

Doctoral Dissertation

**Manuel Gabalas: Biography, Intellectual Network, Works and Thought**

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Submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies of the  
Central European University Private University, Vienna

in fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Late Antique, Medieval and Early  
Modern Studies

Vienna, Austria

2024

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*Als meus pares,  
Clara i la família*

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## Acknowledgements

Since the ancient sages teach us to cherish the gifts of life, I wish to begin by acknowledging the work and patience of my supervisor Dr. Baukje van den Berg, who like Athena guided this journey with *phronesis* and an acute understanding of Ancient Greek, Byzantine culture and beyond. I am also profoundly thankful to my everlasting guide Dr. Minerva Alganza Roldan from the University of Granada, who led me to translate for my MA dissertation what we thought to be an anonymous allegorical interpretation of Homer in Westermann's edition, which now results in this dissertation about Manuel Gabalas' life, works and thought.

I am indebted to professors György Geréby, István Perczel and Niels Gaul for all their invaluable teachings and constructive criticism in the whole dissertation; and to Dr. Ionut Tudorie for his ideas on the Arsenite conflict during my comprehensive exam. My heartfelt thanks extend to the entire Central European University family. I am grateful to get to know the wits of David Rockwell, Juan Manuel Rubio, Karolina Kotus, Dunja Milenkovic, Anastasia Theologou and Emy Joy, obtaining their enduring friendship. A special mention goes for Csilla Dobos for her longlasting care. As for Gigi, Aleksandar, Saket, Karst and Antonio, and many other friends, who contributed to the philosophical discussion, some things still remain to be said.

Central European University provided us means to courses, including palaeography at Ghent University. But soon the travel restrictions of the times of Covid-19 limited many opportunities for study abroad. Yet, we could attend the online courses in Byzantine Greek of Dumbarton Oaks, when I translated the allegories of Michael Psellos, as well as in Hittite and Luwite of Anamed University, when I dugged into the sources of the Arzawa culture and Greek Linear B, aiming to reconstruct the historical sequence of the Trojan war in an extensive work that will probably never be published. Post-pandemic, CEU facilitated my stay at Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), where I was fortunate to receive guidance of Dr. Inmaculada Pérez Martín, notably in the inspection of the letters of Gabalas in the Parisinus and the discussion on his intellectual network. I am also indebted to the expertise of Dr. Carmen García Bueno and Alfredo Bartolomé Calahorra for our discussions on palaeography, Byzantine art history and philosophy. Finally, I am also grateful to all those who, through their dialogue, contributed in some way to shaping this dissertation, especially Divna Manolova, Julián Bértola, Raúl Estangüi, Pia Carolla, Michele Trizio, Álvaro Ibáñez and Galo Ávalos.

A special place in my heart is reserved for all the incredible professors I've had in the past, including my Greek, Latin and philosophy teachers, Vicent Bellver and Paco Martínez,



and Antonio Melero, Jaime Siles, Jordi Redondo, Xaverio Ballester, Mikel Labiano and Ángel Narro, professors from the University of Valencia. My dear friends from Canals occupy an equally cherished spot in my life. Utmost respect and gratitude are extended to the pillars of my life, my parents, Juan Bautista and Virginia María, who instilled in me the virtues of discipline and hard work, together with my sister, Clara, as well as to my family, aunts, uncle and cousins for their unwavering love; and to Emina for her Penelope's patience and love. The deep, cosmic sympathy that binds our souls across different cultures and times will remain in this dissertation as a symbol of our unity. Yet, the accountability for these words and all that is left unsaid must be counted as my wanderings and errors.

## Introduction

This thesis provides a thorough examination of the life, intellectual network, works and thought of Manuel Gabalas – Matthew of Ephesus (ca. 1272–1357), a Byzantine scholar and theologian condemned at the Fifth Council of Constantinople in August 1351. It emphasizes his active role in political and religious debates, his significant impact among the circles of the Constantinopolitan intellectual elite of the early Palaiologan era, and his distinctive synthesis of secular wisdom and Christian theology, with ethics serving as a common thread. This dissertation explores Gabalas' contributions through a detailed examination of his biography (Chapter 1), his intellectual network and activities (Chapter 2), his literary, philosophical and theological writings (Chapters 3 and 4). It therefore aims to advance our understanding of the Palaiologan period by offering a comprehensive look at a figure who, until now, remained relatively obscure. Gabalas' life and works are presented as a valuable case study through which we can discern the multifaceted dynamics of personal, socio-political, intellectual and spiritual life and history of the late Byzantine Empire.

Gabalas led an extensive life that spanned the reigns of five Palaiologan emperors, from Michael VIII to his great-grandson John V Palaiologos, including two civil wars and three sieges of his city, Philadelphia. His experiences and challenges, such as those with Manuel Tagaris and John Kantakouzenos, or his interactions with the Turks, offer valuable insights into the power dynamics and military challenges faced by the late Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. They provide a microcosmic view of the broader political turmoil of the period. As the Metropolitan of Ephesus, Gabalas was actively involved in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the Byzantine Empire, for instance, opposing Patriarch John XIV Kalekas and participating in the Palamite controversy. These events underscore the complex interplay between church politics, imperial authority, and theological debate.

The research on Gabalas' intellectual circles – spanning his roles as student, scholar, scribe, author, teacher, and theologian – reveals his significant influence among the intellectual elites of Constantinople and sheds light on the scholarly practices of the early Palaiologan era. This network facilitated the exchange of manuscripts and ideas, contributing to the continuity and development of literary, philosophical and theological studies. This exploration not only accentuates Gabalas' role in the dissemination of knowledge and in the intensification of philosophical studies in Constantinople but also his role in fostering a new generation of intellectuals. His active participation in the vibrant scholarly network of Constantinople and his participation during the Palamite controversy provides insight into the complex nature of

intellectual and societal structures from the early Palaiologan period, which were instrumental in preserving and developing Byzantine cultural and intellectual heritage. Furthermore, I will also analyze Gabalas' objections to the theological views of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas and Gregory Palamas on the topic of God's activities. Gabalas argued for a distinction between God's essence, activities (e.g. justice) and Names of Divinity (e.g. Lord); he warned Palamas against conflating God's activities with the Names of Divinity, which Gabalas saw as potentially leading to polytheism. These accusations led to a response by Palamas between 1347 and 1351, as can be inferred from my comparison of Palamas' *150 Chapters* with Gabalas' *Tome of the Opponents* and *200 Chapters*. This investigation reveals valuable insights and aims to shed light on our knowledge of the discussions during the early stages of the Palamite controversy.

A significant achievement of this research is the presentation of the *editio princeps* and some English translations of Gabalas' unedited literary, philosophical and theological texts. Gabalas' Homeric works translate and enrich the *Odyssey's* story into a form that resonates with the spiritual concerns of early Palaiologan scholars, converting Odysseus into a paradigm of the human struggle for virtue and rationality, navigating through trials towards temperance and original dignity. This research analyzes Gabalas' interpretation of the *Odyssey* by looking at its hermeneutical method and tradition within the context of Homeric interpretation in Byzantine literature. I will propose a novel theory and history of ethical interpretation by drawing from Aristotelian literary criticism, Platonic and Christian mystical allegory, and the use of nautical metaphors prevalent in spiritual literature. As a Homeric interpreter, Gabalas' intellectual legacy thus ties in with the intensified focus on Ancient Greek literature and philosophy of early Palaiologan scholarship.

Gabalas' philosophical and theological works offer a sophisticated understanding of the deification man in life through the imitation of God's *dynameis* or activities – e.g., justice –, placing particular emphasis in the *praxis* of the Good and the rule of the mind. This research thus will uncover Gabalas' distinctive approach to the process of deification – particularly on the debate regarding God's essence and activities, and human participation in the divine – that is presented as an Orthodox alternative to Palamite Hesychasm, which has dominated the narrative of late Byzantine spirituality in the Orthodox Church and modern scholarship. The aim is thus to highlight the diverse ways Byzantine thinkers engaged with the notion of deification and the continuous philosophical dialogue present among the Palaiologan scholars, thus also enriching our understanding of the historical and doctrinal development of Christianity.

Finally, one must notice that Gabalas' oeuvre sheds clear light on the interplay of pagan philosophy and Christian theology in the late Byzantine era. This fusion is especially evident in his interpretation of the *Odyssey* through the lens of Christian ethics and theology, and in the portrayal of monastic life in *200 Chapters* through Homeric imagery. This study will explore Gabalas' approach to hermeneutics, predominantly influenced by Christian mystical allegory, alongside his philosophical stance, which closely aligns with Christian Platonism or Christian Platonizing spirituality. Against the backdrop of the Palamite controversy, where the value of secular wisdom was debated, it will be argued that Gabalas closely aligns with the ideas of Barlaam of Calabria, and that his views must be understood as representative of a faction within the Akindynist ideology.

In summary, this dissertation aims to significantly enrich our understanding of late Byzantine intellectual history, weaving through the disciplines of history, politics, hermeneutics, ethics, philosophy and theology. In this way, it aims to capture Gabalas' legacy as a sort of a Platonic *Odyssey* of a Byzantine theologian.

## Chapter 1. Biography

The present chapter presents a thorough investigation of Manuel Gabalas' life and influence during the early Palaiologan period.<sup>1</sup> The analysis aims to shed light on his political activities, social networks, and involvement in the ecclesiastical dynamics of his time. The first five sections are set against the backdrop of Andronikos II's reign and the first Palaiologan civil war (1282–1328). The biography begins with Gabalas' upbringing in Philadelphia, highlighting his family and early influences, including key figures like Theoleptos and Nikephoros Choumnos, against a backdrop of military and political turmoil. It then delves into his possible involvement in the Arsenite Agreements, a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, and his interactions with significant individuals such as Michael Gabras. The narrative also explores the fallout of the schism of Theoleptos, detailing Gabalas' personal professional setbacks, alongside his strained relations with both military and ecclesiastical authorities. Gabalas' role as an intermediary between Philadelphia and Constantinople is examined next, showcasing his efforts to garner military support and protect his fellow citizens, reflecting his growing influence within Byzantine politics.

The account proceeds to cover Gabalas' activities during the first civil war, his experiences during the Third Siege of Philadelphia, and his later monastic life in Constantinople, underlining his intellectual contributions. The narrative then transitions to his prominence during the reigns of Andronikos III, John V Palaiologos, and John VI Kantakouzenos, through the second Palaiologan civil war (1328–1355/57). Gabalas' impact on the Synod of Constantinople, the Imperial Court, and the legal system, especially during Andronikos III's tenure, is outlined, noting his rise to Metropolitan of Ephesus and his wide-reaching influence. His tenure in Ephesus, opposition to Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, alliances with figures like John Kantakouzenos and Gregory Palamas, and the Pyrgion episode, are detailed, along with a brief note on his son, John Gabalas. The biography concludes with Gabalas' final years, marked by his deposition and condemnation, in the broader context of the Palamite controversy, providing a comprehensive overview of his life and legacy in Byzantine history.

At the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century, several discoveries led to a reevaluation of the identity and historical significance of Manuel Gabalas – Manuel of Ephesus. Max Treu (1901) identified texts in the manuscript Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, including three letters that Karl

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<sup>1</sup> For a periodization of the Palaiologan period, see Klaus-Peter Matschke and Franz Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), 367–68.

Krumbacher (1897) had observed in the collections of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzos and Libanius, as the work of Gabalas, shedding light on his life from 1329 on, when he became Metropolitan of Ephesus.<sup>2</sup> Despite skepticism from scholars like Rodolphe Guiland and Peter Schreiner, Treu's work laid the groundwork for further research.<sup>3</sup> For instance, Luigi Previale (1941) produced the edition of Gabalas' funeral orations on Kallierges and Theoleptos of Philadelphia (A10–A11).<sup>4</sup> By analyzing the correspondence of Michael Gabras and George Oinaïotes, Stavros Kourousis (1972) was able to identify Manuel Gabalas as Matthew, the Metropolitan of Ephesus, and confirmed him as the author of both the Paris (=PB1–PB29) and the Vienna (B1–B66) letter collections.<sup>5</sup> Jean Gouillard had earlier edited nine letters (=PB21–PB29), attributing them to the Metropolitan of Ephesus, John Cheilas, a theory contested by Vitalien Laurent.<sup>6</sup> The Paris letter collection covers Gabalas' earliest communication from Philadelphia with Constantinople from years ca. 1309 to 1317, following Kourousis' chronological arrangement, which I adopt with minor adjustments. Later, Kourousis (=Kourousis<sup>2</sup>) revisited his research, proposing the reordering of Par. Gr. 2022, f. 186, which results in the sequence ff. 185, 187, 186v–r, 181–184 and the division of *Letter* 19 Kourousis into two separate letters, being the latter portion the introduction of *Letter* 8 Kourousis.<sup>7</sup> Kourousis edited fragments of *Letters* PB1–PB18, for which I offer here a full edition (see Appendix 1) and relevant analysis of the historical-political context. The adjustment is presented as *Letters* PB8a–PB8b. Textual lacunae are frequent in the Paris letter collection, with the result that some letters are partially readable, while others are presumably missing in their entirety. This accounts for certain temporal gaps, such as between PB7 and PB8a. Diether Roderich Reinsch (1974) published the first edition with German translation of Gabalas'

<sup>2</sup> Max Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos. Ueber sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Potsdam: Programm Victoria Gymnasium, 1901); Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches, 527–1453* (Munich: Beck, 1897), 497. The manuscript that Krumbacher consulted is the Oxford, Bodleian Auct. T. 4. 04 (Misc. 242) from the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>-century.

<sup>3</sup> Rodolphe Guiland, *Essai sur Nicephore Gregoras: L'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris: Geuthner, 1926), 115; cf. Rodolphe Guiland, *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1927), 356; Peter Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)", *Orientalia christiana periodica* 35.2 (1969): 397.

<sup>4</sup> Luigi Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso", *BZ* 41 (1941): 4–39.

<sup>5</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς, εἴτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60). Α': Τὰ βιογραφικά* (Athens: Τυπογραφίον ἀδελφῶν Μυρτίδη, 1972).

<sup>6</sup> Jean Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas", *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique* 6 (1944): 174–213; Vitalien Laurent, "Les crises religieuses à Byzance. Le schisme antiarsénite du métropolitain de Philadelphie Théolepte (c. 1324)", *REB* 18 (1960): 45–54.

<sup>7</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 49–97, 122–58, 295–330; Kourousis<sup>2</sup>, "Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου Φιλαδελφείας Μανουήλ Γαβαλά", *EEBS* 39–40 (1972): 114–27. For general remarks about the formation of Gabalas' letter collections, see Franz Tinnefeld, "Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit", in *Polypleuros Nous: Miscellanea für P. Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris (Munich–Leipzig: De Gruyter, 2000), 374–75.

Vienna letter collection (=B1–B66) and recognized Gabalas’ handwriting in the other manuscripts such as Malatest. Plut. D XXVII 2 and Burney 112–114.<sup>8</sup> This letter collection, which spans from approximately 1313 to 1341, will be extensively referenced in the following chapters.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, the primary sources providing historical details on Gabalas’ life are his corpus of 91 letters, preserved in two authorial manuscripts: Par. gr. 2022 (ff. 181r–187r = PB1–PB18) and (ff. 150r–156v = PB21–PB29) and Vind. Theol. gr. 174 (B1–B66).<sup>10</sup> These letter collections do not represent the full range of correspondence Gabalas wrote over his lifetime. It seems that the Paris manuscript was used strictly for Gabalas’ personal needs. The Vienna manuscript, while also serving personal purposes, suggests Gabalas’ intention to portray himself as an intellectual and influential figure, a common practice during the Palaiologan period.<sup>11</sup> These texts might be intended as an exemplar for a future edition that was never realized. The organization of the letters in the Vienna collection, which combines chronological and thematic arrangements, has yet to be fully determined.

Further sources providing historical details on Gabalas’ life include his speeches and literary compositions. One can find a summary of his legacy in the encyclopaedic entries by Daniel Stiernon, Alice Mary Talbot, Johannes Pahlitzsch, and the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (PLP 3309).<sup>12</sup> Notable research includes the research on Gabalas’ description of Easter (A6) by Adriana Pignani,<sup>13</sup> analyses of the funeral oration on Theoleptos

<sup>8</sup> Diether Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174* (Vienna: Nikolaus Mielke, 1974). I follow throughout the study Reinsch’s abbreviations for the writings of Gabalas. Kourousis wrote a favourable review of Reinsch’s dissertation, see Kourousis, “Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch”, *Gnomon* 51.2 (1979): 117–22.

<sup>9</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 29. See also the commentary of Kourousis, *Ματθαιὸς Γαββαλάς*, 158–292.

<sup>10</sup> On Par. Gr. 2022, see also Section 2.3. It should be noted that B16 and B66 are the same *Letter* (B16=B66) and that B7–B8 are short philosophical chapters, later included in Gabalas’ *200 Chapters*.

<sup>11</sup> On self-image projections, see Alexander Riehle, “Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 213–14; Alexander Riehle, “Epistolography as autobiography remarks on the letter collections of Nikephoros Choumnos”, *Parekbolai* 2 (2012): 1–22; Niels Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”, *DOP* 70 (2016): 248. I am grateful to Prof. Niels Gaul for his insightful comments regarding this matter.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Stiernon, “Matthieu d’Ephèse, Métropolitte byzantin 1272–1355/59”, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*. Vol. 10. Fasc. 66–67, ed. Marcel Viller (Paris: Beauchesne, 1978); Alice Mary Talbot, “Manuel Gabalas”, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Johannes Pahlitzsch, “Manuel Gabalas”, in *Christian-Muslims Relations. A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 5 (1350–1500), ed. David Thomas and Alexander Mallet (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013), 71–75; Erich Trapp, Rainer Walther, and Christian Gastgeber, eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976).

<sup>13</sup> Adriana Pignani, *Matteo di Efeso, l’Ekphrasis per la Festa di Pasqua: Testo critico, introduzione e traduzione* (Naples: Portici, 1981); Pignani, “Una inedita ekphrasis della festa di Pasqua”, in *Studi Byzantini e Neogreci*, ed. Pietro Luigi Leone (Galatina: Congedo, 1983); Pignani, *Matteo di Efeso, Racconto di una festa popolare. Ekphrasis per la Festa di Pasqua* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 1984).

(A11), Kallierges (A10) and John Choumnos (A12) by Luigi Previale, Robert Trone, and Alexandros Sideras, respectively,<sup>14</sup> and of two addresses dedicated to Emperor Andronikos (A2, A17) by Eleni Kaltsogianni.<sup>15</sup> The present research project has already led to a study on Gabalas' journey to Ephesus.<sup>16</sup> In addition, I will provide an edition, translation and analysis of two of Gabalas' prayers to Andronikos III and John VI Kantakouzenos. The broader context of Gabalas' life is further enriched by the correspondence of his contemporaries, primarily Michael Gabras and Nikephoros Gregoras.<sup>17</sup> The synodal decisions from the Register of the Patriarchate give further insight into Gabalas' life from Andronikos III's reign onwards. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller has shed light on Gabalas' network in the Synod of Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> Finally, recent publications by Antonio Rigo have brought to light documents by Gabalas related to the Palamite controversy.<sup>19</sup>

## 1. Early Life, Influence, and Historical Context (ca. 1272–1310)

Manuel Gabalas was born around 1272/73 in Philadelphia in Lydia, present-day Alaşehir in Turkey, one of the largest cities of the Byzantine Empire at this time.<sup>20</sup> Details about Gabalas' family are sparse, but his writings suggest that he belonged to the provincial aristocracy of

<sup>14</sup> Robert Trone, "The Counsel of Manuel-Matthew Gabalas to Empress Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina on her Mourning over the Death of Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia", *Byzantine Studies* 13.2 (1986): 213–27. Alexandros Sideras, *25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden* (Thessalonike: Parateretes, 1990), 269–78; Alexandros Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 265–69.

<sup>15</sup> Eleni Kaltsogianni, "Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos auf Andronikos II Palaiologos", *JÖB* 59 (2009): 107–26; Eleni Kaltsogianni, "A Fourteenth-Century Oration on the Dormition of the Virgin", *Byzantion* 86 (2016): 171–86.

<sup>16</sup> Juan Bautista Juan-López, "On the Road to Ephesus: Hardship and Despair", *Brolly* 3.2 (2018): 97–112.

<sup>17</sup> For the *Letters* of Michael Gabras, see Georgios Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1260–1350)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973).

<sup>18</sup> Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat im Späten Byzanz: Ein Verzeichnis der Metropolen und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453* (Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008), 110; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "Calculating the Synod? New Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches for the Analysis of the Patriarchate and the Synod of Constantinople in the 14<sup>th</sup>-Century", in *Le Patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors-frontières (1204-1586)*, ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, and Dan Ioan Mureșan, 15 (Paris: De Boccard, 2015), 159–71.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", *Byzantion* 85 (2015): 285–339; Antonio Rigo, *1347. Isidoro Patriarca di Costantinopoli e il breve sogno dell'inizio di una nuova epoca* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2020).

<sup>20</sup> For the history of Philadelphia in the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century, see Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)"; Hélène Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 127.1 (1983): 175–97; Irène Baldiceanu-Steinherr, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Alaşehir (Philadelphie) au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Paul Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin", in *Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), 17–37, 55–67; Matoula Couroupou, "Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pacha", in *Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler, *Série Byzantina Sorbonensia* 3 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981), 67–90.



Philadelphia.<sup>21</sup> He shares his last name with notable figures such as the brothers John Gabalas and Leo Gabalas, who was ruler of Rhodes from 1204 to 1240.<sup>22</sup> Their surname traces its origins back to the city of Gabala, now known as Yabla, located on the south coast of Latakia in Syria.<sup>23</sup>

Kourousis suggested that the earliest known reference to Gabalas is a note on the tenth-century manuscript containing the writings of Basil of Caesarea and *On the Making of Man* of Gregory of Nyssa, the Parisinus Graecus 476 (*Diktyon* 50050).<sup>24</sup> This manuscript, bearing four inscriptions linking it to the Gabalas family, includes the following undated entry on f. 291v: “The humble lector of the most sacred metropolis of Philadelphia, Manuel, guardian and servant of the [Church] of Hodegetria”.<sup>25</sup> Kourousis identifies this Manuel (PLP 16675) as Manuel Gabalas, highlighting his early role as a lector (ἀναγνώστης) and guardian (παραμονάρης) at a so far unidentified Hodegetria church in Philadelphia.<sup>26</sup> This identification led Kourousis to suggest that Gabalas penned the inscription at about fifteen years of age, thus placing its creation no later than 1287/88.<sup>27</sup> However, I tend to think that the lector and guardian Manuel probably is not Manuel Gabalas, future Metropolitan of Ephesos, but it rather points to another individual of the same name, “Manuel Gabalas, bishop of Tripolis, renamed monk Makarios”, whose name is found in two other inscriptions from 1259 and 1279 in Par. Gr. 476, f. 109v, 261r.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Klaus-Peter Matschke and Franz Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 159. Cf. Diether R. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> For possible connections with these aristocrats, cf. Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 299–300; Demetrios Kyritsis, *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 1997), 81–84; Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 57. For the Gabalades or Gabalas family, cf. Alexander Kazhdan, “Gabalas”, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York–Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> Vox Γάβαλα, -ων, τὰ in Diccionario Griego-Español (DGE).

<sup>24</sup> The textual transmission of the scholion by Theodore Stoudite found in Par. Gr. 476, f. 117 has recently been studied by Olivier Delouis, “Theodore the Stoudite’s Scholion on Ps.-Basil’s Ascetic Constitutions: Edition and Commentary”, *Sacris Erudiri* 59.1 (2020): 467–83.

<sup>25</sup> ὁ εὐτελής ἀναγνώστης τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλειος Φιλαδελφείας Μανουήλ ὁ [Γαβαλάς] καὶ παραμονάρης καὶ δοῦλος τῆς Ὀδигιτρίας. The four inscriptions were edited by Jean Darrouzès, “Notes d’Asie Mineure”, *Archéion Pόντου* 26 (1964): 31, 35. The inscriptions are discussed by Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)”, 415 and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, “El estilo Hodegos y su proyección en las escrituras Constantinopolitanas”, *Segno e Testo* 6 (2008): 451, n. 214.

<sup>26</sup> On the libraries and monasteries of Philadelphia, see Otto Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1955), 173–78; Ilias Taxis, “Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi, (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 466.

<sup>27</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 301–2.

<sup>28</sup> ὁ [...] ἐπίσκοπος Τριπόλεως Μανουήλ ὁ Γαβαλάς [...] μετωνομασθεὶς Μακάριος μοναχός. The other inscription from 1256 was written by “Philip, bishop of Gabalas, renamed monk Philotheos” (ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Γαβάλων Φιλίππος, ὁ [...] μετωνομασθεὶς Φιλόθεος μοναχός).

Gabalas' formative years and intellectual development took place in Philadelphia during the 1290s and 1300s, that is to say, during the first decades of Andronikos II's reign, a period known as the restoration of Orthodoxy.<sup>29</sup> In these formative years, Gabalas was deeply influenced by his close association with Theoleptos, who was appointed Metropolitan of Philadelphia in 1284 due to his opposition to the union of the churches.<sup>30</sup> Theoleptos was a signatory in synodal decisions under the patriarchates of George of Cyprus (Gregory II) and John XII Kosmas.<sup>31</sup> It is noticeable that Gabalas copied the letters of George of Cyprus in his personal manuscript, Par. Gr. 2022, around 1297 (see Sections 2.1 and 2.3).

Additionally, Theoleptos forged a strong relationship with Nikephoros Choumnos, who became *mesazon* following Theodore Mouzalon's death in 1294.<sup>32</sup> He also opposed the land reforms in Asia Minor promoted by John Tarchaneiotes and contributed to the withdrawal of the latter from his post of commander of the eastern provinces. Therefore, during the late 1280s and 1290s, Theoleptos secured influential positions in ecclesiastical, military and political spheres.<sup>33</sup>

From a political and military perspective, Gabalas' formative years were likely shaped by the events in Philadelphia and Asia Minor. In the last decade of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century, the situation in Asia Minor was marked by the advance of the Turkish forces. The generals Alexios Philanthropenos (active from 1293 to his blinding in 1295) and, to a lesser extent, John Tarchaneiotes (1298–1300) contributed to the resistance. Gabalas, who later mentions

<sup>29</sup> For the historical account of this period, I follow Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 96–130. For a summary, see Apostolos Karpozilos, "Writing the History of Decline", in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 131–38.

<sup>30</sup> Theoleptos sojourned on Mount Athos when he was called to the leadership of the church of Philadelphia. For the general details of Theoleptos' life, I have used Robert Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos. The Monastic Discourses* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992); Ioannes Gregoropoulos, *Θεολήπτου Φιλαδελφείας του Ομολογητού (1250–1322). Βίος και Έργα*, vol. 1 (Katerini, 1996); Angela Constantinides Hero, "Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist", in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 27–38. One can also find useful sources about Theoleptos in Luigi Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso", *BZ* 41 (1941): 13–15; Dirk Krausmüller, "The Rise of Hesychasm", in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 108–13.

<sup>31</sup> Paris Gounaridis, "Μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας Θεόληπτος κατά Ἀρσενιατῶν", in *Ανοχή και καταστολή στους μέσους χρόνους. Μνήμη Λένου Μαυρομαμάτη*, ed. Katerina Nikolaou (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών / Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 2002), 108; Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 4–11.

<sup>32</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos wrote a *Letter* to Theoleptos (*Letter* 94) dating to 1290, which might be related to this issue, cf. Alexander Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie: Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Choumnos (ca. 1260–1327)* (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, PhD Thesis, 2014), 110–12. Cf. Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Enseignement et service impérial à l'époque Paléologue", in *Le monde byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Anciennes ou nouvelles formes d'impérialité*, ed. Raúl Estangüi Gómez and Marie Hélène Blanchet, *Travaux et Mémoires* 25/1 (Paris, 2021), 485–92.

<sup>33</sup> Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 409. Theoleptos blocked any hope of resistance in Asia Minor, according to Hero, "Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist", 33.

Philanthropenos in his letters concerning the Third Siege of Philadelphia (see Section 1.4), might have met him during this time. In the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century, many cities in Asia Minor faced raids, sieges, and unsafe travel conditions. The result was a period of urban decline and trade restrictions, which, together with the outbreak of plague and famine in Constantinople in 1301, led to significant movements of the population. At the same time, the Genovese and Venetians were vying for control over the Byzantine trade from 1296 to 1302. In 1302, the expedition of co-emperor Michael IX against the Ottomans proved futile as the Byzantine forces, led by George Mouzalon, suffered a critical defeat at the Battle of Bapheus (27 July 1302).<sup>34</sup> This battle constitutes the first major Ottoman victory over the Byzantine Empire, leading to the devastation of Bithynia and the isolation of fortified cities such as Nicomedia, Nicea, Bursa and Lopadion.<sup>35</sup> Philadelphia emerged as “one of the few footholds of Byzantine power left in the area after the Turkish conquests during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century”.<sup>36</sup>

The years 1302 to 1304 were especially disastrous for the Byzantine Empire, which was unable to prevent the Venetians from devastating Constantinople’s coastline. In 1303, Andronikos II enlisted the Catalan Company, a group of Catalan, Roman, and Alanic mercenaries led by Roger de Flor, to defend the cities of Asia Minor. This company successfully seized Chios, Lesbos, Lemnos, Ephesus and Cyzicus. Gabalas probably witnessed the First Siege of Philadelphia in 1304, led by the Germiyan and Aydin Turks under Yakup bin Ali Şir. The Catalan Company confronted the Turks in the Battle of Aulax around June 1304, liberating Philadelphia in what Nicol describes as “almost the only practical service that the Catalans rendered to the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor”.<sup>37</sup> However, the departure of the Catalans soon led to the recapture of Ephesus by the Monteshe Sasa Beg in October 1304.<sup>38</sup> After Roger de Flor’s assassination in 1305, the Catalan Company turned against the Byzantine army, seizing Magnesia, raiding several cities of Asia Minor and Thrace, and disrupting grain

<sup>34</sup> Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)”, 384.

<sup>35</sup> Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 126.

<sup>36</sup> Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 76.

<sup>37</sup> Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 130; cf. Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)”, 386; Hélène Ahrweiler, “Le récit du voyage d’Oinaïotes de Constantinople à Ganos”, in *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, Referate des internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger* (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994), ed. Werner Seibt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 16–18.

<sup>38</sup> For the siege of Ephesus in 1304, see Clive Foss, “The Emirate of Aydin: 1304–1425”, in *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 143–44.

supplies, thus exacerbating the existing famine until 1307.<sup>39</sup> This made the Catalan Company an expensive and problematic solution for the Byzantine Empire.

In the context of the military frailty of the Byzantine Empire, a series of antidynastic plots aimed at usurping power from Andronikos II took place in 1304–1305. Charles de Valois, along with his allies in Philadelphia, John Monomachos and Constantine Libadarios, harboured ambitions for the throne in 1304.<sup>40</sup> Their attempted usurpation was followed by three different antidynastic conspiracies by Ferran d'Aunés and a certain Myzakès around May 1305,<sup>41</sup> as well as John Drymis in the of winter 1304/5.<sup>42</sup>

In the face of challenges such as war, famine, political conspiracies, a trade blockade in Constantinople, and the detrimental effects of the Catalan Company, the Byzantine Empire and its institutions were driven to drastic solutions. One notable response was the reform of the church administration during Athanasios I's second term as patriarch (1303–1309).<sup>43</sup> Athanasios I implemented measures to control the grain and food prices, and temporarily allowed the use of revenues from church property for military purposes in besieged cities such

<sup>39</sup> From 1307 the Catalans continued towards southern Thrace and the area around Thessalonike; after slaying Walter V of Brienne in the Battle of Halmyros in 15th March 1311, they established the Catalan Duchy of Athens which lasted until 1388. For the account of Thomas Magistros and Nikephoros Gregoras, see Niels Gaul, *Thomas Magistros und die späbyzantinische Sophistik: Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 87–89, 117–18, 138–40.

<sup>40</sup> On Monomachos, see Section 1.3. For the Valoisians pro-French party of Philadelphia, see Ahrweiler, “La région de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure”, 193. Charles de Valois aspired to the imperial throne on behalf of his wife Catherine of Courtenay, see Kourousis, “Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου Φιλαδελφείας Μανουὴλ Γαβαλά”, 123–24; Hélène Ahrweiler, “Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du XIVe siècle: À propos de Jean Monomaque”, in *Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler, Byzantina Sorboniensia 4 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), 10.

<sup>41</sup> For the goals, chronology and relationship between the plot of Ferran d'Aunés and Myzakès, who was in charge of the fleet of the Catalan Company in Chios, and John Drymis, see Albert Failler, “Le complot antidynastique de Jean Drimys”, *Revue des études byzantines* 54 (1996): 235–44.

<sup>42</sup> One may also mention the imprisonment and death of Manuel Moschopoulos in 1305 or 1306 for unclear reasons, Ihor Ševčenko, “The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the Year 1305 or 1306”, in *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 149–50; Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 168–71.

<sup>43</sup> On Patriarch Athanasios, I have consulted Alice Mary Talbot, “The Patriarch Athanasios (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church”, *DOP* 27 (1973): 11–28; Emmanuel Patedakis, *Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1289–1293; 1303–1309): A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary of Selected Unpublished Works* (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2004); Ekaterini Mitsiou, “Das Doppelkloster des Patriarchen Athanasios I in Konstantinopel: Historisch-prosopographische und wirtschaftliche Beobachtungen”, *JÖB* 58 (2008): 87–106; Emmanuel Patedakis, “Athanasios' I Patriarch of Constantinople Anti-Latin Views and related Theological Writings”, in *Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of their own Doctrine and their Perception of Foreign Doctrines*, ed. Antonio Rigo and Pavel Ermilov (Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, 2009), 125–42. For the reforms of Athanasios I and a portrait of his character, see John Meyendorff, “Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries”, in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque internationale des études byzantines* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia, 1971), 61–62; Edmund Fryde, *The Early Palaiologan Renaissance (1261–ca. 1360)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 98–99.

as Philadelphia.<sup>44</sup> This action led to unforeseen complications: it ignited a conflict between the ecclesiastical and military authorities, such as the struggle between Theoleptos, Gabalas and the army commander Manuel Tagaris (see Section 1.4). Athanasios I also introduced policies to fight corruption and simony, advocating ideals similar to those of Theoleptos of Philadelphia such as poverty, charity, moral integrity and the Church's role in actively supporting the population.<sup>45</sup> They agreed in their firm opposition to the Arsenite party;<sup>46</sup> they also believed in hierocratism, that is to say, the submission of the emperor to the Church, a concept that Gabalas would later reconsider in his dispute with Theoleptos.<sup>47</sup>

### Involvement in Resolution of the Arsenite Agreements in September 1310

In 1308, Theoleptos was in Constantinople, where he performed the tonsure ceremony for Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, the daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, which allowed her to enter the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter.<sup>48</sup> Several letters between Gabalas and Michael

<sup>44</sup> Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasios (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church". Cf. Athanasios I, *Letter* 112, l. 30–9 Hero. As a related matter one can mention the submission of the monastery of Hodegon to patriarchal authority between 1306 and 1308; see Pérez Martín, "El estilo Hodegos y su proyección en las escrituras Constantinopolitanas", 408.

<sup>45</sup> On the relations between Athanasios I and Theoleptos of Philadelphia, Mikhail Vishnyak, "К вопросу об отношениях между Святителем Афанасием I, Патриархом Константинопольским, и Святителем Феопитом, Митрополитом Филадельфийским", *Богословский Вестник* 30 (2018): 164–84. See also, Hero, "Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist", 38.

<sup>46</sup> The opposition of Athanasios I to the Arsenite party has been thoroughly studied by Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, "Le Patriarche Athanase Ier (1289–1293; 1303–1309) et les Arsénites: Une lettre patriarcale contre les schismatiques", in *Le Patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors-frontières (1204-1586)*, ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, and Dan Ioan Mureșan, (Paris: De Boccard, 2014), 37–67; Mikhail Vishnyak, "Образ Арсенитов в эпистолярном наследии Патриарха Афанасия I Константинопольского", *Вестник Волгоградского Государственного Университета* 5.22 (2017): 16–26; Mikhail Vishnyak, "Творения Патриарха Афанасия I Константинопольского, касающиеся Арсенитского Раскола", *Богословский Вестник* 29 (2018): 72–104; Mikhail Vishnyak, "Два письма Свт. Афанасия I, Патриарха Константинопольского, о проблеме Арсенитского Раскола: Историко-богословский комментарий", *Вестник Екатеринбургской Духовной Семинарии* 3.23 (2018): 337–54; Mikhail Vishnyak, "Догматический аспект борьбы Патриарха Афанасия I Константинопольского (1289–1293; 1303–1309) против Арсенитского Раскола (1265–1310)", *Метафраз* 1.1 (2019): 35–52; Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasios (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church", 25–27. On Theoleptos' opposition to the Arsenite party, Laurent, "Les crises religieuses à Byzance. Le schisme antiarsénite du métropolit de Philadelphie Théolepte (c. 1324)"; Robert E. Sinkewicz, "A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelpheia", *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 46–95; Gounaridis, "Μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας Θεόληπτος κατά Ἀρσενιατῶν", 110–20.

<sup>47</sup> On Athanasios I's views on politics of the Church, Klaus-Peter Matschke, *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2008), 89–113. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 371–407, sp. p. 409 also notes "Theoleptos of Philadelphia embraced similar reformist ideas with hierocratic overtones".

<sup>48</sup> This information can be deduced from Theoleptos's *Letter* to Irene-Eulogia (*Letter* 1 Hero) and from Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters* 96–97. On this issue, see Angela Hero, *The Life and Letters of Theoleptos of Philadelphia* (Brookline–Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1994), 14–20; Antonio Rigo and Anna Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia. Lettere e discorsi* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2007), 275–81. Cf. also the Testament of Nikephoros Choumnos, dating to 1303–1307, in Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 21–22; Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso", 16.

Gabras suggest that Gabalas traveled to Constantinople as a representative of Theoleptos around 1309.<sup>49</sup> The response from Theoleptos following Gabalas' return to Philadelphia after the winter of 1310–1311, which include Gabalas' removal from his position of chief notary during 1311–1317 (see Section 1.2), serves as indirect evidence of his participation in the resolution of the Arsenite schism at Hagia Sophia in 14 September 1310.<sup>50</sup> Theoleptos, who was not in favor of an agreement or at least not inclined to yield to the monks' demands, likely felt that Gabalas did not adequately represent his interests. This situation could mark Gabalas' first political emergence in the empire.

Although it is not known whether Gabalas had been in Constantinople earlier, his visit to the capital in 1309–1310 is attested by the epistolary exchange with Michael Gabras. In Gabras' *Letter* 53 addressed to Theoleptos, he notes that the metropolitan dispatched an emissary to Constantinople to act as his representative and advocate his interests before the emperor. This emissary was likely Gabalas, who is the recipient of Gabras' *Letters* 49, 54, 55 and 65. As Kourousis points out, Gabras' reproach in *Letter* 65 towards Gabalas for departing Constantinople without delivering *Letter* 53 to Theoleptos suggests that Gabalas was in Constantinople when he received Gabras' *Letters* 49, 54, 55, and that he sent his own letters, PB1–PB3, from Constantinople.<sup>51</sup> Gabalas probably departed for Philadelphia in the winter of 1310–1311, around the time Gabras readdressed his *Letter* 55 as *Letter* 65 in response to Gabalas PB3. Once in Philadelphia, Gabalas (PB4) apologized to Gabras for leaving without the letter to Theoleptos, claiming illness as the reason. This sequence of events corroborates that Gabalas was indeed in Constantinople by 1310. The titles of Gabras' letters (see Chart 2) reveal that Gabalas held the position of *protonotarios* of Theoleptos during his mission to Constantinople.<sup>52</sup> His mission in Constantinople probably involved two primary objectives:

<sup>49</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 77–78, 164; Costas Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982), 100; Constantinides, “Teachers and Students of Rhetoric in the Late Byzantine Period”, in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 52; Gaul, “All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”, 267.

<sup>50</sup> On the history and development of the Arsenite party, see Paris Gounaridis, *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261–1310): Ἰδεολογικὲς διαμάχες τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν πρώτων Παλαιολόγων*. (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Δόμος, 1999); Franz Tinnefeld, “Das Schisma zwischen Anhängern und Gegnern des Patriarchen Arsenios in der Orthodoxen Kirche von Byzanz (1265–1310)”, *BZ* 105 (2012): 143–66; Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”. For a compilation of the available sources, Mikhail Vishnyak, “Арсенитский Раскол”, *Метафраст* 1.1 (2019): 125–53. About women's participation, see Mikhail Vishnyak, “Участие женщин в Арсенитском расколе (1265–1310)”, *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского Гуманитарного Университета* 83 (2018): 48–58.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 69–71.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., Michael Gabras, *Letter* 49 Fatouros: Τῷ πρωτονοταρίῳ Φιλαδελφείας κυρῷ Μανουήλ τῷ Γαβαλᾷ. The *protonotarios* coordinated the task of the lower notaries serving to the relevant metropolitan and was subordinate

securing military aid against the Turks during the Second Siege of Philadelphia (1310/11) and rallying support to remove the military governor of Philadelphia, Manuel Tagaris.<sup>53</sup> Later sources indicate that Gabalas was unsuccessful in achieving these objectives.

The newly elected Patriarch Niphon I organized a conciliation ceremony at Hagia Sophia in September 1310, aiming to resolve the Arsenite schism, which had persisted for 45 years (1265–1310).<sup>54</sup> The Arsenite agreements occurred in the wake of a failed reconciliation effort with the Arsenite faction in September 1304, an event that subsequently led to the expulsion of the Arsenites from the Monastery *tou Mosele* during winter 1304/5.<sup>55</sup> Multiple sources provide insights into the agreements reached during the Arsenite conciliation ceremony. These include a collection of six official texts from September 1310, which comprise two copies of a decree authored by Andronikos II, two chrysobulls, and two letters written by Patriarch Niphon I.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, there is a synodical decision from October 1310 that condemns simoniacal ordinations of priests.<sup>57</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, who did not attend the ceremony, provides the most detailed account of the events of the ceremony in his *Roman History*.<sup>58</sup>

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to the *chartophylax*, see Giuseppe De Gregorio, “Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 425.

<sup>53</sup> The issue is discussed by Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 68, 128–58, 295–330; cf. Hero, “Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist”, 34; Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 20. On the Tagaris family, see Donald M. Nicol, “Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family”, in *Studies in Late Byzantine History, Ch. XII* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 9–17; Ahrweiler, “La région de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l’hellénisme en Asie Mineure”, 193.

<sup>54</sup> On the Arsenite Agreements from 1310, see Tinnefeld, “Das Schisma zwischen Anhängern und Gegnern des Patriarchen Arsenios in der Orthodoxen Kirche von Byzanz (1265–1310)”, 159–60; Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”, 141–43, 164–65; Vishnyak, “Увращение Арсенитского Раскола в 1310 г. и Патриарх Свт. Афанасий I Константинопольский”; Vishnyak, “Участие Женщин в Арсенитском Расколе (1265–1310)”, 144–47.

<sup>55</sup> For the attempts to reconcile the Arsenites with the Church and their expulsion from the monastery *tou Mosele*, see also Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”, 135, 163–64 and Tudorie, “Le Patriarche Athanase Ier (1289–1293; 1303–1309) et les Arsénites: Une lettre patriarcale contre les schismatiques”, 51–60. Ševčenko, “The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the Year 1305 or 1306”, 149–50, 157 (Addendum) stressed the connection between the Laskaridian legitimistic pretensions promoted by the Arsenite party and John Drymys’ plot. Cf. also Fryde, *The Early Palaiologan Renaissance (1261–ca. 1360)*, 246.

<sup>56</sup> These texts were edited by Vitalien Laurent, “Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance. La fin du schisme arsénite”, *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique* XXVI (1945): 225–313; Franz Dölger, *Regesten Der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reichs von 565–1453. 4. Teil: Regesten von 1282–1341* (Munich; Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1960), 54–55 (Regestae 2321–2324); Jean Darrouzès, *Les regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les regestes de 1310 à 1376*, Vol. 5 (Paris: Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1977), Registers 2002–2004). On Niphon I, see also John Hussey, “Contacts: Failure and Achievement 1258–1453”, in *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 252; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 104–6, 127.

<sup>57</sup> Patriarch Niphon I, *Decisio Synodica de Ordinationibus Simoniacis* in Darrouzès, *Les regestes des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Register 2005. Cf. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, “Athanase, Niphon et Jean Kalékas étaient-ils des patriarches simoniaques?”, in *The Patriarchate of Constantinople in Context and Comparison*, ed. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller et al. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 125–33.

<sup>58</sup> See Vitalien Laurent, “Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance: La fin du Schisme Arsénite”, *Bulletin de la Section Historique* 26 (1945): 252–53.

Only in one matter does [Niphon] seem to have given the emperor good advice, [...] knowing the emperor's burning desire in this matter [...]: [Niphon] was instrumental in bringing about the *Decree of the emperor* [= Text 2 Laurent] that the Arsenites, who had once separated from the universal Church of God out of a vain desire for glory, should be readmitted. [...] Numerous Arsenites flocked together from many sides [...]: They demanded 1) that the body of Patriarch Arsenios from the Monastery of St. Andrew [in Krisei] be transferred in an honourable manner to the Great Church of Divine Wisdom [sc. Hagia Sophia]; 2) that a penance be imposed on the priesthood, namely a forty-day suspension from sacrificial service; 3) that all the people should also undergo a purifying penance through fasting and prayer according to certain conditions [...]; 4) to be rewarded with appropriate honours, with the leadership of dioceses, with the presidency of monasteries, with influence at court, with the collection of annual revenues. All those who were not rewarded in this way soon broke away again from the community and have since lived once more according to their former peculiar ways and in their splinter groups. The patriarch, invited to do so by the assembled Arsenites themselves, ascended the ambo [= Text 5 Laurent], and before the body of Arsenios, clothed in the liturgical vestments, he proclaimed the absolution, as it were, in the name of Arsenios over the whole people.<sup>59</sup>

A comparison of the demands of the Arsenites and the concessions they ultimately received helps us to understand who primarily benefited from the Arsenite agreements. Their demands are documented in various sources, including Gregoras' *Roman History* and the *Letter of the Zealots to Emperor Andronikos II* from 1289.<sup>60</sup> The concessions granted to the Arsenites are detailed in *The copy of the decree on pious confession and orthodox faith* (Text 2 Laurent) from 1310, an official edict from Emperor Andronikos II endorsed by Patriarch Niphon I.<sup>61</sup> These included various concessions against the patriarchs who opposed their cause, notably Joseph I, John XI Bekkos, John XII Kosmas and Athanasios I, such as the removal of their

<sup>59</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History* 1.261.9–262.19 Bekker&Schopen: "Ἐν τι μόνον ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ συμβουλευέσθαι χρηστὸν [...] ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τοῦτο διάπυρον ξυννενοηκῶς ὁρμὴν συνεργὸς [...]. συνήργησε γὰρ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως δόγματι ἐς τὸ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἀρσενιάτας ἅπαξ τῆς καθολικῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀπορράγέντας διὰ κενοδοξίαν, [...] συναθροίζονται πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν [...]. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ πατριαρχεύσαντος Ἀρσενίου λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου μονῆς ἐντίμως ἀνειληφότες ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας νεφῷ μεταθῶσι. δεῦτερον, ἵνα καθαρτικῶ τινι καθυποβληθῶσιν ἐπιτιμῶ τὰ γένη τῶν ἱερέων, ἀργίαν δηλονότι τῆς ἱερουργίας ἐφ' ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα. τρίτον, ἵνα νηστείαις καὶ γονυκλισίαις ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἅπας λαὸς καθαρθῶσι. [...] Εἴθ' ἐξῆς ὅσοι μὴ ἀξιώμασιν ἀναλόγοις τετίμηνται [...], προστασίαις δηλαδὴ μητροπόλεων, προστασίαις μοναστηρίων, παρρησίαις ἐν βασιλείοις, πορισμοῖς προσόδων ἐτησίων, οὗτοι δὲ πάντες μετὰ βραχὺ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπερρύαγης ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰσι ταῖς προτέραις αὐθις ἐμμένοντες ἰδιοτροπίαις καὶ σχίσμασιν. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης προτραπείς παρ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν συνελθόντων Ἀρσενιατῶν ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ἐνδεδυμένος τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν, καὶ στὰς πρὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ Ἀρσενίου ἐξεφώνησεν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσενίου δῆθεν συγχώρησιν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ.

<sup>60</sup> Text 1 Laurent: Γράμμα τῶν Ζηλωτῶν τὸ πρὸς βασιλέα.

<sup>61</sup> Text 2 Laurent: Τὸ ἴσον τοῦ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὁμολογίας καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως προστάγματος.



name from the lists of patriarchs. They also succeeded in restoring the honour of Patriarch Arsenios during the conciliatory ceremony at Hagia Sophia and in having revoked the excommunications against them.

Andronikos II thus appears to have complied with most of the Arsenites' requests, which resulted in significant benefits for them from the schism's resolution. The official Church and Patriarch Niphon I were other key beneficiaries, by settling down a long-lasting schism. Moreover, Andronikos II and his *mesazon* Nikephoros Choumnos attained a notable political triumph, as they redressed the internal discord within the fragmented empire. The absence of anti-Palaiologan clauses in the Arsenite agreements underscores Andronikos II's political savviness, especially considering the Arsenite movement's historical advocacy for the Laskarid emperors. This outcome may be connected with Andronikos II's networking policies during these years.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, Theoleptos of Philadelphia and the former Patriarch Athanasios I, who were the most prominent anti-arsenites in 1310, were adversely impacted by the agreement.<sup>63</sup> Athanasios I perceived the agreements as a breach of the principle "one faith, one mentality, one Church".<sup>64</sup> Theoleptos criticized Patriarch Niphon I for conducting the conciliation ceremony in his absence, thereby sparking a new rift from the patriarchal throne. Theoleptos was unable to travel to Constantinople due to the Second Siege of Philadelphia by the Germiyan Turks led by Yakup bin Ali Şir.<sup>65</sup> This siege is the first historical event recorded in Gabalas' letter collections: in his *Letter* to Michael Gabras (PB4), Gabalas (PB4.1–7) described his perilous journey home and subsequent illness during the winter, likely of 1310–1311, recovering just as the siege came to an end, probably in the spring of 1311.<sup>66</sup> Modern scholarship credits Theoleptos with a significant role in the defense of Philadelphia, although Gabalas' narrative does not emphasize this.<sup>67</sup> Theoleptos seems to have agreed to pay a tribute, which the

<sup>62</sup> Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320", 269.

<sup>63</sup> On Athanasios I's opposition to the Arsenite agreements, see primarily Mikhail Vishnyak, "Увращение Арсенитского Раскола в 1310 г. и Патриарх Свт. Афанасий I Константинопольский", *Библия и Христианская Древность* 2.2 (2019): 177–94 and Athanasios I, *Letter* 115 in Hero, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials, an Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975).

<sup>64</sup> This issue has been investigated by Vishnyak, "Догматический аспект борьбы Патриарха Афанасия I Константинопольского (1289–1293; 1303–1309) против Арсенитского Раскола (1265–1310)".

<sup>65</sup> I rule out the option that the besiegers were the Aydin commanded by Mehmed, which was the other possibility proposed by Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 312. The siege of Philadelphia coincides with the conquest of Smyrna in 1310, which extended famine through most Byzantine cities of Asia Minor, Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure", 191.

<sup>66</sup> PB4.3–4 οἱ γε διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὀπλῖται παρεκινδύνευον. οὕτως ἡμιθανὴς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν περισωθεὶς.

<sup>67</sup> Michael Gabras, *Letter* 53.33 and Patriarch Athanasios I, *Letter* 25. The siege is also mentioned by Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters* 88–92, 94, 99, 100–4, see Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 20. I agree with Ahrweiler, "La région de

Germiyan Turks used to build the Vacidiye madrasa in Kütahya, as evidenced by an inscription from 1313/14.<sup>68</sup>

## 2. Theoleptos' Schism (1311–1317): Reaction to the Arsenite Agreements

Theoleptos' reaction to the Arsenite agreements was swift, leading to his estrangement from the church hierarchy, in particular from Patriarch Niphon I. This rift initiated what can be called Theoleptos' schism, spanning from 1311 to 1317. It likely signaled the start of the discord between Gabalas and Theoleptos. During this time, Gabalas faced significant hardships, including his removal as chief notary and the loss of his wife.

### Sympathy for the Arsenite faction (1309–1312)

In his *Letter* to the *megas dioiketes* Theodore Kabasilas (PB26.15–6), Gabalas states that Theoleptos criticized him for not showing support for Theoleptos' opposition to the Arsenite faction.<sup>69</sup> It is plausible that Gabalas' lack of action stemmed from his belief that the Arsenite schism needed resolution and Theoleptos' reactionary stance was counterproductive. Additionally, it could be argued that Gabalas attempted to improve his standing with influential figures in Constantinople by not opposing them. Alternatively, it is conceivable that Gabalas harbored a certain affinity for the Arsenite movement.

While there is no direct evidence of Gabalas backing the Arsenites, his *Letter* to Nicholas Philaretos (PB27) hints at a possible link to the movement, as can be inferred from his mention of the courier Hyacinth (PLP 29457).<sup>70</sup> Hyacinth is portrayed as an old educated man who spent

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Philadelphie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure", 190–91 that the siege mentioned by Nikephoros Choumnos, *Epitaph of the Blessed and Very Holy Metropolitan of Philadelphia* corresponds to the siege of Philadelphia in 1310/11. Cf. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)", 387–88; Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 10; Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin", 57; Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 193–97.

<sup>68</sup> The agreement and the tribute were studied by Baldiceanu–Steinherr, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Alaçehir (Philadelphie) au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle". Cf. also Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin", 55, n. 3. I agree with Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 279, n. 22 that the inscription from Kütahya does not conclusively suggest an additional siege of Philadelphia in 1314.

<sup>69</sup> For the identification of the *megas dioiketes* with Theodore Kabasilas, see Kourousis, *Μαγιστρός Γαβαλάς*, 126, n. 1; cf. Michael Gabras, *Letter* 126 and John Choumnos, *Letter* 4. Previously, Michael Gabras was considered the addressee, cf. Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas", 178.

<sup>70</sup> Nicholas Philaretos (PLP 29798) was an imperial functionary and a disciple of Maximos Planoudes. He might also be the Philaretos (PLP 29784), who married a woman of the family of Michael Gabras (1321 or earlier) and assaulted the latter (1321), who asked Philippos Logaras to send people to Philaretos' house to beat him up. He enjoyed the protection of the Theodore Xanthopoulos who tried to reform him (from 1322). The Arsenite Hyacinth is mentioned several times in the *History* of George Pachymeres, cf. Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas", 178; Kourousis, *Μαγιστρός Γαβαλάς*, 128; Sinkewicz, "A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelpheia", 50.

years wandering in Asia Minor, deliberately staying away from the church and enduring hardships (PB27.1–10). Despite the loss of his former associates, he aimed to connect with the monks in Constantinople (PB27.17–19). Gabalas' depiction of Hyacinth aligns with facts known about Hyacinth (PLP 29458), the author of the *Discourse in Favour of the Schismatics* and a key figure in the Arsenite faction in the late 13<sup>th</sup>-century.<sup>71</sup> If this identification is valid, the *Letter to Philaretos* (PB27) could be the last known reference to the Arsenite Hyacinth. Moreover, the proximity of Gabalas to a leading Arsenite figure could explain his sympathy with the movement.

### Support for Manuel Tagaris (1310–1312)

Gabalas contends that his support of Manuel Tagaris, the military governor of Philadelphia, was used by Theoleptos as another pretext to act adversely towards him.<sup>72</sup> Theoleptos criticizes Gabalas for his previous support of Tagaris, due to Theoleptos' own strained relations with Tagaris.<sup>73</sup> Theoleptos casts himself as both a spiritual and a military leader (ποιμήν and στρατηγός), demanding loyalty from both his flock and his soldiers.<sup>74</sup> This can be linked to Athanasios I's decree to allocate church funds for military purposes and Theoleptos' hierocratic ideas in his power dynamics with both Manuel Tagaris and the emperor. Gabalas, on the other hand, viewed Theoleptos' appropriation of military authority as outrageous.<sup>75</sup> To challenge Theoleptos' hierocratic stance, Gabalas emphasizes the concept of balance and interdependence between the clergy and the military leadership, delving into the relationship between the tangible, created world and the uncreated, intelligible realm.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Λόγος ὑπὲρ τῶν σχιζομένων, cf. Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”, 139, 157; Tinnefeld, “Das Schisma zwischen Anhängern und Gegnern des Patriarchen Arsenios in der Orthodoxen Kirche von Byzanz (1265–1310)”, 153–55.

<sup>72</sup> PB26.21–23. He later recalls this issue in *To One of my Friends* (A18.231–34).

<sup>73</sup> For the strained relationship with Tagaris, see Theoleptos, Λόγος παραινητικός εἰς τοὺς ἐξεληθόντας μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ μητροπολίτου. On this text, see Gregoropoulos, *Θεολήπτου Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ (1250–1322)*. *Κριτικό Κείμενο - Σχόλια*. Vol. 2 (Katerini, 1996), 349–67; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 317, n. 3. Cf. also Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 409–11. I reject the possibility that Manuel Gabalas or Gregory Akyndinos wrote this text and the anonymous oration from ms. Escorialensis Φ III 11, ff. 222r–29r, as it was recently proposed by Teresa Martínez Manzano, “Prontuario para una abadesa: El Escur. Φ III 11 e Irene Cumno”, *BZ* 114.1 (2021): 285–86, 301, n. 130.

<sup>74</sup> From the perspective of Byzantine politics, the discourse of Theoleptos is related to the idea of the disconnection of the periphery from Constantinople and to the discourse *On Justice* of Nikephoros Choumnos (Oration 20). Cf. Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 66–81, 111, 193–97, 375.

<sup>75</sup> Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas”, 194–211; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 129–30, 308–30; Hero, “Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist”, 36.

<sup>76</sup> Gabalas treats this topic in A18.269–365.

It is significant that Gabalas reconsidered his initial support (around 1310–1312) for Tagaris, as he later firmly opposed him, even after the Third Siege of Philadelphia (see Section 1.4). In his rhetorical writing *To One of My Friends* (A18), Gabalas documents the progression of his relationship with Tagaris from 1312 to 1324 during Tagaris’ first term of leadership (A18.35).<sup>77</sup> Gabalas labels Tagaris as an evil commander, an accursed, pernicious and abominable man (A18.1–2, 6–7, 525). He accuses Tagaris of theft, looting (A18.22–24), as well as attacking and pillaging Turks during their alliance (A18.56–60, 65–6), likely referring to the treaty established with the Germiyan Turks in 1311 (see Section 1.1). These incidents probably occurred between 1312 and 1317. Gabalas suggests that Tagaris sought to provoke enemy hostility for personal gain (A18.68–97) and exhibited military ineptitude: looting in peace and hiding in actual warfare (A18.53–156).<sup>78</sup>

### **Allegations against Theoleptos’ Nephew (1314/5–1316)**

Gabalas notes in his letters that Theoleptos resented him for reporting Theoleptos’ nephew to the emperor.<sup>79</sup> Gabalas describes Theoleptos’ nephew as a pirate and lawbreaker (PB26.28–41). In his *Letter* to Theodore Kabasilas, Gabalas details how the nephew corrupted the offices of priesthood and governance in Philadelphia, incited the army to turn from fighting external enemies to internal strife and perpetuated the conflict between Theoleptos and Tagaris (PB26.49–51). He accused the nephew of misusing funds meant for the poor, entrusted to him by Theoleptos (PB26.52–55). Theoleptos discovered his nephew engaged in adultery, a fact impossible to refute as three people had witnessed it (PB26.74–5). To escape punishment, the nephew defrauded the emperor, deceived his peers, ingratiated himself with the patriarch, and bribed others with gifts, composed a fraudulent letter and forged a list of clerical endorsements (PB26.86–102). Gabalas’ revelation to the emperor incited the fury of Theoleptos, who considered it a betrayal (PB26.59–60). The nephew was banished from the church and the city, retreating to Mount Athos (PB26.77–78), and later joined the monastery of the *epi tou*

<sup>77</sup> Πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνήθων (A18). Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, 278r–290v, partially rewritten into Burney 114, f. 91v–95r. The text is edited and translated into German by Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 205–20, 388–410. Considering its title and content, it might be addressed to Michael Gabras.

<sup>78</sup> Anna Komnene’s words (*Alexiad* 10.5.2.4–6) serve as a reminder that such behaviour was viewed as a sign of inept military leadership from a Byzantine standpoint: “it is bad generals who in a time of universal peace purposely excite their neighbors to war”; trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, *Anna Comnena, The Alexiad*, Byzantine Series (Cambridge – Ontario: Parentheses Publications, 2000).

<sup>79</sup> On the issue of Theoleptos’ nephew, see Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas”, 203–7; Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 322–26; Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 16.

*kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos (PB26.81–82: Gouillard τὴν τοῦ Κανικλείου μονήν).<sup>80</sup> This monastery was either the Monastery of the Theotokos Gorgoeipikoos, as suggested by Sinkewicz, or the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos.<sup>81</sup> The nephew was eventually arrested. Gabalas urged Theodore Kabasilas to relay the full account to the emperor (PB26.120). As recorded in a synodal decision from late 1315 or early 1316, Theoleptos' nephew was found guilty of falsely acquiring the title of exarch and for creating the fake list mentioned by Gabalas.<sup>82</sup>

### Theoleptos' Schism and Gabalas' Removal from Office (1311–1317)

Several letters of Gabalas (PB5, B62, PB21, PB22 and PB26) demonstrate Theoleptos' estrangement from the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Constantinople.<sup>83</sup> The first documented instance of this rift is a *Letter*, dating to 1311, from Gabalas to Theoleptos (PB5), urging him to quell his anger, seek peace and resume a dialogue with Patriarch Niphon I through the exchange of letters. Gabalas adopts a conciliatory tone, positioning himself as a mediator between the patriarch and Theoleptos:

Then, having taken distance of the place, he extended the incident to the longest possible time. And it was unclear to all, and to many, whether the anger would have stopped. But until what point should one be angry? We need to eliminate anger from each other and praise the peace that encompasses everything, so as not to leave people who are so great in virtue the excuse of hatred by many. But if it does not persuade, we must be persuaded by the myths. For the poets tell the mythical tale that Eris threw the apple among the goddesses, ordering the beautiful to take it; then there followed judgments, love affairs, an insult of Zeus the Guest, an abduction, the onrush of foreign tribes, long battles, slaughters of heroes and all the other things that were tragically narrated by Homer regarding the total destruction of cities. What else could [the poets] possibly want, if not exactly this? [Homer] does not explicitly proclaim, as if announcing it, that peace alone stabilizes human affairs while hostility does the opposite, but I know that

<sup>80</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos held the post of ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, which is how Gabalas refers to him in his letters, from 1295 onwards. For Choumnos, as *epi tou kanikleiu*, see Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 25, n. 118; Anna Stolfi, “La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355): Un riesame”, *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 20 (1999): 3. On the position of ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, see the list of Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, 398.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 16.

<sup>82</sup> Darrouzès, *Les registes des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Register 2054.

<sup>83</sup> Theoleptos' schism and Gabalas' removal from office was investigated by Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas”, 188; Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 136–37, 319–22; Hero, “Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist”, 32; Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 76, 409–11; Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”, 140, 167.

you will judge this before everything and show it in deeds that a philosopher, such as yourself, being inferior in matters, disdain the friendship of the greatest. But if you do not consider me worth nothing, I would serve both, as you send a friendly message to him and he to you, and I could mediate between those who are in disagreement for the sake of communion. For it is no longer necessary for the worst to prevail. For the good is your habit certainly for most of the time, while the opposite is a short incident, which needs to be easily solved, just like it was established.<sup>84</sup>

This appeal seems to have been futile, as Theoleptos placed Gabalas under canonical censure and barred him from participating in priestly duties: Gabalas portrays himself as unjustly aggrieved (PB26.9–10), lamenting that Theoleptos stripped him of his prerogatives (PB26.63). He characterizes Theoleptos as the shepherd who seceded from the Church's unity (PB26.114–15), ceased the regular duties of his ministry (PB21.77; PB22.81–2), and turned away from both the synod (PB22.80) and the synodal decision and imperial decrees (PB26.17–18).<sup>85</sup> Theoleptos opposed the prevailing peace (PB22.65, 82) and concord (PB26.117), striving for the Church's division (PB22.14).<sup>86</sup> Gabalas suggests that the discord between Theoleptos and the patriarchs stemmed from doctrinal differences characteristic of the Arsenite conflict, namely *akribeia* and *oikonomia* (PB22.78–9): “you [Patriarch John Glykys] prefer compromise, while he [Theoleptos] prefers rigorism”.<sup>87</sup> There is a certain irony in Gabalas accusing Theoleptos of rigorism, the very trait employed by the Arsenites to defend their position.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Theoleptos of Philadelphia* (PB5): εἴτα μήκος τόπου παρειληφώς, τὸ συμβὰν εἰς πλεῖστον ἐξήνεγκε χρόνον· καὶ ἄδηλον ἦν πᾶσιν καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἂν ἄρα τὸν χρόνον ἐπαύσατο. ἀλλὰ μέχρι τίνος ἀπομνηνῖαν χρή; ἀναιρετέον ἀλλήλοις τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὰ τῆς πάντ' ἐχούσης εἰρήνης ἀνυμνητέον, ὥστε μὴ τ[ο]σούτους ὄντας τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐχθρας πρόφασιν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταλείπειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γε μύθοις πειστέον· τὸ γὰρ τὴν Ἑριν μυθολογεῖσθαι τοῖς ποιηταῖς περὶ μέσας θεᾶς τὸ μῆλον παρεμβάλλειν καὶ τῇ καλῇ προστάξασαν λαβεῖν, εἴτα κρίσεις ἀκολουθῆσαι καὶ ἔρωτας καὶ Ξενίου Διὸς ὕβριν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φυλῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν συνδρομὰς καὶ χρονίους μάχας καὶ ἡρώων σφαγὰς καὶ ὅσα περ ἄλλα ἐτραγωδήθη Ὀμήρῳ εἰς πανωλεθρίαν πόλεων, τί ποτε ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτ' ἀντικρυς βούλεται; οὐ διαρρήδην ὥσπερ ἀνακηρύττει, ὡς ἄρα τὰνθρώπεια πράγματα εἰρήνη μόνη συνίστησιν, ἐχθρα δὲ τὸνναντίον, ἀλλ' οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς τοῦτο κρινεῖς καὶ δείξεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων, ὡς οὐ χρή πραγμάτων ἡττώμενον ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον, οἷος αὐτός, τῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ταῦτα φιλίας καταφρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ' οὐδὲν λογίσει τοῦμόν, ὑπηρετήσαιμ' ἂν ἀμφοῖν ἔγωγε, σοὶ μὲν ἐκείνῳ φιλικῶς ἐπιστεῖλαντι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοί, καὶ μέσος γενοίμην διεστηκόσιν εἰς κοινωνίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χρή τὰ χεῖρῳ νικᾶν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν καλὸν ἕξις ὑμῖν καὶ συχνὸς [καί] βεβαίως χρόνος, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον βραχεῖα τις περιπέτεια, ἣν δεῖ καὶ ῥαδίως λελύσθαι, [ὥς] περ δὴ καὶ συνέστη.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. PB22.28.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. PB21.79.

<sup>87</sup> PB22.78–9 Gouillard: καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας, οὗτος δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας προβάλλεται.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Theoleptos, *Antiarzenite Discourse* 2.255–57; Laurent, “Les crises religieuses à Byzance. Le schisme antiarsénite du métropolitain de Philadelphie Théolepte (c. 1324)”, 49; Sinkewicz, “A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelphiea”, 48–49; Tudorie, “Le schisme arsénite (1265–1310): Entre *akribeia* et *oikonomia*”.

Gabalas' letters to Michael Gabras and Gregory Kleidas also complain about hostilities and injustices likely connected to the conflict with Theoleptos:

How could I tell you what happened to me with regard to these things, how many things I encountered one after the other, against the soul itself, against the body itself, against friends, and these were my best things, how many changes there were, how many hostilities, some striking secretly, some openly?<sup>89</sup>

For it is necessary that those in charge of the common affairs in those times always act, so that the city may be governed in the best manner and the law may be rightly directed. On these matters, I would [...] rather be there myself and learn about these things by sight rather than by rumor, so that I might rejoice more and share with you in this fortunate lot, because the wealth of learning is also common, through which one can achieve it. But since this too has been taken away from me in addition to other things, we are found to be the most wretched of all men, and as it were, outcasts and condemned, we have decided to bring you one proof concerning these matters.<sup>90</sup>

Gabalas was removed from his position as Theoleptos' chief notary between 1311 and 1316, a period he refers to as a five-year suspension (PB21.72–75, PB22.70) in two *Letters* to Patriarch John Glykys (PB21–PB22), estimated to be from around 1316.<sup>91</sup> To redress this situation, Gabalas sent a series of petitionary letters at the end of 1312 or early 1313 to the *epi ton deeson* George Chatzikes (PB14)<sup>92</sup> and Patriarch Niphon I (B62.20–21), which, however, proved

<sup>89</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Michael Gabras* PB10.18–20: τί ἄν σοι τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις λέγοιμι, ὅποσα μοι ἐξῆς συνήντησε πράγματα πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα μοι τῶν ἀρίστων, ὅσαι μὲν μεταβολαὶ ὅσαι δ' ἀπέχθεται, αἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς αἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πλήττουσαι;

<sup>90</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Gregory Kleidas* PB16.6–11: δεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους προισταμένων, ἵνα καὶ πόλις οἰκοίη ἄριστα καὶ νόμος εὐθύνεται· ἐφ' οἷς ἀβ[···] μὲν αὐτόθι παρεῖναι καὶ ὄψει μᾶλλον ἢ φήμῃ ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖν, ὥς ἂν χαίρω μᾶλλον καὶ κοινωνός σοι τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταυτησὶ μοίρας γίγνομαι, ὅτι καὶ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν λόγων χρῆμα, δι' οὗς αὐτὸς δύναιο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφήρημαι, ἄθλιοι γὰρ ἐλάχομεν εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οἷον ὑπερόριοι καὶ κατάκριται, μίαν δὲ σοι πείραν περὶ τούτων ἄξιον ἐγνώκα[μεν].

<sup>91</sup> On the five years that Gabalas spent away from his ecclesiastical duties, see Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 129, n. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Gabalas sent him a bribe to win support in the judicial court (PB14.15–18, cf. PB24.1). Chatzikes (PLP 30724) was a close servant of Andronikos II and held the office of *epi ton deeson* or master of petitions from 1313 to 1325. Cf. Fabio Acerbi, Inmaculada Pérez Martín, and Divna Manolova, “The Source of Nicholas Rhabdas' *Letter* to Khatzykes: An Anonymous Arithmetical Treatise in Vat. Barb. Gr. 4”, *JÖB* 68 (2018): 1–37; Gaul, “All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”, 267. On the function of the master of petitions, see Rosemary Morris, “What Did the Epi Ton Deeson Actually Do?”, in *La pétition à Byzance*, ed. Denis Feissel and Jean Gascou (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004), 125–40.

ineffective.<sup>93</sup> The suspension also features in his correspondence with Michael Gabras.<sup>94</sup> Gabalas recounts that Emperor Andronikos II called upon Theoleptos to come to Constantinople in 1313 to justify his conduct, but Theoleptos declined, asserting “that it is not within the competence of the emperor to correct an erring priest” (B62.12–14).<sup>95</sup> This statement illustrates the previously mentioned hierocratic ideas championed by Patriarch Athanasios I and Theoleptos. Gabalas disputed Theoleptos’ rejection of the emperor’s authority (B62.1–25) and argued for harmonious coexistence and mutual respect between ecclesiastical and secular powers (B62.40–50).<sup>96</sup> Gabalas’ criticism, however, may suggest that he preferred political-military power to dominate – albeit slightly – over religious authority; he thus appears to have disagreed with Theoleptos’ hierocratic ideas.

Theoleptos declined Andronikos II’s invitation and remained in Philadelphia, whereas Gabalas likely returned to Constantinople, possibly to personally submit his petition to the emperor for reinstatement. Gabalas spent a year in Constantinople according to his *Letter* to Theodore Kabasilas: “We arrived to the great emperor, spending a whole year; we returned again [to Philadelphia] with many toils and dangers, and from then we struggled with unexpected fortunes due to the enmity of the shepherd [sc. Theoleptos] and the absence of judges”.<sup>97</sup> He also reported his appeal to the emperor in a *Letter* to Patriarch John Glykys (PB21), noting the dissatisfaction of his colleagues as well: “What I ask for both my sake and indeed for some of us here at the rostrum [...]. For these reasons, I have appealed to the greatness of my king and earnestly entreated his holy soul. He, in his philanthropy, consented and promised the correction”.<sup>98</sup> Although the precise timing of Gabalas’ second stay in Constantinople is debated, it can be estimated to have happened from autumn 1313 to autumn 1314.<sup>99</sup>

With John Glykys’ promotion to the patriarchate in May 1315, Gabalas’ optimism was renewed. He urged the newly appointed patriarch to aspire to the Platonic ideal of philosopher-

<sup>93</sup> B62 is addressed to the So-and-so (τῷ δεινί), but the designation “the one who prevails over the priests” (B62.20–21 τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν προεστηκότος) allows to identify the recipient with Patriarch Niphon I.

<sup>94</sup> Gabalas’ PB9–PB10 and PB15 and Gabras’ *Letters* 72 and 87.

<sup>95</sup> B62.12–14 Reinsch: τὸ μὴ βασιλεῖ προσήκειν ἱερέα δῆθεν πλημμελοῦντα διορθοῦν.

<sup>96</sup> Gabalas uses the same topic to exemplify what the relationship of Tagaris and Theoleptos should be like (A18.293–95).

<sup>97</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Theodore Kabasilas* PB26.12–15 Gouillard: πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον ἀφικόμεθα βασιλέα καὶ ὅλον ἔτος ἀνύσαντες, ἀνεστρέψαμεν αὐτῷ σὺν πολλῷ γε τῷ πόνῳ καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις, ἀδοκῆτοις τούντεῦθεν προσπαλαίομεν τύχαις ἀπεχθεῖα ποιμένος καὶ ἐρημίας τῶν δικαστῶν.

<sup>98</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Patriarch John Glykys* PB21.72–73, 75–82 Gouillard: ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ τε εἵνεκα δέομαι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τινῶν βήματος [...] διὰ ταῦτα παραβαλὼν τοῦ μεγίστου μου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν καθικέτευσα. ὁ δὲ φιλανθρώπως ἐπένευσε καὶ τὴν διόρθωσιν ὑπεσχέθη. The appeal to the emperor is also mentioned in A18.237.

<sup>99</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 79, 81, 155, estimates that this year-long stay occurred throughout 1313. See also Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas”, 181.



king: “an ancient man [sc. Plato] said that cities would do well, if philosophy and kingdom could come together” (PB21.40–41).<sup>100</sup> Beyond his letters to Patriarch John Glykys (PB21–PB22), Gabalas’ petitions to Theodore Xanthopoulos (PB23), Theodore Kabasilas (PB26) and Nikephoros Choumnos (PB29) also demonstrate his efforts to engage his network in Constantinople to remedy his unemployment. Theodore Dexios’ *Appeal to the Emperor John Kantakouzenos*, written in 1351, records that Theoleptos’ rupture with the Patriarchate lasted for twelve years.<sup>101</sup>

For that one from Philadelphia – the most holy Theoleptos, you know him, very great and highly distinguished in both the virtue befitting God’s high priests and the experience in divine matters, so to speak, and human ones –, this man, then, for almost twelve years has refused communion with the patriarchs of his time and not in any way performs his sacred duties, and does not even mention their names during the sacred and most holy rites.<sup>102</sup>

These twelve years would correspond to the tenures of the Patriarchs Niphon I (May 1310–April 1314) and John Glykys (May 1315–May 1320). However, Gabalas’ requests for assistance from influential figures in Constantinople (PB21–PB22, PB26, PB29) ceased in 1316. From from September 1317 to February 1319, Theoleptos assisted to a series of synodal decisions in Constantinople (PRK I 52–56 and 61).<sup>103</sup> Theoleptos’ participation in the Synod of Constantinople suggests that he had reestablished connections with Patriarch John XIII Glykys no later than September 1317. Theoleptos faced only minimal repercussions for his schismatic actions, which attest to his authority within the Church hierarchy.

The rapprochement between Theoleptos and the Patriarchate could be linked to Gabalas’ efforts to regain his position. While Reinsch posits that Gabalas’ reconciliation with Theoleptos occurred in 1319/20, it seems more plausible that their rapprochement began as early as 1317 and was reinforced by Gabalas’ growing disapproval of the army commander, Manuel

<sup>100</sup> PB21.40–1 Gouillard: παλαιός μὲν ἀνὴρ ἔφη τὰς πόλεις εὖ ἔξιν, εἴ γε συνέλθοιεν φιλοσοφία καὶ βασιλεία. The topic of the philosopher-king also appears in the writings of Nikephoros Gregoras addressed to Andronikos II. See Edmund Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–ca. 1360)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 188.

<sup>101</sup> The text, previously attributed to Arsenios of Tyre, is edited by Ioannis Polemis, *Theodori Dexii Opera Omnia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 3–182.

<sup>102</sup> Theodore Dexios, *Appeal to the Emperor John Kantakouzenos* 39–45 Polemis: Ὁ γὰρ Φιλαδελφείας ἐκεῖνος – τὸν πανίερρον Θεόληπτον ἀκούεις, τὸν πάνυ, τὸν πολὺν καὶ μέγαν τὴν τε προσήκουσαν ἀρχιερεῦσι Θεοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνους ἐμπειρίαν –, οὗτος οὖν ἐπὶ χρόνον δέκατον ἐγγιστα δύο τῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνου πατριαρχῶν τῆς κοινωνίας ἀπερρωγῶς καὶ μηδόλως ἱερουργῶν, οὐδ’ ὄνομα τούτων ἀναφέρων κατὰ τὰς ἀγιστείας τὰς ἱεράς.

<sup>103</sup> Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331*, vol. I (Vienna, 1981), Registers 52–56, 61. Cf. also Hero, *The Life and Letters of Theoleptos of Philadelphia*, 14–20; Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 275–81.



## Interactions between Capital and Province and Requests for Military Support

The residents of Constantinople were aware of the dire circumstances in Asia Minor. Gabalas reports that travelers from Constantinople to Philadelphia recounted how the emperor had publicly discussed Philadelphia's situation with the citizens of Constantinople (PB8β.1–3, PB12.3–4).<sup>108</sup> Gabalas expresses his admiration and gratitude upon hearing this news (PB12.6–9). He elaborates on these matters in detail in his *Letter* to Andronikos II, where he expresses gratitude for the emperor's leniency.

None of those returning to us [sc. Philadelphia] from there [sc. Constantinople] for the good of the fatherland, greatest emperor, fails to relate your complete leniency to me as much as they can, but one says “the emperor said this on your behalf”, another says something else. Another even brought me divine words at [your] command, all of them full of kindness and imperial benevolence; even better, [they say] that he [sc. the emperor] has dared to do such things even in front of the entire populace many times and in some such *theatron*. By doing so, it seems that you wish to bless me, and it seems not least that you gain greater glory among the listeners under the guise of my current affairs. For who, having perceived such a great emperor in some way or other, would not prefer above all this vast world to ambition? For me, however, it turns out that I am deemed illustrious by the city because I am in the mind of such a great emperor, even though I do not deserve to have come into his memory at all; let them sing of your own power, how much fame flows together from all sides! They now admire the kindness of your character, which wants to proclaim it to such an extent and to each and every one, as to do so in everything in common; and now [they admire] the excess of your magnanimity, which neither time could diminish – so that it could not prevent the impressions of those who have seen her once carrying it in their memory forever – nor the burden of concerns, which you have lifted in a manner both imperial and philanthropic for the sake of all. But what gratitude could we, Romans, if we wanted to, repay you at least moderately? None, I think, everyone would say, except to choose and also to pray to be well under your power, unless someone would say that this brings gain to us, too. For you know this is greater than all gratitude, this is your utmost diligence, this is your night-time worry and day-time labour, this assures you the highest kingdom, which has been freed from error and [...].<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> For the content of PB12 and its relation to PB8b, cf. Kourousis, “Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου Φιλαδελφείας Μανουὴλ Γαβαλά”, 118–20. Cf. also PB12.1–4. Another reference to travellers from Philadelphia to Constantinople can be found in Gabras, *Letter* 97.

<sup>109</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Emperor Andronikos II* PB8β.1–18: Οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτόθεν ἐπανηκόντων ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τινὶ τῆς πατρίδος, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, οὐχ οἷον πάνυ καὶ τὸ σὸν πάντως ἐπιεικὲς ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ διέξεισιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ‘τὸ’ φησιν ‘ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰρήκε σοῦγε εἵνεκεν’, ὁ δὲ ‘τό’. ἄλλος δέ μοι καὶ θεσπεσίους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἤνεγκε λόγους πάντας χρηστότητος γέμοντας, πάντας εὐμενείας βασιλικῆς· τὸ δὲ μεῖζον, ὅτι καὶ εἰς δῆμον ὅλον πολλάκις καὶ θέατρον τοιοῦτό τι τετόλμηκε. καὶ ἔοικε μὲν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ἐθέλειν εὐδαιμονίζειν τὰμά, ἔοικε δ’ οὐχ ἦττον ἐν

Gabalas mentions the regular reports he receives about the emperor's favourable actions, indicating active communication between the capital and the province. This exchange between Constantinople and Philadelphia was facilitated by emissaries who worked for Theoleptos, such as George Karbones, the monk Niphon, Kydonates or Krasas.<sup>110</sup> These emissaries appear to have reported that the emperor publicly and repeatedly spoke about the circumstances of Philadelphia and Gabalas himself in his speeches, thereby enhancing Gabalas' reputation. It is therefore conceivable that the letters of Gabalas were publicly read in Constantinople. In this context, *theatron* signifies not just the physical space where the emperor spoke, but also the importance of his message.<sup>111</sup> Gabalas is grateful for this recognition, yet he humbly acknowledges that he does not merit such consideration. While every citizen had the ability to send petitions to the emperor without assurance of fulfillment, Gabalas' account appears to suggest he secured a certain level of attention from the emperor.<sup>112</sup>

During the Turkish military advance at the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century, Gabalas experienced a sense of helplessness, fear and despair. In one *Letter* to Emperor Andronikos II, he expresses concern about the potential presence of Turks along the way from Constantinople to Philadelphia (PB17.3–5).<sup>113</sup> In another *Letter* to Atoumanos, he reflects on his challenging journey to Smyrna: “You know of the hardships in Smyrna, and how much I have suffered as

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προσχήματι τῶν ἐμῶν τὴν κρεῖττω δόξαν πρὸς τῶν ἀκουόντων παρακερδαίνειν αὐτός· τίς γὰρ τηλικούτου βασιλέως ὁπωσοῦν ἡσθημένος, οὐχὶ τοῦ παντὸς εἰς φιλοτιμίαν τὸν μέγιστον τουτονὶ κόσμον προκρίνειεν; ἐμοὶ μέντοι συμβαίνει λαμπρῷ γε παρὰ τῇ πόλει δοκεῖν εἶναι, ὅτιπερ ἐν διανοίᾳ βασιλέως κεῖμαι τοσοῦτου, καὶ ταῦτα μὴδὲ δίκ[αι]ον ὦν ἐκεῖνῳ καθάπαξ εἰς μνήμην ἐληλυθέναι· τῷ γε μὴν σαυτοῦ κράτει, ὅποση τις εὐκλεία πανταχόθεν συρρεῖ, ἀδέτῳσαν· οἱ νῦν μὲν χρηστότητα γνώμης θαυμάζουσι τοσοῦτον καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοὺς πάντας βουλομένην κλεῖζειν, ὅσον καὶ τὰ πάντα κοινῇ· νῦν δὲ μεγαλονοίας ὑπερβολήν, ἣν οὔτε χρόνος δύναται ἂν ἐπαμβλῦναι, μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν εἰς ὅσιν ἅπαξ ἰόντων ἐπὶ μνήμης ἄγειν αἰεὶ, οὔτ' αὖ βάρος φροντῖδων, ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς βασιλικῶς μάλα καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀνήρησαι. ἀλλὰ τίνα ἂν σοὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ βουλευθέν[ες] Ῥωμαῖοι μετρίως γοῦν ἀποδοίημεν; οὐδεμίαν, οἶμαι, πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ, πλὴν τοῦ πάσχειν εὖ παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους αἰρεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ εὐχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄγον εἴποι τις ἂν τὸ κέρδος ἡμῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οἶσθα πάσης χάριτος μεῖζον, [τ]οῦτό σοι καθάπαξ σπουδῇ, τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς φροντίς καὶ πόνος ἡμέρ[ας], τοῦτό σοι καὶ βασιλείαν κατεγγυᾶται τὴν ἀνωτάτω, ἣ δῆπου καὶ πλάνης καὶ [...] ἀπήλλακται.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 336–38; Robert Browning, “A Byzantine Scholar of the Early Fourteenth Century: Georgios Karbones”, in *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 223–31; Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 44–45, 59, 69.

<sup>111</sup> On the places, types, concept, function, praxis, hierarchy and concrete examples of the *theatron* in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century, see Niels Gaul, “Performative Reading in the Late Byzantine Theatron”, in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 215–33; Prezemysław Marciniak, “Byzantine Theatron – a Place of Performance?”, in *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Grünbart (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 277–85; Riehle, “Rhetorik, Ritual und Repräsentation. Zur Briefliteratur gebildeter Eliten im spätbyzantinischen Konstantinopel (1261–1328)” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 45 (2011): 259–76.

<sup>112</sup> Gaul, “All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”, 265.

<sup>113</sup> Ihor Ševčenko, “The Decline of Byzantium seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals”, in *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 169–86.

the journey was not easy for me”.<sup>114</sup> It is not surprising that Gabalas’ letters to the emperor (PB8α–PB8β, PB17) repeatedly emphasize the urgency of sending military aid to the regions in war. He subtly incorporates a request for military intervention to expel the Turks from Anatolia in the conclusion of two letters to Andronikos II. In these letters, Gabalas draws a comparison between barbarian and Christian ways of life, underscoring the Christian commitment to law and virtue; he envisages the emperor reestablishing justice in Anatolia. In two *Letters* to Andronikos II (PB8α.21–29, PB8β.18–21), Gabalas contrasts the awareness and resilience of a Christian man, who understands and faces life’s challenges with knowledge and courage, with the barbarian’s ignorance of hardship. He asks the emperor to pray for and support the endeavours of Christians, emphasizing the value of virtue in overcoming adversity. Additionally, Gabalas expresses a wish to see the emperor triumphantly asserting control in the East, driving away threats and restoring rightful order for the deserving citizens of the region, in line with the emperor’s objectives. From these letters it can be inferred that Gabalas considered the occupation of Asia Minor legitimate for the Byzantines due to a certain territorial inheritance, an opinion that he sometimes supports with his readings of Homer and the Trojan war. These letters, particularly PB8β.18–21, show that Gabalas acted as advocate of his city’s military interests vis-à-vis the emperor.

### Gabalas’ Role as Broker

Gabalas was deeply involved in the welfare of numerous citizens from Philadelphia, acting as a key intermediary between the city and the central government in Constantinople. He thus became a prominent figure in Philadelphia, as he petitioned the emperor and his court to provide refuge or educational opportunities for various individuals. Gabalas (PB11.3–7, PB17.5–8) recognized the emperor’s kindness (χρηστότης) and humanity (φιλάνθρωπία) as essential for meeting the needs of all people, believing it necessary to connect these individuals from Philadelphia with the emperor’s patronage. Gabalas’ efforts focused on improving the circumstances of his fellow Philadelphians in distress, his own family members, and others yet unidentified:<sup>115</sup> 1) Gabalas advocated for a young man, likely John Monomachos, who was

<sup>114</sup> PB13.5–6: οἶσθα τὴν κατὰ Σμύρνην ταλαιπωρίαν, καὶ ὅσα μὴ ῥαδίας οὔσης μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ πέπονθα. Atoumanos was probably a member of a Byzantine family of Turkish origin from Philadelphia or a nearby town, see Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 157 (n. 2), 313. Atoumanos (PLP 1647) is not to be confounded with Atoumanos (PLP 1646) nor with Simon Atoumanos (PLP 1648). It is more likely that the patronym Atoumanos is related to the family Atouemes, as suggested by Ahrweiler, “Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: À propos de Jean Monomaque”, 14–15.

<sup>115</sup> The case of the monk Hyacinth could be added to this series, as Gabalas interceded for the old monk to settle in Constantinople (see Section 1.2).

admitted into the emperor's court (PB6, PB7); 2) He requested ransom for a woman and two children suffering in Smyrna (PB11, PB13); the mother and son managed to escape, after which the son entered the emperor's service, whereas the daughter remained enslaved (PB17); 3) He sought assistance for his father-in-law (PB23, PB25); 4) He supported a soldier and a family embroiled in an inheritance dispute during the Third Siege of Philadelphia, as can be inferred from various letters in the Vienna collection (B12–14 and B51). A closer look at the letters illuminates the complex patronage and diplomatic networks between province and capital and offers a unique view of people's daily lives and struggles.

Two *Letters*, one to Andronikos II (PB6) and the other to the *logothetes tou genikou* Theodore Metochites (PB7), describe the arrival of a young man at the emperor's court in Constantinople. Gabalas commends the young man's virtue and qualities:

[The man] regarding whom I have previously made a supplication to you, most divine emperor, is now present with your majesty; he will experience [enjoyment of] the virtues of excellence to which I have testified to him; and he will also enjoy the kindness [you have] towards your subjects, perhaps even the most fitting. [...] I believe he will be among the best, receiving the appropriate [...] from the best as it is likely [...] he will obtain. And now, perhaps, only faint characters and [...] virtue indicate that the young man is noble and good; but once he has conversed at length with imperial influence [...] and education, and the moment of need comes to him, which must indeed be measured by your greatness, [...] now the father shall be honoured as having begotten such goodness, and the young man shall be esteemed as [...] natural; and I would be praised [for having recommended] such a servant to a kind master and emperor [...]; I have ventured so much as regards him, both in the past and now under your power, whom [...] to suffer well, and the death of his parents and the loss of possessions makes him shy. Before all else, the risk of so great a matter being brought to you, the common father, and [...] both greatest evils are cured, namely death and fate, which none but God could handle leisurely.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Andronikos II* PB6: ὑπὲρ οὗ σοι προυβαλόμην τὴν ἱκεσίαν, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἤδη τῷ σῷ πάρεστι κρά[τ]ει· [...] οὐσὼν μὲν πείραν εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ὧν αὐτῷ μεμαρτύρηκα· ἀπολαύσων δέ τοι καὶ τῆς [...] αἰς περὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους ἐπιεικείας, τάχα μὲν τῆς ὡς βελτίστα γε προσηκούσης· [...] οἶμαι δ' ὥς τῶν βελτίστων τυγχάνων, καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν [...] τοῖς βελτίστοις ὡς εἰκοί [...] λήψεται· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἴσως ἀμυδροὶ τινες χαρακτηρῆς καὶ [...] ρεῖς ἀρετῇ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν νεανίσκον γνωρίζουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ βασιλικῇ ῥοπῇ [...] τοῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ παιδεί[α] προσομιλήσας, εἰς αὐτὸν ἤξοι τὸν τῆς χρείας καιρὸν, ὃ δεῖ πάντως τῷ σῷ [μεγ]έθει δια[...]. νῦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαθείη οἶον γεγέννηκε, καὶ ὁ νέος τιμηθείη οἶον [...] τρόν [...] φύσιν ἐστὶ· κἀγὼ δ' ἐπαινεθείην τοιοῦτον δοῦλον χρηστῷ δεσπότη καὶ βασιλ[εῖ] [...] ρο [...] ρι [...], τοσοῦτον περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους ἐτόλμησα, ὃν [...] νυν παθεῖν εἶ, καὶ θάνατος δυσωπεῖ πατρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων ἀποβολῇ· πρὸ δὲ [τῶν] ἄλλων, καὶ τὸ παρ' οὐδὲν τοσοῦτους θέματος τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς σὲ τὸν κοινὸν ἀφίχθαι πατέρα καὶ [...] τα[...]. ἄμφω κακὰ καὶ μέγιστα θεραπεῦσαι, θάνατον δηλαδὴ καὶ τύχη, ἃ μὴ [...] σχολῇ ἂν πάντες πλὴν θεοῦ δυνηθεῖεν.

This young man is likely John Monomachos (PLP 19302), known to have been in Constantinople around 1310 and to have studied with Michael Gabras. Gabras notes Monomachos' progress in the field of rhetoric (*Letter* 87.144–70).<sup>117</sup> Later, Monomachos is part of Gabalas' network, serving as the courier for a *Letter* to Nikephoros Choumnos (PB28.58)<sup>118</sup> and receiving Gabalas' *Letter* B59 in 1323/4.<sup>119</sup>

Several of Gabalas' *Letters* (PB11, PB13, PB17) narrate the difficulties faced by a mother and her children who were victims of war, captivity, and famine. The tone is one of urgency and empathy, with a consistent appeal to the recipients' sense of justice and benevolence. Gabalas (PB11) appeals to the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos for help as well as for the emperor's kindness in securing the ransom of an impoverished woman, and her children as they are affected by famine. This woman and her children are the family of a deceased man who was familiar to Choumnos. Similarly, Gabalas (PB13) writes about a man known to a certain Atoumanos through common upbringing and education. He discusses the misfortunes of the man's family in Smyrna, in particular his wife's captivity with the Turks, and seeks Atoumanos' help. Finally, Gabalas (PB17) appeals to Emperor Andronikos II on behalf of a servant who, along with his mother, escaped the enemy but could not save his sister from captivity. He emphasizes the young man's effort and the emperor's capacity for philanthropy, hoping for aid to redeem the sister. Thus, in these three letters, there is a description of a family comprising a father known in the circles of Constantinople, a mother and a son who escaped captivity, and a young daughter still in captivity in Smyrna. The characteristics of the son resemble the previous description of John Monomachos (PB6–PB7). In fact, Hélène Ahrweiler suggested a potential link between the Atoumanos and Monomachos families. Ahrweiler identified John Monomachos as the person whom Atoumanos was requested to rescue in PB13.<sup>120</sup> Yet, this connection challenges Kourousis' chronological sequence of the Paris letter collection, if we assume that Monomachos' arrival in Constantinople (PB6–7) occurred after the unnamed individual's captivity (PB13) and subsequent escape (PB17). Further research is required to explore this issue further. Currently,

<sup>117</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβριλάς*, 311. On John Monomachos, cf. Ahrweiler, “Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: À propos de Jean Monomaque”; Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, 47.

118 There is no reason to doubt, as Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 318 did, that John Monomachos was the carrier of this *Letter*.

<sup>119</sup> Kourousis, 268; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174*, 28; Ahrweiler, “Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du xive siècle: À propos de Jean Monomaque”, 13–14.

<sup>120</sup> Ahreweiler, "Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du XIVe siècle: À propos de Jean Monomaque", 14–15; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 318–20. Cf. also George Atouemes Monomachos (PLP 19298)

the identification conflicts with the likelihood of Monomachos being in Constantinople around 1310 and the absence of any accounts of his captivity in Smyrna.

Gabalas seeks assistance for his own family, although the details remain somewhat vague. After 1315, Gabalas sent his father-in-law to the emperor and Gabalas' case was forwarded to Theodore Kabasilas (PB26): "For I believe that also the great emperor entrusted my father-in-law to you so that, being reminded by you, he would heal my sorrow, and I would know thanks to you alone, as you mediated towards the fulfillment of my supplication".<sup>121</sup> His father-in-law also served as the courier for a *Letter* to Theodore Xanthopoulos (PB23) and its response: "The courier will also be the courier of your letter. It was he who once gave me his daughter in marriage; recently death has taken away the status of father and father-in-law; he is now my father-in-law by name only".<sup>122</sup> His father-in-law is likely the relative mentioned in a *Letter* to Gregory of Ohrid (PB25), which requests the addressee's help in alleviating the stress and hazards of this man's travels (PB25.12–18). It appears that Gabalas' father-in-law traveled from Philadelphia to Constantinople just before 1315 to seek redress for Gabalas' removal as chief notary, although specific details are not provided. In a *Letter* commending the empire's legal system (PB16), Gabalas requests the *dikaiophylax* Gregory Kleidas to support and act on behalf of the person he refers to as his brother (PB16.11: τὸν ἐμὸν ἀδελφόν).<sup>123</sup> However, this individual is likely not his biological brother – as there is no other reference to him elsewhere – but rather a close friend.

During his time in Constantinople from 1323 onwards, Gabalas continued his role as broker for the people of Philadelphia. This is evidenced by three letters from around 1323/24, which should be considered in the light of the Third Siege of Philadelphia (see Section 1.4). On the one hand, Gabalas petitions Nikephoros Choumnos to reward a soldier (B13.24–25), a veteran of Theoleptos' service in battles against the Turks (B13.17–19), who had narrowly escaped death but was now being humiliated by his fellow-citizens (B14.1–24) and by "the yawning wolf" (B14.27 Reinsch: τὸν λύκον χανόντα), likely referring to Manuel Tagaris.<sup>124</sup> This soldier is probably the same individual mentioned in *Letter* B23, written between 1326 and 1328 to an anonymous clergy member. This *Letter* describes the impact of war on an

<sup>121</sup> PB26.124–26 Gouillard: οἶμαι γὰρ ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας τούτου δὴ σοι χάριν τὸν ἐμὸν κηδεστὴν ἀνέθετο ἵνα διὰ σου ὑπομνησκόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν θεραπεύσειε λύπην καὶ σοι μόνῳ χάριν εἰδεῖν μέσῳ καταστάντι πρὸς ἄνυσιν τῆς ἱκετηρίας.

<sup>122</sup> PB23.30–32 Gouillard: διακομιστὴς δ' ἔσται ὁ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διακομιστής, ὃς ἡμῖν ποτε τὴν θυγατέρα κηδεύσας, ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν καὶ τὸ πατὴρ εἶναι καὶ τὸ πενθερὸς ὑπὸ θανάτου ἀφίρηται καὶ φωνὴ μόνῃ ἐμὸς γνωρίζεται πενθερός. On the death of Gabalas' wife, see Sections 1.2 and 1.6.

<sup>123</sup> Gregory Kleidas (PLP 11781) was *dikaiophylax* of the Great Church between 1313 and 1337.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 341.



elderly man and seeks protection for him, as he faces ridicule, physical harm, and social exclusion at the hands of lower-status individuals and clergy members, who prevented him from participating in public events in Constantinople. On the other hand, Gabalas requested a certain *kyr* Joel to oversee the fair distribution of an inheritance in Philadelphia (B12.49–60), where a deceased man’s mother and niece were left financially unsupported due to his assets being allocated to non-relatives (B12.25–45). Gabalas’ final act of mediation and request for help is documented in a *Letter* from 1337/9 to John Kantakouzenos (B51), in which he seeks help for an “unfortunate and homeless soldier who has been driven from his homeland by the barbarians”.<sup>125</sup>

#### 4. The Third Siege of Philadelphia and Gabalas’ Monastic Life in Constantinople (1321–1328)

This section explores the life of Gabalas during the first Palaiologan civil war (1321–1328), particularly from his appointment as secretary to Theoleptos until his first extended stay in a monastery in Constantinople (1323–1328).<sup>126</sup> Michael Gabras’ *Letters* 189 and 216 provide the earliest known accounts of Gabalas’ life during the civil war. In these letters, Gabras apologizes for not visiting Gabalas; as Kourousis has argued, these letters suggest that Gabalas may have been present in Constantinople as early as 1321 for a short time. This timeframe coincides with the presence of Theoleptos and Manuel Tagaris in the capital during the same year. Theoleptos participated in Andronikos II’s embassy to Adrianople, which sought reconciliation with the latter’s grandson, the future Emperor Andronikos III.<sup>127</sup> Meanwhile, Manuel Tagaris was appointed by Andronikos II as *megas stratopedarches* to suppress the rebellion led by the same Andronikos III. The title of Gabras’ letters imply that Gabalas was promoted to the position of *chartophylax* or secretary of Theoleptos, likely between August and November of 1321.<sup>128</sup>

Theoleptos and Gabalas probably returned to Philadelphia around November 1321. Theoleptos wrote several texts between May 1321 and 1322.<sup>129</sup> He passed away around November 1322. His death triggered a power struggle between Gabalas and Tagaris, which led to Gabalas’ expulsion from Philadelphia around December 1322, as he mentions in his *Monody*

<sup>125</sup> B51.11–12 Reinsch: ἐπὶ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς τοῦδε καὶ ἀπόλιδος στρατιώτου, ὃς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.

<sup>126</sup> The account of the first civil war is outlined by Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 151–66.

<sup>127</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 85; Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 281.

<sup>128</sup> Gabras, *Letter* 239 Fatouros: Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Γαβαλᾷ.

<sup>129</sup> For example, *Letter* 2 Hero and the *Discourses* 20–23. The *Letter* of Nikephoros Choumnos to Theoleptos (*Letter* 128) also dates from this time.

on the Death of my Dearest Friend Kallierges (A10) from 1323.<sup>130</sup> This marked Gabalas' final departure from his homeland. Gabalas took monastic vows before January 1323 in Constantinople, as argued by Kourousis.<sup>131</sup> This decision was made after Theoleptos' death as a result of his conflict with Tagaris rather than before Theoleptos' death, as suggested by Trone following two passages from Gabalas' *Personal Exhortation for Princess Irene-Eulogia on the Death of kyr Theoleptos of Philadelphia* (A11.30.21–22, 31.10–18) from 1323/1324.<sup>132</sup> Gabalas adopted the monastic name Matthew. In accordance with his mentor's teachings, he observed a period of silence: "I provided peace to the thoughts".<sup>133</sup> This period coincides with the lack of written correspondence from winter 1322/3 to October 1323 and a prolonged illness Gabalas endured in Constantinople. He first mentioned this illness to Joseph the Philosopher (B3.14–15) in 1323 and later in his *Address to the Greatest Emperor of the Romans Andronikos Doukas Angelos Palaiologos for his Persistent Humanity, When he Took Care of our Hardships during a Severe Illness* (A2) from 1326.<sup>134</sup>

By around 1323/24, Gabalas had permanently settled in Constantinople, as can be inferred from three letters: one to Gabras, in which he mentions hearing the story of Job's wife at a *theatron*, most likely in Constantinople (B6.33–56), another declining a meeting with Irene-Eulogia (B32.13–32), and a third inviting Gabras (B33) to commemorate St. Nicholas Day in Constantinople. Gabalas praised Irene's interest in surrounding herself with learned and pious men: "you wish to associate with men who excel in the field of philosophy, as you strive

<sup>130</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, 126v–131r. Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ φιλάτου μοι Καλλιέργῃ (A10), edited by Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso". The monody was first dated to 1321 by Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 37–38; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 188, 335 and dated back to 1323 by Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend*, 267.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Trone, "The Counsel of Manuel-Matthew Gabalas to Empress Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina on her Mourning over the Death of Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia", 214, n. 4 and Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 332–33.

<sup>132</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 131v–135v. Τῇ βασιλίσῃ παραινετικὸς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου συντεθειμένος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Φιλαδελφείας κυροῦ Θεολήπτου (A11). The text is edited by Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso" and translated into English by Trone, "The Counsel of Manuel-Matthew Gabalas to Empress Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina on her Mourning over the Death of Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia". Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 190, 303, 339; Stolfi, "La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355): Un riesame", 17–18.

<sup>133</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Personal Exhortation* A11.31.16 Previale: ἡσυχίαν παρέσχον τοῖς λογισμοῖς.

<sup>134</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 58r–65r. Προσφωνητικὸς εἰς τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀνδρόνικον Δούκαν Ἀγγεῶν τὸν Παλαιολόγον περὶ τῆς ἐνούσης τούτῳ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅπηνκα καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον κακῶς τῇ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρούμενον ἐπεσκέψατο (A2), studied by Kaltsogianni, "Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesus auf Andronikos II Palaiologos". Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 186–88; Ida Toth, "Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium: The Example of Palaiologan Imperial Orations", in *Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Grünbart (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2007), 435–36; Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 76, 81–93, 111–12, 139.

for the greater beauty of your soul”.<sup>135</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras records that Irene-Eulogia, following the death of John Palaiologos in 1307, distributed her money among the poor and restored the monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter, which once housed over a hundred monks.<sup>136</sup> It was a double monastery of men and women forming a single entity, administered by Abbess Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina.<sup>137</sup> While Luigi Previale suggested that Gabalas might have managed the male section of this monastery Christ Philanthropos Soter, evidence suggests that it was not his permanent residence.<sup>138</sup>

In *Letter* 94, George Oinaïotes (see Section 2.5) mentions his regular meetings with Gabalas, observing Gabalas’ availability to provide assistance to anyone with academic needs. He states that “the gates leading to the *chartophylax* [Gabalas] are open for those who wish and may be used by everyone and any passerby”.<sup>139</sup> According to this *Letter*, Gabalas resided in a monastery in Constantinople that housed not only monks but also high-ranking clerics (*Letter* 94.5–12). Gabalas himself (B48.3–4) also mentions living in a monastery during 1337–1339 (see Section 1.5). Determining which monastic center in Constantinople might have been Gabalas’ permanent home is an important question. In *Letter* 152, Oinaïotes discusses with Gabalas a project to make certain books more available, seeking his guidance. He also notes that this initiative was approved by “the most divine mother”.<sup>140</sup> It is plausible that the divine mother referred to was Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina and the library in question that of the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter. If this is the case, it would rule out this monastery as Gabalas’ usual place of residence, as *Letter* 152 by Oinaïotes suggests Gabalas was not present there. Therefore, potential locations for his residence would include the monasteries of Christ Pantokrator, Christ Akataleptos, Hodegon, Chora and Prodromos Petra.<sup>141</sup> Gabalas’ main

<sup>135</sup> B32.7–8 Reinsch: μείζονος κάλλους ἐφιεμένη ψυχῆς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ γνωρίμοις ἐθέλεις συγγίνεσθαι. See also Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 245–47.

<sup>136</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History* 238.18–23 Bekker&Schopen. See also R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin*, vol. 3. Les églises et les monastères (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), 529. Information and photographs of the monastery can be found in <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/christ-philanthropos>, consulted 30 July 2022.

<sup>137</sup> Stolfi, “La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355): Un riesame”, 10. Cf. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 18–20. The rules and conditions of the monastery are explained in the Typikon edited and studied by Alice Mary Talbot, “Philanthropos: Typikon of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople”, ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments*, (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1383–88.

<sup>138</sup> Previale, “Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso”, 4, n. 1.

<sup>139</sup> Oinaïotes, *Letter* 94.4–5: ἀνεμιέναι γὰρ αἱ πρὸς χαρτοφύλακα εἰσάγουσαι τοὺς βουλομένους πύλαι καὶ παντὶ καὶ τῷ τυχόντι χρήσιμοι.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. *Letter* 152.1: τῇ θειοτάτῃ μητρὶ, *Letter* 152.3–6: τὴν μητέρα [...] τῇ μητρὶ.

<sup>141</sup> Interestingly, Gabras (*Letter* 304) praises an *Encomium* that apparently Gabalas dedicated to John Prodromos, which is now lost. For monastic centers in Constantinople during the Palaiologan period, see Ilias Taxidis and Demetra Samara, “Monasticism and Intellectual Trends in Late Byzantium”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual*

period of intellectual production and teaching activities as a *didaskalos* started from around 1323/25 during his time in Constantinople (see Section 2.5).

### The Third Siege of Philadelphia and Tagaris' Military Fiasco

Gabalas' works do not include details about the civil war, even though he was in Constantinople for much of that time. Robert Trone observed that two sections of the *Personal Exhortation* – one discussing current changes (A11.27.30–6) and another on the need to face dangers (A11.31.23) – could be interpreted as references to the civil war.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, Kaltsogianni noted that the *Address to Andronikos II* (A2) hints at earlier conflicts, potentially relating to civil war episodes, and a period of apparent tranquility.<sup>143</sup> In my view, however, these two examples do not appear to be connected with events of the civil war. The *Personal Exhortation* more likely expands upon recurring themes in Gabalas' works – the dichotomy between the changeable and the unchangeable, between life and death, as well as the ascetic struggle against passions –, while the allusions to conflict in the *Address to Andronikos II* can be connected to the circumstances and aftermath of the Third Siege of Philadelphia rather than to the civil war, as will be seen.

The essay *To One of my Friends* (A18) and the Vienna letter collection provide substantial details on the Third Siege of Philadelphia.<sup>144</sup> This siege involved the blockade of the Saint Nicholas fortress in Philadelphia by the Turks Germiyan, headed by Yakup bin Ali Şir, and the Aydin, headed by Mehmed, lasting one year and seven months from late 1322 to early 1324. While some studies on the events are available, the roles of Gabalas and the army commander Manuel Tagaris merit further investigation.<sup>145</sup>

In his essay written around 1323/4, Gabalas argued that Tagaris' failure as a commander warranted punishment and a trial (A18.11–12, 157–213; B65.62–75). Gabalas criticized Tagaris for his corrupt actions, including misappropriating city funds, seizing grain, and exploiting farmers, yet he remained unprosecuted (A18.41–52). In his *Letters to*

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*Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 330–36. See also Taxidis, “Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium”.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Trone, “The Counsel of Manuel-Matthew Gabalas to Empress Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina on her Mourning over the Death of Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia”, 215.

<sup>143</sup> Kaltsogianni, “Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesus auf Andronikos II Palaiologos”, 107–8.

<sup>144</sup> As previously noted (see Sections 1.1–1.2), it appears that there was no siege of Philadelphia in 1314, with only the sieges of 1304, 1310/11, and 1322–1324 actually taking place.

<sup>145</sup> The Third Siege of Philadelphia and the actions of Tagaris between 1321–1324 were studied by Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)”, 388–93; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174*, 9; Baldiceanu-Steinherr, “Notes pour l’histoire d’Alaşehir (Philadelphie) au XIVe siècle”, 41; Hero, “Theoleptos of Philadelphia (ca. 1250–1322): From Solitary to Activist”, 34–36; Nicol, “Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family”, 12; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 158.

Nikephoros Choumnos (B5), Joseph the Philosopher (B3; B4; B17; B19; B65) and Michael Gabras (B16=B66) from 1323–1326, Gabalas sought to provoke a reaction from Emperor Andronikos II and Theodore Metochites, who had been appointed *megas logothetes* in early 1321, in order to address Tagaris’ wrongdoings.<sup>146</sup> Besides, Gabalas aimed to obtain the support of the ruling elite in Constantinople in his quest to acquire the see of Philadelphia.<sup>147</sup>

In 1324, Andronikos II, influenced by a synodal decision, pardoned the blinded ex-rebel Alexios Philanthropenos and commissioned him to end the blockade of Philadelphia. Gabalas reports that Alexios, along with his son Michael, made their way to Philadelphia via Sardis (B15.1–10).<sup>148</sup> In Sardis, they engaged as envoys in diplomatic negotiations with the Turkish leader (B16.15–16), likely the Aydin Mehmed. Leveraging his previous interactions with the Turks in Asia Minor, Alexios successfully negotiated a resolution, thus avoiding a military confrontation.

Contrary to Kourousis’ suggestion, it seems that the misdeeds of Tagaris, which Gabalas reported to both Joseph the Philosopher (B65) and Michael Gabras (B16=66), occurred following the arrival of Alexios Philanthropenos in Philadelphia in 1324.<sup>149</sup> This conclusion is based on the chronological rearrangement of two *Letters* to Joseph the Philosopher (with B17 preceding B65): *Letter* B17 indicates an upcoming meeting between Emperor Andronikos II and Patriarch Isaias, highlighting the emperor’s unawareness of both of Tagaris’ conduct and the synodal decision (B17.12–16),<sup>150</sup> while *Letter* B65 assumes this knowledge (B65.17–18) and mentions the pardon of Alexios Philanthropenos: “one of the men loyal to the emperor was sent”.<sup>151</sup> This interpretation suggests that Tagaris’ activities continued beyond the arrival of Philanthropenos and the liberation of Philadelphia in 1324.

Gabalas accused Tagaris of forming secret alliances with the Turks, a betrayal exposed by Philadelphia’s citizens, who almost executed him, only sparing him after he returned what he had stolen (B16.1–5, 25–26; B65.17–27–31). Tagaris married his daughter to the emir

<sup>146</sup> Cf. B3.32–33; B10.

<sup>147</sup> Riehle, “Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)”, 228.

<sup>148</sup> This *Letter* is addressed to Michael Philanthropenos, who joined his father in 1324 rather than in 1335–1336 as Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293–1390)”, 398–401 suggested.

<sup>149</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 343.

<sup>150</sup> It has been traditionally assumed that Joseph left Constantinople before the spring of 1321 and remained in Thessalonike until his death around 1330. On the biography of Joseph the Philosopher, see Erika Gielen, “Joseph the Philosopher, an Outstanding Outsider: Philosophy and Rhetoric at the Court of Andronicus II”, *Basileia: Essays on Imperium and Culture* 17 (2011): 205–15. Cf. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 244; Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell’età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta* (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2005a), 55. However, *Letter* B17 implies that Joseph attended a synod in 1324 and was therefore in Constantinople at least for a short time, as Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 342–43 already noticed.

<sup>151</sup> B65.22 Reinsch: τις κατεπέμψθη τῶν ὀρθῶν φρονούντων τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Sarouchan.<sup>152</sup> He then fled from Philadelphia at night to join the Turks, probably the emir Sarouchan, was intercepted by the citizens, and ultimately took refuge in Constantinople (B65.33–40).<sup>153</sup> Despite being declared guilty by the synod members, Tagaris was absolved by the emperor (B65.45–61, cf. B5.1–11).<sup>154</sup> In the capital, he began to circulate slander against Gabalas, even suggesting that the late Theoleptos shared his views (B65.57).<sup>155</sup> Gabalas demanded that Tagaris be tried and sought support from Theodore Metochites (B65.73–75). According to Gabalas, Tagaris devastated wheat fields, assaulted the Byzantine army, took control of several towns in Asia Minor and intended to divide these areas with the Turks (B16.28–56). Gabalas stresses that he had anticipated these events but his warnings were ignored (B16.59). Ultimately, Tagaris faced significant losses, such as his fortress and wealth. His family members, including his brother, nephew, son-in-law and servants were imprisoned, and his sons were detained by the empire, leading Gabalas to expect Tagaris' capitulation (B16.81–96).

The depth of Gabalas' animosity towards Tagaris was such that even a decade later, in his *Letter* to Philip Logaras from 1339, he attributed the turmoil in the cities of Asia Minor to the mismanagement of the military leaders:

For if the affairs of the empire had not been wronged for a long time by the wickedness of the governors, then this territory would not have been lost to the emperors for the most part, nor tormented nor conquered, and I would not have been condemned now, as it were, in the middle of enemy territory to witness and suffer all these atrocities.<sup>156</sup>

## 5. Gabalas' Influence on the Synod, Imperial Court and Legal System (1328–1341)

This section explores the life of Gabalas during the reign of Emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341) from his promotion to Metropolitan of Ephesus in 1329 to his departure from

<sup>152</sup> Hélène Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure" (1983): 192–94. Tagaris had previously been granted the hand of Andronikos II's niece, Theodora Asanina.

<sup>153</sup> In 1346, the *megas stratopedarches* George Tagaris, son of Manuel Tagaris, served as the emissary dispatched by Empress Anne of Savoy to the emir Sarouchan, seeking military aid to reclaim Constantinople, see Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family", 13–14.

<sup>154</sup> The synod is not attested in the Register of the Patriarchate.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 342–43; Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 76.

<sup>156</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Philip Logaras* B56.94–99 Reinsch: εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἡγεμόνων κακότητι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόρρωθεν ἐπλημμελεῖτο, οὐκ ἂν ἦδε μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ὄλετο χώρα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἥδ' ἐλήλατο, ἥδ' ἐάλω, οὐδὲ κατὰ κριτος ἐγὼ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πολέμῳ πάντα δῆπου καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πάσχων δεινὰ.

Constantinople in 1339. Having settled in a monastery of Constantinople around 1323 (see Section 1.4), Gabalas remained there until 1331, then returned in the spring of 1332 and again from 1337 to 1339. The rest of the time, he was in Kiev and Brysis. During this period, Gabalas emerged as a prominent ecclesiastical leader. His influence extended to key institutions in Constantinople and he had close associations with Emperor Andronikos III, his officials Syrgiannes Palaiologos and John Kantakouzenos, members of the Synod, and the legal system.<sup>157</sup> Gabalas' authority in Andronikos III's time was comparable to that of Theoleptos in the first decades of Andronikos II's rule.<sup>158</sup> Unlike Theodore Metochites, who lost favour with Andronikos III's ascent, Gabalas quickly adapted to the new regime. Similarly to Nikephoros Gregoras, he enjoyed the support and patronage of Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos. Gabalas' *Another Prayer to the Emperor* (G3) from 1329, which expresses hopes for a lengthy reign for Andronikos III, may serve to illustrate this quick adaptation:

The Holy God, who created all creation in wisdom and prepared it to be administered by rulers and magistrates, so that the things concerning us would not be seen without ruler or steersman, disorderly and quarrelsome; who also brought your kingdom from non-existence into being, and appointed guardian angels to your life; and who repelled through them [sc. magistrates and rulers] all enemies and insidious people, may He grant to your kingdom all time to come. [May He grant you] to prevail over every harm and every evil caused by enemies both visible and invisible, to defeat the former [sc. the visible enemies] by means of weapons and with the power of hands, so that those defeated kneel at your feet, and to defeat the latter [sc. the invisible enemies] through the courage of your soul and your most noble thoughts in disputes against all that is worse, which opposes virtuous works and corrupts noble desires. May He grant you prosperity in your kingdom, a joyful life and longevity, and along with the current kingdom may He also bestow upon you the heavenly and eternal kingdom for ever and ever, amen!<sup>159</sup>

<sup>157</sup> For the relationship with John Kantakouzenos, see Section 1.6.

<sup>158</sup> For the historical context, see Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 167–84. This period of Gabalas' life was investigated by Max Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 6–8; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 6–9; Kourousis, *Ματθαῖος Γαβαλάς*, 252–3; 345–46; Kourousis, “Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch”, 119.

<sup>159</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Another Prayer to the Emperor* (G3, Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 41v–42r): Ἐτέρα εὐχή εἰς βασιλεία. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ἐν σοφίᾳ δημιουργήσας καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις διοικεῖσθαι παρασκευάσας, ἵνα μὴ ἀναρχα καὶ ἀκυβέρνητα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς θεωρούμενα ἄτακτα καὶ στασιώδη φέρηται· ὁ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν, καὶ φύλακας ἀγγέλους [f. 42r] τῇ σῇ ζωῇ ἐπιστήσας, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πάντας ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐπιβούλους ἀποτρεπόμενος, αὐτὸς παράσχοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς πάντα χρόνον· πάσης μὲν βλάβης, παντὸς δὲ κακοῦ κινουμένου πρὸς τε τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν διαγίνεσθαι ὑπερτέρων· καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν ὀπλῶν παρασκευαῖς καὶ χειρῶν δυνάμει, ὥστε ὑπὸ τοὺς σὺς ὑποτάττεσθαι πόδας ἐκνικωμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρία ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμῶν γενναιοτάτων ἐν στάσει κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χειρόνος, ὃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιπροσθεῖ καὶ τὰς χρηστὰς ἐπιθυμίας λυμαίνεται. παράσχοι σε τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου καὶ εὐθυμον βιοτὴν καὶ πολυετὴ ζωὴν καὶ μετὰ τῆς παρούσης βασιλείας, χαρίσαιτό σοι καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον βασιλείαν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

This prayer heralds the reign of Andronikos III and illustrates Gabalas' alignment with the new regime.<sup>160</sup> It emphasizes the role of rulers and magistrates to ensure stable governance. The prayer mentions insidious people and enemies, and in light of Gabalas' previous accusations against Manuel Tagaris and the recent Third Siege of Philadelphia (see Section 1.4), these adversaries are likely the Turks. Kourousis argued that the prayer may be an indirect appeal to the emperor for military aid in Asia Minor, probably anticipating Andronikos III's military operations against the Ottomans in Bithynia, which resulted in the Byzantine army's defeat at the Battle of Pelekanon in June 1329.<sup>161</sup>

In a *Letter* from the same year, Gabalas thanked the *megas doux* Syrgiannes Palaiologos Philanthropenos (B34) for advocating on his behalf in front of the bishops and the emperor (B34.18).<sup>162</sup> It is plausible that Syrgiannes' endorsement contributed to Gabalas' appointment as Metropolitan of Ephesus in December 1329 or earlier. He is mentioned in five synodal decisions in the Register of the Patriarchate from December 1329 to April 1331 (PRK I 100–103 and 106) as “Matthew, the most honourable [Metropolitan] of Ephesus and exarch over all Asia” (τοῦ Ἐφέσου ὑπερτίμου καὶ ἐξάρχου πάσης Ἀσίας Ματθαίου).<sup>163</sup> These synods were presided over by the Patriarch Esaias and the decisions were sealed by the *megas chartophylax*, Gregory Koutales, who is the recipient of several letters written by Gabalas (B37, B42 and B64).<sup>164</sup> These synods resolved various disputes: the first (PRK I 100) addressed Theodore Branas' inheritance issue with his mother-in-law, the nun Euphrosyne Petraleiphina; the second (PRK I 101) decided on a property dispute between George Strategos and John Laskaris; the third (PRK I 102) called for an investigation into the Branas and Petraleiphina case in Adrianople; the fourth (PRK I 103) concerned the inheritance dispute involving the nun Agathonike and the representatives of the late Nikephoros Choumnos – likely his daughter Irene-Eulogia – over the Monastery of Theotokos τῆς Κρυονεριτίσσης in Herakleia; and the fifth (PRK I 106) focused on a governance issue of sixteen monasteries in Methymna, involving the metropolitan Malachias and the abbot Hilarion.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. the unedited prayer G2 (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 38v–39r, *inc.* Οὐράνιε βασιλεῦ, ποιητὰ τῶν αἰώνων) might be Gabalas' first appeal to Andronikos III.

<sup>161</sup> Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 170; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 344.

<sup>162</sup> On this *Letter*, see e.g., Alexander Riehle, “Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)”, 228.

<sup>163</sup> The title of ὑπέρτιμος is used as an honorary ecclesiastical title for metropolitans. For the documents, see Hunger&Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats*, Vol. I 100–103 and 106, equivalent to Jean Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Registers 2153, 2155–2157, 2164. On the dates of the ordination, see Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 343–44.

<sup>164</sup> For Gregory Koutales as scribe in the Patriarchal chancery, see De Gregorio, “Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries”, 432–33.



The chancery manual (ἔκθεσις) from the time of Andronikos III, ranking the Ephesus exarchate second only to that of Kaisareia (and the patriarch of Constantinople), illustrates the significant ecclesiastical status that Gabalas had attained.<sup>165</sup> This prominence explains why Gabalas' name is listed first among the metropolitans in these synodal decisions. The metropolitans who joined Gabalas at the Synod at least once between 1329–1331 include Theodosius of Melitene, Metrophanes of Palaiai Patrai, Makarios of Serres, Gregory of Pisidia, Nicholas of Brusa, Joseph of Apros, Malachias of Methymna, Menas of Ganos, Manuel of Proikonessos, Luke of Sugdaia, Dionysus of Veroia, Gerasimos of Cos, Gregory of Sardis, Gerasimos of Brysis, Hierotheos of Lopadion and Jacob of Lemnos. Many of these metropolitans significantly influenced Gabalas' later life. For instance, Joseph of Apros was one of the καθολικαὶ κριταί, Hierotheos of Lopadion signed the *Request to Anna Palaiologina* in 1346 (see Section 1.6), and Metrophanes of Palaiai Patrai signed the *Tome of the Opponents* in 1347 and was deposed along with Gabalas (see Section 1.7).

After his time in Kiev and Brysis, which will be discussed later, Gabalas resided in an unspecified monastery in Constantinople, probably the same one where he lived from 1323 to 1331.<sup>166</sup> He is mentioned in the synodal decisions from July 1337 to July 1339 (PRK II 109, 111–12, 121, 123). The synods were presided over by Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, who had been elected three years earlier. The first synod (PRK II 109) removed the Metropolitan of Philippi from his position due to high treason and immoral behaviour (fornication with the nun Petraleiphina);<sup>167</sup> this metropolitan was later provided (PRK II 121) with an annual income from the bishoprics of Philippopolis, Ioannitza and Hyperpyrakion. The second synod (PRK II 111) exonerated three Thessalonian clerics from charges made by a certain Chionios. The third one (PRK II 112) settled a dispute about the property rights of the Monastery τῆς Παναγίας in Hexamilion between the clerics Manuel Artantas, Michael Kryonerites, and the bishop of Hexamilion. The last synod (PRK II 123) resolved property rights issues concerning the Church τῶν Ἀσωμάτων between the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, Dionysus, and the monks of the Monastery τοῦ Ἀκαπνίου.

A remarkable change in the synodal decisions under Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, compared to those under Patriarch Esaias I, is the omission of titles and names for the attending metropolitans. Instead, they are referred to only by the location of their diocese; for instance,

<sup>165</sup> This text was commented and edited by Jean Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981), Notes 19, 189–91, 411–14.

<sup>166</sup> “This holy monastery, in which we are staying” (B48.3–4 Reinsch: τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην μάνδραν, ὅποι δὴ καταμένομεν).

<sup>167</sup> On the nun Petraleiphina, cf. above PRK I 100 and 102.

Gabalas is identified simply as “the one from Ephesus (τοῦ Ἐφέσου or τῷ Ἐφέσου). His name consistently appears at the top of the list of metropolitans, which probably indicates that he maintained his status as the highest ecclesiastical authority at the Synod of Constantinople after the patriarch. Notably, Gabalas says in one *Letter* that he praised Nicholas Matarangos, “at the sacred meetings, at the imperial court [...] and at the assembly for election of bishops”.<sup>168</sup> His presence in these institutions highlights his role as an influential figure within the church hierarchy and the imperial court during the reign of Andronikos III. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller has adopted a relational and quantitative method to study the attendance and interactions of synodal members between 1329–1349, focusing particularly on Gabalas and Malachias of Methymna.<sup>169</sup>

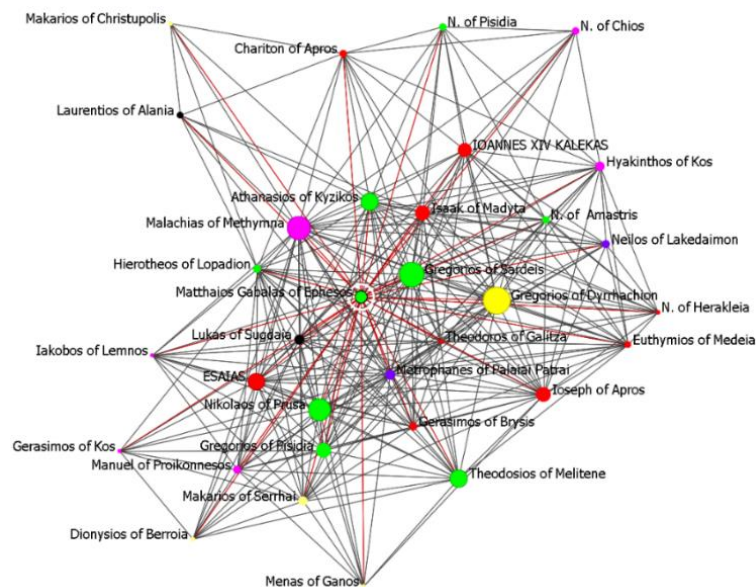


Figure 1: “Ego-Network” of Gabalas in the Synod of Constantinople (1329–1349) by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller

Preiser-Kapeller’s research uncovers the extensive network that Gabalas formed through his participation in the Synod of Constantinople.

<sup>168</sup> B46.11–2 Reinsch: ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συλλόγων, ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων αὐλῶν [...] καὶ ἀρχαιρεσίας.

<sup>169</sup> Preiser-Kapeller, “Calculating the Synod? New Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches for the Analysis of the Patriarchate and the Synod of Constantinople in the 14<sup>th</sup>-Century”.

### Visit to Kiev and Supplementary Diocese in Brysis

Gabalas' correspondence with Michael Gabras and Gregory Koutales provides further insight into Gabalas' activities during the reign of Andronikos III. References in two letters suggest that Gabalas was not in Constantinople at the time (B41.1–3) and mention Gabras asking for a Scythian cloak from Theognostos, the Metropolitan of Kiev (B40.14–22). These details imply that Gabalas may have been near Kiev in the winter of 1331–1332. The letters shed light on the diplomatic interactions between the Patriarchate and the Rus, a subject studied by Kourousis and Darrouzès, which falls beyond the scope of the present discussion.<sup>170</sup> Gabalas' trip to Kiev probably means that he did not participate in the intellectual debates in Constantinople during the winter of 1331–1332 between Theodore Metochites, Barlaam of Seminara and Nikephoros Gregoras. These discussions, detailed, for instance, in Gregoras' *Phlorentios*, marked the early stages of the ensuing Palamite controversy.<sup>171</sup> Gabalas likely returned to Constantinople in spring 1332.

In a *Letter* to Gregory Koutales (B64.6), Gabalas mentions his departure for the city of Brysis in Thrace, present-day Pınarhisar, around June 1332. He (B42.30–31) lavishly praises Koutales' moral character and education, possibly reflecting gratitude for his role in Gabalas' appointment as bishop of Brysis. This appointment likely occurred shortly before Gabalas left Constantinople in June 1332.<sup>172</sup> Gabalas was assigned the metropolitan see of Brysis as an additional or supplementary diocese (κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδόσεως), since he was barred from performing liturgical rites in Ephesus due to the presence of the Aydın Turks. Starting from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, it had become common to assign bishops supplementary dioceses. This practice helped bishops unable to reside in their primary diocese and in need of

<sup>170</sup> Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 248–52. Given that Gabalas was in Constantinople in April 1331, it seems difficult to maintain that his mission to Kiev began in the autumn of 1330; cf. Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Register 2162.

<sup>171</sup> For the chronology of Barlaam's activities in Constantinople, see Ioannis Polemis, "The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends", in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 347; Robert E. Sinkewicz, "The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian", *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 183–93; Juan Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d' Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas. Enquête historique, avec traduction et commentaire de quatre traités édités récemment. Commentaire historique*, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 4–6, 16–23. On the events of the *Phlorentios*, Franz Tinnefeld, "Zur intellektuellen Polemik des Nikephoros Gregoras", in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009*, ed. Peter van Deun and Carolina Macé (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2011), 345–60; Divna Manolova, *Discourses of Science and Philosophy in the Letters of Nikephoros Gregoras* (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 17–18; Manolova, "Nikephoros Gregoras's Philomathes and Phlorentios", in *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium*, ed. Niels Gaul and Averil Cameron (London: Routledge, 2017), 203–19.

<sup>172</sup> Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 252–54, 278; cf. Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Register 2165.

financial support (the so-called σχολάζοντες) by providing them with income from an vacant position.<sup>173</sup> As it seems, Gerasimos of Brysis, who attended the Synod of Constantinople until April 1331, had died and left the see of Brysis vacant.<sup>174</sup>

Gabalas tell Koutales about his journey to Brysis with a group of nine (B64.1–57).<sup>175</sup> They were led by his son, John Gabalas (see Section 1.6), who ensured their safety from potential roadside attacks until they reached the town (B64.29–32, 105–245). Gabalas depicts Brysis as a small town, afflicted by epidemic and famine and inhabited by people he describes as faithless, drunken and thievish.<sup>176</sup> During his time in Brysis from June 1332 to July 1337, Gabalas wrote various letters that provide insights into the historical context of the period. He mentions, for instance, an alliance between the Misians and Scythians challenging the empire (B64.28–29, 346–59), possibly referring to the military collaboration between Serbians and Bulgarians. This alliance may be linked to the Serbian *kral* Stefan Dušan's conquest of Byzantine territories in Macedonia following the Bulgarian victory under Ivan Alexander over Andronikos III at Rusokastro in July 1332.<sup>177</sup> Finally, Gabalas' *Letter* to Michael Gabras (B58) also seems to reflect Gabalas' struggles in Brysis against unfaithful citizens, as Reinsch suggested.<sup>178</sup> This interpretation is supported by Gabalas' expression of feelings of exile or displacement to a "distant location" (B58.4), a feeling also apparent in his *Letter* to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina (B44.5), which was likely written from Brysis.<sup>179</sup>

### Legal Counseling and Connections with the Universal Judges

Based on various sources, it appears that Gabalas had some expertise in legal matters and provided legal counseling. Notably, the *megas chartophylax* Gregory Koutales (B37) sought

<sup>173</sup> Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley–London: University of California Press, 1971), 203–7, 289, 300–302, 344; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 38; Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 78–80. Gabalas was one of the σχολάζοντες of Constantinople mentioned in 1347 (PRK II 147.212).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat*, Register 2164.

<sup>175</sup> Klaus Belke, "Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period", in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. Ruth Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 84–85.

<sup>176</sup> On the socioeconomical distribution of the population of Brysis and Gabalas' contempt for the masses of the city, see Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 116, 259–60.

<sup>177</sup> Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 176.

<sup>178</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 6. Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 291, 349, wrongly interpreted the term "abominable people" (B58.21 Reinsch: οἱ παλαμναῖοι) as related to the Palamite controversy and, thus, he dated it between 1347–1351.

<sup>179</sup> B58.4–6 Reinsch: ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην. Cf. B44.5 Reinsch: ἐκ τῆς ἐσχάτης ταύτης, ἐνθ' ἀποκρίσμεθα.

his advise concerning the laws on marriages between uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews.<sup>180</sup> It is important to note that Gabalas had written a treatise called *Περὶ γαμῶν* or *On Marriages*, which has since been lost.<sup>181</sup> In a similar context, Gabalas (B38) criticizes someone for hurting the interests of women, probably concerning inheritance rights. This could be connected to the synodal decisions involving the nun Euphrosyne Petraleiphina, the nun Agathonike, and representatives of the deceased Nikephoros Choumnos.

Furthermore, Gabalas had significant influence over the college of the καθολικαὶ κριταί, or universal judges, which represented the superior judiciary in Constantinople following the judicial system reforms by Andronikos III. These changes decreased the number of judges from twelve, as established by Andronikos II, to just four καθολικαὶ κριταί: Joseph, Bishop of Apros, the *megas dioiketes* Michael Glabas, the *dikaiophylax* Gregory Kleidas and Nicholas Matarangos.<sup>182</sup> Several documents confirm the connection between Gabalas and at least three καθολικοὶ κριταί: Joseph of Apros is one of the bishops attending the synod from July 1337–February 1338 (PRK II 109); Gregory Kleidas is the likely recipient of Gabalas' *Letter* PB16; Nicholas Matarangos is the recipient of B36 from 1329/31 and B46–48 from 1337/39. Gabalas (B36) seeks Matarangos' assistance to recover an item wrongfully taken from an unidentified individual. He urged Matarangos (B46.16–41) to be a moral leader and discusses about (B48.9–11) Matarangos' sister being expelled from her house and a widow named Pyraina losing her vineyard (B47). His relationship with Michael Glabas is less clear.<sup>183</sup>

### The Manipulation of the Register of the Patriarchate

This study is an evaluation of the hypothesis concerning Gabalas' potential involvement in the manipulation of several folios from the first manuscript of the Register of the Patriarchate. Evidences suggest that multiple synodal decisions from April 1331 to 1350 (Vindobonensis Historicus Graecus 47, f. 77–137 = PRK 100–178) were manipulated and removed, which resulted in the loss of records from the tenures of Patriarchs Isaías I (1331–1332), John XIV

<sup>180</sup> The recipient of the *Letters* B37–B38 is anonymous. Yet, as the person in charge of marriage legislation was the *megas chartophylax*, Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 243, 359–68 proposed that the addressee may have been Gregory Koutales.

<sup>181</sup> This information is known thanks to Gabras' *Letter* 239: Gabalas would have written a book on the equality of persons in the right to marry. Years later, Gabalas criticized Palamas for introducing malpractices in the marriage of individuals. Cf. *Tome of Opponents* 78–81 Rigo.

<sup>182</sup> The reform of the justice system has been discussed by Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 36–37; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 183.

<sup>183</sup> Michael Glabas was considered the addressee of Gabalas' PB26 by Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas", 179. I have instead argued that it is Theodore Kabasilas (see Section 1.2).

Kalekas (1334–1347) and Isidore I Bucheiras (1347–1350).<sup>184</sup> The removal of documents after 1337 is believed to be mainly related to the Palamite controversy. However, the removal of documents predating 1337, in particular parts of the 13<sup>th</sup> (Vind. Hist. Gr. 47, ff. 77–83 = PRK II 100–106), 14<sup>th</sup> (ff. 84–85 = PRK II 106–108) and 15<sup>th</sup> quaternions (ff. 86–90 = PRK II 109–111), appears to have been aimed at obliterating records concerning the appointment of the καθολικαὶ κριταὶ in 1329, their subsequent trial in 1337, and their removal on accusations of bribery.<sup>185</sup>

The so-called “Manipulator” Scribe K8 was responsible for manipulating the 13<sup>th</sup> quaternion (Vind. Hist. Gr. 47, ff. 82–90) and adding a new sheet in his handwriting (f. 83). Otto Kresten pointed out that Scribe K8’s handwriting bears a striking resemblance to that of the second scribe in Gabalas’ personal manuscript (Par. Gr. 2022, ff. 177v–180v), previously referred to as Collaborator A.<sup>186</sup> Adding to the intrigue is the fact that the only known record of the trials of the καθολικοὶ κριταὶ – Leo Bardales’ unedited *Submission to Emperor Andronikos III* – is kept in another of Gabalas’ personal manuscripts (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 298v–300r), copied by George Galesiotes. Considering these factors, along with the well-documented presence of Gabalas in the Synod of Constantinople during the critical periods of 1329–1331 and 1337–1339, and his connections with most of the καθολικαὶ κριταὶ, it is plausible that Gabalas or someone close to him (possibly Scribe K8) might have been involved in altering the manuscript of the Register of the Patriarchate, in particular the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> quaternions, following the trial of the καθολικοὶ κριταὶ in 1337. De Gregorio has recently identified the “manipulator” scribe with George Galesiotes.<sup>187</sup> Such modifications might be related to the corruption cases associated with reforms in the judicial system, in which Gabalas presumably played a significant role. The exact details of this event, obscured as they are by the missing folios, require further research.

<sup>184</sup> The intervention was examined through a codicological analysis of the manuscript by Hunger and Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337–1350*, Vol. II (Vienna, 1981), 17–74.

<sup>185</sup> The corruption scandal was reconstructed by Kresten, “Ein Indizienprozeß gegen die von Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos eingesetzten Καθολικοὶ Κριταὶ”, in *Forschungen Zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 19. Fontes Minores IX* (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau Gesellschaft, 1993), 299–338. In this regard, Gabalas’ correspondence has emerged as indispensable resource for the chronological structuring of the 15<sup>th</sup> quaternion, see Hunger and Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Vol. II, 26–27.

<sup>186</sup> Kresten, “Ein Indizienprozeß gegen die von Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos eingesetzten Καθολικοὶ Κριταὶ”, 332–37. Cf. the ideas of Hunger and Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Vol. II, 22–29. For a description of the ductus of Scribe K8, Hunger and Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. Vol. I, 71.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. De Gregorio, “Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries”, 433, 435.

## 6. Gabalas as Metropolitan in Ephesus and his Opposition to the Patriarch (1339–1347)

This section examines Gabalas' time in Ephesus and his role in both political and ecclesiastical matters during the second Palaiologan civil war (1341–1347) and the first years of the Palamite controversy. Insights are drawn from the most recent letters in the Vienna collection and two synodal decisions, which detail the circumstances surrounding his journey to Ephesus, his interactions with the Turks and the so-called Pyrgion episode.<sup>188</sup> The analysis further seeks to explore Gabalas' ties with John Kantakouzenos, as well as his collaboration with Gregory Palamas due to their mutual opposition to Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, which led Gabalas to write and sign together with other hierarchs a *Request to Anna Palaiologina*, asking for Kalekas' deposition in 1346.

### Gabalas in Ephesus: The Pyrgion Episode and Ties with John Kantakouzenos

Gabalas' journey to Ephesus, a city under Turkish control since 1304, in 1339, a decade after becoming the city's metropolitan, was influenced by two key factors. The first was the initiative taken by Emperor Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos, starting in 1335, to forge peace and mutual-defense treaties with the Sarouchan and Aydin leaders.<sup>189</sup> The second involved a series of synodal decisions from November 1338 to June 1339, which encouraged metropolitans to return to their dioceses for the propagation of Christianity and included promises of salvation to those who reverted to Christianity from Islam.<sup>190</sup> Gabalas participated in the synod from July 1339 (PRK II 123) and was not present at the following one in February 1340. Therefore, his departure to Ephesus must have occurred between these dates. Before leaving Constantinople, Gabalas reached out to a certain Melissenos from Ephesus (B53) to learn of the situation about the city.

Gabalas shares the details of his journey to and experiences in Ephesus in his letters sent to the *epi ton anamneseon* Philip Logaras (B54–B56) before Andronikos III's death.<sup>191</sup> Gabalas and his company sailed from Constantinople to Chios and walked through Klazomenai

<sup>188</sup> The political and ecclesiastical situation of this period, as represented by Gabalas, is described by Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 208–10, 257, 326, 343–47. Cf. Juan-López, "On the Road to Ephesus: Hardship and Despair", (2018): 97–112.

<sup>189</sup> See specifics in Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 169–83.

<sup>190</sup> Cyril, the Metropolitan of Side, Jeremiah of Kherson and Makarios of Bitzina commit themselves to occupying their diocese (PRK II 115, 117–118 = Darrouzès 2184). For the promises of salvation, see PRK II 116 and 126.

<sup>191</sup> These letters are datable to 1339–1341; Letter B55 precedes B54. Cf. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 35–37, 54, 74.

to Smyrna (B55.15). They contacted the chief of Aydin, Umur Beg (B55.18: Ἀμούρπεγης), who initially declined to read the letters from Emperor Andronikos III (B55.33) and hesitated to grant them passage to Ephesus. Umur Beg eventually allowed Gabalas and his group to enter Ephesus and ensured their safety only after they had given him substantial gifts (B55.46–53). To this special moment, Gabalas dedicated later a *Prayer Pronounced on our Entering into Ephesus* (G9), in which he implores divine assistance for the relief and salvation of the beleaguered Christian community.<sup>192</sup>

In his account, Gabalas explains that Khidir Beg (B55.60 Χετίρπεγης), the older brother of Umur Beg, allocated a small chapel outside of Ephesus for him to use as both church and personal residence (B55.58–70).<sup>193</sup> He declares that the harsh summer conditions and the dust in the chapel led him to suffer from severe fevers (B55.74–86). It became evident to Gabalas that he would be unable to perform liturgical ceremonies in the Basilica of St. John of Ephesus, where he observed muezzins, whom he calls “corybants”, on the church’s roof (B55.89–90, 121–26). Furthermore, he found himself unable to enjoy the promised residence and land (B54.5–6) pledged to him by Umur Beg (B55.61–68). Gabalas held Umur Beg responsible for his lack of sustenance and accused him of poor hospitality (B55.97–102). He also lamented that his letters had been intercepted by the Turks (B55.6–11). Eventually, Gabalas managed to obtain small plots of land within and outside the city, albeit subject to high taxes (B55.115–19). He was allowed to move into a house previously owned by an elderly Muslim woman (B55.95–120). The hostility of the Turks persisted as they, influenced by the local religious leaders, threw stones at his dwelling (B54.1–36, B55.95–110, 138–41).<sup>194</sup> Towards the end of his account, Gabalas reports having conversations with the Muslims of Ephesus (B54.20–27) and mentioned the presence of Christian, Muslim and Jewish captives in the city (B55.126–35).

Gabalas (B55.114–15) complained about the limited number of priests, a mere six, under his command. These complaints could be linked to Gabalas’ aim to centralize, within the jurisdiction of Ephesus, the revenues of the church in Pyrgion (present-day Birgi).<sup>195</sup> The

<sup>192</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 150v–151r. Εὐχὴ ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς τὴν Ἑφεσον εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν. Edition and commentary in Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 51–52.

<sup>193</sup> Several other testimonies on the situation at Ephesus at this time are preserved, among them that of Ludolf von Suchem dating to either 1336 or 1341, according to which part of the Church of St. John had been converted into a marketplace; see Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 262. Otherwise, Ephesus must be thought of as an economically prosperous town at this time. Foss, “The Emirate of Aydin: 1304–1425”.

<sup>194</sup> On Gabalas’ criticism of the people of Ephesus, Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 259–60.

<sup>195</sup> Gabalas’ action took place in the context of the hierarchical reorganization of Orthodox dioceses such as Epiros (PRK II 133) and Amykleion (PRK II 134).



Pyrgion episode is known from two synodal decisions in August 1342 (PRK II 138) and April 1343 (PRK II 144): the synods, both presided over by Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, confirmed the rank of Metropolis to the Church of Pyrgion, which Gabalas had unlawfully treated as a suffragan bishopric, and appointed the metropolitan of Laodiceia to conduct an inquiry, which acquitted Pyrgion's bishop of the charges of murder and false swearing that had been filed by Gabalas with false evidence.<sup>196</sup> It is also said that Gabalas wrote a series of now-lost documents, probably in late 1341 or early 1342. These include the *Reasons to remove Pyrgion's Bishop from Office*, a *Letter to Umur Beg* for the same purpose, in which Gabalas apparently employed an incorrect form of address by referring to the leader of Aydin as a son, and the subsequent *Deposition Decree of Pyrgion's Bishop*, falsely claiming to have the synod's consent.<sup>197</sup> Gabalas had repeatedly ignored warnings and summons to attend the synod. He probably developed a certain animosity towards the patriarch, subsequently leading to a complete opposition upon his return to Constantinople.

In his last *Letter* to Philip Logaras (B56), Gabalas requested military assistance, in the form of “adequate vessels, an army armed to the teeth, if not superior to the unfaithful at least equal, as well as generals and warriors both good and brave”, hoping that the emperor seized Ephesus back from the Turks.<sup>198</sup> This request was never fulfilled due to the poor condition of the Byzantine army at this time, which was aggravated by Andronikos III's death and the outbreak of civil war.<sup>199</sup> Gabalas (B57) quickly sought contact with John Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos recalls in his *History* that the hierarchs who opposed Isidore Bucheiras' election as patriarch in 1347 – in which there is a clear reference to Gabalas (see Section 1.7) – supported him during the years of the civil war.<sup>200</sup> It is known that Umur Beg was an important ally of Kantakouzenos at least until 1344: the Aydin supplied soldiers and offered naval support, for example in the conflict against John Alexander of Bulgaria in April 1343, and they aided Kantakouzenos in recovering his headquarters at Didymoteichon.<sup>201</sup> Thus, one

<sup>196</sup> The episode has been discussed by Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 327–29; Kourousis, *Μαυροβήλ Γαβαλάς*, 210, 348–50; Antonio Rigo, “Il ‘rapporto’ dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa e altri eventi dell' anno 1346”, 309–10. See also Hunger and Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Vol. II, 316–18; Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. 5, Registers 2223, 2229, 2235, 2237, 2243; Foss, “The Emirate of Aydin: 1304–1425”, 141–51.

<sup>197</sup> The documents written by Gabalas are referred to in PRK II 144. On the fate of Pyrgion, see Foss, “The Emirate of Aydin: 1304–1425”, 158.

<sup>198</sup> B56.86–88 Reinsch: ναὺς ἱκανάς, στρατεύμαθ' ὅπλοις καταπεφραγμένα, εἰ μὴ πλείω τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἀλλ' ἴσα γούν, ἔτι στρατηγούς ἀγαθοὺς τε κρατεροὺς τ' αἰχμητάς. See also Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 51.

<sup>199</sup> Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 190–94.

<sup>200</sup> John Kantakouzenos, *History* 3.27.6–8 Bonn.

<sup>201</sup> For the historical context, see Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 198–203.

could argue that Gabalas, given his ongoing interactions with Kantakouzenos and Umur Beg, may have mediated between the two leaders, contributing to their military collaboration. Gabalas' motivation for supporting Kantakouzenos could stem from the latter's potential role as a guarantor of military stability in Asia Minor, as he offered a more effective response to the region's needs than the young John V Palaiologos. Another bond between them was their opposition to Patriarch John XIV Kalekas.<sup>202</sup>

### Ties with Gregory Palamas and Opposition to the Patriarch

Gabalas likely returned to Constantinople in 1344. The earliest evidence of his presence in the capital, as suggested by Kourouses, may be a passage from Gregory Palamas' *Letter* to Daniel of Ainos, which precedes Palamas' condemnation in November 1344. This *Letter* includes an invective cryptically directed against a certain theologian.<sup>203</sup>

But now the one who has chosen to oppose us [Patriarch John XIV Kalekas] clearly speaks in line with the ideas of Barlaam and Akindynos [...]. He also says that all the wise men among you approve and agree with whom I have a hard time believing [Akindynos]. The *Letter* of Akindynos to him [sc. the anonymous opponent], through which he insists that he has the support of the most learned around here [sc. Constantinople], those who practise *hesychia* and all the others in general, has changed my mind. It is difficult to discern the other unfortunate ones; but who are wiser among the chief priests? Is it not the one from Ephesus [Gabalas], the one from Cyzicus [Athanasios], and after them, the one from Dyrrachium [Gregory], who is knowledgeable in divine matters? Thus, there is not anyone among them who agrees with him [sc. Akindynos] to such an extent, especially after the Synod that took place because of him [sc. Synod of August 1341] and after their own thorough examination, that they indeed endorsed and signed the excommunications of such people [sc. Akindynos and followers], unless they would repent.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 14; Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 324.

<sup>203</sup> Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 310. For the life of Gabalas in these years see primarily Kourouses, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 350–54.

<sup>204</sup> Gregory Palamas, *Letter to Daniel of Ainos* 4.13.1–17 Chrestou: Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν ἀντειπεῖν προηρημένος τὰ τοῦ Βαρλαάμ ἀντικρυς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου φθέγγεται. [...] Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῶν σοφοὺς ἅπαντας συμφθέγγεσθαι καὶ συναινεῖν, ὃ πολλοῦ δέω πείθεσθαι· μεταπειθεὶ γάρ με τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου γράμμα, δι' οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρίζεται, τοὺς τε ἐλλογιμωτέρους τῶν ἐνθάδε καὶ τοὺς ἡσυχία προσανέχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπλῶς πάντας συμφωνοῦντας ἔχειν. Φιλοκρινεῖν μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους δυσχερές· σοφώτεροι δ' ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι τίνες; Οὐχ ὁ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ ὁ Κυζίκου, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Δυρραχίου τῶν θείων ἐπιγνώμων; Τοσοῦτον οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τις τούτων συναινῶν αὐτῷ καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γεγονυῖαν σύνοδον καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξέτασιν, ὥς καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἀποκηρύξεις, εἰ μὴ μεταμέλουντο, στέρξαι τε καὶ ὑπογράψαι.

In this passage, Palamas attempts to undermine the position of an opponent who endorsed the views of Barlaam and Akindynos, probably Patriarch John XIV Kalekas.<sup>205</sup> Akindynos claimed to have the support of the high priests and monks in Constantinople; Palamas denied this to be the case, pointing out that the hierarchs, among them Gabalas, did not agree with his opponent's views.<sup>206</sup> By emphasizing the wisdom of the three hierarchs, Palamas aims to underscore the pertinence and credibility of his supporters. Gabalas is thus recognized as one of the foremost ecclesiastical authorities, alongside Gregory of Dyrrachium, a clergyman of Gabalas' generation who was part of his intellectual network (see Section 2.2)<sup>207</sup> and Athanasios of Cyzicus, who joined him in opposing the patriarch until 1347, when two separate factions emerged.<sup>208</sup> Palamas also notes that the hierarchs endorsed and signed the excommunications of Akindynos, probably alluding to the Synod of August 1341 (PRK II 132). However, Gabalas himself denies having examined the arguments of Barlaam and Akindynos in his *Confession of Faith*, because he was in Ephesus that year (see Section 1.7).

The opposition of Palamas to Kalekas probably caught Gabalas' attention.<sup>209</sup> Evidence suggests that Palamas himself and especially his supporters, including Joseph Kalothetos, collaborated with Gabalas for a while.<sup>210</sup> Although little is known about Gabalas between 1344 and early 1346 due to the destruction of the synodal decisions from this period, he ultimately formed a strong opposition to Kalekas, likely fueled by Gabalas' pre-existing animosity to him. Following Kantakouzenos' coronation in Adrianople on 21 May 1346, several synods outside of Constantinople deposed Patriarch John XIV Kalekas.<sup>211</sup> From Constantinople, Gabalas and other hierarchs supported this decision, which was favourable to Kantakouzenos. They wrote the *Request of the High Priests to Our Very Powerful and Holy Lady and Sovereign [Anna*

<sup>205</sup> It is highly unlikely that the opponent of Palamas, whom he calls "that self-taught, or rather ignorant theologian, who is deeply in error" (*Letter to Daniel of Ainos* 4.1.22–23 Chrestou: ὁ αὐτομαθὴς μᾶλλον δὲ ἀμαθὴς οὕτωσι θεολόγος), is John Gabras, as argued by Angela Hero, "Some Notes on the Letters of Gregory Akindynos", *DOP* 36 (1982): 224. Patriarch John XIV Kalekas seems to fit better his description in light of the context; cf. Polemis, "The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends", 355.

<sup>206</sup> Gabalas should not be confused with Matthew Blastares, who defected to the side of Palamas in 1345–1347. Cf. Gregory Akindynos (*Letters* 43 and 50) and Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 291.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Manuel Gabalas *Letters* B26 and B63.

<sup>208</sup> Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 310.

<sup>209</sup> Kourousis, "Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch", 119, stressed the "schwankende Haltung" of Gabalas towards Palamas.

<sup>210</sup> Some writings of Gregory Palamas and Joseph Kalothetos express similar ideas to Gabalas' *Request to Anna Paleologina*; see Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 285–306, 310; Antonio Rigo, "Autografi, manoscritti e nuove opere di Giuseppe Kalothetos (metà del XIV secolo)", *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12 (2017): 137–38; Antonio Rigo, *1347. Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 13–14, 82–85.

<sup>211</sup> PRK II 147.204–212, 362–364. Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 303–4; Rigo, *1347. Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 12; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 205.

*Palaiologina*] on 26 September 1346.<sup>212</sup> It was signed by the metropolitans Matthew of Ephesus (Manuel Gabalas), the already mentioned Athanasios of Cyzicus, as well as Laurence of Alania, Makarios of Christoupolis, Chariton of Apros, Joseph of Ganos – who withdrew his signature at some point in 1347 –, and the bishop Hierotheos of Lopadion.<sup>213</sup> Several of them were also involved in synodal decisions during the 1330s (see Section 1.5).

The text requests a council to evaluate Kalekas' actions and depose him (*Request* 67–78 Rigo): it accuses Kalekas of ecclesiastical mismanagement (11–28 Rigo), involving embezzlement (gathering money for his sons), simony (selling *exarch* and *higoumene* positions), selling churches and sacred objects, as well as abuse of power (establishing his residence in the imperial palace and leaving Hagia Sophia neglected). It also includes (28–57 Rigo) more personal reproaches such as false speech and impiety, denounces malpractices in church administration such as the abolition of the Synodal Tome of August 1341 and accuses Kalekas of being a Barlaamite, as he appointed Akindynos as archbishop and condemned Palamas and his followers.<sup>214</sup> A group of Constantinopolitan hierarchs led by Makarios of Philadelphia (the Chrysokephalos) rallied support for Gabalas and his followers by writing a *Statement* on 23 October 1346.<sup>215</sup> The *Request* led to an investigation of the church administration over the past six years. Patriarch Kalekas was deposed on 2 February 1347.

Finally, three documents from September 1346 to March 1347 portray Gabalas as one of the “hierarchs” and “holiest metropolitans” who were unable to assume their dioceses (σχολάζοντες), evidently due to the situation in Ephesus. According to these texts, Gabalas lived in his personal cell at a monastery in Constantinople, which may well be the same one where he resided in the previous decades (see Section 1.4).<sup>216</sup>

### A Note on John Gabalas

Details regarding Gabalas' son are available almost from the time of his birth. As noted earlier (see Section 1.2), amidst his conflict with Theoleptos and the troubles in Philadelphia, Gabalas

<sup>212</sup> Αναφορά τῶν ἀρχιερέων πρὸς τὴν κρατίστην καὶ ἁγίαν ἡμῶν κυρίαν καὶ δέσποιναν. The *Request* has been edited by Rigo, ‘Il “rapporto” dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa’ e altri eventi dell’ anno 1346’, 304–39.

<sup>213</sup> On the signatories of the document, see Rigo, 308–21.

<sup>214</sup> A similar account is found in John VI Kantakouzenos, *Prostagma* 35–8 Rigo.

<sup>215</sup> Rigo, ‘Il “rapporto” dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa’ e altri eventi dell’ anno 1346’, 318–24; Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 14, 31.

<sup>216</sup> “The hierarchs who are sitting in our cells isolated” (*Request to Anna Palaiologina* 1–2 Rigo: Οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ καθεζόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κελλίοις ἡμῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι), “the holiest metropolitans of this megalopolis [Constantinople], who reside in their own cells” (*Tome* of February 1347, PRK II 147.212–15: οἱ κατὰ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις σχολάζοντες ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται), “the holiest metropolitans who dwelt in their cells” (John VI Kantakouzenos, *Prostagma* 35–38 Rigo: οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις σχολάζοντες ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται). On the σχολάζοντες, see Section 1.5.

also endured the sudden and tragic demise of his wife. His correspondence, particularly with Michael Gabras, vividly describes her untimely departure; they underscore his struggles as a widower and the adversities faced by his child as an orphan.<sup>217</sup>

But I do not believe that even you are unaware of the burden that, due to this common course of the affairs, has been imposed on us, a burden which has deprived us of our partner and our minds [...]. Who, seeing such a young age, migrating to Hades not at the right time, and as if not being with the sun and day, but only with darkness and night, would not be instantly persuaded to forget the things that likely remembers at the moment of the disaster? We are therefore in pain, so much that every scheme which we had been pursuing seems to have reached an impasse, as if the mind has experienced a certain change due to the intensity of the suffering. First of all, the mind cannot use the suffering for the discovery of better things, it is absolutely necessary for the soul to become peaceful, by casting away the wild sorrow and the gloom. Then, being the mind in such a state, it is necessary not to yield to whatever might be externally imposed upon it, even if something seemingly insignificant were introduced; this other terrible thing, the orphanhood of the child occurring unexpectedly, binds the mind again, crushes it, and leaves it in a worse state than before. For is it not terrible to mourn the death of a wife and the orphanhood of a child at the same time? And now to be dragged here by the misfortune, now there, to lament the departed woman, to mourn for the child who is abandoned and severed from his mother. How do you think I am disposed, whenever I see the child without a mother and I, the father, have to provide also what a mother would provide to her child?<sup>218</sup>

In this *Letter*, Gabalas expresses deep sorrow over his wife's death, which left him in despair and altered his mental state. He discusses the challenges of coping with intense grief, and the

<sup>217</sup> The death of Gabalas' wife is echoed in PB9, PB11, PB23, B27.2–5 and B64.105 and Michael Gabras, *Letter* 87.1–75.

<sup>218</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Michael Gabras* (PB10.1–2, 4–14): Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σπαντὸν οἶμαι τὴν παρὰ τῆς κοινῆς τῆσδε τῶν πραγμάτων φορᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν καταμελετηθεῖσαν ἐπήρειαν λεληθέναι, ἢ δήπου μετὰ τῆς συντροφου καὶ τῶν φρενῶν ἀπεστέρησε· [...] τίς γὰρ οὕτω νέαν ἡλικίαν ἰδὼν οὐχ ὅτ' ἔδει μετοικισθεῖσαν εἰς Ἀθην καὶ ὥσπερ γενομένην οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ ἡλίῳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ συνείη, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ σκότει τε καὶ νυκτί, μὴ οὐχὶ λήθην αὐτίκα πείσεται, ὧν εἰκὸς τούτῳ παρὰ τὸν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι καιρόν; ἀλγοῦμεν οὖν, καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς ἄπορον ἐληλέχθαι πᾶσαν προαγομένην ἡμῖν μηχανὴν· οἷον γάρ τινα τροπὴν ὁ νοῦς πεπονθὼς τῇ τοῦ πάθους σφοδρότητι. πρῶτα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐχ οἷος τε ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τε χρῆσθαι πρὸς εὖρεσιν τοῦ βελτίου, δεῖ πάντως ψυχὴν ἐξημεροῦσθαι τὸ ἄγριον τῆς λύπης ἀποβαλοῦσαν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν· ἐπειτα δ' οὕτως ἔχοντι, ἀνάγκη μὴ δὲ προσίστασθαι, ἃ τις ἂν ἐξωθεν αὐτῷ παρεμβάλοι, κἂν ποτε μικρὸν ἀνενέγκοι· ἄλλο τοῦτο δεινὸν ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀρφανία παρεμπεσοῦσα συνέχεε τε αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν καὶ πατέσεισε καὶ χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν διέθετο. ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ δεινὸν γυναικὸς ἅμα θάνατον καὶ παιδὸς ὀρφανίαν καταθρηνεῖν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ὧδε, νῦν δ' ἐκέισε ἀντισπᾶσθαι τῇ συμφορᾷ· καὶ περὶ τῆς μὲν οἰχομένης ὀδύρεσθαι, τοῦ δ' ἐπιστένειν προδομένου καὶ μητρῶν πλάγχθη ἀπερρηγμένου· πῶς οἶε με διατίθεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν οὐκ ἔχον τὸ παιδίον μητέρα θεᾶσθαι ἔμοιγ' ἐμφύηται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡ μητρὶ παρέχειν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀποδιδῶ τῷ γεννήσαντι;

responsibility and hardships of raising his child alone.<sup>219</sup> Kourousis surmised that Gabalas' wife died around 1312 and suggested that their son, whom he identifies as John Gabalas (PLP 3302), was born just a year prior to her death.<sup>220</sup>

Gabalas' son is mentioned in various contexts. He served as the messenger for Gabalas' *Letter* to Nicholas Lampenos (B27.21–25) and later led his father's company from Constantinople to Brysis (see Section 1.5). John Gabalas' visit to Lampenos might suggest that he received his education among the circle of scholars to whom his father, at times, offered spiritual guidance and instruction (see Section 2.5).

During the period of the second civil war, as detailed by Gregoras' *Roman History*, John Gabalas was involved in a corruption scandal alongside Alexios Apokaukos.

Since things were not going according to Apokaukos' mind, he began to go against the emperor's interests [sc. John V Palaiologan]. [...] He [sc. Apokaukos] recognized that he could gain access to the Patriarch as well as to John Gabalas through bribes and gifts. John, who had acquired a certain eloquence that was very persuasive to those who listened, including those who formed part of the imperial assembly and council. [...] Apokaukos then directed his strategies and cunning tricks of deceit against John Gabalas; and by raising his daughter to the status of a wife, he compelled him through sworn oaths to confirm and trust in the decisions made, should he wish to follow his own desires completely. [...] John Gabalas, already perceiving Apokaukos as delirious from many signs, and somehow indicating his least willingness to guarantee the security towards him, secretly went to [the Empress] Anna and informed the empress that Apokaukos was plotting, after having taken your son, the emperor, to his own fortress, to marry him to his own daughter through the Patriarch. [...] For when Apokaukos was brought down to the depths by John Gabalas, he risked disaster, but he emerged and regained his former glory, as has been said, by means of which he thereafter deployed every possible measure to defend himself, until, fearing the worst of dangers, he fled into the greatest sanctuary of God's wisdom [sc. Hagia Sophia].<sup>221</sup>

<sup>219</sup> On the *topos* of the *mors immatura*, see Eleni Kaltsogianni, "The 'Legacy' of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Pseudo-Menander: Aspects of Byzantine Rhetoric under the Palaiologoi", in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 41.

<sup>220</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 319.

<sup>221</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History* 2.696.15–16, 20–24, 701.19–23, 710.16–23, 726.6–11 Bekker&Schopen: Ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀποκαύκῳ τὰ κατὰ γνώμην οὐκ εὖοδα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβάδιζεν. [...] ἔγνω γὰρ προβιβασμοῖς γερῶν καὶ προσόδων πόροις ὑπελθεῖν τὸν τε πατριάρχην καὶ ἅμα τὸν Γαβαλᾶν Ἰωάννην· ὃς γλωττοδαίδαλόν τινα πρὸς τῆς φύσεως κτησάμενος εὐστομίαν μάλα τοι πιθανὸς ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀκούουσι, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ ὅσοι τὴν βασιλείον συνεκρότουν σύγκλητον καὶ βουλὴν. [...] ὁ Ἀπόκαυκος ἐπὶ τὸν Γαβαλᾶν Ἰωάννην λουπὸν προσῆγε τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις τῶν δόλων· καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα κατεγγυᾶσθαι μετεωρίσας ὄρκους ἠνάγκασε τὰ βεβουλευμένα κυροῦν καὶ πιστοῦσθαι τοῦτον, εἰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθάπαξ βουλήμασιν ἔπεσθαι βούλοιο. [...] ὁ Γαβαλάς Ἰωάννης, ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη σημείων αἰσθόμενος Ἀπόκαυκον παραλογιζόμενον, κὰν τῷ παρακρούεσθαι πῶς δεικνύντα τὸ ἥκιστα βούλεσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ κήδους ἐγγύην,

Initially swayed by Apokaukos through bribery, John Gabalas was drawn into Apokaukos' plots, including a plot to arrange a marriage between his daughter and the young Emperor John V Palaiologos. However, John eventually perceived Apokaukos' intentions and secretly informed Empress Anna of Savoy (the Palaiologina), thus contributing to Apokaukos' temporary downfall, although he later regained his status. Apokaukos held the title of *megas doux* from 1341 to 1345. Additional sources mention the coup d'état in Autumn 1341 led by Anna of Savoy and Apokaukos, which might be potentially linked to Gregoras' account.<sup>222</sup> Records indicate that John Gabalas held the title of *protosebastos* from January 1342 to Spring 1344, according to Gregory Akindynos' *Letter* 34 to one of the Logaras brothers, Philip or Sabbas.<sup>223</sup> Significantly, Philip Logaras received correspondence from Manuel Gabalas regarding his time in Ephesus, indicating a network of political ties extending through his son. Overall, Gregoras portrays John as an influential member in the court of Emperor John V Palaiologos, with direct access to the empress. In this context, Manuel Gabalas submitted his *Request* to Empress Anna in 1346, asking for Patriarch John XIV Kalekas' deposition.

In his later years, John Gabalas served as his father's scribe. He transcribed his father's *Confession of Faith* (25–26 Rigo).<sup>224</sup> John Kantakouzenos observed that Manuel annotated the letters and writings initially penned by his son, which indicates their close collaboration.<sup>225</sup> This partnership is further evidenced by the contribution of a third individual in at least two of Manuel Gabalas' manuscripts, here called the Secretary of Gabalas (see Section 2.3), who likely was his son. Identifying John Gabalas' handwriting could offer new research paths into Manuel Gabalas' circle of scribes, potentially revealing his son's collaboration in the production of other manuscripts from this period.

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λάθρα προσιών Ἄννη μηνύει τῇ βασιλίδι, ὡς Ἀπόκαυκος μελετῶν, μετενεγκὼν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φρούριον βασιλέα τὸν σὸν υἱόν, διὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου συζευξάιναι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρί. [...] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόκαυκος ἐς βυθοὺς πρὸς τοῦ Γαβαλά κατενεχθῆναι δυστυχιμάτων παρεκινδύνευσεν μὲν, ἀνένηξε δ' οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὶν ἀφίκετο εὐδοξίαν, ὥς γε εἴρηται, δι' ὧν λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται πάσας ἐκίνηκε μηχανάς· ἕως, μὴ τὰ μείζω τῶν δεινῶν ὑποστῇ, δέισας αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν μέγιστον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας κατεπεφεύγει νεών.

<sup>222</sup> Polemis, "The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends", 354.

<sup>223</sup> The historical context of this *Letter* is explained by Angela Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1983), *Letter* 34, pg. 125–27, and commentary at pg. 363–66.

<sup>224</sup> See Antonio Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 61–63, 179–83. Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 319; Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 9.

<sup>225</sup> This is recalled in a note from an unpublished work of John Kantakouzenos, kept in manuscript Laur. Plut. 8.8., f. 109v, which was transcribed by Antonio Rigo, "Il Prooemium contra Barlaamum et Acindynum di Giovanni Cantacuzeno e le sue fonti", *REB* 74 (2016): 36, n. 26.

## 7. Deposition, Repentance and Condemnation (1347–ca. 1355/57)

The last decade of Manuel Gabalas' life is characterized by a decline that included some of his frustrated aspirations towards the patriarchal seat, as well as his deposition as metropolitan, recantation and condemnation during John VI Kantakouzenos' reign. Building on Antonio Rigo's recent publications, this section dives into the complex ecclesiastical dynamics in the context of the Palamite controversy, showcasing the interplay between theology, politics, and personal ambition in Byzantine ecclesiastical history.<sup>226</sup>

### Frustrated Aspirations, First Deposition, and Ties with the Akindynists

Following Patriarch John XIV Kalekas' deposition and John Kantakouzenos' rise to power, the Synod condemned the teachings of Barlaam and Akindynos and proclaimed those of Gregory Palamas (25–28 February 1347).<sup>227</sup> Gabalas devoted a *Prayer to the Emperor by the High Priest* (G5) to the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. One can be observed how Gabalas chooses this genre to address to the emperors, as he did with Andronikos III (see Section 1.5). Of the newly proclaimed Emperor, Gabalas extolls the political and religious virtues, while invoking divine guidance and assistance for his reign.

Holy and Benevolent God, You who created the spiritual world and the angelic authorities and dominions with the mighty power and the arm of Your Magnificence. You who brought this visible world out of non-being into being, adorning it with multiple forms and establishing the divine powers of angels and humans to guard it each day, lest we fall into disorder, when having been left ungoverned. O Kind Lord, the one whom You have chosen as the emperor of Your people who bear the name of Christ, protect him with Your right hand, strengthen him against visible and invisible enemies, widen through him the boundaries of Your inheritance,<sup>228</sup> and illuminate his soul with the grace of virtues. Raise him up to give aid to the oppressed, to take up the cause of the wronged ones, to give hope to the poor, to comfort those who mourn, to hold him up as a support of piety, to safeguard doctrines and to protect all good things. Give

<sup>226</sup> Antonio Rigo, "Il prosthagma di Giovanni VI Cantacuzeno del marzo 1347", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 50 (2013): 741–62; Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell'anno 1346"; Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Costantinopoli*. For the historical context, see Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 205–50.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. PRK II 147.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Isaiah 54:2.



him alongside the present life also the eternal bliss, in order that through all things Your all-holy name may be praised and glorified, forever and ever! Amen.<sup>229</sup>

John VI Kantakouzenos was destined to be a key figure in the final years of Gabalas' years, mainly characterized by the Palamite controversy. Building upon Antonio Rigo's recent research, we will explore these topics. Rigo has shed new light on the question of how the opponents to the former Patriarch John XIV Kalekas were divided into two distinct groups: one of these groups was led by Gabalas, the other by Athanasios of Cyzicus and Makarios of Philadelphia.<sup>230</sup> In light of our later discussion on the theological works of Gabalas, it is important to note now that these prominent leaders, Gabalas, Athanasios and Makarios, do not represent the monastic community – as the Palamite movement does –, but rather two of groups of power within the Church's hierarchy – they are called 'the hierarchs' by Palamas himself –, which, at certain points, became intertwined with the cause of either the Akindynist or the pro-Palamite movement, both from a political-ecclesiastical and a doctrinal perspective.

The testimonies of Kantakouzenos and Isidore provide insights into the activities and efforts of the Metropolitan of Ephesus to find an appropriate successor for Kalekas. Kantakouzenos claims that Gabalas and other metropolitans sought to secure the patriarchate as a reward for their support during the civil war (see Section 1.6), and even attempted to manipulate the votes for the new patriarch's election. The coalition led by the metropolitans Athanasios of Cyzicus and Makarios of Philadelphia had a larger number of followers.<sup>231</sup> This faction, younger and more dynamic than Gabalas' and capable of catalyzing a significant shift in the status quo, supported Gregory Palamas and Isidore Bucheiras, which was in line with the emperor's preference. Between 17 and 21 May 1347, Isidore was elected as new patriarch

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<sup>229</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Prayer to the Emperor by the High Priest* (G5, Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 57r–v): Εὐχή πρὸς βασιλέα παρὰ ἀρχιερέως. Θεὲ ἅγιε καὶ φιланθρωπινέ, ὁ τῇ κραταιᾷ δυνάμει καὶ τῷ βραχίονι τῆς μεγαλωσύνης σου τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητα δημιουργήσας· ὁ καὶ τὸν ὁρατὸν τούτον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν, καὶ παντοίοις εἶδεσι διακοσμήσας, ὁ θείας δυνάμεις ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστήσας εἰς φυλακὴν ἡμέραν, μήπως ἀκυβέρνητοι καταλειφθέντες εἰς ἀκοσμίαν μεθαρμοσθῶμεν· αὐτὸς φιλάγαθε κύριε, ὃν ἐξελέξω βασιλέα τοῦ χριστωνύμου λαοῦ σου, περιφρούρησον τῇ σῇ δεξιᾷ, ἐνίσχυσον κατὰ τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν, πλάτυνον δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ σχοινίσματα τῆς κληρονομίας σου, καταλάμπρυνον αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν χάρισιν· ἀνάδειξον αὐτὸν, καταπονουμένων βοήθειαν, [Fol. 57v] ἀδικουμένων ἀντίληψιν, πενομένων ἐπίσκεψιν, λυπουμένων παραμυθίαν, στηριγμὸν εὐσεβείας, δογμάτων ἀσφάλειαν, φυλακὴν παντός ἀγαθοῦ· δὸς αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς καὶ τὸν αἰωνίαν μακαριότητα, ἵνα διὰ πάντων εὐλογῇται καὶ δοξάζεται τὸ πανάγιόν σου ὄνομα, εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

<sup>230</sup> Isidore I, *Tome of Deposition* 78–80 Rigo; Kantakouzenos, *Foreword* 200–5 Rigo and *History* 3.25.13–27.117 Bonn. Cf. Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa" e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 305, 310; Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Costantinopoli*, 31–36, 46–47, 79–80; Rigo, "Il Prooemium contra Barlaamum et Acindynum di Giovanni Cantacuzeno e le sue fonti".

<sup>231</sup> They had formerly supported Gabalas by endorsing the *Request to Anna Palaiologina* and writing the *Statement* (September–October 1346).

and Palamas as Archbishop of Thessalonike, following their absolution from Kalekas' condemnation three years prior (November 1344). Isidore I, then, proceeded to crown John VI Kantakouzenos as emperor in Constantinople.

The sources state that Gabalas felt ignored when his aspirations to become patriarch were thwarted.<sup>232</sup> Both the emperor and the new patriarch sought to reach an agreement with the dissidents. Gabalas declined to sign the profession of faith that condemned Barlaam and Akindynos.<sup>233</sup> He participated and organized meetings that discussed the irregularity of Isidore I's election, of which at least two are known.<sup>234</sup> The first took place in the church of the Holy Apostles, where a now-lost document was drafted. The other one, held at Saint Stephen's monastery holds particular importance as it was led by Gabalas and culminated in the *Tome of the Opponents* from July 1347, recently edited by Antonio Rigo.<sup>235</sup> The *Tome* seeks to depose Isidore I as patriarch and Gregory Palamas as Metropolitan of Thessalonike. The text denounces the intervention of secular powers in the patriarch's election.<sup>236</sup> The accusation against Kantakouzenos reveals the deteriorated bond with his former confidant. The *Tome* further levels accusations against the patriarch for practices of iconoclasm and non-observance of fasts and vigils. The signatories include the metropolitans Joseph of Ganos, Chariton of Apros, Neophytos of Philippi, Metrophanes of Palaiai Patrai, among others, as well as Gabalas (Matthew of Ephesus). This shows that the support for Gabalas came from the leaders of the Akindynist group, such as Joseph and Neophytos.<sup>237</sup>

In response, Patriarch Isidore I wrote the previously mentioned *Tome of Deposition* in late August 1347. This document, signed by Patriarch Isidore I and twelve metropolitans, validates the patriarch's election – thereby clearing the emperor of accusations of interventionism – and condemns his detractors.<sup>238</sup> The *Tome* mandated the deposition of Metropolitans Neophytos of Philippi and Joseph of Ganos for adhering to Barlaam's and Akindynos' teachings, and it imposed the suspension of Gabalas, Metrophanes of Palaiai Patrai and Chariton of Apros for rejecting Isidore I's election and the synodal decisions from May

<sup>232</sup> Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 39–45.

<sup>233</sup> *Tome of Deposition* 126–27, 228–32 Rigo.

<sup>234</sup> *Tome of Deposition* 117, 128–29, 133–34, 137–44, 249 Rigo. See Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 46–55. The antipalamites John Kyparissiotes (*Book of the transgressions of the Palamites* PG 152.737.3–14) and Arsenios of Tyre (*Tome against Palamites* 184–90, 222–27 Polemis) also allude to the meeting at St. Stephen's monastery and the *Tome of the Opponents*. Cf. Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 11

<sup>235</sup> Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 97–122, see also p. 52.

<sup>236</sup> This accusation is echoed by Nikephoros Gregoras, see Karpozilos, "Writing the History of Decline", 138.

<sup>237</sup> Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 54, 73–91.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. *Tome of Deposition* 104–11, 148–58 Rigo; Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 56–60, 123–47.

1347: “we declared them to be suspended from their duties”.<sup>239</sup> Notably, Gabalas, Metrophanes and Chariton were not accused of adhering to Barlaam’s or Akindynos’ ideologies, resulting in a milder penalty, contingent on their repentance. As Rigo highlights, John Kantakouzenos’ possible influence may have led Patriarch Isidore I to show leniency towards the dissidents.<sup>240</sup>

### Faith and Ambition: Gabalas’ *Confession* and Final Condemnation

Three years after his deposition, Gabalas signed a *Confession of Faith* on 22 April 1350, shortly after Patriarch Isidore I’s death. This may hint at a possible revival of Gabalas’ ambitions for the patriarchal see.<sup>241</sup> This text was dictated by Manuel and copied by his son, John Gabalas. In this *Confession*, Gabalas pledged obedience to the Church, retracted his writings against Gregory Palamas and Isidore I, such as the *Tome of the Opponents* and other texts, and condemned Barlaam and Akindynos. Gabalas explains his initial support for Barlaam and Akindynos by saying that he did not examine their arguments because he was in Ephesus.<sup>242</sup> Rigo has shown that Kantakouzenos probably encouraged Gabalas’ act of submission.<sup>243</sup>

It seems that Kantakouzenos first extended an offer of the patriarchal throne to Gregoras, who, however, declined the offer.<sup>244</sup> However, with Patriarch Kallistos I’s appointment as patriarch in 10 June 1350, Gabalas’ ambitions were once again hindered. The discord between the Palamite and Akindynist movements escalated once again.<sup>245</sup> A *Letter* from Nikephoros Gregoras to Gabalas should probably be understood within this particular context.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>239</sup> *Tome of Deposition* 252 Rigo: ἀργοὺς εἶναι ἀποφαινόμεθα. For Neophytos and Joseph, *Tome of Deposition* 247–48 Rigo.

<sup>240</sup> Rigo, *1347. Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 56–60.

<sup>241</sup> The title Ὁμολογία τοῦ Ἐφέσου comes from John Kantakouzenos, *Foreword* 211–12 Rigo. For the edition of the text, see Rigo, 61–63; cf. Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 9–12.

<sup>242</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Confession of Faith* 6–8 Rigo. Despite Palamas’ *Letter* to Daniel of Ainos, which claimed that the hierarchs had endorsed the excommunication of Barlaam and Akindynos in August 1341, it seems more plausible that Gabalas did not thoroughly review it. Thus, there is no need to imagine a second stay of Gabalas in Ephesus between 1347–1350, as suggested by Rigo, “Il ‘rapporto’ dei metropolit ad Anna Paleologa’ e altri eventi dell’ anno 1346”, 311.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. John VI Kantakouzenos, *Foreword against Barlaam and Akindynos* 209 Rigo.

<sup>244</sup> Karpozilos, “Writing the History of Decline”, 140.

<sup>245</sup> For a summary of the events from the perspective of Nikephoros Gregoras, see Rodolphe Guiland, *Essai sur Nicephore Gregoras: l’homme et l’oeuvre*, 35–36.

<sup>246</sup> The *Letter* is dated after July 1350 by the editor Pietro Luigi Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae* (Matino: Tipografia di Matino, 1982), 265. Cf. also Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 11–12; Guiland, *Essai sur Nicephore Gregoras: l’homme et l’oeuvre*, 35–37.

You, both mind and grandiloquent voice of the high-priestly assembly, my most divine lord, it is necessary for all, as is fitting, to seek your guidance in matters requiring the right judgement. In your presence, all those who – I do not know how – have their rank in common with you look like shadows that are wandering in vain. Therefore, we also need you in the present time for the benefit of the present time. Appear as fire, by which the evil and unlawful tongues are turned to ash, against those who oppose us!<sup>247</sup>

In this *Letter*, Gregoras urges Gabalas to take action against their mutual adversaries, probably Gregory Palamas and Patriarch Kallistos I. It seems that Gabalas heeded these calls, as he was subsequently condemned in the *Synodal Tome* from August 1351.<sup>248</sup> Prepared by Philotheos Kokkinos, the *Synodal Tome* encapsulates the decisions from an earlier synod presided over by John VI Kantakouzenos at the Palace of Blachernae (28 May 1351). This synod confirmed the orthodoxy of Palamas' teachings.<sup>249</sup> During the Synod, the *Tome of Deposition* (August 1347) was examined. Joseph of Ganos and Gabalas were requested to recant. Upon their refusal, the patriarch stripped them of their ecclesiastical insignia, deposed them and condemned them.<sup>250</sup> The text does not explicitly condemn Gabalas as an Akindynist. Rather, he was condemned together with an unidentified group of Akindynists, possibly including figures such as Nikephoros Gregoras, Theodore Dexios, and Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina. The conflict between Akindynists and Palamites extends beyond ecclesiastical politics and concerns two opposed theological doctrines (see Section 4.2). Gabalas was associated with the anti-Palamite movement in the years following his condemnation, as evidenced by the inclusion of his name among the list of anti-Palamites in manuscript Vat. gr. 1096, copied by Demetrios Kydones.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Letter to the Metropolitan of Ephesus* 102 Leone: Τῷ Ἐφέσου. Σὺ καὶ νοῦς καὶ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη γλῶσσα τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ὁμηγύρεως, θειότατε δέσποτά μου, καὶ σοῦ δεῖ πάντας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, δεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀρθῆς δεομένων τῆς κρίσεως ὑποθέσεων. σοῦ γὰρ παρόντος, σκιαὶ μάτην πλανώμεναι πάντες δοκοῦσιν, ὅποσοι τῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως σοι κεκοινωνήκασιν τάξεως. σοῦ τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεόμεθα, καὶ φάνηθι πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων, ᾧ τεφροῦνται γλῶσσαι πονηραὶ καὶ παράνομοι.

<sup>248</sup> John Kantakouzenos, *History* 3.168.20–24, 169.6–9 Bonn and *Synodal Tome* (120–24, 458–90 Lauritzen). See also Kantakouzenos' *Foreword*, Rigo, "Il Prooemium contra Barlaamum et Acindynum di Giovanni Cantacuzeno e le sue fonti", 50.

<sup>249</sup> The *Synodal Tome* from August 1351 is edited by Frederick Lauritzen, "Synod of Constantinople 1351", in *The Great Councils of the Orthodox Churches. From Constantinople 861 to Constantinople 1872*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni, vol. 4.1, Corpus Christianorum Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 179–218. See also Rigo, 1347. *Isidoro Patriarca di Constantinopoli*, 62–63 and Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat*, Vol. 5, Registers 2323–2324, 2326, 2328.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. *Synodal Tome* 458–493 Lauritzen.

<sup>251</sup> Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346", 312.

## Final Years

Nikephoros Gregoras commends Gabalas for preserving his sharp intellect and physical strength into his later years. He also praises Gabalas for his deep knowledge of pagan philosophy and Christian learning: “Moreover, the chief priest of the Ephesians was outstanding. He was an elderly man, for he had already passed his eightieth year, but his mind and all his senses were strong, and even stronger than when he was young. He possessed a dignified appearance, a smooth voice, and his philosophy had grown to include both Greek and divine wisdom”.<sup>252</sup> Gregoras’ testimony is essential for reconstructing details of his life in the condemnation from August 1351 and its aftermath:

And first of all, they attacked those two of our high priests [Gabalas and Joseph of Ganos], like wild beasts, with savage manners and insolent and frenzied words, tearing their garments and ripping off the insignia of their high priesthood, along with which were also pulled the hairs of the wretched men’s beards; it did not happen intentionally, but due to the force of that uncontrollable violence [...]. However, to me, they said nothing ignoble or disorderly, and allowed me to return home together with those two high priests and those learned men whom we mentioned as chosen to struggle with us until the end. But after some days, when they had sent us home, they also confined us, not imposing on us a five-year silence as was the practice of the Pythagoreans, but rather an eternal and very unpleasant silence, not only because of the forced and involuntary nature of it, but also due to the added restriction of neither writing, nor seeing, nor hearing anything at all.<sup>253</sup>

Gregoras records that the Palamites tore the garments and pulled hair of two hierarchs, namely Gabalas and Joseph of Ganos, during the Synod of August 1351. This portrayal clearly differs from the *Synodal Tome*’s narrative, a variance that might reflect Gregoras’ intention to accentuate the radicalism of his adversaries. At the same time, the *Tome* might also not reflect

<sup>252</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History* 2.892.12–14 Bekker&Schopen: Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων διέπρεπεν ἀρχιθύτης· ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτης μὲν, ὀδοηκοστὸν γὰρ ἡδὴ παρήλλαττεν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐρρώμενος δὲ τὰς φρένας καὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια πάντα, καὶ μάλα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ νεανίσκον. ἐπήνθει δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ κόσμιον εἶδος καὶ γλώττης εὐστροφος ἡχώ καὶ φιλοσοφία συναυξηθεῖσα αὐτῷ, ὅση τε καθ’ Ἑλλήνας καὶ ὅση τῆς θείας αὐλῆς.

<sup>253</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History* 2.1011.13–18, 1013.1–9 Bekker&Schopen: πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς δυσὶν ἐκείνοις ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἡμῶν, καθάπερ θῆρες, ἐπεισεπρόντες, ἤθεσιν ἀγρίοις καὶ λόγοις ἀσέμνοις τε καὶ μεμνηόσι, κατερρήγνυνον τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ κατέσπων τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης σημεῖα, οἷς συνανέσπωντο καὶ τρίχες τῆς ὑπὴνης τῶν ταλαιπώρων ἐκείνων· οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες μὲν, ἐγένετο δ’ οὖν τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς ἀκαθέκτου βίας ἐκείνης [...]. Ἐμοιγε μέντοι τέως εἰπόντες μὲν οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς οὐδ’ ἄκοσμον ἀφῆκαν οἴκαδε ἀπιέναι ζύν γε τοῖς δυσὶν ἐκείνοις ἀρχιερεῦσι, καὶ οὓς τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν λογάδας ἔφημεν συναθλεῖν ἐς τέλος ἡμῖν. Μετὰ δ’ ἡμέρας ἔστιν ἃς πέμψαντες οἴκοι καθεῖρξαν καὶ ἡμᾶς, οὐ πενταετηρικὴν τινα σιωπὴν ἡμῖν ἐπιτάξαντες, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἐκείνων, ἀλλ’ αἰδιὸν τινα καὶ εὖ μάλα ἀτερπῆ, οὐ διὰ τὸ βίαιον καὶ ἀκούσιον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔτι προσθήκην τοῦ μήτε γράφειν, μήτε βλέπειν, μήτ’ ἀκούειν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντων.

the reality of the violence involved in the measures taken. In any case, Gregoras admits that he was exempted from any ignoble treatment, noting that he, along with Joseph of Ganos, Gabalas and others, was permitted to return home, albeit under certain constraints, including the prohibitions on writing and speaking. In a *Letter* addressed to the anti-Palamite Cyril, Metropolitan of Side in Cyprus, likely written after 1354, Gregoras mentions reading a letter from Cyril to Gabalas: “In your letters to the most holy and divine man, I mean, the chief priest of the Ephesians, encountering and recognizing there the signs of your godly zeal, I have examined the character of your soul, as it is”.<sup>254</sup> These accounts suggest that Gregoras and Gabalas may have lived together in the Monastery of Chora. Gabalas died in Constantinople around 1355/57, certainly before a synodal decision by Patriarch Kallistos I from 1359/60.<sup>255</sup> Gabalas died excommunicated for “being driven away from the right path”, which has a notable irony to it, considering so many of his writings addressed wandering and error.<sup>256</sup>

## Conclusions

Manuel Gabalas, originating from the provincial aristocracy of Philadelphia in Lydia, was influenced early on by Theoleptos of Philadelphia, who probably introduced him to intellectual circles in Constantinople. Gabalas grew up in the context of the Turkish military advance in Asia Minor. He probably witnessed the First Siege of Philadelphia in 1304. By 1309, Gabalas was in Constantinople, potentially playing a role in resolving the Arsenite schism, before returning to Philadelphia, which was besieged for the second time that year. From 1311 to 1317, amidst personal and professional upheavals and conflicts with Theoleptos and Manuel Tagaris, he started to build a vast network, including connections with Michael Gabras and high-level political figures, most notably Emperor Andronikos II, Nikephoros Choumnos, and Patriarch John Glykys. Gabalas’ political engagement and his role as intermediary to the emperor in the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century highlight his growing influence.

After Theoleptos’ death in 1322, Gabalas entered into a conflict with Tagaris. The letters from this period focus on exposing Tagaris’ mismanagement and corruption during the Third Siege of Philadelphia and hardly discuss the events related to the first Palaiologan civil

<sup>254</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Letter to Cyril of Side* 97.1–3 Leone: Τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἱερώτατον καὶ θεῖον ἄνδρα γράμμασι σοῖς, τὸν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἀρχιθύτην φημί, συντυχὼν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ζήλου τὰ σύμβολα συνιδὼν ἐκεῖ, τὸ τῆς σῆς ὁπώσποτε ψυχῆς ἀνεμαζάμην ἦθος. The *Letter* is dated by Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, 253. Cf. also Rigo, “Il Prooemium contra Barlaamum et Acindynum di Giovanni Cantacuzeno e le sue fonti”, 70.

<sup>255</sup> PRK III 249.21–22 Hunger&Kresten: ὁ χρηματίσας Ἐφέσου ἐκεῖνος. Cf. PRK III 251.56. See also Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 12; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 354.

<sup>256</sup> PRK III 249.20–21: τῆς εὐθείας ἀποπλανηθέντες ὁδοῦ.

war. Gabalas exiled from Philadelphia, probably due to his conflict with Tagaris, after which he likely took monastic vows in Constantinople around 1323. As will be shown in the next chapter, Gabalas became member of a vibrant intellectual community, engaged in book exchange and literary criticism, and became *didaskalos* of a notable group of followers and students such as George Oinaïotes. It was during the early 1320s that Gabalas emerged as an intellectual authority, which, coupled with his active political role, enabled him to ascend to the highest ecclesiastical ranks in the late 1320s.

During Emperor Andronikos III's reign, Gabalas attained considerable ecclesiastical and political influence, demonstrated by his appointment as the Metropolitan of Ephesus in 1329. His role extended beyond Constantinople, with time spent as ambassador in Kiev and received a supplementary see in Brysis. Gabalas' ecclesiastical and political ascent allowed him to influence key judicial and ecclesiastical reforms. He might have been involved in the manipulation of the Register of the Patriarchate, likely attempting to conceal the corruption schemes related to the universal judges. His leadership in Ephesus, strategic alliances, and opposition to Patriarch John XIV Kalekas during the second Palaiologan civil war illustrate his impact on Byzantine religious and political life. During the Palamite controversy, Gabalas joined the Akindynist faction. Despite his ambitions for the patriarchal see from 1347 onwards, Gabalas faced opposition, leading to his condemnation in 1351. His later years are marked by silence and proximity to Nikephoros Gregoras. The previous hierarchs, including Gabalas, were replaced by new church leaders who supported Gregory Palamas. Gabalas' life was thus marked by extensive political maneuvering, but also, as will be explored in the next chapter, by an extensive intellectual production.

## Chapter 2. Intellectual Network

This chapter delves into Manuel Gabalas' intellectual pursuits, examining his contributions from six diverse yet interrelated perspectives: that of student, scholar, scribe, author, teacher, and theologian.<sup>257</sup> Gabalas' intellectual activities primarily unfolded during the last years of Andronikos II's reign and throughout that of Andronikos III. Building on the previous historical context, this chapter paves the way for subsequent discussions on his philosophical and theological works.

The first section dives into Gabalas' spiritual and scholarly formation. The second section portrays Gabalas within a vibrant scholarly community, interacting with *literati* and influential figures through the exchange of books and literary criticism. The third section explores Gabalas' role as a scribe and editor, focusing on his transcription of works by ancient and contemporary authors. The fourth section portrays Gabalas as a conscious thinker and writer and explores the chronology of his works, revealing a progression of interests from literary and scholarly pursuits to a deeper engagement with ascetic life. The fifth section investigates Gabalas' teaching activities through his role as a spiritual guide and educator. The final section examines Gabalas' role in the theological debates of his time, particularly his stance during the Palamite controversy. Together, these sections aim to illustrate Gabalas' multifaceted contributions to the intellectual and spiritual milieu of the early Palaiologan period, offering insights into the interplay between literary culture, education and theological discourse.

The scholarly revival of the Palaiologan era originated from Michael VIII's efforts to restore teaching in Constantinople after its recapture in 1261. This initiative was driven by the necessity to restore the city's prestige and to train scribes, scholars and civil servants or bureaucrats.<sup>258</sup> Michael VIII appointed George Akropolites to impart lessons in rhetoric and philosophy to emerging intellectuals, including George of Cyprus, John Pediasimos and

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<sup>257</sup> The bibliography on the intellectual environment of the Palaiologan period has grown rapidly in the past fifty years. Most recently, see Sophia Kotzabassi, ed., *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2022). In the realm of research on higher education and Palaiologan scholarship, the scholarly prominence of Gabalas has increasingly been acknowledged by Constantinides, *Higher Education*; Sophia Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261–1453)* (Athens: Société des Amis du Peuple, 1996); Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*; Filippomaria Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios, and Antonios Rengakos (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 297–455.

<sup>258</sup> On the training of public officials and bureaucrats, see Pérez Martín, esp. 493. Cf. Benakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, 9; Michele Trizio, "Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project", *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 74.1 (2007): 284.



George Pachymeres.<sup>259</sup> Patriarch Germanos III appointed Manuel Holobolos as a teacher in logic and rhetoric at the patriarchal school around 1265/66.<sup>260</sup>

The reign of Andronikos II, despite the empire's economic impoverishment and military weakness, was a period of intense intellectual activity, cultural revival and abundant literary and scientific production. It was an era of philologists and bibliophiles.<sup>261</sup> Central to this cultural bloom was Emperor Andronikos II himself, an erudite ruler who surrounded himself with learned advisors such as Constantine Akropolites, Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites.<sup>262</sup> The imperial palace became a “prytaneion of learning”.<sup>263</sup> This led to an intensification of the study of the classical past, which resulted in advancements in various disciplines such as rhetoric and astronomy, but especially in philosophy. This was characterized by a renewed study of Plato and his exegetes, in which Gabalas' influence was fundamental.<sup>264</sup>

Many aspects of higher education in Constantinople during Andronikos II's reign remain unclear. Scholarship and knowledge during this period are linked to the disciples of George Akropolites, which suggests a continuity in education associated with imperial power. Notably, scholars such as George of Cyprus and Maximos Planoudes presided over a learned circle at the Monastery of Akataleptos in Constantinople.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, late 13<sup>th</sup>- and early 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts evidence a revival in philosophical studies at the patriarchal school,

<sup>259</sup> On the education in the early Palaiologan period, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 32–64; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 300–312; Pontani, “Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)”, 405; Daniele Bianconi, “Erudizione e didattica nella tarda Bisanzio”, in *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*. (Cassino: Edizioni Università di Cassino, 2010), 509; Pérez Martín, “Enseignement et Service Impérial à l'époque Paléologue”, 454, 459–64; Niels Gaul, “Schools and Learning”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople*, ed. Sarah Bassett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 270; Pantelis Golitsis, “The Reappropriation of Philosophy in the Palaeologan Period”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 265.

<sup>260</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 52; Eleni Kaltsogianni, “The ‘Legacy’ of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Pseudo-Menander: Aspects of Byzantine Rhetoric under the Palaiologoi”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 17, 32.

<sup>261</sup> Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 1; Filippomaria Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse: La tradizione esegetica Greca all'Odissea* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura), 265; Ihor Ševčenko, “The Palaeologan Renaissance”, in *Renaissances before Renaissance. Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and Middle Ages*, ed. Warren Treadgold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 147.

<sup>262</sup> Pontani, “Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)”, 407; Gaul, “All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”.

<sup>263</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 108–9.

<sup>264</sup> For the flourishing of rhetoric, see e.g., Kaltsogianni, “The ‘Legacy’ of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Pseudo-Menander: Aspects of Byzantine Rhetoric under the Palaiologoi”, 18.

<sup>265</sup> Gaul, “Schools and Learning”, 270. For teachers of elementary education, see Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 90–92; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 93; Mihail Mitrea, “A Late Byzantine Παιδαγωγός: Maximos Neamonites and his Letter Collection”, *JÖB* 63 (2014): 197–223; Pérez Martín, “Enseignement et service impérial à l'époque Paléologue”, 463–64.

primarily attributed to George Pachymeres' role as *didaskalos tou apostolou*.<sup>266</sup> In the sections to follow, it will be explored how Gabalas benefited from the scholarly foundation laid by these eminent scholars.

Early Palaiologan scholars constituted, as Ševčenko puts it, “a close-knit elite group”.<sup>267</sup> They formed learned circles that played a crucial role in fostering the exchange and dissemination of knowledge.<sup>268</sup> In this context, scholarship was a symbol of power and prestige, with intellectuals reinforcing imperial ideology. These learned circles shaped and contributed to the formation of the ruling elite. According to Matschke and Tinnefeld, Gabalas belonged to the clergy-*literati*, a segment of society representing 15.5% of the spiritual community during this period.<sup>269</sup> Likely starting in the 1320s, Gabalas belonged to the learned monks closely aligned with the Constantinopolitan aristocracy and the imperial court, eventually ascending to a prominent position within the church hierarchy, as outlined in the previous chapter. In this regard, Gabalas resembles his mentor Theoleptos of Philadelphia and the learned monk Joseph the Philosopher.<sup>270</sup> In his intellectual pursuits, Gabalas resembled scholars such as Nikephoros Moschopoulos, who, as Mergiali notes, combined a profound interest in ancient texts with his religious duties.<sup>271</sup>

## 1. The Student: From Spiritual Guidance to Scholarly Reception

This section explores the spiritual guidance and intellectual formation that Gabalas received until the early 1310s, with a particular emphasis on his contribution to the reception and dissemination of the scholarly work of the preceding generation of early Palaiologan intellectuals.

<sup>266</sup> Michel Cacouros, “Deux épisodes inconnus dans la réception de Proclus à Byzance aux XIIe–XIVe siècles: la philosophie de Proclus réintroduite à Byzance grâce à l’Hypotypôsis: Néophytos Prodromenos et Kōntostéphanos (?) lecteurs de Proclus (avant Argyropoulos) dans le e ‘Xénôn’ du Kralj”, in *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne. Actes du Colloque International de Louvain, 13–16 mai 1998: en l’honneur de H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink*, ed. Concetta Luna (Leuven–Paris, 2000), 592; Cacouros, “La philosophie et les sciences du trivium et du quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l’enseignement, le cas de l’école du Prodrome”, in *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission*, ed. Michel Cacouros and Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 13–17. Cf. Pérez Martín, “Enseignement et service impérial à l’époque Paléologue”, 464; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 310.

<sup>267</sup> Ševčenko, “The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals”, 69–70. On intellectual circles and collaborative scholarship in the Palaiologan era, see further references in Baukje van den Berg and Divna Manolova, “Byzantine Commentaries on Ancient Greek Texts”, in *Byzantine Commentaries on Ancient Greek Texts, 12th–15th Centuries.*, ed. Baukje van den Berg, Divna Manolova, and Przemysław Marciniak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 6, n. 26.

<sup>268</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 90–92.

<sup>269</sup> Matschke and Tinnefeld, 232–35.

<sup>270</sup> Riehle, “Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)”, 218.

<sup>271</sup> Mergiali-Sahas, *L’enseignement des lettres*, 99.

Theoleptos' spiritual guidance exerted a decisive influence on Gabalas' formative years. He mainly discusses this in his funeral oration for Theoleptos, titled *Personal Exhortation for Princess Irene-Eulogia*.<sup>272</sup> In this text, Gabalas fondly refers to Theoleptos as "that spiritual father" (A11.31.23 Previale: ὁ πνευματικὸς ἐκεῖνος πατήρ) and discusses his teachings as follows:

For like you [sc. Irene-Eulogia], having been spiritually reborn as a child to him [sc. Theoleptos], I did not just start being his pupil yesterday but long ago, for a long time and from my earliest age, having been raised by him in both body and soul and having partaken in his learning, partly related to education, partly to virtue.<sup>273</sup>

In this passage, Gabalas suggests that Theoleptos' spiritual guidance was something he shared with Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina.<sup>274</sup> It seems that Theoleptos played a significant role in Gabalas' upbringing, starting from his early adolescence. This influence likely began after 1284, the year Theoleptos became Metropolitan of Philadelphia. It is therefore unlikely that Theoleptos was involved in Gabalas' elementary education; rather, his guidance probably began later, focusing on what Gabalas describes as *paideia* and *arete*. One of Gabalas' colleagues is known, namely, a certain Kallierges, the recipient of Gabalas' *Letter B45* and *Monody on the Death of my Dearest Friend Kallierges* (A10). In this *Monody*, Gabalas evokes their shared education, likely in Philadelphia:<sup>275</sup>

But what element of your life, dearest, shall I mourn first, and what last? The long-ago nurture and education, which we have both enjoyed? We were of one mind with each other and competed for the same things, and if someone spoke of you, he meant me, and vice versa, and

<sup>272</sup> On this text, see Sections 1.1 and 2.1.

<sup>273</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Personal Exhortation for Irene-Eulogia* A11.31.5–8 Previale: καὶ γὰρ ὡς σὺ παῖς ἐκείνῳ πνευματικῶς ἀναγεννηθεῖς, οὐ χθὲς εἶναι ἀρξάμενος, ἀλλὰ πάλαι καὶ πρὸ μακρῶν γε τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας αὐξήθεις ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ λόγων μεταλαχόν, τῶν μὲν παιδείας, τῶν δὲ ἀρετῆς. For the *Personal Exhortation*, I follow with modifications the translation of Trone, "The Counsel of Manuel-Matthew Gabalas to Empress Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina on her Mourning over the Death of Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia", 223.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. Robert E. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 11.

<sup>275</sup> After their common studies, Kallierges devoted himself to political life in Thessalonike. He probably died at the end of 1320 or beginning of 1321. Most individuals with the name Kallierges in the Palaiologan era are linked to the city of Thessalonike. For example, a painter named Kallierges collaborated with Theodore Hagiopetrites and Euphrosyne, wife of Xenos Psalidas; see Robert S. Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonius Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaiologan Period", *JÖB* 36 (1986): 238. A certain George Kallierges was involved in the sale of three houses in Thessalonike and still another Kallierges has been identified as the miniaturist of Marc. Gr. Z 464; cf. Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi*, 204–6 and 104, n. 54, respectively.

if he addressed one of us, he was thought to have done so to both, and if he looked at one of us, he had the same opinion of both.<sup>276</sup>

The concept of *arete* likely encapsulates Gabalas' view of Theoleptos as a paradigm of ethical behaviour. In his *Personal Exhortation*, Gabalas portrays Theoleptos' teachings on virtue as fundamentally about facing misfortune (συμφορά) nobly and bravely (A11.31.15 Previale). This resistance to hardship, according to Gabalas' perception of Theoleptos, was based on five key principles: patience or forbearance, endurance, nobility, dispassion, and insensitivity.<sup>277</sup> These principles reflect what Sinkewicz termed Theoleptos' theological spirituality.<sup>278</sup>

For instance, enduring hardship echoes Theoleptos' counsel in his *First Letter to Irene-Eulogia*: "Restrain yourself in all things and always prepare for hardship".<sup>279</sup> The virtues and attitudes Gabalas mentions also align closely with Theoleptos' views regarding virtues exemplified by Christ such as obedience, forbearance, and humility.<sup>280</sup> Theoleptos particularly emphasizes forbearance (ὕπομονή), connecting it with self-control or continence (ἐγκρατεία), as evident in his *Second Letter to Irene-Eulogia* and his monastic discourses on the life of Moses (*Discourse 3*) and on humility and virtues (*Discourse 14*).<sup>281</sup> Theoleptos' spiritual guidance was deeply rooted in Byzantine monastic ethics, focusing on communal living or cenobitism, detachment from material possessions, fasting, fighting against harmful thoughts and fantasies, vigils, reading and meditation, psalmody, sobriety, prayer, memory of God, and transforming the soul's irrational and concupiscible faculties into reason, following the traditional Platonic tripartition.<sup>282</sup> By examining the influence of Theoleptos' ethical

<sup>276</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Monody on the Death of my Dearest Friend Kallierges* A10.22.17–21 Previale: Ἀλλὰ τί πρῶτον, ὦ φίλτατε, θρηνήσω τῶν σῶν, τί δ' ὕστατον; πότερον τὴν πάλαι τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν, ἣν ἅμω πεπαιδευμένα; καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἐφρονοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ταῦτά γε ἡγωνιζόμεθα, καὶ σὲ μὲν εἰπὼν τις, ἐμὲ γ' ἐδήλου, ἐμὲ δ' αὖ σέ, καὶ προσειπὼν ὁμοίως τοῦτ' ἐνόμιζε, καὶ προσιδὼν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε γνώμην.

<sup>277</sup> A11.29.6–9 Previale: τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἐν τοῖς λυπηροῖς, δηλονότι τὴν καρτερίαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, τὴν γενναϊότητα ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς, τὴν ἀπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν ρευμάτων τῆς ὕλης, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀλόγοις ἡδοναῖς τε καὶ λύπαις.

<sup>278</sup> Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 26.

<sup>279</sup> Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, *Letter 1.40–41* Hero: βίαζε σεαυτὴν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ γυμνάζου πάντοτε πρὸς τὴν στενότητα.

<sup>280</sup> These virtues are what Antonio Rigo and Anna Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 9–10 called "l'attività nascosta in Cristo".

<sup>281</sup> In particular, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *Letter to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina* 2.66–73 Hero: Οἶδας καὶ ἀκριβῶς οἶδας ὅτι τὸ πλεῖον τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγων πρὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔωρα ὃ τι μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὑπομονήν· πάντοτε γὰρ τοῖς πυκνοῖς ψεκασμοῖς τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἐπαινέτό σου ἡ ψυχὴ, *Discourse* 3.144–49 Sinkewicz: πληξὼν τὴν σάρκα τῇ δεκαλόγῳ ἐργασίᾳ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ ἀκτημοσύνῃ, λέγω, τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἡδονῶν, τῇ ὑπομονῇ τῶν ἀκουσίων θλιβερῶν, and *Discourse* 14.22 Sinkewicz: ἐγκράτεια γὰρ καὶ ὑπομονὴ τὸν θεμέλιον συνιστῶσι.

<sup>282</sup> On the spiritual views of Theoleptos in general, see Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 26–62; Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 5–35.

perspectives on Gabalas' writings, notably the *200 Chapters*, future research may provide deeper insights into their relationship.

### **The Influence of George of Cyprus, Maximos Planoudes and George Pachymeres**

Gabalas' personal manuscript, Par. Gr. 2022, sheds light on his educational background and intellectual interests. This manuscript has been previously discussed in the context of the Paris letter collections (see Chapter 1); I will provide an updated paleographical description of it (see Section 2.3). It contains Aristotle's *Topics*, letters by late antique authors such as Gregory of Nazianzos, Libanius and Synesius, along with several chronological calculations, thus reflecting the range of topics, authors and genres that Gabalas studied. The watermarks of these quires in the Paris manuscript date to a period between 1296 and 1310, indicating Gabalas' engagement with intellectual endeavors around a decade before the earliest letter of the Paris collection (see Sections 1.1–1.2).

Rhetoric, logic and the basics of theoretical sciences such as astronomy were standard disciplines in the curriculum of the Palaiologan era.<sup>283</sup> Gabalas was well-versed in Aristotelian philosophy, as, for instance, he produced a series of scholia to the *Topics* in the margins of the Paris manuscript (see Section 2.3), which nonetheless lack the depth and structure of Aristotelian commentaries and paraphrases by contemporary scholars such as George Pachymeres, John Pediasimos or Sophonias the Monk.<sup>284</sup> Overall his writings demonstrate a clear familiarity with Aristotelian philosophy. Given the moral and ethical nature of his writings, Gabalas probably also devoted great deal of attention to Aristotle's *Nicomachean*

<sup>283</sup> Pérez Martín, "Enseignement et service impérial à l'époque Paléologue", 458–59. A very similar description of the authors studied in the Palaiologan period can be found in Kotzabassi, "Kopieren und Exzerpieren in der Palaiologenzeit", 474–78, 481–82, and Bianconi, "Erudizione e didattica nella tarda Bisanzio", 480. On the stages of education, see e.g., Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 280–81. On science teaching, see Divna Manolova and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Science Teaching and Learning Methods in Byzantium", in *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, ed. Stavros Lazaris (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 53–104. For a later period see Cacouros, "La philosophie et les sciences du trivium et du quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l'enseignement, le cas de l'école du Prodrome".

<sup>284</sup> For a summary of Aristotle's commentators in the early Palaiologan era, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I: Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie* (Munich: Beck, 1978), 25–41, esp. 36–39; Linos Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium", in *Gedankenzeichen. Festschrift für Klaus Oehler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Regina Claussen and Roland Daube-Schackat (Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1988), 10–11; Linos Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Works of Aristotle (Except the Logical Ones) in Byzantium", in *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi*, ed. Burkhard Mojsisch and Olaf Pluta (Amsterdam–Philadelphia: Grüner, 1991), 50–54.

*Ethics* and its commentaries; for instance, he might have been familiar with manuscripts such as Laur. Plut. 85.1, the so-called *Oceanus*, connected to George of Cyprus' scholarly circle.<sup>285</sup>

Moreover, Gabalas' transcription of letter collections from late antique authors ties in with the widespread interest in epistolography in the Palaiologan period. Particularly noteworthy is his transcription of letters by George of Cyprus, which indicates Gabalas' early familiarity with the scholarship of the patriarch. Gabalas presumably came into contact with George of Cyprus' work not through his mentor Theoleptos, but through his connections within the scholarly community in Constantinople, which included the patriarch's disciples such as John Glykys, Nikephoros Choumnos, or even Nikephoros Moschopoulos. Gabalas' transcription predates the work of George Galesiotes, who also transcribed the writings of George of Cyprus in several manuscripts: Galesiotes transcribed parts of the latter's letters, probably around 1315–1319 (Mutin. α.R.6.19, ff. 193r–194r), was the main scribe for a manuscript from the 1330s containing George of Cyprus' writings (Leid. BPG 49), and for another one with his letters, as well as those of Synesius and Libanius (Vat. Gr. 113), which closely corresponds to the contents of Gabalas' Paris manuscript.<sup>286</sup>

It seems therefore that there was a concerted effort by both Gabalas and Galesiotes to preserve and disseminate the works of George of Cyprus. Not only did they reproduce similar content, but they also drew from the same authors, indicating that they might have been part of the same scholarly circle. It is known that Galesiotes collaborated with John Glykys in the copy of the manuscript Mutin. α.R.6.19, while Gabalas' acquaintance with Glykys' works is evident from two letters he sent Glykys. The first (PB18), dating to 1313 when Glykys was *logothetes tou dromou*, commends Glykys' literary contributions and his revival of rhetorical studies; the second (PB21), sent in 1315 after Glykys became patriarch, praises his eloquence, scholarship, and profound erudition, noting Glykys' lifelong dedication to piety, virtue and education in rhetoric (PB21.19–20).<sup>287</sup> This correspondence suggests Gabalas' familiarity with the literary output of Patriarch John XIII Glykys and likely his intellectual circle, which included

<sup>285</sup> On the late antique and Byzantine commentaries on *Nicomachean Ethics*, see Michele Trizio, *Il Neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea* (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2016), 17–21.

<sup>286</sup> Inmaculada Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240–1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio* (Madrid: CSIC, 1996), 326–27. Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 185–87. To these manuscript should be added the copy of Libanius and Synesius (Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 2564) and “una ricca raccolta retorica e agiografica del secondo quarto del XIV secolo” with writings of George of Cyprus, Maximos Planoudes, John Gabras and Nikephoros Choumnos (Par. gr. 3010). For these manuscripts, Bianconi, “Erudizione e didattica nella tarda Bisanzio”, 485–86, 502.

<sup>287</sup> John Glykys was *logothetes tou dromou* from 1294/6–1315. On John Glykys as scholar, see Robins, “John Glykys: The Maintenance of Standards” In *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*, (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1993), 173–200; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 98–99.

Galesiotes. Gabalas' reception of George of Cyprus' work may thus have occurred within the intellectual circle of John Glykys; this scholarly reception subsequently continued with Nikephoros Gregoras at the Monastery of Chora.<sup>288</sup>

It is also noteworthy that both Gabalas and Galesiotes transcribed Libanius' letters, a significant fact considering that the reception of Libanius' works during the early Palaiologan period is primarily connected to the learned circle of George of Cyprus and Maximos Planoudes at the Constantinopolitan Monastery of Christ Akataleptos.<sup>289</sup> Gabalas likely played an important role in spreading the intellectual work of Maximos Planoudes, who died around 1305. This role is evidenced by Gabalas' transcription of Planoudes' Greek translation of the *Distichs of Cato*, as well as the fact that Gabalas owned a Plato manuscript (Vind. Phil. Gr. 21), which is a product of Planoudes' philological and editorial activities (see Section 2.3).<sup>290</sup>

Gabalas also contributed to the dissemination of the scholarly work of George Pachymeres, perhaps the most important scholar from the early Palaiologan period together with Maximos Planoudes. Throughout his life, Pachymeres served both the emperor and the church.<sup>291</sup> As *didaskalos tou apostolou* at Constantinople's patriarchal school, he delivered lectures that combined theology, particularly the exegesis of the New Testament, with philosophy.<sup>292</sup> Pachymeres – otherwise known for his *History* – also wrote a series of commentaries to Aristotle. His approach to teaching Aristotle involved an introductory overview to Aristotelian philosophy, followed by detailed examinations of the original texts.

<sup>288</sup> For the reception of George of Cyprus at the Monastery of Chora, Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "El Escorialensis X.1.13: una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nikephoros Gregoras en el Palat. Heidelberg. Gr. 129", *BZ* 86/87 (1993): 20–30; Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre*, 325–28; Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Elio Aristides en el Monasterio de Cora", in *La tradición y la transmisión de los oradores y rétores griegos*, ed. Felipe Hernández Muñoz (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2012), 219–20, 227–29. For other examples of the collaboration of Gregoras and Glykys, cf. De Gregorio, "Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries", 405–6.

<sup>289</sup> Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Planudes y el Monasterio de Acatalepto: A propósito del 'Monacensis Gr.' 430 de Tucídides (Ff. 4–5 y 83–5)", *Erytheia* 10.2 (1989): 303–7; Taxis and Samara, "Monasticism and Intellectual Trends in Late Byzantium", 332; Gaul, "Schools and Learning", 270.

<sup>290</sup> Another copy of the *Distichs of Cato* is preserved in the manuscript of Makarios of Philadelphia (Marc. Gr. 83, f. 218r–227v, subscribed in July 1327). On the *Distichs of Cato*, see Panagiotis Athanasopoulos, "The Planoudean Translation of the Disticha Catonis Incorporated in the Textbooks of the Palaeologan and the Mathematika of the Ottoman Periods", in *Translation Activity in Late Byzantine World. Contexts, Authors, and Texts*, ed. Christos Angelopoulos (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 88. For a summary of the literary and scientific interests, manuscripts and scholarly production of Maximos Planoudes, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 66–89; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 34–42; Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 229–267; Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", 409–15.

<sup>291</sup> For the idea of the double (imperial-ecclesiastical) function, see I. Pérez Martín, "Enseignement et service impérial à l'Époque Paléologue" (Paris, 2021), 459; Francesco Plebani, *Gli scolari di Giorgio Pachimere all'Iliade di Omero (Libri VI–VII)* (PhD Thesis, Università degli studi di Genova, 2017), 2–3.

<sup>292</sup> Cacouros, "La philosophie et les sciences du trivium et du quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l'enseignement, le cas de l'école du Prodrome", 21–24. For this office title, cf. Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz: Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Munich: Beck, 1977), 55.

His commentaries, composed shortly before 1300, include works on the *Organon*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. These are mostly preserved in Pachymeres' autograph manuscripts or early 14<sup>th</sup>-century copies, except for the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which is partially kept in a manuscript owned by Cardinal Bessarion.<sup>293</sup>

Gabalas was involved in the reception and transmission of George Pachymeres' Aristotelian studies. He contributed to the transcription of Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* (not to be confused with Pachymeres' *Philosophia*, Book 2) in the manuscript Vind. Phil. gr. 248. Gabalas' handwriting is also found in the manuscript Vat. Gr. 321, which includes the Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Organon*.<sup>294</sup> These manuscripts indicate Gabalas' ongoing interest in Aristotle, following his personal transcription of Aristotle's *Topics* in the Paris manuscript. Gabalas' copy of Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* dates to around 1310. Research by Pantelis Golitsis suggests that Pachymeres likely died around 1315, which raises the possibility that Gabalas might have produced his copy during Pachymeres' lifetime.<sup>295</sup> These copies may correlate to Gabalas' sojourns in Constantinople in 1310 or 1313, a correlation for which, presently, empirical evidence remains elusive.

Gabalas' involvement in copying Pachymeres' commentaries positions him among scholars such as Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos and Joseph the Philosopher, who were also instrumental in propagating Pachymeres' scholarship.<sup>296</sup> The re-discovery of Pachymeres' works, some of which were previously attributed to John Philoponus and Michael Psellos or remained anonymous, has shed new light on his vast intellectual contributions.<sup>297</sup> This

<sup>293</sup> The writings of Pachymeres are listed in Plebani, *Gli scoli di Giorgio Pachimere*, 5–20; Pantelis Golitsis, “Georges Pachymère comme didascale: Essai pour une reconstitution de sa carrière et de son enseignement philosophique”, *JÖB* 58 (2007): 53–68; Pantelis Golitsis, “Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la Physique d'Aristote, faussement attribué à Michel Psellos”, *BZ* 10.2 (2008): 64. The commentary of Pachymeres on the *Nicomachean Ethics* has recently been edited and translated into English by Sophia Xenophontos, *Georgios Pachymeres, Commentary on Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics* (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2022).

<sup>294</sup> On these manuscripts, see Section 2.3.

<sup>295</sup> For the new date of Pachymeres' death around 1315, see Pantelis Golitsis, “La date de composition de la *Philosophia* de Georges Pachymère et quelques précisions sur la vie de l'auteur”, *Revue des études byzantines* 67 (2009): 215. I am grateful to Prof. Niels Gaul for bringing this paper to my attention. See also Pantelis Golitsis, “Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la Physique d'Aristote”, 664: “la copie a été exécutée soit du vivant de Pachymère soit peu après sa mort survenue à peu près à la même époque”.

<sup>296</sup> Pantelis Golitsis, “Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos, élève de Georges Pachymère”, in *Le livre manuscrit grec: écriture, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IXe Colloque international de Paléographie grecque (Paris, 10–15 septembre 2018)*, ed. Marie Cronier and Brigitte Mondrain (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2020), 305–15. On Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and his manuscripts, see Daniele Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi*, 223. For the influence of George Pachymeres on Joseph the Philosopher in the context of the θέατρα, see Erika Gielen, “The Synopsis of Joseph Racendytes: Like a Two-Faced Egyptian Hermes?”, *BZ* 63 (2013): 107–11.

<sup>297</sup> The *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* was formerly attributed to Michael Psellos, see Golitsis, “Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la Physique d'Aristote”, 2007. The *Commentary on Aristotle's*



achievement has been largely made possible through by means of paleographical studies. As research on the reception of Pachymeres' scholarship continues to expand, the intellectual relationships between early Palaiologan scholars become clearer over time.

## 2. The Scholar: Book Exchange and Literary Criticism

This section explores Gabalas' integration into the flourishing and vibrant literary milieu of the late period of Andronikos II's reign, providing a detailed picture of the potential members of Gabalas' scholarly circle. An analysis of various letters from the Paris and Vienna collections, spanning from his years in Philadelphia to his departure from his homeland and prolonged sojourn in Constantinople (from the late 1310s to 1331), reveals his active participation in a wide-ranging scholarly network engaged in book exchange and literary criticism.<sup>298</sup> The present analysis aims to shed light on the dynamics of literary production during this period and to add new details to the biographies of the individuals involved – some of them prominent figures during the reign of Andronikos II and beyond – and their intellectual relationship with Gabalas.

The key members of this scholarly circle include the literati Michael Gabras and John Gabras, a certain Sismanes, the bibliophile Nikephoros Moschopoulos and the archbishop Gregory of Dyrrachium, Joseph the Philosopher, an anonymous consul of philosophers, the aristocrats Nikephoros Choumnos and Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, the statesman Theodore Metochites, the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras and his student Nicholas Lampenos, and the scribe George Galesiotes Junior. Their intellectual relationships were based on strong ties based on *paideia*, mutual enthusiasm for learning and knowledge exchange.<sup>299</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites may stand out as they probably acted more as benefactors to Gabalas than as peers. As previously noted (see Chapter 1), the letters to be included in his letter collections were purposely selected by Gabalas himself to construct and project his rhetorical self image – a common practice among literati of the Palaiologan period. The surviving letters thus may not always faithfully represent the connections within the group. It is clear, however, that this group can be described as Gabalas' scholarly circle.

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*Metaphysics* was attributed to John Philoponus, Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale: Essai pour une reconstitution de sa carrière et de son enseignement philosophique", 66.

<sup>298</sup> On letters and literary criticism, see Riehle, "Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)", 217–19.

<sup>299</sup> Apostolos Karpozilos, "Books and Bookmen in the 14th C. The Epistolographical Evidence", *JÖB* 41 (1991): 255–76; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 133–58; Riehle, "Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)", 219; Taxidis, "Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium", 467.

## Michael and John Gabras

The correspondence between Gabalas and Michael Gabras is instrumental for understanding the sequence of events in Gabalas' life (see Chapter 1 and Chart 2).<sup>300</sup> This communication, extending over two decades from 1309 to at least 1331, highlights the significant role of Gabras in Gabalas' intellectual growth and possibly in his integration into Constantinopolitan society and intellectual circles. Unlike his formal exchanges with others, Gabalas' letters to Gabras are characterized by expressions commonly used in the framework of symmetric relationship among people of similar social standing such as "you are the head of [my] friends", "true friend" and "the best of all friends".<sup>301</sup> In the letters to Gabras from the Paris collection, Gabalas consistently seeks empathy, support and camaraderie. At various occasions, Gabalas expresses his dismay over Gabras' prolonged silence:

You seem to have fallen silent to such an extent, either because you believe that the power of words has become greater than we appear to you [...], or because, shaken in your senses by the weight of our distress, you consider that your words have become inferior to give me comfort in this matter.<sup>302</sup>

So, I am also afraid for you that the whip driving all terrible things upon us should also cause you yourself to act badly towards us. For a whole year has been stretched out in silence, and now it has even added fear lest, with this also being swept away, you might continue to hold dear and familiar the letters to me. Indeed, you owed it to respond to my letter sent after yours, when you wrote; and even if you owed nothing, you should have begun so as to heal a soul inflamed by misfortunes with soothing charms of words. For where would one find friendship, if not when one might make use of various affairs? Therefore, whether you maintain your former appearance for yourself, or have changed to the opposite, use whichever you prefer for us. However, I confess to be overwhelmed by emotion in other matters, but not to love where

<sup>300</sup> On Michael Gabras, see Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*; Diether R. Reinsch, "Ein bisher unbekannter Brief des Michael Gabras", *BZ* 96 (2003): 211–15. See also Anthony Bryer, "A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979 – c. 1653", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*. 12 (1970): 164–87; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 45, 103; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 243–54, 272.

<sup>301</sup> PB15.3 φίλον ἀληθῆ, B33.25 Reinsch: τὸ κεφάλαιον σὺ γε τῶν φίλων, B39.14 Reinsch: τοῦ πάντ' ἀρίστου τῶν φίλων.

<sup>302</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Michael Gabras* (PB9.1–4): Ἐοικας ἐς τοσοῦτον σεσιγηκώς, ἥτοι μείζον ἢ ἡμεῖς σοι δοκοῦμεν τὸ τῶν λόγων οἶσθαι κράτος περιγενέσθαι [...], ἢ τῷ βάρει τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν λύπης τὰς φρένας κατασεισθεῖς, ἥττους παραπολύ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθῆσασθαι.

it is proper, or to forget friends, neither when circumstances get worse nor when they get better.<sup>303</sup>

In the first passage, Gabalas hypothesizes two potential reasons for Gabras' silence: either Gabras is no longer concerned about him or the gravity of Gabalas' distress has caused him to doubt his ability to offer any comforting words. Letter writing and friendship as a means to alleviate pain thus emerge as key themes in Gabalas' earliest correspondence with Gabras.<sup>304</sup> Gabalas appealed to Gabras to provide solace through his reassuring words during a difficult period in his life, which might be a reference to the death of his wife or his dispute with Theoleptos. Anxiety about prolonged silence, seeking comfort and expressing concerns about limited communication or separation are commonplaces of Byzantine letter writing.<sup>305</sup>

The epistolary exchange between Gabalas and Gabras, moreover, revolves around shared intellectual interests, with a continuous book exchange and evaluation of *logoi*, which can be traced back to the earliest letter in Gabalas' epistolary corpus (PB1). Here Gabalas reports having read for an entire night a discourse written by Gabras:

Having given my whole night to your discourse, I found no way [...] to depart from it without some force. [...] And if ever there is need for strength, like in machines according to [...], such as I have now suffered outright with regard to your discourse. For it was truly adorned with double graces: on the one hand it is crowned with the graces originating from those who are ruling, as is likely; on the other hand with those which rise from the art of speaking in particular. As to the former, it shows a certain varied and noble goodness of manners; as to the latter, [it shows] an extraordinary strength which should adorn such deeds with abundance; just as I do not know how Homer adorned Hera by instilling a sweet desire in Zeus, or how you describe

<sup>303</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Michael Gabras* (PB10.23–32): τοῖνυν καὶ περὶ σοὶ δέδια, μὴ ποθ' ἢ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνουσα μᾶστις καὶ σέ γ' αὐτὸν τό γε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φαῦλον ἐργάσαιτο· ὅλον γὰρ ἔτος ἐκταθὲν τῇ σιγῇ καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἥδη προσεπελάβετο καὶ δέος μὴ καὶ τούτου περιαχθέντος ἔτι τὰς φίλας ἐμοὶ καὶ συνήθεις καθέξεις ἐπιστολάς. καὶ μὴν ὥφειλες ἐμὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀμείψασθαι πεμφθεῖσαν μετὰ τὴν σὴν, ὅτ' ἐπέστελλες· κἂν μὴδὲν ὥφειλες, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν ἐχρῆν ὥστε μειλίχοις ἐπωδαῖς λόγων συμφοραῖς φλεγμαίνουσιν ψυχὴν θεραπεύειν· ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις φίλας ἀπόναιτο, εἰ μὴ ἐπειδὴν ποτε χρήσαιτο ποικίλοις τοῖς πράγμασι; σὺ μὲν οὖν εἴτε τὸ πρόσθεν σχῆμα περισώξεις σαντῶ, εἴτε πρὸς τὸνναντίον ἡλλαξέ, ὅπερ ἂν ἡμῖν βούλοιο, χρῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι τᾶλλα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐκστῆναι ὕμνολογῶ, τοῦδε δὲ μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ χρῆ, ἢ φύλων ἐπιλελῆσθαι, μήποθ' ἡμῶν, μήθ' ἢ χείρων τῶν πραγμάτων φορὰ περιγένοιτο, μήθ' ἢ τῶν βελτίων. Cf. PB15.14–26.

<sup>304</sup> For the topic of “gifts of words”, see Floris Bernard, “‘Greet Me with Words’: Gifts and Intellectual Friendship in Eleventh-Century Byzantium”, in *Geschenke Erhalten Die Freundschaft*, ed. Michael Grünbart (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), 1–11.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Stratis Papaioannou, “Language Games, Not the Soul's Beliefs : Michael Italikos to Theodoros Prodromos, on Friendship and Writing”, in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Hinterberger and Elisabeth Schiffer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 218–33; Emmanuel Bourbouhakis, “Epistolary Culture and Friendship”, in *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography*, ed. Alexander Riehle (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 279–306.

the emperor [Andronikos II], so much into the discourse about these topics you have inflamed me; for I see the things regarding the emperor to be in this way, and your words to be in this way, as if Phidias had sculpted the golden Aphrodite, displaying a wonder to men both in terms of the material and the artistry. [...] But in order that you may know from the one who knows nothing, how your own speech is: it is as if either Hermes would speak using your own tongue or the Muses themselves or the daughter of Zeus [sc. Athena], by means of whom you praise the emperor as necessary; for his affairs should neither be mentioned without the divine nature, nor should your speech compete with others and not with such extraordinary deeds.<sup>306</sup>

Despite the fragmentary nature of the letter, it still conveys Gabalas' critical analysis of Gabras' encomium on the emperor, describing it as a "discourse of virtue" (ἀρετῆς λόγον). It is plausible that Gabras might be the author of one of the extant panegyrics that remain anonymous, a topic that requires further research.<sup>307</sup> In response, Gabras (*Letter* 54.18–20) sent a text written by himself, which involved a discussion between an old man and some children, culminating in a verdict favouring the elder. Although this particular work has not survived, Gabalas (PB3) mentions the book, referring to an elderly man with children and a court setting, and commends it as a beautiful and noble discourse. Gabras (*Letters* 72 and 217) welcomed the writings of Gabalas years later (see Section 2.4). These letters underline the importance of literary criticism and book exchange in the intellectual relationship of Gabalas and Gabras.

