of flames, as Fate effortlessly brings in the unforeseen.”

Τὸ δὲ ὄναρ ἔπος ἦν εἰς μέτρον ἡρμοσμένον, ἔλεγε δὲ τὸ ἔπος ὁ θεϊότατος Καλάσιρις, εἴτε καταδαρθεῖν λαθούση φανείς, εἴτε καὶ ἐναργῶς ὀφθείς· εἶχε δέ, οἶμαι, ὧδέ πως· παντάρβην φορέουσα **πυρὸς** μὴ τάρβει **ἐρωήν**, ῥήϊδι' ὡς μοίραις χᾶ τ' ἀδόκητα πέλει.

Philagathos alluded to this passage in his allegorical interpretation of the novel where he elaborated on the etymological word-play surrounding ‘pantarbe’ displayed in the novel.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁶ *Hom.* 30, 20 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 205).

⁶⁶⁷ We may note here a close formulation in *Hom.* 2, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 16): εἰτά σοι αὐτίκα περιζέει τὸ περικάρδιον αἷμα καὶ **πρὸς ὄρεξιν διεγείρει ἀντιλυπήσεως**. The identity of expression in the two sermons points to a ready-made (memorized) stockpile of phrases, which the preacher commutes among his sermons.

⁶⁶⁸ *Aethiopika*, 8, 11, 2.

⁶⁶⁹ See below, pp. 441–442.

Philagathos' habit of 'thinking in pairs' is also underscored by the usage of *chiasmus*. Broadly defined, *chiasmus* is the literary technique which uses symmetric structures (words, phrases, or themes) grouped in parallel units with a pivotal section between them.⁶⁷⁰ A refined set of chiasmic structures is found in the homily "About the Prodigal Son":⁶⁷¹

Therefore man, just like a younger child which had received this sensible world and the paradise for living as inheritance, played unbounded and was led astray by desires and got subjected to pleasure, and being separated from the holy commandment which was given to him he destroys the fatherly substance; being plundered of the right judgment he lost the wealth of chastity, he was deprived of the silver of knowledge, he was robbed of the possession of the virtues and thus he became estranged from God by a great and infinite distance. Indeed, by the partaking of evil and by the nearness to wickedness we became far off from God; the one who folded wickedness around himself is separated from Justice, far off from Chastity becomes the one who stained himself with the filth of pleasures; is exiled from Prudence the one who is covered up by the burden of passions; is banished away from Courage the one who is subjugated in the enemy's arrays. Thus, "he journeyed to a far country," [Lc. 15:13] he who was enslaved by his foul deeds, having wasted in the pleasures of the flesh all the powers of the soul and bodily senses. "For your sins, says God, have separated us being placed between me and you." [cf. Is. 59:2]

Ὁ τοίνυν ἄνθρωπος, οἷα νεώτερος παῖς ὡς κλῆρον τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον κόσμον καὶ τὸν παράδεισον εἰς δίαίταν εἰληφώς, **ἐπαιξε λελυμένος καὶ παρήγετο ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ὑπέπιπτεν ἡδονῇ**⁶⁷² καὶ τῆς δοθείσης ἀγίας ἐντολῆς χωρισθεὶς τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν ἀπόλλυσι, τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λογισμοῦ στερηθεὶς ἀπώλεσε τῆς σωφροσύνης τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐστέρητο τοῦ ἀργυρίου τῆς γνώσεως, ἐσυλήθη τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν περιουσίαν καὶ οὕτω μακρὰν ἐγεγόνει Θεοῦ **πολλῷ τινι καὶ ἀπείρῳ τῷ μεταξὺ διαστήματι**. Τῇ γὰρ μετοχῇ τοῦ χειρόνος καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἐγγύτητι πόρρῳ γινόμεθα τοῦ Θεοῦ· μακρύνεται τῆς Δικαιοσύνης ὁ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐγκολπωσάμενος, πόρρῳ γίνεται τῆς Σωφροσύνης ὁ τῷ ῥύπῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν μολυνόμενος, ἐξοστρακίζεται τῆς Φρονήσεως ὁ τῇ τῶν παθῶν ἀχθηδόνι καταχωννύμενος, ἀποσκορακίζεται τῆς Ἀνδρείας ὁ δουλαγωγούμενος τοῖς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐπιτάγμασιν. Οὕτως «ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν» ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων πράξεων ἀνδραποδισθεὶς, πάσας τὰς ψυχικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις τοῦ

⁶⁷⁰ This literary technique is abundantly documented in the Old and the New Testament; cf. John Breck, *The Shape of Biblical Language: Chiasmus in the Scriptures and Beyond* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994); Wayne Brouwer, *The Literary Development of John 13–17: A Chiasmic Reading* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); John Paul Heil, *Hebrews: Chiasmic Structures and Audience Response* (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association, 2010); Ian H. Thomson, *Chiasmus in the Pauline Letters* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); David A. DeSilva, "X Marks the Spot?: A Critique of the Use of Chiasmus in Macro-Structural Analyses of Revelation," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30 (2008): 343–71.

⁶⁷¹ *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 380D–381B).

⁶⁷² Seemingly, behind Philagathos' formulation stands Clemens of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*, 11, 111, 1, 1–5: Ὁ πρῶτος **ὅτε ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐπαιξε λελυμένος**, ἔτι παιδίον ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ· **ὅτε δὲ ὑποπίπτων ἡδονῇ** (ὁφίς ἀλληγορεῖται ἡδονὴ ἐπὶ γαστέρα ἔρπουσα, κακία γῆνιν, εἰς ὕλας στρεφομένη) **παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίαις [...]**.

σώματος ἀναλώσας ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τῆς σαρκός. «Αἱ γὰρ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν, φησὶν ὁ Θεός, διστῶσιν ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν.»

The consequence of man's disobedience and estrangement from God is rendered with exceptional vividness. The chiasmic pattern A–B–B'–A'–A"–B" consists of the inverted parallelism between the concrete terms πλοῦτος, ἀργύριον, περιουσία and the abstract nouns σωφροσύνη, γνώσις, ἀρετή which form a double chiasm (A–B–B'–A' and B'–A'–A"–B"):

A ἀπώλεσε **τῆς σωφροσύνης**
B' ἐστέρητο τοῦ **ἀργυρίου**
A'' ἐσυλήθη **τῶν ἀρετῶν**

B τὸν **πλοῦτον**
A' **τῆς γνώσεως**
B'' τὴν **περιουσίαν**

The rhetorical power of chiasms is substantially achieved by climactic elements. The main function of this literary technique is to enable the listener/reader to experience the emotions which the author intended to evoke. As John Breck underscored chiasmus “through progressive intensification or heightening draws the reader/hearer into the movement of the passage as into a vortex... This means that the reader must learn to hear the text, to listen to and appreciate its rhythms as well as its words, in order to penetrate to its deepest level of significance.”⁶⁷³ The Philagathean passage cited above is illustrative in this sense. The homilist skilfully conveys emotional intensity by punctuating the progressive worsening of man's condition (“he lost” – ἀπώλεσε... “he was deprived” – ἐστέρητο ...he was robbed – ἐσυλήθη) which culminates with the human nature getting at an infinite distance from God. The description is peppered with a vignette taken from Gregory of Nyssa.⁶⁷⁴ Thereafter, Philagathos introduces a second chiasmic structure which highlights mankind's separation from God:

A **πρὸς τὴν κακίαν**
B πόρρω

B ἐγγύτητι
A γινόμεθα **τοῦ Θεοῦ**

Through a similar intensification Philagathos describes the separation from the four cardinal virtues (“he is separated from Justice” – « μακρύνεται τῆς Δικαιοσύνης »... “he becomes far off from Chastity” – « πόρρω γίνεται τῆς Σωφροσύνης », ... “he is exiled from Prudence” – « ἐξοστρακίζεται τῆς Φρονήσεως »...he is banished away from Courage – « ἀποσκορακίζεται τῆς Ἀνδρείας ») which peaks in man's subjugation to the enemy's arrays. The usage of compound verbs (i.e. « ἐξοστρακίζεται », « ἀποσκορακίζεται ») further supplements vividness and emotional intensity to the scene.

Antithetical thought and parallelism constitute major stylistic devices for Philagathos' exegesis. The homilist applied these techniques for explaining the meaning of the Passion in view of the Transfiguration, for the dramatization of the Gospel events, as the disciples' encounter with resurrected Christ on the road to Emmaus, for deciphering the meaning of

⁶⁷³ Breck, *The Shape of Biblical Language*, 342.

⁶⁷⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 145, 23–25: ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἅπαν ἐστὶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πλήρωμα, ὅπερ ὁ χωρισμὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἐντολῶν πολλῷ τινὶ καὶ ἀπείρῳ τῷ μεταξὺ διαστήματι τοῦ θεοῦ διετείχισεν·

Christ's miracles or for the interpretation of Lord's parables. the most important observation to be made in this context as well is that among the numerous rhetorical models which homilist exploited for enhancing the rhetorical effectiveness of his compositions the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus feature prominently.

Conclusions

To summarize, the analysis aimed to highlight the originality of Philagathos' rhetorical technique. The bedrock of his exegesis consists in the usage of the rhetorical techniques of *diegesis*, *ekphrasis*, *synkrisis* or *antithesis*. They reveal the dual purpose of the sermons: to instruct the listeners and to stir them emotionally.

We have placed special emphasis on the rhetorical models, which informed Philagathos compositions, in particular the ancient novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. It became apparent that Philagathos' *Homilies* are in tune with the contemporary Byzantine rhetorical taste. Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus, Lucian, Alciphron and Synesius the authors cherished by the South Italian preacher were prominent literary models recommended by Gregory of Corinth, a grammarian active c. 1120–1150.⁶⁷⁵ In his the handbook of style, *On the Composition of Speeches* (Περὶ λογογραφίας), Gregory commands:

“Read Leucippe, Charicleia, Lucian, Synesius, Alciphron's letters. The first (i.e. the novel by Achilles Tatius) is full of flowery grace, the second of sober grace, the third had every kind of excellence, the fourth is solemn and powerful. The letters (of Alciphron) are very persuasive (πολὺ τὸ πιτανὸν) and plausible. Solemn and in all respects sublime is Philo; Josephus is best in stylistic quality in his account of the capture (of Jerusalem), and is of the same type as Charicleia” (trans. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 186).⁶⁷⁶

Yet, the influence exercised by the Late-Antique novels over the narrative style of the *Homilies* deserves to be underscored. The Greek novels may have had a continuous readership in Byzantium, but, if we are to follow Margaret Mullett's argument, what we find “being written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is rather different.”⁶⁷⁷ Drawing on Bakhtin's theory of the novel, Mullett discussed the great influence that the novel exerted upon the Byzantine literary texts in the twelfth century, which she termed as a literature in state of novelization. The author described the widespread adoption in various genres (i.e. in hagiography, homiletics, fiction, or

⁶⁷⁵ For Gregory of Corinth see Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 184–190; Robert Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History*, (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1993), 163–172.

⁶⁷⁶ Gregory of Corinth, Περὶ λογογραφίας, ed. D. Donnet, 34–35, 207–215: Ανάγνωθι Λευκίππην, Χαρίκλεια, Λουκιανόν, Συνέσιον, Ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολάς. Ἡ πρώτη χαρίτων καὶ ἄνθους γέμει, ὁ δεῦτερος χαρίτων μετὰ σωφροσύνης πλήρης, ὁ τρίτος παντοδαπὸν ἔχει τὸ καλόν, ὁ τέταρτος σεμνὸς καὶ ὀγκερός. αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ πολὺ τὸ πιτανὸν καὶ εὐπλαστον ἔχουσι. σεμνὸς κατὰ πάντα καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ Φίλων, ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ἄριστος τὸν συγγραφικὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀλώσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια.

⁶⁷⁷ Margaret Mullett, “Novelisation in Byzantium: Narrative after the Revival of Fiction” in *Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honor of Roger Scott*, ed. John Burke (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006), 1–28 (here cited at p. 3).

historiography) of the more elaborate narrative features harbored in the novel, though not necessarily originating in it (i.e. genre mixing, irony, humor, self-parody, ‘dialogised’ literary language, etc.). To a certain extent, we could also say that the *Homilies* of Philagathos correspond to this more general tendency of twelfth-century Byzantine literature of interest and experimentation with the novelistic genre.

PART III: Exegesis and Florilegic Structure

“There was nothing which medieval people liked better, or did better, than sorting out and tidying up. Of all our modern inventions I suspect that they would most have admired the card index.” – C. S. Lewis⁶⁷⁸

In the preceding chapter we have investigated Philagathos’ usage of the rhetorical techniques of *diegesis*, *synkrisis*, *antithesis* and *diegesis* in the *Homilies*. We have shown that Philagathos’ understanding of scripture cannot in principle be isolated from the usage of these rhetorical strategies. The focus of our inquiry was on the literary models (i.e. the ancient novelists, Procopius of Gaza, Alciphron, Lucian of Samosata, Synesius) which informed Philagathos’ contextual adaptations. It has become evident that Philagathos collected passages from his sources on various topics which he retrieved in the sermons. We have seen that the preacher excerpted passages about various emotions (i.e. deep grief, mourning, seduction, love), works of art, descriptions of storms, of persons, etc.

In this section I shall explore what might most felicitous be termed the “florilegic structure” of the *Homilies*. We show that Philagathos’ hoarding and embroidery of sources, although in many ways exceptional, echoes the pervasive Byzantine cultural attitude of *encyclopedism*, or “culture of collection” (*cultura della syllogé*) as Paolo Odorico proposed.⁶⁷⁹ I point out that Philagathos’ craft of citation and practice of reading was organized into a system that carved the texts according to subjects consonant with the theme of the sermons. There are homilies made up almost entirely of citations with snippets collected from various sources thematically linked with the subject of the sermons. In particular, I indicate that Philagathos has gathered up passages dealing with general themes: examples involve snippets about human nature, death, pleasure, etc., which he frequently retrieved in the sermons. Besides literal citations, the imprint of authorities is conspicuous in original adaptations of theological doctrines. Thus, the doctrine of perpetual progress, of the cardinal virtues or the treatment of hagiographical material is modelled on Maximus Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa’s exegesis.

A florilegic habit is discernible at every level of exegesis. At the literal level, we indicate that Philagathos systematically collected from a wide array of sources scriptural difficulties related to the Gospel reading of the day. Throughout the *Homilies* are disseminated *questions* that can be traced back either to *quaestiones et responsiones* literature (ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις) or to dossiers of anti-Christian arguments. Among them, the preacher cited arguments formulated in Emperor Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* (Κατὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων) to the extent that it transmitted previously unknown passages from this lost work. More extensively, the homilist drew on the

⁶⁷⁸ C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image. An introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

⁶⁷⁹ See most recently Paolo Odorico, “Cadre d’exposition / cadre de pensée — la culture du recueil,” in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 89–108.

ἀπορίαι quoted and refuted by Makarios Magnes (Μονογενὴς πρὸς Ἑλληνας). In addition to these works, I pinpoint that the South-Italian preacher cited other *questions* amassed from Christian sources that can be traced back to Late-antique polemicists.

Further, we shall examine the usage of scientific and philosophical language for expressing, clarifying and explaining difficult passages, natural phenomena, objects, etc., related to the theme of the homily. This feature of the sermons further illustrates Philagathos' florilegic habit as the preacher delighted in collecting scientific explanatory remarks for elucidating the literal sense of the Scripture. For the inquiries into the attributes of the mustard seed, the mandrake, the sykamore, the pods that the swine ate, the anatomy of the eye, the peculiarities of snakes or the elucidation of lightning render this evident.⁶⁸⁰

Finally, I address Philagathos' "spiritual" (θεωρία) interpretation. We show that the constant reliance on the allegorical interpretation of numbers and names is a characteristic feature of Philagathos' exegetic style. I show that Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus Confessor were decisive in shaping the allegorical interpretations of Philagathos. The homiletic style of Philagathos is imbued with the desire for disclosing the hidden meaning of numbers and names using every biblical episode that mentions them to derive a spiritual interpretation.

1. Christian Authorities and Florilegic Perspective

A detailed scrutiny of the sources used in the sermons reveals a massive recourse to models. Within the entire homiletic corpus the most cited author is Gregory of Nyssa. For encyclopaedic lore,⁶⁸¹ for spiritual and mystical explanations, Gregory is the most cherished authority.⁶⁸² The homilist favours Gregory's interpretations over stances that are more literal.⁶⁸³ In the homily "On the Widow's Son," Philagathos acclaims Gregory's account as unmatched literary accomplishment, which he would be mad (μαινοίμην) to change.⁶⁸⁴ However, besides this indication, only in few occasion did the homilist make explicit references to the Cappadocian. In the homily "On the Beatitudes," Philagathos writes:⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁰ See, e.g., *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 477C); *Hom.* 30, 4–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200–201); *Hom.* 16, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 107).

⁶⁸¹ Gregory is invoked for all sorts of definitions or clarifications; cf. *Hom.* 36 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 15, PG 132, coll. 360B): Εὐχὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ὡς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Σειρὴν ὁ Νυσσαεὺς ἔφη, ἐπαγγελία τινὸς τῶν κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀφιερουμένων Θεῷ [...].

⁶⁸² *Hom.* 76 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 33, PG 132, coll. 669D): Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνδότερον βούλει χωρῆσαι, καὶ κατοπεῦσαι τὰ μυστικώτερα, εὖροις ἀξιόχρεων χειραγωγὸν τὸν Νυσσαέα Γρηγόριον, τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ χειραγωγοῦντα σε πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλότερα.

⁶⁸³ For instance in *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 776A), the homilist rejects Basil of Caesarea's interpretation of the supernal waters from the Genesis account [Gen. 1:3] and appropriates Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis from the *Apologia in hexaemeron*; the text is discussed at pp. 359–361.

⁶⁸⁴ *Hom.* 6, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 38): Ἦν τις πόλις κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Νάϊν. Παῖς ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ μονογενὴς χήρα τινί (μαινοίμην γὰρ εἰ τὰς ἐν τούτῳ φωνὰς τοῦ Νυσσαεῶς ἀμείψαιμι). Ἦν οὖν ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἔτι τοιοῦτος οἷος ἐν μειρακίοις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρα τελῶν· νεανίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. = Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, 217, 47–51: Νάϊν τινὰ πόλιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἱστορεῖ ἡ Γραφή. Παῖς ἦν ἐν ταύτῃ μονογενὴς χήρα τινὲ, οὐκέτι τοιοῦτος παῖς, οἷος ἐν μειρακίοις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρα τελῶν. Νεανίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος.

⁶⁸⁵ *Hom.* 20, 9, (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134).

“Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” [Mt. 5:3] Truly, one above all others perceived entirely and most eminently the depth of this holy teaching, the one who entered by the favour of great Moses into the darkness of theology, the great Gregory of Nyssa who has explained in eight homilies the beauty lying in this [theology]; and he will enable anyone who desires it to draw running water from that most wise book, and to be drunk with a sober drunkenness.

«Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν». Τὸ μὲν βάθος τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης διδασκαλίας μόνος τῶν πάντων ἐπέγνω κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότερα ὁ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Μωσῆν εἰς τὸν γνόφον τῆς θεολογίας εἰσδύς, **ὁ Νυσσαεὺς καὶ μέγας Γρηγόριος, ἐν ὁμιλίαις ὀκτὼ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ κάλλος ἐξηγησάμενος· καὶ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ τῆς πανσόφου ἐκείνης βίβλου ἀρύσασθαι νάματα, καὶ μέθην μεθυσθῆναι τὴν σόφρονα·**

The homilist assumes programmatically a florilegic perspective. In the homily “About the Prodigal Son,” Philagathos stated his desire to outline various interpretations:⁶⁸⁶

The Lord said this parable: “There was a man who had two sons. The younger one said to his father, ‘Father, give me my share of the estate.’” [Lc. 15:11–12] John the all-wise, golden in soul and tongue, after he investigated the details of the present parable, says that these two sons are the sinful and the just, the ones closely abiding by the commandments of God, the others having come of their own accord to the shameful and ignominious life. Well, we naturally esteem the interpretation of the father and at the same time, we do not decline to follow other fathers: for the variegated (πολύτροπος) wisdom of God was well pleased that the mysteries of Scripture might be apprehended in many-sided ways (ποικιλοτρόπως).

The patristic authorities most often named in the *Homilies* are Gregory the Theologian⁶⁸⁷ and Maximus Confessor.⁶⁸⁸ If Gregory the Theologian is most often cited in small snippets that

⁶⁸⁶ *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, *PG* 132, coll. 372B): Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· «Ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχε δύο υἱούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρί· πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας.» Ὁ μὲν χρυσοῦς καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ ψυχὴν Ἰωάννης ὁ πάνσοφος τὰ τῆς παρούσης παραβολῆς ἐπεξεργασάμενος, τοὺς δύο τούτους υἱούς τοὺς δικαίους εἶναι λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἀραρότως μείναντας ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀισχρὸν καὶ ἀκλεᾶ βίον αὐτομολήσαντας. Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξηγήσιν, ὡς εἰκός, σεβαζόμεθα καὶ πατράσιν ἄλλοις στοιχεῖν οὐκ ἀπαναινόμεθα· ἡ γὰρ πολύτροπος τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία ἠυδόκησε ποικιλοτρόπως νοεῖσθαι τῆς Γραφῆς τὰ μυστήρια.

⁶⁸⁷ *Hom.* 3, 10, (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 21); *Hom.* 6, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 38); *Hom.* 36 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 15, *PG* 132, coll. 369A); *Hom.* 46 (Ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, *PG* 132, coll. 496A); *Hom.* 46 (Ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, *PG* 132, coll. 501B); *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, *PG* 132, coll. 760A); *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, *PG* 132, coll. 761 C); *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, *PG* 132, coll. 769 A); *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, *PG* 132, coll. 772B–773A); *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, *PG* 132, coll. 777B).

⁶⁸⁸ *Hom.* 1, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 4); *Hom.* 3, 10, (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 21); *Hom.* 4, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 27) = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 65, 183–192; *Hom.* 5, 1–4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33); *Hom.* 25, 8–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 165); *Hom.* 29, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 193); *Hom.* 32, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 224); *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, *PG* 132, coll. 381B); *Hom.* 40 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, *PG* 132, coll. 421D); *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.*

illustrate important theological doctrines, Maximus' exegesis markedly informs Philagathos' allegorical approach. Then, follows Michael Psellos, an author previously undocumented among Philagathos' sources.⁶⁸⁹ Together with Neilos Doxapatres' *De Oeconomia dei*, Philagathos' *Homilies* constitute the earliest attestation of Psellos' theological works in Southern Italy.⁶⁹⁰ Then, the next important source for Philagathos is Cyril of Alexandria.⁶⁹¹ His *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* and the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* feature prominently in the sermons.⁶⁹² The *Homilies* of John Chrysostom naturally figured among Philagathos' sources.⁶⁹³ But their influence and importance for Philagathos' sermons and exegetic style has been greatly exaggerated.⁶⁹⁴ Noteworthy, Philagathos' only extensive appropriation from John Chrysostom is the definition of the parable from *Expositiones in Psalmos*.⁶⁹⁵ This borrowing is again illustrative

22, PG 132, coll. 464 A); *Hom.* 54 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 601B); *Hom.* 79 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 700A).

⁶⁸⁹ *Hom.* 12, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81) = Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora. Oration* 4, 70 (ed. Antony R. Littlewood); *Hom.* 15, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 98–99) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 76, 8–30 (ed. Gautier, 302–303); *Hom.* 15, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 99) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 76, 49–53 (ed. Gautier, 304); *Hom.* 16, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi,) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica* (ed. Westerink and Duffy), *Opusculum* 18, 65–72; *Hom.* 17, 14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 116) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 28, 23–30; *Hom.* 34, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 235–36) = Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora, Oration* 4, 74–77; *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 392B) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 32, 87–96 (ed. Gautier, 134).

⁶⁹⁰ For Neilos' usage of Psellos consult Ilse De Vos, *Good Counsel Never Comes Amiss: Nilus Doxapatres and the De Oeconomia Dei: critical edition of book I, 164-263*, (PhD Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2010); De Vos documented the usage of Psellos' *Opusculum* 15, 46 and 82 (ed. Gautier); for the reception of Psellos' works in Southern Italy see André Jacob, "La réception de la littérature byzantine dans l'Italie méridionale après la conquête normande: les exemples de Théophylacte de Bulgarie et de Michel Psellos," in *Histoire et Culture dans l'Italie Byzantine: Acquis et Nouvelles Recherches*, ed. André Jacob, Jean-Marie Martin and Ghislaine Noyé (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006), 55–65.

⁶⁹¹ See for instance, *Hom.* 4, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 26): κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Κύριλλον πότιμος καὶ γλυκύς.

⁶⁹² *Hom.* 13, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 87) = Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 503, 4; *Hom.* 22, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 143) = *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, PG 70, coll. 486, 17–20; *Hom.* 23, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 150) = Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 702, 7–8; *Hom.* 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 536B) = Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 490, 1–12; *Hom.* 17, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113) = Cyril, *Commentarii in Joannem*, 1, 197, 21–24; *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 784A–B) = Cyril of Alexandria, *De sancta trinitate dialogi i–vii*, Aubert page, 595, 1; *Hom.* 11, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 73) = Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem*, 2, 158, 25–27.

⁶⁹³ *Hom.* 49 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 521D): «Ἐῖπεν οὖν Θωμᾶς, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, τοῖς συμμαθηταῖς, Ἄγωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεν μετ' αὐτοῦ.» Ὁ μὲν πάνσοφος καὶ μέγας Χρυσόστομος ταῦτα φάναι φησὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν δειλιῶντα, καὶ οἷον ἀσχύλλοντα. Then Thomas, who is called the Twin, said to his fellow disciples, "Let us also go, that we may die with Him." [John 11: 16] The all-wise and great Chrysostom says that Thomas had uttered these words because he was afraid and just as tormented. See also *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 372B); the imprint of Chrysostom's exegesis may be perceived in *Hom.* 56, 10 (ed. Torre, 120); *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 848B).

⁶⁹⁴ The idea that Philagathos profusely used the works of John Chrysostom directly or through the indirect tradition represented by John Xiphilinos and/or Theophylact of Ochrid is deeply rooted in the scholarship; it was first stated by Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959), 651, who claimed that Philagathos lavishly used Theophylact of Ochrid's *Commentaries on the Gospels*; then, H. Hennephof, *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die chrysostomische Tradition* (Leiden 1963), 95–100 placed Philagathos' homiliary within "the Chrysostomis tradition"; somehow surprisingly, G. Rossi-Taibbi in *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, L, endorsed this opinion; however, our investigation of Philagathos' sources does not warrant this conclusion; apart of some general similarities in exegesis we could not determine with certainty that Philagathos used Theophylact of Ochrid's *Commentaries*.

⁶⁹⁵ *Hom.* 19, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 124–125) = John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG 55, coll. 225, 27–49.

for Philagathos' florilegic stance in dealing with sources, which are harvested for various definitions, scientific illustrations, etymologies, etc. In what regards the spiritual interpretation, the *Homilies* prominently stand in the exegetic tradition represented by Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor.

Further, Philagathos cited and used various works of Basil of Caesarea.⁶⁹⁶ Special mention should be given to Basil's spurious work *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiaem*.⁶⁹⁷ In addition, Philagathos quoted Epiphanius of Salamis,⁶⁹⁸ John the Ladder,⁶⁹⁹ John of Damascus⁷⁰⁰ and Symeon Metaphrastes.⁷⁰¹ Besides these luminaries, the homilist drew on Aeneas of Gaza,⁷⁰² Antionchus the Monk⁷⁰³ and Nylus of Ancyra,⁷⁰⁴ sources hitherto unknown to have been used in the *Homilies*.

Among the homilies ascribed to Philagathos in the manuscript tradition is the sermon "For the Drought, which Occured at this Time,"⁷⁰⁵ thoroughly similar with the pseudo-Chrysostomic *De siccitate*.⁷⁰⁶ The homily does not reveal any significant alteration of the source text, which render dubious the Philagathean authorship of the sermon. A similar sermon is *Homily 84* transmitted by codex *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 184^v-185^r. The sermon consists of two sections borrowed *ad verbum* from Proclus' *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam* and John Chrysostom's spurious homily *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam*.⁷⁰⁷

As noted above, there are homilies almost made up of citations and snippets collected from sources thematically linked with the subject of the sermons. An exemplification of this

⁶⁹⁶ The usage of Basil in the *Homilies* is significant; *Hom.* 20, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134–135) = Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)*, 31, 1217; *Hom.* 5, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32) = Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, 15, 35, 70; *Hom.* 30, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200) = Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)*, PG 31, coll. 1245, 26–37.

⁶⁹⁷ In particular, the homily "For the Parable of the Vineyard" is extensively based on Basil's spurious work; *Hom.* 23, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 149) = Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiaem [Dub.]*, 16, 310; *Hom.* 23, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 149–150) = Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiaem [Dub.]*, 16, 310, 1–5; etc.

⁶⁹⁸ *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 32, PG 132, coll. 652A); special mention should be given to Philagathos' historical exposition about Samaria from *Hom.* 57 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 38, PG 132, coll. 724A–725B), which is based on Epiphanius' *De xii gemmis (fragmenta alia ap. Anastasium Sinaitam, Quaestiones et responsiones)*, PG 89, coll. 597.

⁶⁹⁹ *Hom.* 29, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 193); *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 845A).

⁷⁰⁰ *Hom.* 54 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 588C).

⁷⁰¹ *Hom.* 74 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 31, PG 132, coll. 645B).

⁷⁰² *Hom.* 13, 4–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 86–87) = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 30, 7–31; *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, coll. 449 C) = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 27, 12–17; *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 452 A–B) = Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 26–31; *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, coll. 449 C) = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 27, 12–17; *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, coll. 449 C–D) = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 20, 3–14.

⁷⁰³ *Hom.* 85, "Prologue in regard to the drought," – Πρόλογος εἰς τὸν αὐχμὸν (οἰ) – *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 185^{r-v} = Antiochus the Monk, PG 89, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom.* 13, *Περὶ πλεονεξίας*, l. 12–26 and Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom.* 12, *Περὶ τόκων*, l. 40–43.

⁷⁰⁴ *Hom.* 6, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 43–44) = Nylus of Ancyra, PG 79, *Epistulae*, Ep. 6.

⁷⁰⁵ *Hom.* 70 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 62, PG 132, coll. 1069–1077).

⁷⁰⁶ Ps. Chrysostom, *De siccitate*, PG 61, 723–726 (cf. Adalma, *Repertorium pseudo chrysostomicum*, n° 133).

⁷⁰⁷ *Hom.* 84, "Prologue for the Sunday of Thomas", Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ (οἰ) = Proclus of Constantinople, *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam*, ed. F.J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, [Studi e Testi 247, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967]: 1–4 and John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* [Sp.], PG 50, coll. 725, 16–37.

florilegic habit is the homily “For the [saying]: ‘Be you therefore wise as serpents.’”⁷⁰⁸ At a close investigation, it turns out that the sermon consists of citations and adaptations from a wide array of sources. There are quotations from Gregory of Nyssa’s *In Canticum canticorum*, *De vita Moysis*, *De virginitate*, *In Ecclesiasten*, *De oratione Dominica*, from Basil of Caesarea’s *Asceticon magnum*, from Michael Psellos’ *Opusculum* 16, as well as allusions to Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* and perhaps to *Physiologus*. For instance, from Gregory’s *De vita Moysis*, Philagathos appropriates the episode about Moses changing the rod into a snake.⁷⁰⁹ Then, he appended a passage from Basil of Caesarea’s interpretation of Matthew 10:16: “Therefore be wise as serpents and harmless as doves.” The preacher explains that Christ advises the disciples to emulate the ability of the serpent who “forged persuasively (πιθανῶς) the discourse to estrange Eve from God,” that they may also “handle with judgment their words to estrange the listeners from sin and draw them back to God.”⁷¹⁰

A similar array of sources is found in other homilies as: “For the saying: ‘No one has ascended to heaven,’”⁷¹¹ “For the Exaltation of the Precious and Lifegiving Cross,”⁷¹² “On the

⁷⁰⁸ *Hom.* 30 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 199–205).

⁷⁰⁹ *Hom.* 30, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200): «Πῶς οὖν, φησί, τούτων περιγενήσεσθε; *Γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡσεὶ ὄφεις*». **Μὴ θορυβεῖσθω δὲ τῶν φιλοχρίστων** ἡ ἀκοή, **ὅτι ἀπεμφαίνοντι ζῶν** ἑξομοιοῦσθαι τοὺς μαθητὰς νουθετεῖ. = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 31: ‘Ἡ δὲ εἰς ὄφιν μεταβολὴ τῆς βακτηρίας **μὴ ταρασσέσθω τοὺς φιλοχρίστους ὡς ἀπεμφαίνοντι ζῶν** προσαρμολύοντων ἡμῶν τὸν τοῦ μυστηρίου λόγον.

⁷¹⁰ *Hom.* 30, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200): ‘Ὡσπερ γάρ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου ἐπιβουλῇ ἔγνω ὁ ὄφιν μὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ **προσελθεῖν**, στερρότερον ἔχοντι φρόνημα, ἀλλ’ ὡς **εὐαγωγοτέρᾳ** τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀπατηλὴν ἐκείνην προσῆξε παραίνεσιν, **πιθανῶς** τὸν λόγον πλάσας **πρὸς τὸ ἀποστήσαι Θεοῦ**, οὕτω βούλεται τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐν τῷ διδάσκειν **καὶ πρόσωπα καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς** ἐπιλέγεσθαι, **καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐν κρίσει τοὺς λόγους οἰκονομεῖν, πρὸς τὸ ἀποστήσαι τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ οἰκειῶσαι Θεῷ**. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum*, PG 31, coll. 1245C–D: ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ ΣΜΕ΄. *Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ φρόνιμος ὡς ὁ ὄφιν, καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡς ἡ περιστέρα*, [...] Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀποστέλλων ὁ Κύριος, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐντέλλεται· ὅπου καὶ σοφίας ἦν χρεια πρὸς τὸ πείσαι, καὶ ἀνεξικακίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας· ἵνα, ὡς ἐκεῖ ὁ ὄφιν ἔγνω καὶ προσώπῳ **προσελθεῖν εὐαγωγοτέρῳ, καὶ πιθανῶς εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀποστήσαι Θεοῦ**, καὶ ὑπαγαγέσθαι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς **καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ τρόπον καὶ καιρὸν** ἐπιλεγώμεθα, καὶ **παντὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς λόγους οἰκονομῶμεν ἐν κρίσει, πρὸς τὸ ἀποστήσαι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν πρὸς Θεόν**· τὴν δὲ γε ὑπομονὴν ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς κατορθώσωμεν εἰς τέλος, καθὼς γέγραπται. Trans. “Who is the person ‘wise as the serpent and harmless as the dove?’ [...] For the Lord sending off his disciples to preach the Gospel he commanded them these things: for in some places was needed both wisdom for being convincing and patience in respect of those who lay snares. Because just as the serpent knew how to approach man there [i.e. in the garden of Eden] with a more submissive countenance and to speak [to him] in a persuasive manner as to estrange him from God and to bring man under the yoke of sin, in the same way let us choose the person, the place and the time and in any case let us handle with judgement our words as to estrange [the listeners] from sin and to draw them back to God. But let us achieve patience into temptations to the end, as it is written [cf. Mt. 10: 22].”

⁷¹¹ *Hom.* 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 17–22); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 3, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 17) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 39, 64–68; *Hom.* 3, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 18–19) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 1, 67–68; *Hom.* 3, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 19) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 31–32; *Hom.* 3, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 20) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 274 and 276–277; *Hom.* 3, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 21) = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, 9; *Hom.* 3, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 22) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, GNO 8,1, 196, 20–197, 7.

⁷¹² *Hom.* 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 23–31); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 4, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 23) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 32, 54–63; *Hom.* 4, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 27) = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 65, 183–192; *Hom.* 4, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 28) = Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 167, 19–27; *Hom.* 4, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 28–29) = Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 169, 14–170, 12; *Hom.* 4, 22 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 30–31) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 151, 2–8 and Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 32, 72–80.

Catching of Fish,”⁷¹³ “On the Widow’s Son,”⁷¹⁴ “For the Rich Men and Lazarus,”⁷¹⁵ “About the Men possessed by the Legion of Demons,”⁷¹⁶ “About the Lawyer who tempted the Lord,”⁷¹⁷ “On the Parable of the Ten Virgins,”⁷¹⁸ “On the Beatitudes,”⁷¹⁹ “For the: ‘No man, when he has lighted a candle,’”⁷²⁰ “For the Parable of the Vineyard,”⁷²¹ “For the: ‘Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?’”⁷²² “the Sermon Pronounced at the Anniversary of the Dormition of our

⁷¹³ *Hom.* 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–36); *Hom.* 5, 2–3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33) = Maximus Confesor, *PG* 90, Cap. 95, coll. 1389 A–B; *Hom.* 5, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 35–36) = Julian the Apostate, *Contra Galilaeos* (new fragment); it is likely that the citation of Julian’s argument and its confutation depends on some Christian refutation of Julian’s work no longer available to us.

⁷¹⁴ *Hom.* 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 37–44); for the sources employed in this sermon and related discussion see above, Part II, chapter 1, “Rhetorical Lament in the *Homilies*: Philagathos on the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain,” 79–93.

⁷¹⁵ *Hom.* 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 53–60); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 8, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 58) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, *PG* 46, coll. 68 and 81; *Hom.* 8, 14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 58) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, *PG* 46, 81 and Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1232; *Hom.* 8, 15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 53–60) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1232 and Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, *PG* 46, 84; *Hom.* 8, 18 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 59–60) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, *PG* 46, coll. 85 and 88.

⁷¹⁶ *Hom.* 9 (Rossi-Taibbi, 61–66); *Hom.* 9, 13 (65–66) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1285, 20–31;

⁷¹⁷ *Hom.* 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78–84); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 12, 2–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78–80) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, *PG* 44, coll. 144–145; *Hom.* 12, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 80–81) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1217 and coll. 1257; Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*, *Oration* 4, 63–73; *Hom.* 12, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 82) = Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV, 18 (ed. Goulet 300, 8–14).

⁷¹⁸ *Hom.* 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 124–130); for literal appropriations the most significant examples involve the following passages: *Hom.* 19, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 124–125) = John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, *PG* 55, coll. 225B–C; *Hom.* 19, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 124–125) = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 63, 68–71; *Hom.* 19, 15–16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 130) = Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum (homiliae 15)*, GNO 6, 15, 3 and *De vita Moysis*, 2, 247, 1–9.

⁷¹⁹ *Hom.* 20, (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 131–137); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 20, 2–3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 131–132) = Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo*, 395A, 10–16; *Hom.* 20, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1193; *Hom.* 20, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1193; *Hom.* 20, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1200; *Hom.* 20, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)*, *PG* 31, coll. 1217 C–D; *Hom.* 20, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1221; *Hom.* 20, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1222; *Hom.* 20, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1222 C–D; *Hom.* 20, 14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44, coll. 1245.

⁷²⁰ *Hom.* 16, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 34, 6–9; *Hom.* 16, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134) = Michael Psellos, *Theologica*, *Opusculum* 18, 65–72.

⁷²¹ *Hom.* 23 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 148–155); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 23, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 149) = Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaia[m]* [*Dub.*], *PG* 30, 16, 310, coll. 657–660; *Hom.* 23, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 149–150) = Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaia[m]* [*Dub.*], *PG* 30, 5, 177, 1–10; *Hom.* 23, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 150) = Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaia[m]* [*Dub.*], 5, 140, 3–13 and Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 702, 6–12; *Hom.* 23, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 154) = Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, 5, 330–331; *Hom.* 23, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 155) = *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 85, 1–12; *Hom.* 23, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 154) = John Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 1, 40, 1. 241–246.

⁷²² *Hom.* 27 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174–182); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 27, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 174) = Lucian, *De domo*, 1, 6–11; *Hom.* 27, 2 (ed. Rossi-

Venerable Father Bartholomew,”⁷²³ “For the Commemoration of the Decollation of the Forerunner”⁷²⁴ “About the Prodigal Son,”⁷²⁵ “For the: ‘When the Son of man shall come in his glory,’”⁷²⁶ “On Healing the Paralytic in Capernaum.”⁷²⁷

This vast array of sources was indexed into theological themes to which we now turn, pin pointing the appropriations from Michael Psellos’ orations, Aeneas of Gaza’s *Theophrastus*, Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes* and from Gregory of Nyssa’s writings.

1.1. Demons and Angels

Michael Psellos’ theological discourses, as we have seen, represent a major source for Philagathos’ compositions. The homilist appropriated from Psellos a wide variety of topics that coincided with the theme of the sermons: from general descriptions of human nature, the nature of angels or the kinds of demons to the full embracing of Psellos’ allegorical interpretations.

Taibbi, 174–175) = Lucian, *De domo*, 8, 1–5; *De domo*, 9, 4–14; Procopius, *Descriptio horologii*, op. VIII, 4, 13–16; *Hom.* 27, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 175) = Lucian, *De domo*, 3, 9–19; *Hom.* 27, 10–13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 177–178) = Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 27 (ed. Goulet, 176, 10–35).

⁷²³ *Hom.* 34 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 232–238); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: *Hom.* 34, 3 (Rossi-Taibbi, 233) = Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 32 (ed. Goulet, 64, 26); *Hom.* 34, 4 (Rossi-Taibbi, 233–244) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, GNO 9, 37, 1–6; *Hom.* 34, 4 (Rossi-Taibbi, 234) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, GNO 9, 37, 5–21; *Hom.* 34, 7 (Rossi-Taibbi, 235) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, GNO 9, 38, 13–22; *Hom.* 34, 8 (Rossi-Taibbi, 235–236) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, GNO 9, 38, 1–10; Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 6, 7–12; Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*, Oration 4, 67–79.

⁷²⁴ *Hom.* 35, (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 239–244); *Hom.* 35, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240) = Basil of Caesarea, *In Gordium martyrem*, PG 31, 497C and Gregory of Nyssa, *In Basilium fratrem*, 5; *Hom.* 35, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 240–241) = Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 24, 3.

⁷²⁵ *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 372–396); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 373B = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1300C; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 381B–C = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 65, 215–220; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 384B = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 316, 5–9; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 384C = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 301, 1–5 and Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate*, 5, 5–15; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 388A = Nilus of Ancyra, *Epistulae*, Book 3 epistle 137, 1–3; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 388B = Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica orationes v*, 238, 25; Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, 17, coll. 389A–B = Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica orationes v*, 240, 2–10.

⁷²⁶ *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 396–412); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 396C = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1264 C; Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 4; Gregory of Nyssa, *In sextum Psalmum*, GNO 5, 190, 35–39; Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 400A–B = Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum (homiliae 15)* GNO 6, 396, 9–397, 3; Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 400C = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1261, lines 25–31; Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 401B = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1292, 47–1293, 11; Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 401D = Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1252, 42–55; Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 404B = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 247.

⁷²⁷ *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 444–457); for literal appropriations the most significant passages and their corresponding sources are: Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 444A = Synesius, *Catastases*, Oration 2, 5, 27–31; Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 444C = Gregory of Nazianzus, *Adversus Eunomianos (orat. 27)*, 2, 15–20; Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 449D = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 20, 10–11; Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 452A = Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 26, 12–14 and 30, 9–31 (= Philagathos, *Hom.* 13, 4, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 86); Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 456C = Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 18 (ed. Goulet, 298, 26–300, 8).

The homily “On the Sending Forth of the Twelve Disciples” is a case in point. The preacher searched for sources to explain Matthew 10:1⁷²⁸ and Michael Psellos’ *Opusculum* 76, “On the Evangelical Saying: ‘God is Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth’” was a convenient choice.⁷²⁹ For the text is a didactic and comprehensive exposition of what the scripture calls by the word “spirit” (πνεῦμα). Philagathos begins by expounding verse by verse the Gospel lection:⁷³⁰

“And when He had called His twelve disciples to Him, He gave them power over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all kinds of sickness and all kinds of disease.” [Mt. 10:1] For the Lord pressing on by this time to overthrow the long-
aged tyranny of the devil, as if showing forth the prelude of his abolition he gives the disciples the power to drive away the demons just just as some rascals worthy of stripes and to heal without toil the miseries occurred to men because of them. Since indeed the word ‘spirit’ is ambiguous – for the Lord is spirit, the souls of men are spirits, and the mind is borne by the soul and even this air which is moved is called spirit, and also the rebellious powers partake of this name –the Gospel disperses the ambiguity as it says in this way: “He gave them power over unclean spirits;” for only the spirits of wickedness preferred the impurity and effected this upon men.

«Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά, καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν». Ἦδη τοῦ Σωτῆρος καταβαλεῖν ἐπείγομένου τὴν Ὠγύγιον⁷³¹ τυραννίδα τοῦ δαίμονος, οἶονεὶ προοίμια τῆς αὐτοῦ δεικνὺς καταλύσεως, ἐξουσίαν δίδωσι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὡς μαστιγίας τινάς, ἀπελάνειν τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ θεραπεύειν ἀμοχθεῖ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακότητας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμώνυμός ἐστι τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ φωνή (πνεῦμα γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πνεύματα αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαὶ καὶ ὁ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔποχος νοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς δὴ ὁ κινούμενος οὗτος ἀὴρ πνεῦμα λέγεται, αἱ τε ἀποστατικαὶ δυνάμεις τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου μετείληχον), διαστέλλον τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον οὕτω φησί· «Δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων»· μόνα γὰρ τῆς πονηρίας τὰ πνεύματα τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν δεδέχεται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταύτης πρόξενον γίνεται.

Undoubtedly, for the elucidation of the word ‘spirit’ Philagathos turned to Michael Psellos’ *Opusculum* 76.⁷³² The imprint of Psellos’ discourse is actually pervasive throughout the

⁷²⁸ “Jesus called his twelve disciples to him and gave them authority to drive out impure spirits and to heal every disease and sickness.”

⁷²⁹ “God is spirit, and his worshipers must worship in the Spirit and in truth.” Cf. Michael Psellos, *Theologica*, *Opusculum* 76 (ed. Gautier, 302–7).

⁷³⁰ *Hom.* 15, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 98–99).

⁷³¹ Rossi-Taibbi capitalized the word « Ὠγύγιον »; perhaps, the lower case should be preferred «ὠγύγιον»; considering the extent of Philagathos’ usage of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* it is likely that the novel inspired this Philagathean formulation; cf. Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*, 10, 25, 1: ὠγύγιος ἄνθρωπος.

⁷³² Michael Psellos, *Theologica*, *Opusculum* 76, 8–30 (ed. Gautier, 302–303): διὰ τοῦτο ἐρευνᾶν ἐπιχειρῶμεν τί ποτε δηλοῖ τὸ ‘πνεῦμα ὁ θεός’ [...] μιμήσασθαι δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ ἀπορῆσαι πρῶτον μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος φύσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ διαστεῖλαι τοῦ ὀνόματος τὰς ὁμωνυμίας, καὶ δεῖξαι κατὰ ποῖον τῶν

sermon. Further, commenting on the power the unclean spirits, Philagathos explains their different kinds:

[3.] *For when they have obtained the dominion over their individual existence and have been made masters over the motion of their will they slipped off from being falling toward nothingness; and now, one is some ethereal demon, other earthly and another subterranean. Seeing that they were deprived of their dignity given to them from the beginning, they were raging against men as honored by the divine image and undertook a war against us,* becoming the enemies and the avengers against our race. For this reason when he had come into the world in the flesh “that thou mightest put down the enemy and the avenger,” as David sings [Ps. 8:2], he first exhorts the disciples to drive away the demons, then to heal the illnesses, making manifest, as I believe, that the afflictions befallen upon men are in general the effect of demons. For this reason, he exhorts to drive out the demon first as the cause of sickness, then to bring the cure for the illness. That this was the result of a demonic attack, for testing or as a scourge inflicted, is easy to perceive. For the woman curved swirly to the earth, as the evangelist says, was hold fast by a spirit of infirmity; [cf. Lc. 13:11] and that babbling hardly-speaking and deaf man, who was unintelligibly voicing, had his perception stricken awry by way of a demonic attack: “For when the demon had gone out, it says, the mute spoke.” [Lc. 11:14]

As can be observed below, Philagathos’ appropriation favours a limited restoration of Psellos’ text defectively transmitted:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 15, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 99):

Ἀρχὴν γὰρ εἰληχότα τῆς ἰδίας ὑπάρξεως καὶ ῥοπῇ διοικούμενα προαιρέσεως, τοῦ ὄντος ἀπώλισθον κλιθέντα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν· καὶ νῦν ὁ μὲν τις αἰθέριος δαίμων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ περίγειος καὶ ἕτερος ὑποχθόνιος. Ἄτε οὖν γυμνωθέντες τῆς ἀρχῇθεν δοθείσης τιμῆς, κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἰκόνι θείᾳ τετιμημένων, ἐλύττησαν καὶ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνεδέξαντο πόλεμον, ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἐκδικηταὶ γεγονότες τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν· οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς

Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 76, 49–53 (ed. Gautier, 304):

καὶ ὁ μὲν δαίμων, ὅστις ποτ’ ἂν **ἦ, καλῆς μὲν εἵληχε τῆς ἰδίας ὑπάρξεως,** μονοειδῆς δὲ μὴ ὦν τὴν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ κίνησιν, **ἀλλὰ ῥοπῇ διοικούμενος** [πονηρᾷ] **ἐκλίθη τε πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἀπώλισθε· καὶ νῦν ὁ μὲν τις ἐστίν ἐν αἰθέρι, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἄερι, [...12...] ὑποχθόνιος·** πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ πλημμελήματος τὸν τῆς ἀποπτώσεως μεμέτρηται ὄλισθον.⁷³³

σημαιομένων πνεῦμα προσειρησθαι δεῖ τὸν θεόν, καὶ διὰ τί ὅλως πνεύματι σημαίνεται τὸ ἀσώματον. **Τῷ γοῦν ὀνόματι τοῦ πνεύματος σημαίνεται καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ἄηρ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ ὁ δαίμων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦς.** [...] ἀλλὰ ψυχὴ μὲν πνεῦμα λέγεται διὰ τὸ πανταχοῦ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος διασπείρεσθαι μέρεσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς διὰ τὴν ψυχῇ ἐποχεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ δαίμων διὰ τὴν εἰδωλικὴν φαντασίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τρόπον τινὰ ὁρατὸν ἐστίν, εἰδωλικῶς ἡμῖν φανταζόμενον, τουτέστιν ἀμυδρῶς καὶ λεπτῶς, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῆς φύσεως καὶ μετέωρον.

⁷³³ “And the devil, whoever he may be, had obtained a beautiful self existence, of a simple nature, but not being in motion towards the good, as he was governed by a wicked motion he turned towards nothingness and wasted his own existence; and now, one is in the ether, one in the air, one subterranean. For in relation to their offence, their falling away is measured.”

πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα συνωθοῦσι τῶν πράξεων, δι' αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἀφιστῶντες ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐχθροὶ εἰσιν· οἷς δὲ ὡς μάστιξιν αὐτοῖς χρῆται Θεὸς πρὸς ἡμετέραν τιμωρίαν ἢ δοκιμὴν ἢ ἐπανόρθωσιν, λέγουντ' ἂν εἰκότως ἐκδικηταί. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ διὰ σαρκὸς ἐληλυθὼς εἰς τὸν κόσμον «τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν», ὡς ψάλλει Δαβίδ, πρότερον κελεύει τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀπελαύνειν τοὺς δαίμονας, εἶτα παρέχειν τῶν νοσημάτων τὴν ἴασιν, ἐμφαίνων, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ὅτι τὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπισυμβαίνοντα πάθη ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐκ δαιμόνων εἰσὶ.

George the Monk, *Chronicon* (lib. 1-4), 78 (ed. C de Boor, Leipzig 1904, repr. Stuttgart 1978):

ἀλλὰ μειζόνως ὀρεχθέντας, εἰσδέξασθαι μὲν τοῦ τύφου τὸ πάθος, ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆθεν δοθείσης τιμῆς, εἶτα κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἰκόνι θεία τετιμημένων λυττῆσαι καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι πόλεμον, τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν τῇ μὲν τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐπιστάσι φρουρῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος, ὅπως μὴ βία καὶ τυραννίδι χρώμενος ὁ ἀοράτως ἐπιὼν οὕς διὰ φθόνον ἐμίσησεν ἀδεῶς διαφθεῖρη.⁷³⁴

The passage is illuminative for Philagathos' florilegic habit, which besides Psellos' text appended a passage from George the Monk's *Chronicon*, which is itself an excerpt from Theodoret of Cyrus' *A Cure of Greek Maladies*.⁷³⁵ Thus, Philagathos identifies in the sources definitions and elucidations of scriptural related themes, which he aggregates thereafter in the sermons. For, the context in George the Monk's *Chronicon* is about "what the divine Scriptures call by the name Satan" and the nature of devils.

Throughout the *Homilies*, the preacher gives different interpretations about the activity of demons and the nature of illnesses. We have noted above that Philagathos' *Homilies* were taken as an example for illustrating a more rationalist tendency in Byzantine culture, which deemphasized supernatural explanations.⁷³⁶ However, from a source analysis of Philagathos' *Homilies* we may merely conclude that the elucidations given are in each instance contextual as they are based on different theological sources. In the homily "About the Prodigal Son," Philagathos further specifies the nature of demons. The preacher considers them to be arrayed according to vices:

"Then he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country." [Lc. 15:15] In this place it seems that the Lord unveils something hidden, which according to my reasoning is this: the Devil, the ruler of the world, having vaunted himself and instantly being hurled down together with the rebellious powers aroused by him to revolt assigned by lot to each demon the forms of the multifarious sin, and just as among the gifts of the Holy Ghost one could find many kinds, as for instance the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of valor, of adoption [cf. adRom. 8:15], of sanctity, of understanding, and as many as Isaiah counted [cf. Is. 11:2; 19:14; 19:18; 26:18],

⁷³⁴ "[...] but they (i.e. the demons) were stretched out for a greater place, as the passion of vanity had seized them and they fell and were stripped naked of the dignity given to them from the beginning, then they raged against men as honored by the divine image and undertook a war against us, but the maker guarded the race of men by the angels' watchfulness, in order that the one who is invisibly present would not fearlessly destroy those whom he hated out of envy by using violence or tyranny."

⁷³⁵ Theodoret of Cyrus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, 3, 101, 7–11: ἀλλ' ὀρεχθέντας μειζόνων εἰσδέξασθαι μὲν τοῦ τύφου τὸ πάθος, ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆθεν δοθείσης γυμνωθῆναι τιμῆς, εἶτα κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἰκόνι θεία τετιμημένων, λυττῆσαι καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι πόλεμον.

⁷³⁶ Cf. Gilbert Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographe en question, VIe – XIe siècle," *DOP* 46 (1992): 67–68.

in the same manner the opponents of God are arrayed into opposite vices, so that one is the demon of rage, other of vainglory, another of avarice and other of envy and in this way one demon [is master] of some vice, of hate, of licentiousness, of insolence, of boredom (ἀκηδίας); and every sinful passion gets its own inventor, and brings to men the evil counsel so that the makers of these evils may be called citizens of passions.⁷³⁷

This doctrine which ascribe to each demon a vice was notorious among monastic audiences, ever after Evagrius of Pontus. Moreover, it was believed that behind each vile thought operated a demon, and Evagrius, for instance, employed the terms ‘thought’, ‘demon’, or ‘evil spirit’ reciprocally.⁷³⁸ This understanding stands behind Philagathos’ interpretation of Luke 8:2 from the homily “For the Third Resurrection Gospel.” Philagathos advised not to consider Mary Magdalene of having seven demons expelled from her [cf. Lc. 8:2], but seven vices or demonic energies (αἱ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαι).⁷³⁹ But Philagathos’ exposition, seems also to counter the opinion which did not distinguish the demons according to their operations as advocated by Nilus of Ancyra in his letters.⁷⁴⁰ For the homilist was surely acquainted with this corpus of letters

⁷³⁷ *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 381D–384A): «Πορευθεὶς γὰρ ἐκολλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης.» Ἐνταῦθα ἔοικέ τι τῶν κεκρυμμένων ἀποκαλύπτειν ὁ Κύριος, ὅπερ κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· Ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων Διάβολος ὑπερφανευσάμενος καὶ καταβληθεὶς ἅμα ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποστατικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, τῆς πολυσχεδοῦς ἀμαρτίας τὰ εἶδη ἐκάστω δαίμονι ἀπεκλήρωσε καί, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος χαρισμάτων τις εὖροι διαφοράς· πνεῦμα γὰρ σοφίας, πνεῦμα δυνάμεως, υἰοθεσίας τε καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ, καὶ συνέσεως, καὶ ὅσα ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας ἠρίθμησεν, οὕτως οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀντίπαλοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις τετάχεται, ὡς ἄλλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ **θυμοῦ**, ἄλλον δὲ τῆς **φιλοδοξίας**, ἕτερον τῆς **φιλαργυρίας**, καὶ ἄλλον τοῦ **φθόνου**, καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλου, τοῦ **μίσους**, τῆς ἀκολασίας, τῆς ὕβρεως, τῆς ἀκηδίας, καὶ τῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον ἐφευρετὴν ἴδιον κέκτηται, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σύμβουλον πονηρὸν, ὡς πολίτας λέγεσθαι τῶν παθῶν τοὺς τούτων δημιουργοὺς.

⁷³⁸ See for this *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus* (trans. Robert Sinkewicz, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁷³⁹ *Hom.* 73 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 30, PG 132, coll. 629C–632A): **Ἀλλὰ μὴ τις οἰήσεται** δαίμονας ἔχειν τὴν Μαρίαν ἐπτά, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χαρίσματα συνωνύμως ἐπτά πνεύματα λέγεται, καθὼς ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας ἠρίθμησε· «πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος, πνεῦμα γνώσεως, καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ φόβου θεοῦ» [Is. 11:2–3]· οὕτως ἀντιθέτως αἱ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαι δαίμονες λέγονται· ἡ ἀκηδία, ἡ φειδωλία, ἡ ἀπειθεια, ὁ φθόνος, τὸ ψεῦδος, ἡ ἀπληστία, καὶ τῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον τοῦ γεγενηκότος ἐστὶ συνώνυμον. Ὁ γοῦν κεκρατημένος ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ἐνίσχεται. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπαικὸς καὶ τὴν Μαρίαν ταύτην Μαγδαληνὴν ἐπτά τισιν δεδουλῶσθαι πάθεσιν, ὧν λελύτρωτο ὕστερον γεγονυῖα τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθήτρια.

⁷⁴⁰ Nilus of Ancyra, PG 79, *Epistulae*, 1, Ep. 294: ἸΩΑΝΝΗ ΜΟΝΑΧΩ. Ἔστι μὲν ὅτε καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλας διαφόρους Σατανικὰς διακονίας ἐκτελοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες πρὸς πειρασμὸν, καὶ βλάβην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ εἰς δαίμων πολλὰς τεκταίνει φαυλότητας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ τὸν ἕνα ἄνθρωπον γεωργὸν εἶναι, καὶ τέκτονα, καὶ χαλκέα, καὶ σκυτοτόμον, καὶ κεραμέα, καὶ ζωγράφον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, οὕτως ἐγχωρεῖ ἕνα δαίμονα καὶ **θυμὸν**, καὶ **πορνείαν**, καὶ **φιλοδοξίαν**, καὶ **φθόνον**, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐνεργεῖν. Καὶ πρόσεχε, πῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀλιτήριος, καὶ μισάνθρωπος ἐχθρὸς, καὶ γαστριμαργίαν, καὶ **κενοδοξίαν**, καὶ **φιλαργυρίαν** τῷ Χριστῷ πειραζομένῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον προέτεινεν. “To John the Monk. Sometimes the demons one after another accomplish different labours for harming and driving men into temptation. Sometimes just one demon contrives numerous foul deeds. For just as it is possible for one man to be husbandman, carpenter, blacksmith, cobbler, potter, painter, and so on, in the same manner it is possible for just one demon to cause rage, debauchery, vainglory, envy and so on. And consider, how this criminal and hating enemy held out against mankind by having tempted Christ with gluttony, vainglory and avarice [cf. Mt. 4: 1–11].”

as his sermons testify.⁷⁴¹ Philagathos' interpretation is consonant with Maximus Confessor's exegesis of Isaiah 11:1–3 from *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*.⁷⁴²

In the same homily Philagathos speaks of the doctrine of the guardian angel given to every nation and every soul. Philagathos' florilegic habit comes to the fore. He explains:⁷⁴³

Well, since the angels, as the Apostle says, “are ministering spirits sent forth to minister” [adHebr. 1:14] and some of them are appointed leaders of nations, while others are accompanying every man. Therefore in this way it should be understood ‘the elder brother came from the field’ [cf. Lc. 15:15], as [an angel] who arrived from the nations over whom he provided for, from individual persons, from the duties and the farming of the field, that is of this life.

Ἐπεὶ γοῦν οἱ ἄγγελοι «λειτουργικὰ εἰσι πνεύματα», ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, «εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα» καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν προεστήκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ παρεπόμενοι, ἀκόλουθον ἄρα οὕτω νοεῖσθαι, ὥς ἦκεν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀδελφός ὃς ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν προνοουμένων ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀγροῦ, ἡγουν τοῦ τῆδε βίου, προνοιῶν τε καὶ διοικήσεων.

The exposition is based on Psellos' discussion on the nature of angels from his commentary on Job 1:6: “One day the angels came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan also came with them.”⁷⁴⁴ It emerges, once more, that for almost every common doctrinal issue Philagathos availed himself of some authority.

1.2. Embodiment and Human Nature

The homilist exercised with great skill the exegetic practice of excerpting passages and snippets for addressing various aspects related to the doctrine of human embodiment. Favourite sources for this overarching theme were the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus' orations, the theological commentaries of Michael Psellos, Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*, the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes.

The homily “For the fifth Sunday of Lent” (Mc. 10:32–45) is a fine illustration of Philagathos' florilegic habit. It encloses citations from Gregory of Nyssa's *Encomium in sanctum*

⁷⁴¹ The last part of Philagathos' homily “On the Widow's Son” (*Hom.* 6, 17, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 43–44) incorporates almost entirely Nilus' *Epistle 6* (To Panolbios); see for this Appendix 2, 451, n° 1581.

⁷⁴² Maximus, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 29 (CCSG 7, 211, 9–12); Maximus interprets Isaiah 11:1–3 where the prophet lists seven ‘spirits’ assigning the ‘energies of one and the same Holy Spirit’, for Isaiah could not infer that there are seven spirits of God.

⁷⁴³ *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 392B).

⁷⁴⁴ Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 32, 87–96 (ed. Gautier, 134): ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι περὶ θεὸν ἐστᾶσιν αἰεὶ, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων μόνη κοσμοπομπὸς οἶον καὶ κοσμαγὸς πέφυκε, καὶ ‘εἰσὶν’ οὗτοι ‘λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα’ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ‘διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν’ βασιλείας. ἄρχουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὁλοκλήρων ἐθνῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων· ἐπιστατεῖ δὲ οὐχ εἷς ἐνὶ, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτο ἐγνώκετε, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ ῥητὸν ἀναπτύξωμεν· ‘ἦλθον’ φησὶν ‘οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ παραστήναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου’. ἦλθον πόθεν; ἀπὸ τῶν προνοουμένων ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ τῆδε βίου προνοιῶν τε καὶ διοικήσεων.

*Stephanum protomartyrem*⁷⁴⁵ *De tridui spatio*,⁷⁴⁶ *Dialogus de anima et Resurrection*,⁷⁴⁷ *De vita Moysis*,⁷⁴⁸ *Oratio catechetica*, from Gregory of Nazianzus's *In sanctum pascha* (orat. 45) and *In theophania* (orat. 38)⁷⁴⁹ and extensively from Michael Psellos' *Oration 4* as well as allusions to Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*.

Philagathos' florilegic excursus is prompted by the exegesis of Mark 10:45.⁷⁵⁰ The homilist acknowledges a generic debt to the doctrines of the Fathers: "But how and to Whom and for what reason and for whom was the Only Begotten offered, we shall briefly say whilst abiding by the fathers' teachings."⁷⁵¹ First, Philagathos recalls Gregory of Nyssa' understanding of Christ's economy from *De tridui spatio* ("On the Three-day Period of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ") as the vanquishment of the Devil by Christ's offering his own flesh as a bait to the Devil's gluttony (τῇ λιχνείᾳ τοῦ δαίμονος).⁷⁵² Notably, Philagathos' formulation bears the imprint of the other two works of Gregory of Nyssa (i.e. *Oratio catechetica*, *De oratione Dominica*) which spoke of Christ flesh as baneful bait intended to deceive Satan or Death.⁷⁵³ This account, which dramatize Christ's mission to vanquish Satan and Death, is common to many theologians.⁷⁵⁴ Maximus Confessor similarly spoke of Christ's body as a snare to trick Satan and Death,⁷⁵⁵ and Romanos the Melodist put forward a dialogue between the Devil and

⁷⁴⁵ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 489A) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*, 40, 14–17.

⁷⁴⁶ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 493A) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi spatio*, GNO 9, 281, 6–16.

⁷⁴⁷ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 501A) = Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, coll. 28.

⁷⁴⁸ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 508C–509A) = Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 199.

⁷⁴⁹ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 501A) = Gregory of Nazianzus, *In theophania* (orat. 38), PG 36, coll. 324.

⁷⁵⁰ "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many."

⁷⁵¹ Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 492A): Πῶς δὲ, καὶ τίνι, καὶ παρὰ τίνος, καὶ ὑπὲρ [Scorsus ὅπερ] τίνων δίδοται ὁ Μονογενὴς, πατρικοῖς ἐπόμενοι διδάγμασι, βραχυλογούντες ἐροῦμεν. Philagathos' interrogation is an adaptation from Gregory of Nazianzus's *In sanctum pascha* (orat. 45), PG 36, coll. 653: **Τίνι γὰρ** τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἷμα, **καὶ περὶ τίνος** ἐχέθη, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ θύματος; this is proved by the fact that Philagathos used this section of Gregory's oration later in the sermon; see below n° 752.

⁷⁵² Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 24, PG 132, coll. 493A–496A): καὶ ἐπειδὴ **ἀδύνατον ἦν γυνῇ τῇ θεότητι** προσβαλεῖν τῷ ἐχθρῷ, **περικαλύπτειται τῇ σαρκί**, οἷον **τι δέλεαρ** γενόμενος **τῇ λιχνείᾳ** τοῦ δαίμονος, ὡς ἂν ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπατήσας ἐλπίδι θεώσεως, ἀνταπατηθῇ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. Ἰδὼν γὰρ τὸν Σωτῆρα τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν **ἐνεργοῦντα τεράστια**, ἐπειδὴ προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δι' ἁμαρτίας χειρώσασθαι, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε λύτρον ἀντὶ τοῦ κατεχομένου λαβεῖν. The ideas expressed are manifestly those of Gregory of Nyssa, *De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi spatio* GNO 9, 281: **ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἦν** τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ σκότους ἀκράτῳ προσμῖξαι τῇ τοῦ φωτὸς παρουσίᾳ μὴ σαρκὸς τινα μοῖραν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρήσαντα, διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς εἶδε τὴν θεόφορον σάρκα εἶδε δὲ καὶ τὰ δι' αὐτῆς **ἐνεργοῦμενα** παρὰ τῆς θεότητος **θαύματα**, ἤλπισεν, εἰ τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τοῦ θανάτου κρατήσσει, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ κατακρατήσσει δυνάμεως. καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς **δέλεαρ** περιχανὼν τῷ τῆς θεότητος ἀγκίστρῳ περιεπάρη καὶ οὕτως ἤχθη ὁ δράκων διὰ τοῦ ἀγκίστρου, καθὼς φησιν τῷ Ἰωβ ὁ προαναφωνήσας δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἐσόμενον λέγων ὅτι Ἄξεις τὸν δράκοντα ἐν ἀγκίστρῳ.

⁷⁵³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 23, 42–45: Ἀλλὰ μὴν **ἀμήχανον ἦν αὐτὸν γυνῇ** προσβλέψαι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φαντασίᾳ, μὴ σαρκὸς τινα μοῖραν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρήσαντα, ἦν ἤδη διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κεχειρωτο. **Διὰ τοῦτο περικαλύπτειται τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ θεότης** [...]. Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica orationes* v, 314, 9–10: Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις καταπῇ τὸ ἄγκιστρον, μὴ κατασπάσας **ἐν λιχνείᾳ τὸ δέλεαρ**.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. Paul Blowers, *Drama of the Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology and Piety* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 268–273.

⁷⁵⁵ Maximus Confessor, *Questiones ad Thalassium*, 64, 217–19 (CCSG 22, ed. C. Laga and C. Steel, Brepols, 1990).

Death in which Death chastise the Devil for having fruitlessly attached to her in deceitful designs to hold Christ's body into death.⁷⁵⁶

After the appropriation of Nyssen's doctrine, Philagathos turns to Gregory of Nazianzus' elucidation of the problem: "To Whom was that Blood offered that was shed for us, and why was It shed?" Unlike the other sources used in the sermon, Philagathos indicates the origin of his thought as he desires to avail himself of the supreme theological authority embodied by Gregory of Nazianzus (θεολογική γλῶσσα).⁷⁵⁷ Here, we note the exegetic consistence in Philagathos' incorporation of passages from different authors. For the text from Gregory of Nazianzus about Christ offering up to the Father which "neither asked for Him, nor demanded Him, but on account of the Incarnation, and because Humanity must be sanctified by the Humanity of God" comes to clarify the meaning of Nyssen's depiction of Christ as noxious bait for Satan.⁷⁵⁸

Then, next to the citation from Gregory of Nazianzus, Philagathos moves to Psellos' oration on fasting. A thematical link enables Philagathos to pass from source to source. The notion of Devil's gluttony which the homilist first retrieved from Nyssen's text hooks further Philagathos' exegesis. He writes:⁷⁵⁹

And just as that one [i.e. the Devil] enslaved us through gluttony, making [us] his worshippers, just so let us put him to flight by contrary ways. *Behold this body made of clay*, the very thing which is enclosing the soul like a mist that received this heavy thickness from the forbidden food. Before the disobedience, it was *light*, pure, and *aerial*; and ought to be interwoven with the image of God as *naturally belonging* and corresponding to it. Therefore, that which gluttony made thick, let us make thin through fasting. For now, *our soul is confined in the body just as in a prison*, as some from the outside have investigated philosophically as well calling the body *cave and cavern and grave*. Accordingly, as much as you make the body thick by the quantity of food, you build a stronger prison, and thus you had fastened much more the shackles and humbled the captive soul. But if you make the body thin by fasting you set free the wings of the soul and lightened it raises up to God.

⁷⁵⁶ Romanos the Melodist, *Kontakion 21 (de crucifixione)*, ed. Paul Maas and C.R. Trypanis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 161–162; trans. M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist I-II*, Columbia, University of Missouri Press 1970–1973, 222–223.

⁷⁵⁷ *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 496A): καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς θεολογική γλῶσσα διατρανοῖ, λαμβάνει, λέγουσα, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον αἷμα ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ αἰτήσας, οὐδὲ δεηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τὸ χρῆναι ἁγιασθῆναι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἵν' αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξέλῃται, τοῦ τυράννου βία κρατήσαντος = Gregory of Nazianzus, *In sanctum pascha (orat. 45)*, PG 36, coll. 653: Τίνι γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἷμα, καί περὶ τίνος ἐχέθη, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ θύματος; [...] Ἡ δὴλον, ὅτι λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ αἰτήσας, οὐδὲ δεηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τὸ χρῆναι ἁγιασθῆναι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἵν' αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξέλῃται, τοῦ τυράννου βία κρατήσας, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναγάγῃ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεσιτεῦσαντος, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦτο οἰκονομήσαντος, ὃ τὰ πάντα παραχωρῶν φαίνεται. Philagathos employs again this text from Gregory in *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, PG 132, coll. 496A).

⁷⁵⁸ Paul Blowers, *Drama of the Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology and Piety*, 271 considers these ideas opposed to each other; Blowers precisely refers to Nyssen's doctrine of conceiving Christ as bait for Satan and Gregory of Nazianzus' position from *Oration 45*, 22; however, Philagathos does not consider these texts inconsonant as he cites them side by side.

⁷⁵⁹ *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 496B–500A).

Here as in the homily “For the Resurrection of Lazarus,” Philagathos’ commentary closely follows Psellos’ exegesis:

Hom. 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 496 B–500A).

Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος διὰ λιχνείας ἡμᾶς ἐδούλωσεν, λάτρας ἐαυτοῦ ποιησάμενος, οὕτως ἡμεῖς διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτὸν κατατροποσώμεθα. **Ὅρατε τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο τὸ πῆλινον**, ὅπερ περικείται τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ ἀχλὺς, ἐκ τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης βρώσεως **τὸ βαρὺ τοῦτο πάχος** ἐδέξατο. Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς παρακοῆς, **λεπτὸν ἦν καὶ καθαρὸν, καὶ ἄερίον**, καὶ οἷον ἐχρῆν συνυφανθῆναι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰκόνι **προσφυῆς** καὶ κατάλληλον. **Ὅπερ οὖν ἡ λαιμαργία ἐπάχυνε, διὰ νηστείας λεπτύνωμεν.** Νῦν γὰρ ὡς ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρκται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ **σώματι**, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν ἐξῶθεν πεφιλοσοφήκασιν, ἄντρον, καὶ σπήλαιον, καὶ σῆμα τὸ σῶμα⁷⁶⁰ καλέσαντες. Ὅσον οὖν **παχύνεις τὸ σῶμα** διὰ βρωμάτων, ἰσχυρότερον ἐργάζῃ τὸ δεσμοτήριον, καὶ τὰς πέδας **συνέσφιγξας**, καὶ τὴν δεσμώτην **ψυχὴν ἐταπείνωσας.** Ἄν δὲ **λεπτύνῃς αὐτὸ τῇ νηστείᾳ**, ἡλευθέρωσας αὐτῆς τὸ πτερὸν, καὶ κουφισθεῖσα **αἴρεται πρὸς Θεόν.**

Hom. 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 540C):

ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἡ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας δεδεμένη ταῖς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σειραῖς, καὶ κειμένη ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπιστίας σορῶ, πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ μετῆλθε ζωὴν, περιαιρεθέντος τοῦ σουδαρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ

Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*. Oration 4, 64–82 (ed. Antony R. Littlewood):

καὶ σου ἐπιβαίην καὶ συμπατήσαιμι δι’ ὃν τῆς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἀπολισθήσας διαγωγῆς εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος ἐκπέπτωκα καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπαθεστάτης ζωῆς τὰς μυρίας κῆρας τῶν παθημάτων εἰσεδεξάμην. **ὁράτε γὰρ τοῦτ’ ὁ σῶμα ἡμῶν τὸ παχὺ καὶ ἀντίτυπον, τὸν ἐπιπροσθοῦντα ζόφον τῆς ψυχῆς ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς**, ὕστερον προσυφανθέν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ προσαρτηθέν τῇ φύσει, **βαρὺ καὶ βρῖθον ἐφόλκιον**, ἀφ’ οὗ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς κακίας γευσάμενοι τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκλείσθημεν· ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς δὲ **λεπτὸν ἦν καὶ ἄερίον καὶ προσφυῆς** ἡμῖν ὄργανον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔνοπτρον τηλαυγέστερον. Ἀλλ’ ὅπερ **ἐπάχυνεν ἡ λιχνεία λεπτύνει νῦν ἡ νηστεία**· καὶ πάλιν τοῦ νοῦ **τὸ πτερὸν** πρὸς τὴν πτῆσιν ἐλευθεροῦται. **δεσμῶτίς** ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχὴ ὥσπερ **τινὶ δεσμοτηρίῳ καθειργμένη τῷ σώματι**· περικλείουσι δὲ ταύτην καὶ κλοιοὶ σιδηροῖ, οἱ τῶν παθημάτων δεσμοί. ἦν μὲν οὖν **παχύνῃς τὸ σῶμα** τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, ἄφυκτον **εἰργάσω τὸ δεσμοτήριον** καὶ τοὺς τε ἥλους **συνέσφιγξας** καὶ **τὴν ψυχὴν ἐταπείνωσας**· ἂν δὲ **τῇ νηστείᾳ λεπτύνῃς**, δίδως ἐλευθερίαν τῷ νῷ, ὃ δὲ ἀπολυθεὶς τῶν δεσμῶν **ἐλευθέρῳ πτερῷ ἀναφέρεται πρὸς θεὸν** καὶ τῆς θείας ἐν μετοχῇ γίνεται ἀπολαύσεως.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶⁰ The notion that the body is a grave to the soul became familiar from Plato’s *Cratylus* 400C, for which «σῶμα» is «τὸ σῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς» because the soul is buried in the body.

⁷⁶¹ “May I walk upon you and trample you under my foot, on account of which having slipped away from the paradisiac way of life I have fallen in the deep valley of sorrow and instead of the impassible life I have received the countless blemishes of sins. Behold this body of ours, the thick and the rigid, the covering darkness to the gleams of our soul, later interwoven with our souls and fastened to our nature, a heavy and laden little boat, by means of which after we got a taste of the tree of evil we were shut off from life; but from the beginning [our body] was thin, light as air, a fitted organ for us and a more luminous mirror of the soul. But the very thing which gluttony made thick now the fast makes thin and again the wing of the mind is set free for the flight. For our soul is fettered being confined in the body just as in a prison and iron shackles shut it in all around, [that is] the bonds of [sinful] affections. Therefore, if the body thickens by the quantity of food, you had built the prison inescapable and having affixed the nails, you abased the soul. But if you make the body thin by fasting you bring freedom to the mind, for the one set free from the bonds by the free wing is carried up to God and partakes of divine rejoicings.”

ἐπιπροσθουντος νέφους, καὶ ζοφούντος τῆς
 ψυχῆς τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς, ἀφ' ὧν λυθεῖσα ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων, ἀφείθη
 πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν.

Philagathos established thematic associations with Psellos' dramatized account of Adam eating the forbidden fruit. The primeval gluttony inspired by Satan, the imprecations addressed to the foul seducer, in which we note an unidentified allusion to Achilles Tatius' novel,⁷⁶² the theme of fasting, the analogy of the cave were beseeeming topics for this homily pronounced during Lent and in harmony with the passages taken from Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus. Within these, Philagathos inserts the reference to the pagan philosophers (τινες τῶν ἔξωθεν πεφιλοσοφήκασιν) who "called body cave and cavern and grave" appropriated from Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*, I we shall discuss below.

Defining the human nature is one of the themes that run consistently throughout Philagathos' homilies. In the sermon "About the Woman who had a Discharge of Blood and the Daughter of the Ruler of the Synagogue," the homilist rhetorically asks:⁷⁶³

Do you wish to know the wounds that were inflicted upon us after the transgression? Consider *the worthless of the nature one is born to share, from what source one takes its beginning and to what end is swept along; the short and ephemeral span of life, the sordid association with the flesh, the meagerness of [one's] nature, the passions, the calamities, the manifold types of disease, the myriad forms of sufferings, the evils which gush forth from temper and desire, the wrath, the envy, the hatred, the passion of arrogance, the debauched thought, the tyranny of greediness.* In these wounds befallen, the wretched man has been left half-dead. Well, the word is very adapted to the present circumstance. Since *this heavy and laden little boat*, the fleshy garment, which we clothed ourselves in after the fall as a tunic, we lay it again aside after death and thereafter is destroyed when by some natural attraction each element of matter reverts to its own natural state, but the soul is kept immortal (for how could be broken up that which is simple, indivisible and uncompounded?), as the man dying by half (ἐξ ἡμισείας) is said to be deserted half-dead (ἡμιθανής).

This rhetorical account is substantially based on Gregory of Nyssa's description of human nature from his second *Homily on the Beatitudes*. To this Philagathos integrates a snippet from Michael Psellos' sketch of human body. Then, the explanation of the dissolution of the body into particles of matter returned to its own group of elements and the definition of the soul

⁷⁶² Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora. Oration 4*, 60–62, ed. Antony R. Littlewood: τῷ δὲ ἀποστάτῃ σοι καὶ ἀρχεκάκῳ δράκοντι ἐπαρῶμαι δικαιοτάτην ἁρὰν. ὅλοιο, τῆς κακίας σπορεῦ, καὶ τὴν δυσμενῆ θλάττοιο κεφαλὴν. Trans. "but I call down upon you the apostate and most wicked devil the justest curse of all." Cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 5, 25, 8: εὐνοῦχε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνε καὶ κάλλους βάσκανε, ἐπαρῶμαί σοι δικαιοτάτην ἁρὰν. We have identified in Psellos' theological works other allusions to the ancient novelists Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus to which we intend to devote a study; considering Psellos' manifest interest for the late-antique romance novels the presence of these allusions is certainly not surprising.

⁷⁶³ *Hom.* 12, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81).

are remindful of Gregory of Nyssa's treatises *De anima et Resurrectione* and *De opificio hominis*.

Hom. 12, 8–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81):

Βούλει μαθεῖν τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας ἡμῖν πληγὰς μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν; Ἐννόησον **τὸ οὐτιδανὸν τῆς φύσεως, ἧ συγκεκλήρωται, ὅθεν τε ἄρχεται, καὶ εἰς ὃ τι φέρεται τέλος· τὸ τῆς ζωῆς βραχὺ καὶ ὠκύμορον, τὸν συνεζευγμένον τῇ σαρκὶ ῥύπον, τὸ τῆς φύσεως πενιχρόν, τὰς λύπας, τὰ πάθη, τὰς συμφοράς, τὰς πολυτρόπους τῶν νοσημάτων κῆρας, τὰς μυρίας τῶν παθημάτων ιδέας**, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πηγαζούσας κακίας, τὴν ὀργήν, **τὸν φθόνον, τὸ μῖσος, τὸ καθ' ὑπερηφανίαν πάθος, τὸν ἀκόλαστον λογισμόν, τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας τυραννίδα**. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τραύμασι γεγινώς ὁ δειλῆς ἄνθρωπος ἡμιθανὴς καταλέλειπται. Πάνυ δὲ προσφυὲς τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ πράγματι. **Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν βαρὺ τοῦτο καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον**,⁷⁶⁴ τὸν δερμάτινον θύλακον, ὃν μετὰ τὴν πτῶσιν ὡς χιτῶνα ἐνεδυσάμεθα, τοῦτον πάλιν διὰ θανάτου ἀποτιθέμεθα, καὶ τὸ μὲν φθείρεται, **ὀλκῇ τινι φυσικῇ ἐκάστου στοιχείου** παλινδρομοῦντος εἰς τὸ ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τηρεῖται ἀθάνατος (**πῶς** γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλυθεῖ **τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀμερὲς καὶ ἀσύνθετον**); ὡς ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀποθνήσκων ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἡμιθανὴς καταλελειφθαι λέγεται.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et Resurrectione*, PG 46, coll. 20: Λυθείσης δὲ τῶν στοιχείων τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι συμφυῖας, ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐν ἐκάστῳ γίνεται κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἡ ῥοπή αὐτῆς φύσεως **τῶν στοιχείων, δι' ὀλκῆς τινος** ἀναγκαίως τῇ ὁμογενεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀποδιδούσης.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1217:

Ὑβρις γὰρ καὶ ἀτιμία τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρρώστιας τοῖς ὀργισθεῖσιν αἰτία γίνεται. Ἀτιμία δὲ οὐχ ἄπτεται τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ταπεινοφροσύνη παιδαγωγήσαντος. Εἰ γάρ τις κεκαθαρμένον ἔχει τὸν λογισμόν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπάτης, καὶ βλέπει **τὸ οὐτιδανὸν τῆς φύσεως ἧ συγκεκλήρωται, ἀφ' οἷας ἀρχῆς τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει, καὶ εἰς ὃ τι φέρεται τέλος τὸ βραχὺ καὶ ὠκύμορον** τῆς τῆδε ζωῆς, καὶ **τὸν συνεζευγμένον τῇ σαρκὶ ῥύπον, καὶ τὸ πενιχρόν τῆς φύσεως**, τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν αὐτάρκη δι' ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σύστασιν, εἰ μὴ τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῶν ἀλόγων τὸ ἐνδόν ἀναπληρώσειεν· **λύπας** τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ **πένθη καὶ συμφοράς, τὰς τε πολυτρόπους τῶν νοσημάτων ιδέας**, αἷς ὑπόκειται ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ζωὴ, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐκ φύσεως ἀτελής ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεύθερος. Ταῦτα δι' ἀκριβείας κεκαθαρμένῳ τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπων, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως πρὸς τὰς τῶν τιμῶν ἐλλείψεις ἀγανακτήσειεν.

Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*. Oration 4, 70 (ed. Antony R. Littlewood): ὕστερον προσυφανθὲν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ προσαρτηθὲν τῇ φύσει, **βαρὺ καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον** [...].

Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, 212, 10:

εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ σύνθετον, **πῶς ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀμερὲς καὶ ἀσύνθετος**;

⁷⁶⁴ This is a recurrent snippet in Philagathos, which goes back to Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*, Oration 4, 70 (ed. Antony Littlewood): ὕστερον προσυφανθὲν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ προσαρτηθὲν τῇ φύσει, **βαρὺ καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον** [...]; cf., Philagathos, *Hom.* 12, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81): **Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν βαρὺ τοῦτο καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον**, τὸν δερμάτινον θύλακον, ὃν μετὰ τὴν πτῶσιν ὡς χιτῶνα ἐνεδυσάμεθα [...]. The same formulation occurs in *Hom.* 6, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44).

A similar florilegic approach to human nature is illustrated by the sermon “About the Lawyer who tempted the Lord.” Explaining the parable of the Good Samaritan [Luke 10:25–37] Philagathos embroidered his exegesis with snippets mostly taken from Gregory of Nyssa’s writings and Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. Philagathos writes:⁷⁶⁵

“But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where the man was; and when he saw him, he took pity on him.” [Lc. 10:33] The Lord of the one who suffers comes, he felt pity for [the human] nature, of which he was the maker, he shared in suffering, he knew in which ways to suffer, although the all-good nature does not have a share in passion (πάθος), and becomes the very man who suffers, without partaking of the wounds of sin, and is called Samaritan, that is to say guardian (since he fulfilled what he made manifest by the story about the Samaritan), for having preserved the marks (γνωρίσματα) of each nature, yet remaining as he really was and becoming that which he was not.

«Σαμαρείτης δέ τις ὁδεύων ἦλθε κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπλαγχνίσθη». Ἔρχεται ὁ Δεσπότης τοῦ πάσχοντος, ὅκτειρε τὴν φύσιν, ἧς ὑπῆρχε πατήρ, συνήλγησεν, οἷς οἶδε τρόποις ἀλγεῖν, οὐκ ἔχουσα πάθος ἢ πανάγαθος φύσις, καὶ γίνεται, ὅπερ ὁ πάσχων, χωρὶς τῶν τῆς ἀμαρτίας πληγῶν, καὶ καλεῖται Σαμαρείτης, ἡγουν φύλαξ (πληρώσας τὸ διὰ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου δηλούμενον), φυλάξας ἐκατέρας φύσεως τὰ γνωρίσματα, μείνας ὅπερ ἦν καὶ γενονῶς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν.

The preacher found inspiration for these antitheses in Makarios’ rhetorical exposition of the frailty of the human nature in which the Lord came to share.⁷⁶⁶ In the *Monogenes*, Makarios is replying to an argument against Luke 5:31–32.⁷⁶⁷ Makarios’ description was influential for Philagathos, as he turned to the same section of the *Monogenes* in the sermon “On Healing the Paralytic in Capernaum.” For the preacher weaved in his own exposition Makarios’ ekphrasis together with a passage from Gregory of Nyssa’s fourth oration on “The Lord’s Prayer.” Says Philagathos:⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶⁵ Hom. 12, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 82).

⁷⁶⁶ Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 18 (ed. Goulet, 195, 8–16): 7. ὡς συναλγεῖν μικροῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῆς λογικῆς οὐσίας μεταβολῇ καὶ τροπῇ—ὡς οἶδε συναλγεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσα πάθος ἢ πανάγαθος πρόνοια—, ὡς οἰκτεῖται τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ ἀμελείας πτώμα, ὡς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, ἵν’ ἀνέλθῃ τὸ λογικόν, κατελθεῖν εἰς συμπάθειαν, ὡς εἰς δικαιοσύνην καλέσαι τὸν ἄδικον, καὶ τὸν κακούμενον ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ὑγιάσαι τῇ χάριτι, ὡς εὐκαίρως τὸν ἱατρὸν λέξαι τῷ ἰαθέντι· «Ἴδε, ὑγιὲς γέγονας· μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε», ὡς τὸν ἀκάματον τοῦ κάμνοντος λαβεῖν τὸ ἐλάττωμα, καὶ τὴν ἄχραντον οὐσίαν τὴν χρῶσιν τοῦ πάσχοντος [...]. Trans.: “But [the providence] almost came to share in the suffering of the rational being over such a great change and alteration – for the all-good providence knew to share in suffering although she does not have a share in passion –, since she had compassion for the fall which happened from [man’s] carelessness. For this reason the Word-God came down [from Heaven] for partaking in man’s suffering, so that he would rise up the rational essence as he called back the unjust to righteousness and healed by his grace the one afflicted by sins, just as the doctor opportunely said to the healed man: ‘See, you have been made well. Sin no more.’ [Jn. 5: 14] And just as he assumed the inferiority of the weary and made the undefiled essence accept the flesh of the one who suffers [...].”

⁷⁶⁷ “It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.”

⁷⁶⁸ Hom. 45 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 21, PG 132, coll. 456C–D).

Therefore, the Lord came in this material world furnished with a body just as with a floating vessel. He came fully for the salvation of the crippled human nature, which once rejoiced in spiritual healthfulness, because the movements of the soul towards virtue were in a healthy manner like the [disposition of the] nerves and according to nature. But when the desiring faculty of the soul prevailed over the rest and was filled full of gluttony and fell out from the state of healthfulness, [the human nature] obtained this pestilential and deadly region, gathering to itself a rubble of cares, from which the illness began having benumbed the limbs from their function according to virtue. He was laid in the low bed of inactivity lifted by four that represents the constituent elements of the natural order. Therefore, the all-hallowed Lord came to the earth as to his own city. For he was not born in a different world, but in that which himself brought it to being. “He came to His own, and His own did not receive Him.” [Jn. 1:12] He came to proclaim, according to Isaiah (cf. Is. 53:6–17), the remission of sins to those kept in bondage and to heal the afflicted both the limbs of the body and the spirirual part (for the fact of history agrees with the prophecy); and by the remissions of sins and clearing off of illnesses convincing the human nature to raise up from ruin and to walk swiftly to its dwelling-place, the paradise from which he had fallen. In the way, the historical narrative hints to the salvation of the whole human nature.

Ἦκε τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κύριος τῷ σώματι ὡς πλοίῳ χρησάμενος· ἦκε δὲ πάντως ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς παρειμένης τῶν **ἀνθρώπων φύσεως**, **ἣτις ἦν ἐν ὑγείᾳ ποτὲ νοητῇ, οἷον τῶν νεύρων τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπ’ ἀρετῆς κινήματων ὑγιῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων**. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, **τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τῶν ἄλλων κρατήσαντος**, τῆς λαιμαργίας ἐνεφορήθη, καὶ τῆς ὑγείας ἐξέπεσε, τὸ νοσῶδες τοῦτο χωρίον καὶ **ἐπιθανάτιον** ἐκληρώσατο, **φροντίδων φορυτὸν ἐαυτῇ συναγείρουσα, δι’ ὧν κλινήρης** ἐγένετο, παρεθεῖσα τὰ μέλη τῆς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐργασίας. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀπραξίας **ἐβέβλητο σκίμποδι**, ὑπὸ τεσσάρων αἰρομένη, τῶν συστατικῶν δηλαδὴ στοιχείων τῆς φύσεως. **Ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ πανάγαθος** Δεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν πόλιν τὴν γῆν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ γέγονε κόσμῳ, ἀλλ’ ὃν αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο. «Καὶ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, ὥς φησιν Ἰωάννης, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.» Ἦλθε κηρύξαι, κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν, αἰχμαλώτοις ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεςιν, καὶ ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὰ τε σωματικὰ μέλη καὶ τὰ ψυχικά (συνάδει γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία τῇ προφητείᾳ)· καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀφέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων καθάρσεως πείθων τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστήναι τοῦ πτώματος, καὶ βαδίζειν ὁξέως εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς τὸν παράδεισον ἐξ οὗπερ ἐκπέπτωκεν. Οὕτω μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ὅλης τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰνίττεται φύσεως.

The passage illustrates Philagathos’ florilegic practice for creating his own symbolic interpretations. The preacher turned to specific fragments from Makarios and Gregory of Nyssa which portrayed human nature:

Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 18 (ed. Goulet, Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica* 298, 26–300, 8): *orationes* v, GNO VII/2.1, 268, 13–20:

5. **Ἡ δ' ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις**, λογικὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ φωτὸς νοεροῦ μέτοχος καὶ ἐπ' ἡβῶλος, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα μηδὲν τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἀπολειφθῆναι δόξης, λαβοῦσα δὲ πρὸς συμβουλίαν τῆς ῥαθυμίας τὴν γνώμην, ἀποπίπτει τοῦ κρείττονος· ὅλη προσπαθήσασα χαμαιζήλων πραγμάτων καὶ προσπλάττουσα **τῶν φροντίδων τὸν φορυτὸν** ἑαυτῇ, ὅλη τῷ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐγκατεσπάρη λάκκῳ, ἀχρειωθεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πηρωθεῖσα τὸν νοῦν. 6. **Κλινήρης οὖν ὑπῆρχε τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀρρωστία πυρέττουσα**, συχνῶς δαπανωμένη τῷ πάθει τῆς συμφορᾶς, θεσμὸν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀκολουθίαν οὐκ ἦδει, οὐ τάξιν, οὐ λόγον, οὐ φιλόσοφον γνώμην, οὐκ ἀσκητικοῦ κανόνος δίαίταν ἢ διατριβήν· **βέβλητο δ' ἐν τῷ σκίμποδι** κακουμένη τοῦ σώματος, χώρων ἱερῶν ξένη καὶ ἀλλοτρία, δόγματος οὐρανίου ὀθνεῖα καὶ πολέμιος, μακάρων αὐλῆς ἀκτῖνα μὴ βλέπουσα, κεχυμένον ἔχουσα καὶ πολὺ παραπέτασμα, ἄσεμνον οἰκητήριον, μονὴν ἄκαλλώπιστον, ἔξω μὲν θιάσου τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἔρριπτο πανηγύρεων, ἀπεσχοίνιστο δὲ πόρρω τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς, 7. ὡς συναλγῆσαι μικροῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῆς λογικῆς οὐσίας μεταβολῇ καὶ τροπῇ—ὡς οἶδε συναλγεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσα πάθος **ἡ πανάγαθος πρόνοια**—, ὡς οἰκτεῖται τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ ἀμελείας πτώμα, ὡς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, ἵν' ἀνέλθῃ τὸ λογικόν, κατελθεῖν εἰς συμπάθειαν, ὡς εἰς δικαιοσύνην καλέσαι τὸν ἄδικον, καὶ τὸν κακούμενον ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ὑγιάσαι τῇ χάριτι, ὡς εὐκαίρως τὸν ἱατρὸν λέξαι τῷ ἰαθέντι· «Ἴδε, ὑγιῆς γέγονας· μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε» (...).⁷⁶⁹

Ἦν ἐν ὑγείᾳ ποτὲ νοητῇ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, οἷόν τινων στοιχείων, τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς λέγω κινήματων, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον ἰσοκρατῶς ἐν ἡμῖν κεκραμένων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ κατισχύσαντος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου νοουμένη διάθεσις, ἢ ἐγκράτεια, κατεκρατήθη τῷ πλεονάζοντι, καὶ τὴν ἄμετρον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ δέοντα κίνησιν τὸ κωλύον οὐκ ἦν, ἐκ τούτου **τὸ ἐπιθανάτιον** νόσημα, ἢ ἁμαρτία, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ συνέστη φύσει. Ὁ τοίνυν ἱατρὸς ἀληθὴς τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθημάτων, ὁ διὰ τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, τοῖς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ νοήμασι τὸ νοσοποιὸν αἴτιον ὑπεκλύων ἐπανάγει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν ὑγίειαν. Ὑγεία δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ θελήματος εὐδοκία, ὥσπερ δὴ πάλιν τὸ ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θελήματος νόσος ἐστὶ ψυχῆς τελευτῶσα εἰς θάνατον.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁹ [5.] Trans.: “But the human nature which, on the one hand is itself a rational nature and shares in the spiritual light and partakes of it, having even the power of not being deprived of the angelical glory, but which on the other hand took the inclination for a heedless life at a [wicked] counsel and fell off from the Good; for she had passionately fell in love with the substance of the terrestrial things and after she smeared upon herself a rubble of cares, [the human nature] was entirely scattered in the pit of delusion, having her soul corrupted and the mind blindfolded. [6.] Therefore, she was kept ill in bed burning up from the sickness of sins, unceasingly consumed by the suffering of this misfortune; she [i.e. the human nature] no longer had a law, she knew neither hierarchy, nor order, nor reason, nor philosophical judgment, nor way of living or occupation conform to the ascetic discipline. She was laid down paralyzed in the low bed of the body, [becoming] a stranger and a foreign to the hallowed regions, extraneous and hostile to the heavenly doctrine, no longer beholding the resplendence of the realm of the blessed, having a curtain spread entirely [upon the eyes], while inhabiting an undignified habitation, a mansion without a

In particular it may be observed that the preacher established a thematic association between the text of the Gospel which spoke about a paralyzed man brought on a bed (ἐπὶ κλίνης)⁷⁷¹ by four men⁷⁷² and Makarios' *ekphrasis* of human nature which "was kept ill in bed (κλινῆρης) burning up from the sickness of sins." Similarly, the text of Gregory of Nyssa about the human nature fallen from spiritual healthfulness into an illness leading to death, prompted a correspondence with the subject of the sermon.

In the homily "About the Woman who had a Discharge of Blood and the Daughter of the Ruler of the Synagogue," Philagathos bands together a passage from the *Monogenes* and Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum*. Consonant with the theme of his sources, Philagathos elaborated a refined exegesis on human nature:⁷⁷³

For the soul is at the same time a woman who has a discharge of blood and a maiden; on the one hand, a woman who has a discharge of blood because a faculty was given to her for the generation of pious words and good deeds, but being dragged down wickedly to the tumultuous substance of the passions and made barren and wanting of virtue she was only pregnant of the foulness of sin; on the other hand, a maiden is likewise the soul because of chasteness and purity and its likeness to the undefiled Good, being perfect for the immaculate wedding and the union with the intelligible bridegroom. *This one had become ill by the conversion towards wickedness burning up from the sickness of sins in the dwelling of the body*; because the evil has prevailed over it, the soul is deprived of the life according to virtue. What will be the hope of our salvation? Let the mind mourn, as the father of the maiden, let the sense perception (αἴσθησις) share in suffering, as the companion of the mind, so that the doctor of the souls would raise it up from falling and the heavenly armies will rejoice for this: "for there is joy in heaven over one sinner who repents" [Lc. 15: 10] and turns back to God, to Whom is due all glory, honor, and power for ever and ever. Amen!

Ἡ αὐτὴ γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ αἰμόρρους καὶ κόρη ἐστίν· ὥς μὲν αἰμόρρους, ὅτι τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῇ δύναμιν εἰς γένεσιν λόγων εὐσεβῶν καὶ πράξεων ἀγαθῶν, εἰς τὴν ροώδη τῶν παθῶν ὕλην κακῶς ὑποσύρασα καὶ ἄγονον ἀρετῆς ποιήσασα καὶ ἐξίτηλον, μόνην τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀκαθαρσίαν ἐκυφόρησεν· κόρη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ψυχὴ διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν καὶ καθαρότητα **καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀκήρατον ἀγαθόν**

great beauty, as she was cast out from the company of the sacred assemblies and excluded from the divine solicitude."

⁷⁷⁰ "The human nature once rejoiced in spiritual healthfulness, because the movements of the soul were blended within us according to the reason of virtue just as some material elements. But when the desiring faculty of the soul prevailed over the spiritual disposition opposed to this faculty, [that is] the self-control, it was overpowered by this increasing propensity and was unable to prevent the movement of desire without measure towards that which is not appropriate; from this disposition the sin was born in the human nature as the illness leading to death. Accordingly, the true physician of the affections of the soul, which has entered into the life of men for those subjected to evil, loosening the reason causing sickness by the thoughts in the prayer, he brings us back to the spiritual healthfulness. For the health of the soul is the pleasant fragrance of the divine will, just as the falling from his good will is the illness of the soul which ends in death."

⁷⁷¹ Lc. 5:18 and Mt. 9:2.

⁷⁷² Mc. 2:3.

⁷⁷³ *Hom.* 11, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 74).

ὁμοιότητα, τελεία οὖσα πρὸς τὸν ἄχραντον γάμον καὶ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ νυμφίου συνάφειαν. Αὕτη τῇ πρὸς κακίαν παρατροπῇ **κλινήρης ἐγεγόνει ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ σώματος τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἄρρωστίᾳ πυρέττουσα**· κατακρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, τῆς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζωῆς ἀπεστέρηται. Τίς οὖν ἔσται σωτηρίας ἐλπίς; Θρηνείτω ὁ νοῦς, ὡς τῆς κόρης πατήρ, συναλγείτω ἡ αἴσθησις, οἷα σύνοικος τοῦ νοός, ἵνα ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἱατρὸς ἀναστήσῃ ταύτην τοῦ πτώματος, καὶ χαρήσονται ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἱ οὐράνιοι στρατιαί· «χαρὰ γὰρ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι» καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντι εἰς Θεόν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

It is again apparent that the exegetic context in Nyssen and Makarios’ texts contained thematic hooks consistent with the theme of Philagathos’ sermon. For Makarios’ comment that “human nature was kept ill in bed burning up from the sickness of sins” and Nyssen’s interpretation of the Song 1:5 about the Bride darkened by vice but restored her to her original loveliness invited associations with the maiden of the Gospel lying ill and dying, which the Lord restored to life. [cf. Mt. 8:40–56]

Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 100, 16–21:

χρυσῖτις ἦν τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις καὶ λάμπουσα τῇ **πρὸς τὸ ἀκήρατον ἀγαθὸν ὁμοιότητι**, ἀλλὰ δύσχρους καὶ μέλαινα μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ ἐπιμιξίᾳ τῆς κακίας ἐγένετο, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ Ἰασηματος τῆς νύμφης ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι μέλαιναν αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν ἡ τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ὀλιγωρία.⁷⁷⁴

Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 18 (ed. Goulet, 298, 26–300, 8):

Κλινήρης οὖν ὑπῆρχε τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρρωστίᾳ πυρέττουσα, συχνῶς δαπανωμένη τῷ πάθει τῆς συμφορᾶς, θεσμὸν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀκολουθίαν οὐκ ἤδει, οὐ τάξιν, οὐ λόγον, οὐ φιλόσοφον γνώμην, οὐκ ἀσκητικοῦ κανόνος δίαιταν ἢ διατριβήν.⁷⁷⁵

The preacher indexed the texts into themes, subjects or words that triggered associations with the Gospel readings of the day. For it is manifest that passages from the *Monogenes* and Gregory of Nyssa’s writings, just as from the homilist’s other sources, were fittingly retrieved in the correlated sermons, hooked by subject or even by a specific word, which invited analogies with the Gospel.

1.3. Death and Mourning

Death and morning was an important pastoral theme, which Philagathos discussed in several sermons. We have noted before the treatment of the theme in the sermons “On the

⁷⁷⁴ “At the beginning, human nature was golden and gleaming because of its likeness to the undefiled Good. But later, by reason of the admixture of evil, it became discolored and dark—just as, at the opening of the Song, we heard the Bride say that negligence in keeping her vineyard made her dark” (trans. Norris, 113).

⁷⁷⁵ “Therefore, she was kept ill in bed burning up from the sickness of sins, unceasingly consumed by the suffering of this misfortune; she [i.e. the human nature] no longer had a law, she knew neither hierarchy, nor order, nor reason, nor philosophical judgment, nor way of living or occupation conform to the ascetic discipline.”

Wodow's Son" and "For the Resurrection of Lazarus, the four days dead."⁷⁷⁶ Here we turn to the homily pronounced "For the Anniversary of the Dormition of our Venerable Father Bartholomew." At an attentive scrutiny, it turns out that the homily blends a drove of texts on the subject of death and mourning. First, we present the snippet Philagathos borrows from Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*. Says Philagathos:⁷⁷⁷

And it seems to me that those who lament for the dead do not differ at all from those suffering from frenzy, which by reason of the perversion of their minds have a inimical attitude in regard to those who sought the healing. Just so, these people here seem to throw blame on God who sought the cure of our nature. Since *the ancestor of our race while being in honour does not understand, but by turning towards evil he is compared to the senseless cattle and is like them* [cf. Ps. 49:20], [and] dragged the passions of the irrational nature into himself by the tunics of skin and henceforth into the entire kin, just as a maiming *he unleashed the drama of our misfortune*, yet the one who heals our nature was willing to purify by death the proper likeness (εἰκόνα) of the bastard tunic and brought from the outside, so that man throwing away the tunic of hide and the passions of the irrational nature cast in the grave would change for the original condition (ἀποκατάστασιν). At least then, why is there need to mourn the one throwing away the body and the countless stains of the flesh just as some servants, when he passes over to the impassible life?

Καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοὺς ἀποικομένους ὀλοφυρόμενοι οὐδὲν ἀπεικέναι τῶν συνεχόμενων φρενίτιδι, οἱ διὰ τὴν τῶν λογισμῶν παρατροπὴν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεραπεύοντας· οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἐγκαλεῖν δοκοῦσι Θεῷ τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν θεραπεύοντι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ **ὁ ἀρχηγός** τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἐν τιμῇ ὢν, οὐ συνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν παρατροπῇ συνεβλήθη τοῖς κτήνεσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις καὶ ὁμοιωθῆ αὐτοῖς, τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων πάθη ἐπισπάσας εἰς ἑαυτὸν διὰ **τῆς δερματίνης περιβολῆς**, καὶ ὅλω τῷ γένει, καθάπερ λύμη, **τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπεκώμασε δράμα**, ἠυδόκησεν ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἱατρός διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καθᾶραι τὴν ἰδίαν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐπεισάκτου καὶ νόθου περιβολῆς, ὡς ἄν, ἀποβαλὼν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν δερμάτινον θύλακον καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων πάθη ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ῥίψας, μετασταίῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀποκατάστασιν. Τί γοῦν δεῖ θρηνεῖν τὸν καθάπερ παῖδας ἀποβαλόντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς μυρίας τῆς σαρκὸς κῆρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπαθῆ βίον μεταχωρήσαντα;

The context in the *Monogenes* clarifies the appropriation. For Philagathos alludes to Makarios' elaborate account of man's fall from paradise.⁷⁷⁸ Besides the rhetorical usage of the

⁷⁷⁶ See above, Part II, chapter 1, "Rhetorical Lament in the *Homilies*: Philagathos on the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain," 89–102 and Part I. 1. "The Drama of the Incarnation: *Economy* and Emotions," 57–67.

⁷⁷⁷ *Hom.* 34, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 233).

⁷⁷⁸ Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 32 (ed. Goulet, 64, 10–29): ἔγνωσ, εἴγ' ἐβασάνισας τοῦ λόγου τὸ διήγημα, πῶς **τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης** οὐσίας **ὁ ἀρχηγός** τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεξετάστως **ἀσμενίσας** τοῦ ὄφεως ἔξω βάλλεται τοῦ θείου **περιβόλου**, καὶ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ἐξωθεῖται διατριβῆς, καὶ τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀλλοτριούται μονῶν ἀλλότριος τῆς πανολβίου φυτείας γενόμενος. 8. **Ἐκεῖθεν τῷ γένει τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπεκώμασε δράμα**· ἐκεῖθεν ἡ λογικὴ βλάστη διαπέπτωκεν· ἐκεῖθεν ἡμεῖς ῥιφέντες τανῦν ἀλητεύομεν· ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν τυραννικὸν ἐπεφύη στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν

Monogenes, the homilist embraced Gregory of Nyssa's theological doctrines. Philagathos interprets the 'garments of skin' (τῆς δερματίνης περιβολῆς) in Nyssen's terms as referring to the human body in its fleshy and irrational condition, subjected to the passions and hence fallen into a mortal state.⁷⁷⁹ Then, the imagery of relinquishing the 'garments of skin' and the restoration of human nature to a previous state of perfection (τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀποκατάστασιν) is repeatedly encountered in Nyssen's works.⁷⁸⁰ Similarly, the Christological treatment of the 'garments of skin' features prominently in Gregory's *In Canticum canticorum*.⁷⁸¹ In Homily 11 on the Song, Gregory interprets the bride's words, "I have removed my tunic (χιτῶνά). How shall I put it on?" (Song 5:3), as a cancellation of the effects of the Fall. The bride "put off that 'tunic of skin' (τὸν δερματίνον ἐκεῖνον χιτῶνα) that she had put on after the sin (cf. Gen. 3:21)."⁷⁸² The counterpart of stripping off the 'tunic of skin' is donning the 'new tunic' (τὸν καινὸν χιτῶνα) that "has been created after the likeness of God" (Eph. 4:24). Christ purified the tunic so that human beings may don it and share its incorruptibility since Christ the Lord assumed our human nature. For this

φόνιοι θυμοὶ καὶ ἀπάνθρωποι· ἐκεῖθεν ἀγέλη<ς> {καὶ} βοσκημάτων ἀλόγων νόμιμα καὶ μαθήματα· ἐκεῖθεν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκλάπη τὸ νόμισμα καὶ τὸ κίβδηλον τῆς δουλείας ἐφάνη δηνάριον· ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς πονηρίας τοὺς μώλωπας ἔλαβεν· ἐκεῖθεν ὁ νοῦς τοὺς σπύλους ἐκτήσατο· ἐκεῖθεν οἱ λογισμοὶ παθόντες ἡμβλύθησαν· ἐκεῖθεν δυσίατον κηλὶδα βαστάζομεν· ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ φρονήματος τὸ βλέμμα τεθόλωται· ἐκεῖθεν ὑπώπια τῶν κακῶν καὶ συντρίμματα· ἐκεῖθεν τὸ νέφος τῆς ἀταξίας παχύνεται· ἐκεῖθεν ἐχαλκεύθη τὰ τοῦ θανάτου βέλη· ἐκεῖθεν ἥδη ἑαυτὸν πλατύνας ἐπλουτίσθη· ἐκεῖθεν διάβολος καὶ πατὴρ διαβόλου φρικώδης ἐπίκειται. Trans.: "For you know, at least if you have examined the course of my account, how the ancestor of the human nature after having gladly received the slender of the serpent without investigation was cast out from the divine enclosure and [you know that he was] thrust out from that blessed way of life and was alienated from the divine abodes becoming a stranger of the hallowed garden. [8.] From that fact the drama of misfortune unleashed against our race; from that fact the rational burgeon has crumbled; from that fact we presently wander astray having been cast out; from that fact an inimical army was set to torment us; from that fact criminal thoughts and inhuman behavior [arised]; from that fact the customs and teachings fit for a herd of irrational beasts [arised]; from that fact the coin of freedom was hidden and the deceitful denary of servitude was unveiled; from that fact the soul took the bruises of wickedness; from that fact the mind acquired stains; from that fact the reasoning power undergoing passion became blunt; from that fact we endure punishments hard to heal; from that fact the glance of our mind has been made turbid; from that fact the blows of evil and the afflictions; from that fact, the cloud of disorder became thick; from that fact, the arrows of death were forged; from that fact the Hell having been opened was enriched; from that fact the adversary and the father of the adversary carry their horrific threat."

⁷⁷⁹ For Nyssen's notion of the 'garments of skin' see Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, 25–31, 55–60; id., "Les Tuniques de peau chez Grégoire de Nysse," in *Glaube, Geist, Geschichte: Festschrift für Ernst Benz zum 60. Geburtstag am 17. November 1967*, ed. Gerhard Müller and Winfried Zeller (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 355–67; id., *L'Être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nysse* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 154–64; Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 85–100; in relation with Philagathos' expression «τῆς δερματίνης περιβολῆς» we may note the similarity with Gregory of Nyssa's formulation from *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 44, 4–5: «τῆς δερματίνης τε καὶ νεκρᾶς περιβολῆς»; the formula is recurrent in Philagathos' sermons; cf. *Hom.* 31, 21 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 213): «Ὅταν λυθῇ τῆς σαρκός, τῆς δερματίνης περιβολῆς τῆς ἐντεθείσης τῇ φύσει» [...].

⁷⁸⁰ Daniélou indicated that ἀποκατάστασις was often used by Gregory of Nyssa to simply denote the restoration of human nature to the previous state of perfection, without implying cosmological or eschatological connotations ("L'apocatastase chez Saint Grégoire de Nysse," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 30 (1940), 328); see also Morwenna Ludlow, *Universal Salvation: Eschatology in the Thought of Gregory of Nyssa and Karl Ranner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64–73; For Gregory's doctrine of *apokatastasis* see Ilaria Ramelli, "Christian Soteriology and Christian Platonism: Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Biblical and Philosophical Basis of the Doctrine of *Apokatastasis*," *VigChr* 61 (2007), 313–356; ead., *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: a Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁷⁸¹ See for this Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 87–92.

⁷⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 327, 14–15.

tunic, the human nature restored is Jesus, says Nyssen alluding to Romans 13:14.⁷⁸³ Finally, Philagathos' emphasis on the release of the soul from the body which is 'thrown away together with the countless stains of the flesh' and the attitude against grief points to Gregory's *De mortuis*, a treatise which Philagathos abundantly cited in the sermon.

Philagathos' encloses an extensive collection of passages on the question of the appropriateness of grief excerpted mainly from Gregory of Nyssa's *De mortuis oratio*. Philagathos stages the discussion by referring to the sufferings that characterize our present existence so that death may appear less a misfortune to be mourned.⁷⁸⁴

Do you not see by how many afflictions we are oppressed and how many stains tarnish the wretched man? Grief, pain, desire, malice, envy, *the schemes of our enemies, stings and bites of poisonous serpents*. But also, how much distress the unpredictable mutation of clime overfills mankind?! Or else, *the abundance of rain inundates the crops or a heavy storm crushes the hopes of the farmers, or a drought prevailing over dries up every shrub*. In addition to these, the accidents of life, *the afflictions of orphanhood, the sorrows of widowhood*, the woes for childlessness, *the unfair retribution of things*. For the rich man is *inflated with pride* while the poor sinks in *self-dejection*, *other is enraged by boldness boiling up with anger and driven mad*, another is distraught by cowardice being unable to hold out against the powerful. Well, these habitudes of life are filled full of every pain and wickedness. For one suffers laboring the fields, other endures perils across the sea, another disgrace himself in commerce, and others persevere in mechanical arts never ceasing from being worn with toil. To these words reckons up the pleasure for weapons, wars, fratricidal strife through which the life of men is crushed. But who count the tangled ailments of the body?

Philagathos' account is based to the smallest detail on Gregory of Nyssa's argumentation from *De mortuis oratio*. Gregory explains that there can be nothing "sorrowful" about a change "to the life unruffled and unaffected by passion" and gives a lengthy catalogue of this-wordly hardships. The extent of Philagathos' appropriation may be perceived by placing the texts in parallel:

Hom. 34, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 233–34):

Οὐκ ὀρᾷς ὅσοις ἐνταῦθα πάθεσι συνεχόμεθα καὶ ὅσαι κηλίδες τὸν δείλαιον ἄνθρωπον καταστίζουσι; **Λύπαι, ὀδύναι, ἐπιθυμιαί, φθόνοι,**⁷⁸⁵ **ζηλοτυπιαί, αἱ τῶν ἐχθραίνόντων ἐπιβουλαί, τὰ τῶν ἰοβόλων ἐρπετῶν κέντρα**

Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 9, 36–37:

εἰ μὴ τοῦτό τις ἄρα λυπηρὸν ἡγεῖται ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀπαθῆ τε καὶ ἀνενόχλητον βίον αὐτοῖς ἡ μετάστασις γίνεται, ὃς οὔτε πληγῶν ὀδύνας προσίεται οὐ πυρὸς δέδοικεν ἀπειλὴν οὐ τὰ

⁷⁸³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 328, 5–11; Cf. Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 90.

⁷⁸⁴ *Hom.* 34, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 233–234).

⁷⁸⁵ The homily seems also to bear the imprint Nyssen's *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*, 9, 466, 19–22: τίνοος οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, τῶν καλῶν ἀπεστέρηται τὸν σάρκινον τοῦτον ἐκδυσασμένη βίον; εἶπω σοι τὰ τοῦ βίου καλά; λύπαι καὶ ἡδοναί, θυμοὶ καὶ φόβοι, ἐλπίδες καὶ ἐπιθυμιαί. ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἷς κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν συμπεπλεγμέθα. Trans.: "Tell me, then, should we reject this corporeal life? Shall I tell you the beauties of this life? They consist in grief and pleasure, courage and fear, hope and desire, to which we are all joined in this present life."

καὶ δῆγματα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀέρων παλίντροπος ἀνωμαλία πόσης ἀνοίας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐμπίπλησιν; Ἡ γὰρ **πολλὴ ἐπομβρία κατακλύζει τὰ γεωργούμενα, ἢ χάλαζα τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν γεωργούντων** ἡμάλδυνεν, **ἢ αὐχμὸς ἐπικρατήσας ἀποξηραίνει πᾶν τὸ φυόμενον.** Πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ βίου συμπτώματα, **τὰ τῆς ὀρφανίας σκυθρωπά, τὰ τῆς χρείας κακά,** τὰ τῆς ἀπαιδίας λυπηρά, τὰς ἀνίσους τῶν πραγμάτων φοράς. Ὁ μὲν πλούσιος **ἐξογκοῦται τῷ τύφῳ,** ὁ δὲ πένης ὑποπίπτει **ἐν ταπεινότητι, ἄλλος τῷ θράσει ἐκθηριοῦται ζέων τῷ θυμῷ καὶ μαινόμενος,** ἕτερος **ὑπὸ δειλίας πτοεῖται, μὴ ἐξισχύων ἀντισχεῖν** πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρότερον. Καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ βίου ἐπιτηδεύματα πάσης ὀδύνης καὶ μοχθηρίας ἐμπέπλησται. **Ὁ μὲν διὰ γεωργίας κακοπαθεῖ, ὁ δὲ τοὺς διαποντίους ὑπομένει** κινδύνους, ἄλλος **ταῖς ἐμπορίαις ἀσχημονεῖ,** καὶ ἕτεροι **ἐν ταῖς βαναύσοις προσταλαιποροῦσι τέχναις** μηδέποτε λήγοντες τοῦ μοχθεῖν. Αἰρίθμει πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις **ὄπλα καὶ πολέμους καὶ ἀλληλοφονίας,** δι' ὧν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκτρίβεται. **Τὰς δὲ πολυπλόκους ἀρρωστίας τοῦ σώματος** τίς ἂν ἀριθμῶ περιλάβοι;

Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 9, 39, 11–15:

ἢ γὰρ περὶ τὰς δυναστείας τε καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ τὰς ἀπολαυστικὰς ταύτας λαιμαργίας ἐπιθυμία καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον σπουδάζεται ὧν χάριν **καὶ ὄπλα καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἀλληλοφονίαι** καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκουσίως ἐνεργουμένη ταλαιπωρία καὶ δολιότης [...].⁷⁸⁶

διὰ σιδήρου τραύματα οὐ τὰς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ ναυαγιῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσιῶν συμφορὰς οὐ τὰς τῶν ὠμοβόρων **θηρίων προσβολὰς οὐ τὰ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν τε καὶ ἰοβόλων κέντρα καὶ δῆγματα,** ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς οὔτε **ἐξογκοῦται τῷ τύφῳ** οὔτε πατεῖται **ἐν ταπεινότητι** οὔτε ὑπὸ **θράσους ἐκθηριοῦται** οὔτε **ὑπὸ δειλίας καταπτοεῖται** οὔτε τῇ ὀργῇ περιοιδάινει **ζέων τῷ θυμῷ καὶ μαινόμενος** οὔτε κλονεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου **ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν** τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὀρμὴν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἐν ᾧ φροντὶς οὐκ ἔστιν, οἷα τῶν βασιλέων τὰ ἥθη τίνες αἱ νομοθεσίαι οἷοι τὸν τρόπον οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τεταγμένοι οἷα τὰ διαγράμματα πόσος ὁ ἐτήσιος φόρος οὔτε εἰ πολλὴ γέγονεν **ἐπομβρία κατακλύζουσα** τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τὸ **γεωργούμενον** οὔτε εἰ **χάλαζα τὰς ἐλπίδας** τῶν γεωπόνων ἡχρείωσεν οὔτε εἰ **αὐχμὸς ἐπικρατήσας ἀποξηραίνει πᾶν τὸ φυόμενον.** ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ βίου κακῶν πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἔχει· **ὀρφανίας τε γὰρ τὸ σκυθρωπὸν** οὐ λυπεῖ τὴν ζωὴν ἐκείνην, **τὰ ἐκ χρείας κακά** χώραν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀργοῦσι δὲ καὶ **αἱ πολύτροποι τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστίας (...).**⁷⁸⁷

Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 9, 35, 6–12:

ὅπου πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων καμάτων ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ ἄνετός ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ, **οὐ διὰ γεωργίας κακοπαθοῦσα οὐ τοὺς διαποντίους ὑπομένουσα** πόνους οὐ **διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας** <τε καὶ> καπηλείας **ἀσχημονοῦσα** οἰκοδομικῆς τε καὶ ὑφαντικῆς **καὶ τῆς τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν ταλαιπωρίας** κεχωρισμένη Ἡρεμὸν τινα καὶ ἡσύχιον διάγει βίον [...].⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁶ “For our desire yearns for power, for greediness, for the gratification of such longings and indeed for every other thing of this sort of which the pleasure for weapons, wars, fratricidal strife and every distress and deceit [is] undertaken voluntarily [...].”

⁷⁸⁷ “Unless perhaps some person would consider this sorrowful that the departure from this life leads to the life unruffled and unaffected by passion, which is neither affected by pains caused by blows, nor does it fear the threat of fire nor the wounds caused by iron, nor the misfortunes from earthquakes, shipwrecks, captivities, nor the attacks of carnivorous beasts nor the stings and bites of poisonous and creeping serpents; in which no one is inflated by pride, nor treated with contempt, nor enraged by rashness and driven mad, nor shaken by fear unable to hold out against the assault of the powerful; in which [i.e. blessed existence] there is no worry, such as the habits of the kings [would be], the decrees legislated, the sort of magistrates appointed, the regulations pertaining to the amount of the annual tribute, or whether the abundance of rain inundates the crops by flooding, whether a hail destroys the hopes of the farmers, whether a drought prevailing over dries up every shrub. In addition, it has complete indemnity over

In the footsteps of Gregory of Nyssa, Philagathos alleviates the fear of death by arguing that in death we merely put off the “tunics of hide” which we acquired after the fall. The “tunics of hide” and the present constitution appear deeply problematic for Nyssen and Philagathos. Because the “tunics” enables men by the sensible passions to choose vice instead of virtue. Philagathos explains:

At least then, man relinquishes all these things by death having shaken off [the garments of skin] *like some glutinous and sticky clay* clotted to our nature from outside, [and] *departs to the life unruffled and unaffected by passion*, receiving some different condition of life *free and restful* and pure from the aforementioned evils. For the life of the departed is in every way peaceful and without sorrow, *having cleansed itself from every passionate disposition, each having that which he prepared for himself in the present life. But if someone chose the evil instead of better from thoughtlessness*, as the wretched I, yet *death is not the cause for it, but the careless free choice*. In fact, death is rather a benefactor having cut out the irrepressible ill-advisedness of our free choice. Therefore since death effects such a good to us, those who mourn for the departed are entirely senseless and inconsiderate for what is right.

The text is again fashioned from Gregory of Nyssa’s account:

Hom. 34, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 234):

Ταῦτα γοῦν πάντα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀποτίθεται, οἷόν τινα **γλοιώδη πηλὸν καὶ ἐχέκολλον** ἔξωθεν **τῇ φύσει** ἐκτιναξάμενος, **πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀνενόχλητον βίον μεθίσταται**, ἄλλην τινὰ λαμβάνων βίου κατάστασιν **ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἄνετον** καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων κακῶν **ἀνεπίμικτον**. Εἰρηναία γὰρ πάντη καὶ **ἀκηδῆς** ἡ τῶν μεταστάντων ζωῆ, **πάσης ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως καθαρεύουσα, ἐκεῖνο ἐκάστου ἔχοντος, ὅπερ ἂν ἑαυτῷ** κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον **ἡτοίμασεν. Εἰ δέ τις τὸ χεῖρον**

Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2, 1, 403:

Ἀλλ’ ἔοικε **καθάπερ τις γλοιώδης πηλὸς καὶ ἐχέκολλος** ὁ κατὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας αὐτῷ συντεθεὶς λῆρος παρακατέχειν ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ ἑᾶν τῶν χρησιμωτέρων προσάψασθαι.⁷⁸⁹

Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 36, 11–13: εἰ μὴ τοῦτό τις ἄρα λυπηρὸν ἡγεῖται ὅτι **πρὸς τὸν ἀπαθῆ τε καὶ ἀνενόχλητον βίον** αὐτοῖς **ἡ μετάστασις γίνεται**, [...]⁷⁹⁰

the other evil afflictions of life. The afflictions of orphanhood cannot harm that life, the sorrows of widowhood do not have place there, also the manifold diseases of the body cease [...].”

⁷⁸⁸ “[...] whereas the [blessed] life is free from every constraining toil and restful, not suffering from tillage or enduring from the toils across the sea or disgracing himself from commerce and tavern-keeping, separated from the toils of the arts of building houses and from weaving and from the hardships pertaining to the arts of artisans, but [according to Paul] “we now lead a quiet, peaceful life (1Tm 2.2).”

⁷⁸⁹ “It appears however that the nonsensical attack Eunomius has composed against conceptual thought has held us back like sticky, glutinous mud, and will not let us get to grips with more useful topics” (trans. S. G. Hall in Gregory of Nyssa: *Contra Eunomium II*, ed. Lenka Karfíková, Scot Douglass and Johannes Zachhuber, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 150).

⁷⁹⁰ “For otherwise, how, then, can some be distressed considering that the departure from life becomes for them the partaking of a life unruffled and unaffected by passion [...].”

τοῦ βελτίονος ἐξ ἀβουλίας προέκρινεν, ὥς ἄθλιος ἐγώ, οὐκ αἷτιος τούτων ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλ' ἡ φαύλη προαίρεσις· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν εὐεργέτης ὁ θάνατος ἐκκόψας τὴν ἄσχετον κακοβουλίαν τῆς προαιρέσεως. Τοσοῦτον οὖν καλὸν τοῦ θανάτου προξενούντος ἡμῖν, ἀνόητοι πάντως οἱ θρηνοῦντες τοὺς τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ἀνεπίσκεπτοι.

cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 9, 35, 6–8: ὅπου πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων καμάτων ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ ἄνετός ἐστιν ἡ ζωή, οὐ διὰ γεωργίας κακοπαθοῦσα οὐ τοὺς διαποντίους ὑπομένουσα πόνους

Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, 37, 5–23: οἱ τε κατὰ τῶν εὐημερούντων φθόνοι καὶ αἱ κατὰ τῶν δυσπραγούντων ὑπεροψίαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ζωῆς ἐκείνης ἐξώρισται, ἰσηγορία δέ τις καὶ ἰσονομία διὰ πάσης ἐλευθερίας εἰρηνικῆς τῷ τῶν ψυχῶν δήμῳ συμπολιτεύεται ἐκεῖνο ἐκάστου ἔχοντος ὅπερ ἂν ἐαυτῷ ἐτοιμάσῃ ἐκ προαιρέσεως. εἰ δέ τι χεῖρον ἔκ τινος ἀβουλίας τινὶ παρασκευασθεῖη ἀντὶ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἀναίτιος τῶν τοιούτων ὁ θάνατος κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὸ δοκοῦν ἐλομένης τῆς προαιρέσεως. ὑπὲρ τίνος οὖν δυσχεραίνουσιν οἱ θρηνοῦντες τὸν ἀποιχόμενον; καὶ μὴν εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκαθάρευν πάσης ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως ὁ συναποδυσάμενος τὴν ἡδονὴν τε καὶ τὴν λύπην μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκεῖνος ἂν δικαιότερον τοὺς περιόντας ἐθρήνησεν, οἱ ταῦτόν πάσχουσιν τοῖς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ διάγουσιν [...] ⁷⁹¹

Then, the homilist appropriates Plato's celebrated allegory of the cave (Rep. 514A–520A), as reproduced in Gregory of Nyssa's *De mortuis oratio*.⁷⁹² Philagathos acknowledges his debt to some Christian exegete (ὥσπερ τις εἶπε τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν), yet without mentioning his source:⁷⁹³

⁷⁹¹ “The resentment against those who prosper and the contempt for those who fail and all other similar blunders of this existence are banished from that life, while an identical right of speech and equality accompanied by an outright peaceful freedom is the common heritage for the community of souls since each has that which he prepared for himself by free choice; if some evil had been produced from following some thoughtlessness instead of good advice, yet death is not the cause for it because free choice is at man's discretion. Therefore, for what reason do people bewail the departed? Unless a person cleanses himself entirely of the passionate disposition derived from pleasure and grief associated with the body, he would be no better off than those who wail for their friends in prison.”

⁷⁹² Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis oratio*, GNO 9, 38 καὶ τυχὸν κάκεῖνοι τοῖς τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκβαλλομένοις ἐπιστυγνάζουσιν ἀγνοία τῆς φαιδρότητος τῆς ἐκδεχομένης τοὺς ἀπαλλάγοντας τοῦ ζόφου. εἰ γὰρ ἦδεσαν τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεάματα τό τε αἰθέριον κάλλος καὶ τὸ οὐράνιον ὕψος καὶ τὰς τῶν φωστήρων αὐγὰς τὴν τε τῶν ἀστέρων χορείαν καὶ <τὰς> περιόδους ἡλιακὰς καὶ τὸν σεληνιαῖον δρόμον καὶ τὴν πολυειδῆ τῆς γῆς ἐν τοῖς βλαστήμασιν ὥραν καὶ τὴν ἡδέϊαν τῆς θαλάσσης ὅσιν ἐν ἡλιοειδεῖ τῇ αὐγῇ δι' ἡρεμαίου τοῦ πνεύματος γλαφυρῶς ἐπιφρίσσουσιν τῶν τε κατὰ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ κάλλη τὰ τε ἴδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια, δι' ὧν αἱ λαμπραὶ τε καὶ πολυτελεῖς τῶν πόλεων καλλωπίζονται [...].

⁷⁹³ *Hom.* 34, 6 (Rossi-Taibbi, 233): Καί, ὥσπερ τις εἶπε τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, ταῦτόν πάσχουσι τοῖς ἐν εἰρκτῇ ζοφῶδεϊ ἐμβιοτεύουσιν οἱ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἀλύπως φέροντες τὴν ἐν σκότῳ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεάματα, τοῖς ἀπολυθεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζόφου ἐπιστυγνάζουσιν ὡς χωριζομένοις, τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐξαγόμενοι, ὀρώντες τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φαιδρότητα, τὸν οὐράνιον κάλλος, τὸν ἡλιακὸν δρόμον, τῆς σελήνης τὴν ἀγλαΐαν, τὰ ἀστραϊκὰ σελαγίσματα, τὴν τῆς γῆς ποικιλίαν, τὰς τῶν πολυειδῶν ἀνθέων λαμπρότητας καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν τῆς κτίσεως καλλονήν, μακαρίζουσι μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαλλαγέντας τῆς ἐν ζόφῳ διαγωγῆς, ἐλεεινολογοῦνται δὲ τοὺς ἐτι καθειργμένους ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ.

And, like some of our [sages] said, the same thing happen to those who live in a dark prison, who have their abode in darkness by reason of an undisturbed tradition and do not perceive *the sights in the open air*, if are [to be] set free from the prison *they are even distressed* at the lost of darkness as if they were separated from some good. But when they are brought out of the dungeon, *upon beholding the splendor of the world, the heavenly beauty, the course of the sun, the glitter of the moon*, the resplendent blazes, the variegated beauty *of the earth*, the brightness of *innumerable* flowers and finally the overall beauty of the creation they praise themselves *for having escaped* from the life in darkness, while they commiserate those who are still shut in the prison.

By the analogy of the cave, the homilist highlighted the suggestive power of imagery that pictured the experience of grief and the fear of death as attachment to bodily and material realities. Mourning in the face of death proceeds from a misguided judgement that fails to perceive that death constitutes a change for the good as it opens the participation of the soul in true beauty after death. For Gregory of Nyssa, as well as for Philagathos the perspective is anagogical centered on immortality and the life to come. Inspired from Nyssen's treatise,⁷⁹⁴ the preacher writes, yet adding his own scriptural references:⁷⁹⁵

And also, in this manner, I believe, those who emerge out from the prison of this life regard piteous and miserable those still racked in this wretched life, because not having been set free by death more quickly they could not become contemplators of the supernatural beauty of the Thrones, Principalities and Powers [Col 1:16], and of the consummate purity and eternal resplendence. And let no one be inclined to say that only the just are worthy of the contemplation of the splendours from that place. In fact, the truly good, which is only visible to the pure of heart, transcends every beauty being above any expectation and representation, but the blessings from there are mystically contemplated by all those who have departed there by having faith in God. And perhaps imagining this, the great David considered the body a prison and prayed that this may be

⁷⁹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis non esse dolendum* 9, 38–39: ὅπερ οὖν εἰκὸς τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ δεσποτηρίου περὶ τῶν ἔτι καθειργμένων διανοεῖσθαι ὡς ἔλεινῃ προσταλαιπωρούντων ζωῇ, **τοῦτο μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ τῆς τοῦ βίου τούτου φυλακῆς ἔξω γενόμενοι**, εἴπερ ὁλως δυνατόν ἦν αὐτοῖς διὰ δακρύων ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κακοπαθοῦντας συμπάθειαν, θρηνεῖν καὶ δακρύνειν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδύναϊς **τοῦ βίου τούτου παρατεινομένων** ὅτι μὴ ὁρῶσι **τὰ ὑπερκόσμιά τε καὶ αὔλα κάλλη, θρόνους τε καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητας** καὶ στρατιάς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὁσίων καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν καὶ τὴν ὑπερουράνιον τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων πανήγυριν. **τὸ γὰρ ὑπερκεῖμενον τούτων κάλλος, ὃ τοὺς καθαροὺς τῇ καρδίᾳ βλέπειν** ὁ ἀψευδὴς ἀπεφάνητο λόγος, κρεῖττον τε **πάσης ἐλπίδος ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐκ στοχασμῶν εἰκασίας ἀνώτερον**.

⁷⁹⁵ *Hom.* 34, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 235): **Οὕτω μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ τῆς τοῦ βίου τούτου φυλακῆς ἔξω γενόμενοι** ἐλεινοὺς καὶ ἀθλίους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ μοχθηρᾷ **ταύτῃ παρατεινομένους ζωῇ**, ὅτι μὴ θάπτον ἀπαλλαγέντες διὰ θανάτου ἐπόπται γίνονται **τοῦ ὑπερκοσμίου κάλλους Θρόνων τε καὶ Ἐξουσιῶν καὶ Κυριοτήτων**, πάσης τε τῆς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ αἰδίου λαμπρότητος. Καὶ μὴ τις ἐρεῖ ὡς τῆς θέας τῶν ἐκεῖσε καλῶν μόνοι ἀξιούνται οἱ δίκαιοι· τὸ γὰρ ὄντως ἀγαθόν, οὗ μόνοις **τοῖς καθαροῖς τὴν καρδίαν ἐστὶ θεατόν, ὑπέρεκται πάντων καλῶν, ἐλπίδος πάσης καὶ εἰκασίας ὑπάρχον ἀνώτερον**, τὰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι θεωροῦνται τοῖς μεθισταμένοις ἐντεῦθεν πιστοῖς. Καὶ τάχα ἐκεῖνα φανταζόμενος, ὁ μέγας Δαβὶδ δεσποτήριον ἡγεῖτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ λυθῆναι τοῦτο ἐπηύχετο· «Ἐξάγαγε, λέγων, ἐκ φυλακῆς τὴν ψυχὴν μου», καὶ μὴ κενουμένην ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ζωὴν ὠλοφύρετο· «Οἱμοι, ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη»· τὴν γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας δυναστείαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον συγκρίσει τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ζωῆς φρουρὰν ἡγεῖτο καὶ κακοπάθειαν.

released, saying “Bring my soul out of prison”, [Ps. 141 (142):8] and beholding [the soul] not emptying out for the life thereafter lamented: “Woe is me, that my sojourning is prolonged,” [Ps. 119 (120): 5] for he considered a dungeon and a suffering the might of kingship, the glory, the unmeasurable wealth by comparison with the life from that place.

At this point Philagathos provides a learned reference to the famous allegory of the Cave (*Republic* 7, 514A–515A) and the Platonic doctrine that holds the body a grave for the soul as for instance expressed in *Phaedo* 62B:

And what is admirable [to this]? Just as the wiser among the pagans and those who were more close to us called *the body a cave, a prison and a tomb* and they lament bitterly over the soul buried in the body. *And further, they extoll the journey hence of the soul, to be a freeing from bonds and a flight from the cave.* For truly, our soul is fettered being confined in the body just as in a prison and iron bars bind tightly the prisoner all round, [that is] the blending of the elements, the myriad affections of the body. Therefore, is not death a benefactor, as it shatters the gates of copper, crushes the bars of iron, and releases the winged soul as to fly up to the heavenly fatherland from which we were miserably cast out?

The doctrines conveyed are in fact an adaptation and a weaving together of passages taken from Aeneas of Gaza’s *Theophrastus* and from Michael Psellos’ oration:

Hom. 34, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 235–36):

Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; Ὅπου καὶ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφώτεροι καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν προσεγγίσαντες **σπήλαιον** καὶ δεσμοτήριον καὶ **σῆμα τὸ σῶμα** ἐκάλεσαν καὶ οἷον ἐνταφείσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδύρονται, **ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν λύσιν καὶ τοῦ σπηλαίου φυγὴν τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ψυχῆς πορείαν** δοξάζουσιν; Ἀληθῶς γὰρ **δεσμῶτις ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ, ὥσπερ ἐν φρουρᾷ καθειργμένη τῷ σώματι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δεσμοτήριον περικλείουσι πύλαι χαλκαῖ, τῶν στοιχείων ἡ σύγκρασις, τὴν δὲ δεσμῶτιν περισφίγγουσι μοχλοὶ σιδηροῖ, τὰ μυρία πάθη τοῦ σώματος.** Ἄρ’ οὖν οὐκ εὐεργέτης ὁ θάνατος, ὅτι πύλας συντρίβει χαλκᾶς καὶ

Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 6, 6–13:

ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ὁ ἐν Φαίδωνι Σωκράτης αὐτῷ, τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἅπαν ἀτιμάσας καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς κοινωνίαν μεμψάμενος, ὡς δεσμῷ τινι καὶ **οἷον ἐν σήματι τῷ σώματι** θαπτομένην τὴν ψυχὴν **ὀλοφύρεται** καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λόγον ἀποθαυμάζει λέγοντα ὡς ἐν τινι **φρουρᾷ**, ἐπειδὴ ἀφικόμεθα, γεγόναμεν· καὶ τόδε τὸ πᾶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν ἄντρον πεποίηκεν, ἐν Πολιτείᾳ δὲ Πλάτων μεταβάλλων **σπήλαιον** ὀνομάζει· **ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν λύσιν καὶ τοῦ σπηλαίου φυγὴν τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔφη πορείαν.**⁷⁹⁶

Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora, Oration 4*, 74–77:

⁷⁹⁶ “On the one hand, <his> Socrates in the *Phaedo*, disdaining the entire sensible world and censuring the association of the soul with the body, laments that the soul is buried in the body as in a prison and in a tomb, and he marvels at the account contained in secret teachings, because it relates that, since we arrived in this world, we are confined in a sort of guard post (**φρουρᾷ**). And Empedocles has made this whole universe a subterranean cavern, while Plato in the *Republic*, changing the nomenclature, calls it a cave. And further, he has declared the journey hence of the soul, to be a freeing from bonds and a flight from the cave.” (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell in *Aeneas of Gaza: Theophrastus with Zacharia of Mytilene: Ammonius*, New York: Bristol Classical Press, 2012, 14)

μοχλοὺς συνθλᾶ σιδηροῦς καὶ τὴν πεπεδημένην ἐξάγει ψυχὴν, ὥστε ἀναπτήναι πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πατρίδα, ἐξ ἧς κακῶς ἀπερρίφημεν;

Ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐπάχυνεν ἡ λιχνεία λεπτύνει νῦν ἡ νηστεία· καὶ πάλιν τοῦ νοῦ τὸ πτερὸν πρὸς τὴν πτῆσιν ἐλευθεροῦται. **δεσμῶτίς ἐστιν ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχὴ ὥσπερ τινὶ δεσμοτηρίῳ καθειργμένη τῷ σώματι· περικλείουσι δὲ ταύτην καὶ κλοιοὶ σιδηροῖ, οἱ τῶν παθημάτων δεσμοί.**

As was noted at the outset of this chapter, Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus* is a hitherto unacknowledged source of Philagathos. This testimony is important for it adds a new item to the circulation and transmission of texts in twelfth century Southern Italy. *Theophrastus* presents a dialogue between the pagan philosopher Theophrastus and the Christian character Euxitheus on the nature of the human soul, its condition before birth, its fate after death and the doctrine of the Resurrection of the body. It discusses and refutes earlier and contemporary philosophical opinions, representing perhaps a rejection of Origenism.⁷⁹⁷ Assuredly, the synthetic view of ancient doctrines on the relation of the soul with the body from Aeneas of Gaza's dialogue suited Philagathos' florilegic habit.

In fact, the homilist exploited the dialogue for images and ideas, which he employed elsewhere in the sermons. Of special interest is the homily "On Healing the Paralytic in Capernaum" as it is constituted to an important extent from citations derived from Aeneas' dialogue, besides verbatim derivations from Gregory of Nyssa's *De oratione dominica*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oration 27 (Adversus Eunomianos)*, Synesius' *Catastases* and allusions to Makarios of Magnesia's *Monogenes*.⁷⁹⁸ As can be noticed below, the reference to Plato's doctrine of the body is taken from Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*.⁷⁹⁹

Hom. 45 (ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, coll. 449 C–D):

Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 20, 3–14, (ed. M. E. Colonna):

Ἀλλὰ πενία, ὃ οὗτος, καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος οὐτ' αἰσχρά, οὔτε κακὰ τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσι λογίζονται· χριστιανοῖς δὲ καὶ μεγίστη

Οὐ γὰρ ἀμνημονεῖς **ὅτι πενία καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος οὔτε αἰσχρά οὔτε κακὰ** Σωκράτει καὶ φιλοσοφία δοκεῖ, εἶγε πολλοὺς πολλάκις

⁷⁹⁷ Michael Champion, "Aeneas of Gaza on the Soul," *Australasian Society for Classical Studies* 32 (2011), 8; for the religious and cultural context of the school of Gaza see, Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁷⁹⁸ For the allusions to Synesius' *Catastases* see the discussion at p. 78–79; for references to Makarios' *Monogenes* in this sermon see p. 210–211; for Gregory of Nazianzus see p. 80;

⁷⁹⁹ Cristina Torre in "Su alcune presunte riprese classiche in Filagato da Cerami" in *La tradizione*, 24 argued that Philagathos' allusion to Plato's disparagement of the body bespeaks the influence of Basil of Caesarea's *De legendis gentiliū libris*, 9, 80–85 (ed. Boulenger): Διὸ δὴ **καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι**, τὴν ἐκ σώματος βλάβην προειδόμενον, **τὸ νοσῶδες χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς** τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καταλαβεῖν ἐξεπίτηδες, ἵνα τὴν ἄγαν εὐπάθειαν **τοῦ σώματος**, οἷον ἀμπέλου τὴν εἰς τὰ περιττὰ φορὰν, περικόπτοι. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σφαλερὰν εἶναι τὴν ἐπ' ἄκρον **εὐεξίαν** ἱατρῶν ἤκουσα. "Then it is said that since Plato foresaw the dangerous influence of the body, he chose an unhealthy part of Athens for his Academy, in order to remove excessive bodily comfort, as one prunes the rank shoots of the vines. Indeed, I have even heard physicians say that over-healthiness is dangerous." Although the ideas conveyed by Philagathos and Basil are similar, yet behind the opinion discussed in the homily stands Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*.

