Neapolis University

HEPHAESTUS Repository **http://hephaestus.nup.ac.cy**

School of Architecture, Land and Environmental Sciences Book chapters

1997

Literary and Intellectual Life in Byzantine Thessaloniki, Queen of the Worthy Thessaloniki. History and Culture, vol. II

Katsaros, Vasilis

http://hdl.handle.net/11728/7350

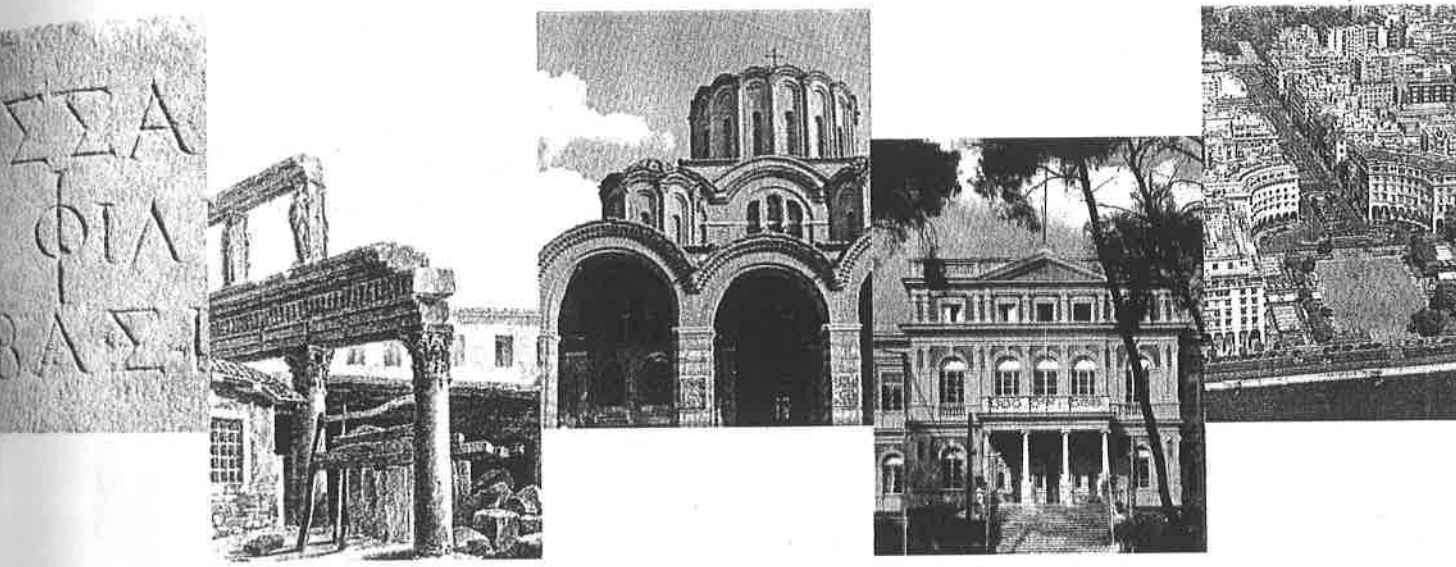
Downloaded from HEPHAESTUS Repository, Neapolis University institutional repository

QUEEN OF THE WORTHY

Thessaloniki

HISTORY AND CULTURE

VOLUME II



Edited by I. K. Hassiotis

Thessaloniki
CULTURAL CAPITAL OF EUROPE 1997

paratiritis

Neapolis University

HEPHAESTUS Repository **http://hephaestus.nup.ac.cy**

School of Architecture, Land and Environmental Sciences Book chapters

1997

Literary and Intellectual Life in Byzantine Thessaloniki, Queen of the Worthy Thessaloniki. History and Culture, vol. II

Katsaros, Vasilis

http://hdl.handle.net/11728/7350

Downloaded from HEPHAESTUS Repository, Neapolis University institutional repository

LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN BYZANTINE THESSALONIKI

Vassilis Katsaros

17 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews:

2And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scriptures,

3opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.