The letters exchanged between Gabalas and Gabras also touch upon Gabalas' own works, including some prayers preserved in the Vienna and Burney manuscripts yet to be published. Furthermore, numerous letters provide evidence of Gabalas' familiarity with Gabras' letter collection, as Gabras frequently mentions it (*Letters* 301, 329, 330, 365 and 175). The sequence and content of letters mentioning Gabras' letter collection can be thus outlined: Gabras (*Letter* 301) asks for the return of the first volume of his letters; upon reviewing this volume, Gabalas (B2) notes that Gabras had been seeking help from influential individuals

<sup>306</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Michael Gabras* PB1.1–2, 6–14, 25–28: Νυκτὸς ὅλης τῷ σῷ λόγῳ προσχὼν, οὐκ ἔσχον ὅπως [...] ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι μὴ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ [...]. κἄν ποτε δεήσοι στερρότητος, ὥσπερ τοῖς μηχανήμασι κατὰ [...] οἷον πρὸς τὴν [...] σχα[...] οἷον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ λόγῳ νῦν ἀντικρυς πέπονθα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς διτταῖς ταῖς χάρισι κοσμηθεῖς· ἃς μὲν ἐκ τῶν βασιλευόντων ἀναδούμενος ὡς εἰκός, ἃς δ' ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ λέγειν μάλιστα εὐτεχνίας· κἀκεῖ μὲν ποικίλην τινὰ καὶ γενναίαν τὴν τῶν τροπῶν καλοκαγαθίαν δεικνύς, ὧδε δ' ἀμήχανον τὴν ἰσχὺν ἣ χρὴ μετὰ περιουσίας τοιαῦτα ἔργα κοσμεῖσαι· ὥς τ' οὐκ οἶδα τί Ὀμηρος Ἥραν ἐκόσμησε γλυκὺν ἰν[...] ἐνθεὶς ἡμέρον τῷ Διὶ, ἣ σὺ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, τοσοῦτον εἰς τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγων ἀναφ[λεγέντα] ἐμέ· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄρω, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ σά, ὡς εἰ Φειδίας χρυσὴν τ[ὴν] Ἀφροδίτην ἀναφ[λεγέντα] ἐμέ· τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς τέχνης δεικνύμενος· [...]· ἀλλ' ἵνα παρὰ τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδότος εἴσῃ τὸ σὸν, τοιοῦτον οἶον τὸν σὸν ὄντα λόγον, οἷον ἣ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἂν εἰπεῖν τῇ σαυτοῦ γλώττῃ χρησάμενον ἢ τὰς Μούσας αὐτὰς ἢ τὴν Διὸς παῖδα, δι' ὃν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐφημεῖς κατὰ χρεῶν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τοῦδε εἰρησθαι μὴ σὺν θεῷ χρὴ τῇ φύσει, οὔτε δὲ τὸν σὸν λόγον ἄλλοις ἐπαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτοις ἔργοις ὑπερφυέσιν.

<sup>307</sup> For the extant panegyrics, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 30.

during a period of declining support, and he ensures the book's return; subsequently, Gabras (*Letter* 365) reveals his intention to send the second volume soon and to split the collection into four volumes (*Letter* 175); in a later criticism, Gabalas (B40) points out a flaw in the letter collection: some letters are of trivial nature such as the request for a coat.<sup>308</sup>

Another recurring topic in this correspondence is the literary achievements and the death of John Gabras. Michael Gabras (*Letter* 189) writes that, although his brother John was a bachelor without offspring, he left a legacy through his writings, which Michael refers to as his spiritual children. Despite hints that John Gabras was a prolific author, his works seem to have been lost over time. Both Gabalas (B30.48–51, B39.68–69) and Gabras (*Letter* 373) refer to John's death. Additionally, Michael (*Letter* 457) composed a prayer and devoted part of his letter collection's second volume to his brother's demise, according to *Letter* 175. This extended correspondence may provide further insight into the close relationship between Gabalas and the Gabras brothers, on both a personal and intellectual level.

### Sisman(es)

In *Letter* PB2, Gabalas discusses the exchange of a text with an individual named Sismanes. This person seems to have drafted a testament or last will (διαθήκης λόγον), intended for those who either changed their views at the last moment of their life or lacked the opportunity to write one themselves (PB2.1–2).<sup>309</sup> This document might be connected with the death of Gabalas' wife, although specific details are not provided. The exact identity of Sismanes remains uncertain, but his involvement in creating such a testament suggests a probable association with the legal system.

### Nikephoros Moschopoulos and Gregory of Dyrrachium

Around 1317, Gabalas (B61) wrote to Nikephoros Moschopoulos. This is likely the last known information regarding Moschopoulos after his tenure as metropolitan of Crete (ending around 1311/12) and as *proedros* of Lacedaemonia (around 1315/16). Gabalas' *Letter* expresses his gratitude and his intention to return a manuscript he had borrowed from Nikephoros earlier

<sup>308</sup> On this topic, see Markéta Kulhánková, "Ich bin auch eines schicken Mantels wert. Zum Manteltopos in der griechischen Dichtung", in *Epea pteroenta. Růženi Dostálové k narozeninám*, ed. Markéta Kulhánková and Kateřina Ludová (Brno: Host, 2009), 191–200.

<sup>309</sup> On Byzantine wills, see Helen Saradi, "Rhetoric and Legal Clauses in the Byzantine Wills of the Athos Archives: Prooimia and Clauses of Warranty", in *Lire les archives de l'Athos: Actes du colloque réuni à Athènes du 18 au 20 Novembre 2015 à l'occasion des 70 ans de la collection refondée par Paul Lemerle*, ed. Olivier Delouis and Kostis Smyrlis (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2019), 357–77. Cf. De Gregorio, "Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries", 407.

than agreed (B61.1–20). The manuscript chronicled the lives of the Martyrs, providing an interpretation of their stories, and included a prayer authored by Nikephoros Moschopoulos himself (B61.11–13). This manuscript might be identified as either the manuscript Athos, Monastery of Great Lavra Δ 46 (Diktyon 27357) or Jerusalem, Library of the Patriarchate, Saint Saba 33 (Diktyon 34290), both containing hagiographical metaphraseis and once owned by Moschopoulos.

Moschopoulos was renowned for his vast library, so large that it required four horses to be transported, as noted by his nephew Manuel Moschopoulos, and for his generous donations to monastic libraries.<sup>310</sup> The extant manuscripts of Moschopoulos date from 1303 to 1322.<sup>311</sup> Gabalas was probably part of Moschopoulos' scholarly network, involved in the editing of texts and the production of manuscripts. Thanks to this, Gabalas had access to several of Moschopoulos' manuscripts, including works of Plato and Homer, using them for his own scholarly work and teaching activities, as evidenced by the editorial marks they bear (see Section 2.3). The Cesena manuscript notably preserves the first version of Gabalas' *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (see Section 2.4).

Similarly, around 1317, Gabalas communicated with Gregory of Dyrrachium on the subject of book exchange. Gabalas (B63.1, 24–25) thanked Gregory for sending him Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus on the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity*, a work which Gabalas strongly criticized, and requested the *Glaphyra on the Pentateuch*. Both manuscripts, however, remain unidentified. Gregory of Dyrrachium, like Nikephoros Moschopoulos, was another important ecclesiastical hierarch of the time (see Section 1.6).

### Joseph the Philosopher

During the Third Siege of Philadelphia, Gabalas addressed several petitionary letters to Joseph the Philosopher (see Section 1.4). Among these, only *Letter B19* touches on the topic of book exchange. In this *Letter*, Gabalas (B19.48–62) says that he misplaced one of his writings, which, after being passed around among various individuals, eventually reached Joseph's

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Ševčenko, "The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the Year 1305 or 1306", 134; Taxidis, "Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium", 470–71.

<sup>311</sup> On the biography and library of Nikephoros Moschopoulos, see Robert S. Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonius Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaiologan Period", *JÖB* 36 (1986): 248–49; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 141; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 45; Alessia D'Acunto, "Su un'edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 45 (1997): 265; Ilias Taxidis, "Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium", 470–71.

hands.<sup>312</sup> The lost work was a discourse composed for a festival the year before, dedicated to the emperor and emphasizing his reverence for the Virgin (B19.14–42). This detail allows us to identify it as Gabalas’ *Address to the Emperor on the Occasion of the Dormition of the Mother of God* (A17), composed for the Feast of the Dormition on August 15, likely around 1326/28.<sup>313</sup> Upon realizing that Joseph had the text, Gabalas reached out to him to obtain a copy for his own collection, which is the version that survives today. This *Address* follows A2 (see Section 1.4) as the second discourse delivered by Gabalas to the emperor. It incorporates certain topics from the homiletical tradition of the Palm of the Tree of Life, as Kaltsogianni has shown.<sup>314</sup>

### The Consul of Philosophers

In a *Letter* addressed to an unnamed consul of philosophers before 1329, Gabalas (B60.2–13) presented his writings for literary evaluation, reciprocating after receiving some texts from the consul himself. Gabalas (B60.14–43) states that this consul is the only person qualified to offer valid literary criticism. This consul therefore also belonged to Gabalas’ intellectual network. The available information does not allow for a certain identification of the consul with either John Pediasimos, as Kourousis suggests, or Niketas Kyprianos, as Constantinides proposes.<sup>315</sup> Other consuls of philosophers from this period include Emparis and an unnamed individual mentioned in a *Letter* of George Oinaïotes, known for his expertise on Plato.<sup>316</sup>

<sup>312</sup> On the event, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 53–57. On Joseph’s life and writings, see e.g., Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 86, 149; Gielen, “The Synopsis of Joseph Racendytes: Like a Two-Faced Egyptian Hermes?”.

<sup>313</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 271v–277v. Προσφωνητικὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῇ κοιμήσει τῆς θεομήτορος (A17). It was studied and partially edited by Eleni Kaltsogianni, “A Fourteenth-Century Oration on the Dormition of the Virgin”, *Byzantion* 86 (2016): 171–86. See also Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 183–85.

<sup>314</sup> The structure, style, figures, sources and common themes of Matthew’s prayer with the homiletic tradition was studied by Kaltsogianni, “A Fourteenth-Century Oration on the Dormition of the Virgin”, 172–78.

<sup>315</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 269; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 127–30; cf. also Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 305.

<sup>316</sup> For Emparis, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 130. For the unedited *Letter* of George Oinaïotes, see Mariella Menchelli, “Cerchie aristoteliche e letture platoniche (Manoscritti di Platone, Aristotele e commentatori)”, in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting*, ed. Inmaculada Pérez Martín and Antonio Bravo García (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 500; Mariella Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, in *Vie per Bisanzio. VIII Congresso Nazionale dell’Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Venezia, 25–28 novembre 2009*, edited by Antonio Rigo (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina), 840.

## Nikephoros Choumnos and Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina

Gabalas likely entered the intellectual circle of the Choumnos family through the mediation of Theoleptos of Philadelphia (see Section 1.1). Theoleptos served as spiritual guide to Nikephoros Choumnos and especially to his daughter Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina from 1307 until his death in 1321.<sup>317</sup> Choumnos also had a mentor in George of Cyprus, whose scholarly work was known to Gabalas (see Section 2.1).<sup>318</sup>

It is possible that Gabalas first met Choumnos in Constantinople in 1310, given Choumnos' central role in the Arsenite agreements (see Section 1.1). Choumnos held the position of *mesazon* until 1314 but stepped back from active political engagement around 1315/16 due to chronic gout, and Theodore Metochites succeeded him.<sup>319</sup> Gabalas wrote several *Letters* to Choumnos (PB11; PB28–PB29; B5; B13) from around 1312 to 1324, mostly addressing political requests (see Sections 1.2 and 1.4) and expressing his wish that Choumnos settle his well-known dispute with Metochites.

One *Letter* (PB28) discussed the exchange of books and writings: John Monomachos had brought one of Choumnos' texts back from Constantinople to Philadelphia (PB28.56–58). This text was Choumnos' *Oration to the Holy Transfiguration of Christ*, likely written around 1314/15.<sup>320</sup> Gabalas (PB28.27–28) commended Choumnos for creating a spiritual work that was valuable for many people. Gabalas (PB28.1–4) singled out the Tabor light as a fascinating subject, as it symbolized the fulfillment of David's prophecies through Christ's coming, thus offering a typological interpretation of the Old Testament. Gabalas (PB28.5–6) confessed that the depth of the text enhanced his view of Mount Tabor as a more sacred place. In this *Letter*, Gabalas (PB28.56–58) also conveyed his wish to obtain other works of Choumnos and requested copies of them. There are no known responses from Choumnos.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>317</sup> For Theoleptos as spiritual father of Choumnos, see Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 9.

<sup>318</sup> For Choumnos as pupil of George of Cyprus, see Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 9.

<sup>319</sup> Riehle, "Rhetorik, Ritual und Repräsentation. Zur Briefliteratur gebildeter Eliten im spätbyzantinischen Konstantinopel (1261-1328)"; Riehle, "Epistolography as autobiography remarks on the letter-collections of Nikephoros Choumnos", 12–13; Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 14–26; Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 75–80.

<sup>320</sup> Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταμόρφωσιν (Oration 10 Boissonade), Riehle, 26–36, esp. 35 n. 170; Alexander Riehle, "Literature, Politics and Manuscripts in Early Palaiologan Byzantium: Towards a Reassessment of the Choumnos – Metochites Controversy", in *Le monde byzantin du XIIIe au XVe siècle: Anciennes ou nouvelles formes d'impérialité*, ed. Raúl Estangüi Gómez and Marie Hélène Blanchet (Paris, 2021), 597. Cf. also Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 77, n. 5; Eleni Kaltsogianni, "Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II Palaiologos", *JÖB* 59 (2009): 117–18.

<sup>321</sup> Theodore Hyrtakenos is another example of a scholar for whom letters to Choumnos are preserved, but not the responses, see Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320", 248, n. 21.



After Nikephoros Choumnos passed away, his family remained close to Gabalas through his daughter, Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina.<sup>322</sup> Gabalas' first known literary work dedicated to Irene-Eulogia is the *Personal Exhortation* (A11).<sup>323</sup> In a passage of this text, Gabalas offers words of comfort to Irene-Eulogia:

No one else will be a worthy guide in the same way as I am for bearing this misfortune with moderation, and none will be more judicious in presenting a judgement of your teacher's death.<sup>324</sup>

These words from Gabalas should not be taken as a sign that he stepped in as Irene-Eulogia's new spiritual guide after Theoleptos died. Rather, as Gregory Akindynos (*Letter* 40.11.25–28 Hero) informs us, after Theoleptos' demise, Irene-Eulogia struggled to find someone who could meet both her spiritual and intellectual needs. She was without a spiritual guide for a decade or more until Akindynos eventually became her guide, as Juan Nadal Cañellas has concluded.<sup>325</sup> Both Gabalas and Irene-Eulogia continued Theoleptos' spiritual legacy, with Irene-Eulogia commissioning copies of his letters and monastic orations.<sup>326</sup>

The intellectual bond between Gabalas and Irene-Eulogia lasted until their deaths in the 1350s, with Gabalas often (B32, B44, A11) lauding Irene-Eulogia's victories in the spiritual and moral realm: “you have become a paradigm of virtue to both women and men” and “a reminder of the highest philosophy and endurance”.<sup>327</sup> Gabalas also wrote the *Monody on kyr John Choumnos, Addressed to the Divine Princess with a Brief Exhortation to Console her Pain* (A12), following her brother John's passing in Chios in 1338. This text was copied by

<sup>322</sup> The biography of Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina has been thoroughly studied. See primarily and with references to previous studies Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Eirene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiogina* (Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1986); Nicol, “Eirene-Eulogie Choumnaina Palaiologina, Princess and Abbess, died c. 1355”, in *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 59–70; Anna Stolfi, “La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355): Un riesame”, 1–40; Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 97–98.

<sup>323</sup> For this writing, see Sections 1.4 and 2.1.

<sup>324</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Personal Exhortation* A11.31.5–8 Previale: οὐδεὶς οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ ἀξιόλογος εἰσηγητὴς σοι γενήσεται πρὸς τὸ μετρίως τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδεὶς δικαιότερος γνώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ διδασκάλου.

<sup>325</sup> This theory was argued by Nadal Cañellas, “La Réfutation par Grégoire Akindynos du ‘Dialogue d’un Orthodoxe avec un Barlaamite’ de Grégoire Palamas” (Lille, 1997), 492–519; Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d’Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas*, 30–83. See also Anna Stolfi, “La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355): Un riesame”, 18–28 and Mergiali-Sahas, *L’enseignement des lettres*, 103.

<sup>326</sup> The manuscript is the Ottob. Gr. 405, see Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos*, 20–23; Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d’Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas*, 67–79; Martínez Manzano, “Prontuario para una abadesa: El Escor. Φ III 11 e Irene Cumno”, 293–94.

<sup>327</sup> A11.31.20–21 Previale: ἀρετῆς ὑπόδειγμα γέγονας καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν, A11.26.35–36 Previale: φιλοσοφίας ἐσχάτης καὶ καρτερίας ὑπόμνημα.

Galesiotes (see Section 2.3).<sup>328</sup> In this *Monody*, Gabalas expresses sorrow over Choumnos' death, which brought his mentorship of the latter to an end: "For I am forced to become a mourner and a sharer of the suffering instead of a teacher and advisor".<sup>329</sup> Thus suggests that John Choumnos may have been one of his students.

While Irene-Eulogia's responses to Gabalas' letters are not preserved, there is a potential mention of Gabalas in one of her letters, which states "I heard from Manuel's mouth what Aaron had said to me two days ago" (*Letter* 19.14–15 Hero).<sup>330</sup> Aaron was one of her emissaries.<sup>331</sup> Should this Manuel be identified as Gabalas, it would constitute evidence of personal interactions between Gabalas and Irene-Eulogia in the 1330s. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that Gabalas ranked among the intellectuals in Irene-Eulogia's sphere, alongside Gregory Akindynos, Theodore Dexios, the anonymous collaborator of John Kalekas, Niphon and Menas of Ganos.<sup>332</sup> Although it seems improbable that the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter served as Gabalas' permanent residence (see Section 1.4), his close ties to this intellectual circle explains his subsequent support for the antipalamite pro-Akindynist faction, which, along with Irene-Eulogia and Theodore Dexios, faced condemnation in August 1351 (see Section 1.7).

### Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Gregoras

In 1311, Gabalas (PB7) wrote a *Letter* to Metochites asking for help for a young man, probably John Monomachos (see Section 1.2). This is the first known link between them. Further, Ioannis Polemis has suggested that Gabalas' *Letter* B11, written around 1323/24, was actually sent to Theodore Metochites, not to Nikephoros Choumnos as previously thought.<sup>333</sup> Polemis

<sup>328</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 146r–150r (A12). Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ Χούμνῳ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἀποτεταγμένη πρὸς τὴν θειοτάτην βασιλίσσαν, μετὰ βραχείας τινὸς παραινέσεως παραμυθουμένης τὸ ἄλγος. The monody is edited and dated to 1338 by Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend*, 269–78, following Stolfi, "La biografia di Irene-Eulogia Cumnena Paleologhina (1291–1355) un riesame", 39 and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes", *Scriptorium* 49 (1995): 42.

<sup>329</sup> A12.275.5–7 Sideras ἀναγκάζομαι γὰρ θρηνηφδὸς γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοῦ πάθους συμμεριστῆς ἀντὶ διδασκάλου καὶ παραινέτου, cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 190, n. 3.

<sup>330</sup> Irene-Eulogia, *Letter* 19.14–15 Hero: ὁ Μανουὴλ μοι εἶπεν ἀπὸ στόματος ὅπερ καὶ πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ὁ Ἀαρών.

<sup>331</sup> Aaron might be Nicholas Euaron (PLP 7), who owned a manuscript of Aristophanes that George Oinaïotes (*Letter* 63) requested. Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance*, 127 and *Letter* 12, note 24; Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d' Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas*, 61–62. For *Letter* 63 of George Oinaïotes, see Johan Edvard Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung: Codex Laurentianus S. Marco 356* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Kustantama, 1915), 5, 78.

<sup>332</sup> Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d' Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas*, 61–62.

<sup>333</sup> Ioannis Polemis, "The Treatise on Those Who Unjustly Accuse Wise Men, of the Past and Present: A New Work by Theodore Metochites?", *BZ* 102.1 (2009): 203–17. However, some criticism has been raised by Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 134, n. 93. For Nikephoros Choumnos as the recipient of *Letter* B11, see Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 196–203, 290, 340; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 88–89, 96–98; Mergiali-Sahas,

supports his view with an analysis of the letter's language and style and by pointing to a short pamphlet that Gabalas mentions in his *Letter*: "I have included this speech, which I love in many ways, among my own children".<sup>334</sup> Polemis identifies this pamphlet as *On Those Who Unjustly Accuse Wise Men, of the Past and Present*, found in both Gabalas' personal manuscript (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 301r–305v) and the copy of George Galesiotes Junior (Vat. Gr. 112, ff. 52r–55v).<sup>335</sup> Polemis notes that the pamphlet reflects Metochites' elaborate writing style and contains criticism of either Thomas Magistros or, more likely, Nikephoros Choumnos.<sup>336</sup>

In the same *Letter*, Gabalas (B11.1–20) praised Metochites for his achievements and knowledge in various fields such as dialectics, grammar, poetry, rhetoric, geometry, mathematics, arithmetic, and music during his youth: "Thus your name was praised in all branches of science".<sup>337</sup> Gabalas' admiration for Metochites led him to become interested in Metochites' writings, which he eventually acquired (B11.21–36). Moreover, Gabalas commends Metochites' pamphlet for following rules of the Attic language and combining both archaic and modern styles, creating a well-balanced and eloquent piece that displays both moral integrity and rhetorical skill:

[Your work] did not arrive in an inferior form, or in the way I now see most people being occupying themselves, who have the ambition to mix flattery and servility with the nobility of words and the freedom of human nature. [Your work] did not come to me with such a point of departure, but to my mind, and to anyone with a mind, it was dressed in a brilliant garment. This was because, when entering the noble contest against those who attempt to send forth nonsense, and to attack people, who should not be attacked because they are widely celebrated for all sorts of virtues of learning [Metochites himself?], you manage to provide two separate characters, of both your character and of your rhetorical skill at the same time, as if in one image. [...] And

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*L'enseignement des lettres*, 101; and very recently, Riehle, "Literature, Politics and Manuscripts in Early Palaiologan Byzantium: Towards a Reassessment of the Choumnos – Metochites Controversy", 604.

<sup>334</sup> B11.65–66 Reinsch: κατὰ πολλὰ ἀγαπηθεὶς ἐμοὶ εἰσεποιήθη τοῖς γνησίοις μοι παισίν. Cf. also B11.38–42.

<sup>335</sup> The pamphlet *Περὶ τῶν ἐπιλαμβανομένων οὐκ ὀρθῶς καὶ νέων καὶ παλαιῶν σοφῶν* was edited by Ihor Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels: Byzantion, 1962), 287–296, cf. also 64, n. 1.

<sup>336</sup> Ioannis Polemis, "The Treatise on Those Who Unjustly Accuse Wise Men, of the Past and Present: A New Work by Theodore Metochites?", *BZ* 102.1 (2009): 203–17. Attributions to Nikephoros Choumnos still persist; cf. Ottavia Mazzon, "Lavorare nell'ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes", in *Le livre manuscrit grec: écriture, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IXe Colloque international de Paléographie grecque (Paris, 10–15 septembre 2018)*, ed. Marie Cronier and Brigitte Mondrain (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2021), 424. The treatise was originally attributed to George Oinaïotes; see Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 115–18, 196–203.

<sup>337</sup> B11.15 Reinsch οὕτω διὰ πάντων τῶν μορίων τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐξύμνητο. For the intellectual production of Theodore Metochites, see e.g., Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 322–36.

your speech, in addition to the sublime diction of the sciences, which you have woven into it, has a diction that adheres exactly to the rules of the Attic language; but as for the linguistic expression of the thoughts, the composition and the arrangement of the figures, it follows, I think, on the one hand the archaic style, but on the other hand also the smooth and balanced one, so that it does not fall short, as if lame in either of them, in either the style that is solemn, heroic and elevated towards grandeurs, or the style that is distinct and clear and instills sweetness.<sup>338</sup>

The way that Gabalas speaks about Metochites in this *Letter*, especially praising his writing style, might suggest that Gabalas was starting to favour Metochites over Choumnos. There may have been a shift in Gabalas' alliances. This idea is supported by the timing of *Letter* B11, dating to 1323 or early 1324. This year marked the start of the controversy between Choumnos and Metochites, following the publication of Choumnos' polemical dossier and several of Metochites' discourses. Alexander Riehle points out that this controversy was mainly about different views on writing styles and the role of literature in society. Choumnos criticized Metochites for his obscure and hermetic style, while Metochites mocked Choumnos' philosophical works, including his views on Aristotle and Plato, and exposed his lack of knowledge in astronomy.<sup>339</sup> At its core, their controversy was part of a larger debate about education and the value attributed to Attic Greek, a topic that was widely discussed in the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century, especially in public spaces like the *theatron*.<sup>340</sup>

There is no doubt that Gabalas knew about their conflict, as can be inferred from his *Letter* to Nikephoros Choumnos (B5) written around 1323/24, as already recognized by

<sup>338</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Letter to Theodore Metochites* B11.33–42, 51–57 Reinsch: ἦκε δ' [sc. τὰ ποιήματα] οὐκ ἐν φαύλῳ τῷ προσχήματι οὐδ' οἷῳ νῦν προσησχολημένους τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁρῶ λόγων εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἐλευθερίᾳ παραμιγνύναι κολακείαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν φιλοτιμουμένους. οὐκ οὐν οὐ μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν κατὰ νοὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ παντὶ δὲ νοὺν ἔχοντι μετὰ λαμπροῦ τοῦ σχήματος ἐσκευασμένος. τόδ' ἄρα ἦν, ὅτι περ ἀγῶνα ἐνστησαμένῳ σοι γενναῖον ἐπὶ τοὺς λῆρον γλῶτταν ἐγχειροῦντας ἀφιέναι καί, ὧν οὐ καθαπτέον, καθάπτεσθαι διαβεβοημένων ἐπὶ παντοίᾳ λόγων ἀρετῇ, τοῦ τε τρόπου καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τέχνης κατὰ ταῦτόν ὑπῆρξεν ὥς ἐπὶ μᾶς εἰκόνας διττοῦς τινος τοὺς χαρακτῆρας παρασχεῖν. [...] καὶ δὴ σοὶ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις μεγαληγορίαις τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, ἃς δὴ τούτῳ συνεξύφανα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰς γλῶτταν Ἀττικὴν ἀπευθυνόμενα, εἰς δ' ἐρμηνείαν νοημάτων καὶ συνθήκην καὶ διάθεσιν σχημάτων τὰ μὲν, ὥς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, εἰς ἀρχαῖον ἀναφερόμενα τὸν τρόπον, τὸ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν λεῖον τουτονὶ καὶ μέσον, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ θάτερον χωλαίνων ἢ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τε καὶ ἡρωικοῦ καὶ εἰς μέγεθος ἡμένου ἀποπέσοι ἢ τοῦ διευκρινημένου καὶ σαφοῦς καὶ γλυκύτητα ἐνστάζοντος.

<sup>339</sup> Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 39; Basil Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, trans. Nicholas Moutafakis (Indianapolis–Cambridge: Hackett, 2003), 204–13 sees in this controversy a resurgence of the battle between Aristotelianism (Choumnos) and Platonism (Metochites, Gregoras).

<sup>340</sup> Riehle, 26–40, 64, 85. On the nature of the controversy, see more recently, Alexander Riehle, “Literature, Politics and Manuscripts in Early Palaiologan Byzantium: Towards a Reassessment of the Choumnos – Metochites Controversy”, 591–624. Cf. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 65–67. For the issues of *paideia* and *theatron*, see Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 23–25, 281–92.

Alexander Riehle.<sup>341</sup> In this *Letter*, Gabalas (B5.22–24, 44–45) strongly urges for peace and reconciliation, stressing the need to give up any resentment as nothing positive comes from such conflicts.<sup>342</sup> The shift in Gabalas’ sympathies might also relate to political dynamics: Choumnos entered monastic life in 1324, and Metochites emerged as the new key player in the Palaiologan politics, having been appointed *megas logothetes* by April 1317.<sup>343</sup> Gabalas’ continued communication with Choumnos’ daughter, Irene-Eulogia, does not contradict this hypothesis, as she reportedly had her own disagreements with her father during the same period.<sup>344</sup>

By drawing closer to Metochites, Gabalas also established connections with Nikephoros Gregoras. This relationship likely gave Gabalas access to the vibrant intellectual circle of the Chora Monastery. Gregoras, a distinguished student of John Glykys and Theodore Metochites, was the leading member of the second generation of scholars of the Palaiologan period.<sup>345</sup> The Chora Monastery was instrumental in disseminating Maximos Planoudes and George of Cyprus’ scholarly works, a task also taken up by Gabalas himself (see Section 2.1).<sup>346</sup> In fact, some manuscripts that preserve Gabalas’ works show links with Gregoras’ scholarly production (see Section 2.4). Gabalas developed a profound and intellectually stimulating friendship with Gregoras starting from the late 1320s. Around 1329/31, Gabalas wrote a lengthy *Letter* (B35) to Gregoras, discussing his literary evolution and reflecting on how Gregoras’ studies nearly distracted him from his religious obligations (see Section 2.4). In response, Gregoras (*Letter* 70, dating to 1330/32) wrote:<sup>347</sup>

Once upon a time, a crow asked a nightingale: “Why, dear child of Pandion, even though I often let out more cries than you, do I succeed far less in attracting the attention of humans?” To which she replied: “You lack both the pleasing rhythm and the beat that befits harmony. Also,

<sup>341</sup> Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 39.

<sup>342</sup> Gabalas’ appeal for reconciliation was motivated by a larger and more pressing concern – the Third Siege of Philadelphia (see Section 1.4).

<sup>343</sup> Metochites was traditionally considered to have been promoted in 1321. New research by Kostas Smyrlis points to a more recent date around 1317, see in Riehle, “Literature, Politics and Manuscripts in Early Palaiologan Byzantium: Towards a Reassessment of the Choumnos – Metochites Controversy”, 593, n. 12, 603, 78.

<sup>344</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos (*Letter* 167) tries to sway his daughter to his side in his dispute with Theodore Metochites; cf. Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 97.

<sup>345</sup> On Nikephoros Gregoras’ intellectual output, see Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 357–73, quote from p. 357; Divna Manolova, *Discourses of Science and Philosophy in the Letters of Nikephoros Gregoras* (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

<sup>346</sup> Mergiali-Sahas, *L’enseignement des lettres*, 63–64; Pérez Martín, “Enseignement et service impérial à l’époque Paléologue”, 460; Pérez Martín, “Elio Aristides en el Monasterio de Cora”, 223–25; Pérez Martín, “La ‘Escuela de Planudes’: Notas paleográficas a una publicación reciente sobre los Escolios Euripideos”, *BZ* 90 (1997): 73–96.

<sup>347</sup> On this *Letter*, see Guiland, *Essai sur Nicephore Gregoras: l’homme et l’oeuvre*, 94.

your voice does not carry the naturally piercing and musical melody which we observe that most often and pleases and most easily attracts the ear of people. Perhaps you thought you could easily achieve the same effect?" In this way, she very tactfully and smoothly attacked the crow's ignorant audacity and the unbridled chatter that he was directing at her by humbling it. And if anyone were to ever ask me why I pass over the writings of most people, like some "empty noise" or rather like the cries of crows, and then am so warmly attached to your speech, I would answer this in the same way as the nightingale, even if I were about to offend those who indulge in licentious ambition, because the discourse would seem elegant and instructive to those with even little understanding, pleasing a mind that has some weight. In such a way, your speech's musical harmony comes to my ears with a certain honey, and so conspicuously have your Muses defeated me and captivated me. And this is reasonable: for those who have drawn healthy waters from the springs of wisdom, they bring a healthy grace to them and to the souls of their listeners, and then easily attract them, as if bound by some spells and charms. But those who have followed obscure and unclear tracks, for them it is not very difficult to always have a shining slipperiness before their feet and not even to perceive what they are suffering. Indeed, poetry, very gracefully mocking them, says that they have become offspring of Nephele and Ixion, borne by the winds, as it were, thus somehow reproaching their foolish pursuit. But do not stop delighting us in this way and bestowing such grandiose letters upon us.<sup>348</sup>

This *Letter* highlights the admiration Gregoras had for Gabalas and the high regard in which he held him. With the analogy of the crow and the nightingale Gregoras praises Gabalas' literary style and confesses having been defeated and captivated by the harmony of his discourses. This suggests that Gregoras was well-acquainted with Gabalas' writings, which

<sup>348</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Letter to the Metropolitan of Ephesus* 70 Leone: "Ἡρετό ποτε κολοιὸς ἀηδόνα, 'διατί ποτε', λέγων, 'ὦ φίλη Πανδιονίς, πλείους πολλάκις ἢ κατὰ σέ τὰς φωνάς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφίεις, ἔπειτα ἤκιστά μοι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκοὰς ἐφέλκεσθαι περιγίνεται κατὰ σέ;' ἡ δέ, 'ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ ῥυθμὸς ἐμμελὴς καὶ κρότος ἀρμονία προσήκων {σοι} πρόσσεστιν', ἀπεκρίνατο, 'οὐδὲ τὸ φύσει διάτορόν τε καὶ ἔμμουσον ἐπιπρέπει σου τῇ φωνῇ, οἷς χαίρειν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ῥᾶστα προστρέχειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλέπομεν ἀκοήν. ἡ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια δύνασθαι ῥᾶστα ἐδόκεις', εὐκαίρως πάνυ καὶ ὁμαλῶς οὕτως πῶς καθαγαμένη τῆς ἀμαθοῦς παρρησίας τοῦ κολοιοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῦ γε ἀκόλαστον τό γε εἰς αὐτὴν ἦκον συστείλασα. Κάμει δὲ εἴ τις διατί ποτε ἤρετο τὰς τῶν πλείστων γραφάς, καθάπερ τινὰ 'μάταιον' ἀκοῆς 'ὄχλον' ἢ μᾶλλον καθάπερ φωνὰς κολοιῶν παρατρέχων, ἔπειτα τῆς σῆς οὕτω διακαῶς ἐξήρηται γλώττης, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς ἀηδόνης ἀπεκρινάμην ἂν, καὶ εἰ λυπήσειν ἐμελλον, οἷτινές ποτ' ἄρ' εἶεν οἱ φιλοτιμίας λατρεύοντες ἀσελγεία, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε καὶ βραχεῖα συνέσει χρωμένοις ἀστεῖος ὁμοῦ καὶ παιδευτικὸς ὁ λόγος δόξειεν ἂν βάρος ἔχοντα νοῦν χαριζόμενος· οὕτω μετὰ τινος μέλιτος ἐς τὰς ἐμὰς πορεύεται ἀκοὰς ἢ τῆς σῆς γλώττης ἔμμουσος ἀρμονία, καὶ οὕτω περιφανῶς αἱ σαί με νενικήκασι μοῦσαι καὶ ἀνηρτήσαντο. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως· ὅσοι γὰρ ὑγιά τὰ νάματα τῶν τῆς σοφίας πηγῶν ἠρύσαντο, τοῦτοις καὶ χάριν ἔπεισιν ὑγιαίνουσιν ταῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχαῖς κομίζοντας, ἔπειτα ἔλκειν ῥαδίως αὐτοῦς, ὥσπερ ἐπαγωγαῖς τισι καὶ φίλτροις δεσμίους· ὅσοι δὲ τυφλοῖς καὶ ἀσαφέσι κατηκολούθησαν ἴχνεσι, τοῦτοις οὐ πολλή τις δυσχέρεια πρὸ ποδῶν αἰεὶ λαμπρὸν τὸν ὄλισθον ἔχειν καὶ μὴδ' ἐπαῖειν ὃ τί ποτέ εἰσι πάσχοντες· οὗς δὴ καὶ ἡ ποίησις μάλα τοι χαριέντως ἀποσκώπτουσα, Νεφέλης, φησί, καὶ Ἰξίονος ὥσπερ ὑπηνέμια ἔκγονα γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀνόνητον σφῶν οὕτως πῶς προσονειδίζουσα. ἀλλὰ σύ γε μὴ λίγους οὕτως εὐφραίνων ἡμᾶς καὶ τοιούτοις δωρούμενος μεγαλοφυέσι γράμμασιν.

supports Gabalas' close association with the intellectual circle at Monastery of Chora, or at least with its most influential figure. Gabalas also engaged with Gregoras' student Nicholas Lampenos by sending one of his writings for review and expressing interest in Lampenos' now lost *Encomium to Saint Demetrius* (B27.21–23, 49–51). In two subsequent *Letters* (B28–29), Gabalas commended Lampenos' writing style and his portrayal of Emperor Galerius' persecutions and Saint Demetrius' battles.<sup>349</sup> Gabalas and Gregoras were condemned in August 1351 as a result of the Palamite controversy (see Sections 1.7 and 2.6).

### George Galesiotes Junior

The identity of George Galesiotes has been a topic of debate, as this name is found in records covering a time frame too broad for one person's lifespan. Ottavia Mazzon, and previously Otto Kresten, proposed that two distinct individuals existed: George Galesiotes Senior (1278/1280–before 1354) and George Galesiotes Junior (1300/1305–before 1363).<sup>350</sup> It is probable that Galesiotes Junior was the one to whom Gabalas addressed a *Letter* criticizing him for not returning a monody on time (B52.2–5), possibly the above mentioned *Monody on kyr John Choumnos* (A12). Gabalas urged Galesiotes Junior to learn either calligraphy or tachygraphy, especially if the delay was due to his attempt to make several copies of the manuscript (B52.10–18).<sup>351</sup> As will be discussed (see Section 2.3), the monody's original copy by Gabalas' Secretary is included in Galesiotes Junior's manuscript (Vat. Gr. 112, ff. 56r–60r), while Galesiotes Junior's version is preserved in Gabalas' own manuscript (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 146r–150r).

Mazzon notes that Galesiotes Junior worked as a scribe in the chancellery of the Patriarchate (ἱερὸν χαρτοφυλακεῖον) from 1323 to 1363.<sup>352</sup> It is debated whether Scribe K5 and

<sup>349</sup> Pietro Luigi Leone, "A proposito di una lettera del protonotario Nicola Lampeno a Niceforo Gregora", *Byzantion* 43 (1973): 347–53; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 80; Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 319. See also Nikephoros Gregoras, *Letter* 17.

<sup>350</sup> Ottavia Mazzon, "Lavorare nell'ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes", 415–40. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 107–16, 180–81, 258–59, 367–68, 377, 335–74; Kourousis, "Ἡ Πρώτη ἡλικία καὶ ἡ Πρώτος σταδιοδρομία τοῦ πρωτεκδίκου καὶ εἴτα σακελλίου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Γεωργίου Γαλησιώτου", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 75 (1974): 335–74. On his activity as a scribe, see Pérez Martín, "El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes".

<sup>351</sup> De Gregorio, "Καλλιγραφεῖν / Ταχυγραφεῖν. Qualche riflessione sull'educazione grafica di scribi bizantini", in *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del Seminario di Erice. X colloquio del Comité International de Paléographie Latine (23-28 Ottobre 1993)*, ed. Giuseppe De Gregorio and Emma Condello (Spoleto, 1995), 423–47; De Gregorio, "Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries", 433, 435, 440–41, 445.

<sup>352</sup> Mazzon, "Lavorare nell'ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes", 416–22. Cf. also Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Un'aggiunta su copisti greci del secolo XIV: A proposito di Giovanni Duca Malace, collaboratore di Giorgio Galesiota nell'Athen. EBE 2", *Νέα Πώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 16 (2019): 166.

K6 in the Register of the Patriarchate reflect an evolution in Galesiotes Junior's handwriting, or if Scribe K6 was a different collaborator at the patriarchate between 1323–1325.<sup>353</sup> Galesiotes Junior's handwriting is present in roughly twenty manuscripts, being involved in the the copy of George of Cyprus' works (see Section 2.1). Galesiotes Junior also played a key role in disseminating Galesiotes Senior's work: for instance, he copied part of the *Metaphrasis of Nikephoros Blemmydes' Imperial Statue* composed by Galesiotes Senior and George Oinaïotes (Vat. Gr. 112, ff. 119r–134v).<sup>354</sup> A more detailed study of Galesiotes Junior's contributions would provide greater insight into his role in the manuscript production of the Palaiologan era, as well as his relationship with Gabalas.

### 3. The Scribe: Manuscripts and Ancient Texts

This section explores the multifaceted role of Gabalas as a scribe, focusing on his transcription of works by ancient authors such as Plato and Plutarch, as well as contemporary writers such as George of Cyprus and George Pachymeres. It gathers manuscripts known to be in Gabalas' possession, identifiable by his particular handwriting, thereby aiming to shed light on Gabalas' involvement in the early Palaiologan scholarly community. It also provides a paleographic analysis of some manuscripts, in order to highlight Gabalas' meticulous efforts in reviewing and correcting texts to maintain their original accuracy and fidelity. Gabalas can be situated within what Sophia Mergiali-Sahas called “la génération des philologues”, a group of late Byzantine scholars that contributed to the recovery, rediscovery and reproduction of texts, in a bid to re-stock libraries with new copies of ancient texts.<sup>355</sup>

The manuscripts discussed in this section have been divided into two categories: 1) authorial manuscripts and 2) non-Authorial manuscripts. The first group includes Gabalas' personal manuscripts, largely copied by Gabalas himself (P, V, L). While containing copies of

<sup>353</sup> For the ductus of Scribe K5 and K6, see H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. I (Vienna, 1981), 69–70. See also Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 418–19, 435, 439; Pérez Martín, “El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes”, 50–53; Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, 832. Cf. Jean Darrouzès, “Stauros Jean Kourousès, Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς εἴτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60)”, *REB* 31 (1973): 371 wonders how a friend of Matthew of Ephesus could remain during the patriarchates of Isidore and Kallistos.

<sup>354</sup> Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 416. The *Basilikos Andrias* was originally dated to 1324–1328, when Galesiotes was σακελλίου, see Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 112. Cf. Pérez Martín, “El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes”, 57.

<sup>355</sup> Mergiali-Sahas, *L’enseignement des lettres*, 49–59. See also Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 284; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 134; Golitsis, “The Reappropriation of Philosophy in the Palaeologan Period”, 255–59; Taxidis, “Public and Private Libraries in Byzantium”.



works by other authors, they also include Gabalas' own writings. These manuscripts are also closely linked due to their incorporation of rewritten content. Notably, Gabalas rewrote the metrical calendars from ms. P (f. 180v) into Burney 114 (f. 151v), the prayers G1, G6–G8 from ms. v (ff. 18r–v, 70r–72r, 72r–v, 72v–73v) into Burney 114 (ff. 98r–99r, 95r–97r, 97r–98r, 99r–100v), the treatise A18 from ms. v (ff. 286r–288v) into Burney 114 (ff. 91v–95r), and the *Brief Narration* (A9) from ms. v (ff. 116v–126r) into Burney 114 (ff. 132v–145v). This information indicates a complex interrelationship among the three manuscripts; it reveals that Gabalas had access to both the Paris and Vienna manuscripts while compiling Burney 114.

The second group includes manuscripts associated with Gabalas, but not containing his own writings, for which reason they are referred to here as non-authorial manuscripts (X, Q, Y, T, T<sup>2</sup>, R). Gabalas did not personally copy these manuscripts in their entirety, except for manuscript R; rather, he copied and joined one booklet to the manuscripts (X, Q, T) and/or undertook editorial tasks (Y, T, T<sup>2</sup>). These manuscripts are significant for their connection to Gabalas' extensive studies in Aristotelian and Platonic philosophies. Gabalas owned two manuscripts (X, Q) connected to the scholarly work of George Pachymeres, which included his copy of Pachymeres' *Commentaries* on Aristotle and a copy of Theon of Smyrna. He also owned three manuscripts of Plato (Y, T, T<sup>2</sup>), one of which (Y) was connected to the philological work of Maximos Planoudes and the scholarly circle of Nikephoros Moschopoulos. Gabalas primarily engaged in editorial activities for two of these (T, T<sup>2</sup>), adding his own copy of Alcinous. Additionally, another personal manuscript of Gabalas (R), which contains excerpts from Plato, Plutarch, and others, and is textually related to his other Platonic manuscripts, will be examined in this context. Gabalas used Western paper for his personal manuscripts (P, L, V, R), which mirrors a common Palaiologan trend towards the adoption of bombycine and Italian paper.<sup>356</sup> The manuscripts discussed in this section are pertinent to Gabalas' education, intellectual network and teaching activities in a period characterized by the synergy between scribal circles, schoolbooks and teaching activities.<sup>357</sup>

<sup>356</sup> Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Elio Aristides en el Monasterio de Cora", 213; Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", 404. The chapter "The Availability of Books and Text-Books after 1261" in Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 134–57 deals with this topic. On personal manuscripts, see Sophia Kotzabassi, "Kopieren und Exzerpieren in der Palaiologenzeit", in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting*, ed. Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Juan Signes Codoñer and Antonio Bravo García (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 474–78.

<sup>357</sup> Gaul, "Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts", in *Lexicologica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie (Bonn, 13.–15. Juli 2007)*, ed. Erich Trapp and Sonja Schönaauer, Bonn University Press (Göttingen, 2008), 177, 195–96. Bianconi, "Erudizione e didattica nella tarda Bisanzio", 504–12.

### Authorial Manuscripts (P, V, L)

**P** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gr. 2022 (Diktyon 51649). This manuscript is an epistolographic miscellaneous codex intended for personal use. This manuscript illuminates Gabalas' education and his role in the reception of the scholarly work of the preceding generation of Palaiologan intellectuals (see Section 2.1). It can be divided into two distinct sections based on differences in authorship, content, chronology and scribe.<sup>358</sup> One section is the Paris letter collections, which date from 1309–1316 and have been examined within the context of Gabalas' biography (see Sections 1.1–1.3). The other one is a copy of the letter collections of several late antique authors, along with that of George of Cyprus, and a copy of Aristotle's *Topics*. Based on the context of the texts and partially on the watermarks, it is likely that Gabalas copied the letter collections and Aristotle (ca. from 1295 to 1315) and he later revised his copy and included some writings of an anonymous scribe, here referred to as Collaborator A.<sup>359</sup>

The watermark Letter G (Par. Gr. 2022, ff. 88–150, 157–172, from the year 1297) represents the earliest phase of copying and constitutes the most extensive portion of the manuscript. It encompasses 261 *Letters* by Gregory of Nazianzos (ff. 88r–149r), which include *Letters* 169, 171, 170, 208 by Basil of Caesarea (ff. 95v–96v, 97v).<sup>360</sup> The same watermark is present in the selection of around 60 *Letters* by Libanius (ff. 157r–169v),<sup>361</sup> as well as in the first quire (ff. 170–173) of George of Cyprus' *Letters* (ff. 170r–176v<sup>2</sup>). Despite the absence of a watermark in the second quire (ff. 173–180), one can safely assume that all of George of Cyprus' *Letters* were written at the same time, as it is visible in the manuscript that his *Letters* were copied all at once. The *Letters* of George of Cyprus in Par. Gr. 2022 have not yet been studied and, therefore, a new description of the manuscript content is required.<sup>362</sup> Following

<sup>358</sup> On the Miszellankodex, see Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 187.

<sup>359</sup> The most updated description of Par. Gr. 2022 can be found in the database of the project *Commentaria in Aristotelem*: <https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb6277877>, consulted in May 2022, which is mainly based on the description by Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 39–45, who also identified the watermarks of the manuscript. Cf. also RGK II 370 and the review by Kourousis, “Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch”, 119.

<sup>360</sup> Cf. Paul Gallay, *Les manuscrits des Lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957), 48–49.

<sup>361</sup> The letters of Libanius in the first four folios include the following: *Letters* 1165 (f. 157r), 58 (f. 157r), 54 (f. 157r), 1177 (f. 157r–v), 1150 (f. 157v), 1173 (f. 157v–158r), 1195 (f. 158r), 53 (f. 158r–v), 1340 (f. 158v), 1333 (f. 158v), 1206 (f. 158v), 442 (ff. 158v–159r), 466 (f. 159r), 571 (f. 159r), 1215 (f. 159r–v), 347 (f. 159v), 360 (ff. 159v–160r), 65 (f. 160r), 69 (f. 160r), 1160 (f. 160r), 75 (f. 160v), 968 (ff. 160r–161v). Numbering follows the edition of Richard Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. 9–11 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), esp. vol. 9, 65–66.

<sup>362</sup> Par. Gr. 2022 is not counted among the manuscripts transmitting George of Cyprus' writings in the list of Sophia Kotzabassi, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern*, Serta Graeca 6 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 174–77. Therefore, it is still useful to consult the

Eustratiades' numbering, the following letters can be identified:<sup>363</sup> *Letters* 101 (f. 170r), 51 (f. 170r), 48 (f. 170r–v), 150 (ff. 170v–171r), 33 (f. 171r), 67 (f. 171v), 56 (ff. 171v–172r), 89 (f. 172r–v), 91 (ff. 172v–173r), 40 (f. 173r–v), 26 (ff. 173v–174r), 130 (f. 174r–v), 181 (f. 174v), 183 (f. 175r–v), 73 (ff. 175v–176r), 98 (f. 176r–f. 176v<sup>2</sup>). The manuscript also includes George of Cyprus' *Letter 8 to Theodora Roulaina* (f. 171r), which is a part of the letter collection edited by Sophia Kotzabassi.<sup>364</sup> Earlier descriptions of Par. Gr. 2022 overlooked the inclusion of other letters interspersed among George of Cyprus' correspondence, such as Procopius of Gaza's *Letter 121 Garzya-Loenertz* (f. 172r) and Libanius' *Letter 6 Foerster* (ff. 174v–175r), along with two unpublished letters (f. 171r–v, f. 173v). These unpublished letters must be attributed to George of Cyprus, as they are listed in Lameere's catalogue as *Letters* 223 and 217, respectively.<sup>365</sup> A first edition of these letters is provided in Appendix 3. The first one, discussing the interpretation of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Funeral Oration Basil of Caesarea*, can be ascribed to George of Cyprus due to the unique usage of the verb προσαναλογίζομαι, found only in Plutarch, the Acts of the Second Council of Nicea and, notably, in George of Cyprus' *Letter 10 to Theodora Raoulaina*.<sup>366</sup> Gabalas included a scholion about the word ἑτεροίαν in the top left margin of folio 171v, stating: "I found it scribbled in this way by the teacher" (οὕτω κεχαραγμένον [ε]ὐρέθην μοι πρὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου). The reference to a *didaskalos* is intriguing, and it remains unclear who this teacher might be, whether Theoleptos of Philadelphia, George of Cyprus, the *didaskalos tou apostolou* George Pachymeres, or someone else.

During or after the copy of the letter collections, if we attend to the watermarks, Coat of Arms – Flower with Letter (ff. 1–32, 49–55, 72–87, years 1297–1300), Letters PS (ff. 62–71, years 1296–1310) and Letter P (ff. 33–48, 55–61, ca. 1311), Gabalas copied Aristotle's

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description of William Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, Patriarche de Constantinople (1283–1289)*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1937), 66–70.

<sup>363</sup> Sophronios Eustratiades, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι*, vol. 1–5 (Alexandria: Πατριαρχικὸ Τυπογραφεῖο, 1908).

<sup>364</sup> Par. Gr. 2022 transmits nonetheless another desinit, namely ἀπολαύων, than the one transmitted by the edition of Sophia Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina", *Παρεκβολαί* 1 (2011): 145–67. Kotzabassi explains this change as the result of the intervention of Manuel Gabalas, see Sophia Kotzabassi, "Epistolography and Rhetoric", in *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography*, ed. Alexander Riehle (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 183–84.

<sup>365</sup> Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite*, 2:214.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. καὶ ἔτι τό γε μεῖζον προσαναλογίζεσθαι, ed. Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina".

*Topics* 1–4 (ff. 1r–55r), 22 *Letters* by Synesius (ff. 56r–82v, 84r–87v)<sup>367</sup> and Procopius of Gaza’s *Letter* 131 (ff. 83v–84r).<sup>368</sup>

In a later phase, Gabalas made several additions and corrections. He included the index (*pinax*) of Gregory of Nazianzos’ *Letters* (ff. 149r–150v), added geometrical figures (ff. 1r, 12r–13r, 15v, 24r, 50v), performed minor textual restorations, applied page numbering throughout, and wrote marginal and interlinear scholia, mostly devoted to Aristotle’s *Topics* (ff. 1r–v, 4v, 11r, 12v–13r, 14r–v, 15r, 17r, 19v, 22r).<sup>369</sup> Several texts found on folios 176v<sup>3</sup>–180r, which are the last three folios of the second quire of George of Cyprus’ *Letters*, likely originate from this later stage. These texts are written by Gabalas and another scribe. It seems to me that these folios were initially left blank and filled at a later time than the transcription of George of Cyprus’ *Letters*. Gabalas is the scribe, and probably the author, of the unpublished chronological calculations on folios 176v<sup>3</sup>–177r (inc. τὰ δὲ τῆς Σελήνης σχήματα, ἅπερ καλεῖται φάσεις).<sup>370</sup> He also created two metrical calendars (f. 180v<sup>17–30</sup>), comprising thirteen dodecasyllabic verses and six political verses on the length of the month.<sup>371</sup>

The handwriting of an unidentified contributor, here referred to as Collaborator A, appears in folios 177v–180r. As Otto Kresten has pointed out, the handwriting of Collaborator A shows similarities to that of the “manipulator” Scribe K8, known from the Register of the Patriarchate (see Section 1.5).<sup>372</sup> Should this connection be valid, it would imply that Collaborator A worked with Gabalas for over two decades. Collaborator A transcribed a series of brief texts detailing instructions and methods for chronological calculations (ff. 177v–180v<sup>16</sup>) and a chapter *On the Place of the Soul in the Body* (f. 180r–v). The author of these chronological calculations (ff. 177v–180v<sup>16</sup>) remains uncertain, but Gabalas appears to be the most likely candidate, as he was responsible for the chronological calculations on ff. 176v<sup>3</sup>–177r and of the metrical calendars of f. 180v<sup>17–30</sup>. As will be explored below (see Section 2.5), Gabalas had an interest in astronomy. Further research is needed to explore their content and definitively establish their authorship.

<sup>367</sup> Bardas Monachos is now considered the author of two of them (ff. 67r–v, 83r); see Michael Grünbart, “Ein Problem singulärer Überlieferung: Neuer Textzeuge oder Adaptation? Bardas Monachos Ep. 1 im Parisinus Graecus 2022 [Diktyon 51649]”, *The Byzantine Review* 1 (2019): 1–3.

<sup>368</sup> Raymond Loenertz and Antonio Garzya, *Procopii Gazaei Epistolae et Declamationes* (Ettal: Buch Kunstverlag, 1963).

<sup>369</sup> The scholia remain unedited and are almost illegible in the digital version of the manuscript.

<sup>370</sup> The sentence comes from Paul, *Elementa apotelesmatica* 33.15.

<sup>371</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 44–45. On metrical calendars, see Ioannis Vassis, “Spirituality and Emotion: Poetic Trends in the Palaeologan Period”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 183–84.

<sup>372</sup> Kresten, “Ein Indizienprozeß gegen die von Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos eingesetzten Καθολικοὶ Κριταί”, 336, n. 124.

Finally, the chapter *On the Place of the Soul in the Body* is another text with an unknown author and date of composition. Appendix 3 includes a first edition and an English translation of this text. It for the most part presents arguments that counter potential divergent ideas about the soul from a doctrinal standpoint. Through a sequence of syllogisms, the text contends that the soul is the third light – after the first light, God, and the second one, the angel or messenger (Jesus?) –, and that the soul simultaneously exists in the head, heart and arteries. This portrayal characterizes the soul as a metaphysical (incorporeal) entity embedded into (corporeal) matter. Beyond its literary and philosophical interest, this dialogue may have influenced Gabalas' views on the nature of the soul, assuming he wasn't the one who authored it.

v Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. Gr. 174 (Diktyon 71841). This manuscript consists of thirteen booklets. It predominantly features the works of Gabalas, including the Vienna letter collection (B1–B65), his literary and philosophical writings, and prayers.<sup>373</sup> The texts in this manuscript span a long period of time from 1317 to the 1340s. The main scribe of the codex was Gabalas, with the collaboration of his secretary (Scribe K8) and George Galesiotes Junior. This manuscript is essential for understanding Gabalas' biography, intellectual network and philosophical writings. Moreover, Gabalas included in this manuscript three texts not authored by him, namely selected excerpts from Maximos Planoudes' *Distichs of Cato* (ff. 294v–298r), passages of Basil of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastic History* that focus on the lives of saints associated with his hometown Philadelphia (ff. 135v–136r), and Metochites' pamphlet *On Those Who Unjustly Accuse Wise Men, of the Past and Present* (ff. 301r–305v).<sup>374</sup>

L London, British Library, Burney 112–114 (Diktyon 39375–39377). These three manuscripts, which originally constituted a single volume, were mostly copied by Gabalas. The watermarks for Burney 112–113 date to the 1320s and early 1330s.<sup>375</sup> Burney 114 includes Gabalas' *200 Chapters* and short unedited ethical writings and interpretations. These manuscripts contain a collection of theological and philosophical writings, focusing on ethics, from authors that belong to the spiritual-ascetic tradition of Byzantine monasticism.<sup>376</sup> Burney 112 contains works by Mark the Monk (ff. 1r–33v), Diadochos of Photice (ff. 33v–79v), John of Karpathos

<sup>373</sup> This codex is described by Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 26–39 and Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Codice Theologici 101–200)*, vol. 3.2 (Vienna: Hollinek, 1984), 304–11.

<sup>374</sup> On texts of Planoudes and Metochites, see Sections 2.1–2.2.

<sup>375</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 45–57.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. Kotzabassi, “Kopieren und Exzerpieren in der Palaiologenzeit”, 478.

(ff. 79v–124v) and Elias Ecdicus (f. 124v–Burney 113, f. 1r). Burney 113 comprises writings by Hesychius of Batos (ff. 1r–38r), Makarios the Egyptian (ff. 38r–108r) and Maximus Confessor (ff. 108v–161v). Burney 114 contains five *Letters* of Apollonius of Tyana (ff. 148v–149v, 151r) and excerpts of Maximus Confessor (f. 150r–v). Most of these works feature dodecasyllabic verse titles penned by Gabalas and edited by Reinsch.<sup>377</sup>

### Gabalas' Secretary

An unidentified scribe was involved in transcribing sections of Gabalas' personal manuscript (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174). Initially, Treu and, later, Kourousis suggested that Gabalas used two distinct handwriting styles: a standard style (Type 1) and a calligraphic style (Type 2) for his prayers, which was easier for him to read. Additionally, Kourousis identified the hand of George Galesiotes Junior in the transcription of monody A12 (Vind. Theol. Gr. 146r–150r). Later, Reinsch reinterpreted Kourousis' Type 2 as the work of Galesiotes Junior, thereby extending Galesiotes' participation in the Vind. Theol. Gr. 174. Herbert Hunger, in his catalogue of Viennese manuscripts, embraced this theory. Reinsch had previously pointed out the close collaboration between the two scribes, Gabalas and Galesiotes Junior, noting that the latter displayed more grammatical uncertainties than Gabalas, which would hint at his relative youth.<sup>378</sup>

Inmaculada Pérez Martín offered a new paleographic analysis of the same manuscript that challenged Reinsch's hypothesis and refined Kourousis' views.<sup>379</sup> She proposed that Galesiotes Junior was responsible for transcribing the monody A12 (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 146r–150r, excluding the title). She attributed the calligraphic style (Kourousis' Type 2) to a third scribe, here referred to as the Secretary of Gabalas. This scribe's handwriting is present in several manuscripts linked to Gabalas. This includes extensive work in the Vienna manuscript (Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 18r<sup>3</sup>–18v, 21v<sup>13</sup>–27<sup>24</sup>, 35r<sup>4</sup>–35v, 37r<sup>2</sup>–37v<sup>12</sup>, 38v<sup>11</sup>–39r, 41v<sup>9</sup>–42r, 44v<sup>12</sup>–45r<sup>19</sup>, 47v–48v<sup>10</sup>, 65r<sup>7</sup>–65v, 150v–151r, 294r–300r, 301r–306r and the titles of G3, G10, B58, A12, A20–A21), as well as contributions to the Burney manuscript (Burney 114, ff. 146r–v<sup>7</sup>, 150r–v, 151v down). Furthermore, the secretary's handwriting is also found

<sup>377</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 48–49.

<sup>378</sup> For the entire discussion, see Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 30–32, 59–61. For a description of the manuscript, see Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, III, 2: 304–11. Cf. RGK I 270; Kourousis, *Μακρονήλ Γαββαλάς*, 190–91; Max Treu, *Matthaïos Metropolit von Ephesos*, 30–31.

<sup>379</sup> Inmaculada Pérez Martín, “El Vaticanus Gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes”, 42–59. This theory is followed by Ottavia Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 425, n. 51. See also De Gregorio, “Un’aggiunta su copisti greci del secolo XIV: A proposito di Giovanni Duca Malace, collaboratore di Giorgio Galesiota nell’Athen”, 192–93. Cf. RGK I 57.

in Galesiotes Junior's manuscript, particularly in the original version of the monody A12 (Vat. Gr. 112, ff. 56r–60r).<sup>380</sup> The Secretary may also have been involved in transcribing George of Cyprus' *Letters* (Leidenses BPG 49, ff. 166r–v<sup>6</sup>, 167r–190v).

Although the Secretary's contributions are identifiable, his identity remains a mystery. Kourousis hypothesized that the Secretary might be Gabalas' son, John Gabalas (see Section 1.6).<sup>381</sup> This hypothesis is supported by John's known role as his father's scribe, particularly in the *Confession of Faith* from 1350 (see Section 1.7). Yet, the lack of the original document precludes any direct comparison of the writing technique and style.

### Non-Authorial Manuscripts (X, Q, Y, T, T<sup>2</sup>, R)

X Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. Gr. 248 (Diktyon 71362). Around 1310, Gabalas transcribed a significant part of George Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*. His handwriting is found, at least, in folios 1r–46v, 63r–70v, 71v–74r, 76r–88r, 88v–99v.<sup>382</sup> The title of this work is “A Brief and Very Clear Explanation of Aristotle's *Physics* by the Wisest Presbyter of the Holy Great Church of God and *dikaiophylax* of the Honourable Imperial Clergy, kyr George Pachymeres”.<sup>383</sup> The textual transmission shows that Gabalas did not copy it directly from Pachymeres' autograph (Laur. 87.5, ff. 1r–155r), but rather from a lost intermediary source, the *codex desperditus* Escorialiensis Δ.IV.24, which was destroyed in the 1671 fire at the Monastery of El Escorial.<sup>384</sup> Other scribes, probably associated with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, were involved in the copying process but their identities remain

<sup>380</sup> That the original copy of Gabalas' monody A12 is the one found in Vat. Gr. 112 was already proposed by Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 191. The theory has also been recently accepted, see Mazzon, “Lavorare nell'ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 416–9, 439.

<sup>381</sup> Kourousis, “Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch”, 1979, 122.

<sup>382</sup> This manuscript has served to shed light on Gabalas' involvement in the reception of the works of George Pachymeres, as well as his interest in Aristotelian studies (see Section 2.1).

<sup>383</sup> Vind. Phil. Gr. 248, f. 1r: Ἐξήγησις σύντομος καὶ σαφειστάτη εἰς τὴν Φυσικὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους [τοῦ] σοφωτάτου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαιοφύλακος τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Παχυμέρη.

<sup>384</sup> For the identification of Gabalas' hand, see RGK I 270, II 370, III 445; Pantelis Golitsis, “Copistes, élèves et érudits: La production de manuscrits philosophiques autour de George Pachymère”, in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid–Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008)*, ed. Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Juan Signes Codoñer and Antonio Bravo García (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 160, 170. For the description of Vind. Phil. gr. 248, see Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vol. 3.2, 358–59. For the textual transmission of Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* and the dating of Vind. Phil. gr. 248, see Golitsis, “Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la Physique d'Aristote, faussement attribué à Michel Psellos”, 643, 651–52, 657, 664–71. For the intellectual environment of Pachymeres' commentaries on Aristotle, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 64.

unknown. While it can be argued that Gabalas was also familiar with Pachymeres' *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, concrete evidence remains elusive.<sup>385</sup>

Q Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 321 (Diktyon 66952). This manuscript features George Pachymeres' *Commentary on Aristotle's Organon*, transcribed by unknown scribes. Gabalas is considered one of its earliest owners.<sup>386</sup> To the work of Pachymeres, Gabalas added a scholion (f. 191r) that paraphrases the work of Pseudo Alexander of Aphrodisias (Michael of Ephesus?). He also copied Theon of Smyrna's *On Mathematics Useful for the Understanding of Plato* (ff. 192r–215r).<sup>387</sup>

Modern scholars have argued that this manuscript likely originated from the scribal circle associated with the Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>388</sup> In addition to the handwriting of Gabalas, Pantelis Golitsis identified the work of eight different scribes in the transcription of Pachymeres' commentary. The transcription appears to have been a collaborative, rotational process, in which scribes took turns. Identified scribes include Galesiotes Junior (ff. 7r–13v, 19r–21v, 30r–37v, 88r–96v, 146r–161r, 174r–175v) and the Scribe K7 from the Register of the Patriarchate (ff. 14r–18v, 50r–v).<sup>389</sup> However, some of these identifications have been questioned. Ottavia Mazzon has suggested that the folios 88r–96v, previously attributed to George Galesiotes, were actually written by another scribe.<sup>390</sup> Furthermore, in the sections containing Theon of Smyrna's work, a writing style similar to that of Gabalas is evident, although it includes unfamiliar elements, such as the superimposition of the letter *tau* over

<sup>385</sup> Cacouros, 596–97; Carlos Steel and Carolina Macé, “Georges Pachymère philologue: le Commentaire de Proclus sur le Parménide dans le manuscrit Parisinus gr. 1810”, in *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission*, ed. Michel Cacouros and Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 77–99.

<sup>386</sup> The hand of Gabalas was identified by Golitsis, “Copistes, élèves et érudits: La production de manuscrits philosophiques autour de George Pachymère”, 168; see also Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 425; Rigo, “Autografi, manoscritti e nuove opere di Giuseppe Kalothetos (metà del XIV secolo)”, 137–38.



<sup>387</sup> Giovanni Mercati and Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Tomus 1: Codices 1–329* (Vatican: Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1923), 482–84. For Pseudo Alexander of Aphrodisias as Michael of Ephesus, see Benakis, “Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium”, 11.

<sup>388</sup> Ottavia Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 425; Pantelis Golitsis, “Copistes, élèves et érudits: La production de manuscrits philosophiques autour de George Pachymère”, 159–60, 168. For the identification of Galesiotes' hand, see Inmaculada Pérez Martín, “El Libro de actor. Una traducción bizantina del Speculum Doctrinale de Vincent de Beauvais (Vaticani Gr. 12 y 1144)”, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (1997): 97; Daniele Bianconi, “Libri e Mani. Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell’età dei Paleologi”, in *Il Codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni, Atti del Convegno Internazionale [Cassino, 14–17 Maggio 2003]*, ed. Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere, Segno e Testo 2, 2004, 352.

<sup>389</sup> Golitsis, “Copistes, élèves et érudits: La production de manuscrits philosophiques autour de George Pachymère”, 168.

<sup>390</sup> See the discussion in Mazzon, “Lavorare nell’ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes”, 425, particularly n. 53–54.



subsequent vowels, especially in articles (e.g., Vat. Gr. 321, f. 203r: , ). These anomalies indicate that the classifications made by Golitsis may need to be re-evaluated.

**T** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 225 and **T**<sup>2</sup> Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 226 (Diktyon 66856–66857). These manuscripts are elegant parchment codices, which exhibit the traditional division of Plato’s dialogues into two volumes. It is believed that Gabalas either commissioned these manuscripts, or was their first user and owner.<sup>391</sup> Both manuscripts were transcribed in a style known as “scrittura arcaizzante”, that is, a minuscule of graphic mimesis. These manuscripts are part of a group of twelve, all transcribed in this particular style by the same scribe, here referred to as the Mimetic Scribe. The period of activity for this scribe is dated between 1286–1306. The Mimetic Scribe copied works of Plato, Aristotle, the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, Theophrastus, Ptolemy, Euclides, Aelius Aristides, Proclus, Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Blemmydes. Based on these findings, De Gregorio and Prato proposed the existence of a specialized workshop focused on producing codices of ancient texts for wealthy patrons.<sup>392</sup>

Gabalas included his handwritten copy of Alcinous’ *Didaskalikos* in the initial folios of the first volume (Vat. Gr. 225, ff. 1–14v). This text was intended to be an introductory manual to the doctrines of Plato, as the colophon expresses: “End of Alcinous’ didactic writings on Plato’s doctrines”.<sup>393</sup> During the Palaiologan period, it was a common practice to preface Plato’s dialogues with materials of later interpreters such as the Middle Platonist Alcinous.<sup>394</sup> The textual variants of Plato’s dialogues in the Vatican manuscripts go back to multiple models.<sup>395</sup> The versions of the *Timaeus* in the manuscripts of Nikephoros Moschopoulos and

<sup>391</sup> Cf. RGK III 445. Prato and De Gregorio, “Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età Paleologa”, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003): 83, 89–90.

<sup>392</sup> For the concept of “scrittura arcaizzante”, and the description of the 12 manuscripts copied by the Mimetic Scribe, see primarily See also, Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 327–28.

<sup>393</sup> Vat. Gr. 225, f. 1r τέλος τοῦ Ἀλκινόου διδασκαλικῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τοῖς Πλάτωνος δόγμασιν. The hand of Gabalas in the *Didaskalikos* was identified by Christian Brockmann, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Platons Symposion* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), 82–83; see also, D’Acunto, “Su un’edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21”, 272, n. 31.

<sup>394</sup> Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, 846–50; Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 185–204; Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre*, 28–29, 207–52; Pérez Martín, “Estetica e ideologia nei manoscritti bizantini di Platone”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neogreci*, 42 (2005): 113–35.

<sup>395</sup> For a description of the textual transmission of Vat. Gr. 225 and Vat. Gr. 226, see D’Acunto, “Su un’edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21”, 274, n. 33; Prato and De Gregorio, “Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età Paleologa”, 89–90.

Maximos Planoudes (ms. Υ), George of Cyprus (Par. gr. 2998) and Gabalas (ms. T<sup>2</sup>) rely on the same now-lost prototype.<sup>396</sup>

Gabalas made corrections, marginal notes and textual restorations in ms. T on the basis of ms. Υ.<sup>397</sup> His annotations on the texts of *Eutyphro*, *Apology*, *Phaedo*, and *Philebus* in the manuscript illustrate the nature of his editorial activities and offer a glimpse into his understanding of Plato's works:

Personal comments. Vat. gr. 225, f. 16r (on the name Μέλητε, *Eutyp.* 5a), 27r (σολοικοφανές to the expression Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ διαλεγόμενος, *Ap.* 21c).

Textual restorations of oversights of the scribe. Vat. Gr. 225, ff. 18v (Ἄλλ'...πραχθέντων, *Eutyp.* 8e), 25r (καὶ ἐμοί, *Ap.* 19a), 27r (κᾶπειτα...εἴη δ' οὐ, *Ap.* 21c), 42r (βλάπτειν...δέομαι, *Ap.* 41d–e), 54v (ἦ ζῆν, οἷς δέ, *Phd.* 62a), 56v (interlinear, τετράφθαι...σώματος, *Phd.* 64e), 62r (ἀπὸ δ'...ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον and γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγηγορέναι, *Phd.* 71b–d), 62v (τῶν τεθνεώτων ψυχὰς...οὕτως ἔχειν, *Phd.* 72a), 64v (τούτοις, *Phd.* 74c), 69r (καὶ αἰὲ ὡσαύτως...ἀνοήτῳ καὶ διαλυτῷ, *Phd.* 80b), 74r (τί ἦν τὸ σὲ αὖ θρᾶπτον ἀπιστίαν παρέχει, *Phd.* 86e), 74v (μοι φαίνοιτο λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ πολυχρόνιον ἐστὶ, *Phd.* 87d), 77r (ἐπεὶ σῶμά γε...ἄρα ἄλλ' ἢ, *Phd.* 91d), 78v (ἄλλη ἄλλης...οὐδὲ ἦττον, *Phd.* 93d), 87v (ἀπόκρισιν...λεγομένων, *Phd.* 105b), 95v (Γελάσας δὲ ἄμα, *Phd.* 115c), 97v (κατεκλίνη...τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη, *Phd.* 117e).

Corrections of mistakes or misunderstandings of the scribe. Vat. Gr. 225, f. 24r (ἀναισχύντατον → ἀναισχυντότατον, *Ap.* 17b), 28r (ἃ οὐκ ἤκουσαν → ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν, *Ap.* 22c), 33v (ἐπ' ἐλαχίστου → περὶ ἐλαχίστου, *Ap.* 30a), 36r (Πάραδος → Παράλιος, *Ap.* 33e), 38r (μεταβάλων → μεταλαβών, *Ap.* 36b), 40r (εἰργάσασθε → εἵργασθε, *Ap.* 39c), 59r (εἶναι → ἔχειν, *Phd.* 67e), 63r (εἰ γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ζῶντα θνήσκοι → εἰ γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ζῶντα γίνοιτο, τὰ δὲ ζῶντα θνήσκοι, *Phd.* 72d), 67r (εὐκαιότερον → εὐκαιρότερον *Phd.* 78a), 70r (ἀπολειφθεῖσαι → ἀπολυθεῖσαι, *Phd.* 81d), 70v (δηλωτικὴν → δημοτικὴν, *Phd.* 82a), 72r (ἐπιγομένη → ἐπομένη, *Phd.* 84a), 75v (ὥς παρέχει → ὥσπερ ἔχει, *Phd.* 89e), 81r (πειθεσθαι, *Phd.* 97a → τιθέναι – variant anywhere else to be found –), 353v (τότε δηδεῖ → τότε δ' ἦδη τὸ ἐν, *Phil.* 16d), 354v (πάντα τὰ ταῦτα → πάντα ταῦτα, *Phil.* 18d).

<sup>396</sup> See Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, 844, n. 48; Par. Gr. 2998 and Vind. Phil. Gr. 21 are the most important manuscripts for the copying of the *Timaeus* in the Palaiologan Era; e.g. Plut. 85.6 is an apograph of Par. Gr. 2998; see Menchelli, “Un nuovo codice di Gregorio di Cipro, il Marc. gr. 194 con il Commento al Timeo e le letture del Patriarca tra Sinesio e Proclo”, *Scriptorium* 64.2 (2010): 239, n. 43 and 245.

<sup>397</sup> Menchelli, “Copisti e lettori di Platone: il Gorgia tra Einzelüberlieferung e codici di excerpta”, *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 30 (2006): 203–4, 214; Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, 844. Giancarlo Prato and Giuseppe De Gregorio, “Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età Paleologa”, 62, n. 6. Cf. Brockmann, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 85–91.

Similar restorations and corrections are found in other dialogues such as *Crito* (Vat. Gr. 225, f. 42r–43v, 48v, 49r, 50r), *Gorgias* (f. 98r, 101r, 104r, 106r, 140r, 141v), *Meno* (f. 158r, 166v), *Cratylus* (f. 175v–176r, 178v, 183r, 185r, 186r, 189r, 191r), *Theaetetus* (f. 222v) and *Statesman* (f. 288v, 289v).<sup>398</sup> In contrast, Gabalas' notes are relatively infrequent in the second volume of Plato's works (T<sup>2</sup>). However, he did make a series of marginal notes in *Timaeus*, a dialogue he particularly valued (see Section 2.5). These notes, primarily summarizing the main points of the text, are located in ff. 120r, 134r–136r, 137r–140r, 147v–148v. He also included an index at the beginning of the manuscript. Further marginal scholia, mostly attributed to Gabalas, are located in ff. 45v, 86r, 111v, 118v, 132r, 231r, 233v, 235r, 242r, 252r, 253r, 255v, 257r, 267v, along with interlinear scholia in ff. 277r, 350r, 382r, 398v, 417r, some of which are attributed to Manuel Chrysoloras.<sup>399</sup>

The Vatican manuscripts were at some point restored at the Monastery of Hodegon in Constantinople.<sup>400</sup> They show codicological similarities with the manuscripts of Demosthenes (Malatest. D. XXVII 1) and the *Odyssey* (Malatest. D. XXVII 2), which were part of Nikephoros Moschopoulos' library and used by Gabalas. These manuscripts probably originate from the same intellectual environment.<sup>401</sup>

Y Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. Gr. 21 (Diktyon 71135). This manuscript is a well-known edition of Plato's dialogues. Commissioned and originally owned by Nikephoros Moschopoulos, it is likely that this manuscript was produced within the intellectual circle associated with Maximos Planoudes. Its production spanned from 1299 to 1301/03. Gabalas was in possession of this manuscript for an unknown period. He used the ms. Y as a model to revise Plato's text in ms. T, as has been discussed, and also to extract passages for his personal compilation of texts from Plato and Plutarch (ms. R).<sup>402</sup>

<sup>398</sup> Some scholia were illegible in the digital version of the manuscript: Vat. Gr. 225, f. 17r, 21v, 66r, 83v, 91r, 92r, 92v (correction of οὐτω νέονς, cf. *Phaedo* 112b), 93v (correction of *Phaedo* 113b), 97r (correction of *Phaedo* 117a), 358r (correction of *Philebus* 23e), 360r, 374v, 376v.

<sup>399</sup> Most of these scholia are illegible in the digital version of the manuscript and require further investigation *in situ*. Cf. Prato and De Gregorio, "Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età Paleologa", 62, nn. 6 and 89; Menchelli, "Giorgio Oinaiores lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo", 844.

<sup>400</sup> Pérez Martín, "El estilo Hodegos y su proyección en las escrituras Constantinopolitanas", 451, n. 214.

<sup>401</sup> D'Acunto, "Su un'edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21", 272–73. Cf. Anna Pontani in Prato and De Gregorio, "Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età Paleologa", 64. See also Acerbi and Gioffreda, "Manoscritti scientifici della Prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante", 12, n.7.

<sup>402</sup> Menchelli, "Un copista di Planude. Platone ed Elio Aristide in moderne e arcaizzanti di XIII Secolo", *Scripta* 7 (2014): 203.

The manuscript exhibits the work of at least nine different scribes.<sup>403</sup> Maximos Planoudes' handwriting is found in sections of the *Phaedo* and the *Cratylus* (ff. 30v–39v). Nikephoros Moschopoulos added an index, several titles and marginal notes. The scribe known as the Secretary of Nikephoros Moschopoulos, identifiable on folio 123v, is the main scholiast of the manuscript. His scholia establish parallels between Platonic and Christian themes and characters and include comments with an Aristotelian undertone. The Secretary used the version of *Phaedo* from ms. T to correct ms. Y. Gabalas likely provided both manuscripts T and T<sup>2</sup> to Moschopoulos for reference in revising ms. Y. Furthermore, the Secretary's handwriting is also seen in Moschopoulos' *Odyssey* (Malatest. D. XXVII 2, 204r); this is the manuscript that Gabalas used for composing his metaphrasis *The Wanderings of Odysseus*. This suggests that the Secretary of Moschopoulos might have been closely associated with Gabalas' scholarly circle.<sup>404</sup> The brothers John and Leo Bardales, who played a significant role in disseminating the works of Maximos Planoudes and Manuel Moschopoulos under the direction of Nikephoros Gregoras at the Chora Monastery, also contributed to the production of ms. Y.<sup>405</sup>

Likely due to its location at the Monastery of Chora, the manuscript served as a reference for later copies of Plato's works.<sup>406</sup> For example, George Galesiotes Junior used the *Timaeus* from ms. Y as a model for his own version in Laur. Plut. 59.1. This manuscript also contains Theon of Smyrna's *On Mathematics Useful for the Understanding of Plato* and Alcinous' *Didaskalikos*. Considering that Gabalas had transcribed the works of both Theon of

<sup>403</sup> For bibliography on the Vind. Phil. Gr. 21, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 83; Ernst Gamillscheg, "Eine Platonhandschrift des Nikephoros Moschopoulos (Vind. Phil. Gr. 21)", in *Βυζάντιος. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfram Hörander (Vienna: E. Bcvar, 1984), 95–100; taf. 4; D'Acunto, "Su un'edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21"; Daniele Bianconi, "Eracle e Iolao. Aspetti della collaborazione tra copisti nell'età dei Paleologi", *BZ* 96 (2003): 548–51; Pérez Martín, "Estetica e ideologia nei manoscritti bizantini di Platone", 119; Gaul, "Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts", 166–76; Mariella Menchelli, "Un copista di Planude. Platone ed Elio Aristide in moderne e arcaizzanti di XIII secolo", 195; Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", 411.

<sup>404</sup> The presence of the secretary of Nikephoros Moschopoulos is yet another manuscripts, cf. Markesinis, "Le «secrétaire» de Nicéphore Moschopoulos, scribe du Parisinus, Bibliothecae Nationalis, Coislinianus 90, f. 257v–279r, et du Basileensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis A III 5 (Gr. 45), f. 1–325r, l. 21", *Scriptorium* 58 (2004). For the parallels, see D'Acunto, "Su un'edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21", 273–76; Menchelli, "Un copista di Planude. Platone ed Elio Aristide in moderne e arcaizzanti di XIII secolo", 203.

<sup>405</sup> For the identification of John Bardales, see Pérez Martín, "La 'Escuela de Planudes': Notas paleográficas a una publicación reciente sobre los Escolios Euripideos", 80–82; Gaul, "Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts", 176–77. Cf. the objections to the identification by Bianconi, "Eracle e Iolao. Aspetti della collaborazione tra copisti nell'età dei Paleologi", 548–51. The hand of John Bardales is found in the Planoudean copy of Aelius Aristides (Plut. 60.8) and the Planoudean Anthology (Marc. Gr. 481), see Menchelli, "Un copista di Planude. Platone ed Elio Aristide in moderne e arcaizzanti di XIII secolo", 193–94.

<sup>406</sup> Mariella Menchelli, "Giorgio Oinaiotas lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo", 847; Mazzon, "Lavorare nell'ombra: Un percorso tra i libri di Giorgio Galesiotes", 438.

Smyrna and Alcinous (ms. T<sup>2</sup> and Q), it seems likely that Galesiotes Junior may have drawn on Gabalas' scholarly work in the assembly of his manuscript.

R Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 11360–11363 (Diktyon 9963). This manuscript is a “miscellanea disorganica”. It contains excerpts from Stobaeus' *Anthology* on vices and virtues, as well as selected passages from Plato's dialogues and Plutarch's *Moralia*. The entire manuscript was transcribed by Gabalas, which suggests that it was a manuscript for personal use.<sup>407</sup> Gabalas chose passages from Plato following a deliberate and philosophically oriented approach.<sup>408</sup>

Mariella Menchelli has observed that the textual variants of Plato's *Alcibiades*, *Timaeus*, *Symposium* and *Alcibiades* are based on the model of ms. Y.<sup>409</sup> The most extensive excerpts are from the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*, which is consistent with the pattern observed in ms. Y. Moreover, the interest in drawing parallels between Plato and Plutarch in ms. R can be associated with the scholarly work of Maximos Planoudes, George of Cyprus and Theodore Metochites, who are considered the leading figures in the study of Plutarch's works during the Palaiologan period.<sup>410</sup> This manuscript thus offers intriguing prospects for further exploration into Gabalas' approach to Plato, although such an inquiry falls outside the scope of the current study.

#### 4. The Writer: Chronology and Recipient of the *Logoi*

Attempting to understand human nature, Gabalas found the essence of genuine moral refinement in the practice of doing good. He came to this conclusion through his efforts in interpreting and explaining the fundamental truths of certain foundational texts, in which he aimed at a synthesis of pagan wisdom and Christian faith in the spheres of ethics and one's

<sup>407</sup> For a description of its content, see Omont, “Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles (I)”, 376–77. I could not consult the work of Léon Parmentier, *Les extraits de Platon et de Plutarque du manuscrit 11360–63*, Anceine bruxellensia. Université de Gand recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de philosophie et lettres (Ghent: Clemm, H. Engeleke, 1894).

<sup>408</sup> Menchelli, “Copisti e lettori di Platone: il Gorgia tra Einzelüberlieferung e codici di excerpta”, 213–15.

<sup>409</sup> Menchelli, “Giorgio Oinaotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo”, 855; Menchelli, “Copisti e lettori di Platone: il Gorgia tra Einzelüberlieferung e codici di excerpta”, 215.

<sup>410</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 75; Fryde, *The Early Palaiologan Renaissance*, 229, 235–36. For Plutarch manuscripts of George of Cyprus, see Pérez Martín, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre*, 175–96.

relationship to God. These foundational texts and books of culture were primarily Homer and the Old Testament.<sup>411</sup>

Throughout his oeuvre, Gabalas reflects on the nature of discourses or λόγοι. He characterizes them as “children of reason” and “offspring of the soul and images of the character”.<sup>412</sup> He explains that his motivations to write were based on “need” (χρεία), “ambition” (φιλοτιμία), and “the mood of the soul” (πάθος ψυχῆς).<sup>413</sup> Three *Letters* to Joseph the Philosopher (B19), Nicholas Lampenos (B27), and Nikephoros Gregoras (B35) reflect on the types of discourses and their hierarchy. Gabalas says that hymns, chants, songs, and encomia are second among the *logoi*.<sup>414</sup> He distinguishes between discourses deriving from contemplative or philosophical (θεωρητικῆς) activities and those deriving from learned or rational (λογικῆς) ones.<sup>415</sup> The term λόγοι, therefore, must be understood as intellectual discourses that aim at the acquisition of education, or virtue, or both.<sup>416</sup>

The subsequent chapters (see Chapters 3–4) will examine Gabalas’ works, particularly those he categorizes as contemplative or philosophical, including ethical-hermeneutical texts focused on Greek literature, such as the Homeric works (A7–A9), and philosophical-theological texts, such as the *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a), the discourse *On True Wisdom* (A5) and the *200 Chapters* (K) with its prologue (EK).<sup>417</sup> The relevant texts are preserved in Gabalas’ authorial manuscripts, Vind. Theol. Gr. 174 and Burney 114, which he personally copied. As previously noted (see Chapter 1 and 2), the Vienna manuscript showcases Gabalas’ diligent and thorough preparation of his texts for publication, reflecting how he wished to be regarded by future generations.<sup>418</sup> It is important to note, however, that his Biblical Works,

<sup>411</sup> For Homer as “foundational text” and “book of culture” and the status of *Iliad* and *Psalms*, see Margalit Finkelberg, “Homer as a Foundation Text”, in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 75–96; Maren Niehoff, “Why Compare Homer’s Readers to Biblical Readers?” and Finkelberg, “Canonising and Decanonising Homer: Reception of the Homeric Poems in Antiquity and Modernity”, in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3–14, 15–20, respectively.

<sup>412</sup> B27.12–13 Reinsch: λογικούς παῖδας, B49.4–5 Reinsch: ψυχῆς ἔκγονα καὶ εἰκόνες ἡθῶν. Cf. B11.66 Reinsch: τοῖς γνησίοις μοι πασί and Michael Gabras, *Letter* 189.9–21 Fatouros. For a similar view in the *Semeioseis Gnomikai* of Theodore Metochites, see Mergiali-Sahas, “Intellectual Pursuits for Their Own Sake”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 82.

<sup>413</sup> B27.14. Cf. *Letter* to Michael Gabras PB1.27: κατὰ χρεών and B25.10 Reinsch: ἡ φιλοτιμία ἡ χρεὶα κινούμενοι. The distinction between need and ambition stems from Synesius (*Letter* to Diogenes 23.4–5) and is also found in Nikephoros Choumnos (*Letter* to Autoreianos 72.11–12 and *Letter* to Bardales 78.5). See Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 38–46.

<sup>414</sup> B19.4–7.

<sup>415</sup> B27.12–13.

<sup>416</sup> B35.19.

<sup>417</sup> This taxonomy retakes in some way the ideas of Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 164–91.

<sup>418</sup> Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320”, 248.

comprising his studies of the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (A14–16), the short unedited interpretations in Burney 114, as well as his *Great Collection of Sayings and Exegeses of the Prophets* (A13b), which is a significant work exceeding 250 pages, will not be examined here.

### Chronology

The fact that Gabalas' works are preserved in his handwritten manuscripts provides us with significant information for reconstructing their chronology. The chronology according to a cautious use of the relative dating granted by watermarks can be further refined by correlating it with additional information such as the content of the discourses, internal references in the letters, and Gabalas' reflections on the progression of his own intellectual and spiritual career.<sup>419</sup> The watermarks in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174 date the Homeric Works (A7–A9) to 1321, the *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a) to 1327–1328.<sup>420</sup> The watermarks in Burney 114 date the *200 Chapters* (K) to 1327, and the second version of the *Brief Narration* (A9) to the decade of the 1330s.<sup>421</sup> Note also that some writings might not be the first copy of the text and, thus, this dating points to the *terminus ante quem* of the documents. In general terms, the intellectual production of Gabalas must be framed within the decades from 1310s to 1330s.

From the exchange of letters between Gabalas (PB1) and Michael Gabras (*Letters* 72 and 217), it can be deduced that Gabalas began composing discourses between 1310 and 1321, the latter being the year when Gabras received some of his writings. In a *Letter* to Nikephoros Gregoras (B35) written around 1329/31, Gabalas reflects on the evolution of his intellectual pursuits to that date. Gabalas' reflections help to outline three main periods in his writing career: 1313/14–1316, 1323/4–1328, and from 1328 onwards.

Early in his career, so Gabalas writes to Gregoras, he managed to balance the writing of discourses with his religious duties and liturgical practices (B35.15–22).<sup>422</sup> He was engaged in literary exercises, studies, and scholarly pursuits.<sup>423</sup> The terms used are *meletai* and *gymnasiai*, rhetorical exercises on historical and mythological subjects that enjoyed significant

<sup>419</sup> Cf. the chronology proposed by Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 165–72.

<sup>420</sup> Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, III, 2:310. Cf. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 27–28.

<sup>421</sup> For the watermarks of the *200 Chapters*, see Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 46. For the watermarks of the Burney version of *Brief Narration*, see Kourousis, “Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch”, 121.

<sup>422</sup> Previously, Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 164–65 had suggested a start in 1311, but this seems too early.

<sup>423</sup> B35.18 Reinsch: γυμνάσια λόγων καὶ τριβαὶ καὶ μελέται.

popularity during the Palaiologan period.<sup>424</sup> The first version of the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7) is preserved in Nikephoros Moschopoulos' manuscript of the *Odyssey* (Cesena, Malatest., Plut. D XXVII 2, ff. 1v–2v). A note in the manuscript dates it to April 1311. However, this date applies solely to the sections copied by Scribe A, not to Gabalas' *Laudatory Prologue*, which was probably added later, around 1313/14, as an introduction to the *Odyssey*. Vianès-Abou Samra's analysis based on textual variants determined that *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8) is based on Cesena's *Odyssey* (see Sections 3.1–3.2).<sup>425</sup> It has been suggested that the latest possible date for this work cannot be later than Moschopoulos' departure from Constantinople with his library in 1317.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, the Homeric works in the Vienna manuscript, including *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8), *Brief Narration* (A9), and the second version of the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7), were likely produced between 1313/14–1316, despite watermarks for A7–A9 indicating 1321. At any rate, the trilogy was already completed well before Gabalas wrote to Michael Gabras (B20) around 1326, discussing his evening reading about the duel between Paris and Menelaus, as well as the Teichoscopia (*Il.* 3.84–258). Here Gabalas ironically acknowledges that it had been some time since he last engaged with this text: “I rebuked myself because, without realizing it, I had picked up a poem [sc. *Iliad*] that is so rotten and vicious and that I had long since erased it from my memory, since it contributes nothing to moral perfection”.<sup>427</sup>

Gabalas' *Letters* from around 1316/17 (PB28; B61; B63) show that he became more interested in the theoretical aspects of faith. His enthusiasm for religious matters grew after he read Nikephoros Choumnos' *Oration on Christ's Transfiguration*: “I now enjoy the mysteries of Christ more than before”.<sup>428</sup> Gabalas (B61) expressed interest in Nikephoros Moschopoulos' manuscript with lives of saints, and in Gregory of Dyrrachium's manuscript of Cyril of Alexandria. Gabalas tells Gregoras (B35.22–69) about his shift in priorities and how he started to pay more attention to his religious life and duties. This change is consistent with the period of silence he went through after returning to the position as protonotary of Theoleptos in early 1317. In fact, later on in his conversation with Gregoras (B35.70–84), Gabalas explains that,

<sup>424</sup> For the popularity of *meletai* and *gymnasiai* in the early Palaiologan period, see Kaltsogianni, “The ‘Legacy’ of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Pseudo-Menander: Aspects of Byzantine Rhetoric under the Palaiologoi”, 20, 28–30; Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 129–68.

<sup>425</sup> Laurence Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysee par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle)”, *Gaia* 7 (2003): 465; Thomas Allen, *Homeri Opera III. Odyssey I–XII* (Oxford: Oxford Classical Texts, 1908).

<sup>426</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 72–73, tav. 21; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 298.

<sup>427</sup> B20.11–13 Reinsch: ἐμαυτόν γε κατεμεφόμην, ὅτι περ οὕτω σαθρὰ ἔπεα καὶ πάλαι δὴ μοι κατεφθαρμένα τῇ λήθῃ τῷ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν συντελεῖν ἔλαθον μεταχειριζόμενος.

<sup>428</sup> PB28.32–33 Gouillard: πλέον ἄγαμαι νῦν ἢ πρότερον τῶν Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων. Cf. PB28.11–12.



upon advancing in his ecclesiastical career, possibly as chartophylax for Theoleptos around April 1321, he distanced himself from advanced studies (μαθημάτα) and instead embraced an ascetic lifestyle centered on prudence and philosophy, here understood as the knowledge of beings, the good and virtue (B35.32–56, 71–72). Around 1323, the rigors of studying combined with his religious duties led to a significant illness, which he mentions in his *Address to Andronikos II* (A2) and a *Letter to Joseph the Philosopher* (B3): “For I have fallen, struck down by a severe illness resulting from prolonged study and distress”.<sup>429</sup>

Subsequently, Gabalas turned his attention to what he calls “something from the first philosophy that deals directly with dying”.<sup>430</sup> This renewed interest in his studies may have culminated in the composition of some of his studies on the Old Testament. These are probably the texts he sent to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina accompanying his *Letter B32*, written before 1328: “it so happened that I produced certain books, some of which are reminders of the first philosophy, even if they are for no one else but myself, while others are demonstrations of more important doctrines and interpretations of sayings that elevate the mind to higher realms”.<sup>431</sup> These memoranda, notes or “reminders of the first philosophy” (τῆς πρώτης ὑπομνήματα φιλοσοφίας) probably refer to Gabalas’ extracts from the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (A14–16), as Kourousis already suggested.<sup>432</sup> In this way, the term “first philosophy”, a concept traditionally linked to Aristotelian metaphysics, is here a synonym of Christian theology, as it is found in these three Old Testament sapiential books.<sup>433</sup>

Kourousis linked the term “demonstrations” (ἀποδείξεις) to the still unedited *Explanation of the Term ‘Incomparably’* (A3) and the *Prologue to Suzanne* (A4), and the term “interpretations” or “conceptual elevations” (ἀναγωγάς) to the exegesis of the lives of the Prophets (A13b).<sup>434</sup> However, this hypothesis might be a misinterpretation of the sequence τὰ δὲ...τινῶν δὲ (B32.48–51 Reinsch) as two separate works. It seems more plausible that Gabalas is referring to a single work, namely his *Great Collection of Sayings and Exegeses of the Prophets* (A13b). The dating of Gabalas’ works on the Old Testament between 1324–1328 is

<sup>429</sup> B3.14–15 Reinsch: νόσω γὰρ βαρεῖα ἐκ μελέτης χρονίας καὶ λύπης κατασκηψάση βληθεὶς πέπτωκα. For the *Address*, see Section 1.4.

<sup>430</sup> B35.82–83 Reinsch: τι τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας μελέτην ἄντικρυς τοῦ θανεῖν ἔχον.

<sup>431</sup> B32.48–51 Reinsch: βιβλί’ ἅττα μοι συνέβη ἐξενεγκεῖν, ἔστιν ἃ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ὑπομνήματα φιλοσοφίας, εἰ καὶ μηδέσιν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ’ ἔμοιγ’ αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ δογμάτων ἀποδείξεις κρειττόνων καὶ τινῶν δὲ λογίων ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον τῆς διανοίας ἀναγωγάς.

<sup>432</sup> This is the meaning for Gabalas when he talks about “reminders of divine sayings” in *Chapter 112* (K.1248: ὑπομνημάτων τῶν θείων λογίων). Note also that Gabalas authored a *Brief Reminder* (A26), see Section 4.1.

<sup>433</sup> For the meaning of first philosophy, see Michele Trizio, “Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project”, 260.

<sup>434</sup> Cf. the analysis of Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 162.

consistent with the watermarks years 1327–1328 for A13b, and 1328 for A14–A16. To further support this hypothesis, one can notice that biblical themes become prevalent in Gabalas’ letters from 1323/24. In a *Letter* to Joseph the Philosopher (B4.1–5), he compares the concept of *καῖρός* from Psalm 118 to Aristotle’s *Prior Analytics* 48b35–38. Gabalas (B6) also recommended the tale of Job to Gabras as a guide for life, showing a special interest in the story of Job’s wife.<sup>435</sup> In another *Letter*, he likened Nikephoros Choumnos to “a new Solomon” and mentioned Proverb 3:28.<sup>436</sup>

Concerning the dating of the *200 Chapters*, Reinsch observed that the original title had been erased and substituted with τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου Ματθαίου τοῦ Φιλαδελφέως in Burney 114, f. 1r. Reinsch interpreted this as an indication that Gabalas began writing the work before his appointment as Metropolitan of Ephesus in 1329 and modified the title afterwards.<sup>437</sup> The Burney version of the *Brief Narration* (A9), with watermarks for the 1330s, was probably copied around this time as well. Similarly, Gabalas conveys to Irene-Eulogia that his time in Brysis (1332–1337) provided him with a peaceful retreat, allowing him to focus on his literary pursuits (B64.280–83). It is probably during this period that he composed the minor unedited spiritual writings and Biblical interpretations of the Burney manuscripts.

After explaining how his interests evolved and admitting his sole devotion to spiritual concerns, Gabalas (B35.85–139) mentions that he received texts from Gregoras that nearly made him lose his focus on spiritual duties.<sup>438</sup> It seems Gabalas also sent his own works to Gregoras, as another copy of the *Laudatory Prologue* from 1328–1331 is found in one of Gregoras’ manuscripts (Marc., gr. IX 4, ff. 1r–2r).<sup>439</sup>

Finally, we need to address the chronology of two minor philosophical texts, *On True Wisdom* (A5) and *Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve* (A1). Kourousis thought that the first one was written during the period right after Gabalas’ rupture with Theoleptos (1317–1321).<sup>440</sup> However, Gabalas’ *Letter* to Gregoras (B35) emphasizes the importance of *praxis* in achieving virtue and cautions against a life of pretense, “like the actors; for purely theoretical philosophising leads precisely to this [sc. hypocrisy] if it remains isolated from deeds”.<sup>441</sup> This

<sup>435</sup> For another reference to Job’s wife, cf. *Letter* to Joel (B12.55).

<sup>436</sup> B13.2 Reinsch: τὸν νέον σὲ Σολομῶντα.

<sup>437</sup> Reinsch, 49, n. 1–2.

<sup>438</sup> Francesco Monticini has argued that these writings are Gregoras’ *Commentary on Synesius’ On Dreams*, see [https://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id\\_articolo=3805#appendice](https://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=3805#appendice), consulted on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2023.

<sup>439</sup> For details of the manuscript, Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 74;

<sup>440</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 170.

<sup>441</sup> Reinsch B35.67–68: ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταί· τὸ γὰρ ἐν λόγοις μόνον φιλοσοφεῖν ταῦτό τι δύναται τῶν ἔργων ἀπρηρωμένον.

could hint at the main topic of his philosophical writing *On True Wisdom*. Recently, Kaltsogianni proposed that the *Dialogue*, previously dated by Kourousis between 1317–1321, should be considered within the context of the Palamite controversy, more specifically after 1347.<sup>442</sup> This theory would fit well with our discussion on the different views on human deification held by Gabalas and Palamas during the Palamite controversy (see Sections 2.6 and 4.2). However, it seems that none of Gabalas’ writings date from a period as late as suggested; his final extant letters are dated up to 1341, and by 1351 he needed his son’s help to write. If a date so late is conceivable, it seems plausible that the essay could be the same book Gabalas refers to in his *Letter to Salamatines* (B49) from 1337–1339: “I recently worked hard on a book concerning some of the greatest doctrines”.<sup>443</sup>

### Recipients

The primary intention of Gabalas’ works is to serve a useful purpose. He frequently explores concepts of utility, profit, and benefit (χρήσιμον, ὄφελος, ὠφέλεια, κέρδος), evident in the titles of writings such as the *Brief Narration* (A7), the *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a), and the excerpts from the books of Job (A14), Proverbs (A15), and Ecclesiastes (A16).<sup>444</sup> Similarly, the *Prologue to the 200 Chapters* states, “If [these words] provide some benefit (ὄφελός τι) to those who heed them, those with discerning minds would be able to recognize this”.<sup>445</sup> Deriving benefit from ancient literature, as is the case of the *Brief Narration*, is a notion that can be broadly found in late antique and Byzantine literature from Plutarch’s *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* (16a, 38e), Basil of Caesarea’s *Address to Young Men on Greek Literature* (2.39, 4.40, 7.5, 10.4–24) to the works of John Tzetzes and Eustathios of Thessalonike.<sup>446</sup>

Most of Gabalas’ works serve a pedagogical purpose. Yet, the specific use of these texts, especially the *Wanderings of Odysseus*, and their status as schoolbooks is debated. Luigi

<sup>442</sup> Eleni Kaltsogianni, “Matthew of Ephesus and his Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve”, 125.

<sup>443</sup> B49.13 Reinsch: ὀλίγω πρόσθεν διεπονησάμην βιβλὸν περὶ δόγματός τινος τῶν μεγίστων. Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 163.

<sup>444</sup> Title A9.2–3: τῆς τῶν νέων εἵνεκεν ὠφελείας, Title A13a: χρήσιμον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Title A14: εἰς ὠφέλειαν, Title A15: ὠφελιμώτεροι, Title A16: τὰ χρησιμώτατα. Cf. A9.84–85 οὐδὲ [...] γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀκερδῇ τοῖς ἀκούουσι.

<sup>445</sup> EK.52–53: εἰ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς μετιούσιν ὄφελός τι παρέξονται, εἶδεῖν ἂν οἱ συνεσόμενοι τοῦτοις εὐγνώμονι διανοίᾳ. Cf. B32.48–49.

<sup>446</sup> See bibliography in Paolo Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche (XI–XII Secolo)* (Milano: Guerini e Associati, 1991), 147–48; Pontani, *Sguardi Su Ulisse*, 165–71; Daniele Bianconi, “Erudizione e didattica nella tarda Bisanzio”, in *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall’ Antichità al Rinascimento*. (Cassino: Edizioni Università di Cassino, 2010), 480–81. For the notion of utility in Byzantine literature more generally, Ida Toth, “Modern Encounters with Byzantine Texts and Their Reading Publics”, in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 42–43.

Silvano, for instance, recognizes the educational purpose of the *Wanderings of Odysseus*, but does not categorize it as a schoolbook due to its focus on moral teachings rather than Homer's linguistic features; Silvano also points out that this text appeals to a wide audience from educated scholars to those with basic education, similar to the audience of George Oinaïotes' and George Galesiotes Senior's metaphrases.<sup>447</sup> However, it has been argued that the metaphrases of Oinaïotes and Galesiotes were primarily intended for the educational curriculum of the young prince John V Palaiologos in the 1340s, and not for a broader audience.<sup>448</sup> One can moreover argue that the audience for the Homeric works (A7–A9) differs for each version. The Cesena version of the *Prologue to Homer* (A7) introduces the *Odyssey* in the manuscript – therefore it is intended for its readers –, while the Vienna version of the *Prologue to Homer* (A7) introduces the *Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8). Following this is the *Brief Narration* (A9), where Gabalas repeatedly mentions its production “for the benefit of the youth”.<sup>449</sup> This intention becomes evident when contrasting the Vienna title with the Burney version of the *Brief Narration* (A7), which was produced “for the benefit of the readers”.<sup>450</sup> Whether he used the Vienna version of the *Wanderings of Odysseus* and the *Brief Narration* as teaching materials or schoolbook during his tenure as a *didaskalos* in Constantinople remains uncertain, but it is highly probable that he did so in the light of the future discussion (see Section 2.5).

The target audience for Gabalas' exegesis of the lives of the Prophets (A13b) can be inferred from the *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a). Initially, Gabalas expresses a personal interest in these works, stating, “I hoped to gain greater strength from it in my personal

<sup>447</sup> Luigi Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, *JÖB* 67 (2017): 220, 223–24. For similar ideas, see Robert Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey”, 28–29; Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d'Ulysée par Matthieu d'Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, 464–65; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 270–72.

<sup>448</sup> John C. Davis, “The History Metaphrased: Changing Readership in the Fourteenth Century”, in *Niketas Choniates, A Historian and a Writer*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis and Alicia Simpson (Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2009), 162–63; John C. Davis, “Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates ‘Translated’: The Fourteenth Century Byzantine Metaphrases”, in *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 69–70. Cf. Stephanos Efthymiadis, “Déclasser pour édifier? Remarques et réflexions à propos de la métaphore de l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène”, in *Travaux et Mémoires 21/1. Mélanges Jean-Claude Cheynet*, ed. Béatrice Caseau, Vivien Prigent and Alessio Sotgiu (Paris: CNRS, 2017), 149–50. Cf. also Herbert Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI-XIII: Eine Beitrag zur Erschliessung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 16–17; Ingela Nilsson, “From Homer to Hermoniakos: Some Considerations of Troy Matter in Byzantine Literature”, *Troianalexandria* 4 (2004): 22–24.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. A9.2–3: τῆς τῶν νέων εἵνεκεν ὠφελείας, A9.7–8: λεληθότως διδάσκει, ἃ δὲ χρῶν πρό τῶν μύθων εἰδέναι τοὺς νέους εἰς κόσμον ψυχῆς.

<sup>450</sup> A9.2–3 Burney: τῆς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἕνεκεν ὠφελείας.

matters”.<sup>451</sup> The *Prologue to the Prophets* provides a clearer view of his motivations and the audience he had in mind. After studying the stories of the Prophets, Gabalas realized that his efforts should not be limited to his personal gain but could be of value to a wider audience (A13a.114–17).

Since I saw that it was a difficult task to go through all the books of the prophets for those who want to do so, in addition to everything that some have elaborated about them or have explained in a bid to unravel the depths of their concepts; and [since I saw that] this filled most of them with considerable hesitation and dizziness, so that they were forced to retire, like those who are not able to run the race, some from the middle and others from a little more than halfway through the race, I have wisely considered this about the length that each one [has reached], so that I may present the remaining things of both the content of the texts and the exegesis of the texts.<sup>452</sup>

Observing that those interested in the books of the prophets – “those who love learning and God” (A13a.135: τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ φιλοθέοις) – struggled to understand these texts, Gabalas decided to compile a work that succinctly summarized the passages and collected the pertinent interpretations in a user-friendly way. Within this context, he likens readers’ points of confusion to various stages in a race. This metaphor not only serves as a vivid illustration but also showcases Gabalas’ scholarly prowess in catering to a diverse array of educational needs and levels.

At the end of the *Prologue to the Prophets*, Gabalas opens up the possibility of criticism towards his work but quickly downplays it, saying, “But if we are found to have endured labour touching little or nothing of what we promised, first I do not know who and by what reasoning they would be justified to vote against the work in such a way”.<sup>453</sup> Similarly, in the *200 Chapters*, he remarks, “If, certainly, these words provide some benefit to those who follow them, to those who engage with them would know with a considerate mind, but certainly not to those who, in their ignorance, love to mistreat those who are far better than them, like pigs

<sup>451</sup> A13a.7–8: ὥμην [...] τὴν κρείττω ῥωμὴν ἐνθένδε σχήσειν ἐν τοῖς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν πράγμασι.

<sup>452</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Laudatory Prologue to the Prophets* A13a.119–27, 132–33: ἐπειδὴ πάντα μὲν ἐφεξῆς διέναι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἔργον εἶναι ἐώρων τοῖς βουλομένοις, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅσα γέ τινες ἐφιλοπόνησαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐπεδείξαντο τὰ βάθη τῶν νοημάτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀναπτύσσειν· τὸ δὲ, ὅκνου τινὸς οὐ μετρίου καὶ ἱλίγγου τοῦς πλείστους ἐπλήρου, ὥστ’ ἀναχωρεῖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς δρόμον θεόντας ἀδυνάτους· τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μέσου, τοὺς δ’ ὀλίγω τοῦ μέσου τοῦ σταδίου πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον· τοῦτό γε περὶ τοῦ μήκους ἐκατέρων ἐσοφισάμην, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρῶ καὶ τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τῶν κειμένων.

<sup>453</sup> A13a.178–80: εἰ δ’ ἄλλως ὑποστῆναι κόπον ἐξελεγχθεῖμεν ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδὲν ἀπτόμενοι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα τίνες ἂν καὶ τίσι λογισμοῖς εἰς τοῦτο δικαιωθέντες, οὕτω τοῦ ἔργου καταψηφίσαιντο.

[trampling] pearls thrown before them. For these people might even reject [these words], just as those who eat poorly [reject] better foods”.<sup>454</sup> It remains unclear if Gabalas, with these remarks, targets a potential adversary or anticipates an intellectual debate – these texts having been written a decade prior to his involvement in the Palamite controversy. Rather, Gabalas’ strategic defense against critics underscores his conviction in the value of his work. By likening detractors to those without taste or understanding, he shields his work from superficial criticism.

### Universalist Message

When we delve into Gabalas’ texts, we find that his works are infused with a universalist message, characteristic of Christianity. This is evident, for instance, in his extracts from the book of Job that were intended “for the utility of every Christian”.<sup>455</sup> He refers to such an individual in the *200 Chapters* as an “athlete”, “competent athlete”, “truly divine athlete” or “divine worker”.<sup>456</sup> These different expressions refer to Christians, particularly Christian monks, involved in spiritual and ascetic struggles. Similarly, in the *Brief Narration*, Gabalas portrays Odysseus as a symbol of “every man” (πᾶς ἄνθρωπος) in Neoplatonic fashion, as will be explored (see Section 4.2).<sup>457</sup> This universalist approach is paired with a tendency to connect his works to the present circumstances. In the Homeric works, Gabalas suggests that Homer observed misfortunes similar to those who live “now”,<sup>458</sup> and while the wanderings of Odysseus resemble the errors of the present (ἐν τῷ παρόντι / κατὰ τὸ παρὸν).<sup>459</sup>

Gabalas’ universalist message, which resonates with experiences of his contemporary life, is grounded in the Christian notion that passions and sufferings are inherent to human existence.<sup>460</sup> This theme is evident in his *Letters* to Emperor Andronikos II (PB8α) and Michael

<sup>454</sup> EK.52–56: εἰ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς μετιούσιν ὄφελός τι παρέξονται, εἰδεῖν ἂν οἱ συνεσόμενοι τούτοις εὐγνώμονι διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ’ οὐ μένουν καὶ τοὺς παραπολὺ τούτων κρείττους καταχραίνειν ἀπειροκάλως φιλοῦντες, ὥσπερ οἱ σύες τοὺς προβεβλημένους μαργάρους· τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους καὶ προσλυμήναιτ’ ἂν, ὥσπερ τοὺς κακοσίτους τὰ χρηστότερα τῶν βρωμάτων.

<sup>455</sup> Title A14: παντὶ Χριστιανῷ εἰς ὠφέλειαν.

<sup>456</sup> K.1819: ἀθλητῆς, K.470: δόκιμος ἀθλητῆς, K.1090: τὸν θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀθλητὴν, K.33, 1770: τὸν θεῖον ἐργάτην. Cf. Athanassios Angelou, “Matthaios Gabalas and his kephalaia”, 259–68.

<sup>457</sup> Noticeably, Theodore Metochites in the *Semeioseis Gnomikais* also regards Odysseus as every man, see Karin Hult and Börje Bydén, *Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy: Semeioseis Gnomikai 1-26 & 71: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indexes* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2002), XIV; Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 36–38.

<sup>458</sup> A7.35 Silvano: νῦν μὲν οὕτω πάσχειν ἡμᾶς, νῦν δ’ οὕτω. Cf. A7.89–90.

<sup>459</sup> A8.736, A9.19–21, 74–75, 157, 211.

<sup>460</sup> For passions as common to human experience in Christianity, see John Chryssaugis, “The Spiritual Way”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. Elizabeth Theokritoff and Mary Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 157. This is also a prominent subject in the works of George Pachymeres and, above all, Theodore Metochites, see e.g., Vassis, “Spirituality and Emotion: Poetic Trends in

Gabras (PB9, PB10, PB15), where he discusses the inevitability of suffering, which for him had been exacerbated by the loss of his wife, and the arduous path towards virtue and God. Gabalas questions the human capacity to endure such trials: “What human nature could resist such things? For truly, someone rightly said that the human race can bear all things that are worse”.<sup>461</sup> He frequently explores philosophy as a means to soothe pain, evident in his other letters, e.g., by drawing strength from Job’s story (B6.65–67), and by turning to philosophy to cope with his own grief during his time in Brysis (B64.151–85) and Ephesus (B56.4–11). Gabalas succinctly expresses this notion in his *Monody on the Death of John Choumnos*: “I am compelled to sing the tragedies of misfortune, as it is necessary to philosophize about misfortunes”.<sup>462</sup>

## 5. The Didaskalos: Fostering a New Generation of Scholars

Gabalas influenced several individuals through his spiritual guidance and teaching activities.<sup>463</sup> This section outlines their interactions with Gabalas. Several individuals received spiritual guidance from Gabalas, as evidenced by the tone and vocabulary in various letters from the Vienna collection.<sup>464</sup> Particular attention will be devoted to George Oinaiotos, who benefited from Gabalas’ intellectual work and philosophical knowledge, as can be deduced from the content of their letters. Gabalas carried out his educational work during his stays in Constantinople from 1323/25 to 1331 and again from 1337 to 1339, and it likely continued after 1343 when he returned to Constantinople during the Palamite conflict. Thus, examining Gabalas’ role as a teacher provides further insights into the state of education during the reigns of the emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III.

Gabalas (B12) acknowledged and praised the spiritual growth of an individual known as *kyr* Joel. He also provided guidance to Michael Philanthropenos (B15), urging him to

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the Palaeologan Period”, 180–82; Ioannis Polemis, “Κόσμου Θεωρία: Cosmic Vision and Its Significance in the Works of Theodore Metochites and Other Contemporary Intellectuals”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 306–8.

<sup>461</sup> PB10.14–16: οἷα φύσις ἀνθρώπου δύναται ἂν καρτερεῖν; τῷ ὄντι γὰρ οὐ μάτην ἔφη τις πάντα τὰ χεῖρω τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐνεγκεῖν δύνασθαι.

<sup>462</sup> A12.275.7–8 Sideras: ἀναγκάζομαι τραγῳδεῖν τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς, δεόν φιλοσοφεῖν τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς. On philosophical letters, see Divna Manolova, *Discourses of Science and Philosophy in the Letters of Nikephoros Gregoras*, 133–38; Divna Manolova, “Epistolography and Philosophy”, in *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 279–306.

<sup>463</sup> One can imagine that Gabalas had already been teaching in Philadelphia between 1310–1317 and from 1317 mostly in Constantinople, as Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 163–64 suggested. However, his literary and philosophical writings, as well as most of his letters referring to this activity belong to a later date.

<sup>464</sup> For the vocabulary in the relation teacher-student, see Riehle, “Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)”, 222.

emulate the spiritual diligence of his father, Alexios Philanthropenos, known for his association with wise men. Gabalas criticized Philanthropenos for abandoning intellectual activities in order to join his father's military campaign in 1324 (see Section 1.4). In another *Letter* (B41), Gabalas offered to act as a father and a friend to an unnamed priest, calling him “best of men, the most excellent of philosophers”.<sup>465</sup> This priest likely is Salamatinos, recipient of *Letter* B49 from around 1337/39, in which Gabalas warmly calls him “dear son” and requests the return of a religious book, a prerequisite for maintaining their “friend and father” relationship.<sup>466</sup> Gabalas (B31) may also have influenced Nicholas Pepagomenos, a student of Nikephoros Gregoras, as Gabalas characterizes himself as Pepagomenos' spiritual guide.<sup>467</sup>

Furthermore, Theodore Dexios, in a *Letter* defending Gabalas against accusations of heretical teachings, acknowledges the latter as his spiritual guide: “Regarding the wisest high priest [sc. Gabalas], I too assert, calling upon God as a witness to my word, the observer of all, that I simply never heard him utter his words in a way that suggests that he thinks or speaks badly and erroneously about the matters being discussed, even though he had ample opportunity to do so, if he indeed harboured such thoughts, and to use his authority to reprimand me. This is because he held a place of great respect with me for a long time as my father, and also because he had been entrusted with the spiritual rule and providence of my soul”.<sup>468</sup> Dexios' statements position Gabalas as a spiritual guide within the circle of antipalamite thinkers (see Section 2.6).

### The *didaskalos* of George Oinaïotes

George Oinaïotes (1290–?) was part of a rich family likely related to the Pachymeres family. He is considered a intellectual disciple of Theodore Metochites and a friend of Maximos Neamonites. His education is linked to the scholarly circle of Nikephoros Gregoras and John

<sup>465</sup> B41.37 ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἄριστε, φιλοσόφων δὲ κάλλιστε. Cf. Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 248–52.

<sup>466</sup> B49.1 Reinsch: φίλε μοι παῖ, B49.21 Reinsch: φίλω τε καὶ πατρί. Cf. *Letters* to Melissenos (B53.2) and to Nicholas Matarangos (B36.2),

<sup>467</sup> B31.5 Reinsch: φίλος καὶ πατήρ [...], οἷός ἐγώ. Cf. Pietro Luigi Leone, “Un' epistola di Nicola Pepagomeno a Niceforo Gregora”, *Byzantion* 42.2 (1972): 525–26; Pérez Martín, “La ‘Escuela de Planudes’: Notas paleográficas a una publicación reciente sobre los Escolios Euripideos”, 89; Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 76.

<sup>468</sup> Theodore Dexios, *Letter* 2.58–66 Polemis: Περὶ μέντοι <τοῦ> σοφωτάτου ἀρχιερέως φημὶ μὲν καὶ γὰρ, Θεὸν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην, ὡς οὐδ' ἀπλῶς ποτε καὶ ὥσπερ παραρρίψαντος αὐτοῦ λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι δὴ κακῶς καὶ σφαλερῶς καὶ φρονεῖται καὶ λέγεται μοι τὰ λεγόμενα, καίτοι καταπλεῖστον ἐξῆν αὐτῷ τὸ περιόν, εἴ τι γε τοιοῦτον ὑπενόει, καὶ ἐπιτιμήσει χρήσασθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι καὶ πολλὸς ἐξοῦ χρόνος πατὴρ ἦν αὐτῷ τόπος παρ' ἐμοὶ σεβασμίου, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἀρχὴν πνευματικὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐγκεχεῖριστο. Cf. Rigo, “Il ‘rapporto’ dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa' e altri eventi dell' anno 1346”, 311, n. 133.



Zacharias. His writings include the *Metaphrasis of Nikephoros Blemmydes' Imperial Statue* and *The Story of the Journey from Constantinople to Ganos*, along with an extensive corpus of letters.<sup>469</sup> The letter collection of George Oinaïotes is preserved in the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 356 (Diktyon 16894). This collection was copied by several scribes under the supervision of Oinaïotes.<sup>470</sup> Out of these letters, *Letters* 3, 4, 7, 58, 67, 70, 71, 76, 94, 121, 157, 158 are available in modern editions, while *Letters* 7, 49, and 163 have been edited only partially. The remaining letters remain unpublished as the complete edition announced by Karlsson and Fatouros never materialized.<sup>471</sup>

Oinaïotes wrote several letters to Gabalas (*Letters* 95=96=97=98=99, 121, 127, 143, 144, 146 and 155) and mentioned him in a *Letter* addressed to Syropoulos (*Letter* 94). He addressed Gabalas as *chartophylax* of Philadelphia (*Letters* 95=96=97=98=99, 121, 143, 144 and 146) and as the wisest teacher (*Letters* 127, 152 and 155). His letter collection does not follow a chronological order. The letters addressed to Gabalas cover the time from his appointment as *chartophylax* of Theoleptos (after 1321) to around 1330. Two of Gabalas' responses (B18 and B22), from around 1325 to 1328, are also preserved. Oinaïotes' *Letter* 146 is a reply to Gabalas' B18, which in turn is a response to Oinaïotes' *Letter* 121. Gabalas' B22 responds to Oinaïotes' *Letters* 143 and 144 (see Chart 4). The other letters Oinaïotes sent to Gabalas are not preserved, possibly because Oinaïotes might have visited Gabalas in person. Mariella Menchelli has recently studied Oinaïotes' correspondence, in a bid to elucidate Oinaïotes' library, his involvement in book exchange and his engagement with the works of Plato and Proclus. As Menchelli concedes, "la ricerca su Matteo di Efeso è in questo senso aperta".<sup>472</sup> Appendix 2 presents the first full edition and English translation of the letters of Oinaïotes to Gabalas.<sup>473</sup>

<sup>469</sup> Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 46, 297–99; Gaul, "Moschopulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts", 182–83; Mitrea, "A Late Byzantine Παιδευμένος: Maximus Neamonites and his Letter Collection", 199, 209. See also Ahrweiler, "Le récit du voyage d'Oinaïotes de Constantinople à Ganos"; Belke, "Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period", 85.

<sup>470</sup> Johan Edvard Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung*; Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 99–121; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 48, 93.

<sup>471</sup> Cf. Ahrweiler, "Le récit du voyage d'Oinaïotes de Constantinople à Ganos", 9, n. 4; Georgios Fatouros and Gustav Karlsson, "Aus der Briefsammlung des Anonymus Florentinus (Georgios? Oinaïotes)", *JÖB* 22 (1973): 207–18.

<sup>472</sup> Menchelli, "Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo", 845, n. 50. See also, Mariella Menchelli, "Nota storico-tradizionale al Commento al Timeo di Proclo nelle età macedone, comnena, paleologa tra supporti librari e documentari (il rotolo di Patmos, Eileton 897, il Marc. gr. 195 e la 'collezione filosofica'; il Coisl. 322, il Chis. R VIII 58 e il Marc. gr. 194)", *Studia graeco-arabica* 5 (2015): 145–64. See also Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 17–18.

<sup>473</sup> I would like to thank the curator Eugenia Antonucci of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana for providing me with digital copies of the manuscript Laur. San Marco 356. Cf. Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 101–12.

The correspondence includes four letters and their responses from Gabalas that deal with Oinaïotes' deviation from his studies. Oinaïotes (*Letter* 121) attributes his temporary shift away from philosophy to his recent marriage, but he denies being captivated by trivial distractions, comparing them to the Sirens that diverted Odysseus.<sup>474</sup> In response, Gabalas (B18) advises Oinaïotes to learn from the temporary diversions of marriage and reengage with philosophical studies. Next, Oinaïotes (*Letter* 146) thanks Gabalas for enlightening him about the advantages of embracing various viewpoints, which has led him to view his wedding celebrations as transient diversions. He reaffirms his commitment to philosophy, which focuses on the study of unchanging truths, and shows a preference for Heraclitus over Democritus. Oinaïotes (*Letters* 143 and 144) describes the problems of a disease resembling mange or scabies, which, despite medical treatment, worsened and spread, causing severe itching and discomfort. This condition, he notes, prevented him from visiting Gabalas and engaging with the works of Plato:

Not being able to encounter your wisdom, which for me counts for more than anything anyone could say, we do not even converse with Plato, and we do not consider it least among those things that are neglected. As long as the pain prevents us from seeing you, so long does it prevent us to continue reading and to have something to consider the pain by half, even if we stay at home and have quite a lot of free time.<sup>475</sup>

Gabalas (B22.29–37) views diseases as a reminder of human frailty, believing that Oinaïotes' complaints about suffering from scabies and being unable to study Plato are unfounded. He argues that scabies, which he considers a “purification from disease” (B22.30 νόσου καθαρτική) should not hinder philosophical reflection. In response, Oinaïotes (*Letter* 144) ponders the nature of diseases affecting both body and soul and of those like scabies that only affect the body. He also recounts meeting a woman who offered a remedy involving an ointment. Initially skeptical, his desperation led him to try it, which resulted in surprising relief and recovery within three days.

<sup>474</sup> George Oinaïotes married to a certain Syropoulos, a female relative of the recipient of *Letter* 94, around 1325, Ahrweiler, “Le récit du voyage d'Oinaïotes de Constantinople à Ganos”, 11. On a certain Stephen Syropoulos, see De Gregorio, “Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries”, 424, n. 99.

<sup>475</sup> George Oinaïotes, *Letter to the Chartophylax of Philadelphia* 143.3–7: τῇ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὅτι τις ἂν εἴποι λογιζομένη ἔμοιγε σὴ σοφία ἐντυγχάνειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὁμιλοῦμεν οὐδὲ Πλάτωνι, οὐδ' ἥκιστα μετὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων λογιζόμεθα· ἀλλὰ παρ' ὅσον τὸ λυποῦν παρ' ὑμᾶς ὁράσθαι ἐμποδίζει, παρὰ τοσοῦτον οἰκουροῦντα καὶ ἀδείας οὐκ ὀλίγης εὐποροῦντα οὐδέν, ἀναγινώσκοντα διατελεῖν καὶ μέντοι ἔχειν διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἡμίσεως τὸ κακὸν λογιζεσθαι.

The letters of Oinaïotes provide insights into the educational methods and subjects taught by Gabalas. They reveal that Gabalas not only provided spiritual guidance but also offered help in scientific and philosophical learning. Oinaïotes points out that Gabalas' spiritual guidance often emphasized the development of moderation or self-restraint and a commitment to Aristotle's principle of the golden mean.

But you, wisest one, you should not wish to be this way, for you are the one who often in my presence has criticized much about limitless and philosophized that all things should have a measure, as if representing the one who said that “measure in all things is best”, to put it well.<sup>476</sup>

From this *Letter*, it is evident that Gabalas not only strove to embrace Aristotle's ethical concept of moderation in his personal life or his writings but also imparted it in his teachings. The letters also touch upon Gabalas' expertise in the field of astronomy. Oinaïotes (*Letter* 155) shares his keen interest in a book by Ptolemy and his endeavours to obtain a copy. The book, referred to by Oinaïotes as Πτολεμαίου Σελίδια, Σελιδίων τὴν βίβλον, and βίβλον Κανόνων, is known as Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* or Πρόχειροι κανόνες. The *Handy Tables* offer a simplified and user-friendly version of the complex mathematical models and calculations found in Ptolemy's *Almagest*. They provide pre-calculated astronomical data, such as the positions of celestial bodies over time (ephemerides), useful for purposes such as determining Easter's date, casting horoscopes, or planning agricultural tasks. Theon of Alexandria's *Commentaries* on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* and John Philoponus' *Treatise on the Astrolabius* or Proclus' *Hypotyposis* were school textbooks used for teaching astronomy in the Palaiologan era.<sup>477</sup> Gabalas likely had a similar interest in scientific and astronomical matters, which adds another facet to his scholarly profile. He probably authored the chronological calculations in his personal manuscript (see Section 2.3). This interest in Ptolemy's work is part of a broader scientific trend during Andronikos's reign.<sup>478</sup> This interest brings him closer to the circle of Palaiologan intellectuals keen on astronomy, especially Manuel Bryennios, who instructed

<sup>476</sup> George Oinaïotes, *Letter to the Wisest Teacher* 155.22–25: ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε σοφώτατε, μὴ οὕτω διακεῖσθαι θελήσεις, σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ πολλάκις ἐμοῦ παρόντος πολλὰ τοῦ ἀπείρου καταμεμψάμενος καὶ πάντων χρῆναι μέτρον εἶναι φιλοσοφῆσας, ὥς καὶ τὸ πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον καλῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν εἰπόντα ἀποφηνάμενος.

<sup>477</sup> Cacouros, “Deux épisodes inconnus dans la réception de Proclus à Byzance aux XIIe–XIVe siècles: la philosophie de Proclus réintroduite à Byzance grâce à l'Hypotypôsis: Néophytos Prodromènes et Kōntostéphanos (?) lecteurs de Proclus (avant Argyropoulos) dans le e 'Xénôn' du Kralj”, 604–5, 614–15; Manolova and Pérez Martín, “Science Teaching and Learning Methods in Byzantium”.

<sup>478</sup> Manolova and Pérez Martín, “Science Teaching and Learning Methods in Byzantium”. Particularly on the use and reception of the *Handy Tables* in the Palaiologan era, see Jean Lempire's project *Ptolemaeus Byzantinus*: [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:LempireJ.Ptolemaeus\\_Byzantinus.2018](http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:LempireJ.Ptolemaeus_Byzantinus.2018), consulted on 17 August 2023.

Theodore Metochites on Theon's *Commentaries*, which Metochites later worked on, influencing other scholars such as Nikephoros Gregoras, John Zacharias, George Lapithes or Nicholas Pepagomenos.<sup>479</sup>

Nevertheless, it was in the interpretation of Plato's dialogues that Gabalas truly excelled.<sup>480</sup> He is described by modern scholars as "a fervent admirer of Plato and Platonic philosophy in all its aspects".<sup>481</sup> As Mariella Menchelli has demonstrated, Oinaïotes, too, was familiar with Plato's *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Philebus*, *Menexenus* and *Timaeus*, along with exegetical writings such as Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* and Timaeus of Locri's *On the Nature of the World and the Soul*.<sup>482</sup> Their common admiration of these works is apparent in three of Oinaïotes' letters.

Oinaïotes (*Letter* 95=99) sends Gabalas a book that required a skilled interpreter (ἐρμηνεύς). This book is likely Plato's *Timaeus* mentioned in *Letter* 127.2–4. There, Oinaïotes expresses his wish to engage in a second discussion about this dialogue, citing Gabalas' exceptional interpretative skills: "it would indeed be pleasant to undertake a second trial with this *Timaeus*, because it amazes me as if it was revealed and tells the truth from the Delphic tripod, and because I am astounded at how accurate an interpreter of the enigmas you are".<sup>483</sup> In *Letter* 121, Oinaïotes similarly extols Gabalas, calling him "the one who overcame the ineffability of the Delphic tripod, the guide of true philosophy, rule, measure and model of all good things".<sup>484</sup> Oinaïotes' remarks highlight Gabalas' profound knowledge of Plato, which becomes even more significant in the context of the revival of philosophical studies during the early Palaiologan period.

As previously noted (see Section 2.3), Gabalas had access to two complete editions of Plato's *Timaeus* (Vind. Phil. Gr. 21, Vat. Gr. 226) and a partial one with excerpts (Bibliothèque

<sup>479</sup> Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement*, 60–83; Mergiali-Sahas, "Intellectual Pursuits for Their Own Sake", in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 84–88. On the use and reception of the Handy Tables in the Palaiologan era, see Jean Lempire's project *Ptolemaeus Byzantinus* and, specifically on Bryennios and Metochites, see Sophia Kotzabassi, "Continuity and Evolution in Autobiographical Literature", in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 120.

<sup>480</sup> On Plato in Gabalas' oeuvre and thought, see Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 103, 150, 171, 193, 202; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 11–22.

<sup>481</sup> Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", 420–21. See also Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 99–102.

<sup>482</sup> Menchelli, "Giorgio Oinaïotes lettore di Platone. Osservazioni sulla raccolta epistolare del Laur. San Marco 356 e su alcuni manoscritti dei dialoghi platonici di XIII e XIV secolo", 839–41, 852.

<sup>483</sup> Oinaïotes, *Letter* 127.2–4: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺ μετὰ δευτέραν πείραν λαβεῖν τουτονὶ τὸν Τίμαιον, θαυμάζοντα μὲν ἐμὲ ὡς ἀπὸ Δελφικοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαινόμενόν τε καὶ ἀληθεύοντα, ἐκπληττόμενον δὲ ὅπως σὺ τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀκριβῆς ἐρμηνεύς.

<sup>484</sup> Oinaïotes, *Letter* 121.19–21: ὁ τὸ δελφικοῦ τρίποδος νικήσας ἀπόρρητον, ὁ τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας καθηγεμὼν, καὶ κανὼν, καὶ στάθμη καὶ παράδειγμα καλῶν πάντων.

Royale Albert Ier, 11360–11363). He also transcribed Theon of Smyrna’s *On Mathematics Useful for the Understanding of Plato* (Vat. Gr. 321) and Alcinous’ *Didaskalikos* (Vat. Gr. 225). These handbooks offer essential tools for interpreting Plato’s doctrines and were extensively used in Byzantine education. It is highly probable that Gabalas used these authors primarily for pedagogical purposes, aiming to elucidate Plato and his philosophical concepts. Moreover, it should be noted that Gabalas produced interpretations of the *Odyssey* and the Old Testament, primarily for educational purposes (see Section 2.4), which likely constituted the central subjects of his teaching curriculum.

As mentioned before (see Section 1.4), Gabalas lived in a monastery in Constantinople where he offered instruction to young students. Oinaïotes refers to Gabalas as his *didaskalos* or teacher, particularly in *Letter* 94.7 and in the titles of *Letters* 127, 152 and 155. But what kind of *didaskalos* was Gabalas?<sup>485</sup> George Pachymeres, known for his work as *didaskalos tou apostolou* at the patriarchal school of Constantinople, taught New Testament exegesis and philosophy (see Section 2.1). Gabalas might have fulfilled similar roles albeit without a formal teaching position. Gabalas’ teaching of Old Testament exegesis aligns more with the role of *didaskalos tou psalteriou*, a position Pachymeres held earlier.<sup>486</sup> Years later, at the school of the Monastery of Saint John Prodromos in Petra, under the patronage of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, John Kontostephanos worked as a *didaskalos* from the 1350s onwards, and John Chortasmenos as *katholikos didaskalos* in the early 15<sup>th</sup>-century. Interestingly, Chortasmenos was promoted to *katholikos didaskalos* after serving as a protonotary and before being promoted to metropolitan – ranks that closely mirror Gabalas’ career path, as he ascended to the position of Metropolitan of Ephesus in 1329 after being protonotary and chartophylax of Theoleptos. Gabalas’ role might have resembled what Cacouros called a patriarchal *didaskalos*, later known as *katholikos didaskalos*, involving scientific-philosophical teaching, often within monastic setting.<sup>487</sup> This leads to the possibility that Gabalas might have been teaching either at a monastery affiliated with the Patriarchate of Constantinople such as Prodromos Petra or at the Patriarchate, thereby continuing Pachymeres’ legacy. Chronologically, Gabalas’ teaching activities sit between those of Pachymeres and Kontostephanos in Constantinople.

<sup>485</sup> On the origins and different kinds of *didaskalos*, see e.g., Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 55–57; Gaul, “Schools and Learning”, 269–70.

<sup>486</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 59–60.

<sup>487</sup> The case of John Kontostephanos and John Chortasmenos has been treated by Cacouros, “Deux épisodes inconnus dans la réception de Proclus à Byzance aux XIIe–XIVe siècles: la philosophie de Proclus réintroduite à Byzance grâce à l’Hypotypôsis: Néophytos Prodromènos et Kôntostéphanos (?) lecteurs de Proclus (avant Argyropoulos) dans le e ‘Xénôn’ du Kralj”, 615–26; Cacouros, “La philosophie et les sciences du trivium et du quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l’enseignement, le cas de l’école du Prodrome”, 5, 17–18, 23–26, 40–49.

## 6. The Theologian: Akindynist Objections to Palamite Doctrine

Between 1332–1337, Gabalas (B43) wrote to the monks on Mount Athos, commending their virtue and their devotion to Christ in solitude and seeking their support in overcoming passions and the flesh. Notably, this *Letter* does not touch upon the Palamite controversy, which Gabalas would later actively engage in starting from 1347. This section explores Gabalas’ theological stance during the Palamite controversy, particularly focusing on his views on the distinction of God’s essence and activities, as well as on the concept of human participation in God.<sup>488</sup> Here, a series of mutual accusations between the Palamites and Akindynists unfolds, unveiling a long series of misunderstandings among the involved parties. This study draws from varied writings, including Gabalas’ *Request* (Spring 1346), *Tome of the Opponents* (July 1347), Gregory Palamas’ *150 Chapters*, Patriarch Kallistos I’s *Homilies*, and the *Synodal Tome* that condemned Gabalas and the Akindynists (August 1351).<sup>489</sup>

Ioannis Polemis recently suggested that the Palamite controversy is an expression of a tendency inherent in Christianity: the effort to reconcile God’s unity and transcendence with His immanence. Gabalas’ theological approach, representing the Akindynist stance, aligns with a traditional Byzantine spirituality influenced by Platonism. In contrast, Palamas developed a coherent theological framework, building upon the work of 13<sup>th</sup>-century anti-Latin scholars, notably Nikephoros Blemmydes and George of Cyprus. This makes Palamite doctrine represent the innovation in theological thought, particularly seen in Palamas’ attempt to equate the light observed by monks with God’s uncreated activities, as Polemis highlighted.<sup>490</sup> Besides, the theological innovation of Palamism is coherent with the socio-political aspect of the controversy. Palamas’ movement, greatly supported by the monastic community, ascended to power through the election of Isidore I as Patriarch and Palamas himself as Archbishop of Thessalonike, thus displacing the previously dominant ecclesiastical hierarchy in Constantinople, which was represented by the Metropolitan of Ephesos before the Palamites came into power (see Section 1.7). Their different approaches to theology are also based on two different views of monasticism: Palamas’ hesychasm versus Gabalas’ cenobitism (see Section 4.2).

<sup>488</sup> On the Methodenstreit in Palamas and humanism, see Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 124–79.

<sup>489</sup> The *Tome of the Opponents* was seen as a perfect refutation of the Palamite stance by later anti-Palamite such as John Kyparissiotis, *Book of the Transgressions of the Palamites* PG 152.737.6–14 Migne. For the *Request*, see Antonio Rigo, “Il ‘rapporto’ dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa’ e altri eventi dell’ anno 1346”, 298, 307

<sup>490</sup> Polemis, “The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends”, 382.

### **Gabalas' Objections to Kalekas and Palamas (July 1347): On God's Activities and the Names of the Divinity**

Gabalas (*Request* 44–51 Rigo and *Tome of the Opponents* 21–24 Rigo) addresses the inconsistency in Patriarch John XIV Kalekas' viewpoints on God's essence and activities. Gabalas notes that Kalekas initially argued that God's activities (ἐνεργεῖαι) were not distinct from His essence (οὐσία). Yet, Kalekas later shifted his perspective, suggesting that God's activities were created (κτισταί) and identical to the Thabor light.

Gabalas challenges Kalekas' initial view – namely, to deny the distinction between essence and activities –, saying that it would reduce God to merely essence, devoid of activities and Divinity. Furthermore, Gabalas disputes Kalekas' later view – namely, to accept that God's activities are created and identical to the Thabor Light –, saying that it would divide the Divine into created – or perishable (φθαρτή) – and uncreated (εἰς κτιστὰ καὶ ἄκτιστα τὸ θεῖον). One can also infer Gabalas' thoughts from his criticism towards Kalekas: Gabalas would argue for a neat distinction between God's essence, activities and Divinity, considering that God's activities are not identical to the Thabor Light, which is key to understand his future discussion with Gregory Palamas.

The *Tome of the Opponents* presents a more sophisticated critique of Palamite doctrine.<sup>491</sup> Gabalas charges Palamas and his adherents for introducing a new theology (νέα θεολογία). He reproaches them for attributing essence and Divinity to God's activities, which he argues leads to another division in the persons of the Trinity into many or infinite (ἄπειροι) seen and unseen (ὄρατοὶ καὶ ἀόρατοι) gods (θεοί), and a hierarchy of superior and inferior (ὑπερκειμέναι καὶ ὑφειμέναι) divinities (θεότητες).<sup>492</sup> Additionally, Gabalas condemns the Palamite doctrine of divine participation. He disapproves of their belief in the possibility of interacting with God's (uncreated) activities and their conviction in their own transformation into an uncreated nature (ἄκτιστος φύσις).

Gabalas' main argument is based on the idea that Palamas was mistakenly equating God's activities (ἐνεργεῖαι), which Gabalas rather calls powers (δυνάμεις), e.g., His providence, justice, power and goodness, with the Divinity and its names (ὀνόματα), e.g., God,

<sup>491</sup> See also the general remarks of Norman Russell, "The Hesychast Controversy", in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 502.

<sup>492</sup> *Tome of the Opponents* 34–44, 54–58, 257–66 Rigo. Palamas addresses the assessments of Gabalas in some of his writings; see Rigo, "Il 'rapporto' dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa e altri eventi dell'anno 1346", 337, nn. 5–6.

Lord, Angel, and Man. Gabalas' warnings against conflating God's activities with the names of Divinity seem to be intended to prevent Palamas from attributing essence to or essentializing God's activities, which, in Gabalas' view, would eventually lead to an unorthodox division within the Trinity. In light of this, Gabalas is meticulous in clarifying and defining his understanding of God's activities, Divinity and names.

The names of the Divinity possess Lordship (condition of Lord) and Divinity (condition of God) by the homonymy of God (κυριότης καὶ θεότης καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν Θεοῦ) and by grace (κατὰ χάριν). He states that God's activities are distinct from the One Supra-Essence Divinity (ὑπερούσιος μία θεότης). Indeed, God's activities, as Gabalas expresses, exist indivisibly from God's essence, which Gabalas calls "the One God indivisibly divided in Trinity" (ὁ εἷς Θεὸς διαιρούμενος εἰς Τριάδα ἀδιαιρέτως) in the formula "one God, one Lord, one Divinity" (εἷς Θεὸς, εἷς Κύριος, μία θεότης). Gabalas considers God's activities to be divine (θεῖαι), natural (φυσικαί), creative (δημιουργικαί) and essential (οὐσιώδεις), even suggesting that they are devoid of essence (ἀνούσιοι); however, this does not mean he denies their existence.<sup>493</sup> Rather, Gabalas probably considered that the essence of God's activities is identical to or derives from God's indivisible essence: he says in the *Tome of the Opponents* that God's activities are co-eternal (συναΐδιος) and co-beginningless (συνάναρχος) with the beginningless and eternal God (ἀναρχος καὶ αἰδιος Θεός).

By making a clear distinction between God's essence, activities, Divinity, and names, and by asserting that the light of Thabor is distinct from God's activities, Gabalas achieves a formula that can explain God's activities while respecting the unity of the persons in the Trinity. This is, therefore, a theological alternative to Palamite doctrine. In this way, Gabalas' formula aligns the essence of God's activities with His indivisible essence, which has significant implications for understanding divine participation.

### **Palamite Doctrine: Participation in God's Activities**

The *150 Chapters* by Gregory Palamas illustrate the Palamite views on God's activities and the participation in God, especially from *Chapters* 64–150, which address the tenets of Barlaamites and Akindynists.<sup>494</sup> According to the title, the chapters aim to cleanse the "Barlaamite corruption" (Βαρλααμίτις λύπη). Notably, Palamas (*Chapter* 81) claims to be

<sup>493</sup> Cf. Manuel Gabalas' *Chapter* 18 (On rest and activity).

<sup>494</sup> See the introduction to *Chapters* 64–150 by Sinkewicz, *Saint Gregory Palamas: The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 36–55.



accused by the Akindynists of “speaking of many gods and many uncreated realities and making God composite”, which seem to recall in Gabalas’ accusations to Palamas in the *Tome of the Opponents* (July 1347). Palamas also mentions (*Chapters* 148–50) a Synod, where the Akindynists were excommunicated and subjected to anathema, which is probably a reference to the deposition of Gabalas and condemnation of the Akindynists in the *Tome of Deposition* and the Synod August 1347 – not the one from August 1351 –. Therefore, Sinkewicz is probably correct in dating the *150 Chapters* to 1349–1350.<sup>495</sup>

Palamas focused on establishing a theological foundation regarding God’s activities, disregarding, as it seems, Gabalas’ objections in the *Tome of the Opponents* against conflating God’s activities with the names of the Divinity. He (*Chapters* 68–69, 73, 90, 92–93, 135, 147) asserts that God’s activities – which he also calls movement (κίνησις), processions (προόδοι), powers (δυνάμεις), divine will (βουλή), grace (χάρις), and illumination (ἐλλαμπις) –, are essential, natural, creative, yet indivisibly distinct from the one and altogether indivisible essence of the Spirit (ἀμερίστως τῆς μιᾶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμερίστου τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας διαστελλόμεναι), that is to say from God’s essence and hypostases. Palamas also qualifies them as uncreated (ἄκτιστοι) and divinizing (θεοποιός).<sup>496</sup> More specifically, Palamas (*Chapter* 135) posits that the activities fall into a unique category beyond essence, non-existence, or accident, termed a “quasi-accident” (συμβεβηκός πως). This idea, likely of Aristotelian origin, appears to be an artificial solution by Palamas to address a crucial aspect of Palamite theology.<sup>497</sup> For Palamas (*Chapter* 82 and 141), God’s activities are knowable but not His essence. Man participates in God’s uncreated activities, which are metamorphosing the human faculties, both sensible and intelligent, into a vision, akin to a raptured divine state, thanks to the transfigurative grace of God’s activities. The vision cannot be essential, as this would mean that the subject of the vision, the human person, is God’s essence.

<sup>495</sup> Sinkewicz, *Saint Gregory Palamas*, 49–54. Cf. Ioannis Polemis, “The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends”, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life of the Palaeologan Period*, ed. Sophia Kotzabassi (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 356.

<sup>496</sup> See Sinkewicz, *Saint Gregory Palamas*, 39–42.

<sup>497</sup> Cf. “The easiest of all to construct is the accident; for in the other categories, it is necessary not only to show that something exists but also how it exists. In the case of the accident, it is sufficient to show that it merely exists. However, the accident is the most difficult to dismantle because it contains the least amount of information; the way it exists is not signified in the accident”. Ῥᾶστον δὲ πάντων κατασκευάσαι τὸ συμβεβηκός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ μόνον ὑπάρχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ὑπάρχει, δεικτέον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὅτι ὑπάρχει μόνον ἱκανὸν δεῖξαι. ἀνασκευάζειν δὲ χαλεπώτατον τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὅτι ἐλάχιστα ἐν αὐτῷ δέδοται· οὐ γὰρ προσσημαίνεται ἐν τῷ συμβεβηκῷ πῶς ὑπάρχει.

Apparently, Palamas produced a lengthy discussion of the energy as συμβεβηκός πως in some of his writings, see Sinkewicz, *Saint Gregory Palamas*, 241.

### **Doctrine of Gabalas: Participation in God's Essence through Imitation of His Powers**

Palamas (*Chapters* 115 and 137) presented two perspectives the Akindynists held about God's activities: 1) They either refuted the existence of God's natural activities, or 2) argued that God's activities were uncreated and not distinct from God's essence, with some asserting that Christ was the only uncreated activity. Furthermore, Palamas (*Chapters* 73, 82–83, 124–126, 132–145) labels the Akindynists as Eunomians and Sabellians, criticizing them for either rejecting anything distinct from God's divine nature (θεία φύσις), or for asserting that anything distinct from the divine nature is created (πᾶν τὸ διαφέρον ταύτης ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶν ἐκτιστόν ἐστι).<sup>498</sup> However, denying God's natural activities is a foreign idea to the theology of Gabalas; for instance, in the *Tome of the Opponents*, Gabalas maintains that God's activities are distinct from God's essence, which represents a point of agreement with the doctrine of Palamas.

Gabalas acknowledges that God possesses divine, natural, essential, and creative activities, and that these activities were distinct yet coeternal and co-beginningless with God in the Trinity. The activities were also distinct from God's Divinity and Names. One can infer from this that for Gabalas the distinction of God's essence and God's activities is not about the 'essence' of God's activities, this appears to be what Gabalas tries to convey when he describes God's activities as essential (οὐσιώδεις) yet without essence (ἀνούσιοι) – but about their relationship with God's essence. Simply put, Gabalas is saying that God's justice, providence, power, and goodness are also somehow God's essence (in the Trinity). Palamas accuses the Akindynists of conflating God's essence and activities, a charge not applicable to Gabalas, who recognized their distinction. This suggests Palamas may have targeted other Akindynists in this specific issue, or, if aiming at Gabalas, his allegations stem from a misunderstanding.

Gabalas' theological framework avoids the extremes of Eunomianism and Sabellianism – accusations raised by Palamas – by making a clear distinction between God's essence and activities, even as it places significant emphasis on the importance of God's essence. From this perspective, it seems reasonable to speculate that Gabalas might have considered God's activities to be uncreated, as long as they are coeternal with God's essence; yet he never explicitly addresses the concept of activities in these terms. Importantly, Gabalas would never

<sup>498</sup> Palamas (*Chapters* 139 and 145) attempts to refute the Akindynists, somewhat unconvincingly, by arguing that their oversight of the principle "it is not acting and activity but acted upon and the passivity which constitute composition" leads them to the erroneous conclusion that God's creating (τὸ δημιουργεῖν) and creative power (δημιουργικὴ δύναμις) are created (ἐκτιστὸς ἐστὶν).

claim Christ as the sole uncreated activity, as he viewed Christ not as an activity but as a person of the Trinity.

At the core of this doctrinal dispute lies a divergent anthropological conception, hinging on whether human beings participate in God's activities, as Palamas suggests, or in His essence, as Gabalas does. In this regard, Palamas (*Chapter 109*) accuses the Akindynists of Messalianism: "According to them [sc. Messalians], those who have attained the height of virtue have achieved participation in the substance of God, but the followers of Akindynos in their zeal to surpass their blasphemy say that not only those among men who have excelled in virtue but also all beings in general participate in the essence of God on the very foolish pretext that this is present everywhere".<sup>499</sup> Patriarch Kallistos I echoes Palamas, exposing Akindynists for believing in the union with God in essence (ἐνοῦσθαι κατ' οὐσίαν τῷ Θεῷ).<sup>500</sup>

Setting aside the charges of Messalianism, the testimonies of Palamas and Kallistos stay true to the intellectual framework of Gabalas' minor philosophical treatises (A1, A5) and *200 Chapters*. Gabalas thinks that human deification is a reflection of the procession of the persons in the Trinity (God's essence) that is found in God's image in man; this idea is linked to the doctrine that God fills the universe with His essence and activities or powers, which Palamas (*Chapter 109*) considers a "very foolish pretext". Gabalas' doctrine offers a traditional alternative to the dogma of Palamas, who argues for the vision of and union with God's activities. Gabalas, as will be explored in the analysis of the *200 Chapters* and *On True Wisdom* (see Section 4.1), does not strictly argue for a direct knowledge or connection with God's essence, but rather for man's deification by the imitation of God's powers. For him, deification of man is not achieved by the vision of activities, operations, or *energies*; rather man undergoes deification by the imitation of God's powers, placing emphasis on the *praxis* of virtues, which are the immaterial powers of the soul, and on the rule of the mind, which is the immortal part of the soul. Gabalas argues that the subject of vision is the mind (ὁ νοῦς), which enters into union with God's essence as intelligible and immaterial mind, just as the human nature of Christ entered into union with God's essence when the Logos took on human nature. This theological doctrine spirituality is in line with the tradition of Christian spirituality in the footsteps of Evagrius Ponticus, Maximus Confessor and Symeon the New Theologian (see Section 4.2).<sup>501</sup>

<sup>499</sup> Gregory Palamas, *Chapter 109.8–13* Sinkewicz: τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ μετεσχηκεῖν τοὺς εἰς ἄκρον τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς [sc. Μασσαλιανούς] ἀρετῆς ἐληλακότας, ὧν τὴν βλασφημίαν οἱ κατὰ τὸν Ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενοι, οὐ τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν μόνον διενεγκόντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπλῶς ξύμπαντα τῆς θείας οὐσίας φασὶ μετέχειν ἀνουςτάτῳ προφάσει τοῦ παρεῖναι ταύτην πανταχοῦ.

<sup>500</sup> Kallistos I, *Five Homilies against the Latins* 5.26.1–13 Paidas.

<sup>501</sup> I owe these observations concerning this tradition of spirituality to István Perczel.

## Grace and Thabor Light

A key aspect of the debate on God's activities involves the interpretation of the Thabor light. The Palamite doctrine views the Thabor light as God's uncreated activity and grace. As it is known from the debated with Patriarch John Kalekas, Gabalas regarded the Thabor light as something created and thus not as God's activity or grace. We can trust Gregory Palamas and Patriarch Kallistos I, when they say that the Akindynists, explicitly mentioning Gabalas, Nikephoros Gregoras and Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, considered the Thabor Light to be a created thing (κτίσμα), described variously as something created or imaginary (κτιστή ἢ φαντασιώδη), a phantasy, phantom, apparition (φαντασία, φάσμα, φάντασμα), appearance (ἵνδαλμα), symbols (σύμβολα), or merely perceptible light (αἰσθητὸν φῶς). According to Palamas, they even occasionally equated it with God's essence, inadvertently suggesting God was created. Kallistos further criticizes them for viewing God's grace as created and formed (κτιστή καὶ ἡργμένη).<sup>502</sup> These allegations stem from a misrepresentation or exaggeration of Gabalas' and the Akindynists' positions, who saw the Thabor light not as God's grace but as a created manifestation of God's essence and activities.

Gabalas might have been influenced by Augustine's theory of signs in *De Trinitate*, which was translated by Maximos Planoudes. Gabalas' interpretation of the Tabor light as a physical phenomenon might have been shaped by Augustine's theory, which views that light as a created sign used by God to instruct the Apostles, rather than as a direct vision of God.<sup>503</sup> Additionally, the concept of the Light of Tabor as a created symbol of Divinity or as sensible light was previously proposed by Barlaam of Calabria in earlier stages of the Palamite conflict.<sup>504</sup>

## The Condemnation of August 1351

Despite the Orthodoxy of Gabalas' theological system, the condemnation of the Barlaamites and Akindynists in August 1351 affirmed the Orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine (*Synodal Tome* 458–90 Lauritzen), proclaiming the distinction and difference (διάκρισις καὶ διαφορά), yet unity and inseparability (τὸ ἡνωμένον καὶ ἀχώριστον), of God's essence and activities; that God's activities are uncreated and Divinity; that God is not complex; that essence is superior

<sup>502</sup> Gregory Palamas, *Chapters* 65, 147–48; Kallistos I, *Homily Against Pseudo-Prophets and Pseudo-Teachers* 41–51 Paidas; *Homily Against Gregoras* 1.9.4–13, 2.10.8–13, 2.14.3–6, 7.10.15–17 Paidas; *Five Homilies against the Latins* 5.13.1–6, 5.26.13 Paidas. See also Rigo, “Il ‘rapporto’ dei metropolitani ad Anna Paleologa’ e altri eventi dell’ anno 1346”, 312.

<sup>503</sup> I owe these observations to István Perczel.

<sup>504</sup> Polemis, “The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends”, 352, 369, 372.

to activity; that man participates only in God's activities.<sup>505</sup> Therefore, these resolutions equate activities with Divinity, disregarding Gabalas' argument against Palamas, and reject Gabalas' tenet of human participation in God's essence. Frederick Lauritzen has categorized the resolutions of the Palamite doctrine, as confirmed by the Synodal Tome of August 1351, around six tenets.<sup>506</sup> The table below compares Gabalas' doctrine concerning these six tenets, adding to it the respective perspectives on the Tabor light.

	<b>Gabalas' Doctrine</b>	<b>Palamite Doctrine from August 1351</b>
1. Are God's essence and activities distinct and different?	Yes. (Yet, activities are co-eternal and co-beginningless with the One God indivisibly divided into the three persons of the Trinity)	Yes. (Multiple and indivisibly distinct from the divine essence and three hypostases)
2. Are God's activities created or uncreated?	Although he never does so explicitly, Gabalas probably accepted that they were uncreated, as they were part of God's essence	Uncreated essence yet not identical to the essence of God. Yet, Gabalas accuses Palamas of essentializing the activities
3. Is God complex?	No	No, but in a way yes. Just as one can distinguish three persons in God, one can also distinguish a higher (the essence) and a lower divinity (the activities)
4. Are God's activities Divinity?	No. Activities, e.g., His justice, are not identical to Divinity or Names such as Lord	Yes
5. Is essence superior to activities?	Yes	Yes
6. Is participation in God's essence or in His activities?	In God's essence: Human as God's image, and as intelligible and immaterial Mind. The virtuous one becomes God on Earth	In God's activities
7. What is the Thabor Light?	1) Created thing, symbol, perceptible light, or imagination, not God's activity and grace 2) Created manifestation of God's essence	God's uncreated activity and grace

From this table it can be inferred that Gabalas and Palamas would agree that God's essence and activities are distinct, with both viewing the activities as uncreated, though Gabalas subtly differs by not explicitly stating this and by understanding them as part of God's essence. Both reject the notion of a complex God, yet Palamas introduces somehow a distinction between essence and activities. Palamas sees activities as Divinity, unlike Gabalas who does not. Both place essence above activities. They diverge on human participation in God, with Gabalas focusing on essence and Palamas on activities. Regarding the Thabor Light, Gabalas views it as a created symbol, while Palamas sees it as God's uncreated activity and grace.

<sup>505</sup> Frederick Lauritzen, "Synod of Constantinople 1351". In *The Great Councils of the Orthodox Churches*, vol. 4.1, 173.

<sup>506</sup> Cf. Lauritzen, "Synod of Constantinople 1351", 173.

## Conclusions

Gabalas' early education likely took place in Philadelphia alongside contemporaries such as his friend Kallierges. Influenced heavily by Theoleptos of Philadelphia, Gabalas absorbed values of patience and endurance under his mentorship, similar to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, though the guidance she received happened in Constantinople. Gabalas benefited from the development of philosophical studies in Constantinople, promoted since Michael VIII's reign. He was involved in disseminating the scholarly legacies of George of Cyprus, Maximos Planoudes, and George Pachymeres. This likely positioned him as an important figure in the intellectual landscape from the last decade of Andronikos II's reign onwards, showcasing his influence in the continuity of philosophical studies during the early Palaiologan period.

His involvement with key monastic centers in Constantinople likely gave him access to their libraries, enhancing his role in the city's intellectual community. His intellectual bonds and scholarly relationships, particularly with Michael Gabras, illuminate Gabalas' personal and professional life. These relationships also facilitated the exchange of manuscripts and texts, which illustrates the vibrant scholarly network of the time. This complex network highlights the interplay between literary criticism and intellectual, and possibly political, affiliations during this era.

The manuscripts associated with Gabalas highlight his varied scholarly interests and showcase a broad network of scholars and scribes. Gabalas' earliest manuscript, features Aristotle's works and a collection of letters by George of Cyprus, reflecting Gabalas' engagement with the latter's intellectual legacy. Further interest in Aristotelian studies is evident in manuscripts x and Q, which link Gabalas to George Pachymeres. Gabalas also had access to four manuscripts of Plato's dialogues (Y, T, T<sup>2</sup> and R), which can be traced back to Maximos Planoudes' intellectual circle. He used manuscript Y for revisions in T and T<sup>2</sup> and extracted passages for his personal use in manuscript R. He may have gained access to Plato manuscripts, except for ms. R, through Nikephoros Moschopoulos' book exchange network; some of these books were later purchased by Nikephoros Gregoras for the library of the Monastery of Chora. Additionally, Gabalas compiled works from Byzantine ascetic authors into manuscript L, forming the basis for his *200 Chapters*. Throughout this process, Gabalas was assisted by two scribes: the Collaborator A and his Secretary, possibly his son John Gabalas. These manuscripts underscore Gabalas' wide-ranging pursuits from epistolography to Aristotle and his commentators (e.g., George Pachymeres), Plato and Platonism (e.g.,

Plutarch, Alcinous and Theon of Smyrna), and Byzantine spirituality. This diversity indicates Gabalas' role both in his own scholarly development and in educating future scholars.

Gabalas viewed his writings as extensions of the soul and as a means to extend education and virtue. His letters provide insight into the development of his intellectual interests, revealing a transition from literary and scholarly endeavours to a deeper engagement with religious life and duties. His work from 1313 to the early 1330s was foundational in establishing his role as a spiritual guide and educator. His writings, intended for broad pedagogical purposes, addresses a wide audience with a universalist message, emphasizing moral instruction.

Gabalas likely taught at a monastery in Constantinople, performing a role akin to that of a patriarchal *didaskalos*. His interpretations of the *Odyssey* and the Old Testament, which will be analysed in the next chapters, probably formed a key part of his curriculum. His teaching curriculum also included the interpretation of Plato and he likely used introductions by Theon of Smyrna and Alcinous to explain the dialogues. His pedagogical impact, reflected through his mentoring of figures such as Theodore Dexios, was profound, as was his role in teaching Plato to students like George Oinaïotes. Gabalas thus influenced several important scholars through his teachings in Constantinople at various times from 1323/25 onwards. Therefore, it can be concluded that Gabalas not only benefited from the intellectual revival in Constantinople but also actively contributed to it.

In the debate over Palamite doctrine, Gabalas had his own views on topics such as distinction between God's essence and activities and the nature of human participation in the divine. Gabalas argues for a clear demarcation between God's essence, activities, and Divinity, challenging both the initial and revised views of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, as well as criticizing the new theology of Palamas and his followers. Gabalas contends that Palamas' identification of God's activities with Divinity leads to theological division and misrepresents the unity of the Trinity. Furthermore, he disputes the Palamite doctrine of divine participation, asserting instead that human beings participate in God's essence through imitation of His powers, contrasting with Palamas' emphasis on participation in God's activities through a vision. This doctrinal dispute also extends to interpretations of the Thabor light, with Gabalas viewing it as a created symbol, contrary to Palamas' stance on it as uncreated and divine. Some of Gabalas' views align with the Akindynist stance. The Synodal Tome of August 1351 affirmed the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine, accepting the distinction and uncreated nature of God's activities and condemning Gabalas and the Akindynists. Despite Gabalas' orthodoxy, this condemnation overshadowed his important contributions to the field of Christian theology.

### Chapter 3. The Homeric Works

The Homeric works of Manuel Gabalas are a valuable testimony to the reception of Homer in the late Byzantine Empire and stand as a notable contribution to the intellectual life of the Palaiologan period. The present chapter aims to provide a detailed analysis of Gabalas' interpretation of the *Odyssey*, showcasing the complex interplay between mythology, hermeneutics and ethics. The first section reflects on the literary genre of *The Wanderings of Odysseus* in the context of Byzantine literature, and it aims to clarify Gabalas' purpose in interpreting Homer. The second section assesses Gabalas' skill in 'translating' Homeric poetry into Byzantine prose of *The Wanderings of Odysseus* from the perspective of language and its composition. It also explores a few *Odyssey* manuscripts used in Palaiologan scholarly networks potentially associated with Gabalas. The third section offers an in-depth exploration of Gabalas' ethical interpretation of the *Odyssey*, focusing on how Gabalas portrays Odysseus as an everyman that struggles against passions and that embodies endurance, moral fortitude, and intellectual cunning. This analysis extends to the allegorical reading of the *Odyssey*, portraying Odysseus' journey as a symbol of the mind's struggle towards virtue, including discussions on error, restoration, and deification within the monotheistic framework of Byzantine culture. The final section aims to place Gabalas' work within the broader tradition of Homeric scholarship. It proposes a new distinction between non-allegorical and allegorical readings of the *Odyssey*, focusing primarily on the tradition of mystical allegory, emphasizing the importance of authorial intention and contextual interpretation of poetry.

The present chapter adds to the studies devoted to Gabalas' use of Homer by presenting a new edition and analysis of the *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8) and the *Brief Narration* (A9), placing these texts within a specific tradition of Homeric interpretation and the intellectual context of the early Palaiologan period.<sup>507</sup> Prior studies on Gabalas' Homeric works include Robert Browning's and Vianès-Abou Samra's edition of two of the fifteen episodes of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Didier Pralon's and Hans van Kasteel's translation of the *Brief*

<sup>507</sup> For the use of Homer in the letters of Gabalas, Divna Manolova, "Homeric Quotations in Nikephoros Gregoras' Correspondence Patterns of Employment", in *Mediterranéos: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Cultures of the Mediterranean Sea*, ed. Sergio Carro and Arturo Echavarren (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 77–87. For the place of the Homeric works in the hermeneutical tradition of the *Odyssey*, see Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 271–73; Pontani, "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", 420–21; Robert Browning, "The Byzantines and Homer", in *Homer's Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. Robert Lamberton and John Keaney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 144. See also my studies on the Homeric works, Juan Bautista Juan-López, "El manuscrito original y la edición definitiva del De Ulixis Erroribus", *eClassica* 4 (2018): 53–62; Juan-López, "Outline of the Homeric Project of Matthew of Ephesus", in *CsB VIII - XIes Rencontres annuelles internationales des doctorants en Études Byzantines* (2018), ed. Jeanne Devogge, 2020, 48–58.



*Narration*, based on Westermann's edition.<sup>508</sup> The discussion will also draw on Gabalas' *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7), recently edited and studied by Luigi Silvano, updating the previous editions of Pietro Matranga and Jacques-Paul Migne and the Spanish translation of Ismael Roca Meliá, which was based on a 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript.<sup>509</sup>

Before Max Treu rediscovered the figure of Manuel Gabalas – Matthew of Ephesus (see Chapter 1), the writings of the Philadelphian scholar, transmitted anonymously, enjoyed popularity during the the Early Modern period. The importance of his work is evidenced by the substantial number of manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries that contain the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7) and the *Brief Narration* (A9), demonstrating the widespread circulation of Gabalas' Homeric works.<sup>510</sup> In 1531, Vincentius Obsopoeus, a German humanist, published the first Greek edition of the *Brief Narration*, alongside Xenophon's *Symposium*.<sup>511</sup> Obsopoeus then entrusted these works to his publisher Johannes Setzer, aiming to stimulate further publications, a fact he mentions in his introduction to the *Brief Narration* (A9). This introduction includes a hexametric poem by Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), an influential figure in the Protestant Reformation, whom Obsopoeus met in 1524. Moreover, Obsopoeus delineates the text's provenance and his motivations for its inclusion: "I found this little book in a very ancient manuscript, unattributed and anonymous, although incomplete and mutilated, in which the fables of Odysseus' wanderings are explained with a moral interpretation, both skillfully and elegantly. Considering it worthy of scholarly reading, I took care to send it to you [scil. Johannes Secerius], so that through your efforts, for the benefit of lovers of Homer and of Greek culture, you might publish it in several copies".<sup>512</sup> It is believed,

<sup>508</sup> Robert Browning, "A Fourteenth-century Version of the Odyssey", *DOP* 46 (1992): 27–36; Laurence Vianès–Abou Samra, "Les errances d'Ulysse par Matthieu d'Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", *Gaia* 7 (2003): 461–80; Didier Pralon, "Une allégorie anonyme de l'Odyssée: Sur les errances d'Ulysse", in *L'allégorie de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Brigitte Pérez–Jean and Patricia Eichel–Lojkine (Paris: Champion, 2004), 189–208; Hans van Kasteel, *Questions homériques. Physique et métaphysique chez Homère* (Grez–Doiceau: Beya, 2012).

<sup>509</sup> Luigi Silvano, "Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe", 217–38; Pietro Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca e Mss. Bibliothecis Vaticanae, Angelicae, Barberianae, Vallicellianae, Mediceae, Vindobonensi deprompta*, vol. 2 (Roma, 1850), 520–24; Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, vol. 149 (Paris: Garnier, 1865), secs. 664b–668a; Ismael Roca Meliá, "Una introducción inédita a la Odisea", *Helmantica* 12 (1961): 427–39. On the manuscript, see also Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 68–69.

<sup>510</sup> The later manuscripts were identified by Diether R. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, 57–70.

<sup>511</sup> Vincentius Obsopoeus, *Symposium, eruditum, iucundum et elegans; Compendiosa explicatio in errores Ulyssis Odyssaeae Homericae, cum contemplatione morali elaborata* (Haguenau: Johannes Secerius, 1531).

<sup>512</sup> Hunc libellum in antiquissimo quodam codice ἀδέσποτον καὶ ἀνώνυμον reperi, imperfectum tamen & mutilum, quo fabularum involucra errorum Ulyssis morali interpretatione docte et eleganter exponuntur. Quem cum studiosorum lectione dignum iudicarem, ad te trasmitendum curavi, ut tua opera in gratiam φιλομηρῶν καὶ φιλελλήνων exemplaribus aliquot excusum invulgares.

as noted by Reinsch, that Obsopoeus likely based his edition of the Burney version of the *Brief Narration* or an apograph of it.<sup>513</sup>

In 1542, Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), a Swiss scholar, published in Zurich a Latin translation of the *Brief Narration* (*Moralis Interpretatio Errorum Ulyssis Erroribus*), along with Porphyry's *On the Cave of the Nymphs* and Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Republic*. This volume was dedicated to his publisher Petro Vireto.<sup>514</sup> This compilation, together with the Latin translation of Heraclitus' *Allegories* (1544), was part of Gessner's project, initiated in 1536, to gather little known ancient texts that interpreted the Homeric poems.<sup>515</sup> In this endeavour, Gessner translated Obsopoeus' Greek edition: "This small work, to not deprive anyone of their deserved praise, was prepared for publication by the learned man Vincentius Obsopoeus before us. He found it in an ancient manuscript; however, as he writes, it was incomplete and damaged".<sup>516</sup> Gessner's Latin translation potentially influenced figures such as Natale Conti (1520–1582) and Claude Joseph Dorat (1734–1780).<sup>517</sup> The text also permeated the English philosophical tradition, notably through the Neoplatonist Thomas Taylor (1758–1835), who referred to the *Brief Narration* twice and likely was acquainted with both Gessner's Latin translation and Obsopoeus' Greek edition.<sup>518</sup>

In 1678, Johan Columbus (1640–1684), a Swedish scholar, reprinted Obsopoeus' Greek edition of the *Brief Narration* with a new Latin translation (*Anonymus de Ulyxis Erroribus*) and

<sup>513</sup> Cf. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 70; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 512.

<sup>514</sup> Conrad Gesner, *Moralis interpretatio errorum Ulyssis Homeric: Commentatio Porphyrii philosophi de Nympharum Antro in XIII. libro Odysae Homericæ, multiplici cognitione rerum uariarum instructissima. Ex Commentariis Procli Lycii, philosophi platonici, in libros Platonis de Repub. Apologiae quaedam pro Homero & fabularum aliquot enarrationes*. (Zürich: Froschauer, 1542).

<sup>515</sup> On Conrad Gesner, cf. Philip Ford, "Conrad Gesner et le fabuleux manteau", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 47.2 (1985): 305–9; Ann Blair, "Printing and Humanism in the Work of Conrad Gessner", *Renaissance Quarterly* 70.1 (2017): 1–43; Ann Blair, "The Capacious Bibliographical Practice of Conrad Gessner", *PBSA* 111.4 (2017): 445–51; Fiammetta Sabba, *La "Bibliotheca universalis" di Conrad Gesner monumento della cultura Europea* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2012).

<sup>516</sup> Hoc opusculum Vincentius Obsopoeus vir doctus, ne quem sua laude privemus, ante an nos aliquot praelo subijci curavit in antiquissimo codice quodam repertum, imperfectum tamen et mutilum, ut scribit.

<sup>517</sup> Ford, "Conrad Gesner et le fabuleux manteau", 317–18.

<sup>518</sup> Thomas Taylor, "On the Wanderings of Ulysses", in *Select Works of Porphyry; Containing his Four Books on Abstinence from Animal Food; his Treatise On the Homeric Cave of the Nymphs; and his Auxiliaries to the Perception of Intelligible Natures* (London: T. Rodd, 1823), 241–72. Cf. David A. Beardsley, *The Journey Back to Where you are. Homer's Odyssey as Spiritual Quest* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 60; <https://catholicgnosis.wordpress.com/2019/01/23/de-ulyxis-erroribus/>, consulted on 5 March 2022.

the first commentary. The initial edition, released in Åbo (Turku) in 1678, appears to have disappeared.<sup>519</sup> In 1745, however, the publishing house Bonk reprinted the work in Leiden.<sup>520</sup>

In 1843, Antonius Westermann (1806–1869), a German philologist, published the most recent preserved Greek edition of the *Brief Narration*.<sup>521</sup> Westermann's edition was based on that of Columbus, which in turn derives from Obsopoeus. In his prologue, Westermann articulated his quest for a mythographic work that was neither trivial nor unsuitably complex: "While searching for a similar kind of example that I could offer to readers, one that was neither entirely common nor too awkward, and not troublesome due to its excessive length, I stumbled upon an allegorical work on the *Wanderings of Odysseus*. I did not hesitate to include it in this volume, when I realized that few were familiar with it and, although it was neither ancient nor written in the best style, it was not entirely unworthy of acquaintance".<sup>522</sup> A decade after Westermann's publication, Hercher (1853) provided the textual variants of the Vienna version of the *Brief Narration*; yet, his analysis contains some inaccuracies.<sup>523</sup>

The true authorship of the *Brief Narration* remained unknown until 1901 when Max Treu attributed it to Gabalas. Previous editors and translators, including Obsopoeus, Gessner, Columbus, and Westermann, who relied on the Burney version of the *Brief Narration*, treated the text as anonymous. Earlier hypotheses about its authorship were diverse. Both Johann Albert Fabricius (1711) and George Christoph Hamberger (1758) considered Porphyry as the possible author.<sup>524</sup> Christoph Gottlob Saxe (1775), supported by George Friedrich Creuzer (1854), postulated that Heraclitus might be the unidentified author: "Johann Columbus, a grammarian and poet from Uppsala, this year released to the public the *Allegories of Homer* by

<sup>519</sup> This first edition may still be out of print, forgotten in a library. In his epistle 164 addressed to Nicholas Heinsius from 1678, Johan Columbus mentions that he is attaching this lost book: "Libellum, quem his adjungo litterulis, tibine mittere auderem, fateor me ambegisse, cogitantem, vix esse in eo, quod cum voluptate legas", see Pieter Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum. Quo Nicolai Heinsii et virorum eruditorum, in Suecia, Germania, Belgio, Italia, et Gallia epistolae, et Nic. Heinsii ad Christinam Augustam Reginam Sueciae continentur* (Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1727), 175.

<sup>520</sup> Johan Columbus, *Incerti scriptoris fabulae aliquot homericæ de Ulixis Erroribus ethice explicatae*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Bonk, 1745).

<sup>521</sup> Antonius Westermann, *Μυθόγραφοι: Scriptores poeticae historiae graeci* (Braunschweig: Georgius Westermann Verlag, 1843), 329–44.

<sup>522</sup> Westermann, *Μυθόγραφοι*, XVII: Ego vero circumspiciens eiusdem generis exemplum quod lectoribus offerre possem nec vulgare prorsus nec nimis inhabile et praegrandi ambitu molestum, incidi in allegoricum *de Ulixis Erroribus* opusculum, nec dubitavi illud huic volumini inserere, cum intellexissem paucis esse cognitum et, licet nec antiquum esset nec optimo genere scriptum, non prorsus tamen cognitu indignum.

<sup>523</sup> Rudolf Hercher, "Zu Nicephoros Gregoras de Erroribus Ulixis", *Philologus* 8 (1853): 755–57.

<sup>524</sup> Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliothecae Graecae Libri IV. Pars altera. Qua praeter scriptores de numerorum doctrina & alios nonnullos philosophos, recensentur rhetores ac sophistae, lexicorumque veterum graecorum notitia traditur*, vol. 4.2 (Hamburg: Christiani Liebezeit, 1711), 185–86; George Christoph Hamberger, *Zuverlässige Schriften von der vornehmsten Schriftstellern vom Anfange der Welt bis 1500*, vol. 2 (Lemgo: H. Meyer's Witwe, 1758), 644.

an Unknown Author (possibly Heraclitus), in Åbo”.<sup>525</sup> Nonetheless, in his commentary, Columbus proposed that the writer could have been a Christian, especially when interpreting the term “full of idols” (κατείδωλος): “This expression is among those that persuade me that our author was a Christian”.<sup>526</sup> Therefore, Columbus was the one who came closest to the truth.

Other hypotheses concerning the authorship of the Homeric works, associated with the catalogues of the National Library of Vienna, suggested Nikephoros Gregoras as a possible author. Peter Lambeck (1672) noticed that “Nikephoros Gregoras is indicated as its author there in the margin of the first folio with these words: Γρηγορᾶ σύγγραμμα” and also noted an attempt to alter Γρηγορ. Νικήτου into Γρηγορ. Νικήφορου on the first folio of the *Laudatory Prologue* (f. 86r).<sup>527</sup> This observation led Lambeck to attribute the entire content of Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, including the Homeric works, to Gregoras. This hypothesis gained acceptance among scholars such as Daniel Nessel (1690), Ludwig Valckenaer (1747), Adam Kollar (1770),<sup>528</sup> Samuel Wilhelm Hoffmann (1836), and George Friedrich Creuzer (1854).<sup>529</sup> When it came to the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7), scholars such as Gottlieb Harless (1801), Pietro Matranga (1854), Ludwig Schopen (1829), and Jacques-Paul Migne (1865) also leaned towards Nikephoros Gregoras as the author.<sup>530</sup>

However, Treu later clarified that these inscriptions were subsequent annotations and therefore not reliable, undermining the Gregoras attribution as a consequence of a marginal

<sup>525</sup> Johannes Columbus, grammaticus et poeta Upsaliensis, hoc anno *Incerti Auctoris* (forte Heracliti) *Allegorias Homericas*, Aboae, in vulgus emissit. Christoph Gottlob Saxe, *Onomasticon Literarium, sive Nomenclator historico-criticus praestantissimorum omnis aetatis, populi, artiumq. formulae scriptorum*, vol. 5 (Traiecti ad Rhenum: Paddenburg, 1785), 253; George Friedrich Creuzer, *Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 5.2 (Frankfurt: Verlag von Joseph Baer, 1854), 162.

<sup>526</sup> Johan Columbus, *Incerti scriptoris fabulae aliquot homericae de Ulixis Erroribus ethice explicatae*, 120: Haec vox inter ea est, quae mihi persuadent Christianum fuisse hunc scriptorem nostrum.

<sup>527</sup> Peter Lambeck, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, vol. V (Vienna: Cosmerovius, 1672), 289–91: Nicephorus Gregoras eius autor sit, indicatur ibi in margine primi folii his verbis: Γρηγορᾶ σύγγραμμα.

<sup>528</sup> Kollar translated two of Gabalas’ *Letters*, and had plans to translate the entire collection. Cf. Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jh. (1293-1390)”, 397, n. 2.

<sup>529</sup> Daniel Nessel, *Catalogus sive Recensio specialis omnium codicum manuscriptorum graecorum, nec non Linguarum orientalium, Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis* (Vienna & Nuremberg: Typis Leopoldi Voight & Joachimi Balthasaris Endteri, 1690), 257–59; Ludwig Valckenaer, *Fulvii Ursini Virgilius collatione scriptorum Gr. illustratus, cui addidit epistolam suam ad M. Röverum ictum; Iliadis Homeri librum XXII cum scholiis vetustis Porphyrii et aliorum huc usque ineditis variis lectionibus versuum Homeri Il. X et scholiorum mss. Moschi*, vol. 2 (Leeuwarden, 1747), 142–43; Peter Lambeck and Adam Kollar, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, vol. 5 (Vienna: Caesarea Regia Aulica, 1770), 608–18; Samuel Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Lexicon bibliographicum sive Index editionum et interpretationum scriptorum graecorum tum sacrorum tum profanorum*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: I. A. G. Weigel, 1836), 127–28; Creuzer, *Deutsche Schriften*, 162.

<sup>530</sup> Johann Albert Fabricius and Gottlieb Christoph Harless, *Bibliotheca graeca sive Notitia scriptorum graecorum quorumcumque monumenta*, vol. 7 (Hamburg: Carolus-Ernestus Bohn, 1801), 643–44; Ludwig Schopen, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Weber, 1829), LII; Pietro Matranga, *Anecdota graeca e mss. Bibliothecis Vaticana, Angelica, Barberiana, Vallicelliana, Medicea, Vindobonensi deprompta*, vol. 1 (Rome: Olms-Weidmann, 1850), 24; Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, vol. 149, 664b–668a.

note error.<sup>531</sup> Adam Kollar (1766) already highlighted this mistake, referencing it in a note in Josias Simler's re-edition of Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* from 1583: "Indeed, in the expanded edition of Gessner's *Bibliotheca*,<sup>532</sup> where the writings of various authors named George are listed, among others, this is also read; letters by George Nicetas on the creation of man, Fourth Manuscript in the Imperial Library of Vienna. [...] However, George Nicetas has never existed in the realm of reality, but was born from the pen of a drowsy copyist. For, as it was written in the abbreviated index of the Imperial Library [of Vienna], Greg. Niss. Ep. on the creation of man, that is, Bishop Gregory of Nyssa on the creation of man; by a rather ridiculous metamorphosis, this person turns 'Gregory' into 'George', 'Nyssa' into 'Nicetas', and 'bishop' into 'letters'".<sup>533</sup> Kollar's mention of the text "on the creation of man" refers to the first writing of the manuscript Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, which is Gabalas' *Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve* (A1), recently edited by Kaltsogianni.<sup>534</sup> Beyond the confusion between George Niketas and Gregory of Nyssa, Kollar affirms that the inscriptions in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174 – which led to Peter Lambeck's misinterpretation in 1672 – were already visible in 1583.<sup>535</sup> This implies that the annotations were likely made by early owners of the manuscript, such as Markos Mamunas, George Komes, or, most probably, the Hungarian humanist János Zsámboky.<sup>536</sup>

## 1. Content and Literary Genre

Robert Browning defined *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8) as an "innovative work, a unicum in Byzantine literature".<sup>537</sup> This work is a prosification of the central books of the *Odyssey*

<sup>531</sup> Max Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, 13–15.

<sup>532</sup> Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta, Primum a Conrado Gesnero: deinde in Epitomen redacta et novorum Librorum accessione locupletata jam recognita ... per J. Simlerum* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1583), 273.

<sup>533</sup> Peter Lambeck and Adam Kollar, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, vol. I (Vienna: Caesarea Regia Aulica, 1766), 91–92: In editione enim Bibliothecae Gesnerianae ab ipso auctae [1583], ubi diversorum Georgiorum scripta recensentur, haec quoque inter alia leguntur; Georgii Nicetae epistolae de creatione hominis; 4to MS. in Bibl. Imp. Viennae. [...] Quippe revera Georgius ille Nicetas nunquam fuit in rerum natura, sed ex oscitantis amanuensis calamo natus est. Nam, cum in communicato Bibliothecae Caesarea Indice abbreviate scriptum esset: Greg. Niss. Ep. de creatione hominis, hoc est, Gregorius Nissenus Episcopus de creatione hominis; ridicula prorsus metamorphosi ex Gregorio ille nobis facit Georgium, ex Nisseno Nicetam, & ex Episcopo epistolas.

<sup>534</sup> Kaltsogianni, "Matthew of Ephesus and his Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve".

<sup>535</sup> Gessner probably did not know about the Vienna manuscript, as he uses Obsopoeus' version of the *Brief Narration* in his Latin translation from 1542.

<sup>536</sup> Cf. <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/71841/>, consulted on 16<sup>th</sup> January 2022, and David Edwin Pingree, "The Library of George, Count of Corinth", *Studia Codicologica* 124 (1977): 360; Anna Clara Cataldi Palau, "La biblioteca di Marco Mamuna", in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaki (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, 1991), 575.

<sup>537</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 88r–116v. Αἱ πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως (A8). Browning, "A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey", 28–29. The full edition can be found in Appendix 4.

(5.135–13.97). It is divided into fifteen chapters or episodes, from the Cicones episode to Odysseus' last day at Alcinoüs' court and his eventual return to Ithaca, which is summarised in one sentence (A8.1193–95). The last paragraph of the Vienna version of the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7) sheds light on Gabalas' intentions behind composing *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and the literary genre it belongs to:

If we also contributed to making the poet's thought [clearer] with the present argument [sc. *The Wanderings of Odysseus*], either turning the poem's heroic elevated style to plain prose or bringing together and summarizing [a narrative that is] mostly scattered and stretched out at length into one that is continuous and comprehensible, or removing, as something pointless, the mythical aspect of history which is superfluous and serves as a reminder of polytheism, it will be clear to those who read this work with a friendly spirit.<sup>538</sup>

According to this text, Gabalas aimed to weave together the episodes of the *Odyssey* into a sequential and chronological order of events, simplifying the style and shortening the text's length. Due to its simplified and condensed nature, *The Wanderings of Odysseus* diverges from the typical Byzantine paraphrase, as defined by Signes Codoñer.<sup>539</sup> For the same reasons, it also stands apart from contemporary paraphrases, such as Manuel Moschopoulos' *Paraphrase of the Iliad*, or the paraphrases of Aristotle by the monk Sophonias, Theodore Metochites, and George Pachymeres.<sup>540</sup>

Browning described *The Wanderings of Odysseus* as a confluence of a paraphrase and a prose rendition of the *Odyssey*.<sup>541</sup> Here it will be argued that considering *The Wanderings of*

<sup>538</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* A7.91–96 Silvano: Εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡμεῖς συνεισηνέγκαμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἢ πρὸς τὸ λογοειδὲς τε καὶ ὑπτιον τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν τῆς ποιήσεως κατενεγκόντες διάγραμμα, ἢ πρὸς τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ εὐσύνοπτον ἐκ τοῦ διεσπασθαι τὰ πλείω καὶ εἰς μῆκος ἀποτετάσθαι συνάγαντες ὁμοῦ καὶ συστειλάντες ἢ τὸ μυθῶδες τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ περιττὸν καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν φέρον πολυθείας περιελόντες ὥς μάταιον, αὐτόθεν ἔσται δῆλον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐγνωμόνως τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ. On this paragraph, see also Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’*Odissea* di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 222–23.

<sup>539</sup> For the definition and characteristics of a Byzantine paraphrase, see Juan Signes Codoñer, “Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium”, in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and «Quellenforschung»*, ed. Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 77–79.

<sup>540</sup> On Moschopoulos' paraphrase, see Simonetta Grandolini, “La parafrasi al secondo libro dell’*Iliade* di Manuel Moschopoulos”, *AFLPer* 18 (1980): 5–22; Simonetta Grandolini, “La parafrasi al primo libro dell’*Iliade* di Manuel Moschopoulos”, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1982), 131–49; Eleonora Melandri, “La parafrasi di M. Moscopulo ad Hom. A–B 493 e la tradizione esegetica e lessicografica dell’*Iliade*”, *Prometheus* 9 (1983): 177–92; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 266–69. On Aristotelian commentators, see Denis Searby and Ambjörn Sjörs, “A Rhetorical Declamation of Sophonias the Monk and Paraphrast”, *BZ* 104.1 (2011): 147–82; Linos Benakis, “Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium”, 10–11.

<sup>541</sup> Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the *Odyssey*”, 28–29.

*Odysseus* as a metaphor rather than a paraphrase may help us understand Gabalas' approach better. For instance, Gabalas 'translated' the dactylic hexameter verse into a fluid Byzantine Atticizing prose, which is in line with the definition of Byzantine metaphrasis as "rewriting of a text according to the rules of a new literary genre (for example from prose to verse)", that is to say as prosification or prose translation.<sup>542</sup> This definition echoes Horrocks' concept of transposition, as "the reworking of an already existing text, casting it into another genre / metrical form or prose".<sup>543</sup> From this perspective, *The Wanderings of Odysseus* can be compared with prosifications from the Palaiologan period, such as the anonymous metaphor of Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* and George Scholarios' prose rendition of Synesios' *Hymns*. Manuel Philes translated the Psalms from one verse form to another. Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, on the other hand, converted hagiographical prose works, such as the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas*, into verse, which illustrates the interest of Palaiologan scholars in this kind of literary exercises.<sup>544</sup>

The narrative style of *The Wanderings of Odysseus* exhibits similarities with George Oinaïotes' and George Galesiotes Senior's metaphrases of Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Imperial Statue*, Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, and Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*.<sup>545</sup> These metaphrases primarily aim for simplicity in language, structure, and style. Their goal is to distill the core of the original texts, remove lengthy digressions, and prioritize clear storytelling and clarity of expression (σαφήνεια / πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον) over literary intricacies. They also pay particular attention to the moral aspect of literature, an approach Efthymiadis called "déclassicisation moralisante".<sup>546</sup> These aspects, both the linguistic simplification and the

<sup>542</sup> Signes Codoñer, "Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium", 79.

<sup>543</sup> For the concept of transposition, see Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Longman, 1999), 196–200. For the quotation, see Martin Hinterberger, "Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared", in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and «Quellenforschung»*, ed. Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 34.

<sup>544</sup> For the metaphor of Manasses, see Andrea Giusti, "La Metafrasi della Χρονική Σύνοψις di Costantino Manasse: osservazioni sulla lingua", *Acme* 48.2 (1995): 23–42. For Scholarios, see Hinterberger, "Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared", 34. For Philes, Anna Gioffreda, Ugo Mondini, and Andreas Rhoby, *Die metrische Psalmenmetaphrase des Manuel Philes: Einleitung, kritische Edition und Indices* (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2025). For Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and other examples from the Palaiologan period, see Vassis, "Spirituality and Emotion: Poetic Trends in the Palaeologan Period", 190–92.

<sup>545</sup> Davis, "Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates 'Translated': The Fourteenth Century Byzantine Metaphrases", 68–69 argued for Oinaïotes and Galesiotes' authorship of these three metaphrases.

<sup>546</sup> Efthymiadis, "Déclassiciser pour édifier? Remarques et réflexions à propos de la métaphrase de l'*Alexiade* d'Anne Comnène", 141–42. For the characteristics of Oinaïotes and Galesiotes' metaphrases, see Davis, "Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates 'Translated': The Fourteenth Century Byzantine Metaphrases", 57–69; Hinterberger, "Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared", 37–44. Cf. Vianès-Abou Samra, "Les errances d'Ulysse par Matthieu d'Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", 463; Browning, "A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey", 29. The focus on clarity of expression is also true for the *Synopsis of Rhetorics* by Joseph the Philosopher. See Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 86, 98.

moralizing interpretation of the original narrative, also apply to Gabalas' method in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, as will be discussed (see Section 3.2). There are nonetheless discernible differences between the works of Oinaïotes and Galesiotes and those of Gabalas, especially regarding literary genre and language. While the former focused on Byzantine historiography and advice for rulers, incorporating vernacular terms into their metaphrases, Gabalas engaged with pagan epic poetry, predominantly using Byzantine Atticizing prose, as will be further explored.<sup>547</sup> Comparing Hunger and Ševčenko's list of "ausgetauschte Wörter" with the list of parallels in *The Wanderings of Odysseys* (see Appendix 4) may offer valuable insights for future research.<sup>548</sup>

In terms of content, *The Wanderings of Odysseus* may also be connected with hagiography.<sup>549</sup> Hagiographies typically depict their protagonists as examples of virtue for both monks and laymen.<sup>550</sup> *The Wanderings of Odysseus* presents Odysseus' journey as an ascetic quest for virtue, reminiscent of a saint's life, filled with trials that lead to sanctification and divine reward. During the Palaiologan era, there was a renewed interest in rewriting hagiographies to replace old accounts and writing new ones. Prominent authors of such lives include Constantine Akropolites, Nikephoros Gregoras, Joseph Kalothetos, Nicholas Kabasilas, Philotheos Kokkinos and Gregory Palamas.<sup>551</sup> This connection may offer a complementary perspective on the text.

The *Brief Narration* (A9) is a more concise work than *The Wanderings of Odysseus*. It has a preface and eleven chapters or episodes. The episodes offer a summary of the story (Title A9: ἐπίτομος διήγησις) as presented in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, alongside their corresponding moral interpretation (Title A9: θεωρία ἠθικώτερα). During the early Palaiologan

<sup>547</sup> For the vocabulary, see Davis, "Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates 'Translated': The Fourteenth Century Byzantine Metaphrases", 62–65, 68; Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 264.

<sup>548</sup> For the lists of "ausgetauschte Wörter", see Herbert Hunger and Ihor Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Basilikos Andrias und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koiné* (Wien, 1986), 285–304; Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI-XIII: Ein Beitrag zur Erschliessung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache*.

<sup>549</sup> This was first proposed by Vianès-Abou Samra, "Les errances d'Ulysse par Matthieu d'Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", 471.

<sup>550</sup> Baukje van den Berg, "Twelfth-Century Scholars on the Moral Exemplarity of Ancient Poetry", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 63 (2023): 103.

<sup>551</sup> Alice Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period", in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15–27; Lev Lukhovitskiy, "Nikephoros Gregoras' Vita of St. Michael the Synkellos", *BZ* 64 (2014): 177–96; Martin Hinterberger, "Hagiographical Enkomia as Metaphrasis in the 14<sup>th</sup>-Century", in *Metaphrasis: Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products*, ed. Stavroula Constantinou and Christian Høgel (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 285–323; Ioannis Polemis, "Neoplatonic and Hesychastic Elements in the Early Teaching of Gregorios Palamas on the Union of Man with God: The Life of St. Peter the Athonite", in *Pour une Poétique de Byzance. Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros*, ed. Stéphanos Efthymiadis (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2015), 205–21.



period, such epitomes were commonly used to disseminate philosophical and scientific knowledge. Palaiologan scholars, as Cacouros puts it, aimed to “squeeze as much information as possible into a relatively small space”.<sup>552</sup> Gabalas systematically uses sentences like “such are the events of the myth”, as well as contrasting particles (μέν...δὲ) to clearly separate the storyline from the moral interpretations.<sup>553</sup> This is in line with the interpretations of John Tzetzes and Eustathios of Thessalonike.

The moral interpretations, on the other hand, issue a series of warnings against immoral behaviours. The Vienna version of the *Brief Narration* (see Appendix 5) includes the final interpretation concerning Odysseus’ arrival to Scheria, return to Ithaca and reunion with Penelope, a piece of information that was previously unknown. The present edition complements the stylistically refined version of the Burney manuscript, which lacks its conclusion due to a missing folio in the 18<sup>th</sup> quire.<sup>554</sup> The following overview builds on Silvano’s analysis, which identifies three key themes in the *Brief Narration*: errors and prudence (Lotus-eaters, Cyclopes, Aeolus, Laestrygonians, Calypso), carnal pleasures and wickedness (Circe, Sirens, Cimmerians), major wrongdoings (Helios’ cows), and a categorization of passions (Scylla and Charybdis, More on Charybdis).<sup>555</sup>

1. Lotus-Eaters: Odysseus (sc. the mind) faces the passions (Lotus-eaters). He recalls his distracted thoughts (Odysseus’ companions) to their regular duties aboard the ship.
2. Cyclopes: Odysseus, driven by greed and curiosity, abandons restraint and confronts inhuman customs overseen by a demon (Polyphemus). Realizing his mistake, Odysseus punishes the demon’s moral blindness.
3. Aeolus: Odysseus seeks a solution to his problems, not through piety but through deceptive arts (Aeolus). The tale is also a warning against envy and neglecting one’s goals.
4. Circe: Odysseus (sc. the mind) lets his impulses run free, with the result that they become irrational. He uses remedies to regain control, learning a lesson in his journey towards virtue.

<sup>552</sup> Michel Cacouros, “La philosophie et les sciences du trivium et du quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l’enseignement, le cas de l’école du Prodrome”, 26–34. In the context of Byzantine rewriting practices, epitomes fall under the category of extent, see Juan Signes Codoñer, “Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium”, 68–72. Cf. Gabalas’ unpublished Σύντομος παράδοσις (A24).

<sup>553</sup> A9.48 τὰ μὲν τοῦ μύθου, τοιαῦτα. Cf. A9.18, 72, 100, 121, 146, 176, 209, 260, 283, 322. Similar expressions are found in the preface of Eustathios of Thessalonike’s *Commentary on the Odyssey*, see Georgia Kolovou, “Homère chez Eustathe de Thessalonique: La traduction des poèmes sur l’Iliade et l’Odyssée”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 15 (2018): 83.

<sup>554</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 46, 56: 1x8-2 (145, Blatt 7 und 8 fehlen mit Textverlust). The missing folio was not considered by Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 220.

<sup>555</sup> Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 220–21. See also Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 271–73.

5. Laestrygonians: Those who abandon society's rules and wander from the good adopt depraved customs. Odysseus, regaining common sense, faces some losses but saves the essential part of his soul, namely reason. The tale is also a lesson on not offending the more powerful.
6. Cimmerians and Nekuia: After indulging in base desires, Odysseus is directed to Hades. He must sacrifice to escape complete ignorance; if he does not do so, he risks destruction by evil. It is also a warning against idolatry.
7. Sirens: Odysseus uses the bonds of philosophy to resist deceptive pleasures, while his crew uses divine teachings. The danger lies not in trying out pleasures but in becoming consumed by them.
8. Helios' cows: Odysseus' companions disrespect the divine by killing sacred cattle, which symbolizes a warning against sacrilege and transgression. While punishment might not be instant, it is certain. The tale is an invitation to venerate God. It also emphasizes the dangers of short-term pleasure leading to long-term destruction.
9. Scylla and Charybdis: The cliffs symbolize mental (pride, misanthropy, apostasy) and physical sins. Odysseus wisely navigates between them, getting closer to Scylla (pride). Mental sins are less harmful than physical ones. It is easier to recover from mental sins than from physical ones, as, in the first case, only the soul suffers while the body remains intact.
10. More on Charybdis: Physical desires can engulf someone unless they hold onto strong virtues (the fig tree). Those consumed by physical sins often do not struggle with mental ones. By avoiding physical sins, one learns to sidestep mental ones through moderation and humility.
11. Calypso and Return to Ithaca: Odysseus, struck by misfortune, yearns for moderation (Penelope). Odysseus (sc. the mind) finds benevolence from God (Alcinous) and returns to the soul's homeland (Ithaca).

In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7), Gabalas celebrates Homer as “the great hero” and as the wisest of all men (A7.5), considering him to be an author, whose teachings cover various arts and skills (A7.18).<sup>556</sup> He challenges the view that Homer's narratives are purely fictional and affirms the historical reality of Odysseus (A7.56–74), in line with the common Byzantine assumption that the Trojan War and the heroes were historical realities.<sup>557</sup> He proposes that

<sup>556</sup> A7.26 Silvano: ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἥρως, A9.8–9: ὁ μέγας ἥρως. This is a recurrent expression in Gabalas' oeuvre; see e.g., A11.31.24, A12.273.12 to Nikephoros Choumnos, B4.27–28 to Theodore Metochites, and B57.8–9 to John Kantakouzenos. A similar vision is expressed by Theodore Metochites, see Emilie van Opstall, “Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher”, in *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique, Actes du Colloque des 7, 8 et 9 Novembre à Aix-en-Provence 2012*, ed. Yannick Durbec and Frédéric Trajber (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 263–64.

<sup>557</sup> In line with Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 225, I am inclined to interpret A7.56–74 as Gabalas truly believing in the existence of Odysseus. For the contrary opinion, see Browning, “Homer in Byzantium”, *Viator* 6 (1975): 17. For the topic of the Trojan War, see Baukje van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician: Eustathios of Thessalonike on the Composition of the Iliad*

Homer used his own experience of life's struggles to shape Odysseus' journey (A7.32–35), offering virtue as a universal remedy for hardship (A7.87–88), intended “for the embellishment of the soul” (A9.8: εἰς κόσμον ψυχῆς). Homer's poetry, according to Gabalas (A7.8, 20), harmonizes souls (ῥυθμίζει ψυχὰς) and shapes human morals (ἥθη) and behaviours (τρόποι), promoting the cultivation of virtue through endurance in adversity (καρτερία τῶν συμφορῶν).<sup>558</sup> Additionally, Gabalas (A7.89–90) links Homeric poetry to the concept of *meditatio mortis*, echoing a common Byzantine definition of philosophy going back to Plato (*Phaedo* 62b, 67e–68d, 80e).<sup>559</sup> Moreover, Gabalas perceives Homer as a divine man, who gives lessons on theology (θεολογία) and reverence for God (θεοσεβεία).<sup>560</sup> Gabalas thus found in Homer a wealth of wisdom, which he adapted to the language and mindset of the Palaiologan period and sought to integrate with Christian ethics and theology, as will be further discussed in the subsequent sections.

## 2. Translating Homeric Poetry into Byzantine Prose

This section presents a comprehensive examination of the language and the compositional methods in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*.<sup>561</sup> Gabalas aimed, as he notes in the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7.91–96), to create a prose translation that was both continuous and easily understandable (πρὸς τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ εὐσύνοπτον). His rendition remains faithful to the core of the *Odyssey*, frequently integrating excerpts directly from the epic verses.<sup>562</sup> This adherence to the original helps us pinpoint where Gabalas' metaphrase approaches or distances from the source text. This comparison enables the following linguistic analysis.

### Phonetics, Morphosyntax and Vocabulary

In *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas adapted the language of Homeric epic to the rules and conventions of Byzantine Atticizing prose. Phonetically, the text implements the vowel

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 44–53. On the consideration of Homer and the Trojan War in antiquity, see Félix Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956), 9–31; Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Cf. also the *Prolégomènes* in van Kasteel, *Questions homériques. Physique et métaphysique chez Homère*.

<sup>558</sup> E.g., A7.38–39, 72–74, 85 Silvano.

<sup>559</sup> For the definitions of philosophy, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I*, 9.

<sup>560</sup> Divine man (A7.12 Silvano: ὁ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος), his poetry as divine teaching (A7.27 Silvano: τι μάθημα θεῖον) of theology and piety to God (A7.14).

<sup>561</sup> Some features of this analysis are outlined by Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysee par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”; Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the *Odyssey*”.

<sup>562</sup> The present edition highlights these parts in italics for easy reference (see Appendix).

shift from  $\eta$  to  $\alpha$  in nouns, adjectives, and verbs.<sup>563</sup> Vowel clusters ( $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\omega$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon$ ) and the consonant group  $-v\theta-$  are generally simplified.<sup>564</sup> The spelling pattern  $-\tau\tau-$  remains dominant, with some occasional variations.<sup>565</sup> Morphologically, the work adjusts declensions and conjugations to match Byzantine prose norms: epic-Aeolic genitives ( $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ ) and datives ( $-\eta\sigma\iota$ ,  $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ ) are converted into their Attic equivalents;<sup>566</sup> the instrumental case ( $-\phi\iota$ ) is transformed into a dative;<sup>567</sup> the endings of the present, aorist, and future epic infinitives are regularized;<sup>568</sup> Homeric tmesis is resolved by attaching the prefix directly to the verb;<sup>569</sup> the addition of prefixes to verbs is standard practice, sometimes resulting in novel forms (*Od.* 6.166:  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\pi\epsilon\alpha \rightarrow$  A8.1021:  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ );<sup>570</sup> prefixes are occasionally modified or substituted by other prefixes or adverbs to better capture the subtleties of the original verbs;<sup>571</sup> variations in grammar are also evident.<sup>572</sup> Naturally, Gabalas incorporates extra articles (*passim*), conjunctions, particles, and phrases to ensure narrative flow and coherence.<sup>573</sup>

Syntactically, the shift from direct to indirect speech by adopting a third-person heterodiegetic narrative voice, results in the restructuring of sentences. This change prompts extensive reworking of the text's verbal, nominal, and deictic elements. Typically, first- and second-person grammatical forms are converted into third-person or participle forms, in nominative or accusative cases.<sup>574</sup> There is a preference for the present and imperfect indicative, along with active present and aorist participles. Transformations are systematic, with first-person singular nouns, pronouns, or determiners becoming third-person equivalents,

<sup>563</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.297  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\omicron\nu \rightarrow \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  A8.151, *Od.* 9.314:  $\varphi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\eta \rightarrow$  A8.160:  $\varphi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$ , *Od.* 9.525:  $\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.264:  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ .

<sup>564</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.332:  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.168, A8.267:  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , *Od.* 10.42:  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.299:  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , *Od.* 10.489:  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.514:  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *Od.* 10.396:  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.473:  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , *Od.* 12.124:  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\alpha\nu \rightarrow$  A8.641:  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , *passim*  $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu \rightarrow \theta\upsilon\rho\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta \rightarrow \kappa\omicron\rho\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\omicron\nu \rightarrow \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \rightarrow \upsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \rightarrow \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$

<sup>565</sup> *passim*  $\theta\tilde{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\nu$  A8.296 and  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$ , but A8.386:  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ .

<sup>566</sup> E.g., *Od.* 12.173:  $\kappa\eta\rho\omicron\iota\omicron \rightarrow$  A8.663:  $\kappa\eta\rho\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ , *Od.* 9.183:  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\varphi\eta\eta\sigma\iota \rightarrow$  A8.93:  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\varphi\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , *Od.* 6.97:  $\omicron\chi\theta\eta\sigma\iota\nu \rightarrow$  A8.940:  $\omicron\chi\theta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , *Od.* 9.326:  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu \rightarrow$  A8.165:  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,

<sup>567</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.406:  $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\phi\iota \rightarrow$  A8.204:  $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

<sup>568</sup> E.g., *Od.* 10.18:  $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu \rightarrow$  A8.287:  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ , *Od.* 10.484:  $\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.513:  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\psi\alpha\iota$ , *Od.* 12.10:  $\omicron\iota\acute{\sigma}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.589:  $\omicron\iota\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\iota\nu$

<sup>569</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.548:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\eta\delta\acute{\varsigma} \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.271:  $\tau\eta\varsigma \nu\epsilon\omega\delta\acute{\varsigma} \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *Od.* 5.438–39:  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon \nu\eta\chi\epsilon \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.918:  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\eta\nu \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\eta\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ .

<sup>570</sup> E.g., *Od.* 10.42:  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.300:  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *Od.* 10.124:  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.350:  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *Od.* 12.110:  $\pi\omicron\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.635:  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , *Od.* 12.151:  $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota \rightarrow$  A8.652:  $\delta\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ , *Od.* 5.393:  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.907:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , *Od.* 12.230:  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\eta\nu \rightarrow$  A8.697:  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ,

<sup>571</sup> E.g., *Od.* 12.113:  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\iota \rightarrow$  A8.636:  $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\iota$ , *Od.* 10.323:  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon \rightarrow$  A8.447:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon$ , *Od.* 12.122:  $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\omicron\rho\mu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha \rightarrow$  A8.640:  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\rho\mu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$ , *Od.* 10.10:  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \rightarrow$  A8.283:  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ , *Od.* 10.471:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.509:  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ .

<sup>572</sup> E.g., *Od.* 5.399:  $\nu\eta\chi\epsilon \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \rightarrow$  A8.908:  $\nu\eta\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \delta' \eta\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ .

<sup>573</sup> Coordination (e.g., A8.107, 527, 563:  $\omicron\upsilon \mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\iota$ , A8.299:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \delta\eta \kappa\alpha\iota$ ), disjunction (e.g., A8.289:  $\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma$ ), particles (*passim*  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\nu$ ), exegetical particles (A8.117, 567, 1165:  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\iota$ ) and phrases (*passim*  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omega\nu$ ).

<sup>574</sup> E.g., *passim* *Od.* 10.465:  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\tau\epsilon \rightarrow$  A8.504:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ .

irrespective of grammatical case or number.<sup>575</sup> Vocatives are often turned into predicates with an accusative object.<sup>576</sup> Spatial and temporal deixis shift from “here” to “there”,<sup>577</sup> “now” to “then” or “in the present”.<sup>578</sup> Occasionally, these alterations enhance the original meaning, for instance when “there” is changed into “somewhere there” or “day” into “that day”.<sup>579</sup> In prepositional phrases, the order is usually rearranged into a preposition-adjective-noun format.<sup>580</sup> While Gabalas tends to position verbs at the sentence’s end, he sometimes opts for an article-verb-noun structure, a signature element of his writing style.<sup>581</sup> Furthermore, parataxis frequently evolves into coordinate and subordinate clauses, typically introduced by conjunctions or participles.

When shifting to indirect speech, Gabalas frequently anchors the scene’s essence or semantic load in the main verb of the primary indirect speech clause, usually starting sentences with verbs denoting speech such as “saying”, “predicting”, “explaining”, or “relating”.<sup>582</sup> Other common verbs introducing indirect speech denote mental processes such as “knowing”, “deducing”, “recalling”, “learning”, “suspecting”<sup>583</sup> and emotions such as “fearing”,<sup>584</sup> and actions like “begging”, “swearing”, or “promising”.<sup>585</sup> Verbs of command plus infinitive are prevalent, often translating Homeric phrases originally in subjunctive or imperative forms.<sup>586</sup> Questions are also rephrased into indirect speech.<sup>587</sup> Yet, Gabalas retains a few direct quotes, as seen with Polyphemus’ famous outcry (*Od.* 9.408=A8.205: Οὗτις με κτείνει δόλῳ [...] ὃ

<sup>575</sup> Nominative (*passim* αὐτὸς, ὁ δὲ or Οδυσσεύς), dative (A8.292: τῷ μέντοιγε Ὀδυσσεῖ), accusative reinforced (e.g., *Od.* 12.160: οἷον ἔμ’ → A8.656: αὐτὸν μόνον “to me alone”), and plural (*passim* ἡμεῖς → οἱ δὲ, *Od.* 12.225: σφέας αὐτούς → A8.695: ἐαυτούς, *Od.* 12.266: μοι → A8.725: τούτῳ, *Od.* 9.545: ἡμέας → A8.270: αὐτούς, *Od.* 12.200: σφιν → A8.677: αὐτοῖς).

<sup>576</sup> *Od.* 12.116: σχέτλιε → A8.637: σχέτλιον προεῖπεν.

<sup>577</sup> *Od.* 11.20, 12.5: ἔνθα → A8.556, 587: ἐκεῖσε, *Od.* 5.160: ἐνθάδ’ → A8.828: αὐτόθι

<sup>578</sup> *Od.* 12.291, 298: νῦν → A8.736: κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, A8.739: τέως, cf. A8.838: εἶτα.

<sup>579</sup> E.g., *Od.* 10.266: αὐτοῦ → A8.419: αὐτοῦ πον, *Od.* 10.269: ἡμαρ → A8.421: ἡμαρ ἐκεῖνο. Cf. *Od.* 5.207–08 → A8.844–45.

<sup>580</sup> E.g., *Od.* 10.467: τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν → A8.506–07: εἰς τελεσφόρον ἐνιαυτὸν.

<sup>581</sup> E.g., A8.222–23: ὑπὸ τοῖς τῶν ἀρρένων ἀρνῶν ἐδέδοντο στέρνοις.

<sup>582</sup> *Passim* ἔλεγε, φησὶν, ἔφη, ἔρεϊ, φράζει and εἶπε, A8.999: προλέγει, A8.656, 1078: ἐκδιηγῆται, A8.966: εἰσηγεῖται, A8.606: σημαίνει, A8.955, 1069: ἐκάλει, A8.1096: τελευτῶν.

<sup>583</sup> E.g., A8.960: εἰδέναι, A8.945: ὑπελογίζετο, A8.540–41: οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι [...] μαθόντες (A8.686: ὑπομνήσκων, A8.574, 658: μεμνήσθαι πῆξαντα, A8.913: ὑπείδετο, some of them deriving from the original, e.g. *Od.* 12.189: ἴδμεν → A8.671: ἤρχον εἰδέναι *Od.* 12.117: ὑπεῖξεαι → A8.639: ὑπείκειν ἐθέλει.

<sup>584</sup> E.g., A8.579, 836, 995: ἐδεδίει, and A8.924: δεδιῶς.

<sup>585</sup> E.g., A8.512: ἐξελιπάρει τελέσαι, A8.838: ὁμνύει, A8.529, 829, 966, 1115: ὑπισχνεῖται.

<sup>586</sup> E.g., A8.999: διατάττεται, A8.973, 1009: προστάττει, A8.749–50: κελεύσας αὐτούς καὶ ἀπειλὴν ἐπισείσας, A8.595, 657, 740: προτρέπεται, A8.1030: παροτρύνει, *Od.* 10.228: φθεγγόμεθα → A8.400: καλεῖν ἐκέλευε, *Od.* 10.269: φεύγωμεν → A8.421: παρήνει φεύγειν

<sup>587</sup> E.g., *Od.* 12.287: πῇ κέν τις ὑπεκφύγοι → A8.734: οὐ μὴδ’ ἔχοι τις ἂν ὑπεκφυγεῖν.

φίλοι) or Odysseus' despair on Circe's island (*Od.* 10.193=A8.385: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι). Some imperative forms and second-person verbs also remain.<sup>588</sup>

Lexically, Gabalas adeptly translates Homeric terminology to the vocabulary of Byzantine Atticizing prose through methods of intralingual translation, a distinctive feature of the metaphrastic genre.<sup>589</sup> For instance, he typically substitutes Homeric nouns for “sea” such as πόντος, ἅλς, ἅλμη with θάλαττα (with exceptions like A8.733: κατὰ τὸν πόντον); for “earth”, he replaces γαῖα and χθών with γῆ; for “cave”, σπέος with ἄντρον or σπήλαιον; for “words”, ἐπέα with λόγοι; for “man”, φῶς with ἀνὴρ. He translates Homeric verbs for “sitting down” (ἵμαι, ἕζομαι, ἔφηναι), “arriving” (ικέσθαι, ἰκάνω), and “eating” (ἔδω, κατέδω, δαίνυμι) into forms of καθίζω and κάθημαι, ἀφικνέομαι and παραγενέσθαι, and ἐσθίω and ἐστιάω, respectively.<sup>590</sup>

A particular instance of systematic intralingual translation involves terminology related to psychological and cognitive faculties, and vital organs, including terms such as ψυχή, θυμός, νοῦς, κῆρ, ἦτορ, μένος and μῆτις. Gabalas generally retains Homeric terms for “soul” (ψυχή) and “mind” (νοῦς),<sup>591</sup> using “soul” as a broad concept encompassing life-related Homeric terms such κῆρ,<sup>592</sup> ἦτορ,<sup>593</sup> and θυμός,<sup>594</sup> adding it even when it is absent from the original.<sup>595</sup> He takes a contextual approach to adapt and preserve the nuances of the Homeric text. The term θυμός is a notable challenge; while occasionally kept,<sup>596</sup> it is generally translated into terms denoting life, mind, memory, or even body.<sup>597</sup> Gabalas captures the complexities of θυμός in the original in full sentences when necessary.<sup>598</sup> On one occasion, μένος is rendered

<sup>588</sup> E.g., *Od.* 13.61=A8.1178: τέρπου, *Od.* 8.468: ἐβίωσας → A8.1111: τὸ ζῆν δέδωκας.

<sup>589</sup> Hinterberger, “Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared”, 34.

<sup>590</sup> E.g., *Od.* 11.123: εἶδαι ἔδουσιν → A8.572: βρῶμα ἐσθίουσιν, *Od.* 13.26: δαίνυντ' → A8.1164: ἐστιώμενοι.

<sup>591</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.523: ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην → A8.263: δυναίμην ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αἰῶνα, *Od.* 10.560: ψυχὴ δ' Ἀιδόσδε κατήλθεν → A8.539: ψυχὴ δὲ ἐξῆλθεν, *Od.* 10.329: νόος → A8.450: πρὸς τὸ ἄτρεπτον τοῦ νοῦ ἐνιδούσα.

<sup>592</sup> *Od.* 9.459: ἐμὸν κῆρ → A8.229–30: ἡ ψυχὴ, *Od.* 10.247–48: κῆρ [...] θυμός → A8.413: τὴν ψυχὴν [...] ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ, *Od.* 10.485: φθινύθουσι φίλον κῆρ → A8.514: ἀνιῶσιν [...] τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>593</sup> *Od.* 9.226, 10.198, 496, 566, 12.277, 5.297: φίλον ἦτορ → A8.128, 387–88, 518–19, 541, 728, 875: τὴν ψυχὴν, A8.896: μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>594</sup> *Od.* 9.75: θυμὸν ἔδοντες → A8.27: τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσθίοντες, *Od.* 10.465: θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λάβετε [...] θυμός → A8.504–05: τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλάβωσιν, [...] τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες, *Od.* 5.191: θυμός ἐνὶ στήθεσσι → A8.839: ψυχὴν ἔχειν, *Od.* 12.350: θυμὸν → A8.762: ψυχὴν, *Od.* 12.427: θυμῷ → A8.794–95: κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>595</sup> *Od.* 10.376 → A8.464–65: μέγα πένθος ἔχοντα ἐν ψυχῇ.

<sup>596</sup> *Od.* 9.501: κεκοτηότι θυμῷ → A8.246: πικροτέρῳ θυμῷ, *Od.* 8.178 → A8.1086: ἐπεὶ θυμῷ ἐπλήγη κατὰ ψυχὴν.

<sup>597</sup> Life (*Od.* 10.143: θυμὸν ἔδοντες → A8.363–64: τὴν ζωὴν ἀναλίσκοντες), mind (*Od.* 8.577: ὀδύρεαι ἐνδοθι θυμῷ → A8.1138: ἔνδον κατὰ νοῦν ὀδύρεται, *Od.* 9.299: κατὰ μεγάλῃτορα θυμὸν → A8.152: ὃν ἐβούλευσε μὲν κατὰ νοῦν ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς), memory (*Od.* 12.266: ἔπος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ → A8.724: λόγος ἦλθεν εἰς μνήμην), and body (*Od.* 10.77: τείρετο δ' ἀνδρῶν θυμός → A8.325: νῦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα [...] τειρομένοις).

<sup>598</sup> *Od.* 10.63: ἀνὰ θυμὸν → A8.312–13: οἱ δὲ θαυμάζοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο, *Od.* 10.406: ἐμοὶ γ' ἐπεπιθέτο θυμός ἀγῆνωρ → A8.481: ἄριστον καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο νομίζει, *Od.* 10.373: ἐμῷ δ' οὐχ ἦνδανε θυμῷ → A8.463: ὁ δὲ, οὐκ

as θυμός.<sup>599</sup> Other psychological terms like φρένες, κραδίη, μήτις are translated to “thought” (λογισμός), “mind” (νοῦς), “reason” (λόγος), or “will” (βουλή).<sup>600</sup> Analyzing Gabalas’ intralingual translation of these specific terms sheds light on his perspectives on psychology and vision of man. The distinguishing feature of *The Wanderings of Odysseus* lies in its systematic and coherent method of translating Homeric terminology into the framework of Christian anthropology. He simplifies the complex Homeric system into a dichotomy of body and different aspects of the soul. In the *200 Chapters*, as we will learn (see Chapter 4), Gabalas investigates the nature of the soul and the mind’s role in divine union, a concept rooted in the Platonic tradition of Christian asceticism, as represented by Evagrius of Pontus.

To these examples, a long list of lexical parallels can be added (see Appendix 4). Many of these adaptations reflect Gabalas’ unique interpretation of the text, while others likely draw on traditional Homeric interpretations, mostly found in the scholia to the *Odyssey*.

### Compositional Method

To create a continuous and linear narrative flow in his paraphrase of the *Odyssey*, Gabalas summarizes, excludes and amplifies the details of the original story.<sup>601</sup> Summaries are strategically placed as introductory lines, intra-textual references and concluding remarks to bolster linguistic and structural unity, as well as to manage the audience’s expectations. They often subtly foreshadow future events or highlight impending difficulties, thereby acting as a form of flashforward or prolepsis.<sup>602</sup> Internal references are primarily used to prevent repetitions and redundancy. Examples include phrases like “the cup, which Alcinous had previously promised”, or “upon his arrival at the Phaeacian island, he recounts the stories of the [poem’s] preface”.<sup>603</sup> Recapitulative phrases, such as οὕτω with a participle, or οὕτως ἔφη and ταῦτα ἔφη, function as brief reminders of prior events, mainly for the sake of linguistic

ἦθελε, *Od.* 5.365: ταῦθ’ ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν → A8.898: ταῦτα διελογίζετο, *Od.* 9.272, 286: νηλεῖ θυμῷ → A8.136–37: σκληρῶς μάλα ἀποκρινάμενος, A8.145–46: ὁ Κύκλωψ οὐδὲν ἀποκεκριμένος ὑπὸ μανίας.

<sup>599</sup> *Od.* 9.457: ἐμὸν μένος ἤλασκάξει → A8.238–39: τὸν αὐτοῦ φεύγει θυμὸν

<sup>600</sup> Thought (*Od.* 9.301: φρένες ἦπαρ → A8.153: ἀπειργε δ’ ἕτερος λογισμός), mind and reason (*Od.* 10.438: φρεσὶ → A8.493: κατὰ νοῦν εἶχεν, *Od.* 10.493–94: φρένες [...] νόον → A8.505: λόγος καὶ νοῦν, *Od.* 5.389: κραδίη → A8.905: κατὰ νοῦν), and will (*Od.* 9.414: μήτις ἀμύμων, *Od.* 9.422: μήτιν ὕφαινον → A8.207: βουλή τις ἀρίστη, A8.212: βουλὰς ὕφαινε).

<sup>601</sup> This resembles the categories of deletion, alteration, reconciliation, and search for a higher unity in Biblical exegesis. Cf. John Barton, “Unity and Diversity in the Biblical Canon”, in *Die Einheit der Schrift und die Vielfalt des Kanons* (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2003), 11–26.

<sup>602</sup> E.g., A8.238–39, 260, 286, 642–47, 989, 1049–50.

<sup>603</sup> A8.1175–176: δέπας [...] ὃ πρὶν Ἀλκίνοος ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι, A8.989: τέως μὲν οὕτω γῆς ἐπιβάντι Φαιάκων, ταῦτα οἱ ἐγένετο ὥς ἐν προοιμίῳ. Other examples would be A8.156–57: ὥς τὴν χθὲς [...] ὥς πρόσθεν, A8.173: ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν, A8.350: ὥς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὁ Κύκλωψ, A8.438–39: μὴ ὥς τοπρόσθεν, A8.644: ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τειρεσίας προτερόν, A8.796: ὥσπερ ὀλίγω πρότερον.

economy.<sup>604</sup> For example, the speech of Eurilochus in *Odyssey* 10 is condensed into a single sentence.<sup>605</sup> Descriptive elements, such as the depiction of Calypso, are rearranged and adapted.<sup>606</sup> Homeric similes are frequently simplified into brief comparisons,<sup>607</sup> at times retaining only the central idea devoid of elaborate language, and occasionally altering the order of the comparison.<sup>608</sup> An illustrative example of Gabalas' summarizing technique is his treatment of the encounter between Nausicaa and the shipwrecked Odysseus, where he encapsulates an elaborate account of 83 verses, detailing Nausicaa and her maids' game (*Od.* 6.23–96) and the comparison to Artemis (*Od.* 6.102–10), into a brief statement: “when they have had enough of playing games”.<sup>609</sup> Furthermore, he simplifies the meeting between Nausicaa and Alcinous, reducing it to just a few sentences:

Having heard these matters with understanding and having remarked that he [sc. Odysseus] does not seem to be wicked or senseless, she promises him every kindness and suggests that perhaps wealth is provided to humans, both good and evil, through some divine providence, and he should endure his sufferings as decreed by God. What is more, she also shows him the city and reveals the name of her people. She introduces herself and mentions who her father is. Then, she instructs her maidservants who had fled, to stand by him. She states that the man whom they saw is not among their enemies based on his appearance, but rather some unfortunate wanderer who has ended up there and should be taken care of. For all strangers and beggars come from God, and the gift bestowed upon them should be small but dear.<sup>610</sup>

This passage illustrates that summaries serve not only to ensure fluidity in the narrative but also to lay the groundwork for the text's ethical and philosophical foundation. Central to this foundation are the interpretations of the Homeric gods – e.g., Zeus as divine providence or the

<sup>604</sup> E.g., A8.585: οὕτως ἄσινεῖς ἀπηλλάττοντο. Cf. A8.90–92, A8.188, A8.236–37, A8.477–78, A8.529–30, A8.545–47, A8.678, A8.682, A8.948 or A8.1018–20.

<sup>605</sup> *Od.* 10.251–60 → A8.417: οὕτω [...] πυθόμενος.

<sup>606</sup> *Od.* 12.447–48, 7.252–57, 5.135–37, 151–58, 138–44 → A8.808–27.

<sup>607</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.384–86 → A8.195: οἷόν τι τρύπανον, *Od.* 10.410–14 → A8.483–14: οἷον [...] νομῆς, A8.701–02: εἰκάζειν τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἷον [...] οὕτω, A8.711: τοιοῦτον τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, οἷον ὅτε.

<sup>608</sup> E.g., *Od.* 6.232–35 → A8.981–82, *Od.* 5.394–97 → A8.907–8, cf. also A8.916.

<sup>609</sup> A8.943: ὥς δὲ τοῦ παίζειν κόρος αὐταῖς ἦν, cf. *Od.* 6.106: παίζουσι. Cf. the last summary of the work, A8.1191–195.

<sup>610</sup> *Od.* 6.187–216 → A8.965–72: ταῦτα κατὰ νοῦν ἡ Ναυσικάα ἀκούσασα, καὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονι ἀνδρὶ εἰοικέναι τοῦτον εἰποῦσα, ὑπισχνεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ πάντα χρηστὰ· εἰσηγεῖται δὲ καὶ πού ἐκ θείας ἄρα προνοίας πλούτος ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς δίδεται καὶ χρῆ καὶ αὐτὸν ταῦτα πᾶσχοντα ἐκ Θεοῦ καρτερεῖν· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ δείκνυσι καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ ἔθνους παραδηλοῖ· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὅστις ἐστὶν· εἶτα κελεύει τὰς ἀμφιπόλους φευγούσας, αὐτοῦ πού στήναι· μὴ δὲ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν δυσμενῶν ὃν εἶδον ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ τίνα δύστηνον πλανήτην ἐκεῖσε παραγεγόνότα, ὃν χρῆναι κοιμῆς τινος ἀξιοῦν· πρὸς γὰρ Θεοῦ εἶναι πάντας ξένους τε καὶ πτωχοὺς, δόσιν δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὀλίγην τε φίλην τε.



Christian God –, the ethical portrayal of scene and characters – e.g., Odysseus as an unfortunate traveler.<sup>611</sup>

In terms of what is left out, one can notice that specific content from the *Odyssey* is deliberately omitted, including formulas, repetitions,<sup>612</sup> digressions,<sup>613</sup> and particular details such as the reference to an axe (*Od.* 5.235–36) or to the construction of a ship (*Od.* 5.246–61). While epithets are generally excluded, those related to Odysseus are an exception (see Section 3.2).<sup>614</sup> The most significant omission of *The Wanderings of Odysseus* concerns the myth of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–389); although the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* hints at the natural interpretation of this myth as the “genesis of the universe” (A7.14–15 Silvano: γένεσις τοῦ παντός), this topic is not addressed in *The Wanderings of Odysseus* nor in the *Brief Narration*. Anthropomorphic gods,<sup>615</sup> divine interventions in human matters – particularly those by Athena and Hermes –,<sup>616</sup> and semi-divine entities such as the spirit calming the seas (*Od.* 12.169), are frequently omitted. Objects linked to deities, such as Hermes’ chair (*Od.* 5.195), are also disregarded. Likewise, Odysseus’ appeal to the Phaeacian river for mercy (*Od.* 5.445–50) is omitted.

In *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas tends to avoid mentioning women, such as King Lamos’ daughter (*Od.* 10.106–7) or the Nymphs (*Od.* 12.318), and modifies Odysseus’ interactions with them, for instance stating that Odysseus bows to Alcinous, instead of Arete as in the Homeric original (*Od.* 7.142 → A8.1021). Depictions of female nudity, such as Circe dressing (*Od.* 10.541–45), and intimate encounters are muted; for instance, descriptions are simplified to “they just went to sleep and got up” and the portrayal of Calypso and Odysseus’ relationship is subdued.<sup>617</sup> Moreover, Gabalas significantly summarizes the episode of the Nekuia, reducing its 588 verses to a few sentences:

<sup>611</sup> *Od.* 6.188: Ζεὺς [...] Ὀλύμπιος → A8.966–67: ἐκ θείας προνοίας, *Od.* 6.207: Διός → A8.968: Θεοῦ, *Od.* 6.188–89: ἐσθλοῖς ἢ δὲ κακοῖσιν → ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς, *Od.* 6.190: χρή τετλάμεν ἔμπης → πάσχοντα ἐκ Θεοῦ καρτερεῖν.

<sup>612</sup> E.g., *Od.* 9.244–47, 9.341–44, 12.271–74.

<sup>613</sup> *Od.* 6.164–69 → A8.958: “Odysseus narrates his misfortunes” (εἶτα καὶ τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς διηγείται).

<sup>614</sup> A8.253, 275, 430, 442, 828.

<sup>615</sup> E.g., the dialogue between Lampetia and Zeus (*Od.* 12.377–90), and Poseidon reproaching Zeus for helping Odysseus (*Od.* 5.283–90) and reminding the latter of his future misfortunes (*Od.* 5.377–82).

<sup>616</sup> E.g., Athena’s intervention to help Odysseus (*Od.* 5.427, 437) and to help Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.25–40, 112–13), and Hermes’ embassy to Calypso to release Odysseus (*Od.* 5.28–42, 100–15).

<sup>617</sup> *Od.* 225–32 → A8.852–53: εἰς ὕπνον τραπέντες [...] ἀνεστησαν. “[Calypso] treated him very well for eight years as a noble partner leading a life together with her doing everything as she thought best” (A8.815–17: καὶ δαυλιῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται εἰς ὄγδοον ἔτος, ἅτε καὶ γνήσιον ὁμευνέτην καὶ πάντα ὥς ᾤετο παρ’ αὐτῇ τὸν βίον διατελέσοντα).