αἰσχύνῃ τὰ ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι κακά, ὅπου καὶ ἡ ἑξὼ παιδεία **φυλακὴν φιλοσοφίας** ταῦτα μᾶλλον **ὠνόμασεν**. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ **Πλάτωνα νοσῶδες τι χωρίον** τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀλλάξασθαι ἀμβλύνοντα τὴν εὐεξίαν τοῦ σώματος.

But poverty, oh you there, and sickness and death are neither thought unseemly and evil by those wise judging; but nay for Christians to regard these things as evil is the greatest shame, when even the external wisdom named them still more ‘guardians of philosophy.’ They say, then, that even Plato moved in a certain unhealthy place of Attica for weakening the vigor of his body.

ὠφέλησεν. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ πλοῦτον αὐτὴν **ὀνομάζει καὶ φιλοσοφίας φυλακὴν**, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν νόσον τῷ Θεάγει μέγα πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔφη συμβαλέσθαι, οὕτως λέγων, εἴ τί που μέμνημαι· «Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Θεάγει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἐταίρῳ πάντα συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὸ ἐκπεσεῖν φιλοσοφίας, ἡ δὲ νοσοτροφία κατείργουσα ἐπέχει». Ὁ δὲ δὴ **Πλάτων**, ἔρρωτο γάρ, **νοσῶδες χωρίον** καταλαβὼν ἐνδιέτριβε, τῆς ὑγείας τὸ πλέον ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ σωφροσύνην τῆς ῥώμης ἀντικαταλλαττόμενος· τὸν δὲ θάνατον κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ λύσιν μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζει, διδάσκων ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον θνητὰ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ δεσμὰ πεποίηκεν.⁸⁰⁰

The imprint of *Theophrastus* can be further pin down at the level of lexical choices and the sequence of exegesis in the sermon.⁸⁰¹ Philagathos comments:⁸⁰²

“If death were a release from everything, it would appear unjust, if a wicked man should lay down his life in power and wealth and wantonness; but, since in fact the soul is immortal neither does it escapes justice when departing into Hades, but there especially the soul will perceive its punishment, as we have learned from the story about the rich man [cf. Lc. 16:19–31]; so that it would be a godsend for the villanous to be rather sick and impoverished in this world, rather than be consigned to the tribunals of Hades.”

For making plain the retribution which awaits the many for perpetrating foul deeds Philagathos appropriates Aeneas’ argument:

Hom. 45 (ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, coll. 449 C): Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 27, 12–17 (ed. **Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος ἀπαλλαγὴ τοῦ** M. E. Colonna):

⁸⁰⁰ “You do not forget, do you, that poverty and sickness and death seemed neither shameful nor evil to Socrates and to philosophy, seeing that each of these has indeed often benefited many people. Socrates himself, indeed, thought highly of poverty and called it wealth and a guardian of philosophy, just as he also said that the sickness of Theages contributed greatly to his philosophising, stating, if I recall correctly: Certainly also for Theages our companion threw everything contributes to his giving up philosophy, but the nursing of his disease holds him back and keeps him to it.’ And indeed Plato too – for he had always been healthy – chose a pestilent place in which to found his school, depriving himself of the greater part of health, and purchasing temperance at the cost of bodily vigor. Again, he very piously called death a freedom and release from evil, teaching that God, in his compassion for man, has rendered his bonds also mortal” (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 23).

⁸⁰¹ Note for instance that Philagathos’ word choice (**εὐφρονοῦσι**) in *Hom.* 45 ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, coll. 449 C has a close contextual parallel besides the passage already cited (i.e. Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 20, 3–14) in *Theophrastus*, 25, 14–19, ed. M.E. Colonna: τῷ δὲ παθόντι οὐ κακὸν ἀλλὰ χρήσιμον, εἶγε προσθήκην εὐδαιμονίας αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος προυξένησε καὶ εἰς ὄφελος τῷ κοινῷ συντάττεται, ἐπεὶ παράκλησις ἱκανὴ τοῖς **εὐφρονοῦσι** πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ μὴ φόβῳ θανάτου τὸν ἀγαθὸν φεύγειν ἀρετὴν.

⁸⁰² *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, coll. 449 C).

παντὸς, ἄδικον ἔδοξεν ἂν, εἴ τις πονηρὸς ὢν, ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ τὸν βίον κατέλυσεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ, οὐδὲ εἰς Ἅιδου μεταχωρήσασα τὴν δίκην ἐξέφυγεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μάλιστα τῆς τιμωρίας αἰσθήσεται, ὥς ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πλούσιον διηγήματι μεμαθήκαμεν· ὥστε ἔρμαιον ἂν εἴη τοῖς κακοεργοῖς ἐνταῦθα νοσεῖν μᾶλλον καὶ πένεσθαι, ἢ τοῖς ἐν Ἅιδου δικαστηρίοις ἐκδίδοσθαι.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παντὸς ἀπαλλαγὴ, καλῶς ἂν ἠπόρουν, εἴ τις πονηρὸς ὢν ἐν τυραννίδι τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε· νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ περ ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ, οὐδὲ εἰς Ἅιδου μεταχωρήσασα φεύγει τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μάλιστα τῆς τιμωρίας αἰσθάνεται, εἰς Τάρταρον πεσοῦσα ὅθεν οὐποτε ἐκβήσεται· ὥστε ἔρμαιον τοῖς κακοῖς ἐνταῦθα νοσεῖν τε καὶ ἀπορεῖν καὶ δουλεύειν.⁸⁰³

Spurred by the theme of the sermon about the paralyzed man whose sins are forgiven, the homilist sets on to explain the origin of suffering and its relation to virtue. He writes:⁸⁰⁴

But even the just man sometimes slips and either does something unlawful as David or intends to perpetrate it as Job. And we in fact, if we suffer something we are amazed not being aware of the reason [for this], but the examiner of our deeds, which not one of all things has escaped his notice, when he perceives that a certain small aspect of the just is corrupted he heals this by the medicine of temptations, that he may have in purity enjoyment of the goods from that [higher] realm. It is befitting to ascribe the majority of these things to a fortuitous misfortune of the body, to the failure of nature, to an excess or insufficiency of substance. For one derives a bad state of health from his birth because his parents were joined together for procreation in a state of drunkenness and intemperance. For it is due to this that many deformities and diseases arise. By a disordered way of life, by drunkenness and lack of self-control one makes his body feeble. However, these have not constituted a hindrance for the acquisition of virtue. For some of these men have ascended to the heights of philosophy having inherited by virtue of their gratitude and patience the Abrahamic bosoms just as Lazarus. While others vicious by their own choosing do not accomplish as much [wickedness] as they wish and the affliction of the body actually becomes for them a protection for their soul.

The argumentation is entirely based on Aeneas' *Theophrastus* to which Philagathos only supplies a few scriptural allusions to the wrongs of David and the sufferings of Job.

Hom. 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 452 A–B):

ἄλλο τε καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐνίοτε ὥλισθε, καὶ τι παράνομον ἢ διεπράξατο ὥς ὁ Δαβὶδ, ἢ

Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 26, 3–15:

Ταῦτα γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἄθλα νομίζεται, οὐ τυραννὶς οὐδὲ πλούτου περιουσία, ἀ πολλοὺς πολλακὶς μεταβέβληκε δεσπότας καὶ οὔτε

⁸⁰³ “If death were a release from everything, I would rightly be surprised, if a wicked man should end his life still possessed of tyrannical power; but as it is, since in fact the soul is immortal, neither does it escapes justice when departing into Hades but there especially it is sensible of its punishment, having fallen into Tartarus from which it will never emerge so that it would be a godsend for the evil to be sick in this world, or deprived of resources and enslaved” (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 28).

⁸⁰⁴ *Hom.* 45 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, PG 132, coll. 452A–B).

διενοήθη ὡς ὁ Ἰώβ. Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν, **ἐάν τι πάθωμεν, θαυμάζομεν** ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ αἷτιον· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξεταστής, ὃν λέληθε τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, ὁρῶν τοῦ δικαίου **μικρὸν τι μέρος λελωβημένον** τῷ τῶν πειρασμῶν **φαρμάκῳ τοῦτο ἰάσατο, ὡς ἂν καθαρῶς ἀπολαύοι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καλῶν**. Προσῆκει **δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τούτων, σώματος συντυχίαν**, καὶ φύσεως σφάλμα **λογίζεσθαι**, καὶ **ὑλῆς πλεονεξίαν**, ἣ ἔλλειπιν. **Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γένους ἐπισύρει** τὴν καχεξίαν τοῦ σώματος, **μέθῃ καὶ ἀκολασία** τῶν τεκόντων εἰς **παιδοποιίαν** συνελθόντων· **ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τέρατα καὶ νοσήματα τίκτεται**. Ὁ δὲ διαίτης ἀταξία, καὶ μέθῃ καὶ ἀκρασία, **ἐξίτηλον τὸ σῶμα** εἰργάσατο· **πλὴν οὐκ ἐμπόδιον πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ταῦτα γεγόνασιν**. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἄκρον φιλοσοφίας ἀνέβησαν, δι' **εὐχαριστίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς** τοῦς Ἀβραμιαίους κληρωσάμενοι κόλπους ὥσπερ ὁ Λάζαρος. Οἱ δὲ γε κακοὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐ τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ὅσον ἐθέλουσι, καὶ γίνεται τούτοις ἢ τοῦ σώματος βλάβη ψυχῆς φυλακή.

Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 30, 15 – 21: **καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ μέθῃ** τὸ σπειρόμενον κατέβλαψε, χεῖρον παρεχομένη τὸ σπέρμα καὶ **ἐξίτηλον**, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως ὑπομένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου μορφήν οἷον ἄργυρος κίβδηλος δι' **ἀσθένειαν** ἀποφεύγει τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀναίνεται. **Ἐντεῦθεν τὰ πολλὰ τέρατα καὶ παθήματα τίκτεται**.⁸⁰⁵

Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 31, 1–2: ὅθεν **ἡ τῆς ὑλῆς πλεονεξία** καὶ αἰσχίστη τοῦ παιδὸς νόσος.⁸⁰⁶

ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα, εἶπερ καὶ κακῶν αἷτια, οὔτε ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα καὶ ἐφήμερα. Ἐνίοτε σπεύδει μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, **ᾧλισθε δὲ καὶ τι παράνομον ἢ διεπράξατο ἢ διενοήθη**· καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν εὖ ἔχειν δοκεῖ· τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα προκαλύμματα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐμποδὼν γίγνεται σαφῶς τὰ ἔνδον θεωρεῖν καὶ **θαυμάζομεν ἣν τι πάθῃ** τῇ τῆς αἷτίας ἀγνοίᾳ· τῷ δὲ δικαστῇ γυμνὰ πάντα καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πράττοντα καλῶς, **μικρὸν δὲ τι αὐτοῦ λελωβημένον, ἰάσιμον δὲ φαρμάκῳ**, ἐνταῦθα συγχωρεῖ παθεῖν τι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποτίσαι, **ᾧστε καθαρὸν γενόμενον τῶν ἐκεῖ καλῶν καθαρῶς ἀπολαύειν**.⁸⁰⁷

Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 28, 5–6:

Τούτων ἔγωγε τὰ πολλὰ σώματος συντυχίαν, οὐ ψυχῆς τιμωρίαν εἶναι **λογίζομαι**.⁸⁰⁸

Aeneas, *Theophrastus*, 28, 15–25:

ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ μὲν περιττὸς δάκτυλος ἐξήρηται, τοῦ δὲ ἀφήρηται, καὶ τὸ μὲν παρήλθε τὴν φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατόπιν ἐγένετο, καὶ **ὁ μὲν ἐκ γένους τι φθινῶδες ἐπισύρεται**, τοῦ δὲ ἀτελὲς ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς διέμεινεν, ὁ μὲν τοὺς πόδας διέστραπται, ὁ δὲ συνεσταλμένην εὗρε τὴν δεξιάν. **Καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄκρον φιλοσοφίας ἀνέβησαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο παρακεκομμένον τὸ σῶμα, οἱ δὲ εἰς κακίαν ἐκπεπτωκότες οὐ πράττουσιν ὅσον ἐθέλουσι καὶ γίγνεται ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς φυλακή ἢ τοῦ σώματος βλάβη**, καὶ σωτηρία μᾶλλον οὐ τιμωρία τὸ πάθος τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἐφάνη.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁵ “Intemperance and strong drink harm offspring by furnishing seed that is weaker and dissipated in strength so as not readily to admit the form coming from reason-principles, just as adulterated silver on account of its weakness frustrates the skill of the craftsman and rejects the form. It is due to this that many deformities and diseases arise” (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 30).

⁸⁰⁶ “[...] whence arises an excess of matter and the most disgusting disease for the child” (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 30).

⁸⁰⁷ “For these things are to be deemed the prizes of virtue, nor kingly power nor abundance of wealth, which things have often exchanged many masters, and neither are these things good, since they are actually the causes of evil, nor immortal, but rather shadowy and ephemeral images. Sometimes a man is eager for virtue, but he slips and he either does or intends something unlawful. To us he may seem to be well, for our veils and his have become a hindrance to seeing clearly what is within, and we are amazed if ever one suffers something, due to our ignorance of the reason

Philagathos' 'encyclopaedic' approach surfaces again in the explanations given to sickness and disability from the homily "On the Woman who was Bowed Together."⁸¹⁰ The preacher offers a mixed interpretation mentioning besides demonic possession the failure of nature as the cause of suffering. Says Philagathos:

Or else, wherefore do extra fingers or a defect of some other limb or the blindness of the eyes befall upon some people from their very birth? Well, *for this reason indeed one must blame fathers for weaknesses in their children, because by drunkenness and intemperance they make their offspring feeble*. For that reason, *Moses prescribed stoning the father of a disabled child because through lack of self-control he did not await the period of his wife's purification*. Save that, these defects did not occur apart from the all-governing providence, which often through the maiming of the body prevents a future depravity. *This is so because, not only for the body but also for the soul, the opposites become cures for opposites*. But to those whose future wickedness is not checked beforehand, different burners are urged or shall be urged [upon them]. "And behold, there was a woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years." [Lc. 13:11]

Once again, the explanations provided are taken from Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*:

Hom. 13, 4–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 86–87):

Ἡ πόθεν ἢ περιττοὶ τισιν ἐπιγίνονται δάκτυλοι, ἢ μελῶν τινων ἔλλειψις, ἢ πῆρωσις ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γενέσεως; **Διὸ καὶ πατέρας τῆς τῶν τικτομένων ἀσθενείας πολλάκις αἰτιατέον, μέθη καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ** ποιοῦντας **ἐξίτηλα τὰ σπειρόμενα**. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Μωϋσῆς τὸν **τοῦ λελωβημένου πατέρα κατέλευσεν, ὅτι δι' ἀκρασίαν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν οὐκ ἀνέμεινε**. Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξω τῆς πάντα διϋθινοῦσης προνοίας ἐκπέτωκε, μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι

Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 30, 7–31:

Πᾶσαν γὰρ δὴ κακίαν ἡδονὴ μὲν ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα διεγείρει· λύπη δὲ καθάπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας κοιμίζει. **Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα γίνονται**. Οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ **μέλλουσα κακία νόσῳ προαναπέλλεται**· οὐ γὰρ ἔδει τὴν Πρόνοιαν οὕτως εἶναι, ὥς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ οὔσης **Προνοίας**, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶη· τίνος γὰρ ἂν εἶη, εἰ μόνον εἶη τὸ θεῖον; **Διὸ δὴ καὶ πατέρας τῆς τῶν τικτομένων ἀσθενείας αἰτιατέον**· γίνονται

for this. But to the Judge, all things are laid bare, and, when he perceives that a man in general is behaving well, but that a certain small aspect of him is corrupted, but curable by medicine, in that case he allows him to suffer something and to pay a penalty so as, having become pure, in purity to have enjoyment of the goods in the higher realm" (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 27).

⁸⁰⁸ "Well, I for my part reckon that the majority of these things are a misfortune of the body, not a punishment for the soul" (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 28).

⁸⁰⁹ "Hence, one is burdened with an extra finger, while another is found to be short of a finger, the one going beyond nature, the other falling short of it; one derives a consumptive element from his birth, another's eye is left imperfect, one has his feet contorted, another finds his right hand curled up. And of these some have ascended to the heights of philosophy, and their body, though stricken, has constituted no hindrance to that; while others, having descended into vice, do not accomplish as much as they wish, and the affliction of the body actually becomes for them a protection for their soul, and to observers their suffering appears rather as a salvation, and not a punishment" (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 29).

⁸¹⁰ *Hom.* 13, 4–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 86–87).

κακίαν κωλυούσης πολλάκις διὰ πηρώσεως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τάναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα. Οἷς δὲ μὴ μέλλουσα κακία προαναστέλλεται, ἄλλοι καυτῆρες ἐπάγονται ἢ ἐπαχθήσονται. «Καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ ἔχουσα πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας ἔτη δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ».

δὲ καὶ ἐκ φαλακρῶν φαλακροὶ καὶ ἐκ νοσωδέων νοσώδεις, ὡς Ἰπποκράτης βούλεται καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος· καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ μέθη τὸ σπειρόμενον κατέβλαψε, χεῖρον παρεχομένη τὸ σπέρμα καὶ ἐξίτηλον, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως ὑπομένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου μορφήν οἷον ἄργυρος κίβδηλος δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀποφεύγει τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀναίνεται.[...] ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τὸν νόμον προσίεμαι, ὃς τοῦ λελωβημένου τὸν πατέρα κατέλευσεν, ὅτι δι' ἀκρασίαν τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν, ὅθεν ἡ τῆς ὕλης πλεονεξία καὶ αἰσχίστη τοῦ παιδὸς νόσος.⁸¹¹

Philagathos, therefore, addresses the question of grief by amassing passages on death and mourning from Makarios Magnes, Gregory of Nyssa, Aeneas of Gaza and Michael Psellos. His negative attitude to this particular passion is articulated by the Christian thought about man's original condition, his turn towards evil, followed by the donning of the tunics of hide which gave way to the passions of irrational nature. Sorrowing someone's death betrays senseless attachment to bodily and material realities. For death constitutes a change for the good as man is deprived of toils and the soul reaches the true beauty after death. Finally, the explanations given to sickness entirely borrowed from Aeneas of Gaza illustrated Philagathos' propensity for medical explanations.

1.4. Swine and Pleasure

Pleasure was a subject that exercised Philagathos' florilegic technique. The theme brings to the fore the sway Gregory of Nyssa's works carries upon Philip-Philagathos' exegetical technique. An excellent example of the homilist' virtuosity of combining passages is the homily "About the Prodigal Son." Says Philagathos:⁸¹²

⁸¹¹ "For pleasure promotes every vice just as olive oil stimulates flames. Pain, on the other hand, puts it to sleep, just like the mandrake root. This is so because, not only for the body but also for the soul, the opposites become cures for opposites. However, future evils are not always checked beforehand by an illness. Providence, after all, must not exist in such a way as for us to be nothing. For what it would concern itself with, if the divine were all that there was? For this reason truly one must blame fathers for weaknesses in their children: the bald also comes from the bald, and the sick from the sick, as Hippocrates would have it, and the true account as well. Intemperance and strong drink harm offspring by furnishing seed that is weaker and dissipated in strength so as not readily to admit the form coming from reason-principles, just as adulterated silver on account of its weakness frustrates the skill of the craftsman and rejects the form.[...] Indeed, I would approve of that law of the Hebrews which prescribed stoning the father of a disabled child because through lack of self-control he did not await the period of his wife's purification, whence arises an excess of matter and the most disgusting disease for the child" (trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, 30).

⁸¹² *Hom.* 38 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 384 B–C).

Therefore the dweller of a city like this sent him to his field to graze the swine. Perhaps he intimated the loathsome and raging passion of licentiousness, in which are wallowing in like swine those who obey the foul citizen. You will understand then that the fields of this hideous devil are the lovers of flesh and the lecherous. So most excellently, he likened the passion of intemperance to the swine. Indeed, pleasure, as if in Circe's bowl, blending its own potion changes the mind of the fools to follow the lifestyle of pigs, and makes them her slaves. Just as the eyes of swine, turning naturally downward, have no glimpse of the wonders of the sky, so the soul whose body is dragged down toward the passions does not perceive the intelligible beauty. For of the many passions, which afflict men's thinking there is none as strong as the disease of pleasure. It truly makes men beasts, guided in dishonour as the swine, since they forever desire to be satiated by impurity.

Ὁ γοῦν τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν οἰκῶν ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους. Τάχα διὰ τῶν χοίρων τὸ τῆς βδελυρᾶς καὶ λυσσώδους ἀκολασίας πάθος ἠνίξατο, ὃ χοιρηδὸν **ἐγκαλινδοῦνται** οἱ τῷ μιᾶρῷ πειθόμενοι πολίτη. Ἀγροὺς δὲ νοήσεις τοῦ βδελυροῦ τούτου δαίμονος τοὺς φιλοσάρκους, καὶ φιληδόλους. Ἄριστα δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας πάθος τοῖς χοίροις παρείκασεν· ἡ γὰρ ἡδονή, **καθάπερ Κιρκαίῳ κρατῆρι** τὸν ἑαυτοῦ **κυκεῶνα κεράσασα**, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων νοῦν πρὸς τὴν χοιρώδη ζωὴν μεταμείβουσα, λάτρας ἑαυτῆς τίθησι. **καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν συῶν ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς τὸ κάτω παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐστραμμένοι τῶν οὐρανίων θαυμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ἡ πρὸς τὰ πάθη κατασπασθεῖσα ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν κάλλος ἀναισθητεῖ. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων παθῶν, ἃ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταγωνίζεται, οὐδεμίαν καθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχὺν ἕτερον πάθος ἔχει, ὥς πρὸς τὴν νόσον τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐξισαζεσθαι. Βοσκήματα γὰρ ἀληθῶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους** ποιεῖ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ δίκην συῶν ἐκπομπεύοντας, ὥς αἰεὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν κορέννυσθαι τοῦ μιάσματος.

In the passage cited above Philagathos binds together and alludes to several of Gregory of Nyssa's texts. The overall context in Gregory's works illuminates and explains Philagathos' appropriation:

De virginitate, 5, 5–15

Πῶς γὰρ ἔτι δύναται **πρὸς τὸ** συγγενές τε καὶ **νοητὸν** φῶς ἐλευθέρῳ ἀναβλέπειν τῷ ὁμματι ἢ προσηλωθεῖσα κάτω τῇ ἡδονῇ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν **πρὸς τὰ** ἀνθρώπινα **πάθη** κατασχολήσασα, ὅταν [γὰρ] πρὸς τὰ ὑλώδη σχῇ τὴν ῥοπήν ἐκ μοχθηρᾶς τιнос καὶ ἀπαιδεύτου προλήψεως; **Καθάπερ <γὰρ> οἱ τῶν συῶν ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς τὸ κάτω παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐστραμμένοι τῶν οὐρανίων θαυμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ἡ τῷ σώματι συγκατασπασθεῖσα ψυχὴ οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἄνω κάλλη** βλέπειν δυνήσεται, πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ κτηνῶδες

De vita Moysis, 2, 316, 5–9:

[...] ὅταν τοσοῦτον ὑψωθῇς ὥστε ἄμαχος φανῆναι τῇ γοητεῖα τοῦ Βαλαάμ (γοητεῖαν δὲ ἀκούσας, νόησόν μοι τὴν ποικίλην τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης ἀπάτην, δι' ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, **καθάπερ** τινὶ **Κιρκαίῳ κρατῆρι** φαρμακευόμενοι, τῆς ἰδίας ἐκστάντες φύσεως εἰς ἀλόγων μορφὰς μεταπλάττονται), [...].

De vita Moysis, 2, 301, 1–5

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι συμβουλὴν τινα ψυχωφελῇ κατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ ἱστορία, δι' ἧς διδασκόμεθα ὅτι **πολλῶν ὄντων παθῶν ἃ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων**

τῆς φύσεως ἐπικύπτουσα.⁸¹³

De vita Moysis, 2, 302, 4–10

Βοσκήματα γὰρ δι' ἑαυτῆς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς ἡ κτηνώδης καὶ ἄλογος **πρὸς**
τὴν ἀκολασίαν ὁρμὴ ἐκλάθεσθαι τῆς
ἀνθρωπίνης ἀνέπεισε φύσεως, μηδ'
ἐπικρυπτομένους τὸ ἄγος, ἀλλ'
ἐμπομπεύοντας τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ πάθους καὶ
ἐγκαλλωπιζομένους τῷ τῆς αἰσχύνης
μιάσματι, συὼν δίκην ἀναφανδὸν ἐν ταῖς
ἀλλήλων ὄψεσι τῷ τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας βορβόρῳ
ἐγκαλινδουμένους.⁸¹⁴

καταγωνίζεται οὐδεμίαν καθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχὺν
ἕτερον πάθος ἔχει τοσαύτην, ὥς πρὸς τὴν
νόσον τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐξισοῦσθαι. [...]

This selection of texts related with the subject of the sermon reveals the profound assimilation of Nyssen's works in the *Homilies*. In *De virginitate*, Gregory is preoccupied with the transformation of the mind when it is involved in the world of sensuality or passions. Then, the passages from *De vita Moysis* dovetail the theme of the sermon. The urge for licentiousness inhabiting irrational nature, the explicit analogy with the pigs, which dishonour themselves in the "slimy mire of uncleanness" and the learned allusion to the witch-goddess Circe that turned man into pigs fully, fitted the context of the parable.

Philagathos' method of sorting out passages from his sources according to the subject of the homily is further illustrated in the "For the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul." About the fire "kindled in the midst of the courtyard" just after Jesus was arrested and taken into the high priest's house (Lc. 22:55), Philagathos writes:⁸¹⁵

[24.] Such kind of fire the demons lighted up against the great David; for the moment he saw the beauty of Bathsheba he forgot of God. Indeed, because the incentives of desires are similar to fire, Solomon advises "neither to walk on coals

⁸¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse. Traité de la virginité* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966; SC 119), 5, 5–15: "How can the soul which is riveted to the pleasures of the flesh and busied with merely human longings turn a disengaged eye upon its kindred intellectual light? This evil, ignorant, and prejudiced bias towards material things will prevent it. The eyes of swine, turning naturally downward, have no glimpse of the wonders of the sky; no more can the soul whose body drags it down look any longer upon the beauty above; it must pore perforce upon things which though natural are low and animal (trans. W. Moore and H.A. Wilson in *NPNF* II/5, 479–480)."

⁸¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, ed. J. Danielou, *Grégoire de Nysse. La vie de Moïse, 3rd edn.* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968; SC 1), 2, 316, 5–9: "and when you are elevated to such heights that you appear invincible to the magic of Balaam (by 'magic' you will perceive the crafty deceit of this life through which men drugged as though by some philtre of Circe are changed into the form of irrational animals and leave their proper nature);" *De vita Moysis*, 2, 301, l. 1–5: "The history, it seems to me, offers some advice profitable to men. It teaches us that of the many passions which afflict men's thinking there is none so strong as the disease of pleasure." *De vita Moysis*, 2, 302, 4–10: "Pleasure showed that she makes men beasts. The irrational animal impulse to licentiousness made them forget their human nature; they did not hide their excess but adorned themselves with the dishonor of passion and beautified themselves with the stain of shame as they wallowed, like pigs, in the slimy mire of uncleanness, openly for everyone to see (trans. Abraham Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, in Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, New York: Paulist Press, 1978, 131–132).

⁸¹⁵ *Hom.* 27, 24–25 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 181–182).

of fire with the bare foot nor to bind fire in the bosom” [cf. Prov. 6:27–28], because the burning will be following both for the garment (bosom) and for the foot. Do you wish to be heated up by the divine fire? Be your thought through all your life to death and the terrible judgement “and in such thought your fire shall be kindled.” [Ps. 38 (39:4)] [25.] *What, then, are we taught by this account* about the leader of the Apostles? To shun the fire of pleasures and *to keep ourselves far off from the vicinity* of evil. Moreover, if would ever happen this to someone, to partake of the fire of sin or of the smoke of consent, *he should immediately* turn away and most speedily get out from the lapse into sin, following the example of great Peter, who after the denial “went out” – that is to say from the lapse – “and wept bitterly” [Mt. 26:75], and in this manner he redressed his defeat; so strong is the God-given remedy of repentance.

(24) Τοιοῦτον πῦρ ἀνῆψαν οἱ δαίμονες κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Δαβίδ· ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ εἶδε τὸ κάλλος Βηρσαβεέ, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπελάθετο. Ὅτι γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑπεκκαύματα τῷ πυρὶ ἀφωμοίωται, παραινεῖ **Σολομὼν μὴ ἐπιψαύειν τοῦ ἄνθρακος γυμνῷ τῷ ποδί, μήτε πῦρ τῷ κόλπῳ ἐναποτίθεσθαι**· ἐπακολουθήσει γὰρ ἡ καῦσις καὶ τῷ κόλπῳ καὶ τῷ ποδί. Βούλει θερμανθῆναι θεῖῳ πυρὶ; Μελέτη σοι διὰ βίου ἔστω ὁ θάνατος καὶ τὸ φοβερόν λογοθέσιον, «καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μελέτῃ σου ἐκκαυθήσεται πῦρ.» (25) **Τί οὖν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου διηγήματι παιδευόμεθα;** Τὸ πῦρ ἐκκλίνειν τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ **πόρρω** διατηρεῖν **ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ κακοῦ γειτονήματος**. Εἰ δέ τι συμβῇ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ποτέ, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς ἁμαρτίας μετασχεῖν ἢ τοῦ καπνοῦ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως, ὀτραλέως ἀποπηδῆσαι, καὶ θᾶπτον ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ πτώματος, τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου ἐπόμενον ὑποδείγματι, ὃς μετὰ τὴν ἄρνησιν «ἐξελθὼν ἔξω», τοῦ πτώματος δηλαδή, «ἐκλαυσε πικρῶς», καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἥτταν ἀνεκαλέσατο· τοσοῦτον ἰσχύει τὸ τῆς μετανοίας θεόσδοτον φάρμακον.

For interpreting the fire mentioned in the Gospel, Philagathos turns to a passage from Gregory’s *De vita Moysis* about the disease of pleasure.⁸¹⁶ Undoubtedly, the appropriation of Nyssen’s passage for the exegesis of Luke 22:55 is determined by the comparison of pleasure with fire.

Τί οὖν τῷ διηγήματι παιδευόμεθα; Τὸ μαθόντας ἡμᾶς ὅσην ἰσχὺν πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἢ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔχει νόσος, ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα **πόρρω τοῦ τοιούτου γειτονήματος τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀποικίζειν βίον**, ὥς ἂν μὴ τινα πάροδον καθ’ ἡμῶν λάβοι ἡ νόσος, οἷόν **τι πῦρ διὰ τοῦ προσεγγισμοῦ τὴν πονηρὰν φλόγα κατεργαζόμενον**. Τοῦτο γὰρ διδάσκει λέγων **ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ Σολομὼν μὴ ἐπιψαύειν τοῦ ἄνθρακος γυμνῷ τῷ ποδί μηδὲ πῦρ τῷ κόλπῳ ἐναποτίθεσθαι**, ὥς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὃν ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ μένειν ἕως ἂν πόρρωθεν ὦμεν τοῦ ὑπεκκαίοντος. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γενοίμεθα ὥς ἐπιψαῦσαι τῆς διακαοῦς ταύτης θερμότητος, ἐγκόλπιον τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας γενήσεται καὶ οὕτως ἐπακολουθήσει καὶ τῷ ποδί ἡ καῦσις καὶ ἡ διαφθορὰ τῷ κόλπῳ.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 303.

⁸¹⁷ “What, then, are we taught by this account? This: that now having learned what great power for evil the disease of pleasure possesses, we should conduct our lives as far removed from it as possible; otherwise the disease may

Therefore, the keywords “fire” and “flame” triggered the association of Gregory’s exegesis with the context in the sermon. In general, this kind of intertextuality informs Philagathos’ exegesis.

1.5. The Transfiguration of the Lord and Elijah’s Vision

Philagathos’ florilegic habit works at every level of exegesis. At the literal level the citation of scriptural ἀπορίαι is subordinated to the homilist’s strategy of collecting passages about the Gospel text in scrutiny. Besides the citation of various ζητήματα, the exegetic solutions the homilist offered are equally inspired by some authority. An illustrative example is Philagathos’ interpretation of Moses and Elijah’s apparition beside Christ at the Transfiguration. In what follows we show that the homilist turned to the contexts that concern the prophet Elijah from the exegetic tradition.

Philagathos interprets the presence of Elijah at the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Thabor as the fulfillment of prophet’s vision from 1 Kings 19:11–12. Philagathos writes:⁸¹⁸

“But this was the promise of seeing God [made to Moses]. On the other hand when Elijah lived in Horeb and as he was grieved in his soul, [the Lord] announced by a riddle this manifestation on the Mount Tabor saying in this wise: “Thou shalt stand tomorrow before the Lord on the mountain; behold, the Lord will pass by. And, behold, a great and strong wind rending the mountains, and crushing the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire the voice of a light breeze, and there was the Lord” [1Reg. 19:11–12] Indeed, in this place it was intimated darkly the manifestations of God throughout time, during the age of the patriarchs, by the Law and in the time of the prophets. In these [manifestations] the Lord is perceived obscurely and just as in a mirror. But in the last times the Lord God himself appeared to us. Certainly, by [the word] ‘tomorrow’ the prophet signified the later times; by the light breeze that light divine and pure body, as it had not admitted the thickness of sins; by the voice he revealed the Word God speaking to us through his body. Wherefore he brought in [the passage]: “And there was the Lord.” And Moses was deemed worthy of this divine sight at a future time after his death, as the voice commanded: “First loose thy sandals from off thy feet.” [Ex. 3:5]. He did not command [this] to Elijah, because he was going to see God before relinquishing his body. Therefore, for this reason stood beside [Christ] these two prophets.”

find some opening against us, like fire whose very proximity causes an evil flame. Solomon teaches this in Wisdom when he says that one should not walk upon hot coals with bare feet or hide fire in his bosom. [cf. Prov. 6: 27–28] So also, it is in our power to remain unaffected by passion as long as we stay far away from the thing that enflames. If we come close enough to step on this burning heat, the fire of desire will burn in our breast and so it will follow that we are burned in both our feet and our breast” (trans. Abraham Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, 132).

⁸¹⁸ *Hom.* 31, 22 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 213–214).

Ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεόπτην ὑπόσχεσις· Ἡλιοῦ δὲ γενομένῳ ἐν Χωρήβ καὶ ἀσχάλλοντι ἐπηγγείλατο δι' αἰνίγματος τὴν ἐν Θαβὼρ ταύτην ἐμφάνειαν οὕτως εἰπών· «**Στήση αὐριον ἐναντίον Κυρίου. Καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα ἐξαΐρον ὄρη καὶ συντρίβον πέτρας, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι Κύριος. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα συσσεισμός, οὐκ ἐν τῷ συσσεισμῷ Κύριος. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν συσσεισμόν πῦρ, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ Κύριος. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ φωνὴ ὡς αὖρας λεπτῆς, καὶ ἐκεῖ Κύριος**». Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὰς κατὰ καιροὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμφανείας ἡνίξατο, **ἐν τε τοῖς πατριάρχαις καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐν οἷς ἀμυδρῶς** καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τοῦτοις ὁπτάνεται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Κύριος ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν. Διὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ αὐριον τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους χρόνους ἐσήμανε, διὰ δὲ τῆς **λεπτῆς αὖρας τὸ λεπτὸν ἐκείνο σῶμα καὶ θεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν**, ἅτε πάχους ἀμαρτίας γεγονὸς ἀπαράδεκτον, διὰ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τὸν διὰ σώματος ἡμῖν ὁμιλήσαντα τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἐδήλωσε· διὸ ἐπήγαγε· «Καὶ ἐκεῖ Κύριος». Καὶ τὸν μὲν Μωσέα, μετὰ θάνατον μέλλοντα ταύτης ἀζιωθῆναι τῆς θέας, ἐπέταττεν ἢ φωνή· «Λῦσαι πρότερον τῶν ποδῶν τὸ ὑπόδημα». Ἡλίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐπέταττεν, ὡς μέλλοντα τοῦτο ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀποθέσεως. Διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς δύο προφήτας τούτους παρέστησε.

First, we note Philagathos' reliance on Makarios Magnes interpretation of Elijah's vision:⁸¹⁹

After the earthquake, he indicated as fire the seething and radiant aspect of the prophet's manifestation, as Jeremiah says: "Are not my words as fire? says the Lord" [Jer. 23: 29] After the fire he clearly proclaimed the sound of a gentle breeze, the voice of the angel Gabriel, which announced the good news to the Virgin Mary – or perhaps the light breeze indicates the body of the Saviour and the sound the Word <God> which teaches in him. [34.] He said in fact perfectly fitting that the Lord is not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the light breeze, [1Reg. 19:11–12] that is *in a light and pure body*. Reasonably therefore, the word established that here as well the Lord was at the fourth watch, just as he saved the seafarers when he appeared to the Apostles in the fourth watch of the night.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν συσσεισμόν λέγει πῦρ τὸ ζέον καὶ λαμπρὸν τῆς ὁπτασίας τῶν προφητῶν, ὡς φησιν Ἰερεμίας· «Οὐχ ὡς πῦρ οἱ λόγοι μου; λέγει Κύριος». Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πῦρ φωνὴν αὖρας λεπτῆς {φωνὴν λεπτὴν} ὧδε τρανῶς ὑπεσάλπισε τοῦ ἀγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ εὐηγγελίσαστο τὴν παρθένον Μαριὰμ —ἢ τάχα λεπτὴν μὲν αὖραν τὸ σωτήριον σῶμα, φωνὴν δὲ τὸν <Θεὸν> Λόγον ἐν αὐτῷ διδάσκοντα. 34. Πάνυ γὰρ ἀρμοδίως οὐκ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ συσσεισμῷ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ πυρὶ λέγει τυγχάνειν τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλ' **ἐν αὖρα λεπτῇ, τουτέστιν ἐν λεπτῷ καὶ καθαρῷ σώματι**· εὐλόγως οὖν ἐν τετάρτῃ καὶ ὧδε τὸν Κύριον ὁπτασία τυγχάνειν ὁ λόγος συνέστησεν, ὡς ἐν τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὁφθεῖς τοὺς πλέοντας ἔσωσεν.

⁸¹⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book III, 13 (ed. Goulet, 130, 4–15).

Thus, the four watches of the night signify the stages of the economy of salvation prefigured in the vision of Elijah. For the wind indicates the mighty word of the patriarchs, the earthquake the Mosaic law, the fire is the prophets, and the voice of thin air the Lord's light and pure body. Philagathos found this explanation compelling for a snippet from it surfaces several times in the *Homilies*.⁸²⁰

However, in the same passage Philagathos also alludes to Gregory of Nazianzus' account of the continuous revelation of the Holy Ghost in history.⁸²¹ It appears that Philagathos combines Makarios' interpretation of 1 Kings 19:11–12 with Gregory of Nazianzus' exposition. Says Philagathos:⁸²²

“Therefore, the Holy Spirit was hovering first above the Divine Powers. Or else, from what source they were prevented from inclining towards sin, or, according to the theological tongue, wherefore flows the impossibility [of moving them to sin]? And next, in the Holy Patriarchs and after this in the Law and the Prophets, thereafter consubstantially in Christ as accompanying and abiding in Him, by which He was given to the disciples, first more indistinctly, then after the Resurrection both more expressly and more purely. The Lord revealing these different apparitions of the Holy Spirit in the past to Elijah the prophet, the Thesbitis, commanded the zealot when he said: “Thou shalt stand before the Lord, and behold, a Wind (Πνεῦμα) rending the mountains, and crushing the rocks, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire the voice of a gentle breeze, and there was the Lord” [3Reg. 19: 11–12]. At least then, the assertion, “Behold, a Wind (Πνεῦμα) rending the mountains, and crushing the rocks,” was indicating the power of the Spirit which resided in the Patriarchs; or else, what convinced Abraham to spurn the family [the lineage] and what made him destroy those earthen idols and bade him to follow God, save only the Holy Spirit, which took him away from the Chaldean superstition? Then, the earthquake coming through the Law, which by the scourge of the ten plagues confounded and terrified not only the Egypt, but also the desert and many nations.”

Τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῖνυν τὸ ἅγιον πρότερον μὲν ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεων. Ἡ πόθεν αὐταῖς τὸ πρὸς κακίαν ἀρρέπες, ἢ, κατὰ τὴν θεολογικὴν γλῶσσαν, δυσκίνητον; Ἐῖτα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πατριάρχεις, μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς προφηταῖς, ἔπειτα οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ὁμοουσίως ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ

⁸²⁰ *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, PG 132, coll. 748A–B).

⁸²¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In pentecosten (orat. 41)*, PG 36, coll. 444: 1A'. Τοῦτο ἐνήργει, **πρότερον μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς καὶ οὐρανίοις δυνάμεσι**, καὶ ὅσαι πρῶται μετὰ Θεόν, καὶ περὶ Θεόν. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν αὐταῖς ἡ τελείωσις καὶ ἡ ἑλλαμνίς, **καὶ τὸ πρὸς κακίαν δυσκίνητον, ἢ ἀκίνητον, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἐπειτα ἐν τοῖς Πατράσι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις**, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐφαντάσθησαν Θεόν, ἢ ἐγνώσαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον προέγνωσαν τυπούμενοι τῷ Πνεύματι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καὶ ὡς παροῦσι συνόντες τοῖς ἐσομένοις. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμις. **Ἐπειτα ἐν τοῖς Χριστοῦ μαθηταῖς** (ἐὼ γὰρ Χριστὸν εἰπεῖν, ὃ παρὴν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργοῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁμοτίμῳ συμπαρομαρτοῦν). [...] **Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἀνδρῶς· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, ἐκτυπώτερον· τὸ δὲ νῦν, τελεώτερον, οὐκ ἔτι ἐνεργεία παρὼν, ὡς πρότερον, οὐσιωδῶς δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, συγγινόμενόν τε καὶ συμπολιτευόμενον.**

⁸²² *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 777A–780A).

συμπαρομαρτοῦν καὶ μένον ἐν αὐτῷ, παρ' οὗ δέδοται **καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς φοιτηταῖς, πρότερον μὲν ἀμυδρότερον, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐκτυπώτερον τε καὶ καθαρώτερον**. Ταύτας τὰς διαφόρους τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐμφάσεις δεικνὺς ὁ Θεὸς πάλαι Ἠλία τῷ προφήτῃ, τῷ Θεσβίτῃ, τῷ ζηλωτῇ ἐπέταττε λέγων· «Στήση αὐριον ἔναντι τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἰδοὺ Πνεῦμα ἐξαῖρον ὄρη καὶ συντριβὸν πέτρας, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι Κύριος; καὶ μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα συσσεισμός, οὐκ ἐν τῷ συσσεισμῷ Κύριος; καὶ μετὰ τὸν συσσεισμόν πῦρ, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ Κύριος; καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ φωνὴ αὐρας λεπτῆς, καὶ ἐκεῖ Κύριος. Τὸ γοῦν, «Ἰδοὺ Πνεῦμα ἐξαῖρον ὄρη καὶ συντριβὸν πέτρας,» τὴν ἐν τοῖς πατριάρχαις ἐδήλου τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμιν· ἢ τί τὸ πείσαν **Ἀβραὰμ** ἀποπτύσαι τὰ πάτρια, καὶ συντρίψαι τὰ ὀστράκινα ἐκεῖνα βδελύγματα, καὶ ἀκολουθῆσαι θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐξᾶραν τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς δυσειδαιμονίας αὐτόν; Εἶτα ὁ διὰ τοῦ νόμου συσσεισμός, ὃς διέσεισε καὶ ἐτάραξεν οὐ μόνον Αἴγυπτον τῇ δεκαπλήγῃ μάλιστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔρημον καὶ ἔθνη πολλά.

The homilist cites Gregory of Nazianzus' account and reproduces Makarios' reference to Elijah the Prophet and the interpretation of his vision. The symbolic interpretation of 'mountains' as demons, the reference to Abraham and the destruction of the earthen idols of the Chaldean superstition all present in the *Monogenes*,⁸²³ betray the Makarian inspiration of Philagathos' exegesis. The same exegetic combination which associates the exegesis of 1 Kings 19:11–12 with Gregory of Nazianzus' account of the continuous revelation of the Holy Ghost in history occurs in Philagathos' homily *On Pentecost*. Both homilies reveal a refined florilegic technique centered on the figure of Elijah and his vision. These examples make plain the difficulty of tracking down Philagathos' florilegic exegesis, because the Scriptural citations the homilist often uses in the sermons are in fact carrying exegetic contexts from sources not (literally) cited in the homily.

1.6. Lazarus' Decaying Body

Philagathos' embroidery and assimilation of sources represents the mark of 'originality' of this homiletic corpus. The preacher's florilegic technique constitutes the main resort for achieving vividness and persuasion. In the previous chapter, we have noted Philagathos' vast usage of sources for the rhetorical techniques of *ekphrasis* (ἐκφρασις), lament (θρήνος), narration (διήγησις), comparison (σύγκρισις) mostly calling attention to the usage of 'profane' models although the homilist used Christian authorities to the same extent.

In this sense the description of Lazarus' decomposing body provides us an excellent example for further individualizing Philagathos' compositional technique. In fact, Marry

⁸²³ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book III, 13 (ed. Goulet, 128, 30–130, 4): "Therefore, listen plainly here the moment [being divided] according to four manifestations. For the powerful wind intimates the patriarchal word of true religiousness, which destroyed the mountainous superstition of the devil and shattered unsparingly the statues of stone with the eagerness of faith; Abraham was such a person and those from his time. After the wind, he indicates the Mosaic Law as an earthquake, which shook the inhabited world in consequence of expressing in words the divine commandments, then [it shook] the entire Egypt, then the Horeb and the Mount Sinai – according to what is written: "The mountains skipped like rams," [Ps. 114: 4] which means that they were shaken, then by many fears during the forty years wandering in the desert, then in the land of the Canaanites and of the Palestinians."

Cunningham analysed the originality of the Christian homily precisely by looking at the description of Lazarus' Resurrection in Byzantine homilies.⁸²⁴ She noted that the homilists sought to stir up emotions by describing Lazarus' decaying body in the tomb.⁸²⁵ In this tradition, Philagathos advances a vivid description of Lazarus' body, yet remaining consonant with his standard florilegic habit:⁸²⁶

“Martha, the sister of him who was dead, said to Him, ‘Lord, by this time there is a stench, for he has been dead four days.’” [Jn. 11: 39] It seems indeed the Martha did not believe in the miracle. For the great things and beyond nature were wont to be believed with difficulty. Besides, being seized by the greatest shame and reverence, she believed that the Lord could not suffer to draw near the tomb due to the lurking foulness of the body lapsed into destruction. It is truly burdensome and difficult task to draw near to bodies that were rotting and decaying, for nothing could be worse than such a stench. Furthermore, the word is adapted to our common nature, inasmuch as four days have passed from Adam to Christ according to its given meaning,⁸²⁷ from which [the body] was laid in the tomb of ignorance left stinking abhorrently with the foul smell of impiety. Which matter David lamenting also uttered: ‘My wounds stank and festered from before my foolishness’ [Ps. 37: 6]

Philagathos' vivid description of Lazarus' rotting body, although not as fanciful as Hesychios of Jerusalem's account, is remarkable for the coalescence of related exegetic contexts picked out from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and *The Life of Moses* as well as from Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*:

⁸²⁴ The scholar dedicated several studies on the topic; cf. Mary B. Cunningham, “Andreas of Crete's *Homilies* on Lazarus and Palm Sunday: The Preacher and His Audience,” *SP* 31 (1997): 22–41; ead., “Basil of Seleucia's Homily on Lazarus: a New Edition. *BHG* 2225,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986): 161–184.

⁸²⁵ Cunningham, “Basil of Seleucia's Homily on Lazarus,” 175 gives as an example of originality Hesychios of Jerusalem's account of the remaking of Lazarus' decomposed body “whose inward parts were ravaged, and who was given up to worms, an object of waste. His eyes were putrid, his sinews were torn asunder...his nerves and marrows and veins were dissolved to juices.”

⁸²⁶ *Hom.* 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, *PG* 132, coll. 536B): «Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος Μάρθα· κύριε, ἤδη ὄζει, τεταρταῖος γὰρ ἐστὶ.» Δοκεῖ μὲν ἀπιστεῖν ἡ Μάρθα τῷ θαύματι. Τὰ μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν εἰώθει μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύεσθαι. Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ, ὑπὸ πλείστης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἠγεῖτο προσεγγίσει τῷ τάφῳ τὸν Κύριον διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀηδίαν τοῦ πρὸς φθορὰν διαρρέουσantos σώματος. Φορτικὸν γὰρ καὶ δύσοιστον μυδῶντος ἤδη σώματος προσεγγίσει· κακοσμίας γὰρ οὐπω δεινῆς οὐ χεῖρον ἕτερον γένοιτ' ἂν. Ἀρμόσει δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν φύσεως, ἥτις, ὡς τεθρήμερον διελθοῦσα τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸν προσαποδοθέντα σκοπὸν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐβέβλητο μνήματι τῇ δυσωδίᾳ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀηδῶς ἐποξέσσα. Ὁ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ ὁδυρόμενος ἔλεγε· «Προσώζεσαν καὶ ἐσάπησαν οἱ μώλωπές μου ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ἀφροσύνης μου».

⁸²⁷ This is the interpretation Philagathos details above explaining that “the human nature was held in these four days in the tomb of faithlessness,” the four days were counted as the sequence from Adam until the Flood as the first day, then the time from the Flood to Noah representing the second day, next the period from Noah to Abraham constituting the third day and finally the time up to Christ the fourth day. Cf. *Hom.* 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, *PG* 132, coll. 524B): Ὡς γὰρ ἐν τέσσαρσί τισιν ἡμέραις παραχωρήσας τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀναισθησίᾳ κείσθαι τῆς ἀσεβείας, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐπεσκέψατο. Νοοῖντ' ἂν ἡμέραι τέσσαρες, μία μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ χρόνος, ὁ μέχρι τῆς δι' ὕδατος τῆς γῆς κατακλύσεως, μεθ' ἣν ὁ τῷ Νῶε δοθεὶς νόμος ἄχρι τοῦ Ἀβραάμ δευτέραν εἰργάσατο. Εἴτα ἡ τῆς περιτομῆς ἐντολὴ, ὡς ἡμέρα τρίτῃ ἐπέλαμψε. Ταύτην δὲ ὁ Μωσαϊκὸς νόμος ἄχρι Χριστοῦ διεδέξατο. Ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις τῷ τάφῳ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐκεκράτητο.

Hom. 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 536B):

Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ, ὑπὸ πλείστης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς, οὐκ **ἀνεκτὸν** ἡγεῖτο **προσεγγίσει τῷ τάφῳ τὸν Κύριον διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀηδίαν τοῦ** πρὸς φθορὰν διαρρέυσαντος **σώματος. Φορτικὸν γὰρ καὶ δύσοιστον μυδῶντος ἤδη σώματος** προσεγγίσει· **κακοσμίας γὰρ οὕτω δεινῆς οὐ χεῖρον ἕτερον γένοιτ' ἂν.** [...] ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐβέβλητο μνήματι τῇ **δυσωδίᾳ** τῆς ἀσεβείας **ἀηδῶς ἐποξέσασα.**

Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Moysis*, 2, 78–79: οἱ τοίνυν πρὸ ὀλίγου τοῖς ῥυπαροῖς τούτοις καὶ βατραχώδεσι λογισμοῖς συζῶντες, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείναντα ἴδοιεν, ἀπαλλάσσονται τῆς πονηρᾶς αὐτῶν συνοικήσεως, νεκρωθέντος τοῦ πάθους καὶ **ἐποξέσαντος.** Ἀληθῶς γὰρ τοῖς ἀπηλλαγμένοις τῆς τοιαύτης νόσου, μετὰ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῶν ἐρπηστικῶν κινήματων ἄτοπος τις καὶ **δυσώδης** ἡ τῶν προβεβιωμένων γίνεται μνήμη, δι' αἰσχύνης τὴν ψυχὴν **ἀηδίζουσα** (...).⁸²⁸

Gregory of Nyssa, De opificio hominis, PG 44, coll. 221, 13–20:

ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐξώρων, νεκρὸς, ἔωλος, ἐξωδηκῶς ἤδη, καὶ λελυμένος, ὥς μηδὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις **ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι προσεγγίσει τῷ τάφῳ τὸν Κύριον, διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀηδίαν τοῦ** διαπεπτωκότος **σώματος,** μιᾷ κλήσει ζωοποιηθεὶς πιστοῦται τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως (...).⁸²⁹

Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 490, 1–12:

φορτικὸν γὰρ καὶ δύσοιστον ἀληθῶς τὸ μυδῶντων ἤδη καὶ σεσημμένων ἄπτεσθαι **σωμάτων,** καὶ ῥινὸς οἶμαί που μὴ τετρημένης τοῖς τὰ τοιάδε τολμῶσι χρεῖα· **κακοσμίας γὰρ τῆς οὕτω δεινῆς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο χεῖρον.**⁸³⁰

Philagathos blended piercing imagery about bodily decomposition. While the passage taken from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* concerns the very episode of Christ raising Lazarus, the text from Cyril's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* is part of the detailed description of the fate that will befall the sinners in relation to Amos 6: 8–10. In addition, the preacher alludes to Nyssen's imagery from *The Life of Moses*, which referred to the episode of Moses stretching forth his hands on the Egyptians' behalf for bringing to the end the plague of frogs (Ex. 7: 25–8: 15). Nyssen commented that this episode represented a type for Christ's stretching forth the hands on our behalf thus setting us free by putting to death the wicked

⁸²⁸ “[T]hose then who for a short time have lived with these sordid and frog-like thoughts, if they look to him who stretched forth his hands on our behalf, are set free from their evil life as their passion is put to death and left stinking. Truly, after the death of the frog-like emotions, the former manner of life of those who have been delivered from such an illness becomes to them a foul and odorous memory which disgusts the soul in shame” (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 72).

⁸²⁹ “But a man past the prime of life, a corpse, decaying, swollen, yet already in a state of dissolution, so that even his own kinsfolk could not suffer that the Lord should draw near the tomb by reason of the offensiveness of the decayed body there enclosed, brought into life by a single call, confirms the proclamation of the resurrection” (trans. W. Moore and H. A. Wilson in *NPNF II/5*, 571).

⁸³⁰ “It is truly burdensome and difficult task to touch bodies that were rotting and decaying, and I would think it is necessary for those performing it to block their noses, for nothing could be worse than such a stench” (trans. Robert Hill in Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, *The Fathers of the Church* vol. 116, Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America, 2008, 91–2).

thoughts left stinking. Philagathos draws a meaningful parallelism with Gregory's exposition, for in the sermon Lazarus is set free from the grave where our nature was left stinking.

Nyssen's text on Lazarus' decomposing body was an iconic model for Philagathos' as his second homily on the Palm Sunday makes plain. As a rule, for vivid and piercing imagery Philagathos relies on established models:

Hom. 51, 100–104 (ed. Caruso, 118):

“For who would not have acknowledged then that Jesus Christ is God, unless he was a stone, unless an iron, unless insensible by nature, seeing just before the staled corpse already decomposed in the grave, as the body damped in the dank earth necessarily decayed, [was] brought back to life by the word alone, living, speaking and hurriedly walking, nay more exhibiting before their eyes the remnants of death?”

Καὶ τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὠμολόγει τότε Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰ μὴ λίθος ἦν, εἰ μὴ σίδηρος, εἰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν ἀναίσθητος, ὁρῶν τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου **νεκρὸν ἔωλον** ἤδη τῷ τάφῳ **διαλυόμενον, ἐν τῷ εὐρώτι τῆς γῆς μυδῶντος ἐξ' ἀνάγκης τοῦ σώματος**, λόγῳ μόνῳ ἐξαναστάντα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ ὁμιλοῦντα καὶ τροχαλῶς βηματίζοντα, ἔτι δεικνύντα ἐν τῇ ὄψει τὰ τῆς νεκρώσεως λείψανα;

Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 221, 1–17:

“Four days had already passed since the event; all due rites had been performed for the departed; the body was hidden in the tomb: it was probably already swollen and beginning to dissolve into corruption, as the body mouldered in the dank earth and necessarily decayed [...] but [was brought to life] a man past the prime of life, a corpse, decaying, swollen, yet already in a state of dissolution [...]”⁸³¹

Τέσσαρες ἦσαν ἤδη μετὰ τὸ πάθος αἱ ἡμέραν πάντα ἐπεπλήρωτο τῷ κατοικομένῳ τὰ νομιζόμενα, τάφῳ κατεκρύβη τὸ σῶμα. Ἐξωδῆκει κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς διαφθορὰν **διελύετο, μυδῶντος ἐν τῷ εὐρώτι τῆς γῆς, καὶ διαπίπτοντος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τοῦ σώματος**. [...] ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐξώρων, **νεκρὸς, ἔωλος**, ἐξωδηκῶς ἤδη [...]

Undoubtedly, the multitudes of exegetic contexts that stamp simultaneously Philagathos' compositions indicate a profound assimilation of Christian and profane sources alike. As a conclusive illustration, I recall Philagathos' interpretation of the sign of the cross from the homily “For the Exaltation of the Precious and Life-Giving Cross.”⁸³²

Since then in the law and in the prophets the mystery of the cross is contemplated, the Gospel suitably says that *not one dot, not one little stroke, shall disappear from the Law*, yet truly firmer is [the Law] that the earth and the sky [Mt. 5:18], signifying in these words the vertical and horizontal lines by which the form of the cross is drawn. For it was right that not by hearing only we should be conducted to the full understanding of the Deity, but that sight also should be our teacher in these sublime subjects for thought, so that for those who have a more thorough insight, the Cross became teacher about God truly reflecting the entire creation by its form. For which reason the mighty Paul has started from sight

⁸³¹ Trans. W. Moore and H. A. Wilson in *Gregory of Nyssa, Dogmatic Treatises*, NPNF II/5, 571.

⁸³² *Hom.* 4, 21 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 30).

when he prays for the people of Ephesus to be initiated into comprehending “what is the width and length and depth and height” [Eph. 3:18] having indicated by this specific expression every extension of the Cross.

Ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις τὸ κατὰ τὸν Σταυρὸν θεωρεῖται μυστήριον, εἰκότως λέγει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἰῶτα καὶ ἡ κεραία οὐ παρέρχεται, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς σταθερώτερον, σημαῖνον διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἐκ πλαγίου γραμμὴν καὶ τὴν κάθετον, δι’ ὧν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Σταυροῦ καταγράφεται.⁸³³ Ἔδει γὰρ ἔδει, μὴ μόνον δι’ ἀκοῆς τὴν φύσιν χειραγωγείσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος κατανόησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὅψιν γενέσθαι τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων νοημάτων διδάσκαλον, ἵνα τοῖς διορατικωτέροις θεολόγος γένηται ὁ Σταυρὸς, ὡς ἐμφαίνων πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν τῷ σχήματι.⁸³⁴ Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀπόστολος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπεύχεται μυσταγωγηθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λαόν, τί τὸ βάθος, καὶ ὕψος καὶ μήκος καὶ πλάτος, ἐκάστην τοῦ Σταυροῦ προβολὴν ἰδίῳ σημάνας ὀνόματι.⁸³⁵

The example shows that homilist retrieved the relevant passages on the subject from three different works of Gregory of Nyssa. Arguably, the diversity of the sources used besides evoking Philagathos’ florilegic stance may represent a trace of a memorisation process.

Conclusion

In this section we have examined Philagathos’ florilegic perspective and the structuring of sources into various theological themes. The imprint of Gregory of Nyssa’s writings upon the Italo-Greek collection sermons is conspicuous. Philagathos’ reading of Nyssen’s compositions appears subsumed to his preaching activity. We have documented the usage of Michael Psellos’ orations, Aeneas of Gaza’s *Theophrastus*, Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes* (more about this later), Antiochus the Monk, Nylus of Ancyra, Proclus of Constantinople sources previously uncharted for Philagathos’ *Homilies*. Besides we have traced the appropriations from Maximus Confessor, Gregory the Theologian, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis and John the Ladder which the homilist occasionally cited by name.

⁸³³ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 151: Ἀληθῶς γάρ, τοῖς καθορᾶν δυναμένοις, ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν θεωρεῖται μυστήριον. Διό φησὶ πού τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἰῶτα καὶ ἡ κεραία οὐ παρέρχεται, σημαῖνον διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν τε ἐκ πλαγίου γραμμὴν καὶ τὴν κάθετον, δι’ ὧν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ καταγράφεται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Μωϋσεὶ τότε βλεπόμενον, ὃς ἀντὶ τοῦ νόμου νοεῖται, τρόπαιον καὶ νίκης αἷτιον τοῖς ὀρῶσι καθίσταται.

⁸³⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi spatio* (vulgo *In Christi resurrectionem oratio* i), *GNO* 9, 303, 9–11: διὰ δὴ τοῦτό φησιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ σταυρωθῆναι, ἵνα γένηται τοῖς διορατικωτέροις θεολόγος ὁ σταυρὸς τὴν παντοδύναμον ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δειχθέντος καὶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντος ἀνακηρύσσων τῷ σχήματι.

⁸³⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, 32, 69–81 (ed. E. Mühlenberg): Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ κτίσις βλέπει, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συμφυγὴς γίνεται, τῶν ἄνω τοῖς κάτω καὶ τῶν πλαγίων πρὸς ἄλληλα δι’ ἐκείνου συμφυομένων, ἔδει μὴ μόνον δι’ ἀκοῆς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος κατανόησιν χειραγωγείσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὅψιν γενέσθαι τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων νοημάτων διδάσκαλον, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ μέγας ὀρμηθεὶς Παῦλος μυσταγωγεῖ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λαόν, δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἐντιθεὶς διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας πρὸς τὸ γινῶναι *Τί ἐστὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, τὸ τε πλάτος καὶ τὸ μήκος*. ἐκάστην γὰρ τοῦ σταυροῦ προβολὴν ἰδίῳ ῥήματι κατονομάζει, ὕψος μὲν τὸ ὑπερέχον, βάθος δὲ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, πλάτος τε καὶ μήκος τὰς πλαγίας ἐκτάσεις λέγων.

The preacher methodically exploited his sources and amassed information about theological themes, various words or descriptions which were referred to in the liturgical Gospel readings. At this point we may inquire, how did Philagathos actually retrieve the passages he cited? A possibility is that he compiled a private *florilegium* of citations to which the author turned for illustrating his compositions, as Elizabeth Jeffreys suggested for the homilies and letters of Iakovos the Monk.⁸³⁶ The extensive passages which the homilist borrows *ad verbum* from his sources may be indicative of a thematic *florilegium*. Notwithstanding, one may not exclude some memorisation technique behind these appropriations. At least for the recurrent passages and snippets that surface in several homilies a process of memorisation may be confidently inferred.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁶ Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Iakovos Monachos and Spiritual Encyclopedias," in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium*, 236.

⁸³⁷ Iakovos' compositional method is conceived in similar terms; cf. Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Iakovos Monachos and Spiritual Encyclopedias," 239: "one could imagine Iakovos memorising references to passages of deep grief, or fury, or learned argument, and then, once he had reached the requisite point in his composition, he could have referred to them."

PART IV: The Literal/Historical Sense (ιστορία) and Ancient Polemics

The structure of Philagathos' sermons follows a clearly delineated division of two levels of meaning. The homilist stands in a long tradition of patristic exegesis that conceives interpretation as a progress and 'leading up' (ἀναγωγή) from "the literal/historical level" (ιστορία) to the higher level (ὕψηλότερον) of insight or contemplation (θεωρία).

First, we explore the "historical level" which corresponds to the exposition of the events narrated in the Gospel in which the preacher collected from a wide array of sources scripture-related discrepancies, inconsistencies (διαφωνία) or difficult passages posed by the scriptural text. Among them, we encounter extensive borrowings from Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* and from Emperor Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* to the extent that it transmitted previously unknown passages from this lost work. The same florilegic habit accounts for Philagathos' usages of apocryphal literature and for his extensive reliance on the exegetic tradition of *quaestiones et responsiones*. Similarly, the substantial appropriations from Christian sources highlight the homilist's desire to clarify exegetical problems. For he often fashions his exegesis by taking up scriptural queries discussed by other Christian authorities.

Besides scriptural ἀπορία, Philagathos amassed from his sources passages on various themes as human nature, death, pleasure. He collected scientific explanations of natural phenomena (e.g. lightning), depictions of storms, he gathered up various elucidations considered appropriate to clarify the meaning of the Scripture as were the attributes of the mustard seed, the peculiarities of serpents, the particularities of mandrake, the sykamore, the pods that the swine ate or the anatomy of the eye. The investigation aims to show that a florilegic habit stands behind Philagathos' compositional technique. In that, we point out that the homilist's compositional method corresponds to the pervasive Byzantine florilegic attitude of authorship termed by Paolo Odorico the "culture of collection" (*cultura della syllogé*).⁸³⁸

Philagathos' approach to the literal sense is traditional. For in premodern exegesis the term ιστορία defines the 'inquiry' that surrounds any account of true history (real historical events) as well as any report in the form of fiction (a telling of things that could have taken place but did not) or myth ("a false speech, imagining truth by being persuasively composed" in the words of Nicolaus the Sophist).⁸³⁹ It aims first to establish the correct text (διόρθωσις) and the correct reading of it (ἀνάγνωσις). The ancient commentators are concerned with punctuation, vocabulary, variant readings of manuscripts, figures of speech, etymologies, meanings of words, the sequence of the words, the sequence of the events, the bringing together of cross-references as to determine the meaning of a term, and so on. As a method of literary criticism (τὸ ιστορικόν) based on the conventions of Hellenistic rhetoric and grammar, *historia* "produces as much information as possible with respect to the elements, actions characters or background of the text."⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ Paolo Odorico, "Cadre d'exposition / cadre de pensée — la culture du recueil," in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 89–108.

⁸³⁹ Nicolaus the Sophist, *The Preliminary Exercises*, in George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 133.

⁸⁴⁰ Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 87.

Discernibly, the practices of Greek literary and philosophical exegesis influenced the development of Christian exegesis.⁸⁴¹ Nevertheless, the literal/historical meaning in patristic exegesis (ἱστορία) assumes a different status in respect to the Hellenic tradition of interpretation. For the hermeneutic principle, which substantiated the Christian allegoric interpretation and the very reason for which the same exegesis was denied to Greek commentators of pagan myths, was the historical character of the literal meaning.⁸⁴² “All the facts of the Gospel are real, and their factual reality is essential,” writes Henri de Lubac.⁸⁴³ Yet the Scriptures are not concerned with mere history, for in this case, as Frances Young wrote, “the biblical text can only be an object of archaeological interest.”⁸⁴⁴ The Christian authors insisted that the literal sense bears a correspondence with the allegorical significances. Arguably, the emphasis on the literal sense as historically true constitutes the most significant difference between Christian and Hellenic exegetic traditions.⁸⁴⁵ Forasmuch as the Greek philosophers writing in defense of myths postulated a chasm between the embarrassing, literal level and the hidden meanings behind the surface. The absurdity of the text was the warrant for allegorical interpretation.⁸⁴⁶ The Neoplatonist Sallustius, for instance, argued that the immorality, the waywardness or absurdity (ἀτομία) conveyed by myths was the clear sign that the text should be read allegorically.⁸⁴⁷ Christian writers formulated equivalent ideas advocating the need for a higher interpretation when the literal sense would bear a meaning unworthy of God.⁸⁴⁸ Overall, as De Lubac argued, “it was essentially not the same sort of allegory that they were talking about,” for philosophical allegory was deprived of anything historical, “not only in the brute datum, but in the meaning that one draws from it.”⁸⁴⁹

Otherwise stated, the exegetical practice of Greek and Christian interpreters is informed by a pre-established horizon of understanding the sense of the world. For a classical mind truth was eternal, a *philosophia perennis* kept hidden from the multitude through the veil of myth.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 169–176; Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 4.

⁸⁴² Maijastina Kahlos, “Pagan-Christian Debates over the Interpretation of Texts in Late Antiquity,” *Classical World* 105 (2012): 525–545; V. Messana, “L’esegesi tropologica presso i padri e le bibliche figure di Abele e di Caino in Ambrogio ed Agostino”, *SP 15, Papers presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies* (Oxford 1975, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingston (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1984), 188.

⁸⁴³ Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2 (trans. E. M. Macierovsky, T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 2000), 98.

⁸⁴⁴ Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 3.

⁸⁴⁵ Kahlos, “Pagan-Christian Debates over the Interpretation of Texts in Late Antiquity,” 539.

⁸⁴⁶ A detailed exposition of the issue is found in Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1–232.

⁸⁴⁷ Sallustius, *De diis et mundo*, 3–4 ed. A. D. Nock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926); cf. Jean Pépin, *La tradition de l’allégorie de Philon à Dante* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1987), 70–73, 178–83; cf. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2, 100; similar ideas were formulated by Emperor Julian; see for this the analysis of Guy G. Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 24–26.

⁸⁴⁸ E.g. Gregory of Nyssa formulated such ideas in his defense of anagogy in the prologue to *In Canticum canticorum*; see for this Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa: An Analogical Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 66–70; Augustine in *De doctrina Christiana*, 3.10.14 expounded identical hermeneutic principles: “Whatever appears in the divine Scripture that does not literally pertain to virtuous behavior or the truth of faith you must take to be figurative.”

⁸⁴⁹ De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2, 97–106 (here cited from p. 106 an 100).

Celsus framed this clearly through the mouth of Origen: “There is an ancient doctrine which has existed from the beginning, which has always been maintained by the wisest nations and cities and wise men.”⁸⁵⁰ In view of their cyclical understanding of history, the Greek philosophers could not assign a purpose for God’s incarnation. Celsus stated, “The period of mortals is similar from the beginning to the end, and according to the determined cycles (*ἀνακυκλήσεις*) the same things have always been, are, and always will be.”⁸⁵¹ A history of salvation was absurd because it endowed an insignificant group of Jews and Christians living in a remote corner of the world with cosmic significance.⁸⁵² Celsus mocking this position wrote: “God reveals and predicts all things beforehand to us and neglects the whole universe, the heavenly movement, and overlooking the vast earth he governs for us alone and to us alone he communicates by heralds – not ceasing to send them and to seek that we might be united with him forever.” Like Celsus, Porphyry repudiated Jesus’ proclamation of salvation asking: “what has become of men who lived in the many centuries before Christ came?”⁸⁵³

The Greek philosophers rejected the inspired character of the Christian writings. They subjected the Scriptures to a twofold critique, on the one hand maintaining that it was not suitable for philosophical inquiry on account of the opacity of the literal/historical sense and, on the other hand, that the literal sense is not historically true.⁸⁵⁴ Celsus claimed that the Bible insofar as it is a historical and legal text should not be interpreted allegorically.⁸⁵⁵ Thereafter, Porphyry through an embittered historical and philological criticism set on to demonstrate the fictitious and absurd character of the Gospels.⁸⁵⁶ Like Celsus, Porphyry rebuked the Christian allegorical practice and criticized Origen for appropriating the techniques of Greek exegesis for foreign texts written in plain and low style, as the Christian and Jewish Scriptures.⁸⁵⁷ The same

⁸⁵⁰ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), I 14, p.17.

⁸⁵¹ John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 65.

⁸⁵² Cf. Löwith, *Meaning in History*, 4–10.

⁸⁵³ Harnack, *Porphyrius*, F. 81 from Augustine, *Ep.* 102. 8; see 150–151; J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 150–151.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. Kahlos, “Pagan-Christian Debates over the Interpretation of Texts in Late Antiquity,” 525–545.

⁸⁵⁵ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I. 20 (ed. Chadwick, 21): “And if the Egyptians relate this mythology, they are believed to be concealing philosophy in obscurity and mysteries; but if Moses wrote for a whole nation and left them histories and laws, his words are considered to be empty myths not even capable of being interpreted allegorically.”

⁸⁵⁶ On the specificity of Porphyry’s critique of Christianity and method see W. de Boer, “A Pagan Historian and His Enemies: Porphyry against the Christians,” *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 198–208; Milton V. Anastos, “Porphyry’s Attack on the Bible,” in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. Luitpold Wallach (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 421–50; more recently, Jeremy M. Schott, “Porphyry on Christians and Others: ‘Barbarian Wisdom,’ Identity Politics, and Anti-Christian Polemics on the Eve of the Great Persecution,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 13 (2005): 277–314, assessed Porphyry’s anti-Christian polemics within the context of his larger philosophical project informed by his alleged discovery of a *via universalis* that would go beyond any religious particularity (pagan, Jewish, Christian, etc.); C. Evangelou, “Plotinus Anti-Gnostic Polemic and Porphyry Against the Christians” in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, eds. R. T. Wallis and J. Bregman, *Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern*, 6 (Albany: State University of New York Press: 1992), 111–28; see also the general works that approach the Anti-Christian polemic: Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), particularly 126 and 148–156; John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 103.

⁸⁵⁷ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 6.19.1–9 reports that Porphyry denied the possibility of a figurative meaning to the Biblical stories refuting the interpretation that “the things said plainly by Moses are riddles [...] full of hidden mysteries

rebutal of ‘contrived fiction’ underlines the inquiries of the anonymous opponent from the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes.⁸⁵⁸ Robert Berchman even argued that the pagan criticism of Christianity and in particular “Porphyry’s searing critique of the Bible forced Christian biblical scholars to defend their scriptures on historical and literary grounds.”⁸⁵⁹ In this sense, it has been convincingly upheld that Porphyry’s *Contra Christianos* represented a decisive factor in shaping Eusebius of Caesarea’s apologetic-polemical writing or Augustine of Hippo’s interest in historical and literary aspects related to the Gospels (i.e. particularly *De consensus evangelistarum*).⁸⁶⁰

In what follows, we first indicate that Philagathos’ exegetic practice is shaped, albeit indirectly, by the pagan criticism of Christian doctrine. We reveal that the homilist amassed from a variety of sources scriptural ἀπορίαι that subverted the ‘literal meaning’ of the Gospels, which in all likelihood go back to the late-antique dossiers of anti-Christian arguments.

1. The *Monogenes* (Μονογενής) of Makarios Magnes: The ‘Pagan’ Source

Among the sources used by Philagathos, the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes deserves special emphasis given the extent of its presence in the *Homilies*. Besides collecting scriptural difficulties from the *Monogenes*, a source hitherto unknown to have been present in this homiletic corpus, Philagathos widely used the text for elaborating his own exegesis by thematically drawing on passages related to the subject of the sermons.

Before going any further, given the obscure knowledge we have concerning the transmission of this intriguing testimony of Christian – ‘pagan’ polemics a short resume of its *status quaestionis* is necessary. The *Monogenes* is particularly important because it contains the most extensive exposition of pagan rebukes on the New Testament that have subsisted from Late Antiquity.⁸⁶¹ The text of *Monogenes* pretends to be a verbatim account of an ostensibly five-day public debates between Makarios, probably the bishop of Magnesia, (reported by Photios to have taken part at the Council of the Oak in 403) and an anti-Christian philosopher whose name is not given. The pagan raises a number of problems (from six to ten) which are then answered by the

[...];” cf. Porphyry, *Contra Christianos*, fr. 39 Harnack = Smith fr. 12 T; see P.F. Beatrice, “Porphyry’s Judgment on Origen,” in *Quinta Origeniana*, ed. R. J. Daly (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 351–367; Kahlos, “Pagan-Christian Debates over the Interpretation of Texts in Late Antiquity,” 530–31, 537–40; for an extensive analysis of Porphyry relation to Origen see Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, “Origen on the Limes: Rhetoric and the Polarization of Identity in the Late Third Century” in *The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity. Religion and Politics in Byzantium, Europe and the Early Islamic World*, ed. Robert M. Frakes, Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 197–218; see also Philip Selw, “Achilles or Christ? Porphyry and Didymus in Debate over Allegorical Interpretation” *HTR* 82 (1989), 79–100.

⁸⁵⁸ For a comprehensive overview of the problems surrounding the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes see Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire, vol I, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003; for a brief resume see the discussion below, “The *Monogenes* (Μονογενής) of Makarios Magnes: The ‘Pagan’ Source,” 231–235.

⁸⁵⁹ Robert Berchman, “In the Shadow of Origen: Porphyry and the Patristic Origins of New Testament Criticism” in *Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible/ Origen and the Bible*, ed. Gilles Dorival, Alain le Boulluec (Leuven 1995), 661.

⁸⁶⁰ Aryeh Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against the Paganism* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 250; Berchman, “In the Shadow of Origen: Porphyry and the Patristic Origins of New Testament Criticism,” 669.

⁸⁶¹ Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 168.

Christian apologist. It has been recognized that the difficulty to identify the source of the treaty has greatly been increased by the seemingly heavily emendations of the text by Makarios.⁸⁶² It is well known that Adolf von Harnack first proposed that the unnamed opponent is none other than the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry, and thereby nearly half of his edition of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* enclosed passages from Makarios' *Monogenes* (52 from 97).⁸⁶³ Ever since then the studies on Porphyry's anti-Christian polemic revolved essentially upon the testimonies derived from the *Monogenes* and on their authorship.⁸⁶⁴ Pierre de Labriolle supported Harnack's hypothesis and believed that an excerptor near the beginning of the fourth century created a florilegium from Porphyry's treatise to spread his ideas.⁸⁶⁵ At the same time, T. D. Barnes proposed that the Anonymous Hellene of Makarios could depend on Porphyry but without identifying him with the pagan philosopher.⁸⁶⁶

It is known that Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* (Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν),⁸⁶⁷ treatise of inestimable value in determining the nature of the pagan criticism of Christian doctrine, was systematically destroyed. Emperor Constantine passed an imperial proscription against Porphyry's treaty at the Council of Nicaea, and again the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III in 448 consigned the book of Porphyry to the flames. An act of the Council of Chalcedon (451) forbids possessing or even speaking about Porphyry's work. Perceived as the most learned

⁸⁶² Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 88–89.

⁸⁶³ Harnack, *Porphyrius*, "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher. Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate.

⁸⁶⁴ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 34.

⁸⁶⁵ Pierre de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne, étude sur la polémique antichrétienne du I^{er} au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1934, repr. Paris: Cerf, 2005), 247.

⁸⁶⁶ T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry's Against the Christians: Date and the Attribution of Fragments", *JTS* 24 (1973), 430: "The epitome of Porphyry can and should be disbelieved. Macarius may still be supposed to preserve something of the tenor and arguments of Against the Christians, but only indirectly, from a later writer or later writers who used Porphyry ... in no case can it be assumed that Macarius preserves either the words or the precise formulations of Porphyry."

⁸⁶⁷ The reconstruction of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* has first been attempted by A. von Harnack, *Porphyrius*, "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher, Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1 (Berlin 1916); additional fragments have been added by Harnack, "Neue Fragmente des Werkes des Porphyrius gegen die Christen. Die Pseudo-Polycarpiana und die Schrift des Rhetors Pacatus gegen Porphyrius," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1921), 266–284; other Porphyrean fragments have been identified by: P. Nautin, "Trois autres Fragments du Livre de Porphyre 'Contre les Chrétiens'" *Revue Biblique* 57 (1950), 409–16; D. Hagedorn and R. Merkelbach, "Ein neues Fragment aus Porphyrios 'Gegen die Christen'" *VigChr* 20 (1966), 86–90; G. Binder, "Eine Polemik des Porphyrios gegen die allegorische Auslegung des Alten Testament durch die Christen," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 3 (1968), 81–95; J. G. Cook, "A Possible Fragment of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* from Michael the Syrian," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 2 (1998), 113–122; Sébastien Morlet, "Un nouveau témoignage sur le *Contra Christianos* de Porphyre?", *Semitica et Classica* 1 (2008), 157–166; R. Goulet, "Cinq nouveaux fragments nominaux du traité de Porphyre 'Contre les chrétiens,'" *VigChr* 64 (2010), 140–159; there are several recent editions of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*: Andrew Smith, *Porphyrius. Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1993; R.M. Berchman, *Porphyry against the Christians*, Leiden: Brill, 2005; E.A. Ramos Jurado et alii, *Contra los Christianos: recopilación de fragmentos, traducción, introducción y notas*, Cádiz, 2006; G. Muscolino, *Porfirio. Contro i Cristiani. Nella raccolta di Adolf von Harnack con tutti i nuovi frammenti in appendice. Presentazione di Giuseppe Girgenti (Testi a fronte)*, Milan: Bompiani, 2009; for a solid assesment of these editions see Sébastien Morlet, "Comment le problème du *Contra Christianos* peut-il se poser aujourd'hui? " in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 10–45; in the same article Morlet identified other five new Latin and two Syriac Porphyrean fragments (46–49).

and wide-ranging anti-Christian opponent, Justinian recollected Porphyry's treatise when he ordained his works and those like him to be burned in 536.⁸⁶⁸ In comparison, the *Contra Galilaeos* of Emperor Julian did not provoke the ultimate response of burning that Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* seems to have demanded. The enforcements of these edicts were so effective that only a scant of fragments now remains, despite the fact that Methodius of Olympus, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Eusebius of Caesarea wrote extensive refutations of it.⁸⁶⁹ Milton Anastos explained the peculiar disappearance of these confutations as a confirmation of Porphyry's piercing critique that made the text "painful to contemplate even in the context of the Christian counterattack."⁸⁷⁰ Among these Christian responses, the *Monogenes* (Μονογενής πρὸς Ἑλληνας)⁸⁷¹ of Makarios Magnes is generally thought of preserving genuine Porphyrean critique from the *Contra Christianos*, notwithstanding the fact that the precise textual relation between the *Monogenes* and the *Contra Christianos* is highly controversial.

As a result of the critical assessment of Harnack's edition⁸⁷² it remained established as Pieter W. van der Horst later noted that one cannot simply refer to the 'quoted' objections of the pagan philosopher as 'fragments' of an original text – presumably Porphyry's.⁸⁷³ Not to mention

⁸⁶⁸ *Codex Iust.* 1.1.3 cited in C.I. Neumann, *Iuliani imperatoris librorum Contra Christianos quae supersunt* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1880), 8: θεσπίζομεν πάντα ὅσα Πορφύριος ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μανίας ἐλαυνόμενος ἢ ἕτερός τις κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας συνέγραψε πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι. As often has been noted this version of the law is almost identical with that of Theodosius II and Valentinian in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* I.1.4 from Feb. 17, 448 (=Smith, Porphyrii, 40T) which consigned only Porphyry's work to the flames.

⁸⁶⁹ Jerome, *Ep.* 70, (ad Magnum), 3: "Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius, priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius et Apollinarius fortissime responderunt, quorum Origenes VIII scripsit libros, Methodius usque ad X milia procedit versuum, Eusebius et Apollinarius XXV et XXX volumina condiderunt. Lege eos et invenies nos comparatione eorum imperitissimos." In addition, a certain "Pacatus" wrote a refutation of Porphyry in Latin; see Harnack, "Neue Fragmente des Werkes des Porphyrius gegen die Christen," 266-284.

⁸⁷⁰ Milton Anastos, "Porphyry's Attack on the Bible", in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 424.

⁸⁷¹ The *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes has been edited by Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire, I – II vol, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003 (hereafter referred to as Goulet, *Monogénès*); the only manuscript of the text now lost has been edited by Charles Blondel being published after his sudden death by Paul Foucart, *ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΟΣ, Ἀποκριτικὸς ἢ Μονογενής. Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice edidit C. Blondel*, Paris 1876; A significant part of the fragments related to Biblical narratives have been translated into Italian with a rich commentary by Giancarlo Rinaldi, *Biblia gentium: primo contributo per un indice delle citazioni, dei riferimenti e delle allusioni alla Bibbia negli autori pagani, greci e latini, di età imperiale*, Rome: Libreria Sacre Scritture 1989; see also by the same author, *La Bibbia dei pagani*, Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998, vol. I – II; the objections of the opponent and partially the refutations are available in the translation of T. W. Crafer, *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes*, coll. "Translations of Christian Literature," Series I: Greek texts, London, 1919; an English translation of the objections has been offered by R. J. Hoffmann, *Porphyry's Against the Christians. The Literary remains*, New York: Prometheus Books, 1994; another recent English translation of the objections has been provided by Robert Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, Leiden: Brill, 2005; see also Pieter W. Van der Horst, "Review of Porphyry against the Christians by R. M. Berchman," *VigChr* 60 (2006): 239-241.

⁸⁷² See for instance in the volume edited by S. Morlet, *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions* the contributions of A. Magny, A. Laks, Olivier Munnich and S. Morlet; A. Laks, "Fragments. Réflexions à propos de l'édition Harnack du *Contre les chrétiens* de Porphyre," 54, noted that Harnack restrained from using the word 'fragment' for the passages of his collection and preferred "Nr." (*Nummer*) and not "Fr." (*Fragmente*). Harnack acknowledged perhaps that the word 'fragment' (in the sense of *ipsissima verba*) is inappropriate for the remainings of *Contra Christianos*.

⁸⁷³ Pieter W. Van der Horst, "Review of Macarios de Magnésie. *Le Monogénès*. Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire par Richard Goulet," *VigChr*, 58 (2004), 336.

that Harnack's attribution did not remain undisputed and besides Porphyry, the Anonymous opponent has been identified with Hierocles,⁸⁷⁴ the target of Eusebios' *Contra Hieroclem*, with the anonymous philosopher of Lactantius⁸⁷⁵ or has been postulated a Neoplatonic compilation of anti-Christian polemic.⁸⁷⁶ The identification with Emperor Julian⁸⁷⁷ has also been advocated in the past but it did not hold sway and was rejected, ultimately by Richard Goulet who considered that in spite of "un grand nombre de rapprochements," which is to be expected in view of "l'existence d'un matériel polémique commun", there are hardly any close parallels between the texts of the two authors.⁸⁷⁸ However, one should not overlook that an attribution of Makarios' source to either Julian or Hierokles does not necessarily preclude a Porphyrean font "puisqu'on suppose souvent, à tort ou à raison, que ces deux auteurs ont utilisé l'ouvrage antichrétien de Porphyre."⁸⁷⁹ John Granger Cook upholds the opinion that the arguments extant in Makarios are probably drawn from Porphyry, "but one cannot expect to find verbal excerpts of the *Contra Christianos* in Macarius."⁸⁸⁰ He adds that Makarios may have derived his Porphyrean arguments from the Christian refutations "written by people like Apollinarius or Methodius. There is also the likelihood that Macarius may have used some objections from other pagans such as Julian or Hierocles."⁸⁸¹

Finally, Goulet thoroughly discussed the date of the work, the authorship and the identity of the pagan philosopher that lies behind the anonymous adversary through an extensive comparison of the objections of Porphyry, Celsus, Hierocles and Julian with those of Makarios' Anonymous Hellene.⁸⁸² He fairly acknowledges that there is no compelling proof for asserting

⁸⁷⁴ T. W. Crafer, defended up to a point the Hieroclean solution "Macarius Magnesius, a neglected Apologist," *JTS* 8 (1906–1907): 401–423; 546–571; S. Pezzela, "Il problema del KATA ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ di Porfirio," *Eos* 52 (1962), 87–104; a new defence of this hypothesis had been recently proposed by De Palma Digeser, "Porphyry, Julian or Hierocles? The anonymous Hellene Makarios of Magnes' Apokritikos," *JTS* (2002): 466–502; for a discussion of this hypothesis see Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 121–127;

⁸⁷⁵ For a discussion of this hypothesis see Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 115–120;

⁸⁷⁶ An anonymous compilation that summarized the objections of Hierocles, Porphyry and Julian is upheld by F. Corsaro, *Le Quaestiones nell'Apocritico di Macario di Magnesia*, Catania 1968, 111; S. Pezzalla, *art. cit.*, believes that besides Hierocles, Makarios' may have depended upon other sources;

⁸⁷⁷ The hypothesis that Julian is the unnamed philosopher in the *Monogenes* was discussed and rejected by Neumann, *Juliani Imperatoris librorum contra Christianos*; later the identification with Julian has been advocated by P. Frassinetti, "Sull'autore delle questioni pagane conservate nell'Apocritico di Macario di Magnesia," *Nuovo Didaskaleion*, 3 (1949): 41–56.

⁸⁷⁸ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 126–127; for a fresh approach to the subject see Jean Bouffartigue, "Porphyre et Julien contre les chrétiens: intentions, motifs et méthodes de leur écrits," in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 407–426.

⁸⁷⁹ Morlet, "Comment le problème du *Contra Christianos* peut-il se poser aujourd'hui?", 16.

⁸⁸⁰ John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 173 where he adds, "the parallels with Porphyry are much stronger than those with Julian that Frassinetti finds."

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸⁸² Goulet, *Monogénès*, vol. I, "L'auteur était-il évêque de Magnésie en 403?" (48–51), "Datation de l'ouvrage" (57–65), "Identification de la source païenne" (112–149, particularly 127–136); Pieter W. Van der Horst, *VigChr*, 58 (2004), in his review of Goulet's edition of *Monogenes* shares the opinion expressed by Theodore Zahn ("Zu Makarius von Magnesia," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 2 (1878): 450–459) that Makarios created an opponent in order to enable himself to write a book that would refute what he perceived as the most threatening arguments against Christianity that were brought forward in the past two centuries by opponents like Celsus, Julian and

that Porphyry is the unnamed philosopher in Makarios' treatise, but he emphasized that "une comparaison de nos objections avec les fragments nominaux du *Contra Christianos* de Porphyre nous fournit des parallèles beaucoup plus proches que ceux que nous avons rencontrés jusqu'ici" (i.e. the objections of Celsus, Hierocles, Julian) and thereby concludes that "Porphyre reste à nos yeux le meilleur candidat."⁸⁸³ The *Monogenes* is likely to have been composed in the final quarter of the 4th century perhaps during the reign of Valens (A.D. 364 – 378), a century and a half after the date of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*, which was written sometime between 270 and 305.⁸⁸⁴

Notwithstanding the strenuous and inconclusive attempts to identify the anonymous philosopher, for the present analysis we retain what is generally agreed that a Porphyrean root stands behind most of the arguments from *Monogenes* as "this explains the close parallels with Porphyry in about 50% of the fragments."⁸⁸⁵ As Goulet put it "notre problème n'est-il pas de savoir si le texte des objections du Monogénès dépend de Porphyre, ma de quelle façon il en dépend."⁸⁸⁶

Porphyry (338); Goulet further buttressed his position in, "Hypothèses récentes sur le traité de Porphyre Contre les chrétiens" in (*Hellénisme et christianisme*, ed. Michel Narcy and Éric Rebillard, Mythes, Imaginaires, Religions, Villeneuve d'Ascq, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2004), 61–109; Robert Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 4 argued that "it is not possible to know how much of Porphyry's *Against the Christians* underlies Macarius Magnes's *Apocriticus*. In writing his work, Macarius drew either from an epitome of Porphyry's work or sources other than Porphyry—such as Hierocles and Julian. What is clear is that if the *Apocriticus* contains any materials from Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, they do not conform with the data extant in Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome or Augustine." Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 71 insisted that the opponent is more likely then not a reality and not a literary fiction because "le rapport dialectique entre les objections et les réponses constitue la meilleure preuve de cette utilisation d'une source païenne. Si en effet Macarios avait inventé les objections, on constaterait logiquement une parfaite correspondance entre ces objections et les réponses, les premières étant formulées de façon à recevoir la réponse la plus adéquate. Objections et réponses devraient s'inscrire à tout le moins dans la même perspective. Or, Macarios passe systématiquement à côté des objections, il néglige la pointe philosophique d'arguments attestés par ailleurs dans la littérature antichrétienne, il laisse sans réponse certains éléments de l'objection, tandis qu'il se livre à des développements que n'appelaient pas les objections de l'Adversaire."

⁸⁸³ Goulet, *Monogénès*, vol. I, 127; see also *ibid.*, 135 or 148 where he states that "S'il faut donner un nom à la source païenne de Macarios, celui de Porphyre reste donc le plus probable, beaucoup plus probable que ceux de Hiéroclès ou de Julien; les rapprochements sont nombreux sur le fond et sur la forme, la méthode est semblable, des indices chronologiques ou géographiques recommandent cette identification. Macarios a-t-il puisé à d'autres sources antichrétiennes? Ces influences complémentaires demanderaient à être démontrées par des rapprochements précis. Faut-il supposer un intermédiaire? Nous ne le pensons pas, l'*Exzerptor* anonyme d'Hamack est une invention de philologue; on lui reconnaît toute la fidélité nécessaire pour justifier l'utilisation de son oeuvre comme édition abrégée de Porphyre et toute l'originalité nécessaire à expliquer ce qui ne peut être attribué à Porphyre dans les objections" (p. 148).

⁸⁸⁴ The date of Makarios' work is discussed in Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 57–65; for the date of *Contra Christianos* see, "Comment le problème du *Contra Christianos* peut-il se poser aujourd'hui?", 23.

⁸⁸⁵ Pieter W. Van der Horst "Review of Macarios de Magnésie. *Le Monogénès*," 338; see also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 172–173.

⁸⁸⁶ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 133; commenting on Goulet's hypothesis, Morlet, in "Comment le problème du *Contra Christianos* peut-il se poser aujourd'hui?", 17 similarly noted that "un argument quantitatif tendrait à privilégier l'hypothèse du fond porphyrien: si l'on pense qu'Hiéroclès est à l'origine des objections de l'Anonyme, il faut expliquer comment autant d'objections (notamment sur le Nouveau Testament) ont pu être formulées dans un ouvrage aussi court que les deux livres du Philalèthe, dont Eusèbe dit déjà qu'ils étaient occupés pour l'essentiel par la comparaison du Christ et d'Apollonios de Tyane. "

1.1. The Textual Transmission of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*

It is known that the only manuscript of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* (Μονογενής), discovered in 1867 in Athens and edited by Charles Blondel in 1876, has enigmatically disappeared afterwards.⁸⁸⁷ The text is divided into four books but is incomplete. It begins somewhere in the middle of the second book with the answer in *Monogenes* 2. 7; it does not transmit any questions from the Hellene until 2.12 and ceases towards the end of book 4, as apparently, several folia at the end of it had been lost from this manuscript edited by Blondel. Our knowledge of the transmission of this text remains obscure and has little advanced after G. Schalkhauser's⁸⁸⁸ study from 1907, notwithstanding the important contribution of Cardinal Giovanni Mercati who published in 1941 the τίτλοι (indexes) for the Anonymous Hellene's questions of the first three books of the *Monogenes* that he identified in the *Vat. Gr. 1650* fol. 187^{r/v}.⁸⁸⁹ Mercati's publication is particularly significant because it gives an indication of the content of the ten lost questions of the Hellene in Book I and the first six questions in Book II.

Next, our knowledge of the transmission of the text benefited from Michael Featherstone's new edition of Nikephoros of Constantinople's *Critique*, and most recently by Goulet's aforementioned edition of Makarios' text.⁸⁹⁰ As Michael Featherstone explained, the *Monogenes* surfaced during the Iconoclast debate when in all likelihood a set of passages referring to angels, virtue and images were excerpted from Makarios' responses as it befitted the Iconoclast doctrinal agenda. These passages grabbed from the forth book of the *Monogenes* prompted Nikephoros to write a refutation, the aforementioned *Critique*, which is perhaps the Patriarch's earliest extant anti-Iconoclastic work. The excerpts from Makarios used in the controversy was subsequently excluded from the conciliar Iconoclast florilegium of 815 more likely on account of its obscurity, as Featherstone believes, and not because of Nikephoros's *Critique*.⁸⁹¹ After this moment of religious turmoil the text passed again into oblivion until it was carved out again for another theological controversy by the Jesuit Francisco Torres (Turrianus) who brought to light a manuscript in Venice in 1524.⁸⁹² Ironically, he hurled extracts from the *Monogenes* against the Iconoclast Protestants from the Catholic 'Iconodulic' perspective enacting exactly the opposite use of the text, this time against the Reformation. From his

⁸⁸⁷ The edition of this manuscript prepared by Charles Blondel was finally accomplished after Blondel's untimely death by Paul Foucart, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΟΣ, *Αποκριτικὸς ἢ Μονογενής*. *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice edidit C. Blondel*, Paris, 1896; for the history of this manuscript see Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 235.

⁸⁸⁸ Georg Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907; see also Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 6.

⁸⁸⁹ G. Mercati, "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete. Una tavola dei capi dei libri I, II, III," in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, coll. *Studi e Testi* 95, Rome (1941): 49–71.

⁸⁹⁰ Michael Featherstone, "Opening scenes of the Second Iconoclasm: Nicephorus's Critique of the citations from Macarius Magnes," *Revue des études byzantines* 60 (2002), 65–112 (the full title of Nikephoros's treatise is 'Επίκρισις ἥτοι διασάφησις τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐκκληθῆναι κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων χρήσεων γενομένη παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ ὀρθοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγματος - *Critique, that is Explanation, by the Defenders of the Correct Doctrine of the Church, of the Citations Impiously Brought against the Holy Images*); for a detailed assessment of the textual transmission of the *Monogenes* see Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 232–250.

⁸⁹¹ Michael Featherstone, "Opening Scenes of the Second Iconoclasm," 65–70.

⁸⁹² Goulet, *Monogénès*, vol. I, 18–19; cf. Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia*, 15–113.

citations we are informed that Makarios' work contained a fifth book as well. However, already by 1637 when the first catalogue of *Marciana* was completed the manuscript used by Torres was lost.

When inquiring into the reasons for Makarios' *Monogenes* lurking in a homiletic text from the XIIth century Norman kingdom, which is rather immune to the doctrinal debates of the day but startlingly recollecting disputes occurred at the dawn of Christianity, it is necessary to unfold the evidence that reveals the presence of this text in Southern Italy throughout the Middle Ages. In 1492, John Laskaris (1445-1535) in a famous trip for searching Greek manuscripts for Lorenzo de Medici carried out in 1491-1492 reported to have seen in the Salentine peninsula two manuscripts containing the *Monogenes* of Makarios.⁸⁹³ He found one at Corigliano (ἐν Κορολιάνῃ) in Terra d'Otranto - παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ Γεωργίῳ - and the other at "Monte Sardo apud Abbatem." Subsequently there is no information about these manuscripts and it remains unknown whether Laskaris purchased them or not. It is clear that these manuscripts cannot be identified with the manuscript of Turrianus since an inventory entry of the Marciana library attests the existence of a Makarian text already in 1474.⁸⁹⁴

Other, perhaps more relevant, indications that the *Monogenes* was present in Southern Italy long before the fifteenth century are provided by the previously mentioned indexes of questions that detailed the content of the first three books of Makarios' work extant in the *Vat. Gr. 1650*. Although the manuscript attracted significant scholarly attention, only Giovanni Mercati revealed the importance of this codex for the transmission of anti-Christian polemic. The manuscript is dated in the eleventh century from circa 1036 A.D. and has an indisputable South Italian origin not unlike the manuscripts recorded by John Laskaris.⁸⁹⁵ In addition, even *Vat. Gr. 2022*, which preserves a fragment from Makarios Magnes's *Homilies on Genesis*, (Τοῦ Μακαρίου Μάγνητος ἐκ τοῦ ἰζ' λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν) originates from Southern Italy.⁸⁹⁶

1.2. Philagathos and the Makarian Fragments

Actually, the existence of several quotations from the *Monogenes* was suspected for some time. Cristian – Nicolae Gașpar in studying the hagiographic tradition of Symeon the Stylite has firstly mentioned the existence of these quotations but without explicitly identifying them.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹³ Laskaris's field notes are extant in *Vat. Gr. 1412* fol. 76^a–81^b; for John Laskaris's trip see K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek" in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* I (1884), 403–404; the title given to the work in these two manuscripts is identic: τοῦ Μακαρίου Μάγνητος ἀποκριτικὸς πρὸς Ἑλλήνας περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων. With regard to John Laskaris's voyage in Southern Italy see the important remarks of Mercati in "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete," 49, n.2 where he argues that is not to be excluded that in fact John Laskaris saw just one manuscript of *Monogenes* recorded by mistake under two place names visited in the South.

⁸⁹⁴ Goulet, *Monogénès*, vol. I, 233.

⁸⁹⁵ Mercati, "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete," 52–53; Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 243.

⁸⁹⁶ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, 247–249; Mercati, "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete," 54–55; he proposed that even the lost manuscript of Athens might originate from the Southern Italy: "Date le frequenti relazioni della d'Otranto con l'Albania, le isole Ioniche e l'Epiro, non si può dire improbabile del tutto che il codice epirota sia venuto dall'oposta sponda" (p. 50).

⁸⁹⁷ Cristian–Nicolae Gașpar, "Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St. Symeon the Stylite," *Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica* 4 (2002): 97, n. 41.

Consequently, these passages have remained unknown. Gašpar remarked that further inquiry into Philagathos' evidence could yield valuable results if only considering "the ongoing debates concerning the attribution of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*."⁸⁹⁸ This assessment prompted Richard Goulet to highlight the importance of the Philagathean testimony for the history of the transmission of Makarios' text. He stated that "il n'est pas impossible que Philagathos ait utilisé des développements tirés de la partie perdue du *Monogénès*, mais comme ces passages ne sont pas explicitement identifiés dans le texte des homélies, il est difficile de les repérer."⁸⁹⁹ Thus, in what follow we discuss the imprint of Makarios' *Monogenes* upon Philagathos' *Homilies*.

1.2.1. The Gerasene Demoniac

In the IXth homily from Rossi-Taibbi's edition delivered at Rossano "On the Man Possessed by a Legion of Demons" (Περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν λεγεῶνα)⁹⁰⁰ Philagathos invokes the blows pitched against the Gospels by some unnamed opponents of Christianity to the story narrated in all three Synoptics (Mt. 8: 28–34, Mc. 5: 1–20 and Lc. 8: 26–39). The Gospel reports that immediately upon Jesus' arrival in the country of the Gadarenes/Gerasenes, He meets a demoniac, presumably a Gentile, whom He heals by casting out the unclean spirits which had possessed him.

The story presents something of a riddle to the interpreter for Christ appears to acquiesce to the destruction of a herd of swine.⁹⁰¹ In the synoptic gospels the account of the miracle contains several differences, which were accounted in a rich exegetic tradition. Origen first attempted to identify the place of the miracle, for Matthew reports to have taken place in the "region of the Gadarenes," whereas Mark and Luke in "the region of the Gerasenes."⁹⁰² John Chrysostom also commented on the discrepancy that Mark and Luke reported there was one demoniac, whereas Matthew said there were two.⁹⁰³ This miracle story prominently surfaced in the dossiers of anti-Christian arguments. Jerome informs us that Porphyry formulated an objection against the demoniac healing narrative claiming that the demons merely feigned their suffering upon Jesus' arrival. This reference is particularly relevant when investigating the ultimate source of the reprimands against the demoniac healing narrative reported by Philagathos and Makarios Magnes since they are directly attributed to Porphyry.⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁹ The *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes has been edited by Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie, Le Monogénès*, Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire, I – II vol, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003 (hereafter referred to as Goulet, *Monogénès*), vol. I, 249.

⁹⁰⁰ *Hom.* 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63).

⁹⁰¹ For a captivating literary exegesis of the miracle see Jean Starobinski and Dan O. Via, "The Struggle with Legion: A Literary Analysis of Mark 5: 1–20," *New Literary History* 4 (1973): 331–356; it may be interesting to note that Dostoevsky put the text of Luke (8: 26–39) as epigraph to the novel, *The Possessed*.

⁹⁰² Origen, *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis* 6, 41, 208–211 (ed. C. Blanc, *Origène. Commentaire sur saint Jean*, vol. 2, SC 157, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970, 288–291). Origen's interpretation has been excerpted in the *Catena in Marcum*, 314, 5–21; see for this *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, ed. William R.S. Lamb (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 280 (hereafter referred to as *The Catena in Marcum*).

⁹⁰³ John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaeum*, 28, 2; Chrysostom's text was also included in *The Catena in Marcum*, 314, 28–315, 7; see for this *The Catena in Marcum*, 282.

⁹⁰⁴ Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, 10 (= Harnack Nr. 49 b).

In what follows I present the objections to the Gospel quoted and attributed by Philagathos to some undefined pagan critics of Christianity that are identified with the rebukes raised by the Anonymous Hellene of Makarios Magnes. The content of the criticism from Philagathos's homily is mirrored with the Anonymous Hellene's arguments and with Makarios' own refutation. In fact, I show that the entire homily is based on Makarios Magnes' account of the *healing of the Gerasene demoniac*.

Indicative of Philagathos's method is the sequence of exegesis observed in the sermon: the examination of the 'literal-historic' level (ἱστορία) of the narrative is thought to prepare the purified spirits, the initiates,⁹⁰⁵ to grasp the spiritual dimension (θεωρία) of the story. The citations of undefined pagan critics of Christianity unfold during the 'literal-historic' exegesis of the Gospel reading: "Now a herd of many swine was feeding there on the mountain. Therefore, they begged Him that He would permit them to enter them. And He permitted them." [Lc. 8: 32] After some preliminary remarks on the Lucan passage, Philagathos introduces the pagan reprimands by drawing on Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Psalms*.⁹⁰⁶

But those who had rotted in vain wisdom and sharpened their own tongues against us just as swords, and advocate with their eloquent tongues the falsehood and adorn the deceit, inasmuch as they attempted to overthrow this miracle they tried to throw the facts of the story into absurdness.

Ἀλλ' οἱ τῇ ματαίᾳ σοφίᾳ κατασαπέντες καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν γλώσσας ὡς μάχαιραν θήξαντες,⁹⁰⁷ καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν εὐγλωττίαις συνηγοροῦντες τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην κατακαλλύνοντες, **ἀνατρέψαι** τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο ἐπιχειρήσαντες, εἰς **ἄτοπον** τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπειράθησαν.⁹⁰⁸

Unlike the passages in which he cites by name Emperor Julian, in this passage Philagathos is ignorant of the 'pagan' source of the objections, here indefinitely ascribed to the 'pagan philosophers.'⁹⁰⁹ This manner of introducing the opponents is in fact conforming to Makarios Magnes' usage, the likeliest source of the citations (see below), which veiled the identity of the pagan adversary, subsequently baptized in the scholarship "Anonymous Hellene." Even the identity of the Christian author of the *Monogenes* was lost by the beginning of the IXth

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. *Hom.* 36 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 15, PG 132, coll. 343D): Τούτων τὴν μὲν ὑψηλοτέραν ἀναγωγὴν εἶδεῖν ἂν οἱ καθαροὶ τὴν ψυχὴν "Those people who have a pure soul should be able to understand the higher import of these things."

⁹⁰⁶ The snippet – ταῖς αὐτῶν εὐγλωττίαις συνηγοροῦντες τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην κατακαλλύνοντες – are a *verbatim* quotation from Cyril of Alexandria, *Expositio in Psalmos*, PG 69, coll. 780, line 6 – 9: "συνηγοροῦντες τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν εὐγλωττίαις τὴν ἀπάτην κατακαλλύνοντες, καὶ ἀποφέροντες διὰ τούτου πρὸς τὸ πλανᾶσθαι πολλοὺς."

⁹⁰⁷ The expression γλώσσας ὡς μάχαιραν θήξαντες alludes to the often-used quotation in Christian polemical literature from Ps. 57: 4: ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν μάχαιρα ὀξεῖα – "And their tongue a sharp sword."

⁹⁰⁸ Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63).

⁹⁰⁹ *Hom.* 5. 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 35–36); *Hom.* 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, PG 132, coll. 801 AB); *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 844B); see for this below, chapter 2, "The *Contra Galilaeos* of Julian the Apostate in the *Homilies* of Philagathos," 266–276.

century. For Patriarch Nikephoros who scrutinized the treatise, Makarios Magnes was a churchman of whom the theologian has never heard about.⁹¹⁰

Noteworthy, the opponents' desire to upset (ἀνατρέψαι) the miracle inferred or perhaps cited by Philagathos is a claim similar to the general approach toward the gospel that Epiphanius ascribed to the Hellenic philosophers, Porphyry, Celsus and Philosabbatios. They investigated the gospel material for the same purpose of refuting it (ἀνατροπήν).⁹¹¹ Furthermore, Philagathos' formulation « ἄτοπον τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας » is reminiscent of Porphyry's method of questioning the reliability of Christianity's foundational documents. For we may recollect that the pagan philosopher criticized Origen for indulging in an "absurd form of interpretation" (τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας)⁹¹² since he derived allegorical meaning from writings that are full of falsehood.

For Philagathos the pagan critique tried to subvert the historical occurrence of the narrated events described as absurd (ἄτοπος) and untrue because it allegedly contradicted historical facts and ethical commandments. The text of Philagathos runs as follows:⁹¹³

For they say, "How could Jesus fulfill their entreaties and permit them entrance into swine, since the demons were [His] enemies? But how were herds of swine grazed in Judaea, considering that the Mosaic Law prescribed them even not to touch by hand a pig, since they are impure? For if we grant that herds of swine were indeed raised in Palestine, whilst employing this fact as a retort of the objection, how was it fair that the owners of the swine are deprived of their own possessions? But these questions raising doubt are merely worthy of laughter.

Φασὶ γάρ· « **Πῶς** ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐχθρῶν ὄντων, ἐπλήρου τὴν ἀντιβόλησιν, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰς τοὺς **χοίρους** εἰσέλευσιν; **Ποῦ** δὲ καὶ συῶν ἀγέλη κατὰ τὴν **Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέμετο**, τοῦ Μωσαϊκοῦ νόμου μηδὲ ἐπιθιγγάνειν χειρὶ **χοίρων**, ὡς ἀκαθάρτων, κελεύσαντος; Κἂν δῶμεν φέρειν τὴν Παλαιστίνην συβώσια, εἰς ἀντιπαράστασιν τὸ τῆς ἐνστάσεως μεταφέροντες, **πῶς** οὐκ ἦν ἄδικον τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν **χοίρων** τῶν ἰδίων στερίσκεσθαι; » Ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπορίας κομιδὴ **γέλωτος** ἄξια.

There are three main arguments that Philagathos attributes to the unnamed pagan opponents. They unfold in the homily starting with the accusation that Jesus gave heed to the demonic plea permitting them to carry out yet another crime, then the questioning of the existence

⁹¹⁰ Michael Featherstone, "Opening scenes of the Second Iconoclasm: Nicephorus's Critique of the citations from Macarius Magnes," *Revue des études byzantines* 60 (2002), 68, 76–79; inquiring with great zeal after the patristic authority employed by the Iconoclasts, Nikephoros could only deduce from the text that "man flourished more than three hundred years after the divine and Apostolic proclamation shone forth. Of which city he was hierarch and whom he governed, we cannot say with more precise understanding of the word Magnês, as to whether it is a proper or a national name; for the noun Magnes is used in both ways" (trans. Featherstone, 78).

⁹¹¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51, 8 = Harnack Nr. 12: Ὅθεν καὶ τινες ἄλλοι ἐξ Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων, φημὶ δὲ Πορφύριος καὶ Κέλσος καὶ Φίλοσαββάτιος, ὁ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀρμώμενος, δεινὸς καὶ ἀπατεῶν ὄφις, εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πραγματείας διεξιόντες **ἀνατροπήν** τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελιστῶν **κατηγοροῦσι**; cf. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 137.

⁹¹² Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6, 19 = Harnack Nr. 39, 1.18; for a commentary of the entire passage see, Aaron P. Johnson, "Porphyry's Hellenism," 177.

⁹¹³ Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63).

of herds of swine in Judeea and, finally, the reference to the injustice of the deed. These rebuttals closely parallel and partially recollect the objections set forth in book III of the *Monogenes* that tackles the synoptic account of the healing of the demon-possessed man: “What is the meaning of the story about the swine and the demons?” In Makarios’ text these three arguments unfurl in the following order and wording:

A herd of two thousand pigs ran towards the sea and perished in a common drowning! And how, if somebody hearing that the demons plead not to be sent into the abyss, and then when Christ was called upon, he did not banish them, but dispatched them to attack the pigs, would he not utter: What a stupidity! What a crazy distraction! To receive the prayer of wicked spiritual beings, which perpetrated a considerable damage in the world and to allow them to do as they willed it! » [...]

Χοίρων πλῆθος δισχιλίων εἰς θάλασσαν ἔδραμε καὶ συμπνιγὲν ἀπώλετο. Καὶ πῶς ἀκούων τις, ὥς οἱ δαίμονες παρακαλοῦσιν, ἵνα μὴ πεμφθῶσιν εἰς ἄβυσσον, εἴτ’ ὁ Χριστὸς παρακληθεὶς τούτους οὐκ ἔπεμψεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χοίροις αὐτοὺς ἐπαπέστειλεν, οὐκ ἔρεϊ· Φεῦ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας. Φεῦ τῆς κωμικῆς πλάνης. Φονίων πνευμάτων καὶ βλάβην ἐν κόσμῳ πολλὴν ἐργαζομένων λαμβάνειν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο, τοῦτ’ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς.⁹¹⁴

In the *Monogenes* the objection which recriminates Jesus’ compliance to the demons’ request is particularly emphasized.⁹¹⁵ In similar terms with Philagathos’ testimony features at the very end of the pagan’s accusations the argument that challenges the historical dimension of the miracle. First, the opponent established that the story is a fiction (πλάσμα), since divinity cannot consent to evil and injustice. Then he conjectured:⁹¹⁶

Once more, if you don’t consider this [account] a fiction, but bearing some relation to truth, there is really plenty to laugh at for those who like to gape wide their mouths. For here is a point we must carefully inquire into: How was it that such a multitude of swine was being grazed at that time in the land of Judaea, since for the Jews the pigs were from time immemorial the most impure and hated form of beast? And again, how could all those swine drown together, since there was only a lake and not a deep sea?

⁹¹⁴ Makarios, III 4 (ed. Goulet, 76, 15–22 = Harnack Nr. 49).

⁹¹⁵ In this sense observe the pagan’s ironic comments reproduced by Makarios, III 4 (ed. Goulet, 76, 26–29): [...] οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν δ’ οὖν τοὺς κακῶς διαθεμένους τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ὅπερ ἀπηύχοντο τῆς ἄβυσσου χωρίον βαλεῖν, τοὺς ἀρχεκάκους, ἀλλ’ οὐ θηλυνόμενον αὐτῶν τῇ παρακλήσει ἑτέραν ἐπιτρέψαι συμφορὰν ἀπεργάσασθαι. Trans.: “Certainly, He ought not throw these beings, well, these principles of evil, that are wretchedly disposed to men into the abyss, the place where they asked by their prayer not to be sent, but at the contrary not to permit them to perpetrate yet another crime by yielding to their pleas.”

⁹¹⁶ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 4, 10 (ed. Goulet 78, 29–30): “Ὅθεν, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω, πλάσμα τῆς ἱστορίας ταύτης ἡ ἀφήγησις. (“Wherefore, according to my judgement, the record contained in this narrative is a fiction.”); Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 177 considers the first part of the Hellene’s argument as a form of “some higher criticism.”

Εἰ δ' οὐ πλάσμα τυγχάνει, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας συγγενές, γέλως ὄντως ἱκανὸς τῶν χασμωμένων ἐστί. Φέρε γὰρ ὧδε τουτὶ σαφῶς ἐξετάσωμεν, πῶς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γῇ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος τότε **χοίρων ἐνέμετο** τῶν μάλιστα ῥυπαρῶν καὶ μισουμένων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις βοσκημάτων ἄνωθεν, πῶς δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ χοῖροι ἐκεῖνοι συνεπνίγησαν, λίμνης οὐ θαλάσσης βαθείας ὑπαρχούσης.⁹¹⁷

Thus, although not literally cited the argument which doubted the existence of herds of swine in Judea is substantially recalled in Philagathos' sermon. In addition, Makarios' opponent mentioned the incongruity of having so many swine drowned in a small lake. Pagan polemicists remarked that the name 'sea' employed by St. Mark and St. Matthew was misapplied to the lake of Galilee.⁹¹⁸ Porphyry used this argument against the miracle story of Jesus's walking on the water (Mc. 6:45–56).⁹¹⁹ This last point is consonant with another passage from *Monogenes* that reproaches the evangelist Mark (4: 35–41) for referring to the lake as the 'Sea of Galilee.' The pagan opponent claimed that Mark purposely exaggerated the account of Jesus stilling the storm and saving his disciples from drowning by naming the lake 'sea' because "in a small lake could not be waves and storms such as the storm which Jesus rebuked [Mc. 4: 35–41]." In fact, Mark dramatized the story in order to present 'Christ as working some mighty miracle.'⁹²⁰

⁹¹⁷ Makarios, *Monogenes* III 4, 11 (ed. Goulet, 80, 1–6 = Harnack Nr. 49). Trans. based on T.W. Crafer, *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), 62.

⁹¹⁸ For instance, Jerome reports that Porphyry objected to the evangelists' calling the "lake of Gennesaret" a "sea"; cf. Jerome, *Quaest. in Gen* 1, 10 (CChr. SL 72, 3, 20–4, 23, ed. Paul de Lagarde) = Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Nr. 55; see also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 140–141; it is perhaps useful to add that in the Gospels, Matthew follows Mark in using "Sea of Galilee" (e.g., Mat. 4:18) while Luke employs "Lake (λίμνη) of Gennesaret (Gennesaret)" (e.g., Lc. 5:1); John employs the word 'sea' (θάλασσα) when explains that the Sea of Galilee is the Sea of Tiberias (Jn.6:1); for the theological reason of Evangelists' usage of the term 'sea' particularly useful is Elizabeth Struthers Malbon's article, "The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 363–377; Malbon indicates that the Marcan application of the term *thalassa* (θάλασσα) rather than *limnē* (λίμνη) to the Lake of Galilee has profound narrative and theological purposes since the Marcan Gospel is dramatically structured on the opposition of land and sea.

⁹¹⁹ Jerome, *Quaest. In Genes.* c. I, 10 = Harnack Nr. 55, reports the argument that the lake of Genesareth is not sea; "Notandum quod omnis congregatio aquarum, sive salsae sint sive dulces, iuxta idioma linguae hebraicae maria nuncupentur; frustra igitur Porphyrius evangelistas ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, eo quod dominus super mare ambulaverit, pro lacu Genezareth mare appellasse calumniatur, cum omnis lacus et aquarum congregatio maria nuncupentur." Trans.: "One needs to observe that every association of waters, whether they would be salty or sweet, according to a particularity of Hebraic language it is called sea; therefore Porphyry accuses in vain the Evangelists, for making it appear as a miracle to the ignorant the fact that the Lord walked on the water on account of their naming 'sea' the lake of Genezareth, since every lake and association of waters is called 'sea'." The same argument is cited in the *Monogenes*, III 6, 30 (Goulet 82, 27–33 = Harnack Nr. 6) and Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* I 56, p. 51, 5 (see Courcelle, "Anti-Christian Arguments", 170, n. 32): "Sed conscriptores nostri mendaciter ista prompserunt, extulere in immensum exigua gesta et angustas res satis ambitioso dilatauere praeconio" "But our authors (according to our adversaries) exposed these facts falsely; they have exalted minuscule gests to a measureless size and they magnified quite narrow things with a boastful declaration."

⁹²⁰ This reprimand presents conspicuous similarities with Arnobius and Jerome's testimonies as has been often indicated: cf. *Monogenes*, III 6, 2–3 (ed. Goulet 82, 19–33 = Harnack Nr. 60): Πῶς εἴρηται «Περὶ δὲ τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης» [...] Οἱ γοῦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τόπων ἀφηγοῦμενοι φασὶ θάλασσαν μὲν ἐκεῖ μὴ εἶναι, λίμνην δὲ μικρὰν [...] εἴτα θάλατταν λέγει, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειμαζομένην καὶ δεινῶς ἀγριαίνουσαν καὶ τῇ τῶν κυμάτων ταραχῇ φοβερὸν σφαδάζουσαν, ἥν' ἐκ τούτων ὡς μέγα τι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνεργήσαντα σημεῖον εἰσαγάγῃ, | χειμῶνά τε πολὺν παύσαντα καὶ ἐξαίσιον, καὶ βυθοῦ καὶ πελάγους σεσωκότα τοὺς μαθητὰς μικροῦ κινδυνεύοντας. Trans.: "In any case, those who describe the reality of these places affirm that there

However, particularly noteworthy in Philagathos' citation of pagan reprimands is the reference to the injustice done to the owners of the swine deprived of their possessions.⁹²¹ This argument does not surface in Makarios' text where the injustice of the deed is approached only in a soteriological sense without reference to the material loss. Makarios writes:

“For indeed, wouldn't it be just to heal not merely one man's harm, or two, or three, or thirteen, but of everyman especially since He testified that it was for this reason that He came into this life? But to merely release one man from unseen bondage and then to send off invisibly the bonds to others and freeing rightly some men from their fears, but enchaining irrationally others with [similar] fears, well properly this should not be called virtuous action, but crime.”

Οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἢ τρισκαίδεκα, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου θεραπεῦσαι τὴν βλάβην καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τούτου χάριν αὐτὸν ἐπιστῆναι τῷ βίῳ μαρτυρούμενον[;] Ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἓνα μὲν δεσμῶν ἀοράτων ἐκλύειν, ἄλλοις δὲ τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀποστελλεῖν ἀφανῶς, καὶ τινὰς μὲν φόβων ἐλευθεροῦν αἰσίως, τινὰς δὲ τοῖς φόβοις περιβάλλειν ἀλόγως, τοῦτο {γὰρ} οὐ κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ κακουργία δικαίως ἂν κληθεῖη.⁹²²

These rhetorical statements are just a variation of the frequent berating of the Christian affirmation of universal salvation.⁹²³ As we have seen, it is present in Celsus, Julian and Porphyry.⁹²⁴

Notwithstanding, the imprint of *Monogenes* upon Philagathos' sermon extends beyond the citation of these rebukes. In fact, Philagathos' refutation of the heathen arguments is entirely

is no sea but a small lake [...] Then the evangelist speaks of a sea and not simply of a sea, but about a sea agitated by a storm and dreadfully chafed and which was struggling frightfully under the confusion of the waves, so as to portray from these [details] Christ as performing a great miracle, by calming a great and violent tempest and saving from the deep and open sea the disciples which have been almost endangered.”

⁹²¹ Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 8. (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63); see above, p. 257.

⁹²² *Monogenes*, III 4, 8 (Goulet, 78, 12–21).

⁹²³ The same reproach is plainly stated in *Monogenes*, III 4, 10 (ed. Goulet 78, 23 – 29 = Harnack Nr. 49): Εἰ μὴ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφήλιον τῆς βλάβης ἐλευθεροῖ, ἀλλ' εἰς διαφόρους χώρας φυγαδεύει τὰ βλάπτοντα καὶ τινῶν φροντίζει καὶ τινῶν οὐ κηδεταί, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτω προσφεύγειν καὶ σώζεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ σωθεὶς τοῦ μὴ σωθέντος λυπεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ σωθεὶς τοῦ σωθέντος ὑπάρχει κατήγορος. “If Christ did not deliver from evil the whole world, but merely banished harmful beings in different regions and if He cares for some and disregards of others, [it follows that] there is no safety for seeking refuge and salvation to him. For the one who is saved grieves the condition of the unsaved, and the one who is not saved becomes the accuser of the one who is.”

⁹²⁴ Celsus, *Ἀληθὴς λόγος*, VI 78 (*Der Ἀληθὴς λόγος des Kelsos*, ed. R. Bader, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940): ἔτι μὴν εἴπερ ἐβούλετο ὁ θεὸς [...] ῥύσασθαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐκ κακῶν, τί δὴ ποτε εἰς μίαν γωνίαν ἐπεμψε τοῦτο, ὃ φατε, πνεῦμα; δέον πολλὰ ὁμοίως διαφυσῆσαι σώματα καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν οἰκουμένην. “If indeed, God wanted [...] to rescue the human race from evils, why did He send just once this spirit in a single corner [of the world]? It should have been right to disperse many bodies and send them throughout the world.” Julian also pretended that Christ did not save humanity, but merely a few people (Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 20 Neumann, 133 = Cyril, *Contra Iulianum*, XVI fr. 34; similar objections as to the reason Christ did not come earlier to save those in ignorance are transmitted by Ambrosiaster, *Questiones Vet. et N. Test* 83 (ed. Souter, 140, 1) and Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 2. 63 (ed. March, 139, 11–14); cf. De Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne. Étude sur la polémique antichrétienne du Ier au VIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005), 498 and P. Courcelle, “Anti Christian Arguments and Christian Platonism: from Arnobius to St. Ambrose” in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Forth Century* (ed. A. Momigliano, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 155.

based on Makarios' text. Ultimately, nothing could indicate better that Philagathos depended on *Monogenes*, than the identity of the historical explanation put forward by Makarios in his answer to the pagan accusations and Philagathos's sermon. The mistrusted existence of herds of swine in Judaea is substantiated in both texts by the presence of the Roman army to which the pigs belonged:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 64): Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 9 (Goulet, 104):

"That indeed herds of swine were in Judaea it is evident from the fact that the entire Palestine was subject to pay tribute to the Romans; for Caesar entrusted the command of Judaea to each of the two Herod, to the son and to the grandson of Antipatros the Greek, and dispatched Pilate as governor and judge. Therefore, it is consistent to think that the herds of swine were belonging to the Roman army, the least abiding to the Jewish customs. But truly he did not wrong the owners of the pigs, but chastised their impiety, teaching by his deed not to besprinkle Judaea with polluted animals, that the law forbade even to touch; for hitherto He holds in honor the old practices, in order not to seem opposed to the doctrine of Moses."

"However, one should not surmise that the herds of swine were Jewish; in fact, they belonged to the Roman army which received from the emperor the cities of the east, as the Romans say, as land for settlement. For, at this period cohorts and squadrons of the Roman power inhabited the provinces of the Jews, after they had signed a treaty with the Romans. From the time of Augustus who registered the entire inhabited world, and Tiberius and even before the time of these emperors, the Jews were obeying to the Romans and their territory was subject to pay tribute. Moreover, the Roman Emperor invested as king of Judaea, Herode, the son of Antipatros, who has been serving at the temple of Apollon at Ascalon and who sent Pilate as commandant and judge, who was a Greek as well, and the Romans held the entire authority to the harm of the Jews. In fact, for a long time the yoke of bondage was hovering above them because of their vices. For that reason, at that time, they had herds of cattle that belonged to the Romans and Roman stewards responsible to their masters were keeping in good order their properties."

Μὴ δ' ὑποτοπάσης ἰουδαϊκὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων, ἀλλὰ στρατοπέδων ῥωμαϊκῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πόλεις τῆς ἀνατολῆς λαβόντων, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι λαλοῦσιν, εἰς σέδε[τ]ον· σπεῖραι γοῦν τότε καὶ τάξεις ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν Ἰουδαίων σπονδὰς ἐχόντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατώκησαν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αὐγούστου τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπογραψαμένου καὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἔτι τῶν χρόνων τούτων ἀνωτέρω, ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐτύγχανον οἱ

"Ὅτι δ' ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἦσαν ἀγέλαι συῶν, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ πᾶσαν εἶναι τὴν Παλαιστίνην

Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφορον. Τοῖν γὰρ Ἡρώδην ἀμφοῖν, τῷ τε υἱῷ καὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεχείρισε καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνα Πιλάτον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐξαπέστειλεν. Ἀκόλουθον τοίνυν νοεῖν ὡς ἦσαν Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ συβώσια, ἡκιστα στοιχοῦντων ἔθεσιν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς δεσπότης τῶν χοίρων ἡδίκησε, τὴν δὲ ἀδικίαν ἐκόλασεν, ἔργῳ διδάξας μὴ καταχραίνεσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ζῷοις μυσσαροῖς, οἷς καὶ τὸ ἐφάψασθαι ὁ νόμος ἀπείπατο· τιμᾷ γὰρ τέως τὰ παλαιά, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τοῦ Μωσέως ἀντίθετος.

Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἡ χώρα τούτων πᾶσα ἦν ὑπόφορος· ἀμέλει τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειροτονεῖ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ θεραπεύοντος ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Πιλάτον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐκπέμπει, Ἑλληνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας δὲ πάσας κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ῥωμαῖοι παρειλήφεσαν· ἔκπαλαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς κακίας ὁ τῆς δουλείας ζυγὸς ἐπεκρέματο. Ὅθεν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ῥωμαϊκῶν μὲν κτητόρων βοσκημάτων ἀγέλαι, Ῥωμαῖκοὶ δ' οἰκονόμοι δεσπότης ἀποκρινόμενοι ἐφιλοκάλουν τὰ κτήματα.⁹²⁵

Perhaps even the preacher's statement that Jesus' action chastised the impiety of those who did not keep the Law of Moses corresponds to Makarios' remark that the letter of the Law was in fact despised by those who dwelled in Palestine at that time.⁹²⁶

Next, Philagathos' account of the discrepancies between the Synoptic narratives appears inspired from Makarios' *Monogenes*. The homilist began the exposition of the miracle by noting that St. Matthew and St. Mark were mutually discordant (ἀλλήλοιν δὲ διαπεφωνήκατον) in relating the story. For St. Matthew [8: 28] mentioned two men possessed by demons whereas St. Mark [5: 2 – 3] just one. These discrepancies are mentioned in the *Monogenes* at the beginning of the heathen's discourse⁹²⁷ and in Makarios' answer. The latter is in fact closely reflected in the medieval sermon.

Philagathos, *Hom.* 9. 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 61): Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 2 (Goulet, 102):

⁹²⁵ *Monogenes*, III 9–11 (Goulet, 104–106).

⁹²⁶ Makarios, *Monogenes* III 4 (Goulet, 104, 19–23): Πανούργως δ' οἱ δαίμονες οὐχ ἐτέρων βοσκημάτων ζητοῦσιν ὀχήματα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ἐν νόμῳ μωσαϊκῷ, τῆς νομοθεσίας τὸ γράμμα τιμᾷ σχηματιζόμενοι τὸ καταφρονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τότε τὴν Παλαιστίνην. “Knavishly the demons did not ask as vehicles other animals but only those that are forbidden in the Mosaic Law, pretending to honor the letter of the legislation that was held in contempt by the inhabitants of Palestine at that time.” A marginal note to this objection – Book III 4 Goulet, 79, n. 2 – explained that the “Jews raised these pigs breaking the Law for selling the meat to the Roman army. For this reason the Saviour taking the defense of the Law permitted the demons entrance into swine” – τοὺς χοίρους παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἔτρεφον ἰουδαῖοι πωλοῦντες τὰ κρέα... τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατεύμασι· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σωτὴρ ὑπερδίκων τοῦ νόμου... ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δαίμοσιν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς χοίρους ».

⁹²⁷ The διαφωνία between St. Mark and St. Matthew it is only implied by Anonymous Hellene in *Monogenes*, III 4, 1–2 (ed. Goulet 76, 1–6 = Harnack Nr. 49) at the moment he cited for critical scrutiny a text collided from the Synoptic accounts (see Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. II, 391): [1.] Εἰ δὲ θέλο[μεν] κάκεῖνην τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰπεῖν, ὄντως ὕψλος φανεῖται κατηλικὸς τὸ λεχθέν, ὅτινίκα Ματθαῖος μὲν δύο δαίμονας ἀπὸ μνημείων λέγει ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, εἴτα φοβηθέντας τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς χοίρους ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι πολλούς. [2.] Μάρκος δὲ καὶ ἄριθμὸν ὑπέρμετρον οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀναπλάσαι τῶν χοίρων· Trans.: “If you would like to speak of that other story, verily those words appear nonsense of a petty trader, when Matthew speaks that two demons coming from the graves to meet Christ, and then when put to flight by Christ they entered into swine and killed many. [2.] Mark on the other hand did not hesitate to imagine an excessive number of pigs.”

“Thus, Matthew said that this miracle happened in the land of the Gergesenes and that there were two men possessed by demons [8: 28]; On the other hand, Mark [5:2–3] and Luke [8:26–27] said that it happened in Gadara, and that it was just one man carried away by demons. Nevertheless, the seeming discordance should not throw into confusion any listener; [...] The fact that Matthew speaks of two men possessed by demons, while the others mention just one is [in fact] displaying no contradiction;”

“Do not be perturbed by the fact that Mark speaks of one man possessed by demons, while Matthew mentions two possessed by demons; For Matthew speaks of two demons and in fact he does not say that two men were possessed by demons; [however] Mark speaks of a single man, but having in himself numerous demons; for we understand that the two demons which Matthew speaks of were some leaders and some dreadful demons, but which had with them other demonic creatures which pestered that man.”

Ὁ γὰρ δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν Γεργεσηνοῖς τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο γενέσθαι καὶ δύο τοὺς κορυβαντιῶνάς φησι· Μάρκος δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς ἐν Γαδαρηνοῖς, ἓνα δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων παράφορον. Ἄλλ’ ἡ δοκοῦσα διαφωνία θορυβήσει μηδὲν τὸν ἀκροατήν. [...] Τὸ δὲ δύο τοὺς δαιμονῶντας τὸν Ματθαῖον εἰπεῖν, ἓνα δὲ τοὺς λοιπούς, **ἐναντιοφωνίαν** οὐδεμίαν ἐνδείκνυται·

[2.] Μὴ ταραττέτω δ’ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μὲν δύο δαιμονιζομένους λέγει, Μάρκος δ’ ἓνα δαιμονιζόμενον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ματθαῖος δύο δαίμονας, οὐ μὴν ἄνθρώπους δύο δαιμονίζεσθαι λέγει· ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἓνα μὲν ἄνθρωπον, πολλὰ δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ δαιμόνια· ὡς εἶναι τοὺς μὲν δύο, οὓς λέγει Ματθαῖος, ἐξάρχους τινὰς καὶ χαλεποὺς δαίμονας, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δαιμόνια πολιορκεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Philagathos’ usage of the verb θορυβέω (i.e. to bewilder, throw into confusion) in conjunction with διαφωνία (i.e.– inconsistency, disagreement)/ἐναντιοφωνία (i.e.– contradiction) at the beginning of the sermon and well before introducing the heathens’ reprimands alludes to a polemical context explainable by his appropriation of Makarios’ discourse.⁹²⁸ Furthermore, Makarios’ statement that one should “not be exceedingly vexed by these passages”⁹²⁹ resembles to Philagathos’ advice for his audience.

Next, the imprint of *Monogenes* in Philagathos’s homily emerges from the correspondences of vocabulary and the identity of argumentation in both texts. In almost identical terms, they explain the divergence between the Gospel narratives. Makarios’ clarification that St. Matthew refers to the number (ὑπόστασις) of persons affected whereas St. Mark indicated ‘the nature (οὐσία) that suffered’ concurs with Philagathos similar usage of ὑπόστασις and φύσις.

⁹²⁸ Remains conspicuous and indicative to a polemical context Makarios’ usage of the verb ταράττω (i.e. – to throw into disorder, to stir) which is mirrored in Philagathos’s sermon by its lexical parallel θορυβέω (i.e. – to bewilder, to throw into confusion).

⁹²⁹ *Monogenes*, III 11, 5 (ed. Goulet 104, 4–8): Ὅθεν οὐ χρὴ περιττῶς τούτων ἕνεκεν ἡμᾶς κατατρίβεσθαι, εἰ ὁ μὲν ἓνα, ὁ δ’ εἶπεν δύο δαιμονῶντας εἶναι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν οὐσίαν ἐμήνυσεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις ἦν ἡ τυραννουμένη· ὁ δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ὡς οὐχ εἷς, ἀλλὰ δύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐτύγγανον. “Consequently, one must not be vexed exceedingly by these passages, if one said that there was one, while the other said that there were two men possessed by demon; for, as I said, one indicated the essence, revealing that the human nature was tyrannized, while the other showed the individual reality, considering that they were not one, but two from a numeric point of view.”

Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 62):

For one [account] described the factual existence of the persons oppressed by demons, while the other [evangelists] having united as one the identity of their nature did not consider the exactness of number; [...] in fact the general word of freedom often has such a common usage that the multitude is signified by the singular number.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῶν πεπονθότων ἠκρίβωσεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως συναγαγόντες εἰς ἓν, τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν. [...] Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς τῆς ἐλευθερίας λόγος τοιαύτην πολλάκις ἔχει συνήθειαν, ἐνικῶ ἀριθμῶ πλήθος σημαίνεσθαι.

Thereafter, inspired by Makarios' text, Philagathos formulates similar exegetic arguments. The homilist invokes the same collective noun employed in the *Monogenes* (i.e. – τὸ πρόβατον) for stating the case that a multitude is sometimes understood under the usage of singular number:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 62):

“For we say that God came to save men and seek the lost sheep, signifying through the meaning of the singular number the entire nature of humankind.”

Φαμέν γὰρ ὡς ἦλθεν ὁ Θεὸς σῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἐζήτησε **πρόβατον**, διὰ τῆς ἐνικῆς σημασίας τὴν ὅλην φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σημαίνοντες.

Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 3–4 (Goulet, 102–4):

3. Or perhaps Matthew by saying ‘two’ man introduced the number of the concrete reality while Mark referred to the essence which had been affected without heading the number; in fact the general word of freedom often has such a common usage; [...] And there are other instances when according to the customary usage [of language] the collectivity is referred singularly.

[3.] Ἡ τάχα ὁ μὲν τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἰσάγει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπους λέγων δύο, ὁ δὲ Μάρκος τῆς οὐσίας πεπονθ[υίας] κατηγορεῖ μὴ φροντίσας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ τοιαύτην πολλάκις ὁ κοινὸς τῆς ἐλευθερίας λόγος ἔχει συνήθειαν [...]. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ συνηθείας ἐνικῶς τὸ πληθυντικόν·

Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 3–4 (Goulet, 102–4):

“For instance, when a shepherd guards the sheep (ποιμνιον), then one says in reference to the essence: ‘the shepherd guards the sheep (πρόβατον)’; and by saying this it does not speak of one sheep for they are many in what regards the number; because the sheep (πρόβατα) despite being a multitude have just one essence of their nature, one says ‘a sheep’ (πρόβατον) by the word which indicates the essence; whereas it says ‘the shepherd guards the sheep (πρόβατα)’ by the word which indicates the number.”

ἀμέλει γοῦν σώζοντος τοῦ ποιμένου τὸ ποιμνιον, ὅτε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας λέγει· «ὁ ποιμὴν ἐπιμελῶς διασώζει τὸ πρόβατον»· καὶ τοῦτ’ εἰπὼν οὐχ ἓν λέγει· πολλὰ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ, καὶ πολλὰ τυγχάνη τὰ

πρόβατα, μίαν τῆς φύσεως τὴν οὐσίαν
κέκτηται, **πρόβατ[ον]** λέγει τῷ τῆς οὐσίας
λόγῳ· ὅτε δ'· «ὁ ποιμὴν διασώζει τὰ
πρόβατα», τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.

In another sermon, the preacher gives the same explanation to the seeming discordance (διαφωνία) of the number of blind men healed at Jericho.⁹³⁰

However, the trace of Makarios' refutation may be further pinned down in the homily "About the Men possessed by the Legion of Demons." For Philagathos advanced a similar response as to the reason Jesus permitted the demons to enter into swine. Both texts explained that the visibility of the deed alone could have made manifest the miracle:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 9, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63–64):

[9.] Surely to [this argument], we say with great cheer repelling the sophism that if he had not permitted the demons to enter into the swine it would have remained unknown to the multitude in what way they were set free. And [this] would have given opportunity to the accusers of truth to say that they have not departed to the abyss, but perhaps into another man, and no profit from the miracle has therefore accrued. Just as if a certain robber when chased away from a certain place of ambush, he goes away into another place of ambush setting up the things of robbery. Therefore, it stands clear from these aspects that they were not in the position to stand against his command.

Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 21 (Goulet, 108):

[21.] And if he sent them into the abyss, as you say, that would have remained unknown to everyone because of its invisible character on the one hand, doubtful by its incomprehensible on the other hand and suspicious by its incorporeal character. For one could suspect that the demons having disregarded Christ have not departed into the abyss, but into the next neighbours or into people from foreign regions and once away they have committed the greatest mischiefs that men could endure. [22.] In reality, this is not what happened, but Christ has made sound in a manifest manner and evident for everybody, that the demons went into the sea, since the pigs died immediately after the demons have abandoned the human residence.

Ταύτη τοι καὶ μάλα εὐφρόνως ἡμεῖς τὴν **συκοφαντίαν** ἀποκρουόμενοι τοῦτό φαμεν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἐπέτρεψεν εἰς τοὺς χοίρους εἰσδῦναι τοὺς δαίμονας, **ἄδηλον** ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅπη μετέστησαν, καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς τῆς ἀληθείας λέγειν ἐδέδοτο **ὥς οὐκ εἰς τὴν**

[21.] **Εἰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον**, ὡς φῆς, τούτους ἐξέπεμψεν, **ἄδηλον** μὲν ἐκάστῳ διὰ τὸ ἀόρατον, ἀμφίβολον δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀκατάληπτον, ὑποπτον δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀσώματον· ὑπενόησε γὰρ ἂν **τις ὥς οὐκ εἰς ἄβυσσον** τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρακούσαντες ἀπῆλθον, ἀλλ' εἰς

⁹³⁰In the Synoptics, St. Mark 10: 46–52 indicates a man named Bartimaeus, St. Luke 18: 35–43 mentions one blind man, whereas St. Matthew refers to two blind men healed outside of Jericho; Philagathos in *Hom.* 9, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 62) points to this discrepancy: Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ιαθέντων τυφλῶν ἐν Ἱεριχῷ ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δύο λέγει τοὺς ἀλαοὺς, ἓνα δὲ ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς· καὶ καινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἄπορον. "In the same manner [is the account] on the blind men that have been healed in Jericho, for on the one hand, Matthew says that two were blind men, while Mark and Luke speak of only one; therefore nothing new, nor difficult to understand."

ἄβυσσον ὄχοντο, ἀλλ' ἴσως εἰς ἕτερον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ οὐδεμία τοῦ θαύματος ὄνησις· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις λωποδύτης ἐκ λόχου τινὸς διωχθεὶς ἄπεισιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόχῳ τὰ τῆς ληστείας ἐπιδειζόμενος. Δηλοποιεῖ γοῦν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὐχ οἷοί εἰσιν ἀντιστῆναι τῷ ἐπιτάγματι.

πλησιοχώρους ἢ καὶ ὑπερορίους οἰκίτορας {ἀνθρώπων}, καὶ <ἀνθρώπων> χειρίστην ἀποδράσαντες τὴν βλάβην εἰργάσαντο. [22.] Νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' εὐδὴλον τοῖς πᾶσι κατέστη καὶ φανερόν, ὥς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τῶν χοίρων ἀπολομένων, εἰσῆλθον οἱ δαίμονες, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μονῆς ἐκχωρήσαντες.

At all events, Makarios and Philagathos argued that the miracle would have remained unknown if Christ had sent them into the abyss. Philagathos' analogy of the robber for an outcast demon from one region to another dovetails pagan's discourse from the *Monogenes* that Christ cannot entirely uproot evil and therefore He cannot bring universal and eternal salvation. One may surmise that Philagathos did not invent the comparison with the robber since the polemical context in which the analogy is embedded may suggest that the preacher is appropriating here anti-Christian discourse. In this sense, it may be interesting to recall here the mysterious rebuke of Hierocles as recorded by Lactantius, which claimed that Jesus was leading 900 robbers that were put to flight by the Jews.⁹³¹ Furthermore, the image of a robber whose looting cannot be completely suppressed but merely veered from one region to another recalls the image of the powerless king unable to banish the plunderers from his realm from the *Monogenes*.⁹³²

Next, the Byzantine preacher retained the same interpretation for the demonic preference for entering into the swinish mansion. Makarios explained that their desire derived from the swine's impure essence, which rejoice in their own impurity and foul smell.

Hom. 9, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63):

"They searched a dwelling place worthy of their essence; for since they were foul-smelling beings, they rejoiced in the animal that was fond of foul smell. In fact, it appears that the allowance [i.e. to enter into swine] was something useful in some degree, because the power to master over irrational beings was not for them, unless assented by divine decree."

Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11 (ed. Goulet, 106, 31–36):

"Since we have been enduring the punishment of foul-smelling, we search as carriage that which rejoices in his own foul-smelling; we entreat you to let us depart into the herd of swine for we have been thrown out from the region without blemish; for we are not eager to receive neither herds of sheep, nor horses or oxen – since these animals are pure and without blemish – but a gathering of ill-

⁹³¹ Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, CSEL 19 (ed. S. Brandt, Vienna: 1890), 407: 'Ipsum' autem 'Christum' adfirmavit 'a Iudaeis fugatum collecta nongentorum hominum manu latrocinia fecisse.' Cf. De Palma Digeser, "Porphyry, Julian or Hierocles?" 493; Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 171.

⁹³² *Monogenes*, III 4, 8 (ed. Goulet 78, 12–17 = Harnack Nr. 49): Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ [τῷ] πολεμίων λαμβάνειν ἀξίωσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ἑτέραν οἰκεῖν καὶ κατανέμεσθαι ὅμοιον πράττει βασιλεῖ· φθείροντι τὸ ὑπῆκοον, ὅστις, ἀδυνατῶν ἐκ πάσης χώρας ἐλάσαι τὸν βάρβαρον, εἰς τόπον ἐκ τόπου τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει μένειν, χώραν ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ μίαν ἐξαιρούμενος καὶ μίαν ἐκδοτον τῷ κακῷ δωρούμενος. "Yet still, by assenting to the demand of enemies who wanted to inhabit and plunder another region, He acted like a king who leads his country into perdition, a king, which being incapable to cast out the barbarian from the entire country [merely] sends him to abide from place to place, freeing one region from evil but bestowing in concession another place to evil."

smelling and muddled swine, so as to instruct the inhabitants by this event and to disclose the nature of our infamy.”

Ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς οὐσίας ἐξήτησαν οἰκητήριον· ὥς γὰρ δυσώδεις ὄντες, τὸ χαῖρον τῇ δυσωδίᾳ ζῶον ἠγάπησαν. Ἐπισημήνασθαι οὖν κάκεῖνο εἶναί που χρήσιμον, ὥς οὐδὲ ζῶον ἀλόγων κατεξουσιάζειν ἐστὶ τούτοις ἀλκή, μὴ τῆς θείας ψήφου ἐπινευούσης.

17. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ποινῇ τῆς δυσωδίας γενόμενοι, τὸ χαῖρον τῇ δυσωδίᾳ ζητοῦμεν εἰς ὄχημα· εἰς χοίρων ἀγέλην ἀπελθεῖν ἱκετεύομεν χώρας ἀφθόρου δικαίως ἐκριφέντες· οὐ προβάτων ἀγέλας, οὐδ’ ἵππων, οὐδὲ βοῶν λαβεῖν σπουδάζομεν — ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμύσακτα—, ἀλλὰ χοίρων ὑπόσμων καὶ ἀτάκτων ἄθροισμα, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐνοίκους τῷ πραχθέντι παιδεύσωμεν καὶ τῆς σφῶν βδελυρίας τὴν ἔξιν γυμνάσωμεν.

Furthermore, for the spiritual interpretation of the story, Philagathos turns again to Makarios’ rhetorical account of man’s fall from paradise. Philagathos writes:

But since we have sufficiently related the aspects of the story, let us enter into its innermost sanctuary. In fact, the recounting of the story sketches out the fall of the first-formed, the lapse into sin and the destruction of demons along with their wickedness. For that person [i.e. Adam] after he had gladly received (ἐνασμενίσας) the counsel of the devil, was, on the one hand, expelled from the blessed city of Eden, just as this man possessed by demons [cf. Mc. 5:2–3; Lc. 8:26–27], on the other he was stripped off the garment of incorruptibility, and lived in the graves, that is to say he had become mortal.⁹³³

These ideas are in all likelihood inspired by Makarios’ *Monogenes*.⁹³⁴ The usage of the aorist ἐνασμενίσας is indicative for Philagathos’ appropriation. Besides, the context in the *Monogenes* befitted the subject of the sermon. However, the compelling argument for this derivation comes from the utilization of the same passage in the homily “For the feast of St. Bartholomew of Simeri.”⁹³⁵

⁹³³ *Hom.* 9, 10–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 64): Ἡμεῖς δ’ ἀποχρώντως τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀφηγησάμενοι, τῶν αὐτῆς ἀδύτων εἴσω γενώμεθα. Ὑπογράφει οὖν ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀφήγησις τὴν τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου παράβασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κατάπτωσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων μετὰ τῆς κακίας ἐξάλειψιν. Τῇ συμβουλῇ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐνασμενίσας τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀπελάνεται μὲν, ὥς οὗτος ὁ δαιμονῶν, τῆς μακαρίας πόλεως τῆς Ἑδέμ, ἐκδύεται δὲ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τὸ ἄμφοιον, καὶ ἦν ἐν μνήμασι κατοικῶν, θνητὸς δηλονότι γενόμενος.

⁹³⁴ Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 32 (ed. Goulet, 64, 10–14): ἔγνω, εἴγ’ ἐβασάνισας τοῦ λόγου τὸ διήγημα, πῶς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεξετάστως ἄσμενίσας τοῦ ὄφεως ἔξω βάλλεται τοῦ θείου περιβόλου, καὶ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκεῖνης ἐξωθεῖται διατριβῆς, καὶ τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀλλοτριῶται μονῶν ἀλλότριος τῆς πανολβίου φυτείας γενόμενος. 8. Ἐκεῖθεν τῷ γένει τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπεκώμασε δρᾶμα· Trans.: “For you know, at least if you have examined the course of my account, how the ancestor of the human nature after having gladly received the slender of the serpent without investigation was cast out from the divine enclosure and [you know that he was] thrust out from that blessed way of life and was alienated from the divine abodes becoming a stranger of the hallowed garden. [8.] From that fact the drama of misfortune unleashed against our race.”

⁹³⁵ The text is cited above, Part III. 1. 2. “Death and Mourning,” 219–220.

Overall, in the sermon “On the Man Possessed by a Legion of Demons” Philagathos retrieves the arguments advanced by Makarios in his refutation. The lexical similarities, the common imagery and exegetic strategy, constitute to my mind, a solid proof in favor of supporting the Makarian inspiration for the Byzantine sermon.⁹³⁶ We may further remark the stylistic similarity of Philagathos’s derision and ironical mode (κομιδῇ γέλωτος ἄξια) to the arguments formulated by the pagan opponents. Philagathos might have derived this rhetorical *ethos* from Makarios’ *Monogenes* (γέλωτος ὄντως ἱκανός). For, throughout the work, Makarios and his opponent made an extensive use of laughter for deriding the heathen’s arguments or respectively the Christian writings.⁹³⁷ Philagathos harvested the *Monogenes* for polemically ingrained vocabulary as the singular attestation of «ἀποσυρίζω» (i.e. “to whistle aloud” – LSJ) – besides *Monogenes* II 30 – surfaces in the homily “On the Rich Man Asking the Lord.” The homilist fittingly applied the verb to a similar polemical context, namely for attacking Emperor Julian.⁹³⁸

Finally, given the ongoing debate concerning the identity and the authorship of the pagan objections from the *Monogenes*, the fact that Jerome directly attributes to Porphyry similar objections against the Gadarene swine narrative deserves to be underlined. In fact, this attribution substantiates the Porphyrean derivation of the arguments transmitted by Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. Furthermore, the pagan arguments as transmitted by Makarios are reminiscent of Porphyry’s style and method. Namely, the philological method applied to this miracle story conjoined with arguments of historical criticism for decrying the authenticity of the Scriptures are the distinctive features of Porphyry’s method.⁹³⁹

1.2.2. “If you have faith the size of a mustard seed...”

Another instance of Philagathos’ usage of Makarios’ *Monogenes*, as we shall argue, occurs in the homily “On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy” (for the forth Sunday of Lent, Mt. 17: 14–21). The event common to all three Synoptic Gospels (cf. Mc. 9:14–29 and Lc. 9:37–49) takes place after the Transfiguration. Jesus was coming down from the mountain with

⁹³⁶ Particularly relevant is the rare lexical combination τὸ χαῖρον τῇ δυσωδίᾳ common to Philagathos and Makarios, since there are only two attestations of this combination (cf. TLG) besides the authors in question: i.e. Origen, *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150* (ed. Pitra, Paris: Tusculum, 1884), vol. I, Psalm 37, verse 6, 22 and Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Zacchariam*, (ed. L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l’Aveugle sur Zacharie*) vol. I [*Sources Chrétiennes* 83 Paris: Cerf, 1962], section 394, 2.

⁹³⁷ *Monogenes*, II 30 (ed. Goulet 50, 18); *Monogenes*, III 4, 4 (ed. Goulet 76, 15); *Monogenes*, III 4, 11 (ed. Goulet 80, 1–2); *Monogenes*, III 8, 13 (ed. Goulet 90, 32–35); *Monogenes*, III 9, 6 (ed. Goulet 96, 4); etc.

⁹³⁸ *Hom.* 66, (Περὶ τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντος τὸν Κύριον πλουσίου) in Scorsus, *Hom. PG* 132, coll. 844B (ed. Nunzio Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 97): Ἐνταῦθα ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαβαλὼν τὸν θεὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄφει, πάλιν διὰ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ κατεστυγημένης τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ γλώττης βλοσυρὸν ἀπεσύρισεν. Compare with *Monogenes*, II 30 (ed. Goulet, 48, 28 – 29): ἵνα μὴ πάλιν δρακόντ[ε]ιον ἰὸν ἀποσυρίσωσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γλώτται· ἵνα μὴ σκάνδαλον καθολικὸν γένηται τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ κατόρθωμα. Observe also the language of attacking Julian in Philagathos, *Hom.* 5, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 36): Ἔστι δὲ κομιδῇ κυνῶν λυττώντων ὑλακὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα καὶ ὄφειον ἰοβόλων τὰ τοιαῦτα συρίσματα, παραλογισμοῖς ἀβελτέροις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τεμαχίζοντα. This identity of vocabulary between Philagathos and Makarios has also been noted by Nunzio Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 97, n° 30.

⁹³⁹ W. de Boer, “A Pagan Historian and His Enemies: Porphyry against the Christians,” *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 198–208;

Peter, James and John. Whilst a multitude was present, a man approaches Jesus and begs Him to heal his boy. The man tells Jesus that he had asked the disciples to cure the child, but they had been unable to accomplish this. Jesus first gives a sharp response: “You unbelieving and perverted generation, how long shall I be with you? [Mt. 17: 17] The He explains their failure by their littleness of faith and adds: “for truly I say to you, if you have faith the size of a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there,’ and it will move; and nothing will be impossible to you.” [Mt. 17: 20] Philagathos comments the episode in such wise:⁹⁴⁰

What then? Someone will say: “so weak was the faith of the apostles that was not even equal to a mustard seed? [cf. Mt. 17: 20] Such was the faith of those who left everything and followed Christ, [cf. Mc.10: 28; Mt. 19: 27; Lc. 18: 28] to whom the promise to seat on the twelve thrones and to judge Israel was given [cf. Mt. 19: 28; Lc. 22: 30], whom He called the light of the world [Mt. 5: 14] and the salt of the earth [Mt. 5: 13], and his friends [Jn. 15: 15]? How then could they attain to such a summit, if they had not a fervent faith?” Well, we say that **their faith was not only similar to a mustard seed but also to the greatness of a lofty and highly exalted mountain ridge**. Yet their faith was so strong that they would conquer the entire world on its ground. But here the Saviour seems to indicate a divine decree. And such is the doctrine according to my reason: that however much one would exceed in faith and becomes winged, the faith which is deemed sublime and fiery, even if it comes near perfection, yet he is not comparable to a mustard seed.

Τί οὖν; ἐρεῖ τις, «τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ πίστις τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀμυδρὰ, ὥς μηδὲ ἐξισοῦσθαι κόκκῳ σινάπεως; τῶν ἀφέντων πάντα, καὶ ἀκολουθησάντων Χριστῷ, οἷς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἦν ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους καθίσαι, καὶ κρῖναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ οὓς ἐκάλεσε φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ; Πῶς οὖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπεφθάκεισαν, εἰ μὴ πίστιν εἶχον διάπυρον;» Φαμέν οὖν, ὥς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις **οὐ μόνον κόκκῳ σινάπεως παραπλησία ἡ πίστις ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἀκρωρείας μεγέθει ὑψηλῆς, καὶ ὑπερνεφούς**. Καὶ τοσοῦτον ἡ τούτων πίστις δεδύνηται, ὥς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ χειρώσασθαι· ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Σωτὴρ δόγμα ἐμφαίνειν δοκεῖ· τὸ δὲ δόγμα κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὅτι ὅσον τις ὑπερβῇ διὰ πίστεως, καὶ ὑπόπτερος γένηται, ἡ νομιζομένη πίστις ὑψηλῇ, καὶ διάπυρος, συγκρινομένη πρὸς τελείαν, οὐδὲ κόκκῳ σινάπεως παραβάλλεται·

The preacher underscores the challenges posed by Christ’s paradoxical statements. We may observe that Philagathos’ answer is structured in three parts. First the preacher frames the real difficulty posed by the Gospel text, then the exegetical solution, and finally the ‘scientific’ (medical) explanation with regard to the mustard seed. In all respects the text is inspired from Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes* and Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of unlimited progress in virtue.

From the *Monogenes*, Philagathos synthesized passages thematically linked with this Gospel story. Thus, from book II, the homilist turned to the question: “How is it said: “‘Lord,

⁹⁴⁰ Hom. 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 477A–477C).

have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic' [Mt.17: 15];⁹⁴¹ from book III Philagathos resorted to the passage discussing the question: "What signifies the passage about the mustard seed?" [Mt. 17: 20; Lc. 17: 6]⁹⁴² and from book IV the section addressing the inquiry: "What signifies the passage about the leaven, the mustard seed and the pearl?[Mt. 13: 31–33; 13: 45–46]⁹⁴³

The ἀπορία formulated by Philagathos about the apostles' faith surfaces in Makarios' *Monogenes* in regard to the same Gospel passage. Makarios writes:⁹⁴⁴

1. Well, observe a saying similar to this [i.e. Mc. 16: 17–18] and consistent with it: "If you have faith the size of a mustard seed, truly I say to you, you will say to this mountain, 'Be removed and be cast into the sea,' and nothing will be impossible for you." [Mt. 17: 20; 21: 21] 2. Therefore it is clear that the person who cannot by his order move a mountain is not worthy to be considered part of the fellowship of the faithful. Whence, you are manifestly put to shame with regard to the fact that not only the rest of the Christians cannot be counted among the faithful, but not even one from the bishops or from the priests is worthy of this designation.

1. Βλέπε δ' ὅμοιον τούτῳ ῥητὸν καὶ ἀκόλουθον. «Ἐὰν ἔχῃ τὴν πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· Ἀρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσκει ὑμῖν». 2. Δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκ προστάγματος ὄρος ἀποκινήσαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιος τῆς τῶν πιστῶν νομίζεσθαι φρατρίας. Ὅθεν ἐλέγχεσθε φανερώς ὅτι μὴ ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐναριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων τις τούτου τοῦ προσρήματός ἐστιν ἄξιος.

Most likely Philagathos deduced this ἀπορία from the *Monogenes*, although the formulation of the question in the homily is intriguing. The method of inquiry, the uncovering of contradictions among different passages of the Gospels, the rhetorical affectation point to a genuine objection. Jerome records a similar rebuke challenging Matthew 21: 21. He writes that "gentile dogs bark against us in their books which they left in memory of their own impiety, asserting that the apostles did not have faith, because they could not move mountains."⁹⁴⁵ Cook suggested that Porphyry may be credited with the authorship of this rebuke since Jerome "alludes to him several times in his commentary on the gospels."⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴¹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, *question X* (ed. Goulet, 8): ι'. Πῶς εἴρηται· «Κύριε, ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν, ὅτι σεληνιάζεται»? see also Giovanni Mercati, "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete. Una tavola dei capi dei libri I, II, III," in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, coll. *Studi e Testi* 95, Rome (1941): 66.

⁹⁴² Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book III, *question X* (ed. Goulet, 68): ι'. Τίς ὁ λόγος τοῦ κόκκου τοῦ σινάπεως. See also Mercati, "Per l'Apocritico di Macario Magnete," 70.

⁹⁴³ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book IV, *question VIII* (ed. Goulet, 236): η'. Τίς ὁ λόγος τῆς ζύμης καὶ τοῦ σινάπεως καὶ τοῦ μαργαρίτου.

⁹⁴⁴ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 17 (ed. Goulet, 11–18, 144) = Harnack Nr. 95.

⁹⁴⁵ Jerome, *Commentarius in Matthaum*, 21, 21 (SC 259, 122,305–309 ed. Bonnard) = Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Nr. 3 (trans. from Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 143).

⁹⁴⁶ Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 143.

Actually, Philagathos' indebtedness to Makarios' exegesis is made plain by the following passage:⁹⁴⁷

In fact, it is said that the disciples have seized under their power the four corners of the world by the outpouring of their faith. **And their faith was not comparable to a mustard seed, but to the greatness of a lofty and highly exalted mountain ridge.** Moreover, they were so powerful that they could by their faith alone bring cities into subjection from citadel to citadel.

Ἰστορήνται γοῦν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι πίστεως ὑπερβολῇ ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐξουσίαν εἰληφέναι τὸ τετράδιον τοῦ κόσμου· **καὶ οὐ κόκκῳ σινάπεως ὑπῆρχε παραπλήσιος ἢ πίστις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀκρωρείας μεγέθει πολλῆς καὶ ὑπερνεφοῦς**· καὶ τοσοῦτο δεδύνηνται, ὥς πόλεις ἀπ' ἄκρων εἰς ἄκρα μόνη τῇ πίστει δουλώσασθαι·

Besides incorporating Makarios' interpretation, Philagathos alludes to Gregory of Nyssa's theological doctrine of perpetual progress (ἐπέκτασις).⁹⁴⁸ This is a constant theme in Philagathos' *Homilies*.⁹⁴⁹ The homilist applies Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine for explaining the faith of the Apostles as implied by the perplexing comparison with the mustard seed. Even whilst being sublime and closest to God, their faith merely seems to be beginning the ascent and not even matching the size of a mustard seed. Gregory introduces the theme of perpetual progress in relation to God's infinite nature, which always implies a further ascent as the Christian is continually drawn to participation in higher beauty.⁹⁵⁰ For instance, in *De vita Moysis*, Gregory declares that it is "impossible for those who pursue the life of virtue to attain perfection (τελειότητος)."⁹⁵¹ For according to Nyssen, "the perfection of human nature consists perhaps in its very growth in goodness."⁹⁵²

1.2.3. "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood has not revealed this to you..."

⁹⁴⁷ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 25 (ed. Goulet, 24–28, 166).

⁹⁴⁸ For the doctrine of perpetual progress see Ekkehard Mühlenberg, *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa: Gregors Kritik am Gottesbegriff der klassischen Metaphysik* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique: essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris, Aubier, 1944), 291–307; Everett Ferguson, "God's Infinity and Man's Mutability: Perpetual Progress according to Gregory of Nyssa," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973), 59–78; id., "Progress in Perfection: Gregory of Nyssa's Vita Moysis," *SP* 14 (1976), 307–14; Paul M. Blowers, "Maximus the Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa and the Concept of 'perpetual Progress,'" *VigChr* 46 (1992), 151–171; Kristina Robb-Dover, "Gregory of Nyssa's 'Perpetual Progress,'" *Theology Today* 65 (2008), 213–25; Ovidiu Sferlea, "L'infinité divine chez Grégoire de Nysse: de l'anthropologie à la polémique trinitaire," *VigChr* 67 (2013), 137–168.

⁹⁴⁹ For Philagathos' appropriation of the doctrine of perpetual progress see below, Part V, chapter 2, "Virtue and Perpetual Progress," 366–379.

⁹⁵⁰ Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 231–240.

⁹⁵¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 4, 3–4 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 31).

⁹⁵² Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 4, 25–5, 4 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 31).

Philagathos' homily for the Feast of the Holy Apostles encloses several anti-Christian arguments. As we have seen, this sermon is particularly refined. It opens with the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina for which the homilist drew on Lucian's *De domo* and Procopius of Gaza's *Descriptio horologii*.⁹⁵³ However, at a closer scrutiny the exegetic part bespeaks the imprint of several sources as well (i.e. from Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum* and more extensively from Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*). We focus here on Philagathos' interpretation of Christ's blessing of Peter [Mt. 16:17–19].

First, the preacher takes advantage of the long-established exegetic principle of interpreting Bible by Bible. In this fashion, Christ pledging to give Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven [Mt. 16: 19] invites Philagathos to identify the gate with Christ himself who declared, "I am the door" [Jn. 10: 9]. Then, the key of this gate is the faith about which the maiden of the Song wishing to receive her beloved declared 'on the handles of the door'⁹⁵⁴ I opened to my kinsman.' [cf. Song 5: 5–6].⁹⁵⁵ As it is customary for Philagathos' method of collecting sources, this typological connection between Song 5: 5–6, Peter, faith and the key of the kingdom is borrowed from Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum*.⁹⁵⁶

Thereafter, the homilist cites the bitter rebukes formulated against Peter for receiving the blessing of Christ [Mt. 16: 17–19]. As we indicate below, they are similar with the arguments formulated in Makarios' *Monogenes*. Says Philagathos:⁹⁵⁷

But those who supped greedily up the crop of the pagan deceit and belched out many slanders against our sound faith just as some filth, were also over-bold to utter this: "How was Peter deemed worthy of such a blessing and testified by Christ that he has received the revelation from the Father and the keys of the kingdom of heaven [Mt. 16: 17–19] considering that at the time of the passion he denied three times the teacher [Mt. 26: 69–74], because an ordinary girl frightened him just as he were some new-born babe?" Such things say those who oppose the truth. But we while considering the aforementioned blows from [our] opponents just as arrows of infants, we drive them away in this manner. For we say that Peter's denial was according to the Lord's dispensation. Since he boasted above all the other disciples of laying down his life for the teacher, without reflecting well upon the weakness of the flesh, despite the fact that the Lord endorsed that "All of you will be made to stumble" [Mc. 14: 27], it ought to be exposed that he was also a man subjected to the fleshy cowardice and that the word of the Lord which had also predicted the denial [of Peter] was proven true.

Ἀλλ' οἱ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπάτης τὴν τρύγα ἐρροφηκότες καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὕγιους ἡμῶν πίστεως πολλὰς δυσφημίας, ὥς τινα βόρβορον, ἐρευξάμενοι, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ληρήμασι καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἐθρασύνθησαν· «Πῶς ὁ Πέτρος ἀξιοθεῖς τοιοῦτου μακαρισμοῦ καὶ μαρτυρηθεῖς ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δεδέχθαι

⁹⁵³ See chapter Descriptions of Works of Art: the Ekphrasis of the Cappella Palatina," 105–112.

⁹⁵⁴ Philagathos' citation of the Song reads «ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ κλειθροῦ» instead of «ἐπὶ χειρας τοῦ κλειθροῦ» because the preacher wanted to emphasize the typological connection with John 10: 9 and Matthew 16: 19.

⁹⁵⁵ *Hom.* 27, 18 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 179–180).

⁹⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 352–353 (trans. Norris, 373).

⁹⁵⁷ *Hom.* 27, 20 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 180).

τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ τὰς κλεῖς εἰληφὼς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν τρίτον ἡρνήσατο τὸν διδάσκαλον, φαύλης παιδίσκης τοῦτον μορμολυξάσης, ὡς μικρόν τι βρεφύλλιον;». Ταῦτά φασιν οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὡς βέλη νηπίων τὰς τοιαύτας πληγὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἡγούμενοι, οὕτω ταύτας ἀποκρουόμεθα. Φαμὲν γὰρ ὡς οἰκονομία ἦν ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ παραχώρησις τῆς τοῦ Πέτρου ἀρνήσεως. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους συμφοιτητὰς ἐκαυχήσατο συναποθανεῖν τῷ μυσταγωγῷ, οὐ πάνυ περισκεψάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καίτοι τοῦ Κυρίου διαβεβαιούντος ὡς «Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε», διὰ τοῦτο ἔδει καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλεγχθῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, δειλία σαρκικὴ ὑποκείμενος, καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου δειχθῆναι τὸν λόγον ἐπαληθεύοντα καὶ τὴν ἄρνησιν προμηνύσαντα.

First, we note that Philagathos attributes the objections to some unnamed pagan opponents of Christianity, similarly with the story about the Gerasene demoniac or the healing of the lunatic boy. Philagathos charges them rhetorically by using a vituperative set of words for dishonorable deeds reminiscent of Makarios' rhetorical style.

When inquiring into the source of Philagathos' citation, we observe that they are found in the *Monogenes*. In book III we read the argument: "What is meaning of: 'Get behind me Satan' and the address to Peter."⁹⁵⁸ The pagan chastises Peter for being addressed by Christ: "I also say to you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build My church," [Mt. 16: 18] and for being entrusted "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" [Mt. 16: 19]. These words, the pagan argued, were inconsistent with Christ' statement addressed to Peter "Get behind Me, Satan!" [Mt. 16: 23] and with Peter's denial of Christ during the Passion [Mt. 26: 69–75]. Makarios reports the pagan rebukes in this wise:⁹⁵⁹

"For how was Peter able to support the foundation of the Church, seeing that thousands of times he was readily shaken by the recklessness of his judgment? What sort of firm reasoning can be detected in him, or where did he show any unshaken mental power, seeing that, when he heard the word "Jesus," he was terribly frightened because of a sorry maidservant (παιδίσκης) [Mt. 26:69], and three times foreswore himself, although no great necessity was laid upon him? We conclude then that, if He was right in taking him up and calling him Satan, as having failed of the very essence of piety, He acted absurdly (ἀτόπως), as though not knowing what He had done, in giving him the authority of leadership."

The rebukes are substantially similar with those cited by Philagathos. It seems thus safe to infer that the preacher borrowed the accusations from the *Monogenes* but without the rhetoric

⁹⁵⁸ See the table of contents of Makarios' *Monogenes*, Book III, question 12 (ed. Goulet, 70, 1–2): ιβ'. Τίς ὁ λόγος: «Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ» {καὶ} πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον.

⁹⁵⁹ Makarios *Monogenes*, III, 19 (ed. Goulet, 146, 26–34) = Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr. 23: Ποῖος γὰρ Πέτρος βαστάσαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν κρηπίδα δυνάμενος ὁ μυριάκις σαλευθεὶς εὐχερεία τῆς γνώμης; ποῖος στερρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ λογισμὸς ἐφωράθη, ἢ ποῦ τὸ ἀκλόνητον τῆς φρονήσεως ἔδειξεν, ὁ παιδίσκης οἰκτρᾶς ἕνεκεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ῥημάτων ἐπακούσας καὶ δεινῶς κραδαινόμενος, ὁ τρίτον ἐπιорκήσας, οὐ μεγάλης αὐτῷ τινος ἐπικειμένης ἀνάγκης; Εἰ γοῦν τὸν οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας πταίσαντα τὸ κεφάλαιον Σατανᾶν προλαβὼν εὐλόγως ὠνόμασεν, ἀτόπως πάλιν ὡς ἀγνοῶν ὁ ἐποίησε, τῆς κορυφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διδοῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. (trans. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 186)

of vituperation in which they are embedded. Similar arguments as to the worthiness of Peter to receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven were formulated in the *Monogenes* in relation to Peter's escape from prison narrated in Acts 12: 5–11.⁹⁶⁰ The pagan criticized Peter for fleeing in fear and for being responsible for the death of the soldiers.

1.2.4. He did not say, “You are Christ” but “the Christ.”

Philagathos' reliance on the *Monogenes*, more precisely on Makarios' refutation of the pagan's arguments is pervasive throughout the homily for the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul. In fact, the doctrinal exposition is based on Makarios' reply, as we can gauge from the homilist's exposition:⁹⁶¹

But Peter, the summit of the disciples, becomes the common voice of the apostles, and having transcended all the senses by [his] thought, he flew through the air, surpassed the ether, left below the stars, found himself above the starless sphere and being together with the immaterial assemblies, and after having passed beyond the fiery rivers of the Seraphim, initiated by the Father in regard to the nobility of the only-begotten, he pronounced that famous theological reply: “You are Christ, the Son of the living God.” [Mt. 16: 16] Truly the revelation [was] not [made] from flesh and blood, but from the heavenly Father. [cf. Mt. 16: 17] For indeed, observe how much theological depth lies hidden in just one word. For the Saviour was inquiring: “Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?” indicating by the addition “of man” the human nature. But Peter knowing that He was at the same time son of man and son of God, a single person (ὑπόστασιν) composed of two natures kept unconfused, sprung towards the divine nature: “You are Christ, the Son of the living God.” [...] But observe besides the exactness of the theological definition. Since there are many Christs, many sons and many gods, but there is only one who is by nature and is the real, he did not say, “You are Christ” but “the Christ,” not “son” but “the son,” not “of a God,” but “of the living God.” Pronouncing every name with the article, he made visible more forcefully the excellence of the divine being and the uniqueness of [Christ's] nature. For this reason Peter became worthy of the lordly blessing.

Πέτρος δέ, ἡ ἀκρότης τῶν μαθητῶν, κοινὴ τῶν συμφοιτητῶν γίνεται γλῶσσα καί, τῷ λογισμῷ τῶν αἰσθητῶν πάντων ὑπεραρθεῖς, διέπτη τὸν ἀέρα, παρήλθε τὸν αἰθέρα, κάτω λέλοιπε τοὺς ἀστέρας, ὑπεράνω γέγονε τῆς ἀνάστρου σφαίρας· καὶ μετὰ τῶν αὐλῶν γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς πυρίνους τῶν Σεραφίμ ὑπερβάς ποταμοὺς καὶ μυθεῖς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν εὐγένειαν, τὴν θεολόγον ἐκείνην ἀφῆκε φωνήν· «Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος». Ὅντως οὐ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, ἀλλ' οὐρανίου Πατρὸς ἀποκάλυψις. Σκόπει γὰρ ὅσος ἐν ἐνὶ ῥήματι κέκρυπται θεολογίας βυθός. Ὁ μὲν Σωτὴρ ἐπύθετο· «Τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;», διὰ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ «υἱοῦ τοῦ

⁹⁶⁰ Makarios' *Monogenes*, III, 22 (ed. Goulet, 148, 21–150, 5) = Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr. 26; see also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, 210–212.

⁹⁶¹ *Hom.* 27, 10–13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 177–178).

ἀνθρώπου» τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν δηλῶν· ὁ δὲ Πέτρος τὸν αὐτὸν εἰδὼς καὶ Υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἐν δυεῖν συντεθεῖσαν ἀφύρτως φύσεων, πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν ἀνέθορε· «Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος». [...] Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς θεολογίας ἀκρίβειαν. **Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ Χριστοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ υἱοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ θεοί, εἷς δὲ ὁ φύσει καὶ ἀληθής, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπε «Σὺ εἶ Χριστός», ἀλλ’ «ὁ Χριστός»· οὐδὲ «υἱός», ἀλλ’ «ὁ υἱός»· οὐδὲ «Θεοῦ», ἀλλὰ «τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος». Πάντα μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου εἰπὼν, γεγωνότερον τῆς μακαρίας οὐσίας καὶ μονοειδοῦς φύσεως ἐδήλωσε τὸ ἐξαίρετον· διὸ καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ μακαρισμοῦ γέγονεν ἄξιος.**

Behind the rhetorical refinement of Philagathos’ exposition of Peter’s confession (i.e. ἄερα, αἰθέρα, ἀστέρας, σφαίρας) surfaces the text of *Monogenes*. The preacher stitches into his sermon a snippet taken from Makarios’ account of Peter’s ascension.⁹⁶² Furthermore, Philagathos’ deduction of the theological doctrine relative to Christ’s nature from the grammatical analysis of the Gospel’s wording is literally appropriated from Makarios’ exegesis. Says Makarios:

“Indeed, the one who earnestly gazed at the root of immortality and contemplated the everlasting source of life naturally receives the ruling concerning the entrance and exit over these [gates of Heaven]. For the verbal periphrasis [employed] by Peter, since it was formed with [definite] articles secured entirely the exactness of the divine doctrine, revealing the dominion of the monarchy unshaken and guarding the canon of truth unadulterated. For Peter by saying not, “You are Christ,” but “the Christ,” and not “You are son” but “the Son,” and not “You are of God,” but “of the God,” and not “You are of a living [God], but “of the living [God],” thus by crying aloud every name with the article, he made visible more forcefully the excellence of the divine being and disclosed the specificity of [Christ’s] unique nature. Truly, these words are a revelation from the heavenly Father, being verily a voice alone of its kind (φωνὴ μονογενῆς) which testifies for the only-begotten. Well, since there are many Christs but only one is according to truth, the one who is specified with the [definite] article, and [there are] many sons, many gods, many living [beings], but one alone is the Son of God who is truly living, since it has the article, just so sons of god often are called the Angels without the [definite] article when they are revered by this name, but unique is the only-begotten, for which alone the [definite] article has testified accurately. In the same manner, there are many Gods, many makers, many lords, but none of them is God or Maker [of the world] or Lord because the [definite] article is omitted [from their appellation], for there is just one God maker [of the world] and one Lord King, which possesses the article indicative of singularity. In fact, Peter

⁹⁶² Philagathos’ imagery of “the fiery rivers of Seraphims” is taken from Makarios; observe *Monogenes*, III 27 (ed. Goulet, 174, 15–19): Εἰ γὰρ ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ ἀστείῳ πίστεως ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ μαρμαίροντι τὴν ἀψίδα τῶν οὐρανῶν αὐτὴν ὑπερκύψας καὶ τοὺς πυρίνους τῶν Σεραφίμ ποταμοὺς ἐκπεράσας καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἰδὼν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς αἶμα ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ, κάλλει τῶν ἀσωμάτων ὑπεραστράπτουσιν λειτουργῶν [...] “For if just before he [i.e. Peter] had transcended the vault of heaven by the graceful and sparkling eye of faith and had passed beyond the fiery rivers of Seraphims and had seen at the same time with the Father the nobleness of the Only-Begotten, which outshines by its beauty the incorporeal Ministers [...]”

having been taught this mystery not from flesh and blood, but having learned accurately the relation between the Father and the Son from the Holy Ghost he cries aloud and proclaims the divinity [of the Son] by using the [definite] article. For this reason, he was blessed and received the name Peter, since he is the herald of steadfastness, which the unmoved rock reveals.”

[12.] Ὁ γὰρ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀθρήσας τὸ ρίζωμα καὶ τὴν ἀένναον πηγὴν τῆς ζωῆς θεασάμενος εἰκότως καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τούτων τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου δέχεται. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων περίφρασις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου σὺν ἄρθροις γενομένη πᾶσαν τοῦ θεοῦ δόγματος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἡσφαλίσατο, ἀσάλευτον τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ κράτος μηνύουσα καὶ ἀκίβδηλον τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν κανόνα φυλάττουσα.⁹⁶³ [13.] εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ Πέτρος οὐ· «Σὺ εἶ Χριστός», ἀλλ’ «ὁ Χριστός», καὶ οὐ· «Σὺ εἶ Υἱός», ἀλλ’ «Ὁ Υἱός», καὶ οὐ· «Σὺ εἶ Θεοῦ», ἀλλὰ «τοῦ Θεοῦ», καὶ οὐ· «Σὺ εἶ ζῶντος», ἀλλὰ «τοῦ ζῶντος», πάντα μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου βοῶν γεγωνότερον τῆς μακαρίας ἐμήνυσεν οὐσίας τὸ ἐξαίρετον, τῆς μονοειδοῦς φύσεως ἐμήνυσε τὸ ἰδίωμα· ὄντως οὐρανίου Πατρὸς ἀποκάλυψις τὰ λεγόμενα, ὄντως φωνὴ μονογενῆς μαρτυροῦσα Μονογενεῖ. [14.] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ χριστοὶ, εἰς δ’ ὁ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου λεγόμενος, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν υἱοί, πολλοὶ δὲ θεοί, πολλοὶ δὲ ζῶντες, εἰς δὲ μόνος ἀληθῶς ζῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Υἱός, ὅταν ἔχη τὸ ἄρθρον, οὕτως υἱοὶ Θεοῦ λέγονται πολλάκις οἱ Ἄγγελοι ἄνευ τοῦ ἄρθρου, ὀνομασία τετιμημένοι, εἰς δ’ ὁ Μονογενής, ὃ μόνῳ τὸ ἄρθρον ἀκριβῶς μεμαρτύρηκεν, οὕτω θεοὶ πολλοὶ <καὶ δημιουργοὶ πολλοὶ> καὶ κύριοι πολλοί, ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων Θεὸς ἢ δημιουργὸς ἢ Κύριος, τοῦ ἄρθρου λειπόμενος, εἰς δὲ Θεὸς ποιητὴς καὶ εἰς Κύριος βασιλεύς, ὁ τῆς μονότητος ἔχων συστατικὸν τὸ ἄρθρον. [15.] Πέτρος οὖν οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ σαρκῶν τοῦτο παιδευθεὶς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μαθὼν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν ἄρθρῳ τὴν θεότητα βοᾷ καὶ μαρτύρεται· διὸ καὶ μακαρίζεται καὶ Πέτρος ὀνομάζεται, τῆς ἀσαλεύτου πέτρας κηρύττων τὸ ἀκίνητον.⁹⁶⁴

The appropriation of Makarios’ refutation points to the great extent of Philagathos’ reliance on this late-antique testimony of Christina-pagan polemics, from which the homilist borrowed the exegetical solutions as well, besides the pagan reprimands.

Nevertheless, this type of exegetic solution based on the wording of the Scripture occurs often in the *Homilies* for clarifying important doctrinal issues or for solving difficulties raised by the text. For instance, in the homily for the “Whoever confesses Me before men” the preacher solves a rather similar ἀπορία occasioned by Jesus’ promise to his disciples, which apparently included Judas as well: “you who have followed Me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” [Mt. 19:28] The solution of the riddle is given by the usage of the aorist in the text as Philagathos argues: “Since he held converse in common with all his disciples, and the most arrant thievish disciple was together with them, he did not say because of this: “You who follow me,” (ἀκολουθοῦντες) but “You who have followed me (ἀκολουθήσαντες)” [Mt.

⁹⁶³ It may be relevant to remark here the similarity of Makarios’ wording with Philagathos, *Hom.* 34, 15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 238): καὶ νοητῶς ἡμῖν σύνεστι καὶ συναγελάζεται, περισκοπῶν εἰ τὰς ἐκείνου παραδόσεις ἀκιβδήλως φυλάττωμεν.

⁹⁶⁴ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 27 (ed. Goulet, 176, 10–35).

19:28], [that is] you who have took care to follow me untill the end.”⁹⁶⁵ However, this kind of ἀπορία and the solution implied is typical of *quaestiones et responsiones* literature (ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις), which Philagathos diligently harvested for his exegesis, as we show in a different chapter.⁹⁶⁶

1.2.5. “There is none good but one, that is, God.”

Another evidence for the usage of Makarios’ *Monogenes* is found in Philagathos’ homily “On the Rich Man Asking the Lord.” The preacher cites again an objection raised by some unspecified “disciples of evil” against Mark 10:18. Says Philagathos:⁹⁶⁷

But he missed his hope and was caught in the trap which he concealed. For the one who reaches even to the innermost parts of our souls, recognized the cunningness of his mind and his hidden [thoughts]. “Why do you call me good, he said? No one is good except God alone.” [Lc. 18: 19; Mc. 10: 18] But here again the disciples of evil, those opponents of the divine teachings, the huntsmen of words, the ones conceited over the true knowledge, who attempt to tear the only begotten Son of God from the natural goodness of the fatherly office with their ever-babbling loquacity, are launching an attack saying: «Jesus himself denied to be God, when he censured the one calling him good. ‘Why do you call me good, he said? There is none good but one, that is, God.’» Truly their view is entirely wicked and manifests its filthiness by itself.

Ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν τε τῆς ἐλπίδος,⁹⁶⁸ καὶ συνελήφθη ἐν τῇ παγίδι, ἣν ἔκρυπεν. Ὁ γὰρ ἄχρι καὶ μυελῶν ἐμβατεύων ψυχῆς, ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὑπουλον αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας, καὶ ὕψαλον· «Τί με λέγεις, φησὶν, ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός.» Ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἐπιφύονται οἱ τοῦ πονηροῦ μαθηταί, οἱ τῶν θείων λόγων τεμμαχισταί, οἱ τῶν ῥημάτων θηρευταί, οἱ τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ὑβρισταί, οἱ τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν τῶν τῆς φυσικῆς ἀγαθότητος πατρικῶν θώκων ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀθυροστομίαις ἐπιχειροῦντες ῥίπτειν, φάσκοντες· Αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπείπατο εἶναι Θεός, ἐπιτιμῶν τῷ εἰπόντι αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν· «Τί με λέγεις, φησὶν, ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός.» Ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν σαθρὸς κομιδῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀκαλλῆς ἐμφαίνων ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

Within the preserved corpus of anti-Christian polemics this rebuke centered on Mark 10:18 surfaces, to the best of my knowledge, in Makarios’ *Monogenes* alone. In the Book II of the *Monogenes*, the pagan opponent formulated the question: “How is it said: ‘There is none

⁹⁶⁵ *Hom.* 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, PG 132, coll. 797B): Ἐπειδὴ κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς μαθηταῖς διελέγετο, συνῆν δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ κλεπτίστατος μαθητῆς, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν «Οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες μοι,» ἀλλ’ Οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντες μοι, οἱ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν μέχρι τέλους τηρήσαντες.

⁹⁶⁶ See Part IV, chapter 5, “The *Quaestiones et Responsiones* Literature and the *Homilies* of Philagathos,” 289–303.

⁹⁶⁷ *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 837C–840A).

⁹⁶⁸ This is a recurrent formulation in Philagathos; observe *Hom.* 11, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 73): Προσῆλθε μετὰ πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἡμῖν.

good but one, that is, God?”⁹⁶⁹ Noteworthy, in the *Monogenes* only the Christian refutation is extant without the pagan objection.⁹⁷⁰ However, from Makarios’ answer it can be deduced that the pagan philosopher found a contradiction between Mark 10:18 and Luke 6:45 (“A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good;”).⁹⁷¹ The pagan probably located the inconsistency in Jesus’ use of the word “good” in the verses mentioned above. To explain the apparent contradiction Makarios argues that God is good by nature (φύσει), but humans are good by designation (θέσει) when they participate in the good (ἐκ μετουσίας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ) by accomplishing something good. However, in Philagathos’ citation the emphasis is placed on Jesus’ apparent disavowal of his divine nature. We find this argument in the *Monogenes* framed in this wise:⁹⁷²

Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν ἄτε Θεὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς ἡρνήσατο λέγων· «Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;»

Therefore, for what reason if he was God he denied to be good when he said: “There is none good but one, that is, God. Why do you call me good?” [Mc. 10:18]

It appears that Philagathos inferred the objection from Makarios’ discussion or perhaps he had consulted a fuller version of the *Monogenes*, which contained the pagan objection as well. Noteworthy, Philagathos concludes the quotation of the reprimand with a statement taken from Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*:⁹⁷³

“They proceed to say that the mind of the people of Ephraim had reached such a state of ungodliness that they could not tolerate anyone choosing to name the God of all. In my view, on the contrary, such a view is quite silly and unappealing” (trans. Robert Hill, 92).

προσεπάγουσι δὲ, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξ Ἐφραὶμ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀφιλοθεΐας κατώλισθεν ὁ νοῦς, ὡς μηδὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τινων, εἶπερ ἔλαιντό πως τὸν τῶν ὅλων ὀνομάζειν Θεόν. ἔστι δὲ οἶμαι σαθρὸς κομιδὴ καὶ τὸ ἀκαλλῆς ἔχων ὁ τοιόσδε λόγος.

This unacknowledged citation from Cyril is indicative for Philagathos’ exegetic method. The inserted phrase is not merely decorative, for it pertains to Cyril’s discussion of Amos 6: 8–

⁹⁶⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, question 9 (ed. Goulet, 8, 18): θ’. Πῶς εἴρηται· «Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός»; cf. G. Mercati, “Per l’Apocritico di Macario Magne. Una tavola dei capi dei libri I, II, III,” in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, coll. *Studi e Testi* 95, Rome (1941): 66.

⁹⁷⁰ Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 20 (ed. Goulet, 22, 21–26, 18).

⁹⁷¹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 20 (ed. Goulet, 22, 21–24, 5): 1. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτω, φέρε δέ σοι κακείνην τὴν πεῦσιν σαφηνίσωμεν τὴν λέγουσαν· «Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός», καὶ τὴν φάσκουσαν· «Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν». 2. Ὅρα γάρ μοι καὶ ὧδε τρανῶς πῶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπεξάγει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτὸν λέγων· «Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός»· Θεὸς δ’ ἀναμφιβόλως ὁ Χριστὸς, λέγοντος Ἰωάννου· «Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος»· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σωτὴρ δηλῶν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος φησιν· «Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν», ὡς Θεὸν ἀναντιρρήτως εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα.

⁹⁷² Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 20 (ed. Goulet, 24, 6–7).

⁹⁷³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 490, 22–23.

10 about the name of the Lord, which carries a thematic association with Philagathos' exegesis of Mark 10:18: "Why do you call me good, he said? No one is good except God alone." Finally, Philagathos subsequent explanation of the occurrence of the word 'good' in the Scriptures, as a designation befitting God alone is probably inspired from Makarios' exegesis.⁹⁷⁴

1.2.6. "You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent and have revealed them to babes."

Another instance of Philagathos' disclosure of pagan rebukes crops up in the homily "On the Sending Forth of the Seventy Disciples." The homilist refers to 'the wicked accusers of truth' (οἱ πονηροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατήγοροι) which charged Christ's words for revealing the rays of knowledge to fools and babes and preferring folly to wisdom and ignorance to knowledge. In the words of Philagathos:⁹⁷⁵

Therefore, He says: "I acknowledge your good will, Father, that You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent and have revealed them to babes." [Mt. 11: 25] For that which those who seemed wise did not perceive, the scribes and the Pharisees, who are merely sages for themselves since they had shut willingly the faculties of their soul (μύσαντες ἔκοντι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια),⁹⁷⁶ well these things were revealed to the simple and the unwise. And those, on the one hand, have made themselves unworthy of grace by the arrogance which lies in them; on the other hand, these by acquiring the guilelessness of babes have taken comfort in your good will." The good will is the [Lord's] dispensation and willing: "For to whom will I look on with favor, the Lord says through the prophet, but to the humble and the meek? [Is. 66: 2] For he did not prefer the folly (ἄφροσύνην) to wisdom, nor the ignorance (ἄγνοιαν) to knowledge (γνώσεως), as the wicked accusers of truth understood the saying, but he wished to honor humbleness over boastfulness.

Φησὶν οὖν ὡς· «Χάριν ὁμολογῶ τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου, Πάτερ, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας αὐτὰ ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. Ἄ γὰρ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφοὶ Γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, οἱ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς συνετοί, μύσαντες ἔκοντι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια, ταῦτα ιδιώταις καὶ ἀσόφοις ἀπεκαλύφθησαν· κάκεῖνοι μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν σφίσις ὑπερηφανίαν ἀνάξιοι τῆς χάριτος ἐγεγόνεισαν, οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τὸ κτήσασθαι τὴν τῶν νηπίων ἀκεραιότητα τῆς σῆς εὐδοκίας ἀπῆλυσαν». Εὐδοκία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκονομία καὶ θέλησις· «Ἐπὶ τίνα γὰρ ἐπιβλέψω, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου φησὶν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πραῦν καὶ ἥσυχον;». Οὐκ οὖν ἀφροσύνην σοφίας προέκρινεν, οὐδὲ γνώσεως ἄγνοιαν, ὡς οἱ πονηροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατήγοροι τὸ ῥητὸν ἐξελάβοντο, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν ταπείνωσιν προετίμησε.

⁹⁷⁴ Hom. 66 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 45, PG 132, coll. 840C).

⁹⁷⁵ Hom. 16, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 109–110).

⁹⁷⁶ The formulation «μύσαντες ἔκοντι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια» is indebted to Gregory of Nyssa; see below, n° 1220.

A pagan rebuke that charges Matthew 11:25 is to the best of my knowledge only extant in the *Monogenes*, wherefrom Philagathos might have collected it. In the Book IV of the *Monogenes*, we read the accusation: “How is it said: Thou hast hid these things from the wise and the prudent.”⁹⁷⁷ The pagan opponent cited Matthew 11:25 and Deuteronomy 29:29⁹⁷⁸ and said:

“Therefore the things that are written for the babes and the ignorant ought to be clearer (σαφέστερα) and not wrapped up in riddles (αἰνιγματώδη). For if the mysteries (μυστήρια) have been hidden from the wise, and unreasonably poured out to babes and those that give suck, it is better to be desirous of senselessness (ἄλογίαν) and ignorance (ἁμαθίαν). And this is the great achievement accomplished of the wisdom of the One who came to earth, to hide the rays of knowledge (γνώσεως) from the wise, and to reveal them to fools (ἄφροσι) and babes (βρέφεςιν).”⁹⁷⁹

Thus, the rebuke is substantially the same with the one alluded by Philagathos, although not literally cited. Perhaps, Celsus had in sight Christ’s statement from Matthew 11:25 when he objected to the Christian enrollment of children.⁹⁸⁰ Notwithstanding, the language and the thought underlying this rebuke is reminiscent of Porphyry’s objections against the Christian’s use of allegorical interpretation.⁹⁸¹ The pagan philosopher criticized Christians for finding enigmas (αἰνίγματα) and hidden mysteries (κρυφίων μυστηρίων) in the writings of Moses because they are expressed in a clear and straightforward manner (φανερῶς ...λεγόμενα).⁹⁸² On the other hand, in Homer’s case, Porphyry asserted that it is manifest both to the wise and to the unskilled (σοφοῖς...ιδιώταις) when the text speaks through enigmas and allegories.⁹⁸³

Doubtlessly, the anti-elitist character of Christ’s statement which seemed to abolish all levels of cultural distinction contradicted the hermeneutical principles endorsed by the pagan philosophers. As Guy Stroumsa pointed out, the pagan esoteric traditions by proclaiming the truth in myth had to posit different levels of understanding and different conceptual worlds that required an intellectual elite to mediate and guard the esoteric truth.⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁷⁷ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book IV, 9 (ed. Goulet, 236, 24–25): θ’. Πῶς εἴρηται· « Ἀπέκρυψας αὐτὰ ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις ».

⁹⁷⁸ “The secret things belong to the Lord our God, but those things which are revealed belong to us [...]”

⁹⁷⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book IV, 9 (ed. Goulet, 250, 12–24) = Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr. 52. (trans. mod. Crafer, *Apocriticus*, 134).

⁹⁸⁰ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3, 55 ed. P. Koetschau (Leipzig 1899), 250, 20; cf. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 181.

⁹⁸¹ See for this Philip Sellew, “Achilles or Christ? Porphyry and Didymus in Debate over Allegorical Interpretation,” *HTR* 82 (1989): 79–100 and Maijastina Kahlos, “Pagan-Christian Debates over the Interpretation of Texts in Late Antiquity,” *Classical World* 105 (2012): 530–545.

⁹⁸² Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6, 19, 4–9 = Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Nr. 39; cf. Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against the Paganism*, 29–30; Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 182.

⁹⁸³ Porphyry, *De antro nympharum* 3; for Porphyry’s use of allegory see Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 108–133.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. Guy Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), “Myth as Enigma: Cultural Hermeneutics in Late Antiquity,” 11–26; see also the discussion on the late-antique pedagogies and hermeneutics in Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 51–71.

1.2.7. “This is the disciple who testifies to these things and who wrote them down.”

Once again, Philagathos refers to the ‘slanderers of truth’ (οἱ ἀληθείας κατήγοροι) in the homily “For the Eleventh Resurrection Gospel for the Orthros” (Jn. 21:14–19). For these opponents incriminated John’s testimony about the truthfulness of his Gospel (Jn. 21:24). The passage poses a real difficulty since the Law also prescribed: “In the mouth, of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.” [Deut. 19:15] The preacher comments on the passage in this wise:⁹⁸⁵

“This is the disciple who testifies to these things and who wrote them down.” (Jn. 21: 24) Well, the slanderers of truth mock even this assertion and say that it is laughable and unbelievable that one bears witness about himself. But these senseless and dumb [people] did not recognize that the Apostle first offered proof of his virtue, having revealed to the disciples by deed and word the grace which he received from the Holy Ghost. For in this manner he writes these and testifies [to these things]. For by no means the one accomplishing such signs and having been illuminated by the grace of mystical knowledge of God would put together a deceitful writing. Especially since Mark and Luke have been taught the mystery [of faith] by the chosen disciples for writing down the Gospels according to them. For divine Luke speaks in this manner in the preamble [of his Gospel]: “Just as they were handed down to us by those who from the first were eyewitnesses and servants of the word.” (Lc. 1: 2) Well, John the Great did not hear from others that what he composed, but having followed Christ from the beginning, he beheld with his own eyes and wrote together these things. Truly then his testimony is truthful because he saw with his own eyes the things [recounted].

The rebuke cited by Philagathos appears related with question 11 of Book II of *Monogenes*: “How is it said: ‘If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.’”⁹⁸⁶ In the extant text of the *Monogenes* only the *titulus* of the question and Makarios answer is preserved.⁹⁸⁷ Therefore, the philosopher’s objection can only be inferred from Makarios’ answer. The heathen probably perceived a contradiction between Jesus’ statements in John 5:31, “I do not bear

⁹⁸⁵ *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 717C–720B): «Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ γράψας ταῦτα.» Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπιτωθάζουσιν οἱ ἀληθείας κατήγοροι, καὶ φασιν ὡς γελοῖον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν, ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ οἱ κακοδαίμονες καὶ ἀπόπληκτοι, ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος πρότερον πείραν ἔδωκε τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς, ὑποδείξας τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ τὴν χάριν, ἣν εἶχε τοῦ Πνεύματος. Καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα γράφει καὶ μαρτυρεῖ. Οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ὁ τοσαῦτα σημεῖα τελῶν, καὶ θεολογίας χάριτι λαμπρυνόμενος ψευδῆ γραφὴν συνετίθετο. Ἄλλως τε, ἐπειδὴ Μάρκος τε καὶ Λουκᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγκρίτων μαθητῶν διδασκόμενοι τὸ μυστήριον, τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς Εὐαγγέλια συνεγράψαντι καὶ γοῦν ὁ θεὸς Λουκᾶς ἐν προοιμίῳ οὕτω λαλεῖ· «Καθὼς παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ’ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Λόγου γενόμενοι.» Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ μέγας οὐ παρ’ ἄλλων ἠκουτίσθη, ἀ δὴ συντέταχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἄρχῆς κατηκολουθηκῶς τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃ αὐτὸς οἰκείῳ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐθεάσατο, ταῦτα συνεγράψατο. Ἀληθὴς οὖν εἰκότως ἡ μαρτυρία, τοῦ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοπτήσαντος·

⁹⁸⁶ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, question 11 (ed. Goulet, 8, 20–21): ἰα’. Πῶς εἶρηται· « Ἐὰν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἐμμαντοῦ, ἡ μαρτυρία μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθὴς »; cf. G. Mercati, “Per l’Apocritico di Macario Magne. Una tavola dei capi dei libri I, II, III,” in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, coll. *Studi e Testi* 95, Rome (1941): 66.

⁹⁸⁷ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, 22 (ed. Goulet, 30, 11–32, 28); the text is discussed in Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr. 67. See also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 201.

witness concerning myself” and John 8:12–14, “I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.” Since both scriptural references appear in Makarios’ answer. The pagan philosopher may have taken the objection from the Pharisees’ challenge of Jesus: “Here you are, appearing as your own witness; your testimony is not valid.” (Jn. 8:13) According to Makarios, Jesus contradicts, not his own statement, but their opinion about him, as they considered him a ‘mere man’ (ψῖλον ἄνθρωπον). In the words of Makarios: “If I, as you hold, have borne witness concerning myself as a man, my witness is not true. But if I am not only human but also God, truly I have borne witness when I said: ‘I am the light of the world and the truth and the life’ (Jn. 8:12, 14:6).”⁹⁸⁸

Now, it is tempting to consider Philagathos’ citation of the objection against John 21:24 (ὡς γελοῖον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν) as part of Makarios’ pagan dossier against John 5:31. As we have already suggested, Philagathos may have read a more complete version of the *Monogenes* in which the argument framed by the pagan philosophers was still extant. Judging from what Philagathos’ reports, the philosopher regarded contradictory the statement of Jesus, “If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true” and John’s testimony of truthfulness of his Gospel (Jn. 21:24). The pagan concluded that John “put together a deceitful writing” (ψευδῇ γραφῇ).⁹⁸⁹ Furthermore, from Philagathos’ refutation one may also suspect that the pagan opponent challenged the trustworthiness of Mark and Luke for not being eyewitnesses at the events recorded. The formulation of the rebuke is consistent with Porphyry’s style, which labored in finding such contradictions in the Gospels. Accordingly, Philagathos’ citation may be considered an authentic testimony of late-antique polemics.

To sum up, the above analysis revealed Philagathos’ substantial usage of Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. The homilist collected from the late antique treatise various scripture-related discrepancies, contradictions and difficulties for framing the exegesis according to the “the literal sense.”

2. The *Contra Galilaeos* of Julian the Apostate in the *Homilies* of Philagathos

Besides allusions and citations from the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, the *Homilies* of Philagathos transmit several quotations from Julian the Apostate’s *Contra Galilaeos*.⁹⁹⁰ Nunzio Bianchi first indicated that these are genuine testimonies of Julian’s lost work.⁹⁹¹ When approaching these citations it may be first remembered that Philagathos of Cerami stands in a long line of Byzantine writers that were preoccupied with Julian’s eloquence and arguments. His postulated idea of Hellenism (ἑλληνισμός) as a total inclusive cultural system presuming the identity of its ethical, philosophical, literary and religious aspects constantly haunted the

⁹⁸⁸ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, 22 (ed. Goulet, 32, 8–11).

⁹⁸⁹ *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 717C).

⁹⁹⁰ The text of *Contra Galilaeos* has first been collected, edited and commented by C. I. Neumann, *Iuliani imperatoris librorum Contra Christianos quae supersunt*, Lipsiae 1880; this valuable work is complemented by Emanuela Masaracchia’s edition, *Giuliano imperatore. Contra Galilaeos, introduzione, testo critico e traduzione*, Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1990; to this edition should be added the new fragments identified and edited by Augusto Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia. Replica a Giuliano imperatore. Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris*, in appendix: “Testimonianze sulla polemica antigiliana in altre opere di Teodoro, con nuovi frammenti del ‘Contro i Galilei’ di Giuliano” (Florence: Nardini: 1994), 193–225.

⁹⁹¹ Nunzio Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano (dalle omelie di Filagato da Cerami),” *Bollettino dei Classici* 27 (2006): 89–104.

Byzantine imaginary keeping Julian as an always-present negative identity marker. After the refutations of his treatise by Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350 – 428),⁹⁹² Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 376 – 444),⁹⁹³ Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329 – 389/90),⁹⁹⁴ or the denunciations of Apollinarios of Laodicea (d. 390),⁹⁹⁵ Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306 – 373)⁹⁹⁶ or John Chrysostom (ca. 347 – 407),⁹⁹⁷ Julian was periodically and ritually remembered in Byzantium. In the early tenth century, Arethas of Caesarea accused his own enemy Leon Choirosphaktes⁹⁹⁸ of praising the infamous emperor and suspecting him of taking his side against the Fathers of the Church. In addition, Arethas himself has been surmised of playing a part in the transmission of Julian's works.⁹⁹⁹ In 1083, the humanist bishop John Mauropos finished an oration in praise of the Three Holy Hierarchs of the Church (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom)

⁹⁹² Fragments that can be assigned to the third book of Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* have been identified in Theodor of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on the First Epistle to Tit*, 12–13 (*Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas beati Pauli Commentarii*, ed. H.B. Swete, II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882) by Augusto Guida, "Frammenti inediti del 'Contro i Galilei' di Giuliano e della replica di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *Prometheus* 9 (1983), 139–163; id., "La prima replica cristiana al Contro i Galilei di Giuliano: Teodoro di Mopsuestia," in *Pagani e cristiani da Giuliano l'Apostata al sacco di Roma*, ed. Franca Ela Consolino (Messina: Rubbettino, 1995), 15–33.

⁹⁹³ From Cyril of Alexandria's *Contra Iulianum* only the first ten books have been entirely transmitted, which are considered to render almost entirely the first book of Julian, while from the remaining ten books of *Contra Iulianum* are just a few fragments preserved (cf. Emanuela Masaracchia, *Giuliano imperatore. Contra Galilaeos*, 23 and n° 6; for the indirect transmission in Greek and Syriac florilegia and catena of *Contra Iulianum* see Wolfram Kinzig and Michael Chronz, "Beobachtungen zur Bucheinteilung und zum ursprünglichen Umfang von Kyrills *Contra Iulianum* sowie von Julians *Contra Galilaeos*, in "... zur Zeit oder Unzeit." *Studien zur spätantiken Theologie-, Geistes- und Kunstgeschichte und ihrer Nachwirkung: Hans Georg Thümmel zu Ehren*, ed. A. M. Ritter, W. Wishmeyer and H. G. Thümmel, Mandelbachtal: Edition Cicero, 2004, 29–62.

⁹⁹⁴ *Grégoire de Nazianzuse, Discours 4-5. Contre Julien*, Introduction, critical text, translation and notes by Jean Bernardi (Sources Chrétiennes 309), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983; Leonardo Lugaresi, in *Contro Giuliano l'Apostata: oratio IV*, (Florence: Nardini, 1993) provided a new critical edition of the fourth oration of Gregory, together with a full commentary and extensive introduction in which the author generally adopts the text established by Bernardi; see also the substantial contribution of A. Kurmann, *Gregor von Nazianzus, Oratio 4 gegen Julian: ein Kommentar*, Basel: F. Reinhardt, 1989.

⁹⁹⁵ The work against Julian "On Truth," together with his other apologetical treatises such as the thirty books against Porphyry, the work against the Arians, the work against Eunomius of Cyzicus and the treaty against Marcellus of Ancyra seem to have been lost.

⁹⁹⁶ *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de paradiso und Contra Iulianum*, critically edited and translated into German by Edmund Beck, Louvain: Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1957; There are several English translations from Syriac of Ephrem's hymns; see *Ephrem the Syrian. Hymns on the Nativity, Hymns Against Julian, Hymns on Virginity and on the Symbols of the Lord* (The Classics of Western Spirituality), trans. McVey and Kathleen Elizabeth, New York: Paulist Press, 1989; *Hymns of Saint Ephrem the Syrian*, trans. Mary Hansbury, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁹⁹⁷ A lengthy excerpt translated from John Chrysostom's *De sancto Babyla contra Iulianum et gentes* (paragraphs xiv-xix in Montfaucon's edition, reprinted by Migne), together with three *Hymns* of Ephrem and Claudius Mamertinus' *Gratiarum Actio*, each of them supplied with admirably clear and comprehensive introduction, is found in *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic. Claudius Mamertinus, John Chrysostom, Ephrem the Syrian*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu, (Translated Texts for Historians, Greek Series 1), Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1986.

⁹⁹⁸ For Leo Choirosphaktes see P. Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 820 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), 141–165.

⁹⁹⁹ Arethas of Kaisareia, *Arethae Scripta minora*, ed. L. G. Westerink (2 vol. Leipzig: Teubner, 1968–1972), "Antirrheticus regarding Marriage" n. 21, vol. I, 167–8; "To Thomas patrikios," n. 15, 180; "Choirosphaktes, or the Wizard-Hater," n. 21, 212; and particularly "Refutation of Julian," n. 24, 221–225; see also P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: the First Phase (Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from its Origin to the 10th Century*, trans. H. Lindsay and A. Moffatt (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine studies, 1986), 262–263.

by again denouncing Julian on his argument on the unity of Hellenic *paideia* and religion and further condemning those concurring with him.¹⁰⁰⁰ How legitimate was to appropriate the classical heritage into the Christian realm surfaced constantly in the Byzantine mind and as late as ca. 1200 when we find Nikephoros Chrysoberges still refuting Julian. In an *ethopoia* (ἠθοποιία) Nikephoros suggestively inquired: “what response (λόγοι) a Christian philologist would give when Julian the Apostate tried to stop him from reading Hellenic books.”¹⁰⁰¹ In fact as a scholar put it “such refutations had the paradoxical effect of renewing Julian’s challenge to the Byzantines’ various attempts at Hellenism and keeping it always before their eyes.”¹⁰⁰²

2.1. “Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.”

Philagathos quoted Julian in the homily “On the Catching of Fish” (Περὶ τῆς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων). The preacher informs us that Julian railed against the image of the “fishers of men” common to all three Synoptics.¹⁰⁰³ St. Mark and St. Matthew relate that Jesus addressed Simon Peter and his brother Andrew at the Sea of Galilee saying: “Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.”¹⁰⁰⁴ In the Lukan account Jesus addressed Simon Peter alone: “And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men [Luke 5:10]. As New Testament scholars have emphasized the sense of this picture is not self-evident, perhaps eschatological.¹⁰⁰⁵ One scholar considered, well not unlike Julian, that even for Luke the evangelist the image was ‘extraordinary’ and even ‘embarrassing.’¹⁰⁰⁶

From Philagathos’ exposition of the Lukan episode [Lc. 5:1–10] we learn that Julian found the episode particularly disturbing. In Julian’s objection the account of Luke is conflated with the testimony of St. Matthew [4:16–22] and St. Mark [1:17] of the calling of the apostles. The objection looks only at the picture of ‘fishers of men’ overlooking the discrepancies between the Gospel accounts, which was otherwise a favoured method of Julian in criticizing the

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ioannes Mauropous, “Oration in Praise of the Three Holy Fathers, the Great Basileios, Gregorios the Theologian, and Ioannes Chrysostomos,” in *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen 1882, op. 178, 116–117; see P. Agapitos, “Teachers, Pupils, and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium,” in *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, ed. Y. L. Too and N. Livingstone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 189–90.

¹⁰⁰¹ J. R. Asmus, “Die Ethopöie des Nikephoros Chrysoberges über Julians Rhetorenedikt,” *BZ* 15 (1906), 125–136.

¹⁰⁰² Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 161.

¹⁰⁰³ *Hom.* 5, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 35–36); the passage denounced by Julian is extant in Mt. 4:18–20, in Mc. 1:16–18 and more extensively in Lc. 5:1–11.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Mt. 4:19 and Mc. 1:17.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For the Biblical background of the metaphor, see J. Duncan M. Derrett, “Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀλιεὺς (Mk. I 16): Jesus’s Fishermen and the Parable of the Net,” *Novum Testamentum*, 2 (1980), 108–137; E. Struthers Malbon, “The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 36–37; Jindřich Mánek, “Fishers of Men,” *Novum Testamentum*, 2 (1957): 138–14 proposed an explanation of ‘fishers of men’ in the light of old cosmological myths that associate water with chaos; Charles W. F. Smith, “Fishers of Men: Footnotes on a Gospel Figure,” *HTR* 52, (1959): 187–203 advanced an eschatological interpretation of the image of ‘fishers of men’ as evoking a primary mission of the disciples of Christ to gather the mankind for the impending judgement message that was subsequently converted in Lukan narrative “into a form more congenial to the post-pentecostal Church (p. 201).”

¹⁰⁰⁶ Derrett, “Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀλιεὺς (Mk. I 16): Jesus’s Fishermen and the Parable of the Net,” 110, “Jesus, without preliminaries, orders them to follow him, i.e. to be his disciples, ‘and I shall cause you to be fishers of men.’ This very extraordinary saying is apparently glossed by Luke, who seems to find it embarrassing, into, ‘He said to Simon, Fear not, from henceforth you shall catch men alive.’”

Gospels.¹⁰⁰⁷ In his first book, Julian mentions in passing that the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke differ and he promises that in his second book (ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι) he would more closely examine the truth of this matter.¹⁰⁰⁸ It is likely that the indictment of the image of ‘fishers of men’ was included in this second book where other inconsistencies and similar historical problems from the Gospels were the object of his criticism.¹⁰⁰⁹

In the sermon “On the Catching of Fish (Περὶ τῆς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων)” Philagathos introduces Julian during his exposition of the literal sense of the Gospel:¹⁰¹⁰

[§ 9] “When Simon Peter saw this [i.e. the miraculous fishing], he fell at Jesus’ knees and said, ‘Go away from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man!’ For he and all who were with him were astonished at the catch of fish which they had taken.” [Lc. 5:9]. Peter becoming full of fear upon seeing such a catching of fish supplicates the Lord with great piety to come out from the ship, and hears in return: “Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men” [Lc. 5:10]. [§ 10] But now, arriving at this point, I ponder at the heathen piece of absurdity. For those that have raged mad against the Church and have attempted to break through this holy net, besides other slanders, which belched forth from their ill-smelling soul, they have added even this: “If [Jesus] says that it is established that the disciples have to fish men in the same way as fish, as for instance in this passage, ‘You shalt be fisherman of men [Lc. 5:10],’ and elsewhere, ‘Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men [Mt. 4:19],’ the fishers are carrying the fish from life to death: for indeed water is life for the animals living in the water, while air is death, as is the opposite way for the creatures living on land. Therefore, if this is true, then the disciples of Jesus by fishing men through their preaching, they are leading men into perdition and death, like the fish.” Such things says the impure tongue, reckless and scornful of Julian the Apostate, from whose lips “gushes forth venom of serpents [Ps. 14:3=139:4]” and “whose tooth are like spear and arrows [Ps. 57:5]” as the psalmist says. For truly such sophisms are just barking of raging dogs and arrows of poisonous snakes, which by foolish fallacies cut the truth into ribbons.

[§ 9] « Ἰδὼν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος, προσέπεσε τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· Ἔξελθε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι, Κύριε. Θάμβος γὰρ περιέσχεν αὐτὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ τῶν ἰχθύων. » Ὁ μὲν δὴ Πέτρος τὴν τοσαύτην ἄγραν τῶν ἰχθύων ἰδὼν καὶ περιδεῆς γεγονώς, ὑπὸ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἐξελθεῖν ἀντιβολεῖ τοῦ πλοίου τὸν Κύριον, ἀντακούει δέ· « Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν ». [§ 10] Ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐντεθύμημαι παραλήρημα. Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας λυττήσαντες καὶ διαρρήξαι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο δίκτυον

¹⁰⁰⁷ In this sense a good example is Julian’s approach to the genealogy of Christ where he notes the inconsistency between Luke and Matthew; see also next footnote.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum* 8, 253E–261E = Neumann, 212, 9–12 and p. 126 = Masaracchia fr. 64, 5–6, p. 159: ἐλέγχονται γὰρ Ματθαῖος καὶ Λουκᾶς περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτοῦ (sc. Χριστοῦ) διαφωνοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. || ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου μέλλοντες ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν, ὑπερτιθέμεθα.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum* 7, 218 = Neumann, 202, 2–3 and p. 126 = Masaracchia fr. 51. 3–5, p. 145 and translation p. 267: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον, ὅταν ἰδίᾳ περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τεαυτουργίας καὶ σκευωρίας ἐξετάζειν ἀρξώμεθα.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Hom. 5* (ed. Rossi Taibbi, 35–36).

ἐγχειρήσαντες, πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσφημίαις, ἃς ἐκ τῆς δυσώδους αὐτῶν ψυχῆς ἀπηρεύξαντο, καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκαν. « Εἰ ζωγρεῖν, φησὶν, οἱ μαθηταὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἰχθύων τετάχεται, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα Ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ ἁλιεῖς ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς τοὺς ἰχθύας εἰς θάνατον ἄγουσι· ζωὴ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνύδροις τὸ ὕδωρ, θάνατος δὲ ὁ ἄηρ, ὥσπερ τοῖς χερσαίοις τὸ ἔμπαλιν. Εἰ δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθές, οἱ μαθηταὶ ἄρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγρεύοντες διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος, τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς ἰχθύας, παραδιδόασιν. » Ταῦτα μὲν φησιν ἢ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ γλῶττα ἢ μιὰ καὶ προπετὴς καὶ φαυλίστρια, οὗ « ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη, » καὶ « οἱ ὀδόντες ὄπλα καὶ βέλη » ὡς φησιν ὁ ψαλμός. Ἔστι δὲ κομιδὴ κυνῶν λυττώντων ὑλακὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα καὶ ὄφρων ἰοβόλων τὰ τοιαῦτα συρίσματα, παραλογισμοὶς ἀβελτέροις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τεμαχίζοντα.

It should be underlined that Philagathos is the only author transmitting this Julianic objection. Noteworthy, the image of “fishers of men” was the source of an objection for Makarios’ opponent. Only the *titulus* of an objection from the book I of *Monogenes* is preserved, which precisely addresses Matthew 4:19.¹⁰¹¹ Although, it is impossible to reconstruct the objection the testimony of Makarios is important for it indicates that the objection predates Julian. The quotation from *Contra Galilaeos* reported by Philagathos is situated at the junction of many of Julian’s favourite themes. The main theme of the passage that apparently associates Christianity with death is to be enshrined within Julian’s assessment of the ‘Galilean movement’ as a total perversion of true religion. Julian postulated the existence of an obsessive preoccupation of the ‘Galileans’ with death and the veneration of death.¹⁰¹²

Against the image of “fishers of men” Julian engages in an argument from consequence, treading on a rhetorical strategy common to all pagan polemicists.¹⁰¹³ Now, what is remarkable in the passage reported by Philagathos, is the fact that Julian, as I show below, elaborates on an argument extant in the *Monogenes*, which in all likelihood depends upon Porphyry’s *Contra Christianos*. The opponent of Makarios contrasts the Christian belief in Resurrection with a philosophical argument derived from the Platonic cosmology (*Timaeus* 31B – 32C) of the proper place (οἰκεία θέσις) and order ascribed to each of the four elements (τάξις τῶν στοιχείων).¹⁰¹⁴ A

¹⁰¹¹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book I, Question 3 (ed. Goulet, 2, 11–12): γ’. Τίς ὁ λόγος· « Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιή[σω] ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων [γενέσθαι] ». Trans.: “What is the meaning of the passage: ‘Follow me, and I will make you [become] fishers of men.’” cf. Mercati, “Per l’Apocritico di Macario Magnete. Una tavola dei capi dei libri I, II, III,” 62.

¹⁰¹² Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity*, 120–122; Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 324–6.

¹⁰¹³ For pagan arguments from consequence see, Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 44, 152, 179, 296.

¹⁰¹⁴ There are several critical studies that addressed the argument derived from the order of elements in the anti-Christian polemics with a particular emphasis on Augustine’s testimony; see for this: Jean Pépin, *Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), “Les eaux supérieures, l’ordre des éléments et la résurrection des corps,” 418–461; Isabelle Bochet, “Résurrection et réincarnation: La polémique d’Augustin contre les platoniciens et contre Porphyre dans les Sermons 240–242” in *Ministerium Sermonis*, Philological, Historical, and Theological Studies on Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum*, ed. Gert Partoens, Anthony Dupont, Mathijs Lamberigts, (Brepols: Turnhout, 2009), 266–298; Mamerto Alfeche, “Augustine’s Discussions with Philosophers on the Resurrection of the Body,” *Augustiniana* 45 (1995): 95–140; É. Dubreucq, “La chair, la grâce et l’Esprit. Métempsycose et résurrection de Porphyre à saint Augustin,” *Archives de Philosophie* 60 (1997):

human body cannot ascend or reside in the ethereal sky, nor each and every being can change its proper place, because the four elements are arranged in such an order that obstructs the inferior element to subsist at the level of a superior substance. What is remarkable in the fragment from Julian is that the argumentation is identical with the formulation of the argument in Makarios.¹⁰¹⁵

It speaks of places allotted to each being, which upon transgression brings death. Jean Pépin noted that the cosmological argument represents a novelty within the traditional arguments fabricated against the Resurrection. Despite a significant variation, the argument may be glimpsed in the texts of Augustine, Makarios Magnes, Eusebius of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, authors that contemplated the anti-Christian arguments through Porphyry's piercing redaction.¹⁰¹⁶ In all likelihood, as Jean Pépin argued, the argument derived from the order of elements against the Resurrection was invented by Porphyry.¹⁰¹⁷ From the testimony of Jerome we are informed that one of the fifteen books of the *Contra Christianos*, i.e. book XII, was written against the prophecies of Daniel. Perhaps, as Goulet suggested, Porphyry advanced the argument *de ordine elementorum* in this part of the *Contra Christianos*.¹⁰¹⁸ For the Book of Daniel contains one of the crucial biblical passages (Dan. 12:2–3) that in the Christian tradition has been always interpreted as a prophecy for the Resurrection of the dead.¹⁰¹⁹

Thus in the objection transmitted by Philagathos, Julian applies a Porphyrean contrived argument to a different context, that is to Jesus' call of his disciples.¹⁰²⁰ However, one may not

25–45; Victor Yudin, “Apología agustiniana de la resurrección, por medio de ‘Timeo’ 41 A-B de Platón,” *Augustinus* 208–209 (2008): 175–193;

¹⁰¹⁵ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book IV, 2 (ed. Goulet, 244, 1–11): Ἡ γὰρ δημιουργὸς ἄνωθεν φύσις τόπους ἀρμόζοντας τοῖς γινομένοις συναπεκλήρωσε καὶ κατάλληλον ἐνομοθέτησεν ἔχειν ἐναύλισμα, ἐνύδροις θάλασσαν, χερσαίοις ἥπειρον, πτηνοῖς ἀέρα, φωστήρσιν αἰθέρα. Ἐν γοῦν ἐκ τούτων ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἂν μετάρη μονῆς, ἀφανισθήσεται εἰς ξένην μετελθὼν δίαίταν καὶ μονήν· οἷον εἰ τὸ ἐνύδρον βουληθείης λαβεῖν κάπῃ τῆς ξηρᾶς διάγειν βίαση, φθείρεται ῥᾶον ἐξαπολλύμενον· εἰ δὲ χερσαῖον αὐθις καὶ αὐχμηρὸν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ βάλλης, ἀποπνιγίησεται· κἂν τοῦ ἀέρος χωρίσης πτηνόν, οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ. κἂν ἀστέριον ἐξ αἰθέρος σώματος μεταβιβάσης, οὐχ ὑποστήσεται. Trans.: “For Nature, which created all things from the beginning, appointed places befitting things brought into being, and said each should have its proper sphere: the sea for the water animals, the land for those of the dry earth, and the air for winged creatures, and the higher aether for heavenly bodies. If one of these were moved from its proper place, it would disappear on arrival in a strange condition and home. For example, if you wanted to take a water creature and make it live on dry land, it is destroyed and immediately dies. Again if you cast a land animal of the dry species into water, it will drown. And if you removed a bird from the air it will not survive. And if you remove a heavenly body from the upper aether, it will not survive” (trans. Robert Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, 211–212).

¹⁰¹⁶ Pépin, “Les eaux supérieures, l’ordre des éléments et la résurrection des corps,” 449.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 442; Jean Pépin’s exposition is largely accepted in the scholarship; see Enrico Peroli, *Il Platonismo e l’antropologia filosofica di Gregorio di Nissa*, 143; Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie*, vol. I, 143; for a different, more cautious assessment see Isabelle Bochet “Résurrection et réincarnation: La polémique d’Augustin contre les platoniciens et contre Porphyre dans les Sermons 240–242,” 266–298; ead., “Les *quaestiones* attribuées à Porphyre dans la Lettre 102 d’Augustin” in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, 371; Gillian Clark, “Acerrimus inimicus? Porphyry and the City of God,” in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 397 and 401.

¹⁰¹⁸ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 143.

¹⁰¹⁹ For Porphyry and the Book of Daniel see Régis Courtray, “Porphyre et le livre de Daniel au travers du Commentaire sur Daniel de Jérôme” in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, 329–356.

¹⁰²⁰ Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, 127, “Même lorsque telle expression de Julien rejoint une expression de l’Adversaire, le contexte de l’objection n’est jamais le même.”

exclude the possibility of a Porphyrean authorship for this version of the cosmological argument as well. An indirect argument for this is offered by the table of contents of *Monogenes*, which lists an objection against the image of ‘fishers of man’, as we have seen. Notwithstanding, we can say that the quotation from Philagathos adds a new item to the correspondences between Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes that have been thus far indicated by Moeller, Neumann and Goulet.¹⁰²¹ Moreover, it attests the convergence between *Contra Christianos* and *Contra Galileos* commonly recognized as hard to pin down.

2.2. “Sell your possessions and give to the poor.”

In the homily “On the Rich Man Asking the Lord” [Mt. 19:16–26), Philagathos cites Julian’s famous objection on possessions formulated against Jesus’ command: “If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me.” [Mt. 19:21; Lc. 12:33] Says Philagathos:

Here, that serpent which from the beginning set God against man, once more whistled aloud bristling through the foul and abhorrent tongue of Julian. For this one wishing to portray the command of Christ as purposeless by a hypothetical inference swindles in this way: “If all the people, he says, persuaded by this command would choose to sell their possessions and distribute them to the poor, who would buy them since they put everything again on sale according to the proposed supposition.” You have listened the absurdity of the sophist’s wickedness; well then, let us crush the teeth of the falsity on the cornerstone [cf. Acts 4:11; Eph. 2:20–22] of truth.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαβαλὼν τὸν Θεὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄφεις, πάλιν διὰ τῆς μιαιῶς καὶ κατεστυγημένης τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ γλώττης βλοσυρὸν ἀπεσύρισεν.¹⁰²² Οὗτος γὰρ βουλόμενος εἰκαῖον δεῖξαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ παράγγελμα, ὑποθετικῶ παραλογισμῶ οὕτω κατασοφίζεται· «Εἰ πάντες, φησὶν, ἄνθρωποι τῷ παραγγέλματι τούτῳ πειθόμενοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σφίσιν ἡροῦντο πωλεῖν, καὶ διανέμειν πτωχοῖς, τίς ἦν ἄρα ὁ ταῦτα ὠνούμενος πάντων ἀπεμπωλούντων κατὰ τὴν προτεθεῖσαν ὑπόθεσιν·» Ἠκούσατε τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τῆς κακίας τὸ παραλήρημα· φέρε δὴ τοὺς ὁδόντας τοῦ ψεύδους τῷ ἀκρογωνιαίῳ τῆς ἀληθείας λίθῳ συνθλάσωμεν.¹⁰²³

This objection is transmitted by several sources.¹⁰²⁴ It is preserved in a fragment from Theodor of Mopsuestia’s lost work against Julian,¹⁰²⁵ it is cited by Photios¹⁰²⁶ and referred to by

¹⁰²¹ For a detailed list of correspondences with Julian see Goulet, *Le Monogénès*, vol. I, Annexe 2, 279–287.

¹⁰²² As Nunzio Bianchi remarked (cf. “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 97, footnote 30), Philagathos’ usage of ἀποσύριζω finds its only contextual analogy in Makarios’ *Monogenes*, Book II, 30 (ed. Goulet, 48, 28–29): ἵνα μὴ πάλιν δρακόντ<ε>ιον ἰὸν ἀποσύρισωσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γλῶτται [...].

¹⁰²³ The fragment has been edited by Nunzio Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 97 = Hom. 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 844B).

¹⁰²⁴ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 100 (ed. 188–189) = fr. 12 Neumann.

¹⁰²⁵ Augusto Guida, “La rinunzia evangelica ai beni: la polemica di Giuliano e la replica di Teodoro di Mopsuestia,” *Sileno* 10 (1984): 277–287; id., “Frammenti inediti del ‘Contro i Galilei’ di Giuliano e della Replica di Teodoro di

Arrethas of Caesarea.¹⁰²⁷ Indicative of Julian's style is Philagathos' rendition of the preamble to the objection – τίς ἦν ἄρα ὁ ταῦτα ὠνούμενος – which is closest to Arrethas' citation – τίς ὁ ὠνούμενος.¹⁰²⁸ An objection concerning Jesus' teaching on possessions is also reported by Makarios Magnes.¹⁰²⁹

However, as Nunzio Bianchi observed, the Julianic text transmitted by Philagathos does not have a precise textual equivalent with the preserved versions of Julian's objection.¹⁰³⁰ In spite of that, the authenticity of the objection cannot be doubted. Hence, for a future critical edition of the *Contra Galilaeos*, Philagathos' quotation becomes a valuable testimony if only considering the difficulties implied in determining the faithfulness of a citation from a lost work.¹⁰³¹

2.3. “And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands...”

Mopsuestia,” *Prometheus* 9 (1983): 139–163; Theodor of Mopsuestia, *Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris*, fr. 6 (ed. A. Guida, “Frammenti inediti del ‘Contro i Galilei’ di Giuliano,” 158): Εἰ ἅπαντές σοι πεισθεῖεν, Ἰησοῦ, **τίς ὁ ὠνησόμενος**; ἐπαινεῖ ταύτην τίς τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἧς κρατυνθείσης οὐκ ἔθνος οὐ πόλις οὐκ οἰκία μία συστήσεται; πῶς γὰρ πραθέντων ἀπάντων οἶκος ἔτι εἶναι δύναται; τὸ δ’ ὅτι πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πιπρασκόντων οὐδ’ ἂν εὐρηθεῖ ὠνητής, φανερόν ἐστι καὶ σιωπώμενον.

¹⁰²⁶ Photios, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, Epistle 187: ἔλεγεν οὖν ἐκεῖνος, ὥσπερ ἐμπανηγυρίζων ταῖς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ὕβρεσιν, τοιαῦτα· ‘ἀκούσατε καλοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ **παραγγέλματος**· ‘πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δότε πτωχοῖς· ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς βαλάντια μὴ παλαιούμενα.’ ταύτης τις εἶπεν ἔχει πολιτικωτέραν τῆς ἐντολῆς; εἰ γὰρ πάντες σοι πεισθεῖεν, **τίς ὁ ὠνησόμενος**; ἐπαινεῖ τις ταύτην τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἧς κρατυνθείσης οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐκ οἰκία μία συστήσεται; πῶς γὰρ πραθέντων ἀπάντων οἶκος ἐντιμος δύναται τι ἢ οἰκία; τὸ δὲ ὅτι πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πιπρασκομένων οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθεῖεν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες, φανερόν ἐστιν καὶ σιωπώμενον.’ “So, as if reveling in wanton deeds against the truth, he said in such wise: “Listen to a fine statesmanlike (πολιτικοῦ) piece of advice: ‘Sell what you have and give to the poor; provide yourselves money bags which do not grow old’ [Luc. 12: 33]. Can anyone utter a more statesmanlike commandment than this? For if all were to obey you, who would there be to buy? Can anyone praise this teaching when, if it be carried out, no city, no nation, not a single family will hold together? For, if everything has been sold, how can any house or family be of any value? Moreover the fact that if everything in the city were being sold at once it is obvious even without being mentioned that there would be no one to buy.” (trans. based on Cook, 296) For the Byzantine context of Photios' citation see J. Schamp, “«Vendez vos biens» (Luc. 12, 33): Remarques sur le Julien de Photios et la date de composition de la Bibliothèque,” in *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. B. Jansens, B. Roosen and P. Van Deum (Leuven: Brill, 2004), 535–554.

¹⁰²⁷ Arrethas of Caesarea, *Scripta minora (praecipue e cod. Mosq. Hist. Mus. gr. 315)*, Opus 14 (ed. L.G. Westerink, Leipzig: 1968), 168, 2–5: Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν γὰρ **διασύρων** τὸ ‘πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα’ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον περιϊστάνειν τεραπευόμενος, ‘εἰ πάντες’ ἔλεγε ‘πωλήσουσι, **τίς ὁ ὠνούμενος**;’

¹⁰²⁸ For a detailed textual analysis of Philagathos' citation see Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 98–100.

¹⁰²⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book III, 5 (ed. Goulet, 80, 25–82, 8).

¹⁰³⁰ Nunzio Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 99.

¹⁰³¹ cf. Bianchi, “Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano,” 101; for the aspects involved in the citations and allusions from lost works see Guido Schepens, “Jacoby's FGrHist: Problems, Methods, Prospects,” in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997), 144–172; André Laks, “Du témoignage comme fragment” in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, 237–276.

The last nominal citation from Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* occurs in hom. 62 for the : "Whoever confesses Me before men" [Mt. 10:32–33]. Philagathos cites a rebuke formulated against Matthew 19:29. He says:¹⁰³²

"And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and inherit eternal life." [Mt. 19:29; Mc.10:29] [...] But here again the loathsome tongue of Julian had sharpened, "like a sharpened razor," [Ps. 52:2] as to say it in the language of the Psalms and having called forth the usual weapons of his impudent loquacity, he mocks the saying and ridicules the promise, and says: "If this is true, those who have put their faith in Jesus and have renounced their own wives, by reason of this, they would receive as it seems one hundred in return for one." Certainly one ought to overlook this nonsensical utterance just like the howling of a dog. But in order that the sophism may not sweep away the more simple minded, we say that he is not offering a recompense of that kind, nor did he say that he would furnish them in return wives and fields, but that which is lasting for the things which are passing away, the intelligible in return for the sensible, that which goes beyond the eye, the hearing and the reasoning. [cf. 1Cor. 2:9]

«Καὶ ὅς τις ἀφῆκεν οἰκίας ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ τέκνα ἢ ἀγροὺς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός μου, ἑκατονταπλασίονα λήψεται καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει.» Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἡ βδελυρὰ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ γλῶττα, ὡσεὶ ξυρὸν ἡκονημένον, ψαλμικῶς εἰπεῖν, τέθηκται, τὰ συνήθη τῆς ἐαυτῆς ἀθυροστομίας ὄπλα κινήσασα,¹⁰³³ καὶ διαγελαῖ τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ κωμῶδεῖ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, καὶ: «Εἰ τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἀληθές, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὰς σφῶν συνοικούσας παρωσάμενοι, δι' αὐτόν, ἑκατὸν ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἄρα λήψαιτο.» Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν ἴσως ὡς κυνὸς ὑλακὴν παραδραμεῖν τὸ ληρώδημα. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἀφελεστέρους παρασύρῃ τὸ σόφισμα, φαμέν, ὡς οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰδῶν ἀντίδοσιν ἐπαγγέλλεται, οὐδὲ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀγροὺς εἶπεν ἀντιπαρέξιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῶν ῥεόντων τὰ μένοντα, ἀντὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰ νοούμενα, τὰ ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμόν, καὶ ἀκοήν, καὶ διάνοιαν.

Philagathos' citation from Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* is related to a rebuke transmitted by Theophylact of Ochrid as Stefano Trovato recently argued.¹⁰³⁴ In the Commentary to the Gospel of Mark, Theophylact reports a rebuke ascribed to Julian targeting Mark 10:29 [cf. Mt. 19:29; Lc. 18:29–30]. Theophylact writes:

¹⁰³² The fragment has been edited by Nunzio Bianchi, "Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano," 95–96 = Hom. 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, *PG* 132, coll. 800C–801B).

¹⁰³³ The expression τῆς ἐαυτῆς ἀθυροστομίας ὄπλα κινήσασα is appropriated from Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistula ad Iohannem Antiochenum* (*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartzs, *Concilium universale Ephesinum*, vol. I. *Acta graeca*, pars I. *Collectio Vaticana*, 120–139, Berlin 1928, 37, 24) and it describes the heresiarch Nestorius; see also Bianchi, "Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano," 95, note ° 26.

¹⁰³⁴ Stefano Trovato, "Un nuovo frammento e nuove testimonianze del '*Contra Galilaeos*' di Giuliano l'Apostata," *JÖB* 62 (2012): 265–279.

“Therefore, will he also receive women a hundredfold? Yes, even if the accursed Julian mocked this [reward]: « For tell me, what does a woman bring to the man’s house? »”

Ἄρα οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας ἑκατονταπλασίονας λήψεται; Ναί· κἂν ὁ κατάρματος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐκωμῶδει τοῦτο· εἰπέ μοι γὰρ, τί συμβάλλεται ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός;¹⁰³⁵

It is particularly indicative of Julian’s outlook to mock the reference to women in Luke 18:29–30 and Matthew 19:29. For the misogynist tone is consistent with Julian’s overall social critique of Christianity. About conversion to Christianity Julian noted in a derisive mode that the apostles “...were content if they could delude maidservants and slaves, and through them the women, and men like Cornelius and Sergius.”¹⁰³⁶ Julian here plainly regards the conversion of Cornelius and Sergius as exceptional since he considers the majority of early Christians as slaves and women. In the *Misopogon*, Julian censures the Antiochians for allowing their wives for carrying everything out of the house to the Galileans and for feeding the poor being accused of ruining the household.¹⁰³⁷ Perhaps, the fragment transmitted by Theophylact should be read in light of the *Misopogon*.¹⁰³⁸ It may be that Julian criticizes the worthlessness of Christian women which only bring the downfall and the exhaustion of man’s possessions. Porphyry also reviled the attachment of women to the Christian faith.¹⁰³⁹

Assuredly, the most significant aspect emerged from confronting Philagathos’ with Theophylact’s citation, as Trovato excellently pointed out, is that the former does not depend upon the latter. Both authors report different aspects of Julian’s critique. Theophylact refers to Julian’s disparagement of women as a worthless reward promised to the faithful, whereas Philagathos cites an argument from consequence. But behind Philagathos and Theophylact’s citations a common source may be identified, in all likelihood a Christian refutation of Julian since both authors cite and refute Julian’s criticism in similar terms.¹⁰⁴⁰

Philagathos, *Hom.* 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, PG 132, coll. 801C):

ἡ βδελυρὰ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ γλῶττα [...] κωμῶδει τὸ ἐπάγγελμα [...] Ἄλλως τε κἂν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις **πολλὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν γυναικῶν διηκόνησαν, περὶ ἐνδυμάτων αὐτῶν**, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων κηδόμεναι. **Μίαν δὲ οἰκίαν ὁ Πέτρος ἀφείξ** ἐν τῇ Βηθσαῖδᾳ πολλῶν ἐτέρων οἰκιῶν γέγονε κάτοικος· ἐν γῇ μὲν ἔτι

Theophylact of Ochrid, *Ennaratio in Evangelium Marcii*, PG 123, coll. 604B–C:

Ἄρα οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας ἑκατονταπλασίονας λήψεται; Ναί· κἂν ὁ κατάρματος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐκωμῶδει τοῦτο· εἰπέ μοι γὰρ, τί συμβάλλεται ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός; Πάντως ἐπιμελεῖται τῆς τροφῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῶν ἐνδυμάτων, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφροντισίαν ἀπὸ τούτων ἄγει ὁ ἀνὴρ. Ἴδε τοίνυν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, **πόσαι**

¹⁰³⁵ Theophylact of Ochrid, *Ennaratio in Evangelium Marcii*, PG 123, coll. 604B.

¹⁰³⁶ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 48 (ed. Masaracchia, 142); trans. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 320.

¹⁰³⁷ Julian, *Misopogon*, 363 A (*The Works of Emperor Julian*, vol. II, Loeb, 491).

¹⁰³⁸ Trovato, “Un nuovo frammento e nuove testimonianze del ‘Contra Galilaeos’ di Giuliano l’Apostata,” 268.

¹⁰³⁹ Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 113–114, 166.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 269–270.

περιπολῶν, καὶ κερύττων τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ
τῶν πιστῶν ξενιζόμενος, νῦν δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν
τὴν οἰκουμένην ναοὺς ἔχων τῷ ἐκείνῳ
κεκλημένους ὀνόματι.¹⁰⁴¹

γυναῖκες ἐφρόντιζον τῶν ἐνδυμάτων καὶ
τῶν βρωμάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτοῖς
μηδενὸς φροντίζουσιν, εἰ μὴ μόνου τοῦ λόγου
καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας; [...] ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκίαν
μίαν ἀφείξῃ ὁ Πέτρος, ὕστερον τὰς πάντων
τῶν μαθητῶν οἰκίας εἶχε. Καὶ νῦν δὲ τοὺς
ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ναοὺς ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ
οἰκίας ἔχει λαμπράς.¹⁰⁴²

From this juxtaposition is manifest that Theophylact and Philagathos depend either directly on a Christian refutation of Julian or indirectly on a *catena* or *florilegium* or some homily which convey excerpts from Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*.¹⁰⁴³ The most likely candidate is Cyril's *Contra Iulianum* or a Cyrilian *florilegium* without excluding some other common source known to them.¹⁰⁴⁴

The answers, therefore, which Philagathos gives to his citations of pagan arguments in the *Homilies* are often derived from the Christian source transmitting the reprimands. Thus far, we have documented this exegetic practice for the rebukes cited from Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* and the indirect citations from Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*.

3. Anti-Christian Arguments with Unspecified Authorship in the *Homilies*

In this section, we show that throughout Philagathos' sermons are scattered other pagan rebukes, besides the arguments nominally ascribed to Julian the Apostate or those authored by the Anonymous philosopher of Makarios Magnes. As we have documented above Philagathos may have seized these arguments from the Christian refutations of the pagan critique of Christianity. The fact that the homilist does not indicate their authorship is an indirect proof for their indirect transmission.

3.1. "Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee;"

The documented reliance of Philagathos on a source transmitting and refuting anti-Christian polemics, besides Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*, perhaps Cyril's *Contra Iulianum* is

¹⁰⁴¹ "But here again the loathsome tongue of Julian [...] ridicules the promise [...]. Especially when considering that in the present life many of the pious women ministered to the apostles' needs, in what regards their garments and their other necessities. Well, Peter after he left behind one house in Bethsaida he became inhabitant of many other houses; nay more, going across the earth and preaching the Gospel he was received as guest by the faithful, and now he acquired churches dedicated in his name across the whole world."

¹⁰⁴² "Therefore, will he also receive a hundredfold of women? Yes, well, even if the accursed Julian mocked this [reward]: «for, tell me, what does a woman contribute for the man's house? » Assuredly she takes care of the man's food, of his garments, and the man carries on relieved from the care of these things. Well then, observe this even in what regards the apostles. For how many women provided for their garments and food, and ministered to their needs not giving heed to anything else except preaching and teaching? [...] but also Peter after leaving behind one house, later he had the houses of all the disciples. And presently he has magnificent houses as churches dedicated in his name throughout the world."

¹⁰⁴³ Trovato, "Un nuovo frammento e nuove testimonianze del 'Contra Galilaeos' di Giuliano l'Apostata," 270–271.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., 273; however, Trovato notes that: "Non si può tuttavia escludere un'altra fonte comune (per esempio Teodoro di Mopsuestia), nota a Teofilatto e Filagato attraverso una catena, un'omelia o un florilegio."

particularly relevant when considering the abundance of questions and arguments of anti-Christian flavor cited and refuted throughout the *Homilies*, although not nominally ascribed to a pagan philosopher. In the same homily in which Philagathos cites Julian's reprimand against Matthew 19:29 is extant a rebuke said against Matthew 19:27. Says Philagathos:

“Then Peter answered and said unto him, ‘Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?’” [Mt. 19:27] Here, some people devised a great attack against the coryphée, having found satisfaction in a vain and frivolous talk rather than in the truth. For they say that Peter without reason proclaims grandiloquently that he had left everything and followed Christ. «Indeed, what did he relinquish, as he was poor and fisher? In fact, who could be poorer than a fisher? Unless someone would consider otherwise the torn pieces of the net which he sewed together not having from where he could procure another.» These things uttered some people who do not consider in the least the truth.

«Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι· τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν;» Ἐνταῦθα τινες πολλὴν τὴν καταφορὰν τοῦ κορυφαίου ἐποιήσαντο, εὐτραπελία πλεον ἢ ἀληθεία στοιχήσαντες. Φασὶ γάρ, ὥς μάτην ὁ Πέτρος κομπολογεῖ, ὥς ἀφείς πάντα, καὶ ἀκολουθήσας Χριστῷ. «Τί γὰρ καὶ κατέλειψε πένης τυγχάνων, καὶ ἀλιεύς; ἀλιέως δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη πενέστερος; εἰ μὴ τις φαίη τὰ διεργώγῳτα τῶν δικτύων τεμάχια, ἃ δὴ συνέρραπτεν, ὥς μὴ ἔχων πόθεν πορίσαιτο ἕτερα.» Ταῦτα εἶπον τινες τάληθες οὐ περισκεψάμενοι.¹⁰⁴⁵

Besides targeting Matthew 19:27, the objection also alludes to Luke 5:3–6 which informs us that Peter had one fishing boat whose net had broken at the great number of fish miraculously caught. The rebuke reported by Philagathos is consistent with Julian's critique of the social status of Christian converts. The ironic mode of the question (“what did he relinquish, as he was poor and fisher?”) evokes Julian's style and is thematically linked with his other famous objection on possessions. But since the objection is not nominally ascribed to Julian any attribution is hypothetical. However, the reproof seems to be derived from the Christian source which transmitted Julian's rebuke against Matthew 19:29 common to Theophylact of Ochrid and Philagathos. For Theophylact's comment on Matthew 19:27 bespeaks a marked sensitivity in regard to the wording of Peter's answer («ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι»), since the commentator notes that Peter left not all but few things (ὀλίγα) and followed Christ.¹⁰⁴⁶ Theophylact's exegesis of Matthew 19:27 may in fact be read as an answer to an objection which found a contradiction in Peter's answer, that the apostle claimed to have left everything although he was just a poor fishermen. For otherwise there was no compelling need to

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Hom.* 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, PG 132, coll. 796B).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Theophylact of Ochrid, *Ennaratio in Evangelium Marci*, PG 123, coll. 604A: Ὁ Πέτρος εἰ καὶ ὀλίγα ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' οὖν πάντα ὀνομάζει ταῦτα. Καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα γὰρ δεσμὸν προσπάθειας ἔχουσιν, ὥστε μακαριστὸς καὶ ὁ τὰ ὀλίγα ἀφείς.

explain Peter's wording and indicate that he left 'few things' referred to by the evangelist as πάντα.¹⁰⁴⁷

Similar comments are found in John Chrysostom's second homily on the Gospel of John. The preacher refers to "the disciples of Plato and Pythagoras" who charged the disciples on account of their lack of learning and modest origin.¹⁰⁴⁸ In his rhetorical exposition, John Chrysostom concentrated on the condition of fisherman. Chrysostom describes the father of Apostle John as "a poor fisherman, so poor that he took his sons to the same employment." He further remarked that "nothing can be poorer (πενέστερον), meaner, no, nor more ignorant, than fishermen."¹⁰⁴⁹ It seems reasonable to think that Chrysostom considered similar allegations that mocked the disciples for being simple fishermen. Among the pagan philosophers, Celsus also formulated a social critique of the Christian faith claiming that they were uneducated (ἀπαιδευτοί) and untrained in the learning of the Greeks (μηδὲ παιδευθέντες τὰ Ἑλλήνων μαθήματα).¹⁰⁵⁰

3.2. About the Massacre of the Innocents and Herod

In the homily "For the Holy Innocents," Philagathos reports several objections against the Gospel account of Herod's infanticide. As I show, these are genuine pagan objections otherwise not attested in the corpus of anti-Christian arguments.¹⁰⁵¹ The preacher opens his account with a refined set of antitheses between Christ's birth and death adapted from Gregory Nyssa's *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, a text which the homilist extensively employed in the sermon for Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.¹⁰⁵² Says Philagathos:¹⁰⁵³

In this way the dispensation of the Incarnation, which makes its beginning from humility and suffering, ends into suffering: *here the plot, the searching after, the flight, not any one to defend him, at the end similarly torches, swords and whips,*

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁸ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, PG 59, coll. 29–30.

¹⁰⁴⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, PG 59, coll. 29: Ἀλιέων δὲ οὐδὲν πενέστερον, οὐδὲ εὐτελέστερον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀμαθέστερόν τι γένοιτ' ἄν· (trans. NPNF I/XIV, 14)

¹⁰⁵⁰ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6, 12 ed P. Koetschau (Leipzig 1899), 82, 12, 15–16.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*.

¹⁰⁵² Cf. *Hom.* 3, 11–13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 21–22).

¹⁰⁵³ *Hom.* 24, 2–3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 157): Οὕτως ἡ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως οἰκονομία, ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως καὶ μακροθυμίας ἀρξαμένη, εἰς μακροθυμίαν κατέληξεν· ὥς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ζήτησις καὶ φυγὴ καὶ ἄμυνα οὐδαμοῦ, οὕτως ἐν τῷ τέλει **ξύλα καὶ δῶδες καὶ ξίφη καὶ μάστιγες καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ εἰρωνεῖαι καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον σταυρός. Ἡ δὲ ἄμυνα τίς; «Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδας τί ποιῶσιν».** Ἀλλ' οἱ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ δαιμονιώδη σοφίαν ἐξησκηκότες καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν λόγων πιθανῶς **τὴν ἀπάτην κατακαλλόντες**, ἀφέντες μετὰ φρίκης θαυμάζουσιν τὴν τοσαύτην τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου κένωσιν, πρὸς κατηγορίας ὠπλίσθησαν, διαβάλλοντες τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φυγὴν, ὥς πρόξενον τῆς τῶν νηπίων σφαγῆς, κακῶς συλλογιζόμενοι καὶ λίαν ἐπικινδύνως καὶ σφαλερῶς καὶ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν οικείων ψυχῶν. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ μάλιστα τῆς Ἡρώδου λύσεως κατηγορεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου κούφης καὶ παντόλμου φρενός. Ὅς ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη (*«Καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα»*), οὐκ εἰς νοῦν ἔβαλε τοῦ γεννηθέντος τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ὡς βούλεται διατίθεται, καὶ τοιοῦτους ἀστέρας καινοτομεῖ ἐν νυκτὶ δαδουχοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὴ κρυπτομένους τοῖς ἡλιακοῖς σελαγίσμασιν, οὐδὲ κατωρρώδησε Θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἀντίπαλος.

mockeries and sarcasms and finally the Cross.¹⁰⁵⁴ Then, what requital [for those perpetrating these]? “Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing” [Lc. 23: 34]. But *those who have trained themselves in the pagan and devilish wisdom and adorned persuasively the deceit*¹⁰⁵⁵ with the brightness of their words, while shunning to marvel with shudder at such a great abasement of the divine Word, they got ready for [making] accusations, reproving the flight of the Lord, as it caused the massacre of the infants, reckoning [the deed] as wicked, extremely dangerous, frightful and [causing] the destruction of the infants’ souls. But most of all one ought to chastise the rage of Herod, his light-mindedness and all-daring will. For when he heard from the wise men that a king has been born (“For we have seen His star”) [Mt. 2:2], he did not lay to his mind what power had the one which was born, that he disposed the things in heaven according to his will and created such new stars which enlightened the night yet remained unconcealed by the lightning of the sun; nor was he dismayed to become the adversary of God.

Philagathos cites several pagan objections to the events surrounding Christ’ birth as reported by the Gospel of Matthew. The objections do not target the massacre’s historicity considered an authentic occurrence by some scholars like Paul Veyne, but blame the Lord’s flight for causing the infants’ massacre.¹⁰⁵⁶ The homilist introduces the citation by drawing on Cyril of Alexandria’s exegesis of Psalm 10:2. As we have noticed before, Philagathos often uses snippets from Cyril when citing pagan reproofs. Against the Gospel account of Jesus’ birth is only extant a rebuke authored by Julian claiming that “the star in the East” (Mt. 2:2) was not miraculous.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, the frame of the objection related by Philagathos is similar to a rebuke transmitted by Makarios Magnes, which charges Peter for fleeing from prison and for provoking the death of the guards (Acts 12:5–19).¹⁰⁵⁸ The preacher’s emphasis on Herod’s light-mindedness is reminiscent of Gregory of Nyssa’s *ethopoia* of Herod from Nyssen’s Oration on the Nativity of Christ.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, GNO 8,1, 196, 17–197, 7: Μάθετε γάρ, φησίν, ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ. ἕτερον χρῶμα ἢ **μακροθυμία** ἢ ποσῶς τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἁοράτου ἐπιφανείσα. μάχαιρά τε καὶ **ξόλα** καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ **μάστιγες**, σιαγόνες ῥαπίζόμεναι, πρόσωπον ἐμπυρόμενον, νῶτον πληγαῖς ἐκδιδόμενον, κριτήριον ἀσεβές, ἀποφασίς ἀπηνής, στρατιῶται τῆς σκυθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως κατατρυφῶντες, ἐν χλευασμοῖς **καὶ εἰρωνείαις καὶ ὕβρεσι** καὶ ταῖς ἐκ καλάμου πληγαῖς, ἥλοι καὶ χολή καὶ ὄξος καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἄνευ αἰτίας αὐτῷ προσαγόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πολυτρόπου εὐεργεσίας ἀντιδιδόμενα. **τίς οὖν** κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιοῦντων **ἡ ἄμυνα; Πάτερ, συγχώρησον αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσι.**

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *Expositio in Psalmos*, PG 69, coll. 780, 2–8: **οἱ γὰρ τὴν ἐγκόσμιον ταύτην καὶ δαιμονιώδη καὶ ψυχικὴν σοφίαν ἐξησκηκότες**, ἀλαζονεύονται διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν πτωχείᾳ φρενῶν ἐμπυρίζουσι, τούτέστιν υἱοὺς γεέννης ἀποφαίνουσι, συνηγοροῦντες ψεύδει, καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν εὐγλωττίας **τὴν ἀπάτην κατακαλλύνοντες**, καὶ ἀποφέροντες διὰ τούτου πρὸς τὸ πλανᾶσθαι πολλούς·

¹⁰⁵⁶ Paul Veyne, “The Roman Empire” in *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. P. Veyne (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 11.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 91 (ed. Masaracchia, 185); De Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, 412; cf. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 290.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book III, 22 (ed. Goulet, 148, 21–27) = Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr 26.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Herod’s light-mindedness is underlined by Gregory of Nyssa in *Oratio in diem natalem Christi*, PG 46, coll. 1144D; the text was otherwise used by the homilist in the *ekphrasis* of the painting of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents; cf. *Hom.* 24, 6–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 158–160).

Notwithstanding, the objection against this episode seems to have been quite extensive for Philagathos continues:

“And if he suspected the Persians to speak falsely, and deemed the child born to be of such kind, that it could be killed by him, to what purpose was it brought out that cruel decree, to be cut off without pity the land of infants? Still, for what reason does he seek earnestly to learn from the priests in which place Christ was going to be born? For if the child who was born is the one which was announced by the prophets, then he would evidently be mightier than a human plot. “Well then,” they say, “for what reason did Christ not prevent Herod’s action, having rendered powerless his will against the infants?” But in return I will ask you who are over-bold of tongue and trample upon the judgements of God. Well, what was better for the infants?”¹⁰⁶⁰

In Philagathos’ citation we can identify two main arguments. One objection challenged the actions of Herod as unreasonable and contradictory. For the ruler accepted the belief that Christ has been born and yet surmised he could suppress Him. Therefore, the pagan inferred that the decree to kill the infants was nonsensical if the One born was the Son of God. The second question accused Christ for not preventing Herod’s action, making powerless his will against the infants. This reasoning which denounces Christ for not thwarting a reprehensible deed is often encountered in the arguments of pagan polemicists. Celsus, for instance, blamed Christ for permitting his disciples to betray him making them “betrayers and ungodly (δυσσεβεῖς) people.”¹⁰⁶¹ Elsewhere, Celsus berates Christ for not exhibiting something divine when he was mocked and clothed in a purple robe.¹⁰⁶²

3.3. “So long have I been with you, and yet you have not known Me, Philip?”

In the homily “For the Feast of St. Onuphrios,” Philagathos introduces several hypothetical statements that highlight ostensible contradictions in the Scripture pertaining to Matthew 11:27: “All things have been delivered to Me by My Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father.” Says Philagathos:¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Hom.* 24, 4–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 157): Εἰ δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ψευδοεπεῖν ὑπετόπασε, καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐνόμισεν, ὥς δύνασθαι ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τεθνήξεσθαι, εἰς τί τὸ ἀπηνὲς ἐκεῖνο ἐξηνέχθη ἐπίταγμα, ἀνηλεῶς θερισθῆναι τῶν νηπίων τὴν ἄρουραν; Τί δὲ καὶ φιλοπευστεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων μαθεῖν, ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται; Εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ τεχθεὶς, ὁ ὑπὸ προφητῶν κηρυχθεὶς, κρείττων ἔσται πάντως ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιβουλῆς. «Εἶεν, φησί, καὶ διὰ τί μὴ ἀπεῖρξε Χριστὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἐγχείρημα, ἀκυρώσας αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τῶν νηπίων βουλήν;». Ἀντερήσομαί σε τὸν οὕτω θρασυστομοῦντα κἀγώ, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίμασιν ἀντεμβαίνοντα.

¹⁰⁶¹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 2, 20, ed. P. Koetschau (Leipzig 1899), 148, 9–18.

¹⁰⁶² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 2, 35, ed. P. Koetschau (Leipzig 1899), 161, 16–18.

¹⁰⁶³ *Hom.* 26, 4–6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 170–171): Εἰ γοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῷ δέδοται ἡ πάντων δεσποτεία, εὐδὴλον ὥς αὐτὰ διδάσκει καὶ πράττει τὰ ἀνδάνοντα τῷ Πατρί. Καὶ τοῦτο δείκνυσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἰπών· «Εγὼ ἀπ’ ἐμαντοῦ οὐ λαλῶ». Τῆς γὰρ εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας κατὰ πολὺ τὴν νομικὴν ὑπερβεβηκυίας, ὥς ἂν μὴ τις νομίσει τοῦτον ἀντίθεον, τῷ πατρικῷ βουλήματι ἐξηρτησθαι λέγει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξωθεν λαλεῖν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐντολῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο πάλιν δουλικὴν ὑπόκλινιν ἐδίδου φαντάζεσθαι, ἀνατρέχει μάλα γοργῶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὁμότιμον καὶ φησιν· «Οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν Υἱόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ»· οὐ γὰρ ψιλός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὥς παρ’ ἀνθρώπων γινώσκεσθαι. Εἴποι δέ τις ἴσως τῷ ῥητῷ ἀνθιστάμενος· «Καὶ μὴν ἐπέγνωσαν τὸν Κύριον οἱ τῷ μυστηρίῳ πιστεύσαντες, καὶ πρό γε τούτων οἱ θεοὶ ἀπόστολοι. Καταιτιᾶται γοῦν τὸν ἱερὸν Φίλιππον ὁ Σωτήρ, ὥς μήπω

At least then, if the power over all has been given to him from the Father, it is plainly clear that he teaches that and does the things which are pleasing to the Father. And he shows this in other places as well when he says: “I do not speak of myself [Jn. 14:10]. In fact, since the evangelical teaching has greatly surpassed the Law of Moses, so that no one may consider him contrary to God, he declares that his own words are united with the fatherly will and that he speaks nothing apart from the Father’s commandment. But back again, since someone could be tempted to consider [this statement] as a servile lowering, he returns very quickly to the equality of being [i.e. with the Father] and says: “No one knows the Son except the Father;” [Mt. 11:27] for he is not a mere man (ψιλός ἄνθρωπος)¹⁰⁶⁴ that could be known by men. [5.] In the same way someone standing against the word may say: “To be sure, those who have believed in the mystery of faith knew the Lord and surely before them the divine apostles. Well, the Saviour reproved holy Philip, that he had not yet known him. For he said to him: “So long have I been with you, and yet you have not known Me, Philip?” [Jn. 14:9] And also, how could Peter the head of the apostles acknowledge him as the Son of the living God, if he did not know him? [Mt. 16:16] But why talk of the disciples? Even the foul legion of demons cried aloud: “We know who you are, the Holy One of God.” [Mc.1:24; Lc. 4:35; cf. Mt. 8:29] Therefore, how no one knows the Son, except the Father?” [Mt. 11:27] [6.] The Word indicates the perfect and essential knowledge of [God’s being], which only the Triad knows it in itself. For all those who came to know God, they have not known what is God, but that He is; since the divine nature is beyond thought and ineffable, surpassing any human comprehension, being known only to itself.

Although not clearly stated, Philagathos’ discussion of John 14:10 and Matthew 11:27 seems to allude to some perceived disagreement between these statements. Perhaps, the preacher alludes to a pagan rebuke which perceived Christ’s assertion, “I do not speak of myself” [Jn. 14:10], as a servile lowering seemingly contradicting the statement disclosing Christ’s divine status, “All things have been delivered to Me by My Father” [Mt. 11:27].

This suggestion seems reinforced by the fact that the preacher introduces an equivalent pair of contradictions prompted by Christ’s answer to Philipp: “So long have I been with you, and yet you have not known Me, Philip?” [Jn. 14:9] The assertion is first opposed to Peter’s confession of Christ divinity and then to the demons’ acknowledgment of Christ’ true identity. Although it is framed as a conjecture which “someone standing against the word may say” it seems to be a genuine pagan objection. For the attempt to find such contradictions is a strategy

ἐγνωκότα αὐτόν· «Τοσοῦτον γάρ, φησί, χρόνον μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε;» Πῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ κορυφαῖος Πέτρος ἐθεολόγει τοῦτον Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, εἰ μὴ ἐπέγνω αὐτόν; Καὶ τί λέγω τοὺς μαθητάς; Καὶ ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀκάθαρτος λεγεὼν· Οἶδαμέν σε, φωνεῖ, τίς εἰ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πῶς οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν Υἱόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ;». Τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ οὐσιώδη γνῶσιν ὁ Λόγος δηλοῖ, ἣν μόνη γινώσκει ἑαυτῇ ἡ Τριάς. Ὅσοι γὰρ ἔγνωσαν Θεόν, οὐ τὸ τί ἐστὶν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐστίν· ἄφραστος γὰρ ἡ θεία φύσις καὶ ἄγνωστος, πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην κατάληψιν ὑπερβαίνουσα, ὑφ’ ἑαυτῆς δὲ μόνης γινωσκόμενη.

¹⁰⁶⁴ In regard to Philagathos’ wording we may note that the formulation «ψιλός ἄνθρωπος» parallels Makarios Magnes’ remark that Jesus was considered “a simple man” (ψιλός ἄνθρωπος) by the Jews; cf. Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, 22 (ed. Goulet, 32, 12).

constantly employed by such pagan authors like Porphyry or Julian. Particularly noteworthy is the formulation « οἱ τῷ μυστηρίῳ πιστεύσαντες » which is remindful of Julian's recurrent employing of the same aorist in the *Contra Galileos*.¹⁰⁶⁵ This similarity concedes us to formulate the hypothesis that Philagathos may in fact be reporting here an unknown fragment from Julian's lost treatise. This may not seem far-fetched when considering Philagathos' engagement with other pagan objections throughout the *Homilies*.

3.4. "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" and "I saw you under the fig tree."

In the homily for the "Jesus wanted to go forth into Galilee, and found Philip," Philagathos cites some dubious interpretations pertaining to the Gospel pericope of the day (Jn. 1:43–51). Philagathos writes:

For the saying, "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" was not said in a doubtful manner as certain people suppose. For it would be foolish to consider in this sense Nathanael as a man diligently inquiring what was said about Christ. But the expression "anything good" must be understood as "exceedingly good."¹⁰⁶⁶

The tone is mildly polemical which perhaps indicates that in Philagathos' source the proponents of this interpretation were not thought to be the pagan polemicists. Philagathos interprets Nathanael's assertion by applying to the word «τί» the common exegetical principle that seeks to explain 'the Scripture from the Scripture.' Thus, the preacher produces a catalogue with the usage of the «τί» in the Scriptures¹⁰⁶⁷ and reiterates that the "doubtful" (ἀπορητικῶς) reading is inconsistent with Christ's answer:

For if Nathanael had said this in a doubtful manner that it was impossible for anything good to come out from Nazareth, he would have been a lying and deceitful Israelite and he would not have prompted back such a praise: "For Jesus

¹⁰⁶⁵ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 74 (ed. Masaracchia, 168, 4): « Πέτρῳ πιστεύσαντες » ; The same formulation is encountered in Julian's rebuke against Matthew 19:29 as transmitted by Philagathos: « οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ » ; cf. *Hom.* 62 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, *PG* 132, coll. 800C–801B) = Nunzio Bianchi, "Nuovi frammenti del *Contra Galilaeos* di Giuliano," 95–96.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Hom.* 17, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113): Τὸ γὰρ « Ἐκ Ναζαρέτ δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; » οὐκ ἀπορητικῶς εἴρηται, ὥς τινες οἴονται· εὐθες γὰρ τῇδε νοῆσαι τὸν Ναθαναὴλ ἄνδρα ἐπιστατικῶς τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐρευνήσαντα. Ἀλλὰ τὸ « τι ἀγαθὸν » ἀντὶ τοῦ « λίαν ἀγαθὸν » νοητέον ἡμῖν.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Hom.* 17, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113): [7.] Τετριμμένον δὲ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ σύνηδες τῇ Γραφῇ. Ὁ τε γὰρ Δαβὶδ, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἰλιγγιάσας τῶν πειρασμῶν· « Κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ θλίβοντές με; », « τί » τοῦτο λέγων ὥς « Λίαν ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ ἐχθροί. » Καὶ ὁ καλὸς ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀϊσματι, θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος τῆς σώφρονος νύμφης, οὕτω φησί· « Τί ἐκαλλιώθησαν μαστοὶ σου, ἀδελφὴ μου, νύμφη », καί· « Τί ὠραιώθησαν σιαγόνες σου ». Καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσόδου φησὶν ὁ Σωτὴρ θαυμαστικῶς· « Τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη, ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ». Trans.: "Nay this word is constantly used and common in the Scripture. For David [used] it having become dizzy [when surrounded] by the multitude of trials: 'Lord, how are they increased that trouble me!' [Psalm 3:1] indicating by this particle 'τί' (how) that 'My enemies have increased exceedingly.' And the beautiful kinsman in the Canticle, marveling at the chaste bride's beauty, in this way he says: 'How beautiful are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse!' [Song 4: 10], and 'How are thy cheeks beautiful!' And about the entrance-door of the virtues the Saviour says with wonderment: 'How (Τί) narrow is the gate which leads to life'" [Mt. 7:14].

saw Nathanael coming toward Him, and said of him, “Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom is no deceit!” [Jn. 1: 47]¹⁰⁶⁸

Although we can not locate the source of Philagathos’ citation, the emphasis on a “doubtful reading” of ‘Nathanael’s question (“Can anything good come out of Nazareth?”), the polemical attitude as well as the solution proposed points to the apologetic stance of the Christian ἀπορίαι literature. In these collections of questions figured all kinds of scripture-related discrepancies that figured in the late-antique polemic against Christianity and perhaps from such a text Philagathos cited the scriptural difficulty related to John 1:46 and its adjacent explanation.¹⁰⁶⁹ But Nathanael’s saying seems to have been invoked by the pagan philosophers to criticize the Christian faith. This can be inferred from John Chrysostom’s second homily on the Gospel of John. In this place the ‘Golden Mouth’ mentions “the disciples of Plato and Pythagoras” which appear to have used John 1:46 for reviling the low origin of Christianity in an unremarkable place.¹⁰⁷⁰

A very similar exegetical problem was posed by Christ’s explanation of talking in parables as reported in the Gospel of Mark 4:12: “Seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand.” Just as with Nathanael’s assertion, Philagathos approaches the difficulty by noting that the word «ἵνα» is not used in causal sense «αἰτιολογικῶς». He explains:¹⁰⁷¹

Then, in this place, the word « ἵνα » is not said in a causal sense, but in the sense of consequence. For he does not speak in parables for this reason, in order that they may neither see nor hear, but that it turned out to happen in this way on account of their wickedness.

Τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἐνταῦθα οὐκ αἰτιολογικῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἐκβάσεως. Οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς ἐλάλει, ἵνα μήτε βλέπωσι μήτε ἀκούωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὕτως ἀπέβη γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων κακόνοιαν·

These examples make clear that Philagathos systematically strove to elucidate difficult passages from Scripture connected with the subject of his sermons. As we argued, Philagathos amassed these queries from a variety of sources. A likely source was the Christian refutations of the pagan critique or perhaps the *quaestio-responsio* literature (more about this later).

3.5. “Behold My hands and My feet...”

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hom. 17, 6–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113): Εἰ γὰρ ἀπορητικῶς τοῦτο εἶπε Ναθαναὴλ, ὡς ἀδύνατον δῆθεν ἐκ Ναζαρέτ γενέσθαι τι ἀγαθόν, ἦν ἂν ψευδὴς Ἰσραηλίτης καὶ δολερὸς· καὶ οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τοῦ ἀψευδοῦς στόματος τοιοῦτον εἰλήφει τὸν ἔπαινον· «Εἶδε γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ναθαναὴλ ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ· Ἵδε ἀληθὺς Ἰσραηλίτης, ἐν ᾧ δόλος οὐκ ἔστιν».

¹⁰⁶⁹ See the examples cited by G. Bardy, “La littérature patristique, des ‘*Quaestiones et responsiones*’ sur l’Écriture sainte,” *Revue biblique* 42 (1933): 214–217.

¹⁰⁷⁰ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, PG 59, coll. 29–30.

¹⁰⁷¹ Hom. 7, 18 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 52).

Doubtlessly, the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the body was the most repulsive to the pagan critics of Christianity. Philagathos approached the difficulties posed by the nature of Christ's resurrected body attributed to "the opponents of the mystery of the Resurrection." The preacher cites the questions "one may raise" about the wounds visible in His incorruptible body and the partaking of food:

"Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." [Lc. 24:39] But one may raise a doubt here as to how could be shown forth the wounds of the nails in an incorruptible body. Well, we say that he shows forth these wounds by divine dispensation, as to warrant the Resurrection. And yet, if they were still persisting in incredulity after these wounds were show to them, what would they have supposed if they had not seen the marks of the passion? "But while they still did not believe for joy, and marvelled, He said to them, 'Have you any food here?'" [Lc. 24:41] Since he was seeing that the disciples were still incredulous and their mind was wavering just as suspended in a balance,¹⁰⁷² for the exceeding joy foisted in them a hesitation for believing, He strenghtens them more conspicuously by the food, eating up honey and a slice of fish. [Lc. 24:42] Let the mind of the hearers be not troubled, if the body freed from corruption and with no need of food partakes of nourishment; do not seek to learn what happened with what was left from the food consumed. For the opponents of the mystery of the Resurrection raise this difficulty.¹⁰⁷³

The exegesis of Luke 24:39 was a familiar problem in the Christian ἀπορία tradition and figured in the earlier pagan polemic against Christianity.¹⁰⁷⁴ Celsus, Porphyry and Julian attacked the doctrine of the Resurrection,¹⁰⁷⁵ but close to Philagathos' account comes Porphyry's rebukes. Augustine reports that Porphyry attempted to show that one cannot conceive the future Resurrection either by looking on that of Christ or that of Lazarus. For if the Christians argue that Christ's Resurrection was a prefiguration of ours, why did Christ eat food and show his

¹⁰⁷² Here we discern an allusion to Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 4, 11–12: καθάπερ ἀκριβῆς **τρυτάνη** ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα πλάστιγξιν ἰσορρόπως **ταλαντεύομαι** [...]; for Philagathos' usage of Pseudo-Lucian's *Amores* see the discussion above, p. 76–78.

¹⁰⁷³ *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, PG 132, coll. 745C–748A): « Ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι· ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὅστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. » Ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα διαφορῆσαι, πῶς τῶν ἡλίων αἱ τρώσεις ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ ἐνδείκνυνται σώματι. Φαμέν οὖν, ὡς οἰκονομικῶς ταῦτα δείκνυσιν, πιστούμενος τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς δεικνυμένων ἀπιστία ἐτι συνέιχοντο, τί ἂν ὑπετόπασαν, εἰ οὐκ εἶδον τοῦ πάθους τὰ σύμβολα; « Ἐτι δὲ ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ θαυμαζόντων εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἔχετε τι βρώσιμον ἐνθάδε; » Ἐπειδὴ ἀπιστούντας ἐτι ἑώρα τοὺς φοιτητάς, καὶ ὡς ἐν **τρυτάνη ταλαντευομένους** τὸν νοῦν, τὰ γὰρ ὑπερβαλλόντως περιχαρῇ ὄκνον ἐμποιοῦσι πιστεύεσθαι, ἐκδηλότερον αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς βρώσεως βεβαιοῖ, κατεδιδόκως τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰχθύος τεμάχιον. Μὴ ταραττέσθω δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀκουόντων διάνοια, εἰ τὸ ἀφθαρτισθέν σῶμα, καὶ γεγονὸς βρωμάτων ἀνενδεὲς μεταλαμβάνει τροφῆς· μηδὲ ζητεῖτω, τί γέγονε τὸ μεταληφθέν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποροῦσιν οἱ ἐναντιούμενοι τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram*, PG 28, coll. 725; Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, Section 45, 5–10 (ed. José Declerck, Brepols, 1982); Michael Glykas, *Quaestiones in sacram scripturam*, 92, ed. S. Eustratiades, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλυκᾶ, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς, Athens: P.D. Sakellarios, 1906, 430, 19 sqq.

¹⁰⁷⁵ See, for instance, by Henry Chadwick, "Origen, Celsus and the Resurrection of the Body," *HTR* 41 (1938): 83–102; Robert Grant, "The Resurrection of the Body," *The Journal of Religion* 28 (1948): 188–208.

wounds?¹⁰⁷⁶ Yet, to the best of my knowledge, an pagan objection about the unconsumed part of the food Jesus consumed is nowhere else attested. The argument is from consequence and is characteristic to Porphyry and Julian. In refuting the objection Philagathos borrows a snippet from Makarios' *Monogenes*:

Just as he showed the thrust from the nails and the spear by divine dispensation, yet not bearing the thickness of the flesh *in that pure, light and divine body*, in the same manner he partakes of nourishment, not in the likeness of our taking of food which after being consumed is changed either into an addition to our body, or into a discharge or into breathing, but just as the fiery ray of the sun consumes the moisture lying under, taking nothing from it into its own nature, in the same manner came to pass the partaking of food by the Saviour which was consumed by the divine fire, as the wax is dissolved upon having been dropped into an incandescent iron.

“Ὡςπερ γὰρ ὑπέδειξεν οἰκονομικῶς τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν καὶ τῆς λόγχης πληγὰς, καίτοι σαρκὸς παχύτητα μὴ ἐπιφερόμενος *ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ ἐκείνῳ λεπτῷ* καὶ θεοειδεῖ *σώματι*, οὕτω δὲ καὶ μεταλαμβάνει τροφῆς, οὐ καθ’ ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας βρώσεως τοῦ μεταληφθέντος ἀλλοιωθέντος εἰς προσθήκην, ἢ ἔκκρισιν, ἢ διάπνευσιν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἡ πυρσολαμπῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτὶς τὴν ὑποκειμένην νοτίδα ἐκδαπανᾷ, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν λαμβάνουσα, οὕτω γέγονε τῷ Σωτῆρι τῆς βρώσεως ἡ μετάληψις τῷ θεϊκῷ δαπανηθεῖσα πυρὶ, ὡς ἂν ἐν πεφυρακτωμένῳ σιδήρῳ κηρὸς ἐνστάξας διαλυθῇ.¹⁰⁷⁷

The vignette is taken from Makarios' solution to an objection against the saying: “And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went to them, walking on the sea.” [Mt. 14:25; Mc. 6:48]. Philagathos seized Makarios' image of the Lord's “light and pure body” threading upon waters from his exegesis of the vision of Elijah [1Reg. 19:11–12] and transferred it to the discussion about the nature of Christ's resurrected body. In fact, in the homily “On the Transfiguration of Our Lord” the homilist applied Makarios' allegoric interpretation of Elijah's vision to his own exegesis.¹⁰⁷⁸ Philagathos treasured Makarios' description of Christ's body as it occurs in several contexts in the *Homilies*.¹⁰⁷⁹

3.6. “And there are also many other things that Jesus did, which if they were written one by one...”

In the homily “For the Eleventh Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*” (Jn. 21: 14–19) Philagathos referred to “the mindless (ἄσυνέτοις), the scurrilous (βωμολόχοις), the scoffers (σκώπταις)” for attacking John 21:25. In the same sermon the homilist cited unspecified people

¹⁰⁷⁶ Augustine, *Epistle* 102, 3–7 (ed. Gold, 546, 13–551,3); the text is cited in Pierre de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, 277; cf. Harnack, *Porphyrius* Nr. 92; see also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 154.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Hom.* 59 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, PG 132, coll. 748A–B).

¹⁰⁷⁸ See for this above, p. 232–233 and the related discussion.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, coll. 780–781); *Hom.* 31, 22 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 214).

“who speak against truth’ (οἱ ἀληθείας κατήγοροι) for rebuking John’s testimony of truthfulness of his Gospel (Jn. 21: 24). We have argued that this argument is consonant with a pagan reprimand reported in Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. Notwithstanding, a reprimand against John 21:25 is not preserved in the *Monogenes*. But neither, to the best of my knowledge, is a rebuke that challenges John 21:25 extant in the fragments from Celsus, Hierocles or Julian preserved in the Christian refutations of these authors. Philagathos says: ¹⁰⁸⁰

“And there are also many other things that Jesus did, which if they were written one by one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that would be written. Amen.” [Jn. 21: 25] And even the hyperbolic aspect of this statement appeared vulgar (φορτικὸν) and incredible (ἀπίθανον) to the mindless (ἄσυνέτοις), the scurrilous (βωμολόχοις), the scoffers (σκώπταις) and to those who are only enslaved to the senses. For they did not know that it is a habitual practice for the Holy Writ to make clear the things with hyperbole. It says that the cities of the *Canaanites* were fortified up to heaven [cf. Deut. 9: 1]; and that milk and honey gushes forth in the land of promise [cf. Deut. 6: 3]; and the descendants of the patriarch [i.e. Abraham] will be multiplied as the stars of the heaven and as the sand of the seashore [cf. Gen. 22: 17]; and indeed also David says that the waves “go up to the heavens, and go down to the depths” [Psalm 106 (107): 26] Truly in those formulations the [usage of] hyperbole is absolute. Thereupon by saying “I suppose” [Jn. 21:24], [the evangelist] released the hyperbolic aspect of his phrasing.

The particularly offensive language which Philagathos employed in citing this reprimand indicates its provenance in some text containing genuine anti-Christian objections. For the concern for witnesses and trustworthiness of their testimony preoccupied extensively the ancient polemicists. ¹⁰⁸¹ The argument itself which challenges the reliability and accuracy of the Gospels accords well with the pagan stance against the Christian doctrine.

Philagathos’ confutation based on the grammatical analysis of the figure of speech (τῆς λέξεως τὸ ὑπερβολικὸν) belongs to the set of literary conventions shared by the Christian exegetes from the grammatical textbooks. However, considering the preacher’s practice of appropriating objections and difficulties from other sources together with their solutions it is not excluded that the homilist may have borrowed the solution to the objection in this case as well. ¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 720B): «Ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἅτινα ἐὰν γράφηται καθ’ ἓν, οὐδ’ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Ἀμήν.» Καὶ ταύτης τῆς λέξεως τὸ ὑπερβολικὸν, φορτικὸν ἔδοξε καὶ ἀπίθανον τοῖς ἄσυνέτοις καὶ βωμολόχοις, καὶ σκώπταις, καὶ μόναις δουλεύουσι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν. Οὐκ ἴσασι γὰρ ὡς εἴθισται τῇ θεῇ Γραφῇ μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς σαφηνίζειν τὰ πράγματα. Τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις τῶν Χαναναίων τετειχίσθαι λέγει ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ μέλι καὶ γάλα βλύζειν τῆς κληρονομίας τὴν γῆν· καὶ τὸ πατριαρχικὸν σπέρμα πληθυνθῆναι, ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ψάμμον. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Δαβὶδ ἀναβαίνειν λέγει τὰ κύματα ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ καταβαίνειν ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου. Καίτοι ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄκρατός ἐστιν ἡ ὑπερβολή· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν, *Οἶμαι*, τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς λέξεως ἐχάλασεν.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, 25 (ed. Goulet, 36, 15–20) = Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Nr. 64.

¹⁰⁸² For this is the case with *Hom.* 27, 10–13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 177–178); here, Philagathos cited a rebuke against Peter’s confession (Matthew 16:16) and borrowed Makarios’ exegetical solution based on the usage of the definite

4. Apocryphal Literature in the *Homilies*

It is of special interest to note that Philagathos reports intriguing historical traditions about the life of Jesus. Discernibly, these stories not known from the canonical Gospels are characteristic of New Testament apocryphal literature. One homily records a story about the Massacre of the Innocents, which may belong to an infancy gospel. Another sermon refers to a story about the identity of the man who struck the Lord [Jn. 18: 10], which may originate in a passion gospel. Philagathos also cites a tradition about James dividing his fortune with Jesus. The story may come from some apocryphal acts of the apostles. In what follows we present these interesting testimonies of apocrypha.

4.1. Nathanael and the Massacre of the Innocents

In the sermon for the Feast of St. Philip the Apostle, Philagathos cites a spurious interpretation of John 1:48. Says Philagathos:¹⁰⁸³

But yet some are so shameless that imagine in this saying a fabulous story. For they say that Nathanael wrapped in swaddling clothes and still dependent on the motherly breasts was hidden by his parents under a certain fig tree, being covered by the denseness of the leaves when the tyrant's law reaped off the first shoot of infants. And they say that this is the meaning of the "I saw you [when you were] under the fig tree." [Jn. 1:48] Truly are entirely ludicrous such absurdities and fabricated fables fit for old rotting women. For Herod ordered to be snatched off the children within the boundaries of Bethlehem and not those [who were] in Galilee. But having purged away these [fables] like some twigs and side-growth branches attached to the trees of truth with the discerning sickle of [my] speech, let us listen the theology of Nathanael.

In all likelihood, Philagathos read this interpretation in some apocryphal writing. For this exegetic association of John 1:48 with the account of the Massacre of the Innocents is not known from the canonical Gospels. Notwithstanding, there seems to be no equivalent of this reading in the extant apocryphal Christian literature.¹⁰⁸⁴ The vituperative stress in this citation only parallels

article in Peter's answer; see for this above chapter 1.2.4. "He did not say, "You are Christ" but "the Christ."" 274–277.

¹⁰⁸³ *Hom.* 17, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 114–115): Ἀλλ' ἤδη τινὲς τοσοῦτον ἀπηρυθρίασαν, ὥς ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ τούτῳ μυθῶδες ἀναπλάσαι διήγημα· φασὶ γάρ τὸν Ναθαναὴλ σπαργανούμενον ἔτι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ θηλῇ προσανέχοντα, παρὰ τῶν τεκόντων ὑπὸ τινα κεκρύφθαι συκῇ, τῇ τῶν φύλλων καλυφθέντα πυκνότητι, ὅτε τῶν νηπίων τὴν χλόην ὁ τοῦ τυράννου νόμος ἐθέρισε, καὶ οὕτω διαδρᾶναι τὸν θάνατον. Καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνειν φασὶ τὸ «Εἶδόν σε ὑπὸ τὴν συκὴν». Ἔστι δὲ κομιδὴ γελοῖα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραληρήματα καὶ γραῶν κατασασπεισῶν πεπλασμένα λογίδρια· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις Βηθλεὲμ παῖδας ἀναιρεθῆναι, οὐ τοὺς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ, προσέταξεν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οἶά τινας ὄζους καὶ παραφνάδας τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δένδρων τῇ κριτικῇ τοῦ λόγου δρεπάνῃ καθάραντες, τῆς τοῦ Ναθαναὴλ θεολογίας ἀκούσωμεν.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. K. Elliott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Philagathos' refutations of Emperor Julian. Finally, we remark that the impress of Makarios' *Monogenes* is discernible in the wording of his reproof.¹⁰⁸⁵

4.2. The Paralytic who Struck the Lord

In the sermon "For the Paralytic," Philagathos reports a spurious interpretation of John 5:14 concerning the identity of the paralyzed man which Christ healed:¹⁰⁸⁶

"Jesus found him in the temple, and said to him, "See, you have been made well. Sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon you." [Jn. 5:14] Some people having wickedly interpreted this word say that this was the paralysed man who struck the Lord [Jn. 18:22], when he was brought to the high priest for being judged, and for this reason he said to him "sin no more." Well, this explanation is false and a fabrication of a senseless mind. For the one who at that time struck the Lord was Malchus [Jn.18: 10], whose ear Peter had cut off, whereas this man was good and faithful.

The inference established between John 5:14 and John 18:22 is reminiscent of apocryphal literature. A similar interpretation was known to John Chrysostom who reported: "I know that some slander this paralytic, asserting that he was the accuser of Christ, and that therefore this speech was addressed to him."¹⁰⁸⁷ Philagathos may have taken this opinion and its refutation from John Chrysostom, who underscored the great piety of the man just like Philagathos.¹⁰⁸⁸

4.3. James, the Lord's brother and the fortune of Josef

Finally, in the homily pronounced for the Feast of St. Anna, the homilist cites an unwritten tradition of the Church (λόγος ἄγραφος) about Josef dividing his fortune between his

¹⁰⁸⁵ Philagathos' wording «γραῶν κατασαπεισῶν» finds its closest equivalent in the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, Book III, 14 (ed. Goulet, 132, 19): «γραῶν σαπεισῶν»; the derisive tone «κομιδῇ γελοῖα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραλήρηματα» equally points to the *Monogenes*; cf. Makarios, III 4 (ed. Goulet, 57, 1–2): «γέλως ὄντως ἱκανός»; for similar formulations see Philagathos, *Hom.* 9.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 63): «Ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπορίας κομιδῇ γέλωτος ἄξια.» For «παραλήρηματα» see *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 844B): «τῆς κακίας τὸ παραλήρημα».

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Hom.* 56, 10 (ed. Torre, 120): «Εὕρισκε αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἴδε ὑγιὲς γέγονας· μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε, ἵνα μὴ χειρόν τί σοι γένηται. » Τινὲς δὲ κακῶς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦτο νοήσαντες, φασὶ γὰρ ὡς οὗτος ἦν ὁ παράλυτος ὁ ῥαπίσας τὸν Κύριον, ὅτε παρίστατο τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ κρινόμενος, καὶ διατοῦτο εἶπεν αὐτῷ «μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε». Ἔστι δὲ ψευδὴς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ κακοπλάστου διανοίας ἐφεύρημα. Ὁ γὰρ τότε ῥαπίσας τὸν Κύριον, Μάλχος ἦν, οὗ τὸ ὄτιον ὁ Πέτρος ἀπέκοψεν· οὗτος δὲ εὐγνώμων ἦν καὶ πιστός.

¹⁰⁸⁷ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, PG 59, *Hom.* 38, coll. 212: Καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τὸν παράλυτον τοῦτον διαβάλλοντές φασιν αὐτὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσθαι κατήγορον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι.

¹⁰⁸⁸ John Chrysostom, *In Johannem Homiliae*, PG 59, *Hom.* 38, coll. 212: "for, the Evangelist said, 'Afterward Jesus found him in the Temple,' which is an indication of his great piety; for he departed not into the market places and walks, nor gave himself up to luxury and ease, but remained in the Temple, although about to sustain so violent an attack and to be harassed by all there. Yet none of these things persuaded him to depart from the Temple" (trans. Charles Marriott, rev. Kevin Knight in *NPNF* 1/XIV).

children. The story is meant to explain the connotation of the “brothers of the Lord” in relation to Luke 8:19. Says Philagathos:¹⁰⁸⁹

“Jesus’ mother and brothers came to see him, but they were not able to get near him because of the crowd.” [Lc. 8:19] Indeed, it is manifest that the Gospel names the children of Joseph brothers of the Lord. Well, since Joseph was called the husband of Mary [cf. Mt. 1:16], for this reason his children were calling the Lord brother as well. But there is also an unwritten tradition taught from the beginning by the Church which says that when Joseph at some time divided his wealth between his children wished also to make the Lord Jesus a joint-heir of this but some of the children spoke against it saying that Jesus is not their brother; only James accepted him as a joint-heir to all his share, and for this reason he was called ‘brother of the Lord,’ as Paul records: “I saw none of the other apostles—only James, the Lord’s brother.” [Gal. 1:19] From this occasion, therefore, the rest of Joseph’s children are named brothers [of the Lord] as well.

This story again is not recorded elsewhere in the subsisting corpus of apocryphal writings.¹⁰⁹⁰ In light of this, we may say that Philagathos’ sermons are an important testimony of the continuation and the influence of the apocryphal literature in the Middle Ages. The preacher’s polemical stance indicates the popularity of such stories were triggered the need to refute these narratives “that the hearing of the more simple minded may not be despoiled by such silly talks.”