4And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.

5But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people.

6And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;

7Whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus.

8 And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they had heard these things.

9And when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they let them go.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, 17, 1-9

An important place in early Christian Thessaloniki's literary production is occupied by the Books of the Martyrdom of the city's patron Saint Demetrios (here in a frescoe by Panselinos in the Protaton of Mt Athos).

This passage from the Acts of the Apostles shows how, in the very first years of the Christian era, the city received the message which was to become the predominant doctrine in its intellectual and spiritual life, and how this new element came into conflict with a complex society with quite distinct ideologies: on the one hand, the Greek community[1] with its classical traditions[2], and on the other the Hellenised Jewish community, which appeared to have hidden sources of power in the city[3]. From the combined forces of these two groups would spring the new ideology which would eventually

predominate. Thessaloniki had active synagogues throughout the Byzantine period. One of these, judging by a bilingual (Greek and Samaritan)[4] inscription found near the Panaghia Chalkeon church, was in the heart of a Jewish neighbourhood[5]; there was another near the Hippodrome[6], and other in various parts of the city[7]. Besides these inscriptions, there is other evidence of the presence of a Jewish community in Thessaloniki, including references in later books of the lives of the saints[8]. Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1159) mentions 500 Jews, under the leadership of their scholarly Rabbi, Samuel[9]. Eustathios speaks of their great numbers throughout the city[10], which facilitated the installation first of the Romaniote Jews and later of the Ashkenazim (1376) and the Sephardim (1391)[11]. These are all indications that, despite their adherence to their manners and customs, they co-existed peacefully with the Greeks and the Christians in Thessaloniki.

Given a social structure where different cultural elements shifted position within the landscape of the intellectual life of the city, one should remember that by focusing on a single figure in the city one may well, frequently unwittingly, cause others to recede or be overshadowed, or obliterate some of the concentric circles that surround the city and work in synergy towards the integral creation of its intellectual life, which is in any case predetermined by its geohistory. It is thus equally important, for example, to weigh both the city's Hellenistic tradition as well as the subsequent evolution of this tradition in the Roman period, when Thessaloniki acquired the splendour of a prominent Roman centre with a flourishing cultural life[12]. A major administrative and commercial centre like Thessaloniki displays the continuity of its basic culture-producing mechanisms; in other words, it reveals that it has long had both emitters of cultural signals, on the one hand, and at the same time receivers participating in the cultural life of the city on the other. Creators (artists and men of letters) and intellectuals contributed to the elevation of its cultural level. The evidence of this vital reality is found in the monuments expressive of this structure and its evolution[13].

Of literary monuments from the early period of Byzantine letters in Thessaloniki, written texts forming part either of the general canon or of the upper echelons of literary production, we unfortunately have none. What we do have are indications that literary inquiry never ceased its activity, whether as a continuum of classical tradition, or as a remodelling of the content of its messages from the world of Christianity which seems to have engaged, as a new ideology, the youthful society of the city. Youth organisations, «so common in the Hellenistic and Roman ages»[14], still constituted, for the world of ideas and inquiry, for the development of philosophical discourse in the city, the epicentre of intellectual fermentations at the dawn of the new age in which the Roman face of the city was being transformed, as is attested by the account of the «long martyrdom»[15] of Saint Demetrios: «for this reason many of the host of Greeks who came and assembled in the great gallery in the western part of the city, called the coppersmiths gallery, were accustomed to meet in the underground vaults near the public baths»[16].

The *early Christian cycle*[17] which eventually imposed the spirit of Christian ideology on the traditional multi-faceted cultural life of the city included the underground current which created the environment for a literary production of the type of the *Books of Martyrs and the Lives of the Saints*, for the city produced numerous saints. A very special place is occupied by the «Martyrdom of Saints Agape, Irene and Chionia»[18], a text which

attests both to the existence and circulation of books as tools for the spiritual development of the city's youth, as is also evident in the local martyrology of the city, the archetypal ancient text of the «Martyrdom of Saint Demetrios»[19], which for centuries constituted the nucleus of Demetrian hagiological tradition.