[Circe] promises him that [Tiresias] will show him [sc. Odysseus] the way. Odysseus then did all that he had learnt from Circe that he had to prepare [cf. the ritual sacrifice, *Od.* 11.23–50], so that he could learn of the future events. Once he had done everything, [Tiresias] predicted his return to the fatherland and what would happen to him by the sea and its demon [sc. Poseidon] due to the blinding of the Cyclops. Thus, Tiresias attested these things to Odysseus and announced to him directly what he was to suffer and do. After Tiresias had predicted and taught Odysseus how to act and what to do, Odysseus learned also other things from the souls in Hades, and he himself went to Hades; after Odysseus had done as he was ordered, and after he had seen and questioned the souls of his blood relatives and those he was familiar with, he came back to his ship [...]. Thus went Odysseus to Hades and returned again, it is said, having seen and learned. This was prelude to the true departure to Hades of his miserable comrades, as the following story will show.<sup>618</sup>

This summary covers Circe's guidelines for reaching Hades, the topography of the underworld, and Odysseus' interactions with the shades of Tiresias, Anticlea, Ajax, and others. It is plausible that Gabalas streamlined much of the *Nekuia*'s details to avoid conflict with Christian theological views concerning the soul's fate, the afterlife, and the feasibility of conversing with the deceased. Vianès-Abou Samra linked the omission of this information to the psychological patterns of discomfort or embarrassment.<sup>619</sup> Even though modern scholars have rightly noted Gabalas' avoidance of explicit references to Christian doctrine, one can reasonably argue that his selective omissions act as a cultural filter, repositioning the *Odyssey* within a Christian ethical and theological framework.<sup>620</sup>

<sup>618</sup> Respectively, *Od.* 10.516–22, 525–38 → A8.529: ὃν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐλθεῖν ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ὁδὸν [...] δεῖξαι, *Od.* 11.25–99 → A8.559–60: ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς [...] πάνθ' ἐξῆς ἐξεργάσατο, ὅποσα καὶ τὸν Τειρεσίαν παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης μεμάθηκε γενόμενα θεραπεύειν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐσόμενα· ὧν δὴ γεγονότων, τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα νόστον αὐτῷ προμηνύει, ὁποῖος ἔσται πρὸς τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ ταύτης δαίμονος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κύκλωπος ἐκτυφλώσει, A8.569–70: οὕτω ταῦθ' ὁ Τειρεσίας τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ τεκμηράμενος, προσεχῶς αὐτῷ παραγγέλλει, ὡς ἐπειδὰν ταῦτα δὴ καὶ πάθῃ καὶ πράξῃ, *Od.* 11.137–632 → A8.576–79, 582–84: ταῦτα προειπὼν καὶ διδάξας πῶς ἂν καὶ τί πράξας καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα μάθοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἄδου ψυχῶν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ἄδην ὄχρητο· ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πράξας ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, καὶ τῶν καθ' αἶμα καὶ συνήθειαν ἄλλως ὄντων αὐτῷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδὼν τε καὶ ἀνερόμενος, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν [...] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς Ἄδου ἰόντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα καὶ αὐθις ἀπιόντα καὶ ἰδεῖν, φασὶ, καὶ μαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ προοίμιον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀφίξεως τοῦτ' ἦν εἰς Ἄδην τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἐταίροις, ἐξῆς ὁ λόγος δηλώσει.

<sup>619</sup> The idea was first formulated by Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysee par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle)”, 469. For the idea of embarrassment in Biblical exegesis, see Harry Fox, “The Embarrassment of Embarrassment”, in *Vixens Disturbing Vineyards: Embarrassment and Embrace of Scriptures*, ed. Tzemah Yoseh et al. (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 5–11.

<sup>620</sup> Cf. Browning, “The Byzantines and Homer”, 144; Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey”, 28; Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174*, 16; Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysee par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle)”, 467–71; Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 222–26.

The amplification of the narrative serves to clarify scenes, vividly depict them, or delve deeper into certain topics. Gabalas consistently aims to elucidate the identities of key characters, for instance by labeling Alcinous as the “ruler of the Phaeacians”, Achilles as the “son of Peleus”, Euryalus as “the one who had previously mocked Odysseus in the contests”, or Elpenor as the “the corps that had not received the customary funerary rites”.<sup>621</sup> To craft vivid scenes and enhance clarity, Gabalas frequently employs adverbs, particularly those indicating modality,<sup>622</sup> and tends to repeat verbs and Odysseus’ name.<sup>623</sup> Additionally, he introduces a degree of hyperbole; for instance, he depicts Odysseus leaving Trinacria “out of utmost necessity” or describes him and his crew as being “exaggeratedly” astonished.<sup>624</sup> To further elaborate on particular points, Gabalas integrates brief explanatory notes that are often introduced with an appositive participle, such as when Gabalas presents Odysseus carrying the deer “on his head, securing it only with his spear” or when he describes a smooth stone as “providing no foothold to stand on”.<sup>625</sup> Explanations using Byzantine geographical terms also serve this purpose: Gabalas specifies that Trinacria is Sicily, Maleia is the cape of the Laconians, and that the Cicones inhabited Thrace.<sup>626</sup> Gabalas incorporates phrases from other parts of the epics, as Browning observed, and at times, these can also be found in the tradition of scholia on Homer.<sup>627</sup>

<sup>621</sup> Respectively, A8.936: Φαίάκων βασιλεύοντος, *Od.* 5.310: περί Πηλεΐωνι → A8.879: διὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, A8.1098–99: τὸν δὲ σκώψαντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων, A8.589–90: μὴ δὲ τῆς νενομισμένης ὀσίας τὸν νεκρὸν ὑστερήσαι.

<sup>622</sup> Modality (A8.344: ἀηδῶς, A8.404: ἐπιβούλως, A8.916: βιαίως, A8.866: ἀγρύπνως, A8.866: ἀρρήτως, A8.483: ἀσπασίως, *passim* ταχέως, cf. also A8.725, 1026: σπουδῇ, A8.102–03: σπουδῇ δὲ αὐτίκα), temporal transition or repetition (A8.165: καὶ αὖθις, A8.266–67: εἴτ’ αὖθις, A8.705: τέως, A8.357: ἐξῆς), intensifier (e.g., A8.407, 732: αὐτόχρομα, *passim* μάλα), totality (A8.638: τὸ παράπαν), simultaneity (*passim* ὁμοῦ τε) and consequence (*passim* οὐκοῦν).

<sup>623</sup> E.g., A8.291: τῇ νηὶ ἐγκατέδραμεν· ἐγκατέδραμε δὲ, A8.523–24: παραγγέλλει· παραγγέλλει δ’, A8.938: παρεγένετο· παρεγένετο δὲ, A8.1189: ἐκάθευδεν [...] ἐκάθευδε δὲ, A8.444: ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἐπεὶ μὴ θελγθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὖθις ἦν. Gabalas adopts a similar technique in his Paris letter collection (PB21–PB29). See the examples in Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: la correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas”, 192.

<sup>624</sup> Respectively, A8.755: ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης μεγίστης, A8.1057: μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς.

<sup>625</sup> A8.375: ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς φέρει, μόνῳ τῷ δόρατι ἐρειδόμενου, A8.616–17: μηδεμίαν ἀντίληψιν παρεχομένη τῇ βάσει. Cf. also “[Charybdis] takes the water back down into the depth” (A8.632: εἰς τοῦπίσω κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν), “there was a quick way-out” (A8.871: ἔνθα καὶ ταχεῖα ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ἐκβασίς), A8.503–04: βοὺς σφάζοντας καὶ πρόβατα καλὰ, A8.609–10: ἄλλην [...] παρεμβληθεῖσαν, A8.683: κῶπαι [...] συμπεσοῦσαι δ’ ἀλλήλαις πᾶσαι, A8.803: ἐναλαμένος, A8.461: ἀλείψασα, A8.952: δραμούσης and A8.1074: μεταστρεφόμενος. Cf. also A8.573: πτόν ἀντὶ κόπης, *Od.* 10.87 → A8.330–31: λιμὴν τις ἐστὶ θαυμάσιος πάνυ, εὖ ἔχων παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἷς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ κάλλος, A8.332: διὰ στένωνσιν.

<sup>626</sup> A8.564–65: τὴν Σικελίαν φασὶ τῇ Θρινακίᾳ νήσῳ, A8.720–21: τὴν Σικελικὴν νήσον ἣτις Θρινακίαν τοπρὶν ὠνομάζετο, A8.31–32: τὸ τῶν Λακόνων ἀκρωτήριον τὴν Μαλειὰν περιζύοντας, A8.3: Κίκονες εἰσὶν ἔθνος περὶ Θράκην που τετραμμένον. Cf. A9.233: Σικελίαν ἢ νέα γλῶσσα καλεῖ.

<sup>627</sup> Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey”, 29.

## Scholia to the *Odyssey* in Contemporary Manuscripts

Several manuscript copies of the *Odyssey* may have connections to Gabalas' Homeric works. For instance, Gabalas used the manuscript Cesena, Malatest., Plut. D XXVII 2 (Diktyon 12367) from 1311 to compose *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8). This manuscript belongs to the eastern *Odyssey* manuscripts lineage from the Palaiologan period.<sup>628</sup> The handwriting of Nikephoros Moschopoulos, owner of the manuscript, appears on ff. 5v–9v and in various additions and corrections throughout the document.<sup>629</sup> The manuscript could be an apograph of Vat. Gr. 915, which derives from the scholarly circle around Maximos Planoudes.<sup>630</sup> Markesinis noted that the scholia within the Cesena manuscript reveal the thoughts of a devout Christian, who often engages with Platonic concepts and seeks to reconcile them with the Holy Scriptures.<sup>631</sup> Pontani, nonetheless, observed that the limited exegetical apparatus in the Cesena manuscript hardly had any influence on Gabalas' rendition and interpretation of the *Odyssey*.<sup>632</sup> Instead, attention should be given to two manuscripts rich in exegetical scholia of the ethical type, originating from the scholarly circle around George Pachymeres and Maximos Planoudes.

The *Iliad* manuscript from 1276, Milan, Ambros. I 4 sup. (Diktyon 42886), copied by the monk Meletios, son of Neilos, and at least two other scribes, includes the scholia to the *Iliad* by George Pachymeres, exegetical scholia, and excerpts from Eustathios of Thessalonike's *Commentary on the Iliad*.<sup>633</sup> Both Pachymeres' manuscript and the Cesena manuscript feature identical epigrams on Homer and Sappho from the *Greek Anthology* (7.3

<sup>628</sup> The codex has been described by Elpidio Mioni, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, vol. I (Rome: Hoepli, 1965), 58–59 (nr. 32), Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Literatures of Italy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 113–16 and Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 297–300. I have also consulted the website of the Malatestiana library on April 2022: [http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/ricerca/?oldform=mostra\\_codice.\\_jsp?CODICE\\_ID=143](http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/ricerca/?oldform=mostra_codice._jsp?CODICE_ID=143). See also Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Omero fra i ‘Greci’ di Malatesta Novello: sul codice Malatestiano dell’ Odissea”, in *Il dono di Malatesta Novello*, ed. Loretta Righetti and Gian Mario Anselmi (Cesena: Comune di Cesena, 2006), 321–23.

<sup>629</sup> Benakis Markesinis, “Markesinis, “Le «secrétaire» de Nicéphore Moschopoulos, scribe du Parisinus, Bibliothecae Nationalis, Coislinianus 90, f. 257v–279r, et du Basileensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis A III 5 (Gr. 45), f. 1–325r, l. 21”, 7.

<sup>630</sup> Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 229, 235–6; Pontani, “Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)”, 413.

<sup>631</sup> Markesinis, “Markesinis, “Le «secrétaire» de Nicéphore Moschopoulos, scribe du Parisinus, Bibliothecae Nationalis, Coislinianus 90, f. 257v–279r, et du Basileensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis A III 5 (Gr. 45), f. 1–325r, l. 21”, 6.

<sup>632</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 293–94, 300.

<sup>633</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 267, n. 591; Emidio Martini and Domenico Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. 1 (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1906), 540–541 (nr. 450). The monk Meletios might be the scribe Melitas, who copied the Demosthenes of Theodora Raoulaina Palaiologina. On Melitas, see Alessia D’Acunto, “Su un’edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: Il Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21”, 273–74, n. 32.

and 7.5), which suggests a possible connection.<sup>634</sup> Pachymeres used these scholia while teaching at the patriarchal school of Constantinople.<sup>635</sup> They mainly address rhetorical and ethical aspects of character behaviour, Greek versus barbarian attributes, and the interpretation of Odysseus as the human soul. Pontani suggested that Pachymeres' scholia, discussing passions according to Homer and the Stoics (scholion to *Odyssey* 16.431) and the immortality of the soul according to Pythagoras and Plato (scholion to *Odyssey* 16.856), bear resemblance to the approach of Gabalas' Homeric works.<sup>636</sup> A complete edition of Pachymeres' scholia would be invaluable for contrasting his views with Gabalas'.<sup>637</sup>

The *Odyssey* manuscript Vind. Phil. Gr. 133 (Diktyon 71247), produced by Michael Kakos Senacherim, preserves the largest collection of scholia to the *Odyssey* from the Empire of Nicea. Notably, this manuscript served as a basis for the scholarly circle of Maximos Planoudes. It includes the scholia of the Viermännerkommentar (VMK), scholia V, and ancient exegetical scholia with an ethical focus. The scholia from Books 10–11 offer the ethical portrayal of Odysseus as a wise and moderate philosopher. Such a portrayal closely aligns with the approach of Gabalas' Homeric works, particularly noted by Pontani in the allegorical interpretation of the Laestrygonians as thoughts, and in the topics of straying from and returning to temperance: “For those who are temperate and live a virtuous life, if they fall from that temperance and virtuous living, but then return to their former way of life, they become better than they were before”.<sup>638</sup> The scholion to *Odyssey* 10.84 strengthens Pontani's theory, offering the allegorical interpretation of the lotus as pleasure and of Penelope as philosophy, as well as the ethical portrayal of Odysseus as a philosopher, who keeps his crew away from pleasures: “They allegorize the lotus as the pleasures resulting from things that are tasted, by which many are defeated. But Odysseus, being a philosopher and temperate, and always longing for Penelope or philosophy, despised all the pleasures of life. Indeed, they translate his wanderings into life. There are some who seek the good on their own, while others need

<sup>634</sup> The epigrams have been studied by Francesco Valerio, “Analecta Byzantina”, *Medioevo Greco* 16 (2016): 255–56, 262–63.

<sup>635</sup> Pantelis Golitsis, “Georges Pachymère comme didascale: Essai pour une reconstitution de sa carrière et de son enseignement philosophique”, 62.

<sup>636</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 267.

<sup>637</sup> The scholia to *Iliad* by Pachymeres remain unedited – not even by Dindorf –, except for two books recently edited by Plebani, *Gli scoli di Giorgio Pachimere*.

<sup>638</sup> Scholion to *Odyssey* 11.395 Pontani: νεώτεροι ἢ πάρος ἦσαν] οἱ γὰρ σωφρονοῦντες καὶ βίον ἐνάρετον ζῶντες, ἐκπεσόντες δὲ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ ἐναρέτου βίου, εἰ πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν διαγωγὴν ἐπανέλθωσιν, κρείττονες γίνονται παρὸ πρότερον ἦσαν. For Laestrygonians as thoughts, see scholia to *Odyssey* 11.100 in Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 200–203, 285–93; Pontani, “Thoughts on Editing Greek Scholia: The Case of the Exegesis to the *Odyssey*”, in *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook, Studies and Texts*, ed. Elisabet Göransson and Alexander André (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), 324, 329.

guidance and correction, like those around Odysseus. For they need an Odysseus, or a temperate and virtuous man, to draw them away from the pleasures of life to virtues”.<sup>639</sup> These ideas find their full expression in Gabalas’ Homeric works. Gabalas likely had access to the manuscripts Milan, Ambros. I 4 sup. and Vind. Phil. Gr. 133, given his significant role in disseminating the scholarly work of George Pachymeres and Maximos Planoudes (see Section 2.1).

Finally, the *Odyssey* manuscript Marc. Gr. IX 4 (Diktyon 70456) from around 1330, which probably originates from the scholarly circle of Nikephoros Gregoras in Chora, illustrates how Gabalas’ work was received by his disciples. The manuscript contains a copy of Gabalas’ *Laudatory Prologue to Homer*, deriving from the Cesena manuscript. In addition, it includes Hesiod’s *Works and Days* and *Shield* with scholia by Manuel Moschopoulos and John Peditasimos, along with Porphyry’s *On the Cave of the Nymphs* and his *Homeric Question* about Odysseus’ delayed revelation to Penelope.<sup>640</sup> As Pontani indicates, the manuscript features a variety of recent allegorical scholia, distinct from existing scholiastic collections, and reflecting the original intentions of a scholar keen on this type of exegesis.<sup>641</sup> Among the scholia edited by Pontani from Marc. Gr. IX 4, only one bears resemblance to Gabalas’ interpretation; in this scholion, Circe symbolizes pleasure that distorts the reasoning of the companions, leading them to live irrationally and altering their minds, whereas Odysseus is portrayed as a philosopher.<sup>642</sup>

The interplay between *Odyssey* hermeneutics, scholarly networks, and manuscripts highlights a complex web of intellectual exchange in Byzantine scholarship. Manuscripts linked to Gabalas, George Pachymeres, Maximos Planoudes and Nikephoros Gregoras, showcase the interest in ethical and allegorical exegesis in the period. The annotation of texts within these scholarly networks not only fostered a vibrant culture of Homeric interpretation but also ensured the transmission of these ideas to subsequent generations.

<sup>639</sup> Scholia to *Odyssey* 10.84 Pontani: ἀνθινον εἶδα[ρ] τὸν λωτὸν ἀλληγοροῦσιν εἰς τὰς ἡδονὰς διὰ τῶν γευστῶν, αἷς ἡττῶνται πολλοί (cf. Eust. in Od. 1617, 2). ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς φιλόσοφος καὶ σώφρων ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐρῶν τῆς Πηνελοπῆς ἦτοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας (cf. Eust. in Od. 1437, 19–20) καταφρόνει πασῶν τῶν βιωτικῶν ἡδονῶν. καὶ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ πλάνην εἰς τὸν βίον μετάγουσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν μετερχόμενοι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τινὲς δὲ δέονται παιδαγωγίας καὶ διορθώσεως ὥς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά. δέονται γὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς ἦτοι ἀνθρώπου σώφρονος καὶ ἐναρέτου ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι ἐκ τῶν βιωτικῶν ἡδονῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀρετάς.

<sup>640</sup> Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 74. Porphyry’s scholion is edited and discussed by William Fortenbaugh, “A Scholion on the Odyssey: Penelope and Eurycleia”, in *More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators. In Honor of Franco Montanari*, ed. Antonios Rengakos, Patrick Finglass, and Bernhard Zimmermann (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 235–51.

<sup>641</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 277.

<sup>642</sup> Pontani, 318–19. This is said in the beginning of scholion to *Odyssey* 11.135–39 Pontani: ἡ δὲ Κίρκη ἀλληγορεῖται καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡδονήν· ὅσοι γὰρ ταύτῃ στοιχοῦσι γίνονται ἀφρονέστατοι καὶ βίον ζῶντες ἄλογον καὶ τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν ἀλλοιοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς περιττῆς βρώσεως.

### 3. Analysis of Gabalas' Ethical Interpretation of the Odyssey

This section examines the interpretation of the *Odyssey* in *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and in the *Brief Narration*. As Browning noted, Odysseus is portrayed in *The Wanderings of Odysseus* as “a hero for a world sorely tried, as was Byzantine society during the civil wars and invasions of the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century”.<sup>643</sup> Luigi Silvano rightly asserts that the heroic dimension of the *Odyssey* is introduced into the sphere of an everyday life.<sup>644</sup> The ethical portrayal of Gabalas' *The Wanderings of Odysseus* evolves into an allegorical narrative in the *Brief Narration* that reinterprets Odysseus' wanderings as a metaphor for the soul's journey towards temperance. Gabalas reimagines Odysseus' journey as a metaphor for the role of the mind in guiding the soul and explores the continuous interplay between the rational and irrational parts of the soul in the face of passions and demons. It demonstrates Gabalas' views on the restoration and return of the mind to state of psychological equilibrium, which culminates in the deification of Odysseus / the mind. These views on ethical wisdom are later reproduced in his *200 Chapters*, where Gabalas elaborates on the path to deification.

#### The Wandering, Enduring, Toiled and Cunning Odysseus

*The Wanderings of Odysseus* consistently portrays Odysseus as a wanderer (πλανήτης), crafting a rich semantic field around the strict geographical sense of “wanderings” and its broader moral and religious connotations in the sense of “errors”, which are encapsulated in the Greek term πλάναι.<sup>645</sup> Gabalas achieves this through the translation of various forms of the Homeric verbs ἀλάομαι, πλάζω, παραπλάζω, ἀποπλάζω, and ἐπιπλάζω into participle constructions such as πλανώμενος, ἀποπλανήσας, and κατὰ πλάνην ιών.<sup>646</sup> The term πλάνη features in the opening lines of twelve chapters and numerous summaries of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, often used as prolepsis, e.g., “the first agon became the beginning of his wandering

<sup>643</sup> Browning, “A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey”, 28.

<sup>644</sup> Cf. Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 223.

<sup>645</sup> For Odysseus the wanderer in John Tzetzes, see Valeria Flavia Lovato, “The Wanderer, the Philosopher and the Exegete. Receptions of the Odyssey in Twelfth-Century Byzantium”, in *Paths of Knowledge. Interconnection(s) between Knowledge and Journey in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Chiara Ferella and Cilliers Breytenbach (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2018), 217–40.

<sup>646</sup> *Od.* 6.206: δύστηνος ἀλώμενος → A8.970: τινὰ δύστηνον πλανήτην, *Od.* 5.388–89: κύματι πηγῶ πλάζετο → A8.905: μέγαλῳ πλανώμενος κύματι, *Od.* 8.573: ὅππῃ ἀπεπλάγχθη → A8.1135: ὅθεν τε πρῶτον ἐπλανήθη, *Od.* 9.81: παρέπλαξεν δὲ Κυθήρων → A8.32–33: ἐκεῖθεν ἐξῴσεν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις ἀποπλανήσας, ἀποπλαγχθέντες *Od.* 9.259 → ἀπεπλανήθησαν A8.129, πόντον ἐπιπλαγχθεῖς *Od.* 8.14 → κατὰ πλάνην ιόντος A8.1053.

and misfortunes”.<sup>647</sup> Thus, “Odysseus wanders” (A8.863: *πλανᾶται ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς*). Moreover, Gabalas portrays Odysseus as naked and shipwrecked, a representation that originates from Zeus’ destruction of Odysseus’ ship, which resulted in the crew’s death and Odysseus’ solitary struggle at sea, followed by the second confrontation with Charybdis and arrival at Calypso’s isle: “Calypso rescues the man, naked and wandering”.<sup>648</sup> These portrayals emphasize Odysseus’ capacity for suffering and endurance.

While Gabalas often excludes the epithets found in the *Odyssey*, he presents Odysseus as “much-enduring” (*πολύτλας*) and “much-toiled” (*πολύπονος*) to underscore the hero’s resilience.<sup>649</sup> While the epithet *πολύτλας* is commonly associated with Odysseus in Homer, it is Gabalas who first appears to associate Odysseus with the adjective *πολύπονος*, a term that might derive from the monastic ideal of “love of labor” or “love for toiling” (*φιλοπονία*). Gabalas further explores themes of suffering and pain through the translation of Homeric psychological concepts and vital organs, such as valor (*μένος*), heart (*κῆρ*) and spirit (*ἦτορ*), to depict Odysseus as “distressed” (*λυπούμενος*, *ἀχθόμενος*), thus deepening the character’s emotional and psychological complexity and making it more one-dimensional.<sup>650</sup> Gabalas accentuates Odysseus’ suffering, endurance, and persistence through adversity, using verbs that convey enduring hardship, standing firm against or suffering grave misfortunes, and bearing or surviving calamity (*δεινὸν τλῆναι*, *ὑφίστάναι* or *πάσχειν*, and *συμφορὰν φέρειν* or *ὑπομένειν*).<sup>651</sup> Gabalas also depicts Odysseus as groaning (A8.767), enduring a tough situation (A8.362), and being overwhelmed by fear.<sup>652</sup> This portrayal extends throughout *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and the *Brief Narration*, and receives emphasis also where the word or message is not explicit in the concrete passage of the *Odyssey*. In this way, Odysseus and sometimes his companions are depicted as “miserable” (*ἄθλιος*), “unfortunate” (*δύσμορος*),

<sup>647</sup> A8.2: Πρῶτος οὗτος πλάνης ἀγὼν καὶ συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ γέγονεν. Cicons (A8.2: *πλάνης*), Aeolus, (A8.275: *πέμπτην πλάνην*), Laestrygonians (A8.323: *ἑκτὴ πλάνη*), Circe (A8.357: *ἑβδόμη πλάνη*), Hades (A8.548: *ὀγδόην πλάνην*), Sirens (A8.648: *ἐνάτην πλάνην*), Scylla and Charybdis (A8.680: *δεκάτη πλάνη*), Cattle of Helios (A8.719: *ἐνδεκάτη πλάνην*), the storm (A8.778: *δωδεκάτην πλάνην*), Calypso (A8.807: *τρισκαιδεκάτην πλάνην*), Phaeacians (A8.863: *Πεντεκαιδεκάτην πλάνην καὶ τελευταίαν*). For summaries with the word *πλάνη*, see A8.321, 415, 929, 992, 993, 1053.

<sup>648</sup> Naked and wandering (A8.813–14: *ἀναλαμβάνει τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ Καλυψὼ γυμνὸν καὶ ἀλήτην*, A9.303: *γυμνός τις καὶ ἀλήτης*). Shipwrecked (A8.1054–55: *σικκρὸν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ναυαγίων ταλαιπωρίαν παραμυθοῦμενος*, A9.302: *ναυαγήσαντι τῷ Ὀδυσσεϊ*. Earlier Tiresias had prophesied it (A8.563).

<sup>649</sup> Aeolus’ episode (A8.275–76: *ὁ πολύτλας Ὀδυσσεύς*), Odysseus’ arrival to Scheria (A8.1191: *τὸν πολύπονον Ὀδυσσεά*).

<sup>650</sup> *Od.* 12.153, 12.250: *ἀχνύμενος κῆρ* → A8.653: *λυπούμενος ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς*, A8.710: *λυπούμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν*, *Od.* 10.77: *ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ* → A8.324: *νῦν μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀχθομένοις*. Cf. *Od.* 10.5: *ἀχνύμενοι* → A8.550: *λυπούμενοι*.

<sup>651</sup> A8.53–54, 307; A9.10, 71, 247, 282–83.

<sup>652</sup> A8.876: *δέος εἶχεν αὐτὸν*, A8.519, 1094: *ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους*. On this expression as a feature of colloquialism, see Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’*Odissea* di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 223.



“distressed” (λυπουμένος), “wretched” (δύστηνος), “troubled” (διαπορουμένος), “unlucky” (δυστυχής), and “fools” (νηπίοι).<sup>653</sup>

*The Wanderings of Odysseus* occasionally highlight Odysseus’ talent for guile and sophistry, portraying him as “versatile and resourceful” (A8.423, 442, 828: πολυμήχανος καὶ πολύτροπος), which is otherwise a central characteristic of Odysseus in the later tradition (e.g. ancient drama) and in later exegesis. For instance, Odysseus “cleverly deceives” both Poseidon and Polyphemus, which sets the stage for blinding the Cyclops; his victory over the Sirens is credited to his “skill”; against Aeolus, he devises many “strategies” and “tactics”, whereas during the storm, Odysseus finds himself “devoid of any schemes”.<sup>654</sup> Gabalas’ approach, reducing the mythical apparatus and dismissing any form of divine intervention, as has been discussed (see Section 3.2), renders Odysseus fully accountable for his initiatives and actions.<sup>655</sup> The focus on freedom of choice and autonomous decision-making (προαίρεσις) aligns with Gabalas’ moral philosophy, which emphasizes the importance of action (*praxis*), as will be further explored in the analysis of the *200 Chapters*. For example, Odysseus chooses to navigate closer to Scylla, while his companions decide, after tasting the lotus, not to return to the ship.<sup>656</sup>

Furthermore, Gabalas views Odysseus’ wits as an active disposition to fight against evil forces. In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7.30, 74), Gabalas writes that Odysseus opposes his adversaries prudently (φρονίμως), magnanimously (μεγαλοψύχως), bravely (γενναίως), courageously (ἀνδρείως). The most illustrative example of how Gabalas characterises Odysseus’ disposition is the explanation of *moly* in the Circe episode:

What they pull up [sc. *moly*] directly brings death from its root; otherwise, to those armed with wisdom, it means nothing; he who has taken the antidote and has hidden it within himself will be least affected by Circe’s enchantments but will bravely attempt to go against her for the sake of his friends. He foresees all the following things with his reasoning [sc. Hermes]: how she

<sup>653</sup> *Od.* 5.299: δειλός → A8.875: ἄθλιον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ δύσμορον. Miserable (A8.124, 406, 489, 560, 584, 770, A9.252), the Cyclops, being his eye drilled, is also miserable (A8.203); being distressed (A8.51, 652–53, 828), wretched (A8.988–89); troubled (A8.540); unlucky (A8.22, 355, 388, 403, 406, 523, 596, 716–17, A9.255, 309); fools (A9.69).

<sup>654</sup> Deception and cleverness (A8.143: κατεσοφίζετο, A8.184: σοφίζόμενον, A8.253: Ὀδυσσεύα σοφῶς προειπεῖν), skill (A8.675: τῇ τέχνῃ), strategies and tactics (A8.275–76: πολλὰς βουλὰς ἀνελίξας, καὶ νοῦν νικώσας ἀνθρώπινον χρησάμενος μηχαναῖς), devoid of schemes (A8.790: ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀμηχανία ληφθεὶς, A9.245: ἀμηχανοῦντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα).

<sup>655</sup> The affirmation of human freedom in the *Wanderings of Odysseus* has been outlined by Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysée par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, 471; Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’*Odissea* di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 223.

<sup>656</sup> Scylla (A8.618–19: Ὀδυσσεύα παρὶθύνειν [...] τὴν ναῦν ἔλαττον κακὸν τοῦ μείζονος προτιμῶντα), Lotus-eaters (A8.21–22: οἱ [...] οὐκ ἀναστρέφειν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν προαιροῦνται).

will act, how he will act against her, and how, after meeting her, thanks to some providence [sc. Zeus], he will put his distressed friends in a better situation; and how they will depart from there unharmed, not having suffered from the same misfortunes as before. Having premeditated all of this, he embarks on the journey.<sup>657</sup>

This passage depicts Odysseus as a wise and strategic thinker, able to premeditate and foresee outcomes of future actions, demonstrating courage and selflessness to protect his friends, and employing foresight and strategic thinking to overcome challenges.

### **The *Odyssey* of the Mind: Odysseus' Wanderings as the Soul's Errors**

In line with the Neoplatonic approach that Gabalas embeds in the *Brief Narration* and its universalist message, he presents Odysseus as a paradigm of “every man” (πᾶς ἄνθρωπος).<sup>658</sup> The interpretation of the Sirens and Scylla and Charybdis can be summarized as follows: all existing beings who navigate through the present life (ὁ παρὼν βίος) and the journey of the flesh (τῆς σαρκὸς πλοῦς) are lured by pleasures. Even after escaping their allure, every man must confront the dual challenges of passions and sail through a narrow passage (στενωπός).<sup>659</sup> In this allegorical reading, the shipwrecked Odysseus symbolizes a life derailed by indulgence in pleasures, e.g., when he is portrayed as “the man who has remained shipwrecked in his thoughts and who has foolishly yielded to the terrible Charybdis of fleshly desires”.<sup>660</sup>

In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7.11–12, 43), Gabalas highlights Homer's subtle technique of making Odysseus the protagonist (κεφάλαιον) of the story and of placing the mind (νοῦς) as the ruler (ἡγεμών) of it. This approach is particularly productive in the *Brief Narration*, notably in the episodes of the Lotus-eaters and Circe, where Odysseus is interpreted as an allegory of the mind (νοῦς), that is to say, the ruler of the soul (ἡγεμών τῆς ψυχῆς).<sup>661</sup>

<sup>657</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *The Wanderings of Odysseus* A8.432–38: ὅπερ ἀντικρὺ μὲν ἀνασπῶσι, θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ρίζης ἐπάγει· ἄλλως δὲ τοῦτο σοφισαμένοις οὐδὲν, ὃ δὴ φάρμακον λαβὼν τε καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατακρύψας, ἥκιστα καταπτήσσει πρὸς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης τεχνάσματα, ἀλλὰ θαρρύνωντας ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐγχειρεῖ τῶν φίλων εἵνεκα· προδιαγράφει δ' ἐφεξῆς πάντα τῷ λογισμῷ, οἷα μὲν ἐκεῖνη, οἷα δ' αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτῆς πράξει, καὶ πῶς ταύτῃ ξυμβὰς ὕστερον ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς, κακῶς ἔχοντας τοὺς φίλους εὖ διαθήσει. καὶ ὥς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήμονες ἀπελεύσονται, μὴ ὥς τοπρόσθεν τῶν ἴσων πειραθέντες κακῶν, οὕτω προδιασκεψάμενος, ἐγχειρεῖ τῇ ὁδῷ.

<sup>658</sup> A9.19, 50, 323.

<sup>659</sup> Sirens (A9.219: τοὺς ἐν βίῳ πλέοντας, Scylla and Charybdis (A9.230–31: παρελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ ἀμφοτέρω τὸν εἰς γένεσιν ἦκοντα, A8.179–80: αἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους δεινῶς καταγοητεύουσιν, ὅσοι τὸν παρόντα διαπλέουσι βίον), Charybdis (A9.294: τῆς σαρκὸς διέρχεται τὸν πλοῦν, A9.200: τὸν στενωπὸν ἐκεῖνον, A9.211: τὸν στενωπὸν τουτονὶ τοῦ βίου, A9.292: τὸν στενωπὸν τοῦ βίου τουτονὶ τὸν πικρὸν καὶ βίαιον διέπλει).

<sup>660</sup> A9.284–85: τὸν κατὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ναύαγιον ὑπομεμενηκότα ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ δεινῇ Χαρύβδει τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς προδοδόμενον ἀνοήτως. Cf. A9.283.

<sup>661</sup> Lotus-eaters (A9.22: τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν), Circe (A9.123: τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς, A9.126: νοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος, A9.128: ὁ νοῦς). Cf. A9.25: ὁ λόγος τῆς φύσεως.

Building on the depiction of Odysseus as a wanderer in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas offers, primarily in the *Brief Narration*, an allegorical interpretation of Odysseus as the mind living in error (πλανώμενος).<sup>662</sup> This state of error is interpreted as the mind straying from the rational dignity (λογικὸν ἀξίωμα) or as being led astray or driven away (ἀποπλανηθείς, ἀποφοιτήσας) from ethical and political virtues – such a just, moderate (δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων) and beneficial behaviour (χρηστὸς τρόπος) or way of life (διαίτη), or laws and society (νόμοι καὶ πολιτεία) –; this state of error sometimes leads to embracing an irrational nature (ἄλογος φύσις), autonomy in judgment (γνώμης αὐτονομία), and imprudence (ἀφροσύνη).<sup>663</sup>

The companions, prone to unwise actions or misconduct in various episodes, are interpreted as allegories of the soul's irrational parts (τὰ ἄλογα μέρη) and suffering parts (τὰ παθόντα μέρη), while they also represent both nature's and the soul's thoughts (λογισμοί), faculties or powers (δυνάμεις) and impulses (ὀρμαί).<sup>664</sup> Hence, Odysseus and his companions are interpreted as parts of the soul acting autonomously. One can infer from this that the ship is a metaphor of the soul, a concept that Gabalas – and, broadly speaking, the tradition of mystical allegory of the *Odyssey* – suggests rather than explicitly declares.

### Ethical Portrayal of Narrative Scene and Antagonists

In the *Wanderings of Odysseus* and the *Brief Narration*, Gabalas translates Homeric vocabulary concerning hardship, disaster, evil, pain, danger, misfortune, toil, and pain (δηλήματα, πήματα, ἄλγεα, κήδεα, κακά, κάματος, ἄλγος), as well as Homeric faculties of the soul (μένος), into their Byzantine equivalents (κίνδυνοι, δεινά, συμφοραί, κακά, λύπη, πόνος, κάματος), occasionally retaining the original expressions.<sup>665</sup> This technique is also applied to verbs expressing anguish; μόγησαν, for instance, is turned into δεινὰ πεπόνθασι.<sup>666</sup> Emphasis is placed on the difficulties (δυσχερῆ), magnitude of misfortune (συμφορά), evils (κακά), and bad luck (κακὴ τύχη), as well as on difficult (χαλεπός), painful (ὀδυνηρός), and bitter (πικρός)

<sup>662</sup> For πλάνη in the *Brief Narration*, see Aeolus (A9.75), Cattle of Helios (A9.232), Calypso (A9.303). For πλανώμενος, see A9.10, 58, 85, 103, 113, 135, 187.

<sup>663</sup> A9.23, 50–51, 54, 101–3, 124–25, 127, A9.218–19.

<sup>664</sup> Companions as irrational and suffering parts (A9.30, 153–54), and as thoughts, faculties, and impulses (A9.19–20, 123, 126, 130, 181). For their unwise actions and misconduct, see A8.297–98, 302.

<sup>665</sup> E.g., *Od.* 12.286 → A8.734: κίνδυνοι, *Od.* 7.152 → A8.1026: δεινὰ τινα πάσχει πράγματα, *Od.* 5.362 → A8.896–97: τὰ δεινὰ, *Od.* 7.242 → A8.1038: οἷα δεινὰ πέπονθε, *Od.* 9.12 → A8.1144: συμφορὰς, *Od.* 9.15 → A8.1146: τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀπείρων κακῶν. Cf. A8.22: τοῦτο πῆμα. Misfortune, toil and pain (e.g., *Od.* 7.195–96: μηδὲ τι μεσσηγὺς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθησι → A8.1044: ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα σὺν οὐδενὶ τῷ λυποῦντι, *Od.* 10.143: καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι → A8.363: πόνῳ καὶ λύπῃ, *Od.* 12.279–80: περὶ τοι μένος, οὐδέ τι γυῖα κάμινεις → A8.728–29: περιττὸν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀκάματον).

<sup>666</sup> *Od.* 12.189–90 → A8.670–71, *Od.* 12.259 → A8.716. Cf. A9.238, 316–37.

situations.<sup>667</sup> The following excerpt illustrates how Gabalas gives an ethical portrayal to the narrative scene:

Having spoken thus, he reveals his name and homeland and everything else that he endured both in Troy and after Troy. He recounts the dire situations, the dangers, fears, and the plots against him, both divine and human. Moreover, he speaks of threats from natural elements, from various wild beasts, and of all he saw and heard when he ventured into Hades, of those he met there, both relatives and others from afar. He meticulously goes through all these events, as well as through all the other hardships of his wandering, so great as no other man has ever experienced or will ever experience, unless one were to recount everyone's story.<sup>668</sup>

In this passage, Gabalas depicts Odysseus narrating distressing events while emphasizing the numerous obstacles he faced. This narrative focus is of course inspired by the *Odyssey* itself, though the terminology diverges from the original text, using terms for disasters, dangers, fears, plots, hardships, toils and wandering (δεινά, κίνδυνοι, φόβοι, ἐπιβουλαί, ταλαιπωρία, πλάνη), underscoring the unparalleled sufferings of Odysseus through verbs that denote enduring adversities (ὕφιστάναι, πάσχειν).

Throughout *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas employs a variety of narrative techniques to increase tension and suspense. The persistent nature of pain and suffering is a recurring theme and Gabalas frequently uses climactic structures that hint at the greater hardships ahead: “they were not going to find the following misfortune less than the preceding one”,<sup>669</sup> Odysseus “wept, distressed, not knowing where they were sailing to, nor where they would end their misfortune, and they anticipated the danger they were about to encounter soon”; in the Sirens episode, a momentary relief is quickly overshadowed by the impending threat, as they “were about to turn the respite from the evil from there [sc. Sirens] into an addition of misfortune for the subsequent disasters”.<sup>670</sup> The constant tension dissipates

<sup>667</sup> Difficulties (A9.77), misfortunes (A8.21, 46–47, 306–7, 779, 815, A9.16), evils and bad luck (A8.20, 324, 681, A8.324), difficult, painful and bitter (e.g., A8.320, 563, 654, 719–20).

<sup>668</sup> *Od.* 9.25–13.1 → A8.1149–54: εἰπὼν δ' οὕτω, τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα δηλοῖ καὶ τὰλλα δὴ ὅσα τε ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ὑπέστη, δεινὰ διέξεισι καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ φόβους καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τὰς θείας καὶ ἀνθρωπίνας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐκ στοιχείων καὶ θηρίων παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὅσα ἐν Ἄδου ἰὼν καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἤκουσε, καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖσε ὁμίλησε τῶν καθ' αἷμα καὶ πόρρω ταῦτα τε πάντα λεπτῶς διήει καὶ τὰλλα ὁμοίως ὅσα δὴ πέπονθε τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης καὶ ταλαιπωρίας διήλθεν, ὅσα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἢ πέπονθεν ἢ πείσεται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοὺς πάντας ἂν εἴποι τις.

<sup>669</sup> A8.34: οὐχ ἦττω τὴν ἐφεξῆς συμφορὰν ἔμελλον εὐρεῖν ἢ τὴν φθάσασαν. For other similar expression, see A8.90–91, 415–16.

<sup>670</sup> A8.51–52: ἐκλαιον δ' ὅμως λυπούμενοι οὐκ εἰδότες οἳ πλέουσιν, οὐδ' οὗ λήξουσι τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν προοιμαζόμενοι κίνδυνον ὅπερ μετολίγον περιπεσεῖν ἔμελλον, A8.677–79: ἔμελλον δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνακωχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ προσθήκην συμφορᾶς ποιήσειν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα δεινοῖς. Cf. Circe's prophecies (A8.597–600).

following the storm in Episode 14 of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, where Odysseus finally sees “the ceasing of all evils”. This sense of relief culminates in his arrival at the island of the Phaeacians, where he “no longer considers this to be a wandering, but almost the end of wandering and a rest from long toils”.<sup>671</sup>

In both *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and, to some degree, *The Brief Narration*, the adversaries of Odysseus are described in negative terms, which serve to emphasize Odysseus’ courage and fortitude through an interplay of oppositions. Aeolus is portrayed as “a terrible man, expert in evil arts” and as someone “who speaks and thinks maliciously”; he represents “sorcerers and wizards” and his arts include “witchcraft and enchantments” as well as “wicked arts”.<sup>672</sup> Scylla is characterized as “frantic”;<sup>673</sup> Polyphemus as “the terrifying man”, “cruel”, “avenging”, “like a beast”, “man-killer” and “man-eater”;<sup>674</sup> the Cyclops’ punishment is understood as the retribution for his murder, impiety and drunkenness.<sup>675</sup> The Sirens are portrayed as “charming”; they call Odysseus “by deceptive names” and “try to beguile him”.<sup>676</sup> Circe is also described with a series of negative attributes: “the terrifying woman”, “the worst of the women”, “cunning”, “polluted”, a “changeful woman”, and “a woman of vicious practices”, “who prepares drugs”.<sup>677</sup> Her portrayal is vivid: “There, a certain woman lived, terrible and crafty, skilled in all ways to commit evil with the works of drugs and spells, yet otherwise fair-haired and harmonious in voice. Undoubtedly, this was Circe, notorious for her wickedness”.<sup>678</sup> Circe’s brother, Aeetes, is described as someone “who should be avoided”.<sup>679</sup> Gabalas draws a comparison between Circe and Calypso: “For the woman [sc. Calypso] was indeed terrible, yet fair-haired and musical; she could reignite passions that had withered over time and persuade one to pay close attention to her. Nevertheless, she was not lacking the

<sup>671</sup> Respectively, A8.929–30: λῆξιν τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν, A8.992–93: πλάνην οὐκέτ’ οἶεται ταύτην εἶναι λοιπὸν, πλάνης δὲ λῆξιν μονονουχὶ καὶ πόνων μακρῶν ἀνάπαυσιν.

<sup>672</sup> A9.59: δεινόν τινα καὶ κακότεχνον ἄνδρα, A8.301: κακούργως εἶπον καὶ ἐνόησας, A9.76: γόησιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φαρμακοῖς, A9.77: τερθρεῖαις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς, A9.78: ταῖς κακοτεχνίαις.

<sup>673</sup> A8.619–20: λυσσώδη.

<sup>674</sup> A8.123: ὁ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ, A8.133: τὸν δεινὸν καὶ ἀμείλικτον ἄνθρωπον, A8.160: τὸν ἀλάστορα καὶ θηριότροπον ἄνθρωπον, A8.277: τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, A8.686: ὁ ἀνδροφάγος. See also A9.44: τὸν ἀνδροφάγον.

<sup>675</sup> Cf. also A8.186–87: φόνου καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ μέθης.

<sup>676</sup> A8.600: θελξίνους, A8.668: ἀπατηλοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, A8.672: θέλγειν πειρώμεναι.

<sup>677</sup> A8.551: ἡ δεινὴ γυνή, A8.725: τῆς δεινῆς Κίρκης, A8.444: ἡ κακίστη τῶν γυναικῶν, A8.642: ἡ πανοῦργος, A8.446: τὴν μιὰρὰν, A8.430: τῆς μιὰρᾶς, A9.140–41: τὸ πολύτροπον γύναιον, A8.394: τῆς ἀρρητοποιοῦ γυναικὸς, A8.544: τὴν φαρμακουργὸν.

<sup>678</sup> A8.358–61: ἐνθα γυνὴ τις ὄκει, δεινὴ καὶ κακότεχνος, καὶ πάντ’ ἐπισταμένη πρᾶξαι κακὰ φαρμάκων ἔργοις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς, ἄλλως μέντοι εὐπλόκακος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐναρμόνιος. Κίρκη πάντως αὕτη γε ἦν ἡ τὴν κακίαν ἐπίσημος. Cf. also A9.117: ἡ κακότεχνος γυνή.

<sup>679</sup> *Od.* 10.137: ὀλοόφρονος → A8.361: ἀποτροπαίου.

wicked skill of Circe, not failing to charm bewitch, twist minds and impose unavoidable necessities”.<sup>680</sup> The time spent with Calypso is deemed “the worst fortune”.<sup>681</sup>

### Moral-Psychological Allegory of Odysseus’ Antagonists

In *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Odysseus’ antagonists are sometimes seen as manifestations of evils, disasters, dangers, and, in the case of Scylla and Charybdis, as great, terrible and unbeatable cliffs.<sup>682</sup> These figures are also interpreted allegorically as representing human challenges, struggles and contests, concepts encapsulated in the Greek terms ἀγών and ἄθλον. Embracing life’s challenges is a key philosophical concept in Gabalas’ *200 Chapters*, as we will explore (see Section 4.2). In the Homeric works, Gabalas underscores the notion of enduring conflicts (A8.717–18: οἱ ἀεὶ παρόντες ἀγῶνες) in human existence. He for instance interprets both the Cyclopes and Charybdis as a struggle; Odysseus’ crew unleashing the ox-hide bag of Aeolus’ winds as failure of the struggle; and the impossibility to confront Laodamas as Odysseus lacking the ability to compete in the struggle.<sup>683</sup> Gabalas uses verbs such as to contend or fight against (διαγωνίζεσθαι) and adjectives such as combative (ἐναγώνιος) to describe Odysseus’ resistance against the Lotus-eaters and Charybdis, as his immunity to Calypso’s seduction.<sup>684</sup> In the Vienna version of the *Brief Narration*, Odysseus’ arrival in Scheria is understood as the “reward for the hardships” (A9.331: ἄθλον τῶν πόνων). In the Burney version his efforts are also duly recognized: “He did not receive these things without effort, but with the most noble struggle”.<sup>685</sup>

These struggles and contests are interpreted in two main ethical categories. The first involves allegorical interpretations of the adversaries as pleasure (ἡδονή), desire (ὄρεξις and ἐπιθυμία), wickedness (πονηρία), vice (κακία), and debauchery (ἄσωτία). The Lotus is interpreted as sweet, lowly, strange, and destructive pleasure, and as “low born nourishment of nature”; the Sirens as “seductive and deceitful pleasures” and their song as “the sweetness of

<sup>680</sup> A8.809–12: δεινὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ γυνή καὶ ἄλλως εὐπλόκαμος οὔσα καὶ μουσικὴ, ἔρωτας ἀνάψαι καταμαρανθέντας τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτῇ πεῖσαι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ὅμως οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κίρκην κακοτεχνίας ἐλείπετο, μὴ καταγοητεῦσαι καὶ παρατρέψαι τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεῖναι ἀφύκτους.

<sup>681</sup> A8.818: ἐν τύχῃ πονηροτάτῃ.

<sup>682</sup> Lotus-eaters (A8.35: τοῦτο κακόν), Polyphemus (A8.53 τοῦτο δεινόν), Sirens (A9.168: τὸν κίνδυνον, A9.188: παρακινδυνεύσαι), Scylla and Charybdis (A9.288: τῷ κινδύνῳ, A8.701: μέγα κακόν, A9.187–88: δεινούς τινας καὶ ἀμάχους [...] σκοπέλους, see also A8.121–23, 708–9, A9.287), Boreas (A8.25), the storm (A8.805–06, 915. Cf. also A8.46, 54, 812–13), Circe’s potions (A9.131), Helios’ cows (A9.249–50).

<sup>683</sup> Cyclopes (A9.33: ἄθλον), Charybdis (A9.271: ἄθλον), Aeolus (A9.80–81: τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος ἀποτυχίαν), Laodamas (A8.1083–84: εἰδέναι δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγῶνα τινὰ τῶν κατ’ ἀνδρὰ διαγωνίσασθαι). Cf. A8.2: ἀγών.

<sup>684</sup> For the verb, see A8.212, A9.133–34, 161; for the adjective, see A8.453–55, A9.27–28, 294.

<sup>685</sup> A9.304–26 Burney: οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀπονητὶ ἀπολαβόντα· ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀγῶνι μάλιστα οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ.

pleasure”; Calypso as “base and shameful pleasures” and her cave as “dark caverns of vice”; similarly, Circe as “base and licentious pleasure” and “the pleasure of vice and the desire for lowly matters”; Ogygia, the island of Calypso, as “the base and licentious life”; Aeaea, the island of Circe, as “the mournful and tear-filled land of debauchery”; the boundaries of the Ocean as “the boundaries of vice”; the harbour of the Laestrygonians as “wickedness” and the rock in the land of the Laestrygonians to which Odysseus ties his ship as “wickedness” and “vice”.<sup>686</sup> These interpretations are prefigured in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, for instance, when, in the context of the slaughter of Helios’ cows, Gabalas argues that even a slight pleasure leads to destruction (A8.775–76).

The second category of interpretations views Odysseus’ antagonists as miserable or deceptive behaviours (τρόποι), wild, foreign, inhuman customs (ἥθη), and demons (δαίμονες), often linked to irrational passions (πάθη). The Lotus-eaters are interpreted as “deceptive demons” and “deceptive behaviours”; the Cyclopes as “wild and inhumane customs”; Polyphemus as “some malicious and extremely shameless demon, hostile to nature”; the Laestrygonians as “miserable behaviours” and “foreign customs”; the Cimmerians as “malicious idols and wicked and wild demons” and “sunless and dark works”; Hades as the “complete ignorance of the good and beneficial”, because it is a dark and uninhabitable place; the Sirens as “demons that cultivated music”; Scylla as “the demon [...], the terrible and wild dog”; the suitors of Penelope as “the wicked demons and the passions that previously forced him [sc. Odysseus] to be a slave to base desire”; the Lotus-eaters as “passions”; and, finally, Polyphemus’ cattle as “irrational passions”.<sup>687</sup> Scylla and Charybdis are consistently interpreted as passions: Scylla as the passions of soul or will (παρὰ τῆς γνώμης), such as “pride” (ὕπερηφανία, ἔπαρσις), and her teeth as apostasy or betrayal (ἀποστασία), misanthropy (μισανθρωπία), and love of sin (φιλαμαρτησία); Charybdis as the passions of the body or matter

<sup>686</sup> Lotus-eaters (A9.15: τῆς ἡδονῆς, A9.21: γλυκείας ἡδονῆς, A9.26: φαύλης καὶ ἀήθους ἡδονῆς, A9.31–32: διαφθειρούσης ἡδονῆς, A9.24: νόθον τῆς φύσεως τροφὴν), Sirens (A9.178: θελξίνους καὶ ἀπατηλὰς ἡδονάς, A9.165: τῇ γλυκύτητι τῆς ἡδονῆς; see also A9.176: τὰς ἀπατηλὰς, A8.672–73: τῆς ἡδονῆς), Calypso (A9.323–24: τῶν φαύλων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἡδονῶν, A9.326: σκοτεινῶν τῆς κακίας ἄντρων), Circe (A9.125: τὴν φαύλην καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἡδονήν, A9.148–49: ἡδονῇ κακίας καὶ φαύλων ὀρέξει πραγμάτων, A9.132: τῆς κακίας), Ogygia (A9.326: τῇ φαύλῃ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ ζῳῇ), Aeaea (A9.124: τὴν θρηνώδη καὶ πολὺδακρυν χώραν τῆς ἀσωτίας), boundaries of the Ocean (A9.152 τὰ τῆς κακίας πέρατα), the rock (A9.103: πονηρία, A9.107–8: τῆς κακίας).

<sup>687</sup> Lotus-eaters (A9.28–29: ἀπατηλῶν δαιμόνων, A9.21–22: ἀπατηλῶν τρόπων), Cyclopes (A9.51: ἄγρία τινα καὶ ἀπανθρώπινα ἥθη), Polyphemus (A9.51–52: πονηρὸς τις καὶ ἀναιδέστατος δαίμων, τῇ φύσει πολέμιος), Laestrygonians (A9.104–5: μοχθηρῶν τρόπων, A9.102–3: ἀλλοτρίοις ἥθεσι), Cimmerians (A9.150–51: πονηρά τινα εἶδωλα καὶ σκαιοὶ καὶ ἄγριοι δαίμονες, A9.151–52: διὰ τῶν ἀνηλίων καὶ σκοτεινῶν ἔργων), Hades (A9.149–50: παντελὴ τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ συμφέροντος ἄνοιαν, A9.155: τοῦ σκότους, A9.159: σκοτεινῇ χώρᾳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχούσῃ βιώσιμον), Sirens (A9.172: τὰς μουσουργοὺς δαίμονας), Scylla (A9.214: ὁ [...] δαίμων, ὁ δεινὸς καὶ ἄγριος κύων), the suitors (A9.333–34: τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας καὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ πρότερον αὐτὸν βιαζόμενα τῇ φαύλῃ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καταδουλώσασθαι), Lotus-eaters (A9.20: τοῖς πάθεσι), Polyphemus’ cattle (A9.52: ἄλογα πάθη).

(παρὰ τῆς ὕλης), which lead to perdition, but are considered more base and humble because they entail shame.<sup>688</sup> Gabalas explains the two movements of Charybdis in a marginal scholion to *The Wanderings of Odysseus*: “Expelling and swallowing water are two phenomena occurring to Charybdis. The one, with its root from the bottom, stirs the sea outwardly; the other does the opposite”.<sup>689</sup> In the *Brief Narration*, the expulsion of water is allegorically interpreted as the “violent wave of fleshly passions”, “wicked waves”, “waves of evil” and “shameful desires”, its absorption as “the depth of vice” that confounds men and plunges them into these passions.<sup>690</sup> Expanding on these metaphors, Gabalas interprets the storm that sends the crew back to Aeolus’ island as “the billow of pain”, the waves of the sea and the winds, after passing Charybdis, as “the waves of temptations” and as “the billowy winds of wickedness”.<sup>691</sup>

While Gabalas adopts a contextual approach to interpreting the *Odyssey*, as will be discussed (see Section 3.4), he also delves into etymologies in the *Brief Narration*, linking the Gorgon’s name to the adverb “fiercely” (A9.156: γοργῶς), Aeolus to his “changeable” (αἰόλος) character,<sup>692</sup> and Scylla to the term for a “new-born puppy” (A9.193: σκύλαξ), an etymology that is already present in Homer (*Od.* 12.86–87).

### The Benevolence of Phaeacians and Deification of Odysseus

In a story filled with dangers, opposing forces and pleasures, Odysseus finds allies in several characters, who aid his return to Ithaca. Gabalas presents favorable portrayals of Aeolus, Circe, and Calypso, counterbalancing their negative characterizations. For instance, he notes that “Aeolus was not an enemy of strangers like the Cyclopes, but rather very gentle and

<sup>688</sup> A9.210–21, 228–30, 296–97. Cf. A7.21–22, 27–30. Cf. *Od.* 10.196: χθαμαλὴ κεῖται.

<sup>689</sup> Scholion to A8.796: ἀναρροίβησις καὶ ἀνάβρωξις δύο πάθη κατὰ τὴν Χαρυβδιν γινόμενα. τὸ μὲν, σὺν ῥίζῳ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἕξω κινεῖν τὴν θάλατταν· τὸ δὲ, τοῦναντίον.

<sup>690</sup> Expulsion (A9.296: αἰσχυρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, A9.285: ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς, A9.290: ἐνύγρου τῶν παθῶν φλογὸς, A9.299: σφοδροῦ [...] κλύδωνος τῶν σαρκινῶν παθῶν, A9.285–87: τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν παθῶν τινασσοῦσαι κύματα, A9.288–89: πονηρῶν κυμάτων), absorption (A9.290: βυθὸν κακίας, A9.222–25: πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναρροίβειν πέφυκεν ὁμολογουμένως τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀρμήματα καὶ κυκᾶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, νῦν μὲν ἄνω τὴν φλόγα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ῥυτίζοντα, νῦν δὲ κάτω βάλλοντα καὶ πολλάττα ἐξεργαζόμενα πτώματα ψυχῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωμάτων τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ χειρόνος).

<sup>691</sup> Billows and waves (A9.70: τῷ τῆς λύπης κλυδῶνι, A9.293: τοῖς κύμασι τῶν πειρασμῶν, A9.294–95: τὰ κυμαίνοντα τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα).

<sup>692</sup> A8.289–90: Αἰόλος γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τοῦνομα, A9.59–60: Αἴολον τοῦνομα, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸν τρόπον.



welcoming”.<sup>693</sup> He also acknowledges that Circe “shows compassion” and acts “benevolently”,<sup>694</sup> while Calypso is praised for her “untold beauty”.<sup>695</sup>

Characters such as Nausicaa, Arete, and Penelope are presented in an entirely positive light, as Gabalas’ account highlights their beauty, intelligence, prudence, and wisdom, drawing partly from the *Odyssey*’s original account. For example, Penelope is described as “the best and most beautiful woman”;<sup>696</sup> she represents justice (δικαιοσύνη) and chastity (ἀγνεία).<sup>697</sup> Similarly, Nausicaa’s discretion is emphasized: “Being a virgin, prudent, and considering the suspicions of people, she was afraid that perhaps a bad and uncontrolled rumor might arise about her, with such a man following her”.<sup>698</sup> Regarding Arete, it is said: “And so, Arete gained respect from both their beloved children, Alcinous himself, and indeed from the people, whom she apparently loved like her children, resolving all their disputes with mind and practical intelligence”.<sup>699</sup> Gabalas’ favorable depiction of these characters underscores their virtuous and wise qualities, which contrasts with the negative images of Odysseus’ adversaries.

In the final episodes of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas expands on themes of benevolence and hospitality, brilliance and radiance, as well as gifts and rewards, building upon three Homeric verses describing Arete: “If in her sight you win favour, then there is hope that you will see your own people, and will return to your high-roofed house and to your native land”.<sup>700</sup> He portrays the Phaeacians as “hospitable” people,<sup>701</sup> who offer “a welcome and benevolence” (δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνη), which contrasts sharply with the “inhumanity” shown by the Laestrygonians and the Cyclopes.<sup>702</sup> Alcinous displays “benevolence” (φιλοφροσύνη) towards Odysseus, who is greeted “in a benevolent and philanthropic way”

<sup>693</sup> *Od.* 10.2, Αἴολος Ἰπποτάδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι → A8.279–80: οὐ κακόξενος ὡς ὁ Κύκλωψ, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἡμερος καὶ φιλόξενος. Cf. A9.60: φιλόξενον δ’ ὅμως καὶ ἡμερον.

<sup>694</sup> A8.593: οἰκτισαμένη, A8.479: ὑπ’ εὐνοίας.

<sup>695</sup> A8.983: κάλλει ἀμυθήτῳ.

<sup>696</sup> *Od.* 5.216: περίφρων Πηνελόπεια → A8.849: ἡ καλλίστη τῶν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπη.

<sup>697</sup> A8.822–23: ἔμελεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις συνισχημένῳ, δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀγνείας εἵπερ τι.

<sup>698</sup> A8.995–97: ἃ τε παρθένος οὔσα καὶ σώφρων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποψίας ὑπείδομένη· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ ποτε πονηρά τις καὶ ἀκόλαστος κατ’ αὐτῆς γένηται φήμη, ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου ἐπακολουθοῦντος αὐτῇ.

<sup>699</sup> *Od.* 7.69–74 → A8.1005–07: ἐγένετο δὲ ταύτῃ [scil. Ἀρετῇ] τὸ σέβας ἐκ τε τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς παίδων καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκινόου αὐτοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν λαῶν, οὓς ἄρα κατὰ παῖδας ἐφίλει πάντα νείκη λύων αὐτοῖς ἐκ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως. Cf. *Od.* 7.73–74: νόου [...] τ’ ἐὺ φρονέησι → ἐκ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως.

<sup>700</sup> *Od.* 7.74–76: εἴ κέν τοι κείνη γε φίλα φρονέησ’ ἐνὶ θυμῷ, ἐλπωρὴ τοι ἔπειτα φίλους τ’ ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι οἶκον ἐς ὑπόροφον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. See also the counsel of Peleus to Hector (*Il.* 9.256). Translation taken from Augustus Taber Murray, *Homer. Odyssey, Volume I: Books 1–12* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919).

<sup>701</sup> A8.1192: οἱ φιλόξενοι Φαίακες.

<sup>702</sup> A8.1123–125: τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Φαίακων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, τοιαῦτα ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα εἰς τε δεξιῶσιν καὶ φιλοφροσύνην [...]· πάντως δὲ πολὺ τοῦναντίον κατὰ τὸ βέλτιον ἔχοντος, τῆς τε τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ δὴ τοῦ Κύκλωπος. For the word φιλοφροσύνη, cf. Patrick James, “The Productivity of the Suffix –σύνη from Homer to the Present Day”, in *Studies in Greek Lexicography*, ed. Georgios Giannakis et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 267.

(A8.1049–50: φιλοφρόνως καὶ φιλανθρώπως).<sup>703</sup> At Alcinous’ banquet, Odysseus “receives splendid treatment” (λαμπρῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται), highlighted by the splendid (λαμπρὰ) bed prepared by Nausicaa’s maidens and the “gifts of friendship” (φίλα δῶρα) given by the Phaeacians.<sup>704</sup>

In the *Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas intentionally translated the Homeric idea that Odysseus is godlike (ὁμοίος Θεῷ) into the Platonic notion of assimilating to God (*Theaetetus* 176b) – a concept fundamental to both Neoplatonic and Christian ethics and theology, as will be discussed (see Section 4.2).<sup>705</sup> In the concluding episode, Gabalas portrays Odysseus’ arrival at Scheria as the end of a painful journey that elevates him to a divine status. Gabalas preserves once and translates twice the Homeric epithet for “divine Odysseus” (δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς). The deliberate use of this epithet, especially when Odysseus kneels before Arete and gains Alcinous’ favour, signifies the deification of Odysseus in Gabalas’ interpretation. Odysseus thus becomes “a divine man” (θεῖος ἀνὴρ).<sup>706</sup>

### The Ithaca of the Soul: Odysseus’ Return as Deification of the Mind

Odysseus’ reception by the Phaeacians and his return to Ithaca are interpreted in the *Brief Narration* as allegories of the mind’s restoration of temperance and virtue, as well as the return of the soul to God understood as its ultimate deification. This interpretation ties in with the broader themes of restoration of the original (or rational) dignity, deification and glorification of God, which are further elaborated in the *200 Chapters*. In his analysis of the moral lessons in the episodes of Circe and the Sirens (A9.131–34, 184–85), Gabalas insists on the value of exploring pleasures – but without lingering in them – as a means of gaining understanding and knowledge on the path towards virtue, particularly the virtue of temperance or self-control (σωφροσύνη). Throughout the *Brief Narration*, he discusses different psychological-cognitive processes of the soul. This process starts with recognition of errors (resipiscence), which entails regaining sobriety (ἀνανήψας), remembering (ὑπομνησθεῖς) past suffering, and

<sup>703</sup> *Od.* 7.167–85 → A8.1032–33 πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξάμενος φιλοφροσύνην. A8.1049–50: τὰ [...] ξενισθέντα φιλοφρόνως πάνυ καὶ φιλανθρώπως.

<sup>704</sup> *Od.* 7.338–39: δέμνι’ [...] ῥήγεα καλὰ πορφύρε’ ἐμβαλέειν → A8.1047–48: τῷ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὶ κοσμία μάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ ἐστρώννυτο κοίτη. *Od.* 8.42: ὄφρα ξεῖνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι φιλέωμεν → A8.1064–65: ἐφεξῆς δὲ πολυτελεῖ τινα εὐωχίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξόχων ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις κατασκευάζεται καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά λαμπρῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται, *Od.* 13.41 = A8.1192 φίλα δῶρα. See also *Od.* 8.31: ὥς τὸ πάρος περ → A8.1059–60: ἔθους αὐτοῦ ἀρχαίου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὑπομνήσκει, and Calypso (A8.815–16: καὶ δαψνῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται εἰς ὄγδοον ἔτος).

<sup>705</sup> *Od.* 9.4: θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος → A8.1141: ὁμοίου Θεῷ, *Od.* 6.243: νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε → A8.985: νῦν δ’ ὁμοιον Θεῷ οὐρανίῳ.

<sup>706</sup> *Od.* 7.139, 13.56: δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς → A8.1020–21: ὁ θεῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ, A8.1175: ὁ θεῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

adopting a sound mind (νοῦν ἔμφορνα λαβών) and a reason capable of distinguishing between vice and virtue (ἔμφορων καὶ κριτικὸς λόγος κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς).<sup>707</sup>

Upon recognition follows the phase of restoration, characterized by adopting (ἀναλαμβάνω) wise and prudent thoughts (λογισμοί) and reestablishing (ἀποκαθίστημι) the soul's innate or habitual (οἰκεῖος) state or constitution (κατάστασις), good habit or disposition (ἔξις), customs (ἥθη).<sup>708</sup> These habitual customs and original state of the soul are allegorical readings of Odysseus' ship and companions, particularly in the episodes of the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians.<sup>709</sup> Various elements and methods that safeguard Odysseus, aiding his recovery, are interpreted along the same lines: for instance, the *moly* is interpreted as remedies to oppose pleasure; the fig tree of Scylla's cliff as "divine fear and justice"; the shackle that tied Odysseus to the mast as "the strongest shackle, philosophy"; the wax as "divine words and actions", which made Odysseus and his companions "impregnable" and "insensitive" to the Sirens;<sup>710</sup> Calypso's raft as "the never-ending habit of the good, because it does not naturally produce continuous changes towards the contrary" and as "thoughts for salvation"; and, finally, the plank that supports him until discovery by the Phaeacians as a symbol of "the mind".<sup>711</sup>

The restoration of the proper disposition of the soul can originate from multiples issues such as punishment, as seen with the Cyclopes,<sup>712</sup> or through lamentation and weeping, such as Odysseus' tears, as he longed for Penelope and his homeland while he was with Calypso (*Od.* 5.151–58).<sup>713</sup> At other times, restoration is achieved through a state of tranquility or serenity. Odysseus advises his crew to remain calm (ἡσυχῇ) in the face of temptation, for instance, when he urges them not to consume the cattle of Helios (A8.741); during his calm navigation past Charybdis for a second time, he himself shows dispassion in the face of evil (A9.298: ἀπαθὴς κακοῦ μεμνηκῶς). Similarly, in the Circe episode, the mind, represented by Odysseus, recovers through the power of dispassion (A9.128–29: ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ἀπαθοῦς). The

<sup>707</sup> A9.54, A9.106–7, A9.128–29, A9.157.

<sup>708</sup> Charybdis (A9.288: σωφρονεστέρους ἀναλάβοι λογισμούς), Calypso (σώφρονας καὶ δικαίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς λογισμούς), Cyclopes (A9.56 μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων ἡθῶν ἀποκαταστάς, A9.131: εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀποκαθίστησιν εἶδος).

<sup>709</sup> Habitual feedings as customs (A9.28: τὰς συντρόφους νομάς, A9.28 Burney: οὐκ ἀήθεις νομάς, A9.24, 56: συντρόφων ἡθῶν); constitution of the soul or customs (A9.53: τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει, A9.108–9: τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν κατάστασιν).

<sup>710</sup> *Moly* (A9.129: τάναντία τῆς κλησάσης φάρμακα), the fig tree (A9.290–91: θεῖου φόβου καὶ δικαιοσύνης), the mast (A9.182: ἰσχυροτάτῃ πέδῃ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ), the wax (A9.181: κηρῷ θεῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων), the companions (A9.182: ἀναισθήτους, A9.183: ἀναλώτοις).

<sup>711</sup> The raft (A9.327–28: ἐπὶ σχεδίας δ' ἔτι τῆς ἀτελοῦς ἔξεως τοῦ καλοῦ πορεύεσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεφυκέναι τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀθρόας πρὸς τάναντία γίνεσθαι, A9.329: τοὺς σωστικὸς λογισμούς), the plank of the raft (A8.330: νοῦ).

<sup>712</sup> A9.55. On the contrary, see A9.289.

<sup>713</sup> Weeping (A9.324: οἰμῶζοντα δ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ αἰεὶ γε ἀνακλαιόμενον. Cf. also A8.824–25: συχνῶς ἀνακλαιόμενον τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖους καὶ δακρύων πλήρεις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα).

state of inner peace (ἀπάθεια) is a key concepts to Gabalas' depiction of Odysseus as the progress of the mind towards its deification. These concepts, crucial to the philosophy of Evagrius asceticism, represent the last stage of the *praktike*: the transition from the struggle against sin and passion to the contemplative life. The idea of restoration is reminiscent of the primordial state of humanity before the sin of Adam, a topic Gabalas explored in his *Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve* (see Sections 4.1–4.2). Indeed, he interprets Odysseus' second navigation past Charybdis in religious terms: "He instantly recovers the previously lost holy and more divine life".<sup>714</sup> This episode "persuades, above all, to observe moderation and to be humble".<sup>715</sup> This imagery is integral to the central theme of Odysseus' transformation.

As previously suggested, Gabalas presents Odysseus experiencing a form of deification upon his arrival at the Phaeacians. Expanding on the semantic field of radiance, rewards and benevolence of Phaeacians, Gabalas interprets Odysseus' arrival in Scheria as an allegory of the mind's journey to "the bright and benevolent land of imperturbability", with the hospitality and kindness of Alcinous and Arete as "the radiating gifts of virtue and the benevolence of God".<sup>716</sup> Gabalas thus interprets Alcinous and Arete as an allegory of God and virtue, introducing into his interpretation of the *Odyssey* the notion of deification in life, which he further elaborates in the *200 Chapters*.

The final phase of the soul's journey is marked by a return up (ἐπανέρχομαι, ἐπάνειμι) to familiar habits and dispositions, as exemplified by Odysseus' triumph over Charybdis and Scylla.<sup>717</sup> Similarly, upon ascending from Hades, Odysseus "returns to the first region of the soul, where the judgement of discernment and the light of mind rise and prudent thoughts dance around".<sup>718</sup> Finally, Gabalas offers an allegorical reading of Odysseus' return to Ithaca, now available in the edition of the Vienna version of the *Brief Narration*, as the mind's return to "the true fatherland of the soul".<sup>719</sup> There, Odysseus "returns to the habitual temperance and customs of the soul",<sup>720</sup> with the soul's innate or habitual customs serving as an allegorical explanation for Odysseus' relatives in Ithaca – Laertes, Eurycleia, Argos –, while the virtue of temperance (σωφροσύνη) is a symbol of Penelope. This interpretation of Penelope also appears in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, when Odysseus chooses his wife over Calypso, resists the

<sup>714</sup> A9.291–93: ὃν ἀπώλεσε τὸ πρόσθεν βίον ἱερόν τε καὶ θειότερον [...], ἀναλαμβάνει παραντίκα.

<sup>715</sup> A9.300–1: πείθει δὲ συμμετριάζειν μάλιστα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι.

<sup>716</sup> A9.330–31: τὴν παιδρὰν γῆν καὶ φιλόφρονον τῆς ἀταραξίας, A9.331–32: τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ξένια καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεοῦ φιλοφροσύνην.

<sup>717</sup> A9.228: ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξιν ἐπανελθεῖν.

<sup>718</sup> A9.157–58: ἐπάνεισιν [...] ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῆς ψυχῆς χώραν, ὅπου κρίσις τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ τοῦ νοῦ φῶς ἀνατέλλει καὶ λογισμοὶ περιχορεύουσι σώφρονες.

<sup>719</sup> A9.332: τὴν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. also *Od.* 5.37, 9.533.

<sup>720</sup> A9.325: ἐπὶ τὴν σύντροφον σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθη ἐπανελθεῖν.

Sirens, and decides to wash himself rather than letting other women, the maidens of Nausicaa, do it for him.<sup>721</sup> Through these interpretations, Gabalas enriches the allegorical reading of Odysseus' wanderings as the soul's mystical journey through the material world, a concept rooted in a long tradition of Homeric exegesis, as will be further explored.

### **The Christian Zeus and the Homeric Gods as Natural and Psychological Forces**

In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7.91–96), Gabalas expresses his intention to remove the mythical (τὸ μυθώδες) and polytheistic (πολυθεϊα) elements from the *Odyssey*. This effort serves a moral purpose, as Vianès-Abou Samra noted, but it primarily aims to reconcile the epic with Christian theological principles.<sup>722</sup> To achieve this, Gabalas applies a variety of interpretative techniques.

Gabalas avoids mentioning the names of deities, particularly Zeus and Athena.<sup>723</sup> There are some exceptions in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, where references to Poseidon (A8.143, 261, 264) and Hades (19 times) are frequent, and the *Brief Narration*, where Poseidon is mentioned only once (A9.314), Hermes twice (A9.117, 309), and Hades four times (A9.135, 140, 142, 149). The removal of references to multiple gods (e.g., *Od.* 12.336, 344, 349) is also a general rule, with a few exceptions such as the term “blessed gods” and similar expressions.<sup>724</sup> Another hermeneutical strategy in Gabalas' Homeric works involves the monotheistic rephrasing of polytheist expressions. He reinterprets the multiple gods as a singular divine entity, analogous to the Christian Godhead. For this purpose, he translates the plural “gods” (θεοί) into the singular “God” (Θεός), and into expressions such as “proceeding from God”,<sup>725</sup> “divine will”, or simply “the divine”.<sup>726</sup> Along these lines, Gabalas identifies Zeus, and once

<sup>721</sup> Penelope as moderation (A8.820–28: σωφροσύνης καὶ γυναικὸς, A9.185–86: τὸ δὲ καταμεῖναι ταύταις διὰ βίου θελῆσαι τῶν ἀρίστων ἔργων τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀφρόνως ἐπιλαθόμενον, A8.977: ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλεόν τῆς σωφροσύνης ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας).

<sup>722</sup> Vianès-Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysee par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle)”, 471.

<sup>723</sup> E.g., Zeus (*Od.* 9.358), Zeus and Poseidon (*Od.* 9.411–12), Athena (*passim*).

<sup>724</sup> Blessed and plural gods (A8.262: θεῶν μακάρων, A9.309–11: τοὺς θεοὺς [...] πρὸς τῶν θεῶν).

<sup>725</sup> *Od.* 9.270: αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεοὺς → A8.134–35: αἰδεῖσθαι Θεὸν ἄξιων, and *Od.* 13.45: θεοὶ → A8.1170: θεόθεν, *Od.* 12.61: τάς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσι → A8.607: Πλακτὰς οὕτω πως κεκλημένους θεόθεν. The Nymphs are also subject to monotheistic rephrasing (*Od.* 9.154 → αἴγας [...], θεόθεν ὥσπερ κινηθείσας A8.78).

<sup>726</sup> *Od.* 12.190: θεῶν ἰότητι → A8.671: θεῖα βουλῇ, *Od.* 10.473: θέσφατόν → A8.509: θεῖον βούλημα, *Od.* 7.148: θεοὶ → A8.1024: τὸ θεῖον. Similarly, “not without the aid of God” (*Od.* 6.242: οὐ πάντων ἀέκητι θεῶν → A8.985: οὐκ ἀθεεῖ).

Poseidon, with the Christian Godhead.<sup>727</sup> Similarly, actions against the gods' will or Zeus' decree are interpreted as invoking "divine wrath".<sup>728</sup>

Gabalas often interprets the Homeric gods as mental or psychological forces influencing Odysseus' decisions and behaviour, effectively presenting a psychological allegorical reading of the Homeric gods. Athena represents prudence when she aids Odysseus against the Cyclopes and guides him towards the Phaeacians disguised as a young maiden.<sup>729</sup> Hermes, in the Circe episode, is interpreted as a prophetic word and as a dialogue of Odysseus with himself.<sup>730</sup> Encounters with gods such as Ino-Leucothea, in the episode of the second storm, are interpreted as Odysseus' own decision: he "thought about stripping off his clothes", and he "considered another option".<sup>731</sup> A prime example of psychological interpretation is found in the Circe episode, where Hermes offers *moly* to Odysseus: "a provident thought from the mind came across Odysseus, as he disposed himself always with reason and prudence".<sup>732</sup> This passage encapsulates the triad of Zeus as "mind" (νοῦς), Hermes as "thought" (λογισμός) or "reason" (λόγος), and Athena as "prudence" (φρόνησις). Moreover, Gabalas interprets "the great demon" of the *Odyssey* as a symbol of "a more divine boldness".<sup>733</sup> The reduction of the mythical apparatus and divine intervention renders Odysseus fully accountable for his actions.

When gods oppose Odysseus, Gabalas interprets them as demons, as he did with other adversaries of Odysseus. He portrays Zeus as a "demonic obscurity" and "the demon fighting against him",<sup>734</sup> Poseidon as a "demon of the sea" and "a demonic billow".<sup>735</sup> He emphasizes the fact that Poseidon is the father of Polyphemus by explicitly repeating the god's name (A8.261, 264). The Cyclopes are infamous for their lack of ethics and reverence for the divine: "[Odysseus] said that the Cyclopes have no regard for God [sc. Zeus], as they believe

<sup>727</sup> Zeus (e.g., Ζεύς, Διός, *Od.* 7.164, 9.262, 294, 479, 12.215, 13.51 → Θεός, -οῦ, A8.130, 150, 242, 690, 1032, 1173, *Od.* 12.124-25 → A8.641: θεοκλυτεῖν), Poseidon (*Od.* 5.282 → A8.872: ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες Θεοῦ κινήσαντος συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις).

<sup>728</sup> Zeus' vengeance (*Od.* 9.52: Διὸς αἶσα → A8.14: θεία τις μῆνις; see also *Od.* 5.281-84 → A8.861: μῆνιδος θεηλάτου), and against the gods' will (*Od.* 12.290: θεῶν ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων → A8.735: θεία μῆνιδι).

<sup>729</sup> Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.317 → A8.160: σὺν φρονήσει), Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.19 → A8.1015: σὺν φρονήσει).

<sup>730</sup> Hermes (*Od.* 10.331 → A8.451: μαντικός τις λόγος; *Od.* 10.286-301 → A8.428-29: οὕτω πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὰ εἰκότα διαπορήσας, σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ [cf. *Od.* 10.286 σαώσω] τινα ἐξευρίσκει).

<sup>731</sup> Respectively, *Od.* 5.333-35, 337-45, 461-62 → A8.892: Ὀδυσσεὺς [...] ἱμάτια μὲν ἀποδῦναι διενοεῖτο, *Od.* 5.360: μάλ' ὧδ' ἔρξω → A8.395: ἐτέρῳ λογισμῷ ἐξεκρούετο.

<sup>732</sup> *Od.* 10.277-79 → A8.424-25: προμηθεὺς αὐτῷ λογισμὸς ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ συναντᾷ, ἐπειδὴ λόγῳ ἀεὶ καὶ φρονήσει τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διετίθει.

<sup>733</sup> The great demon (*Od.* 9.381: μέγα δαίμων → A8.194: θάρσους θειοτέρου).

<sup>734</sup> Zeus (*Od.* 10.21 → A8.289-90: δαιμονίας σκαιότητος, *Od.* 9.67 → A8.22-23: ὁ πολεμῶν αὐτῷ δαίμων). Cf. Helios (A8.760: δαίμονι).

<sup>735</sup> Poseidon (A8.562: τοῦ ταύτης δαίμονος, A9.328: κλύδωνι δαιμονίῳ, cf. A9.314: δαίμονι). In the original account, Poseidon emerges as the deity most vehemently opposed to the resolution (*Od.* 12.290). Cf. the analysis by Vianès-Abou Samra, "Les errances d'Ulysse par Matthieu d'Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle)", 472.

themselves to be much better than divine nature [sc. Zeus]; but he himself [sc. Polyphemus] said that not even by divine fear [sc. Zeus' power] would they have regard for Odysseus and his companions".<sup>736</sup> This portrayal of Poseidon, given his antagonism towards Odysseus and the lack of morals of his offspring, including their disregard for hospitality – a virtue championed by Zeus, who is often viewed as the Christian God –, suggest that Gabalas might equate Poseidon with Satan.<sup>737</sup>

In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer*, Gabalas demonstrates familiarity with the natural or physical allegory of the Homeric gods, when he comments that Homer philosophizes about the genesis of the universe, natural phenomena, and the union and separation of elements.<sup>738</sup> Using this type of interpretation in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas allegorizes Zeus as “air” or the “air from above”, as well as a “divine scale”.<sup>739</sup> Gabalas' Homeric works also explore, in part, other types of allegorical readings, such as Zeus, together with Hermes and Hera, as symbols of “providence”.<sup>740</sup> Divine interventions, such as those causing Odysseus' shipwreck, are considered expressions of “bad fortune”.<sup>741</sup> Athena, calming the winds, embodies “divine will”; when she restores Odysseus' physical state, she is “the best art”; in the guise of Demas' daughter, she becomes “fortune” and “necessity”.<sup>742</sup> Regarding the notion of “fate” in the *Odyssey*, Gabalas interprets it as custom and order, while its opposite is impiety.<sup>743</sup> Once he offers a historical interpretation of the “gods” as “the greatest”, that is, the rulers.<sup>744</sup>

Gabalas thus recasts the *Odyssey* within a Christian psychological and theological framework, which emphasizes moral accountability and monotheism over polytheism and mythology. In so doing, he uses hermeneutic methods from a longstanding tradition of Homeric interpretation. Gabalas moreover talks about the pagan gods in *Chapter 183*, considering them as mental distractions of the Hellenes, offering natural and moral-psychological allegorical

<sup>736</sup> *Od.* 9.275–77 → A8.137–40: οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπας ἔλεγε Θεοῦ φροντίζειν, πολὺν κρείττους οἰομένους εἶναι θείας φύσεως· ἀλλ' οὐ δ' αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ἢ αὐτοῦ φείσασθαι ἢ τῶν ἐταίρων διὰ θεῖον τι δέος.

<sup>737</sup> Zeus' hospitality (*Od.* 9.271 → A8.135–36: ὡς Θεὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἱκετῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἔφορος), Odysseus praying for Zeus' hospitality (A8.1012–13: ὅν αὐτῷ δεῖ ξένῳ γε ὄντι καὶ πλανήτῃ ἐπιτυχεῖν).

<sup>738</sup> A7.14–16 Silvano: γένεσιν τοῦ παντός [...καὶ] φυσικούς τινας [...] λόγους· καὶ στοιχείων [...] νῦν μὲν κοινωνίαν, νῦν δ' ἐναντίωσιν φιλοσοφεῖ.

<sup>739</sup> *Od.* 12.405 → A8.781: ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος, *Od.* 12.415 → A8.787: ἀήρ δ' ἄνωθεν βροντήσας, *Od.* 9.142–43 → A8.71–72: θείας ῥοπῆς.

<sup>740</sup> Zeus (*Od.* 12.445 → A8.804: θειοτέρᾳ πάντως προνοία, A9.283: ἐκ θειοτέρας τῆς προνοίας and *Od.* 6.188 → A8.966–67: ἐκ θείας ἄρα προνοίας, A9.325: μόλις δὲ θειοτέρᾳ προνοία), Hermes (A8.436: ἐκ προνοίας τινός, A8.478: ἄλλο τι προνοίας ἄξιον δρᾶ), Hera (*Od.* 12.720 → A8.612: τῇ προνοία).

<sup>741</sup> Bad fortune (*Od.* 5.221: τις ῥαίησι θεῶν → A8.850–51: πονηρᾷ τινι τύχῃ, cf. A8.323–24).

<sup>742</sup> Divine will (*Od.* 5.382–83 → A8.903: θεία βουλῇ), Art and fortune (A8.982: τέχνης ἄριστης, *Od.* 6.2–24 → A8.937–39: τύχῃ τινὶ [...] ἀνάγκης, cf. χρῆ *Od.* 6.27).

<sup>743</sup> Fate (*Od.* 9.352: οὐ κατὰ μοῖραν → A8.178: ἐπεὶ ἀνόσια ἔπραξεν, *Od.* 8.496, 9.245, 12.35: πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν → A8.118: ὡς ἔθους εἶχεν καὶ τάξις ἀπῆται, A8.597: κατὰ τάξιν).

<sup>744</sup> *Od.* 12.117: θεοῖσιν ἀθανάτοισιν → A8.639: τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

interpretations of the Greek gods as representations of passions, demons, and idols, closely aligning with the interpretation found in the Homeric works.

### **Homeric Interpretation and Christian Asceticism: The case of the 200 Chapters**

Gabalas subtly uses vocabulary and ideas from his allegorical readings of the *Odyssey* to convey his ethical-theological program in the *200 Chapters* by likening the monastic life to the wanderings of Odysseus. He employs terms such as διαγωνιζόμενος and references to physical contests (Chapter 48: σωματικοί ἄθλοι) and the battle for temperance (Chapter 11: ἀγὼν τῆς σωφροσύνης) as echoing the allegory of Penelope, as previously noted.

Exploring the topic of introspection for dispassion, Gabalas (Chapter 109) discusses the soul's journey through the material world back to its origin, using the imagery of the wanderer (πλανήτης) and the ceasing (λῆξις) of wandering. He discusses how the soul can be lured or seduced by the pleasures of the passions (ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τῶν παθῶν κατακληθὲν), words that remind one of his interpretation of the Sirens in the *Brief Narration*. Throughout the text, especially in Chapters 188 and 190 concerning the deification of the mind as immaterial heavenly life and as another god on earth, he subtly incorporates the theme of the man living in error (πλανώμενος). Here it is said that the soul is offered to the “demon-pirates for obliteration”, and that only the “study of the divine sayings” can save it, which closely resembles Gabalas’ interpretation of the Sirens as demons and the wax in the ears of the companions as “wax of divine sayings” in the *Brief Narration* (A9.181). Gabalas (Chapter 1) identifies the lower parts of the soul, i.e., anger (θυμός) and desire (ἐπιθυμία), as beasts or irrational animals, echoing the moral-psychological allegory of Odysseus’ antagonists.

The depiction of anger as “hostile to nature” (τῇ φύσει πολέμιος) in Chapter 179 is described in the same terms as his allegorical interpretation of the Cyclops in the *Brief Narration* (A9.52). Gabalas’ observations on the changeable nature of humanity (Chapter 87), asserting that “not even sorcerers” can change it, echo his portrayal of Aeolus as a sorcerer. Within this discussion in Chapter 87, Gabalas directly cites Homer: “Even the poet who spoke of Circe transforming Odysseus’ companions into swine, still said that ‘their minds remained unchanged even as before’ (*Od.* 10.240)”.<sup>745</sup> Gabalas (Chapter 62) focuses on the bridge to enlightenment through discernment and critical spirit (κριτικὸς λόγος), a concept he associates

<sup>745</sup> K.892–93: καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δὲ τὴν Κίρκην ποιήσας εἰς σύας μεταβαλοῦσαν τοὺς ἐταίρους τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως, ὅμως φησὶ νοῦς αὐτοῖς ἔμπεδος ἦν ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν.



with Odysseus' encounter with Circe in *Brief Narration* (A9.129: κριτικὸς λόγος κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς).

Yet, it is his allegorical interpretations of Scylla and Charybdis that prove most relevant to the context of the *200 Chapters*. The depiction of anger as “flame of anger” (θυμοῦ φλόξ) in Chapter 180 mirrors the allegorical interpretation of Charybdis' upward movement as “flame of desire” in the *Brief Narration* (A9.224: ἐπιθυμίας φλόξ). Charybdis' alternating upward and downward motions also find echoes in Chapter 168 on arrogance, where Gabalas describes the fluctuation of desire: “now with desire being filled, now being emptied”.<sup>746</sup> His discussion on arrogance using the terms more deceitful (ὑπουλότερος) and loftier (ὑψηλότερος) in Chapter 169 directly refers to his allegorical reading of Charybdis (A9.212–13: ὑψηλὰ μὲν τὴν κακίαν, ὑπουλά δ' ὅμως καὶ σκοτεινὰ). In Chapter 159, Gabalas draws the analogy between the soul and a maiden, referring to “ferocious” (λυσσώδεις) demons in a manner reminiscent of his description of Scylla (A9.193: λυσσώδη Σκύλλα). He then elaborates that if the soul is left unprotected, without self-control (ἐγκρατεία), it rejects its natural suitors, attracting instead the licentious and disgraceful ones, thus presenting itself more as an adulteress and a madwoman than as a loyal wife or a prudent woman (σώφρονος). In this context, self-control reminds one of Odysseus' virtue; the prudent woman of Penelope; and the licentious suitors of her suitors on Ithaca.

In line with Gabalas' allegorical interpretation of Charybdis and the return to Scheria and Ithaca, the nautical metaphors, which depict the sea and winds as realms of pleasures and passions as opposed to the harbour of imperturbability, are especially productive in the ethical and theological framework of the *200 Chapters*, particularly Chapters 48, 53, 62, 104, 108, and 200. For instance, Gabalas (Chapters 48, 104, and 108) discusses the tempest of passions (ἐκ τῶν παθῶν κλύδων) and the soul's tranquility (τὸ γαλήνιον τῇ ψυχῇ), alongside anger and desire as violent currents (σφοδρότατα ρεύματα), reminiscent of his interpretation of Charybdis.<sup>747</sup> In the chapter on imperturbability (Chapter 48), Gabalas presents the image of navigating life untouched and calm (ἡσύχιος παρελεύσεται), anchored in the soul's imperturbability as in a waveless harbor (ὥς ἐν ἀκυμάντῳ τινὶ λιμένι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξία ἐγκαθορμιζόμενος). Here, the expressions ἡσύχιος παρελεύσεται and ἀταραξία echo Gabalas' interpretations of Charybdis and the Phaeacians, respectively.<sup>748</sup> If reason (Chapter 176), the

<sup>746</sup> K.1711–12: νῦν μὲν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πληρουμένης, νῦν δὲ κενουμένης.

<sup>747</sup> Cf. A9.68: θύελλαν ἐξῆς σφοδροτάτην, A9.240: σὺν λαίλαπι μάλα σφοδρᾷ, A9.299: ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ ἐκείνου κλύδωνος τῶν σαρκινῶν παθῶν, A9.315: σφοδροτέροις πνεύμασιν.

<sup>748</sup> Cf. A9.298: ἡσυχῇ διέρχεται, A9.329–30: ἐπὶ τὴν φαιδρὰν γῆν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τῆς ἀταραξίας.

governing principle, takes control of the irrational passions, it will remain in state of calm (γαλήνη), imperturbability (ἀταραξία), and dispassion (ἀπαθεία). In the final chapter (Chapter 200), Gabalas refers to the radiance (πάντα φαιδρὰ) of mercy, paralleling the benevolence and radiance of the Phaeacians' and Ithaca's land in the *Brief Narration*.

Gabalas employs Homeric motifs – such as the Sirens, Circe, Scylla, and Charybdis – as metaphors for spiritual dangers and ethical challenges, emphasizing introspection, self-control, and the pursuit of divine wisdom as means to navigate the soul's journey through the material world towards deification. Gabalas thus skilfully blends Homeric imagery with the ethical-theological vision of the *200 Chapters*, subtly drawing parallels between the monk's spiritual journey and Odysseus' wanderings. He explores the commonalities between classical literature and Christian ethics, portraying the monastic pursuit as a heroic odyssey and vice versa. This fusion of pagan and Christian thought reveals Gabalas' innovative use of allegory to bridge literary interpretation and spiritual life by applying an ethical approach to all his scholarly endeavours.

#### 4. Tradition of Ethical Interpretation of the *Odyssey*: A Preliminary Approach

Aware of the challenge that a detailed study of all sources conveying the ethical interpretation of the *Odyssey* entails, this section aims to delineate the differences between two traditions of ethical interpretation, which I refer to as non-allegorical and allegorical interpretations.<sup>749</sup> Among the latter, one can distinguish examples of moral-psychological and mystical allegorical interpretations of Neoplatonic Homeric exegetes, along with the extensive use of

<sup>749</sup> The ethical interpretation of the *Odyssey* as a distinct hermeneutical approach has not been fully explored in a monographic study but is often mentioned alongside other types of allegories. For an overview, see Fritz Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der Allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Leipzig: Noske, 1928); Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*; Jean Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes* (Paris: Editions Montaigne, 1958); Robert Lamberton and John Keaney, *Homer's Ancient Readers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Lamberton, "Homeric Allegory and Homeric Rhetoric in Ancient Pedagogy", in *Omero tremila anni dopo*, ed. Franco Montanari (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 185–205; Luc Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Antonios Rengakos, Patrick Finglass, and Bernhard Zimmermann, *More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators. In Honor of Franco Montanari* (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020). On Neoplatonic Homeric interpretation, see Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). On Byzantine Homeric interpretation, see Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*; Browning, "The Byzantines and Homer"; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 137–340; Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia: A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Cambridge, 2005); Valeria Flavia Lovato, *La ricezione di Odisseo e di Omero presso Giovanni Tzetze e Eustazio di Tessalonica* (Lausanne–Turin: University of Turin–Lausanne, 2017); van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*.

nautical metaphors, closely related to Homeric interpretation, in the works of Christian authors, particularly the *Homilies* of Makarios the Egyptian. The primary focus here is to explore how these traditions manifest in Gabalas' *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and *Brief Narration*, which mark the culmination of Homeric interpretation in Byzantine literature.<sup>750</sup> Although Gabalas does not formulate a specific theory of poetry or systematically reflect on his interpretive method, unlike other Byzantine interpreters such as John Tzetzes or Eustathios of Thessalonike, his Homeric works can still be placed within a distinct tradition of Homeric interpretation through an analysis of the specific interpretations and terminology he used.<sup>751</sup>

Many authors, including Gabalas, valued the moral essence of the *Odyssey*, seeing it as a source of wisdom on human existence and one's relationship with God. Gabalas, in *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, clarifies and enhances an inherent ethical and theological message within the *Odyssey* itself, thereby producing here what I will call a non-allegorical ethical portrayal or interpretation of the *Odyssey*.<sup>752</sup> This approach significantly contrasts with the moral-psychological and mystical allegories found in the Neoplatonic and Christian Homeric interpretations, as well as in Gabalas' *Brief Narration*. To illustrate the differences between non-allegorical and allegorical interpretations, we can consider the following examples: interpreting Odysseus as a philosopher represents a non-allegorical interpretation, whereas viewing him as a symbol of the mind – where the character is transformed into a concept, essentially reversing the process of personification – represents an allegorical interpretation; similarly, viewing Odysseus' adversaries as threats or dangers can be views as a non-allegorical ethical portrayal, but interpreting them as allegories of pleasures, passions, demons – or as universal experiences of risk and decision-making – falls into an allegorical interpretation. The allegorical and non-allegorical levels of interpretation, while distinct, are nonetheless deeply intertwined and often difficult to dissociate.

<sup>750</sup> For the concepts of moral-psychological and philosophical-mystical allegorical interpretation applied to Byzantine Homeric interpretation, see van Opstall, "Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher", 269–70.

<sup>751</sup> For an overview of allegory as hermeneutical method in Antiquity, Byzantine culture and beyond, see Jon Whitman, *Allegory, the Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); Jon Whitman, *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Boston: Brill, 2000); Peter Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of Their Texts* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004); Ilaria Ramelli, *Allegoria I: L'età Classica* (Milano: V & P Università, 2004).

<sup>752</sup> Pedro Pablo Fuentes González, "Teles y la interpretatio ethica del personaje mitológico", *Florentina Iliberritana* 3 (1992): 161–81. The concept of "déclassicisme moralisante" applied to Oinaïotes and Galesiotes' metaphrases previously mentioned must probably also be understood in this sense. Cf. Efthymiadis, "Déclassicisme pour édifier? Remarques et réflexions à propos de la métaphrase de l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène"; Browning, "A Fourteenth-Century Version of the Odyssey", 29.

## Non-Allegorical Ethical Interpretation of the *Odyssey*

The *Odyssey* has been recognized as a source of wisdom by numerous ancient thinkers. The Sophists, proponents of the anthropocentric worldview, likely pioneered the ethical interpretation of the *Odyssey*. For instance, Alcidas, according to Aristotle, called the *Odyssey* “a mirror of human life” (*Rhetoric* 1406b.12–13: ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον).<sup>753</sup> Aristotle himself (*Poetics* 1459b9–16) contrasts the *Iliad*’s simplicity and focus on suffering (παθητικόν), with the *Odyssey*’s complexity and emphasis on character (ἠθική).<sup>754</sup> This was a common view in the Komnenian era; Eustathios of Thessalonike, for instance, considers that “the *Odyssey* is richer in character than the *Iliad*, according to the old truth [sc. Aristotle]; that is, it is sweeter and more charming”.<sup>755</sup> This interpretation of the *Odyssey* as rich in character and ethical nuances has been echoed throughout the history of Homeric studies. This perspective is notably present in the works of Gabalas, especially in the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer*.

The representation of the *Odyssey* as an ethical poem is intertwined with the portrayal of Odysseus as a philosopher. In his essay “The Philosophy of the *Odyssey*”, Richard Rutherford argued that the *Odyssey* contrasts positive patterns of hospitality and generosity (Phaeacians and Penelope) with negative ones (like the Cyclopes, Laestrygonians, and suitors). Odysseus undergoes a journey of self-denial, self-control and severity.<sup>756</sup> The depiction of Odysseus’ wanderings as a search for wisdom and self-control has its roots primarily in Socratic Hellenistic philosophies such as Cynicism and Stoicism. Originating with Antisthenes (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.3.7) and Diogenes (Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 8.21–25, 33.58–60, 78.34), this Cynic-Stoic character-based reading of the *Odyssey* and Odysseus was adopted by numerous authors.<sup>757</sup> These include, among others, Strabo (*Geography* 1.1.2, 1.1.10, 1.2.3–6), Maximus of Tyre (*Discourses* 10.7, 11.10, 12.6, 22.1–2), Heraclitus (*Homeric Problems* 54, 70, 72–73), Epictetus, Plutarch (*How to Study Poetry* 23a, 27a–31c), Pseudo-Plutarch (*Life and Poetry of Homer* 2.126–136), Pseudo-Longinus (*On the Sublime* 9.15), Pseudo-Sallust

<sup>753</sup> Mikołaj Domaradzki, “The Sophists and Allegoresis”, *Ancient Philosophy* 35.2 (2015): 247–58.

<sup>754</sup> For Homer in Aristotle, see Jesús Araiza, “El Homero de Aristóteles: dos metáforas sobre el deseo, el placer y la templanza en *Ética nicomáquea* II, 9”, *Nova Tellus* 28.2 (2010): 87–101.

<sup>755</sup> Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Commentary on the Iliad* Preface 41–42 Cullhed: Ἡθικωτέρα δὲ τῆς Ἰλιάδος κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλήθειαν ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀδύσσεια, ὃ ἐστὶν, γλυκυτέρα τε καὶ ἀφελεστέρα. See further bibliography on this passage in van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 36. For ἠθικῶς, see e.g., Eustathios, *Commentary on the Iliad* 3.602.1–3.

<sup>756</sup> Richard Rutherford, “The Philosophy of the *Odyssey*”, *JHS* 106 (1986): 145–62.

<sup>757</sup> Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, 105–11; Luís Gil, “El cinismo y la remodelación de los arquetipos culturales griegos”, *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* 1 (1980): 43–78; Anthony Long, “The Socratic Tradition: Diogenes, Crates and Hellenistic Ethics”, in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, ed. Robert B. Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 28–46.

(*Concerning the Gods and the Universe* 4), Theophylact Simocatta (*Letter* 82), or Leo the Philosopher's epigram *To Himself*.<sup>758</sup>

During the Komnenian period, there was a renewed interest in interpreting Homer for moral purposes. Eustathios of Thessalonike (e.g., *Commentaries on the Odyssey* 1706.33–1710.60) brings the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in line with a Christian moral framework and projected his own didactic agenda onto the poems, presenting lessons he wanted to impart as if they were already in the original work, as Baukje van den Berg has argued.<sup>759</sup> For both Eustathios and Isaac Komnenos, the primary goal of the *Odyssey* is to illustrate the virtue of temperance (σωφροσύνη), an idea that is also evident in Gabalas' interpretation.<sup>760</sup> Gabalas' ethical portrayal of scenes and characters closely mirrors the language of the *Allegories of the Odyssey* by John Tzetzes, especially when he contemplates whether Odysseus represents the ideal of virtue, wisdom and moderation.<sup>761</sup> This terminology is probably also present in the tradition of exegetical scholia to the *Odyssey* and in Byzantine lexicography.<sup>762</sup> While establishing a direct link between Gabalas and the aforementioned texts is challenging, it is evident that by the 14<sup>th</sup>-century, a non-allegorical, ethical reading of the *Odyssey* had a long history and had become a premise widely recognized. *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, which features an ethical portrayal of Odysseus and his deification, as well as of narrative settings, Odysseus' adversaries, and the

<sup>758</sup> See an overview in Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 251–56, 307–22, 365–89, 413–18; Jean Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, 233–34; Silvia Montiglio, *From Villain to Hero. Odysseus in Ancient Thought* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 66–94, 124–32, 146; Lawrence Kim, “The Portrait of Homer in Strabo's Geography”, *Classical Philology* 102.4 (2007): 363–88; Diotima Papadi, “The Educational Role of Poetry: Plutarch Reading Homer”, in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Homer from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity. Brill's Companions to Classical Reception*, ed. Christina-Panagiota Manolea (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022), 288–308. For Leo the Philosopher's epigram, see van Opstall, “Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher”.

<sup>759</sup> van den Berg, “Twelfth-Century Scholars on the Moral Exemplarity of Ancient Poetry”, 116–19; Lovato, “The Wanderer, the Philosopher and the Exegete. Receptions of the *Odyssey* in Twelfth-Century Byzantium”. Cf. also Anthony Kaldellis, “Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium”, in *Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. Charles Barber and David Jenkins (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1–43.

<sup>760</sup> For Eustathios, see van den Berg, “Twelfth-Century Scholars on the Moral Exemplarity of Ancient Poetry”, 116; Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 223, n. 16; Pontani, “Il proemio al commento all'Odissea di Eustazio di Tessalonica”, *Bollettino Dei Classici* 21 (2000): 7, 39. For Isaac, see Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 162.

<sup>761</sup> *Allegories of the Odyssey* 1.168–69: τοῦ συνετοῦ καὶ σώφρονος καὶ ἀρετῶν κανόνος καὶ πάσαις ἄλλαις χάρισι τῶν ἀρετῶν κομῶντος;. For expressions resembling Gabalas' vocabulary, cf. John Tzetzes, *Allegories of the Odyssey* Prolegomena A.56: πλανημάτων, 5.2: συμφοράς, 9.28: τὰ δυσχερῆ θαλάσσης, 9.111: τῇ δυσχερείᾳ [...] θαλάσσης, 10.7: πρὸς τοὺς Λαιστρυγῶνας δὲ ἰκέσθαι πλανωμένους, 10.13: τὸ δυσχερὲς ταυτὶ μὴ πεπονθέναι, 13.111: δεινοπαθεῖ, 24.281: πλάναις Ὀδυσσέως. Cf. also Adam Goldwyn, “John Malalas and the Origins of the Allegorical and Novelistic Traditions in Byzantium”, *Troianalexandrina* 15 (2015): 23–49; Adam Goldwyn, “Theory and Method in Ioannes Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad and Odyssey*”, *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (2017): 141–71.

<sup>762</sup> For Byzantine lexicography, see e.g., Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 152–55, 179–81. For terminology related to dangers in the *scholia vetera*, see van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 159.

Phaeacians, and the deification of Odysseus, stands as a significant testament to this interpretive tradition in the Palaiologan era.

### Ethical θεωρία, Homer's Intentionality and Aristotelian Literary Criticism

In the *Laudatory Prologue to Homer* (A7.8–11, 48–49) and the prefaces of the *Brief Narration*, particularly the more detailed version found in the Burney manuscript, Gabalas briefly reflects on Homer's expression and how his poetry imparts valuable lessons beneath its mythical narratives, emphasizing that Homer thoughtfully and deliberately constructed these elements. Homer's language is versatile, using either excellent maxims (ἄρισται γνῶμαι) that teach ethical wisdom in explicit terms or implicit lessons through games (κατὰ παιδιάν) or myths (μῦθοι). To decipher the myths is the role of the Homeric interpreter. For this reason, in the title of the *Brief Narration*, Gabalas describes his ethical θεωρία as “healing the insanity of the myth”, reflecting a widespread topic in Homeric exegesis.<sup>763</sup> Additionally, Gabalas adopts the notion of poetic license (ποιητική ἐξουσία), which Porphyry (*On the Cave of the Nymphs* 2.4) links to the elements of the epic that might diverge from factual history, and derives from Aristotle's theory of the autonomy of poetry.<sup>764</sup> Within the context of Byzantine Homeric interpretation, both John Tzetzes and Eustathios of Thessalonike acknowledge the concept of poetic license, likely influenced by Aristarchus.<sup>765</sup> The idea that literature can be set apart from other modes of discourse is also present in the works of Theodore Metochites.<sup>766</sup>

In one of his letters, Gabalas writes that some *logoi* are carriers of virtue (ἀρετή) and a higher form of interpretation (θεωρία).<sup>767</sup> The notion of θεωρία recurs throughout Gabalas' oeuvre, employed to describe both the ethical interpretation (A9.1–2: θεωρία ἠθικωτέρα) of

<sup>763</sup> A9.2: τό τοῦ μύθου σαθρόν [...] θεραπεύουσα. For the myth's sanity among the Byzantine Homeric interpreters, see Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 234–236; Prezemysław Marciniak, “The Executioner and His Drugs: Nikephoros Basilakes on Sophocles”, *Listy Filologicke* 144 (2021): 347–64; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 77; van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 47, 52. For the Stoic roots of the image, see Jacob Stern, “Heraclitus the Paradoxographer: Peri Apiston, On Unbelievable Tales”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 133 (2003): 63–64.

<sup>764</sup> On poetic license in ancient literary criticism, see René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 174–84. For the theory of the autonomy of poetry, see Montana, “Poetry and Philology. Some Thoughts on the Theoretical Grounds of Aristarchus' Homeric Scholarship”, in *More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators. In Honor of Franco Montanari*, edited by Antonios Rengakos, Patrick Finglass, and Bernhard Zimmermann, (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter), 165. For Porphyry, Lambertson, *Homer the Theologian*, 122.

<sup>765</sup> Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 127–40, 184, 188, 195, 244–46. See also van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 53; van den Berg, “Twelfth-Century Scholars on the Moral Exemplarity of Ancient Poetry,” 119. Eric Cullhed, *Eustathios of Thessalonike. Parekbolai on Homer's Odyssey 1–2. Proekdosis* (Uppsala: Institutionen för lingvistik och filologi, 2014), 29\*–33\*.

<sup>766</sup> Thomas Conley, “Byzantine Criticism and the Uses of Literature”, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 667–92.

<sup>767</sup> B19.2–3 Reinsch: ἀρετῆς [...] καὶ θεωρίας ὑψηλοτέρας [...] διάκονοι.

the *Brief Narration* and his short unedited Biblical interpretations.<sup>768</sup> Discussing knowledge and opinion, Aristotle (*Posterior Analytics* 89b 7–9) categorized the cognitive faculties into worth of either natural (φυσική) or moral study (ἠθική θεωρία).<sup>769</sup> However, the origins of the interpretive term θεωρία, as utilized by Gabalas, may stem from the Antiochene method of Biblical interpretation, which stands in contrast to the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation.<sup>770</sup> The concept of θεωρία varies in its implications among authors within the Antiochene tradition, initiated by Diodore of Tarsus and subsequently adopted by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrus. Generally, θεωρία seeks a typological understanding of the word (especially when interpreting the Prophets), which is rigorously supported by the literal meaning of the text: “Theoria, [...], would thus serve to detect a real typology within the literal meaning, [...] a meaning that we could call typico-literal”.<sup>771</sup> Similarly, the term θεωρία, as opposed to history, is used to designate the interpretive part of Gregory of Nyssa’s *Life of Moses*. Among Homeric interpreters, the concept of ethical θεωρία is repeatedly used by Eustathios of Thessalonike.<sup>772</sup>

In the philosophical and theological works of Gabalas, in particular *On True Wisdom* A5.71–94 and *Chapter* 131, the concept of contemplation of creation (θεωρία τῆς κτίσεως) is connected to the notion that God endowed man with a purpose, which is to glorify Him.<sup>773</sup> Within Gabalas’ literary and hermeneutical approach, the ethical θεωρία is tied to the intention or purpose of the author beyond his words. Gabalas places significant emphasis on the interpreter’s role in discerning Homer’s will or purpose (βούλησις, σκοπός), thought or

<sup>768</sup> *Best Contemplation from the Book of Exodus* (A19, Burney 114, ff. 90r-91v: Ἀρίστη θεωρία ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἑξοδὸν βίβλου), *Contemplation on the Sinful Woman who Anointed the Lord with Perfume* (A21, ff. 109r-114r (A21: Θεωρία εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἁμαρτωλὸν τὴν ἀλείψασαν τὸν κύριον μύρω), *Most Beautiful Contemplation on the Ark and Noah* (A22, ff. 114r-115v: Καλλίστη θεωρία ἐπὶ τῇ κιβωτῷ καὶ τῷ Νῶε).

<sup>769</sup> See other passages of Aristotle related to the topic in van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 50, n. 161. Within the tradition of Aristotelian commentators, θεωρία designates the introduction to a specific passage of Aristotle, at least from Olympiodorus, Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I*, 26.

<sup>770</sup> For a state of research and θεωρία in Theodore and Theodoret, see Richard Perhai, *Antiochene Theoria in the Writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015). For θεωρία in Didymus the Blind, see Robert Hill, *Didymus the Blind. Commentary on Zechariah* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 15, 18. For a preliminary account, see Paul Ternant, “La Theoria d’Antioche dans le cadre de sens de l’Écriture”, *Biblica* 34.2 (1953): 135–58; Ternant, “La Theoria d’Antioche dans le cadre de sens de l’Écriture II”, *Biblica* 34.3 (1953): 354–83; Jean-Noel Guinot, “Theodoret of Cyrus: Bishop and Exegete”, in *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity*, ed. Paul M. Blowers (Paris: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 163–93.

<sup>771</sup> Original quote in French by Ternant, “La Theoria d’Antioche dans le cadre de sens de l’Écriture”, 143.

<sup>772</sup> For ἠθική θεωρία, see Eustathios, *Comm in Il.* 4.361.24 and 4.369.17. Both passages refer to each other. See also Kolovou, “Homère chez Eustathe de Thessalonique: La traduction des proèmes sur l’Iliade et l’Odyssee”, 108, 114.

<sup>773</sup> For contemporary approaches to the topic, see Polemis, “Κόσμου Θεωρία: Cosmic Vision and Its Significance in the Works of Theodore Metochites and Other Contemporary Intellectuals”.

intention (γνώμη, διάνοια).<sup>774</sup> According to Gabalas, Homer “does not openly reveal his intention”, but rather “conceals his purpose by means of a certain character [Odysseus]”.<sup>775</sup> In expressing his interpretation, Gabalas frequently uses the first person, singular and plural; for instance, in the episodes of Cimmerians and Nekuia, he writes: “Although I disbelieve almost every detail, I am at least right to assume that the whole narration is directed at a purpose”.<sup>776</sup> Despite his use of the first person, Gabalas considers the meaning he reads into the *Odyssey* not to be his own, but that intended by Homer. He thus presents his interpretations as revealing the poem’s intention to convey a deeper (allegorical) meaning.<sup>777</sup>

As previously noted, Gabalas’ approach to interpreting Homer focuses on the poet’s purpose or intention, a concept which is commonly referred to as authorial intention and which has deep roots in literary tradition. Its origins can be traced back to Aristotelian literary criticism, particularly the principle that “one should not look at the word, but at the intention (διάνοιαν) of the lawgiver”.<sup>778</sup> Aristarchus was a key figure in integrating Aristotelian literary criticism into broader editorial and exegetical practices.<sup>779</sup> His practices later influenced the approaches of the tradition of exegetical scholia to the *Odyssey* – which deserves an investigation on its own – as well as in the works of Philo of Alexandria, Plutarch and Porphyry. Philo introduced allegory as a legitimate interpretative technique rooted in the Aristotelian notion of authorial intention; Plutarch’s approach explicitly opposes Stoic allegory (e.g., *How to Study Poetry* 19e–f);<sup>780</sup> and Porphyry fused Aristotelian literary criticism with Plato’s

<sup>774</sup> Title A7 Cesena, Title A7 Vienna, A7. 40–43, 91, A9.122, 147, 210. On the word διάνοια in Plato, see Gregory Nagy, “On the Paraphrase of *Iliad* 1.012–042 in Plato’s *Republic* 3.393d–394a”, in *More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators. In Honor of Franco Montanari*, ed. Antonios Rengakos, Patrick Finglass, and Bernhard Zimmermann (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 318–19.

<sup>775</sup> A7.40–41 Silvano: οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τὴν βούλησιν ἀνομολογεῖ, A7.43 Silvano: τὸν σκοπὸν προσωπεῖω τινὶ συγκαλύπτει. Similarly, Gabalas (*Chapter* 110), discussing Moses and the fountain of Marah, emphasizes the intentionality of the story: “For such things were not laid out without purpose (ἀσκοπῶς), but for the teaching of the Gospel”.

<sup>776</sup> A9.147: ἐγὼ δὲ σχεδὸν τοῖς πᾶσι διαπιστῶν, τὸ ὅλον πρὸς διάνοιαν ἔχειν καλῶς γε ὑπολαμβάνω. For first person constructions, ἐγὼ δὲ (A9.19, 49, 73, 147, 177, 210), ὡς ἐγῶμαι (A9.323), ἡμεῖς δὲ (A9.122), impersonal phrases (A9.101 ἔστι δὲ κἀνθάδε ὑπολαμβάνειν, A9.261, 284 παρέστι δὲ νοεῖν).

<sup>777</sup> A9.73–74: λέγω δ’ ὅμως, ὃ πλέον οἶμαι τὴν ποίησιν βούλεσθαι, A9.177–78: περαιτέρω τι βούλεσθαι, A9.261–62: ἡ ποίησις [...] διδάσκειν βούλεται, A9.323: ὁ νοῦς δ’, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, Ὀδυσσεά βούλεται εἶναι.

<sup>778</sup> *Rhetorics* 1374b11–13: μὴ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νομοθέτου σκοπεῖν. On Aristotle’s literary criticism, see e.g., Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 29–40.

<sup>779</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 42–52; Anna Novokhatko, “Homeric Hermeneutics on the Way from Athens to Alexandria”, in *More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators. In Honor of Franco Montanari*, ed. Antonios Rengakos, Patrick Finglass, and Bernhard Zimmermann (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 102–9. Cf. the diorthotical and exegetical technique of Aristarchus in Fausto Montana, “Poetry and Philology. Some Thoughts on the Theoretical Grounds of Aristarchus’ Homeric Scholarship”, 161–71.

<sup>780</sup> On Philo and Plutarch, see Maren Niehoff, “Literal Methods of Homeric Scholarship in Philo’s Allegorical Commentary”, in *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria*, ed. Maren Niehoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011a), 139, 151; Maren Niehoff, “Philo and Plutarch on Homer”, in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 127–36; Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Katell Berthelot, “Philo and



thought, as will be explored below.<sup>781</sup> Porphyry's Neoplatonic allegory is founded on the aim of resolving literal-historical contradictions in Homeric poetry, such as the non-existence of the nymphs' cave, as a means to uncover the poet's intention. This approach allows for the existence of multiple layers of meaning simultaneously, without any contradiction.<sup>782</sup> Moreover, Neoplatonic allegory proposes a sophisticated interpretation of Homeric myths, viewing them as complex structures of meaning and advocating for a holistic approach to the epic poems.<sup>783</sup>

One can find a similar the notion of authorial intention in Paul's advice that "the letter kills, but the spirit gives life" (2 Corinthians 3:6), leading Christian exegetes to focus on the spirit or purpose of the Holy Scripture. In the context of the Christian interpretation of poetry and Homer, the notion of authorial intention appears, for instance, in Basil of Caesarea's *Address to Young Men* 5.25, where he says that he heard from someone skilled in discerning the poet's intention (ποιητοῦ διάνοιαν), likely Libanius, that Homer's poetry praises virtue.<sup>784</sup> In Byzantine Homeric scholarship, the notion of authorial intention is fundamental in distinguishing, for example, the approach that Cullhed labels as the 'contextualism' of John Tzetzes versus 'autonomous elaborations' of Michael Psellos.<sup>785</sup> The hermeneutical method of Gabalas closely mirrors that of John Tzetzes.

From the perspective of modern hermeneutics, I consider that the distinction between contextualism and autonomous elaborations hinges on two different approaches to the theory of meaning: the propositional and the nominal theories. The propositional theory, seen in the interpretations by John Tzetzes and Manuel Gabalas, emphasizes understanding words within their context, guided by the author's (sc. Homer's) intended meaning (notion of authorial

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the Allegorical Interpretation of Homer in the Platonic Tradition (With an Emphasis on Porphyry's *De Antro Nympharum*)", in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 156–63. Particularly on Plutarch, Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 58–60, 64–65; Concepción Morales Otal and José García López, *Plutarco, Obras Morales y de Costumbres I* (Madrid: Gredos, 2008), 87.

<sup>781</sup> Berthelot, "Philo and the Allegorical Interpretation of Homer in the Platonic Tradition (With an Emphasis on Porphyry's *De Antro Nympharum*)", 164–70; Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria*, 133–51.

<sup>782</sup> Cf. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 426–28; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 115; Nilüfer Akçay, "Allegory as a Way of Thinking in On the Cave of the Nymphs", in *Porphyry's On the Cave of the Nymphs in Its Intellectual Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 17–44.; Naddaf, "La alegoría. Orígenes y desarrollo de la filosofía desde los presocráticos hasta la Ilustración", 55.

<sup>783</sup> Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 83, 187; Michael Edwards, "Scenes from the Later Wanderings of Odysseus", *CQ* 38.2 (1988): 510.

<sup>784</sup> For Libanius' understanding of Homer, see e.g., Ruth Webb, "Between Poetry and Rhetoric: Libanios Use of Homeric Subjects in His Progymnasmata", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 95.2 (2010): 131–52.

<sup>785</sup> On authorial intention in Byzantine allegoresis, see Eric Cullhed, *Eustathios of Thessalonike: Commentary on Homers Odyssey: Volume 1: On Rhapsodies α–β* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2016), 29\*–33\*; van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 49–54, 145–46, 179–80.

intention). Conversely, etymology (semantical approach) focuses on the meanings and the phonetics of words themselves (nominal theory of meaning), drawing on the Stoic principle that a word's meaning directly correlates with its denoted object. This leads Stoic Homeric interpreters to extract allegorical meanings that diverge from Homer's original intent – a technique seen, for example, in Heraclitus' *Homeric Problems* or Cornutus' *Compendium of Greek Theology*.<sup>786</sup> By understanding this distinction, one can distinguish two different types of allegorical interpretations that have a long tradition within Homeric interpretation, which also helps to place Gabalas within the contextual approach to poetry.

### **Platonic Mystical Allegorical Interpretation: From Plato to the Komnenian Era**

The allegories of the 'Odyssey of the Mind' and the 'Ithaca of the Soul' stem from the tradition of Platonic mystical allegory of the *Odyssey*.<sup>787</sup> These concepts are already present in a seminal form in Plato's dialogues and were later developed and solidified into a system of interpretation. As previously discussed, the Palaiologan period saw a renewed interest in the study of Plato and his interpreters, such as Hermias and Proclus, as evidenced by an increase in manuscript copies of these works; Gabalas himself possessed several manuscripts of Plato's dialogues and his exegetes, which evidences his knowledge of this tradition.

Here I will focus specifically on the *Timaeus* and *Phaedo*, as I believe they contain the foundational ideas of what the Neoplatonic tradition of Homeric interpretation, including Gabalas' works, would develop into the allegorical interpretations previously referred to as 'The Odyssey of the Mind' and 'The Ithaca of the Soul'.<sup>788</sup> Gabalas frequently refers to the *Timaeus* in his works. In a *Letter* to Michael Gabras, Gabalas states that he chose his way of life "the perpetual turmoil, incessant commotion and permanent orderless movements, which, according to Plato [*Timaeus* 42d–44d, 53a], took place before everything took shape as a

<sup>786</sup> Cf. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 137–54; Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 32–33, 43–49, 61; Jon Whitman, *Interpretation and Allegory*, 36; George R. Boys-Stones, "The Stoics' Two Types of Allegory", in *Metaphor, Allegory and the Classical Tradition*, ed. George R. Boys-Stones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 189–216; Donald Russell, "The Rhetoric of the Homeric Problems", in *Metaphor, Allegory and the Classical Tradition*, ed. George Boys-Stones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 217–34; Ilaria Ramelli, "The Philosophical Stance of Allegory in Stoicism and Its Reception in Platonism, Pagan and Christian: Origen in Dialogue with the Stoics and Plato", *IJCT* 18.3 (2011): 335–71. The ideas of Boys-Stones have been strongly criticized by Sigmund Méndez, "Los nombres, los poetas y los mitos: La alegoría en los antiguos Estoicos", *Habis* 45 (2014): 45–70.

<sup>787</sup> Similar to mystical allegory is the notion of anthropological exegesis; see Jean Daniélou, "Philo's Exegesis", in *Philo of Alexandria*, trans. James Colbert (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2014), 100.

<sup>788</sup> The topic is also treated in Plato's *Republic* 273d–e, 444b, 602d, *First Alcibiades* 117b, *Laws* 655d, *Epinomis* 982d and *Letter* 7 (350d).

universe” (B1.20–2).<sup>789</sup> In this way, Gabalas draws a parallel between his personal experiences and the ontological discussions in the *Timaeus* concerning the soul’s journey. The *Timaeus* (42d–44d) discusses the soul’s cycles or revolutions (ψυχῆς περιόδους) in the context of the creation of the soul and body. The union of the body to these cycles leads to movement (κίνησιν) and turmoil, moving “with the flowing stream” (μετὰ τοῦ ῥέοντος ὀχετοῦ) and “violently shaking the cycles of the soul” (σφοδρῶς σείουσai τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδους). Plato (*Timaeus* 47b–c, 57d–e) introduces vision and the study of astronomy as ways to harmonize these cycles, along with the idea of rest (στάσις) or equilibrium (ἐν ὁμαλότητι), since movement cannot exist where there is rest.

In the *Phaedo*, according to my interpretation, Plato associates the philosophical foundations of the *Timaeus* concerning the soul’s cycles, turmoil from a stream, and ultimate harmonization with the figure of Odysseus. The dialogue between Socrates and his interlocutors, Cebes and Simmias – students of the Pythagorean philosopher Philolaus of Croton –, is imbued with imagery from the *Odyssey* that relates to the soul’s wanderings.<sup>790</sup> Plato (*Phaedo* 64c, 65a, 67a–d, 83b) discusses the practice of philosophy as an endeavor to distance the soul from the body as much as possible, a detachment from pleasures, passions, and sorrows, which he views as a form of purification. The poetic imagery in the *Phaedo* bears linguistic similarities to Odysseus’ journeys, indicating that episodes of the *Odyssey* underlie the discussion. For instance, Plato (67e–68d) mentions that many philosophers aspired to journey to Hades to reunite with those they missed, possibly alluding to the descent into the underworld by figures such as Orpheus and, notably, Odysseus.

Through the prism of later allegories, one can recognize the image of Odysseus tied to the mast during his encounter with the Sirens, when Plato (82c, 82e, 83a) speaks about the philosophers’ endurance against passions and the soul “being tied” (διαδεδεμένην) to philosophy, stating that “philosophy gently consoles [their] trapped soul and attempts to release it”.<sup>791</sup> Plato’s remark that “the one who is bound can collaborate in his own imprisonment” (82e–83a: αὐτὸς ὁ δεδεμένος συλλήπτωρ εἴη τοῦ δεδέσθαι) is also notably poignant. He observes that the soul (79c–81d), when intertwined with the body, gives in to pleasures and desires, leading it astray (81d: πλανᾶσθαι...πλανῶνται), which is reminiscent of the

<sup>789</sup> B1.20–2 ὁ δὲ κλόνον ἀεὶ καὶ σεισμόν ἄληκτον καὶ συνεχεῖς τινας καὶ πλάνους περιφοράς, οἷας φησὶ Πλάτων γίνεσθαι πρὶν ἢ κόσμον λαβεῖν τόδε τὸ πᾶν. See also *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a.105–6): σεισμός τις ἄληκτος τὰ πάντα δονεῖ. The image also appears in B30.2 and A11.29.11

<sup>790</sup> For the Pythagorean roots of Platonist interpretation, see Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 31–43; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 56–86.

<sup>791</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 83a: ἡ φιλοσοφία ἔχουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρέμα παραμυθεῖται καὶ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ, cf. *Od.* 12:53: εἰ δέ κε λίσσῃαι ἐτάρους λῦσαί τε κελεύῃς.

terminology of Gabalas' interpretation. Once freed from these distractions and errors (79d, 81a), the soul is able to discern the pure, divine, and immortal, and to dwell with the gods, reaching its rightful dwelling (108c: οἴκησις). This idea is akin to Odysseus' arrival in the island of the Phaeacians as interpreted by Gabalas, but seems to be subtly intertwined by Plato as well. To grasp the importance of the *Odyssey* for the *Phaedo*, and to clarify that Plato indeed had Odysseus' story in mind when composing the *Phaedo*, it is crucial to recognize that Plato (84a), via Socrates, explicitly likens Penelope to philosophy, which seeks to free the soul. Additionally, in discussing the harmony of the soul and the distinction between its rational and emotional parts, Plato has Socrates (94d) directly quote the *Odyssey* 20.17–18.

In Gabalas' *Brief Narration*, moreover, the sea is depicted negatively, mirroring Plato's portrayal of the sea as a symbol of corruption and decay (*Phaedo* 110a–e, *Republic* 611b–612a and *Statesman* 272d–273e) and likening the philosophical quest to a perilous sea voyage (*Republic* 453d). As Bonner noted, a storm comes to be a symbol of adversity, billows represent the shocks of misfortune, the tossing of the sea agitation or perplexity, while the harbor may stand for places, persons, conditions that bring to the mind such feelings as the thought of the haven brings to the mariner.<sup>792</sup> The allegorical interpretation of the *Odyssey* as the journey of the soul found in Plato's dialogues was embraced within Hellenistic Jewish allegory by Philo of Alexandria (e.g., Philo, *Heres* 274), likely influenced by Eudorus of Alexandria, a disciple of Antiochus of Ascalon. This allegory was further developed by Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre and the Neopythagorean Cronius, but it finds its fullest expression in the fragmentary works of Numenius of Apamea and within Neoplatonism, particularly from Porphyry onwards through Hermias and Proclus, extending to the Homeric interpreters of the Komnenian period.

Philo, for instance, applies the imagery of the soul's wanderings and its return to a celestial home to Old Testament narratives such as the exodus from Egypt and return of the Israelites to the promised land (*De Confusione Linguarum* 77–78).<sup>793</sup> A Pythagorean narrative connecting celestial music with that of the Sirens and identifying Odysseus as the wandering

<sup>792</sup> Bonner, "Desired Haven", 50.

<sup>793</sup> This interpretation entered Latin literature through Cicero, who knew the works of Antiochus of Ascalon. For Philo's use of Homer, see Berthelot, "Philo and the Allegorical Interpretation of Homer in the Platonic Tradition (With an Emphasis on Porphyry's *De Antro Nymphaeum*)", 169–72; John Dillon, "Philo's Use of Homer", in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Homer from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity*. *Brill's Companions to Classical Reception*, ed. Christina-Panagiotia Manolea (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022), 275–87; Pierre Boyancé, "Echo des exégèses de la mythologie grecque chez Philo", in *Philon d'Alexandrie. Colloque de Lyon*, ed. Roger Arnaldez, Claude Mondésert, and Jean Pouilloux (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1967), 171; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 44–82.

soul is found in Plutarch's works (*Table Talks* 745c–f).<sup>794</sup> Nautical metaphors are also present in Plotinus' writings (*Enneads* 1.6.8.10–20). Porphyry (*Life of Plotinus* 22.25–33) likens Plotinus' triumph over physical constraints to a swift swim to the shore, reminiscent of Odysseus' arrival at Scheria.<sup>795</sup> Porphyry (*On the Cave of the Nymphs* 17–19, 32–35) allegorizes Odysseus' return to Ithaca as the soul's true fatherland, a concept Gabalas also refers to in the *Brief Narration*; besides, Porphyry recalls Numenius' interpretation of Calypso as a symbol of bodily ties, the slaughter of the suitors as a victory over passions, Ithaca as the intelligible world, and Odysseus as the soul descending from heaven into genesis, ultimately returning to a state free from all tumult of the waves and the sea.<sup>796</sup> The concept of restoration to a previous state as we find in Gabalas' Homeric Works may thus have its roots in Porphyry's Homeric interpretation (*On the Cave of the Nymphs* 34.9), who in turn attributes it to Numenius.<sup>797</sup>

Whitman has noted that Odysseus became a hero symbolizing the denial of the flesh, a universal figure – an everyman – whose saga prefigures the soul's return to its true home beyond the material world.<sup>798</sup> Hermias, and especially Proclus, expand upon the mystical allegory of the *Odyssey*. In his *Commentary on Plato's Phaedrus* 258e–259a, Hermias interprets the allure of the Cicadas as a metaphor for being captivated (κατακηλούμενοι) by the Sirens, who represent the demons of the sensory world (ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ [...] δαίμονες) which bring one to forget one's own fatherland (οἰκεία πατρίς) and the ascent to the intellectual

<sup>794</sup> For Plutarch's use of Homer, see Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 63–70; Carine Van Lieffering, "Sirens: From the Deadly Song to the Music of the Spheres. Homeric Readings and Platonic Interpretations", *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 229.4 (2012): 479–501; Niehoff, "Philo and Plutarch on Homer".

<sup>795</sup> Cf. *Enneads* 1.6.8.418 and 5.9.1.20–22. For a discussion of these passages of Plotinus see Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 417; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 83–143; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 74–84; Edwards, "Scenes from the Later Wanderings of Odysseus", 509–11. For specific references to Odysseus in the *Life of Plotinus*, see also Luc Brisson and Jean Pépin, *Porphyry: La vie de Plotin: 1, Travaux préliminaires et index grec complet* (Paris: Vrin, 1982), 395.

<sup>796</sup> On Numenius and Porphyry, see Lamberton, "Numenius, Cronius, and Porphyry on Homer", in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Homer from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity. Brill's Companions to Classical Reception*, ed. Christina-Panagiota Manolea (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022), 390–407; Akçay, "Allegory as a Way of Thinking in On the Cave of the Nymphs"; Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 410–18, 460–66; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 108–33; Edwards, "Scenes from the Later Wanderings of Odysseus"; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 81–86.

<sup>797</sup> Willy Theiler, *Forschungen zum Neuplatonismus* (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1966), 27, 48. See also, Róbert Somos, "Origen and Numenius", *Adamantius* 6 (2000): 68. Similar terminology to Gabalas' is found in Basil of Caesarea, *Oration* 11 (PG 31.637.1–6): "If, in any case, being aided by God, you are able to escape this net, you will return to the cell, but not as the same person; rather, you will be someone neglected and having become ill, being displeased with every deed of virtues, and, after a long time, being able to return to your own state". Εἰ δέ που καὶ βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαδρᾶναι δυνήθῃς τὰ ταύτης δίκτυα, ἐπανήκεις μὲν τῇ κέλλῃ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ αὐτός· πάρετος δέ τις καὶ νενοσηκώς, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν ἔργον τῶν ἀρετῶν δυσάρεστος, πολλῶ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔστιν δυνάμενος.

<sup>798</sup> Whitman, *Interpretation and Allegory*, 79.

realm (εἰς τὸ νοητὸν ἀναγωγή).<sup>799</sup> Hermias attributes this type of interpretation to those who adopted a more theoretical approach (θεωρητικώτερον), likely alluding to Porphyry. Robbert van den Berg has compiled passages from Proclus' commentaries, in which Proclus depicts Odysseus as the soul which, after many wanderings through the sea, image of becoming (*On Cratylus* 158.9: ἡ θάλασσα γενέσεως εἰκόν), finally reaches a life governed by intellect (νοῦς), that is to say, in terms of Proclus, the paternal harbour and the unwavering mystical harbour of the soul (ὁ μυστικὸς ὅρμος τῆς ψυχῆς).<sup>800</sup> Moreover, several passages from book 6 of Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Republic* (1.171.2, 175.15–21) include allegorical readings of the wanderings of Odysseus as “the wandering of life” (πλάνη τῆς ζωῆς) and of the Phaeacians as “blessedness” (εὐδαιμονία).<sup>801</sup>

Gabalas' use of verbs indicating “hinting at” (A9.210: αἰνίττεσθαι and A9.110, 148: ὑπαινίττεσθαι) refers back to the Neoplatonic tradition of Homeric interpretation, although they have a long tradition associated with the *more pythagorico*, and are used by Plato (*Theaetetus* 152c), Philo of Alexandria, Plutarch and the *scholia vetera*.<sup>802</sup> Within the tradition of Homeric interpretation, they are used by Porphyry, notably at the opening of *On the Cave of the*

<sup>799</sup> For the edition of the text, see Carlo Lucarini and Claudio Moreschini, *Hermias Alexandrinus: In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012). For the interpretation of the passage, see also Gary Gabor, “Hermias on Dialectic, the Technē of Rhetoric, and the True Methods of Collection and Division”, in *Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition*, ed. John Finamore and Robert Berchman (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 61–62. Cf. Dirk Baltzly, “Journeys in Plato's Phaedrus: Hermias' Reading of the Walk to Ilissus”, in *Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition*, ed. John Finamore and Robert Berchman (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 7–24.

<sup>800</sup> On the mystical port of the soul, see Robbert van den Berg, “Towards the Paternal Harbour: Proclean Theurgy and the Contemplation of the Forms”, in *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne*, ed. Carlos Steel and Alain-Philippe Segonds (Leuven–Paris, 2000), 439–42. Cf. also Proclus, *On Timaeus* 1.113.30–31 Diehl. For the interpretation of the sea as genesis, see Pépin, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses”; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 221–32; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 578–84; Michele Trizio, “The Waves of Passions and the Stillness of the Sea: Appropriating Neoplatonic Imagery and Concept Formation–Theory in Middle Byzantine Commentaries on Aristotle”, in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed. Sergei Mariev (Boston – Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 69.

<sup>801</sup> Anne Sheppard, *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980); Anne Sheppard, “Proclus as Exegete”, in *Interpreting Proclus. From Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Gersh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 57–78; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 162–232; Lamberton, *Proclus the Successor on Poetics and the Homeric Poems* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012); Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 87–107; Dirk Baltzly, John Finamore, and Graeme Miles, *Proclus. Commentary on Plato's Republic. Essays 1–6*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>802</sup> For the polysemy of the verb αἰνίττεσθαι among ancient scholars, see Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, 225–37. For the Pythagorist roots of the terms, see Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 48–51, 58–60; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 57; Mikołaj Domaradzki, “The Sophists and Allegoresis”, 248. For the use of the verbs in Plato, Plutarch and Philo, see Alberto Bernabé, “Αἰνίγμα ὑ Ἀινίττομαι: Exégesis Alegórica En Platón y Plutarco”, in *Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles*, ed. Aurelio Pérez Jiménez, Rosa María Aguilar, and José García López (Madrid: Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la I.P.S., 1999), 189–200; Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 59; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 48–51. For the use of the verbs in the *scholia vetera*, see e.g., van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 149.

*Nymphs*,<sup>803</sup> as well as by Pseudo-Plutarch's *Life and Poetry of Homer*,<sup>804</sup> and by Sinesius (*Letter* 146.13–15) in his allegorical reading of the Sirens. Proclus frequently uses both αἰνίττεσθαι and ὑπαινίττεσθαι (57 and 1 times, respectively). The same verbs appear often in the works of Michael Psellos (73 and 29 times, respectively) and Eustathios of Thessalonike (154 and 20 times, respectively). They also feature Isaac Komnenos' commentary on the *Iliad*.<sup>805</sup> In contrast, John Tzetzes makes very limited use of these terms (3 and 1); with only a single occurrence in his Homeric works (*Allegories to Iliad* 20.316).

During the Komnenian era, there was a revival of Neoplatonic allegorical interpretations of Homer's epics.<sup>806</sup> Among Byzantine Homeric interpreters, the allegory of the 'Odyssey of the Mind' is known to the friend of Michael Psellos, Niketas, who understood Ithaca as the heavenly Jerusalem – an idea found in the *Homilies* of Makarios the Egyptian, as we will see in this section –, and in Michael Psellos' *Allegory of Circe*.<sup>807</sup> The Neoplatonic symbolism related to the sea was later adopted by Eustratios of Nicea, drawing from Proclus' *On Alcibiades I*. As Trizio has noted, in discussing the state of the embodied soul, Eustratios employs the imagery of the wave (κλύδων) of passions that ensnares the soul, juxtaposing it with the rest, peace, or stillness of the sea to symbolize the soul's absence of bodily passions.<sup>808</sup> This imagery is precisely what is found in Gabalas' Homeric works and *200 Chapters*.

### Christian Mystical Allegorical Interpretation: The Influence of Makarios the Egyptian

The allegorical interpretation of the *Odyssey* in Christian literature has been explored in a select group of authors, including Clement of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Methodius of Olympus, Ps-Dionysius, John Chrysostom and Western Church Fathers.<sup>809</sup> For instance, Clement

<sup>803</sup> Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* (1.1, 3.2, 5.10, 16.17, 18.13, 23.10, 36.5).

<sup>804</sup> Lamberton, "Homeric Allegory and Homeric Rhetoric in Ancient Pedagogy", 202.

<sup>805</sup> Pontani, "The First Byzantine Commentary on the *Iliad*: Isaac Porphyrogenitus and his Scholia in Par. Gr. 2682", *BZ* 99.2 (2006): 593.

<sup>806</sup> Michele Trizio, "The Waves of Passions and the Stillness of the Sea: Appropriating Neoplatonic Imagery and Concept Formation-Theory in Middle Byzantine Commentaries on Aristotle", in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed. Sergei Mariev (Boston–Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 75. For the interpretation of John Italos, see Trizio, "Escaping through the Homeric Gates: John Italos' Neoplatonic Exegesis of *Odyssey* 19.562–568. Between Synesius and Proclus", *Documenti e Studi sulla Tradizione Filosofica Medievale* 24 (2013).

<sup>807</sup> For Niketas and Michael Psellos, see Browning, "Homer in Byzantium", 22–25; Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London: Duckworth, 1983), 149–50; Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 29–41; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 121; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 157.

<sup>808</sup> Trizio, "The Waves of Passions and the Stillness of the Sea: Appropriating Neoplatonic Imagery and Concept Formation-Theory in Middle Byzantine Commentaries on Aristotle".

<sup>809</sup> Pépin, "The Platonic and Christian Ulysses"; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 144–61, 241–48; Piotr Szczur, "Image and Metaphor of the Sea in the Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew by John Chrysostom", *Vox Patrum* 70 (2018): 527–44; Jovana Šijaković, "Christian Allegoresis of the *Odyssey*?", in *Studies and Essays as Charisteria in Honor of Professor Bogoljub Šijaković on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Mikonja

(*Protrepticus* 10.109.1, *Stromateis* 6.11.89.1–3) interprets the journey to Ithaca as the pursuit of true philosophy (ἀληθῆς φιλοσοφία), positioning Odysseus as a paradigm for Christian life.<sup>810</sup>

The present discussion, however, focuses specifically on the use of nautical metaphors in Makarios the Egyptian's *Homilies* and, to a lesser extent, in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*.<sup>811</sup> These texts employ maritime imagery to convey ethical and spiritual teachings, portraying the struggle against sin and vice of the intemperate mind through the metaphor of sailing across a stormy sea, facing shipwrecks, and ultimately seeking a haven of peace or virtue.<sup>812</sup> These metaphors are an expression of what can be termed Christian mystical allegory or mystical allegory in Christian asceticism, acknowledging that Makarios and especially Gregory are two Christian mystics.<sup>813</sup> This tradition shares many similarities with the (Neo)platonic mystical allegorical interpretation of Homeric poems. Whether Makarios had direct knowledge of Homer or his tradition lies beyond the scope of this analysis. Nonetheless, it is evident that his use of nautical metaphors reflects a shared linguistic and a conceptual framework between Makarios and Neoplatonic thinkers such as Porphyry. The key point is that Gabalas depicts the soul's journey in the *Brief Narration* and *200 Chapters* in a way strikingly similar to the nautical metaphors found in Makarios' *Homilies* – worth mentioning, Gabalas had copied Makarios' *Chapters on Spiritual Perfection* into his manuscript Burney 113.

To begin with, it is important to emphasize that underlying the use of nautical metaphors in Makarios' *Homilies* is the notion that matter (whether winds, water, or waves) is evil. Makarios' depiction of the violent winds as wicked powers and spirits – “[man] is agitated by that dreadful wind of sin that blows, and is shaken and stirred, and searched for [...] his thoughts” (*Homily* 2.55–57: κλονεῖται τῷ δεινῷ ἀνέμῳ τῆς ἀμαρτίας πνέοντι, καὶ σείεται καὶ κινεῖται καὶ ἐρευνᾶται [...] τοὺς λογισμοὺς αὐτοῦ) – has points of contact with Gabalas' portrayal of Odysseus facing the “the billowy winds of wickedness” (A9.294–95: τὰ

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Knežević (Belgrade–Podgorica: Gnomon, 2021), 145–67; van Opstall, “Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher”, 262–63.

<sup>810</sup> For references in Clement, see María Consolación Isart, “Ulises en el mundo cristiano del s. II”, *Fortunatae* 6 (1994): 33–39; Šjaković, “Christian Allegoresis of the Odyssey?”, 149–53; Cornelia van der Poll, “Clement of Alexandria's Reception of Homer”, in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Homer from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity. Brill's Companions to Classical Reception*, ed. Christina-Panagiota Manolea (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022), 309–34. See also Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 78–82.

<sup>811</sup> I follow mostly the translation of Makarios by Arthur James Mason, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (New York: Aeterna Press, 2009), and of Gregory by Abraham Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1978).

<sup>812</sup> “Asceticism aims at refinement, not detachment or destruction. Its goal is moderation, not repression”, Chrysostom “The Spiritual Way”, 160, cf. also 152.

<sup>813</sup> Gilles Quispel and Johannes van Oort, “Gregory of Nyssa and Mysticism”, in *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica. Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. Gilles Quispel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 733–38.



κυμαίνοντα τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα) or having his raft, i.e., his thoughts of salvation, shaken (A9.329: κατασειέται τοὺς σωστικούς λογισμούς). This vocabulary recalls the philosophical exploration of turmoil, movement and shaking found in Plato's *Timaeus* (42d–44d), as has been explored (see Section 3.4).<sup>814</sup> Furthermore, Gabalas' description of Odysseus from the second encounter with Charybdis to the welcoming of Phaeacians and his journey back to Ithaca resembles Makarios' depiction (*Homily* 5.251–56, 308–14) of overcoming the temptations of the spirits of wickedness (πειρασμοὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας), experiencing shipwreck (ἐναυάγησαν), being naked (γυμνός), diving into the depth of the waters, and ultimately finding a haven of peace (εἰς λιμένα εἰρήνης).<sup>815</sup>

Makarios (*Homily* 28.20–21, *Homily* 33.3) discusses the theme of mind's distraction – a subject also addressed by Gabalas (Chapter 183) and likens this to a ship without a steersman, adrift and swayed by the waves. Besides, Makarios speaks of the man who is submerged under the bitter sea of vice or plunges into the abyss, pit, or depths of darkness, sea or waves of vice (e.g., *Homily* 16.146: ὑπὸ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῶν κυμάτων τῆς κακίας).<sup>816</sup> Makarios (*Homily* 38.37–40) illustrates the false hope of approaching a peaceful harbour or calm haven only to be thrust back into the ocean's midst by new billows (κλύδωνες). Similarly, Gabalas' interpretation of Odysseus' trials with Aeolus and Charybdis uses imagery of being overwhelmed by “the billow of pain” (A9.70: τῆς λύπης κλύδων) and being carried down “to the depths of vice” (A9.290: εἰς βυθὸν κακίας).<sup>817</sup>

Similar ideas can be found in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*. Gregory portrays Abraham and Sarah (*Life of Moses*, Historia 11) as examples of virtue “for those who wander outside virtue” (τοῖς ἔξω τῆς ἀρετῆς πλανωμένοις). Just as sailors lost at sea use landmarks to find their way, Abraham and Sarah guide “to the harbor of the divine [...] those adrift on the sea of life with a pilotless mind” (πρὸς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ θεοῦ θελήματος [...] τοὺς ἀκυβερνήτω τῇ διανοίᾳ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου θάλασσαν πλανωμένους). Gregory (*Life of Moses*, Historia 13)

<sup>814</sup> For similar images of the winds as wicked powers or spirits in Makarios (*Homilies* 21.4–10, 43.61–62, 129–31).

<sup>815</sup> Cf. *Homily* 43: “at the haven of rest (εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῆς καταπαύσεως, at the perfect world, at the eternal life and pleasure, at the city of saints, at the Celestial Jerusalem, at the Church of the Firstborn”; *Homily* 44.87–88: “the celestial haven of rest” (εἰς τὸν ἐπουράνιον λιμένα τῆς ἀναπαύσεως).

<sup>816</sup> Sunk under the sea of vice (*Homily* 5.272 ὑπὸ τῆς πικρᾶς θαλάσσης τῆς πονηρίας καταβυθίζονται, depths of the sea (*Homily* 15.728–29: εἰς βυθὸν θαλάσσης τῆς κακίας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον τοῦ σκότους; 44.83–84: τὴν πικρὰν θάλασσαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὴν χαλεπὴν ἄβυσσον τῶν πονηρῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ σκότους τῶν παθῶν), pit of darkness (15.736–37: εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ σκότους). Cf. the “sea of darkness” (47.177–78: θάλασσαν τοῦ σκότους), the “darkness of the wicked powers” (9.112: τὸ σκότος τῶν πονηρῶν δυνάμεων). The reason why the sea is the territory of sin is because sea water is not drinkable (44.89).

<sup>817</sup> Aeolus (A9.70–71: τῷ τῆς λύπης κλύδωνι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης διαταραχθέντα, εἰς βυθὸν ἐκπεσεῖν βουλεύεσθαι), Charybdis (A9.289–90: πρὶν δὲ κατασπασθῆναι τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ἐνύγρου τῶν παθῶν φλογὸς καὶ εἰς βυθὸν κακίας ἐνεχθῆναι).

further refers to the “the haven of virtue” (τῆς ἀρετῆς λιμὴν), where sailors anchor their soul “without suffering shipwreck in the depths of vice” (τῷ βυθῷ τῆς κακίας ἐνναυαγήσασαν). Gregory (*Life of Moses*, Theoria 6) further describes life as a river “waving with successive passions” (τὸν τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις πάθεσι κυματούμενον), which “submerges and drowns what is in the stream” (τὸ ἐν τῷ ρείθρῳ γινόμενον ὑποβρύχιον καταδύεται). This description matches Gabalas’ interpretation of Charybdis in the *Brief Narration* (A9.286–87: ὑποβρύχιον τιθέασι τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς κλυδωνιζόμενον).

Beyond Makarios, nautical metaphors permeate the works of different Palaiologan spiritual authors. For example, the hesychast Nikephoros the Monk speaks, in his *Treatise on the Heart’s Custody* (PG 147.945–46), of the harbour of impassibility (ἀπαθείας λίμην) and the delusions or frights spawned by demons (πλάνη ἢ πτόησις ἐκ δαιμόνων). The spiritual guide of Gabalas, Theoleptos of Philadelphia (*Antiarsenite Discourse* 2.381–83), uses nautical metaphors to denounce the errors of the Arsenites as “waves of heretical innovations” (τῆς καινοτομίας κύματα), while Gabalas himself in July 1347 uses the storm metaphor to describe the disruptive currents of Palamism as a mighty tempest stirred by the spirits of Satan, upheaving everything into a violent storm (*Tome of the Opponents* 128–30: σφοδρά τις ἀντιπνέει λαίλαψ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ πνευμάτων ἐμφυσηθεῖσα, καὶ πάντ’ ἀνατρέπει, καὶ μετατίθῃσιν εἰς κλύδωνα χαλεπόν). Maritime imagery transcended the limits of the literary and ethical dimension to be immersed among two of the most important doctrinal debates within the Orthodox Church in the Palaiologan period, such as the Arsenite conflict and the Palamite controversy.

Makarios the Egyptian used on nautical metaphors to symbolize the spiritual journey towards virtue. These metaphors bridge Christian and Neoplatonic thought, showcasing a shared conceptual framework. The imagery and lexicon of Gabalas’ *Brief Narration* and *200 Chapters* matches that of Gregory of Nyssa’s *Life of Moses* and, especially, Makarios’ *Homilies*. The analysis extends to other Palaiologan authors, such as Theoleptos, showing a broader tradition of using maritime imagery to discuss spiritual guidance, the fight against sin, and contemporary doctrinal debates, in which Gabalas was actively involved.

### **Sources of the Moral-Psychological Allegory of Odysseus’ Antagonists**

This section focuses on Gabalas’ interpretation of Odysseus’ adversaries, particularly the Sirens, Circe, Scylla and Charybdis, as pleasures and evil forces, producing a moral-psychological allegory. According to the critical apparatus of the *Brief Narration*, the

terminology related to pleasures and the faculties of the soul derives from the explanation of tripartite nature of the soul through the allegory of the chariot in Plato's *Phaedrus* (245c–254e), as well as from discussions on the nature of pleasure and pain in *Philebus*, and various passages from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1104a, 1110b, 1151b, 1177a).

In analyzing Gabalas' interpretation of the Sirens, we need to focus on the use of specific terms such “sailing by” (A9.165: παραπλέω) or “sailing past” (A9.180: παρεξελάυνειν), as well as on the interpretation of the shackles as philosophy (A9.182) and the Sirens as “charming and deceitful pleasures” (A9.173 τὰς θελξίνους καὶ ἀπατηλὰς ἡδονάς), who “beguile” (A9.179: καταγοητεύουσιν) everyone with “pleasant” song (A9.179: προσηνεῖ).<sup>818</sup> The term παραπλέω – in connection to the Sirens – has its origins in Plato (*Phaedrus* 259a) and is later found in the context of the Homeric interpretation of scholars such as Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 12.4.1), Dio Chrysostom (*Oration* 33.41.7–11), Procopius of Gaza (*Letter* 92.15–19), Hermias (*On Phaedrus* 259a) and Proclus (*On Cratylus* 158).<sup>819</sup> Next, the interpretation of the Sirens' as pleasures derives from their interpretation as deadly song. This idea is rooted in Pythagorean philosophy and was further developed in Plato's dialogues, particularly regarding themes of seduction and pleasure, as seen in *Republic* 617b (Sirens as celestial music) and *Phaedrus* 259a (myth of the Cicadas).<sup>820</sup> Gabalas' interpretation of the Sirens closely resembles some passages of the writings of Theophylact Simocatta (*Letter* 82) and Synesius (*Letter* 146.13–15), whose letter collection Gabalas transcribed in his personal manuscript (Par. Gr. 2022). Synesius describes the Sirens as “pleasures to enjoy, which destroy those who have yielded to them and have been captivated by their charm, soon afterwards”.<sup>821</sup> This description, especially the use of the verb

<sup>818</sup> On the reception of the Sirens in literature and art, see, e.g., Erich Kaiser, “Odyssee-Szenen Als Topoi”, *Museum Helveticum* 21 (1964): 109–36; Sabine Wedner, *Tradition und Wandel im allegorischen Verständnis des Sirenenmythos: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Homers* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994); Van Lieffering, “Sirens: From the Deadly Song to the Music of the Spheres. Homeric Readings and Platonic Interpretations”; Paolo Cesaretti, “The Echo of the Sirens: Allegorical Interpretation and Literary Deployment from Eustathios to Niketas Choniates”, in *ΜΥΘΟΠΛΑΣΙΕΣ: Χρήση και πρόσληψη των αρχαίων μύθων από την αρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα*, ed. Stéphanos Efthymiadis and Antonis Petridis (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ίων, 2015), 251–77; Baukje van den Berg, “The Wise Homer and His Erudite Commentator: Eustathios' Imagery in the Proem of the Parekbolai on the Iliad”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 41.1 (2017): 32; Lovato, “The Wanderer, the Philosopher and the Exegete. Receptions of the Odyssey in Twelfth-Century Byzantium”, 222–23; van Opstall, “Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher”, 275–79.

<sup>819</sup> For Clement, Hermias and Proclus, see Pépin, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses”, 15.

<sup>820</sup> Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 384; Pépin, “The Platonic and Christian Ulysses”, 4; Montiglio, *From Villain to Hero*, 133–36, 140–46. See also Katell Berthelot, “Philo and the Allegorical Interpretation of Homer in the Platonic Tradition (With an Emphasis on Porphyry's De Antro Nympharum)”, in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 163.

<sup>821</sup> Synesius, *Letter* 146.13–15 Garzya: τὰς ἀπολαυστικὰς ἡδονάς, αἱ τοὺς εἰζαντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας αὐτῶν τῷ προσηνεῖ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολλύουσι. On this interpretation, see Herbert Hunger, “On the Imitation (MIMESIS)

καταγοητευθέντας and the adjective προσηνεῖ, is later reproduced in Gabalas' *Brief Narration*. Ethical allegorical readings of the Sirens were common in Byzantine Homeric scholars such as John Tzetzes: "For some say that the Sirens were rocks, smooth and forming a song with the waves; Plutarch the Younger says they were prostitutes; but all others say they were pleasures that defeated men, unless they stop their companions' ears with wax, that is to say close the five senses against them, and elevate their mind".<sup>822</sup> Furthermore, Gabalas' allegorical reading of the "shackles" (πέδη) as philosophy echoes a similar notion of Odysseus' "bonds" (δεσμοί) as philosophy found, for instance, in the works of Theophylact Symocatta (*Letter* 82) and Eustathios of Thessalonike.<sup>823</sup>

Gabalas' interpretation of Circe as pleasure and Odysseus as opposing it with critical reasoning in the *Brief Narration* has its roots in the philosophy of the Cynic Diogenes.<sup>824</sup> This interpretation is also found in Heraclitus (*Homeric Problems* 72) and is further developed by later Homeric exegetes such as Michael Psellos (*Oration* 33.18 Boissonade) and Eustathios of Thessalonike.<sup>825</sup> Furthermore, Gabalas emphasizes the idea of transformation (ἐξαλλάττονται) into an irrational nature (ἄλογον φύσιν) and the alteration of the forms of reason.<sup>826</sup> One can argue that this interpretation is connected with Plato's *Timaeus*, which suggests that individuals not living in accordance with justice would degrade into the nature of beasts, subjected to change and suffering until they overcome such a state through reason and return to a superior form of existence.<sup>827</sup> A similar analogy is offered by Gregory of Nyssa, who compares life's deceit to a bewitchment from Circe's cup that removes men from their innate state and transforms them into irrational beasts.<sup>828</sup> Modern scholars have hesitated to attribute a specific

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of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *BOP* 23/24 (1969–1970): 29; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 139–40. Cf. also Procopius of Gaza, *Letters* 57.5–7 and 110.4.

<sup>822</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades* (1.14.344–50 Leone): Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πέτρας λέγουσιν εἶναι που σειρηνίδας, εὐτρήτους καὶ τοῖς κύμασιν ᾧδὴν ἀποτελούσας· Πλούταρχος δ' ὁ νεώτερος πόρνας ἐκείνας λέγει· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἡδονὰς νικώσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅσοι μὴ φράζουσι κηρῷ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὧτα, ἡγουν τὰς πέντε κλείσουσιν αἰσθήσεις πρὸς ἐκείνας, νοῦν τε μετεωρίσουσιν.

<sup>823</sup> Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 381–83; Kaiser, "Odyssee–Szenen Als Topoi", 134; Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 225, 380. For other ethical allegories in Eustathios' Homeric works, see van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 52.

<sup>824</sup> Dion of Prusa, *Oration* 8.20–21. See Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 158.

<sup>825</sup> For an overview of the moral-psychological allegory of Circe in Byzantine context, see van Opstall, "Balancing on the Tightrope of Paganism: Leo the Philosopher", 270–74; Greta Hawes, "Circean Enchantments and the Transformations of Allegory", in *A Handbook to the Reception of Classical Philology*, ed. Vanda Zajko and Helena Hoyle (Hoboken NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 123–38.

<sup>826</sup> A9.127: εἰς τὴν ἄλογον ἐξαλλάττονται φύσιν, A9.116: εἰς σῶας τὴν Κίρκην μεταβαλεῖν, A9.124–25: τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλοιοῦσαν τοῦ λογικοῦ ἀξιώματος.

<sup>827</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 42c–d: εἰς τινα τοιαύτην αἰετ μεταβαλοῖ θήρειον [...] ἀλλάττων τε οὐ πρότερον πόνων λήξει [...] λόγῳ κρατήσας εἰς τὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀρίστης ἀφίκοιτο εἶδος ἔξωτος.

<sup>828</sup> *Life of Moses* 316: εἰς ἀλόγων μορφὰς μεταπλάττονται. Cf. Michael Psellos, *Oration* 33.21 Boissonade.

source to the portrayal of the island of Aeaëa as a realm of evil.<sup>829</sup> However, Gabalas' interpretation can be linked to Pseudo Plutarch's *Life of Homer* (Chapter 126), which explains the transformation of Odysseus' crew into pigs as symbolizing the souls of unwise men transitioning into bestial bodies, and the island of Aeaëa as a noun evoking cries of sorrow (αἰάζειν).

Philo (*De Fuga* 61) presents the earliest surviving allegorical interpretation of Scylla as embodying impiety or moral vice.<sup>830</sup> Similarly, Heraclitus (Homeric Problems 70) depicts Charybdis as unrestrained excess, while Scylla represents shamelessness, manifesting itself in various forms, while her teeth represent greed (ἀρπαγή), boldness (τόλμη), and vainglory (πλεονεξία).<sup>831</sup> Evagrius Pontinus (*On the Vices opposed to Virtues* 7) describes vainglory (κενοδοξία) and pride (ὑπερηφανία) as “a beast of many teeth; the mean of vainglory is entwined with pride and jealousy, [...] the three-strand chain of vices, the threefold poisonous mixture of passions, the threefold tongue of heretics”, which is later echoed in Gabalas' interpretation of Scylla and her teeth as pride in the *Brief Narration* (A9.213, 296–300) and in his discussion on the types of sins in Chapter 148.<sup>832</sup>

It has been previously explored how Gabalas interpretes Homer's antagonists as challenges. Although the terms ἀγών and ἄθλον (or ἄεθλον) recur throughout Homer's work, the poet never uses them to refer specifically to Odysseus' adversaries. In his *Letter to Irene-Eulogia* (B44.22–44), Gabalas provides an exhaustive description of the ascetic contest, framing the agon as both practical and mental experiences in which the monk repels evil, having learned to distinguish truth from deception. The agonistic metaphor finds its roots in the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, which portrayed life's journey as a soul's battle for virtue. Within the Christian context, the agonistic metaphor derives from the interpretations of Eleazar's mother in the Books of Maccabees, and most notably, by Paul's 2 Timothy 2:5, as Ziadé and Strasser have discussed.<sup>833</sup> The broad and narrow paths (Matthew 7:13–14) adds to this imagery another nuance. It is John Chrysostom who incorporated the concept of ἀγών and ἄθλησις into Christian

<sup>829</sup> Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 271; Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, 221, n. 14.

<sup>830</sup> Niehoff, “Philo and Plutarch on Homer”, 134–35.

<sup>831</sup> Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 381.

<sup>832</sup> *On the Vices opposed to Virtues* 7: μυριόδοντον θηρίον, κενοδοξίας μέση ὑπερηφανία πέπλεκται καὶ φθόνος, ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὄντα, καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων πολεμοῦντα, ἡ τρίσυρος ἄλυσις τῶν κακῶν, τὸ τριφάρμακον κέρασμα τῶν παθῶν, ἡ τριττὴ γλῶττα τῶν αἰρετικῶν. Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 237. On vainglory, cf. also Evagrius (*On Thoughts* 14).

<sup>833</sup> For the image of the Mother of Eleazar, see Raphaëlle Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées: de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien: les Homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 256–88. For Paul, see Jean-Yves Strasser, “Une expression agonistique chez Saint Paul et dans trois inscriptions anatoliennes”, *REG* 2.129 (2016): 396–97.

life, portraying the believer as one who is engaged in a contest (ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος). This is precisely what we find in the *Brief Narration*. Furthermore, the expression ἄθλον τῶν πόνων (A9.331) echoes similar phrases found in John Chrysostom's *On Letter to Romans* 60.545.14 and other writings. The agonistic metaphor is a recurring theme in Byzantine ascetic tradition, found in the *Homilies* of Makarios the Egyptian and in the Evagrian corpus, who urged monks to adopt an agonistic stance towards their thoughts or *logismoi*.<sup>834</sup> In Christian context, the interpretation of Odysseus' adversaries as challenges and struggles is present in authors like Gregory of Nazianzos and Libanius, who speak of the numerous trials (πόλλ' ἀθλήματα) and steadfast challenges (ἄθλοι καρτερικοί) faced by Odysseus.<sup>835</sup>

### The Tradition of Psychological Allegorical Interpretation of Homeric Gods

Determining the precise origins of Gabalas' interpretations of the gods is challenging due to the extensive and varied tradition often linked to the Homeric scholia.<sup>836</sup> My goal is instead to position Gabalas' interpretations within the broader hermeneutical practices of Byzantine Homeric scholarship. For example, Gabalas interprets the multiplicity of gods as manifestations of a single divinity, aligning them with the Christian God. This approach echoes the theological perspective of Philo of Alexandria and is evident in Byzantine scholarship, notably in the Homeric works of Isaac Komnenos and Eustathios of Thessalonike.<sup>837</sup>

At the beginning of this section, it has been argued that Gabalas interprets the Homeric works through contextualism, a concept grounded in the propositional theory of meaning and the Aristotelian notion of authorial intention. This method places him in line with the contextualist approach of Byzantine Homeric scholars such as Eustathios of Thessalonike and, above all, John Tzetzes, whereas it sets him apart from Michael Psellos' more autonomous

<sup>834</sup> For the agonistic metaphor in Makarios, see *Homilies* 5.338–41, 10.66–67, 15.758–59, 26.127–28, 26.146–49, 28.334–36, 43.117–128. For the narrow way in Makarios, see *Homilies* 12.48–49, 66–67, 26.149. For Evagrius, see Robert E. Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus*, XXIV, 21, 28, 136–39, 236.

<sup>835</sup> Gregory of Nazianzos (*Moral Poems* 709.7): Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ σοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκφυγῶν, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ τὰ πόλλ' ἀθλήματα, Ὀφθεῖς ἀλήτης τῇ βασιλίδι γυμνός. Libanius, *Progymnasma* 4.2.1.4: τοὺς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἄθλους καρτερικοὺς φαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

<sup>836</sup> There has not been a systematic investigation related to the interpretation of Homeric gods as such; rather, they have been treated as part of various interpretative traditions, e.g., in the book of Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*. Cf. Jenny Strauss Clay, *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Jim Marks, *Zeus in the Odyssey* (Cambridge–Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008); Richard Hunter, *The Measure of Homer: The Ancient Reception of the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 42–91.

<sup>837</sup> For Philo, Maren Niehoff, "Philo and Plutarch on Homer", in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 130–31. For Isaac Komnenos, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I: Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie*, 51. For Eustathios, see Cullhed, *Eustathios of Thessalonike*, 44–45\*. Cf. Jovana Šijaković, "Christian Allegoresis of the Odyssey?", 162, n. 75.

elaborations.<sup>838</sup> Unlike Tzetzes or Eustathios, Gabalas does not explicitly discuss his hermeneutical method, yet the diversity in his readings of the Homeric gods indicates a deep understanding of different hermeneutical strategies.<sup>839</sup> These include, as previously noted, interpreting Zeus as a symbol of providence and gods as natural elements and as mental or psychological forces. This approach has points of contact with Tzetzes' five types of interpretations of the word 'god' (θεός), which encompass their representation as kings, wise men, fate, natural elements, and psychological forces.<sup>840</sup> By Tzetzes' era, viewing gods as embodiments of psychological forces (ψυχικαὶ δυνάμεις), such as prudence, wisdom, friendship, skill, counsel, mind, good fortune, discursive thought and reasoning, had become a mainstream interpretive strategy.<sup>841</sup> This includes envisioning Zeus as mind (νοῦς) and reasoning (λογισμός),<sup>842</sup> and Athena as the embodiment of prudence (φρόνησις), referred to by Tzetzes as "the child of mind and reason [sc. Zeus]".<sup>843</sup> The contextual approach of Tzetzes does not preclude him from also employing etymologies, for instance, to depict Zeus as a life-giving spirit (πνεῦμα ζωογόνον).<sup>844</sup> This kind of interpretation is precisely what we find in the Homeric works of Gabalas.

By contrast, Gabalas' hermeneutical approach diverges from Michael Psellos, who leaned on etymology (phonetical similarities) to portray Zeus (Ζεύς, Διός) as "cause" (αἰτία), way "through" (διὰ), "source of life" (ζωήρρυτος). In his *Allegory to Iliad 4.1–4*, Psellos further associates Zeus with "life" (ζωή) – an association that can be traced back to Plato (*Cratylus*

<sup>838</sup> On the contextual method of interpretation, see again Cullhed, *Eustathios of Thessalonike*, 29\*–33\*.

<sup>839</sup> On the interpretation of Homeric gods by interpreters from the Komnenian period, see van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 142–79 and Agni Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *Ἡ ἀναγέννησις τῶν γραμμάτων κατὰ τὸν ἱβ' αἰῶνα εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ὁ Όμηρος* (Athens: Filosofike scholē. Ethikon kai Kapodistriakon Panepistēmion Athenon, 1971), 122–24.

<sup>840</sup> E.g., John Tzetzes, *Exegesis of the Iliad* 45.10–51.12. Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 216; Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, 167; van den Berg, *Homer the Rhetorician*, 151. Cf. also Goldwyn, "Theory and Method in Ioannes Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad and Odyssey*", 134–44; Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 125.

<sup>841</sup> Gods as powers of the soul (Tzetzes, *Allegories of the Odyssey* 1.289, 298, 2.30, 3.82, 6.36–37, 8.26–27, 16.41, 17.13, 20.87, 21.19, 22.63, 24.220), prudence (1.335, 19.51, 54), prudence and mind (19.29, 20.88: νῦν καὶ φρονήσει), justice (6.113, 9.49), prudence and skill (16.41: φρονήσει τε καὶ τέχνῃ), prudence and justice (14.79–80), counsel (11.70, 16.13–14), wisdom (1.289), friendship (1.298), good fortune (9.48: φρόνησιν, εὐτυχίαν), mind, discursive thought and reasoning (14.35–6: ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ διανοία καὶ λογισμός). For the origins and different psychological interpretations of the Homeric gods, see the overview in Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère*, 101–6, 127–29, 279–306.

<sup>842</sup> Zeus as mind (*Allegories of the Odyssey*, 1.163, 317, 5.103, 6.43, 178, 194–5, 8.207, 13.90, 14.41, 16.44, 49, 20.29, 36, 24.199, 249), Zeus as thought (1.244, 6.60, 8.208, 16.50, 20.97, 22.55). See also van den Berg, "The Wise Homer and His Erudite Commentator: Eustathios' Imagery in the Proem of the Parekbolai on the Iliad", 132.

<sup>843</sup> Quote from *Allegories of the Odyssey* 1.226, 2.56. Athena as prudence is found multiple times in this work of Tzetzes, see *Allegories of the Odyssey* 1.137, 238, 325, 328, 338, 2.50, 4.39, 119, 122, 126, 5.189, 193, 6.14–24, 63, 115, 160, 168, 188, 191, 195, 201, 7.15, 69, 8.14, 22, 32, 212, 9.79, 11.152, 13.24, 51, 66, 79, 88, 106, 113, 117, 15.10, 16.39, 44, 49–50, 62, 67, 17.15, 43, 18.17, 25–26, 19.8, 46, 20.20, 23, 29, 34, 36, 62, 21.12, 30–31, 22.21, 32, 57–58, 23.26, 68, 24.248–49, 276.

<sup>844</sup> Tzetzes, *Allegories of the Odyssey* 20.82, 89, 95, 21.21.

396a 4–8) –, and interprets him as a “dispenser of life” (ταμία ζωῆς), ultimately likening Zeus to Jesus, drawing from John 14:6: “I am the truth and life”.<sup>845</sup> None of these autonomous elaborations by Psellos are found in Gabalas’ works on Homer. I will conclude that the key distinction between the hermeneutical method of Psellos and that of both Tzetzes and Gabalas, along with the respective traditions they embody, lies in a differing approach to the interpretation of words and their meanings, either nominal or propositional.

## Conclusions

The writings of Manuel Gabalas offer an intellectual synthesis that enriches our understanding of the early Palaiologan era’s intellectual milieu from the perspective of hermeneutics, ethics, philosophy and theology. In *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, Gabalas translates Homeric poetry into Byzantine Atticizing prose, updating the epic language with Byzantine lexicon. Moreover, he uses Odysseus’ character to highlight a narrative about a struggle against trials and a progression towards temperance and rational dignity. Gabalas further interprets Odysseus’ journey and adversaries as metaphors for the mind’s wanderings and struggles against pleasures, vices, and irrational impulses, further enriching the narrative with mystical and moral-psychological allegories. He presents Odysseus’ deification as both a literal and metaphorical culmination of his journey, representing the soul’s ultimate return to its original dignity in Ithaca.

Gabalas’ approach in *The Wanderings of Odysseus* may have influenced younger contemporaries, including George Oinaïotes and George Galesiotes Senior. Besides, Gabalas probably drew upon the scholarly work of George Pachymeres, particularly the ethical analysis of character behaviour explored in Pachymeres’ scholia. The allegorical interpretation found in the Homeric works is notably influenced by Platonic and Christian mystical allegories, drawing significantly from Plato’s *Timaeus* and *Phaedo*, Aristotle’s ideas on authorial intention and poetic license, and the nautical metaphors of spiritual quests found in Makarios the Egyptian’s *Homilies*. However, Gabalas’ method also fits within a larger Byzantine exegetical tradition, with the *Allegories* of John Tzetzes being notably close to his Homeric works.

<sup>845</sup> Michael Psellos, *Allegory to Iliad* (42.32–40), *to Tantalus, to Zeus’ birth*, and *On the Golden Chain* (43, 46–47 Duffy). On Psellos’ allegorical method, cf. Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 29–59; Vianès–Abou Samra, “Les errances d’Ulysée par Matthieu d’Éphèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, 472–73; Silvano, “Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all’Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe”, *JÖB* 67 (2017): 223, n. 25; Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths*, 109–21, esp. 121.



Gabalas presents pagan epics as a rich source of moral and philosophical wisdom compatible with Christian faith. His interpretation of Homeric gods through a monotheistic lens as representations of psychological forces and virtues allows him to reconcile pagan epics with Christian ethics and theology. His interpretation of the *Odyssey* is deeply intertwined with his philosophical and theological views, especially several metaphorical images and the concept of deification through the ‘practice’ of virtue as outlined in the *200 Chapters*.

## Chapter 4. Philosophical and Theological Works

This chapter presents an analysis of the *200 Chapters*, *On True Wisdom* and *Prologue to the Prophets*, three previously unexplored writings of Manuel Gabalas. The first section examines their philosophical and theological content, focusing on how Gabalas articulates his distinctive understanding of *theosis* as becoming God on earth through the practice of virtue. The second section explores the roots of these ideas and aims to place Gabalas within a specific spiritual tradition. It also presents a comparative analysis of Gabalas' works with Gregory Palamas' *150 Chapters*, among other texts, particularly regarding the concept of heart purification. This comparison seeks to advance our comprehension of Gabalas' stance amid the Palamite debate, illuminating the philosophical foundations of his teachings on human participation in God's essence through the imitation of His powers. The discovery of Gabalas' refined philosophical thought and theological doctrine sheds light on our understanding of the doctrinal debates during the Palamite controversy, enriching our knowledge of the complex intellectual environment during early Palaiologan period.

The *200 Chapters* (K) is a collection of short writings that brings together Gabalas' ascetical views, constituting a synthesis of his philosophical and theological thought. This text has not attracted much scholarly attention, partly because, until now (see Appendix 8), it remained unpublished. So far, Athanassios Angelou published only the *Prologue to the 200 Chapters* (EK), while Paul Géhin made a preliminary attempt to place the text within the tradition of *kephalaia* or monastic chapters.<sup>846</sup>

Gabalas also composed two texts on the Prophets, the *Laudatory Prologue to the Divine and Blessed Prophets, including a Collection of their most Opportune Sayings, which We Carefully Prepared with God's Help, with their Corresponding Exegesis* (A13a) and the *Great Collection of Sayings and Exegeses of the Prophets, which we Carefully prepared with God's Help* (A13b).<sup>847</sup> This chapter will focus only on the *Prologue*. The *Great Collection* (A13b), in

<sup>846</sup> Athanassios Angelou, "Matthaios Gabalas and his kephalaia", 259–68; Géhin, "Les collections de Kephalaia monastiques. Naissance et succès d'un genre entre creation original, plagiat et florilège", in *Theologica Minora: The Minor Genres of Byzantine Theological Literature*, ed. Antonio Rigo, Pavel Ermilov, and Michele Trizio (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 1–50. See also Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 164–65; Kourousis, "Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174 by Diether Reinsch", 120–22. On chapters and pastoral letters, see Augustine Casiday, "Church Fathers and the Shaping of Orthodox Theology", in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. Elizabeth Theokritoff and Mary Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 175.

<sup>847</sup> Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 152r–157r (A13a). Πρόλογος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τοὺς θεσπεσίους καὶ μακαρίους προφήτας ἐπὶ τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν σὺν Θεῷ φιλοπονηθείσῃ τῶν καιριωτάτων αὐτῶν ῥήσεων συλλογῇ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης αὐταῖς ἐξηγήσεως, ff. 158r–253r (A13b). Ἀρίστη συλλογὴ τῶν προφητικῶν καὶ ῥήσεων καὶ ἐξηγήσεων σὺν Θεῷ ἡμῶν φιλοπονηθεῖσα.

turn, is an extensive work devoted to the lives of Isaiah and of the minor prophets Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michaeas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggaeus, Zacharias and Malachias. As Gabalas states in the *Prologue*, the *Great Collection* was intended as a handbook (*encheiridion*) accompanying the Old Testament, incorporating Gabalas' summaries of the original texts and his insights alongside relevant earlier exegesis.<sup>848</sup> Its structure, consisting of a prologue, a rendering of the original text (metaphrase) along with the relevant interpretation, resembles that of the Homeric works. Similar to Homer, Gabalas observes the mysterious way in which the Prophets expressed their ideas: they “wisely and cleverly veiled their words in the grandeur of a rather mysterious style, so that they are accessible to those who have been purified as regards their thought”.<sup>849</sup> This text, as previously noted, was intended for readers with diverse educational backgrounds.<sup>850</sup>

Finally, Gabalas wrote a philosophical discourse *On True Wisdom*.<sup>851</sup> In this text, Gabalas addresses the pretense of wisdom (σοφία) among people who profess expertise in fields such as geometry and astronomy. He argues that their quest for knowledge often leads to a false sense of wisdom, revealing instead their ignorance and arrogance. Kourousis suggested that Gabalas' critique could be directed at contemporaries such as Theodore Metochites, though this remains speculative.<sup>852</sup> Moreover, Gabalas challenges the human capacity to discern genuine wisdom from its mere pretense, which is a topic closely connected to his discussion on names and activities in the *Tome of the Opponents*, where he criticizes Gregory Palamas' ideas (see Section 2.6).

## 1. The Treasure Hidden in Matthew's Field: A Guide to Becoming God on Earth

This section provides an initial exploration of Gabalas' philosophical and theological works, which could serve as a starting point for further research. It discusses the philosophical and theological reflections of Gabalas on the soul, virtue, wisdom, and the nature of being,

<sup>848</sup> Handbook or work (A13a.135: ἐγχειρίδιόν, A13a.176: τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ, A13a.180a: ἔργου), as a reminder (A13a.137–38: τῇ μνήμῃ χρῆσθαι ἀντὶ βιβλίου, cf. also A13a.147–51). Summarizing the content (A13a.134: ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς τούτων συντεμὼν ἐξηγήσεις καὶ τι παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ προσθέμενος).

<sup>849</sup> A13a.24–26: μεγέθει τινὶ ἐρμηνείας ἀπορρητοτέρας σοφῶς μάλα καὶ εὐμεθόδως αὐτὰ συνεσκήσαν, ὥστ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ληπτὰ τοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν κεκαθαρμένοις.

<sup>850</sup> Cf. Theodor Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae, indices Apostolorum discipulorumque domini, Dorotheo, Epiphonio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 99–104.

<sup>851</sup> *That those who have learned wisdom cannot rightly be called wise, but rather actors of the truly wisdom's truth* (A5) in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, 74r–81r (A5). Ὅτι οἱ πρὸς ὁποτέραν σοφίαν ἐσχολακότες οὐ δικαίως ἂν σοφοὶ λέγοιντο, ὑποκριταὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς ὄντως σοφίας.

<sup>852</sup> Kourousis, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 169–72.

emphasizing the path to divine likeness through virtue, contemplation, and the imitation of God's attributes. It explores analogies of the soul, the nature of spiritual leadership, the dynamic of virtues and vices, and the importance of humility, knowledge, and the mind's alignment with divine principles. Gabalas integrates Platonic and Aristotelian concepts with Christian theology to articulate a vision of human potential for deification, informed by the life and teachings of prophets, saints, and Christ. This vision is rooted in the pursuit of virtue, the practice of prayer, and the embodiment of divine qualities, aiming at a harmonious union with the divine essence while navigating the challenges of earthly existence towards eternal truth.

### Divine Grace in Pagan Minds

In the *Prologue to the 200 Chapters*, Gabalas argues that his potential critics – it is unclear to whom he refers – should not dismiss his work just because he engages with pagan philosophers, noting that even ancient thinkers without knowledge of the true God made valuable contributions. Gabalas acknowledges that non-Christian sages such as Orpheus, Phocylides, Pythagoras, Menander – all names associated with oracular knowledge –, and others aimed to impart valuable moral teachings centered on the golden mean and on prudence, courage, moderation, and justice – Plato's cardinal or generic virtues. Thus, when Gabalas says "others", he alludes in an implicit way to the authority of Homer, Plato and Aristotle, who are the most frequently quoted pagan authors in the *200 Chapters*. The teachings of the pagans, Gabalas notes, had a significant impact on society and were often admired and followed, sometimes more than Christian teachings, due to their inherent wisdom and practical knowledge. Gabalas finds it remarkable that the pagans, who lacked direct divine insight – unlike the prophets –, could express virtuous thoughts. Nonetheless, Gabalas makes it clear that he does not view the ethical wisdom of pagans as divine prophecies related to Christ's coming; in this way, he differentiates the pagan authorities from the prophets.

Central to Gabalas' argument in support of the wisdom of pagan philosophers is the idea that they were recipients of God's grace: "Right from the beginning there is a divine grace that dwells within their mind, cleansed of its original vice, and that brings forth all the good seeds of virtue".<sup>853</sup> Gabalas thus acknowledges the pagans' ignorance of Christ yet celebrates their philosophical contributions as part of divine providence and grace. God's providence can work in mysterious ways, even in those who do not know Him; their wisdom emerges "out of

<sup>853</sup> EK.44–46: ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς καὶ θεία τις ἔνεστι χάρις τῷ νῷ συνοικοῦσα τὴν ἀρχέγονον ἀπολουσάμενῳ κακίᾳ καὶ πάντ' ὠδίνουσα τὰ χρηστὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς σπέρματα.

the abundance of the highest providence” and “not without the aid of God”.<sup>854</sup> Possibly aware of the controversial nature of his ideas, Gabalas ends his prologue with a defense against potential critics. Here, he suggests that his words will benefit those who approach them thoughtfully, unlike ignorant individuals who mistreat their superiors like pigs disregarding pearls (see Section 2.4). It is uncertain whether this is a general remark or should be interpreted in the context of the Palamite controversy, in which the question of the role of secular wisdom in Christian theology held a prominent place.

Despite Gabalas’ general defense and extensive use of secular wisdom in the *Prologue* and *200 Chapters*, across this work he repeatedly formulates criticism against pagan ideas. In addition to rejecting polytheism of the Ancient Greeks (*Chapter* 183), Gabalas proposes different theories about the origins of the elements, the contemplation of creation and God’s purpose, and the issue of polytheism. Gabalas (*Chapter* 70) challenges the pagan belief that the elements originated from matter, arguing instead from the Christian perspective that creation is the result of divine will. Similarly, Gabalas (*Chapter* 131) challenges the pagan approach to the idea of contemplation of creation (θεωρία τῆς κτίσεως), which for Gabalas encompasses not just understanding the nature of creation but also its divine purpose (θεῖον σκοπόν). The same applies to the nature of human beings. Gabalas brings Aristotle’s definition of man as rational and mortal animal into the discussion. For Gabalas, comprehending humanity requires more than just biological insight; it requires understand the reason of human existence. The reason (λόγος) of being man – life’s hidden treasure, as we will see – is to glorify God (εἰς δόξαν).<sup>855</sup> Deification is thus the fulfillment of God’s purpose.

### **Analogies of the Soul as City, Maiden, Land, Lyre and the Center of a Circle**

The *200 Chapters* start with the analogy of the soul as a city (*Chapter* 1). When guided by rational men and spiritual laws, it tames the natural passions (σύμφυτα πάθη) such as anger (θυμός) and desire (ἐπιθυμία); otherwise, the soul becomes a haven for vices, presented as wild beasts. Much like a city (*Chapter* 2) that must shut all its gates to defend itself against foes, the soul, even if it strengthens the organs of the senses, remains vulnerable if even one of them is exposed to passions and thoughts. Just as enemies (*Chapter* 3) exploit the vulnerable parts of cities, demons target the soul’s weaker components and, if successful, can utterly devastate it.

<sup>854</sup> EK.21: ἐκ περισσίας τῆς ἀνωτάτω κηδεμονίας and EK.40: οὐκ ἄθεε. Similarly Odysseus reaches the island of Scheria οὐκ ἄθεε in the *Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8.984). The latter is an expression often found in Church Fathers.

<sup>855</sup> Similar views are expressed in *On True Wisdom* A5.71–94.

A city (*Chapter 4*) ruled by a single governor and laws remains orderly and peaceful; similarly, a soul guided by divine wisdom and focused on God's memory maintains harmony and order. Just as a city (*Chapter 175*) needs protection from enemies, the soul, elevated by divine deeds and contemplation, must guard against the threats of arrogance. Humility and diligence in guarding the soul are necessary to prevent the thoughts and demons of arrogance from entering and leading the soul astray towards eternal consequences. Just as greedy people (*Chapter 7*) seek opportunities to take economical profit, demons, too, look for weaknesses in the soul to exploit its sacred wealth.

The soul, like a beautiful maiden (*Chapter 159*), attracts both divine and demonic suitors. By establishing virtuous thoughts as guardians, the soul-maiden can protect its purity and remain devoted to God. Without such protection, it welcomes licentious suitors, becoming an adulteress rather than a virtuous spouse. The soul, like fertile land (*Chapter 9*), yields abundant virtue if cultivated with care and divine teaching; neglected, it grows only destructive passions, leading to ruin. Indeed, a wicked and unstable soul (*Chapters 129–30*) is like a dirty mirror; one cannot see the evil in it, until one cleans it. Neglecting spiritual discipline and reverence to God makes one vulnerable to demons (*Chapter 10*). To achieve divine rewards, one must live a disciplined life. The analogy of the lyre and the soul (*Chapter 143*) is used to illustrate the notion of human freedom, as will be explored.

Just as a circle is perfectly symmetrical (*Chapter 13*), the soul as the center of the circle consistently gravitates towards virtue when aligned with divine principles.<sup>856</sup> The geometric analogy illustrates how virtue and vice relate to God (*Chapter 88*). Just as lines drawn from a circle's circumference can converge towards or diverge from the center, virtuous people align with both God and good fellows, while those living in vice are in discord with both. Christ is for Christians the common angle of faith and concord (*Chapter 154*), sharing both joyful and painful experiences. Envy and celebration of others' misfortunes go against this unity and should be replaced by Paul's words: "Rejoice with those who rejoice; mourn with those who mourn" (Romans 12:15). Despite external differences, humans are symmetrically equal in nature or essence and capabilities (*Chapter 155*). Thus, excellence in wisdom, power, or wealth should not lead to arrogance but rather humility.

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<sup>856</sup> Gabalas also explored this topic in his *Letter to Gregory Koutales* (B64.145–47).

### The Tripartite Soul: On Anger and the Mind's Distraction

Gabalas follows the Platonic division of the soul in three parts (*Chapter 153*): reason (λογιστικόν), temper or anger (θυμός) and desire (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν). According to Gabalas, these parts exist independently but move with divine purpose. The rational part judges and contemplates (*Chapter 153*). The soul works properly if reason (*Chapters 65–66*) rules over anger and wishes to maintain control and dignity. Like gatekeepers protect homes (*Chapter 96*), the mind guards the soul-city by monitoring external and internal influences. Without the mind's vigilance, words, actions and thoughts may manifest inaccurately. Anger can act under reason's control or impulsively, dragging reason along. Desire emerges early in life, primarily for nourishment. It precedes reason and manifests itself when pleasures are enjoyed unhindered.<sup>857</sup> Anger and desires (*Chapter 161*) can sometimes counteract each other, but rational remedies are always the best solution.

Just as the noise of flowing waters drowns nearby sounds (*Chapter 126*), a soul disturbed by life's affairs cannot discern what is good or bad. Uncontrolled emotions like anger and pleasure lead to disorder in the city-soul and the need for laws (*Chapter 153*), as well as to irrational acts (*Chapter 65*); Solomon's pride is an example of how the mind can ultimately lose control (*Chapter 59*). A mind controlled by passions (*Chapter 132*) not only reacts to real situations but also engages with imaginary ones. Uncontrolled anger (*Chapter 176*), often disproportionate to the offense, leads to reckless words and actions, causing harm to oneself and others. It can escalate from minor provocation to severe consequences. Anger is a passion (*Chapter 177*) that is quick to ignite and lacks the shame associated with other emotions. Even when anger (*Chapter 178*) begins for apparently justifiable reasons, it often leads to irrational outbursts and regrets. To attain true virtue, one should avoid both rational and irrational provocations. Mastering the response to involuntary pain leads to perfect virtue. Therefore, anger is a natural part of the soul (*Chapter 179*), which must be controlled by reason. This way it acts rationally, while unbridled anger leads to irrational behaviour. Breathing and the remembrance of eternal fire can help quell anger. Anger is like a young man (*Chapter 180*), both powerful and easily impressionable, influenced by both reason (father) and desire (mother). When guided by the temperance of his parents, the young man behaves virtuously. However, if raised carelessly, he rebels and embraces lawlessness. One should not serve irrational impulses but exercise the leadership inherent in our nature as rational beings to control anger. When anger arises due to desires (*Chapter 181*), it can lead to trouble. It is best

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<sup>857</sup> This idea may be connected to the priority Gabalas gives to bodily over spiritual virtues (e.g., *Chapter 105*).

to avoid all emotions, especially anger (*Chapter 176*), due to its potential for causing great harm. Anger is led by the Wicked Commander and will be judged by the Judge within nature, namely God. True expertise in self-control (*Chapter 66*) is proven not in calm but in adversity, where experience and resistance to base instincts are the remedies, using the lower parts of the soul against adversity. Anger (*Chapter 177*) can be controlled by our will and should be directed only against wickedness.

Gabalas also discusses the mind's distraction when talking about the Homeric Gods (*Chapter 183*). The distracted mind becomes a temple for demons, passions and desires, after which the Greeks named their gods; the mind must guard against idolatry and must prevent these forces from becoming "the temple of God", as stated by the Apostle Paul (e.g., 1 Corinthians 3:16, 2 Corinthians 6:16). God condemns (*Chapter 184*) those who profess faith with their lips but lack sincerity in their hearts (Mt 15:8); those who engage in conversation with God (e.g., during prayer) must align words with thoughts and should not let their minds be worried about trivial matters.

### **Generation and Transition of Contraries: Indifference to Pain and Pleasure**

All things subject to generation and decay (*Chapters 36, 113 and 152*) are in constant motion and change. These things are devoid of power in the search for eternal truth. Simpler things last longer but still change until they decay. Complex elements and beings, formed by the clash of opposing forces, quickly separate or dissolve. The nature of pleasure and pain is transitory. Every pleasure is followed by pain (*Chapter 44*), as is the case of Adam and the very act of birth. Pleasure and pain possess equal destructive power. Those seeking immediate pleasure (*Chapter 34*) will face pain as both are intertwined in life's journey. Lasting happiness (*Chapters 29 and 35*) comes from understanding that good can follow bad. Those in pain can expect future pleasure, while those currently pleased will receive pain, either now or in the afterlife. One must be cautious of quick pleasures and value the future rewards of pains and challenges. The indifference to pleasure (*Chapter 44*) dismantles the Devil's foundation and neutralizes the ensuing pain. Pain (*Chapter 52*) is the retribution for the pleasure tasted by Adam. It is unavoidable but also purificatory, because it can lead to the restoration of the lost dignity. The Creator designed us (*Chapter 118*) to find pleasure in stable things and feel pain when deviating from them, thereby negating the divine intention.

The nature of fortune and misfortune is, therefore, also transitory. Apparent good times may lead to bad outcomes and vice versa, with each potentially causing its opposite (*Chapter*



33). Those who fall from high fortunes may wish for simpler times, while those who rise from adversity often feel thankful, as their struggles led to happiness. Misfortunes (συμφοραί) arise from four reasons (*Chapter 27*): 1) passionate reactions (voluntary), 2) thoughtless actions (involuntary), 3) others' malice, and 4) nature's unpredictability (external factors). Sin stems from four causes (*Chapter 64*): 1) succumbing to irrational pleasure, 2) having knowledge that is not directed towards the good, 3) misuse of pleasure, and 4) turning from good to evil – the latter sin is unique to the faithless. Knowledgeable people make mistakes but correct them; those who do not truly understand what is good do not regret or fix their modest excesses; sensible people might occasionally go too far but they get back on track, those who are deceived take pleasure in their wrongdoing, believing it to be right.

### **The Purpose of Temptations**

God uses temptations to test us (*Chapter 37*), ensuring that through both voluntary and involuntary actions, we grow in virtue. Involuntary temptations (*Chapter 38*) humble us by checking our vainglory (κενοδοξία) and spurring our lazy nature to actively do good and seek God's assistance. Temptations (*Chapter 39*) are beneficial and teach the highest philosophy (τῆς ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλοι), i.e., the knowledge of God and virtue (θεογνωσία καὶ ἀρετή). Conversely, a life of ease and idleness leads to forgetfulness. God uses temptations (*Chapter 40*) as a means of purification. Just as a disciplined horse remains on its course (*Chapter 42*), a person confronting adversity can overcome temptations. God foresaw the benefits of temptations, ensuring that Adam faced challenges. Criticising them directly is akin to challenging God's judgement. Temptations only occur with God's consent (*Chapter 46*), as warnings against idleness and as tests of our commitment to virtue. Enduring them is necessary to experience eternal pleasure, as Christ's example shows. One untouched by pleasure remains unaffected by pain (*Chapter 45*). Christ overcame the Tempter's pleasure and temptation, faced the insolence of Jews and prayed for them. Satan tries to destroy potential sinners with despair or false hope (*Chapter 106*), making them question God's justice or mercy. False hope can lead to procrastination and further sin. The key to overcome them is repentance.

### **Types of Sins and Vices**

Sins can occur in three places (*Chapter 148*): thoughts, senses and actions. Sinful thoughts can lead to wrongdoing. Intemperant indulgence in sensory pleasures can invite spiritual death. Carrying sinful thoughts into actions is condemned by the Apostle: "Do not be deceived:

neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the greedy, shall inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Corinthians 6:9–10). Gabalas strongly condemns four vices as the most reprehensible: resentment (μνησικακία), greed (φιλαργυρία), love of power (φιλαρχία) and arrogance (ὕπερηφανία).

Resentment is the ultimate vice (*Chapter 151*), rooted in hatred and enmity toward others. It leads to a love of sin, cowardice and the passionate life. Christians should avoid it by forgiving others. Greedy people (*Chapter 119*) seek alien resources to fuel their desire for wealth, while those pursuing virtue aim to cultivate inner goodness. They appreciate any unexpected contributions to their spiritual growth, including adversity and suffering. People who love power should consider whether they want to rule over those greater, equal, or weaker than themselves (*Chapter 166*). Ruling over the greater is risky, ruling over equals lacks a basis for superiority, and ruling over the weaker is driven by a vile desire. Claiming superiority based on the soul’s virtue risks self-delusion; relying on physical attributes is irrational. The passion for power, filled with vice, should be banished from virtuous souls that possess wisdom, courage, and noble customs.

Arrogance is a harmful vice (*Chapter 168*) because it leads people to believe they are superior to others, thereby causing harm to themselves and those around them. Unlike other vices that may offer temporary pleasures, the arrogant person never experiences what he desires, because the object of his desire has no substance. Arrogance, an elevated vice, breeds fantasies of superiority and constant conflict, leading to the ruin of the soul. This vice should be avoided, in view of eternal punishment and death. Arrogance manifests itself in two ways (*Chapter 172*): one involves boasting of virtuous deeds with false humility; the other involves pretending to possess virtues one lacks. Both are dangerous, but the latter is more deceitful, completely hypocritical, and leads to double penalties in the last judgment. Arrogance harms others by devaluing them (*Chapter 173*), harms oneself by obstructing personal growth, and harms God by rejecting divine mercy and failing to embrace humility. Arrogance ultimately leads to self-delusion and to becoming one’s own award-giver, instead of Christ, who is the only true award-giver (*Chapter 10*). Arrogant people (*Chapter 174*) are the most vicious and are pitiable because they chase non-existent ideals and lose what is real. To counteract arrogance, Gabalas recommends generosity and modesty.

### **The Nature of Evil and Vice: Decision or Activity without Concrete Existence**

The presence of vice and the absence or ceasing of the good imply the existence of vice (*Chapter 19*), while the presence and practice of the good acts is always virtue. Activity may sometimes lead to vice (*Chapter 18*), while inactivity is always virtue. Not actively pursuing virtue can be considered a vice itself. Proper behaviour requires a balanced understanding of when to act or refrain. Vice lie in the very decision (αὐτὸ τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι) to act wrongly and to stop doing good (*Chapter 20*). Evil actions (*Chapter 143*) involve both our choices and the Devil's influence. Virtue and vice are contraries (*Chapter 17*), and one can transition from one to the other, for example, by changing habits (ἔξεις), affections (πάθη) and decisions (προαιρέσεις). Yet, what they are in themselves, namely the substrate (τὰ ὑποκείμενα), is not subject to change. Similarly, in *Chapter 87*, Gabalas expresses that change and opposition occur in the affections or accidents (πάθη) but do not affect the essence (οὐσία).

Gabalas argues that evil neither has concrete existence (*Chapters 85–86*), nor it originates from God nor was created by the Demiurge. Vices (*Chapter 168*) are outside of the soul's nature and, unlike virtue, lack any model or paradigm. Evil (*Chapters 85–86*) only takes substance by corrupting or taking the place of the good, akin to darkness replacing light or the demolition of a wall. At the same time, Gabalas warns against viewing evil as devoid of existence or non-existent (ἀνυπόστατος), especially when considering God's final judgment. Virtue consistently opposes vice, while vice, which is divided into excess and deficiency, is multifaceted and is at perpetual war with virtue and with itself. This is because vices such as greed, licentiousness, and vainglory lead to conflicts as the people subject to them strive to outdo others in the same or different vices.

The good spirit (*Chapters 134–136*) provides the tools for virtue and is its only cause. The evil spirit cooperates in vice through human choices; taking God's gifts to serve evil is unjust. God collaborates on good deeds based on the truth of the Holy Spirit; the opposing forces produce vice out of no substance. Virtue faces opposition from two sources (*Chapter 100*): excess and deficiency. One must scrutinize the nature of everything to determine and engage with virtue or vice accordingly. There is a battle for dominance (*Chapter 102*) in which vices constantly seek to replace virtues by infiltrating their territory. To prevent this, reason must govern actions like a noble leader, ensuring the victory of virtue over vice. Between the spiritual law and the Devil (*Chapter 111*) there is a middle ground that people use to shift between extremes. God can transform evil nature, while Satan can only persuade men to move from the middle ground to the extremes. For this reason, being idle in doing good is considered a failure.

## Power of Choice and Free Will

The analogy of the lyre and the soul (*Chapter 143*) illustrates that just as a lyre and its music are created and played by someone, our virtuous actions are shaped by God. We receive our body and soul from God like a lyre, and are taught virtue, which we should harmonize with our efforts and choices. Evil, however, results from misusing these instruments of virtue, with responsibility shared between us and the Devil. In the analogy of soul as circle (*Chapter 13*), it is choices that determine the orientation towards virtue. The presence of good acts and inactivity (*Chapter 18–19*) always lead to virtue. Virtue is the conscious choice of not doing evil (*Chapter 20*), along with always aiming at better actions. There is an emphasis on the very act of choosing (αὐτὸ τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι). For this reason, the educated person's partial virtue (*Chapter 21*) is equal to the total virtue of the uneducated, while minor wrongdoings of the uneducated compare to the gravest faults of the learned, which reflects Christ's teaching on knowledge and responsibility.

In *Chapter 49*, Gabalas implies that spiritual matters are inherently positive, and achieving a favorable result depends on our decision. Virtues (*Chapter 84*) rest in the soul's faculties, in which they have actions, activity, and choice. God (*Chapter 71*) endowed rational beings with power and material to do good, but left its realization to human choice. Thus, humans are allowed to exercise self-determination. Rational nature (*Chapter 72*) inclines towards virtue and the desire for the good, but virtue is not inherently granted by God; it is a potentiality that must be actualized through choice. This is akin to a king empowering a general to act independently in battle. However, virtue in humans is not innate like the senses but develops through practice and doing good (*Chapter 73*). God granted reason to humans for this purpose, while he granted other innate abilities to animals. In creation, God gifted humanity with free will and the power of choice (*Chapter 157*). Everyone can choose knowledge and virtue, or vice.

Evil men exploit every opportunity as matter for an evil choice (μοχθηρᾶς προαιρέσεως ὕλη) for immoral gain (*Chapter 12*). Much like gold refined by fire, wise men find value and opportunities for growth in both good and bad circumstances, remaining undisturbed by any adversity. Virtue and vice stem from the same faculties of the soul (*Chapter 84*), with reason leading to knowledge or ignorance, *thymos* to courage or cowardice, and desire to moderation or excess. These faculties, like the elements of speech or nature, can produce different outcomes based on choice. Material things are not inherently good or bad (*Chapter 49*); choices dictate their impact and value. What is detrimental to one might benefit another.

The unpredictability of external events and life's challenges (*Chapter 41*) sharpens our discernment between good and bad. Just as seasons impact nature, so do circumstances challenge the soul's choice and autonomy (προαίρεσις καὶ αὐτονομία). The right choice consists of turning adversity into profit (*Chapter 23*). Seasoned warriors and those versed in spiritual warfare find joy and victory in the challenges they face, always profiting from them (ἀεὶ κερδαίνειν). Defeat arises from personal choice, not external situations. Mastery in life, like in art, can turn challenging materials into something noble (*Chapter 54*). As Job and David showed, adversity can be transformed into virtue. Every life event offers a choice between virtue and vice, from which we must take profit.

### **Principles Shape Outcomes**

The outcome of conflict, whether driven by passion or skill, is influenced by choices and natural tendencies (*Chapter 87* and *133*). Achievements or misfortunes (*Chapter 5*) stem from the irrational impulse (ὁρμή) and from the beginnings or principles of movements (ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων), which are driven either by practical intelligence and prudence (φρόνησις), or folly (ἀφροσύνη) and thoughtlessness (ἄβουλία). One must pay attention to the principle of every action. Wise and divine impulses lead to success, while foolish ones always lead to failure. If the action begins with thoughtless pleasure (*Chapter 11*), it results in lasting discomfort, and therefore, should be avoided. Conversely, if an action begins with discomfort but is virtuous, enduring it can yield enduring rewards.

Related to this, Gabalas puts forward the idea of the cumulative effect of small losses of both material and spiritual wealth. Actions, like lines from a dot (*Chapter 6*), start small but extend to form significant outcomes that can bring pleasure or regret. It is vital to remain vigilant (*Chapter 7*), as even minor oversights can lead to significant consequences. Minor losses (*Chapter 8*), if unchecked, can lead to the downfall of the most powerful. One should not underestimate minor virtues or ignore minor vices (*Chapter 103*). Neglecting seemingly insignificant things can lead to errors. Just as nature changes, so do the customs of the soul.

### **Paths and Struggles: Primacy of the Spiritual, Eternal, Superior, and Unchanging**

Christians face two paths (*Chapters 114* and *150*), as Matthew 7:13 said. Christians must embrace the narrow path, which leads to eternal blessedness, joy and life, and reject the broad one, which leads to perdition, shame and death. Those on the narrow path are blessed, even if they seem wretched, while those on the broad one, even if praised, are ultimately deceived.

Physical and spiritual athletes (*Chapter 15*) face initial hardships but are rewarded with lasting pleasure; conversely, succumbing to vice leads to profound regret. Athletes (*Chapter 16*) should focus on virtue, being drawn towards God, virtue and the soul, while distancing themselves from vice, the body and the Devil. Humans face two battles (*Chapter 43*): worldly and divine. Worldly conflicts should be met with disdain, while one should engage in the divine contest of virtue by emulating martyrs and upholding God and virtue.

Just as traders risk assets for potential gains (*Chapter 25*), those on the spiritual path should invest everything in heavenly rewards. While bodily pains might be temporary (*Chapter 30*), the soul's damage can be everlasting and irrevocable. Pursuing transient pleasures and grieving for their loss (*Chapter 51*) resemble the foolish man building his house on sand. The wise build their lives on the rock of divine truth. Valuing worldly matters over their archetypes is folly (*Chapter 58*); we should instead focus on the eternal realities they symbolize. God (*Chapter 82*) grants humans the freedom to choose and carry out everlasting good; therefore, it is futile to pursue inferior things. True goods things and evils (*Chapter 83*), related to the soul's pursuit of virtue or vice, are within human control and impact eternal salvation or destruction. In contrast, bodily matters such as wealth or health, though seen as good or bad, are not inherently so and often lie beyond our full control. It is unwise to neglect the eternal aspects of the soul for bodily gains, as virtue and avoidance of vice are achievable and defined by free choice, while material pursuits are fleeting and undefined. Those who prioritize worldly desires over the soul's higher purpose (*Chapter 193*) misunderstand the Creator's purpose. They treat the soul as a servant to the body, contrary to nature and divine will. To achieve spiritual resurrection (πνευματική ἀνάστασις), one must choose to deny desires and passions before physical death (*Chapter 91*), just as Jesus surrendered His flesh to death to attain divine glory. Similarly, interpreting the story of Exodus 15:22–25, Gabalas sees Moses as representing the mind (*Chapter 110*), while the bitter waters of the Marah Fountain, sweetened by wood, symbolize the Cross and the death of passions.

Just as dreams can elevate the humble and diminish the privileged (*Chapter 47*), life's realities can be similarly transitory and unstable. Instead, one should seek what is eternal and immovable (τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν καὶ μόνον ἀκίνητον).<sup>858</sup> The present life is like shadows, dreams and images (*Chapters 117 and 141*), while the unseen or intelligible world represents its prototype. Pain does not arise from external sources (*Chapter 50*), but from our own perception of pleasure and pain. It is akin to mistaking shadows for the universe. Our ignorance and folly are the

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<sup>858</sup> This is the definition of Being found in *On True Wisdom*, as will be further discussed in this section.

causes of our suffering, not external circumstances. True believers and the temperate (*Chapter 101*) recognize that the visible world is a representation of the invisible one, like skilled bankers distinguishing base metals from precious ones. They prioritize the truth of the unseen over the appearance of the seen.

A person (*Chapter 24*) seeking to triumph over challenges should forsake immediate pleasures and pains. They will find peace and greater joy, an idea that echoes the Lord's promise of eternal life for the humble. Christians must seek unchanging pleasure (*Chapter 31*). Perishable goods and evils are not from God (*Chapter 116*). Prudent people should associate with what is naturally immortal, whether it is good or evil. In every endeavour (*Chapter 162*), one must consider the aim, duration, and whether it brings pleasure or pain. People strive to prolong what brings pleasure and hasten what causes pain. However, it is best not to arrange lives around unsubstantial pursuits. Material wealth and the soul's passions must be avoided (*Chapter 163*). Just as one should give external wealth to the needy, Christians must purge worldly desires to avoid unprofitable concerns. Christ promises eternal rewards for such actions. To excel in physical and spiritual contests (*Chapter 48*), one must be fully committed, not swayed by anger or desire, but anchored in inner calm, receiving imperturbability, the spiritual athlete's crown.

God does not change his benevolent disposition (*Chapter 57*). Unrepentant wrongdoers will face future punishment and retribution. One should be patient just like God is. God's justice and punishment of the wicked (*Chapter 107*), along with His rewards for the just, stem from His understanding of the human struggle against worldly temptations. By rewarding the righteous, God discourages wickedness, ensuring His philanthropy is recognized. Human courts are vigilant in judging deeds (*Chapter 120*); God's tribunal, which scrutinizes thoughts and intentions, is even more precise. Everyone should fear it, as nothing escapes God's watchful eyes, even if His judgment comes later or on the last day. The net of Matthew 13:47–48 represents (*Chapter 139*) the ones purified by commandments.

Depending on the path one chooses and how one confronts each challenge and struggle, if done rightly, one can find the reward of Christ (*Chapter 10*), the true “award-giver” (τοῦ ἀθλοθέτου); if done wrongly, the rewards are false, as in the case of the arrogant person (*Chapter 173*), “becoming himself his own judge, his own arbiter, and his most ambitious award-giver” (αὐτὸς κριτὴς ἑαυτῷ γεγονώς, αὐτὸς βραβευτής, αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης φιλοτιμότητος).

## Praxis and Knowledge

Discursive thought (διανοία), akin to an intermediary between the king and his subjects – not unlike Gabalas himself (see Section 1.3) –, uses prudence derived from experience (φρόνησις διὰ πείρας) and knowledge acquired through study and learning (γνώσις διὰ μελέτης τε καὶ μαθήσεως) to grasp what intellect alone cannot (οὐ κατὰ νοῦν). Drawing on an idea familiar from ascetic writings, Gabalas asserts (*Chapter* 70) that praxis (πρᾶξις) is the foundation of contemplation (θεωρία).<sup>859</sup> For Gabalas, praxis is crucial to attain virtue and communicate with God. For him (*Chapter* 104–5), bodily virtues are prior to spiritual virtues because bodily virtues can function even in the presence of spiritual evils, while spiritual virtues cannot manifest themselves if the body is not first purified. This priority is likened to someone attempting to understand complex arguments without first understanding basic elements. The body works for the purification of the mind (*Chapter* 89) just as the air brings us the sun's rays.

Our actions (*Chapter* 93) are determined by preexisting habits (ἔξεις) within our soul, whether good or bad. Habits are formed through practice and preparation; it is difficult to change them once established, as Christ and Paul show. To correct the soul's impurities (*Chapter* 94), one must prepare and guard the inner self (τὸ ἐντός) diligently. With divine assistance, everything becomes achievable. Inner dispositions (διαθέσεις) are reflected in words, actions, and appearances (*Chapters* 95). While some may feign virtuous behaviours for various reasons, no one pretends to be vile in the name of virtue.

The soul must deliberate properly (*Chapters* 97–98), guarding itself against hasty actions to avoid regret. Nature thoughtfully provided different stages before speaking or acting. Opinion (γνώμη) changes due to factors such as uncertainty. Success in life's struggles, according to Gabalas, involves prioritizing the good and properly deliberating conscious actions. Resisting the assaults of enemies (*Chapter* 132) is key to finding inner peace. Humans possess both good and bad inclinations (*Chapter* 160). Those who do remain idle may struggle to act when the opportunity arises. Merely discussing virtue without practicing it (*Chapter* 80), especially in times of need, is shameful. One should either live by one's own teaching or refrain from preaching, to avoid being labeled a deceiver or hypocrite. A teacher's actions validate their words (*Chapter* 81); trustworthy teachers practice what they preach; those who do are false and deceptive. True value lies in acting rather than just speaking, as actions should naturally follow words, but words without action are empty.

<sup>859</sup> The sentence is already found in Gregory of Nazianzus, *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum* 35.1080.19.



Gabalas recommends embracing life's challenges and injustices. One should recognize (*Chapter 26*) that events may not always align with personal interests. It is unreasonable to expect that nature, which lacks reason, acts according to human will. Good Christians should accept and adapt to the varying circumstances of life. If suffering injustice at the hands of others (*Chapter 55*) leads to their eventual downfall and our own spiritual reward, then we should not lament but rather endure and even thank our adversaries for the trials that unwittingly benefit us. If virtuous people (*Chapter 56*) remain undeterred by the plots of the Devil, they thrive. Contemplating our origin from God and the body's eventual return to the earth (*Chapter 109*) helps us regain focus during challenging times and fosters dispassion. Two remedies for ancestral evil (*Chapter 124*) are self-control to eliminate pleasure and embracing disgrace to purify the wrong love for glory. Christians must (*Chapter 15*) always be temperate (σώφρων) and controlled (ἐγκρατής).

### **The Essence of Virtue: An Immutable Substrate**

Just as the sun and air extend their benefits universally (*Chapter 14*), godly men bestow kindness for the common good (κοινὸν ἀγαθόν) upon friends and foes equally, reflecting God's own indiscriminate benevolence. True pleasure (*Chapter 51*) is assimilating to God (ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοίωσις) and virtue. God, as creator and sustainer of the universe (*Chapter 74*), has a commitment to align human actions with His justice. Virtuous actions and virtue's harmony (*Chapter 143*) should be attributed to God's Word. Virtue is a continuous pleasure, which promises lasting rewards (*Chapter 63*). Instead of worldly pleasures, the true pleasure or pain in the world to come is not concurrent with the other (ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκείνου αἰῶνος ἀληθῆς ἡδονὴ ἢ λύπη σύνδρομος ἐστὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ), i.e., they are by themselves, not subject to contrariety. Eternal pleasure and pain have immutable and unchangeable substrates (ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἄτρεπτα ὑποκείμενα).

For Gabalas, the ceasing of wrongdoing represents only partial virtue (*Chapter 22*), because virtue comes from ceasing the wrongdoing in combination with the active practice of good. In *Chapters 74–77*, Gabalas says that perfect virtue combines piety towards God and adherence to human laws. A human is an inseparable composite of body and soul; neither can function alone effectively, much like construction requires tools. Just as our bodies require food and drink, the soul needs both virtue and knowledge of God for its growth. Piety and virtue are interdependent. Piety requires a pure life, and a healthy life requires knowledge of God. Absence of either renders the other ineffective.

## Types of Virtues

Prudence and ethical virtue (ἠθικὴ ἀρετή) arise from knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) and experience (ἐμπειρία) of unexpected circumstances (*Chapter 28*). Understanding vice or virtue (*Chapter 63*) comes through experience, while ignorance of both is the sin itself. Like the four elements (*Chapter 67*), the four general – or cardinal – virtues (αἱ τέσσαρες γενικαὶ ἀρεταί) – prudence (φρόνησις), courage (ἀνδρεία), moderation (σωφροσύνη) and justice (δικαιοσύνη) – are interrelated. According to Gabalas, virtues have matter and form: the matter is the tripartite soul, while the form is knowledge-based decision and secular wisdom (ἐπιστημονικὴ προαίρεσις καὶ θύραθεν λόγος). Matter for virtue exists in every man, but not everyone has knowledge-based choice and pagan learning. Thus, Gabalas concludes that one must develop the form not to corrupt the matter; we must learn to better our souls. The universe (*Chapter 68*) relies on the four Aristotelian qualities (dryness, wetness, coldness, and heat) to form elements and bodies, just like the immortal universe of virtue depends on the four cardinal virtues.

For Gabalas all virtues deify man (*Chapter 197*: πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρεταὶ θεοποιοῦσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον). Gabalas (*Chapter 104–5*) distinguishes between bodily virtues (σωματικάι) that work through the senses (αἰσθητῶς), and spiritual virtues (ψυχικάι) that work through the intelligence (νοερῶς). For one to be genuinely virtuous, these two aspects must be in harmony. The bodily virtues (*Chapter 146*) include qualities such as sensitivity, beauty, and health. In contrast, spiritual virtues align with the Cardinal Virtues, and these are further categorized into three types: 1) the virtues ordering (κοσμοῦσαι) customs, which related to the soul's practical aspect (πρακτικόν), 2) those purifying (καθαίρουσαι) the mind (νοῦς); and 3) those deifying (θεοποιοῦσαι) man as a whole (ὅλως ὁ ἄνθρωπος). The requirement for deification is to be cleansed in praxis and theory. He who attains deificatory virtues has unknowingly become God instead of man. The spiritual virtues correlate to the three ways or behaviours (τρόποι) towards virtue of *Chapter 42*: 1) the promise of good deeds (= ordering), 2) fear of punishment (= purificatory), 3) and the spiritual life (= deificatory). Similarly, the spiritual virtues correspond to the three territories of virtue (*Chapter 149*): avoiding a return to sin (= ordering), repentance for past wrongs (= purificatory), actively practicing virtues (= deificatory). All three are essential for the faithful.

Furthermore, Gabalas emphasizes (*Chapter 146*) that bodily virtues are not crafted or man-made (τεχνηταί), and spiritual ones are not divinizing or theurgical (θεουργικάι). Both are gifts from the divine nature and grace bestowed upon us by God. Nonetheless, Gabalas (*Chapter 194*) concedes that when the mind operates within its five territories, it can attain

purifying and theurgical virtues. This suggests that Gabalas views theurgical virtues as specifically influencing the mind. He appears to regard deificatory (θεοποιουῖσαι) virtues as elements of a natural, ascetic and grace-led spiritual growth, affecting “the man as a whole”. In contrast, theurgical (θεουργικαί) virtues focus solely on the mind (νοῦς), aiming at the restoration of God-given dignity.

### **Purificatory Virtues and Territories of the Purified Mind**

The Devil (*Chapter* 158) seeks to disrupt those engaged in prayers and worship, but one must drive out these distractions of the mind by focusing on the Scriptures and divine fear. In times of inner struggle (*Chapter* 127), it is fitting to echo David’s words. Psalm 125:1 “Turn back, O Lord, the captivity of Zion” has the power to direct the mind to God (*Chapter* 108), calming the storm of inner passions and bringing tranquility to the soul. Just as medicine cures the body’s illness (*Chapter* 112), the soul’s disease, caused by a misuse of worldly affairs, is healed by the spiritual word (λόγος πνευματικός) of the divine sayings, which nullifies wickedness and offers immortal pleasures, heavenly glory and incorruptible wealth. Just as Christ prescribed prayer and fasting to cast out demons (*Chapters* 144–45), these practices are effective remedies for temptations, passions and distress. Fasting purifies the body, while prayer connects the soul with God. Resisting through prayer is like wielding God’s hand to uproot the seeds of sins. Just as material fire needs fuel (*Chapter* 164), repentance and better actions provide fuel for the immaterial and intellectual fire of transformation and God’s love. It can swiftly change our dark nature into a radiant one.

Offering a purified mind (νοῦς κεκαθαρμένος), a reverent tongue (γλῶττα εὐφημος), and the greatest actions (πρᾶξις ἀρίστη) is essential for genuine worship of God (*Chapters* 191–92). Gabalas (*Chapter* 194) outlines five territories of the purified mind. Two of them are the study of nature’s creations and the recognition of the power that rules over all living beings. This connects to Gabalas’ critique of Aristotle in *Chapter* 131, where he points out that contemplation of creation (θεωρία κτίσεως) needs to recognize God’s purpose. The other territories involve the contemplation of the reason God’s Word (theology), the control of the soul’s faculties, and the communication through intellectual prayer.

### **Deificatory Virtues and Christ’s Example**

In *Chapter* 151, Gabalas states that love (ἀγάπη) is the chief of all virtues. Responding to insults and anger with magnanimity (*Chapter* 182) is wise and beneficial. It elevates one’s character,

keeps enemies from affecting us, and educates the ignorant. It aligns with Christ's teachings to love, pray for, and bless those who wrong us (Mt 5:43–45).

In social activities, victory lies in merging (*Chapter 61*) gentleness or patience (πραότης) with humility or humbleness (ταπείνωσις), as shown by David, the tax-collector, and Christ. People obsessed with power (*Chapter 167*) should remember that Adam's wish to become like God led to his fall from dignity. The Word of God offers a secure way of supremacy (ύπεροχή), not just over lesser creatures, but even over the most ferocious, without defiling our creation through love of power. Christ's example of humility shows the way to true supremacy by serving others, even those far inferior. Since humans (*Chapter 156*), according to the already mentioned analogy of the soul as the center of a circle, share the same essence, birth and decay, and are crafted by the Creator, there is no reason to consider oneself superior. Arrogance is a dangerous passion (*Chapter 169*) that leads people to believe they are superior to others. Instead, through humility (ἐπιείκεια) and modesty (μετριοφροσύνη), the arrogant person becomes aware of his previous self-delusion. True elevation comes from doctrine, humility, magnanimity and virtue, not self-satisfaction. The arrogant person (*Chapter 170*) harms people and insults God, as humans are made in His image.<sup>860</sup> Instead of a mind aspiring to false heights, one should embrace humility to ascend towards God's true heights. Both humble and arrogant people (*Chapter 171*) lie, albeit in different ways. Humble ones seem to lie by minimizing their qualities and admitting their flaws, but they speak the truth by attributing their goodness to God. Arrogant people, akin to the Devil, boast about their achievements and deceive others by taking credit for their success. In the end, the humble receive eternal blessings, while the arrogant will face eternal punishment.

Every human has a debt to God (*Chapter 142*), both inherent and from daily blessings. God forgives us when we show kindness (φιλανθρωπῶς) to others. If we do not, the same judgment awaits us as we pass judgment on others. Furthermore, Gabalas (*Chapter 196*) recommends mercy (ἐλεημοσύνη), a virtue highly valued by God and central to His nature and actions. Everything, from creation to judgment, is infused with mercy; it transforms corruption into immortality. One must offer mercy (*Chapter 198*) without seeking recognition. Since we were redeemed through Christ's sacrifice, we owe a debt of suffering and should share our possessions with those in need. This act of sharing is a way to recreate and please the Lord, as He identifies with the poor. Farmers hope to harvest more from their seeds (*Chapter 199*), but sometimes gain little or even suffer losses. Investing in helping the poor yields abundant

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<sup>860</sup> Cf. Gabalas' *On True Wisdom* (A5).

returns, guaranteed by God, yet many hesitate to do so. Mercy imparts (*Chapter 197*) upon its practitioner the Creator's dignity. Just as God creates by bringing about existence from non-existence, the merciful person grants poor people the opportunity for a better life. Mercy, like clouds formed from water (*Chapter 200*), ascends from the merciful person through the needy, which is pleasing to Christ, and returns abundantly to the giver. Mercy always returns with an added value, as Christ promised a hundredfold reward in the eternal life.

The virtuous (*Chapter 60*) must follow the example of Christ, the icon of all good things and of undeviating knowledge of God and virtue (ἀπλανής θεογνωσία καὶ ἀρετή). We are called the body of Christ (*Chapter 92*); just as the head directs the body, Christ should guide our actions and choices. Disobedience to Christ's guidance aligns us with the Devil, not with divine authority. Those who follow Christ (*Chapter 155*) must accept weakness and endure persecution, penalties, poverty, dishonour, and criticism. The spiritual law opposes the carnal one, guiding believers through adversity toward the land of the righteous or the bosom of Abraham, while those who reject it suffer torment.

Just as the body's death is decay (*Chapters 121–23*), the soul's death is sin and separation from God. God punished Adam for considering himself akin to God. Adam experienced both deaths due to his transgression, while Christ nullified them by humbling Himself and redeeming the sins; His resurrection reversed both deaths. Christ's humble life, sacrifice, and death counter the effects of pleasure and sin. By obeying His commandments, we maintain this grace, immortality, but falling to temptations leads us back to both deaths. His example offers a remedy for the afflictions of both body and soul, including humility (ταπείνωσις), contrition (συντριβή), fasting (νηστεία), and self-control (ἐγκρατεία). The one who confesses Christ (*Chapter 140*) in praxis and theory receives Apostolic Dignity, symbolized by the keys to the kingdom of heaven (Mt 16:16–19). The gates of Hades, representing Satan's influence, have no power over the Apostles.

### **The Angelic Life, a God on Earth: Divine Dignity and the Restored Mind**

Expanding on the ideas of *On True Wisdom*, the *200 Chapters* present a profound exploration into the notion of human deification, describing the deified man as another heaven and another God in this world. This portrayal extends beyond mere metaphor, suggesting that within our earthly and physical existence lies the potential for an angelic, intellectual, and divine life. This notion is framed as the restoration of divine dignity in mankind, an essential element for

understanding the doctrinal stance that Gabalas adopts in his debate with Palamas on the nature of God's activities or powers and on human participation in God.

Gabalas (*Chapter 78*) argues that, by purifying the soul's faculties with virtues, man can attain his deification: "Therefore, if we wish to purify and sanctify these [sc. soul's faculties] in accordance with those [sc. nine angelic ranks] and offer each one its appropriate and fitting service, we will become another heaven and divine powers, and the entire universe herein and God will uniquely dwell in us more than in other creatures".<sup>861</sup> This, Gabalas says, is the life of the *Trisagion* and the *Hymn of Victory*. The soul (*Chapter 79*), despite the body's limitations, must always be guided by the faculty of reason (λογιστική δύναμις): "While still on earth, it [sc. the mind] will live as if in heaven and will stand invisibly before God in human nature, having lived an angelic and intellectual life".<sup>862</sup> Gabalas (*Chapter 186*) argues that God is omnipresent and observes our thoughts: "When the Divine Mind approaches us invisibly, He keenly observes whether our mind moves towards the worse or the better",<sup>863</sup> while the angels – here called "created essences of immaterial powers" (κτισταὶ οὐσΐαι ἀύλων δυνάμεων) – record our actions. Thanks to intellectual prayer and the study of Holy Scripture (*Chapter 188*), Gabalas says, "one might live with a body, as if in heaven, among the people, and being material, as if found immaterial, and either preserve the divine dignity to oneself or restore it".<sup>864</sup> The human mind (*Chapter 190*), in conversation with God and receiving godly thoughts (θεοπρεπεῖς ἔννοιαι), becomes omniscient, knowing past and future, like another God (Θεὸς ἄλλος).

Gabalas designates virtues (*Chapter 69*) as the soul's immaterial and incorporeal powers (δυνάμεις ψυχῆς ἄυλοι καὶ ἀσώματοι), which persist beyond cyclical genesis and destruction, because they are not bodies (σώματα) like the elements. In *Chapter 78*, Gabalas draws an analogy between the human head and the sky, the eyes and the stars, and between the soul's powers (ψυχῆς δυνάμεις) and the nine angelic ranks (ἀντὶ ταγμάτων ἐννέα). Probably alluding to Isaiah 6:2, Gabalas asserts that God is in the heavens and rests upon the Seraphim, Cherubim and other intellectual orders (νοερὰὶ τάξεις), transcending all creation and filling everything with His power and essence. One can argue, thus, that if virtues are immaterial

<sup>861</sup> K.764–67: οὐκοῦν εἰ καθᾶραι καὶ ἀγιάσαι ταύτας κατ' ἐκείνας θελήσομεν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἐκάστη παρέξομεν ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐρανὸς ἄλλος καὶ δυνάμεις γενησόμεθα θεῖαι, καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐτοσί κόσμος μονονουχὶ καὶ κατοικήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων.

<sup>862</sup> K.776–77: ἐν γῇ ἔτι οὖσα, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύεται καὶ παρεστήξεται τῷ Θεῷ ἀοράτως ἐν ἀνθρώπειᾳ φύσει, ἀγγελικόν τε καὶ νοερὸν διαζήσασα βίον.

<sup>863</sup> K.1958–60: Ἀοράτως ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος νοῦς ἐφιστάμενος, τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν, ἅν τ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἅν τ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον κινήθῃ, καταθρεῖ.

<sup>864</sup> K.1990–92: οὕτω γὰρ ἂν, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, τῷ σώματι διατελέσειε πεπολιτευμένος, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὕλης ὢν, ὡς ἄυλος εὐρεθείη, καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀξίωμα ἑαυτῷ ἢ συντηρήσειεν ἢ ἀποκαταστήσειεν.

powers, and angels are created beings of immaterial powers (κτισταὶ οὐσῖαι ἀύλων δυνάμεων), Gabalas might be suggesting that, in his view, angels are beings embodying virtues, and Christ, being the foremost angel as will be discussed later on, embodies the true paradigm of virtue.

The field that Jesus describes in the Parables of the Sower and the Weeds (Matthew 13:1–44) is likened to the intelligible world (*Chapter* 137–38) with infinite intellectual powers (νοεραὶ δυνάμεις) and orders (τάξεις) of the righteous ones from all ages. The trees of the field represent the reason of being (λόγοι τῶν ὄντων), which is one of the classical definition of philosophy in Byzantium.<sup>865</sup> The hidden treasure in Matthew's field is the contemplation of the heavenly state and the Creator, called here "the King of Ages". The discovery can be achieved through a brief illumination (βραχεία αὐγή), conscience (συνείδησις), learning (μάθησις), or movement (κίνησις). Returning inward helps us understand and improve ourselves (*Chapter* 128), finding joy in addressing deficiencies, akin to the happiness of a peaceful home.

Stillness (ἡσυχία), sobriety (νῆψις), and prayer (προσευχή) expose the soul's deformities better than a mirror (*Chapter* 129). Prayer (*Chapter* 194) links the mind to the impassible and pure God by receiving godlike illuminations (ἐλλάμπεις θεοειδεῖς). Gabalas crafts multiple images to illustrate how the mind achieves the illumination or vision of God. Just as someone on a hilltop sees distant things clearly (*Chapter* 125), a person who attains the pinnacle of virtue, free from the cloud of passions in his thoughts, gains understanding. Just like healthy eyes are necessary for vision (*Chapter* 99), the mind – the eye of the soul (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα) – requires divine intervention for proper contemplation and decision-making. Just as iron turns fiery and ductile in contact with fire (*Chapter* 165) but reverts when removed, the soul, through the mind's contemplation and prayer (διὰ νοῦ θεωρία καὶ προσευχή), merges with divine fire, transforming from wickedness into purity and becoming godlike (θεοειδής). However, when the mind retreats from this connection, it easily reverts to its previous state. Relying solely on human reason is like walking in darkness without God's sunlight. Just as the sun illuminates the earth (*Chapter* 185), an elevated mind (νοῦς μετέωρος) illuminates both soul and body. If the intellectual spark (νοερός σπίνθηρ) is not covered by the body's matter (*Chapter* 186), one might soon perceive the intelligible (τὰ νοητά) as one perceives the sensible. Conversely, when the winged (τὸ πτερόν) part of the soul from Plato's *Phaedrus* becomes entangled in worldly matters, it leads to inner darkness and confusion. Just as atmospheric vapours (*Chapter* 187) obscure the sun's rays and create atmospheric phenomena,

<sup>865</sup> See e.g., Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 16–33; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I*, 4–9, 42–53.

earthly concerns and passions obscure God. The human mind – that is, the divine intellect that is truly desired (ὁ θεῖος νοῦς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐράσμιος) and manifestation of the soul (τὸ διαφανὲς τῆς ψυχῆς) – must prevent the passions from leading the soul into ignorance and darkness, and must follow God, who is the sun of justice (ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος) in reference to Malachias 3:20. Just as the eye of the body (*Chapter* 188–189) avoids seeing disgraceful or unpleasant things, the divine and immaterial mind (ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἄυλος νοῦς) should remain untainted and focused on godly thoughts; thus, to prevent the mind from wavering like a ship without anchors or a helmsman, one should appoint God and the study of divine sayings with intellectual prayer (μελέτη Θείων Λογίων μετὰ τῆς νοερᾶς προσευχῆς) as rulers of the mind (ἡγεμόνες τῷ νῷ), serving as a bridle.