4.4. The Courtesan and “the Cloth that had been Wrapped round Jesus’ Head”

Similar condemnation elicited certain explanations about the disposition of Jesus’ grave clothes in the empty tomb. Philagathos writes:¹⁰⁹¹

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Hom.* 21, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 139): «Παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον». Δῆλον μὲν ὡς τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀδελφούς τοῦ Κυρίου ὀνομάζει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῆς Παρθένου ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὀνομάζετο, κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν ἐκάλουν τὸν Κύριον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ λόγος ἄγραφος ἄνωθεν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθεὶς ὡς, διαμερίζοντός ποτε τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὴν περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς παισὶ, ἐβούλετο μὲν καὶ τὸν δεσπότην Ἰησοῦν συγκληρονόμον τούτων ποιήσασθαι, ὡς δὲ τινες τῶν παίδων ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀδελφός· μόνος Ἰάκωβος εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέρος συγκληρονόμον τοῦτον ἐδέξατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη ἀδελφός, καθὰ ἱστορεῖ Παῦλος· «Ἔτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου». Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς προφάσεως ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὀνομάζονται.

¹⁰⁹⁰ At least when considering the texts assembled in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. K. Elliott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Hom.* 76 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 33, PG 132, coll. 669C): Ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα τινες περιέργω διανοίᾳ καὶ τολμηρᾷ γλώττῃ πολλὰ μυθοπλαστοῦσι ψευδολογήματα, πεπλασμένας αἰτίας ἀποδόντες, ὅτου χάριν οὐ μετὰ τῶν ὁθνίων ἔκειτο τὸ σουδάριον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν, ὅτι δῶρον ἐταιρίδος τινός· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόθη τῆς τοῦ θανάτου ἀποφάσεως σύμβολον. Ἦν γὰρ, φασίν, ἀνάξιον μετὰ τῶν ὁθνίων τετάχθαι τῶν βεβήλων τὸ δώρημα. Ταῦτα οὖν ἡγήτεον γραῶν κατασασπεισῶν μυθικὰ ληρωδήματα, καὶ φαύλης διανοίας ἀτελεῖ ἀμβλωθρίδια. Καὶ βέλτιον μὲν ἴσως ταῦτα παραδραμεῖν ἀμνημόνευτα. Ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ἢ ἀκοῇ τοῖς τοιούτοις ληρήμασιν ὑποκλέπτοιτο, δεῖν ἔργων ἐλέγχει τὸ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν.

But here again some people led by an inquisitive mind and a daring tongue fabricated many fictitious stories, having given up invented explanations, as to the reason why the cloth (σουδάριον) was not placed together with the linen clothes [Jn. 20:7]. And some people say that it was the gift of a certain courtesan, while others that it was given by the Jews as a symbol of the death sentence. For, they say, it was unworthy to have placed the gift of impure people together with the linen clothes. Certainly, one must consider these stories as fabulous prattle of old rotten women, and abortive children of a wicked mind. Perhaps it would have been better to pass over without mentioning them. But, that the hearing of the more simple minded may not be despoiled by such silly talks, I considered necessary to refute their fable.

Undoubtedly, the sensitivity of the subject accounts for Philagathos' scathing wording. Here again, the preacher relies on Makarios' *Monogenes* for the vituperative set of words.¹⁰⁹² The source of these anecdotes is to be located in the New Testament *apocrypha*.¹⁰⁹³ For the reasoning behind them springs from the desire to supplement the canonical texts and explain the presence of the *sudarium* in the tomb. Notwithstanding, these stories seem to have no other attestation in the preserved corpus of apocryphal literature.

5. The *Quaestiones et Responsiones* Literature and the *Homilies* of Philagathos

Philagathos' manifest interest in solving scriptural difficulties situates the *Homilies* in the exegetic tradition of the genre of *quaestiones et responsiones*. This literary genre consists of collections of questions on difficult passages of scripture. Bardy divided the queries of this genre, into "artificial" questions, wherein an exegete invented his own dilemmas about the text as a way of organizing his commentary, and another of "authentic" difficulties (ἀπορίαι) wherein the exegete strived to resolve self-evident scriptural difficulties posed by others or by himself.¹⁰⁹⁴ Eusebius of Caesarea authored the first patristic works, which bear the technical title of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις. As some scholars have argued, Eusebius' *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Stephanum*, which addressed queries about Jesus' infancy, and the *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum*, on the Resurrection narratives may have been prompted by Porphyry's method of pinpointing contradictions in the Gospels.¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁹² The wording «γραῶν κατασαπεισῶν» is seemingly inspired by Makarios Magnes' formulation «γραῶν σαπεισῶν» in *Monogenes*, Book III, 14 (ed. Goulet, 132, 19); see also above n° 1085.

¹⁰⁹³ For a discussion of the motives responsible for the rise of apocryphal writing, see the volume *New Testament Apocrypha: Gospels and Related Writings*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 55–56.

¹⁰⁹⁴ G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique, des '*Quaestiones et responsiones*' sur l'Écriture sainte," *Revue biblique* 42 (1933), 351.

¹⁰⁹⁵ J.R. Laurin, *Orientations maîtresses des Apologistes chrétiens de 270 à 361* (Rome: PUG, 1954 = *Analecta Gregoriana* 61), 339; it is adisputed issue whether the treatise was an apologetic-polemical work or just a spiritual-pedagogical commentary; see for this the remarcks in Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against the Paganism*, 232; see also Sébastien Morlet, "Eusebius' Polemic Against Porphyry: A Reassessment" in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical and Theological Issues*, ed. Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 119–150.

Philagathos' affinity with the *quaestio-responsio* tradition is eloquently revealed by a collection of *quaestiones et responsiones* once contained in codex Taurinensis gr. C. IV. 17 (Pas. 222) with the title *Ἐκ τῶν ζητήματων καὶ ἐπιλύσεων Θεοφάνους Κεραμέως καὶ Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου* ("From the Problems and Solutions of Theophanes Kerameus and Justin the Philosopher").¹⁰⁹⁶ As Rossi-Taibbi showed Theophanes Kerameus is one of the names given in the manuscript tradition to the author of the Italo-Greek homiliary, which is none other than Philagathos of Cerami.¹⁰⁹⁷ The manuscript in question was destroyed by a fire in 1904. However, we know from the catalogue that here were about sixty queries in the codex, of which Pasini published the first. As Rossi-Taibbi observed, the question and the solution reproduces literally a section from *hom.* 25.¹⁰⁹⁸ Reasonably it can be envisaged that the other questions may also depend on the homiliary. Beck suggested that the author of this collection may in fact be Theophanes Kerameus.¹⁰⁹⁹ Notwithstanding, considering that no such work is ascribed to Philagathos in the Italo-Greek manuscript tradition it seems more likely to consider the collection a latter composition dependent on the homiliary. The clarification of this issue may come from codex Athon. Lavra 1183 (I 99) of the Great Lavra Monastery which contains a collection of sixty two questions and solutions having the same title.¹¹⁰⁰ The codex is dated in the XVIIIth century. Unfortunately, we could not see the manuscript nor obtain the microfilm. Nonetheless, even if the authorship of this collection of scriptural ἀπορίαι cannot be determined now, it is enough to underscore the consonance of Philagathos' sermons with the *quaestiones et responsiones* exegetic tradition. As we show in the chapter, the scriptural difficulties addressed in the *Homilies* correspond to the typical dossiers of queries of the genre, as for instance the queries posed about the genealogy of Jesus, the Resurrection narratives, the Transfiguration of Christ. The latter deserve special scrutiny because Philagathos treats the subject by scrupulously addressing a set of twelve queries about the Transfiguration. The homily on the Transfiguration faithfully corresponds to the patristic genre of *quaestio-responsio*.

5.1. The Genealogy of Jesus Christ

In the homily "For the: The Book of Generation of Jesus Christ and about Thamar," Philagathos introduces a question about the scriptural account of Jesus Christ's genealogy. Under the pretense of answering possible questions on the scriptural text of the day (Matthew 1: 1-25), Philagathos says:¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁶ Giuseppe Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regis Taurinensis Athenai* (Taurini, 1749), I, 310–312; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* I, 3, 644–645; Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 41.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 11–20 and 79–84.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Pasini, *Codices manuscripti*, I, 310–311, *Ἐκ τῶν ζητήματων καὶ ἐπιλύσεων Θεοφάνους Κεραμέως καὶ Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου* = *Hom.* 25, 4–6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 163–164). Θεοφάνους Αρχιεπισκόπου Ταυρομενίας Σικελίας τοῦ Κεραμέως **Ἀποκρίσεις καὶ Λύσεις**. Ὅτου χάριν κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον παρ' Ἑβραίοις μῆνα τελεῖται τοῦτο τὸ μέγα μυστήριον. Δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἔκτος μὲν ὑπῆρχε μὴν τῆς Ἰωάννου συλλήψεως, πρῶτος δὲ τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ. **Λύσεις**. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος οὗτος, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν δημιουργηθεῖς, τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραβάσει συνέφθαρται καὶ αὐτός, ἔδει δὲ τῇ τοῦ Δεσπότη ἐπιδημία καὶ τὴν κτίσιν νεουργηθῆναι καὶ ἀναπλασθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ τοῦτο τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ βλαστάνειν ἄρχεται ἡ ἄσπορος γῆ τὸν σωτήριον ἄσταχυν. [...].

¹⁰⁹⁹ Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959), 632.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* I, 3, 644, n° 5; Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 41.

¹¹⁰¹ *Hom.* 22, 3–4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 142–143).

Someone casting a doubt will be eager to inquire, for what reason it passed unmentioned [i.e. in Jesus' genealogy] the blessed Sarah and Rebecca, but recorded only four women, two of them from the gentiles, and *two who lead a reproachable life*; for it mingles in the list the gentile Tamar [cf. Gen. 38] and the prostitute Richa, who is also called Raab [cf. Jos. 2], the Moabit Ruth [cf. Ruth 1:4; 1:22], and Bersabee the wife of Uriah [2Reg. 11:3]. Who among those versed in the sacred writings does not know that Tamar and Ruth have been grafted into Jewish stock? Raab was a harlot and debauched in Jericho having set up near the gates of the city a shop of licentiousness where she sold herself to those wishing. As for Bersabee she was the wife of a noble men, but David became the robber of her marriage, the slayer of Uriah, the sower of unlawful offspring, prophet, oh, and sovereign [cf. 2Reg. 11]. Well then, it made mention of gentile women, since the child born for us and given to us, Emmanuel, introduced into his own fold not only those born from the house of Israel but also those born from the gentiles; and it *names those who led blameworthy lives*, so as to shudder you at seeing the humbleness of our Lord, which consented for your sake to trace his descent from harlots and fornicators. By this example, He abates your puffing up, so that, even if you happen to have a noble descent and distinguished be the clay of your body, *you would not pucker widely the eyebrows against the baseborn*, when beholding the Lord who took his descent from people in such wise. But perhaps Tamar and Ruth and the pair of other women were images and prefigurations of futures things; for they symbolize the Church raised from the nations. As to the manner this is indicated, let us expose it clearly by leading our inquiry from the sacred letters to the meanings pertaining to them. But first while cutting short my speech, I will briefly treat to the best of my ability the first story, then I will make plain what is signified by it.

[3.] Φιλοπευστήσῃ δέ τις ἐπαπορῶν, πῶς τὴν μὲν ἁγίαν Σάρραν καὶ τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν ἀμνημονεύτους παρέδραμεν, τεσσάρων δὲ μόνων ἐμνημόνευσε γυναικῶν, δύο μὲν ἐθνικῶν, δύο δ' ἔχουσῶν τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνον. Μιγνύει γὰρ τῷ καταλόγῳ τὴν ἐθνικὴν Θάμαρ καὶ τὴν πόρνην Ῥιχά, ἥτις καὶ Ῥαὰβ διωνύμως ἐκέκλητο, καὶ τὴν Μωαβίτιδα Ῥοῦθ καὶ τὴν σύνοικον Οὐρίου Βηρσαβεέ. Τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ὡς ἡ Θάμαρ μὲν καὶ ἡ Ῥοῦθ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνικῶν εἰσηχθήτην εἰς τὴν Ἰουδα φυλὴν, Ῥαὰβ δὲ κασσωρὶς ἦν καὶ μαχλῶσα ἐν Ἰεριχώ, παρὰ τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως ἔχουσα τῆς ἀσελγείας τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις πιπράσκουσα ἑαυτήν; Βηρσαβεέ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γυνή, ἀλλὰ γέγονε Δαβὶδ τῶν αὐτῆς γάμων κλοπεὺς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρίου σφαγεὺς καὶ γονῆς ἀθεμίτου σπορεὺς, ὁ προφήτης, οἴμοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς. [4.] Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐθνικῶν γυναικῶν ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἡμῖν παιδίον καὶ δοθέν, ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἴσω τῆς ἰδίας αὐλῆς εἰσώκισατο· *ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ τὰς σχοῦσας βίον ἐπίμωμον*, ἵνα φρίξης τὴν τοῦ Δεσπότης ταπεινώσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐταιρίδων καὶ μοιχαλίδων γενεαλογεῖσθαι καταδέχεται διὰ σέ. Συστέλλει δέ σοι καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸ φύσημα, ἵν', εἴπερ εὐπατρίδης τυγχάνεις καὶ εὐγενὴς τὸν πηλὸν τὸν τοῦ

σώματος, μὴ *μεγάλην ὄφρὸν κατὰ τῶν δυσγενῶν ἀνασπᾶς*,¹¹⁰² ὁρῶν τὸν Δεσπότην ἐκ τοιούτων γενεαλογούμενον. Τάχα δὲ καὶ Θάμαρ καὶ Ρουθ καὶ ἡ συζυγία ταῖν ἄλλαιν δυεῖν τῶν μελλόντων ἦσαν εἰκόνες καὶ προμηνύματα· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ ἔθνων Ἐκκλησίαν εἰκονίζον. Καὶ ὅπως, φέρε διατρανώσωμεν, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων εἰς τὰς περὶ τούτων ἐννοίας χειραγωγούμενοι. Ἀλλὰ πρότερον συντεμὼν τῷ λόγῳ, ὥς ἂν οἷός τε ὦ, τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν δι' ὀλίγων ἐπιδραμοῦμαι, εἶτα τὸ δι' αὐτῆς σαφηνίσω νοοῦμενον.

As we have noted above the subject is often encountered in the *quaestio-responsio* literature. In Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ad Stephanum* is recorded a similar query on the genealogy of the Redeemer. The text is preserved in a Latin fragment from Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke*.¹¹⁰³

“Another thing that surprises some is why Matthew thought that mention of Thamar, a woman they regard as infamous, should be included in the Lord's genealogy. Why of Ruth, too? and why also of the woman who was Uria's wife and who, after her husband was killed, went over to marriage with David?—particularly as he nowhere made any mention of the holy women Sara, Rebecca and Rachel.”¹¹⁰⁴

It seems that this was a popular exegetical problem as it entered the mainstream patristic commentaries. John Chrysostom in his first and third homilies on the Gospel of Matthew addresses the difficulty: “wherefore it can be, that, (...) he yet did not mention them all [i.e. the women in the genealogy], but passing over the more eminent, such as Sarah, Rebecca, and as many as are like them, he hath brought forward only them that are famed for some bad thing as, for instance, if any was a harlot, or an adulteress, or a mother by an unlawful marriage, if any was a stranger or barbarian.”¹¹⁰⁵ The core argument in Chrysostom's exposition is Christological, the Lord's assumption of the entire human nature for “it is not only because He took flesh upon Him, and became man, that we justly stand amazed at Him, but because He

¹¹⁰² This characterization of haughtiness in all likelihood goes back to Cyril of Alexandria; the formulation is attested in the TLG corpus only in Philagathos and Cyril; cf. *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, PG 70, coll. 486, 17–20: *τεθαροσῆκασι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος Σαμαρείας, τουτέστι, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, **μεγάλην ὄφρὸν ἀνασπῶντες** οἱ ἡγούμενοι, ὥς ἀμετρήτου πληθὺς ἐξάρχοντες καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ἔχοντες τὸ μάχιμον γένος (...)*; id., *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, PG 70, coll. 76, 15–19: *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα πατράσιν ἐπαυχοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, **μεγάλην** αἰεὶ **τὴν ὄφρὸν ἀνασπᾶν** ἐμελέτων (...)*; id., *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, 70, 69, 1–6: *Ἑλλήνων μὲν γὰρ οἱ λογάδες, καίτοι **μεγάλην** ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ **τὴν ὄφρὸν ἀνασπῶντες**, θεοποιούσι τὴν κτίσιν, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου στοιχείοις τὸ σέβας ἀνάπτουσι.*

¹¹⁰³ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* (ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.4, 1902): *Plerique etiam mirantur cur Tamar mulieris famosae, ut illis uidetur, Matthaeus commemorationem in dominica generatione contendam putauerit, cur etiam Ruth, cur eius quoque mulieris, quae Uriae uxor fuit et occiso marito in David nuptias commigrauit, cum praesertim Sarrae et Rebeckae et Rachel, sanctarum feminarum, nusquam fece rit mentionem. ... the ext is cited from Eusebius of Caesarea, *Gospel Problems and Solutions*, ed. Roger Pearse (Ipswich: Chieftain Publishing, 2010), 270–272; all the known fragments from Eusebius' lost work, from sources, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic have been collected in Roger Pearse's edition with a facing translation.*

¹¹⁰⁴ Trans. David Miller in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Gospel Problems and Solutions*, 273.

¹¹⁰⁵ John Chrysostom, *In Mattheum (homiliae 1-90)*, PG 57, coll. 21, 20–29 (trans. George Prevost and revised by M. B. Riddle in *NPNF* 1/X, 42)

vouchsafed to have also such kinsfolk, being in no respect ashamed of our evils. (...) Therefore in like manner as those of old took harlots for wives, even so God too espoused unto Himself the nature which had played the harlot.”¹¹⁰⁶

Philagathos’ exposition is substantially similar with John Chrysostom’s interpretation, although not literally appropriated. However, the text clearly harbours a rhetorical model which should not be left unmentioned: the *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus.

Hom. 22, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 142–143):

“And it names those who led blameworthy lives, so as to shadder you at seeing the humbleness of our Lord, which consented for your sake to trace his descent from harlots and fornicators.”

ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ **τὰς σχούσας βίον ἐπίμωμον**, ἵνα φρίξης τὴν τοῦ Δεσπότης ταπείνωσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐταιρίδων καὶ μοιχαλίδων γενεαλογεῖσθαι καταδέχεται διὰ σέ.

Aethiopika, 7, 2, 1 (ed. Colonna, 366):

“Arsake was a tall and handsome woman highly intelligent in practical matters and haughty because of her noble birth, reasonably enough as being born the sister of the Great King, but leading a blameworthy life, and given up to dissolute pleasure and lacking any restraint.”

Ἡ δὲ Ἀρσάκη τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὴ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλη καὶ συνεῖναι δραστήριος τό τε φρόνημα ἐξ εὐγενείας ὑπέρογκος καὶ οἶον εἰκὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου γεγονυῖαν, ἄλλως δὲ **τὸν βίον ἐπίμωμος** καὶ ἡδονῆς παρανόμου καὶ ἀκρατοῦς ἐλάττων.

Apart of the sermon Philagathos alludes to the same novelistic passage in the allegorical interpretation of the *Aethiopika*. Philagathos explains:¹¹⁰⁷

“It presents also those who lead blameworthy lives, revealing at once their evil deeds and making clear to what end their wickedness leads.”

δείκνυσιν δὲ καὶ **τοὺς σχόντας βίον ἐπίμωμον**, ἅμα τε τὴν κακίαν ὡς εἰκὸς στηλιτεύουσα καὶ εἰς ὃ τι τέλος καταλήγει δεικνύουσα.

Therefore, the same passage from Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* underlines Philagathos’ ethical reading of the novel whose characters are paired into models of vice or virtue. The allusion reveals the multilayered intertextuality of the novel with Philagathos *Homilies* and the allegorical interpretation of *Aethiopika*.

5.2. The Transfiguration of the Lord

The most illustrative example of Philagathos’ reliance on the literary tradition of *quaestiones et responsiones* is the homily “On the Saving Transfiguration.” The sermon discusses a set of twelve queries posed to the Transfiguration narrative in the *quaestio-responsio*

¹¹⁰⁶ John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1-90)*, PG 57, coll. 34, 4–8 and coll. 35, 48–50 (trans. George Prevost, rev. M. B. Riddle in *NPNF* 1/X, 61 and 63).

¹¹⁰⁷ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 85–88 (ed. Bianchi, 52).

exegetic tradition. The queries are referred to with the technical title of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις. Noteworthy, this is the only instance, which transmits us a dossier of objections and questions on the theme of Christ's Transfiguration.

The form of the sermon, therefore distinguishes Philagathos' composition within the rich tradition of Byzantine commentaries devoted to the Transfiguration narrative.¹¹⁰⁸ Before the establishment of the Feast of the Transfiguration at the beginning of the eighth-century or perhaps already in the seventh-century¹¹⁰⁹ there are just a handful of homilies dedicated to the matter, by Cyril of Alexandria († 444), Proclus of Constantinople († 446), Basil of Seleuceia († 460), Anastasius I of Antioch († 599) and Timothy priest of Antioch (6th-7th c.).¹¹¹⁰ In addition, Origen († 254), John Chrysostom († 407) and Cyril of Alexandria discussed the narrative in their various commentaries on the Gospels.¹¹¹¹ The liturgic celebration of Christ's Transfiguration as a major 'dominical feast' is first attested by the homily of the Anastasius the Sinaite († after 700).¹¹¹² Consequence of this development is the publication of a stream of homilies on the Transfiguration, as those by Andrew of Crete († 740),¹¹¹³ John of Damascus, († before 754)¹¹¹⁴ or Theodore the Studite († 826).¹¹¹⁵ Incontestably, the interest in the theme of the Transfiguration was constantly reinforced by the controversies with Theodot and Marcion, with the Monophysites, with the Iconomachs and finally, by the fourteenth-century debates around the Palamite theology.¹¹¹⁶ Besides, the pagan opponents of Christianity also railed against the Transfiguration narrative.¹¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰⁸ John Anthony McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986); Arthur Michael Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, (London: Longmans, 1949); see also Maurice Sachot, *Les homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: tradition manuscrite*, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987.

¹¹⁰⁹ J. Tomajean, "La Fête de la Transfiguration, 6 Août," *L' Orient Syrien*, 5 (1960): 479–82; A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God*, 128–129; K. Rozemond, "Les origines de la fête de la Transfiguration," *SP* 17 (1982): 591–593; see also the evidence collected by Michel Aubineau in "Une homélie grecque inédite sur la Transfiguration," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967), 422–427.

¹¹¹⁰ The homily of Cyril, *Oratio in Transfigurationem* (BHG³ 1978), is often attributed to Pantoleon in the manuscript tradition, just as in the *PG* 98, coll. 1253–1260; see for this Aubineau in "Une homélie grecque inédite sur la Transfiguration," 402–403; Proclus of Constantinople, *In Transfigurationem Servatoris* (BHG³ 1980), *PG* 65, coll. 764–772; Basil of Seleuceia, *In Transfigurationem Domini, et Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi* (BHG³ 1989), *PG* 85, coll. 452–461; Anastasius of Antioch, *Oratio I in Transfigurationem* (BHG 1993, CPG 6947), *PG* 89, coll. 1361–1376; Timothy priest of Antioch, *Sermo in Crucem et in Transfigurationem* (BHG³ 434h and 1997), *PG* 86, coll. 256–265.

¹¹¹¹ Origen, *Commentarii in Matthaeum*, XII, 36–43 (ed. E. Klosterman, GCS 40, 150–170; the text is also available in *PG* 13, 1077–1085; John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, Hom. 56 (BHG³ 1984), *PG* 58, coll. 549–558; Cyril of Alexandria, *In Transfigurationem Domini, et Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi* (BHG³ 1994), *PG* 77, coll. 1009–1116.

¹¹¹² Anastasius I the Sinaite's sermon *In Transfigurationem* (BHG³ 1999) is printed in A. Guillou, "Le monastère de la Théotokos au Sinaï," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 67 (1955), 236–257.

¹¹¹³ Andrew of Crete, *In Transfigurationem Domini* (BHG³ 1996), *PG* 97, coll. 932–957.

¹¹¹⁴ John of Damascus, *De Transfiguratione Domini* (BHG³ 1979), *PG* 96, coll. 545–576.

¹¹¹⁵ Theodore the Studite, *Parva Catechesis* (BHG³ 1998n), ed. Auvray (Paris, 1891), 71–75.

¹¹¹⁶ For the narrative of the Transfiguration referred to in the polemic with Marcion see Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV, 22 (ed. A. Kroymann, CSEL, 1947, p. 600–604); Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Haer. XLII, 11, 6, schol. 17 (ed. K. Holl, 1922, p. 109, rep. Jürgen Dummer, 1980); see also A. von Harnack, *Marcion. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), 183–184; for the usage of the Transfiguration theme during the Iconoclastic Controversy see G. Florovsky, Origen, "Eusebius and the Iconoclastic Controversy," *Church History* 19

Philagathos delivered his homily for the Feast of Transfiguration in the archiepiscopal church of Rossano. After a refined *prooimion* inspired in part from Gregory of Nyssa's sixth homily on the Beatitudes, which expresses the preacher's affection for his congregation,¹¹¹⁸ Philagathos writes:¹¹¹⁹

Let us inquire for what reason did the Transfiguration happen and what signifies this miraculous appearance? And also, how could it be that it did not happen earlier but near the [Lord's] passion? And then, wherefore this miracle did not happen when many were present and beholders were attending, so that the miracle could have many witnesses, just as he permitted in regard to the other miracles, as for instance the Resurrection from the dead, or when giving sight to the blind or strenght to the weary? After this let us examine for what reason he does not manifest this apparition on the plain but on the mountain? For what reason he does not take all the disciples, but leaving aside the nine, he only took three? And if there is needful for three to be present, for what reason [were not present] other disciples, than Peter and the sons of Zebedee? And if according to some secret reason it was needful that such a manifestation happen on a mountain, how [can it be] when considering that there are many mountains in Palestine, that he passed by the Mount Sigor and went by the Mount Carmel, yet he left aside the Mount of Galilee and turned away from the Mount of Samaria and he did not go up to the Mount of Olives, but he preferred from all the others the mount Tabor? Also then, why did he will the presence of the prophets? And for what reason not others, but Moses and Elijah stood beside [him]? Whence the apostles knew to distinguish

(1950): 3–22; For the patristic dossier amassed by John Kyparissiotis on the “Taboric light” against Gregory Palamas’ theology see Jean Meyendorff, *Introduction à l’étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris: Seuil, 1959), 242, 270.

¹¹¹⁷ cf. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 296.

¹¹¹⁸ *Hom.* 31, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 206); Philagathos’ emotional evocation of the pleasure to behold his own people («Ὅρων γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν λαόν, τὸ θεοφιλὲς ποιμνιον, οὕτω σπουδαίως πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν σηκὸν εἰσδραμόν...») parallels the display of emotion from *Hom.* 12, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 78), similarly prompted by the preacher’s reunion with his flock at Rossano and inspired from Procopius of Gaza’s letters; for Philagathos’ interaction with his audience see above Part I. 3.5. Emotions and Audience,” 82–90.

¹¹¹⁹ *Hom.* 31, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 207): Ζητήσωμεν τίνος ἕνεκεν ἡ Μεταμόρφωσις γέγονε καὶ τί βούλεται ἡ παράδοξος αὕτη ἐμφάνεια· πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ πλησίον τοῦ πάθους ἐγένετο· ἔπειτα διὰ τί μὴ πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ θεατῶν γενομένων τουτὶ τὸ παράδοξον γέγονεν, ἵνα τὸ θαῦμα πολλοὺς ἔξη μάρτυρας, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τ’ ἄλλα παράδοξα, ἢ τε τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσις καὶ τῶν ἀλαῶν ἡ ἀνάβλεψις καὶ τῶν παρειμένων ἡ τόνωσις. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξετάσωμεν ὅτου χάριν οὐκ ἐν πεδιάδι, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὄρος δείκνυσι τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμφάνειαν· διὰ τί δὲ μὴ πάντας παραλαμβάνει τοὺς μαθητάς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐννέα καταλιπὼν τοὺς τρεῖς μόνους ἀνήγαγε· κἂν τρεῖς ἔδει παρῆναι, διὰ τί μὴ ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς Ζεβεδαίου υἱούς. Εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τινὰ μυστικώτερον λόγον εἰς ὄρος ἔδει γενέσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμφάνειαν, πῶς πολλῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ὁρέων, παρέδραμε τὸ ὄρος Σιγὼρ καὶ παρῆλθε τὸν Κάρμηλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος παρῆκε καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐξέκλινε, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος ἀνῆλθε τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντων προέκρινε τὸ Θαβώριον· τί δὲ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἡ παρουσία ἐβούλετο καὶ διὰ τί μὴ ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Μωσέα καὶ Ἠλίαν παρέστησε, πόθεν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τούτους εἶναι διέγνωσαν· ὧν γὰρ τὰς ὁψεις οὐ πρότερον θεάσαντο, τούτους δυσχερὲς ἦν ἐπιγνῶναι παραστάντας αἰφνίδιον. Εἰ δὲ ἤρκεσεν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν μόνος Μωϋσῆς ἀνερχόμενος, ἄνωθεν δὲ Ἡλιοῦ κατερχόμενος, πῶς οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἄρκετόν καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς τῶν μαθητῶν παραλαμβάνόμενος. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πῶς μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεταμορφουμένου, τοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς ἄνωθεν μαρτυροῦντος, οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἡ Γραφή καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀχωρίστου τούτων ὑπάρχοντος· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμῖν οἱ πνευματομάχοι προβάλλονται, ἀλλοτριῶσαι Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸν Παράκλητον. Ταύτης τῆς δωδεκάδος τῶν ζητημάτων προτεθείσης ἡμῖν, φέρε σὺν Θεῷ καὶ τὰς τούτων ἐπιλύσεις, ὡς δυνατόν, σαφηνίσωμεν.

that these were Moses and Elijah, for they have not seen their faces before and was difficult to recognize [discern?] them standing by on a sudden. [5.] If it was sufficient rising up from the dead Moses alone, whereas from above [only] the descent of Elijah, how was not equally sufficient taking from the earth [just] one of the disciples? To these, in what manner then, when the Son transfigured himself and the Father testified from above, yet the Scripture did not equally make mention of the Holy Spirit, which is inseparable of these two? For those fighting against the Spirit are throwing against us this question wishing to estrange the Comforter from the Father and the Son. Since these twelve questions have been set before us, well, let us also make clear with [the help of] God the solutions to these, as best we can.

The questions reported by Philagathos appertain to the “authentic” ἀπορίαι, which originate from different sources. For the homilist attributes the authorship of the question about the Holy Spirit to the Pneumatomachians, an anti-Nicene sect which denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Some questions point to the pagan polemic against Christianity; others are a common occurrence in the homilies devoted to the Transfiguration narrative.

Thus, among them, the question on the wherewithal of the apostles to distinguish that Moses and Elijah appeared beside Jesus, although they have not seen their faces before was asked by Emperor Julian in a fragment transmitted by Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹¹²⁰ Julian’s difficulty is reported in both sources in rather similar terms:

Philagathos, Hom. 31, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 207):
Theodor of Mopsuestia, *Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris*, fragment 5b (ed. Guida, 157):

πόθεν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τούτους εἶναι διέγνωσαν· ὧν γὰρ τὰς ὁψεις οὐ πρότερον ἐθεάσαντο, τούτους δυσχερὲς ἦν ἐπιγινῶναι παραστάντας αἰφνίδιον. Τοῦ οὐκ ἤττον ἀνοήτου ἢ ἀσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ φάσκοντος· Πόθεν ἔγνωσαν Μωυσέα καὶ Ἡλίαν εἶναι, μὴ εἰδότες αὐτοὺς μηδὲ γραφὰς αὐτῶν ἔχοντες;

Anastasius I of Antioch in his sermon on the Transfiguration seems also to have hinted at this objection (πόθεν... ἐπέγνωσαν).¹¹²¹ In his answer, Philagathos restates the difficulty (Πόθεν οὖν ἄρα ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀπόστολοι;) in a different form and argued that the disciples identified the prophets from what they uttered.¹¹²²

¹¹²⁰ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 106 (ed. Masaracchia, 190) = A. Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Replica a Giuliano Imperatore*, ed. A. Guida (Florence: Biblioteca Patristica, 1994), 90 and 158–60.

¹¹²¹ Anastasius I of Antioch, *Oratio I in Transfigurationem* (BHG 1993, CPG 6947), PG 89, coll. 1369B: τὸ δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τινὰς, πόθεν, ἢ πῶς, καὶ ἐκ τίνων σημείων ἐπέγνωσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ τοὺς προφήτας, οὗ μοι δοκεῖ κομψὸν ἐπερώτημα καὶ ζητήσεως ἄξιον εἶναι. “But to inquire about whence or how and from what signs the disciples recognised the prophets, does not seem to me to be a clever question and worthy of investigation.” Tertullian also affirmed in *Adversus Marcionem* 4, 22 that Peter could not have recognized Moses and Elijah since no-one had their images or statues, unless being guided by the Spirit.

¹¹²² Hom. 31, 23 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 214): Πόθεν οὖν ἄρα ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀπόστολοι; Ὡν γὰρ ἡ ὄρασις τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ταῖς μνήμαις οὐ παραδέδωκε, τούτων αἱ μορφαὶ παντάπασιν ἀνεπίγνωστοι. Πῶς οὖν ἐγνώρισαν, ὧν τοὺς χαρακτῆρας οὐ πρότερον ἐθεάσαντο; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁψεως, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ὧν διελέγοντο. Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ

Then the query about the lack of many witnesses at Christ's Transfiguration and the contrast invoked between this and Christ's other miracles betrays a similar origin in the late-antique pagan polemic against Christianity. For a similar type of argument based on the unreliability of witnesses is extant in Makarios' *Monogenes*. The pagan philosopher cited by Makarios inquired for the reason Christ did not have many and respectable witnesses of His Resurrection. He wanted 'Herode and Pilate, the High priest of the Jewish race, and many men worthy of credit as those that form the Roman Senate' to have witnessed the event.¹¹²³ This type of argument is derived from forensic rhetoric. In ancient rhetoric, one of the issues in a trial was the *stasis* of "conjecture" in which one asked if a person "had committed" a crime. The rhetoricians discussed the evaluation of witnesses in conjectural *stasis*. Hermogenes outlines the request for evidence (ἐλέγχων ἀπαίτησις): "one must set witnesses against witnesses (ἀντιτιθέναι τοῖς μάρτυσι τοὺς μάρτυρας) and hold them in balance to determine which of any two is the more trustworthy."¹¹²⁴ Likewise, we may conclude that the thought behind the query reported by Philagathos decries the credibility of the witnesses of Christ's Transfiguration.

Perhaps related to the objections about the number of witnesses at Christ's Transfiguration is the query about Jesus not having taken all the disciples on the mount Thabor, or at least all the other disciples except Judas. Philagathos explains:¹¹²⁵

εὐαγγελιστῆς· «Καὶ ἔλεγον τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ἔμελλε πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ». Ἐπεὶ οὖν περὶ τοῦ πάθους διελέγοντο, εἰκὸς τὸν Μωσῆα μὲν ἀνθομολογεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὡς· «Ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ προεφήτευσον· Ὁψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμαμένην. Σὸς τύπος ἦν καὶ ἀντίτυπος, ὃν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐκρέμασα». Οὕτω δὴ καὶ Ἡλίας, τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ διεξιὼν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, ὅστις ἦν ἐγνωρίζετο. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μαθηταὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ἐπέγνωσαν, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα τοὺς λέγοντας διεσάφησαν. Τάχα δὲ τὸ συλλαλεῖν συμφωνίαν δηλοῖ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν πρὸς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον· ὁμοφωνεῖν γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ συλλαλεῖν. Αἰσθάνεται γὰρ ὁ Δεσπότης ἥκιστα καταλύσων τὸν νόμον ἢ ἀνατρέψων τὰ προφητῶν, ἀποπεραίνων δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτά. "How did they apostles recognized them? For the sight of their countenance had not been imparted to their memories, their appearances [being] entirely unknown to them. Therefore, how did they know them, since they had not seen their features before? Well, clearly not from their appearance, but from what they uttered. For the evangelist says: "And they spoke of His decease which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem [Lc. 9: 31]." Therefore, since they were conversing about the passion, it is likely that Moses confessed openly and said that "I prophesized about you; you shall see your life suspended on a tree. [cf. Deut. 28: 66] Your type and antype was [the serpent], which as a bronze snake I hanged up in the desert." [Num. 2: 9] In the same manner Elijah, recounting in detail to the Lord the things pertaining to him was making known who he was. Hence the disciples recognized the prophets, and the things said indicated quite clear the men who spoke. Well, perhaps the word 'to talk with (συλλαλεῖν)' [cf. Mt. 17: 3; Lc. 9: 30; Mc. 9: 4] reveals the concord of the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel; for 'to talk with (συλλαλεῖν)' signifies 'to agree together' (ὁμοφωνεῖν). For the Lord has not come to abolish the law or to overthrow the words of the prophetes, but rather to fulfill them."

¹¹²³ Cf. Makarios, *Monogenes*, Book II, 25 (ed. Goulet, 36, 15–20) = Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Nr. 64.

¹¹²⁴ Hermogenes, *On Stases* 3, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera, Rhetores Graeci* VI, (Leipzig 1913) 45, 1, 13–15 (trans. R. Nadeau, *Hermogenes' On Stases*, 1964, 397).

¹¹²⁵ *Hom.* 31, 10–11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 209): Οὐ πάντας δὲ παραλαμβάνει τοὺς μαθητάς, ἐπειδὴ συνῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ κλεπτίστατος μαθητής, ὅμμασι δὲ μυσαρκοῖς οὐκ ἦν εἰκὸς θεαθῆναι τὸ τῆς θεότητος φῶς. Πῶς γὰρ προδότις ψυχῇ καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τοῦ Διδασκάλου δολορραφήσασα ὄραν ἐδύνατο θείαν ἐμφάνειαν; Εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκλελεγμένοι τρεῖς μαθηταί, καθαρὰν ἔχοντες τὴν συνείδησιν, τῷ δέει κατεπτηχότες, εἰς γῆν κατέπεσον κύμβαχοι καὶ μικροῦ δαίν ἐχωνεῦοντο, τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο μὴ στέγοντες, τί ἂν εἰκὸς τὸν προδότην παθεῖν; Απείργεται οὖν ὁ ἀσεβὴς τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου ἰδεῖν, τοῦτο καὶ Ἡσαΐου προειδότες καὶ προθεσπίσαντος· «Ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής, ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου». Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις ἴσως· «Καὶ διὰ τί μὴ τὸν Ἰούδαν μόνον καταλιπὼν τοὺς ἄλλους παρέλαβεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ἦσαν ἀνάξιοι». Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο γέγονε, πρόφασιν ἂν εἶχεν ὁ προδότης τοῦ κακούργηματος, ὡς οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν μεμελέτηκεν ἀλλ' ἀντιλυπῆσαι βουλόμενος τὸν λυπήσαντα. Πανταχόθεν οὖν τὰς προφάσεις περιτέμνων ὁ Κύριος, ἀναπολόγητον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐπίβουλον, ἵνα γυμνῇ φανῇ τῆς φαύλης συνειδήσεως ἡ προαίρεσις.

He does not take along with him all the disciples, since with them was Judas the most thievish disciple, for it was not seemly for his defiled eyes to contemplate the light of divinity. For how could the treacherous and avaricious soul after having laid snares against the teacher, see such a divine epiphany? If the three chosen disciples, which had a pure mind, fell to the ground crouched by fear tumbling and almost melted down, unless sheltered from that fire, what would have the traitor likely suffered? Therefore, the impious is prevented to see the glory of the Lord. This was foresaw and foretold by Isaiah: “Let the ungodly be taken away, that he will not behold the glory of the Lord.” [Is. 26: 10] But someone could equally ask: “And for what reason he did not take along with him the other disciples leaving Judas alone aside? For not all of them were unworthy as was the latter. But if this had happened, the traitor would have had a pretense for his wicked deed so that he would not have put in practice the scheme moved by his love for money but would have willed to lay a counter-ambush for having been vexed [by the Lord]. In fact, the Lord cutting off the pretences from every side makes the conniver inexcusable so that the deliberate choosing of his wicked consciousness may appear naked.

Proclus of Constantinople and Anastasius I of Antioch brought the same solution as to the reason Christ chose three disciples to accompany him on the mountain. They explained that it was not seemly for Judas to be a witness of such great mysteries. But then again he was not left out alone of this vision so that no excuse might be given him for his betrayal.¹¹²⁶ Proclus of Constantinople added to this that Christ did not refuse to grant (οὐ φθονήσας) the glory to the others, nor did he consider them to be inferior, nor did he choose three disciples to grieve (λυπήσας) the other nine.¹¹²⁷ This reasoning seems to be behind the question why he had not taken with him the other disciples leaving Judas alone aside. In addition, the question appears related with a pagan objection which denied Jesus the foreknowledge of Judas’ betrayal. For Celsus implied that Christ had to prevent Judas from betraying him so that he may not be the cause of his disciple becoming impious.¹¹²⁸ Therefore, when considering this objection in relation to the Transfiguration narrative, the inquirer wanted Christ to prove his foreknowledge and reveal Judas as impious by leaving him aside. In this way Christ would have prevented the future treason and downfall. The other questions Philagathos’ cites are a constant occurrence in the homilies devoted to the Transfiguration.

Overall, Philagathos dossier of questions and responses became influential in Byzantine and post Byzantine world. Damaskinos the Studite, metropolitan of Naupaktos († 1577) extensively used the sermon in the *Thesaurus* for the exegesis of the Transfiguration narrative.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁶ Anastasius I of Antioch, *Oratio I in Transfigurationem* (BHG 1993, CPG 6947), PG 89, coll. 1368A; Proclus of Constantinople, *In Transfigurationem Servatoris* (BHG³ 1980), PG 65, coll. 765A.

¹¹²⁷ Proclus of Constantinople, *In Transfigurationem Servatoris* (BHG³ 1980), PG 65, coll. 764C.

¹¹²⁸ See the detailed discussion of Celsus’ objection in Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 45–47.

¹¹²⁹ cf. Θεσσαυρός Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως (Thessaloniki 1971, reprinted 1983), *Oration 11*, 366–828.

5.3. The Passion of the Saviour

In the sermon “For the Gospels of the Passion of the Saviour,” Philagathos cites an ἀπορία posed to John 18:23. The question and the commentary carry the technical title of ζήτημα καὶ λύσις, which places the text in patristic exegetical tradition of *quaestiones et responsiones*. Says Philagathos:¹¹³⁰

But how the one who orders a person which is slapped on the right cheek to offer the aggressor the other cheek besides [cf. Mt. 5:39], has not himself observed the command, but instead he brings a charge on the person that struck him [Jn. 18:23]? There is a threefold solution to this question. He wants to show forth that he was not slapped on account of some fault, but that he suffered this for the salvation of all, and that he was not free from pain, but that he felt the blows though he possessed an impassible nature as truly God. In addition to these, the purpose of the command is this: when someone was slapped on the cheek against his will, but the act was unintentional, he orders to offer freely the other cheek by acting voluntarily so that the unintentional act would be measured out by comparison with the voluntary. But, the Savior, since he willingly let himself slapped, had no need of this command.

Πῶς δὲ ὁ κελεύων τῷ τυπτηθέντι τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, καὶ θετέραν παρέχειν τῷ παίοντι, αὐτὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν οὐ τετήρηκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐγκαλεῖ τῷ ράπισαντι; Τριττὴ λύσις ἐστὶ τοῦ ζητήματος. Δείκνυσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐγκλήματι ἐρεράπιστο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας ταῦτα ἔπασχε, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀνάλγητος ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἠσθάνετο τῶν πληγῶν, κἂν εἶχε τὸ ἀπαθὲς, ὡς Θεός. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὁ μὲν τῆς ἐντολῆς σκοπὸς οὗτος ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὴ ἄκων τις ἐτυπτήθη τὴν παρεῖαν, τὸ δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄμισθον κελεύει τὴν ἄλλην ἐκουσίως παρέχειν, ἵνα τῷ ἐκουσίῳ συμμετρηθῇ τὸ ἀκούσιον. Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ἐκουσίως ραπισθεὶς ἀπροσδεὴς ἦν ταύτης τῆς ἐντολῆς.

The exegete attempts to solve a scriptural difficulty which conflated Christ’s instruction from Matthew 5:39 (“If anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also”) with the reply from John 18:23 (“But if I spoke the truth, why did you strike me?”). This contradiction may have genuinely preoccupied the Christian believer. But, the formulation of the question may also be reminiscent of pagan queries. Celsus denounced Christ’s command of not seeking revenge or defense against the one who mistreats you claiming that Plato better said this before Christ who expressed this teaching “in more vulgar terms (ἀγροικότερον).”¹¹³¹ Although the problem stated by Celsus is not the same, it is easy to imagine a pagan objection that opposed Matthew 5:39 to John 18:23. For this was Porphyry’s prevailing method of looking for contradictions in scripture. With a different emphasis, Julian also looked for contradictions in the biblical narrative. Nevertheless, the question itself is typical of the queries posed in the

¹¹³⁰ Hom. 54 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 565B).

¹¹³¹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VII, 58 (trans. Chadwick, 443).

quaestiones et responsiones literature. Philagathos' solution to the seeming contradiction proceeds by considering the ζήτημα from the perspective of Christ's Incarnation. The blow shows that Christ was dishonoured and afflicted on our account as He wrought out our salvation by willingly submitting to suffering and death.

5.4. The Hour of the Resurrection

Philagathos' interest to address genuine or self-evident scripture-related contradictions between the accounts of the Resurrection of Jesus bespeaks another close affinity with the genre of patristic exegetical *quaestiones et responsiones*. Thus, Philagathos referred to the divergences between the evangelists in reporting the hour, the day of the Lord's Resurrection or the apparitions of the risen Christ.¹¹³² In the homily "On the Third Resurrection Gospel" commenting on Mark 16:9–16, Philagathos writes:

"When Jesus rose early on the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven demons." [Mc. 16:9] About the life-giving and brilliant Resurrection the all-holly evangelists wrote in a variety of ways, not making known the hour of the Resurrection (for this is unknown and inscrutable to men), but they pointed out the various apparitions of the Lord after the Resurrection. Thus, in this place the divine inspired Mark seems to indicate the very hour of the Resurrection only to those who do read the text attentively. For he says: "When Jesus rose early on the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene" [Mc. 16:9]; thus, the text seems to mean that the Lord resurrected precisely in the morning of the first day of the week. Surely to say this is daring and far removed from truth. But if we divide the reading by means of a stop, the ambiguity will be solved. Therefore, one must say in this wise: "When Jesus rose," then, after punctuating one must add as a new beginning: "Early on the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene." For he does not indicate the hour of the Resurrection, but the time when He was seen by the spice-bearing Magdalene, disclosing the apparition, which the Son of the Thunder (St. John; cf. Mc. 3:16–17) described more clearly, when Mary beholding the Lord thought He was the gardener [cf. Jn. 20:11–18]. Therefore, the very event which John recounted more broadly, that one Mark explained briefly.¹¹³³

¹¹³² *Hom.* 71 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 28, PG 132, coll. 608B–C); *Hom.* 72 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 29, PG 132, coll. 620A–C); *Hom.* 73 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 30, PG 132, coll. 629C–632, coll. 636A); *Hom.* 74 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 31, PG 132, coll. 641C–644A).

¹¹³³ *Hom.* 73 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 30, PG 132, coll. 629C–632A): «Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρῶτὴ πρώτη σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια.» Τὰ περὶ τῆς ζωαρχικῆς καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἀναστάσεως διαφόρως οἱ πανῆροι εὐαγγελισταὶ συνεγράψαντο, οὐ τὴν ὥραν μηνύοντες τῆς ἀναστάσεως [ἄδηλος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνεπίγνωστος], ἀλλὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἐμφανείας τὰς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐφηγήσαντο. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ θεηγόρος Μάρκος δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὴν σημαίνειν τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἀνάστασεως τοῖς μὴ ἐπεσκεμμένως ἀναγινώσκουσι. Φησὶ γάρ· «Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρῶτὴ πρώτη σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ» δοκεῖ οὖν λέγειν τὸ πρῶτὴ τῆς μιᾶς Σαββάτων ἀναστῆναι τὸν Κύριον. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπώκισται. Ἀλλ' εἰ διέλοιμεν τῇ στιγμῇ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, λυθήσεται τὸ ἀμφίβολον. Δεῖ τοίνυν οὕτω εἰπεῖν· «Ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, » εἶτα ὑποστήξαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν, «πρῶτὴ πρώτη σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ» οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὥραν λέγει τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν ἐωράθη τῇ ἀρωματοφόρῳ Μαγδαληνῇ.

Now, just as elsewhere, Philagathos' account on Mark 16:9–16 appears dependent on another source. A possible candidate is Eusebius Caesarea's "Gospel Problems and Solutions, To Marinus," a book devoted to the discrepancies between the Resurrection narratives. This is the third part of a comprehensive work dedicated to questions and contradictions between the Gospels.¹¹³⁴ Unfortunately, this book is actually lost in its original form, but many parts subsist in several sources, in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic. One of them recently published is an ἐκλογή, a collection of literary extracts (not an abridgment) from the original work.¹¹³⁵

Now, the first question of Eusebius' treatise addresses the divergence between Mark 16:9 and Matthew 28:1 and advances a similar solution (λύσις) to the question. As in Philagathos' sermon, the elucidation comes from an argument derived the punctuation of the phrase.¹¹³⁶ Eusebius' explanation seems to have been popular for it is excerpted in the *Catena in Marcum*.¹¹³⁷ However, Philagathos does not follow Eusebius' conclusion that the Resurrection happened "late on the Sabbath", as Matthew has it" (Mt. 28:1)¹¹³⁸ by stating that the hour of the Resurrection is inscrutable to men. In similar fashion, Psellos stated that the divergent accounts about the time of Resurrection refer to the different courses of the women arriving to the grave and not to the time of the Resurrection.¹¹³⁹

Finally, it should be also noted that the pagan authors reported similar divergences between the Gospels. Porphyry and Julian forged arguments against the scriptural accounts about the times and the hours in regard to the Resurrection of our Lord.¹¹⁴⁰ Porphyry authored a similar

ὑποδηλῶν τὴν ἐμφάνειαν, ἣν ἀριδιχότερον ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς συνεγράψατο· ὅτε τὸν Κύριον ἡ Μαρία θαεσσαμένη τὸν κηπουρὸν ὑπετόπασεν. Ὅπερ οὖν ὁ Ἰωάννης πλατύτερον ἀφηγήσατο, τοῦτο Μάρκος ἐπιτροχάδην ἐδήλωσεν.

¹¹³⁴ Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against the Paganism*, 230–233.

¹¹³⁵ C. Zamagni, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Questions évangéliques. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SC 523; Paris: Cerf, 2008).

¹¹³⁶ Eusebius, *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marimum*, PG 22, coll. 937–944: "If we were to divide up (εἰ γοῦν διέλοιμεν) the sense of the wording, we would not find it in conflict with the words in Matthew to the effect that the Saviour's resurrection was 'late on the Sabbath', because we shall read the words in Mark: 'Having risen again early in the morning' with a pause, punctuating (ὑποστίζομεν) after 'Having risen again,' and making a break in the sense before the following words. Let us then refer 'having risen again' back to Matthew's 'late on the Sabbath', because that was when the resurrection had taken place; but the next part forms part of a separate idea, so let us connect it with the words that follow: 'early in the morning on the first day of the week he appeared to Mary of Magdala.' As confirmation, that is what John has told us, as well: he too testifies that Jesus had been seen by the Magdalene early in the morning on the first day of the week. In this way, therefore, he appeared to her 'early in the morning' in Mark also. It was not that the resurrection took place early in the morning; it was well before that, 'late on the Sabbath', as Matthew has it" (trans. David Miller, *Eusebius of Caesarea, Gospel Problems and Solutions*, ed. Roger Pearse, Ipswich: Chieftain Publishing, 2010, 99).

¹¹³⁷ *Catena in Marcum*, ed. William R.S. Lamb, 444, 9–445, 32.

¹¹³⁸ Eusebius, *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marimum*, PG 22, coll. 939.

¹¹³⁹ Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 15, 9–16, ed. Paul Gautier (Leipzig: Teubner, 1989), 61: Αὕτη γοῦν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐγέρσεως καιρὸν τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς συνέχεεν, οὐ μείον ἢ τετράκις κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τάφον ἀπαντήσασα· ὄρθρου· τε γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπιφωσκούσης· καὶ ἡλίου παρανατεῖλαντος· καὶ ὀψίας νυκτὸς παλιμπόρευτος παρεγίνετο τῇ σορῷ. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ τινες διηγορήκασιν ὅπως ποτὲ οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ περὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀλλήλοις ἠναντιώθησαν, οὐ {σιωπῶντες, μᾶλλον δὲ} συνιέντες ὥς οὐχὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐγέρσεως διαφόρως ἀποδεδώκασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς προσελεύσεις τῶν ἀφικνουμένων τῇ σορῷ γυναικῶν·

¹¹⁴⁰ Augusto Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia. Replica a Giuliano imperatore. Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris*, in appendix: "Testimonianze sulla polemica antigiliana in altre opere di Teodoro, con nuovi

objection concerning the hour of the crucifixion. In a fragment from Pacatus' *Contra Porphyrium* we read the question: "How does he assert (Mark 15:25) the crucifixion on the third hour while John (19:14) bears witness to the sixth hour?"¹¹⁴¹

5.5. The Resurrection Narratives

In the homily "For the Ninth Resurrection Gospel," which interprets Jesus' apparition "when the doors were shut" and the announcement of the Resurrection to Thomas (John 20:19–29), Philagathos exposes a διαφωνία formulated in relation to the Gospel reports on the disciples' emotional reaction upon seeing the Lord. Philagathos writes:¹¹⁴²

"Then the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord." [Jn. 20:20] Perhaps this was the joy, which he promised to them before the passion: "You will see Me again and your heart will rejoice" [Jn. 16:21] Certainly, they were glad because they saw him raised from the dead and for having fulfilled the promise he made to them; and as the darkness of the night is dispersed when the sun is rising up, just so the beloved apparition of the Saviour took away the disciples' cloud of sorrow. For even if Luke, the evangelist who narrated this apparition, said that they were terrified and supposed to behold a spirit [Lc. 24:37], whereas John said that 'they were glad', yet one must not consider this an inconsistency (διαφωνίαν). For in all likelihood, at first they were terrified because they saw him entering when the doors were shut [Jn. 20:19], but later they rejoiced when they recognised him from the salutation and from showing forth his wounds. In fact, for this reason He

frammenti del 'Contro i Galilei' di Giuliano" (Florence: Nardini: 1994), 207; a similar objection is preserved in the Syriac fragments of Cyril's work against Julian; *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 96 (ed. Massarachia, 187) = fr. 8 Neumann (Latin text); Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 300–301: "He wrote that the holy evangelists contradict themselves when they say: Mary Magdalene and the other Mary (following Matthew [Mt. 28:1]), late on the sabbath when the first of first of the week began to dawn, came to the tomb; according to Mark, [16:2] however, after it began to be daylight and the sun had risen. And according to Matthew they saw an angel [28:2]; according to Mark a young man [16:5]; and according to Matthew they left and told the disciples about the resurrection of Christ [28:8] – according to Mark they were silent and told no one anything [16:8]. By means of these things he brings censure on the holy scriptures and says that they contradict each other." (Trans. Cook, 300).

¹¹⁴¹ Harnack, *Neue Fragmente des Werks des Porphyrius gegen die Christen. Die Pseudo-Polycarpiana und die Schrift des Rhetors Pacatus gegen Porphyrius* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften: 1921), 276, n. 2; Porfirio de Tiro. *Contra los Cristianos. Recopilación de fragmentos, traducción, introducción y notas*, ed. E. A. Jurado (Cádiz: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2006), fr. 109; see also Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 147.

¹¹⁴² *Hom. 78* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 35, PG 132*, coll. 684A–684C): «Ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Κύριον. » Τάχα ἦν ἡ χαρὰ, ἦν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς «πάλιν ὤψεσθέ με, καὶ χαρήσεται ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία.» Ἐχάρησαν οὖν ἀναστάντα τεθεακότες αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πληρώσαντα· καὶ ὥσπερ τῆς νυκτὸς ζοφῶδες σκεδάννυται ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, οὕτως ἡ γλυκεῖα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐμφάνεια τὸ τῆς λύπης νέφος περιῆρε τῶν μαθητῶν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς ταύτην ἀφηγούμενος τὴν ἐμφάνειαν, τεταράχθαι αὐτοὺς φησιν, καὶ δόξαι πνεῦμα ὄρᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν, ὅτι ἐχάρησαν, οὐ χρὴ τοῦτο διαφωνίαν λογίσεσθαι. Εἰκὸς γὰρ πρότερον μὲν διαταραχθῆναι σφᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰσω παρεισδύντα κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν· χαρῆναι δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγνόντας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν μελῶν ἐπιδείξεως. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ διττὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς ἐπιφωνεῖ, πρὸ τῆς τῶν ὀτειλῶν ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιδείξιν, ἵνα καὶ τῆς διττῆς ἀγωνίας ἀπαλλάξῃ αὐτούς· τοῦτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβου, καὶ τοῦ οἶεσθαι πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν, ἐπισημαίνοι δ' ἂν καὶ ἕτερον ἢ διπλὴ τῆς εἰρήνης φωνή. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰρηνοποίησεν ὁ Χριστός. Καὶ τοῦτο ἡ ἀποστολικὴ γλῶττα διατρανοῖ· «Εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ.»

proclaims to them a twofold peace, before the showing forth of the wounds and after the showing, so that he may deliver them from their twofold anguish, namely from the fear of the Jews [Jn. 20:19] and from thinking of seeing a spirit; but the twofold word of ‘peace’ could also signify something else, for Christ reconciled not only the things on earth, but also the things in heaven. And this thing the apostolic tongue articulates clearly: “since He made peace through the blood of His cross for things in heaven and the things on earth” [Col. 1: 27]

Philagathos’ defensive attitude (οὐ χρή τοῦτο διαφωνίαν λογίζεσθαι) is indicative of a question, which addressed the seeming inconsistency between John 20:20 and Luke 24:37. Although we could not identify a question about John 20:20 and Luke 24:37 in the extant queries about the Resurrection narratives, this sort of question as well as the solution Philagathos advanced is characteristic of the *quaestiones et responsiones* literature.

5.6. The Ascension into Heaven

Philagathos made extensive use of the *questio-responsio* didactic device for discussing topics well grounded in patristic exegetical tradition. In the homily “For the Redeeming Ascension,” through this form the homilist approached the exegetic difficulties raised by the narrative of the Ascension. Says Philagathos:¹¹⁴³

What then? Someone might say: did the intelligible powers not know about the Saviour’s return to heaven? And how is this not contrary to reason, since Isaiah [cf. Is. 6:1–4; 52:13] and Zechariah [cf. Zach. 14:4] and before them David [Ps. 109 (110):1; cf. Acts 2:34] both foresaw and foretold it, whereas the purest minds appear ignorant of the Ascension? Therefore, if they had known, how are they asking who is this that is come from Edom? [cf. Is. 63:1]... But how a tunic stained with blood is seen in [the Lord’s] incorruptible body? [cf. Is. 63:1] The sight was effected by divine dispensation. For just as he exhibited the wounds of the nails [Jn. 20:20] to his disciples and ate fish although he had no need of food [Lc. 24:41–43], in the same manner he is seen in this form for revealing to the angels His goodness towards man.

These questions are indicative of the kinds of problems raised in earlier anti-Pagan or anti-Gnostic exegesis by the doctrine of the Resurrection. Notwithstanding, the narrative of the Ascension is not specifically mentioned in the preserved fragments of the pagan polemicists. But the kinds of arguments vested against it may be deduced from their overall approach.¹¹⁴⁴ Thus, in the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes a reprimand discusses Paul’s description of the general

¹¹⁴³ *Hom. 59* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 39*, PG 132, coll. 760B–761A): Τὶ οὖν; φαίη τις· οὐκ ᾔδεισαν αἱ νοεραὶ δυνάμεις τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναφοίτησιν; καὶ πῶς οὐ παράλογον, Ἡσαΐαν μὲν, καὶ Ζαχαρίαν, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν τὸν Δαβὶδ, καὶ προῖδεῖν ταύτην, καὶ προεῖπεν, τοὺς δὲ καθαρωτάτους νόας ἀγνῶτας εἶναι τῆς Ἀναλήψεως; Εἰ οὖν ᾔδεισαν, πῶς φιλοπευστοῦσι μαθεῖν τίς ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἑδῶμ; [...] Ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ σώματι ἡμαγμένοιο ἐωρᾶτο χιτῶν; Οἰκονομία ἦν τὸ ὁρωμενον. Ὡς περ γὰρ τὰς τρώσεις τῶν ἡλῶν ὑπεδείκνυ τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ τὸν ἰχθὺν κατεδηδόκει μὴ δεόμενος βρώσεως, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀγαθότητα, ἐωρᾶτο τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι.

¹¹⁴⁴ Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 339.

Resurrection (1 Th 4:15–17) and the reference made to those alive “caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord” is deemed impossible for it overthrows the laws of nature. Turning to Philagathos’ manner of framing the question on the angels’ ignorance of the Lord’s Resurrection is perhaps suggestive a question which Julian asked about the Transfiguration of the Lord: “How did they know it was Moses and Elijah – not knowing them or having their writings?”¹¹⁴⁵ In fact, when looking at the stylistic of Philagathos’ question and at its reinforcement – “Therefore, if they had known, how are they asking who is this that is come from Edom?” – one may suspect to originate in the pagan critique of Christianity.

Clearly, the questions about the nature of Christ’s resurrected body constituted real difficulties for a Christian exegete.¹¹⁴⁶ Cyril, for instance, wrote in a similar fashion: “I think we ought also to investigate the following question. Thomas felt our Saviour’s Side, and found the wounds made by the soldier’s spear, and saw the print of the nails. Then how was it, someone may inquire, that the marks of corruption were apparent in an incorruptible Body?”¹¹⁴⁷ This difficulty automatically begged essential questions about the general Resurrection. For Cyril continues: “For will any man who is lame, at the Resurrection have a maimed foot or limb? And if any man has lost the sight of his eyes in this life, will he be raised again blind?”¹¹⁴⁸ Many of such difficulties questions have their starting point in the pagan objections which the Christian authors discussed or alluded to as they raise critical aspects for defining the person in the Christian anthropology.¹¹⁴⁹

6. Scriptural *Aporiai* and Philagathos’ Usage of Christian Sources

Philagathos desire to clarify exegetical problems can further be witnessed by the usage of Christian sources in the *Homilies*. The homilist fashions his exegesis by appropriating scriptural queries discussed by other Christian authorities. In what follows, we present examples featuring Philagathos’ usage of Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Michael Psellos and John Chrysostom.

¹¹⁴⁵ Julian, *Contra Galilaeos*, fr. 106 (ed. Masaracchia, 190).

¹¹⁴⁶ For instance Gregory of Nazianzus in *Oration 45(In sanctum pascha)*, PG 36, coll. 657 discusses this scriptural passage [i.e. Isaiah 63:1] alluding to those who raise difficulties against it (τοῖς ἀποροῦσι); see also Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Iohannis evangelium*, PG 74, coll. 724–732; for doctrine of the resurrection and its polemical context see Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*, PG 44, coll. 213–229; id., *De anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, coll. 137B–145C; id., *De mortuis*, GNO IX, ed. Heil, 62, 9–63, 13.

¹¹⁴⁷ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Iohannis evangelium*, PG 74, coll. 728B (trans. P. E. Pusey, *Commentary on the Gospel according to S. John*, London: Walter Smith, 1885, p. 685).

¹¹⁴⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Iohannis evangelium*, PG 74, coll. 728C (trans. P. E. Pusey, 685).

¹¹⁴⁹ This can best be gauged from Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine’s response to the pagan (i.e. Porphyry’s) arguments against the Resurrection; for Gregory of Nyssa see Enrico Peroli, *Il Platonismo e l’antropologia filosofica di Gregorio di Nissa. Con particolare riferimento agli influssi di Platone, Plotino e Porfirio*, (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1993), 125–156 and Volker Henning Drecoll, “Existe-t-il des traces de l’argumentation antichrétienne de Porphyre dans l’œuvre de Grégoire de Nysse?” in *Le traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens: un siècle de recherches, nouvelles questions*, ed. S. Morlet, (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2011), 307–328; for Augustine, see Lance Byron Richey, “Porphyry, Reincarnation and Resurrection in *De Ciuitate Dei*,” *Augustinian Studies* 26 (1995): 129–142.

6.1. “A Sower Went Out.”

The homily “On the Parable of the Growing Seed” is an illustrative example for Philagathos’ florilegic habit. It encloses passages from Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa and Michael Psellos. However, the usage of Cyril is rather particularly striking. For Philagathos frames the exegesis of Luke 8:5 (“A sower went out to sow his seed.”) by adjusting a polemical passage from Cyril’s treatise *On the Holy Trinity* said in reference to Nestorius. To this, the homilist appends an extract from Cyril’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* about Micah 1:3.¹¹⁵⁰

Hom. 7, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 46):

Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν ἦν Θεῷ καὶ τῇ κτίσει κοινόν. Τίς γὰρ κοινωνία πρὸς τὴν αἰσθητὴν κτίσιν τῷ παναῦλῳ καὶ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ἀναφεῖ; Κοινωνήσας δὲ ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος, εἰσαχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς φωνῆς λέγεται· «Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων». **Εἰ λέγοιτο τοῖνυν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ἐξέλευσις, διερρίφθω μὲν πᾶσα ὑποψία τοπικῆς μεταβάσεως, ἐπικρατεῖτω δὲ λογισμὸς τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσει προσάπτων τὰ πρεπωδέστερα· οὐ γὰρ τόπῳ ἐξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ σχέσει γέγονε πλησίον ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος. Θεὸς γὰρ ὑπάρχων καὶ βροτωθεὶς δοκεῖ πῶς ὑπομεῖναι κίνησιν, καίτοι τόπον οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀλλ’ ἐρηρυσμένος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει.** Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ Μιχαίας προεχρησμώδησεν· «Ἰδοὺ Κύριος, λέγων, ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ».¹¹⁵¹

Cyril of Alexandria, *De sancta trinitate dialogi i-vii*, ed. J. Aubert, 506, 7–11:

Εἰ λέγοιτο τοῖνυν ἐπὶ Θεῷ τὸ «γεγέννηκε», διερρίφθω μὲν πάθους ὑποψία παντός, ἐπικρατεῖτω δὲ λογισμὸς τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσει προσάπτων τὰ πρεπωδέστερα. Αποτέξεται γὰρ οὐ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἂν εἰδεῖν καὶ πέφυκεν αὕτη. Τερθρεῖται δὴ οὖν καὶ γραῶδη δείματα τῶν ἑτεροδόξων αἰ σκήψεις.¹¹⁵²

Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 606–607:

Ἐκπεπόρευται δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ. Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν φύσει γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος· δοκεῖ δὲ πῶς καὶ ὑπομεῖναι κίνησιν τὴν ἐν γε τούτῳ φημί, καίτοι τροπὴν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐρηρυσμένος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ἰδίᾳ φύσει, καὶ τὸ βεβηκὸς ἔχων ὥς Θεός. ἐπέβη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη τῆς γῆς, καὶ σεσάλευκεν ὄρη, καὶ κατέτηξε κοιλάδας, καὶ ὥς ὕδωρ αὐτὰς φερόμενον ἐν καταβάσει

¹¹⁵⁰ “For behold, the Lord is coming out of His place;”

¹¹⁵¹ “In fact, before the Incarnation God had nothing in common with the created realm. Indeed, what fellowship with the sensible creation could possible be for one who is devoid of matter, who is uncreated and ungraspable? However, because He associated with us by the assumption of our human nature, it is reckoned by the apostolic voice that He was introduced to the creation: ‘A sower went out.’ [Lc. 8:5] If therefore ‘the going out’ is said about God, let every suspicion of a change of place be cast out, and let the thought which attributes the more appropriate things to the nature of God prevail; for He did not go to a place, but by participation (σχέσει) He became our close one since He became man. Though being God and made mortal man it seems somehow also to undergo movement, although not experiencing a change of place but standing firmly fixed in its own nature. Well, Micah also foretold this saying: ‘For, behold, the Lord comes forth out of his place.’” [Mich. 1: 3]

¹¹⁵² “If therefore it is said about God the “He begot,” [Acts 13:35; Psalm 16:10] let every suspicion of a passion be cast out and let the thought which attributes the more appropriate things to the nature of God prevail. For He does not give birth like us, but as [the divine nature] knows and as is natural to it. The pretences of heretics are therefore just claptrap and fabulous tales fit for an old woman.”

Philagathos deploys a transposition of Cyril's discussion on the meaning of "He begot" (ἐγεννήκε); Acts 13:35; Psalm 16:10) to the exegesis of Luke 8:5 "A sower went out," the subject of his sermon. It is manifest that the homilist established thematic associations between Luke 8:5 and the Cyrilian exegetic passages on movement or change said about the divine nature. It is interesting to note that besides the Christological debates, the notion of the divine nature admitting change or movement surfaces in the pagan polemic against the Scriptures. In fact, Porphyry as reported by Psellos contrived an argument in relation to Job 1:6 saying that it is contradictory to conceive the incorporeal nature circumscribed in a place and admitting movement.¹¹⁵⁴

6.2. "To sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give." (Mc. 10:40)

Gregory of Nyssa's works are a favourite source for Philagathos' staging questions and scriptural difficulties. This is the case with the homily "For the Fifth Sunday of Lent," in which Philagathos formulates the exegetical difficulties posed by Christ's answer to the request of James and John, the sons of Zebedee: "but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give." (Mc. 10:40). The quote raised a twofold aporia (διπλὴν ἀπορίαν) about the impuissance of God and the implied predestination of the elect. Says Philagathos:

"You will indeed drink the cup that I drink, and with the baptism I am baptized with you will be baptized; but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give, but it is for those for whom it is prepared." [Mc. 10:39] The present words bring forth a twofold difficulty; one, if the sitting with God is prepared for someone and is determined beforehand, and if the Lord of all is unable to grant this to whom He wishes. Well, *we say that the statement is not proffered in reference to a material seat in this sensible world; accordingly, these words should refer to (νοεῖν) what is holy in the future condition. For sitting hither signifies that part of the body near the hip joints by which the tension of bending the body may not be continuously strained over, while sustaining by itself the weight of the body.* In fact, sitting signifies the pre-eminence of honour in respect of the future glory. Then, the saying "is not Mine to give," is not exhibiting want of strength. For how could the might of God become impuissant? Instead, [the statement] affirms the unwavering yoke of righteousness.

¹¹⁵³ "Now, the Word of God, *issues forth from his place* [Mich. 1:3]; though God by nature he became man. By this he seems somehow also to undergo movement, although not experiencing change but rather being by nature steady and as God enjoying stability. He also walked upon *the high places*, has *shaken mountains* and made *valleys melt* and *flaw like water falling in descent.*"

¹¹⁵⁴ Psellos actually cites and discusses a nominal Porphyrean argument from the *Contra Christianos* otherwise not known in the scholarship to which we plan to dedicate some attention in the future; see Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 32, ed. Gautier, 118–127; other Porphyrean arguments transmitted by Psellos are discussed by Richard Goulet, "Cinq nouveaux fragments nominaux du traité de Porphyre 'Contre les chrétiens,'" *VigChr* 64 (2010): 140–159.

«Τὸ μὲν ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε· τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἔμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἡτοίμασται.» Διπλὴν ἀπορίαν ὠδίνει τὰ παρόντα ῥητά· μίαν μὲν, εἰ ἢ μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθέδρα ἡτοίμασται τινι, καὶ προώριστα, καὶ εἰ ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης ἀδυνατεῖ παρασχεῖν ταύτην, ᾧ βούλεται. Φαμὲν οὖν, **ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα σωματικῆς καθέδρας ἡ ἔμφασις δείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ καταστάσει εὐαγὲς ἂ εἴη νοεῖν·** ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα **καθέδρα τὴν ἐπὶ ἰσχύων τοῦ σώματος ὑπογράφει θέσιν,** ὡς ἂν μὴ διαπαντὸς κάμνη τῆς ἀγκύλης ὁ τόνος, ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ βάρος ἀνέχων τοῦ σώματος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μελλούσης δόξης τιμῆς ὑπεροχὴν ἡ καθέδρα σημαίνει. Τὸ δὲ, «οὐκ ἔστιν ἔμὸν δοῦναι,» οὐκ ἀδυναμίαν ἐνδείκνυται· πῶς γὰρ ἂ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις ἀνίσχυρος γένοιτο; ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρρεπῆ ζυγὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης μαρτύρεται.¹¹⁵⁵

The difficulty which Philagathos discusses originates in Gregory of Nyssa’s *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*.¹¹⁵⁶ Philagathos’ appropriation is informed by the thematic association between the image of sitting on Christ right hand (Mc. 10:39) and Gregory’s spiritual exegesis of Saint Steven vision which presents the image of the Son’s standing: “Look! I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!” (Acts 7: 56.)

It seems that Philagathos indexed his sources into themes befitting the Gospel readings at the Divine Liturgy. An argument for this is the usage of the same passage from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem* for the interpretation of Mark 16:19 in the homily devoted to the Lord’s Ascension:¹¹⁵⁷

«Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ.» Πάλιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν τόπον ὅθεν ἀνελήφθη, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὅπως, σεσίγηκεν, ἃ δὴ Λουκᾶς ὁ θεῖος ἀριδελότατα σεσαφήνικεν. Ἀκούων δὲ ὡς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔκστηθι τὴν σωματικὴν καθέδραν ὑπονοεῖν, καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ μετὰβηθι πρὸς ἐννοίας θεοπρεπεῖς· λέγεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ στάσις καὶ καθέδρα ἐπὶ Θεοῦ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰπόλος προφήτης ἐστῶτα τὸν Θεὸν εἶδεν ἐπὶ τείχους ἀδαμαντίνου· **καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Στέφανος,** πλήρης Πνεύματος ἁγίου γενόμενος, εἶδε δόξαν Θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ θεηγόρος δὲ Μάρκος, καὶ ὁ μέγας Παῦλος, καὶ πρό γε τούτων ὁ προφήτης Δαβὶδ κεκαθῆσθαι φασὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ τε γὰρ Δαβὶδ φησιν· «Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου· καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· «Ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ·» κἀνταῦθα ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς συνωδᾷ τούτοις φθέγγεται. **Ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης φύσεως τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὴν καθέδραν εὐαγὲς εἴη λογίζεσθαι· οὕτε γὰρ τὴν ἐπ’ ἀγκύλης στάσιν, οὕτε τὴν ἐπ’ ἰσχύων καθέδραν παραληφόμεθα· ἀλλὰ διὰ μὲν τῆς στάσεως τὸ ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ στάσιμον, διὰ**

¹¹⁵⁵ Hom. 48 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 488D – 489A).

¹¹⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*, GNO 10.1, ed. O. Lendle (Brill: Leiden, 1990), 40, 10–17: **ἀλλ’ ἕτερον ἢ καθέδρα,** φησί, καὶ ἕτερον ἢ στάσις ἐνδείκνυται νοῦν κατὰ τὸ προχεῖρως νοούμενον. φημί κἀγώ. ἀλλ’ οὐχ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῶν ῥημάτων ἔμφασις δείκνυσσι, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως εὐαγὲς ἐστὶ λογίζεσθαι. ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπου μὲν γὰρ ἢ καθέδρα τὴν ἐπ’ ἰσχύι τοῦ σώματος ὑπογράφει θέσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ διὰ παντὸς κάμνοι τῆς ἀγκύλης ὁ τόνος ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ βάρος ἀνέχων τοῦ σώματος.

¹¹⁵⁷ Hom. 73 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 30, PG 132, coll. 640B–D).

δὲ τῆς καθέδρας, τὸ ἀμεταπτώτως ἐγκαθιδρῦσθαι θεῖον ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ σταθερὰν ἔχειν τὴν ἐν τῷ καλῷ μονιμότητα.¹¹⁵⁸

Philagathos approaches the image of Christ sitting down (Mc. 16:19) through Gregory's interpretation.¹¹⁵⁹ Besides the literal appropriation, Gregory of Nyssa's text structures further Philagathos' exposition insofar as the scriptural references cited in the homily (i.e. Psalm 109 (110):1 and Hebr. 1:3) are intimated in Gregory's *Encomium*.¹¹⁶⁰ Actually, this represents a more widespread exegetic practice in the *Homilies*. Having found a source that is linked with the subject of his oration, Philagathos employs the source's sequence of scriptural citations besides borrowing its main ideas.¹¹⁶¹

6.3. After the Resurrection "We Ate and Drank with Him."

As we have already noted, Philagathos addressed various difficulties posed by the Resurrection narratives. In the homily "For the Redeeming Ascension," Philagathos alludes to an exegetical difficulty concerning the apparition of Jesus to his disciples in Jerusalem (Lc. 24:36–43). Jesus appeared in their midst and showed them his hands and his feet. Still unbelieving he asked them to give him some food: "So they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb. And He took it and ate in their presence." (Lc. 24:42–43) Philagathos presents the episode in this wise:¹¹⁶²

¹¹⁵⁸ "So then, after the Lord had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God." [Mc. 16:19] Here again Mark had kept silence not only about the place from where He was received, but also about the manner in which it happened, which otherwise divine Luke had made manifestly clear. Well, hearing that He sat down at the right hand of God, shrink from considering the sitting corporeal (σωματικὴν) and pass over in your reasoning to cogitations worthy of God. For in reference to God is said not only 'standing still' but also 'sitting.' Nay Godly inspired Luke and great Paul and yet before them Prophet David said that Christ was sitting at the right hand of God. For David says: "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." [Ps. 109 (110):1] And the Apostle: "He sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high." [cf. Hebr. 1:3] Herein, the evangelist is speaking in harmony with these. *But the statement is not proffered in reference to things corporeal, but these words should reckon the holy 'standing still' and 'sitting' of the transcendent nature. For we admit neither a bent position nor a sitting down. But, on the one hand, by 'standing still' [the Scripture] represents stability and being unmoved in every good, on the other hand, by 'sitting' to be immutably established in every good, and to have an immovable steadfastness in the beautiful.*

¹¹⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*, 40, 14–42, 4: ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐμφασίς δείκνυσι, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως εὐαγές ἐστι λογίζεσθαι [...] καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἢ στάσις ὀρθιον ἐπὶ γονάτων ἐρμηνεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἐπ' ἰσχύων διὰ καθέδρας ἀναπαυόμενον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης φύσεως καθαρεῦει τῶν τοιούτων νοημάτων ἢ καθέδρα τε καὶ ἡ στάσις, ἐπίσης ἑκατέρω τῆς κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον νοουμένης ἐμφάσεως κεχωρισμένη. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἐπ' ἀγκύλης στάσιν τοῦ ἀσωμάτου οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' ἰσχύων καθίδρυσιν τοῦ ἀσχηματίστου παραληψόμεθα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑκατέρας φωνῆς τὸ ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ στάσιμον καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἀμετάθετον εὐσεβῶς ἐνοήσαμεν.

¹¹⁶⁰ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*, 42, 12–13: ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Παύλου καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ τὸ καθῆσθαι τὸν πατέρα διὰ τοῦ καθῆσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν συνωμολόγηται [...].

¹¹⁶¹ A similar approach is discussed in Part III, chapter 1.4, "The Transfiguration of the Lord and Elijah's Vision," 230–233.

¹¹⁶² *Hom. 59* (ed. Scorsus, *Hom. 39*, PG 132, coll. 748C–749B): Ἐπειδὴ χολῆς ἐγεύσατο, ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ προσεπήγνυτο τὴν εὐήδονον τοῦ προπάτορος ἀλθαίνων γεῦσιν διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας πικρότητος, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πᾶσαν πεπληρωκῶς, λοιπὸν μεταδίδωσιν ἡμῖν φωτισμοῦ καὶ γλυκύτητος, ὃν ἐναργῆ σύμβολα τὸ μέλι, καὶ τὸ κηρίον βρωμα τῷ Κυρίῳ γενόμενα· πάντως δὲ οὐ χρή ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὅτι καὶ οἶνον ἐπεπόκει φαγών. Εἰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα σεσίγηται, ἀλλὰ δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ὅτι καὶ «Συνεφάγομεν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνεπίομεν.»

Since he had tasted the gall when he was nailed to the cross [Mt. 27: 34], he healed the pleasant sense of taste of our ancestor by the opposite bitterness, for he has fulfilled the entire dispensation on behalf of our nature, and consequently he imparted us the illumination and the sweetness of which the honey and the honeycomb given to the Lord to eat were a vivid image (symbol). Assuredly, one must not doubt that after he ate he has also drunk wine. For if this was not mentioned here [i.e. Lc. 24:42–43], yet this is made plain from the words which the Apostle said that “we ate and drank with him,” [Acts 10: 41] not only before the passion but also after the Resurrection. Or else, how could have he made trustworthy the announcement before the passion which he uttered at the time [of the institution] of the mystic rite (i.e. the Eucharistic sacrament): “I will not drink of this fruit of the vine from now on until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God?” [Mt. 26:29; Mc. 14:25]; indeed, on the one hand, he has named ‘kingdom’ the Resurrection, about which he said: “All authority has been given to Me in heaven and on earth,” [Mt. 28: 18] on the other hand, he [said] ‘new’ because the manner of partaking was truly miraculous.

The exegetic dilemma Philagathos records arises from the conflation of two passages from the Holy Writ: the testimony of the Acts that “God raised Him up on the third day, and showed Him openly...to us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead” (Acts 10:40–41) and the statement of Luke which speaks only of Christ eating in their presence a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb. Philagathos’ statement [a]ssuredly, one must not doubt that after he ate he has also drunk wine (πάντως δὲ οὐ χρή ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὅτι καὶ οἶνον ἐπεπώκει φαγόν) indicates an exegetic dispute, which the homilist alluded in another sermon as well.¹¹⁶³

Fortunately, we can pin down in Philagathos’ sources, the dispute. First, John Chrysostom in the *Homily* 82 on the Gospel of Matthew raised the issue in a polemical context against the Gnostics:¹¹⁶⁴

Then, when He had delivered it, He saith, “I will not drink of the fruit of this wine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.” [Mt. 26:29; Mc. 14:25] For because He had discoursed with them concerning passion and cross, He again introduces what He has to say of His Resurrection, having made mention of a kingdom before them, and so calling His own Resurrection. And wherefore did He drink after He was risen again? Lest the grosser sort might suppose the Resurrection was an appearance. For the common sort made this infallible test of His having risen again. Wherefore also the apostles persuading them concerning the Resurrection say this, “We who did eat and drink

οὐ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Ἡ πῶς ἔμελλε τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐπαγγελίαν πιστώσασθαι, ἣν ἐν τῷ τῶν μυστηρίων εἶπε καιρῷ· «Οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ’ ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ;» βασιλείαν μὲν ὀνομακῶς τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καθ’ ἣν ἔλεγεν· «Ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς» καινὸν δὲ, ὅτι παράδοξος ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ τρόπος τῆς μεταλήψεως.

¹¹⁶³ *Hom.* 79 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 701C D): Πῶς οὖν, φαίη τις, παρασκευάσας τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸ μυστικὸν τοῦτο ἄριστον, οὐ παρήγαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ποτόν;

¹¹⁶⁴ John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum* (*hom.* 82), PG 58, coll. 570.

with Him.” [Acts 10: 41] To show therefore that they should see Him manifestly risen, again, and that He should be with them once more, and that they themselves shall be witnesses to the things that are done, both by sight, and by deed, He saith, “Until I drink it new with you,” you bearing witness. For you shall see me risen again. But what is “new.” In a new, that is, a strange manner (ξένως), not having a passable body, but now immortal and incorruptible, and not needing food.¹¹⁶⁵

It is discernible that Philagathos’ discussion is dependent upon John Chrysostom’s homily. The same scriptural references, the similar emphasis on the meaning of “new” from Christ’s statement “until I drink it new with you”, the notion of Christ’s miraculous manner of partaking food point to Philagathos’ appropriation of Chrysostom’s exegesis. However, besides John Chrysostom, there is another author known to Philagathos which discussed the same issue. Michael Psellos wrote a theological tract on the “I will not drink of the fruit of this wine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.”¹¹⁶⁶ In short, Psellos rejected the interpretation that Christ drunk wine after the Resurrection.¹¹⁶⁷ It is not unlikely, to my mind, that Philagathos relying on John Chrysostom sanctions Psellos’ interpretation.

6.4. “When They Saw Him, They Worshiped Him; but Some Doubted.”

In the homily “For the First Resurrection Gospel” Philagathos addresses another difficulty posed by the Gospel narrative. As we shall see, Michael Psellos’ *Opusculum 15* informs Philagathos’ exegesis. The homilist attempted to clarify the scriptural obscurity concerning the identity of the disciples which doubted the apparition of Christ in Galilee (Mt. 28:17):¹¹⁶⁸

“When they saw Him, they worshiped Him; but some doubted.” [Mt. 28:17] Here it is necessary to inquire (ζητῆσαι), how all [the disciples] when they saw Him they worshiped Him, but some doubted. Indeed, not all the disciples had the same opinion (γνώμην) [i.e. about Lord’s Resurrection], but some of them were vacillating. Therefore, who were those who doubted, and what instilled them their disbelief? Well, those who had explained the saying before us having considered this to be spoken about Thomas appear to me not to have considered very accurately the issue. For if it had signified this, it would have been rather more

¹¹⁶⁵ Trans. George Prevost and revised by M. B. Riddle in *NPNF I/10*, 1034.

¹¹⁶⁶ Michael Psellos, *Theologica I, Opusculum 80* (ed. P. Gautier, 321–323).

¹¹⁶⁷ Michael Psellos, *Opusculum 80*, 14–19 (ed. P. Gautier, 321): ιστόρηται γὰρ ὁ κύριος μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν μέρος τι ἀπολαβὼν τοῦ μελισσείου κηρίου ἐδηδοκῆναι, μὴ μέντοι γε καὶ πόματι χρῆσασθαι· δι’ ὃν μὲν τινα λόγον τοῦτο πεποίηκε, κατιόντες ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι δ’ οὕτως ἐγένετο, ἡ ἱστορία διασαφεῖ. ὥς οὖν μέλλων αὐθις μὲν φαγεῖν, μὴ μέντοι πιεῖν, τούτου μὲν τοῦ μέρους οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε, τὸν δὲ οἶνον μόνον ἐς ἄλλην ζωὴν τεταμίευται νῦν ἀποθέμενος.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Hom. 71* (ed. Scorsus, *PG 132, Hom. 28*, coll. 609C): «Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν, προσεκύνησαν αὐτὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν.» Ἐνταῦθα προσήκει ζητῆσαι, πῶς πάντες ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. Οὐ πάντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχον γνώμην, ἀλλὰ τινες τούτων ὑπεκραδάνθησαν· τίνες δὲ ἄρα καὶ οἱ διστάσαντες, καὶ τί τὸ δισταγμὸν παρασκευάσαν αὐτοῖς; Οἱ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ ῥήτον ἐπεξηγησάμενοι, περὶ τοῦ Θωμᾶ λελέχθαι τοῦτο νοήσαντες, οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι τὸ ἀκριβὲς περισκέψασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἦν, ἀκολουθότερον μᾶλλον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἐνικῶς· Ὁ δὲ ἐδίστασε. Νῦν δὲ ἡ πληθυντικὴ σημασία πρὸς ἄλλο φέρεσθαι πείθει τὸν νοῦν.

consistent to say it using the singular number: ‘But he doubted.’ But now the plural indication persuades our reasoning to turn to a different explanation.

By commenting on the usage of number and the correct reading of the text Philagathos conforms to an usual exegetic practice applied to the literal sense of scripture. In the Christian tradition the passage is generally not understood to refer to Thomas. John Chrysostom for instance remarked that “ ‘if some doubted,’ herein again admire their truthfulness, how they conceal not even their shortcomings up to the last day.”¹¹⁶⁹

But Philagathos added another interpretation for elucidating the disciples’ doubting. Their mistrust occurred because they perceived Christ in a newer form (καινοτέραν μορφήν) “since the nature which he assumed was changed into immortality.” This elucidation of Matthew 28:17 is original in the Byzantine exegetic tradition. The homilist begins:¹¹⁷⁰

It is fitting to perceive that the Saviour after the Resurrection was not quite seen by the disciples such as he was when he sojourned with them before the passion, but as a different appearance (εἶδος) than before. [cf. Lc. 9:29] *For it was consequent (ἀκόλουθον) that his form (μορφήν) became newer (καινοτέραν) since the nature which he assumed was changed into immortality;* for He who had defeated the world, and who had turned the body into incorruptibility, and who had been born stronger than death was shining all around with some graceful and radiant glory. And David also prophesized this: “The Lord reigns, he has clothed himself with honour,” [Psalm 92 (93):1] foretelling the Lord’s dominion and majesty after the Resurrection. For as God he had the power at all times, as man he had taken this after the Resurrection and yet holding sway over the entire creation showed himself with radiant majesty and beauty. *Although the features (χαρακτήρων) had not been changed, yet his beauty became inimitable* just as before at the time of Transfiguration [Mt. 17:1–9; Mc. 9:2–8; Lc. 9:28–36].

Προσῆκει τοίνυν νοεῖν, ὥς οὐ πάνυ τοιοῦτος ὤπτο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Σωτὴρ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, οἷος μετ’ αὐτῶν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους συναναστρέφετο, ἀλλ’ ἑτεροῖος τὸ εἶδος, ἢ πρότερον. Ἦν γὰρ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ προσλήμματος αὐτοῦ μεταβληθέντος εἰς τὸ ἀθάνατον, καινοτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν μορφήν· καὶ ὁ τὸν κόσμον νενικηκώς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡφθαρτικῶς, καὶ θανάτου ὑπέρτερος πεφυκώς, ὡραία τινὶ καὶ λαμπρᾷ δόξῃ περιηστράπτετο. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ προανεφώνησεν· «Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο,» τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν προσημαίνων βασιλείαν καὶ κυριότητα. Ἦν γὰρ ὡς Θεὸς ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν ἀεὶ, ταύτην ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰληφώς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ πάσης κυριεύσας τῆς κτίσεως, μετὰ λαμπρᾶς ὥρατο εὐπρεπείας καὶ ὡραιότητος· οὐ μεταποιηθέντων τῶν χαρακτήρων, ἀλλὰ κάλλους αὐτοῦ ἀμιμήτου προσγινομένου, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταμορφώσει τὸ πρότερον.

¹¹⁶⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum*, Hom. 90, PG 58, coll. 789 (trans. George Prevost, rev. M. B. Riddle in *NPNF* 1/X, 711).

¹¹⁷⁰ Hom. 71 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, Hom. 28, coll. 609D–612A).

The rhetorical figure of *homoiooteleuton* (i.e. « νενικηκῶς, ἡφθαρτικῶς, πεφυκῶς ») in the passage cited above reveals the refinement of Philagathos' style. Yet, the homilist' exposition actually embraces Psellos' interpretation of Jesus apparition to Marry Magdalene (Jn. 20:11–18) and transfers it to apparition of Christ in Galilee reported by Matthew (Mt. 28:16–20). Psellos' exegesis focuses on Marry Magdalene's incredulity. He writes:¹¹⁷¹

Therefore, since she was about to be overwhelmed by thoughts just as by waves, the Lord appears to her for this reason, not giving his hand as he had once given to Peter when he was swelled by waves, but making known to her his form (μορφήν) and leading her up to faith by his attitude (σχήματος); well, in this manner we know that he was contemplated before by the women as a different appearance (εἶδος) than before; for by this time his form (μορφήν) became newer (καινότεραν) since the nature which he assumed was changed into immortality, although the features (χαρακτήρων) had not been changed, but his beauty became inimitable.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὥσπερ ἐν κύμασι τοῖς λογισμοῖς καταβαπτίζεσθαι ἔμελλε, διὰ ταῦτα δὴ ὁ κύριος ὁπτάνεται αὐτῇ, οὐ χεῖρα διδούς ὥσπερ πάλαι τῷ Πέτρῳ κυμαινομένῳ, ἀλλὰ γνωρίζων αὐτῇ τὴν μορφήν καὶ ἐνάγων πρὸς τὴν πίστιν διὰ τοῦ σχήματος. γνωσόμεθα δὲ ὅπως δὴ καὶ ἐθεάθη τὰ πρῶτα τῇ γυναικί, **ἐτεροῖος τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ πρότερον· ἥδη γὰρ τοῦ προσλήμματος αὐτῷ μεταβληθέντος εἰς τὸ ἀθάνατον, καινότεραν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν μορφήν, οὐ μεταποιηθέντων τῶν χαρακτήρων, ἀλλὰ κάλλους αὐτοῖς ἀμιμήτου προσγενομένου.**

Besides borrowing Psellos' interpretation, Philagathos reads the apparition of Christ in Galilee in light of the Transfiguration narrative, which represents, to the best of my knowledge, a unique association in the Byzantine exegetic tradition. Philagathos argues that the disciples doubted the Resurrection because they have not all contemplated the glory of Christ transfigured on Mount Tabor. He writes:¹¹⁷²

And perhaps beholding him adorned with such majesty the angels rising up to heavens were inquiring each other: "Who is this that is come from Edom and thus fair in his apparel?" [cf. Is. 63: 1] Solomon foreseeing this beauty of Christ said in the Song astonished: "How beautiful art thou, and how sweet art thou [Song 7: 6] And that this divine appearance (εἶδος) may not seem to be brought in from

¹¹⁷¹ Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum 15* (Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγελικόν· Ἑλεῖν· στραφεῖσα ἐκείνη λέγει αὐτῷ), 35–42 (ed. Gautier, 62).

¹¹⁷² *Hom.* 71 (ed. Scorsus, *PG* 132, *Hom.* 28, coll. 612B–C): Καὶ τάχα μετὰ ταύτης τῆς εὐπρεπειᾶς ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς οὐρανούς ἀνεχόμενον ἀλλήλους ἐπύθοντο· «Τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἑδῶμ; οὗτος ὥραϊος ἐν στολῇ αὐτοῦ.» Ταύτην τὴν ὥραιότητα Χριστοῦ Σολομών προῖδων ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ Ἀσματι τεθηπῶς· «Τί ὥραιώθης, καὶ τί ἡδύνθη;» Καὶ ὡς ἂν μὴ δόξῃ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο τὸ θεῖον ἐπείσακτον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσιν, προδείκνυσιν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐν Θαβῶρ τοιοῦτῳ κάλλει ἐναποστράπτοντα. Ἡ γὰρ μεταμόρφωσις τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν δόξης εἰκὼν ἦν, καὶ προτύπωσις. Μετὰ τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν μορφῆς ἐν τῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρει ὤφθη τοῖς ἑνδεκα, μεθ' οἵας τοῖς τρισὶν ὤφθη πρότερον εἰς τὸ Θαβῶρ. Διὸ καὶ Πέτρος μὲν, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου υἱοὶ, ἀκλόνηται μεμνήκασιν ἀναγνωρίσαντες τὴν τότε λαμπρότητα. Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν ἐθεάσατο, τῷ ἀσυνήθει τῆς μορφῆς καταπλαγέντες ἐδίστασαν.

outside after His Resurrection from the dead he foreshows himself to the disciples on the Mount Tabor shining out with such a beauty. For the Transfiguration was the image (εἰκὼν) of the glory accrued after the Resurrection and its prefiguration (προτύπωσις). Therefore, with this form (μορφῆς) he was seen in the mountain of Galilee by the eleven disciples [Mt. 28: 16], with which he was seen before by the three disciples on Thabor. For this reason Peter and the sons of Zebedee had remained unshaken because they recognized his splendour at that time. Indeed, all those who had not contemplated the Transfiguration doubted having been astounded by the strangeness of his appearance.

Thus, for the homilist the disciples contemplated at the Transfiguration the glory which Christ's body assumed after the Resurrection and which He manifested to his disciples. However, for most patristic and Byzantine interpreters the Transfiguration revealed Christ's divine nature and its unapproachable character. This is the interpretation given by Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and Maximus Confessor.¹¹⁷³ Philagathos opted for another interpretation which considered the Transfiguration as a revelation of the luminous glory which the Christ's saints will put on at the general Resurrection. Cyril of Alexandria in particular underscored this interpretation.¹¹⁷⁴

6.5. "You Shall See Heaven Open, and the Angels of God Ascending and Descending upon the Son of Man."

Philagathos' technique of formulating scriptural difficulties and subsequent clarifications taken from other sources is eminently revealed in the homily "For the: "Jesus wanted to go forth into Galilee, and found Philip" (Jn. 1:43–51). The sermon is illustrative for Philagathos' method to collect and refute objections or specious interpretations connected with the subject of the sermon. We have noted before Philagathos' citation of an erroneous interpretation of John 1:46 ("Can anything good come out of Nazareth?") and his discussion of a spurious reading of John 1:48 ("Before Philip called you, when you were under the fig tree, I saw you.") inspired in all likelihood from an apocryphal Gospel.¹¹⁷⁵

Besides borrowings from various sources,¹¹⁷⁶ Philagathos relies most extensively on Michael Psellos' *Opusculum* 28, which discusses precisely the meaning of John 1:51: "Most assuredly, I say to you, hereafter you shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man."¹¹⁷⁷ Philagathos comments upon it:

¹¹⁷³ J. A. McGuckin, "The Patristic Exegesis of the Transfiguration," *SP* 18 (1985–86): 336.

¹¹⁷⁴ Id., *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, 176–181.

¹¹⁷⁵ See for this above, p. 298.

¹¹⁷⁶ In particular the usage of Cyril of Alexandria's discussion of the passage is transparent throughout the sermon; see for instance Cyril, *Commentarii in Joannem*, 1, 197, 21–24: *Ἐκ Ναζαρετ δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; Συνομολογεῖ προχείρως ὁ Ναθαναὴλ, ὅτι μέγα δὴ τι καὶ κάλλιστον εἶη τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ναζαρετ ἀναδειχθῆσθαι προσδοκώμενον* = Philagathos, *Hom.* 17, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113): τοῖς τοῦ Φιλίππου λόγοις προχείρως συνωμολόγησεν, ὅτι μέγα δὴ τι καὶ κάλλιστον ἔσται τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ναζαρετ ἀναδειχθῆσθαι προσδοκώμενον.

¹¹⁷⁷ Michael Psellos, *Theologica I, Opusculum* 28 (ed. P. Gautier, 114–117): [μς'.] εἰς τὸ 'ἀπ' ἄρτι ὤψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωρότα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας.'

[14.] Direct your reasoning hither, ascend towards the subtle cogitations, perceive the teaching hidden in the word [i.e. Jn. 1:51]; indeed, there are many things in this place which should be investigated. Thus, what means the opening of the heavenly gates, and when and how they were shut up for men, and for what reason the Saviour having become man he did not immediately effect the opening of these gates? Well, we say that the word indicates that the heaven was opened for the unhindered ascent of men to God, which Christ granted to us when he raised up to heaven our human substance (φύραμα) – (for the slipping in of sin became a sort of fence and barrier between God and men). So then, the Lord removed this wall having furnished us the way of ascending to heaven, because he deified forthwith the human nature which he assumed by the union [of the two natures], granting it immortality by Resurrection as he awarded us the perfect reconciliation with the Father, which he called the opening of heavens. [15.] Truly, by introducing the going up and the coming down of the angels he showed forth that not every angelical power had knew the mystery of the divine dispensation, but only those powers which rendered service to this. So then, those who went up with him at the Ascension [were those who] ordered to open the gates, whereas the angelical powers to whom the mystery [of the Incarnation] was incomprehensible, were those who were asking when descending: “Who is this King of glory?” [Ps. 23(34): 10] But according to a higher meaning the angels go up because they are illuminated by the supernal contemplations towards the summit of the divine contemplation (θείας περιωπῆς) of the threefold unity [of the Trinity] and the single principle (μιάς ἀρχῆς). They are carried away by going down to the depth of the ineffable incarnation of the Word, as they behold him as one in the hypostasis (ἓνα τῇ ὑποστάσει) after the union [of two natures].

The extent of Philagathos’ reliance on Psellos may be assessed by placing the two texts side by side:

Hom. 17, 14–15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 116):

Ἐπίστησον ἐνταῦθα τὸν λογισμόν, ἄνιθι πρὸς ἐννοίας ἰσχνάς, γνῶθι τὸ δόγμα τὸ κεκρυμμένον τῷ ῥήματι· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ ζητούμενα. Τίς ἄρα τῶν οὐρανίων πυλῶν ἡ διάνοιξις, καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκλείσθησαν, **καὶ διὰ τί ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐνανθρωπήσας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐνήργησε τὴν τούτων διάνοιξιν**; Φαμὲν οὖν ὥς ἀνεῶχθαι λέγει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς διὰ **τὴν ἀνεμπόδιστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς Θεὸν ἄνοδον**, ἣν Χριστὸς ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνυψώσας τὸ ἡμέτερον φύραμα (ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀμαρτίας παρείσδυσις οἷον **φραγμός** τις καὶ **μεσότοιχον** μεταξὺ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο)· ὁ δὲ περιῆρεν ὁ Κύριος, ὁδὸς ἡμῖν χρηματίσας τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως,

Michael Psellos, *Theologica I, Opusculum* 28, 7–9:

ζητεῖται δέ, οἷα εἰκός, **τί μὲν τὸ ἀνεωγέναι τὸν οὐρανόν**, τί δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄνοδος τε καὶ κάθοδος, καὶ διὰ τί τὸ ἀνιέναι τοῦ κατιέναι προτέθεται·

Opusculum 28, 12–13:

πῶς μὴ καταβάντος τοῦ κυρίου εὐθὺς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀνεῴγεν, ἀλλ’ ἅπ’ ἄρτι’ φησὶν ὅψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγότα’;

Opusculum 28, 44–46:

τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐπήνεγκεν, ἐπεὶ τοί γε κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον **διάνοιξιν οὐρανοῦ οἰητέον τὴν ἀνεμπόδιστον πρὸς Θεὸν ἄνοδον**, ἣν δὴ ὁ καταλλάξας ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ πάλοι καθαιρεθεῖσαν ἀνεκαίνισεν.

εὐθὺς μὲν διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως θεώσας τὸ πρόσλημμα, παρασχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀθανασίαν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τῆς τελείας πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καταλλαγῆς ἀξιώσας ἡμᾶς, ἣν ἐκάλεσε διάνοιξιν οὐρανῶν. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ προτάξαι τὴν ἀνάβασιν τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς καταβάσεως ἔδειξεν ὡς οὐ πάσαις ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἔγνωστο τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπηρετήσασιν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναλήψει ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ συνανέβαινον, τὰς οὐρανίας πύλας αἶρειν κελεύοντες· οἷς δὲ ἀπερινόητον ἦν τὸ μυστήριον, οὗτοι καταβαίνοντες «*Τίς οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης*»; ἐπύθοντο. Ὑψηλοτέρῳ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀναβαίνουνσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι ταῖς ἄνω θεωρίαις καταστραπτόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς θείας περιωπῆς τῆς τριαδικῆς ἐνώσεως καὶ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς· ἀνθυποφέρονται δὲ καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸ βάθος τῆς ἀρρήτου τοῦ λόγου σαρκώσεως, ἕνα τῇ ὑποστάσει τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν.

Psellos, *Opusculum* 28, 95–101:

ἐπειδὴν γάρ τις ἀγγελικὴ τάξις ἢ ἀρχαγγελικὴ καταστραφθεῖσα τὴν φύσιν ταῖς ἄνωθεν θεωρίαις συνεπεκτανθῇ μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀκροτάτης περιωπῆς, αὐτῆς φημι τῆς τριαδικῆς ἐνώσεως καὶ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς [...] ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ αὐθις τηρήσαντα πρόσωπον, πρὸς τὸ βάθος ἀνθυποστρέφει τῆς ἀρρήτου φιλανθρωπίας [...].

Opusculum 28, 16–17:

τοῦτο γοῦν ἐστὶν ὁ παρὰ τῇ γραφῇ ὠνομασμένος ‘φραγμὸς’ καὶ τὸ θρυλλούμενον ἐν ταύτῃ ‘μεσότοιχον’.

Opusculum 28, 23–30:

ἔδει γὰρ τὴν μὲν θέωσιν διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως, τὴν δὲ ἀθανασίαν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως παρασχεῖν, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ εὐθὺς κατηλλάγημεν τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ μεσιτεύσαντος ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ ἡμῖν· ἔδει δὲ τῆς τελείας καταλλαγῆς τεύξασθαι, [...] τὸ τηνικαῦτα γὰρ τῆς ἐχθρας ἀναιρεθείσης καὶ τῆς καταλλαγῆς ἀντεισαχθείσης, ἀνοιχθήσεται μὲν ὁ οὐρανός,

Psellos, *Opusculum* 28, 71–77:

οὐ πᾶσι δὲ ἡ γνώσις τοῦ μυστηρίου ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ μέρεσι τούτων ὀλίγοις ἢ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη τελείωσις. τοὺς γοῦν ὕστερον μετὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς οὐρανούς ἀναβεβηκότας καὶ τὰς ‘πύλας ἐπαίρειν’ ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίαις ἐγκελευομένους τάξουσιν, ἵνα ‘ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης’ εἰσέλθῃ, ἐρωτῶσιν ἐκεῖνα ‘τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος’, καὶ πόθεν ἦκει ὁ ‘τοὺς πατρώους κόλπους’ μὴ μεθεικώς. οἷς μὲν οὖν συγκαταβέβηκε τε καὶ συναναβέβηκεν ἔγνωσται τὸ μυστήριον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπερινόητον ἦν.

As can be noticed the oration permeates the entire homily not just the passages literally cited. Indeed, Psellos’ didactic exposition typical of the *quaestio-responsio* tradition was eminently suited for imparting clarifications to vexing exegetic issues. Finally, it afforded Philagathos a convenient exposition of Chalcedonian Christology, the doctrine of preeminent importance in his preaching.

7. The Literal Sense: Wording, Grammar and Manuscripts

The literal sense in Patristic exegesis encompasses technical approaches to the scriptural text centered on philological and grammatical analysis. However, in the actual practice there is no clear-cut division between “literal” and “spiritual” meanings. The “literal” meaning was not necessarily the simplest one and often the “spiritual meaning” was based on the technical approaches usually applied to the “literal sense.” In what follows we present the main features of the method of reading the Scripture in the *Homilies* and the sources that informs it. We show that Philagathos’ method is lavishly indebted to patristic and Byzantine models.

An illustrative example is the homily “On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy.” The homilist paid systematic attention to the coherence and wording of the text, but entirely derives his exegesis from Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. Says Philagathos:¹¹⁷⁸

“You will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there,’ and it will move.” [Mt. 17:20] Not about a mountain perceived by the senses the Lord speaks here. For what is the logical coherence [of the passage]: to transport a mountain planted from eternity by the divine creative might from here to there? For even if the believer could do this, yet the law of natural order does not permit to overthrow the art of the wisest power, since the Scripture announced from Lord’s person: “I have strengthened the pillars of the earth” [Ps. 74 (75):4] and that “He has established the world, which shall not be moved” [Ps. 92 (93):1]. Certainly he does not say to push the Mount Carmel or Etna or Paranassus or Olympus from their places, but the mountainous demons, about whom one of the prophets says: “Behold, I am against thee, the ruined mountain that destroys the whole earth.” [Jer. 28:25]

«Ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ, μετάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ μεταβήσεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσκει ὑμῖν.» Οὐ περὶ ὄρους αἰσθητοῦ λαλεῖ ἐνταῦθα. **Τίς γὰρ ἀκολουθία,** ὅρος **ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος** δυνάμει δημιουργικῇ ῥιζωθὲν μετακομίζειν ἐνθεν ἐκεῖ; **Εἰ γὰρ καὶ δυνατόν τὸν πιστεύοντα τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας θεσμός οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τὴν τέχνην ἀνατρέπειν τῆς πανσόφου δυνάμεως, τῆς Γραφῆς εἰρηκυίας ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ.** «Ἐγὼ ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους τῆς γῆς,» καὶ, «αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἣτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται». Οὐκουν αὐτοῖς μετακρινεῖν λέγει τὸν **Κάρμηλον,** ἢ τὸ **Αἰτναῖον,** ἢ τὸν **Παρνασσόν, ἢ τὸν Ὀλυμπον,** ἀλλὰ **τοὺς ὀρεινόμεους**¹¹⁷⁹ **δαίμονας,** περὶ ὧν φησί τις τῶν προφητῶν· **Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ τὸ ὄρος <τὸ διεφθαρμένον> τὸ διαφθεῖρον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.**»

¹¹⁷⁸ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 477C–480A).

¹¹⁷⁹ Scorsus in PG 132, coll. 480A writes «ὀρεινόμενους» a form otherwise unattested in the Greek corpus (cf. *TLG*; see also *LSJ* s.v. ὀρεινομέω). From analogy with Goulet’s restitution of the text of *Monogenes* we prefer here the adjective «ὀρεινόμεους».

Therefore, the preacher interprets symbolically the mountain from Matthew 17:20 to mean spiritual wicked beings. This figurative interpretation is closely fashioned after the *Monogenes*. For Makarios writes:¹¹⁸⁰

3. Ποῖον οὖν σωματικὸν ὄρος ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεκίνησε; ποῖον αἰσθητὸν βουνὸν ἐσάλευσε; ποῖον ἢ πότε λόφον τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἔσεισεν, ἵνα μαθηταὶ βλέποντες αὐτὸν ποιῶντα τοῦτ' ἐζήλωσαν; 4. Εἰ δ' αὐτὸς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτό ποτε ποιήσας φαίνεται, πῶς τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἔλεγεν· «Ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· Ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν»; ποῖαν δ' ἀκολουθίαν ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὄρος ἐξ αἰῶνος δημιουργικῇ ἐρριζωμένον δυνάμει μεταφέρειν εἰς θάλασσαν; 5. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ δυνατὸς ὁ πιστεύων τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας θεσμὸς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τῆς πανσόφου δυνάμεως τὴν τέχνην ἀνατρέπειν, λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς· «Ἐστερέωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται». 6. Ἰστόρηται γοῦν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι πίστεως ὑπερβολῇ ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐξουσίαν εἰληφέναι τὸ τετράδιον τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ οὐ κόκκῳ σινάπεως ὑπῆρχε παραπλήσιος ἢ πίστις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀκρωρείας μεγέθει πολλῆς καὶ ὑπερνεφοῦς· καὶ τοσοῦτο δεδύνηται, ὥς πόλεις ἀπ' ἁκρῶν εἰς ἅκρα μόνη τῇ πίστει δουλώσασθαι· οὐδαμοῦ δ' ὄρος αἰσθητὸν τοπικῶς μετεκίνησαν, οὐ Παρνασσόν, οὐκ Ὀλυμπον, οὐκ Ἴδην, οὐ Γάργαρον, οὐ Ταῦρον, οὐ Β'ό'σπορον, οὐ τὸ Σίναιον ὄρος· νοητὰ δ' ὄρη πολλὰ πολλῶν ἀπεκύλισαν, τοὺς ὀρεινόμεους δαίμονας, τοὺς ἐπικειμένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλάσαντες. 7. Ἀμέλει τις προφητῶν πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ὄρος ἐκ προσώπου Θεοῦ μαχόμενος ἔλεγεν· «Ἴδου ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ, τὸ ὄρος <τὸ διεφθαρμένον>, λέγει Κύριος, τὸ διαφθεῖρον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν».

“So then, which material mountain did Christ remove from its place? Which hill perceived by the senses did he shake? Which crest of hill from Palestine did he shudder, and when, so that the disciples would imitate him thereafter having seen him doing this? [4.] But since he seems to have never done something of the kind, how did he say to his companions: “You will say to this mountain ‘Go, throw yourself into the sea’?” [Mt. 21:21; 17:20] For otherwise, what logical coherence has the passage: to transport a mountain planted from eternity by the divine creative might into the sea? [5.] For even if the believer could do this, yet the law of natural order does not permit to overthrow the art of the wisest power, since the Scripture says: “I have strengthened the world, which shall not be moved” [Psalm 92 (93):1]. [6.] In fact, it is said that on account of the outpouring of their faith the disciples have seized under their power the four corners of the world. And their faith was not comparable to a mustard seed, but to the greatness of a lofty and highly exalted mountain ridge. Moreover, they were so powerful that they could by their faith alone to bring cities into subjection from citadel to citadel. They have never moved a mountain perceived by the senses in respect to its place, neither Parnassus, nor Olympus, nor Ida, nor Gargaron, nor Taurus, nor Bosphorus, nor Sinai, but they have rolled away numerous intelligible mountains from many persons, having chased away the demons resembling to mountains which were pressing hard upon men. And indeed one of the prophets who faught

¹¹⁸⁰ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 25 (ed. Goulet, I. 13–35, 166).

against the intelligible mountain placing himself in the person of God said:
 “Behold, I am against thee, the ruined mountain that destroys the whole earth.”
 [Jer. 28:25]

Makarios applies the exegetical principle that seeks to explain ‘the Scripture from the Scripture.’ Philagathos appropriates the dossier of scriptural citations and as elsewhere in the *Homilies*, enlarges Makarios’ record with other scriptural references culled from other sources. He writes:¹¹⁸¹

“And the bride in the Song beholding her bridegroom Jesus who brings the fall of the demons: ‘Behold, my kinsman, she said, he comes leaping over the mountains, bounding over the hills,’ [cf. Song 2:8] which the prophet made clear when he said: ‘Every mountain and hill shall be brought low’ [Is. 40:4] And Micah who prophesized the incarnation of the Lord and the restless dread of the demons: ‘For, behold, the Lord comes forth out of his place, and will come down, and will go upon the high places of the earth. And the mountains shall be shaken under him.’ [Mich. 1:3–4] And also the ode of Habakkuk proclaimed before: ‘The mountains have been troubled by his might.’ [Ps. 45 (46):4] And perhaps the Apostle said about such a mountain as well: ‘Every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God.’ [2Cor.10:5] That the Lord did not speak about a mountain perceived by the senses, he indicated by saying it with the (definite) article. For he did not say, ‘You will say to a mountain,’ but ‘To this mountain.’ («Ἐρεῖτε ὄρει,» ἀλλὰ «Τῷ ὄρει.») He added ‘to this’ for signifying that demon attached to the so-called moonstruck which at that moment was expelled from him.”

Thus, it is tempting to see the reference to Song 2: 8 as dependent on Gregory of Nyssa’s *In Canticum canticorum*. For Nyssen interprets allegorically the ‘mountains’ from Song 2: 8 to mean “the evil demon that brings on lunacy,” thus drawing a connection with Matthew 17: 20, just like in Philagathos’ sermon.¹¹⁸² But Philagathos was also familiar with this symbolic interpretation from Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, which commenting on Micah 1:3 stated that: “the high places of the earth are to be understood the spiritual powers raised up against everyone and the spiritual forces of wickedness, and by

¹¹⁸¹ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 480A–480C): Καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἄσματι νύμφη ὁρῶσα τὸν νυμφίον Ἰησοῦν τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνεργοῦντα πτοίαν· «Ἴδου ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς μου, φησὶ, πηδῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη διαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς βουνούς·» ὁ δὲ σαφηνίζει ὁ Προφήτης εἰπών· «Πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται.» Καὶ ὁ Μιχαίας τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου θεσπιζῶν ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ τὴν ἄστατον τῶν δαιμόνων ὀρρώδησιν· «Ἴδου, φησὶ, Κύριος ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ καὶ καταβήσεται καὶ ἐπιβήσεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη τῆς γῆς καὶ σαλευθήσεται τὰ ὄρη ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ.» Προαναφωνεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὥδῃ Ἀββακοῦ, «ἐταράχθησαν τὰ ὄρη ἐν τῇ κραταιότητι αὐτοῦ.» τάχα καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὄρους φησὶ· «Πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ·» ὅτι γὰρ οὐ περὶ αἰσθητοῦ ὄρους φησὶν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐδειξεν ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, «Ἐρεῖτε ὄρει,» ἀλλὰ «Τῷ ὄρει.» Καὶ προσέθηκε, τούτῳ, δεικνὺς τὸ σεληνιαῖον, ἐκεῖνο δαιμόνιον, τὸ τότε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλαθέν.

¹¹⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 5, 141–142: «For “mountains” means the things that are shaken “by his might,” even as David says [Ps. 45 (46):4]: the things “that are moved in the heart of the sea and sunk in the place of the abyss” [Ps. 45 (46):3]. Concerning these, the Lord said to his disciples, “If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain,”—signifying by this word the evil demon that brings on lunacy—“ “Rise up and be cast into the sea.” » [Mt. 17:20] (trans. Norris, 155).

mountains shaken the demons relieved of control over us.”¹¹⁸³ Philagathos in fact excerpted Cyril’s exegesis of Micah 1:3 for the sermon “On the Parable of the Growing Seed.”¹¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, Philagathos’ interpretation of the expression **τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ** (“to this mountain”) by reason of a grammatical argument about the usage of the definite article is borrowed from the *Monogenes*, which explained it in a more extensive fashion:¹¹⁸⁵

“But that the explanation may appear to you more clear, I will tell you this matter from farther back. At that moment Jesus having banished the harsh demon from the child, the so-called lunatick [Mt. 17:14–18], when he descended from the sensible (αἰσθητοῦ) mountain, as his disciples said to him: “Why we could not deliver the child from the demon?” [cf. Mt. 17:19], he replied to them in this wise: “Because of your little faith. For truly, I say to you, if you have faith as a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, well, not simply to a mountain, but to *this* which is demonstratively shown (δεικτικῶς), namely to the one which was just now released by Me from the afflicted [child].” 9. For if He had said without the pronoun: “You will say to a mountain: ‘Be removed and be cast into the sea,’ [Mt. 21:21; Mc. 11:23] one would have thought to have spoken about a physical mountain. But now since He said with the pronoun, He showed that He spoke about the demon and the exaltation which roused up against the knowledge of God. 10. In fact, Jesus had already thrown into the sea, as high mountains, many such arrogant beings, having taken them away from their pastime and mansion among men, when He hurled those who called themselves ‘Legions’ down the steep place into the sea. [cf. Mt. 8:28–34] Therefore, here He spoke allegorically about the crest of the demon exalted against humankind.”

The discussion of the various meanings of words, the clarifications of figures of speech or the elucidation of inconsistencies of meaning was part of the method (*to methodikon*) of reading literature in the school classes of the *grammaticus*. These features became a constant part of Christian exegesis.¹¹⁸⁶ Philagathos is an exponent of this exegetical strategy. We may cite at this

¹¹⁸³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores*, 1, 607, 3–10 (trans. Robert Hill in Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 2, *The Fathers of the Church* vol. 116, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2008, 186).

¹¹⁸⁴ Cf. *Hom.* 7, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 46); the text is cited in Part IV. 6. 1. “A Sower Went Out.” 322–323.

¹¹⁸⁵ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 25 (ed. Goulet, I. 1–18, 168): 8. “Ἰνα δὲ σοι τρανότερον ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον, αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἔρῳ σοι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Χαλεπὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ φυγαδεύσας δαίμονα τοῦ λεγομένου σεληνιακοῦ παιδός, ὁπνίκα τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ὄρους κατεληλύθει, λεγόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μαθητῶν· «Πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐλευθερῶσαι τὸν παῖδα τοῦ δαίμονος;», ὧδε πρὸς αὐτοὺς φησι· «Διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν ὑμῶν. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ἐὰν ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ὄρει, ἀλλὰ δεικτικῶς τούτῳ, τῷ νῦν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μετακινήθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ κακουμένου». 9. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν εἰπὼν ἄνευ ἄρθρου· «Ερεῖτε ὄρει· Ἄρθρητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν», ἐνομήσθη ἂν περὶ ὄρους εἰρηκέναι σωματικοῦ· νῦν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου εἰπὼν, ἔδειξεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἔλεγεν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑψώματος τοῦ ἐπαυρόμενου κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ. 10. Πολλοὺς οὖν ἦδη τοιοῦτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπερηφάνους δίκην ὀρέων μεγάλων εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρριπεν ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης διαίτης καὶ διατριβῆς, τοὺς λεγόμενους λεγεῶνας μετὰ τῶν χοίρων κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ἀκοντίσας εἰς θάλασσαν. Ἀλληγορικῶς οὖν ὧδε τὸν ἐγγεγερμένον λόφον κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ δαίμονος ἔλεγε.

¹¹⁸⁶ Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 76–96; Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, 4–6; cf. Robert H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993).

point the sermon for the Feast of St. Procopius, which offers Philagathos the occasion to explain the various meanings of the word *kosmos*:¹¹⁸⁷

Since I reached this point, it seems to me an excellent idea to distinguish the meanings of the word *kosmos*, since it is an ambiguous (ἁμύνυμον) word that can be understood in many ways. Let us first remember the phrase: “If you were of the world, the world would love its own. Yet because you are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, therefore the world hates you.” [Jn. 15:19] *Kosmos* is called the compound and the system made up of heaven and earth and of the things contained in them, in which sense we call God the Maker of the universe (τοῦ κόσμου). *Kosmos* also signifies the beautiful harmony and orderly arrangement according to what is sung in the ode of Manasses: “Thou hast made heaven and earth with all their adornments;” The word *kosmos* signifies also crowd of people; in this sense, the God-hated high priests said about Christ: “Look, the world has gone after Him!” [Jn. 12:19] It is then also referred to as the worldly (κοσμική) wickedness, the pleasure that entices, and the mingling all over in the material world, in which sense we call worldly (κοσμικούς) those who live entangled in these matters.

The preacher determines the meaning of the word *kosmos* by providing a set of cross-references with other scriptural passages containing the word (i.e. Jn. 15:19, 12:19). As we noted before, this represents a major exegetical practice in the *Homilies*. It corresponds to the pervasive intertextuality that characterized the ancient literature, Christian or pagan.¹¹⁸⁸ The coincidence of word or phrase was revelatory for, as Frances Young put it, “the ‘mind’ of the author was to point to a truth found elsewhere in the biblical corpus, and the meaning would become clear only if this were discerned and made explicit.”¹¹⁸⁹

It is again evident that the homilist’s definition of the word *kosmos* is remindful of scientific vocabulary.¹¹⁹⁰ Yet, as expected, the rendition carries a close textual correspondence with several Byzantine testimonies, which we cite:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 28, 7:

Κόσμος λέγεται τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα, καθ’ ὃ δημιουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου φαμέν τὸν Θεόν.

Etymologicum Magnum, 532, 10–25:

Κόσμος: [...]. Σημαίνει τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα.

Suidas, k 2147, 28–29:

¹¹⁸⁷ Philagathos, *Hom.* 28, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 185); this passage from the sermon is also discussed by Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 98–99.

¹¹⁸⁸ For the profound place intertextuality held in the ancient exegesis, see Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* 119–139.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹¹⁹⁰ This definition seems to originate in Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo*, 391b: **Κόσμος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως κόσμος ἢ τῶν ὅλων τάξις τε καὶ διακόσμησις, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τε καὶ διὰ θεὸν φυλαττομένη.** “The Universe then is a system made up of heaven and earth and the elements which are contained in them. But the word is also used in another sense of the ordering and arrangement of all things, preserved by and through God” (trans. E. S. Foster).

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 38, 10 = 45, 6: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, δεύτερον ἐννοεῖ κόσμον ὕλικον καὶ ὀρώμενον, καὶ οὗτός ἐστι τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα [...].

Κόσμος: τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα.

Psellos, *Opusc.* II 33, 10–13:

[...] καὶ μετὰ ταύτας τὸν τῆδε κόσμον, τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα.

Now, it is difficult to decide wherefrom Philagathos appropriated the definition of *kosmos*. For all are pertinent possibilities. Notwithstanding, it may be pointed out that the structure of Philagathos' commentary corresponds to the exposition from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, which besides giving a similar list of meanings, cites the same Gospel passage to illustrate the sense of the word (i.e. Jn. 15:19).¹¹⁹¹

The *Homilies* also reveal an interest in textcritical difficulties. In the homily “For the Eleventh Resurrection Gospel” commenting on John 21:16, Philagathos remarks that some old manuscripts (ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων) read « προβάτια » instead of « πρόβατα ». Based on this difference Philagathos elaborates a consistent interpretation:¹¹⁹²

For he learnt that this is (spiritual) love (ἀγάπη), “that a man lay down his life for his friends” [Jn. 15:13] therefore, since he did not attain to this he refrained [from saying it]. But the Lord in regard to Peter's affectionate love (φιλία) towards him demanded this, that he may feed the rational flock: “Feed My lambs,” [Jn. 21:15] revealing by this that the purpose of his dispensation is the salvation of mankind. And again bringing forward for the second time the same question he receives the same answer: “Lord, you know that I love you affectionately (φιλω).” [John 21:16] Then again, he entrusts him the feeding, yet not of his lambs, but of his sheep. However, in some of the old manuscripts it is written in this wise: “Tend my little ship (προβάτια).” And it seems that this is rather more fitting. For having said first lambs, next he said little sheep and finally sheep according to the order and the [spiritual] progress of those who would be saved. For assuredly he called

¹¹⁹¹ This coincidence is also noted by Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 99.

¹¹⁹² Philagathos, *Hom.* 80 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, PG 132, coll. 712A–712C): Ἐμεμαθήκει γὰρ ὡς τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, ἵνα τις θῇ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ· ἅτε οὖν αὐτὸς μὴ κατορθωκὼς τοῦτο ὑποστέλλεται. Ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν φιλίας ταῦτα ἀπῆτησε, τὴν τῶν λογικῶν θρεμμάτων νομὴν· «Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου»· δεικνύς, ὡς ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκονομίας σκοπὸς ἡ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου τὴν αὐτὴν πεῦσιν ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπόκρισιν δέχεται. «Κύριε, σὺ οἶδας, ὅτι φιλω σε.» Εἶτα πάλιν αὐτῷ τὴν νομὴν ἀνατίθησιν, οὐκ ἀρνίων, ἀλλὰ προβάτων. Ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων, οὕτω γέγραπται· «Ποίμιναι τὰ προβάτιά μου.» Καὶ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθότερον. **Εἰπὼν γὰρ πρότερον ἀρνία, δεύτερον εἶπε προβάτια, τελευταῖον δὲ πρόβατα** κατὰ τὴν τῶν σωζομένων τάξιν καὶ προκοπὴν· καὶ ἄρνας μὲν καλῶν, τοὺς ἀτελεῖς περὶ τὴν πίστιν, καὶ εἰσαγωγικούς, καὶ δεομένους γάλακτος, ἅτε μὴ δυναμένους δέξασθαι τὴν στερεὰν τῆς διδασκαλίας τροφήν· πρόβατα δὲ, τοὺς ἰσχύοντας μυεῖσθαι τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ τελεώτερα· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ μέγας Παῦλος τὴν προκοπὴν τῶν μαθητευομένων διήρηκε· τοὺς μὲν τρέφων γάλακτι· τοῖς δὲ ἄρτοποιῶν τῶν λόγων τοῦ Πνεύματος· τοῖς δὲ ὡς κρέα παρατιθεῖς τῶν δογμάτων τὰ ἰσχυρότερα· ὅσοι δύνανται δηλαδὴ τοῖς κριτικοῖς ὁδοῦσι τῶν λογισμῶν αὐτοὺς κατεργάζεσθαι. Καὶ τάχα καὶ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀγαθὴ γῆ καρποφορήσασα τὰ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐξήκοντα, καὶ τριάκοντα, τῆς τρίτης ταύτης διακρίσεως σύμβολον ἦν δηλοῦσα τὰ ἀρνία, καὶ τὰ προβάτια, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα.

lambs the ones who are imperfect in their faith, novices and in need of milk [cf. Hebr. 5:13; cf. 1Cor. 3:2], inasmuch as they cannot take the solid food of the Christian teaching; but he called sheep those who have strength to be initiated in the more perfect mystical knowledge. For in this manner the great Paul divided the progress of the pupils, nourishing some pupils with milk, for others making bread from the words of the Spirit, and for others setting before just as meat the more difficult aspects of the spiritual doctrines [cf. Hebr. 5:14], evidently for those who are able to digest it with the discerning teeth of their reason. And perhaps the good ground mentioned in the Gospel which yielded [a crop], hundredfold, sixty and thirty [cf. Mt. 13:8] is the symbol of this tripartite distinction signifying the lambs, the little sheep and the [mature] sheep.

Philagathos' textcritical point is intriguing as it is supported by manuscript evidence. The standard Nestle-Aland edition of the New Testament records this variant reading of John 21:16.¹¹⁹³ In the exegetic tradition, Epiphanius of Salamis and Photios cite the same reading.¹¹⁹⁴ For the latter, just as for Philagathos, the wording of Jesus' command first referring to lambs (ἀρνία) then to little sheep (προβάτια) and finally to (mature) sheep (πρόβατα) illustrates the division of the faithful according to their progress in virtue.¹¹⁹⁵

8. The Literal Sense: Erudition and Scientific Learning in the *Homilies*

The Christian exegetes often made use of their erudition for elucidating the literal sense of the Scripture. As an element of school exegesis it was applied to explaining curious or foreign words, phenomena, objects or difficult passages. Origen introduced this practice in the Christian exegesis. For instance, commenting on the Parable of the Pearl of Great Price [Mt. 13:45–46], Origen made a detailed inquiry (*historia*) on the nature of the pearl and their kinds as to reinforce the meaning of the merchant's search.¹¹⁹⁶ Philagathos appealed to analogies and explanatory remarks of this kind. In what follows we shall examine some representative texts in an attempt to demonstrate that for him, the usage of scientific knowledge served an apologetic and pedagogical purpose.¹¹⁹⁷

The preacher follows the exegetic principles and cultural attitude of the Cappadocian tradition as advocated by Basil of Caesarea in his address *To Young Men* or by Gregory of Nyssa in the *Life of Moses*. The latter commanded the Christians to borrow from the wealthy Egyptians and "to equip themselves with the wealth of pagan learning (τὸν ἔξωθεν τῆς παιδείσεως

¹¹⁹³ *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland, the 27th revised edition (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: 1993), 318.

¹¹⁹⁴ Epiphanius, *Panarion* (= *Adversus haereses*), 2, 365, 2; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 280, Bekker 541 B, l. 30–42.

¹¹⁹⁵ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 280, Bekker 541 B, l. 32–42: Ἄμα δὲ καὶ βαθμὸν τινα τῶν ποιμαινομένων διέξεισιν, ἀρνία πρότερον ποιμαίνειν ἐγκελευόμενος, εἶτα πρόβατια, ἃ πρόβατα ὄντα, διὰ τινα πταιίσματα κατασμικρυνθέντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τελειότητος, εἰς πρόβατια ἀνθυπέτρεψε· καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ τρίτον τὰ τέλεια ἐπιφέρει πρόβατα. Ἀρνίοις γοῦν εἰκάζονται οἱ ἔτι γάλακτος καὶ στοιχειώδους διδασκαλίας δεόμενοι, προβατίοις δὲ οἱ διὰ τινα παραπτώματα κατασμικρυνθέντες τῆς τελειότητος, προβάτοις δὲ οἱ εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἀναβεβηκότες καὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν πράξεων.

¹¹⁹⁶ Origen, *Commentarius in Matthaeum I* (ed. Erich Klostermann/Ernst Benz), *GCS*, vol. X, 6–11.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, *PG* 132, coll. 477C); *Hom.* 30, 4–8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200–201); *Hom.* 16, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 107).

πλουτον) by which foreigners to the faith beautify themselves.”¹¹⁹⁸ Philagathos acquiesced in this attitude towards ‘external wisdom’ which he openly expressed in the sermon “On the Parable of the Great Supper:”

For even those dedicated to the profane wisdom could also receive the evangelical word. Indeed, the heathens’ natural and moral philosophy may rather become the way of faith in Christ.

Οἱ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου σοφία προσέχοντες δύναιτ’ ἂν καὶ τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν λόγον δέξασθαι. Ἦ τε γὰρ φυσικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφία ὁδὸς μᾶλλον τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν γένοιτο πίστεως (...).¹¹⁹⁹

Yet the most eloquent formulation of this programmatic stance towards the ‘wisdom from the outside unfolds in the sermon “For the Seventh Resurrection Gospel.” Philagathos comments upon Christ’s trial before the Sanhedrin when Simon Peter and John followed Jesus, but only the latter entered with Jesus into the courtyard, for he was known to the high priest, while Peter stood at the door outside (Jn. 18:15–16). Philagathos acknowledge the difficulty of the passage and the question he asks (Ἀλλὰ πῶς ὁ Ἰωάννης γνώριμος εἶναι λέγεται τῷ ἐχθρῷ καὶ κατηγορῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ;) evokes the stylistic of a pagan objection. However, the preacher solves this riddle with the help of an etymological pun, which affirms the benefit of pagan learning typified by John the Evangelist entering into the courtyard:¹²⁰⁰

But how is it related that John is known to Christ’s enemy and accuser? [Jn. 18:15] For surely to the one devoted to spiritual contemplation the things opposed to each other are well-known. Or else, how could he enter in the courtyard in which the economy of God is fulfilled, that is in the knowledge of divine teachings, if he hadn’t been known to the grace of the philosopher from outside? For Anna is interpreted *grace*, Caiaphas *tracker*; for by them the gift (χάρις) of the demonstrative syllogism for tracking out the truth is revealed. At all events, John was only an acquaintance, not friend with the high priest; for indeed he was beloved to Jesus [Jn. 20:2]. Yet it is necessary to the one who strives after practical virtue to be acquainted with the philosophy from the outside, but to be friend to the true word of faith.

Philagathos’ endorsement of using philosophy as an instrument for exploring the content of the Christian faith is certainly noteworthy if only considering the other influential strand in the

¹¹⁹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 115–116 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 81); similar ideas are expressed in *De vita Moysis*, 2, 37 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 62–63).

¹¹⁹⁹ *Hom.* 14, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 96).

¹²⁰⁰ *Hom.* 76 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 33, PG 132, coll. 664C–668A): Ἀλλὰ πῶς ὁ Ἰωάννης γνώριμος εἶναι λέγεται τῷ ἐχθρῷ καὶ κατηγορῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; Ἐπειδὴ τῷ θεωρητικῷ τ’ ἀλλήλοις ἀντικείμενα γνώριμα. Ἦ πῶς εἰσελθοῖ εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν ἣ τελεῖται ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου οἰκονομία, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ τῶν θείων νοημάτων γνώσει, εἰ μὴ γνωστὸς εἴη τῆς φιλοσόφου τῶν ἔξωθεν χάριτος; Ἄννας γὰρ χάρις ἐρμηνεύεται, Καϊάφας δὲ ἰχνευτής· δι’ ὧν δηλοῦται ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἀποδεικτικοῦ συλλογισμοῦ τοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνιχνεύοντος. Ὁ γοῦν Ἰωάννης γνωστὸς μὲν, οὐ μὴν φίλος ἦν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ· ἡγαπημένος μέντοι τῷ Ἰησοῦ. Χρὴ γὰρ τὸν μετιόντα τὴν πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν, γνωστὸν μὲν εἶναι τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τῇ θύραθεν, φίλον δὲ τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως.

Christian tradition which refused the wealth of Athens (i.e. Tertullian, *On the Prescriptions of Heretics* 7.9). Yet, this acceptance is not without awareness of the dangers lurking beneath, for, as Philagathos says, Apostle John was “only an acquaintance, not friend with the high priest.” This corresponds in general to the limit set for the appropriation of classical heritage in Byzantine culture.

In what follows, we exemplify Philagathos’ standpoint in regard to the ‘wisdom from the outside’ by charting out his interest in scientific explanations, in medical theory and various analogies derived from natural philosophy drawing attention to the florilegic habit that informs his exegesis.

8.1. “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart”

The usage of scientific learning in the *Homilies* is underscored by a strong didactic element. Philosophic questions and scientific lore aim to clarify and illustrate the meaning of the Gospel.

For example, in the homily “About the Lawyer who Tempted the Lord” Philagathos explains the Lord’s threefold command to “love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and with all your mind” (Lc. 10:27) as pointing to the constitution of man. The homilist connects the Christian doctrine of man as the summit of creation with the ancient philosophical notion of the great chain of being. Philagathos writes:¹²⁰¹

But which is the meaning of the threefold division of the commandment of the Law? For it says: “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and with all your mind.” [Lc. 10:27; cf. Deut. 6:5; Lev. 19:18] Perhaps the word explained the entire constitution of man. Well, the perfect nature of the soul (ἡ τελεία ψυχή) is observed in these three aspects. And the philosophy from the ‘outside’ (ἡ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφία) *had indeed some imagination about this opinion, but they did not clearly grasped it*. In fact, the great Moses articulated this clearly in the account of creation, for among the living beings he names first the sprouting of plants, then the genesis of irrational creatures, and after this the bringing into being of man, [thus] he philosophically teaches about *the power the living soul in three divisions. For of the living creatures part is deprived of sense perception, part is deprived of reason while being governed by sense perception, whereas the perfect bodily life (ἐν σώμασι) is accomplished in man, which is both nourished like plants and endowed with sense perception like the irrational being and also partakes of reason. Just as we have learned from the apostle* in what he says to the Ephesians [1Thess. 5: 23] when he is praying for them that the complete grace of their “body and soul and spirit” may be preserved. For here also it seems to me that the phrase indicates the same difference, naming the more corporeal existence ‘heart,’ ‘strength’ (ἰσχὺν) the existence governed by sense-perception, ‘mind’ (διάνοιαν) the higher nature and spiritual sense (νοεράν).

¹²⁰¹ Hom. 12, 2–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 79–80).

Philagathos' exegesis of the Lukan verse and the reference to the philosophy from the 'outside' is an unacknowledged appropriation from Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*. In fact, the homilist' frequent allusions throughout the *Homilies* to ancient philosophy are often mediated through some Christian source.¹²⁰² Their undisclosed provenance reveals a self-conscious effort to assert his erudition. In the homily "About the Lawyer who tempted the Lord," Philagathos resumes Gregory of Nyssa's argument:

Hom. 12, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 80):

Ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ τριττὴ αὕτη διαίρεσις τῆς νομικῆς ἐντολῆς; Λέγει γάρ· «Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου». Τάχα τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σύστασιν ὁ λόγος ἐδίδαξεν· ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ γὰρ τούτοις ὁράται ἡ τελεία ψυχὴ. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐφαντάσθη μὲν καὶ ἡ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφία, οὐ μὴν τηλαυγῶς κατενόησεν, ὁ μέγας δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῇ κοσμογενεῖα διετράνωσεν· οἷς γὰρ πρότερον τῶν φυτῶν λέγει τὴν βλάστησιν, εἴτα τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὴν γένεσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραγωγὴν τὴν ἐν τρισὶ διαφοραῖς τῆς ζωτικῆς ψυχῆς δύνανται φιλοσοφεῖ. Τῶν γὰρ ζώντων σωμάτων τὰ μὲν αἰσθήσεως ἀμοιρεῖ, τὰ δὲ δι' αἰσθήσεως οἰκονομούμενα τοῦ λόγου ἐστέρηται, ἡ δὲ τελεία ἐν σώμασι ζωὴ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρεφομένη ὡς τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ὡς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων αἰσθανομένη καὶ λόγου μετέχουσα. Καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐμεμαθήκειμεν, ἐν οἷς τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις τὴν ὀλοτελὴ χάριν ἐπεύχεται φυλαχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἡ ἐντολὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐρμηνεύει διαφοράν, τὴν μὲν σωματικωτέραν κατάστασιν καρδίαν εἰποῦσα, ἰσχνὴν δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν, διάνοιαν δὲ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν φύσιν καὶ νοεράν.

Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 144–145:

Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ δόγμα τι τῶν κεκρυμμένων παραδιδόναι διὰ τούτων ὁ Μωϋσῆς, καὶ τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς φιλοσοφίαν δι' ἀπορρήτων παραδιδόναι, ἣν ἐφαντάσθη μὲν καὶ ἡ ἔξωθεν παιδεύσις, οὐ μὴν τηλαυγῶς κατενόησε. Διδάσκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς διὰ τούτων ὁ λόγος, ἐν τρισὶ διαφοραῖς τὴν ζωτικὴν καὶ ψυχικὴν δύναμιν θεωρεῖσθαι. [...] Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυομένοις ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν αἰσθήσεως ἄμοιρον κατανοῆσαι. Ἄλλοτε δὲ παρὰ τοῦτο ζωῆς εἶδος ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει, καὶ τὸ κατ' αἴσθησιν οἰκονομῆσαι προσείληφεν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστίν. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τρέφεται καὶ αὐξεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν ἐνέργειάν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχει. Ἡ δὲ τελεία ἐν σώματι ζωὴ ἐν τῇ λογικῇ, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ λέγω, καθορᾶται φύσει, τρεφομένη τε καὶ αἰσθανομένη, καὶ λόγου μετέχουσα, καὶ νῦν διοικουμένη. Γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τοιαύτη τις ἡ τοῦ λόγου διαίρεσις. [...] Πάλιν τοῦ ζωτικοῦ σώματος τὸ μὲν αἰσθήσει συζῇ, τὸ δὲ ἀμοιρεῖ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Εἴτα τὸ αἰσθητικὸν τέμνεται πάλιν εἰς λογικὸν τε καὶ ἄλογον. Διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην οἶον ὑποβάθραν τινὰ τῆς τῶν ἐμπύχων ιδέας τὴν φυσικὴν ταύτην ζωὴν συστήναι λέγει ὁ νομοθέτης, ἐν τῇ τῶν φυτῶν βλάστη προὑποστάσαν· εἴθ' οὕτως ἐπάγει τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν διοικουμένων τὴν γένεσιν. [...] ὡς ἐν τρισὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀνθρώπον τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει· καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐμάθομεν, ἐν οἷς

¹²⁰² E.g. *Hom.* 19, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 127) = Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum (homiliae 15) GNO* 6, 317–318; the sequence of ideas and the citations from *Hom* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 776A–777A) are based on Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 81.

πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἔφη, προσευχόμενος αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀλοτελῇ χάριν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου φυλαχθῆναι [...] τὴν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας ἐνεργουμένην. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν αὐτὴν δοκεῖ μοι διαφορὰν ἐρμηνεύειν ὁ λόγος, τὴν μὲν σωματικωτέραν κατάστασιν καρδίαν εἰπὼν, ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν μέσσην, διάνοιαν δὲ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν φύσιν, τὴν νοεράν τε καὶ ποιητικὴν δύναμιν [...].

Philagathos takes up entirely Nyssen's account on the perfection of human soul including the erroneous scriptural reference to the *Epistle to the Ephesians*.¹²⁰³ At the same time, the appropriation highlights Philagathos' florilegic habit. For it is manifest that the preacher picked up Gregory's account on man's form and the speculation on the difference of souls because it encloses a direct reference to the Gospel reading of the day (i.e. to Lc. 10:26), to which it provided a convenient explanation.

8.2. "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven."

The preacher affirms the value of pagan scientific learning by employing explanations of physical phenomena or descriptions of human anatomy as illustrative analogies for enhancing the vividness of the sermons and for solving scriptural difficulties.

An illustrative example for this is the sermon "On the Sending Forth of the Seventy Disciples." The sermon has a 'florilegic structure' amassing passages from several sources on the theme of the sermon. First, Philagathos introduces the perceived exegetical problem posed by Christ's address to his disciples: "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven." [Lc. 10:18; cf. Is. 14:12] The homilist explains:¹²⁰⁴

The response of the Lord to the apostles' saying¹²⁰⁵ appears somehow incoherent, unless it is not examined in the sight of the thought, in consequence of which they uttered the words. Since indeed, they were imagining some great thing about themselves as they drove away demons, in the belief that they were already bearing sway over the ruler of this world, He merely says these words for leading them away from such a conceit: "You ought not to marvel, if the demons are afraid of you; since their sovereign having become enfeebled has fallen out and well-nigh he will be entirely cast out. Therefore, you do not possess the power of effecting miracles and the banishment of demons as justification of your vanity.

¹²⁰³ The reference is actually to 1 Th. 5:23: "May your whole spirit, soul and body be kept blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

¹²⁰⁴ Philagathos, *Hom.* 16, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 107).