The early Christian cycle also includes the first *Christian inscriptions*[20], which constitute a far from negligible chapter of the literary history of the city, not only because they reflect its social and intellectual level, but also because certain of their texts are metrical literary compositions, a continuation of classical poetical tradition which flourished in this particular form of letters in Thessaloniki and which a number of later poets strove to keep alive.

The social problems of the city were a source of inspiration for poets living far away but who kept a finger on its pulse. In his «Iambics addressed to Seleucus», Amphilochios of Iconium[21] described the horror and distress inflicted on the population of Thessaloniki by the central authorities who sowed such terror with the massacre of people in the Hippodrome in August of the year 390[22]. While no local voice was raised in protest against this tragic event, there was another current which influenced the intellectual and social life of Thessaloniki from the end of the 5th century on, and which was to play an active role in the daily life of its people, and that was *monasticism*. The socially compassionate initiatives of the monks, more closely attuned to the everyday problems of the people, made possible the creation of a climate of harmonious co-existence in the long history of the city (a splendid example is the Latomos Monastery, with the restless figure of its blessed founder, Hosios David)[23], and this spirit of harmony is imprinted both in the tradition of panegyrics[24] of which he was the subject as well as in the distillation of the level of education in the unique mosaic in the katholikon of the monastery[25].

Such a level of culture, radiating from the periphery towards the centre, existed in Thessaloniki during the reign of Justinian, when it sent to the Imperial capital the first scholar to devote himself to the service of Byzantine historiography, Petros Patrikios Magistros[26]. The continuity of the spirit of Hellenism, which pervades the faces of the martyrs in the mosaics in the Rotunda, or the similar figures portrayed in the church of Saint Demetrios, drew to a finish as far as the intellectual life of Thessaloniki was concerned with the close of the reign of Justinian, which more or less marked the end of the early Christian period. It is not fortuitous that during this period the life of the city developed the antibodies of its own defence and constituted its own expression focusing on the veneration of Saint Demetrios, the patron saint of the city and its protector in all the difficult moments of history that were yet to come.

The connection with the Demetrian *cycle* of literary production (rhetoric, chronicles, hymnography)[27] and its devotion to the classical style which is reflected in the early mosaics in the basilica of Saint Demetrios, is evident much later in the elegant inscriptions accompanying the portraits:

> *«Here you see the builders*
> *of this glorious House, on both sides*
> *of the martyred Demetrios,*
> *who with barbarous storm drove*
> *away the barbarian fleet and saved*
> *the city»*[28].

The texts of these perfect epigrams, with their concision of expression,

> *«Blessed martyr of Christ, friend*
> *of this city, protector alike*
> *of citizen and stranger*[29]*»,*

and their thematic consonance with the encoded portraits,

Saint Demetrios constituted for centuries the nucleus of Thessaloniki's hagiological tradition. The Saint's figure is also portrayed in various mosaics, created in Thessaloniki's artistic workshops, such as this portable icon of XII cent., kept in Xenophontos Monastery of Mt. Athos.