The soul (*Chapters* 89–90) finds less obstacles to understand the future and obtains the more godlike (θεοειδέστερος) dignity of the mind (τὸ τοῦ νοῦ ἀξίωμα) through utmost dispassion and divine illumination (δι’ ἀπαθείας τελειωτάτης καὶ θείας ἐλλάμπσεως); Gabalas is unsure whether to call it light (φῶ), divine spirit (πνεῦμα θεῖον), or directly God. When the mind controls the soul’s desires (*Chapter* 59), it upholds its God-given dignity (θεόσδοτον ἀξίωμα). Gabalas (*Chapter* 182) argues, for instance, that anger jeopardizes the intellectual essence (νοερὰ οὐσία) and the inherent dignity of humanity from its inception (τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνουσιωθέν ἀξίωμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ). Furthermore, he concedes (*Chapter* 194) that the mind will either maintain or restore its own likeness to God (τὸ πρὸς Θεὸν ἑαυτῷ [sc. νῷ] ὅμοιον ἢ συντηρήσει ἢ ἀποκαταστήσει) by operating within its five territories, being able to receive theurgical virtues.<sup>866</sup> Gabalas also explored the condition of humanity before the fall in his *Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve* (A1) and in his unedited *Brief Reminder Concerning the Death of Man, the Soul’s Judgment and Retribution* (A26).<sup>867</sup> According to Kaltsogianni’s study of the *Dialogue*, Gabalas viewed the human condition before the fall as essentially mortal, yet with the potential to attain immortality through moral development. He considers the human soul immortal by God’s grace, whereas the body has the choice between virtue and vice, with its destiny of immortality or mortality at stake. Man’s life in Paradise is

<sup>866</sup> K.2132–33: τὸ πρὸς Θεὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον ἢ συντηρήσει ἢ ἀποκαταστήσει.

<sup>867</sup> *To the one who loves speeches, whether humanity was created mortal or immortal, or in the middle of mortality and immortality* in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 1r–15r (A1). Πρὸς φιλόλογόν τινα, εἰ θνητὸς ἢ ἀθάνατος τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐπλάσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ μεθόριος θνητότητος καὶ ἀθανασίας. Eleni Kaltsogianni, “Matthew of Ephesus and His Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve”, 101–44. For the *Reminder*, see Burney 114, 146v–148r (A26). Ὑπόμνησις διὰ βραχέων περὶ τελειωτῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ κρίσεως ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως.



angelic, since man rather than the angels bears God's image.<sup>868</sup> These ideas are therefore in line with Gabalas' doctrine in the *200 Chapters*.

Lastly, it is essential to underline that the restoration of human dignity hinges on the broader notion of the restoration of the visible world. Gabalas (*Chapter 141*) attributes this idea to the Holy Scripture, in particular the Prophets,<sup>869</sup> saying "The divine teachings say that the visible world will be restored to a higher essence and state" (οἱ θεῖοι φασὶ λόγοι ποτὲ ἀποκαταστήσεσθαι τὸ ὁρώμενον τοῦτο εἰς τὴν κρείττω οὐσίαν καὶ πολιτείαν).<sup>870</sup> By not becoming captivated by the visible world (*Chapter 157*), one can return to God and discover virtue. Hence, the understanding of humanity from an anthropological perspective is deeply rooted in an ontological structure.

### **Ontology and Epistemology of Being, God and the Mind in *On True Wisdom***

In his philosophical discourse *On True Wisdom*, Gabalas contends that true wisdom seekers succeed by emulating or acting in the image of Wisdom, unlike the hypocrites and unknown critics who boastfully adopt the divine name. Whether this is a reference to Palamas is debatable. In any case, the ideal life involves, for Gabalas, consistent choices amid changeable circumstances, aligning words and works, and being humble and gentle. Gabalas notes that Socrates and Plato, known for challenging the Sophists, upheld similar beliefs. In this discourse, Gabalas brings up the Platonic ontological definition of being to produce a particular definition of God:

The Being was long ago, always being; and this alone with true reason both exists somehow of itself and is named after itself, just as it moves by itself and appears to no one, and it is certainly not known [by anyone]. But [the Being] was: just as it held all and alone the essence and the 'what it was to be', so too it [held] those things which are associated by nature with it alone, namely wisdom, power, knowledge, kindness, reason [i.e. *logos*] that is understood from the beginning both in itself and in relation to it. It [sc. *logos*] is indeed all those things and whatever is seen after those things in this begotten nature [sc. man]. It was impossible for this very Being, which exists as the first and finest essence that surpasses all that exists, not to also possess the best things around itself with some superior reason in every way possible and the most perfect [qualities], by all means surpassing everything through the magnitude of its nature. But just as

<sup>868</sup> Eleni Kaltsogianni, "Matthew of Ephesus and His Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve", 103, 119–20.

<sup>869</sup> Cf. A13a.42–76, 132–57, where Gabalas says that the Prophets talk about universal restoration.

<sup>870</sup> For another reference to restoration, see Gabalas' *Chapter 57*.

the things of its nature are conceived as something else and are not like the things of our own [nature], so too the things around its nature are understood to exist in an incomprehensible manner; thus, [it] is perhaps not sufficiently discerned and it is unlikely that such an infinite depth [sc. Being] exists as an unseen thing in an infinite age. Some secondary essences have come into being as symbols of that essence, which is first and beyond essence, and moreover, all that is observed in the essences, circumscribing them, so that even in this respect, as far as it is attainable by human power, the things that follow are understood alongside with that divine and simple nature, which is unmixed with this composition below, might be known.<sup>871</sup>

The notion of Being as existence or “always being” (ἀεὶ δῆπου ὄν) originates from the works of Plato, notably from *Parmenides* 146a and his reflection on being and genesis in *Timaeus* 27d–28a, where he poses the question, “What is always existent (τὸ ὄν ἀεὶ), but never becomes, and what is always becoming, but never is?”. Gabalas also recalls Aristotle’s metaphysical discussions on the essence of existence – the “what is to be” (τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι) reminds of Aristotelian terminology on substance, form, and the nature of being –, and the concept of a self-moving (κινούμενον καθ’ αὐτό) and self-caused entity, reminiscent of Aristotle’s unmoved mover (e.g., *Physics* 211a, 257b).

Concerning the epistemology of Being, Gabalas asserts that it “appears to no one, and it is certainly not known”, reflecting the Christian notion of apophaticism, which views God’s essence as being beyond human comprehension and fundamentally unknowable. Yet, Gabalas also recognizes God as source and sustainer of all existence, knowable through the realities around Him such as His powers and *logos*. Gabalas describes God’s powers as secondary essences (οὐσίαι τινες δεύτεραι) and symbols (σύμβολα) of God’s (supra)essence, which humans can grasp to the extent their human capabilities (ἀνθρωπίνη δύναμις) allow. To explain how human can attain knowledge of God through His powers, Gabalas, in *On True Wisdom*, explains his views on the nature of the mind and adapts the Platonic theory of the soul’s

<sup>871</sup> Manuel Gabalas, *On True Wisdom* A5.47–60: ἦν μὲν πάλαι τὸ ὄν, ἀεὶ δῆπου ὄν· καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ καὶ ὄν δῆπου καὶ ὀνομαζόμενον παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ κινούμενον καθ’ αὐτό καὶ μηδενὶ φαινόμενον· μὴ δὲ μέντοιγε γνωριζόμενον· ἦν δ’ ὥσπερ ἅπαν εἶχον καὶ μόνον τὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ τούτῳ μόνῳ φύσει συνόντα, σοφίαν δηλονότι, δύναμιν, ἐπιστήμην, χρηστότητα, λόγον τὸν καθ’ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ νοούμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ὅς δὴ κάκεῖν’ ἅπαντ’ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἃ μετ’ ἐκεῖνα τῇ γεννητῇ φύσει τῆδε ὁράται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷον τε ἦν, οὐσίαν ὑπάρχον πρώτην τε καὶ ἄριστην καὶ παντὸς τῶν ὄντων ὑπερκειμένην, τοῦτο δῆπου τὸ ὄν, μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ ὑπερφυεῖ τινι λόγῳ ἄριστα δὴ πάντως καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τελεώτατα ἔχειν, καὶ πάντα γοῦν τῷ τῆς φύσεως νικῶντα μεγέθει. ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνην νοεῖται καὶ οὐχ οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκείνην ἀμηγάνῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ συννεόηται ὄντα· καὶ τοίνυν οὐχ ἰκανὸν δῆπου κριθέν, οὐδ’ εἰκὸς ἄπειρον οὕτω βυθὸν πράγμα ἐν ἀείρῳ αἰῶνι ἀθεώρητον εἶναι. οὐσίαι τινες γεγένηται δεύτεραι σύμβολα τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν οὐσίας, προσέτι καὶ ὅσα ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνθεωρεῖται περιγράφοντα ταύτας, ὥς ἂν κὰν τῷδε τῷ μέρει γνωσθεῖ, ὥς γοῦν ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρωπίνη δυνάμει, τὰ ἐπόμενα ἢ συννούμενα τῇ θεῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἀλλῇ καὶ ἀμιγῇ τῆς κάτω ταύτης συνθέσεως φύσει.

immortality. He portrays Wisdom as a vast and infinite source, attracting matter through reason, thereby conferring upon it a form that is both truly divine and immortal (μορφὴ θεία ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀθάνατος).<sup>872</sup> God wishes all men to become godlike (θεοειδεῖς) and like Him (κατ' αὐτόν), as far as possible. To this end, as a gift, God has bestowed upon the mind and rational essence (λογικὴ οὐσία) – which Gabalas defines as the soul's intellectual and immortal part (νοερὸς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθάνατος) – powers, i.e., virtues, to emulate God's powers, just like Prophets, Apostles and Saints did. Man partakes of immortality by grace, as well as of mind, word and spirit (ἀθανασία κατὰ χάριν καὶ νοῦς καὶ λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα). Gabalas equates God's image in man with man's intellectual nature (νοερὰ φύσις), i.e., his mind. Humankind is the image of God by a law of philanthropy, but not of nature, power, knowledge, or will. Gabalas further asserts (A5.158–60) that God simply lies in man's discursive thought (ἀπλῶς ἐν ἀνθρώπου διανοίᾳ).

In this way, Gabalas harmonizes God's transcendence and immanence, preserving the unity of God's essence. Human participation in God's essence is achieved through the imitation of His powers thanks into God's image in man, that is through the mind that can grant virtues (immaterial powers) into existence. To perfectly imitate God, the mind must rule and align the faculties of the soul and virtues in accordance with God's will. This aligns with concepts common to Christian Platonizing asceticism and resonates with Neoplatonic views about the emanation from the One.

### Examples of Deified People: Prophets and Saints

Gabalas highlights the Prophets as examples of divinely inspired individuals, finding in their writings a deep well of wisdom. This topic is also addressed in his chapters on spiritual leadership, where Gabalas outlines the qualities of a true spiritual leader. In the *Laudatory Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a), Gabalas commends their books for conveying ethical teachings, right actions in discerning virtue and vice, as well as divine laws.<sup>873</sup> He explains (A13a.42–88–113, 132–57) that the Prophets not only promoted piety and virtue while condemning sin, vice, and idolatry but also, by divine inspiration (A13a.11: ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας θειοτέρας), anticipated the arrival of Christ and future events, offering insights into God's will and creation, the beginning and eventual dissolution of the universe, and the fate of the soul

<sup>872</sup> A5.6–7, 66–70, 133–36.

<sup>873</sup> A13a.78: δικαστήριον κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ νόμους θείους τὰς σφετέρας ἐξεργάσαντο βίβλους. Cf. A13a.77–87.

and body in the Last Judgment. Therefore, Gabalas considers their teachings as a source of mystical theology.<sup>874</sup>

Gabalas connects this prophetic knowledge with their role as God's intermediaries, even describing them as earthly angels with a body: "I believe that the Prophets have become the tongue of God, the voice of His ineffable words, the eyes of what is lying and hidden in the depth, the ears of those things never heard, the discursive thought of the unthinkable, the mind of the Prime Mind's mysteries which have been silent from the beginning, knowledge of things beyond knowledge, angels, even if with bodies, of the great will and understanding".<sup>875</sup> Thus, Gabalas (*Chapter* 65) suggests that virtue and truth can be achieved through extensive scientific knowledge, divine grace, or mental activity, similar to that of prophets and saints (ἐνέργεια νοῦ, οἷον καὶ προφητῶν καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν ἅγιοι).

Just like fire, which is a divine and incorporeal nature (*Chapter* 195), rises upward, illuminates, and transforms, man should aspire to a spiritual life, in order to obtain the citizenship above with God and the angels (ἄνω τὸ πολίτευμα μετὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων). The virtuous person participates in the divine light (θείου φωτός ἐν μετουσίᾳ) and radiates his brightness (λαμπρότης) to newcomers, because he burns and become caustic (καυστικός) like the sharpness of the Word (τοῦ Λόγου ἀποτομία), Christ. Gabalas characterizes the true spiritual leader as a teacher (διδάσκαλος) – much like he himself was (see Section 1.5) –, as someone entirely divine (θεῖον τινα τὸ ὅλον) and as an embodied God among humans, presenting an image of every virtue to those under his care (Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης εἰκόνα τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα προβεβλημένος). Stating that the spiritual leader can become an angel is intriguingly since Christ is the foremost among these: (*Chapter* 167): "the one who, being incomparably prior to the angels, serves the needs of those by far inferior to the angels [sc. human]".<sup>876</sup> This may suggest that, by purifying and elevating the

<sup>874</sup> His reflections on the oracular message, including the typological interpretation of the Old Testament texts, are further addressed in the *Prologue* (A13a.10–19, 30–33, 168–72) and in the *200 Chapters* (e.g., K.24–26).

<sup>875</sup> A13a.160–63: ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τούτους γλῶσσαν γενέσθαι Θεοῦ, φωνὴν τῶν ἀλαλήτων αὐτοῦ λόγων, ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἐν βάθει κειμένων καὶ ἀποκρύφων, ὧτα τῶν οὐδέποτε ἀκουστῶν, διάνοιαν τῶν ἀσυλλογίστων, νοῦν τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σεσιγημένων τοῦ πρώτου νοῦ μυστηρίων, γνῶσιν τῶν ὑπὲρ γνῶσιν πραγμάτων, ἀγγέλους, εἰ καὶ μετὰ σώματος, τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς καὶ συνέσεως.

<sup>876</sup> K.1698–99: ὁ πρῶτος κατὰ τὸ ἀσύγκριτον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῖς πολὺ χείροσι τῶν ἀγγέλων.

In this regard, it would be interesting to study Gabalas' unedited treatise in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 66r–69r: Ἐπίλυσις περὶ τοῦ τίνος χάριν ὁ ὑμνωδὸς ἐνδοξοτέραν τῶν Σεραφίμ τὴν Θεοτόκον ὑμνήσας διὰ τῆς προσθήκης αὐθις τοῦ ἀσυγκρίτως ἀσύγκριτον τὸ συγκεκριμένον ἐποίησε καὶ πρὸς τίνα δὲ δόξαν ὁρῶν ταύτη τὸν ὕμνον ἐξύφηνεν, *Explanation [to show] by whose grace the poet who wrote that the mother of God is 'the most glorious of the Seraphims' made incomparable what is not comparable with the addition of the word 'incomparably', and what was his purpose when he composed the hymn in this way* (A3). This treatise discusses the word ἀσυγκρίτως from one sentence of Friday's ninth ode of the Irmologion (6.230.20): Τὴν τιμωτέραν τῶν Χερουβίμ καὶ ἐνδοξοτέραν ἀσυγκρίτως τῶν Σεραφίμ, τὴν ἀδιαφθόρως Θεὸν Λόγον τεκοῦσαν, τὴν ὄντως Θεοτόκον σὲ

soul's faculties through virtue, the spiritual leader can potentially attain a Christ-like existence (*imitatio Christi*). Thus, Gabalas connects the notion of human deification directly with the incarnation of Christ, as well as with the state of man before the fall of Adam.

## 2. Gabalas' Platonizing Spirituality and Palamite Hesychasm

This section presents an analysis of the spiritual and philosophical tradition reflected in the works of Gabalas, which pretends to be a humble contribution to the field of Byzantine philosophy.<sup>877</sup> This introduction sets the stage for a comparative analysis between Gabalas' thought and Palamite Hesychasm. The works of Gabalas bridge secular wisdom and Christian theology, endeavoring to merge ancient philosophy with Christian beliefs – a common goal in Byzantine scholarship, as noted by Garcia Bravo.<sup>878</sup> Gabalas' appreciation for secular knowledge finds common ground with the views of other Palaiologan scholars such as Barlaam of Calabria, Nikephoros Gregoras and Theodore Metochites, but sets him apart from the Palamite doctrine. His perspective, shared by Joseph the Philosopher and Nicholas Kabasilas, embodies what Sophia Mergiali-Sahas called “the difficult balance between worldly wisdom and spirituality”.<sup>879</sup> The sources of Gabalas' works, especially in the *200 Chapters*, are extensive and varied, with multiple references to Holy Scripture. This section focuses on his use of Plato and certain Christian authors, situating him within the Byzantine tradition of Platonizing spirituality or asceticism.<sup>880</sup>

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μεγαλύνομεν, “The most precious of the Cherubim and the incomparably most glorious of the Seraphim, the undefiled begetter of God the Word, the true Mother of God, we exalt thee”.

<sup>877</sup> For an introduction to Byzantine philosophy, see Benakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, 12–16; Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*. On the term philosophy and theology in Byzantium, see Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 16–33; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I*, 4–9, 42–53; Antonio Bravo García, “De Pselo a Pletón: La filosofía bizantina entre tradición y originalidad”, in *Ciencia y Cultura En La Edad Media* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001), 256–59. For a reevaluation of the meaning of Byzantine philosophy, see Trizio, “Byzantine Philosophy as a Contemporary Historiographical Project”.

<sup>878</sup> Bravo García, “De Pselo a Pletón: La filosofía bizantina entre tradición y originalidad”, 285. On the relation of Christian and pagan philosophy in Byzantium, see Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 34–47, 64–87, esp. 39–41; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I: Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie*, 5–6, 11–53. For an overview of philosophy during the Palaiologan era, see Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, 188–233; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 16–179.

<sup>879</sup> Mergiali-Sahas, *L'enseignement des lettres*, 84–89, 96–102. See also, Mergiali-Sahas, “Intellectual Pursuits for Their Own Sake”; Kourousis, *Μαυροῦλ Γαβαλάς*, 168; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 224–26, 30–31, 266–67; Pontani, “Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)”, 419–21, 435; Daniele Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi*, 52–58.

<sup>880</sup> I am grateful to István Perczel for pointing out to me this tradition of Byzantine spirituality, which warrants further research.

## The *Kephalaia* with the Burney Collection

In his study of the tradition of *kephalaia*, Paul Géhin recognizes Evagrius of Pontus as the pioneer of the ‘chapters’ as a literary form.<sup>881</sup> Evagrius would be the first to offer a theoretical framework for monastic life in this genre. Gabalas’ personal manuscript (Burney 112–114) includes authors whom Géhin identifies as contributors to this genre, such as Makarios the Egyptian, Mark the Monk, Diadochos of Photice (4–5<sup>th</sup> c.), Maximus Confessor (7<sup>th</sup> c.), John of Karpathos (uncertain date), Elias Ecdicus (11<sup>th</sup> c.), and Hesychius of Batos (12<sup>th</sup> c.). According to Reinsch, Gabalas transcribed parts of the *Gnostic Chapters* by Diadochos of Photice, *Theological and Gnostic Chapters* by John of Karpathos, and *Chapters on Spiritual Perfection* by Makarios the Egyptian.<sup>882</sup> Additionally, Gabalas’ manuscript contains excerpts from Apollonius of Tyana (1<sup>st</sup> c.), whom Gabalas probably viewed as the initiator of this tradition of Christian spirituality.<sup>883</sup>

Some of these texts feature titles in dodecasyllable verses by Gabalas that encapsulate their main topics, closely reflecting those of the *200 Chapters*, thus providing insights into the spiritual and philosophical foundations behind its creation.<sup>884</sup> Gabalas unearthed teachings on prayer, patience, mercy, and the mind’s elevation and purification from Makarios the Egyptian,<sup>885</sup> insights on sobriety, prayer, humility, and extensive union with the Trinity from Hesychius,<sup>886</sup> and reflections on love, charity (deificatory virtues, according to Gabalas) and deification from Maximus Confessor.<sup>887</sup>

<sup>881</sup> Géhin, “Les collections de Kephalaia monastiques. Naissance et succès d’un genre entre création originale, plagiat et florilège”. See also Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 104, 109.

<sup>882</sup> Κεφάλαια γνωστικά (Burney 112, ff. 34r–79v), Κεφάλαια θεολογικά καὶ γνωστικά (ff. 107v–124v), Κεφάλαια περὶ τῆς κατὰ πνεῦμα τελειότητος (Burney 113, ff. 38r–108r).

<sup>883</sup> For the description of the manuscript, I follow Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, 47–49, which nonetheless requires a reevaluation.

<sup>884</sup> Titles written in dodecasyllabic verses encapsulating the main idea of the text are also found in Palaiologan *typika*, see De Gregorio, “Working in the Imperial and Patriarchal Chanceries”, 409.

<sup>885</sup> Burney 113, f. 38r Reinsch, Title of Makarios’ *Chapters*: εἰ νοῦν καθαρά καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγίασαι ἀριστά τις βούλοιο τῶν φιλαρέτων, τοῦ μακαριστοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ Μακαρίου μετελθέτω τάχιστα σῶφρονας λόγους. “If one wishes to purify the mind and sanctify the soul among the best of those who love virtue, let them swiftly follow the prudent words of the blessed and wise Makarios”. For the texts, see PG 34.841–968.

<sup>886</sup> Burney 113, f. 1r Reinsch: νῆψις, προσευχὴ καὶ ταπείνωσις τρία ψυχὴν καθαίρει καὶ συνάπτει τριάδι. “Sobriety, prayer, and humility are three things that purify the soul and bind it to the Trinity”.

<sup>887</sup> Burney 113, f. 108v Reinsch: ἂν τὴν κορυφὴν ἀρετῶν φθάσαι θέλῃς, ἂν οὐρανῶν ὕψωμα καὶ θεῖους νόας, ἂν φύσιν αὐτὴν εἰς Θεὸν μεταπλάσῃ, τοὺς ἀγάπης φίλησον ἐνθέους ὅρους· ἢ τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς θαλάμους εἰσάγει καὶ βασιλικῶς δεξιούται καὶ τρέφει, καὶ πάντα μυεῖ καὶ διδάσκει πανσόφως τὰ φρικτὰ μυστήρια τῶν ξένων δόμων. εἰ νυμφικῶς γὰρ ἐστολισμένους ἴδοι εὐωδίαν πνέοντας ἀρίστων τρόπων, ὅλας ἑαυτῆς ἐξανοίγει τὰς πύλας καὶ προσκαλεῖται ταχέως εἰσιέναι ὥσπερ Σολομὼν ἁσματίζειν προγράφει. ἀλλ’ εἰ συνοικεῖν τῇ καλῇ νύμφῃ θέῃ, βδελυκτέον σύμπασαν ὡς πόρνην σχέσιν, ἥτις μιαίνει τοῦ νοδὸς τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ῥυπαρὰν δαίμνυνσι πρὸς θεῖον πόθον. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰς ψυχῆς φύσιν ὡς ἡδοναί τε καὶ λύπαι καὶ πικρία καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὀργὴν κατὰ τῶν πέλας πάθη, ἃ δὴ παρεῖναι καὶ θεὸς πάντως θέλει. “If you wish to reach the summit of virtues, if you seek the height of heavens and divine thoughts, if you wish to transform your very nature into God, cherish the divine boundaries of love; [love] invites the lovers into chambers, receives and nurtures them in a majestic way, initiates

## Divine Grace in Pagan Minds: A Barlaamite Tenet?

In his *Prologue to the 200 Chapters*, Gabalas champions secular wisdom, arguing that the grace of God is present in the mind of some pagan thinkers, enabling them to provide ethical teachings similar to those of Christianity. Gabalas' views on divine grace enlightening the minds of pagan sages and his advocacy for secular wisdom align with what is known of Barlaam's views on the topic. According to the Palamas' *Second Triad*, Barlaam argued that pagan philosophers were illuminated by God to a certain degree and their teachings were valuable for Christians.<sup>888</sup> Similar ideas are found in Barlaam's *Third Greek Letter* to Gregory Palamas: "<Of what do you accuse me?> Of claiming that, if the Greeks said something which is in accordance with our doctrines, it has been made manifest to them by God?".<sup>889</sup> This shared belief between Gabalas and Barlaam helps to explain why Gabalas was later labeled a Barlaamite and Akindynist. The views of Gabalas and Barlaam diverge from those of Gregory the Sinaite and Palamas, who, broadly speaking, equated the awareness of grace with the knowledge of truth (Jesus), thereby rendering secular wisdom, particularly Aristotelian logics, ineffective in the search for God.

## The Heart's Role in Hesychasm and Late Byzantine Methods of Prayer

During the Empire of Nicea and the Palaiologan era, there were, in addition to Gabalas, other authors of spiritual chapters, such as a certain Theognostos, the monk Denys, Gregory the Sinaite, and Patriarch Kallistos I, along with a series of ascetic alphabets. However, the most notable were undoubtedly those of Gregory Palamas.<sup>890</sup> As previously noted (see Section 2.6), Palamas' *150 Chapters*, specifically Chapters 64–150, may be a reaction to the accusations in

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and wisely teaches them all the terrible mysteries of the strange abodes. For if [love] saw them adorned in bridal fashion, breathing the fragrance of noble ways, [love] opens all her gates [sc. of love] and swiftly calls them to enter, as Solomon in his song prescribes. But if you wish to dwell with the beautiful bride, you must detest all whoredom, which defiles the image of the mind and shows it as filthy as regards divine desire. For nothing is so disgraceful to the nature of the soul as pleasures and sorrows, bitterness, and the passions of anger at the gates, which God indeed wishes to be present". On this work, see Géhin, "Les collections de Kephalaia monastiques. Naissance et succès d'un genre entre creation original, plagiat et florilège", 21.

<sup>888</sup> Polemis, "The Hesychast Controversy: Events, Personalities, Texts and Trends", 352, 369–70.

<sup>889</sup> Barlaam of Calabria, *Letter* 3.696–97 Schirò: ὅτι εἴ τι καὶ Ἕλληνας εἶπον τοιοῦτον οἷον τοῖς ἡμετέροις συμφωνεῖν, παρὰ θεοῦ ἰσχυρίζομαι πεφανερωθῆαι αὐτοῖς; See Golitsis, "The Reappropriation of Philosophy in the Palaeologan Period", 265, who finds parallels with John of Damascus' *Fount of Knowledge*.

<sup>890</sup> Paul Géhin, "Les collections de Kephalaia monastiques. Naissance et succès d'un genre entre creation original, plagiat et florilège", 27–30. See also Antonio Rigo, *Silencio y Quietud: Místicos bizantinos entre los siglos XIII y XV* (Siruela, 2007); Dirk Krausmüller, "The Rise of Hesychasm", 101–26. For the alphabets, see Vassil, "Spirituality and Emotion: Poetic Trends in the Palaeologan Period", 188–89.

*Tome of the Opponents* by Gabalas. In order to substantiate this claim, it is necessary to analyse and compare Palamas' *Chapters* 1–63 with Gabalas' philosophical and theological system.<sup>891</sup>

Palamas (*Chapters* 1–7) challenges the ideas of the eternity of the world and the World Soul, reveal inconsistencies between Plato and Aristotle. He questions, for instance, Plato's theory (*Timaeus* 34b) that the heaven's movement is effected by the World Soul. In contrast, Gabalas uses precisely the same passage from *Timaeus* in his analogy of soul and circle in the *200 Chapters*, while he argues for the eternity of Being in *On True Wisdom*. Unlike Gabalas, Palamas (*Chapters* 8–25) explores various topics on the process of natural knowledge, giving significant attention to imagination, the geocentric view, and the terrestrial sphere. Palamas also discusses the role of the Holy Spirit, a topic absent in Gabalas' *200 Chapters*. Palamas (*Chapters* 41–63) discusses the need for preserving man's dignity and rank, giving importance to remembrance or contemplation of God, and the Jesus Prayer. For Gabalas, the restoration is achieved by the purification of the mind and, above all, of man's ethical behaviour. Like Gabalas, Palamas (*Chapters* 30–33) accepts the immortality of rational nature – angels and mind – and places special emphasis on the immortality of souls. Palamas (*Chapters* 34–40) also discusses divine nature, the doctrine of God's activities, and His triadic image in man. Like Gabalas, Palamas (*Chapter* 27) also believes that God's image in man is in the mind. There seems to be a consensus on this topic during this time, since Barlaam of Calabria, according to Palamas, maintained that the *logoi* of creation, embedded in the divine mind, find reflections in the human soul.<sup>892</sup>

However, Palamas' views would diverge from those of Gabalas and Barlaam by proposing that the mind resides in the heart, where it is purified and where God's grace is received.<sup>893</sup> This constitutes a significant point of departure. Key texts that shed light on Palamas' spiritual tradition, especially his views on the role of the heart, include the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Method of Prayer* by Pseudo Symeon, *Treatise on the Heart's Custody* by Nikephoros the Monk, and the *Different Words about Commandments* by Gregory the

<sup>891</sup> Sinkewicz, *Saint Gregory Palamas*, 2–35.

<sup>892</sup> Andrew Louth, "Platonism from Maximos the Confessor to the Palaiologan Period", in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 338.

<sup>893</sup> Alexandros Chouliaras, *The Anthropology of St Gregory Palamas: The Image of God, the Spiritual Senses, and the Human Body* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 27, 192–94. In his earliest works, Palamas seems to be aware of the intellectual approach, namely that the mind, leaving bodily ties, approaches God. See Polemis, "Neoplatonic and Hesychastic Elements in the Early Teaching of Gregorios Palamas on the Union of Man with God: The Life of St. Peter the Athonite".



Sinaite (ca. 1265–1346).<sup>894</sup> These prayer manuals gained acceptance within the monks of Mount Athos.

The first difference between Gabalas' doctrine and the methods of prayer is the sources quoted in these texts, which include Mark the Monk, Ephrem the Syrian, Thalassius the African, Diadochus of Photike, Symeon the New Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, John Climacus, Barsanuphius, Maximus Confessor, Isaac of Ninive, Hesychius, Philotheos of Sinai. Among these, Gabalas directly copied from Mark the Monk, Diadochus of Photike, Maximus Confessor, Hesychius, as evident in the Burney collection, and was familiar with the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, according to a direct quote in Gabalas' *Chapter 56*, and likely also knew of Symeon the New Theologian. Therefore, the varied sources and spiritual figures referenced in these texts represent two distinct spiritual traditions.

Comparing the sources of Gabalas' *200 Chapters* to the ones used by Palamas in *150 Chapters* is more complex, since the latter's work features a vast array of references to, notably, the Cappadocian Fathers and Pseudo-Dionysius. Interestingly, Palamas often quotes Cyril of Alexandria, a key player of the Alexandrian Christology in the councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), to support his thesis. This presents an interesting divergence from Gabalas, who, in his *Letter* to Gregory of Dyrrachium (B63), indicates his disagreement with some of the ideas in Cyril's *Thesaurus*, a topic that warrants further research.

Key principles of early Palaiologan methods of prayer, notably the life in solitude, stand in contrast to the communal monastic life endorsed by Gabalas. Besides, these methods prioritize the purification of the heart (καρδία) through breathing techniques, underscoring the role of prayer, particularly the Jesus Prayer, which is the remembrance of God. To obtain vision (θεωρία), the methods recommend control or protection (φυλακή, τήρησις), attention (προσοχή), and inquiry (ἔρευνα) of sinful thoughts, as well as calm, sobriety, reply (ἡσυχία, νῆψις, ἀντίρρησις); and, in few cases, navel introspection.<sup>895</sup> These techniques are largely absent from Gabalas' work. Even though Gabalas, in the Homeric works and *200 Chapters*,

<sup>894</sup> For a Spanish translation of these writings, Rigo, *Silencio y Quietud*, 43–61, 77–91; Rigo, *L'amore della quiete: L'esicismo bizantino tra il XIII e il XV secolo* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2013). Edition of *Treatise on the Heart's Custody* in PG 147, 945–66. On Nikephoros the Monk, see also Antonio Rigo, "Niceforo l'esicasta (XIII sec.): alcune considerazioni sulla vita e sull'opera", in *Amore del bello, studi sulla Filocalia*, ed. Tomáš Špidlík and Kallistos Ware (Magnano: Qiqajon, 1991), 79–119. Edition of the *Method of Prayer* in Irénée Hausherr, *La méthode d'oraison Hésychaste* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1927), 111–18 and 150–72. On Gregory the Sinaite, see Antonio Rigo, "Gregorio II Sinaite", in *La Theologie Byzantine*, ed. Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello and Vassa Conticello, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 35–83; Krausmüller, "The Rise of Hesychasm", 108–119; Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, 218.

<sup>895</sup> For the different definitions of heart's custody, see Ps-Symeon (161.16–24 Hausherr) and Nikephoros the Monk (PG 147.951–53, 955, 957, 961).

values calm and sobriety, he does not associate these qualities with heart purification. Rather, he views them, within the framework of *praxis*, as skills useful to embrace life's trials. In Gabalas' anthropological conception, there is absolute primacy of the mind. He shares the disregard for the heart is common with his mentor, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, whose ideas differed from the hesychast Nikephoros the Monk and Gregory the Sinaite, who were the actual spiritual authorities of Gregory Palamas.<sup>896</sup> As Krausmüller argues, Palamas' achievement was to give this hesychastic vision a theological foundation, which then became integral to the Orthodox Church.<sup>897</sup>

### **Christian Platonizing Spirituality: Key Principles of Gabalas' Theological Thought**

Andrew Louth has proposed to distinguish two forms of Platonism within the Byzantine intellectual tradition, especially from Maximus Confessor to the Palaiologan period: a diffused Platonism and a strictly defined one.<sup>898</sup> The diffused interpretation among Byzantine thinkers encompasses the belief in two worlds (material and spiritual), a sense that everything originates in a supreme being, and that all existence is an expression of God's will and providence. Humans are souls with bodies with the ultimate goal of perceiving God. The soul is divided into rational and irrational parts, i.e., *nous*, anger and desire. There is the conviction that humans are responsible for their actions and undergo judgement after death. Thus, the universe is seen as a moral universe, imbued with meaning and purpose. All elements attributed to diffused Platonism by Louth can generally be found in Gabalas' thought. Gabalas diverges from strictly defined Platonism, for instance, by not grounding his principles explicitly in Plato's dialogues or viewing them as the ultimate reference. It is also uncertain whether Gabalas' accepted ideas such as the soul's preexistence and metempsychosis. However, Gabalas appears to have embraced certain specific concepts: he aligns with the Plotinian idea of continuum from the highest (the One) to the lowest, with the goal of returning to the origin through a process of rest and procession. By accepting the immortality of the mind, Gabalas aligned with the belief in the soul's eternity – in line with Palamas. By advocating for the notion of Being as “what always exist” in *On True Wisdom*, Gabalas subtly gravitates towards the idea of the eternity of the world – eternally reliant upon God –, rather than the belief in its creation by God *ex nihilo*. Building on Andrew Louth's categorization, I will examine Gabalas' theological views, which appear to be founded on three key principles.

<sup>896</sup> Rigo and Stolfi, *Teolepto di Filadelfia*, 24.

<sup>897</sup> Krausmüller, “The Rise of Hesychasm”, 124.

<sup>898</sup> Louth, “Platonism from Maximus the Confessor to the Palaiologan Period”.

The first key principle involves the rule of the mind, both in action and rest, as a means to ultimately achieve deification in life. Plato discusses the divine component in the soul's rational part (e.g., *Timaeus* 90a–d, *Republic* 611e), which connects with the transcendent forms (*Phaedo* 79d). He accepts that virtuous souls will join the gods after death (*Timaeus* 82b–c, *Republic* 248a, 250b–c) and have a vision in the intellectual realm (*Phaedrus* 247c; *Republic* 508c).<sup>899</sup> It has already been noted (see Section 2.5, 3.4) that Plato's *Timaeus* is an important source for understanding Gabalas' views, for instance, in the case of the analogy of the soul as the center of a circle (*Timaeus* 34b). Deification in life, according to the *Timaeus*, must be linked to the concept of the philosopher's happiness (*eudaimonia*). For example, in *Timaeus* 90b–d, Plato says: “[it is necessary] for the one who has taken care of the *demon* within himself [to be] *eudaimon*” (αὐτὸν εὖ κεκοσμημένον τὸν δαίμονα σύνοικον ἑαυτῷ [...] εὐδαίμονα). Exercising the movements connatural to the divine in us (τῷ δ' ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖῳ συγγενεῖς κινήσεις) in accordance with the thoughts and revolutions of the universe (αἱ τοῦ παντὸς διανοήσεις καὶ περιφοραί) makes us think about what is immortal, divine, and true, Plato concludes, “as far as it is possible for human nature to partake in immortality” (καθ' ὅσον δ' αὖ μετασχεῖν ἀνθρωπίνη φύσει ἀθανασίας ἐνδέχεται).

The idea of immortality seems to merge with the concept of living deification in other dialogues; for example, in the *Symposium* 208b Socrates remarks that the mortal partakes in immortality, including the body; and he wonders (*Symposium* 212a) whether the philosopher can become a friend of the gods (θεοφίλης) and immortal (αθάνατος). Similar notions of deification or immortality in life can be found in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1177b 31–34, where the ultimate aspiration of man is viewed as the contemplative life, living in accordance with the divine aspect within humans, namely the mind, to “become immortal as far as possible” (ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν), likely alluding to the formula of Plato's *Timaeus* 90b–d.<sup>900</sup> By the 12<sup>th</sup>-century, Eustratios of Nicea, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, offers a reinterpretation of the idea of deification inspired by Proclus' *Commentary on Timaeus*. Eustratios suggests that the human intellect, which is according to habit (κατ' ἔξιν), can comprehend the intelligibles inherent in the intellect in essence (κατ' οὐσίαν) by following the traces it bears of these intelligibles; Eustratios here seems to

<sup>899</sup> Cf. Andrew Louth, “Orthodox Mystical Theology and Its Intellectual Roots”, in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 518; Dominic O'Meara, “Divinization in Greek Philosophy”, in *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, ed. Dominic O'Meara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 36; Robbert van den Berg, “‘Becoming like God’ according to Proclus’ Interpretations of the *Timaeus*, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the Chaldaean Oracles”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 78 (2003): 189–90, 193.

<sup>900</sup> O'Meara, “Divinization in Greek Philosophy”, 33.

identify the intellect in essence with the First Cause, and the Platonic concept of the good with the Christian God.<sup>901</sup> This represents a development of the Aristotelian idea of deification that adopts Neoplatonic nuances.

Dominic O'Meara highlights that deification, or divinization, is the primary goal of the philosophical traditions from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>902</sup> Of particular relevance to our discussion is Plotinus' concept of the undescended soul. Plotinus maintained that the soul is dynamically linked to the divine Intellect and ultimately the One, with the divine Intellect being always present and accessible to us (*Enneads* 4.1.1.1–5). Plotinus weaves this idea into a passage that includes references to imagery from the *Odyssey* previously discussed (*Enneads* 1.6.8.16–21), closely resembling Gabalas' thought. For Plotinus, our existence is anchored in the divine intellect, with a part of us forever remaining there (*Enneads* 4.8.8.1–6), which suggests that we can return to the life of the god that we essentially are. However, Plotinus' concept of the undescended soul faced opposition in later Neoplatonism, particularly from Iamblichus and Proclus, who argued that the soul finds its identity only through its relationship to the body.<sup>903</sup> Gabalas' views seem to resonate with Plotinus' ideas in this regard.

Plato and Christianity are universalist, accepting that most men might attain deification.<sup>904</sup> The Christian objective is to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven (Matthew 5:20, 7:21, 19:23–4), with some instances suggesting that it is possible for Christians to achieve it within their lifetime (e.g., Matthew 4:17, 3:2).<sup>905</sup> Concerning the rule of the mind, some of Gabalas' ideas derive from the spiritual tradition of the Desert Fathers. The privileging of reason is particularly important for the tradition of Evagrius Ponticus. Modern scholars argue that the intellectual approach of Evagrius, aiming for the mind's liberation and divine contemplation, contrasts with the emotional approach of Makarian homilies. Gabalas' works include both approaches, echoing the synthesis already found in the *Chapters* of Diadochos of Photice and Maximus Confessor.<sup>906</sup> For instance, Evagrius (*Chapters on Prayer* 2, 25, 35 and

<sup>901</sup> Trizio, *Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea*, 143–87.

<sup>902</sup> Dominic O'Meara, "The Two Functions of Political Philosophy", in *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, ed. Dominic O'Meara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3, 34.

<sup>903</sup> O'Meara, "Divinization in Greek Philosophy", 38–39; van den Berg, "'Becoming like God' according to Proclus' Interpretations of the Timaeus, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the Chaldaean Oracles", 193, 201.

<sup>904</sup> John Lenz, "Deification of the Philosopher in Classical Greece", in *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*, ed. Jeffery Wittung and Michael Christensen (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 53.

<sup>905</sup> Bishop Hilarion Alfeyev, "Eschatology", in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. Elizabeth Theokritoff and Mary Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109. Cf. Casiday, "Church Fathers and the Shaping of Orthodox Theology", 168–69.

<sup>906</sup> Andrew Louth, "Orthodox Mystical Theology and Its Intellectual Roots", in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 514; Casiday, "Church Fathers and the Shaping of Orthodox Theology", 175.

84) considers that the dwelling place of God is the rational soul. He describes prayer as the highest activity of the mind and the communion of the mind with God. The kingdom of God is for Evagrius (*Praktikos* 3) the knowledge of the Trinity coextensive with the substance of the mind because it fulfils the mind's destiny.<sup>907</sup> The fact that Gabalas (*Chapter* 99) refers to the mind as the eye of the soul might suggest an influence of Makarios of Egypt (*Homily* 7.87: ὁφθαλμὸς τῆς ψυχῆς).

The second key principle of Gabalas' theological thought is the ethical approach, emphasizing *praxis* or action, characteristic of Gabalas' writings. This approach also underlies his views on human participation in God and deification, and marks a significant shift from the devotion to *theoria* by Palamite hesychasm. Rather than Plato, the important source here is Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* books 6 and 10, which highlight the intertwined roles of *praxis* and *theoria* in the pursuit of happiness (*eudaimonia*). The ideal of living virtuously (τὸ κατ'ἀρετὴν ζῆν) as the pinnacle of philosophy is also present in the thought of Cynics and Stoics.<sup>908</sup> Starting from Plotinus, Plato's *theoria* is interpreted through the lenses of Aristotle's emphasis on *praxis*.<sup>909</sup> Yet, this is just one layer of Gabalas' thought, which draws extensively from the Eastern Christian tradition derived from the Desert Fathers, particularly in the tradition of Evagrius Ponticus. Moreover, the emphasis on *praxis* ties in with the concept of human choice in the form of preference (προαίρεσις), a recurrent theme in Gabalas' *200 Chapters*. Gabalas' views on this topic have been influenced, for instance, by Makarios the Egyptian, who says that "praise is only deserved by one who by his personal resolution with effort and struggle makes the good his own through free-will and choice".<sup>910</sup> Furthermore, Makarios (*Homily* 37.134–36) emphasizes that without human will, even God Himself does nothing, though he could, because of man's freedom (διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον). Thus, divine operations hinge on human will (ἡ τελεσιουργία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κεῖται). Building on these ideas, Maximus Confessor further elaborates that human participation in God is contingent upon the free choice of both the virtuous man and God.

<sup>907</sup> See also the commentary in Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus*, 250.

<sup>908</sup> Anthony Long, "The Socratic Tradition: Diogenes, Crates and Hellenistic Ethics", in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, ed. Robert B. Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 28–46; Pedro Pablo Fuentes González, "El Atajo Filosófico de Los Cínicos Antiguos Hacia La Felicidad", *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* 12 (2002): 203–51.

<sup>909</sup> Francesco Monticini has recently explored the reflections on action in Gabalas' *Letter* to Gregoras (B35) in an online paper, "Azione come praxis, Riflessioni su scienza e conoscenza in Manuele Gabalas", [http://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id\\_articolo=3805](http://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=3805), consulted in May 2023. See also Lenz, "Deification of the Philosopher in Classical Greece", 53.

<sup>910</sup> Makarios the Egyptian, *Homily* 27.316–18: ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπαίνου ἄξιος ὁ ἰδίᾳ σπουδῇ μετὰ ἀγῶνος καὶ πάλης ἐπανελόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐξ αὐτεξουσίου προαίρεσεως.

Maximus depicts God as providing providence and continuously monitoring human actions, with the Divine Word serving as a manifestation of God's providence through which rational beings are endowed with freedom of choice.<sup>911</sup> All these notions are present in Gabalas' writings, which indicates a shared intellectual foundation. In addition, the concept of free choice in terms of preference features prominently in the works of other Palaiologan scholars, such as Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and Nikephoros Gregoras, as Efthymiadis has demonstrated.<sup>912</sup> Similarly, the focus on *praxis* was earlier promoted by Nikephoros Blemmydes – whose writings not only circulated widely but were also subject to metaphrasis during the Palaiologan period – and Nicholas Kabasilas. Kabasilas suggests that the glorification of man is achievable not in solitude (hesychasm) but through the active pursuit of human excellence, following the example of Christ (*imitatio Christi*).<sup>913</sup> This portrayal of human deification, which lies at the heart of Gabalas' teachings, suggests a potential influence on Nicholas Kabasilas that should be explored in the future.

The third key principle of Gabalas' theological thought is the restoration of dignity, which is central to both Gabalas' *200 Chapters* and his interpretation of Odysseus in the *Brief Narration*. Gabalas (A13a.42–76, 132–57) states that he found the idea of restoration in the the Prophets, which is probably a reference to Job 5:18.<sup>914</sup> The speech of Peter in *Acts of the Apostles* 3:21 is another crucial passage in support of the idea of restoration: “Heaven must receive him [sc. Jesus] until the time comes for God to restore everything (ἀποκατάστασις πάντων), as He promised long ago through his holy prophets”. Based on this passage of the *Acts of the Apostles*, Origen (*Homily on Jeremiah* 14.18) interpreted restoration as a return to the original state before the fall of Adam (*On First Principles* 2.9.2–3), according to the principle that the end is similar to the beginning (*On First Principles* 2.6.2).<sup>915</sup> The *200 Chapters* touch upon both the ideas of restoration and the notion that principles shape outcomes. Unlike Gabalas, however, Origen views the soul's life in the body as a form of punishment or trial, necessary for its restoration to its primordial dignity. These ideas were condemned in The Synods of Constantinople in 543 and 553 (Fifth Ecumenical Council). In

<sup>911</sup> Louth, “Platonism from Maximus the Confessor to the Palaiologan Period”, 327–29; Emma Brown Dewhurst, “Apophaticism in the Search for Knowledge Love as a Key Difference in Neoplatonic and Christian Epistemology”, in *Platonism and Christian Thought in Late Antiquity*, ed. Panagiotis G. Pavlos et al. (London: Routledge, 2019), 240–43.

<sup>912</sup> Stephanos Efthymiadis, “Plutarch's Reception in the Work of Nikephoros Xanthopoulos”, in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Plutarch*, ed. Sophia Xenophontos and Katerina Oikonomopoulou (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019), 324–33.

<sup>913</sup> Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, 192–93, 220–24.

<sup>914</sup> Cf. also Psalms 15:6.

<sup>915</sup> Alfeyev, “Eschatology”, 116.

addition, Kaltsogianni traces the sources of Gabalas' *Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve* back to the 44<sup>th</sup> *Oration* of Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as the works of Theophilus of Antioch and Nemesius of Edesa. Like Gabalas, Theophilus emphasized the crucial role of human freedom in achieving immortality, while Nemesius regarded the condition of Adam and Eve as potentially immortal.<sup>916</sup> In the early Palaiologan period, one can find the idea of restoration also in the works of Sophonias the Monk, who connects it with the image of the Demiurge taking hold of the universe at risk of sinking into disorder (Plato, *Statesman* 272e–273e).<sup>917</sup>

Gabalas' views thus represent a coherent alternative to Palamite Hesychasm. His perspectives on practice, choice, rule of the mind, deification in life and restoration of dignity stem from what can rightly be called Christian or Byzantine Platonizing spirituality. A comprehensive analysis of Gabalas' philosophical and theological thought might shed further light on his place in this tradition.

## Conclusions

In the *200 Chapters*, Gabalas emphasizes the value of secular wisdom by stressing that divine grace was present in the minds of pagan sages, echoing the ideas of Barlaam of Calabria. Gabalas, nonetheless, challenges some pagan ideas from a Christian standpoint, e.g., the divine purpose of creation and the reason of being man. Throughout the *200 Chapters*, Gabalas uses analogies to elucidate the soul's nature and its journey towards purity and divinity, likening it to a city, a maiden, land, and the center of a circle, each illustrating aspects of virtue, vice, and divine contemplation. He articulates the Platonic tripartite division of the soul, arguing for the harmony of reason, anger, and desire under divine guidance. Gabalas also discusses the transitory nature of pleasure and pain, the purpose of temptations as divine tests for spiritual growth, and the types of sins and vices, highlighting the detrimental effects of resentment, greed, love of power, and arrogance. Gabalas further delves into the ontology and epistemology of Being and God, drawing from a Christian reading of Plato and Aristotle to define God as the ultimate existence, unknowable in essence but knowable through His powers and creations. He views the mind as the locus of human participation in God's essence through the imitation of

<sup>916</sup> Similar ideas are found in Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus, see Kaltsogianni, "Matthew of Ephesus and His Dialogue on the Immortality of Adam and Eve" 111–12, 116. On the image of man in John of Damascus, see also Andrew Louth, "Platonism from Maximus the Confessor to the Palaiologan Period", 331.

<sup>917</sup> See *Declamatio* 159.96–98, 163.227–32, Searby and Sjörs, "A Rhetorical Declamation of Sophonias the Monk and Paraphrast".

His powers, advocating for an angelic, intellectual, and divine life as the pathway to human deification. He celebrates the Prophets and Saints as exemplary figures of divine inspiration and virtue, placing them as intermediaries between God and humanity. Gabalas argues that true wisdom involves emulating God and living in accordance with His will, marked by humility and virtue. The *200 Chapters* reflect Gabalas' engagement with the literary form of *kephalaia*, drawing from Makarios the Egyptian, Evagrius Ponticus and Maximus Confessor.

The study of the theological and philosophical works of Gabalas offers an important contribution to our understanding of late Byzantine thought, as it provides insight into the complex interplay between pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine. Gabalas' emphasis on the rule of the mind and the ethical approach centered on *praxis* contrast with the hesychast focus on *theoria* and the heart as the site of divine grace. This underpins the social distinction between the hesychast eremitism advocated by figures such as Nikephoros the Monk, Gregory the Sinaite and Gregory Palamas – and other monks of Mount Athos – and the communal living (cenobitism) supported by Gabalas and earlier by his mentor Theoleptos of Philadelphia, which focuses on practical life and performing good deeds for deification. The works of Gabalas, thus, offer a complex synthesis of ethical, philosophical, and theological reflections, rooted in the tradition of Christian Platonizing asceticism, offering a coherent alternative to Palamite Hesychasm.



## Outlook

The life and works of Gabalas, set against the backdrop of Late Byzantine History, underscore the complexities of the socio-political, ecclesiastical, intellectual activities and theological debates that shaped the early Palaiologan period. This research lays out multiple directions for future research.

The present investigation into Gabalas' life (Chapter 1) establishes a robust foundation for further research aimed at illuminating different aspects of the reigns of Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and John VI Kantakouzenos. For instance, further examination can provide deeper insights into the mechanisms of political maneuvering and imperial ideology, as well as the dynamics and mobility between the Byzantine capital and its provinces. With the research on Gabalas' intellectual network (Chapter 2) as its starting point, future research will be able to relate Gabalas' views to those of his contemporaries in order to further our understanding of the intellectual world of the Palaiologan period. In particular, Gabalas' intellectual achievements may be compared with those of Theodore Metochites, especially his *Sententious Notes*, Theodore Dexios and Nicholas Kabasilas, considering the lexical and conceptual parallels found in the work of both scholars. Gabalas' influence on his disciples and his broader intellectual impact, especially within the community of scholars at the Monastery of Chora, including Nikephoros Gregoras, also deserves further attention. This demonstrates the potential of the present research in order to enrich our knowledge of the early Palaiologan intellectual world.

Moreover, a thorough analysis of Gabalas' Homeric metaphrase, *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, alongside the *metaphraseis* of George Oinaïotes and George Galesiotes Senior would offer valuable insights into linguistic aspects of Medieval Greek. The first edition of the correspondence between Oinaïotes and Gabalas has already advanced our understanding of Gabalas' teaching activities; however, a complete edition of Oinaïotes' letter collection would further illuminate the circle of students influenced by Gabalas. Similarly, future research could explore the tradition of mystical and moral-psychological allegories, focusing on authors within the Makarian and Evagriian traditions. Finally, more research is required on the Homeric interpretation during the late Byzantine period, stretching from Eustathios of Thessalonike to Manuel Gabalas. A key endeavor here would be to complete an edition of George Pachymeres' *Scholia to the Iliad*.

Discovering Gabalas' theological system, previously unknown, presents a fascinating development. This discovery not only enriches our understanding of Byzantine theology but

also offers fresh perspectives on the theological debates of the era, highlighting the diversity and complexity within these intellectual traditions. One major goal would be to publish all of Gabalas' unedited works, in particular the *Exegesis of the Prophets* (A13b). A detailed analysis of this extensive manual or *Encheiridion* could provide interesting insights into Gabalas' interpretive approach, his use of earlier commentaries on the Prophets, and his place within this tradition.

Future research may place Gabalas' philosophical and theological ideas in a broader intellectual context, as well as include them in the series *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, edited by Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello. Building on preliminary ideas presented here, future studies may explore Gabalas' connections with Barlaam of Calabria and with Gregory Akindynos, the spiritual guide of Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina. Additionally, a comparative analysis of Gabalas' teachings with the *Triads* of Palamas, especially their respective uses of Cyril of Alexandria as a defining author to distinguish their theological views, would be definitive. This effort should also entail a comprehensive examination of what has been called here – following Prof. Perczel's ideas – the tradition of Christian Platonizing spirituality. Furthermore, the Burney collection, with its unpublished treatises, offers potential insights into Gabalas' influences and the chance to uncover previously unknown ethical writings from earlier periods.

There is still much work to be done to fully grasp the rich intellectual legacy of late Byzantine society. This dissertation represents a significant advance towards this goal, by illuminating the diverse contributions of Gabalas to the society, Church politics, intellectual dialogues of the Palaiologan period and by unveiling his unique philosophical system. This study not only fills a significant gap in our understanding of Byzantine intellectual history but also contributes to a deeper appreciation of the ways in which Byzantine scholars engaged with and transformed the heritage of the ancient world, having multiple implications in the present.

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## Appendices

Diether Reinsch and Eleni Kaltsogianni have developed guidelines for editing Gabalas' texts, focusing on their orthographic nuances. Their work highlights the importance of orality, punctuation, and word division in Byzantine literature.<sup>918</sup> The present edition revises the sentence division into complete, meaningful units for improved clarity and easier understanding by contemporary readers. Furthermore, to meet modern standards, this edition standardizes breathing marks, accents, iota subscripts, and punctuation. It also capitalizes proper nouns and reference to the Christian God. Words such as *τοπαράπαν* are separated into *τὸ παράπαν*, *μετολίγον* into *μετ' ὀλίγον*, *ἐπιτοπλεῖστον* into *ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον*, *ἐξανάγκης* into *ἐξ ἀνάγκης*, and other similar forms. Marginal notes that indicate writing oversights by Gabalas are integrated into the main text. In *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, lexemes or words that Gabalas borrowed from Homeric epics are italicized for distinction. He signifies episodes in *The Wanderings of Odysseus* and the *Brief Narration* with a cross resembling the addition symbol and uses Greek numerals for the *200 Chapters*. The symbols and Greek numerals have been converted to corresponding Arabic numbers in this edition. Subtitles, not present in the original text except in a few instances (e.g., *Προθεωρία* or *Περὶ Φιλαρχίας*), have been added to both the Homeric Works and the *200 Chapters*. The symbols [ ] are used to indicate added words or titles, while the symbols { } denote unnecessary or repeated words.

Chart 1, the *Letters* of Manuel Gabalas in Par. Gr. 2022 (PB1–PB29), presents an overview of the research into the Paris letter collection, detailing the specific folios of each letter, the date of composition, and Gabalas' location at the time. Chart 2 delineates the chronological order of the correspondence exchanged between Gabalas and Michael Gabras. Chart 3 is a periodization of Gabalas' career, correlating the letters and additional writings with Gabalas' location at the time. Finally Chart 4 conveys the chronology of the correspondence of George Oinaïotes and Gabalas.

The appendices are the following: 1) *Letters* of Gabalas in Par. Gr. 2022, 2) *Letters* of George Oinaïotes to Gabalas and other recipients. Edition and Translation, 3) *Letters* 217 and

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<sup>918</sup> Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften", in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. Dieter Harlfinger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 629–44; Reinsch, "Palinodien eines Editors (Matthaios Von Ephesos, Kritobulos von Imbros, Anna Komnene)", in *From Manuscripts to Book. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts*, ed. Elisabeth Schiffer and Antonia Giannouli (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 175–79; Kaltsogianni, "Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II Palaiologos", 2009, 114–15. See also Luigi Silvano, "Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe", 229–30.

223 of George of Cyprus and Anonymous Writings in Par. Gr. 2022, 4) *The Wanderings of Odysseus* (A8). Edition and List of Words, 5) *The Brief Narration* (A9): Edition, Translation and Footnotes, 6) *Prologue to the Prophets* (A13a): Edition and Translation, 7) *On True Wisdom* (A5): Edition and Translation, 8) *Prologue to the 200 Chapters* (EK) and *200 Chapters* (K): Edition, Translation and Footnotes.

**Chart 1. The *Letters* of Manuel Gabalas in Par. Gr. 2022 (PB1–PB29)**

	f. 185r–v, 187r	f. 185r, 187v	ff. 186v–r, 181r	ff. 181–184	ff.150– 156v
Gouillard					Letters 1–9
Kourouses, Γαβαλᾶς	Letters 1–3	4–7	Letters 8, 19	9–18	21–29
Kourouses <sup>2</sup> , Παρατηρήσεις			19 Kourouses = 19α–β Kourouses <sup>2</sup> 19α Kourouses <sup>2</sup> + 8 Kourouses = 9 Kourouses <sup>2</sup> 19β = 8 Kourouses <sup>2</sup>	9–18 Kourouses → 10–19 Kourouses <sup>2</sup>	
<b>Present Numbering</b>	<b>PB1–PB3</b>	<b>PB4– PB7</b>	8 Kourouses <sup>2</sup> → <b>PB8α</b> 9 Kourouses <sup>2</sup> → <b>PB8β</b>	10–19 Kourouses <sup>2</sup> → <b>PB9–PB18</b>	<b>PB21– PB29</b>
Year of the letters	1309–1310	Winter 1310– 1311	Summer 1312 to 1313		1315–1316
Stays	Constantinople	Philadelphia 1310–1313 / Constantinople 1313–1314 / Philadelphia 1314– 1316			



### Chart 3. Life and works of Manuel Gabalas–Matthew of Ephesus<sup>3</sup>

PB = ParisBriefe (letters of Par. Gr. 2022)

B = Briefe (letters of Vind. Theol. Gr. 174)

A = Abhandlung (treatises)

G = Gebet (prayer)

\* = lost writing

Letters	Other writings	Office and Events	Date	Place
		<i>Anagnostes</i> and <i>paramonares</i> of the Hodegetria	1272/4–1309	Philadelphia
PB1–PB3		Protonotarios of Theoleptos	1309–1310	Constantinople
PB4–PB7			Winter 1310–1311	Philadelphia
PB8 $\alpha$ –PB8 $\beta$ , PB9–PB18, B62	A7–A9	Removal from office / Rupture with Theoleptos	Summer 1312–Summer 1313	
			Autumn 1313–Autumn 1314	Philadelphia
PB21–PB29			Winter 1314/5–1316	Constantinople
			Early 1317	Constantinople
B61, B63, B45, B1	<i>On Marriages</i> *	Protonotarios	1317–March 1321	Philadelphia / $\zeta$ Constantinople?
		Chartophylax until Theoleptos’ death	April–November 1321	Constantinople
		Monk Matthew / <i>didaskalos</i>	December 1321–December 1322	Philadelphia
B2–B6, B9–B14, B59	A3–A4, $\zeta$ A5?, A6, A18, A10–A11, G1, <i>Eulogy to John Prodromos</i> *, A17, A2, G1b, A13a–A13b, A14–A16		1323–1324	Constantinople
B60, B15, B16–B66, B17–B19, B65			1325–1326	
B20–B34			1326–1328	
B35–B39			1329 – Summer 1331	
B40–B41	G2–G3, K, EK	Metropolitan of Ephesus / Exarch of Asia	Winter 1331–1332	Surroundings of Kiev
			Spring 1332	Constantinople
B42–B44, B64, B58		Supplementary diocese	End of June 1332–September 1337	Brysis
B46–B53	A12, G4, $\zeta$ A1?	Matthew, Metropolitan of Ephesus / Exarch of Asia	Late 1337–Summer 1339	Constantinople
B54–57	G9, <i>Reasons to remove Pyrgion’s bishop from office</i> *, <i>Letter to Umur Beg</i> *, <i>Deposition decree of Pyrgion’s bishop</i> *		Summer 1339–Late 1343	Ephesus
			Early 1344–1347	Constantinople
	G5, <i>Tome of Opponents, Confession of Faith</i>		Deposition, Repentance and Final Condemnation	
	G6–G10		Unknown	Unknown

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the chronological table established by Kourouses, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς, εἴτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60). Α': Τὰ βιογραφικά*, 279–81. I have instead adopted the criteria of Diether R. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesus im codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174* (Vienna: Nikolaus Mielke, 1974), 39, 54, n. 1 for the dating of B58 and B45.

#### Chart 4. The correspondence of George Oinaiores and Manuel Gabalas

← = reply to

George Oinaiores, *to the chartophylax of Philadelphia* Letter 95=96=97=98=99

Oinaiores, Letter 121 ← Gabalas B18 ← Oinaiores, Letter 146

Oinaiores, Letter 143=144 ← Gabalas B22

Oinaiores, *to the wisest professor* Letters 127, 152, 155

## Appendix 1. Letter Collection of Manuel Gabalas in Par. Gr. 2022

### P[arisinus]B[rief]1. [τῷ Γαβρᾷ]

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 185v| Νυκτὸς ὅλης τῷ σῷ λόγῳ προσχὼν, οὐκ ἔσχον ὅπως [...] ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι μὴ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ τινί· θεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ὑπερόριον ἐς τοσοῦτον [...] ὅσον] πρὸς τάληθῃ φιλοῦντος εἶναι ἐγνώκειν· καὶ ἅμα εἰδὼς ὡς παρὰ τίνι [δόξω...] χεῖρῳ δόξαν ἐνέγκασθαι· ἐγὼ δ' ἵνα τὸν ἐμὸν τρόπον εἰδείης, ἀνάλωτο [...] τοσοῦτον τι χρῆμα νῦν ἡσθόμην παθὼν ἐπὶ σοί, οἶον
- <sup>5</sup> οὐδὲ Θεῷ χρη[...]άμην ἂν π[οτε] πείσεσθαι· οὐχ ὡς ἀγροικίαν νοσῶν τις καὶ ἀπείροκαλίαν· ὁ[μῶς...] ἀγεῖν χρή β[ασιλ]έως ἀλίσκομαι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἄλλος [μ]ανίαν ἄκρου[...] |f. 187r| κἂν ποτε δεῖσοι στερρότητος, ὥσπερ τοῖς μηχ[αν]ήμασι κατὰ [...]ο[.]ους πρὸς τὴν [...]σχα[...] οἶον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ λόγῳ νῦν ἀντικρυς πέ[πο]νθ[α]· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς διτταῖς [ταῖς] χάρισι κοσμηθεῖς· ἃς μὲν ἐκ τῶν βασιλε[υόν]των ἀναδούμενος ὡς εἰκός, ἃς δ' ἐκ [τῆς]
- <sup>10</sup> περὶ τὸ λέγειν μάλιστα εὐτεχνίας· κάκεῖ μὲν [ποι]κίλην τινὰ καὶ γενναίαν τὴν τῶν τρο[πῶν] καλοκαγαθίαν δεικνύς, ὧδε δ' ἀμή[χαν]ον τὴν ἰσχὺν ἣ χρή μετὰ περιουσί[ας] τοιαῦτα ἔργα κοσμεῖσαι· ὡς τ' οὐκ οἶδα τί [Ῥ]μηρος Ἥραν ἐκόσμησε *γλυκὺν* ἰν[...] ἐνθεῖς *ἕμερον* τῷ Διί, ἣ σὺ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, τοσοῦτον εἰς τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγων ἀναφ[λεγέν]τα ἐμέ· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁρῶ, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ σά, ὡς εἰ Φειδίας χρυσῆν τ[ῆν] Ἀφροδίτην διέγραψε,
- <sup>15</sup> θαῦμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς τέχνης δεικνύμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ τίς ἂν εἶην τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ λόγων θαυμαζομένων, ἵνα συχνούς τινας ἐξαλλάττοιμι τ[οὺς] ἀγῶνας; νῦν μὲν πρὸς τήνδε, νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν τῶν λόγων ὑπόθεσιν συμπλεκόμενος, μὴ ποθ' ὅς τις εἰμὶ λέληθα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πλέον ἢ φρονῶ παρ' ὑμῖν· δύναμαι τῷ λ[όγῳ] εἰδέναι κατὰ Σωκράτην οἶεσθαι· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ τινὰ μοι παροῦσαν περὶ λόγ[ων] δύνα[μιν] καὶ τοῦτο δὴ
- <sup>20</sup> δικαιοῦσαν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις ὅπερ ἔφην ἐρεῖ· τὸ γὰρ τοιούτοις ἐμέ λ[έγειν] ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ὀμιλεῖν καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδὲ σμικρόν τι λείμμα τοῦ πόνου παρεχομένους, τί ποτε [...] ἢ το[ῦ] τὰ πείθει λογίζεσθαι; ἐκινδύνευσά δ' ἂν εὖ ἴσθι καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ οἶεσθαι παραιτ[ῆσαι], εἰ μὴ τι πολλάκις ὦμην διημαρτῆσθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δόξαν αὐτοῦ δὴ τὸ[...] παρέχουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἷς λέγουσι καὶ φρονοῦσιν· οἱ δ' αὖ τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ἢ οὐτο[ι] ὀφεί[λ]ονται
- <sup>25</sup> καὶ εἰσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦμον μέρος καὶ δυστυχίας ἐσχάτης τίθεται, εἰ πρὸς τῷ μ[ηδέν] εἰδέναι τινά, τάναντία τις περὶ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρώπως λογίζοιτο· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἂν τι παρα[...] συμβαίνει, ὡς εἴ τις λιμώττων καὶ δέον ἐλεηθῆναι, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπείληπτο καὶ τρυ[φῆν...]. ἀλλ' ἵνα παρὰ τοῦ μηδέν εἰδότος εἴσῃ τὸ σὸν, τοιοῦτον οἶου τὸν σὸν ὄντα λόγον, οἶον ἢ τὸν [Ἑρμῆν ἂν] εἰπεῖν τῇ σαυτοῦ γλώττῃ χρησάμενον ἢ τὰς Μούσας αὐτὰς ἢ τὴν Διὸς παῖδα, δι'
- <sup>30</sup> ὧν [τὰ] τοῦ βασιλέως εὐφημείας κατὰ χρεῶν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τοῦδε εἰρησθαι μὴ σὺν θεᾷ χρή τῇ φ[...], οὔτε δὲ τὸν σὸν λόγον ἄλλοις ἐπαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ τοιούτοις ἔργοις ὑπερφυσῆν [...]· εἰ σπουδαίων ἐμοὶ πραγμάτων φαύλῳ γε ὄντι τὰ μάλιστα τὴν σὴν ὑπο[...]π[...]. ἀγχίνουαν, τί χρῆν εἰς τοῦτο προμηθῆναι σαυτὸν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μαθήσῃ κατὰ τοὺς [...], ὑπομνησθήσῃ δ' ὅμως ὅποσον τι χρῆμα εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων ἐκ [τῆς] μοχθηρᾶς
- <sup>35</sup> ἔνωσης· ἐπεὶ καὶ χθές που, ἔτοιμον παρεῖχες ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σαυτὸν, [...] τοῦτο λεγόμενον, καὶ δῆλος ἦσθα μηδέν τι μελήσειν, ὥστε καὶ φθῆναι τοῦτο εἰς αὐτ[ὸ]· καὶ εἰρηκας πρᾶξαι, ὧ καὶ μὴ πισ[τε]ύειν οὐκ ἔνεστιν· οὐκοῦν εἰρήσομαί σε πάλα παρ[...] σκοτόν καὶ ο[ὔ]θ' ὡς ἔφ[η] καὶ [π]ράξαντα, τίσι καὶ νῦν ἀνάγκαις εἰρ[γ]όμενος, οὐ[τε...] ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα γίνῃ καὶ φιλίας προβάλλῃ ῥήματα· Θεὸν καταλλάττων καὶ [...] τί δ' οὐκ ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἐγὼ ταῦτα
- <sup>40</sup> φέρομαι τὰ σύμβολα τῆς φιλίας· καὶ ἡδῶ [ἐστὶ ·]ἡδῶν δὲ καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι τοσοῦτον μνηστευόμενος ἔργον· ὑμεῖς γάρ μο[ι...] τε[...] τρόπον ἔξω κατ' ἀκράς συναπτούσης ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν ἐξ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ λόγων· τῆς ἀ[ρετῆς] γάρ[...] χρηστῆς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσως ὄντες ἀλλήλοις ὅπερ αὐτῷ τις ἕκαστος, εἴτ' αὐθι[ς] ὑ[μῖν...] κρούσατε καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἐποίει τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς γέ τις ἔφη Ἑρῶς πρα[γ]ματ[...]οπ[...]χητῶ[...] εἴτε σὼν χρή λέγειν εἴτ' ἀλλοτρίων, τόν δ' ἦγεν εἰς
- <sup>45</sup> τοῦτο, δι[...]τια τὴ [...]

12 Ἥραν...ἕμερον Hom. Il. 14.329 14 χρυσῆν...Ἀφροδίτην Hom. Il. 5.427

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 185v (lacunae in left margin), 187r (from 4 to 6 letter cut on right margin; inner lacuna of 2-3 letters in the first 6 lines; blurry letters in lower-right margin), end missing. Partially ed. Kourouses 142, n. 4, 143, n. 3, 146.



## PB2. Σισμάνη

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 185v| [Δέχ]ου τὸν λόγον, ὃν αὐτὸς εἰς διαθήκης λόγον ἐπίτηδες ἐσοφίσω. μὴ μᾶλλον [...]  
 πεποιήται πεποισθαι ἢ τοὺς περὶ τὸν βίον κακῶς τοὺς σφῶν ἐπὶ τελευτῆς διατιθεμένους  
 [ταῖς] γνώμαις ἐπανορθοῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐήθως ἀλοὺς τῷ προσχήματι τοῦτο μόνον [...] μὴ ἂν  
<sup>5</sup> οἰηθείη, καὶ πλεον μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν τῷ νῷ περᾶν· τί ἄρα δηλονότι προθέμενος, [...] οὐ  
 ἐξείργασται· εἰ δέ τι πλεον ἢ νομίζων ἐγὼ βούλεται, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ· [...] ἡδῆς ἂν  
 γενοίμην τὰ σαυτοῦ θρασέως περιεργάζεσθαι, κἂν ὅτι μάλα ἐπίει[...]. τοσοῦτον δ' οὐν ὅμως  
 ἀποτολμήσω, ὅτι μεθ' ὧν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ ἔνοπλος [...]· σμικρὸν μὲν ἐλέγχων τῇ φορᾷ  
 Διομήδην, Αἴαντα δ' ἀποκρύπτων τῇ [...] καὶ κατ' ἄμφω παρελάνυνων τὸν Θέτιδος, ὡς καὶ  
 δὴ ἀκήριον τοῖς περὶ [αὐτοῦ] ποιητικῶς ἐνιέναι· βαβαί, οἷον ἄλλο συνεξεργάζεται· ἐλέγχειν  
<sup>10</sup> γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ [...] ὑλῆς πάντα στόματα καὶ λογισμοὺς περιτρέπειν ἀσχήμονας· σοὶ μὲν  
 κέρδος οὐχ [...] ἐμποιοῦντα, πολὺ δέ παντῶς καὶ ὅσον εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ τε καὶ πά[λιν] τὸ  
 θανεῖν, [...] ὅς κ[ατ]ὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς, αὐτόν δ' ἐκείνου πεπονημένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δ'  
 ὑποθεμένῳ, ἵνα [...] ἡ τοὺς δὲ τοιαῦτα βασκανία ψυχῆς ὑπὸ σκότον ὠδίνοντας, αὐθις  
 παρασκευάζ[ονται] [...] ἡτούς καὶ μόνος τῶν πονηρῶν τόκων κατὰ τὰς Ἐχίδνας ἀπόνασθαι·  
<sup>15</sup> ἐστὶ μέντοι [...] πρὸς γε τὸ βάθος παρακύναι τῆς διανοίας τῆς σῆς, εἰ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τέως  
 [...] σὺ δ' ἂν τι τῶν δεόντων εἴημεν εὐρηκότες, ἂν τε καὶ μὴ, εὐμενῶς ὑμᾶς πρό[...]. ὁ μὲν τὰ  
 δίκαια δρῶν· τὸ δὲ τὰ φιλόφρονα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄμφω ταῦτ' εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσι.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 185v (from 3 to 8 letter-cut in left margin).

## PB3. [τῷ Γαβρᾷ]

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 185r| Τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἴσθι πατέρα καὶ εὐξάμενον σοὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀποδ[εξάμενον]·  
 τὸ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινέσαντα, τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύνα[μιν]· ἐμοὶ μὲν σοὶ τῶν εἰς φιλίας  
 ὁ ἄριστος καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν ὄρων τι τοῦ λόγου καὶ [...] τοῦτο τοῖς λόγους σκοποῦσιν εἶωθε  
 κρίνεσθαι, ἄρρητον ἐνίησιν ἡδονή[v], ἣτις γε ἀρετὴ καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον λόγον ἐργάζεται· μὴ  
<sup>5</sup> μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς[...] τό γε μὴν ἐπ' ἄλλον τοῦ λόγου μεταβεβηκέναι ῥαστώνην, ὅποση τις  
 συμ[...] βιβλίῳ συνεπιρρεῖ· κᾶτα πρεσβύτην ἐκεῖσε ὁρᾷ ἀπεναντίας το[ῖς] παισιν]  
 αἰσχρὸν τινα τὸ παράπαν καὶ ἀγεννῆ καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν κακοδαίμο[να...] πόλλ' ἄττα ἐν  
 μέρει καὶ ποιοῦντα καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ ὅσα προσ[ῆ]κεν [...] πάλαι μέντοι τῷ χρόνῳ  
 κατασαπέντι καὶ μονονοῦ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον [...] εἰς ἄτοπὸν τινα ἐκφέρει τὴν ἔκστασιν, ὥστε  
<sup>10</sup> μοι καὶ συμβαίνειν δι[...] εἶναι ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισχεῖν, μὴ τοῦ γελαῖν ὅλως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ  
 προσῆκο[v...] κόσμιον πρὸς τούναντίον ἐξαλλοιοῦν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ σοὶ τῷ λόγῳ [...] ὅτι  
 μάλα τὸ ἥθος παραδεικνύς, ὡς ἀδάμαντος εἶναι δεῖσθαι τ[...] τούτου μανίαις ἀφ' ἡδονῆς  
 ἄντικρυς συνεκμαίνεσθαι [...] τῷ πρεσβύτῃ, οἷον αὐτόν φῆς κυκῶντα τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ [...  
 τὸν] ἀγῶνα μετ' ἐπιδείξεως καὶ ταῦτα τὸ βῆμα δεικνύντα πρὸς δὲ [...] καλου[·] εἰρῶν πρὸς  
<sup>15</sup> τὴν νίκην ἐφ' ὧν ἔλαχε τὸ δικάζεσθαι [...] ἐρεῖ καὶ ποίαν τὴν πάλαι τοῦτον ἀφείσαν οὐκ  
 εἰδὸτ' οἶμαι χρῆσθαι [...] οὐδ' ὧς, μακρῷ δήπου μεῖζον καὶ τὸ νέοις ἀρίστοις  
 πεποικ[έναι...] βούλεσθαι, ἐπὶ π[οτε] τί γε βελτίον· τὸ δυστυχὲς προξενεῖ ἐκεῖ[...] ἡ τις  
 το[...] ἐρόντο φείδεσθαι, αὐθις |f. 185v| [...] εἴτε παιδιὰ χρῆ [...] κἀντεῦθεν καὶ ἀποτρόπ[...]  
 τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπὶ τὰ [...] ρω παρ [...] σον· ἢ πάντως τῷ μ[...] ε τοῦ χ[...] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
<sup>20</sup> δι{ι}σχουρισαίμην[v] ἔρωτι φαύλῳ καταπροδοὺς τὴν ψυχὴν [...] δὺς εἴη πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην  
 τοῖς ῥήμασι· πόθεν; ὅπως δ' αἰσχρὰν τινα σύνη[...] σαιτο τῇ ψυχῇ, πάλαι ταύτῃ [ἐν]ιζηκυῖαν·  
 {κατὰ} καὶ μὴ τοῦργον, ὡς εἰκὸς [...]· τῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων ὅτι[...] μακρὸς ἤδη χρόνος ἔχει τοῦτον  
 ἐπιλελοιπῶς [...] οἱ γε συλλογίζεσθαι δ[ή]λωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάλαι γενεῖ, τὸ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 [...] κῆρον ἄντικρυς καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐξεληλέ[γ]χθαι, σοὶ δ' [εἰ] μὴ [...]·  
<sup>25</sup> πρεσβύτην ἐπεισιν ἐπαινεῖν· τὸ γοῦν ἄριστόν σε σοφιστὴν ἀποδείξαι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ [...  
 δηλ]ώσει.

Description: Par. gr. 2022, f. 185r-185v. Partially ed. Kourouses 146-147.

**PB4. τῷ Γαβρᾷ**

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 185r| [...] ὑ[π]ερέσχομεν καὶ χεῖρας ἐπὶ λιμέν[ας] θέ[εντες περιετύ]χ[ομεν νόσῳ] μικρὰν  
 πάνυ ἀπελεγχοῦση τῆς θερα[πείας τ]ὴν τέχνην· καὶ φορτί[ον] ἐφ' ἵππου φέρομαι μηδενὶ τῷ  
 δόξ[...τῷ]ν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πα[ριέναι...], οἳ γε διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὀπλῖται  
 παρεκ[ιν]δύνεον. οὕτως ἡμιθα[νῆς εἰς] τὴν οἰκίαν περισῳθεις, πρὸς ἑτέρα[ν] αὐθις  
<sup>5</sup> ἀντιβιάζομαι νόσο[ν] πυρετοῖς τε λαύροις καὶ ρίγεσι διαθ[έρ]ων μοι τὸ σῶμάτιον· [...] εἶδους  
 πείραν ἀγύμναστον καταλείψα[ν] ὅ[πό]σα τοῖς Ἀσκληπια[δείοις...] ἐπὶ τέλει τῷ τεταρταίῳ  
 πολιορκουῖμαι· καὶ χει[μ]ῶνα ὅλον πρὸς τὸ [πάθος καπ]νιζόμενος, ἐπεὶ ποτ' ἔδει καὶ παυθῆναι  
 τὸν πόλεμ[ο]ν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὴ τ[ούτῳ] καὶ ἄθλον τὴν ὑγείαν κομίζομαι. εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ  
<sup>10</sup> τὰ τῆς ἐπι[στολῆς] δοκεῖ, τ[εκμήριον] καὶ αὕτη τοῦ νοσῆσαί μοι γίγνεται· οἷς γὰρ ἔτι ριγ[οῦν]  
 οἶονεὶ πως δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ [τ]ῆς πάλαι ὑγείας ὥς εἰκὸς ἀπολαύειν, μ[αρτυρεῖ] τὸν φίλον τὰ  
 δεινότερα πεπονθέναι. σὺ δ' εἰ μὴ με τοῖς πρώτοις κακ[οῖς ἀπαλλάτεις] τῆς μέμψεως, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῖς γε δευτέροις σαυτὸν ἀναλάμβανε τῆς ὀργῇ[ς] πάντως, εἰ [δ' οὖν] Ὀμήρῳ τῷ σῷ πείθαιο  
 στρεπτάς εἶναι τὰς φρένας τοῖς ἀν[θρώποις].

**14 στρεπτάς...φρένας Hom. Il., 15.203**

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 185r, partially ed. Kourouses 315 (missing one line).

**PB5. [Τῷ Θεολήπτῳ]**

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 187v| [...] τοῦ[το] μᾶλλον ἢ δικαίως ἅπαν, εἴτα μῆ[κος] τόπου παρειληφώς, τὸ συμβὰν εἰ[ς]  
 πλ[εῖστον] ἐξήνεγκε χρόνον· καὶ ἄδηλον ἦν πᾶσιν [καὶ τ]οῖς πολλοῖς ἂν ἄρα τὸν χόλον  
 ἐπαύσατ[ο]. ἀλλὰ μέχρι τίνος ἀπομνηνᾶν χρή; ἀναι[ρε]τέον ἀλλήλοις τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὰ τῆς  
 πά[ν]τ' ἐχούσης εἰρήνης ἀνυμνητέον, ὥστε μὴ τ[οσ]ούτους ὄντας τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχθρας  
<sup>5</sup> πρόφασιν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταλείπειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοι, ἀλλὰ [τοῖς] γε μύθοις πειστέον· τὸ γὰρ  
 τὴν Ἑριν μυθολογεῖσθαι τοῖς ποιηταῖς περὶ μέσας θεὰς τὸ [μ]ῆλον παρεμβалеῖν καὶ τῇ καλῇ  
 προστάξα[σαν] λαβεῖν, εἴτα κρίσεις ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ ἔρωτας καὶ Ξενίου Διὸς ὕβριν καὶ  
 ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φυλῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν συνδρομὰς καὶ χρονίους μάχας καὶ ἡρώων σφαγὰς καὶ  
 ὅσαπερ ἄλλα [ἐτ]ραγωδήθη Ὀμήρῳ εἰς πανωλεθρίαν πόλεων, τί ποτε ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτ' ἀντικρυσ  
<sup>10</sup> βούλεται; οὐ διαρρήδην ὥσπερ ἀνακηρύττει, ὥς ἄρα τὰνθρώπεια πράγματα εἰρήνη μόνη  
 συνίστησιν, ἔχθρα δὲ τοῦναντίον, ἀλλ' οἷδ' ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς τοῦτ[ο] κρινεῖς καὶ δείξεις ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἔργων, ὥς οὐ χρὴ πραγμάτων ἡττώμενον ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον, οἷος αὐτός, τῆς τῶν  
 μεγίστων καὶ ταῦτα [φι]λίας καταφρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ' οὐδὲν λογίσει τοῦμόν,  
 ὑπηρετήσαιμ' ἂν ἀμφοῖν ἔγωγε, σοὶ μὲν ἐκ[εῖν]ω φιλικῶς ἐπιστεῖλαντι, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ σοί, καὶ  
<sup>15</sup> μέσος γενοίμην διεστηκόσιν εἰς κοινωνί[αν]· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χρὴ τὰ χεῖρῳ νικᾶν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν  
 καλὸν ἔξις ὑμῖν καὶ συχνὸς [καὶ] βεβαίως χρόνος, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον βραχεῖά τις περιπέτεια, ἣν  
 δεῖ καὶ ῥαδίως λελύσθαι, [ῶς]περ δὴ καὶ συνέστη.

**4 ἵνα erased and corrected into ὥστε**

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 187v. Reproduced with the reconstructions of Kourouses 143, n. 4 slightly modified and amplified.

### PB6. Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 187v| [...] ὑπὲρ οὗ σοι προυβαλόμην τὴν ἱκεσίαν, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἥδη τῷ σὺ πάρεστι κρά[τ]ει· [...] οὐσὼν μὲν πεῖραν εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ὧν αὐτῷ μεμαρτύρηκα· ἀπολαύσων δέ τοι καὶ τῆς [...] ἅς περὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους ἐπεικείας· τάχα μὲν τῆς ὡς βελτίστα γε προσηκούσης· εἰ δ' οὖν τῇ [...] κανῇ καὶ τῆς εἰς πάντας ἡκούσαν, οἶμαι δ' ὡς τῶν βελτίστων
- <sup>5</sup> τυγχάνων, καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν [...] τοῖς βελτίστοις ὡς εἰκοὶ [...] λήψεται· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἴσως ἀμυδροὶ τινες χαρακτηρῆς καὶ [...] ρεῖς ἀρετῇ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν νεανίσκον γνωρίζουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ βασιλικῇ ῥοπῇ [...] τοῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ παιδεῖ[α] προσομιλήσας, εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξοι τὸν τῆς χρείας καιρὸν, ὃ δεῖ πάντως τῷ σὺ [μεγ]έθει δια[...]. νῦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαθεῖη οἶον γεγέννηκε, καὶ ὁ νέος τιμηθεῖη οἶον [...] τρόν [...] φύσιν ἐστὶ· κἀγὼ δ' ἐπαινεθεῖην
- <sup>10</sup> τοιοῦτον δοῦλον χρηστῷ δεσπότη καὶ βασιλ[εῖ] [...] ρο [...] ρι[...], τοσοῦτον περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους ἐτόλμησα, ὃν [...] ὑν παθεῖν εὖ, καὶ θάνατος δυσωπεῖ πατρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων ἀποβολή· πρὸ δὲ [τῶν] ἄλλων, καὶ τὸ παρ' οὐδὲν τοσούτους θέματος τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς σὲ τὸν κοινὸν ἀφίχθαι πατέρα καὶ [...] τα[...]. ἄμφω κακὰ καὶ μέγιστα θεραπεῦσαι, θάνατον δηλαδὴ καὶ τύχη, ἢ μὴ [...] σχολῇ ἂν πάντες πλὴν θεοῦ δυνηθεῖεν.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 187v (lacunae in left margin increasing in the last lines).

### PB7. Τῷ λογοθέτῃ τοῦ γενικοῦ

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 187v| [...] ἀρετὴν νεανίσκου διεξιόντα πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον βασιλέα, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς σὺνη[σθα] αὐτῷ, δ[η]λὸς ἦσθα χαίρων γε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα φιλίαν οἶμαί γε [ὡς οὗ] κρατήσκειν ἂν ἢ λήθῃ τῆς σαυτοῦ ἀγχινοίας κἂν μυρίος ὄχλος πραγμάτων σε [...] ἄλλο]τε δέ μου καὶ πολλάκις ἰδίᾳ περὶ τούτου σαυτῷ γε προσομιλήσαντος καὶ [...] εἰκόνα
- <sup>5</sup> τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ σῇ ἐγγραψαμένη ψυχῇ· ὁ γοῦν ἐπαινούμενος ἐμοὶ τότε [...] καί] τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγχειρίζων· ἀφικόμενος μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα [...] ὡς ἐπὶ [...]· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὡς διὰ σοῦ τευξόμενος, ἃ δὴ σκοπὸς αὐτῷ [...]

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 187v, beginning and end missing. Partially ed. Kourouses 154, n. 4, missing one line.

**PB8a. [Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα]**

<sup>1</sup> |f. 186v| [...] πεπαυμένο[ν]· ἐνίστε δ' ἄσכולον πρᾶγμα καὶ φροντίδ[ων] βάρους καὶ ὅσα τοῖς  
εἰς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἤκουσιν ἔπονται· πῶς ἔξω λέλαιπε ταῦτα τὸ μὴ πάντα πεπονθέναι τὰ  
χεῖρ[α] ἢ τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς χεῖρεσιν ἀναδεδιδάχθαι τάνθρωπειαν; [...] πολλάκις ἠϋξάμην ἢ  
μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι ἢ γοῦν ἀπ[οσχ]έσθαι κόσμου καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἐξ ἧς δὴ μοι τὰ τῆς  
<sup>5</sup> λύπης ταῦτα δεινό[τατ]α ὥς ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινος πονηρᾶς ἔρρευσε· νῦν δ' ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἄλλως  
ἔχειν ἀνάγκη τὸ γεγονὸς ἢ γέγονε, θρηνῶ, φεῦ· καὶ οἰμωγῶν μὲν τὸν ἀέρα, τὴν γῆν δὲ δακρύων  
ἀναμιμλῶ· θρηνῶ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι θνητὰ τοι πέπονθα, πάλαι γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ φύσει δόγμα κατὰ  
παντός· τὸ δ' ἀπείρως ἔχειν τοῦ πάθους εἶτ' ἐν μέσοις ἀλῶναι κακοῖς καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἁώρῳ τῷ  
χρόνῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖ γε πάνυ, καὶ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πολλῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ  
<sup>10</sup> συγγνώμην ἔχοντι· ἱερώμεθα γὰρ καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τουτὶ σχῆμα περικείμεθα· ἄρ' οὖν ἔστι τις,  
ὃς ἂν διὰ ταῦτα οὐχὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡμᾶς κατοικτίσειε καὶ συνεπιδώσει τῇ συμφορᾷ; οὐδεὶς ἂν  
οἶμαι· κἂν γὰρ ὁποτέρῳ σε νεύσωμεν ἢ σαρκὶ χαρισάμενοι ἢ γοῦν φιλοσοφία πνεύματος,  
ἔνεστι ἑκατέρῃ αἰρέσει τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἔλεον ἔχειν· δέος γὰρ {ἐπ'} μήποτ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦ  
μέσου ἐξέστημεν Θεοῦ τοῦτο κρίναντος, πρὸς ἡδονῆς αἴσχος αὐθις κατασυρῶμεν ἢ τῆς  
<sup>15</sup> ἀκρότητος ἐξα[.] ἀψάμενοι· χαλεπὸν τινα τοῦτον ἄθλον ἀγωνισαίμεθα, δεινὸν ἐφ' ἡ[μέ]τερον  
καὶ νικῆσαι καὶ νικηθῆναι· ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο ἱερωσύνην προέσθαι καλλίστην· οὕτω καὶ  
ἀθάνατον σύζυγον, ὥστε τῇ μηδενὶ βεβαία καὶ αὐθις συνέσεσθαι καὶ, εἰ νῦν ἴσως  
συνέψεται, ἀποστησομένη μέντοι μετὰ βραχύ, ὁπότεν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἐλιγμοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς κίνησιν ἀναλύσωμεν· μὴ δ' οὕτως ἐμὲ τις ἰταμώτερον ἐπισκώψειεν, ὥς ἄρα *χάλκεια*  
<sup>20</sup> *χρυσείων ἡμείψατο*, τοσοῦτον ἀντίσχομεναι τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς ἀξίας· καὶ εἰ ῥοπῆς τινος  
ἀπολαύσαιμι θειοτέρας, ἀγῶνα μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι μέγιστον ὑποστήσομαι· ὑποστήσομαι δ' οὖν,  
κἂν γὰρ ἐπίπονός τι εἴη τὰ μάλιστα καὶ σκληρὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς τῇ φύσει ἀντικαθιστάμενος·  
ἀλλ' ἡνίκα Θεοῦ συναραμένον ἐς αὐτό γε τὸ πέρας ἤξομεν, ῥάονος αὐτοῦ καὶ μαλθακοῦ καὶ  
ἡδίονος ἀπολάυσωμεν· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ φύσις τῆς ἀρετῆς· ἀμφότερον μέντοι βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ  
<sup>25</sup> ἀγνοήσκειν, ὅτι μηδὲ εἰ παρούσης τρυφῆς ἐπιγνοίῃ τις ἂν, ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστι ἔνδεια· χριστιανὸς |f.  
186r| δ' ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς νόμους ἠναγκασμένος βιοῦν, ὅποια τὰ σά, σύννοιδεν ἄφ' ἐστίας οἷα  
τις δυσχέρεια τῷ πράγματι πρόσσεστι καὶ οἷας αὐτῷ δεῖ ἐπιστήμης τε καὶ ἀνδρείας  
κατορθωθῆναι, ὥς οὖν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τῆς πάλης μοι προκειμένης· καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ  
μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡττηθῆναι ἢ τῆς βελτίονος μοίρας ἐπιτ[υχό]ντα περιγενέσθαι τῆς χειρόνος,  
<sup>30</sup> συνεύχου ἡμῖν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἅπερ οἶδ[ας] συντελέσοντα τῷ σπουδάσματι· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀλλ'  
αὐτῇ γε τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἧς οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν αἰρούμεθα παρακινδυνεύειν.

**19-20 χάλκεια χρυσείων ἡμείψατο** Hom. *Il.* 6.236

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 186v-r. Partially ed. Kourouses 143, n. 2.

**PB8β. [Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα]**

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 186r| Οὐδείς τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτόθεν ἐπανηκόντων ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τινι τῆς πατρίδος, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, οὐχ οἷον πάνυ καὶ τὸ σὸν πάντως ἐπεικὲς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ διέξεισιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν 'τό' φησιν 'ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶρηκε σοῦγε εἵνεκεν', ὁ δὲ 'τό'. ἄλλος δέ μοι καὶ θεσπεσίους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἤνεγκε λόγους πάντας χρηστότητος γέμοντας, πάντας εὐμενείας βασιλικῆς· τὸ δὲ μεῖζον, ὅτι
- <sup>5</sup> καὶ εἰς δῆμον ὅλον πολλάκις καὶ θέατρον τοιοῦτό τι τετόλμηκε. καὶ ἔοικε μὲν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ἐθέλιν εὐδαιμονίζειν τὰμά, ἔοικε δ' οὐχ ἥττον ἐν προσχήματι τῶν ἐμῶν τὴν κρείττω δόξαν πρὸς τῶν ἀκουόντων παρακερδαίνειν αὐτός· τίς γὰρ τηλικούτου βασιλέως ὅπως οὐκ ἠσθημένος, οὐχὶ τοῦ παντὸς εἰς φιλοτιμίαν τὸν μέγιστον τουτονὶ κόσμον προκρίνειεν; ἐμοὶ μέντοι συμβαίνει λαμπρῷ γε παρὰ τῇ πόλει δοκεῖν εἶναι, ὅτι περ ἐν διανοίᾳ βασιλέως κεῖμαι
- <sup>10</sup> τοσοῦτου, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ δίκ[αι]ον ὦν ἐκείνῳ καθάπαξ εἰς μνήμην ἐληλυθέναι· τῷ γε μὴν σαυτοῦ κράτει, ὁπόση τις εὐκλεία πανταχόθεν συρρεῖ, ᾗδέτωσαν· οἱ νῦν μὲν χρηστότητα γνώμης θαυμάζουσι τοσοῦτον καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοὺς πάντας βουλομένην κλείζειν, ὅσον καὶ τὰ πάντα κοινῇ· νῦν δὲ μεγαλονοίας ὑπερβολήν, ἣν οὔτε χρόνος δύναιτ' ἂν ἐπαμβλῦναι, μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν εἰς ὄψιν ἅπαξ ἰόντων ἐπὶ μνήμης ἄγειν ἀεὶ, οὔτ' αὖ βάρος φροντίδων, ἅς
- <sup>15</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς βασιλικῶς μάλα καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀνήρησαι. ἀλλὰ τίνα ἂν σοι τὴν χάριν καὶ βουληθέντ[ες] Ῥωμαῖοι μετρίως γοῦν ἀποδοίημεν; οὐδεμίαν, οἶμαι, πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ, πλὴν τοῦ πάσχειν εὖ παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους αἰρεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ εὐχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄγον εἴποι τις ἂν τὸ κέρδος ἡμῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οἶσθα πάσης χάριτος μεῖζον, [τ]οῦτό σοι καθάπαξ σπουδῇ, τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς φροντίς καὶ πόνος ἡμέρ[ας], τοῦτό σοι καὶ βασιλείαν κατεγγυᾶται
- <sup>20</sup> τὴν ἀνωτάτω, ἣ δῆπου καὶ πλάνης καὶ [...] ἀπήλλακται. ἐμοὶ δ' εἰ θέμις καὶ πλεον εὐξασθαι, ἴδοιμέν σε λαμπ[ρῶς] |f. 181r| ἐπ' Ἀνατολῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐμφωλεύοντας θῆρας πόρρω σοβοῦντα, οἱ δ' ἀπολαύειν αὐτῆς εἰσιν ἄξιοι, ἀποδιδόντα ταύτη δικαίως, ὃ δὴ καὶ σκοπεῖς.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 186r, 181r, reproduced from Kourouses<sup>2</sup> slightly modified.

**PB9. [τῷ Γαβρᾶ]**

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 181r| Ἔοικας ἐς τοσοῦτον σεσιγηκῶς, ἥτοι μεῖζον ἢ ἡμεῖς σοι δοκοῦ[μεν] τὸ τῶν λόγων οἶεσθαι κράτος περιγενέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἔμ[...·] πρὸς [τὸν] σον ἂν ἀγωνίσαιο, ἢ τῷ βάρει τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν λύπης τὰς φρένας κατα[σει]σθεις, ἥττους παραπολύ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθήσασ[θαι]. ἔπει μὲν οὖν ἐκείνους [...·] παθεῖν τὰ ἐρήμα καὶ τοῦ
- <sup>5</sup> τ' ἴσως εἰκ[...οὐ]θ' ὥς[...·] ἃ πεπ[όνθ]αμεν οὕτως ἐπιβουλευθέντες παρὰ τῆς τύχης, τοῦναντίον ἢ βούλει τῆς σῆς δόξης τῷ παντί γε δίδως ψηφίζεσθαι. ἔπειδ' ἡ καὶ πόρρω λόγων [...·], εἶγε βούλοιντο λόγοι μέντοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅπερ εἰσιν ἀπολεῖν· εἶδ' αὖ σοι τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον τοῦ σιγᾶν, τίς ἄρα νόμος ἐστὶ πείθων τοὺς τῶν ἄκρων ἀποτυγχάνον[τας], μὴ δὲ τοῖς μητρίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἄλλως τε δ' εἰ μὲν λόγοις μόνοις τὸ πᾶν ἐθαρροῦμεν, ἦν ἂν εἰς
- <sup>10</sup> παραίτησιν τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν, μήποτε τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔλλειμμα καὶ φιλίας ἔλλειμμα δόξειεν· ὁπότε δὲ πολλοῖς τισι χρώμεθα τοῖς ἔξωθεν τεκμηρίοις τὰ ἔνδον καταμανθάνειν· καὶ βραχύς που λόγος πολλάκις ἐξήρκεσεν εἰς ἀποδείξιν διαθέσεως, μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἀγροικικώτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ σοφώτερον ἢ μελέτης λόγον εἰς τοῦτο προσδεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐδέτερον ἴσως ἐρεῖς τοῦ σὲ γράφειν ἀπέστησεν ἀσχολία δέποτε συμπεσοῦσα, ὅποια φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. εἶθ' οὕτως ἄγεις
- <sup>15</sup> τὰμὰ δεύτερα τῆς ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων περιφορῶν· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδ[...·] ἐν οἷσις εὐ[...·]μὲν κακοῖς τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς πο[...·]θει[...·] τὴν ζωὴν ἐν ὁδυρμοῖς ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἐγὼ σὲ ἔτρεφον ταῖ[ς...·] ἐλπισιν, ἵνα ἀλγοῦντι μὴ [...·] ἀλγῆς καὶ μὴ συνδακρύης δακρύοντι, κ[...·] μικρὰ ἴσως τὸ πάθος χηρείας ἀώρ[ου] καὶ ὀρφανίας, οἷα παραδόξαν πεπόνθαμεν καὶ μὴ ὅτι γε συνθηγεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θρηγεῖν ὅλως δίκαιον· πάσχω γὰρ οὐ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν μόνον ὀρῶν
- <sup>20</sup> καὶ τοῦμὸν τέως κακὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄρτι μοι σπαργάνων καὶ θηλῆς πεπαυμένον, ὃς δὴ πρὶν ἢ γινῶναι μητέρα, ταύτην ἀπώλεσε· καὶ πλανᾶται περὶ τὰς ξένας οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως τὴν γνησίαν ὀρᾷ, ἀλλ' ὥς ὄφελον τοῦτ' εἶναι καθάπαξ σόφισμα τῷ παιδί· ἠνέγκαμεν γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τὸ πάθος κουφότερον, νῦν δ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένης ἀεὶ πλανᾶσθαι τῆς φύσεως, ποθὴ τις ἔπεισιν αὐτῷ τῆς τεκούσης· καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἀπορῶν, πρὸς μόνον τὸν γεννήσαντα τελευτᾷ,
- <sup>25</sup> οὗ δὴ καὶ θερμότερον ἀντιλαμβάνει παρ' ἐνὸς ἐκάτερον καὶ γίνομαι τούτῳ καὶ πατήρ καὶ μήτηρ ὁ τάλας ἐγὼ ἀντιμεταχωρούσης ἐξ ἀμηχανίας τῆς σχέσεως· τίς ταῦθ' ὀρῶν κἂν ἀτει|f. 181v|ρῆς γε ὧν τύχοι *πέλεκυς τὴν καρδίαν*, ἵνα τι καὶ ποιητικῶς λέξω, ἢ πέτραις ἢ ἐκδρ[ομαῖς] γενόμενος, οὐκ εἰ ποιήσαιτο τὸ πάθος καὶ βύθιον ἐποιμώξειεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ κα[...·] ἄνθρωπον γεγον[...·]ναρ τε ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πόνους ὀρᾷς ὁ μὴ δὲ [...·] θανόντων δόξα[...·]τὲ [...·]λ εἰ μὲν ἢ προσῆκον ἐφ' ἡμῖν σαυτῷ χρήσαιο αὐτῷ τε δράσεις [τοῦ σ]ώφρονος ἀνδρός ἐστὶ δῆπου καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἄριστου προσαπαλλάξεις ιε[...·]αὶ τοῦμὸν μέρος τοῦ πάνθ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ χεῖριστα ἐπίσο[υ...·] εἰ δ' οὐδὲν πλέ[...·]ε]κ τῆς [...·]μᾶς μὲν καὶ πλεῖον ἢ πρόσθεν λ[...·] εἰ αὐτῷ δὲ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν δόξαν ἐγκλημα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ βεβαιώσαις ἂν.

**26-7 ἀτειρῆς...καρδίαν Hom. II. 3.60**

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 181r (lacunae in the upper centre and right margin), 181v (lacunae in the centre and right margin).

## PB10. Πρὸς τὸν Γαβρᾶν

<sup>1</sup> |f. 181v| Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σαυτὸν οἶμαι τὴν παρὰ τῆς κοινῆς τῆσδε τῶν πραγμάτων φορᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν  
καταμελετηθεῖσαν ἐπήρειαν λεληθέναι, ἥ δὴπου μετὰ τῆς συντρόφου καὶ τῶν φρενῶν  
ἀπεστέρησε· κἂν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπεικότα τῇ φύσει πεπόνθαμεν θάνατον κατιδόντες ἐν θνητῷ  
<sup>5</sup> σώματι, τὸ γοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν οὕμενον ἔχομεν πρὸς ἀκαιρίαν ἀήθους ἐκπεπληγμένοι κακὰ·  
τίς γὰρ οὕτω νέαν ἡλικίαν ἰδὼν οὐχ ὅτ' ἔδει μετοικισθεῖσαν εἰς Ἄδην καὶ ὥσπερ γενομένην  
οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ ἡλίω καὶ ἡμέρᾳ συνείη, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ σκότει τ[ε] καὶ νυκτί, μὴ οὐχὶ λήθην αὐτίκα  
πέισεται, ὣν εἰκὸς τοῦτω παρὰ τὸν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι καιρόν; ἀλγοῦμεν οὖν, καὶ  
τοσοῦτον, ὥς ἄπορον ἐληλέχθαι πᾶσαν προαγομένην ἡμῖν μηχανήν· οἷον γάρ τινα τροπὴν ὁ  
<sup>10</sup> νοῦς πεπονθὼς τῇ τοῦ πάθους σφοδρ[ό]τ[η]τ[ι]. πρῶτα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐχ οἷος τε ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τε  
χρησθαι πρὸς εὗρεσιν τοῦ βελτί[ου, δ]εῖ πάντως ψυχὴν ἐξημεροῦσθαι τὸ ἄγριον τῆς λύπης  
ἀποβαλοῦσαν καὶ σκυθρωπ[ό]ν· ἔπειτα δ' οὕτως ἔχοντι, ἀνάγκη μὴ δὲ προσίστασθαι, ἃ τις  
ἂν ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ παρεμβάλοι, κἂν ποτε σμικρὸν ἀνενέγκοι· ἄλλο τοῦτο δεινὸν ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς  
ὀρφανία παρεμπεσοῦσα συνέχεε τε αὐτῆς αὐτὸν καὶ πατέσεισε καὶ χειρόν ἢ πρόσθεν διέθετο.  
ἥ γὰρ οὐχὶ δεινὸν γυναικὸς ἅμα θάνατον καὶ παιδὸς ὀρφανίαν καταθρηνεῖν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ὧδε,  
<sup>15</sup> νῦν δ' ἐκεῖσε ἀντισπᾶσθαι τῇ συμφορᾷ· καὶ περὶ τῆς μὲν οἰχομένης ὀδύρεσθαι, τοῦ δ'  
ἐπιστένειν προδοδομένου καὶ μητρῶων πλάγχθ[η] ἀπερρηγμένου· πῶς οἶε με διατίθεσθαι,  
ἐπειδὴν οὐκ ἔχον τὸ παιδίον μητέρα θεᾶσθαι ἔμοιγ' ἐμφύηται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἃ μητρὶ παρέχειν  
εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀποδιδῶ τῷ γεννήσαντι; βαβαί, οἷα φύσις ἀνθρώπου δύναται ἂν καρτερεῖν; τῷ  
<sup>20</sup> ὄντι γὰρ οὐ μάτην ἔφη τις πάντα τὰ χεῖρὼ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐνεγκεῖν δύνασθαι· καὶ  
μῆτε πάθος, μῆτε συμφορὰν οὐ φρ[ου]ρητὰ γε εἶναι τοῖς πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι μεγίστων  
ὄντων τούτων κακῶν πικρίας [ἀν]απλῆσαι ψυχὴν καὶ ἀβί[ο]τον αὐτῇ τὴν β[ι]ο[ν] |f. 182r|  
παρασκευάσασθαι· τί ἂν σοι τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις λέγοιμι, ὅποσα μοι ἐξῆς συνήντησε πράγματα  
πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα μοι τῶν  
<sup>25</sup> ἀρίστων, ὅσαι μ[έν] μεταβολαὶ ὅσαι δ' ἀπέχθαι, αἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς αἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ  
πλήττουσαι; [ἀ]μαρτω[λός] ὥς ἔοικε τῷ παντὶ, εἴ τις τὴν ἀρχὴν μηνίματι θεῷ πληγείη,  
πάντ[α] τῷ προσεπιρρεῖν τὰ δεινὰ· καὶ τινα φύσιν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς βελτίοσι καὶ τοῖς χ[έ]ρσιν  
ὁποτέρου κίν[·]οις γένοιτο· ἐκεῖσε τὰ συγγενῇ κατ[ὰ] θεῖ[ον] οἶον [·]μον[·]· ἢ  
κατακολουθοῦντα· τοῖνυν καὶ περὶ σοὶ δέδια, μὴ ποθ' ἢ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
ἐλαύνουσα μάστιξ καὶ σέ γ' αὐτὸν τό γε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φαῦλον ἐργάσαιτο· ὅλον γὰρ ἔτος  
<sup>30</sup> ἐκταθὲν τῇ σιγῇ καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἤδη προσεπελάβετο καὶ δέος μὴ καὶ τούτου περιαχθέντος ἔτι  
τὰς φίλας ἐμοὶ καὶ συνήθεις καθέξεις ἐπιστολάς. καὶ μὴν ὥφειλες ἐμὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
ἀμείψασθαι πεμφθεῖσαν μετὰ τὴν σὴν, ὅτ' ἐπέστελλες· κἂν μηδὲν ὥφειλες, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν  
ἐχρῆν ὥστε μελιχίοις ἐπωδαῖς λόγων συμφοραῖς φλεγμαίνουσαν ψυχὴν θεραπεύειν· ποῦ  
γὰρ ἂν τις φιλίας ἀπόναιτο, εἰ μὴ ἐπειδὴν ποτε χρήσαιτο ποικίλοις τοῖς πράγμασι; σὺ μὲν οὖν  
<sup>35</sup> εἴτε τὸ πρόσθεν σχῆμα περισώζεις σαυτῷ, εἴτε πρὸς τούναντίον ἡλλαξε, ὅπερ ἂν ἡμῖν  
βούλοιο, χρῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι τᾶλλα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐκστῆναι [ύμ]νολογῶ, τοῦδε δὲ μὴ  
φιλεῖν ἢ χρῆ, ἢ φίλων ἐπιλελῆσθαι, μήποθ' ἡμῶν, μήθ' ἢ χείρων τῶν πραγμάτων φορὰ  
περιγένοιτο, μήθ' ἢ [τῶν] βελτίων· τεκμήριον δὲ καὶ τὸ σοι γε ἐπιστεῖλαι προθυμηθῆναι ἐκ  
<sup>40</sup> χειμῶν[ος οὕτω] μεγίστου τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ μέντοι μηδὲ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ὑστερ[ῶ]· ἔχεις  
γὰρ συνεκπεμπόμενα καὶ τὰ κέντρα τῶν ἵππων τοῖς γράμμασιν, εἰ καὶ ὀψιαίτερον ἀλλὰ  
φιλοπονώτερον τῷ τεχνίτῃ σοι πονηθέντα, τό δ' εἴτε τῇ τέχνῃ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κλοπὸν δοίης, εἴτ'  
αὐτῇ δὴπου τοῦ καλοῦ φύσει, σύμψηφος οὔση καὶ ἀληθεία καὶ Ἡσιόδω· ἐπειδὴ τοῖς χείροσι  
προσεῖναι δεῖ τὸ ταχὺ, τοῖς δὲ κρείττοσι τὸ λίαν βραδύ.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 181v-182r. Partially ed. Kourouses 148-149 with his reconstructions amplified.

### PB11. Τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 182r| Συνίστημι τὸν παρόντα τῇ σῇ καλοκαγαθίᾳ, οὐχ ἰν' ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰδῆς ἀγνοούμενον·  
πάλαι γὰρ ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ τὸ σέ γε τούτον εἰδέναι· τοῦ δὲ μείζον κερδάναι καὶ δι' ἐμὲ ἐφ' οἷς  
ἂν χρηστοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σοῦ δεηθείη, δεηθ[εῖ]η δ' ἂν δουλείαν εἰσενεγκεῖν καὶ μισθὸν  
ἀλλάξασθαι ὑπὲρ γυναικός τε κα[ὶ] παίδων ταλαιπωροῦντων, ὧν ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν λιμός ποτε τὴν  
<sup>5</sup> οὐσίαν ἐκδαπανήσας πένητας ἀντὶ πλουσίων διέθηκεν· εἰ μὲν οὖν μήτε δίκαια ἦτο[ι] μήτ'  
οὖν βασιλικαῖς ἀρμόζοντα χρεῖαις, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν οἶμαι παροπτέος ἐτύγχα[νε· ἐξ]ήρκει γὰρ  
ἀν[τί π]άντων ἡ βασιλέως χρησ[τότης] αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλείους ἂν εἴποις τοὺς |f. 182v| [ἐ]ν  
μερεῖ τούτῳ πάσχοντ[ας] εὖ ἢ ἐκείνῳ· ὁπότε δὲ καὶ πολλάττα τὸν ἄνδρα δίκαι[ον] φαίνεται,  
ἀποβολὴ δηλονότι τῶν ὄντων ἐν πόλει πολιορκηθείσῃ· ἐντρέχεια φύσεως σὺν γνώμῃ χρηστῇ,  
<sup>10</sup> πίστις περὶ τὰ πράγματα οἷς ἂν κριθεῖ διακονῆσαι, δίκαιος ἂν εἴη βασιλικὴν ἑαυτ[οῖς]  
μνηστεύσασθαι ἐπιείκειαν· ἐνὸς αὐτῷ μόνου δεῖ τοῦ σοῦ γ[ε] χρηστοῦ μεσίτου ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ  
δὴ πολλάκις τετύχηκε· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῷ δεῖ, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦ τάληθῆ λέγειν δοκεῖ, παρ' οἷς  
ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ σπουδάζω τὰ σά.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 182r-v.

### PB12. [Εἰ]ς βασιλ[έα]

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 182v| Οἶον τι καὶ τοῦτο ποι[εῖ] θαυμάσιος βασιλεὺς, οὔτε μὴν τῆς σῆς εὐδαίμονος μοίρας  
τῷ μεγέθει συμβ[αι]ν[·], οὐτ' ἂν ἐμ[οι·]ω φ[·]ω πᾶσι δοκούντων· τὸ γὰρ ἐμὲ κεῖσθαι παρὰ  
τῇ σῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γλώττῃς ἔργον ἔσθ' ὅτε παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας γίγνεσθαι, τοῦ θή[·]ον  
πάντως ἢ κατὰ βασιλέως ὑπεροχῇ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτόθεν ἐπανηκόντων, ὁ  
<sup>5</sup> βασιλεὺς φασὶ τὰ δ' εἴρηκε περὶ σοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούων τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀθρόως τὴν γνώμην  
μερίζω εἰς θαῦμα καὶ ἡδονὴν, καὶ τὴν δ' ἐμαυτῷ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ μοι κοινωνοῦσι  
τοῦ θάμβους ἡδέως καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅπως ἄρα λογισμοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους τὸ πρᾶγμα δώσουσιν·  
ἐνὶ δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτὸς λόγῳ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πάντας ἀναλαμβάνω τοῦ πάθους, οὐδὲν μέγα  
φάσκων, εἰ δῶρον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ, εἴτα θεῖός τις ἐστὶ τὰ  
<sup>10</sup> πάντα καὶ μὴ κατὰ πάντας ἔνεστι τούτῳ καὶ χρηστότης καὶ μνήμῃ· ἐν δέ μοι μόνον ἐπὶ τῇ  
σῇ ψήφῳ συμβαίνει τεκμαίρε[σθαι] μήποτε καὶ Θεὸς αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ ὁ μέγας σὺ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ  
μνήμῃς ἄγῃ τὰμὰ παρῶν τ[ε] τιθεῖς τὴν ἔνδον φανλότητα· εἰ δὲ Θεὸς μὲν καθαρὸς,  
καθαροὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ προσιέμενος ἐγὼ δ' αἰσχροὺς μάλιστα, αἰτίαν ἂν τις  
ψηφίσαιτο τὴν σὴν φιланθρωπίαν τοῦ ταῦτα [·]λ[·]ζ[εν]αι· ἢ τοίνυν θεοεἰκελε βασιλεῦ  
<sup>15</sup> ἐπίσχες τὴν μνήμην καὶ διὰ λήθης ἀγ[·] τὰμὰ, ἢ κάμοι συγγινώσκειν ἀξίου, εἴ τι σοι  
δοκοῦμεν πλημμελῆσαι περὶ τὰ μείζω· εἰ δ' ὅτι σε τοῦτο εἰς ταυτὸν ἄγει θεῶ, ὥς τις ἔφη τῶν  
ἑξῶθεν, καὶ τὴν κρείττω μνηστεύεται βασιλείαν οὐκ ἀπαρνῆ μήτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς θεοῦ, μήτε δὲ  
τῶν οἷος ἐγὼ κάμοις μεμνήσθαι· ὥς ἐγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν σε τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μάλλον ἢ τῆς  
<sup>20</sup> αὐχῆς ἔνεκεν, καὶ θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις βασιλ[έα] γνωρίζεσθαι, οὗ εἰ [μη]δὲν[·] γένοιτο  
μείζον καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ ἄρχουσιν, αὐτὸς σὺ κρίνης μέγιστε βασιλεῦ ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ποιεῖς.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 182v.



## PB13. Ατου[μ]άνω

- <sup>1</sup> [f. 182v] Ὑπὲρ οὗ σοι νῦν ἐπιστεῖλαι προῆγμαί, αὐτὸς ἂν οἶμαι τοῦτ' ἂν πολλάκις ἔδρασας, εἴ γε παροῦσαν ἡμῖν, ὅπως οὖν ἦδεις, εὖ ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα δύναμιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ἢ ὁσὸς ἐστὶν ξενικὸς· ξενικὸς, ὃν σοὶ μὲν πάλαι τροφή κοινὴ καὶ παιδεία καὶ πραγμάτων εὐροια, οὐδ' ὁποτέρων φῶ φίλον ἢ ἀδελφὸν, πεποιήκασιν· τούτων δ' οὐδὲν πάντως ἔμοιγε, ἀλλ' ἢ
- <sup>5</sup> βαρβαρικὸς φόβος καὶ κάθειρξις εἰς ταυτὸν τούτῳ συγκλείσασαι. οἶσθα τὴν κατὰ Σμύρνην ταλαιπωρίαν, καὶ ὅσα μὴ ῥαδίας οὐσ[η]ς μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ πέπονθα ὅτι καὶ πολλὰ μοι συνεβάλου πρὸς ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ πᾶν τούναντίον ὑπῆρχε [...]ρδος· σχεδὸν γὰρ τουτωνὶ πάντ[ως] αὐτὸς μοι γέγονας αἴτιος· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον καὶ [f. 183r] φιλικαὶ γνωρίμων ἐπικουρία[ι], εἴπερ ποτε
- <sup>10</sup> χρῆζοντα αὐ[τ]ῆς αἰχμαλωσίας [-]συ[-]ορη· παρ' ἡμᾶς μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἦνεγκε καὶ συνέειπεν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἵππων ἀφαίρεσιν ἀποδυρομένῳ, παρ' οὗ δὴ καὶ γέγονε· καὶ ἴσως μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν παρεμυθησάμεθα, ἴσως δ' οὐ· μάρτυρες γὰρ ἦμεν τοῦ πράγματος, ὥσπερ δῆτα καὶ σὺ· καὶ νῦν δ' ὅτι περ ὑπὸ δουλείαν τὴν γυναικα ὁρᾷ βαρβαρικὰς
- <sup>15</sup> ὑφισταμένην δεινότητος καὶ αὐτόν δ' οὐδὲν κ[ρεῖ]ττον δι' [ἐ]κείνην· αὐθις ἐλήλυθεν ἐπιεικὴς δὲ ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὸ συμφορᾶς ἀνεχόμενος ἐκστῆναι τῆς γνώμης· ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς παρ' ἡμῶν δέεται, ὅσα καὶ φιλία θαρρεῖ καὶ περίστασις, ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐθις αὐτῷ συνεπιεῖν πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον βασιλέα [...] ἃ σοὶ τε θ[α]ρρῶν καὶ τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασι κάμοῦ τε παρόντος καὶ βλέπόντος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχε τοῖς φύλαξιν· ἃ καὶ σώζειν οἶμαι τὴν
- <sup>20</sup> πάλιν, ἕως ἐξῆν δίδοσθαι, ἀπολέσαι δ' αὐθις μὴ τοῦτο δυνάμενα· καὶ σὺ δ' ἂν ψηφίσαι[ι]ο τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν φανέντα τῇ πόλει [...], καὶ μηδενὸς ἐλλελοιπότης τῶν κ[α]θ' αὐτόν, μὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδενὸς ἀπλοῦν χρηστοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄντα ζημιωθῆναι· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ ἃ χεῖρα ἐχθρῶν διέφυγον, μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν τέως σεσῶσθαι καὶ σμικρόν τι βοήθημα τῇ συμφορᾷ τούτῳ
- <sup>25</sup> λείπεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τ[ι]νας παροιμίας ποιῶ παρακαλῶν σε σπεύδοντα, ἢ Πυλάδην προτρέπω βοηθῆσαι Ὅρεστη μάλιστα [...] οὐ περιττὸς οἶμαι σοὶ δόξειν τὰ δυνατὰ τῷ φίλῳ ποιῶν· ἄλλως τε δὲ σοὶ καὶ συναύξειν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν προθυμίαν οἰόμενος· εἰ δ' ἴσως σοὶ μὲν τοιοῦτος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἑμαυτῷ· τοῦμὸν γὰρ ποιῶ καὶ λέγω καὶ φίλ[α] τὰ εἰκότα χαρίζομαι.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 182v (short lacuna in the last line)-183r. Partially ed. Kourouses 313.

## PB14. Τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, ἦτοι τῷ Χατζίκ[η]

- <sup>1</sup> [f. 183r] Οὐτε λήθη οὐτ' ἀπειροκα{λα}λία οὐτε μὴν ὑπεροψία τῶν οἶος αὐτὸς, ὥς ἂν τισὶ δόξαιμεν, τοῦ σοὶ γράφειν ἀπέστην, πάντων ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστε· πράγματα δὲ συχνότατα ἐπεισπεσόντα καὶ συμφοραῖς οὐδ' ὅσης εἰπεῖν ἐνιέντα κακῶν, ἢ μ[η]ν ἅπαντ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ σοὶ καὶ παντὶ πεποίηκεν ὑπειλήφθαι, ὥστ' ἐνεῖναι μοι, κὰν τῷ μέρει τῷδε θρηνεῖν· καὶ περὶ
- <sup>5</sup> μείζονος τὰ κατὰ γνώμην ταυτὶ δεικ[ν]οῦσ[α] δεινὰ τίθεσθαι ἢ τὰ ἀβούλητα· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τοιοῦτος τοῖς φίλοις [...] ἡν μ[...] ἐσκηπτόμην ἄρα τὴν συμφορὰν· καὶ οὐτε λόγος οὐτ' αὖ ἔργον ἡδύν[...] ἂν παρα[ι]τήσ[...] ἴσασιν, ὅσοι πείρας ἐν ἡμῖν φιλίας καὶ δεδῶκασιν καὶ εἰλήφασιν· καὶ οὐδεὶς γὰρ {μοι} μοι τ[ὸν] ἀπ[...]τ[...] τοιοῦτόν τι πώποτε προσῆψεν ἐγκλημα· οὐκ οὐδὲ παρὰ σοὶ φυγεῖν τι τοῦτο ἐδεδίαμεν, οὐδ' ἐγκληθῆναι τι
- <sup>10</sup> τῶν γε μὴ προσηκόντων τῇ γνώμῃ· ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ φιλοσκώμονά σε τὴν φύσιν ἴσμεν καὶ ῥαδίως κατανηφιζόμενον, ὅ τι ἂν τύχοι· δῆλον δ' ὥς εἰ τοιοῦτοι τινὲς ἦμεν τὰ φιλικὰ, ἐπιτεινόμεθ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρη τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑφιέμεν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτω ῥαδίως κακία πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅση πρὸς κακίαν ἀρετὴ μεταβάλλει· ὅποτε δ' ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνήρηται τοῦτο, οὐκ ἄρα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ πονηρᾶς τινος ἤρξε τὸ πρᾶγμα γραμμῆς· εἰ μὲν οὖν οἷς
- <sup>15</sup> γράφομεν πείθομεν καὶ φίλοις δοκοῦμεν καὶ μνήμονες εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, καὶ οὐτε τῇ σῇ παιδείᾳ οὐτε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ οὐτε τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς ἀπεικός τι φρονήσας· εἰ δ' ἄλογος κρίσις ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ ἐκκρουσθῆναι τῆς γνώμης οὐ βούλοιο, ὁ γοῦν χαλινὸς ὀφθεῖς σ[ε], ἄριστα μετὰ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀπευθύνει ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ φέρεσθαι· ἐνθα γὰρ ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις σύνεστιν, οὐδὲν πειθοῦς ἰσχυρότερον λείπεται· εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνει καὶ σοὶ μὲν κατα
- <sup>20</sup> γνώμης ἐ[...]ε κατ' ἐνυχήν εὖ πράττοις, β[ου]λοῖμ[η]ν[...] καὶ σοὶ καὶ παντὶ τὰ χεῖρ[α] ποι[εῖ]ν.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 183r.

# PB15. Τῷ Γαβρᾶ

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 183v| Ὅσον ἤδη σιγὴν ἄγων τοῖς γράμμασι, πηλίκον τι πάνυ τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰργάσω τῆς ἡμετέρας; τοσοῦτον ἄρ' ἐπὶ σχῆμα μεταβαλὼν, ἡμᾶς τε ῥάους κατέστησας κεκρῆσθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ σαντόν δ' [ἐ]σχάτ[ης] βλασφημίας ἀπήλλαξας· ἐρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος πρὸς φίλον ἀληθῆ τάληθές, τὸ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἔχειν ἐμὲ θαυμάζειν τὰ [σὰ] καὶ μα[ρ]τυρεῖν δ'
- <sup>5</sup> ἐφ' ἐκαστόν, ὅπως ἀρίστη φύσει μηδὲν χεῖρων ἐπιζευχθεῖσα γνώμη τὰ εἰς φιλίαν ἄκρον πεποίηκεν, εἴτα πρὸς βαρεῖαν οὕτω καὶ δεινὴν τύχην ἡμῖν ἐνσκήψη σου οὐκ ἐθελήσῃ πρᾶξαι τὰ δυνατὰ, [...]την [...]ἐ]κείνα καὶ νομίζειν καὶ [λέ]γειν ἔπειθε· λυπεῖ[σθαι] δὲ κἂν τῷδε τῷ μέρει μάλιστα [Ἐτε]οκλήν περὶ τοὺς ψήφους τῶν ὄντων ἐξελεγχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ὡς εἴκοι τὸ πρὶν ἢ συμμίζον τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασι τοιαῦτα γε ἐπὶ σοι ψηφίζεσθαι τὴν ἄλλως
- <sup>10</sup> ὑπειλημμένην· ὃ δὲ καὶ ἀληθές μάλα καὶ βέβαιον καὶ μοι προσῆκον εἰς συμ[φ]ορᾶς ἐπιθήκην, τὸ καὶ σοῦ πειρᾶσθαι κακῶς γε πάσχοντος, ἵνα μὴ δὲ τὸ σὸν γοῦν ὁ πάντα μοι πολεμῶν δαίμων χαίρειν ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ σὲ δήπου συμβῆναι πάσχειν, ὅτ' ἔδει παραμυθεῖσθαι· καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἡμῖν ἐξαρκεῖν ἔχειν κατ' [...] τοῦ πάθους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σαντῶ· ὥστ' ἐπὶ τούτοις συμβαίνει, μὴ ὅτι γ' ἔχειν ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς πρὶν ἐγκλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- <sup>15</sup> ἐλεεῖσθαι, εἰ τὰ μὲν ἔχων ἐκ τῶν συμφορᾶς γε τῆς ἡμετέρας προσέθει καὶ τὰ σαντοῦ, ἡμῖν δὲ αὖ· χαίρειν μὲν ἴσως τὰ φίλα δεξαμένοις γράμματα, ἀλγεῖν δ' ὅμως ὅτι μὴ τέως καθαρεύει λύπης τὰ σά· μήποτε τοίνυν, ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστε, τὸ οὕτως ἡρμόσθαι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπίτηδες εὐδα[ι]μονεῖν τε ἅμα καὶ δυστυχεῖν ἀναγκάζοι, ὥς ἂν τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν μάλιστα κἂν τοῖς ἐκτὸς γνωρίζοιτο πράγμασιν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν τῆς τύχης ὡς ἀλόγου κατηγορῶν, καὶ μη[δ]ὲν ὦν δρᾶ
- <sup>20</sup> δικαίως ποιήσης, τοῦτο μόνον κινδυνεύη[ς] προσεπαινεῖν· [...]παρ]αμυθεῖ σ[ὰς] ἐπὶ μέρος ἐνῆκέ μοι τὰ σὰ λυπήσασα, καὶ μέμφεσθαι γὰρ [...]ὕτ[·] καὶ ἐπ[·]ᾶσθαι διὰ τοῦτ' ἔπεισιν, οἷς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων κακῶν ἡμῶν ἐθέλει συνάγειν, κἂν μὴ τοῦτο βούληντο· ἐγὼ δ' αἰροίμην ἂν εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἔχοις αὐτὸς χεῖρον, αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἢ σὺ μὴ τέως ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων ἐμοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντος· σὺ μὲν γὰρ εὖ ἔχων, κρεῖττοσι πολλῶ καὶ γενναιότερον χρήσῃ τοῖς
- <sup>25</sup> λογισμοῖς, ἢ ἐγὼ ψυχὴν φαρμακεῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμον διαθεῖναι, ὃ τι καὶ δεῖνα τοῦ μὲν ἐξευρεῖν φάρμακα συμφορῶν, δεῖνα τοῦ δὲ λύπας κατασοφίσασθαι καὶ ἀντι τῇ σῇ τῷ πάθει τὴν φύσιν τῆς τέχνης καὶ ἀντιπεριστῆσαι τὰ ἥδιστα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πεποίηκας, εἰ δ' ἀλγὼν τοῦτ' ἠδυνήθης, δηλὸς γίγνη τί ποτ' ἂν χαίρων εἴργαστο· καὶ τὸ μὲν οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πάντες εὖ δ' ὅτι συμφαῖεν, ἢ ὅστις φθονῶν ἐλέγχοιτο· ἐγὼ δὲ σου πάντα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
- <sup>30</sup> ἀγάμενος, ἐν τούτῳ μόνον οὔτε πιστεύειν ἐνόμισα, οὔτε δὲ πρὸς ἐμοῦ γε ἦν καὶ τῆς ἐνούσης φανλότητος καὶ σὲ καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτο τι ψηφίσασθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἐξωθεν παραμυθούμενος ἀπεχθείας, τὸν σὸν ἔφης Πλάτωνα ἀποφαίνεσθαι, μὴ ἂν ποτε τὸν πολλὰ ἄδικα καὶ παράνομα διακωλύοντα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι σωθήσεσθαι· τὸναντίον δὲ γε ποιοῦντα, εἰ γ' ἐκείνην μέλει τοῦ [...]· δέδοικα γὰρ, μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ μέρει τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀλγ[εῖν] ἀλλοῖς ἄρα τ[ὸ]
- <sup>35</sup> χ[εῖ]ρον ὑπ[ο]τοπάζεται· |f. 184r| κἂν ἄλλοις γὰρ ὅτι πλείστοις εὐθύνομαι, ἥκιστα τοῦ δημοσιεύειν πρὸς τ[α]ῦτα συμβάλλοντος· λείπεται τοίνυν [ἐκ]εῖνο μᾶλλον ἀλ[η]θές εἶναι ὅπερ ὁ αὐτός που Πλάτων φησὶν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κα[κ]ὸν οὐδὲν [οὐ]δὲ ἀμελεῖται ὑπὸ θεοῦ τὰ τούτου πράγματα, ὥστ' εἴκοι τῷ κατ' ἐμὲ πονηρῷ τὴν γνώμην τείνειν τοῦ πάσχειν πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ χαίρω πλυνόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ ἕτεροι κακίας ἀνεκπλύτοι
- <sup>40</sup> μεμενηκότες καὶ αἰεὶ ῥυπαινομένοι, οἷς οὐδὲν καθαρτηρίοις ὠμυληκόσι βασάνοις· κἂν ταῦθα μὲν τῷ κριτηρίῳ τῆς συνειδησ[έ]ως· [...]τέρον [...]εστιν εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν· ὕστερον δὲ πολλῶ κείσεται τουτὶ δραστικώτερ[ον·] ἂν διαιρεθέντες τῆς ὕλ[ης] ἀ[θ]άνατοι ἀθανάτοις ἢ ἡδοναῖς ἢ λύπῃν ὁποτέρου ἔχομεν συνενο[ύ]μεθα· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν οὕτω δοκεῖ, Θεὸς δὲ οἶδεν ὅπως ταῦτ' ἔχει καὶ οἷον σχήσει τὸ πέρας, σχήσει δὲ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ἂν αὐτὸς μόνον ἄγοι
- <sup>45</sup> τάνθρωπεια, ἄγοι δὲ πάντως καὶ προνοία καὶ χρηστοτήs φύσεως· σύ μόν[ου] δοκεῖς οὔτε περὶ σαντοῦ οὐθ' Ἑρμοῦ χάριν γενναιότερον τ[ῷ] λογιζέσθαι, οἷς ἂν ἐγγ[·] σοι τε εἰς πειθῶ· ἢ γὰρ ἂν οὐχὶ τὰς Χάριτας αὐτῷ παρεξυγνυσ ταύτην [ἐ]ξεργάζεσθαι; ἦν δ' ἂν ἴσως, εἰ χεῖρον ἐκείνος ἢ φύσεως ἔχων ἐφαίνετο παρὰ σοί, ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁρᾶν ἐνεστιν, ἀλλ' εἴκοιεν Ἥφαιστος, οὐ Πατρόκλῳ π[αρα]τιθείς ὅπλα μάχεσθαι· Ἀχιλλέα δ' ὀπλίζων ἦρωα, ὡς καὶ σέ γε
- <sup>50</sup> Ἑρμῆς οὐκοῦν περιττὰ γε ἔτι τὰ ἐκ λίνων ὑφάσματα, ἃ δὴ τοῖς κέντροις εὐφυῶς ἤρμους ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν πιστεύσας διὰ τούτων ἠδράσθαι, μηκέτ' οὐ[·] φίλων ἄριστε, τοιοῦτό τι πῶποτε πράξειας· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ παι[δί] νοῦν ἔχοντι, γυμνοῖς τῶν Χαρίτων περιτυγχάνειν τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασιν· [οὐκ ἂν] γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τῆς φύσεως χάρις καὶ τί δεῖ τῆς

ἔξωθεν; ἴσθι τοίνυν ἐπιστέλλων μὲν [ό] χαριζόμενος· ἂν [τ]ὸ δὲ τοῦτο ποιῶν, μήτ'  
55 ἐπιστέλλων μήτε δὲ χ[αρι]ζόμενος.

**23 ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων** cf. Plato, Apology 41d **37 ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κα[κ]ὸν οὐδὲν [οὐ]δὲ ἀμελεῖται** Plato, Apology 41d **46-7 Ἑρμοῦ...Χάριτας** Hesiod, Opera et Dies 73 **50 τοῖς κέντρους** cf. Gabalas PB10.40.

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 183v-184r. Minimally ed. Kourouses 150-51.

### PB16. Τῷ Κλειδῷ

<sup>1</sup> |f. 184r| Πολλοὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς ἡμῶν ἦκοντες, ἐπὶ μεγά[λης] ἡρμένον φασὶ καὶ φύσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ὧν δήπου γεννα[·]α[·]τας ε[ἰ] δεξίας[·] ἐν[η]νοχένοι δείγματα· καὶ μέγα μὲν ὄφελος εἶναι τῇ πολιτείᾳ, μεῖζον δὲ γε τῇ ἐκκλη[σίᾳ] καὶ κατὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀριστεύειν ἐν δίκαις, τὰ πρῶτα δὲ φέρειν ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρα συστέλλειν  
<sup>5</sup> μαινομένην ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀδικουμένοις προστίθεσθαι, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς νόμοις βούλοιο· ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ἀκούσας αὐτὸς, μήποτ' ἔφη Αἰακὸς[.] ὥφθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πράγμασιν ἢ Μίνως ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κρήτης· δεῖ γὰρ αἰ τοῖς κοι[νοῖς] τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους προισταμένων, ἵνα καὶ πόλις οἰκοίη ἄριστα καὶ νόμος εὐθύνηται· ἐφ' οἷς ἀβ[·] μὲν αὐτόθι παρῆναι καὶ ὅψει μᾶλλον ἢ φήμη ταῦτα μανθάνειν, ὡς ἂν χαίρω μᾶλλον κ[αί] κοινωνός σοι  
<sup>10</sup> τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταυτησὶ μοίρας γίγνομαι, ὅτι καὶ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν λόγων χρῆμ[α], δι' οὗ αὐτὸς δύναιο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφήρημαι, ἄθλιοι γὰρ ἐλάχομεν εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οἷον ὑπερόριοι καὶ κατάκριται, μίαν δὴ σοι πεῖραν περὶ τούτων ἄξειν ἐγνώκα[μεν]· τὸν ἐμὸν ἀδελφόν, [ό]ς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν αὐτῷ διαφέρουσι καὶ δικαιο[ύ] καὶ ἐξουσίας δεόμ[ενο]ς ἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις τῆς παρὰ [τῆς] ῥο[πῆς] ἀπολαύσειεν· αὐτὸς μὲν τεύξετ[αι]  
<sup>15</sup> τῶν οἰκείων, ἡμ[ῖν] δὲ περὶ σοῦ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ε[ὐ]θύ[νους] βεβαι[ώσ]ειε λόγους καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς δὴ τοῦτ[ι]f. 184v| [·]ἡρ[·]ψ[·] συλλογισόμ[εθα]· καὶ [εἰ] λ[υ]πησόμεθα οἶδ' ὅτι τοῦ μὴ πάλα[ι]·[·]εις [·]·[·] σοι [·]·[·] γε τοσοῦ[τ]·[·]· ἄκρω γὰρ τὸ τοῦ λόγου δακτύλῳ τῆς σῆ[ς] φιλίας [·]·[·]γῆ [·]·[·]σβο ἢ[·]·[·]θα ἔπειτ' [·]·[·], χαιρήσομεν δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐξῆς· καὶ ὥς παρόντι σοι [·]·[·]όμεθα· δύνανται τοῦτο ἐπιστολαὶ συχνὰ πεμπόμεναι, εἰ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἂν χρησταί τι [·]·[·]  
<sup>20</sup> μ[ε]σιτεύ[ων] διαθε[·]ν· ὅρα τοίνυν ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστε, πῶς ἂν [γὰρ] ἐνί γε τρόπῳ κο[·]·[·] ἀληθεύουσιν δειξῆς· καὶ φιλίαν δ' ἴσως οὐκ αἰσχύνουσιν τὴν σὴν εὐκλει[αν] κτήσ[ασθαι]·[·] οὐ[·]·[·] ἄλλοτι περὶ τῶν σῶν γε ἰσχυρισάμην, ἢ τὴν εἰς [·]·[·] ἀλ[·]·[·]ρὸν βοήθειαν· καὶ τὰς δό[ξας] φ[·]·[·]ως κρίνης ἰσχυρότερον εἰς πειθῶ· ὁ νῦν ὁπο[τ]έρως ἂν αὐτὸς πράξειας, συμπερ[·]·[·].

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 184r (well preserved)-184v (major lacunae in left and upper-centre margin).

### PB17. [Εἰς βασιλέα]

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 184v| Ὁ [σὸς] οὗτος οἰκέτης, ἅγιέ μου βασιλεῦ, πολίτης ἡμέτερος ὦν καὶ τῆς κο[... ]σο[... ]  
πειραθεὶς συμφορῶν τῆς πατρίδος, δραπετής μετὰ τῆς μητρός καὶ τῆς [... ]υδχ[... ] γίνεταί,  
ἀλλὰ λιμὸν φεύγων καὶ θάνατον· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχε [... ]οσ[... ]με[... ]ροῦς, πολλῶ χειροσὶ τούτων  
λανθάνει περιπεσὼν τοῖς κακοῖς· βάρβαρ[οι] γὰρ ποθὲν παρ' ὁδὸν ἐνεδρεύοντες, αἰφνίδιοι  
<sup>5</sup> συνεισπίπτουσι καὶ ἀπο[πλ]οοῦσιν; ὁ δὲ μόνος χεῖρας πολεμίους διαφυγὼν τὴν μὲν μήτρα,  
ὧν εἶχε πάντω[ν], ἐρρύσατο· ἡ δ' ἀδελφὴ δουλεύουσα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔστι, ὁδύνας αὐτῷ τε  
[καὶ] τῇ μητρὶ τὰς ἀφορήτους ἐνιήσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ὅθεν αὐτὴν ἐξωνήσονται· ποτ[έ]  
τοίνυν περισκοπῶν οὕτοσιν πόρους, δι' οὓς ἂν αὐτῷ μηχανὴ περιγένοιτο, ἕνα τοῦτ[ο] ἐξεῦρε,  
τὸ πρὸς τὴν σὴν φιланθρωπίαν καταφυγεῖν· καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνω[θ]εν δι[... ]τῇ σῇ χειρὶ  
<sup>10</sup> προδομένων ἐχθρῶν, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἵνα αἰτῆσαι καὶ λ[... ] Θεὸς σε πρὸς τοῦτο  
κινήσει· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἀπ[ει]ρίας τοιοῦτον εὔρεν αὐτῷ πόρ[ο]ν [... ]ρίν, καὶ τοσοῦτον  
ἀνήρηται πόνον γῆς τε ἅμα καὶ θαλάττης τῆς σ[ῆ]ς· εἰ δ' ἄξιός καὶ ὑπεραξίων ὁ κόπος, ἡ σὴ  
φιλανθρωπία κρινεῖ· οὐ γὰρ κ[αὶ] ἄξιός ἐγὼ καὶ κρῖναι ταῦτα καὶ μεσιτεῦσαι.

Description: Par. Gr. 184v (major lacunae in upper-left margin and minor in right margin).

### PB18. Τῷ λογοθέτῃ τοῦ δρόμου

- <sup>1</sup> |f. 184v| Ἐοίκαμεν, ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστε, τῇ σῇ δυνά[μει] τ[οῦ] νῦν εἶνα[ι]  
[... ]χρυσοῦντ[ος... ]γ[... ]ν[... ], ἡ σ[ι]δηροῦ, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ παλαιάν τινα δόξαν τῆς χειρὸν[ος... ] ὕλης  
ψηφ[ι]σ[α]μένην τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνηρηκέναι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο τις ἂν εὖ ἔχε[ιν] εἴποι τό γε  
σὸν μέρος, ὥς ἄρ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης συγκαταρρεῖ πως τῷ κ[ό]σμ[ω] τὰ πρά[γμα]τα καὶ  
<sup>5</sup> [ἀ]κοσ[μη]σίαν ἀλλάτει κατὰ βραχὺ· ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔργον τοσοῦτον ἔπραξας κρεῖττον, ὥς  
φασιν, ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον καὶ γε πόλει τοσσηδε τοσόνδε λόγον ἐφήρμοσ[ας] ὀλβιωτ[έρ]α μὲν  
οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης, ὀλβιώτερον δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν λόγων ὅσοιπερ ἀνθρώποις [... ]· ἐκεῖνα μὲν  
οἶχεται, ἃ πᾶς τις ἀνθρώπων οἶεται· σὺ δὲ δῆλός τις [εἶ] θεόθεν πεμ[φθε]ῖς [... ]ρὺς τῇ  
μ[... ]τῇ[... ]σει βοήθημα καὶ ἀντὶ χειρὸς τοῖς λόγοις πάλαι πεσοῦ[σι] ὑποβληθεῖς· ἐ[... ] καὶ  
<sup>10</sup> π[... ]ήσε πε[... ]ρατο [π]ράξασθ[αι... ] ἡγά[σθ]ην ὑπερ[... ]ν γένοι[το] δέ ποτὲ φάσκον ἐπ'  
[ἐ]μαυ[τὸν... ] ἀνὴρ οὗτος [... ]

Description: Par. Gr. 2022, f. 184v (lacunae in right and lower margins; end is not preserved).  
Partially ed. Kourouses 142, n. 2.

## Appendix 2. The Letters of George Oinaiotes to Manuel Gabalas

### 95=96=97=98=99. Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας

- Τὴν βίβλον ταυτηνὶ πολλὰ μογήσας, θειότατέ μοι, πέπομφα εὐρὼν· ἐρμηνέως εὐποροῦσαν, ὥσαν τοί γ[.]λ[.]εῖς ζητοῦντες ἐτυχάνομεν· εἴη δ' ἂν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐλπίζομένην εὐρεῖν, ὥς ἔχεις τῇ τοῦ κεκτημένου φιλίας θαρρεῖν· περὶ δὲ ταύτης, εἴ τε λυσιτελεῖσαι δύναται, ἢ εἴ γε μεταμέλω χρήσασθαι [fol. 140v] εἵνεκα περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον ἐσπουδάσαμεν, οὐδὲ εὐρόντες πλέον, 5 αὐτοὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐμοὶ φωνῆς ἀκούσωμεν ἂν, τὸ γιγνόμενον πληροῦν ἐθέλοντες, ἐλθεῖν αὐτόθι μέλλοντες. Σὺ μωραίνεις, ἐγὼ δὲ γελῶ· σὺ κομπάζεις, ἐγὼ δ' ὥσπερ ἐπεντυφῶν τοῖς ἡδίστοις ἀκούσμασι, χρυσῶ στέφεσθαι ταῖς ὕβρεσιν ὑπολαμβάνω, πολὺ τι χειρόν ἡγούμενος κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀκούων οὕτως. Μὴ λέγε πολλὰ, μηδὲ μωραίνειν, ὅλως αἰροῦ, ἵνα μὴ τῶν σῶν κακῶς ὥς καλῶς φανῆς ἀπονάμενος. [fol. 141r] Εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶν ἐτύχανες, ἴσως ἂν παρασκευάζες 10 ἀνιάσθαι, ὑποπτεύον τὰς ἡμᾶς, μὴ ἢ τῶν ἀπάντων δόξα χειρόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν δοξάσῃ, ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπαινουμένων· νῦν δὲ χάριτας ἴσθι ληψόμενος τούναντίον ποιῶν, καὶ τῆς, ἥς τυχάνεις μοίρας σὺ πάνυ τοι ἐξαίρων· εἰ γὰρ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγοι θεὸς εἰς τὸν ὁμοῖον, τοὺς ἀλλοίους πάντως διίστασθαι παρασκευάζει. Εἰ τῶν προδήλων τοῦτο· τοὺς ἀρίστους δηλαδὴ κακῶς, ὑφ' ὧντινούν, οἱ πάντως [fol. 141v] πόρρω τῶν τοιούτων· ἐκ ὕβρεως ποιησθαι, ἴσθι με ὀφείλοντα σοὶ χάριτας, ὑβρίζοντι, 15 εὐεργετοῦντι, περὶ πολλοῦ τοῦμὸν ποιουμένῳ ὄνομα, πανθ' ὅσ' ἐξῆς ὁσημέραι κατ' ἐμοῦ κατασκευάζοντι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διπλαῖ σοὶ χάριτες εὐεργετοῦντι ἀνατίως.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 140r–141v.

### 121. Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας

- Βραδύνομεν, περὶ ἧς μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ἐπιμελῶς τ[.]όν τι διακεῖσθαι, οὔτε {ρ}ῥα[fol. 168v|θυμίας ἡττημένοι καὶ ἀμελείας, οὐθ' ὁ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγεννῶν τε καὶ μικροψύχων, καὶ μήτε μηδὲν ὀρθόν τι κρίνειν δεδυνημένοι μήτε ξυνορᾶν ἀμέλει καὶ ξυλλογίζεσθαι· μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀναισθησίας ἢ παραφροσύνης προβαίημεν· ἀλλὰ χρώμενοι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι 5 δεόντως, ἀσχολούμενοι περὶ γάμους καὶ δαιτυμόνας, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἔπεται, πανηγυρίζοντες ἀναγκαίαν [fol. 169r] ταυτηνὶ τὴν πανηγυριν, ἀμβλύνοντες εἴποι τις καὶ φύσιν ὅλην ὀργάνοις καὶ μουσικαῖς· καὶ μὴ μόνον πρὸς λεπτὰς φυσικὰς θεωρίας, αἱ καὶ νοῦν ὅλον καθαρεύειν βεβούληνται καὶ ἄνευ τούτου ὥς φησιν οὐκ ἐκδίδονται, [.]φ[.] τὸ παράπαν ἀποκαθιστῶντες ἐπίτηδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ ἂν ταῦτα συμπεφύρθαι καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔχειν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ταῦτα κηλούμενοι· 10 καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς [fol. 169v] πλάνην οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες, τὴν ἀρίστην μηχανὴν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἢ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ κρείττονος μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐτυχάνομεν, εἰ κηρῷ τῷ ὥτε βεβουλημένοι διατρίβειν περὶ τὰς μουσικὰς προηρούμεθα, μήτε μηδὲν τι σὺ κροτοῦντες τοῖς θέλγουσι· καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόντες κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκείνους βούλησιν διατελεῖν, χρωμένους τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς 15 πράγμασι, καὶ ἥς [fol. 170r] αὐτοὶ φαῖεν ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἀγομένους καὶ φερομένους, μηδὲν τι πράττειν ὥς οἶονται βεβουλημένους ἀλλόκοτον· νυνὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμᾶς τοιούτον τι προαιρουμένους ὀρᾶν· ὥστ' ἄρα λείπεται τῆς κοινῆς ψήφου λογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγγράφειν ἡμᾶς ἀτεχνῶς, ὅσοι δῆτα γνώμη οὕτω ἔχουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ δυσφόρως μὲν, [fol. 170v] ἀνάγκη δ' οὖν ὅμως συνεροίμεν ἂν καὶ συμφωνήσαιμεν ἂν τοῦ λοιποῦ, τὰ παρεμπίπτοντα ἔξοθεν συνορᾶν εὖ ἡσκημένοι καὶ ξυλλογίζεσθαι· σὺ δὲ θεία μοι κεφαλὴ, καὶ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ λόγου 20 καὶ πράγματος ἀρχή, γε τοῦ λοιποῦ· οὕτω γὰρ εὖχομαι καὶ δοίῃ Θεὸς, ὁ τὸ δελφικοῦ τρίποδος νικήσας ἀπόρρητον, ὁ τῆς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καθηγεμῶν, καὶ κανῶν, καὶ στάθμη καὶ παράδειγμα καλῶν ἀπάντων· [fol. 171r] συγγίνωσκε κὰν τῷδε τῷ μέρει φιλοσοφῶν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ καινοτομοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, μηδὲ οἰκείοις θελήμασι πειθαρχοῦντες ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ χρώμενοι νόμοις πολιτείας καὶ συνηθείας.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 168r–171r.

### 127. Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ διδασκάλῳ

- Καὶ τὸ σφόδρα μετριάζειν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπαίνου οὐκ ἔτυχεν, εἰ πιστέον λέγοντι πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺ μετὰ δευτέραν πεῖραν λαβεῖν τουτονὶ τὸν Τίμαιον, θαυμάζοντα μὲν ἐμὲ ὡς ἀπὸ Δελφικοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαινόμενόν τε καὶ ἀληθεύοντα, ἐκπληττόμενον δέ ὅπως σὺ τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀκριβῆς ἐρμηνεύς. ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυ[fol. 175r]μάζειν περίεστιν ὅτι συγκεχώρηκας
- 5 ὅλως, ὃν ἔχομεν πολλῶν ἔνεκα, ἐνὸς καὶ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἀναγκαίου ἡμέραν ὅλην κενοτομήσαι, ὅτε καὶ πολλοστόν τι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀντὶ πολλῶν νομίζεται σχεδὸν ἅπασιν.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 174v–175r.

### 143. Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας

- Εἰ καὶ ψωριῶσα κάμηλος, πολλῶν ὄνων ἀνατίθεται φορτία, ἀλλὰ δυσφοροῦμεν ἡμεῖς τοῦτο πάσχοντες, οὐδ' ἂ μετὰ ραστόνης πρότερον ἐπράττομεν ἰσχυόντες μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα [fol. 205r] σὺν μεγάλῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης πόνῳ τοῦτ' ἐπιτηδεύειν σπεύδοντες. τῇ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὅτι τις ἂν εἴποι λογιζομένη ἐμοὶ γε σῇ σοφίᾳ ἐντυγχάνειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὁμιλοῦμεν οὐδὲ Πλάτωνι, οὐδ' ἥκιστα μετὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων λογιζόμεθα· ἀλλὰ παρ' ὅσον τὸ λυποῦν παρ' ὑμᾶς ὁράσθαι
- 5 ἐμποδίζει, παρὰ τοσοῦτον οἰκουροῦντα καὶ ἀδείας οὐκ ὀλίγης εὐποροῦντα οὐδέν, ἀναγινώσκοντα διατελεῖν καὶ μέντοι ἔχειν διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἡμίσειας τὸ κακὸν λογίζεσθαι· τοσοῦτον εἰς τὰ [π]α[fol. 205v]λαμναιότατα ἀπειλεῖ, λυποῦν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέγιστα, ὥστε πάσχειν ὀλομέλειαν προοιμιάζεται· σποράδην ἐπιφύομενον καὶ καθάπαξ εἰς πολλὰ μεριζόμενον, καὶ οὕτω πάλιν
- 10 οὕτως καὶ μέχρις ἀπείρου χωρ[εῖ]ν· ἀπαντὰ δὲ μετ' ὀδύνης οὐ μετρίας καὶ εἴτα ῥήγνυσι τὸν ὠδῖνα καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς χιτονίσκους ἀνέχεται· ἀλλ' εἴ που συμμίξειε, βοᾶν παρασκευάζει καὶ πᾶσι πρόδηλον καθιστάνειν τὸ πάθος. πολλαῖς δὲ κεκρημένοι ταῖς ἐπωδαῖς, καὶ [fol. 206r] πολλοῖς ἰατρῶν ἀκολουθοῦντες προσ[εκ]τάγκασι, εὐποροῦμεν μὲν μετρίας ἀνακωχῆς, τὸ δριμύ τῆς ὀδύνης εὐκράτοις πλάσμασιν ἢ χρήμασιν ἀπαλείφοντες· οὐ φθάνομεν δ' ὀλίγον ἀπαλλαγέντες
- 15 τοῦ δυσχεροῦς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δυσχεραίνομεν, ὅπου πρὶν οὐδόλως προσείχομεν· εἰ μὲν οὗ μέρους ἐνὸς τὸ πάθος ἐκράτει καὶ μὴ προὔβαινε πανταχοῦ φλογὸς δίκην, τάχα ῥᾶστα ἂν ἀπηλλάχθαι τὴν νόσον παρεσκευάσαμεν· νῦν δ' ἔχοντες, ὥς προέφημεν, θεῶ μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς σαῖς [fol. 206v] εὐχαῖς τὰ τῆς ἰάσεως ἀνατεθείμεθα· εὐχον τοι γὰρ οὖν, θειότατε, ἥς ἂν ἴλεων ἡμῖν ἰδόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, μη[δ]ὲν ραστόνης τῶν προκειμένων ἔργων ἀπτάμεθα.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 204v–206v.

#### 144. [Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας]

Ἐτυράννει βιαίως ἡ νόσος ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολιν τοὺς γλουτοὺς καταλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ πρὸς τῆς δέκα  
 ἡμέρας· ἀνένδοτος πάντοτε, δυσχεραίνειν οἰκονομοῦσα, πάντα λῆρον δεικνύσα, ὅποσα οἱ μὲν  
 Ἀσκληπιάδαι προσέταττον, [fol. 207r] ἡμεῖς δὲ διετελοῦμεν πειθόμενοι· πᾶσαν ἀπήλεγχεν  
 5 ἐπὶ δὴν, μᾶλλον θρασυνομένη καὶ ἀναίδην πλατυνομένη, ἡρέμα χωροῦσα μέχρι παντὸς καὶ τὴν  
 αἴσθησιν κλέπτουσα· καὶ τὸ παράδοξον μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐπιοῦσα, καὶ γ' ἐξ ἡδονῆς ἐπανηρημένη τὸ  
 κράτος, καὶ τοῦ σώματος καταδυναστεύουσα, καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἤττον οἷς ἐποίει ἐν ἡδονῇ· κνωμένη  
 γὰρ ὅποτε κηλοῦσα τοὺς ἀσχοντας πέφυκε, προῦβαινε πανταχοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ δυσχεραίνειν  
 π[άσ]χε· καὶ [fol. 207v] τοσοῦτον πᾶσαν ἔθιμον νόσον μικρὰν ἐποίει λογίζεσθαι, καὶ τοι γέ ψυχῆς  
 10 οὐχ ἀπτομένη, οὐδὲ τοῦ φρονεῖν εὖ καὶ γέ περὶ ταύτης ἀθρεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα ἐμποδίζουσα· ὅσον  
 μάλιστα ἀνιαιρότερον, δεδεμένον τινα πόδας, τρέχειν ἔχειν τὸν ἀναγκάζοντα· ἢ τούτους ἅπαξ  
 βεβλαμμένον, εὐπορεῖν ἡρεμίας καὶ μηδενὸς εἶκειν προσταγαῖς βιαζόμενον· ὅτου γὰρ τις  
 ἐκράτησε νόσος σώματος, λυποῦσα κατὰ τριταίαν ἢ τεταρταίαν περίοδον, ἐπεὶ κραταία ὥς  
 ἀπῆντησε· καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ [fol. 208r] κλίνης ἀφῆκε τὴν κινουσαν ἀμαυρώσασα δύναμιν, κατέστησε  
 15 δυσχεραίνειν τὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὅτινος· καὶ δυνάμεως οὐκ εὐπορεῖ ὅτιοῦν τι  
 ποιεῖν καὶ φλεγμαίνει κατὰ τῆς τοῦ νοσήματος φλεγμονῆς· καὶ ὅτι ῥίγος ἔχει μετὰ πολλῆς γέ τῆς  
 θερμῆς ἀπαντῶν καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῶν σωμάτων ἀρμονίαν κυκοῦντος· τὸναντίον ἐστίν, ὥς οἶομαι,  
 περὶ τῶν ψωριῶντων σκοπεῖν· τῆς γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κράσεως σωζομένης, τῶν φλεγμάτων  
 εὐτακτούντων καὶ πάντων ἰσότητά τηρούντων, [fol. 208v] καὶ μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀπείργοντος  
 20 ἀπὸ κλίνης πηδᾶν καὶ τῆς φύσεως παγκρατιάειν ἢ πανηγυρίζειν ὀργομένης καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ'  
 ὀρμώσης ὁσῶραι, ἄρρηκτα τοῦτο δεσμοὶ καὶ πάντων ἐκείνων ἀπείργει τὸ σῶμα· ὥς ὄφελόν γε  
 παρηρεῖτο καὶ τὸ λογίζεσθαι, ἥς ἄττει μὲν ἡ φύσις, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκάζει, συγκροτεῖ δ' ἡμέρα,  
 κωλύει δ' οὐδεὶς οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ποιῶν τι· εἴτα τοῦτι πάσχειν παρέχει, ὅσα οἱ σθένους ὅλου τὸ  
 παράπαν ἀφηρημένοι· ἐξ' ἧς ἡ τοῦ σώματος συγ[κ]έχυται κράσις [fol. 209r] καὶ τῶν συναιτιῶν ἡ  
 25 μίξις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τόδ' ἀσχάλλ[λ]οντες διετελῶμεν ἡμεῖς, αὐτόθι φοιτᾶν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἔχοντες,  
 ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τοῦτο ἐγκειμένην ἔχοντες νωθρότατα, νῦν δ' οὐκ οἶδαμεν ὅρον τοῦ  
 δυσχεροῦς συλλογίζεσθαι· εἶχε μὲν οὖν ἡς ἔφην ἐκείνη· ἐποίει δὲ λογίζεσθαι ταῦτα ἡμᾶς· ὑγείας  
 δ' ἐλπίς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ οὐθ' ἐτέρως παρὰ ψυχὴν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἷς ἐκοινωσάμην τὸ πάθος, σχετλιάζειν  
 παρ' ἧχον ἀπαραμύθητα, ἀπαγορευόντες τὴν ὑγίειαν ἢ διδόντες χρόνον [fol. 209v] μακρῷ καὶ  
 30 δαπάνῃ πολλῇ· εἰ δέ που καὶ φαρμάκῳ συνέβαινε ἀκεσῶδυνῳ χρῆσθαι, ἀνδριάντας  
 ἀπη[λ]εχ[θ]όμεθα θεραπεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες· καὶ ὅλως κατεφαίνετο τῶν πάντοτε ἀδυνάτων  
 φαρμάκῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀποσεῖσασθαι, οὐδ' εἰ πολλὰ κυοσίβια κενοτομήσασαιμεν τὰς πληγὰς  
 ἀλείφοντες ἢ χρεῖοντες· Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἄρα δεῖσθαι συνέβαινε τοῦ καὶ τὴν κόπρον τὴν Αὐγείου  
 35 καθηράμενου, παρῆν δ' οὐδὲ εἰδῶλον, οὐδ' ὁ λεοντῆ καὶ ροπάλῳ ὑποκρινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπεχείρει  
 τις ἀθλία γυνὴ τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἐνεργῆσαι δεόμενα· [fol. 210r] ὑπισχεῖτο μάλα συχνὰ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν  
 ἰσχυρίζετο ῥᾶστα εὐρεῖν, διηγουμένη παράδοξα καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπίθανα, ὥστε καὶ πεπειραμένοις  
 ἀμφίβολα· ἀλειφὴν τινα παρείχετο ταῦτα διδάσκουσα, παλάμας μόνας ἐξεῖναι κελεύουσα χρεῖειν  
 ἐς κόρον· εἴτα ρίπτειν ἐνδήματα πάντα ὅποσα μόνου σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς κλίνης εἰλεῖσθαι· καὶ  
 40 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, μέχρι τρεῖς τὰς νύκτας παραδραμεῖν· ἡξίου δὲ μήτε νύπτειν τῷ χεῖρι, μήτ' ἐξω  
 διατρίβειν· ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἤδη ταύτας [fol. 210v] οἰκουρεῖν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἐν αἷς ἡ τοῦ φαρμάκου  
 χρήσις ἔργον ἡμῖν· τοῦτ' ἐπέτρεπε ποιῆσαι καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἴασιν ἰσχυρίζετο· μετὰ τὴν τρίτην  
 λουτρῷ χρῆσασθαι εἰποῦσα· ἐγὼ δὲ λῆρον ἡγούμην τοῦτο, πλατὺν· καὶ φαῦλην ἡγούμην τὸν  
 45 ἄνθρωπον καὶ λόγους ἄλλως συντιθέμαι ἐπισταμένην, καὶ ἀπέπεμπον ὅσην λόγων ἰσχὺς· οἰόμενος  
 τὸν καιρὸν μοι παρέξειν μετρίαν ἀνακωχὴν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο παρῆν ὅρᾳ οὐδαμοῦ, πείθομαι πολλῶν  
 ἀναγκαζόντων· οὐ μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν ἐλπίζων ἐντεῦθεν· τοῦτο γὰρ φαυλότερον [fol. 211r]  
 ἐλογιζόμην ὀνειράτος· ἀλλὰ εἵνεκα βασιάνου καὶ δοκιμασίας προσηκούσης· ποιήσας οὖν ὥς  
 ἐκείνη προσέταττεν, ἡσθόμην ὥς ηὐχόμην· ὑγιάνας μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ πάσης ὁδύνης  
 ἀπαλλαγείς· τοῖς μὲν οὖν πιστεύουσι, θαυμαστόν κείσεται τοῦτο καὶ παρέξει ῥαστόνην· ὅσοις δ'  
 ἀπιστεῖν γένηται, ἔσται πάντως παθόντας, καὶ οὕτω προσταγαῖς ἡμετέρας τοῦ πάθους  
 ἀπαλλαγέντας ἥς ἡμεῖς περὶ τοῦτο διακεῖσθαι.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 206v–211r.

#### 146. Τῷ χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας

- Ἐμὲ δὲ πόθος φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς γε μὴ μετὰ ἀπάτης περὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα διατρίβειν ἐπιστήμης, τοσοῦτον ὅλης ψυχῆς ὅλαις χερσὶ κατεκράτησιν, ὥστε θαυμάζοιμεν, εἴ τις ἄγγελός γε ὢν καὶ εἰδέναι τὰ συνοίσοντα μηδὲν ἡδικομένους, ἔπειτα σπουδάζειν περὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἀναισθήτης οὐ βεβούληται, εἰ μὴ γε δὴ σπουδάζειν οὕτω τοι προήρηται, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο κέρδος μέγα λογιζόμενος
- 5 καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους μάλιστα καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος [fol. 214r] ἔχειν ἀναισθήτως πάντη περὶ τὰ αἰδία καὶ ὄντως πάντων αἰτία. ἅ τῳ ἐνεργεῖα μόνῳ νῶ θεωρεῖται τε καὶ ἐξετάζεται, ὢν φιλοσοφία μήτηρ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον· καὶ οὔτε συγκροτήσεις ἀσμάτων οὔτε συντρεχόντων συνάρσεις οὔτε γάμων πανηγύρεις οὔτε ἐορτῶν ἐπιδημῖαι, οὐδὲ οἱ πανηγυρίζοντες, κἄν πάντες ὥσιν ἄνθρωποι, μὴ οὕτω γνώμης ἔχοντες μηδὲ γε φύσεως, ἦτις, ὡς φασίν, οὐχ ἥκιστα συνίσταται οὐδόλως τοι
- 10 μεθισταμένη, οὔτε μὴν ἰσχυσαν οὐδ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἰσχύσαιεν, εἰς τοσοῦτον χάος τῆς ἀνασθησίας [fol. 214v] νοουθετῆσαι ἢ παρακαλέσαι ἐμαυτὸν ῥίπτειν ἐμὲ αὐτὸν· μᾶλλον μέντ' ἂν ὥς γέ μοι θεῖα κεφαλὴ δεδήλωκας, πολλάτα ὠφελεῖσθαι ἔχομεν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων, τὰς προτέρας δόξας συνιστάνειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι ἅπαντα φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μείζον τούτων ἔστι τὸ μὴ ἴστασθαι, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ τὸ ῥέον καὶ ἀλλοίως φαίνεσθαι αἰεὶ· δῆλον δὲ χθὲς μουσικαῖς
- 15 ἐκηλούμεθα καὶ ὀρχήσεις εἶχομεν ἔργον καὶ συμποσιάζειν ἐπιτηδεύομεν καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν κλέπτεσθαι προηρούμεθα καὶ τὰ πράττοντες ἤμεν [fol. 215r] ἡδέως καὶ πράττουσιν ὁμιλοῦντες καὶ συγκροτοῦντες· οἷχεται πάντα καὶ ἀπη{λ}λέγχθη ἐκάστον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἐμόγησεν ἐπιτηδευόμενος θαύματος ὄνομα σχεῖν ἐπὶ τινι μεταχειρίσει ἡδῖα, πέρας ἔσχε καὶ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας οἶδε πλέον οὐκ ἐπαῖοντας, καὶ πάντα γέλως πλατὺς, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἦτοι δι'
- 20 ἀπληστίαν ἱλιγγιᾶν παρασκευαζόντων ἢ δι' ἀηδίαν ἐγγελωμένων· καὶ διδόασι χώρειν π[.]ειν τῷ Διμοκρίτῳ· μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κρεῖτ[τ]ω φρονοῦντα ἀπελλέγγουσιν, οὐ μᾶλλον γέλωτος, ἢ τούναντίον [fol. 215v] ἄξια ἐς προὔπτον φαινόμενα· φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν· αὐτόθεν δῆλον οὐ τὰ δεύτερα διδοῦσα, ἀπενεγκαμένη τὰ πρῶτα, ἀλλ' εἴ δε τι καὶ καινοτομεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἐσχάτων πολλοστόν τι καὶ
- 25 τούτου μᾶλλον μέρος τοιοῦτον, ὅτι παντὶ δεξιάν οὐκ ἐμβάλειν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐνουθέτησεν.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 213v–215v.

#### 152. Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ διδασκάλῳ

- Ἔδοξεν ἴσθι τῇ θειοτάτῃ μητρὶ, πολλάτα παρακληθεῖσθαι, τὰς βίβλους ἐκάστῳ γνωρίσαι· τοῦτ' ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο δὴ γενέσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἔμοιγε πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν μητέρα κατέπεισα· δεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦ ἐνεργήσοντος καὶ ὡς δεῖ διαμερίσοντος· δεῖ δὲ ἴσως κἄν τούτῳ μετὰ τῶν ὀρθῶν βουλευομένων συγκαταλεγεῖναι, ὅπως ὁ
- 5 μερισμὸς ἧς προσήκει γένηται βουλευσαμένους· πόθεν δ' ἄλλοθεν ἔσται τουτὶ, ἢν μὴ σὺ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἥξεις ἡμῖν ἰκέσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων [fol. 225r] πολλῶν ἔνεκα εὖ εἰδώς; ἡδονῆς ἴσθι δημιουργὸς ἔση καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, ἡδονῆς δὲ καὶ σαυτῷ εὖ οἶδα, δι' ἅπερ οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ἡμῶν τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπορρήτων κοινώτητας, ἃς σὲ μόνον μετὰ τὸν τούτων Κύριον εἰδέναι ἠθελήσαμεν.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 224v–225r.



### 155. Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ διδασκάλῳ

Ὅπως μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τὰ Πτολεμαίου Σελίδια ἐρωτικῶς διακεείμενος εἰ καὶ λέγειν πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς  
σε περισσὸν· ὅπως δ' οὖν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἐκτίσασθαι βίβλον Κανόνων προχείρων πολλά[τ]τα  
σπουδάζων εἰμι καὶ πολλὰ μεταχειριζόμενος, οἶδα καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς, ὥς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς· ἐπειδὴ  
πολλάκις μου τὸν πολὺν περὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐπήνεσας· ἔρωτα, ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν τι δεῖ πάσχειν ὁποῖον  
5 τισι δυσέρωτες πάσχουσιν ἐνεκάλεσας [fol. 226v] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴν τινος εἰς στ[...] τελοῦντες, καὶ  
ἐτέροις κοινώσονται, ἀπερυθριῶσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἀναίδην περὶ τὸ πάθος· καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται  
ἐκεῖνοι τε λέγοντες καὶ ἄλλων ἐγκαλούντων ἀνεχόμενοι· ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ πᾶθος καὶ σὺ δ' εἰ  
βούλει νεμέσα οὐκ εὖ ποιῶν· εἰ δὲ βούλει συγχῶρει, εἰκότα ποιῶν, καὶ οὐδετέρῳ προσέχομεν,  
10 πυρσὸς ἀνήφθη πολὺς ἀπὸ σπινθήρος τοῦ πρότερον ἔρωτος, γευόμεθα δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀσύμμετρα  
καὶ μουσικῆς εἴποι τις ἄπερ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον τρέφομεν ἔρωτα, ὥστε δέον γευσασμένους·  
πάντως κηλεῖσθαι [fol. 227r] τῇ ἡδονῇ, καὶ μαλακίζεσθαι τὸ τραχὺ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ἀνένδοτον,  
ἡμεῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐρωτικῶς διακεείμεθα· καὶ πάσχομεν παραπλήσια, οἷόν τι συμβαίνει  
κάν τοῖς πυρσοῖς· εἰ γὰρ σβεννύειν πειρώμενος οὐκ ἀνάλογον τὸ πυρὶ τις ἐπαντλήσει τὸ ὕδωρ,  
ἔλαθε μᾶλλον τροφήν τῷ πυρὶ διδοὺς καὶ ἀνάλωμα· καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνήψε τὴν φλόγα, καὶ προχεῖσθαι  
15 τῶν ὄρων παρέπεισε· οὕτως ἔχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔρωτος ἀνάπτοντος δίκη πυρσοῦ, ὅποτε σβέσαι  
τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πόθου βουλόμενοι ἀσύμμετρον καὶ σύμφωνον [fol. 227v] πορισώμεθα τὸ  
σβεστήριον· ἐπάθομεν τοῦτο πολλάκις, μόνον ἰδόντες τῶν Σελιδίων τὴν βίβλον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξ  
ἐκείνης λαβόντες, ὅσον ἀναμνηθῆναι τοῦ πόθου, καὶ τὸ τῆς στερήσεως συλλογίσασθαι, καὶ  
συνέβη τι πλεόν τοῦ παραδείγματος· εἰ γὰρ ῥανίδων ὑδάτων τῷ πυρσὶ περιχυθέντων, ὕλην τῷ  
20 πυρὶ φαμὲν ὑπάρξει, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεσβέθη, ἀνήφθημεν οὖν πλεόν, πολλῷ πλεόν συνέβη γε  
ἂν ἄρα ἀναφθῆναι, σφοδρᾷ τῇ ῥύμῃ πολλῶν φυσσόντων ἐπίτηδες· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπέραντα ποθεῖν  
ἔχομεν· ταῖς ὑμετέραις [fol. 228r] μόναίς χερσὶ τὸ βιβλίον ὀρῶντες καὶ μηδὲ προκῦψαι μηδαμῶς  
ἀξιούμενοι· μὴ ὅτι γ' ἐντρυφῆσαι τῆς αὐτῆς χαρίσι, καὶ κόρον αὐτόχρημα σχεῖν· ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε  
σοφώτατε, μὴ οὕτω διακεῖσθαι θελήσεις, σὺ γὰρ εἰ ὁ πολλάκις ἐμοῦ παρόντος πολλὰ τοῦ ἀπείρου  
25 καταμεμψάμενος καὶ πάντων χρῆναι μέτρον εἶναι φιλοσοφήσας, ὥς καὶ τὸ πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον  
καλῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν εἰπόντα ἀποφηνάμενος· ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀπολαῦσαι τοῦ ποθουμένου· καὶ σβέσον τὴν  
φλόγα τοῦ πόθου, ἐμπλήσαν ἅττα κατ' ἐμὴν εἰσὶν ἔφεσιν.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 226r–228r.

## Other Letters of George Oinaiotes

### 94. τῷ ἀδελφῷ Συροπούλῳ

Οἶδας, οἶμαι, ὅπως ἐν ἀναγκαίοις ἔγωγε ἰσχυρίζομαι τελεῖν ὁμιλῆσαι χαρτοφύλακι Φιλαδελφείας, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς, οἶδα, αἰτίαν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πάντως ὅτι περὶ προχείρων ἢ ἀνάγκη πραγμάτων. καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς ἐφέσεως οἶον εὑρεῖν οὐ μετ' ἀνάγκης οὐδ' ὥστε καὶ ἐτέρου δεῖσθαι πρὸς συμμαχίαν τὸν ἡρημένον· ἀνειμέναι γὰρ αἱ πρὸς χαρτοφύλακα εἰσάγουσαι τοὺς βουλομένους

5 πύλαι καὶ παντὶ καὶ τῷ τυχόντι [fol. 139r] χρήσιμοι· εἰ καὶ εἰς μοναχοὺς ἐστὶ τελῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν συνδιαιτώμενος, κἀντεῦθεν τοῦτο δίδωσιν ὑπόνοιαν ἀλλεπαλλήλων, ὧν εἰ καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ τῷ δύνασθαι οὐκ ἐπετυγχάνομεν περὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον στρεφόμενοι, ἀλλὰ διὰ πείρας ἔχομεν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστάμενοι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μοναχῶν μόνοι οἱ ἐκεῖσε γαυριᾶν τε καὶ βρενθύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὀφρὺν αἶρειν ὑπὲρ μέτωπον ἔχουσι, βιάζεσθαι τῷ θαρρεῖν, ὡς οἶδας, ἔχοντες πάντα ῥᾶστα

10 ἀπεργάζεσθαι· [fol. 139v] οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, εἰ καὶ φύσεως ἔχουσι τοιαύτης μετασχόντες μοναχοὶ γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πλέον τοῦτο κέκτηνται, ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πειθαρχοῦντες καὶ γε τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰσιέναι βουλομένων ἄριστ' ἐξετάζουσιν, ἐκείνων κατὰ πρώτην ἐντευξίν ἀγριουμένων καὶ σεμνότητα κουφότητος δεικνύντων καὶ μηδ' ἀνεχομένων ὑπὸ θράσους τι ἀκοῦσαι. Καὶ τοίνυν δυοῖν τι ἡρημένος θάτερον ὀπότερον δηλῶσαι θέλησον, εἰ μὲν στέργεις [fol. 140r] τὴν κατάφασιν,

15 δεῖξον ἐλθὼν μετ' ἄριστον, ὡς στέργεις, εἰ δ' ἄλλως ἦσθα βουλευσάμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δεῖξον γράψας.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 138v–140r. The edition is taken in its entirety from Kouroules 105.

## 21. τοῖς πάλαι συμφοιτηταῖς

Ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ γνῶμαι καὶ οἱ τρόποι διάφοροι εἰκὸς δῆποτε καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι  
διαφόρους ἐκτῆσθαι ὀρέξεις τούτων· τοίνυν οἱ μὲν σύνδρομον ἔχοντες [fol. 42v] τῇ βουλήσει τὴν  
δύναμιν, καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐρῶντες, οὐ μόνον τό δοκεῖν ἀντιποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι κατ'  
ἀλήθειαν ἐπιστήμονες ἀρετῆς οἰασοῦν εἴτε σοφίας, εἴθ' ἡστινοσοῦν ἑτέρας ἐπιστήμης. οἱ δὲ  
5 φιλοτιμίας μὲν ἡττημένοι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀδυνατοῦντες καὶ κ[α]τὰ γνώμην περαίνειν τοὺς ἔρωτας,  
μόνου γε τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀντιποιοῦνται, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ὄνειράτων ὥς τινος ἐνυποστάτου  
καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἐξεχόμενοι πράγματος. οὐ δεύτερον ὁ φασὶ πλοῦν μελλόντες, ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τι καὶ  
καινοτομεῖν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, τρίτον δὴ τινα καὶ τέταρτον· καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος εἴη πολλοστὰς· καὶ  
οἷον ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις πλανᾶσθαι ἀκούομεν Ὀδυσσέα τὸν βαρυδαίμονα· τοὺς τοίνυν ὄντας καὶ  
10 δόξαν εἰληφότας οὐκ ἄγε {ν} νῆ, ἅπαντες ἴσασι ναῦσιν· φιλεῖ γὰρ [fol. 43r] τάχαθὸν οἴκοθεν εὖ  
μάλα παρρησιάζεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ αἰσθανόμενον [...]. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸ παράπαν  
ἀτυχήσαντας, βιαζομένους δὲ δοκεῖν, πάντες ὀρῶντες, ἐπιδηλον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅπασιν ὥς [...] τῷ  
δακτύλῳ χρώμενος, πολλὰ τῆς ἀμαθίας τε καὶ ἀβελτηρίας καταμωκῶνται· τοιῦν δὴ τοι καὶ ὑμεῖς  
πεπονθέναι μοι δοκεῖτε βέλτιστας· εἶναι γὰρ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐπιστήμονες, ἐρῶντες μὲν μὴ  
15 δυνάμενοι δὲ· πρὸς μόνον τὸ δοκεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μετερυθμήσατε μικρὰ ἅττα καὶ ἀγενῆ  
προβαλλόμενοι προβλήματα καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθίας [fol. 43v] ἐπάξια κατ' οὗ ἂν ἐκείνων ἀνόμοια  
[...] πρὸς [...] τὰ γραΐδια κοινολογοῦντες, ὅποτε διανυκτερεύειεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι οἱ τῶν  
ἡμετέρων φίλων ἄριστοι καὶ δικαίων μέγιστ' ἐφ' αὐτοῖς φρονοῦντες καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνεανιεύσασθαι  
τὰς δίκας ἀπαιτῶν αὐτὸς ὀρῶμαι· ἀπαιτῶ γὰρ σωφρονεστέρους δῆθεν ἀπεργαζόμενος,  
20 ἀφορμῆς ἅτ{τ}ε δραξάμενος· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν [...] τινες οὐθενὸς ἀξίων ἀφορμὴν τοῦθ' εὐρόντες  
μελέτας τὰς ὕβρεις πεποίηνται· καίτοι τίς ἂν δοκοῦν γε δῆπως εἰ ζῶντας τελεῖν τῶν τοιούτων  
ἀνάσχοιτο, οἱ πλείω σολοικίζοντες φαίνονται [fol. 44r] ἢ φθεγγόμενοι παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς [...]   
διασύροντες, παρόσον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο [...] πάσχειν· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεῖ ταῦτα· [...] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐρήμην  
ἐμοὶ διαλοιδορεῖσθε καὶ βασκάνων πράγματα ποιεῖν· εἰδ' ἄγε μὴν πειρήσατε, ἵνα γνῶσι [...]   
25 κάμοῦ παρόντος. παρόντων δ' αὖ μάλα τῶν ἀκροωμένων καὶ οὓς ἂν ὑμῖν παρεῖναι [...] ἐλλογίμων  
δ' ὅμως καὶ καλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν ἐπισταμένων· οἱ γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, [...]   
δοκοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἐπιστημόνων. καὶ οὕτως οἱ τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἀγνοοῦντες φανήσονται μυστήριον·   
ἂν τοίνυν τῇ σμικρῇ οὐδὲ μικρᾷ δυναμένης ψήφου φανήσονται [fol. 44v] κρατεῖν ὑμᾶς παρέξω   
τῇ χειρί· εἰδ' οὖν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς γνώμην ὑμῶν ἀφείς, αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπιτιμίσαιμι ἐμαντῶ· εἰδ' ἐστὶ   
τῶν ἃ αἰσχύνην παρέχουσι δεδοικότα οὐ βούλεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω χαίρετων φίλτατοι· ὅποῦ ἅττα   
βελτίω ὑμῖν δοκεῖ διενεργοῦντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων εἰμὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα [...] ληρήματα, ὥσπερ   
ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὰ τῶν κωνώπων κινήματα· ὥς νῦν γε καὶ χαρίτων οὐσάν γε μετρίων, μετὰ   
πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος ὑμᾶς ὀφείλετε ἔχειν δικαίως βεβούλημαι γλῶτταν ὑμῖν ἀπόκρισιν, ἥντινα   
οὖν παρασχών.

Description: Laur. San Marco 356, ff. 42r–44v.

## **The *Letters* of George Oinaïotes to Manuel Gabalas. Translation**

### **95=96=97=98=99. *To the archivist of Philadelphia***

I have sent this book, my most divine friend [Gabalas], after much hardship to find it. It has an easy access to an interpreter, such as we had been fortunate enough [...] to seek. We certainly could find the book we hoped for, so that you might be confident in the friendship of the one who acquired it [Oinaïotes]. But for this book, whether it can be beneficial, or if I should regret using it, because we have overly hurried about its finding, and if we do not find more, we ourselves might hear the sacred voice [of Gabalas] to me [Oinaïotes], willing to fulfil what is happening, intending to go there. You act foolishly, but I laugh; you boast, and as if I am indulging in the sweetest talks, I assume to crown your insolence with gold, considering it much worse to hear ill of you while hearing so. Do not speak much, nor be foolish, choose thoroughly, so you will not appear to suffer ill as well as good from your own actions. If you happened to be praising, you might perhaps prepare to be troubled, suspecting us, lest the opinion of all should think worse about us because you are praising us. But now, know that you are receiving favours by doing the opposite, and I am indeed exceptionally grateful for the portion of fortune you happen to have. For if God leads the like-minded to the like-minded, he certainly makes provision for the dissimilar to be separated. If this is obvious: the best men are evidently receiving evil by whoever is certainly far from their behaviour. Being insulted out of arrogance, know that I owe you gratitude, you who insult, do good, who highly regard my name, every day preparing it against me, not only but also double graces to you who do good unreasonably.

### 121. *To the archivist of Philadelphia*

We delay on what we should have been most diligent about [...], not defeated by carelessness and negligence, neither suffering what most of the ignoble and faint-hearted do, and not able to judge anything right, to comprehend and reason. We must never go as far into insensitivity or madness. Instead, using the time and what is needed appropriately, busy with weddings and feasts, and all that follows these, we celebrate this necessary festival, someone might say, blunting the whole nature with instruments and music. And not only towards delicate natural theories, which wish to purify the whole mind and without this, as it is said, they do not reveal themselves, deliberately restoring them [...] to the original condition, but which also wish to be mixed up and to have these things in a confused state, being charmed by them. And not praising the wanderings of Odysseus, not practicing the best device, for we would find the superior after much of the superior, if we preferred to spend time on music with our ears filled with wax, neither clapping our hands to the enchanting music. And rather allowing them to persist according to their own wishes, using the time and the circumstances, and being led and carried by the custom which they themselves profess, doing nothing they think out of the ordinary. But now, it is not possible for us to see such a choice. So, it remains for us to consider the common vote, and to simply register ourselves with the majority who hold such an opinion. Yet, though with difficulty, we would inevitably need to come together and agree from now on to carefully observe and consider the external factors that come our way. You, however, are my divine head, and the beginning of all work, speech, and matter from now on. So, I pray, and may God grant it, the one who overcame the ineffability of the Delphic tripod, the guide of true philosophy, rule, measure, and model of all good things. Pardon me also in this part of philosophizing, since we are not innovating and we are not obeying our own desires, but we are using the laws of the state and custom.

### 127. *To the wisest teacher*

To be extremely moderate, it seems to me, did not receive praise, if one is to believe the one saying every measure is best. It would indeed be pleasant to undertake a second trial with this *Timaeus*, because it amazes me as if it was revealed and tells the truth from the Delphic tripod, and because I am astounded at how accurate an interpreter of the enigmas you are. But I am amazed that you have totally agreed to sacrifice an entire day, which we have for many reasons, for the sake of one thing that is not necessary, when even a large part of the day is considered by almost everyone to be instead of many.

### 143. *To the archivist of Philadelphia*

Even if a camel is afflicted with mange, it is loaded with the burdens of many donkeys, but we are distressed suffering this and are unable to handle even what we were able to do with ease before, and we eagerly practice this with great labour of necessity. Not being able to encounter your wisdom, which for me counts for more than anything anyone could say, we do not converse even with Plato, and we do not consider it least among those things that are neglected. As long as the pain hinders us to see you, we stay at home and possess not a little leisure, persisting in reading and nevertheless for this reason to be able to count the evil by half. The mange threatens so much into the most grievous and greatest pains, that it foreshadows undergoing complete destruction. It comes up sporadically and it is divided into many parts all at once, and so again thus it proceeds until infinity. It responds with not moderate pain, and then it breaks the labour pain, and it does not even tolerate the tunics, but if it encounters something, it prepares to scream and makes the suffering clear to everyone. Having used many spells, and following many doctors' instructions, we achieve moderate relief, mitigating the severity of the pain with soothing applications or remedies. But we are not getting enough relief from the trouble, and we feel discomfort somewhere else, where we previously paid no attention. If the suffering was confined to one part and did not spread everywhere like a flame, we could easily have prepared to get rid of the disease. Now, however, as we have mentioned, we entrust the treatment to God alone and to your prayers. I pray then, most divine one, that when God looks upon us with mercy, we will undertake none of the tasks at hand with rashness.

### 144. *[To the archivist of Philadelphia]*

The disease was tyrannizing violently, seizing the buttocks like a citadel for seven days out of ten; an incurable disease, indeed, causing much distress when managing a household, making seem absurd whatever the Asclepiads prescribed but we consistently obeyed. The disease refuted every incantation, growing bolder and expanding shamelessly, advancing slowly to everything and stealing the sensation; and the paradox is that it advances with pleasure, it claimed power due to the pleasure, it rules over the body, and it does no less to those who indulge in pleasure; for when it starts to itch and is naturally beguiling those who suffer it, it advances everywhere and everywhere it creates distress. [The mange] made every customary disease seem minor in comparison, indeed it does not touch the soul nor the process of thinking, avoiding to gather the suitable treatments for it – as distressing as it is to have someone's feet tied and to force him to run, or to have his feet struck once and to force him to be at ease and not to yield to the commands of anyone. For where some disease has seized the body, causing pain in the third or fourth period,

when it came upon as something powerful, it allowed to stay in bed, having dimmed the power of moving, and it established the sick person to suffer, just because of this; and the sick person does not have the power to do anything and inflames the inflammation of the disease, which makes him shiver with a lot of fever and with the entire harmony of the bodies being disturbed.

The opposite, I think, is to look at those with skin diseases; since the constitution of the body is preserved, the inflammations are well-ordered, everything maintains equality, nothing at all prevents one from leaping from bed and wrestling or celebrating as nature rages, and one can arouse each hour; skin disease binds with this unbreakable bond and it prevents the body from all those things.<sup>1</sup> One would wish it also took away the capacity to reason, the nature of which hurts, but circumstance forces, the day compels to it, and no one prevents it, neither by speaking nor by doing something. Then it provides this suffering, as much as those diseases who have removed the entire strength. Due to this, the body's mix of elements and the mixture of contributing factors are confused. For we would not even complete this by being reluctant, not having the necessity to go there, or rather having our soul bent toward this with the utmost sluggishness; but we do not know now the limit of thinking about the hard things. It certainly had the things I mentioned earlier. It made us think about these things. There was no hope of health anywhere, not in another way for the soul. Indeed, even for those to whom I communicated the suffering, they sneered cruelly beyond consolation, declining a cure or offering it for a long time and with great expense. Even if it happened that we used somehow a pain-relieving remedy, we seemed to be attempting to treat statues; and generally, it appeared impossible to shake off the pain with a remedy, even if we hollow out many gourds, anointing or applying them to the wounds.

It so happened that there was a need for Heracles, who also cleansed the Augean stables, and there was neither an idol, nor the one pretending with a lion and a club, but a miserable woman was trying to perform the deeds that needed the power of Heracles; she promised very frequently and insisted that she could easily find the cure, narrating incredible and so unbelievable stories that they were doubtful even to those who had experienced them. She provided some kind of ointment, instructing such things; she ordered to only use the palms to rub the body at length; then, to throw all clothes that had only touched the body and even the sheets to be rolled up; and to do this, until three nights have passed. She demanded neither to wash hands, nor to spend time outside, but to stay at home for these three days and nights, during which I had to take the medicine. She allowed us to do this and thus she insisted on the cure; after the third day, she said, to use a bath. However, I considered this to be nonsense, a blatant lie. I thought the person was low and considered her a good spinner of tales, and I dismissed her as much as I could with the power of words, considering

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<sup>1</sup> In other words, it prevents one from the problems that the other diseases cause.

that the occasion would provide me a moderate delay. But when I saw that the relief was nowhere, I was persuaded by many who were insisting, not so much hoping for health henceforth – in fact, I considered it worse than a dream –. But out of necessity for test and trial, doing therefore as she commanded, I felt as I had hoped: having regained my health after the third day and being relieved of all pain. For those who believe it, it will stand as a wonder, and it will provide relief. But for those who might disbelieve, they will surely experience suffering, and thus, by her commands, we were relieved of the suffering about which we have been concerned.

#### **146. *To the archivist of Philadelphia***

My desire for philosophy and for knowledge that does not dwell deceptively on non-existent things, has seized me so entirely, with all my soul and both my hands, that we might be surprised if someone, being an angel and knowing nothing that will harm the things to come, does not then wish to strive to be insensitive about not having – unless, of course, he prefers to strive in this way, considering this very thing a great gain and most of all advocating for being insensitive everywhere regarding the eternal things and the real causes of all things. These are only contemplated and investigated with an active mind, and philosophy is their mother, their nurturer, and anything else. And neither the composition of songs, nor the convergences of races, nor festival marriages, nor visits of feasts, not even those who celebrate, if they are all people who do not have such opinion or nature – which, as they say, is by no means least constituted by constantly changing – they did not have the power nor will they ever have the power to advise or urge me to throw myself into such chaos of insensitivity. Yet, you have shown me, my divine head, that we have much to gain from such things, to establish our previous beliefs and to philosophize about everything being nothing, since the greater of these is not to stand still, but to dispute about the flowing and always appearing in a different way. Clearly, yesterday we were charmed with music, we had dances to perform, we were practicing symposium, we were preferring to steal the sensation, we were acting and conversing pleasantly and were engaged in it. Everything is gone and every habit has been refuted, and whatever tried to achieve the name of wonder after some delightful change of use, it has ended, and it knows that those who marvel are no longer following, and everything is broad laughter, and there is nothing at all of those either preparing through greed to be dizzy, or through boredom to be annoyed. They give way to enjoy [...] according to Democritus; yet they refute the more respected thoughts of Heraclitus, not so much laughter, but rather things worthy of the opposite, which appear at the forefront: the pursuit of philosophy and to move around and spend time on the things that are always the same. From this, it is clear, not giving secondary things, having removed the primary ones, but if there is also innovation in such things, it is such a small part of the ultimate things, that he advised the students not to insert their right hand in everything.



### **152. *To the wisest teacher***

Know that it seemed good to the most divine mother [Irene-Eulogia Choumnos?], after having been appealed to many times, to make the books accessible to each one. This seemed good to her, and it happened to be one of the most necessary things for me before the others, because even before the others I persuaded the mother to do this. But we need both one person who will act and who will distribute as necessary. Perhaps it is also necessary that he is included with those who advise correctly, so that the distribution will be done as appropriate after having consulted. But how will this happen from elsewhere, unless you [Manuel Gabalas] come to us for this purpose, knowing well many of the most necessary things? Know that you will be creator of pleasure, both to the mother and to us, and I know well that, pleasure also for yourself, because you are not ignorant of our mysteries and the communities of the secrets, which we wished you alone to know after their Lord.

### 155. *To the wisest teacher*

As for how I am infatuated with Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, I would even try to talk to you excessively about them; to acquire a book of *Tables*, I am indeed making many preparations and dealing with many means. I know this clearly, as you are not unaware, for you have often not praised my great effort in this matter. 'It is love',<sup>2</sup> but you also accused me of suffering the same thing that those who are madly in love suffer: they, once they have reached [a certain point], share it with others and blush and shamelessly talk about their passion; and they are not ashamed, both speaking about it and enduring the accusations of others. We admit the passion and you, if you wish, blame us for not doing well; but if you wish, forgive us, for we are acting accordingly, and we do not pay attention to either. A large fire has been kindled from the spark of the former love, yet we taste so much disproportion, and one might say it is like music, for which we nurture this great love, so that we should indeed taste it. We are totally bewitched by the pleasure and softened by the harsh and relentless love, and we are even more in love than before, and we experience similar things, like what happens with fires. For if someone attempts to extinguish the fire by pouring water on it that is not proportionate to the fire, he inadvertently provides the fire with more fuel and substance; and he kindles the flame even more and persuades it to go beyond its limits. Thus, it is with us as well, when the fire of love ignites, whenever we try to extinguish the flame of desire, we provide something as a quencher that is both disproportionate and harmonious. We have experienced this many times, just by seeing the book of the *Tables*, and receiving from it just enough to remember the desire, and to think about the deprivation. It happened even more than the previous example: for if a few drops of water were poured on the fire, we would say that they provide fuel for the fire, and not only was it not extinguished, but we were kindled even more, much more it would have happened to be ignited, with a strong gust of many blows on purpose. We have an endless desire, seeing the book only in your hands and in no way deeming ourselves worthy to even touch it. Not to mention indulging in its charm, and to immediately have our fill of it. But you, wisest one, you should not wish to be this way, for you are the one who often in my presence has criticized much about the limitless and philosophized that all things should have a measure, as if displaying the one said that "measure in all things is best", to put it well. Then, let me enjoy what is desired and extinguish the flame of desire, satisfying those things that are within my reach.

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<sup>2</sup> This interjection is the accusation of Gabalas to Oinaïotes.

## **Other *Letters* of George Oinaïotes. Translation.**

### **94. *to the brother Syropoulos***

You know, I think, how, in necessary matters, I insist on conversing with the archivist of Philadelphia [Manuel Gabalas], for which reason you are not ignorant, I know. This is undoubtedly because of the necessity about the matters at hand. And the outcome of the trial is not necessarily to be found, nor does it require the assistance of another for the chosen one, for the gates leading to the chartophylax [Gabalas] are open for those who wish and may be used by everyone and any passerby. Even he lives among the monks and associates with them, he gives his opinion of each other, which, even though we ourselves cannot attain to his level of understanding by turning to the teacher, at least we can have knowledge about the others [sc. the monks]. Indeed, the monks over there are arrogant, boast and raise their eyebrow above their forehead, which forces to be confident, as you know, to accomplish everything in a very easy way. The others, even if they are monks of such a nature, they have acquired more of this, they see obeying their eyes and examine the best things of those who wish to enter, by appearing harsh on the first encounter, showing holiness of lightness, and not tolerating to hear something under boldness. And therefore, please make clear which one of the two you want, after choosing it: if you take the decision, show it by entering in the best way, as you love; but if you decide something else, show it by sending a letter.

### Appendix 3. Minor Writings in Par. Gr. 2022

#### George of Cyprus, Letter 223 Lameere

- [f. 171r] ἐγὼ τὴν βίβλον Γρηγορίου τοῦ πάνυ χθὲς ἀνελόμενος μετὰ χειρας, τῷ εἰς Βασίλειον Ἐπιταφίῳ τὸν Μέγαν λυπαρῶς προσπεσὼν, ἀνεγίνωσκον· περὶ ὧν ὁμοῦ τούτων ἐπομένων τῇ ἀναγνώσει, ἐκπλήξεως, δακρύων καὶ ἡδονῆς· εἰ καὶ τοῦ θαύματος ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐκ ἦν πρὸς ἴσον μέτρον τὰ δάκρυα· ἀλλ' οὖν ὡς πρὸς αὐτῷ γέγονα τῷ τέλει, ὅπου μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς διαφανῶς τὸν ἐταῖρον θρηνεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βιαίως ἐπὶ τοῦτο κινεῖ, *τῷ τε ἡμιθνής καὶ δὲ Γρηγόριος καὶ ἡμίτομος τῆς μεγάλης ἀπερρωγῶς συζυγίας* ἐνέτυχον, τί ἂν σοι λέγοιμι οἴους τηνικαῦτα δακρύων, ἀφῆκα κρουνούς· τούτων τε καὶ τῶν θρήνων ὅλος γενόμενος, ἐθρήνουν δὴ καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς συνεκεχύμην· [f. 171v] τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἑτεροίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἧς ταῦτα ἐλέγετο διάθεσιν, εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην· τοῦτο δ' ὅτι κάκεῖνο *προσανελογιζόμεν*, μὴ ἄρα κάμοι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐχ ἦττον ἢ περὶ ἐκείνῳ λέγει ἀρμόζει, τῷ πρώτῳ εἰπόντι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· ταῦτα διανενόημα· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πηγὴν δακρύων εἶχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀτὰρ ἐδήλωσα καὶ σοι· ἴν' εἰδείης ἐν ὁποίοις δὴ τισι τοῖς φροντίσμασι, τὸν τῆς ζωῆς διανύτω σοι χρόνον.

τῷ τε ἡμιθνής [...] ἀπερρωγῶς συζυγίας Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funeral Oration on Basil the Great* 80.6

#### George of Cyprus, Letter 217 Lameere

- [f. 173v] ἔγνωσται τῇ συνέσει σου μεμνηκότων ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ πολὺς τις οἶμαι [...] ὅτι μου τὸ λαιὸν ἡμίκρανον ὀξυτέραις ὀδύναις βαλλόμενον, οὐ συνεχῶς ἀλλὰ τισιν ὥρων διαλείμμασι, καὶ μέχρι σιαγόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ὀδόντων παραπέμπει τὸ ἄλγος· καὶ σύ μοι σχέζειν τὴν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα συνεβούλευσε φλέβα· ὑπήκουον αὐτίκα· καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ τέμνειν εἰδότι, πρόθυμος ὠρεγον· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰεὶ τοῦ αἵματος φεΐδεσθαι ὑμέτερον πρὸς με διαφερόντως οἶδα παράγγελμα, ἐφεισάμην καὶ τότε· καὶ πλεῖν οὐγγίαιν δυεῖν, οὐκ ἀφῆκα ῥῆναι· ἀλλὰ νῦν πεντεκαίδεκατὴ ἡδὲ ἡμέρα· καὶ σφόδρως ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τινος ῥεύματος πολιορκεῖται μου τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅσα ἐμπρόσθεια καὶ λαιὰ· τὰ μέντοι περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ μᾶλλον· ἡδὲ καὶ τῆς ὑπερώας ὥδην ὀπόσον τοῦ πεπονηκότος προσλογίζεται μέρους· καὶ τινες τῶν ταύτῃ μυλῶν, δόξαντου σεσεῖσθαι παρέχουσιν· εἰπεὶ δὴ καὶ αὐθις εἰ χρὴ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα πράττειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλλὰ τί γε μ[ε]τιτέον ἕτερον πρὸς θεραπείαν, εἰπεὶ· εἴη δέ σε πρὸς θεοῦ χειραγωγούμενον, ἐκεῖνο δὴ φάναι, ὅπερ ἂν εἰς ὄνησιν γένοιτο.

#### Anonymous (Gabalas?), [On the place of the soul in the body]

- [f. 180r] ἐάν τις θέλῃ δογματίσαι μετὰ σου καὶ θέλῃς αὐτὸν ἡττῆσαι ταχέως, ἐρώτησον αὐτὸν, οἴσθα ἐρμηνεῦσαι τὸν ἴδιον σῶμα; ἐν μέρει τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ καθόλου τοῦ σώματος; καὶ ἐάν σοι εἴπῃ ἐν μέρει τοῦ σώματος, εἰπεὶ αὐτῷ· οὐκ οἴσθα, τί λέγεις, εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν μέρει τοῦ σώματος, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὰ ἄλλα μέρη ἄψυχα καὶ ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀναίσθητα καὶ νεκρά· τὰ γὰρ ἄψυχα πάντα, ἀναίσθητα καὶ ἀκίνητα καθάπερ λίθος ὡς σὺ λέγεις· ἐὰν δέ σοι εἴπῃ ὅτι καθόλου τοῦ σώματος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν, εἰπεὶ αὐτῷ· εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶ καθόλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐπιτεμνομένου τοῦ σώματος οὐ συντέμνεται καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ· τῆς χει[ρ]ός [f. 180v] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὧμου κοπεΐσης ἢ τοῦ ποδ[ός] ἀπὸ τοῦ μ[η]ροῦ ἀποκοπέντος, ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἔμψυχος μένει, τὰ δὲ ἀποκεκομ[μ]ένα μέρη ἄψυχα καὶ ἀναίσ[θη]τα καὶ νεκρά κείνται· ὅθεν καὶ ταχέως ἀποσῆ[π]ονται καὶ διαφθείρονται [κα]ὶ [οὐ]χ διαμ[έ]νουσιν ἔμψυχα, ὡς σὺ λέγεις. ὅταν [καὶ εὐπορήσῃ] καὶ εἴπῃ πο[υ] [...] ὅτι καὶ σὺ που αὐτὴν ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, εἰπ[ε]· ἐαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐν [μέρει] καὶ καθόλου τοῦ [σώ]ματος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ· ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν ταῖς ἀρτηρίαις πάσαις· καὶ καθόλου τοῦ σώματος· ὅθεν ἀε[ὶ] κ[ι]νο[υ]μένη, εἰς ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τὰς κινήσεις καὶ [σ]υντ[ε]ρεῖ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνατέλλων ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φωτίζει, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρτηρίαις πάσαις κινουμένη αἰεὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα φωτίζει· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ φῶς ἐστὶ, τρία δὲ εἰσὶ φῶτα· πρῶτον φῶς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς· δεύτερον φῶς ὁ ἄγγελος, τρίτον φῶς ἡ ψυχὴ· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποκοπέντων μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, πάλιν ἐροῦμεν. τέμνονται γὰρ τὰ μέρη, οὐ συντέμνεται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ διαμένει ὁλόκληρος· τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα οὐ τέμνεται, ἀλλὰ μένει ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπῷ, δηλονότι ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. τῆς γὰρ κεφαλῆς ἀποτεμνομένης ἢ τῆς καρδίας τετρωμένης, ὁ θάνατος ἔτοιμος.

**Anonymous (Gabalas?), [*On the place of the soul in the body*]**

Unknown, [On the place of the soul in the body]: If someone would like to argue with you on matters of dogma, and you would like to destroy him quickly, ask him: Do you know how to interpret your own body? Is the soul in one part of the body or in the whole body? And if he says to you that [the soul] is in one part of the body, say to him: You don't know what you are saying! Because if [the soul] is in one part of the body, the other parts [of the body] must be lifeless [scil. without soul], immovable, insensible and dead, for all lifeless things are insensible and immovable, just like a stone, as you say. But if he says to you that the soul is in the whole body, say to him: If [the soul] is in the whole body, and the body is cut, the soul is not destroyed! If the hand is cut off from the body or the foot is cut off from the foot, the man remains animate [scil. with soul], but the parts that are cut off become lifeless, insensible and dead, wherefore they are quickly cut off and corrupted, and they [do not] remain animate, as you say. If he [continues] and says at some point [...] what you can say about her [scil. the soul], say to him that the soul is in one part and in the whole body: It is in one part of the body, i.e. in the brain, in the heart and in all the arteries, as well as in the whole body, because the soul is always moving, and [the soul] makes and watches over the movements in the whole body. For just like the sun lightens the whole world, because it rises in heaven, so also the soul lightens the whole body, because it always moves in the brain, in the heart and in the arteries. Therefore, the soul is also light, but there are three [kinds of] light: the first light is God, the second light is the Angel, the third light is the Soul. About the parts of the body which are cut off, we shall ask again. Indeed, the parts are cut off, the soul is not destroyed, but the whole abides. Indeed, the spirit is not cut off, but abides in the man, that is, in the brain and in the heart; [this is so], because if the head is cut off or the heart is wounded, the death is ready.

#### Appendix 4. A8. Αἱ πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδύσσεως [fol. 88r]

**1. Περὶ Κίκωνων.** Πρῶτος οὗτος πλάνης ἀγὼν καὶ συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ γέγονεν, ἐκ Τροίας ἀναzeugνύντι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ. Κίκονες εἰσὶν ἔθνος περὶ Θράκην που τετραμμένον, ἐνθ' *ἄνεμος φέρων* αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐκ Τροίας ὀρμήσαντα, προσεπέλασε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων· ἀλλ' ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, Ἰσμαρον αὐτοῦ που πόλιν πορθεῖ καὶ κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας ἅπαντας· *ἀλόχους* δὲ καὶ πλείστα τουτωνὶ λαβὼν κτήματα ἐξίσου πάσαις καταμερίζει ναυσὶ· δώδεκα γὰρ ἦσαν πᾶσαι τούτῳ συμπλέουσαι καὶ συγκινδυνεύουσαι· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν φεύγειν παρακελεύεται· οἱ δὲ *μέγα νήπιοι* ὄντες, οὐ *πείθονται*· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παραντῖκα ἡδονὴν *πίνειν* τε καὶ ἐσθίειν, τὸ προνοεῖν τι περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐκείνοις συμβησομένων, δεύτερον καθάπαξ ἐτίθεντο· ἀλλ' ἐν ὅσῳ περ αὐτοῖς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἶνος ἐκινῶτο πολὺς καὶ *μῆλα* ἡσθίετο, *Κίκονες* τοὺς *γεῖτονας Κίκονας* γεγωνότερον ἐξεκαλοῦντο πρὸς συμμαχίαν, οἱ δὴπου καὶ *πλείους* ἦσαν καὶ *ἄριστοι*. *ναίοντες* μὲν *ἤπειρον*, *ἐπιστάμενοι* δὲ *ἄφ' ἵππων*· *ἐπιστάμενοι* δὲ καὶ *ὅποι* *χρή* τινα *πεζὸν ὄντα*, *ἀνδράσι* μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις· εἴτ' *ἦλθον*, *ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρη*, ὥσπερ εἰ τινες πτηνοὶ δι' *ἀέρος* θέοντες· καὶ τότε θεῖα τις μῆνις παρίσταται τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, *ἵνα πολλ'* ἄττα *πάθωσι* τὰ δεινὰ. οὐκοῦν καὶ *στάντες ἐμάχοντο μάχην* παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ *ἀλλήλους* τοῖς δόρασιν *ἐβαλλον*· ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν τὰ τῆς *ἡμέρας* ηὔξανετο, ἔμενον τοὺς *πλείους* οἱ ἦττους ἀποτρεφόμενοι, ὅπηνίκα δ' *ἥλιος* ἐκλίνετο πρὸς δυσμὰς. τότε δὴ τοὺς *Ἀχαιοὺς οἱ Κίκονες* *δαμάσαντες*, *κλίνουσιν* εἰς φυγὴν καὶ κτείνονται *ἄφ' ἐκάστης* νεὼς *ἐξ τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρων*, οἱ δ' *ἄλλοι* τὸν *θάνατον* *φυγόντες*, προσωτέρω πλέουσιν *ἄσμενοι*, θρηνοῦντες μέντοι καὶ τοὺς ἀπολωλότας *ἐταίρους* καὶ *τρίς* ἕκαστον φωνοῦντες ὀνομαστί· μέχρις ἂν ἕτερον κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐκδεξάμενον, ἐκεῖθεν τὴν συμφορὰν πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μεταστήσῃ.

**2. Περὶ Βορρᾶ.** δεύτερον τοῦτο μετὰ τοὺς Κίκονας πῆμα τῷ δυστυχεῖ συνέβαινεν Ὀδυσσεῖ· ὁ γὰρ πολεμῶν αὐτῷ δαίμων κακὰ καὶ αὐθις βουλεύεται καὶ *Βορρᾶν* αὐτοῖς ἐκ *νεφελῶν* ἐπιπέμπει *σὺν λαίλαπι* καὶ [fol. 88v] {καὶ} *συγκαλύπτει* γῆν *ὁμοῦ* τε καὶ θάλατταν, *νύκτα* δὲ φέρει *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*. αἱ μὲν οὖν νῆες τοῖς τοσοῦτοις συγχυθεῖσαι δεινοῖς, *ἐγκάρσαι* καὶ οὐ κατ' εὐθείαν ἐφέροντο. *ἰστία* δ' αὐταῖς *τριχῇ* καὶ *τετραχῇ* *διέσχισεν ἄνεμος*. ἃ δὴ καὶ *δείσαντες ὄλεθρον*, αὐτὰ μὲν ἐγκατέθεσαν ταῖς ναυσὶ· τὰς δὲ, σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὴν *ἤπειρον* εὔλκυσαν· *ἐνθα δύο* μὲν *νύκτας*, ἴσας δὲ καὶ *ἡμέρας* ἔκειντο *δεῖλαιοι* *συνεχῆς* ἀεὶ *καμάτῳ* καὶ *ἄλγεσι* τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσθίοντες. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ *τρίτον ἡμᾶρ* αὐτοῖς ἐπληροῦτο, *στησάμενοι* τοὺς *ἰστούς* καὶ τὰ *ἰστία* *πετάσαντες*, ἐκάθηντο ἀτρέμας· *ἀνέμῳ* καὶ *κυβερνήταις* *ἰθυνόμενοι* μόνοις καὶ *ἀφίκοντ'* ἂν εἰς τὴν *πατρίων* γῆν *σὺν* οὐδενὶ τῷ λυποῦντι, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτό τι τῷ πλῶ *παρηνώχλησε*. ἥδη γὰρ τὸ τῶν *Λακώνων* ἀκρωτήριον τὴν *Μαλειαν* περιζύοντας, *κύμα* καὶ *ρόυς* παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ *Βορρᾶς* ἐκεῖθεν ἐξῶσεν ἐν τοῖς *Κυθήροις* ἀποπλανήσας. ἐντεῦθεν *ἐνῆμᾶρ* ἐφέροντο *χαλεποῖς ἀνέμοις* ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ὧν ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὐχ ἦττω τὴν ἐφεξῆς συμφορὰν ἔμελλον εὑρεῖν ἢ τὴν φθάσασαν.

**3. Περὶ Λωτοφάγων.** τρίτον τοῦτο κακὸν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μετὰ τὸν κλύδωνα διεδέχετο, ὃν ἐπὶ ἐννέα *ἡμέραις* διαπόντιος μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπέστη· τῇ γὰρ δεκάτῃ, τῆς τῶν *Λωτοφάγων* *ἐπιβαίνουσι* γῆς. *Λωτοφάγων*, οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων εὐδαιμονέστερον ζῶσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *ἀνθινον* βρῶμα ἐσθίοντες· *ἐνθα δὴ* ἐκβάντες ἐπὶ τῆς *ἡπείρου* καὶ ὑδρευσάμενοι καὶ *δείπνον ἐλόμενοι* *παρὰ* ταῖς *ναυσὶ*, τοιοῦτό τι ποιοῦσιν. ὁ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς γνῶναι βουλόμενος τὸν τόπον ὅστις εἴη καὶ οἵτινες εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἐκεῖσε, *προίει* δύο τῶν ἐταίρων ἐκκρίνας καὶ *τρίτον* ἅμα τὸν *κήρυκα* *παρασχών* *πευσομένους*. οἱ δὲ, *ταχέως οἰχόμενοι*, *συνέμισγον* τοῖς *Λωτοφάγοις ἀνδράσιν*· ὧν οὐδαμῶς ἐπὶ κακῷ *πειραθέντες*, οὐ γὰρ *ὄλεθρον* αὐτοῖς ἐβούλευον καὶ *λωτὸν* ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς *παρασχομένων* *ἔφαγον*. ὅς δ' αὐτῶν *ἔφαγε* τοῦ *μελειδοῦς* ἐκείνου *καρποῦ*, οὐκέτ' αὐθις ἀναστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὰς *ναῦς* *ἤθελεν*· οὐ δ' *ἀναγγέλλειν* ὅτου χάριν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ που μένειν ἡρεῖτο *σὺν* τοῖς *Λωτοφάγοις* καὶ *λωτὸν* ἐσθίειν καὶ *νόστου* καὶ *πατρίδος* *ἐπιλαθέσθαι*. [fol. 89r] τὸ δὲ, συμφορὰ τις ἦν Ὀδυσσεῖ *κινδυνεύοντι* τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀποβαλέσθαι καὶ ἢ *συναναγκάζεσθαι* μένειν ἢ *ἀπολέσθαι*, ἀλλὰ *τοὺς* μὲν αὐθις αὐτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰς *ναῦς* *σὺν ἀνάγκῃ* *κλαίοντας*, ὑπὸ τοὺς *ζυγούς* τῶν *νεῶν ἐρύσας* *ἔδησε*. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους *κελεύει* *σπουδῇ* τῶν *νεῶν* *ἐπιβαίνειν*, μὴ ταυτὰ *πάθωσι* *καταθελχθέντες* ὑπὸ τοῦ *λωτοῦ* καὶ τοῦ *νόστου* *λάθωνται*. οἱ δὲ, *ταχέως* *εἰσέβαινον* καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς *ζυγοῖς* *καθεζόμενοι*, εἰρεσίᾳ *προσεῖχον*· *ἔκλαιον* δ' οὖν ὅμως *λυπούμενοι* οὐκ *εἰδότες* οἱ *πλείους*, οὐδ' οὐ *λῆξουσι* τοῦ *κακοῦ* καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν *προοιμαζόμενοι* *κίνδυνον* ᾧ *περ* *μετολίγον* *περιπεσεῖν* ἔμελλον.