¹²⁰⁵ i.e. Lc. 10:17: «Then the seventy returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in Your name.»

For once even Satan was at the height of splendor, but because he was vainglorious was overthrown.”

Δοκεῖ πως ἀσυνάρτητος πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγον ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόκρισις, πλὴν ἀλλὰ συμβιβάζεται πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς λόγους ἐφθέγγαντο. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δαίμονας ἀπελάσαντες μέγα τι περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐφαντάσθησαν, ὡς κρατήσαντες ἤδη τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος, ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης οἰήσεως, ταῦτά φησι, μονονουχὶ λέγων· «Οὐ χρή θαυμάζειν, εἰ πεφρίκασιν ὑμᾶς τὰ δαιμόνια· ὁ γὰρ τούτων ἄρχων ἀσθενήσας ἐκπέπτωκε, καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἔξω παντάπασιν ἐκβληθήσεται. Μὴ οὖν τὴν τῶν σημείων ἰσχὺν καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τὴν ἐκβολὴν κενοδοξίας σχῆτε λαβήν. Ἦν γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐν ὑψεὶ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ’ ὑπερηφανευσάμενος καταβέβληται».

It has escaped previous scholarly attention that Philagathos’ text is fashioned after Psellos’ theological discourse about Luke 10:18:¹²⁰⁶

Τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ παρ’ ὑμῶν τὴν τήμερον προβληθέν. τῶν γὰρ μαθητῶν εἰρηκότων, ‘κύριε, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἡμῖν ὑποτάσσεται’, ‘ἐθεώρουν’ φησὶ ‘τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς ἀστραπὴν πεσόντα’. ἀσυνάρτητος γὰρ κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγον ἢ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόκρισις, συμβιβάζεται δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποδοδομένη διάνοιαν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐποιήσαντο. τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάνοια; οὗτοι, ἐπειδὴ πνεύμασιν ἅπαξ ἐπιτιμήσαντες ἀπῆλθαν ἀφ’ ὧν κατεσκήνωσαν, μέγα τι περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐφαντάσθησαν· ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ μεγαλουργήματι ἀβρυνόμενοι ἐντεῦθεν ὕμνησαν τὸν διδάσκαλον. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι εἰς μαθητείαν αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν οὐδ’ ὅτι κρειττόνων μαθημάτων μετέσχον οὐδ’ ὅτι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐξελέγησαν εὐφημεῖν αὐτὸν προείλοντο καὶ εὐγνωμονεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς εὖ πεπόνθασι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῶν δαιμόνων κατεδυνάστευσαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέγα τὸ κατισχύσειν ἄρχων καὶ καταδυναστεύσειν ἐξουσιῶν καὶ κρατήσιν τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος. τῆς γοῦν τοιαύτης οἰήσεως ἀπάγων ὁ κύριος, ‘ἐθεώρουν’ φησὶ ‘τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα’. τοῦτο δὲ μονονουχὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ τῆς ὑμετέρας δυνάμεως τὸ κατισχύειν τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσθενείας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἰσχύος.¹²⁰⁷

¹²⁰⁶ Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 18, 63–84 (ed. Gautier, vol. II, 99).

¹²⁰⁷ Trans.: “For such as this is also the inquiry put forward by you today. For, when the disciples announced, ‘Lord, even the demons are subject to us in Your name,’ ‘I saw,’ He says, ‘Satan fall like lightning from heaven.’ [Lc. 10:17–18] For in this place as well, the response of the Lord to the apostles’ saying seems incoherent, but when it is examined in the sight of their thought, by which they uttered the words to the Teacher, [the response] appears connected to their word. For which was the apostles’ thinking? Well, the apostles, seeing that by rebuking the evil spirits once only they drove them away from whatever place they settled, they were imagining some great thing about themselves; from this ground of priding themselves over such mighty miracle they have praised the teacher. For surely not because they gave themselves up to Him for the sake of teaching, neither because they partook of loftier doctrines, nor, because they were chosen by Jesus in respect of others to praise him and show gratitude on account of the benefits which they have experienced, but merely because they had power over demons. For it seemed to them of great importance that they would prevail over the principalities, suppress the powers, and conquer the ruler of this world. The Lord for leading them away from such a conceit, ‘I saw,’ He says, ‘Satan fall like lightning from heaven.’ [Lc. 10:17–18] This is only said in this wise, that to prevail over the wicked powers is not in your power, but the consequence of their weakness, or rather more to My power.”

However, besides this elucidation taken from Psellos, Philagathos appeals to “those who devoted themselves to the study of nature” (οἱ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν γνῶσιν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀσχολήσαντες) and cites the definition of ‘lightning’ for setting up an original solution to Luke 10:18:¹²⁰⁸

“I saw Satan fall like lightning (ὥς ἀστραπὴν) from heaven.” [Lc. 10:18] Exceedingly felicitous [the Lord] used the example of the lightning. For lightning (ἀστραπή) is produced, as those who devoted themselves to the study of nature recorded, when a dry wind which is whirled (εἰληθὲν) along in a dense watery cloud and being driven forth violently breaks asunder the continuous masses of the cloud, causing a roar and crash (πάταγον), similar to the noise made by the wind driven violently through water, which is called thunder. Whereas the bursting asunder of a cloud, when the blast of wind (τοῦ πνεύματος) from the rubbing catches fire and flashes forth is called lightning, which then swiftly is extinguished going towards nothingness. Just in this manner that most wicked spirit (πνεῦμα) is whirled (ἐνείληθὲν) up in the cloud of haughtiness, when struck by the thunder of self-conceit he blasted the unspeakable crashing (πάταγον) of his blasphemy: “I will seize the earth like a nest” [cf. Is. 10:14] and “I will exalt my throne above the stars and I will be like the Most High.” [cf. Is. 14: 13-14] For this reason [the wicked spirit is] like a lightning which after shining forth in its inaugural brightness had been obliterated as he burst of his’ own accord towards evil and passed into nothingness, which is precisely the evil. Whence even the Lord through Ezekiel says in reference to him: “Your heart became proud because of your beauty; I threw you to the earth because of the multitude of your sins.” [cf. Ezech. 28:17] In addition, Obadiah says somewhere in respect of him: “Though you soar like the eagle and make your nest among the stars, from there I will bring you down, declares the Lord.” [Obd. 1:4]

Thus, Philagathos provides a scientific explanation of how to conceive Satan’s fall from heaven. The account of lightning (i.e. εἰληθὲν πνεῦμα ἐν νέφει... ἀστραπή...χωροῦσα πρὸς τὸ μηδέν) constitutes the template for the following vivid description of Satan’s plummet (τὸ πονηρότατον πνεῦμα, ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας νέφει ἐνείληθὲν... ὥς ἀστραπή λάμψας, χωρήσας πρὸς τὸ μηδέν). A web of cross references between the Lukan passage, the Bible, and the ekphrasis of lightning dovetails the description of Satan’s pride and punishment. However, the aspect that captured the scholarly attention was the source of Philagathos’ description. As Cristina Torre excellently pointed out the reference goes back to the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, *De mundo*.¹²⁰⁹ Yet, the text in question has a rich indirect textual tradition being transmitted by John Stobaeus’ *Anthologium*, John Lydus’ *De mensibus* and Pseudo-Zonaras’ *Lexicon*.¹²¹⁰

¹²⁰⁸ Philagathos, *Hom.* 16, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 107).

¹²⁰⁹ The issue is excellently discussed by Cristina Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 15 (2008): 89–119.

¹²¹⁰ John Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, I, 40, 674, ed. C. Wachsmuth (repr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1974), 265; John Lydus, *De mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch (Stuttgart, 1967), 183; Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, 406, 14, ed. J.A.H. Tittmann (repr. Amsterdam 1967).

However, pertinent to Philagathos' appropriation are the *De mundo* and the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus:

Philagathos, *Hom.* 16, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 107):

Γίνεται γὰρ ἀστραπή, ὡς ἰστόρησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν γνῶσιν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀσχολήσαντες, ὅταν εἰληθὲν ξηρὸν πνεῦμα ἐν νέφει παχεῖ τε καὶ **νοτερῶ** βιαίως διαρρήξῃ **τὰ** συνεχῇ τοῦ νέφους **πυλῆματα**, βρόμον καὶ πάταγον ἀπεργασάμενον, ὥσπερ ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶς ἐλαυνόμενον, **ὃ δὴ βροντῇ** ὀνομάζεται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ νέφους ἔκρηξις, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς προστρίψεως πυρωθέντος καὶ λάμψαντος, **ἀστραπὴ** λέγεται, ἣτις δὴ καὶ ταχέως σβέννυται χωροῦσα πρὸς τὸ μηδέν. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ πονηρότατον πνεῦμα, ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας νέφει ἐνείληθεν, ὡς ἐκ βροντῆς τῆς ἰδίας οἰήσεως ἄφατον δυσφημίας ἀπεδούπησε **πάταγον**. «Καταλήψομαι, λέγων, τὴν οἰκουμένην ὡς νοσσιάν», καί· «Θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου ἐπάνω τῶν **ἄστρων**, καὶ ἔσομαι ὁμοῖος τῷ Ὑψίστῳ». Διὸ καὶ ὡς **ἀστραπὴ** **λάμψας** ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ λαμπρότητι, πρὸς τὴν κακίαν αὐτομολήσας ἠφάνισται, χωρήσας πρὸς τὸ μηδέν, ὅπερ ἡ κακία ἐστίν.

Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo*, 395a, 12–17:

Εἰληθὲν δὲ πνεῦμα ἐν νέφει παχεῖ τε καὶ **νοτερῶ**, καὶ ἐξωσθὲν δι' αὐτοῦ, βιαίως ῥηγνύον **τὰ** συνεχῇ **πυλῆματα** τοῦ νέφους, βρόμον καὶ πάταγον μέγαν ἀπειργάσατο, **<ὃς> βροντῇ λέγεται**, ὥσπερ ἐν ὕδατι πνεῦμα σφοδρῶς ἐλαυνόμενον. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νέφους ἔκρηξιν πυρωθὲν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λάμψαν **ἀστραπὴ** λέγεται.¹²¹¹

John Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, I, 40, 1:

Εἰληθὲν δὲ πνεῦμα ἐν νέφει παχεῖ τε **<καὶ> νοτίῳ** καὶ ἐξωσθὲν δι' αὐτοῦ βιαίως **<ῥηγνύον> τὸ πύλημα** τοῦ νέφους βρόμον καὶ πάταγον μέγαν ἀπειργάσατο, **βροντὴν λεγόμενον**, ὥσπερ ἐν ὕδατι πνεῦμα σφοδρῶς ἐλαυνόμενον. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νέφους ἔκρηξιν πυρωθὲν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λάμψαν **ἀστραπὴ** λέγεται.

It can be observed that the closest affinity of Philagathos' text is *De mundo*.¹²¹² For as Torre remarked, particularly in reference to the **<τὰ συνεχῇ τοῦ νέφους πυλῆματα>** and **<νοτερῶ>** it is quite unlikely that the homilist used the text of Stobaeus, which he may have later modified as to render it identical with the text of *De mundo*.¹²¹³ Therefore, two options remain for the source of Philagathos' citation: it depends either directly on *De mundo*, or on some unknown testimony of Pseudo-Aristotle's treatise. This may constitute the first attestation of *De mundo* in Southern Italy. Otherwise, from Aristotle's works we know that *Meteorologica* circulated in Sicily in the twelfth century as Henry Arristipus' translation of the tract indicates.¹²¹⁴ Furthermore, in the thirteenth century the presence of *De mundo* in Southern Italy

¹²¹¹ Trans. E. S. Foster, *De Mundo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 395a: "A wind which is whirled along in a dense watery cloud and being driven forth through it violently breaks up the continuous masses of the cloud, causes a roar and crash, which we call thunder, similar to the noise made by wind driven violently through water. When the wind in breaking forth from a cloud catches fire and flashes it is called lightning."

¹²¹² For a detailed discussion of the passage from the *De mundo*, its indirect tradition and Philagathos' citation see Torre, "Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele," 100–111.

¹²¹³ Ibid., 100.

¹²¹⁴ Charles Haskins and Lockwood Dean Putnam, "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the first Latin Version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 21 (1910): 75–102; Edward Grant,

is certified by the translations of Nicholas of Sicily and Bartholomew of Messina.¹²¹⁵ In fact, two manuscripts transmitting the work (*Vat. gr. 316* and *Marc. gr. 264*) dated in the thirteenth century are of Salentine origin.¹²¹⁶ Cristina Torre conjectured that the manuscript used for the Salentine copies may have arrived from Calabria where “forse era già stato utilizzato nel XII secolo da Filagato da Cerami.”¹²¹⁷

8.3. Medical Theory and Demonic Possession

Philagathos’ interest for scientific explanations may further be illustrated by the sermon “On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy.” The subject afforded Philagathos to advance a medical explanation of demonic possession by cause of disequilibrium of the four humours. The homilist proceeded by clearing off the indictment of the disciple’s inability to heal the boy. Their failure resulted from the father’s lack of faith, which the homilist portrayed through an ekphrastic vignette borrowed from Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes* and amplified by a rhetorical use of repetition.¹²¹⁸ The Philagathean text was cited by Gilbert Dagron for illustrating the surmised confrontation between two trends in Byzantine culture, the one inclined to supernatural explanations (i.e. the hagiographic mind), the other devoted to more rationalist approaches to natural phenomena, miracles, relics, etc.¹²¹⁹ In this reading, Philagathos’ exposition exemplifies a reaction “contre la ‘langue de bois’ hagiographique,” because the preacher explains in part the demonic possession through the ‘laws of nature.’ According to the medical theory, which Philagathos endorses in part, the demonic possession is a disorder of the spirit resulted from the excess of black bile in cerebral operations. However, as we shall see, Philagathos actually appropriates the doctrines encountered in Gregory of Nyssa and Makarios Magnes’ writings to the text in question, perhaps to suit a real debate as the polemical emphasis of Philagathos’ inquiry seems to suggest.

But before we analyze this let us correct the opinion of many. Those who pay heed only to what appears visible and shut the senses of their soul ascribe the condition of being possessed by a devil not to the assault of demons, but to the excess of juices [humours], when the black bile prevailing at certain periods of time makes

“Henricus Aristippus, William of Moerbeke and Two alleged Medieval Translations of Hero’s *Pneumatica*,” *Speculum* 46 (1971): 656–69.

¹²¹⁵ Comparing the Latin translations of *De mundo* with the Greek text reported by Philagathos, Cristina Torre hypothesized that there may have been two recensions of *De mundo* circulating in Southern Italy, one common to Philagathos and Nicholas of Sicily and another version utilized by Bartholomew of Messina (ead., “Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 111).

¹²¹⁶ A. Jacob, “Les écritures de Terre d’Otrante,” in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), 269; Daniele Arnesano, *La minuscula «barocca»*. *Scritture e libri in Terra d’Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Lecce: Congedo, 2008), 78 and 119; Torre, “Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 116–117; see also J. Irigoien, “Manuscripts italiotes et traductions latines de traités scientifiques et techniques: quelques exemples,” in *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell’Italia meridionale bizantina*, ed. Filippo Burgarella and Anna Maria Ieraci Bio (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006), 125–136.

¹²¹⁷ Torre, “Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele,” 117.

¹²¹⁸ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 473 A–B) = Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 12 (ed. Goulet, 108, l. 27–110, l. 5); the text is cited in Part II. 2. 5. Ekphrastic Vignettes in the Homilies,” 143–145.

¹²¹⁹ Gilbert Dagron, “L’ombre d’un doute: L’hagiographe en question, VIe – XIe siècle,” *DOP* 46 (1992): 67–68.

turbid the membrane enclosing the brain by its exhalations; for otherwise discloses this aspect the frenzied trembling of the entire body and the cooling of the extremities. Well, that is what affirm those who pay heed only to the laws of nature, whereas the others state that any power derived from matter cannot whatsoever be harmful to those possessed by a devil, but that the demons directly lead astray the mind of the sufferer and make him loose his wits and they carry him in what direction and in whatever way the impure spirit which moves him wishes. At least then, this is what both are saying, and they equally fail utterly of reaching the right and proper judgement. The ones are impious, the others ignorant. The truth lies in the middle of these two and evades the excess or the insufficiency of these two opposed evils. For neither matter [i.e. the corporeal fluids] without demonic operation causes such a disorder of mind, neither the devil instantaneously torments the mind to such an extent. In fact, when the man is handed over to the enemy and to the punisher by [God's] unspoken resolutions, at that time [the devil] observing the matter ruling over him to the highest degree he makes use of this, like a staff and a whip for inflicting suffering [to the man].

Ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου διαλαβεῖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν διορθωσώμεθα. Οἱ μὲν τῷ φαινόμενῳ προσέχοντες, καὶ **μύοντες τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια**,¹²²⁰ οὐ δαιμόνων ἐπήρειαν, ἀλλὰ χυμῶν περιττότητα, τῶν δαιμονόντων τὸ πάθος ὀρίζονται, ὅταν ἡ **τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς ἐπικράτεια** κατὰ τινας περιόδους διὰ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως ἐπιθολώσῃ **τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὰς μήνιγγας**· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο, ὃ τε **βρασμώδης κλόνος** ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄρθρων περίψυξις. Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τοῖς φυσικῶς μόνοις προσέχοντες· οἱ δὲ ὕλης μὲν τινα ἐπικράτειαν ἐπὶ τῶν δαιμονόντων, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν παραβλάπτειν φασὶν, ἀλλ' ἀμέσως οὕτως τοὺς δαίμονας παραφέρειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ πάσχοντος, καὶ τὰς φρένας ἐπιθολοῦν, καὶ ἄγειν ὅπη καὶ ὅπως τὸ κινοῦν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα βούλεται. Τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἀμφοτέροι λέγοντες, τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ πρεπούσης διαμαρτάνουσι κρίσεως. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἀσεβεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς. Ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια μέσον ἱσταμένη τούτων τῶν ἐκ διαμέτρου κακῶν τὴν ὑπέρπτωσιν, καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν διαπέφυγεν.¹²²¹ Οὔτε γὰρ ὕλη χωρὶς ἐνεργείας δαιμονικῆς τὴν τοιαύτην παραφορὰν ἀπεργάζεται, οὔτε ὁ δαίμων ἀμέσως οὕτω διενεχλεῖ. Ἀλλ' ἡνίκα παραδίδεται τοῖς ἀρρήτοις κρίμασιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ ἐχθρῷ, καὶ ἐκδικητῇ, τότε τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ὕλην τὰ μάλιστα σκοπήσας αὐτὸς, ταύτη κέχρηται, οἶονεῖ ῥάβδῳ, καὶ μάστιγι πρὸς τὴν κάκωσιν.¹²²²

¹²²⁰ The expression **μύοντες τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια** ("shut the senses of their soul") is of Nyysen derivation; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, coll. 21: **μεμυκῶς παντάπασιν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια** [...]; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, III, 2, 28, 9: τίς γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ [διὰ τούτων] τῶν μὴ παντελῶς **μεμυκῶτων τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια** [...]; Philagathos is fond of this expression as he cites it several times in the *Homilies*; cf. *Hom.* 16, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 109): **μύσαντες** ἐκοντὶ **τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια** [...]; *Hom.* 87 (*Matrit. gr.* 4554, f. 204^r): **τοῖς μὴ μεμυκῶσι τὰ τοῦ νοῦς αἰσθητήρια** [...].

¹²²¹ The formulation of this principle appears inspired from Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 284, 5–6: «διότι πᾶσα ἀρετὴ δύο κακιῶν ἐστὶ **μέση, τῆς τε ἐλλείψεως τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπερπτώσεως**» or from *De vita Moysis*, 2, 288, 1–3: «Δόγμα δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐν μεσότητι θεωρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς ὀριζόμενος, διότι **πέφυκε** πᾶσα κακία ἢ κατ' **ἐλλειψιν ἢ καθ' ὑπέρπτωσιν** ἀρετῆς ἐνεργεῖσθαι»; actually the latter text inspired a large section from *Hom.* 30, 13–14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202–203); see for this below, n° 1372.

¹²²² *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 473B–476A).

The explanation of demonic possession as partly resulting from the disequilibrium of the four humors comes from Gregory of Nyssa.¹²²³ In the treatise *On the Making of Man*, Gregory described mental disorders through the conceptual tools of medical theory. Gregory says: “skilled physicians declare that our intellect is also weakened by the membranes that underlie the sides being affected by disease, when they call the disease frenzy, since the name given to those membranes is φρένες. [...] as the vessel that contains the bile, contracting, pours that bitter and pungent juice upon the entrance of the stomach; and a proof of this is that the complexion of those in grief becomes sallow and jaundiced, as the bile pours its own juice into the veins by reason of excessive pressure.”¹²²⁴ Besides, in the seventh *Homily on the Beatitudes*, Gregory described a demon-possessed man by using the medical theory about the natural balance of humors.¹²²⁵ Noteworthy, Philagathos used extensively this description from the seventh *Homily on the Beatitudes*. Equally, the treatise *On the Making of Man* was profusely excerpted in the *Homilies*.¹²²⁶

If the wording of Philagathos appears more indebted to Gregory of Nyssa, yet the homily “On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy” follows scrupulously Makarios’ line of thought. Philagathos explains Christ’s censorious answer “O faithless and perverse generation,” [Matthew 17: 17] as a condemnation of the opinion of those present, which held the moon to be the cause of the boy’s misfortune. Says Philagathos:

“O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I bear with you? Bring him here to Me.” [Mt. 17:17] It is the custom for the wicked spirits to bring misfortune upon their victims in relation to certain turnings of the moon. To what purpose? That the portent [sign, omen] that was beautifully created for the benefit of the created realm, the moon, I say, may be considered a cause of injury. And hence the creator is slandered as the maker of existing evil. Having contrived this knavishly, they spread the belief that the moon by her own increases and decreases produces such a great calamity; whence they called the sufferers ‘moon stricken.’ Therefore this man submitting to this perverted opinion

¹²²³ For Gregory’s view on medical science see Mary Emily Keenan, “St. Gregory of Nyssa and the Medical Profession,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 15 (1944): 150—61.

¹²²⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 157D (trans. NPNF II/5, 543); the ideas conveyed by Philagathos and the technical vocabulary itself (i.e. «τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὰς μήνιγγας», «ἡ τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς», «βρασμῶδης κλόνο» etc) point to the chapter XII from *De opificio hominis*: “An examination of the question where the ruling principle is to be considered to reside; wherein also is a discussion of tears and laughter, and a physiological speculation as to the inter-relation of matter, nature, and mind.” (in particular, PG 44, coll. 156C – 161A).

¹²²⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1284—1285: κλόνο» κεφαλῆς, χειρῶν ἔμπληκτοι κινήσεις, βρασμός ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, [...] ἐπικρατήση τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὑπερζέσῃ τὸ περικάρδιον αἷμα τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τῆς θυμώδους διαθέσεως ἀπανταχῇ κατασπαρείσης τῷ σώματι, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοθεν συνθλιβομένων ἀτμῶν, στενοχωρεῖται πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αἰσθητήρια: “Agitation of the head, impulsive movements of the hands, shaking of the whole body [...]. Once the disease has taken hold and the blood round the heart boils over, with the black bile (so they tell us) which comes from the furious disposition spreading throughout the whole body, then all the organs of sense in the head are constricted by the compressed vapours.”

¹²²⁶ Philagathos appropriated Nyssen’s description of a demon-possessed man in *Hom.* 9, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 65–66); see for this above, Part II, chapter Ekphrasis of Persons: a Sleeping Deacon and a Man Enraged,” 132–133; for Philagathos’ extensive usage of Gregory’s *De opificio hominis* see *Hom.* 12, 2–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 79–80).

omitted to say the very thing which took place: “Have mercy on my son,” [Mt. 17:15] because he is carried astray by the demonic darkening, instead he said “for he is moonstruck.” At all events the Lord rebuked this [saying]: “O faithless and perverse generation!” For He would not have added ‘perverse,’ if He had not seen the perversion of their opinion. In this way after He formerly denounced the impiety, He brings forth the healing for he considered that the irrational opinion on behalf of the fatherly faithlessness did not impede the child to benefit of the common salvation. Therefore, the demon invisibly inflamed departed straight forward and the child enjoyed a divine tranquility.¹²²⁷

In this passage, Philagathos actually compresses the more rhetorical exegesis of Makarios.¹²²⁸ The entire argument on demonic possession and its association with certain phases of the moon as being the craft of demons is based on Makarios’ text:¹²²⁹

¹²²⁷ *Hom.* 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 476B–C): «Ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἕως πότε ἔσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετέ μοι αὐτὸν ὧδε.» Εἰθίσται τοῖς μαροῖς πνεύμασι κατὰ τινὰς σεληνιαίας τροπὰς τὴν παραφορὰν ἐπάγειν τοῖς πάσχουσιν. Ἵνα τί γένηται; Ἵνα τὸ καλῶς δημιουργηθὲν σημεῖον ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίαν τῆς κτίσεως, ἢ σελήνη, φημί, βλάβης αἴτιον νομισθῇ. Κάντεϋθεν βλασφημεῖται ὁ κτίστης ὡς κακῶν ὑπάρχων δημιουργός. Τοῦτο πανούργως νοήσαντες δόξαν ἐνέσπειραν, ὡς ἢ σελήνη ταῖς ἰδίαις αὐξήσεσιν, ἢ μειώσεσιν τὴν τοιαύτην σκότωσιν ἀπεργάζεται ὅθεν σεληνιαζομένους ἐκάλουν τοὺς πάσχοντας. Ταύτη γοῦν τῇ διεστραμμένῃ δόξῃ στοιχῶν καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἄφεις εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ἦν· «Ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν,» ὅτι σκοτώσει δαιμονικῇ παραφέρεται, φησὶν, «Ὅτι σεληνιάζεται.» Τοῦτο γοῦν ἐλέγχων ὁ Κύριος· «Ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη!» Οὐκ ἂν τὸ διεστραμμένη προσέθηκεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἑώρα διαστροφὴν. Οὕτω στηλιτεύσας πρότερον τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ἐπιφέρει τὴν ἴασιν, παράλογον ἡγησάμενος διὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ἀπιστίαν, τὸν παῖδα μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόνασθαι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δαιμόνιον ἀοράτως φλεγόμενον ὥχετο ἀμεταστρεπτί· ὁ δὲ παῖς θείας γαλήνης ἀπήλυσεν.

¹²²⁸ On may note that the scriptural quotation (i.e. Mt. 17:17) in the Byzantine sermon is not well connected with the elucidation forthwith following; the reason of Christ’s reproof is given only to the end after explaining the demon’s behavior as knavishly adjusted to the turnings of the moon; this stylistic incongruity seemingly derives from the preacher’s reliance on the sequence of Makarios’ argument but having cut short its rhetorical bent; in this sense observe Makarios’ approach to Christ’s recrimination: *Monogenes*, II 21 (ed. Goulet, 26–28): 1. Λοιπὸν ἴδωμεν τί θέλει λέγειν ὁ φάσκων· «Ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν, ὅτι σεληνιάζεται»· οὐ γὰρ σελήνη τοῦτον ἀλλὰ δαίμων ἐκόλαζε· κάκεινο δὲ μὴ ἀπέρργον ἀκούσωμεν τό· «Ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἔσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν;» 2. Τί γὰρ πρᾶγμα εἶχον οἱ πολλοὶ ταύτης ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς, ἐνὸς ἀξιούντος, εἰ καὶ σφαλλομένου περὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν; τίνος δὲ ἔνεκεν, ἐλεεινῶς τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τὸν υἱὸν γονυπετοῦντος, ἐπιτιμητικῶς οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀπαντήσας ἐφθέγγετο; 3. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἀσμενίσαι τὴν ἐντεῦξιν ἅτε περὶ κακουμένου συμπαθῶς γιγνομένην; ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἀποσκορακίζει τῶν ἱκετῶν τὴν δέησιν· δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀλόγως ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐνυβρίζειν τὸν δῆμον. “Let us see now what wants to say the passage: ‘Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is moonstruck.’ [Mt. 17: 15] In fact, not the moon tormented him but a demon. Let us not listen as an accessory without importance the saying: ‘O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you?’ [Mt. 17:17] For what reason did the multitude deserve to listen this word, since just one person expected the answer even if he was not deemed worthy? For what reason when the father miserably kneeled [beseeching] for his son did [Christ] speak in his response censoriously not to the father alone but to the crowd? Wasn’t it not far more necessary to receive gladly the petition, which was compassionately made for the afflicted? But contrariwise he rejects the suppliant’s entreaty. For it seems that Christ openly insulted the people in an unreasonable manner.”

¹²²⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, II 21 (ed. Goulet, 28, 1–17): 4. Ἀλλὰ μὴ προσχωμεν τῇ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπαγγελίᾳ μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφανῆ τοῦ πράγματος κακίαν ἀθρήσωμεν. Τί γοῦν; πανούργος ὑπάρχων καὶ δολερὸς ὁ δράκων ὁ λεγόμενος δαίμων τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς ἀπανθρώπως διεστρέβλου τὸ σῶμα ποικίλα δειμάτα φασμάτων καὶ φοβερά ζωγραφῶν· τῶν δ’ ἱστορούντων τὰς ψυχὰς πολυτρόπως ἐμάστιζεν εἰς θεομάχον γνώμην ἀνάγων τοὺς εὐχερεῖς. 5. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στροφὴν, μᾶλλον δ’ ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ σεληνιαίου κύκλου, ἐγχρίπτων τῷ νεανίᾳ λύτταν ἀφόρητον καὶ πολλὴν ἐνειργάζετο, ὡς εἰς ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ καταβάλλειν ἐλεεινῶς, καὶ πολλῇ μανίᾳ διαταράττειν ἀφειδῶς, ὡς τοὺς ὀρῶντας νομίζειν οὐκ ἀπὸ δαίμονος τοῦτο πάσχειν τὸν παῖδα, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς σελήνης κύκλου διαστρέφεσθαι διὰ τὸ παρατετηρημένον, τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος καθ’ ἐκάστην ὑποστροφὴν σεληνιαίου φωτὸς ἐπιρριπτοῦντος τ’ ὅτ’

But let us not confine our inquiry only to the outward appearance but let us observe the unseen mischief of the matter. In fact, what is it about? Being cunning and deceitful, the serpent which is called Demon tortured inhumanly the body of the child portraying diverse frightful and terrifying apparitions; but he also whipped in a variegated manner the souls of those witnessing the event, leading the light-minded [among them] to a disposition against God. For at the circling or rather at the return of the cycle of the moon [the demon] assaulting the young man produced an unendurable raging madness as he throws him into the water or into the fire in a pitifully spectacle [cf. Mt. 17: 15]; and he casts him without mercy into an unbounded madness so that those who behold this matter may consider that the child suffers not from the demon, but to be tormented by the cycle of the moon, on account of what was carefully observed; because the wicked demon rushed upon the young man at every full moon. Thereafter, because of this, in a hidden manner, but almost openly the blasphemy was spreading, since the censors contended that by establishing the cycle of the moon the Creator did not create a good creation but intended the destruction of the human flock, judging from the information we have learned.

We may finally notice in Philagathos' sermon the reference to the tortures the demons suffered at the vision of the Saviour (τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀοράτως φλεγόμενον). This is actually extant in Makarios' commentary on the Gerasene demoniac. Makarios explained that the demons were inflamed by the fire flashing forth from the vision of the Saviour and desired to run into the water to alleviate the burning heat that girdled them. Since they had an incorporeal nature, they could not enter into the sea unclad (γυμνοί) and searched for a herd of swine through which they could pierce into the water and extinguish thus their burning.¹²³⁰ When investigating the ultimate source of the reprimands against extant in the *Monogenes* it is particularly relevant to note that Jerome ascribed to Porphyry an argument focussed on the demons' torments. Thus, in relation Luke 8:28¹²³¹ (or Mt. 8: 28) Porphyry scornfully declared that the demons were only simulating their torments.¹²³²

8.4. "Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

An illuminative example for Philagathos' interest in analogies derived from natural philosophy is the sermon for the "Be you therefore wise as serpents." [Matthew 10:16] The

ν'έφ'. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν κεκρυμμένην συμβαίνειν, μικροῦ δὲ καὶ φανεράν βλασφημίαν σωρεῦεσθαι, τῶν φιλοψόγων λεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθὸν κτίσμα ὁ κτίστης ἔκτισε τῆς σελήνης τὸν κύκλον ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἀγέλης, ἐξ ὧν μεμαθήκαμεν·

¹²³⁰ Makarios, *Monogenes*, III 11, 7 (ed. Goulet, 104, 13–19): «Δεινῶς οἱ δαίμονες, οἶμαι, τῷ πυρὶ χωνευόμενοι, ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔλαμψεν, ἐγλίχοντο παντοίως τῇ θερμῇ πυρέττοντες δραμεῖν εἰς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῖς παραμυθήσασθαι φλόγῳσιν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀσώματοι τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντες οὐχ [οἷοί τε] γυμνοὶ τῇ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐμβῆναι κολυμβήθρα, ἐπιβάθραν τῶν χοίρων τὴν ἀγέλην ἐζήτησαν, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσελθόντες τὸν καύσωνα λύσωσι.

¹²³¹ "What have I to do with You, Jesus, Son of the Most High God? I beg You, do not torment me!"

¹²³² Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, 10 (trans. Hon. W. H. Freemantle, in *NPNF*, II, vol. 6, *Jerome: The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, 670).

theme of the homily affords Philagathos a detailed excursus into the nature of serpents and doves. Further explaining Jesus' command the homilist remarks:¹²³³

But the word also is afforded by to think something else. Since the serpent is careless of his entire body (παντὸς μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἀλογεῖ)¹²³⁴ when struck, as he strives only to protect his head, knowing that his life was contained in the head, just so he wishes the disciples to be mindful throughout their life so that they protect the faith towards him pure and undefiled, which is our head, yet taking no care for the body and for the things pertaining to the body for some magnificent gain. For as long as faith is kept unbroken within us, we shall not put to death the true death of our souls. For the snake possesses some other natural and secret power. For even when his body had been cut up, he coils back together and immediately binds close together the pieces severed [from his body] and restores himself again to the fullness of being. Therefore, the illustration exhorts us that if a separation of our spiritual limbs would ever occur, the power of repentance is given to all, by which we are able to come together and bind ourselves fast.

As it had become now typical to observe the starting point for Philagathos' discussion is another source. In this instance the South Italian preacher avails himself of Michael Psellos' exegesis of the passage:

Hom. 30, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 201):

Ἦνεστι τῷ ὄφει καὶ ἄλλη φυσικὴ καὶ ἀπόρρητος δύναμις· **τμηθεὶς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα, συγκολλᾷ καὶ συσφίγγει αὐθις τὰ τμήματα καὶ εἰς ὀλοκληρίαν ἀποκαθίσταται.** Παραινεῖ οὖν τὸ εἰκόνισμα ὥς, **εἴ ποτε καὶ ἡμῖν διάστασις τῶν πνευματικῶν μελῶν γένηται,** δέδοται πᾶσιν ἡ τῆς μετανοίας ἰσχὺς, δι' ἧς δυνάμεθα **πάλιν συνέρχεσθαι καὶ συνάπτεσθαι.**

Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 16, 121–127 (ed. Gautier, 89):

Ὅρᾷς ὅπως ζηλοῦντες τὸν ὄφιν φρόνιμοι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον γινόμεθα; **οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τμηθεὶς αὐθις συγκολλᾷ καὶ συμφύει τὰ τμήματα καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἡμιτόμου εἰς ὀλοκληρίαν ἀποκαθίσταται.** καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, **εἴ ποτε διάστασις τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πνευματικῶν μελῶν γένηται,** αὐθις **συνερχοίμεθα τε καὶ συναπτοίμεθα** καὶ τὸν ἀμέριστον τοῦ θεοῦ χιτῶνα ἄτμητον διασφύζομεν.¹²³⁵

The homilist continues his exegesis by citing the observations of natural philosophers. Says Philagathos:

¹²³³ *Hom.* 30, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200–201).

¹²³⁴ We may note that a similar formulation occurs in Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of *Aethiopika*; cf. *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 146–7 (ed. Bianchi, 55) « ἀλογεῖ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ».

¹²³⁵ “Do you see how by imitating the serpent we become wise according to the word of the Lord? For this creature even when his body was cut up, he coils back together and unites the pieces severed [from his body] and from being cut in two he is restoring himself again to the fullness of being. Therefore, we likewise if a separation of our spiritual limbs would ever occur, in turn we should come together and bind ourselves fast and we should preserve through undivided the indivisible tunic of the Lord.”

In addition to these, the serpent possesses another natural power. For as soon as he is aware of having grown old in the course of time, as those who carefully observed the nature of animals say¹²³⁶ the serpent first gives himself up to a great abstinence from food and in this manner he wanes the size of his body, then, upon forcing out the body through a narrow and squeezing strait, the serpent violently pushes away from it until stripped of his skin he is thrusting out the old age together with it. In addition, even if there is some other aspect by virtue of which [the serpent] was called wise by the Scriptures [that is] because by toiling for little is brought into repose. Therefore, it is set before you to understand that if we are going indeed to put off the old man and scrape off the slough of sin we should cure by toilsome temperance the primeval gluttony in the paradise passing through *the narrow and hard* way of virtue. [cf. Mt. 7: 14]

When inquiring into Philagathos' source, we may first note that Psellos and Basil of Caesarea convey comparable ideas.¹²³⁷ Notwithstanding, the structure of Philagathos' exposition with listing one after another the characteristics of serpents recalls in detail the discussion from *Physiologus*.¹²³⁸ The description of serpents' changing of skin, their great abstinence from food, the exhortation to throw off the old man through much abstinence, as well as the scriptural references to Mathew 10:16 and 7:14 are common to both texts.¹²³⁹

This homily has in fact a florilegic structure. The preacher piled up from his sources citations and allusions corresponding to the theme of the sermon. Philagathos continues his discussion by turning to Gregory of Nyssa's *In Ecclesiasten*:¹²⁴⁰

Do you want us to say some other thing about the serpent, which the Lord wishes us to emulate? some other thing about the serpent, which the Lord wishes us to emulate? They say that the serpent as soon as he began to thrust his head through a hole into which he is entering, he would not be dragged easily back again, if someone having laid hold of his tail had tried to draw the snake over to his own side, because his rough scales naturally resist anything which draws them with force; for the paragon clearly indicated that the one who introduced himself once

¹²³⁶ Philagathos' formulation « οἱ τὰς τῶν ζώων φύσεις παρατηρήσαντες » recalls Gregory of Nyssa's *De virginitate*, 11, 4, 11–12: « καθὼς φασιν οἱ ταῦτα παρατηρήσαντες » said with reference to those who investigated the nature of the dove; in fact, Philagathos utilized the passage in question a few paragraphs below (cf. *Hom.* 30, 11, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202).

¹²³⁷ An *ekphrasis* of the serpents' changing their skin is also extant in Michael Psellos, *Theologica, Opusculum* 16, 105–112 (ed. Gautier, 89); a similar interpretation is found Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* [Dub.] 16, 1, 10–14, a text which Philagathos used extensively in the *Homilies*; see above, n° 692.

¹²³⁸ *Physiologus*, (redactio prima), *Περὶ ὄφεως*, 11, 1–12, ed. F. Sbordone (Rome: Dante Alighieri, 1936, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976); see also *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, trans. Michael J. Curley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 16–19.

¹²³⁹ In particular, note the parallel conditional construction in both texts: *Hom.* 30, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 201): Ὑποτίθεται οὖν σοι νοεῖν ὥς, εἰ μέλλοιμεν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀποξῦσαι τὸ γῆρας, ἐγκρατεῖα ἐπιπόνῳ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ λαίμαργίαν ἰάσασθαι, τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς διοδεύοντας. *Physiologus*, (redactio prima), *Περὶ ὄφεως*, 11, 8–12: Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τρόπον καὶ σύ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐὰν θέλῃς τὸ παλαιὸν γῆρας τοῦ κόσμου ἀποβαλέσθαι, διὰ τῆς στενῆς καὶ τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ, διὰ νηστειῶν τὸ σῶμα τῆξον· «στενὴ γάρ ἐστι καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδός, ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον».

¹²⁴⁰ *Hom.* 30, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 201).

through the hole of virtue must reach forward to those things which are ahead (τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι) [cf. Phil. 3:13], not to be dragged back to those things which are behind: “No one, he says, having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.” [Lc. 9:62]

Βούλεσθε καὶ ἄλλο τῶν τοῦ ὄφεως εἶπωμεν, ὃ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος βούλεται; Φασὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ, εἰς ἣν παραδύεται, ἐπὶ εἰσωθῆσαι φθάσῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν, μὴ ἂν εὐκόλως εἰς τοῦπίσω ἐφέλκεσθαι, εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ οὐραίου λαβόμενος εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀντισπᾶν πειραθῇ, τῆς τραχείας φυσικῶς φολίδος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑφέλκοντος βίαν ἀντιβαίνουσας· δεικνύντος τοῦ ὑποδείγματος ὡς τὸν ἅπαξ ἑαυτὸν τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἁρμονίᾳ εἰσάξαντα ἀποστολικῇ παραινέσει δεῖ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι, οὐ μὴν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐφέλκεσθαι. «Οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησί, βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ’ ἄροτρον καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, εὐθετός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν».

For the most part the preacher relies here on Gregory of Nyssa’s fourth homily on the Ecclesiastes.¹²⁴¹ Philagathos found meaningful for the subject of his sermon Gregory’s explanation that the Scripture calls a serpent the affliction resulting from pleasure by drawing a vivid analogy with the nature of the serpent. Furthermore, the homilist allusion to the “hole of virtue” in relation to Philippians 3:13 points to Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of perpetual progress. For this was the seminal biblical reference (Phil. 3:13–14) upon which Gregory pictured the way of perfection as an unending ascent from lower to higher things.¹²⁴²

The same fascination for picking up analogies with scientific flavour is conspicuous in Philagathos’ account of the dove. A kindred florilegic structure governs the exposition in which the preacher summons again the insight of natural philosophers:¹²⁴³

And in another manner he wishes us to become like the dove. Since not a drop of gall is found in that bird, as those who carefully observed this have described, and as she cannot bear any foul smell, she loves most of all to dwell in sweet-smelling places, accordingly the dove teaches the disciples to be in such wise, to be mild and to allay their wrath in respect of those who sin, as the inspired teachings portray the great Moses [Num. 12:1–16] and the hierophant David [1Reg. 26:7–10]. [...] So in this way he wishes us to be incapable of anger, as having the

¹²⁴¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, GNO 5, 348–351: “Ἡ τούτου χάριν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν πάθος ὄφιν ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ὀνομάζεται, ὃ φύσις ἐστίν, εἰ ἡ κεφαλὴ πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ τοίχου παραδυσίη, πάντα τὸν κατόπιν ὀλκὸν συνεπάγεται. οἷον τί λέγω; ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖ ἡ φύσις τὴν οἴκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χρείας ταύτης ἡ ἡδονὴ τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς παραδυσίη εἰς ἄμετρον τινα καλλωπισμοῦ πολυτέλειαν τὴν χρεῖαν παρέτρεψεν καὶ τὴν σπουδὴν μετεποίησεν. [...] ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ὀλκὸν ἐπισύρεται, ὃ κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἐπεται τὸ ἀκόλαστον, τὸ ἔσχατόν τε καὶ οὐραῖον μέρος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν θηριώσεως. ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐραίου τὸν ὄφιν ἀνελευσθῆναι, τῆς τραχείας φυσικῶς φολίδος πρὸς τὸ ἔμπαλιν τοῖς ἐφελκομένοις ἀντιβαίνουσας, οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν τελευταίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξοικίζειν τὴν τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐρπηδὸνα, εἰ μὴ τις τῷ κακῷ τὴν πρώτην εἴσοδον ἀποκλείσει. διὸ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηρεῖν ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑφηγητὴς ἐγκελεύεται, κεφαλὴν ὀνομάζων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κακίας, ἥς μὴ παραδεχθείσης ἄπρακτόν ἐστι τὸ λειπόμενον.

¹²⁴² For Philagathos’ appropriation of Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of perpetual progress see below, Part V, chapter 2, “Virtue and Perpetual Progress,” 380–392.

¹²⁴³ *Hom.* 30, 11–12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202).

guilelessness of the dove, but being enemies to the loathsome and foul smell of sin, rejoicing and nourishing with the ointment of virtue; for the dove fleeing the foul places, as I have said, becomes stronger on account of the ointment's fragrance and of flowers.

Καὶ κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ὁμοιοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς βούλεται τῇ περιστερᾷ. Ἐπειδὴ **χολῆς ἄμοιρόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον, καθὼς ἠκριβώσαντο οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρατηρήσαντες**, ἔστι δὲ **καὶ δυσωδίας ἐχθρόν**, φιλεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τόποις εὐώδεσιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τοιούτους οὖν εἶναι διδάσκει τοὺς μαθητάς, πρᾶεῖς καὶ ἀχόλους εἶναι τοῖς πταίουσιν, ὅποιον τὸν μέγαν Μωσέα καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην Δαβὶδ δεικνύει τὰ λόγια. [...] Οὕτως ἀοργήτους ἡμᾶς εἶναι βούλεται, τῆς περιστερᾶς τὴν ἀκεραιότητα ἔχοντας, **ἐχθροὺς δὲ τῆς δυσώδους ἀμαρτίας καὶ μυσσαρᾶς τῷ μύρῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς γαννυμένους καὶ τρεφομένους· ἢ γὰρ περιστερὰ** τοὺς δυσώδεις, ὡς ἔφην, τόπους ἐκφεύγουσα, **τῇ εὐπνοίᾳ τοῦ μύρου** καὶ τῶν ἀνθέων **ῥωμαλεωτέρα καθίσταται**.

Yet again, Philagathos' reference "to those who carefully investigated" the nature of the dove is nothing but an adaptation from Gregory of Nyssa's *De virginitate* and from the *In Canticum canticorum*.¹²⁴⁴ It is manifest that the preacher harvested passages mentioning the dove from Nyssen's works. In addition, the image of a dove's nest as being plundered (πορθουμένης αὐτῆς τῆς καλιᾶς) and her young slain¹²⁴⁵ calls to mind the opening scene of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, which tells of "a bird whose nest has been made waste (τὴν καλιὰν πορθοῦντος) by a serpent that devours her young."¹²⁴⁶ Significantly, Philagathos used the same imagery in the sermon "On the Widow's Son," which further highlights the imprint of the novel upon the *Homilies*.¹²⁴⁷

8.5. The Curative Properties of Mustard Seeds

¹²⁴⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate*, 11, 4, PG 46, coll. 365C–D: Οὕτω γὰρ ἐν αἰνίγματι τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμιν τῇ γραφῇ σύνηθες ὀνομάζειν, εἴτε **διότι χολῆς ἐστὶν ἄμοιρον τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον**, ἢ **καὶ ὅτι δυσωδίας ἐχθρόν, καθὼς** φασιν **οἱ ταῦτα παρατηρήσαντες**. "This is the allegorical name (i.e. the dove) used in Scripture for the power of the Holy Spirit; whether it be because not a drop of gall is found in that bird, or because it cannot bear any noisome smell, as close observers tell us" (trans. W. Moore and H.A. Wilson in *NPNF*, 487); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 91, 11–16: [...] οἷς κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἐκάστῳ διάθεσιν ἢ ζωοποιὸς ἐγίνετο ἢ θανατηφόρος **ἢ εὐπνοία· ὡς γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ μύρον**, εἰ κανθάρῳ καὶ **περιστερᾷ** προστεθείη, οὐ ταῦτόν ἐφ' ἐκατέρων ἐργάζεται, **ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν περιστερὰ ῥωμαλεωτέρα διὰ τῆς εὐπνοίας τοῦ μύρου γίνεται**, ὁ δὲ κάνθαρος φθείρεται [...]. "To others, in accordance with the present disposition of each, the sweet smell became either life-giving or death-dealing. For the same unguent (i.e. incense), if it be touched to a beetle and to a dove, does not have the same effect in each case, but the dove becomes stronger on account of the unguent's scent, while the beetle perishes" (trans. Norris, 101).

¹²⁴⁵ *Hom.* 30, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 201–202): Φασὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον, τὴν περιστερὰν, τοιαύτην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας τὴν οἰκειότητα ὡς, καὶ **πορθουμένης αὐτῆς τῆς καλιᾶς** καὶ σφαττομένων τῶν νεοττῶν, τῆς οἰκίας τῶν δεσποτῶν μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. "For they say that this creature, the dove, has such an attachment towards its masters that even when her nest is plundered and her young slain, she does not abandon the household of her masters."

¹²⁴⁶ *Aethiopika*, 2, 22, 4, (ed. Colonna, 154–156): ὥσπερ οἶμαί τις ὄρνις ὀφειὼς αὐτῇ **τὴν καλιὰν πορθοῦντος** ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τε τὴν γονὴν θοινωμένου [...].

¹²⁴⁷ *Hom.* 6, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 40) and *Aethiopika*, 2, 22, 4 (ed. Colonna, 154–156); the text is discussed above, 98–99.

Another example of Philagathos' usage of scientific explanations occurs in the homily "On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy." When the homilist elucidates the likeness of the Kingdom of God with a mustard seed, he recollects the curative aspects of the mustard seed:¹²⁴⁸

Truly the mustard seed has some conformity to faith. **For the mustard seed is full of heat and capable to drag and to purify the sordidness around the head; it endorses the healthy condition of dinners, cutting short the heaviness of hidden inflammations and the fluidity of harmful humours.** Besides, the mustard seed is compared with the kingdom of heaven because it grows into a tree within the heart of a husbandman. So that the one who has faith as a mustard seed, he has in himself the kingdom of Heaven. "For indeed, the kingdom of Heaven is within you." [Lc. 17: 21]

ἔχει δὲ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πίστιν τὸ σίναπι οἰκειότητα. **Θερμὸν τε γὰρ, καὶ τοῦ περὶ ἐγκέφαλον ῥύπου ἐστὶν ἐλκτικόν· ὑγιεινὴν τε τὴν ἔξιν τῶν ἐσθιοντῶν ἐργάζεται, τέμνον κεκρυμμένων φλεγμάτων τὴν παχύτητα, καὶ βλαβερῶν χυμῶν τὴν ὑγρότητα·** ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν κόκκος σινάπεως παραβάλλεται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ γεωργοῦ ἀποδενδρούμενος. Ὡστε ὁ ἔχων πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· «ἢ γὰρ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν.»

It is remarkable that the homilist incorporates here Makarios Magnes' description of the curative aspects of mustard. The Christian apologist employed them for refuting the pagan objections against the metaphor of the Kingdom of Heaven:¹²⁴⁹

And again if the Kingdom of Heaven was compared with a mustard seed, it is not committed an outrage in this way, but instead this is a glorification [of the Heavenly Kingdom]. For the mustard despite being a small seed and quite very minuscule has a very piercing flavour and **hot, being capable to drag and to purify the sordidness around the head;** sprinkled abundantly over the food and dinning-table it endorses the healthy condition of the guests; **it cuts down the heaviness of hidden inflammations and reduces the fluidity of harmful humours;** when it is sown [the seed appears] as if it were invisible on account of its thinness, but when it grows it imitates the trees by the height to which it rises.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ κόκκῳ παραβληθῇ **σινάπεως**, οὐδ' οὕτως ὑβρίζεται, ἀλλ' ἀποσεμνύνεται. Σπέρμα γὰρ τὸ σίναπι λεπτὸν ὑπάρχον καὶ λίαν βραχύτατον σφόδρα μὲν ἐστὶ δριμύ καὶ **θερμόν, ἐλκτικὸν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ῥύπου** καὶ καθαριστικόν· ὄντοις δὲ καὶ τραπέζῃ συχνῶς παραπαττόμενον **ὑγιεινὴν** τῶν δαιτυμόνων τὴν **ἔξιν ἐργάζεται, κόπτει μὲν κεκρυμμένων φλεγμάτων παχύτητα, τέμνει δὲ χυμῶν βλαβερῶν ὑγρότητα·** σπειρόμενον δὲ διὰ τὴν λεπτότητα ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀφανές, βλαστῆσαν δὲ τὰ στελέχη μιμεῖται τοῖς ὕψεσιν.

¹²⁴⁸ Hom. 47 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, PG 132, coll. 476D–477C).

¹²⁴⁹ Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 17 (ed. Goulet, 296, 1–8).

Philagathos retains just a small part from Makarios' extensive exposition of the virtues of mustard and its aptness for figuring the Kingdom of Heaven.¹²⁵⁰ But most importantly, this appropriation highlights the variagated usage the homilist made of the *Monogenes*. It is manifest that Philagathos harvested the polemical treatise for everything consonant with the subject of his sermons.

Conclusions

To sum up, the above analysis investigated “the literal/historical level” of Philagathos' exegesis. An important aspect of his approach is the discussion of various scripture-related discrepancies, contradictions, difficulties that questioned and subverted the ‘literal meaning’ of the Gospels. The analysis yielded significant results as it documented the substantial usage of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*. Thus, the homily “On the Man Possessed by a Legion of Demons” is based on the objections cited in the *Monogenes* concerning the incident of the swine and the demons narrated in the Synoptic Gospels. Besides citing rebukes recorded in the treatise, Philagathos' appropriated Makarios' defensive arguments as well. Then, we have established that for the homilies “On Casting the Demon out of the Lunatic Boy,” “On the Feast of the Holy Apostles” or “On the Rich Man Asking the Lord,” “On the Sending Forth of the Seventy Disciples,” Philagathos turned to the relevant sections in the *Monogenes* that discussed queries related to the subject of the sermons. In this section, we have pointed out that the homilist borrowed the theological exposition from the *Monogenes* as well. For instance, as example involves the argument pertaining to Christ's nature deduced from the grammatical analysis of the Gospel's wording relative to Peter's saying, “You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.” Furthermore, we tentatively suggested that Philagathos might have had access to a fuller version of the *Monogenes*. He cited a reprimand which charged Christ for having answered to the rich

¹²⁵⁰ Makarios, *Monogenes*, IV 17 (ed. Goulet, 296, 8–22): 7. Εἰ δὴ τα οὖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁ λόγος παραπλήσιον τῷ σινάπει ποιεῖται τὴν ἐνέργειαν, δρακοντ' εἰσὺς μὲν κακίας ἀπὸ καρδίας ἀνακαθαίρων, χυμοὺς δὲ ἀκολασίας ξηραίνων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑγρότητα ἀταξίας τε πολλὴν καταστέλλει φλεγμονὴν καὶ σῶρον ἐγκείμενον χολῆς ἀμαρτημάτων ὑπεξάγει λεληθότως καὶ θεραπεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν συνάξει δὲ πλήθους ὥσπερ καταμιγνύμενος σταθιρὸν ποιεῖ <τὸ> τῶν ψυχῶν φρόνημα, ὅλον δ' ὑγιαίνειν παρασκευάζει τὸ λογικόν, δάκνων τοῖς ἐλέγχοις καὶ τέμνων τῇ διδαχῇ, θερμαίνων τῇ συμπαθείᾳ καὶ ζωπυρῶν τὸν λογισμόν, συνανακλινόμενος καὶ συνανιστάμενος τοῖς τὰ θεῖα μανθάνουσιν, ἐν κόσμῳ σπειρόμενος καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς δεικνύων ὑπερκόσμιον, ἐν γῇ βαλλόμενος καὶ τοὺς γῆινους ἀνάγων εἰς ἀγιασμόν· εἰ δὴ οὖν τοσαύτην τῶν καλῶν ἔχει τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀρμοδίως τῷ σινάπει διὰ τὴν λεπτότητα τῶν ἔργων ὁμοίωται· Trans.: “Therefore, if it is surely true that the manifestation of the Kingdom of Heaven is producing an activity nearly resembling to the mustard, by reason of wiping away from the heart the wickedness of the serpent, by drying up the humours of intemperance and the whole moisture of disorder, and mitigates an inflamed tumour and extracts imperceptibly the mass of bile wrapped inside on account of man's sins and heals the man, and makes firmer the resolution of souls as mingled itself in the gathering of multitude and procures the healing of the entire rational faculty, refuting the accusations and cutting short the lecturing, warming up by sympathetic affection and blazing up the reasoning power, yet reclining and raising up together with those learning the divine mysteries, and as sowed in the world shows forth the supernatural fruit of virtue and thrown in the earth leads the earthly beings to sanctity, truly then, if [the Kingdom of Heaven] has such a beneficial activity then it is fittingly likened to the mustard on account of the brilliance of its works.”

man: “Why do you call me good, he said? No one is good except God alone.” [Lc. 18:19; Mc. 10:18], which is no longer extant in the current version of the text. The objection featured in the Book II of the *Monogenes* which transmits only Makarios’ answer to the pagan objection. Finally, a similar hypothesis invites Philagathos’ citation of pagan reprimand against St. John’s confession of the truthfulness of his gospel: “This is the disciple who testifies to these things and who wrote them down.” (Jn. 21:24) For the objection against John 21:24 may have been involved in the question 11 of Book II of *Monogenes*, “How is it said: ‘If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true,’” of which only the *titulus* of the question and Makarios answer is preserved.

Then, we have discussed Philagathos’ citations from Emperor Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* by taking into account the larger spectrum of the Late-antique anti-Christian debates. Significantly, Philagathos’ testimony permits us to further map the textual relations between the chief ancient repositories of anti-Christian arguments (i.e. Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos*, Porphyry’s *Contra Christianos* and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes). When trying to assess Philagathos’ sources of pagan reprimands the fact that the homilist used the same Christian refutation that stands behind Theophylact of Ochrid’s citations of Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* becomes particularly valuable. For it points out that the homilist’s allusions to anti-Christian arguments are dependent on their indirect transmission, as part of some Christian confutation wherefrom the homilist appropriated the rebuttal of the pagan points as well. In fact we have showed that Philagathos cites a plethora of difficulties posed by the Gospels which originate in the writings of the Late-antique polemicists. Although not nominally ascribed to a pagan opponent the type and the stylistic of the critique point to such an authorship. For instance, we have mentioned a pagan reprimand which mocks Peter’s words: “Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?” [Mt. 19:27] The question: “What did he relinquish, as he was poor and fisher?” has the traits of a genuine pagan argument perhaps one contrived by Julian himself.

Philagathos’ interest in solving exegetic difficulties is further illustrated by his allusions to the New Testament apocryphal literature and for his attachment to the genre of *quaestiones et responsiones*. Codex Taurinensis gr. C. IV. 17 (Pas. 222) once contained a collection of *quaestiones et responsiones* ascribed to Philagathos and Justin the Philosopher. The whereabouts of this collection are unknown but the queries dispersed throughout the Homilies about the genealogy of Jesus, the Lord’s passion, the Resurrection narratives, the Transfiguration referred to with the technical title of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις are transmitting queries typical of this genre. The homilist also adopted scriptural queries from reputed Christian commentators. Examples include authors like Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Maximus Confessor or Michael Psellos.

Philagathos’ exegesis according to the literal sense involves traditional approaches centered on philological and grammatical analysis. An important source of such explanations was Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*. The homilist equally indulged in explaining curious or foreign words, issues in human anatomy or physical phenomena. Christ’s statement “I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven” affords Philagathos to offer a scientific explanation of how to conceive Satan’s fall from heaven based on the definition of ‘lightning’ from the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, *De mundo*. The homilist avails of scientific learning. He advances a medical explanation of demonic possession by means of the four humours theory which Philagathos appropriated from Gregory of Nyssa’s *On the Making of Man* and Makarios Magnes’

Monogenes. In similar fashion for explaining the likeness of the Kingdom of God with a mustard seed, Philagathos appropriates Makarios Magnes' description of the curative aspects of mustard.

This account of Philagathos' literal exegesis has aimed at shedding light on the compositional technique of the sermons, the categories of sources used and the general features of his approach.

PART V: Spiritual Exegesis

In this section, we examine the second part of Philagathos' exegesis: the spiritual 'sense' of Scripture, contemplation (θεωρία) or anagogy (ἀναγωγή).¹²⁵¹ Philagathos stands in the exegetic tradition inaugurated by Origen that distinguishes only two levels of meaning, which may be simply referred as "historical" and "spiritual." A few general remarks are in order on the significance of the spiritual sense and the theological background that stands behinds Philagathos' method.

The spiritual 'sense' designates the process of interpretation that discerns in creation and Scripture the unfolding of divine *oikonomia*, the strategy of the triune Creator leading creation toward transfiguration in the "mystery of Christ."¹²⁵² For the Christian exegete the literal sense is not sufficient. As De Lubac playfully put it "[t]he Bible was not given to Christians merely to satisfy historical curiosity," because "[o]nly as history is not enough to contain the mystery... For a mystery, in the Christian sense, is indeed a fact, but it is much more than an ordinary fact is a reality in act, the realization of a Grand Design; it is therefore, in the strongest sense, even something historical, in which personal beings are engaged."¹²⁵³ Historical occurrences become "history" in the proper sense only insofar as they actualize the redemptive movement of creation toward eschatological fulfillment.¹²⁵⁴ From this perspective, De Lubac points out that "there is no thought more 'historical' than the thought of Origen"¹²⁵⁵ Needless to say, the distinction between the literal or historical sense (ιστορία) and the spiritual meaning (θεωρία) is not equivalent with the modern distinction between secular and theological.¹²⁵⁶ As Karl Löwith put it, for "the Christian view of history the past is a promise to the future; consequently, the interpretation of the past becomes a prophecy in reverse, demonstrating the past as a meaningful 'preparation' for the future."¹²⁵⁷

In Philagathos' *Homilies* as in much Byzantine exegesis, there is no division, often made by modern scholars, between "typology" – as the search "of the correspondences between the events, the institutions, and the persons of the Old Testament and those of the New Testament,

¹²⁵¹ For a general overview of contemplation (θεωρία; *contemplatio*) in patristic thought, see Jean Lamaître et al., "Contemplation," Pt. III: "Contemplation chez les grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), 2, 2:1762–911; De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2; see also Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, trans. John Hughes (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994); Paul Blowers, "Entering 'this Sublime and Blessed Amphitheatre': Contemplation of Nature and Interpretation of the Bible in the Patristic Period," in *Interpreting Nature and Scripture: History of a Dialogue in the Abrahamic Religions*, eds. Jitse van der Meer and Scott Mandelbrote (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1, 148–76.

¹²⁵² Paul Blowers, *Drama of the Divine Economy*, 368.

¹²⁵³ De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2, 95 and 93–94.

¹²⁵⁴ Samuel Laüchli, "Die Frage nach der Objectivität der Exegese des Origenes," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954): 187–192.

¹²⁵⁵ De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 2, 105: "At the summit of history, the Fact of Christ supposed history, and its radiance transfigured history. In this sense, which is essential, and too much misunderstood, there is no thought more "historical" than the thought of Origen."

¹²⁵⁶ See for this distinction the remarks of Robert Jenson, "Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses," *Theology Today* 62 (2006): 534.

¹²⁵⁷ Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), 6.

which is inaugurated by the coming of Christ and will be consummated with his parousia,¹²⁵⁸ – and “allegory” considered as subjective imposition of correspondences “using words as symbols or tokens, arbitrarily referring to other realities by application of a code, and so destroying the narrative, or surface, coherence of the text.”¹²⁵⁹ As we shall see, for Philagathos it is common to correlate typological exposition with allegorical interpretation.

The South Italian preacher presupposes the Alexandrian exegetical tradition represented by Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor. In fact among the most prominent sources cited in the Homilies are Gregory of Nyssa’s *De vita Moysis*,¹²⁶⁰ *In Canticum canticorum*,¹²⁶¹ *In*

¹²⁵⁸ Jean Daniélou, “Qu’est-ce que la typologie?”, in *L’Ancien Testament et les chrétiens*, ed. P. Auvray, et. al (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1951), 199.

¹²⁵⁹ F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 162; in particular, Philagathos’ approach reminds of Maximus Confessor’ exegesis; cf. Paul Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor: An Investigation of the Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 197: “In his actual exegesis, however, Maximus does not distinguish sharply between a more objective typology that is based on the progressive order of type and fulfillment in salvation history, and a more subjective allegorism that applies scriptural symbols to the individual soul (or to the Church. Are not all the λόγοι of creation, of scripture, and indeed of the present moral-spiritual life of the individual as well intrinsically and organically related as prefigurations of one and the same eschatological μυστήριον in Christ?”

¹²⁶⁰ *De vita Moysis*, 2, 18, 1–5 = *Hom.* 1, 14–15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 8); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 67 – 68 = *Hom.* 3, 4–5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 19); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 31–32 = *Hom.* 3, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 19); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 274–277 = *Hom.* 3, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 19–20); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 32–33 = *Hom.* 3, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 20–21); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 151, 3–8 = *Hom.* 4, 22 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 30–31); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 34, 6–9 and *De vita Moysis*, 2, 133–134 = *Hom.* 16, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 105); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 247, 1–8 = *Hom.* 19, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 130); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 43 = *Hom.* 31, 33 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 218); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 177, 2–5 = *Hom.* 29, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 191); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 176, 2–3 = *Hom.* 29, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 194–195); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 31–32 = *Hom.* 30, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 288, 1–10 = *Hom.* 30, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 297, 4–8 = *Hom.* 28, 7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 185); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 30 = *Hom.* 31, 25–26 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 215); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 28, 4–7 = *Hom.* 31, 32 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 217–218); *De vita Moysis*, 1, 43, 1–7 = *Hom.* 31, 33 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 218); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 123, 5–6 = *Hom.* 31, 38 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 220); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 316, 5–9 and *De vita Moysis*, 2, 301, 1–5, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 302, 4–10 = *Hom.* 38 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 384 B–C); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 107, 3–6 = *Hom.* 38, (Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 390A–B); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 247, 2–8 = *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 404B); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 177, 2–5 = *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 404B–C); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 143–144 = *Hom.* 40 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, PG 132, coll. 421–C); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 199, 8–11 = *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 508C–509A); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 155, 2–3 = *Hom.* 50 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 26, PG 132, coll. 545C); *De vita Moysis*, 2, 258, 6–11 = *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 836D).

¹²⁶¹ *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 463–464 = *Hom.* 1, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 9); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 100, 17 = *Hom.* 11, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 74); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 317 = *Hom.* 19, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 127); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 213, 1–214 = *Hom.* 14, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 93); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 100, 16–17 = *Hom.* 11, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 76–77); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 344, 1–2 = *Hom.* 22, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 146–147); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 388, 7–11 = *Hom.* 25, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 146–167); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 91, 15–17 = *Hom.* 30, 12 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 44, 6 = *Hom.* 32, 1 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 220); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 128, 1 = *Hom.* 32, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 222); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 271, 13–14 = *Hom.* 34, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 234); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 396, 9–397, 1 = *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 400A–B); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 356, 12–14 = *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, coll. 465 A); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 378, 9–11 = *Hom.* 49 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 513C); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 427, 21–428, 2 = *Hom.* 57 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 38, PG 132, coll. 725B); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 345, 12–13 = *Hom.* 63 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 42, PG 132, coll. 809C); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 345, 19–21 = *Hom.* 63 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 42, PG, coll. 812 B); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 117, 4 = *Hom.* 64 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 43, coll.

inscriptiones Psalmorum,¹²⁶² or *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae*.¹²⁶³ In order to substantiate Philagathos' approach we briefly recall the principles of spiritual exegesis spelled out by Gregory of Nyssa in the introduction to the *Homilies on the Song of Song*. As we show in the next chapter Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* is based on the hermeneutical approach formulated in Gregory's introduction to the *Homilies on the Song of Songs*. The doctrine of spiritual reading that accomplishes the reader's ascent away from bodily passions to the contemplation of the divine underlines Philagathos' reading of the novel.

For Gregory, allegorical, moral, or anagogical interpretation of Scripture indicate roughly the same thing: "the movement from corporeal to intelligible realities" or "from the surface level (πρόχειρον) of history (ἱστορία) to the higher level of contemplation (θεωρία)" or "a shift to an understanding that concerns the immaterial and intelligible."¹²⁶⁴ Gregory openly vouches indifference toward the terminology attached to the spiritual sense.¹²⁶⁵ Nyssen sustains his position by citing Saint Paul's examples of spiritual interpretation. Thus, Gregory notes that Saint Paul designates the two sons of Abraham, born to him of the maidservant and the free woman, as "allegory" (Gal. 4:24), then, the calling the Old Testament events as "types" (τυπικῶς) or "enigma" (cf. 1Cor. 13:12), and underlines the Apostle's statement about "changing his manner of speech" when he is about to transpose the biblical narrative so as to display the economy of the covenants (cf. Gal. 4:20).¹²⁶⁶

The touchstone of proper exegesis is the profit for ascent and virtuous life (ὠφελεῖ πρὸς ἀρετήν).¹²⁶⁷ For Nyssen "[t]he 'transposition' or 'turn' involved in anagogical interpretation is analogous to the virtuous ascent from the material mode of life here and now to the intelligible

824B); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 142, 1–3 = *Hom.* 65 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 44, PG 132, coll. 836A); *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 297, 8–298, 14 = *Hom.* 65 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 44, PG 132, coll. 836B).

¹²⁶² *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 84, 16–22 = *Hom.* 1, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 5); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 167, 14–27 = *Hom.* 4, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 28); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 169, 26–170, 11 = *Hom.* 4, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 28–29); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, 5, GNO 85, 1–12 = *Hom.* 23, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 155); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 145, 24–25 = *Hom.* 38 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 380D–381A); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 107, 4–17 = *Hom.* 32, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 225); *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 59, 12–21 = *Hom.* 10, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 68).

¹²⁶³ *In Ecclesiasten*, GNO 5, 349, 10–350, 7 = *Hom.* 30, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 201); *In Ecclesiasten*, GNO 5, 330–331 = *Hom.* 23, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 154).

¹²⁶⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, Prologue, 10, 3–4.

¹²⁶⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, Prologue, 5, 6–9: "One may wish to refer to the anagogical interpretation (τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς θεωρίαν) sayings as 'tropology' or 'allegory' or by some other name. We shall not quarrel about the name as long as a firm grasp is kept on thoughts that edify" (trans. Norris, 5).

¹²⁶⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, Prologue, 5–6; after pin pointing the specific Pauline examples of spiritual interpretation, Gregory affirms: "By all these different modes of speech and names for intellectual discernment, the apostle is pointing us to a single form of instruction: one ought not in every instance to remain with the letter (since the obvious sense of the words often does us harm when it comes to the virtuous life), but one ought to shift to an understanding that concerns the immaterial and intelligible, so that corporeal ideas may be transposed into intellect and thought when the fleshly sense of the words has been shaken off like dust (cf. Mat. 10:14)" (trans. Norris, 5).

¹²⁶⁷ For the place of Gregory's exegetical technique within his overall theological thought see Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa: An Anagogical Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Maximus Confessor equally embraced the Origenian exegetical principle of scriptural "utility" (χρεία) or "profitability" (ὠφελεία); see Paul Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 193.

existence of the eighth day.”¹²⁶⁸ On the one hand the text of the Song narrates the soul’s ascent into Paradise, but on the other hand through anagogical interpretation makes the readers of the Song themselves actual participants in the soul’s progress in the knowledge of God. In the introduction to the Song, Gregory asserts that “by what is written [in the Song], the soul is in a certain manner led as a bride toward an incorporeal and spiritual and undefiled marriage with God.”¹²⁶⁹

As we noted above, Philagathos’ exegesis unfolds from the recognition of two levels of meaning in the Scripture. This exegetical structure mirrors the famous twofold division of Gregory of Nyssa’s *De vita Moysis*, where the first part gives a historical exposition of Moses’ life (ἱστορία), while the second part offers the spiritual meaning (θεωρία). A good example for illustrating the passage from the ‘historical’ sense to the spiritual meaning is the homily “About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee:”¹²⁷⁰

“Two men went up to the temple.” [Lc. 18: 10] Surely beautiful is the clearness of the literal sense (ἡ καθ’ ἱστορίαν σαφήνεια) which describes the position of the place, but at any rate the knowledge derived from the literal sense is not enough for the person found of learning. But when the mind enters into spiritual contemplation (θεωρίαν) she is illuminated by the light of anagogy (τῆς ἀναγωγῆς).

Analogous texts are countless in Philagathos’ *Homilies*. As in Gregory of Nyssa’s writings, the semantic dimension of ἀναγωγή stretches out beyond the realm of exegesis. This *terminus technicus* delineates the human subject’s ongoing progress toward the knowledge of God. We may quote another example from the homily “About Zacchaeus the Chief-Tall-Collector:”¹²⁷¹

But let us resume the historical sequence. “Jesus, the Gospel says, passed through.” [Lc. 19: 1–3] A good many people was going before Him, others were following Him drawn away [as] by the rope of His teaching. For there was a divine and ineffable grace which accompanied the words of the Saviour and enchanted the listeners’ souls. [...] Oh, how many things is the story revealing in

¹²⁶⁸ Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 70; for a similar interpretation see Richard Norris, “Introduction: Gregory of Nyssa and His Fifteen Homilies on the Song of Songs,” in *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs* (Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2012), xlv.

¹²⁶⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 1, 15, 11 (trans. Norris, 15).

¹²⁷⁰ Hom. 37 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 16, PG 132, coll. 357B): « Ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ». Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ καθ’ ἱστορίαν σαφήνεια τοῦ τόπου τὴν θέσιν ἐφερμηνεύουσα, ἀλλὰ τῷ γε φιλομαθεῖ οὐκ ἄρκετὴ τῆς ἱστορίας ἡ μάθησις· ἀλλ’ ἐμβατεύων εἰς θεωρίαν ὁ νοῦς τῷ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς φωτὶ ἐλλαμπρύνεται.

¹²⁷¹ Hom. 36 (ed. Scorsus, Hom. 15, PG 132, coll. 348D–349B): Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐπαναλάβωμεν· « Διήρχετο, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς. » Τὸ δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ πλήθος τὸ μὲν προεπόμπευε, τὸ δὲ παρείπετο τῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας ὑφελκόμενον πείσματι. Ἦν γὰρ θεία χάρις καὶ ἄρρητος τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγοις συντρέχουσα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς καταθέλγουσα. [...] Ὡ πόσα δι’ ὀλίγων ἡ ἱστορία τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἐνδείκνυται, ὅσοις οὐ παρέργως οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι ἀναγινώσκονται! Τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας τέως μεθέντες πρὸς θεωρίαν χωρήσωμεν, οἷον περιελόντες τὸ ἔξωθεν ἔλυτρον καὶ τὴν κεκρυμμένην φιλοσοφίαν ἀνακαλύπτοντες. Διὰ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ Ζακχαῖος εἶναι ἱστόρηται; Πῶς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἡδύνατο ἐστὼς ἐν τῇ γῇ; Καὶ διὰ μὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ φυτῷ, ἀλλ’ εἰς συκομορέαν ἀνέρχεται; Καὶ τί τὸ διὰ τῆς συκομορέας δηλούμενον; Τούτων τὴν μὲν ὑψηλοτέραν ἀναγωγὴν εἶδεῖν ἂν οἱ καθαροὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· οἱ δὲ ὄλβον ἀρετῆς τηλαυγῶς τῷ θεῷ πνεύματι καταλαμβάνονται.

just few words to those found of learning, to all those for whom the divine words are not read superficially! Well then, leaving aside for a while the facts of the story (τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας), let us advance to the spiritual interpretation (πρὸς θεωρίαν), that is to say, stripping off the exterior covering and unveiling the hidden philosophy (τὴν κεκρυμμένην φιλοσοφίαν). For what reason is it stated that Zacchaeus was of short stature [Lc. 19:3]? And also, how could he not see Jesus, standing up on the ground? And why doesn't he climb up into a different tree, but precisely into a sycamore tree? And what is signified by the sycamore? Well, from these things, those who are pure in their soul could discern the higher anagogy (τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἀναγωγὴν); in fact, due to the wealth of virtue they are resplendently illuminated by the Holy Spirit.

The language and the underlying thought go back to Gregory of Nyssa. Anagogy, as Hans Boersma cogently argued is “not just an exegetical practice or hermeneutical approach for St. Gregory. Rather, anagogy is our own increasing participation in divine virtue and thus our own ascent into the life of God.”¹²⁷² To reach the higher realities and to participate in the divine life through the life of virtue is the pervasive theme that runs throughout Gregory's writings. Just like for Gregory of Nyssa, in Philagathos' *Homilies* the anagogical sense discloses the participation into the higher realities and divine life through the ‘wealth of virtue.’

Philagathos' programmatic position towards spiritual and allegorical interpretation may be best observed in the homily “About the Descent of the Heavenly Ghost.” The homilist refers to the interpretation of Genesis 1:3 – “And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters” – in the exegetic tradition:¹²⁷³

In truth, the divine-inspired Moses although he taught plainly about the Holy Ghost in respect of the doctrine about God corresponding to his times, yet he obscurely instructed about what was effected by Him bending to the earthliness of the Jews, that they may not take the distinction of Persons for a polytheistic meaning. For this reason as well, when he was going to speak about angels he calls them figuratively ‘waters’ which are above the heavens, on which he says that the Holy Spirit was hovering over. For he affirms: “And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters” [Gen. 1: 3]. But is a boyish thing to think as material water that upon which the Holy Spirit was hovering over, notwithstanding that some Fathers making allowance to the weakness of their listeners interpreted the assertion in this manner. For how could be that, since the Scripture gives evidence that “Darkness was on the face of the deep”? [Gen. 1:2] Truly, in which place the Holy Spirit is, darkness shall not have place, for God is light and the maker of light. [cf 1 Jn. 1:5] But as I was saying, he calls ‘waters’ the heavenly powers so that the Jews' weaker understanding may not attribute the name of God to angels. If indeed he called the heavenly powers ‘waters’, let no one be troubled; for God is also named ‘fire’, and ‘consuming fire’ [Deut. 4:24; Hebr. 12:29]; and the great speech of the Gospel named the Holy Spirit ‘water’ [cf. Jn. 4: 11, 15], and came to the disciples in the form of fire [cf. Acts 2: 3; cf.

¹²⁷² Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 3.

¹²⁷³ *Hom* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 776A–777A).

Mt. 3: 11]. Notwithstanding, neither fire nor water our pious thought permits us to consider to be God.

Ὁ μέντοι Μωϋσῆς, ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν θεολογίᾳ τρανῶς διδάξας περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀμυδρῶς περὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διεσάφησε τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλίνων παχύτητα, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν ὑποστάσεων εἰς πολυθείαν ἐκλάβοιεν ἔμφασιν. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἀγγέλων μέλλων εἰπεῖν, τροπικῶς ὕδατα τούτους καλεῖ ὄντα ὑστεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπιφέρεσθαι λέγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· φησὶ γάρ· «Καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.» Μειρακιῶδες δὲ κομιδῇ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ οἶεσθαι, ὃ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο, κἂν οὕτω τινὲς τῶν Πατέρων τὸ ῥητὸν ἐξηγήσαντο, τῇ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀσθενείᾳ συγκαταβαίνοντες. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτο, τῆς Γραφῆς μαρτυρούσης, ὅτι «Σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου;» Ὅπου δὲ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, τὸ σκότος χώραν οὐχ ἔξει· φῶς γὰρ ὁ Θεός, καὶ φωτὸς παρεκτικὸς. Ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην, ὕδατα τὰς ἄνω δυνάμεις ἐκάλεσεν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀμβλυτέρα διάνοια τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις συνάψειεν. Εἰ δὲ ὕδωρ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὠνόμασε, ταπατέσθω μηδεῖς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς «πῦρ» ὀνομάζεται, καὶ «πῦρ καταναλίσκον» καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ ὠνόμασε ζῶν ἢ μεγάλη τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου φωνή, καὶ πυρὸς ἐν εἵδει ἐπεφοιτῆται τοῖς μαθηταῖς· ἀλλ' οὔτε πῦρ οὔθ' ὕδωρ ὁ εὐσεβῆς ἡμᾶς λογισμὸς ἐπιτρέπει νοεῖν.

In the passage cited above Philagathos rejects the interpretation of Genesis 1:3 according to the “literal” sense. In all likelihood, the homilist alludes to Basil of Caesarea’s exegesis from his *Homilies on the Six Days of Creation (On the Hexaemeron)* as reproduced and rejected in Gregory of Nyssa’s *Apologia in Hexaemeron*.¹²⁷⁴ Basil openly rejects the allegorical meaning “of the waters above the heavens” and “the waters below the heavens” as referring to salvific and evil spiritual powers. “Let us understand that ‘water’ is water,” (τὸ ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ νοήσωμεν) Basil bluntly put it.¹²⁷⁵

Philagathos’ figurative interpretation and the scriptural references are actually inspired from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Apologia in Hexaemeron*.¹²⁷⁶ In plain sight the refutation of the literal reading (i.e. Μειρακιῶδες δὲ κομιδῇ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ οἶεσθαι) is harsh. It is reminiscent of the vocabulary the homilist employed against the ancient critics of Christianity. In its original context Gregory’s *Apologia in Hexaemeron* was intended both to defend and to complement Basil’s *On the Hexaemeron*, about which Gregory declared that it has for him an authority

¹²⁷⁴ See, e.g. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, Hom. 2, 6, PG 29, coll. 41C–44C; ibid. Hom. 3, PG 29, coll. 52C–77C; also, Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 81.

¹²⁷⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, Hom. 3, 9, PG 29, coll. 76A.

¹²⁷⁶ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 81: Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτὸν τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ· εἰ δὲ μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, φῶς δὲ ὁ Θεός, [cf. 1Jn. 1:5] φῶς ἂν εἴη πάντως καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. Τὸ δὲ φῶς ἐν φωτὶ πάντως ποιεῖ ἐκεῖνα, οἷς ἐπιφέρεται. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ὃ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο, ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν κατωφερῆ ταύτην τῶν ῥευστῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν ἐστὶν, ὃ τῷ στερεώματι πρὸς τὸ βαρὺ τε καὶ κατωφερὲς ὕδωρ διατειχίζεται. Εἰ δὲ ὕδωρ κάκεινο παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς ὀνομάζεται, ὃ διὰ τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας θεωρίας τὸ τῶν νοητῶν δυνάμεων πλήρωμα σημαίνεισθαι στοχαζόμεθα, ξενιζέσθω διὰ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας μηδεῖς. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς πῦρ καταναλίσκον ἐστὶν, [Deut. 4:24; Hebr. 12:29] ἀλλὰ καθαρεύει τῆς ὑλικῆς σημασίας τοῦ πυρὸς ὁ λόγος. Ὡς περ οὖν τὸν Θεὸν πῦρ μαθὼν εἶναι, ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ἐνόησας· οὕτω καὶ ὕδωρ θείῳ πνεύματι ἐπιφερόμενον διδασχθεῖς, μὴ τὴν κατωφερῆ φύσιν νοήσης τὴν εἰς γῆν καταρρέουσιν. Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς χθαμαλοῖς τε καὶ ἀστάτοις οὐκ ἐπιφέρεται.

second only to that of Scripture itself.¹²⁷⁷ It is however clear, that Basil's account disappointed him because it addressed the text in its "literal" sense alone. Richard Norris accurately comments that Gregory considered Basil's decision to follow and embroider the literal text as "a departure from Origen's conviction that the creation narrative is anagogical throughout."¹²⁷⁸ For Gregory believed like Origen that Moses gives an account of perceptible events "that might in principle be seen, heard, and touched" whereas the reality it describes has to do with something of a different order.¹²⁷⁹ Spiritual exegesis is for Nyssen precisely the search for the intelligible 'sense' out of the plain 'sense,' that is to follow Moses "into the darkness of investigation (θεωρίας) of the inexpressible."¹²⁸⁰ However, Gregory conceded to Basil that the literal sense must be kept, for, he argues, it was the σκοπός of Basil's work to present the teaching of Moses' narrative in a manner adapted to the imperfect reasoning of his audience.¹²⁸¹ As if to alleviate the critique for deriving meaning from the literal sense alone, Philagathos reproduced this argument in his exegesis.

Besides Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus Confessor manifestly influences Philagathos' exegetical terminology and allegorical method. In Philagathos' own words, the 'literal-historic' part is "merely the outer body of our discourse – to speak as St. Maximus does" – which enables us to "breathe the spirit into it [viz., into the story] by considering its innermost significances!"¹²⁸² Philagathos follows Maximus' exegetical principle that considers meaningful the most unseemly enunciation in the sacred text for it is "it is customary in Scripture for the unspeakable and hidden intentions of God to be represented in corporeal terms, so that we can perceive divine realities through the words (ῥήματα) and sounds (φωναί) that are conformable with our nature."¹²⁸³ As Paul Blowers explained Maximus here elaborates upon a principle stated by Gregory of Nyssa. The words and names in Scripture afford a limited access to God as energies (ἐνέργεια) and traces of his being, but without giving insight into his essence.¹²⁸⁴ In the constant reliance on the allegorical interpretation of numbers and names may best be observed the importance of Maximus Confessor' exegesis for Philagathos.

¹²⁷⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 62.

¹²⁷⁸ Richard Norris, "Introduction: Gregory of Nyssa and His Fifteen Homilies on the Song of Songs," in *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs* (Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2012), xl.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid., xli–xliiii.

¹²⁸⁰ This is the advice Gregory gives to his brother Peter in *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 65C.

¹²⁸¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in hexaemeron*, PG 44, coll. 69C–D; Gregory of Nyssa added that Basil's didactic aim corresponded exactly to Moses' genuine intention: "For ... the prophet composed the book of Genesis as an introduction to the knowledge of God, and Moses' σκοπός is to take those who are enslaved to sense perception and to guide them, by way of things that appear, toward that which transcends the grasp of sense perception. Hence when he says heaven and earth, he is specifying the knowledge that comes to us by way of the eyes" (trans. Richard Norris in *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs*, Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2012, xxxiii).

¹²⁸² *Hom.* 1, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 4): Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἷον σῶμα ἔστω τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐορτῆς, κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν φάναι Μάξιμον· φέρε οὖν καὶ ταῖς ἐνδοθεν θεωρίας τοῦτον ψυχώσωμεν; "But let these [words merely] be as a body for the description of the feast to speak in accordance with Saint Maximus; therefore, let us give a soul to it by contemplating its inner spiritual significances" (trans. Gaspar, 102).

¹²⁸³ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 28 (CCSG 7, 205, 42–45, trans. Blowers, 111–112).

¹²⁸⁴ Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 187.

1. Names and Numbers

“I have no silver or gold, but what I have
I give you; In the name of Jesus Christ of
Nazareth, stand up and walk.” (Acts 3:6)

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of Philagathos’ homiletic style is the constant recourse to the allegorical explanation of names and numbers. Philagathos derived spiritual meaning from almost all the names and numbers that he happened to come across. There are 57 instances when etymologies of names are employed and 29 instances of numbers.¹²⁸⁵ Most of Philagathos’ etymologies and numerical explanations are familiar from other Christian exegetes. The homilist applied his florilegic habit and collected these explanations from various sources (i.e. from Maximus Confessor, Michael Psellos, Gregory of Nyssa, etc.).

For the biblical mind, the names and numbers mentioned in the Sacred Writ are meaningful. According to the Book of Wisdom, God as the Creator of the universe “arranged all things by measure and number and weight” (πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῷ διέταξας, Wis. 11:20). The common biblical confession of faith εἰς ὁ θεός is in fact a combination of a number and a name. François Bovon observed that when a divine message is heard and written in ancient Jewish and Christian texts, “inherent in the narrative are concerns about the name of the revealing entity as well as the individual to whom the revelation is delivered. When a reflection on a sacred legacy or history emerges in these texts, numbers may articulate periods of time and destiny.”¹²⁸⁶

In early Christian theology and exegesis, reflections on names conveyed seminal theological doctrines. Jean Daniélou described the first doctrinal expression of the Christian community as the theology of the ‘name.’¹²⁸⁷ The invocation of the name ‘Jesus’, the expressions “my name,” ‘in my name,’ “in the name [of Jesus],” from the Synoptics, Saint Paul’s Epistles, or from the book of Acts were constitutive means of asserting the new faith. As Bovon put it: “In a Jewish world marked by the name of God, to proclaim the name of Jesus was perceived as a new, dangerous, even blasphemous attitude.”¹²⁸⁸ Perhaps the most forceful exemplification of the

¹²⁸⁵ A symbolic interpretation of number 10 and 8 e.g. in the *Hom.* 13, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 90) and *Hom.* 24, PG vol. 132, 508B–C; of number 10 in *Hom.* 20, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 133) as the number of the commandments given to Moses, here equated with the Dekapolis region (Δεκάπολις means literally ‘ten cities’); of number 12 in relation to the woman who had a flow of blood for twelve years, and to the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue; see for this *Hom.* 6, 18–19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44); of number 4 in relation to the meaning of the Gospels being four in *Hom.* 5, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33); for the exegesis of Jesus’ fast for forty days in the desert see *Hom.* 24 (ed. Scorsus, PG 132, col. 508B–C); etc.

¹²⁸⁶ François Bovon, “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity,” *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001): 270; Adela Yarbro Collins, “Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 55–138.

¹²⁸⁷ Jean Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958–1961, 2 vol), vol. 1, 199–216; see also J. Dupont, “Nom de Jésus,” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. 6 (Paris: 1960), coll. 514–541; Lucien Cerfaux, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: Cerf, 1954), 357–9; François Bovon, “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity,” *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001): 267–288.

¹²⁸⁸ François Bovon, “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity,” *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001), 279: “The first Christians were confident and proud, believing in the power of Jesus’ name not in a magical way but as the expression of the person himself. ‘But Peter said, ‘I have no silver or gold, but what I have I give you; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, stand up and walk’” (Acts 3.6). This trust in the name continued in the second century in

theology of the ‘name’ is the story reported in the Acts about the healing of the paralytic at the ‘Beautiful Gate’ (Acts 3:2). At this occasion Apostle Peter when he is confronted with the Sanhedrin gives expression to the faith in the power of Jesus’ name: “Nor is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4:12).

Origen and Augustine are the most important early Christian exegetes to have engaged with the symbolism of numbers and names in their commentaries and homilies.¹²⁸⁹ Thereafter the practice became a common feature of Christian exegesis. We may determine that Philagathos’ proclivity for arithmology and etymology was for the most part inspired from Maximus Confessor’s exegetical principles and practice of interpreting names and numbers.¹²⁹⁰ The extent of Philagathos usage of etymology finds a close parallel in Maximus’ *Ad Thalassium*, which encloses more than forty different etymologies.¹²⁹¹ In *Question 28*, Maximus situated the interpretation of names within his overall exegesis, which is worthwhile recalling here:

Whoever interprets holy scripture in terms of Christ (κατὰ Χριστόν), in an intellectual way (γνωστικῶς) for the soul, must also diligently study the interpretation of names, which can elucidate the whole meaning of the scriptures, if indeed he cares about the precise intellectual comprehension of the scriptures.¹²⁹²

For Maximus, the ‘gnostic’ interpretation materializes in the correlation of allegory and typology. The names in scripture unveil types (τύποι) of spiritual realities, representing both the Christocentric drama of salvation and the moral allegory for the individual soul.¹²⁹³ Philagathos’ spiritual interpretation presupposes this Maximian kind of typological exposition.¹²⁹⁴ As to exemplify, we may observe this interplay between typology, etymological speculation, and moral allegory in Philagathos’ homily “For the Gospels of the Passion of the Saviour.”¹²⁹⁵

such authors as Justin Martyr (2 *Apol.* 6.6; *Dial.* 30.3; 85), Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 2.32.4), the scribes of NT manuscripts, who sometimes added the expression ‘in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ’ to their copies (see the variant reading of D in Acts 6.8), and the authors of the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*.”

¹²⁸⁹ The importance of numbers for Origen’s exegesis may best be contemplated in *The Homilies of the Book of Numbers*; see Origène, *Homélies sur les Nombres, I, Homélies I–X* ed. Louis Doutreleau (SC 415, Paris: Cerf, 1996); for Augustine see *La Genèse au sens littéral en douze livres (I–VII)*, ed. Paul Agaësse and A. Soullignac, Bibliothèque Augustinienne: Œuvres de saint Augustin 48–49; Paris: Desclée de Brower, 1970–2; see also William G. Most, “The Scriptural Basis of St. Augustine’s Arithmology,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 13 (1951): 284–95;

¹²⁹⁰ For Maximus’ symbolic interpretation of names and numbers see Peter Van Deun, “La symbolique des nombres dans l’œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580–662),” *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992): 237–242; see also the excellent exposition of Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 203–238.

¹²⁹¹ Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 203.

¹²⁹² Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 28 (CCSG 7, 379, 32–381, 37, trans. Blowers, 203).

¹²⁹³ For Maximus’ exegetic practice of combining allegory and typology see Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 196–203.

¹²⁹⁴ Maximus is a chief exponent of an influential hermeneutical tradition that goes back to Origen and Philo.

¹²⁹⁵ *Hom.* 54 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, PG 132, coll. 581 B): Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Ἰσαάκ τυπὼν τὸ πάθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, αὐτὸς τὰ τῆς ὀλοκαρπώσεως ξύλα ἐβάστασε· κάπειδὴ γοῦν τὸ προτυπωθὲν [πρωτοτυπωθὲν] ἀνεπλήρωσε, τότε ὁ Κυρηναῖος Σίμων ἀγγαρευθεὶς ὑπουργεῖ τῷ βαστάγματι. Οὐ συντυχικὴ δὲ γέγονε τοῦ Σίμωνος ἡ ἀγγάρευσις, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον προώριστο διακονῆσαι τῷ προστάγματι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Σίμων ὑπακοή ἐρμηνεύεται, Κυρηναῖος δὲ ἐτοιμότης, ἡ δὲ Κυρήνη μία ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς Πενταπόλεως, διδάσκει τὸ αἰνigma, ὡς ὁ πρὸς τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ὑπακοὴν γενόμενος

And certainly Isaac who typifies the Passion of Jesus carried himself the wood of the burnt offering [Gen. 22: 6]; at least then since the Lord fulfilled what was set forth as a type, then Simon of Cyrene as he was compelled assisted with the burden. [Mc. 15: 21] Well, the compulsory service of Simon did not happen by chance, but because it was foreordained that he would attend to the command. Since Simon signifies ‘obedience,’ Cyrenian ‘readiness,’ whereas Cyrene is one of the [five] cities of the Pentapolis, [the Gospel] teaches us a riddle, that when the person had become ready for the evangelical obedience through the senses he takes up the cross [Mc. 15: 21] of the practical virtue, and follows Christ along with Paul who shouts: “I have been crucified to the world.” [Gal. 6: 14]

Philagathos’ exegesis differs in no observable way from that of Maximus, or from other earlier patristic commentators in the hermeneutical tradition of Origen. For the homilist the explanation of the names in the sacred Writ (personal, geographical, and otherwise) marks the passage to the deeper allegorical meaning:¹²⁹⁶

[6.] When He stopped talking He ordered Simon to launch out (ἐπανάγειν) into the deep and to let down (χαλάσαι) the nets for a catch. [Lc. 5:4] But Simon said to Him: “We have toiled all night and caught nothing; nevertheless at Your word I will let down the net. And when they had done this, they caught a great number of fish.” [Lc. 5:5–6] Therefore this is, on the one hand, the miracle according to the literal sense. But on the other, having removed the scriptural (γραφικόν) veil let us fix firmly our mind into the spiritual interpretation. For the saying urges us to launch out (ἐπανάγειν) the literal meaning (ιστορίαν) into the deep of spiritual understandings (νοημάτων) and to let down (χαλάσαι) the net of the word (λόγου) for a catch of spiritual contemplation (θεωρίας). Then, what does our feeble net catch? The Lake of Gennesaret is the troubled life of men, the suburban house of the ruler of this world. [cf. Jn. 12:31] For Gennesaret signifies ‘the garden of the ruler,’ since the demons having ruled the world they claimed it for themselves as their own possession. [7.] Accordingly, in this living lake were floating the people of Israel and the gentiles like two boats. For the natural law was set before the gentiles, the written law before the people of Israel.

ἔτοιμος, διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἶρει τὸν σταυρὸν τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ Χριστῷ, μετὰ Παύλου βοῶν· «Ἐγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐσταύρωμαι.» [Gal. 6: 14]

¹²⁹⁶ *Hom.* 5, 6–7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 34): Πausάμενος δὲ τοῦ λαλεῖν, εἰς τὸ βάθος ἐπανάγειν κελεύει τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ χαλάσαι πρὸς ἄγρην τὸ δίκτυον. Ὁ δέ· «Δι’ ὅλης, φησί, νυκτὸς κοπιᾶσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου χαλάσω τὸ δίκτυον. Καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολὺ». Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τῆς ιστορίας παράδοξον· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ γραφικὸν **διάραντες καταπέτασμα**, τῇ θεωρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσερεῖσωμεν. Προτρέπει γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐπανάγειν τὴν ιστορίαν ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος τῶν νοημάτων καὶ χαλάσαι τοῦ λόγου τὸ δίκτυον εἰς ἄγρην τῆς θεωρίας. Τί οὖν ἀγρεύει τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἡμῶν δίκτυον; Λίμνη Γενησαρὲτ ἢ ταραχώδης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ βιοτή, τὸ προάστειον τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· Γενησαρὲτ γὰρ *κῆπος ἀρχόντων* ἐφερμηνεύεται, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τοῦ κόσμου κατάρξαντες δαίμονες ὡς ἴδιον κτῆμα τοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς ὤκειώσαντο. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ βιωτικῇ λίμνῃ ὡς δύο πλοῖα ἦσαν διανηρόμενα, ὁ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων λαὸς καὶ ὁ ἐξ ἐθνῶν. Προΐστατο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὁ νόμος ὁ φυσικός, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ γραπτός·

In the exegetic practice, Philagathos' interpretation of names is closely associated with the symbolic valuation of numbers. Although it may go back to pre-Platonic Pythagoreanism, the idea that the syllabic or sub syllabic elements of names and their corresponding numerical value discloses the true nature of things formed the basis for later Platonic, Stoic, and Christian speculation on etymology. For the early Christian tradition, Clement and Origen appropriated arithmology as a theological tool for framing their allegorical exegeses. Then, in the Byzantine tradition, Maximus Confessor inspired by Pseudo-Dionysios exploited to the fullest this exegetical technique for extracting spiritual interpretations.¹²⁹⁷ Once again, it was principally Maximus Confessor who inspired Philagathos' speculations on numbers.

A valuable example is the numerical elaboration around the name of Archangel Gabriel from the homily "For the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God." Philagathos writes:¹²⁹⁸

As the wise Maximus has taught us that we can ascend towards the higher significations [of things] based on both the letters of the names and on their numerical [value], seven letters make up the name of Gabriel, his name showing that Christ, whose birth he was announcing, would come for the salvation of the entire world, which is governed by this seven-fold movement of time and which shall come to an end after [the passing of] seven millennia. And if the scrutiny should not seem useless to the crowd, [let me also say] that the number resulted from the single units of the name is not devoid of mystical signification. And even from this we may discover the foretold divine providence of the holy Scripture. Because one hundred and fifty four, which is the total sum of the letters in Gabriel's name, reveal him as the one who announced [Jesus as] a perfect God and a perfect human being. As even the number ten is perfect, since it contains [in itself] all the numbers, when it is multiplied by itself, it gives the number one hundred, which symbolizes perfect divinity. The five decades, on the other hand, are the symbol of the perfect human soul, which takes its perfection from the intellect and acts through the [five] senses. The number four represents the four elements which form the body. Therefore the total numeric value of the name foretells the conceiving of the one who was being announced [i.e., of Christ], namely the manner in which the most perfect divinity of the Word was united, in a way that is beyond words, with the body through the mediation of the rational and sensible soul.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ σοφὸς ἐδίδαξε Μάξιμος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἔκ τε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑψηλοτέρας ἐννοίας ἀνάγεσθαι, ἑπτὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα τὴν

¹²⁹⁷ For the Christian and Neoplatonic tradition that stands behind Maximus' arithmology, see Stephen Gersch, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 137–150; Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor* (trans. Brian E. Daley, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003), 104–109; for Maximus' arithmology see Peter Van Deun, "La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580–662), 38; Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 211–219; Despina Denise Prassas, *St. Maximus the Confessor's Questions and Doubts: Translation and Commentary* (PhD dissertation: The Catholic University of America, 2003), 73–77.

¹²⁹⁸ *Hom.* 25, 8–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 165).

κλησιν ἀναπληροῦσι τοῦ Γαβριήλ, ἐμφαίνει τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ὁ ὑπὸ Γαβριήλ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τεχθῆναι Χριστὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἦκει τοῦ κόσμου παντός, τοῦ μετρομένου ὑπὸ τῆς ἐβδοματικῆς ταύτης τοῦ χρόνου κινήσεως καὶ περατουμένου ἐν αἰῶσιν ἑπτά. Εἰ δὲ μὴ περιεργος δόξει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ἐξέτασις, οὐδὲ τῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος μονάδων ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἔξω πέπτωκε θεωρίας τῆς μυστικῆς· καὶ ἐκ τούτου γὰρ τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς ἀγίας Γραφῆς μηνυομένην εὐρήσομεν. Τὰ γὰρ τέσσαρα καὶ πενήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Γαβριήλ συνάγεται κλήσεως, δηλοῖ τὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενον τέλειον Θεὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον. Ἡ γάρ τοι δεκάς τελεία οὖσα, ὡς περιεκτικὴ παντός ἀριθμοῦ, εἰς ἑαυτὴν πολυπλασιαζομένη τὴν ἑκατοντάδα ποιεῖ, ἥτις δηλωτικὴ ἐστὶ τῆς παντελείας θεότητος· ἡ δὲ πενταδικὴ δεκάς τῆς τελείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς ἐστὶ σύμβολον, ἐχούσης μὲν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦς τελειότητα, ἐνεργούσης δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων· τὰ γε μὴν τέσσαρα τὸ τετράστοιχον σῶμα ἐμφαίνουσι. Δείκνυσι τοίνυν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ εὐαγγελιζόμενου τὴν σύλληψιν, ὡς ἡ ὑπερτελεία τοῦ Λόγου θεότες διὰ μέσης νοερᾶς καὶ αἰσθητικῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρήτως ἠνώθη τῷ σώματι.

The precise location of Philagathos' appropriation from Maximus Confessor remains elusive. The reference to the seven-fold movement of time signifying the earthly existence followed by the eighth day of the eschaton relates to the prolific tradition of speculations around the number seven. Philagathos particularly cherished the symbolism of number seven. The numerical speculations on Charikleia's name from Philip-Philagathos' commentary of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* centers on this sacred number.¹²⁹⁹ Philagathos' considerations on number seven find close parallels in his most cherished sources. Thus, the number seven occupies a prominent position in Gregory of Nyssa's considerations about the temporal order.¹³⁰⁰ Likewise, Maximus Confessor manifested a steadfast interest in the symbolism of number seven.¹³⁰¹ In *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, Maximus recorded a plethora of explanations on number seven centered of the nature of time and motion. For Maximus number seven "signifies time, eternity, the ages, motion, enclosure, measure, boundary, providence, and many other things...It alone is regarded as rest and so it is invested with great significance with respect to the knowledge of the sacred mysteries."¹³⁰²

Philagathos refined arithmology that relates the five senses and the four elements with the human body and the soul conforms in the smallest detail to Maximus' exegesis. We may observe this by turning to Maximus' Question 55 in the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, a *locus classicus* for Maximus' usage of arithmology, which seeks to explain the meaning of the "43,360 women and children" from 1 Esdras' account of the return of the captives from Babylon to Judah.

If someone wishes to view the intention (...) of Holy Scripture through a number, so also he will discover the providence indicated by that number. [...] Therefore,

¹²⁹⁹ See below, Part VI, chapter Arythmology and Etymology," 432–438.

¹³⁰⁰ Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 38–50.

¹³⁰¹ Peter Van Deun, "La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580–662)," 240–241.

¹³⁰² Maximus, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 65, PG 91, coll. 1389D–1392A (trans. Joshua Gareth Lollar in "To See into the Life of Things." *The Contemplation of Nature in Maximus Confessor's Ambigua to John*, PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame: Indiana, 2011, 230–231).

when someone combines one hundred with two hundred, he gets three hundred, which signifies nature and virtue. For they say the number two hundred often signifies nature, since nature is composed of matter and form: matter is identified with four because of the four elements, while form is identified with five because of sense, which moulds the material mass into a form. When you multiply forty by five or fifty by four, you have two hundred. The number one hundred, on the other hand, signifies perfect virtue, since it contains the divine decad of commandments multiplied by ten. Having attained in age to this decad-times-ten, Abraham became the father of the great Isaac, and though naturally dead, he became spiritually a begetter of life and joy (cf. Gen. 21:1–5). Thus if you add the one hundred with the two hundred, you would have the number three hundred, which indicates the providence that maintains human nature according to its principle of well-being.¹³⁰³

Philagathos' fascination with etymology may further be contemplated in the homily "For the Tenth Resurrection Gospel". The homilist sets to explain the reference to 153 fishes in John 21:11,¹³⁰⁴ by decomposing the number into 100, 50, and 3.¹³⁰⁵

For the number one hundred which is both a square (τετράγωνος) and the most perfect (πληρέστατος), since the decad is multiplied by itself, has revealed beforehand the full number (πλήρωμα) of the gentiles brought to faith from the four corners of the world. Fifty prefigured those who believed from the circumcised, that received the guarding of the divine decad of commandments in a sensible manner. For either the pentad multiplied by ten or the decad multiplied by five makes fifty which signifies the pentad of the senses and the decad of the commandments. The number three on the other hand makes manifest the faith in the Trinity which having united into one the scattered limbs brought everything together into one Church.

The significance of the 153 fishes of John received extensive attention in the Christian exegetic tradition.¹³⁰⁶ A widespread explanation found in Augustine and Maximus Confessor was related to the fact that the number 153 is the sum of the numbers from 1 to 17 and that the 153 dots form an equilateral triangle with the side of 17, the last number of the series.¹³⁰⁷ This

¹³⁰³ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 55 (CCSG 495, 240–260, trans. Blowers, 217–28).

¹³⁰⁴ John 21:10–11: "Jesus said to them, 'Bring some of the fish which you have just caught.' Simon Peter went up and dragged the net to land, full of large fish, one hundred and fifty-three; and although there were so many, the net was not broken."

¹³⁰⁵ *Hom.* 79 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 693C–D): Ὁ γὰρ ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸς, καὶ τετράγωνος ὢν, καὶ πληρέστατος, ὡς τῆς δεκάδος εἰς αὐτὴν κυκλουμένης, τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸ ἐκ τεσσάρων τῆς οἰκουμένης περάτων πεπιστευκὸς προὔπεφαινε. Τὰ δὲ πενήκοντα, τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστεύσαντας προεικόνιζεν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν τὴν θείαν Δεκάδος τῶν ἐντολῶν αἰσθητῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντας. Δεκαπλουμένη γὰρ ἡ πεντάς, ἢ πενταπλουμένη ἀνάπαλιν ἡ δεκάς γεννᾷ τὸν πενήκοντα, σημαίνοντα τὴν πεντάδα τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καὶ τὴν δεκάδα τῶν ἐντολῶν. Τὰ τρία δὲ, τὴν εἰς τὴν Τριάδα πίστιν δηλοῖ, ἥτις ἐνοποιήσασα τὰ διεσπῶτα, εἰς μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν πάντας συνήγαγεν.

¹³⁰⁶ F. H. Colson, "Triangular Numbers in the New Testament," *JTS* 16 (1915): 67–76; J. A. Emerton, "The Hundred and Fifty-Three Fishes in John XXI. 11," *JTS* 9 (1958): 86–89;

¹³⁰⁷ For Augustine see Colson, "Triangular Numbers in the New Testament," 72; for Maximus see Peter Van Deun, "La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580–662), 239.

understanding was inherited from the Pythagorean tradition of “arithmology” which ascribed symbolic value to triangular and square numbers.¹³⁰⁸ A triangular number (τρίγωνος) is the sum of all the successive even numbers, whereas a square number (τετράγωνος) is the sum of successive odd numbers. By asserting that 100 is a square (τετράγωνος) and the most complete number (πληρέστατος), Philagathos alludes to the doctrine of ‘triangular’ and ‘square’ numbers that associates numbers with geometric figures.¹³⁰⁹ Indeed, the number 100 is the square number made of the sum of the successive first 10 odd numbers (i.e. $1+3+5+7+9+11+13+15+17+19 = 100$) thus making a square with the side of 10. Then, the qualification of the number 100 as most complete (πληρέστατος) points to the fact that 100 is the tenth multiple of 10, which is the triangle of 4 ($1+2+3+4 = 10$). Otherwise, Philagathos’ analysis of number 153 by splitting up the parts of the number into 100, 50, and 3 is consonant with Maximus Confessor’s exegesis of the number of 153 from *Quaestiones et Dubia*.¹³¹⁰

Philagathos provides another explanation to the number of 153 fish by resorting to the proper name ‘Rebekka’ whose letters have a numerical value of 153.¹³¹¹

Rebekka then, figures the Church, united to Christ through baptism. For if the letters of Rebekka’s name are converted to numerals, they will total 153 units, the number of fish caught [by the apostles] (Jn. 21:1–14). In this way the apostles’ fishing announced beforehand the throng of the Church.

Besides finding that ‘Rebekka’ is the numerical value of the fishes in John 21:11, the calculation has another remarkable feature. For it appears that the homilist appropriates the ‘template’ which Heliodorus used in the *Aethiopika* for explaining the appellation of the river Nile.

Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 9, 22, 6:

Hom. 79 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 696A):

οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀντικρὺς εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον, τοῦτο καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκβεβαιουμένης (τῶν γοῦν κατὰ τοῦνομα τῶν γοῦν στοιχείων τῆς Ῥεβέκκα ὀνόματος

¹³⁰⁸ R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1993), 390; see also A.Y. Collins in *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, 91 who pointed out that “in the Greco-Roman period the best known tradition about the qualities of numbers was the Pythagorean.” Collins argued that “Philo’s discussion of the properties of numbers show that he can also be called a Neo-Pythagorean with considerable justification. (p. 97); these ideas thereafter passed into the Christian and Jewish apocalyptic literature.

¹³⁰⁹ Philagathos mentions triangular numbers elsewhere in the *Homilies*; e.g. *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 405B), which discusses the number 6, which is the second triangular number as the sum of first three successive whole numbers (i.e. $1+2+3 = 6$): Τάχα τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐντεῦθεν μαθάνομεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδων τῶν ἐξ προίων ἀριθμὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μερῶν συντιθέμενος, ὡς μήτε τι λείπειν ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε πλεονάζειν, τέλειός ἐστι· τέλειον γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ μήτε τινὸς ἐτέρου προσδεόμενον εἰς συμπλήρωσιν μήτε πλεονάζον ἑαυτοῦ πόποτε. Εἰκότως τὸ τῆς ἐντολῆς περιέλαβε τέλειον· ἔχει δὲ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος καὶ τὴν τριχῇ διάστασιν, μήκος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος, ὡς ἐκ τριγώνων συγκείμενος.

¹³¹⁰ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, 56, 2–3; Maximus interprets the number 153 as the triangle of 17 and, like Philagathos, breaks off the number into 100, 50 and 3; for an English translation of the text see Despina Denise Prassas, *St. Maximos the Confessor’s Questions and Doubts: Translation and Commentary* (PhD dissertation: The Catholic University of America, 2003), 151.

¹³¹¹ i.e. 100 (R) + 5 (E) + 2 (B) + 5 (E) + 20 (K) + 20 (K) + 1 (A) = 153.

στοιχείων εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων, εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων, τρεῖς καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσiai **μονάδες, ὅσαι καὶ τοῦ** ἔτους ἡμέραι, **συναχθήσονται,** πενήκοντα, καὶ ἑκατον **μονάδες, συναχθήσονται, ὅσους καὶ τοὺς** ἀγρευθέντας φυτῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνθέων καὶ ζώων ιδιότητας καὶ ἄγρα τὸν πληθυσμὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προήγγειλε.¹³¹²

Sometimes the preacher refers to his elaborations on the numerical value of letters as a sort of refinement fit for those found of learning. An example is the homily “On the Rich Man Asking the Lord,” in which Philagathos or explaining Mark 10:18 turns to the numerical significance of the names ‘God’ and ‘good’.¹³¹³

“There is none good but one, that is, God.” [Mc. 10:18] But if there is need to put some sort of seasoning to our speech on account of those who delight in these things, there is a certain fellowship between both names, that is between the name ‘of God’ and ‘of good’. For if someone counts the [numerical] units of the letters, he will manifestly find in both the same summation of each name, namely four and eighty and two hundred. But perhaps this seems more elaborate.

«Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός.» Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ οἶον ἡδυσμὰ τι προσθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τοὺς τοιούτοις προσέχοντας,¹³¹⁴ κοινωνία τις πρόσεστι τοῖν ὀνομάτοιιν ἀμφοῖν τοῦ τε Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Εἰ γάρ τις τὰς τῶν στοιχείων ἀριθμήσει μονάδας, ἴσας ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εὐρήσει σαφῶς εἰς τέσσαρας, καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ διακοσίας ποσομένας ἐκάστου ὀνόματος. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως περιεργότερον.

Thus by counting the numerical value of each letter from the word God (ΘΕΟΣ)¹³¹⁵ and ‘good’ (ΑΓΑΘΟΣ)¹³¹⁶ the preacher solves the riddle posed Christ’s apparent disavowal of his partnership with ‘the good’ and shows that ‘God’ is ‘the good’.¹³¹⁷

Besides rhetorical refinement, Philagathos turns to arithmological or etymological explanations for illustrating fundamental Christian doctrines. A good case in point is the sermon “For the: ‘The lamp of the body is the eye.’¹³¹⁸

All right then, having advanced to these points under discussion (νοήματα) as truly holy let us enter [now] onto the Holy of Holies, bringing every thought into captivity to Christ, according to the Apostle’s exhortation. [2Cor. 10:5]. In fact,

¹³¹² “The Nile then, they said, is nothing else but the year incarnate, its very appellation confirming this, for if the letters in its name are converted to numerals they will total 365 units, the number of days in the year” (trans. mod. Rowland Smith, 224).

¹³¹³ *Hom.* 66 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, PG 132, coll. 840C–841A):

¹³¹⁴ For a similar formulation see *Hom.* 1, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 3): Ἡ μὲν οὖν παροῦσα ἡμέρα (προτεθείσθω γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ οἶον ἡδυσμα τοῖς φιλοκάλοις ὑμῖν) [...].

¹³¹⁵ i.e. 9 (Θ) + 5 (Ε) + 70 (Ο) + 200 (Σ) = 284.

¹³¹⁶ i.e. 1 (Α) + 3 (Γ) + 1 (Α) + 9 (Θ) + 70 (Ο) + 200 (Σ) = 284.

¹³¹⁷ Philagathos’ gematric considerations are embedded in a polemical context discussed above, Part IV, chapter 1.2.5, 1.2.5. “There is none good but one, that is, God.” 271–273.

¹³¹⁸ *Hom.* 63 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 42, PG 132, coll. 812C–813B).

our lamp and eye is Christ himself. For ‘lamp’ [λύχνος] is interpreted ‘to dissolve the murk’ [τὸ λύειν τὸ νύχος], that is to say the darkness. [...] But the ‘lamp’ is somewhat very similar to the Incarnation of the Word. Being God according to nature and becoming flesh according to the dispensation, yet without being circumscribed by nature just such as light, but just as a lamp by means of the soul being held in the shell-fish of the body, as the fire [of divinity] united by the wick, was seen as deliverer from the darkness of ignorance.

Ἀλλ’ εἰ δοκεῖ, ταῦτα τὰ νοήματα προβάντες ὡς ἅγια, εἰς τὰ τῶν ἁγίων Ἅγια εἰσέλθωμεν, αἰχμαλωτίσαντες τὸ νόημα εἰς Χριστὸν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Αποστόλου παραίνεσιν. Λύχνος γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. Λύχνος γὰρ ἐτυμολογεῖται **παρὰ τὸ λύειν τὸ νύχος**, ἡγουν **τὸ σκότος**. [...] Λίαν δὲ παρεμφερὴς ὁ λύχνος τῆς τοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως. **Κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ σὰρξ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν γενόμενος, οἷα δὴ φῶς κατ’ οὐσίαν ἀπεριγράφτως, ὡς τῆς σαρκὸς ὀστράκῳ καθάπερ λύχνῳ διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς, ὡς διὰ θρυαλλίδος το πῦρ ἐνώθεν, τοῦ σκότους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὥφθη λυτήριον.**

Moulded on Maximus Confessor’s *Ad Thalassium*, the etymology of the lamp vividly represents the dogma of the Incarnation.¹³¹⁹ However, the extent of Philagathos’ reliance and adaptation of Maximus Confessor’s exegesis may be preeminently contemplated in the homily “On the Catching of Fish” (Lc. 5:1–11). The homilist undertakes to elucidate what signifies the Gospel, to what things the four Gospels correspond to and the reason for being four.¹³²⁰

Certainly, the Gospel is the prefiguration of the resurrected life, preparing us through the virtuous way of living for the life to come. Let us also say to what

¹³¹⁹ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 63, 40–53: καὶ πᾶσι λάμπων τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, λέγω δὲ τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, καθά ποῦ φησιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄπει λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ λάμπει πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, λύχνον ἑαυτὸν δηλαδὴ λέγων, ὡς κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ σὰρξ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν γενόμενος, οἷα δὴ φῶς κατ’ οὐσίαν, λύχνου δίκην, ἀπεριγράφως διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς, ὡς διὰ θρυαλλίδος τὸ πῦρ, τῷ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀστράκῳ κρατούμενος. Ὅπερ, οἶμαι, νοήσας καὶ ὁ μέγας Δαυιδ λύχνον κέκληκεν τὸν κύριον, ὡς λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ νόμον ὄντα φυσικόν, φήσας· *λύχνος τοῖς ποσί μου ὁ νόμος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου*. σκότους γὰρ ἀγνοίας τε καὶ πονηρίας **λυτήριος** ὁ ἐμὸς ὑπάρχει σωτὴρ καὶ θεός· διὸ καὶ λύχνος τῇ γραφῇ προσηγορεύθη—**λύχνος γὰρ παρὰ τὸ λύειν τὸ νύχος λέγεται· νύχος δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ σκότος** οἱ περὶ λόγους σπουδάζοντες— ὃς δὴ μόνος, οἷα δὴ λύχνος, τὸν ζόφον **τῆς ἀγνοίας** καὶ τὸν σκότον τῆς κακίας διαλύσας, πᾶσιν ὁδὸς γέγονε *σωτηρίας, δι’ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα φέρων τοὺς αὐτόν, ὡς δικαιοσύνης ὁδόν*, διὰ τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν ὁδεύειν βουλομένους. Trans.: “[...] and shining forth to all who are in the house, that is from this world, as himself says in a place as God and Word: ‘No one lights a lamp and puts it under a basket, but on a lampstand, and it gives light to all who are in the house,’ [Lc. 11:33] thus naming himself ‘lamp’ since he while being God according to nature and becoming flesh according to the dispensation, as light by nature after the manner of the lamp, is held in the shell-fish of the body yet not in a circumscribed manner by means of the soul just as the fire [is held] by the wick. This, I think, the great David also understood when he had called the Lord ‘lamp,’ as the word of God and of the Father, and as the natural law, saying: ‘Thy law is a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths.’ [Ps. 118 (119):105] For my Saviour and God delivers me both from the darkness of ignorance and of wickedness; for this reason he was called in the scripture ‘lamp’ – in fact, ‘lamp’ is said to derive from ‘to dissolve the darkness’; for those who study the meaning of works say that ‘νύχος’ means ‘darkness.’ Because he alone dissolved the murk of ignorance and the darkness of wickedness, he became the way of salvation to all, guiding through virtue and knowledge to the Father, as the way of righteousness, all those wishing to associate with him through keeping the commandments.”

¹³²⁰ *Hom. 5, 2–4* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33).

thing the Gospels are corresponding, following in word the divine teachings of Maximus the sage. For the holy tablet of the Gospels has been given to men, for man is a microcosm, as it is both agreed by those from the outside and by our [sages], because he encloses within himself the elements of the sensible world and of the intelligible world; in conformity with this the Gospels did not exceed the number four. Since, on the one hand, four are the elements, which make up this sensible world; on the other hand, there are four general virtues which set in order the intellectual faculty within us. For that which is the ether in the sensible world (κόσμῳ), this is prudence in the mental (διανοίας) world, the disposition that illuminates and makes manifest the spiritual principles particular to each spiritual being. Indeed, to ether and prudence corresponds mystically the sacred Gospel according to John, because it leads up highest of all and straightforward the faith and the thought about God. And that which is the air [in the sensible world], this is courage [in the mental world] as the disposition (ἔξις) that moves and holds together the natural life according to the spirit. Surely, the Gospel according to Luke corresponds to air and courage, because it is more regular and furnished with more stories. And that which is the water in the sensible world, this is moderation (chastity) among the virtues, the creative disposition of the generative power in the Spirit. Therefore, the Gospel according to Mark corresponds to water and moderation, since it took its beginning from the baptism of John and the repentance proclaimed by him, by which moderation comes into existence. And that which is the earth [in the sensible world], this is justice [among the virtues], as the disposition pertaining to the stable position in the beautiful and its unalterable foundation. Thus, to the earth and justice corresponds [the Gospel according] to Matthew, because it produced the discourse more inclined to the physical world.

Ἔστιν οὖν Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως βίου προδιατύπωσις,¹³²¹ δι' ἐναρέτου πολιτείας πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ζωὴν καταρτίζον ἡμᾶς. Εἵπωμεν δὲ καὶ τίσιν ἀναλογοῦσιν, ἐπόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ Μαξίμου τοῦ τὰ θεῖα σοφοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δέδοται ἡ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἀγία πυκτὴ, **μικρὸς δὲ κόσμος ὁ ἄνθρωπος** παρὰ τε τῶν θύραθεν καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ὁμολόγηται, ὥς ἔχων τὰ τε τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ, ἀκολουθῶς τὰ Εὐαγγέλια οὐχ ὑπερβέβηκε τὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμόν. **Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ συμπληροῦντα τόνδε τὸν κόσμον τὸν αἰσθητόν, τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρεταὶ αἱ κοσμοῦσαι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν νοερόν.**¹³²² **Καὶ ὅπερ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς διανοίας ἡ φρόνησις, ἕξις φωτιστικὴ καὶ**

¹³²¹ Philagathos' formulation is seemingly inspired from Basil of Caesarea's *De spiritu sancto*, 15, 35, 70: Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὀρίζομενος εἰποὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἶναι τοῦ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως βίου προδιατύπωσιν, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῇ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἁμαρτεῖν.

¹³²² The doctrine that man is a microcosm and the association of the four elements with the four cardinal virtues is often encountered in Maximus' works; the notion of man as a microcosm is central to Maximus' thought; see for this Lars Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St Maximus the Confessor* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985); the association of the four elements with the four cardinal virtues and the four Gospels is also encountered in *Quaestiones et dubia*, 116, 10–18; see also Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor*, 171–179; the notion is equally important for Gregory of Nyssa's anthropology; cf. A. Meredith, *The Cappadocians* (London: Chapman, 1995), 92.

τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων πνευματικῶν λόγων ἀποδεικτική· αἰθέρος οὖν καὶ φρονήσεως μυστικῶς λόγον ἐπέχει τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς πάντων ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀπλὴν μυστικῶς τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ πίστιν εἰσάγον καὶ ἔννοιαν. Καὶ ὅπερ ὁ ἀήρ, τοῦτο ἡ ἀνδρεία, ὡς ἕξις κινητικὴ καὶ τῆς ἐμφύτου κατὰ πνεῦμα ζωῆς συνεκτικὴ· αἴρος οὖν καὶ ἀνδρείας τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ὡς περιοδικώτερον καὶ πλείοσιν ἱστορίαις πυκνούμενον. Καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἕξις τῆς ἐν πνεύματι γονιμότητος ποιητικῆ· ὕδατος δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης λόγον ἐπέχει τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς κηρυττομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετανοίας ἀρχόμενον, καθ' ἣν ἡ σωφροσύνη συνέστηκε. Καὶ ὅπερ ἡ γῆ, τοῦτο ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἕξις τῆς ἐν τῷ καλῷ βάσεως ἀμετακίνητος καὶ ἀμετάθετος ἰδρυσις· γῆς οὖν καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, ὡς φυσικώτερον τὸν λόγον ποιούμενον.

Rossi-Taibbi indicated Maximus' *Five Hundred Chapters* as the source of Philagathos' interpretation.¹³²³ However, as can be observed below the beginning of the homily is based on Maximus Confessor's *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 21. Maximus elaborates on the manner in which the Gospel is the image of the physical cosmos (ὁ κατ' αἰσθησις κόσμος) and of the inner, "mental" cosmos (ὁ κόσμος τῆς διανοίας), "the intellectual world that is within us (ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοητὸς)" materialized in the four cardinal virtues.¹³²⁴

Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ αἰθήρ, ἡγουν τὸ πύριον στοιχεῖον, ἐν τῷ κατ' αἰσθησιν κόσμῳ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς διανοίας ἐστὶν ἡ φρόνησις, ὡς ἕξις φωτιστικὴ, καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων ἰδίως πνευματικῶν λόγων ἀποδεκτικὴ, τὴν ἐν ὅλοις ἀπλανῶς δι' αὐτῶν αἰτίαν ἐκφαίνουσα, καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐφέσεως ἐλκτικὴ· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ ὁ ἀήρ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ κατὰ διάνοιαν κόσμῳ ἐστὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, ὡς ἕξις κινητικὴ, καὶ τῆς ἐμφύτου κατὰ πνεῦμα ζωῆς συνεκτικὴ τε ἄμα καὶ δραστικὴ, καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀεικινήσιας τονωτικὴ· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τῆς διανοίας κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἕξις ὑπάρχουσα τῆς ἐν Πνεύματι ζωτικῆς γονιμότητος ποιητικῆ, καὶ τῆς ἀειβλύστου κατὰ τὴν ἔφεσιν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐρωτικῆς θέλξεως γεννητικῆ· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τῆς διανοίας κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἡ διακαιοσύνη, ἕξις ὑπάρχουσα κατ' εἶδος γεννητικὴ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐσι λόγων, καὶ τῆς ἐν Πνεύματι κατὰ τῷ ἴσον ἐκάστῳ ζωτικῆς διαδόσεως ἀπονεμητικῆ· καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐν τῷ καλῷ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν βάσεως ἀμετάθετος ἰδρυσις. Τῆς οὖν καὶ δικαιοσύνης μυστικῶς λόγον ἐπέχει, τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς φυσικώτερον τὸν λόγον ποιούμενον, ὕδατος δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης, τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς κηρυττομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετανοίας, καθ' ἣν ἡ σωφροσύνη συνέστηκεν, ἀρχόμενον, αἴρος δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείας τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, ὡς περιοδικώτερον καὶ πλείουσιν ἱστορίαις πυκνούμενον, αἰθέρος δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως τὸ κατὰ

¹³²³ Hom. 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32).

¹³²⁴ Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 21, PG 91, coll. 1245B–D (an excellent English translation was presented by Joshua Gareth Lollar, "To See into the Life of Things." *The Contemplation of Nature in Maximus the Confessor's Ambigua to John* (PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2011), 302–303).

**Ἰωάννην, ὡς πάντων ἀνώτατον, καὶ ἀπλὴν μυστικῶς τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ πίστιν
εἰσάγον καὶ ἔννοιαν.**

It is clear that Philagathos merely rearranged Maximus' exposition as to highlight the sacramentality of the Scripture which bounds together the world of the soul with the natural world.

The application of etymological speculation for deriving spiritual meanings brings to light a consummate exegetic technique in Philagathos' *Homilies*. Once again, it is Maximus who inspired the mapping of correspondences between historical events, individual personages from scripture or hagiographical literature and ascetic doctrines (i.e. the moral-spiritual life of the soul) through the usage of etymology. In the homily, "For the Holy Innocents" Philagathos gives an interpretation of the scriptural episode by means of etymological interpretation, which grounds his doctrine of spiritual life.¹³²⁵

[13.] The fact of history advises us, that whenever Christ is as a babe in us, when we hold within us an imperfect knowledge of virtue, lives and rules [over us] Herod, the will of the flesh. For Herod is interpreted as flesh subjected to suffering and skin-like, by which is typified the earthly will, the one which kills the male infants, that is, the manly thoughts of virtue, and seeks to kill the principle (λόγον) of virtue within us. Then, then, one must flee to Egypt, that is to the active life of suffering (τὴν πρακτικὴν κακοπάθειαν). [14.] For finding ourselves in this we shall render powerless the desires of the flesh. Truly when the will of the flesh is consumed by the worm of consciousness and the earthly limbs are mortified, at that time he passes over as from Egypt to Jerusalem, that is when he introduces the mind from the toils of the active life [of exercising the virtues] to contemplation. For when the passions had been mortified, it is senseless for the soul to linger on in the practical life, and not to seek eagerly to lay hold of mystical contemplation, of which the active life of virtue [πραξις] is the foothold. And indeed, in four years we are led up to the Jerusalem of contemplation just as from the Egypt of practical life, that is to say when we had completely achieved the four general virtues, which actually are fountains and, as it were, mothers of the other virtues, and through which the mind, after it was morally instructed is led up, as it is possible for it, to the knowledge of the blessed and beyond all

¹³²⁵ *Hom.* 24, 13 (Rossi-Taibbi, 160–161): [13.] Συμβουλευεῖ ἡ ἱστορία, ὅταν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς νηπιάζη, τουτέστιν ὅταν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀτελῇ φέρωμεν ἐν ἡμῖν, ζῆ δὲ καὶ βασιλεύῃ ὁ Ἡρώδης, τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός· Ἡρώδης γὰρ παθητὴ καὶ δερματίνῃ σὰρξ ἐρμηνεύεται, δι' οὗ τὸ χοϊκὸν εἰκονίζεται φρόνημα, τὸ ἀποκτείνον τὰ ἄρρενα νήπια, τοὺς ἀνδρώδεις φημί τῆς ἀρετῆς λογισμούς, καὶ ζητοῦν ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς· τότε δὴ τότε φευκτέον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν πρακτικὴν κακοπάθειαν. [14.] Ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ γενόμενοι ἀκυρώσωμεν τῆς σαρκὸς τὰ βουλευμάτα. Ὀπηνίκα δὲ τοῦ συνειδότος σκώληξι δαπανηθῇ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ νεκρωθῶσι τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μεταβαίνειν τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὡς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐκ τῆς πρακτικῆς κακοπαθείας εἰς θεωρίαν μετακομίζειν τὸν νοῦν· ἀπονεκρωθέντων γὰρ τῶν παθῶν, ἡλίθιον ἐμβραδύνειν τὴν πρακτικὴν, καὶ μὴ σπεύδειν ἐπιδράξασθαι τῆς θεωρίας, ἧς ἡ πρᾶξις ἐπίβασις. Τετραετεῖς δὲ πάντως πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεωρίας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀναγώμεθα, ἀμέμπτως δηλονότι κατωρθώκοτες τὰς τέσσαρας γενικὰς ἀρετάς, αἱ δὴ πηγαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οἷον μητέρες τυγχάνουσι, καὶ δι' ὧν ὁ νοῦς, ἡθικῶς παιδαγωγηθεὶς, ἀνάγεται πρὸς τὴν ὡς ἐφικτὸν κατανόησιν τῆς ὑπερουσίου καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος, ἣ πρέπει τιμὴ πᾶσα καὶ ὕμνησις καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

being Trinity, to Which is due all honor, praise and glory, now and for ever and ever. Amen!

Most interesting in this text is the description of the paradigmatic monastic program of spiritual life as the progression from the *vita practica* (πράξις) to the *vita contemplativa* (θεωρία). The exposition betrays and echoes earlier discussions on the phases and doctrines of the spiritual life familiar from the writings of Maximus Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa. The etymology of ‘Herod’ as skin-like is rather common in Christian exegesis. Maximus evokes it in *Ad Thalassium* 24 and in *Quaestiones et dubia*, 71, which seems to have inspired Philagathos’ exposition.¹³²⁶ In both texts, the ethymological explanation structures Maximus’ exegesis around the theme of virtue, praxis and contemplation. Then, the spiritual reading of Herod’s infanticide as “the earthly will which kills the male infants, that is the manly thoughts of virtue” parallels Gregory of Nyssa’s *De vita Moysis* account about the decree to kill the male infants issued by the Pharaoh when Moses was born.¹³²⁷ Gregory contrasts the “female form of life” as the “material and passionate disposition” with the “male birth” of “austerity and intensity of virtue” which the tyrant seeks to kill as inimical to his rule.

Philagathos describes the spiritual life as embracing two stages. He pictures the practical life as a preparatory stage which helps the soul to elevate itself through the practice of the four cardinal virtues towards the contemplation of the Divine. When saying that “it is senseless for the soul to linger on in the practical life” once it achieved dispassion, Philagathos insinuates that the two stages of spiritual life are not indissolubly united. This position is reminiscent of the intellectualism of Evagrius who pictured *vita practica* more as a ‘chronological’ sequence or progression to the *vita contemplativa*,¹³²⁸ which Maximus Confessor vigorously rejected by affirming the “inseparability between πράξις and θεωρία (or ἀρετή and γνῶσις).”¹³²⁹ Notwithstanding, in the homily “On Martha and Mary” Philagathos gives a more balanced account of the relation between βίος πρακτικός and βίος θεωρητικός.¹³³⁰

¹³²⁶ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, 71, 1–8: What means the reply of the Lord, when he said, “tell the fox,” – referring to Herod – “I perform cures today and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.” Herod is interpreted as skin-like (δερμάτινος). Therefore, one must feel a loathing at the fleshly thoughts (σαρκικούς λογισμούς) that desire to separate the nous from active virtue (πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς) and say to them, “I perform cures today and tomorrow, and on the third day I shall be perfected,” that is, I heal first my own limbs by [taking on] the active life, and then I heal the senses in order to approach the perceptible things in a healthy manner, “and on the third day I shall be perfected,” attaining the perfection by the contemplation of divine knowledge (τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς θείας γνώσεως) (trans. Despina Prassas, *St. Maximos the Confessor’s Questions and Doubts: Translation and Commentary*, PhD dissertation: The Catholic University of America, 2003, 160–161).

¹³²⁷ *De vita Moysis* 34, 1–4 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson 55).

¹³²⁸ Irénée-Henri Dalmais, “La doctrine ascétique de S. Maxime le Confesseur, d’après le ‘Liber asceticus,’” *Irénikon* 26 (1953), 24.

¹³²⁹ Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor*, 133; e.g. Maximus affirms straightforwardly the interconnection between πράξις and θεωρία in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 58, PG 90, coll. 596A: “In my view, practice (πράξις) and contemplation (θεωρία) mutually cohere with each other, and the one is never separated from the other; on the contrary, practice shows forth through conduct the knowledge (γνῶσις) derived from contemplation, while contemplation, no less than reason, fortifies itself with the virtue (ἀρετή) derived from practice” (trans. Blowers, 134).

¹³³⁰ *Hom.* 32, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 224).

Thus, from these facts it is evident that Martha is the symbol of practical virtue, while Mary of contemplation. Indeed both of them are praiseworthy and blessed and complement each other and are convenient and dear and are guiding [the soul] towards the bliss of perfection.

Ἐκ τούτων οὖν δῆλον ὡς Μάρθα μὲν τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ σύμβολον, Μαρία δὲ τῆς θεωρίας. Ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἐπαινεταὶ καὶ μακάριαι καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐξέχονται, καὶ δεξιαὶ καὶ φίλαι, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν τελειότητα φέρουσαι.

The artistry of Philagathos' etymological interpretations eminently surfaces in his dealings with hagiographical literature. In the homily pronounced at the holiday of Saint Panteleimon, the preacher composed a refined exegesis based on the saint's life by weaving etymology and typology.¹³³¹

In what way, therefore, our eagerness to emulate him (i.e. Saint Panteleimon) shall be set in? Every one of us is a son of Eustorgios and Eubule, of the divine, I say, power of God which has made up everything. Since the Divinity, in accordance to its own nature, is neither male nor female, and is called our mother and father. It is called Eubule (Εὐβούλη) because of the great counsel (μεγάλην βουλὴν) [held] for our creation when He said: "Let us create men in our own image and likeness." [Gen. 1:26] It is also called Eustorgios because he showed such a love (στοργὴν) towards us, that "He gave his only-begotten son" as ransom for us [Jn. 3:16]. Accordingly, after we have been created by the divine power of our maker we were handed over to Eutropios (Εὐτροπίω). Well, understand by this name the changeableness (παλίντροπον) of this life, the sudden turning and the opposite reversal of fortunes. Getting into this life, we have willingly become 'lions in all respects' (Παντολέοντες). When someone has the mind perverted, like the lion's ferocious looks, and when he inclines towards the passions, he is both rapacious and niggard, tearing his neighbour into pieces by injustice just as [a lion] with his claws; Pantoleon (Παντολέον) is then the one who acts in all respects like a lion (πάντα τοῦ λέοντος), since he willingly bears all the natural passions, because his nature was changed from the likeness to God to the form of

¹³³¹ *Hom.* 30, 17–19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 204): [17.] Πῶς οὖν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ζῆλος γενήσεται; Ἐκαστος ἡμῶν υἱὸς **Εὐστοργίου καὶ Εὐβούλης** ἐστὶ, τῆς θείας, φημί, δυνάμεως τοῦ πάντα τεκτενναμένου Θεοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ Θεῖον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οὐτ' ἄρρεν οὐτε θῆλυ ἐστὶ, καὶ μήτηρ ἡμῶν λέγεται καὶ πατήρ, **Εὐβούλη** μὲν διὰ τὴν μεγάλην **βουλὴν** τῆς ἡμῶν παραγωγῆς, καθ' ἣν ἔλεγε· «*Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*», **Εὐστόργιος** δέ, ὅτι τοιαύτην **στοργὴν** εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐνεδείξατο, ὥστε τὸν *Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ δοῦναι λύτρον* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. [18.] Παραχθέντες τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας τοῦ τεχνουργοῦντος δυνάμεως, τῷ **Εὐτροπίῳ** ἐδόθημεν· νοεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν **παλίντροπον** τόνδε βίον, τὸν εἰς τάναντία μεταπίπτοντα καὶ **τρεπόμενον**. Ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενοι, ἐκοντὶ γεγόναμεν **Παντολέοντες**. Ὅταν γάρ τις διάστροφον ἔχῃ τὸν νοῦν, καθάπερ ὁ λέων τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ νεύοντα πρὸς τὰ πάθη, ἀρπακτικὸς τε καὶ ἀμετάδοτος ἦ, **ὥς ἐν ὀνύχων ἀκμαῖς τῇ ἀδικίᾳ κατασπαράσσων τὸν πέλας**, Παντολέον ἐστὶ, πάντα τοῦ λέοντος τὰ φυσικὰ πάθη φέρων ἐκ προαιρέσεως, μεταπίλασθεσις ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὁμοιότητος ἐπὶ τὸ θηριῶδες τῆς φύσεως. [19.] Τοιοῦτους τοίνυν τυγχάνοντας πρότερον μὲν <ή> ἠθικὴ παιδεύσει φιλοσοφία Ἰπποκράτους καὶ Γαληνοῦ τὰ παιδεύματα, τουτέστιν ὡς ἵππον κρατεῖν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς τούτου δουλαγωγεῖν, καὶ γαληνὸν βίον ἔχειν καὶ ἡσυχον. Ἄν τούτοις προγυμνασθῆς, Ἑρμόλαός σε μυσταγωγῇ· τὰ τελεώτερα· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἑρμόλαος ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ, ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος. Οὗτος ὑποδείξει σοὶ τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ὁδὸν καί, τῷ λουτρῷ τῆς μετανοίας ἀποκαθάρας σε, ἀντὶ Παντολέοντος ποιήσει Παντελεήμονα· ἀποζύσας γὰρ τὸ θηριῶδες ἦθος, μιμητὴν ποιήσει τοῦ ἐλεήμονος, ὡς ἔργοις τὴν κλῆσιν ἐνδείξασθαι.

a beast. Therefore, when such inclinations seizes [you], moral philosophy will instruct you first in the teachings of Hippocrates [Ἱπποκράτους] and Galen [Γαληνοῦ], that is to say how to rule our body as we would master a horse [ἵππον κρατεῖν] and to enslave its instincts, and have a calm [γαληνὸν] and peaceful life. If you had trained yourself in these, Hermolaus will teach you the divine mysteries; Hermolaus [Ἑρμόλαος] would be the ‘interpreter of the people’ [ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ], the teacher of the Church. This one will show you the way of salvation and, after you purified yourself with the washing of contrition, instead ‘of acting in all-respects like a lion’ [Παντολέοντος] you shall be all-merciful [Παντελεήμονα]; for having stripped off the beastlike demeanor, you will become imitator of the merciful one, so as to you show forth the name by deeds.

Thus, the names of the saint’s parents, Eubule and Eustorgios, provide Philagathos with an opportunity for a masterly display of his favorite technique. Eubule ‘the great counsel’ (ἡ μεγάλη βουλή), and Eustorgios who showed such love toward us (τοιαύτη στοργή) are also regarded as “our parents,” as they immediately remind Philagathos of “the great counsel” held by God for our creation.¹³³² Next, Philagathos played on the name of Eustorgios, which he explained as signifying great love (τοιαύτη στοργή), an obvious allusion to John 3:16: “He gave his only-begotten son” as ransom for us. In this way, through this sophisticated allegory of names and through some brilliant biblical cross-referencing, the homilist is able to connect God, who “is our mother and father,” with Saint Panteleimon’s parents. In addition, Philagathos’ exegesis is interspersed with allusions to Gregory of Nyssa’s works. Thus, for the etymological pun on Saint Panteleimon/ Pantoleon (Παντολέον) “who acts in all respects like a lion” (πάντα τοῦ λέοντος), the homilist drew a thematic analogy with Gregory of Nyssa’s commentary on Psalm 57:4 “God has sent forth his mercy and his truth; and he has delivered my soul from the midst of lions’ whelps.”¹³³³ Then, the indication that “Divinity ... is neither male nor female” in connection to Genesis 1:26 (“Let us create men in our own image and likeness”) bespeaks the imprint of Gregory of Nyssa’s works. In the *In Canticum canticorum*, Nyssen affirms that “the Divine is neither male nor female” in relation to the name “mother” and “father” applied to God.¹³³⁴ This idea recurs in another connection, in *De hominis opificio*, where Gregory discusses God’s creation of human beings as male and female. Gregory states that the image of God in human being is “neither male nor female.”¹³³⁵ Distinguishing two creations on account of Genesis 1:27,

¹³³² Genesis 1:26: “Let us create men in our own image and likeness.”

¹³³³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 6, 156, 13–16: Ἐξαπέστειλεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ μέσου σκύμνων. σκύμνοι δὲ ὄντως μοι ἦσαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι τὸ πρότερον, ἥτοι σκύμνοι **λεόντων**, οἱ τῷ φοβερῷ χάσματι **καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκμαῖς κατεσπάρασσον**. ἀλλ’ ἦλθον οἱ σύμμαχοι, ὁ ἔλεός τε καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἡ καλὴ συζυγία. οὔτε γὰρ ἄκριτος ὁ ἔλεος οὔτε ἀνελεῖς ἡ ἀλήθεια. καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐλευθεροῦμαι τῆς μετὰ τῶν σκύμνων τούτων διαγωγῆς. “For God sent forth his mercy and truth and rescued my soul from the midst of [lions’] whelps.’ The whelps, a symbol of my first sins, have pulled me to pieces with their fearful, open mouths and sharp claws. But help came, mercy and truth, a noble pair, for mercy does not exist without judgment nor truth without mercy; together they free me from the lions’ whelps” (trans. Casimir McCambley, *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1987, 58).

¹³³⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 5, 213, 1: ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν.

¹³³⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*, PG 44, coll. 181B.