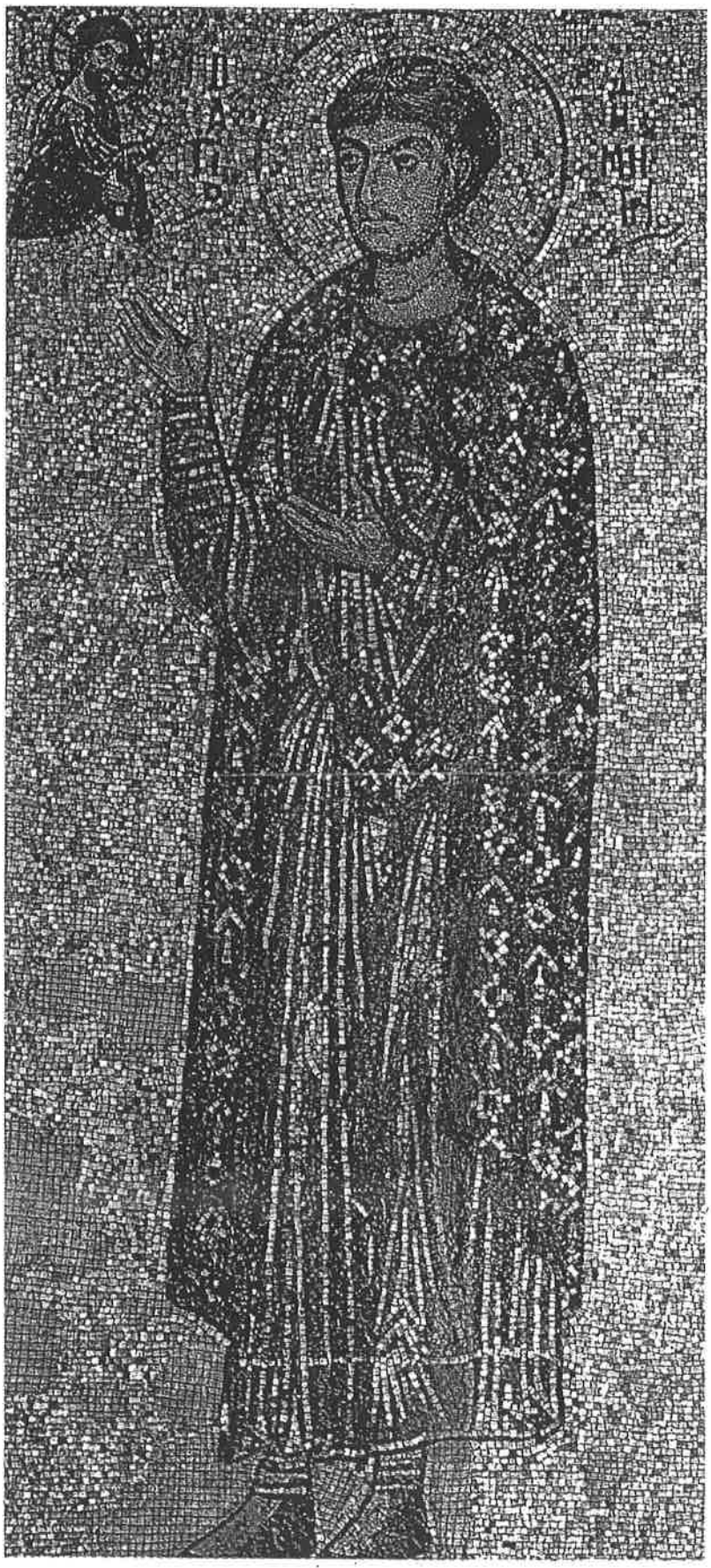
«Behold[30] in the youth of Leon
the fire-consumed temple before
that of Demetrios»,

are paradigms of a literary production at the same time revelatory of the climate which created and elevated Demetrian written expression. But the text in the Latomos Monastery also reveals this inclination to highly skilled, esoteric literacy:

«+ All-embracing source of life,
food for the souls of the faithful,
this most estimable house»[31].

The trend associated with early hymnography created a continuum also related to tradition still cultivated in the art of the inscription in Thessaloniki, and which was still vital late in the 7th century. Who can have been the scholarly poet behind these elegant inscriptions? It may have been one of the learned bishops of that age, perhaps one of those who conceived and created works of art. It was the ranks of the learned bishops that produced the rhetorical literature dedicated to Saint Demetrios[32]. On the basis of the common archetypal text of the Martyrdom, which may be attributed to the 5th century, we have two other versions of the Martyrdom, which developed possibly as early as the 6th century and through the 7th century, one more concise and the other a more extensive treatment[33]. These are the sources for subsequent texts on the Martyrdom of the Saint, including the compendium produced by the Patriarch Photios in the 9th century[34].