**4. Περὶ Κύκλωπος.** Τέταρτον ἄλλο τοῦτο δεινὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι, τῶν *Λωτοφάγων* ἀπαλλαγείς· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὑπεχώρησαν ἀκινδύνως, εἰς γῆν *ἤκουσι* τῶν *ὑπερφιάλων* ὡς

- 55 ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτων Κυκλώπων, οἳ τῇ φύσει τεθαρρηκότες τῆς χώρας οὔτε φυτεύουσιν οὔτε δ' ἀροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἄσπαρτ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνήροτα φύεται πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ἄμπελοι. μέλει δ' οὐδὲ ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀγορῶν βουλευφόρων οὐδὲ τῆς ἐν δικαστηρίοις θέμιδος, ναίουσι δὲ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων τὰς κορυφὰς ἐν γλαφυροῖς τισιν ἄντροις, ἄρχει δ' ἕκαστος παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἥκιστ' ἀλλήλων φροντίζουσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ τις ἐκεῖσε νῆσος τέταται παρὰ τὸν λιμένα ὑλώδης καὶ κάθυγρος οὔτε σχεδὸν τῆς γῆς τῶν Κυκλώπων οὔτε δὲ πόρρω, ἐν ἥπερ αἶγες ἄγριαι πέρας οὔμενον ἔχουσαι
- 60 γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ παροδεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ μέντοιγε κυνηγέται παραβάλλουσιν, οἳ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην πολλὰ τινα πάσχουσιν ἄλγη τὰς κορυφὰς διερευνώμενοι τῶν ὀρέων. οὐδὲ κατίσχεται ποίμναις οὐδ' ἀρόσεσιν· αἰεὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν χηρεύουσα, αἶγας βόσκει μηκάδας, ὅτι μὴ δὲ τοῖς Κύκλωσι πάρεισι νῆες ἢ νεῶν τέκτονες, ὅπως ἂν ἢ ἄλλας ἢ γοῦν ταύτην κατάσχωσι τοιαύτην γε οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ κακὴ γε ἰδεῖν καὶ οἰκῆσαι· φέρει γὰρ ὥρια πάντα, ἅτε λειμῶνα μὲν παρὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς ὄχθας,
- 65 ὕδαρους τε καὶ μαλακοὺς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀμπέλους αἰεὶ τεηλυίας. ἄροσιν δὲ λείαν, ἐν ἣ μάλα ἂν [fol. 89v] βαθύ τι λήϊον εἰς τὰς ὥρας ἀμῶεν, ἐπεὶ βαθύγεως ἐστὶ καὶ γόνιμος εἰς καρπούς. ἔνεστι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ λιμὴν εὖορμος, ἔνθα οὔτε πείσματος τινὸς χρεῖα οὔτ' ἀγκύρας βαλεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνάψαι πρυμνήσια· μέναι δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον, ἕως ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ καὶ ἐπιπνεύσωσιν ἄνεμοι· κρήνη δὲ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄντρου ῥέει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λιμένος διειδέστατον ὕδωρ. ἔνθα περιφύονται αἶγαιρος, οὗ
- 70 δὴ καὶ κατέπλεον θείας τινὸς ῥοπῆς συνεφαπτομένης δι' ἀσελήνου καὶ σκοτεινῆς τῆς νυκτὸς. οὐ γὰρ σελήνη προϋφαινεῖν, ὥστ' ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν καὶ οὐ φέρονται σαφῶς γε εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ κατείχετο νέφεσι, πρὶν οὖν τὰς ναῦς ἐκεῖσε προσορμισθῆναι, οὔτε τις εἶδε τὴν νῆσον οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν χέρσον κυλινδόμενα κύματα· καὶ τότε δὴ προσορμισθέντες, καθεῖλον ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ ἰστία καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' ἐξέβαινον ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἔνθα τροφῆς καὶ ὕπνου μετεिल्φότες, περιέμενον τὴν
- 75 ἡμέραν. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ἐστρέφοντο κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀγάμενοι ταύτην καὶ δῆτα αἶγας ἰδόντες ἀγρίας, θεόθεν ὥσπερ κινηθείσας. αὐτίκα ἐκ τῶν γερῶν εἶλοντο τόξα καὶ δόρατα· τριχῇ δὲ ταξάμενοι, ἔβαλλον· καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη, θήραν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτάρκη· δώδεκα γὰρ νεῶν ἐπομένων τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἑννέα ἐν ἑκάστη ἐλάγχχανον. αὐτῷ δὲ μόνῳ, δέκα παρέσχοντο· καὶ
- 80 τότε μὲν εἰς ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐκάθηντο ἐστιώμενοι κρέατα πολλὰ καὶ ἡδύτατον οἶνον· οὐ γὰρ πω τὰς ναῦς ἐπέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτι· πολὺν γὰρ ἕκαστος τοῖς ἀμφορεῦσιν ἐνέβαλλον τὴν τῶν Κικόνων πόλιν ἐλόντες, ἔβλεπον μέντοι καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Κυκλώπων γῆν ἐγγὺς ὄντες, καπνοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἑώρων καὶ φθογγὴν οἶων τε καὶ αἰγῶν ἤκουον. ἡλίον δὲ καταδύντος, ἐπὶ τῇ ἁκτῇ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκοιμήθησαν. ὀπηνίκα δ' ἡμέρα ἐφάνη, τότε δημηγορήσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ που μένειν ἀτρέμας.
- 85 αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ σφετέρᾳ νηϊ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐλθεῖν ἔγνω καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀνδρῶν πειράσασθαι, οἵτινες εἰσὶν ἢ ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι ἢ φιλόξενοι καὶ νοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ θεῖος· οὕτω δ' εἰπὼν, ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς μετὰ τῶν [fol. 90r] ἐταίρων ἀνέβη· καὶ λύσαντες τὰ πρυμνήσια, ταχέως ἐπὶ τοῖς ζυγοῖς ἐκάθισον· ἐπειγόμενοι, μαθεῖν ἢ μὴ μαθεῖν βέλτιον καὶ παθεῖν ἢ λήθην αὐτοῖς ἔμελλε τῶν πρόσθεν οἴσειν κακῶν. οὕτως ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς παραπεπλευκῶς, ὥστε κατοπτεῦσαι τὴν φύσιν τῶν
- 90 οἰκούντων τὴν χώραν. ἐπειδὴ περ ἐγγὺς ἦν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἄντρον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιαῖς ἐγγυτέρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁρᾷ· ὑπερύψηλον τε ἦν καὶ δάφναις κατεκαλύπτετο. ἔνθα πολλὰ μὲν μῆλα, πολλαὶ δ' αἶγες ἠυλίζοντο· ὑψηλὴ δὲ τις αὐλὴ περὶ αὐτὸ ὠκοδόμητο λίθοις κατορωρυγμένοις καὶ μακραῖς πίτυσι σὺν δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοις. ἐνθ' ἀνὴρ ἐπηγρύπνει πελώριος, ὃς μόνος τὰ μῆλα ἐποίμαινε καὶ ἥκιστα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμίγνυτο, ἀλλ' ἀθέμιτα ἥδει πράγματα, μακρὰν ὦν. καὶ γὰρ θαῦμα ὑπῆρχεν· οὐδὲ ἐφίκει ἀνδρὶ σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλ' ὑλώδει τινὶ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, ὃ δὴ φαίνεται μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν
- 95 ἄλλων ὀρέων. τότε δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ που μένειν παρὰ τῇ νηϊ φύλακας καταλείψας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, αὐτὸς κρίνας δύο καὶ δεκατοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ἄσκον οἴνου φέρων ἡδέος μάλιστα καὶ εὐώδους καὶ οἴου τε ὄντος καθ' ἑν τι μέτρον πρὸς εἴκοσι τοῦ ὕδατος ἀντικεράννυσθαι, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα. ἤλπιζε γάρ τινα ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἄνδρα μεγάλῃν ἐνδεδυμένον ἀλκῇ, ἄγριον ἄμα
- 100 καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀθέμιτον. σπουδῇ δὲ αὐτίκα, εἰς τὸ ἄντρον ἀφίκοντο· οὐχ εὖρον δ' αὐτὸν ἔνδον, ἀλλ' ἐνόμεινεν. ἐλθόντες δ' εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐθαύμαζον ἕκαστα· ταρσοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπληροῦντο τυρῶν, οἱ σηκοὶ δ' ἐστενοῦντο ἐξ ἄρνων καὶ ἐρίφων· διακεκριμένοι δ' ἕκαστοι, συνεκλείοντο. χωρὶς μὲν οἱ πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δ' αὖ οἱ ὀπίγονοι, γαυλοὶ δὲ καὶ σκαφίδες ἐν οἷς ἡμελεγε, πάντ' εἶχε καλῶς. ἔνθα
- 105 πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἰκέτευον οἱ ἐταῖροι, λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τυρῶν, εἰς τοῦτ' ἰέναι· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ ἄρνας ἀπὸ τῶν σηκῶν ἐξελάσαντες μάλα ταχέως τὴν θάλατταν ἐπιπλεῖν· ὃ δὲ, οὐκ ἐπέιθετο. πολὺ δ' ἂν κέρδιον ἦν, ὅπως αὐτόν τε ἴδοι καὶ εἰ δοίῃ αὐτῷ ξένια· [fol. 90v] οὐκ

- ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα φανεῖς τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιθυμητὸς ἔσσεσθαι· τότε δὴ πῦρ ἀνάψαντες, θύσαντες τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τυρῶν εἰληφότες, ἔφαγον. ἐξῆς τε καθήμενοι ἔνδον, τὸν Κύκλωπα περιέμενον, ἕως νέμων ἐπῆλθε φέρων ἄχθος τι μέγα ὕλης ξηρᾶς, ἴν' αὐτῷ ἐπιδείπνιον εἴη· ὃ δῆπου ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἄντρου καταβαλὼν, ἦχον τινὰ μέγαν ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ εὐρύτερον ὑπεχώρουν τοῦ ἄντρου. ὃ δὲ Κύκλωψ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν μῆλων, ὅσα καὶ ἤμελγε, παντ' εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ἀρνειοὺς δὲ καὶ τράγους τὰ ἄρσена κατέλιπε θύραζε πρὸς τὴν βαθεῖαν αὐλὴν. εἴτα θυρεὸν μέγαν ἄρας ὕψοῦ, δὲ οὐκ ἂν τετράκυκλοι ἄμαζαι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι κινήσειαν, πέτραι δὴλονότι μεγίστην ταῖς θύραις ἐπέθηκε· καθήμενος δ' ἤμελγεν ὅις καὶ μηκάδας αἶγας ὥς ἔθους εἶχεν καὶ τάξις ἀπήτει καὶ ὑφ' ἐκάστη τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑπέβαλλεν ἔμβρυον. αὐτίκα δὲ, τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ γάλακτος ἀμυσάμενος ἐν ταλάροις κατέθηκεν· τὸ δ' αὖ ἡμισυ, ἔστησεν ἐν ἀγγείοις, ἴν' ὅτε βούλοιο πίνοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιδόρπιον εἴη· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω, δεινοῦ γε ὄντος τοῦ ἐφεξῆς, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γε ἀξίου εἰπεῖν καὶ μηδὲ πιστεῦσθαι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τολμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρ' ἐκατέρων.
- οὕτω τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῆος συγκεκλειομένου μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος, ἐπεὶπερ ὁ δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τὰ σφετέρᾳ ἔργα σπουδαίως διεπονήσατο, ἀνέκαυσε πῦρ· καὶ εἰσίδων, ἦρετο τοὺς ἀθλίους τίνες εἶεν καὶ πόθεν πλέουσι θάλασσαν καὶ εἰ κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα ἢ μάτην ἀλῶνται, οἷά τινες πειραταὶ ψυχὰς παραθέμενοι, ἵνα ξένοις ἀνθρώποις κακὸν φέρωσι. οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ Κύκλωψ. οἱ δὲ, δείσαντες τὸν βαρὺν ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἄγριον φθόγγον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πελώριον, κατεκλίσθησαν τὴν ψυχὴν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἔφη, ὡς Ἀχαιοὶ ὄντες τῆς Τροίας ἀπεπλανήθησαν παντοίοις ἀνέμοις κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ [fol. 91r] οἴκαδε ἰέναι προθυμουμένοι, ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἦλθον θαλάττης ἄκοντες, οὕτω Θεοῦ βουλευσαμένου τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς λαοὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι αὐχοῦσιν, οὗ δὴ μέγιστον κλέος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅτι μεγίστην ἐπόρθησε πόλιν καὶ λαοὺς ἀπώλεσε πολλοὺς. οὕτως εἰπὼν, ἰκέτευε τὸν δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀμείλικτον ἄνθρωπον, εἴ τι δοίῃ αὐτῷ ξένιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τί δῶρον, καθὰ θέμις ἐστὶ ξένους, καὶ ἐνέκειτο καταδυσσωπῶν, αὐτὸν φέριστον λέγων καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι θεὸν ἀξιῶν καὶ ἰκέτας ἐκεῖνου εἶναι ἀποκαλῶν. ἔτι δὲ, καὶ ὡς Θεὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἰκετῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἔφορος, ὃς καὶ ξένιος ὢν ἅμα τοῖς αἰδοίοις ὅπῃ δεῖ ξένοις· οὕτως ἔφη. ὁ δὲ, σκληρῶς μάλα ἀποκρινάμενος, νήπιον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ πόρρωθεν ἦκοντα, ὅτι Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἢ δεδῖεναι νομίζει ἢ γοῦν φυλάττεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπας ἔλεγε Θεοῦ φροντίζειν, πολλὸν κρείττους οἰομένους εἶναι θείας φύσεως· ἀλλ' οὐ δ' αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ἢ αὐτοῦ φείσασθαι ἢ τῶν ἐταίρων διὰ θεῖον τι δέος, εἴ μὴ βούλοιο. ἐκέλευε μέντοι καὶ ὅποι τὴν ναῦν ἔσχεν ἰὼν, εἰπεῖν, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατῆς ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ που σχεδόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν, οὕτως ἔφη πειράζων.
- τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεῆα οὐκ ἔλαθε, πλείω ἢ πάντες οἱ Κύκλωπες ἐπισταμένον, ἀλλὰ δολίοις λόγοις κατεσοφίζετο Ποσειδῶνα, φάσκων, κατεάξει τὴν ναῦν πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, βαλόντα ἐν τοῖς πέρασιν ταύτης τῆς γῆς· εἴτ' ἄνεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης πόρρω που ἀπενέγκαι, αὐτὸν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις τὸν χαλεπὸν ὄλεθρον διαδράσαι. πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Κύκλωψ οὐδὲν ἀποκεκριμένος ὑπὸ μανίας, ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐταίροις, τὰς χεῖρας ἤφει· συλλαβὼν δὲ δύο οἶόν τινας σκύλακας, πρὸς τῇ γῇ κατέκοπτεν· ὢν ὁ ἐγκέφαλος χαμαὶ ῥέων, τὴν γῆν ἐβρεχε καὶ τελευτῶν μελιδὸν κατακόψας, δόρπον ἑαυτῷ ἡτοίμασε καὶ, ὥσπερ τις ὠμηστὴς λέων, κατήσθιε, μήτ' ἔγκατα μήτε σάρκας μήτ' ὅστέα ἀπολιπὼν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἐλεεινοὺς ταῦτα ἔργα ὁρῶντες, ἔκλαιον καὶ χεῖρας ἀνίσχον Θεῷ, ἀμηχανία πάσῃ κατειλημμένοι, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κύκλωψ ἀνθρώπινα κρέα φαγὼν καὶ γάλα πιὼν [fol. 91v] ἄκρατον τὴν μεγάλην νηδὺν ἐνέπλησεν, ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ διὰ τῶν μῆλων ἐκτεταμένος, δὲ ἐβούλευσε μὲν κατὰ νοῦν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἴν' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν τρώσῃ κατὰ τὸ στήθος, ἐρύσας τὸ ξίφος παρὰ τοῦ μῆρου, ἀπεῖργε δ' ἕτερος λογισμὸς· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπώλετο τὸν χαλεπὸν ὄλεθρον, οὐκ ἔχων ποῦ ἂν ἀπώσαιτο τὸν βαρὺν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν. οὕτω τότε μὲν στενάζοντες, ἔμενον τὴν ἡμέραν. ὀπηνίκα δ' ἐφάνη, τότε αὖθις ὁ Κύκλωψ ἀνέκαε πῦρ καὶ ἤμελγεν ὥς τὴν χθῆς· ὡς δ' αὐτῷ τέλος εἶχε τὸ ἔργον. σύνδυο λαβὼν τῶν Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐταίρων καὶ δειπνήσας ὡς πρόσθεν, ἐξήλασε τὰ μῆλα τοῦ ἄντρου, μάλα ῥαδίως τὸν θυρὸν ἀφελὼν, καὶ αὖθις ἐπέθηκεν, ὥσεί τις ἂν ἐπιθείη πῶμα τῇ σφετέρᾳ φαρέτρᾳ. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔνδον λειπόμενος κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων ἐτύγχανεν, εἴ πως τίσαιτο, σὺν φρονήσει τὸν ἀλάστορα ἐκεῖνον καὶ θηριότροπον ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἀρίστη τοῦτω βουλὴ κατεφαίνετο· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τῷ σηκῷ τῶν προβάτων, ἔκειτο μέγα τοῦ Κύκλωπος ῥόπαλον χλωρὸν ἐλάινον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἔτεμεν, ἵνα ξηρανθὲν φέροι. ὃ δὲ τσοῦτον εἰκάζετο εἶναι τότε μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, ὅσον



- 160 φορτηγοῦ τινος ὀλκάδος μεγίστης τῶν μεγάλα πελάγη διαπεραίουμενων ἰστών. ἐξ οὐπερ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅσον ὄργυιαν ἀποκόψας καὶ παραθεῖς τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἀποξύναι ἐκέλευσε· καὶ αὐθις αὐτὸς παροξύνας κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνέβαλε τῷ πυρὶ· καὶ ἐπυράκτου συστρέφων· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, εὖ κατέθηκε κατακρύψας ὑπὸ τῇ κόπρῳ, ἢ κατὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐκέχυτο μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, κληρωθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅς τις τολμήσειεν ἄρας σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐντρίψας τῷ τοῦ
- 165 Κύκλωπος ὀφθαλμῷ κοιμάμενου· οἱ δὲ ἔλαχον, οὓς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε πρὸ τοῦ κλήρου ἐλέσθαι, τέσσαρες· πέμπτος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἠριθμεῖτο.
- εἰθ' ἐσπέριος ἦλθεν ὁ Κύκλωψ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν μῆλα πάντα ἔνδον τοῦ ἄντρου ἤλασε, μηδὲν ἔξω λιπὼν ἢ αὐτὸς [fol. 92r] τοῦτο νοήσας ἢ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος. ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐτέθηκε καὶ πάντ' ἐπραξεν ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς μήλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθις δύο τῶν ἐταίρων συνειληφώς,
- 170 τὸ τελευταῖον δεῖπνον ἐποίησε· καὶ τότε δὴ παραστάς ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ τὸ κισσύβιον ἔχων ἐν χερσὶ πλήρες οἴνου, τὸν Κύκλωπα πιεῖν ἐκέλευεν οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγοι ἀνδρεία κρέα, καὶ γνῶναι οἶον αὐτῷ ποτὸν ἢ ναῦς ἐφύλαττε σπονδὴν αὐτῷ φέρον, εἴ πως ἐλέησας οἴκαδε πέμψειεν· αὐτὸς δὲ μαίνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς, εἶτα καὶ σχέτλιον ἔλεγε καὶ διηπόρει, ποῖ ἂν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕστερος ἄλλος ἀφίκοιτο τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ ἀνόσια ἐπραξεν, οὕτως ἔφη· ὁ δὲ, δεξάμενος ἔπιε καὶ ἠδύνθη ἐπὶ τῷ πόματι καὶ δεύτερον αὐθις ἦται δοῦναι προθύμως καὶ τὸ ἴδιον εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, ἴν' αὐτῷ δῶ τι ξένιον, ᾧ μάλιστα χαίρει. καὶ γὰρ ἔφη φέρειν μὲν οἶνον τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην τοῖς Κύκλωσιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νέκταρος ἀπορρώγα ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐθις ἐδίδου καὶ φέρων αὐθις δέδωκε τρίτον. ὁ δὲ, τρίτον ὁμοίως ἔπιεν ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης· οὕτως ἡ ἄγνοια τῇ πονηρίᾳ συνέστιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ τὰς φρήνας τοῦ Κύκλωπος ὁ οἶνος περιελήλυθε, τότε δὴ καὶ Οὐτὶν καλεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς
- 180 μητρὸς τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων, φησὶ, σοφίζόμενον καὶ ξένιον αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἦται, ὅπερ ὑπέστη· ὁ δ' ἀνηλεῶς Οὐτὶν, φησὶν, ὕστατον μετὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦτο ξένιον αὐτῷ εἶναι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον· ἔμελλε δ' ἐξῆς ἀντιπεριστῆναι τὰ τῆς τύχης τῷ Κύκλωπι, ἵνα φόνου καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ μέθης ἀξίας τίσῃ τὰς δίκας, ὥσπερ ἦν δίκαιον.<sup>4</sup>
- οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κύκλωψ αἱμάτων ἀνδρείων καὶ οἴνου ἀναπιμπλάμενος, ἀνακλιθεὶς, ὕπτιος ἔπесεν·
- 185 ἔπειτα δ' ἔκειτο, παχνὺν ἀπλώσας αὐχένα· ὕπνος δὲ αὐτὸν ἥρει βαθύς· οἶνος δ' ἐξεχεῖτο τοῦ φάρυγγος μετὰ τῶν ψωμῶν· αὐτὸς δ' οἶνοβαρὼν ἠρεύγετο· καὶ τότε τὸν μοχλὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπὸ πολλῇ τινι ἐλάσας σποδῷ, ἕως θερμαῖναιτο· λόγοις πάντας τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐθάρσυνε, μὴ τις ὑποδείσας, [fol. 92v] τὸν δόλον ἀναδύῃ. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔμελλεν ἄψασθαι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ, διεφαίνετο δὲ λίαν, τότε δὴ πλησίον αὐτὸν τοῦ Κύκλωπος ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔφερη, περιύσαντο δὲ καὶ
- 190 οἱ ἐταῖροι· καὶ θάρσους θειοτέρου ὑποπλησθέντες· οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ἐλόντες, ἐνέρεισαν τῷ τοῦ Κύκλωπος ὀφθαλμῷ· αὐτὸς δ' ἐπικρεμασθεὶς ἄνωθεν, ἰσχυρῶς συνέστρεφεν, οἷόν τι τρύπανον· οἱ δὲ κάτωθεν ὁμοίως περιεδίνουν. αἷμα δὲ αὐτὸν περιέρρει θερμὸν ὄντα· ἐφλέγετο δὲ βλέφαρα καὶ ὀφρύες τῇ τῆς θερμῆς ἀτμῇ κατακαιομένης τῆς γλῆνης· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔοικεν, οἷον εἴ τις πέλεκυν ἐν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτοι, στερρότερον δρῶν· ὁ δὲ σίζοι τῇ πάλῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥσανεῖ τις τυπτόμενος. εἶτα μέγα τι καὶ φοβερὸν ᾧμωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ δεινῷ, περιήχησε δὲ ἡ πέτρα τῇ τοῦ ἀέρος πληγῇ· αὐτοὶ δὲ δέισαντες, ὑπεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ, τὸν μοχλὸν ἐρύσας ἐξ ὀφθαλμοῦ πεφυρμένον αἷματι πολλῷ. τὸν μὲν ἔρριψε, τοὺς Κύκλωπας δὲ ἐφώνει μέγα ἀνακεκραγώς, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥκουν ἐν ἄντροις κατὰ τὰς ἄκρας. οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἐπαῖοντες ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἰστάμενοι, ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸν ἄθλιον, ἦροντο. τί δὲ καὶ παθὼν τοσοῦτον, ὧδε ἐβόησε κατὰ νύκτα καὶ
- 200 ἀϋπνοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔθηκε καὶ εἰ μῆλα τίς αὐτοῦ ἐλαύνει ἄκοντος, ἢ τίς κτείνει δόλῳ ἢ βίᾳ· ὁ δὲ κρατερός Πολύφημος 'Οὐτίς με, ἔφη, κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίᾳ, ὧ φίλοι'. οἱ δὲ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τίς σε βιάζεται, ἔφασαν, ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα, νόσος ἐστίν, ἣν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἂν φύγοι τις· εἰπόντες δ' οὕτως, ἀπήεσαν. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἐγέλασεν, ὅπως ἐκείνον ὄνομα ψευδὲς ἠπάτησε καὶ βουλή τις ἀρίστη· ὁ Κύκλωψ τοίνυν βαρείας ἐπιστενάζων ὀδύναις, ψηλαφώσας χερσὶ τὸν λίθον ἀφείλε τῶν θυρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ χεῖρα πετάσας, ἐν αὐταῖς ἐκαθέζετο, εἴ τινα λάβοι μετὰ τῶν προβάτων θύραζε στείχοντα· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς νῆπιος ὢν, ἤλπιζε καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα νῆπιον εἶναι ἐν ταῖς φρεσὶν. ὁ δὲ, ἐβούλευε, πῶς ἂν ἄριστα γένοιτο· [fol. 93r] εἴ τινα τοῖς ἐταίροις θανάτου λύσιν καὶ αὐτῷ εὔροιτο· πάντας δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ δόλους καὶ βουλὰς ὕφαινε, ὡς περὶ ψυχῆς διαγωνιζόμενος· μέγα γὰρ κακὸν ἐγγὺς ἦν. ὁμῶς πολλὰ διασκεπτομένῳ, τοῦτ' ἄριστη ἐφαίνετο βουλή· ἄρνας καλοὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους οὐλὴν
- 210 ἔχοντας τρίχωσιν, σύντρεῖς κατεδέσμευε λαμβάνων, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐκάθευδε λίγους· ὢν ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα ἔφερεν· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπορεύοντο τὸς ὁδῶντες τοὺς ἐταίρους. τρεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἄρνες ἕκαστον ἄνδρα ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἄρνεϊός ἦν ὁ τῶν προβάτων ἀπάντων ἐξόχως

- 215 ἄριστος, οὐτινος ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα κρυβεῖς ἔκειτο, τὴν λασίην κατὰ τὰ νῶτα λαβὼν· ταῖς δ' αὖ χερσὶ  
 συστραφεῖς, καθάπαξ εἶχετο τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἐρίου καρτερούση μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ· οὕτω τότε  
 στενάζοντες, περιέμενον τὴν ἡμέραν· πρωίας δ' αὖ, εἰς τὴν νομήν ἐξεφέρετο τὰ ἄρσενα μῆλα· τὰ  
 γὰρ οὐθата τῶν μῆλων ἀτημέλητα λελειμμένα, ὀδύναις συνείχετο. ὁ δ' ἄναξ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὀδυνώμενος πάντων ὄϊων διεψηλάφα τὰ νῶτα ἐστώτων ὀρθίων· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ  
 νήπιος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῖς τῶν ἀρρένων ἀρνῶν ἐδέδοντο στέρνοις καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὄνασθαι·  
 220 ὕστατος μέντοι τῶν μῆλων καὶ ὁ ἀρνειὸς ἔστειχε θύραζε. τῷ τε δασεῖ στενούμενος τῶν ἐρίων καὶ  
 τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ τῷ πολύφρονι. ὃν ὁ Πολύφημος κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διερευνῶν, πέποννα, ἔλεγε, καὶ τί  
 δήποτε ὕστατος, ἦρετο, τῶν προβάτων ἔρχεται, οὐδαμῶς πρότερον αὐτῶν λειπόμενος· ἢ ἀνακτος  
 ποθεῖ ὀφθαλμόν, ὃν Οὐτίς ἀνὴρ κακὸς ἐτύφλωσε σὺν ἐταίροις, οἶνω φρένας δαμάσας· ὃν μὴδ'  
 εἶναι ἔφασκε φυγόντα τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἔλεγε ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ ὁμοφρονεῖ, φωνήεντα γενέσθαι ἐκέλευεν,  
 225 ὅποι ἐκεῖνος τὸν αὐτοῦ φεύγει θυμὸν, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὁ ἐγκέφαλος αὐτοῦ κενωθῇ  
 φθειρομένου, τῷ δὲ, λωφήσῃ κακῶν ἢ ψυχῇ, ἅπερ αὐτῷ οὐ τι δεινὸς παρέσχετο Οὐτίς· οὕτως  
 εἰπὼν τὸν ἀρνειὸν ἐξέπεμπε θύραζε. οἱ δὲ, βραχύ τι [fol. 93v] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄντρου καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς  
 προελθόντες, πρῶτος ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ ἀρνειοῦ ἀπελύετο, ὑπέλυσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους. εἶτα πολλὰ  
 τε καὶ πῖονα μῆλα ταχέως μάλα συναγαγόντες, ἤλαυνον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀφίκοντο· ἀσπάσιοι δὲ  
 τοῖς φίλοις ἐφάνησαν, ὅποσοι τὸν θάνατον ἔφυγον· τοὺς δ' ἁλόντας, θρηνοῦντες ἐστέναζον.  
 230 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ οὐκ εἶα, ἀνένευε δὲ ἐκάστω ταῖς ὀφρύσι, μὴ κλαίειν· ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἐμβάλλειν  
 ἐκέλευσε τῇ νηϊ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπιπλεῖν. οὕτω τοῦ Κύκλωπος κακὰ καὶ δράσαντος  
 καὶ παθόντος, οὐ χεῖρω πάντως εἰς ἔκτισιν οὐδὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα φανεῖται.  
 ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἀντέστραπτο τῷ Κύκλωπι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐταίρων ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ναῦν ἀφικόμενος ἔπλει, τι ποιεῖ· τόσον δὴ ἀπὼν ὅσον γεγωνότερον βοήσας τις ἀκουσθήσεται,  
 235 ἐκερτόμει τὸν Κύκλωπα, ὡς οὐκ ἔμελλες, λέγων, ἀνάλκιδος ἀνδρὸς φίλους ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν  
 σε ἔμελλε τὰ σφέτερα ἔργα καταλαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι οὐκ ἠθελες ζέονους ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθίειν καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο Θεὸς σε ἐτίσατο, οὕτως ἔφη· ὁ δὲ, μᾶλλον ἐχολώσατο ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ ἀπορρηξας  
 αὐτίκα κορυφὴν ὄρους μεγάλου ἀφήκε κατὰ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, ἦν δὴ κατέβαλεν, ἔμπροσθεν τῆς  
 νεῶς, ὀλίγου δέουσαν, τὸν ἄκρον τοῦ οἴακος πληξαι· ἡ θάλασσα δὲ ἐκλύσθη, τῇ πέτρᾳ πληγεῖσα.  
 240 τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἡ πλημμύρα τοῦ κύματος, ἐξέφερε ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. ὁ μέντοιγε Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 περιμῆκει αὐθις κοντῷ, ἀντῶσεν ἐκείθεν· παροξύνας καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους νεύματι, τὸν πλοῦν  
 ἐπισπεύδειν· ἀλλ' ὅτε δις τοσοῦτον ἐξέπλευσαν, αὐθις ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐφώνει τὸν Κύκλωπα· οἱ δ'  
 ἐταῖροι τοῦτον ἐκμειλιττόμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, ἐκώλυνον· σχέτλιον, λέγοντες, ὅτιπερ ἐθέλει πρὸς  
 245 ἄγριον ἄνδρα ἐρίζειν, ὃς νῦν βέλος ἀφεις κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν ναῦν ἤγαγεν, ὡς  
 φᾶναι αὐτοὺς ὀλωλέναι. εἰ δὲ καὶ φωνήσαντός τινος ἤκουσε συνέρρηξεν ἄν καὶ κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τε  
 καὶ ξύλα λίθῳ βαρυτέρῳ βαλὼν· ὅτι καὶ τόσον ἠφίει. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθον ταῦτα λέγοντες, ἀλλ'  
 αὖ[fol. 94r]θις προσέφη πικροτέρῳ μάλιστα τῷ θυμῷ Κύκλωψ, ὡς ὄφελέ τις ἀνθρώπων, τὸν  
 πολίπορθον Ὀδυσσέα σοφῶς προειπεῖν σοι, τὴν αἰσχρὰν ταύτην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τύφλωσιν  
 συσκευάσασθαι· ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα οἰμώξαι, ὦ πόποι, ἔλεγεν· ὄντως παλαιὰ τις αὐτὸν μαντεία  
 250 κατεῖληφεν, ἦν ἀνὴρ μάντις αὐτοῦ που καταγρησάσας σὺν τοῖς Κύκλωπι Τηλέμος Εὐρύμειδος,  
 προεῖρηκεν· ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἃ δὴ νῦν πέπονθε, τελευτήσεσθαι μέλλει ἐσύστερον, κακὴ τῶν  
 Ὀδυσσέως χειρῶν τῆς ὄψεως ἀμαρτήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ἄνδρα τινὰ καλὸν τε καὶ μέγαν προσεδέχετο  
 τοῦτον ἐλεύσεσθαι μεγάλην ἐνδεδυμένον ἰσχύν· νῦν δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦναντίος ὦν, τοὺς  
 255 λογισμούς οἶνω ἐτύφλωσε πρότερον, εἶτα συναπετύφλωσε καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· ταῦτ' εἰπὼν,  
 ἀπατᾶν ἐπειράτο· τὸν βλέποντα ὁ τυφλὸς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξεκάλει, ἵνα παραθῇ ξένια καὶ τὸν  
 σφέτερον πατέρα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, δοῦναι οἱ πομπὴν παροτρύνῃ· αὐτὸν γὰρ, ἔλεγε, μόνον  
 ἰάσασθαι, εἴπερ ἐθέλει, οὐδὲ τιν' ἄλλον οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. πρὸς ὃν ὁ  
 Ὀδυσσεὺς αἶθε, ἔφη, δυναίμην ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αἰῶνα στερήσας, εἰς αὐτὸν Ἄδην πέμψαι. οὐδὲ  
 260 γὰρ οὐδ' ὀφθαλμόν αὐτὸς ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἰάσεται· οὕτως ὁ Κύκλωψ ἀποκρουσθεῖς, τῷ πατρί χειρᾶς  
 ὀρέγει καὶ ἐπαρᾶται, μὴ ἂν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον παραγενέσθαι, πρὶν ἢ πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ πάντας  
 ἀπολέσαι τοὺς φίλους, μὴ δὲ χωρὶς πημάτων τὸν οἶκον εὔρεῖν. εἴτ' αὐθις πολὺ μεῖζον λίθον ἄρας  
 καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει περιδινήσας, κατέβαλεν ἐξόπισθεν τῆς νεῶς, μικρόν τι δεήσας τοῦ ἄκρου  
 265 καθικέσθαι οἴακος. τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν, τῆς θαλάττης κλυσθείσης, ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω τὸ κῦμα  
 ἔφερεν· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον κατέλαβον, ἔνθα περ ἔμενον οἱ ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν,  
 ὀδυρόμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ προσδεχόμενοι. τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ που ἐγκαθορμίζουσι καὶ τὰ μῆλα τῆς νεῶς

ἐξελόντες καὶ κατίσον διελόμενοι πᾶσιν· εἶτα καὶ θυσίαν ἀνενεγκόντες, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν ἔμελλεν, ὅλον ἡμᾶρ ἐκάθηντο ἐστιώμενοι· ἐσπέρας δ' ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κοιμηθέντες, πρωΐας ἀνέ[fol. 94v]βαινον εἰς τὰς ναῦς. τοῦτο μὲν λυπούμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ χαίροντες, ὡς ἐκ θανάτου ῥυσθέντες καὶ ὡς τοὺς φίλους ἀπολωλεκότες.

- 270 **5. Περὶ Αἰόλου.** πέμπτην πλάνην μετὰ τοὺς Κύκλωπας ταύτην, ὁ πολύτλας Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑφίστατο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰς βουλὰς ἀνελίζας, καὶ νοῦν νικώσας ἀνθρώπινον χρησάμενος μηχαναῖς, ὅψε γοῦν τὸν ἀνδροφόνον διέφυγε Κύκλωπα, εἰς Αἰολίδα νῆσον ἀφικνεῖται σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις. ἡ δὲ ἀρρήκτῳ τείχει πανταχόθεν περιεφράττετο ἐκ λείας τινὸς πέτρας εἰς ὕψος ἀνατρεχούσης. ἐνθ' ἀνὴρ ὥκει Αἰόλος Ἱπποτάδης, οὐ κακὸς ξενος ὡς ὁ Κύκλωψ, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἡμερος καὶ φιλόξενος.
- 275 τούτῳ δώδεκα ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δὲ υἱεῖς μάλα ἡβώντες, ἃς καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν εἰς γυναῖκας παρέσχεν. οἱ δὲ αἰεὶ παρὰ τῷ φίλῳ πατέρι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῇ κοσμίᾳ εἰσιτῶντο βρώματα μυρία κείμενα, κνίσσης δὲ τὸ δῶμα μεστὸν ἦν· καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν, τὰ τῆς αὐλῆς τῷ συνεχεῖ δρόμῳ ἐστέναξε· νύκτας δὲ, παρὰ ταῖς ἀλόχοις ἐκάθευδον, ἐν τε τάπησι καὶ ἐν τρητοῖς στρώμασιν· ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφικόμενος, ἐφιλεῖτο τε καὶ ἀνηρωτᾶτο ἕκαστα, τὸ
- 280 Ἴλιον, τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τὸν νόστον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ὁ δὲ πάνθ' ἔξῃς εἶρηκε τῷ Αἰόλῳ, ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁδὸν ἤτει διὰ θαλάττης πέμπειν αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἀνήγατο, ἀλλ' ἠτοίμαζε τὴν πομπήν· βούν τοίνυν ἐνναετὴ ἐκδείρας καὶ τὸν ἄσκον αὐτῷ παρασχὼν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐδ' ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς· δαιμονίας δ' οὖν ὅμως σκαιότητος τὰς ἀθρόας τῶν ἀνέμων κινήσεις, κατέδωκεν· Αἰόλος γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τοῦνομα, καὶ τέχνην εἶχεν, ὃν μὲν ἐθέλοι παύειν
- 285 ῥαδίως, ὃν δὲ κινεῖν· καὶ δὴ τοῦτον φέρων, τῇ νηϊ ἐγκατέδωκεν· ἐγκατέδωκε δὲ ἀργυρᾷ τινι σχοίνῳ, ἵνα μὴ δ' ὀλίγον τι παραπνεύσῃ· τῷ μέντοιγε Ὀδυσσεῖ πνοὴν ζεφύρου προὔπεμψε πνεῖν, ἕως ἂν αὐτόν τε φέρῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους μετὰ τῶν νεῶν· οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐκτελεῖν· ταῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν μωρίαις ἀπόλυντο. ἐννῆμαρ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πλέοντι νύκτας τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἡμᾶτα, τῇ δεκάτῃ πατρὶς ἀνεφαίνετο, καὶ οἱ πυρπολοῦντες [fol. 95r] ὄντες ἐγγύς. ἐνθα τῷ κόπῳ δεδαμασμένον
- 290 τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸν πόδα τῆς νεῶς ἐκίνει, ὡς ἂν θάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀφίκωνται, γλυκὺς ὕπνος αἰρεῖ. οἱ δ' ἐταῖροι χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἄργυρον οἴκαδε ἄγειν δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλου, κακῶς οἰηθέντες, ἐσχετλίαζον, ἐβάσκαινον. εἰ πᾶσι μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς φίλος καὶ τίμιος εἶη, εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἰὼν. πολλὰ ἄγων ἐκ Τροίας κειμήλια· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαντες τὴν αὐτὴν, ἔλθοιεν κενὰς τὰς χεῖρας συνέχοντες· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἔλεγον, Αἰόλος ταῦτα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ φιλίας εἵνεκα χαριζόμενος.
- 295 οὕτω κακούργως ταῦτα καὶ εἶπον καὶ ἐνόησας· καὶ ἄγε θάπτον ἀλλήλους ἐκέλευον, ἵνα τοῦτ' ἴδωσιν ὅτι περ ἐστίν, ὅσος τις χρυσὸς τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνεστι τῷ ἄσκῳ· νικᾷ τοίνυν κακὴ βουλή παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις, ἧς αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀπολαύσειν ἔμελλον· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄσκον ἐλύσαν, ἄνεμοι δὲ πάντες ἐξώρμησαν· τοὺς δὲ ταχέως ἀρπάσασα θύελλα κλαίοντας ὁμοῦ καὶ στενάζοντας, εἰς τὸν πόντον ἐξέφερεν· ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ ὕπνου αἰφνίδιως ἐξαναστὰς, δυοῖν θάτερον ἐβουλευέτο, ἢ τῆς νεῶς ἐκπεσὼν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φθαρεῖη, ἢ καὶ ταύτην ἐνέγκῃ τὴν συμφορὰν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλας
- 300 χεירוὺς ὑπέμεινε· κρατεῖ δ' οὖν ὅμως τὸ δεύτερον. καὶ ἔτλη καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ καλυψάμενος, ἔκειτο ἐν τῇ νηϊ· οἱ δὲ αὐθις τῇ σφοδρᾷ θυέλλῃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα νῆσον στενάζοντες.
- ἐνθα ἐκβάντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ὕπνον ἐλόμενοι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως μετασχόντες, τότε δὴ λαβὼν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἕνα γε τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπορεύθη εἰς Αἰόλου δώματα· τὸν δ' εὗρεν ἐσθίοντα παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν. ἐλθόντες δ' ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τοῖς σταθμοῖς ἐκάθιζον ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐδοῦ· οἱ δὲ θαυμάζοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο, ὅπως τε ἦλθε καὶ τίς δαίμων αὐτῷ συνήντησε καὶ ὡς ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν ἀπέμπεμπον, ἔλεγον, ὅπως εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο φίλον ἀφίκοιτο. οὕτως ἔφασαν ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς, εἰς τοὺς ἐταίρους τε καὶ τὸν ὕπνον
- 310 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀνενεγκῶν, ἡξίου αὐθις ὡς φίλους καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχοντας, ἂν ἐθέλωσι, θεραπεῦσαι τὴν συμφορὰν· τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων σιγὴν ἀγόντων, ὁ Αἰόλος σκληρῶς ἀπεκρίνετο μάλα· [fol. 95v] καὶ θάπτον ἔρειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐλέγχιστον τῶν ζώντων ἐκάλει· καὶ ὡς οὐ θέμις, ἔλεγεν, ἄνδρα θεῷ ἀπηχθῆμένον κομίζειν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν· καὶ αὐθις δὲ ἔρρειν προσέταττεν, ἐπεὶ θεῷ ἀπεχθόμενος, ἐκεῖ παρεγένετο. οὕτως εἰπὼν, ἀπέπεμπε τῶν δόμων, βαρὺ
- 315 τι καὶ ὀδυνηρὸν στενάζοντα, καὶ πρὸς ἐτέραν πλάνην πολὺ ταύτης χεῖρῳ οἰκτρῶς μάλα παραβαλλόμενον.

265–74 *Od.* 9.526–66 275–317 *Od.* 10.1–71

361 εὐπλόκακος Mispelling of εὐπλόκαμος

318–23 *Od.* 10.72–77 323–41 *Od.* 10.73–106 342–56 *Od.* 10.109–34 357–69 *Od.* 10.135–55

- 6. Περὶ Λαιστρυγόνων.** ἔκτη τις ἦδε πλάνη τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ συνέβαινεν ἐξ Αἰολίδος ἀπηγμένῳ σὺν κακῇ μάλιστα τύχῃ· ἔπλει μὲν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν *προσωτέρω* σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις· νῦν μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀχθομένοις, νῦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὑπ' εἰρεσίας ἀλγεινῆς τειρομένοις, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτ' ἐφαίνετο πομπή· ἔξ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ὁμοίως καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας ἔπλεον· τῇ δ' ἐβδόμῃ, Λάμῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων πόλιν καταλαμβάνουσι, τοσοῦτον ὑψηλὴν οὔσαν καὶ μεγάλας ἔχουσαν πύλας, ὥστε τοῦ εἰσελαύνοντος ποιμένος βοῶντος τὸν ἐξελαύνοντα ραδίως ἀκούειν. ἔνθα καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγρύπνος, διπλοῦς ἐξήρατο μισθοῦς, ὃν μὲν ὡς βοῦκόλος, ὃν δὲ ὡς ποιμὴν. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἀλλήλαις ἀπαντῶσιν ἢ νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα· ἔνθα λιμὴν τις ἐστὶ θαυμάσιος πάνυ, εὗ ἔχων παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἰς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ κάλλος, ὃν πέτρας τίς ὑψηλὴ καθάπαξ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔχει, ἀκταὶ δὲ προβλήτες ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις ἐν στόματι προύχουσιν, εἴσοδος δ' ἐστὶν ἀραιὰ διὰ στένωνσιν· ἔνθα οἱ μὲν ἐταῖροι ἐνδον εἰσβάντες, αὐτοῦ που τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες, ἔδησαν πλησίον ἀλλήλων. οὐ γὰρ ποτε κύμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἠϋξάνετο, οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν, αἰεὶ δὲ λευκὴ γαλήνη τις ἦν. μόνος δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔξω τὴν ναῦν ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ που ἐπ' ἐσχατιᾷ ἐκ πέτρας δήσας τὰ πείσματα. ὃς καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς σκοπιὰν τινα ἔστη· ἔνθα οὗτ' ἀνδρῶν οὔτε βοῶν ἐφαίνετο ἔργα, καπνὸν δὲ οἶον ἐώρων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄνω φερόμενον. τότε δὴ προίει τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων πυθέσθαι ἰόντας, οἳ τινες εἶεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἄνδρε δύο κρίνας καὶ τρίτον ἅμα τὸν κήρυκα παρασχών· οἱ δ' ἐκβάντες ἐπορεύοντο ὁδὸν τινα λείαν, ἐν ἣ περ αἱ ἅμαζαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ὕλας ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐκόμιζον. ζυμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, ὑδρευούσῃ κόρῃ τινὶ, θυγατρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως [fol. 96r] τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων, καὶ παριστάμενοι, προσεφώνουν· πυνθανόμενοι, τίς τε αὐτῶν εἴη βασιλεὺς· καὶ τίνων δέ γε ἀνάσσει· ἢ δὲ αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐμήνυε δῶμα· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ λαμπρὰ εἰσεληλύθασιν δώματα, εὗρον τὴν γυναικὰ ἴσῃν ὄρους τὸ μέγεθος κορυφῇ, καὶ καταστυγοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀηδῶς ἔβλεπον. ἢ δὲ ταχέως ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς αὐτίκα ἰὼν, χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύσατο ὀλεθρον. ἓνα γὰρ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀρπάσας, δεῖπνον ἑαυτῷ πεποίηκε· τῷ δὲ δύο ὀρμήσαντε, φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικέσθην. ὁ δὲ, διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐξεβόησεν· οἱ Λαιστρυγόνες δ' αἶοντες, ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος μυρίοι, οὐκ ἀνδράσιν οὔμενον εἰκότες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Γίγασι. καὶ χερμαδίοις ἀπὸ πετρῶν βαρυτάτοις ἔβαλλον τὰς ναῦς, ὡς ἐδύναντο· κόναβος δ' ἀν' αὐτὰς ἐκινεῖτο ἀνδρῶν ὀλλυμένων καὶ νεῶν ἅμα συντριβομένων· οὓς οἱ Λαιστρυγόνες ὡς ἰχθὺς περιπεύροντες ἤσθιον, ὡς μικρῶ πρόσθεν ὁ Κύκλωψ· ἀλλ' ἔως τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους διέφθειρον οὗτοι τοῦ λιμένος ἐντός, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τὸ ζῆφος ἐλκύσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, τὰ πείσματα τῆς νεῶς ἀπέκοψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους παροτρύνας, ἐκέλευσε ταχέως ἐμβάλλειν ταῖς κώπαις, ἵνα τὸν ὀλεθρον ὑπεκφύγῳσιν· οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες δείσαντες τὸ κακὸν, ἤλαννον· καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς ναῦς, ἀσπασίως εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὰς πέτρας ἐξέφυγεν· αἱ ἄλλαι δ' ὁμοῦ πᾶσαι, αὐτόθι δυστυχῶς ὤλοντο· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἔπλει *προσωτέρω* μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἄσμενος μὲν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἐρρύσθησαν, λυπούμενος δ' ὡς τοὺς φίλους ἀπολέσας ἐταίρους.
- 7. Περὶ Κίρκης.** ἐβδόμη πλάνη τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ ἐξῆς διεδέχετο τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνους διαφυγόντα· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Αἰαίαν νῆσον μετὰ τῆς σφετέρας νεῶς ἀφίκετο· ἔνθα γυνὴ τις ᾤκει, δεινὴ καὶ κακότεχνος, καὶ πάντ' ἐπισταμένη πρᾶξαι κακὰ φαρμάκων ἔργοις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς, [Fol. 96v] ἄλλως μέντοι εὐπλόκακος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐναρμόνιος. Κίρκη πάντως αὕτη γε ἦν ἢ τὴν κακίαν ἐπίσημος· αὐταδέλφη μὲν Αἰήτου κατ' αὐτὴν ὀλεθρίου καὶ ἀποτροπαίου ἀνδρὸς· θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἥλιου καὶ Πέρσης, Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς. ἔνθα σιωπῇ τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς κατήγαγεν Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸν λιμένα· ἐκβάντες δὲ, ἔκειντο δύο ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, πόνῳ καὶ λύπῃ ὁμοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἀναλίσκοντες· ἀλλ' ὅτε τρίτον ἡμᾶρ ἐγένετο, ἔγχος λαβὼν καὶ φάσγανον ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ταχέως ἐς περιωπὴν τινα ἀνήει ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς, εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ φωνὴν τε πύθοιτο. καὶ δὴ εἰς σκοπιὰν ἀνελθὼν, ὁρᾷ διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης καπνὸν ἀνθρώπιον τὰ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κίρκης δώμασιν. εἴτα ἐσκέψατο ἐλθεῖν καὶ πυθέσθαι. βέλτιον δ' οὖν ὅμως ἔδοξεν ἐλθόντα πρῶτα ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν δεῖπνον τοῖς ἐταίροις δοῦναι καὶ πέμψαι πυθέσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀμιγῇ τὰ πράγματα χωρεῖν πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει, οὕτως ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦδη ὄντι, ἔλαφος αὐτῷ ποθὲν φαίνεται, ἐξιών ἐκ τῆς ὕλης· καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν κατήει ἐκ τῆς νομῆς πύόμενος· ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς μέσον πλήττει κατὰ τὸ νῶτον, καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἀντικρὺ περάσαντος, κατέπεσεν ἐν τῇ κόνει μυκησάμενος· εἴτα λαβὼν ῥῶπας καὶ λύγους καὶ σχοῖνον, ὅσον ὀργυιὰν, πλεξάμενος ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὐστραφῇ, συνέδησε οἱ τοὺς πόδας· καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἶός τε ἦν ἐπ' ὅμοιο φέρειν ἑτέρα χεiri· μάλα γὰρ ἦν τὸ θηρίον μέγα. ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς φέρει, μόνῳ τῷ δόρατι ἐρειδόμενον· καὶ τῆς νεῶς καταβαλὼν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐγείρει μειλιχίοις λόγοις ἄνδρα ἕκαστον. οὐ παρ' εἰμαρμένην ὦ φίλοι, λέγων, καταδυσόμεθα εἰς τὸν Ἄδην, καί περ ἀχνύμενοι· ἀλλὰ δέον, ἔως ἔνεστι τῇ νηὶ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, τροφῆς μμνήσκεσθαι,

- ἀλλ' οὐ τρύχεσθαι τῷ λιμῷ. οὕτως εἰπόντι πεισθέντες· καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενοι, ἐθαύμαζον παρὰ τὸν  
 αἰγιαλὸν τὸν ἐλάφον κείμενον, ὅτι καὶ μέγα ἦν τὸ θηρίον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχάρησαν ἰδόντες, τὰς χεῖρας  
 νιψάμενοι, εὐωχίαν κατεσκευάζοντο· καὶ τότε μὲν ὅλον ἡμᾶρ εἰς ἥλιον καταδύντα, ἐκάθηντο  
 375 ἐστιώμενοι κρέατα πολλὰ καὶ οἶνον ἡδὺν· Ἡλίου δὲ καταδύντος, ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ.  
 ἡμέρας δὲ φανείσης, δημηγορίαν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐποιήσατο [Fol. 97r] καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκούειν  
 πάντας ἐκέλευσεν.  
 εἶτα ὦ φίλοι, φησὶν, οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπῃ ζόφος ἢ ὅπῃ ἡμέρα, οὐθ' ὅπῃ ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν εἶσιν οὐδ' ὅπῃ  
 380 ἀνεῖται· ἀλλὰ βουλευώμεθα θάπτον, εἴ τις ἔσται βουλὴ· 'ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι'. εἶτα καὶ τὴν  
 νῆσον διέξεισιν, ὅπως αὐτὴν ἄπειρος ἐστεφάνωται θάλασσα καὶ τὸν ἀνιόντα ἐν μέσῃ διὰ τῆς ὕλης  
 καπνὸν, ἃ δὴ καὶ Κύκλωψ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνδροφόνος ἀκούσας, εἰ παρῆν, κατεκλάσθη ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν·  
 ἔκλαιον οὖν οἱ δυστυχεῖς ὁξέως μάλα δάκρυα πολλὰ καταχέοντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν πρᾶξις οὕτω  
 πλείστα θρηνοῦσιν· ὁ δέ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς δίχα πάντας τοὺς ἐταίρους ἡρίθμει καὶ ἀρχηγὸν ἀμφοτέροις  
 385 παρέσχετο· καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτὸς ἦρχε, τῶν δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος. εἶτα καὶ κλήρους βαλὼν, ταχέως ἐκίνει·  
 ἐξέθορε δὲ ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ Εὐρύλοχου, καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἐταίρους παραλαβὼν κλαίοντας,  
 ἐπορεύετο· κατέλιπον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως θρηνοῦντας ὀπισθεν· εὗρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς βήσσαις, τὰ  
 τῆς Κίρκης δώματα, ἐν ζεστοῖς λίθοις πεποιημένα· περὶ δὲ αὐτὰ λύκοι ἦσαν καὶ λέοντες, φαρμάκοις  
 καταθειχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρητοποιῶς γυναικὸς· οἱ καὶ κυνῶν δίκην αὐτοὺς περιέσαινον, οὐκουν  
 390 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀρμήσαντες νόμῳ θηρῶν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐφοβήθησαν. στάντες δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς  
 κακοτέχνου, ἤκουον ἐκείνης ἀδούσης λιγυρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἰστὸν μέγαν ἐξυφαινούσης, λεπτὰ καὶ  
 χαρίεντα καὶ λαμπρὰ φέροντα δῶρα· ἀλλὰ τις ἐκείνων πολὺ κρείττων καὶ συνετώτερον καὶ τῷ  
 Ὀδυσσεὶ μάλιστα φίλος, Πολίτης ὄνομα, ὅπως τε ἤκουσεν ἀδούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ὡς ἅπαν  
 περιμέμυκε τοῦδαφος καὶ ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἢ γυνὴ ἐστί, τοὺς φίλους θάπτον καλεῖν ἐκέλευε· τοῦ δὲ  
 395 γεγονότος, ταχέως ἢ γυνὴ ἐξελθοῦσα, τὰς θύρας τούτοις ἀνέωξε καὶ ἐκάλει· οἱ δὲ ἅμα πάντες οὐκ  
 εἰδότες τί πείσονται, εἶποντο· μόνος δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ὑπέμεινε, δόλον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα νοήσας· εἶτα  
 εἰσαγαγοῦσα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θρόνους καθίσαι προτρέψασα, κυκεῶνα ἐν χρυσῇ φιάλῃ ἐσκεύασεν,  
 ἴν' οἱ δυστυχεῖς πίοιεν· τυρὸν δὲ εἰς δέλεαρ καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μέλι χλωρὸν σὺν οἴνῳ Πραμνίῳ ἐκύκα.  
 ἀνεμίγνυ δὲ ἐπιβούλως τῷ σίτῳ χαλεπὰ τινα [Fol. 97v] φάρμακα, ἵνα λάθοιντο παντελῶς τῆς  
 400 πατρίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔδωκεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιον, αὐτίκα ῥάβδῳ πλήξασα τοὺς ἀθλίους, τοῖς συφεοῖς  
 συνέκλεισε, χοίρους ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δυστυχῶς γεγονότας· οἱ σὺν μὲν εἶχον κεφαλὰς καὶ φωνὴν τε  
 καὶ τρίχας καὶ, ὅλον εἰπεῖν, σῶμα· νοῦς δὲ στερεὸς ἦν, ὡς τοπρόσθεν. οὕτω κλαίοντες  
 συνεκλείσθησαν· τοῖς δὲ ἡ Κίρκη πρίνης καὶ βαλάνου καὶ κρανέας καρπὸν παρέβαλεν ἐσθίειν,  
 ὅποια καὶ σῦες αὐτόχρομα χαμαικοῖται ἀεὶ ἐσθίουσι. οὕτω καθόλου τὰ τῆς τέχνης οὐχ ἱκανὰ τοὺς  
 405 ὄρους μεταβάλλειν τῆς φύσεως, κἂν τὴν αἴσθησιν κλέπτωσιν. ὁ δ' Εὐρύλοχος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν, ταχέως  
 ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τὸν πικρὸν παρὰ μικρὸν λέξων θάνατον· οὐδ'  
 ἔτι οἶός τε ἦν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ τὰ πολλὰ προθυμούμενος, ἅτε μεγάλῳ τὴν ψυχὴν βεβλημένος ἄλγει·  
 τὼ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ αὐτοῦ δακρύων ἐπίμπλαντο· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ θρηνεῖν μάλιστα προθυμεῖτο· ἀλλ' ὅτε  
 δὴ πάντες ἐρωτῶντες ἐθαύμαζον, τότε δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων κατέλεξε τὸν ὄλεθρον, ὡς ἐγένετο·  
 καὶ οἶαν ὑπεστήσαν πλάνην, οὔτε τῶν πρόσθεν κακῶν ἤττω, οὔτε τῶν μετὰ ταύτην παρὰ μικρὸν.  
 410 οὕτω τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς ἐταίροις παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης· ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τυθόμενος, τὸ ζῖφος τοῖς ὁμοῖς  
 περιβαλλόμενος καὶ τὰ τόξα, ἐκέλευε τὸν Εὐρύλοχον ἡγήσασθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ. ὁ δ' ἀμφοτέραις τῶν  
 γονάτων λαβὼν, ἰκέτευε, μὴ ἂν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ἄκοντα· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ που λιπεῖν· ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ  
 οἷς εἶδεν, ὡς οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐλεύσεται οὗτ' ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐκεῖθεν ἄξει παραγενόμενος. εἶτα  
 παρήνει φεύγειν σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς θάπτον, ἵνα τὸ κακὸν ἡμᾶρ ἐκεῖνο φύγοιεν.  
 415 ὁ δέ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτοῦ μένειν τὸν Εὐρύλοχον κελεύσας παρὰ τῇ νηϊ ἐσθιοντά τε καὶ πίνοντα.  
 αὐτὸς παρὰ τῆς νεῶς τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνήγει, ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆτ' ἔμελλεν ἀνὰ τὰς βήσσας ἰὼν εἰς τὰ  
 τῆς Κίρκης ἀφίξεσθαι δώματα. προμηθεὺς αὐτῷ λογισμὸς ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ συναντᾷ, ἐπειδὴ λόγῳ ἀεὶ  
 καὶ φρονήσει τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διετίθει, ὃς καὶ πῇ ποτε δύστηνε ἔρχη ἐκείνον, ἦρετο,  
 420 μόνος διὰ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμαθὴς ὢν τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ σοὶ γε ἐταῖροι [Fol. 98r] ἐν Κίρκης κατακλείονται  
 ὥσπερ σῦες κευθμῶνας ἔχοντες ὀχυροὺς· ἡ τοὺς λυσόμενος δεῦρο ἔρχη· ἀλλ' οὐ μὲνουν οὐδὲ  
 σὲ νοστήσειν ἐκεῖθεν φημί, μενεῖς δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐνθα οἱ ἄλλοι· οὕτω πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὰ εἰκότα διαπορήσας, σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ τινα ἐξευρίσκει· ἔμελλε δὲ πάντως  
 εὐρήσειν Ὀδυσσεὺς, ὢν πολυμήχανος καὶ πολύτροπος· καὶ δῆτα φάρμακον ἐπιστάμενος

395 αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς Browning 404–5 εἰς δέλεαρ omitted by Browning

370–73 *Od.* 10.156–63 373–415 *Od.* 10.166–250 403 ἐν χρυσῇ φιάλῃ cf. *Il.* 23.243, 253 417–21 *Od.* 10.261–69

- 425 ἀντιπράττειν δεδυνημένον τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς μιαρᾶς, ἐκ γῆς ἀνασπᾶ. φύσις δὲ τῷ *φαρμάκῳ* *ρίζα* μὲν  
*μέλαινα*, *ἄνθος* δὲ *γάλακτι* εἰκότος, ὄνομα δὲ *μῶλυ*. ὅπερ ἀντικρὺ μὲν ἀνασπῶσι, θάνατον ἐκ τῆς  
*ρίζης* ἐπάγει· ἄλλως δὲ τοῦτο σοφισαμένοις οὐδὲν, ὃ δὴ φάρμακον λαβὼν τε καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
κατακρύψας, ἥκιστα καταπτήσσει πρὸς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης τεχνάσματα, ἀλλὰ θαρρούντως ἰέναι πρὸς  
430 αὐτὴν ἐγχειρεῖ τῶν φίλων εἵνεκα· προδιαγράφει δ' ἐφεξῆς πάντα τῷ λογισμῷ, οἷα μὲν ἐκεῖνη, οἷα  
δ' αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτῆς πράξει, καὶ πῶς ταύτη ξυμβὰς ὕστερον ἐκ προνοίας τινός, κακῶς ἔχοντας  
435 τοὺς φίλους εὖ διαθήσει. καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήμονες ἀπελεύσονται, μὴ ὡς τοπρὸσθεν τῶν ἴσων  
πειραθέντες κακῶν. οὕτω προδιασκεψάμενος, ἐγχειρεῖ τῇ ὁδῷ· καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης ἰὼν *δώματα*,  
καίτοι *πολλὰ* κυμαινόμενος, ὅμως *στάς* ἐν ταῖς *θύραις* καὶ καλὸν αὐτῆς ἀκούσας ἁδούσης, *βοᾷ*. ἡ  
δὲ, ὡς ἤκουσε, *ταχέως ἐλθοῦσα*, τὰς *θύρας* ἀνοίγει καὶ ἔνδον *καλεῖ* καὶ *θρόνος* αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ  
445 *θρήνυς ὑπὸ* τῷ *θρόνῳ*· καὶ ὁ *κυκεὼν* ἐσκευάζετο καὶ τὸ *φάρμακον* ἐκινᾶτο καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ  
ἐδίδοτο καὶ ἐπίνετο καὶ ἠλέγετο μηδὲν ἐνεργοῦν, ὥσπερ ἡ κακίστη τῶν γυναικῶν ἦθελεν.  
ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἐπεὶ μὴ θελχθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὖθις ἦν· ἡ δὲ *ράβδῳ* *πλήξασα*,  
εἰς τὸν *συφεδὸν* ἰέναι *μετὰ* τῶν *ἄλλων ἐταίρων* προυτρέπετο, τι δρᾷ· τὸ *ξίφος ἐρύσας* *παρὰ* τοῦ  
*μηροῦ*, κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξώρμησεν, ὥστε κτεῖναι τὴν μιαρὰν προθυμούμενος. ἡ δὲ *μέγα* βοήσασα,  
440 *ἐπέδραμε* καὶ τῶν *γονάτων* *λαβούσα* καὶ ὀδυρομένη· *τίς πόθεν εἶ* τῶν *ἀνδρῶν*, ἔλεγε, *ποῦ* δέ *σοι*  
*πόλις*, τίνες δὲ οἱ *τεκόντες* καὶ *θαῦμα* αὐτὴν εἶχεν, ὅτι τοιάδε *πίων φάρμακα* οὐκ *ἐθέλχθη*, μηδενὸς  
*ἄλλου* γε *ἀνατλάντος*, ὃς ἂν *πίοι*. [Fol. 98v] εἶπε ταῦτα. καὶ πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν τοῦνομα, πρὸς τὸ  
ἄτρεπτον τοῦ νοῦ ἐνιδούσα, Ὀδυσσέα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν *πολύτροπον* ἰσχυρίζετο, ὃν *μαντικός* τις  
λόγος πρὸς αὐτὴν *ἐλεύσεσθαι* ἔφησεν *ἀνιόντα ἐκ Τροίας* σὺν τῇ νηϊ· *εἴτα* θεῖναι μὲν ἐν τῷ *κουλεῷ*  
445 τὸ *ξίφος* ἐκέλευεν, εἰς *εὐνὴν* δὲ αὐτῇ γε ἐλθεῖν, ἵν' *ἀλλήλοις* θαρροῖεν. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, ὅπως  
τοὺς *ἐταίρους* *ἔθηκε* *σύας* καὶ αὐτὸν ἔνδον *ἔχουσα* *δόλῳ* *κελεύει* *μιγῆναι*, ὅπως *γυμνωθέντα* *δειλὸν*  
καὶ ἄνανδρον *θεῖναι* ἀναμνησθεῖς, ἄθελκτος κὰν τῷ *φαρμάκῳ* τοῦ ἔρωτος ἔμενεν, *εἰ μὴ μέγαν ὄρκον*  
*ὁμόσει*, *μηδὲν* αὐτῷ *βουλεύσειν ἄλλο κακὸν*. ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα *ἀπώμυνε* καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐθάρρουν.  
*τεσσάρων* οὖν *ἀμφιπόλων* οὐσῶν κατ' οἶκον τῇ γυναικί, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐκόσμηι τοὺς *θρόνους*, ἄνω μὲν  
*πορφυροῖς*, κάτω δὲ *λιτοῖς ὑφάσμασιν*. ἡ δὲ *ἐτέρα* *πρὸ* τῶν *θρόνων* *ἀργυρᾶς* *τραπέζας* *εὐτρέπιζε*.  
450 *χρυσᾷ* δ' *ἐπ'* αὐταῖς *ἐτίθει* *ἐκπώματα*. *ὑδωρ* δὲ ἡ *τετάρτη* *ἔφερε* καὶ *ἀνέκαιε* *πῦρ*. καὶ *λουτρά*  
*παρασκευασαμένη*, *κατὰ* *κεφαλῆς* *τε* καὶ *ὤμων* ἔλουεν, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλη τὸν *κάματον* τῶν *μελῶν*. εἴτ'  
*ἀλείψασα* καὶ *χλαῖναν* *καλὴν* καὶ *χιτῶνα* *περιβαλοῦσα*, ἦγεν *ἐπὶ* τοῦ *θρόνου*. καὶ *ὑδωρ* ἐκόμιζε  
*νίψασθαι* ἢ *ἀμφίπολος* καὶ *τράπεζαν* *παρετίθει*. καὶ *πολλὰ* *βρώματα* *ἐπέθηκεν* ἢ *ταμῖα* ἐκ τῶν  
455 *παρόντων* *χαριζομένη* καὶ *ἐσθίειν* ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ, οὐκ ἤθελε, τὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων *πραχθέντα* ὡς  
εἰκότος *λογιζόμενος*. ἡ δὲ *Κίρκη* ὡς ἐνόησεν, οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ *μέγα πένθος* ἔχοντα ἐν *ψυχῇ*, *τί* *ποτε*  
*οὕτως* Ὀδυσσεὺς *κάθησαι*, ἦρετο, *παραστᾶσα ἴσα* καὶ *ἀναύδῳ*. ἡ *τίνα* *δόλον* *ἄλλον* *ὑποτοπάζεις*;  
οὕτω δ' εἰπούσα, οὐ *χρή*, *κελεύει*, τοῦ *λοιποῦ* *δεδιέναι*, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ *μέγαν ὤμοσεν ὄρκον*. ὁ δὲ, *τίς*  
ἂν, ἔφη, *δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος* *τροφῆς* καὶ *πόσεως* ἄψαιτο *πρότερον*, *πρὶν* *λύσασθαι* τοὺς *ἐταίρους* καὶ  
460 *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν*; ἡ δ' ὡς ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν αὐτίκα ἐκβᾶσα διὰ τοῦ οἴκου καὶ *ράβδον* *ἐν χειρὶ*  
*ἔχουσα*, τὰς *θύρας* *ἀνέωξε* τοῦ *συφεοῦ*, *ἐξῆλασε* δ' ἐκεῖθεν *εἰκότας* *σιάλους*. εἴθ' οἱ μὲν *ἔστησαν*  
*ἐναντίοι*. ἡ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν *ἐρχομένη* [Fol. 99r] *προσῆλειφεν* *ἐκάστῳ φάρμακον ἄλλο*. ἐξ ὧν αἱ μὲν  
*τρίχες* ἔρρεον τῶν *μελῶν*, ἃς *πρὶν* τὸ *σὺλόμενον* ἐκεῖνο *φάρμακον* ἔφυσεν· *ἄνδρες* δὲ *ταχέως*  
*ἐγένοντο* *νεώτεροι* ἢ *πρότερον ἦσαν* καὶ *πολὺ* δὲ *καλλίονες* καὶ *μείζονες* *εἰσορᾶσθαι*. καὶ *ἔγνωσαν*  
465 τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ταῖς *χερσὶν* ἐνέφυσαν *ἕκαστος*. *πασὶ* δὲ *θρήνος ὑπέδν*, ὡς καὶ τὸ *δῶμα* *μέγα* *τί*  
*μεμυκέναι* καὶ τὴν *Κίρκην* οἶκτον *λαμβάνειν*. καὶ τὸ *πράγμα* οὐκ ἀπῆδεν οὔτε τῶν *πρὶν*  
*δυστυχημάτων* οὔτε τῶν *μετὰ* ταῦτα, οἷς *τε* *περιπέσπον*, καὶ οἷς *περιπεσεῖν* ἔμελλον.  
οὕτω τὴν *Κίρκην* πρὸς τὸ *φιλανθρωπότερον* τοῦ *τροποῦ*. τοὺς δ' ἐταίρους ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως  
εἶδος *μεταβαλὼν* Ὀδυσσεὺς, καὶ ἄλλό τι *προνοίας* ἄξιον *δρᾷ* τῶν ἐν τῇ νηϊ φίλων εἵνεκα· τῆς γὰρ  
Κίρκης ὑπ' *εὐνοίας* αὐτῷ *ἐπὶ* τὴν *ναῦν* ἰέναι εἰπούσης· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔλκειν εἰς τὴν *ἡπειρον*, *κτήματα*

427 *τούτους* ταῦτα Browning 428 *οὔμενον* οὔμενον Browning 435 *εἵνεκα* ἔνεκα Browning 456 *ἀπώμυνε* ἀπομύνει  
Browning 464 ἐν τῇ Browning 465 *ἀναύδῳ* ἀναυδῆς Browning

422–29 *Od.* 10.270–96 431–55 *Od.* 10.302–45, ξίφος...μηροῦ, cf. *Od.* 10.294 457–72 *Od.* 10.348–49, 352–55, 357–  
96

473 δὲ καὶ Browning 479 *εἰς* ἐπὶ Browning 481 *ἄριστον* ἄγοντα ἄριστον. ἄριστον καὶ Browning 481 *τοῦτο* omitted  
by Browning 482 *εὐρεν* εὐρεῖ Browning 484 *ἐναντίοι* ἐναντίον Browning 488 *τοῖς* omittit Browning 508 *στραφεῖσαι*  
στραφῆσαι Browning 513 *προσθεῖς* omitted by Browning 516 *παραγενέσθαι* παραγέσθαι Browning 517 *φρονεῖν* ζῆν  
above the writing

473–522 *Od.* 10.396–503, 506 483 *ἀσπασίως*, cf. *Od.* 4.523, 18.232

- 470 δὲ καὶ ὅπλα πάντα ἐν ἄντροις τιθέναι· εἶτα καὶ αὐτὸν θάπτον ἰέναι τοὺς ἐταίρους ἄγοντα, ἄριστον  
καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο νομίζει καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἄρχειν λαχόντος. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀπιὼν εὗρεν ἐκείνους ἐπὶ  
τὴν ναῦν οἰκτρὸν ὀλοφνύμενους καὶ θαλερόν τι καταχέοντας δάκρυον. οἱ δ' οὕτως ἀσπασίως  
εἶδον αὐτὸν, καὶ οὕτω σὺν δάκρυσι περιεκέχυντο, οἷον ἄγραυλοι μόσχοι περισκαίρουσι ἐναντίοι  
475 τὰς μητέρας ἰδόντες ἐλθούσας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς· ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτω πως εἶναι, ὥς εἰ τὴν πατρίδα  
αὐτὴν, ἐν ἧπερ ἐτράφησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο, ἴδοιεν παραγεγονότες. οἱ δὲ, καίπερ οὕτω θρηνοῦντες,  
ὅμως καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὸν ὄλεθρον καταλέγειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἤξιουν. ὁ δὲ, μαλακῶς μάλα  
τὰ κατὰ τὴν ναῦν εὖ θεῖναι κελεύσας πρότερον· εἶτα, φησὶν, αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα ἴδοιεν τοὺς  
ἐταίρους ἐν τοῖς Κίρκης ἐσθιοντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο, μόνος δ' ἐκώλυνεν ὁ  
480 Εὐρύλοχος· δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀθλίους ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ποῦ ἦκετε λέγων· τίνων δὲ καὶ κακῶν  
ἐπιθυμεῖτε εἰς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης καταβῆναι δώματα· ἢ πάντας ἢ σῶας ἢ λύκους ποιήσεται ἢ λέοντας·  
[Fol. 99v] διὸ καὶ φηλάσσοιμεν ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸν αὐτῆς οἶκον, ὥσπερ ὁ Κύκλωψ εἴρξεν, ὅτε τὸ  
μέσσυλον ἐκείνου κατέλαβον· τούτου γὰρ κάκεῖνοι ταῖς ἀτασθαλίαις ἀπώλοντο· πρὸς γε μὴν ταῦτα  
κατὰ νοῦν εἶχεν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμεῖν Εὐρυλόχῳ, καίπερ ἐν  
485 τοῖς ἔγγιστα συγγενεῖ ὄντι μάλιστα· ἀλλ' οἱ γε ἐταῖροι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος μειλιχίοις λόγοις ἐκώλυνον·  
κάκεινον μὲν ἔάν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῇ νηϊ μένειν, εἰ κέλευει, καὶ τὴν ναῦν φυλάσσειν ἔλεγον· αὐτοὶ δὲ  
τούτῳ ἔπεσθαι ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης δώματα· οὕτως εἰπόντες, παρὰ τῆς νεὸς ἀνήεσαν·  
εἶπετο δὲ καὶ Εὐρύλοχος, δείσας τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῆος τὴν ἀπειλήν.  
ὥς ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐταίρους ἐπιμελῶς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἢ Κίρκη λούσασα καὶ ἐλαίῳ  
490 χρίσασα, οὐλας περιέβαλε χλαῖνας καὶ δὴ καὶ χιτῶνας· οὗς δὴ ἐστιωμένους πάντας ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις  
κατέλαβον· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλους εἶδον καὶ ἐγνώρισαν, ἔκλαιον ὀδυρόμενοι· ἀπανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ δῶμα  
ὑπὸ τῶν θρῆνων ἔστενεν· ἢ δὲ Κίρκη παραστᾶσα τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, μηκέτι θρηνεῖν ἔλεγεν· εἰδέναι γὰρ  
καὶ αὐτὴ, ὅσα φονικοί τινες ἄνδρες αὐτοὺς ἐβλαψαν ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου, βοῦς σφάζοντας καὶ πρόβατα  
καλὰ· ἀλλ' ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, ἕως ἂν αὐθις τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλάβωσιν, οἷον ὅτε τὴν πατρίδα  
κατέλιπον εὐθυμοὶ καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες· οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι νῦν αἰεὶ ἄλλης μεμνημένοι  
495 καὶ ὦν κακῶν ἔπαθον. οὕτω τῇ Κίρκῃ καλῶς εἰπούση πεισθέντες, πάσας ἡμέρας εἰς τελεσφόρον  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάθηντο ἐσθιοντές τε καὶ πίνοντες· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τέλος εἶχεν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τῶν μηνῶν  
φθινόντων αἱ ὥραι ἐτράπησαν κύκλον στραφεῖσαι, τότε δὴ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα οἱ ἐταῖροι ἔξω  
καλέσαντες, μνησθῆναι ἔφασαν τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ γε θεῖον ἐστὶ βούλημα σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς οἶκον  
αὐτὸν καὶ πατρίδα παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα πεισθεὶς, τότε μὲν ὅλον ἡμᾶρ ἐκάθητο μετ' αὐτῶν  
500 ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ δώματα ἐκοιμῶντο. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἐξελιπάρει τὴν Κίρκην τελέσαι αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν οἷαν ὑπέσθη, ὥστ' οἴκαδε αὐτὸν τε πέμψαι καὶ  
τοὺς ἐταίρους προθυμουμένους προσθεῖς, ὥς ὅτε καταμόνας, αὐτῷ ὁμιλοῦσιν, ἀνιῶσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
ψυχὴν ὀδυρόμενοι· ἢ δὲ Κίρκη πρὸς ταῦτα μηκέτι [Fol. 100r], φησὶν, ἄκοντες νῦν ἐνθάδε μένετε ἐν  
τοῖς ἐμοῖς δώμασιν· οὐδ' αὐτὴ γε ἐθέλω. ὅμως ἄλλην χρὴ πρῶτον τελέσαι ὁδὸν καὶ εἰς Ἄδου δόμους  
505 καὶ Περσεφόνης παραγενέσθαι ψυχὴν χρησομένους τοῦ μάντεως Τειρεσίου, ᾧ φρένας εἶναι καὶ μετὰ  
θάνατον λόγος καὶ νοῦν καὶ μόνον τῶν ἐν Ἄδου φρονεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους σκιᾶς τρόπον φέρεσθαι·  
καὶ ἢ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ὁ δ' ὥς εἰς Ἄδην ἀκούσας ἀφίξεται πρὶν ὅλως θανεῖν, τέθηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
δέους ἄντικρυς κατακλασθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ καθήμενος ἔκλαιεν ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ καὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε ζῆν  
οὔθ' ὄρᾱν ἤλιον ἠθέλεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κλαίων καὶ κυλινδόμενος ἐκορέσθη· ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἡγήσαιο πρὸς  
510 τὴν Κίρκην, ἔφη, κατιέναι εἰς Ἄδην, μηδενὸς οὐπω ἰόντος σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ. ἢ δὲ ἰστὸν μὲν, ἔφη,  
στῆσαι καὶ ἰστία πετάσαντα καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ νηϊ. τὴν δὲ Βορρᾶς ἂν φέρῃ μηδενὸς ἡγουμένου· εἶτα,  
καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστα πράξῃ, σαφῶς αὐτῷ παραγγέλλει. παραγγέλλει δ' ὅπως δι' Ὀκεανοῦ  
περαιωθέντα καὶ ἀκτὴν τινα ἐκεῖσε εὐρόντα διεσκαμμένην καὶ ἄλσιν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ μακρὰς αἰγείρους  
καὶ ἰτέας, αὐτοῦ μὲν χρὴ προσορμίσαι τὴν ναῦν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῦ, αὐτόν δ' εἰς Ἄδην ἐλθεῖν, οὐπερ  
515 Ἀχέρων καὶ Πυριφλεγέθων εἰσρέουσι καὶ Κωκυτὸς, ὃς Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐστὶν ἀπορρώξ, οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ πέτρα δύο ποταμοὺς ξυνέχουσα σφοδρὸν ἐξηχοῦντας. οὐ γεγενοτα, χοῆν ἐπιχεῖν πᾶσι νεκροῖς  
καὶ καταδέσθαι ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰθάκην· ἰδίως δ' ἂν μόνῳ τῷ Τειρεσίᾳ θύειν, ὃν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐλθεῖν  
ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ὁδὸν αὐτῷ δεῖξαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ νόστον, ὅπως ἄρα ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον ἐλέυσεται· οὕτως  
ἢ Κίρκη ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα σαφῶς μάλα τεκμηραμένη.  
520 ἐπεὶπερ ἡμέρα ἐφάνη, τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα καὶ αὐθις χλαῖναν τε καὶ χιτῶνα ἐνέδυσσε. ὁ δὲ διὰ τῶν  
δωμάτων ἰὼν, παρώτρυνεν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐταίρων μηκέτι καθεύδειν, ἀλλ' ἰέναι τῆς Κίρκης τοῦτο  
εἰπούσης. οὐκ ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀπήμονας ἄγειν ὁ δυστυχὴς τοὺς ἐταίρους· ἦν δὲ τις  
Ἑλλήνων νεώτατος, οὐτέ τι λῖαν ἰσχυρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις φρεσὶν ἀρμοζόμενος, ὃς δὴ  
ψύχους ἰμειρόμενος ἄνευ τῶν ἐταίρων [Fol. 100v] ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κίρκης ἐκάθευδε δώμασιν



- 525 οἰνοβαρῶν· κινουμένων δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων κατὰ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως κέλευσιν, τὸν δοῦπον ἀκούσας ἐξαπίνης ὁ δῦσμορος ὥρμησε καὶ ἐκλαθόμενος κατιέναι, ἦν καὶ ἀνήει κλίμακα, κατέπεσε τοῦ στεγούς καταντικρὺ· ὁ αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀστραγάλων ἔαγη, ψυχὴ δὲ ἐξῆλθεν, ἴσως τὴν εἰς Ἄδου φέρουσιν δειῖσαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ θέλουσα διαπορευμένη. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι παρὰ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως μαθόντες, ὡς οὐ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἤκουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἄδου, κατεκλάσθησαν τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ τὰς τρίχας
- 530 τίλλοντες, ὥμωζον· ἄνυσιν δ' οὐκ ἦν, οὕτως θρηνοῦσιν· ἕως δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐπορεύοντο κλαίοντες, οἰχομένη ἡ Κίρκη, ἀρνειὸν κατέδησεν ὃν θῆλον, μέλαιναν παρὰ τῇ μελαίνῃ νηϊ, εὐκόλως παρεξελθοῦσα. τίς δ' ἂν τὴν φαρμακουργὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδοι, ἔνθα ἢ ἔνθα παραγενομένην. οὕτως ἐπὶ χρησμῷ κατάγειν παρασκευαζόμενος τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰς Ἄδην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἐπροοιμιάζετο τοῖς ταλαιπώροις, ὅπως ὡς ἀληθῶς μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκ ναυαγίου ἀφίξονται μηδένα νόστον, ὥσπερ νῦν ἡλικιότες.
- 535 **8. Περὶ Ἄδου.** ὁγδόη πλάνη τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἄδην ἤδη στελλόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἔλκει τὴν μὲν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, τοὺς δ' ἐταίρους ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ πάντ' ἐνθέμενοι· καὶ πάνθ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ἡ Κίρκη διαπραζάμενοι, ἔπλεον λυπούμενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες. ἄνεμον δ' αὐτοῖς οὖρον ἔπεμπεν ἡ δεινὴ γυνὴ κατόπισθεν τῆς νεῶς· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ναῦν ὅπλα ἕκαστα
- 540 διαπονησάμενοι, ἐκάθηντο· τὴν δὲ ἄνεμός τε καὶ κυβερνήτης ἴθυνε, ἥς δὴ τῶν ἰστίων τεταμένων πανημερίας ποντοπορούσης· ἐπεὶ νῆξ ἦν, εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πέρατα παρεγένοντο· ἔνθα δῆμος ἀνδρῶν Κιμμερίων καὶ πόλις εἰσὶ, ζόφῳ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ποτε Ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ· οὐθ' ὁπότεν στείχῃ πρὸς οὐρανόν, οὐθ' ὅταν εἰς τοῦπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τράπηται· ἀλλὰ νῆξ ἐπιτείνεται τοῖς ταλαπῶροις ἐκείνοις βροτοῖς· τὴν μὲν οὖν ναῦν ἐκεῖσε ἐλθόντες, προσώρμισαν,
- 545 ἐξεείλοντο δὲ τὰ πρόβατα· αὐτοὶ δὲ [Fol. 101r] παρὰ τὸν ροῦν ἦσαν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, ἕως εἰς τὸν τόπον ἀφίκοντο, ὃν ἔφρασεν ἡ Κίρκη τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ. ἔνθα Περιμήδης μὲν καὶ Εὐρύλοχος κατέσχον τὰ ἱερεῖα· ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τὸ ξίφος λαβὼν, πάνθ' ἐξῆς ἐξειργάσατο, ὁπόσα καὶ τὸν Τειρεσίαν παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης μεμάθηκε γενόμενα θεραπεύειν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐσόμενα. ὢν δὴ γεγονότων, τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα νόστον αὐτῷ προμηνύει,
- 550 ὁποῖος ἔσται πρὸς τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ ταύτης δαίμονος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κύκλωπος ἐκτυφλώσει· χαλεπὸς δὲ πάντως καὶ λίαν ὀδυνηρὸς καὶ ναυαγίων ἔμπλεως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἤξειν πολλὰ παθόντα κακὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, εἴ γε ἄσινεῖς τὰς ἱεράς βοῦς καὶ τὰ μῆλα ἐάσαιεν τὴν Σικελίαν, φασὶ, τῇ Θρινακίᾳ νήσῳ προσορμίσθέντες· εἰ δ' ἀνόσια πράξαιεν, τότε τῇ νηϊ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις ὀλεθρον κείσεσθαι· αὐτόν δ' εἴπερ ἐκφύγοι, τοὺς ἐταίρους μετὰ τῆς νεῶς ὀλέσαντα, πλευσεῖσθαι
- 555 ἐπὶ νεῶς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ συμφοράς ἐν οἴκῳ εὐρεῖν, ἀνδρας δηλονότι ὑπερφιάλους· οἱ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον ἐσθίουσι μνώμενοι τὴν Πηνελόπην καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες· εἶτα καὶ ὡς ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν βίαν ἀποτίσεται ἐλθὼν ἢ δόλῳ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς· οὕτω ταῦθ' ὁ Τειρεσίας τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ τεκμηράμενος, προσεχῶς αὐτῷ παραγγέλλει, ὡς ἐπειδὴν ταῦτα δὴ καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξι, κόπην λαβόντα ἔρχεσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους ἀφίκηται, οἱ οὐκ ἴσασιν θάλασσαν· οὐδ' ἄλσι
- 560 μεμιγμένον βρῶμα ἐσθίουσιν, οὐδὲ ναὺς ἴσασιν ὅλως, οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς. σημεῖον δ' αὐτῷ δίδωσι τοιοῦτους εἶναι τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὁπότε τις ὁδίτης αὐτῷ ζυμβαλὼν, πτύον ἀντὶ κόπης αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀνά τοὺς ὤμους ἐρεῖ, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ μεμνησθαι τὴν κόπην τῇ γῇ πῆξαντα, οἵκαδε ἔρχεσθαι, ἱερεῖα καλὰ θύσαντα· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ θάνατον αὐτῷ ἤξειν ἐκ τῆς ἀλὸς ἐπιλέγει, γῆρα λιπαρῷ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφηρημένῳ. ταῦτα προειπὼν καὶ διδάξας πῶς ἂν καὶ τί πράξας καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα μάθοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἄδου ψυχῶν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ἄδην ὄχετο· ὁ δ' Ὀδυσ[<sup>565</sup>Fol. 101v]σεὺς πράξας ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, καὶ τῶν καθ' αἷμα καὶ συνήθειαν ἄλλως ὄντων αὐτῷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδὼν τε καὶ ἀνερρόμενος, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ, μὴ βραδύνων ἐπὶ πλεον ἐκεῖσε, κακὸν τι πάθη παρὰ τῆς Γοργοῦς, ἥ γὰρ ἂν ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς κεφαλὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄδου ἢ δεινὴ Περσεφόνη· καὶ αὐτίκα ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, ἐφέροντο κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ποταμὸν τῷ τοῦ ρεύματος κύματι,
- 570 πρῶτα μὲν εἰρεσίᾳ, εἶτα καὶ οὖρῳ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς Ἄδου ἰόντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ καὶ αὐθις ἀπιόντα καὶ ἰδεῖν, φασὶ, καὶ μαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ προοίμιον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀφίξεως τοῦτ' ἦν εἰς Ἄδην τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἐταίροις, ἐξῆς ὁ λόγος δηλώσει.

525 πρὸς πρὸς Browning 528 καταδέσθαι καταδεῖσθαι Browning 529 Τειρεσία Τειρεσίῳ Browning 539 ἐξῆλθεν ἦλθεν Browning 545 παραγενομένην παραγενομένην Browning 552 ἥς τῆς Vianès-Abou Samra 560 Τειρεσίαν Τειρησίαν Vianès-Abou Samra 564 εἴ γε εἴτε Vianès-Abou Samra 569 ἀποτίσεται ἀποτίσεται Vianès-Abou Samra 570 Τειρεσίας Τειρησίας Vianès-Abou Samra

523–47 *Od.* 10.507–15, 518, 522, 524, 539–41, 546–74 548–60 *Od.* 11.1–24 561–72 *Od.* 11.100–26

584 Ἄδην ἄδου Vianès-Abou Samra 589 ἔς εἰς Vianès-Abou Samra 590 αὐτοῦ αὐτόν Vianès-Abou Samra 595 τοῦ ἐν Vianès-Abou Samra 608 πῶς περ Vianès-Abou Samra 611 ἦν καὶ Vianès-Abou Samra



- οὕτω τὸ ρεύμα τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καταλιπὼν Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων ἐταίρων καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸν τὴν Αἰαίαν νῆσον· ἔνθα ἡμέρα οἰκεῖ καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀνατολαὶ Ἥλιου παραγενόμενοι, τὴν μὲν  
575 ναῦν ἐκεῖσε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων προσώρμισεν ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ κατακοιμηθεὶς, περιέμενε τὴν ἡμέραν. ὀπνῆκα δ' ἐφάνη, τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐταίρους προίει ἐς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης δώματα τὸν τεθνηκότα Ἑλπήνορα, νεκρὸν οἴσιν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ εἶδωλον ἐκείνου πολλὰ γε τὸν Ὀδυσσεά εἰς ἡμῶν, μὴ λιπεῖν ἄταφον, μὴ δὲ τῆς νενομισμένης ὀσίας τὸν νεκρὸν ὑστερηῆσαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τετέλεστο κομισθέντι, οὐκ οὐδὲ τὴν Κίρκην ἐξ Ἰδοῦ παραγενόμενος ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
580 ἔλαθεν· ἀλλὰ μάλα ταχέως ἐλήλυθεν, αὐτοῦ τευξομένη· ἅμα δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι ἔφερον τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τε καὶ πόσιν, οἰκτισαμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ὅτι ζῶντες ὑπῆλθον τὰ τοῦ Ἰδοῦ δώματα καὶ δισθανάτους εἰποῦσα, ὅτι περ ἅπαζ ἄλλοι θνήσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν πανημερίους προτρέπεται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστιωμένων παρῆλθεν ἡμέρα, καὶ νύξ εἶχεν εἰς ὕπνον τοὺς δυστυχεῖς, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τῆς χειρὸς ἐλοῦσα χωρὶς πού τῶν φίλων ἐταίρων, ἤρτο ἕκαστα· ὁ δὲ  
585 πάντα κατὰ τάξιν εἶπεν αὐτῇ· ἡ δὲ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ δεινὰ περ ὄντα, τετέλεστα· εἴτ' ἀκούειν αὐτὸν κελεύει, [Fol. 102r] ἅπερ ἐρεῖ.  
πρῶτα δ' εὐχεται θεῶ διὰ μνήμης ταῦτ' ἔχειν, αἰεὶ καθιστάμενον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ· εἴτα καὶ καταλέγει ἐξῆς τοὺς κινδύνους, πρὸς οὓς παραβαλέσθαι ἔμελλεν· ἀρχὴν δὲ τὰς θελξίνους αὐτῷ, φράζει, Σειρῆνας, ὅπως πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλγουσιν, ὅστις ἂν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀφίκηται, οὐκ εἰδὼς· οὐ  
590 γὰρ ἀκούσαντα τὸν φθόγγον ἐκείνων, οἴκαδε νοστεῖν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα αὐτῷ παρίστασθαι. λιγυρᾷ δὲ θελγομένον αἰοῖ, ἣν ἀρμόζονται καθήμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι, αὐτοῦ που τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφιέναι· πολὺν δ' ἐντεῦθεν καὶ σωρὸν εἶναι ἐκεῖσε ὁστέων τῶν πυθομένων ἀνδρῶν· τοὺς γὰρ ῥίνους ἠφανίσθαι· εἴτα καὶ τί ἂν πράξας καὶ ὅπως τὸν γλυκὺν ἐκείνων παρεξέλασσειε θάνατον. δευτέρον δ' αὐτῷ γε σημαίνει φρικτὰ τινα καὶ ἀκούσαι πράγματα ἐκδεξόμενα αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν. ἐνθεν  
595 μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πέτρας ἐπηρρεφεῖς Πλακτὰς οὕτω πως κεκλημένας θεόθεν, πρὸς αἷς καὶ μέγα κῶμα ῥοχθεῖν τῆς θαλάσσης· ἔνθα οὐδὲ πτηνὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὴν πτῆσιν, ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ τῶν πετρῶν ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ λεῖον· ἄλλην δ' αὖ ταύταις ἐνηριθμῆσθαι παρεμβληθεῖσαν ἐτέρωθεν, ἣν οὐπω τις ἐξέφυγε ναῦς ἐκεῖ παριοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τε τὰς τῶν νεῶν πίνακας καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν φέρει τὰ κύματα καὶ θύελλαι πυρὸς ὀλεθρίου. μόνην δὲ ταύτην  
600 παραπλεῦσαι τὴν Ἀργῶ ναῦν, διὰ τὸ φίλον εἶναι τὸν Ἰάσονα τῇ προνοίᾳ.  
τῶν μὲν οὖν δύο τουτωνὶ σκοπέλων, τὸν μὲν αὖθις, ἔφη, μέχρις αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν ἔχειν φθάνουσαν καὶ οὐδέ ποτε ἀπολείπεσθαι νεφέλης αὐτὸν, οὐδ' αἰθρίαν ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν κορυφὴν ἔχειν οὔτε ἐν θέρει οὔτε δὲ ἐν ὁπώρα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀναβαίνειν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ καταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐδ' εἰ χεῖρες αὐτῷ εἴκοσι καὶ πόδες εἶεν· πέτρα γὰρ εὐκέναι περιεξεσμένη, μηδεμίαν  
605 ἀντίληπιν παρεχομένη τῇ βάσει· ᾧ δὲ σκοπέλῳ ἐν μέσῳ εἶναι ἄντρον τι σκοτεινὸν πρὸς ζόφον εἰς Ἑρεβος τετραμμένον· ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά παρὶθύνειν, ἔφη, τὴν ναῦν ἔλαττον κακὸν τοῦ μεῖζονος [Fol. 102v] προτιμῶντα· τοσοῦτον δ' ἀφίστασθαι καθ' ὕψος τῆς θαλάττης τὸ ἄντρον, ὥς μὴδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν αὐτοῦ καθικέσθαι τόξου βολὴν. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν λυσσώδη Σκύλλαν οἰκεῖν δεινὸν λελακυῖαν· γίνεσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τὴν φωνήν, ὁπόση νεογιλῆς τινος σκύλακος· αὐτὴν δ' εἶναι  
610 μέγα κακὸν, ἣν οὐκ ἂν τινα γηθῇσι ἰδόντα. ταύτης δ' εἶναι πόδας μὲν δωδέκα πάντας ἀώρους, ἐξ δὲ περιμήκεις τραχήλους καὶ κεφαλὰς δὲ τοσαύτας, ὁδόντας δ' ἂν· ἐκάστην τριστοίχους, πυκνοὺς τε καὶ θαμινοὺς, πλήρεις ὄντας θανάτου· ἣν δὲ καίπερ μέσσην τοῦ κοίλου σπηλαίου καταδεδουκυῖαν, ἔξω δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῦ δεινοῦ βαράθρου προῖσχειν τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἰχθυᾶν περισκοποῦσαν τὸν σκόπελον, δελφῖνας καὶ κύνας καὶ εἴ που μεῖζον ἔλη κῆτος, ἃ θάλασσα βόσκει  
615 μυρία. καὶ οὐδὲ ναύτας ἀλύπως φυγεῖν ποτε αὐτὴν καυχήσασθαι σὺν νηϊ, ἀλλ' ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν φέρειν ἄνδρα τῆς νεῶς ἐξαρπάσασαν. καὶ τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸν ἕνα ἐσημήνατο σκόπελον. τὸν δ' ἕτερον χθαμαλότερον φανῆναι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, πλησίον ἀλλήλων, ὥστε καὶ τοξάσαντα ἐφικέσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ καὶ μέγαν εἶναι ἔρινεον, φύλλοις πολλοῖς τεθηλότα· ὑπὸ δὲ τούτῳ τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναρροιβδεῖν εἴτουν ἐξεμῖν ὕδωρ τὴν Χάρυβδιν· τρεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνιέναι εἴτουν ἀναρροφᾶν, εἰς  
620 τοῦπίσω κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναλαμβάνουσαν· καὶ μὴ δὲ τυχεῖν ἐκεῖσε αὐτῷ εὐχεται, ὅτε ῥοιβδήσειε· μὴ δὲ γὰρ ἂν ῥυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν μάλα τῷ σκοπέλῳ τῆς Σκύλλης πλησιάσαντα, ταχέως ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ναῦν αὐτίκα παρεξελᾶν, ἐπεὶ κρεῖττον εἶναι ἐξ ἐταίρους ἐν νηϊ καταπεπόσθαι ἢ ἅμα πάντας.

- 625 ἄλλ' ὃ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀτυζόμενος, ἤρετο· εἴ πως τὴν μὲν ὀλεθρίαν προφύγοι Χάρυβδιν, τὴν δὲ  
 Σκύλλαν ἀμύνοιτο, ὅτε βλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῖ τοὺς ἐταίρους. ἡ δὲ σχέτλιον προεῖπεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι πρὸς  
 οὕτω κακὸν ἀθάνατον, δεινὸν τε καὶ ἄγριον οὖμενον τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ μαχητὸν, πολεμικῶν ἔργων  
 καὶ πόνων αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ οὐχ ὑπεί[Fol. 103r]κειν ἐθέλει τοῖς κρείττοσιν· ἦν γὰρ βραδύνη, ἔλεγε,  
 630 περὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ὀπλιζόμενος, δέος μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξορμηθεῖσα, τόσους ἄνδρας τόσαις δὴ κεφαλαῖς ἔλθῃται  
 αὐτοῦ που καταλαβοῦσα. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἑλᾶν μάλα σφοδρῶς ἐκέλευε καὶ θεοκλυτεῖν, ὅπως θεία τις  
 αὐτὴν βία ἀποπαύσῃ ἐς ὕστερον ὀρμηθῆναι. ταῦθ' ἡ πανοῦργος ὑποθεμένη καὶ προειποῦσα τῷ  
 Ὀδυσσεῖ· προσεπειποῦσα δ' ὅπως καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς φυλάσσεται βοῦς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι  
 παραγενόμενοι ἐς τὴν Θρινακίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τειρεσίας προτερόν· αὐτῇ μὲν φανείσης ἡμέρας,  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἀφίκετο· ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτα δεινὰ παρεσκευάζετο πλεῖν, τῶν  
 635 μὲν ἀπιόντων οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων πολλὴν ὡς εἰκὸς τιθέμενος τὴν φροντίδα.  
**9. Περὶ Σειρήνων.** ἐνάτην πλάνην τὴν περὶ τὰς Σειρήνας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑφίσταται ταύτην. τῆς γὰρ  
 Κίρκης ἀπαλλαγείς το δεύτερον μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, παρώτρυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν αὐτοὺς τε  
 ἀναβαίνειν καὶ τὰ πρυμνήσια λῦσαι. οἱ δὲ ταχέως εἰσβεβηκότες, ἐκάζιθον ἐπὶ τοῖς ζυγοῖς. οὗρος  
 δὲ ἄνεμος παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης ἐπέμπετο κατόπισθεν τῆς νεῶς, ἀγαθὸς ἐταῖρος. αὐτίκα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 ναῦν διαπονησάμενοι ἐκάθηντο· τὴν δὲ ἄνεμος ὁμοῦ τε καὶ κυβερνήτης ἴθυνε, τότε δὴ λυπούμενος  
 640 ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ὅς' ἀκήκοε παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης δεινὰ, πάντ' αὐτοῖς κοινὰ τίθησιν, ἴν' εἰδότες ἢ  
 θάνοιεν, εἰ τοῦτο βούλοιντο, ἢ φυλαττόμενοι τὸν πικρὸν φύγοιεν θάνατον. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸν τῶν  
 Σειρήνων φθόγγον καὶ τὸν λειμῶνα τὸν ἀνθηρὸν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς φεύγειν ἐκδιηγείται, οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν μόνον προὔτρεψε τὴν αἰοιδὴν ἐκείνων ἀκούειν καὶ τίνι γε τρόπῳ. εἴτα  
 645 προτρέπει δεσμεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐταίρους δεσμῷ τινι ἰσχυρῷ, ὅπως ἀφύκτως αὐτόθι μένῃ· κἄν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα γενόμενος λῦσαι καθικετεύῃ, τότε αὐτοὺς γε μεμνησθαι πλείοσι καὶ ἔτι ἐν δεσμοῖς  
 συμπίεζιν· ἀλλ' ἔως ταῦθ' ἕκαστα τοῖς ἐταῖροις ἔλεγε, τῷ οὗρῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπειγομένη [Fol.  
 103v] ἡ ναῦς, ταχέως ἐζέκετο τὴν νῆσον τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων· αὐτίκα δ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο, γαλήνη  
 δ' ὑπῆρχεν· ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ ἐταῖροι καὶ τὰ ἱστία μερισάμενοι τῆς νεῶς, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ νηϊ  
 650 κατέθεντο· οἱ δὲ ἤρεσσον κατὰ δύναμιν.  
 ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς τροχὸν τινα μέγαν κηροῦ εἰς μικρὰ κατακόψας, ἐπίεξε ταῖς χερσίν· ἐλαίνετο δὲ  
 ταχέως θερμότερον τοῦ Ἥλιου βάλλοντος· ἐξῆς δὲ τοῖς ἐταῖροις πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα ἤλειπεν. οἱ δ'  
 αὐ ἐκείνον ἐν τῇ νηϊ κατέδησαν ὁμοῦ τε χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ὀρθὸν ἐν ἰστοπέδῳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ καθήμενοι,  
 ἤλαυνον· ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσον ἀπῆν, ὅσον βοήσας τις ἀκουσθήσεται. οὐκ ἔλαθε τὰς Σειρήνας ἡ ναῦς,  
 655 ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν κινουμένη· οὐκοῦν καὶ λιγυράν τινα ᾧδὴν ἤδον· καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἀπατηλοῖς τὸν  
 Ὀδυσσεῆα ἐκάλουν ἥκειν εἰς ἐαυτὰς καὶ τὴν ναῦν καταστήσαντα, τὴν σφετέραν ἀκούειν φωνήν.  
 μὴ δὲ γὰρ τινα ἐκεῖ παρελάσαι, ἔλεγον, σὺν νηϊ, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἐκείνων τὴν μελίφθογγον  
 ἀκοῦσαι ᾧδὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ εἰδότα, τερψάμενον πλεῖν· εἴτα καὶ αὐταὶ ἠῶνουν εἰδέναι, ὅσα ἐν  
 Τροίᾳ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Τρῶες δεινὰ πεπόνθασι θεία βουλῇ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἕτερα ἐν τῇ γῇ  
 γίνεταί· οὕτως ἔλεγον, σὺν ᾧδῃ καλῇ θέλγειν πειρώμεναι· ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλων καὶ  
 660 πάντα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλάττω τιθέμενος, ἐνένευε ταῖς ὀφρύσι καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους λῦσαι ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ  
 προσπεσόντες, ἤρεσσον. αὐτίκα δ' ἀναστάντες Περιμήδης τε καὶ Εὐρύλοχος, ἐν πλείοσι δεσμοῖς  
 ἐκείνον συνέδουν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπίεζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνας τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ παρήλασαν καὶ οὐκέτι  
 φθογῆν οὐδ' αἰοιδὴν ἤκουον· ταχέως οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐταῖροι ἀφείλοντο τὸν κηρὸν, ὃν αὐτοῖς  
 665 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὦσιν ἤλειπε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέλυσαν τῶν δεσμῶν· καὶ τῶν μὲν Σειρήνων οὕτως ἀσινεῖς  
 ἀπηλλάττοντο, ἔμελλον δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνακωχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ προσθήκην συμφορᾶς ποιήσιν τοῖς  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δεινοῖς.  
**10. Περὶ Χαρύβδεως καὶ Σκύλλας.** δεκάτη πλάνη μετὰ τὰς Σειρήνας εἶχε τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἐγγὺς  
 [Fol. 104r] γεγονότα κακοῦ πάντας ὀλέσαι ἐταίρους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας ἀπώλεσεν· ὀπνίκα γὰρ  
 οὕτω τὴν νῆσον ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτίκα καπνὸν καὶ μέγα κῦμα ὀρᾷ καὶ δοῦπον ἀκούει· τῶν ἐταίρων δ'  
 670 ἄρα δεισάντων πρὸς ταῦτα, αἱ κῶπαι τῶν χειρῶν ἐξέπιπτον, συμπεσοῦσαι δ' ἀλλήλαις πᾶσαι,  
 κατὰ ῥοῦν ἐβόμβησαν· ἐπεσχέθη δ' αὐτοῦ γε ἡ ναῦς, ἥκιστα ταῖς κῶπαις ἐπειγομένη· ὁ μέντοιγε  
 Ὀδυσσεὺς διὰ τῆς νεῶς ἰὼν, λόγοις ἡπιωτέροις παρώτρυνε τοὺς ἐταίρους ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, φίλους  
 καλῶν καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ πολλῶν τοιούτων οὖμενον ἀπείρους κακῶν εἶναι ὑπομιμνήσκων· μὴ

632 εἴτουν εἴτ' οὖν Vianès-Abou Samra 635 Σκύλλης σκύλλας Vianès-Abou Samra 640 οὐχ οὐδ' Vianès-Abou Samra  
 623-42 Od. 12.89-126 643-47 cf. Od. 12.127-43 649-73 Od. 12.144-94  
 674-77 Od. 12.194-200 678 ἀσινεῖς, cf. Od. 11.110, 12.137 681-719 Od. 12.201-59 685 λόγοις ἡπιωτέροις Gabalas,  
 A11.27.18, Nicephoros Choumnos, Letter 138.13 719-25 Od. 12.260-69

- 675 δὲ γὰρ μεῖζον τοῦτο κακὸν ἐπιέναι, ἢ ὅτε σφὰς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνδροφάγος Κύκλωψ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ  
 συνέστρεφε βιαζόμενος· ἀλλὰ κάκειθεν, ἔλεγε, τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλῇ καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τούτους  
 φυγεῖν, καὶ μεμνήσθαι ὧν δὴ πεπόνθασι καὶ πεπράχασιν· εἶπε ταῦτα καὶ πείθεσθαι κελεύει ὅτι ἂν  
 εἴπῃ πάντας· εἶτα τοὺς μὲν ἐρέττειν μάλα προτρέπει, εἴ γε καὶ Θεὸς δοίῃ τὸν παρόντα ὑπεκφυγεῖν  
 ὄλεθρον· τὸν δὲ κυβερνήτην, τοῦ φανέντος καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος, ἐκτὸς ἀπείργειν τὴν ναῦν· ὁρᾷ  
 680 οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ ταχέως ἐπείθοντο. Σκύλλαν δ' οὐκέτ' εἶπε τὴν ἄπρακτον ἀνίαν, μὴ πως δεῖσαντες  
 οἱ ἐταῖροι τῆς μὲν εἰρεσίας λήξαιαν, ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς νεῶς κρύψειαν ἑαυτοὺς. καὶ τότε δὴ παθὼν τινα  
 λήθην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, τῆς μὲν ὑποθήκης ἐξελάθετο, ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ Κίρκη ὑπέθετο, οὐ γὰρ ὀπλίζεσθαι  
 αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν· ὁ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδὺς καὶ δύο ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δόρατα, εἰς τὰ ἱκρία τῆς νεῶς ἀνέβαινε  
 685 κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν. ἐνθάδε γὰρ αὐτὴν προσεδέχετο πρῶτα φανεῖσθαι τὴν πετραίαν Σκύλλαν, ἣτις  
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐταῖροις τὸ μέγα ἔφερε πῆμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθρήσαι ἠδύνατο· ἔκαμνον δὲ οἱ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ  
 πανταχοῦ τὴν πέτραν περισκοπούμενφ.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν στενωπὸν ἀνέπλεον θρηνοῦντες· ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Σκύλλα, [Fol. 104v]  
 ἐτέρωθεν δὲ τὸ μέγα κακὸν ἡ Χάρυβδις δεινὸν ἀνερροιβόησε θαλάττιον ὕδωρ. καὶ ἦν εἰκάζειν τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα, οἷον ὅτ' ἐξεμέσειε, λέβης πυρὶ πολλῷ βιαζόμενος, οὕτω γὰρ κάκεινῃ κυκλωμένη πᾶσα  
 690 ἐξεκενοῦτο καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σκοπέλοις τὴν ἄχνην ἐξέπτυνεν· ἀλλ' ὅτ' αὐθις εἰς τοῦπίσω  
 χωρήσειεν ὥσπερ ἀναρροφηθὲν, πᾶσα ἔνδον ἐφαίνετο κυκλωμένη, πέτρα δὲ τις περιήχει δεινόν·  
 ὑποκάτω δ' ἐφαίνετο γῇ ψάμμῳ μελαίνῃ. τοὺς δὲ θανάτου δέος ἦρει, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν τέως πρὸς τὴν  
 Χάρυβδιν ἐώρων τὸν ὄλεθρον δεδουκότες· ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἡ Σκύλλα ἐξ ἐταίρους ἐκ τῆς νεῶς εἴλετο  
 695 καὶ ταῦθ' οὓς εἶχε κρείττους ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ χερσὶ καὶ βίᾳ. ὁ δ' ἄμα εἰς τὴν ναῦν τε καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐταίρους σκεψάμενοι εἶδεν ἐκείνους δεινὸν τι θέαμα καὶ ἐλεεινὸν καὶ δακρύων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον·  
 ὕψοῦ γὰρ ἐπαιρομένων ὑπὸ τῆς Σκύλλης, ἄνω πόδες τε καὶ χεῖρες ἐφαίνοντο· ἐφθέγγοντο δὲ  
 καλοῦντες ἐξ ὀνόματος τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ, τό γε ὕστατον, λυπούμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ κατ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, οἷον ὅτε ἀλιεὺς ἐν προβόλῳ κέρας βοῶς προμήκει ράβδῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν  
 700 προίησιν, τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοις ἰχθύσιν εἰς δέλεαρ καταβάλλον βρῶμα, μετολίγον ἀσπαίροντα ἰχθὺν λαβὼν  
 ἔρριπεν ἔξω· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀσπαίροντες ἦροντο πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ  
 ἐν ταῖς θύραις κατήσθιε κράζοντας· οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ, χεῖρας Ὀδυσσεὶ ὠρεγον  
 ἐπαμύναι· ὁ δὲ καὶ οἴκτιστον αὐτῷ κατεφαίνετο πάντων, ὅσα κακῶς πέπονθε τοὺς τῆς θαλάττης  
 πόρους ἐξερευνῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σκύλλαν καὶ Χάρυβδιν οὕτως ἀπῆντα τοῖς δυστυχέσιν·  
 705 ἔμελλε δ' ὅμως οὐ πολλῷ χεῖρω καὶ τὰ μετ' ἐκείνας αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἀεὶ παροῦσι λήθην  
 τῶν φθασάντων ἄγῳσιν.
- 11. Περὶ τῶν Ἥλιου βοῶν.** ἐνδεκάτῃ ταύτην ὑφίσταται πλάνην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πολλῷ τῶν ἄλλων  
 χαλεπῷ πως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὰς πετράς ἐξέφυγε καὶ τὴν δεινὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τὴν Σκύλλαν, εἰς τὴν  
 Σικελικὴν ἀφίκετο νῆσον μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἣτις Θρινακίαν [Fol. 105r] τοπρὶν ὠνομάζετο·  
 710 ἀνέκειτο δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ κτῆμα κάλλιστον, βοῦς τε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείστας καὶ πρόβατα ἐνθάδε ἔτρεφε·  
 τότε δὴ μετὰ τῆς νεῶς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, μυκηθμοῦ βοῶν ἤκουσεν αὐλιζομένων  
 καὶ προβάτων βληγῆν· καὶ δὴ λόγος ἦλθεν εἰς μνήμην αὐτῷ τοῦ μάντεως Τειρεσίου καὶ τῆς δεινῆς  
 Κίρκης, ἡ πολλὰ γε τούτῳ προσέταττε σπουδῇ μάλα φεύγειν τοῦ Ἥλιου τὴν νῆσον· ἐνθάδε γὰρ  
 715 χαλεπώτατον κακὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἔφασκον, ἀλλὰ παρεξελαύνειν τὴν ναῦν, ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ  
 προσεγγίσει· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐνεθυμήθη, οὕτω δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν· ἀλλ' οἱ  
 γε ὡς ἤκουσαν, κατεκλάσθησαν τὴν ψυχὴν. αὐτίκα δ' Εὐρύλοχος πικροτέρῳ καθήσθετο λόγῳ τοῦ  
 Ὀδυσσεῶς, σχέτλιον αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγων καὶ περιττὸν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα  
 ἀκάματον· καὶ ἰθάπα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐκ σιδήρου κατεσκευασμένον, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἐταίρους καμάτῳ καὶ  
 720 ἀγρυπνίῳ δεδασμασμένους, οὐκ εἴα τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι, ἔνθα ἂν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ δόρπον κατασκευάσαντο·  
 διὰ τι γὰρ μάτην ἀνὰ τὴν ναῦν περιπλανᾶσθαι κελεύει πόρρῳ τῆς νήσου γενομένους κατὰ τὸν  
 πόντον· ἐνθ' ἀνεμοὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν γίνονται χαλεποὶ, νηῶν αὐτόχρημα κίνδυνοι· οὐ μὴδ' ἔχοι τις ἂν  
 ὑπεκφυγεῖν τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἦν περ ἐξαπίνης ἔλθῃ ἀνέμου θύελλα, ἢ Νότου ἢ Ζεφύρου, οἱ μάλιστα τὴν  
 ναῦν διαρραίσουσιν θείᾳ μὴνιδι· ταῦθ' οὕτως εἰπὼν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος, νυκτὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν  
 ἐκέλευε πείθεσθαι, δόρπον δὲ παρὰ τῇ νηὶ μένοντας ἐτοιμάσαι· ἡμέρας δ' αὐθις ἀναβάντας, κατὰ  
 725 τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἔφη, ἐπῆρουν δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, οἷα  
 κακὰ τούτοις ὁ δαίμων βουλευέται τότε γινώσκων, ἦ μάλα, ἔφη, Εὐρύλοχε μόνον ὄντα βιάζετε.  
 εἰπὼν δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τέως αὐτοὺς ὀμνύειν προτρέπεται πάντας ἰσχυρόν τινα ὄρκον, ἦν που τινὰ  
 βοῶν ἀγέλην ἢ πῶϋ μέγα προβάτων εὐρωσι, μὴ που τις ἀτασθαλία ἢ βοῦν ἢ πρόβατον ἀποκτείνειν,  
 ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μένωσιν, [Fol. 105v] ἐσθίοντες, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἡ Κίρκη παρέσχετο.

- 730 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὤμοσαν ὡς ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἐπλήρωσαν, τὴν ναῦν ἐν λιμένι ἱστήσαντες πλησίον ὕδατος γλυκεροῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, δόρπον κατεσκευάσαντο. εἴτα φαγόντες τε καὶ πίνοντες, τοὺς φίλους μνησθέντες ἔκλαιον, οὓς ἐκ τῆς νηὸς ἡ Σκύλλα λαβούσα ἔφαγεν· οὕτω δὲ κλαίουσι, γλυκὺς αὐτοῖς ὕπνος ἐπῆλθεν. ὀπηνίκα δὲ τὸ τρίτον τῆς νυκτὸς ἦν καὶ ἤδη τὰ ἄστρα μεταβεβήκει, σφοδρὸς ἄνεμος πνεύσας σὺν λαίλαπι, γῆν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ θάλατταν τοῖς νέφεσι συνεκάλυψε· φανείσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὥρμισαν, εἰς κοῖλον τί σπέος ἐρύσαντες. καὶ τότε ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς δημηγορίαν ἐποίησε, μὴ ἂν ἄψασθαι τῶν βοῶν τοῦ Ἥλιου, μὴ τι πάθωσι· κελεύσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειλὴν ἐπισείσας· οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπεΐθοντο τὰ ὅσα συμβουλευόντι τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ τῶν βοῶν ἀπείχοντο. ὡς δὲ Νότος ἄλλεκτον ἔπνει ὅλον μῆνα καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλου τῶν ἀνέμων ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ Εὐρὸς καὶ Νότος, διέφθαρτο πάντα τὰ τῆς νεῶς βρώματα· κάντεῦθεν ἄλλος ἄλλη πλανώμενος, περὶ τὴν ἄγρην διεπονεῖτο ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἀγρεῦων ἰχθύς, ὄρνιθας τε φίλας, ὃ τι ἂν εἰς χεῖρας ἀφίκοιτο ἐν τοῖς ἀγκίστροις· ἔτειρε δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ λιμὸς τὴν γαστέρα· τότε μέντοι ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μεγίστης ἀνὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀπῆει, ὅπως ἂν εὖζαιτο, εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανείη ὁδὸς ἐκ θείας κινήσεως. καὶ δῆτα ἰόντι διὰ τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν ἐταῖρων πολὺ διεστηκότι καὶ νιψαμένῳ καὶ εὐχομένῳ, γλυκὺς αὐτῷ ἐπικέχυται ὕπνος.
- 745 ὁ δ' Εὐρύλοχος κακῆς ἤρχε βουλῆς, πάντα μὲν θάνατον μισητὸν εἶναι λέγων ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν διὰ λιμοῦ· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐλαύνειν καὶ θύειν τὰς ἄριστας τῶν βοῶν ἐκέλευε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο εἰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἀφίκοιτο· καὶ ναὸν ποιήσειν τῷ ταύτας ἔχοντι δαίμονι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῖναι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ. εἰ δ' ὀργιζόμενος τὴν ναῦν ὀλέσειε τῶν σφετέρων βοῶν εἵνεκα, ἀλλὰ κρεῖττον ἅπαξ χανεῖν ἢ θελε πρὸς τὸ κῦμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολέσαι ἢ κατὰ σμικρὸν στραγγεῦσθαι ἐν ἐρήμῃ νήσῳ· καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐπὶνουν δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι. καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ τῶν ἱεροσυλῶν ἐπράττετο [Fol. 106r] καὶ τῶν ἐπιόρκων· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντ' ἔπραξε ὅποσα δὴ καὶ νενόμισται τοῖς θύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ κατατέμνοντες τοῖς ὀβελοῖς περιέπειρον, τότε καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ ὕπνου ἀπολυθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐπορεύετο. ἐγγὺς δὲ ὦν, τῆς κνίσσης αἰσθάνεται· καὶ δεινὸν τι καὶ βῦθιον ἐποιμώζει, ἅτ' ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ βλάβῃ κατακοιμηθεὶς, οἱ δ' ἐταῖροι μέγα ἔργον ἐβούλευσαν μένοντες καθ' αὐτοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κατήλθεν, ἔσκαπτε μὲν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον, μηχανὴν δ' οὐχ
- 755 εὐρεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἤδη τεθνηκυῖων τῶν βοῶν· αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ τέρατα προφαίνεται τοῖς ἀθλίοις, ὅσον ἄρα κακὸν ἐπιόρκος ὄρκος καὶ ἱεροσυλία δύναται δρᾶν· εἶρπον μὲν ῥίνοι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων βοῶν, κρέατα δ' ἐν ὀβελοῖς ἐμεμύκει, ὅσα τε ὅπτα ἦν καὶ ὥμα, ὡσαύτως καὶ φωνὴ τούτων ἐγίνετο· ὅτι μὴ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τι γινόμενον, οὐχὶ φωνὴν αὐτίκα ἀφήσι καὶ τοῦ τολμήσαντος καταμαρτυρεῖ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐταῖροι τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς, καίπερ τῶν περάτων τὴν σφετέραν ἐλεγχόντων παρανομίαν, ἐξῆμαρ εἰσιτῶντο τὰς ἀρίστας βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες τε καὶ θύοντες· ἐλάνθανον δὲ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτείνοντες ἢ τρέφοντες, καὶ σμικρὰς ἡδονῆς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὠνούμενοι, ἐξ ὧν πανώλεθρίαν ἐφεξῆς ὑπέστησαν.
- 12. Περὶ τοῦ λαίλαπος.** δωδεκάτην ταύτην ὑφίσταται πλάνην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, πάσας νικῶσαν τὰς ἄλλας τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο σὺν λαίλαπι ὠρμημένος· αὐτοὶ δὲ ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀναβάντες, τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐνέβαλον· καὶ τὸν ἱστὸν ἀναστήσαντες, τὰ ἱστία ἐπέτασαν. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀπέλιπον οὐδ' ἄλλη τις ἐφαίνετο γῆ, ἀλλ' οὐρανός τε καὶ θάλαττα, τότε δὴ μέλαινά τις νεφέλη ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὲρ τῆς νηὸς ἔστη, ἀχλυώδης δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο. ἡ δὲ ναῦς οὐ μάλα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἔθει χρόνον· ταχέως γὰρ ἦλθε ζέφυρος σὺν μεγάλῃ λαίλαπι κεκληγὼς μεθ' ὀρμῆς μάλα ἀσχύτου. ἱστοῦ δ' ἔρρηξεν [Fol. 106v] ἀμφοτέρους προτόνους ἢ θύελλα, τὸν δὲ ἱστὸν ὀπίσω κατέβαλε, τὰ δ' ὅπλα πάντα εἰς τὴν ἀντλίαν κατεκέχυντο· ὁ δὲ ἄρα ἐν νηϊ πρυμνῇ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπληξε τοῦ κυβερνήτου, συνήρραξε δ' ὁμοῦ πάντα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὀστέα· ὁ δὲ κολυμβητῇ εἰοικὼς κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων καὶ πρὸς τῇ νηϊ ἀφῆκε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀήρ δ' ἄνωθεν βροντήσας κεραυνὸν ἐνέβαλε τῇ νηϊ· ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς συστραφεῖσα πᾶσα, θείου ἐπίμπατο· ἐξέπεσον δὲ τῆς νηὸς οἱ ἐταῖροι. καὶ οἷόν τινες κορῶναι περὶ τὴν ναῦν τοῖς κύμασιν ἐνεφέροντο, θεὸς δ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρεῖτο τὸν νόστον.
- 775 ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀμηχανία ληφθεὶς, διὰ τῆς νηὸς ἐφοῖτα, ἕως ὃ κλύδων ἐξέλυσε τοὺς τοίχους τῆς τρόπεως· τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν ἔφερε τὸ κῦμα, ὅποι βούλοιτο· ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τὸν ἱστὸν ἥρραξε πρὸς τὴν τρόπιν· ἄμφω δὲ ὁμοῦ συνέδει τὴν τρόπιν καὶ τὸν ἱστὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπιτόνῳ τινὶ λώρῳ αὐτοῦ που κειμένῳ, ὃς ἐκ ῥινοῦ βοδὸς ἐπεποιήτο· ἐφ' οἷς καθεζόμενος, ὀλεθρίοις ἀνέμοις ἐφέρετο. ἔνθα ζέφυρος μὲν ἐπαύσατο σὺν λαίλαπι ὠρμημένος, ἐπῆλθε δὲ Νότος ἄλγη, φέρων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅπως καὶ ἔτι τὴν ὀλεθρίαν ἀναμετρήσειε Χάρυβδιν. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν, κατὰ τὴν σφετέραν φύσιν

- ὥσπερ ὀλίγω πρότερον, ἀνερροίβδησεν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ θαλάττιον ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ γε ὕψοῦ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἐπαρθεὶς ἐρίνεον, ὥσπερ τις νυκτερὶς ἐκείνῳ προσφύς, εἶχετο· οὐδὲ πη εἶχεν οὔτε στηρίζαι τοὺς πόδας οὔτ' ἐπιβῆναι· μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ ρίζαι, ἀπηώρηντο δὲ γε οἱ ὄζοι μακροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι
- 785 τὴν Χάρυβδιν κατασκιάζοντες. ὁ δὲ διόλου εἶχετο τούτων, ἕως ἐξεμέσειεν αὐθις ὀπίσω τὸν ἱστὸν καὶ τὴν τρόπιν. οὕτω δ' ἐλπίζοντι ἦλθεν, ὅψε ταῦτα δῆπου τὰ ξύλα φανέντα ἐκ τῆς Χαρύβδεως, ἥνικα τις ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνέστη ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔριδας κρίνων νέων δικαζομένων πολλὰς. αὐτίκα δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπεράνω φέρεσθαι, ἐδούπησε δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων παρὲξ ἐναλαμένος, ἐφ' οἷς καθε[Fol. 107r]ζόμενος ἤρεσσε ταῖς χερσὶ. τὴν μέντοι Σκύλλαν
- 790 παρῆλθεν οὐκ ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν θειοτέρᾳ πάντως προνοίᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε τὸν χαλεπὸν ὀλεθρον. ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν ἐννῆμαρ ἐφέρετο τῷ πελάγει, μόλις δ' ἀπαλλαγείς τοῦ κινδύνου πρὸς ἄλλον κίνδυνον ἐτοιμάζεται.
- 13. Περὶ Καλυψοῦς.** τρισκαιδεκάτην ταύτην ὑφίσταται πλάνην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς. γυμνὸς ἐκ ναυαγίου περισωθεὶς· τῇ γὰρ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν Ψωγίαν ἀπονηξάμενος νῆσον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῇ Καλυψοῖ
- 795 συνοικίζεται καὶ παρὰ ταυτῇ χρονοτριβεῖ· δεινὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ γυνή καὶ ἄλλως εὐπλόκαμος οὔσα καὶ μουσικῇ, ἔρωτας ἀνάψαι καταμαρανθέντας τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτῇ πείσαι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ὅμως οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κίρκην κακοτεχνίας ἐλείπετο, μὴ καταγοητεῦσαι καὶ παρατρέψαι τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεῖναι ἀφύκτους, ὃ βούλοιο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς τρόπεως ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπιβαίνων μόλις, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐξερρίφη καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου,
- 800 ἀναλαμβάνει τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ Καλυψὼ γυμνὸν καὶ ἀλήτην καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν περικείμενον συμφορῶν· ἐνδύει τε αὐτὸν καὶ τρέφει καὶ εἰσοικίζεται καὶ δαψιλῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται εἰς ὄγδοον ἔτος, ἅτε καὶ γνήσιον ὁμευνέτην καὶ πάντα ὥς ᾤετο παρ' αὐτῇ τὸν βίον διατελέσοντα· ὁ δὲ, καίπερ οὕτω τοσαύτης κομιδῆς ἀπολελαυκῶς ἐν τύχῃ πονηροτάτῃ, νύκτας μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν αὐτοῖς διηγρύπνει τοῖς ἄντροις, οὐκ ἐθέλων παρ' ἐθελούσῃ· τὰς δ' αὖ ἡμέρας ἐν πέτραις καθίζων καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς, ἐπὶ
- 805 τὸν πόντον ἐώρα δάκρυα λείβων καὶ στενάζων μάλα πικρῶς. οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς νύμφης, ὥστ' ἐκκληῆσθαι καθάπαξ σωφροσύνης καὶ γυναικὸς· πᾶν γὰρ εἴλετ' ἂν ὁ τοσοῦτος ἥρως παθεῖν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι δοῦναι κατηγορήματι ποιήσει, ἀλλ' ἔμελεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις συνισχημένῳ, δικαιοσύνης τε [Fol. 107v] καὶ ἀγνείας εἵπερ τι· καὶ δήποτε παριούσα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡ γυνή, εὔρεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς καθήμενον, συχνῶς ἀνακλαιόμενον τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ δακρύων πλήρεις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα· καὶ αἰσθάνεται ἐρώσα τοῦ μὴ ἐρῶντος καὶ τὸν ἀποστέργοντα στέργουσα, ταῦτα δ' ἀσύμβατ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολὺ γ' ἐναντία πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀκολάστους, αἷς τὸ θέλειν μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ἢ τὸ βιάζεσθαι· οὐκοῦν καὶ σώφρονας ἢ μοιχαλὶς καὶ δικαίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ παραστᾶσα τῷ λυπούμένῳ, μηκέτι αὐτὸν αὐτόθι
- 810 κελεύει ὁδύρεσθαι, μὴ δὲ τὸν βίον ἐξαναλίσκειν, ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν ὑπισχνεῖται ἐκοῦσα· εἴτα καὶ μακρὰ τέμνειν ξύλα προτρέπει καὶ σχεδίαν πλατεῖαν ἀρμόζεσθαι· πηγνύναι τε ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς ὕψος ἱκρία, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτὸν φέροι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. αὐτὴ δὲ σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ οἶνον ἐνθεῖναι, φησί, λιμοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ ἱμάτια ἐνδύσαι καὶ οὔρον ἄνεμον πέμψαι.
- πρὸς ταῦτα δεῖσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἄλλο, φησί, βουλευεῖν αὐτὴν εἵπερ ἐθέλει, πομπὴν δὲ οὐδὲν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐπὶ σχεδίας περᾶν μέγα κῦμα θαλάττης, ὃ μὴ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐστὶ περᾶν μάλα ταχεῖαις οὐρῷ
- 820 ἀγαλλομέναις· κᾶν εἰ μὴ μέγαν ὄρκον αὐτῷ γε ὁμοσειεν, οὐδὲ σχεδίας ἐπιβῆναι τῇ ταύτης ἀπαγορεύει βουλῇ· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ κακὸν αὐτῷ ἄλλο βουλευσειεν. ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν χειρὶ καταψήσασα μετὰ μειδιάματος, ἀλιτρὸν εἶναι, φησί, καίπερ ὄντα πεπαιδευμένον, ὅτι τοιοῦτον εἶρηκε μῦθον. εἴτα γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ὁμνύει, μηδὲν κακὸν αὐτῷ ἄλλο βουλευσειεν. ἀλλ'
- 825 ὅσα καὶ αὐτὴν χρειὰς καταλαβούσης· καὶ γὰρ, ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὴ γε αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχειν ἥκιστα σιδηρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐλεήμονα. οὕτως εἰποῦσα, ἡγεῖτο ταχέως· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἔχνος αὐτῆς ἔβαινε καὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἄμφω, παρετίθει δ' αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τροφήν, ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν· αὐτὴ δ' ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκάθιζεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς εἶχον τροφῆς τε καὶ πόσεως, κωλύειν ἐθέλουσα τὴν πομπὴν, προλέγει ἃ πείσεται· [Fol. 108r] καίπερ ὢν πολυμήχανος Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ ὥς, εἰ εἰδείη ταῦτα ὅσα μοῖρα παθεῖν ἐστὶ τούτῳ, πρὶν τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν, οὐκ ἂν νῦν ἐθέλειν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖσε ἰέναι, ἀλλ'
- 830 αὐτοῦ γε σὺν αὐτῇ μένειν καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς δῶμα φυλάσσειν, γενέσθαι τε ἀθάνατον, κᾶν ἰμείρηται ἰδεῖν

786 πρὸς σὺν above the line 788 scholia πῦρ 791 ἐξ αὐτῆς corrected from ἐξ αὐτοῦ 796 scholia ἀναρροίβησις καὶ ἀνάβρωξις δύο πάθη κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν γινόμενα. τὸ μὲν, σὺν ρίζῳ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἕξω κινεῖν τὴν θάλατταν· τὸ δὲ, τοῦναντίον.

778–805 *Od.* 12.399–447 808–10 *Od.* 12.447–48 813–15 cf. *Od.* 7.252–57, 5.135–37 815–16 δαψιλῶς μάλα Gabalas A9.305–6 818–24 cf. *Od.* 5.151–58 827 cf. *Od.* 5. 138–44

τὴν σφετέραν ἄλοχον, ἧς αἰεὶ πάσας ἡμέρας ἐπιθυμεῖ. εἴτα καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης οὐ χείρων οὐδ' αὐτὴ γε εἶναι καυχᾶται, οὔτε δέμας οὔτε φυὴν.

- 835 ὁ δέ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰδέναι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα, ἔφη, εἵνεκα πολὺ ταύτης ἡττάται τότε εἶδος καὶ μέγεθος ἢ καλλίστη τῶν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπεια, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐθέλειν καὶ ἐπιθυμῆναι πάσας ἡμέρας ἐλθεῖν οἴκαδε καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόστου ἡμέραν ἰδεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ναυαγήσειεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πονηρᾷ τινὶ τύχῃ, ὑποστήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δεινόν, ὥσπερ ἤδη μάλα πολλὰ πέπονθεν ἐν τε κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ. εἶπε ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ νύξ ἦν, εἰς ὕπνον τραπέντες· ἡμέρας φανείσης, ἀνεστήσαν. σκεψαμένη δὲ ἡ γυνή, πῶς ἂν Ὀδυσσεὶ γένοιτο ἢ πομπή, πέλεκυν αὐτῷ δίδωσι μέγαν καὶ σκέπαρνον· ἦρχε δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς γε τῆς νήσου· ἐνθα δένδρα μακρὰ ἐπεφύκει κλείθρη
- 840 καὶ αἰγείρος καὶ ἐλάτη οὐρανομήκης πάλοι τῷ πυρὶ φλογισθέντα, ὅπως ἐλαφρῶς πλέοιεν. δεῖξασα δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ἡ μὲν ἔβη ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα· ὁ δὲ τὰ ξύλα ταχέως ἔκοψε καὶ ἐπελέκυσσε καὶ ἀποξέσας ἐπισταμένως, ἴθυνεν ἐπὶ στάθμην καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπλήρωσεν, ὅποσα προσήκε σχεδία μέγα πλευσομένη πέλαγος· εἴτα καὶ μοχλοῖς εἵρυσεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. τετάρτον ἡμαρ ἦν καὶ πάντα τετέλεστο· τῷ δ' ἄρα πέμπτῳ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἡ Καλυψὼ βουλομένη ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, ἱμάτια ἐπενδύει
- 845 εὐώδη καὶ λούει καὶ πάντα τῇ σχεδία ἐντίθησι βρώματα τε καὶ ποτά, εἰ κἂν τῷ τέλει ἀηδῶς αὐτῶν ἔμελλεν ἀπολαύσειν, τοσαύτης πειραθείς μήνιδος θεηλάτου, ὁπόσῃν δεινὸν μὲν παθεῖν· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ διηγῆσασθαι.

- 14. Περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου λαΐλαπος.** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην πλάνην ὑφίσταται Ὀδυσσεὺς παρὰ [Fol. 108v] τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἐκπεμπόμενος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάντα καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἢ γυνὴ διέθηκε, γηθόσυνος ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπέτασε τὰ ἰστία· συνεπελαμβάνετο γὰρ τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ οὖρος ἄνεμος ὑπ' ἐκείνης, ἀρρήτως κεκινημένος. οὐκοῦν ἀγρύπνως ἴθυνε τὸ πηδάλιον, ὁρῶν τὴν Πλειάδα καὶ τὸν ὀψὲ δύνοντα Βούτην καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν Ἄρκτον, ἣν ἄμαζαν καλοῦσιν, ἥτις αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τὸν Ὠρίωνα ὀρᾷ, μόνῃ πάντων ἀστέρων οὔμενον καταδύουσα. ταύτην γὰρ ἡ Καλυψὼ ἐπ' ἀρίστα χειρὸς ἔχοντα ἐκέλευσε πλεῖν. ἐπτακαίδεκα μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἔπλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, τῇ δέ γε ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τὰ τῶν Φαιάκων ὄρη ἐφαίνετο, οἷος ἂν ῥίνος ἐν τῷ πόντῳ φανεῖη. ἐνθα καὶ ταχεῖα ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ἔκβασις, ἀλλ' ἄνεμοι ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας Νότος καὶ Εὖρος καὶ δὴ καὶ Ζέφυρος καὶ Βορρᾶς πάντες ὁμοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες Θεοῦ κινήσαντος συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις· καὶ παντοίας πνοᾶς συγκινήσαντες, γῆν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ θάλασσαν συνεκάλυψαν· νύξ δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ ἐγένετο. καὶ τότε τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξελύετο· καὶ ὦ μοι, ἔλεγε, καὶ ἄθλιον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ δύσμορον καὶ δέος εἶχεν αὐτὸν, μὴ ἀληθῆ πάντα εἴποι πρόσθεν ἡ Καλυψὼ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑώρα τελούμενα κατὰ τὸ παρὸν· καὶ αὐθις σχετλιάζων, σῶς αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἔλεγε· καὶ τρισμάκαρας τοὺς Δαναοὺς καὶ τετράκις ἐκάλει, οἳ τότε κατὰ τὴν Τροίαν ὤλοντο. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ θανεῖν ἠΰχετο ἐν ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτε πλεῖστοι Τρῶες ἀφῆκαν κατ' αὐτοῦ δόρατα διὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα θανόντα. τάχα γὰρ, ἔλεγε, λαχεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τελουμένων, καὶ κλέος ἄγειν αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὕστερον· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν ἀλῶναι θανάτῳ πικρῷ, ὃν εἴμαρτο· οὕτως εἰπόντα, μέγα κῦμα σφοδρῶς ὠρμημένον, κατ' ἄκρας ἤλασε, συνέστρεψε δὲ τὴν σχεδίαν· ὁ δὲ μακρὰν τῆς σχεδίας ἔπεσε· τὸ δὲ πηδάλιον προῆκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν· θύελλα δ' ἐλθοῦσα δεινὴ σὺν ἀνέμοις, μέσον κατέαξε [Fol. 109r] τὸν ἰστὸν· τὸ δὲ κεράτιον μετὰ τῆς ὀθόνης, πόρρῳ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐξέπεσε. τὸν δὲ ὑποβρύχιον πολὺν ἔθηκε χρόνον, οὐδ' ἐδύνατο ταχέως ἀνασχεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς τοῦ μεγάλου κυμάτος· ἐβάρυνε γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια, ἅπερ ἡ Καλυψὼ δέδωκεν· ὀψὲ δ' ἀναδύς, τὴν ἄλμην ἐξέπτυσεν, ἡ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκελάρυζεν. ἀλλ' οὐδ', οὕτω τειρόμενος, ἐπελάθετο τῆς σχεδίας, ἀλλὰ μεθορμηθεὶς ἐν κύμασιν ἐλάβετο ταύτης, ἐν μέσῃ δ' ἐκάθιζε τὸν πικρὸν φεύγων θάνατον τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ τὸ μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥοῦν ἔφερεν ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα· ὥς νῦν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Νότου τῷ Βορρᾷ προτείνεσθαι φέρειν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ παρὰ τοῦ Εὖρου τῷ Ζεφύρῳ διώκειν. καὶ ταυτὸν πάσχειν ἄντικρυς, οἷον ταῖς ἀκάνθαις συμβαίνει διωκομέναις ἐν Βορρᾷ γε ὁπωρινῷ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον, αἱ δὲ πυκναὶ σὺν ἀλλήλαις ἔχονται.
- 865 αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὕστερον· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν ἀλῶναι θανάτῳ πικρῷ, ὃν εἴμαρτο· οὕτως εἰπόντα, μέγα κῦμα σφοδρῶς ὠρμημένον, κατ' ἄκρας ἤλασε, συνέστρεψε δὲ τὴν σχεδίαν· ὁ δὲ μακρὰν τῆς σχεδίας ἔπεσε· τὸ δὲ πηδάλιον προῆκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν· θύελλα δ' ἐλθοῦσα δεινὴ σὺν ἀνέμοις, μέσον κατέαξε [Fol. 109r] τὸν ἰστὸν· τὸ δὲ κεράτιον μετὰ τῆς ὀθόνης, πόρρῳ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐξέπεσε. τὸν δὲ ὑποβρύχιον πολὺν ἔθηκε χρόνον, οὐδ' ἐδύνατο ταχέως ἀνασχεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς τοῦ μεγάλου κυμάτος· ἐβάρυνε γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια, ἅπερ ἡ Καλυψὼ δέδωκεν· ὀψὲ δ' ἀναδύς, τὴν ἄλμην ἐξέπτυσεν, ἡ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκελάρυζεν. ἀλλ' οὐδ', οὕτω τειρόμενος, ἐπελάθετο τῆς σχεδίας, ἀλλὰ μεθορμηθεὶς ἐν κύμασιν ἐλάβετο ταύτης, ἐν μέσῃ δ' ἐκάθιζε τὸν πικρὸν φεύγων θάνατον τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ τὸ μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥοῦν ἔφερεν ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα· ὥς νῦν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Νότου τῷ Βορρᾷ προτείνεσθαι φέρειν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ παρὰ τοῦ Εὖρου τῷ Ζεφύρῳ διώκειν. καὶ ταυτὸν πάσχειν ἄντικρυς, οἷον ταῖς ἀκάνθαις συμβαίνει διωκομέναις ἐν Βορρᾷ γε ὁπωρινῷ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον, αἱ δὲ πυκναὶ σὺν ἀλλήλαις ἔχονται.
- 870 ὁ τοίνυν Ὀδυσσεὺς οὕτως ἀλῶμενος σὺν ἄλγεσι χαλεποῖς, ἱμάτια μὲν ἀποδύνας διενοεῖτο καὶ τὴν σχεδίαν καταλιπεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς κρήδεμνον τανύσας ὑπὸ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὥσπερ ἐρέσσων τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων γῆν ἐκζητεῖν· ἐνθα μοῖρα τις ἦν αὐτῷ πάντα φυγεῖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ νόστου τυχεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐθις ἐτέρῳ λογισμῷ ἐξεκρούετο καὶ ἄριστον αὐτῷ γε ἐδόκει, ἕως μὲν ἂν κατὰ χώραν αἱ ἁρμονίαι τῆς ὑλῆς ἔχωσιν, εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ μένειν καὶ καρτερεῖν τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ κῦμα τὴν σχεδίαν τινάζῃ, νήχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάρεστι προνοῆσαι ἄμεινον·
- 875 880

- 885 ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὖν ὁμῶς ταῦτα διελογίζετο, μέγα κῶμα ὑποῦ κυρτωθὲν δεινὸν ἰδεῖν καὶ παγγάλεπον· αὐτὸν μὲν ἔτυψε, τὴν δὲ σχεδίαν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον διεσκέδασεν ἢ ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς ἐκτινάζας ἀχύρων θημωνιάν.
- 890 ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ κέλλητα ἵππον ἐλαύνων, ἐφ' ἐνὶ ξύλῳ ἔβαινε· ἱμάτια δ' ἀποδύς καὶ χεῖρας πετάσας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πέπτωκε προθυμούμενος νήχεσθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γε ἄνεμοι κατευνάζοντο θεῖα βουλῇ, μόνος δ' ὁ Βορρᾶς ἥρεμος ἔπνει πάντα πρὸ αὐτοῦ συντρίβων τὰ κύματα· ἔπνει δὲ, [Fol. 109v] μέχρις ἂν Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τῶν Φαιάκων γένοιτο· ἔνθα δύο νύκτας καὶ ἡμέρας μεγάλῳ πλανώμενος κύματι, κατὰ νοῦν ἐώρα τὸν σφέτερον ὄλεθρον, ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ τρίτῃ τετέλεστο, ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο, γαλήνῃ δ' ὑπῆρχεν· ὁ δὲ σχεδὸν εἰσίδε τὴν γῆν ὅζῳ μάλα προῖδὼν, ὑπὸ μεγάλου κύματος ἐπαρθεῖς· εἶδε μέντοι τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἂν παῖδες ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης ἀπειλούσης θάνατον εἰς ὑγείαν μεταβαλόντα τὸν σφέτερον πατέρα ἴδοιεν, νηχόμενος δ' ἡπείγετο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι· ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἐγγὺς ἦν, ὅσον βοήσας τις ἀκουσθήσεται, δοῦπον πρὸς ταῖς σπιλάσιν ἤκουσε τῆς
- 895 θαλάσσης· μέγα δὲ κῶμα πρὸς τὴν ξηρὰν ἤχει, δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίνειον ἦν οὐδέ τις κατάδυσις ταῖς ναυσὶν, ἀλλ' ἄκται προβλήτες καὶ σπιλάδες καὶ πάγοι καὶ ἀκτὴ βαθεῖα.
- 900 ἔνθα μὴ ἔχων ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ σῆναι ἢ ἐξιέναι, ἐξελύετο τὰ γόνата μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· ὑπείδετο γὰρ μὴ πως ἢ κῶμα τοῦτον ἀρπάσαν προσαρράξῃ ταῖς πέτραις, ἢ θύελλα ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον αὐθις ἐκφέρῃ ἢ καὶ κῆτος αὐτῷ ἐπιχάνῃ θαλάττιον· ἀλλὰ δις αὐθις μέγα κῶμα ὀρμήσαν, νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔφερε μικροῦ τὸ δέρμα ἀποδρυφθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὀστά συντριβῆναι κινδυνεύοντα, εἰ μὴ τῆς πέτρας ἐλάβετο· νῦν δὲ αὐθις ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον βιαίως ἐξέσπασεν, οἷόν τινα πολὺπουν πολὺ τοῦ δέρματος ταῖς πέτραις καταλιπόντα· ἔνθα τῷ μεγάλῳ καλυφθεὶς κύματι, μικροῦ ἂν παρ' εἰμαρμένην ὦλετο, εἰ μὴ ἀναδύς· βραχὺ τι παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξενήχετο· καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐώρα, εἴ που ἐ[υ]φύροι λιμένα τινὰ παραπλήγα· κατὰ στόμα δ' ἐλθὼν τοῦ καλλιρόου ποταμοῦ, χῶρον ὀρᾷ
- 905 λειὸν πετρῶν καὶ ἀνέμοις ἀπρόσιτον· γνοὺς δὲ προρρέοντα, ἠῤῥατο κατασχεθῆναι τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ γαλήνῃν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι· ὁ δὲ τὰ γόνата κατεκάλυψε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας· καταπεπόνητο γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τὸν χροῦν εἶχε διωδηκότα, θάλασσα δ' ἀνά τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας ἐξεχεῖτο πολλή· ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀνέπνευσε, βραχὺ διαστάς, ὑπὸ σχοίνῳ τινὶ κατεκλίθη καὶ τὴν φίλῃν ἡσπάσατο γῆν.
- 910 δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ ποτε τὴν [Fol. 110r] νύκτα ὅλην ἐν ποταμῷ φυλάξαντα, στοιβή κακὴ καὶ δρόσος δαμάσῃ, ἢ εἰς ἐξοχὴν ἀναβάς, ὑπὸ θηρῶν κατασπαραχθῇ· τὸ δεῦτερον δρᾷ τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἐλόμενος καὶ δῆτα παρεξιών, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλῃν ἀφίχθαι, ἐτέραν ὕλῃν εὕρισκει πλησίον αὐτοῦ· καὶ χύσιν ὑποδὺς φύλλων οὕτω κειμένην πολλήν, ἔκειτο κεκαλυμμένος, οἷόν τις δαλὸς σποδιᾷ κρυπτόμενος· ὕπνου μὲν διόλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπολαύων· ἡμέρας δὲ μέλλων πρὸς ἐτέραν πλάνην ἀνίστασθαι, ἥτις αὐτῷ λήξιν τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν ἔμελλεν οἴσειν.
- 915 **15. Περὶ Φαιάκων.** Πεντεκαδεκάτην πλάνην καὶ τελευταίαν πλανᾶται ταύτην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἥτις ἡδίων μὲν ἦν καὶ πᾶσαν πονηρὰν ἐλπίδα νικῶσα, ἔχουσα δ' ὁμῶς καὶ τι τοῦ χείρονος, οἷα μὴ καθαρῶς ἔτι ἀπηλλαγμένου τῶν συμφορῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὅπνι τοὺς τῆς θαλάττης πόνους διέφυγε καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων γῆν ἐξερρίφη γυμνὸς καὶ ἄπορος καὶ πάντα φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῶν ναυαγούντων δεινὰ, πάντων αὐτόθι τῶν παρ' ἐλπίδα χρηστῶν ἐκ μ[...].[Ἰάβο[...]] τινὸς θειοτέρας καταπολαύει· ἡ γὰρ τῶν Φαιάκων βασιλεύοντος Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ, *Ναυσικάα* δὲ τοῦνομα ταύτη, κόρη τις οὖσα θαλάμων ἔτι παρθενικῶν ἀπρόιτος τύχη τινὶ, τότε πρῶτον σὺν ταῖς ἀμφιπόλοις ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν παρεγένετο· παρεγένετο δὲ, πλυνούσα τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῆς, ἅτε σχεδὸν ὄντος αὐτῇ τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἀνάγκης οὐσης ἃ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀμφιέννυσθαι, ἃ δὲ τοῖς ἄγουσι παρασχεῖν.
- 920 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔπλυναν, αὐταὶ δ' ἐλούσαντο καὶ δεῖπνον εἵλοντο παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀποβαλοῦσαι τὰ κρήδεμνα, σφαῖραν ἔπαιζον· ὠδῆς τινος ἐν ταύταις ἀρχούσης τῆς *Ναυσικάας*, ὥς δὲ τοῦ παίζειν κόρος αὐταῖς ἦν, συμπύζασα ἢ βασιλὶς τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ταῖς ἡμιόνους μέλλουσα ἐπιθήσειν, σφαῖραν κατὰ παιδιὰν εἰς τὴν ἀμφίπολον ἔρριψε· καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἤμαρτε, τῇ δὲ βαθεῖα δίνη [Fol. 110v] ἐνέβαλεν· αἱ δὲ μακρὸν τι βοήσασαι, τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἐγείρουσι· πρὶν δὲ ταύτας ἰδεῖν,

**881–900** *Od.* 5.312–27, 331–32, 328–30, 336, 343–44, 346, 344–45, 360–64, 366–67, 369–70, 368–69 **898** κυρτωθὲν cf. *Od.* 11.244 **901–11** *Od.* 5.371–72, 374–75, 383–95, 399–405 **911** ἀκτὴ βαθεῖα, cf. ἀκτὴ τε λάχεια *Od.* 10.509 **912–30** *Od.* 5.406, 414, 416, 419, 421, 425–26, 428, 431, 435–36, 438–44, 452–56, 458, 463–64, 466–68, 470, 473–75, 481–83, 486–87, 492 **920** κατεκάλυψε cf. *Il.* 16.325

**940** ταῖς corrected from τοῖς **967** που corrected from πῶς

**934** γυμνὸς cf. *Od.* 6.136 **936–40** *Od.* 6.15–17, 27–28 **938** ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν cf. *Od.* 6.59 **941–45** *Od.* 6.93, 96, 100–1, 111, 115–17 **946–52** *Od.* 6.110, 123–29, 135–41 **953–64** *Od.* 6.142–43, 151–52, 154–55, 159–60, 162–63, 168, 170–71, 173–79 **965–76** *Od.* 6.187–88, 194–96, 198–200, 206–16 **971** κομιδῆς cf. κομιδῆς κεκλημένοι *Od.* 14.124 **976–80** *Od.* 6.221–22, 218–20, 227–31



- 930 ὁσμῆς τινος αἰσθόμενος *θηλυτέρας*, ἢ *νύμφας* εἶναι ταύτας ὑπελογίζετο, οἶαι λειμῶνας οἰκοῦσι  
καὶ *ποταμούς* καὶ *πηγάς*, ἢ αὐτὸς εἶναι πλησίον *ἀνθρώπων* φωνῇ καὶ λόγῳ χρωμένων· οὕτως  
ὑπολαβὼν, *πειρᾶται* τοῦ φαινομένου· καὶ τῶν *θάμνων* ὑπεκδύς καὶ *πτόρθον* ἐκ τῆς ὕλης συγκλάσας  
*φύλλων*, ὅπως αὐτὸν τε γυμνὸν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα κρύψειεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐξῆει· ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἔμελλε, *καίπερ*  
*γυμνὸς ὢν*, ταῖς *κόραις* συμμίγνυσθαι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης *κεκακωμένος* ἀγριώτης  
935 ἦν, φοβερός τις αὐταῖς *κατεφάνη*. ἄλλης δ' ἄλλαχού τῷ δέει ἐπὶ τὰς *προεχούσας* *ῥήϊνας*  
*δραμούσης*, μόνη ἢ τοῦ *Ἀλκινόου*, αὐτοῦ γε ἔσθι σὺν *θάρσει* *καταντικρὺ*.  
ὁ δέ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀναιδὲς τι δόξας εἶναι *κόρην* ἀπείρατον ἔτι γάμου τῶν *γονάτων* λαβεῖν ὥσπερ  
νόμος τοῖς ἱκετεύουσι, λόγοις ἐκ διαστήματος *μειλιχίοις* μάλα καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχουσιν,  
αὐτὴν ἐλιτάνευε· καὶ *Ἀρτεμιν* ἐκάλει, τότε *εἶδος* καὶ *μέγεθος* καὶ τὴν *φύην*· *τρισμακάρας* δὲ τοὺς  
940 φύσαντας καὶ τοὺς συγγόνους αὐτοῦς· *μακαριώτερον* δὲ πολὺ πλεόν, ὅς ἂν αὐτὴν *ἀγάγηται*  
*οἴκαδε*· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ *μηδέπω τοιοῦτον*, ἔλεγε, φυτὸν ἀγάσασθαι *ὀφθαλμοῖς*. *Δήλω* δὲ μόνον  
*τοιοῦτον ἔρνος* ἰδεῖν *φοῖνικος ἀνερχόμενον*· εἶτα καὶ τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς διηγέεται, ὅπως *εἰκοστῶ*  
*εἵματι* *χθές*, που τὴν θάλατταν ἔφυγε *κύματι* *φερόμενος* καὶ *ταχεῖαις* *θυέλλαις*, ἵνα *κάνταυθα* *κακόν*  
τι *πάθῃ*· μὴ δὲ γὰρ εἰδέναι εἰ *παύσαιτο*. οὕτως εἰπὼν, *ἐλεεῖν* ἱκέτευσεν, ὅτι *πολλὰ* *μογήσας* *πρώτην*  
*εἰς* αὐτὴν ἀφίκετο, καὶ *δειῖναι* τὸ ἄστυ τῆς χώρας καὶ *δοῦναι* γυμνῷ *ράκος* *περιβαλέσθαι*, *εἴ τι* αὐτοῦ  
945 *ἰοῦσα*, ἔχει τι ῥήγμα *περιβολῆς*. ἀνθ' ὧν *θεόθεν* αὐτῇ γε εὐχεται, *ὅποσα* ταύτῃ γε *βουλῆτα* *ἄνδρα*  
καὶ *οἶκον* καὶ *ὁμοφροσύνην* *παρασχεθῆναι*, ἥς *μηδὲν* *κρεῖσσον* τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις.  
ταῦτα κατὰ νοῦν ἢ *Ναυσικάα* ἀκούσασα, καὶ *οὔτε* *κακῶ* *οὐτ'* *ἄφρονι* ἀνδρὶ *εἰοικέναι* τοῦτον  
εἰποῦσα, ὑπισχνεῖ[Fol. 111r]ται μὲν αὐτῷ πάντα χρηστὰ· εἰσηγεῖται δὲ καὶ που ἐκ θείας ἄρα  
προνοίας *πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποις* ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ *πονηροῖς* δίδοται καὶ *χρῆ* καὶ αὐτὸν ταῦτα *πάσχοντα*  
950 ἐκ Θεοῦ *καρτερεῖν*· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν *πόλιν* αὐτῷ *δείκνυσι* καὶ *τοῦνομα* τοῦ ἔθνους  
*παραδηλοῖ*· *δηλοῖ* δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὅστις ἐστίν· εἶτα *κελεύει* τὰς *ἀμφιπόλους*  
*φευγούσας*, αὐτοῦ που *στῆναι*· *μὴ* δὲ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν *δυσμενῶν* ὃν εἶδον *ἄνδρα*, ἀλλὰ *τινα* *δύστηνον*  
*πλανήτην* ἐκεῖσε *παραγεγονότα*, ὃν *χρῆναι* *κομιδῆς* τινος ἀξιῶν· *πρὸς* γὰρ Θεοῦ εἶναι πάντας  
*ζένους* τε καὶ *πτωχοὺς*, *δόσιν* δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι *ὀλίγην* τε *φίλην* τε· οὕτως εἰποῦσα, *βρῶσιν* τε καὶ  
955 *πόσιν* αὐτῷ *δοῦναι* *προστάττει* καὶ *λοῦσαι* ἐν *ποταμῷ*, ἔνθα *νηνεμία* ἐστίν· *αἶ* δ' ὥς ἐκέλευσεν ἡ  
*βασιλῆς* ἐπὶ *σκέπῃν* αὐτὸν ἀγαγοῦσαι, *παρέθηκαν* αὐτῷ *ἱμάτια* *φάρος* τε καὶ *χιτῶνα*· καὶ *ἔλαιον*  
*ἔδωκαν* ἐν *ληκύθῳ χρυσῷ*· εἶτα καὶ *λοῦεσθαι* ἐν ταῖς *ποταμίαις* *ροαῖς* ἐκέλευον.  
ὁ μέντοιγε Ὀδυσσεὺς *αἰδούμενος* *γυμνός*, ὀρᾶσθαι ταῖς *κόραις*· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλεόν τῆς  
960 *σωφροσύνης* ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος *θεραπείας*, πόρρω που ταύτας *στῆναι* *κελεύει*, ὅπως αὐτὸς τὴν  
*ἄλμην* *ἀπολούσῃται* τῶν *σφετέρων ὥμων* καὶ *περιχρίσῃται* *ἐλαίῳ*· τῶν δὲ *μακρὰν* που  
*γεγεννημένων*, *ἐπεὶ* ἐλούσατο καὶ ἡλείψατο καὶ ἄπερ ἡ *παρθένος* αὐτῷ δέδωκεν *ἱμάτια* ἡμψιάσατο,  
*μείζων* ἢ *πρόσθεν* ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ *εὐτραφέστερον*· *μεθῆκε* δὲ καὶ *οὔλας* ἐκ τῆς *κεφαλῆς* *κόμας*  
*ἄνθει* *ἐοικυίας* *ὑακινθίνῳ*· αἱ δὴπου *τοσαύτην* εἶχον τὴν *χάριν* *περικεχυμένοι* τῇ *κεφαλῇ* καὶ τοῖς  
*ὥμοις*, ὅποσιν *χρυσὸς ἀργύρῳ* *περιχυθεὶς* ἐκ τέχνης ἀρίστης· εἴτ' ἐκ τινος διαστήματος ἐπὶ τὸν  
965 *αἰγιαλὸν* δὴπου *καθίζει*, *κάλλει* ἀμυθῆτῳ καὶ *χάριτι* *στίλβων*· ὃν ἡ *κόρη* ὀρῶσα, ἐθαύμαζε· καὶ  
οὐκ ἄθεε γέ, ἔφη, ταῖς *ἀμφιπόλοις* αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ἀφίχθαι· *πρόσθεν* μὲν γὰρ *αἰεῖδῃ* *τινα* [Fol. 111v]  
*φανῆναι* αὐτὸν, νῦν δ' ὅμοιον Θεῷ οὐρανίῳ· εἶτα καὶ δι' *εὐχῆς* τὸν *ἄνδρα* *ποιεῖται*, αὐτοῦ που  
*μεῖναι* *θελῆσαι* *παρὰ* τοῖς *Φαίαξιν* *οἰκήσαντα* καὶ *ἄνδρα* αὐτῆς κατὰ νόμον *κληθῆναι* καὶ *δὴ* καὶ  
*βρῶσιν* αὐτῷ καὶ *πόσιν* *δοῦναι* *εἰπούσης*. *αἱ* μὲν αὐτίκα *παρέθεσαν*.<sup>20</sup>
- 970 ὁ δὲ *πολύτλας* Ὀδυσσεὺς *ἔπινε* τε καὶ *ἥσθιε* μάλα *μεθ'* ἡδονῆς· *διὰ* χρόνου γὰρ *πλείστου* *τροφῆς*  
ὁ *δύστηνος* οὐ *μετεῖληφε*. καὶ *τέως* μὲν οὕτω γῆς ἐπιβάντι *Φαίακων*, ταῦτα οἱ ἐγένετο ὥς ἐν  
*προοιμίῳ*. ὅποσα δὲ *μετὰ* ταῦτα *πλεῖστα* καὶ *κάλλιστα*, τὰ *μετὰ* ταῦτα *δηλώσει*.  
οὕτω *πρῶτον* ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τῆς τῶν *Φαίακων* γῆς ἐπιβὰς, τῇ τε *βασιλίδι* *συμμίξας* καὶ *βέλτιον* ἢ *περ*  
*ἡλπιζε* τοῖς *πράγμασιν* ἀπαντήσας, *κρειττόνων* καὶ τῶν *ἐξῆς* ἀπολαύει. καὶ *πλάνην* οὐκέτ' οἶεται  
975 ταύτην εἶναι *λοιπὸν*, *πλάνης* δὲ *ληξίν* *μονονουχί* καὶ *πόνων* *μακρῶν* ἀνάπαυσιν· ἡ γὰρ *Ναυσικάα*,  
*ἐπειδήπερ* ἔφθι *πτύξασα* τὰ *ἱμάτια*, ἥδη ἐπὶ τῆς *ἀπῆνης* ἐπιθεῖσα καὶ τὰς *ἡμιόνους* *ζεύξασα*· οἴχεται  
*ἐπὶ* τὴν *πόλιν*, *χωρὶς* δὲ οἴχεσθαι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα *κελεύει*, ἃ τε *παρθένος* οὔσα καὶ *σώφρων* καὶ τὰς  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποψίας ὑπειδομένη· *ἔδεδει* γὰρ *μή* *ποτε* *πονηρὰ* *τις* καὶ *ἀκόλαστος* *κατ'* αὐτῆς

1018 scholia καὶ τὸ ποικῖλον τε καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ὕλης καὶ τέχνης τὸ κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους, μάλα καὶ ὁρᾷ καὶ  
θαυμάζει. καὶ τὸν νῦν εἰς παροιμίαν κείμενον κῆπον τοῦ Ἀλκινόου, ἀκριβῶς ἱστορεῖ· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ

981–1007 Od. 6.231, 235, 232, 237–53, 255, 297, 309–17 1004–8 Od. 7.67–75 1009–29 Od. 6.321, 327, 7.4, 15–19,  
51, 142–57



- 980 γένηται φήμη, ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου ἐπακολουθοῦντος αὐτῇ. προνοεῖται μέντοι καὶ οὕτω τοῦ ξένου καὶ ὅπως ἤξει ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ μέχρι τίνος ταῖς θεραπαίνισι συνέψεται καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐπὶ τὸν πατρῶον αὐτῆς ἀφίξεται οἶκον, πάντα φρονίμως προλέγει καὶ διατάττεται. οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς καὶ ὅποι κάθηται καὶ ὡς παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὥσπερ ἀθάνατος· πῶς δὲ τὸν μὲν *παραμειψάμενος* τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς γόνασι περιβάλη τὰς χεῖρας, ἵνα νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ θεάσῃται καὶ ἐλπίδας λάβῃ χρηστὰς, ὥστε οἶκον καὶ πατρίδα ἰδεῖν, εἴπερ αὐτῷ φίλα φρονήσσει.
- 985 καὶ γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνη ἐτιμᾶτο τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ, ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ *τετίμηται* τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· [Fol. 112r] ἐγίνετο δὲ ταύτη τὸ σέβας ἐκ τε τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς παιδῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκινόου αὐτοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν λαῶν, οὓς ἄρα κατὰ παιδὰς ἐφίλει, πάντα νείκη λύων αὐτοῖς ἐκ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οὕτω πάντα μετὰ προνοίας ἀρίστης διερμηνεύσασα, ἵμασσε τὰς ἡμιόλους τῇ μάστιγι.
- 990 ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀπίσω τῆς βασιλίδος μετὰ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ὁδεύων, καὶ ἔνθα καθίσαι προσετάγη παρὰ τῆς Ναυσικάας παραγενόμενος, τὰς μὲν ἀμφιπόλους ἐὰ τῇ βασιλίδι συνεισιέναι τὸ ἄστυ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἐλθεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖ προσβραχὺ μένει· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἥλιος ἔδν, μέχρις ἂν ἐκείναι τὸ ἄστυ διέλθωσι καὶ εἰς τοὺς πατρῶους οἴκους ἀφίκωνται· ἔως δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, σὺν πολλῷ ἠῦχετο δέει, φίλος καὶ ἐλεεινὸς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς Φαίακους καὶ ὦν αὐτῷ δεῖ ξένω γε ὄντι καὶ πλανήτῃ ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Ναυσικάα εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἀφίκετο, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέστη καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερούσης εἶχετο· δεδιὼς δὲ μή τις αὐτὸν ὡς ξένον κακῶς πράξειεν ἢ πόθεν εἴη ἔροίτο, συνέστειλεν ἑαυτὸν ἄριστα σὺν φρονήσει· καὶ οἶονεῖ τίνα ἁορασίαν ἑαυτοῦ κατέχεεν. ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἔμελλε τὴν πόλιν εἰσδύναι, κόρη τινὶ συναντᾷ φιλανθρώπῳ. παρ' ἧς ὁδηγηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλέως οἰκίαν, ἀδεῶς παρ' ἐκείνης εἰσιέναι προτρέπεται· ἀμείνω γὰρ εἶναι, ἔφη, ἄνδρα
- 1000 *θαρσαλέον* ἐν παντὶ πράγματι· οὐκοῦν εἴσεισι· καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλκινόου γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκίνοον ἡ Ναυσικάα πρότερον διηρμήνευσεν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐξευρίσκει· αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν γονάτων τῆς Ἀλκινόου ἅπτεται καὶ αὐθὺς ὑπ' εὐλαβείας εἰς τοῦπίσω χωρεῖ ὁ θεῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν Ἀρήτην ἐξετεθήπυσαν, ἄνδρα ξένον ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ὀρῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἐλιτάνευε πρὸς τὴν Ἀρήτην ὀρῶν καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα καταλαβεῖν, ἔφασκε, *πολλὰ μογήσας*
- 1005 καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Ἀρήτην καὶ τοὺς δαιτυμόνας, οἷς δὴ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὄλβια [Fol. 112v] πάντ' εὐχεται δοῦναι, ζῆν τε καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψαι ἕκαστον κτήματα ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ τιμὴν, ὅτιπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. εἶτα καὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἡξίου σπουδῇ, ἐπεὶ διὰ πολλοῦ ἀφιστάμενος τῶν οἰκείων δεινὰ τίνα πάσχει πράγματα· οὕτως εἰπὼν, ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπ' ἐσχάρα παρὰ τῷ πυρὶ· οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν. ὥπὲ δὲ γέρον τις Ἐχένηος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ προγενέστερος τῶν Φαίακων εἷη καὶ λόγοις διέπρεπε πολλὰ εἰδὼς παλαιὰ·
- 1010 ὁ τοιοῦτος εὖνους αὐτοῖς ὦν καὶ ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι κρίνας ἄνδρα ξένον καθῆσθαι ἐν γῇ, τὸν Ἀλκίνοον παροτρύνει ἀναστῆσαι ταχέως ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ δοῦναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ σπεῖσαι Θεῶ, ὃς τοῖς αἰδοίοις ἱκέταις ὀπηδεῖ· πάντα τοίνυν ὁ Ἀλκίνοος πράξας καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξάμενος φιλοφροσύνην τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἕκαστον τῶν δαιτυμόνων ἐπὶ τοὺς σφετέρους οἴκους ἀπιέναι κελεύει· πρωΐας δ' αὐθὺς μεθ' ἐτέρων γερόντων ἀφικέσθαι πλειόνων, ὅπως αὐθὺς αὐτὸν ξενίσωσι καὶ περὶ πομπῆς βουλευσῶνται· πάντων τοίνυν ἐπαινεσάντων καὶ ἀπιόντων, μόνος ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπολείπεται, ἀλλ' ἢ γε Ἀρήτη τὰ ἱμάτια γνοῦσα τις πόθεν εἶη, τις δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἔδωκεν ἤρετο τὰ ἱμάτια, εἴ γ' ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἀλώμενος αὐτοῦ παρεγένετο. ὁ δὲ πάντ' ἀληθῶς ἀγορεύει ἐξοῦ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀπώλεσεν, οἷα δεινὰ πέπονθε· καὶ ὡς ὕστερον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γενόμενος, γυμνὸς περιτυγχάνει τῇ Ναυσικάᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ξενίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῷ ταῦτα δέδωκε. πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, εὖ μὲν πάντ' ἔφη πεποιῆσθαι τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐν δὲ μόνον τῆς ἐκείνης ἐπέμψατο, ὅτι μὴ σὺν ταῖς ἀμφιπόλοις αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ἐκόμισεν· εἶτα καὶ δι' εὐχῆς ποιεῖται γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ θελῆσαι κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῦ μεῖναι· εἰ δ' οὐ βούλοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως πέμπειν φησὶν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα σὺν οὐδενὶ τῷ λυποῦντι· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθεῖς μάλα ὁ
- 1025 Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἠῦξάτο πάνθ' ὅποσα ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, ἔφη, γενέσθαι καὶ τέλος λαβεῖν [Fol. 113r] καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν σφετέραν πατρίδα καταλαβεῖν· ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὺς ὕπνος ἐκάλει μετὰ τῆς νυκτός, πείθονται ἀμφοτέρω ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ὀδυσσεῖ κοσμία μάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ ἐστρώωννυτο κοίτη καὶ ἐκάθευδεν ὑπὸ τῇ αἵθουσῃ, ὁ Ἀλκίνοος δὲ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ὡσαύτως· μέλλων εἰς

- 1030 τὴν ἐξῆς τὰ τῆς πομπῆς ἐτοιμάζειν τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι μετὰ τῶν Φαίακων καὶ ἀγώνων τῶν κατὰ παιδιὰν ἅπτεσθαι.
- 1035 εἶχε μὲν οὕτω τέως τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Φαίακων ξενισθέντα φιλοφρόνως πάνυ καὶ φιλανθρώπως· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, *κήρυκα* διαπεμψάμενος ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, πάντας ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κελεύει τοὺς *Φαίακας*, ὅπως ξένου τινὸς εἰπὼν *πύθωνται νέον* κατὰ πλάνην ἰόντος εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκίαν, ὃς δὴ Θεῶ ἔοικε τότε *εἶδος* καὶ τὴν φυὴν· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐκείνοις
- 1040 ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατεφαίνετο, σμικρὸν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ναυαγίων ταλαιπωρίαν παραμυθούμενος· συνηγείροντο τοίνυν ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐπλήρουν τὰς ἀγοράς, ὀρῶντες δὲ τὸν ἥρωα, οἷα *χάρις* τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὤμων *θεσπεσία* κατεκέχυτο, ἐθαύμαζον μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς· τότε δὴ πᾶσιν ὁ Ἀλκίνοος *δημηγορήσας*, ὁ ξένος οὗτος, φησὶν, *οὐκ οἶδα τις* ὦν οὐδ' ὅθεν *ἀλώμενος*, ἢ πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἧς πρὸς τῶν ἐσπερίων ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν ἀφίκετο δόμον, ἀξιοὶ δὲ *πομπὴν* καὶ πολλὰ δεῖται τυχεῖν· ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἔθους αὐτοὺς ἀρχαίου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὑπομιμνήσκει, οἷαν περὶ τοὺς ξένους τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἐνδείκνυνται Φαίακες καὶ, ὥς οὐδ' ἄλλος τις τῶν ἀπάντων αὐτόθι παραγενόμενος, ἐπὶ πολὺ μένει *πομπῆς* εἵνεκεν ἀνιώμενος· εἶτα καὶ ναῦν ἔλκειν *πρωτόπλουν* φησὶν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ *δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα κατὰ δῆμον* κρίνεσθαι ἄνδρας, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν πρότερον *ἄριστοι*· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω περὶ πομπῆς καὶ νεῶς διετάξατο, ἐφεξῆς δὲ πολυτελεῖ τινα εὐωχίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξόχων [Fol. 113v] ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις κατασκευάζεται καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά λαμπρῶς μάλα φιλοφρονεῖται. ἄγε δὲ καὶ *ἀοιδὸν* ἐκείσε σὺν *φόρμιγγι*, εὖ εἰδὸτα τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν *κλέα* κοσμεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς *μουσικῆς ἡδονήν*, τῷ πότῳ παρακινῶν σοφίζεται, ὅπως τὰ πάντα χαίριοιεν ἐστιώμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ κόρος εἶχεν αὐτοὺς ἐσθιοντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας, τοιαῦδε ὁ Δημοδόκος ἦρχεν ὠδῆς· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ἀοιδὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, ὅπως *ποτε* Ὀδυσσεὺς τε καὶ *Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν θαλείᾳ* τινὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦρισαν, ὁ δ' *Ἀγαμέμνων* ὀρῶν ταῦτ' ἔχαιρε.
- 1050 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τῷ μεγάλῳ *φάρῳ* *συνκαλυψάμενος*, ἠδεῖτο γὰρ τοὺς *Φαίακας* κλαίων μὴ φωραθεῖν αὐτὸς ὦν ὁ ὑμνούμενος, ὃψε *λήξαντος* τοῦ *ἀοιδοῦ* ἀπωμόρξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ *δάκρυα* καὶ τὸ *φάρος* ἀφεῖλε τῆς κεφαλῆς· καὶ αὐθις ἄδοντας ἐκείνου, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπίσω μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν *καλυψάμενος*, ἔκλαιεν· ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν *ἄλλους* τῶν Φαίακων *ἐλάνθανε*, μόνος δ' αὐτὸν ἐνόησεν ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθήμενος· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς *φόρμιγγος* ἱκανῶς εἶχον, ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐβαινον, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀλκινόου· ἔνθα πολλῶν τινων καὶ ποικίλων ἄθλων ἐπειρῶντο διὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, ἵνα *νοστήσας οἴκαδε*, τοῖς σφετέροις φίλοις ἐκδιηγῆται· οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς νύσσης ὠρμημένοι, *πέζῃ δρόμον* ἔθεον· οἱ δὲ τῇ *πάλῃ* προσεῖχον, οἱ δὲ *ἄλμασιν*, ἄλλοι *δίσκον* περιστρέφοντες ἔπεμπον· τοὺς δὲ αὖ εἶδεν ἂν τις *πύξ* ἀλλήλοις *συρρηγνυμένους*·
- 1060 *προκαλεσάμενος* δὲ τις καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, εἴ τινα οἶδεν *ἄεθλον* ἐπιδείξασθαι, ἐπεὶ παραιτούμενον εἶδε διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ναυαγίοις, σκώπτει μάλα πικρῶς· ναύκληρον γὰρ εἶπεν εἶναι *φορτηγοῦ* τινος ὀλκάδος τῶν κατ' ἐμπορίαν περαιουμένων τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰδέναι δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγῶνα τινὰ τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα διαγωνίσασθαι· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς βλοσυρόν τι ἐμβλέψας, *ἀτασθάλῳ ἀνδρὶ* εἰοικέναι εἶπε καὶ *εἰδους* μὲν ἀρίστου τετυχηκέναι, *νοῦ* δὲ οὐδαμῶς· μὴ δὲ γὰρ πάντα πᾶσι Θεὸν διδόναι, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν *φυὴν*, ὃ δὲ *φρένας*, ὃ δὲ *χάριν* ἐν λόγοις· καὶ ἐπεὶ θυμῷ ἐπλήγῃ κατὰ ψυχὴν, ὀρμήσας σὺν αὐτῷ γε τῷ *φάρει*, *μείζω* δίσκον ἢ ἐκείνοι *ἐδίσκευον*, λαμβάνει εὐθέως· καὶ *περιστρέψας*, ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τῆς *χειρός*, [Fol. 114r] ἤχησε δὲ ὁ λίθος· οἱ δὲ Φαίακες *κατέπηξαν* πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῇ τοῦ λίθου *ρίπῃ*, ὁ δὲ πάντων *ὑπερέπη* τὰ *σημεῖα θεῶν* εὐκόλως· ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς *χαίρων*, σὺν *θάρσει* ἐκάλει τοὺς *Φαίακους*· *δεῦρ' ἄγε* λέγων ὅστις ἐθέλει, *ἐπεὶ μ' ἐχολώσατε, πειραθήτω*, ὄντινα ἐθέλει τῶν ἄθλων. οὐ γὰρ δειλὸς εἰμὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε *πάλην* οὔτε *πύξ* οὔτε *πόδας*· οὔτε δ' αὖ *τόξον*, ὥστε *πρῶτος* ἐν πολέμῳ *βαλεῖν ἄνδρα* τῶν *δυσμενῶν*· *δοριδ'* ἀκοντίζειν ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις βέλει καὶ μάλα γε οἶδα.
- 1070 οὕτως εἰπόντος τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς, *σιγῇ πάντας* εἶχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους· ὁ δὲ γε Ἀλκίνοος καὶ ἄλλους ἐπιτρέψας ἀγῶνας τοῖς Φαίαισιν οὐκ ἀήθεις τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἰδὼν ἐπαινέσαντα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μέρει τουτονί ἐπαινεῖ· *τελευτῶν* δὲ καὶ *δώδεκα* τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Φαίακων κελεύει *ἐκαστον ἐνεγκεῖν φάρος* τε καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ *χρυσίου τάλαντον* πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἵν' ὁ ξένος εἰπὼν ἐν *χερσὶν ἔχων*, ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦ μεθ' ἡδονῆς· τὸν δὲ σκώπαντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων κελεύει λόγοις ὁμοῦ τε καὶ *δώροις* ἐκμειλίξασθαι· *Εὐρύαλος* δ' οὗτος ἐλέγετο· ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὸ ξίφος αὐτῷ χαρίζεται, ἐξ *ἐλέφαντος* ἔχον τὸν *κουλεὸν* καὶ *ἀργυρᾶν* δὲ τὴν *κώπην* καὶ

1030–35 *Od.* 7.163–65, 189–92 1035–49 *Od.* 7.229, 234, 237–41, 296, 300, 313–21, 338–39, 346–47 1035 ἐπαινέσαντων cf. *Od.* 4.29, 16.443, 22.181 1044 σὺν οὐδενὶ τῷ λυποῦντι cf. 7.195–96 1051–70 *Od.* 8.5, 8, 12–14, 16–19, 27–40, 62–64, 67, 72–78 1071–80 *Od.* 8.83–89, 91–95, 99, 109, 100–2, 120, 104, 129, 137, 142, 133–34

- 1080 εἴ τι ἀηδὲς εἴρηται, θυέλλας εἶπε φέρειν αὐτὸ. πάντων οὖν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἀλκίνοος  
ἀθροισθέντων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κοιμισθέντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνίσταται μετὰ  
τῶν Φαιάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, τότε δὴ κελεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀρήτην χηλὸν  
ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ φάρος καὶ χιτῶνα καὶ λουτρὰ σὺν τούτοις ἐπισκευάσαι, ὡς ἂν ὁ ξένος εἰπὼν  
1085 λουσάμενος καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἰδὼν, μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐστίασθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς χρυσοῦν τι ἄλειςον ἔφη  
δοῦναι, ἵν' ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ μέμνηται πάσας ἡμέρας· οὕτως εἶπε τῇ δ' Ἀρήτῃ· πάνθ' ἐτοίμως ἐγίγνετο  
καὶ τὰ δῶρα τῇ χηλῷ ἐνετίθετο, [Fol. 114v] ἦν Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἀρήτης ἐπιούσης ἐπισφραγίζει, μή τις  
καθ' ὁδὸν λυμήνηται· εἴτα λούεται καὶ ἤκει ἐπὶ τὸν πότον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν· ὃν *Ναυσικάα*  
*στᾶσα* ἐπὶ τῷ σταθμῷ, ἐθαύμαζεν ὁρῶσα καὶ χαῖρε, ἔφη, ξένε κάμου δὲ μέμνησο ἐν πατρίδι, ὅτι μοι  
1090 πρώτη ὀφείλεις ζωάγρια. ὁ δὲ καὶ σὺ, ἔφη, χαῖρε θύγατερ Ἀλκίνοου· κἂν οἴκαδε ἀπέναι γέννηται,  
ἴσα καὶ θεῶ σοι εὐχοίμην ἂν, ὅτι σύ μοι τὸ ζῆν δέδωκας. οὕτως εἰπὼν, παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ ἐκάθισεν,  
ἐσθίων ὁμοῦ τε καὶ πίνων· ἀχθέντι δὲ τῷ *Δημοδόκῳ* ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δαιτυμόνων, ἀπὸ συδὸς νώτου  
τεμὼν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, ὃν αὐτῷ παρέθηκαν, δίδωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅλις εἶχον τροφῆς τε καὶ πόσεως, τότε  
δὴ τὸν *Δημοδόκον* ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπαινέσας, ὅτι καλῶς μάλα τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὸν  
1095 θάνατον ᾄδει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι ἔφη καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄειςον τοῦ δουρίου, ὃν  
*Ἐπειοῦ* πεποννηκότος, ὁ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἑαυτὸν λέγων μετὰ δόλου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤγαγε, πλήρη  
ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐξεπόρθησαν· κἂν ἄριστα καὶ ταῦτα ὑμνήσῃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὑπισχνεῖται  
τῷ *Δημοδόκῳ* εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἄρα θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος παρέσχε τὴν ἀοιδίην· τοῦ μέντοιγε  
ἀοιδοῦ πάντα κατὰ κόσμον ἄδοντος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τοῦ *Μενέλεω* μάχην, ἣν  
ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ *Δημόφρου*, δάκρυα ὁ ἥρωες ὑπὸ ταῖς ὀφρύσι κατέρρει τηκόμενος· καὶ  
1100 οἱ μὲν ἦσθιον τερπόμενοι, ὃ δ' ἔκλαιεν ἀνιώμενος.  
τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Φαιάκων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, τοιαῦτα ἐτύγγανεν ὄντα εἰς  
τε δεξιῶσιν καὶ φιλοφροσύνην, ὁπόσῃν ἂν εἴποι τις· πάντως δὲ πολὺ τούναντίον κατὰ τὸ βέλτιον  
ἔχοντος, τῆς τε τῶν *Λαιστρυγόνων* ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ δὴ τοῦ *Κύκλωπος*· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς μικρᾷ  
πρόσθεν ἐστίασεως καὶ τῆς νῦν εἰρημένης, ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐθρήνει τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀκούων, παρὰ τῷ  
1105 *Δημοδόκῳ* ἀδόμενα καὶ πάντας μὲν [Fol. 115r] ἐλάνθανεν ἑαυτὸν συσκιάζων. τὸν δ' Ἀλκίνοον,  
οὔτε πρότον οὔθ' ὕστερον λαθεῖν εἶχε, νοῦν τινα ἐκείνων ἐνίησι, τίς ὢν καὶ τί τοῦτω προσήκει  
θρηνεῖν τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐρέσθαι· ὅλως γάρ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ τοῦ ἥρωος ἡπίστατο ὄνομα, κελεύει  
τοῖνυν σιγᾶν τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐξίσου τέρπωνται· οὐ γὰρ ἡδύς ἐστιν, ἔφη,  
1110 πᾶσι τοιαῦτα ᾄδων· τῷ δὲ ξένῳ μάλιστα οὐ χάριν τὰ πάντα γίνεται καὶ *πομπή* καὶ *δῶρα* καὶ *πάνθ'*  
ὅσα πεποῖται. ἀλλ' ἄγε πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, φησὶ, μηδὲ σύ κρύπτε ξέने νοήμασιν ἐπικλόποις, ὅτι  
ἂν σε ἔρωμαι· εἰπεῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐστὶ τούνομα καὶ τὴν γῆν, τόν τε *δῆμον* καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵν'  
ἐκεῖ πέμψωσιν αἱ τῶν Φαιάκων νῆες· αἷς οὕμενον ἔπεστι δέος, μή τι πάθωσιν ἢ ἀπόλωνται. οὕτως  
εἰπὼν, ἐφεξῆς κελεύει εἰπεῖν, ὅθεν τε πρῶτον ἐπλανήθη καὶ εἰς τίνας ἀνθρώπων ἀφίκετο χώρας·  
αὐτοὺς τε αὖ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι καὶ ἄδικοι· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
1115 οἵτινες φιλόξενοι καὶ θεῖος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ νοῦς· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὃ τι κλαίει καὶ ὅτι ἔνδον κατὰ νοῦν  
ὀδύρεται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰλίου τὸν θάνατον πυνθανόμενος. καὶ εἴ τις δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν καθ' αἷμα  
διώχεται πρὸ τῆς Ἰλίου, ἢ *γαμβρὸς* ὢν ἀγαθὸς ἢ *πενθερὸς*· ἢ καὶ *ἐταῖρος* ἀνὴρ φρόνιμος τε καὶ  
εὖνους, ὃς οὐ χεῖρων ἀδελφοῦ νομίζεται.  
πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, κάλλιον μὲν, ἔφη, τοιοῦδε ἀοιδοῦ κατακούειν ὁμοίου Θεῷ· ὅτι μὴ δ' εἶναι  
1120 τέλος χαριέστατον ἄλλο ἢ ὅτε εὐφροσύνη μὲν κατέχει τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα, δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀκούουσιν  
ἀοιδοῦ, ἐφεξῆς καθήμενοι, πληροῦνται δ' αἱ τράπεζαι σίτου τε καὶ κρεῶν, ὁ δ' οἶνοχόος οἶνον  
ἀντλῶν ἐγγεῖ ταῖς φιάλαις· καὶ τόδε μὲν εἶναι κάλλιον, πλην ὅτι καὶ συμφορὰς λέγειν κελεύει καὶ  
τοῦτ', ἔφη, ποιήσιν, ἵνα μᾶλλον στενάξωι πικρῶς ὀδυρόμενος· ἀλλὰ τί πρῶτον, τί δ' ὕστατον  
καταλέξει εἰπὼν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀπείρων κακῶν, ἃ θεὸς αὐτῷ δέδωκε. πρῶτον τέως τούνομα  
1125 λέγει καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶναι φησὶν [Fol. 115v] ὁ *Λαερτιάδης*· αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
ἀδόμενος ἀριστεύειν ἐν δόλοις τε καὶ βουλαῖς, οὗ κλέος εἰς οὐρανὸν ἤκει· εἰπὼν δ' οὕτω, τούνομα  
καὶ τὴν πατρίδα δηλοῖ καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα τε ἐν *Τροίᾳ* καὶ μετὰ τὴν *Τροίαν* ὑπέστη, δεινὰ διέξεισι  
καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ φόβους καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τὰς θείας καὶ ἀνθρωπίνας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς  
ἐκ στοιχείων καὶ θηρίων παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὅσα ἐν Ἄδου ἰὼν καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἤκουσε, καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖσε  
1130 ὠμίλησε τῶν καθ' αἷμα καὶ πόρρω· ταῦτα τε πάντα λεπτῶς διῆει καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ὅσα δὴ

πέπονθε τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης καὶ ταιλαιπωρίας διήλθεν, ὅσα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἢ πέπονθεν ἢ πείσεται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοὺς πάντας ἂν εἶποι τις.

- 1135 ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες, *σιωπῇ* κατείχοντο, μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ θαύματος τὰ δεινὰ πεποιημένοι τοῦ ἥρωος· ὁ δ' Ἀλκίνοος, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐμὸν ἦκες Ὀδυσσεῦ δῶμα, ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν σε τοῦ λοιποῦ οἶωμαι *πλανηθέντα ἀπονοστήσειν, εἰ καὶ μάλα πολλὰ πέπονθας*. εἴτα ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω τῶν Φαίακων προστάσσει, ὁπόσοι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἦσαν, οἶνον τε πίνειν καὶ ἀοιδοῦ διακοῦειν· δοῦναι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐδεξιώσαντο, *τρίποδα μέγαν καὶ λέβητα* ἕκαστον· εἰ δὲ λυπηρὸν δοκεῖ *προῖκα ἓνα χαρίσασθαι*, ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ταῦτ' ἀγείρας ἔφη κατὰ τὸν δῆμον ὕστερον ἀποτίσεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκίνοος οὕτως ἔφη, τοῖς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤρεσκε εἶθ' ἕκαστος ἀπῆεσαν οἴκαδε
- 1140 κοιμησόμενοι· ὀπνίκα δ' ἡμέρα ἐφάνη, ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥρμων· ἔνθα καὶ τὸν *χαλκὸν φέροντες*, ἔθηκαν ὑπὸ τοὺς ζυγούς καὶ αὐθις ἦκον εἰς Ἀλκινόου ἐστιασόμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐτέρποντο ἐστιώμενοι, ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἔτρεπε τὴν κεφαλὴν, πότε δύσεται ἐπειγόμενος, μάλα γὰρ προθυμεῖτο ἐκπλεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσπασίως ἔδν ὁ Ἥλιος, τοῖς Φαίᾳξι καὶ τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ
- 1145 μάλιστα, ἔφη, *πέμπειν αὐτὸν σπείσασθαι ἀπήμονα καὶ χαίρειν αὐτοὺς*, ἅτε τετελεσμένων, ὧν ἤθελε, *πομπῆς* δηλονότι καὶ δώρων· ἃ δὴ [Fol. 116r] καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν ὀλβια γενέσθαι εὐχεται, εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀμώμητον ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις σὺν αὐτοῖς γε τοῖς φίλοις εὖ ἔχουσιν· αὐτοῖς δ' αὖ τοῖς Φαίᾳξι καὶ τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ αὐτόθι μένειν ἀεὶ καὶ τὰς νεωτέρας εὐφραίνειν τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτὰ· θεόθεν δ' ἀρέτην παντοῖαν πεμφθῆναι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι κακὸν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅσα κατ' ἀνθρώπους γίνεται. οὕτως εἶπε, πάντες δ' ἐπῆνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον πέμπειν αὐτὸν, οὕτω κατὰ μοῖραν
- 1150 εἰπόντα. τότε δὴ ὁ Ἀλκίνοος προσέταξε τὰ τελευταῖα σπείσασθαι καὶ εὐξασθαι πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα Θεὸν. αὐτίκα δ' ὁ Ποντόνοος οἰνοχόος τὸν οἶνον ἐκίρνα καὶ ἐξῆς πᾶσιν ἐδίδου ἐπισταμένως· οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ὑπανιστάμενοι, ἔσπεισαν· ἀνίστατο δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, ἡ δ' αὖ γε Ἀρήτη δέπας ἐνετίθει αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἀμφικύπελον, ὃ πρὶν Ἀλκίνοος ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι. πρὸς ἣν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς χαῖρε, ἔφη, βασιλίσσα, εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν πάντα, ἕως ἂν γῆρας ἔλθῃ καὶ θάνατος, ἅπερ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔπεται· καὶ τέρπου ἐν οἴκῳ ἅμα παισὶ
- 1155 τε καὶ λαοῖς καὶ Ἀλκινόῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ. οὕτως εἰπὼν, ἐκείθεν ἐξῆεν· τῷ δ' ἅμα προίει κήρυκα ὁ Ἀλκίνοος, ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν· ἡ δ' Ἀρήτη γυναικας αὐθις, τὴν μὲν φάρος ἔχουσαν εὐπλυτον καὶ χιτῶνα· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν, ἣν αὐτὴ παρέσχε φέρειν *χηλὸν*· ἡ δὲ τρίτη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔφερεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κατῆλθον ταχέως οἱ πλωτῆρες, ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ νηὶ κατέθεντο καὶ κοίτην ἐπὶ τὰ ἱκρία τῆς νεῶς τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐστρώννουν κατὰ τὴν πρόραν, ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ σιγῇ κατέκειτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ζυγοῖς ἐκάθιζον κατὰ κόσμον καὶ τὰ πείσματα λύσαντες καὶ ἀνακλιθέντες, στερεῶς ἤρεσσον· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσεῖα ὕπνος ἐλάμβανεν· ἡ δὲ ναῦς οὕτω δὴ κατὰ πρύμναν ἤρετο, οἶον ἵππος διὰ τοῦ πεδίου αἰρόμενος φέρεται, *κῶμα* δ' ὀπισθεν μέγα ἔθυνεν, ἡ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς μάλα ἐφέρετο, ἱέρακος ὀξυτέρων θύουσα [Fol. 116v] καὶ ἄνδρα φέρουσα, βουλὰς ἔχοντα ἰσοθέους· ὅς πρὶν μὲν πολλὰ πέπονθε μάλα συμφορᾶς πράγματα, νῦν μὲν πολέμους ἀνδρῶν πράττων, νῦν δὲ θαλάττης διαπερῶν κύματα· τότε δ' ἀτρέμας ἐκάθευδεν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὅσα δὴ πέπονθεν· ἐκάθευδε δὲ, μέχρις ἀστήρ ὑπέρεσχεν ὁ φανότατος τῶν ἄλλων, ὅς δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἄγγελος γίνεται καὶ τότε δὴ τῇ νήσῳ προσπελάσαντες τῆς Ἰθάκης, ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐκβιβάζουσι τὸν πολύπονον Ὀδυσσεῖα αὐτὸν τε καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παρέσχον αὐτῷ φίλα δῶρα· οἱ φιλόξενοι Φαίακες καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐθις οἴκαδε ἀνεζεύγνυν, ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐώρα καὶ τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν φίλον παῖδα μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπείληφεν, ὥσπερ ἠϋχετο, καὶ Θεὸς ἐτέλει τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς.
- 1170

1132–184 *Od.* 8.549–50, 555–56, 562–63, 572–78, 581–85 1141–154 *Od.* 9.3–16, 19–21 1155–84 *Od.* 13.1–9, 13–23, 26–27, 28–30, 33, 36–78 1168 ἀμώμητον cf. *Il.* 12.109

1185–91 *Od.* 13.79, 81, 84–86, 89–97 1190 ὑπερέσχεν corrected from ὑπέσχετο

## *The Wanderings of Odysseus (A8). List of Words*

### **Verbs**

φθινέτω *Od.* 5.161 → ἐξαναλίσκειν A8.829  
ἀμφιέσω *Od.* 5.167, 264 → ἐνδύσαι A8.832, ἐπενδύει A8.860  
ἐστὶν ἐναΐσιμος *Od.* 5.190 → αἰδεῖσθαι A8.839  
τλήσομαι *Od.* 5.222, 362 → ὑποστήσεσθαι A8.851 and καρτερεῖν A8.896  
τάμνετο *Od.* 5.243 → ἔκοψε A8.856  
ἐπέρριψαν *Od.* 5.310 → ἀφῆκαν A8.878  
ἐλέλιξε *Od.* 5.314 → συνέστρεψε A8.881  
πόρε *Od.* 5.321 → δέδωκεν A8.886  
ἀλεείνων *Od.* 5.326 → φεύγων A8.888  
μεμαώς *Od.* 5.375 → προθυμούμενος A8.902  
ἐπισσεύη *Od.* 5.421 → ἐπιχάνη A8.914  
δέδμητο *Od.* 5.454 → καταπεπόνητο A8.922  
κήκιε *Od.* 5.455 → ἐξεχεῖτο A8.923  
κύσε *Od.* 5.463 → ἡσπάσατο A8.924  
ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένωμαι *Od.* 5.473 → κατασπαραχθῆ A8.925  
λέκτο *Od.* 5.487 → ἔκειτο A8.928  
χύσιν δ' ἐπεχεύατο φύλλων *Od.* 5.487 → κεκαλυμμένος A8.928  
ἄϋσαν *Od.* 6.117 → βοήσασαι A8.945  
τρέσσαν *Od.* 6.138 → (τῷ δέει) δραμούσης A8.951–52  
μενοινᾷς *Od.* 6.180 → βουλήτα παρασχεθῆναι A8.963–64  
ἡνιόχευεν *Od.* 6.319 → ὀπίσω ὀδεύων A8.1008  
ἀντεβόλησε *Od.* 7.19 → συναντᾷ A8.1016  
ὀδυρόμενος *Od.* 8.33 → ἀνιώμενος A8.106  
δηρίσαντο *Od.* 8.78 → ἤρισαν A8.1070  
ἄρεσσάσθω *Od.* 8.396 → ἐκμειλίσασθαι A8.1099 and χαρίζεται A8.1100  
βέβακται *Od.* 8.408 → εἴρηται A8.1101  
δηλήσεται *Od.* 8.444 → λυμήνηται A8.1108  
ἐβιώσασα *Od.* 8.468 → τὸ ζῆν δέδωκας A8.1111  
αἰνίζομι' *Od.* 8.487 → ἐπαινέσας A8.1114  
ἐξαλλάπαξαν *Od.* 8.495 → ἐξεπόρθησαν A8.1117  
ᾤπασε *Od.* 8.498 → παρέσχε A8.1119  
κεῖθε *Od.* 8.548 → κρύπτε A8.1132  
πημανθῆναι *Od.* 8.563 → πάθωσιν A8.1135  
ἀπέφθιτο *Od.* 8.581 → διώχετο A8.1139  
ἔπραθον *Od.* 9.40 → πορθεῖ A8.5  
ᾤλεσα *Od.* 9.40 → κτείνει A8.5  
πωλεῖτ' (μετ' ἄλλους) *Od.* 9.188–89 → ἐμίγνυτο (μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων) A8.96  
βρίθον *Od.* 9.219 → ἐπληροῦντο A8.104  
κήαντες *Od.* 9.231 → πῦρ ἀνάψαντες A8.110  
ὑπέκφυγον *Od.* 9.286 → διαδράσαι A8.145  
ἐλέγμην *Od.* 9.335 → ἡριθμεῖτο A8.170  
ἄλλη θεινομένου *Od.* 9.458–59 → κενωθῆ φθειρομένου A8.229  
ικέσθαι *Od.* 9.532 → ἐπαρᾶται A8.265  
τεῦχε *Od.* 10.18 → ἡτοιμάζε A8.287  
ἄῃναι *Od.* 10.25 → πνεῖν A8.293  
κεκμηῶτα *Od.* 10.31 → τῷ κόπῳ δεδαμασμένον A8.295  
ἐκίχανον *Od.* 10.60 → εὔρεν A8.312  
δαινύμενον *Od.* 10.61 → ἐσθίοντα A8.312

ἐμήσατο *Od.* 10.115, 12.295, 5.173 → ἐβουλεύσατο A8.345, 738, 833  
 ἀγνυμενάων *Od.* 10.123 → συντριβομένων A8.349  
 ὄλεκον *Od.* 10.125 → διέφθειρον A8.351  
 ἐρυσσάμενος *Od.* 10.126 → ξίφος ἐλκύσας A8.351  
 τάρπησαν *Od.* 10.181 → ἐχάρησαν A8.380  
 μυρομένοισιν *Od.* 10.202, *Od.* 12.234, → θρηνοῦσιν A8.389, 502  
 γοόωντας *Od.* 10.209, γόον ὄρνυτε *Od.* 10.457 → θρηνοῦσιν A8.392, 700  
 γοόωντας *Od.* 10.567 → ὦμωζον A8.542  
 ἐέργνυ *Od.* 10.238 → συνέκλεισε A8.406  
 ὀλοφυρομένη *Od.* 10.324 → ὀδυρομένη A8.447  
 κονάβιζε *Od.* 10.399 → μεμυκέναι A8.474  
 ἐλέαιρε *Od.* 10.399 → οἶκτον λαμβάνειν A8.474  
 ἐρύκακε *Od.* 10.429 → ἐκώλυνεν A8.489  
 ἰμείρετε *Od.* 10.429 → ἐπιθυμεῖτε A8.490  
 ἐέλδαι *Od.* 5.210, 219 → ἐπιθυμεῖτε A8.846, 849  
 ἔρυσθαι *Od.* 10.444 → φυλάσσειν A8.496  
 φράσσαντό *Od.* 10.453 → ἐγνώρισαν A8.501  
 ἡγεμονεύσει *Od.* 10.501 → ἡγήσαιο A8.521  
 ἱερευσέμεν *Od.* 10.524 → θύειν A8.529  
 ἀρηρῶς *Od.* 10.553 → ἀρμοζόμενος A8.535  
 ἀνόρουσε *Od.* 10.557 → ὥρμησε A8.537  
 καταδέρκεται *Od.* 11.16 → ἐφορᾷ A8.555  
 ἐκέλσαμεν *Od.* 11.20, 12.5 → προσώρμισαν A8.557, 587  
 ἀποβρίξαντες *Od.* 12.7 → κατακοιμηθεῖς A8.587  
 ἐντυναμένη *Od.* 12.18 → τευξομένη A8.592  
 περιμαιμώωσα *Od.* 12.95 → περισκοποῦσαν A8.626  
 εὐχετόωνται *Od.* 12.98, 5.211 → καυχῆσασθαι A8.627, 847  
 ἀναρυβδεῖ *Od.* 12.105 → ἀναρροφᾷν A8.632  
 σίνοιτό *Od.* 12.114 → βλάπτειν ἐπιχειροῖ A8.637  
 δηθύνησθα *Od.* 12.121 → βραδύνη A8.639  
 κορυσσόμενος *Od.* 12.121 → ὀπλιζόμενος A8.640  
 ἀλευάμενοι *Od.* 12.157 → φυλαττόμενοι A8.654  
 ἡνώγει *Od.* 12.160 → προύτρεψε A8.656  
 λίσσωμαι *Od.* 12.163 → καθικετεύη A8.658  
 ἔπλετο *Od.* 12.169 → ὑπῆρχεν A8.661  
 διατμήξας *Od.* 12.174 → κατακόψας A8.663  
 ἰαίνειτο *Od.* 12.175 → ἐλεαίνειτο (θερμότερον) A8.663–64  
 ἄλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς *Od.* 12.180 → ἥλανον A8.666  
 γέγωνε *Od.* 12.181, 5.400 → τις ἀκουσθήσεται A8.666, 909  
 ὄρνυμένη *Od.* 12.183 → κινουμένη A8.667  
 ἐντυνον *Od.* 12.183 → ἦδον A8.667  
 ἔπτατ' *Od.* 12.203 → ἐξέπιπτον A8.683  
 ῥήγμῖνα τύπτετε *Od.* 12.214–15 → ἐρέττειν A8.690  
 πυκάζοιεν *Od.* 12.225 → κρύψειαν A8.694  
 θωρήσσεσθαι *Od.* 12.227 → ὀπλίζεσθαι A8.696  
 λανθανόμην *Od.* 12.227 → παθῶν τινα λήθην A8.695  
 παπταίνοντι *Od.* 12.233 → περισκοπούμεν A8.699  
 ἀναμορμύρεσκε *Od.* 12.238 → ἐξεκενοῦτο A8.703  
 ἀναβρόζειε *Od.* 12.240 → εἰς τοῦπίσω χωρήσειεν ὥσπερ ἀναρροφηθὲν A8.704  
 βεβρύχει *Od.* 12.242 → περιήχει A8.704  
 κεκλήγοντας *Od.* 12.256 → κράζοντας A8.714

ἐξερεΐνων *Od.* 12.259 → ἐξερευνῶν A8.716  
 ἀλεύσασθαι *Od.* 12.269 → φεύγειν A8.725  
 ἐπέτελλε *Od.* 12.268 → προσέταττε A8.725  
 τέτυκται *Od.* 12.280, 283, 307 → κατεσκευασμένον A8.730, 732, 744  
 ἀδηκότας *Od.* 12.281 → δεδασμασμένους A8.731  
 ἀλάλησθαι *Od.* 12.284 → περιπλανᾶσθαι A8.732  
 ἀλητεύοντες *Od.* 12.330 → πλανώμενος A8.753  
 πόρε *Od.* 12.302 → παρέσχετο A8.742  
 τελευτήσαν *Od.* 12.304 → ἐπλήρωσαν A8.743  
 ἐξέφθιτο *Od.* 12.329 → διέφθαρτο A8.752  
 ῥέξομεν *Od.* 12.344 → θύειν A8.759  
 χολωσάμενός *Od.* 12.348 → ὀργιζόμενος A8.761  
 νείκεον *Od.* 12.392 → ἔσκωπτε A8.769  
 θύων *Od.* 12.400, 408, 426 → ὠρμημένος A8.779, 794; cf. μεθ' ὀρμῆς μάλα ἀσχετοῦ A8.783  
 ἐρύσαντες *Od.* 12.402 → ἐπέτασαν A8.780  
 ἐλελίχθη *Od.* 12.416 → συστραφεῖσα A8.788  
 ἀποαίνυτο *Od.* 12.419 → ἀφηρεῖτο A8.789  
 ἐελδομένῳ *Od.* 12.438 → ἐλπίζοντι A8.800  
 ἐπιήνδανε *Od.* 13.16 → ἤρεσκε A8.1161  
 κακκεῖοντες *Od.* 13.17 → κοιμησόμενοι A8.1162  
 ἐπεσσεύοντο *Od.* 13.19 → ὥρων A8.1162  
 ὄπασσε *Od.* 13.68 → παρέσχε A8.1181  
 κατέλεκτο *Od.* 13.75 → κατέκειτο A8.1183

### Substantives

ἀκοίτην *Od.* 5.120 → ὁμευνέτην A8.816  
 ἐδωδήν *Od.* 5.196 → τροφῆς A8.841  
 ἀέλλας *Od.* 5.292 → πνοάς A8.873  
 σπεῖρον *Od.* 5.318 → ὀθόνης A8.883  
 ἐπίκριον *Od.* 5.318 → κεράτιον A8.883  
 ἦων *Od.* 5.368 → ἀχύρων A8.900  
 λιμένες *Od.* 5.404 → ἐπίνειον A8.910  
 ἐπιωγαί *Od.* 5.404 → κατάδυσις A8.911  
 ῥινούς *Od.* 5.426 → δέρμα A8.915  
 ἐέρση *Od.* 5.467 → δρόσος A8.925  
 μολπῆς *Od.* 6.101 → ὠδῆς A8.942  
 πόσιν *Od.* 7.147 → ἄνδρα A8.1021  
 γέρας *Od.* 7.150 → τιμὴν A8.1025  
 λέχος *Od.* 7.347 → κοιτῶνι A8.1048  
 δαῖτα *Od.* 8.38 → εὐωχίαν A8.1064  
 παλαιμοσύνη *Od.* 8.126 → πάλῃ A8.1079  
 ἀρχὸς ναυτῶν *Od.* 8.162 → ναύκληρον A8.1082  
 χιτῶνα *Od.* 8.392 → ἱμάτιον A8.1097  
 ἄελλαι *Od.* 8.409 → θυέλλας A8.1101  
 δεπάεσσι *Od.* 9.10 → φιάλαις A8.1144  
 ῥηγμῖνι *Od.* 9.150, 559 → αἰγιαλῷ A8.76, 273  
 ἔρσαι *Od.* 9.222, → ὀψίγονοι A8.106  
 ληϊστήρες *Od.* 9.224 → πειραταὶ A8.126  
 ποτιδόρπιον *Od.* 9.234, 248 → ἐπιδείπνιον A8.112 and ἐπιδόρπιον A8.120  
 λοιβὴν *Od.* 9.349 → σπονδὴν A8.176  
 οἶων *Od.* 9.443 → τῶν ἀρρένων ἀρνῶν A8.222

λάχνω *Od.* 9.445 → δασεῖ A8.224  
 χέρσον *Od.* 9.486 → ἥπειρον A8.246  
 μαρμάρω *Od.* 9.499 → λίθω A8.251  
 μεγάροισι *Od.* 10.5, 150, 452, 8.13 → οἴκοις A8.280, 500, δώμασιν A8.367; cf. δώμασι *Od.* 10.449,  
 8.13 → οἴκοις A8.499, οἰκία A8.1053; and yet οἴκω *Od.* 10.489 → δώμασιν A8.515  
 λέχεσσι *Od.* 10.12, 497 → στρώμασιν A8.284, κοίτη A8.520  
 μέρμιθι *Od.* 10.23 → σχοίνω A8.291  
 βρώμης *Od.* 10.177 → τροφῆς A8.378  
 δαῖτα *Od.* 10.182 → εὐωχίαν A8.380  
 δέμας *Od.* 10.240 → σῶμα A8.407  
 ἄκυλον *Od.* 10.242 → πρίνης A8.408  
 ἄορ *Od.* 10.333 → ξίφος A8.452  
 κάνεια *Od.* 10.355 → ἐκπώματα A8.459  
 γυίων *Od.* 10.363 → μελῶν A8.461  
 ἐνιπήν *Od.* 10.448 → ἀπειλήν A8.498  
 τέγεος *Od.* 10.559 → στέγους A8.538  
 πρῆξις *Od.* 10.568 → ἄνυσις A8.542  
 ἥερι *Od.* 11.15 → ζόφω A8.554  
 χῶρον *Od.* 11.22 → τόπον A8.558  
 πήματα *Od.* 11.115 → συμφορὰς A8.567  
 ἐρετμόν *Od.* 11.121, 129, 12.203 → κώπην A8.570, 574, 683  
 ἀθηρηλοιγόν *Od.* 11.128 → πτύον A8.573  
 ῥόοιο *Od.* 11.649, 12.1 → ρεύματος A8.582, 585  
 θίς *Od.* 12.45 → σωρὸν A8.604  
 ἄθαπτον *Od.* 12.54 → ἄταφον A8.590  
 ποτητὰ *Od.* 12.62 → πτηνὰ A8.608  
 δειραὶ *Od.* 12.90 → τραχήλους A8.623  
 κληῖσι *Od.* 12.146 → ζυγοῖς A8.650  
 νόω *Od.* 12.211 → φρονήσει A8.688  
 ἐφημοσύνης *Od.* 12.226 → ὑποθήκης A8.695  
 τεύχεα *Od.* 12.228 → ὅπλα A8.696  
 εἶδατα *Od.* 12.252 → βρῶμα A8.712  
 ὕπνω *Od.* 12.281 → ἀγρυπνίῳ A8.731  
 οἰῶν *Od.* 12.298 → προβάτων A8.740  
 μῆλον *Od.* 12.301 → προβάτων A8.741  
 ἥϊα *Od.* 12.329 → βρώματα A8.752  
 βροτοῖσι *Od.* 12.341 → ἀνθρώποις A8.758  
 ἄτην *Od.* 12.372 → βλάβη A8.767  
 μῆχος *Od.* 12.392 → μηχανήν A8.769  
 ἄντλον *Od.* 12.411 → ἀντλίαν A8.785  
 ἄρνευτήρι *Od.* 12.413 → κολυμβητῇ A8.786  
 ἐπίτονος *Od.* 12.423 → ἐπιτόνῳ λώρῳ A8.792  
 δοῦρα *Od.* 12.441, 5.162, 371 → ξύλα A8.800, 829, 901  
 νείκεα *Od.* 12.440 → ἔριδας A8.801  
 αἰζήων *Od.* 12.440 → νέων A8.801  
 κηληθμῷ *Od.* 13.2 → μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ θαύματος A8.1155  
 πρυμνῆς *Od.* 13.75 → πρῶραν A8.1183

### Adjectives

πρόφρασσ' *Od.* 5.161 → ἐκοῦσα A8.829  
 εὐρεῖαν *Od.* 5.163 → πλατεῖαν A8.830



μενοεικέ' *Od.* 5.166 → βοήθειαν A8.831  
 ὠκύποροι *Od.* 5.176 → A8.834: ταχείαις<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup> This translation is also found in the Lexica of Hesychius and Ps-Zonaras, vox. ὠκυπόρος  
 ἀντίον *Od.* 5.198 → ἐναντίον A8.842  
 θυώδεα *Od.* 5.264 → εὐώδη A8.860  
 λευγαλέω *Od.* 5.312 → πικρῶ A8.880  
 κερδαλέον *Od.* 6.148 → ἐπαγωγὸν A8.954  
 κραιπναί *Od.* 6.171 → ταχείαις A8.959  
 πάσσονα *Od.* 6.230 → εὐτραφέστερον A8.980  
 δηρὸν *Od.* 8.33 → ἐπὶ πολὺ A8.1061  
 ὑπόδρα *Od.* 8.165 → βλοσσυρόν A8.1084  
 ῥίμφα *Od.* 8.193 → εὐκόλως A8.1089  
 κερδαλέοισιν *Od.* 8.548 → ἐπικλόποις A8.1133  
 ἀγλαὸν *Od.* 9.140 → διειδέστατον A8.71  
 ἐρατεινὸς *Od.* 9.230 → ἐπιθυμητὸς A8.110  
 ἄζαλῆς *Od.* 9.234 → ξηρᾶς A8.112  
 σμερδαλέον *Od.* 9.395, 6.137 → φοβερόν A8.199, 951  
 ἀνήμελκτοι *Od.* 9.439 → ἀτημέλητα λελειμμένα A8.220  
 ὀκρίοντι *Od.* 9.499 → βαρυτέρῳ A8.251  
 λισσῇ *Od.* 10.4 → λείας A8.278  
 κεδνῇ *Od.* 10.8 → κοσμία A8.282  
 ἄϋπνος *Od.* 10.84 → ἀγρύπνος A8.329  
 ἀνδραχθέσι *Od.* 10.140 → βαρυτάτοις A8.348  
 κέρδιον *Od.* 10.153 → βέλτιον A8.367  
 ἔμπεδος *Od.* 10.240 → στερεὸς A8.407  
 ἀδευκέα *Od.* 10.245 → πικρὸν A8.411  
 ἄϊδρις *Od.* 10.282 → ἀμαθῆς A8.426  
 πυκινούς *Od.* 10.283 → ὄχυρούς A8.427  
 ἀνήνορα *Od.* 10.341 → ἀνανδρον A8.454  
 κακὸν *Od.* 10.341 → δειλὸν A8.454  
 ἐναΐσιμος *Od.* 10.383 → δίκαιος A8.467  
 ἀνάρσιοι *Od.* 10.459 → φονικοί A8.503  
 οἴῳ *Od.* 10.524, 12.69 → μόνῳ A8.529, 612  
 ἄλκιμος *Od.* 10.553 → ἰσχυρὸς A8.534  
 ῥεῖα *Od.* 10.573 → εὐκόλως A8.544  
 δισθανέες *Od.* 12.22 → δισθανάτους A8.594  
 θαμέες *Od.* 12.92 → θαμινούς A8.624  
 ἀκήριοι *Od.* 12.98 → ἀλύπως A8.627  
 ὀλοὴν *Od.* 12.113 → ὀλεθρίαν A8.636  
 ἐσθλὸν *Od.* 12.149, 347 → ἀγαθὸς A8.651 and καλὰ A8.761  
 ἀνθεμόεντα *Od.* 12.159 → ἀνθηρόν A8.655  
 ἔμπεδον *Od.* 12.161 → ἀφύκτως A8.657  
 ἀργαλέω *Od.* 12.161, 5.367, 7.242, 13.15 → ἰσχυρῶ A8.657, παγχάλεπον A8.899, ἀληθῶς  
 A8.1037, λυπηρόν A8.1160  
 μελίγηρυν *Od.* 12.187 → μελίφθογγον A8.670  
 μελιχίοις *Od.* 12.205 → ἡπιωτέροις A8.685  
 κυανέη *Od.* 12.243, 405 → μελαίνη A8.705, 781  
 φέρτατοι *Od.* 12.246 → κρείττους A8.707  
 περιμήκει *Od.* 12.251 → προμήκει A8.711  
 αἰνότατον *Od.* 12.275 → χαλεπῶτατον A8.726  
 καρτερόν *Od.* 12.298 → ἰσχυρόν A8.740

νήδυμος *Od.* 12.311 → γλυκὺς A8.746  
 στυγεροὶ *Od.* 12.341 → μισητὸν A8.758  
 ἀμύμονα *Od.* 13.42 → ἀμώμητον A8.1168  
 ἐλαφρότατος *Od.* 13.87 → ὀξυτέρον A8.1186

### Conjunctions

ἤδὲ *passim* → καὶ, τε or τε καὶ *passim*  
 εἵς *Od.* 5.386 → μέχρις ἂν A8.904  
 ὅτε αἰείδων *Od.* 8.87 → ἄδοντος ἐκείνου A8.1073  
 ὄφρ' *Od.* 9.228, 248, 10.26, 12.333 → ὅπως A8.109, 755, ἔν' ὅτε A8.120, ἕως ἂν A8.293  
 ὥς ὅτε *Od.* 10.410, 5.281 → οἷον A8.483, 870  
 εἰς ὃ κε *Od.* 11.122 and *Od.* 13.59 → ἕως ἂν A8.571, 1177  
 τόφρα *Od.* 12.166, 245 → ἀλλ' ἕως A8.659, ἐν τοσοῦτ' A8.706  
 ἥμος *Od.* 12.312, 439 → ὀπηνίκα A8.746, ἡνίκα A8.801  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε *Od.* 12.399, 5.441 → ἐπειδὴ A8.778, ἐλθὼν A8.919

### Adverbs

ἐνθεν *passim* → ἐντεῦθεν *passim*  
 τῆλε *Od.* 5.315 → μακρὰν A8.882  
 τηλοῦ *Od.* 5.318 → πόρρω A8.884  
 πρόσθε *Od.* 5.452 → πρὸ αὐτοῦ A8.921  
 ἄντα *Od.* 6.141 → καταντικρὺ A8.952  
 ἀποσταδὰ *Od.* 6.146 → ἐκ διαστήματος A8.954, 983  
 ὅθι *Od.* 6.210 → ἐνθα A8.973  
 ἀρπαλέως *Od.* 6.250 → μεθ' ἡδονῆς A8.988  
 δηθὰ *Od.* 7.152, 12.351 → διὰ πολλοῦ A8.1026, κατὰ μικρὸν A8.762  
 πάρος *Od.* 8.36 → πρότερον A8.1064  
 ἀκὴν *Od.* 8.234 → ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους A8.194  
 τηλόθεν *Od.* 9.273 → πόρρωθεν A8.137  
 ἐντοθεν (αὐλῆς) *Od.* 9.239 → θύραζε (πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν) A8.115–16  
 πρόφρων *Od.* 9.355 → προθύμως A8.179  
 αἰνῶς *Od.* 9.379 → λίαν A8.193  
 ἐφύπερθεν *Od.* 9.383 → ἄνωθεν A8.195  
 ἔνερθεν *Od.* 9.385 → κάτωθεν A8.196  
 ὀπίσσω *Od.* 9.511 → ἐσύστερον A8.257  
 ἄνεω *Od.* 10.71 → σιγὴν A8.317  
 καθύπερθ' *Od.* 10.353 → ἄνω A8.457  
 ἀπάνευθεν *Od.* 10.524 → ἰδίως A8.529  
 ἄψ *Od.* 11.18 → εἰς τοῦπίσω A8.555  
 ἀμφοδὸν *Od.* 11.120 → ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς A8.569  
 καρπαλίμως *Od.* 12.166, 5.193, αἴψα *Od.* 12.175, 199, ὤκα *Od.* 12.222 → ταχέως A8.659, 663, 676, 840  
 τῆδε *Od.* 12.186 → ἐκεῖ A8.669  
 ὑπένερθε *Od.* 12.242 → ὑποκάτω A8.705  
 ὕπερθεν *Od.* 12.248 → ἄνω A8.709  
 ἔπειτα *Od.* 12.254 → μετολίγον A8.712  
 θύραζε *Od.* 12.254 → ἔξω A8.713  
 ἄγχι *Od.* 12.306 → πλησίον A8.743  
 νωλεμέως *Od.* 12.437 → διόλου A8.799  
 καθύπερθε *Od.* 12.442 → ὑπεράνω A8.802  
 διαμπερές *Od.* 13.59 → εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν πάντα A8.1177

## Prepositions, Prepositional Phrase, Particles and Pronouns

ἐς *passim* → εἰς *passim*

μετ' ἔχνια *Od.* 5.188 → κατ' ἔχνος A8.840

μιν *Od.* 8.94 → αὐτὸν A8.1075

προπάροιθε *Od.* 10.172 → ἔμπροσθεν A8.376

ἀμφὶ *Od.* 10.212 → περὶ A8.393

κε *Od.* 10.328 → ἄν A8.449

τοι *Od.* 10.473 → γε A8.509

αὐτὰρ *Od.* 12.206 → μέντοιγε A8.684

## Rephrasing expressions lowering the register of the epics to a prosaic vocabulary

ἄεκητι σέθεν *Od.* 5.177 → τῇ ταύτης βουλῇ A8.835–36

μείδησεν [...] κατέρεξεν *Od.* 5.180–81 → καταψήσασα μετὰ μειδιάματος A8.836–37

οὐκ ἀποφώλια εἰδώς *Od.* 5.182 → καίπερ ὄντα πεπαιδευμένον A8.837

περίκηλα *Od.* 5.240 → τῷ πυρὶ φλογισθέντα A8.855

οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο *Od.* 5.275 → μόνη πάντων ἀστέρων καταδύουσα A8.868

ὁρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ *Od.* 5.294 → νύξ δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ ἐγένετο A8.874–75

τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων *Od.* 5.311 → τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τελουμένων A8.879–80

δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον *Od.* 5.314 → σφοδρῶς ὠρμημένον A8.881

ἄνεμος ζαῆς *Od.* 5.368 → ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς A8.899

ἐς κλειτὸν *Od.* 5.470 → εἰς ἐξοχὴν A8.925

χρειῶ γὰρ ἵκανε *Od.* 6.136 → ὑπ' ἀνάγκης A8.950

πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ [...] κασίγνητοι *Od.* 6.154–55 → τοὺς φύσαντας καὶ τοὺς συγγόνους αὐτοὺς A8.955–56

εἴλυμα σπείρων *Od.* 6.179 → ῥῆγμα περιβολῆς A8.962

δαιτί τε τέρπηται *Od.* 8.429 → μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐστιάζεται A8.1105

οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας *Od.* 9.215 → ἄδικον καὶ ἀθέμιτον A8.102

ὀρυμαγδὸν ἔθηκεν *Od.* 9.235 → ἦχον τινὰ μέγαν ἐποίησε A8.114

*Od.* 9.322–23 → ὅσον φορτηγοῦ τινος ὀλκάδος μεγίστης τῶν μεγάλα πελάγη διαπεραίουμενων ἰστὸν A8.163–64

δύσετό τ' ἥελιος *Od.* 10.12 → ἐπεὶ νύξ ἦν A8.553

σίτιοιό τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἡδὲ ποτῆτος *Od.* 10.58, ἐπὶ τάρπησαν ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος *Od.* 5.201 →

τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως μετασχόντες A8.310, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς εἶχον τροφῆς τε καὶ πόσεως A8.842

πρὶν μόρσιμον ἦμαρ *Od.* 10.175, ὑπὲρ μόρον *Od.* 5.436 → παρ' εἰμαρμένην A8.376–77, 921

ὅπῃ καλῇ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα *Od.* 10.221–23 → λιγυρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λαμπρὰ δῶρα A8.396–97

ἄϊδρείησιν *Od.* 10.231 → οὐκ εἰδότες τί πείσονται A8.401

ἐς θάλαμόν τ' ἵεναι *Od.* 10.340 → μιγῆναι A8.453

ἐριδούπων *Od.* 10.515 → σφοδρὸν ἐξηχοῦντας A8.528

τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λῖς πέτρῃ *Od.* 12.64 → τὴν πτῆσιν ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ τῶν πετρῶν ὑψηλόν τε καὶ λεῖον A8.608–09

κεν διοίστευσείας *Od.* 12.102 → ὥστε καὶ τοξάσαντα ἐφικέσθαι A8.629–30

λευκαῖνον ὕδωρ ξεστήσ' ἐλάττησιν *Od.* 12.172 → οἱ δὲ ἥρεσσον κατὰ δύναμιν A8.662

ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτῃ *Od.* 12.257 → ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτάτῳ A8.714–15

δόρπον ὀπιλιόμεθα *Od.* 12.292 → δόρπον ἐτοιμάσαι A8.736–37

ἀγορὴν θέμενος *Od.* 12.319 → δημηγορίαν ἐποίησε A8.749

ἐφέπεσκον ἀνάγκῃ *Od.* 12.330 → διεπνεῖτο ἐξ ἀπορίας A8.753

κνίσσης ἀμφήλυθεν ἡδὺς αὐτμή *Od.* 12.369 → τῆς κνίσσης αἰσθάνεται A8.766–67

**Appendix 5. A9. Ἐπίτομος διήγησις εἰς τὰς καθ' Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως μετά τινος θεωρίας ἠθικωτέρας φιλοπονηθεῖσα καὶ τὸ τοῦ μύθου σαθρὸν, ὡς οἶόν τε, θεραπεύουσα τῆς τῶν νέων εἵνεκεν ὠφελείας.**

- Προθεωρία.** οὐκ ἀλόγως, οἶμαι, πάντα τῇ ποιήσει ἐκτέθεται, ὅσα τινὲς ἰστόρηται παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἤτοι παθόντες ἢ καὶ γενναῖον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τι δράσαντες· κἂν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ δραματικώτερον εἰργάσθαι δοκῇ, ὅμως ἔχει καὶ λόγους τινὰς τοῖς μύθοις ὑποκαθημένους· ἐφ' οὓς ἄγει σοφιστικώτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ φαινομένου τὴν αἴσθησιν· ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ λεληθότως διδάσκει, ἃ δὴ χρεὼν πρὸ τῶν μύθων εἰδέναι τοὺς νέους εἰς κόσμον ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' εἶπερ που τοῦθ' οὗτος ὁ μέγας ἥρως ἐπραγματεύσατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα μάλιστα, [Fol. 117r] ὡς ἔσται δῆλον αὐτίκα.
- 1. [Περὶ Λωτοφάγων].** λέγεται τῇ ποιήσει τοιοῦτό τι πεπονθέναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα πλανώμενον· ἀνέμοις, φησὶν, αὐτὸν ἐξωσθέντα βιαίως τῆς Λωτοφάγων γῆς ἐπιβῆναι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀγνοοῦντα τῆς χώρας, τινὰς που πεπομφέναι τῶν φίλων περὶ αὐτῆς πευσομένους· τοὺς δέ, οἰχομένους, συμμίσξει τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις· παρ' ὧν εἰληφότας ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις φυομένου λωτοῦ, φαγεῖν αὐτίκα καὶ πεῖραν εἰληφέναι τοῦ μελιδουῦς τούτου καρποῦ· οὐκοῦν δὲ καὶ μένειν αἰρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις, Ὀδυσσεῖα δὲ καὶ πατρίδα, πάντα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλάττω λογίζεσθαι· τὸν δὲ μεμαθηκότα τὴν συμφορὰν, βιαίως ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς συνελάσαι κλαίοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς ζυγοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἀσφαλῶς μάλιστα καταδεῖσαι· κελεῦσαί τε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνειν ἐκόντας, μὴ ταῦτά πάθοιεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν μῦθος, τοιαῦτα.
- ἐγὼ δ' Ὀδυσσεῖα πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ παρόντι πλανώμενον θεῖην ἂν εἶναι δικαίως, ὅς νῦν μὲν τοῖσδε τοῖς πάθεσι, νῦν δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ τούσδ' ἀπλῶς ἢ τούσδε τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς ψυχῆς προῖεται ἀπολύτως οἷς ἂν τύχοι συμμίγνυσθαι· οἱ καὶ τῆς γλυκείας ἡδονῆς τῶν ἀπατηλῶν τρόπων ἀπολελαυκότες, οὐκ ἀναστρέφειν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν προαιροῦνται, οὐδέ γε τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπιστρέφονται νόμου οὐδὲ μέντοι διαίτης καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης, ἣ συνηυξήθησαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν νόθον ταύτην τῆς φύσεως τροφὴν ἐκπλαγέντες, συντρόφων ἡθῶν κατολιγωροῦσιν· ὁ μὲντοι λόγος τῆς φύσεως, ὃ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος σωφρόνως διήρηται, οὐδαμῶς ἀνεχόμενος τὸ σφέτερον ἀξίωμα ὑπὸ τῆς φαύλης καὶ ἀήθους ἡδονῆς παρευδοκιμεῖσθαι, θάττον ἐφίσταται καὶ σφοδρότερον ἐπιπλήττει, εἴ γε κατ' Ὀδυσσεῖα δραστήσιος τις εἴη καὶ [Fol. 117v] ἐναγώνιος· καὶ καθέλκει βιαίως ἐπὶ τὰς συντρόφους νομὰς καὶ τῶν ἀπατηλῶν δαιμόνων, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος τῶν λωτοφάγων, ἀφίστησι. συνδεῖ τε καὶ συνέχει λόγοις αὐστηροτέροις καὶ ἀπρόιτους ἐτι πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα ἐργάζεται· καὶ τὰ μὲν παθόντα τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη οὕτω καλῶς διατίθῃσι· τὰ δ' οὕτω παθόντα καταφράττει ὁμοίως καὶ ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ τῆς διαφθειρούσης μετανίστησιν ἡδονῆς, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς ἐταίρους.
- 2. [Περὶ Πολυφήμου τοῦ Κύκλωπος].** φασὶ τινὰ καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄθλον ὑποστῆναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα πλανώμενον· τῆς γὰρ τῶν Κυκλώπων γῆς ἐπιβάντα καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐξιόντα, κατοπτεῦσαι τῆς χώρας, ἄντρον ἐπ' ἐσχатиᾷς αὐτοῦ που ἰδεῖν καὶ μῆλα πολλὰ καὶ αἶγας αὐλιζομένας καὶ ἄνδρα δ' ἐπαγρυπνοῦντα ἐκεῖσε, ἀμήχανόν τινα τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν, καὶ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων Κυκλώπων χωρὶς διαιτώμενον δι' ἀγριότητα τρόπου. ἐνθα παραγινόμενον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, εἰσιέναι σπουδῇ, οὐχ εὐρεῖν δὲ τὸν Κύκλωπα περὶ νομὴν ἐξιόντα. μετὰ δὲ πάντα εὐρεῖν καὶ θεᾶσθαι ἀνὰ τὸ ἄντρον τυρῶν καὶ ἄρνων καὶ ἐρίφων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, αὐτὸν ἰκετεύειν ἕκ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοὺς εἰληφότας, εἰς τοῦπίσω ἰέναι· τὸν δ', οὐκ ἐθέλειν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὸν Κύκλωπα λαβεῖν τι καὶ ξένιον· εἴτα κἄκεῖνον ἐληλυθέναι καὶ εἰσιδόντα ξένους καὶ ἀήθεις ἄνδρας θαυμάσαι καὶ

**1** καθ' Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως corr. ex τὰς κατ' Ὀδυσσεῖα πλάνας Ὀμήρου V καθ' Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως L 2 καὶ τὸ μύθου σαθρὸν Columbus | τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων L **3** ἐνεκεν ὠφελείας L **6** τινὰς ἀρίστους, τοῖς L | ἐφ' οὓς ἀνάγει L **7–9** τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ὑποτίθεται, ἃ δὴ χρεὼν πρὸ τῶν μύθων τοὺς νέους εἰδέναι, σωφρονεῖν βουλομένους καὶ τῇ βελτίονι μοίρᾳ προστίθεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰτέρ που τοῦθ' ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἥρως ἐπραγματεύσατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα μάλιστα· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσεῖα προστησάμενος ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ βιβλίου, πολλὰ ῥητά τε καὶ ἄρρητα τῇ ποιητικῇ διέξεισιν ἐξουσία. καὶ τούτοις, οἷς μὲν καὶ φανερῶς καθιστάμενος τὰ κάλλιστα παραινεῖν καὶ ἄγε βούλεται, [Fol. 132v] τὸν σκοπὸν κατεργάζεται· οἷς δὲ καὶ κύκλω περιῶν, καὶ ἄλλοις δηλαδὴ καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν εἰς τοῦτο δαιμονίως ἀποτελεῦσιν, ἐκεῖνο διδάσκειν μονονουχὶ βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔστιν ἄρα τι κερδαίνειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων ἢ αἰσχροῦν ἢ λυπηρῶν, ὅποι παρικοί, εἰ μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς τῶν κακῶν ἀβουλήτοις. Ὅ δὴ καὶ δῆλον ἔσται αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοις L **26** ἀλήθους ἡδονῆς Obsopoeus et Westermann ἀλήτου Micrander apud Columbus **28** βιαίως ἐπὶ τὰς οὐκ ἀήθεις νομὰς L **29** ἀπατηλῶν ἐργῶν L **30** ἀπροσίτους Westermann **38** θέσθαι Obsopoeus cum dubio ad marginem notam “θεᾶσθαι legendum videtur” add. θαυμάσαι Westermann L **39** ἕκ γε τῶν παρόντων L **41** εἰσιδόντα ξένους τινὰς καὶ L

- πρῶτα μὲν, οἵτινες εἶεν, ἐρέσθαι· εἴτ' ἀπηνῶς σύνδυο λαβόντα, φαγεῖν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς αὔθις  
 σύνδυο· πρὸς ταῦτα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά βουλευσάσθαι κακόν τι δράσαι τὸν Κύκλωπα, μὴ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 45 τούτῳ πάντας ὀλέσειεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὔθις ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἐληλυθότα τὸν ἀνδροφάγον, ἀνακαλύψαι  
 τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ σύνδυο λαβόντα, φαγεῖν· [Fol. 118r] πιεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, ὃν Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτῷ  
 δέδωκε κομιζόμενος· οὐκοῦν καὶ μεθυσθέντα, διατετάσθαι· τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο μογλῶ τινι ἐξ ἐλαίας  
 ἐκπυρωθέντι διαπερνηθῆναι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν πρὸς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων· εἴτ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐξιέναι ὑποδύντας τὰ μῆλα μηχανῇ τινι θαυμασίᾳ· καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ μύθου, τοιαῦτα.  
 ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὴ τῷ ὄλῳ, τῷ γοῦν πλείστῳ μέρει τούτου συντίθεμαι· ὅμως μέντοι Ὀδυσσεά εἶναι  
 50 ὑπολογίζομαι πάντ' ἀνθρωπον φιλοκερδῆ τε καὶ πολυπράγμονα, ὃς τοῦ δικαίου καὶ σώφρονος  
 τρόπου ἀποπλανηθεὶς, εἰς ἄγριά τινα καὶ ἀπανθρώπινα ἦθη ἐκφέρεται. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πονηρὸς τις  
 καὶ ἀναιδέστατος δαίμων οἰκεῖ καὶ τῇ φύσει πολέμιος, ὃς τρέφει μὲν ἄλογα πάθη καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦ  
 μέρους ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρέφεται, λυμαινόμενος ἐπιβούλῳ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει· τὸν δὴ τοιοῦτον  
 55 τίσεται πάντως ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά συνετῶς ἀνανήψας καὶ ἰδὼν, οὗ κακοῦ δι' ἀφροσύνην ἐστί-  
 τίσεται δὲ δι' ἐναντίας τῆς ἑξέως, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ἐπιτηδεύσας· εἴτα κᾀκεῖθεν  
 ἐξελεύσεται ἀπήμων· αὐτὸς μὲν χαίρων, ἅτε μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων ἡθῶν ἀποκαταστάς· τὸν δὲ  
 νοητὸν Κύκλωπα στένειν ἀφείς ἐπὶ τῇ τυφλώσει τῆς πονηρίας.
- 3. [Περὶ Αἰόλου].** λόγος τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πλανώμενον, εἰς Αἰολίδα νῆσον μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων  
 ἀφίχθαι· ἔνθα δεινὸν τινα καὶ κακότεχνον ἄνδρα οἰκεῖν· Αἰόλον τοῦνομα, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸν  
 60 τρόπον, φιλόξενον δ' ὅμως καὶ ἡμερον. τούτῳ παραγενόμενον Ὀδυσσεά, πομπὴν ἐξαίτησαι καὶ  
 νόστον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα. τὸν δὲ, κατανεύσαντα, βοῦν ἐκδεῖραι καὶ τὸ δέρμα τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ  
 παρασχεῖν· [Fol. 118v] ἔνθα δαιμονία τινὶ τέχνῃ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὰς κατακλείσαι,  
 μόνην δ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν Ζεφύρου πνοὴν ἐλεύθερον, ἕως ἂν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφίκηται μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων·  
 65 καὶ δὴ ἐννῆμαρ οὐρῶ πλέοντα πνεύματι, φαινομένην τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν καὶ τοὺς πυρπολοῦντας  
 ἐγγὺς δῆπουθεν ὄντας, καμάτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ δεδαμασμένον τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, ὡς μόνον ἀεὶ τὸν  
 τῆς νέως πόδα κινεῖν, ὕπνον ἐλεῖν· τοὺς δ' ἐταίρους οἰηθέντας χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον τὸν  
 ἄσκον φέρειν, τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ δῶρα Αἰόλου, φθονῆσαι τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ χεῖρας ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ ἄσκῳ.  
 τοῦ δὲ, λυθέντος, πάσας αὐτίκα τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων ἐξορμῆσαι πνοὰς καὶ θυέλλαν ἐξῆς σφοδροτάτην  
 70 ἀρπάσασαν, τοὺς νηπίους εἰς τὸν πόντον ἀπαγαγεῖν κλαίοντας. τότε δὴ καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου  
 ἐξαναστήναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά· καὶ τῷ τῆς λύπης κλυδῶνι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης διαταραχθέντα,  
 εἰς βυθὸν ἐκπεσεῖν βουλευέσθαι· τλῆναι δ' ὅμως καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν Αἰολίδα πάλιν  
 ἀφίχθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ μύθου, τοιαῦτα.
- ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν καὶ τὸ ὅλον πέπλασται, νῦν μὲν οὐ λέγω· λέγω δ' ὅμως, ὃ πλέον οἶμαι τὴν ποιήσιν  
 75 βούλεσθαι. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐστὶν ἄντικρυς ὁ πραγμάτων δὴ τινων ταλαιπωρίαις συνισχημένος καὶ  
 πλάνην, ἦντινα οὖν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, ὑφιστάμενος· ὃς λύσιν μὲν εὑρεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ μηχανᾶται, οὐχ  
 ὡς μέντοι καὶ προσῆκεν εὐσεβεῖν ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ, ἀλλὰ γόησιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φαρμακοῖς  
 ἑαυτὸν ἀναθέμενος καὶ τερθρεῖαις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς ἐπιθαρρῶν, τὰ δυσχερῆ διακρούσασθαι. τὸν δὴ  
 τοιοῦτον οὐδ' ἡ ποιήσις ἀνύτειν ταῖς κακοτεχνίαις ἐκδίδωσι, σφάλλεσθαι δὲ τὰ μάλιστα τῶν  
 80 ἐλπίδων [Fol. 119r] καὶ γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνειν οὗτοι μέτριον. καὶ μὴ ὅτι τοῦτο τὰ τοῦ μύθου  
 βούλεται, ἀλλὰ κᾀκεῖνο σφαλερὸν μάλα νομίζει, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος ἀποτυχίαν  
 ἐξεργαζόμενον, τὸ περὶ τὰ τέλη καταρραθυμεῖν, οἷον Ὀδυσσεὺς πέπονθεν· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
 βασκαίνειν ἀλλοτρίαις εὐδαιμονίαις καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι συλᾶν τὰ ἀλλότρια καὶ λογισμοῖς καὶ  
 ὑπονοίαις πιστεύειν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐταῖροι, κακῶν τίθησι πρόξενον τῶν ἐσχάτων.
- 4. [Περὶ Λαιστρυγόνων].** οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων συμπεσόντα τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ, γένοιτ' ἂν  
 85 ἄκερδῇ τοῖς ἀκούουσι· λέγεται γάρ, αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων πλανώμενον, Λάμου τοῦ βασιλέως  
 τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων τὴν χώραν καταλαβεῖν. ἔνθα λιμένα τινὰ θαυμάσιον πεφυκέναι, στενόν τε τὴν  
 εἴσοδον καὶ μάλα γε ἐπιτήδειον ναῦς καταγομένης εἰσδέξασθαι καὶ φυλάξαι· ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν  
 ἄλλους ἐταίρους μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ἔνδον εἰσβῆναι, μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπολογισαμένους. μόνον δ'  
 90 Ὀδυσσεά τὴν ναῦν ἔξω σχεῖν, ἐκ πέτρας τινὸς τὰ πείσματα δήσαντα· εἴτα τρεῖς τινὰς ἐέμψαι,  
 οἵτινες εἶεν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ γῇ πευσομένους· τοὺς δὲ, διὰ λείας τινὸς ἰόντας, εἰς τινα μεγάλην πόλιν

47 διαπερνηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν· συναραμένον καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων L | εἴτα αὐτοὺς Obsopoeus 51  
 τρόπου ἐκπλανηθεὶς, εἰς Columbus 54 ἀφροσύνην ἐστὶν Westermann 63 πνοὴν ἐλευθέραν L 65 ἀεὶ τῆς νέως πόδα  
 Obsopoeus 71 δὴ δεινὸν Obsopoeus 74 δὴ τινον ταλαιπωρίας Obsopoeus non recte legit 85 ἄκερδῇ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν  
 Columbus 86 χώραν κατειληφέναι L | στενήν τε τὴν Obsopoeus

- ἀφῖχθαι, τοσοῦτον ὑψηλὰς ἔχουσιν τὰς πύλας, ὥστε τὸν εἰσελαύνοντα ποιμένα τοῦ ἐξελαύνοντος ῥαδίως ἀκούειν. κἀντεῦθεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐληλυθέναι δώματα καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα εὔρεϊν, ὅρει προσεικυῖαν τὸ μέγεθος, ἦν δὴ καὶ καταστυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνοήτους οὕτως ἔχουσιν ἀηδῶς προσβλέποντας· τὴν δὲ, χολωθεῖσαν, τὸν ἄνδρα καλεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κἀκεῖνον ἰόντα, ἓνα τῶν
- 95 ἐταίρων ἀρπάσαντα, κατεδηδο[Fol. 119v]κέναι· τῶν δ' ἐτέρων φυγόντων, τὸν βασιλέα βοῆσαι· καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας φοιτήσαντας, χερμαδίοις λίθοις βάλλειν τὰς ναῦς· καὶ τὰς μὲν, καταγνύναι· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἐσθίειν, ὥς τινας ἰχθὺς περιπείροντας, ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐκτεμόντα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τὰ πείσματα καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις διακελευσάμενον ἐμβάλλειν ταῖς κόπαις, μόνον τῶν ἄλλων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκφυγεῖν· καὶ ἀλγεῖν μὲν τῷ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολωλέναι, χαίρειν δ' ὁμως ὅτιπερ
- 100 αὐτὸς σέσωσται· καὶ ἃ μὲν φησιν ἡ ποίησις, ταῦτα.  
ἔστι δὲ κἀνθάδε ὑπολαμβάνειν, Ὀδυσσεά μὲν, ἄνθρωπον τινα γνώμης αὐτονομία πολιτευόμενον καὶ νόμων καὶ πολιτείας, ὥς τινος πατρίδος, ἀποφοιτήσαντα. ὃς ἀνάγκη ἄλλοτρίοις ἦθεσι τοῦ καλοῦ πλανώμενος καὶ, ὥς ἐν λιμένι τινί, τῇ πονηρίᾳ προσορμιζόμενος, σφαλερῶς μάλα διαναπαύεται· ὅθεν, ὥς ὀρμητηρίου τινὸς παρεξιών, καταγωγὰς τε καὶ καταδύσεις καὶ πόλεις
- 105 ὀχυράς τε καὶ δυσαλώτους τῶν μοχθηρῶν τρόπων, ὥς ἄλλων γέ τινων Λαιστρυγόνων, περιεργάζεται· ἐξ ὧν, καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ κτείνεται μέρει καὶ θανατοῦται· ὅπῃ δ' ἀνεγκῶν καὶ νοῦν λαβὼν ἔμφρονα ποῖ ποτέ ἐστι τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οἷς περιστοιχίζεται πτώμασι, τὰ συνίσχοντα τῆς κακίας ἐκτέμνει πείσματα καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφεύγει, θρηγῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν ἀπολωλυῖαν τῶν ἡθῶν κατάστασιν, χαίρων δ' αὖθις, ὅτιπερ τινι σέσωσται μέρει καὶ μὴ τὸ ὅλον διέφθαρται. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ
- 110 τοῦτο τὴν ποίησιν ὑπαινίττεσθαι παιδεύουσαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ προσκρούειν τοῖς κρείττοσι μηδὲ ῥήμασιν αἰσχροῖς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μετρίας [Fol. 120r] συμφορᾶς γίγνεται πρόξενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
- 5. [Περὶ Κίρκης].** ποιητικός τις ὡς ἡμᾶς ἦκει λόγος· τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πλανώμενον, ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰαίαν νῆσον καταχθῆναι τῆς Κίρκης. ἔνθα τῶν ἐταίρων οὐκ ὀλίγους διαπεμψάμενον, οἵτινες οἰκοῦσι
- 115 τὴν χώραν πυθέσθαι· οὐ γάρ τοι προυφαίνετο πόλις ἢ τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως σύμβολον· πλὴν ἐνὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς σύας τὴν Κίρκην μεταβαλεῖν. τὸν δὲ, αὐτίκα ὀπλίσασθαι· καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης ἰόντα δώματα, Ἑρμῇ συναντῆσαι καὶ τι παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν φάρμακον, ὧν ἡ κακότεχνος γυνὴ μηχανᾶται ἀντίπαλον. ἔκεισε δ' ἀπίοντα, κἀκεῖνη συμμίζαντα καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ κυκεῶνος πίνοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους, μηδὲν τι παθεῖν, ὧν παθεῖν ἔδει, διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πόματος, προσαναγκάσαι
- 120 δ' ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ πολλὰ φιλοφρονηθέντα καὶ χρησμούς εἰληφότα καὶ δῶρα, ἐκεῖθεν ὑποχωρήσαι· καὶ ἃ μὲν φησὶν ὁ μῦθος τοιαῦτα.  
ἡμεῖς δὲ περιεργότερον ἐνιδόντες τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, Ὀδυσσεά μὲν οἰόμεθα εἶναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς· ἐταίρους δὲ, τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰς συμφύτους δυνάμεις· Αἰαίαν δὲ νῆσον, τὴν θρηγῶδη καὶ πολὺδακρυν χώραν τῆς ἀσωτίας· Κίρκην δὲ, καταγοητεύουσιν καὶ τὰς
- 125 μορφὰς ἀλλοιοῦσαν τοῦ λογικοῦ ἀξιώματος, τὴν φαύλην καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἡδονήν· πρὸς ἣν καὶ ἄνευ νοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος οἱ τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμοὶ καὶ αἱ φυσικαὶ ὁρμαὶ, ἀτάκτως ἀπολυόμεναι, εἰς τὴν ἄλογον ἐξαλλάττονται φύσιν κατακληθεῖσαι· ὧν αὖθις ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ἀπαθοῦς ἀνανήσας καὶ ὑπομνησθεῖς, οἷα πεπόνθασιν, καὶ θυμῷ τε ὁμοῦ καθοπλισθεῖς [Fol. 120v] ἔμφρονα καὶ κριτικῶ λόγῳ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ὃς δὴ καὶ τάναντία τῆς κλησάσης ἐξευρίσκει φάρμακα, στρατεύεται κατ' αὐτῆς· καὶ οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸς τοῖς δεινοῖς φαρμάκοις τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀλίσκεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διαφθαρείσας δυνάμεις τῆς φύσεως εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀποκαθίστησιν εἶδος· κἀκεῖθεν ἄπεισι κερδάνας τι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνης, ὧν ἔδοξεν εἵνεκεν ἐξημιῶσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἀναλαμβάνοντες κερδαίνουσι τό γε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κακίας μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπιστημόνως διαγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τῇ πρόσθεν ἥττη μεῖζονι προφάσει χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν.
- 130

91 ἔχουσιν πύλας L 95 τῶν δ' ἄλλων L 96 καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλοθεν τοὺς L 98 Ὀδυσσεά μὲν εἶναι, πάντ' ἄνθρωπον γνώμης L 98 Ὀδυσσεά μὲν εἶναι, πάντ' ἄνθρωπον γνώμης L Ὀδυσσεά μὲν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον γνώμης Hercher 102 ὃς ἄλλοτρίοις L 104 διαναπαύεται. ἀφ' ἧς L 106 ἐξ ὧν τῷ πλείστῳ L 107 ἔμφρονα πῇ ποτέ L 108 θρηγῶν μὲν τὴν Obsoroeus 112 συμφορᾶς γίνεται sine gamma Obsoroeus οὐ μετρίας γίγνεται συμφορᾶς Columbus 113 τις εἰς ἡμᾶς Columbus 116 εἰς σύας μεταβαλέσθαι ταῖς τῆς Κίρκης κακοτεχνίαις L | ὀπλίσασθαι μεμαθηκότα καὶ L 119 μηδὲν παθεῖν L 120 πολλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν φιλοφρονηθέντα ἱκανῶς μάλιστα· καὶ χρησμούς L 121 καὶ ἃ μὲν ἡ ποίησις, ταῦτα· L 123 Αἰαίαν δὲ {δὲ} νῆσον V 124 πολὺδακρυν τοῦ κακοῦ χώραν L 125 τοῦ λογιστικοῦ Obsoroeus | καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἡδονήν. πρὸς ἣν ἄνευ L | οἱ τε τῆς ψυχῆς L 126 φυσικαὶ κινήσεις ἀτάκτως L 127 ἄλογον καὶ μοχθηρὰν ἐξαλλάττονται L 130 ἡδονῆς οὐχ ἀλίσκεται L 134 πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν Columbus

- 135 **6. [Περὶ Κιμμερίων].** ἦκειν εἰς Ἄιδου χρησαμένης τῆς Κίρκης τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φασὶ πλανώμενον·  
ἦκειν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἐκ τῆς Αἰαίας νήσου τὰ ἱστία πετάσαντα, οὐρῶ ἀνέμῳ, πανημέριον  
εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἀφικέσθαι πέρατα· ἔνθα δῆμον εἶναι τῶν κιμμερίων καὶ πόλιν ζόφῳ  
κεκαλυμμένην· οὐ γὰρ ἥλιον αὐτοὺς ποτε ἐφορᾶν οὔτ' ἀνίσχοντα οὔτε δυόμενον· τὴν μὲν οὖν  
140 ναῦν ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενον προσορμίσαι, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄπερ ἱερεῖα ἐκόμιζε· τὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν  
ἐταίρων παρὰ τὸν ῥοῦν ἔρχεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ἀφίκωνται, οὐπὲρ αὐτῷ συμμίζαι τοῖς ἐν Ἄιδου τὸ  
πολύτροπον ὑπεσημήνατο γύναιον· ἔνθα γινόμενον καὶ πάντα πράξαντα τὰ δαίμοσι φίλα καὶ  
ἀναγαρόντα ἐξ Ἄιδου τὸν Τειρεσίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν συγγενῶν τε καὶ συνήθων ψυχάς, μαθόντα τε  
ἄπερ ἔδει παθεῖν ὕστερον, ἐκεῖθεν ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐπανεληλυθέναι, μὴ ποτ' αὐτοῦ  
145 ἀναβάντα, ἐπανήκειν εἰς τὴν Αἰαίαν, ὅποι ἡμέραν οἰκεῖν [Fol. 121r] καὶ ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου· καὶ  
τᾶλλα δὴ τὰ τοῦ μύθου.  
ἐγὼ δὲ σχεδὸν τοῖς πᾶσι διαπιστῶν, τὸ ὅλον πρὸς διάνοιαν ἔχειν καλῶς γε ὑπολαμβάνω· καὶ  
Ὀδυσσέα οἶμαι τὴν ποίησιν ὑπαινίττεσθαι πάντ' ἄνθρωπον, ἅπαξ ἡδονῇ κακίας καὶ φαύλων  
ὀρέξει προδοσθένον πραγμάτων· ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲν ἄλλο μαντεύεται, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς Ἄιδην ἰέναι τὴν  
150 παντελῇ τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ συμφέροντος ἄγνοιαν· ἔνθα πονηρὰ τινα εἰδῶλα καὶ σκαιοὶ καὶ ἄγριοι  
δαίμονες κατοικοῦσιν· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπαγόμενος τῷ γλυκεῖ ταύτης ῥεύματι, καὶ διὰ τῶν  
ἀνηλίων καὶ σκοτεινῶν ἔργων ὑποσυρόμενος, εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς κακίας πέρατα φθάνει· καὶ  
συγγίνεται τούτοις καὶ θύει πρᾶξιν καὶ λόγον καὶ διανόημα καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογα  
καταχαρίζεται μέρη· ἐξ ὧν, κατείδωλος γίνεται καὶ βέβηλος καὶ ἀνόσιος· ζῶν μέντοι ὅμως καὶ  
155 παρὰ τῇ φύσει κείμενον ἔχων τὸ δύνασθαι, τοῦ σκότους ἐξαναδύναται· ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν φυγῇ  
τινι χρήσαιτο, πρὶν ἢ δεινὴ μοῖρα τοῦ θανάτου γοργῶς αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐπιστήσει καὶ τῆς  
παρούσης ὑπεκστήσει ζωῆς, ἐπάνεισιν ἀνανήψας ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῆς ψυχῆς χώραν, ὅπου κρίσις  
τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ τοῦ νοῦ φῶς ἀνατέλλει καὶ λογισμοὶ περιχορεύουσι σῶφρονες· εἰ δ' ἐπιμένει  
τῇ σκοτεινῇ ταύτῃ χώρᾳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχούσῃ βιώσιμον, σπαράττεται τελέως τῇ πονηρίᾳ, καὶ μετὰ  
160 τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν προσαπόλλυσιν.  
**7. [Περὶ Σειρήνων].** λέγεται τῇ ποιήσει, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Σειρήνας τὸν Ὀδυσσέα διαγωνίσασθαι· τὰς  
δὲ, εἴτε τις δαιμόνων φύσις εἰσὶν, εἴτε δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ταὐτὸ συνιόντων·  
[Fol. 121v] ὅμως πρὸς τὸ θηλύτερον ἐσκευασμένας, ἀνθηροὺς τινας λειμῶνας οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν  
σύμπασαν μουσικὴν τέχνην ἐπιτηδεύειν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργον αὐταῖς, ἐπειδὴν τινας  
165 παραπλέοντας ἰδῶσι, λιγυρώτερον ἄδειν· τοὺς δὲ, τῇ γλυκύτητι τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῷ φθόγγῳ  
καταθελγομένους, λήθην ἄγειν αὐτίκα γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ πάντας αὐτοῦ ἡδέως  
ἐναποθνήσκειν αἰρεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ πολὺν τινα ὀστέων σωρὸν ἐκεῖσε ὀρᾶσθαι τῶν πυθομένων  
ἀνδρῶν· πρὶν οὖν ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα γενέσθαι πλέοντα, προειπεῖν τοῖς ἐταίροις τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ  
πῶς ἂν καὶ τί ποτε δράσαντες αὐτὸν διαδράσαιεν· οὕτω δ' εἰπόντα καὶ τὴν ἔχουσαν ἐκείνας νῆσον  
170 μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξικέσθαι· κἀκεῖ τινα τεμόντα κηρὸν καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λεάναντα, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπαλεῖψαι  
τὰ ὦτα· εἰπεῖν δὲ, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸν μὲν ἰσχυρῶς μάλιστα δήσουσιν· οἱ δὲ, καθήμενοι ἐρέττουσι  
κατὰ δύναμιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντ' ἐγένετο, καὶ παρ' αὐτὰς ἦσαν ἀφιγμένοι τὰς μουσουργοὺς δαίμονας,  
ἐκείνας αὐτίκα αἰσθέσθαι πλέοντας καὶ τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ καταθέλξει τὸν Ὀδυσσέα,  
τὰ μὲν ἄδουσας, τὰ δὲ καὶ λέγουσας· τὸν δὲ, πρὸς ταῦτα θελγόμενον καὶ διανεύοντα ταῖς ὀφρύσι  
175 τοὺς φίλους τοῦ δεσμοῦ διαφεῖναι· τοῦναντίον ἐκείνους ἀναστάντας δεσμεῖν ἰσχυροτέρᾳ τῇ πέδῃ  
καὶ ταύτῃ τὰς ἀπατηλὰς ἐκφυγεῖν· καὶ ὁ μὲν μῦθος, τοιαῦτα.  
ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὴ, μέχρι τοῦ ὀρωμένου, τὴν ποίησιν ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τινὰ σειρήνα κατακηλεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ περαιτέρω τι βούλεσθαι· οὐκοῦν σειρήνας ὑποληπτέον τὰς θελζίνους καὶ ἀπατηλὰς [Fol. 122r]

**136** ἀνέμῳ εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πανημέριον ἀφικέσθαι L **140** συμμίζαι τὸ πολύτροπον L ad marginem τοῖς ἐν (Ἄι)δου L **141** καὶ ἃ φίλα τοῖς δαίμοσι πάντα πεποικηκότα· καὶ ἀναγαρόντα L **142** τὸν τε Τειρεσίαν Obsoroeus | μαθόντα δὲ ἄπερ Obsoroeus **143** ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ L | μὴ ποτε αὐτοῦ Obsoroeus **144** κεφαλὴν· εἴτα ἀναβάντα Obsoroeus **145** καὶ ταῦτα δὴ Westermann **147** ἔχειν, οὐ φαύλως ὑπολαμβάνω L **148** Ὀδυσσέα μὲν οἶμαι L | ἡδονῇ καὶ φαύλων ὀρέξει πραγμάτων προδοσθένον· ἐξῆς οὐδὲν L **150** σκαιοὶ τινες καὶ L **151** ῥεύματι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνηλίων Columbus **152** σκοτεινῶν τῆς κακίας ἔργων παρασυρόμενος, εἰς αὐτὰ γε φθάνει τὰ τῆς ἀπωλείας πέρατα· ἔνθα καὶ θύει L **153** τῆς ψυχῆς καταχαρίζεται L **155** εἰ μὲν ἐκ μετανοίας ἐκεῖθεν L **158** εἰ δὲ ἐπιμένει Obsoroeus **160** ζωῆς, τὸ τὴν Columbus ζωῆς, καὶ τὴν Westermann **164** ἐπιτηδεύειν· εἶναι Columbus **166** ἡδέως ἀποθνήσκειν Columbus **167** τινα ὀστέων ἐκεῖσε ὀρᾶσθαι σωρὸν τῶν πυθομένων L **172** αὐτὰς λοιπὸν ἦσαν ἀφιγμένοι μουσουργοὺς Obsoroeus **174** ὀφρύσι τοῖς φίλοις τῶν δεσμῶν διαφεῖναι L **175** πέδῃ· καὶ τοιαύτῃ μηχανῇ, τὰς ἀπατηλὰς L

- 180 ἡδονάς· αἱ τῷ λείψῳ καὶ προσηνεῖ τε καὶ μελιχρῷ πάντας ἀνθρώπους δεινῶς καταγοητεύουσιν, ὅσοι τὸν παρόντα διαπλέουσι βίον· ἃς ἐκεῖνος παρεξέλασαι δύναται, ὃς ἂν, κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, τὰς μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐταίρων κηρῷ καταφράξειε θείων λόγων καὶ πράξεων καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνας ποιήσειεν ἀναισθήτους, τὰς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὁρμὰς ἰσχυροτάτῃ πέδῃ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καταμαράνειε καὶ ἀναλώτοις εἶναι ταύταις παράσχοι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν αἰσθόμενος, δόξειε μὴ αἰσθῆσθαι· καὶ ἀκούσας, μὴδὲ ἀκοῦσαι· ἐπεὶ περ οὐχὶ τὸ πείραν εἰληφέναι τῶν ἡδονῶν τοῦτ' οἶδε
- 185 τὴν ψυχὴν θανατοῦν, τὸ δὲ καταμεῖναι ταύταις διὰ βίου θελῆσαι τῶν ἀρίστων ἔργων τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀφρόνως ἐπιλαθόμενον.
- 8. [Περὶ Σκύλλης καὶ Χαρύβδεως].** φασὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πλανώμενον πρὸς δεινούς τινας καὶ ἀμάχους παρακινδυνεύσαι σκοπέλους τῆς τε Σκύλλης καὶ τῆς Χαρύβδεως· ὣν θάτερον μὲν, ὑψηλὰς εἶναι πέτρας πλαγίᾳ· πρὸς ἃς καὶ μέγα κύμα ῥοχθεῖν θαλάττιον· τοσοῦτ' ἔστι γὰρ ὑψηλὰς, ὥς εἰς αὐτὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντικρὺς ἐξήκειν τὴν κορυφὴν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νεφελάδῃ καὶ κάθυγρον εἶναι καὶ μήτε πτηνὰ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐκεῖ παρέρχεσθαι, μήτ' ἄνθρωπον ἀναβαίνειν, οὐδ' εἰ χεῖρες αὐτῷ εἴκοσι καὶ πόδες εἴεν. ἔνθα κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἄντρον εἶναι τι σκοτεινὸν εἰς Ἑρεβος τετραμμένον πρὸς ζόφον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν λυσσώδη Σκύλλαν οἰκεῖν δεινὸν τι λελακυῖαν, ὅσα καὶ φωνὴ γίνεται νεογιλῆς τινος σκύλακος· ταύτης πόδας μὲν εἶναι δώδεκα, ἐξ δὲ περιμήκεις
- 190 τραχήλους καὶ κεφαλὰς δὲ τοσαύτας· [Fol. 122v] τριστοίχους δ' ὀδόντας, θάνατον στάζοντας· προΐσχειν δ' αἰεὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον καὶ ἰχθυᾶν, περισκοποῦσαν τὸν σκόπελον. ἔνθα μὴ δὲ ναῦν ποτὲ παραπλεύουσιν ἀζήμιον ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτους ἄνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖν, ὅποσαι τῷ θηρίῳ αἱ κεφαλαί· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἕνα τοιοῦτον εἶναι φασί· τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον χθαμαλότερον φαίνεσθαι ἐτέρωθεν κείμενον ἐκ παραλλήλου πλησίον, ὅσον τοξάσαντα ἐφικέσθαι· ὃν δὴ καὶ αἰεὶ διαφθείρειν τὰς τὸν στενωπὸν ἐκείνον παραπλεύουσας ναῦς, ὥσθ' ὁμοῦ τε ἀλλήλοις συμφέρεσθαι
- 200 πίνακάς τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν σώματα ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπικεχυμένης θυέλλης τοῦ ὀλεθρίου πυρός· εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγαν ἐρινεόν, ὃν καὶ τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναρροιβδεῖν τὴν Χάρυβδιν· τρεῖς μὲντοι καὶ ἀνιέναι. ἔνθα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά γενόμενον, παραγγέλλειν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ τοῦ μὲν φανέντος καπνοῦ τε καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἀπειργεῖν τὴν ναῦν· παρὶθύνειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ ἐτέρῳ σκοπέλῳ, ἔλαττον κακὸν τοῦ μείζονος προτιμῶντα. οὐκοῦν κάκεῖνους μὲν ὄραν τὸν ὑποπτον σκόπελον καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν φρίττειν· ἐτέρωθεν δὲ τὴν Σκύλλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν διαρπάσαι θηρηνούντας καὶ χεῖρας Ὀδυσσεὶ ὀρέγοντας ἐπαμῦναι· τὸν δ' ἐπιστραφέντα, ἰδεῖν· οὐκ ἀμῦναι δὲ δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' οἰκτεῖρειν τὴν συμφορὰν· ἀγαπῶντα, ὅτι θάτερον ἀσινῆς παρελήλυθε σκόπελον· καὶ ἃ μὲν φησὶν ὁ μῦθος, τοιαῦτα.
- 205 ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι πρὸς διάνοιαν ὀρῶντα πλέον, τὸν ποιητὴν δύο σκοπέλους αἰνίττεσθαι· τὰ συνθλίβοντα ἐκατέρωθεν [Fol. 123r] πάθη τὴν ἡμετέραν ζωὴν, ἅπερ κατὰ τὸν στενωπὸν τουτονὶ τοῦ βίου, ὑφίστάμεθα πάντες. ὣν θάτερα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡμῖν γε συμβαίνοντα· ὑψηλὰ μὲν τὴν κακίαν, ὑπουλά δ' ὁμῶς καὶ σκοτεινὰ, ὅποια τὰ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν σύνισμεν ὄντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ προστάτης τουτωνὶ δαίμων, ὁ δεινὸς καὶ ἄγριος κύων, οἰκεῖ. τὸ μὲντοι κρυπτόμενος τῆς κακίας, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενος καὶ τέλειος γνωριζόμενος πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι πανούργως καὶ μετεωρίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τουτονὶ σκόπελον τῆς ἐπάρσεως· εἶτα καὶ σπαράξαι τῇ τριστοίχῳ κακίᾳ τῶν ὀλεθρίων ὀδόντων, εἴτουν ἀποστασίας, μισανθρωπίας καὶ φιλαμαρτησίας, ἃ δὴ κατὰ παντός γε τρόπου χρηστοῦ νενόσηκε· καὶ αἰεὶ δὲ νοσεῖ περισκοπῶν αἰεὶ καὶ διαρπάζων ἢ καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς τοὺς ἐν βίῳ πλέοντας· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ταῦτα, θάτερα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα· ὑψηλὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ περιφανῆ εἰς ἀπώλειαν, χθαμαλότερα δ' ὁμῶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα καὶ ταπεινότερα διὰ τὸ πρόδηλον τοῦ αἵσχους καὶ ἀνεπίδεικτον· ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐρινεὸς ἐστὶν ἢ ἄγρια μὲν τὴν φύσιν, γλυκεῖα δὲ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῇ, ὃν καὶ πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας

**181** μετὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων in margine V | δυνάμεις μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων αἰσθητηρίων, κηρῷ L **181** πράξεων· ὡς μηδενὸς ὑπολελειμμένου κενοῦ, μάτην ἐκεῖνας θυροκοπεῖν καταυλούσας. τὰς δὲ τοῦ σώματος L **184** ἀκοῦσαι· ἐπεὶ περ οὐχὶ τὸ πείραν ἀπλῶς εἰληφέναι L **191** ἐκεῖ παρέρχεσθαι, μήτε ἄνθρωπον Obsopoeus παρέρχεσθαι post recte Columbus corr. **192** χεῖρες αὐτοῦ Columbus χεῖρες αὐτῷ Westermann corr. **193** λελακυῖαν ὅση Westermann **197** παραπλεύουσιν ἀζήμιον Obsopoeus ἀζήμιον Columbus ἀζήμιον Westermann recte corr. **198** δ' ἕτερον, χθαμαλότερον L **207** τὸν δὲ ἐπιστραφέντα Westermann **211** πάθη τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ἅπερ | στενωπὸν τουτονὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὑφίστάμεθα L **212** θάτερα μὲν ἐστὶν, ἅπερ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡμῖν γε συμβαίνει· ὑψηλὰ L **213** ὅποια τὰ {τὰ} L | ὑπουλά δ' ὁμῶς καὶ Westermann | σκοτεινὰ καὶ τοῖς μυχοῖς οἷον τοῦ νοῦ κατακεκρυμμένα, ὅποια L **215** τὸ δὲ, καὶ φαινόμενος· καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τέλειος L **217** κακίᾳ ὀλεθρίων Columbus **218** μισανθρωπίας· καὶ μεγαλαυχίας· ἃ δὴ L | χρηστοῦ δι' αἰῶνος νοσεῖ περισκοπῶν αἰεὶ L **222** ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῇ Obsopoeus, cf. Columbus 132



- ἀναρροιβδεῖν πέφυκεν ὁμολογουμένως τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀρμήματα καὶ κυκᾶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, νῦν  
 μὲν ἄνω τὴν φλόγα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ριπίζοντα, νῦν δὲ κάτω βάλλοντα καὶ πολλάττα ἐξεργαζόμενα  
 225 πτώματα ψυχῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωμάτων τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ χείρονος. τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον σκόπελον  
 παρεξέλῃν ὁ κατ' Ὀδυσσέα μέτριος ἄνθρωπος προηγείται· πλησιάζειν δ', εἴπερ ἀνάγκη, τῷ  
 ἐτέρῳ· διὰ τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκεῖ μόνην νοσεῖν, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὖ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ ῥαδίως ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 χείρονος ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξιν ἐπανελθεῖν. [Fol. 123v] οἶμαι μέντοι πρὸς τούτοις, τοῖν δυοῖν σκοπέλοι  
 230 εἰκάζεσθαι τὰ τε παρὰ τῆς γνώμης ἡμῖν συμβαίνοντα ἐκουσίως καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἔξωθεν δυσχερῆ,  
 ἅπερ ἢ ἐκάτερα πάσχομεν ἢ δυοῖν πάντως θάτερα· παρελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἔνι ἀμφοτέρα τὸν εἰς γένεσιν  
 ἦκοντα, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὀδυσσεύς.  
**9. [Περὶ τῶν Ἥλιου βοῶν].** καὶ τοιαύτην πλάνην ὑποστήναι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φασί· νῆσος ἐστὶ  
 Θρινακία πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια, Σικελίαν ἢ νέα γλῶσσα καλεῖ, ἣν καὶ ἀνακεῖσθαι τῇ ποιήσει λέγεται  
 235 κτῆμα Ἥλιω, βοῦς αὐτῷ πλείστας καὶ πρόβατα καλὰ τρέφουσιν. ἔνθα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μετὰ τῶν  
 ἐταίρων παραγενόμενον, μυκηθμοῦ βοῶν καὶ προβάτων αὐλιζομένων ἀκοῦσαι, ταχέως τε  
 φεύγειν ἐκείθεν τοῦ Ἥλιου κελεῦσαι τὴν νῆσον· τοὺς δ' ἐταίρους μὴ βούλεσθαι, πόνῳ  
 δεδασμένους καὶ ἀγρυπνία, δεδιότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ νύκτα γινομένους ἀνέμους ἐν τῷ  
 πελάγει, μὴ ποτε κακόν τι πάθοιεν. ὑφ' ὧν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐκβιασθέντα, ἀλλὰ γε παρ' αὐτῶν ὄρκον  
 240 λαβεῖν, μηδέπω τῶν ἱερῶν βοῶν ἢ οἰῶν ἄψασθαι. γεγονότος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων  
 ἐκβάντων, εἴτα φαγόντων τὰ καὶ κοιμηθέντων, νυκτὸς ἄνεμον πνεῦσαι σὺν λαίλαπι μάλα σφοδρᾷ  
 καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἀποπαῦσαι· καὶ τότε αὖ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα δημηγορῆσαι, μηδ' ἂν τι καὶ γένηται τῶν  
 θεῶν κτημάτων ἄψασθαι. προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἀπειλὴν ἐπιθεῖναι· τοὺς δὲ, τέως μὲν πειθεσθαι· νότου  
 δ' ἄλῃκτον πνέοντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νηὶ βρωμάτων ἐκλελοιπότην, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλο τρέπεσθαι· νῦν  
 245 μὲν ὄρνιθας ἀγρεύοντα, νῦν δ' ἰχθυῶντα· τεῖρεσθαι δ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτω γε τῷ λιμῷ. πρὸς ταῦτ'  
 ἀμχανοῦντα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, ἀνὰ τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι εὐξασθαι, [Fol. 124r] εἴ τις αὐτῷ θεόθεν φανείη  
 πομπή· τοὺς δ' ὑπ' ἀπορίας ἄψασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν βοῶν καὶ σφάζαι καὶ κατατεμεῖν καὶ ὀβελοῖς τε  
 περιπεῖραι, ἐλομένους μᾶλλον πάντα πείσεσθαι δεινὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἢ λιμοῦ θανάτῳ ἀπολέσθαι, ὅς  
 ἐστὶ παντὸς θανάτου χείρων. ὑποστήναι μέντοι, εἰ σωθεῖεν, καὶ νεῶν ἰδρύσεσθαι Θεῷ καὶ  
 250 ἀγάλματα πολλὰ γε ἀναθήσειν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παραγενόμενον, εὐρεῖν πάντα φοβερὰ  
 τολμῶντας καὶ ἐποιμῶξαι τῷ δεινῷ καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἴδιοι ἐπὶ ταῖς βουσί καὶ τέρατα· ἔρπειν μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτίκα τοὺς ῥινούς, μεμυκέναι δὲ τὰ κρέατα ἐν ὀβελοῖς καὶ φωνὴν δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι, ὅποια πρὸ  
 τοῦ τεθνηκέναι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοι ἐξῆμαρ τὰ δεινὰ τολμᾶσθαι τοῖς ἀθλίοις· ἐβδόμῃς δὲ  
 πεπαῦσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄνεμον, γενέσθαι δ' ἄλλον, ὃν αὐτοὶ γε ἤθελον· τοὺς δὲ, πετάσαντας αὐτίκα  
 255 τὰ ἰστία, πλεῖν. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν πλείστον ὅσον ἀπολελοιπότην γε τὴν νῆσον, ζέφυρον σὺν μεγάλῃ  
 πνεῦσαι λαίλαπι καὶ κεραυνὸν δυστυχέσιν ἄνωθεν καταπεμφθῆναι. τὸν μέντοι κυβερνήτην ἰστῶ  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν πληγέντα καταχλασθέντι πρότερον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ πρότερον κακῆς ἀρξάμενον βουλῆς,  
 αὐτόν τε δὴ καὶ πάντας ἄλλους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν διεκπεσεῖν. τὸν τοίνυν Ὀδυσσέα ὅτι δὴ καὶ  
 δράσει ἀπορούμενον, διὰ τῆς νεῶς φοιτᾶν συχνότερον, ἕως ὃ δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος κλύδων τὰ τεῖχη τὰ  
 260 τῆς τρόπεως ἐξέλυσε. τὸν δ' ἅμα τῷ ἰστῷ τὴν τρόπιν δῆσαντα ἱμάντι, ἐπιβῆναι καὶ τοῖς κύμασιν  
 ἀφεῖναι φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἃ μὲν φησιν ὁ μῦθος, ταῦτα.