Gregory says that God created first humanity after his image and likeness (Gen 1:27a) and only after that God adds the distinction between male and female.¹³³⁶

Besides etymology, Philagathos also resorts to arithmological speculation in dealing with hagiographical material. A most evocative example is Philagathos' account of Symeon the Stylite's ascetic achievements from the homily "For the Beginning of the Indiction and for Saint Symeon the Stylite."¹³³⁷

And if we multiply our virtues like a mina or a talent, increasing them through our work, then the cycle of our virtues is brought to perfection, since the hexad of the commandments (cf. Mt. 19:16–19) was multiplied by itself so that the six had become thirty-six. For there, I believe, if the column of the great Symeon was lifted up to such a height, it was only because this number is a circle, and a triangle, and a square, and signifies the perfection of man's virtue, how he was both steadfast in his devotion to the Trinity and how he was wreathed by the cycle of virtues.¹³³⁸

Εἰ δὲ καθάπερ μνᾶν ἢ τάλαντον πολυπλασιάσοιμεν τὰς ἀρετὰς διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας πληθύνοντες, τότε ὁ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡμῶν κύκλος ἀποτελεῖται, εἰς ἑαυτὴν πολυπλασιασθείσης τῆς ἐξάδος τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὥς γενέσθαι τὰ ἕξ τριάκοντα ἕξ. Κάκεισε γάρ, οἶμαι, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Συμεῶν στῦλος μέχρι τοσοῦτου ἀνύψωτο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος καὶ κύκλος ἐστὶ καὶ τρίγωνος καὶ τετράγωνος, τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐσήμαινε τέλειον, ὅπως τε πάγιος ἦν πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὴν Τριάδα εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὅπως τῷ κύκλῳ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστεφάνωτο.

Philagathos establishes a correlation between the number 36, the summit of Symeon's column and the perfection of man's virtue. The homilist alludes once again to the doctrine of triangular and square numbers. Indeed, the number 36 is at the same time the eighth triangular number ($1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 = 36$) and the sixth square number ($1 + 3 + 5 + 7 + 9 + 11 = 36$). On a plane, each side of the triangle would have the number of eight units and the square the number of six units.¹³³⁹

¹³³⁶ For Gregory's understanding of the image of God see, J. T. Muckle, "The Doctrine of St. Gregory of Nyssa on Man as the Image of God," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945), 55–84; Roger Leys, *L'Image de Dieu chez Grégoire de Nysse: Esquisse d'une doctrine* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1951); Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 100–109.

¹³³⁷ Philagathos, *Hom.* 1, 17 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 9); for an investigation of the sources Philagathos may have used for the account of Symeon see, Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, "Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St. Symeon the Stylite," *Annuario. Istituto Romano di cultura e ricerca umanistica* 4 (2002): 93–108; the study is presented with an English translation of Philagathos' sermon.

¹³³⁸ Trans. Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, "Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy," 107.

¹³³⁹ i.e. 36 = the square of six: x x x x x x 36 = the triangle of eight: x
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Consistent with his florilegic technique, Philagathos appropriated the numerical speculations from various sources. For the height of Saint Symeon the Stylite's column, Philagathos' turned to Gregory of Nyssa's symbolic interpretation of the number six from the *In Canticum canticorum* as representing the hexad of the commandments.¹³⁴⁰ Philagathos' reference to multiplication as the token of perfection comes from Gregory of Nyssa as the entire ethical reading of Saint Symeon's life for which the homilist drew thematic analogies from various works of Gregory (i.e. to the *De vita Moysis*, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* and *In Canticum canticorum*).¹³⁴¹ Philagathos turns again to the hexad of the commandments in the homily "On the Parable of the Sower" for interpreting the seed which yielded "a hundred, sixty or thirty times what was sown." (Mt. 13:23).¹³⁴²

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¹³⁴⁰ Philagathos applied to his own needs Gregory of Nyssa's reference to the six commandments in connection to Song 6:8: "There are sixty queens and eighty concubines;" cf. *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 462–463, *Hom.* 15: **ἐξ εἰσιν ἐντολαὶ** δι' ὧν ἡ βασιλεία τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἐτοιμάζεται. λογισώμεθα τούτων ἐκάστην τὸ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τάλαντον, ὃ προσήκει παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πιστοῦ οἰκέτου **δεκαπλασιασθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας**, ἵνα οὕτως εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀλίγοις πιστὸς εὐρεθῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν καθιστάμενος. εἰ τοίνυν **διὰ τῶν ἐξ τούτων ἐντολῶν** ἡ τῆς βασιλείας γίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ κοινωνία, τὸ δὲ τέλειον τῆς ἐργασίας ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἐστὶ τὸ **δεκαπλασιάσαι τὴν ἐντολήν**, καθὼς ἔφη ὁ ἀγαθὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ὅτι Δέκα τάλαντα τὸ ἐν σου τάλαντον κατειργάσατο, εὐρίσκομεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολουθούτου τὴν μίαν βασιλίσσαν εἰς ἐξήκοντα πλατυνομένην, τὴν διὰ τοῦ δεκαπλασιασμοῦ τῶν **ἐξ ἐντολῶν** εἰς κοινωνίαν τῆς βασιλείας παραδεχθεῖσαν, ὡς πολλὰς εἶναι τὴν μίαν τῷ πολυτρόπῳ χαρακτήρι τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐμμερισθεῖσαν καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἰδιαζόντως ἐμμορφωθείσαν. For the translation, see Norris, *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs*, 491–93.

¹³⁴¹ *Hom.* 1, 14–15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 8–9): [14.] Παιδεύει τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἱερὸς Συμεὼν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι, ἕως ἂν παῖδές ἐσμεν καὶ ἀτελεῖς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡλικίαν, μὴ καταμινύειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθρώποις χοιρώδεσιν, ἢ τῷ βορβόρῳ χαίρουσι τῆς ἀκολασίας, ἢ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καθάπερ τοὺς ἀγόνους ἡμιόνους ποιμαίνουσιν (**ἢ γὰρ κακία οὐκ ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸν πληθυσμὸν ἔσχεν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἡμιόνων διαδοχή**), οὐδὲ συναναφύρεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοῖς θηλυμανέσιν, ὡς ἵπποις, **ἀλλὰ** τούτων ἀπάντων ἀποφοιτῶντες ἐν **ὁμοφρονοῦσί τε καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῦσι, τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ποιμαινομένοις, συζήσωμεν**. [15.] **Πάντων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμῶν προβάτων δίκην τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος λόγου ποιμαινομένων, καὶ οὕτως** ἐν πραότητι ζώσιν ἡμῖν **ἐπιλάμψει** ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τὸ κήρυγμα διὰ τῶν προηκόντων τῇ ἀρετῇ διδασκόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸν τελειότερον βίον διεγείρον ἡμᾶς, ὥστε μακρὰν τῶν κοσμικῶν γενέσθαι παθῶν καὶ τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην βαδίζειν ὁδόν, περιζωσαμένους τὴν ὁσφὺν τῷ τραχεῖ καὶ **κατεσκληρότι βίῳ τῆς ἐγκρατείας**, τὰς ἐκ τῶν νεφρῶν ἀλόγους πυρώσεις τῷ σώφρονι λογισμῷ, ὡς ἐν σχοίνῳ, συσφιγγοντας. Philagathos' exegesis is shaped by thematic links established between the biographical detail recorded in Symeon's Life that he was a shepherd and references to similar contexts in Nyssen's works (i.e. to sheep, shepherds, pasture); Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 18–19: Οὕτως ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἰδιάσομεν, οὐκέτι μαχομένοις τισὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τε καὶ μεσιτεύοντες, **ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοφρονοῦσί τε καὶ ὁμογνωμοῦσι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν** βουκολοῦμένοις **συζήσωμεν, πάντων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων, προβάτων δίκην, τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος λόγου ποιμαινομένων**. [19] **Καὶ οὕτω** προσεδρεύουσιν ἡμῖν τῇ εἰρηνικῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπολέμῳ διαγωγῇ **ἐπιλάμψει** τότε ἡ ἀλήθεια, ταῖς ἰδίαις μαρμαρυγαῖς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄψεις περιαναγάζουσα. Θεὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἡ ἐμφανισθεῖσα τότε διὰ τῆς ἀρρήτου ἐκείνης φωταγωγίας τῷ Μωϋσεῖ. Then Philagathos inserts a maxim taken from Gregory of Nyssa's commentary on Doeg the Edomite pasturing mules from the *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 134, 14: **οὐ γὰρ ἐκ Θεοῦ ὁ πληθυσμὸς τῇ κακίᾳ· ὡς οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἡμιόνων διαδοχή**; in addition Philagathos' text encloses an allusion to Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 283, 2: ἀλλὰ **τὸν κατεσκληρότα διὰ τῆς ἐγκρατείας** αἰρεῖσθαι **βίον**.

¹³⁴² *Hom.* 7, 15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 50–51).

2. Virtue and Perpetual Progress

Philagathos' profound assimilation of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor's thought may further be witnessed in the homilist usage of the idea of perpetual spiritual progress. This doctrine of straining (ἐπέκτασις) or progress toward the infinite God originates in Gregory of Nyssa's theological anthropology.¹³⁴³ Exploring the notion of divine infinity and the unchanging perfection of God, Gregory defines the highest calling of human being in the ever-increasing participation in divine virtue based on the soul's insatiable desire for the Good. Gregory stresses that divine infinity makes possible the unlimited spiritual progress:

"This truly is the vision of God: never to be satisfied in the desire to see him. But one must always, by looking at what he can see, rekindle his desire to see more. Thus, no limit (ὄρος) would interrupt growth (αὐξησιν) in the ascent (ἀνόδον) to God, since no limit (πέρας) to the Good can be found nor is the increasing (πρόοδον) of desire for the Good brought to an end because it is satisfied."¹³⁴⁴

Mühlenberg underscored the importance of this doctrine for Gregory's thought in that it radically estranges Gregory from his Platonic milieu, by positing a sharp distinction between creator and creature, according to which the creator is infinite and the creature finite.¹³⁴⁵ Thereafter, Maximus Confessor appropriated Gregory's doctrine of *epektasis* and reworked the concept in the context of refuting the Origenist doctrine.¹³⁴⁶ Apart of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor this doctrine, as a recent contribution has pointed out, enjoyed a wider circulation in

¹³⁴³ The subject received extensive scholarly attention; see Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie Mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris, Aubier, 1944), 291–307; Everett Ferguson, "God's Infinity and Man's Mutability: Perpetual Progress according to Gregory of Nyssa," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973): 59–78; id., "Progress in Perfection: Gregory of Nyssa's *Vita Moysis*," *SP* 14 (1976): 307–14; Kristina Robb-Dover, "Gregory of Nyssa's 'Perpetual Progress'," *Theology Today* 65 (2008), 213–25; Paul Blowers, "Maximus the the Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Concept of 'Perpetual Progress'," *VigChr* 46 (1992): 151–71; Ovidiu Sferlea, "L'infinité divine chez Grégoire de Nysse: de l'anthropologie à la polémique trinitaire," *VigChr* 67 (2013): 137–168.

¹³⁴⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 39 (Malherbe and Ferguson 116); See also, *De vita Moysis*, 1, 10: "We should show great diligence not to fall away from the perfection (τελειότητος) which is attainable but to acquire as much as is possible: To that extent let us make progress (χωρήσωμεν) within the realm of what we seek. For the perfection (τελειότης) of human nature consists perhaps in its very growth (ἀεὶ ἐθέλειν ἐν τῷ καλῷ τὸ πλεόν) in goodness" (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 31).

¹³⁴⁵ Ekkehard Mühlenberg, "Synergism in Gregory of Nyssa," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68 (1977): 103–4, 112.

¹³⁴⁶ Maximus' conceptual vocabulary on the doctrine of *epektasis* follows Gregory of Nyssa; cf. *Ambigua* 7, PG 91, coll. 1089B: "But God, who is by nature infinite (ἄπειρος) and honorable, by nature stretches to infinity (ἐπιτείνειν πρὸς τὸ ἄοριστον) the appetite of those who enjoy him through participation (διὰ μετοχής); the importance of *epektasis* for Maximus' refutation of Origenism is underscored by P. Blowers, "Maximus the the Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Concept of 'Perpetual Progress'," 165: "To conclude, it must be reiterated that while the concept of *epektasis* was at the heart of the struggle against radical Origenism, it was as such a crossroads of far-reaching philosophical and theological questions concerning divine transcendence and creaturely self-realization. It was also the object of a powerful spiritual and ascetic idealism."

Byzantine religious literature being attested in Symeon the New Theologian, Makarios-Symeon, John the Ladder, Gregory of Sinai, Gregory Palamas and Kallistos Angelikoudes.¹³⁴⁷

Philagathos draws upon both theologians' doctrine of perpetual progress. First, in the homily "For the: 'Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself' (Mc. 8:34), Philagathos explores what means to follow Christ. First, he cites Maximus Confessor's *Ad Thalassium* in connection to the doctrine of ἐπέκτασις:¹³⁴⁸

For virtue is some immeasurable thing and infinite, in no way admitting of any stalling, since the immobility of virtue, as divine Maximus says, is the beginning of vice; for as much as someone is straining forward by contemplation and is raised up by the active life of virtue [πράξεως], he regards that which he accomplished of small importance, measuring these [virtuous deeds] in respect of what lies beyond. For this reason it bessems to perceive that to follow Christ befits both the beginners and those who come near to perfection according to human capacity. For both led me to this reflection – Moses the summit of the prophets and Peter the coryphee of the disciples; for both heard the same voice after their progress in virtue to the extent possible.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκατάληπτόν τι χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἀόριστον, **μηδαμῶς ἐπιδεχόμενον στάσιν**· ἡ γὰρ **στάσις τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὡς ὁ θεὸς φησι Μάξιμος, κακίας ἐστὶν ἀρχή**· ὅσον δὲ τις ἐπεκτείνεται διὰ τῆς θεωρίας, καὶ πράξεως ἐπαιρόμενος, μικρὰ τὰ κατορθώματα ὁρᾷ, συγκρίνων αὐτὰ **πρὸς τὰ ὑπερκείμενα**. Διὰ τοῦτο προσήκει νοεῖν, ὡς τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν Χριστῷ, καὶ τοῖς εἰσαγωγικοῖς ἐφαρμόζει, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸ τέλειον φθάσαι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως. Ἄμφω δέ με πρὸς ταύτην ἤγαγε τὴν ἔννοιαν Μωσῆς ἡ ἀκρότης τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν μαθητῶν· ἠκουσάτην γὰρ ἄμφω ταυτησὶ τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰς δυνατὸν **προκοπήν**.

The usage of the verb ἐπεκτείνεται in Philagathos' text clearly alludes to the doctrine of infinite progress. The notion originates in saint Paul's address in Philippians 3:13–14 ("but one thing I do, forgetting what lies behind and straining forward (ἐπεκτεινόμενος) to what lies ahead, I press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus"), the principal biblical foundation for the notion of *epektasis*. It is important to note that Philagathos' interpretation of Mark 8:34 is centered on an extensive comparison between Moses and Peter. It is this overall theme of the sermon which informs Philagathos' appropriation of Maximus Confessor's *Ad Thalassium* 17, which answers a query on Exodus 4:24–26 about Moses.¹³⁴⁹

¹³⁴⁷ Ovidiu Sferlea, "Réception de la théorie du progrès perpétuel au XIV^e siècle byzantin: Grégoire Palamas et Calliste Angélicoudès," *New Europe College Ștefan Odobleja Yearbook* (2014 – 2015): 117–141; for the reception of this doctrine in John the Ladder's *Scala Paradisi*, see id., "La dynamique de la vie spirituelle chez saint Jean Climaque: un bref regard comparatif avec saint Grégoire de Nysse," *BZ* 110 (2017): 149–168.

¹³⁴⁸ *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, PG 132, coll. 464 A).

¹³⁴⁹ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 17, 32–38: Ταύτην δὲ τὴν θεῖαν ὁ νοῦς πιστευόμενος διακονίαν, μετὰ τῆς συνημμένης αὐτῷ συμβίου δίκην κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν σοφίας καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθέντος εὐγενοῦς τρόπου τε καὶ λογισμοῦ, τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον σεμνῆς πολιτείας τὴν ὁδὸν πάντως ὁδεύει τῶν ἀρετῶν, **τὴν μηδαμῶς ἐπιδεχομένην** τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βαδιζόντων **στάσιν, ἀλλ' ἀεικίνητον** καὶ ὁξὺν ἐχόντων **κατὰ σκοπὸν** τῆς ψυχῆς **πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ στάσις κακίας ἐστὶν ἀρχή**, τοῦ νοῦ

Yet [113] the mind who remains faithful in this divine ministry – having gnostic wisdom joined with him like a companion, and having the noble demeanor and reflection that arise therewith – invariably travels in a holy way of life the road of the virtues, a **road that in no way admits of any stalling on the part of those who walk in it**. On the contrary, this mind runs the ever-moving, swift race of the soul toward the goal of the upward call (Phil. 3:14), **For the immobility of virtue is the beginning of vice**. When the mind, in subjection to passion, is vexed by material obstacles intruding from either side in its way, it profanes and renders uncircumcised the pure and wholly circumcised conduct and reflection that arise from godly living.

In this passage, as Paul Blowers showed, Maximus closely follows Gregory of Nyssa. In effect, he is drawing on Gregory's admonition from the *De vita Moysis*: "Just as the end of life is the beginning of death, so also stopping in the race of virtue marks the beginning of the race of evil."¹³⁵⁰ Besides the citation from Maximus' *Ad Thalassium*, Philagathos' text betrays the imprint of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum*.¹³⁵¹ The comparison between Moses and Peter in terms of perpetual progress was suggested to Philagathos by Gregory's exegesis of Song 5:5–6 which draws a parallel between Moses and Peter.¹³⁵² Undoubtedly, Gregory's twelfth homily on the Song inspired Philagathos' exegesis of Moses' vision:¹³⁵³

This man which accomplished such great deeds and all that which our oration omitted on account of their multitude, after he was exalted to this extent by the practice of virtue, and having received divine feathers he was raised up in heavens seeming to have already attained perfection, yet he hears from God: "Follow me," just as if [merely] now he takes hold of the path of virtue. For by the words which He professed to show him His back [Gen. 33:23], God is clearly urging him to follow; for the one who follows sees the back of the one who goes before; and the

περί τι τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν τῇ ὁδῷ παρακειμένων ὑλικῶν ἐμπαθῶς ἀσχοληθέντος καὶ τὸν καθαρὸν καὶ διόλου περιτετημένον τρόπον τε καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἀγωγῆς ἀκρόβυστον ποιούμενου καὶ βέβηλον. (trans. P. Blowers and Robert Louis Wilken, in *On the Cosmic Mystery of Jesus Christ. Selected Writings from St Maximus the Confessor* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press: New York, 2003, 107).

¹³⁵⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 1, 6 (trans. A. J. Malherbe and E. Ferguson, 30).

¹³⁵¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum (homiliae 15)*, *GNO* 6, 354, 6–11: ἀλλὰ πάντοτε διὰ προκοπῆς εἰς τὰ ὑπερκείμενα εἰσιὼν καὶ ἀεὶ τῶν κατειλημμένων ἔξω γινόμενος. οὕτω παρῆλθέ ποτε καὶ τὸν Μωϋσέα τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἐκεῖνο πρόσωπον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀεὶ ἔξω ἐγίνετο τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἦν ἐπομένη προϊόντι τῷ λόγῳ. "That soul neither leaves off coming in nor ceases going out but **is ever entering into what lies beyond by the progress she makes** and always taking leave of what she has already apprehended. In just this way did that longed-for face of the Lord once pass by Moses, and just so did the soul of the Lawgiver ever and again take leave of the situation she was in as she followed the Word that went on ahead of her" (trans. Norris, 375).

¹³⁵² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, *GNO* 6, 352–353: "she, I say, says that her very own *hands* touch the *bar*, which is to say that her own works have drawn near to the "narrow and hard" entrance (cf. Matt 7:14) **whose bar the Word has entrusted to people of Peter's sort**. It follows that she opens the door of the kingdom for herself by a double means: by the hands that signify her works, and by the *bar* that is faith. For it is by both of these—by works, I mean, and by faith—that the Word equips us with the key of the kingdom. **When, therefore, she came to hope, just as Moses had**, that the countenance of the One she desired would be manifested to her so that she might know him, at that very instant the One she sought escaped her apprehension" (trans. Norris, 372).

¹³⁵³ *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, PG 132, coll. 464C–465A).

one who hopes to see the face of God and the one who said: “Show me your face”[Song 2:21] was only just worthy to see the back of God. By these things the Scripture teaches us that a person who desires to see God catches sight of the One he seeks by always following after him.

οὗτος ὁ τοσαῦτα κατορθωκῶς, καὶ ὅσα ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος παρήκε, μετὰ τὸ ὑψωθῆναι τοσοῦτον δι’ ἀρετῆς, καὶ μετάρσιος ἀρθῆναι τῷ θείῳ πτερῷ δοκήσας ἤδη πεφθακέναι πρὸς τελειότητα, ὡς ἄρτι τῆς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἀψάμενος ἀτραποῦ, ἀκούει παρὰ Θεοῦ· «Ἀκολουθεῖ μοι.» Οἷς γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ ὀπίσθια δεῖξιν ὑπέσχετο, ἀκολουθεῖν πάντως προτρέπεται· ὁ γὰρ ἀκολουθῶν **τὰ ὀπίσθια** βλέπει τοῦ βαδίζοντος· καὶ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐλπίσας ἰδεῖν, καὶ εἰπὼν· «Δεῖξόν μοι τὴν ὄψιν σου,» μόλις ἠξιώθη **ἰδεῖν τὰ ὀπίσθια· διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς διὰ τούτων τοῦ λόγου, ὡς ἐπιθυμῶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Θεόν, ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὁρᾷ τὸν ποθοῦμενον.**

As noted above, for this passage Philagathos fittingly turns to Gregory’s typological association of Song 5:6 (“My kinsman **passed me by**, my soul went forth at his word”) with the account of Exodus 33:21–23, which features Moses stationed upon the rock so that he can “scarcely see God’s back (**τὰ ὀπίσθια**) after God **has passed by**.”¹³⁵⁴

And the One who had promised to confer the asked-for gift, the One who said, “You have I known above all others” (Ex. 33:12), passes Moses by as he is stationed upon the rock at the divine place and shielded by the divine hand, so that he can scarcely see God’s back after God has passed by (Ex. 33:21–23). By this, as I judge the matter, the Scripture teaches **that a person who desires to see God catches sight of the One he seeks by always following after him** and that the contemplation of God’s face is an unceasing journey toward him that is brought to fulfillment by following behind the Word.

καὶ ὁ τὴν αἰτηθεῖσαν χάριν δώσειν ἐπαγγελάμενος, ὁ εἰπὼν Ἔγνων σε παρὰ πάντας, παρέρχεται αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου τόπου ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χειρὸς σκεπαζόμενον, ὥστε μόγις **ἰδεῖν** μετὰ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν αὐτοῦ **τὰ ὀπίσθια, διδάσκων, οἶμαι, διὰ τούτων ὁ λόγος ὅτι ὁ ἰδεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν ὁρᾷ τὸν ποθοῦμενον** καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ θεωρία ἐστὶν ἡ ἄπαυστος πρὸς αὐτὸν πορεία διὰ τοῦ κατόπιν ἔπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ κατορθουμένη. οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ νῦν ἡ ψυχὴ, ὅτε ἀνέστη διὰ τοῦ θανάτου, ὅτε ἐπληρώθη τῆς σμύρνης, ὅτε προσήγαγε **τῷ κλειθρῷ** διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἰσοικίσασθαι τὸν ποθοῦμενον ἤλπισε, τότε ὁ μὲν παρέρχεται, ἡ δὲ ἐξέρχεται οὐκέτι μένουσα ἐν οἷς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω προηγουμένῳ ἐφεπομένη.

For the most part Philagathos’ exegesis unfolds as a mapping of cross-references in relation to the subject matter of the sermon: “Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself” – Εἰς τό· «Εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν» (Mark 8:34). It is manifest that the homilist amassed those contexts from Scripture and the exegetic tradition that contained the

¹³⁵⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 356, 8–357, 2.

key-words «ὀπίσω», « ἀκολουθεῖν » and the related with these «ὀπισθεν», «ὀπίσθια» and «ἐκκολήθη». ¹³⁵⁵ The homilist links these references with the doctrine of perpetual progress. ¹³⁵⁶

Do you see that even for those who have already been made perfect just as Moses and Peter such a precept is still fitting? And that after so many ascents some one is only just worthy of such a gift? Moses being initiated into these mysteries had ordained by law the people to walk after the Lord God. When David heard precisely this precept he said to the Lord: “My soul has kept very close behind (ὀπίσω) thee [Ps. 62 (63):9],” and in the Song the undefiled bride said in this wise: “*My kinsman passed me by, my soul went forth at his word.* [Song 5:6]·For there is no hope of salvation unless one is taught to follow [the Lord]. “*He will overshadow you with his shoulders,*” says the Psalm [Ps. 90 (91):4] which is the same as being behind (ὀπισθεν) God (for the shoulder is on the back of the body). This, I believe, having understood that women who had a flow of blood, she followed Christ and standing behind (ὀπισθεν) she touched the border of his garment [Lc. 8:43–48; Mc. 5:21–43; Mt. 9:18–26]. Perhaps she would not have found salvation if she had not learned to follow Christ. Well, to follow the Lord, it is this: to imitate His way of life in every thing in accordance with the human condition, which He shared when He became man.

Ὅρᾱς, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἤδη τελειωθείσι κατὰ Μωσέα καὶ Πέτρον, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀρμόζει παράγγελμα; καὶ ὅπως μετὰ τοσαύτας ἀναβάσεις μόλις ἀξιοῦται τις τοῦ τοιούτου χαρίσματος; Ταῦτα μνηθεὶς Μωσῆς, νενομοθέτηκεν ὀπίσω Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὸν λαόν. Ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ Δαβὶδ, φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· «**Εκκολήθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου ὀπίσω σου**»· καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἄσματι ἀκήρατος νύμφη οὕτω φησὶν· «**Ἀδελφιδὸς μου παρήλθεν, ἡ ψυχὴ γάρ μου φησιν ἐξῆλθεν ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ**» [Song 5: 6]· οὐ γάρ ἐστι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς εἰ μὴ τις ἀκολουθεῖν παιδευθῇ. «**Ὑν γὰρ τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σοι,**» φησὶν ὁ ψαλμὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ ὀπισθεν εἶναι Θεοῦ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀπισθίοις ἐστὶ τὸ μετάφρενον· ὅπερ, οἶμαι, μαθοῦσα ἡ αἰμόρρους ἐκείνη γυνὴ, ἀκολουθήσασα Χριστῷ, καὶ στᾶσα ὀπισθεν, τοῦ κρασπέδου ἐφήψατο· οὐκ ἂν ἴσως τυχοῦσα τῆς σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ μεμάθηκε. Τὸ δὲ ἀκολουθεῖν, τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ κατὰ πάντα τὴν ἐκείνου κατὰ ἄνθρωπον πολιτείαν μιμεῖσθαι, ἣν ἐπολιτεύσατο γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος·

In all likelihood, these various scriptural citations and the underlying interpretation come from Gregory of Nyssa’s *In Canticum canticorum* ¹³⁵⁷ and *De vita Moysis*. ¹³⁵⁸ Philagathos retains

¹³⁵⁵ Cf. *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, PG 132, coll. 464 C–468B).

¹³⁵⁶ *Hom.* 46 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, PG 132, coll. 465C–468A).

¹³⁵⁷ Philagathos’ invocation of Song 5:6 parallels the exegetic context *In Canticum canticorum* which encloses the references to Moses and Peter extant in the sermon; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 355, 7–11: ὅτε τοίνυν ἤλπισε κατὰ τὸν Μωϋσέα γνωστῶς ἐμφανήσεσθαι αὐτῇ τοῦ ποθουμένου τὸ πρόσωπον, τότε παρήλθε τὴν κατάληψιν αὐτῆς ὁ ζητούμενος. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Ἀδελφιδὸς μου παρήλθεν, οὐ καταλιπὼν τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐφελκόμενος· Ἡ ψυχὴ γάρ μου φησιν ἐξῆλθεν ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ. ὁ μακαρίας ἐξόδου ἐκείνης ἦν ἐξέρχεται ἡτῷ λόγῳ ἐπομένη ψυχῇ.

¹³⁵⁸ Philagathos’ citation of Ps. 62 (63):9 and Ps. 90 (91):4 closely follows *De vita Moysis*, 2, 250: Ὅπερ ἀκούσας ἐνόησε καὶ ὁ μέγας Δαβὶδ, τῷ μὲν κατοικοῦντι ἐν βοήθειᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου λέγων ὅτι· ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ

the association between being behind (ὀπισθεν) God and the doctrine of perpetual spiritual progress throughout the *Homilies*. He expresses much the same idea in the homily “About the Woman who had a Discharge of Blood and the Daughter of the Ruler of the Synagogue.”¹³⁵⁹

But truly blessed is that woman and any soul comparable with her, which follows Jesus from behind and touches the border of His garment [cf. Lc. 8: 44], because the Spirit teaches us by the story that as much as someone walks after Christ through imitation, as it is possible with man, and comes near God through virtue, as yet he only touched the border of His garment, by reason of the infinit and beyond all limit character of virtue.

Μακαρία δὲ καὶ ἡ κατ’ ἐκείνην ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀπισθεν ἐπομένη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπτομένη τοῦ κρασπέδου αὐτοῦ, διδάσκοντος διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Πνεύματος ὡς, ὅσον τις ὀπίσω βαδίζει Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς (ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ) μιμήσεως καὶ δι’ ἀρετῆς προσεγγίσει Θεῷ, ἔτι τοῦ κρασπέδου μόνον ἐφήψατο, **διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἄόριστον.**

Philagathos applies to the story about the woman who had a discharge of blood Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of virtue. As Nyssen puts it: “The one limit (ὄρος) of virtue (ἀρετῆς) is the absence of a limit (ἄόριστον).”¹³⁶⁰

In a similar adaptation of the doctrine of continuous progress in virtue, Philagathos interprets the scriptural episode about Martha and Mary.¹³⁶¹

[9.] But for what reason contemplation is said to be seated at the lordly feet? Well, by the very fact that earlier is said that ‘sitting’ signifies steadfastness and immutability. In addition, it is necessary for the man who is progressing in contemplation to remain firm and steadfast in those things in which he acts rightly, and [he must] not [be] overthrown or carried away by every wind. “For an unbridled contemplation would perhaps, according to the Theologian’s enunciation, push us over a precipice.” But this [explanation] is enough for the [term] “to sit beside.” On the other hand, by the [expression] “at the Lord’s feet” [Lc. 10:39] is indicated the humility of character of the man who is advancing towards virtue and the flight from self-conceit, the presence of which makes contemplation hard to preserve, carried astray and difficult to approach. It also hints at the infinite and limitless knowledge of God. For however much one would ascend by contemplation and become winged, when lifted up by the spiritual feathers, still he merely stands at the foot [lit. at the lowest part] of the perfect comprehension and as much as he would surmount the steps that lie above of the mystical ladder of divine knowledge only much more he sees the apprehension of what lies beyond. For the other things, which are measured by senses, it is possible to reach the end, whereas for contemplation and for the

ἐπισκιάσει σοι, ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τοῦ κατόπιν αὐτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀπισθίοις ἐστὶ τὸ μετάφρενον), περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τοῦτο βοῶν ὅτι· ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου ὀπίσω σου, ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀντελάβετο ἡ δεξιὰ σου.

¹³⁵⁹ *Hom.* 11, 11 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 74).

¹³⁶⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 1, 8 (trans. A. J. Malherbe and E. Ferguson, 31).

¹³⁶¹ *Hom.* 32, 9–10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 224–225).

progress in virtue is not possible to find an ending. [10.] The great David clearly understanding this “Exalt the Lord our God, he says, and worship at His footstool— He is holy” [Ps. 98 (99):5], showing by these that as much as human understanding could be stretched beyond any form of sublime representation in what regards its conception [assumption] about God, yet what at that time is found by them and worshiped it is not the majesty of the one it searches for, but “the footstool for Your feet” [Ps. 109 (110):1; Hebr.10:13], expressing by this that which in our thinking is placed below and laid at the bottom by comparison with the comprehension which is unreachable [for human understanding]. For this reason, Mary is said to be seated at the Lord’s saving feet.

[9.] Διὰ τί δὲ παρὰ τοὺς κυριακοὺς πόδας ἡ θεωρία καθῆσθαι λέγεται; Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον ὡς ἡ καθέδρα τὸ ἐδραῖον σημαίνει καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον. Καὶ δεῖ πάντως τὸν κατὰ θεωρίαν προκόπτοντα μένειν, ἐν οἷς κατορθοῖ, βεβηκότα καὶ πάγιον, καὶ μὴ παντὶ ἀνέμῳ περιτρεπόμενον ἢ φερόμενον· **«θεωρία γὰρ ἀχαλίνωτος τάχα ἂν, κατὰ τὴν Θεολόγον φωνήν, καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ὥσειεν»**.¹³⁶² Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τοῦ παρακαθίσαι. Τὸ δὲ **«Παρὰ τοὺς πόδας»** ἐνδείκνυται μὲν καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν τοῦ ἡθους τοῦ κατ’ ἀρετὴν προκόπτοντος καὶ τὴν ἐκφυγὴν τῆς οἰήσεως, ἧς παρούσης ὀλισθηρὰ ἡ θεωρία καὶ πλανωμένη καὶ δύσβατος· αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ **τὸ τῆς θεολογίας ἄπειρον καὶ ἀόριστον**. Ὅσον γὰρ ἂν τις διὰ θεωρίας ἀνέλθῃ καὶ ὑπόπτερος γένηται, τοῖς νοεροῖς πτεροῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, ἔτι περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας τῆς τελείας καταλήψεως ἔστηκε· καὶ ὅσον τὰς ὑπερκειμένας βαθμίδας ἀνέρχεται τῆς μυστικῆς τῆς θεολογίας κλίμακος, ὑπερκειμένην ὁρᾷ τὴν κατάληψιν. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα τῇ αἰσθήσει μετρεῖται, δυνατόν εἰς τέλος ἐλθεῖν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θεωρίας καὶ τῆς κατ’ ἀρετὴν προκοπῆς, τέλος οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν. [10.] Ὅπερ εἰδὼς ὁ μέγας Δαβὶδ· **«Υψοῦτε, λέγει, Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τὸ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἅγιός ἐστιν»**, δεικνὺς διὰ τούτων ὅτι, ὅσον ἂν ὑπερταθῇ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάνοια καὶ πᾶσαν παρέλθῃ ὑψηλὴν φαντασίαν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Θεοῦ ὑπολήψεσι, τότε τὸ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενον καὶ προσκυνούμενον οὐκ αὐτὴ ἡ μεγαλειότης τοῦ ζητουμένου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὑποβεβηκὸς διὰ τούτου καὶ κάτω κείμενον τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν, συγκρίσει τῆς ἀνεφίκτου καταλήψεως διερμηνεύων. Τούτου χάριν παρὰ τοὺς σωτηρίου πόδας ἡ Μαρία παρακαθέσθαι λέγεται.

Once again, Philagathos echoes here Gregory’s doctrine of never-ending ascent, which sees every ascending step as “the starting point of a search after more exalted things.”¹³⁶³ For illustrating the action of Mary “who sat at the Lord’s feet” – παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Lc. 10:39), Philagathos appropriates Gregory of Nyssa’s exegesis of Psalm 98 (99):5 (i.e. the

¹³⁶² Gregory of Nazianzus, *In sancta lumina (orat. 39)*, PG 36, coll. 344: Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ θεωρίας ἀρξαμένους, εἰς φόβον χρή καταλήγειν (θεωρία γὰρ ἀχαλίνωτος τάχα ἂν καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ὥσειεν)· ἀλλὰ φόβῳ στοιχειουμένων, καὶ καθαυρομένων, καὶ, ἴν’ οὕτως εἴπω, λεπτυνομένων, εἰς ὕψος αἵρεσθαι.

¹³⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 247 (trans. Norris, 261).

expression “at the footstool of his feet” – τῷ ὑποποδίῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ) from the *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*.¹³⁶⁴

The doctrine of perpetual spiritual progress deeply fascinated Philagathos. He applied it to the episode of Martha’s encounter with the resurrected Christ and to the Lord’s apparition on the road to Emmaus. About Martha, Philagathos comments¹³⁶⁵

«Seeing him, fell at his feet, saying to him, “Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.” [Jn. 11:32] She spoke in unison with Martha [cf. Jn. 11:21]. Cognate [were] the words, kindred the voices: except that Martha is not said to have fallen at the feet of Jesus, or to be speaking while weeping [Jn. 11:33]. She [i.e. Mary] instead accomplishes both. For she desired to grasp his feet, by which being bended down earlier [Lc. 7:38] she tasted the nectar of his teaching. In different ways she yearned after these fair feet, first she sat down besides them, now she embraced them washing them with her tears, later she anointed them with ointment (μύρω) [and] wiped his feet with her own hair. [Jn. 11:2] For the contemplative soul disposing glad ascents (καλὰς ἀναβάσεις), searches for truth first by sitting down beside the mystical feet; then after she was initiated by drawing near she touches [them] spiritually; after these [ascents], she perfumes them with the ointment of truthful knowledge wiping off the passions [of the soul] by the loss of sensation. For the hair intimates this thing, as [it is] bereft of sensibility. Furthermore, the feet of Christ may be considered that much which could be apprehended spiritually of him by the one who has cleansed himself of matter. For Mary’s weeping shows the soul gathers together upon itself and being separated from the senses inclines inward when is led up to

¹³⁶⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 107: Ὡς δ’ ἂν μή τις πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν βλέπων εἰς ταπεινάς τινας καὶ ἀνθρωπίνας ὑπολήψεις περὶ τὸ θεῖον κατολισθήσειεν, ταύτην ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἐπάγει τὴν φωνὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τρέψας τὸν λόγον· Ὑψοῦτε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποποδίῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἅγιός ἐστιν. τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν τῶν εἰρημένων ταύτην εἶναι ὑπονοοῦμεν, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωποι, μεμνηνται μὲν ὑμῖν, ὡς δυνατόν δέξασθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀκοήν, τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια. ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τούτων ὁδηγηθέντες πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβῆ θεογνωσίαν, ὅσον χωρεῖ ὑμῶν ὁ λογισμός, τοσοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δόξαν ὑψώσατε, εἰδότες ὅτι ὅταν ὑπερταθῇ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια καὶ πᾶσαν παρέλθῃ ὑψηλὴν φαντασίαν ἐν ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ ὑπολήψεσι, τότε τὸ παρ’ ὑμῶν εὐρισκόμενον καὶ προσκυνούμενον οὐκ αὐτὴ ἡ μεγαλειότης τοῦ ζητουμένου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὑποβεβηκὸς διὰ τούτου καὶ κάτω κείμενον τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν συγκρίσει τῆς ἀνεφίκτου καταλήψεως διερμηνεῖον.

¹³⁶⁵ Hom. 49 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, PG 132, coll. 529B): «Ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν, ἔπεσεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσα· Κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανέ μου ὁ ἀδελφός.» Σύμφωνα τῇ Μάρθᾳ λαλεῖ. Ἀδελφὰ τὰ ῥήματα, συγγενεῖς αἱ φωναί· πλὴν ὅτι Μάρθα μὲν οὐ λέγεται πεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὔτε κλαίουσα φθέγγεσθαι. Αὕτη δὲ πράττει ἀμφοτέρω. Ἰμείρετο γὰρ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκείνων ἐφάπασθαι, οἷς παρακληθεῖσα πρότερον τοῦ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐγεύσατο νέκταρος. Τούτους τοὺς ὠραίους πόδας διαφερόντως ποθήσασα, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῖς παρεκάθισε, νῦν δὲ κατασπάζεται τοῖς δάκρυσι πλύνουσα, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ μύρῳ ἀλείψασα, θριξὶν ἰδίαις ἐξέμαξεν. Ἡ γὰρ θεωρητικὴ ψυχὴ τὰς καλὰς ἀναβάσεις τιθεμένη, πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τοὺς μυστικούς πόδας καθίσασα ζητεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· εἴτα μυηθεῖσα ἐφάπτεται νοερῶς προσεγγίζουσα· μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ μύρῳ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς γνώσεως τούτους εὐωδιάζει τῇ περὶ τὰ πάθη ἀναισθησίᾳ ἐκμάσσουσα. Τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ τριχες αἰνίττονται, ὡς αἰσθήσεως ἄμοιροι. Νοοῖντο δ’ ἂν πόδες Χριστοῦ, ὅσα δυνατόν νοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ τῆς ὕλης ἑαυτὸν ἐκκαθάραντι. Τὸ δὲ τὴν Μαρτίαν κλαίειν δηλοῖ τὸ εἰς ἑαυτὴν συστελλεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ συννεύειν, χωριζομένην τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὅταν εἰς θεωρίαν ἀνάγῃται· **θερμαίνεσθαι τε τῷ θεῷ ἔρωτι**, ἀποβαλλομένην ὡς δάκρυα τὰ περιττὰ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ μὴ προσήκοντα. Τὸ γὰρ δάκρυον λυπηροῦ πάθους ἐστὶ νοτὶς συστελλομένων ὑπὸ λύπης τῶν μυῶν, ὡς τὴν ἀποθλιβομένην λιβάδα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου φλέβας ἀποδίδοσθαι, κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁλοκοῦς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν παραπέμπεσθαι τὸ περιττὸν ἀποκρουομένης τῆς φύσεως.

contemplation; then heated by the divine love, [the soul] has rejected as tears the superfluous thoughts and of no concern [to contemplation]. For the tear is the moisture rising from the experience of painful things when the muscles are contracted by sorrow, so that the squeezed stream is rendered to the veins of the brain, and thence is passed on the furrow of the eyes since nature shakes off the superfluous.

The imprint of Gregory of Nyssa is pervasive throughout the cited exposition. Nyssen's doctrine of the spiritual senses lavishly used in his commentary of the Song of Songs informs Philagathos reading of Martha's encounter with Jesus.¹³⁶⁶

We also learn, in an incidental way, another truth through the philosophical wisdom of this book, that there is in us a dual activity of perception, the one bodily, the other more divine—just as the Word says somewhere in Proverbs, “You will find a divine mode of perception.” For there is a certain analogy between the sense organs of the body and the operations of the soul.[...] There is also, though, a “touch” that belongs to the soul, one that makes contact with the Word and is actuated by an incorporeal and intelligible touching, just as someone said, “Our hands have touched concerning the Word of life” (1Jn. 1:1). In the same way, too, the scent of the divine perfumes is not a scent in the nostrils but pertains to a certain intelligible and immaterial faculty that inhales the sweet smell of Christ by sucking in the Spirit.¹³⁶⁷

Therefore, Philagathos learned from Gregory that the various bodily sensations described in the Scripture (i.e. the Song) are instances of spiritual perception. In this sense Martha's encounter with Jesus illustrates the anagogical process carried on in successive steps (πρότερον...νῦν... ὕστερον). Inspired from Gregory's *In Canticum canticorum*, Philagathos takes the allusions to sense perception as steps in the process of anagogy: first, the leading up by the sense of hearing implied in Martha's sitting down beside the mystical feet, then the ascent by the sense of touch as she embraced the feet of the Lord and washed them with her tears and finally the participation in divine life by the sense of smell indicated by “the ointment of truthful knowledge.”

Philagathos speaks in terms clearly reminiscent of Gregory's *In Canticum canticorum*. For the reference of the soul's “glad ascents” (καλὰς ἀναβάσεις) plainly emulates a passage from Gregory's eighth homily on the Song, in which Nyssen relates the infinity and

¹³⁶⁶ Gregory's emphasis on the spiritual senses is according to Frances Young, “Perhaps the most striking thing about Gregory's exegesis of the Song [...]. He believes, not unlike Origen, that there is a correspondence between the motions and movements of the soul and the sense organs of the body, and it is soon apparent that this undergirds his positive embracing of the discourse of sexuality to describe the soul's advance towards God and response to the divine allure. The whole point is that our earthly response to beauty gives us a taste of what it would mean to transcend surface appearance and discern the Lord as the object of beauty par excellence” (“Sexuality and Devotion: Mystical Readings of the Song of Songs,” *Theology and Sexuality* 14 (2001), 96); Hans Boersma, “Bodily and Spiritual Senses in *In Canticum canticorum*,” in *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 93–100.

¹³⁶⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 34 (trans. Norris, 35–37).

incomprehensibility of the Godhead with to the soul's ever increasing participation in the Good.¹³⁶⁸

So the great David—though “in the heart” he has traced out the glad “ascents” (τὰς καλὰς ἀναβάσεις) and always goes (ἀεὶ πορευόμενος) “from strength to strength” (Ps. 83 (84):6–8)—cries out to God: “You, O Lord, are the Most Exalted for eternity” (Ps. 91 (92):9); and in my opinion what he means by his cry is this: “In the entire eternity of the unending age, the person who bends his course toward you is always becoming greater and higher than he is, making relative growth because of his ‘ascent’ through good things, but you are the same and remain eternally the Most Exalted. You can never, to those making their ascent, be revealed as on a lower level than they, for you are always, by comparison, higher and more exalted than the reach of those who are being raised up.”

The reference to myrrh as an indication of the mortification of the bodily senses and the denial of the passions manifestly echoes Gregory's *In Canticum canticorum*.¹³⁶⁹ In like manner, the comment on Mary's hair as lacking sensation is reminiscent of Gregory's interpretation of Song 6:5 (“Your hair is like herds of goats that have been revealed from Gilead.”).¹³⁷⁰ In both texts, the hair indicates the pursuit for the good and ‘the disregard of the things that are much valued in this world.’ Then, by interpreting Mary's weeping as the soul separated from the senses, Philagathos faithfully reproduces Gregory's understanding of spiritual contemplation as the ascent from the sensible to the intelligible, precisely manifested in the soul's disjunction from the bodily senses.¹³⁷¹ The final image featuring Mary “heated by the divine love (θερμαίνεσθαι τε τῷ θεῷ ἔρωτι) and rejecting as tears the superfluous thoughts and of no concern to contemplation” is reminiscent of Gregory's language of ἔρωσ used for the purpose of anagogical ascent.¹³⁷² This imagery is recurrent in Philagathos' *Homilies*.¹³⁷³ Furthermore, his spiritual

¹³⁶⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, 247 (trans. Norris, 259).

¹³⁶⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, Hom. 6, 189, 4–15; *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 7, 242, 14–243, 21; *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 8, 249, 7–250, 7; *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 12, 342, 9–347, 6; *In Canticum canticorum*, Hom. 14, 404, 1–406, 7.

¹³⁷⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, Hom. 7, 221–222.

¹³⁷¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, Hom. 10, 313, 1–16: “When vision of the truly good (τὴν τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγαθῶν θεωρίαν) leads us to look beyond all such things, the bodily eye is inactive, for then the more perfect soul, which uses its understanding to look only on matters that are beyond seeing, is not drawn to any of the things to which that eye directs its attention. In the same way too the faculty of hearing becomes a dead thing and goes out of operation when the soul occupies itself with things beyond speech. As to the more bestial of the senses, they are hardly worth mentioning. Long since, like some grave yard stench attached to the soul, they have been put away: the sense of smell, scenting out odors; and the sense of taste, bound to the belly's service; and the sense of touch as well, the blind and servile organ that nature, we may think, created only for the sake of the blind. When all these are as it were bound in sleep by disuse, then the working of the heart is pure, and its discourse is focused on what is above it, untroubled and unaccompanied by the noise that stems from the stirrings of sense perception (trans. Norris, 329).

¹³⁷² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6, Hom. 1, 27, 12–14: [...] ὥστε πάσης κατασβεσθείσης σωματικῆς διαθέσεως μόνῳ τῷ πνεύματι ζέειν ἐρωτικῶς ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διάνοιαν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκείνου θερμαινομένην, ὃ βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθεν ὁ κύριος. “[...] so that when every bodily disposition has been quelled, our mind within us may boil with love, but only in the Spirit, because it is heated by that “fire” that the Lord came to “cast upon the earth” (trans. Norris, 29).

reading of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, which operates a transposition of the language of erotic desire for picturing the soul's (i.e. Charikleia) growth in deification is firmly grounded in Gregory's exegetic principles.

In similar fashion, as we noted above, Gregory's doctrine of never-ending ascent underlines Philagathos' exegesis of the Lord's apparition on the road to Emmaus (Lc. 24:13–35).¹³⁷⁴

For the Word first brings us together while being only slightly seen, but afterwards becoming more clearly visible. For as much as the souls of the virtuous are purified, that much they know God. For he was revealed much more to them in the breaking of the bread, that is in the partaking of the frightful mysteries (i.e. the Holy Communion). If he is made manifest to the disciples, and then immediately becomes invisible, do not wonder at this. For such is the beauty of the Lord. For at the same time he illuminates the mind of the purified lot, and just as lightning he swiftly withdraws, becoming ungraspable, in order to implant the desire (πόθον) for apprehension and to attract (ἐφέλκειν) the loving soul (τὴν ἐρῶσαν ψυχὴν) toward better things (πρὸς τὸ μείζον). Allow yourself to be led up to the heavenly ascents, and to ardently long to behold him wholly, the eternal desire (τὴν αἰδίον ἔφεσιν), the single nature, the blessed divinity.

Philagathos' understanding of perfection as the growth that one achieves during the journey of ascent and the language of anagogy itself points to Gregory of Nyssa's mystical writings. Following Gregory of Nyssa, Philagathos places virtue and the knowledge of the divine on the same level.¹³⁷⁵

Finally, the question of virtue is afforded by another glimpse into the importance of Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis for the South Italian preacher. In the homily "For the: 'Be you therefore wise as serpents,' Philagathos turns extensively to Gregory's *De vita Moysis* for

¹³⁷³ Cf. *Hom.* 27, 23 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 181): Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ μυστικωτέρων λόγων ἐφάπασθαι, αἰνιγμα ἦν τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀρνήσεως Πέτρου δηλούμενον. Μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Διδάσκαλον **ἔρωτι ὁ Πέτρος διεθερμαίνεται**, ἀνδρεία ἐστόμωτο, καὶ οὐ κατεπτέει τοῦτον κουστωδία καὶ σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ ξίφη καὶ δῆδες καὶ κορύναι καὶ φάσγανα· ὅτε δὲ προσήγγισε τῇ πυρᾷ, ἣν ἀνήψαν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Καίσαρος, τότε δῆτα τότε φαύλης παιδίσκης ἐγένετο παίγνιον. "But if one must also touch upon some more mystical explanations (reasonings), then what was disclosed by Peter's denial was a hidden figure (αἰνιγμα). For as long as Peter was heated by the love for the Savior, he was hardened by courage, and the confinement, the cohort of soldiers, the commandant, swords and torches, maces and whips did not terrify him. But when he came near to the fire which the soldiers of Caesar have lighted up, then he became a plaything of an ordinary maidservant."

¹³⁷⁴ *Hom.* 75 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, *PG* 132, coll. 657 C–D): Συμβιβάζει δὲ ὁ Λόγος πρότερον μὲν ἰσχνῶς θεωρούμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τηλαυγέστερον φανερούμενος. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἐναρέτων ψυχαὶ ὅσον καθαίρονται, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκουσιν. Αποκαλύπτεται δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, ἐν τῇ μεταλήψει δηλαδὴ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων. Εἰ δ' ἅμα φανεροῦται τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἄφαντος γίνεται, μὴ θαυμάσης· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ θεῖον κάλλος· ὁμοῦ καταλήμπει τῶν κεκαθαρμένων τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς ἀστραπὴ ταχὺ ὑποχωρεῖ γινόμενον ἄληπτον, ὡς καὶ πόθον ἐμποιεῖν τῇ καταλήψει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μείζον ἐφέλκειν τὴν ἐρῶσαν ψυχὴν. Ἀνείτε καὶ πρὸς τὰς θείας ἀναβάσεις ἀνάγεσθαι, καὶ γλίχεσθαι διακαῶς τὸν ὅλον ἡμέρον, τὴν αἰδίον ἔφεσιν, τὴν ἐνιαίαν φύσιν, τὴν μακαρίαν θεότητα·

¹³⁷⁵ For Gregory's dodging of the subordination of virtue to knowledge from the Platonist tradition see Meredith, *The Cappadocians*, 59–61; Martin Laird, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Grasp of Faith Union, Knowledge, and Divine Presence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 202–203.

defining virtue (in Aristotelian terms) as the mean (μεσότης) between excess (ὑπερβολή) and (ἔλλειψις).¹³⁷⁶

If there is also need to touch upon a loftier meaning, [one may say that] a teaching lies hidden in the word [i.e. Mt. : 10:16]. The teaching makes manifest that the virtues are the intermediate state [mean]; for every virtue takes somehow the middle road between two neighbouring evils. In the case of courage the excessive rashness and the inmost cowardice, yet both are not commendable, for courage is the midst between these two evils, and this is virtue; and in the same manner in the case of moderation (chastity) for on the one hand the person who lacks moderation is a libertine, while on the other hand the person who oversteps it has his conscience seared, as the Apostle says (cf. 1Tim. 4:2). Hence, one holds intercourse with all like beasts, while the other defiles marriage as if it were adultery; well then, the mean between these two is moderation. Any one would find out the same about justice; for this is also the middle point between parsimony and profligacy. Therefore, here the Saviour teaches the disciples about prudence, which is also the middle point between guilelessness and shrewdness. Neither the wisdom of the serpent nor the simplicity of the dove is to be praised; but having blended both together, he avoids both the excess and the exiguity. At least then, the person who accommodates the teaching with consideration and regard for the persuasion of the listeners is “wise as a serpent, yet harmless as a dove,” who does not even consider to defend himself from the person who contrives against him. [Mt. 10: 16]

In the passage cited above, Philagathos incorporates Gregory’s text on the definition of virtue as the mean.¹³⁷⁷ The fact that Gregory’s *De vita Moysis* encloses an allusion to Matthew 10:16 (i.e. “Neither the wisdom of the serpent nor the simplicity of the dove is to be praised.”) indicates that

¹³⁷⁶ *Hom.* 30, 13–14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202–203): Εἰ δὲ δεῖ ἐφάπασθαι καὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου νοήματος, δόγμα ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κρυπτόμενον. Τὸ δὲ δόγμα ἐμφαίνει μεσότητος εἶναι τὰς ἀρετάς· ἐκάστη γὰρ ἀρετὴ μεσολαβεῖται πὺς δυοῖς κακοῖς γειτονήμασιν. Οἷον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἡ μὲν ὑπερβολὴ θράσος, ἡ δὲ ἔλλειψις δειλία, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἐπαινετά, τὸ δὲ μέσον ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἀνδρεία, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης ὁ μὲν ἔλλειψις ἀκόλαστος, ὁ δὲ ὑπερβαίνων κεκαυτηρίασται τὴν συνείδησιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάσαις μίγνυται κτηνηδόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν γάμον ἐπίσης τῇ μοιχείᾳ βδελύσσεται, ἡ δὲ τούτων μεσότης σωφροσύνη ἐστὶ. Ταῦτόν τις εὔροι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· καὶ αὕτη γὰρ μέσον φειδωλίας καὶ ἀσωτίας ἐστίν. Ἐνταῦθα οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ διδάσκει τοὺς μαθητὰς περὶ τῆς φρονήσεως, μέσης καὶ αὐτῆς οὐσης εὐθειας τε καὶ δεινότητος. Οὐτε οὖν ἐπαινετὸν καθ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ ὄψεως φρόνιμον, οὔτε τῆς περιστερᾶς τὸ ἀκέραιον· συγκραθέντα δ’ ἀμφοτέρω, τὴν ὑπέρπτωσιν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν διαπέφυγεν. Ὁ γοῦν μετὰ περισκέψεως καὶ κατανοήσεως πρὸς εὐπείθειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων τὴν διδασκαλίαν οἰκονομῶν, φρόνιμος ὡς ὄφις ἐστίν· ἀκέραιος δὲ ὡσεὶ περιστέρα ὁ μὴδ’ εἰς ἔννοιαν λαμβάνων ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα.

¹³⁷⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 288–289: Δόγμα δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐν μεσότητι θεωρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρετάς ὁρίζομενος, διότι ἐφύκε πᾶσα κακία ἢ κατ’ ἔλλειψιν ἢ καθ’ ὑπέρπτωσιν ἀρετῆς ἐνεργεῖσθαι, οἷον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἔλλειψις τίς ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς ἢ δειλία, ὑπέρπτωσις δὲ τὸ θράσος· τὸ δὲ ἑκατέρω τούτων καθαρεῦον ἐν μέσῳ τε τῶν παρακειμένων κακιῶν θεωρεῖται καὶ ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον σπουδάζεται, μεσολαβεῖται πὺς τοῖς κακοῖς γειτονήμασιν. [289.] Ἡ σοφία δεινότητος τε καὶ ἀκεραιότητος τὸ μέσον ἔχει. Οὐτε τοῦ ὄψεως τὸ φρόνιμον ἐπαινετὸν, οὔτε τῆς περιστερᾶς τὸ ἀκέραιον, εἰ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου δεοὶ λαμβάνειν τούτων ἑκάτερον. Ἀλλ’ ἡ διὰ μέσου τῶν δύο τούτων σύγκρατος ἕξις ἀρετῇ γίνεται. Ὁ ἔλλειψις κατὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἀκόλαστος, ὁ πλεονάζων κεκαυτηρίασται τὴν συνείδησιν, καθὼς ὁρίζεται ὁ Ἀπόστολος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνέδην ἐκκέχυται, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν γάμον ἴσα τῇ μοιχείᾳ βδελύσσεται. Ἡ δὲ διὰ μέσου τούτων θεωρουμένη ἕξις σωφροσύνη ἐστίν.

Philagathos indexed or perhaps memorized parts of Gregory's text according to the liturgical readings of the year.

Conclusions

This study of Philagathos' spiritual exegesis underscored its distinctive features. Thus, the doctrine of perpetual progress, the usage of arithmology and etymology, the doctrine of the four cardinal virtues or the treatment of hagiographical material reveal a refined exegetical technique, modelled on Maximus Confessor's and Gregory of Nyssa's exegeses. All these features displayed in the *Homilies* unfold conspicuously in his allegorical reading of the *Aethiopika* to which we turn in what follows.

PART VI. The Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopika*: a Contextual Reading

Philagathos' profound interest in romance literature documented throughout this thesis peaks in his allegorical commentary of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* (Τῆς Χαρικλειᾶς ἑρμηνεία τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου).¹³⁷⁸ The present section addresses Philip-Philagathos' ἑρμηνεία as part of the twelfth century Byzantine literary context. The analysis considers the extensive intertextual evidence that binds Philagathos' *Homilies* with the allegorical exegesis of *Aethiopika*. I show that Philagathos applies to the spiritual interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* the same exegetic technique exercised throughout the *Homilies*. Thus, I point out that the exegetical practice displayed in the ἑρμηνεία reflects Maximus Confessor's spiritual exegesis (i.e. the etymological and numerical speculations) and Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of spiritual progress as set forth in the *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and *The Life of Moses*. In the ἑρμηνεία Philagathos unveils a pedagogical and ethical reading of the novel as an allegory of the soul yearning for unity with the divine. Setting forth new textual evidence, I underline that the tradition of the mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs frames Philagathos' reading of the novel to an extent hitherto unascertained in the scholarly literature. Before embarking on the discussion of Philip's allegorical commentary, I refer to the intellectual Byzantine context of documented interest in Heliodorus' novel. Then I discuss the citations and the allusions to classical and Christian literature couched in the *Interpretation*, pointing out that through them Philip-Philagathos refashions the erotic dimension of the novel into a purely religious and ascetic reading.

1. Heliodorus's *Aethiopika* in Byzantium

The allegorical exegesis of the *Aethiopika* relates to the elevated significance of the genre of the novel in the twelfth century Komnenian Byzantium and to the revival of allegorical exegesis of ancient Greek literature in the eleventh and twelfth century. No doubt, his exegesis is to be placed within the context of the unprecedented revival of allegorical interpretation of ancient Greek literature in eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantium, as exemplified by the works of Michael Psellos (1018–after 1078),¹³⁷⁹ John Tzetzes (ca.1110–after1180) and Eustathios of Thessalonike (ca.1110–1198).¹³⁸⁰ At the same time a correspondence must be deduced between the blossoming of allegorical interpretation of secular literature and the rediscovery of the genre of the novel in Komnenian Byzantium,¹³⁸¹ which peaked in the writings composed around the

¹³⁷⁸ For the scholarly dispute on the authorship of this allegorical exegesis, see the *Introduction*, 16–27; for the Greek text and an English translation see the Appendix 4.

¹³⁷⁹ The importance of Michael Psellos for this revival has been underscored in the literature; e.g. Paolo Cesaretti, "Bisanzio allegorica (XI–XII secolo)," *Strumenti Critici* 1 (1990), 29: "Non che prima di Psello fosse mancato allegorismo a Bisanzio, secoli di interpretazione allegorica delle Scritture stanno a dimostrarlo; ma prima di Psello non trovo rilevanti tracce di interpretazione allegorica della più antica produzione poetica."

¹³⁸⁰ Paolo Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche XI-XII secolo* (Milan: Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 1991); Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington D.C.: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2005), 130.

¹³⁸¹ Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 138.

middle years of the twelfth century by Theodore Prodromos (ca.1100–ca.1170), Eustathios Makrembolites (second half of the twelfth-century, Niketas Eugenianos (twelfth-century), and Constantine Manasses (ca. 1130–ca. 1187).¹³⁸² It is important to note that the reappearance of the novel in Komnenian Constantinople was a circumstantial and rather exceptional result of the interest in the ancient novelistic genre for it was connected with a specific group of writers during a limited period of time (ca. 1145–1155).¹³⁸³ This group of writers was part of the literary circle of Sevastokratorissa Irene and perhaps the romances of Prodromos and Manasses were composed for Irene.¹³⁸⁴ We may note here a curious chronological coincidence that dovetails the interest in romance literature and in particular for Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* in Sicily with the return through the Norman Kingdom in 1149 of Eleanor of Aquitaine from the fateful Second Crusade. For the literary patronage of French Queen is associated with the emergence of *romans d'antichité* and perhaps, if this is not too far fetched to suppose, Eleanor could have echoed the discussions and the intense preoccupation with romance literature from Constantinople to the learned entourage of Roger II during her sojourn in the Southern Kingdom from mid-July–Late August 1149.

Clearly, Philip's ἐρμηνεία evokes the Byzantine literary tradition of interest in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*.¹³⁸⁵ First, Photios (ca. 820–893) in the *Bibliotheka* discussed the novel from a rhetorical perspective. The text is seen as a reservoir of narrative material from which a Byzantine rhetor (ῥήτωρ) may derive usefulness.¹³⁸⁶ Photios admires Charikleia's chastity (σωφροσύνη) and considers Heliodorus' novel less obscene in comparison with the shamelessness of Achilles Tatius' narratives.¹³⁸⁷ A more complex analysis is evidenced by Psellos' comparison of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius (Τίς ἢ διάκρισις τῶν συγγραμμάτων, ὧν τῷ μὲν Χαρίκλεια, τῷ δὲ Λευκίππῃ ὑποθέσεις καθεστήκατον;). Not unlike Photios' rhetorical approach, Psellos explains:

¹³⁸² The titles are Theodore Prodromos, *Rhodante and Dosikels*; Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*; Niketas Eugenianos, *Drosilla and Charikles*; and Constantine Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallitheia*; for the dating and sequence of these novels see Suzanne MacAlister, "Byzantine Twelfth-century Romances," *A Relative Chronology*, *BMGS* 15 (1991): 175–210; Elizabeth Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the 'Romans d'antiquité,'" *Byz* 50 (1980): 475–478; Panagiotis Agapitos, "Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus", 145–148.

¹³⁸³ Agapitos, "Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus" 148.

¹³⁸⁴ Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the 'Romans d'antiquité,'" 480.

¹³⁸⁵ H. Gärtner, "Charikleia in Byzanz," *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969): 47–69; Andrew Dyck, "Psellus' Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius," in *Michael Psellus. The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, ed. Andrew Dyck (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 81–85. See also the enriching contribution of Ingela Nilsson and Nikos Zagklas, "'Hurry up, reap every flower of the logoi!'" The Use of Greek Novels in Byzantium," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 57 (2017): 1120–1148, which besides discussing new material on the reception of the novels in Byzantium the authors documented the usage of the novels in educational settings.

¹³⁸⁶ Agapitos, "Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus," 128–132; Dyck, "Psellus' Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius," 80–82.

¹³⁸⁷ *Photius. Bibliothèque*, ed. René Henry (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1991), 66a, 24–28: Πολλὴν δὲ ὁμοιότητα ἐν τῇ διασκευῇ καὶ πλάσει τῶν διηγημάτων, πλὴν σχεδὸν τι τῶν προσώπων τῆς ὀνομασίας καὶ τῆς μυσαρᾶς αἰσχρότητος, πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου δράματα φυλάττει.

“In brief, I admire Charikleia’s book both for its ideas and for the appropriateness of its diction, and I find it worthy of commendation throughout. As for that of Leucippe, I think that it is as useful for the rhetorician as any other narrative, so that if he should wish to deck certain parts of his own works with graces drawn from it, he may take readily whatever, in his eyes, contributes to ornamental beauty.”¹³⁸⁸

Psellos’ assessment of the *Aethiopika* and Achilles Tatius’ novel is instructive for the appeal the novels had upon Byzantine readers and helps explain the profound imprint the novels had upon Philagathos’ style in the *Homilies*. A. Dyck, the modern editor of the text, suggested that Psellos’ “ultimate goal was to put forward an apology for Heliodorus, who was evidently under sharp attack in certain (ecclesiastical?) circles.”¹³⁸⁹ Indeed, Psellos emphasized the chastity of Charikleia and defended Kalasiris, from the accusation of being a pander.¹³⁹⁰ Yet, he is not concerned with an ethical reading, but is driven by a practical zeal of deriving rhetorical delight from the novel. For he does not reject the erotic charm implied in his description of “moist (ὕγρῳ) and well irrigated (l. 49–50)” narrative, which abounds in “flowers of charm of all sorts – Τρυφᾷ δὲ ὁ λόγος πάσης χάριτος ἄνθεσι (l. 29).”¹³⁹¹ The novel was praised for “the author’s diction and beauty of language (l. 14–15).” Psellos noted that the high-level stylistic register befitted the character of the heroine, since she was not an ‘ordinary girl (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κόρας ἰδιώτιδας) but an initiate and one who comes from Pythian Apollo (l. 38–42). Heliodorus’ innovative approach is underscored in relation to the unusual plot construction of the *Aethiopika* which starts *in medias res* (l. 22–29),¹³⁹² and with the variegated episodic narratives (l. 31–32 ἐπεισόδια διηγήματα) that “take thought for its reader by relieving him by its variety and by the novelty of its diction (καινολογίαις, l. 62).” Agapitos suggested that Psellos perceived in the rhythmic intensity of style and in Heliodorus’ propensity for lexical novelties some kind of poetic inspiration behind Heliodorus’ prose. Furthermore, *Aethiopika* is thought to be a repository of knowledge and great learning (l. 54– πολυμάθεια), for it draws matter from the physical sciences and contains maxims and theological reflections (l. 54–56). However, for all his steeping in allegorical practice, Psellos does not apply a ‘higher interpretation’ to the *Aethiopika*. The *rhetor* confined his allegorizing enthusiasm to the traditional allegorical subjects of his ancient predecessors (i.e. the Homeric poems, the ancient myths).

¹³⁸⁸ Psellos, *De Heliodoro et Achille Tatiao iudicium*, ed. Dyck, l. 96–101, p. 98 (trans. Dyck).

¹³⁸⁹ Dyck, “Psellus’ Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius,” 83; it appears somehow misleading to portray Psellos’ rhetorical analysis of *Aethiopika* in the terms of Philip’s spiritual reading, for there is a contextual wedge between Psellos’ assumed rhetorical stance for a purely decorative usage of *Aethiopika* and Philip’s mystical approach; cf. Dyck’s assessment: “[i]n terms of detailed, purposeful argumentation Psellus’ product will not bear comparison with the defense of Heliodorus which Philip Philagathus penned in the following century (p. 87).”

¹³⁹⁰ Psellos, *De Heliodoro et Achille Tatiao iudicium*, ed. Dyck, l. 46–54.

¹³⁹¹ Cf. Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 92.

¹³⁹² Psellos’ insight on the unusual plot structure of the *Aethiopika* has been most commented upon; cf. Christopher McLaren, “A Twist of Plot: Psellus, Heliodorus and Narratology,” in *Reading Michael Psellos*, ed. Charles Barber and David Jenkins (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 73–94; Agapitos, in “Narrative, Rhetoric, and ‘Drama’ Rediscovered,” 134–135 notes that “[t]he image of the coiled snake, in particular, is not only a most impressive simile for the structure of the *Aithiopika* but also a fascinating metaphor for the dangerous act of reading (p. 135).” Cf. Dyck, “Psellus’ Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius,” 83.

In the essay *On the Style of Certain Writing* (Περὶ χαρακτήρων συγγραμμάτων τινῶν) Psellos listed the authors from which he fashioned and adorned his own discourse. After the books of Demosthenes, Isocrates, Aelius Aristides, Thucydides, Plato, Plutarch, Lysias, and ‘the ultimate summit in both serious and graceful writing’ represented by Gregory the Theologian’s compositions, Psellos indicates “the book of Leukippe and that of Charikleia, and anything else that is full of pleasures and charm.”¹³⁹³ The popularity of the novel is further buttressed in the twelfth century by the testimonies of Gregorios Pardos (*On the Composition of Speeches*) and Ioannes Phocas (*Description of the Holy Land*), which considered the ancient fictional narratives as a paradigm and wellspring for rhetorical composition.¹³⁹⁴

The culmination of the popularity of the ancient novel manifested in the revival of the novelistic genre in Komnenian Byzantium.¹³⁹⁵ From a dubious and debased position within the Late Antiquity literary field, the novels became in Byzantine world a cherished repository of discourses that invited imitation, appropriation and ‘higher’ spiritual interpretation. It is perhaps not surprising that with the revival of rhetoric and its absorption into philosophy as a “comingled science” (σύμμικτος ἐπιστήμη for Michael Psellos)¹³⁹⁶ the practice of allegory spread to fictional works and subjects that were not considered for allegoresis in the ancient discourses. For, Philip’s ἐρμηνεία, the allegorical interpretation of *Stephanites and Ichneutes* in the twelfth century, Manuel Philes’ mystical reading of *Kallimachos and Chrysorhoe*, the Christian allegorical reading of *Hysmine and Hysminias*,¹³⁹⁷ the Allegory of Lucian’s *Loukios* by Alexios Makrembolites (fourteenth century) or Ioannes Eugenikos’ *Protheoria* to the *Aethiopika* (fifteenth century) indicate that the Byzantine practice of allegory became more fluid and not mimetically bounded to the ancient precedents.¹³⁹⁸

¹³⁹³ Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 127; cf. Dyck, “Psellus’ Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius,” 54–55, 84.

¹³⁹⁴ Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 46–47; Nunzio Bianchi, “Filagato da Cerami lettore di Eliodoro (e di Luciano e Alcifrone),” in *Romanzi greci ritrovati: tradizione e riscoperta dalla tarda antichità al Cinquecento* (Bari: Stilo Editrice, 2011), 41–42; MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: the Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Period*, 111.

¹³⁹⁵ For the complex mimetic interplay with the ancient novel see Suzanne MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: the Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Period*, New York: Routledge, 1996; cf. Nunzio Bianchi, “«Non c’è differenza tra l’amore e l’ebbrezza» ovvero Eliodoro nella biblioteca di Niceta Eugeniano” in Nunzio Bianchi, *Romanzi greci ritrovati: tradizione e riscoperta dalla tarda antichità al Cinquecento* (Bari: Stilo Editrice, 2011), 47–65; Agapitos, “Narrative, Rhetoric, and ‘Drama’ Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus,” 146–156.

¹³⁹⁶ For the relation of rhetoric with philosophy in Byzantium see Stratis Papaioannou, “Rhetoric and the Philosopher in Byzantium,” in *Essays in Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. K. Ierodiakonou and B. Bydén, (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens), 171–197 (here is cited at p.183).

¹³⁹⁷ Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 137, cites an annotation from *Mediceus Laurentianus Acquisti e Doni 341*, which specifies that the novel of Makrembolites is “difficult to be understood by those who are ignorant and far from the Church.”

¹³⁹⁸ For the allegory of *Stephanites and Ichneutes* see Carolina Cupane, “Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος,” *SicGym* 31 (1978), 22–23; A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, “Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Μακρεμβολίτου ἀλληγορία εἰς τὸν Λούκιον ἢ ὄνον,” *Zurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvescenija* 1899, 20–23; for Ioannes Eugenikos’ *Protheoria* see Hans Gärtner, “Protheoria zu Heliodors *Aithiopika*,” *BZ* 64 (1971), 324–325; cf. Roilos, Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington DC: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2005), 134–135 commented on the allegory of Makrembolites: “*Loukios*, an almost pornographic text – at least for the moral standards of the highly conservative Christian Byzantine society – is invested with a

The dominant interpretive model that informed these allegorical modulations was the mystical exegetic tradition on the *Song of Songs*. Eugenikos equated the novel with Solomon's sanctioned Song and maintained that if one rebukes *Aethiopika* on moral grounds, one should equally condemn the Song.¹³⁹⁹ In fact, for all those imbued with the mystical tradition of the Song the novelistic language of desire expressed the soul's yearning for union with the Word, the divine Bridegroom.

This allegorical tradition of the Song of Songs informed the multilayered *amphoteroglossia* of the twelfth-century Greek novel as Panagiotis Roilos emphasized.¹⁴⁰⁰ The novels played with the literary expectations surrounding the most sensual Christian text invested with spiritual meaning perhaps for negotiating and institutionalizing "to some extent within the Church, the new psychological interest in romantic love."¹⁴⁰¹ Roderick Beaton even suggested that the Komnenian novels could be portrayed as a kind of secular hagiography.¹⁴⁰² Yet the interest in romantic and sensuous literature best illustrated by the literary preoccupations of Eirene the Sevastokratorissa, the sister-in-law of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) is not without a mixture of ascetism and chastity.¹⁴⁰³ The 'principal patroness' of the Byzantine novels displayed a strong devotion to the Theotokos and received the spiritual advice of Iakovos Kokkinobaphos. The letters he addressed to the sevastokratorissa evoked the doctrine of perpetual progress. Therein, Iakovos exploited the sanctioned sensual imagery of the mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs.¹⁴⁰⁴

2. Authorship, *Mimesis* and Florilegic Habit in Philip-Philagathos' ἐρμηνεία

Christian meaning that transfers it from its "base" status to an elevated level." For Manuel Philes' moral allegory, see Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 190–192.

¹³⁹⁹ Gärtner, "Protheoria zu Heliodors *Aithiopika*," 1. 39–47: "εἰ δ' ἐνίοις, ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ-των οὕτως ἐχόντων, οὐ λυσιτελὲς ὅμως τοῖς νεωτέροις εἶτε / τῷ σωματι εἶτε μᾶλλον τῷ φρονήματι δοκεῖ τό σύγγραμμα, / πάντως ἂν εἴποι τις ἐπικαίρως κἀνταῦθα, τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ δι-/ καίως ἐκ τούτων ἀπαγορεύεσθαι, ὃ καπὶ τῶν τῆς θείας γραφῆς / ἢ τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος ἀσματικὴ πικτις ἢ τὸν ἱερὸν νυμφίον / καὶ τὴν νοητὴν νύμφην μυστικῶς δραματογραφοῦσα καὶ ῥήματα / καὶ νεύματα καὶ νοήματα θεῖως καὶ νοερῶς ἐρῶντος καὶ ἐρω-/μένης ἀπαθῶς εἰκονογραφοῦσα."

¹⁴⁰⁰ See Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, the chapter "Allegorical Modulations," 113–224; for allusions to Christianity in the Byzantine novels see also Joan Burton, "Reviving the Pagan Greek Novel in a Christian World," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998): 179–215; see also MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: the Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Period*, for the Christian context that demanded a different approach to the problem of suicide and the function of dreams for the Byzantine counterpart of the ancient novels.

¹⁴⁰¹ Elizabeth Jeffreys, "The *Song of Songs* and Twelfth-century Byzantium," *Prudentia* 23 (1991), 54.

¹⁴⁰² Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd edition revised and expanded (London: Routledge, 1996), 30–31, considered that the decline of the saints' lives composition and the blossoming of the novel is not accidental: "It is impossible not to see the revival of the romance in the twelfth century in terms of an increasing secularization and the search for a new identity among Byzantine literati in the generations that came after the defeat of Manzikert." See also the contribution "Epic and Romance in the Twelfth Century," in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music: A Collection of Essays*, ed. A.R. Littlewood, (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995), 88 in which Beaton draws on Northrop Frye concept of "secular scripture" in relation to the Byzantine romances.

¹⁴⁰³ For Eirene the Sevastokratorissa see Elizabeth Jeffreys' contributions: "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: The Monk *Iakovos*," *JÖB* 32 (1982), 63–71; "Who was Eirene the Sevastokratorissa," *Byz* 64 (1994), 40–68.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Jeffreys, "The *Song of Songs* and Twelfth-century Byzantium," 48–49.

As we have noted in the Introduction, the *Interpretation* of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* ("Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἐρμηνεία τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου – An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia from the voice of Philip the Philosopher –") is written at the end of the novel in the *codex Marcianus Graecus* Z 410 (coll. 522).¹⁴⁰⁵ The manuscript was copied in Southern Italy perhaps in Terra d'Otranto, either in the second half of the twelfth or at the beginning of the next century.¹⁴⁰⁶

Three parts can be distinguished in the text. Lines 1 to 47 enclose the prologue, Philip's apology for his allegory of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, where he explains that in spite of his age he undertakes this task of defending Charikleia against her detractors at his friends' behest. The formal literary structure presents at first a dramatic situation imitating a Socratic conversation in which, after leaving the dramatic frame, the allegory is nested in narrative form. Besides the Platonic setting of the debate, the introductory part, as I show below, parallels Gregory of Nyssa's preface to his commentary on the *Song of Songs*, in which Nyssen defended his exegetical policy against the antagonists of allegorical interpretation represented by the Antiochene interpreters.¹⁴⁰⁷

In the rest of the ἐρμηνεία the allegorist sets forth the exegetic technique of biblical exegesis expounded in the *Homilies*. Thus, two parts can be discerned within Philip's exegesis of Heliodorus' novel, an ethical interpretation (ἠθική φιλοσοφία – l. 47–104) that portrays *Aethiopika* as teaching the four cardinal virtues and a mystical reading that regards the novel as an allegory of soul's journey to the highest contemplation and union with the divine (l. 104–181). The interpretation moves from the surface –level of history (ἱστορία) corresponding to the unfolding of the events in the novel to the higher levels (ὕψηλότερα) of insight or contemplation (θεωρία). For Philip defines his exegesis as blending (κεράσασα l. 52) a moral or ethical interpretation "within gates of the story" (εἴσω τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας πυλῶν) with an anagogical approach that leads into the innermost shrine of unmixed beauty (ἄκραιφνές τὸ κάλλος l. 108).

¹⁴⁰⁵ The allegorical treatise occupies two folios (122r–123v); for a description of the manuscript (parchment, format 226/228 X 160, ff. I + 123) see Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*, vol. 2, *Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300-625* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1985), 166–167; F. Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse. La tradizione esegetica greca all'Odissea* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005), 229–230; see also M. Molin Pradel, n° 94 in *I Greci in Occidente. La tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria dalle collezioni della Biblioteca Marciana. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. G. Fiaccadori and P. Eleuteri (Venice: Il Cardo, 1996), 77; André Jacob, n° 45 Marc. Gr. 410 in *Codici Greci dell'Italia Meridionale*, ed. Paul Canart and Santo Lucà (Grottaferrata: Retablo, 2000), 110.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Elpidio Mioni indicated as evidence for a South Italian origin "la membrana rozza e male lavorata, le fascette dei titoli spalmate di giallo e talora di verde, la grafia abbreviata e minuta che fa pensare a *scriptoria* calabresi del sec. XII–XIII. La mancanza di qualsiasi altra decorazione (si notano soltanto delle piccole iniziali in rosso estremamente semplici) non permette di meglio identificare la scuola calligrafica." (the text is cited in Bruno Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria," *BGGG* 28 (1974): 5, note 9; André Jacob, in *Codici Greci dell'Italia Meridionale*, 110 formulated other arguments in favor of an Italian production "Un' analisi attenta della scrittura mostra, infatti, che il manufatto è stato realizzato in Terra d'Otranto, probabilmente nella seconda metà del XII secolo. D'altronde, i pochi versi vergati da una mano secondaria, ma più o meno coeva, sul verso del f. 106 (G. Cavallo, "Lo specchio omerico," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen âge* 101, 1989: 619, tav. 16) sono strettamente affini dal punto di vista testuale al *Lond. Brit. Libr. Harl.* 5674 (ivi, 619), di sicura provenienza salentina (A. Jacob, "Culture grecque et manuscrits en Terre d'Otrante," in *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini e del I Congresso Storico di Terra d'Otranto. Lecce 22-25 ottobre 1976*, Lecce 1980, 59–60).

¹⁴⁰⁷ Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 66–67; see also Ronald Heine, "Gregory of Nyssa's Apology for Allegory," *VigChr* 38 (1984), 366–369.

The allegory is not transmitted in its entirety in the manuscript as the text breaks off while describing the adventures of Charikleia and Theagenes, the main heroes of the novel, in Ethiopia. However, modern scholars assume that, in spite of the loss of its last part, the text is nearly complete since the analysis of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* as we now have it reaches to the events of the eighth book out of the ten that form the novel.¹⁴⁰⁸

As noted in the *Introduction*, the scholarly dispute over the authorship of the ἐρμηνεία derived from the identity and ideological affiliation pinned on Philip the Philosopher, the name given to the author of the commentary in the manuscript where the text has been preserved. Aristide Colonna and Bruno Lavagnini were the first to show that Philip the Philosopher was the same person with Philagathos of Cerami.¹⁴⁰⁹ For the Italo-Greek textual tradition of the South-Italian homiletic corpus recorded both names of the author of the sermons.¹⁴¹⁰ However, the most important reference comes from codex *Vaticanus Barberinus* gr. 465, f. 2^r which clarifies that Philip was the baptismal name of the author later changed to Philagathos upon joining the monastic life:

βίβλος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου Φιλίππου τοῦ Κεραμίτου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθέντος Φιλαγάθου μοναχοῦ.¹⁴¹¹
A book of the wisest and most educated Philippos of Cerami, who, upon embracing the divine and angelic appearance changed his name to Philagathos the Monk.

To this autobiographical moment, Philip-Philagathos seems to allude in the ἐρμηνεία. In the prologue to the commentary, Philip locates his apologetic endeavour within the realm of “our philosophy both in outward appearance and in name” (i.e. νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἀνθεικλῶσθημεν – “but now we have been turned towards our philosophy both in outward appearance and in name”).¹⁴¹² This testimony is crucial for

¹⁴⁰⁸ Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 156.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Aristide Colonna, “Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo,” *Bolletino del Comitato per l’edizione nazionale dei classici* n.s. 8 (1960): 25–28; Bruno Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria,” *BBGG* 28 (1974), 4.

¹⁴¹⁰ E.g. both names are given in codex Ambros. gr. 401, f 142^v; often the appellative Philip the Philosopher is given to the author of the sermons; cf. *codex Messanensis S. Salvatoris* 162, “Περὶ τῆς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων ποίημα Φιλίππου φιλοσόφου τοῦ Κεραμίτου On the Catching of the Fish—the work of Philip the Philosopher from Cerami;” the relationship between these two name is further buttressed by another testimony from the same manuscript *Codex Messanensis S. Salvatoris* 162, which refers to the author of the sermons with the both names: Φιλίππου τοῦ Κεραμίτου καὶ Φιλαγάτου τοῦ φιλοσόφου ποίημα “The work of Philip of Cerami, [a.k.a] Philagathos the Philosopher.” For the description of the manuscript, see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, vol. 3, 653–54; Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 79.

¹⁴¹¹ *Vaticanus Barberinus Graecus* 465; for the content and the description of the manuscript, see A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, vol. 3, 656; Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie*, xxxvi; Bruno Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria,” *BBGG* n.s. 28 (1974), 4 emphasized the importance of the indication from *Codex Vaticanus Barberinus Graecus* 465 for ascribing the authorship of the *Interpretation*; Lavagnini went on to argue that “il nome monastico é una rettifica del nome di battesimo, in quanto sostituisce ‘all’amore dei cavalli,’ suggerito dalla etimologia, lo amore del bene.”

¹⁴¹² *Commentatio in Charicleam*, l. 27–28 (ed. Bianchi, 50).

determining the ‘meaning’ of the ἐρμηνεία and the identity of its author.¹⁴¹³ As has been repeatedly emphasized the expression (τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας) and other similar formulations (i.e. ἡ ἡμετέρα φιλοσοφία, ἡ ἀληθὴς φιλοσοφία, ἡ κατὰ θεὸν φιλοσοφία, ἡ ὑψηλὴ φιλοσοφία) simply indicate Christianity, the “Christian life” or the “ascetic life of the monk.”¹⁴¹⁴ ‘Philosophy’ is the very term employed to describe the highest Christian knowledge in the *Homilies*, whereas in the *Interpretation* it represents the ascent of soul from ignorance to the highest knowledge. In Philagathos’ *Homilies*, the word “philosophy” denotes the Christian faith.¹⁴¹⁵ The word σχῆμα employed in the ἐρμηνεία – generally meaning “appearance,” “form,” (etc.) – cannot indicate anything else in this context than the monastic habit.¹⁴¹⁶

This autobiographical reference played an exegetic purpose for it ascribed a position of spiritual and exegetic authority to his endeavour and legitimated the invocation of the Song of Songs (more about this later). It may also be significant that Philip-Philagathos chose to represent himself by his secular and older name (Φίλιππος ὁ φιλόσοφος) as the author of the ἐρμηνεία setting perhaps a protective screen to the commentary.

In the ἐρμηνεία the allegorist typifies the Byzantine practice of authorship centered on the imitation (μίμησις) of exemplary authors. Philip assumed a Socratic persona by casting the ἐρμηνεία into the form of a Platonic dialogue and by recalling Socrates in the *Phaedrus*.

¹⁴¹³ The correct interpretation of this crucial passage did not escape Bruno Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato,” 765: “L’autore, pur sotto il velo della espressione classicheggiante, ci fa intendere chiaramente di avere da tempo assunto l’abito e il nome del filosofo cristiano.” However, the scholarly studies that approached the ἐρμηνεία overlooked this formulation; it was only commented by Leonardo Tarán in “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 215, who considers the formulation to be referring to a philosopher in the “pagan” tradition: “[a]ll the sentence means is: ‘But at present we have been drawn (sc. from our youthful education) to the form and name of the philosophy appropriate to our time of life.’” Furthermore, Tarán thought that “in φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα, the genitive is a genitive of definition, and the phrase means «both the essence and the name of philosophy,» that, philosophy in name and in essence. In any case it cannot refer to the habit and name of the priesthood (“The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 215, n° 56).”

¹⁴¹⁴ A.-M. Malingrey, ‘Philosophia.’ *Étude d’un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque des présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.C.* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1961); J. Leclercq, “Pour l’histoire de l’expression ‘philosophie chrétienne,’” in *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, 9 (1952): 221–226; id., *Études sur le vocabulaire du Moyen-Âge*, (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1961); Hunger, “The Importance of Rhetoric in Byzantium,” 40–41; G. Penco, “La vita ascetica come ‘filosofia’ nell’antica tradizione monastica,” *Studia Monastica* 2 (1960): 79–93; for the Byzantine shade of the notion of philosophy as coloured by rhetoric see Papaioannou, “Rhetoric and the Philosopher in Byzantium,” in *Essays in Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. K. Ierodiakonou and B. Bydén (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2012), 171–197; id., *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*, 29–39; cf. Michele Trizio, “Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project,” *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 74 (2007): 251–252.

¹⁴¹⁵ Philagathos, *Hom.* 12, 5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 79), “pagan” philosophy is called ἡ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφία (“the philosophy from outside” as differentiated from “our philosophy,” i.e., Christian philosophy); see also, *Hom.* 14, 8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 95), for the distinction is drawn between “true wisdom” – ἡ ἀληθὴ σοφία – (i.e. Christian knowledge, in Philagathos’ understanding), and the “Greek wisdom” ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ σοφία; similar distinctions appear throughout the *Homilies* between the Christian sage and the ‘pagan’ philosophers; see for this, *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 501A): Λέγεται παρὰ τε τῶν θύραθεν, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σοφῶν, μικρὸς κόσμος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τὸ περιέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνέστη πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς νοερόν, ὃ κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι πιστεύομεν. “Truly was man called a small world by the sage from outside (i.e. outside Christianity) and by our sage, because he embraces in himself all the elements from which is constituted all what is seen, and because of the intellectual part of the soul which we believe to be created after the image of God.” For the same distinction, see *Hom.* 5, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33).

¹⁴¹⁶ Cf. Lampe, *PGL*: 1359, s.v. σχῆμα.

Arguably, the most persuasive defense was precisely to draw on the authorities most comendable on the subject of eros and to cast them in the most respectable generic form – the Platonic dialogue. In this sense the selection of authorities represented by figure of Socrates in relation to *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* – Plato’s dialogues devoted to the nature of eros – , the appeal to the Christianized image of Odysseus, then the invocation of the mystical tradition of the Song of Songs and the recourse to the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue, *Axiochus* – on the immortality of the soul were meant to achieve a convincing defense of the novel in front of a learned audience.

As it has been noticed long ago, the beginning of the Prologue is a deliberate imitation of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*.¹⁴¹⁷ The dialogue has been dated to the second-first centuries B.C. and has been “viewed as a good summary of Greek religious-philosophical thought about death as probably held in the second or first century B.C., thus an important example of the syncretism which became common in late antiquity, before and during the advent of Christianity.”¹⁴¹⁸ The dialogue *Antiochus* is an anti-Epicurean polemic, which rejects the view of death as complete annihilation as “the current chatter of the times” (369 D) and upholds the belief in the immortality of the soul. Philip reproduces the setting of the dialogue, which presents Socrates, being shouted at near the Ilisus by Cleinias, and his friends who are running to the Callirrhoe, a spring in the bed of the river in this manner:¹⁴¹⁹

Axiochus, 364A–B:

Socrates: While I was going to the Cynosarges and nearing the Ilisus, the voice of someone shouting “Socrates, Socrates” reached me. And when I turned around and tried to find its source, I saw Cleinias, Axiochus’ son, running toward the [spring of] Callirrhoe together with Damon, the musician, and Charmides, the son of Glaucon: of these, Damon was Cleinias’ music teacher, and the other on terms of intimate friendship, at once lover and beloved. I then decided to turn from the road right away to meet them so that we might get together as quickly as

Commentatio in Charicleam, 3–16 (ed. Bianchi, 49):

Once while I was going out the gate of Rhegium that leads towards the sea, and nearing the spring of Aphrodite, the voice of someone shouting and calling me by name reached me. And when I turned around and looked from what place it was coming from, I saw Nikolaos the royal scribe running toward the sea with Andreas, Phileta’s son. They were both very dear to me. I then decided to turn from the road leading to the sea and come to meet them. When we came together, one of them smiling gently said, “Are you, o

¹⁴¹⁷ August Brinkmann, “Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos,” *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 51 (1896): 441–445.

¹⁴¹⁸ Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, ed. and trans. Jackson Hershbell (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1981), 1; for the dating see Jacques Chevalier, *Étude critique du dialogue pseudo-platonicien l’ Antiochus* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1915), 104–116; cf. Plato: *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 13, part 3, *Dialogues apocryphes*, 2nd edition, ed. Joseph Souilhé, critical edition with French translation (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1962), 135–136.

¹⁴¹⁹ The passage appropriated by Philip includes the text up to ἐπιτοθάζων (*Axiochus* 364 C), which corresponds to ἐπιτοθάζοντες in l. 16 in the ἐρμηνεία; this aspect is not always properly marked in the scholarship; Brinkmann, for instance, in “Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos,” *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 51 (1896): 442–443, indicates the dependence of the ἐρμηνεία up to l. 12 (ὃ θαυμάσιε); this is not without justification since the last lines refer to different things – i.e. to those mocking the fear of death in the *Axiochus* and the lovers of letters that scornfully treat the novel in the ἐρμηνεία.

possible. And Cleinias with tears in his eyes said, “Socrates, now is the chance to show your much talked about wisdom; for my father is incapacitated by a sudden illness, and is at the end of his life. And wretchedly he endures his end, even though in times past he simply scoffed at those who were scared of death, and gently poked fun at them.”¹⁴²⁰

{ΣΩ.} Ἐξιώντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, “Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες.” ὥς δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς περισκόπουν ὀπόθεν εἴη, Κλεινίαν ὁρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην μετὰ Δάμωνος τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ Χαρμίδου τοῦ Γλαύκωνος· ἦσθιν δὲ αὐτῶ ὁμὲν διδάσκαλος τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν, ὁ δ’ ἐξ ἐταιρείας ἐραστὴς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος. ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ῥᾶστα ὁμοῦ γενοίμεθα. Δεδακρυμένος δὲ ὁ Κλεινίας, “Σώκρατες,” ἔφη, “νῦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν αἰὲ θρυλουμένην πρὸς σοῦ σοφίαν· ὁ γὰρ πατήρ ἐκ τινος ὥρας αἰφνιδίου ἀδυνάτως ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, ἀνιάρως τε φέρει τὴν τελευτήν, καίτοι γε τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον διαχλευάζων τοὺς μορμολυττομένους τὸν θάνατον καὶ πράως ἐπιτωθάζων.

my friend, so much littlecaring that you suffer the unbridled tongues to be sharpened against the words of wisdom? For a multitude of lovers of literature lying at the entrance of the temple are reading Charikleia’s book, and many of them jesting at it are mocking and treating the story with contempt.

Ἐξιώντι μοί ποτε τὴν πύλιν Ῥηγίου τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἄγουσαν καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός τινος καὶ καλοῦντός με ἐξ ὀνόματος. ὥς δὲ περιστραφεὶς περισκόπουν πόθεν εἴη, Νικόλαον εἶδον τὸν βασιλ(ε)ικὸν ἐπιγραφέα θέοντα ἐπὶ θάλατταν μετὰ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Φιλήτου· ἦσθιν δὲ ἅμφω προσφιλεστάτῳ ἐμοὶ ὅτι μάλιστα. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττης ὁδοῦ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐνωθέντες δὲ ῥάστα ὑπομειδιῶν θάτερος «συ μὲν» εἶπεν «ὦ θαυμάσιε, οὕτως ὀλιγώρως διάκεισαι, ὥς ἔαν ἀχαλίνους γλῶττας κατὰ τῶν σοφῶν λόγων θήγεσθαι. περὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπύλαια πολλοὶ τῶν φιλολόγων αὐλισθέντες τὴν Χαρικλείας βίβλον ἀναγινώσκουσι, ὧν οἱ πλείους κερτομοῦσιν καὶ καταμωκῶνται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτωθάζοντες.

Yet, the imitation of the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* may serve a more consistent exegetic purpose in relation to the theme of the dialogue residing in the soul’s longing for immortality and the mystical tradition of the Song of Songs that portrays the desire for the divine and the attainment of immortality through the workings of eros undergirded by the chaste desire. The opening of the *Axiochus* presents Alcibiades overwhelmed by the fear of death which he once mocked (τὸν θάνατον ἐπιτωθάζων), mirroring in the ἐρμηνεῖα the scoffing of Charikleia’s book (τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτωθάζοντες) by certain lovers of letters. Now, it is significant in my opinion that Philip opens the apology of the novel to which he attributes a mystical meaning through the template of a dialogue that discusses death and immortality. For, the dialogue presents a progression from the notion of fear of death and utter extinction to the belief in soul’s immortality, which ultimately makes the soul to long for death in the search for immortality. *Axiochus* confesses in the end: “I am so far from fearing death that I now feel love (ἔρωτα) toward it.”¹⁴²¹ It may appear obvious that *Axiochus* suited a Christian audience for its emphasis

¹⁴²⁰ Trans. Jackson Hershbell, *Pseudo-Plato, Axiochus* (Ann Arbor: Michigan, 1981), 29.

¹⁴²¹ Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 371 D, p. 48–49: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀποδέω τοῦ δεδοικέναι τὸν θάνατον, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ ἔχειν.

on the soul's immortality or for the vivid description of the everlasting punishments reserved for those who have spent their life in wickedness and crime. For Byzantine readers Stobaeus in his Anthology excerpted large parts of the dialogue.¹⁴²²

Arguably, the discourse on death, immortality and eros ever after Plato remained inextricably fused. In the Christian paradigm, immortality is predicated upon chastity, which breaks the chain of death and the semblance of eternity achieved through procreation. In this sense Philip's strategy was precisely to prove that "the story of Charikleia was beyond reproach (l. 21 – πόρρω μέμψεως πάσης ἢ τῆς Χαρικλείας διήγησις)," teaching through chastity and the embodiment of virtues the way to immortality. The novel was termed an "archetypal written-image of the four cardinal virtues (l. 84–85 τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν οἷον ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ ἢ βιβλος προτέθειται)." It may be suggested that Philip's *mimesis* of Axiochus was sparked by the doctrine of the soul's longing for immortality contained therein, which set the stage for the spiritual interpretation of Charikleia as the allegory of soul's longing and journey for the divine.

Furthermore, the dramatic-setting of the ἐρμηνεία, besides its literary and exegetic function, may evoke a real place and autobiographic event. It is worth recalling this hypothesis, yet acknowledging that the dramatic-setting may in fact be a literary fiction. Colonna¹⁴²³ and Lavagnini¹⁴²⁴ first believed that in the opening lines, ("one day while I was going out of the gate of Rhegium that leads towards the sea") the author was referring to a precisely identifiable city gate in Rhegium (Reggio di Calabria), Southern Italy.¹⁴²⁵ Both these scholars assumed that "the gates of the temple" (πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τοῦ νεῶ - l. 43) mentioned in the *Interpretation* alluded to a church of the Virgin Mary.¹⁴²⁶ Notwithstanding the different interpretation given to the dramatic setting as alluding to the "Neopythagorean traits in the work," Leonardo Tarán accepted the South-Italian location.¹⁴²⁷

Now, considering the Byzantine practice of *mimesis* and in particular, its usage in Philagathos as minutely matching exegetic and autobiographic contexts¹⁴²⁸ the possibility of this being an indication of a real place and perhaps a reference to an autobiographical event seems more than justified. Indeed, the reference to the gate of Rhegium is surely significant for it can be corroborated with the South Italian provenance of the manuscript, which transmits the novel

¹⁴²² The excerpts are indicated by Jackson Hershbell in *Introduction* to Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 6.

¹⁴²³ Aristide Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo," 27.

¹⁴²⁴ Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 5.

¹⁴²⁵ We noted before that an important part of the scholarship locates the text in Constantinople; cf. K. von Fritz, "Philipp von Opus und Philipp der Philosoph," 246, believed that "the door of Rhegium" referred to a certain city gate in Constantinople.

¹⁴²⁶ Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 6; Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo," 28.

¹⁴²⁷ Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopika*," 209: "I would agree with Colonna, Lavagnini, and others that by «the door of Rhegium that leads to the sea» (li. 3) the author meant a door in the city of Rhegium in Southern Italy, (i.e. Reggio Calabria) [...] but the reference to Rhegium is probably to be connected with the general Neopythagorean traits in the work: for Rhegium was associated with the Pythagoreans from early times."

¹⁴²⁸ See for instance *Hom.* 20 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 131–137), preached at the feast of Saint Nicholas (Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου), in which Philagathos through the voice of Alciphron describes the storm he witnessed when crossing the straits of Sicily upon his return from Calabria; the passage is analyzed by Nunzio Bianchi, "Tempesta nello stretto ovvero Filagato da Cerami lettore di Alcifrone," *Bollettino dei Classici* 26 (2005), 94–96.

and the commentary, and with Philagathos' preaching activity, which reached the city of Reggio di Calabria. Homily LIII was actually pronounced in the Cattolica di Reggio (ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς Καθολικῆς Ῥηγίου).¹⁴²⁹ Clearly, this dramatic setting is not uncommon in other Platonic dialogues,¹⁴³⁰ for it may be remembered that the *Symposium* has a similar beginning: "Lately I happened to be going to town from my house in Phalerum, when one of my acquaintances caught sight of me from behind and called me from some way off..."¹⁴³¹ But what is perhaps the most striking aspect of Philip's imitation of *Axiochus* is the correspondence between the geographical frame of the dialogue reproduced in the ἐρμηνεία with the topography of Reggio di Calabria in the early Norman times, which may further explain Philip's appropriation of *Axiochus*.¹⁴³² It may have appeared as a fitting model to the new context. A seaward gate is documented precisely along the road that connects the orthodox cathedral (l'antica Cattolica di Reggio) generally identified with the so-called *Cripta degli Ottimati*, with the fortress leading through the gate down to the shore.¹⁴³³ Even a spring has been identified near the sea gate, which could parallel the mentioning of a spring of Aphrodite in line 4 of the ἐρμηνεία (γενομένῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴν) although this may reflect a literary strategy as Bianchi remarked.¹⁴³⁴

¹⁴²⁹ Caruso, *Le tre omelie*, 124.

¹⁴³⁰ For the relation between the dramatic and narrative form in Plato's dialogues and in particular in the case of the *Symposium* see David Halperin, "Plato and the Erotics of Narrativity" in *Methods of Interpreting Plato and his Dialogues*, ed. Klagge & Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 93–130.

¹⁴³¹ Plato, *Symposium* 172 A–B: ΑΠΟΛ. Δοκῶ μοι περὶ ὧν πυνθάνεσθε οὐκ ἀμελέτητος εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανον πρῶτον εἰς ἄστὺ οἰκοῦσθαι ἀνίων Φαληρόθεν· τῶν οὖν γνωρίμων τις ὀπισθεν κατιδὼν με πόρρωθεν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ παίζων ἅμα τῇ κλήσει, "ὦ Φαληρεὺς," ἔφη, "οὗτος Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐ περιμένεις;" Κἀγὼ ἐπιστάς περιέμεινα. Καὶ ὅς, "Ἀπολλόδωρε," ἔφη, "καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐναγχός σε ἐξήτουν βουλόμενος διαπυθέσθαι τὴν Ἀγάθωνος συνουσίαν καὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἐν τῷ συνδείπνῳ παραγενομένων, περὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν λόγων τίνας ἦσαν· ἄλλος γάρ τις μοι διηγείτο ἀκηκοὼς Φοίνικος τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἔφη δὲ καὶ σὲ εἰδέναι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχε σαφὲς λέγειν. σὺ οὖν μοι διήγησαι." This pattern of the dramatic setting is also encountered in other Platonic texts (i.e. – *Lysis* 203A begins with mentioning a similar trip: "I was going from the Academy straight to the Lyceum, by the road outside the wall... – A Ἐπορευόμεν μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας εὐθὺς Λυκείου τὴν ἔξω τεῖχος ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγενόμην κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἣ ἡ Πάνοπος κρήνη, ἐνταῦθα συνέντυχον Ἴπποθάλει τε τῷ Ἱερωνύμου καὶ Κτησίππῳ τῷ Παιανιεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις μετὰ τούτων νεανίσκοις ἀθροίοις συνεστῶσι. καὶ με προσιόντα ὁ Ἴπποθάλης ἰδὼν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ποῖ δὴ πορεύῃ καὶ πόθεν;)

¹⁴³² This aspect is also noted and discussed by Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 44–45.

¹⁴³³ cf. Franco Arillotta, "Ipotesi sulla topografia di Reggio Calabria tra XI e XII secolo," in *Calabria bizantina. Istituzioni civili e topografia storica*, ed. Enrica Follieri (Rome, 1986), 209–231 describes the topography of Reggio around 1000 as following: "in alto il castello, ai suoi piedi la Cattedrale ortodossa, un muro che scende verso il mare, l'altro che costeggia la collina quasi a ridosso della medesima Cattedrale e poi devia verso ponente per ricongiungersi col primo nella Porta che si apre sulla spiaggia (p. 218)." See *ibid.*, plate 8 and 9, pp. 219–230.

¹⁴³⁴ Bianchi, "Il codice del romanzo," 44 indicated that the reference to the spring of Aphrodite may be derived from the imitation of Axiochus which mentions the "spring of Callirrhoe" and noted that "né è fuori luogo osservare pure che, al di là di ogni possibile identificazione di questa πηγὴ nella topografia reggina, il *nome* in sé della stessa servisse in qualche misura ad anticipare il tenore dell' ἐρμηνεία (nel romanzo di Eustazio Macrembolite, per esempio, l'espressione Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴ indica in senso figurato l'amore: Hysm. et Hysm. III.2.6, X.2.2)." For the identified well in the ancient topography of Reggio di Calabria see F. Mosino, "Una questione di metodo," *Brutium* 61 (1982), 3–4; Mosino noted the location of a spring near the seagate: "la cosiddetta Fontana Nuova o della Pescheria, che fino al 1908 era costruita, con pianta semicircolare sul lido di Reggio, in vicinanza della Porta marina;" this is cited from Bianchi, "Il codice del romanzo," 43, which links the reference from the ἐρμηνεία to the spring of Aphrodite with the topographic evidence found in Mosino. Bianchi, "Il codice del romanzo," 44 indicated that the reference to the spring of Aphrodite may be derived from the imitation of Axiochus which mentions the "spring of Callirrhoe" and noted that "né è fuori luogo osservare pure che, al di là di ogni possibile identificazione di questa πηγὴ nella topografia reggina, il *nome* in sé della stessa servisse in qualche misura ad anticipare il tenore dell'

Furthermore, the church is dedicated to the Virgin, which is perhaps alluded in line 44 (ἀποδοῦς οὖν τῇ δεσποίνῃ Παρθένῳ τὰς εὐκυίας εὐχάς), whereas the reference to the colonnaded entrance of the temple in line 13 (περὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπύλαια πολλοὶ τῶν φιλολόγων αὐλισθέντες τὴν Χαρικλείας βίβλον ἀναγινώσκουσι) may be another allusion to the setting of the discussion since *l'Antica Cattolica* was furnished with a narthex, which “nella metà dell’ottocento si chiamava ancora ‘portico.’”¹⁴³⁵ That the reference in line 44 points to a church devoted to the Theotokos, may be deduced from the combination of Δέσποινα and Παρθένος, an aspect not hitherto sufficiently stressed, since it is never encountered together in a text belonging to the non-Christian tradition as referring to the goddess aluded in the Interpretation – i.e. Artemis, while in a Christian context is a typical form for addressing the Virgin Mary.¹⁴³⁶

Besides casting the ἐρμηνεία into the form of Platonic dialogue, Philip fashioned his discursive agency by simultaneously recalling Socrates in the *Phaedrus* and another, unnamed, sage. The reference to Socrates is rather unsurprising. For the philosopher was already a figure of authority for Heliodorus himself as it was for Longus and Achilles Tatius.¹⁴³⁷ Philip presents his models in this wise:

Well, after the fashion of the sage who said, “Even hoary men play, but the games are solemn,” let us also play solemnly with the story and departing a bit from the meditations of the philosopher let us turn to the erotic palinode. Even Socrates the wise, who was a deep thinker in every other respect, yet, sitting with the beautiful Phaedrus in the shade of a chaste-tree entertained the young man with stories of love.”

ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφόν· παίζει καὶ πολιὰ, τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά, φέρε καὶ ἡμεῖς σεμνῶς τῷ πλάσματι παίξωμεν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόφου συννοίας ἐκστάντες μικρὸν πρὸς παλινωδίαν τραπῶμεν ἐρωτικήν. καὶ Σωκράτης γὰρ ὁ σοφός τᾶλλα μὲν ἦν φροντιστής, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Φαίδρου κεκαθικὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγνου τὸ σύσκιον ἐψυχαγῶγει τὸν νέον ἐρωτικὰ διηγήματα.¹⁴³⁸

Yet, there is a certain confusion as to the wise man Philip took as a model of self-representation. Scholars believed that the sage who said, “Even hoary men play, but the games are solemn,” lending by this justification to Philip’s exegesis is Socrates.¹⁴³⁹ But the text cannot refer to Socrates for the anonymous sage is clearly differentiated from the subsequent reference to the philosopher. It was first believed that the wise man to by Philip was Basil of Caesarea as

ἐρμηνεία (nel romanzo di Eustazio Macrembolite, per esempio, l’espressione Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴ indica in senso figurato l’amore: Hysm. et Hysm. III.2.6, X.2.2).”

¹⁴³⁵ Bianchi, “Il codice del romanzo,” 44.

¹⁴³⁶ Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus’s *Aethiopika*,” 212, noted in footnote 45 that Δέσποινα and Παρθένος were used for Artemis but not together.

¹⁴³⁷ Richard Hunter, “‘Philip the Philosopher’ on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus,” 835; Aglae Pizzone, “When Calasiris Got Pregnant: Rhetoric and Storytelling in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika*” in *The Purpose of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity: From Performance to Exegesis*, ed. Alberto J. Quiroga Puertas (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 141.

¹⁴³⁸ *Commentatio in Charicleiam*, 35–41 (ed. Bianchi, 50).

¹⁴³⁹ Richard Hunter, “‘Philip the Philosopher’ on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus,” 837.

the forged epistolary exchange between Libanius and Basil of Caesarea seems to convey,¹⁴⁴⁰ but as Graeme Miles indicated, the text encloses an allusion to Gregory the Theologian:¹⁴⁴¹

Commentatio in Charicleam, 1. 35–36 (ed. Gregory of Nazianzus, Epigram 25 (PG 38, Bianchi, 50):

ἀλλ’ ἐπειδή, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφόν· **παίζει παίζει καὶ πολλή· τὰ δὲ παίγνια, παίγνια**
καὶ πολιὰ, **τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά**, φέρε καὶ **σεμνά**
ἡμεῖς σεμνῶς τῷ πλάσματι παίζωμεν

Well, after the fashion of the sage who said, “Old age plays too, but the games it plays are
“Even hoary men play, but the games are serious games.”
solemn,” let us also play solemnly with the
story.

The consistency of Philip-Philagathos’ practice of citation subsumed to the main theme of the ἐρμηνεία, namely the soul’s longing for the divine, may be further perceived in the allusion to the Odyssey 11, 202–203 in the lines 19–20 of the ἐρμηνεία, already noted in Hercher’s *editio princeps*. Philip-Philagathos explains:¹⁴⁴²

Nay admirer of Charikleia that I am, I am vexed by this and, by your wisdom I implore you not to allow the chaste girl be insulted, but rather to oppose in her defense your wisdom, “your wit and your gentleness” [Od. 11.202–3] and to show these prattling charlatans that the story of Charikleia is beyond all reproach!

ἐγὼ δὲ Χαρικλείας ὦν ἐραστής ἄχθομαι, νῆ τὴν σὴν σοφίαν, καὶ ἀντιβολῶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν σώφρονα κόρην ὑβρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀντιθεῖναι συνήγορον τὴν σὴν σοφίαν, **σά τε μήδεα σὴν τ’ ἀγανοφροσύνην**, καὶ ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς στωμύλοις φέναξι τοῦτοις ὡς πόρρω μέμψεως πάσης ἢ τῆς Χαρικλείας διήγησις».

The larger context in the Odyssey appears meaningful to Philagathos’ appropriation. The allusion from the ἐρμηνεία is taken from Anticlea’s confession to Odysseus of the reason she perished for.

“nor in my palace did the lady of arrows, well-aiming
came upon me with her painless shafts, and destroy me,

¹⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Cf. Ps.-Libanius, *Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*, ep. 23.1 **παίζειν** παρ’ ὁμῶν ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀλλ’ ὅμως **τά παίγνια σεμνά** καὶ οἰοῖνε πολλοὶ πρέποντα. Trans.: “For we have been taught to play by our wise men, but nevertheless the games are holy as befitting for the graybeards.”

¹⁴⁴¹ Graeme Miles, “The Representation of Reading in ‘Philip the Philosopher’s’ Essay on Heliodorus,” 300; cf. Mircea Duluz, “Allegorizing Love in Twelfth Century Sicily: Philagathos of Cerami, Heliodorus’ *Aethiopika* and the Christian Tradition,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 14 (2008): 56; Bianchi, “Il codice del romanzo,” 15, n° 20 remarked the similarity with the Pseudo-Libanius’ letter and further noted a lexical correspondence with a letter of Niketas Magistros: “πλὴν ἐπεὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐν ἔξει γινόμενον κουφοτέραν τὴν λύπην ἐργάζεται, μὴ μέμνη, φιλάγαθε βασιλεῦ, γέροντα παῖζαι βουλόμενον· **παίζει γὰρ καὶ πολιὰ, τὰ δὲ παίγνια παίγνια σέμνα** (L.G. Westerink, Nicetas Magistros. Lettres d’un exilé (Paris 1973), ep. 31, p. 131, 28–29; yet it may be ascertained with confidence that Niketas and Philagathos are alluding to Gregory of Nazianzus’ epigram.

¹⁴⁴² R. Hercher, “*Fragmentum Marcianum*,” *Hermes* 3 (1869), 382.

nor was I visited by sickness, which beyond other
things takes the life out of the body with hateful weakness,
but, shining Odysseus, it was my longing for you, your cleverness
and your gentle ways, that took the sweet life from me.”¹⁴⁴³

One may infer that Anticlea’s longing for her beloved son parallels the theme of Philip-Philagathos’ allegorical reading of novel as the soul’s everlasting longing for the divine, albeit (perhaps) in a playful manner.¹⁴⁴⁴ In this reading, Anticlea’s longing for Odysseus mirrors Charikleia’s longing for her beloved Theagenes, the simile for the soul’s desire for the highest knowledge. Taking into account Philagathos’ vast usage of thematic analogies in the *Homilies* this interpretation may not seem far-fetched.

Writing from the vantage point of a Christian philosopher as the formulation τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας reveals, the allegorist, in typical Byzantine fashion, brings together sanctioned authorities that would afford him a spiritual reading of the novel. Thus the references to Gregory the Theologian, Socrates and Homer’s Odysseus are indicative for Philip’s eclectic strategy of self-representation. Besides these authorities, Philip justified his allegoresis by appealing to the Christian interpretative tradition on the Song of Songs to which we turn in what follows.

3. Philip-Philagathos’ ἐρμηνεία and the Spiritual Interpretation of the Song of Songs

It has been long recognized that the spiritual tradition of the *Song of Songs* bears upon the ἐρμηνεία but beyond the simple and obvious mentioning of the citation from the *Song* 1:3 in line 33 (διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε), the imprint of this exegetical tradition upon Philip’s commentary remained unexplained. Furthermore, as we show below, the imprint of this tradition upon the ἐρμηνεία has not been fully recognized. In fact, Philip’s defensive allegory has always been analysed from the perspective of the Neoplatonic allegorical tradition of reading Homer.¹⁴⁴⁵ Therefore, a few considerations in relation to the Christian interpretive tradition on the *Song of Songs* are necessary for understanding Philip’s transposition of Heliodorus’ language of desire and story of earthly love into the Christian narrative of the soul’s yearning for the divine.

¹⁴⁴³ Oddysey XI, 198–203: οὐτ’ ἐμέ γ’ ἐν μεγάροισιν εὐσκοπος ἰοχέαιρα / οἷσ’ ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχομένη κατέπεφνεν, / οὔτε τις οὖν μοι νοῦσος ἐπήλυθεν, ἥ τε μάλιστα / τηκεδόνι στυγερῇ μελέων ἐξεῖλετο θυμόν· / ἀλλὰ με σός τε πόθος **σά τε μήδεα, φαίδιμ’ Ὀδυσσεῦ, / σὴ τ’ ἀγανοφροσύνη** μεληδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα.’ The translation is by Richmond Lattimore, *The Oddysey of Homer* (New York: Harper Collins, 1999), 327.

¹⁴⁴⁴ This is the interpretation of the Homeric allusion proposed by Miles, “The Representation of Reading in ‘Philip the Philosopher’s’ Essay on Heliodorus,” 298: “On one level, this quotation is a learned joke: the anonymous friend exaggerates his longing for Philip’s input into the argument by likening it to Anticleia’s longing unto death for her absent son. It is a further piece of scholarly wit to choose the words of Anticleia to call Philip to the defense of Charicleia, though without being so subtle as to mention Anticleia’s name.”

¹⁴⁴⁵ Richard Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*, 144–161; Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 69–70; Acconcia Longo, “La «questionne» Filippo il Filosofo” *Nea Rhome* 7 (2010): 11–40; Gerald Sandy, “A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Ethiopian Story,” in ὈΠΩΠΑ, *la belle saison de l’hellenisme: Études de littérature antique offertes au recteur Jacques Bompaire*, ed. Alain Billault (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 169–178; Graeme Miles, “The Representation of Reading in ‘Philip the Philosopher’s’ Essay on Heliodorus,” *Byz* 79 (2009): 294–295.

Scholars have noted that the Septuagint confined itself to the language of ἀγάπη, whereas Gregory in the footsteps of Origen goes beyond this biblical usage and institutes the language of ἔρω.¹⁴⁴⁶ For Origen the *Song* takes an eschatological dimension as Cristopher King emphasized: “the narrated love in the text coincides perfectly with reader’s love for the text, both finding their fulfillment and unity in the transforming love of Christ, present in his very person as both Word and Bridegroom.”¹⁴⁴⁷

In this reading, the *Song* hypostatizes the most profound structure of reality, the ‘love that moves the sun and other stars’, bringing to light the soul’s fundamental character as a loving and desiring creature. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa identify two paths which the reader may trample as he interprets the *Song*: on the one hand, the path of the sensual person, who strays far from the right pedagogical way —the *skopos* of the *Song* hastening from ‘death unto death’ and, on the other hand, the path of the spiritual person, who renounces vanity and rises from ‘life unto life.’¹⁴⁴⁸ It is in relation with the *Song of Songs* that Origen developed the doctrine of *apokatastasis* as the ultimate abolition of death and corruption in the final ‘consummation and restitution of all things’ (*consummatio et restitutio*).¹⁴⁴⁹ For the promise that death is the last enemy to be destroyed that God may be all in all (cf. 1Cor. 15:25–28 – πάντα ἐν πᾶσι) has been fulfilled and the presence of God is already “available in the eschatological *kairos* of the text.”¹⁴⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴⁶ Gregory is outspoken of Origen’s influence upon his interpretation of the *Song*; in the Prologue, Nyssen says: “If, however, we are eager, even after Origen has addressed himself diligently to the study of this book, to commit our own work to writing, let no one who has before his eyes the divine saying of the apostle to the effect that “each one will receive his own reward in proportion to his labor” (1 Cor 3:8) lay a charge against us. As far as I am concerned, this work was not put together for the sake of display” (trans. Richard A. Norris, in *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs*, Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2012, 11–13; note that all the subsequent citations from Gregory’s *In Canticum canticorum* are taken from Norris’ translation. For Origen interpretation of the *Song* see the excellent contribution of Cristopher King, *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture: the Bridegroom’s Perfect Marriage-Song*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3–4; for Origen’s influence upon Gregory’s reading of the *Song* see C. W. Macleod, “Allegory and Mysticism in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa,” *JTS* 22 (1971), 362–79; for a comparative approach to Origen and Nyssen’s discussion of the *Song* see Andrew Louth, “Eros and Mysticism: Early Christian Interpretation of the Song of Songs,” in *Jung and the Monotheisms: Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Joel Ryce-Menuhin (London: Routledge, 1994), 241–54; for the significance of ἔρω for Gregory of Nyssa see Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris: Aubier, 1944), 199–208; cf. Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 78; cf. Richard Norris, *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs*, 25, n° 11; see also Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, 93.

¹⁴⁴⁷ The eschatological presence unveiled in the *Song* is the thread that runs throughout Cristopher King’s, *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture*, vii.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Origen, *Cant.* 1, 4, 23–4 (*Sources chrétiennes* 375, 234).

¹⁴⁴⁹ King, *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture*, 236 places side by side doctrine of *apokatastasis*, the world’s true finality as framed in the *On First Principles* with Origen’s understanding of the *Song* and reveals the profound identity between the *Song*’s *kairos* and the doctrine of the final ‘consummation’ and ‘restoration of all.’ For the doctrine of *apokatastasis* in relation to Platonism see Ilaria Ramelli, “Christian Soteriology and Christian Platonism: Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Biblical and Philosophical Basis of the Doctrine of Apokatastasis,” *VigChr* 61 (2007), 316–356.

¹⁴⁵⁰ The eschatological presence in the *Song* in relation to Origen’s doctrine of *apokatastasis* is accurately explained by King, *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture*, and 238: “[f]or Origen, the great dignity, perfection, and power of the *Song* lies in the fact that it reveals and imparts the very agent of the ‘consummation’, namely the fire of divinizing erôs/agapê. For it is by ‘participation in the divine fire’ (divini ignis participatione) – a ‘participation’ (participatio), moreover, that is proportionate to the soul’s ‘loving affection’ (dilectio) – that the

For Gregory of Nyssa, as Hans Boersma explained, “the sensuous words and images of the biblical text cannot be discarded; it is through erotic desire that God brings about anagogical ascent.”¹⁴⁵¹ In a crucial passage Gregory writes: “What could be more incredible (παραδοξότερον) than to make human nature itself the purifier of its own passions, teaching and legislating impassibility (ἀπάθειαν) by words one reckons to be tinted with passion (ἐμπαθῶν).”¹⁴⁵² Even the texts tinted with erotic passion guide the soul and the act of interpretation toward the beauty of the divine nature but only when, as Gregory explains, “our bodily disposition has been quelled, [so that] our mind within us may boil with love, but only in the Spirit, because it is heated by that ‘fire’ that the Lord came to ‘cast upon the earth.’”¹⁴⁵³

The language of desire conveyed by the Song illustrates the highest stage in the process of salvation. For the Scriptures unfold the soul’s spiritual progression that begins with Proverbs (i.e. corresponding to moral behaviour), then the Ecclesiastes (i.e. corresponding to natural contemplation) and finally the summit represented by the Song (i.e. symbolizing the mystical contemplation of God).¹⁴⁵⁴ This progression of salvation demands a profound transposition (μετάστασις) of desire into impassibility paradoxically termed ‘dispassionate passion’ for it presumes a longing (ἔρως) for God, ἔρως signifying as Daniélou showed the most intense form of ἀγάπη which carries the soul out of herself towards an inexhaustible experience of God (i.e. the famous Nyssen’s doctrine of *epektasis*).¹⁴⁵⁵

rational creature enjoys the ‘power of restoring itself to that condition of fervour in which it was at the beginning’ (facultas restituendi se in illum statum fervoris, in quo ex initio fuit). This restoration to the original state of being is, for Origen, the very character of the *apocatastasis*.”

¹⁴⁵¹ Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 79.

¹⁴⁵² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum*, 29, 9–12: τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτου παραδοξότερον ἢ τὸ αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἰδίων παθημάτων καθάρσιον διὰ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐμπαθῶν ῥημάτων τὴν ἀπάθειαν νομοθετοῦσάν τε καὶ παιδεύουσαν;

¹⁴⁵³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum*, 28, 17–25: καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸ σφοδρότατον τῶν καθ’ ἡδονὴν ἐνεργουμένων (λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν πάθος) τῆς τῶν δογμάτων ὑψηλότητος αἰνιγματωδῶς προεστήσατο, ἵνα διὰ τούτου μάθωμεν, ὅτι χρὴ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον τῆς θείας φύσεως κάλλος ἐνατενίζουσιν τοσοῦτον ἐρᾶν ἐκείνου, ὅσον ἔχει τὸ σῶμα τὴν σχέσιν πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμόφυλον, μετενεγκοῦσαν εἰς ἀπάθειαν τὸ πάθος, ὥστε πάσης κατασβεσθείσης σωματικῆς διαθέσεως μόνῳ τῷ πνεύματι ζεῖν ἐρωτικῶς ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διάνοιαν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκείνου θερμαινομένην, ὃ βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἤλθεν ὁ κύριος. “This is why, moreover, the most intense of pleasurable activities (I mean the passion of erotic love) is set as a figure at the very fore of the guidance that the teachings give: so that by this we may learn that it is necessary for the soul, fixing itself steadily on the inaccessible beauty of the divine nature, to love that beauty as much as the body has a bent for what is akin to it and to turn passion into impassibility, so that when every bodily disposition has been quelled, our mind within us may boil with love, but only in the Spirit, because it is heated by that “fire” that the Lord came to “cast upon the earth” (trans. Norris, 29).

¹⁴⁵⁴ This understanding originating with Origen remained particularly influential for the subsequent Christian mystical tradition; as has been often indicated this spiritual progression was prompted by the Christian ordering of the books of the Old Testament with the Song of Songs standing the third of the books of Wisdom, after Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. In this sense Gregory states: “by means of his voice [i.e. Solomon’s, the Divine Wisdom] speaks with us—first in Proverbs, then in Ecclesiastes, and after that in the philosophy of the Song of Songs, which is now before us—and by his word shows us, in systematic and orderly fashion, the way that leads upward to perfection” (*In Canticum canticorum*, 1.18. 1–4; trans. Norris, 19).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, 199–208; for a recent assessment on Gregory’s doctrine of perpetual progress in relation with the idea of God’s infinity see Ovidiu Sferlea, “L’infinité divine chez Grégoire de Nyse: de l’anthropologie à la polémique trinitaire,” *VigChr* 67 (2013), 137–168.

Salvation is the Song's utmost goal fulfilled through the love (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης) of God himself: "For by what is written there, the soul is in a certain manner led as a bride toward an incorporeal and spiritual and undefiled marriage with God. For he 'who wills all to be saved and come to the knowledge of truth' (1 Tim 2:4) manifests in this work the blessed and most perfect way of salvation – I mean that which comes through love."¹⁴⁵⁶ This anagogical ascent is embedded in Gregory's biblical exegesis as a moving away from the "obvious sense" (πρόχειρος ἔμφασις) of the text (i.e. the literal meaning in Gregory's usage) towards contemplating the spiritual reality. In fact, Philagathos exegetical practice in the allegorical commentary as well as in the *Homilies* is substantially modelled upon Nyssen's anagogical interpretation predicated upon the movement from the literal sense of history to the higher contemplation. When considering that Philip-Philagathos was imbued with the mystical writings of Gregory the allegory of the *Aethiopika* appears almost natural. For the novel, on account of its emphasis on chastity and undefiled marriage was profoundly suited to convey the soul's journey toward spiritual union with God.

Turning to the ἐρμηνεία, Philip-Philagathos cites the Song of Songs as part of his apology for allegorizing the novel following the request of his friend to show that "the story of Charikleia is beyond all reproach":¹⁴⁵⁷

"Methinks that thou command me something novel, my friend," I said, "to seek in winter for spring flowers and in the old and hoary age for the delights of youth. For passing by these things, the milk, so to speak, of our infant education, we arrived at the philosophic time of life, and then we entered to live into the sanctuaries of divine teachings (εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν δογμάτων ἀνάκτορα). At this moment we have been drawn towards our philosophy (τὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας – i.e. Christianity), both in outward appearance (σχῆμα) and in name (ὄνομα). Narratives and tales of love are fit for the youthful ages. Neither old souls, nor infant souls are feeling this divine love, but only of those who are young and in the prime of life, if there is some need to be persuaded by the mystical song (τῷ μυστικῷ ᾄσματι) that says, "That is why young maidens have loved you [Song 1:3]," since this is the only age that makes room for the arrows of love. But you wish to drag down a loveless old men towards tales of love. Well, after the fashion of the sage [i.e. Gregory of Nazianzus] who said, "Even old age plays, but the games it plays are serious games," let us also play solemnly with the story (πλάσματι) and departing a bit from the meditations of the philosopher let us turn to the erotic palinode.

«καινόν τι ἔοικας ἐπιτάττειν, ὦ λῶστέ» ἦν δ' ἐγώ «καὶ ἐν χειμῶνι ζητεῖν ἄνθη ἔαρινά καὶ ἐν γῆρᾳ καὶ πολὺ ἄθύρματα παιδικά· ταῦτα γὰρ οἷόν τι γάλα τῆς νηπιώδους {σ}παρέντες παιδεύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον ἡλικίαν μετήλθομεν, εἴτα εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν δογμάτων ἀνάκτορα εἰσφύκησθαι· νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ'

¹⁴⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa: *In Canticum canticorum*, 15.28–16.2: "διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων νυμφοστολεῖται τρόπον τινὰ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματόν τε καὶ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἀμόλυντον τοῦ θεοῦ συζυγίαν· ὁ γὰρ πάντας θέλων σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν τὸν τελεώτατον ἐνταῦθα καὶ μακάριον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑποδείκνυσιν τρόπον, τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης λέγω.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, l. 16–38 (ed. Bianchi, 49–50).

ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἀνθειλκύσθημεν. ἐρωτικαὶ γὰρ ἐξηγήσεις καὶ διηγήματα νεανικαῖς ἡλικίαις ἀρμόδια· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος γηραιαὶ ψυχαὶ ἢ νηπιώδεις αἰσθάνονται, ἀλλ' αἱ νεάζουσιν καὶ ἀκμάζουσιν, εἴ τι δεῖ τῷ μυστικῷ πείθεσθαι ἅσματος λέγοντι· **διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἡγάπησάν σε**, ὡς μόνης τῆς τοιαύτης ἡλικίας χωρούσης τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ὀϊστεύματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ βούλεσθε καθέλκειν ἀνεραστον γέροντα πρὸς ἐρωτικὰ διηγήματα. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφόν· *παίζει καὶ πολιὰ, τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά*, φέρε καὶ ἡμεῖς σεμνῶς τῷ πλάσματος παίζωμεν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόφου συννοίας ἐκστάντες μικρὸν πρὸς παλινωδίαν τραπῶμεν ἐρωτικῇν.

Thus, the invocation of the Song comes after Philip's confession that he was a Christian philosopher, i.e. a monk. We have discussed above the allusions and the references to authorities from the prologue. What deserves to be highlighted, as it has remained completely unnoticed in the scholarship, is that Philip's citation of Song 1:3 and the subsequent exegesis is modelled on Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum canticorum*. The exegetic context of Nyssen's commentary on Song 1:3 deserves to be cited in full.

That is why, she says, *young maidens have loved you, they have drawn you* [Song 1:3]. She speaks about the source of praiseworthy desire and of the disposition to love. For who is there without desire for such a Beauty, if only he has an eye capable of gazing upon its splendor? And while the beauty so discerned is great, that which such perception images and hints at is a thousandfold greater. **But just as erotic love of the material order (ὁ ὕλικὸς ἔρως) does not affect those who are still young (νηπιαζόντων) (for childhood has no place for this passion) and one cannot see extremely old people afflicted in this way**, so too in the case of the divine Beauty one still a child, “tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine” (Eph 4:14), **and the elderly person who has aged and is approaching dissolution are both unmoved by this desire. For such people are not touched by the invisible Beauty, but only a soul of the sort that has passed through the condition of childhood and has arrived at the height of spiritual maturity without receiving any “spot or wrinkle or any such thing”—the soul that is neither imperceptive by reason of youth nor weakened by old age.** This soul our text calls a young maiden, and she is faithful to “the first and great commandment” of the law. With her whole heart and strength she loves that Beauty whose description and form and explanation the human mind fails to discover. Young maidens of this sort, then, who have made increase by the practice of the virtues and have already participated in the mysteries of the inner divine chamber as their youthfulness prescribes, love and delight in the beauty of the Bridegroom and through love turn to themselves. For this Bridegroom returns the love of those who love him.¹⁴⁵⁸

¹⁴⁵⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 38-39: **Διὰ τοῦτο**, φησί, **νεάνιδες ἡγάπησάν σε, εἴλκυσάν σε**. εἶπε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπαινετῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς διαθέσεως. τίς γὰρ τοῦ τοιοῦτου κάλλους ἀνεραστός γίνεται, εἰ μόνον ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχει τὸν ἐνατενίσαι τῇ ὥρᾳ δυνάμενον, οὗ πολὺ μὲν τὸ καταλαμβανόμενον κάλλος, ἀπειροπλάσιον δὲ τὸ διὰ τοῦ φαινομένου στοχαστικῶς εἰκαζόμενον; ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ὕλικὸς ἔρως τῶν ἐπὶ νηπιαζόντων οὐχ ἄπτεται (οὐ γὰρ χωρεῖ τὸ πάθος ἢ νηπιότης), οὐδὲ μὴν τοὺς ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γῆρα πεπονηκότας ἐν

Notwithstanding the textual differences between Philip's allegory and Gregory's text, the similar discussion on age and erotic desire related to the same scriptural reference (i.e. *Song* 1:3) bespeaks the imprint of Gregory of Nyssa's commentary. The latter conforms to an older mimetic tradition that goes back to Origen's commentary on the *Song*.¹⁴⁵⁹ For Origen, *Song* 1:3 prefigures the condition of the souls that 'have drawn the word of God to themselves.'

"But now it says that when Thy name has been emptied out as ointment, 'have they loved Thee,' [*Song* 1:3] not those little old souls clothed in the old man, not yet spotted and wrinkled, but that 'the maidens' have done so – that is to say, the young souls growing up in years and beauty (...)." ¹⁴⁶⁰

Drawing on the interpretive tradition of the *Song of Songs*, Philip takes the language of ἔρωσ from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* to speak about the soul's undefiled longing for God and growth in deification. That the allusion to *Song* 1:3 in the ἐρμηνεία is derived from Nyssen's homily is further buttressed by Philagathos' sermon "On the Widow's Son" (Περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς χήρας) which unequivocally draws on Gregory's interpretation of the *Song* 1:3, as can be observed below:

Hom. 6, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44):

In Canticum canticorum, Hom. 1, *GNO* 6, 40, 11–27:

Ὁ δὲ Δεσπότης ἡμῶν καὶ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς οὔτε τοὺς ἐν νηπιώδει ἡλικία ἐξήγειρε, οὔτε τοὺς χρόνῳ καταγηράσαντας· **τόν τε γὰρ τῆς χήρας υἱὸν νεανίαν ὀνομάζει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον**, καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἰακώβου νεάνις ἦν δωδεκαετής. Τί οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὑψηλότερον διδασκόμεθα; Ὅτι ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος πρὸς ἀτελεῖς ἦν καὶ εἰσαγωγικοὺς τὴν κατὰ νόμον ζῶντας νηπιώδη ζωὴν, οὓς ἐξωοποῖει θνήσκοντας τῇ

Διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, νεάνιδες ἡγάπησάν σε, εἴκουσάν σε. εἶπε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπαινετῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς διαθέσεως. [...] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ὑλικὸς ἔρωσ τῶν ἐτι νηπιαζόντων οὐχ ἄπτεται (οὐ γὰρ χωρεῖ τὸ πάθος ἢ νηπιότης), οὐδὲ μὴν τοὺς ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γῆρα πεπονηκότας ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου κάλλους ὁ τε

τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου κάλλους ὁ τε νήπιος ἔτι καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος καὶ περιφερόμενος παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ γηράσας καὶ τῷ ἀφανισμῷ προσεγγίσας ἀκίνητοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην εὐρίσκονται· οὐ γὰρ ἄπτεται τῶν τοιούτων τὸ ἀόρατον κάλλος, μόνη δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ ἢ διαβάσα μὲν τὴν νηπιώδη κατάστασιν καὶ διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμάσασα, μὴ προσλαβοῦσα δὲ σπῖλον ἢ ρυτίδα ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ μήτε ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀναισθητοῦσα μήτε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος ἀδρανοῦσα, ἦν νεάνιν ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος, αὕτη πείθεται τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ τοῦ νόμου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀγαπᾶσα τὸ κάλλος ἐκεῖνο, οὗ ὑπογραφὴν καὶ ὑπόδειγμα καὶ ἐρμηνείαν οὐχ εὐρίσκει ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ διάνοια. αἱ τοιαῦται τοίνυν νεάνιδες αἱ διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐξηθεῖσαι καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἤδη τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ θείου θαλάμου γενόμεναι ἀγαπᾶσι τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κάλλος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἐπιστρέφουσι. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ νυμφίος, ὡς ἀντιδιδόναι τοῖς ἀγαπᾶσι τὸν πόθον, ὁ οὕτως εἰπὼν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς σοφίας ὅτι Ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa closely followed Origen's association of the passion of love with purity and spiritual maturity; cf. Origen, *Commentary on Song of Songs, Prologue*, 62, 1–6: "But it behoves to understand that, just as in childhood, we are not affected by the passion of love, so also to those who are in the stage of infancy and childhood in their interior life – to those, that is to say, who are being nourished with milk in Christ, not with strong meat, and are only beginning to desire the rational milk without guile it is not given to grasp the meaning of these sayings." (trans. Lawson, 22).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Origen, *Commentary on Song of Songs*, 1.4, ed. W. A. Baehrens (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1925), 101, trans. R.P. Lawson, *Origen, The Song of Songs and Homilies* (London: the Newmann Press, 1957), 75.

παραβάσει τῶν νομικῶν ἐντολῶν. Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τὴν τελειωτικὴν διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου παρέχων ζωὴν τῆς τελείας **ἐφάπτεται** ψυχῆς,¹⁴⁶¹ ζωὴν νοερὰν αὐτῇ παρεχόμενος, ἥτις, **διαβᾶσα τὴν νηπιώδη κατάστασιν καὶ διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμάσασα**, οὐκ **ἐπαλαιώθη** τῇ **ρύτιδι** τῆς ἀμαρτίας **καταγηράσασα**. Καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγον τὸ ᾄσμα τὸ Σολομώντειον· «**Διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε**». Εἴπερ οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ νεάζει, **μήτε ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀναισθητοῦσα**, μήτε ὑπὸ γήρως ἀδρανοῦσα πρὸς τὴν **τοῦ καλοῦ** κατανόησιν, **ἐφάπτεται** αὐτῆς ὁ διδασκαλικὸς λόγος καὶ ἀναστήσει τοῦ σκίμποδος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, καὶ μετασχεῖν παρασκευάσει τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς, ἥς γένοιτο πάντας ἐπιτυχεῖν, [...].¹⁴⁶²

νήπιος ἔτι καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος καὶ περιφερόμενος παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ **ὁ παλαιὸς** καὶ **γηράσας** καὶ τῷ ἀφανισμῷ προσεγγίσας ἀκίνητοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην εὐρίσκονται· οὐ γὰρ **ᾄπτεται** τῶν τοιούτων τὸ ἀόρατον κάλλος, μόνη δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη **ψυχὴ ἢ διαβᾶσα μὲν τὴν νηπιώδη κατάστασιν καὶ διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμάσασα**, μὴ προσλαβοῦσα δὲ σπῖλον ἢ **ρύτιδα** ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ **μήτε ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀναισθητοῦσα** μήτε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος ἀδρανοῦσα, ἢν **νεᾶνιν ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος**, αὕτη πείθεται τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ τοῦ νόμου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀγαπᾶσα τὸ κάλλος ἐκεῖνο, οὗ ὑπογραφὴν καὶ ὑπόδειγμα καὶ ἐρμηνείαν οὐχ εὐρίσκει ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη διάνοια.

In the sermon, Philagathos uses Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis of Song 1:3 to portray the new spiritual condition of man capable of partaking from the life of God, which Christ made available "through the Gospel." In the ἐρμηνεία, as we noted, Nyssen's exegesis of Song 1:3 justifies the spiritual reading of the erotic love displayed in the novel.

The sensuous words and images of the novel demand a redirection of the passions, just as the nuptial language of the Song of Songs. Virtue is the prerequisite for proper interpretation. In the ἐρμηνεία, Philip's closely follows Gregory's advice to move away from a fleshy reading: "if any bear a passionate and carnal habit of mind [...] let such persons not be imprisoned by their own thoughts and drag the undefiled words of the Bridegroom and Bride down to the level of brutish, irrational passions."¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁶¹ It is again relevant for the intertextuality of Philagathos' sermons with the ἐρμηνεία that the Philagathean prose contributed to the clarification of the text; e.g. from the sermon cited here the formulation "Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς (...) τῆς τελείας ἐφάπτεται ψυχῆς" together with the construction from *Hom.* 27, 15 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 179) "τὰ τῆς θεολογίας μεμυσταγώγησαι" constituted an analogy for the correct reading of l. 155 in the ἐρμηνεία "τὰ τῆς θεολογίας τέλειαν τὴν ψυχὴν," which as Bianchi showed, *Il codice del romanzo*, 30 [era] "sfuggita ai precedenti editori (che leggevano τὰς τῆς θεολογίας τελατὰς τὴν ψυχὴν)."

¹⁴⁶² Philagathos, *Hom.* 6, 19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44): "For neither does our Lord Jesus and God raise those who are in the condition of childhood, neither those who have grown old; for the Gospel calls the widow's son young man [in the prime of life], whereas Jairus' daughter was a maiden of twelve years old; Therefore, what higher meaning do we learn from these? That the prophetic speech was directed to those who were imperfect and immature, and which were living a childish life according to the law, and whom He brought back to life when dying out because of the transgression of the commandments. For Christ, by offering a perfect way of life through the Gospel, reaches out to the perfect soul, offering rational life to it, which, after surpassing the state of infancy and flourishing at the spiritual time of life, will not fade, made old by the wrinkles of sin. And this is what the Song of Solomon alludes to when it says: "That is why young maidens have loved you." Therefore if indeed our soul is young, being neither imperceptive by reason of youth nor sluggish by old age for perceiving the beauty, the teaching word overcome her and resurrects [the soul] from the couch of sin, and prepares us for partake from the eternal goods."

¹⁴⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, *GNO* 6, 14, 21–26: μή τις ἐμπαθῇ καὶ σαρκώδη λογισμὸν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ μὴ ἔχων πρέπον τῷ θεῷ γάμῳ τὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἔνδυμα συνδεθῇ τοῖς ἰδίοις νοήμασι, τὰς ἀκηράτους τοῦ νυμφίου τε καὶ τῆς νύμφης φωνὰς εἰς **κτηνώδη καὶ ἄλογα καθέλκων πάθη** [...]. Unless mentioned

For illustrating this exegetical enterprise, Philip-Philagathos compares the novel with Circe's potion, which may turn the fleshy readers into beasts:

“This book, my friends, is like Circe's potion: it transforms into licentious pigs those who partake of it in a profane manner, but those who approach it in a philosophical way after the manner of Odysseus it initiates into higher mysteries.”

«ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, ὧ φίλοι, **κίρκαίῳ κυκεῶνι** ὁμοίωται, τοὺς μὲν βεβήλους μεταλαμβάνοντας μεταμορφοῦσα **πρὸς χοίρων** ἀσέλγειαν, τοὺς δὲ κατ' Ὀδυσσεά φιλοσοφούντας μυσταγωγοῦσα τὰ ὑψηλότερα.»

The image of Circe invoked in the ἐρμηνεία should be insisted upon since it was a key argument in the scholarship for situating the commentary within “the Philosophical doctrines which we can identify with Neoplatonism.”¹⁴⁶⁴ It can not be doubted that Odysseus became the image of the sage and the model of morality perhaps as early as the fifth century B.C.¹⁴⁶⁵ For Plato, Plotinus or Proclus, Odysseus' journey to Ithaca was the metaphor of soul's return to its true, divine fatherland after unchaining from the charms of the deceiving pleasures of Circe and Calypso.¹⁴⁶⁶ Tarán associated the image of Odysseus from the ἐρμηνεία precisely with interpretation of the episode of Odysseus and Circe given by Plotinus,¹⁴⁶⁷ which thereafter remained taken for granted in the scholarship.

The filiation of the image in the ἐρμηνεία is entirely different being appropriated from the Christian tradition as I argue below. Christian exegesis absorbed at an early stage the story relative to Circe and Sirens. For, Clement of Alexandria, Odysseus tied to the mast for avoiding

otherwise the translations cited in the texts are taken from *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Song of Songs*, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard Norris, (Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2012); here is from p. 15.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopika*,” 229.

¹⁴⁶⁵ For this, see Jean Pépin, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses,” in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. Dominic O'Meara (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), 3–19.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The texts are analysed in Pépin, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses,” 5–6; Plato recommended the “souls, who live in the world of coming to be, they should ‘sail past them,’ imitating Homer's Ulysses – if it is true that the sea also is the image of coming-to-be (θάλασσα γενέσεως εικόν) – so as not to allow themselves to be bewitched (θέλγωνται) by coming-to-be” (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 259 A, trans. Harold North Flower, in *Plato, Loeb*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). For Proclus Ithaca was “that mystical port of the soul (μυστικὸς ὅρμος τῆς ψυχῆς) to which the poet brings back Odysseus after the long wanderings of his life, and to which we rather must return, that is, if we wish to be saved (*Commentarius in Parmenidem*, ed V. Cousin, Paris, 1864, reprint. Hildesheim, 1961, coll. 1025, 33–37).”