The veneration of Saint Demetrios, the celebration of his memory and the response of the masses which flocked to take part in these manifestations, fostered the ecclesiastical rhetoric (homilies and panegyrics) which diverted classical forms of expression into products of a theological nature, with the bishops of Thessaloniki and the clergy of the church of Saint Demetrios here leading



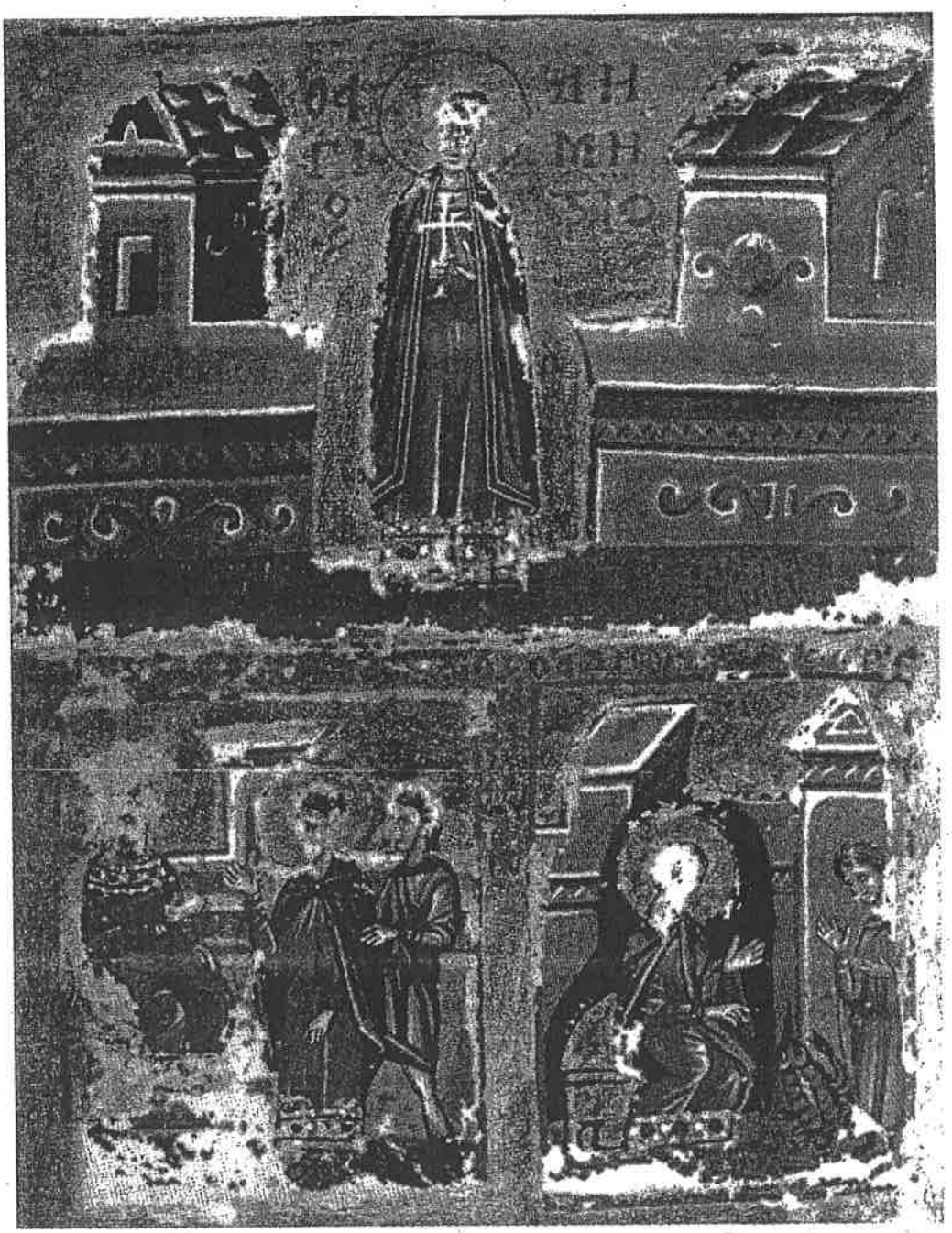
the way. One of the most outstanding of these figures was Archbishop John, who flourished in the period 610-630[35]. Of his work we have only a few of his religious homilies, dedicated to the principal figures of the Christian faith and to the major feast days of the church year. Those composed for the Feast of Saint Demetrios seem to have been based on, or even in parts copied from, the *First Book of the Miracles* of Saint Demetrios[36]. This work is not merely a monumental celebration of the city's patron Saint, but is also the most important source both for the state of learning and the survival of the Hellenist tradition in the city as well as for relations between Byzantium and the Slavs, then appearing on the scene and turned more towards the beacon of Thessaloniki[37], the greatest commercial, social and intellectual centre in the Balkans[38]. While the text of the *Miracles* was rewritten several times during the long history of the Byzantine Empire, the two 7th century collections, by Archbishop John and another cleric of the same name, are most expressive of the time and place of their composition, and characteristic of that current in the social and intellectual life of Thessaloniki commonly described as *religiosity*.