223 πέφυκε τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς L | καὶ κυκοῦσαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον Obsoroeus | ἄνθρωπον, νοῦν μὲν ἄνω Obsoroeus non recte legit 225 τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνία. τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον L 226 προηγείται· τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ πλησιάζειν εἴπερ ἀνάγκη· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ, λόγῳ μόνῳ καὶ ψυλαῖς ὁρμαῖς τῆς ψυχῆς, νοσῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξελέγχεται· καὶ ῥαδίως ἔχει ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξιν ἐπανελθεῖν· ἐνθάδε δ' αὖ, ἔργοις αὐτοῖς καταρρυπαινόμενος, ἢ δυσίατον τὴν ἐκπλυσιν ἔχει, ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τι πλέον εἰπεῖν· οἶμαι L 227 τὴν ἕξιν ἀπανελθεῖν· Columbus ἐπανελθεῖν recte Westermann corr. 228 πρὸς τούτοις, τοῖν Columbus 229 ἐκουσίως, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς ὕλης L 230 δυοῖν ἕτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης· παρελθεῖν L 232 Ὀδυσσέα φασί· νῆσος Westermann 235 ταχέως δὲ φεύγειν Obsoroeus 239 ἄψασθαι. οὗ γεγονότος· καὶ τῶν L 240 φαγόντων δὲ καὶ Obsoroeus 240 κοιμηθέντων, νύκτα γενομένους 243 ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τρέπεσθαι Obsoroeus 244 νῦν δὲ ἰχθυῶντα Obsoroeus | ὅμως καὶ ταύτῃ γε L | πρὸς ὅπερ ἀμχανοῦντα L 246 ὀβελοῖς περιπεῖραι L | πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παθεῖν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ L 248 θανάτου χείριστος· ὑποστήναι L 248 ἰδρύσεσθαι αὐτῷ· καὶ L ἰδρύσασθαι Columbus 249 ἀγάλματα πολλάττα ἀναθήσειν L | τούτῳ δὲ παραγενόμενον τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, εὐρεῖν ἐκείνους πάντα δὴ τὰ φοβερὰ τετολμηκότας· καὶ L | πάντα τὰ φοβερὰ Columbus 250 καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτι καὶ τέρατα ἴδιοι ἐπὶ ταῖς βουσί· ἔρπειν L 254 τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Obsoroeus | ὅσον τὴν νῆσον ἀπολελοιπότην, ζέφυρον πνεῦσαι σὺν μεγάλῃ λαίλαπι· καὶ κεραυνὸν δὲ ἄνωθεν τοῖς δυστυχεῖς καταπεμφθῆναι L κεραυνὸν ἄνωθεν Obsoroeus 255 ἰστῶ πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πρότερον καταχλασθέντι, ἅτε δὴ L καταχλασθέντι Obsoroeus 257 δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, εἰς L | δὴ καὶ δράσειεν ἀπορούμενον, συχνότερον φοιτᾶν διὰ τῆς νεῶς, ἕως L 258 τεῖχη τῆς τρόπεως L 259 τὸν δὲ ἅμα Obsoroeus | ἰστῷ ἱμάντι τὴν τρόπιν καταδήσαντα, ἐπιβεβηκέναι· καὶ L | κύμασιν ἀφεῖναι Westermann

- παρέστι δὲ νοεῖν ἐνθάδε καὶ αὐτόν ἡλίθιον, οἷας δίκας πράττεται ἢ ποιήσις ἱεροσύλους τε καὶ ἐπιόρκους καὶ ὡς διδάσκειν βούλεται |Fol. 124v| ἀνθρώπους πάντας σέβειν αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε Θεὸν καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα διευλαβεῖσθαι, κἂν βία τις ἐπαναγκάζῃ τοῦ καιροῦ, κἂν δεινοῦ τινος ἐπήρεια προσώπου, κἂν τοῦ παντός γε τὰ δεινότατα διαπειλῇ, τῆς ἀκριβείας ἀμελῆσαι· δεῦτερα γὰρ τὰ πάντα τῷ Θεῷ νομίζεται τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν γε ἀτιμίας, ὅσα τις φανείῃ πλημμελήσας· εἰ δὲ καὶ αἰσθήσιν τοῖς κρέασι καὶ τοῖς ῥινοῖς τοῖς ἀναισθητοῖς περιάπτειν βούλεται ἢ ποιήσις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πρὸ παντός γε δεῖξαι βούλεται, ὡς καὶ πᾶσα μὲν κακίστη πρᾶξις πανταχοῦ βοᾷ τὴν τοῦ ποιήσαντος παρανομίαν, ἢ δὲ τῶν ἐπιόρκων καὶ ἱεροσύλων μάλιστα τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρει τὸ δεινόν· κἂν ποτε μὴ παραπόδας τὰ τῆς δίκης ἔρπη, ἀλλ' οὐ πολὺ γε ὕστερον ἐξήκει, ὥσπερ καὶ θανόντες μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ναυαγῆσαντες ἐταῖροι.
- 10. [Ἔτι περὶ Χαρυβδῶς].** λέγεται τῇ ποιήσει δεινόν τινα καὶ παγγάλεπον ἄθλον ὑποστῆναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν· τῆς γὰρ νεῶς αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἐταῖροις θεηλάτῳ μῆνιδι διαφθαρείσης, ἐξ ἀμχανίας τὸν ἴστων τῇ τρόπῃ ἰσχυρῶς συνδήσαντα, ἐπινήχεσθαι· ἄνεμον δὲ γενέσθαι νότον τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀντίπρῳρον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς βιασθῆναι τὴν Χάρυβδιν διαμετρήσαι· καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτῷ γε ὄντος τῷ δεινῷ, τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναρροιβδῆσαι ὡς εἰώθει· τὸν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπαρθῆναι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τῷ μεγάλῳ κύματι ἐρινεόν, ἀφηρημένον τὴν σχεδίαν· καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ προσφῦναι τούτῳ νυκτερίδα, οὔτε πη ἔχοντα στηρίζαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ γε πόδας, οὔτε δὲ βῆναι· μακρὰν γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἐκείνου ῥίζας· τοὺς δὲ κλάδους, μακροὺς γε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπηλωμένους, τὴν Χάρυβδιν κατασκι| Fol. 125r|άζοντας· ὧν δὴ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὀπισθεν τὰ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ εἰσδύντα ξύλα ἐξεμεθείη· ὁπρὲ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φανῆναι· οἷς δὴ τοῦτον ἐπικαθιζόμενον, ὥσπερ τισι κόπαις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐρέττειν· τὴν μέντοι Σκύλλαν παρελθεῖν, οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσαν ἐκ θειοτέρας τῆς προνοίας· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐννήμαρ φέρεσθαι ἐν τῷ πελάγει, πάντα τὰ δεινὰ ἐκ ναυαγίου ὑφιστάμενον· καὶ ἃ μὲν φησὶν ἢ ποιήσις, τοιαῦτα.
- νοεῖν δὲ πάρεστι κἀνθάδε Ὀδυσσεά μὲν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ναυάγιον ὑπομεμενηκότα ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ δεινῇ Χαρυβδί τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς προδεδομένον ἀνοήτως, αἵτινες ἀναβρασσομέναι συχνάκις καὶ ὑποῦ τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν παθῶν τινασσοῦσαι κύματα, ὑποβρύχιον τιθέασιν τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς κλυδωνιζόμενον· ἀλλ' εἰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά παρ' αὐτὰ γε τὰ δεινὰ γενόμενος, σωφρονεστέρους ἀναλάβοι λογισμοὺς· ἀντικαθίσταται αὐτίκα τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ, τῶν πονηρῶν κυμάτων αἰρομένων, οὐκ ἄργῶς λοιπὸν οὐδ' ἀπραγμόνως ἔχει· πρὶν δὲ κατασπασθῆναι τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ἐνύγρου τῶν παθῶν φλογὸς καὶ εἰς βυθὸν κακίας ἐνεχθῆναι, θεοῦ φόβου καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἰσχυρῶς ἀντιλαμβάνεται· οὐκοῦν καὶ, ὃν ἀπώλεσε τὸ πρόσθεν βίον ἱερόν τε καὶ θειότερον καὶ μεθ' οὗ τὸν στενωπὸν τοῦ βίου τουτονὶ τὸν πικρὸν καὶ βίαιον διέπλει, ἀναλαμβάνει παραυτίκα καὶ τοῦντεῦθεν κούφως τε καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐπινήχεται τοῖς κύμασι τῶν πειρασμῶν· ἐναγώνιος μὲντοι καθιστάμενος καὶ ὑποπτος, ἕως τῆς σαρκὸς διέρχεται τὸν πλοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ

**261** καὶ τὸν ἡλίθιον αὐτόν, οἷας δίκας ἱεροσύλους τε καὶ ἐπιόρκους πράττεται ἢ ποιήσις· καὶ ὡς διδάσκειν βούλεται ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, σέβειν L **262** ποτε τὸν Θεὸν Obsoroeus **263** πράγματα εὐλαβεῖσθαι· κἂν Columbus **264** ἀμελῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ δεῦτερα Θεῷ τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν ἀτιμίας τὰ πάντα νομίζεται, ὅσα L **266** ῥινοῖς περιάπτειν τὰ γε τῆς ποιήσεως βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πρὸ τοῦ παντός δεῖξαι L **267** μὲν αἰσχίων πρᾶξις L **268** ἱεροσύλων τοσοῦτῳ μάλιστα, ὅσῳ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ L **270** ὥσπερ καὶ θανάτῳ τε μαρτυροῦσιν Obsoroeus ὥσπερ καὶ θανάτῳ τε μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ναυαγῆσαντος ἐταῖροι Columbus ὥσπερ καὶ θανόντες μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ναυαγῆσαντος ἐταῖροι Westermann | ναυαγῆσαντος Hercher in V legit **272** αὐτῷ θεηλάτῳ διαφθαρείσης μῆνιδι πρὸς τοῖς ἐταῖροις, ἐξ **273** δὲ ὅμως γενέσθαι L **274** βιασθῆναι διαμετρήσαι τὴν Χάρυβδιν· καὶ δὴ γε πρὸς αὐτῷ δὴ μάλα ὄντος τῷ δεινῷ, ἀναρροιβδῆσαι τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς εἰώθει· τὸν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπαρθῆναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κύματι, πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἐρινεόν· L καὶ τοῖ γε πρὸς Westermann **276** ὥσπερ τινὰ νυκτερίδα τούτῳ προσφῦναι L **277** στηρίζαι τοὺς σφετέρους πόδας L | οὐτ' ἐπιβῆναι Westermann **278** μακροὺς τε καὶ Westermann **279** ἀσφαλῶς μάλα ἔχεσθαι L **280** δὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπικαθιζόμενον, οἷα τισι L **281** οὐδαμῶς ἰδοῦσαν ἐκ θείας δηλαδὴ προνοίας· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐννήμαρ τῷ πελάγει ἐμφέρεισθαι L | Hercher ἐν τῷ πελάγει φέρεσθαι **285** Χαρυβδί τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀνοήτως προδεδομένον· ἦτις συχνάκις ἀναβρασσομένη· καὶ ὑποῦ **286** παθῶν τινάσσουσα κύματα L Cf. Hercher *iotam participii in V non advertit*. | ὑποβρύχιον ποιεῖ τὸν L **287** εἰ κατ' Ὀδυσσεά παρ' αὐτὰ γεγεννημένος τὰ δεινὰ, σωφρονεστέρους λογισμοὺς ἀναλάβοι, αὐτίκα τῷ κινδύνῳ ἀντικαθίσταται· καὶ τῶν L αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ Hercher **289** ἔχει· ἀλλὰ πρὶν βίᾳ κατασπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνύγρου L **290** ἐνεχθῆναι, ἰσχυρῶς ἀντιλαμβάνεται θεοῦ φόβου καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἄπερ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τῇ πονηρίᾳ ἀντικείμενα ὥσπερ ἢ ἐρινεὸς, ὀρέγει ἄντικρυς χεῖρα τοῖς τῷ κλύδωνι κατασχεθεῖσι τῶν φαύλων τῆς σαρκὸς κινήσεων· οὐκοῦν καὶ ὃν πρότερον βίον ἀπώλεσε σεμνόν τε καὶ θεῖον· καὶ μεθ' οὗ τὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον στενωπὸν διέπλει, ἀναλαμβάνει αὐτίκα· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν, κούφως τε καὶ ἀκινδύνως τοῖς τῶν πειρασμῶν κύμασιν ἐπινήχεται· ἐναγώνιος **292** βίου τουτὸν Hercher **294** καθιστάμενος αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποπτος L καθιστάμενος καὶ Hercher | ἕως τὸν τῆς σαρκὸς διέρχεται πλοῦν L

- 295 κυμαίνοντα ὁρᾷ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα· οὕτω δ' ἔχων καὶ περιδεῖς αἰεὶ τις ὢν, μὴ τι πάθῃ τῶν  
δεινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἥκιστα σπαράττεται τῆς ὑπερηφανίας [Fol. 125v]  
τοῖς ὁδοῦσι· κᾶν πλησίον παροικοῦσα δεινόν τι ὑλακτῇ καὶ ἄγριον καὶ μετεωρίζειν ἐγχειρῇ ἐπὶ  
τὸν σκόπελον κατὰ τὴν Σκύλλαν· ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ διέρχεται τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνης, ἀπαθὴς κακοῦ μεμνηκῶς·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ὀχλουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ ἐκείνου κλύδωνος τῶν σαρκινῶν παθῶν ὁ κακὸς  
300 ἐκεῖνος σκόπελος λυμαίνεται τῆς ὑπερηφανίας· πείθει δὲ συμμετρίᾳζειν μάλιστα καὶ  
ταπεινοῦσθαι, τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ὑφορωμένους κίνδυνον.
- 11. [Περὶ Καλυψοῦς, Ἀλκινόου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως].** καὶ τοιαύτην  
πλάνην ναυαγῆσαντι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ προσπλάττεται ἡ ποίησις, πηνίκα γυμνὸς τις καὶ ἀλήτης εἰς τὴν  
ᾠγυγίαν νῆσον ἀπενήξατο· τὴν γὰρ Καλυψὼ φησι νύμφην τῷ χωρίῳ ἐνοικοῦσαν, πρώτην  
305 ἀφιγμένην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν, εὐρεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκριφέντα καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον καὶ δαψιλῶς  
φιλοφρονήσασθαι· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ τοῖς ἔτεσιν, ὅσα καὶ ἀνδρὸς  
γνησίου. τὸν δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μὲν τῇ νύμφῃ παρ' ἐθελούσῃ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νύκτωρ συγκαθεύδειν,  
ἡμέρας δὲ γε καθ' αὐτὸν ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόντον καὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην ἔνδακρυν ὁρᾶν. ἐν  
τούτῳ δ' ὄντος γε τοῦ δυστυχοῦς, τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν συμφορὰν οἰκτίσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τῇ  
310 Καλυψοῖ αὐτίκα πέμψαι, ἢ μὴν ταχέως ἐκ τῆς νήσου σὺν οὐδενὶ κακῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκπέμψαι,  
ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὰ χεῖριστα πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίζειν πείσεσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα εἷξασαν κάκεινῃν τῷ  
κελεύσματι σὺν ἀηδία· ἐπεὶ μὴ ναῦς παρῆν, ἐπὶ σχεδίας τοῦτον ἀναβῆναι εὐτρεπίσαι· καὶ καλῶς  
ἐξῆς τὸν τε πλοῦν διαθείσαν καὶ τὰ τῇ πομπῇ προσήκοντα, παρὰ τὸ ἄντρον ἀπιέναι· τὸν δὲ γε  
πλεῖν ἀρξάμενον, τῷ ἐξαρχῆς ὀργιζομένῳ δαίμονι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν  
315 σχεδίαν κατὰ μέσσην θάλατταν ἐκτιναχθῆναι σφοδροτέροις πνεύμασιν. [Fol. 126r] αὐτὸν δ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ  
πесόντα ξύλῳ τῆς σχεδίας, ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος, πετάσαντα τὰς χεῖρας, πλεῖν· καὶ ὅπῃ ποτε πολλὰ  
παθόντα κατὰ θάλατταν γυμνὸν καὶ αὐθις καὶ συμφορᾶς παντοίας εἶδη περικείμενον, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
Φαίακων ἐκριφῆναι γῆν· εἴτ' ἐκεῖ ξενίας ἀπὸ τύχης δὴ τινος τετυχηκότα παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ  
βασιλεύοντος τῆς χώρας Ἀλκινόου καὶ αὐθις παρ' αὐτοῦ γε Ἀλκινόου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ  
320 μυρίοις ὅσοις δώροις φιλοφρονηθέντα, ἐκεῖθεν παντελῇ ἀπήμονα τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ φίλτατα  
κατελιφέναι, κτείναντα κάκεῖ τοὺς βιαίους καὶ ἀδίκους τῆς Πηνελόπης γε μνηστῆρας καὶ τὴν  
γυναῖκα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀρπάσαντα· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ μῦθος.
- ὁ νοῦς δ', ὡς ἐγῶμαι, Ὀδυσσέα βούλεται εἶναι πάντ' ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ συμφορᾶς, τι τετολμηκότα  
τῶν φαύλων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἡδονῶν· οἰμώζοντα δ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ αἰεὶ γε ἀνακλαιόμενον, ἐπὶ

**295** πονηρίας {ας} πνεύματα V ὁρᾷ τῆς κακίας πνεύματα L | περιδεῖς τις L | μὴ τι πάθοι τῶν Obsoroeus **296**  
σπαράττεται τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τῆς ὑπερηφάνου προαιρέσεως, κᾶν πλησίον παροικοῦσα φοβερόν τι ὑλακτῇ L **298** Σκύλλαν.  
οὐδὲ γὰρ L **299** τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν L **300** σκόπελος τῆς ὑπερηφανίας λυμαίνεται· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ὑφορωμένους  
κίνδυνον κάτω πείθει διαβλέπειν· καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μετρίᾳζειν τὸ τετυφωμένον ἀποπτύοντας τοῦ φρονήματος·- L **302**  
Καὶ τοιαύτην πλάνην προσπλάττεται ἡ ποίησις τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ναυαγῆσαντι, πηνίκα | τοιαύτην τὴν πλάνην Obsoroeus  
**304** Καλυψὼ φησιν Obsoroeus Καλυψὼ φησι Columbus **314** ἀρξάμενον, πρὸς τῷ ἐξαρχῆς Hercher **315** κατὰ μέσσην  
θάλασσαν Hercher | πνεύμασι Hercher | αὐτὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἱππεύοντα ξύλῳ τῆς σχεδίας Hercher **317** συμφορᾶς εἶδη  
παντοίας Hercher **318** εἴτ' εἴκει Obsoroeus εἴτ' ἐκεῖ Columbus post corr. **304–26** τὴν ᾠγυγίαν ἀπενήξατο νῆσον· τὴν  
γὰρ Καλυψὼ φησι νύμφην ἐνοικοῦσαν τῇ χώρᾳ πρώτῃν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀφιγμένην, τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκριφέντα εὐρεῖν, καὶ  
ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον· καὶ δαψιλῶς φιλοφρονήσασθαι· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῦ ὅσα καὶ ἀνδρὸς γνησίου, ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ  
ἔτεσι· τὸν δὲ γε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συγκαθεύδειν μὲν τῇ νύμφῃ παρ' ἐθελούσῃ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νύκτωρ· ἡμέρας δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν  
ὀδύρεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόντον καὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην ὁρᾶν ἔνδακρυν. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντος τοῦ δυστυχοῦς, τοὺς θεοὺς  
οἰκτίσασθαι τὴν συμφορὰν· καὶ αὐτίκα πέμψαι τῇ Καλυψοῖ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· ἢ μὴν ἐκπέμψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς νήσου  
ταχέως σὺν οὐδενὶ τῷ κακῷ, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὰ χεῖριστα πείσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν θεῶν κατελπίζειν. πρὸς ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ σὺν  
ἀηδίᾳ, εἷξασαν δ' οὖν ὅμως τῷ κελεύσματι, ἐπεὶ μὴ ναῦς παρῆν, ἐπὶ σχεδίας εὐτρεπίσαι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀναβῆναι· καὶ  
καλῶς τὸν τε πλοῦν διαθείσαν καὶ τὰ τῇ πομπῇ προσήκοντα, ἀναστρέψαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον· τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον πλεῖν,  
ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι, πρὸς τοῦ ἐξαρχῆς ὀργιζομένου δαίμονος· καὶ τὴν μὲν σχεδίαν κατὰ μέσσην ἐκτιναχθῆναι τὴν  
θάλασσαν σφοδροτέροις τοῖς πνεύμασιν. αὐτὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ξύλῳ τῆς σχεδίας πεσόντα· καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος  
πετάσαντα, πλεῖν· ὅπῃ δὲ πολλὰ παθόντα κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν, γυμνὸν καὶ αὐθις· καὶ παντοῖα περικείμενον συμφορᾶς  
εἶδη, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν φαίακων γῆν ἐκριφῆναι. εἴτ' ἐκεῖ ξενίας ἀπὸ τύχης τετυχηκότα παρὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλεύοντος θυγατρὸς  
Ἀλκινόου· εἶτα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ γε Ἀλκινόου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς· καὶ πολλοῖς γε δώροις φιλοφρονηθέντα, ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήμονα  
κατελιφέναι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τῶν φιλάτων. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀπονητὶ ἀπολαβόντα· ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀγῶνι μάλιστα οὐκ  
ἀγεννεῖ· ἀπεκτονότα τοὺς βιαίους καὶ ἀδίκους μνηστῆρας τῆς σώφρονος Πηνελόπης, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐκείνων  
ἐξαρπάσαντα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ μῦθος. ὁ νοῦς δ' ὡς ἐγῶμαι Ὀδυσσέα βούλεται εἶναι, πάντ' ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ συμφορᾶς τι  
τετολμηκότα τῶν φαύλων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἡδονῶν· οἰμώζοντα δ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει· καὶ αἰεὶ γε ἀνακλαιόμενον, ἐπὶ τὴν  
σύντροπον σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡθὴ ἐπανελθεῖν. μόλις δὲ θειοτέρα προνοία, σφοδροτέρον ἐπιτετιμηκότα τῇ  
φαύλῃ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ abruptus L desinit **319** αὐτοῦ τε Ἀλκινόου Westermann **321** τῆς σώφρονος Πηνελόπης Hercher

- 325 τὴν σύντροφον σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθη ἐπανελθεῖν. μόλις δὲ θειοτέρα προνοία, σφοδρότερον ἐπιτετιμηκότα τῇ φαύλῃ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ ζωῇ, τῶν σκοτεινῶν τῆς κακίας ἄντρων ἀναχωρῆσαι· ἐπὶ σχεδίας δ' ἔτι τῆς ἀτελοῦς ἕξεως τοῦ καλοῦ πορεύεσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεφυκέναι τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀθρόας πρὸς τὰναντία γίνεσθαι· ὅς γε λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται κλύδωνι δαιμονίῳ καὶ ἐπηρεάζεται καὶ κατασεύεται τοὺς σωστικούς λογισμούς· οὐ μὴν καθάπαξ αὐτοὺς ἀπολείπει,
- 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω νοῦ μέρει διακυβερνώμενος καὶ τῷ κατὰ δύνάμιν πρακτικῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν φαιδρὰν γῆν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τῆς ἀταραξίας ἀποβιβάζεται. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος, κομίζεται ἄθλον τῶν πόνων, τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ξένια καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεοῦ φιλοφροσύνην· εἶτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα τῆς ψυχῆς ἄπεισι, κτείνας τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας καὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ πρότερον αὐτὸν βιάζόμενα τῇ φαύλῃ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καταδουλώσασθαι.

### **Brief Narration (A9). Footnotes (excluding Homer)**

- 2 τό τοῦ μύθου σαθρόν Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1100b.  
8 εἰς κόσμον ψυχῆς, cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 108a, 114e, *Phaedrus* 256b, *Gorgias* 504d.  
8 ὁ μέγας ἥρως Gabalas B4.27, B57.8–9, A7.26, A11.31.24, A12.273.12.  
19 πλανώμενον Gabalas B1.21, B63.13, B64.24.  
20–21 τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς ψυχῆς Plato, *Philebus* 35d, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *Letter* 2.75, 448.  
22 ἡδονῆς ἀπολελυκότες Plato, *Phaedrus* 252a, Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1104a, 1177a.  
Gabalas A6.28.34, 30.1, A2.11.20. Cf. Synesius, *Letter* 79.113.  
23 ἐπιστρέφονται νόμου Gabalas B62.28.  
123 τὰς συμφύτους δυνάμεις Plato, *Phaedrus* 246a.  
125 τὴν φαύλην καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἡδονὴν Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1151b.  
150 τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ συμφέροντος ἄγνοιαν Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1110b.  
173 Σειρήνας [...] τὰς θελξίνους καὶ ἀπατηλὰς ἡδονὰς Gabalas B24.22. Synesius, *Letter* 146.13–5, cf. Procop. *Letters* 57, 92, 110; Theophylaktos Simocatta, *Letter* 82.  
229 παρὰ τῆς γνώμης ἡμῖν συμβαίνοντα ἐκουσίως Gabalas A12.273.8.  
286 ὑποβρύχιον...κλυδωνιζόμενον Michael Gabras, *Letter* 217.30.  
286 ἀναβρασσομέναι...τινασσούσαι John Chrysostomos, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* 47.349.48, Nikephoros Choumnus, *Oration* 6.136.22.  
324 τῶν φαύλων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἡδονῶν Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1151b.  
325 τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθη Gabalas B64.154.  
327 ἐπὶ σχεδίας δ' ἔτι τῆς ἀτελοῦς ἕξεως Plato, *Phaedo* 85c. Cf. Proclus, *On Republic* 1.81.29, *On Alcibiades I* 172.21, *On Parmenides* 1.692.3, 722.14, Hermias, *On Phaedrus* 1.27.7.  
328 τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀθρόας γίνεσθαι, Aristotle, *Physics* 186a.  
331 ἄθλον τῶν πόνων John Chrysostom, *On Letter to Romans* 60.545.14.  
333 πατρίδα τῆς ψυχῆς Hermias, *On Phaedrus* 1.35.4.

**A9. Brief narration of Odysseus' wanderings according to Homer, refined with an ethical contemplation, which remedies, as far as possible, the disease of the myth for the utility of young people.**

**Preface.** Not irrationally, I believe, everything is set out in the poem, all that some have narrated in Homer, either suffering or bravely acting out of necessity. Even if the poem seems to have been produced for a more dramatic purpose, it still has some *logoi* underlying the myths, towards which the poem leads the perception far from what is apparent in a rather sophisticated way. In these *logoi*, [the poem / Homer] teaches in a hidden way what young people must learn, instead of the myths, for the embellishment of the soul. But if this great hero [Homer] ever achieved this goal, it was certainly in the *Odyssey*, as will become clear immediately.

**1. [On the Lotus-eaters].** The poem relates that when Odysseus was wandering, he endured the following misfortune. It says that Odysseus was driven to the shore by strong winds and arrived at the land of the Lotus-eaters; unaware of the nature of the land, he sent some of his companions to gather information about it. Those who went encountered the Lotus-eaters. After they had received from them some of the lotus that grew in their land, they immediately ate it and tried to seize this honeylike fruit. As a result, they preferred to stay with the Lotus-eaters. Odysseus and their fatherland, everything they considered less important than the pleasure. When Odysseus learned of their misfortune, he drove his companions, while they were crying, with force to the ships; he bound them very firmly under the benches of the ships and he ordered the rest of them to board the ships willingly, lest they should suffer the same things. Such is the myth.

I would rightfully consider Odysseus to be every man in the present, wandering around, who freely sends forward simply these or those thoughts and impulses of the soul [the companions], now with these, now with those passions [the Lotus-eaters] that he might encounter.<sup>1</sup> These thoughts and impulses [the companions], having enjoyed the sweet pleasure [lotus] of deceptive behaviours [Lotus-eaters], prefer not to turn back afterwards to the ruler, the mind [Odysseus]; neither do they turn to the ruling law nor surely to the best way of life and society [Ithaca], in which they grew up. Rather, shocked by this base-born nourishment of nature [lotus], they despise their habitual customs [the customs of Ithaca]. Yet, the reason of nature [Odysseus], by which the better is prudently divided from the worse, not at all allowing its own dignity to be surpassed by the base and strange pleasure [lotus], stands up faster and strikes them harder, if indeed it would be a drastic and combative reason like Odysseus. The reason of nature [Odysseus] forcefully drags them to the habitual feeding [the food in their ships] and it keeps them away from deceptive demons, just as Odysseus from the Lotus-eaters. It [Odysseus] binds and contains them with stricter words and it makes them no longer proceed towards base actions. It arranges so well the parts of the soul that have suffered [his companions] and, equally, secures

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<sup>1</sup> Note that “passions” also include the ideas of “experiences” and “sufferings”.

and fortifies those that have not yet suffered, and it moves them away from the destructive pleasure [lotus], like Odysseus moved his companions.

**2. [On Polyphemus, the Cyclops].** They also say that Odysseus engaged in the following struggle while wandering. When he set foot on the land of the Cyclops and went out to explore the nature of the land, he saw a cave somewhere in the farthest part and many sheep and goats that were living there, as well as a man watching over them, an extraordinary figure in shape and strength, who lived alone far from the other Cyclops owing to his savage behaviour. Once Odysseus arrived there with the best of his companions, he rushed in, but he did not find the Cyclops, who had gone out to pasture his flock. After all these things Odysseus found and observed cheeses, lambs and kids throughout the cave. His companions begged him to go back, after taking some of the goods. Yet Odysseus did not want [to return], but he wanted to wait for the Cyclops to receive a gift of hospitality. Then the Cyclops arrived and, when he discerned those foreign and unfamiliar men, he was surprised and asked them first who exactly they were. Then he seized two men at the same time and devoured them mercilessly, and the next day, again two more at once. As a reply to this, Odysseus devised to do something evil to the Cyclops, lest he would destroy them all in this way. Yet as the man-eater again came from pasturing his flock, he opened the cave, seized two men at once and devoured them. He also drank from the wine that Odysseus, who brought it, gave him. As a result, he got drunk and took a nap. After this his eye was pierced by Odysseus and his companions with a stake of an olive tree that had caught fire. Next, they went out of there, by slipping under the sheep through an amazing wile. Such are the events of the myth.

I, if not for the whole, at least for the most part, agree with this.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, I consider Odysseus to be every greedy and curious man, who, having strayed from the just and prudent behaviour, is led to the wild and inhumane customs. There, indeed, some malicious and extremely shameless demon lives [the Cyclops], hostile to nature, who nurtures irrational passions and is gradually fed by them,<sup>3</sup> malevolently ravaging the condition of the soul [Odysseus' companions]. He will surely punish the demon, he who, like Odysseus, has wisely come to his senses and seen, what evil there is due to his folly. He will also punish him through the opposite habit, by practising freedom and inactivity. Next, [the Odysseus-like man] will depart from there [the cave] unscathed, he himself rejoicing, having been restored with his habitual customs [Odysseus' companions]. He leaves his mental Cyclops to moan over the blindness of his wickedness.

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<sup>2</sup> Gabalas skips, for example, the description of the land and customs of the Cyclops (*Od.* 9.104–65), the famous passage in which Odysseus calls himself 'Nobody' (*Od.* 9.360–70) or when Polyphemus curses him (*Od.* 9.470–565).

<sup>3</sup> In other words, the Cyclops grazes his cattle, and in turn the flock feeds them.

**3. [On Aeolus].** The story relates that Odysseus, while wandering, arrived at the island of Aeolus with his companions. A terrible man, expert in evil arts, lived there: His name was Aeolus, as indeed was his behaviour, but he was nevertheless hospitable and gentle.<sup>4</sup> When Odysseus had come to Aeolus, he asked him for an escort and a journey to his fatherland. Aeolus consented, skinned an ox and offered its skin to Odysseus. In there, he shut up the other blasts of the winds with some marvellous art and he set free only the blast of Zephyr, in order that Odysseus could return with his companions. They had been sailing for nine days with a fair wind, when they saw their fatherland appear and they saw people keeping up a fire perhaps being near.<sup>5</sup> Odysseus, overcome by weariness and lack of sleep, because he had steered the ship's rudder alone without interruption, fell asleep. Yet, since his companions believed that the ox-hide bag carried gold and silver, gifts from Aeolus to Odysseus, they were jealous of his wealth, and laid their hands on the ox-hide bag. As soon as the ox-hide bag was opened, all the blasts of the winds immediately blew away and a very vehement storm carried the fools off and sent them back to the open sea, while they were wailing. At that point Odysseus woke up from his sleep. Shaken by the billow of pain more than by that of the sea, he thought about throwing himself to its depths. He nevertheless endured this terrible thing and came back again to the land of Aeolus. Such are the events of the myth.

I, as for whether the whole is shaped, I do not now say; yet I do say what I believe is the main intention of the poem. Odysseus is fundamentally a man who has been afflicted by the distress of certain affairs and who undertakes a wandering, such as the present one. He contrives to find a solution to his trouble,<sup>6</sup> not, however, as a pious man should, but resorting to sorcerers [Aeolus] and wizards, putting trust in witchcraft and enchantments, hoping thus to get rid of his difficulties. The poem indeed does not let such man succeed with wicked arts, but frustrates most of his hopes and even attracts no moderate ridicule.<sup>7</sup> This does not happen because it is the intention of the myth, but because it considers very perilous this, i.e. to neglect one's goal, achieving the failure of the whole struggle, as Odysseus has suffered. Not only that, but it also produces the worst evils to those who envy other people's happiness, those who try to steal the property of others [Odysseus' ox-hide bag] and to those who believe in thoughts and suspicions, as the companions of Odysseus do.

**4. [On the Laestrygonians].** What happened to Odysseus at the Laestrygonians would also not be unprofitable to the audience. For the poem says that while Odysseus was wandering with his companions, he arrived at the land of Lamos, the king of the Laestrygonians. There was a

<sup>4</sup> Etymology of Aeolus and the adjective αἰόλος "changeful", "shifty".

<sup>5</sup> It was on the tenth day when they saw the fatherland, cf. *Od.* 10.30.

<sup>6</sup> Odysseus asking Aeolus to help him return to Ithaca.

<sup>7</sup> As Odysseus returns to Aeolus' island.



marvellous harbour, narrow as to its entrance and very suitable for receiving and guarding the ships that came to land. Some of his companions entered there with their ships without having any bad suspicion. It was only Odysseus who kept his ship outside, having tied the stern-cable to a rock. Next, he sent out three men to investigate who lived in that land. Going along a smooth road, they arrived at a large city, which had gates so high that the shepherd who drives his flock in easily heard the one who was driving his out.<sup>8</sup> From there they went to the palace of the king and they found the queen, who resembled a mountain in size and who, with her so unpleasant appearance, no doubt horrified the silly men who looked at her. The queen got really upset and called her husband from the assembly. When he came, he grabbed one of the companions and devoured him completely. While the remaining companions tried to flee, the king cried out and the Laestrygonians, after coming from different places, threw large stones at their ships. They broke the ships in pieces, and they ate these men, as if putting fishes onto a spit. Meanwhile, Odysseus, having cut the stern-cable and ordered his companions to get on the oars, was the only one to escape the danger. Odysseus suffered indeed pain owing to the death of the other companions, but he rejoiced nevertheless that at least he had survived. These are the events that the poem narrates.

It is also possible to understand here Odysseus as a certain man, who is governed by his own independent judgment and who has left laws and society, as if he has left his fatherland. He, being compelled to wander from the good to foreign customs and to anchor in wickedness, as in some harbour, rests in a perilous way. From here, as if emerging from a base of operations, he investigates hiding-places and lairs and fortified and impregnable cities of miserable behaviours, like those of the Laestrygonians. From these, the major part of his company is put to death and dies. When he at long last has recovered and become conscious of what is wrong and by which calamities he is surrounded, he cuts off the stern-cable that binds to vice [the rock] and escapes danger. Mourning indeed the lost condition of the customs [the death of his companions], yet again rejoicing in that some part has been saved and not everything has been ruined [his own salvation]. I believe that the poem also hints at this, teaching men not to offend those superior nor to throw shameful words, as against the queen of the Laestrygonians. For this, too, produces no moderate disaster for men.

**5. [On Circe].** Some poetic story has come down to us. While Odysseus was wandering, he landed on Aea, Circe's island. There he sent few of his companions to learn who inhabited the land, for no city was seen nor a sign of its inhabitants. Circe turned all of them but one into pigs. Odysseus armed himself right away. On his way to Circe's dwellings, Odysseus met Hermes and

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<sup>8</sup> Gabalas understood wrongly the meaning of *Od.* 10.82–85. There, the farmer greets the one who comes out and the other one answers him.

received from him a drug, from which the woman of evil arts produced an antidote. When Odysseus went there, he encountered her and also drank from the potion like his companions, nothing of what should have happened because of the nature of the drink happened. Odysseus forced her to give his friends their shape back. After having been treated with much care and having received oracles and gifts, he left that place. Such were the events that the myth relates.<sup>9</sup>

If we look into the poet's intention in a more inquisitive way, we consider that Odysseus is the mind, the ruler of the soul. His companions are the thoughts and the natural powers. The island of Aeaea is the mournful and tear-filled land of debauchery. Circe, who bewitches and changes the forms of rational dignity, is the base and licentious pleasure. To this pleasure [Circe], and without a ruling mind [Odysseus], the thoughts and inherent impulses of the soul [the companions], released without order, are transformed into irrational nature [pigs], having been charmed. Once the mind [Odysseus] again recovered by an emotionless power, reminded of what they [the companions] have suffered and armed at once with temper and reason that is conscious and able to judge vice and virtue, it discovers the remedies [moly] to oppose the enchantress [Circe] and makes way against her. The mind [Odysseus] does not only not succumb to the terrifying drugs of pleasure [Circe], but it also restores the corrupted powers of nature [the companions] to their habitual shape. The mind leaves having obtained some profit from there [Aeaea] and from her [Circe's oracles and gifts], on account of the things for which it seems to have suffered a loss. Indeed, those recovering from vice gain the advantage of having experienced it, of skilfully wrestling with other vices after their release and of using the previous defeat as a greater pretext for virtue.

**6. [On the Cimmerians].** They say that, while Odysseus was wandering, he reached Hades after Circe had delivered an oracle and that he came there in the following way. After he had set sail from the island of Aeaea with fair wind, he reached the boundaries of the Ocean in a day's sailing. There was the land of the Cimmerians and a city covered in gloom, for the sun never looked upon them, neither when it rose nor when it went down. When he then arrived at this place, he anchored the ship and took out the offerings that he had brought. With his companions he went along the stream, until they arrived at the point where the changeable woman had indicated that he would meet those in Hades. When he had arrived there and had done everything that is pleasing to the demons, and had brought up from Hades Tiresias as well as the souls of his relatives and close friends, and after he had learned exactly what was going to happen to him later, he quickly went back to the ship from there, lest, if he loitered there, Persephone would cause him some harm by

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<sup>9</sup> Gabalas skips some aspects of the story: Odysseus hunts a deer, the company eats and sleeps, two groups are formed, the group of Eurilochus is sent forth (cf. *Od.* 10.160–240).

sending forth the head of the Gorgon to him. Next, after boarding his ship, he came back to Aeaea, where day and the risings of the sun dwell. These are the other events of the myth.

Although I disbelieve almost every detail, I am at least right to assume that the whole narration is directed at a purpose. I believe that the poem implies that Odysseus is every man who has surrendered once to the pleasure of vice and to the desire for base matters [Circe]. He receives no other oracle from her [Circe] but to go to Hades, i.e. the complete ignorance of good and beneficial. There, certain malicious idols and wicked and wild demons live [the Cimmerians]. By her [Circe], little by little, being drawn to her sweet stream and being dragged through the sunless and dark works [the Cimmerians], he reaches the very boundaries of vice [the Ocean]. He holds converse with these [demons = Cimmerians], and he sacrifices action, word and thought, and bestows all the irrational parts of the soul [the offerings]. Due to these offerings, he becomes idolatrous, profane and unholy; living, however, and also having, contrary to nature, the power to emerge from darkness. If he were to use some escape from there, before the terrible fate of death [Persephone] fiercely<sup>10</sup> imposes death on him and takes him away from the present life, he would return, having recovered, to the first land of the soul [Aeaea?], where the judgement of discursive thought and the light of the mind rise and prudent thoughts dance round. If he were to remain in that dark region that contains nothing liveable [Hades], he would be completely rent in pieces by wickedness and, along with life, he would destroy also the soul.

**7. [On the Sirens].** The poem also relates that Odysseus struggled against the Sirens. They are either the nature of demons, or of humans, or of both united into the same thing. Nevertheless, since they had been shaped towards the more female, they dwell in certain meadows full of flowers and they cultivate all kinds of fine musical art. Their work is to sing a sweeter tune, whenever they saw sailors nearby. Enthralled by the sweetness of pleasure and their voice, the sailors instantly forget both their wives and children and they all gladly chose to die in this very place, so that one can also see there a large pile of bones of mouldering men. Therefore, before Odysseus arrived there sailing, he warned his companions in advance of the danger, and how and by doing what they would escape it. Speaking thus, he came not long after to the island they inhabit. After slicing some wax there and kneading it with his hand, he smeared over the ears of his companions. He told them to bind him as tightly as possible, whereas they, once seated, rowed with all strength. Once all this had happened, and they had come close to the demons that cultivated music, the Sirens immediately noticed them sailing by, used their nature and enchanted Odysseus by trickery, by singing to him some things, and by saying others. He was bewitched by these songs and beckoned his companions with his eyebrows to release him from the chains. On

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<sup>10</sup> Etymological game of Gorgon (Γοργόωνς) and “fiercely” (γοργῶς).

the contrary, after they had stood up, they tied him with a stronger shackle and, in this way, they escaped the deceitful [Sirens]. This is myth.

I believe that the poem should not charm us, like a Siren, up to the point of what is visible, but we should want to go further. So, we must understand that the Sirens are the charming and deceitful pleasures that powerfully beguile every man with their smooth, pleasant and sweet song, as they navigate through this present life. The one able to pass by them is the one, like Odysseus, who could plug the powers of the soul, instead of his companions, with wax of divine words and actions, and who could make them insensible to those [Sirens], and who could deaden the impulses of the body with the strongest shackle, philosophy [the mast], and could make them impregnable to these [Sirens]. Thus perceiving, he would seem not to perceive; and hearing, not even to hear, precisely because he knows that trying pleasures does not ruin the soul, but that wishing to stay with them [Sirens-pleasures] for life makes one forget imprudently the best works of moderation.

**8. [On Scylla and Charybdis].** They say that Odysseus ventured, while he was wandering, towards the terrible and unbeatable cliffs of Scylla and Charybdis. On one side of them were the high wandering rocks, against which a great sea wave dashed with a roaring sound. Yet, they were so high that the summit went straight up to the sky itself and, for that reason, it was cloudy and completely wet. Even birds were not able to pass there, nor was a man able to climb it, not even if he had twenty hands and feet. In the middle, there was a dark cave turned towards Erebus, towards the West, in which the frantic Scylla lived, who screamed terribly, even if her voice was as loud as that of a new-born puppy.<sup>11</sup> She had twelve feet, six very long necks and the same number of heads; she had three rows of teeth that oozed death. She stretched out her heads constantly towards the sea and fished, while looking around the cliff. A ship sailing by that place never left unharmed, unless she had taken away as many men as the beast had heads. The first cliff, they say, was like this.

The other cliff appeared lower, being located on the other side in parallel, so close that it could be reached by an arrow's shot. It destroyed constantly the ships that sailed through that strait, so that, together with each other, both boards and bodies of the men were carried along by the waves and the tempest of the deadly fire that was poured over. Right there, there was a large wild fig-tree, under which Charybdis sucked down the water three times a day, and three times a day she threw it up. When Odysseus arrived there, he ordered the steersman to keep the ship far away from the smoke and the wave that would appear and to rather turn the ship to the other cliff [Scylla], since he preferred a smaller evil to a bigger one. They thus saw the expected cliff and shuddered at Charybdis. From the other side, Scylla caught six of them, while they were wailing

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<sup>11</sup> The etymology Σκύλλα from σκύλαξ is already present in Homer, cf. *Od.* 12.86–87.

and stretching out their hands to Odysseus to rescue them. When Odysseus turned around, he saw them and could not rescue them, but he felt sorry for the misfortune, while he was pleased that he had passed by the other cliff [Charybdis] unharmed. Such are the events that the myth narrates.

I think that if one looks more closely at the poet's purpose, he alludes to two cliffs: the passions that constrain our life from both sides, which we all encounter along this narrow passage of life. Of these, one set are the passions that affect to our soul: they are high in terms of vice, yet treacherous and shadowy, such as pride and the other evils we know, in which dwells the demon who presides over them, the terrible and wild dog [Scylla]. This demon sometimes hides his vice, sometimes manifests it and makes himself fully known, when cunningly attacking, rising to this high cliff of pride and, then, tearing apart with the three-fold vice of deadly teeth, i.e. apostasy, misanthropy and love of sin, which certainly have infected the good behaviour in every way. This demon always makes sick, because it is always searching and seizing wholly or partially those sailing in life. These are the passions that relate to the soul. The other set are the passions that affect to the body: they are also high by themselves and visibly leading to perdition, yet they are lowlier and humbler due to the evident and unostentatious shame. Among these passions, there is a fig-tree, wild pleasure by nature, but still sweet to enjoy. Under this fig-tree, [Charybdis] often sucks down the impulses of the flesh many times a day and confounds the man, now fanning the flame of the desire upwards, now casting it down, and often producing a downfall of both souls and bodies through the communion of the worse. The moderate man, like Odysseus, prefers to avoid such a cliff [Charybdis] and to approach the other [Scylla], if necessary, because only the soul is sick there [with Scylla], while the body remains healthy and easily returns from the worse to the habit. In addition to these, I think that the two cliffs represent what happens to us voluntarily from our will and the difficulties from external matter, either we suffer from each of them or certainly from both; but the one who has come into existence cannot evade both of them, just like Odysseus could not.

**9. [On Helios' Cows].** They say that Odysseus undertook the following wandering. There is an island towards the west by the name of Trinacria – the modern language calls it Sicily –, which is said in the poem to be dedicated as property to Helios, and which fed his largest cows and beautiful sheep. When Odysseus arrived there with his companions, he heard the bellowing of the cows and sheep that lived there and ordered them to escape quickly from there, from the island of Helios, but his companions, overcome by toil and sleeplessness, did not want to leave, because they feared the winds that rose on the open sea at night, [fearing that] they would suffer any misfortune at some point. As Odysseus was forced by them [to stay], he took at least an oath from them never to touch the sacred cows and sheep. After this had happened and his companions had disembarked, and, next, ate and fell asleep, the wind blew during the night with a very violent storm and hindered the sailing. Then, Odysseus spoke to them again, lest it would happen that

any of the divine belongings was touched. He even added a threat. They, on the other hand, obeyed for a while, and while the south wind blew incessantly and there was still food left on the ship, they each turned themselves to one thing or another, now to hunting birds now to fishing, but also in this way they were still distressed by hunger. As Odysseus did not know what to do about the situation, he went through the island to pray, in the hope that a way out would appear to him from God. His companions, in their distress, seized the sacred cows, slaughtered them and cut them into pieces, and put them on spits, because they preferred to suffer all the terrible things from the God rather than to succumb to death by starvation, which is the worst of all deaths. However, they promised, if they were spared, that they would erect a temple and dedicate many statues to God. When at this moment Odysseus arrived, he found that they had undertaken all these terrible things and he lamented over the calamity, especially as he knew the omens about the cows. For immediately the hides crawled and the meat on the spits bellowed, and from them came a sound like the death rattle. Even in this way, however, the wretched companions ventured to do terrible things for six days; on the seventh day, the south wind ceased and another wind, the one they wanted, rose, and they immediately set sail after unfurling the sails. Once they had left the island behind as much as they could, a west wind arose with a large storm, and from above a bolt of lightning was sent down at the unfortunate men. Yet, the helmsman was the first to be struck on his head by the mast that came down, because he had been the first to start the bad plan,<sup>12</sup> and he and all the others fell into the sea. Odysseus therefore was unsure about what to do and paced up and down the ship for a rather long time, until that terrible billow tore the ship's boards from its keel. After Odysseus had tied the keel to the mast with a leather strap, he got on board and let himself be carried by the waves. And this is what the myth relates.

In this episode, it is possible to understand that Odysseus is foolish, [and it is possible to understand] what kind of punishments the poem inflicts on the sacrilegious and perjurious, and that it wants to teach all men to venerate God at any time and to beware of divine matters, even if the force of the circumstances urges to do so, or the influence of some powerful person, or the worst of everything threatens to ignore precision. All things are secondary to God when compared to any disrespect towards Him, no matter how slight the transgression may appear. If the poem wishes to attribute sense perception to the insensitive meat and hides, above all it wishes to show that every worst action cries out everywhere the transgression of the perpetrator, but especially that of perjurers and plunderers, as much as this terrible act pertains to the divine itself. Even if the justice does not immediately follow in the footsteps of the perpetrator, it is not much later that it arrives, as the shipwrecked companions of Odysseus testify with their own death.

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<sup>12</sup> In reference to Eurylochus for being the first of Odysseus' companions to make the decision to sacrifice Helios' cows, cf. *Od.* 12.340–51.

**10. [More about Charybdis].** The poem narrates that Odysseus engaged in a horrible and very difficult struggle against Charybdis. For after his ship had been shattered by the wrath sent by God against his companions, and he had with difficulty tied the mast firmly to the keel, he floated [on the raft]. But a wind arose, a headwind from the south, so that he was compelled to pass over Charybdis again; when he indeed found himself near this terrible beast, which swallowed the sea, as was its habit. Odysseus was immediately lifted by the big wave in the direction of the big fig-tree, deprived of his raft. He clung to the fig-tree like a bat, having nowhere to plant his feet nor to stand. Its roots were long, and its branches were also long and hanging down, thus hiding Charybdis in shadows. He then took a firm hold of these branches, until the timbers that had sunk to the bottom were disgorged at some point; after a long time, they indeed appeared. Sitting on them, then, he rowed the sea with his hands as if they were oars. He indeed passed by Scylla, who, thanks to divine providence, did not see him at all. In this way, then, he borne along over the sea for nine days, enduring all the horrors of a shipwreck. And this is what the poem says.

It is possible to understand in this episode, too, that Odysseus is the man who has remained shipwrecked in his thoughts and who has foolishly yielded to the terrible Charybdis of fleshly desires, which often foam up and raise high the evil waves of passions, and submerge the one who is tossed about by her [Charybdis]. If he becomes like Odysseus, encountering these perils, and he could recover more prudent thoughts, he would immediately oppose the danger and, when the evil waves rise, he would not stay idle or inactive thereafter.<sup>13</sup> Before being pulled under by the violence of the damp flame of passions and carried down to the depths of vice, he firmly holds onto divine fear and justice [the fig-tree]. Therefore, he instantly recovers the holy and more divine life previously lost, with which he navigated this bitter and violent narrow passage of life, and from then on, he lightly and safely floats on the waves of temptations. Yet he remains combative and on trial, as long as he goes through the navigation of the flesh and looks at the billowy winds of wickedness.<sup>14</sup> In this way, and always being somewhat fearful, lest he suffer something terrible from those shameful desires, he is least likely to be torn apart by the teeth of pride [Scylla]. Even if pride, residing nearby, howls something dreadful and wild, and tries to elevate him to the cliff, like Scylla, he [like Odysseus] passes through that with calm, having been initiated into being impassive to evil. For that evil cliff of pride [Scylla] does not even damage those who are troubled by that violent wave of fleshly passions [Charybdis]. Instead, it persuades those who suspect the danger at hand, above all, to observe moderation and to be humble.

**11. [On Calypso, Alcinous and the Plot at Odysseus' Fatherland].** The poem also adds the following error to the shipwrecked Odysseus, at the time when he landed naked and wanderer on

<sup>13</sup> Inactivity saves Odysseus from the Cyclops, cf. A9.55: ἀπραγμοσύνην.

<sup>14</sup> The word for “winds” (πνεύματα) includes the idea of “spirits”.

the island of Ogygia. The poem says that the nymph Calypso, who lived in the land because she had been the first to arrive at the cliff, found the man cast ashore and brought him to her cave and treated him with great kindness; she took care of him then and for the following eight years, as if he were her legitimate husband. Without wishing to do so, at night Odysseus was forced to sleep with the nymph, who wanted him to do so. By day he mourned for himself and looked out to the sea and to Penelope in tears. In the meantime, as Odysseus was unfortunate, the gods took pity on his misfortune and at once they sent Hermes to tell Calypso to either let the man leave the island quickly without any disaster or to fear indeed to suffer the worst from the gods; she therefore yielded to this command with displeasure. As there was no ship, she made him ready to get on the raft. Then, after having well arranged the upcoming voyage and the things appropriate for sending him a homeward journey, she returned to the cave. However, once Odysseus had set out on his voyage, he was plotted against by a demon whom he had irritated from the beginning, Poseidon, and his raft was shaken in the middle of the sea by very fierce winds. After he had thrown himself upon one plank of the raft, he navigated the high seas, swimming with his hands; at some point after a long time, after having suffered many horrors, naked in the sea again and clothed with all kinds of misfortunes, he was cast ashore at the land of the Phaeacians. Next, by some good fortune, Odysseus there obtained hospitality from the daughter of Alcinous, the ruler of the land, and hereafter from Alcinous himself and his wife; and he was kindly treated with so many thousands of gifts. From there, he arrived completely unharmed at his fatherland and his beloved ones, after he had slayed there the violent and unjust suitors of Penelope and had snatched away his wife from their plot. This is the myth.

The mind, as I believe, wants Odysseus to be every man under adversity, who has dared to indulge in base and shameful pleasures [Calypso]. Lamenting, nevertheless, over his suffering and weeping aloud constantly, he returns to the habitual moderation [Penelope] and customs of the soul [his relatives]. With difficulty, with the help of a more divine providence [Hermes], after having fiercely objected to the base and licentious life [Calypso], he withdrew from the dark caves of vice [Calypso's cave] and started his journey on a raft, i.e. on the never-ending habit of the good, because it does not naturally produce continuous changes towards the contrary.<sup>15</sup> Thereafter, he is also plotted and troubled by a demonic billow [Poseidon] and his thoughts for salvation are shaken [his raft is destroyed]. He never abandons them entirely, but, steered in this way by a part of the mind [the plank], and the practical part in his power [swimming with his hands], he lands on the bright and humanitarian land of imperturbability [the land of the Phaeacians]. Once he has arrived there, he obtains a prize for his toils [Alcinous' gifts], the radiating hospitality of virtue [Alcinous' wife, Arete] and the benevolence of God [Alcinous].

<sup>15</sup> The raft of Odysseus has only one direction, cf. A9.313: ἐξῆς τὸν τε πλοῦν διαθεῖσθαι.



Next, he leaves for the true fatherland of the soul [Ithaca], by slaying the wicked demons [the suitors] and the passions that previously forced him to be a slave to base desire.

**Appendix 6. A13a. Πρόλογος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τοὺς θεσπεσίους καὶ μακαρίους προφήτας ἐπὶ τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν σὺν Θεῷ φιλοπονηθείσῃ τῶν καιριωτάτων αὐτῶν ῥήσεων συλλογῇ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης αὐταῖς ἐξηγήσεως.**

- 5 Πάντων μὲν ἐγὼ θείων λόγους ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, οἱ Θεὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδον κρείττοσι καὶ λαὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας ὑπῆρξαν, παντὸς μᾶλλον διὰ σπουδῆς τινος ἥγον, καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τούτων ἐγινόμην ἔρωτος. οὐ γὰρ πως ὀφειλὴν τιν' ἀναγκαίαν ὥμην ἀποδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κρείττω ῥωμὴν ἐνθένδε σχήσειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν πράγμασι· κοινῇ μὲν οὖν οὕτω περὶ πάντας διετιθέμην τοὺς ἡμετέρους, πόθου τοῦτο κινουντος καὶ κρίσεως τοῦ
- 10 λογιζομένου βιαίας· προφῆταις δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς τὰ θεῖα τετελεσμένοις, ὅσοι γ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω χρόνων ἦσαν ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας θειοτέρας τὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου προεγνωκότες ἀλήθειαν· οὐκ οἶδ' εἰπεῖν ὅπόσον τι σέβας ἐδίδουν καὶ φιλίας ὅσης ἡξίουσαν τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· στοιχεῖα γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐώρων ἐκείνους καὶ ἀρχὰς τινὰς προκαταβληθείσας εἰς τὴν νέαν ταύτην οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος·
- 15 κἂν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων οὐμενουν ἅπαντες διεφάνησαν οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὰς συμπιπτούσας ἀνάγκας παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐμνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐνὸς ὥσπερ πληκτρον κινήσαντος τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἁρμονίαν, σύμφωνον τι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἤχησαν μέλος· καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις καιροῖς τε καὶ πράγμασιν εἰς ἓνα δὴ τινὰ πάντες συμφωνίας ἦκον ῥυθμὸν, ὥστ' ἔχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς διδασκάλοις πάντας ὁρᾶν [fol. 152v] τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου γιννόμενον καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν πολιτευόμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- 20 οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἡγάμην, ὅπως τὰ διανοίας ὑψηλοτέρας ἄξια σπέρματα καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἄνω χειρὸς ἦκοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους οὐ βεβήλοις ψυχαῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ μόνην αἴσθησιν ζώσαις καὶ ἀκάνθαις πονηρίας βίου συμπνιγομέναις ἐγκατασπεῖραι ἡξίωσαν. ἦν γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην τελετὴν ἀπειροκάλως διατιθεμένων καὶ μὴδ' ὅτι ποτέ ἐστιν ὑψηγορία
- 25 προφητικῇ ἐγνωκότων, ἀλλὰ κἂν τούτῳ φροντίδα θέμενοι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν λεγομένων, μεγέθει τινὶ ἐρμηνείας ἀπορρητοτέρας σοφῶς μάλα καὶ εὐμεθόδως αὐτὰ συνεσκίασαν, ὥστ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ληπτὰ τοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν κεκαθαρμένοις καὶ εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριάκοντα δεδυνημένοις καρποφορεῖν· ἐκ πολλῶν τοίνυν ὄντος γνωρίμου τοῦ ἱερά τε εἶναι ταῦτα καὶ ἄδυστα, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῖς ἐβεβαίωσαν καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς βατὰ, τοῖσδ' ἀνιέροις ἄβατα κατεστήσαντο.
- 30 καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεωρητικὸν ὅρων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, κάκεῖνο λόγου κρείττονος ἐτιθέμην, ὅπως τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς θεολογοῦντες ἐνέφηναν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μυστικωτέρα φωνῇ σημήναντες καὶ τὸν υἱὸν συναπέδειξαν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἐκείνῳ τελούντα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁμοίως πάντ' ἔχον κατὰ τὸν πατέρα τὰ τῆς θεότητος· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἀπλοῦς τὲ ὢν καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σύμμετρος ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἴσος ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ὁμοῖος, πάντα πληρῶν
- 35 ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν [fol. 153r] θεωρούμενος, οὗτ' ἔχον ὅποι κινήσεται τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ταυτηνὴν κίνησιν καὶ μεταβολαῖς οὐδέ τισιν ὑποκείμενος· κἂν ποτε δοκῇ τῆς μονάδος ἀφίστασθαι τὴν ὑπερφυᾶ διαίρεσιν διαιρούμενος, ἀλλ' αὐθις εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφων καὶ τὸ ἐνιαῖον κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδαμῶς ἀπολλύς, οὔτε τῆς ἐξουσίας, οὔτε τῆς δυνάμεως, οὔτε τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐμενουν οὐδὲ τῆς βουλήσεως, ἡ αἰδιότητος ἡ ἀπειρίας ἡ ἀκαταληψίας ἡ σοφίας ἡ γνώσεως ἡ
- 40 χρηστότητος ἡ συμπάντων, οἷς τὸ θεῖον γινώσκεται λογικῇ φύσει ὡς ἐφικτὸν καὶ περαιτέρω μηδενὶ προχωρεῖν δίδωσι χώραν.
- ἔτι γε μὴν ἐνθένδε μεθέλκων, τὸν νοῦν ἱλιγιῶντα τοπαράπαν καὶ διαπορούμενον διεσκόπουν αὐθις καὶ ἐώρων κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἀρχὰς, παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἀνδρῶν ἀσφαλῶς ὑποτιθέμενας πάσῃ γενέσει· καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν, ἡγούμενον τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὅφ' οὗ γέγονε
- 45 κτίσις καὶ αἰὲ δὲ γίνεται, ὅροις εἴκουσα τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἄλλην δ' οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν, οὔτε θείαν, οὔτε τινὰ φυσικὴν, οὗτ' ἐξ αὐτομάτου κινήθεισαν ἀλόγως· εἶτα καὶ ὡς γεγένηται, ὅπως τὲ διὰ μονῆς καὶ τάξεως ἔχει κατὰ τὸ ὅλον καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη, οὗτ' ἐναντίον τῶν δεδογμένων ἐξαρχῆς τι δεικνῦσα καὶ πάντα δὲ δρῶσα πρὸς λόγον, ἅτε τῷ καθόλου λόγῳ δουλεύουσα· ἐπειθε δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ στοιχείων μὲν κίνεσις εὖ ἡρμοσμένη καὶ οὐδέποτε ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ὠρίσται κινουμένη, ἢ κατὰ
- 50 τόπον ἢ τιν' ἄλλην παραφύσιν κίνησιν, μάλιστα δ' ἢ τῶν εἰδῶν ἄπειρος ἐν τῷ παντὶ [fol. 153v] χύσις, ἃ διὰ γενέσεως αἰὲ καὶ φθορᾶς ἦκοντα καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα δρόμον ἄληκτον, ἀσυγχύτως ἔχει τῶν ὄρων καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξίσταται τοῦ συνέχοντος ταῦτα καὶ περισφίγγοντος ὅρου.

5 σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας Cf. Deuteronomy 32:9, Psalms 104:11 7 ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδόναι Cf. Romans 13.7, 1 Corinthians 7.3

- καὶ δῆποτε τῆς ὕλης ὑπερκύψας μικρὸν καὶ τῷ νῷ γενόμενος ἄνω, πῇ ποτ' ἔχει καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θείων τούτων καταμαθεῖν, πλὴν Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως, τάξεις ἐώρων περὶ Θεὸν ἐφεξῆς ἰδρυμένας ἀύλων δυνάμεων, μόνης ἐχόμενας αἰεὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἄλλ' οὐχ ἑτέραν οὔμενον αἰεὶ στρεφομένας ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πάντ' ἐκεῖθεν πασχούσας τὰ ἐφετὰ καὶ πάντα δὲ δρώσας, ὅσα ἂν καθαρὰν δουλείαν γνωρίσειε· προσέτι δὲ καὶ εἶδος αὐτῶν ἐώρων, οἷον προσήκει αὐλῷ φύσει καὶ ἀναιδέω, ἥκιστα ὡς τὰ τῇδε συντιθεμένη καὶ πρὸς ἓν τι περιγραφομένη τῶν ὄντων, τό δ' ἦν ὑπαλλαττόμενον καὶ περιτρέχον, ὡς ἔτυχε, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων ἀξίαν ἢ τοῦ κινουμένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἢ καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων χρεῖαν, δι' ἣν καὶ τῷ φανταστικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐντυπύεται καὶ τῷ ὁρωμένῳ τὰ μὴ ὁρώμενα προδιαγράφει καὶ προσημαίνεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶμαι οἷον τε εἶναι ξένην καθάπαξ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ἀνόμοιον φύσιν ἀνομοίῳ ἑτέρῳ καταλαμβάνεσθαι. νοητὰ μὲν γὰρ νοητοῖς, αἰσθητὰ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐπιγινώσκειται, παντὸς τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἔλκοντος εἰς ἀντίληψιν τὸ οἰκεῖον. τὸ μέντοι μέλλον εἰς τὴν καθόλου λύσιν ἥξιν τὰ πάντα μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ ἐκ φθορᾶς ἄλλο τι σχῆμα πολὺ τοῦ ὄντος θεϊότερον λήψεσθαι· τίνα με διετίθει περὶ ἐκείνους, ἀρχὰς καὶ τέλη τῶν ὄντων δεδιδαγμένον καὶ οὕτω παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντα κείμενα πάντα, ὡς μὴδ' ἔστιν [fol. 154r] ἑτέροις, ἃ νῦν ὁρᾶται καὶ γίγνεται; ἐδόκει δὲ πάντως τοῦτο γε οὐδαμῶς ἀπίθανον, οὐδὲ μέντοιγε πόρρω τῆς τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν πρώτην δυνάμεως, ἢ κάκεῖνο πολὺ τούτου ἀδυνατώτερον δόξειεν ἂν, ὅσῳ καὶ πρὸς λόγον ἔλαττον, τοιόνδ' ἀπλῶς ἢ τόδῃ τι ἐξαρχῆς εἰς φύσιν ἐληλυθέναι καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐγκρίνεσθαι· καὶ θαυμαστότερον δ' ἄλλον ἐνομίζετο τρόπον, εἰ δὴ οὕτω πολλαὶ μὲν ιδέαι παρὰ Θεῷ τυγχάνουσι κατὰ δύναμιν οὔσαι τῶν ὄντων, πολλαὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀλλοιώσεις καὶ μεταβολαί, ἵν' ὅτε βούλοιτο, νῦν μὲν τάσδε, νῦν δὲ τάσδε καταδεικνύη καὶ παραγυμνοὶ τὸ πέλαγος τῆς σφετέρας χρηστότητος καὶ σοφίας, ὥσπερ ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὶν γεγονότων οὐκ εἰς τό δ' ἀπλῶς οὐδ' εἰς τόδε τὴν δύναμιν κατακλείσθαι· ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἔστιν ἄπειρος, οὕτω κάκεῖνη, καὶ μέτρον παντὸς τῶν γινομένων ἔχει τὸ βούλεσθαι.
- ἐγὼ δ' ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὅπως κόσμου ψυχῆς καὶ ἀρμονίας τοῖς θεσπεσίοις ἐμέλῃσε καὶ δικαστήριον ἀτεχνῶς κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ νόμους θεῖους τὰς σφετέρας ἐξεργάσαντο βίβλους, οὐ καθένα κρίνοντες, οὐδὲ κατὰ σύνδυο ἢ σύντρεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δήμους καὶ πόλεις καὶ σύμπαντα δηλαδὴ κόσμον· καὶ νῦν μὲν εὖ ποιοῦσι τοὺς προσανέχοντας τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὡς οἷον τε ὁμοιουμένους· νῦν δ' αὖ κολάζουσι σωφρόνως καὶ ἐπιστρέφουσιν οἱ βέλτιον ἐπεστράφθαι, καὶ ὁ μὴ λόγοις πρότερον, τοῦτ' ἔργοις ἀνύτουσιν, ἐνίοτε δ' αὖ ἑκάτερον ὑπερτίθενται, ὡς ἂν βουλήν Θεοῦ καὶ κρίματα γνωῖεν· οὐδ' οὕτω καθάπαξ ἀνιέντες τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄληκτον ἀναφέροντες αἰῶνα καὶ δικαστήριον, ὃ πέρας ἔχει τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον ὅρον, οὐδέπω πεπαυμένον ἢ κακίαν κολάζον ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀμειβόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἄρξῃται κινούμενον καὶ τῇ γ' ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω συμπαρατεινόμενον ἀπειρία, οἷος ὁ θεῖος περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα νόμος καλῶς καὶ κρίνων καὶ ψηφίζόμενος. [fol. 154v]
- ταῦτα κατὰ δύναμιν ἐννοῶν, κάκεῖνο ἐσκόπουν καὶ ἐώρων χρησμοὺς αὐτοῖς καταγγέλλουσι θεῖους ἀπὸ κελεύσματος, ὧν δὴ κατὰ καιροὺς γιγνομένους, ἴσμεν, ὑπερφύσιν ἢ καταφύσιν πραγμάτων, ὅπως ἂν ὁ τοὺς τοῦ παντὸς οἵακας στρέφων συνοίσειν ἐπίσταιτο καὶ ἃ δὴ συνοίσειν· πάντα δήπου ταῦτα ἐώρων, ὥσπερ ἕκ τινος βίας ἐκείνοις ἐπόμενα. καὶ ἃ μὲν γέγονε καὶ πέρας εἰλήφει, διδαχὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀντικρυς ἦν. ἃ δ' οὐπω παρῆν, ὥσπερ γεγονότα ἢ γιγνόμενα ἤδη, σώφρονι διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐωρᾶτο καὶ ἐπιστεύετο· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅπερ ἢ τῆς χείρονος μέριδος ἢ τῆς κρεῖττονος ἐνομίζετο, ὅπῃ τε καὶ ὅπως καὶ καθ' ὧν ἐχρησμοδεῖτο γενέσθαι, μὴ ὡς ἂν εἴρητο, οὕτω δὴ καὶ γενέσθαι, εἰ μήποτε κακία τις μεταβαλοῦσα ἐξ ἀρετῆς ἢ κακία πρὸς ἀρετὴν κλίνασα ἀναστρέψῃ τὴν ψῆφον καὶ, ὧν ἀνεῖλον οἱ θεωροὶ, τὰναντία ἐκβαίῃ· γίγνεται γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ Θεῷ μετάνοια, ὧν αὐτῷ δέδοκται δρᾶν, ὃν ἔφημεν τρόπον. τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῆς εἰσαυθὺς ἐνδημίας τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ τῆς δεινῆς μὲν εἰπεῖν· δεινότερας δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν τῶν στοιχείων καινοτομίας καὶ τῆς εἰς ταυτὸ συνδρομῆς ἐκ περάτων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος θανόντων καὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τούτων καὶ εὐώνυμα διαίρεσέως, ὅτε Θεὸς κάθηται δικαστὴς καὶ πανταχόθεν πυρὸς πηγάζουσι ρύακες· οἱ μὲν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· οἱ δὲ, τῶν δορυφόρων ἀγγέλων· οἱ δὲ, τῆς κολαστικῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἀφεγγοῦς καὶ πάσαν κακίαν ἐξαναλούσης φλογός· καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν κρινομένων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς Θεοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους ἐγγράφονται τῆς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας· οἱ δὲ εἰς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγνώμονας δούλους καὶ πάσαις [fol. 155r] ταῖς ἀθανατοῖς ἐνεχομένους ἀραίς καὶ ποιναῖς· καὶ δῆμιοι σφοδροὶ τινες καὶ ἀπότομοι παρίστανται τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ σεισμός τις ἄληκτος

- τὰ πάντα δονεῖ· σπουδὴ δὲ πᾶσι καὶ ἀγωνία καὶ δεινός τις καὶ ἄστατος τρόμος ὕπεστι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸτ' ἄλλα γε πάντα τῆς τηνικαῦτα παρασκευῆς φρικτὰ καὶ ἀνύποιστα παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων μεμνησθαι προσπύλων· ἡλικίην τινὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἠνάγκαζεν ἔχειν, ἵν' ἴσως βελτίων γενοίμην, πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἰδὼν φύσεως; καὶ πότερα τις ἔξει παῦλα κακίαν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἐπιγνούς;
- 110 κατασεισθεῖν τε αὖ πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ψῆφον προκαταλάβοιμι; οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τούτους μυστικώτερον θεωρῶν καὶ πολλὰ γε ἕτερα συνεπινοῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ εἶχον ὅποι τῆς αὐτῆς φιλοσοφίας στήσω τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ πέρας τι λαβεῖν ἄξιον προφητικῆς διανοίας, εἰς ἀχανές τι πέλαγος ἐδόκουν μονοῦ κατακυβιστᾶν.
- 115 ὁμως μέντοι οὐκ εὐγνωμον οὐδ' ἄλλως ἔμοιγε λυσιτελὲς κατεφάνη οὐδ' οἷον ἀπειροκάλως ὁδὸν τινα διεληλυθέναι τὰς ἱερὰς τούτων βίβλους, ὥσπερ οἱ παριόντες. ἀλλ' ὁ μοι πολλὰ καμώντι περὶ αὐτοὺς κατειληφέναι ἔδοξε, τοῦτ' ἐμοῦ τε χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὕστερον, καὶ τοῦ χάριν τοῖς θεομάντεσι τούτοις εἰσενεγκεῖν ἢν ὀφλω, ὠφελιμένος τοῦτ' ἐνδείξασθαι ὥς ἔχω δυνάμεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα μὲν ἐφεξῆς διέναι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἔργον εἶναι ἐώρων τοῖς βουλομένοις, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅσα γέ τινες ἐφιλοπύνησαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐπεδείξαντο τὰ βάθη τῶν νοημάτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀναπτύσσειν· τὸ δὲ, ὅκνου τινὸς οὐ μετρίου καὶ ἱλίγγου τοὺς πλείστους ἐπλήρου, ὥστ' ἀναχωρεῖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς δρόμους [fol. 155v] θέοντας ἀδυνάτους· τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μέσου, τοῦσδ' ὀλίγῳ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ σταδίου πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον· τοῦτό γε περὶ τοῦ μήκους ἐκατέρων ἐσοφισάμην, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρῶ καὶ τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τῶν κειμένων· ὅσα δὲ ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐναργῆ τινα παρέχει τεκμήρια, ἢ τινων πραγμάτων καινοτέρων ἐκβάσεις προκαταγγέλλει, ἢ ἀνθρώποις παρανομοῦσιν ἀπειλὴν ἐπισηαίει καὶ δόξαν Θεοῦ εἰς εἶδωλα καὶ πλάνην μετατιθεῖσιν, ἢ βίους ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολιτείας ρυθμίζει, κατάλογον τινὰ χρηστοτέρων ἡθῶν ποιούμενα, ἢ ἀμαρτάνοντας διελέγχει καὶ τὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν διέξεισιν, ἢ πονηρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ δόλον καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρέγκλισιν νόμων καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ ψευδεῖ τινι κέρδει ταλανίζει καὶ διασύρει καὶ ὀργὰς διὰ ταῦτα· τὰς μὲν ἐπενηνεγμένας ἀπαριθμεῖται, τὰς δ' οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐπενεχθησομένας προαναφωνεῖ καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λεηλασίας καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ ἀναστάσεις πόλεων καὶ ἱερῶν διατραγωδεῖ. συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς ὑποδείκνυσι πρᾶγμα· καὶ τὸ μὲν προτρέπει, κακίαν δὲ καὶ μοχθηρίαν ἀποτρέπει καὶ διωθεῖται.
- 135 ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς τούτων συντεμῶν ἐξηγήσεις καὶ τι παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ προσθέμενος, ἐγχειρίδιόν τι ποιήσω τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ φιλοθέοις χρήσιμον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἵν' οὐ μόνον φιλοτιμίαν παρέχοι διὰ πολυπειρίαν τῶν τε γεγονότων, τῶν τε ὄντων, τῶν τε ἐσομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥάδιον τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν εἶη, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχειν, εἰ βούλονται, καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ χρῆσθαι ἀντὶ βιβλίου, ὅποι δεήσει καὶ ἐφ' αἷς τισι ταῖς αἰτίαις. εἰ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι θεῖοι καὶ Χριστός αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συμπί[fol. 156r]πτουσι κατακαιρὸν οὐκοῦν ἀπαναίνονται τοῖς προφητικοῖς χρῆσθαι ῥήμασι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ χρῆσθαι μαρτυρίᾳ τῇ τούτων ὑψηγορία, σχολῇ γ' ἂν ἡμεῖς παραιτησάμεθα μὴ οὐχ ὁδηγοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, ὅτε μὲν κατὰ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρῶν ἢ Χριστὸν παραγραφομένων ἢ τὰ Χριστοῦ διαβαλλόντων καὶ τῆς νομικῆς σκιᾶς, ὥσπερ ἱερᾶς τινος ἐξεχόμενα ἀγκύρας, ὅτε δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα συμφυῖαν, ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸς αὔθις μετὰ σώματος ἐπανελεύσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Θεοῦ μαθητὰς, ἐπὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας, ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ κήρυκας τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τοίνυν ὥσπερ ἄριστον ὑπείληφα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ πεποίηκα, αὐτῶν μοι τῶν προφητῶν μετὰ τοῦ προφητευομένου συνεπιλαβομένων πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν· καὶ δὴ πάρεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ὅτι ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ βούλοιτο τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ εὐρεῖν τε καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῦτο ῥαδίως καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ γε τοῦ πόνου καταδεηθέντι· ὁ γὰρ ἂν πρῶτως ἀνοιγνύντι τὴν βίβλον ἐμπέσοι, τοῦτ' αὐτίκ' ἄριστον δόξει καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ λέγειν·
- 150 καὶ προσφέρει νῦν διαλέξεσιν ἐν μελέταις λόγων, ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν ὁμιλίαις, ἐν εἰσηγήσεσι τῶν πρακτέων, ἐν ἀποτροπαῖς τῶν οὐ πρακτέων.
- 155 χρῆσθαι μέντοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ διδασκαλία ἀκριβεῖα δόγματος, θεολογία μυστικώτερα, ἀποδείξει τῶν σπουδαζομένων, πίστει τῶν ἐσομένων, μαρτυρία τῶν ἀμφιβαλλομένων· ἐνὶ λόγῳ, παντῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμη τελεωτάτη, ὅσα περὶ Θεοῦ δέον φιλοσοφῆσαι, ὅσα περὶ τῆς κάτω συνθέσεως τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν αὖ ἀναλύσεως, ὅσα περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἐξ ἀναλύσεως αὔθις εἰς ταῦτ' ἐκταμένων καὶ λόγον [fol. 156v] ὑφεζόντων, ὧν ἐνθάδε πεπράχασι· ποῖον γὰρ εἶδος καλοῦ; ἢ τί τῶν θείων πραγμάτων καὶ κτιστῇ φύσει χωρεῖσθαι δι' ἀρετὴν οἷον τε ὄν; οὐκ εἶδον οἱ γενναῖοι οὐδ' ἐφαντάσθησαν οὐδ' ἀκριβεῖς ἔσχον χαρακτηῖρας ἐν

- 160 τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥς τι κάτοπτρον Θεοῦ γεγονότες; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τούτους γλῶσσαν γενέσθαι Θεοῦ, φωνὴν τῶν ἀλαλήτων αὐτοῦ λόγων, ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἐν βάθει κειμένων καὶ ἀποκρύφων, ὅτα τῶν οὐδέποτε ἀκουστῶν, διάνοιαν τῶν ἀσυλλογίστων, νοῦν τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σεσιγημένων τοῦ πρώτου νοῦ μυστηρίων, γνῶσιν τῶν ὑπὲρ γνῶσιν πραγμάτων, ἀγγέλους, εἰ καὶ μετὰ σώματος, τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς καὶ συνέσεως, ὁδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ ἄδυτα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁρμήματα ποταμοῦ τὴν νέαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐφραίνοντα, ἄνθρακας κατὰ πάσης γῆς ἀναφθέντας καὶ τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ ζήλου πᾶσαν
- 165 ἀνομίαν ἀποτεφροκότας, λίθους ἀγίους ἀπανταχοῦ κυλιομένους τῆς γῆς εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς Νέας ταύτης Σιών τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας.
- ἀλλὰ τί ἂν πάθοιμι, πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν προθυμούμενος, ἐπεχόμενος δ' ὅμως δειλία καὶ ἀσθενεία φύσεως; πλὴν, ὅ τι καὶ ὅπως οὖν εἰπεῖν τι περὶ αὐτῶν τετολμήκαμεν, καὶ τοῦτ' οἶμαι φίλον αὐτοῖς ἐσέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοῦ πράου γεγόνασι μαθηταὶ καὶ πρῶτοι
- 170 τούτῳ κατηκολούθησαν, ὥς καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦτον ἰδόντες προφητικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ προκηρύξαντες πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἴσασιν, ὥς ἐκεῖνος, συμμετριάξειν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀσθενείαις τῆς φύσεως συγγνώμην διδόναι, ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν, ὅπως ἂν βούλοιντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ μεθ' οἴου φανῆναι τοῦ τῆς γνώμης σχήματος, εἰδεῖν ἂν μόνοι, πάντως δ' εὐμενοῦς τε καὶ φιланθρώπου καὶ τῆς ἁνωθεν χάριτος καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀναξίου. [fol. 157r]
- 175 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ σπουδῆς τι δόξαιμεν πεποιηκέναι ἄξιον, τῷ Θεῷ χάρις, παρ' οὗ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀνεῖται καὶ ὑφ' οὗ πρὸς γε τὰ κρείττω κεινημένοι, δοκοῦμεν τι κατορθοῦν· εἰ δ' ἄλλως ὑποστῆναι κόπον ἐξελεγχθεῖημεν ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδὲν ἀπτόμενοι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα τίνες ἂν καὶ τίσι λογισμοῖς εἰς τοῦτο δικαιωθέντες, οὕτω τοῦ ἔργου καταψηφίσαιντο· ἔπειτα δ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο δοίημεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα τοῦτ' ἔσται, ὥς μήτε παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἡμῖν κείσεσθαι χάριν διὰ τὸν πόνον μήτε παρ' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ,
- 180 εἰς ὃν καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἀναφέρεται ὅπως ἂν προαιρέσεως ἔχοι; ὅμως μέντοι ὁποτέρως ἂν τοῦ πράγματος καταδιαιτήσαιεν, ἴλεως ἡμῖν κἀκεῖνοις εἴη Θεὸς· καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν εὐχαῖς δυσωπούμενος, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, δι' οὓς καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπέστημεν καὶ τὸ ἑπαθλον προσδοκῶμεν.

**A13a. Laudatory prologue to the divine and blessed Prophets, including a collection of their most opportune sayings, which we carefully prepared with God's help, along with the exegesis relevant to them.**

Concerning the stories of all divine men, especially those among us, who saw God with greater eyes and were "His people and the lot of His inheritance", I was led more by some zeal and I fell in love with their goodness.<sup>1</sup> I did not intend to somehow pay back a particular debt, but rather to gain a greater strength from it in my own affairs. I felt this way about all our people [sc. the Christians] in common, as a desire and the forceful judgement of reasoning caused this. But more so for the Prophets who have accomplished the divine work, those who in ancient times, by means of divine inspiration, anticipated the truth of the Gospel. I cannot say how much awe I used to had [for them], and how much friendship I deemed them worthy of. For I simply saw them as the elements and principles having been laid down for this new building of the gospel proclamation. Although they did not all appear in the same times and they were not all initiated by God according to coincidental necessities, still the harmony of their soul was like the plectrum of one mover and they produced a melody in harmony with the truth. In other times and circumstances, they all followed a certain rhythm of harmony, so that everyone could see, through to the teachers [sc. the Prophets], the Son of God also becoming the Son of Man and living among us, humans.

Furthermore, I also esteemed these men, as they did not think it was appropriate to plant the seeds of higher thought that came from the upper hand to humans [sc. the teachings of God] in profane souls nor in those which live only by sensation and are choked by the thorns of a wicked life. For this would be something typical of those who are disposed in a foolish way toward that sacred initiation and who are unaware of what prophetic lofty utterance is, but the Prophets, who were aware of the value of their words, very wisely and cleverly veiled their words in the grandeur of a rather mysterious style, so that they are accessible to those who have been purified as regards their thought and who are able to bear fruit "thirty, sixty, and a hundredfold".<sup>2</sup> Hence, with so many [people] knowing that these things are sacred and inaccessible, they have confirmed their name in this way and have created accessible paths for the holy people and inaccessible ones for the unholy people.

In addition, looking towards the contemplative aspect of these men [sc. the Prophets], I also considered an aspect of greater discourse how they declared the key point of our study, by speaking of God and by designating the Father with a more mystical voice, and how they demonstrated that the Son completes the same nature of the Father and that the Spirit similarly has all divinity according to the Father; and indeed, how God exists in relation to Himself, being simple, good, harmonious with himself, equal on all sides, and similar, filling everything beyond

<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy 32:9, Odae 2.9; cf. Psalms 104:11.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 13:3–9, cf. Gabalas K.63–64.

reason and being observed beyond the universe, not having anywhere to move in the way that we do and not being subject to any changes. Even if He ever seems to depart from the monad, dividing Himself in a supernatural division, he still turns back to himself and in no way loses his unity, not in authority, nor in power, nor in rule, not even in will, or in eternity, or in infinity, or in incomprehensibility, or in wisdom, or in knowledge, or in goodness, or in everything, with which the divine is known to rational nature as attainable and does not give place to anyone to advance further.

Furthermore, drawing my mind, totally dizzy and perplexed, from this topic [sc. the contemplative aspect of the Prophets], I examined again and saw the principles of the universe and the affairs within it, which were securely established by these holy men [sc. the Prophets] for every generation. I saw God himself, the leader of these principles, by whom creation came into being and is always coming into being, obedient to His boundaries; and [I saw] no other cause, neither divine, nor natural, nor moved irrationally of its own accord. Then, as creation came to be, [I saw] how it is through unity and order both as a whole and in its parts, showing nothing contrary to the principles determined at first and doing everything according to reason, because it serves the universal reason. This prevails upon it, both a movement of the elements, well-adjusted and never moving in any other way than as has been determined, either according to place or some other unnatural movement, and especially an endless pouring out of the forms in the universe, which through birth and decay always arrives and continues on its unceasing course, holds onto its boundaries without confusion and never deviates from the boundary that encloses and tightens these things [sc. created things].

Having at some point risen above matter and being above in my mind, where one can learn about the heavenly things from these divine men, except from God and the divine nature, I saw ranks of immaterial powers [sc. angels] successively established around God and always dependent on the first cause alone [sc. God], always revolving around it, and not around another cause as if in a circle, enduring all desirable things from there and doing everything that would manifest pure servitude. Moreover, I saw their form (as is appropriate for an immaterial and formless nature, which is not at all compound like the entities here and circumscribed in relation to one of the beings) changing and moving at random, in relation to the worth of the beholders [sc. humans] or the authority of the one moving them [sc. God] or even towards the necessity of the matters, through which it [sc. their form] is also imprinted on the imaginative part of the soul and prescribes and signifies the things that are not seen by what is seen. For I do not think it possible for a nature entirely alien to and unlike the perceptible things to be comprehended by another nature unlike it. For intelligible things are recognized by intelligible things, and perceptible things are recognized by similar things, because every related kind attracts its own kind into apprehension. Therefore, considering the fact that everything will come to a universal

dissolution a little later, and from its destruction it will take on another form, much more divine than the existing one. What disposed me concerning those men [sc. the Prophets], after I had been taught about the beginnings and ends of beings and when I thus saw all things, which are seen and come to be now, laid out before their eyes, in a way not available to others? It seemed by no means improbable, nor indeed far from the first power of becoming, or that it would seem much more impossible than this, insofar as it is less according to reason, for such a thing simply or something like this to have come into nature from the beginning and to be mixed among existing things. It was considered more marvellous in the other way, if indeed many ideas from God happen to be in power of the beings, and many transformations and changes for the better, so that, whenever He wishes, the sea of His kindness and wisdom introduces and discloses now these [ideas], now those [transformations], as if defending Himself for what has previously happened, not confining His power to this or that alone; but as He Himself is infinite, so too is His power. And the measure of all that comes to be is His will.

I marvelled at these things and how the divine ones [sc. the Prophets] cared about the order and harmony of the soul and how they simply created their own books as a court for virtue and vice and as divine laws, judging not one by one, nor two or three together, but according to towns, cities, and indeed the entire universe; and now they reward those who adhere to God and resemble Him as much as possible, and then they punish with wisdom and correct the one to be corrected; and what they did not previously do with words, they now accomplish with deeds; sometimes, however, they exceed in both, so that they might know the will of God and His judgments; and, in this way, they do not simply let justice slip away, but refer it to an endless age and court, which has infinity as its limit and the undefined as its definition, not yet having ceased either to punish vice or reward virtue, but as if it were just beginning to move and to accompany the infinity in its descent, such as the divine law about human affairs, judiciously judging and decreeing.

Understanding these things according to my ability, I also observed and saw them proclaiming divine oracles on command, which, as we know, occur at times of supernatural or natural events, in whatever way the one who turns the wheel of the universe would know how to bring about and what indeed to bring about. I saw all these things, which followed them due to some kind of compulsion. And what has already happened and had reached its limit, was a direct teaching of what was to come. And what did not yet exist, as if it has happened or is already happening, was seen and believed with prudent intention; and there was nothing which was considered either of the worse or of the better part, in whichever way and however and against whatever it was prophesied to occur; and not to occur, as it was stated, unless some vice, having changed from virtue or a vice having leaned towards virtue, would overturn the vote and, whatever the spectators [sc. humans] had removed, the opposite would come out; for there is sometimes



repentance even for God, of what He has deemed fit to do, in the way we said. This is to talk about God the Word's perpetual and terrifying sojourning in human affairs at the end, and [this is] to see the even more terrifying innovations of the elements both of the concurrence towards the same thing from the boundaries of those [elements] which have died long ago, and of their division into right and left, when God sits as a judge and streams of fire gush out from everywhere; some, from God himself; others, from the guardian angels; others, from that punishing and dark flame that eradicates all vice [sc. the Holy Spirit?]. Some of those being judged are enrolled as brothers of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; others, as evil and thoughtless slaves, and as being subject to all the immortal curses and punishments; and some strict and severe public executioners appear to the theatre and some unstoppable earthquake shakes everything; there is a certain zeal and struggle for everyone, and a fearsome and unstable trembling is present. This and all other terrifying and unbearable aspects of that preparation were learned from these holy ministers [sc. the Prophets]. What kind of gratitude did they force upon us, so that perhaps I could become better, having seen the ends of human nature? And would one ever cease from wickedness or come to recognize virtue? Could I be shaken before the earthquake of events, and could I anticipate the opinion and the vote? Thus, observing these sacred men in a more mystical way and contemplating many other things, since I did not have a place in this philosophy to set my mind upon, and I was not able to grasp an end worthy of the prophetic purpose, I seemed to plunge alone into an unfathomable sea.

However, it did not seem to me prudent or otherwise beneficial to have traversed the sacred books in a superficial manner, as those passing by might do. But what seemed to me, after much effort concerning them, was for my own benefit and for those who come later, and to contribute to these divinely inspired ones the gratitude I owe, showing my capability as much as I am able. Therefore, since I saw that it was a difficult task to go through all the books of the prophets for those who want to do so, in addition to everything that some have elaborated about them or have explained in a bid to unravel the depths of their concepts; and [since I saw that] this filled most of them with considerable hesitation and dizziness, so that they were forced to retire, like those who are not able to run the race, some from the middle and others from a little more than halfway through the race, I have wisely considered this about the length that each one [has reached], so that I may present the remaining things of both the content of the texts and the exegesis of the texts: everything that either provides some clear proofs of Christ, or pre-announces the outcomes of more recent matters, or threatens those who transgress the law and transfer the glory of God to idols and error, or regulates the lives of men and their societies, as it is made as a catalogue of better customs, or rebukes the sinners and goes through their vice in detail, or denounces their wickedness, injustice, falsity, deceit, greed, robbery, subsidence of laws and justice for some false profit, and disparages anger on account of these things, as it enumerates the

angers that have already happened, and announces those which will be brought forth not much later, and expresses in tragic style the slaughters, pillages, enslavements, desolation of cities and sanctuaries. To sum it up, [I have included it] if it is about a topic that displays piety and virtue, and it encourages the former and rejects and expels vice and wickedness.

By summarizing these things from the other texts and their exegesis and by adding some of my own ideas as well, I will make a kind of handbook, most useful to those who love learning and God, in order that it not only provides distinction through the experience of past, present and future events, but it is also easy for readers to have at their lips, if they want to, and to use it as a reminder instead of the Bible, wherever needed and for whatever reasons. If indeed the divine Apostles and Christ Himself do not hesitate to use the prophetic words in the things that happen timely and to use their lofty expression as a secure testimony, we should not at all refuse to have them as our guides, sometimes against the enemies of the truth who bring false charges against Christ or slander the teachings of Christ and the shadow of the Law, as if they were attached to some sacred anchor, and sometimes regarding the natural kinship to the Begetter, regarding the passions, cross, resurrection and subsequent return to the heavens with the body, regarding the disciples of God, regarding the martyrs, and regarding the shepherds, teachers and preachers of the truth. So, therefore, as I assumed it was best, thus I have done, having taken into consideration jointly the Prophets with their prophecies for this undertaking; and indeed, it is possible for whoever wishes to do so both to find and to say whatever they wish in this work, and to do this easily and without needing much effort. For whatever first occurs to the one opening the book, that will immediately seem best to know and say. It now excels in arguments in declamations of discourses, in courts, in councils, in conversations, in admonishing to do right actions, in dissuading to avoid wrong actions.

Also, one should use the Prophets also as an exact teaching of doctrine, as mystical theology, as demonstration for students, as persuasion for future generations, and as testimony for those who are doubting; in a single word, as the ultimate knowledge of all divine and human affairs, i.e. whatever is necessary to philosophize about God, whatever about the composition of the matter of this world and its dissolution in itself, whatever about soul and body which after the dissolution will come together again in the same thing and will account for what they have done in this world. What is the form of the Good? Or what aspect of the divine matters can be accessed by a created nature [sc. human] through virtue? Did the noble ones [among them, the Prophets] neither see nor imagine nor have precise imprints on their souls, as if having become a mirror of God? I believe that the Prophets have become tongue of God, voice of His ineffable words, eyes of what is lying and hidden in the depth, ears of those things never heard, the understanding of the things that cannot be understood through reasoning, mind of the Prime Mind's mysteries which have been silent for a long time, knowledge of things beyond knowledge, angels, even if

with body, of the great will and understanding, a way for men to the sanctuary of God, rapid movements of a river making the New Jerusalem [sc. Constantinople] glad, coals set aflame throughout all the earth and having burnt up all lawlessness with the fire of zeal, holy stones rolling all over the earth for the building of this new Zion, the Church of Christ.

Then what would I suffer, being eager indeed to say much about these men [sc. the Prophets], yet holding back out of cowardice and weakness of nature? Except that, what and how I have dared to say about them, I believe this will be dear to them. For they too were disciples of the Gentle one [sc. Christ] and were the first to follow Him, as they first saw Him with prophetic eyes and proclaimed Him to all men. Surely, they do not know, as He does, to sympathize with the humble and forgive the weaknesses of nature, but these men, in whichever way they might wish to present themselves to us and with what sort of disposition [they might wish] to appear, they were the only ones to know; but certainly [they appear] as kind, benevolent [disposition], and worthy of the grace from above and of philosophy. However, if we seemed to have written something worthy of esteem to those who read this work, thanks to God, from whom every good thing is delivered to men and by whom we are moved towards better things, we seem to accomplish something. But if we are found to have endured labour touching little or nothing of what we promised, first I do not know who and by what reasoning they would be justified to vote against the work in such a way. Next, even if we grant this, will it not still be for our own sake, so that neither will we obtain favour due to [our] efforts from the prophets, nor from God Himself, to whom the words of the prophets refer, in order that He might have a choice? Thus, whichever way they might judge the matter, may God be merciful to us and to them, being revered through the prayers of all holy men from all ages, not least of the Prophets, for whom we have undertaken the struggle and we anticipate the reward.

**Appendix 7. A5. "Οτι οί πρὸς ὁποτέραν σοφίαν ἐσχολακότες, οὐ δικαίως ἂν σοφοὶ λέγοντο, ὑποκριταὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς ὄντως σοφίας [fol. 74r]**

- Μέγα μὲν ἀνθρώποις σοφία, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ νομίζεται κάλλιστον ὄν καὶ μέγιστον εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν  
 5 ψυχῆς, ἅτ' ἐκεῖσε τείνειν ἀεὶ δυναμένη τὰς αὐτῆς γε δυνάμεις, οὗ δῆπουθεν ἀπορροή τις οὔσα, ὡς ἐξ ἀπείρου πελάγους εἰς ἡμᾶς ἱκανῶς ρεύσασα φέρεται. πάντες δ' εὖ ἴστε τοῦτ' ὄν τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ παντὸς αἴτιον, πρὸς ὃ τὰ τῆς ὕλης ἐπέστραπται προνοίας ἐλκόμενα λόγοις, ὅφ' οὗ καὶ μορφὴν  
 10 τινα λαμβάνει θεῖαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀθάνατον. οὐκ οὐδὲ δεῖ τι τοῦτο ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστι καταμαθεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο σμικρὸν πάντως, οὐδὲ γε μὴν τοῦ τυχόντος λόγου κατανοῆσαι, οἷον τι τὸ τοῦτου πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν καὶ μέχρι πόσου τινὸς ἡμῖν γυμνασάμενοις μετὰ  
 15 γενναίας παρασκευῆς, ἐξέσται τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μεταλαβεῖν. ταύτη γὰρ ἂν οὐθ' ἦττον τῆς ἀξίας, εἰ μὴ βουλοίμεθα μετριάζειν, φρονοῖμεν ἄνθρωποι ὄντες, οὐτ' αὖ πόρρω τοῦ δ' ὄντος πέσοιμεν, ὡς δὴ τι τὸ πᾶν ὑπειληφότες κατωρθωκέναι. αἰσchrὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὁμοίως γε ἐφ' ἐκάτερον. [fol. 74v]  
 τὸ γ' ἀνθρώπους ὄντα, μὴδ' ὅπως οὖν τηλικούδε χρήματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι, καὶ τό γ'  
 20 ἐπιμεληθέντας, μὴ τοσοῦτον οἶεσθαι τούτου μεταλαχεῖν, ὅσον ἀνθρωπίνῃ δύνاميς ἐγγραφεῖ, ἐπειδὴ τισιν, ὡς ὀρῶμεν, ἄτοπὰ τινα καὶ ὄντως ὑπερφυᾶ συμβαίνει περὶ αὐτῶν λογίζεσθαι. σοφοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν δικαιωθέντες, ἀκούειν βουλόμεθα πρὸς τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν. καὶ  
 τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιμελὲς γίγνεται χρῆμα ἀεὶ τι λέγειν περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκούειν. ὅσοι δ' ἴσως ἐπεικοῦς  
 25 τινος μετέχομεν τρόπου καὶ οὐ πολὺ τι τῷ τοῦ τύφου ῥιπιζόμεθα πνεύματι, παραιτούμεθα τὴν σεμνὴν ταύτην προσηγορίαν, οὐχ ὡς μὴδὲν ἡμῖν γε προσήκουσαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, πραότητος δ' ὑποφαίνοντες σχῆμα, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ σοφοὶ τινες παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀτεχνῶς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες· ἄλλ' ἔγωγε πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν ἀμετρίαν σκοπῶν ἐκατέρων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποτέροις μᾶλλον ὁποτέραν  
 30 κακίαν προσάψαιμι. πότερον ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, τούτοις δὲ καὶ πονηρίαν ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἢ κοινὴν τινα ψῆφον ἀπραγμόνως ἐποίσω, τὸ μηδετέροις ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποτοπάζειν ἀποφηνάμενος· καίτοι εἰ μὴδ' ἡμεῖς ἀντικατέστημεν σφίσι τὴν ἄνοιαν ἐξελέγχειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν ἦν παραδειξαι τὰς γνώμας, ὥστ' ἀκριβῶς μὴ μετέχειν τῆς  
 35 ἀρίστης ταυτησὶ δῆπουθεν ἔξεως καὶ προσηγορίας. ἄσοφοι γὰρ καὶ σκαιοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρως ἐξελέγχονται προαιρέσεως τοιαῦτα ψηφίζόμενοι δῆπου, οἷα μὴ δ' ὅσιον ἐντεθυμῆσθαι μὴ δὲ τὴν ἰσχὴν.  
 40 καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν [fol. 75r] οὗτοι πολὺ τολμηρότερον διακεῖσθαι τῶν τὰναθήματα περὶ συλόντων τῶν ἱερῶν, τὴν σεμνὴν δὴ ταύτην προσηγορίαν ἀρπάζοντες καὶ ἢ προφανῶς ἀπὸ τούτου ἢ κρυφίως καλεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀτόπως διανοούμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τὴν οὖσαν οὐκ ἀποδιδόαμεν δόξαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἔτοιμοι τὴν ἴσην καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δέχεσθαι ψῆφον, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτιῶν ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐνεχόμενοι λοιδορίαις· καὶ μηδεὶς πρὸς τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς  
 45 ἀρετῆς ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας δικάσῃ, μὴ δὲ τῷ προειληφθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ χαρίσῃται, ὥσπερ ἐρίζων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρωθεν προβαλούμεθα δικαστὰς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν θρόνων τῆς ἀληθοῦς, λέγω, σοφίας, ὅτι καὶ οἰκείον ἔργον γένοιτ' ἂν ταύτῃ δικάζειν περὶ αὐτῆς ἢ περὶ τινος οὖν τοῦ παντὸς. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῇ μόνῃ τὸ πλημμελὲς τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ἐκάτερον διορθοῦμεν,  
 50 καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε φαῦλον πρὸς γνώσιν οὔτε μὴν ὅλως πρὸς ἦθος ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ διατίθεμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. δῆλον ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἐκείνης μετεληφότας προστησάμενοι δικαστὰς, κατὰ σκοπὸν ἂν βάλοιμεν καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ἄτοπα δρῶμεν, οὕτω τὰ τῆς δίκης παρεσκευακότες· πρὸς ὑμῶν δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακότων, εὖ τε καὶ μὴ, ἐπιχειρηκέναι τῷ πράγματι, ἐκεῖνο εἰδόμενος, ὡς ὅσῳ τοῦ παντὸς τίμια τὰ κατ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεγάλα φανεῖται, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὰ ὑποκρινόμενος. μ[...].οις τε παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ τιμίους εἶναι συμβήσεται, ὥσπερ δὴ τοῦναντίον· ἐπιχειρητέον τοίνυν ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ δικασταῖς καὶ δικαζομένοις [fol. 75v] ὥσπερ ἀντωμοσίαν  
 55 τινὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀρξαμένοις.  
 ἦν μὲν πάλαι τὸ ὄν, ἀεὶ δῆπου ὄν· καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ καὶ ὄν δῆπου καὶ ὀνομαζόμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ κινούμενον καθ' αὐτό καὶ μηδενὶ φαινόμενον· μὴ δὲ μέντοιγε γνωριζόμενον· ἦν δ' ὥσπερ ἅπαν εἶχον καὶ μόνον τὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ  
 60 τὰ τούτῳ μόνῳ φύσει συνόντα, σοφίαν δηλονότι, δύναμιν, ἐπιστήμην, χρηστότητα, λόγον τὸν καθ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ νοούμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ὅς δὴ κάκεῖν' ἅπαντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἂ μετ' ἐκεῖνα τῇ γεννητῇ φύσει τῇδε ὀρᾶται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷον τε ἦν, οὐσίαν ὑπάρχον πρῶτην τε καὶ ἄριστην καὶ

- παντὸς τῶν ὄντων ὑπερκειμένην, τοῦτο δήπου τὸ ὄν, μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ ὑπερφυεῖ τινα λόγῳ ἄριστα διὰ πάντως καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τελεώτατα ἔχειν, καὶ πάντα γοῦν τῷ τῆς φύσεως νικῶντα μεγέθει.
- 55 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλό τι τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην νοεῖται καὶ οὐχ οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκείνην ἀμυγνῶν τινὶ τρόπῳ συννεόηται ὄντα· καὶ τοίνυν οὐχ ἱκανὸν δήπου κριθέν, οὐδ' εἰκὸς ἄπειρον οὕτω βυθὸν πράγμα ἐν ἀπείρῳ αἰῶνι ἀθεώρητον εἶναι. οὐσίαι τινες γεγένηται δεύτεραι σύμβολα τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν οὐσίας, προσέτι καὶ ὅσα ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνθεωρεῖται περιγράφοντα ταύτας, ὡς ἂν κὰν τῷδε τῷ μέρει γνωσθεῖη, ὡς γοῦν ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ δυνάμει,
- 60 τὰ ἐπόμενα ἢ συννούμενα τῇ θεῖᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀμιγεί τῆς κάτω ταύτης συνθέσεως φύσει· τεκμηριοὶ δὲ κόσμος [fol. 76r] οὐτοσί πᾶς, καὶ ὁ κατὰ μέρη τε καὶ καθ' ὃ τὸν πάντα τουτονὶ κόσμον νικῶν τὸ μέγα κτίσμα Θεοῦ οὐρανός· ὃς δὴ καὶ μεῖζον τοῦ παντὸς ἀπώνατο τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς θείας ἐπιστήμης καὶ γνώσεως. οὕτω δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ὁ τοσοῦτος τεχνίτης φάνεις ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ βραχύ τι παραδείξας τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ὅσον ἦν χωρῆσαι τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀμαθίας ἐσμὲν οὐδ' ἀνάγκης ἀποτελέσματα· οὐκ οὖν ἐνταῦθ' ἴστησι τὰγαθὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σοφόν.
- 65 ἀλλ' ἵνα ποθὴ τις αὐτοῦ γίνοιτο πλεον ἄνθρώποις, τῷ τρανότερον ἡμῖν παρεμφαίνεσθαι, δυνάμεις τινὰς ἐντίθησι τῇ λογικῇ τῇδε οὐσίᾳ, ὥστ' εἰ θειότερας σχολῆς ἄπτοιο, οἷάν τε εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ μιμεῖσθαι χρηστότητα καὶ σοφίαν. ἔστι μὲν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ γίνεται, εἴ τις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω χρόνων εὐδοκιμηκότας ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρᾷν βούλοιο καὶ τοὺς νῦν δὴ τούτους τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ταῦτα ἐσπουδακότας.
- 70 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ γε καὶ ὅπως οὖν μετέσχομεν τούτων, ὥσπερ πολλοῖς τισι τῶν ὄντων οὐκ εἰς δέον κεχρήμεθα, οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὁρῶμεν ὅπως ταῦθ' ἡμῖν δίδονται· ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἄλογος κρίσις κινή τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἡδονὴν φαύλην ὁρῶσα, οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κρειττόνων τῶνδε κινδυνεύομεν δρᾶν· καὶ τις πολλάκις βραχύ τι διασκεψάμενος περὶ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως λόγους, κἀντεῦθεν γεωμετρίας ὅρους μαθὼν, εἴτ' ἀναλογίας ἀριθμητικὰς θεωρήσας, καὶ περὶ φθόγγων καὶ ἀρμονίας
- 75 τι διδασκείας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐνατενίσας κινήσει τῶν ἄστρον, βαβαὶ οἷα περὶ αὐτοῦ φαντάζεσθαι βούλεται ὑπὸ δόξης ψευδῇ ἐλκόμενος, [fol. 76v] ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ νοῦ, οὐδ' ἐπιστήμονος διανοίας. σοφὸς γὰρ τῇσδε ἀξιοῖ λέγεσθαι καὶ σεμνὸς περιείσι τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων φάσκων ἐσχηκέναι τὴν γνῶσιν· ὃς οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν οἶδεν, ὅποσον αὐτῷ ἢ παραταθήσεται ἢ συσταλήσεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἥτις αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὅποι καταλήψεται μοῖρα, ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς διαθήσεται· ὅποια τάνθρώπινα. πῶς γὰρ ὁ καὶ γέλῳτα πολλάκις ὀφλων, εἴ τις διὰ τοῦτο τούτου πειρᾶτο; ἕτερος δ' αὖ, ὃ ρυθμὸν τινα καὶ κόσμον ταῖς κατ' ἥθος ὁρμαῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμέλησε περιθεῖναι, σπουδαῖος ἀκούει καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ χρηστὸς· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ κάκεινο τῶν ἁριστῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς γνωρίσματα.
- 80 ὥσπερ ἐκὼν ἀγνοῶν ὃ τι ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτος καὶ οἷς ἐκάστοτε περιπίπτει ἐναντίοις ὧν βούλεται ὀνομάτων πράγμασι, καὶ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο οἶδεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδὲ κὰν τοῦτ' ὠφέληται, ὡς εἰ μὴ τὸ καθόλου ἐνορῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι, κινεῖν οἱ ὅροι καὶ περιφέρονται τὴν βεβαίαν ἔδραν ζητοῦντες· ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν οὕτως, νῦν δ' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης μεταβαλλόμενος, ὅτε δ' αὐτὸς ἐνδιδούς καὶ οὐχ ἥττον ἢ περὶ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐκεῖνος συχνὰς ἐναλλάττων μορφὰς μυρίων διαθέσεων καὶ παθῶν, ἃ τῇ θεραπευτικῇ ταύτῃ ψυχῇ συνάφκισται, πρὸς
- 85 ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀνόματι τὸν νοῦν ἔχει καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἀξιοῖ λέγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ συνεχῆς τι δοίμεν τὰ βέλτιστα προαιρεῖσθαι, μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης μὴδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἀεὶ διοχλούμενον, εἰ καὶ τις οὕτω δύναται· ἂν εἶναι, τίνος ἄρα τῶν θείων [fol. 77r] ἐφίκοιτ' ἂν; ἢ μέχρι πόσου παρακολουθῆσαι τῇ ἀληθινῇ ἀρετῇ; καὶ τί ἂν ἐκείνης μιμήσαιτο, ὥστε δίκαιος εἶναι τὸ θεῖον ὄνομα ἴσχειν;
- 90 ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐδὲ γραφέως ἰσχὺν ἔξει περὶ τὴν μίμησιν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἂν τὰς μορφὰς ἀποδοίη τῶν μιμουμένων· εἴτα ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲ ποιητὴς εἶναι οὐδ' ἀκούειν βούλεται ζῶον, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἄκρον ἀπομιμῆται τὰς φύσεις τῶν γραφομένων, οὐδὲ κατ' ἐξουσίαν νοσφίζῃ τὰνόματα οἰόμενος τι κατωρθωκέναι· καὶ πῶς οὐ παγγέλοιον εἰ πυρὸς μὲν ὀλίγης θερμῆς αἰσθόμενος, οὐ πῦρ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, οὐδέ γε μὴν ὕδωρ ἢ τι ἕτερον τῶν στοιχείων βραχύ τι σπασάμενος τούτων; φύσεως δ' ἀπείρου δεξάμενος φαντασίας ἀλλ' οὐ κἀληθείας τῶν θείων ιδιωμάτων, τὰκείνης ἀρπάζειν ὀνόματα ἐγχειρεῖς· τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ τούτῳ, δοκεῖς μοι καὶ ἡλίου προσηγορίαν ἀρπάσαι, ὅτι μετρίας ἐκ τινος ἐδέξω καὶ τοῦ φωτός μετεληφας ὅπως οὖν· καὶ μὴν εἰ Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν ἢ Ἑκτωρ ἢ Πρίαμος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἦσθα, οὐκ Ἀχιλλεὺς παρὰ τοῦτ' ἂν ἐτόλμησας σαυτὸν ὀνομάσαι, ὑποκριτὴν δ' Ἑκτορος τυχόν ἢ Ὀδυσσέως, ὡς κὰν τοῖς δράμασιν ἀκούειν εἰώθαμεν.
- 100 κάκει μὲν οὕτως· ἀρετῆς δὲ Θεοῦ καὶ σοφίας ὑποκριτὴν σαυτὸν καθιστῶν, καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τοῦτον ἰὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, αἰσχύνῃ τὸ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ὄνομα· καὶ τί μὴ πρότερον τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν ἀπαρνῆ; τί δ' οὐ καινοτομεῖς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ὅρον καὶ Θεὸν ἄντ'
- 105

- 110 ἀνθρώπου καλεῖς [fol. 77v] σεαυτὸν; τάχα γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀρξαμένῳ τοιαύτης, ἀρμόσειε καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα λέγεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἀσεβείας γραφὴν δέδοικας, οὐ χεῖρον οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ὅρους τηρεῖς καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιγινώσκειν· καίτοι εἰ λιθουργῶν ἦσθα, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἢ λεόντων εἰκόνας εὐφυῶς μάλα διαμορφοῦν, οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα λέοντας ἢ ἀνθρώπους ἐτόλμησας λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνδριάντας ἢ γοῦν εἰδωλα τῶν ὧν ὑποκρίνονται τὰς μορφάς· Θεοῦ δὲ μορφὰς ἀπομιμεῖσθαι βουλόμενος, αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνας ὄνομα τίθης σαυτῷ; καὶ οὐδ' οἶσθα τίς ὧν; τίνος ἀπείρου πλούτου καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐχ ὀρίζοντος ἀνθρωπίνους κατατολμῶν; πῶς δ' οὕτως ἔχων τῶν
 115 θείων πραγμάτων, οὐχὶ καὶ πιθήκους γελώσας κατ' ἀνθρωπον μιμήσει τινὶ νόθῳ τῆς φύσεως; πείσεις κατεπαρθῆναι τῆς ἀνθρωπείας μορφῆς καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἰκειότερον ἀντιποιηθῆναι ταύτης, ἢ σὺ τῶν θείων τουτωνὶ ὀνομάτων; φέρε γὰρ, εἰ δίκην ἡμῖν αὐταὶ λαχούσαι, ποτέροις μᾶλλον προσήκει τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταλαγχάνειν ἐκ τῆς μιμήσεως; πότερον ἀνθρώποις τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν εἵνεκα τῆς ὄντως φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ ἐκεῖναις τοῦ γελαστικὰς κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀρᾶσθαι τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνειμας τὰ τῆς ψήφου; οὐχ οἷς περιουσία τις ἦν δυνάμις τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτο
 120 μονονουχὶ δοκεῖν ὅπερ ὑποκρίνονται δαιμονίως; καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οἶμαι ἤττους ἂν ἤφθησαν αἱ πίθηκοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς μίμησιν, ὥστ' ἀπελθεῖν ἡττημέναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ σφοδρότερον [fol. 78r] ἂν τῇ δίκῃ ἐπέθεντο καὶ ἀνδρικῶς ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ γενναίως παραπολὺ τῷ μέρει τουτῶν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐκεῖναι παρὰ τοῦτο δικαιώσαιεν ἀντὶ πιθήκων ἀνθρωποὶ λέγεσθαι, οὐτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀνθ' ὑποκριτῶν σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς σοφοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι· ἢ ἐκεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς φανοῦνται δίκαιαι ἀπενέγκασθαι τὰ τῆς ψήφου; ὅτι καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὀρᾶν συμβαίνει καὶ περιλαμβάνειν αἰσθήσεσιν, ὃ τι μιμοῦνται· ἡμῖν δ' οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον εἰκάζειν λογισμοῖς τισιν ἀνθρωπίνους· ἀλλ' ἴνα μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἐπεξίωμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὀρᾶσθαι συμβαίνουσι
 125 κάντεῦθεν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐμπέσωμεν πέλαγος λόγων, ἐκεῖνο εἰδέναι καθόλου χρῆναι φημί· ὥς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων, οὔτε τῶν γινομένων ἐστὶν, ὃ μὴ ἐν εἰκόνι δείκνυται, μὴ δ' ἐκεῖνο δοκεῖ, ὃ τοῦτο μιμεῖται. καὶ τίς ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀντίω φύσιν τῷ λογισμῷ, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνη πῶς ἡρέμα ἐν εἰκόνι τινὶ φαίνοιτο, τῇ νοερᾷ δὴ λέγω ταύτῃ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθ' ἣν ἀθανασίας κατὰ χάριν μετέχομεν καὶ νοῦ
 135 τινος καὶ λόγου καὶ πνεύματος, δι' ἃ καὶ εἰκὼν αὐτὸ τοῦτο Θεοῦ καλούμεθα νόμῳ φιλάνθρωπίας, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεως, οὐδὲ δυνάμεως ἡμετέρας, οὐδ' ἐπιστήμης, οὐδὲ βουλήσεως. πῶς γὰρ οἱ μηκετ' ὄντες, μὴδ' εἰ καθάπαξ ἐσμέν ἀνθρωποὶ γνωρίζομενοι, ταῦτ' ἂν παρασκευὴν εἰσηνέγκαμεν ἐφ' ὃ κτήσασθαι; οὕτω δ' ἐκεῖσε ἀναδραμόντες καὶ τοῦ τ' ἀρρήτως μαθόντες, ῥαδίαν ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω βαίνοντες τὴν γνῶσιν ἔξομεν οὕτω [fol. 78v] καθέκαστον διόντες. αὐτίκα γὰρ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο
 140 χρῆμα καὶ κάλλος ὃ οὐρανὸς προσβαλλεῖ ταῖς ὄψεσιν, ὥσπερ αἰσχυρόμενος Θεοῦ εἰκόνα ὀρῶν, μὴ καὶ οὗτος ἐν εἰκόνι δείκνυσθαι ζωγράφων καὶ ποιητῶν τινῶν ἑτέρων χερσὶ· καὶ πῦρ ὁμοίως τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀήρ τε καὶ θάλαττα καὶ, τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μέσον, ἡ γῆ, οὐ πόρρω κείσονται τοῦ ἐν εἰκόνι ὀρίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὰ καθέκαστον ταῦτα τῶν ζώων σύνθετα καὶ φυτὰ· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν παισὶ ταῦτα δείκνυμεν, τότε μὲν οὐρανὸς φαμὲν μορμολυττόμενοι ἀντικρυς ἢ καταπαίζοντες,
 145 τότε δὲ γῆ καὶ ἅλλα ὁμοίως· καὶ λέων ὡσαύτως καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἀνθρωπος· μονονουχὶ γὰρ καὶ δρῶντα καὶ κινούμενα παρασημαίνομεν ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ παῖδας ἐκμελῶς ἔχοντας, εἰκόνας φαμὲν εἶναι τῶν πρώτων ἐκείνων σημάτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡσαύτως· οὐκοῦν, εἰ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ σώματα ὄντα καὶ αἰσθητὰ ἥκιστα βούλεται τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταδιδόναι τοῖς [με]μιμαμένοις, τίς ἂν οὕτως ἀλαζόνας σχῶν λογισμούς καὶ τοσοῦτου
 150 πνεύματος μανίας ἀναπλησθεῖς, ἄλλο τι περὶ σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς τῶν μόνων ὡς ἀληθῶς θείων κτημάτων καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ φύσει οἰκειοτάτων Θεοῦ διανοηθεῖ; μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' εὐλαβηθεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰκόνας τινὰς τουτωνὶ φέρομεν ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ ὑποκριταὶ σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς μόνον ἐσμέν· εἰ γὰρ ἀπανταχόθεν ἀθρήσειε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄπορον, ἀθρήσει δὲ πάντως [fol. 79r]
 155 καθηράμενος πρότερον τὴν ἀχλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε οἷος τε γενέσθαι ὑποῦ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἄραι, οὕτως ἂν ὁ φαμὲν γνοίῃ στραφεὶς αὐθις ἐκεῖθεν ἱλίγγου τινὸς καὶ θαύματος γέμων. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶμαι, ὡς εἰ μὴ καὶ προῖκα Θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠνόμασε, τίς ἂν καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν; ἢ πῶς ὁ μὴ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ νοῦ πρόκειται τοῦτ' ἂν ἢ εἰκονίζειν ἢ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ἔφαμεν; κέῖται μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐν ἀνθρώπου διανοίᾳ Θεὸς, κέῖται δ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔχει καὶ φύσεως καὶ ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ξένους τισὶ λογισμοῖς νοοῦμενος οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν τῆς φύσεως
 160 συμβάλλουσι λόγον. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο σοφίας ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀγαθότητος τῆς ἐκεῖνου, τὸ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν

- τι τοιοῦτον τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν ἀνέχεσθαι, μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ παροξυνομένου, μήτ' ἀνήκεστον δρῶντος, οἷον ἔδει κάκεϊνον τὲ ποιεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς πάσχειν, ἐν δίκη τιμωρουμένους. ἀνέχεται δὲ προνοία τινὶ θειοτέρᾳ, ἵνα τῷ τῆς εἰκόνος ὀνόματι ἐπαίρη καὶ ἀναφλέγῃ τὸν ἡμέτερον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔρωτα, δεικνὺς ὡς αὐτῷ μόνῳ προσήκει τῶν ὄντων τὸ σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τᾶλλα
- 165 δὴ τὰ παρ' ἀξίας ἡμῖν τῆς θείας ἐπιλεγόμενα φύσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων. θεοειδεῖς γὰρ βούλεται καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐγχωρεῖ, πάντας ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν νοερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθάνατον αὐτοῦ μόνου δῶρον ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ, μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὴν χάριν εἰσενεγκούσι, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὡς ἐκεῖνος γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν εἰληφέναι τῶν ὄντων ἐφ' ἡμῖν τέθεικεν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' αὐτὸς πόρρω [fol. 79v] τοῦ θείου τοῦδε ἀγῶνος ἐστῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄριστος γυμναστῆς παρεστῶς, καὶ ἐπαλείφων καὶ διατιθέμενος εὐ τὸ ἀγώνισμα. οὗτος ἄρα τρόπος Θεοῦ, τό γε ἡμᾶς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ πλέον τούτου τολμᾶν σὺν αὐθαδεῖα παρέλκοντας τὰ θεῖα ὀνόματα, τοῦναντίον ἂν εἴη τῆς θείας περὶ ἀνθρώπους κηδεμονίας, ἀτεχνῶς ἡμᾶς φέρον εἰς ὄλεθρον. ἔοικε γάρ τοι τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνης προσάπτειν ἐγκλημα τοῖς τὸν θεῖον τουτονὶ πλοῦτον κακῶς διαχειριζομένοις· ἔστι μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο φαῦλον πρὸς λόγον, οὐδέ γε βραχεῖαν συντέλειαν εἰς κτῆσιν αὐτῶν παρεχόμενον τῷ γε σωφρόνως ἀκούειν ἐπισταμένῳ τῶν λόγων· καὶ γὰρ ὅσῳ τις οἶδεν αὐτὸν ὑποκριτὴν ὄντα καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἀληθοῦς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον οἰήσεται μηδὲν εἶναι, μηδέ τι τούτων κατωρθώκεναι, εἴθ' ὥσπερ μύωπι τινὶ τῷδε πληττόμενος τῷ λογισμῷ τῆς ὑφέσεως διαθλεύσει καὶ πονήσει ἐπὶ πλέον διαμορφῶσαι τοὺς τύπους· εἰ δέ γε τῇ μεγαληγορίᾳ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑποῖτο καὶ οὐχ ἦττον ἢ Πάτροκλος τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
- 180 σεμνύνοιτο, μικρολόγος τις ὡς ἀληθῶς φανεῖται πρὸς ἐγγείρησιν, ταυτὶ μόνᾳ ἀντὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δυστυχῶς μάλα κερδάνας, οἷον φασὶ πού καὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα παθεῖν τὴν Ἥραν διώκοντα, παρὰ τῇ νεφέλῃ καταλῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἕτερον ἐμποδὼν γένοιτ' ἂν τῇ ψυχῇ σπουδαῖον τί μελετώσῃ, ὡς τὸ πλάνῳ τινὶ λογισμῷ καὶ δόξῃ φαντασίας γεμούσῃ τοιαῦτ' ὀνειρώττειν ἀτόπως, [fol. 80r] ἃ μηδέπω κατεῖληφεν.
- 185 ὁ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης, οἶμαι, εἰδὼς καίτοι σοφὸς ὢν εἴπερ τις ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ περὶ παντὸς ἀπορεῖν ὅπως ποτε ἔχουσι· κἂν τις ἔφη εἰδέναι καὶ τοῦτον μετὰ γενναίας τινὸς τῆς τῶν λόγων μανίας, εἰς ταῦτον συνελαύνει τῆς ἀπορίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον οὕτω εἰδέναι ὁμολογεῖν. οὕτω διὰ πάντων τὸ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ὄνομα συγκεκρότηται τὸ κράτος κατὰ παντὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ μὴθ' ἡμῶν ἀπαναίνεσθαι τοῦτο, μήτ' ὀνόμασι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς
- 190 καταχρώννυσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ νόθα περιεργαζόμενοι κάλλη. εἰ δὲ μὴ πολλαχόθεν ἀρκούντως ἀπεδείχθη τῇ χρείᾳ, καὶ Πλάτων ἂν παρήχηθαι μαρτυρήσων τῷ λόγῳ· ἔστιν οὐ φάσκων κάκεϊνος, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος εἴη τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ὑποκριτῆς· δῆλος γὰρ τούτῳ γίγνεται, τῷ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ὀνόματι στέργων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ διαμαρτυρούμενος, μὴ ἄλλως ἢ οὕτως καλεῖν τοὺς διακόνους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πραγμάτων· εἰ δὲ τὸ φαῦλος προσέθηκε, τοῦτο βούλεται τὸ τῆς ἐπιθήκης αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα, ἐπειδὴν γνησίως μιμῆται καὶ ὑποκρίνηται· καὶ εἰκότως, ἃ γὰρ οὐκ οἴκοθεν αὐτός τις, προβάλλεται. οὐδ' αὐτουργὸς οἷον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἦτοι παρ' ἐτέρων εἰληφὼς σχηματίζεται, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι κρεῖττον πολλῷ καὶ βέλτιον ἀναφέρει τὸ πεπραγμένον· πῶς ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἔλοιτ' ἂν ὄνομα; καὶ μηδεὶς ἀχθεσθεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βαναύσου· πάντες γὰρ ὑπουργοί [fol. 80v] τῇ φύσει τελοῦσιν εἰς ὑποκριτάς αὐτῇ
- 200 καθιστάμενοι, τῷ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξευρεῖν, οὐ μὴ πρότερον εἰς τὴν φύσιν ὀρῶντες, ἐμόρφώσας, ὑπογράφαντες τῇ διανοίᾳ· εἴθ' ὥσπερ τινα τόκον τὰς γονὰς παρ' ἐκείνης λαβόντες, προήνεγκαν· καὶ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνο κρίνομεν τῶν ἀπετελεσμάτων εὖ ἔχειν· ὅπερ ἀκριβῶς εἵκασται, καὶ πρὸς ἵχνος ἔπεται ταύτη· ὁ δὲ μὴ, μὴ· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὀνομάτοις τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐγγυμναζόμενοι, ὅπως ποτε πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔχομεν ἄνθρωποι. πάρεργον ἤδη καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ εἰς ἐπιτήδευμα θεωρεῖται, τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχον ὀρώμεν, καὶ δέδοικα, μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν προχωρῶν ὁ λόγος, καὶ πλέον τι τῶν σπουδαζομένων ἕτερον καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ὃν ὑποδείξειε. κινδυνεύσει καὶ γὰρ ἅπας οὕτωσὶ κόσμος φανῆναι ὑπόκρισις, πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ θειότερον ἀπεικονιζόμενος κόσμον· εὐλαβητέον δ' οὖν, ὅμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ τούτου εἰπεῖν, μήποτε δόξαιμεν εἰς ἀκοσμίαν αὐτὸν μεθαρμόττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐναντιωνυμοῦντα δεικνύντες τῷ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως λόγῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεῖ τι πρὸς σύστασιν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ζητούμενων, ὑμνεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε συνεισενέγκωμεν εἰσφορὰν, ὡς δ' αὐτάρκως ὁ λόγος ἔχει τῆς χρείας· ὃς ἂν εὐμενῶς τούτῳ συγγένηται καὶ σωφρόνως, σκοπήσει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ κρίνειν βουλομένῳ γνώμας ἀνδρῶν,
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ἀνάγκη σοφῶς τε εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθῶς [fol. 81r] καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλεῖπειν μελέτης καὶ σχολῆς φιλοσόφου·  
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο τὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς σοφίας καὶ κρίνειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι.



**A5. That those who are occupied with any kind of wisdom cannot rightly be called wise, but they are rather actors to the truth of genuine wisdom.<sup>1</sup>**

Wisdom is indeed great for humans, as it is considered the finest and greatest [way] to the soul's happiness, because [wisdom] is able to direct its powers towards it [sc. happiness], from where it is carried to us as if flowing sufficiently from an infinite sea. Let everyone recognize [wisdom] as the primary cause of everything, towards which matter is turned, attracted by reason, and under which one adopts a certain divine and truly immortal form. However, neither does one need to learn exactly what this is, nor indeed even that [it is] not a small thing at all, nor even to understand the current issue, such as what this matter is and to what extent for us, having trained with noble preparation, it will be possible to partake of its name. For would we not think less of its worth, if we did not desire to moderate, being humans, nor again would we fall far from what it is, presuming as if we have achieved everything. Either stance would be equally disgraceful: being humans [it would be shameful] to either not care at all about such an important matter, or, having given it attention, to believe that we have achieved as much as human capacity allows, since some, as we see, entertain bizarre and truly excessive opinions about themselves. Having been judged to be 'wise' for I do not know what reason, we desire to hear both about ourselves and from outsiders; and this becomes a matter of concern for us, to always say something about ourselves and to listen. Those of us who perhaps have a more benevolent disposition and are not being excessively swayed by the spirit of pride, decline this honourable designation [sc. being called wise]; not as if it does not belong to us, it certainly does, but we present an image of gentleness, whereas in truth, we are, above all, genuinely unpretentious wise people. However, considering the disproportion of both points of view, I do not know which vice I would attribute more to which group: whether to the former, crudeness and boastfulness, and to the latter, soul's wickedness in addition to these, or whether I would impartially conclude that neither group has a sound judgment about themselves. Yet, even if we do not stand up to expose their folly, it would be sufficient to show their opinions, so they precisely do not participate in the best state and designation. For they are proven unwise and frivolous by their own choice, endorsing such beliefs that are neither sacred nor powerful.

It seems to me that these people are much more audacious than those who take votive offerings from temples [sc. sacrilegious], robbing the venerable designation [of wise] and wishing to be called from this either openly or secretly; but if we think wrongly about these men or we do not give due honour to the truth, we are ready to accept an equal judgment against ourselves, subjected to similar reproaches for the same reasons. Let no one judge them, except by their words and virtue, against the truth; and let not anyone grant favour because of prior bias, as if contending

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the word "hypocrisy" in Greek encompasses ideas of "acting" and "pretense".

both against himself and us. For we do not propose as judges from elsewhere than from the very seats of true wisdom, because it would be a normal job for this [sc. wisdom] to judge about itself or about any part of the whole. For if we correct the erring of the soul by wisdom alone in each sense, then there would be nothing base of knowledge nor of character that we do not incline towards the better. It is clear that, if we appoint as judges those who have attained this wisdom, we would be on the right path and I think we would not be wrong in preparing for the trial. The responsibility to take on the task rests upon you who have pursued these matters, both well and poorly, because you know that, to the extent something appears valuable itself and great, one acts towards them accordingly. It will happen that they will be considered [...] and valuable by everyone, just as the opposite is true. Therefore, we must attempt, both being judges and judged by you, to bring forth our opinion as a kind of sworn statement, starting from the beginning itself.

The Being was long ago, always being; and this alone with true reason both exists somehow of itself and is named after itself, just as it moves by itself and appears to no one, and it is certainly not known [by anyone]. But [the Being] was: just as it held all and alone the essence and the ‘what it was to be’, so too it [held] those things which are associated by nature with it alone, namely wisdom, power, knowledge, kindness, reason [i.e. logos] that is understood from the beginning both in itself and in relation to it. It [sc. logos] is indeed all those things and whatever is seen after those things in this begotten nature [sc. man]. It was impossible for this very Being, which exists as the first and finest essence that surpasses all that exists, not to also possess the best things around itself with some superior reason in every way possible and the most perfect [qualities], by all means surpassing everything through the magnitude of its nature. But just as the things of its nature are conceived as something else and are not like the things of our own [nature], so too the things around its nature are understood to exist in an incomprehensible manner; thus, [it] is perhaps not sufficiently discerned and it is unlikely that such an infinite depth [sc. Being] exists as an unseen thing in an infinite age. Some secondary essences have come into being as symbols of that essence, which is first and beyond essence, and moreover, all that is observed in the essences, circumscribing them, so that even in this respect, as far as it is attainable by human power, the things that follow are understood alongside with that divine and simple nature, which is unmixed with this composition below, might be known.

The entire universe here bears witness to this, as well as God’s great creation, the heaven, which surpasses the entire universe here in size; [the heaven], even better, enjoys the construction of divine knowledge and wisdom. Thus, the Great Artisan appears from his works and shows us a little of His wisdom and virtue, as much as was fit for us. For we are not the result of ignorance or necessity; therefore, His goodness and wisdom stand here [sc. within humans]. But so that humans could have a greater longing for Him, appearing more clearly to us, He instills certain powers in this rational essence [sc. human mind], so that if one person were to touch upon more divine studies, he would imitate His kindness and wisdom. Certainly, this happens if someone

wishes to see those who thrived in earlier times [e.g., the Prophets] and those among us [sc. Apostles and Saints] who have pursued these matters now.

However, we, at least those of us who have had any share in these things, just as we often do not act appropriately in relation to many existing things, we also do not perceive the reasons why these things are given to us; but just as an irrational judgment of the soul tends towards base pleasure, so too we risk acting in relation to these superior things. Often someone, having briefly examined the reasons of nature, and from there having learned the definitions of geometry, then observing the proportions of arithmetic, and having been taught something about sounds and harmony, and having gazed at the celestial movements of the stars in the sky, oh how much he deluded himself, being drawn by a false opinion about himself, but not by intellect, nor by knowledgeable thought! For he deems [himself] wise in this [science] and would go about pompously, claiming to possess knowledge of the divine and human [things]; yet he does not even know life itself, how much will be allotted or denied to him, nor which nor when fate will seize him, whether good or bad; such are human affairs. For how can he, who has often brought laughter upon himself, [be wise], if he experiences this on account of it? Someone else, in turn, who has endeavored to impose some rhythm and order on the moral impulses of the soul, hears that he is serious, good, and kind. Certainly, this and that are signs of the virtue of the best people. Just as willingly ignoring what one is and that he falls, on each occasion, into deeds contrary to the names he desires, he neither knows this from his own philosophy nor is he even benefited by it, in the same way, if the universal is not considered in matters, definitions move and rotate looking for a solid foundation. Changing himself under the influence of matter now in this way, and then in another, when he, yielding himself and changing forms more often than Proteus, in countless conditions and experiences that are associated with this nourishing soul, fixes his mind only on the name of virtue and justly deserves to be named so [sc. virtuous]. But if we were to grant that he consistently chooses the best, never disturbed by matter or external events, and if someone could indeed be so, to which divine entity would he approach? Or, to what extent would he follow true virtue? And what would he imitate from that virtue, so as to justly bear the divine name?

In my opinion, he will not even possess the capability of a painter concerning imitation, nor would he represent the forms of the object of imitation like that one [sc. the painter] does; then, that person neither wishes to be a poet nor even to listen to an animal; he would not perfectly imitate the natures of the subjects he paints, nor would he appropriate names with license, thinking he had achieved something. How would it not be completely ridiculous if, feeling a little warmth of fire, he would never become fire or, similarly, water or any other element, taking a little of them? Having received the boundless nature of imagination but not of the truth of divine attributes, you try to seize the names of it. In this way, I believe that you snatched the designation of the sun, because you have received some moderation and have in some way partaken of the light. Indeed, if you were Achilles, Hector, Priam, or some other character from tragedy or on the

stage, you would not dare to name yourself after Achilles, but an ‘actor’ portraying Hector or Odysseus, as we are used to hear in dramas. In that context, it is so; but presenting yourself as an ‘actor’ of God’s virtue and wisdom, and not even comparing this imitation to those on the stage, you are ashamed of the term ‘acting’. And why not first deny your own nature? Why not innovate the definition of ‘human’, and instead of ‘human’ you call yourself ‘God’? Perhaps, it would fit to the one who started from such a premise to say this and other things like this. But if you fear being accused of impiety, you do not uphold the boundaries here either and recognize your own nature. Yet, if you were a sculptor, who were skillfully shaping the images of men or lions, you would not dare call them actual lions or men, but statues, or at least images of the forms they imitate. But wanting to imitate the forms of God, do you assign those very names to yourself? Do you not even know who you are? From whom are you daring [to obtain] a boundless wealth that human eyes cannot define? How, then, having such a perception of divine matters, will you not also, as a man laughing like a monkey, imitate some false [form] of nature? Will you be persuaded to depart entirely from the human form and imitate something more akin to it than you to these divine names?

Suppose, if by chance these [monkeys] were to bring a case against us, to whom would it more properly belong to share the names derived from imitation? To humans, because of genuine philosophy and other pursuits, or to them [sc. monkeys], because they comically appear to imitate the name ‘human’? To whom would you more likely assign the vote? Is not it to those who had an exceptional ability to imitate and only to appear as they pretend, admirably? And yet, even so, I think the monkeys would not be surpassed by humans in imitation, to the point of departing defeated. But, if they did not press their case more vigorously and showed, both bravely and nobly, almost the same ability as humans, then neither would they be justified in being called ‘humans’ instead of ‘monkeys’, nor would we be termed ‘wise’ and ‘earnest’ instead of merely ‘actors of wisdom and virtue’. Would those monkeys rather than us seem more justified in receiving the vote? For it happens that they see and grasp with their senses what they imitate; but for us, there is nothing but to conjecture with some human-like reasoning. But so that we do not pursue in detail every case where it happens that things are perceived in terms of their images, and thereby fall into an endless sea of words, I claim that we should understand this universally: that nothing of what exists, or comes into being, is such that it is not displayed in some image, and that [the image] does not seem to be the thing which it imitates.

Also, let someone turn towards the primary nature with reason, unless it too somehow appears gently in some image, namely in this intellectual nature of man, by which we partake of immortality by grace, and of some intellect and word and spirit, due to which we are also called the image of God by a law of philanthropy, but not of nature, our power, knowledge, or will. For how, if we who no longer exist, not even if we are known as men once for all, would we have brought in such preparation for which to acquire it? But having ascended there and having learned

the ineffable, we will easily have the knowledge descending to the things below, examining each in turn. Immediately, this great and beautiful thing, the sky, presents itself to our eyes, as if ashamed seeing the image of God, lest it too be depicted in an image by the hands of certain painters and other artists. And similarly, the fire after that, the air and the sea, and the earth, which is the center of the universe, are not far from being defined by an image, just as each of these composite animals and plants. But when we show these things to children, we say whimsically or playfully this is the sky, pointing to it playfully or in jest; this is the earth, and similarly the rest: this is a lion, a bull, a horse and a man. For we indicate these things merely with a gesture, even when they move or act. But we ourselves, when speaking to adults, not as to children, say that these are images of those primary symbols, and of those derived from them. Therefore, if such bodies and perceptible things are the least likely to impart their names to their imitations, who, with such presumptuous reasoning and so filled with the wind of madness, would think otherwise about wisdom and virtue, which are the only truly divine possessions and most closely related to the first nature of God? It would indeed be most cautious to say that we humans bear only some images of these [possessions] and are mere ‘actors of wisdom and virtue’. For if someone were to scrutinize the incomprehensibility of nature from every angle, and certainly by first dispelling the fog from the soul, so that he might be able to lift his gaze upwards, he would, turning back from there, recognize what we are talking about, filled with a certain dizziness and wonder.

I believe that if God had not previously called humans ‘images of Himself’ as a dowry, who would have dared to say that? How can we say that we represent or imitate what does not lie before the eyes of the mind? For God simply lies in man’s discursive mind, but not in the manner of His nature and worth; instead, He is conceived through some foreign reasonings that do not align with the logic of nature. So, it might even be a sign of His wisdom and benevolence that He tolerates us daring to speak of Him in any such way, neither being provoked to anger, nor acting irreversibly, as would be fitting for Him to act and for us to suffer, in just retaliation. Yet He holds through some divine providence, so that, by the name of His ‘image’, He might kindle and inflame our love towards Him, showing that to Him alone belongs what is wise, good, and the other [qualities], indeed, that we mention due to our reverence for the divine nature of names. For He desires all men to become godlike and like Him, to the extent that is possible, since the intellectual and immortal [part] of the soul is a gift of Him alone to men, who owe nothing in return, and He has placed in our power to become good like Him and to gain knowledge of all that exists. He is certainly not distant from this divine contest of ours, but He stands by like the best trainer, applying ointments and preparing us well for the competition. This is the way of God, at least in so far as we are called His images, but to audaciously venture beyond this, drawing upon divine names, would be the opposite of divine care for humans, simply leading us to destruction. Such behavior seems to attribute a charge of thoughtlessness to those who misuse this divine wealth. Indeed, that [action] is not trivial in relation to reason, nor does it offer even a brief fulfillment in

their acquisition for the one who knows how to listen wisely to the words. For the more one recognizes himself as an ‘actor’, both in virtue and in true wisdom, the more he will believe he is nothing and has accomplished nothing; then, just as someone short-sighted, when struck by the reasoning of the hypothesis, he will strain and exert himself more to shape the forms. And if he is exalted by the grandiloquence of names and assumes as much dignity as Patroclus with Achilles’ weapons, he will appear truly insignificant in action, having unfortunately gained only these instead of real things, like they say Ixion experienced, chasing Hera to satisfy his love with the cloud. For nothing would be more of an obstacle to the soul that practices something virtuous, than to dream absurdly, filled with some wandering reasoning and imagination, things not yet grasped.

This is why Socrates, I believe, knowing and being wise as any man was, said he knew nothing of real things, but he was always uncertain about everything. If someone claimed to know with some noble madness of reasoning, [Socrates] would drive him to the same uncertainty, making him confess he also did not know. Thus, the power of ‘acting’ has been established to prevail in everything, and we should neither deny this nor misuse names that are above us, like those who craft counterfeit beauty. If it has not been demonstrated sufficiently to the need from various angles, even Plato might be presented as a witness to the argument. He, too, claims what I said, unless he were a poor ‘actor’ of my words. For he clearly falls in this [category], as he cherishes the term ‘acting’, but certainly does not protest, as it were, against calling [it], in another way or in this way, the servants of other matters. If he added the term ‘poor’, by this addition he intends that it is also a good minister, whenever he genuinely imitates and represents; and what one does not have by nature is reasonably put forward. That is to say, he is not exactly self-wrought, but either he is shaped having taken from others or he refers the action done to something else that is much greater and better. How could something else take a name instead of ‘acting’? And let no one be offended by the word ‘from the artisan’. For all [men] serve nature, establishing themselves as ‘actors’ of her [sc. nature], unable to discover anything on their own, unless having first seen it in nature, and having shaped and inscribed it in the mind; and finally, as if receiving offspring from her, they bring it forth. Therefore, we judge this to be good: that which closely resembles, follows its example. That which does not [resemble], does not [follow]. But I do not know how, when practicing under the two names of virtue and philosophy, we humans ever relate to them [sc. virtue and philosophy]. Everything now seen as a pursuit or practice seems to be merely peripheral, and I fear that, as the discourse progresses little by little, it might reveal something other than what is earnestly pursued, being in ‘acting’. For indeed, this entire world will be at risk of appearing as ‘acting’, being represented in comparison to some other more divine world. One must be cautious, however, speaking of this in the present context, lest we might think it [sc. the cosmos] is trying to transform it into disorder, showing it as opposed to the idea of ‘acting’. For there is no need, in composing the things sought from the beginning, to praise and

add the contribution from it, as the discourse itself suffices for the need. Whoever approaches it favorably and prudently will consider it, since for the one wishing to judge the opinions of men, it is necessary to be both wise and good, and not to lack in the philosopher's reflection and study; for only then could he judge and represent the matters of true wisdom.

**Appendix 8. ΕΚ. Ἔτερα κεφάλαια λίαν σαφῆ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μητροπολίτου  
Ἐφέσου Ματθαίου τοῦ Φιλαδελφεῶς προτρέποντα τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς θεϊαν γνῶσιν καὶ  
πνευματικὴν κατάστασιν διὰ τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως γινομένων γνωρίμων καὶ τῆς τῶν  
ὄντων φυσικῆς θεωρίας, ὧν ἔστιν ὁ πρόλογος οὗτος.**

5

Ἐμοὶ μηδέποτε μελῆσαν εἰς ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἰδεῖν οὐδέ τινα θειοτέραν γνῶσιν, ὅποση περὶ τὴν  
κρείττω καὶ ἀθάνατον μοῖραν τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς μελέτην οἶδεν, ἀπασχολεῖν· ὅμως  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, οὐδ' ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς τὰ μεγάλα τῶν πραγμάτων δεδυνημένης, ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἃ  
μόνη πράξει καὶ διανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένη προσῆκε καὶ οὐδενὶ γ' ἐτέρῳ τῶν τοῦ παντός τρόπῳ· καὶ  
οἶμαι τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δῶρον γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐκ Μουσῶν οὐδ' ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ τινος λογίου, ὡς ἂν τινες  
ποιητικῶς φαῖεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αἰεὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπούσης προνοίας, ἣν', ἐπειδὴ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ  
καλοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις φιλοσοφήσασι ἀρίστοις καὶ θειοτάτοις ἀνδράσι καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων  
αὐτῷ Θεῷ οὐδ' ἔγνω ἔπεσθαι οὐδ' οἷός τ' ἐγενόμην [Fol. 1v] τῇ περὶ τὰ χεῖρω συννεύσει, ἀλλ'  
ἐμαυτὸν γοῦν αἰσχυνθεὶς καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς τοῦσδε λόγους, ἀφικοίμην ἂν ὅπως οὖν ἄσμενος εἰς τὴν  
ἐπὶ τὸ σῶζειν ὁδὸν, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἡπειλημένων τοῖς φαύλοις, τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας ἐκάστοτε  
γιγνόμενον δεδιῶς ἔλεγχον. καὶ μοι, μηδεὶς κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ θείου ἔπους ἀντικαταστάς,  
ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖτω τὸ σπούδασμα, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἄρα τοῖς αἰεὶ προσκρούειν ἐλεγχομένοις περὶ  
αὐτὰ δήπου τὰ καίρια, Θεοῦ δικαιώματα διηγείσθαι καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διαθήκην ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ  
τοῦ στόματος· μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰρημένον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐθις ἰδεῖν  
πολλοὺς πάνυ τῶν πάλαι, καὶ οἷς οὐχ ὅπως ὑπῆρξε τοῦ βελτίονος αἵρεσις ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ  
γνῶσις τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ὑγιαίνουσα, θαυμαστά τινα ἐκ περιουσίας τῆς ἀνωτάτω κηδεμονίας  
εἰρηκότας πράγματα καὶ τούτοις σφόδρα θαυμαζομένους ἐς δεῦρο. καὶ οὐ λέγω τοὺς χρησμούς  
τινας θείους περὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων εἰπόντας καὶ ἀληθῆ τὴν ἔκβασιν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων  
παρεσχηκότας· οὐδὲν πω περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ παρόντι φημί, ἀλλ' οἱ προὔργου τι διδάξαι χρηστὸν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατανουθεῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας προεθυμήθησαν· Πυθαγόρας καὶ Μένανδρος  
[Fol. 2r] οὗτοι καὶ Φωκυλλίδης καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πρὸ τοῦ παντός, ὁ τῆς καινῆς μουσικῆς πατὴρ καὶ  
διδάσκαλος, ἄλλος τε κατάλογος σοφιστῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων οὐκ ἀγεννής· ἔνεστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς  
γενναῖον τινων ψυχῶν ὑποθήκας τοῦσδε πάντας [.]δεῖν ἐξενεγκόντας εἰς μέσον, καὶ φρονήσεως  
καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅρους μεταδιδάσκοντας τοὺς φάυλως  
διακειμένους· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκείνοις προσέστη τὸ κακότηδες μὴ οὐ τ' ἀληθῆ χρησιμωδεῖσθαι, καὶ  
τούτους δ' οὐκ ἀναξίους καθάπαξ ἔδειξε ρυθμὸν τινα τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἐπιθεῖναι καὶ διακοσμήσαι  
ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ λόγῳ πρέπουσαν κίνησιν· τοσούτῳ γὰρ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκάτεροι  
ἔβαλον, ὥστε καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις μᾶλλον προσεσχηκέναι, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν  
δέον, ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ παντός καλοῦ δόξαν ἀποφερομένων. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω θαυμαστόν  
τι νομίζεται φιλοσοφῆσαι τι περὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἢ καὶ προειπεῖν τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοὺς τοῦτο  
τέχνην προστησαμένους, ὅσῳ τοὺς μὴδ' ἀρχὴν γευσαμένους μὴδ' αὐγὰς τινας κατὰ νοῦν  
δεξαμένους ἐκ τῆς ἄνω λαμπρότητος· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ αἰτιάσασθαι ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου τὴν  
ἐγγρόνον μελέτην καταδείξαι τι δύνασθαι τῶν μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐφικτῶν καὶ οὐδὲν [Fol. 2v]  
πράγμα· ὅποι δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἡγήσατο μὴδ' ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτα προήχθη πράγματα,  
ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔνεστι καὶ οὐκ ἀθεεὶ γίνεσθαι σαφῶς γε νομίζειν· εἰ δ' ἐκ τῶν  
οὕτω μηδένα λόγον παρεσχημένων τοῖς θαύμασιν ἢ γοῦν τοῖς σοφοῖς διδάγμασι τηλικαῦτα  
θαυματουργεῖται Θεῷ καὶ πηγαὶ μὲν ὑδάτων ἐκ πέτρας ἄντικρυς ὥσπερ πάλαι καινοτομοῦνται, ἐκ  
δὲ λίθων ἔλλογα τέκνα ἐγείρονται, ἥπου καὶ λόγοι συνετοὶ τε καὶ ἔμφρονες ἐξ ἀγόνου καὶ  
λιθώδους ψυχῆς προαχθεῖεν ἂν, πηνίκα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς καὶ θεία τις ἔνεστι χάρις τῷ νῷ  
συνοικοῦσα τὴν ἀρχέγονον ἀπολουσαμένῳ κακίαν καὶ πάντ' ὠδίνουσα τὰ χρηστὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς  
σπέρματα. ἐθαῖς γὰρ αὕτη τυγχάνουσα φιλανθρώπως συγκατιέναι τοῖς εὐσεβεῖν ἡρημένοις,  
ἐγκύμονας ὅλους παντός ἀγαθοῦ διατίθῃσιν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ποτέ τις ἂν παραφανεῖ διέξοδος, αἰεὶ  
διορᾷ ὥστε βραχείας παρεκδύσεως λαβομένη ἐπὶ βελτίοσι τρόποις ἐκραγῆναι βιαίως καὶ εἰς φῶς  
ἐνεγκεῖν τοὺς θείους δηλαδὴ γόνους· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτε προῖκα τῆς ἀνωθεν τετυχηκυῖα  
ρόπῃς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι μεθ' ὅσης τῆς ὑπερβολῆς· οὐ δὴ ἄτοπον, εἰ κάμοι δυοῖν θάτερον  
ἐπισυμβᾶν τὴν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκουροῦσαν κοινῇ [Fol. 3r] χάριν κεκίνηκε, ἐμοῦ τε χάριν  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν θείους τινὰς λόγους ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἐξημμένους. εἰ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς  
μετιοῦσιν ὄφελός τι παρέξονται, εἰδείεν ἂν οἱ συνεσόμενοι τούτοις εὐγνώμονι διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ'  
οὐ μὲνουν καὶ τοὺς παραπολὺ τούτων κρείττους καταχραίνειν ἀπειροκάλως φιλοῦντες, ὥσπερ οἱ  
σύες τοὺς προβεβλημένους μαργάρους· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους καὶ προσλυμνῇαντ' ἂν, ὥσπερ τοὺς

55



κακοσίτους τὰ χρηστότερα τῶν βρωμάτων· ὅμως, ὁποτέρως διατεθεῖεν, οὐχ ἡμῖν ἀνοίσουσιν, εἴ  
ἴστωσαν, τὰ τῆς ψήφου, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ, παρ' οὗ καὶ δῶρον ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀφίχθαι οἰόμεθα τὰ τῆς σκέψεως,  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρετῇ οὐδὲ παιδείᾳ λόγων, ὧν ταῦτα σαφῇ τινι γίνεται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτελέσματα.

1. Πόλει τινι ἔοικεν ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ· ἥτις, εἰ μὲν λογικοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνοικίζεται ταῖς  
θεαῖς δηλονότι ἐννοίαις καὶ νόμοις διοικεῖται πνευματικοῖς, καταδουλοῦται καὶ λογοειδῇ  
ἀπεργάζεται τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτῇ δεδομένα τῶν ἀλόγων κτηνῶν, σύμφυτα φημι πάθη, τὸν  
θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον [Fol. 3v] αὐτῇ ἐπιχωριάζει, θηρίων ἀγρίων καὶ  
5 ἀνημέρων γίγνεται καταγώγιον εἰς παντοίας διαιρουμένων μορφᾶς, ὅποια σύνισμεν ὄντα τὰ  
ποικίλα καὶ πολύτροπα τῆς κακίας γένη καὶ εἶδη.

2. Ὡς περ πόλις διαφόρους ἔχουσα πύλας· ἂν μὲν ἐν καιρῷ πολεμίων αὐτῇ προσκαθεζομένων,  
πάσας μὲν ἀποκλείσῃ καὶ ἐπιζυγώσῃ, μίαν δὲ καὶ μόνην ἀναπεπταμένην ἔασι, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων  
ἔστιν ὄφελος· οὕτως οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ὄνησις γίνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητηρίων ἡσφαλισμένη, εἰ  
10 ἐν μόνον καταλειφθεῖ τοῖς πάθεσιν εὐεπίβατον. εἰσρνήσεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς διὰ μιᾶς πύλης ὁ  
τῶν παθῶν ὄμιλος καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῆς χώραν πληρώσει ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν καὶ πραγμάτων, ὡς  
αἰχμάλωτον λοιπὸν γενέσθαι τῷ διαβόλῳ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐστρατηγηκότε.

3. Ὡς περ οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀσθενέστεροι, ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἰσχύοντες τὰ τεῖχη τῶν  
ἐπιβουλευομένων πόλεων διαρρήσσειν καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς εἰσιέναι, τὰ σαθρότερα μέρη  
15 καταμανθάνουσι καὶ νύκτωρ προσβαλόντες ῥαδίαν ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦνται τὴν εἴσοδον· οὕτω καὶ οἱ  
δαίμονες, ἐπειδάν τινα ψυχὴν κατανοήσωσιν, οὐκ ἐνεπιχείρητον οὕσαν πρὸς ἄλωσιν διὰ τὸ  
πεφράχθαι τοῖς πλείστοις [Fol. 4r] τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσι, πλαγίως αὐτὴν ἐνεδρεύουσι, καὶ ὅποια ἂν  
εὗρωσιν ἡττωμένην ἢ ἀνάνδρως ἀγωνιζομένην, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἱστᾷσιν, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ κράτος  
ταύτην νικήσαντες, καταστρέψωσιν.

4. Ὡς περ πόλις νόμοις διοικουμένη καὶ ἐνὶ μόνῳ εἴκουσα τῷ κρατοῦντι ὡς ἐν μοναρχίᾳ τινί,  
οὐδαμῶς οἶδε συνιστᾶν ἀταξίας καὶ πλεονεξίας οὐδὲ θορύβους καὶ στάσεις ἐγείρειν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ  
ψυχὴ τοῖς θείοις λόγοις ὑποταττομένη καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν παθῶν πειθομένη νῶ, τὸ  
στασιῶδες αὐτῶν καταργεῖ, καὶ ἡσυχῶς πορεύεται καὶ εὐτάκτως καὶ φιλίως μάλα καὶ ἐναρμονίως  
ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσι κέχρηται· ἔχει γὰρ τὴν θεῖαν *βακτηρίαν* ὁδηγοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον  
25 ἐδράζουσιν θέλημα καὶ τὸ πληκτρον τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε κολαστηρίων, ἡρέμα  
πῶς ἀρμόζον πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ ῥυθμίζον.

5. Παντὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον κατορθωμάτων ἢ ἀτυχημάτων ὁρμή τις ἡγεῖται, ἢ μετὰ φρονήσεως  
κατασκοποῦσα τὸ μέλλον καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ πραττόμενον ἄγουσα, ἢ μετὰ ἀφροσύνης καὶ  
ἀβουλίας· κάκεινως μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπιτυχάνουσα, οὕτως δὲ διαμαρτάνουσα τοῦ σκοποῦ  
30 καὶ ἐκπίπτουσα· [Fol. 4v] καὶ παντὸς δὲ τῶν κατὰ πνεύματα ἐνεργουμένων ὁμοίων κατορθωμάτων  
τε καὶ ἀτυχημάτων, αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων τὴν δύναμιν ἴσχουσι· κὰν μὲν ὀρθῶς ἐκεῖναι  
ἡγήσωνται, ὀρθὰ καὶ τὰ τέλη συμβαίνουνσι καὶ τῆς θείας πάντως συνεφαπτομένης ροπῆς· εἰ δ'  
οὐκ ὀρθῶς, οὐκ ὀρθὰ καὶ δεῖ προσέχειν τὸν θεῖον ἐργάτην, ποῖον πέρας ποία ἀρχὴ κατακολουθεῖ.

6. Ὡς περ αἱ ἀπὸ τινος σημείου κινηθεῖσαι γραμμαῖ εἰς μῆκος ἐκτείνονται καὶ τούτων  
35 συντιθεμένων διάφορα γίγνεται σχήματα· οὕτω καὶ πάσης ἐργασίας ἢ χρηστῆς ἢ πονηρᾶς ἀρχὴ  
τις ἐστὶ σμικρὰ μὲν δοκοῦσα τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀφανῆς, ὥς περ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, κατὰ σμικρὸν δὲ  
ἐρεθιζομένη, εἰς μέγεθος ἀποτελεωτά, καὶ ἡ ἡδονὴν καθόλου παρεχομένη τῷ πράξαντι ἢ λύπην  
καὶ μεταμέλειαν· ἐπισκοπητέον τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντων, ὅπως ἔχουσαι αἱ ἀρχαί.

7. Ὡς περ οἱ πλεονεκτικώτεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀφορμῆς γενναίας οὐκ εὐποροῦντες διαρπάσαι  
40 τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, τὴν τ' ἔχουσαν κακοσχόλως μάλιστα καὶ πανούργως ἀναψηλαφῶσιν· οὕτω δὲ  
καὶ οἱ δαίμονες, ὅποταν ἐκ προδήλου πτώματος οὐκ εὐπορήσωσιν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἱερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς  
πλοῦτον, τότε δὴ τότε, ὅ τι ἂν [Fol. 5r] τύχοι, προίσχονται εἰς αἰτίαν· κὰν εὐεικτον εὗρωσι τὸν  
ἐπιβουλευόμενον, ὅπερ ἂν διὰ τῶν μεγάλων, τοῦτο διὰ τῶν βραχέων ἐξήνυσαν καὶ οὕτω τὸ  
ζητούμενον ἔσχον ἀπονητί· δεῖ οὖν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τοῖς δοκοῦσι μικροῖς καὶ  
45 εὐκαταφρονήτοις· ὅτι καὶ σμικρὸς σπινθὴρ παρεωραμένος, ἔσθ' ὅτε μεγάλην φλόγα ἀνήψεν.

8. Οὕτε τοῖς τῶν ιδιωτικῶν τε καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων δεσπόταις περιφρονητέα νομίζεται ἡ  
ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐγγινομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφαίρεσις, οὔτε δ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἀρχῆς  
καθεστῶσι· τὸ γὰρ σμικρὸν προστιθεμένον τῷ σμικρῷ καὶ προχωροῦν ἐπιπλέον, τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ παντὶ  
λυμαινεῖται· πολλοὺς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἔδειξε δεσπότης καὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλέας τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ  
50 εἰς πενίαν ἐσχάτην καὶ δυστυχίαν καὶ ἀπόπτωσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἐκπεσόντας· ἀλλ' εἰ μένειν ἕκαστος  
ἐπὶ σχήματος βούλοιο καὶ προστιθέναι τοῖς οὖσι, τῶν τε ὄντων μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων  
ὑπερμαχεῖ καὶ τῶν μὴ ὄντων πρόνοιαν τίθησι· τὴν τοιαύτην σκέψιν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ  
νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔνδον διοίκησιν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν πραγμάτων φρονίμως τε καὶ συνετῶς μεταφέρει,  
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἀτεχνῶς ἂν ἴδοι [Fol. 5v] γιγνόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔργων μόνον φειδῶ χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν  
55 τὴν ψυχὴν ζημιούντων εἰς τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτῶν ἀφροντίστως ἔχειν τῶν τοῖς

αἰσθητηρίοις ὀργάνοις ἐκ προπετοῦς κινήσεως ἐπισυμβαινόντων, οὐδὲ μέντοι ταῖς ἐνθυμήσεσι καὶ ἐννοίαις καὶ λογισμοῖς· ἐπιμελήσεται δὲ καὶ μάλα σπουδαίως πάντα κινεῖν εὐρύθμως καὶ ἡρμοσμένως καὶ ὡς ἂν, οἷόν τε ἦν, τὸ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τηρηθῆναι ἀξίωμα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἄσωτος καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνον πεπολιτευμένοι οὕτω τῆς πατρώας οὐσίας ἐκπεπτώκασι, κατὰ μικρὸν τὰ πάντα προοισμένοι· οἷς δὴ καὶ τελευτῶσιν, εἰς τὴν τῶν χοίρων ἐξ ἀπορίας συνέβη καταβιβασθῆναι τροφήν καὶ μὴ δ' αὐτῆς ἐμπίπλασθαι.

9. Ὡςπερ χώρα τις, εὐφυῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν σπερμάτων ὑποδοχὰς, ἂν μὲν ἐπιμελείας τύχη καὶ πόνων, εἴτα καὶ σπέρματα δεξήται ἡμερα, πληθύνεται τοῖς καρποῖς καὶ εἰς *τριάκοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν* ἐπιδίδωσιν· ἀνήροτος δὲ κειμένη καὶ ἄσπαρτος, *ἀκάνθας* καὶ τριβόλους ἀνίσχει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἰσχὺν εἰς ἀγρίας καὶ ἀνημέρους βοτάνας ἐξαναλίσκει· οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ, δεξιῶς ἔχουσα ἀρετῶν σπέρματα δέξασθαι καὶ καρποὺς πολλαπλασίους ἐπιχορηγῆσαι, ἔπειτα [Fol. 6r] ἀναγώγως τραφεῖσα καὶ θείας παιδείας οὐ κοινωνήσασα, ἀκανθεὼν γίνεται παντοίων παθῶν· ὡς μηδὲν οὖν συντελοῦσα, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καρπῶν καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ σπορέως, τοῦ Διαβόλου, τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ παραπεμφθήσεται.

10. Ὡςπερ τὰ ἀνειμένως πλανώμενα τῶν ἀνδραπόδων παίγνια τοῖς παιδαρίοις γίνεται καὶ σπαράσσεται καὶ καθέλκεται, ὅποι ἂν ἐκεῖνα ἐθέλοι· οὕτω καὶ οἱ ῥάθυμον βίον καὶ ἡμελημένον διάγοντες καὶ ὥσπερ τινα θείαν φορβειὰν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον ἀποπτύσαντες, παίγνιον καὶ οὗτοι καθίστανται τοῖς νηπιόφροσι καὶ ἀλόγοις δαίμοσιν· ὅτι μὴδὲ κακίας ἡστινολοῦν ἐστὶν εἶδος, ὃ μὴ ἀργοῖς οὖσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑποβάλλουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλκουσι τρόπον· δεῖ τοίνυν τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν θείαν δεσποτείαν τελοῦντα τὸν πνευματικὸν αἰεὶ χαλινὸν περικεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν τῶν κολάσεων φόβον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχειν προκείμενον, εἴ γε μέλλοι τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς στεφάνων ἐπιτυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἀθλοθέτου Χριστοῦ.

11. Παντὸς πράγματος ἡ λύπη προηγεῖται ἡδονῇ δὲ ἀκολουθεῖ, ἡ τοῦναντίον ἡδονῆς ἡγουμένης, τὰ τῆς λύπης ἔπεται· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν φαύλων ἔργων καὶ ἀκολάστων ἡδονὴ τις ἡγεῖται ἄλογος, παρέπεται δὲ ὀδύνῃ· τῶν δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν, πᾶν τοῦναντίον· χρὴ [Fol. 6v] τοίνυν τὸν μετὰ κρίσεως ὀρθῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις κινούμενον τὸ ποιὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς διορᾶν· κἂν μὲν ἡδύ τι παραχρήμα ὀρᾷ, ἀφεστάναι τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως, καὶ μὴ διὰ βραχείαν ἡδονὴν τε καὶ ὥραν, λύπην ἑαυτῷ χρόνιον προξενεῖν· εἰ δὲ λύπην οἷα συμβαίνει, μὴ δειλιάν πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς σωφροσύνης· χρόνιους γὰρ τρυγήσει τοὺς ἐκείνης καρποὺς ὕστερον.

12. Οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι μόνον ἐπιχαίνοντες πράγμασιν, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς παραπέση, κακίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ μοχθηρᾶς προαιρέσεως ὕλην τιθέασιν· κἂν εἰ πλοῦτος τοῦτ' εἴη, κἂν δόξα παρὰ βασιλέων αὐτῶν, κἂν ῥώμη σώματος, κἂν ὥρα μελῶν ἐναρμόνιος, κἂν ψυχῆς εὐφυΐα, κἂν ἀγχίνια διανοίας, κἂν ὅτι οὖν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀρίστων· οἱ δ' εὐγνώμονες καὶ σπουδαῖοι οὐ τὰ δοκοῦντα χρηστὰ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οὗτ' ἐκπτώσις χρημάτων, οὔτε πατρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ οἰκείων, οὔτε τιμῆς τῆς ἐν βασιλείοις, οὗτ' ἀκρωτηριασμοὶ καὶ μαστιγες σώματος, οὗτ' ἀπειλὴ θανάτου τὴν γνώμην τούτων ἐξίστησιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινες ψόφους εἰς ἀέρα λυομένους αὐτίκα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγούμενοι, λαμπρότερον οὗτοι μᾶλλον διὰ τῶν [Fol. 7r] τοιούτων καθαίρονται, ἢ χρυσὸς διὰ τοῦ πυρός.

13. Ὡςπερ ὁ κύκλος ἴσος ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κέντρον ἀπανταχόθεν ἐξίσου συννένευκεν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν κινουμένη ψυχὴ ἴσην αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ποιεῖται τὴν κίνησιν· καὶ οὔτε κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὔτε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο, ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ μειονεκτεῖν ἀνέχεται· πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ὡς πρὸς κέντρον ἄλλο ἐδραζομένη τὸ θεῖον, παρέγκλισιν τινα πάθοι καὶ τὸ εὐθὺ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς σχήματος παραγράψειεν; ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν μετ' ἀκριβείαν δι' αὐτῆς ἐξελισσομένων, ὅπως κατὰ τοὺς συμπίπτοντας καιροὺς τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὰς χρεῖας ἐκάστων τέλεια ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἥκιστα ἡκρωτηριασμένα τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν παραφαίνωσιν· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἰσχύει διὰ πάντων ἡ φύσις εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγκληθεῖη ἂν ἡ προαίρεσις· οὐ γὰρ οἷς ἀδυνατοῦμεν κολασθησόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἷς, οἷοί τε ὄντες, οὐ προηρήμεθα.

14. Ὡςπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξίσου φωτίζει τε καὶ θερμαίνει τοὺς μηδὲν τι παθόντας κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἢ καθόλου, ἢ μερικῶς, ἢ καὶ ἐκόντας ὥσπερ ἐκφεύγοντας τὴν ἐκεῖνου δύναμιν, καὶ ἄηρ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῶν στοιχείων κοινὰ ἑαυτὰ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ζώοις [Fol. 7v] παρέχουσιν· οὕτω καὶ οἱ κατὰ Θεὸν ἄνθρωποι ὁμοίως φίλοις τε καὶ ἐχθροῖς διατίθενται καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν πρόκεινται πᾶσιν ὥσπερ καὶ Θεὸς αὐτοὺς· ὃς ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους, πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, οὐ φιλοκρινῶν κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα τὰ πλεῖον τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ταμιευόμενος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων. οὐκοῦν καὶ

τοῖς μὲν συγγαίρουσι κατορθοῦσι, τῶν δ' ὑπερέχονται ἀμαρτανόντων καὶ ὡς ἰδίων ὑπεραλγοῦσι μελῶν· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ταυτὰ τῷ Παύλῳ συμφορῶνται, ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καταπροιέμενοι, *ἡγόμην λέγοντες ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα.*

115 **15.** Οἱ πάλιν ἢ παγκράτιον ἢ σφαῖραν ἢ τινα ἕτερον τῶν σωματικῶν ἄθλων διαγωνιζόμενοι καὶ καθάπαξ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ταλαιπωροῦντες, πολλὴν τινα τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὑφίστανται τυχεῖν τοῦ σπουδαζομένου· καὶ δεῖ μὲν ἐκεῖνοις μελέτης πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων, δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων ταλαιπωρίας καὶ καρτερᾶς ἐνστάσεως. οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαγωνιζόμενοι βραχὺ μάλα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας [Fol. 8r] ἀντέχουσι, κἂν ἄλλως δοκῇ τραχεῖα τε καὶ ἐπίπονος· κἂν μὲν νικήσωσιν, ἡδονὴ τις χρόνιος αὐτοὺς διαδέχεται καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει μάλιστα, ὃν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ὁ *ζυγὸς χρηστὸς* εἴρηται, καὶ *ἐλαφρὸν τὸ φορτίον*· ἡττηθέντας δ' αὐτῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀνθισταμένης κακίας, μετὰ μελὸς εἰσεῖσι πικρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ μακρὸς· γνοίη δ' ἂν τις μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκάστοτε παραπιπτόντων πραγμάτων· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ὧν ἔφαμεν, σαφῶς διαφαίνεται.

125 **16.** Προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν ἐπὶ παντὸς τῶν συμπιπτόντων πραγμάτων καὶ ἀρετῆς λοιπὸν καὶ κακίας τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπολογίζεσθαι, καὶ ὁπόση δύναμις τὴν ῥοπὴν παρέχειν τῷ κρείττονι μέρει, ὃ δὴ πάντως Θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ ψυχὴ, σῶμα δὲ καὶ κακίαν καὶ πονηρὸν δαίμονα ἀποστρέφεσθαι· ἀντιστρατεύεται γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ χεῖρω τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς νίκης πρὸς ἑαυτὰ μεθέλκειν διαγωνίζεται· τίς δ' ἂν, νοῦν ἔχων, κακίας σκότει προστεθεῖ ποτὲ, τοῦ τιμίου ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλου φωτὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς χρήματος καταφρονήσας; δύναται δὲ τοῦτο ἀκρατῆς λογισμὸς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ὥσπερ τοῦναντίον σώφρων καὶ ἐγκρατής. [Fol. 8v]

130 **17.** Ἐναντία τινὰ πέφυκεν εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία καὶ ἀδύνατον τὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐρῶντα ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιτυχεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐκατέρων ἐνδέχεται· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ὁμως ἐξ ἀλλήλων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβάλλει· γίνεται γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολάστου τις σώφρων καὶ ἐκ σώφρονος ἀκόλαστος, καὶ ἐξ ὀργίλου πρᾶος καὶ ὀργίλος αὐθις ἐκ πρᾶου· ὀργιλότης δ' αὖ ἐκ πραότητος ἢ πραότης ἐξ ὀργιλότητος, οὐδαμῶς· οὐ γὰρ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἕκαστον, ὑφίσταται τὴν μεταβολὴν, τὰ δ' ὑποκείμενα τούτοις, ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ὕλαι· αἱ γὰρ ἕξεις καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς προαιρέσεις καὶ ὅλως τὰ συμβεβηκότα παντελῶς εἰσὶν μετάβλητα, καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν αὐτὴ ἡ ὕλη ἐστὶν ἡ δεκτικὴ κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς καὶ πάσης ἐναντιώσεως· τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τροφὴ πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναντίοις γίνεσθαι, ὡς ψυχρότης βραχεῖα πλεοναζούση θερμότητι καὶ θερμότης πλεοναζούση ψυχρότητι· καὶ δεῖ γε ἐν τούτῳ, εἰ καὶ κατὰ μὴδὲν ἄλλον, ἀλλ' οὐν χάριν ἔχειν τοῖς χείροσιν, ὅτι περ αἷτια πολλάκις τοῖς κρείττοσι γίνεται.

140 **18.** Ἐνέργεια τις ἐστὶν ἐνίοτε ἢ κακία, ἡρεμία δ' αὖ ἢ ἀρετὴ· καὶ αὐθις τοῦναντίον, οἷον τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν, τὸ ληστεύειν, τὸ ἐξανδραποδίζεσθαι, τὸ τοίχους διορύττειν, [Fol. 9r] τὸ δήμευον ἐγείρειν, τὸ μαίνεσθαι περὶ γαστέρα, τὸ μεθύειν, τὸ ὑβρίζειν, τὸ παλλακεύεσθαι, τὸ συκοφαντεῖν, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι, τὸ ἐπιорκεῖν, τὸ ἐξαγριαίνεσθαι τῷ θυμῷ, τὸ λαλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν, ἃ μὴ δεῖν ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια πράξεις τινες εἰσι φαῦλαι, ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχουσai καὶ ἐκουσίῳ δεόμεναι ἢ ἀκουσίῳ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς· ἐναπομόργνυται γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ πράττων καὶ πεπαυμένος κηλὶδα τινὰ φαύλην ἐκεῖθεν καὶ δεῖ τούτῳ καθαρσέως· καὶ γὰρ εἵνεκα τούτου ἐνταῦθα μὲν νόμοι καὶ δικαστήρια, ἐκεῖ δὲ κολάσεις ἀθάνατοι πρόκεινται τοῖς μὴ καθαρθεῖσι τελέως ἐνταῦθα. διόρθωσις δὲ τούτων ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ λῆξις καὶ ἡρεμία, ἢ δὲ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχείρησις, ἀρετὴ· ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἔδοξε τίσι καὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ χεῖρω ποιεῖν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ κατ' ἐνέργειαν τὴν ἀρετὴν δρᾶν κακία τις ἔδοξε· καὶ οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐξήρκεσεν ἡ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐκκλισις πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον· οἷον τὸ μὴ τάλλότρια διαρπάζειν, οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τις δοίη· οὐδ' εἰ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν αἰροῖτο, εἰ μὴ καὶ συκοφαντούμενος καὶ ἀδικούμενος, φιλοσοφοῖη· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον τὸ τῆς *στενῆς πύλης* [Fol. 9v] καὶ *τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ* βίαιον ἢ ἐκεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, ἐπιτευξόμεθα τῆς ζωῆς· παρατηρητέον τοίνυν τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκατέρων, καὶ ἐπεὶ δυσὶ τούτοις ὅποις ἀγὼν ἴσταται ἢ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν τὰ κακά ἢ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν· εἰ μὲν καιρὸς ἐνσταίη ποιεῖν, εἴτα ἐγκρατευσόμεθα, τοῦτο δεῖ 160 τιθέναι τὴν ἀρετὴν· εἰ δὲ πάσχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡσαύτως ἀρετὴν ὀριστεόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐναντία κακίαν.

**19.** Ἡ παρουσία πονηρῶν ἔργων ἢ κακία συνίσταται ἢ ἀπουσία χρηστῶν· καὶ αὐθις ἢ παρουσία χρηστῶν ἔργων ἢ ἀρετὴ παραγίνεται ἢ ἀπουσία κακῶν. εἰδέναι μέντοι γε χρὴ ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἐκατέρων ἢ παρουσία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰσχυροτέρας τὰς ἕξεις ἐργάζεται ἢ ἡ ἀπουσία· τὴν δὲ τούτων γένεσιν,

165 μόνη ἢ ἡρεμία τοῦ βελτίονος καὶ τοῦ χείρονος· ἢ γὰρ στάσις τοῦ κακοῦ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦναντίον.

20. Ὡςπερ ὁ τῆς κακίας ὅρος ἐν δυσὶ τούτοις ὁράται ἐν γε τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν· ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀπαιδεύτοις καὶ ιδιώτοις κακία μὲν λογίζεται τὸ πράττειν τὸ πονηρὸν, ἀρετὴ δ' αὖ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἢ πράξαντας ἡρεμεῖν· τοῖς δὲ πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ ἄρχουσι κακία μὲν  
170 ἐσχάτη [Fol. 10r] αὐτὸ τε τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χεῖριστα καὶ πεπαυμένους μὴ καὶ τὰ βελτίω ποιεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἡ στάσις τοῦ χείρονος ἱκανὸν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰς ἀποτροπὴν· ἀρετὴ δὲ πάλιν, τὸ μὴ πράττειν τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις προστίθεσθαι· καὶ διπλοῦς λοιπὸν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγὼν καὶ διπλοῦς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἐπαθλα καὶ οἱ στέφανοι.

21. Τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἢ καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, ὅλην ἀρετὴν λογιστέον εἶναι  
175 τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν· ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς κακίας τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς κακίας τῶν πεπαιδευμένων· καὶ τάχα τοῦτο βούλεται καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς λέγων, *ὁ γνούς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μὴ ποιήσας, δαρήσεται πολλὰς· ὁ δὲ μὴ γνούς, ποιήσας δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν, δαρήσεται ὀλίγας.*

22. Ἡ τῶν κακῶν ἀπραξία τοῖς μὲν ῥαθύμοις ἀρετὴ ἐνομίσθη· τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις ἀρετῆς τὸ ἥμισυ· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς προστεθῆναι καὶ τὴν τῶν καλῶν πρᾶξιν εἰς τελειότητα, ἵν' ἡ φυγὴ τοῦ  
180 κακοῦ καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὴν ὅλην ἔξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς τελειώσῃ.

23. Οἱ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἡσκημένοι, ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγῶνες συχνότεροι παραπίπτουσι, τοσοῦτῳ [Fol. 10v] χαίρουσι, νίκας καὶ γέρα λαμβάνοντες· καὶ οἱ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐπιστήμην διαμελετήσαντες, καθ' ὅσον οἱ δαίμονες διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτοις συμπλέκονται, κατὰ τοσοῦτον νικηταὶ ἀναφαίνονται· καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὄντων δεινῶν δοκεῖ φοβερὸν, οὐδ' ἀπευκταῖον, αἰεὶ κερδαίνειν δυναμένοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χειρόνων μερίδος· ὥστε οὐ παρὰ τὴν  
185 ὕλην ἢ ἥττα, παρὰ δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν γίνεται τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις· εἰ γὰρ ἀφορμὴ κατορθωμάτων τοῖς σπουδαιοτέροις τὰ συμπίπτοντα καθίσταται πάθη, ποῖαν λοιπὸν ἰσχύν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔχει, ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἑαυτὰ μεταστήσαι; προσέχειν οὖν δεῖ, ὅπως ἀγωνιζόμεθα.

24. Τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς νικᾷν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐπιόντα βεβουλημένον ἐνὶ δεῖ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσέχειν  
190 τὸν νοῦν· ὅπως παραιτῆται μὲν καθόλου τὸ παραχρήμα ἡδύνον, αἰρῆται δὲ τὸ λυποῦν, εἰ τ' ἀφαίρεσις τιμῆς ἐστὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τε χρημάτων ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν σωματικῶν τε καὶ παχυτέρων, ὧν ἡ ἀπόλαυσις οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν ἀποτίθεται· κἂν τοῦτο προστήσῃται παντός πράγματος, ἄλυπον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡδῖω τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν ἐφεξῆς ἔξει χρόνον μετ' ἐλπίδος κρείττονος· καὶ τῷ ὄντι *ἐκατονταπλασίονα λήψεται*, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον, καὶ *ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει*· ἔμαθε  
195 γὰρ [Fol. 11r] παρ' αὐτοῦ *πρᾶος* εἶναι καὶ *ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ*, τῷ καταδέχεσθαι πάντα πειρασμὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ λοιπὸν *εὐρήσει ἀνάπαισιν* τῇ ἑαυτοῦ *ψυχῇ* ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

25. Οἱ κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολιτευόμενοι διδόασιν μὲν τι ὧν ἔχουσιν, ἐλπίζουσι δ' αὖθις τοῦτο λαβεῖν μετὰ προσθήκης τινὸς· καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀποτυχία τούτους ἀπείργει, ὅποια συμβαίνει πολλάκις διὰ τὴν ἀοριστίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀνόμαλον, τῷ κρείττονι δὲ μέρος τιθέμενοι τῆς  
200 ἐλπίδος, πάντα τολμῶσι· νῦν μὲν χρήματα διδόντες, νῦν δὲ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σώματα· τοῦτο πολλῷ κάλλιον ἔδει ποιεῖν τοὺς πνευματικῶς διαζῶντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια κέρδη τὸν νοῦν ἀπερείδοντας· εἰ γὰρ ἄλλον τινὰ βίον παρὰ τὸν παρόντα ἐλπίζομεν ἔσσεσθαι, τί μὴ καὶ χρημάτων πλήθη καὶ σωμάτων ἰσχύν καὶ ἀξιωματῶν λαμπρότητας καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ θελήματα κατακενοῦμεν τυχεῖν τῶν ἐλπιζομένων; εἰ δ' ἐλπίζομεν μὲν, ἀναξίως δὲ τῶν ἐλπίδων πολιτευόμεθα, ψεῦσται ἄρα πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐξελεγχόμεθα καὶ λιμῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ πτωχεῖᾳ καταδικασθησόμεθα, ἐξαναλώσαντες τὰ ὑπάρ[*Fol. 11v*]χοντα ἡμῖν ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ματαίοις καὶ οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος πραγματευσαμένοι.

26. Οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡρεμία ψυχῇ ἀλύπως ζῆν ἐθελούσῃ, ὥς τὸ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν αἰεὶ βούλεσθαι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων γίνεσθαι ἔκβασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὥς ἔτυχε, γινομένοις· εἰ  
210 μὲν γὰρ φύσις τῇ ὕλῃ πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον μορφοῦσθαι σκοπὸν, συμφορὰ δικαίως τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα δοκεῖ· εἰ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν, ὥς ἔτυχε, στρέφεται, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἄνω φέρει τὰ πράγματα, νῦν δὲ κάτω, πολλῆς ἂν εἴη ἀνοίας, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῆς κινουμένης, ἡμᾶς ἀνιᾶσθαι· χρὴ τοίνυν ἴσους εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἀνίστοις καὶ ἐστῶτας ἐν τοῖς ἀστάτοις, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς ἀλυπίας καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς δόξωμεν χρῆσθαι· ἄλογον γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἄλογα πράγματα μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐθέλειν  
215 κινεῖσθαι βούλησιν τῶν λόγῳ οὐσιωμένων, ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτοις συνδιατίθεσθαι συχνὰ μεταβαλλομένοις· καὶ ἅμα δ' ἀντιπεριχωρήσει ἀλλήλοις· ἡμῖν μὲν εἶναι ἀλόγοις, ἐκείνοις δὲ λογικοῖς, εἴπερ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ μεθιστᾶν ἡμᾶς δύναται.

27. Τέσσαρες εἰσὶν αἰτίαι καθ' ἃς ἄνθρωποι ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιπίπτομεν· ἢ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἐμπαθῶς ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀδιανοήτως [Fol. 12r] τὰ τοιαῦτα

220 μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων καθ' ἡμῶν δυστροπίαν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς ὕλης, καὶ  
 τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄδηλον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν δοκοῦμεν χωρὶς τῶν  
 διὰ πείραν ἢ ἔκτισιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Θεοῦ συγκεχωρημένων· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἴτιον  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡρτηται προαιρέσεως καὶ δεῖ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν εἰ ἐκάτερον τούτων συμβαίη·  
 225 τὸ δεύτερον δέ, εἰ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ προσομιλητέον·  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκούσιον, τὸ δὲ ἀκούσιον· τὰ δύο δ' αὖ εἰς τὸ ἔξω ἀνεκτέον, καὶ οὔτε  
 λυπεῖσθαι οὔτε χαίρειν εἰκός· ἐκ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὰ ὕστερα διακριτέον.

230 **28.** Φρόνησις ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ παραγίνεται μὲν ἐξ ἐπιστήμης καὶ μακρᾶς ἐμπειρίας,  
 παραγίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ περίστασιν ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων ἔξωθεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως  
 ὀξυδερκεῖς πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα παρασκευάζει πράγματα, οὐδ' ἐγκρατεῖς τε καὶ γενναίους πρὸς  
 τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ἡμῖν ἐπεγειρομένους πολέμους, ὥς τὸ διὰ τῶν ἀκουσίων  
 λυπηρῶν τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ταπεινωθῆναι φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρισθῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα, ἅτε ἐκείνου  
 τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἰσχύειν κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος. [Fol. 12v] ἀμφοτέρα  
 καὶ ἐναντίας ἀλλήλοις κατὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀνιῶμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀνιῶμεθα, ὅ τι μὴ  
 235 ἀνιῶμεθα· ἐπιστῆμαι γὰρ καὶ τέχναι ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς ὀρισμένας καταλήψεις τῶν κατὰ νοῦν τε καὶ  
 πρᾶξιν συνισταμένων πραγμάτων εἰδήμονας ἀπεργάζονται τὰς ψυχὰς, συμφοραὶ δὲ παντοῖαι καὶ  
 δεινῶν ἐπαγωγαὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς δῆπου τὰς πολυσχιδεῖς καὶ ἀτάκτους καὶ ἀορίστους τῶν ὄντων  
 μεταβολὰς φρονίμους καὶ οἰκονομικοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτελοῦσι, καὶ δεῖ χάριν ἔχειν αὐταῖς,  
 240 ὅτιπερ ἡμᾶς τελείους παρασκευάζουσιν· ὥς εἰ μὴ καὶ τῷ μέρει τούτῳ ἐγγυμνασόμεθα,  
 πολλοστημόριον τοῦ παντὸς κατελήφσαμεν, καὶ λείπεται προσκρούειν συχνὰ καὶ διαμαρτάνειν  
 πυκνὰ.

**29.** Εἰ ἀπὸ λύπης μὲν ἡδονή, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀδοξίας δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος ἀπὸ πενίας καὶ ὄλως ἀπὸ τῶν  
 χειρόνων τὰ κρείττονα κατελπίζεται, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων τὰ χείρονα, κρείσσους αἱ  
 245 περιστάσεις τῶν εὐθυμιῶν· καὶ χρὴ μᾶλλον ἀνιάσθαι ἡδυνομένους καὶ ἡδύνεσθαι ἀνιωμένους ἢ  
 τῆς παραχρῆμα ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης γίνεσθαι μεταβαλλομένους· μόνη δὲ ἀκράτῳ χρὴ κεχρηθῆναι  
 [Fol. 13r] τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν λύπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τῇ ἡδονῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, πρὶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς  
 ἐξῆκειν εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον.

**30.** Ἄ μὲν κακὰ παρόντα λυμίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ, ταῦτα τὴν μεγίστην συμφορὰν λογιστέον· τίς γὰρ  
 οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν προφθάσειεν ἢ φθορά; ἃ δὲ λυπεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 250 πράγματα περιφρονητέον· εἰ γὰρ ἄδηλον κὰν τούτῳ τὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ὑποπτεύεται, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν  
 τὸ κακὸν ἀνίατον μεῖναι ἀθεράπευτον τὴν ζημίαν τῇ ψυχῇ προξενεῖ ἀθανάτῳ μενούσῃ· ἐνταῦθα  
 δὲ λυομένου τοῦ σώματος, συνδιαλύεται καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ.

**31.** Εἰ τῇ τῶν παρόντων λύπῃ καὶ ἡδονῇ οὐδὲν τέλος λείπεται, ζητητέον τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἄτρεπτος  
 λύπη καὶ ἡδονή.

255 **32.** Πῶς ἂν τις ἀπαθὴς γένοιτο πρὸς τὰ συμβαίοντα πάθη κατὰ τὸν βίον; οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως, ἢ εἰ  
 τὸ ὄντως ὄν καὶ τὸ οὐκ ὄντως ὄν τοιαῦτα κατὰ φύσιν νομίζοι, οἷαπερ ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἐναντίας περὶ  
 ἐκατέρων ἐκφέρει τὰς δόξας· εἰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ὡσαύτως ἔχειν ἀεὶ συλλογίζοιτο, τὸ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον  
 φθείρεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ πρὸς τάναντία πολλάκις ἐξαλλάττεσθαι, ἀναλλοίωτος αὐτὸς καὶ  
 260 ἄσειστος τὴν γνώμην διαμενεῖ· ὁ δὲ [Fol. 13v] τοιοῦτος οὔτε λοιπὸν χαρήσεται οὔτε ἀνιάσεται,  
 οὔτ' ἐπαράσεται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὔτ' ἀμυνεῖται.

**33.** Πολλάκις αἱ δοκοῦσαι εὐημερίαι εἰς πονηρὸν κατέληξαν τέλος καὶ αὐθις αἱ δυσημερίαι εἰς  
 εὐπραγίαν ἀπῆλλαξαν· καὶ ἔδοξαν ἐκάτεροι ὕλαι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς σφῶν ἐναντίοις· ὥστε καὶ  
 265 πολλάκις ἐώρακα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων μεταβαλόντας εὐξαμένους μὴ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς πείραν  
 ἦκειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ μάλιστα εὐξαμένους, ὅ τι τοῖς κακοῖς  
 περιέπεσεν, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρξεν εὐδαιμονεῖν, οὐδὲν τὸ πρόσθεν ἢ ἔχουσιν ἢ εὐρεῖν νομίσασιν.

**34.** Ὁ τὰ τῆς παρούσης διώκων ἡδονῆς συνδιώξει καὶ τὰ τῆς λύπης, καὶ ἡ παραχρῆμα  
 συγκαταλήψεται ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον· φύσις γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέραις, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ἀφετηρίας  
 ὠρμημέναις, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ βίου στάδιον συνεκτρέχειν καὶ οὐκ ἐνὶ θατέραν παρὰ θατέραν  
 270 πορεύεσθαι. οὐκοῦν λέληθεν ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐφιέμενος, περιπίπτων εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ  
 τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκείνου αἰῶνος ἀληθὴς ἡδονὴ ἢ λύπη σύνδρομος ἐστὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ· τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι  
 τὰ ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἄτρεπτα ἔχουσιν [Fol. 14r] ὑποκείμενα, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἄστατα καὶ  
 ῥευστὰ.

**35.** Ἀρχὴ ἡδονῆς λύπη, καὶ ἀρχὴ λύπης ἡδονή· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων ὃ μὴ μεταβαίνει πρὸς  
 τάναντία· δεῖ οὖν τοὺς λυπουμένους εὐέλπιδας εἶναι, ὥς καὶ ἐσομένους ἡδομένους· καὶ αὐθις

275 τοὺς ἡδομένους δυσέλπιδας, ὥς ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ λυπησομένους, ἢ ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ὁμολογουμένους.

36. Εἰ ὧν οἱ ὄροι κινεῖνται κατὰ τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγον οὐδέν εἰσιν ὃ λέγονται, κινεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς παρουσίας ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης, οὐδὲν ἄρα εἰσὶν αἱ παρούσαι ἡδοναί τε καὶ λύπαι, κἂν τοῖς φιληδόνοις τοῦτο δοκῶσιν.

280 37. Οἱ ἀκούσιοι πειρασμοὶ οὐκ ἀλυσιτελῶς ἐπάγονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· τὴν γὰρ ἀσθένειαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης προαιρέσεως εἰδὼς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ἀθέλητον, ἀναπληροῖ διὰ τῶν ἀκουσίων πειρασμῶν τὸ κατὰ γνώμην ὑστέρημα, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἐκουσίως πραττομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀκουσίως καταδεδεγμένων τέλειοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν γενώμεθα καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστοι. [Fol. 14v]

285 38. Οἱ ἀκούσιοι πειρασμοὶ διττῶς ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῦσιν. ἐνὸς μὲν ἔνεκα, ὅτι πολλάκις κενοδοξίαν νοσοῦντας διὰ τὴν κατὰ προαίρεσιν τοῦ καλοῦ ποίησιν ταπεινότερους ἐργάζονται, τὸ φρόνημα καταστέλλοντες, ἅτε γινώσκοντας, ὥς οὐκ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οἰκοδομὴν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ τοῦ συγχωροῦντος τοὺς πειρασμοὺς. ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀναβαλλομένους ὥσπερ κέντρα ἢ μύωπες διεγείρουσι καὶ Θεὸν πρὸς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πολέμον συχνότερον ἀναγκάζουσι προκαλεῖσθαι σύμμαχον· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑγιαίνοντες, 290 ὀλίγον τινα λόγον τῶν ἱατρῶν τιθέμεθα· νοσοῦντες δὲ, πολύν.

39. Οἱ συμβαίνοντες πειρασμοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατὰ συγχώρησιν πάντως Θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ ὀρῶντος καὶ κυβερνῶντος, τῆς ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλοι γίνονται· θεογνωσίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐκδιδάσκουσιν. αἱ δ' ἀνέσεις καὶ εὐπραγίαι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἅπας βίος λήθην ἐκείνων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῇ ψυχῇ ἐμποιοῦσι· πόσοι γὰρ καὶ τίνες, ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πατριάρχην ἐκείνον, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ *Αὐσίτιδι ἀνθρώπον*, ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναφανήσονται βίῳ, εἰς πᾶν δέον τῷ πλούτῳ χρώμενοι; [Fol. 15r] μαρτυροῦσι τῷ λόγῳ, εἰ μὴ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐφ' ἡμῶν γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐν βίβλῳ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ θεορήμονος. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάλωτοι μένοντες ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ προσκείμενοι, Θεοῦ τὸ παράπαν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀπέστησαν· καὶ προφητῶν αἰεὶ ἐγκειμένων καὶ ὑπομινησκόντων εὐσεβείας καὶ 300 δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀπειλούντων ἅπερ ἔμελλον πείσεσθαι, οὐδὲν βέλτιον διετίθεντο. ἀπαχθέντες δ' αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκπεπτωκότες, εἰς μνήμην ἦλθον Θεοῦ καὶ πικρῶς μάλα μετὰ τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ τὰς σφετέρας ἀπωδύραντο ἁμαρτίας, καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦ πρὶν κατέγνωσαν βίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς ἡσφαλίσαντο, καὶ ἱκεσίᾳ καὶ εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ δάκρυσι τὸν Θεὸν ἐλιπάρουν. οἷς ἡμερον ἐπιβλέψας ὁ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἡμῶν ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν 305 μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδωσιν, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἐκουσίου τῶν ψυχῶν αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου κερδαίνουσι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν· Θεὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ φρονούντες καὶ σέβοντες καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα ἀπολαμβάνοντες· πρὸς ἃ καὶ ὁ θεὸς βλέπων Ἱερεμίας *ψυχῇ*, ἔφη, *ἢ λυ* [Fol. 15v] *πουμένη καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ἐκλείποντες καὶ ψυχὴ ἡ πεινῶσα δώσουσι δόξαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην Κυρίῃ*· καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας, *Κυρίε φησὶν ἐν θλίψει ἐμνήσθημέν σου*· καὶ ὁ μέγας Δαυίδ, *μακάριος, φησὶν, ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἂν παιδεύσης Κυρίε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου διδάξης αὐτὸν*· οὐκοῦν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν τοσαῦτα περιγίνεται κέρδη, ἀρίστην καὶ ψυχοφελεστατὴν αὐτοὺς πραγματείαν οἴώμεθα παραγενομένους.

40. Εἰ παρὰ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἐπαφίεται ἀντὶ καθαρσίων, ταυτὸν ἐστὶ δυσχεραίνειν τοῖς λελυπηκόσι καὶ τοῖς ἱατροῖς τέμνουσί τε καὶ καίουσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλγεινοῖς 315 τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ πάσχοντος πραγματευομένοις· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δημίους αὐτοὺς ἥκιστα κακίζομεν τιμωροῦντας ἅτε παρ' ἐαυτῶν οὐδέν πράττοντας, ἀλλὰ διακόνους ὄντας τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, πῶς ἂν τοὺς λυπήσαντας ἀντιλυπῆσαι προενεχθῶμεν, Θεοῦ προνοίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπάρξαντας ὑπηρέτας; εἰ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τοίνυν ἐπάρατοι εἶεν καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι, ἅτε πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δεξιοὶ κριθέντες εἰς κόλασιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εὐλαβητέον κακὸν αὐτοὺς πρᾶξαι· εἰς 320 Θεὸν γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνοίσομεν τὰ τῆς μαχῆς. [Fol. 16r]

41. Ἡ ἀνώμαλος τῶν ἐξῳθεν συμπιπτόντων κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον κίνησις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν τῶν παρόντων κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι, καὶ τούτου γινόμενου διὰ τὸ ἀπριεῖς ἡμᾶς κεχηνέναι περὶ τὰς ὕλας, ἀλλ' οὖν, ὅτι φρόνιμον καὶ ἀγχίνουν καὶ διεγερμένην τὴν ἡμετέραν διάνοιαν παρασκευάζει περὶ τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ 325 χείρονος), συντελοῦσα ἡμῖν καὶ μάλα εὐρίσκεται· ὅπου γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἀναισθητοῖς ἢ καὶ ἀλόγοις τῆς κτίσεως ἢ τῶν ὥρων ἐπὶ τάναντία γινόμενη μεταβολὴ ἀσυντελῆς διαφαίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἢ τῶν καρπῶν φορὰ καὶ ἢ τῶν ζώων γένεσις ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον κατὰ τὴν ἐφεξῆς πάλιν τῶν ἀνομοίων τοῦ ἔτους γίνεται κρᾶσεων, πῆξιν λαμβανόντων καὶ δύναμιν εἰς γονὰς· πῶς ἂν ἄλλό τι ἐν τοῖς λόγοφ διοικουμένοις καὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτο παραδείξειεν, ἐπειδὴν ἀνίσως τε καὶ ἀτάκτως τοῖς

330 πράγμασι προσπαλαίωσι· πλὴν, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐνίστε φύσις πρὸς φύσιν διαγωνιζομένη φθορὰν καὶ τῆς  
γονῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶδους ὅλου ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐργάζεται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μεταβάλλειν πρὸς ἑαυτὰς πεφύκασιν αἱ  
δραστικώτεραι δυνάμεις καὶ ὑπερτείνουσαι τὰς μὴ κατ' ἴσον προσενεχθείσας· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ  
335 ψυχὴν πραγμάτων οὐδὲν τοῦτο γίνεται, [Fol. 16v] προαιρέσεως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ αὐτονομίας οὐδὲν  
τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότερον· κἂν τινες δὲ πολλάκις ὑπενδόντες ὥφθησαν τοῖς δεινοῖς, οὐκ  
ἀδυναμία φύσεως, προδοσία δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τῆς φάουλῆς αὐτῶν γνώμης ἥττους  
ἡλέγχθησαν τῶν κακῶν· μαρτυροῦσι δ' ἐκατέρω τῷ λόγῳ οἱ τε ἀνδρείως καὶ εὐγενῶς μάλιστα  
ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων εἰς θάνατον αὐτὸν διηγωνισμένοι καὶ οἱ ἀγεννῶς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνάνδρως τῶν ἄθλων  
ἐκπεπτωκότες.