¹⁴⁶⁷ In his famous treatise *On Beauty*, Plotinus writes: “This would be truer advice “Let us fly to our dear country.” What then is our way of escape, and how are we to find it? We shall put out to sea, as Odysseus did, from the witch Circe or Calypso—as the poet says (I think with a hidden meaning) (αἰνιττόμενος) —and was not content to stay though he had delights of the eyes and lived among much beauty of sense. Our country from which we came is there, our Father is there (Πατρίς δὴ ἡμῖν, ὅθεν παρήλθομεν, καὶ πατήρ ἐκεῖ). Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopika*,” 228–229: “In fact his use of the episode of Odysseus and Circe as symbolic of the soul's ascent, is of fundamental importance throughout the allegorical interpretation and establishes for us a connection with the similar interpretation given by Plotinus. [...] The allegorical interpretation of the *Aethiopika* in both parts (the ethical and the philosophical), is full of allusions to doctrines attested for authors ranging from Plato and Aristotle to Neopythagoreanism, Middle Platonism, and Neoplatonism.” Cf. Gerald Sandy, “A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Heliodorus' Ethiopian Story,” 172.

the bait of pleasure was the image of life conquering death by clinging to the wood of the Cross.¹⁴⁶⁸ Thereafter, the association of Circe with pleasure was a commonplace for Byzantine writers. Psellos influenced by the Neoplatonic allegorical reading considered the Homeric myths fit for yielding a Christian sense, as the almighty rhetor has the power to transform falsehood into truth and “making salty water drinkable” (ἐξ ἁλμυροῦ πότιμον ὕδωρ ἀρύσσεσθε).¹⁴⁶⁹ In one of his letters to Niketas Magistros, Psellos compared himself with the figure of Odysseus “the good *rhetor*” because of his acclaimed persuasive might.¹⁴⁷⁰ Circe was for Psellos the embodiment of pleasure (τὴν γάρ τοι Κίρκην ἡδονὴν ἄντικρυς νόησον).¹⁴⁷¹ In the *Funeral Oration* for Niketas Magistros (c. 870–after 946) the beloved country toward which Odysseus hastens from Circe’s enticements was the heavenly Jerusalem (ἡ δὲ φίλη πατρις πρὸς ἣν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς καταφαρματτοῦσης ἡπείγοντο ἡ ἄνω ὑπενόεῖτο Ἱερουσαλήμ).¹⁴⁷²

However, the most accurate equivalent to the image of Odysseus in the ἐρμηνεία is found in Philagathos’ sermon on the Prodigal son (Lc. 18:10–14).¹⁴⁷³

“Indeed, pleasure, as if in Circe’s bowl, blending its own potion changes the mind of the fools to follow the lifestyle of pigs, and makes them her slaves.”

ἡ γὰρ ἡδονή, καθάπερ **Κιρκάϊω** κρατῆρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ **κυκεῶνα** κεράσασα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων νοῦν **πρὸς τὴν χοιρώδη** ζωὴν μεταμείβουσα, λάτρως ἑαυτῆς τίθησι.

What should be emphasized, and this is not without significance to the overall interpretation proposed here, is that the genealogy of the image of Circe in Philip-Philagathos can be textually traced to Nyssen’s writings.¹⁴⁷⁴ Criticizing Eunomius’ doctrines, Gregory alludes to the episode of the transformation of Odysseus friends into swine (*Odyssea*, X 210 ss). Gregory says:¹⁴⁷⁵

“This is a new form of the Homeric potion (**Ὅμηρικὸς κυκεῶν**), not changing the bodies of those affected by the drug into irrational beasts, but effecting the transformation of their minds into irrationality (ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλογον αὐτῶν

¹⁴⁶⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* XII 118, 1–4, ed. O. Stählin (Leipzig, 1905), p. 83, l. 8–30. “Let us flee (Φεύγωμεν), then, my sailor companions, let us flee these waves, they vomit forth fire; there, there is an accursed island on which are piles bones and corpses; in that place a bold courtesan (that is, pleasure) sings in vulgar music: ‘Come here, famous Ulysses, supreme glory of the Achaians! Halt your ship to hear a more divine voice.’ [...] Sail past this (παράπλει) song, it produces death. Just want it and you will conquer perdition. Chained to the Wood, you will be delivered from all corruption; you will have the pilot the Word (λόγος) of God; you will reach the port of the heavens, thanks to the Holy Spirit (τοῖς λιμέσι καθορμίζει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον).”

¹⁴⁶⁹ Psellos, *Exprobatio discipulorum*, in *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria minora*. ed. A. Littlewood, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1985), 87, l. 105; cf. Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 41–42.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*, 49.

¹⁴⁷¹ Psellos, *Allegoria in Circen* in *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria minora*. ed. A. Littlewood, 128, l. 18.

¹⁴⁷² Psellos, *Epitaphius Nicetae*, ed. Sathas, 1876, p. 91: “ἡ δὲ φίλη πατρις πρὸς ἣν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς καταφαρματτοῦσης ἡπείγοντο ἡ ἄνω ὑπενόεῖτο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐν ᾗ πρῶτως γεγενημένους ὁ πολυπαθὴς οὗτος χῶρος ἐδέξατο, ἐν ᾧ δὴ, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκείνην ἐπειγοίμεθα τῇ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπάτῃ δελεαζόμενοι, εἰς θηρίων ἰδέαν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων μορφῶν μεθιστάμεθα.”

¹⁴⁷³ Philagathos, *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 384B).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Gregory of Nyssa is an important Christian testimony of this tradition of Homeric interpretation overlooked both in Pépin’s study, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses” and in Lamberton’s *Homer the Theologian*.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium III*, ed. Werner Jaeger (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 77–79.

μεταμόρφωσιν). Of the former the text says that their mind remained sound, while their shape changed to that of animals. In this case, however, their bodies retained their natural shape, while their minds are reshaped as irrational. Just as in the former case the poetical magic says that those who are drugged change into different animal shapes at the whim of her who bewitched their nature, now too those who drink the Circe-cup (τοῦ Κίρκαιου τούτου κρατῆρος) are affected in the same way. Those who drink in the wizard's tricks on the basis of the same text change into various forms of doctrine, now taking one shape, now another. Furthermore, his darlings follow the pattern of the poetic legend, and still love the one who leads them into this irrationality, and they stop to gather up, like cornelian cherries or acorns, the words he has scattered about, rushing greedily like swine after doctrines which lie on the ground, and lacking the nature which would let them look upon the sublime and the celestial."¹⁴⁷⁶

In the ἐρμηνεία, Philip appropriates in similar terms the authoritative image of Odysseus for disputed interpretations of the literal sense. Against the opponents of Charikleia, which is against those concerned with the literal dimension of the text, Philip adopts the exegetical strategy Nyssen employed against Eunomius' literal interpretation. Gregory's explanation that the perversion of Eunomius' heresy is a new form of the Homeric potion that changes the minds and not the bodies of men into animals is closely reflected in Philagathos' homily.¹⁴⁷⁷ For we note in the sermon the same emphasis on Circe's potion as changing "the mind of the fools to follow the lifestyle of pigs (τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων νοῦν πρὸς τὴν χοιρώδη ζωὴν μεταμείβουσα)."

The image of Circe's bowl (Κίρκαιον κρατῆρι) is typically Nyssen and besides the *Contra Eunomium* occurs in the *De vita Moysis*. The context in the *De vita Moysis* is highly significant for Philip's usage of the image in the ἐρμηνεία. It is part of the description of the perfection in virtue, reached by Moses, which became worthy of being called the servant of Yahweh. He died but "no one has ever found his grave, his eyes were undimmed, and his face unimpaired." Moses' death, Gregory explains, was the "living death" (τελευτὴν ζῶσαν) of the virtuous life, "which is not followed by the grave, or fills the tomb, or brings dimness to the eyes and aging to the person (*De vita Moysis*, 2, 314)."¹⁴⁷⁸ In this context, Gregory recalls the image of Circe's bowl as part of a *synkrisis* in vice to the perfect life of Moses. It refers to the prophet Balaam who was asked by Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab to come and curse the Israelites for him (Num. 22:25). Circe's bowl is the magic of Balaam – that "crafty deceit of this life through which men (...) are changed into the form of irrational animals and leave their proper nature" (*De vita Moysis*, 2, 316). In the end, God commanded Balaam to bless Israel (Num. 23:13–26). Clearly, Gregory drew a parallel between the episode of Circe's bowl and the metamorphosing event related in the Scripture, about the speaking donkey, which "God allowed to speak, and she

¹⁴⁷⁶ Trans. Stuart Hall in *Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium III. An English Translation with Commentary and Supporting Studies*, ed. Johan Leemans and Matthieu Cassin (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 87.

¹⁴⁷⁷ For the place of this Homeric allusion within Nyssen's overall argumentation see Matthieu Cassin, "Confusion eunomienne et claret nysséenne: Contre Eunome III 2," in *Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium III. An English Translation with Commentary and Supporting Studies*, ed. Johan Leemans and Matthieu Cassin, 264–312.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 314: "Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ κατορθούμενον, ὃ δὴ τελευτὴν ἢ ἱστορία λέγει, τελευτὴν ζῶσαν, ἣν οὐ διαδέχεται τάφος, ἥ οὐκ ἐπιχώννυται τύμβος, ἢ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀμαυρότητα καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ διαφθορὰν οὐκ ἐπάγουσα."

complained to Balaam” for her unjust beating (Num. 22:22). This story of transformation in Nyssen interpretation from the *De vita Moysis* is clearly embedded in the larger context of Philagathos’s sermon *On the Prodigal Son*.¹⁴⁷⁹ In the sermon, the image of Circe’s brew is interlocked with references and citations from the *De virginitate* and the *De vita Moysis*, which buttresses the Nyssen’s imprint upon the ἐρμηνεία. The association of the prodigal son among the pigs (Lc. 15:11–32) with pleasure, licentiousness and perdition is common in patristic thought, but the interrelatedness with the image of Circe both in the ἐρμηνεία and in the Homilies points to Gregory of Nyssa’s influence.

Philip’s exegetic vision in the ἐρμηνεία is entirely consistent with Gregory’s interpretive enterprise from his *In Canticum canticorum*. Philip-Philagathos maintains that by reading philosophically the tale of Charikleia, that is with a purified mind “after the manner of Odysseus,” one may be initiated into higher mysteries.

4. Exegetic Structure: Philagathos’ Homilies and Gregory of Nyssa’s *De vita Moysis*

The imprint of the Christian tradition and in particular of Gregory of Nyssa’s works (*De vita Moysis*, *In Canticum canticorum*) upon the ἐρμηνεία can be further documented in Philip’s exegesis. In fact the template Philip used in the ἐρμηνεία was likely derived from Gregory’s *De vita Moysis*. Being divided into ‘history’ and ‘contemplation,’ the ἐρμηνεία mirrors the structure of the Life of Moses.¹⁴⁸⁰ In its first part (τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας) Philip casts the events of the story into a paradigmatic moral frame, whereas in the second section he shows that the novel is structured in such a way as to reveal the soul’s spiritual ascent to the Divine. This structure, the technical vocabulary or the imagery employed corresponds to the exegetic style displayed in the *Homilies*, which in turn mirrors to the finest detail Gregory of Nyssa’s exegesis and Maximus Confessor’s usage of arhythmology and etymology (more about this later). At this point, it should be made clear that the intertextual evidence provided by Philagathos’ homilies is invaluable for discerning what Philip is doing in the ἐρμηνεία.

Philip understands the novel as an archetypal image of the four cardinal virtues which the readers are invited to embody. To be sure, the approach is consonant with the pervasive premodern tendency of describing human life in terms of established patterns of moral behaviour.¹⁴⁸¹

¹⁴⁷⁹ See above, Part III. 1. 3. “Swine and Pleasure,” 232–236; see also above, p. 419.

¹⁴⁸⁰ For the division of the Life of Moses see Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 1, 15: Μωϋσῆς τοῖνυν ἡμῖν εἰς ὑπόδειγμα βίου προτεθῆτω τῷ λόγῳ, οὗ τὸν βίον πρῶτον ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ διελθόντες, καθὼς παρὰ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς μεμαθήκαμεν, οὕτω τὴν πρόσφορον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ διάνοιαν εἰς ἀρετῆς ὑποθήκην ἀναζητήσομεν, δι’ ἧς τὸν τέλειον ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις βίον ἐπιγνώσομεθα. “Let us put forth Moses as our example for life in our treatise. First we shall go through in outline his life as we have learned it from the divine Scriptures. Then we shall seek out the spiritual understanding which corresponds to the history in order to obtain suggestions of virtue. Through such understanding we may come to know the perfect life for men” (trans. Abraham Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, in Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, New York: Paulist Press, 1978, 33; unless mentioned otherwise all the subsequent citations from *De vita Moysis* are taken from here).

¹⁴⁸¹ For the Byzantine ‘autobiographical pact’ that demanded an author to express himself through imitable types of moral behavior see Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*, 233; see for this the excellent contribution of A. Spira, “Le temps d’un homme selon Aristote et Grégoire de Nysse: stabilité et instabilité dans la pensée Grecque,” in *Le temps Chrétien de la fin de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge IIIe-XIIIe siècles*, ed. Jean

“Therefore the book has set before an archetypal written-image of the four cardinal virtues.”

οὕτω τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν οἷον ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ ἢ βιβλος προτέθεται.¹⁴⁸²

Here, the allegorist treads upon a familiar theme in Gregory of Nyssa’s writings, which locates the scope of the Scriptures in the reshaping of the souls into the divine likeness by means of virtue.¹⁴⁸³ Philip, just like Gregory in the *De vita Moysis*, considers the novel a comparison (σύγκρισις) between vice and evil. In fact, the account in the ἐρμηνεία appears modelled on Gregory’s *De vita Moysis*:

Commentatio in Charicleam, 53–60 (ed. *De vita Moysis*, 1, 12 Bianchi, 51)

ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις εἰς ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ μεμέρισται, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔνεστι τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς ἐπίσης ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ παραλλήλου ἀμφοτέρα τίθησιν ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐκάστω γένει προσμαρτυρήσασα, ἄνδρας μὲν σπουδαίους Καλάσιριν καὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Ὑδάσπην ἐνδείξασα, γυναῖκας δὲ Περσίνναν καὶ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν· ἐπὶ κακία δὲ διαβοήτους πλείους μὲν γυναῖκας, ἐλάττους δ’ ἄνδρας ἀπέφηνε· πλεῖον γὰρ ἢ κακία τῷ γυναικ<ε>ίῳ φύλῳ ἐνέσπαρται.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ τε καὶ ἄρρεν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη μεμέρισται φύσις καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἐπίσης κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν αἵρεσις πρόκειται, διὰ τοῦτο ἑκατέρῳ τμήματι τὸ κατάλληλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόδειγμα παρὰ τῆς θείας προεδείχθη φωνῆς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκάτεροι βλέποντες, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀβραάμ οἱ ἄνδρες, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Σάρραν τὸ ἕτερον μέρος, ἀμφοτέροις διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὑποδειγμάτων πρὸς τὸν κατ’ ἀρετὴν βίον διευθύνονται.

“And since the human nature is divided into male and female, and the capacity to do good and evil is imparted equally to both of them, the book shows both together giving evidence to the virtue and vice of each sex, exhibiting virtuous men in Kalasiris, Theagenes, and Hydaspes, and earnest women in Persina and Charikleia. It presents more women and less men renowned for evil since there is more evil scattered among the race of women.”

“Human nature is divided into male and female, and the free choice of virtue or of evil is set before both equally. For this reason the corresponding example of virtue for each sex has been exemplified by the divine voice, so that each, by observing the one to which he is akin (the men to Abraham and the women to Sarah), may be directed in the life of virtue by the appropriate examples.”

Marie Leroux (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984), 283–294; Spira explained this ‘literary pact’ as a consequence of a particular understanding of existence: “[I]e «temps d’un homme», sa vie, est jugé dans l’antiquité d’après la façon dont il a exercé la vertu. C’est pourquoi la présentation littéraire d’une vie est, elle aussi, dominée par ce principe, ce qui provoque ce manque de réalisme et d’historicité si choquant pour notre mentalité moderne. Car le lecteur y cherchait avant tout le modèle d’une vertu – ou de son contraire. Une biographie ancienne est de la philosophie pratique appliquée” (here cited from p. 284).

¹⁴⁸² *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 84–85 (ed. Bianchi, 51).

¹⁴⁸³ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, GNO 5, 116, 14–25.

There is ample intertextual evidence about the division of the human nature into male and female that links the ἐρμηνεία, the Philagathos' *Homilies* with Gregory of Nyssa's works.¹⁴⁸⁴ Philip's misogynistic view expressed in the ἐρμηνεία deserves to be highlighted. For in the *Homilies* the preacher says the opposite, that the ability for vice and virtue is equally imparted to men and women.¹⁴⁸⁵ This divergence may be solved by taking into account the different expectations demanded by distinct generic forms. Perhaps what Philip-Philagathos could express in the form of a Christian homily may have not corresponded to the anticipations attached to a philosophical commentary.

In the same register of exegetic identity between the ἐρμηνεία, Philagathos' *Homilies* and Nyssen's texts we note the same reference to the literal sense:

Commentatio in Charicleam, 88 (ed. Bianchi, Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 55: 52):

“For the story itself cries out giving up voice (φωνήν) to the very letters!”

“The history all but cries out to you not to be presumptuous in giving advice to your hearers in your teaching (...).”

βοᾷ γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία μόνον οὐχὶ φωνήν ἀφιεῖσα τοῖς γράμμασιν for the story itself cries out!

μονονουχὶ βοώσης σοι τοῦτο τῆς ἱστορίας, μὴ ἐπιτολμᾷν ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ συμβουλῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων (...).

Hom. 27, (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 55, *PG* 132, coll. 568C):

“**Βοᾷ** διὰ τούτων **ἡ ἱστορία**, ὥς ὅταν ἡ πρακτικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀφεῖσα τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐφέπεσθαι (...).”¹⁴⁸⁶

This genealogy of the exegetic vocabulary in the ἐρμηνεία can be further pinned down when observing Philagathos' appropriation of Gregory of Nyssa's doctrines in the *Homilies*. The doctrine of the cardinal virtues alluded to in the ἐρμηνεία goes back to Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*, as the sermons bountifully attest.¹⁴⁸⁷

¹⁴⁸⁴ Carolina Cupane, “Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος,” 17–18; cf. Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 25; cf. *Hom.* 32, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 222): “Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Βηθανία οἷκος δόξης ἐρμηνεύεται, ἔδει καὶ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἄμοιρον τῆς θείας δόξης γενήσεσθαι. Τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως εἰς δύο γένη διηρημένης, εἰς ἄρρεν λέγω καὶ θῆλυ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον φύλον ἔξω τῆς σωτηρίας καταλιμπάνεται· ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐκπεπτόκατον.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *Hom.* 33, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 228): “τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἐπίσης αὐτοκρατορεῖ καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή· διότι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἤκε σῶσαι (...).”

¹⁴⁸⁶ “Through these things the story itself cries out in the same way as when the practical virtue makes way for contemplation.” This exegetic vocabulary is pervasive in both Nyssen and Philagathos' texts; for the same vocabulary in Gregory of Nyssa see *De vita Moysis*, 2, 203: ἄρ' οὐχὶ **βοᾷ** σοι δοκεῖ φανερώς **ἡ ἱστορία** ὅτι καταποθήσεται ποτε πᾶν εἰδωλον τοῖς στόμασι τῶν πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπάτης μετατεθέντων; Trans.: “does the history then not seem to you to cry out clearly that every idol will then be swallowed by the mouths of those who have left error for true religion?” For the identity of exegetic vocabularies observe see also, *Hom.* 40 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, *PG* 132, coll. 421 A), which is significantly based on the *De vita Moysis*, 2, 143.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Note for instance that the doctrine of virtues expressed in *Hom.* 30, 13 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 202–203) is an adaptation of *De vita Moysis*, 2, 288–289; the text is cited at p. 394, n° 1376.

With regard to terminology, we should not miss Philip's description in the ἐρμηνεία of the relation between ἱστορία and θεωρία as changing water into wine. The same imagery is used in the *Homilies* for framing the distinction between the literal and the spiritual sense:

Commentatio in Charicleam, 50–52 (ed. Bianchi, 51):

The book is educational and teacher of ethical philosophy by mixing the wine of contemplation into the water of the story.

Hom. 2, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 10):

And the wisdom of God sets before us the bowl of learning, mixing the wine of contemplation into the water of the parable, so that we would not deriving some profit by attaching only to the story, nor would we intoxicate our mind by the naked contemplation, just as from partaking of unmixed wine.¹⁴⁸⁸

παιδαγωγικὴ γὰρ ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἠθικῆς φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλος, τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὕδατι τὸν οἶνον τῆς θεωρίας κεράσασα.

Καὶ προτίθῃσιν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία διδασκαλίας κρατῆρα, τῷ οἶνῳ τῆς θεωρίας τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ὕδωρ κεράσασα, ἵνα μήτε μόνῳ τῷ πλάσματι προσέχοντες οὐδέν τι κερδάνωμεν, μήτε γυμνῇ τῇ θεωρίᾳ¹⁴⁸⁹ ὥς ἀκράτῳ οἶνῳ τὸν νοῦν μεθυσκώμεθα.

In the metaphorical image of “the wine of contemplation”, a Byzantine reader could not have failed to recognize an allusion to the wine of the Eucharist and to Christ's miracle of turning water into wine (Jn. 2:7–9). Once again, the interplay with the terminology used in the *Homilies* and Nyssen's material is again arresting.¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Hom. 2, 2* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 10); Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie*, li, n. 41, was the first to note the identity between the metaphorical image in the ἐρμηνεία and *Hom. 2, 2*.

¹⁴⁸⁹ The notion of ‘naked contemplation’ (γυμνῇ τῇ θεωρίᾳ) surfaces in a spurious sermon of Basil of Caesarea, extensively used by Philagathos; cf. Basil, *Ennaratio in prophetam Isaiam* [dub], ed. P. Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al profeta Isaia*, 2 vols., (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1939), 1, 28, 7–10: γυμνῇ τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν θεῶν νοημάτων ὁμιλήσει (...).

¹⁴⁹⁰ Observe for instance the image of the “bowl of wisdom” from Philagathos' sermon “For the Parable of the Vineyard,” which is appropriated from Gregory of Nyssa's sermon on the Ecclesiast; cf. *Hom. 23, 17* (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 154): Οἱ τοῦ λόγου τῆς πίστεως κήρυκες καὶ διδάσκαλοι, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάσωμεν ἕκαστος τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἄμπελον εὐθηνόωσαν, κατὰ τὸ ὑμνούμενον ἐν ψαλμοῖς, ταῖς τοῦ βίου κληματίσι καὶ ταῖς ἀγαπητικαῖς ἔλιξι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους διαπλεκόμενοι, ἀντὶ μὲν φύλλων τῇ ἔξωθεν εὐσχημοσύνῃ τῶν τρόπων κοσμούμενοι, ἡδὺν καὶ πέπειρον τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς βότρυον φέροντες, τῷ κρατῆρι τῆς σοφίας ἀποθλιβόμενον. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῇ κριτικῇ τοῦ λόγου δρεπάνῃ περιτέμνειν τὰ νόθα τῶν παραφρομένων καὶ τὰ περιττὰ καὶ ἀνόνητα τῆς διανοίας νοήματα, μηδὲ ὕλομανεῖν ἐν τῷ δεικτικῷ πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκαπτομένους ἀνέχεσθαι τῇ ἀποθέσει τῶν κοσμικῶν μεριμνῶν. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, GNO 5, 330–331: Ἐφύτευσα γάρ μοι, φησὶν, ἄμπελῶνας, ὧν οὐκ ἂν δεηθεῖν ὁ αὐτὸς ἄμπελος εὐθηνόωσα γινόμενος, ἄμπελος πνευματικὴ, εὐθαλὴς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφής, τοῖς τοῦ βίου κλάδοις καὶ ταῖς ἀγαπητικαῖς ἔλιξι διαπλεκόμενῃ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, καὶ κομῶσα μὲν ἀντὶ φύλλων τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ τῶν τρόπων, ἡδὺν δὲ καὶ πέπειρον τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς βότρυον ἐκτρέφουσα. ὁ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καταφυτεύων ψυχῇ καὶ γεωργῶν οἶνον τὸν τὴν καρδίαν εὐφραίνοντα καὶ Ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν κατὰ τὴν παροιμιώδη φωνήν, ὥς ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης γεωργίας ἀπαιτεῖ νόμος, οἶον περὶ σκάλλων τοῖς λογισμοῖς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ νόθα τῶν παραφρομένων ταῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν ῥίζαις ἐκτίλλων, ἐπάρδων δὲ τοῖς μαθήμασι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τῇ δρεπάνῃ τοῦ κριτικοῦ λόγου περικόπτων τὴν εἰς τὰ περιττὰ καὶ ἀνόνητα τῆς διανοίας φορὰν, μακαριστὸς ἂν εἴη τῆς γεωργίας οὗτος τῷ τῆς σοφίας κρατῆρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βότρυον ἐνθλίβων.

Pertaining to the same identity of exegetic vocabulary is the exhortation in line 139 (σύνες ὅτι σοι λέγει τὸ αἰνίγμα – trans.: “Be aware of what the riddle is saying to you!”), which finds a close parallel both in Philagathos’ *Homilies* (Σύνες τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐν τῷ αἰνίγματι)¹⁴⁹¹ and in Gregory of Nyssa’s *De vita Moysis* (συνίεις δὲ πάντως τί σοι λέγει τὸ αἰνίγμα).¹⁴⁹²

5. Contemplation and Anagogical Ascent: The Doctrine of Perpetual Progress

The second part of Philip’s exegesis, the *theoria* (θεωρία) or mystical contemplation portrays the novel as teaching the soul’s spiritual ascent and growth in virtue. It opens with the image of stripping of Charikleia’s garment.¹⁴⁹³

Thus the discourse has lead us within the gates of the story that adorns (κοσμῶν “orders”) the outward bearing and having lifted up the maiden’s radiant cloak, which she put on on account of those who contrive against her, she revealed the holy chiton beneath. Now it is time to unfold this chiton, and her beauty to be revealed unmixed pure.

οὕτω μὲν εἶσω τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας πυλῶν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος εἰσήγαγε τὸ ἥθος κοσμῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρὰν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς κόρης διάρας, ἣν διὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύον[τας ἡμ]φιάσατο τὸν ἔνδοθεν ἱερὸν χιτῶνα ὑπέδειξε. καιρὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτον ἀναπετάσαι καὶ ἀκραιφνὲς τὸ κάλλος ἐνδείξασθαι.

As in Philip-Philagathos’ *Homilies* this imagery marks the transition from the ‘historical/literal’ sense to the spiritual interpretation.¹⁴⁹⁴ The description of Charikleia is taken

¹⁴⁹¹ *Hom.* 35, 14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 244): Σύνες τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐν τῷ αἰνίγματι. Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ λόγου χάρις τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἡ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐκάστου ἀμαρτάνοντος ἐπιπλήττουσα. Ταύτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀφανίσαι ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀμαρτία ζητεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλέγχους ξαινόμενοι, διὰ μετανοίας ἀπορρίψωμεν τὴν ἐπίσαστον καὶ προσλάβωμεν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ὁμόζυγον. It should be noted that the context in the sermon invites a meaningful comparison with the ἐρμηνεία, for in both contexts the exhortation refers to mystical experience albeit in a different way. This identity of vocabulary between the *Interpretation* and Philagathos’ *Homilies* is also indicated by Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 30.

¹⁴⁹² Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 78: “Οἱ γὰρ τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου κατανοήσαντες (συνίεις δὲ πάντως τί σοι λέγει τὸ αἰνίγμα, ὥστε νοῆσαι διὰ μὲν τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν ἀληθινὸν νομοθέτην, διὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐκτάσεως τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείναντα), οἱ τοίνυν πρὸ ὀλίγου τοῖς ῥυπαροῖς τούτοις καὶ βατραχώδεσι λογισμοῖς συζῶντες, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείναντα ἴδοιεν, ἀπαλλάσσονται τῆς πονηρᾶς αὐτῶν συνοικήσεως, νεκρωθέντος τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἐποζέσαντος. “For those who perceive the outstretched hands of the lawgiver – you understand, surely, what the figure says to you, and perceive in the lawgiver the true Lawgiver and in his outstretched hands him who stretched forth his hands upon the cross – those then who for a short time have lived with these sordid and frog-like thoughts, if they look to him who stretched forth his hands on our behalf, are set free from their evil life as their passion is put to death and left stinking” (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 72).

¹⁴⁹³ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 104–109 (ed. Bianchi, 53–54).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 5, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 34): ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ γραφικὸν διάραντες καταπέτασμα, τῇ θεωρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσερεῖσωμεν; *Hom.* 19, 2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 125): Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας παράδοξον· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ γραφικὸν διάραντες καταπέτασμα, τῇ θεωρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσερεῖσωμεν. *Hom.* 53, 49–50 (ed. Caruso, 125): ἀλλὰ φέρε, τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας πέπλον ἀναπετάσαντες, εἶσω τῶν ἀδύτων τῆς θεωρίας γενώμεθα; *Hom.* 84 Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ (οδ’), (Matrit. Gr. 4554, f. 185^v): φέρε δὲ τὸν πέπλον ἀναπετάσαντα εἶσω τῆς θεωρίας γενώμεθα.

from the novel (cf. *Aethiopika* 3.4.1: “ἀκραιφνὲς γυναικεῖον κάλλος”) but the stripping of the clothing or the removal of a veil that opens the perception of beauty alludes to a familiar exegetic theme in Gregory of Nyssa’s writings.¹⁴⁹⁵ In *De vita Moysis* and *In Canticum canticorum*, this imagery reveals the soul’s continuous growth in virtue, which Nyssen regards equivalent to the continuous putting on “the holy garment” of Jesus Christ’s purified humanity.¹⁴⁹⁶ To the bride’s words in Song, “I have removed my tunic (χιτῶνά). How shall I put it on?” (Song 5:3), Gregory applies his doctrine of continuous ascent (ἐπέκτασις).¹⁴⁹⁷

But is it not the case that these words show how much progress upward she has made from that previous state? She who had removed that old tunic and been freed of all covering becomes so much purer than herself that by comparison with the purity that now becomes hers she does not seem to have taken off that clothing but again, even after that former stripping, finds some thing on her to be taken off. Thus the ascent to the Divine shows that what she wears about her is coarser and heavier than what is forever being discovered. Hence by comparison with her present purity the previous removal of that tunic is itself like a veil, which in its turn is stripped away by those who find her.

In the ἐρμηνεία the image of Charikleia’s stripping of her garment has the same positive meaning: it reveals the holy chiton beneath. The pattern represented by Gregory’s *In Canticum canticorum* and *De vita Moysis* can be recognized in the ἐρμηνεία by the similar narrative of Charikleia’s continuous progress in the life of virtue and the description of mystical contemplation of the divine. For Philip’s exegesis henceforth reveals the perfection of Charikleia and her growth in virtue for recovering the “original nobility of birth.” Charikleia’s progress is structured in stages of ascent, just like in Gregory’s writings. The allegory of the soul’s journey begins with the heroine’s birth.¹⁴⁹⁸

Charikleia was born among the Ethiopians, for man proceeds out of the invisible, as if from darkness into light and he is brought into this life as Charikleia is carried away to Greece.

ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν δὲ τίκεται ἡ Χαρίκλεια· ἐκ τῶν ἀφανῶν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρόεισι καὶ εἰς τὸν τῆδε βίον ὡς εἰς Ἑλλάδα κομίζεται.¹⁴⁹⁹

¹⁴⁹⁵ See for this, Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 87 – 92.

¹⁴⁹⁶ See for instance, Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 12, 361: “They have removed her veil by striking and wounding her, and their job is to keep the walls of the city. And the removal of the veil, so that the eye, freed of what obscures it (ὥστε ἐλεύθερον τοῦ προκαλύμματος), gazes without interference on the Beauty it desires (ἀπαραιοδίστως ἐνατενίζειν τῷ ποθομένῳ κάλλει), is a good thing, as none can doubt who pays attention to the apostle. He attributes the removal of the veil (τὴν τοῦ καλύμματος περιαίρεσιν) to the power of the Spirit when he says: “But when one turns to the Lord, the veil is removed; and the Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:16–17)” (trans. Norris, 381). See also, Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 39, 22–5: Moses for entering the “innermost sanctuary (ἄδυτον) of the divine mystical knowledge,” has to remove the sandals from his feet – “the dead and earthly covering of skins,” “which cannot ascend (ἀναδραμεῖν) that height (ὑψος) where the truth is seen.”

¹⁴⁹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 12, 361, 4–14 (trans. Norris, 381).

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 126–129 (ed. Bianchi, 54).

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 126–129 (ed. Bianchi, 54).

In the entire Jewish-Christian tradition Egypt was scornfully viewed since it was a reminder of the sorrowful captivity from where the Jews had to flee in order to become worthy of receiving the revelation of the true God. In Gregory of Nyssa's works, the image of Egypt and of Egyptian life describes the life of sin, of flesh and of pleasures. Gregory the Theologian in the *Oration 38* ("On the Theophany"), a text familiar to Philip-Philagathos, referred to Egypt, in terms of darkness and ignorance, like Philip in the ἐρμηνεία: "Again the darkness is past; again Light is made; again Egypt is punished with darkness; again Israel is enlightened by a pillar. The people that sat in the darkness of ignorance, let it see the Great Light of full knowledge."¹⁵⁰⁰

Then, inspired by Gregory's *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and *The Life of Moses*, Philip reads in the events of Charikleia's life the soul's spiritual stages of ascent. In *The Life of Moses*, Gregory speaks of three successive stages of ascent, the entry into light (φῶς), cloud (νεφέλη), and darkness (σκότος).¹⁵⁰¹ Nyssen's description is worth retrieving, for the allegory of the soul's progress in the ἐρμηνεία follows a similar template, featuring as the first stage, the soul's removal from darkness.

the revelation of God to the great Moses began with light as its medium, but afterwards God spoke to him through the medium of a cloud, and when he had become more lifted up and more perfect, he saw God in darkness. What we learn from this is something like the following: the first withdrawal from false and erroneous notions about God takes the form of a transition from darkness to light ἢ (ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους εἰς φῶς ἐστὶ μετὰστασις). More attentive apprehension of hidden realities, which leads the soul to the invisible realm by way of what appears (ἢ διὰ τῶν φαινομένων χειραγωγούσα τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀόρατον φύσιν), is like a cloud that casts a shadow on everything that appears but yet induces and accustoms the soul to look upon what is hidden (τὸ κρύφιον). But the soul that has made its way through these stages to higher things, having left behind whatever is accessible to human nature, enters within the innermost shrine of the knowledge of God (ἐντὸς τῶν ἀδύτων τῆς θεογνωσίας) and is entirely seized about by the divine darkness;

Thus, in the *Life of Moses*, Gregory describes the first step of progress as the path of light which first turns the soul from the false reality to God, which in Philip's allegory stands for Charikleia being born among the Ethiopians.¹⁵⁰²

¹⁵⁰⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophania* (Orat. 38), PG 36, coll. 313: Πάλιν τὸ σκότος λύεται, πάλιν τὸ φῶς ὑφίσταται, πάλιν Αἴγυπτος σκότῳ κολάζεται, πάλιν Ἰσραὴλ στυλῷ φωτίζεται. Ὁ λαὸς, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει τῆς ἀγνοίας, ἰδέτω φῶς μέγα τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως (trans. Charles Gordon Browne and James Edward Swallow, in *NPNF*, 2/VII, 689).

¹⁵⁰¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 11, 322–323 (trans. Norris, 339–341).

¹⁵⁰² Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Life of Moses*, 2, 22–23: "That light teaches us what we must do to stand within the rays of the true light: Sandaled feet cannot ascend that height where the light of truth is seen, but the dead and earthly covering of skins, which was placed around our nature at the beginning when we were found naked because of disobedience to the divine will, must be removed from the feet of the soul. (...) In my view the definition of truth is this: not to have a mistaken apprehension of Being. Falsehood is a kind of impression which arises in the understanding about nonbeing: as though what does not exist does, in fact, exist. But truth is the sure apprehension of real Being" (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 59–60).

The parallel with the ἐρμηνεία becomes even more arresting when we considered the other stages of spiritual progress echoed in Philip's exegesis. In the *Life of Moses* the second stage in the anagogical framework (i.e. the entry into the cloud), describes the purification of the soul upon turning to God through the practical life of virtue. In the second stage the soul learns the vanity of the created things passing "through the mystical water in baptism" and putting to death "in the water both the base movements of the mind and the acts which issue from them" (2, 125). The cloud interpreted as the Holy Spirit "guides toward the Good those who are worthy" (2, 121). In the ἐρμηνεία this stage is represented by Kalasiris, a priestly figure holding the role of Moses, which guides Charikleia – the soul on its journey of initiation through the sea of temptations until she passes through the "Egypt of ignorance".¹⁵⁰³

Kalasiris will be her companion and fellow traveller, until she (i.e. the soul) passes through the Egypt of ignorance. Only when she has advanced (sc. in mystical knowledge) and escaped the sea, and forgotten the plots of pirates, then her teacher will depart from her, since the soul delights in conversing by herself with the one she longs for.

ἀλλὰ μέχρι τότε [συ]μπότης καὶ συνοδοίπορος γενήσεται, ἕως ἄν παρέλθῃ τῆς ἀγνοίας τὴν Αἴγυπτον· προκόψασαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ φυγοῦσαν μὲν θάλατταν, λαθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ ληστῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, [ὁ μὲν] διδάσκαλος μεταστήσεται, καθ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐντροφᾷ τοῦ <τῆ> ποθουμένη συνομιλεῖν.

It is again salient, in my opinion, that the figure of Kalasiris evokes Gregory's Moses when preparing to approach God after escaping the sea in which "we have drowned the whole Egyptian person (that is every form of evil)." For Gregory says:

For the person who has crossed the sea and has seen this Egyptian dead in it, as we interpret it, no longer looks to Moses alone as the staff-bearer of virtue (οὐκέτι πρὸς Μωϋσέα μόνον ὄρᾳ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ῥαβδοῦχον); but in keeping with the foregoing he believes in God, even as the Scripture says, and is obedient to his servant Moses. We see this happening even now with those who truly cross the water, who dedicate themselves to God and are obedient and submissive, as the Apostle says, to those who serve the Divine in the priesthood.

De vita Moysis seems to have represented an exegetic template for Philip-Philagathos' exegesis. For the sequence of interpretation followed in the ἐρμηνεία parallels Gregory of Nyssa's treatise. Thus, after 'escaping the sea' and passing through Egypt the soul as Charikleia is "cast into the furnace of temptations." Here Philip introduces the theme of pleasure through a refined etymological word-play and allusions to other themes of monastic spirituality:¹⁵⁰⁴

Carnal pleasure (ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἡ σαρκικὴ), like Arsace, contrives against her (sc. Charikleia/the soul) having as her pimp the senses (τὴν αἴσθησιν) just as Cybele

¹⁵⁰³ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 160–165 (ed. Bianchi, 56).

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 165–169 (ed. Bianchi, 56).

(Κυβέλην), who conceives (κύουσιν) arrows (βέλη) for her assaults and shoots these arrows at reason (τὸν λογισμὸν) and draws the contemplative faculty of the soul (τὸ θεωρητικὸν) towards herself, in order to debauch the thoughts of the mind. At this point let the courageous will be made tougher (into steel – στομούσθω) and let it be cast into the furnace of temptations!

ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἢ σαρκικὴ, ὥς Ἀρσάκη, ἐπιβουλεύσει μαστροπὸν ἔχουσα, ὥσει Κυβέλ[λ]ην, [τὴν] αἰσθησιν, κύου[σαν] βέλη τῶν προσβολῶν καὶ τοξεύουσιν τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ [εἰς] ἑαυτὴν τὸ θεωρητικὸν ὑφέλκουσαν, ἵνα μοιχευθῇ τὰ νοήματα. ἐνταῦθα [τὸ] ἀνδρεῖον λῆμα στομούσθω μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ καμίνῳ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἐμβληθῇ[τω·]

This fragment presents a similar exegetic sequence with the *De vita Moysis*. For Gregory says: “Whenever someone flees Egypt and, after getting outside its borders, is terrified by the assaults of temptation” (2.120).

However, the element most forcefully alluding to the Christian mystical tradition is Charikleia’s longing for Theagenes. As I show below, Philip’s exegesis alludes to Gregory’s theory of *epektasis* while closely leaning on the novel itself. The theological doctrines evoked therein are endorsed by a refined ethymological exegesis.

When, however, she put off the yoke of oxen that has attended her, bearing the torch she has reached the temple and beholds Theagenes (Θεαγένην), she forgets everything and wholly embraces the one she longs for, ineffably (ἄρρητως), in her soul. Be aware of what the riddle is saying to you! Whenever the soul surmounts (ὑπέρτερος γένηται) the material dyad, at that time the mystical knowledge of God coming to us from outside and leading up the soul to the contemplation (θέαν) of her family (τοῦ γένους) is perceived as most pleasing to her, and receiving the torch of desire (πόθου), [it is] infused in the soul the desire for the highest knowledge. The soul, being filled with this desire/love, as if drunk with a sober drunkenness and being, so to speak, love-smitten scorns her ordinary habits (συνήθων), disregards the body, and her thought concentrates only toward her beloved. And, thus carried away by what she desire, she hastens to grasp her first nobility, and she who had previously been defiant and scoffed love, throws herself willingly at Theagenes.

ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀφεῖσα τὸ ζεῦγος τῶν μόσχων τὸ ταύτην κομίζον καὶ πυρφοροῦσα τὸν ναὸν καταλάβῃ καὶ Θεαγένην θεάσῃται, πάντων ἐπιλανθάνεται καὶ ὅλον ἄρρητως τὸν ποθοῦμενον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγκολπίζεται. σύνες ὅτι σοι λέγει τὸ αἶνιγμα. ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ὑλικῆς δυάδος ὑπέρτερος γένηται, τότε ὁ ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν προσγινόμενος τῆς θεολογίας νοῦς καὶ πρὸς θεάν τοῦ γένους ἀνάγων τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁρᾶται αὐτῇ χαριέστατος, δεχόμενος μὲν τὴν τοῦ πόθου λαμπάδα{ν}, ἐνιεῖς δὲ αὐτῇ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς ὑψηλῆς ἐπιγνώσεως· ὅφ’ οὗ πλησθεῖσα καὶ μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σόφρονα καὶ γεγонуῖα, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐρωτόληπτος **καταφρονεῖ** μὲν συνήθων, ἀλογεῖ δὲ τοῦ σώματος, **πρὸς μόνον δὲ τὸ φιλοῦμενον συννεύει τὸ φρόνημα**. καὶ οὕτως ἀναρπασθεῖσα {καὶ} ὑπὸ τοῦ ποθομένου καταλαβεῖν ἐπείγεται τὴν πρώτην

εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἡ πρὶν σοβαρὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας διαπτύουσα ἵεται πρὸς Θεαγένην αὐτόμολος (...).

At a first level of *mimesis* the text is permeated by clear linguistic references to the novel. The contexts are eloquent for they point to the associations that certain passages invited for a Christian reader. The transposition operated by Philip in the ἐρμηνεία by alluding to certain passages may also help clarify the appropriation of the novel in the *Homilies*. In the ἐρμηνεία the most important reference to the novel are:

Aethiopika 1, 2, 8–9 (ed. Colonna, 58–60):

Κτύπου δὲ περιηγήσαντος καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν σκιᾶς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παρεμπεσούσης ἀνένευσεν ἡ κόρη καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὴς ἐπένευσε, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄηθες τῆς χροιάς καὶ τὸ ληστρικὸν τῆς ὄψεως ἐν ὅπλοις δεικνυμένης οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ κειμένου πᾶσαν ἑαυτὴν τρέψασα. Οὕτως **ἄρα πόθος ἀκριβῆς** καὶ ἔρως ἀκραιφνῆς τῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων ἀλγεινῶν τε καὶ ἡδέων **πάντων ὑπερφρονεῖ, πρὸς ἓν δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον καὶ ὁρᾷν καὶ συννεύειν τὸ φρόνημα** καταναγκάζει.

“But she, startled at the noise they made, and the shadow they cast, raised herself up; and just looking at them, again bent down, not in the least terrified at their unusual complexion and piratical appearance, but earnestly applied herself to the care of the wounded youth: so totally does vehement affection, and sincere love, overlook or disregard whatever happens from without, be it pleasing or terrifying; and confines and employs every faculty, both of soul and body, to the beloved object.” (trans. Rowland Smith, 4).

Aethiopika 4, 1, 2 (ed. Colonna, 222):

Ἡ ζάκορος δὲ ἡ Χαρίκλεια κατ’ ἄκρον τὸ στάδιον ἀθρόον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἀφιγμένη καὶ ἄκουσα διὰ τὸ πάτριον ἢ πλέον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, **ὄψεσθαί που τὸν Θεαγένην** ἐλπίζουσα, τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν ἡμμένον **πυρροφοῦσα λαμπάδιον** θατέρᾳ δὲ φοίνικος ἔρνος προβεβλημένη, καὶ φανεῖσα πᾶν μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέστρεψεν, ἔφθη δὲ τάχα οὐδεὶς τὸν Θεαγένους ὀφθαλμόν, ὅζυς γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὁ ἐρῶν **τὸ ποθοῦμενον**.

“At that instant the priestess Charikleia shone out like some fair star at the end of the course ; for she had prevailed with herself, however unfit, to come forth, that she might comply with the custom of her country: and perhaps not without a secret hope of seeing Theagenes. She bore a torch in her left hand, and a branch of palm in her right. At her appearance every eye in the assembly was turned upon her, but none sooner than that of Theagenes; for what is so quick as the glance of a lover?” (trans. Rowland Smith, 79)

It is again suggestive that the passages from the novel embedded in the ἐρμηνεία are meaningful to the spiritual/ascetic reading of the novel. The first passage belongs to the crucial opening tableau in which Charikleia rescues the wounded Theagenes from sinking in the world

of death through the power of love.¹⁵⁰⁵ Noteworthy, in the sermon on the raising of the son of the widow of Nain (*hom.* 6, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 37–44), Philagathos recalls the opening scene of the novel, for rendering the consternation of the mother when seeing the Resurrection of her son.¹⁵⁰⁶

The second passage is about the Pythian games during which Theagenes won the race in armour, inspired by the thought of receiving the prize from Charikleia. Philip's selection of novelistic passages was not fortuitous. For the race was a familiar image in classical and Christian culture for talking about spiritual progress. Gregory of Nyssa opens *The Life of Moses* with the image of horse races by which he urges and encourages vigorously his addressee to increase the speed for "competing admirably in the divine race along the course of virtue, lightfootedly leaping and straining constantly for the prize of the heavenly calling."¹⁵⁰⁷ By this same image taken from Nyssen's treatise, Philagathos opens the sermon for the Forgiveness Sunday.¹⁵⁰⁸ Furthermore, the passage from *Aethiopika* alluded to in the ἐρμηνεία is part of a larger context which conveys a Heliodorean theory of everlasting desire, not sufficiently underlined in the scholarship for its novelty. Heliodorus presents Knemon retorting to Kalasiris' indictment that his desire for stories is unquenchable:

"I am at feud with Homer,' father, for saying that love, as well as everything else, brings satiety in the end; for my part I am never tired either of feeling it myself, or hearing of its influence on others" (trans. Rawland Smith, 81).¹⁵⁰⁹

This detail may not be irrelevant to Philip-Philagathos' anagogical transposition of the novel according to Gregory of Nyssa's spiritual interpretation, which precisely stands alone among the mystical writers by seeing the spiritual reality in terms of everlasting desire and never-ending ascent.

An important indicator of the doctrine of *epektasis* in the ἐρμηνεία is Philip's interpretation of Charikleia's longing for Theagenes through the notion of 'sober drunkenness'.¹⁵¹⁰ The notion is attested first with Philo of Alexandria¹⁵¹¹ and was frequently

¹⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Ken Dowden, "Heliodorus: Serious Intentions," 279, insightfully described the (likely) reception of the novel in the Platonic paradigm, which is equally consistent with the Christian world-view: "For anyone who has been brought up on the world-view of Plato (an educated Heliodorus surely would be), this is a new Cupid and Psyche pair: Charikleia in this particular image represents the divine beauty (Cupid, Ἔρως) which raises the soul (Psyche, here Theagenes) from the mortal condition through our love."

¹⁵⁰⁶ The text is cited above, Part I, chapter The Restoration of Theagenes and the Resurrection of the Widow's Son," 74–75.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Life of Moses*, 1, 1 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 29).

¹⁵⁰⁸ Philagathos, *Hom.* 40 (Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, PG 132, coll. 412 C): Οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἵππικοῖς ἄθλοις ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς δοθῇ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ σήμαντρον, διασχιθεῖσης τῆς ὕσπληγγος, θαμινὰ τοὺς ἵππους μαστίζοντες πρὸς τὴν νύσσαν ἐλαύνουσι, συχνοῖς φερόμενοι καὶ κούφοις τοῖς ἄλμασιν.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Heliodorus, *Aethiopika* 4, 4, 3: «Εγὼ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ μέφομαι, ὦ πάτερ, ἄλλων τε καὶ φιλότητος κόρον εἶναι φήσαντι, πράγματος ὃ κατ' ἐμὲ κριτὴν οὐδεμίαν φέρει πλησμονὴν οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀνυόμενον οὔτε εἰς ἀκοὴν ἐρχόμενον· εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους καὶ Χαρικλείας ἔρωτος μνημονεύει, τίς οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ἢ σιδηροῦς τὴν καρδίαν ὥς μὴ θέλγεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκούων; ὥστε ἔχου τῶν ἐξῆς.»

¹⁵¹⁰ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 144–145 (ed. Bianchi, 55).

¹⁵¹¹ For a comprehensive analysis of this concept of mystical experience, see Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1929); the concept is also implied in Plato's μέθυσθαι νέκταρος, in Plotinus' notion of 'divine madness' (θεία μέθη), which portrays the mystical state as "drunkenness with nectar," for "it is better for it [viz. the Intellect] to be drunk with a drunkenness like this than to be

used in the Christian exegetical tradition for describing the Pentecostal inebriation,¹⁵¹² the sacrament of Holy Communion,¹⁵¹³ or, in general, the mystic state of those inebriated by divine wisdom.¹⁵¹⁴

In Gregory of Nyssa, the notion of “sober inebriation” (νήφων μέθη) is crucial for describing the soul’s experience of God in the divine darkness beyond the senses and beyond the intellect.¹⁵¹⁵ Interpreting Song 2:13, “the blossoming vines spread their fragrance,” Gregory says the “wine rejoicing the heart” which will one day fill up wisdom’s chalice (τὸν τῆς σοφίας κρατῆρα) (cf. Prov. 9:2–5) evokes the pleasure of a sober drunkenness (νηφάλιον μέθην) that “occasions that self-transcendence (ἡ ἔκστασις) by which people move out of the material sphere (ἐκ τῶν ὑλικῶν) toward what is more divine (πρὸς τὸ θεϊότερον).”¹⁵¹⁶ Philip’s description of Charikleia’s ‘sober drunkenness’ (μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σόφρονα) as she surmounts the material dyad of matter and form being infused with the torch of desire for the highest knowledge alludes, in my opinion, to Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of perpetual progress. Describing the soul gradually approaching the invisible divine nature Gregory notes that it “leaves behind everything that is observed, not only what sense comprehends but also what the intelligence thinks it sees, it keeps on penetrating deeper until by the intelligence’s yearning for

more respectably sober” (Plotinus, *Enn.* vi. 7, 35). The notion is also evoked in the ἄοινος μέθη employed by Plutarch to describe the Dionysiac mysteries (cf. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas*, 44–45); In the scholarship of the ἐρμηνεία the notion is naturally commented by Tarán, “The Authorship,” 224, as alluding to Plato’s notion of ‘divine madness.’

¹⁵¹² For Cyril of Jerusalem, the apostles at Pentecost were “drunk with a drunkenness without wine;” cf. *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (ed. W.C. Reischl and J. Rupp, *Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, 2 vols., Munich: Lentner, 1860, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967): 17, 19: Ἄλλ’ ὁ Πέτρος ὁ ἔχων πνεῦμα ἄγιον καὶ εἰδὼς ὃ ἔχει φησὶν· ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, οἱ τὸν μὲν Ἰωὴλ ἀπαγγέλλοντες, μὴ εἰδότες δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα, οὐχ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε οὗτοι μεθύουσιν. μεθύουσι γάρ, οὐχ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· μεθυσθήσονται ἀπὸ πίότητος οἴκου σου καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειμάρρων τῆς τρυφῆς σου ποτιεῖς αὐτούς. **μεθύουσι μέθην νηφάλιον**, νεκρωτικὴν ἁμαρτίας, καὶ καρδίας ζωοποιητικὴν, μέθην ἐναντίαν τῆς σωματικῆς.

¹⁵¹³ Cf. Pseudo-Macarius, *Homily* 63, 4, 6: (ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe*, 2 vols., *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973): λάβετε παρ’ ἐμοῦ οὐράνιον ἄρτον ἐξ οὗ τραφεῖσαι οὐκ ἀποθανεῖσθε, πῖετε ἐκ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ <μου> οἴνου καὶ εὐφρανθήτε οὐρανίῳ εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ **μεθυσθήτε μέθην νηφάλιον** καὶ πνευματικὴν, ἵν’ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σωματικῶς μεθύουσιν ὁ οἶνος λαλεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς μεθυσθεῖσαι πνευματικῶς λαλήσητε ἐν πνεύματι μυστηρίων οὐρανίων διηγήματα, καθὼς γέγραπται· «καὶ τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον με ὥσεί κράτιστον». For a similar image see Eusebius, *Commentarius in Ps.* 35: 9, *PG* vol. 23, col. 321B: μέθη δὲ σόφρων καὶ νηφάλιος.

¹⁵¹⁴ For more examples, see also, Lampe, *PGL*, 838, s.v. μέθη; for the association of ‘sober inebriation’ with the Song of Songs and the Eucharist see Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 2 (*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 4. Bonn: Habelt, 1968): 65, 2: οἱ δὲ μεθύοντες || θεῖον πόμα λαβόντες, τουτέστιν εὐφρανθέντες, **νηφαλίως μεθύουσιν**. “φάγετε, πῖετε, με||θύσθητε, ἀδελφοί”, ὁ νυμφίος ἐν τῷ ἅσματι τῶν ἁσμάτων λέγει. τὸ “μεθύσθητε” οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, οὐ “κρα||ταιώθητε” ἀπὸ οἴνου, ἀλλ’ “εὐφρανθήτε.”

¹⁵¹⁵ Cf. Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, 93. Gregory in *On the Life of Moses* 2, 162 clarifies the progress into darkness as progress into divine by saying: “Therefore what is perceived to be contrary to religion is darkness, and the escape from darkness comes about when one participates in light. But as the mind progresses and, through an ever greater and more perfect diligence, comes to apprehend reality, as it approaches more nearly to contemplation, it sees more clearly what of the divine nature is untemplated” (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 95).

¹⁵¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 5, 156, 15–20: Οὕτω μοι νόησον καὶ τὴν κυπρίζουσαν ἄμπελον, ἥς ὁ μὲν οἶνος ὁ τὴν καρδίαν εὐφραίνων πληρώσει ποτὲ τὸν τῆς σοφίας κρατῆρα καὶ προκείσεται τοῖς συμπόταις ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἀρῦεσθαι εἰς ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ **νηφάλιον μέθην**. **ἐκείνην λέγω τὴν μέθην, δι’ ἣς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῶν ὑλικῶν πρὸς τὸ θεϊότερον ἡ ἔκστασις γίνεται**. (trans. Norris, 169).

understanding it gains access to the invisible and the incomprehensible, and there it sees God.”¹⁵¹⁷ Philip describes Charikleia’s longing for Theagenes as a gradual increasing desire. First, she reaches the temple, echoing the prerequisite progress and knowledge of truth the soul needs to acquire for seeing the divine. Then when she beholds Theagenes, she forgets everything and wholly embraces the one she longs for, ineffably in her soul,” alludes to the soul’s ecstasy and ever increasing longing upon first glimpsing the divine.¹⁵¹⁸

Philagathos’ sermons give copious evidence for the appropriation of Nyssen’s understanding of mystical experience.¹⁵¹⁹ Pertinent to our discussion here is Philagathos’ description of Mary’s experience when hearing the word of Christ (Lc. 10:38) in homily 32 and homily 51. As Charikleia in the ἐρμηνεία, Mary receives the sweet arrow of Christ’s love and becomes “entirely drunk with drunkenness without [drinking] wine.”

Hom. 32, 3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 222).

Hom. 51, 12–16 (ed. Caruso, 115).

ἡ σύγγονος δέ, ἅτε τῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀγκίστρῳ ἐξηρητημένη καὶ τοῦ θείου λόγου κατάκρας ἀλοῦσα, καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ βέλος τῆς ἐκείνου ἀγάπης δεδεγμένη ἐγκάρδιον, καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκκενωθέντος μύρου τῆς θείας αἰσθομένη ὁδμῆς, ὅλη τῆς ἀκροάσεως γίνεται, μονονουχὶ τὰ τοῦ ἁσματος λέγουσα· «Εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρου σου ἔδραμον, ὅτι τετρωμένη τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης εἰμί».

«Ἡ οὖν Μαρία λαβοῦσα λίτραν μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου...». Ἡ Μαρία πάλαι μὲν παρακαθίσασα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Κυρίου τῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας εὐφραίνετο νέκταρι, ὑφ’ οὗ κορεσθεῖσα καὶ μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν νηφάλιον, τὰς τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος ἀκίδας ἐδέξατο, τὰ σῆς ἁσματικῆς νύμφης λέγουσα· «Εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρου σου ἔδραμον, ὅτι τετρωμένη τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης εἰμί».

These formulations, the concepts conveyed and the references to the *Song* presuppose Gregory’s *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, mostly alluding to the first, the forth and thirteenth homily on the *Song*. Philagathos depiction of Mary’s insatiable desire for God by using both *eros* and *agape*, the image of ‘sober drunkenness’ and ‘the wounding of the soul with the sweet arrow of love’ manifestly point to Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homilies*.¹⁵²⁰ Philagathos also associates the notion

¹⁵¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 163 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 95).

¹⁵¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, 2, 231 (trans. Malherbe and Ferguson, 114): “Such an experience seems to me to belong to the soul which loves what is beautiful. Hope always draws the soul from the beauty which is seen to what is beyond, always kindles the desire for the hidden through what is constantly perceived. Therefore, the ardent lover of beauty, although receiving what is always visible as an image of what he desires, yet longs to be filled with the very stamp of the archetype.”

¹⁵¹⁹ See above Part V, chapter 2, “Virtue and Perpetual Progress,” 380–391.

¹⁵²⁰ The expression “τὸ γλυκὺ βέλος τῆς ἐκείνου ἀγάπης” (*Hom. 32, 3*) is inspired from Gregory of Nyssa’s *In Canticum canticorum*, 4, 128–129: ὁρᾷ τοίνυν ἡ διὰ τῶν θείων ἀναβάσεων ὑψωθείσα ψυχὴ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀγάπης βέλος ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ᾧ ἐτρώθη, καὶ καύχημα ποιεῖται τὴν τοιαύτην πληγὴν λέγουσα ὅτι Τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγώ. (Trans. Norris, 141: “See, then, the soul that has been exalted through the divine ascents sees in herself the || sweet arrow of love by which she is wounded and makes boast of such a blow by saying, I have been wounded by love.); similarly, at a close contextual inspection the τὰς τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος ἀκίδας from *Hom. 51, 12–16* is reminiscent of the *In Canticum canticorum*, 13, 383–384: ἡ τοίνυν ἀποθεμένη τῶν ὁμμάτων τὸ θέριστρον καθαρῷ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ ἄφραστον ὁρᾷ τοῦ νυμφίου κάλλος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρωθεῖσα τῷ ἁσμάτῳ καὶ διαπύρῳ βέλει τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπιτεταμένη γὰρ ἀγάπῃ ὁ ἔρος λέγεται, ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἐπαισχύνεται ὅταν μὴ κατὰ σαρκὸς γένηται παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ τοξεία, ἀλλ’ ἐπικαυχᾶται μᾶλλον τῷ τραύματι ὅταν διὰ τοῦ βάθους τῆς καρδίας δέξηται τὴν τοῦ ἀύλου πόθου ἀκίδα. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ αὕτη πεποίηκε ταῖς νεάνισι λέγουσα ὅτι Τετρωμένη ἀγάπης εἰμί ἐγώ. “She, then, who has put the veil off from her eyes sees the unspeakable beauty of the Bridegroom with a pure eye and in this way is wounded by the

“sober drunkenness” with Gregory of Nyssa’s *Commentaries on the Beatitudes*. Using an identical wording with the ἐρμηνεία, the homilist describes the state of mind aroused by Gregory’s *Commentaries*:

Commentatio in Charicleam, 144–147:

[The soul], being filled with this desire/love, as if drunk with a sober drunkenness and being, so to speak, love-smitten scorns her ordinary habits (συνήθων), disregards the body, and her thought concentrates only toward her beloved.

Hom. 20, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134):

And the great Gregory of Nyssa had explained in eight homilies the beauty of this; and he will enable anyone who desires it to draw running water from that most wise book, and to be drunk with a sober drunkenness.

ὅφ’ οὗ πλησθεῖσα καὶ **μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σώφρονα** καὶ γεγонуῖα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐρωτόληπτος καταφρονεῖ μὲν συνήθων, ἀλογεῖ δὲ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς μόνον δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον συνενῶει, τὸ φρόνημα.

ὁ Νυσσαεὺς καὶ μέγας Γρηγόριος ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ ὁκτὼ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ κάλλος ἐξηγησάμενος· καὶ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ τῆς πανσόφου ἐκείνης βίβλου ἀρύσασθαι νάματα, καὶ **μέθην μεθυσθῆναι τὴν σώφρονα**·

The parallelism in vocabulary between the *Homilies*, the ἐρμηνεία in reference to Nyssen’s works is quite distinctly evidenced in passages like the one already mentioned. Beside the image of ‘sober drunkenness,’ which described Martha and Mary’s enthusiasm toward the evangelic grace (πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν χάριν αὐτομολήσασα),¹⁵²¹ the term “willingly” (αὐτόμολος ‘of someone’s own accord’) which depicts Charikleia’s throwing herself at Theagenes (l. 150–151: ἱεται πρὸς Θεαγένην αὐτόμολος) illustrates the same relation with Philagathos’ *Homilies* and Gregory’s works. The term αὐτόμολος occurs countless times in the *Homilies*¹⁵²² and it may well be that even in the *Interpretation* the concept hints to the importance of personal responsibility for the individual salvation held in the Christian world-view. For the longing of Charikleia for Theagenes by her own will, symbolically represents the soul’s quest for Divinity.

Then, the notion of Charikleia’s yearning for grasping her ‘first nobility’ (l. 149: ἐπείγεται τὴν πρώτην εὐγένειαν) further bears the imprint of Nyssen’s formulations.¹⁵²³ On the

incorporeal and fiery arrow of love, for agapē when intensified is called love. This occasions people no shame if love’s archery is not fleshly; on the contrary, they boast the more in their wound when they receive the dart of immaterial desire in the very depth of the heart. And this is exactly what the Bride did when she said to the young women: ‘I am wounded by love’” (trans. Norris, 403–405); Equally the reference to the **μόρου τῆς θείας αἰσθομένη ὁδμῆς** from the sermon “On Martha and Mary” (*Hom.* 32, 3, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 222) in relation to Song 1:3 (“Because of the savor of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth; therefore do the virgins love thee.”) points to Nyssen’s first homily on the Song, which addresses the vision of God; in the same sermon commenting on Song 1:3 Gregory formulates the doctrine of *epektasis*.

¹⁵²¹ *Hom.* 32, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 223): trans.: “[Mary] going of her own accord toward the evangelic grace (...).”

¹⁵²² Cf. *Hom.* 13, 6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 87): “**Ἱεται** τοῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἴασιν **αὐτόμολος** ὁ Σωτήρ (...).” Trans.: “And so the Saviour willingly applies himself to the healing (...).”

¹⁵²³ We may deduce this by observing the imprint of Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica orationes* v. 238, 16–21 upon Philagathos’ sermon “On the Man who Owed Ten Thousand Talents;” the homilist associates the notion of ‘first nobility’ with the term “willingly” (αὐτόμολος) for describing the young man’s embracing a pigsty life-style through the intermediacy of Gregory of Nyssa’s sermon, which in turn is closely reminiscent of the phrasing and notions expressed in the ἐρμηνεία; cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 2, 10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 13): ὁ νυκτιλόχος ληστής

other hand, the reference to the soul surmounting the material dyad (l. 139–140: ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ὑλικῆς δυάδος ὑπέρτερος γένηται), besides mirroring a similar rendering of mystical experience in the *Homilies*,¹⁵²⁴ indicates the other most important source for Philagathos, viz. the works of Maximus Confessor.¹⁵²⁵ Finally, Charikleia's journey in the ἐρμηνεία for her true descent evokes a common theme in the *Homilies*: the image of man *in statu viatoris* heading towards the blissful homeland in order to recover the pristine nobility of birth and spiritual descent.¹⁵²⁶

ἀνασκολοπισθεῖς καὶ ἤδη πνέων τὰ ἔσχατα, μνήμην μόνην ζητήσας, ὅλον εἰλήφει παράδεισον· καὶ **νεανία πατρικῆς ἐστίας** ἀποσκιρτήσαντι **καὶ πρὸς τὸν χοιρώδη βίον αὐτομολήσαντι**, ἐν μέρει μισθωτῶν ἀξιοῦντι τετάχθαι, χαρίζεται **τὴν πρώτην εὐγένειαν**· = Gregory's *De oratione dominica orationes* v. 238, 16–21: ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπόμνησιν ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ τῆς τε **πατρίδος** ἧς ἐκπεπώκαμεν, καὶ **τῆς εὐγενείας** ἧς ἀπεβλήθημεν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν νέον διηγήματι τὸν ἀποστάντα τῆς **πατρῴας ἐστίας καὶ πρὸς τὸν χοιρώδη βίον αὐτομολήσαντα** τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀθλιότητα δαίκνυσιν ὁ λόγος (...).

¹⁵²⁴ Cf. Philagathos' sermon "For the Feast of the Transfiguration," which conveys the mystical experience in identical terms with the ἐρμηνεία; *Hom.* 31, 38 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 220): **Ὅταν οὖν ὁ νοῦς τῶν σωματικῶν ὑπέρτερος γένηται**, ὥστε μὴ ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῆς σαρκός, μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐν τῇ ἰλῷ τῆς ἀμαρτίας συμφύρεσθαι, τότε διὰ τότε, τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς συναντιλαμβανόμενον ἔχων **πρὸς τὸ ποθοῦμενον**, ἀπαρεμποδιστῶς εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἀνάγεται, τὴν ἐμποδίζουσαν ἐννάδα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν εἰργουσαν παραγκωνισάμενος.

¹⁵²⁵ The reference in the ἐρμηνεία to the soul surmounting the material dyad has been regarded as "definitely pointing to Neopythagoreanism" by Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*," 223; in fact it is a common notion in Maximus Confessor for describing the mystical state of contemplation which the saints achieved; see for instance the eloquent formulation of the problem in *Ambigua ad Johannem*, PG 91, coll. 1193D: Θεωρία διάφορος τῆς διαβαθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ὑλικῆς δυάδος, καὶ τίς ἡ ἐν τῇ Τριάδι νοουμένη ἐνότης. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑλικὴν δυάδα γενέσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Τριάδι νοουμένην ἐνότητα, τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὕλην γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐξ ὧν τὰ σώματα, τοὺς ἁγίους λέγειν ὑπονοῶ αὐτὸν, ἢ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὴν ὕλην, ὥσπερ διασχόντας ἔφη θεῶ συγγενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἀκραϊφνεστάτῳ κραθῆναι φωτὶ καταξιοθῆναι, (...); see also *Ambigua ad Thomam* ed. B. Janssens, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 1, where Maximus, commenting on Gregory the Theologian, explains the concept of Trinity as being above matter and form: "Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου, εἰς τὸ Διὰ τοῦτο μονὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς δυάδα κινήσεισα, μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη. Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου Εἰρηνικοῦ, εἰς τὸ Μονάδος μὲν κινήσεισης διὰ τὸ πλούσιον, δυάδος δὲ ὑπερβαθείσης (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐξ ὧν τὰ σώματα), τριάδος δὲ ὀρισθείσης διὰ τὸ τέλειον." In *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, Maximus explains God's appearance to Lot as two because "he had not yet purged his mind of the composite nature of corporeal things from form and matter and believed that God was the Creator only of the visible creation; Therefore God appeared to Lot as two and not three (cf. Genesis 19:1), and by exhibiting himself through the two gave an indication that Lot's ascending mind had transcended matter and form." *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, ed. C. Laga and C. Steel (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), 28, 15–21: Τῷ δὲ Λώτ, μήπω τῆς τῶν σωμάτων καθαρὸν τὸν νοῦν ποιησαμένῳ συνθέσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους τῶν σωμάτων γενέσεως ἐξηρημένῳ καὶ μόνης δημιουργὸν εἶναι πιστεύοντι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ὁρατῆς κτίσεως, ἐμφανιζόμενος ὁ θεὸς δυνάμει ἀλλ' οὐ τριαδικῶς ἐφάνη, δεικνὺς δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐσχημάτιζε μήπω τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ εἶδους ἐκβεβηκέναι τὸν ἀναγόμενον νοῦν; the references to the material dyad are in fact abundant in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (i.e. 55, 247–251; 65, 197–209, etc) and generally in Maximus' writings.

¹⁵²⁶ See *Hom.* 7, 16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 51), where the prodigal son "is giving up his original nobility" (**χαρίζεται τὴν πρώτην εὐγένειαν**). The same image of *homo viator* journeying towards the blissful homeland is also evoked in *Hom.* 40 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, PG 132, coll. 413 A; in *Hom.* 31, PG vol. 132, col. 458B, Philagathos states: Οὗτος γὰρ οἶκος ἡμέτερος, ἐξ οὗ κακῶς ἀπερρίφμεν, καὶ οὗ λαβέσθαι σπεύσωμεν διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν· καὶ τὸ σῶμα βασταζόντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν γῆινων προσπαθείας αἴροντες τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς ἔφεσιν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν· Trans.: "This is our home, from which we were banished so terribly. Let us hurry to recover it through the practice of the four cardinal virtues. And while carrying this body, let us elevate our soul from the earthly longings to the desire for eternal good." Similar ideas are expressed in *Hom.* 38 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, PG 132, coll. 372C); cf. *Hom.* 39 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, PG 132, coll. 412B): τὸν νοῦν καλῶς δεδουλευκότα τῇ τηρήσει τῆς ἐξάδος τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐλεύθερον γίνεσθαι τῶν παθῶν καὶ χαίροντα **βαδίζειν πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν νοουμένην συγγένειαν**. Trans.: "The mind after having served with vigilance by observing the six

6. Arythmology and Etymology

An important feature of Philip's exegesis in the ἐρμηνεία is the usage of arythmology and etymology.¹⁵²⁷ It mirrors an old tradition to express perfection through numbers, "the wisest of beings."¹⁵²⁸ The more mystical part of the ἐρμηνεία devoted to 'contemplation' (θεωρία) begins suggestively with the analysis of Charikleia's name. Modern scholars tend to relegate this exegetic practice to the category of rhetorical playfulness. Philip's ἐρμηνεία is even termed a "puerile" interpretive engagement.¹⁵²⁹ Yet to understand Philip's exegesis of names and numbers it is important to acquiesce the significant bond between language and reality that underpinned the Christian reflection on names and numbers.¹⁵³⁰ Even if God's nature cannot be known, the revelation in history of the One who "willed to incorporate himself in letters and deigned to be expressed in syllables and sounds for our sake"¹⁵³¹ established a correlation between (religious) reality and religious expression (language). "Since nothing is mentioned in vain in the Scriptures (οὐδὲν ἀκαίρως οὐδὲ μάτην τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι γέγραπται),"¹⁵³² the names contained in the Holy Writ are significant and indicative of a spiritual reality. From this perspective, the invocation of numbers in the exegesis is not ornamental, but it justifies a quasi-theological meaning ascribed to the *Aethiopika*. Indeed, when considering the importance attached in the exegetic tradition to the meaning of names and numbers, briefly alluded to above, Philip's defense of the novel appears substantial. It may be presumed that for the Byzantine reader the ἐρμηνεία must have been a convincing apology. The exegesis has the number 7 at its kernel:

"Charikleia is a symbol of the soul and of the mind which orders the soul, for "fame" and "grace" represents the mind united with the soul. This is not the only reason that the name is a compound. It is also because the mind is united with

commandments becomes free of passions and proceeds full of joy towards its blessed homeland and toward its spiritual descent."

¹⁵²⁷ For the exegesis of names, see Franz Wutz, *Onomastica sacra: Untersuchungen zum Liber Interpretationis Nominum Hebraicorum des Hl. Hieronymus* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1914–1915); for a general perspective on the medieval exegesis of numbers see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, vol. II (Paris: Aubier, 1964), 7–40; François Bovon, "Names and Numbers in Ancient Christianity," *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001): 267–288; see also the case studies of Ursula Treu, "Etymologie und Allegorie bei Klemens von Alexandria," *SP* 4 (1961): 190–211; R.P.C. Hanson, "Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Origen," *VigChr* 10 (1956): 103–123; Peter Van Deun, "La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580–662)," *Byzantinoslavica*, 53 (1992): 237–242.

¹⁵²⁸ Proclus, *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria*, 16.5, ed. G. Pasquali (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908), 27: ἐρωτηθεὶς γοῶν Πυθαγόρας, τί σοφώτατον τῶν ὄντων ἀριθμὸς ἔφε. On the symbolism of numbers and in particular of number seven see H. Meyer and R. Suntrup, "Zum Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutung im Mittelalter. Einführung in die Methode und Probeartikel: Die Zahl 7," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977): 1–73; F. Dölger, "Antike Zahlenmystik in einer byzantinischen Klosterregel," *Hellenika* 4 (1953): 183–89.

¹⁵²⁹ Cf. Gerald Sandy, "A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Heliodorus' Ethiopian Story," 176.

¹⁵³⁰ François Bovon, "Names and Numbers in Ancient Christianity," 271 in relation to the modern conundrum of assessing premodern exegesis asks: Influenced by centuries of nominalist thinking, are we able to imagine another relationship between language and thought, or between names or numbers and reality?

¹⁵³¹ Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, PG 91, coll. 1288A.

¹⁵³² Maximus Confessor, *Questiones ad Thalassium* 55, 524–527.

the body, becoming a single being/entity (μία ὑπόστασις)¹⁵³³ with it. You can understand this more clearly if you count the elements of the name as determined by adding 7 and 70 and 700. Since the number 7 is mystical, virgin and holy among numbers, as the word of the Italian tongue explains it, then it is appropriate (εἰκότως) that her name preserves its meaning through monads, decads, and hundreds of the seventh number, thus indicating (σημαίνουσα) by means of 700 the holy and the perfect mind (τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ τέλειον <νοῦν>), by means of 70 the soul itself; for seven governs (κοσμοῦσαν) the tripartite soul by the four perfect virtues, since four decads combined with three decads make 70. The single seven itself discloses the body, to which the mind is attached, keeping in the middle of the soul the five senses and the matter and form, from which the body came to be.

Χαρίκλεια σύμβολόν ἐστι ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ ταύτην κοσμοῦντος νοός· κλέος γὰρ καὶ χάρις νοῦς ἐστὶν συνημμένος ψυχῇ. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα σύνθετον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι συντίθ[εται] κ[αὶ] νοῦς σ[ώ]ματι, μία μετ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένη ὑπόστασις. ἐκδηλοτέρως δ’ ἂν τοῦτο γνοίης τ[ὰς] τοῦ ὀνό[ματος] μονάδας ἀριθμήσας εἰς ἑπτὰ ποσομένας καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσί[ας] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς μυστικὸς ἐστὶ καὶ παρθένος καὶ σεπτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, καθὼς ἡ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐρμηνεύει φωνή, εἰκότως ἡ κλήσις ἐν ταῖς μονάσι καὶ <ταῖς> δεκάσι καὶ ταῖς ἑκατοντάσι τῆς ἑβδόμης σημασίαν τετήρηκ[ε], διὰ μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑκατοντάδων σημαίνουσα τὸ{ν} σεβάσμιον καὶ τέλ<ε>ιον, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ δεκάδων αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν (ταῖς τελείαις τέσσαρσιν ἀρεταῖς κοσμοῦσαν τὸ τρι[σ]μερές· τέσσαρες γὰρ δεκάδες ταῖς τρισὶ συντιθέμεναι πληροῦσι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα), ἡ μέντοι ἀπλῇ ἑβδόμας τὸ σῶμα δηλοῖ, ᾧ συνάπτεται ὁ νοῦς, διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς τὴν πενταδικὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχον{τος} καὶ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐξ ὧν γέγονεν.

¹⁵³³ Curiously, the word ὑπόστασις was explained only in relation to the classical philosophical tradition, whereas the possibility of a Christian connotation was not even mentioned in the scholarship; cf. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 156, stated that the term ὑπόστασις along with the relationship of soul, mind, and body expressed in the *Interpretation* is dependent primarily upon the Neoplatonic tradition and especially on Plotinus. Lamberton goes on to explain that the longing of Charikleia for the true homeland in the *Interpretation* “has close affinities with passages in *Enneads* 5.1, where Plotinus laments the soul’s forgetfulness of its true family and describes its relationship to the higher hypostases.” Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 219, n° 83 only comments that “ὑπόστασις here must mean «substance», «entity»” and that “[t]he philosophical doctrines the author uses here are of course well known: the intermediacy of the soul between the νοῦς and body (implied in the triad νοῦς–ψυχὴ–σῶμα), and the concepts of «matter» and «form» that do ultimately back to Aristotle. (p. 220–221).” I will not attempt to give a summary of the complexity of the concept of hypostasis in Plotinus and in later Neoplatonists or to refer to Aristotle’s definition of the individual, for the context of the ἐρμηνεία is entirely Christian; yet, to the best of my knowledge, ὑπόστασις in the Neoplatonic tradition describes the reality conceived of (three higher) hypostases: the One, the mind, and the soul, but this ‘reality’ does not include a (perishable) body. For a brief summary, see Laurence J. Rosánbut in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards (New York: Macmillan, 1967), s.v. “Proclus.” For the division of the higher hypostases in later Neoplatonism, see R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 131. I would like, however, to mention the fact that the ascension of the mind, soul and body together towards Divinity is typically Christian, founded on the belief that Christ is the perfect union between Divinity and the human nature (viz. the union between mind, soul, and body). Philagathos (*Hom.* 25, 8–9, ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 165) provides an accurate description of the aforementioned teaching by considering “the manner in which the most perfect divinity of the Word was united, in a way that is beyond words, with the body through the mediation of the rational and sensible soul” in the person of Christ.

For the present inquiry, it is important to note the manner in which Philip contrived the allegorical exegesis of the number seven because he connects it with a typical Christian understanding of the human person. He wanted so much to emphasize it that he counted separately the three component parts of 777 the total numerical value of the Greek letters which make up the name of Charikleia in Greek, as seven, seventy and seven hundred. According to Tarán, there are no “parallels to the sacred character of 70, 700, or 777 by itself.”¹⁵³⁴ The triad νοῦς-ψυχή-σῶμα as it is presupposed by the parsing of the number 777, in three separate parts, “7” corresponding to the body, “70” to the soul, and 700 to the intellect represents a commonplace with Christian authors for defining the human person that it hardly needs a detailed discussion. On the other hand, and this fact needs some emphasis, as it has escaped the notice of most commentators, the fact that the union of soul, mind, and body is presented by the author of the *Interpretation* as forming a unity, viz. a person (μία ὑπόστασις), pleads for an unambiguously Christian context because this particular use of ὑπόστασις, as defining the union between body, soul and mind is atypical for “pagan” philosophy, but very much in line with the language of the Christological formulations.¹⁵³⁵

The fragment cited above was fiercely debated for it was believed to allude to Neopythagoric doctrines.¹⁵³⁶ However, as we have seen,¹⁵³⁷ Philagathos’ reliance on the allegorical interpretation of numbers and names in the *Homilies* invalidates this interpretation. The Christian exegesis of number 7 is particularly rich for this number occurs in the Scriptures in more than 200 passages. There is no need to postulate a linkage with the ancient Neopythagoreanism when the method of interpreting names and numbers is abundantly documented in the sources available to Philip-Philagathos.

As we have discussed in a previous section, the systematic application of arithmology and etymology in Philagathos’ *Homilies* and in the ἐρμηνεία finds its closest parallel in Maximus Confessor’s exegetic method. In particular, the exegesis of Charikleia’s name in the ἐρμηνεία finds its most accurate parallel in Philagathos’ interpretation of Archangel Gabriel’s name from the homily delivered “For the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Most Holy Lady,” for which the

¹⁵³⁴ Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 220, n. 87.

¹⁵³⁵ At the Council of Chalcedon (451) *hypostasis* in Christology was equated with the concept of person, a teaching further developed by John of Caesarea and Leontios of Byzantium, who defined hypostasis as “being-for-itself,” distinguishing two degrees of individuation, the nature and the person. Maximus the Confessor and Anastasios of Sinai analyzed this formula as well. See A. de Halleux, “‘Hypostase’ et ‘personne’ dans la formation du dogme trinitaire,” *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique* 79 (1984): 313–369, 625–70; Karl-Heinz Uthemann, “Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union,” *Kleronomia* 14 (1982): 215–312; id., “Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor,” in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1982): 223–233. Cf. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*: 1454–1461 s. v. ὑπόστασις.

¹⁵³⁶ Leonardo Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 206–207, argued that the passage with the exegesis of number seven constitutes “evidence of Neopythagorean influence on our author”; in stating this, Tarán simply disregarded the possibility of the existence of a similar Christian exegesis of the passage or of a tradition that could be linked with Philo of Alexandria rather than exclusively with the Neopythagoreans. For a similar interpretation, see Sandy, “A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Heliodorus’ Ethiopian Story,” 172–173.

¹⁵³⁷ For a survey of Philagathos’ exegesis of names and numbers, see Part V, chapter 1, “Names and Numbers,” 349–366.

homilist turned to Maximus Confessor's exegesis.¹⁵³⁸ It may be appropriate to underline again here that number 7 received an extensive attention in Maximus' works, being associated with the soul's purity and doctrinal perfection.¹⁵³⁹ As in the ἐρμηνεία, in *Ambigua ad Ioannem* the number is held to represent chastity and virginity (παρθένος ἀριθμός), which points again to the consistency of Philip's exegesis entirely arrayed to the defense of Charikleia.¹⁵⁴⁰ Furthermore, the imprint of Maximus' formulations in the ἐρμηνεία may be perceived in the phrasing of the relation between νοῦς-ψυχὴ-σῶμα,¹⁵⁴¹ in the similar denotation of the "mystical knowledge of God"¹⁵⁴² or in the notion of the ascent of the soul beyond the material dyad as noted before.

It should be noted that the novel itself encloses a similar interpretative practice, which Philip-Philagathos emulated.¹⁵⁴³ Heliodorus interprets the letters of Nile, by adding their numerical value which gives the sum of 365, the numbers of the days in the year. Significantly, Philip-Philagathos applied the exegetic template which the novel offered to his own exegesis in the *Homilies*. Thus the interpretation of the name "Rebekka" from the sermon "For the Tenth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*" is moulded on Heliodorus' text:

Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 9, 22, 6:

The Nile then, they said, is nothing else but the year incarnate, its very appellation confirming this, for if the letters in its name are converted to numerals they will total 365 units, the number of days in the year (trans. based on Rowland Smith, 224).

Hom. 79 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, PG 132, coll. 696A):

Rebekka then, figures the Church, united to Christ through baptism. For if the letters of Rebekka's name are converted to numerals, they will total 153 units, the number of fish caught [by the apostles] (Jn. 21:1–14). In this way the apostles' fishing announced beforehand the throng of the Church.

οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀντικρὺς εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον, τοῦτο καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκβεβαιουμένης (τῶν γοῦν κατὰ τοῦνομα **στοιχείων εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων**, πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσiai **μονάδες, ὅσαι καὶ τοῦ** ἔτους ἡμέραι, **συναχθήσονται**), φυτῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνθέων καὶ ζώων ιδιότητος καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα τούτοις προστιθέντων (...).

Ἡ γοῦν Ῥεβέκκα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰκόνιζε, συναφθεῖσαν Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. **Τῶν γοῦν στοιχείων** τῆς Ῥεβέκκα ὀνόματος **εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων**, τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἑκατον **μονάδες συναχθήσονται, ὅσους καὶ τοὺς** ἀγρευθέντας ἰχθῦς εὐρίσκομεν. Οὕτω τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ ἄγρα τὸν πληθυσμὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας

¹⁵³⁸ *Hom.* 25, 8–9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 165); the text is cited at p. 353–354.

¹⁵³⁹ Peter Van Deun, "La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur (580-662)," 240–241.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Maximus Confessor lists the explanations given to the number 7 in *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, PG 91, coll. 1389D – 1392.

¹⁵⁴¹ Note for instance the textual similarity between lines 110–111 of the ἐρμηνεία (κλέος γὰρ καὶ χάρις **νοῦς ἐστὶν συνημμένος ψυχῇ**) with the phrasing from *Hom.* 19, 4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 126): Ἐπειδὴ **συνημμένος ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς τῇ ψυχῇ**, ἡ μὲν οὖν λαμπάς, ἡ δηλοῦσα τὸν νοῦν, συνήπται ἡμῖν φυσικῶς. This sermon is significantly based on Maximus Confessor's *Questiones ad Thalassium*, Question 63.

¹⁵⁴² For the expression **τῆς θεολογίας νοῦς** in line 141 observe the similar phrasing in Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 25, 54–55: Καὶ αὐθις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ **τῆς μυστικῆς θεολογίας** ἐντὸς γενόμενος **νοῦς**, κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἀκατακάλυπτον τὸν Χριστόν, (...).

¹⁵⁴³ The etymological thought present in the novel is investigated by Meriel Jones, "Heavenly and Pandemic Names in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*," *CQ* 56 (2006): 548–562.

προήγγειλε.

When looking for the meaning attached to the number 7 in the ἐρμηνεία the *Homilies* offer additional clarification. This number constantly turns up in the sermons where it usually denotes the perfection of the age to come or the renovation of the world during the seventh millennium.¹⁵⁴⁴ Even the wording in the ἐρμηνεία and the notion that ἐπτὰ must have been originally σεπτὰ, as connected to the Latin word *septem* is identical in both works. The association is in fact attested in the Christian tradition starting with Procopius of Caesarea.¹⁵⁴⁵ Philagathos alludes to this tradition in the sermon “For the Beggining of the Indiction and for Saint Symeon the Stylite” besides the allegorical exegesis:

Commentatio in Charicleam, 115–117 (ed. *Hom.* 1.9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 6) Bianchi, 54)

Since the number 7 is mystical, virgin and holy among numbers, as the word of the Italian tongue explains it, [by giving it the name *septem*].

Do you see what great mysteries are contained in this seemingly small holiday and how this month was not uninspiredly called September by the Romans? Not only because it is the seventh in a row (for *septem* is the Latin name of the number seven), but also because it is holy (σεπτὸς) and venerable (σεβάσμιος)!¹⁵⁴⁶

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς μυστικὸς ἐστὶ καὶ παρθένος καὶ σεπτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, καθὼς ἡ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐρμηνεύει φωνή, (...).

Ὅρατε ὅσα ἡ δοκοῦσα μικρὰ ἐορτὴ περιέχει μυστήρια, καὶ ὅπως ὁ μὴν οὐκ ἀθεεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὠνομάσθη Σεπτέμβριος; Οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἑβδομος ἐστὶ (σέπτε<μ> γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς), ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ σεπτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ σεβάσμιος.

This similar usage of the symbolism of number seven both in the *Homilies* and in the ἐρμηνεία has already been pointed out as a proof for Philagathos’ authorship of the ἐρμηνεία and

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Hom.* 11, 18 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 76): “Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἐστὶ καὶ χρόνου δηλωτικός, ἐν οἷς κατεκράτει τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸ νόσημα· ἑβδομαδικὸς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος, πενταδικὴ δὲ ἡ αἴσθησις.” Trans.: “But even the number of the years is indicative for the nature and for the time, in which the disease of impiety will prevail over nature: for the time is in the seventh period, and the senses are five.” See also *Hom.* 1.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 5); *Hom.* 61 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, PG 132, coll. 764B); *Hom.* 48 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, PG 132, coll. 508B).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Procopius of Caesarea mentioned the connection between ἐπτὰ, σεπτὸς and the Latin word *septem*: see for this, Procopius, *Bella* 3, 1, 6 (ed. G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963): Σέπτον καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἐπτὰ φαινομένων ἐνταῦθα: τὸ γὰρ σέπτον ἐπτὰ τῇ Λατίνῳ φωνῇ δύναται. The fact that the Latin word *septem* is a clue for the sigma which had vanished from the Greek word for “seven” is attested first in a passage from Philo of Alexandria, *De opificio mundi* 127: διό μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφημίσαντες ἅτε σοφοὶ καλέσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σεβασμοῦ καὶ τῆς προσοῦσης σεμνότητος: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ προστιθέντες τὸ ἐλλειφθέν ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων στοιχεῖον τὸ Σ τρανοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν ἔμφασιν, ἐτυμώτερον σέπτεμ προσαγορεύοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, καὶ σεβασμοῦ. (ed. Leopold Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1896; repr. 1962)

¹⁵⁴⁶ Trans. Gaspar, in “Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy,” 104.

for his identity, i.e., a Greek-speaking Italian who also knew some Latin.¹⁵⁴⁷ What should be retained for the present analysis is the intricate association of this feature of Philip-Philagathos' exegesis with chastity and the notion of the restoration of human nature achieved through purity and signified by the number 7. At the same time, it reveals the substantial connection to the other allusions from the ἐρμηνεία in relation to death, immortality and longing for the divine. For the notion of virginity implied in Philip's exegesis of number 7, is fundamental to Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus's understanding of incorruptibility as the means of overcoming death, so as to refer to Philagathos' most important luminaries.¹⁵⁴⁸ It is also critical for understanding the relation of Christ's virginal birth with his Resurrection, the deification of the body and the attainment of immortality. In the *Homilies*, Philagathos frames this connection with great precision and vividness in relation to Christ's appearance to the disciples through the closed doors (Jn. 20:19).¹⁵⁴⁹

As an aside, we may add the likely allusion in the ἐρμηνεία to Gregory of Nyssa's *De virginitate*, first noted by Bianchi,¹⁵⁵⁰ which bestows another layer of consistency to Philip's rhetorical strategy. Thus, the expression διὰ τῆς ἄλμης καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων διαβιβάζων ἀκύμονα τὴν ψυχὴν in l. 156–157 appears to be inspired from Gregory's formulation in *De virginitate* 18.5 (τῆς ἄλμης τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων συνεφαπτόμενον).¹⁵⁵¹ The image invoked is part of larger context that addresses the workings of virtues for passing unwet through the sea of this perishable life. For the cultivation of the virtues sows, Gregory explains, the "manner of life which does not bring death in its train. Now the life of Virginity is such a life."¹⁵⁵²

The refinement of this allegorical exegesis is revealed by Philip's selection and interpretation of episodes from the novel. Of particular interest is the reference to the 'pantarbe' jewel (*Aethiopika* 8.11.8) in lines 170–173:

At this point let the courageous will be made tougher (into steel – στομούσθω)
and let it be cast into the furnace of temptations! The ruby will keep her

¹⁵⁴⁷ Carolina Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami," 19.

¹⁵⁴⁸ For the relation of death and virginity in Gregory of Nyssa, see Hans Boersma, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa*, 123–136; for Maximus Confessor see the chapter "Humanity and Sin" in Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor*, 179–205.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Cf. *Hom.* 78 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 35, PG 132, coll. 684 A).

¹⁵⁵⁰ Bianchi, *Il codice del romanzo*, 31.

¹⁵⁵¹ The exegetic context in *De virginate* entirely consistent with Philip's exegesis suggests that the allusion from the ἐρμηνεία is indeed derived from Gregory of Nyssa's *De virginitate*, 18, 5: "The work of true sobriety is the same; from all pursuits and habits to choose that which is pure (καθαρόν) and improving (ὠφέλιμον), rejecting (ἐκλεγομένην) in every case that which does not seem likely to be useful, and letting it go back into the universal and secular life (τῷ κοινῷ καὶ κοσμικῷ βίῳ), called "the sea," in the imagery of the Parable. The Psalmist also, when expounding the doctrine of a full confession, calls this restless suffering (τὸν ἄστατον τοῦτον καὶ ἐμπαθῆ) tumultuous life (ταραχώδη βίον), "waters coming in even unto the soul," "depths of waters," and a "hurricane"; in which sea indeed every rebellious thought sinks, as the Egyptian did, with a stone's weight into the deeps. But all in us that is dear to God, and has a piercing insight (διορατικὸν) into the truth (called "Israel" in the narrative), passes, but that alone, over that sea as if it were dry land, and is never reached by the bitterness and the brine of life's billows (τοῦτο μόνον ὡς ξηρὰν αὐτὴν διεξέρχεται οὐδαμοῦ τῆς πικρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλμης τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων συνεφαπτόμενον). Thus, typically, under the leadership of the Law (for Moses was a type of the Law that was coming) Israel passes unwetted over that sea, while the Egyptian who crosses in her track is overwhelmed" (trans. Henry Wace in *NPNF* II/5, 499).

¹⁵⁵² Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 13, 3 (trans. Henry Wace in *NPNF*, second series, vol. 5, 492).

unblemished. For the ‘ruby’ (παντάρβη), being that which ‘fears all’ (ἡ τὸ πᾶν ταρβοῦσα) or ‘is afraid’ (ἥτοι φοβουμένη ἐστίν) intimates (αἰνίττεται) at the fear of God (τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον); for God is all things (θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν).¹⁵⁵³

ἐνταῦθα [τὸ] ἀνδρεῖον λῆμα στομούσθω μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ καμίνῳ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἐμβληθῇ[τω] παντάρβη ταύτην διατηρήσει ἀλώβητον. παντάρβη δὲ ἡ τὸ πᾶν ταρβοῦσα ἥτοι φοβουμένη ἐστίν, αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον· θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν.

Beyond the consummate etymological wordplay the fragment is suggestive for its relation to the context in the novel in which the etymology of ‘pantarbe’ is embedded. In *Aethiopika* 8, 10–11, Charikleia and Theagenes while pondering at the part played by the gods in Charikleia’s unhoped salvation, they recollect the dream prophecies pronounced by Kalasiris or a god in his shape. Charikleia says first:

“The vision was this: – The beatified Kalasiris appeared to me (whether in reality or in idea, I am not certain) and repeated these lines, for the words fell into verse;
‘Bearing Pantarbè (Παντάρβην), fear not flames (μὴ τάρβει ἐρῶήν), fair maid,
Fate, to whom nought is hard, shall bring thee aid.’

Theagenes on his part appeared suddenly like one under supernatural impulse, for springing forwards, as far as his fetters would permit him, he exclaimed – “The gods be gracious to us! recollection makes me also a poet; I had, myself, a like vision. Kalasiris, or some deity in his shape, appeared to me, and addressed me in these lines:

‘From Arsace (δεσμῶν Ἀρσακέων), the morrow sees thee free-
To Aethiopia with the virgin flee.’

Now, I readily comprehend the meaning of the oracle which is given to me. By Aethiopia, is signified the dark abode of those who dwell under the earth-by the virgin, Proserpine – by freedom, my release from this wretched body: but I do not so readily understand that which relates to you-there appears to be a contradiction in it. The name of Pantarbè means ‘all fear’ (ἡ παντάρβη πάντα φοβουμένη) and yet from it you are promised assistance.”¹⁵⁵⁴

Now, in my opinion the allusion to this passage in the ἐρμηνεία is not fortuitous. In fact the passage encloses the crucial themes that framed Philip’s spiritual reading and which are alluded

¹⁵⁵³ This formulation θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν was interpreted by Leonardo Tarán, “The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation,” 227, as alluding to “a characteristic «pantheistic» doctrine that points to Neoplatonic influence, and which otherwise would be hard to square with the author’s Christianity;” this interpretation represents, in my opinion, a great distortion of the actual meaning of the text and of its ideological affiliation; in this context θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν adorns the etymological wordplay invited by the word παντάρβη, which is fully developed in the novel itself; subsequently, Philip adopted it in the ἐρμηνεία; the expression was also commented by Richard Lamberton in *Homer the Theologian*, 156, where he noted that “the concept of ‘fear of God’ is not a part of pagan tradition;” this is an important remark for in the *Interpretation*, θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν merely restates the concept of fear of God to which the ruby (παντάρβη) is specifically reported to hint at (παντάρβη...αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον); παντάρβη and the pun “ἡ τὸ πᾶν ταρβοῦσα” (“that which fears all”) confides the soul’s fear of God (ἥτοι φοβουμένη ἐστίν) with the addition θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν concluding the refined word pun around παντάρβη.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Trans. Rawland Smith, 197.

throughout the ἐρμηνεία – i.e. the notion of fear of death, the doctrine of chastity and of soul's desire for immortality. The trial of fire is the test of Charikleia's chastity which enables her to exchange the death of pleasure for the life of purity. For the chains of Arsace are the chains of pleasure that bring death. Yet, Charikleia on account of her chastity shatters apart these chains and overcomes death, the dark abode of Proserpine, by the trial of fire.

Furthermore, it is in this masterful sequence that Philip places the second direct scriptural quotation in the *Interpretation* from 1Cor. 3:13.

1Cor. 3:13

(...) each one's work will become clear; for the Day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire; and the fire will test each one's work, of what sort it is.

ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερόν γενήσεται· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἐκάστου **τὸ ἔργον ὅποῖόν ἐστιν τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει.**

Commentatio in Charicleam, 179–181 (ed. Bianchi, 57):

The soul, carrying the spear, will proceed toward her own fatherland and will be put to trial by the furnace (τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ) for “the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.”

ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ δορυφορούμενη πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα πορευσέται καὶ δοκιμασθήσεται μὲν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ· ἐκάστου γὰρ **τὸ ἔργον ὅποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει.**

This citation confirms Philip's meticulous strategy of interpretation, for the invocation of 1 Corinthians 3:13 is consonant with the episode of the trial by fire from the novel. By this reference, Philip imposes a Christian meaning to the story, which is called to defend itself through the voice of Paul. At the same time, Charikleia's indestructibility which remained unconsumed by fire because of her purity is reflected in the larger context implied in Philip's reference to 1Cor. 3:13. Besides, the trial by fire cited in the ἐρμηνεία recalls a parallel with Gregory of Nyssa's notion of the glorious body wrapped in incorruptibility upon being purified by fire. Relying on Paul's account of the spiritual body of the Resurrection in which “the dead will be raised incorruptible in the twinkling of an eye” (cf. 1Cor. 15:51–52), Gregory explains in *De vita Macrinae* and in the dialogue *De anima et Resurrectione* that the raised body will be purged by any deficiency cause by the passions “by means of the therapy of fire.”¹⁵⁵⁵

Undoubtedly, the usage of etymology is a mark of Philip's exegesis. The allegorist subjects all the names from the novel to a refined etymological word play:¹⁵⁵⁶

Carnal pleasure (ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἢ σαρκικὴ), like Arsace (ὥς Ἀρσάκη), contrives against her (sc. Charikleia/the soul) having as her pimp the senses just as Cybele (Κυβέλην), who conceives (κύουσιν) arrows (βέλη) for her assaults and shoots these arrows at reason and draws the contemplative faculty of the soul towards

¹⁵⁵⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Macrinae*, PG 46, coll. 160D; cf. *De anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, coll. 81A–84D, where Gregory discusses the purification through fire after death in relation to the parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:19–31); the larger theological context of this references pertain to Gregory's eschatological doctrine of *apokatastasis* and universal salvation, a subject that has received a wide attention in the scholarship; I only cite here the comprehensive analysis of Ilaria Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 165–178 (ed. Bianchi, 56–57).

herself, in order to debauch the thoughts of the mind. [...] Even if the pimp (ἡ μαστροπός – i.e. Cybele) blends a destructive poison of false accusation, she, rather, will be destroyed, as also those who contrive against others will become destroyers for themselves (their own destroyers). And Cybele will die preparing the drug and Arsace will be bereaved of her cure and die by the noose, and to Achaemenes (Ἀχαιμένει), from his impure thoughts will remain only the punishment (τὸ ἄχος ἐμμενεῖ) and in this way he will die.

This type of word play reaches virtuoso levels in his *Homilies* as the following example makes clear.¹⁵⁵⁷

Do you see the city (i.e. Taormina) of the intelligible bull and of rage (ταύρου καὶ τῆς μανίας), which we were condemned to inhabit in? Thus, since we have been lead astray hither, let us become Pankratii (Παγκράτιοι) according to a different manner, prevailing over every (πάντων κρατοῦντες) wicked movement of the soul. For in this way the shrines of the passions lying within us would be removed, just as Phalkon, Lysson and Skamandros. We shall consider Phalkon (Φάλκων), as the one who drags (ὁ ὑφέλκων) us to the wicked thought of sin, Lysson (Λύσσων), the frenzied lust (λυσσώδης ἐπιθυμία) of outrageous desire, Skamandros (Σκάμανδρος) the seat of wrath which becomes exactly as a trial and a war to the virtuous courage of the soul (σκάμμα... ἀνδρείας).

Ὅρᾳς τοῦ νοητοῦ ταύρου καὶ τῆς μανίας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν οἰκεῖν κατεκρίθημεν; Ἐνταῦθα οὖν παραχθέντες, γενώμεθα Παγκράτιοι τρόπον ἕτερον, πάντων κρατοῦντες τῶν ἀτόπων τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν παθῶν ἀφιδρύματα ἀφανισθεῖεν, ὡς Φάλκων καὶ Λύσσων καὶ Σκάμανδρος. Εἶεν δ' ἂν Φάλκων μὲν ὁ ὑφέλκων ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν πονηρὸς λογισμὸς, Λύσσων δὲ ἡ λυσσώδης ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀτόπων ὀρέξεων, Σκάμανδρος δὲ ὁ θυμὸς, ὁ καθάπερ σκάμμα καὶ πόλεμος γινόμενος τῆς ἀνδρείας ψυχῆς.

This example illustrates the uniformity of Philip-Philagathos style across his entire oeuvre. Turning to the ἐρμηνεία, it should not be left unmentioned the monastic connotation of the references to the “thoughts of the mind” debauched (cf. l. 168–169: ἵνα μοιχευθῇ τὰ νοήματα) by the assaults of the passions through the senses. Equally, the mentioning of evil thoughts (l. 177–178: τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν) and the striking reference to Charikleia’s chastity “that even in her dreams and reveries she averted intercourse with her lover” (l. 75–78: τῇ δὲ τοσοῦτον περιῆν τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ὡς κὰν τοῖς ὕπνοις καὶ τοῖς ὀνείροις τὴν μετὰ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ ὁμιλίαν ἀπηύχετο) besides pointing to the novel (viz. *Aethiopika*, 6, 8)¹⁵⁵⁸ brings forth a theme of monastic spirituality. Evagrius, the great teacher of monastic life taught that dreams are an indicator of

¹⁵⁵⁷ *Hom.* 29, 22 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 197).

¹⁵⁵⁸ Hoping that Theagenes is alive, Charikleia beseeches him to appear in her dreams, demanding him to respect her lawful marriage (viz. her chastity); to this context in the novel (viz. *Aethiopika*, 6, 9, ed. Colonna, 346), Philagathos alluded in the homily for the ninth *Eothina* which discussed the apparition of Christ through the closed doors (John 20: 19); see for this, Part I, chapter Charikleia’s Weeping when the Doors were Locked and the Apparition of Christ through the Closed Doors,” 66–67.

one's state of spiritual progress. In *Praktikos* 54–6 explained that only those who are free from passion no longer experience impassioned and erotic dreams.¹⁵⁵⁹ Evagrius noted: “we shall recognize the proofs of impassibility in the thoughts by day and in the dreams by night.”¹⁵⁶⁰ Thus, it is significant that in the ἐρμηνεία Charikleia's chastity is represented through a monastic psychology, for the absence of erotic dreams is equated with the highest degree of impassibility, the very ideal of monastic life.

To summarize, I have contended through a contextual analysis that Philip accomplishes a transposition of Heliodorus' novel into the Christian script of love and desire. I have shown that Philip applies in the ἐρμηνεία the same exegetic method displayed in his *Homilies*. I have argued that the allegorist draws on Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of perpetual progress, which he appropriated from Nyssen's *In Canticum canticorum* and *De vita Moysis*, whereas the other peculiar feature of Philip's exegesis, the arithmological and etymological speculations exhibit the imprint of Maximus Confessor's exegesis. The analysis highlighted the identity and uniformity of Philip-Philagathos' exegetic technique in the ἐρμηνεία and in the *Homilies*. I have shown that the formulation τὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας, the reference to Gregory the Theologian, the invocation of the *Song* are indicative for Philip's strategy of self-representation as a philosopher. These references mark the vantage point of the analysis: that the author attempts to render the novel compatible with Christian spiritual and moral doctrine. Finally, I showed that the composition illustrates the Byzantine 'florilegic' mindset. For the allusions to *Axiochus*, *Odyssea* or *Phaedrus* underscore the allegorist's quest of gathering up authorities on the subject of love as to render the ἐρμηνεία unimpeachable.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, translation, introduction and commentary by Robert Sinkewicz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 107; for an analysis of the subject see F. Refoulé, “Rêves et vie spirituelle d'après Évagre le Pontique,” *Supplement de la Vie Spirituelle* 59 (1961): 470–516; for the place of the theme of dreams or dream-images within Christian anthropology and soteriology see Kevin Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory Mind Soul and Body in the 4th Century*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 61–66.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Evagrius of Pontus, *Praktikos* 56 (trans. Sinkewicz, 107).

Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation has been to offer a comprehensive analysis of Philagathos of Cerami's oeuvre. On the one hand, the study addresses Philagathos' collection of sermons, on the other hand, it approaches his allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* aiming to revisit the standard philosophical affiliation (Neoplatonic/Neopythagoric) ascribed to it. The investigation brings into view a gifted homilist whose compositions echo the literary developments of Komnenian Constantinople in the Norman-Sicilian culture. Brought to Constantinople around the middle of the XIII century, Philagathos' collection of sermons spread in the entire Byzantine world. The enormous number of manuscripts in which the text has been preserved testifies for its popularity – i.e. there are more than two hundred manuscripts containing sermons from the Italo-Greek homiliary. My dissertation aims to disclose the reasons for this popularity.

The analysis of the sermons is focused on three interrelated aspects: the rhetorical frame, the compositional technique and the method of scriptural exegesis. Part I begins with discussing the emphasis on depicting emotions in Philagathos' *Homilies* by drawing on Henry Maguire's characterization of the Byzantine homily as a rhetorical form concentrated on the display of emotions or as 'an internal drama.' The analysis took its starting point from the constitutive Christian notion of incarnational *economy* as conveyed by Philagathos. Mirroring the Byzantine theological tradition, the homilist portrayed Christ as teaching the proper display of emotions.

For Philagathos, as for the entire Christian tradition, Christ played out completely the drama of human suffering by submitting to human emotions and at last to death itself, curing by this the frailty of human condition and its liability to passions. The analysis reviewed Philagathos' usage of dialogue and monologue, two important rhetorical techniques in Byzantine homiletic writing for making the audience experience the reality of the events narrated in the Gospel. Examples include Philagathos' elaborations on Christ's conversation with the Widow of Nain, the dialogue with the sick man paralysed for thirty-eight years, the conversation with Mary Magdalene and Peter after the Resurrection or the coryphée's monologue when witnessing the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Thabor. The analysis unearthed the homilist's extensive usage of the Late-antique novels, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, for describing miracles stories, various episodes surrounding the Resurrection of the Lord or the emotions experienced by the characters of the sacred story. For instance, I have shown that the final recognition scene in the *Aethiopika* is grafted onto the episode of Mary Magdalene's conversing with Jesus. Thus, in *hom. 77* Magdalene's bewilderment at the tomb is modelled after the astonishment which seized the Ethiopian queen Persinna when Charikleia produced forth the crucial recognition-token of her royal identity. Similarly, in *hom. 78* for depicting the emotions of fear and grief which vanquished the Apostles after the Passion Philagathos appealed to Heliodorus' description of Charikleia's grief aroused by the capture of her beloved Theagenes. Philagathos found the novels instrumental for conveying the momentary human reactions or the emotional shifts undergone by the characters of the sacred story. The description of Herod's emotions when he was rebuked by St. John the Baptist over his unlawful

liaison with her brother's wife Herodias or the description of Peter's emotions experienced at the Transfiguration of Christ are both based on an episode from Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, which features the paradoxical emotional reaction of Melite described as the coincidence of conflicting feelings (i.e. shame, love, anger and jealousy). For depicting the emotional confusion experienced by two disciples while they were walking on the road to Emmaus, Philagathos appealed to the final sequence of Heliodorus' novel which presents the whole crowd caught up in contradictory feelings (i.e. joy and grief, tears and laughter) at the recognition of Charikleia and Theagenes.

Part II is dedicated to Philagathos' usage of the rhetorical techniques of *threnos* (lament), *ekphrasis* (description), *diegesis* (narration), *synkrisis* (comparison) and *antithesis* (contrast). The analysis shows that the Christian message of the sermons is fleshed out through rhetorical devices with a twofold purpose: to instruct the listeners and to stir them emotionally. First, I have approached Philagathos' handling of rhetorical lament by analysing the sermon "On the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain" (Part II. 1). In this sermon, the preacher's ability to evoke the absent scene of the miracle reaches *virtuoso* levels. It encloses descriptions of a wide range of emotions, from excessive displays of sorrow to astonishment and great happiness. The spectators shedding of tears testify for the effectiveness of Philagathos' speech. When observing the panorama of rhetorical models employed, the artistry of this composition becomes all the more apparent. In its first part, the lament encloses an extensive nominal citation from Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*. Then, Philagathos fashions his account by retrieving vivid imagery from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on Psalm 44*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Sermons on the Beatitudes* and *Life of Saint Macrina*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *In praise of the Maccabees* (oration 15), Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, from the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra*, and perhaps from Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra's *Narrations*. Suggestive for Philagathos' method is the degree of precision in weaving into the text of the sermon passages on the same subject culled from such a multitude of sources.

In Part II. 2 the analysis documented Philagathos' extensive application of *ekphrasis* in the *Homilies*. Besides describing buildings or works of art as is the celebrated *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, the *ekphrasis* of the ceiling of the church of St. Mary of Patir (Rossano, Calabria) or the *ekphrasis* of a painting of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, the homilist used this rhetorical technique for picturing Salome's licentious dancing, for ridiculing a sleeping deacon, for picturing a man enraged, for rendering the tumult of a storm. The analysis paid close attention to the rhetorical models informing these compositions. For Salome's licentious dancing I showed that the homilist incorporated vignettes culled from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Martyr Gordius*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Eulogy of Saint Basil*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Lucian of Samosata's *Toxaris*, Alciphron's *Letters* as well as two references to Iliad and Odyssey. The *ekphrasis* of a deacon caught sleeping during the exposition of the doctrine is a close adaptation from Procopius of Gaza's *ekphrasis* of a painting featuring Phaedra and Hippolytus. For depicting storms, the homilist culled passages from a multitude of authors. Identified snippets come from Alciphron's

Letters, Gregory the Presbyter's *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, Lucian's *Toxaris* and Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*.

Then, Part II. 3 is devoted to Philagathos' dealing with the practice of *diegesis* and encloses the analysis of three different narrative episodes: the story of Jephthah who sacrificed his only daughter when returning victorious from war, the story of Tamar who disguised herself as a prostitute for seducing Judah and the story about Theodora, the wife of the iconoclast emperor Theophilos and the *imperial court* jester, Denderis who witnessed the empress venerating holy icons and divulged the event to the emperor. I pointed out that Philagathos selected these stories on account of their evocative and emotional content, which he thought fit to 'upgrade' with vivid imagery derived from different sources. For the story Jephthah, Philagathos turned to Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. The description of Jephthah's daughter coming to greet her father is fashioned after the passionate embrace between Charikleia and Theagenes. As for the theological meaning of the story, Philagathos appropriated Gregory of Nyssa's account of Abraham and Isaac from Nyssen's *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*. However, the peak of Philagathos' narrative technique is encapsulated by his vivid rendition of the story of Tamar. For achieving a dramatic representation, Philagathos embroidered passages and vignettes from Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, from Alciphron's letters and perhaps from Choricus of Gaza's *Opus* 29. For specifying Tamar's arts of seduction, Philagathos retrieved the episode of Thisbe seducing Knemon from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. Similarly, the rendition of the story about Theodora and Denderis is again significant. For the homilist recasts a negative account of self reflection and mirror gazing based perhaps on Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiōn* into a positive affirmation of iconic theology.

Next, Part II. 4 offers an investigation of Philagathos' usage of *synkrisis* and *antithesis*. For Byzantine homiletics, as Henri Maguire pointed out, *synkrisis* and *antithesis* are more than just rhetorical devices. These techniques represent a hermeneutical tool which defines the so-called 'Byzantine habit of thinking in pairs.' As in much Byzantine theological literature Philagathos resorted to antithetical thought for elucidating Mary's role in the history of salvation, the paradoxical aspects of Christ's Resurrection or for interpreting the miracle stories from the Scripture. Thus, in *hom.* 78 Philagathos elaborates an original juxtaposition of Christ's virginal birth with his Resurrection from the sealed tomb and the subsequent apparition through the closed doors. Another example features the juxtaposition of the Virgin as Theotokos (Birthgiver of God) with the image of the unconsumed burning bush of Genesis in *hom.* 25. Noteworthy in Philagathos' account is his reliance on Achilles Tatius' description of "the mystic fire of Aphrodite which spares the object of its flames despite furiously burning" for picturing the traditional comparison of the Incarnation with the burning bush. The analysis also revealed that there are sermons entirely structured around *synkrisis*, as the homily "For the third Sunday of Lent" which encloses an original and extensive comparison between Peter and Moses mostly based on Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of perpetual progress.

Part III is devoted to the compositional technique of Philagathos' sermons being argued that the structure of the *Homilies* evokes the so-called Byzantine 'florilegic habit' or "culture of

collection” (*cultura della syllogé*) as Paolo Odorico contended. The analysis of Philagathos’ usage of rhetorical techniques already made manifest the preacher’s proclivity for amassing passages about various emotions (i.e. deep grief, mourning, seduction, love), works of art, descriptions of storms, of persons, of events from various sources which he retrieved in the appropriate homiletic contexts. Besides, it appears that Philagathos’ method of citation and practice of reading was structured around general (theological) themes. In this sense he gathered up passages and snippets about human nature, death, pleasure, which he frequently retrieved in different sermons. For instance, for the subject of death and mourning addressed in *hom.* 34 the homilist collected and embroidered passages from Gregory of Nyssa’s *De mortuis oratio*, Aeneas of Gaza’s *Theophrastus*, Makarios Magnes’ *Monogenes*, Michael Psellos’ *Oration 4*. Similarly, for describing the human nature and Christ’s incarnational economy, Philagathos excerpted passages from Gregory of Nyssa’s writings, Gregory of Nazianzus’ orations, Michael Psellos’ theological commentaries, Aeneas of Gaza’s *Theophrastus* and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes. I have indicated that there are homilies made up almost entirely of citations with fragments collected from sources thematically linked with the subject of the sermons. Furthermore, the same ‘florilegic habit’ often stands behind Philagathos’ scriptural citations. In particular, the numerous citations from the *Song of Songs* and from the *Minor Prophets* depend on their correlative contexts in Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*.

Overall, the analysis revealed that Philagathos’ florilegic habit works at every level of exegesis. At the rhetorical level, the homilist amassed passages for achieving vividness and persuasion. A case in point is the piercing description of Lazarus’ rotting body for which the homilist appropriated passages from Gregory of Nyssa’s *On the Making of Man* and *The Life of Moses* and Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*. The same florilegic habit accounts for the usage of scientific explanatory remarks for interpreting difficult passages, natural phenomena, objects that turn up in the commentary of the Gospel pericopes. Such were the homilist’s inquiries into the attributes of the mustard seed, the mandrake, the sykamore, the pods that the swine ate, the anatomy of the eye, the peculiarities of snakes or the elucidation of lightning. Similarly, the citation of scriptural ἀπορίαι, of various ζητήματα is determined by the homilist’s strategy of collecting passages about the Gospel text under scrutiny.

Most indicative for Philagathos’ florilegic habit is the plethora of sources exploited in the *Homilies*. Foremost stand the writings of Gregory of Nyssa which the homilist lavishly used for his own rhetorical elaborations, for scientific lore, for spiritual and mystical interpretations. A vast thematic usage of Nyssen’s works with excerpts indexed and allocated to the appropriate sermons is visible throughout the thesis. The patristic authorities most often cited by name are Gregory the Theologian and Maximus Confessor. The former is most often cited in small snippets that illustrate important theological doctrines. Maximus on the other hand is seminal for Philagathos’ allegorical exegesis. Another significant source previously undocumented in the *Homilies* is Michael Psellos. In the homily “On the Sending Forth of the Twelve Disciples,” Philagathos’ extensive appropriation even favours a limited restoration of Psellos’ *Opusculum* 76, a text defectively transmitted. Then, Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* and the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* feature prominently in the sermons.

Further, Philagathos cited and used various works of Basil of Caesarea. Special mention should be given to Basil's spurious work *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam*. In addition, Philagathos quoted by name John Chrysostom, Epiphanius of Salamis, John the Ladder, John of Damascus and Symeon Metaphrastes. Besides these luminaries, the homilist drew on Aeneas of Gaza, Antionchus the Monk, Nylus of Ancyra, Proclus of Constantinople, Makarios Magnes, sources hitherto unknown to have been used in the *Homilies*.

Trying to account for Philagathos' handling of his sources one may suppose that he compiled a private florilegium of citations to which the author turned for illustrating his compositions, as Elizabeth Jeffreys suggested for the homilies and letters of Iakovos the Monk. Indeed, the multitude of exegetic contexts that stamp simultaneously Philagathos' compositions may involve a thematic florilegium. The preacher may have indexed his sources into themes, subjects or words meant to be retrieved during his preaching activity. For it is patent that passages from a wide array of sources were fittingly recovered in thematically correlated sermons, hooked by subject or even by a specific word, which prompted analogies with the Gospel. Notwithstanding, one may not exclude some memorisation technique behind these appropriations. At least for the recurrent passages and snippets that surface in several homilies a process of memorisation is surely conceivable. Furthermore, the profound knowledge of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* or of Gregory of Nyssa's *Homilies on the Song of Songs* to mention two of his most conspicuous sources evidenced in the allusions, imitations and theological elaborations are indicative of a deep-seated interiorisation and rumination of these texts.

Having examined Philagathos' florilegic perspective and the structuring of sources into various themes, Part IV discusses the first level of Philagathos' theological exegesis: the exposition according to the 'literal/historical sense.' Foremost, the analysis includes an extensive discussion of Philagathos' dealing with various scripture-related discrepancies, contradictions, difficulties that questioned and subverted the 'literal meaning' of the Gospels. Perhaps the most significant finding is Philagathos' substantial usage of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* (Part IV. 1). In fact, it turned out that the *Monogenes* is one of Philagathos' major sources. Besides collecting scriptural ἀπορίαι the homilist exploited Makarios Magnes' treatise for adorning his sermons with various vivid illustrations. Furthermore, I have shown that Philagathos used the late-antique treatise for framing theological doctrines as well. An example discussed was Makarios' argument pertaining to Christ's nature inferred from the grammatical analysis applied to Peter's saying: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 15:16).

In Part IV. 2 is discussed Philagathos' citations from Emperor Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* by taking into account the larger spectrum of the Late-antique anti-Christian polemics. Significantly, Philagathos' testimony permits us to further map the textual relations between the chief ancient repositories of anti-Christian arguments (i.e. between Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*, Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes). When trying to assess Philagathos' sources of pagan reprimands the fact that the homilist used the same Christian refutation that stands behind Theophylact of Ochrid's citations of Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*, as Stefano Trovato pointed out, becomes particularly valuable. For it points out that behind the

homilist's references to anti-Christian arguments often stands some (lost) Christian confutation wherefrom the homilist appropriated the pagan points together with their rebuttal.

In Part IV. 3 it is argued that the *Homilies* transmit numerous scriptural related difficulties that originate in the writings of the Late-antique polemicists. Although not nominally ascribing the authorship to a pagan opponent, the type and the stylistic of the critique cited by Philagathos points to the Late-antique dossiers of anti-Christian reprimands. Philagathos' interest in solving exegetic difficulties is further documented in Part IV.4 in relation to the references made to the New Testament *Apocrypha*. Next, in Part IV. 5 is considered the homilist's reliance on the genre of *quaestiones et responsiones*. The analysis pointed out that the queries scattered throughout the *Homilies* as those about the genealogy of Jesus, the Lord's Passion, the Resurrection narratives, the Transfiguration of the Lord referred to with the technical title of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις are typical of the *quaestiones et responsiones* genre. Furthermore, the homilist's practice of amassing scriptural queries may also be perceived in relation to various Christian commentaries, which is documented in Part IV 6. The analysis featured examples of scriptural difficulties appropriated from Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Maximus Confessor and Michael Psellos.

Next, the investigation brought to the fore the traditional approaches centered on philological and grammatical analysis involved in Philagathos' literal exegesis (Part IV. 7–8). The analysis evidenciated the homilist's delight in explaining curious or foreign words, issues in human anatomy or physical phenomena as the explanation of 'lightning' derived from the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, *De mundo*. In this connection deserves to be mentioned Philagathos' medical explanation of demonic possession by means of the four humours theory, which he derived from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*. In similar fashion, for explaining the likeness of the Kingdom of God with a mustard seed, Philagathos turns to Makarios Magnes' description of the curative properties of mustard. As I have argued, these variegated approaches to the literal sense are subsumed to a florilegic perspective.

The final section devoted to Philagathos' exegesis (Part V) explored the spiritual level of interpretation (θεωρία) displayed in the *Homilies*. First, the analysis situates the South Italian preacher within the Alexandrian exegetical tradition, for which the spiritual exegesis subsumed typological, allegorical, moral and anagogical modes of interpretation. For Philagathos, as for Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor, the spiritual exegesis discloses spiritual realities with the goal of opening up the listeners' desire for ascent and virtuous life. The analysis underscored the importance of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor for Philagathos' spiritual exegesis. Second, the analysis highlighted a distinctive feature of Philagathos' homiletic style represented by the systematic recourse to etymology and arithmology (Part V. 1). By collecting explanations from various sources related to almost all the names and numbers that surfaced in the Gospel lections the homilist affirmed his florilegic stance. There are 57 instances when etymologies of names were employed and 29 instances of numbers. Indisputably, Philagathos' application of etymological and numerical speculations for deriving spiritual meanings brings to light a consummate exegetic technique frequently inspired from Maximus' exegesis. In fact,

Philagathos' profound assimilation of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor's thought with reference to the doctrine of perpetual progress is investigated in Part V. 2. This doctrine of progress or straining (ἐπέκτασις) toward the infinite God originates in Gregory of Nyssa's theological anthropology elaborated in relation with the notion of divine infinity. Maximus Confessor later modified it in the context of refuting Origenism. Philagathos applies this doctrine to the scriptural episode about Martha and Mary (*hom.* 32), to the episode of Martha's encounter with the resurrected Christ (*hom.* 49), for interpreting the apparition of the Lord on the road to Emmaus (*hom.* 75) or for exploring the meaning of Mark 8:34 ("Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself") in *hom.* 46.

The last part of the dissertation (Part VI) discussed Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of the *Aethiopika*. The investigation showed that the exegetical method displayed in the ἐρμηνεία mirrors to the finest detail the exegetic technique exhibited in the *Homilies*. At variance with the thesis that ascribes the commentary to the Neoplatonic tradition of interpretation, I have shown that Philip-Philagathos' spiritual reading of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* is firmly grounded in Maximus Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa's exegetic principles. In particular, the investigation argued that the etymological and numerical speculations displayed in the commentary reflect Maximus Confessor's exegesis whereas Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of spiritual progress from the *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and *The Life of Moses* corresponds to Philagathos reading of the novel as an allegory of the soul yearning for unity with the divine. Overall, when considering Philagathos' spiritual reading of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, the striking influence that the novel exerted upon the *Homilies* acquires new intelligibility and prominence. It appears thus certified that Philagathos' *Homilies* correspond to the more general tendency of twelfth-century Byzantine literature of interest and experimentation with the novelistic genre. In fact, the examination of Philagathos' rhetorical models exposed his consonance with the contemporary Byzantine rhetorical taste. For, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Lucian, Alciphron and Synesius were the authors recommended in contemporary handbooks of style.

The dissertation is equipped with five appendices listing Philagathos' *Homilies* following the order established by Rossi-Taibbi, the Greek text of *hom.* 6 discussed in Part II. 1, two hitherto unedited homilies extant in Matrit. gr. 4554 (i.e. *hom.* 84 and 85) for illustrating Philagathos' florilegic technique, the Greek text of Philagathos' allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopika* with a revised English translation and various images pertinent to Philagathos' preaching activity (i.e. the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, the Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo and the Church of Santa Maria Nuova Odigitria in Rossano, Calabria).

To conclude, the analysis of Philagathos' œuvre sheds more light on the religious and cultural context of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. It offers an answer to the enduring popularity of this homiletic corpus in the Byzantine world as deriving from the harmonious blending of rhetorical refinement and scientific lore with mystical interpretations and didactic clarifications of scriptural issues.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The *Homilies* of Philagathos

The numeration of the homilies follows the order established by Rossi-Taibbi (*Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, Prolegomeni, XVII-XXIII). I indicate the correspondence with the edition of Scorsus (i.e. Scorsus, *Sapientissimi et eloquentissimi Theophanis Ceramei Archiepiscopi Tauromenitani homiliae in evangelia dominicalia et festa totius anni, graece et latine*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1644, reprinted in Migne, *PG* 1864 vol. 132, coll. 130–1178), which remains the unique repository for a significant number (30) of homilies. Nevertheless, as Taibbi noted, the value of Scorsus edition is dependent on the manuscript tradition upon which it has been established: “e poichè dipende per un verso da un manoscritto deteriore e lacunoso («Panormitanus» i.e. *Bibliot. Nation.* IV. H. 10), appartenente al ramo sinaitico, come vedremo meglio in seguito, e per l'altro da un rappresentante largamente interpolato della famiglia italo-greca («Gallicanus»),¹⁵⁶¹ **essa è tutta da rifare, malgrado le cure profuse dalla Scorso**” (my emphasis).¹⁵⁶² In 1860, Gregory M. Palamas reprinted Franciscus Scorsus's edition in Jerusalem adding minor improvements to the text of Scorsus based on two new manuscripts.¹⁵⁶³

Within the rich manuscript tradition, special emphasis should be given to the Italo-Greek tradition, which preserved the authorship of the sermons together with valuable indications as to

¹⁵⁶¹ The so-called «Gallicanus» is the actual *Panormitanus*, *Bibliot. Nation.* IV. H. 11, cm. 21x15,4, ff. 388, sec. XVI (1597); cf. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1893-1902), vol. I, 96–102; cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, I 3, n° 1; cf. Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 67: “il ms. fu ritenuto di gran pregio dallo Scorso e, rispetto al Panormitanus IV. H. 10, «perfectior at plenior». Si deve al «Gallicanus», se l'edizione reproduce la maggior parte delle interpolazioni esistenti in questo ramo dei deteriori greci.” The codex contains 47 homilies and the last 2 of them (i.e. *Hom.* 1, “For the Beggining of the Indiction and for Saint Symeon the Stylite” – Εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἰνδίκτου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Συμεὼν τὸν Στυλίτην and *Hom.* 51, “In what regards the Rich Man Asking the Lord” – Περὶ τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντος τὸν Κύριον πλουσίου.) belong to a different branch of the textual tradition (=λ) and were copied in Rome by Jacques Sirmond. When Ottavio Gaetani became the rector of the *Collegio Mamertino* at Messina (~1597), in Sicily, he commissioned a copy of the homilies, the actual «Gallicanus», which he entrusted to Jacques Sirmond for accomplishing a translation of the sermons. After the copy was lost and rediscovered, it was finally, dispatched to Franciscus Scorsus; cf. Scorsus, *Proemium II*, *PG* vol. 132, coll. 120–125; yet before rendering the «Gallicanus» in its ‘purity’, Scorsus confronted the codex with three other manuscripts (*Parisin. gr.* 1184, *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 171 and *Berolin. gr.* 48), which left traces on «Gallicanus» (i.e. the marginal notes with textual variants at ff. 119^r, 120^f, 145^v, etc.).

¹⁵⁶² Rossi Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 17.

¹⁵⁶³ Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Prolegomeni*, XIII; G. M. Palamas, Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ῥητορικωτάτου Θεοφάνους τοῦ ἐπὶ κλην Κεραμέως, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ταυρομενίου, ὁμιλίαι εἰς εὐαγγέλια κυριακὰ καὶ ἑορτὰς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, κελεύσει τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Πατριάρχου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων κ. κ. Κυρίλλου εἰς κοινὴν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ὠφέλειαν, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, αὐξ’.

the place and occasion of the preaching event. Topographical rubrics are conserved in *Matrit. gr.* 4554 and 4570 *Vatic. gr.* 2009 (Bas. 48), *Ambros. gr.* 196 (C 100 sup.), *Vatic. gr.* 2006 (Bas. 45), *Ambros. gr.* 401, *Marc. gr.* II 45.

A particular significance, within the Italo-Greek textual tradition, has *Matritenses gr.* 4554 and 4570, originally one manuscript, which is *testis unicus* for 16 sermons: 33, 34, 42, 43, 44, 53, 55, 60, 67, 68, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88; it is also the only manuscript that preserves homily 52 (i.e. For the Palm Sunday) in its integrity although a part of the προοίμιον is extant in *Ambros. gr.* 397 (P 75 sup.), *Ambros. gr.* 232 (D 47 sup.) and *Vat. gr.* 1267. In addition, *Matrit. gr.* 4554 together with *Vatic. gr.* 2009 is the conveyor for Homily 69 (Μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος). For the content of *Matrit. gr.* 4554 see: J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci* I, (Madrid 1769), 55-70; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* I 3, 657-667; Gregorio de Andres, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* I (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1965), 15-20; cf. Rossi-Taibbi, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 51-58;

Matrit. gr. 4554 (olim N-16) and 4570 (olim N-33), Parchment, 284 x 228 mm, palimpsest, 220 and 32 fols., XIIIth century, Southern Italy; for reconstructing the unity of the original manuscript fls. 17-32^v and 1-16^v of *Matrit.* 4570 should be inserted between fls. 17^v-18^r and fls. 211^v-212^r of *Matrit.* 4554; it is written on two columns by one scribe, except fls. 190, 200-202^r;

Contents: 96 texts among which 83 are the sermons of Philagathos, excerpts from the book of Job, a spurious homily attributed to John Chrysostom,¹⁵⁶⁴ a sermon for Palm Sunday by Saba of Misilmeri¹⁵⁶⁵ and extracts from the Commentaries on the Gospels of Theophylact of Ochrid.¹⁵⁶⁶

¹⁵⁶⁴ Fls. 208^r-210^r; Andres, *Catálogo*, 18 identified the homily with Hom. 9, *De paenitentia*, PG 49, 343-350; still the *De paenitentia*, PG 49, 343-350 is not identical with the text in *Matrit. gr.* Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ὁμιλία περὶ τῶν μετὰ παρατηρήσεως προσιόντων τοῖς θείοις μυστηρίοις, εἰς τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας εἰς τὰ Ἐγκαίνια. Incipit: Οὐκ ἄρκει τὸ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀκοῦειν ἡμᾶς Χριστιανούς καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε παρέξω ἀξιόπιστον μάρτυρα τὸν ἀδελφόμενον Ἰάκωβον λέγοντα. Desinit: Ἵνα τῆς μελλούσης καὶ ἀτελευτήτου κολάσεως ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, καὶ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀξιοθῶμεν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν

¹⁵⁶⁵ fls. 136^v-139^v, 143^v-173^v, 188^v-190^r; cf. André Jacob, "La réception de la littérature byzantine dans l'Italie méridionale après la conquête normande: les exemples de Théophylacte de Bulgarie et de Michel Psellos," *Histoire et Culture dans l'Italie Byzantine*, ed. A. Jacob, Jean-Marie Martin et Ghislaine Noyé, École Française de Rome, 2006, 27 - 29.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Stefano Caruso, "Un'omilia inedita di Saba di Misilmeri" in *Byzantino - Sicula II: Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi* (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici, 1975), 139-164.

Homily 1 (1st of September): “For the Beggining of the Indiction and for Saint Symeon the Stylite” – Εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἰνδίκτου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Συμεὼν τὸν Στυλίτην

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 3–9; Scorsus, *Hom.* 1, *PG* 132, coll. 136–161.

Translation: Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, “Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St.Symeon the Stylite,” *Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica* 4 (2002): 100–108.

Homily 2 (Eleventh Sunday after the Pentecost, Mt. 18: 23-25): “For the Man who Owed Ten Thousand Talents.” Εἰς τὸν ὀφειλέτην τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of <Rossano>

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 10–16; Scorsus, *Hom.* 2, *PG* 132, coll. 161–173.

Homily 3 (Pronounced on the Sunday before the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross): “No one has ascended to heaven” (Jn. 3: 13) – ῥηθεῖσα κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς Ὑψώσεως εἰς τό· «Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <Rossano>

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 17–22; Scorsus, *Hom.* 3, *PG* 132, coll. 173–184.

Homily 4 (14th September): For the Exaltation of the Precious and Lifegiving Cross – Εἰς τὴν Ὑψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <Rossano>

Dating: between 1151–1154 (cf. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea,” 201–201.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 23–31; Scorsus, *Hom.* 4, *PG* 132, coll. 184–204.

Homily 5 (The first Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 5: 1–11): For the Gospel according to Luke: On the Catching of Fish – Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον· Περὶ τῆς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνι - Pronounced at the Pulpit <Rossano?>

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 32–36; Scorsus, *Hom.* 5, *PG* 132, coll. 204–217

Homily 6 (the 3rd Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 7:11–16): On the Widow’s Son – Περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς χήρας

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀκρωτηρίου ἀποθανόντος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου – Pronounced at the Great Monastery of the Saviour of the Promontory <in Messina> after the death of the protopsalt

Dating: shortly after 1141 (cf. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagatea,” 204–210.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 37–44; Scorsus, *Hom.* 6, *PG* 132, coll. 217–236.

Homily 7 (the 4th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 8:5–15): On the Parable of the Sower – Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπόρου

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί – Pronounced at the pulpit

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 45–52; Scorsus, *Hom.* 7, *PG* 132, coll. 236–249.

Homily 8 (the 5th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 16:19–31): For the Rich Men and Lazarus – Εἰς τὸν πλούσιον καὶ εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 53–60; Scorsus, *Hom.* 8, *PG* 132, coll. 249–272.

Homily 9 (the 6th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 8:26–39): About the Men possessed by the *Legion of Demons* – Περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν λεγεῶνα

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of <Rossano>

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 61–66; Scorsus, *Hom.* 9, *PG* 132, coll. 272–281.

Homily 10 (26th October, the feast of St. Demetrios, Mt. 8: 23–27): About the Castigation of Waters – Περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμῆσεως τῶν ὑδάτων

Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου – Pronounced at the Feast of Saint Dimitry

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 67–70; Scorsus, *Hom.* 46, *PG* 132, coll. 849–857.

Homily 11 (the 7th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 8:41–56): About the Woman who had a Discharge of Blood and the *Daughter of the Ruler of the Synagogue* – Περὶ τῆς αἱμορροοῦσης καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί – Pronounced at the Pulpit

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 71–77; Scorsus, *Hom.* 10, *PG* 132, coll. 281–292.

Homily 12 (the 8th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 10: 25–37): About the Lawyer who Tempted the Lord – Περὶ τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντος νομικοῦ

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑποστροφὴν
Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano> after the Return from Sicily

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 78–84; Scorsus, *Hom.* 11, *PG* 132, coll. 292–304.

Homily 13 (the 10th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 13: 10–17): On the Woman who was Bowed Together – Περὶ τῆς συγκυπτούσης

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί – Pronounced at the Pulpit

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 85–91; Scorsus, *Hom.* 12, *PG* 132, coll. 303–321.

Homily 14 (the 11th Sunday of St. Luke, Lc. 14: 16–24): On the Parable of the Great Supper – Περὶ τῆς παραβολῆς τοῦ δείπνου

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί – Pronounced at the Pulpit

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 92–97; Scorsus, *Hom.* 13, *PG* 132, coll. 321–332.

Homily 15 (1st of November, for the Feast of St. Cosma and Damian): On the Sending Forth of the Twelve Disciples – Εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτῶν – Pronounced at the Feast of the Holy Saints without Money in their Church

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 98–103; Scorsus, *Hom.* 47, *PG* 132, coll. 857–868.

Homily 16 (8th of November, for the Feast of Archangel Michael, Lc. 10: 16–21): On the Sending Forth of the Seventy Disciples – Εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου – Pronounced at the Feast of Michael the Leader of the Heavenly Host

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 104–110; Scorsus, *Hom.* 48, *PG* 132, coll. 868–884.

Homily 17 (14th of November, for the Feast of St. Philip the Apostle, Jn. 1: 43–51): For the: “Jesus wanted to go forth into Galilee, and found Philip” – Εἰς τό·«Ἡθέλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ εὕρισκει Φίλιππον»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῦ – Pronounced at the Church of Saint Apostle Philip for his Feast.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 111–117; Scorsus, *Hom.* 49, *PG* 132, coll. 884–896.

Homily 18 (30th of November, for the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, Jn. 1: 35–38): Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγέλιον· «Εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο» – For the Gospel according to John: “John stood, and two of his disciples”

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου – pronounced at the Place of his Birthplace in the Church of Apostle Andrew, <Cerami>

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 118–123; Scorsus, *Hom.* 50, *PG* 132, coll. 896–905.

Homily 19 (4th of December, for the Feast of St. Barbara, Mt. 25: 1–10): On the Parable of the Ten Virgins–Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δέκα παρθένων

Location: Ἐλέχθη εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς ἀγίας Βαρβάρας – Pronounced for the Feast of Saint Barbara

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 124–130.

Homily 20 (6th of December, for the Feast of St. Nicholas, Mt. 5: 1–11): On the Beatitudes – Εἰς τοὺς μακαρισμοὺς

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου – Pronounced at the Feast of St Nicholas.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 131–137; Scorsus, *Hom.* 51, *PG* 132, coll. 905–917.

Homily 21 (9th December, for the Feast of St. Anna, Lc. 8: 16–21): For the: “No man, when he has lighted a candle” – Εἰς τό· «Οὐδεὶς ἄψας λύχνον»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν Πανόρμῳ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς ἀγίας Ἄννης – Pronounced at Palermo at the Feast of Saint Anna

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 138–140. *Testis unicus: Ambros. gr.* C 100 sup, f 170^v–172^r.

Homily 22 (for the Sunday before the Nativity of the Lord, Mt. 1: 1–25): For the: “The Book of Generation of Jesus Christ” and about Thamar – Εἰς τό· «Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ», καὶ περὶ τῆς Θάμαρ

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως – Pronounced at the Pulpit on the Sunday before the Nativity of Christ

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 141–147; Scorsus, *Hom.* 14, *PG* 132, coll. 332–344.

Homily 23 (26th of December, for the Feast of St. Stephen, Mt. 21: 33–43): For the Parable of the Vineyard – Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου ἐν Πανόρμῳ – Pronounced at the Church of Saint Steven at Palermo.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 148–155.

Homily 24 (29th of December, the feast of the Holy Innocents, Mt. 2: 16–18): For the Holy Innocents–Εἰς τὰ ἅγια Νήπια

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano>.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 156–161; Scorsus, *Hom.* 52, *PG* 132, coll. 917–928.

Homily 25 (25th of March, for the Feast of the Anunciation of Our Most Holy Lady, the Theotokos, Lc. 1: 24–38): For the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God –Εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of <Rossano>.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 162–168; Scorsus, *Hom.* 53, *PG* 132, coll. 928–941.

Homily 26 (12th of June, for the Feast of St. Onuphrios, Mt. 11: 27–30): For the: “ All things are delivered unto me of my Father” – Εἰς τό· «Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός μου».

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ ἁγίου Ὀνουφρίου – Pronounced at the Feast of Saint Onuphrios

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 169–173; Scorsus, *Hom.* 54, *PG* 132, coll. 941–952.

Homily 27 (29th of June, for the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, Mt. 13: 16–19): For the: “ Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?” – Εἰς τό· «Τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ παλατίου Πανόρμου τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων – Pronounced at the Palatine Church of Palermo at the Feast of the Holy Apostles

Dating: 1140–1150.

Translation: Bruno Lavagnini, “Omelia XXVII, pronunciata dal pulpito della Cappella Palatina in Palermo, ” 9–19.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 174–182; Scorsus, *Hom.* 55, *PG* 132, coll. 952–969.

Homily 28 (8th of July, for the Feast of St. Procopius, Jn. 15: 12–16): For the: “These things I command you that you love one another”–Εἰς τό· «Ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ ἁγίου Προκοπίου εἰς Δραγίνας – Pronounced at the Feast of Saint Prokopios from Draginas

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 183–190; Scorsus, *Hom.* 56, *PG* 132, coll. 969–989.

Homily 29 (9th of July, for the Feast of St. Pancratius, Jn. 10: 9–16): For the: “And Jesus Said I am the Door.” Εἰς τό· «Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα»

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον – Pronounced at the Holiday of Saint Pankratios from Tauromenion.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 191–198; Scorsus, *Hom.* 57, *PG* 132, coll. 989–1004.

Homily 30 (27th of July, for the Feast of Saint *St. Panteleimonos*, Mt. 10: 16): For the: “Be you therefore wise as serpentes – Εἰς τό· «Γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡσεὶ ὄφεις»

Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος – Pronounced at the Holiday of Saint Panteleimon”

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 199–205; Scorsus, *Hom.* 58, *PG* 132, coll. 1004–1017.

Homily 31 (6th of August, for the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, Mt. 17: 1–6): For the feast of the Saving Transfiguration – Εἰς τὴν σωτήριον Μεταμόρφωσιν

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ῥουσιάνων – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of Rossano

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 206–220; Scorsus, *Hom.* 59, *PG* 132, coll. 1020–1048.

Homily 32 (15th of August, for the Feast of the Dormition Our Most Holy Lady, Lc. 10: 38–42, 11:27): On Martha and Mary from the Gospel according to Luke – Περὶ Μάρθας καὶ Μαρίας ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου – Pronounced at the pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano> at the Feast of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 221–226; Scorsus, *Hom.* 60, *PG* 132, coll. 1048–1060.

Homily 33 (15th of August, for the Feast of the Dormition Our Most Holy Lady, Lc. 10: 38v42, 11:27): For the Feast of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God–Εἰς τὴν Κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου.

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Πανόρμου – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric of Palermo.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 227–231. Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, 178^r–179^v.

Homily 34 (19th of August, for the feast of St. Bartholomew of Simeri): A Sermon Pronounced at the Anniversary of the Dormition of our Venerable Father Bartholomew, and a Partial Narration of His Life; and on not to Mourn the Departed - ὁμιλία ρηθεῖσα κοιμηθέντος τοῦ αἰοδίου πατρὸς Βαρθολομαίου καὶ μερικὴ διήγησις τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ θρηνεῖν τοὺς τελευτήσαντας

Dating: shortly after 1130 (Bartholomew of Simeri ca. 1050–1130)

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 232–238. Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 173^v–176^v.

Homily 35 (29th of August, The Beheading of John the Baptist, Mc. 6: 14–29): For the Commemoration of the Decollation of the Forerunner – Εἰς τὴν ἀποτομὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν Πανόρμῳ – Pronounced in the Church of John the Forerunner of Christ in Palermo.