The religious note is also predominant in the early Demetrian hymns. Thessaloniki was the origin of a musical tradition of liturgical hymnography dedicated to Saint Demetrios, and the two hymns «Αθλοφόρε, άγιε[39]...» and «Μέγαν εύρατο»[40] constitute the nucleus around which developed an eponymous hymnographic tradition in honour of the Saint in other centres, especially in the 7th and 8th centuries[41], and which accompanied, as we shall see, the veneration of the Saint as it spread through the Slav-speaking world[42].

Another figure in the network of communication between Thessaloniki and Constantinople (chiefly)[43] and other Byzantine centres was Hippocentios of Maroneia[44], who in the 6th century was corresponding, in Latin, with Presbyter Thomas the Thessalonian on matters of doctrine. The chance preservation of a single letter, however insignificant as an example of the epistolary art, which was of course the natural form of communication, proves that despite the fact that Latin was fast giving way to Greek, there were still scholars in Thessaloniki who could compose in Latin, knowledge of which remained essential after Illyricum[45] became part of the Patriarchal Empire of the East, for correspondence with the Papal West. Thessaloniki was undeniably a centre for this type of communication.

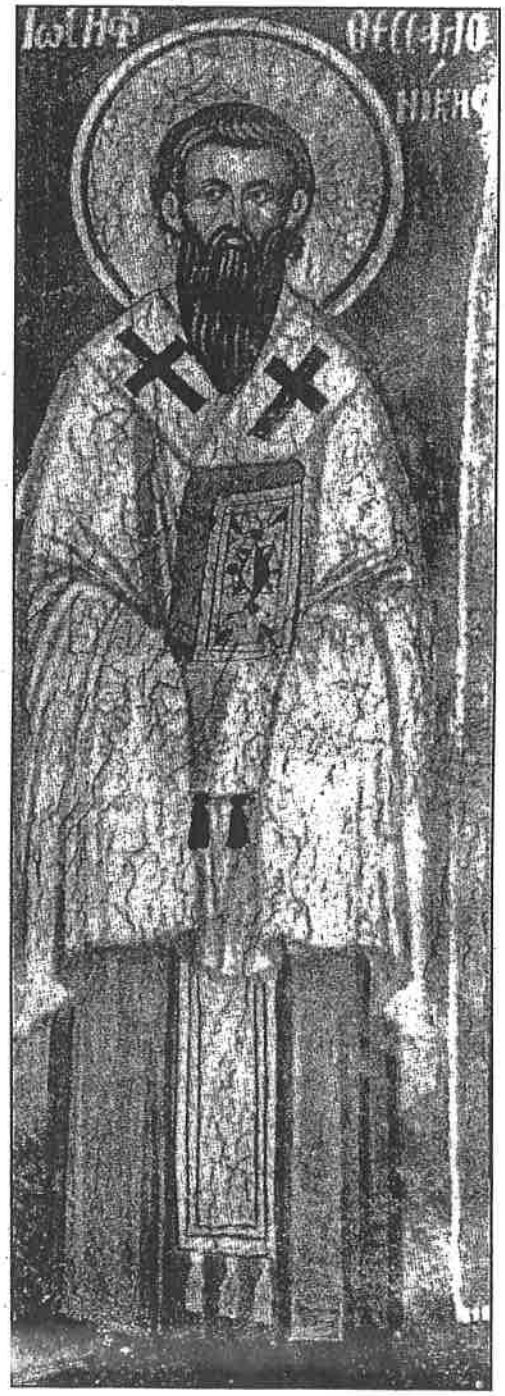
Another point which underlines the contact between Thessaloniki and the *centre* of the Empire, the epicentre of intellectual creativity, was the presence in Thessaloniki in the 8th century, a period when the Empire was shaken by the socio-religious controversy over the issue of icons (a conflict which left its mark on Thessaloniki as well[46]) of the Stoudites. Theodore the Stoudite, an important intellectual figure in the world of Byzantium, lived in exile in Thessaloniki[47], while his brother Joseph became the city's bishop in 795[48], bringing to this city both the light of the ideology that ruled the great monastic foundation of the imperial capital[49] as well as the family tradition of the Stoudites. Joseph was a master of both ecclesiastical rhetoric and religious or liturgical poetry, following in the footsteps of his brother, enriching the liturgical books with his hymns, composing with his brother new ones (the Triodion) or reworking older ones (the Octoechos)[50]. The contribution of Joseph the Stoudite to what was known as the «religious current» in the intellectual history of Thessaloniki was indeed substantial.