42. Τρεῖς εἰσὶ καιριώτατοι τρόποι, οἱ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμᾶς ἀφιστῶντες, πρὸς ἀρετὴν  
340 συναλύνουσιν· ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ ἀπειλὴ τῶν κολάσεων καὶ ἡ μοχθηρὰ καὶ ἐπίπονος  
βιοτὴ, καθ' ἣν ἐκουσίους καὶ ἀκουσίους πειρασμοῖς τε καὶ πόνοις ἐκ τῶν ἐγγιστα ἡμῖν  
παραφυομένων αἰεὶ συμπλεκόμεθα· μάλιστα γὰρ τῷ μέρει τούτῳ μὴ σχολάζοντα τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες  
πρὸς ἀτόπους ὀρέξεις, τὰς τῆς πονηρίας ὁδοὺς ἀποκλίνομεν καὶ μόνῃς ἐχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα  
φερούσης· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι τὸν ἀγέρωχον ἵππον χαλινῷ καὶ πόνοις δεδαμασμένον  
345 παρατρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ὅποι τύχοι κατακροαίνειν, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ πᾶν τῶν ὑπὸ ζυγόν· οὕτω  
δὴ καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐκατέρωθεν ταλαιπωρούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δεινῶν πάντα τὰ [Fol. 17r] παθητικὰ  
κατασβέννυσσι μέρη καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν διαφεύγει θόρυβον· τάχα γὰρ καὶ Θεὸς τοῦτο  
προεωρακὼς λύπας καὶ ἰδρώτας κατεψηφίσατο τοῦ Ἀδάμ, μήπως καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ἀνεμμένῳ βίῳ εἰς  
οὐδὲν δεόν χρησάμενος καὶ ἄλλοις πτώμασι παραβάσεως ἑαυτὸν ὑποβάλοι· ὃς οὖν ἀηδῶς ἔχει  
350 πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν σύμπτωσιν τῶν πειρασμῶν καταμέμφεται, λανθάνει τὴν  
πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κηδεμονίας ἀποτρεπόμενος· σωφρόνων δ' ἂν εἴη  
μὴ τὸ ἡδὺν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιον ἀπανταχοῦ δοκιμάζειν.

43. Δύο τινές εἰσι μάχαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους γινόμεναι· μία μὲν διὰ γε τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν πράγματα, ἃ  
δὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ δόξα περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ κτήσις πρὸς ἀρετὴν τοῦ βελτίονος· ἑτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ κατ'  
355 ἄνθρωπον ταυτὶ συμβαίνοντα ἡμῖν ἐκάστοτε· ὅτι ὁ μὲν, κρείττων εἶναι ἢ ἐγὼ τὸ φρονεῖν πρὸς  
ἄλλους μεγαλαυχεῖ· ὁ δὲ, τὸ πλεον εἰδέναι ἢ κάλλιον κατὰ τινα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν· ὁ δὲ, τὸ εὖ  
γεγονέναι· ὁ δὲ, καὶ διαρπάζειν πειράται τὰ ὄντα καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν οἷς αὐτῷ μὴ καθήκει· ὁ δὲ,  
καὶ συκοφαντεῖ πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ διαλοιδореῖται στόμα πονηρίας καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνοιγνύς καὶ γλῶτταν  
ὥσει ὄφεως ἀκονῶν· [Fol. 17v] ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη, μέχρις αὐτοῦ θανάτου διαγωνιστέα παντὶ, τὸ  
360 τῶν μαρτυρῶν ὑπόδειγμα ἔχοντι, τοῦ μὴ χεῖρον πάντως καθ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῆς ὑποστῆναι μέρος  
καὶ τὸν αἰώνιον ἐντεῦθεν προμνηστεύσασθαι θάνατον, ἢ Θεὸν ἢ ἀρετὴν προεμένους· ἡ δ' ἑτέρα  
περιφρονητέα τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν, ὥς ἡ βραχύ τι βλάπτειν δεδυνημένη, ἢ οὐδὲν κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ  
λόγον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ πέρα δεινῶν, εἰ περὶ τῆς δοκούσης ἀτιμίας ἢ ζημίας διαμαχόμενοι,  
τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ὥς ἀληθῶς προστριβομένην τῇ ψυχῇ ζημίαν καὶ ἀτιμίαν περιοψόμεθα.

44. Ἐπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων ἡδέων ἐστὶ μὴ καὶ λύπην ἀκολουθοῦσαν ὁρᾶν, ἢ εὐθὺς ἢ μετ'  
365 ὀλίγον· ἴδιοι δ' ἂν τις τοῦτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς πρῶτον τῆς εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσόδου, τοῦ πρώτου δηλονότι  
ἀνθρώπου. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἅμα τῇ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσει τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης βρῶσεως καὶ τὰ τῆς  
λύπης εἶπετο· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς κατὰ μέρος γενέσεις ταῦτο τοῦτο συμβαίνει· τῆς γὰρ  
συλλήψεως μετ' ἡδονῆς γινομένης, μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ πικρίας ἐσχάτης καὶ κινδύνων, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ  
370 ἡ γέννησις προχωρεῖν εἴωθε· καὶ ἐφεξῆς δὲ κατὰ πάντα τὰνθρώπινα πράγματα διὰ τῶν τοιούτων  
ἐναντίων ἢ φύσις πρόεισι, πάσχουσα δηλαδὴ καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ τὰ μέγιστα  
καὶ [Fol. 18r] ἀνυσιμώτατα καθ' ἡμῶν μηχανήματα ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη κτείνει  
καὶ αὕτη οὐδὲν ἔλαττον θανατοῖ· ὃς οὖν τὴν πρώτην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ διαβόλου νικήσει, λέγω τὴν  
ἡδονὴν, ἀνέσπασε τὸ μηχανήμα ἐκ κρηπίδων· καὶ ἡδονῆς καταργηθείσης, οὐδὲ λύπη  
375 ἐποικοδομηθήσεται.

45. Ὁ μὴ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐθισθεὶς, οὐδὲ λύπης ἐξ ἐπηρείας τοῦ πειραστοῦ τὸ παράπαν  
ἐπιστραφήσεται· καὶ τοῦτο δηλὸν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς πεποίηκε νικήσας τὸν πειραστὴν τὰ ἡδέα τοῦ  
κόσμου ἐκείνῳ παρατιθέντα· εἶτα ὥς ἀπεκρούσθη, αὐτὸς τὰ τῆς λύπης ἐπαγαγόντα δι' ὕβρεων  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων, καὶ μὴ δ' οὕτως ἀνύσαντα· οὐ γὰρ  
380 ἀπλῶς διεφάνη τῆς λύπης ὑπέρτερος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡῤυχετο μεγαλοφρόνως πάνυ καὶ φιланθρώπως καὶ  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν λελυπηκότων.

46. Οἱ ἀκούσιοι πειρασμοὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ Θεοῦ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ  
μὴ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡμᾶς μὴ κενιῆσθαι βούλεσθαι, ἢ μὴ δὲ ἐθέλειν πειρασμόν τινα ἐκούσιον  
ὑπομένειν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν σάρκα ὑποτάξαι τῷ πνεύματι· ὅμως καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡμῖν συμφέρουσι καὶ



- 385 ἐτέρωθεν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ [Fol. 18v] τῆς κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσθαι, ὅπερ δὴ νόμος Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκείνης ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ κατὰ προαίρεσιν καταδεξόμεθα τὰ λυπηρὰ ἢ παρὰ προαίρεσιν· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχει διδάξαι ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐχ ὅπως δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πειρασμοὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ σάρκα καὶ πάντα ὑπέμεινεν ὅσα οὐδεὶς, ἐκεῖνο δεικνὺς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως
- 390 γένοιτο τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τυχεῖν δόξης πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι μὴ ἐκουσίως ἢ ἀκουσίως διαγωνιζόμενος, εὐχαρίστως καὶ μεθ' ὑπομονῆς τὸν παρόντα διεξέλθοι δίαυλον. χρή τοίνυν χαίρειν μὲν πειραζομένους διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα, λυπεῖσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ πειραζομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τεκμήριον ἐστὶ κηδεμονίας τῆς ἀνωτάτω, τὸ δὲ θείας ἐγκαταλείψεως καὶ ἀποστροφῆς.
- 395 **47.** Οὐκ ἀπεικότης ὀνείροις τὰ παρόντα εἰκέναι λέγεται πράγματα· καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, νῦν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὀνείρους φαντασίας στρατηγοὶ καὶ δημαγωγοὶ, ἔσθ' ὅτε χειροτονούμεθα καὶ πλούτου πολλοῦ γινόμεθα κύριοι καὶ περικείμεθα στολὰς ὑπερλάμπρους καὶ ἐπιδιδυμεύμεν οἱ μὴδὲν τοιοῦτον ἢ ἔχοντες [Fol. 19r] ἢ εὐρεῖν ἐλπίσαντες· ἄλλοτε δὲ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀφαιρούμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνείρων καὶ πένητες καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἐξαιφνης
- 400 δοκοῦμεν τοιοῦτό τι· καὶ ἐγγηγορότεροι ἀντικρυς πάσχομεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀνειρώδους τῶν παρόντων ἀκαταστασίας· καὶ γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκπίπτομεν τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιφθονωτάτων, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἐπιτυγχάνομεν· οὐκοῦν φαῦλοι τίνες ἂν εἴημεν ὀνείροις προσκείμενοι καὶ καταδαπανῶντες τὸν χρόνον, οὗ μὴδὲν ἐστὶ βέβαιον; οὔτε γὰρ ὅλως τὰ τῆς παρουσίας ἡδονῆς ἴσταιται, οὔτε δὲ τὰ τῆς λύπης· ἀλλὰ εἰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν φύσιν παντοῖα σχήματα καὶ πάσας μορφὰς διαμείβει, ὥσανει
- 405 τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ταύτῃ φορᾷ συνεξελιττόμενα, ἐκ δὴ τούτου μανθάνομεν, τί δὴ ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν καὶ μόνον ἀκίνητον ἐκζητεῖν.
- 48.** Οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸς τοὺς σωματικοὺς ἄθλους ἀποδυομένων δόκιμος ἀθλητῆς ἀναφαίνεται, εἰ μὴ τελεωτάτην προεισενέγκῃ τὴν ἄσκησιν· καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν βουλομένων καὶ νικᾶν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιὸν πάθος προελομένων ἴδιον ἂν γένοιτο σπούδασμα τὸ προαποθεῖναι σπουδάζειν ἐν τῇ
- 410 ψυχῇ ἐπιστήμην τινὰ καὶ ἀνδρίαν, δι' ὧν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συμπλοκῆς ὑπέρτερος ἀναφανήσεται τῶν κακῶν καὶ νικητῆς ἀπελεύσεται ἐστεφανωμένος. [Fol. 19v] οὗτος οὗτ' ἐν λόγοις ἀσχημονήσῃ ποτὲ οὔτε προπετῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰσθητηρίοις χρήσεται, οὐδ' ἀγνοήσῃ τὸ πρέπον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οἷόν τινων σφοδρωτάτων ῥευμάτων παρασυρήσεται· ἀλλ' ἀπταιστος καὶ ἡσύχιος παρελεύσεται πάντα μῆτε πρὸς τὰ ἡδέα μῆτε πρὸς τὰ λυπηρὰ ἐξιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν
- 415 ἀκυμάντῳ τινὶ λιμένι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξία παρ' ὅλον τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον ἐγκαθορμιζόμενος.
- 49.** Οὐ διωκτέον ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ μέντοιγε φευκτέον αἰσχροῦς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ἀτιμίας ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ πενίαν ἢ ὑγίειαν ἢ νόσον ἢ καθόλου εἰπεῖν τὴν σύμπασαν εὐημερίαν ἢ δυσημερίαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ὥσπερ αἱ μικρολόγοι ψυχὰ καὶ ἀγενεῖς δρᾶν εἰώθασι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλευθερίον προδιδούσαι· ἀλλ' οἰητέον ταῦτό τι δύνασθαι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκάτερον εὖ τιθέναι τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς
- 420 ἄνθρωπον καὶ μὴ τιθέναι, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον καὶ τῆς κακίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ἡδονὴν τε καὶ λύπην· οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀξιόλογον εἰς κτῆσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐξεταζόμενος, οὔτε δὲ πενία εἰς ἐμπόδιον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ κακοδαιμονίαν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχει τι τούτων τὸ ἀγαθὸν [Fol. 20r] ἢ κακὸν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰναντία ἢ ἔδοξε προξενήσαντα, ἂν ἄρα φαύλης ἢ χρηστῆς τύχῃ τῆς γνώμης· ἑαυτὰ τε ἡλεγεῖ
- 425 καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φεύγοντας ἢ διώκοντας. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὰ δι' ἑαυτὰ ἢ χρηστὰ ἐστὶν ἢ πονηρὰ· ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν λόγοις, καθὼς ἢ προαίρεσις περὶ αὐτὰ διατίθεται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καθὼς μετὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἢ ἐκτὸς περιπέτεια οἰκονομεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίοτε μεγάλῳ τις ἐχρήσατο βοηθῷ τῇ πενίᾳ ἐν περιστάσεσιν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ δόξαν τὸν πλοῦτον εὗρεν ἐπίβουλον, ὡς μὲν τύχῃ ἐκάτερον ἐλεγχθῆναι.
- 430 **50.** Οὐχὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα λυπεῖν ἡμᾶς ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἷτια τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὑποχαλῶντες τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόνον καὶ καταπροδιδόντες τὸ φρόνημα· καὶ δι' ἄλλα μὲν ἴσως, τὸ δὲ μεῖζον πάντων, ὅτι μὴ συνιέναι δυνάμεθα τὴν ἡδονὴν τε καὶ λύπην, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν· οὐδὲ κεκρῆσθαι οἱ χρή τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐκατέρων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀλλότρια μετατιθέναι πράγματα, ἅπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς φαντασίᾳ μόνῃ καὶ κενῇ δόξῃ εἶναι τι δοκεῖ, οὐσίᾳ δὲ οὐδαμῶς. οὐδὲν οὖν
- 435 διαφερόντως ποιοῦμεν ἢ εἰ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν τουτονὶ καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι· ἅς δὲ [Fol. 20v] σκιὰς ἔχουσιν ἐν πίναξιν διαγραφόμενας, αὐτὰς δὴ ταύτας εἶναι τὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἄκρα· ἀλλ' ἢ φύσις τὰ ἀεὶ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα, ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀξιοῖ ὀνομάτων, ἃ δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπογίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ ὀνομάζειν βούλεται· τῆς γὰρ οὐσίας ἐκείνων διολλυμένης, τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον, ὃ ἂν σχοίῃ τὴν προσηγορίαν; ὥστε εἰ καὶ δι' ἀστασίαν τῆς ὕλης ἢ τὴν τινῶν

440 μοχθηρίαν λυπεῖσθαι νομίζομεν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀμαθίαν ἡμετέραν ἢ ἄγνοϊαν τῆς ὄντως ἡδονῆς τε καὶ  
λύπης πολλῷ τοῦτο κάλλιον κινδυνεύομεν πάσχειν· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλο τι χρὴ τὴν αἰτίαν  
ἀναφέρειν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἡμᾶς γε αὐτοὺς; τὰ γὰρ ὄντως ἀγαθὰ μὴ διώκειν  
αἰρούμενοι προστιθέμεθα τοῖς ματαίοις, οἷς ἀποτυχία καὶ λύπη συνέζευκται τὸ ἀνώμαλον αὐτῶν  
κατηγοροῦσα καὶ ἄστατον.

445 **51.** Τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἄλλοθι ποι λέγοιτ' ἂν οἰκειότατα ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντως  
ὀρεκτῶν καὶ ἀπολαυστῶν, ἃ καὶ ἔστι Θεὸς καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοίωσις διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς τρόπων  
ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἡμῖν περιγινομένη· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ὥς ἐπαθλον ἀποκληρωθεῖσα παῦλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
κατὰ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτελεύτητον· λύπη δ' αὖ ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον [Fol. 21r] παντελῆς  
450 ἀπόπτωσις Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων ἐκ φαύλης ἀγωγῆς τε καὶ μοχθηρᾶς, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
παντὸς τοῦ χείρονος μετουσία πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἀνώλεθρον· ὦν εἰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν τυγχάνων τις ἢ  
ἀποτυγχάνων, ἦδεται ἢ λυποῖ τὸν ὁπότερον τύχοι, ἢ πραῦνεται ἢ ἐξαγριαίνεται θυμῷ χρῶμενος  
καὶ ἐπιθυμία, ποιοίη ἂν τὰ εἰκότα· ὅς δ' ἄγνων τὰ ὄντως ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ πονηρὰ, πρὸς γε τὰ οὐκ  
ὄντως τοιαῦτα καὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἐκείνων ἡδέα καὶ λυπηρὰ λεγόμενα πάσχει κατὰ τὴν γνώμην·  
καὶ τῇ συνεχεῖ τούτων ἐξαλλαγῇ καὶ περιτροφῇ χαίρει μὲν ἀπολαύων, στερισκόμενος δὲ  
455 δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ ὀργίζεται· ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔοικεν *ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ* κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἐκείνην εἰκόνα,  
ὅς ἔκτισε *τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου* καὶ *ἀνέμων ἐπιπνευσάντων* καὶ ὄμβρων κατασκηψάντων καὶ  
*ποταμῶν ἐπισυστάντων* κατέπεσεν ἡ οἰκία καὶ μάταιον τὸν πόνον ἐξήλεγξε· τοῦναντίον δ' ἅπαν  
καὶ πείσεται καὶ λεχθήσεται ὁ *τὴν οἰκίαν* κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον ἐδράσας *ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν* τῶν  
460 θείων καὶ ὑπερ ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν πρὸς τὰ κάτω τιθέμενος· ὁ γὰρ  
τοιοῦτος οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀταξίας τῆς φύσεως ἐπιβουλευθήσεται οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῆς μοχθηρίας τῶν  
φαύλων καὶ κακοσχόλων ἀνθρώπων. [Fol. 21v]

**52.** Οὔτε τὸν ἐπὶ δεινοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ἐξορίαν κατακριθέντα καὶ θάνατον χαίρειν ἔστι· πῶς γὰρ  
τὴν μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐκάστοτε προσδοκῶντα; οὔτε τὸν διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐντολῆς παράβασιν  
ἐκβεβλημένον τοῦ παραδείσου ἄνθρωπον εἰκὸς ἄλλο τι πάσχειν πλὴν τὸ λυπεῖσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τῆς  
465 ἡδονῆς τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης βρώσεως δίδωσι δίκας, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ λυπηθήσεται καὶ  
πάντα δεινὰ πείσεται, ὅποσα ἔστιν ἐναντία τῇ πρώτῃ πείρᾳ τῆς γεύσεως· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει καὶ  
τὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμᾶς θλίψεων δεῖ *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*· ὅς  
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνιώμενος σχετλιάζει καὶ δυσανασχετεῖ, ἀγνοεῖ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς εἰς τὸν  
κόσμον εἰσόδου· ἀγνοεῖ δὲ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως δυνηθεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐγγενομένην νόσον  
470 ἰάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας ἢ ἐκουσίου ἢ ἀκουσίου τῶν ἐπερχομένων δεινῶν λύπης· χρὴ  
τοίνυν τὰ συμπίπτοντα λυπηρὰ πάντ' ἄνθρωπον φέρειν καὶ καθαρμὸν ταῦτ' οἶεσθαι τῆς τε  
προπατορικῆς ἐκείνης κακίας καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἡμῖν ἐπιγενομένης καὶ ἀεὶ γινομένης· οὐ  
μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως αἰτία τοῦ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως ἀξιώματος.

**53.** Ὅς ἂν ἄλυπον βίον ζῆν βούλοιοτο ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπῳ τέχνην [Fol. 22r] προσθησαμένῳ τὸν  
475 θαλάττιον ἔκπλουν, εἴτ' ἄβρόχως καὶ ἀκυμάντως καὶ ἀπαθῶς διανήχεσθαι βουλομένῳ τὰ κύματα  
καὶ τὰς προβλήτας πέτρας καὶ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ λαύρως καταιγίζοντα πνεύματα· οὔτε τοίνυν εἰκὸς  
τὸν ἐφ' ὕγρᾳ διαβαίνοντα τῶν τηλικούτων κακῶν ἀπείρατον εἶναι οὔτε τὸν διὰ τοῦ παρόντος  
πορεύμενον βίου ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον· καὶ χρὴ διὰ τοῦτο καρτερεῖν πρὸς πάσας  
τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολάς.

**54.** Τοῖς μὲν τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένοις ἔστι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρίστης ὕλης ἐν  
480 τοῖς καθήκουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔργοις εὐδοκιμεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τὸ μέγα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον προσθησαμένους  
ἀντὶ παντὸς ἔργου, οὐχ ἥττον ἂν ἴδοι τις γενναιότατα κατωρθωκότας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς δοκούσης  
μοχθηροτέρας καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς· καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν οἷ γε τὰς εὐροίας τοῦ βίου καλῶς ὠκονομηκότες  
καὶ τὰς δυσκληρίας πολλῷ κάλλιον καὶ περιφανέστερον· Ἰῶβ μὲν γὰρ πενίαν καὶ πληγὴν καὶ τὰ  
485 μυρία τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐσύστερον πάθῃ ἀφορμὴν φιλοσοφίας μείζω πεποίηκε· Δαυὶδ δὲ αὐθις τὰς  
ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ διαβολὰς καὶ φυγὰς εἰς εὐσεβείαν πλείω καὶ καρτερίαν [Fol. 22v] καὶ εὐχαριστίαν  
καὶ πραότητα καὶ πάσαν εἰποῖ εὐγένειαν ἦθους σοφῶς μάλα καὶ εὐμεθόδως μετέθηκεν· ἐκάστω  
γὰρ τῶν συμπιπτόντων πραγμάτων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἂν τε λυπηρὸν ἢ ἂν τε ἡδὺ, διττὸν ὑπόκειται  
τέλος ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· ἡμῶν δ' ἂν εἴη τὸ κράτος εἰληφόντων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις δυοῖν ἥτερον  
490 ἐλέσθαι, ὁπότερον ἂν βουλοίμεθα· εἰ δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοι, μὴ ἀθυμῶμεν ἀλλ' εὐθυμῶμεν, ὥς καὶ  
ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων κερδαίνειν οἷοί τε ὄντες, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς περιπέσωμεν.

**55.** Εἰ τοῖς κακῶς ἡμᾶς λέγουσι καὶ συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ τὰ ὄντα προσδιαρπάζουσιν ἄραι καὶ  
κολάσεις ἀπόκεινται ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ νῦν ἢ μετέπειτα, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τοῦθ' ὁ προφήτης *οὐαὶ λέγων*  
*τοῖς ποτίζουσι τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν*, τοῖς δὲ γε πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ διαθλοῦσι γενναίως καὶ

495 ἀνθισταμένοις μεγαλοψύχως εὐλογίαι καὶ γέρα καὶ στέφανοι οὐχ ὁρῶ, πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον τούτους ἢ  
 ἐκείνους θρηνησάμην; ὁ δὲ καὶ Παῦλος ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἵνα τί φησι πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους *ἀδικοῦτε*  
*καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε*, καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ *μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε καὶ ἀποστερεῖσθε*; καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι ὥς εἶπερ ἐν  
 ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν τοὺς ἡδικοκώτας οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἐγένοντο, [Fol. 23r] οὐκ ἂν οὕτω παραπολὺ  
 500 μείζους εὐλόγησαν δίκας, ἢ ἃς ἐκεῖνοι καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐνηγίσαντο· εἰ δὲ λυπηρὸν ἡμῖν γε νομίζεται  
 τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐθυμεῖν καὶ κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῶν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσηκόντων καὶ κατεπαίρεσθαι  
 τῶν ἡδικοκώτων, νῦν δ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἰς πᾶν τοῦναντίον αὐτοῖς περίσταται τὰ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως·  
 οἰστέον σὺν προθυμίᾳ τὰ λυπηρὰ, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, καὶ χάριτας προσοφλητέον αὐτοῖς,  
 τὰ διὰ μακρῶν γε τῶν πόνων κτώμενα ἡμῖν ἀπονητὶ προξενούσιν.

505 **56.** Εἶδον αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι τῷ Πονηρῷ τεχνώμενον κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅταν γὰρ ὑπ'  
 ἀνδρῶν τινῶν θειοτέρων τὰ οἰκεῖα διαρπάσσεται σκευὴ ἄνδρας φημί βλάκας καὶ ἀτασθάλους καὶ  
 πάσαις ἀρρητουργίαις χαίροντας, ἀντεξανίσταται καὶ αὐτὸς· καὶ ἡ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὴν καλὴν  
 αἰχμαλωσίαν αἰχμαλωτίζομένους, μᾶλλον δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνασωζομένους, εἰς πόλεμον  
 διανίστησι καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ διαβολὴν τῶν ἄριστων ἐκείνων, ἢ ἐτέρους οὐδὲν διαφέροντας·  
 510 οὐκοῦν καὶ πείθει πάντα καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ὅποσα τὴν καλὴν ταύτην προθυμίαν ἀμβλύνει τῶν  
 παιδευτῶν ἢ τὴν ἀξίαν καταχρησιῶ· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν [Fol. 23v] στερροὶ τινες εἶεν καὶ ἀφιλότιμοι  
 προστάται τῆς ἀρετῆς, βέλη νηπίων οἰόμενοι τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλάς, προστιθέασιν τῷ ἔργῳ  
 μάλιστα· εἰ δ' ἀνάνδρως ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦκοντες ἢ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἠττώμενοι τῆς διαβολῆς,  
 ἦκιστα πρὸς τὸ κατορθούμενον ἴδοιεν, πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν λυπούντων ἐγείρονται καὶ  
 515 ἀνθυβρίζουσιν ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ ἀντιλυποῦσι, κἀντεῦθεν ἀποτυγχάνουσι καὶ τοῦ σπουδαζομένου,  
 καὶ γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνουσι καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ ἀνθρώποις, πρὸς οὓς εὐκαίρως ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν *δειλὸς*  
*εἰς πόλεμον μὴ ἐξίετω*.

**57.** Ἄτρεπτον αἰετὶ καὶ ἀναλλοιώτων κατὰ φύσιν τὸ θεῖον ὑπάρχον, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ  
 φιλόανθρωπον ἢ δίκαιον ἀγαθότητός ποτε μεταβάλλει· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τὰ μέγιστα ἡμαρτηκότας  
 εἴτα μετεγνωκότας ῥαδίως οἰκτεῖρει, καὶ εἰς ὅπερ ἦσαν ἀποκαθίστησι· τοῖς δ' ἐπιμένουσι τῇ  
 520 πονηρίᾳ ἐκ παντός γε δικάζει κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν πεπλημελημένων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολὺ γε  
 ἔλαττον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὥς ἂν καὶ οὕτω τὸ φιλόανθρωπον ἑαυτῷ σώσειε· δικάζει δὲ πάντως,  
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δικαστηρίου, εἴτε δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' εἰ φαύλους τινὰς  
 ὁρῶμεν μηδεμιᾶς ἐτι πειραθέντας ὀργῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτον, δυσχεραίνειν προσήκει· εἰ γὰρ  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν [Fol. 24r] ὅτε δήποτε δοῦναι δίκας, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀναβολῆς ἔσται κέρδος·  
 525 μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ πολλῷ σφοδρότερα ἐτοιμάζεται κόλασις, εἴ γε ἀδιόρθωτοι μένειναι· ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς τιμωρὸς ἀπαραίτητος· οὕτω δὲ καὶ μακρόθυμος καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἡμῶν γε  
 μακροθυμεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ ἑαυτοῦς ἢ καὶ τὸν πλησίον κακὰ πολλὰ πράξασιν.

**58.** Εἰ μηδεμία κοινωνία στήλαις καὶ ἀνδριάσι πρὸς ἃ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχουσιν· ἀλλοτριούνται  
 γὰρ ἐκείνων καθάπαξ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν ἐνέργειαν,  
 530 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ παρόντα εἰκόνες τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὰς προσηγορίας εἴληφε· πολλῆς ἂν  
 εἴη ἀνοίας ἡμᾶς ἐξέχεσθαι τῶν εἰκόνων τὰ ἀρχέτυπα προεμένους· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὴν δοκοῦσαν  
 ἡδονὴν τε καὶ λύπην καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ ὑγίαν καὶ νόσον καὶ  
 λοιδορίαν καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ πάντα τὰνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ πονηρὰ, ἢ σπουδαστέον ἂν μὴ παρῇ  
 κτήσασθαι ἢ φευκτέον ἂν ἄρα παρῇ, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἡμῖν ἔνυται ἐκεῖσε μεθισταμένοις καὶ ὁ ἡμῖν ἔσται  
 535 ἀθάνατον τὴν κτῆσιν παρεσχηκός. [Fol. 24v]

**59.** Ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τὰς ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ ἀλόγους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρέξεις καὶ τὴν θορυβώδη τούτων  
 ὀχλοκρατίαν καταδημαγωγῇ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταστήσῃ νόμοις ὑποταγῆς, τότε δὴ τότε τῶν  
 τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ὡς ἀληθῶς γνωρίζεται καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑαυτὰ καὶ θεόδοτον  
 περισώζει ἀξίωμα· εἰ δ', ὅποι ἂν ἐκεῖνα προστάξειεν, ἐκεῖ κατακολουθήσει, Σολομῶν ἄλλος  
 540 γίνεται· σοφίαν μὲν καὶ γνῶσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ εἴληφώς ἄρχειν καὶ διακρίνειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν, ἀφείς  
 δὲ Θεὸν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον ἐξουθενήσας καὶ κατακολουθήσας ὥσπερ *γυναιξὶν ἄλλοφύλοις*  
*ταῖς οἰκεῖαίς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ εἰδωλα καὶ βωμοὺς ἀκαθαρσίας αὐταῖς ἀνοικοδομήσας*, καὶ  
 τὸ *ὕψηλόν* ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐγείρας τῆς ὑπερηφανίας φρόνημα *τῷ Χαμῶς εἰδῶλῳ Μωάβ·* διὸ καὶ παρὰ  
 Θεοῦ ἀκούσει, *διαρρήσων διαρρήξω τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐκ χειρός σου καὶ δώσω αὐτὴν τῷ δούλῳ*  
 545 *σου*, τουτέστι κατάρξει σου ἡ ἀνομία σου, ἐπεὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῆς ἐπορεύθης, δούλος ἀντὶ βασιλείας  
 γενόμενος.

**60.** Πρωτότυπον ἑαυτὸν ὁ Θεὸς εἰκόνα παντὸς ἡμῖν ἔστησεν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄπορον οὐδὲ  
 ἀνέφικτόν ἐστι τοῦ καλοῦ, ὃ μὴ καὶ εὐρεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν δυνάμεθα· [Fol. 25r] ὑπομιμνήσκει γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς πρῶτα μὲν ἡ κτίσις αὐτῇ τῆς ἐκείνου σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀγαθότητος, καθ' ἣν

550 ἀκάματον τοῦ παντός ἔχει πρόνοιαν· καὶ αὖ ἐτι τούτου τρανότερον ἢ ἄρρητος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 συγκατάβασις, δι' ἣν μεθ' ἡμῶν πολιτευσάμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος μυστήρια τῆς  
 πατρικῆς βουλῆς ἐφανερώσεν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὸν ἔμψυχον ἡμῖν τῆς ἀπλανοῦς θεογνωσίας  
 καὶ ἀρετῆς ὑπεζωγράφησεν ἀνδριάντα· οὐκ οὐδ' ἄγνοιαν λοιπὸν τοῦ καλοῦ οὐδ' ἀδυναμίαν  
 555 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως προβαλούμεθα, ἀλλοὺς ῥαθυμίαν ἐγκληθησόμεθα καὶ περιφρόνησιν, ὅτι  
 τοιοῦτον παιδευτὴν ἔχοντες ἀρετῆς καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διδασκόμενοι, ἀργοὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ καλὸν διεμείναμεν καὶ μάταιον τὸν σκοπὸν, δι' ὃν καὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀπηλέγξαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 πρώτης πλάσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας.

61. Σαοὺλ ποτὲ καταδιώκων Δαυὶδ τὸν πραότατον, οὐχ' οἷός τε κατασχεῖν γέγονεν, ἦν γὰρ ὁ  
 δίκαιος ὥσπερ τινὶ χαλκῷ θριγγίῳ πεφυλαγμένος τῇ συνούσῃ [Fol. 25v] πραότητι· καὶ ὁ τῆς  
 560 σαρκὸς δὲ νόμος καὶ τὸ ταύτης φρόνημα τὸν πνευματικὸν νόμον διώκων ὑφ' αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι  
 ὡς ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἔξει ῥαδίαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, εἴγε μεθ' ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς  
 ἴσης τῷ δικαίῳ πραότητος κατὰ τοῦ πικροῦ τοῦδε τυράννου διαγωνίζοιτο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο  
 νικητὴν ἀπανταχοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖν δύναται, ὡς πραότης τῇ ταπεινώσει συνεζευγμένη· καὶ  
 μαρτυρεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ τελώνης πρὸς τὸν μέγαλαυχον ταπεινούμενος καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς  
 565 δούλον μορφήν ἀνειληφώς καὶ ταπεινωθεὶς μέχρι θανάτου καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποκτείνας, ἐν οἷς  
 πᾶσαν ὕβριν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ὑπήνεγκε.

62. Νοῦς αἴσθησις, λόγος γράμμα, πνεῦμα σὰρξ, τριάς ἀρίστη μεθ' ἐτέρας τριάδος  
 συνεζευγμένη· τὰ δευτέρα διὰ τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τάξει καὶ ἀξίᾳ προέχει· ὃς οὖν ὡς διὰ  
 γεφύρας τινὸς τῶν δευτέρων τὴν παροῦσαν διαβῆ δουλείαν οἷόν τινα Αἴγυπτον καὶ τῷ κριτικῷ  
 570 καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πνεύματι τὴν ἄλμυρὰν ταύτη καὶ αἱματώδη τοῦ βίου διασχίσει θάλασσαν, ἥξει ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἔρημον τῶν παθῶν χώραν· ἔνθα ἡμέρας μὲν δροσερᾷ νεφέλῃ κατασκιαζόμενος τῇ παρακλήσει  
 [Fol. 26r] τοῦ λόγου, νυκτὸς δὲ στύλῳ φωτὸς ὁδηγούμενος τῇ ἐλλάμψει τοῦ παρακλήτου καὶ  
 εὐθαρσῶς καὶ γενναίως τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἐπιβουλεύοντας διερχόμενος, εἰς τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην αὐτῷ  
 γῆν καταφθάσει, τὴν ἀπαθὴν δηλονότι καὶ νοερὰν κατάστασιν τῶν δικαίων· ἔνθα καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 575 γεγωνὸς, ἅτε παντὸς ὄχλου καὶ παθῶν καὶ λογισμῶν καθαρεύσας, τῆς μακαρίας τρυφῆς καὶ  
 διαγωγῆς ἀπολαύσει, καὶ τῇ παραθέσει τῶν πρώτων ὑπερθαυμάσας τὰ δευτέρα· χαρήσεται μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις, λυπηθήσεται δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ὅπως τῇ παρὰ θάτερον πείρᾳ οὐδὲ θάτερον ἐξηπίστατο.

63. Οὔτε κακίαν οἶδέ τις ἔως ἐνεστι ταύτῃ, οὔτε δὲ ἀρετὴν ἔως ἄπεστι ταύτης· ὁ γὰρ ἐν σκότει  
 πλανώμενος οὔτε τὰ τοῦ σκότους ἐπίσταται οὔτε τὰ τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶν ἄγνοια ἢ ἁμαρτία  
 580 ἀρετῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ κακίας· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν μεταστῇ χώραν καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς  
 ἀπογεύσεται ἡδονῆς, τότε γίνεται ἐν αἰσθήσει, οἷου στερόμενος ὕψους καὶ ἐν οἴῳ κείμενος βάθει,  
 καὶ παρεφρόνει καὶ κατεφρόνει· ὅταν γὰρ φησὶν Ἡσαίας ἀποστραφεὶς στενάξης, τότε σωθήσῃ καὶ  
 γνώσῃ ποῦ [Fol. 26v] ἦσθα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἡδονὴ βραχεῖα τις ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ δρᾶσθαι  
 μόνῳ τὸ εἶναι αὐχεῖ, παρερχομένου δὲ τοῦ ὑπεκκαύματος ἢ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπιμπλαμένης καὶ  
 585 τὸ ἡδυνον αὐτίκα πέπαιται· τοιαύτῃ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καταστάσις ἀκαριαία καὶ  
 εὐόριστος· τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ πεπαῦσθαι ἡδονὴ  
 τις σύμφυτος ἐνιζάνει, τῇ ψυχῇ κατὰ συνέχειαν συμπαρομαρτοῦσα καὶ τὰ τῆς μισθαποδοσίας  
 ἐνέχυρα τῆς μελλούσης ἐνθένδε κατεγγυωμένη.

64. Τέσσαρα αἵτια παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος προηγείται· πρῶτον μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἄλογον ἡδονὴν τῆς  
 590 ψυχῆς ἡττα, δεύτερον ἡ ἀδιάθετος γνῶσις πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, τρίτον ἡ παράχρησις τῶν συνοίκων τῇ  
 φύσει παθῶν, καὶ τετάρτον ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον παρατροπὴ, ὃ δὴ καὶ κακῶν ἐστὶν  
 ἔσχατον ὁμοῦ τε καὶ πρῶτον· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τρία συμβαίνουσι τοῖς πιστοῖς, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον μόνων  
 αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀπίστων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡττα συμβαίνει πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς σπουδαιοτέροις αὐτοῖς, διὸ  
 καὶ παραχρῆμα λυποῦνται καὶ διορθοῦνται· ἡ δὲ ἀδιάθετος γνῶσις τοῖς [Fol. 27r] συνηθείᾳ μόνῃ  
 595 καὶ ψιλῇ τινὶ γνώσει τὸ καλὸν εἰδόσι καὶ τὸ κακὸν· οἱ καὶ πράττοντες μὲν τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς χαίρουσι,  
 παυόμενοι δὲ οὔτε χαίρουσιν οὔτε λυποῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔχουσι τὸ μέσον ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης  
 κατάστημα· ἡ δὲ παράχρησις γίνεται, ὅποταν εὐλογον θυμὸν ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ὀρμήσας τις πρᾶξαι,  
 ἔπειτα εἰς ἀμετρίαν ἐκπεσὼν, λάθῃ τὰ ἀδιάβλητα διαβεβλημένα ποιήσας, τῷ δὲ τοιοῦτῳ σύντομος  
 ἢ διόρθωσις ἔπεται ἀπὸ τῆς υπερβολῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μεσότητα καταστάντι· ἡ δ' ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ καλοῦ  
 600 πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα, ὅταν ἀπὸ πλάνης τινῶν πονηρῶν ἢ δαιμόνων ἢ ἀνθρώπων διατεθῶσι· τινὲς ὡς  
 πρὸς νόμον τὴν ἀνομίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην μὲν οἶωνται τὴν ἀκολασίαν, εὐσέβειαν δὲ τὴν  
 ἀσεβείαν· ὅποιοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι, οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ποιοῦντες τὰ τῆς  
 ἡδονῆς χαίρουσι καὶ παυόμενοι ἀνιῶνται, ὅτι μὴ δύνανται κατὰ συνέχειαν δρᾶν.

605 **65.** Τρισὶ μέρεσιν ἀναγκαίοις οὖσι τῇ λογικῇ φύσει ἐνφοκοδόμησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν νοερὰν καὶ θείαν  
 ψυχὴν, λόγῳ τε καὶ θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, καὶ ἀχρεῖον ἕκαστον εἰς ἐργασίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν δυνάδα  
 προσλάβοι· [Fol. 27v] καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῶν πρακτέων χρεῖαν ἔχει ὁ λόγος προδιασκέψασθαι τὰ πρακτὰ  
 καὶ διακρίναι τί μὲν φαῦλον, τί δὲ χρηστὸν καὶ τί μὲν ποιητέον, τί δ' οὐ ποιητέον· εἴτα τὴν  
 610 ἐπιθυμίαν λαβεῖν συνέριθον καὶ συμπαραστάτην πρὸς τὰ κρινόμενα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ὥσπερ  
 ὀπλίτην καὶ συλλήπτορον τὸν θυμὸν· εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην εὐταξίαν κινεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ,  
 ἀρίστων ἔργων δημιουργὸς γίνεται· εἰ δὲ συγγεῖται ἡ τάξις καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν πραττομένων  
 ἐξάρχει, ὁ δὲ λόγος οἷόν τι ἀνδράποδον ἔλκεται, ἄλογα τὰ πραττόμενα ἀποβαίνει φορᾷ μόνῃ  
 ἐπιθυμίας καὶ θυμοῦ γινόμενα· οὕτω δ' ἔχοντος τούτου, δεῖται καὶ τὸ λογικὸν αὐθις μέρος ἢ θείας  
 τινὸς χάριτος εἰς τὸ τὰ δέοντα προορᾶν καὶ ἀνεπισφαλῶς καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, ἢ γοῦν  
 615 μαθήσεως καὶ πείρας μακρᾶς πρὸς τὸ διορᾶν τὰ πρακτέα καὶ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῆς  
 ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστιν ἐνέργεια νοῦ, οἷον καὶ προφηται καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν ἔσχον  
 ἄγιοι· τὸ δὲ γε δευτέρον διανοίας ἀνθρώπων φρονιμωτάτων καὶ λογικαῖς ἐπιστήμας  
 ἐγκατατετριμμένων, ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων δόξη μόνῃ καὶ φαντασίᾳ ἢ λογικῇ πλανᾶται ψυχὴ, ὀλίγων  
 μὲν ἐπιτυχάνουσα, τῶν δὲ πλείστον ἀποτυγχάνουσα. [Fol. 28r]

620 **66.** Εἰς τρία μέρη τῆς λογικῆς διαιρουμένης ψυχῆς, λόγον δηλονότι θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν·  
 προκαθίηται μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν ὥσπερ ἡγεμόν τις ὁ λόγος, κἂν μὲν αἰεὶ πειθήνια ταῦτ' ἔχῃ καὶ  
 ὑπόσπονδα ἑαυτῷ, λογοειδῆ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐργάζεται, καὶ διὰ πάντων νικᾷ τῶν συμβαινόντων  
 πραγμάτων οὔτε λύπαις ἐκ τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρους ἠττώμενος οὐθ' ἡδοναῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ· εἰ  
 δ' ἀγέρωχα καὶ στασιώδη ἐκ μοχθηρᾶς ἀγωγῆς ἢ τροφῆς γεγονότα, ἀφήρηται λοιπὸν τὴν, ἣν  
 625 εἴληφεν, ἐξουσίαν μετὰ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἀρχόμενος ἄρχων καὶ δοῦλος δεσπότης γίνεται, νῦν μὲν  
 θυμοῖς ἀλόγοις ὑποσυρόμενος, νῦν δ' ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ κατ' οὐδένα καιρὸν τὸ ἴδιον διασώζει  
 ἀξίωμα· ἀλλὰ εἰ ἀνθελκόμενος ἢ διασπώμενος ὥς ὑπὸ τινων σφοδροτάτων δημίων τῶν  
 συμπιπτόντων παθῶν, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ὥς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ὀξυτέρας τὰς ῥοπὰς ὑφίσταται· ὅθεν καὶ  
 630 πολλάκις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν δοκῶν τοῦ χειρόνος καὶ βελτίονος, ἀνεπιστήμων παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 ἐλέγχεται καὶ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περιγίνεται ὄφελος, ἢ ἐκ τῆς προησκημένης ἔξεως, εἰ  
 οὕτως ἔτυχεν ἔχων, ἢ ἐκ τῆς φυσικῆς· διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἕως ἂν μὴδὲν τι  
 διοχλῇ τῶν [Fol. 28v] ἔξωθεν, ἐπιστήμονες ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ κριταὶ νομίζονται τῶν πρακτέων·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐμπέσωσιν εἰς αὐτὰ γε τὰ πράγματα, ἄλογοι παντελῶς καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γνωρίζονται, οὗ  
 θεραπείᾳ ἢ δι' ἐμπειρίας γνῶσις καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα μάλιστα ἔνστασις, τῷ μὲν θυμῷ  
 635 ἀντιστρόφως κατὰ τῆς λύπης χρωμένη, τῇ δ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

640 **67.** Ὡσπερ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους ἔσχε τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ ἐπικοινωνοῦσιν  
 ἀλλήλοις τῷ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ὀνομάζεται ἕκαστον· οὕτω δὲ καὶ  
 αἱ τέσσαρες γενικαὶ ἀρεταὶ ὕλην μὲν ἔχουσι τὴν τριμέρειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, εἶδος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν  
 προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸν θύραθεν λόγον, δι' ὧν ῥυθμίζονται καὶ σχηματίζονται πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον· διὸ  
 645 καὶ μεταδιδόασιν ἀλλήλαις τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως· ἢ γὰρ φρόνησις τὴν ἀνδρείαν παρασκευάζει,  
 τῆς δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐπικρατούσης ἢ σωφροσύνη γίνεται καὶ λοιπὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφύεται· καὶ ἡ  
 δικαιοσύνη οὕσα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀρετὴ, περὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἴσου διανομὴν καταγίνεται, τὰς  
 πλεονεξίας καὶ μειονεξίας ἐκφεύγουσα, κοινωνοὺς δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς  
 προσλαμβάνουσα τοῦ ὀνόματος· ἅτε κἀκεῖνας μεσότηας [Fol. 29r] οὕσας καὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐξίσου  
 ἀφεστηκυίας ὥσπερ αὐτὴ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ φρόνιμος δίκαιος, ὅτι τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ πονηρίαν ἐξέφυγε,  
 650 καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος δίκαιος, ὅτι τὴν θρασυτητα καὶ δειλίαν ἐξέκλινε, καὶ ὁ σώφρων ὁμοίως, ὅτι οὐδ'  
 αὐτὸς ἡλιθιότητος ἢ ἀκολασίας μετέσχε· τὴν μὲν οὖν ὕλην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν ὁποτέρως  
 ἂν βούλοιτο τις καλεῖν, ἅπαντες καὶ αἰεὶ φυσικῶς ἔχομεν, εἰ μὴ διὰ πῆρωσιν ἐσθ' ὅτε λελωβήμεθα  
 ἢ γεγηρακότες ἀπεβαλόμεθα τὰς δυνάμεις, τῆς δ' ἐπιστημονικῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἔξωθεν  
 655 προσδεόμεθα· ἐπιμελητέον τοίνυν αὐτῆς ὅση δύναμις, μήπως ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἡμεληκότες ἢ καὶ  
 ἀμαθῶς χρώμενοι, πονηρὸν εἶδος λάθωμεν περιθέντες τῇ τῆς φύσεως ὕλῃ ἀντὶ χρηστοῦ καὶ  
 ἀχρεῖα γενώμεθα κτίσματα.

**68.** Οὔτε κόσμος συνεστάναι δύναται χωρὶς τῶν τεσσάρων δραστικῶν ποιότητων, εἴτουν  
 ξηρότητος, ὑγρότητος, ψυχρότητος καὶ θερμότητος, ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα  
 655 κεράννυνται, οὔτε ὅλως τι τῶν συνθέτων σωμάτων ἄνευ τῶν ἀπλῶν τουτωνὶ σωμάτων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς κόσμος ὁ μέγας τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἄφθαρτος [Fol. 29v] καὶ ἀθάνατος δύναται ἀπαρτισθῆναι,  
 εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν· παρὰ μέρος γὰρ εἶναι τι τῶν ὅλων ἡκρωτηριασμένον  
 καὶ ἀτελὲς φαίνεται καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν τέλειον λόγον, οὐπὲρ ἔστιν, ἀποσώζει· ὥστε καὶ καθαρῶς  
 λέγεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ἢ αὐτοσοφία καὶ ἐπιστήμη τῶν ὄντων

ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ἀποφαινόμενος, τὸν μέρος παραβάντα τοῦ νόμου ὅλως παραβῆναι φησὶ καὶ  
 660 εἰκότως· εἰ γὰρ εἰκόνα τῶν νοουμένων τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἐδημιούργησεν εἶναι, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ τὰ  
 κατὰ τὴν πρακτικὴν τε καὶ νοερὰν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐργασίαν ὡς ἐκεῖνα τὴν οὐσίαν κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς  
 ὕπαρξιν τοῦ καλοῦ.

69. Ὅν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τουτωνὶ καὶ ἀπλῶν σωμάτων, ἃ δὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα καλεῖται,  
 κυκλική τις ἡ γένεσις γίνεται καὶ ἔστιν ἡ τούτου φθορὰ, τοῦ προσεχοῦς γένεσις καὶ αὐθις ἡ τούτου  
 665 τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸ, ὡς ἐξ ἀλλήλων λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 γενικῶν ἀρετῶν ὁμολογουμένως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι, πλὴν οὐ φθειρομένων ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τῶν πρώτων  
 καὶ ἐξ ὧν τὰ δευτέρα γίνεται· μενουσῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν κατὰ φθοράν, οὐχ ὑφισταμένων μεταβολὴν·  
 εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, καὶ αὖξιν διὰ τοῦτο λαμβανουσῶν· τὸ δ' αἴτιον, [Fol. 30r] ὅτι ἐκεῖνα  
 670 μὲν σώματα ὄντα καὶ ἐκ μερῶν συγκείμενα ρεῖ πως ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ πρὸς ἕτερα μεταχωρεῖν, ὃν  
 ἔφημεν τρόπον, αἱ δ' ἀρεταὶ τὸ εἶναι σώματα μὴ λαχοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις ψυχῆς ἄνλοι καὶ  
 ἀσώματοι· αὐταὶ μὲν ὅπερ εἰσι μένουσιν, ἀπαθῶς δὲ ἀλλήλαις μεταδιδόασιν τῆς γενέσεως.

70. Ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων τῶν στοιχείων γένεσις οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν γενομένη πέπαυται·  
 μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ὁμοῦ γεγονότων ἀπάντων καὶ μίαν εἰληφότων ἀρχὴν· κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἐξωθεν  
 λόγους τὴν ὕλην, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κέλευσιν· ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀεὶ γεννᾶται καὶ  
 675 ἀεὶ φθείρεται καὶ εἰς ἀγὼν ἔστι τοῖς τέσσαρσιν· οὗτος ἀκάματος τὴν γένεσιν διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς  
 τὴν φθορὰν καὶ αὐθις τὴν φθορὰν πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συνθέτων τουτωνὶ  
 σωμάτων ὁρῶμεν ἀεὶ γινόμενον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις σταίη, ἐκεῖ μὲν σπασμὸς γενοίτ' ἂν τῶν πρώτων  
 καὶ ἀσυνθέτων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ φθορὰ καὶ διάλυσις τῶν συνθέτων· καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν δὲ γένεσις  
 680 προχωρεῖ ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς ἐντελέχειαν τοῖς κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτευομένοις· εἴτα γίνονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων  
 μὴ φθειρομένων τῶν πρώτων, ὡς ἔφημεν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν [Fol. 30v] ἐκ φρονήσεως  
 γεγονότα ἀνδρεῖον τῆς φρονήσεως μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀνδρείας σῶφρονα μὴδ' αὐτὸν  
 τῆς αἰτίας καταφρονεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ σωφροσύνης δίκαιον πρόνοιαν τοῦ πρώτου κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ποιεῖσθαι· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὑποκειται τι, πόθεν ἂν τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου γένοιτο; ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θεωρίας  
 685 περιωπὴν ἐπιβῇ τις, οὐδαμῶς προσήκει τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀπολείπεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τῆς θεωρίας ἔστιν ἡ  
 πρᾶξις ἐπίβασις, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτα φιλοσοφήσασιν εἴρηται, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι στήσεται καὶ θεωρήσει, μὴ  
 τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπανέχουσαν ἔχουσα· οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ οἶκος ἂν σταίη ποτὲ τῆς κρηπίδος ὑποσπασθείσης  
 ἢ ἀμεληθείσης.

71. Δύναμις παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐγκειμένη τῇ φύσει τῶν λογικῶν πάσης ἐπιστήμης προηγείται καὶ  
 τέχνης θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων· προαίρεσις δὲ αὐτὴν μετὰ μελέτης παραλαβοῦσα εἰς ἐντελέχειαν  
 690 ἀποπερατοῖ· καὶ ἵνα σαφέστερον εἴποιμι, δύναμιν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκε παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ὕλην καὶ  
 ὄργανα, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν χαρίσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνην· τί γὰρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων παρὰ τῇ  
 πάντα δυναμένῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τινὸς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀπαντῶντες τὸ  
 αὐτεξούσιον [Fol. 31r] τῆς λογικῆς ἀπολέσωμεν φύσεως καὶ χαρίσματι ἐτέρῳ χαρίσματος ἐτέρου  
 ἐκπέσωμεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖοι τινες ἐλεγχθῶμεν ἀνδριάντες, ὥσπερ ὑπ' ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ  
 695 τινος ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' ἑαυτῶν εἰσφέροντες τῇ μορφῇ τῆς εἰκόνης; οὐ χεῖρον δ' εἰπεῖν  
 καὶ κολοίων ἐπισπασώμεθα καθ' ἑαυτῶν σκώμματα, ξένοις καὶ αὐτοῖς παντάπασιν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι  
 καλλωπισθέντες πετροῖς.

72. Ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὄρεξις· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔλοιτο  
 τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λογισμῶν κρίσιν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ χαρίσαιτο ἄνθρωπος, ποῦ ἂν καὶ ἐν  
 700 τίνι ἐτέρῳ τὴν λογικὴν δύναμιν δείξειεν; ὥστε οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μετὰ τοῦ λογιστικοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ  
 ἀρετῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐλάμβανε· πῶς ἂν ἡ λογικὸς καὶ αὐτεξούσιος ὠνομάζετο μὴ ἔχων  
 οὗ ἂν ἐκείνῳ χρήσαιτο; ἢ σπουδαῖος καὶ ἐπιθυμητὴς τοῦ καλοῦ, ὥσπερ δὴ κάκεῖνο παρὰ Θεοῦ;  
 καὶ συνέβαινε λοιπὸν ἢ τοῦ ἐτέρου προσθήκη ἀφαίρεσις εἶναι θατέρου καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἄδοξος,  
 705 ὡς μήτε λογικὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κρίνεσθαι λογικὸν κατεσκευασμένον μήτε ὡς ἀληθῶς [Fol. 31v]  
 σπουδαῖον, ἅτε μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο κεκινημένον· ἐπόμενον οὖν ἦν λογικῷ γεγονότι καὶ  
 αὐτεξουσίῳ τῷ ζῶν τούτῳ, μὴ ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 κειμένην προαίρεσιν· κατὰ λόγον τοίνυν δημιουργῶν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λογικὸν μὲν εἶναι ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης ἐποίησε καὶ ὡς οὐσίαν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δέδωκεν· οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖον διὰ τὸ  
 710 δυνατόν εἶναι τοῦτο παραγενέσθαι ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ὡς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν συμβαῖνον καὶ ἔργον  
 μετὰ γενναίας παρασκευῆς, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῆς μάχης αὐτουργεῖν ἀξιοῖ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μάτην  
 ἐκείνῳ περιέθηκε τὴν ἀξίαν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι ταύτῃ.

73. Οὐ φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ ἀρετὴ πρόσσεστιν ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰσθητηρίοις ἄλλαι ἐνέργειαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει τινὶ ἀπὸ μελέτης εἰς ἐνέργειαν προελθοῦσα· εἰ γὰρ  
 715 μὴ τοῦτ' ἦν, πάντες ἂν ἦσαν καὶ παῖδια καὶ ἄνδρες αὐτοδίδακτοι, μηδενὸς πρὸς τοῦτο ἢ διδασκάλου ἢ πόνου ἢ μελέτης χρονίας δεόμενοι· ποῦ δ' ἂν ἦν ὅλως ἐνδοξον τὸ [Fol. 32r] τοσοῦτον χρεῖμα τὸ καὶ θείας μοίρας ἡξιωμένον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπόνως καὶ αὐτεξουσίως ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, μηδὲν οἰκοθεν περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ταύτης προσταλαίπωρήσαντα; διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις μὲν αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ δέδοται ἡ ἐπιτηδειότης, ὕλη δὲ τὰ πρακτὰ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὄργανα, οἷς ἂν  
 720 χρῶτο προσφόροις οὖσιν εἰς ἐργασίαν τῆς μέντοι ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσιν· ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ ἐπιβάλλουσα αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ συνουσιῶται· οὔτε γὰρ τις κύνα διώκειν ἢ ὑλακτεῖν ἐδίδαξε πώποτε οὔτε δελφῖνα νήχεσθαι, οὐδ' ἵππον τρέχειν, οὐδὲ λαγῶν ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πτηνὸν ἐτέσθαι· οὕτω δίκαιος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις καὶ τοῖς λογικοῖς φαίνεται· ἃ μὲν τῶν ζώων λόγῳ ἐκόσμησε τὸ φύσει προσεῖναι τὰ βελτίω μὴ δεδωκώς, ἃ δ' ἀλογία συνέξευξε δι' ἀδυναμίαν λοιπὸν ἀπόνως αὐτὰ χαρισάμενος.

74. Τελεία ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ τό γε περὶ Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα εὐνομεῖν πράγματα, βίου λαμπροῦ καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης ἐξεχομένους· ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἵνα τεκμήριον παρέχωμεν, ὡς εἰδότες ἐσμέν, μάλιστα τὴν ποιητικὴν τοῦ παντὸς τοῦδε καὶ συνεκτικὴν καὶ προνοητικὴν δυνάμιν καὶ αἰτίαν ἡμῖν τοῦ καλοῦ· τὸ δὲ, ἵν' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τεκμήριον παρέχωμεν, ὡς μετὰ [Fol. 32v] τοῦ εἶναι Θεὸν παραγωγέα τῶν πάντων, καὶ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἅγιον φρονοῦμεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐθύνομεν πράγματα.

75. Οὔτε σῶμα μόνον οἷόν τε εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὔτε ψυχὴν ἀλλ' ἄμφω πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ μετὰ τὴν διάστασιν ἀλλήλων τὸ μὲν σῶμα φθείρεται, ψυχὴ δ' ἔστιν αἰεὶ· οὐδ' οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἔν ποιεῖν δύναται τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ συνθέτου, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκοδομικὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἄνευ ὀργάνου πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν οἰκίας ἐπιτηδεῖα ἐστὶν· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σώζειν τὴν ψυχὴν δυνάμεως ἔχει πάννυ τι ὁμολογουμένως· οὔτε γὰρ ὑγιὲς δόξα περὶ Θεὸν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπίγνωσις ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς Θεοῦ οἰκειώσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄνευ βίου καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης, οὔτε δὲ τοῦτο χωρὶς ἐκείνου ἀξιόλογον· οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμελητέον, εἴπερ ἡμῖν μέλει τοῦ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀποτελέσματος.

76. Πάντα τὰ αὐξανόμενα σώματα καὶ σωζόμενα δεῖται καὶ πόσεως καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἔν χωρὶς ἀμφοτέρων ἴδοι τις ἂν, τὴν φυσικὴν αὔξιν ἢ σύστασιν ἔχον· ψυχὴ δὲ ὁμοίως δυσὶ τούτοις καὶ αὐξεται καὶ συνίσταται, ἀρετῇ δηλονότι καὶ θεογνωσίᾳ· [Fol. 33r] καὶ ἄτερον ἀφέλῃ τις, μάταιον ἄτερον ὑπολείπεται· καὶ οὐ δεῖ θαρρεῖν εὐσεβεῖα ὑγιὺς βίου ἡμεληκότας, οὐδὲ μέντοι γε βίῳ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἀποπλανηθέντας· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι ζῆν καθ' ἑαυτὸ σῶμα αἰσθητικὸν χωρὶς ψυχῆς ἢ ψυχὴν ἐνεργεῖν χωρὶς ὀργάνου καὶ τὰς σφετέρας δυνάμεις ἐνδείκνυσθαι· οὕτως οὐδ' ἔνι ὁποῖον οὖν θατέρου δυνάμιν συμπληροῦν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θάνατον ψυχῆς ἀμαρτίαν ὥρισαντο, εἴτε τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ καλοῦ, εἴτε τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

77. Ἡ ἐνδιάθετος εὐσέβεια τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐνδιάθετον συνίστησιν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡ ἐνδιάθετος ἀρετὴ τὴν ἐνδιάθετον εὐσέβειαν μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ ἑτέρα δι' ἑτέρας συνίσταται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τεκμήριον γινόμενὴ τῆς ἄλλης· οὐκ οἶδα τοίνυν, πῶς ἂν τις εὐσεβοίῃ μὴ καθαρὸν βίον προβεβλημένος· πῶς δ' αὖ ὑγιὺς ἀνθέξεται βίου, μὴ Θεὸν καθαρῶς ὁμολογῶν τὸν ἐν τριάδι ὑμνούμενον καὶ ἀποφάσσει ταῖς ἐκείνου προσέχων περὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων ἐκάστω ἀνταποδόσεως.

78. Ὑπέρκειται μὲν ἀσχέτως πάσης αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς [Fol. 33v] κτίσεως ὁ Θεός, πάντα τε πληρῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν ὢν, εἴτε δυνάμει δοίῃ τις τοῦτο εἴτε οὐσία εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέροις, ὡς ἐγὼ μάλιστα οἶμαι· λέγεται δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ κατοικεῖν καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπισκοπεῖν πράγματα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι μὴ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀκρότατον καὶ ἐξοχώτατον καὶ καθαρώτατον τοῦ παντὸς, ἔτι τε περιέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα τὴν ἀνωτάτω χώραν λαχόντα ὡς τιμιώτερον καὶ θειότερον· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς Χερουβίμ τε καὶ Σεραφίμ καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν νοερῶν τάξεων ἐπαναπαύσθαι, ὡς ἐφ' ἄρματος τινὸς ἐποχοῦμενον· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ταύτην διάπλασιν θεωρήσομεν, εὐρήσομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐρανὸν ἔχοντας ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ δυνάμει τινὰς θειοτέρας ἐνιδρυμένας αὐτῇ, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῶν θείων ταγμάτων ἐκείνων· ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐρανὸν ἔχομεν τὴν σφαιροειδῆ ταύτην κεφαλὴν προκαθεζομένην τοῦ ὅλου σώματος καὶ φωστῆρας δύο τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς; ἀντὶ δὲ ταγμάτων ἐννέα τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις; οὐκοῦν εἰ καθᾶραι καὶ ἀγιάσαι ταύτας κατ' ἐκείνας θελήσομεν καὶ τὴν οἰκειάν καὶ πρόσφορον ἐκάστη παρέξομεν ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐρανὸς ἄλλος καὶ δυνάμεις γενησόμεθα θεῖαι, καὶ ὁ [Fol. 34r] σύμπας οὗτοσι κόσμος μονονουχὶ καὶ κατοικήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν ἄλλων

κτισμάτων, τὸν τρισάγιον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν δεχόμενος ὕμνον εἰς λατρείαν ἀληθινήν, εἰς θυσίαν ζῶσαν παντὸς ὑψηλοτέραν τε καὶ καθαρωτέραν.

**79.** Εἰ καὶ τῷ σώματι συμπλακεῖσα ψυχὴ οὐχ οἷα τε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὑμνεῖν τὸν Θεὸν καθ' ὅσον αἱ νοεραὶ φύσεις· καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπερισπᾶται καὶ καθέλκεται ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης εἰς ἀλλοκότους ἐπιθυμίας, ὅμως καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αὐθις γενομένη ποτὲ ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ τὰς σωματικὰς λύσσασιν σχέσεις, ἥξει ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀξίωμα· καὶ κατὰ φύσιν χρησαμένη τοῖς οἰκείοις μέρεσιν, ἄσσει καὶ αὐτὴ κατ' ἐκείνας Θεῷ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον τρεῖς εἰποῦσα τὸ ἅγιος· τὴν γὰρ λογιστικὴν δύναμιν ἀπασχολήσασα μόνον κρίνειν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι, ὡς οἶόν τε, καὶ τὴν θυμικὴν αὐθις καὶ ἐπιθυμητικὴν εἰς τὸ πρακτικὸν τείνσασα μέρος τῶν ἐντολῶν, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ποιήσει· καὶ ἐν γῇ ἔτι οὖσα, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύεται καὶ παρεστήξεται τῷ Θεῷ ἀοράτως ἐν ἀνθρώπειᾳ φύσει, ἀγγελικόν τε καὶ νοερὸν διαζήσασα βίον· εἰ δὴ οὕτως [Fol. 34v] ἱκανὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται παραμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς ἄνω, ζηλούτω καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε εἶη τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν συνταγείη.

**80.** Ἀνοήτων ἐστὶν ἔργον, μᾶλλον δὲ σκαιῶν καὶ βεβήλων ἐν λόγοις μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ μακροῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀποτείνεσθαι λόγους· χρείας δ' ἔργων ἐφesseτηκυίας, κατὰ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀμαθεῖς τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντας, γελοίους ἐλέγχεσθαι· αἰδεστέον τοίνυν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς γε αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἡ πρακτέον τὰ λεκτέα ἢ σιγητέον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μετὰ τῶν πλάνων καὶ ὑποκριτῶν κληρονομήσομεν τὸ οὐαί.

**81.** Οἰκοθεν ὁ διδάσκων τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν οἰκείων λόγων παρέχεται, ἢ ψευδῇ ἢ ἀληθῇ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἃ λέγει πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων δείκνυσιν, ἀξιόπιστος μάρτυς τῶν λεγομένων γνωρίζεται· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ὧν λέγει ποιεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰναντία πολλάκις, ψεύδης ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπατεῶν· ἄλλος μὲν τοῖς λόγοις, ἕτερος δὲ τοῖς τρόποις φαινόμενος· βέλτιον οὖν ποιοῦντα σιγᾶν, ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντα βοᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ τὸ λέγειν ἔπεται, τῷ δὲ οὐδαμῶς· ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ἔπεται τὸ λαλεῖν, τοῖς δὲ λόγοις οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν· ἄπρακτος δὲ λόγος οὐ δὲ λόγος ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ [Fol. 35r] τῶν ἔργων οἱ λόγοι, οὐ τῶν τὰ ἔργα· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Παῦλος χαλκοῦ τινος ἦχω ἢ κυμβάλου παρεικάζων αὐτοὺς, ὅταν τὴν ἀκοὴν μόνην μετὰ τοῦ ἀέρος πλήττωσι καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

**82.** Τὰ ὄντως καλὰ αἰεὶ παραμένοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς προαίρεσιν ὁ Θεὸς δέδωκε κτήσασθαι καὶ μὴ κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἰσι γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ· τὰ δ' οὐκ ὄντως τοιαῦτα· τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν θέλησιν, τὰ δ' οὐ· καὶ μάταιον λυπεῖσθαι τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ αἰεὶ παραμενοντῶν εἰληφότας τὴν δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν χειρόνων ἐξουσιάζομεν· ἥδει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὡς εἰ κατὰ νοῦν ἡμῖν ἀπάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδέποτε ἂν ἐκείνων ἐγένετο λόγος· εἰ γὰρ δυσχερῶς αὐτὰ κτῶμενοι, οὕτω μαινόμεθα, τί ἂν ἐπράξαμεν ἢ πόσῃν τινὰ πρόνοιαν ἐκείνων ἐποιησάμεθα; ὥστε συνέφερον εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ κτήσιν ἢ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δυσχέρεια.

**83.** Εἰσὶ τινὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξωθεν ἐπιγινόμενα τῇ ψυχῇ, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπιγινόμενα τῷ σώματι. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συμβαίνοντα ἢ ἀγαθὰ εἰσιν ἢ πονηρὰ, ἃ δὴ καὶ ὄντως ἀγαθὰ λέγεται καὶ ὄντως πονηρὰ ὥσπερ ἔχει τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς [Fol. 35v] κακίας ἐπιτηδεύματα· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ σῶμα λέγεται μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ τε εἶναι καὶ πονηρὰ, οὐκ ὄντως δὲ οἷον πλοῦτος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ ὑγίεια καὶ αὐθις τὰ ἐναντία πενία, ἀτιμία, νόσος· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καίπερ ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ διαγωνίζοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ἡ ἀπώλειαν ἢ σωτηρίαν παρεχόμενα ταῖς ψυχαῖς· οὐκ οὖν ἀφῆκεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια καὶ χρηστότης ἰσχυρότερα εἶναι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης προαιρέσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ ῥάδια παντὶ ἐποίησεν εἶναι, ὥστε ἰσχύειν τοὺς προαιρουμένους πρᾶξι μὲν τὰ χρηστὰ, φυγεῖν δὲ παντὶ τρόπῳ τὰ πονηρὰ· τὰ δὲ μὴ τοιαῦτα ὄντα οἷα εἰσὶ τὰ σωματικὰ ταῦτα, οὕτε δυνατὰ καθόλου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἐποίησεν οὐτ' αὖ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν δοκούντων τούτων χρηστῶν σπουδῇ τινι κατορθοῦσθαι πολλάκις, τὰ δ' οὐ· τὰ δὲ κακὰ ἢ ἐκκλίνειν γενναιότερον διαγωνισαμένους ἢ ὑπερσχόντων, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γίνεται, ἡττᾶσθαι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλίᾳ· γελοῖον οὖν ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ παγγέλοιον, ἢ πρὸς ἰσχύος ἡμῖν ἐστὶ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι, συμπαραινόμενα τῇ αἰδιότητι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἢ ἀπωλείᾳ· ταῦτα μὲν παριέναι, διώκειν δ' αὖ ἀμφοτέραις τὰ μήτε καθόλου εἰς [Fol. 36r] δύναμιν ἦκοντα, μήτε δὲ τὸ μόνιμον ἔχοντα· τίς γὰρ σπουδάσας ἀρετὴν κτήσασθαι οὐ κατῴρθωσε; τίς δὲ κακίαν φυγεῖν οὐ περιεγένετο; πολλοὶ δὲ πλοῦτον καὶ τιμὴν διώξαντες εὐρεῖν καὶ ἀτιμίαν καὶ πενίαν φυγεῖν πρὸς τῷ μὴ δυνηθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκινδύνευσαν· συνάγεται τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐκείνοις μὲν μετὰ τοῦ εἶναι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀθανάτοις δυνατοῖς εἶναι πραχθῆναι τε ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ, τοῖς δὲ μικροῖς πάνυ οὔσι καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον



συνισταμένοις καὶ ἀδυνάτοις ἔστιν ὅπου εὐρίσκεσθαι· φρονίμων οὖν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ πρὸς τι ὠρισμένον τέλος ὀρῶντα ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον λυόμενον.

**84.** Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία γίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἡ γὰρ λογιστικὴ δύναμις κατὰ φύσιν μὲν κινουμένη γινώσκει ποιεῖ, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ πονηρίαν· ἐκάτερον γὰρ κακία  
825 ἔστι τοῦ λογιστικοῦ· καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἀνδρίαν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, δειλίαν δὲ καὶ θρασυτητα παρὰ φύσιν·  
ἐκ τῶν ἴσων δὲ λόγων καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία· σωφροσύνην μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, ἀκολασίαν δὲ καὶ ἡλιθιότητα  
παρὰ φύσιν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως ἀρεταῖς καὶ κακίαις τοῦτ' ἂν ἴδοι τις ἀπανταχοῦ  
γινόμενον· [Fol. 36v] μεσότητες γὰρ εἰσι πρὸς τε τὸ καλὸν καὶ κακὸν αἱ τε δυνάμεις αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς  
καὶ τὰ πράγματα· καὶ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὰς κινήσειεν ἢ προαίρεσις, ἐκεῖσε καὶ φέρονται ἢ χρησταὶ  
830 γινόμεναι ἢ πονηραὶ, ὡς ἐκεῖνη διαθέσεως ἔχει πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν  
γραμματῶν, ἃ δὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα καλεῖται, κωμωδία γίνεται καὶ τραγωδία ἢ ψόγος καὶ ἔπαινος· νῦν  
μὲν ὥδι, νῦν δὲ ὥδι συντιθεμένων καὶ κίρναμένων ἀλλήλοις καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις τοῦ λόγου  
μεμορφωμένων, ὡς ἔτυχεν· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὥσπερ τὰ διάφορα γένη τῶν ζῶων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι  
835 στοιχείων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην ἔχει ὑποκειμένην, εἰς διάφορα δὲ εἶδη διαιρεθέντα ποικίλως καὶ  
σχηματίζεται· καὶ ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ τοιόνδε εἶδος λέγεται λογικόν, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ τοιόνδε ἄλογον· καὶ  
γραμμαῖ δὲ αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ ἀριθμοὶ καὶ φθόγγοι τὰ ὅμοια πάσχουσι· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
συμπιπτόντων ἐκάστοτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων ἐξωθέν τε καὶ ἔνδοθεν ἢ προαίρεσις ἔστιν  
ἀπανταχοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχουσα, καὶ οἷαν ἐκείνοις τὴν μορφήν ἐπιθήσει, τοιαῦτα καὶ γίνεται·  
καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις τὴν ἔδραν ἴσχει ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία, ἐν τε δηλονότι ταῖς τῆς  
840 ψυχῆς δυνάμεσιν ἐν αἷς καὶ ἐπιτη[Fol. 37r]δεῖως πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχει ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
πράγμασιν οἷς ὡς ὕλην τινὶ κέχρηται καὶ τρίτον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ προαίρεσει, δι' ἧς ὡς διὰ τεχνίτου τινὸς  
ἢ φαύλου ἢ χρηστοῦ πρὸς τὰ χεῖρον ἢ βέλτιον σχηματίζεται τὰ πραττόμενα, ὧν ἐνὸς λείποντος,  
οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων γενέσθαι δύναται.

**85.** Οὐδεμίαν τινὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ κακία ὑπόστασιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ φαύλους ἡμᾶς διαθεῖναι, ὅτι μὴ  
845 δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος καὶ ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ· μὴ γεγонуῖα δ' ἐκεῖθεν, πόθεν  
ἄλλοθεν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ εἰς ὑπόστασιν ἦξειν, πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἐκ μόνου γεγονότων Θεοῦ;  
οὐκοῦν μηδὲν οὐσα, μὴ δ' ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσα, ἐνδύεται τὴν ὕλην τοῦ ὄντος καὶ εἰς ὑπόστασιν  
ἔρχεται· καὶ καθ' ὅσα ἐκεῖνο καὶ γένη καὶ εἶδη διήρηται, συνδιήρηται καὶ αὕτη ὥσπερ φθορὰ  
παρυφισταμένη ἢ ἀναρμοστία ἢ ἀκαιρία ἢ ἀμετρία ἢ παράχρησις αὐτοῦ τοῦ καλοῦ ἢ ἄλλη τις  
850 φαύλη τοῖς καλοῖς ἐναντίωσις· εἰ γὰρ μήτε καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔστι μήτε δὲ τὰ ὄντα ἐνδύεται, πῶς ἂν  
εἶναι τι δόξειε, καὶ δικαστηρίοις διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νόμοις εἰς κόλασιν ὑπαχθεῖν; ἔχει λοιπὸν  
ὑπόστασιν τὸ κακὸν, τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ χώραν [Fol. 37v] ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ τείχους κατάλυσις, τὴν τοιάνδε  
οἰκοδομήν τε καὶ σύνθεσιν, ἢ τὸ σκότος τὸν τοῦ φωτὸς τόπον ἢ ἀταξία τῆς τάξεως καὶ δὴ τὸν τῆς  
ἀρμονίας ἢ ἀναρμονίας· περὶ γὰρ τὰς αὐτὰς χορδὰς καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα τῆς μουσικῆς συμβαίνει  
855 ἐκάτερον· ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα ὑγεία καὶ νόσος· προσεκτέον τοίνυν μὴ ἀνυπόστατον  
τὸ κακὸν οἰόμενοι, ἀπτόητοι διακεῶμεθα περὶ τῶν ὕστερον τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκδεχομένων ποινῶν,  
εἴτα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ δίκας ὑπόσχωμεν σφαλερᾶς δόξης δικαστῇ δικαιοτάτῳ καὶ  
φρονιμωτάτῳ.

**86.** Ἔχουσι μὲν καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀντικειμένων, πλὴν τῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ μονομερῆς  
860 τις ἀναφαίνεται ἐναντίωσις· πρὸς γὰρ τῆς κακίας καὶ μόνῃς ἐπιβουλεύεται, εἰ καὶ δύο τινὰ μέρη  
δοκεῖ, πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἑλλειψιν κατακερματισθεῖσα δι' ἀταξίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταθραυσθεῖσα  
καὶ μὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν γοῦν ὁμοφρονήσασα· τῇ δὲ κακίᾳ πολυμερῆς καὶ ποικίλη καὶ σχεδὸν  
ἀδιάκριτος· διαμάχεται γὰρ αὐτῇ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ ἀρετὴ, ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ καὶ τοῦτο  
ποικίλως, ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν εἶδος ἢ καθ' ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον· κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν, ὡς ὁ  
865 φιλάργυρος [Fol. 38r] τῷ φιλαργύρῳ καὶ ὁ ἀκόλαστος τῷ ἀκολάστῳ καὶ ὁ κενόδοξος τῷ  
κενοδόξῳ· καθ' ὃ γὰρ τις εἶδος κακίας ἀλίσκεται, πλεονεκτεῖν ἐφίεται τοῦ ἐτέρου· πλεονεκτεῖν  
δὲ βουλούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐξάπτεται καὶ ὀργήν· καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
τρόπον, εἰ τύχοι, διαμάχεται ὁ φειδωλὸς τῷ ὁμοίῳ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ κείνου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταστήσῃ,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀσώτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῷ πάντα τρόπον αἰσχροκερδεῖας ἐπινοεῖν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν  
870 λῖαν ἀναγκαιοτάτων προίεσθαι προθυμεῖται, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄγαν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων χύδην τὰ τῆς  
οὐσίας κατακενοῖ, προσέτι δ' ἐναντιοῦται καὶ τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῷ μεγαλοψυχῷ· αὐτῷ ὁ  
κενόδοξος ἀντικαθιστάμενος τῷ κενόδοξῳ, ἵνα μόνος αὐτὸς δοξάζηται, μυσάπτεται καὶ τὸν  
γαστρίμαργον καὶ τὸν φιλάργυρον καὶ τὸν ἀκόλαστον καὶ πάντα, ἃ σύνοιδεν ἐναντιοῦμένα ἑαυτῷ  
καὶ τὴν τῆς προαίρεσεως ἀφορμὴν ἀνατρέποντα· ὁ γὰρ προδήλοισι κακοῖς ἡττημένος οὔτε  
875 φιλοδοξεῖν οὔτε κενοδοξεῖν δύναται, καὶ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν μάχην ἵστασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

πρὸς τὸν ταπεινοφροσύνη συζῶντα· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἢ κακία καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἑαυτῇ μάχεται καὶ καθ' ἕτερον αὐθις καὶ ἕτερον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκήρυκτον αἰεὶ ἔχει τὸν πόλεμον· οὕτω πανταχοῦ στασιῶδες πρᾶγμα καὶ μάχιμον καὶ ὀδυρρεπές, εἰς ὃ τι ἂν τύχοι [Fol. 38v] περιτρέμον ὥσπερ καὶ ἀστατοῦν καὶ ἀορισταῖνον, καὶ μυρίας ἀλλατόμενον μορφάς τε καὶ εἶδη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, μὴ δ' ὅρον τινὰ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἔχειν τῆς φύσεως, ᾧ ἂν καταμείνειεν.

**87.** Πότερον ἕξεις καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ πάθη καὶ ποιότητες καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ κινήσεις καὶ σχήματα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπλῶς συμβαίνοντα πάθη ἐξεναντίας πρὸς μάχην ἴσταιται, ἢ καὶ οὐσίαι πρὸς οὐσίας ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάσχουσιν; ὁρῶμεν γὰρ θηρία τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀναιροῦντα ἀλλήλους καὶ δὴ καὶ πῦρ ὕδωρ ἔσβεσε καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἂν ἐπικρατέστερον ἦ, τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάλωται· λέγομεν οὖν ὡς εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ ποτε τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν ἢ τοιαύτη μάχη συνίσταται· οὔτε γὰρ σῶμα σῶμα ἀναιρεῖν δύναται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συστατική διαφορά οὐσίας ἐτέραν διαφορὰν ἐτέρας οὐσίας, οἷον ἢ λογικότης εἰ τύχοι τὴν ἀλογίαν· ὅροι γάρ εἰσι ταῦτα πεπηγότες αἰεὶ, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἔστησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε κινηθεῖεν ἢ φυσικῇ βίᾳ ἢ τεχνικῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ φαρμακοῦργοι δύνανται μεθιστᾶν φύσεις ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἄλλων ὠντινωνοῦν ζῶων καὶ πολλὰ καμώντες περὶ τοὺς κυκεῶνας, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὁρῶμενον μόνον τῆς μορφῆς ἀλλοιοῦσι· καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δὲ [Fol. 39r] τὴν Κίρκην ποιήσας εἰς σύας μεταβαλοῦσαν τοὺς ἐταίρους τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς, ὅμως φησὶ νοῦς αὐτοῖς ἔμπεδος ἦν ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν· λείπεται τοίνυν κατὰ τὰ πρῶτα τὴν ἐναντίωσιν γίνεσθαι κάκεῖσε μόνον τὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ὁρᾶσθαι ἐκ τοῦδε πρὸς τόδε· νόσος γὰρ ὑγίαν διέφθειρε καὶ ἀρετὴ κακίαν μενόντων τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ αὐτὸνναντίον· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ σῶμα θεωρουμένων ἐναντιώσεων, ὅτε μὲν τὸ πάθος κατισχύει τῆς τέχνης, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης περιγίνεται· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λόγῳ θεωρουμένων αἰεὶ τὸ κράτος κατὰ τοῦ πάθους ἢ προαίρεσις κέκτῃται, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναι, τοιόνδε ἢ τοιόνδε εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἰσχύει μέντοι παρὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιτήδειον ἢ ἀνεπιτήδειον, πλεον ἢ ἥττον τὸ πονηρὸν ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐξεργάζεσθαι· ἴσης γὰρ τισι πολλὰκις οὔσης τῆς προαιρέσεως ἢ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἢ ἀρετῇ, συμβαίνει μὴ κατ' ἴσον ἐκβαίνειν τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκρόχολος ὢν ἥττον δύναται πρᾶότητα κατορθοῦν, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα προαιρητῇ τοῦ φύσει πράου καὶ ἡσυχίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ δυσμαθὴς οὐ ταῦτὸ δύναται πρὸς τὸν εὐμαθῆ τε καὶ μνήμονα.

**88.** Ὁ μὲν ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα Θεὸς καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς [Fol. 39v] ὃν τὰ πάντα κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον ἔοικε τινὶ κέντρῳ, ἐφ' ὃ νῦν μὲν αἱ γραμμαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν κύκλον κοίλης περιφερείας ἠγμέναι καταπηγνυνται, νῦν δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκβάλλονται περιφέρειαν ἢ καὶ πορρωτέρω· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἦνωνται, αἱ δὲ ἐκείνου τε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀφίστανται· ἢ τοιαύτη γεωμετρικὴ ἀπόδειξις τρανῶς πάνυ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων παρίστησι· τίνα τρόπον οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῶντες Θεῷ τε φίλοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις τυγχάνουσιν καὶ στασιῶδεις πρὸς τε Θεὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοίως εἰσιν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κακίας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μερῶν, ὅπως κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει; οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ αἱ ἐλλείψεις καὶ ὑπερβολαὶ μάχιμαί, οὕτω καὶ αἱ μεσότητες· οὐδ' ὥσπερ, ἵνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος εἴποιμεν, κενοδοξία καὶ φιλαργυρία ἢ γαστριμαργία ἀλλήλαις ἀντιπολιτεύονται, οὕτω καὶ παρθενία καὶ κτησία· ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἥκιστα Θεὸν ἔχουσιν τὸν συνάπτοντα διὰ τὸ τῶν ἕξεων ἐναντίον, φεύγουσι γὰρ ὥσπερ σκότος τὸ φῶς, εἰκότως εἰς πολέμιαν μοῖραν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ ἀλλήλαις καθίστανται· αἱ δὲ φίλοι φίλῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐνούμεναι τὸ εἰρηναῖον ἀπανταχοῦ καὶ ἀστασιάστον ἔχουσι. [Fol. 40r]

**89.** Οὐδὲν καινὸν οὐδὲ παντελῶς ἄπορον, εἴ τις τὸ νέφος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀποποιησάμενος τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ οἷον θεοειδῆ ταύτην καταστησάμενος ἐξ ἀπαθείας· ἥκιστα λοιπὸν τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν ἔχει τῶν πρὸς γνῶσιν τῶν ἐσομένων· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἥλιος οὐτοσί, παχείας αὐτῶν νεφέλης ἐπιχυθείσης, οὐκ ἔχει ῥαδίως διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφιέναι, αὐθις δὲ τὸ βάρος ἐκείνης τῶν ὀμβρῶν ἀποθεμένης καὶ ἀπολεπτυνθείσης, ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδὲν πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο βλάπτεται· οὕτω καὶ νοῦς σῶμα περικείμενος, οἷον ἔφαμεν ἐξ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀπαθείας διηγνισμένον, ἀκώλυτον ἔχει τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δρᾶν· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐγγωρεῖν τοῦτο δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν τὸ σῶμα λείπεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδέναι χρὴ ὡς καὶ ἥλιος οὗτος διὰ σώματος τινὸς τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦδε τοῦ πανταχῇ περιλιμνάζοντος τὸ πᾶν τόδε καταφωτίζει· ὅμως μέντοι λεπτοῦ σώματος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων καὶ μανοῖς πόροις συνεστηκότος, οἵτινες ὡς λεπτοὶ σωλῆνες τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἐκλάμψεις δεχόμενοι εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀχρόνως μετοχετεύουσι. [Fol. 40v]

**90.** Τοιοῦτὸ τι τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἔοικε πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων εὑρεσιν, οἷον γὰρ τις τῶν ἐν τέλει μέσος που καταστάς βασιλέως καὶ ὑπηκόων· νῦν μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου πρὸς τούτους, νῦν δὲ τὰ τούτων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διακομίζων καὶ συνάπτων ἀλλήλοις τὰ βεβουλημένα, ἔνωσιν τὴν διάστασιν

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ἐξεργάζεται· οὕτω δὴ καὶ διάνοια δύναται μετ' ἐπιστήμης διαβιβάζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν, ὧν οὐ κατὰ νοῦν δύναται· ἀνύει δὲ τοῦτο φρόνησις μακρὰ διὰ πείρας ἢ γνῶσις διὰ μελέτης τε καὶ μαθήσεως· καὶ ἀσφαλὲς μὲν καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ προγεγονότα, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πολλῶν πλεον τὸ τοῦ νοῦ ἀξίωμα καὶ θεοειδέστερον, ὃ δὴ προσγεγονὸς δι' ἀπαθείας τελεωτάτης καὶ τινος θείας ἐλλάμπεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερον φῶ ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον ἢ Θεὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖν δύναται· τὸ γὰρ ἀμέσως συγγίνεσθαι τοῖς οὕσι Θεοῦ μόνου καὶ τῶν θείων δυνάμεων ἔργον ἐστίν, ὧν ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν μίμησις, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴδιον ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖ.

91. Ὡςπερ *Κυρίως*, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα τῷ *θανάτῳ* παρέδωκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέστησε ταύτην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καθεσθῆναι ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἂν δι' αὐτῆς ὡς ἀ[Fol. 41r]π' ἀρχῆς τινος θείας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀθάνατον ἀπειργάσατο καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίωσε τῆς θεότητος χαρισμάτων· οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ποτε ἀναστησόμεθα τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἂν μὴ τὸν κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀποθάνωμεν θάνατον πρὸ τοῦ φυσικοῦ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίου καὶ τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰ πάθη ὀλοσχερῶς θανατώσωμεν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ, ἕως ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ζῇ, ἀναστήναι τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας φθειρομένης ἕξως ἢ ἐναντία παραγίνεσθαι εἴωθεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πραγμάτων.

92. Εἰ *σῶμα Χριστοῦ* λεγόμεθα ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ *ἐσμέν* καὶ πειστέον τοῦτο τῷ Παύλῳ λέγοντι καὶ *μέλη* ἄρα αὐτοῦ *ἐσμέν* καὶ ὡς κεφαλῇ ἡμῶν προκαθέζεται, διὰ τοῦ ζωοποιῦ καὶ συνεκτικοῦ Πατρὸς τῆς πάντων τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας ἡμᾶς καὶ ζωοποιῶν καὶ συνέχων· χρὴ τοίνυν, τηλικάτης ἡξιωμένους τιμῆς, ἐκεῖνα πάντα ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μελῶν, ἅπερ ὡς κεφαλῇ ἡμῶν καὶ προστάττει καὶ βούλεται· ἄτοπον γὰρ, εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σωματικῶν τούτων [Fol. 41v] μελῶν οὐκ ἂν τι κινηθεῖ ποτέ, οὐδέ τι πράξειε χωρὶς τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ νοῦ, εἰ μὴ μανίαν πρότερον καὶ παρατροπὴν λογισμῶν ἐγκληθῆναι θελήσειεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν οἰκονομίας καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ διαφερόντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν κινήμασιν ἄλλως ἢ οὕτως γένοιτο· εἰ γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τι κινεῖτο εἰς ἅπερ ὁ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀντιστρατευόμενος ἐκβιάζεται νόμος, οὐ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐστὶ μέλος ἦτοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέ τῆς θειοτέρας ἐξουσίας καὶ ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ ἀντιπάλου δυνάμεως εἴτουν τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικοτέρας καὶ ὑλικωτέρας ἀγωγῆς τε καὶ πολιτείας· ὃ δὴ τοιοῦτος ὑποταγὴν λέγων ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ψεύδεται τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ συμβαίνει τῷ τοιοῦτῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀκολουθίαν νεκρῷ τε εἶναι καὶ ἀκινήτῳ, οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν διοικουμένῳ, οὐδέ θεῖον ἔχοντι λόγον τῶν πραττομένων καθηγητήν.

93. Πάσης χρηστῆς ὁμοίως καὶ πονηρᾶς πράξεως ἕξις τις προυπάρχει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀφ' ἧς ὡς ἀπὸ τινος ὕλης εἰς εἶδος τοιόνδε ἢ τοιόνδε ἀποτελεῦται τὸ πραττόμενον· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ λογιστικῷ μέρει συνί[Fol. 42r]σταταί τι τῶν φαύλων ἢ τῶν χρηστῶν, ἐκεῖσε καὶ μελέτην εἶχε πρότερον καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπετέχθη κατὰ τὴν φύσιν οἷον καὶ συνελήφθη· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμικῷ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμητικῷ· ἀδύνατόν γὰρ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς αἰσθησεις τοιῶσδε ἢ τοιῶσδε ἐγγυμνασμένον εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας ἕξεις περιτραπῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὃ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται, λέγων ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας ἐκβάλλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησι Παῦλος ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦς ἐπιγνώσασθε.

94. Ὁ τοὺς προχεομένους ὀχετοὺς ἀνακόψαι βεβουλημένος ἢ τὴν βλυστάνουσαν τούτους πηγὴν ἀναφράττει ἢ τέχνην τινὶ ἄλλοθι παρατρέπει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ὁ τὰς κατ' αἰσθησιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσχημοσύνας διορθοῦν βουλόμενος τὸ ἐντὸς πρότερος καθιστᾷ καὶ προετοιμάζει, εὐλαβῶς μάλᾳ καὶ συνετῶς καθ' ὅτι οὖν τῶν παραπιπτόντων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κίνησιν· εἰ δ' οὐχ οἷα τε ἐστὶ μόνῃ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαρκεῖν ἀνθρωπίνῃ δύναμει, ἀλλ' ἢ γε θεία συνεφαπτομένη [Fol. 42v] ῥοπή πάντα ῥάδια ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀδύνατα, ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς μὲν συνεργεῖ τοῖς προθυμουμένοις περὶ τὰ καλὰ, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀποτρόπαιος δαίμων τοῖς φιλοῦσι τὰ πονηρὰ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ μέρος ἀπροστάτευτον οὔτε τῆς κακίας οὔτε τῆς ἀρετῆς, μὴ τῷ μὲν πονηρὰν δύναμιν, τῷ δὲ ἀγαθὴν συμμαχεῖν.

95. Ἐναργεῖς τινές εἰσι χαρακτῆρες τῶν ἐντὸς διαθέσεων· αἱ ἐκτὸς ἐμφαινόμεναι κινήσεις κατὰ τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ αὐτὰ δῆπου τὰ σχήματα καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διατίθενται· πλὴν τὰ μὲν χρηστὰ πολλάκις τις ὑποκρίνεται, ἢ θηρώμενος δόξαν ἢ τὸν ἔλεγχον δεδιώς· τὰ δὲ φαῦλα οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν τις δι' ἀρετὴν ἔλοιτο κατὰ πρόσχημα, οὐδέ τολμήσειεν ἂν τοιοῦτό τι ποτὲ αἰτιάσασθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ μοιχείας ἀλοὺς τις ἢ φόνου ἢ κλοπῆς ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν αἰσchrῶν καὶ ἀπηγορευμένων παθῶν, καταφυγὴν τινα θεῖν τὸ λαθεῖν ἴσως βούλεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

ἀρετήν, αὐτόχρομα γὰρ ὄντα κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα, τίνα τὴν ἀπολογία ἐξεῖ μὴ τοιαῦτα γε εἶναι· εἰ δέ τινες ἐνίοτε τὰ γελοῖα[Fol. 43r]αἰσθῶν ὑπεκρίθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν σπανίως καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τοῦτ' ἂν τις ἴδοι γεγεννημένον· ἔπειτα οὐδ' αὐτοὶ γε οὗτοι τοῖς ἄγαν αἰσχροῖς ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀλλ' ὧν τὸ εὐδιάβολον ἦττον ὁράται· μέχρι γὰρ τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως καὶ ἀναβολῆς καὶ σχήματος καὶ ῥηματίων τινῶν χαριέντων κατετόλμησαν τοῦ τοιοῦτου, περαιτέρω δ' οὐδέν.

**96.** Οἱ τὰς μεγίστας διαλαχόντες ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ κοσμιότητος τιθέμενοι πρόνοιαν *θυρωροὺς* ἐφιστᾶσι σῶφρονας τοῖς *πυλῶσι* τῶν οἴκων, οἱ δύναιντ' ἂν ἄριστα τοὺς εἰσιόντας διακρίνειν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀποκλείειν τὴν εἴσοδον, τοῖς δὲ συγχωρεῖν, ὅπως μὴ λαθῶν τις ἐπίβουλος ἢ ἄσεμνος ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἔνδον εὐσχημοσύνην ἐπιταράξειε καὶ θεῖτο πάντα κατηφεύας μεστά· καὶ οἱ τὸ κράτος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνεπηρέαστον συντηρεῖν ἐθέλοντες νοῦν τινα φύλακα προιστᾶσι τῶν ταύτης αἰσθητηρίων, τοσοῦτον φυλοκρινούντα τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον ποιούμενον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὥς καὶ διπλῆς μάλιστα δεῖσθαι τῆς φυλακῆς ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν μὲν [Fol. 43v] ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἰσίσαι αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων, νῦν δὲ αὖθις διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐξίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ δεῖ τινα ἀκάματον πόνον ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον στρέφηται, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς, καὶ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐμπόνως διασκοπῇ τὴν ἄληκτον τῆς ψυχῆς κίνησιν· εἰ δ' ἀπερὶσκέπτως τὰ μὲν εἴσεισι, τὰ δ' ἔξεισιν, ἢ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν ἢ καὶ παντελῆ ἀπουσίαν τοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιτετραμμένου, ὀλισθοὶ συνεχεῖς γίνονται ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ πράξεσι καὶ ἐνθυμήσεσι, μηδαμῶς ἐχούσης τῆς ψυχῆς κυβερνήτην μὴδ' ἡνίσχον, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεξάγειν τὰ κατ' αὐτήν.

**97.** Πολλῆς ὅτι μάλιστα δεῖ φυλακῆς τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὰ συνεχῶς αὐτῇ παραπίπτοντα τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥς μήτε ῥαδίως τι πράττειν, μήτε δ' ὁρᾶν μήτε τι ἄλλο τῶν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων γινομένων ποιεῖν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὁμοῦ τε νοούμενα καὶ ἢ λεγόμενα ἢ πραττόμενα, ἐπισφαλῆ καθ' αὐτὰ πέφυκεν εἶναι ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ μετάνοιά τις ἔπεται παραντύκα τοῖς οὕτω πως γινομένοις· ὁ δὴ καὶ γνοῦσα οἶμαι ἢ φύσις, ἄλλο μὲν ἐνθύ[Fol. 44r]μημα ἔταξεν εἶναι, ἄλλο δὲ ἔννοϊαν, ἄλλο δὲ λογισμὸν καὶ νοῦν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γλῶσσαν καὶ ὁδόντας καὶ χεῖλη· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ τὸ ὅλον ὥς εἰπεῖν σῶμα, ἵνα εἰς τοσαύτας διεξόδους καὶ φραγμοὺς καταμερισθεῖσα ἢ πρακτικὴ δύναμις ἐγγχρονίζῃ ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ οὕτως ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι ἔρχηται ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ πράττεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τύχοι διαφυγοῦσα ἓνα τινα τόπον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπεσοῦσα ἐπίσχηται καὶ στάσιν λαμβάνῃ τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς· δεῖ τοίνυν παρεσκευάσθαι μήτε ἀχρόνως τὸ νοούμενον λέγειν μήτε τὸ λεγόμενον πράττειν.

**98.** Πολλὰς τῆς ἡμέρας μεταβολὰς κατὰ γνώμην ὑφίσταται ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῶν συμπιπτόντων πραγμάτων· ὁ γὰρ νῦν μὲν αὐτῷ καλὸν ἔδοξε, μετὰ μικρὸν ἕτερον κατεφάνη καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον καὶ πάλιν ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ διήλθεν ὥσπερ εἰ κύκλον τινὰ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων στρεφόμενον· τὰ δ' αἷτια πολλὰ· πρῶτον μὲν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄδηλον τῶν πραττομένων ἔκβασιν ἐπικρατοῦσα δειλία τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς, δεῦτερον ἢ ἐξ ἀμαθίας ἄγνοια τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ χείρονος, καὶ τρίτον ἢ διπλὴ τῆς φύσεως, καθ' ἣν συγκείμεθα ἐκ ψυχῆς [Fol. 44v] καὶ σώματος πεφυκότες· καὶ νῦν μὲν τὰ ἄνω καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν αἴσθησιν φανταζόμεθα, νῦν δὲ κεκήναμεν πρὸς τὰ κάτω διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπάθειαν· ζυγостаτεῖται οὖν αἰεὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἡμετέρος καὶ καθέλκεται, ὅτε μὲν ἐνθάδε, ὅτε δὲ ἐνθάδε ὁποτέρωθι προστεθῇ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς θέλημα καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβαρύνῃ πλάστιγγα· καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν· ὁ μὲν ἔφη οὐδὲν καρδίας ἐστὶν εὐμεταβολώτερον, ὁ δὲ στρεπταὶ δὲ φρένες ἐσθλῶν· δεῖ τοίνυν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὸν θεῖον ὥς ἀληθῶς ἀθλητὴν ὅρον τινὰ πηγνύναι τῇ διανοίᾳ πρότερον, τὸ μὴδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ καλοῦ τιμιώτερον, μὴδὲ τῷ χείρονι συμμαχεῖν μέρος τῆς πάλης ἐφεστηκυίας· εἰ δ' ἄγνοια πολλάκις ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν κρίσιν, μετὰ σχολῆς τινος πειρᾶσθαι μανθάνειν καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἰέναι· οὕτω γὰρ παρασκευασάμενος, εὐγενῶς μάλιστα καὶ ἀνδρείως ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων διαθήσει τὴν μάχην καὶ νικητῆς ἀπελεύσεται, ὥς εἰ ἐξαίφνης μέσος ληφθεὶς τῇ κρίσει τοῦ βελτίονος καὶ τοῦ χείρονος, δέος μὴ τῆς παραντύκα ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀγνοίας γεγόμενος, αἰσχροὺς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γελοῖος ἐξελεγχθῇ. [Fol. 45r]

**99.** Ὡςπερ τὰ αἰσθητήρια ὄργανα οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πρὸς γε τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοντα αἰσθητὰ τὴν οἷαν δὴποτε ἐνέργειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὑγαινουσὰς ἔχοι τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὰς δυνάμεις· οὕτως οὐδὲν οὕς οὐδὲ διάνοια, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν δύναται ὑγιῶς τε καὶ ἀνεπισφαλῶς ἐνεργεῖν περὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ἑαυτοῖς εἰς θεωρίαν πράγματα, εἰ μὴ θεῖα τις δύναμις συνεφάπτοίτο τῆς ὀρθῆς κρίσεως· πῶς δὲ συνεφάπεται; εἰ συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶμεν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμματι, καὶ καθαιρόμεθα καὶ λαμπρυνόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τοιαύτας δηλαδὴ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις· εἰ γὰρ μόνους λογισμοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους ἐπιτρέπομεν τὴν κρίσιν τῶν νοουμένων ἢ πραττομένων, εἴκοκαμεν

βαδίζειν πειραῖσθαι ἄνευ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν σκοτομήνῃ μόνῳ τῷ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φωτὶ θαρρήσαντες· Θεοῦ τοίνυν ἐξέχεσθαι αἰεὶ χρή, εἰ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι βουλοίμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον εὐέλπιδες ἔσεσθαι.

1045 **100.** Δύο τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντικειμένων τῇ ἀρετῇ· θάτερον μὲν τὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τὴν ἔχθραν ἀνομολογεῖ πρὸς ἐκείνην, θάτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐλλείψεως ἀποκρύπτεται κακοήθως μάλα καὶ ἀνελευ|Fol. 45v|θέρως καὶ προσποιεῖται εἶναι ὅπερ ὑπέδυν· τινες μὲν οὖν τῆς φανεραῖς ἔχθρας περιγεγόμενοι ὡς ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ ἀλίσκονται καὶ συμβαίνει κἀνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Ψαλμοῦ ἐν ὁδῷ ταύτῃ, ἣ ἐπορευόμην, ἔκρυψαν παγίδα μοι· δεῖ οὖν πάντα νήφοντι λογισμῷ διορᾶν καὶ κατανοεῖν· τίνα τε τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὸ ποῖον ἀνάγεται γένος; πότερον τὸ

1050 τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τῆς κακίας; καὶ οὕτω μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης παρασκευῆς πρὸς ἐκάτερον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμπλοκὴν.

**101.** Οὐ μερικαὶ τινες μόνον οὐσίαι, οὐδὲ δυνάμεις, οὐδ' ἐνέργειαι ἄλλαι οὔσαι καὶ ὑπεναντία ταῖς κρείττοσιν ὑποκρίνονται ταύτας, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὗτοσι κόσμος σχεδὸν προσποιεῖται εἶναι ἀπατηλῶς μάλιστα καὶ κακούργως τὸ τέλος πάσης ἡδονῆς τε καὶ ἀπολαύσεως· προσποιεῖται

1055 δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν ζῆν αἰρουμένοις· ἀλλ' οἱ τῷ ὄντι πιστοὶ τε καὶ σώφρονες, ὥσπερ οἱ δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται διακρίνουν ἴσασι τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ καττίτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου· οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰκόνα καὶ μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὁρώμενον τοῦτο τοῦ ἀοράτου διαγινώσκουσι, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν διδὼ, καὶ ὡς |Fol. 46r| σκιὰν καταλείποντες τὸ φαινόμενον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ ἀοράτου προστρέχουσιν.

1060 **102.** Αἰεὶ ποτε διοχλοῦσιν αἱ κακίαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους παραλαμβάνειν ἐφίενται· διὸ καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς αὐλιζόμεναι, ὅταν τινὰ παρείδουσιν εὐρωσιν, ἔρπουσι λεληθότως καὶ οἰκείαν ἑαυταῖς χώραν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς χώραν κακοήθως ποιοῦνται· ὅσῳ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀπωκισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, τοσούτῳ κατὰ τόπον πλησιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ὥσπερ πολέμιοι αἰεὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ αὐτόχθοι· διὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἡ θρασύτης ἐξοστρακίζει

1065 τὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον παραλαμβάνει· ἡ δὲ λοιδορία τὸν ἔλεγχον, τὴν δὲ φρόνησιν ἡ ἀλαζονεία, ἡ κενοδοξία δ' αὖ τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ εὐδοκίμησιν, καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν ἡ οἷησις, καὶ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν αἱ ἀναιδεῖς καὶ θρασεῖαι καὶ ἀλόγιστοι ὁρμαὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς σώφρονας καὶ κοσμίους καὶ ἐλλογίμους τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἀλλ' εἰ λόγος ἄρχει καὶ κρίσις ἐπὶ παντός γε τῶν πραττομένων καὶ διακρίνεται τίς μὲν ὁ ὁμόφυλος, τί δὲ ὁ ἔχθρὸς καὶ τίς μὲν ὁ οἰκείος, τίς δὲ ὁ ἀλλότριος, οὐδεμία

1070 δύναμις ἔσται τῇ πονηρίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὑπὸ γενναίων |Fol. 46v| οὕτω στρατηγῶν κατεστρατηγημένη καὶ ἀνηρημένη τὰς μηχανάς.

**103.** Ἡ τῶν εὐτελεστερῶν εἶναι δοκούντων ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις ἐκάστοτε καταφρόνησις γίγνεται μὲν ὥσπερ ὁδὸς τις ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἀτοπήματα κατακρημνίζουσα τὴν ψυχὴν· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὸ κατὰ σμικρὸν οὕτω προεῖσθαι τὰ χρηστὰ, φθορὰν ποτε τῷ χρόνῳ ποιήσει τῆς καθόλου ἐν ἡμῖν ἔξεως

1075 τοῦ καλοῦ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς φυσικαῖς τῶν ζώων κινήσεσι κατὰ σμικρὸν ἢ φύσιν ἀνεπαισθήτως τὸν οἰκεῖον δρόμον διερχομένη, νῦν μὲν τὰ εἶδη τελεσιουργεῖ, νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀναλύσεως ἀνακάμψασα κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τὴν φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖ· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ ὀλίγον τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων ὑφαίρεσις ὕστερον εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπαντᾷ, ταῦτό

1080 τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἥθη τῆς ψυχῆς γίνεται· καὶ χρή μῆτε τὸ σμικρὸν καλὸν περιορᾶν ὡς ὀλίγον τι συντελοῦν μῆτε τὸ σμικρὸν κακὸν ἀδιόρθωτον παρατρέχειν· εἰ γὰρ ἐκ μερῶν τὰ καθόλου συνίσταται σωζομένων, δηλὸν ὅτι καὶ ἀπολωλότων φθαρήσεται καὶ δηλοῖ Χριστὸς ἐκεῖ μὲν ὕδατος ψυχροῦ ποτήριον προτρεπόμενος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν περιέργον |Fol. 47r| ἀποτρεπόμενος.

**104.** Εἰσὶν ἔναι τῶν ἀρετῶν αἰσθητῶς ἐνεργούμεναι, ἕτεροι δ' αὖ νοερῶς· αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰσθητῶς καὶ κατὰ σῶμα ἐνεργούμεναι οὐ δι' ἑαυτὰς ἐπιτηδεύονται μόνον, κἂν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀρεταῖς λέγωνται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν πλεόν ἢ δι' ἑαυτὰς, ἵν' ὥσπερ ὄχημα τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκείναι ἔχουσαι ἢ ὄργανον δεξιὸν εἰς τὸ τὰς ἀλόγους ὁρμὰς τῆς φύσεως σωφρονεῖν, τὸ γαλήνιον τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχωσιν· αἱ δὲ νοεραὶ ἀρεταὶ δι' ἑαυτὰς μόνον καὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερον· χρή τοίνυν, ὧν ἕνεκα αὐταὶ παραλαμβάνονται, τελέως ἔχουν τὸ ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ συμφωνεῖν ταῖς ἐκτὸς, εἰ μέλλοιεν

1090 αὐταὶ τε ἀρεταὶ εἶναι καὶ τὰς δι' αὐτὰς παραληφθείσας μὴ ματαίας ἐλέγχειν σπουδαζόμενας· οἷον εἰ παρθενίαν ἀσκεῖ τις ἢ ἀκτησίαν ἢ χαμευνίαν ἢ τινα ἄλλην πρακτικὴν, ἀρετὴν δεῖ πρῶτον καθαρὰν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ λογισμῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ οἷων δὴ τινῶν ἐτέρων παθῶν, ἵνα σωτηρίως εἴῃ τὴν τοῦ βίου ἐπαγγελίαν· ἀποδείξας τοῦ λόγου ἢ κατὰ τὸν Φαρισαῖον ἀπόνοια, ἀκάθαρτον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἀποφήνασα, |Fol. 47v| διὰ τὸ μὴ καθαρὰν

1095 ἔχειν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτοῦ βίον.

**105.** Αἱ σωματικαὶ ἀρεταὶ δύνανται ἐνεργεῖσθαι τῶν ψυχικῶν κακῶν αὐταῖς ἐναντιουμένων, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἄμισθον ἔχουσιν· αἱ ψυχικαὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν οὐδαμῶς· πῶς γὰρ τις δύνатаи σωφρονεῖν τῇ ψυχῇ, εἰ μὴ καθαρεύει πρῶτον τῷ σώματι ἢ δίκαιος εἶναι ἢ ἀνδρεῖος κατὰ διάνοιαν; εἰ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ τῆς περὶ πάντα τὰ χεῖριστα πράξεως ἦττων ὀρᾷται, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις κομπάζοι κατὰ διέξοδον λόγους διεξιέναι, μὴ πρότερον τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν διαμελετήσας; καλῶς οὖν ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν, *ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπιγνώσσεθε*.

**106.** Ὅταν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐπιμένοντα ἴδῃ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ εἰς μέγα τι πτῶμα ἐμπεπτωκότα, δύο τινὰς μηχανὰς ἀντικειμένας ἀλλήλαις κατασκευάζεται τελέως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι· μίαν μὲν τὴν δι' ἀπογνώσεως, καθ' ἣν δίκαιον εἶναι φησὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἀκριβῆ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξεταστήν καὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος μεταγνῶναι, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀποκρουσθῇ, φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι δισχυρίζεται καὶ συμπαθῇ τοῖς ἅμετρα πλημμελήσασιν, αὐτίκα δὲ τὴν πόρνην εἰς παράστασιν παρῇ[Fol. 48r]σάγει καὶ τὸν ληστήν καὶ τελώνην, τὰ σπάνια ταυτὶ παραδείγματα, ἅπερ οἱ μὲν γνησίως μετανοοῦντες διορθώσεως αἷτια ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἀμετανοήτως διακείμενοι καὶ εἰς τὴν αὖριον ἀεὶ τὰ τῆς καθάρσεως ὑπερτιθέμενοι καὶ ἀπωλείας ἐσχάτης καὶ παντελοῦς ἀλλοτριώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὑποτίθῃσι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁ τῆς σωτηρίας πολέμιος, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ὅλον ἐκτραχηλίσας τὸν ἄθλιον αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ τὸν ὀλεθρον ἐπιστήσῃ *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣ οὐ γινώσκει*· ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς γε χρὴ μήτε διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἀπογινώσκειν, μήτε δὲ διὰ τὴν φιλάνθρωπίαν ἀναπίπτειν καὶ καταρραθυμεῖν ὅλας τὰς παθητικὰς ὀρέξεις, εἰς τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν χαλάσαντας δελεάσματα· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσὶ μηχανήμα ἀντιστήσαντας τὴν μετάνοιαν, ῥαδίως αὐτὸν ἀνατρέπειν, καὶ πίπτοντας αὐτίκα καὶ διορθοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀσφαλίζεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δίκαιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον φρονίμως ἡμῖν καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ συμφερόντως οἰκονομηθήσεται.

**107.** Δια τί μὴ φιλάνθρωπος ἀεὶ ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ δίκαιος καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς πάντας σώζει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν δικαίους ἀμείβεται τοῖς δι' αἰῶνος ἀγαθοῖς, κολάζει δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἀθάνατα; δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γε οἶμαι [Fol. 48v] ἀλλ' ἵνα τῷ μὲν φιλάνθρωπῳ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκτείρῃ, ἅτε διὰ τὸν σωματικὸν σύνδεσμον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πάθη φιλίαν καὶ τὸν ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον καὶ τὴν πάλην τὴν πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, ῥαδίως ἐχούσης πρὸς πάσας τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονὰς μολίβδου περιβριθέστερον καταφέρεισθαι, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔσωθεν κινουμένης, νῦν δ' ἔξωθεν πολεμουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐντεινόντων τὰ τόξα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῖς πικροῖς βέλεσι τῆς ἀμαρτίας κατακεντούντων· τῷ δὲ δικαίῳ, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ νόμον ἡμῖν εἰς βοήθειαν δέδωκε, τὸν μὲν φυσικὸν, τὸν δὲ γραπτὸν, τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ἑαυτοῦ συγκαταβάσεως τρανότερον ἔδειξε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνέδυσσε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ πνεύματος, δικαίας ἀπαιτῇ καὶ τὰς δίκας, εἰ *δειλίαν καὶ προδοσίαν* ἐκούσιον κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μελετήσαιμεν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δεινὸς ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ δεινότερα καὶ φοβερώτερα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεχαλκεύθησαν ὅπλα τοῖς πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ βουλομένοις· ἄλλως τε μὴ καὶ προτροπὴ κακίας γένοιτο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ φιλάνθρωπος εἶναι καὶ μισάνθρωπος καὶ ἄδικος νομισθεῖν. [Fol. 49r]

**108.** Οὐδὲν ἕτερον τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δίκην ἀλαστόρων ἐπιτιθεμένων αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου φροντίδων περιελκόμενον καὶ διασπώμενον καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον εἰς ἄλλοκότους ἐννοίας δύναιτ' ἂν ἐπιστρέφαι πρὸς μόνην τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ἐννοίαν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ οἰονεῖ τι βέλος ἰσχυρὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφιέναι, *τὸ ἐπίστρεψον Κυρίε* λέγοντας τοῦ θείου Ψαλμοῦ *τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν Σιών*· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Λόγιον ὑπαδόμενον καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐνοχλώμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν παθητῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν, τὰ ἴσα δυνηθεῖν ἂν· καταστελεῖ γὰρ αὐτίκα τὸν ἐκ τῶν παθῶν ἡμῖν ἐπεγειρόμενον κλύδωνα καὶ τὸ γαλήνιον τῇ ψυχῇ ἐμπαρέξει.

**109.** Ἐπίλεγε σεαυτῷ πολλάκις ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος τὸ *ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες* καὶ *οὗ πορεύῃ*· ὅπερ διπλὴν ἔχον ἐννοίαν· τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ προαχθῆναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκ γῆς ἀνειληφθαι τὸ σῶμα· χρησιμεύσει τὰ μάλιστα εἰς αὐτὰ δήπου τὰ καιριώτατα· καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν κατεσκεδασμένην εἰς ἃ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως χρῆν, ἐκεῖσε αὖ ἐπιστρέψει ἐξ οὗ καὶ γέγονε, καὶ ἔνθα μετὰ τὴν πλανητὴν ταύτην λήξιν τὴν ἀπλανῇ ποιήσεται πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· τὸ δ' αὖ σῶμα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τῶν παθῶν κατακλητηθὲν καὶ οἷον ἐξανδραποδισθὲν, προσέχειν ἐπαναγκάσει τῇ μητρί τούτου γῇ, ἅτε καὶ μετὰ [Fol. 49v] βραχὺ πρὸς αὐτὴν ποιησόμενον τὴν ἐπάνοδον, οὕτω γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ ἀπαθὲς ἄριστα σεαυτῷ πραγματεύσῃ καὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου κακῶν ἐλευθέρως ἐξελεύσῃ.

1150 **110.** Εἰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκεῖνον Μωσῆα εἰς τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς νοῦν ἐκλάβοις, *Μερρὰν* δὲ  
 1155 *πηγὴν* εἰς τὴν ἀλμυρὰν καὶ ἄποτον γεῦσιν τῶν τοῦ βίου κακῶν, ξύλον δὲ γλυκαῖνον τὸ πικρὸν τῆς  
 γεύσεως, καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν μὲν ἴσως οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν παθῶν νέκρωσιν, δι' ἧς ραδίως καὶ  
 μεθ' ἡδονῆς πίνομεν τὸ κινρῶμενον ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς θείας κύλικος πόμα, οἰκείως ἂν καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα νοήσῃς καὶ θεωρήσῃς καὶ τῆς θείας ἐννοίας· οὐ γὰρ ἀσκόπως τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 προκατεβλήθη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου παιδαγωγίαν.

**111.** Τῷ μὲν πνευματικῷ νόμῳ ἄκρῳ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντι ἀντίκειται ὁ διαβολικὸς ἄκρος, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὢν ἐκ διαμέτρου καὶ κατωτάτω κείμενος· ἀντιφάσκει γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ ἀντιπολιτεύεται καθ' ὅτι ἂν  
 ἐκεῖνος ἐθέλοι· ἔστι δ' ὁμῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ μέσος ἕτερος, οὐχ ὅτι μετέχει κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 1160 μᾶλλον ἐξίσου ἀφέστηκε κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς· ὃ δὴ χρῆται πολλάκις ἐκάτερος ἐκείνων, ἐπειδὴ  
 τὸν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀκρότητος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν μεταστήσαι βούληται· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε  
 ἐξαίφνης γίνεσθαι |Fol. 50r| τὰς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολὰς, εἰ μὴ θεία μόνη ροπή· καὶ γὰρ πηνίκα  
 Χριστὸς προστάττει *πωλεῖν* τὰ ὄντα καὶ *διδόναι πτωχοῖς*, οὐ τῷ *τελώνῃ* τοῦτο προστάττει, οὐδὲ  
 τῷ *ἄρπαγι*, ἀλλὰ τῷ μέσῃ ἔχοντι τάξιν, οἷος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ προσέχων, καὶ μήτε τῶν ὄντων  
 1165 μεταδιδούς, μήτε τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἀπτόμενος· ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀκρότητα  
 κατασπάσαι ἐπιχειρῶν, τὸν μέσον, οὐ τὸν ἄκρον εἰς τοῦτο βιάζεται· ἀλλὰ Θεὸς μὲν, ἅτε δεσπότης  
 ὢν φύσεως, ἔστιν οὗ καὶ φύσιν βιάζεται, ὅτε σπέρματα τινὰ ἢ φύσεως ἢ εὐσεβείας ἢ ἀρετῆς  
 προκαταβαλέσθαι ἐθέλει ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν *Ματθαῖον* εὐρών *καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* ἐνὶ λόγῳ  
 μετέβαλεν εἰς μαθητείαν, καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ὕστερον πυρὶ θείῳ περαιότερον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς· ὁ  
 Σατανᾶς δὲ οὐχ' οὕτως ἰσχύει, εἰ μὴ ὁδῷ τινὶ πρότερον βαδίσειεν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσότητος ἐπὶ τὴν  
 1170 ἀκρότητα ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρότητος ἐπὶ τὴν μεσότητα· οὕτω τὸ μέσον τοῦτο διάστημα τῶν ἔξεων  
 ὥσπερ τις πύλη ἀνέωκται πρὸς τε κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Χριστὸς κολάζει τοὺς διὰ  
 βίου καταμεῖναι τῇ μέσῃ τάξει θελήσαντας καὶ μηδὲν πλέον εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον διανοηθέντας· εἰ  
 γὰρ ἀργία ψυχῆς τὸ μήτε χρηστὸν τι ποιεῖν, μήτε δὲ πονηρὸν, ἐνεργούς δ' ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ Θεὸς εἶναι  
 1175 βούλεται ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς πεπιστευμένους τὰ τάλαντα· εὐδελον ὥς οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν |Fol. 50v|  
 τοῦ κακοῦ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀργίαν κολασθησόμεθα καὶ οὐ δικαιωθησόμεθα,  
 ὅτι μὴ διηρπάσαμεν ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἡλεήσαμεν, οὐδ' ὅτι μὴ ἐτύψαμεν ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ τυφθέντες  
 ἠνέγκαμεν· οὐδ' ὅτι μὴ ὠργίσθημεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ ὀργιζομένων ἐτέρων ἠνεσχόμεθα· καὶ  
 καθόλου εἰπεῖν ὁ πνευματικὸς νόμος καὶ τέλειος διὰ τῶν τοιούτων βαθμῶν τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς  
 ἄνοδον ἡμῖν ὑπανοίγει.

**112.** Τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀταξίας καὶ παραχρήσεως βρωμάτων τε καὶ πομάτων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἀέρος  
 παθῶν καὶ ἄλλων αἰτίων ἐγγινομένην τῷ σώματι νόσον ἰᾶται πολλάκις, φάρμακον κερασθὲν  
 ἐντέχνως· καθαίρει γὰρ τὰ τῇ φύσει προσγενόμενα περιττώματα καὶ τὴν ἄριστην κράσιν  
 ἀποκαθίστησι τοῖς στοιχείοις· τὴν δ' ἐκ παραχρήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων παρειασθαρθεῖσαν τῇ ψυχῇ  
 1185 καχεξίαν, καὶ τὰ παθητικὰ ταύτης μέρη εἰς ἐσχάτας κακίας μεταβαλούσαν, ἰᾶται λόγος  
 πνευματικὸς, συντεθεὶς ἄριστα ἐκ παντοίων ὑπομνημάτων τῶν Θεῶν Λογίων· ὁ τοιοῦτος γὰρ  
 οἷόν τι βοήθημα εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς διανοίας χωρήσας τὴν ἐναποκειμένην ὕλην τῆς πονηρίας εἰς τὸ  
 ἔξω κενοῖ, τὴν δ' ἀρμόζουσιν καὶ ἀναλόγον τροφήν καὶ οἰκίαν τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων  
 ἀντεισφέρει προσηνῶς μάλιστα καὶ ἡπίως· τῷ γὰρ φιληδόνῳ ὑποτίθεται ἀντὶ τῆς κατεψευ|Fol.  
 1190 51r|σμένης ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον, τῷ δὲ φιλοδόξῳ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δόξαν ἀντὶ τῆς  
 ἐπιγείου, τῷ δὲ φιλοπλούτῳ τὸν ἄφθαρτον πλοῦτον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπικήρου καὶ ἐπιβούλου· καὶ ταῦτα  
 σοφῶς ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι παρασκευάζων αὐτὴν, ζῆν ἐπαναγκάζει οὐ διὰ τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
 τὰ μέλλοντα· ἐνθα καὶ τὸν αἰδίων αἰῶνα πολιτεύσεται αἰδίως.

**113.** Πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὑποκείμενα γενέσει τε καὶ φθορᾷ, ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ κινεῖται καὶ αἰεὶ  
 μεταβάλλει, οὔτε ὅρων τινων ἔστι δεκτικά, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐναργῆς ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν γένοιτο, οὔτε  
 1195 ἀποδείξεων τῶν τί ποτὲ ἔστι παραστατικῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἀλλοιοῦται καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν  
 χώραν μεθίσταται· πῶς ἂν ὅρον τινὰ σχοίη, ἢ τί ὄν ἀποδειχθεῖ; ἀλλ' εἴ τις μᾶλλον τὸ μὴ ὄν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀποδοίη, τάληθές ἂν μᾶλλον διανοηθεῖ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως· οὐκοῦν πάντα τὰ τῇδε  
 ταῦτο τι δύνασθαι οἰητέον, εἴτε δόξαι εἶεν, εἴτε ἀδοξίαί, εἴτε τρυφαί, εἴτε ἐνδειαί, εἴτε πάντα τὰ  
 δοκοῦντα λυπηρὰ ἢ χρηστὰ, τοῖς περὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ ὄντος καὶ ἀληθοῦς τὴν ζήτησιν ποιουμένοις.

**114.** Εἰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον *στενὴ μὲν ἢ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν  
 ἀπάγουσα*, τοῦναντίον δὲ *πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ φέρουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν*· ἔστι δὲ τῆς μὲν  
 1200 ἴδιον |Fol. 51v| τὸ ἀδοξεῖν τε καὶ πένεσθαι καὶ ξενιτεύειν καὶ πεινῆν καὶ ῥιγοῦν καὶ  
 συκοφαντεῖσθαι καὶ διαρπάζεσθαι καὶ ἀτιμοῦσθαι καὶ πάντα δὲ πάσχειν τὰ χεῖριστα, τῆς δὲ  
 πλατείας ἴδια τὰ ἀντικείμενα τούτοις· τῷ ὄντι μακαριοὶ μὲν οἱ κατ' ἐκείνην ζῆν ἀξιωθέντες ἢ

1205 ἐκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες, κἂν ἄθλιοι τοῖς πλείστοις δοκῶσιν· ἄθλιοι δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ παντὸς καλοῦ ἔκπτωτοι οἱ τῆς *πλατείας* καὶ *εὐρυχώρου*, κἂν πάντες αὐτοὺς μακαρίζωσι· *πλανῶσι* γὰρ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον οἱ μακαρίζοντες αὐτοὺς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν τὸ *τέλος ζωῆς*, τοῖς δέ, *θάνατος*.

1210 **115.** Εἰ Παύλῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ πρὸς Θεοῦ εἴρηται τοῦ *σκόλοπος* ἄφεςιν ἐξαιτοῦντι *ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ χάριτι*· *τὴν γὰρ* θεῖαν *δύναμιν ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦσθαι* δεῖ καὶ πάντα τὸν κατὰ Χριστὸν ζῆν ἡρημένον καταδέχεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας, εἴτουν *διωκόμενον ἀνέχεσθαι*, ζημιούμενον καρτερεῖν, *πενόμενον* εὐχαριστεῖν, ἀτιμούμενον ὑπομένειν, κακολογούμενον εὐλογεῖν· ὁ γὰρ πνευματικός νόμος ἀντικείμενος τῷ σαρκικῷ πάντα τὰ τούτῳ ἐναντία πραγματεύεσθαι βούλεται, ἵνα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶντα διαβιβάσας ἐνθένδε, εἰς τὴν τῶν δικαίων χώραν τὴν ἀπεναντίας τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἀποκαταστήσῃ· ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ *Ἀβραάμ κόλπος*, οὐπὲρ ἀπὸ δια[Fol. 52r]στήματος ὁ σαρκικός πλούσιος ἀποτηγανιζόμενος, ρανίδος τυχεῖν ἐφίεται τῆς θείας δρόσου τῆς τῷ πνευματικῷ Λαζάρῳ ἀποκληρωθείσης καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἐπιτυγχάνει.

1220 **116.** Εἰ τὰ παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονότα ἀεὶ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι ἀμεταμέλητα ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ τοῦ παρόντος βίου οὐδαμῶς βούλεται εἶναι, ὡς φθειρόμενα καὶ ἀπολλύμενα, οὐκ ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· οὐκοῦν πονηρίας ἂν εἴη καὶ κακοφροσύνης ἀναπλάσματα καὶ οὐ δεῖ τοὺς συνετοὺς καὶ ἐξέφρονas τούτοις συνδιατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀθάνατον ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ κακὸν φύσει κληρωσαμένοις.

1225 **117.** Εἰ τῆς αὐτῆς συστοιχίας εἴτουν ἀναλογίας ἐστὶ πρὸς τε σῶμα σκιὰ καὶ εἰκὼν πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ὄνειρος πρὸς ἐγρήγορσιν καὶ τὰ ἐν ὀνείροις ὑποσκιαζόμενα πρὸς τε τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει ὀρώμενα, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ παρὼν βίος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πράγματα εἰκόνες τῶν ἀοράτων, ἣ που λανθάνομεν ἄνθρωποι σκιάς κατέχοντες καὶ ὀνείρους ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν καὶ βεβαιῶν; εἰ δ' ἀνανήψομεν ἀφέμενοι τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὕπνου, εὐρήσομεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ ταύτης γεγονότες, ὡς μηδὲν ὄντα παραδραμούμεθα τὰ παρόντα, ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοτε συμπίπτειν ἐθέλοι ἢ πρὸς τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς περισπούδαστον καὶ ἀκταῖον, ἢ πρὸς τὸ φευκτὸν τε καὶ ἀπευκταῖον. [Fol. 52v]

1230 **118.** Τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν πρᾶγμα καὶ λύπην ἐναντίαν ἡμῖν διάθεσιν ἐργαζόμενον ἐνεφυτεύθη τῇ φύσει παρὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐστῶσι καὶ ἀκινήτοις τῶν ὄντων ἡδυνώμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀποπίπτοντες λυπώμεθα· ἡμεῖς εὖ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, τῶν ἄνω λήθην παθόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω ταῦτα τὸν νοῦν μεταθέντες ἡδυνώμεθα καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν καὶ ἀναιροῦμεν τὸν θεῖον σκοπόν, καθ' ὃν σοφῶς οὕτω πρὸς ταῦτα πεφύκαμεν· οὐκοῦν ἢ οὕτω χρὴ καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν, ἢ εἴπερ ἐπ' ἄλλό τι μεταφέρειν δεήσει τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν αὐτοῖς προσεῖη τὸ ἀδιάβλητον, ἵνα δηλονότι λυπώμεθα, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς λυπούμεθα καὶ αὐτὸ χαίροντες ἡδυνώμεθα, ὅτι ἐνθα εἰκὸς ἡδυνώμεθα· εἰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων ἕξω τι δρῶμεν, ἀλογίαν νοσοῦμεν σαφῆ κατὰ τὴν κτηνώδη φύσιν, ἣτις μόνην τὴν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἡδονὴν τε καὶ λύπην λογίζεται, ὡς τὴν φυσικὴν μόνην ζῶσα ζωὴν καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

1240 **119.** Οἱ μὲν φιλάργυροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπλῶς πόνων ἐπιχορηγοῦσι τὴν ὕλην τῇ τῆς φιλαργυρίας φλογί, ἀλλὰ καὶ, ὅθεν ἂν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο, ἔξωθεν ἀπονητὶ κτήσασθαι ἀσμενέστατα προσλαμ[Fol. 53r]βάνουσιν· οἱ δὲ θερμοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργάται πονοῦσι μὲν οἶον καὶ αὐτοὶ οἰκοθεν κατακτήσασθαι τὸν μέγαν τουτονὶ τοῦ καλοῦ πλοῦτον· οὐ μὴν, εἴ τινες κατὰ τὰς συμβαινούσας περιπετείας ἐξ ἀκουσίων ἐπιφορῶν συνάraitο τοῦ σπουδάσματος, ἀηδέστερον αὐτοῖς διατίθενται, οὐδὲ προσίενται προθύμως ἐνασμενίζοντες τοῖς ἐπενηνεγμένοις· τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν μάλιστα καὶ χάριτας προσομολογοῦσιν, ὅτι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς γεώργια συγκομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἄλω· κἂν δέη συκοφαντηθῆναι, κέρδος τουτὶ νομίζουσι, κἂν ὑβρισθῆναι ὁμοίως, κἂν αἰκισθῆναι, κἂν τῶν ὄντων ἐκπεπτωκέναι, κἂν πάντα τὰ χεῖριστα πεπονθέναι.

1250 **120.** Εἰ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ταυτὶ δικαστήρια οὐδέποτε σχολὴν ἄγει κατὰ γε τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ καὶ δικάζει τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, καὶ οὓς μὲν ἀνευθύνους εὖροι ἀφίησιν, οὓς δ' ὑπευθύνους ὑπάγει τοῖς νόμοις καὶ διορθοῦται καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐπιστρέφει· ἢ που τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαστήριον, τὸ μέχρι ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐξανιχνεὸν ψυχὰς, [Fol. 53v] ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπινῶν πραγμάτων; εὐλαβητέον οὖν ἀνθρώπῳ παντὶ τὸ φρικτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαστήριον, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄν τῶν ἀπάντων, ὃ μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ κεῖται τοῖς τὰ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιέχουσι· κἂν γὰρ μὴ αὐτίκα πράξῃται δίκas, ἀλλ' ἢ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας, πηνίκα πάντες *παραστησόμεθα* δίκas ὑφέζοντες αἰώνιους τῶν κακῶς ἡμῖν διωκονομημένων.



- 1260 **121.** Ὡςπερ ὁ τοῦ σώματος θάνατος ἐστὶ φθορὰ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θάνατος ἐστὶν ἁμαρτία καὶ χωρισμὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀμφοτέρους οὖν θανάτους ὁ Ἀδὰμ πέπονθε κατὰ τὴν παράβασιν· τὸν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσοθειαν ἐν τῷ φανταστικῷ μέρει ἀνατυπωσάμενος, τὸν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης βρώσεως γεγευσμένος· ἀλλὰ Χριστὸς αὐτῆς τούτους κατήγγησε, τὸν οὕτω συντριβέντα αἰσχυρῶς ἀναπλάσας· τὸν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἑαυτὸν μέχρι *δούλου μορφῆς* ταπεινώσας·
- 1265 τὸν δὲ τοῦ σώματος, πάσης καθάπαξ ἡδονῆς ἀποσχομένος καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως πολιτευσάμενος· εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς δοθείσας [Fol. 54r] παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς πολιτευόμεθα, συντηροῦμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέραν ἀθανασίαν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ πάλιν τῆς ἡδονῆς δελεάσμασι παρασυρόμεθα καὶ φιλαρχία κλεπτόμεθα καὶ βρώμασι ἀπατηλοῖς ἐνηδόμεθα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀναστρέφομεν τοὺς θανάτους, Θεοῦ χωριζόμενοι καὶ *πυρί ἀσβέστῳ* παραδιδόμενοι.
- 1270 **122.** Δύο πεπωκὼς παρὰ τοῦ ὄψεως δηλητήρια ὁ Ἀδὰμ, δύο θανάτους τέθηκε· τὸν μὲν τῆς ἰσοθείας κατὰ ψυχὴν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἡδονῆς· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦν Θεοῦ χωρισμὸς, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος φθορὰ καὶ διάλυσις· Χριστοῦ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω τῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσει ἀπαθανάτισαντος, καὶ γὰρ τὰ διεφθαρμένα ταῦτα ἀνέλαβε, τὴν πρώτην ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀθανασίαν ἔνειμε· δεῖ οὖν ἐμμένειν ταῖς θεαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐντολαῖς, εἴ γε τηρεῖν ἐθέλομεν τὴν χάριν ἀδιαλώβητον· ὥς εἴ γε νῦν μὲν ψυχικοῖς, νῦν δὲ σωματικοῖς πάθεσιν ἐξαχρειοῦμεν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἀξιώματος τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τὰ ἴσα κακὰ καὶ κατὰ τῆς δευτέρας πλάσεως [Fol. 54v] διανοοῦμεθα, παραβάται πάλιν ἐξελεγχόμεθα καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς θανάτους, εἰ μὴ καὶ χεῖρους τῷ Ἀδὰμ, ὑποστησόμεθα καταδικασθέντες.
- 1275 **123.** Τὴν τῆς ἰσοθείας ὄφρυν, ἣν ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἤρε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ Θεὸς βουλόμενος ἀνελεῖν, κολάζει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα θανάτῳ καὶ δουλείᾳ ἀσχήμονι· εἴθ' ὥς φιλόανθρωπος πατὴρ οἶκτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ πλάσματι, συγκαταβαίνει τῷ γένει καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκὼν ὑφίσταται κατὰ δίκας· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀναιρῶν τὰ προξενήσαντα πάθη, τὴν τιμωρίαν δούλου μορφὴν ἀντὶ τῆς φαντασθείσης θεώσεως ὑποδύεται· καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐκ βασιλίδος μητρὸς, ἀλλ' εὐτελοῦς τε καὶ ταπεινῆς, καὶ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς μεγέθει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐχούσης κατὰ πασῶν· καὶ κατακλίνεται
- 1285 οὐκ ἐν χρυσοφόροις οἰκίμασι, σμικρῷ δὲ πάνυ σπηλαίῳ καὶ τούτῳ εἰς σταθμὸν κατεσκευασμένῳ ζώων ἀλόγων· εἶτα προίων, πενιχρῶς μάλιστα πολιτεύεται καὶ δεῖσαν δοῦναι φόρον τῷ Καίσαρι, τελεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσεὶ τις τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα [Fol. 55r] καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αἰσθόμενος· φιλαρχίας ὀρεγομένων καὶ προεδρίας, τὴν ἐσχάτην αὐτοῖς παρεγγυᾷ χώραν, εἴπερ τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς πρώτης τυχεῖν ἐθέλοien· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆς εἰς θάνατον κατενεγκούσης τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
- 1290 *τεσσαρακονθημέρῳ* χρῆται *νηστεία*, καὶ ὅζος κατὰ τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ *χολὴν* καὶ *σπόγγον* καὶ *κάλαμον* καὶ *στέφανον* ἐκ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ *λόγχην* κατὰ τὴν *πλευρὰν* ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καταδέχεται· ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ κατὰ τὰς χεῖρας, δι' ὧν ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἀπειρημένης ἡψατο βρώσεως καὶ δι' ὧν εἰς τὸ τῆς παρανομίας ἐπέδραμε πτώμα ποδῶν, ὅζεῖς τινὰς καταπαγέντας ἦλους· καὶ τὴν ὅλην ὡς εἰπεῖν φύσιν καταφαρμαχθεῖσαν τῷ τοῦ διαβόλου ἱατρῷ ἐν προσχήματι γλυκύτητος, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ κране θανάτῳ βιαίῳ· ὥς γὰρ σοφὸς ἱατρὸς τοῖς ἐναντίοις χρησάμενος, ἐθεράπευσε χρονίως κάμνοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἦν δὴ τέχνην καὶ παραδέδωκε τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεθεραπευμένοις, ἐπειδὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τοῖς αὐτοῖς νοσήμασι περιπέσσωσι· χρεῖα οὖν, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν πάθεσι, ταπεινώσεως καὶ συντριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐξωθεν λυπηρῶν καταδοχῆς, ἐν δὲ [Fol. 55v] τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, νηστείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ὅσα τὴν σάρκα λυπεῖν οἶδεν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν ἡδονῆς, ἢ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπινοούμενα ἢ παρὰ προαίρεσιν ἐπερχόμενα.
- 1295 **124.** Δύο τινὰ τῆς προπατορικῆς κακίας ἐστὶ φάρμακα· τῆξιν σαρκὸς ἐξ ἐγκρατείας ἡδονῆς ἀναιρετική καὶ ἀτιμία καθαιρετική τῆς φιλοδοξίας· ὁ καταδεχόμενος ἀμφοτέρας ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ πρῶτον ἀξίωμα, ὁ δὲ μὴ καταδεχόμενος ἐναποθνήσκει τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τῆς παραβάσεως.
- 1300 **125.** Ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ σκοπιᾷ ἀναβεβηκὼς ὁρᾷ εὐπετῶς μάλα τὰ πόρρω, ὁ δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοπόνως κατελιφὼς κατανοεῖ τὰ ὄντα ἐπιστημόνως· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν τῶν παθῶν ὁμίχλην ἐπιπροσθοῦσαν τῇ διανοίᾳ.
- 1305 **126.** Τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀχθῆς ἐστηκότα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὐκ ἔῃ τῶν καταρρηγνυμένων ρευμάτων ὁ ψόφος διακούειν τῶν ἔγγιστα· τὸν δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ψυχῆς διατεθορυβημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ροίζου τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔνι πῶς ἔχειν τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ χείρονος.
- 1310 **127.** Ἐπειδὴν τὰ σύμφυτα πάθη καὶ οἱ λογισμοὶ καὶ [Fol. 56r] οἱ δαίμονες κατεξανιστάμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποφέρωνται τὴν νικῶσαν, χρή ἐπιλέγειν τὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ *οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ μου ζῶσι καὶ κεκραταίονται ὑπὲρ ἐμέ*.
- 128.** Ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξὼ περιπλανήσας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν διασωθεὶς ὁρᾷ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὅπως ἡ ἀμελείας ἢ ἐπιμελείας ἔχει· ὁ δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις συναγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξὼ εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμεῖα οἶδεν

1315 ἀκριβῶς τὰ οἰκεῖα κατορθώματα τε καὶ ὑστερήματα, καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀναπληρῶν τὸ ἐλλείπον ἐπιλέγει τὸ *εὐφράνθησαν*, ὅτι *ἡσυχασαν*.

**129.** Κάτοπτρον μὲν δυσειδὲς πρόσωπον ἐξελέγει, ἡσυχία δὲ συν νήψει καὶ προσευχῇ, ψυχῆς ἀμορφίαν ὑπὸ παθῶν αὐτῇ συντακεῖσαν.

1320 **130.** Οὐτ' ἐν κατόπτρῳ ῥυπῶντι οὐτ' ἐν ὕδατι βορβόρου πεπληρωμένῳ δυναταὶ τις ἰδεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιάν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ψυχῇ μεστή γενόμενῃ πονηρίας καὶ ἀκαταστασίας ἔχει τις θεάσασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν φαυλότητα.

1325 **131.** Διπλῇ τις ἐστὶν ἡ θεωρία τῆς κτίσεως τῷ μετὰ διανοίας αὐτὴν κατασκεπτομένῳ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τε τὸ εἰδέναι τὰ ὄντα καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅπως ποτε φύσεως ἔχει· ἡ δὲ τὸ, καὶ τίνας ἔχει τοὺς λόγους δι' οὓς μάλιστα [Fol. 56v] γέγονεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐμποιεῖ γνῶσιν τῷ νῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀρετὴν τῇ ψυχῇ κατεργάζεται· εἰ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν, ὅτι ζῶν ἐστὶ λογικὸν θνητὸν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικὸν, οὐκ ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον δι' ὃν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ γεγένηται, ἵνα δηλονότι εἴη εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος κτισμάτων, ἵνα κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα, ἐναπομένονεν μόνον τῇ τῆς αἰσθήσεως γνώσει, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ σκοποῦ ἔξω πίπτομεν κτηνώδη βίον καὶ ἄλογον διαζῶντες, ὅπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πεπόνθασιν.

1330 **132.** Νοῦς πρὸς τὰ πάθη ῥαδίως καταφερόμενος οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων ἐκπολεμοῦται, ἀλλὰ προσαναπλάττει ἑσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα, καὶ τούτοις κατὰ διάνοιαν ὑφισταμένοις προσομιλεῖ· τοῦτο πάσχει καὶ ὁ φιλάργυρος, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κενόδοξος, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ φιλήδονος καὶ ὁ φίλερις ἄνθρωπος· κἂν μὴ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀποφράττη τῶν προσβολῶν, οὐδέποτε αὐτὸν πόλεμος ἐπιλείπει.

1335 **133.** Μέσος ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἰστάμενος παρακαλεῖται αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐναντίας ῥοπὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς βίαν καθέλκεται· [Fol. 57r] κἂν μὲν τῇ ἀγαθῇ πλάστιγγι ἐπινεύσῃ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεται, εἰ δὲ τῇ πονηρᾷ τὸ πονηρὸν· καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς δεῦρο διὰ βίου τὴν πάλιν ἔλαχε· πλὴν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀληθινῶν ἀξιωματῶν τῶν θειῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων τὴν πειθῶ κατεργάζεται, τὸ δὲ ἐκ σεσοφισμένων καὶ ἀσυλλογίστων τῆς σφετέρως ἀπάτης καὶ πανουργίας· εἰ μὴδὲν οὖν ἄλλο εὐλαβητέον, τὴν γοῦν ἀξίαν τοῦ τὰ κάλλιστα συμβουλευόντος περὶ πλείονος ποιητέον.

1340 **134.** Τὸ ἀγαθὸν πνεῦμα συναίτιον ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἷτιον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς κακίας τὸ πονηρὸν· οὐσης γὰρ ἡμετέρας τῆς ὕλης τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως, ἐξ ἐκείνων λοιπὸν εἰδοποιεῖται πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ὑπαρξίν ἔρχεται· μᾶλλον δ' εἰ τάληθές χρεὶ λέγειν, αἷτιον μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν πνεῦμα τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἅτε Δημιουργὸν ἡμῖν ὄν, καὶ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους καὶ προαιρέσεως καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων εἰς ἐκείνην συντελούντων ὀργάνων· τὸ δὲ πονηρὸν συναίτιον μόνον τῆς πονηρίας διὰ τὸ συγκατεργάζεσθαι τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ προαιρέσει· πολλῆς οὖν ἂν εἴη ἀδικίας καὶ ῥαθυμίας, εἰ τὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ κτήματα ἀφαιροῦντες, πονηρῷ δεσπότη φέροντες οἰκιοῦμεν.

1350 **135.** Οὐδὲν κατορθοῦται τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Θεοῦ χωρὶς, οὐδὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ὁμοίως μὴ συνεργούσης τῆς ἐναντίας δυνάμεως· ἐξ ὑποκειμένης γὰρ ὕλης τῶν παθητικῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνίσταται καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία, τεχνίτου ὡσανεὶ δεομένη ἢ χρηστοῦ ἢ [Fol. 57v] φαύλου εἰς εἰδοποίησιν ἐκατέρων· κἂν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἢ χρῆσις τῆς ὕλης γένηται, ἀποτελεῖται τὸ ἔργον κατὰ γε τὴν τέχνην τοῦ σοφοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος· εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ὥσπερ ὁ τῆς κακίας σοφιστῆς ὑπέθετο, τοῦναντίον· τὰ δὲ ἀποτελέσματα, ἐναργῇ γνωρίσματα ἐκατέρων.

1355 **136.** Ἡ μὲν χάρις τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐξ ὄντων καὶ ἀληθινῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον περαίνει, ἡ δὲ ἀντικειμένη δύναμις ἐκ ψευδῶν καὶ ἀνυποστάτων τὸ τῆς κακίας· ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁρῶσα καὶ ἀληθεῖς προτείνουσα ὁρους, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ ψευδεῖς ὑποτιθεῖσα ἀρχάς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὴν τῶν σωφρόνων ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὑποτιθεῖς καὶ ἀγαθὸν συνῆξε συμπέρασμα· ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν φαύλων τοῦτο τιθεῖς, ψευδὲς μάλα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπᾶδον· πάσῃ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τέχνῃ τῶν ὄντων πλάνης ἐπομένης, σοφιστῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς γε τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγνοίας· μόνῃ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ τοῦτο γίνεται, μετ' ἐντρεχείας αἰεὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐφεστηκότος· καὶ δεῖ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς πρὸς τὰς κακοτεχνίας πλεόν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὄρᾶν, μὴ ποτε λάθωσι κατασοφισθέντες.

1365 **137.** Ὁ παρὼν βίος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν, ὅτι μὴ ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς [Fol. 58r] ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς, ὃν τις ἐχέφρων ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ *κεκρυμμένον θησαυρὸν* συννόησας, ἐπρίατο τὰ ὄντα *πάντα διαπωλῆσας*· ὃς δὴ ἀγρὸς ἔχει μὲν ἀντὶ δένδρων τοὺς συμπεφυκότας λόγους τῶν ὄντων, ἔχει δὲ καὶ θησαυρὸν εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα αὐτοῦ κείμενον καὶ οὐχ ὁρώμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτὴν τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς κατ' *οὐρανὸν* πολιτείας· ᾧ γοῦν ὑπῆρξεν ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αὐγῆς ἢ συνειδήσεως ἢ μαθήσεως

1370 ἢ κρείττονος τινὸς κινήσεως ἐξεπιπολῆς ἐκείνον εὐρεῖν καὶ θεάσασθαι, ἀπεμπολεῖ τὴν ἐτέραν  
 αὐτῷ προσοῦσαν ἄλογον κτῆσιν τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων, ὅση δηλονότι θεωρεῖται περὶ τὴν  
 αἴσθησιν καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς γε ἐπιθυμίαν· καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξωνεῖται τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν θείων λόγων  
 διάσκεψιν· καὶ τούτοις προσκείμενος αἰεὶ καὶ φιλοπονῶν, κληρονομεῖ διὰ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων  
 1375 ὁδηγίας καὶ γνώσεως τὸν κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς πλουσίοις ἀποκείμενον  
 θησαυρόν.

**138.** *Ἄγρός ἐστιν* εὐαγγελικὸς ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος, ἔχων φυτὰ κατ' ἐκείνον τὰς ἀπείρους μυριάδας  
 τῶν νοερῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς τάξεις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος δικαίων· *θησαυρὸς δὲ*  
*κεκρυμμένος* ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ, ὁ βασιλεὺς [Fol. 58v] τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ποιητὴς τοῦ παντὸς, ὅς τοις πᾶσιν  
 1380 ἀθέατος ὢν κατὰ φύσιν, γίνεται δ' οὖν ὁμως καὶ τισὶ θεατὸς· τοῖς ἐξεταστικοῖς δηλονότι καὶ  
 θεωρητικοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν, οἱ τοῦ τηλικούτου θησαυροῦ γεγονότες ἐν φαντασίᾳ πάντα τὰ παρόντα  
 ἐκποισάμενοι, ἐν ἀντὶ παντὸς κομίζονται, τὸν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄγρον· ἔνθα ὁ Κυρίος ἐνσκηνεῖ,  
 νόμῳ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιланθρωπίας ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχων τοῖς φιλοκάλοις καὶ φιλοπόνοις.

**139.** Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς *θαλάσσης* ἀνασπώμενην *σαγήνην* ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ μετὰ τὸ *πεπληρῶσθαι* τῆς  
 ἄγρας, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τις ἐκλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀγρευθέντων πληθὺν τῷ θείῳ κηρύγματι· οἵτινες,  
 1385 εἰ μὲν καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καθαρθεῖεν, εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἱεουργίαν ὡς καθαρὰ  
 παραλαμβάνονται θύματα· εἰ δ' αἰσchrῶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτως μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ζῆσαιεν ὡς ἀκάθαρτοι  
 λοιπὸν, ἔξω που ῥιπτοῦνται καὶ καταπατοῦνται μηδενὶ ὄντες χρήσιμοι, ὅτι μὴ τῷ διαβόλῳ τῷ  
 κυνὸς δίκην λιμώττοντος σπαράττοντι καὶ κατεσθίοντι τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς.

**140.** Ὁ διὰ πρακτικῆς καὶ θεωρητικῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁμολογῶν *τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ ζῶντος*  
 1390 ἀκούσειε κατὰ τὸν Πέτρον παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω*  
*μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, καὶ *πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς* καὶ *δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς*  
*βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν*, τουτέστιν ἀποστολικὸν ἀναλήψη ἀξίωμα· καὶ τὸ εἰς σέ *ἦκον*,  
*ἐποικοδομηθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐμὴ διαθήκη*, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον πολιτεία· καὶ *πύλαι ἄδου*  
 αἱ τοῦ Σατανᾶ εἰσοδοὶ τε καὶ ἐξοδοι, αἵτινες διὰ τῶν ἔξω αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνοιγόμεναι  
 1395 εἰς κακίαν, οὐδεμίαν κατ' αὐτῆς δυνάμιν ἔξουσιν· ἀλλ' ὅσος μᾶλλον βίος καὶ λόγος, εἰσοδος  
 γένοιτο ἂν τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ *κλεῖς* τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς φέρουσιν πύλην ἀνοίγουσα καὶ εἰσάγουσα.

**141.** Ἀποσκίασμα σώματος ὅμοιον εἶναι ὁ παρὼν οὗτοσί κόσμος πρὸς γε τὸν νοητὸν  
 παρεξεταζόμενος καὶ ὥσανεὶ τις εἰκὼν πρωτοτύπου τινὸς ὑφεστῶτος καθ' αὐτὸ πρᾶγματος· καὶ  
 οὐχ ἁπλῶς ὅλος πρὸς ὅλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρη πρὸς μέρη, εἴ τέ τις τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀρετῆς ἐξετάζειν  
 1400 ἐθέλοι, εἴ τ' ἐπὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως, εἴ τ' ἐπὶ θείων μυστηρίων καὶ λόγων, εἴ τ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατ'  
 αἴσθησιν προσβαλλόντων τῆς φύσεως ἀγαλμάτων, τῶν τε κατ' οὐρανὸν φημι θαμάτων καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ θεῖοι φασὶ λόγῳ ποτὲ ἀποκαταστήσεσθαι τὸ ὀρώμενον τοῦτο εἰς τὴν  
 κρείττω οὐσίαν καὶ πολιτείαν· ἥς ἐν φαντα[Fol. 59v]σίᾳ γενόμενοι οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαζήσαντες  
 καὶ πρὶν θανάτου τεθνήκασιν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνθένδε ἐκδημίας ἐκεῖσε πνευματικῶς ἐξεδήμησαν, οὐκ  
 1405 ἀνεχόμενοι σκιαῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν καὶ πλάσματος πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας.

**142.** *Ὁφείλεται* πάντες ἐσμέν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ πλέον εὐεργετηθέντες Θεῷ *μυρίων*  
*ταλάντων*· τὰ δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν βίον ἐληλυθότες εὐλήφειμεν εἰς κατασκευὴν·  
 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἃ μετὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν συντριβέντες, εἴτα ἀναπλασθέντες ἀρρήτοις λόγοις  
 1410 δημιουργίας ἐναργῶς προσεὶλήφειμεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ καθ' ἡμέραν εὖ πάσχοντες, εἴτα  
 προσκρούοντες τῷ πεποικῶτι συγχωρούμεθα φιλανθρωπῶς· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἢ τοῖς ἡμῖν  
*ὀφείλουσιν* ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι γοῦν δεομένοις συμπαθεῖς τε καὶ χρήσιμοι φαινόμεθα, ἀσφαλῶς τὰ τῆς  
*ὀφειλῆς* ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖται παρὰ Θεοῦ μηδὲν ἐξῆς ἐγκαλουμένοις περὶ τὴν *ἀπόδοσιν*· εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ψηφίζόμεθα κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ ἴσα καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀποφαινόμεθα.

**143.** Τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν κατορθούμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἔστι μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰς Θεὸν  
 1415 ἀναφέρειν ἐν εἰκόνι τῷ Λόγῳ παραδεικτέον· ποιητέον γὰρ καὶ λύρας καὶ ἄσματα, εἴτα τινὶ  
 προσοιστέον καὶ ᾄδειν ἐπιτρεπτέον· ὁ δὲ εἴξας μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖτω, μηδὲ σύν ἄλλῳ ἢ ὁ καὶ μεθ'  
 οὐ· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἔξει τι εἰπεῖν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἔργον [Fol. 60r] εἰσενεγκεῖν· εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς; εἰ γὰρ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ὥσπερ λύραν τινὰ πρὸς Θεοῦ εὐλήφειμεν καὶ τὴν  
 ἐναρμόνιον τῆς ἀρετῆς ιδέαν ἐκεῖθεν ποθεν ἐδιδάχθημεν, σχολῇ ἂν εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐργασίαν  
 1420 παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσενέγκωμεν, ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο φρονήματος ὑποπίμπλασθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως  
 ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κακίας, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ κακοῦ πρᾶξιν  
 ἐπιμεριστέον· ἡμῖν μὲν, ἅτ' ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄργανα χρῶσι καὶ τὰ μέλη Χριστοῦ,  
 ὥσανεὶ μέλη πόρνης ποιοῦσι κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον· ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ, ὡς γεννήτορι κακίας ὑποδειχθέντι.

1425 **144.** Εἰ Χριστὸς φησὶν ἐπὶ τῶν δαίμοσιν ἐνοχλουμένων τὸ γένος τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξέρχεται εἰ μὴ ἐν  
 προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ συμπίπτοντες πειρασμοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων,  
 πολλῶ ἂν μᾶλλον ἀρμόσειε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς τε καὶ νηστείας φάρμακον· οὐκοῦν  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ παντὸς πειρασμοῦ τε καὶ πάθους καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος συμπτώματος ὄχλον ἀνθρώποις  
 παρεχομένου ἐπὶ τὰ ἀλεξιτήρια ταυτὶ καταφεύγειν· ἐπειδὴ νηστεία μὲν οἶδε καθαίρειν σῶμα,  
 1430 ψυχὴν δὲ Θεῷ συνάπτειν ἢ προσευχῇ· οὗ δὲ κάθαρσις καὶ Θεὸς ἐπιχωριάζει, πῶς ἂν ἡ πονηρὰ  
 δύναμις μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας πολιτευθεῖ; εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς σώμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι  
 τὰναντία συνεῖναι ἀδύνατον, πολλῶ ἂν ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τε καὶ θειοτέροις. [Fol. 60v]

**145.** Εἰ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς τοῖς μαθητοῖς ἐγκελεύεται προσεῦχεσθαι, μὴ εἰς πειρασμοὺς ἐμπεσεῖν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ ρύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ὥσανεὶ καὶ τύπον τούτου διδοὺς προσεῦχεται καὶ  
 ταῦθ' ἐκὼν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος ἐρχόμενος, ἧ που καὶ ἐν πειρασμοῖς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἱκανὸν τὸ τῶν  
 1435 προσευχῶν χρῆμα ἐλευθεροῦν; εἰ γὰρ ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμαρτιῶν πειράζεται, τὸ γὰρ θεῖον  
 ὡς φησὶν ὁ θεὸς Ἰάκωβος ἀπειραστον ἐστὶ κακῶν, αἱ δὲ ἀμαρτίαι σπέρματα τοῦ διαβόλου εἰσὶ,  
 δῆλον ὡς ὁ διὰ προσευχῆς ἀντιστήσας ὥσπερ τι δρέπανον τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χεῖρα, οὐ μόνον ὡς  
 ζιζάνια τούτους ἐκκόψει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνασπάσει ριζόθεν καὶ ἡμῶν κακῶν ἐλευθέρους ποιήσει.

**146.** Τῶν ἀρετῶν, αἱ μὲν εἰσι φυσικαὶ οἷον εὐαισθησία, ἰσχύς, κάλλος, ὕγεια, ψυχικαὶ δὲ  
 1440 φρόνησις, ἀνδρία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη· ἕκασται ἐκείναι ἐκάσταις ταῦτ' ἀναλογοῦνται. αἱ δὲ  
 ψυχικαὶ τριχῇ διήρηνται· αἱ μὲν κοσμοῦσαι ἤθη καὶ οἶκους καὶ πολιτείας, ὅποι καὶ τὸ πρακτικὸν  
 τῆς ψυχῆς διαφαίνεται, αἱ δὲ νοῦν καθαίρουσαι ἀγνοίας καὶ πονηρίας, αἱ δὲ καὶ θεοποιοῦσαι ὅλως  
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὰ ἴσα ποιοῦσαι δύνασθαι αὐτῷ Θεῷ ἢ ὅτι ἐγγυτάτῳ, οὗ αἴτιον αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ τὰ  
 μάλιστα κεκαθάρθαι τῷ πρακτικῷ τε καὶ θεωρητικῷ· ἐκ τούτων οὔτε αἱ φυσικαὶ εἰσι τεχνηταὶ  
 1445 οὔτε αἱ ἄκραι θεωρητικαὶ, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν δῶρον Θεοῦ διὰ φύσεως συμφύονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ  
 ὥσανεὶ τι ἐπαθλὸν τῶν μέσων ἀρετῶν παρὰ τῆς χάριτος χορηγοῦνται· ὁ φθάσας εἰς ταύτας ἔλαθεν  
 ἀντ' ἀνθρώπου Θεὸς γεγωνός. [Fol. 61r]

**147.** Ἐκ τριῶν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν παθῶν ἐπεγείρεται τρόπων· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ προαιρέσεως διαίτη  
 σφαλερᾶ κεκρημένης, ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως κινουμένης αὐτομάτως καὶ συμμετρούσης τῇ ἡλικίᾳ  
 1450 τὰ πάθη, ἡ παρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων αὐτῶν, ὅτε μὲν τὰ ἡδέα τοῦ βίου παρατιθέντων, ὅτε δὲ καὶ μανικῶς  
 ἡμῖν προσβαλλόντων καὶ σφοδρῶς τὰ παθητικὰ μέρη ἀναγκαιόντων εἰς ἀτόπους ἐπιθυμίας· τὸν  
 μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καταβάλλει προαίρεσις μετὰ διαίτης σώφρονος τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄγχουσα καὶ  
 μαραίνουσα, τὸν δεῦτερον ἐγκρατεία καὶ νηστεία καὶ πόνοι σύμμετροι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἐγκράτεια  
 1455 καὶ ταπείνωσις μετὰ δακρύων καὶ προσευχῆς ἐπιμόνου· προηγουμένης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν τῆς  
 ἐξαγορεύσεως, τὰ τοιαῦτα φάρμακα ἀντικεραννύμενα τοῖς πονηροῖς τούτοις δῆγμασι τῶν  
 ἰοβόλων θηρῶν ἀναιρεῖν πέφυκεν ὁμολογουμένως τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποτικτόμενον θάνατον.

**148.** Ἐν τρισὶ τόποις προσκρούειν συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἐν ταῖς  
 αἰσθήσεσι καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς δῆπου ταῖς πράξεσιν. ἐν μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, [Fol. 61v] ὅταν πονηρὰ  
 διαλογιζώμεθα καὶ συγκατατιθώμεθα τῇ πράξει τῆς ἀμαρτίας, κἂν μὴ καὶ εἰς ἔργα προφέρωμεν·  
 1460 οὗ εἵνεκα καὶ Μωσὴς λέγει ὁ μέγας πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ ποτε ῥῆμα κρυπτὸν ἀναβῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ  
 σου· ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν προσφόρων ἐκάστῳ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ὑποκείμενων ἡδονῶν  
 ἀνειμένως πάνυ καὶ ἀσωφρονίστως καταπολαύωμεν, καθ' ὅς καὶ θάνατος ἀναβαίνειν λέγεται διὰ  
 τῶν θυρίδων τοῖς θείοις λόγοις· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν, ὅποταν αὐτῇ διανοίᾳ κακῶς ἐμελετήσαμεν,  
 1465 τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς ἔργα προφέρωμεν, πρὸς ᾧ βλέπων καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος μὴ πλανᾷσθε φησὶν οὔτε πόρνοι  
 οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε πλεονέκται καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις  
 πραττομένοις κακοῖς ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἡ γλῶττα τὸ κράτος ἔχουσιν εἰς κακίαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἡ τοῦ  
 ὅλου σώματος κίνησις μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τῶν αἰσθήσεων μέσον οὔσαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ  
 τῆς πράξεως, τὰ δευτερεῖα πρὸς ἑκάτερα εἰς τε ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐσχήκασιν.

**149.** Τρία ταῦτα τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῶντας ἐν βίῳ διασημαίνουσι· πρῶτον μὲν κάθαρσις διὰ  
 1470 μετανοίας τῶν προγεγενημένων κακῶν, δεῦτερον ἀσφάλεια τοῦ μὴ περιπίπτειν [Fol. 62r] ἐξ  
 ἐκείνου τοῖς αὐτοῖς κακοῖς ἢ ἐτέροις, καὶ τρίτον τὸ μαθεῖν τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ  
 ἐργάζεσθαι, μήπως ὁ ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς κακίας δαίμων σεσαρωμένον τὸν τόπον ἰδὼν συμπαραλάβῃ  
 καὶ ἕτερα πονηρὰ πνεύματα καὶ μετὰ πλείονος τῆς ὀρμῆς εἰσοικισθεὶς εἰς αὐτὸν· οὕτω ποιήσῃ τὴν  
 1475 δευτέραν πλάνην χεῖρῳ τῆς πρώτης· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν δύο τοῖς ἐξ ἀπιστίας ἐπιστρέφουσιν αὐτίκα  
 ἀρμόζει, τὰ δὲ τρία τοῖς τῇ πίστει ἐνθετραμμένοις.

**150.** Δύο ὁδοὶ παντὶ χριστιανῷ πρόκεινται κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ζωὴν· μία μὲν ὑποδειχθεῖσα ἡμῖν  
 παρὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἕτερα δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν στενὴ τέ ἐστι τὸ  
 παράπαν καὶ βιαίος καὶ ὀλίγους ἔχουσα πάνυ τοὺς δι' αὐτῆς ὁδεύοντας, ἡ δὲ πλατεῖα καὶ ἄνετος

καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχουσα τὸ ἐμπόδιον, εἴ τις πομπεύειν δι' αὐτῆς βούλοιτο· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ πλάτους  
 1480 ἀρχομένη εἰς στενόν τι κομιδῇ τέλος περαίνει, τὴν αἰσχύνην δηλονότι καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν  
*ἀπώλειαν*, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ στενώσεως εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν· χρή οὖν ἕκαστον  
 δοκιμάζειν ἐν τῷ κριτηρίῳ τῆς διανοίας τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμῖν συμβαίνοντα πράγματα· καὶ ἃ μὲν  
 [Fol. 62v] ὁράται τῆς πονηρᾶς ὄντα καὶ θανασίμου ὁδοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι αὐτίκα ὡς ἀπωλείας  
 1485 παραίτια, ἃ δὲ τῆς χρηστῆς καὶ μακαριότητος ποιητικῆς αἰωνίου ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ περιέπειν·  
 δηλαδή ἐστι πάντως τίνα μὲν ταῦτα, τίνα δὲ ἐκεῖνα, κἂν μηδεὶς λέγειν βούληται.

**151.** Ὡς περ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν κεφάλαιον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῆς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων  
 εἰδῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρετὴν νομίζεται, οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πασῶν τῶν κακιῶν κορυφή τις ἐστὶ  
 καὶ συγκεφαλαίωσις ἡ μνησικακία· μίσους γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔχθρας ἀποτελεστική κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον,  
 1490 ἀφιλανθρώπως πάνυ μνημονεύουσα τῶν ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας διαπεπραγμένων τινι κατὰ τινος· οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερόν ἔλεγχον παρέχουσα φιλαμαρτήμονος ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνάνδρου, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν πάθος  
 ῥαδίως ἔχουσῃ καταφέρεσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως· ὁ δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἰδὼν  
 Σολομῶν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κακίας ἐπώνυμον τὴν *παρανομίαν* ὡς ἴδιον κληρὸν ταύτῃ προσένειμε καὶ  
 μόνην αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν πολλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ ἀπείρων *παρανομίαν* ἐκάλεσε, καὶ τὸν  
 ταύτῃ προσκείμενον προσεῖπε *παράνομον*· πᾶς γάρ [Fol. 63r] φησι *μνησίκακος, παράνομος*· ἔθος  
 1495 γὰρ τοῖς δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἢ κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐπιφανεστέροις τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποκληροῦν  
 ὡς ἴδια· ἀφεκτέον οὖν τοῦ τοσοῦτου τοῦ δεινοῦ, μήπως καὶ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἀπολέσωμεν  
 τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ ὑπευθύνους ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσωμεν τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίματι· *ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἀφήτε*  
*φησὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐρανίος ἀφήσει τὰ*  
*παραπτώματα ὑμῶν* καὶ πιστὸς ὁ τοῦτο εἰπὼν καὶ οὐ δεῖ μείζονος ἀποδείξεως πρὸς τὸ φυλάσασθαι  
 1500 τὸ θανατηφόρον τοῦτο θηρίον τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν.

**152.** Πρὸς τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ γίνεται, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν τῷ ρεῖν ἔχει τὸ εἶναι,  
 ὥς περ καὶ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς ῥοῆς ὀνομάζεται· ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν τούτων ἀπλουστέραν ἔσχε τὴν  
 σύνθεσιν καὶ ἥττον μαχιμώτεραν διαρκέστερά πως ἐστὶ καὶ ὁπῆ ποτε τῷ χρόνῳ λυόμενα·  
 1505 μεταβαλλόμενα μέντοι καὶ αὐτὰ ἢ κατὰ κίνησιν ἢ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν φθορὰν  
 ἀφίκηται· ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶ ποικίλα καὶ στασιώδη, καὶ φανερώς ἐκ συνδρομῆς τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ταῦτο  
 συνιόντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν οἰκείων ἐφιέμενα τόπων, ὡς βία ὑπὸ τοῦ δη[Fol. 63v]μιουργοῦ τὴν  
 παρὰ φύσιν ὑφιστάμενα σύνοδον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ταχέως δίσταται καὶ ἅπεισιν, ὅθεν καὶ συνελήλυθε·  
 καὶ δῆλον τοῦτο ἀπὸ γε τῶν ζώων αὐτῶν, ἃ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ ζῆν ἔχοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν μερῶν μάχην,  
 1510 αὐτὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶ πολεμία νόσφ καὶ ἀνωμαλία εἰκοντα, καθὼς ἂν ἡ κρᾶσις αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται, ἢ  
 τοῦ θερμοῦ πάντως ἢ τοῦ ψυχροῦ ἢ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἢ τοῦ ὑγροῦ ἐκ τινος αἰτίας ἐπικρατήσαντος· ὅταν  
 τοῖνυν ὁρῶμεν τινὰ θνήσκοντα, ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ τί τῶν αὐτοῦ ἢ πλοῦτον μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἄλλους ἐξ  
 ἄλλων, ἢ δυναστείαν ἢ τινα ἑτέραν κτῆσιν κινήτην ἢ ἀκίνητον, μιμνησκόμεθα τῆς κοινῆς  
 φύσεως, εἴτουν τῆς ῥοῆς καὶ συνθέσεως καὶ τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ θορυβώμεθα,  
 1515 τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον ἐκάστῳ γέγονε· εὐλογώτερον γὰρ τὸ σύνθετον εἰς τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἐπαναδραμεῖν καὶ τὸ  
 ἐκ ῥοῆς συνεστὼς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ αὐθις ῥευστόν, ἢ τὰ πρῶτα καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ δευτέρα· ὥς περ οὖν  
 ἀθαύμαστον ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὸ ἐκ ῥοῆς καὶ συνθέσεως εἰς ἡμᾶς παραγεγενῆσθαι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 μετὰ τῆς ἴσης αἰτίας ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀπογεγενῆσθαι νομιζέσθω δίκαιον.

**153.** Πῶς ἂν τις χαρακτηρίσειε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη, εἴτουν [Fol. 64r] μέρη, εἰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ πέφυκε  
 καὶ εἶναι καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστα; τὸ μὲν οὖν λογιστικὸν γνωρίζεται, ὅταν, ἡρεμοῦντος τοῦ θυμοῦ  
 1520 καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, αὐτὸ μόνον σκοπῇ καὶ διαλογίζηται, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὄντων διερευνᾷ καὶ κρίνῃ  
 καὶ διαιρῇ καὶ ψηφίζηται καὶ τᾶλλα ποιῇ, ὅποσα τὴν λογιστικὴν δύναμιν μαρτυρεῖ. ὁ δ' αὖ γε  
 θυμὸς, ὅταν ἢ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπιταχθέντα θερμότερον διαπράττηται  
 ἡρεμοῦντων ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μόνος ὀρμήσας, εἴτα τὸν λόγον ἀπαιδαγώγητος  
 ἀπαιδαγώγητον ἐξευρὼν ὥς περ ἀνδράποδον ἔλκῃ· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκροχόλων καὶ  
 1525 ὀργίλων καὶ ῥαδίῶν ἄττεσθαι παρὰ πᾶν τὸ προσπεσὸν αἴτιον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν μαινομένων  
 καὶ ἐμπλήκτων καὶ παραφύρων· εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βρεφῶν, ἃ θυμοῦται εὐθύς ἐκ πρώτης  
 ἡλικίας καὶ λυπεῖται καὶ κλαυθμυρίζει· ἢ γὰρ ἄλογος φύσις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν συνουσίωται καὶ αὐτίκα  
 καταφανῆς γίνεται πρὸς τὴν θρεπτικὴν μόνην καὶ αὐξητικὴν ἀφορῶσα δύναμις, ἐπειδὴ μὴδ'  
 1530 ἄλλων ἐστὶ χρεῖα τῷ βρέφει ἢ τούτων· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προτρέχει τοῦ λόγου τὰ πάθη· ἢ δὲ λογιστικὴ  
 ὁπῆ καὶ συν χρόνῳ ἔρχεται, ἀνακαθαίρομένη ὥς περ [Fol. 64v] ἐξ ἰλύος τινὸς καὶ διαλάμπουσα,  
 οἷόν τις καρπὸς ἐγκείμενος τῷ φυτῷ καὶ περιμένων τὸ τέλειον τοῦ στελέχους· καὶ περὶ μὲν  
 τούτων, οὕτω. τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικὸν φανερόν γίνεται, ὅταν ἀπολαύῃ τινὸς ὀρεκτοῦ κατὰ μίαν τινὰ  
 τῶν αἰσθήσεων, παρ' οὐδετέρου κωλυόμενον ἢ τοῦ λόγου ἢ τοῦ θυμοῦ· καὶ τὸ μὲν εἶναι καθ'

1535 ἐαυτὰ ταῦτα καὶ χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαγινώσκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴπου γινώσκεται· τὸ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σκοπὸν θεῖον κινεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ τῇ φύσει τὴν ἀρχὴν δέδοται, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἄλογα τῷ λογικῷ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ παντός ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑποτετάχθαι καὶ τῶν ἀλογωτέρων πεπαῦσθαι κινήσεων, ἐξ ὧν ὅργανα καὶ ἡδοναὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν συνιστάμεναι πάσης ἀταξίας καὶ ἀνομίας τὸν βίον ἀναπιμπλάσιν, ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ νόμοι νῦν τὲ καὶ μετέπειτα ἡμᾶς περιμένουσι.

1540 **154.** Πῶς ἂν κοινὰ εἴη τὰ προσγεγόμενα ἐκάστῳ Χριστιανῶν, ἂν τε λυπηρὰ ἢ ἂν τε ἡδέα, καὶ ὁ γεωμετρικὸς ὅρος κἀνταῦθα συμβαίνει; Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ παντός ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος λίθος εἰς μίαν ὥσπερ εἰς γωνίαν πίστεως καὶ ὁμοφροσύνης οἰκεῖα μέλη κατεργασάμενος· οὐκοῦν καὶ *κλαίειν* κελεύει *μετὰ κλαιόντων καὶ χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων*, ὃ δὴ καὶ Παῦλος, [Fol. 65r] οἶμαι, ὁ μέγας ἰδὼν, *τίς ἀσθενεῖ* που διαπυνθάνεται καὶ *οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι*· εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσις τοῦτο διδάσκει μετὰ τῆς Γραφῆς, πόσης οὐκ ἂν εἴημεν εὐθύνῃς ἄξιοι, φθοноοῦντες μὲν τῷ πέλας ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς καὶ λυπούμενοι, χαίροντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καὶ μονονοῦχι πανηγυρίζοντες; μεταβλητέον οὖν τὸν τρόπον, εἰ ὡς πλευραὶ τινες σχημάτων πρὸς μίαν γωνίαν κοινὴν τὸν Χριστὸν συναπτόμεθα.

1550 **155.** Εἰ καὶ ἄνισοι δοκοῦμεν εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἄλλα κατ' ἄλλο, ἢ πλεονεκτοῦντος ἢ μειονεκτοῦντος, ὡς ἔτυχε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὕλης συμβαίνουσιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὅμοιοι ἐσμέν ἀλλήλοις τὰ πρῶτα τε καὶ καθόλου καὶ τῆς φύσεως συστατικά, πάντα πάντες κοινὰ δὴπουθεν ἔχοντες· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχομεν ἄνθρωποι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διάμετρον παράλληλα σχήματα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τε καὶ ἔλαττον πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχει κατὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐπισυμβαῖνον ποσὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ποιῷ τε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει ὅμοια πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν διαφέροντα· οὐκοῦν εἰ σοφία ἢ δυνάμει ἢ πλούτῳ ἢ τινι τῶν πάντων προέχομεν, οὐ χρὴ τὸ παράπαν τῶν πολλῶν κατεπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φύσεως [Fol. 65v] ὀρῶντας ὅμοιον, τὸν τύπον ἀποσκευάζεσθαι καὶ συμμετριάζειν τοῖς εὐτελέσι, μήποτε τὰ δοκοῦντα πλεονεκτήματα ἐλαττώματα εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια γένηται, οἷον οἱ πολλοὶ πάσχουσιν ἐξ ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀβουλίας.

1560 **156.** Εἰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σύνθεσις μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ πρὸς οὐσίας λόγον, γένεσις δὲ καὶ φθορὰ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάντες, ψυχῆς λέγω καὶ σώματος, συνδεδέμεθα, καὶ αὖ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δημιουργοῦ καὶ Πατρός κατεσκευάσμεθα, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ Πατέρα ἑαυτὸν ἐκδέδωκεν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀδιαφόρως καλεῖν καὶ τεκνία ἄλλιν ἡμᾶς ὀνομάζει καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἀδελφοὺς· καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Θεῷ καὶ δικαστῇ κοινῇ πάντες ὑφέξομεν λόγον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πεπολιτευομένων, τί τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερορῶμεν ἂν αὐτοῖς; πλεον ἔχειν δοκῶμεν ἢ τύχῃ τινὶ ἢ τοῖς ἄλλως ἡμῖν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γινομένοις· οὐκοῦν καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐπάδειν αἰεὶ τὸ *μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, μὴ δὲ ὁ δυνατός ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, μὴ δὲ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ*, μὴδ' ὁ τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰ οἷόν τε πάντων προέχων, ἃ μὴ συναπέρχεται τελευτήσαςιν· ἀλλ', εἴ γε χρὴ καὶ καυχῆσασθαι, ὁ εὐσεβεῖα καὶ ἀρετῇ ταῖς αἰεὶ παραμενούσαις ἔξεσι [Fol. 66r] τὴν ψυχὴν συνοικοδομήσας.

1570 **157.** Ἀρρήτων τινὶ σοφία καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγαθότητι τὴν κτίσιν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων παραγαγὼν ὁ Θεὸς, ὥσπερ τι ὄργανον ἢ ὕλην μέσσην ἔχουσιν δυνάμιν, φιλανθρώπως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς παρέσχετο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὅπως ἂν βούλοιο χρῆται, εἴτε πρὸς θεογνωσίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, εἴτε πρὸς πάντα τὰ χεῖριστα· εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ τῷ ὀρωμένῳ τούτῳ ἐναπομείνειε σχήματι, ἄνευσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν καὶ ἐπιγινώσκει Θεὸν καὶ ἀρετῆς λόγους εὕρισκει· εἰ δὲ τῇ τέρψει τῶν ὀρωμένων ἑαυτὸν προσηλώσειε, καὶ ὃ ἂν ἴδοι καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ᾗσεται, ἐκεῖνο μόνον τὸ πᾶν εἶναι κρίνειε, λατρεύει τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα καὶ μετατίθησιν εἰς δουλείαν τὴν δεσποτείαν· οὐ τὴν αἰσχύνην, εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον λογισαμένοις, φευκτέον τὴν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα δουλείαν.

1580 **158.** Αἰεὶ μὲν ὁ Πονηρὸς ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χρηστὸν τι διανοοῦμένους ἢ πράττουσι, μάλιστα δὲ πηνίκα ἂν ἴδοι ταῖς ἱεραῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἀπησχολημένους· εὐχαριστίας γὰρ καιρὸν καὶ ἐξαγορείας καὶ λατρείας ἀγιωτάτης τοῦτον εἶναι ὑπονοήσας, δυσχεραίνει τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ· πῶς ἂν ἢ μετὰ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, εἰ οἷος τε γένοιτο, ἐκστήσῃ [Fol. 66v] τοῦ ἔργου; ἢ γοῦν αὐτόν γε τὸν νοῦν ἀποπλανήσας εἰς ἀτόπους τινὰς καὶ ἄλλοκότους ἐννοίας, ὡσανεὶ τινὰς νεκροὺς καὶ ἀναισθητοὺς τῶν λεγομένων, ἡμᾶς καταλίπη; ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ πονηροῦ τοῦδε βουλευματος κατισχύσῃ, αὐτίκα ἐπικαγχάζει καὶ διαστρέφων ὁ ἀναιδὴς τὰ Λόγια, *οὐχ οἱ νεκροὶ φησὶν αἰνέσουσί σε Κυρίε, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες*· οὐ τὴν μηχανὴν εἰδότας ἡμᾶς χρὴ ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς ἀντιτεχνᾶσθαι· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ὡς ἐν βουπλῆγι τινὶ ἢ μύωπι, τῷ θεῷ δηλαδὴ φόβῳ, ἡμῶν τὸν δαίμονα ἐξοικίζειν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν εἰσοικίζειν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν λεγομένων ὥσπερ οἰκεῖα τινὶ καταφυγῇ τε καὶ χώρα, εἴτα καὶ ἀντιλέγειν τῷ πονηρῷ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν Λογίων, *ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα· ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντιλήμμεταί μου*.

159. Ὡσπέρ τις κόρη πολλῶ μὲν τῷ φυσικῷ κάλλει, οὐχ ἥττονι δὲ καὶ τῷ παρὰ τῆς τέχνης  
 1590 λαμπρυνομένη διαφόρους ἐπισπᾶται τοὺς ἐραστὰς, τοὺς μὲν σώφρονας τινὰς ὄντας καὶ κατὰ  
 νόμον συνῆφθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντας, τοὺς δ' ἀκολάστους καὶ ὕβριστὰς· οὕτω δὴ πόλλω κάλλιον, καὶ  
 ψυχῇ τῇ τῆς θείας φύσεως ὠραῖσθεῖσα εἰκόνι Θεὸν ἔχει καὶ ἀγγέλους ἀντ' ἐραστῶν αὐτῇ [Fol.  
 67r] γινομένους, καὶ δὴ καὶ δαίμονας τινὰς λυσσώδεις καὶ ἀναιδεῖς αἰσχυρῶς μάλιστα ἀντερῶντας  
 καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς δίκαιον ἡρμόσθαι βιαζομένους· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν γενναίους τινὰς προβάλλοιτο  
 1595 φύλακας τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ λογισμοὺς ἀνδρείους προσθήσειε τοῦ σφετέρου δηλαδὴ κάλλου,  
 ἀθιγὲς αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐναγέσιν ἀφαῖς συντηρεῖ καὶ μόνω Θεῷ ἀνεπίμικτον τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐπιθυμιῶν  
 ταμιεύει· οὕτω δ' ἔχουσα φρονήματος καὶ παρασκευῆς, ἄλλη μονονουχὶ γίνεται κλίνη κατὰ τὴν  
 Σολομῶντος ἐκείνην, ἣ κύκλῳ διαλαμβάνεται τοῖς ἐξήκοντα τῶν δυνατῶν Ἰσραὴλ διττὰς  
 ἐσπασμένοις ῥομφαίαις, τὰς μὲν ἐν χεροῖν, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐπισειοῦσιν,  
 εἴ τις ἐκείνη ἐπιθυμήσειεν ἐπιβούλως ἐπανακλίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἄνετον καθάπαξ καὶ ἀδεές τὸ κατ'  
 1600 αὐτὴν ἅπαν προίσχεται, οὔτε προφυλαττομένη οὔτε δ' ἐγκρατεῖα ὀπλιζομένη, ὥς κἀντεῦθεν τοὺς  
 μὲν φυσικοὺς ἐκείνους μνηστῆρας μυσатτομένους ἀναχωρεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀκολάστους καὶ  
 ἀσχήμονας εἰσοικίζεσθαι, μοιχαλὶς ἀντὶ γυναικὸς καὶ μαινὰς ἀντὶ σώφρονος ἀποδείκνυται. [Fol.  
 67v]

160. Ἐγκείνται μὲν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ βελτίονος καὶ τοῦ χείρονος, ἅτε τῆς  
 1605 φύσεως ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἰσχὺν εἰληφύας· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τέως αὐτὰς διὰ πονηρίαν ἢ μισοπονηρίαν  
 ἐξασκοῦσι καὶ προγυμνάζουσι μελέτην αἰεὶ ποιούμενοι, πῶς ἂν ἡστινosoῦν εὐπορήσαντες ὕλης ἢ  
 γοῦν τυχόντες καιροῦ, αὐτίκα τὰ τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερον γνώμης εἰς ἔργον προφέρωσιν· οἱ δὲ διὰ  
 βραδυτῆτα φύσεως ἀργὰς ἐῶσι καὶ ἀτημελήτους πρὸς οὐδέτερον τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ῥοπὴν  
 1610 παρεχόμενοι· παρὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, ὁποτέρας ἔτυχε γιγνόμενοι  
 τῆς μερίδος, πλὴν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συντόνως μάλα καὶ ἐπιτεταμένως, ἀλλὰ χαύνως  
 καὶ ἀνειμένως· οἷς δὴ πολλάκις συμβαίνει τῆς πράξεως ἀναχωρεῖν, τῷ μῆτε διαθέσει, μῆτε δὲ  
 χρονία ὀρέξει τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἀπολαύειν.

161. Ἔστι μὲν κἀν ἄλλοις, ὅτι πολλοῖς τῶν συμπιπτόντων παθῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κακῷ κακὸν  
 1615 θεραπεύεσθαι, οὐ χεῖρον μέντοι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ὀργὰς τε καὶ σφοδρὰς ἐπιθυμίας συνισταμένων  
 πραγμάτων· πολλάκις γὰρ φαύλης τινὸς ἡδονῆς τῇ ψυχῇ διοχλοῦσης, θυμὸς κατὰ τι προσπεσὼν  
 ἐκείνην ἐξέκρουσε, καὶ [Fol. 68r] αὐτῇ, ὥσπερ τινα φλόγα τὸν θυμὸν περιδραξάμενον τῆς ψυχῆς  
 καὶ καταπιμπράντα, τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπικλύσαν ῥεῦμα κατέσβεσε καὶ ἡμέρωσεν· ἔοικε δὲ τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα, οἷον εἴ τις φαρμάκῳ ἐκ τέχνης πυρεκτικὴν τινα ὕλην κενῶσαι ἐπιχειρήσας, ἔλαθε  
 1620 δυσεντερίας πάθος ἐξεργασάμενος ἢ τι τῶν δεινῶν ἕτερον· μόνον οὖν, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ κατὰ τὸν  
 λογισμὸν κράτος καὶ ἡ ἐνθὲνδε παρασκευασθεῖσα δύναμις δύναται· ἂν ἄριστα θεραπεύειν τὰ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα· τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀλόγων πραγμάτων ραῖσαι πῶς δόξαντα οὐκ εἰς χεῖρους μόνον  
 περιπέπτωκε διαθέσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλυπόστροφα μικρὸν ὕστερον γίνεται· ἔστι δ', ὅτε καὶ  
 κατασπενδόμενα ἀλλήλοις τὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐναντιωθέντα, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ ἀποχρῶσα τις ὕλη πρὸς  
 πονηρίαν εὐρέθη καὶ πολλαπλάσιον τὸ πάθος εἰργάσατο.

162. Εἰ ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος περὶ ὃ πᾶς τις διαπονεῖται, οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σκοπὸν τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ  
 1625 πρὸς ἄλλο τι ὀρῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ μάταιον τὸν πόνον ὑφίσταται, σκεπτέον ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον  
 σπουδαζομένων, ὅποι καὶ μάλα συντόνῳ χρώμεθα τῇ σπουδῇ, πρὸς ὃ τι τέλος ὀρῶντες καὶ ὑπὸ  
 ποῖον ἀναγομένον καὶ μέχρι τίνος διακοῦν· [Fol. 68v] ἡδυνόμεθα καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν, ἐπειδάν τι  
 τούτων συμβῇ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅπως ἂν διαμείνειε καὶ μάλα σπουδάζομεν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἐξ ἡμῶν θᾶπτον  
 1630 ἢ οἷχηται ἢ γοῦν θεραπευθῇ· εἰ δ' ἔστι μὴδὲν, ἀλλ' ὀνόματα μόνον μεταβραχὺ λείπεται  
 πραγμάτων ἔρημα, περιττὸν ἄρα ἢ ὅπως οὖν ταῦτ' οἶεσθαι γεγονότα ἢ καὶ συνδιατίθεσθαι  
 γινομένους.

163. Εἰ πλούσιος οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος λέγεται, ὃς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ πολλὰ τῶν ὕλων τουτωνὶ  
 πραγμάτων καὶ αἰσθήσει ὑποκειμένων ἐκτήσατο καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν πολλὰ διανοεῖται

1605–625 Chapters 160–161 were earlier copied in Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, f. 20r–v (=Manuel Gabalas B7–B8) with the following variant readings: **1605 τοῦ βελτίονος** καλοῦ V **1606 αὐτὰς** omission V **1608 τῆς...γνώμης** εἰς τῆς αἰρέσεως εἰς V **1608 προφέρωσιν** ἐκβάλωσιν V **1613 ὀρέξει** ὀρεξιν V **1615 χεῖρον...ἐπιθυμίας** χεῖρον μέντοι οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν V **1616 φαύλης** σφοδρῆς V **1619 ἐκ τέχνης** omission V **1619–20 τὸν λογισμὸν** τοὺς λογισμοὺς V **1621 ἡ ἐνθὲνδε** ἡ ἐντεῦθεν V **1622–23 εἰς χεῖρους...διαθέσεις** εἰς χείρονας περιπεπτώκασιν V **1624 ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ** ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρῳ V

- 1635 κτήσασθαι καὶ ἐντρυφῆσαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διαμελετᾶ· εἴρηται δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον σκληρῶς μάλα καὶ ἀποτόμως, ἄφρον, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀπαιτοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, τίνι ἔσται; σκεπτέον μὴ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αἰσχροὺν τῆς ψυχῆς πλοῦτον, εἴτουν ἐχθρας καὶ ἐριδας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ μνησικακίας καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ φιληδονίας καὶ τὰ ἕτερα παθητὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα καὶ ἐκτυφλοῦντα τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν· ταῦτόν ἀκούσωμεν παρὰ τοῦ Δικαίου Κριτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἡμᾶς τοῖς
- 1640 πονηροῖς καὶ ἔργοις καὶ διανοήμασιν ἀπροόπτως συνδιαφθείροντος· ὥς οὖν τὸν ἔξω δεῖ κενοῦν πλοῦτον τοῖς ἐνδεέσιν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ μὲν [Fol. 69r] καὶ τῶν ἀνονήτων ἀπαλλαγῶμεν φροντίδων, ὁμοῦ δ' ὅταν ἐκλίπωμεν ἡμᾶς ὑποδέζονται καθυπισχνεῖται Χριστὸς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς· οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τὸν διὰ μοχθηρίαν τρόπων συμφορηθέντα εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῆς ψυχῆς πλοῦτον, τοῖς δίκην κυνῶν λιμώττουσι καὶ πολιορκοῦσιν ἡμῶν δαίμοσι ἐξεμεῖν· εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν κέρδος ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημίαν ὕστερον ἀποισόμεθα, τίς ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄκαιρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσχολία;
- 1645 **164.** Εἰ καθ' ὅσον ὕλης τινὸς εὐπορεῖ τὸ ὑλικὸν τοῦτο πῦρ, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἐνέργειαν ἐπιδείκνυται, φωτίζον δηλονότι καὶ θερμαῖνον τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῷ, πολλῷ ἂν τὸ ἄυλον ἐκεῖνο καὶ νοερὸν πῦρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράσειεν, ἂν μόνον καὶ βραχείας παρ' ἡμῶν ὕλης ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς τε καὶ χρηστοτέρων τρόπων αὐτῷ προσεληλυθότων, ὥς εἰκὸς εὐπορήσῃ· θάπτον γὰρ
- 1650 τὸ νεκρὸν ἡμῶν καὶ ζοφῶδες πρὸς πάντα τὰναντία μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ζῶντας ἡμᾶς καὶ φωτεινοὺς ἀπεργάσεται· οὐκοῦν εἰ τῶν τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν δεῖ, προσοιστέον ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἡμῖν τρόπων ὕλην ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ἵνα μετέωρος ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας φλόξ ἐξαφθῇ καὶ μὴ τῆς κολάσεως. [Fol. 69v]
- 165.** Ὁ μὲν σίδηρος προσομιλῶν τῷ πυρὶ, πυρώδης ἀντὶ μέλανος καὶ μαλθακὸς ἀντὶ σκληροῦ γίνεται, ὀλίγον δ' ὑποχωρήσας ἐκεῖθεν, αὐθις ὥσπερ ἄσμενος ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπάνεισι· καὶ ψυχὴ δὲ διὰ νοῦ θεωρία καὶ προσευχῇ σχολάζουσα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τούτων τῷ θεῷ τῆς θεότητος συγγινομένη πυρί, εἴ τινα μελανίαν ἢ ψυχρότητα ἐκ πονηρίας ἀνεμάξατο, πρὸς τὸ ζωτικὸν καὶ εὐκίνητον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ λευκὸν τοῦ συναφθέντος πυρὸς μετέθηκε καὶ θεοειδὴς ὅλη κατέστη, μηδὲν τῶν πρῶν ἐπισυρομένη κακῶν· ὑποχωρήσασα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὸν σίδηρον καὶ πρὸς τὴν
- 1660 ὕλην ἀποκλίνας, ἅπερ πρότερον ἦν, ταῦτα ῥαδίως ἐγένετο, οὐδὲν ἐξῆς ἔχουσα ἐκ τῆς προσειλημμένης μορφῆς γνώρισμα.
- 166. Περὶ Φιλαρχίας.** Οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα τρόπον ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦμενοι τῷ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἀλίσκονται πάθει καὶ σφοδρὸν τινα τὸν ἔρωτα πυρὸς τοῦτ' ἔχουσιν· ἐρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτούς, πότερον τῶν μειζόνων ἄρχειν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἢ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἴσων ἢ τῶν πολὺ γε ἐπιδεεστέρων καὶ ἐλαττόνων; εἰ μὲν τῶν μειζόνων, πρὸς τῷ σφαλερῷ τε καὶ ἀσυμφόρῳ καὶ γελοῖον ἂν τι δόξαιεν
- 1665 δρᾶν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὥς ἄρα τὸ τινὸς ὃν μέρος ἢ μέρη τῷ ὅλῳ ἐμπεριέχεται [Fol. 70r] ὥσπερ χεῖρες ἢ πόδες σώματι· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἴσων τι πλεον ἔχοντες ἄρξουσιν, ὧν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν οὐδ' ἔστιν, ὅτῳ τὸ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς προδεικνύντες, τὸ κράτος ἔξουσιν; ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, ἴσως ἐνθένδε φανήσεται τις τόπος αὐτοῖς ὁτοῦ μείζονος, ὃς ἂν τῇ φαύλῃ ταύτῃ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἱκανῶς τὰ μάλιστα συνασπίσειεν; ἢ τοίνυν ὁ κατὰ τρόπων καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν ταύτας δὴ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἀρετὰς οὗτος ἔσται, ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς καὶ κοινὰς εἴτουν σώματος ῥώμην καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἐκ γένους λαμπρότητα; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πρώτας αἰτίας αὐτόθεν ἐλέγχεται, τίς τοῦ πράγματος ἀνάξιος ὢν; τὸ γὰρ οἶεσθαι εἶναι τι, τοῦ παντελῶς τι εἶναι ἐξίστησι, καὶ ἅμα δόξαν κακίας ἀποίσεται εἰς προὔπτον τὴν ἀρετὴν τιθέμενος· εἰ δὲ τὰς δευτέρας ἰσχυρόν τι νομίζοι
- 1670 πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν, λέληθεν ἐξ ἀλόγων οὕτω πραγμάτων καὶ μηδὲν ὄντων γε καθ' αὐτὰ, τῶν λόγῳ διαφερόντων ἄρχειν ἐθέλων· οὐκοῦν ἐξοριστέον ταῖς ἡμέροις ψυχαῖς καὶ ὥς ἀληθῶς συνέσει διαφερούσαις καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ εὐγενεία ἡθῶν τὸ χαλεπὸν δὴ τοῦτο θηρίον καὶ ἀλογώτατον καὶ ἀγεννέστατον καὶ πάσης κακίας πεπληρωμένον τῆς φιλαρχίας· [Fol. 70v] ὁ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐκφυλον τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς ἔχοντας πρώτους ἐλυμήνατο, πρὶν ἄλλοις μεταδοῦναι τῆς
- 1680 λώβης.
- 167. Περὶ Φιλαρχίας β'.** Ὅσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων δοξομανοῦντες ἐλέγχονται εὐόκασιν ἀγνοεῖν ὥς ἄρα τὴν πρώτην τοῦτο νοσήσας ἄνθρωπος καὶ Θεὸς γενέσθαι ἐπιθυμήσας, ἐκπέπτωκε δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦ προσόντος ἀξιώματος· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ θηρίων καταστάς ἄρχειν, αὐτοῖς δὴ τούτοις ὑποπέπτωκε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς μόνην τουτωνὶ τὴν θέαν πεφρικέναι καὶ καταπτήσειν· οὐ δὴ πάθους συχνοὺς μάλα καὶ πολυσχιδεῖς ἰδὼν τοὺς ὀλίσθους, ὁ καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ πάντ' ἐπιστάμενος Θεὸς λόγος θαυμάσιόν τινα καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον ὑπέδειξε τρόπον ὑπεροχῆς· οὐχ ἵνα τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἀπλῶς ἄρχωμεν, εἰ βουλοίμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολὺ μειζόνων ἢ καθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν αὐθις τῶν χαλεπωτάτων θηρίων, ὧν δὴ τὸ ἐξαρχῆς ἤρχομεν οὐδὲν πω καταρρυπάναντες τὴν πλάσιν τῷ μισεῖ τῆς φιλαρχίας· ὁ δὲ ἐστι, τὸ πάντων ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς



- 1690 κρίνειν ἐθέλειν τῆς ἐσχάτης μοίρας ἀξίους καὶ μηδένα ἑαυτῶν ἥττονα οἶεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου μᾶλλον ῥαδίως κατορθοῦν δύναται καὶ ἀπόνως τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀναφαίρετον [Fol. 71r] κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχὴν· καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὧν οἱ τὰς ἐρήμους κατειληφότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἀδοξίαν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀσπασάμενοι, πειθηνίους εἶχον ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνοις προστάξειαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ θήρας ἀγρίους τὸ πολὺ τούτου παραδοξότερον κατεδουλοῦντο, τὴν φύσιν ὥσπερ
- 1695 ἡγνοηκότας· ὥς τὸ γε ἄλλως ἢ οὕτως ἐπιχειρεῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἀνθάπτεσθαι· καὶ ἀσεβείας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ μερίδος βαρβαρικῆς εἶναι Χριστὸς ἀποφαίνεται· καὶ δὴ καὶ πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς βεβαιῶν τὰ τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτος ὑφηγεῖται τὰ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως καὶ μαθητῶν νίπτει πόδας, καὶ διακονεῖ τὰ τῆς χρείας, ὁ πρῶτος κατὰ τὸ ἀσύγκριτον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῖς πολὺ χεῖροσι τῶν ἀγγέλων.
- 1700 **168.** Καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ τῆς κακίας γένη καὶ εἶδη δεινόν τινα τὸν ὄλεθρον τῇ ψυχῇ ἐξεργάζεται, ἅτε ἔξω τῆς φύσεως ὄντα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ὁρῶντα παράδειγμα ὥσπερ τῆς ἀρετῆς· πολλῶ δὲ πλεον δεινότερον καὶ βαρύτερον τὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας κακόν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἥκει τις τῇ τὴν κακίαν προελομένῳ· εἰ καὶ κατὰ βραχύ γοῦν καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον μάλιστα διαρκοῦν [Fol. 71v] τὸ ἥδύ, ἀπόλαυσις ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπολαυστοῦ· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ αὐτὸν ἢ μετ' αὐτοῦ
- 1705 καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀδικεῖν δύναται· ὁ δ' ὑπερήφανος ἄνθρωπος οὗτ' ἐν αἰσθήσει γίνεται οὗ ἂν ἐπιθυμοῖ, οὐ γὰρ τι ὑποκείμενον ἔχει τὸ ὀρεκτόν, οὔτε δ' ἐκφεύγει τὸ πάντα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ χεῖριστα ἀδικεῖν· οἷον ὁ φιλάργυρος, ὁ πλεονέκτης, ὁ λαίμαρος, ὁ οἰνοπότης, ὁ ταῖς αἰσχυραῖς καὶ παχειαῖς ἐγκαλινδούμενος ἡδοναῖς, ἔχει τι κέρδος ἡδυνόμενος παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραχρῆμα θελγόμενος ἡδονὴν κατατολμᾷ· ὧν δὴπου κατατολμᾷ καὶ ζημίαν ἑαυτῷ προξενεῖ· οὐκ αἰεὶ, οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐφηδόμενος πάθεσιν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔχει τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε τὰς σφετέρας ἐπιθυμίας πληροῦν, ἐπειδὴν ἐθέλη· καὶ γὰρ νῦν μὲν
- 1710 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πληρουμένης, νῦν δὲ κενουμένης ἐπὶ τῶν πλεόνων παθῶν καὶ οὐδὲ πάντων, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον τὴν ζημίαν ὑφισταμένων, συμβαίνει τὸ μέτριον ἀποφέρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ τῷ χαλεπῷ τούτῳ προσανέχων δηλαδὴ πάθει, ἅπας τῇ διανοίᾳ προστησάμενος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπεράνω φαίνεσθαι καὶ οἷόν τε καὶ ὅσον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ διάφορον ἔχειν, αἰεὶ ταῖς τούτου ἐντρέφεται φαντασίαις καὶ πάντας οὐδένας ἐπ' οὐδενὸς εἶναι νομίζει {τῶν}, ὅσα φύσιν οἶδε κοσμεῖν [Fol. 72r] ἀνθρωπίνην ἐξ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως θειοτέρας· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πτηνὸν οἰόμενος ἑαυτὸν καὶ βάρος ὕλης καὶ σώματος ὄγκον ἀπεσκευάσθαι καὶ παντάπασιν ἀντιδεδημιουργῆσθαι τῷ κοινῷ γένει τῆς φύσεως, ὑπερφύσιν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸν ἀέρα περιπολεῖ· καὶ καθά τινας ἐξ
- 1720 ἀκροπόλεως τῆς σφετέρας οἰήσεως τὸ συγγενὲς κατατυραννεῖ καὶ συνιστᾷ μὲν ἔριδας κατ' ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου δόγματος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ νόμους Εὐαγγελίου, ταπεινῶσιν καὶ μετριοφροσύνην ὑποτιθεμένους· ἀδικεῖ δὲ γένος ἀνθρώπων, παρουδὲν πάντας οἰόμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ νόμους δημιουργίας, κεναῖς τις φαντασίαις ἑαυτὸν κατασοφίζόμενος· καὶ οὐθ' ἡμέρα οὔτε νύξ οὗτ' ἐγγήγορσις οὐθ' ὕπνος τῶν τοιούτων πονηρῶν λογισμῶν τὸν ἄθλιον ἐξιστᾷ· ἀλλ' αἰεὶ
- 1725 καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔργον καὶ πάντα καιρὸν συλλαμβάνει πόνον καὶ ἀνομίαν ἀπογεννᾷ, φθορὰν αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ προξενούσαν καὶ ὄλεθρον κατὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς τόκους τῶν ἐχιδνῶν· καὶ δήμιος μὲν ἀναπαύει τὸ ξίφος ἐνίοτε καὶ ληστῇ μετεμέλησε τοῦ μιάσματος, καὶ τοὺς πειρατὰς κατέπαυσαν ἄνεμοι καὶ ἀγριαίνουσα θάλασσα, καὶ τυμβωρύχος καὶ προδότης παραφανείσης τῆς ἡμέρας, τῶν ἔργων ἀπέσχοντο· ὁ δ' ὑπερήφανος πάντα [Fol. 72v] καιρὸν οἰκεῖον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραφροσύνης ποιοῦμένος κατὰ παντὸς τὰ βέλη τῆς πονηρίας ἀφήσιν· ὃ καὶ τὸ μὴ κτεῖναι καθόλου τὸν βεβλημένον, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ ζώπυρον ἐπαφεῖναι τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰς ἀρετὴν ἤρκεσεν οὐ μετρίαν· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον πάθος παντὶ μὲν φευκτέον ἀνθρώπῳ, μάλιστα δὲ τῷ πρὸς κόλασιν ὁρῶντι καὶ αἰώνιον θάνατον.
- 1735 **169.** Σφαλερὰς ἡγουμένης τῶν πρακτέων κρίσεως, πλημμελεῖν μὲν οἶδεν ἀπανταχοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα· ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμῶν κακῶς διακειμένων, οὐκ ἀπρόσκοποι προβαίνουσιν αἱ τῶν σωμάτων κινήσεις· μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας πάθους τοῦτ' ἂν τις ἴδοι συμβαῖνον, ὅσῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἐστὶν ὑπουλότερον καὶ κακοηθεστέρον· ὑποκείμενου γὰρ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ γε τοῦ κρείττονος ἐφίεσθαι, ἐφίεται καὶ ὁ ὑπερήφανος τῶν πολλῶν τις εἶναι κρείττων καὶ ὑψηλότερος· ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ βαδίσαι τὸν πρὸς τοῦτ' ἄγοντα δρόμον, ἄγει δὲ πρᾶξις ἀρίστη καὶ ἐπιείκεια καὶ μετριοφροσύνη, δυοῖν θάτερον πάσχει· ἢ μὴ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρεῖ ταῖς κατ' ἥθος ἐμφαινομέναις τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὑποκρίνεται δὲ μόνον εἶναί τι, ἢ ἐγχειρεῖ μὲν καὶ ὀλίγα ἢ πλεῖστα ἐξανύσας τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὐ τῶν φαύλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν κατατρέχει πολλάκις, καὶ τοῦθ' ὥσπερ [Fol. 73r] μηχανὴν ἐξευρίσκει ἀναπληροῦν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὑστέρημα· οὐκοῦν καὶ ὑπ' αὐταρεσκείας κλεπτόμενος, τὰ πρῶτα ἑαυτῷ δίδωσι καὶ τῇ κενῇ ταύτῃ τῶν

- 1745 λογισμῶν ὑπολήψει τεθαρρηκῶς, τοῦναντίον τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ Παραγγέλματος δρᾷ, δέον γὰρ τῶν μὲν ὀπισθεν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι· αὐτὸς τῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν λήθην ἄγει μακράν, τοῖς δ' ὀπισθεν καὶ μάλα προσέχει τὸν νοῦν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀεὶ τίθησι· καὶ διεξέρχεται ταῦτα καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ πόριμος ῥήτωρ καὶ σοφιστὴς ἀναδείκνυται, καταρρητορεύων ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἄθλιος καὶ κατανηφιζόμενος πάντα τὰ χεῖριστα· ἡ δὲ
- 1750 τοιαύτη ὁδὸς σφαλερωτάτη μᾶλλον οὐσα καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον πέρας ἀποτελεωτῶσα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὸν ὑπερήφανον ἄνω βλέποντα καὶ μετεωριζόμενον, λέληθεν ἄγουσα πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς ἀπωλείας κρημνὸν· ἀρίστη δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ κατὰ σκοπὸν φέρουσα, τὸ πρῶτα μὲν ὥς τι δόγμα τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐνθῆναι, διὰ πασῶν, εἰ οἷόν τε, τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀφικέσθαι· εἴτα μηδὲν ἑαυτὸν οἶεσθαι εἶναι, μὴ δέ τι διαπεπράχθαι τῶν τοῦ καλοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία· διδόναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην
- 1755 ἑαυτῷ χώραν, ὅποι δεήσει καὶ ὅτε καὶ οἷς· οὕτω δὲ προδιελὼν καὶ προκαταστήσας τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς φρόνημα καὶ οἷόν τις [Fol. 73v] ἀθλητῆς τοὺς τηλικούτους ἄθλους διεξεληλυθώς, τότε οὐκ ἐξ οἰήσεως ἔσται κατὰ τὸν μέγαλαυχον ὑπεράνω τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξ ἀληθείας δὲ καὶ ταπεινώσεως καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ οὐχ ὑπερήφανος, ἀλλ' ὑπεράνω φαινόμενος· οὐ μικρὸν δὲ πάντως, εἰ καὶ οὐδὲν δοκεῖ τὸ διάφορον ἑκατέρων.
- 1760 **170.** Ὁ ὑπερήφανος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μόνον ἀδικεῖν ἔοικεν ἐξουθενῶν καὶ φανλίζων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοὺς πάντας οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν, οὗ εἰκὼν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἔστι καὶ λέγεται· εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους μὲν διαχλευάζει καὶ λοιδορεῖ, ἄνθρωπος δὲ τὴν πρώτην κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πεποιήται, Θεὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὗ εἰκὼν ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ ἀβουλίας ὑβρίζει καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸ ἄθεον ἑαυτοῦ τῆς διαβολικῆς διανοίας συνάγει συμπέρασμα· οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ
- 1765 τὸν ἀλαζόνα ἐκείνον καὶ ἀποστάτην τῆς ὑπερηφανίας πατέρα καταρραχθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεον ἐκείνου τι πείσεται· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ *θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν* ἠπειλήσε καὶ *ἔσομαι ὁμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ*· ὁ δὲ δι' ὧν θρασέως κατατολμᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς νεφέλας, φησὶ, *θήσειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον* τῆς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ οὐχ ὁμοιος λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τῷ ὑψίστῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνόμοιος· οὕτω μετέωρον πρᾶγμα τὸ πάθος τοῦτο πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ [Fol. 74r] καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς
- 1770 ἀληθείας ἔξω φέρειν τὸν νοῦν· καὶ δεῖ τὸν θεῖον ἐργάτην οὐ πρὸς τὸ ψευδὲς ὕψος τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ὄρᾶν καὶ ἄνω τοῦ παντὸς καθημένον ἑαυτὸν σχεδιάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν τῆς ταπεινώσεως ὕψος, δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναδραμεῖται ὀξέως κατὰ τὴν πτηνῶν φύσιν.
- 171.** Δύο τινὲς εἰκόνασι ψεύδεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄνθρωποι, ταπεινὸς δηλονότι καὶ ὑπερήφανος· ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷ κρύπτειν τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς θησαυρὸν καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα καταμαρτυρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ
- 1775 μόνου δεῖσθαι πρὸς ἕλεον· ὁ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἴδια κατορθώματα ὡς ἐν σάλπιγγι τινὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γλῶσση καὶ τῷ στόματι διάτορον ἐξηγεῖν, καί ποτε δὲ προσποιεῖσθαι, ἃ μὴτ' ἔπραξε, μίτη δ' ἐνεθυμήθη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δοκῶν ψεύδεσθαι ἀληθεύει, οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἔχει ἀρνεῖται, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ ἔχει ὁμολογεῖ· Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὕλη καὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ἐξ ὧν τελεσιουργεῖται, *τί γὰρ ἔχεις* φησιν ὁ *οὐκ ἔλαβες*; ὁ δὲ δόξαν ἀληθείας τοῖς πολλοῖς παρεχόμενος ψεύστης τῷ ὄντι γνωρίζεται, οὐ γὰρ ἀναφέρειν ἀνέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν παροχέα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγράφεται τοῦ πράγματος αἴτιον· καὶ συμβαίνει λοιπὸν, τῷ μὲν ἀπε[Fol. 74v]νέγκασθαι δῶρον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀρνήσεως τὰ αἰώνια ἀγαθὰ, τῷ δὲ τῆς ψευδοῦς ὁμολογίας τὰ αἰώνια κολαστήρια, ὡς γὰρ *ψεύστης* τῷ τοῦ ψεύδους *πατέρι τῷ διαβόλῳ* συγκαταδικασθήσεται.
- 172.** Εἰς δύο τινὰ ρεύματα ἡ θολερὰ καὶ ἄποτος τῆς ὑπερηφανίας πηγὴ σχίζεται· ἐν μὲν τὸ κατὰ
- 1785 τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους πεπολιτεῦσθαι καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς στοιχεῖν ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι μέντοι παρακατέχειν τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ παραπετάσματι ταπεινώσεως συγκρύπτειν τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἀλλ' εἰς προὔπτον τιθέναι τοῖς πᾶσι μηδένοιο ἀναγκάζοντος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων κατεξανίστασθαι ὥσπερ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἐκεῖνος τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ πεποιήται· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μικρὰ ἢ οὐδὲν προστεταλαιπωρηκέναι τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἔργοις, εἴτα προσποιεῖσθαι τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα· οἷον καὶ
- 1790 Χριστὸς ὁρῶν παρὰ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν ἐκείνοις καὶ Φαρισαίοις γινομένον, σφόδρα ὠνείδιζεν, *οὐαὶ λέγων ὑμῖν γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί*, οἱ τὸ ποιοῦντες καὶ τὸ· σφαλερὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπαιρόμενος κατορθώμασι καὶ πάντας οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος· σφαλερώτερος δὲ πολλῷ πλεον ὁ δευτέρος καὶ ἀκαθαρτώτερος, ὅσῳ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἄλλοτρίας μορφὰς ὑποδύεται καὶ σκηνὴν γέλωτος [Fol. 75r] καὶ παιδιὰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ
- 1795 δικαιοσύνην ποιεῖται· ὃς καὶ διπλᾶς τίσει τὰς δίκας ἐν καιρῷ κρίσεως, οἷς τε κακίαν εἰργάζετο καὶ ἀρετὴν μὴ ποιῶν, ὡς ἱερόσυλος καὶ ἀπατεῶν ὑπεκρίνετο.
- 173.** Ὁ ὑπερήφανος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μόνον, οὐδ' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν ἔοικεν· ἐκείνους μὲν, τῷ μηδὲν εἰς ἀρετῆς οἶεσθαι λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης εἶναι κακίας καὶ πλάνης· ἑαυτὸν δὲ, τῷ δυνατῶς ἔχειν, ἢ φαῦλος ὢν τοὺς τρόπους μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς

- 1800 τὸ χρηστότερον, ἢ χρηστὸς ὢν μετριοφρονεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀρετῆς εἶδος τίθεσθαι τὴν ταπεινῶσιν· Θεὸν δὲ, δι' ὃν οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλέου καταδέχεται ἀξιοθῆσθαι ὡς ἀνάξιος, οὐθ', ὡς ἄξιος διὰ ταπεινώσεως τὸν ἀθλοθέτην ἐξιλεῶσιν, κρειπτόνων ἢ προσῆκεν ἀξιοθῆναι γερῶν· ἀπανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος μάταιος ἐλεγχθήσεται οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρακερδάνας ἐξ οἰήσεως, ἢ τὸ δόξαν γελοῖαν ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ πρῶτος εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων· αὐτὸς κριτὴς ἑαυτῷ γεγονώς,
- 1805 αὐτὸς βραβευτής, αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης φιλοτιμότητος.

**174.** Ὁ ὑπερήφανος ἄνθρωπος οὐ μόνον τῆς σπουδαζομένης παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρετῆς τῶν ἄθλων ἀποτυγχάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς [Fol. 75v] μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης κακίας ἐξευρίσκει τὴν κόλασιν· ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὖν ἐλεεινός, ὅτι τὰ μὴ ὄντα φαντασθεὶς καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπώλεσεν· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐλεεινότερος, ὅτι καὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ποιναῖς ὑπεύθυνον ἑαυτὸν ἀπειργάσατο.

- 1810 **175.** Καὶ πόλις μὲν εἰς ὕψος αἰρομένη καὶ κατὰ μήκος δὲ καὶ πλάτος ἐκτεταμένη, φυλακῆς τιнос δεῖται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας αὐτῇ πολεμίους, μήποτε λαθόντες ἢ νύκτωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν εἰς αὐτὴν καταχαλασθῶσιν, ἢ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν τὴν εἴσοδον κλέψωσι· καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι, τὸν ἐγκείμενον θησαυρὸν διαρπάσωσι· καὶ ψυχὴ δὲ θεοῖς ἔργοις περιπεφραγμένη καὶ τοῖς τῆς θεωρίας ὑψώμασι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερηρμένη, χρεῖα καθίσταται ταπεινώσεως καὶ σπουδῆς πρὸς γε τὸ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς τῆς ὑπερηφανίας μαχομένους αὐτῇ λογισμοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἄορασίᾳ τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ παρόντος βίου αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπιτιθεμένους ὡς γοῦν ἐν σχήματι ὁμοφύλων· δέος γάρ ἀντὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἐννοιῶν μὴ πονηροὶ τινες καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι λογισμοὶ εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσῶσι καὶ ἐξίσωσι, καὶ πυρὸς αἰωνίου παρανάλωμα δράσωσι. [Fol. 76r]

- 1820 **176.** Τὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ πάθος, ὅσῳ περ ἐξ αἰτίας εὐλόγου τὰ πολλὰ εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, τοσοῦτ' ἄνυ ἀνευλαβῶς ἐμπολιτεύεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρρησιαζόμενον· οὐ γὰρ, ἐπειδὴν κινηθῇ, ἀναλόγως τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ἀμύνεται τὸν λελυπηκότα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμετρίαν ἐκπεσὼν· ἄξιον πολλῷ μᾶλλον διδόναι δίκας ἢ λαμβάνειν τὸν θυμούμενον ἀπεργάζεται· πολλάκις γάρ βραχείας ἔνεκεν ἀφορμῆς ὑπερξέσασα ἢ καρδία, καὶ τὴν μὲν γλώτταν ὥσπερ φάσγανον θήξασα, τὴν δὲ μορφήν μετὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνακαύσασα, πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀσχημοσύνης καὶ ἀτοπίας ἐκτοπίζει τὸν δειλαιον· καὶ αὐτίκα ὥσπερ λέβητος ἐκβρασθέντος βολβοὶ τινες ἐξεμοῦνται καυσώδεις, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὕβρεις καὶ λοιδορίαι καὶ δειναὶ τινες βλασφημίαι καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ τῆς γλώττης συμπτώματα ἀτάκτως προχέονται καὶ προχωρεῖ τὸ κακὸν εἰς χειρῶν ἄρσεις καὶ βελῶν ἀφέσεις καὶ ὀπλῶν ἐκτάσεις· ἅπερ ὡς πονηροὶ τινες ὑπασπισταὶ προθύμως τῷ πονηρῷ στρατηγῷ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔπονται.
- 1825 **1830** πολλάκις οὖν ἐγκαλῶν τις ὕβριν τινὶ, αὐτὸς μετὰ μικρὸν φόνον ἐγκέκληται, καὶ βραχὺ τι πταῖσμα μετὰ θυμοῦ διορθοῦν βουλόμενος, εἰς [Fol. 76v] μέγα κακὸν αὐτὸς περιπίπτει καὶ μετατίθησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν θυμὸν, ὁμοῦ τε καταβάλλει τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς σπέρματα καὶ θερίζει ταῦτα πολλαπλασίως· καὶ ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τιμωρὸς γίνεται τιμωρούμενος, εἰ μὴ παρὰ δικασταῖς ἀποτόμοις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ σφετέρῳ δικαστῇ τῷ τῇ φύσει ἐγκαθημένῳ, ὃς καὶ εἰς εὐθύνας ἄγει μετὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν πράξαντα· πάντων οὖν ἀφεκτέον παθῶν, εἰ οἷον τε, ἐπέκεινα δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὅσῳ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον ὁρῶμεν γινόμενον.

- 177.** Ἀναιδέστερον τὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ πάθος ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ πολλῷ προχειρότερον εἰς ἐνέργειαν· ἐπειδὴν γάρ τις ἐθέλη βραχείας παραπεσόντος πράγματος, αὐτίκα οἷόν τις φλόξ ἐγκείμενον τῇ καρδίᾳ αἶρεται καὶ ὕλης εὐπορεῖ πλείστης, τῆς μὲν ἐξωθεν, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐνδοθεν· καὶ οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃν τινὰ τοῦτ' οἶεται, τὰ δ' ἄλλα, οὐχ οὕτως· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ἔχει πολλάκις, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς οὕτως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδῶς αὐτὰ καὶ δειλία κατέχει· οὐ γὰρ ὁ πορνεύων οὐδ' ὁ μεθύων, οὐδ' ὅτ' ἀλλότρια διαρπάζων ἢ συλῶν, οὕτως ἀνερυθρίαστως ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὁρμᾷ, ὥσπερ ὁ θυμούμενος· μόνον οὖν ὡς ἔοικε [Fol. 77r] τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐλεύθερον ἐστὶ καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν περικοπτόμενον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν κείμενον βούλησιν ἐπισχεθῆναι πρὸ τῆς ὁρμῆς· οὐκοῦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς χρὴ μὴ ῥαδίως ἄττεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς παρὰ γνώμην συμβαίνουσι τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλως ἡμᾶς ἐπίτηδες παροξύνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὢν εἵνεκα τὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ πάθος τῇ φύσει δέδοται, ἵνα κινώμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πρακτέα, παροξυνώμεθα δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ πρακτέα, σιγῇ τούτοις ἀπεχθανόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ ταραττόμενοι, καὶ ἀταξία μείζονι ἀταξίᾳ ἐτύχοι ἐλάττονα ἐπιδιορθούμενοι· καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, ἂν δέη ὀργίσεσθαι κατὰ τῆς πονηρίας καὶ μόνῃς τὸν θυμὸν ὅλον τέρπειν· καὶ Χριστὸς γὰρ κελεύει τὸν θυμὸν ἡμῖν εἶναι κατὰ μόνου τοῦ ὄψεως.
- 1840 **1845** **178.** Οὐδὲν τῷ θυμῷ δίκαιον ἀρχὴν εὐλογον εἰληφότι, ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ ἢ ἀδικηθεὶς τις εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τεθύμωται ἢ ὕβρισθεὶς ἢ τι τῆς δόξης ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἢ κατὰ τι παρακρουσθεὶς· ταῦτα δ', ὁπότε τις δοίῃ, εὐλογα εἶναι κινεῖν τινα εἰς ὀργὴν· ὅμως οὐδ' οὕτω τῆς ὀρεκτικῆς τε καὶ
- 1850

1855 φιληδόνου διαθέσεως [Fol. 77v] ἀπολείπεται· ἄλλως τε εἰ μὲν κατὰ μέτρον προυχώρει, τὰχ' ἂν ἦν  
 τις παραίτησις τῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνομένῳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς πολλὰς ἀτοπίας ἐκ τῆς δικαίας δῆθεν  
 κινήσεως φέρεται, καὶ ὀργὰς ἀλόγους καὶ μανίας ἀπογεννᾷ, καὶ συνιστᾷ ἔριδας καὶ ἀναρριπίζει  
 1860 πολέμους, ὥς καὶ μεταμέλειν αὐτῷ ὕστερον. παυστέον διὰ τὰ παράλογα καὶ τὰ εὐλογα, ἵνα τρία  
 ταῦτα ἡσυχάζοντι περιγένηται, τότε συμφέρον καὶ ἀσφαλές, πρὸ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν  
 τελειώσας, τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνδριάντα ἐργάσεται.

179. Τὸ κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἀναγκαίως ἐνεφυτεύθη τῇ φύσει τοῦ ζῴου παρὰ τοῦ  
 λόγῳ τὰ πάντα συστησάμενου Θεοῦ· ὥς γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι χωρὶς πνεύματος τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο κινεῖσθαι,  
 οὕτως οὐδὲ χωρὶς τοῦ θυμικοῦ πνεύματος τὴν κατὰ τὰς πολυσχιδεῖς ἐνεργείας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι  
 1865 κίνησιν. ὁπλίτη γὰρ ὅμοιος ὁ θυμὸς ὑπὸ στρατηγῷ τεταγμένῳ· ὅποι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύσειεν, ἐκεῖσε  
 πορευομένῳ ἢ δημίῳ δικαστὴν ἔχοντι ἐπιτάττοντα τὰ τοῖς νόμοις δοκοῦντα δίκαια περατοῦν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔως ἂν τῶν ὑποτάσσεται, ἐνεργεῖ κατὰ λόγον· [Fol. 78r] καθ' αὐτὸν δὲ γενόμενος, ἄνους καὶ  
 μανιώδης φέρεται καὶ τῇ φύσει πολέμιος· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀντὶ πολεμίων ὅτι πολλῶν ἔστιν  
 οὗ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀποκτίννυσιν· δεῖ τοίνυν αἰεὶ παιδαγωγὸν αὐτῷ καθιστάν τὸν λόγον, τὸ ἀγέρωχον  
 1870 αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ θρασυῖ ἄγχοντα· τάχα γὰρ καὶ ἡ φύσις, τούτου χάριν μέσον τοῦ λόγου καὶ  
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτὸν ἔταξεν, ἵνα νῦν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου ρυθμίζεται καὶ παιδαγωγῇται, νῦν δ' ὑπὸ  
 ταύτης ἐξημεροῦται καὶ καταθέλγεται· εἰ δὲ μέγα δοκεῖ τισι καὶ ἄμαχον εἰς τὸ ἀναστεῖλαι θυμὸν,  
 ὁ δορυφορικὸς τόπος ἡ καρδιά, ἃτ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἐμφύτου ἀλλομένη ταχέως πρὸς τὰς πτοίας καὶ τὰ  
 θάρση· ἀλλὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἔχομεν πρὸς ταῦτα βοήθειαν τὴν τοῦ πνεύμονος κατασκευὴν  
 1875 περιεχυμένην ἔξωθεν, μαλακὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀναιμον τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ διὰ τῶν σπογγοειδῶν τε  
 καὶ σπυραγγοειδῶν πόρων τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔλκουσαν καὶ ἀναψυχὴν τινα  
 διδοῦσαν τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὥστ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐθέλωμεν ταχέως ἀπομαραίνεσθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἡ τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς ἔννοια καὶ ὁ Τάρταρος τὰ μέγιστα δύναται νῦν μὲν διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, νῦν δὲ  
 1880 διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ φλόγα κατασβεννύναι [Fol. 78v] καὶ ἡπιωτέρους ἡμᾶς  
 ἀπεργάζεσθαι· ὥστε διὰ τοσούτων καὶ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως βοηθουμένους καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος  
 ὁδηγουμένους καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν κραταιουμένους, οὐ χρὴ θυμοῖς ἀλόγοις  
 ἐκταράττεσθαι.

180. Ὅμοιος ὁ θυμὸς νέῳ τινὶ σφριγῶντι διὰ τὴν τῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμὴν καὶ πρὸς πάντα ῥαδίως  
 ἄττοντι, μέσῳ δ' οὖν ὅμως οἶονεῖ τινος πατέρος καὶ μητρὸς ὄντι, τοῦ λόγου δηλονότι καὶ τῆς  
 1885 ἐπιθυμίας· ἅπερ εἰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς σῶφρονας τῶν πατρῶν παιδαγωγούσιν αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ θέσεως πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲν φαῦλον, οὐδ' ἀναιδὲς ὁ νέος  
 οὗτος καὶ πάντολμος ἐξεργάζεται· εἰ δ' ἐκμελῶς αὐτὸν τρέφουσι καὶ ἀνάγουσι, πάντα  
 καταχαριζόμενοι καὶ καταπροϊέμενοι, ὅσα ἂν βούληται, πατραλόας ἀντικρυς καὶ μητραλόας  
 γίνεται καὶ νόμος· αὐτῷ ἡ ἀνομία δοκεῖ, καὶ σωφροσύνη ἡ ἀκολασία, καὶ ἐγκράτεια ἡ ἀσωτία,  
 1890 πάντα τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς θησαυρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ματαίοις σκορπίζειν προθυμουμένῳ· δεῖ δ' οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς  
 λόγῳ τετιμημένους τοῖς ἀλόγοις δουλεύειν ἀγεννῶς μάλιστα καὶ ἀνελευθέρως· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ  
 ψευδόμεθα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν ζῆν βούλεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν [Fol. 79r] τῆς  
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοθείσης ἡγεμονίας ἐξέχεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο θηρίον ἡμῖν  
 ὑποταγεῖ καὶ δουλεύσειεν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ περὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἡμῖν δεδομένα τῶν ζῴων  
 1895 ἀνδράποδα.