Editions: Rossi-Taibbi, 239–244; Scorsus, *Hom.* 61, *PG* 132, coll. 1060–1069.

Homily 36 (for the Sunday of Zacchaeus, Lc. 19: 1–10): About Zacchaeus the Chief-Tall-Collector – Περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιτελώνου Ζακχαίου

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 15, *PG* 132, coll. 343–356.

Homily 37 (for the *Sunday* of the *Publican and the Pharisee*): Περὶ τοῦ Τελώνου καὶ τοῦ Φαρισαίου – About the Tax-collector and the Pharisee

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, *PG* 132, coll. 356–372; Zaccagni, *La páreργος ἀφήγησις*, 51–53 (the part of this homily critically edited corresponds to *PG* 132, 356B–364B).

Homily 38 (for the Sunday of the Prodigal son, Lc. 18:10–14): Περὶ τοῦ ἀσώτου – About the Prodigal Son

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 17, *PG* 132, 17, coll. 372–396.

Homily 39 (for the Sunday of the Last Judgment or the Meatfare Sunday, Mt. 25: 31–46): For the: “When the Son of man shall come in his glory” – Εἰς τό· «Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ».

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 18, *PG* 132, coll. 396–412.

Homily 40 (for the Forgiveness Sunday, or the Cheesefare Sunday, Mt. 6: 14–21): For the: “For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.”

– Εἰς τό·«Ἐὰν ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ Πατήρ».

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, *PG* 132, coll. 412–424.

Homily 41 (for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Jn. 1: 43–51): About the Holy Icons – Περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων.

Editions: Zaccagni, *La tradizione dei testi greci*, 149–163; Scorsus, *Hom.* 20, *PG* 132, coll. 425–441.

Homily 42 (for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Jn. 1: 43–51): For the beginning of the Holy Fast Εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν (ξθ'). Inc. Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ...Ps. 34: 1.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 180^v–181^r.

Homily 43 (for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Jn. 1: 43–51): For the Feast of Orthodoxy and for the Holy Icons and in regard to Confession – Εἰς τὴν Ὁρθοδοξίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξαγορίαν.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 181^r–181^v.

Homily 44 (for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Jn. 1: 43–51): For the Feast of Orthodoxy and in regard to Confession and on the Holy Icons Εἰς τὴν Ὁρθοδοξίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξαγορίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 181^v–183^r.

Homily 45 (for the second Sunday of Lent, Mc. 2: 1–12): On <healing> the Paralytic in Capernaum – Περὶ τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν Καπερναούμ.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 21, *PG* 132, coll. 444–457.

Homily 46 (for the third Sunday of Lent, Mc. 8: 34–9:1): For the: “Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself” – Εἰς τό·«Εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν».

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 22, *PG* 132, coll. 457–469.

Homily 47 (for the forth Sunday of Lent, Mt. 17: 14–21): On Casting < the Demon out of> the *Lunatic Boy* – Περὶ τοῦ σεληνιαζομένου

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 23, *PG* 132, coll. 472–480.

Homily 48 (for the fifth Sunday of Lent, Mc. 10: 32–45): For the: “We go up to Jerusalem and the Son of man shall be delivered” – Εἰς τό·«Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα

καὶ παραδοθήσεται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου».

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 24, *PG* 132, coll. 481–512.

Homily 49 (for the Lazarus Saturday, Jn. 11: 1–45): For the Resurrection of Lazarus, the four days dead – Εἰς τὸν τετραήμερον Λάζαρον.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 25, *PG* 132, coll. 512–541.

Homily 50 (For the Palm Sunday, Mt. 21: 1–5): Εἰς τὴν Βαῖφόρον

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῇ Πανὸρμῳ εἰς τὴν λιτὴν παρουσία τοῦ μεγάλου ῥηγὸς Ῥογερίου – Pronounced in Palermo for the Litany before the Great King Roger.

Dating: 1151–1153

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 26, *PG* 132, coll. 541–549.

Homily 51 (For the Palm Sunday, Mt. 21: 1–5): For the: “Six days before the passover,” and about the myrrh – Εἰς τό· « Πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα », καὶ περὶ τοῦ μύρου.

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι – Pronounced at the pulpit

Editions: Caruso, *Le tre omilie*, 115–120.

Homily 52 (For the Palm Sunday, Mt. 21: 1–5): Εἰς τὴν Βαῖφόρον

Location: Ἐλέχθη εἰς τὴν λιτὴν τῇ πόλει Μεσσίνη – Pronounced for the Litany in the City of Messina.

Dating: 1155–1161 (cf. Caruso, “Note di cronologia filagetea,” 210–212.

Caruso, *Le tre omilie*, pp. 121–123.

Homily 53 (For the Palm Sunday, Mt. 21: 1–5): Εἰς τὴν Βαῖφόρον

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς Καθολικῆς Ῥηγίου – Pronounced from the pulpit of the Archbishopric of Reggio

Editions: Caruso, “Le tre omilie,” 124–127. Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 205^v–207^r.

Homily 54 (For the Holy Friday, Mt. 26:31–27:57; Mc, 14:30–15:39; Lc. 23: 15–46; Jn. 18:5–19:31): For the Gospels of the Passion of the Saviour – Εἰς τὰ εὐαγγέλια τοῦ σωτηρίου Πάθους.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, *PG* 132, coll. 549–605.

Homily 55 (For the Monday of the second Week After Easter, Jn. 2:1–11): For the Gospel on the: “In Cana of Galilee.” Εἰς τό εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸ· « Ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ».

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 139^v–143^r.

Homily 56 (for the Sunday of the Paralytic, the 4th Sunday after Pascha, Jn. 5: 1–15): Ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν παράλυτον (μβ’). Ἀγαπητοί, πρόκειται ἡμῖν σήμερον καθάπερ πνευματικὴ πανδαισία.

Editions: Torre, “*Inediti di Filagato Kerameus dall’ Ambros. C 100 sup. (Omēlie LVI e LVIII Rossi Taibbi)*,” *Bizantinistica* 14 (2012): 118–121. Testis unicus: *Ambros. gr.* 196 (C 100 sup.), fls. 166^r–167^v.

Homily 57 (For the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Jn. 4:5–42): Εἰς τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 38, *PG* 132, coll. 720–744.

Homily 58 (For the Sunday of the Blind Man, 5th Sunday after Pascha, Jn. 9:1–38): Εἰς τὸν τυφλόν (μγ’). Inc.: Τεκμαίρομαι τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν, ᾧ θεοφιλέστατε σύλλογε [...].

Editions: Torre, “*Inediti di Filagato Kerameus dall’ Ambros. C 100 sup. (Omēlie LVI e LVIII Rossi Taibbi)*,” *Bizantinistica* 14 (2012): 125–128. Testis unicus: *Ambros. gr.* 196 (C 100 sup.), fls. 167^v–169^v.

Homily 59 (For the Great Feast of the Ascension, Lc. 24: 36–51): Εἰς τὴν σωτήριον Ἀνάληψιν. For the Redeeming Ascension

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano>

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 39, *PG* 132, coll. 744–764.

Homily 60 (For the Great Feast of the Ascension, Lc. 24: 36–51): Εἰς τὴν σωτήριον Ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (π’) – For the Redeeming Ascension of Our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 210^r–211^v.

Homily 61 (For the Pentecost, Acts 2:1–6): In regard to the Descent of the Heavenly Ghost – Εἰς τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Inc.: Ὅρων σήμερον τὸν ἁγιώτατον τῆς πανάγνου Δεσποίνης ναόν [...].

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί μετὰ τὴν γονυκλισίαν ἐν Πανόρμῳ – Pronounced at the Pulpit after the Genuflexion in Palermo

Dating: 1154–1156

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 40, *PG* 132, coll. 764–784.

Homily 62 (For the All Saints' Sunday, 1st Sunday of Mt. 10: 32–38, 19: 27–29): For the: “Whoever confesses Me before men” – Εἰς τό « Ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων».

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς – Pronounced from the Pulpit of the Bishopric

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 41, *PG* 132, coll. 784–804.

Homily 63 (For the Third Sunday after Pentecost, Mt. 6: 22–23): For the: “The lamp of the body is the eye.” – Εἰς τό «Ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός ».

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 42, *PG* 132, coll. 804–816.

Homily 64 (For the Third Sunday after Pentecost, Mt. 6: 24–30) : <continuation of the previous sermon> For the remaining part of the saying: “The lamp of the body is the eye.” – Εἰς τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ «Ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός».

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 43, *PG* 132, coll. 816–825.

Homily 65 (For the 4th Sunday after Pentecost, Mt. 8: 5–13): On the Healing of the Centurion's Servant – Περὶ τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου.

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano>.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 44, *PG* 132, coll. 825–836.

Homily 66 (For the Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, Mt. 19: 16–26): On the Rich Man Asking the Lord – Περὶ τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντος τὸν Κύριον πλουσίου.

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 45, *PG* 132, coll. 836–849.

Homily 67. Εἰς ἐγκαίνια ναοῦ, ἡγουν εἰς τὸν θρόνιασμόν (ξς') (Jn. 10: 22–40) – For the Consecration of the Church, that is to say for the Feast of Dedication. Inc.: Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ...(John 10: 22–23). Ἐκάστης ἐνιαυτοῦ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαναγωγῆς, ἔθος ἦν παλαιῶν ἐορτάζειν τῶν ἐγκαινίων τὴν ἡμέραν.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 176^v–178^r.

Homily 68. Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μετάληψιν, λεγομένη εἰς τὰς δεσποτικὰς ἐορτὰς (οβ´) – “Homily in regard to the Holly Communion, said in respect to the Lordly feasts.” Inc.: Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα προσφιλέστατα καὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τρύφημα καὶ τίμια γύναια.

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 183^v.

Homily 69. Μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος – After the return to the Mount of Olives. Inc.: Ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας, ὃ πατέρες, σκοπὸς τοῦτό ἐστι [...].

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι

Vatic. gr. 2009, fls. 190^v–192^v and *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 113^r–114^r.

Homily 70. For the drought, which occurred in this time – Εἰς τὸν γενόμενον αὐχμὸν. Ἐλέχθη εἰς λιτὴν. Inc.: Τίς δώσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ = Ps.- Chrysostom, *De siccitate*, PG 61, 723–726 (cf. Adalma, *Repertorium pseudo chrysostomicum*, n° 133).

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 62, PG 132, coll. 1069–1077.

Homily 71 (For the First Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Mt. 28: 16–20): Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐωθινόν. Inc.: Πάλαι μὲν ο θεόπτης Μωσῆς ἀνάγων

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 28, PG 132, coll. 605–617.

Homily 72 (For the Second Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Mc. 16: 1–8): Εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἐωθινόν. Inc.: Τέρπει μὲν τὰς ὀψείας ἀνίσχων τῆς ἑώρας ὁ ἥλιος [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 29, PG 132, coll. 617–629.

Homily 73 (For the Third Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Mc. 16: 9–16): Εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἐωθινόν. Inc.: Οἱ ἀεννάως ῥέοντες ποταμοὶ [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 30, PG 132, coll. 629–641.

Homily 74 (For the Forth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Lc. 24: 1–9): Εἰς τὸ τέταρτον ἐωθινόν. Inc.: Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῆς ζωοπαρόχου Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως ὁ λόγος [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 31, PG 132, coll. 641–648.

Homily 75 (For the Fifth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Lc. 24: 12–35): Εἰς τὸ πέμπτον ἐωθινόν. Inc.: Ὁ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ... Ἐμμαὺς (Lc. 24: 12–13). Ἡ ζωηφόρος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασις [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 32, *PG* 132, coll. 648–658.

Homily 76 (For the Seventh Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Jn. 20: 1–10): Εἰς τὸ ἑβδομον ἑωθινόν. Inc.: Ὅτε τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἀρχῇθεν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ παλαμναῖος ἐχθρὸς ἐμελέτησεν [...].

Location: Ἐλέχθη ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς – Pronounced at the Pulpit of the Archbishopric <of Rossano>.

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 33, *PG* 132, coll. 660–672.

Homily 77 (For the Eighth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Jn. 20: 11–18): Εἰς τὸ ὄγδοον ἑωθινόν. Inc.: «Μαρία εἰστήκει... δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς» Ἄρτι τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν φοιτητῶν [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 34, *PG* 132, coll. 672–681.

Homily 78 (For the Ninth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Jn. 20: 19–29): Εἰς τὸ ἔννατον ἑωθινόν. Inc.: «Οὔσης ὀψίας ... συνηγμένοι » (John 20: 19). Ζητητέον τοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ἐξετασταῖς [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 35, *PG* 132, coll. 681–689.

Homily 79 (For the Tenth Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Jn. 21: 1–4): Εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἑωθινόν. Περὶ τῆς ἄγρας τῶν ρνγ' ἰχθύων. Inc.: Ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδος λίμνην σήμερον καὶ ἡμεῖς

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 36, *PG* 132, coll. 692–704.

Homily 80 (For the Eleventh Resurrection Gospel for the *Orthros*, Jn. 21: 14–19): Εἰς τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἑωθινόν. Inc.: «Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ ... ἀγαπᾷς με πλεῖον τούτων;» (John 21: 14–15). Καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁφθεῖς ὁ Κύριος [...].

Editions: Scorsus, *Hom.* 37, *PG* 132, coll. 704–20.

Homily 81 (18th of October, For the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist): Προοίμιον εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἱεροῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ. Inc.: Θαυμασταὶ τῶν ἁγίων αἱ πρὸς τοὺς πιστοὺς γινόμεναι χάριτες

Messan. S. Salvatoris 162, fls. 90^v–91^r; *Ambros. gr.* 232 (D 47 sup.), fl. 88^v (only the prologue); *Vat. gr.* 1267, f 11^v (only the prologue).

Homily 82 (14th of November, for the feast of St. Philip the Apostle): Ἐγκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιήσον ἀγαθόν (Psalm 33: 15).— Depart from evil and do good; Inc.: αἱ παρθένοι τὴν καταφρόνησιν τῆς σαρκός [...].

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 211^v.

Homily 83 (for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the first Sunday of the Great Lent, John 1: 43–51):
Εἰς τὴν εἴσβασιν τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς – On the entrance into the Great Lent.
Inc.: Ἡ τῆς μετανοίας πύλη ἰδοὺ ἠνέφκεται, ᾧ χριστιανικώτατον ἄθροισμα [...].

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 179^v–180^r.

Homily 84 (For the Sunday of St. Thomas the Apostle, the second Sunday after Easter, Jn. 20: 19–31). Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ – Prologue for the New Sunday of Thomas. Inc.: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν [...].

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, fls. 184^v–185^r.

Homily 85. Πρόλογος εἰς τὸν αὐχμὸν – Prologue in regard to the drought. Inc.: Προσέχετε, λαὸς μου, (Ps. 77: 1–4). Διδάσκει γὰρ με Δαυὶδ ὁ θεῖος [...].

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 185^{r-v}.

Homily 86. (a sermon without title, dedicated to the Theotokos). <Α>παρχὴ σωτηρίας καὶ πρόφασις τῶν πνευματικῶν πανηγύρεων καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ – The beginning of salvation and the reason for the spiritual celebrations and <our> mediator to God

Editions: Bianchi, *Frammento omiletico*, 309 (Testis unicus: *Ambros. gr.* C 100 sup, f 169^v–170^r).

Homily 87 (a polemical address for the proper observation of fasting): Φιλαγάθου πόννημα τοῦ φιλοσόφου – A work by Philagathos the Philosopher. Inc.: Ἔδει μὴδὲ λόγων τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀξιοῦν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἑτεροουσίοις κοινόν [...].

Matrit. gr. 4554, f. 204^r and *Barber. gr.* 324, f. 10^v.

Editions: André Jacob in “Autour de Nicolas-Nectaire de Casole,” 232–236 (diplomatic edition of *Barber. gr.* 324).

Homily 88 (without title, a brief exhortation to the clergy): Οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐνδύσασθε δικαιοσύνην, ἥτοι γε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἐνδυσώμεθα [...].

Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, f. 207^v–208^r.

Appendix 2

Homily 6

On the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain

Ed. G. Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno. Omelie per le feste fisse* (Palermo, 1969), *Homily 6*, 39–43.

[7.] Ἐράσμιος ἦν καὶ ποθούμενος πᾶσιν ὁ παῖς. Αἱ παρθένοι ἐπηύχοντο τοιούτων νυμφίων γενέσθαι ὁμόζυγες, αἱ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν τοιούτους ἔχειν υἱούς. Οἱ γέροντες τῷ νεανία προσεῖχον, ὥς οἰκείῳ παιδί. Ἡ δὲ χήρα μήτηρ ἔχαιρε θαμινὰ περιπλεκομένη τῷ υἱῷ καὶ φιλοῦσα **τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους ἄνθος** καὶ **τῆς παρειᾶς τὸ ἐρύθημα**,¹⁵⁶⁷ καὶ τοὺς **βοστρύχους** ποτὲ μὲν ἀναπλέκουσα, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνεῖσα ταῖς **αὖραις περισοβεῖν**.¹⁵⁶⁸ Τάχα που ἡ ἀθλία καὶ νύμφην ἀγαγεῖν ἐφαντάζετο τῷ καλῷ νεανία καὶ τὰς παρθένους περιεσκόπει ἐκλεγομένη τὴν κρείττονα, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὠνειροπόλει καὶ τὴν παστάδα καὶ τὸν ὑμέναιον. Ἦπου καὶ ὄρκος ἦν αὐτῇ ἐν τοῖς τῶν λόγων ἀμφιβάλοις ὁ παῖς· «Οὕτως ὀναίμην τοῦ μονογενοῦς μου υἱοῦ, οὕτω τὸν ἐκείνου φιλήσαιμι στέφανον, οὕτω παίδων ἐκείνου γενοίμην τροφός, οὕτω ταῖς τοῦ υἱοῦ χερσὶν ἡδέως ἐναποψύξαιμι». [8.] Ἄλλ' ἡ μὲν μήτηρ οὕτως ἀνέπνει μονονουχὶ τὸν παῖδα, τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ γλυκὺ παραμύθιον· **ὁ δὲ φθόνος ῥαγδαῖος ἐπείσπεσὼν ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας, ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νεότητι**¹⁵⁶⁹. **βαρὺ δέ τι καὶ τραγικὸν πάθος τῇ μητρὶ συνηνέχθη**.¹⁵⁷⁰ Τίνα γὰρ ψυχὴν ἐσχηκέναι νομίζετε τὴν δειλαίαν ἐκείνην μητέρα, εἰ τέως εἶχε ψυχὴν, ὁρῶσαν ψυχορραγοῦντα **τὸν φίλτατον** καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα πνέοντα καὶ μόλις ἐπισκῆπτοντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ συντακτήρια; Πῶς παραστήσω τῷ λόγῳ, ὅπως ὁ μὲν νέος τῷ σφοδρῷ πυρετῷ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐμαραίνετο, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ παρίστατο περιδεὴς καὶ ὑπότρομος, ἀπηνθρακωμένη τὰ σπλάγχνα, πεφρυγμένη τὰ χεῖλη, κεκαρμένη τὴν κόμην, γυμνὴ τὰ στέρνα, ἀπαρακάλυπτος τὴν κεφαλὴν, **ἐλπίδι καὶ φόβῳ μεριζομένη, ἐνατενίζουσα** τῷ παιδί **ἀσκαρδαμύκτῳ καὶ**

¹⁵⁶⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll 1204, 45–51: Ποῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἄνθους τὰ σύμβολα; ποῦ **ἡ εὐχρῖα τῆς παρειᾶς**; ποῦ **τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους ἄνθος**; ποῦ τὸ βλοσυρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι κάλλος τῇ περιβολῇ τῶν ὀφρύων ὑπολαμπόμενον; ποῦ ἡ εὐθεῖα ῥίς, ἡ **τῷ κάλλει τῶν παρειῶν** μεσιτεύουσα; ποῦ αἱ ἐπαυχένιοι κόμαι; ποῦ οἱ περικροτάφιοι βόστρυχοι;

¹⁵⁶⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44, coll. 1204, 24–27: ὅτι σοι ὑπερσφριγῶσιν αἱ χεῖρες πρὸς κίνησιν, καὶ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ ἄλμα οἱ πόδες, καὶ **περισοβεῖ ταῖς αὖραις ὁ βόστρυχος**, (...).

¹⁵⁶⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, 4, 23–24 (ed. P. Maraval): **Ὁ δὲ φθόνος ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν ἐλεεινῇ τῇ νεότητι**.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, 9, 5–7 (ed. P. Maraval): **Εἴτα βαρὺ τι καὶ τραγικὸν πάθος** ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἀντικειμένου **τῇ μητρὶ συνηνέχθη**, ὃ παντὶ τῷ γένει πρὸς συμφορὰν τε καὶ πένθος ἐπήρκεσεν.

κεχηνότι τῷ βλέμματι,¹⁵⁷¹ καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτῷ συνεκπνέουσα, ἕως κατὰ βραχύ, *ὑπορρεούσης αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕξως καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τόνων ἐλαττουμένων*¹⁵⁷² καὶ δαπανωμένου τοῦ πνεύματος, ὁ παῖς ἐναπέψυξε. Πῶς εἶδε; Πῶς ὑπέμεινε; Πῶς οὐ συναπῆλθε τῷ τελευτήσαντι; Ἐμὲ γοῦν τοσοῦτον ἀνεπτέρωσεν ἡ ἀνάμνησις, ὥς δοκεῖν παρεῖναι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ ὄρᾶν τὰ τοῦ δράματος.

[9.] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις Ναῖν πᾶσα συνέρρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ, καὶ θροῦς ἐγεγόνει πολὺς *καὶ θρήνος ἦν συμμιγής, ἀνδρῶν* οἰμωγή, *γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή*, παρθένων *κωκυτός*, παίδων κλαυθμυρισμός, *πάντα δακρύων ἀνάμεστα*.¹⁵⁷³ Ὁ δὲ νέος ἔκειτο ἐκταθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος ὕπτιος, οἷα πεῦκη τις ὑψίκομος ἢ κυπάρισσος, ἦν ἀνέμων διέσεισε προσβολὴ καὶ αὐταῖς ρίζαις ἐξήπλωσεν, ἐλεεινὸν θέαμα καὶ δακρύων ὑπόθεσις, ἄρτι μὲν τὸν τῆς παρειᾶς ῥόδον μεταβαλὼν εἰς ὠχρότητα, δεικνὺς δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοῦ κάλλους τὰ λείψανα. Ἡ δὲ ἀθλία μήτηρ, οἷς ἐποίει καὶ οἷς ἐφθέγγετο, πλεον τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν βλέπόντων ἐπεσπᾶτο τὰ δάκρυα, *ὥσπερ τις ὄρνις πορθομένουσ ὀρώσα τοὺς νεοσσούς, ὄφεως προσερπύσαντος, περιποτᾶται τὴν καλιὰ περιτρύζουσα καὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ ἔχουσα*.¹⁵⁷⁴ Καὶ τάχα τὰ τοῦ Μιχαίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεπλήρωτο· «Κόψεται καὶ θρηγήσει, περιπατήσει ἀνυπόδητος καὶ γυμνὴ· ποιήσεται κοπετὸν ὡς δρακόντων, καὶ πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων Σειρήνων». [10] Γενομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους παράφορος καὶ οἶον ἐκβακχευθεῖσα τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας κακῷ, περιενόστει τὰς ἀγνιάς, κατέξαινε τὰς πολιάς, ἐσπάρασσε τὰς παρειάς, λίθοις παίουσα καὶ στέρνα καὶ κεφαλὴν, μαστοὺς ὑπεδείκνυ τοὺς θρέψαντας. Καὶ

¹⁵⁷¹ *Vitae et Miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Miracula tria*, ed. G. Anrich, 15, 7–15: ὁ οὖν πατήρ, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὁράματι καὶ φάσμα βλέπειν ὑπονοήσας δαιμόνιον, ἠπόρει καθ' ἑαυτόν, *ἐνατενίζων ἀσκαρδαμύκτως* τῷ ὁρωμένῳ καὶ μὴδ' αὐτός τι λαλῆσαι δυνάμενος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ οὕτω διακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφασίᾳ κεκρατημένων, ὁ πατήρ, μικρὸν ἀνανήσας *φόβῳ τε καὶ χαρᾷ μεριζόμενος*, ἡρέμα φωνήσας 'Τέκνον' ἔφη 'Βασίλειε, σὲ βλέπω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τὸν ἐμοὶ φίλτατον υἱόν, ἢ φάσματος ὅψις ἐστὶ τὸ φαινόμενον;' καὶ ὁ παῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Εγὼ εἰμι' λέγων, *τὸ μονογενές* σου τέκνον Βασίλειος, ὃν ἀθλίῳν καὶ μαιφόνων χεῖρες Ἀγαρινῶν ἀπαγαγόντες αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ τῶν Κρητῶν νήσῳ τῶν σῶν ἀγκαλῶν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀπεστέρησαν. Cf. Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes septem de monachis in Sina*, 6, 1, 11–12 (ed. F. Conca): καὶ ὥσπερ ἐμβροντηθεὶς ἀθρόα νεφῶν συμπαταγούτων ἡχῇ, οὐτ' ἔκλαιον λοιπὸν οὐτ' ὠδυρόμην, ἀλλ' ἀτενῶς ἔβλεπον πρὸς αὐτὸν *ἀσκαρδαμυκτῶν κεχηνότι τῷ βλέμματι*.

¹⁵⁷² Basil of Casarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, Psalm XLIV, PG 29, coll. 388: Εἰς ἀκμὴν δὲ ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὸ στάσιμον τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπολαβὼν, πάλιν ἄρχεται κατὰ μικρὸν ὑφαιρεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἔλαττον, *ὑπορρεούσης αὐτῷ* λεληθότως *τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕξως, καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων ἐλαττουμένων*, ἕως ἂν, ὑπὸ γήρως κατακαμφοθεὶς, τὴν εἰς ἔσχατον δυνάμει ὑφαίρεισιν ὑπομείνῃ.

¹⁵⁷³ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 3, 2, 8: ἦν οὖν ἀνέμων μάχη καὶ κυμάτων· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηὸς σεισμοῦ. *συμμιγής* δὲ πάντων ἐγένετο βοή· ἐρρόχθη τὸ κύμα, ἐπάφλαξε τὸ πνεῦμα, *ὀλολυγμός γυναικῶν, ἀλαλαγμός ἀνδρῶν*, κελευσμὸς ναυτῶν, *πάντα θρήνων καὶ κωκυτῶν ἀνάμεστα*.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 2, 22, 4, (ed. Colonna, 154–156): «Καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ πλάνη, ὃ πάτερ, ἦν λέγεις;» «Παίδων» ἔφη «πρὸς ληστῶν ἀφαιρεθεὶς καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδικοῦντας γινώσκων *ἐπαμῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἔχων* εἰλοῦμαι περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ θρήνοις παραπέμπω τὸ πάθος, *ὥσπερ* οἶμαι *τις ὄρνις ὄφεως αὐτῇ τὴν καλιὰν πορθοῦντος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* τε τὴν γονὴν θοινωμένου προσελθεῖν μὲν ὁκνεῖ φεύγειν δὲ οὐ φέρει, πόθος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πάθος ἀνταγωνίζεται, τετριγυῖα δὲ *περιποτᾶται* τὴν πολιορκίαν εἰς ὧτα ἀνήμερα καὶ οἷς ἔλεον οὐκ ἐγνώρισεν ἡ φύσις ἀνήνυτον ἱκετηρίαν τὸν μητρῶν προσάγουσα θρήνον.»

πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐλεεινῶς ὑποστρέφουσα· «Ἦπου, φησίν, τοὺς τοῦ υἱοῦ μου γάμους ἰδεῖν, ὃ παρόντες, συνελθύθατε καὶ χορεύοντες ἦκατε τὸν ὑμέναιον, καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς μοι κοινωνῆσαι προεθυμήθητε; Χάρις μὲν τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῖν· ἀλλ’ ὁ νυμφίος καθεύδει τὸν γάμον ἀπαναινόμενος». [11.] Ταῦτ’ ἔλεγε καὶ τοῖς ὄνυξι τὰς παρειὰς περιδρύφουσα αἱμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἀπέσταζε πίδακας, καὶ τοῦ κειμένου τὸν κράβαττον ὡς ζῶντι τῷ νεκρῷ διελέγετο· «Τίνα ταύτην, υἱέ μου, τίνα ταύτην βαδίζεις ὁδὸν τὴν μακράν τε καὶ ἀνεπίστροφον; Τίς ἢ τοσαύτη ταχύτης περὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν; Ἐλάνθανον ἄρα φανταζομένη σοι, **τέκνον, οὐ θάλαμον, ἀλλὰ θάνατον, καὶ λαμπάδα ὑφάψαι οὐ γαμήλιον, οἴμοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιτάφιον.**¹⁵⁷⁵ Μάτην ὠνειροπόλουν στεφάνους καὶ νύμφην καὶ παιδίον ὡς τάχος ἰδεῖν· ἡ δὲ γενέσθαι μάρμη καὶ πενθερὰ προσδοκῆσασα, οὐδὲ μήτηρ κατονομάζομαι. Οἴμοι, οἴμοι, ὅτι τὸν σὸν θάνατον εἶδον ἐγώ, ἥτις ὥφειλον ἐν ταῖς σαῖς ἐναποψῦξαι χερσὶ καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἐπικηδεαῖς τιμηθῆναι προόδοις. Ὡς μακάριαι μητέρες, ὅσαις τελευτώσαις περιίστανται παῖδες. Ἵνα τί μέχρι ταύτης ἐτηρήθην τῆς θέας; Πότε μοι ἐπανήξεις, ὃ σπλάγχχνον ἐμόν; Πότε σε πάλιν ἐπόψομαι;». Ταῦτα λεγούσης, πᾶσα μήτηρ ἐθρήνει, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὠδύροντο.

[12.] Ὡς δὲ τῆς πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἔξω ἐγένοντο, τοῦ πλήθους ἐφεπομένου τῇ ἐκφορᾷ, μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα τοὺς τὸν τάφον ὀρύττοντας, **ἐμμανὴς ἐπὶ τὸν κράβαττον ἵεται· καὶ περιχυθεῖσα τῷ πτώματι** καὶ μέλεσι μέλη τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς συναρμόσασα, **ἀπριῆς εἶχετο καὶ γοεροῖς κατησπάζετο θρήνοις.**¹⁵⁷⁶ «Τέκνον, λέγουσα, τοιοῦτός σοι θάλαμος ἐτοιμάζεται; Τοιαύτη σοι παστὰς καλλωπίζεται; Ἐγρεο, φίλτατε, καὶ γηραιᾷ μητρὶ θρηνούσῃ ἐπάκουσον. Ἀποτίναξον τὸν βαρὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον τὸν ἄωρος χυθέντα σοι· οἴκτειρον μητρὸς πολὺν καὶ

¹⁵⁷⁵ cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De deitate filii et spiritus sancti*, PG 46, coll. 568–569: Διὰ τοῦτο πατέρα ἐποίησας, ἵνα παιδοκτόνον ἀπεργάσῃ; Διὰ τοῦτό με τῆς γλυκείας ταύτης ἔγευσας δωρεᾶς, ἵνα μῦθόν με ποιήσης τῷ βίῳ; Ταῖς ἐμμαντοῦ χερσὶ κατασφάξω τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς αἵματος σπείσω σοι; Καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις, καὶ τοιαύταις ἐπιτέρπῃ θυσίαις; Ἀποκτείνω τὸν υἱόν, ὃς οὐ ταφίσεσθαι προσεδόκησα; Τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ πήξω τὸν θάλαμον; Τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν εὐφροσύνην παρασκευάσω τοῦ γάμου; Καὶ ἄνω ἐπ’ αὐτῷ **οὐχὶ λαμπάδα γαμήλιον, ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἐπιτάφιον**; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*, ed. A. Spira, 9, 468–469: **θάλαμος τέκνοις οὐ τάφος** παρὰ πατέρων σπουδάζεται, **στέφανος γαμικὸς οὐ ξίφος φονικόν, γαμήλιος λαμπὰς οὐ πῦρ ἐπιτάφιον**.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Heliodorus. *Aethiopika*, 7, 7, 5 (ed. Colonna, 378): Κατ’ ἴχνος γὰρ ἐφεπομένη τοῦ Καλασίριδος καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀναγνωρίσασα τὸν Θεαγένην, ὃς γὰρ τι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐρωτικῶν ὄνις καὶ κίνημα πολλάκις καὶ σχῆμα μόνον κἂν πόρρωθεν ἢ κἂν ἐκ νώτων τῆς ὁμοιότητος τὴν φαντασίαν παρέστησεν, ὥσπερ οἰσθηθεῖσα ὑπὸ ὄψεως **ἐμμανὴς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἵεται καὶ περιφύσα τοῦ αὐχένος ἀπριῆς εἶχετο καὶ ἐξήρτητο καὶ γοεροῖς τισὶ κατησπάζετο θρήνοις**. Cf. *Hom.* 37 (ed. Zaccagni, *La páregrus ἀφήγησις*, 52, 20–24 = Scorsus, *Hom.* 16, PG 132, coll. 361C–D): **Εἶπες ἂν ἰδὼν σελήνην πλησιφαῖ τοῦ νέφους ἄρτι προκύπτουσαν**. Ἐπιταχύνασα οὖν τὴν πορείαν, πρώτη τῷ πατρὶ δυστυχῶς ὑπαντᾷ **καὶ περιφύσα τοῦ αὐχένος** μετ’ αἰδοῦς καὶ πόθου θερμοῦ **κατησπάζετο**, χαριστηρίους ἀφιεῖσα φωνάς. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἰεφθάς ἀνῶμωξε καὶ «οἴμοι, θύγατερ, εἶπεν, ὅτι σε καταθύσειν ἠδὲξάμην Θεῷ». Cf. *Aethiopika*, 5, 8, 5 (ed. Colonna, 282): **Ὁ δὲ χαννοθεὶς τοῖς** ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἅμα τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀπατηθεὶς ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν τῆς ὥρας, ἀπ’ εὐτελοῦς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἐσθῆτος **οἶον νέφους αὐγὴ σεληνιαῖς διεξέλαμπεν**.

σπλάγχνα φρυγόμενα. *Οἶμοι, σιωπᾶς καὶ τὸ γλοκὸν στόμα κατέσχε σιγὴ καὶ ζόφος*¹⁵⁷⁷ περικέχυται ταῖς λαμπάσι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Καὶ σὺ μὲν ὑπὸ λίθον οἰκήσεις τραχὺν καὶ σκότος βαθύ, ἐγὼ δὲ βλέψω τὸν ἥλιον; Οὐ μὲν οὖν, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκός. *Πρὸς τῷ σῷ τάφῳ πῆξομαι τὴν καλύβην, καὶ τάχα μοι φανήσῃ καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούσομαι*,¹⁵⁷⁸ μᾶλλον δὲ συνταφήσομαί σοι, ποθοῦμενε, καὶ τοῖς σοῖς νεαροῖς ὁστέοις σάρκες γηραιαὶ συντακῇσονται». Οὕτως ἐπετραγώδει, *μὴ ἐπισπεῦσαι* συγχωροῦσα *τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κηδεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐμπορεῖσθαι τοῦ πάθους ζητοῦσα, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς παρατείνουσα*.¹⁵⁷⁹

[13.] Ἄλλ' ἐπέειπερ ὁρῶ τοὺς ὑμῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκ συμπαθείας διανοίας τεγγομένους τοῖς δάκρυσιν, κάμοι δὲ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ τόνος ἐκκόπτεται, φέρε τὰ δάκρυα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπομάζαντες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας μετέλθωμεν χαριέστατον. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ νέου ψυχὴ τὸν τοῦ ἄδου χῶρον διήρχετο, τὸν σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀμειδῆ καὶ ἀηδίας ἀνάπλεων, καὶ γῆν περιεπόλει, «ἧς οἱ μογλοὶ κάτοχοι αἰώνιοι», ὥς εἶπε τῶν προφητῶν ὁ φυγὰς. Ἰετο δὲ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐκ τῆς Καπερναοῦμ, ἄρτι τὸν τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου παῖδα τεθεραπευκὼς ἐν δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου γενόμενον· ἴετο δὲ πεζῇ βαδίζων, ὥς ἔθος αὐτῷ, καὶ βάδην τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιούμενος, ἅμα μὲν παιδεύων ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐνυβρίζειν τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς καταστάσεως ἀτάκτῳ βαδίσματι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ θαρρῶν ὥς, εἰ καὶ τάφῳ κατακρύψαιεν τὸν νεκρὸν, ἀναστήσει τοῦτον ὥσπερ τὸν Λάζαρον. Καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χήραν οὕτως ἡμίγυμνον, αἵματι φυρωμένην καὶ δάκρυσιν, εὐσπλαγχνίσθη ὁ φύσει φιλάνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθότητος, καὶ φωνὴν ἀφήσει τῇ γυναικὶ ὄντως θείας χάριτος ἔμπλεων· «Μὴ κλαῖε». Ὡς θεία φωνὴ τοσοῦτον ἄχθος λύπης κουφίσασα. Εἰ γάρ τις ἕτερος μὴ κλαίειν αὐτῇ ἐπετέλλετο, ἄρα οὐκ ἂν ἀπέπτυσσε τὴν νουθέτησιν καὶ ὥς ἐχθρὸν τὸν νουθετοῦντα παρηγκωνίσατο; Ἀκμάζουσα γὰρ λύπη παραμυθητικῶν λόγων ἐστὶν ἀνεπίδεκτος, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν ῥευματικῶν νοσημάτων κακοηθέστερα ἐπιξαίνεται μᾶλλον πρὶν πεπανθῆναι θεραπευόμενα. [14.] Εἶπε γὰρ ἴσως δριμύ τι ἀπιδούσα καὶ βλοσυρόν· «Ὡς τῆς ἀκαιρίας ἄνθρωπε, ὁρᾷς οἶον κάλλος ὁ

¹⁵⁷⁷ *Aethiopika*, 2, 4, 3 (ed. Colonna, 122): *Οἶμοι, σιωπᾶς καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ θεηγόρον στόμα σιγὴ κατέχει καὶ ζόφος* τὴν πυρφόρον καὶ χάος τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνακτόρων κατεῖληφεν· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ ἀφεγγεῖς οἱ πάντας τῷ κάλλει καταστράψαντες, οὓς οὐκ εἶδεν ὁ φονεύσας, οἶδα ἀκριβῶς. Ἀλλ' ὦ τί ἂν σέ τις ὀνομάσειε; νύμφην; ἀλλ' ἀνύμφευτος·

¹⁵⁷⁸ Procopius of Gaza, *Monodia per Antiochia*, 1, 16–21 (ed. Amato, 463): *πρὸς τῷ σῷ τάφῳ πῆξομαι τὴν παστάδα, καὶ τάχα μοι φανήσῃ καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούσομαι*. ὅρα μοι τὸν πατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν σόν, εἰ βούλει, καὶ δάκρυσον, οἱ ἐπὶ σὲ μόνον ὀρώντες ἐπ' ἐσχάτῃ γῆρᾳ τὴν ἐρημίαν μαρτυροῦσι.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De officio hominis*, PG 44, coll. 220, 20–27: Τί τοίνυν πάσχειν εἰκός ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα; οἷον εἰ πυρὶ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐγκαταφλέγεσθαι, ὥς πικρῶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρατείνειν τὸν θρήνον, περιπλεκομένην προκειμένῳ τῷ πτώματι, ὥς *μὴ ἂν ἐπισπεῦσαι τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κηδεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐμπορεῖσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ἐπιπλεῖστον αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς παρατείνουσιν*· οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρῆκεν ὁ λόγος· Ἰδὼν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἰησοῦς,» φησὶν, «ἐσπλαγχνίσθη. καὶ προσελθὼν ἤψατο τῆς σοροῦ, οἱ δὲ βαστάσαντες ἔστησαν. Καὶ λέγει τῷ νεκρῷ· Νεανία, σοὶ λέγω, ἐγέρθητι· καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ζῶντα.»

θάνατος πρὸ ὥρας ἐμάρανε καὶ ὅτι ἄπειμι τῇ γῇ κατακρύψουσα τὸ ἐμὸν φῶς, τῆς ζωῆς μου τὴν ἄγκυραν. Καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ μετρίῳ τινὶ πάθει φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπιτάττεις καὶ *Μὴ κλαῖε λαλεῖς*· ὡς ἔοικεν, «ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδήρου τὰ σπλάγχνα κεχάλκευσαι».¹⁵⁸⁰ [15.] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐφθέγγετο ἡ γυνή· ὁμοῦ δὲ ἤκουσε καὶ σεσίγηκε. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι τοι σὺν τῷ δεσποτικῷ λόγῳ καὶ γλυκεῖα τις παραψυχὴ ἐνέσταξεν ἐν τῇ ταύτης ψυχῇ, πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα τὸν νοῦν διεγείρουσα. Ἔστι οὖν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον μετέωρος. Ἀλλὰ τί μὴ θάττον ἐπάγω τὸ γλυκὺ τοῦ διηγήματος καὶ παράδοξον;

[16.] Ἔρχεται τοίνυν ὁ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγός, ἅπτεται τοῦ κειμένου θείᾳ χειρί. Καὶ οἱ μὲν βαστάζοντες ἔστησαν (ῥοντο γὰρ ἴσως ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν νεκρόν), ὁ δὲ δεσποτικῇ φωνῇ καλεῖ τοῦτον εἰπὼν· «Νεανία, σοὶ λέγω, ἐγέρθητι». Καὶ αὐτίκα, ὃ τοῦ θαύματος, ὁ μὲν ἄδης ἐλέλυτο, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκ τῶν νεκάδων ἀνέθορε καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεκάθισε καὶ τοῦ κραβάττου ἀφήλατο, καὶ γίνεται πάντα καινὰ καὶ παράδοξα. Ὁ χαρωνίας τάφος ἔμεινε κενοτάφιον· οἱ ὀρύττοντες, τὸ πτύον καὶ τὴν σκαπάνην ῥίψαντες, πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον ἔτρεχον, τὰ δάκρυα εἰς χαρὰν καὶ θαῦμα μετήγετο· τοὺς συνελθόντας ἦρει δέος καὶ ἔκπληξις, καὶ τινες, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀπλουστέρων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπέματτον, ὡς ἐν ὀνείρῳ ταῦτα βλέπειν οἰόμενοι. Ἡ δὲ μακαρία μήτηρ ἐκείνη, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ Δεσπότης καλινδουμένη καὶ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ τῷ παιδί περιπλεκομένη, ἠπίσται κατέχουσα καὶ διὰ πάντων μετήμειπτο τὸ πένθος εἰς ἀγαλλίασιν. Καὶ ἵνα συνέλω τὸ πᾶν, εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος τότε τὸ Δαβιτικὸν ἐκεῖνο πληρούμενον· «Μητέρα ἐπὶ τέκνῳ εὐφραινομένην» καὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς δοτῆρα καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν δοξαζόμενον. Ἡ μὲν οὖν παράδοξος αὕτη θαυματουργία ὧδέ πη κατέληξε, πλεῖστα τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς ὠφελήσασα, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅσοι κατανυγέντες συμπαθείας ἐστάξατε δάκρυον, ὅπερ καθαρτικὸν εἶναι τῶν ψυχικῶν ῥύπων πιστεύομεν.

[17.] Ἔλθοι δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀμούσως ἡ ἱστορία καὶ εἰς τροπικὴν θεωρίαν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὴν ὠφέλειαν καρπωσόμεθα. **Ἐκαστος ἐαυτὸν ἐννοησάτω τῆς χήρας υἱόν, καταστάσεως δηλαδὴ χηρευούσης δικαίου φρονήματος**, εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀπραξίας **τάφον** ἐλεεινῶς **ἐκφερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φιλορρυπάρων δαιμόνων καὶ τῶν τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς βασταζόντων παθῶν τῆς σαρκός**.¹⁵⁸¹ Τίς οὖν γένοιτο σωτηρίας λαβή; Τὸ ἐκ μετανοίας ἐκ τῶν ὁμμάτων

¹⁵⁸⁰ Cf. Pindar, fr. 123, 2–6 (ed. Snell-Maehler): τὰς δὲ Θεοζένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὅσων / μαρμαρυξοίσας δρακεῖς / ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος / ἢ σιδήρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν / ψυχρᾷ φλογί [...].

¹⁵⁸¹ Cf. Nylus of Ancyra, *Epistulae*, Epistle 6, PG 79: ΠΑΝΟΛΒΙΩ. Τί ἔξω, καὶ μακροτέραν ἀποτρέχεις, ἄνθρωπε; **Σαυτὸν γὰρ νόησον υἱὸν χήρας** ὑπάρχειν, **δηλαδὴ καταστάσεως χηρευούσης ἀπὸ δικαίου φρονήματος**, καὶ ἰσχυρογνώμονος, **ἐκφερόμενος** πρὸς **τάφον ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν τὴν ψυχὴν βασταζόντων παθῶν τε σαρκικῶν**, καὶ **δαιμόνων φιλορρυπάρων**. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὗξαι μετὰ δακρύων, ἵνα ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς καταξιώσῃ ἄψασθαι τῆς

δάκρυον, στάζοντες κρουνηδόν, ἐπευξώμεθα ἵνα ὁ Δεσπότης ἄψηται τῆς σοροῦ νοητῇ ἐπαφῇ· σορὸς δὲ τὸ πολυπαθὲς ἐστὶ σῶμα, **τὸ βαρὺ καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον**.¹⁵⁸² Καὶ οὕτως οἱ βαστάζοντες στήσονται καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῆς νεκροφόρου κακίας παυθήσονται. Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐμποδισθέντων τῆς πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμῆς, ὁ νοῦς ἀναστήσεται καὶ ὡς μητρὶ ἀποδοθήσεται τῇ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ.

σοροῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πολυπαθὲς σῶμα· καὶ οἱ βαστάζοντες στήσονται, τουτέστι παύσονται τοῦ δρόμου τῆς νεκροφόρου κακίας· παυσασμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον προκοπῆς ἐμποδισθέντων, ἀναστήσεται παραδόξως ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς καὶ παραδοθήσεται ζῶν τῇ ἄνω ἡμῶν μητέρι Ἱερουσαλήμ πολλά ὀδυρομένη καὶ πενθοῦση. «Φωνὴ γάρ, φησὶν, ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη»· τουτέστιν ἐν ὑψίστοις. Ῥαμὰ γὰρ ὕψος δηλοῖ, ἐνθα θρήνος, καὶ κλαυθμὸς, καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολὺς διὰ τὴν πταίουσαν ἀνθρωπότητα γίνεται.

¹⁵⁸² Cf. Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora, Oration 4*, 70 (ed. Antony Littlewood): ὕστερον προσυφανθὲν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ προσαρτηθὲν τῇ φύσει, **βαρὺ καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον**, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς κακίας γευσάμενοι τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκλείσθημεν· See also, Philagathos, *Hom.* 12, 9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 81): **Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν βαρὺ τοῦτο καὶ βρίθον ἐφόλκιον**, τὸν δερμάτινον θύλακον, ὃν μετὰ τὴν πτῶσιν ὡς χιτῶνα ἐνεδυσάμεθα [...].

Appendix 3

For illustrating Philagathos' florilegic technique we present below two hitherto unedited homilies extant in *Matrit. gr. 4554* (*testis unicus*). We follow as far as possible the punctuation and accentuation in the manuscript, which keeps for instance the grave accent before the punctuation marks in regard to oxytone words (e.g. *hom. 84, 1.4*: ἐορτὴν). As shown in the *apparatus* the texts are transmitted with an impressive amount of errors (due to *itacism* and other phonetic confusions).

Sigla:	M	<i>Matrit. gr. 4554</i>	suppl.	supplevit
	< >	addenda	{ }	delenda

Homily 84

Hom 84 – Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ (οδ') – “Prologue for the Sunday of Thomas” extant in *Matrit. gr. 4554* f 184^v–185^r is a sermon addressed to a common assembly which is remonstrated for its exiguous attendance to the liturgy; elsewhere Philagathos approached the episode of Thomas' incredulity in an elaborate and original manner (i.e. the homily on the ninth ἑορθινόν, *In nonum matutinum*, PG 132, coll. 681–690).

Rossi-Taibbi (*Sulla tradizione manoscritta*, 55) recognized that the sermon “nella parte iniziale è simile al principio della omelia spuria di Giovanni Crisostomo Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Θωμᾶν. Più precisamente per il brano da Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς [see below 1.1] fino a τ(ὴν) ὠφέλειαν καρπώσησθε [1.12] cfr. M 59, 681. Il rimanente sembra riflettere pensieri del tutto indipendenti, compreso quello, che segue immediatamente al luogo indicato, in cui l'oratore si duole che l'uditorio sia poco numeroso: Ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι οἱ παρόντες ἐνταῦθα σήμερον. Ἄρα τί τὸ αἴτιον τὸ κῶλυσαν αὐτούς; Ἄρα μήπ(ως) τὸ διάστημα(α) τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥαθυμία αὐτούς ἐνέβαλεν; Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὸ (ms. ὁ τοῦ) διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀλλὰ ῥαθυμία αὐτούς ἐνεπόδησεν.”

Actually, *hom. 84* is in its entirety made of passages taken from Proclus of Constantinople's sermon¹⁵⁸³ *In sanctum apostolum Thomam* and from the homily *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam*, attributed to John Chrysostom (PG 50, coll. 725–736). The latter has been

¹⁵⁸³ *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam*, ed. F.J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, [Studi e Testi 247, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967]: 237–251 = John Chrysostom, *Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Θωμᾶν*, PG 59, coll. 681.

excerpted in the *Sacra parallela* ascribed to John of Damascus (PG 96, coll. 133B–137C); a consistent fragment from *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam*, present also in Philagathos, surfaces in another spurious sermon ascribed to John Chrysostom, *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων. Θ'* (*Eclogae i–xlvi ex diversis homiliis [Sp.]*, PG 44, coll. 623–625).

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν ταύτην τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ
λαμπρὰν ἑορτὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶν σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ
5 πάλιν ἤκω χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν, χρέος καμὲ τὸν ἀποδιδόντα πλουτίζον καὶ ὑμᾶς
τοὺς ἀπολαμβάνοντας ὠφελοῦν. πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξαι τὸν Θωμᾶν περὶ μὲν τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν
ἀφῆν πιστεύσαντα καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν ὀνομάσαντα.

ἀλλὰ συντεínaτέ μοι καὶ νῦν τὰς ὑμετέρας διανοίας, καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς
παρακαλῶ, καὶ μετὰ γαλήνης καὶ προσωχῆς τῶν εὐτελῶν μου καὶ ἀχύτων ῥημάτων
10 ἀνάσχεσθε ἵνα μικράν τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσησθε. τοῦ γὰρ δεσπότη
καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διαρρήξαντος τὴν ἀμφοτον τοῦ ἄδου
γαστέρα καὶ γενομένου πρωτοτόκου τῶ νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν κεκλεισμένων θυρῶν
εἰσελθόντος πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς Θωμᾶς, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ'
αὐτῶν.

ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι οἱ παρόντες ἐνταῦθα σήμερον. ἄρα τί τὸ αἴτιον τὸ κωλύσαν
αὐτούς; ἄρα μήπως τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥαθυμία αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλε; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὸ
διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀλλὰ <ή> ῥαθυμία αὐτοὺς ἐνεπόδισεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν σπουδαῖον
καὶ διεγερμένον τῇ προαιρέσει οὐδὲν δύναται κωλύσαι, οὕτω τὸν ῥαθυμον καὶ
ἀναπεπτωκότα παντὰ δύναται κωλύσαι. ὁ δεσποτὴς διὰ σὲ ἀπέθανεν καὶ σὺ δι' αὐτὸν
20 ὀκνεῖς μικρὸν κοπιᾶσαι; δέον σε μᾶλλον παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν διάβαλον
ἡττώμενον καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεὸν δοξαζόμενον.

ἀλλὰ προφάσει τινὲς ἀποκρίνονται· ἀμαρτωλὸς, φησί, εἰμι καὶ οὐ δύναμαι
ἀπαντῆσαι. τίς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνευ ἀμαρτίας, εἰπέ μοι; <ή> οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ
αὐτοὶ οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες ἀμαρτίαις εἰσὶ προσηλωμένοι; σάρκα γὰρ
25 εἰσὶν ἐνδεδυμένοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενοι καὶ διδασκαλῆται καὶ
διδάσκοντες, ἀμαρτίαις ἐσμὲν συνεπληγμένοι καὶ οὐ παραιτώμεθα τὴν διδασκαλίαν

2-19 Proclus, *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam*, ed. Leroy, 237, 1-4 || 12 Col. 1:18 || 12 Jn. 20:19 || 13-14 Jn. 20:22 || 15-23 ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι ... εἰπέ μοι;] John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam (sp.)*, PG 50, coll. 725, 16-37 || 23-29 <ή> οὐκ οἶδας... διδῶσιν] John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam (sp.)*, PG 50, coll. 726, 23-727, 2

οδ' in mg. || 3 ἥτις] εἴ τις M || 4 πλουτίζον] πλουτίζων M || 4 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς M || 5 πάρειμι] πάρει μοι M || 6 ἀφῆν] ἀφῆν M || 8 συντεínaτέ] συντεínaτάι M || 8 ὑμετέρας] ἡμετέρας M || 10 ἀνάσχεσθε] ἀνάχεσθαι M, cf. Proclus, *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam*, ἀνάσχεσθε || 12 γαστέρα] γαστέραν M || 15 κωλύσαν] κωλύσαν M || 16 οὐ τὸ] ὁ τοῦ M || 17 ἐνεπόδισεν] ἐνεπόδησεν M || 18 διεγερμένον] διεγειγερμαῖνον M || 18 οὕτω] οὕτως M || 19 σὺ] σοι M || 21 ἡττώμενον] ἡττόμενον M || 23 ἡ suppl. || 24 προσηλωμένοι] πρὸς ἡλούμενοι M || 24 σάρκα] cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam (sp.)*, PG 50, coll. 726C: Σάρκας γάρ εἰσιν ἐνδεδυμένοι || 26 συνεπληγμένοι] συνεπλεγμένοι M

εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιланθρωπίας ἀφορῶντες· κατὰ θείαν γὰρ διοίκησιν
 γέγονε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς **ἀμαρτία** ὑποπεσεῖν, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν **καὶ** αὐτοὶ πάσχουσι, καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγνώμην διδῶσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πταισμάτων **φιλανθρωπότεροι**
 30 **γίνωνται** πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἄγγελος οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος ἐπιστεύθη
 ἱερατεῦειν, ἀναμάρτητοι γὰρ εἰσὶν **οὗτοι**, ἵνα μὴ <διὰ> ἀποτομίαν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας
 τοῦ λαοῦ ἀθρόον κεραυνοβολῶσιν· ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιστεύθη τὸν
 θρόνον τοῦτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδονῇ καὶ ἀμαρτία συνδεδεμένος, ἵνα ὅταν λάβῃ τινὰ
 ἀμαρτάνοντα, ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πλημμελημάτων φιλανθρωπότερος γένηται πρὸς
 35 ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα, καὶ μὴ κινῆται διὰ τῆς ὀργῆς **καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἰδίως**, καὶ ἐκ
 πείρας ἔχων τὰ **ἐαυτῶν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ** πλημμλήματα. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄγγελος
 [f 185^r] ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἔλαβέ τινα πορνεύσαντα ἢ ἀμαρτήσαντα οὐκ ἐδίδασκεν ἀλλὰ
 εὐθὺς ἀνῆρει αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον μὴ εἶναι τοιοῦτον καὶ εἰς ὀργὴν αὐτὸν ἔφερε κατὰ
τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστεύθη· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡμάρτανον αὐτοὶ
 40 οὐδεμίαν εἶχον συγγνώμην διδοῦναι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πάντας ἐκθερίζειν τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας **ἡμελλον**.
 ἄλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θεωρίας **πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς**· Πέτρος ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι τὰς
 <κλεῖς τῆς> ἐκκλησίας, μάλλον δὲ ἐπιστεύθη καὶ τὰς κλεῖς **τῆς βασιλείας** τῶν
 οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι **καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν λαῶν**. τί γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ
 45 Δεσπότης φησὶ; ὁ ἐὰν *δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, ἔσται *δεδεμένον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν
δήσης ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἔσται *δεδεμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ*. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο **ἐπραγματεύσατο** ἡ
 θεία χάρις, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔπαθε, **φιλάνθρωπότερος** γένηται περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ
 βλέπε τινὰ συγχωρεῖν περιπεσεῖν **τῇ** ἀμαρτίᾳ. Πέτρον ἐκεῖνον, **τὸν τηλικούτον**
ἄνδρα, τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν κρηπῖδα τὴν ἀσάλευτον, τὴν πέτραν τὴν
 50 ἀρράγῃ, **τὸν προστάτην** τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀκαταμάχητον, τὸν πύργον
 τὸν ἀσάλευτον. Πέτρος **ἦν** ἐκεῖνος ὁ λέγων τῷ Χριστῷ· *κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν*,

29-30 ἵνα ἐκ ... τοὺς ἄλλους] John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 727, 21-24 ||
 30-39 διὰ τοῦτο ... ἐπιστεύθη] John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 21-28 ||
 45-46 Mt. 26:35 || 39-61 εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡμάρτανον ... ἀνθρωπίνον τι ὑπέστη] cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos*
Petrum et Heliam (sp.), PG 50, coll. 727, 7-728, 6 || 51-52 Mc. 14:31

27 διοίκησιν] διήκησιν M || 28 γέγονε] γέγωνεν M || 29 διδῶσιν] διδόασιν M || 30 γίνωνται] γίνονται M, cf.
 John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam*, 726, γένωνται || 31 διὰ suppl. cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos*
Petrum et Heliam (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 23: ἵνα μὴ διὰ ἀποτομίαν || 31 ἀμαρτάνοντας] ἀμαρ|τάννοντας M || 32
 ἀθρόον] ἀθρῶον M || 32 κεραυνοβολῶσιν] κεραυνῷ βάλω|σ(ιν) M || 34 γένηται] γίνε|ται M, cf. John
 Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), 728, 28: γένηται || 35 κινῆται] κεινῆται M || 38 ἀνῆρει] ἀνήρη
 M || 38 ἔφερε] ἔφε|ρεν M || 40 ἀμαρτάνουσι] ἀμαρτάννουσι M || 43 κλεῖς τῆς suppl., cf. John Chrysostom, *In*
sanctos Petrum et Heliam (sp.), coll. 727, 12-13: Πέτρος ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας || 47
 γένηται] γίνε|ται M || 48 βλέπε] βλέπον M cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), coll. 727,
 24: Καὶ βλέπε τίνα συγχωρεῖ περιπεσεῖν ἀμαρτίᾳ || 51 κἂν] ἐὰν M, cf. Mt. 16:16: Κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν

οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλείπω, <καὶ> ὁ εἰπὼν· Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος·
 προσελθοῦσα **νεᾶνις** αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· σὺ χθὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἦσθα, ὁ δὲ· οὐκ
 οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον. οὐπω μάστιγες, οὐπω βασανιστήρια, οὐπω ξίφη
 55 ἠκονημένα, οὐπω βασιλεῖς ἀπειλοῦντες, οὐπω θάνατοι <προσδοκώμενοι>, οὐπω
 φυλακαὶ, καὶ κρημνοὶ καὶ θάλασσα, οὐπω οὐδὲν <τῶν τοιούτων>. **καὶ** τίς ἐστιν ὁ
 λέγων, ὅτι **ἀρνῆσαι**; οὐδεῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ γυνή, οὐδὲ **ἀπλῶς γυνή**, ἀλλὰ
 θυρωρὸς, καὶ αἰχμάλωτος **κόρη**, οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξία. καὶ ἐμβλέψας αὐτὸν ὁ **Σωτὴρ**,
εὐθὺς εἰς ἀνάμνησιν **ἦλθεν**, **καὶ** ἤρξατο κλαίειν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ μετανοεῖν. ἀλλ’
 60 ὅμως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος **Θεός** συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· ἦδει γὰρ ὡς **Θεός** ὅτι
 ἀνθρωπίνον τι ὑπέστη.

ἀλλὰ φέρε μοι εἰς τὸ μέσον Ἥλιαν, ἐκεῖνον τὸν προφήτην, τὸν ἐπίγειον
 ἄγγελον καὶ **οὐράνιον** ἄνθρωπον, τὸν χαμαὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἡνιοχοῦντα,
 τὸν τρίπηχυν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπότομος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. ἔβλεπε γὰρ
 65 πορνείαν μετὰ πολλῆς κακίας πολιτευομένην. πάντες γὰρ προέκοπτον ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν
 ἀλλὰ τί **φησιν** Ἥλιος· οἶδα τὸν ἐμὸν δεσποτὴν, **ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἐστιν**.
φέρει δὲ τὸν πέπλον ἀναπετάσαντα εἴσω τῆς θεωρίας γενόμεθα.

52 Mt. 16:16 || **53-54** cf. Mt. 26: 71–75; Mc. 14: 66–71; Lc. 22:56–62; Jn. 18:25–27 || **62-66** ἀλλὰ φέρε μοι ...
 ἐμὸν δεσποτὴν] John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 729, 4–13

51 δέη με] δὲ εἶμαι M || **52** καὶ suppl. || **53** ἦσθα] ἴστα M || **54** οὐπω] ὅπου M, cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos
 Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), 728: οὐπω βασανιστήρια, οὐπω μάστιγες, οὐπω πληγαὶ, οὐπω θυμοὶ... || **54** ξίφη] ξήφει
 M || **55** ἠκονημένα] ἰκονημένα M || **55** προσδοκώμενοι suppl., cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et
 Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 46: οὐπω θάνατοι προσδοκώμενοι || **56** κρημνοὶ] κρυμνοὶ M || **56** τῶν τοιούτων
 suppl., cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 47: καὶ θάλασσα, οὐπω οὐδὲν
 τῶν τοιούτων || **57** ἀρνῆσαι] ἄρνησαι M || **58** αἰχμάλωτος] ἐχμάλωτος M || **60** ἦδει] ἶδει M || **61** τι] τί M || **64**
 ἔβλεπε] βλεπέ M, cf. John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), 729, 11: ἔβλεπε πορνείαν || **67** εἴσω]
 ἴσω M

Philagathos, Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ:

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν ταύτην τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ λαμπρὰν ἑορτήν, ἣτις ἐστὶν σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ πάλιν ἤκω χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν, χρέος κάμει τὸν ἀποδιδόντα πλουτίζον καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀπολαμβάνοντας ὠφελοῦν. πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξαι τὸν Θωμᾶν περὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀφὴν πιστεύσαντα καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν ὀνομάσαντα. ἀλλὰ συντεínaτε μοι καὶ νῦν τὰς ὑμετέρας διανοίας, καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς παρακαλῶ, καὶ μετὰ γαλήνης καὶ προσωχῆς τῶν εὐτελῶν μου καὶ ἀχύτων ῥημάτων ἀνάσχεσθε ἵνα μικράν τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσησθε. τοῦ γὰρ δεσπότου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διαρρήξαντος τὴν πάμφαγον τοῦ ἄδου γαστέρα καὶ γενομένου πρωτοτόκου τῶ νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν κεκλεισμένων θυρῶν εἰσελθόντος πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς Θωμᾶς, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν.

ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι οἱ παρόντες ἐνταῦθα σήμερον. ἄρα τί τὸ αἷτιον τὸ κωλύσαν αὐτούς; ἄρα μήπως τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥαθυμία αὐτούς ἐνέβαλε; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀλλὰ <ή> ῥαθυμία αὐτούς ἐνεπόδισεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν σπουδαῖον καὶ διεγгерμένον τῇ προαιρέσει οὐδὲν δύναται κωλύσαι, οὕτω τὸν ῥαθυμον καὶ ἀναπεπτωκότα πάντα δύναται κωλύσαι. ὁ δεσποτὴς διὰ σὲ ἀπέθανεν καὶ σὺ δι' αὐτὸν ὀκνεῖς μικρὸν κοπιάσαι; δέον σε μᾶλλον παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν διάβαλον ἡττώμενον καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεὸν δοξαζόμενον. ἀλλὰ προφάσει τινὲς ἀποκρίνονται· ἁμαρτωλὸς, φησί, εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ δύναμαι ἀπαντῆσαι. τίς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, εἰπέ μοι;

Proclus, *Homilia in sanctum apostolum Thomam*, (ed. F. J. Leroy), 1–4:

Ἴδοὺ πάλιν ἑορτή, ἰδοὺ πάλιν σωτηρία ψυχῶν. Ἦκω τοίνυν τὸ χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν, χρέος κάμει τὸν ἀποδιδόντα πλουτίζον καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀπολαμβάνοντας ὠφελοῦν. Πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξων τὸν Θωμᾶν παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀφὴν πιστεύοντα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζοντα. Συντεínaτε τοίνυν τὰς ὑμετέρας διανοίας παρακαλῶ, καὶ μετὰ γαλήνης τῶν εὐτελῶν μου ῥημάτων ἀνάσχεσθε ἵνα μικράν τινα τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσησθε. Τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διαρρήξαντος τὴν πάμφαγον τοῦ ἄδου γαστέρα καὶ γενομένου πρωτοτόκου τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν κεκλεισμένων θυρῶν εἰσελθόντος πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, «Θωμᾶς, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν».

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 725, 16–37:

Ὀλίγοι ἡμῖν σήμερον οἱ παραγενόμενοι. Ἄρα τί τὸ αἷτιον; μνήμην μαρτύρων ἐπιτελοῦμεν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἀπήντησεν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ῥαθυμίαν αὐτούς ἐνέβαλε· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡ ῥαθυμία αὐτοῖς ἐνεπόδισεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸν σπουδαῖον καὶ διεγгерμένον τῇ προαιρέσει οὐδὲν δύναται κωλύσαι· οὕτω τὸν ῥαθυμον καὶ ἀναπεπτωκότα πάντα δύναται κωλύσαι. Οἱ μάρτυρες τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα ἐξέχεον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ σὺ οὔτε βραχείας ὁδοῦ διάστημα καταφρονῆσαι δύνασαι; ἐκεῖνοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθεντο διὰ τὸν Χριστόν· σὺ δὲ οὔτε μικρὸν ἀπαντῆσαι θέλεις διὰ τὸν Δεσπότην; ὁ Δεσπότης διὰ σὲ ἀπέθανε, καὶ σὺ δι' αὐτὸν ὀκνεῖς; μνήμη μαρτύρων, καὶ σὺ ῥαθυμεῖς καὶ

ἀναπέπτωκας; **Δέον** ἐστί σε παραγενέσθαι, καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν διάβολον ἡττώμενον, **καὶ μάρτυρα νικῶντα**, καὶ Θεὸν δοξαζόμενον, **καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν στεφανουμένην. Ἀλλ’ ἡ πρόφασις αὐτῶν αὕτη· Ἀλλὰ** ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι, φησὶ, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι ἀπαντῆσαι. Ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἶ, ἀπάντησον, ἵνα γένη δίκαιος. Τίς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, εἰπέ μοι;

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 726C–727A:

<ἦ> οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ **προσεδρεύοντες** ἁμαρτίαις εἰσὶ προσηλωμένοι; **σάρκα** γὰρ εἰσὶν ἐνδεδυμένοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θρόνου **καθήμενοι** καὶ **διδασκαθήμενοι** καὶ διδάσκοντες, ἁμαρτίαις **ἐσμὲν συνεπληγμένοι** καὶ οὐ παραιτώμεθα τὴν διδασκαλίαν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλάνθρωπίας ἀφορῶντες· κατὰ θεῖαν γὰρ διοίκησιν γέγονε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς **ἁμαρτία** ὑποπεσεῖν, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν **καὶ** αὐτοὶ πάσχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγνώμην διδῶσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πταισμάτων **φιλάνθρωπότεροι γένωνται πρὸς** τοὺς ἄλλους.

ἦ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ **παρεδρεύοντες** ἁμαρτίαις εἰσὶ προσηλωμένοι; **Σάρκας** γὰρ εἰσὶν ἐνδεδυμένοι, **καὶ αἵματι** συμπεπλεγμένοι, [**καὶ ὁστέοις εἰσὶ συνδεδεμένοι**, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου **καθεζόμενοι** καὶ διδάσκοντες, ἁμαρτίαις **συμπεπλεγμεθα**. Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπογινώσκομεν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλάνθρωπίας, οὐδὲ ἀπανθρωπίαν αὐτῷ περιάπτομεν· πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐσμὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν συμπεπλεγμένοι·] καὶ οὐ παραιτούμεθα τὴν διδασκαλίαν, εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλάνθρωπίας. [...] **Καὶ τοῦτο** κατὰ θεῖαν διοίκησιν γέγονε, **τὸ** τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτίαις ὑποπεσεῖν. [...] **ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἱερεῖς πάθει δουλεύειν παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας**, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ πάσχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγνώμην διδῶσι.

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 727, 21–24:

Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο πραγματεύεται ἡ θεία χάρις ἁμαρτηματί τινι περιπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐξ ὧν ὄν, αὐτὸς ἔπαθε, φιλάνθρωπος γένηται περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 21–28:

διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἄγγελος οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος ἐπιστεύθη ἱερατεύειν, ἀναμάρτητοι γὰρ εἰσὶν **οὗτοι**,

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος ἐπιστεύθη ἱερατεύειν (ἀναμάρτητοι γὰρ εἰσιν), ἵνα μὴ

ἵνα μὴ <διὰ> ἀποτομίαν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τοῦ λαοῦ ἀθρόον κεραυνοβολῶσιν· ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιστεύθη τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδονῇ καὶ ἀμαρτία συνδεδεμένος, ἵνα ὅταν λάβῃ τινὰ ἀμαρτάνοντα, ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πλημμελημάτων φιланθρωπότερος γένηται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα, καὶ μὴ κινῆται διὰ τῆς ὀργῆς **καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ιδίως**, καὶ ἐκ πείρας ἔχων τὰ **ἑαυτῶν ἀμαρτήματα** καὶ πλημμλήματα. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄγγελος ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἔλαβέ τινα πορνεύσαντα ἢ ἀμαρτήσαντα οὐκ ἐδίδασκεν ἀλλὰ **εὐθὺς** ἀνῆρει αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον μὴ εἶναι τοιοῦτον καὶ εἰς ὀργὴν αὐτὸν ἔφερε κατὰ **τὸ τοιοῦτον**. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστεύθη·

διὰ ἀποτομίαν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τοῦ λαοῦ ἀθρόον κεραυνοβολῶσιν· ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιστεύθη τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδονῇ καὶ ἀμαρτία συνδεδεμένος, ἵνα ὅταν λάβῃ τινὰ ἀμαρτάνοντα, ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πλημμελημάτων φιланθρωπότερος γένηται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄγγελος ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἔλαβέ τινα πορνεύσαντα, εὐθὺς ἀνῆρει αὐτὸν, **αὐτὸς τῷ πάθει τούτῳ οὐ συμπεπλεγμένος**. **Διὰ τοῦτο** εἰ ἔλαβεν ἄγγελος **τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἱερατεῦειν**, οὐκ ἐδίδασκεν, ἀλλ' **εὐθέως** ἀνῆρει διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον μὴ εἶναι τοιοῦτον, εἰς ὀργὴν αὐτὸν ἔφερε κατὰ **τοῦ τοιούτου**. Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστεύθη, **εἰδὼς** τὰ πλημμλήματα **ἑαυτοῦ**, καὶ ἐκ πείρας ἔχων, ἵνα συγγινώσκη τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ μὴ κινῆται διὰ τῆς ὀργῆς, **καὶ σχολάζῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία διὰ τῆς συναγωγῆς**.

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 727, 7–728, 6:

εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡμάρτανον αὐτοὶ οὐδεμίαν εἶχον συγγνώμην διδοῦναι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πάντας ἐκθερίζειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας **ἡμελλον**. ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θεωρίας **πεῖσωμεν ὑμᾶς**· Πέτρος ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς <ἐκκλησίας> ἐκκλησίας, μάλλον δὲ ἐπιστεύθη καὶ τὰς κλεῖς **τῆς βασιλείας** τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι **καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν λαῶν**. τί γάρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Δεσπότης φησὶ; ὁ ἐὰν *δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν *δήσης ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ*. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο **ἐπραγματεύσατο** ἡ θεία χάρις, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔπαθε, **φιλάνθρωπώτερος** γένηται περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ βλέπε τινὰ συγχωρεῖν περιπεσεῖν **τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ**. Πέτρον ἐκεῖνον, **τὸν τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα**, τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν κρηπίδα τὴν ἀσάλευτον, τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἀρράγῃ, **τὸν προστάτην** τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀκαταμάχητον, τὸν πύργον τὸν ἀσάλευτον.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡμάρτανον αὐτοὶ, οὐδεμίαν συγγνώμην εἶχον δοῦναι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, **ἀλλ' ἀπάνθρωποι γενόμενοι** πάντας ἐκθερίζειν εἶχον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. **Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ στοχαζόμενος λέγω, φέρε** ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θεωρίας εἴπωμεν· Πέτρος ἔμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, μάλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπιστεύθη τὰς κλεῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἡμελλε πιστεῦεσθαι **τὸ πλήθος τοῦ λαοῦ**. Τί γάρ φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Δεσπότης; Ὁ ἐὰν *δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν *λύσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. [...] Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο **πραγματεύεται** ἡ θεία χάρις **ἀμαρτηματί τινι περιπεσεῖν αὐτὸν**, ἵνα ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔπαθε, **φιλάνθρωπος** γένηται περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. Καὶ βλέπε τίνα συγχωρεῖ περιπεσεῖν ἀμαρτία· Πέτρον ἐκεῖνον, τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν κρηπίδα τὴν ἀσάλευτον, τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἀρράγῃ, **τὸν πρῶτον**

Πέτρος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ λέγων τῷ Χριστῷ· *κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλείπω*, <καὶ> ὁ εἰπὼν· *Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*· προσελθοῦσα **νεᾶνις** αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· *σὺ χθὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἦσθα*, ὁ δὲ· *οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον*. οὐπω μάστιγες, οὐπω βασανιστήρια, οὐπω ξίφη ἠκονημένα, οὐπω βασιλεῖς ἀπειλοῦντες, οὐπω θάνατοι <προσδοκώμενοι>, οὐπω φυλακαὶ, καὶ κρημνοὶ καὶ θάλασσα, οὐπω οὐδὲν <τῶν τοιούτων>. **καὶ** τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων, ὅτι **ἀρνῆσαι**; οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ γυνή, **οὐδὲ** ἀπλῶς **γυνή**, ἀλλὰ θυρωρὸς, καὶ αἰχμάλωτος κόρη, οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξία. καὶ ἐμβλέψας αὐτὸν ὁ **Σωτήρ**, εὐθὺς εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἦλθεν, **καὶ** ἤρξατο κλαίειν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ μετανοεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος **Θεός** συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· ἥδει γὰρ ὡς **Θεός** ὅτι ἀνθρωπίνον τι ὑπέστη.

τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀκαταμάχητον, τὸν πύργον τὸν ἀσάλευτον. Πέτρος ἐκεῖνος ὁ λέγων τῷ Χριστῷ· *Κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι*. Πέτρος ὁ ἐκ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως **τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογήσας**. *Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*. **οὗτος** εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκεῖνῃ **ἣ παρεδόθη ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ** **στάς ἐπὶ τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς θερμαινόμενος, καὶ** **τις, φησί, κόρη** προσελθοῦσα **λέγει** αὐτῷ, *Καὶ σὺ χθὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἦς*. ὁ δὲ **Πέτρος**. *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον*. **Ἄρτι ἔλεγες**. *Κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν*. νῦν ἀρνῆ καὶ λέγεις, *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον*; **ᾧ Πέτρε, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅλον ὃ ἐπηγγείλω;** οὐπω **βασάνους**, οὐπω μάστιγας εἰδῶς, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς **μικρᾶς κόρης ῥῆμα ἀκούσας**, εἰς **ἄρνησιν ἐχώρησας**. **Ἀρνῆ, Πέτρε;** οὐπω βασανιστήρια, οὐπω μάστιγες, **οὐπω πληγαὶ, οὐπω θυμοὶ, οὐπω ἄρχοντες**, οὐπω ξίφη ἠκονημένα, **οὐπω διατάγματα κείμενα**, οὐπω βασιλεῖς ἀπειλοῦντες, οὐπω θάνατοι προσδοκώμενοι, οὐπω φυλακαὶ καὶ κρημνοὶ καὶ θάλασσα, οὐπω οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, **καὶ ἤδη ἠρνήσω**, *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον*; **Πάλιν ἡ κόρη πρὸς αὐτόν**. *Καὶ σὺ χθὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἦς*. **Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν**. *Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν λέγεις*. Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι, ὅτι **ἀρνῆ**; Οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ γυνή, **καὶ αὕτη** θυρωρὸς, **ἀπερῥιμμένη**, αἰχμάλωτος, μηδενὸς λόγου ἀξία, **αὕτη λέγει, καὶ σὺ ἀρνῆσαι**; Καὶ οὕτω **λοιπὸν ἐμβλέψας ὁ Ἰησοῦς** εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτὸν **ἤνεγκε τῶν λεχθέντων**. ὁ δὲ **συνιεὶς** ἤρξατο κλαίειν καὶ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι ὡς **ἄνθρωπος** ἀνθρωπίνον τι ὑπέστη.

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam* (sp.), PG 50, coll. 728, 41–52:

ἀλλὰ φέρε μοι εἰς τὸ μέσον Ἥλιαν, ἐκεῖνον τὸν προφήτην, τὸν ἐπίγειον ἄγγελον καὶ **οὐράνιον**

Φέρε μοι εἰς τὸ μέσον· **λέγω δὲ** Ἥλιαν, τὸν προφήτην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν ἐπίγειον ἄγγελον καὶ **ἐπουράνιον**

ἄνθρωπον, τὸν χαμαὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ τὰ οὐράνια
 ἡνιοχοῦντα, τὸν τρίπηχυν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἀπότομος ἦν **πρὸς** τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας.

ἄνθρωπον, τὸν χαμαὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ τὰ οὐράνια
 ἡνιοχοῦντα, τὸν τρίπηχυν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
ὕψηλοβατοῦντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς ἀναπετασθέντα τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀψίδας, τὸν τῶν ὑδάτων ταμίαν [...].
 Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπότομος ἦν **περὶ** τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας
οὕτως ὥς εὔξασθαι ποτε ὑετὸν μὴ δοῦναι·

John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Petrum et Heliam (sp.)*,
 PG 50, coll. 729, 4–13:

ἔβλεπε γὰρ πορνείαν μετὰ πολλῆς κακίας
 πολιτευομένην. πάντες γὰρ προέκοπτον ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν
 ἀλλὰ τί **φησιν** Ἡλίας· οἶδα τὸν ἐμὸν δεσποτὴν, ὅτι
ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἐστίν. φέρει δὲ τὸν
πέπλον ἀναπετάσαντα εἴσω τῆς θεωρίας γενόμεθα.

Ἀλλὰ τί Ἡλίας; Οἶδα τὸν ἐμὸν Δεσπότην, ὅτι
ὑπακούει μου· ἀπὸ γὰρ ζήλου τοῦτο ποιῶ. [...]
Ἔβλεπε γὰρ πολλὰ ἄτοπα γινόμενα· ἔβλεπε
 πορνείαν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κακίας πολιτευομένην. **Νὺξ**
γὰρ ἦν, δι' ὃ καὶ κατεῖχε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν·
νεφέλη πυκνοτάτη ἐκάλυπτε τὰ σύμπαντα. Πάντες
 γὰρ προέκοπτον ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν·

[illegible]

Homily 85

Hom 85– Πρόλογος εἰς τὸν ἀνῆχμόν (οε΄) – “Prologue in regard to the drought,” at f 185^{r-v}, is an address to the faithful prompted by a dire circumstance; the sermon appears as a collection of biblical citations; the text and the scriptural references are substantially derived from the *Pandects* of Antionchus the Monk, a source hitherto unknown to have been used by Philagathos (e.g. from ὁ οὖν πλεονέκτης κόρ(ον) l. 23 to the end). Testis unicus: *Matrit gr.* 4554, f 185^{r-v}

[f 185^r] ὁμιλία, πρόλογος εἰς τὸν ἀνῆχμόν:

Προσέχετε, λαός μου, τὸν νόμον μου, κλίνετε τὸ οὖς ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου· ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς. ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῦ γνωρίσαι αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἂν γνῶ

- 5 [f 185^v] *γενεὰ ἐτέρα, υἱοὶ <οί> τεχθῆσόμενοι, <καὶ> ἀναστήσονται καὶ ἀπαγγελοῦσιν αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, ἵνα θῶνται ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται τῶν ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται ὡς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ παραπικραίνουσα, γενεά, ἣτις οὐ κατηύθυνεν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστώθη μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς. διδάσκει γὰρ με Δαυὶδ ὁ θεῖος καὶ προφήτης καὶ*
- 10 **βασιλεὺς οὕτως εἶπεν·** ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν βαβυλῶνος ἐκεῖ ἐκαθήσαμεν καὶ ἐκλαύσαμεν τῷ μνησθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῆς Σιών. ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰτέαις ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσαμεν τὰ ὄργανα ἡμῶν· ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐπηρώτησαν ἡμᾶς οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς λόγους ῥῶδων καὶ οἱ ἀπαγαγόντες ἡμᾶς ὕμνον· **Ἰωὴλ δὲ ὁ προφήτης βοᾷ λέγων·** πενθεῖτε, οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου, κλαύσατε ὅτι τεταλαιπώρηκεν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ
- 15 καὶ ἔρεῖτε φεῖσαι κύριε, τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ μὴ δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ κατάρξαι αὐτῶν ἔθνη, ὅπως μὴ εἴπωσιν ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν· **ἐν ἡμῖν γάρ ἐστι δυσωπεῖσαι τὸν ἀμνησικάκον Κύριον καθὼς Ἰερεμίας βοᾷ λέγων·** παρέθηκέν σοι πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ οὗ ἐὰν θέλῃς ἐκτενεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου. ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων <ἡ> ζῶῃ καὶ <ὁ>

1 ὁμιλία M || 2-3 Ps. 77 (78): 1-2 || 4-9 Ps. 77 (78): 5-8 || 10-13 Ps. 136 (137): 1-3 || 13-14 Joel 1: 9-10 || 15-16 Joel 2:17 || 17-19 Sirach 15:16-17

5 οἱ suppl. || 5 καὶ suppl. || 6 ἐπιλάθωνται] ἐπιλάθονται M || 8 κατηύθυνεν] κατεύθυνεν M || 10 αὐτῆς] ἐαυτῆς M || 10 οὕτως] οὕτος M || 10 τῶν ποταμῶν] τὸν ποταμόν M || 11 ἰτέαις] ἰταίαις M || 12 αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες] ἐχμαλωτεύσαντες M || 14 τοῦ Κυρίου] τῷ Κυρίῳ M || 14 κλαύσατε] κλαύσεται M || 15 δῶς] δὸς(ς) M || 18 ἐκτενεῖς] ἐκτείν(ον) M || 18 ἔναντι] ἐναντίων M || 18 ἀνθρώπων] ἀν(θρώπ)ου M || 18 ἡ suppl. || 18 ὁ suppl.

20 θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δωθήσεται αὐτῷ· τὸν γὰρ ἁμαρτάνοντα εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῇ τῇ δικαιοῦσαι, εἰ μὲ δάκρυα μετὰ κατανύξεως· διψᾷ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καθὼς βοᾷ Παῦλος· ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

ὁ οὖν πλεονέκτης κόρον οὐκ ἔχει τῆς πολυχρηματίας· ὅταν γὰρ πολλὰ κτήσεται, πάλιν ἄλλων ὀρέγεται καὶ ὅταν αὐτὰ οἰκειώσεται, αὐθις ἕτερα ἐπιθυμεῖ, 25 καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τῆς ματαίας ταύτης ὀρέξεως. καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ προσδοκᾷ τέλος βίου, οὐδὲ ἐπίσταται ὅτι παροικεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ· καὶ ἅπερ κέκτηται, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ εἰσὶν. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν τινες ἄφρονες, οἵτινες τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν προφασίζονται, μὴ πρὸς ἐλπίζοντες εἰς τὸν φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ παντοδύναμου Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ {ὁ} ἄδης καὶ {ἡ} ἀπώλεια οὐκ 30 ἐμπίπλυνται, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἄπληστου καὶ πλεονέκτου.

πειθόμενοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἀδελφοί, τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, ἀποστῶμεν τῆς δεινῆς πλεονεξίας καὶ τῆς βδελυρᾶς ἐπινοίας ταύτης τὴν τόκον· ὁ γὰρ τόκος, τῷ δόλῳ καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου συνέζευκται, καὶ τοῖς τέτακται. κοινωνὸς γάρ ἐστὶν τοῦ πλουσίου ἐκείνου, οὗτινος εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα. καὶ διαλογίζετο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τί 35 [f 186^r] ποιήσῃ, | εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, τί νῦν ἔσται; οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες ἀγαπητοὶ, φύγωμεν τοῦ τόκου καὶ τῆς δεινῆς πλεονεξίας. ὁ γὰρ τόκος καὶ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ διαβόλου συνέζευκται, καθὼς ἀνώτερος προέφημεν:

21-22 1Tim. 2:4 || 24-27 ὁ οὖν πλεονέκτης ... οὐκ αὐτῷ εἰσὶν] Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, PG 89, coll. 1468C-D, *Hom* 13, Περὶ πλεονεξίας, 12-26 || cf. 29-30 Proverbs 27:20 || 31-33 πειθόμενοι οὖν ... συνέζευκται] Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, PG 89, coll. 1468B, *Hom* 12, Περὶ τόκων, 40-43 || 33-37 Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom.* 13, Περὶ πλεονεξίας, 22-23 || 34-37 Lc. 12: 16-21 || 35-37 cf. Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom* 13, Περὶ πλεονεξίας, 63-67 || 37-38 cf. Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom* 12, Περὶ τόκων, 40-43

19 εὐδοκήσῃ] εὐδοκήσει M || 20 κατανύξεως] κατανοίξεως M || 23 πολυχρηματίας] πολυχρηματείας M || 23 ὅταν] ὅτ' ἂν M || 24 ἄλλων] ἄλλον M || 24 ἐπιθυμεῖ] ἐπιθυμῇ M || 25 ὁ τοιοῦτος] ὅτι οὗτος M || 29 ὁ del. || 29 ἡ del. || 30 ἐμπίπλυνται] ἐμπιπλῶνται || 32 βδελυρᾶς] βδελυρᾶς M || 35 ἄφρων] ἄφρον M || 35 νυκτὶ] νυκτῇ M || 36 οὕτως] οὗτος M || 36 ἑαυτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ M || 38 ἀνώτερος] ἀνώτερος M || 39 προέφημεν] ἐπροέφημεν M ||

Philagathos, *Hom* 85 – Πρόλογος εἰς τὸν αὐχμὸν (οε')

ὁ οὖν πλεονέκτης κόρον οὐκ ἔχει τῆς πολυχρηματίας. ὅταν γὰρ πολλὰ κτήσῃται, πάλιν ἄλλων ὀρέγεται καὶ ὅταν αὐτὰ οἰκειώσῃται, αὐθις ἕτερα ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τῆς ματαίας ταύτης ὀρέξεως. καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ προσδοκᾷ τέλος βίου, οὐδὲ ἐπίσταται ὅτι παροικεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ· καὶ ἅπερ κέκτηται, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ εἰσὶν. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν τινες ἄφρονες, οἵτινες τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν προφασίζονται, μὴ πρὸς ἐλπίζοντες εἰς τὸν φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ παντοδύναμου Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ πάσης τῆς κτήσεως. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ {ὁ} ἄδης καὶ {ἡ} ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐμπίπλονται, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἄπληστου καὶ πλεονέκτου.

πειθόμενοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἀδελφοί, τῇ θεῇ γραφῇ, ἀποστῶμεν τῆς δεινῆς πλεονεξίας καὶ τῆς βδελυρᾶς ἐπινοίας ταύτης τὴν τόκον· ὁ γὰρ τόκος, τῷ δόλῳ καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου συνέζευκται, καὶ τοῖς τέτακται. κοινωνὸς γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ πλουσίου ἐκείνου, οὗτινος εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα. καὶ διαλογίζετο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τί ποιήσῃ, εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, τίνι ἔσται; οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες ἀγαπητοὶ, φύγωμεν τοῦ τόκου καὶ τῆς δεινῆς πλεονεξίας. ὁ γὰρ τόκος καὶ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ διαβόλου συνέζευκται, καθὼς ἀνώτερος προέφημεν:

Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom* 13, Περὶ πλεονεξίας, *PG* 89, coll. 1468C–D:

Ὁ οὖν πλεονέκτης κόρον οὐκ ἔχει τῆς φιλοχρηματίας. Ὅταν γὰρ πολλὰ κτήσῃται, πάλιν ἄλλων ὀρέγεται. Καὶ ὅταν καὶ αὐτὰ οἰκειώσῃται, αὐθις ἕτερα ἐπιθυμεῖ. Καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τῆς ματαίας ταύτης ὀρέξεως. **Καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ὅσα ἂν κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἦν ἔχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος περὶ τὴν ὕλην προσπαθείας, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποστασίας μετέχει.** Καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ προσδοκᾷ τέλος βίου, οὐδὲ ἐπίσταται ὅτι παροικεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ· καὶ ἅπερ κέκτηται, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν. **Καὶ οὕτως τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ἄφροσι τέτακται.** Κοινωνὸς γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ πλουσίου ἐκείνου, οὗτινος ἠυπόρησεν ἡ χώρα. **Καὶ καλῶς λέγει περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ Γραφή, ὅτι «Ὡσπερ ἄδης καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐμπίπλονται, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστοι.»**

Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom* 12, Περὶ τόκων, *PG* 89, coll. 1468B:

Πειθόμενοι οὖν, ἀδελφοί, τῇ θεῇ Γραφῇ, ἀποστῶμεν τῆς δεινῆς πλεονεξίας, καὶ τῆς βδελυρᾶς ἐπινοίας ταύτης τῶν τόκων. Ὁ γὰρ τόκος, τῷ δόλῳ συνεζεύχθη.

Antiochus the Monk, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, *Hom* 13, Περὶ πλεονεξίας, *PG* 89, coll. 1469C:

Ὁ δὲ Κύριός φησι περὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀποθήκας καθελεῖν, καὶ μείζονας οἰκοδομῆσαι· «ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ, οἱ ἄγγελοι τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας τίνι ἔσται;» **Καὶ ἐπάγει «οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ, καὶ μὴ εἰς Θεὸν πλουτῶν.»**

[illegible]

Appendix 4

Translation: “An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia from the voice of Philip the Philosopher”

The Greek text given here is the one established by Bianchi, but it incorporates the emendations and the commentaries of Aldo Corcella from “Note a Filippo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami).”¹⁵⁸⁴ Beside these editions, important remarks for the textual history of the *Interpretation* have been made by August Brinkmann, who revealed that the opening of the piece (i.e., lines 1–10) is a close imitation of the opening lines of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*.¹⁵⁸⁵ Important remarks as to the meaning of certain passages of the text were also made by Bruno Lavagnini (i.e. τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα).¹⁵⁸⁶ In addition, Carolina Cupane identified significant textual convergences between the ἐρμηνεία and Philgathos’s Homilies.¹⁵⁸⁷

This translation is based on Nunzio Bianchi’s critical edition (*Il codice del romanzo*, 48–57),¹⁵⁸⁸ which has significantly improved both the first edition of Rudolf Hercher from 1869 and the text edited by Aristide Colonna as *Commentatio in Charicleam*, appended to his edition of Heliodorus’s novel.¹⁵⁸⁹ Bianchi’s corrections and remarks to the text are particularly meaningful since they assess the ἐρμηνεία in its natural interplay with Heliodorus’s novel, Philagathos’ *Homilies* and its (appropriate) Byzantine/Christian context.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Aldo Corcella, “Note a Filippo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami),” *Medioevo Greco* 9 (2009): 45–51.

¹⁵⁸⁵ August Brinkmann, “Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos,” *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 51 (1896): 441–445.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Bruno Lavagnini, “Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria,” *BBGG* n.s. 28 (1974): 762–767.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Carolina Cupane, “Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος ε διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna,” *Siculorum Gymnasium* n.s. 31.1 (1978), 17–20.

¹⁵⁸⁸ See also the preliminary study of N. Bianchi, “Per una nuova edizione dell’ ἐρμηνεία eliodorea di Filippo filosofo,” *Bollettino dei classici* 26 (2005): 69–74; textual emendations to the editions of Hercher and Colonna have been proposed by Augusta Acconcia Longo, in “Filippo il Filosofo a Costantinopoli,” *RSBN* n.s. 28 (1991): 3–21; recently, Acconcia Longo further proposed emendations to the text established by Nunzio Bianchi in “La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo,” *Nea Rhome* 7 (2010): 22–23, particularly n°71.

¹⁵⁸⁹ R. Hercher, “*Fragmentum Marcianum*,” *Hermes* 3 (1869): 382–88; a previous partial transcription of the text was given by Jacques Philippe d’Orville in *Miscellaneae observationes criticae in auctores veteres et recentiores: in Belgio Collectae and Proditae*, vol. III, t.1, Amsterdam, 1736, 376–378; D’Orville’s text was attached to Adamantios Coraïs’s edition of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικῶν βιβλία δέκα, ἃ χάριν Ἑλλήνων ἐξέδωκε μετὰ σημειώσεων προσθεῖς καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμιότου συλλεγείσας, τέως δὲ ἀνεκδότους, διαφόρους γραφὰς, προτροπὴ καὶ δαπάνη Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλείου, ὁ Δ. ΚΟΡΑΪΣ, vol. I, Paris, 1804); *Commentatio in Charicleam* in Heliodori *Aethiopica*, ed. Aristide Colonna (Rome: Typis Regiae officinae polygraphicae, 1938), 365–370; the text in Colonna’s edition has 131 lines progressively numbered; for some new readings and minor corrections of the edited text see A. Colonna, “Teofane Cerameo e Filippo Filosofo,” *Bollettino dei classici* 8, (1960), 25–28.

Richard Lamberton has presented an English translation based on Hercher's text.¹⁵⁹⁰ The text is understood and translated as part of the classical philosophical tradition (i.e. Neoplatonism), and generally remains ignorant of its Byzantine context.

For better observing Philip-Philagathos's style in the ἐρμηνεία (substantially identical with the *Homilies*) and for assessing its (Byzantine) meaning, I indicate in the apparatus a few allusions and references from the ἐρμηνεία to the novel itself, to Philagathos's *Homilies* and to the Greek literature. This would reveal that the vocabulary employed in the ἐρμηνεία is not so much philosophical (i.e. Neoplatonic) but merely derived from the current Christian mystical literature and from Heliodorus's novel itself.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 306–311.

**Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑρμηνειὰ τῆς σώφρονος
ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.**

[f 122r] Ἐξιώντι μοί ποτε τὴν πύλην Ῥηγίου τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἄγουσαν καὶ γενομένῳ
κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πηγὴν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός τινος καὶ καλοῦντός με ἐξ ὀνόματος.
ὥς δὲ περιστραφεῖς περιεσκόπουν πόθεν εἴη, Νικόλαον εἶδον τὸν βασιλ(ε)ικὸν
ἐπιγραφέα θέοντα ἐπὶ θάλατταν μετὰ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Φιλήτου· ἦσθιν δὲ ἄμφω
5 προσφιλεστάτῳ ἐμοὶ ὅτι μάλιστα. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττης ὁδοῦ
ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐνωθέντες δὲ ῥάστα ὑπομειδιῶν θάτερος «συ μὲν» εἶπεν «ὦ θαυμάσιε,
οὕτως ὀλιγώρως διάκεισαι, ὥς ἔαν ἀχαλίνους γλῶττας κατὰ τῶν σοφῶν λόγων θήγεσθαι.
περὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπύλαια πολλοὶ τῶν φιλολόγων αὐλισθέντες τὴν Χαρικλείας
βίβλον ἀναγινώσκουσι, ὧν οἱ πλείους κερτομοῦσιν καὶ καταμωκῶνται τὴν ἱστορίαν
10 ἐπιτωθάζοντες. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαρικλείας ὧν ἑραστής ἄχθομαι, νῆ τὴν σὴν σοφίαν, καὶ
ἀντιβολῶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν σώφρονα κόρην ὑβρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀντιθεῖναι συνήγορον τὴν
σὴν σοφίαν, *σά τε μήδεα σὴν τ’ ἀγανοφροσύνην*, καὶ ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς στωμύλοις φέναξι
τούτοις ὥς πόρρῳ μέμψεως πάσης ἢ τῆς Χαρικλείας διήγησις». «καινόν τι ἔοικας
ἐπιτάττειν, ὦ λῶστε» ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ «καὶ ἐν χειμῶνι ζητεῖν ἄνθη ἑαρινὰ καὶ ἐν γῆρᾳ καὶ πολιᾷ
15 ἀθύρματα παιδικά· ταῦτα γὰρ οἷόν τι γάλα τῆς νηπιώδους {σ}παρέντες παιδεύσεως ἐπὶ
τὴν φιλόσοφον ἡλικίαν μετήλθομεν, εἶτα εἰς τὰ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἀνάκτορα
εἰσφικίσθημεν· νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα
ἀνθειλκύσθημεν. ἐρωτικαὶ γὰρ ἐξηγήσεις καὶ διηγήματα νεανικαῖς ἡλικίαις ἀρμόδια·
οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος γηραιαὶ ψυχαὶ ἢ νηπιώδεις αἰσθά(ν)νονται, ἀλλ’ αἰ
20 νεάζουσαι καὶ ἀκμάζουσαι, εἴ τι δεῖ τῷ μυστικῷ πείθεσθαι ἄσματι λέγοντι· *διὰ τοῦτο
νεάνιδες ἡγάπησάν σε*, ὥς μόνης τῆς τοιαύτης ἡλικίας χωρούσης τὰ ἐρωτικά οἷστεύματα.
ὁμεῖς δὲ βούλεσθε καθέλκειν ἀνεραστον γέροντα πρὸς ἐρωτικά διηγήματα. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ,

1–10 Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 364A–B || 7 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 33.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 228): Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ ὁ Κύριος ἐπιστομίζων *τὰς ἀχαλινώτους γλώσσας* || 12 Homer, *Od.* XI. 202–203 || 20–21 Song of Songs I: 3. 3. cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, *Hom.* 1, *GNO* 6, 11–30; Philagathos, *Hom.* 6.19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44) || 23 Gregory of Nazianzus, Epigram 25 (*PG* 38, coll. 96): *παίζει καὶ πολλή· τὰ δὲ παίγνια, παίγνια σεμνά* cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 357.1: Παίζειν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀλλ’ ὁμως *τὰ παίγνια σεμνά καὶ οἷονεὶ πολιᾷ* πρέποντα. cf. Bian. 14–15 proverbium videtur: Niketas Magistros, *Epistulae ex Hellesponto*, 28.9: Ἀλλὰ μὴ σκώψης παίζεῖν ἀκούων τοὺς γέροντας, καὶ γέροντας πολλοῖς τετρυχωμένους δεινοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτου καιρός, *καὶ παίζει καὶ πολιά, καὶ παίγνιά που σεμνότερα*.

κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφόν· *παίζει καὶ πολιά, τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά*, φέρε καὶ ἡμεῖς σεμνῶς τῷ
 πλάσματι παίζωμεν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόφου συννοίας ἐκστάντες μικρὸν πρὸς παλινωδίαν
 25 τραπῶμεν ἐρωτικήν. καὶ Σωκράτης γὰρ ὁ σοφός τᾶλλα μὲν ἦν φροντιστής, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ
 καλοῦ Φαίδρου κεκαθικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγνου τὸ σύσκιον ἐψυχαγῶγει τὸν νέον ἐρωτικὰ
 διηγήματα. ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ὑμῶν τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἀληθείας αὐτῆς». ἐλθόντες οὖν εὕρομεν τοὺς
 [f. 122v] φίλους ἀολλέας | πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τοῦ νεῶ ἀπεκδεχομένους ἡμᾶς. ἀποδοὺς οὖν
 τῇ δεσποίνῃ Παρθένῳ τὰς ἐοικυίας εὐχάς, εἶτα καὶ αὐτοὺς προσειπὼν ἐν χαμαιζήλῳ
 30 θάκῳ κατεκλίθημεν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς πύλης οὐδόν, καὶ λέγειν ἀπηρξάμην ὧδε·
 «ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, ὧ φίλοι, κῖρκαίῳ κυκεῶνι ὁμοίωται, τοὺς μὲν βεβήλους
 μεταλαμβάνοντας μεταμορφοῦσα πρὸς χοίρων ἀσέλγειαν, τοὺς δὲ κατ' Ὀδυσσέα
 φιλοσοφοῦντας μυσταγωγοῦσα τὰ ὑψηλότερα· παιδαγωγικὴ γὰρ ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἠθικῆς
 φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλος, τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὕδατι τὸν οἶνον τῆς θεωρίας κεράσασα. καὶ
 35 ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις εἰς ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ μεμέρισται, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ κακίας
 ἔνεστι τὸ αὐτοκρατές ἐπίσης ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ παραλλήλου ἀμφοτέρα τίθησιν ἀρετὴν καὶ
 κακίαν ἐκάστῳ γένει προσμαρτυρήσασα, ἄνδρας μὲν σπουδαίους Καλάσιριν καὶ
 Θεαγένην καὶ Ὑδάσπην ἐνδείξασα, γυναῖκας δὲ Περσίνναν καὶ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν· ἐπὶ
 κακία δὲ διαβοήτους πλείους μὲν γυναῖκας, ἐλάττους δ' ἄνδρας ἀπέφηνε· πλεῖον γὰρ ἡ
 40 κακία τῷ γυναικ<ε>ίῳ φύλῳ ἐνέσπαρται. τὴν μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὅπως
 χρὴ παρεκκλίνειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, νομίμω<ς> τε τὴν ἄδικον βίαν ἀπωθεῖσθαι
 καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς κατάρξαντας καὶ ὡς φαρμάκῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ψεύδει, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ φίλους ἢ
 ἑαυτοὺς ὠφελεῖν προαιρούμεθα, μήτε ζημιοῦντες τὸν πέλας μήτε μὴν ἐπιορκία τὸ ψεῦδος
 πιστούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν σοφίᾳ τοὺς λόγους οἰκονομεῖν καὶ φυλακτικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις

24–27 cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 230B: Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, καλὴ γε ἡ καταγωγή. ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφὴς τε καὶ ὑψηλή, **τοῦ τε ἄγνου** τὸ ὕψος καὶ **τὸ σύσκιον** πάγκαλον, καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἀνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον· || cf. *Phaedrus* 243B: καὶ ποιήσας δὴ πᾶσαν τὴν καλουμένην **Παλινωδίαν** παραχρήμα ἀνέβλεψεν. ἐγὼ οὖν σοφώτερος ἐκείνων γενήσομαι κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο· πρὶν γάρ τι παθεῖν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρωτος κακηγορίαν πειράσομαι αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν **παλινωδίαν**. || 28 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 26.7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 171): πάντας **ἀολλέας** εἰς μίαν συναγείρων αὐλήν· cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 9.89: Ἀτρεΐδες δὲ γέροντας **ἀολλέας** ἦγεν Ἀχαιῶν || cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 14.4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 93): (...) ἀγίοις ἀγγέλοις, οἱ ταῖς οὐρανίαις ἐφεζόμενοι **πύλαις ἀπεκδέχονται** τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφοίτησιν. || 31 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 38 (= Scorsus, XVII, *PG* 132, coll. 384B): ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ καθάπερ **κῖρκαίῳ** κρατῆρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ **κυκεῶνα κεράσασα** || 31–32 Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, III, 13.2. τοὺς μὲν **βεβήλους** κᾶν διαλάθοιεν τὴν δὲ σοφοῦ γνῶσιν || 34 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 2.2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 10): Καὶ προτίθησιν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία διδασκαλίας κρατῆρα, **τῷ οἶνῳ τῆς θεωρίας τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ὕδωρ κεράσασα** || 35–40 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 19.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 125): Διχῆ δὲ τὸν συλληπτικὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔτεμεν ἡ παραβολή, ἐπειδὴ καὶ **ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις εἰς ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ μερίζεται, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ κακίας ἐκάτερον γένος** ἐστὶ δεκτικόν.

- 45 χαρίεντα καὶ ὅσα εἶδη φρονήσεως διδάσκει σε ὁ Καλάσιρις, εὐχαρις μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, εὐ<β>ουλος δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ ταῖς ὀξείαις τροπαῖς τῆς τύχης εὐμήχανος. σωφροσύνην δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκδιδάσκει τὴν Ῥοδῶπιν φυγὼν καὶ Κνήμων Δημαινέτης τὸν ἄθεσμον ἔρωτα, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Θεαγένης τε καὶ Χαρίκλεια, ὧν ὁ μὲν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐρωμένην σωφρόνως διέκειτο καὶ τῇ Ἀρσάκῃ μανικῶς ἐρώση
- 50 οὔτε θωπευόμενος ὑπεῖξεν οὔτε μαστιγούμενος· τῇ δὲ τοσοῦτον περιῆν τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ὥς κὰν τοῖς ὕπνοις καὶ τοῖς ὀνείροις τὴν μετὰ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ ὁμιλίαν ἀπηύχετο. δικαιοσύνης δὲ πέρι αὐτοῖ τε ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ὑπόδειγμα ἔστωσαν, τὸν ἐκ τῶν σκύλων πλοῦτον ἡγούμενοι βέβηλον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ὑδάσπης, ἀνδρείας μὲν καὶ τύχη κρατῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, δικαιοσύνη δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀρκούμενος· ἀνδρείας δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ζεῦγος πικρᾷ τύχῃ ἀδιαστάτως περιπεσόν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ καταπεσόν, μηκέτι
- 55 δουλοπρεπὲς ἐνδειζάμενον. οὕτω τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν οἶον ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ ἢ βίβλος προτέθεται. δέικνυσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς σχόντας βίον ἐπίμωμον, ἅμα τε τὴν
- [f. 123^r] κακίαν | ὥς εἰκὸς στηλιτεύουσα καὶ εἰς ὃ τι τέλος καταλήγει δεικνύουσα. βοᾷ γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία μόνον οὐχὶ φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσα τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὥς εἴ τις παρορᾷ δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ
- 60 προσήκοντα πλοῦτον καὶ κόρην περιεργάζεται, τὰ τοῦ Τραχίνου καὶ τοῦ Πελώρου καὶ τὰ βουκόλων πείσεται διηγήματα. εἰ δὲ τις δολοπλοκίας συρράπτει κατὰ τοῦ πέλας, ὁράτω Θίσβην καὶ ξίφος Θυάμιδος κατὰ τῶν σπλάχνων αὐτῆς διωθούμενον, καὶ Κυβέ[λ]λην καθ' ἑαυτῆς τὸ δηλητήριον συγκεράσασαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πληρούμενον ὃς *κακὸν ἄλλω τεύχει ἐφ' κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει*. κὰν τις γυνὴ τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέκτρα λανθάνειν ἐθέλῃ,
- 65 Ἀρσάκης ἐπισκοπεῖτω τοὺς ἔρωτας εἰς ἀγχόνην ἄτιμον καταλήξαντας. εἰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν γίνεται τις ἐπίβουλος, Αἰθιοπικὸν βέλος, ὥς ὁ Ἀχαιμένης, ἴσως οὐ φεύζεται. μήδ' ἀμνήμων ὥς Ὀροονδάτης φανείης, ἵνα μὴ αἰσchrῶς ἡττηθῇς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδικούμενος στέργε καὶ φέρε γενναίως τὰ τῆς τύχης ἀνώμαλα, μετὰ Θεαγένους καὶ Χαρικλείας

49 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, II. 14.3 ἡράσθη μανικῶς and V. 20.6 ἐρῶ μανικῶς || 52 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, III. 5.1 || 56 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 5.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33): Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ συμπληροῦντα τόνδε τὸν κόσμον τὸν αἰσθητόν, *τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρεταὶ αἱ κοσμοῦσαι* τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν νοερόν. || 57 Philagathos, *Hom.* 22.4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 142–143): ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ *τὰς σχούσας βίον ἐπίμωμον*, ἵνα φρίξης τὴν τοῦ Δεσπότης ταπείνωσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐταιρίδων καὶ μοιχαλίδων γενεαλογεῖσθαι καταδέχεται διὰ σέ. || 58–59 Philagathos, *Hom.* 40 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 19, PG 132, coll. 422A: **Βοᾷ** τοίνυν διὰ τούτων τοῖς πλεονέκταις *ἡ ἱστορία*; *Hom.* 54 (ed. Scorsus, *Hom.* 27, coll. 568C): **βοᾷ** διὰ τούτων *ἡ ἱστορία*, ὥς ὅταν ἡ πρακτικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀφείσα τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐφέπεσθαι; *Hom.* 26.9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 172): Καὶ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἡ ψαλμικὴ σοφία **βοᾷ** || 63–64 Hesiod, *Op. et dies*, 265: cf. Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 554A: ‘βουλή τῷ βουλευσαντι κακίστη’ καὶ ‘ὃς δ’ ἄλλω *κακὰ τεύχει, ἐφ’ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει*.’ Cf. *Anthologia Palatina*, XI. 183.5.

κακοπαθῶν, ὅπ[ω]ς ἔχῃς τέλος πολυόλβον. οὕτω μὲν εἴσω τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας πυλῶν ἡμᾶς
 70 ὁ λόγος εἰσήγαγε τὸ ἥθος κοσμῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρὰν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς κόρης διάρας, ἣν διὰ
 τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύον[τας ἡμ]φιάσατο τὸν ἔνδοθεν ἱερὸν χιτῶνα ὑπέδειξε. καιρὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ
 τοῦτον ἀναπετάσαι καὶ ἀκραιφνὲς τὸ κάλλος ἐνδείξασθαι. Χαρίκλεια σύμβολόν ἐστι
 ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ ταύτην κοσμοῦντος νοός· κλέος γὰρ καὶ χάρις νοὺς ἐστὶν συνημμένος
 75 ψυχῇ. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα σύνθετον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι συντίθ[εται] κ[αὶ] νοὺς
 σ[ώ]ματι, μία μετ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένη ὑπόστασις. ἐκδηλοτέρως δ’ ἂν τοῦτο γνοιῖς τ[ὰς] τοῦ
 ὀ[νόμ]ατος μονάδας ἀριθμήσας εἰς ἑπτὰ ποσομένους καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσί[ας]
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμὸς μυστικὸς ἐστὶ καὶ παρθένος καὶ σεπτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς,
 καθὼς ἡ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐρμηνεύει φωνή, εἰκότως ἡ κλήσις ἐν ταῖς μονάσι καὶ <ταῖς> δεκάσι
 καὶ ταῖς ἑκατοντάσι τῆς ἑβδόμης σημασίαν τετήρηκε[ε], διὰ μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑκατοντάδων
 80 σημαίνουσα τὸ{ν} σεβάσμιον καὶ τέλ<ε>ιον, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ δεκάδων αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν
 (ταῖς τελείαις τέσσαρσιν ἀρεταῖς κοσμοῦσαν τὸ τρι[σ]μερές· τέσσαρες γὰρ δεκάδες ταῖς
 τρισὶ συντιθέμεναι πληροῦσι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα), ἡ μέντοι ἀπλῇ ἑβδομάς τὸ σῶμα δηλοῖ, ᾧ
 συνάπτεται ὁ νοὺς, διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς τὴν πενταδικὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχον{τος} καὶ τὴν ὕλην
 καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐξ ὧν γέγονεν. ἐξ Αἰθιόπων δὲ τίκεται ἡ Χαρίκλεια· ἐκ τῶν ἀφανῶν γὰρ ὡς
 85 ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρόεισι καὶ εἰς τὸν τῆδε βίον ὡς εἰς Ἑλλάδα κομίζεται.
 καὶ Χαρικλῆς ταύτην τρέφει, ὁ πρακτικὸς βίος, διδάσκων αὐτὴν οἶστεύειν τὰ πάθη καὶ
 τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ὡς Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι θεράπαιναν· οἵστοβόλος γὰρ καὶ
 παρθένος ἡ Ἄρτεμις. εἰ δὲ κοινωνοῦσιν αἱ κλήσεις ἀμφοῖν, μηδὲν τ{ο}ι θορυβηθῆς·

72 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, III. 4.1–3: ἀλλ’ ἡττηθῆναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀκραιφνὲς γυναικεῖον κάλλος τοῦ πρώτου παρ’ ἀνδράσιν ἐπαγωγότερον. || 73–74 cf. Hom. 19.4 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 126): Ἐπειδὴ συνημμένος ἐστὶν ὁ νοὺς τῇ ψυχῇ, ἡ μὲν οὖν λαμπάς, ἡ δηλοῦσα τὸν νοῦν, συνήπται ἡμῖν φυσικῶς· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἐμὸς λόγος, τὸ «κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ» πεπλάσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.; cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, II. 35. 5: Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ’ ἔχουσιν φράζεσθ’, ᾧ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεᾶς γενέτην. || 74–75 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 32.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 224): Καὶ γάρ, ἥ φησιν ὁ σοφώτατος Μάξιμος, ὥσπερ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα ποιεῖ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἄνθρωπον, οὕτω πρᾶξις καὶ θεωρία μίαν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τελείαν ἀρετὴν ἀπεργάζεται. || 77–78 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 1.9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 6): Οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἑβδομός ἐστι (σέπτε<μ> γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ ἑβδομος ἀριθμός), ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ σεπτός ἐστι καὶ σεβάσμιος. || 81 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 4.2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 23): Τοῖνυν ὑψοῦται Σταυρὸς χερσιτῶν οἰκονόμων τῆς χάριτος, τῷ τετραμερεῖ κόσμῳ διδοὺς τὸν ἀγιασμόν. || 83 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 19.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 125): ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία πέφυκεν ἐνεργεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς πενταδικῆς αἰσθήσεως. cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 15.7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 100): κόσμου τοῦ ὑπὸ χρόνον ὄντος καὶ αἴσθησιν, ἐπταδικὸς δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐστί, πενταδικὴ δὲ ἡ αἴσθησις, ἧ δὲ συντιθέμενα δυοκαίδεκα γίνονται, εἰκότως οἱ τοῦ κηρύγματος κορυφαῖοι τοσοῦτοι ἐτύγχανον. || 83–84 cf. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 55. 247–251: Φασὶν γὰρ τὸν διακόσια πολλάκις σημαίνειν ἀριθμὸν τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους ὑπάρχουσιν, εἴπερ ἡ ὕλη τετραδικὴ διὰ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, τὸ δὲ εἶδος πενταδικὸν διὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν τὴν τὸ ὕλικόν πρὸς εἶδος σχηματίζουσαν φύραμα.

[f. 123^v] καὶ ἡ πρακτικὴ γὰρ | ἀρετὴ οἰκεῖα ἐστὶν αὐτῆς <τῆς> ψυχῆς καὶ χάριν καὶ κλέος αὐτῇ
 90 προξενεῖ. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀφείσα τὸ ζεῦγος τῶν μόσχων τὸ ταύτην κομίζον καὶ πυρφοροῦσα
 τὸν ναὸν καταλάβῃ καὶ Θεαγένην θεάσῃται, πάντων ἐπιλανθάνεται καὶ ὅλον ἀρρήτως
 τὸν ποθοῦμενον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγκολπίζεται. σύνες ὅτι σοὶ λέγει τὸ αἰνίγμα. ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ
 τῆς ὑλικῆς δυάδος ὑπέρτερος γένηται, τότε ὁ ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν προσγινόμενος τῆς θεολογίας
 95 νοῦς καὶ πρὸς θεὸν τοῦ γένους ἀνάγων τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁρᾶται αὐτῇ χαριέστατος, δεχόμενος
 μὲν τὴν τοῦ πόθου λαμπάδα{ν}, ἐνίεις δὲ αὐτῇ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς ὑψηλῆς ἐπιγνώσεως· ὑφ'
 οὗ πλησθεῖσα καὶ μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σώφρονα καὶ γεγонуῖα, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἐρωτόληπτος
 καταφρονεῖ μὲν συνήθων, ἀλογεῖ δὲ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς μόνον δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον
 συννεύει τὸ φρόνημα. καὶ οὕτως ἀναρπασθεῖσα {καὶ} ὑπὸ τοῦ ποθομένου καταλαβεῖν
 ἐπείγεται τὴν πρώτην εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἡ πρὶν σοβαρὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας διαπτύουσα ἵεται
 100 πρὸς Θεαγένην αὐτόμολος, ἡ δὲ Ἄρτεμις οὐ κωλύει τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ἀλλ' ὁρῶσα τὴν
 ζάκορον παρθένον πληγὴν ἐρωτικὴν δεξαμένην ἀνέχεται. νυμφοστολεῖ δὲ ταύτην ὁ
 γέρων Καλάσιρις σειρᾷ κοσμουμένην καὶ λόγῳ. εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος ὁ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ σύρων
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῆς θεολογίας τέλειαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνάγων διδάσκαλος· ἔσται γὰρ σύμβουλος
 ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις καλός, διὰ τῆς ἄλμης καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων διαβιβάζων

90–92 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 4.1.3: 'Ἡ ζάκορος δὲ ἡ Χαρίκλεια κατ' ἄκρον τὸ στάδιον ἀθρόον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἀφιγμένη καὶ ἄκουσα διὰ τὸ πάτριον ἢ πλέον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὄψεσθαι που τὸν Θεαγένην ἐλπίζουσα, τῇ λαίᾳ μὲν ἡμμένον **πυρφοροῦσα** λαμπάδιον θατέρᾳ δὲ φοῖνικος ἔρνος προβεβλημένη, καὶ φανείσα πᾶν μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐφ' ἐαυτὴν ἐπέστρεψεν, ἔφθη δὲ τάχα οὐδεὶς τὸν Θεαγένους ὀφθαλμόν, ὅξυς γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὁ ἐρῶν **τὸ ποθοῦμενον**. || 93 Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 3.2.2: καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ὅμηρος **αἰνίττεται**, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ **τὸ αἰνίγμα** παρατρέχουσιν. || 93 Philagathos, *Hom.* 31. 38 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 220): 'Ὅταν οὖν ὁ νοῦς τῶν σωματικῶν **ὑπέρτερος γένηται**, ὥστε μὴ ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῆς σαρκός, [...], τότε δὴ τότε, **τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς** συναντιλαμβανόμενον ἔχων **πρὸς τὸ ποθοῦμενον** cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 26.7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 171): ἐξερχόμενος **ὑπέρτερος γίνεται**. || 93–94 cf. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones ad Thalassium*, 25, 106: πᾶς **νοῦς** μυστικῆς γενόμενος ἐραστὴς **θεολογίας** || 96 cf. *Hom.* 20.9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134): καὶ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ τῆς πανσόφου ἐκείνης βίβλου ἀρύσασθαι νάματα, καὶ **μέθην μεθυσθῆναι τὴν σώφρονα**. cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 51. 14–15 (ed. S. Caruso, 115): **μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα** νηφάλιον || 96–98 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 1.2.9: Οὕτως ἄρα πόθος ἀκριβὴς καὶ ἔρως ἀκραφνῆς τῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων ἀλγυνῶν τε καὶ ἡδέων πάντων **ὑπερφρονεῖ**, πρὸς ἐν δὲ **τὸ φιλούμενον** καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ **συννεύειν τὸ φρόνημα** καταναγκάζει. cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 30. 6. (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 200): 'Ἐπεὶ ὁ ὄφης πληττόμενος παντὸς μὲν **τοῦ σώματος ἀλογεῖ**, σπεύδει δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνην τηρεῖν. || 99 cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopika*, 3.17.4: αἰεὶ γὰρ διαπτύσαι πάσας καὶ γάμον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔρωτας εἴ τινος ἀκούσειεν [...]; || 99 cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 2.10. (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 13): καὶ νεανία πατρικῆς ἐστίας ἀποσκιρτήσαντι καὶ πρὸς τὸν χοιρώδη βίον **αὐτομολήσαντι**, ἐν μέρει μισθωτῶν ἀξιοῦντι τετάχθαι, **χαρίζεται τὴν πρώτην εὐγένειαν**. cf. Philagathos, *Hom.* 7.16 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 51): **τῆς ἄνω πατρίδος ἐπανάγων πρὸς τὴν θείαν εὐγένειαν** || 99–100 Philagathos, *Hom.* 32.6 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 223): **ἵεται** τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν ἴασιν **αὐτόμολος** ὁ Σωτήρ. || 104 Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate*, 18.5.30: μόνον ὡς **ξηρὰν** αὐτὴν **διεξέρχεται** οὐδαμοῦ τῆς πικρίας καὶ **τῆς ἄλμης τῶν βιωτικῶν κυμάτων** συνεφαπτόμενον.

- 105 ἀκύμονα] τὴν ψυχὴν· κἂν Τραχῖνος ἐπιβουλεύσῃ, ἡ τραχεῖα τῶν παθημάτων στάσις, ἡ
εὐβουλία τοῦ Καλασίριδος ἀντιπράζεται. ἀλλὰ μέχρι τότε [συ]μπότης καὶ συνοδοίπορος
γενήσεται, ἕως ἄν παρέλθῃ τῆς ἀγνοίας τὴν Αἴγυπτον· προκόψασαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ φυγοῦσαν
μὲν θάλατταν, λαθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ ληστῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, [ὁ μ]ὲν διδάσκαλος μεταστήσεται,
καθ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐντροφᾷ τοῦ <τῇ> ποθουμένη συνομιλεῖν. ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἡ σαρκικὴ,
110 ὡς Ἀρσάκη, ἐπιβουλεύσει μαστροπὸν ἔχουσα, ὡσεὶ Κυβέλ{λ}ην, [τῇ]ν αἴσθησιν,
κύου[σαν] βέλη τῶν προσβολῶν καὶ τοξεύουσιν τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ [εἰς] ἑαυτὴν τὸ
θεωρητικὸν ὑφέλκουσαν, ἵνα μοιχευθῇ τὰ νοήματα. ἐνταῦθα [τὸ] ἀνδρεῖον λῆμα
στομούσθω μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ καμίνῳ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἐμβληθῇ[τω·] παντάρβη ταύτην
διατηρήσει ἀλώβητον. παντάρβη δὲ ἡ τὸ πᾶν ταρβοῦσα ἥτοι φοβουμένη ἐστίν, αἰνίττεται
115 δὲ τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον· θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν. κἂν κεράσῃ συκοφαντίας δηλητήριον ἡ
μαστροπός, μᾶλλον φθαρήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες σφίσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὀλετῆρες
γενήσονται, καὶ Κυβέλ{λ}η τεθνήξεται κερνώσα τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ Ἀρσάκης τὸ ἄκος
ἀρθήσεται καὶ βρόχῳ ἀποφθαρήσεται, καὶ Ἀχαιμένει τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν τὸ ἄχος
ἐμμενεῖ καὶ οὕτως οἰχήσεται. ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ δορυφορουμένη πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα
120 πορεύσεται καὶ δοκιμασθήσεται μὲν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ· *ἐκάστου γὰρ τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ*
δοκιμάσει. φανεῖσα δὲ...

An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia
from the Voice of Philip the Philosopher

Once while I was going out the gate of Rhegium that leads towards the sea, and nearing the spring of Aphrodite, the voice of someone shouting and calling me by name reached me. And when I turned around and looked from what place it was coming from, I saw Nikolaos the royal scribe running toward the sea with Andreas, Phileta's son. They were both very dear to me. I then decided to turn from the road leading to the sea and come to meet them. When we came together, one of them smiling gently said, "Are you, o my friend, so much littlecaring that you suffer the unbridled tongues to be sharpened against the words of wisdom? For a multitude of lovers of literature lying at the entrance of the temple are reading Charikleia's book, and many of them jesting at it are mocking and treating the story with contempt. Nay admirer of Charikleia that I am, I am vexed by this and, by your wisdom I implore you not to allow the chaste girl be insulted, but rather to oppose in her defense your wisdom, "your wit and your gentleness" [Od. 11.202–3] and to show these prattling charlatans that the story of Charikleia is beyond all reproach! "That's a strange demand, my friend," I said, "to seek in winter for spring flowers and in the old and hoary age for the delights of youth. For passing by these things, the milk, so to speak, of our infant education, we arrived at the philosophic time of life, and then we entered to live into the sanctuaries of divine teachings. At this moment we have been draw towards our philosophy (τὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας – i.e. Christianity), both in outward appearance (σχήμα) and in name (ὄνομα). Narratives and tales of love are fit for the youthful ages. Neither old souls, nor infant souls are feeling this divine love, but only those who are young and in the prime of life, if there is some need to be persuaded by the mystical song (τῷ μυστικῷ ᾄσματι) that says, "That is why young maidens have loved you [Song 1:3]," since this is the only age that makes room for the arrows of love. But you wish to drag down a loveless old men towards tales of love. Well, after the fashion of the sage who said, "Even hoary men play, but the games are solemn," let us also play solemnly with the story (πλάσματι) and departing a bit from the meditations of the philosopher let us turn to the erotic palinode. Even Socrates the wise, who was a deep thinker in every other respect, yet, sitting with the beautiful Phaedrus in the shade of a chaste-tree entertained the young man with stories of love. Let us go into it, both for your sakes and for the sake of truth herself!"

Setting out, therefore, we found our friends all together before the holy gates of the temple, waiting for us. After giving the appropriate prayers to the Virgin Queen, I spoke to them laying down in a low chair beside the entrance of the temple gate, and I began to speak as follows:

“This book, my friends, is like Circe’s potion: it transforms into licentious pigs those who partake of it in a profane manner, but those who approach it in a philosophical way after the manner of Odysseus it initiates into higher mysteries. The book is educational and teacher of ethical philosophy by mixing the wine of contemplation into the water of the story. And since the human nature is divided into male and female, and the capacity to do good and evil is imparted equally to both of them, the book shows them together giving evidence to the virtue and vice of each sex, exhibiting virtuous men in Kalasiris, Theagenes, and Hydaspes, and earnest women in Persina and Charikleia. It presents more women and less men renowned for evil since there is more evil scattered among the race of women. Piety for the divine and how one must shun the enemies’s schemings and lawly repel unjust violence, and to ward off from aggressors, and how to use falsehood as a remedy when we have decided to come either to the aid of friends or of yourselves neither causing loss to your neighbor nor backing a falsehood by perjury, but rather to handle your words with wisdom and to be cautious and graceful in your speech, this – and all other forms of practical wisdom, is what Kalasiris teaches you, for he is charming in his conversations, prudent in his deeds, resourceful in difficulties and in the sharp turnings of fate. He also teaches chastity in fleeing Rhodopis as does Knemon fleeing the unlawful love of Demainete. But, above all, Theagenes and Charikleia express chastity (σωφροσύνη). For he (i.e. Theagenes) was both chaste disposed towards his beloved and he did not yield to Arsake’s mad passion either when wheedled or whipped, whereas Charikleia excelled so much in chastity that even in her dreams and reveries she averted intercourse with her lover.

“Let these two also be a good example for us in regard to justice, since they considered the wealth taken from the spoils of battle impure; and more than all let Hydaspes, be a fine example, for prevailing over enemies by bravery and good fortune while out of justice he defended his kinsmen. Suchlike, the loving couple itself showed courage when falling unremittingly over bitter fate, but yet without falling in despair, or displaying servile behaviour.

Therefore the book has set before an archetypal written-image (πίναξ) of the four cardinal virtues.

It presents also those who lead blameworthy lives, while at the same time revealing their evil and making clear to what end their wickedness leads. For the story itself cries out giving up voice (*φωνήν*) to the very letters! If someone disregards justice, and strives to accumulate undeserved riches, and scorns the girl, the tales about Trachinus and Pelorus and the shepherds will win him over. If someone concocts *machinations* against his neighbor let him behold Thisbe and the sword of Thyamis thrust through her inward parts, and Cybele who blended the poison for her own destruction, fulfilling (*πληρούμενον*) the saying of Hesiod: “He who contrives evil for another contrives evil for his own heart [Works and Days, 265].” And if a women should wish to escape the husband’s notice for her illicit affairs, let her look upon the loves of Arsakes that have ended into shameful strangling. And if one should become a plotter against rulers, then, like Achaemenes, he will not escape the Ethiopian spear, and you should not appear forgetful like Oroöndates, lest you be shamefully defeated. Rather, even when you are treated unjustly, be content and bear nobly the anomalies of fate, suffering with Theagenes and Charikleia, so that you may have a very wealthy end.

Thus the discourse has lead us within the gates of the story that adorns (*κοσμῶν* “orders”) the outward bearing (*τὸ ἥθος*) and being lifted up the maiden’s radiant cloak, which she put on on account of those who contrive against her has revealed the holy chiton beneath. Now it is time to unfold this chiton, and her beauty to be revealed unmixed pure (*ἄκραιφνές*). “Charikleia is a symbol of the soul and of the mind which orders the soul, for “fame” and “grace” represents the mind united with the soul. This is not the only reason that that the name is a compound. It is also because the mind is united with the body, becoming a single being/entity (*μία ὑπόστασις*) with it. You can understand this more clearly if you count the elements of the name as determined by adding 7 and 70 and 700. Since the number 7 is mystical, virgin and holy among numbers, as the word of the Italian tongue explains it, then it is appropriate (*εἰκότως*) that her name preserves its meaning through monads, decads, and hundreds of the seventh number, thus indicating (*σημαίνουσα*) by means of 700 the holy and the perfect mind (*τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ τέλειον <νοῦν>*), by means of 70 the soul itself; for seven governs (*κοσμοῦσαν*) the tripartite soul by the four perfect virtues, since four decads combined with three decads make 70. The single seven

itself discloses the body, to which the mind is attached, keeping in the middle of the soul the five senses and the matter and form, from which the body came to be.

Charikleia was born among the Ethiopians, for man proceeds out of the invisible, as if from darkness into light and he is brought into this life as Charikleia is carried away to Greece. And Charikles, the active life of good works (ὁ πρακτικὸς βίος), rears her, teaching her to shoot arrows at passions and to be the handmaid of bravery and chastity, as she is the servant of Artemis, for Artemis is both archer and virgin. If these two names (Charikleia and Charikles) coincide, do not be disturbed at this, for practical virtue is likewise proper to the soul itself and procures grace (χάριν) and fame (κλέος) for it.

When, however, she put off the yoke of oxen that has attended her, bearing the torch she has reached the temple and beholds Theagenes (Θεαγένην), she forgets everything and wholly embraces the one she longs for, ineffably (ἀρρήτως), in her soul. Be aware of what the riddle is saying to you! Whenever the soul surmounts (ὑπέρτερος γένηται) the material dyad, at that time the mystical knowledge of God coming to us from outside and leading up the soul to the contemplation (θέαν) of her family (τοῦ γένους) is perceived as most pleasing to her, and receiving the torch of desire (πόθου), [it is] infused in the soul the desire for the highest knowledge. The soul, being filled with this desire/love, as if drunk with a sober drunkenness and being, so to speak, love-smitten scorns her ordinary habits (συνήθων), disregards the body, and her thought concentrates only toward her beloved. And, thus carried away by what she desire, she hastens to grasp her first nobility, and she who had previously been defiant and scoffed love, throws herself willingly at Theagenes. Artemis does not prevent her being snatched away, but rather is restrained when she sees her temple servant (ζάκορον) receiving the wound of love. Old Kalasiris (Καλάσιρις) escorts the bride, which has been adorned (κοσμουμένην) with the fascia (σειρᾶ) and the message (λόγῳ).¹⁵⁹¹ He would be the teacher who draws the soul toward the

¹⁵⁹¹ Likely, Philip-Philagathos intends a pun over Calasiris's name (Καλάσιρις) by σειρᾶ καὶ λόγῳ; yet by the word σειρᾶ (i.e. corde, bandage), correctly emended by Bianchi (*Il codice del romanzo*, l. 153) from Hercher's previous reading ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, Philip-Philagathos alludes to Charikleia's fascia (ταινία) and to the message inscribed on it, which indicated who her parents were and the cause of her being cast off by her mother (cf. *Aethiopika*, IV, 8, 6); see for this the pertinent remarks of Aldo Corcella, "Note a Filippo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami)," 47–49: "Piuttosto che postulare un'occasionale violazione del ritmo si potrebbe prendere lo spunto dalle incertezze del manoscritto per correggere: una soluzione molto economica sarebbe ad esempio σειρᾶ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένην, oppure la trasposizione σειρᾶ κοσμουμένην καὶ λόγῳ; o si potrebbe anche pensare a qualcosa come σειρᾶ καὶ λόγῳ <λαβὼν> κοσμουμένην. Ma l'emendazione κοσμούμενος rimane comunque la più facile, a patto di intenderla rettamente. Leonardo Tarán, che pur si fondava sull'imperfetta lettura di Hercher ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ κοσμούμενος,

moral beauty (ὁ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ σύρων) and leads her towards the sublime things of mystical knowledge. For he will be a good counselor in the practical things, leading the soul in a calm state (ἀκύμονα) through the sea-water and the waves of life. And even though Trachinus, that is the savage rebellion of the passions, would contrive against her, the good counsel of Kalasiris will stand up against him. Yet, Kalasiris will be her companion and fellow traveller, until she (i.e. the soul) passes through the Egypt of ignorance. Only when she has advanced (sc. in mystical knowledge) and escaped the sea, and forgotten the plots of pirates, then her teacher will depart from her, since the soul delights in conversing by herself with the one she longs for.

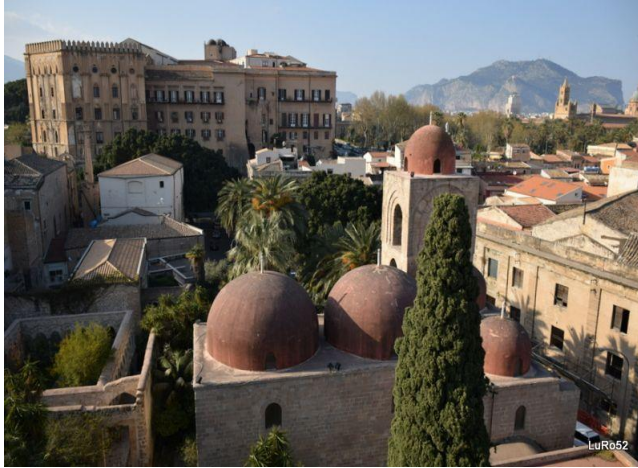
Carnal pleasure (ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἡ σαρκικὴ), like Arsace, contrives against her (sc. Charikleia/the soul) having as her pimp the senses (τὴν αἴσθησιν) just as Cybele (Κυβέλην), who conceives (κύνουσιν) arrows (βέλη) for her assaults and shoots these arrows at reason (τὸν λογισμὸν) and draws the contemplative faculty of the soul (τὸ θεωρητικὸν) towards herself, in order to debauch the thoughts of the mind. At this point let the courageous will be made tougher (into steel – στομούσθω) and let it be cast into the furnace of temptations! The ruby will keep her unblemished. For the ‘ruby’ (παντάρβη), being that which ‘fears all’ (ἡ τὸ πᾶν тарβοῦσα) or ‘is afraid’ (ἦτοι φοβούμενη ἐστίν) intimates (αἰνίττεται) at the fear of God (τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον); for God is all things (θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν). Even if the pimp (ἡ μαστροπὸς – i.e. Cybele) blends a destructive poison of false accusation, she, rather, will be destroyed, as also those who contrive against others will become destroyers for themselves (their own destroyers). And Cybele will die preparing the drug and Arsace will be bereaved of her cure and die by the noose, and to Achaemenes (Ἀχαιμένει), from his impure thoughts will remain only the punishment (τὸ ἄχος ἐμμενεῖ) and in this way he will die.

partendo dalla stessa osservazione che è Cariclea, cioè l’anima, a dover essere “ordinata”, suggeriva di intendere il verbo non come passivo ma come medio. Ciò non mi sembra però linguisticamente ovvio (ci si aspetterebbe l’attivo come alla l. 122), e se davvero Filippo scrisse *σειρᾷ καὶ λόγῳ κοσμούμενος* l’interpretazione più ovvia sarebbe, più o meno, che Calasiride è “provvisto della fascia (= logica) e del messaggio (= discorso)”: il nostro autore avrebbe in tal caso trasferito le dotazioni di Cariclea al suo maestro Calasiride. Ciò è tutt’altro che improprio, se si tiene conto del fatto che, nel romanzo, Calasiride usa effettivamente la fascia per apprendere la verità sulle origini di Cariclea e convincerla a seguirlo; (p. 49)” Indeed it is difficult to associate *κοσμούμενος* with a consistent Philagathean reading of *Aethiopika*, but, however, it may be remembered that often Philagathos modified the facts to suit his exegetical goals; it may also be added that Hercher’s reading *ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ* may not have been totally unwarranted; for in *Aethiopika*, 2, 33, 6, Theagenes asks Kalasiris to lead Charikleia by word and deed *ἢ λόγοις ἢ ἔργοις*: *Καὶ δὸς τὴν χάριν, ὧ γὰρ Καλάσιρι. Σοφίαν τινὰ καὶ ἵγγα κίνησον ἐπ’ αὐτὴν Αἰγυπτίαν· πείσον ἢ λόγοις ἢ ἔργοις γνωρίσαι τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν καὶ ὅτι γυνὴ γέγονεν εἰδέναι*. “Wherefore good Calasiris grant me this favor: employ against her all the wisdom of Egypt and enchantments of Egypt, lead her by word and deed to the feelings of her sex” (trans. Rowland Smith, 136).

The soul, carrying the spear, will proceed toward her own fatherland and will be put to trial by the furnace (τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ) for “the fire shall try every man’s work of what sort it is” [1Cor. 3:13]. But the soul shining brightly...

Appendix 5 – Figures

Figure 1: Palermo, San Giovanni degli Eremiti
(photo: Luciano Romeo)



Rossano, Santa Maria del Patir
(photo: Marcel Musil)



Figure 2: Palermo, Cappella Palatina, interior, sanctuary, view to east
(photo: Layne Cannon)



Figure 3: Palermo, Cappella Palatina, ceiling of nave (photo: Graeme O. Churchard)

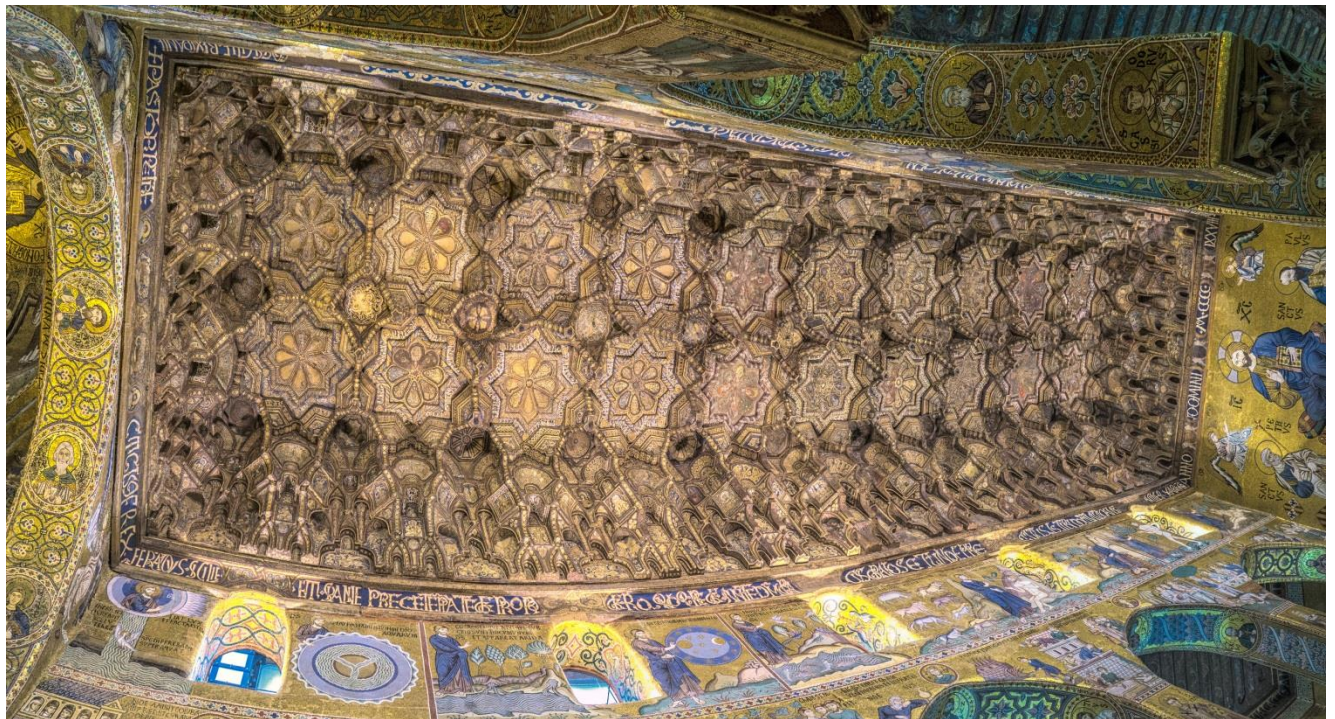


Figure 4: Palermo, Cappella Palatina, south wall with pulpit (photo: Layne Cannon)



Figure 5: Palermo, Cappella Palatina, interior view (photo: Layne Cannon)



Figure 6: Detail with the marble decorations of the Cappella Palatina (photo: Graeme O. Churchard)

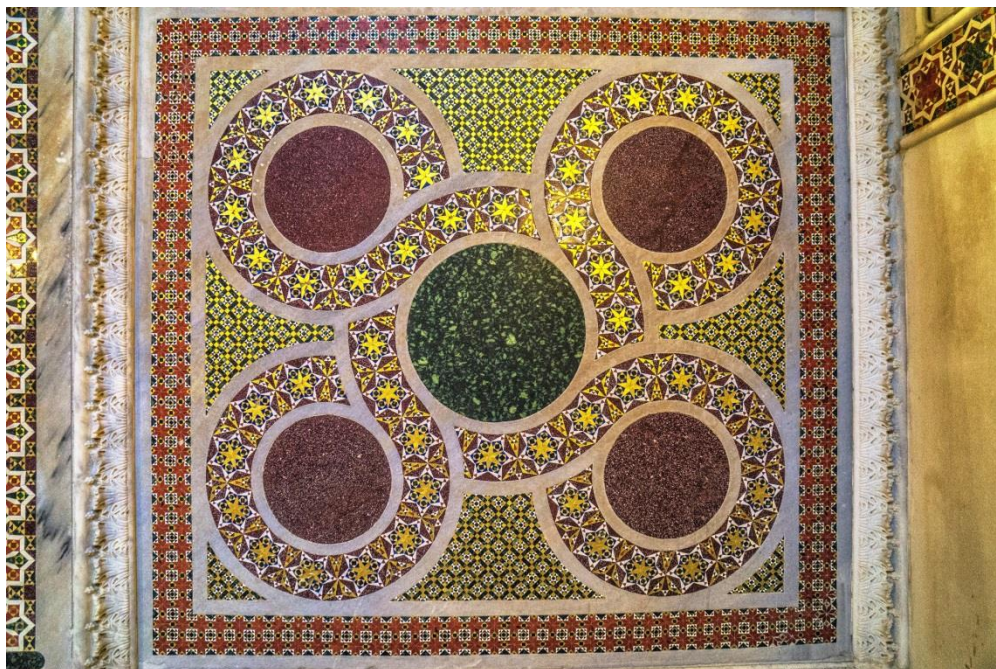


Figure 8: *Detail with the floor mosaic of Santa Maria Nuova Odigitria, Rossano, Calabria*
Source: <https://joesitalytravelsspring2015.wordpress.com/>



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