Thessaloniki's contributions to the religious current do not, however, mean



An illuminated Greek manuscript, made in a Thessalonian scriptorium. It depicts scenes of Saint Demetrios's life and martyrdom.

that the city's intellectual questing was focused entirely and exclusively on religious life. The functions of the broader environment imposed the development of other types of activities. The curious association of Justinian II with the extensive manuscript tradition of the *Agrarian Law*[51] and the recent hypothesis that this legal compendium, which is related to other earlier collections of statutes and is an invaluable text on the history of Roman/Byzantine jurisprudence, was prepared in Thessaloniki[52], adds a new dimension to the problem of the 85 agrarian statutes which established a legal framework for the tillers of the soil in their daily labours in the countryside, touching on such matters as security and damages[53]. Is there really a connection between this Compendium, composed in the late 7th and early 8th century, and Thessaloniki? Is its connection with Justi-



Saint Joseph, Thessaloniki's archbishop in late VIII century, was a master of both ecclesiastical rhetoric and hymnography.

nian II related to his presence in Thessaloniki in the autumn of 688[54], when he settled certain legal matters (attribution of the revenue of the Kitros salt-pans to the clergy of the Church of Saint Demetrios)[55] in the context of the measures being imposed in the region on account of, among other things, the establishment of Slav colonies? Earlier research linked the composition of this text with the issue of colonisation; but it was later considered that this extremely important work, which provides, among other things, information about the state of Byzantium's villages in that period, should be dissociated from the former issue. Recent conclusions, however, seem to point to the extreme likelihood that the Agrarian Law originated in Thessaloniki[56]. If this is so, then literary production in Byzantium's second city was certainly not channelled exclusively towards the intellectual needs of its religious life: it touched upon problems of everyday life, albeit in a technical document, and strove to associate the intellectual with the material, the material element of everyday activity with the intellectual element of spiritual inquiry.