181. Θυμὸς ἐθισθεὶς ἐξαγριαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα λυπηρὰ διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀρεκτῶν  
 ἀπότευξιν, οὐδένα ἐπ' οὐδενὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος λόγου λόγον πεποίηται· κατεξανίσταται δ' ὥσπερ  
 μοχθηρὸς δοῦλος τοῦ σφετέρου δεσπότη, πάντ' ἄνω κάτω δι' ἀταξίαν τιθέμενος καὶ πολλὰ  
 1900 πράγματα παρέχων αὐτῷ, εἴτα δραπετὴς οἶονεῖ καταστάς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ πρᾶξιν· ὑποχωρεῖ  
 γὰρ αὐτίκα ἡρεμεῖν ἀγαπήσας, μόνον τὸν ἄθλιον δεσπότην εἰς μέσους τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφίησιν· ὁ  
 δὲ μόνος περιλειφθεὶς ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἐν ἀγῶνι ἢ στρατηγὸς ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκπεφευγόντων  
 ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ χρῆται καὶ πάντας λογισμοὺς ἀνελίττει καὶ παντοίας ἀνερευνᾷ μηχανάς, ὅπως ἂν εὔ  
 1905 θεῖτο τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ φαύλου οἰκέτου καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προπέτειαν  
 περιγένοιτο, μήπως, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ γίνεται, δίκας αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου ὑπόσχη, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα  
 ἡμαρτηκῶς σύννοιδε· ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὰ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν πάθη συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰ  
 [Fol. 79v] ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς τὰς ἐκατέρων προσβολὰς διακρούεσθαι σκέπτοιο καὶ ἀμείλικτος  
 καθάπαξ καὶ ἀνεπίστροφος ἵσταιο, μεθ' ὅσης ἐπιτιμῶν ἐμβριθείας τοῖς ἀλόγοις τουτοιτοῖς  
 πάθεσιν, εἰς οὐδὲν ὑφ' ὁτουοῦν δικαστήριον ἐλκυσθήσεται, οὐδέ τι βλάβος δι' αὐτὰ πείσεται·

- μενεῖ δ' ὥς ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ ἀταραξίᾳ τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κράτος ἀνανταγώνιστον  
 1910 ἐαυτῷ συντηρήσει.
- 182.** Εἰ δι' ἄμυναν τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος ἢ τινος στέρησιν τῶν προσόντων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης θυμούμεθα  
 καὶ ὀργιζόμεθα· ἄλογος δὲ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ παθητικῆς ψυχῆς ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ καθαιρετικὸν τῆς τοῦ  
 λογιστικοῦ δόξης καὶ ἐπιβουλον τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνουσιωθέντος ἀξιώματος  
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· λανθάνομεν τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ἢ βουλόμεθα δρῶντες, καὶ προστιθέντες ὕβριν  
 1915 ὕβρει καὶ ζημίαν ζημία, πολὺ μείζονα τῇ ἐλάττονι καὶ αἰσχρὰν τῇ ἥττον τοιαύτῃ· ἄριστον οὖν ἂν  
 εἴη καὶ πάνυ τι συμφέρον καὶ ἔμφορος ψυχῆς ἔλεγχος, εἰ τὰ ἐξωθεν ἐπιόντα καταδεδέγμεθα καὶ  
 χάριτας προσοφείλομεν τοῖς κακῶς ἡμᾶς δρῶσι· τρία γὰρ ταῦτα δι' αὐτοὺς κερδανούμεν, τὸ  
 μεγαλόφρονες τοῦ λοιποῦ γνωρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πρὸς γε τὰ καθ'  
 1920 ἡμῶν [Fol. 80r] ἐπενηνεγμένα καὶ τὸ τοῦ δέοντος παιδευτικὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἀπαιδευτοῖς· ἅπερ καὶ  
 μέγιστη ζημία καὶ ὕβρις τοῖς ἐπιβουλευούσι γίνεται, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιπερίσταιτο τὰ τοῦ  
 δράματος· καλῶς οὖν φησι Χριστὸς ἀγαπᾷν τοὺς μισοῦντας καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων  
 καὶ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς καταρωμένους.
- 183. Περὶ ῥεμβασμοῦ νοῦς.** Ὁ συχνὰ περιτρεπόμενος νοῦς εἰς τε τὰς τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων εἰκόνας καὶ, αὐταῖς οἷον ἐμφιλοχωρῶν εἰδωλεῖον ἐαυτὸν καθίστησιν ἄντικρυς  
 1925 δαιμόνων παντοδαπῶν, οἷς λατρεύοντες Ἕλληνες· τὸν μὲν ἔφορον ὄντα θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ  
 ἔριδος ὠνόμασαν Ἄρην, τὴν δὲ μίξεως καὶ ἀκολασίας Ἀφροδίτην, τὴν δὲ χοραυλίας καὶ μουσικῆς  
 Τερψιχόρην, Δήμητραν δὲ τὴν περὶ γεωργίας καὶ καρποὺς καὶ σπέρματα καταγινομένην, καὶ τὴν  
 τοξεία ἐπιστατοῦσαν Ἄρτεμιν, Ἡφαιστον δὲ τὸν πάσης τῆς διὰ πυρὸς ἐνεργουμένης  
 χειρωνακτικῆς τέχνης ἐξάρχοντα καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄλλην φλυαρίαν ὀνομασίας ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους καὶ  
 1930 ἐπιτηδεύματος· τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον; εὐδαίμονας μὲν καὶ θεοὺς ὥς καταπτύστους ὄντας, καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 διαπτύομεν, τοῖς δ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχόμεθα καὶ πάθεσι καὶ θελήμασιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτου χάριν [Fol. 80v]  
 διὰ Μωσέως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας παρὰ Θεοῦ εἴρηται, τὸ πᾶν ἔργον λατρευτὸν οὐ ποιήσετε; καὶ  
 γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ὥσπερ εἰ γενναίως ἐνιστάμεθα πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐκνικῶμεν αὐτὰ,  
 οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἀποφερόμεθα τῶν δι' αἵματος καὶ θανάτου πρὸς τὴν πλάνην ἀντικαταστάντων  
 1935 μαρτύρων· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ὑποκύπτοντες τούτοις κατὰ τὰς συμπιπτάσας τῶν πραγμάτων  
 περιπετείας, λατρεῦται μονονουχὶ νομιζόμεθα τῶν εἰδῶλων· φυλακτέον οὖν τὸν ἱερὸν τοῦτον  
 ναὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς βδελυροῦ καὶ πράγματος καὶ νοήματος, εἰ γε μέλλοιμεν κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον  
 ναὸς Θεοῦ καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι.
- 184.** Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσί με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδιά αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ φησί που  
 1940 Θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς κατ' οὐδὲν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα παραδεικνύοντας· ὅπερ πολλῶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐρεῖ πρὸς τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὲν ἐπὶ γλώττης φέροντας ῥήματα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐν τοῖς ματαίοις  
 καὶ πράγμασι καὶ νοήμασι περιφέροντας· καὶ πλείονα δὲ τιμωρίαν τὰ τοὺς ἢ ἐκείνους  
 εἰσπράττει· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ σφοδροτέρων ἴσως παθῶν τυραννοῦμενοι καὶ τινος ἀνάγκης  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ δόξαιεν λέγειν· τοὺς δὲ τί ἂν παραιτήσαιοτο, ῥαδίως ἔχοντας  
 1945 τὸν νοῦν προσαρμόττειν τοῖς λεγομένοις, [Fol. 81r] εἴτα κατολιγωροῦντας δι' ἀπροσεξίαν καὶ  
 ῥαθυμίαν; εἰκόασι γὰρ οἱ οὕτως ὁμιλοῦντες Θεῷ οὐκ ἐκ λογικῆς αὐτῷ νοερᾶς συντυγχάνειν  
 ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ ἀσήμεου καὶ μαινομένης εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον· οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι μοι δοκοῦσι  
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν Κάιν τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον μέρος τῆς φύσεως ἐαυτοῖς τε νέμειν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπαθέσιν ὀρέξεσι  
 τὸν νοῦν δηλαδή· ὁ δὲ χεῖρον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπεριμμένον, τὴν γλώτταν δηλονότι καὶ τὸν ἐξ  
 1950 αὐτῆς συριγμὸν τῷ Θεῷ· οὗ τὸ τέλος ἀπευχομένοις, φευκτέον τὰς ἀρχὰς πάση σπουδῇ.
- 185.** Ὡςπερ ὑψουμένου μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου φωτὶ καταλάμπεται ὃ τε ἀήρ οὐτοσὶ σύμπας καὶ ἡ  
 περίγειος κτίσις· καταδύντος δὲ, σκότος καὶ ἀορασία περικέχυται πᾶσιν· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ  
 ψυχὴν πράγμασιν· ἕως ἂν ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς μετέωρος φέρηται καὶ ἄσχετος πρὸς τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὰ  
 τῆς γῆς πράγματα, μέγα τι φῶς ἐμπαρέχει τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει καὶ αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ  
 1955 σώματι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πτερὸν ἐλκύσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους καὶ πρὸς τὰ χαμαιζήλα ταῦτα κατενεχθῇ,  
 ἀφώτιστα παρήσι τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ οὐθ', ὅθεν λοιπὸν κεκινήμεθα, διακρῖναι δυνάμεθα, οὐθ' ὅποι  
 φερόμεθα. [Fol. 81v]
- 186.** Ἀοράτως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς νοῦς ἐφιστάμενος, τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν, ἂν τ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ  
 τὸ βέλτιον κινήθῃ, καταθρεῖ· εἰ γὰρ τὰς κτιστὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀύλων δυνάμεων οὐδὲν τι τῶν  
 1960 ἡμετέρων λανθάνει, παρέπονται γὰρ ἐκάστοις ἔφοροι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, λεπτῶς μάλα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς  
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ καὶ βέλτιον κινήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀπογραφόμενοι, ποῦ  
 ἂν εἰκὸς εἴη τὸν πᾶσιν ἐνοικοῦντα καὶ πανταχοῦ παρόντα ὥς ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι Θεὸν λόγον διαφυγεῖν  
 τι τῶν γιγνομένων; καὶ ἡμεῖς δ', εἰ μὴ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὕλῃ τὸν σπινθῆρα τὸν νοερὸν ἐκαλύπτομεν,

- 1965 τάχ' ἂν ἐπεβατεύομεν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς· καὶ τοῦτο Παῦλος δηλῶν ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαβατικώτατος, *ἐκ μέρους ἡμᾶς* φησι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ προφητεύειν διὰ τὸν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς σύνδεσμον· ὡς Θεοῦ τοίνυν αἰ παρόντος ἐκάστω καὶ ὀρῶντος πάντα καὶ ἐξετάζοντος, γυμνάζωμεν τὸν νοῦν πάντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ νοεῖν καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ τόπου οὔτε χρόνου, οὔτε δὲ πόνου δεησόμεθα μεθιστᾶν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσchrῶν καὶ ἀτόπων ἐννοιῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰς βελτίστας καὶ σωτηρίους, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ βουλήσει ραδίως κάκεϊνος
- 1970 ἔψεται ταῖς χρεῖαις διακονῶν. [Fol. 82r]
- 1975 **187.** Τὸ μὲν διαφανὲς τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ λεπτὸν παχύνεται καὶ ἀμαυροῦται παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναφερομένων ἀτμῶν· τῶν μὲν ξηροτέρων ὄντων καὶ καυστικωτέρων, τῶν δὲ ὑγροτέρων καὶ ψυχροτέρων· ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ συνίσταται τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάθη, ἀστραπαὶ δηλονότι καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ καταιγίδες καὶ λαίλαπες καὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῶν κεραυνῶν εἶδη, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄμβροι καὶ χάλαζαι καὶ χιόνες· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐπισκοτοῦσι τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτὶ καὶ νυκτομαχεῖν ποιοῦσι πολλάκις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέση τοὺς παριόντας· τὸ δὲ διαφανὲς τῆς ψυχῆς εἴτουν ὁ θεῖος νοῦς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐράσμιος συνθολοῦται καὶ ἀχλυοῦται ἀπὸ τῶν γηίνων φροντιδῶν καὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς καὶ διακεχυμένης καὶ καπνώδους τῶν παρόντων ἀκαταστασίας καὶ περιτροπῆς· ἐξ ὧν ἐπισύστασιν τὰ πάθη λαμβάνοντα· οὐκ οὐτε τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον ἐὰ ἐπιλάμπειν ἐκεῖνῳ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πνεύματος, οὔτε δ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀφίησι τὰς γνωστικὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφιέναι καὶ ὀδηγεῖν αὐτήν, οὐ δεῖ φέρεσθαι· ἐντεῦθεν οὔτε παρὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὔτε παρὰ τῆς θείας τὴν γνῶσιν δεχομένη τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ, ἐν σκότῳ βαθεῖ καὶ ἀορασίᾳ [Fol. 82v] διατελεῖ· καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον προμνηστεύεται σκότος διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ παρὸν πλάνης καὶ ἀγνωσίας.
- 1980 **188.** Ἡ συνεχὴς τοῦ νοῦ περιτροπὴ καὶ μετάβασις ἔοικεν ἀνερματίστῳ καὶ ἀκυβερνήτῳ νεῶς περιφορᾷ, ἣτις παντὶ γε ἀνέμῳ παρεῖται καὶ κύματι κατὰ ῥοὴν φέρεσθαι· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν μὴ προσαρράξαι βουλομένον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σκάφος ταῖς τῆς ἀμαρτίαις ἀκταῖς, ἢ μὴ τῷ βυθῷ καταδύσαι τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἢ μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς πειραταῖς δαίμοσιν εἰς ἀφανισμόν, Θεὸν ἐφιστᾶν ἡγεμόνα τῷ νῷ καὶ μελέτην Θεῶν Λογίων μετὰ τῆς νοερᾶς προσευχῆς, ἣτις, αὐτὸν ὥσπερ χαλινὸς ἐπέχουσα, τὰς ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς ἀναχαιτίζει περιφορὰς καὶ πρὸς μόνας τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς ἐννοίας καθοδηγήσει· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, τῷ σώματι διατελέσειε πεπολιτευμένος, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὕλης ὦν, ὡς ἄυλος εὐρεθείη, καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀξίωμα ἐαυτῷ ἢ συντηρήσειεν ἢ ἀποκαταστήσειεν.
- 1985 **189.** Ἀτοπὸν μοι δοκεῖ τὸν μὲν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ σώματος, συχνὰ διολισθαίνοντα ἐνθάδε κάκεῖσε, μηδὲν τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὁρᾶν δύνασθαι· τὸν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸν, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἄυλος νοῦς, ταῦτο τοῦτο πάσχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς μελέτης τῶν θεῶν ὕμνων καὶ λόγων, εἰδέναι [Fol. 83r] νομίζειν ἅπερ εὐχεται καὶ ἅπερ ἐξαιτεῖ τὸν Θεόν· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφερόντως ποιεῖ ἢ εἴ τις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς μουσικῆς εἰς θέατρον κατιῶν καὶ τὴν χορδὴν ἐντείνας, ἔπειτα τῷ πλήκτρῳ μόνῳ καὶ τῇ νευρᾷ ἐπιτρέψει τὴν ἀρμονίαν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ τούτων, τὸν δ' ἐπιστήμονα τῆς μουσικῆς νοῦν, μεθ' οὗ τὰ μέλη τεχνικῶς ἀρμόζεται, πόρρω που μεταφέρει· καὶ βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις τολμήσειε παρεστῶς τὰς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀσχημοσύνας διεξιέναι, εἴτα μεταβαίνειν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ βαναύσων καὶ κατῆλων ἀτοπήματα· ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσειεν, ἀνάξιον πάντως τῆς βασιλικῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ ἀξίας τολμήσει· ἐπὶ Θεοῦ δὲ, πῶς τοῦτο δώσομεν; ἢ πῶς ἀκίνδυνον τινὶ γένοιτ' ἂν, καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν ἄτοπον εἴη; εἰ τὸν μὲν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἂν τις πώποτε καταδέξαιτο αἰσchrά τινα καὶ ἀηδὴ πράγματα βλέπειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ συναρπασθείη, ταχέως αὐθις ἐπιστρέφει ἐκεῖθεν· τὸν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸν τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν ἀτόπων πραγμάτων συμφυρόμενον καὶ κατείδωλον τοῖς πονηροῖς γινόμενον τύποις, ἀνέχεσθαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν· ἐπὶ παντὸς μὲν οὖν φυλακτεόν [Fol. 83v] τὸν νοῦν ἀμόλυντον, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν τὰ Θεῖα μελετῶμεν Λόγια, εἴ γε μέλλοιμεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἱλεώσεσθαι.
- 2000 **190.** Οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς συμβαίνει, ὅτι τὰς ἐνωθείσας αὐτῷ ὕλας εἰς ἐαυτὸ μεθίστησι καὶ πῦρ ἄλλο ποιεῖ κατὰ μέθεξιν, αἱ δὲ δρῶσι τὰ τοῦ πυρὸς· οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, συνεχῶς διομιλῶν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ἐννοίας ἐκεῖθεν δεχόμενος, ἐξίσταται μὲν ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ οὔτε κατ' ἀνθρώπον ἐνεργεῖ οὔτε κατ' ἀνθρώπον πάσχει· μορφούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης καὶ πάντα δυναμένης φύσεως, πάντα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ δύναται καὶ ποιεῖ καὶ ὁρᾷ τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς παρόντα καὶ ἐγχειρεῖ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς δυνατοῖς, καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὅτι ἂν βούλοιο· ἐπιτάττει ὥσπερ ὁ Πέτρος τῷ *Ἀνανία* καὶ τῇ *Σαπφείρᾳ* ἢ τῷ γόητι Σίμωνι, ἢ ὁπόσους ἄλλους ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἐποίησε συν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ δυνάμει· οὐκοῦν καὶ Θεὸς ἄλλος νομίζεται τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν σημεία καὶ τέρατα ἐνεργοῦν ἐν ὕλικῷ σώματι· ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου δὲ πάσχει ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ποιεῖ τὰ χειρίστα, ἀποστὰς Θεοῦ καὶ πονηρᾷ δυνάμει καὶ πλάνῳ συγγινόμενος· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς δαίμονας ἀρρητοποιὸς
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- γίνεται καὶ θαυματοποιὸς δοκεῖ, πλανῶν τε ὁμοίως καὶ πλανώμενος καὶ τε[Fol. 84r]λευτῶν, ἔργον τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς γινόμενος.
- 2020 **191.** Πνεῦμα ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος· ὃς οὖν γλώττης μόνη φορᾷ καὶ ἀέρος κτύπῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖν οἶεται· καὶ οὐτ' ἔχει τὰ ἔργα ὡς ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ τινὶ συνάδοντα, οὔτε δὲ τὸν νοῦν σύμφωνον τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἢ ἄγνοιαν
- 2025 καὶ τυφλὰ εἰς θυσίαν προσφέρειν ἀπαγορεύοντος, αὐτὸς λανθάνει τοιαῦτα προσφέρων τῷ ἀπαραλογίστῳ τῶν τοιούτων Κριτῇ· ἀλλ' εἰ μέλλοι κατὰ νόμον πνευματικὸν ἐξυμνεῖν Θεὸν τοῖς ἀναιμάκτοις θυσίαις, νοῦν δεῖ προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ εἰς θυσίαν κεκαθαρμένον καὶ γλῶτταν εὐφημον καὶ πράξιν ἀρίστην μάρτυρα τῶν τοιούτων· ὁ γὰρ παρ' ἐν τούτων ἐγχειρῶν Θεὸν ἐξυλάσκεσθαι καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν, ἡκρωτηριασμένην τὴν θυσίαν προσφέρει καὶ ἀπρόσδεκτος αὐτῷ λογισθήσεται.
- 2030 **192.** Πολὺ βέλτιον ἀνεκκαλήτων{οἱ} συντυγχάνειν Θεῷ, καὶ ὡς Μωσῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀκούειν *τί βοᾷς πρὸς με*, ἢ γλώττη τὸ παράπαν ἀσυνδυστάστῳ πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν [Fol. 84v] τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμιν· ἀνθρώποις μὲν γὰρ ὁμιλοῦντες, δεόμεθα λόγου πρὸς δήλωσιν ὧν βουλόμεθα· Θεῷ δὲ, τί ἂν τούτου δεοίμεθα; καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν διὰ παντὸς μέρους καὶ μέλους ὑμνεῖν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ
- 2035 μηδὲν ἄργον ἔχειν εἰς λατρείαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότος, περιττὴ ἂν ἦν ἡ διὰ λόγων ἔντευξις, ἐκεῖνου ἀοράτως συνόντος ἡμῖν κατὰ διάνοιαν· διὰ τοῦτο νοῦ ἡμῖν πρὸ παντὸς ἐπιμελητέον· ὡς τοῦδε καθαρῶς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Θεὸν τεταμένου, πάνθ' ἡμῖν ἐκεῖθεν κάτεισι τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ φρόνησις ὑγιῆς καὶ διάκρισις ἀκριβῆς καὶ παλαιῶν συγχώρησις ὀφλημάτων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς ἡμῶν βίον καὶ ἐλπίς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις βεβαία τοῦ μέλλοντος· ἔνθα καταπαύειν μέλλομεν ἅπαντες ἡ κολάσεως τευζόμενοι ἢ ἀναπαύσεως, καθὼς ἡ τοῦ ἀδεκάστου Κριτοῦ ἀπόφασις ἐκάστῳ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμετρήσει.
- 2040 **193.** Οἱ πρὸς τὴν κοσμικὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ὁρέξεις ὅλον τὸν ἑαυτῶν νοῦν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λογισμῶν μελέτην κατασχολοῦντες αἰεὶ εἰκόασιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ, ὡς ἂν εἰ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἠπίσταντο γενομένην ὡς ὄργανον παρὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τῷ σώματι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τεχνίτην καὶ κύριον τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ [Fol. 85r] φυτευθεῖσαν τῷ σώματι· οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸ δουλαγωγῇ καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἔλκη, ὅποιπερ βούλοιο, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον αὐτὴ τούτῳ δουλεύη κατὰ τὰ ἀνδράποδα· οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι μοι δοκοῦσι τὸ μὲν ὄχημα δεσπότην τοῦ ἡνίοχου ποιεῖν, τὸν δ' ἡνίοχον τοῦ ὀχήματος δοῦλον· ὧν, τί ἂν γένοιτο ἀδικώτερον ἢ ἀσεβέστερον; ὅτι ἀντιδημιουργοῦσι τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς ἀξίας μετατιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία
- 2045 καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς θείας βουλήσεως· ὁ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος κατανοήσας, ἔφη *τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖτε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν*.
- 2050 **194.** Πέντε τινες εἰσι χῶραι τῷ νῷ φυσικαὶ τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι, ἐν αἷς δέον αὐτὸν διατρίβειν.
- 2055 **1.** Πρώτη μὲν ἡ κατὰ θεωρίαν τοῦ θεολογικοῦ μέρους ἔρευνα, καθ' ἣν ἐγγυμνασάμενος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιγνοίῃ ἂν, κάντεῦθεν ἀκριβῶς ἀπαντᾶν δύναιτο πρὸς τοὺς κακῶς τὰ θεῖα μεταχειρίζοντας.
- 2060 **2.** Δευτέρα ἡ διάσκεψις τῆς φύσεως τῶν κτισμάτων· ὧν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας διαμελετήσας, εἰς ἔννοιαν ἥξει τῆς δημιουργικῆς τούτων δυνάμεως καὶ ὑπερεκθειάσει τὸ σοφὸν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ δυνατόν [Fol. 85v] καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κηδεμονικὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ φύσεως.
- 2065 **3.** Τρίτη ἡ ἀκριβῆς ἐπιστάσις τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων· ἔνθα τὸ ἡθικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς κατορθοῦται μετ' ἐπιστήμης κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁρθῶ λόγῳ πρότερον τῶν παθῶν ἀπελαυνομένων οἷον τινὶ μαστίγι.
- 4.** Τετάρτη ἡ κατὰ τὸ νοερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς συνισταμένη συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάκοπος προσευχὴ μετὰ τῆς συντρόφου νήψεως, δι' ὧν παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης φαντασίας αἰσχυρᾶς ἡ τῆς καρδίας χώρα ἀνεπίμικτος ἀποτελεσθεῖσα τῷ μόνῳ ἀπαθεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ Θεῷ μίγνυται· ἐλλάμψεις ἐκεῖθεν θεοειδεῖς δεχομένη καὶ μουσμένη τὰ πόρρητα, *κατὰ τὸν εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀρπαγέντα* καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἄρρητα ῥήματα.
- 2070 **5.** Πέμπτη δὲ καὶ λοιπὴ ἡ τὸ ζῶον τὸ ἐν τῇ φύσει οἰκονομοῦσα δύναμις· παρὰ τοσοῦτον, παρ' ὅσον ἐπεστράφθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μόνον καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τείνει σύστασιν.
- Τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις ὁ νοῦς ἐμφιλοχωρῶν κατορθώσει πάντως τὰς καθαρτικὰς καὶ θεουργικὰς ἀρετὰς, καὶ τὸ πρὸς Θεὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον ἢ συντηρήσει ἢ ἀποκαταστήσει· ὡς εἰ ἐκτὸς τούτων παρατραπείη καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἀριστερὰ κλίνειε τῆς μέσης καὶ βασιλικῆς ἀφέμενος, ἐν πλάνῃ πάντως [Fol. 86r] εὐρεθήσεται καὶ ἀδιανοήτῳ περιφορᾷ· καὶ δεῖ ταχέως αὐτὸν

2075 ἐπιστρέφειν σόφρονι λογισμῷ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας καταφυγὰς, μήπως ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἰδίας ἀποπλανώμενος χώρας, ἔρμαιον καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ πάθεσι γένηται καὶ δοῦλος καὶ αἰχμάλωτος ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου ἀναφανῇ.

2080 **195. Περὶ πνευματικῆς ἀρχῆς.** Ὡςπερ τὸ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνωφερές, κοῦφον, λεπτὸν, καθαρὸν, φωτιστικὸν, καυστικὸν, μεταδοτικὸν τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως, οὐ μεταληπτικὸν οὐτινοσοῦν τῶν ἐτέρων σωμάτων, ἀπὸ βραχέος ἀρχόμενον καὶ εἰς εὖρος καὶ μήκος ὑπερεκτεινόμενον, καὶ περιεκτικὸν τοῦ παντός, ὅσα ὁ δημιουργικὸς λόγος κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ ὑπερ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐτεχνήσατο· καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ θεία φύσει προσεικὸς, ἣ πέφυκε καὶ ἡ δρᾶ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκει καὶ ὄντιναοῦν πάντα προστασίας ἐπειλημμένον ἀνθρώπων· καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν τήνδε καὶ θειοτέραν ἀρχὴν, ἵνα πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὴν φύσιν ὡς οἶόν τε ἐκβιαζόμενος, καίτοι γεγωνὸς κάτω, ὅμως ἄνω τὸ πολίτευμα μετὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων τίθεται, καὶ παντὸς ὑλικοῦ βάρους ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤ· ὅποσα ἐκ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀνέσεως καὶ κτήσεως [Fol. 86v] ἐνευσμένης κατασαρκοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καταβαρύνουσι, τοσαῦτα ἐπεστραμμένος τοῦ σώματος, ὅσα μὴ τὸν ἐκείνης πρὸς αὐτὸ σύνδεσμον παραβλάπτουσι· εἴσω τε ἀεὶ χωρὶ τὰς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐργασίας, νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχῆς ἄλλην δύναμιν καθαιρόμενος καὶ ἀπολεπυνόμενος· οὕτω δὲ καθιστάμενος, τοῦ θείου φωτὸς ἐν μετουσίᾳ γίνηται καὶ κατ' ἴσον δὲ λόγον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μεταδίδω· τῆς λαμπρότητος, τὸ ἀνείδεον ἐκείνων καὶ σκοτεινὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταπλάττων καὶ μετατιθέμενος· καὶ δὴ καὶ καυστικὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ἀποτομία φαίνεται, ἵν', εἴ τινες εἶεν σκότους υἱοὶ καὶ Ἄδου οἰκήτορες, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὕλη κακίας εὐπρηστος καὶ εὐμάραντος αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις ἀντὶ πυρὸς γίγνοιτο καταναλίσκων τοὺς τῆς πονηρίας ρύπους, εἰ βούλοιντο· ἢ μὴ τοῦτο καταδεδεγμένους, 2095 τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπελαύνων υἱῶν καὶ οἶόν τι σκότος τοῦ φωτὸς ἀποδιῶστων, μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταδόντες λώβης τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι, τὸ κακὸν πολλαπλασιάσωσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥςπερ τὸ πῦρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ ὑπενδύονται καὶ πεποίονται κατ' ἐκεῖνο, οὐ μὴν δὲ κοινὴν αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν παρέχουσιν, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο γίνεται ταῦτα· οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ προσήκει τὰς μὲν [Fol. 87r] τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἀκτῖνας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μετοχετεύειν καὶ σόφρονας καὶ δικαίους ἐργάζεσθαι τῇ πνευματικῇ ζέσει τε καὶ ἐγγύτητι, οὐ μὴν αὐτὸν μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ τρόπου καὶ 2100 συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐτέρως ἔχουσιν, ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ γνώμης ἔχει καὶ προαιρέσεως· καὶ ὅταν δέ τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐπιβάλῃ, ὅποια καθ' ἐκάστην συμπίπτει, ἐκεῖθεν ὥςπερ ἀναπτόμενον ὕλῃ τινὶ, πρὸς λόγους πνευματικῆς θεωρίας τὸ ταπεινὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ κάτω κείμενον τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποῦ τὰς ἀναγωγαῖς τιθέναι καὶ πύρινον ὥςπερ καὶ φωτοειδὲς ἀπεργάζεσθαι· καὶ ἵν' εἴπω τι 2105 καθόλου, θεῖόν τινα τὸ ὅλον δεῖ τοῦτον εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾶσθαι μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀρετῆς μὲν ἀπάσης εἰκόνα τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα προβεβλημένον, κακίας δ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίαν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ διδόναι προσκόμματι· οὕτω διὰ βραχέων καὶ γραμμῶν καὶ χρωμάτων τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

2110 **196.** Τὸ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης χρῆμα, εἴπερ ἄλλό τι τῷ Θεῷ φίλον ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπωνύμως αὐτῆς κέκληται· ἐλεήμων γὰρ καὶ οἰκτίρμων λέγεται καὶ μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ χρηστός καὶ ἐπιεικής, καὶ πολυέλεος [Fol. 87v] καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τούτου τὰς ὀνομασίας Ἡ Γραφή ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῷ τίθησι· κἂν γὰρ καὶ παραλλάττειν δοκῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἅπαντα γίνεται πράγματος τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης· καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν γεγονότων ἢ γινομένων ἢ γενησομένων ἄνευ τοῦ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τρόπου Θεὸς ποιεῖν εἴωθεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ δίκαιος λέγεται 2115 καὶ Θεὸς καὶ ποιητής, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα σύμφυτον τὸ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐνδείκνυται· ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παρήγαγεν, ἐλεημοσύνη προνοεῖ καὶ συνέχει, ἐλεημοσύνη πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀλλοιωσεῖ· ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κρινεῖ ἅπαντας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη κατακρινεῖ καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη δικαιώσει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας φησί παρατηρήσης, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται; καὶ ἔλεος παρ' ἡμῶν αἰτεῖ καὶ οὐ θυσίαν· καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνταποδόσεως ἔλεος ἡμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ εἰ πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ἐπεδειξάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ 2120 τελείῳ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἔξειν, πᾶλῃσόν σου φησί τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς· εἰ τοίνυν τὸ ἐλεεῖν οὕτω μέγα καὶ τίμιον, τὸ μὴ ἐλεεῖν φαῦλον ἂν εἴη καὶ ἄδοξον· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀδικεῖν καὶ προσαρπάζειν τὰ ἀλλότρια πάνυ φαυλότατον καὶ ἀδοξότατον καὶ [Fol. 88r] κολάσεως πρόξενον αἰωνίου.

2125 **197.** Καὶ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ἀρεταὶ θεοποιοῦσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καθ' ὅσον ἂν μετασχεῖν αὐτῶν γένοιτο· ἢ δ' ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ Δημιουργοῦ ἀξίωμα περιτίθησι τῷ ποιοῦντι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν κτίσιν παραγαγὼν, Δημιουργὸς καὶ ἔστι καὶ λέγεται· ὁ δ' ἐλεήμων, μὴδὲν εἶναι κινδυνεύοντα τῇ πενίᾳ, ἐπανάγει διὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι, καὶ ἡ τὸ



- 2130 εὖ ζῆν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ γοῦν τὸ ἀπλῶς ζῆν αὐτῷ χαρίζεται, κατὰ τῆς πενίας ἰστάμενος. αἰδεστέον τοῖνυν εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' αὐτό γε τὸ δημιουργοὺς ἡμᾶς ποιοῦν καὶ Θεοῦ ἀξίωμα χαριζόμενον, μήπως ἐξ ἀνελεημοσύνης τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀξιώματος στερηθέντες, καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀποπέσωμεν ἄθλων καὶ τῇ κολάσει ὑποπέσωμεν τοῦ πλουσίου, ρανίδα ἐξαιτοῦντες ἐλέους καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀξιοθέντες παρὰ τοῦ δικαίως κρίνοντος τὰ ἡμέτερα· ὁ γὰρ κρίνομεν, τοῦτο καὶ κριθησόμεθα.
- 2135 **198.** Ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ἀντιτιθεμένη, ὅμως ἔχει καὶ τινὰ μέσσην ἔξιν τὴν μηδέτερον οὔσαν, ἥτις οὐτ' ἀρετὴ νομίζεται κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, οὐτ' αὖ κακία διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐλεεῖν, μήτ' ἀδικεῖν· ἔχει δ' οὐχ οὕτως, [Fol. 88v] εἴ τις εὐσεβῶς κρίνειν θελήσειεν· εἰ γὰρ τιμῆς αἵματος ἡγοράσθημεν τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς ἀχθέντος εἰς θάνατον ἐκουσίως, ὀφειλέται ἄρα ἐσμέν αὐτῷ τῶν ἴσων παθῶν, ὥστε καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προίεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα, 2140 πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον τὰ τούτων ἐλάττω χρήματά τε καὶ πράγματα· ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ ἐδημιουργήθημεν, δεῖ τοῦ μέρους κατὰ τὸν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν τρόπον ἀντιδημιουργεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄντων, οὐδ' ὧν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσηγάγομεν ἀλλ' ὧν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν δέδωκε καὶ ἀεὶ δίδωσιν ὡς φιλόανθρωπος· γένοιτο δ' ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι τῶν ὄντων μεταδιδόημεν· οἰκιοῦται γὰρ ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σάρκα φορέσας καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν κληθῆναι καταδεξάμενος, τὰ εἰς 2145 τοὺς πένητας παρ' ἡμῶν γινόμεθα. δεῖ τοῖνυν καὶ ὡς δημιουργηθέντας ἀντιδημιουργεῖν, καὶ ὡς δούλους καὶ οὐ χρυσοῦ ἀλλὰ τιμῆς αἵματος ἡγορασμένους, τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἅπαντα τῷ δεσπότῃ ποιεῖν· καὶ ὁ πλέον αὐτὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀσπάζεται, τοῦτο παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδάζειν ἐθέλειν, καὶ ἐλευθερίως πάνυ καὶ ἀκενοδόξως τοὺς πένητας ἐλεεῖν.
- 2150 **199.** Οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς γεωργικοὺς πόρους ταλαιπωρούμενοι, ἐλπίσι τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ ἔτους μετὰ τινος προσθήκης τὰ κατα[Fol. 89r]βληθέντα τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀμφοτέραις ταῦτα κενοῦσιν εἰς τὰς λαγόνας τῆς γῆς· οἵτινες ἐνίστε μὲν οὐκ ἀποσφαλέντες τῶν ἐλπιζομένων βραχύ τι κερδαίνουσιν, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ προσζημιωθέντες, ἀπέρχονται μηδὲν εἰληφότες· οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων λαγόνας κατατιθέμενοι, ἀναμφιβόλως ταῦτα θερίζουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ κατὰ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπειράκις πολλαπλασίως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης γῆς 2155 τῶν δικαίων· ἀδικίας οὖν ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀνοίας ἐσχάτης, εἰ ἔνθα μὲν ἀφορία ἢ καὶ ὀλιγοφορία ἐλπίζεται, πρόθυμοι σκορπίζειν ἐσμέν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς κατεγγυωμένου, μὴ δ' ὑπισχνουμένου τὴν ἀνάληψιν· ὅπου δὲ τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ πρόκειται τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ἐπιδεικνυμένοις, καὶ Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀξιώχρεως ἐγγυητῆς γίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν φιλοτιμοτάτην καθυπισχνεῖται, μὴ παρὰ τοσοῦτον προθυμεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν καὶ 2160 ἀναβάλλεσθαι, καὶ ἀμφιβάλλουσιν εοικέναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς τούτοις πράγμασι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα σπέρματα σηπόμενα καὶ διαφθειρόμενα, ὅμως ἀναθάλλει καὶ ἀνηβᾷ καὶ πλείονα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιδίδωσι, τὰ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην [Fol. 89v] μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ χεῖρας διὰ τῶν πενήτων πεσόντα, οὐ ταῦτ' οὗτο μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ποιήσει; καὶ πῶς ἂν πιστοὶ δόξαιμεν, εἰ τὴν αἴσθητὴν ταύτην καὶ φθειρομένην γῆν τῆς ἀθανάτου ἐκείνης τιμιωτέραν ἡγησόμεθα, ἐῷ δὲ λέγειν καὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ καὶ τοῦ δέοντος δόξαιμι φορτικώτερος;
- 2165 **200.** Ὁ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τρόπος θαυμασίαν τινα τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει πρὸς τὰς συγγενεῖς ἀρετὰς, θαυμασίαν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν· ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναλαμβανομένων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑδάτων ἢ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεων αἱ νεφέλαι συνίστανται· καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀφαίρεσιν γίνεσθαι, ὅθεν ἐλήφθησαν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον κάτεισι μετὰ ροίζου καὶ πάντα φαιδρὰ 2170 τίθησι τὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ γεγανωμένα· οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐφύκε γίνεσθαι, εἰς Θεὸν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πένητος ἀναβαίνουσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος, ἐκεῖθεν παρὰ τὸν πέμπαντα ἀντιστρέφει καὶ κύκλος τις θαυμάσιος γίνεται· πλὴν, οὐ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεοῦντα κάτεισι, παρόσον καὶ ἄνειςιν, οἷον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐκείνης ἀκολουθίας γίνεται τοῦ στοιχείου, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ δαυλεστέρα καὶ διαρκέστερα· καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶν καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις φησὶν [Fol. 90r] 2175 *ἐκατονταπλασίονα λήψεσθε καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσετε*· ἥτις καὶ ἡμῖν γένοιτο *πέρας* ἐνθένδε μεθισταμένοις, *διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους* καὶ οἰκτιρμῶν αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ εὐδοκίᾳ Πατρός καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν ἡμετέραν πτωχείαν ἀνειληφότος, ἵν' ἡμεῖς πλουτήσωμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

## *Prologue of 200 Chapters of Matthew of Ephesus (EK). Footnotes*

- 15–16 ἐστίας ἐκάστοτε γιγνόμενον ἐστίας ἐκάστοτε γιγνόμενον Angelou  
19–20 τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦτο ἔστι Angelou  
26 οὗτοι καὶ Φωκυλίδης οὗτος καὶ Φωκυλίδης Angelou  
37 προσησαμένους, ὅσῳ τοὺς μὴδ' ἀρχὴν γευσαμένους μὴδ' αὐγὰς προσησαμένους μὴδ' αὐγὰς Angelou  
43–44 πηγὰὶ μὲν ὑδάτων ἐκ πέτρας Deuteronomy 8:15, Exodus 17:5–7  
44 τέκνα ἐγείρονται Matthew 3:9

## *200 Chapters of Matthew of Ephesus (K)*

- 1–6 Phaedrus (245c–254e)  
2 νόμοις...πνευματικοῖς Romans 7:14  
24 βακτηρίαν cf. Psalms 22:4  
27 κατορθωμάτων ἢ ἀτυχημάτων Aristotle, *Magna moralia* 2.2  
63–64 τριάκοντα καὶ...ἀκάνθας Matthew 13:3–9  
114–15 ἡὺχόμην...σάρκα Romans 9:3  
122 ὁ ζυγὸς...φορτίον Matthew 11:30  
133–43 Categories of Aristotle  
149–50 ἐναπομόργνυται κηλῖδα Synesius, *De insomniis* 7.24  
157–58 στενῆς...ὁδοῦ Matthew 7:14  
158 ἐπιτευξόμεθα...ζωῆς cf. John Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum* 57.350.37  
177–78 ὁ γνοὺς...ὀλίγας Luke 12:47–8  
191 τὸ παραχρήμα ἡδύ cf. Plato, Protagoras 356a  
195 ἑκατονταπλασίονα...κληρονομήσει Matthew 19:29  
196–7 πρᾶος...ψυχῇ Matthew 11:29  
223 πείραν ἢ ἔκτισιν cf. Theoleptos of Philadelphia, Letter 3.49  
295 τὸν Πατριάρχην perhaps Abraham  
296 τὸν ἐν τῇ Αὐσίτιδι ἄνθρωπον Job 1:1  
304 ὁ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἡμῶν ἐκδεχόμενος Formula to refer to God from Ps-Macarius to Gregory Palamas  
308–10 ψυχῇ...κυρίε Baruch 2:18  
310 κυρίε...ἐν θλίψει ἐμνήσθημέν σου Isaiah 26:16  
311 μακάριος...διδάξης αὐτὸν Psalms 93:12  
348 λύπας...ιδρώτας...Ἀδὰμ Genesis 3:17–19  
406 συνεξιτιτόμενα cf. Manuel Gabalas A18.313  
456–57 ἀνδρὶ...ψάμμου Matthew 7:27  
459 τὴν οἰκίαν...πέτραν Matthew 7:24  
468 εἰσελεθῆιν...οὐρανῶν Matthew 7:21, cf. Matthew 5:20, 18:3, 19:23  
494–95 οὐαὶ...θολερὰν Habacuc 2:15  
497–98 τί...ἀποστερεῖσθε 1 Corinthians 6:7–8  
516–17 Δειλὸς...ἐξιέτω John Climacus, *Ladder of Paradise* 26.1036.32, cf. Simeon New Theologian, *Orationes Ethicae* 4.1.715.  
542 γυναιξὶν ἄλλοφύλοις Judges 14:3  
543 βομοὺς...ἀνοικοδομήσαν Jeremiah 39:34–5  
543–44 ἀνοικοδομήσαν...Μωάβ 3 Kings 11:5  
545–6 διαρρήσσω...δούλῳ σου 3 Kings 11:11  
559 Σαοὺλ...Δαυὶδ 1 Kings 23:28  
566 δούλον μορφὴν Philippians 2:7  
570–73 ἡμέρας...ὀδηγούμενος 2 Esdras 19:11–12  
584–85 Ὅταν...ῆσθα Isaiah 30:15  
605–7 Τρισὶ μέρεσιν...λόγῳ, θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ Plato, Republic 435b–441d, 580d–588a  
652–54: On the four primary qualities, see Aristotle, *Meteorology* Book 1, *On Generation and Corruption* Book 2.

- 660 τὸν...παραβάντα...εἰκότως Epistula Jacobi 2:10
- 684–85 τῆς θεωρίας...ἡ πρᾶξις ἐπίβασις Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Dogmate et Constitutione episcoporum* (Oratio 20) 35.1080.19. Cf. Barlaam of Calabria, *Contra Latinos* 9.15.116. This sentence is also found in contemporary texts such as Nikephoros the Monk, *Tractatus de sobrietate et cordis custodia* 948.10
- 713 μετὰ γενναίας παρασκευῆς Manuel Gabalas, *Epitaphius in Joannem Chumnum* 277.23
- 722–23 κῶνα...λαγῶν Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funebris Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* (Oratio 43) 7.5.3, *De Moderatione in disputando* (Oratio 36) 36.184.42
- 732–33 τῆς τῶν βεβιωμένων...ἀνταποδόσεως Basil of Caesarea, *De jejuniis* (Homilia 1) 31.184.38
- 747–48 τῆς θεωρίας [...] ἡ πρᾶξις ἐπίβασις Gregory Nazianzos, (Orat. 20) *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum* PG 35.1080.19.
- 756 ἐν οὐρανῷ κατοικεῖν 3 Kings 8:30
- 763 σφαιροειδῆ...κεφαλὴ Plato, *Timaeus* 44d5
- 774 τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον...τὸ ἅγιος Isaiah 6:3
- 785 οὐαί cf. Matthew 18:6–8
- 793 χαλκοῦ...ἤχῳ ἢ κυμβάλου 1 Corinthians 13:1
- 893–94 νοῦς...πρόσθεν *Odyssey* 10.240, Manuel Gabalas A9:115–16
- 905 κέντρῳ Paul, 1 Corinthians 15:56.
- 940 Κυρίως...θανάτῳ παρέδωκεν Psalms 117:19
- 941 οὐκ ἐκ δεξιῶν...καθεσθῆναι Mark 16:19, cf. Acts 2:25
- 948–49 σῶμα Χριστοῦ...ἐσμὲν e.g., Ephesians 5:30, 1 Corinthians 6:15, 12:27
- 959–60 ὑποταγὴν...Χριστὸν Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon Magnum* 929.43
- 969–70 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος...ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ Matthew 12:35
- 970–71 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν...ἐπιγνώσεσθε Matthew 7:16, 7:20
- 976 θεία συνεφαπτομένη...ρόπῃ Manuel Gabalas A8:71–72
- 990 εὐδιάβολον Plato, *Eutypbro* 3b8
- 993 θυρωροὺς...τοῖς πυλῶσι τῶν οἴκων Ezequiel 33:30, cf. 1 Esdras 5–7
- 996 ἀνεπηρέαστον συντηρεῖν cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae Morales* 800.35
- 1003 ὀλισθοῖ Manuel Gabalas, *Epitaphius in Joannem Chumnum* 272.28
- 1025–26 οὐδὲν...εὐμεταβολώτερον cf. Aristotle, *Magna Moralia* 2.3.11.8
- 1027 στρεπταῖ...ἐσθλῶν Homer, *Iliad* 15.203
- 1042 ἐν σκοτομήνῃ Psalms 10:3, cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 14.457
- 1049 ἐν ὁδῷ...παγίδα μοι Psalms 141:4
- 1083 ὕδατος ψυχροῦ Matthew 10:42
- 1083 ὀφθαλμὸν περιέργον cf. Matthew 6:22–23
- 1087 ὥσπερ ὄχημα Plato, *Timaeus* 69c, cf. *Hippias Major* 295d
- 1092 παρθενίαν ἀσκεῖ...χαμευνίαν e.g., John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* 58.709.18, *In Genesim* 54.413.47
- 1094–95 ἡ κατὰ τὸν Φαρισαῖον ἀπόνοια Cf. Luke 6:11, John Chrysostom, *De incomprehensibili dei natura* (Homilia 5) 523–534, commenting on Luke 18:10–1.
- 1102 ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν...ἐπιγνώσεσθε Matthew 7:16, 7:20, cf. Manuel Gabalas, K.969–70
- 1105–7 ἀκριβῆ...ἐξεταστὴν...πλημμελήσασιν cf. John Chrysostom, *In 1 Timotheum*, 62.532.32
- 1112–13 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ...οὐ γινώσκει Matthew 24:50, Luke 12:46
- 1129 δειλίαν καὶ προδοσίαν Matthew 14:44, cf. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* 58.747.55
- 1131 ἐπεχαλκεύθησαν Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1419b15, cf. Manuel Gabalas B21:3
- 1138–39 τὸ ἐπίστρεψον...Σιών Psalms 125:1
- 1142 ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες Genesis 24:5
- 1142 οὐ πορεύσῃ Leviticus 19:16, Numeri 22:12, Isaiah 33:21
- 1150–51 Μερρὰν...πηγὴν...πικρὸν Exodus 15:23
- 1153 τὴν τῶν παθῶν νέκρωσιν cf. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* 527, 19
- 1162–63 πωλεῖν...ἄρπαγι cf. Matthew 18:11–19:21.
- 1168 καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελῶνιον Matthew 9:9
- 1169 πυρὶ θεῖῳ...ὀφθαλμοὺς Cf. Acts of the Apostles 9:3–9
- 1174 πεπιστευμένους τὰ τάλαντα Cf. Matthew 25:14–30, Luke 19:12–17.

- 1201–2 στενή...ἀπώλειαν Matthew 7:13–4  
 1208–9 τέλος ζωῆ...θάνατος Romans 6:21–3  
 1210–11 σκόλοπος...χάριτι...τελειοῦσθαι 2 Corinthians 12:7–9  
 1212–13 διωκόμενον...πενόμενον 1 Corinthians 4:11–2  
 1216–18 ὁ Ἀβραάμ...ἀποτηγανιζόμενος...Λαζάρω Luke 16:19–31, John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro* 1036.9  
 1219 ἀμεταμέλητα Romans 11:29, 2 Corinthians 7:10, cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 59c  
 1230 φευκτόν τε καὶ ἀπευκταῖον John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts* 60.110.36  
 1249 ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα Homer, *Odyssey* 9.109  
 1259 πάντες παραστησόμεθα Romans 14:10  
 1262–63 ὁ Ἀδὰμ... ἰσοθείαν ἐν τῷ φανταστικῷ μέρει John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* 53, 129, 28, commenting on Genesis 3:5, *In Matthaeum* 57, 224, 52, commenting on Genesis 3:22, cf. Gregory Palamas, *Pro Hesychastis* (Triad 2) 1.41  
 1264 Χριστὸς...κατήγγησε cf. 1 Corinthians 15:26, 2 Timothy 1:10, Galatians 5:4  
 1265 δούλου μορφῆς Philippians 2:7  
 1270 πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ Matthew 3:12  
 1273–74 ἀναστάσει...ἀπαθανατίσαντος Gregory Palamas, *Orationes Asceticae* 3.14.2  
 1283–84 δάλου...ὑποδύεται Homer, *Odyssey* 5.488, cf. ἐπὶ τῇ τυφλώσει τῆς πονηρίας Manuel Gabalas A9.57  
 1284–85 φαντασθείσης θεώσεως Gregory Palamas, *Antirrhethica contra Acindynum* 6.3.8.26  
 1287 δοῦναι φόρον τῷ Καίσαρι John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* 58, 567, 44, commenting on Luke 20:22  
 1291 τεσσαρακονθήμερῳ...νηστεία Matthew 4:2  
 1291–2 ὄξος...ἀκανθῶν Matthew 27:34, 27:48, 27:29  
 1292 λόγχην...τὴν πλευρὰν John 19:34  
 1294 ποδῶν ὀξεῖς cf. Romans 3:15, John Chrysostom, *In 1 Ad Corinthios* 61.177.49  
 1312–13 οἱ δὲ ἐχθροί...ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ Psalms 37:20  
 1317 εὐφράνθησαν, ὅτι ἡσύχασαν Psalms 106:30  
 1326–27 ζῶν...δεκτικὸν Aristotle, *Topica* 112a19, 128b36–134a17  
 1344–45 συναίτιον...προαιρέσεως cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1114b22  
 1366–68, 1377–9 ἀγρός... ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ Matthew 13:38, 13:44 (Parables on the Kingdom of Heaven), cf. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* (Homilia 63) 58.609.5, commenting on Matthew 19:16.  
 1382 ὁ Κύριος ἐνσκηνεῖ cf. Psalms 14:1, 2 Corinthians 5:4  
 1384 θαλάσσης...πεπληρῶσθαι Matthew 13:47–48  
 1388–89 κυνὸς δίκην λιμώττοντος Gabalas K.1643–44, cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Commentaria in Psalmos* 23.549.41.  
 1390 τὸν Χριστὸν...ζῶντος Matthew 16:16  
 1391–93 σὺ εἶ Πέτρος...τῶν οὐρανῶν Matthew 16:18–9  
 1393 τό εἰς σὲ ἦκον cf. e.g., John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* 58.586.12  
 1407–13 Ὁφειλέται...ταλάντων...ἀπόδοσιν Matthew 18:24–28 (Parable of Unmerciful Servant)  
 1424 τὰ μέλη Χριστοῦ...ποιοῦσι 1 Corinthians 6:15  
 1424–25 γένος...εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ Mark 9:29, cf. 1 Corinthians 7:5  
 1424–25 εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστεία Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *De Jejuniis* (Homilia 1) 31.180.43, *Asceticum Magnum* 31.965.46, John Chrysostom, *passim*  
 1434 τύπον...διδούς cf. Romans 6:17  
 1436–37 θεῖον...ἀπείραστον ἐστὶ κακῶν Letter of Jacob 1:13  
 1437–39 ἁμαρτίαι...ζιζάνια cf. Matthew 13:27–30, John Chrysostom, e.g., *De Paenitentia* 60.705.17, commenting on Matthew 3:10, 7:19  
 1456–57 δῆγμασι τῶν ἰοβόλων θηρῶν John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* (Homilia 54) 58.537.56  
 1461–62 πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ...ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Deuteronomium 15:9  
 1463–64 θάνατος...θυρίδων Jeremiah 9:20  
 1465–66 μὴ πλανᾷσθε...κληρονομήσουσιν 1 Corinthians 6:9–10  
 1473–74 σεσαρωμένον...πονηρὰ πνεύματα Matthew 12:44–45

- 1474–75 τὴν δευτέραν...πρώτης Matthew 27:64  
 1478–82 στενὴ...πλατεῖα...ἀπώλειαν Matthew 7:13  
 1493–95 παρανομίαν...παράνομον e.g., Proverbia Salomonis 10:27, Psalmi Salomonis 4:1–12  
 1495 μνησικάκος, παράνομος Proverbs of Solomon 21:24  
 1498–500 ἐὰν μὴ...παραπτώματα ὑμῶν Matthew 6:14  
 1529 θεραπευτικὴν...αὐξητικὴν cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1098a  
 1541 ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ παντὸς cf. Ephesians 4:15  
 1541–42 ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος λίθος Isaiah 28:16  
 1543 κλαίειν...μετὰ χαिरόντων Romans 12:15  
 1544–1545 τίς ἀσθενεῖ...πυροῦμαι 2 Corinthians 11:29  
 1565–66 μὴ καυχάσθω...τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ Odae 3:10  
 1584 οὐχ οἱ νεκροί...οἱ ζῶντες Psalms 113:25  
 1588 ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην...ἀντιλήμψεται μου Psalms 3:6  
 1597–99 κλίνη... μηρῶν Canticum Canticorum 3:7–8  
 1634–37 πλούσιος...ἔσται Luke 12:20 (The Parable of the Rich Fool)  
 1643 ὅταν...σκηναῖς Luke 16:9  
 1643–44 τοῖς δίκην κυνῶν λιμώττουσι Gabalas K.1388–89  
 1649–53 πῦρ...φλὸξ cf. Psalms 103:4  
 1726 ἐχιδνῶν cf. Matthew 3:7, 12:34  
 1746 τῶν μὲν ὀπισθεν...ἐπεκτείνεσθαι Philippians 3:13  
 1766 καταρραχθήσεται cf. Psalms 36:24  
 1766–68 θήσω...τῷ ὑψίστῳ Isaiah 14:13–14  
 1779 τί ἔχεις...ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες 1 Corinthians 4:7  
 1783 ψεύστης...πατέρι τῷ διαβόλῳ scil. Beelzebul, cf. Matthew 12:24, John 8:44  
 1788 ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἐκεῖνος cf. Luke 18:9–14  
 1791 οὐαὶ...ὁμῖν γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταὶ Matthew 23:13, cf. 23:13–29 (Seven Woes)  
 1813 καταχλασθῶσιν cf. Manuel Gabalas B65.34  
 1852 θυμὸν...κατὰ μόνου τοῦ ὁφείους Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Novam Dominicam* 36.613.40  
 1895 τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἡμῖν δεδομένα Manuel Gabalas K1.3  
 1922 ἀγαπᾶν...εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν cf. Matthew 5:43–45 (Love for the Enemies)  
 1933 πᾶν ἔργον...ποιήσετε Exodus 12:16, Leviticus 23:7–8, 21, 25, etc.  
 1936 ὁ δορυφορικὸς τόπος ἡ καρδιά cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 70b  
 1939 ναὸς Θεοῦ 1 Corinthians 3:16, 2 Corinthians 6:16  
 1940 Ὁ λαὸς...ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ Matthew 15:8 (Breaking Human Traditions), commenting on Isaiah 29:13  
 1963 ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι Romans 12:4, Ephesians 2:16, Colossians 3:15  
 1966 ἐκ μέρους ἡμᾶς 2 Corinthians 1:14  
 1976 ὄμβροι καὶ χάλασαι καὶ χιόνες Aristotle, *De Mundo* 394a  
 1979 τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον Malachias 3:20  
 1994–95 ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἄυλος νοῦς Proclus, *Commentary on Timaeus* 2.140.20  
 2016 Ἀνανία...Σαπφείρα Acts 5:1–11  
 2016 Σίμωνι cf. Acts 8:9–24  
 2022 πνεῦμα...προσκυνεῖν John 4:24  
 2025–26 τὰ χωλὰ...εἰς θυσίαν Malachias 1:8, cf. Matthew 11:5  
 2028 θυσίαις ad marginem θυσία τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον  
 2032–33 τί βοᾷς πρὸς με Exodus 14:15  
 2045–46 τὸ δὲ σῶμα...τῆς ψυχῆς Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1161a.34  
 2051–52 τῆς σαρκὸς...ἐπιθυμίας Romans 13:14  
 2066–67 κατὰ τὸν...ἀρπαγέντα 2 Corinthians 12:2  
 2110 ἐλεήμων...χρηστὸς Psalms 144:8  
 2118–19 ἐὰν...ὑποστήσεται Psalms 129:3  
 2121–22 πώλησόν...πτωχοῖς Matthew 19:21  
 2156 κατεγγυωμένου Manuel Gabalas B33.34

**2158** ἀξιόχρεως ἐγγυητῆς cf. Plato, *Laws* 914d, 937b, John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts* 60.82.30

**2175** ἑκατονταπλασίονα...κληρονομήσετε Matthew 19:29

**2176** πέρας...διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους...Θεοῦ Jeremiah 28:13 and Luke 1:78, cf. 1 Colossians 3:12

**K. Further quite clear and useful *Chapters* by the humble Metropolitan of Ephesus, Matthew of Philadelphia, directing the soul towards divine knowledge and the spiritual state, through both the things that become known from perception and the natural contemplation of existing things, of which this is the prologue.**

It was never my concern to see the heights of virtue nor to engage with the more divine knowledge, as far as it knows the study of the soul concerning the superior and immortal aspect of philosophy. Nevertheless, I do not know how, nor as a result of what device capable of great things, I came to speak of what is suitable only for praxis and purified thought, and not for any other way at all. I think that this gift came to me not from the Muses nor from any oracle of Hermes,<sup>1</sup> as some might poetically claim, but from the providence that always looks upon us, so that (since I did not know how to follow the best and most divine men that have philosophized many things and many times about the good and, even before others, God Himself and I was not able [to follow] the advice concerning worse matters, being rather ashamed of myself and these words of mine) I would somehow gladly enter the path to salvation, fearing the reproof always arising from the altar, if not some other threats made to the wicked. Thus, let no one, opposing the divine word against this, attempt to overthrow my study, [claiming] that it is not permissible for those constantly criticized concerning these very matters [sc. the pagan philosophers] to recount the decrees of God and receive His covenant through their mouth. For even if this [thought] has been expressed in accordance with the truth, it is possible to see that many of the ancients, who did not have the [religious] choice for the best nor the healing knowledge of the true God, have said remarkable things out of the abundance of the highest providence, and these [people] are greatly admired up to this day.

I am not saying that they [sc. non-Christians] uttered some divine prophecies about future events and provided true outcomes for matters [to come].<sup>2</sup> I make no claims about this at this time, but that they were eager to teach something useful to mankind and to give advice to their thoughts: Pythagoras and Menander, these along with Phocylides and, before all of them, Orpheus, the father and teacher of the new music, and another not ignoble list of sophists and philosophers [bear witness to it]. For it is possible [to see that] all of them brought forward publicly the precepts of truly noble souls into the middle point and teach the definitions of prudence, courage, moderation, and justice to those who are poorly disposed. Not even did wickedness bring them to stop them from prophesying the truth, and it did not show them unworthy of introducing a certain measure into their character and regulating their souls according to the motion that is natural and befits reason. In fact, each of them aimed so much at their purpose

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<sup>1</sup> The reference to the Muses is probably a reference to Homer, while the one to the oracles of Hermes to Chaldean oracles.

<sup>2</sup> Pagan philosophers cannot be equated with the prophets.

that many later people paid more attention to their teachings – even if it was not necessary –, than to those from us [sc. Christians theologians] who derive their glory from everything that is good [sc. God and Christ].

It is not so astonishing that those who have devoted to this as an art philosophize something about virtue or vice, or even announce some of the unspoken things [sc. Christians], as much as those who have not even tasted the beginning or received any glimpse in their mind from the brightness above [sc. pagans]. In the former case [sc. among Christians], indeed, one could allege that the long-term study [of the issue] at hand can demonstrate something that is not attainable by the many and is nothing significant. But where no such thing was considered, nor were these great matters led forth by some necessity [sc. among pagans and the Prophets], there especially one can marvel and clearly assume that it did not happen without the aid of God. If from those who have not provided any reason for their miracles or for their teachings, such great miracles are performed by God, and “springs of water” are carved straight “out of rocks”,<sup>3</sup> as in ancient times, and rational “descendants are raised from stones”,<sup>4</sup> then perhaps even intelligent and conscious words might be drawn forth from a barren and stony soul, especially when right from the beginning there is a divine grace that dwells within their mind, cleansed of its original vice, and that brings forth all the good seeds of virtue. For this grace, when happening to be kindly disposed, tends to associate with those who have chosen piety, setting them wholly pregnant with every good disposition. Therefore, should a way out ever appear, grace always discerns, so that, having taken a brief escape, it might break out forcefully towards better ways and bring into light the clearly divine offspring. So, if there is ever a time when, having been endowed with an inclination from above, [grace] acts with such intensity, it would not be strange, if, for either of the two reasons, it stirred in both me and others a common grace, to express, both for my sake and for the sake of others, some divine teachings sharpened from virtue and knowledge.

If, certainly, these words provide some benefit to those who follow them, to those who engage with them would know with a considerate mind, but certainly not to those who, in their ignorance, love to mistreat those who are far better than them, like pigs [trampling] pearls thrown before them. For these people might even reject [these words], just as those who eat poorly [reject] better foods. However they may be disposed, let them know their vote will have no effect on us, on God, from whom, as we believe, we have received the gift of contemplation, not by virtue or by education in *logoi*, through which these [chapters] become clear conclusions for others.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Deuteronomy 8:15, Exodus 17:5–7.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew 3:9.



**1. [Soul as a City: Rationality vs. Vice].** The soul of a human being is akin to a city. If it cohabits with rational men (that is, if it is governed by divine thoughts and by spiritual laws), it subjugates and uses in a rational manner those irrational animals given for its service, I mean the inherent passions, anger<sup>5</sup> and desire. But if nothing of that sort is occupied with it, it becomes a den for beasts, both wild and untamed, transforming into various forms, which we recognize as the diverse and multifaceted kinds and types of evil.

**2. [Soul as a City: Guarding Every Gateway].** As a city with various gates: if, when enemies approach it, it closes all its gates and fortifies them, but leaves one and only one gate open, then the rest of the gates are of no use. In the same way, the soul gains no benefit by fortifying all other senses if it leaves just one accessible to passions. For the crowd of passions will rush into it as through a single gate and will fill its entire land with impure thoughts and deeds, so that it eventually becomes captive to the Devil, who has besieged it.

**3. [Soul as a City: Vulnerabilities].** As the weaker enemies, being unable from their obvious position to break through the walls of the cities under attack and enter them, learn of their more fragile parts and, attacking by night, make entry easy for themselves; in the same way, demons, when they perceive a soul, if it is not easy to conquer because it has been fortified by most parts of virtue, they lay in ambush for it, and wherever they find it weakened or fighting cowardly, there they establish their battle: so that, having overcome it with superior strength, they might overthrow it.

**4. [Soul as a City: Rule of Law and Mind].** As a city governed by laws and obedient to one single ruling power, as if in a kind of monarchy, knows not at all how to introduce disorder, greed, nor to awake turmoil and seditions; in the same way, a soul, subjected to the divine rules and persuaded by the sovereign power of the passions (i.e., the mind), nullifies their seditious nature, and proceeds calmly, orderly and friendly, and in harmony with its own powers. For it possesses the divine rod guiding it and grounding it in the divine will, and the plectrum of the memory of God and the punishments of the beyond, which soothes the soul and brings it to a harmonious state.

**5. [Principles Shape Outcomes].** Every achievement or misfortune in life is led by some impulse, either observing the future with wisdom and leading towards what is being done with that end in mind, or with folly and thoughtlessness. In the former case, it often succeeds, but in the latter, it misses its aim and falls short. Similarly, for every achievement or misfortune carried out by spirits, the principles of their movements hold power. If those origins lead rightly, the outcomes are also right and certainly conjoined with a divine inclination. But if not led rightly, the outcomes are not right, and the divine worker [sc. the monk] must be attentive to what end follows what beginning.

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<sup>5</sup> Note that anger is synonym of temper.

**6. [Principles Shape Outcomes: From Dot to Line].** As lines that start from a certain dot and extend in length, and from these lines various shapes are formed when combined; in the same way, with every action, whether good or bad, there is a beginning that might seem small and imperceptible at first, just like the dot, but when stimulated little by little, it culminates in magnitude, either providing overall pleasure to the one who did it, or pain and regret. Therefore, we must observe our own actions, [to see] how these principles are set.

**7. [Principles Shape Outcomes: The Subtlety of Temptation].** As the greedier among men, not finding a noble opportunity<sup>6</sup> to seize their neighbor's possessions, maliciously and cunningly probe for the opportunity they do have; in the same way, when demons cannot easily take away the sacred wealth of the soul from a clear fall, then, they take as a cause whatever may happen. And if they find the person under attack to be susceptible, whatever they could do through major means, they accomplish through minor ones and thus obtain their objective without effort. Therefore, one must be attentive in mind even to things that seem insignificant and negligible, because even a small spark, when neglected, can ignite a great flame.

**8. [Cumulative Effect of Small Losses].** Neither for the lords of private and public affairs is the gradual diminishment of their assets considered negligible, nor even for those established in the highest positions. For the small added to the small, increasing further, eats away at the whole and everything. Time has shown many lords, rulers, and kings who, by this means, have fallen into extreme poverty, misfortune, and loss of everything. But if each person would wish to maintain his status and add to his possessions, he would fight even for the things he has, even if they are the smallest, and care for things he does not have. If one thoughtfully and wisely applies this kind of consideration to the authority of the mind and the internal management of matters of the soul, he would naturally see the same thing happening. For one should not only avoid actions that damage the soul and are imposed upon it, but also not carelessly succumb to those [temptations] that impetuously happen to the sensory organs, or even to the thoughts, imaginations, and reasonings. One should carefully ensure everything moves harmoniously and in order, so that, as far as possible, the dignity that reflects its image is maintained, because the wasteful one and all who follow his ways have thus fallen away from their ancestral wealth, squandering everything little by little. And at the end, out of desperation, they were reduced to eating the food of pigs, and could not even fill themselves with that.

**9. [Soul as a Land: Fertility].** As a certain land, naturally disposed to receive seeds, if it benefits from care and labor, will then accept cultivated seeds, multiply its fruits, and yield “thirty, sixty, and a hundredfold”;<sup>7</sup> but if it remains unploughed and unsown, it produces thorns and thistles, and exhausts its own vitality on wild and untamed plants. In the same way, the soul, aptly able to

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<sup>6</sup> Note that the word ἀφορμή includes the idea of “first impulse” involved in the decision making.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew 13:3–9.

receive the seeds of virtues and to produce fruits manifoldly, if then it was nurtured in dissolute manner and did not partake in divine instruction, becomes [full] of thorns of various passions. Thus, contributing nothing, together with its own fruits and the Wicked Sower, the Devil, it will be consigned to eternal fire.

**10. [Soul as a Toy: Heedlessness and Divine Bridle].** As the properties of slaves, wandering without supervision, become playthings for children and are pulled and dragged wherever the children wish; in the same way, those who lead a frivolous and careless life, neglecting the reverence to God – [which is like] some divine halter –, become playthings for foolish and irrational demons. There is not a form of wickedness that these idle spirits do not present to such individuals and lure them towards their own ways. Therefore, the one who conducts his life under divine sovereignty must always wear the spiritual bridle and keep the fear of punishments before his eyes if he intends to attain the crowns in heaven from Christ, the award-giver.

**11. [Principles shape Outcomes: Ephemeral Pleasure and Enduring Rewards].** For every action, either pain precedes, and pleasure follows, or the opposite, with pleasure leading, pain follows. Then, for base and unrestrained actions, an irrational pleasure leads, followed by distress. But for actions according to God, it is the exact opposite. Therefore, one who approaches actions with right judgment should discern the qualitative nature of the beginning. If he sees immediate pleasure, he should abstain from this project, and not, for a brief pleasure and moment, bring about lasting pain for himself. If, on the other hand, he sees the kind of pain that tends to occur, he should not be cowardly in the struggle for moderation. For later, he will reap the long-lasting fruits of it.

**12. [Virtuous Use of Life's Offerings].** Base men, who only indulge in present matters, turn whatever comes their way into an occasion for vice and a substrate for depraved decision, whether it be wealth, honor from kings themselves, physical strength, harmonious bodily beauty, natural talent of the soul, sharpness of intellect, or anything considered the best. But the wise and diligent perceive as beneficial for themselves not just the seemingly good things, but even the harmful ones. Neither loss of wealth, nor of fatherland itself and relatives, nor of the honor in kingdoms, nor bodily tortures and whippings, nor the threat of death, can disturb their resolve. But considering such adversities as noises dissolving in the air, they purify themselves in these [adversities] in a much brighter way than gold in fire.

**13. [Soul as a Circle: Symmetry and Choice].** As a circle is equal to itself and converges uniformly toward its center from every direction; in the same way, the soul that moves according to God always maintains a consistent motion towards the good. It neither allows itself to exceed in one aspect of virtue nor to fall short in another. For how could it, when anchored to the divine as to a center, experience any deviation and distort the straightness of the circular structure of virtue? One can observe this in those who, with precision, act according to it, [seeing] how they perfectly execute tasks based on the specific circumstances and needs of each situation, and their

actions appear with the least distortion. If, however, nature is unable to excel in all things, it is not for that reason that our choice should be faulted. For we will not be punished by what we cannot do, but by what we, being capable, choose not to do.

**14. [Virtue as Sun: Impartial Benevolence].** As the sun shines and warms equally those who are unaffected by nature, either entirely, partially, or even willingly as if evading its power, and as the air and the other elements provide all their benefits equally to both humans and animals; in the same way, people who live according to God display the same disposition towards both friends and enemies and propose a common good for all, just as God Himself does. He makes the sun rise on the just and the unjust, the wicked and the good, and sends rain on all alike, not distinguishing vice or virtue, but storing up the multitude of sins as well as of good achievements for the eternity to come. Therefore, [the men of God] rejoice with those who do right, pray for the sinners, and suffer for them as if they were their own limbs. Still, there are times when they echo the sentiments of Paul, expressing a wish to sacrifice their own salvation for the sake of those individuals, saying, “I wish I myself were cursed by Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh”.<sup>8</sup>

**15. [Physical and Ethical Contests: Reward and Regret].** Those who compete in fighting, wrestling, ball, or any other physical contests, and toil greatly for such pursuits, undergo considerable agony to achieve their goal. They require training before the contests and also require perseverance and a bearing attitude during the contests. Those who compete in virtue resist challenges for a short time and at the beginning, even if the path seems rough and demanding. If they triumph, a lasting pleasure accompanies them both during and especially after the contests, just as “the yoke” is said to be “good, and the burden is light”.<sup>9</sup> However, if they are defeated by the face of vice resisting them, they experience a bitter and long regret. One can especially recognize this in matters that constantly stray from my God and from desire. For in that context, both the aforementioned outcomes become clearly evident.

**16. [Discerning Virtue and Vice].** The competitor must pay attention to every occurring event and consider the remaining struggle of virtue and vice, and how much strength contributes to the inclination toward the better part, which is certainly God, virtue and soul, while [he must] turn away from the body, vice, and the evil demon. For the worse always opposes the better and strives to pull the honor of victory towards itself. Who, having reason, would ever be associated with the darkness of vice, despising the truly honorable and great light of virtue’s wealth? This is possible for an unrestrained and undisciplined reasoning, just as the opposite [is possible] for the temperate and self-controlled.

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<sup>8</sup> Romans 9:3.

<sup>9</sup> Matthew 11:30.

**17. [Virtue and Vice: Transition of Opposites].** Virtue and vice are naturally opposed to each other, and it is impossible for someone who desires both to attain both, but one can admit [only] one of them. Yet, even if they are opposed to each other, they nevertheless change into each other; for from the undisciplined, someone becomes temperate, and from the temperate, undisciplined, and from the angry, gentle, and yet again angry from the gentle. But anger does not arise from gentleness or gentleness from anger; not at all. For they do not undergo change in what they are [sc. the essence], but their substrates, which are the materials of actions, do. For habits, passions, decisions of the soul, and all accidents are entirely changeable, and in a general sense, matter itself is receptive to vice or virtue and every opposition. In this manner, food often appears to change from opposites into opposites, like when a short cold turns into excessive heat and heat into excessive cold. In this respect, even if for no other reason, one should be grateful to the inferior, as they often become the cause for the superior.

**18. [Virtue and Vice: Rest and Activity].** Sometimes vice is an activity, while virtue is tranquility; and then again, the opposite, such as being greedy, stealing, enslaving others, digging through walls, inciting public disturbances, being insatiable in terms of food, getting drunk, acting with insolence, committing adultery, being a false accuser, lying, perjuring, becoming angry, talking and doing what one should not – these and similar actions are base in their nature, having essence when they come into being and requiring a voluntary or involuntary change of direction. For the one who acts this way unavoidably leaves a certain stain behind, and he requires purification. Indeed, for this reason, here we have laws and courts, while there, eternal punishments await those who are not fully purified here. The correction for these [vices] is the cessation of evil and tranquility, while not even beginning the project is virtue. For some consider virtue to be not doing wrong, but often not acting virtuously in action is seen as a vice. Indeed, turning away from evil is not enough when it comes to the standard of virtue. For example, not stealing is insufficient unless one also gives what is his own; it is not enough to choose not to falsely accuse if one does not also react philosophically when falsely accused or wronged. The same goes for other things. For here, “the narrow gate and the straitened path”<sup>10</sup> are even more demanding than there. And in such a manner, we will achieve life. Therefore, we must observe the appropriate times for each one [sc. action and inaction] since the struggle is set on two fronts: either in doing wrong or in enduring it. If the moment to act arises, then we will exercise self-control – this we must designate as virtue. If it is [a moment] to endure and not to resist, this too should be defined as virtue, just as their opposites should be defined as vice.

**19. [Virtue and Vice: Presence, Absence and Ceasing].** Vice is constituted either by the presence of evil deeds or the absence of good ones. Similarly, virtue emerges either from the presence of good deeds or the absence of evil ones. However, one should know that the presence

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<sup>10</sup> Matthew 7:14.

of opposites creates stronger habits than their absence. But the genesis of these [sc. virtue and vice] comes only from the tranquility of the better and the worse. For the cessation of evil is the beginning of good, and vice versa.

**20. [Virtue and Vice: Choosing for Better].** The boundary of vice is perceived in two things: indeed, in doing evil and in doing good. But for the uneducated and common people, vice is considered as doing evil, whereas virtue is either not doing [evil] or, having done [evil], to remain calm. However, for the educated and the rulers, the utmost vice is both the very act of choosing the worst things and, having ceased, not doing better things, because merely ceasing from worse is not enough to prevent such things [sc. evil things]. On the other hand, virtue means not doing base deeds, and attaching oneself to the very best. Consequently, for such individuals [sc. the educated], there is a double struggle and a double risk, just as indeed double are the rewards and crowns set in front.

**21. [Virtue and Vice: Relativity and Responsibility].** Half of the virtue of the educated, or even less, should be considered as the whole virtue of the uneducated. Similarly, the vice of the uneducated is, in essence, the extreme vice of the educated. Perhaps, this is what Christ Himself meant when He said, “the one who knows the will of the Lord and does not accomplish it shall be beaten with many stripes, while he who does not know, yet does things deserving of blows, shall be beaten with few”.<sup>11</sup>

**22. [Virtue as Practice of Good].** Inaction in regard to evil deeds was considered virtue by the indolent ones; but for the earnest, [it was considered] half of virtue. For they need to also add the action of good deeds to reach perfection, so that the avoidance of evil and the pursuit of good will complete the entire habit of virtue.

**23. [Choice: Turning Adversity into Profit].** Those who have trained in warfare, the more they frequently face battles against their enemies, the more they rejoice, achieving victories and rewards. Similarly, those who have deeply studied spiritual knowledge, in proportion to how they grapple with demons through these endeavors, appear increasingly victorious. For them, none of the existing dangers seem fearsome, nor detestable, always having the ability to benefit, even from the worse situations. Thus, for those who compete, defeat does not come from external circumstances but from their own choices. For if, for the more earnest, the occurring adversities become opportunities for accomplishments, what power do adversities inherently have to move us of their own accord? Therefore, we must be careful about how we compete.

**24. [Pain and Pleasure: Indifference].** He who from the beginning immediately wishes to triumph in the face of upcoming challenges should focus his mind on this one thing: to utterly reject what is immediately pleasurable and choose what is painful, whether this means a loss of honor, money, or any other bodily and more tangible pleasure – which will not be enjoyed for

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<sup>11</sup> Luke 12:47–48.

long –. If he chooses this [sc. to reject pain and pleasure] over everything, he will possess his soul in subsequent time both painlessly and more pleasantly with the hope of something better. Indeed, “he will receive a hundredfold”, according to the Lord’s word, “and he will inherit eternal life”.<sup>12</sup> For he learned from Him to be “gentle and humble in heart”, by forbearing every temptation that comes, and afterward, “he will find rest for his soul”, both in the present and in the future.<sup>13</sup>

**25. [Spiritual Investment: Renouncing Worldly Matters].** Those who engage in commerce give away some of what they have and hope to receive it back with some added value. No kind of failure can deter them, which often happens due to the unpredictability of the future and the irregularities of the material world, and hoping for the best, they risk everything, sometimes giving their money, and at other times both their money and their lives. Those who live a spiritual life and set their minds on heavenly gains should do this even better. If we hope for another life beyond the present one, why would not we also forsake vast amounts of money, strength of body, the splendor of status, the pleasures of the flesh, and our desires to attain what we hope for? But if we have hope and yet live unworthy of this hope, we are proven to be liars to the promise and will be condemned to eternal hunger and poverty, having wasted everything we had on vain things and having gained nothing good from the age to come.

**26. [The Folly of Resisting Nature’s Course: Embracing Life’s Challenges].** There is no tranquility for a soul that wishes to live without pain, as it is not to always want the outcome of events [to happen] according to one’s own thinking, but also to be content with the present circumstances, as they happen to be. If nature is shaped by matter according to our own purposes, then misfortune rightly seems to occur when hopes are unfulfilled. But if nature operates by its own accord, as it happens to do, and now lifts things up and then [brings them] down, it would be a great folly for us to be distressed when it moves according to its own nature. Therefore, we must remain equanimous in the face of inequalities and steadfast amid instability, so that we may use them painlessly and rationally. For it seems irrational to me that irrational things do not want to move according to the will of us, beings endowed with reason, while we frequently adjust ourselves to these ever-changing things. And at the same time, there is a mutual yielding: we become irrational, and they become rational, especially if we can shift our attitudes towards them.

**27. [Four Causes of Misfortune].** There are four causes for which people fall into misfortunes: either because we deal with matters passionately, or because we handle such things ignorantly and thoughtlessly, or because of the malevolence of others towards us, or because of the inconsistency of matter, and the uncertainty of the future. [This is because] from the opposite to these things we seem to be fortunate, apart from those [mistakes] forgiven by God on account of trial or payment of our wrongdoings. Then, the first cause depends on our choice, and one must

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<sup>12</sup> Matthew 19:29.

<sup>13</sup> Matthew 11:29.

feel pain and joy if either of these happens. The second, although it similarly depends on us, must be approached with less pleasure and pain; for the former is voluntary, the latter involuntary. In turn, the other two are to be attributed to external factors, and it is not fitting to feel either pain or joy. And from these, the subsequent things must be discerned.

**28. [Knowledge and Experience in Adversity].** Prudence and ethical virtue arise in humans from knowledge and extensive experience, but they also arise from the external events that happen to us due to fortuitous circumstances. For nothing so sharply sharpens our attention to events or prepares us to be self-controlled and noble towards passions and the wars aroused in us by demons, as the disposition of the flesh that is humbled and the spirit that is emboldened by involuntary pains, because they free from the tyranny [of passions and demons]. For it is impossible to be strong against the evil spirit [without this]. Both parts reveal their forces, opposing each other in the same measure. Therefore, since we derive the greatest profit from misfortunes, we should not be distressed about what distresses us, but rather about what we are not distressed about. Sciences and arts refine the souls with expertise towards the defined perceptions established in mind and practice, but the various misfortunes and introductions to terrible things somehow make humans prudent and careful towards the complex, disordered, and undefined changes of realities, and we should be grateful to them, for they perfect us. Although we will not [be able to] exercise in this part [sc. external events], we have grasped a large part of the whole; and it remains to frequently collide with it and often make mistakes.

**29. [Pain and Pleasure: Transition of Opposites].** If pleasure comes from pain, honor from dishonor, wealth from poverty, and generally better things are hoped for from worse ones, just as worse things come from better ones, then circumstances of contentment are superior. We ought to be more distressed when we are pleased and find more pleasure when we are distressed, rather than constantly shift between immediate pleasure and pain. One should only indulge unreservedly in the pain that arises from sin, just as in the pleasure that comes from virtue, until it, due to a change, evolves into its opposite.

**30. [Soul's Enduring Wounds].** Those evils which torment the soul when they are present are to be deemed the greatest calamity; for who knows if the destruction might not precede the transformation? But the evils that hurt the body and the matters concerning the body should be disregarded. If, in this case [sc. body], the process of change seems uncertain, over there [sc. soul], evil, remaining untreated, brings incurable harm to the immortal soul. Here, however, when the body dissolves, the hardships dissolve with it.

**31. [Search of Eternal Pain and Pleasure].** If the pain and pleasure of the present have no goal, one must inquire what is the unchangeable pain and pleasure.

**32. [Dispassion through Truth].** How can someone become unaffected by the passions that occur in life? In no other way than if one perceives that what truly exists and what does not truly exist are such in their nature as they really are, and he does not hold contrary opinions about each.



For if he constantly reasons that the former always remains the same, and the latter decay and perish soon afterwards and often change to the opposite, he himself will remain unaltered and unshaken in his opinion. Such a person will neither rejoice, nor will he be distressed, nor will he bear a grudge against enemies, nor will he seek revenge.

**33. [Fortune and Misfortune: Transition of Opposites].** Often what seem to be times of prosperity have ended in misfortune, and again, times of adversity have turned to success. Both appeared to be the material cause of their opposites. Hence, I have often seen those who have fallen from greater fortune praying that they had never come to experience such blessings, while those who rose from lesser circumstances, especially feeling grateful, thinking they encountered hardships, from which they derived happiness, believe they have or have found nothing [worse] than they previously [had].

**34. [Eternal Pain and Pleasure: Immutable Substrate].** He who pursues the present pleasure will also pursue pain; and he will be overtaken by it either immediately or after a short while. For the nature of both, as if sprung from a single starting point, run together through the course of life and one does not travel without the other. Thus, he who seeks one forgets that he inadvertently falls into the other. However, the true pleasure or pain in the world to come is not concurrent with the other. The reason is that they have immutable and unchangeable substrates, unlike here, where they are unstable and fluid.

**35. [Pain and Pleasure: Transition of Opposites].** The beginning of pleasure is pain, and the beginning of pain is pleasure. For there is nothing that exists that does not transition to its opposite. Therefore, those who are in pain should be hopeful, as they will also find pleasure; and conversely, those who are in pleasure should be hopeless, as inevitably they will also experience pain, either in the present age or in the age to come.

**36. [Pain and Pleasure: Futility of a Definition].** If the definitions that are made according to the logics of philosophy are not as they are said to be, and the present pleasure and pain are also made [according to these logics], then the current pleasures and pains are not [as they are said to be], even if they seem so to those who are pleasure-lovers.

**37. [Temptations: God's Purpose].** Involuntary temptations do not come to men without a purpose. For God, knowing the weakness of human choice and our unwillingness towards the good, compensates through involuntary temptations for what we lack in intention, so that by the things we do willingly and by those accepted unwillingly, we may become perfect in virtue and pleasing to God.

**38. [Purpose of Temptations: Humility and Practice of Good].** Involuntary temptations benefit us in two ways. Firstly, they humble those who are afflicted by vainglory due to the intentional choice for good, calming the spirit, as they recognize that our progress towards the better is not from ourselves alone, but also from God who allows these temptations. Secondly, they stir us up when we are idle and delaying, as goads or gadflies do, and they more frequently

compel us to call upon God as an ally in the battle against them, because, when we are healthy, we regard the doctors' word with little concern; but when we are ill, [we hold them in] high regard.

**39. [Temptations as God's Trial for the Practice of Good].** The temptations that occur to humans, certainly by the allowance of God, who sees and governs all things, become teachers of the highest philosophy, because they teach knowledge of God and virtue. But relaxation, prosperity, and an entirely pleasure-driven life instill forgetfulness of these [sc. knowledge of God and virtue] in the soul to a large extent. For how many, and who among them, either according to that Patriarch<sup>14</sup> or the man in Ausis,<sup>15</sup> will manifest in our life using wealth for every need? They bear witness to the word, if not the events happening to us every day, certainly to those of the Israelites and Judeans in the book of Jeremiah, the one who speaks from God. For they, remaining wasteful in their own [things] and devoted to luxury and indulgence, wholly departed from God and justice. And despite the constant presence of prophets reminding them of piety and justice and threatening what they would come to endure, they made no better arrangements. But when they were taken captive, expelled from their fatherland and possessions, they remembered God, bitterly lamented their sins with their misfortunes, and not only repented for their past life but also secured their subsequent one, imploring God with supplication, gratitude, and tears. To them, kindly looking, the one awaiting our return grants freedom after purification, while they, with both the voluntary captivity of their souls and the involuntary, gain release; thereafter considering and revering God and the things of God and regaining their own fatherland. Looking at this, the divine Jeremiah said: "a mourning soul, failing eyes and a hungering spirit will give glory and justice, O Lord".<sup>16</sup> And before him, the great Isaiah says, "Lord, in distress we remembered you",<sup>17</sup> and the great David, "blessed is the man whom you educate, O Lord, and teach out of your law."<sup>18</sup> Therefore, since so many gains arise from temptations, we consider them the best and most spiritually beneficial dealings when they occur.

**40. [Temptations as Purification: God's Purpose].** If temptations are given to men by God as purifications, then it is the same to be distressed at those who are in pain and at the doctors who both cut and cauterize, and at all those who provoke pains for the treatment of the patient. But if we hardly ever blame the public executioners, who do nothing on their own but are ministers to the judges and the laws, how should we be angry with those who cause pain [sc. temptations], being servants of God's providence and justice? Even if they were accursed and repelling in their own right, having been deemed worthy of punishment before the others, we must be careful not to hurt them; for we will bring our battle to God, not to them.

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<sup>14</sup> Perhaps Abraham.

<sup>15</sup> Job 1:1.

<sup>16</sup> Baruch 2:18.

<sup>17</sup> Isaias 26:16.

<sup>18</sup> Psalms 93:12.

**41. [Utility of Life's Challenges and The Power of Choice].** The irregular motion of external events [acting] contrary to humans (although otherwise it accuses disbelief and instability of the present for a benefit, and because this happens due to our steady gaping at material things, it is also true that it prepares our minds to be prudent, shrewd, and attentive concerning the knowledge of the good and the bad), turns out to be very useful for us. For even in the insensitive or irrational creations, the changes of the seasons that occur in opposition are not ineffective; indeed, the bearing of fruits and the birth of animals, for the most part, happen according to the consecutive battle of the disparate temperatures of the year, seizing formation and power for propagation. How then would it be different and not the same in those governed by reason [sc. humans], when they engage with affairs inconsistently and disorderly? However, sometimes nature, competing against nature, leads to the decay of the whole lineage and species, since the forces that are more active and exceed those that have not been applied equally tend to change against themselves. But nothing like this happens in matters concerning the soul, for nothing of all things is stronger than the soul's choice and autonomy. And even if some have often been seen to succumb to horrors, they became subjugated by evils not due to weakness of nature, but rather to the treachery and malice of their own evil judgment. Those who bravely and nobly opposed tyrants even unto death, and those who, on the other hand, ignobly and cowardly fell away from their struggles bear witness to each of two cases.

**42. [Three Behaviors towards Virtue].** There are three most opportune ways, which, diverting us from sin, drive us towards virtue: the promise of good things, the threat of punishments, and the miserable and laborious life [sc. the spiritual life], in which we always become entangled with voluntary and involuntary temptations and struggles that arise closest to us. For especially in this respect, when our minds are not idle towards improper desires, we turn away from the paths of wickedness and adhere only to that which leads to the divine. Just as a high-spirited horse, restrained by a bridle and toils, does not deviate from the path and wander wherever it might chance – and if you want, this is true for any animal under the yoke –; in the same way, every human being, distressed by hardships on both sides, extinguishes all the parts that can suffer and avoids the noise of pleasures. Perhaps God, foreseeing this, decreed “pains and sweats for Adam”,<sup>19</sup> lest once more, leading a life of ease indulging in unnecessary things, he might bring upon himself other falls into transgression. Therefore, he who is disgusted by the misfortunes of evils and complains about the onslaught of temptations, misses the primary and greatest premise, turning away from God's care. It would be wise to not always prefer what is pleasant, but rather what is better in every case.

**43. [Worldly vs. Spiritual Contests: Upholding God and Virtue].** There are two kinds of battles among men: one concerns matters of God, which are about the true glory of God and the

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<sup>19</sup> Genesis 3:17–19.

attainment of the better towards virtue. The other concerns human affairs, which we constantly encounter: one man boasts to others thinking that he is wiser than I am; another [boasts] he knows more or has better knowledge in some science; another [prides himself] on his noble birth; another tries to seize what belongs [to someone else] and to gain an advantage in matters that are not his concern; yet another slanders too bitterly and insults by opening against us his mouth [full] of wickedness and by sharpening his tongue like a snake. The first battle must be fought until death itself by everyone having the example of the martyrs in mind, so as not to yield in any way to either aspect of it and to anticipate from it [sc. death] the eternal death, prioritizing either God or virtue. The second battle should be disregarded by those who are rational, as it can either cause minor harm or none at all according to true reason. For it would be terrible, beyond all horrors, if, while fighting for apparent dishonor or harm, we overlook the genuine harm and dishonor that tears the soul apart from the other side [sc. God].

**44. [Pain and Pleasure: Transition and Indifference].** In none of the present pleasures can one see pain not following, either immediately or after a short while. One would notice this first in the entry itself into life, of the very first man, evidently. For immediately with the enjoyment of the forbidden food's pleasure, the elements of pain followed. Then, the same happens in the individual births: after pleasure in conception, it proceeds with pain, intense bitterness, and dangers, sometimes even the childbirth tends to progress in such a manner. Consequently, in all human affairs, nature progresses through these opposites, clearly suffering in both ways. Thus, for the Devil, pleasure and pain are the most significant and most effective devices against us. For the former kills, and the latter inflicts death no less. Whoever overcomes the Devil's primary premise, I mean pleasure, pulls out the device from its foundation; and with pleasure nullified, no pain will be built upon.

**45. [Christ's Triumph over Temptation, Pleasure and Pain].** He who was not tasted pleasures will not at all be turned to pain due to the influence of the Tempter. And this was made clear to us by Christ, who overcame the Tempter when the delights of the world were presented to Him. Then, after He repelled those, the Tempter brought pains again upon Him through the insolence of the Jews, through false accusations, and through the most dishonorable sufferings, and he did not accomplish it. For He did not merely appear superior to pain, but He also magnanimously and compassionately prayed for those who had caused Him pain.

**46. [Temptations as God's Trial for Eternal Pleasure].** Involuntary temptations are not imposed upon men except by God's allowance, if we do not want to move towards virtue, or we do not wish to remain in a voluntary temptation, by which the body is subjected to the spirit. However, in both ways, they are beneficial to us and in other ways. For it is impossible for us to enjoy the pleasure of the age to come, which is truly God's law, unless we necessarily through its opposites [sc. of eternal pleasure] experience hardships, either by choice or against our will. And this thing, the Word of God has taught us through deeds, not just through words. For He subjected

the flesh He took on to temptations and endured everything that no one else did, showing that no man could otherwise attain the same glory from the Father as He did, unless he struggles, willingly or unwillingly, and goes through the present race with gratitude and patience. Therefore, we should rejoice when tempted because of the hope [it gives] but be more in pain when not tempted because of hopelessness. For the former is an indication of the highest care, and the latter is of divine abandonment and turning away.

**47. [Dreamlike vs. Eternal Realities].** It is not inappropriately said that current affairs resemble dreams. For just as in sleep, at times under the influence of dreams' fantasies, we become generals and leaders, sometimes we are elected and become lords of great wealth, and we find ourselves adorned in splendid garments, and we ride in chariots – all of which we neither possess nor hope to find in reality. At other times, while truly possessing these, they are taken away by dreams, and we suddenly seem to be poor and of lowly status. Awake, we directly experience the same due to the dreamlike instability of current events. For sometimes we fall from the most envied positions in life, and at other times, we attain them. Therefore, would not we be foolish to be attached to dreams and waste time on which nothing is certain? For neither the present pleasures persist entirely, nor the pains. But if, according to the nature of liquids, they assume various forms and all kinds of shapes, being rolled along with the motion of the universe, from this we learn to seek out what is always existent and only immovable.

**48. [Imperturbability: The Crown of the Spiritual Athlete].** No one who trains for physical contests becomes a recognized athlete without bringing his training to perfection; and of those who wish to live virtuously and decided to conquer their impending passion, it would be proper for them to first dedicate themselves to instilling in their soul some knowledge and courage, through which one will, at the moment of confrontation, be shown superior to the evils and come away victorious, crowned. This person will never behave improperly in words, nor will he rashly use his other senses; he will not be ignorant of what is appropriate, nor will he be carried away by anger and desire as by the most violent currents. Instead, he will pass by everything untouched and calm, neither being drawn to pleasures nor pains, but coming to anchor, for his entire life, in the imperturbability of the soul as in a harbor without waves.

**49. [Power of Choice in Worldly and Spiritual Matters].** Men should neither pursue nor shamefully escape from either honor or dishonor, wealth or poverty, health or illness, or, to put it broadly, human prosperity or adversity, as the petty and ignoble souls are used to do, betraying the freedom of nature. Rather, one should think that either of these opposites can either benefit or not benefit the true human being, not only according to the standard of virtue and vice but also according to the present pleasure and pain. For wealth, when examined by itself, does not serve to acquire the good, nor is poverty an obstacle. But neither according to the perceived happiness or unhappiness does any of these inherently possess any good or bad, but rather the opposite than it appeared to have caused, if perhaps by a vile or noble chance of opinion; [thus, each one] refuted

themselves and those fleeing or pursuing these things. For these things are not good or bad in themselves. In the matters of the soul, it depends on how the choice relates to them; and in matters of the body, it depends on how the external event manages in conjunction with the choice. For sometimes, someone has used poverty as a great ally in circumstances, while another unexpectedly found wealth treacherous, as both were refuted by a single fortune.

**50. [Illusion of Pain vs. Truly Good].** The cause of our distress are not the external things that seem to hurt us, but ourselves, when we undermine the tone of the soul and betray our judgment. Perhaps for various reasons, but chiefly because we are unable to comprehend the true pleasure and pain. We also fail to use their proper names correctly, but rather transfer them to other things which only appear to exist due to true imagination and empty opinion, but no essence at all. Therefore, we do nothing different than if we believed this very sky and earth to be nothing, while the shadows depicted on a tablet to be the true definitions of everything. Nature deems worthy of names things that always exist and remain the same, but [to] those things that exist for only a short time and then disappear, it does not even wish to name [them]; for when their essence is destroyed, what remains that might deserve a designation? Hence, even if we believe we suffer due to the instability of matter or the wickedness of some people, it is far more likely we suffer due to our own stupidity or ignorance about what true pleasure and pain are. Therefore, should not we attribute the cause of our annoyances not to something else, but basically to ourselves? By choosing not to pursue what is truly good, we add to our futile pursuits, which are naturally paired with failure and pain, condemning their irregular and unstable [nature].

**51. [Virtue and Assimilation to God vs. Worldly Pleasure].** Regarding pleasure, there would be no more appropriate way to describe it than in relation to those things that are truly desirable and enjoyable, which are both God and the likeness to Him through the ways of virtue, as attainable as they are for us, as well as the small portion of the good things, having been allotted as a reward, according to the infinite and endless age. Pain, on the other hand, is the complete turning away from God and the divine due to a base and wretched life, and indeed it is also the forced participation in everything worse as an everlasting punishment. If, by choice, someone, succeeding or failing, is pleased or pained – or becomes gentle or enraged by anger and desire – regardless the outcome he encounters, he would act as expected. But someone who, ignorant of what is truly good and bad, turns towards things that are not genuinely such but are called pleasurable and painful in imitation of them, suffers according to his belief. And with the constant change and fluctuation of these things, he rejoices when enjoying them, but when deprived, he becomes impatient and angry. Such a person is like “the foolish man” in the Gospel parable, “who built his house on sand and when winds blew”, rain fell, and “floods” came, the house fell, and his efforts were proven futile. On the contrary, everything will be agreed upon and will be said about the one who, according to the Lord’s word, built “his house on the rock” of divine matters,

which are beyond us, and pays no attention to lower things.<sup>20</sup> For such a person will neither be threatened by the disorder of nature nor by the vice of base and mischievous men.

**52. [Pain: Unavoidable and Purificatory].** It is not fitting for the one condemned to exile and death on grave charges to rejoice. For how [can he rejoice], constantly expecting the greater punishment? Nor is it likely that the man expelled from paradise for breaking the commandment will suffer anything other than pain. If indeed he faces punishment for the pleasure of the tree's forbidden fruit, he will inevitably be grieved and experience all the terrible things opposed to that first taste's experience. This idea aligns with the divine word that [states that] through many afflictions we must "enter the kingdom of heavens".<sup>21</sup> Whoever, then, being distressed about these things, complains and bears ill, is ignorant of the first premise of entrance into the world. He also does not understand that one could not possibly cure the disease that originates from pleasure, if not through its opposite, the pain, whether voluntary or involuntary, that comes from the misfortunes that come upon us. Thus, every person must bear all the painful events that happen and consider them a purification of that ancestral vice that comes upon us after birth and keeps occurring. Indeed, these events also serve as a cause for restoring the dignity we had before the transgression.

**53. [Embracing Life's Challenges].** He who would wish to live a life without pain seems like a man who, having equipped himself for a sea expedition, then wishes to cross the waves, the projecting rocks, the promontories, and the gusty winds without a splash, without a wave, and without suffering any harm. So, it is neither likely that one crossing over wet ground will remain untried by such great misfortunes, nor that one going through the present life will be unassailed and unaffected. Therefore, one must remain steadfast against all changes for the worse.

**54. [Virtue: Art and Philosophy based on Choice].** For those who have mastered the mechanical arts to perfection, it is possible to succeed with the best material in the tasks appropriate to them. For those who have set the great work of virtue above all other works, one would see them having achieved the noblest things no less, even from what seems more challenging and useless. And those who have managed the luxuries of life well, and even better and more conspicuously the hardships, bear witness. For Job through poverty, affliction and a thousand more sufferings of change made a greater occasion for philosophy, and David wisely and methodically transformed conspiracies, slanders, and exiles into greater piety, endurance, gratitude, gentleness, and, one could say, every kind of noble character. For every event that happens in life, whether it is painful or pleasant, there lies a dual potential: virtue or vice. The power is in our hands to choose one of the two, whichever we desire. If this is so, let us not be

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<sup>20</sup> The references to building houses on sand and rock allude to the Gospel of Matthew 7:24–27.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Matthew 7:21.

discouraged but cheerful, knowing that we are capable of benefiting even from the worst situations when we encounter them.

**55. [Virtue: Enduring Injustice].** If, for those who speak ill of us, slander us, and unlawfully seize our possessions, curses and punishments necessarily lie ahead, either now or later, as the prophet attests saying, “Woes to those who give their neighbor a drink of muddy subversion”,<sup>22</sup> but for those who bravely endure hardships and nobly resist, I do not see blessings, rewards, and crowns, why would I lament for these more than those? This is also something Paul noticed before when he said to them, “Why do you wrong and defraud [each other], and not rather be wronged and defrauded?”<sup>23</sup> I believe that if those who are wronged were given the power to punish their wrongdoers, they would not impose greater penalties than those that the wrongdoers had brought upon themselves. But if it pains us to see our enemies prosper and gain from what does not belong to them and to be elevated at the expense of the wronged, now, from this discourse, the exact opposite befalls them regarding this venture: we should endure grievances willingly, and, if one must say something even more, we should also feel grateful to them, as they provide us effortlessly with what we acquire through long labor.

**56. [Virtue: Struggle Against Deceit].** I have seen in experience something like this being practiced by the Wicked One against men: For when his own people (I refer to men who are lascivious, reckless, and pleased with all sorts of misdeeds) are being plundered by more divine men, he too resists; and either he provokes those who are making the noble captivity – or rather rescued from the captivity – into war, intrigue, and slander against those best of men, or others not at all different; then [the Wicked One] persuades them to do and say everything that weakens this good eagerness of the educators or abuses their value. If they were firm and unambitious champions of virtue, considering the plots [of evil people] against them as childish arrows, they would add most to the work; but if they, coming to the action cowardly or being defeated by the excesses of the slander, saw the least towards what is being accomplished, defended themselves against those causing pain, insulted in turn and caused pain in return, from there they would also fail in the pursued goal, and they would incur laughter to both gods and men, to whom it is opportune to say: “a coward should not leave for war”.<sup>24</sup>

**57. [Divine Benevolence: Repentance or Retribution].** The divine is always immutable and unchangeable in its nature, and it never changes from its benevolence due to its philanthropy or justice. It easily has compassion on those who have greatly sinned and then repented, and restores them to their former state. But to those who persist in wickedness, it certainly punishes according to the worthiness of those who have been offended, or even much less than they deserve, so that in this way it might maintain its philanthropy. Yet, it certainly brings justice, whether in the present

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<sup>22</sup> Habakkuk 2:15.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Corinthians 6:7–8.

<sup>24</sup> John Climacus, *Ladder of Paradise* 26.1036.32.



tribunal or the one to come. Therefore, even if we see some wicked people not yet touched by wrath for their sins, it is appropriate not to be harsh [towards them]. For if they must indeed face judgment at some point, no delay will benefit them; rather, a much more severe punishment is prepared if they remain uncorrected. Just as God is an inevitable avenger, so too is He patient, and thus we too must be patient with those who have done much evil, either to themselves or to their neighbors.

**58. [Temporal vs. Eternal Realities].** If there is no connection between memorials and statues to what they refer to, for they are completely alien to them both in nature and in matter and even in function, but the present things are images of unseen realities and they have taken their names from these unseen ones, how much folly would it be for us to prioritize the images over the archetypes they represent! Therefore, neither the seeming pleasures and pains, nor glory and disgrace, poverty and wealth, health and sickness, slander and praise, and all human goods and evils, should we fervently seek to acquire or ardently avoid; but we should shift our focus to what awaits us beyond and to what will grant us eternal possession.

**59. [The Rule of Mind].** When the mind suppresses the passionate and irrational desires of the soul and their tumultuous mob rule, and aligns them with its own internal laws of discipline, then and only then it truly manifests as a unique ruler over the passions of the flesh and preserves its inherent and divinely given dignity. However, if it follows wherever those passions lead, it becomes another Solomon: having received wisdom and knowledge from God to govern and discern those under him, but neglecting God and disregarding the reason of virtue, and following, like “foreign women”,<sup>25</sup> the inherent desires of the soul, and “building for them” idols and “altars” of impurity,<sup>26</sup> and raising, like Solomon did, a “lofty” sense of arrogance “to the idol Chemosh of Moab”.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, he will hear from God, “by tearing it away, I will tear your kingdom away from your hand and will give it to your servant”,<sup>28</sup> which means your lawlessness will rule over you since you followed after it, becoming a servant instead of a king.

**60. [Christ’s Example and Human Responsibility].** God has set Himself as the archetype, an icon of every good for us, and there is no aspect of the good that is inaccessible or unattainable, which we cannot both find and learn. Firstly, creation itself reminds us of His wisdom, justice, and benevolence, through which He tirelessly provides for everything. And even clearer than this is His ineffable condescension towards us, through which, living among us as one of humans, He revealed the mysteries of the paternal will from eternity, both in deed and in word, and painted for us a vivid portrait of undeviating knowledge of God and virtue. Therefore, on the day of judgment, we will no longer put forth ignorance of the good or incapability [as an excuse]; instead,

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<sup>25</sup> Judges 14:3.

<sup>26</sup> Jeremiah 39:34–35.

<sup>27</sup> 3 Kings 11:5.

<sup>28</sup> 3 Kings 11:11.

we will be accused of indolence and negligence, because, [despite] having such an instructor of virtue [sc. Christ] and being taught by Him daily, we remained indifferent to the good and neglected the very purpose for which we were created, both in our first creation and in our second.

**61.** “When Saul pursued David”,<sup>29</sup> the gentlest, he could not catch him, because he was the just person who has protected his own gentleness like a copper copingstone; and the law of the flesh and its spirit, pursuing the spiritual law to be influenced by it as David, will not have an easy endeavor, if [David] fights with gentleness, courage and the same patience of the just one against this bitter tyrant.<sup>30</sup> The man who wants to win at all times can do nothing else than showing gentleness joined to humbleness; and David together with the tax-collector that humbles the boastful one, and Christ himself, who assumed “the shape of the slave”<sup>31</sup> and who was humbled until death and who killed death which subdues all insolence and dishonor, bear witness to it.

**62. [The Bridge to Enlightenment].** Mind and perception, Word and letter, Spirit and flesh are the best triad [sc. the Trinity] joined with another triad: the second derives from the first, and the first surpasses in order and value. Thus, he who would cross the present slavery – like some Egypt – through the second – like through a bridge – will separate the salty and bloody sea of life with critical reason and spirit, and he will arrive at the deserted land of passions. Being there “during the days” overshadowed by a dewy “cloud” – i.e., comfort of the Word –, but “guided at night by a pillar of light”<sup>32</sup> – i.e., the illumination of the Comforter –, and going boldly and nobly through those who lurk in the middle of the way, he will arrive at the land promised to him, i.e., the impassible and intellectual constitution of the just ones. When he becomes conscious of himself, after being purified from the multitude of passions and thoughts, he will enjoy the blessed joy and conduct, having admired more the second in comparison with the first. He will rejoice in the former and be grieved by the latter, so that he will not be ignorant of either side through trial.

**63. [Transient Vice vs. True Pleasure].** No one knows vice until he is in it, nor virtue until he turns away from it, because the one who wanders in shadow knows neither shadow nor light, and sin, in reality, is the ignorance of both virtue and vice. Whenever one shifts to the territory according to nature and takes a taste of the true pleasure, then he becomes aware, like one deprived of height and lying in depth, and he deranges and disregards [the former state]. Isaiah said: “as soon as you returned, you would sigh, then you shall be saved, and you shall know where you were”.<sup>33</sup> The pleasure of sin is a short one, and has its being in the mere fact of doing; the pleasure ceases immediately when the incentive passes away or the desire is fully satiated, because the constitution of the things against nature is such: momentary and limited. Virtue is not only like

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<sup>29</sup> 1 Kings 23:28.

<sup>30</sup> In other words, the spirit of the flesh, Saul, even if he tries, will never catch the gentle and bitter tyrant David.

<sup>31</sup> Philippians 2:7.

<sup>32</sup> 2 Esdras 19:11–12.

<sup>33</sup> Isaias 30:15.

that, but also a certain inherent pleasure settles in its becoming and ceasing, continuously going along with the soul and betrothing the pledge of the future recompense hereafter.

**64. [Four Causes of Sin].** Four causes lead to every sin. The first one is the defeat of the soul against irrational pleasure; the second one is the knowledge that is not directed towards the good; the third one is the abuse of pleasures living in nature; and the fourth one is the deviation from the good to the worse, which is both the worst and first evil. All three happen to the faithful one, but the fourth one only to unfaithful. 1) Defeat happens often to the most erudite and, for this reason, they punish and correct it immediately. 2) The knowledge that is not directed towards the good happens to those who know the good and evil only through custom and bare knowledge, and those who do so rejoice in pleasure, and when they cease, they neither rejoice nor punish it, but their behavior is halfway between pleasure and pain. 3) Abuse occurs when someone, moved by a reasonable anger or wish to act, then falls into excess, having unwittingly committed irreproachable errors. For such a person, swift correction follows, returning from excess to moderation. 4) Deviation from good towards evil occurs whenever one is misled by evil influences of demons or people. They consider lawlessness as law, licentiousness as moderation and impiety as piety; they, who happen to be impious and foreigners, rejoice when they indulge in pleasure and they are grieved when they cease, because they cannot do it continuously.

**65. [Rule of the Mind in Tripartite Soul].** God built the intellectual and divine soul in three parts that are necessary for the rational nature, i.e., reason, anger, and desire, and each one is useless for work, if one does not accept the other two. Before doing anything, reason can examine the things to do and distinguish which are bad or good, and which one can or cannot be done. Reason can later take desire as coworker and assistant to do what it has judged to be right, and, after desire, it can take anger as soldier and accomplice. Therefore, if the soul moves in accordance with this good order, it becomes creator of the best acts; but if the order is troubled and the irrational parts lead the actions, while reason is dragged along as if it were a slave, then the actions that ensue are irrational, resulting solely from the impulses of desire and anger. Given this situation, the rational part requires either some divine grace to see what is necessary and to speak and act without error, or at the very least, a long process of learning and experience to distinguish the right actions and through actions to attain truth. The first [sc. divine grace] is the activity of the mind like the prophets and our saints have had; the second [is that] of the most prudent of men, those deeply versed in rational sciences; beyond these [sciences], the rational soul wanders led only by opinion and imagination, succeeding in a few things but failing in most.

**66. [Tripartite Soul: Rule of the Mind in Adversity].** The rational soul is divided into three parts, i.e., reason, anger and desire. Reason takes precedence over the two as a ruler. If it always holds them in obedience and in agreement with itself, it operates in a reasonable manner and prevails over all external events, neither being defeated by pains arising from the spirited part nor by pleasures from the desiring one. If reason had become high-spirited and seditious due to a

wretched way of life and education, it will be henceforth deprived of the authority that it had assumed with the order; and the ruler becomes the ruled one and the lord becomes slave, now being dragged down by the irrational anger, now by the desires, and at no time does reason preserves its own dignity; if [the rational part] is pulled apart or torn asunder as if by some very strong internal enemies from the passions that arise, here and there it undergoes shifts as in the case of a swifter balance. Hence, often thinking he possesses knowledge of what is worse and better, it is shown to be ignorant in the face of the contest and is found to be uneducated, gaining no benefit for itself, either from the previously acquired habit, if it happens to have such, or from its nature. For this reason, many people, before facing challenges and as long as nothing external disturbs them, consider themselves secure experts and judges of actions. But when they actually encounter these situations, they are revealed to be entirely irrational and ignorant. The cure for this is knowledge through experience and particularly resisting the base [instincts]: using anger turned against pain, and desire against pleasure.

**67. [Virtue's Matter and Form: Soul and Pagan Learning].** As the four elements received their composition from matter and form and they share with each other by virtue of being of the same kind, and indeed each is named after its predominant quality; in the same way, the four cardinal virtues possess the tripartite division of the soul as their matter, and the knowledge-based choice and the outer learning [sc. pagan learning (Plato)] as their form, through which they are regulated and shaped towards the better. Therefore, they also share with each other their inherent power. Prudence prepares for courage, and from prevailing courage, moderation arises and subsequently emerges from them. While justice is a virtue in itself – for it concerns the distribution of the equal, avoiding both excess and deficiency –, it still shares and takes on the name of the other virtues. This is because they, too, are forms of moderation, equally distant from extremes just like justice itself. Indeed, the prudent one is just because he avoids ignorance and wickedness, the courageous man is just because he avoids rashness and cowardice, and the temperate man similarly, since he neither participated in foolishness nor in licentiousness. Whether one calls it the matter for virtues or potential, we all naturally possess them unless at some point we are impaired by disability, or as we age, we discard these capacities. However, we lack knowledge-based choice and outer learning [sc. pagan learning]. Therefore, we must diligently nurture it, lest, through complete neglect or misuse due to ignorance, we mistakenly impose a wicked form on the matter of nature instead of a good one and become useless creations.

**68. [Universe and Virtue: Qualities].** Neither can the universe exist without the four efficient qualities – namely dryness, wetness, coldness and heat –, because the four elements are mixed from them, nor can any composite body exist at all without these simple bodies. But neither can the truly great, incorruptible, and immortal universe of virtue be completed without the four cardinal virtues. For to exist partially is to be mutilated of the whole, and it seems incomplete, and it does not save the complete reason for its existence. So it can be clearly stated, as it is said,

that for this reason Christ Himself, the very wisdom and knowledge of beings, when manifesting in the Gospels, says that “one who transgresses part of the law transgresses it wholly and rightly so”.<sup>34</sup> For if He has made the sensible things to be an image of the intelligible, it is not unlikely that both the practical and intellectual activities of the soul, like sensible things, obtained their substance for the existence of the good.

**69. [Virtue: Persistence].** Just as with the natural and simple bodies of this world, which are also called elements, there is a sort of cyclical generation and decay, where the genesis one leads to the destruction of the next and again the genesis of the latter, so that the four elements maintain their existence from one another, it is universally agreed that the same happens with the cardinal virtues, save that they do not perish as the primary elements do, from which the secondary ones come into being; rather, they remain intact, not undergoing change. Moreover, if it is necessary to say more, they even experience growth because of this. The reason being that while those are bodies composed of parts and necessarily flow due to their interaction with others, as we have said, virtues, not having attained the state of being bodies, are immaterial and incorporeal powers of the soul; they remain as they are and pass on genesis to one another unaffectedly.

**70. [Virtue: Cycles and Persistence].** The generation of the elements from one another is not simple, nor does it cease once it has begun. Rather, it seems all were generated together, having one common origin. According to external theories [sc. pagan learning], this origin is matter, but according to our own [sc. Christians], it is the command of God. From Him, they are always being generated and always decaying, and there is a single struggle among the four elements. This struggle continually competes between generation and decay, and then again, between decay and generation, just as we observe it happening always with the composite bodies of this world. For if generation were to halt, there would be a disruption of the primary and simple entities over there, and decay and dissolution of the composites here. The generation of virtues progresses from potentiality to actuality for those living according to God. Then they come from one another without the decay of the primary ones, as we said. Therefore, it is completely necessary for the brave man who arises from prudence not to forget prudence, and for the temperate man arising from bravery not to look down on its cause, and for the just man arising from temperance to care for the first in relation to the others. For if there is not something underlying, from where would that which comes from it arise? Hence, even if one were to turn to the summit of contemplation, it is absolutely inappropriate to neglect practice. For if practice is the foundation of contemplation, as said by those who philosophize on these things,<sup>35</sup> I do not know where it would stand and contemplate without having practice to support it. No more than a house could stand if its foundation were removed or neglected.

<sup>34</sup> It is not clear which passage Gabalas refers to. The idea is, for example, found in Letter of Jacob 2:10.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum* (*Oratio* 20) 35.1080.19.

**71. [Human Choice: God's Gift].** Power from God,<sup>36</sup> inherent in the nature of rational beings, precedes all knowledge and art, both divine and human. Deliberate choice, having received this power through exercise, brings it to actuality. To put it more clearly, God gave us the power and the material and tools of every good; however, he left the action up to our discretion. For what is impossible for wisdom and knowledge that can do everything, in order that we might not, by necessity, lose the self-determination of rational nature by opposing goodness, or fall from one gift because of another gift, nor indeed be made ludicrous statues, as if fashioned by some sculptor and contributing nothing of our own to the form of the image? It is not worse to say we would draw upon ourselves the mockery of jackdaws, adorned with foreign and multiple feathers, like them.

**72. [Human Choice and Reason: Potential for Virtue].** The result of rational nature is virtue, and desire and appetite for the good. For if a person did not choose the better things and did not grant judgment from reason to this part [of himself], where else and in what other way would he show his rational power? So, I do not know if, along with the rational faculty, he necessarily received virtue from God. For how could he be called rational and self-determining if he did not possess what he would use for these purposes? Or how could he be zealous and desirous of the good, just as that [zeal] comes from God? Henceforth, the addition of one thing would then result in the removal of another, and in itself be without honor, such that a person constructed as rational would not truly be deemed rational, nor truly zealous, since he does not move towards this of his own accord. Therefore, it followed that this creature, being rational and having free will, does not possess virtue in actuality but potentially, and it is up to our choice. Therefore, God made man according to reason: He made him necessarily rational and gave this as an essential attribute to him. However, being virtuous is not by necessity, as this can come about through choice, as it is something essential and the work of free will, since a king, sending a general against enemies with noble preparations, does not then demand to perform the very deeds of battle himself. If not, he would have conferred authority upon the general in vain if he intended not to make use of it.

**73. [Human Choice and Reason: Potential for Virtue].** Virtue does not belong to humans by nature, in the way that seeing belongs to the eye and other actions to other senses. Instead, it comes through a certain capacity that, with practice, becomes an activity. For if this were not the case, everyone, both children and adults, would be self-taught, without the need for a teacher, effort, or long practice. How would it be glorious such a significant matter that deems man worthy of a divine share to possess virtue effortlessly and autonomously, without any internal struggle for its acquisition? For this reason, aptitude is given to man by God, the materials are the things to be practiced upon, and there are also tools, suitable for the practice of nearly all irrational animals. From the beginning, inherent virtue accompanies them. For no one ever taught a dog to

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<sup>36</sup> Note here that "power" implies the idea of "potentiality".

chase or bark, a dolphin to swim, a horse, or a hare to run, or a bird to fly. So just is God, evident both in irrational and rational beings. He adorned some animals with reason, not granting them better things by nature, and others he coupled with irrationality, generously granting them inherent gifts due to their inability.

**74. [Perfect Virtue: Piety and Lawfulness].** Perfect virtue is to be pious towards God and to be lawful towards human affairs, emanating from a bright life and the best governance. The former is so that we might provide evidence that we know, especially the creative, cohesive, and providential power of this universe and the cause of the good for us. The latter, in order to provide this evidence, is that we think and acknowledge God with His existence as the producer of all things, and that He is good, just, pure, and holy, and for this reason we direct our affairs towards Him and what concerns us.

**75. [Unity of Body and Soul, Virtue and Piety].** A human being can neither be merely a body nor just a soul, but necessarily both. Even if after their separation the body decays while the soul remains eternal, neither can perform the function of the composite entity by itself, no more than construction can, in itself and without tools, be suitable for building a house. Similarly, with the power to save the soul: neither a healthy belief about God and knowledge of existence is strong for man's intimacy with God without a virtuous life and governance, nor is the latter meaningful without the former. Therefore, care must be taken for both, if we are concerned about the result that comes from both.

**76. [Unity: Body and Soul, Virtue and Divine Knowledge].** All growing and sustaining bodies require both drink and food, and one could not see even one body that has natural growth or structure without both. Similarly, the soul grows and is composed with two things: virtue and knowledge of God. If one removes one of these, the other remains in vain. One should not be confident in piety if they neglect a healthy life, nor should one rely on a life without the true God and correct teachings. Just as a perceptive body cannot live on its own without a soul, or a soul operate without an instrument and display its powers; in the same way, neither of them can fulfill the power of the other. Therefore, they defined the death of the soul as sin, whether it is ignorance of the good or ignorance of God.

**77. [Unity: Virtue, Piety and Divine Knowledge].** The inner piety of the soul constitutes inner virtue, and the inner virtue testifies to the inner piety; one is established by the other, and each becomes proof of the other, both for the worse and for the better. So, I do not know how one could be pious without aiming for a pure life; and [I do not know] how, on the other hand, can one withstand a healthy life, without clearly acknowledging God who is praised in the Trinity and paying attention to His judgments regarding the recompense for each person's life.

**78. [Deification: Human as Divine Powers, Soul Activities as Divine Orders].** God is indeed beyond all sensory and intelligible creation, filling everything and existing above all, whether we attribute this to His power or His essence or both, as I personally think. He is said to "dwell in

heavens”<sup>37</sup> and to oversee our affairs from the heavens, not because of anything else than because the heavens are the most extreme, most eminent, and purest part of the universe, and moreover, they encompass everything, occupying the highest space as being more honorable and divine. He is also said to rest upon the Cherubim and Seraphim and indeed upon the other intellectual orders, as if being carried on some chariot. But if we also contemplate our human form, we will find that we ourselves simply have a heaven in our nature and certain more divine powers established within it, no less than those divine ranks. For do we not also have a heaven, this spherical head positioned atop the entire body, and two stars, the eyes?<sup>38</sup> And in place of the nine orders [of angels], the powers of the soul? Therefore, if we wish to purify and sanctify these [sc. soul’s faculties] in accordance with those [sc. nine angelic ranks] and offer each one its appropriate and fitting service, we will become another heaven and divine powers, and the entire universe herein and God will uniquely dwell in us more than in other creatures, receiving from us the thrice-holy hymn for true worship, for a living sacrifice that is higher and purer than all others.

**79. [Rule of the Mind: The Angelic Soul].** Even if the soul, intertwined with the body, is not capable of praising God as much as the intellectual beings by nature can – for it is distracted and dragged by matter into alien desires – still, once it [sc. the soul] becomes in its own [rational / intellectual] nature again through turning back and dissolving its bodily ties, it will easily attain such a status. Using its naturally inherent faculties, it too will sing “the hymn of triumph” to God, saying “the holy” three times.<sup>39</sup> For having employed its rational power solely to judge and consider the things of God, as far as possible, and having directed the spirited and desiring [parts] towards the practical aspect of the commandments, it [sc. the soul] will indeed do this. While still on earth, it will live as if in heaven and will stand invisibly before God in human nature, having lived an angelic and intellectual life. So, if in this way a person is capable of being compared to those [ranks] above, let him aspire, as much as possible, to what is above him so that he may be composed of what is above through what is in him.

**80. [Virtue: Action over Words].** It is the work of the thoughtless, or rather of the frivolous and the profane, to philosophize about virtue in words and to extend long discourses about it; but when the need for action arises, like cowardly soldiers and untrained ones who cast aside their weapons, they are exposed as laughable. Therefore, we should be ashamed, if not for others, at least for ourselves, and we should either practice what we preach or remain silent. If not, we will inherit the “woe” along with the deceivers and hypocrites.

**81. [Action over Words: The Teacher’s Example].** From his own example, the teacher provides the testimony of his own words, either false or true. For if what he says he first shows in deeds, he is recognized as a trustworthy witness of what is said. But if he does none of what he

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<sup>37</sup> 3 Kings 8:30.

<sup>38</sup> This might be a reference to Plato, *Timaeus* 44d5.

<sup>39</sup> Isaias 6:2–3.



says, but often the opposite, he is truly false and deceiving, appearing one way in words, but another in actions. It is better to be silent and act than to shout and not act. The former simply follow the words, but not the other way round. For by necessity, actions follow words, but actions do not necessarily follow words. An unaccomplished word is not really a word, because words come from actions, not actions from words. And Paul testifies, likening them to “the sound of brass or a clanging cymbal”,<sup>40</sup> when they strike only the ear with the air without achieving anything more.

**82. [Superior vs. Inferior].** God has given to humans the choice to acquire or not acquire what is truly and everlasting good, and it is up to us to make or not make them a reality. But this is not the case for things that are not truly such: some are within our will, others are not. It is futile to be distressed when we possess the power over superior and everlasting things if we do not also have control over inferior ones. For God knew that if such things were completely up to us, there would never be any concern about them. If we acquire them with difficulty and are so troubled, what would we have done or what kind of foresight would we have exercised for them? So, the difficulty of acquiring what is not good contributes to the acquisition of what is good.

**83. [Spiritual Good over Bodily Matters].** There are certain external things that affect the soul, and there are other things that affect the body. The things affecting the soul are either good or bad, which are indeed called truly good and truly bad, such as the pursuits of virtue and vice. However, the things affecting the body, though called good or bad, are not truly so, like wealth, honor, health, and conversely, poverty, dishonor, and sickness. Although those [affecting the soul] are significant and contend with humans both now and in the future, and either bring about destruction or salvation for souls, God’s providence and goodness did not allow them to be stronger than human choice and power. Instead, He made it easy for everyone, so that those who choose [well] can accomplish the good and avoid the evil in every way. But the bodily matters are not such: He made them neither completely possible nor entirely impossible for humans; some of the seeming goods can often be achieved with some effort, and some cannot. Evils, when faced bravely, can be avoided, but when overlooked, as often happens, they can defeat [us] due to excess and uncertainty of the future. It is therefore ridiculous, even utterly laughable, that what is within our power to achieve or not, tied to the eternity of the soul, for salvation or destruction, is ignored, while one pursues things neither wholly within our power nor enduring. Who, striving for virtue, has not achieved it? And who, avoiding vice, did not escape it? Yet, many, chasing wealth and honor, find dishonor and poverty instead, failing to achieve their goal, and even risking their very lives. Thus, from what has been said, it is concluded that the truly significant and immortal things are equally possible to be achieved or not, while the small, temporary, and powerless things are

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<sup>40</sup> 1 Corinthians 13:1.

uncertain. A wise person, therefore, chooses those things which have a defined end, seeing them, rather than those that are undefined and soon dissipate.

**84. [Virtue and Vice: Opposed by Soul's Choice].** From the same material, virtue and vice come to men. Rational power, when moved according to nature, produces knowledge, but against nature, it produces either ignorance or wickedness; both of which are vices of the rational part. Likewise, the spirited part produces courage when moved according to nature, but cowardice and recklessness when moved against nature. From the same reasoning, desire produces moderation according to nature, but licentiousness and folly against nature. In specific virtues and vices, one would observe this happening everywhere. The faculties of the soul are intermediates between the good and the bad, as well as the actions. Depending on how choice moves these faculties, they either become good or bad, as that disposition has in relation to virtue or vice. Just as from the same letters, which are called elements, a comedy or a tragedy, blame or praise are produced, now in this way, now in that, being combined and mixed with each other, and shaped by the ideas of speech, as it happens; or, if you wish, just as different species of animals come from the same elements and have the same underlying matter but are differentiated into various forms and shaped differently, and one is called rational due to this form, another irrational, the letters themselves and numbers and sounds undergo similar changes. In the same way, concerning the events that befall people from outside and from within on each occasion, choice has the power everywhere, and as it shapes them, so they become. To sum up, in these three things lies the seat of virtue and vice: clearly in the faculties of the soul, in which they particularly have their activity, and in actions which they use as a kind of material, and thirdly, in the choice itself, through which, as through some craftsman, whether bad or good, the actions are shaped towards worse or better outcomes. Without one of these, nothing that exists can come into being.

**85. [The Nature of Evil: Privation Theory].** Evil has no substance of its own to make us incline to wickedness, because it has not arisen from the ever existing and good God, just as virtue does. However, as it has been not originated from there, where else would it have come from and taken form, when everything that exists has come from God alone? Despite being nothing and having no substance, it clothes itself in the material of existence and comes into existence. Just as that [being nothing] is divided into both kinds and forms, evil too is similarly divided, presenting itself as decay, discord, untimeliness, disproportion, misuse of good, or any other corruption opposed to good things. Then, if it is neither self-existent nor clothed in existent things, how could it seem to be anything, and thus be subject to courts and laws for punishment? Evil, then, has a substance, taking up the place of good, like the demolition of a wall, a certain construction and composition, or like darkness occupying the place of light, or like disorder that of order, and indeed like discord that of harmony; for both occur concerning the same strings and the same body of music, just as health and disease do concerning the same body. We should then be careful, not thinking evil is unsubstantial, that we are not heedless about the punishments that will later be meted out to the

wicked, and also that we might, among other things, rashly promise judgments of perilous opinion to the most just and wisest judge.

**86. [The Multifaceted Nature of Vice].** Both virtue and vice oppose each other. However, the opposition of virtue appears to be unitarian: it challenges vice even when [vice] seems to have two parts, either due to excess or deficiency, broken down because of disorder, or rather shattered, not agreeing with itself. But the opposition of vice is multifaceted, diverse, and almost indistinguishable. Virtue first contends with vice, and then vice itself opposes its own kind in various ways, either of the same kind or another. For the same kind, as a greedy man competes with another greedy man, a licentious man with another licentious, and a vainglorious man with another vainglorious man; for in whatever kind of vice one is trapped, he wishes to surpass the other, and desiring to outdo leads to conflict and anger. On the other hand, the miserable one does not only fight with his own kind to gain what the other has but also with the prodigal one; for while one contemplates any form of ignoble gain and is not eager even for the most necessary things, the other recklessly depletes his substance even on unnecessary things, and further opposes the free and magnanimous one. Again, the vainglorious man, opposing another vainglorious man so that he alone might be esteemed, despises the glutton, the greedy, the licentious, and all that he knows oppose his own will and overturn the choice's starting point; for being dominated by evident evils, one can neither seek honor nor be vainglorious, and he not only sets up a fight against such things but also against the one living in humility. To put it simply, vice fights with itself both in kind and again in another kind, and always has an undeclared war against virtue. So everywhere, it is a factious, combative, and unstable matter, trembling in whatever it happens upon as if it is unsettled and undefined, changing into countless shapes and forms because it was not created by the Demiurge and does not have a demonstrated limit of nature to which it could adhere.

**87. [Inalterable Substance vs Changing Accident].** Do only habits, dispositions, passions, qualities, powers, motions, figures and, simply, accidents of substances stand opposed to each other in conflict, or do substances themselves also undergo this same opposition? For we see animals and humans destroying each other, and even water quenches fire and then if the fire is stronger, water is consumed. We say, then, that even if this seems to happen, such conflict does not arise according to their actual substance. For neither can one body destroy another, nor can one constituent difference of a substance overpower a different constituent difference of another substance, like rationality overcoming irrationality, as it happens. For these are fixed boundaries set from the beginning by the Creator, and they could never be moved either by natural force or by art. Not even sorcerers can change the natures of humans or any other animals, despite their many incantations, but they only change the apparent form. Even the poet who spoke of Circe transforming Odysseus' companions into swine, still said that "their minds remained unchanged

even as before”.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, opposition occurs at the lowest level, and there we only observe the change from one state to another. For illness destroys health and virtue destroys vice, with their substrates remaining, and vice versa. But in bodily oppositions, sometimes the passion overpowers the skill, and sometimes the result of the skill prevails. In oppositions observed through reason, choice always has the upper hand over passion, so it is up to it to determine what sort of person one becomes. Certainly, what is conducive or non-conducive to nature has the power to produce evil or good to a greater or lesser extent. For often, even when choice is equal, whether in education or virtue, the outcome is not equal. For someone naturally irritable is less able to achieve gentleness, even if they very much intend to be naturally calm and peaceful, just as the slow learner cannot achieve the same as the quick and retentive learner.

**88. [God as the Circle’s Center].** God, from whom everything [comes], through whom everything [exists], and for whom everything [is made] – according to the divine apostle [Paul] – resembles a certain center, upon which now the lines from the circular concave circumference are drawn and settle, and now they are cast away from it according to the same circumference or even farther. But some of them are joined both to it and to each other, while others are separated from both it and one another. Such a geometrical demonstration clearly presents through actual things: in what way do those living according to virtue happen to be both friends to God and to each other, and similarly [the others] are in discord both with God and each other? Also, for parts of vice and virtue, how does it hold the same? For not as the deficiencies and excesses are combative, so are the mean states. Nor, to speak specifically, do vanity and greed or gluttony oppose one another in the same way as chastity and poverty do. For those [vices], having God the least, who connects due to the opposition of habits, flee like darkness from light; thus, they appropriately stand in a hostile part both to God and to each other. But those [virtues], joining with that friend, have peace everywhere and are free from disturbance.

**89. [Purified Soul and Mind].** Nothing is new or utterly incomprehensible, if one has dispelled the cloud of sin from the soul and made it God-like through dispassion; in this state, there is little obstacle to the understanding of the future. Just as this sun, when thick clouds cover it, does not easily send its rays to us through the air, but once the weight of the rain has been shed and the clouds have been thinned, is hardly or not hindered at all; in the same way, the mind, when surrounded by the body, but purified through self-control and dispassion as we have said, has an unhindered capacity to perform its own function. If it seems that it cannot do this because of the body, and the body is neglected again, it should be known that the sun illuminates through a certain body of air which surrounds everything everywhere. Still, however, it is a subtle body distinct from the other elements, consisting of rarefied passages, which, like thin tubes, receive the sun’s rays and instantly transmit them to us.

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<sup>41</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 10.240.

**90. [The Bridge of Discursive Thought and The Role of Mind in Deification].** The issue of discursive thought seems to be something similar to the discovery of things. As someone who stands in the middle of a king and his subjects: now conveying the wishes of the former to the latter, now those of the latter to the former, and connecting their desires with each other, he bridges the gap; in the same way, thought, with knowledge, can lead a person to the understanding of things which he cannot comprehend by intellect alone. This is achieved through deep wisdom gained from experience or through knowledge acquired by study and learning. This is indeed a reliable way to know the present, the future and the past, but the dignity of the mind is far more secure and more Godlike, which, achieved through utmost dispassion and some divine illumination, I do not know whether it can make a man into light, divine spirit, or God. For to be directly connected with the existent things is the work only of God and divine powers, the imitation of which, in potentiality, is the distinctive task of humans.

**91. [Spiritual Resurrection].** As the “Lord”, if He had “not surrendered” His own flesh “to death”,<sup>42</sup> He would not have raised it up, He would not have been able “to sit at the right hand of God”<sup>43</sup> and Father, and He would not, through flesh, as if from some divine origin, have made the entire human nature incorruptible and immortal and made it worthy of the same gifts of His divinity; in the same way, we will never rise in spiritual resurrection, unless we die the death by choice before the natural and inevitable one, and wholly put to death the pleasures and passions of the flesh.<sup>44</sup> It is impossible, as long as these things live in us, that the word of virtue rises, because when the opposing habit is destroyed, its opposite tends to come into being, just as it is with things according to nature.

**92. [The Body of Christ: Divine Guidance].** If we are called “the body of Christ”, as indeed “we are”, and we must believe in Paul, when he says, “we are His limbs”, and that He is seated before us as our head,<sup>45</sup> through the life-giving and cohesive Father of the essence of all beings, giving us life and holding us together. Therefore, being deemed worthy of such honor, we should do everything for each of our limbs as our head commands and wishes. For it is unreasonable if, regarding our physical members, nothing would ever move or act without the mind in the head, unless it first desired to be accused of madness and a distortion of thoughts. But in the administration of the soul and the differences therein in action and contemplation, it would be otherwise. For if it moves on its own towards what the opposing law of the flesh compels, it would not be a member of the head, that is, of Christ, nor of the divine authority and work, but of the evil and antagonistic power, that is, of the Devil and his more courageous and material conduct and governance. Such a person, claiming to be submissive to our head, Christ, lies about the

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<sup>42</sup> Psalms 117:19.

<sup>43</sup> Mark 16:19.

<sup>44</sup> That is, spiritual death.

<sup>45</sup> For example, Ephesians 5:30 and 1 Corinthians 6:15, 12:27.

promise and turns out to be, in the order of the bodies, both dead and immovable, not governed by it, nor having a divine guide of actions.

**93. [Soul's Habits].** A habit for every good or evil action preexists in the soul, from which, as from some material, the performed action results in one form or another. Therefore, if something bad or good is established in the rational part, there it previously had practice and preparation, and was naturally disposed such as it was conceived; and it happened similarly in the spirited and desiring parts. For it is impossible for one who has trained the perceptions of the soul in one way or another to turn to opposing habits. And this is what even Christ himself declares, saying, “the good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good things, and an evil man out of the evil one brings forth evil things”,<sup>46</sup> and elsewhere, Paul says, “by their fruits you will recognize them”.<sup>47</sup>

**94. [Inner Self: Preparation].** He who intends to halt flowing streams either blocks up their gushing source or diverts their course with some technique. Similarly, he who wishes to correct the obscenities perceived by the soul first sets right and prepares the inner self, very cautiously and wisely ensuring any movement against anything that might come upon. If human power alone is insufficient for such tasks, divine assistance, when joined, makes all things easy, even those [things] that seem impossible. For God collaborates with those who are eager about noble deeds, but an evil and adversarial spirit with those who love wickedness. For there is no realm that remains unoccupied, neither of vice nor of virtue, unless one aligns with evil power and the other with good.

**95. [Inner Dispositions].** There are clear markers of inner dispositions: the external manifestations of movements, both in words and actions, and perhaps even in appearances, generally align with them. However, while one might often feign virtuous behaviors, either seeking praise or fearing reproof, no one would choose to pretend to be vile for the sake of virtue, nor would one ever dare to claim such a thing. Even if someone caught in adultery, murder, theft, or other shameful and prohibited passions wanted to escape by pretending virtue, what excuse can they give when such deeds are intrinsically evil? And although some may occasionally have feigned silly or trivial acts, firstly, this is rarely seen and only in a few cases. Secondly, even these individuals did not venture into excessively shameful acts but into those less likely to cause offense. Their pretenses might extend to matters of food, drink, attire, and a few charming words, but nothing beyond that.

**96. [The Mind as a Guardian of the Soul].** Those who are entrusted with the greatest responsibilities and who prioritize safety and orderliness often place prudent “gatekeepers at the entrances of their homes”,<sup>48</sup> individuals who can best discern those coming in. They have the

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<sup>46</sup> Matthew 12:35.

<sup>47</sup> Matthew 7:16, 7:20. Gabalas clearly mistakes here Paul for Matthew.

<sup>48</sup> Ezekiel 33:30.

discretion to deny entrance to some people while permitting to others, ensuring that no malicious or indecorous person might disrupt the decorum within and plunge everything into pain. Similarly, those who wish to maintain an unmolested command over the soul appoint the mind as a kind of guardian over the soul's senses, scrutinizing their movements and being so vigilant that this guardianship often requires double effort – both inwards and outwards. For sometimes, threats come from external realities through the senses, and at other times, they exit from the soul through these same senses. The mind must make a tireless effort to turn now inwards and now outwards, meticulously and diligently examining the ceaseless movement of the soul. If it allows these to enter and exit without careful watch, either due to negligence or sheer absence from its guarding duty, there are continuous slips in words, actions, and thoughts, neither having the soul a helmsman nor a charioteer, to navigate the issues concerning the soul according to times and circumstances.

**97. [Vigilance in Thought and Action].** The soul requires great vigilance, as much as possible, against the incessant occurrences of events, so that it neither acts nor perceives hastily, nor does anything through the senses [thoughtlessly]. For everything that is simultaneously thought, spoken or done tends to be precarious for the most part, and there is often immediate regret for such actions. Nature, I believe, recognizing this, has arranged for one thing to be a thought, another to be a conception, another to be reasoning, and intellect both before and among others, and following these, the tongue, teeth, and lips. In addition to them, there are the hands, feet, and, in a way, the entire body, so that the active power, having been divided into so many outlets and barriers, may take its time with each of the aforementioned, thus directing its energies either to speaking or to doing. If it happens to bypass one area, it might fall into another, restrain itself, and take a halt from its irrational rush. Therefore, one must be prepared neither to speak what is thought instantaneously nor to act upon what is spoken.

**98. [Changes of Opinion and Balance of Mind].** Throughout the day, a person undergoes many changes of opinion in response to the events that occur; for what now seemed good to him, after a short while appears otherwise, and again differently, then returns to the first, moving as though in some circle that runs through opposites. There are many reasons for this: first, the cowardice of our soul that prevails because of the uncertain outcomes of our actions; second, the ignorance of the better and the worse due to our lack of education; and third, the dual nature with which we are constituted, being made up of soul and body. At times, we imagine things above and beyond our senses, and at other times, we are drawn downwards due to our body's sympathies. Thus, our mind constantly balances, like a pair of scales, being pulled sometimes here and sometimes there, depending on where the will of the soul leans and which side scale weights more heavily. Many have observed this, including those outside our tradition. One said, "Nothing is more changeable

than the heart”;<sup>49</sup> another declared, “the minds of the noble are fickle”.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, before the struggle, the truly divine athlete must firmly set in his mind a certain limit: to regard nothing as more valuable than the good, and not to ally oneself with the worse part of the fight that has been set before. If ignorance often takes away judgment, one should attempt to learn with some leisure and not rush into action; for if prepared in this way, one will nobly and courageously face the contest and will emerge victorious, lest, suddenly caught in the midst of judging the better and the worse, one proves to be most disgraceful and ridiculous, swayed by immediate pleasure or ignorance.

**99. [Divine Assistance for Sound Judgement].** As the sensory organs would not be able to show any kind of reaction towards the things that are perceivable to them unless they possess healthy sensory capabilities; in the same way, neither the ear nor the mind, nor any other part of the soul, can act healthily and securely upon the subjects available to them for contemplation unless a divine power assists them in making the right judgement. But how will it assist? If we continuously look towards Him with the eye of the soul, we both purify and illuminate our soul’s capacities by Him. For if we were to entrust the judgement of things thought or performed solely to human reasoning, we would be trying to walk without the sun’s rays, emboldened only by the light of our eyes in utter darkness. Therefore, we must always be attentive to God if we want to live safely in the present and be hopeful for the future.

**100. [Pitfalls in Virtue’s Path: Excess and Deficiency].** Two opposites confront virtue: one, the excess, openly declares its hostility towards it, while the other, the deficiency, hides its malicious and merciless nature, pretending to be what it is not. Some, having avoided the obvious hostility, fall into the trap of the concealed one, and thus the verse from the Psalms is fulfilled: “In this path where I walked, they hid a snare for me”.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, one should scrutinize and discern everything with a sober reasoning: what is its nature and to which category does it belong? Is it of virtue or vice? And thus, with the appropriate preparation, one should engage with each.

**101. [Truth vs. Deception].** Not only some partial substances, nor powers, nor other activities opposed to the superior ones pretend to be these, but even almost the entire world pretends to deceitfully and wickedly be the end of all pleasure and enjoyment; it pretends this especially among the unbelievers and those who choose to live for pleasure. But those who are truly faithful and temperate, just as skilled bankers can discern copper and other base metals from gold and silver, in the same way, they discern that what is seen is but an image and merely a representation of the invisible. Therefore, they consider it no more, and leaving behind what appears as a shadow, they rush to the truth of the unseen.

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<sup>49</sup> This is perhaps a reference to Aristotle, *Magna Moralia* 2.3.11.8.

<sup>50</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 15.203.

<sup>51</sup> Psalms 141:4.



**102. [Virtue and Vice: The Battle for Dominance].** Vices always agitate virtues and aim to take over their rightful places. Thus, when these vices find a way to infiltrate, they creep in unnoticeably and they establish maliciously their territory where virtue once was. As much as these vices are estranged by nature, they endeavor to come close in territory, much like enemies constantly pressing against the natives and indigenous people. Thus, often audacity drives out zeal and takes its place; abuse [drives out] reproof, arrogance [replaces] prudence, vanity [overcomes] commendable achievement, presumption [usurps] knowledge. In general, the shameless, bold, and irrational impulses of the soul push out the temperate, orderly, and rational virtues. But if reason governs, and judgment is applied to every action, discerning friend from foe, and native from foreigner, then evil will have no power over virtue, especially when led by noble commanders who strategically defeat and dismantle the schemes of vice.

**103. [Significance and Cumulative Effect of Small Matters].** Contempt for those things which seem quite insignificant in daily occurrences is like a path leading the soul precipitously to the gravest errors. Certainly, acting negligently in small matters will, over time, ruin our overall habit of good. Just as in the natural movements of animals, nature proceeds on its course imperceptibly little by little, now bringing species to fulfillment, now, turning from dissolution, similarly inducing decay in them; or if you wish, just as, in the case of the substances, the gradual subtraction of things around us eventually adds up to a total sum, the same applies to the customs of the soul. One should neither overlook a minor good as contributing little nor allow a minor evil to go unchecked; for if the whole is constituted by preserving its parts, it is clear that it will be destroyed by their loss. And Christ indicates this, there encouraging a cup “of cold water”,<sup>52</sup> here deterring from a meddling eye.

**104. [Types of Virtue: Sensible and Intellectual].** Some virtues operate sensibly, while others intellectually. Those that function sensibly and bodily are not practiced merely for their own sake. Even if they are called virtues by everyone, they exist more for the sake of the soul than for themselves, so that, having these virtues as a vehicle or a skillful tool, they may moderate the irrational impulses of nature, offering tranquility to the soul. The intellectual virtues, on the other hand, exist solely for their own sake and not for anything else. Therefore, as these virtues are acquired for their own sake, one should maintain purity and integrity, and they should align with external virtues, if these are truly to be virtues and not render futile the efforts of those who pursue them. For instance, if someone practices virginity, poverty, sleeping on the ground, or any other practical virtue, one must first possess a pure virtue and keep the soul free from filthy thoughts, impure reflections, and certain other passions, so that the promise of life might be salvific. The proof of this argument is evident in the Pharisee’s insensibility, which showed him unclean and unholy because he did not maintain purity in his heart, just as in the rest of his life.

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<sup>52</sup> Matthew 10:42.

**105. [Priority of Bodily over Spiritual Virtues].** Bodily virtues can act even when faced by spiritual evils, if they are unrewarded. However, the virtues of the soul cannot do so in the opposite manner. For how can someone be prudent in the soul if they do not first purify the body, or be just, or be courageous in thought? If one appears weaker in the face of injustice and in practicing the worst actions, is it not more like someone who would brag about going through an argument without first dissecting the nature of the elements? Therefore, the Apostle has rightly said, “by their fruit you will recognize them”.<sup>53</sup>

**106. [Satan’s Strategy: Despair and False Hope].** When Satan sees a man persisting in sin or fallen into some great fault, he devises two mechanisms opposed to each other to completely destroy him. One is through despair, by which he claims that God is just and a precise examiner of actions, and that there is no benefit to repentance. However, if he is rebuffed from this, he asserts that God is merciful and compassionate to those who have grievously sinned, and immediately he brings to the fore the prostitute, the thief, and the tax collector, these rare examples which true penitents have as a reason for correction, but which to those who are unrepentant and constantly postpone their purification lead to ultimate ruin and complete alienation from God. The enemy of salvation [sc. Satan] presents such things so that, having completely entangled the miserable person in sin, he might suddenly impose destruction on him “on a day he does not expect and at an hour he does not know”.<sup>54</sup> But we ought neither to despair because of God’s righteousness nor, because of His kindness, to relax (καταπραθυμεῖν) and wholly indulge our passionate desires, succumbing to the baits of pleasures. Standing against both these devices with one remedy, repentance, we can easily overthrow him and, when we fall, quickly correct ourselves and secure ourselves for the future. For in this way, both the just and the merciful aspects of God will be wisely, piously, and beneficially managed by us.

**107. [On God’s Justice and Philanthropy].** Why is God not always philanthropical, but is just and does not simply save everyone, but rather, He rewards the just with eternal blessings, while punishing the wicked with the opposite, eternal punishments? I think it is for no other reason than that in His philanthropy He may pity the weaknesses of our nature. For we, due to the bodily bond and the inclination towards passions, and the undeclared war and the struggle against the spirit, are easily dragged down, heavier than lead, towards all the pleasures of the flesh. Now from within, now from outside, we are assailed by those who constantly aim their arrows at us through the air and pierce us with the bitter darts of sin. As for the just God, since He gave us the law to assist us, natural, written, showed it most clearly shown through His ineffable and divine condescension, and has put on the whole armor of the spirit, He justly demands justice, [especially] if we were to devise “cowardice and treachery”<sup>55</sup> voluntarily against the soul. For

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<sup>53</sup> Matthew 7:16, 7:20.

<sup>54</sup> Matthew 24:50.

<sup>55</sup> Matthew 14:44.

even if the war against us by the rulers and authorities of this age is fierce, weapons far more formidable and dreadful have been forged against them for those wishing to fight them. Otherwise, the failure to adequately reward both the wicked and the good might encourage wickedness in humans, so that God would not be considered not only inhumane but also misanthropic and unjust.

**108. [Study of Divine teachings].** Nothing else could possibly bring back our mind (which is drawn, torn apart, by life's relentless worries imposed by tormentors and truly held captive by foreign thoughts) towards the just thinking of God, except perhaps by releasing, as if it were a powerful arrow against them, the saying, "Turn back, O Lord, the captivity of Zion" from the divine Psalm.<sup>56</sup> This verse, when sung or called to mind, even when we are disturbed by the passions of the soul, might have an equal effect. For it immediately calms the tempest that passions stir within us and brings tranquility to the soul.

**109. [Introspection for Dispassion].** The contender reminds himself frequently "from where you came"<sup>57</sup> and "to where you are going".<sup>58</sup> This notion holds a dual understanding: first, that our soul was brought forth from God, and second, that our body was taken back to earth. This will be especially useful during the most opportune times. The soul, scattered into things it should not have been involved with from the beginning, will turn back to where it came from, and here, after its wandering, it will inevitably cease its wandering. On the other hand, the body, being seduced by the pleasures of the passions and as if enslaved, will be compelled to attend to its mother earth, given that it will soon return to her. In this way, by looking in both directions, you will best manage your own dispassion and you will be freed from the ills of life.

**110. [Sweetening Life's Miseries: The example of Moses].** If you were to interpret that ruler of Israel, Moses, as our mind, and "the fountain of Marah"<sup>59</sup> as the salty and unpalatable taste of the miseries of life, and the wood as something that sweetens the bitter taste (equally referring to the Cross, as well as the death of passions), through which we easily and with pleasure drink the mixture poured for us from the divine cup, then you would appropriately perceive and contemplate such elements of the story and the divine intention. For such things were not laid out without purpose, but for the teaching of the Gospel.

**111. [Middle Ground: Spiritual Law vs. Devil].** The highest spiritual law opposes the actual highest of all evils, the Devil, who is diametrically opposed and lies at the lowest point. For he always contradicts and opposes whatever the [spiritual law] desires. However, there is also a middle ground between them, not because it shares in both vice and virtue, but because it stands rather equally distanced from both vice and virtue. Both [the spiritual law and the Devil] often

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<sup>56</sup> Psalms 125:1.

<sup>57</sup> Genesis 24:5.

<sup>58</sup> Isaiah 33:21. This sentence is also found in Leviticus 19:16 and Numeri 22:12, which are otherwise books that Gabalas never quotes in this text.

<sup>59</sup> Exodus 15:23.

utilize this middle ground when they wish to shift one [person] from one extreme to the other. For changes according to nature cannot occur suddenly unless by a divine inclination alone. Even when Christ commands one to “sell” all possessions and “give to the poor”, He does not command this to “the tax collector” or the “rapacious” man,<sup>60</sup> but to one who is in the middle, like the one who follows the law, neither sharing his possessions nor taking what belongs to others. Similarly, when Satan tries to drag someone to the other extreme, he coerces the one in the middle, not the extreme. But God, being the lord of nature, can coerce even nature itself when He wants to plant some seeds of nature, piety, or virtue, just as when He found “Matthew sitting at the tax booth”<sup>61</sup> and transformed him into a disciple with a single word, or later blinded Paul with divine fire.<sup>62</sup> However, Satan does not have such power unless he first persuades one to move from neutrality to one of the extremes or vice versa. Thus, this middle ground of habits opens up like a gate to both vice and virtue. That’s why Christ punishes those who wish to remain neutral throughout their life and never contemplate anything further regarding virtue. For if idleness of the soul is neither doing something good nor something bad, God always wants us to be active, just as with those entrusted with talents.<sup>63</sup> It is clear that we will be punished not only for doing evil but also for being idle in doing good, and we will be judged not because we did not steal but because we did not show mercy, not because we did not strike but because when we were struck we did not endure; not because we did not get angry but that we did not bear with others who did. In short, the spiritual and perfect law opens up our ascent to the heavens through such degrees.

**112. [Healing Soul’s Disease with Divine Teachings].** The disease that arises in the body from disorder and misuse of food and drink, or even from the afflictions of the air and other causes, is often cured by a drug skillfully mixed; for it removes the excesses added by nature and restores the best balance to the elements. But the sickness that has crept into the soul from misuse of affairs, having changed its passionate parts to the utmost vice, is healed by the spiritual word, composed most excellently of various reminders of the divine sayings. For such a word, penetrating like a remedy into the depths of thought, empties out the inherent matter of wickedness, and gently and kindly brings in the appropriate, analogous, and familiar nourishment of the soul’s faculties. To the pleasure-lover, it presents true and immortal pleasure instead of the deceptive one; to the fame-lover, it presents the glory in the heavens instead of the earthly one; to the wealth-lover, it presents the incorruptible wealth instead of the fleeting and treacherous one. And preparing her wisely to exchange these things compels her to live not for the present, but for the future, where she will also eternally live in the everlasting age.

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. Matthew 18:11–19:21.

<sup>61</sup> Matthew 9:9.

<sup>62</sup> Reference to the light that Paul saw in his way from Jerusalem to Damascus, the conversion of Paul. Cf. Acts of the Apostles 9:3–9.

<sup>63</sup> This seems to allude to the parable of the talents from the New Testament, where servants are given talents by their master and are expected to be fruitful with them. Cf. Matthew 25:14–30, Luke 19:12–17.

**113. [Ever-Changing Nature of Existence].** All things that are subject to generation and decay by turns, since they are always in motion and constantly changing, are neither receptive of certain boundaries within which their nature would become clear, nor of demonstrations that depict what they truly are. For that which is altered and eventually shifts to the opposite realm: how could it hold a certain boundary, or be demonstrated as being something specific? Rather, if one were to attribute non-being to them, one would rather more accurately perceive the truth of their nature. Therefore, everything in this realm should be considered as having the same power [sc. none], whether they are honors or dishonors, whether luxuries or deficiencies, whether all things can be considered painful or beneficial, for those who pursue the inquiry about what is eternally existent and true.

**114. [Narrow vs. Wide Path: Blessings or Destruction].** According to the word of the Lord, “the gate strait is and the path that leads to life is full of afflictions”, but on the contrary, “the one” that leads “to destruction” is “broad and wide”.<sup>64</sup> The narrow one is characterized by being damned, being poor, being a stranger, being hungry, being cold, being slandered, being plundered, being dishonored, and suffering all the worst things. The wide one has characteristics that are opposite to these. In reality, blessed are those who are deemed worthy to live according to the narrow path, whether willingly or unwillingly, even if they seem wretched to most. Truly, miserable, and devoid of any good are those of the wide and spacious path, even if everyone blesses them. For according to the word of the Lord, those who bless them deceive them, since “the end” for the former is “life”, but for the latter, “death”.<sup>65</sup>

**115. [Embracing Weakness in the Path of Christ].** If to the great Paul, when he asked God for the removal of “the thorn” in his flesh, it was said “to be content with grace” – “for” divine “power” must “be perfected in weakness”–,<sup>66</sup> then everyone who has chosen to live according to Christ must embrace the conditions of weakness. “Whether persecuted, he must bear”; if penalized, he must endure; “if impoverished”, he must give thanks;<sup>67</sup> if dishonored, he must persevere; if spoken ill of, he must bless. For the spiritual law, which is opposed to the carnal one, wishes to deal with everything that is contrary to it, so that, by guiding the one living according to God across adversity, he might be restored to the land of the righteous, which is opposite to that of the sinners. This land is “the bosom of Abraham”,<sup>68</sup> where, separated by a chasm, the carnal rich man, being tormented, longs to receive a drop of the divine dew that was allotted to the spiritual Lazarus, yet he does not even attain that.

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<sup>64</sup> Matthew 7:13–4.

<sup>65</sup> Romans 6:21–23.

<sup>66</sup> 2 Corinthians 12:7–9.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Corinthians 4:11–12.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Luke 16:19–31.

**116. [Immortal over Perishable].** If what comes from God always has the characteristic of being unregrettable,<sup>69</sup> but the apparent goods and evils of this present life are not at all meant to be so, as they are perishable and fleeting, then they are not from God. Hence, they would be fabrications of wickedness and malevolence, and the prudent and sensible ones should not associate with them, but rather with what is by nature immortal, whether good or evil.

**117. [Dreamlike Reality vs. Truth].** If there is the same alignment or analogy between body and shadow, image and archetype, dream and waking, and the figures in dreams compared to what we perceive in sensation; and if the present life and its affairs are but images of the unseen, might we humans be mistaken, clinging to shadows and dreams instead of the true and steadfast? If we awaken, leaving behind the sleep of ignorance, we will find the truth. Once we have perceived this truth, we will pass by the present as if it were nothing, always choosing to align ourselves either with what is ardently and superficially pursued by many, or what is avoided and repulsive.

**118. [Divine Intention: True Pleasure and Pain].** The disposition within us that produces pleasure and pain, operating in opposition, was implanted by the Creator in our nature. It was meant so that we would take pleasure in stable and unchanging things and feel pain when deviating from them. Yet, I do not know how, forgetting the higher realms, we have shifted our focus to these lower things. We take pleasure and feel pain, thereby negating the divine intention for which we were wisely constituted this way. Therefore, either we should feel pain and joy in this manner, or, if we have to transfer such feelings elsewhere, it should be to where they remain unchallenged, so that we clearly feel pain when it is appropriate to feel pain and feel pleasure when it is fitting to take pleasure. If we act outside of the aforementioned ways, we will suffer from irrationality, clearly in accordance with a beastly nature, which considers only sensory pleasure and pain, living solely a physical life and nothing more.

**119. [Greed vs. Virtue].** Those who are greedy for money do not simply supply the fuel for the flame of their greed from their own efforts, but they also eagerly take, wherever they can acquire it, resources from outside. But those who ardently pursue virtue strive as if they themselves might acquire this vast wealth of goodness from within. However, if some people, due to the circumstances that arise, accidentally contribute to their endeavor, they do not receive it with displeasure, nor do they eagerly welcome the additions. On the contrary, they mostly express gratitude, because these contributions harvest for them unplanned and unasked-for yields<sup>70</sup> for their spiritual crop. And if they were to be slandered, they consider it a gain; and likewise, if they were insulted, if they were mistreated, if they have been deprived of its possessions, or if they have suffered the worst of things.

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. Romans 11:29, 2 Corinthians 7:10.

<sup>70</sup> Literally, “unseeded and unplowed”, cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 9.109.

**120. [Precision of God's Tribunal].** If these human courts, according to political principles, never rest but always oversee and judge the deeds, releasing those they find without fault and bringing those accountable to the laws, correcting and turning them towards the good; how much more precise will the tribunal of God, which investigates our souls even to the thoughts and intentions of the heart, oversee human affairs? Therefore, every person should beware of the terrifying tribunal of God, as there is nothing in all of existence that does not lay before His eyes, which encompass everything within themselves, even if He does not judge immediately, but perhaps a little later or even on the last day, when “we all will stand”<sup>71</sup> awaiting eternal punishments for our misdeeds.

**121. [Two Deaths and Christ's Redemption].** Just as death of the body is decay, so too the death of the soul is sin and its separation from God Himself. Adam suffered both these deaths through his transgression; he [experienced] the death of the soul after having imprinted equality with God in his imagination, and the death of the body by tasting the forbidden fruit. But Christ nullified both these deaths, reshaping the one who was thus disgracefully crushed. He [overcame] the death of the soul by humbling Himself to “the form of a servant”,<sup>72</sup> and the death of the body by abstaining from all pleasure and living sinlessly. If then we live according to the commandments that He has given us, we maintain for ourselves both forms of immortality. But if we are again led astray by the same baits of pleasure, are stolen away by the love of power, and are deluded by deceitful foods, like Adam, we revert to both forms of death, separating from God and being handed over to “an unquenchable fire”.<sup>73</sup>

**122. [Two Deaths and Christ's Redemption].** Having ingested two poisons from the serpent, Adam suffered two deaths: one, a spiritual death from the equality with God, and the other, a bodily death from pleasure. The former was a separation from God, while the latter was the decay and dissolution of his own body. But with Christ having made both immortal through His resurrection from the dead, He restored what had been corrupted and bestowed upon us the original immortality in both aspects. Therefore, we must adhere to His divine commandments if we wish to maintain this grace untainted. If now through spiritual, now through bodily passions, we squander the grace of the image's dignity, and we entertain equally grave sins against the second creation, we are proven once again to be transgressors and we will then undergo the same deaths as Adam, if not even worse, upon being condemned.

**123. [Christ's Redemption].** God, wishing to remove the brow of equality with God which Adam lifted up against himself, at first punishes with death and dishonorable slavery. Then, as a compassionate Father feeling pity for His own creation, He comes down to mankind and willingly undergoes the same things justly. Therefore, by removing those passions which had been caused

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<sup>71</sup> Romans 14:10.

<sup>72</sup> Philippians 2:7.

<sup>73</sup> Matthew 3:12.

by the opposites, He takes on the form of a servant as a punishment instead of the imagined divinity. He does this not from a royal mother, but from one who is humble and lowly, who only by the greatness of virtue surpasses all [sc. the Virgin Mary]. And He is not laid in gold-bearing chambers but in a very small cave prepared for irrational animals. Then, moving forward, He lives in a particularly humble manner and, when required to pay tax to Caesar, He does so, as if he were someone under authority, and as one who is mindful of his disciples. When they desire leadership and precedence, He promises them the last place, if they truly want to obtain the first. Instead of the pleasure that led man to death, He undertakes “a forty-day fast”,<sup>74</sup> and He accepts to taste “wine vinegar, gall, sponge, a staff and a crown of thorns, and a spear on the side”<sup>75</sup> while on the cross. One could also see the sharp nails driven through His hands, with which that man [sc. Adam] touched the forbidden food, and through the feet, with which he ran towards the act of transgression. And the entire nature, so to speak, having been drugged by the medicine of the diabolic doctor in the guise of sweetness, Christ countered with a violent death. For, like a wise doctor using opposite [remedies], He treated the chronically ill man, a skill He also handed over to those healed by Him, in case they fall ill from the same diseases inflicted by the Devil. Therefore, for afflictions of the soul, there is a need for humility, contrition, and acceptance of external troubles, and for those of the body, fasting and self-control, and whatever is known to afflict the flesh for the removal of pleasure, either devised intentionally or happening unintentionally.

**124. [Antidotes to Ancestral Evil].** There are two antidotes to ancestral evil: the wasting away of the flesh which eliminates pleasure through self-control, and the disgrace that purifies the love for glory. He who accepts both attains the foremost honor, but he who does not, suffers the penalties of transgression.

**125. [Clarity of Virtue’s Summit].** He who has climbed a hill-top sees far-off things quite easily. He who has painstakingly grasped the pinnacle of virtue perceives things with understanding. For he does not have the fog of passions clouding his thought.

**126. [Disturbed Perception and Life’s Roar].** The noise of the flowing waters does not let the one standing on the riverbank hear what is nearby. Similarly, the one whose soul’s perception is disturbed by the roar of life’s affairs cannot know what is good and worse.

**127. [Overcoming Inner Battles].** When the inherent passions, thoughts, and demons, which struggle against the soul, take away the victorious one, it is appropriate to repeat David’s saying: “But my enemies live and are stronger than me”.<sup>76</sup>

**128. [Inner Reflection].** He who has wandered outside and then safely returned to his home sees its condition, whether it is one of neglect or care. He who gathers his senses from external

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<sup>74</sup> Matthew 4:2.

<sup>75</sup> Matthew 27:34, 27:48, 27:29, John 19:34.

<sup>76</sup> Psalms 37:20.



things into the inner chambers of the soul knows precisely its proper accomplishments and deficiencies, and with pleasure filling up what is lacking, he repeats: “they were glad, because they kept quiet”.<sup>77</sup>

**129. [Soul’s Reflection through Stillness].** A mirror reveals an uncomely face, but stillness combined with sobriety and prayer, reveals to the soul its deformity consumed by passions.

**130. [Wicked Soul as Dirty Mirror].** Just as one cannot see his own reflection in a dirty mirror or in water filled with mud, neither can one perceive his own evil in a soul filled with wickedness and instability.

**131. [Contemplation of Creation: God’s Purpose].** There is a dual contemplation of creation for the one who observes it with discernment: one is knowledge itself of the things as they are by nature; the other is understanding the reasons for which they principally exist. The former imparts knowledge to the intellect, while the latter effects virtue in the soul. For if we know the nature of a human being, understanding that [man] is a rational, mortal animal, capable of intellect and knowledge, but we do not know the reason for which [man] was created by the Demiurge, namely, for His glory, and similarly with individual creatures, that we might use them according to their proper reason, we would only remain in the realm of sensible knowledge, while we would fall short of the divine purpose, leading a bestial and irrational life, just like most of the Hellenes have suffered.

**132. [Turbulence of Passion-Driven Mind].** A mind easily swayed by passions is not only attacked by existing realities but also conjures up, at times, things that have not even occurred, and engages with these imaginary scenarios. The greedy man does this, so does the vainglorious, the pleasure-seeker, and the quarrelsome individual. If one does not block the entrances to these assaults, he is never free from internal conflict.

**133. [The Mind’s Struggle].** The mind, standing in the middle between the spirits of good and evil, is constantly urged towards opposing tendencies, but it is not forcibly dragged. If it inclines towards the good inclination, it produces good; if towards the evil, it produces evil. This struggle has been its lot from the beginning up to now throughout life. However, the former derives its persuasion from the true values, divine reasons, and deeds, while the latter [derives] from the deceptive and irrational tricks of its own deceit and cunning. If there is nothing else to be cautious about, at least one should highly regard the counsel of the one advising the best.

**134. [Virtue and Vice: Spirits].** The good spirit contributes to virtue, but it is not the sole cause in the same way as the evil one contributes to vice. Since we possess the material for the good and the choice, from those it thus takes form towards it [sc. good] and comes into existence. But if we must speak the truth, the good spirit is the cause of virtue, being our Creator and the provider of material, form, decision, and other tools that contribute to it. The evil spirit is only a co-

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<sup>77</sup> Psalms 106:30.

contributor to vice because it cooperates in the base choices of humans. It would be a grave injustice and heedlessness, if taking away the gifts of the good, i.e., God, and bringing them to an evil lord, we make them our own.

**135. [Virtue and Vice: God and Opposing Forces].** Nothing good is accomplished among men without God, nor anything evil without the cooperation of the opposing force. For both virtue and vice originate from the passionate parts of the soul, as if needing an artisan, whether good or bad, for their realization. If the use of the material is according to nature, then the work is completed according to the art of the Wise Architect; but if it is against nature, as the sophist of vice proposes, then the opposite happens. The outcomes are clear indicators of each.

**136. [Virtue, Vice and Deception].** The grace of the Holy Spirit completes the work of virtue from existing and true principles, while the opposing force does the work of vice from false and unsubstantial ones. The former looks to the truth and sets forth true boundaries, while the latter turns towards falsehood and establishes false principles. For he who assumes that the pleasure of the temperate things is good indeed concludes with a good inference; but he who places this assumption with the wicked [concludes] with an utterly false [inference] and estranged from the truth. With every knowledge and art, deception follows, and a sophist arises from this very material and the ignorance concerning it. Only through virtue and out of evil, which with diligence always is present in the actions, does it occur. Competitors must watch more than their adversaries against malpractice, lest they be deceived unawares.

**137. [Life's Hidden Treasure].** The present life is nothing else but that Gospel “field” where a certain intelligent “man”, understanding “the treasure hidden” in it, “sold all” his properties and bought it.<sup>78</sup> This field has, instead of trees, the intrinsic reasons of things, and it also contains a treasure lying in its deepest part, unseen by most, which is the contemplation of the “heavenly” government. When someone happens to find and contemplate it, whether through a brief illumination, conscience, learning, or some more profound inner movement, he sells the other irrational possessions of life which pertain to sensation and its desire. Immediately, he purchases the precise understanding of divine reasons; constantly dedicated to these and working diligently, through their guidance and knowledge, he inherits the treasure reserved in the future age for the truly rich.

**138. [The Hidden Treasure in the Intelligible World].** The intelligible “world” is the Gospel’s “field”,<sup>79</sup> containing plants that are the infinite multitude of intellectual powers and the diverse orders of the righteous from all ages. “The hidden treasure in this field” is the King of Ages and the Creator of everything, who, being invisible to all by nature, nevertheless becomes visible to some; specifically, to those who investigate and contemplate his purpose, who, having envisioned

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<sup>78</sup> Matthew 13:44.

<sup>79</sup> Matthew 13:38.

such a great treasure, forsaking all present things, acquire a single thing, the heavenly field, in place of everything else. In this place, the Lord dwells, embedding Himself to the lovers of good and toils through the law of justice and philanthropy.

**139. [The Gospel Net: Fate of Pure and Impure].** The “net” drawn up from the “sea” in the Gospel after it “had been filled with” the catch, one could aptly interpret as the multitude of those caught by the divine proclamation.<sup>80</sup> Those who, if purified by the commandments, are taken for spiritual service as pure sacrifices. However, if they live shamefully and impurely after baptism as impure people, they are thrown and trampled outside, being of no use to anyone, except to the Devil, who, like a hungry dog, tears apart and devours sinners.

**140. [Confession of Christ and Apostolic Dignity].** He who through practical and contemplative philosophy confesses “Christ as the son of the living God”<sup>81</sup> would hear, like Peter, from Christ Himself: “You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it” and “I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven”,<sup>82</sup> that is, he will receive an apostolic dignity; and “I have come to you, my covenant will be established with you”,<sup>83</sup> which is the way of life according to the Gospel. The “gates of Hades”, which are the entrances and exits of Satan, which open either outwardly through the senses or inwardly to evil, will have no power against it. Rather, as life and word become more profound, they become an entrance for the faithful, “the key” that opens and leads into the gate of heaven.

**141. [Intelligible World: Transcendence and Restoration].** The present world seems to be a shadow of a body, when compared to the intelligible world, and almost like an image of some original prototype existing in itself; and not simply as a whole compared to a whole, but also part by part, whether one wishes to examine this in terms of virtue, wisdom and knowledge, divine mysteries and words, or the objects of nature that appeal to the senses, including both the sights of the heavens and those on the earth. For this reason, the divine teachings suggest that this visible world will one day be restored to a superior essence and society. Those who have lived virtuously died before death and have spiritually emigrated there before their departure from here, not willing to dwell amidst shadows and illusions instead of truth.

**142. [Philanthropy: Forgiving Debts].** We are all “debtors”, especially those who have received “countless talents” from God. There are indeed things which, from the beginning of our life, we have received for our constitution. There are also things which, after the constitution being destroyed and then recreated with unspeakable words of creation, we have clearly received. Besides, we are forgiven in a humanitarian spirit for the blessings we receive daily and gratefully

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<sup>80</sup> Matthew 13:47–48. Gabalas produces an interpretation playing with the etymology of the idea of “catching” with the words ἄγρας and ἀγρευθέντων.

<sup>81</sup> Matthew 16:16.

<sup>82</sup> Matthew 16:18–19.

<sup>83</sup> These two sentences are Gabalas’ paraphrases of the words of Christ to Peter, which otherwise are found in the hermeneutic tradition of the Church Fathers, mostly John Chrysostom.

acknowledge to the Creator. Then, if we show ourselves sympathetic and helpful either to those “who owe” us or to those who need something from us in any way, surely our “debt” is forgiven by God, without being subsequently accused of not “repaying”. But if not, whatever we reckon against others, the same is decreed against us.<sup>84</sup>

**143. [Good and Evil: The Analogy of the Lyre].** That which is accomplished by humans according to virtue, should, in truth, be attributed to God in the image of the Word. For one must make both the lyre and the songs, and then someone must be given the task and be allowed to sing. Let the compliant do nothing else, and not with anyone else except the one he is with [sc. with God]. Therefore, he will not even have something to say on his own to contribute to the task. But if he [does], [should] then not also we [do it]? For if we have received a body and soul as a kind of lyre from God, and we were taught the harmonious concept of virtue from somewhere there, we would gladly bring our own efforts according to it, so that we are filled with this mindset. But this is not the case with wickedness since the whole action of evil must be shared between us and the Devil. To us, when we intentionally use the instruments of virtue and “the limbs of Christ” as if they were “the limbs of a prostitute”, according to the Apostle;<sup>85</sup> and to him, as he was shown to be the father of wickedness.

**144. [Prayer and Fasting].** If Christ says regarding those troubled by demons, “this kind does not come out except by prayer”<sup>86</sup> and fasting, and there are temptations that befall humans from demons, then the remedy of both prayer and fasting could fit much better in these cases as well. Therefore, it is necessary for every temptation, passion, and any occasional incident causing distress to humans, to resort to these protections, since fasting is known to purify the body, and prayer connects the soul with God. Where there is purification and God intervenes, how can the evil power operate with its own activity? For if in natural bodies and affairs, opposites cannot coexist, much more so in spiritual and more divine matters.

**145. [Prayer’s Power over Temptation]** If Christ Himself commands His disciples to pray, not to fall into temptations but also to be delivered from the Wicked One, and He Himself again, as if giving an example of this, prays and willingly goes towards the suffering, can the use of prayers also liberate us when we are in temptations? For if each one is tempted by his own sins – for “the divine”, as the divine Jacob says, “is untempted by evils”,<sup>87</sup> and sins are the seeds of the Devil – it is clear that he who resists through prayer, as if [wielding] the hand of God like a sickle, will not only cut these off like tares, but will also uproot them from the base and will make us free from our evils.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> This chapter is to be placed in the context of the Parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Matthew 18:24–8).

<sup>85</sup> 1 Corinthians 6:15.

<sup>86</sup> Mark 9:29.

<sup>87</sup> Letter of Jacob 1:13.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Matthew 13:27–30.

**146. [Categories of Virtue: Deification].** Of virtues, some are physical such as sensibility, strength, beauty, health, and others are spiritual, like prudence, courage, temperance, and justice. Each set corresponds to each other. The spiritual virtues are divided into three types: some order customs, households, and states, where the practical side of the soul becomes evident; some purify the intellect from ignorance and wickedness; and others deify man entirely, making him equally able to God or at least very close, the reason for which is due mainly to having been cleansed practically and theoretically. Among these, neither the physical virtues are crafted, nor the highest ones [sc. the spiritual] are theurgical, but the former are innate gifts of God through nature to humans, while the latter are provided by grace almost like rewards of the intermediate virtues. He who attains these has unknowingly become God instead of man.

**147. [Passions: Three Ways and Remedies].** The war of passions arises in us from three ways: either from a choice influenced by a faulty lifestyle, or from nature itself acting automatically and matching the passions with one's age, or from the demons themselves, sometimes presenting life's pleasures, and at other times violently and intensely driving our passionate parts towards inappropriate desires. The first [way] is overcome by choice combined with a temperate lifestyle that restrains and weakens desire; the second by self-control, fasting, and proportional hardships; the third by self-control, humility, combined with persistent tears and prayer. Above all these three, confession, acting as an antidote to the evil stings of these malicious creatures, is universally acknowledged to neutralize the resulting death.

**148. [Sin: Three Places and Consequences].** There are three places where those who sin are likely to stumble: in the thoughts, in the senses, and perhaps in the actions themselves. In the realm of thought, when we think about evil and consent to the act of sin in our minds, even if we do not actually carry it out. This is why the great Moses says: "Take heed to yourself, lest a hidden word" arise "in your heart".<sup>89</sup> In the realm of the senses, when we indulge excessively and without temperance in the pleasures presented to each of our senses. Through such indulgence, "death" is said "to enter", according to divine teachings, "through the windows".<sup>90</sup> In the realm of action, when after contemplating evil in our minds, we bring such thoughts into deeds. Looking at this, the Apostle says: "Do not be deceived: neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the greedy", and so on, "shall inherit the kingdom of God".<sup>91</sup> In verbal misdeeds, the mind and tongue have power for evil; in physical misdeeds, the movement of the entire body along with the soul holds the sway; the other senses, being intermediate between speech and action, hold a secondary position towards both virtue and vice.

**149. [Virtue: Three Places].** These three [places] define those who live according to virtue in life: first, the purification through repentance of past misdeeds; second, the assurance of not

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<sup>89</sup> Deuteronomy 15:9.

<sup>90</sup> Jeremiah 9:20.

<sup>91</sup> 1 Corinthians 6:9–10.

falling back into the same or other evils; and third, learning the ways of virtues and practicing them, lest the demon, having been driven out from wickedness, sees the place “swept clean”<sup>92</sup> and “brings along other wicked spirits” and, with even greater impetus, settles within. Thus, he makes “the second error worse than the first”.<sup>93</sup> The first two are suitable for those immediately returning from disbelief, while all three pertain to those rooted in faith.

**150. [Christian’s Life: Two Paths].** Two paths lie before every Christian in this present life: one shown to us by the Holy Spirit, the other by the evil spirit. Yet, the first is altogether “narrow” and challenging, and very few people travel through it, while the latter is “broad” and easy, with no hindrance for anyone who wishes to strut through it. However, the one that begins broad ends in a tight squeeze, i.e., shame, death, and “perdition”; while the other, starting from constriction, leads to joy, life, and exultation.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, everyone should evaluate with the judgment of their mind the events that happen to us daily. Those things seen as part of the evil and deadly path should be immediately rejected as causes of perdition, while those of the good and contributing to eternal blessedness should be embraced and pursued. It is quite clear which things belong to this and which to that, even if no one wishes to speak of it.

**151. [Love and Resentment].** Just as love is the chief of all virtues, and without it, none of the other forms of virtue are considered virtue; so, on the contrary, the head and summation of all vices is resentment. For it is the culmination of hatred and enmity towards one’s neighbor, uncharitably remembering the things done negligently by one against another; besides, it also presents a clear example of a soul that loves to sin, is coward, and is easily dragged to every passion by any given pretext. And indeed, seeing the common vice, the wise Solomon named it “law-breaking” as its unique designation, and among the many other and infinite vices, he called only this one “law-breaking”, and he termed those who adhere to it “lawbreaker”. For he says, “Every resentful person is a lawbreaker”.<sup>95</sup> For it is a custom to assign general names as unique ones to those who are exceptionally prominent in either vice or virtue. We must therefore avoid such a great evil, lest we lose the rewards of our achievements and make ourselves accountable to the judgment of God. He says: “for if you do” not “forgive” people “their sins”, neither “will your heavenly Father forgive your sins”.<sup>96</sup> And the one who says this is faithful, and there is no need for further demonstration to guard against this death-bringing beast of our souls.

**152. [The Flow of Existence and Simplicity].** All things are fluid, because they come into being in time, and time has its being in flow, as its name is derived from the flow.<sup>97</sup> Yet of these things,

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<sup>92</sup> Matthew 12:44–45.

<sup>93</sup> Matthew 27:64. The second error is assurance, the first is purification.

<sup>94</sup> The biblical passage is Matthew 7:13.

<sup>95</sup> Proverbs 21:24. Cf. Proverbs 10:27, Psalms 4:1–12.

<sup>96</sup> Matthew 6:14.

<sup>97</sup> Etymology of the terms *ρευστὰ* and *ρεῖν* from *ροῖς*. The last term includes the philosophical idea of “flux”.

those which have a simpler composition and are less contentious last somehow longer, and they are dissolved by time later on. Still, they change as well, either through motion or through transformation, until they reach decay. However, things that are complex and prone to internal conflict, clearly coming together from the concourse of opposing forces, and thus clinging to their appropriate places, as if violently forced into an unnatural union by the Creator, these quickly separate and return to where they came from. This is evident especially in living creatures, which live against nature due to the conflict of their parts; they are at war with themselves, showing signs of illness and irregularity, depending on how their balance is formed, whether completely from heat, cold, dryness, or wetness dominating due to some cause. When we see someone dying, or any of his possessions or wealth being transferred from one to another, or power, or any other movable or immovable property, let us remember the universal nature, that is, the flow, composition, and that these things happen against nature, and let us not be disturbed, for what is natural has happened to each. It is more blessed for the compound to revert to the simple, and for what was composed from flow to become fluid again, than for the primary to descend to the secondary. Just as we consider it unsurprising that we have been brought into existence from flow and composition; in the same way, let us consider just that, for the same reason, we cease to exist.

**153. [Tripartite Soul and Divine Purpose].** How might one characterize the types, or parts, of the soul, if each exists by nature according to themselves and acts on their own? The rational part is recognized when, with both anger and desire being calm, it alone contemplates and deliberates, examines the reasons of things, judges, distinguishes, counts, and performs other actions that attest to its rational power. Anger [is recognized], when it either acts more fervently upon commands from reason and desire, with those calming down, or even when impulsively acting on its own, then, untrained finding reason like an untrained servant, drags it along. This is observable in case of the extremely irritable, angered and those who are easily upset by any cause that befalls them, and especially in the frenzied, the impulsive, the frenetic; and if you wish, even in infants, who immediately from a very early age get angry, distressed and cry out. The irrational nature is inherent in us from the beginning and immediately becomes manifest, directed only towards nourishment and growth, since the infant needs nothing else but these; hence emotions precede reason. The rational part comes later, over time, emerging as if from some mire and shining through, like a fruit contained within a plant, awaiting the maturity of the stem. As for these matters, so much for them. The desiring part becomes evident, when it enjoys something desirable through one of the senses, being hindered by neither reason nor spirit. That these parts exist on their own and can be discerned separately from one another is presumably known in this way. That they also move with divine purpose, and have their beginning in nature, is in the fact that the irrational always and necessarily is subordinate to the rational, and that the most irrational movements have ceased. From these [movements], angers and pleasures, arising within the soul,

fill life with all kinds of disorder and lawlessness, for which reasons courts and laws await us both now and thereafter.

**154. [Christ: The Common Angle].** How could the experiences of each Christian be common, whether they are painful or pleasant, and how would the geometrical definition also apply here? Christ is our head, “the chief cornerstone”,<sup>98</sup> joining us together into a single angle, as it were, of faith and concord, having fashioned us as his own members. Therefore, He commands us “to mourn with those who mourn and to rejoice with those who rejoice”;<sup>99</sup> this is also, I believe, what the great Paul saw when he asked, “Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I do not burn with indignation?”.<sup>100</sup> And if nature also teaches this alongside Scripture, how deserving would we be of blame if we envy our neighbor for his blessings and are grieved, or if we rejoice at his misfortunes and celebrate them alone? Therefore, we must change our ways if, like the sides of figures, we are joined together in a common angle in Christ.

**155. [Human Nature: Equality].** Even if we humans seem to be unequal, varying due to some having more or less, as happens with material things, we are nevertheless similar to each other in our primary and general constitutive elements of nature, all of us having everything in common. For we humans are like geometrical figures that have the same diameter; even if some are greater or smaller in relation to each other due to their external dimensions, we are alike in quality and capability and differ in nothing. Therefore, if we excel in wisdom, power, wealth, or any other attribute, we should not look down on the many. Instead, always looking to what is common to our nature, we should rid ourselves of arrogance and align with the humble, lest the apparent advantages become genuine disadvantages, as many suffer due to folly and lack of judgment.

**156. [Humility in the Equality of Creation].** If all people have the same composition in terms of essence, and the same birth and decay, and if all are composed of the same soul and body, and have been crafted by the same Creator and Father – as He has designated Himself indifferently in prayers, and calls us his children, and elsewhere, brothers – and if all of us will ultimately be accountable to the same God and judge for our actions in life, why would we regard ourselves as superior to others? We might think we possess more, either by chance or by the usual course of events. Therefore, it would be wise to always sing: “let the wise not boast in his wisdom, let the strong not boast in his strength, let the rich not boast in his wealth”,<sup>101</sup> nor should the one excelling in everything boast in things that do not accompany him as they die. Instead, if one must boast, let it be for having a soul built up in the ever-abiding habits of piety and virtue.

**157. [The Choice for the Better: Gift of Creation].** With an ineffable wisdom, power, and goodness, God brought forth creation from non-existence, providing it to man, out of benevolence

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<sup>98</sup> Isaias 28:16.

<sup>99</sup> Romans 12:15.

<sup>100</sup> 2 Corinthians 11:29.

<sup>101</sup> Odae 3:10.



and grandeur, like some instrument or a material possessing an intermediate power. Man has the authority to use it as he wishes, whether for knowledge of God and virtue or for the utmost vices. If one does not persist in being captivated by this visible form, he returns to the primary cause, recognizes God, and discovers principles of virtue. But if one were to become attached to the enjoyment of visible things, he would consider whatever he sees or touches to be everything, he would worship the creation rather than the Creator and exchange rule for servitude. For this shame, if not considering other reasons, one should flee from the slave to the current things.

**158. [Distraction vs. Prayer].** The Wicked One always attacks those people who think or do something good, especially when he sees them occupied with sacred prayers and hymns. Recognizing such moments as times of thanksgiving, confession, and holiest worship, he is disgusted at these actions and does everything: how would he then distract the mind and the body, if he could, from work? Or at least, how would he lead the mind itself astray into bizarre and strange thoughts, leaving us like the dead and insensible to what is being said? When he manages to succeed in this evil scheme, the Perverse One immediately mocks and, twisting the Scriptures, he says: “The dead will not praise you, Lord, but we the living will”.<sup>102</sup> Knowing his strategy, we must counteract with our own plans. Firstly, we must drive out our demon with divine fear, as if with a bee sting or a spur, then gather our minds and redirect our thoughts to what is being said, as if [returning to] a familiar refuge or land. Then, we should also counteract the Wicked One with the very same Scriptures, saying, “I laid down and slept; I awoke because the Lord will support me”.<sup>103</sup>

**159. [Noble vs. Licentious Soul’s Suitors].** Just as a maiden, splendid both in her natural beauty and further enhanced by art, attracts various suitors, some of whom are temperate and wish to woo her honorably, while others are licentious and insolent; in a much better way, the soul, adorned with the image of divine nature, has God and angels as its suitors, but also certain ferocious and shameless demons who shamefully rival in love and forcefully try to conform to her in ways that are not at all just. However, if the soul sets up noble guardians for its senses and establishes brave thoughts to guard its inherent beauty, it preserves itself untouched by polluted touches and keeps itself uncontaminated from the most shameful desires, dedicated solely to God. Possessing such mindset and preparation, it becomes like that bed of Solomon, which is “surrounded by sixty mighty men of Israel, each holding” double-edged “swords”, some in their hands and others at their “thighs”;<sup>104</sup> they threaten with the utmost severity, if someone would maliciously wish to approach that bed. If the soul leaves itself entirely unprotected and undefended, neither guarded nor armed with self-control, it repels its natural suitors, who feel

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<sup>102</sup> Psalms 113:25.

<sup>103</sup> Psalms 3:6.

<sup>104</sup> Odae 3:7–8.

disgusted, and welcomes the licentious and ungraceful ones, and it presents itself as an adulteress rather than a wife, and as a madwoman rather than a temperate one.

**160. [Good and Bad: Human Powers].** The powers of the better and the worse are always inherent in humans, given that nature has strength in both directions. However, some people constantly exercise and train these powers due to wickedness or a love of mischief, always practicing how, if they find some material or indeed come upon an opportunity, they immediately bring their intentions for either direction into action. Others, due to a slowness of nature, let these powers be idle and unattended, not leaning towards either of the opposing tendencies; but when the occasions or contests for demonstration come, depending on whichever disposition happens to arise, they do not act with the prepared tension and intensity but rather in a slack and relaxed manner. These people often find themselves retreating from action, neither enjoying the disposition nor the long-term desire for what is desirable.

**161. [Soul's Afflictions: Remedies].** It is true in other contexts that, for many of the afflictions that befall humans, one evil can be treated with another evil, yet not worse, especially in the cases of anger and strong desires. For often, when a base pleasure torments the soul, anger, in its onset, dispels it; and then again, [anger] quenches and soothes the flooding stream of pleasure, like a flame that had enveloped and inflamed the soul. The situation is similar to if someone, attempting to reduce a fever with a medicinal remedy, inadvertently causes a case of dysentery or some other severe ailment. Only, it seems, the power of reason and the strength derived from it could best treat the ailments of the soul. For remedies arising from irrational actions, even if they seem simple at first, not only lead to worse conditions but also soon become habit-forming; and sometimes, when two opposing remedies are applied at the wrong time, one exacerbating the other, a person finds a more wicked and manifold affliction.

**162. [Avoiding the Insubstantial].** If in every endeavor, for which everyone labors, one does not set the very endeavor itself as his aim but looks toward something else, and if he does not undertake the effort in vain, he must consider what we strive for in life, toward which we apply our efforts with great intensity, looking at its end, under what context it falls and how long it endures. We feel pleasure and pain when any of these things happen. And for one, we strive ardently that it might persist, and for the other, we hope it departs from us quickly or at least is healed. But if there is nothing, and only fleeting names remain, void of substance, then it is either superfluous to think they ever existed or even to arrange our lives according to them.

**163. [True Wealth vs. Unprofitable Concerns].** If a “wealthy man” is not only called the one in the Gospel, who acquired many of these material goods underlying sensations, and also one among us who contemplates acquiring many things and indulges in such luxuries, harsh and severe words are spoken to him: “Fool, this very night your life is demanded of you. The things

you have prepared – whose will they be?”<sup>105</sup> We must not consider the disgraceful wealth of the soul, namely hatred, disputes, anger, resentment, love of power, vanity, hedonism, and other passions that corrupt and blind our mind. We might hear the same from the Righteous Judge, who destroys us are unheedingly together with wicked actions and thoughts, that we must empty the external wealth for the needy, so that we may distance from unprofitable concerns, and at the same time Christ promises: “as soon as we leave the [wealth] behind, they will welcome us into the eternal dwellings”.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, we need to purge the wealth that accumulates within the deepest parts of the soul due to its wicked ways, letting it out to the demons that besiege us like hungry dogs. For if there is no profit from this, but later we will incur a loss, then what is the point of the soul’s untimely preoccupation with it?

**164. [Repentance: Transformative Power].** If, to the extent that there is material available, this material fire shows its inherent power, illuminating and warming those who approach it, then how much more would that immaterial and intellectual fire act, if only it receives a small amount of material from us, from our repentance and better ways, be likely to operate effectively. For it swiftly transforms our dead and dark nature into its opposite and will make us alive and radiant. Therefore, if we need such great blessings, we should supply good deeds as fuel from the means available to us, so that the flame of love for humanity may blaze for us and not the flame of punishment.

**165. [Mind’s Contemplation and Prayer: Transformative Power].** Iron, when it comes in contact with fire, turns fiery in color instead of black, and ductile instead of rigid. Yet, when it is removed from the fire for even a short time, it promptly returns to its natural state, as if contentedly. Similarly, the soul, when it is immersed in contemplation and prayer through the intellect, and thus, through these means, merges with the divine fire of deity, if it had harbored any blackness or coldness due to wickedness, it is transformed towards the vital, agile, pure, and white nature of the fire to which it has been connected and becomes wholly god-like, no longer influenced by the previous evils. However, when the soul retreats, just like the iron, and deviates towards the material, it easily reverts to its former state, retaining no trace of the acquired form.

**166. On Love of Power.** I do not know in what manner people, while trying to justify it, fall prey to the passion for power and possess a fiery desire for it. For I would ask them: do they wish to rule over those greater than themselves, or those equal to themselves, or those much weaker and lesser than them? If they wish to rule over those greater, they would seem to be acting in a ludicrous manner as well as risky and detrimental, not realizing that a part, or parts, of something is encompassed within the whole, just as hands or feet are to the body. If they are to rule over equals, having nothing that sets them apart, then by what will they display their superiority and

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<sup>105</sup> Luke 12:20.

<sup>106</sup> Luke 16:9.

hold power? But if it is over the lesser ones, perhaps this is the place where they can feel greater, which would most satisfy this vile desire? Will this [superiority] be based either on spiritual virtues such as moral goodness, knowledge, and prudence, or will it be based on common human [virtues] like bodily strength, wealth, and noble birth? If they pride themselves on the former reasons [sc. spiritual], who would be considered unworthy of the matter? For merely thinking oneself to be something pushes one away from truly being something, and such a person, while esteeming himself as virtuous, will simultaneously carry the stain of vice. But if they think the latter reasons [sc. physical virtues] give them strength for their endeavor, they are deluded by irrational matters, which, in themselves, are nothing, yet they wish to rule over what truly matters. Thus, this cruel beast of love for power, being most irrational and ignoble, filled with every kind of vice, should be banished from gentle souls which truly differ in wisdom, courage, and nobility of customs. For this beast, truly alien to our rational nature, first tormented those who possess it before spreading its disgrace to others.

**167. On Love of Power: Second Part [On True Supremacy and Humility].** Those among humans who prove to be crazy about glory seem to ignore that initially, man [sc. Adam], being first afflicted by this disease and desiring to become like God, fell away from his rightful dignity. For having been placed to rule over other creatures and beasts, he then fell under their domain, to such an extent that he fears and is terrified even by the mere sight of them. Observing these frequent and varied falls, the Word of God, who knew everything even before it came to be, showed [us] an extraordinary and most secure way of supremacy. It is not so that we may simply rule over the lesser creatures if we wish, but also over the far greater, even the most ferocious of beasts, over which we originally had dominion without defiling creation through the hatred of the love of power. He wanted us to judge ourselves as worthy of the highest honor and to consider none lesser than ourselves. For this is achieved more easily and effortlessly by the true and indisputable supremacy over all; and it is evident from those who, having occupied deserts and embraced all dishonor and disgrace, still had persuasive leaders and kings, that would command them. Indeed, they even subjected wild beasts, which is much more paradoxical than this, as if they disregarded nature. Attempting otherwise is to touch upon the primary matters. Christ declares it to be the basis of impiety and a part of barbarian division. Indeed, confirming this opinion with actual deeds, the one who first undertakes it and washes the feet of his disciples, and the one who, being incomparably prior to the angels, serves the needs of those by far inferior to the angels [sc. human].

**168. [Arrogance].** Every type and kind of vice effects some destruction on the soul, inasmuch as they are outside of its nature and lacking any model, unlike virtue. But the evil of arrogance is much more serious and severe, for indeed from the other passions someone comes to the point of choosing evil. Even if for a short time, and especially to a small degree, the pleasure lasts, [there is] enjoyment in the sensation of that which is enjoyed according to desire. But the arrogant person

neither experiences what he desires – for the object of [his] desire does not have substance – nor escapes harming everyone along with himself in the worst ways. Like the greedy, the covetous, the gluttonous, the drunkard, or those entangled in shameful and base pleasures, he gains some immediate pleasure and daringly pursues the pleasure that immediately captivates him. Whatever he dares, he incurs harm to himself. Not always, for he does not always indulge in the passions of the flesh, nor always has control over the right moments and situations to satisfy his own desires, whenever he wishes. Now with desire being filled, now being emptied concerning the more numerous passions and not even all of them, but few and sustaining a small harm, moderation happens to be carried away. But he, holding to this clearly severe passion [sc. arrogance], once he imagines himself above all humans and how different and greater he is from them, is always consumed by such fantasies and thinks everyone is insignificant in relation to all that he knows that embellishes human nature through more divine virtue and knowledge. But thinking himself like a bird that has shed the weight of matter and the bulk of the body and has completely set himself in opposition to the common kind of nature, he roams the air in his mind in a supernatural way. As if from the acropolis of his own opinion, he tyrannizes his own kind and sets up conflicts among people for this evil doctrine. He does wrong to the laws of the Gospel, which advocate humility and moderation. He wrongs mankind, thinking he surpasses everyone. He does wrong to the laws of creation, deceiving himself with empty fantasies. Neither day nor night, neither wakefulness nor sleep, can distract this wretched man from such evil thoughts. But always, in every deed and every moment, he experiences toil and generates lawlessness, causing destruction to his soul and ruin through the poisonous offspring of vipers. The executioner puts down the sword sometimes, the thief regrets his contamination, the winds and the raging sea have calmed the pirates, and the grave robber and traitor, when the day becomes clear, refrained from their actions; but the arrogant man, always making his own madness his home, constantly unleashes the arrows of wickedness. To him, not entirely killing the target, but leaving even a small spark of virtue, seemed like no small virtue. Such a passion must be avoided by every man, especially by the one looking towards punishment and eternal death.

**169. [Arrogance vs. Humility].** When judgment about actions is considered faulty, one knows that everywhere what is done is flawed; just as with poorly positioned eyes, the movements of bodies proceed without stumbling. Especially in the case of the passion of arrogance, one might see this happening, as much as it is more insidious and more malicious than the other passions. For while it is natural for all men to desire for the better, the arrogant one also desires to be better than many and to be more exalted. But before he embarks on the path leading to this, and while excellent actions, gentleness and moderation guide him, he experiences one of two things: either he does not begin to engage with the virtues that are manifest in his character and only pretends to be something, or he starts [to engage with], and, having achieved a little or most of virtue, he not only falls short of the bad, but also often [falls short] of the moderate, and finds this as a

device to make up for his deficiency. Therefore, being deceived by self-satisfaction, he assigns himself the first place and, having trusted in this empty conception of thoughts, does the opposite of the Gospel's precept. For it is necessary to "forget what is behind and stretch out to what is ahead";<sup>107</sup> he, however, forgets what is in front and gives his mind to what is behind and always puts it in front of his eyes. He goes through these even with an addition and, if it happens, becomes a resourceful orator and sophist, as the wretched fellow overcomes himself by rhetoric and is found guilty of all the worst things. Such a path, being most faulty and ending up elsewhere, I do not know how, it leads the arrogant person, who looks up and is elevated, unknowingly to the ultimate precipice of destruction. It would be best and according to purpose first to place some doctrine in the mind and to arrive, if possible, through all the virtues; then to think of oneself as nothing, nor that one has accomplished anything of the good, but even the opposite. Also, to assign oneself the last place, wherever, whenever and with whomever it is needed. Having divided and established the disposition of the soul in this way, and as if an athlete who has gone through such great contests, then one will not out of opinion be above others like the arrogant, but out of truth and humility and magnanimity, appearing not arrogant, but above. The difference between them, although it seems insignificant, is indeed not small.

**170. [Humility: Path to God].** The arrogant man seems not only to wrong men by belittling and mocking them and thinking that everyone is nothing compared to himself, but also God Himself, whose image man both is and is said to be. For if he mocks and insults men, and man was made in the image of God on the first day, then he inevitably insults God, whose image man is, due to his rashness, and brings to Him the ungodly result of his diabolical mindset. Thus, he will not only be condemned like that arrogant and apostate father of arrogance [sc. Satan], but he will suffer even more than him. The latter threatened, "I will set my throne above the clouds and will be like the Highest".<sup>108</sup> But the former dares more boldly and says he will "set his throne" of arrogance even above "the clouds" and will no longer be "similar to the Highest", but much more dissimilar. Thus, this passion seems to be by nature so lofty that it lifts the mind beyond nature and truth. The divine worker must not look to the false height of arrogance and picture himself sitting above everything, but towards the true height of humility, through which he will swiftly ascend to God, according to the nature of birds.

**171. [Humility: Pleasing God].** Two types of people on earth seem to be lying: the humble and the arrogant. The former, by concealing the treasure of virtue and bearing witness against his worst qualities, and in seeking God's mercy alone. The latter, by boasting in a thrilling way about his own achievements through his own tongue and voice, as if with a trumpet, and sometimes even pretending what he neither performed nor contemplated. But the former, who seems to lie,

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<sup>107</sup> Philippians 3:13.

<sup>108</sup> Isaias 14:13-4.

speaks the truth, because he does not deny what he possesses but confesses what he lacks. For the material of virtue, its tools, intention and power – from which he is perfected – are from God, for He says: “what do you have that you did not receive?”.<sup>109</sup> The latter, who appears truthful to many, is in reality a liar, because he does not attribute the cause to the provider of good things [sc. to God] but credits himself as the cause of the deed. In the end, the former receives as a gift the eternal blessings of true denial, while the latter, [receives as a gift] the eternal punishment of his false confession, because he will be condemned as “a liar” together with “the father” of lies, “the Devil”.<sup>110</sup>

**172. [Arrogance and Hypocrisy].** The muddy and undrinkable source of arrogance splits into two streams: One is to live according to the sacred laws and to conform to the divine commandments, to not attempt to retain wealth, and to hide the treasure behind a veil of humility, but to place it prominently for all to see without anyone demanding, and indeed to reject everyone like that Pharisee in the Gospel.<sup>111</sup> The other is to have exerted little or no effort in virtuous deeds and then pretend to have what one does not possess. As Christ saw occurring among those scribes and Pharisees, He severely reproached, saying “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!”, doing this and that.<sup>112</sup> The first is dangerous, elevating himself with his own achievements and considering no one else; the second is far more dangerous and impure, as he assumes the strange masks of the hypocrites and makes God’s justice as a scene of laughter or game. He will pay double the penalties at the time of judgment, both for the vice he committed and the virtue he failed to do, being regarded as sacrilegious and deceiver.

**173. [Arrogance: Multifaceted Harm].** The arrogant man seems to wrong not only other people, but also himself, and even God. He [wrongs] others by considering them of no account in terms of virtue, but as being of the utmost vice and error. He [wrongs] himself by having the potential either to change, if he is evil, his evil ways towards the better, or, if he is good, to be humble and consider humility as the first and last form of virtue. He [wrongs] God, through which he neither deems himself worthy of divine mercy, being unworthy, nor, being worthy, to appease the award-giver through humility, thinking himself deserving of greater honors than the fitting ones. Thus, from every angle, such a person will be proven vain, having earned nothing from his presumptions, except to have a laughable reputation by himself, thinking he is first among others, becoming himself his own judge, his own arbiter, and his most ambitious award-giver.

**174. [Arrogance: A Pitiabale State].** The arrogant man not only fails in the virtues he strives for but also finds punishment in vices that should not suit him. He is thus pitiable from both

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<sup>109</sup> 1 Corinthians 4:7.

<sup>110</sup> Probably reference to Beelzebub, cf. Matthew 12:24, John 8:44.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Luke 18:9–14.

<sup>112</sup> Matthew 23:13.

perspectives because he imagined things that do not exist and lost the things that do. Furthermore, he is even more pitiable because he made himself accountable to the greatest penalties.

**175. [Soul as City: Vigilance vs. Arrogance].** The city, being raised in height and also extended in length and width, requires some guard both at night and during the day against those plotting against her as enemies, lest they sneak in, either at night over the walls, or find the entrance through the gates; and having enslaved [its inhabitants], plunder the treasure within. Likewise, the soul, enclosed in divine deeds and lifted higher than others by the lofty pursuits of contemplation, needs humility and diligence to guard against the thoughts and demons of arrogance battling against it, as they continuously attack in the invisible night of the present life, in the guise of compatriots, for one should be afraid that some evil and impure thoughts might enter and leave her, as if [these thoughts] were her own works and ideas, and cause her to taste the eternal fire.

**176. [Uncontrolled Anger].** The passion of anger, which often arises for valid reasons, is approached by people with great recklessness when expressed freely. For once it is stirred, it does not respond proportionately to the offense, but it goes to extremes. The angry person acts as if he deserves much more to give punishment than to receive it. Often, overheating the heart because of a minor provocation, making the tongue sharp as a knife, and distorting the face along with the eyes, [temper] leads the wretched man to all kinds of unsightly and absurd expressions. Just as when a pot boils over and some burning bubbles spew out, so too from this [anger] insolence, curses, severe blasphemies, and all sorts of verbal outbursts flow chaotically, and the evil advances to physical violence, shooting arrows and drawing weapons; these things, like evil henchmen, eagerly follow the Wicked Commander by necessity. So, someone who often accuses another of an insult, shortly thereafter might be accused of murder, and in trying to correct a minor misstep with anger, falls into a great misfortune himself, turning the anger back onto himself. He both sows the seeds of wrath and reaps them manifold. The one who was a punisher a moment ago becomes the punished one, if not by strict judges, at least by the Judge within nature, which after the deed brings the doer to account. So, one must abstain from all emotions, if possible, but especially anger, as we see it is the cause of many evils.

**177. [Anger and Control].** The passion of anger is more shameless than the other passions of the soul, and it is readier to act. For when someone is concerned about a slight matter that has gone wrong, immediately something like a flame rises within the heart, having an abundance of fuel, both from the outside and from nature within. And it does not regard this as shameful, whereas other [passions / emotions] do. For although often it contains the inner [sense of shame], it does not contain the external in the same way; rather, both modesty and cowardice restrain it. For not the one committing fornication, nor the one getting drunk, nor the one seizing or plundering what belongs to others, rushes so unashamedly to action, as does the one who is angry. So, it seems that only this passion is free and not restrained by anything external but lies within



our own will to be restrained before it starts. Therefore, always and in all things, we should not easily be provoked to anger by things that happen against our judgment or by those who deliberately irritate us, but for the reasons that the passion of anger has been given to us by nature, in order that we might be moved towards things that should be done and [that we might] be provoked against things that should not be done, silently being repelled by these things but not being disturbed, and correcting greater disorder with a lesser disorder. In general, we should be angry and wholly delight anger only against wickedness. For even Christ commands our anger to be only against the serpent.

**178. [The Futility of Justified Anger].** Nothing is just for anger that has taken a reasonable beginning, even if either, out of necessity, one becomes angry at an injustice done to his property, or if he has been insulted, or deprived of some honor, or in some way slighted. These [things], when they occur, seem to be reasonable [provocations] to anger; yet even so, the appetitive and pleasure-loving disposition is not left behind. In other respects, if it proceeded in moderation, perhaps there could be some excuse for the one defending oneself fairly; but since it is carried into many absurdities from the mentioned just movement, it generates irrational angers and madness, instigates conflicts, and triggers wars, it also causes regret afterward. One should refrain from both the irrational and the rational [provocations], so that, when one is calm, three things might occur: the beneficial, the safe, and before these, that which is useful for the soul. But allow me to say that if from the involuntary reception of painful things, one masters the voluntary part, he will craft the perfect statue of virtue.

**179. [Reason's Rule over Anger].** The part of the soul according to anger [sc. the spirited part] has necessarily been implanted in the nature of the animal by God, who arranged everything with reason. For just as the animal cannot move without spirit, so too it does not show movement according to its multifaceted activities without the spirited spirit. The anger is like a soldier directed by a general; wherever he commands, the soldier goes or has a public official as a judge, who commands him to complete what seems just according to the laws. As long as anger is subjected, it acts according to reason; but acting on its own, he is carried away mindless, mad, and hostile to nature. It often, instead of a large number of enemies, kills its possessor. Therefore, reason must always be set as its tutor, checking its arrogant and bold impulse. Perhaps nature, for this reason, placed it between reason and desire, so that now it is regulated and tutored by the former, and now it is tamed and charmed by the latter. But if it seems hard and impossible to some to restrain anger, the heart is its place of guard, inasmuch as it is quickly inflamed by innate fire towards excitement and courage. But first, we have as aid against these [things] the construction poured around the lung, being soft and bloodless, and through its spongy-like and tubular pores drawing breath and moisture to the heart and giving some relief to the flame of anger, so that we may wish to calm down quickly. Yet also, the idea of eternal fire and Tartarus can most powerfully now through similarities, now through opposites, extinguish the flame of anger and make us

gentler. Hence, through so many aids, being helped by nature, guided by the breath, and strengthened by the power of reason, we should not be disturbed by irrational passions.

**180. [Reason's Rule over Anger].** Anger seems similar to a young man in the prime of his youth, full of strength and easily inclined to everything, yet nevertheless somewhat in the middle, like a father and mother, obviously of reason and desire. If they guide him on both sides in accordance with the temperance of his parents, just as their nature places them in a position relative to him, this young man commits nothing base, and acts neither shamelessly nor recklessly. But if they carelessly nourish and bring him up, indulging and giving in to whatever he wants, he becomes completely rebellious against both his father and mother. Lawlessness seems like law to him – licentiousness [appears] as temperance, and intemperance as self-control –, who is eager to waste all the treasures of his soul on vain things. Those honored by reason should not so ignobly and unfreely serve the irrational [things]. But if we do not falsely bear our name [sc. rational animals], and we want to live according to our name, and to exercise the leadership given to man according to that name, then in this way, even this terrible beast [sc. anger] would be subjected and serve us, no less than the animals given for our service, our slaves.

**181. [Reason's Rule over Anger and Desire].** When anger is accustomed to flaring up against painful events due to the frustration of desires, it does not pay heed to any governing principle. It rebels like a miserable slave against its own lord [sc. reason], turning everything upside down in disarray, and causing many troubles for him, then, like a runaway, retreats after doing wrong. It immediately withdraws, desiring tranquility and leaves the wretched lord alone amidst the dangers. The lord [sc. reason], left alone like an athlete in a contest or a general in war with all others having fled, relies solely on himself, elaborates every plan and searches for all kinds of strategies to properly address the misconduct of the bad servant and to prevail over those who accuse him because of that servant's recklessness, lest, as often happens, he himself face trial for deeds he either did not or barely recognize to have committed. The same happens concerning passions driven by desire. If, from the start, he [sc. lord-reason] would immediately consider avoiding the assaults of both [sc. anger and desire] and stand firm, unyieldingly and unrelentingly, censuring with all the strictness these irrational passions, he would never be dragged into any court, nor would he suffer any harm because of them. He will remain, as if in calm and imperturbability, in impassivity, and will maintain undisputed the power of his ruling principle.

**182. [Love as Best Defence].** If, in defense against the one who has insulted us or because we lose something we need, out of necessity we become angry and wrathful; but anger is irrational, a result of a passionate soul, distorting the opinion of the reasonable [man], and is a threat to the rational essence and to the dignity inherent in Man from the beginning. On the contrary, we must forget rather than wishing to continue, by adding insult to insult and injury to injury, the greater to the lesser and the shameful to the inferior. It would therefore be best and highly beneficial, a sign of a prudent soul, if we accept what comes from the outside and owe gratitude to those who

wrong us; for through them we gain three things: to be known as magnanimous among men, to be unaffected by our enemies in matters concerning us, and to be educators of the uneducated in what is proper. These are the greatest injuries and insults to those plotting against us when the action is turned against them. Therefore, Christ rightly says to “love” those who hate us, “pray for those”<sup>113</sup> who insult us, and bless those who curse us.

**183. Concerning the Mind’s Distraction.** The mind, frequently turning to the images of passions and affairs and, as if lingering on them, makes itself directly an idol temple of various all kind of demons, to which the Hellenes worshipped. They named the overseer of anger, wrath, and discord as Ares, the one of intercourse and licentiousness as Aphrodite, the one of choral dance and music as Terpsichore, Demeter as the one concerned with agriculture, fruits, and seeds, Artemis as the one presiding over archery, Hephaestus as the head of every craft worked through fire, and many other frivolous names for various passions and practices. Why so many? Although we regard these fortunate ones and gods as worthy of disdain and we even spit upon them, we are still held by their passions and desires. If not, why was it said by God to the Israelites through Moses, “You shall not make any graven image”?<sup>114</sup> Indeed, it is like if we stand nobly against passions and overcome them with might, we receive no less than the witnesses who opposed deceit with blood and death. In the same way, if we yield to these [passions] according to the coincidences of affairs, we are considered the sole worshippers of idols. Therefore, we must guard this holy temple from every detestable thing, both deed and thought, if we are to be and to be called, according to the Apostle, “the temple of God”.<sup>115</sup>

**184. [Concerning the Mind’s Distraction: Words and Thoughts].** “This people honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me”,<sup>116</sup> God somewhere says about those who do not prove their words in deeds at all. This is even more applicable to those who verbally express divine matters, but their minds are caught up in vain and trivial thoughts and affairs. Their punishment will likely be greater than the former’s; for the former might have been oppressed by more intense emotions or natural necessity and might have an excuse for their words. But what excuse can there be for the latter, who could easily align their mind with their words, and yet neglect it out of carelessness and laxity? For those who converse with God in such a manner do not seem to do so with a rational and intellectual soul, but rather with one that is irrational, insignificant, and in a sense mad. Such individuals seem to me, like Cain, to reserve the better part of their nature – I mean their mind – for themselves and their passionate desires, while what is inferior and undisciplined in them – specifically their tongue and the noise it makes –, they

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<sup>113</sup> Matthew 5:43–45.

<sup>114</sup> For example, Exodus 12:16, Leviticus 23:7–8.

<sup>115</sup> For example, 1 Corinthians 3:16, 2 Corinthians 6:16.

<sup>116</sup> Matthew 15:8.

offer to God. Those who [wish] to avoid such an outcome must diligently flee from these beginnings.

**185. [Mind as the Sun: Light and Darkness].** Just as when the sun rises it illuminates both the entire air and the earth's creation with its light, but when it sets, darkness and invisibility envelop all; similarly, in matters concerning the soul: as long as our mind remains elevated and unentangled with material and earthly affairs, it sheds a great light on the state of the soul and even on our weary body. But when the winged [mind] is drawn down from its heights and is dragged towards these earthly concerns, our inner state becomes devoid of light, and we can neither discern from where we have come nor where we are headed.

**186. [Divine Observation of Human Mind].** When the Divine Mind approaches us without being seen, He keenly observes whether our mind moves towards the worse or the better. For if nothing of our actions escapes the created substances of the immaterial powers [sc. angels], since they stand beside each one of us as overseers and guardians, meticulously and carefully recording every movement of our soul and body towards worse or better, how could it be possible for the Word of God, who resides in all and is present everywhere as if "in a single body", to miss anything that happens?<sup>117</sup> If we did not cover the intellectual spark with the material of the body, we might soon perceive the intelligible as we do the sensible. Paul, the most transcendent of all, indicating this, says that "we, in part" in the present time, know and prophesy due to the bond of the soul to the body.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, as God is always present with each one, seeing and examining everything, let us train our minds to think and reflect upon all that is godly. For we will need neither place nor time, nor effort to divert it from indecent and inappropriate thoughts about matters to the very best and salvific ones, but with mere will, it will easily attend to the necessities, serving them.

**187. [Cloudy Mind: Hindrance to God's Guidance].** The transparency of the air, purity, and softness, becomes thickened and obscured by the vapors that rise from the earth and the water. Some of these vapors are drier and more scorching, while others are wetter and colder. From these arise the phenomena that we observe in the atmosphere: lightning, thunder, storms, whirlwinds, and other forms of thunderbolt, as well as rain, hail, and snow. These phenomena often overshadow the sun's light, plunging the surroundings into darkness even in broad daylight. Similarly, the transparency of the soul, that is, the divine intellect that is truly desired, becomes clouded and fogged by earthly concerns and the moist, dispersed, and smoky instability and turmoil of the present. From these arise the passions of the soul. These passions do not allow the "sun of justice" [sc. the divine mind] to shine upon it [sc. human mind] through the activity of the spirit, nor do they let it cast the rays of knowledge upon the soul to guide it where it should go.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Romans 12:4, Ephesians 2:16, Colossians 3:15.

<sup>118</sup> 2 Corinthians 1:14.

<sup>119</sup> Malachias 3:20.

Consequently, the soul, not receiving knowledge of good and evil either from its inherent power or from the divine, remains in profound darkness and impossibility to see. It is thus betrothed to eternal darkness due to its current delusion and ignorance.

**188. [Deification of the Mind as Immaterial Heavenly Life: Study and Prayer vs. Storms].**

The constant wavering and shifting of the mind resemble the motion of a ship without anchors or a helmsman, which allows itself to be carried by every wind and the waves of the streams. However, he who does not want the vessel of the soul to crash against the shores of sin, or to sink into the abyss of destruction, or to be offered to the demon-pirates for obliteration, should appoint, as ruler of the mind, God and the study of divine sayings with intellectual prayer, which, holding Him like a bridle, will restrain the disorderly and dangerous wanderings [of the mind] and guide it only towards godly thoughts; in this way, one might live with a body, as if in heaven, among the people, and being material, as if found immaterial, and either preserve the divine dignity to oneself or restore it.

**189. [The Divine and Immaterial Mind: Study and Prayer vs. Distractions].** It seems strange to me that the eye of the body, often slipping here and there, can see nothing of the sensible things, whereas the eye of the soul, which is the divine and immaterial mind, when it undergoes the same while studying the divine hymns and words, thinks it knows whatever it prays for and whatever it asks from God. For it does not act differently than if someone, in the spectacle of music, having tuned the string, will then entrust the harmony only to the plectrum and the chord,<sup>120</sup> and with them perhaps to his hands, and takes the one that knows the music, i.e., the mind, by which the parts are skillfully joined, somewhere far away. And no one would dare, in the presence of a king, to go through the disgraceful acts in the marketplace and the harbors and then move on from there to the absurdities of craftsmen and merchants; but if someone would dare to do something like this, he would certainly dare to do something unworthy of royal majesty and dignity. But in the case of God, how would we allow this? Or how would it be risk-free for anyone, and in any case how would it not be strange? One would never accept the eye of the body to see disgraceful and unpleasant things, and if it were caught up, it would quickly turn away from them. But the eye of the soul, when tainted by the filth of absurd things and becoming an image to the evil forms, tolerates being involved in such matters. Therefore, at all times we must keep the mind untainted, especially when we study the divine sayings, if indeed we hope for God to have mercy on us.

**190. [Fiery Deification: Human Mind as Another God].** Just as with fire, which turns the materials combined with it into itself and makes another fire by participation, and they act according to the nature of fire; in the same way, the human mind, constantly communicating with God and receiving godly thoughts from Him, departs from itself, and neither acts nor suffers as a

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<sup>120</sup> Understand here “chord” as the material of which the “string” is made.

human being. Being shaped by that divine and all-powerful nature, it has the power and does everything, and sees the future as if it were the present, undertakes the impossible as if it were possible, and does whatever it wishes by authority. It commands, just as Peter did to Ananias and Sapphira,<sup>121</sup> or to the magician Simon,<sup>122</sup> or how many others he did good or ill with, not by human power. Therefore, it [sc. the mind] is considered by those around it as another God, performing signs and wonders in a material body. On the contrary, someone like that suffers and commits the worst acts, if he turns away from God and associates with a wicked power and delusion, because he becomes a maker of unspeakable things and seems to work wonders according to the demons, deceiving in the same way he is deceived, and, in the end, he becomes the work of the eternal fire.

**191. [True Worship: Words and Actions].** “God is Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth”, says the Divine.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, anyone who thinks they do this merely with the movement of their tongue and the clap of air, and neither has deeds harmoniously accompanying, nor a mind in accord with what is said, either suffers from ignorance regarding the good, or from malevolence and hypocrisy. For sure, the ancient law prohibited offering “the lame, the sick, and the blind [animals] as sacrifices”;<sup>124</sup> yet he himself unknowingly offers such things to the Judge, who cannot be deceived in such matters. But if one is about to praise God spiritually according to the law with bloodless sacrifices,<sup>125</sup> one must offer a purified mind to God “as a sacrifice”, and a reverent tongue, and the best actions as witnesses of such things. For whoever attempts to appease and please God without one of these, offers a mutilated sacrifice and will be deemed unacceptable to Him.

**192. [Communication with God: Words and Actions].** It is far better to commune with God in ineffable ways and, like Moses, to hear “why do you cry out to me?”<sup>126</sup> than with a tongue entirely discordant with the rational power of the soul. Indeed, when conversing with humans, we need words to convey what we desire; but with God, why would we need this? If it were not necessary to praise God through every part and limb, and to leave nothing idle in the worship of the Creator of everything, then verbal usage would be superfluous, with Him being invisibly present to us in thought. Because of this, we should first and foremost take care of our mind; with it being purely directed towards God, all good things come to us from there – sound wisdom, precise discernment, forgiveness of old debts. Moreover, there is assurance for our subsequent life and, in addition, a firm hope for the future; here, we all are destined to rest, either obtaining

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<sup>121</sup> Acts 5:1–11.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Acts 8:9–24.

<sup>123</sup> Jesus in John 4:24.

<sup>124</sup> Malachi 1:8.

<sup>125</sup> One can read in the margin of the manuscript: “sacrifice to God is the spirit that has been afflicted”.

<sup>126</sup> Exodus 14:15.

punishment or reprieve, as the judgment of the impartial Judge will dispense to each one according to their worth.

**193. [Soul vs. Body].** Those who devote their entire intellect and all their entertainment of the thoughts to worldly friendship and the desires of the body always seem to do nothing else but to consider the soul to have been created as an instrument for the body by the Creator, and the body as the craftsman and lord of the soul,<sup>127</sup> and that it was planted in the body for this very purpose – not so that it might control the body and lead it with authority wherever it [sc. the soul] wanted, but rather, on the contrary, so that it serves the body as slaves do. Such people seem to me to make the chariot the lord of the charioteer, and the charioteer the slave of the chariot. What could be more unjust or impious than this? For they oppose the Creator of everything and reverse the order and worth of things to the contrary of both nature and divine will. This is also what the divine Apostle, having observed, said: “Do not be preoccupied with the flesh leading to desires”.<sup>128</sup>

**194. [Five Territories of the Mind].** There are five territories that are natural and necessary for the mind, in which it ought to spend its time.

1. First, the inquiry based on the study of the theological aspect, according to which, having rigorously trained in the precision of the doctrines, one might come to understand, and from there, be able to precisely respond to those who mishandle divine matters.
2. Second, the examination of the nature of created things; by examining their principles and causes, one will arrive at an understanding of their creative power and will highly regard the wisdom, potency, goodness, and providential nature of the highest nature.
3. Third, the precise understanding of the soul’s powers; here, the moral aspect of the soul is purified with knowledge according to the commandments of Christ, with correct reason first driving out passions as if with a whip.
4. Fourth, the continuous and unceasing prayer in accordance with the intellectual aspect of the soul, accompanied by its partner, sobriety. Through these, the land of the heart, free from every passion and every shameful imagination, remaining uncontaminated, is only united with the impassible and pure God. From Him, it receives god-like illuminations and is initiated into the ineffable mysteries, “according to man who was caught up to the third heaven”<sup>129</sup> and heard inexpressible words.
5. Fifth and last, the power that governs the living creature in nature, [a power] which turns only towards the necessities and solely to what sustains its constitution.

By dwelling in such places, the mind will certainly perfect the purifying and theurgical virtues, and either maintain or restore the likeness of oneself to God. If the mind were to stray from these [places], leaning either to the right or the left, abandoning the middle and royal path, it would

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1161a.34.

<sup>128</sup> Romans 13:14.

<sup>129</sup> 2 Corinthians 12:2.

certainly find himself in error and in an unforeseen wander. It must quickly redirect itself with prudent thought back to familiar refuges, lest, straying too far from its own land, it becomes a gift for spirits and passions and appears as a slave and captive rather than free.

**195. On Spiritual Leadership.** Just as fire, alone among the other elements, is upward-tending, light, subtle, pure, illuminating, burning, transmitting its own nature, and not partaking in any way of other bodies, starting from a small point and stretching out in breadth and length, encompassing all that the creative Word designed for perception and beyond perception; and to say in general, resembling an incorporeal and divine nature, by which it exists and by which it acts. In the same way, it is fitting that any person, whoever is placed under care, should be prepared; especially according to this spiritual and more divine principle [sc. fire], so that, striving as much as possible towards that nature, even though he was born below, he might nevertheless place his citizenship above with God and angels, having been relieved of all material weight. As much as luxury, ease, and false acquisition transform the soul into flesh and burden it, so much [one should be] turned away from the body, as not to harm its bond with it. He should always move inward with virtuous activities, purifying and refining his intellect, thought and every other power of the soul. Being thus, he becomes in participation of divine light, and proportionally imparts his brightness to those who begin, transforming what is unseen and dark in them towards himself and changing it; and, indeed, he seems to burn in the same way as the sharpness of the Word, so that, if there were sons of darkness and inhabitants of Hades, all the matter of vice would become easily inflammable and withering for them, like fire, consuming the pollutants of wickedness, if they wished. Or, if they were not convinced of this, he would drive away the sons of daylight, as if removing darkness from the light, not sharing the same disgrace with the healthy ones, lest they multiply evil. Indeed, just as fire, earth, water, and air are immersed and transformed according to that [principle], they still retain their own nature in common with it, and it does not become these things. In this manner, it is fitting for the teacher to transmit the rays of his own virtue to others, making them temperate and just through the spiritual warmth and closeness. Yet, he should not partake in their manner nor align himself with those who are otherwise than the thought and choice he himself possesses. And whenever he directs his mind to any of the sensible [things], [observing] how each occurs, from there he, as if ignited by some material, elevates the humble and lowly matters towards the reasons of spiritual contemplation with upward thoughts, and manifesting them as fiery and luminous. And to speak more generally, this person must be entirely divine; rather, he must be seen as an embodied God among humans, presenting an image of every virtue to those under his care, while giving no cause for stumbling in any vice. Thus, he [exercises] spiritual leadership through both brief lines and colors.

**196. [Mercy].** If there is anything else dear to God and has been called by its very name, it is the matter of mercy; for He is called “merciful and compassionate, long-suffering, full of mercy,



good”,<sup>130</sup> gentle, and long-suffering, and, to put it simply, from this aspect, the Scripture attributes to Him most of these titles. Even if these names seem to differ, they all pertain to the singular matter of mercy; and nothing that has happened, is happening, or will happen is done by God without the manner of mercy. Even if He is called just, God and Creator, even here, mercy is inherent to these descriptions; for mercy brought the world from nonexistence, mercy foresees and sustains, mercy collectively and individually transforms from corruption to immortality. Mercy judges all men, mercy condemns, and mercy will justify. For “if you, Lord, should mark iniquities, who could stand?”.<sup>131</sup> And He asks for mercy from us, not sacrifice. And on the day of retribution, He asks us if we showed mercy to our kin, but also to the one wishing to become perfect in virtue and to have a treasure in heaven, He says, “sell your possessions and give to the poor”.<sup>132</sup> Thus, if showing mercy is so great and honorable, not showing mercy would be base and ignoble. To both do wrong and to seize others’ property is most base and most ignoble, and it secures for eternal punishment.

**197. [Mercy: The Creator’s Dignity].** Also, all virtues deify man, as much as it is possible for him to partake of them; but mercy also bestows upon its performer the Creator’s dignity. For God, bringing forth man and the rest of creation out of non-existence, is and is called a Creator. But the merciful person, when someone is in danger of non-existence due to poverty, through mercy<sup>133</sup> returns him to existence, and grants him either the necessity of living well, or at the very least, simple existence, standing against his poverty. Therefore, if for no other reason, but at least because it makes us creators and bestows upon us God’s dignity, we must reverence mercy, lest, being deprived of such a dignity through lack of mercy, we fall away from the set struggles and fall into the punishment of the rich man, asking for a drop of mercy and not even being deemed worthy of this from the one who judges our actions justly. For as we judge, so shall we be judged.

**198. [Mercy and Justice: Our Debt to Christ].** Mercy, when set against injustice, possesses a certain middle disposition which is neither one nor the other. It is neither perceived as virtue in an immediate sense, nor as vice because it neither shows mercy nor does injustice. However, this is not entirely accurate if one were to judge piously. For if we were bought with the price of blood, that of Him who willingly suffered death for our sake, then we owe Him the same sufferings, to the extent that we should offer on His behalf both body and soul in accordance with the Word of the Just One. And if this is the case, much more should we offer our lesser possessions and affairs. Furthermore, since we were created, it is necessary for us to recreate, in a way that is possible for us, not out of non-being but out of being, not with things we brought into life but with what God has given and always gives, because He loves humanity. This would happen if we were to share

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<sup>130</sup> Psalms 144:8.

<sup>131</sup> Psalms 129:3.

<sup>132</sup> Matthew 19:21.

<sup>133</sup> Note that “mercy” includes the notion of “almsgiving”.

with those in need; for He identifies with them, because He is good, having taken on our flesh and accepting to be called our brother, and whatever we do for the poor is done for Him. Therefore, just as we were created, we should also recreate; and as slaves bought not with gold but with the price of blood, we should do everything for the pleasure of the Lord. Whatever He values above all, we should also earnestly wish to pursue in every way, showing mercy to the poor freely and without seeking glory.

**199. [Mercy and Charity: Abundant Returns].** Those laboring with agricultural toils hope that in the following year they will retrieve the seeds sown with some increase, and they sow them into the furrows of the earth. Sometimes, they reap only a small profit, not obtaining what they hoped for, and at other times, even suffering a loss of their capital, they gain nothing. Yet those who invest their wealth into the furrows of the needy undoubtedly reap these [investments], not just once or to the same extent, but always and countless times more abundantly from the promised land of the just people. Thus, it would be the utmost injustice and foolishness if we eagerly scatter [seeds] where there is either no return or a scanty one expected, especially when no one guarantees this or promises a return; whereas, when such blessings are presented to us for showing mercy, and God Himself faithfully becomes our guarantor, urges us to act and promises us the most honorable recompense, we are not so much eager, but we delay, hesitate and seem to doubt. For if in natural matters the sown seeds, even if they decay and perish, still sprout, and grow and yield more than what was initially given, will not those fallen into that land – or rather into God’s hands through the poor – do much more exceedingly? How could we be considered faithful if we value this visible and perishable earth more than that immortal one, and even let me say, God Himself, lest I seem more burdensome than necessary?

**200. [Mercy: The Marvellous Cycle and Reward].** The way of mercy has a certain marvelous origin in relation to its kindred virtues, and marvelous is its reward. Just as clouds form from the waters drawn up from the sea or from vapors rising from the earth, and it may seem that these elements are immediately taken away from their source, but they soon return with a roar, making everything on earth shine and become fertile; in the same way, mercy operates, ascending to God from the merciful person through the poor one, it then returns to the one who sent it [sc. the merciful person] and forms a wonderful cycle. However, the return to the giver is not merely equivalent to what was given up, just as it happens in that natural sequence of the element, but it is much more abundant and lasting. Indicating this, Christ Himself says in the Gospels, “You will receive a hundredfold and inherit eternal life”.<sup>134</sup> May this also be our end when we pass from here, “through deep mercy” and compassion of Christ, the true “God”,<sup>135</sup> who, by the good will

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<sup>134</sup> Matthew 19:29.

<sup>135</sup> Jeremiah 28:13 and Luke 1:78.

of the Father and the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, took on our poverty,<sup>136</sup> so that we might be enriched by His divinity for eternity. Amen.

**End of the 200 Chapters.**

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<sup>136</sup> Cf. 2 Corinthians 8:9.