This perspective makes it possible to seek the origins of the conjunction of the celebration of the Feast of Saint Demetrios with other types of manifestations and activities, for example trade fairs, where contacts between the people of the city and neighbouring Slav populations, within the framework of the open Byzantine political ideology, were imposed also by the severance of the latter from a certain point on from the Byzantine capital: their sole centre for trade and commerce was the port of Thessaloniki. Thus was gradually established the complex cultural phenomenon of the Demetria, the pattern for the fairs that later became so common and frequent. These contacts facilitated the cultural assimilation of the Slav element to the orthodox Byzantine population, and paved the way for what would later become an official policy, the conversion of the Slav peoples, a policy which had its roots, and not by chance, in Thessaloniki[57].

Towards the end of the period of the iconoclastic controversy, the Bishop of Thessaloniki, and one of the last of the moderate opponents of the use of icons,

was Leo the Mathematician[58], a paradigm of the 9th century humanist «renaissance». Born in the Thessalian town of Hypate (?), Leo spent some time in Andros with scholar/teacher Michael Psellos, channelling his restless thirst for knowledge into the study and collection of ancient manuscripts. In Constantinople, where he went seeking his fortune, he continued his studies and acquired a reputation as a scholar and a teacher. Assisted by his relationship to Patriarch John VII Grammatikos, he was appointed in 840 to the Archbishopric of Thessaloniki, where he remained until 843. His presence in Thessaloniki can be considered as a continuation of the temporal current which co-existed with the religious to a point which permitted the scholar-bishop to develop mathematical and astrological theories in his ecclesiastical orations (such as for example the Homily on the Annunciation of the Virgin, pronounced in the church of the Acheiropoietos)[59] and even to advise his flock on how to use knowledge of meteorological and astrological conjunctions to ensure the best possible harvest. The careful guidance of this good shepherd made him a beloved figure in the city, so much so that the people forgot all about his iconoclastic affiliation. A whole my-

Emperor Justinian II's presence in Thessaloniki in the autumn of 688 (depicted here in a frescoe preserved in the basilica of Saint Demetrios) is probably connected with the extensive manuscript tradition of the so-called «Agrarian Law».

thology grew up around his legendary mastery of mathematics; he was the first to introduce the Greeks to algebraic calculation, centuries before it was known in the West, and he was sought by the Arab University of Baghdad as a teacher[60]. He later became a pillar of the Imperial University in Constantinople, founded by Emperor Vardas, where he is known to have been at least until 869. To his interests and initiatives we owe the preservation of manuscripts containing works by Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy, Diophantes, Apollonius and even Plato, and his practical work in optical telegraphy and on the acoustic mystery of the Sigma Palace as well as his mechanical devices for the Palace of Theophilos are well-known. If one adds to all this his accomplishments in Medicine and Poetry (some of his epigrams are included in anthologies of Greek literature), then it is easy to see how he won the appellation of the first European Humanist, many centuries before the Western Renaissance[61].

There is another connection between this mighty scholar and the intellectual life of Thessaloniki, and that is that he was teacher of the «Apostles to the Slavs», Thessalonians Constantine/Cyril and his brother Methodios[62]. The influence of the climate created in Thessaloniki on the level of the Byzantine approach to its Slav population on the one hand and, on the other, the role played by Leo the Philosopher Mathematician by his very presence in Thessaloniki, were the determinant factors in the lives of these two brothers, who grew up and received their basic education in Thessaloniki. Methodios' subsequent position as a government official in Macedonia facilitated his contacts with the Slav world. Driven to Constantinople by the lack of institutions of higher education in Thessaloniki, Constantine eventually became a professor at the Vardas University, whence his epithet of «philosopher». His knowledge of languages encouraged the state to use him as an ambassador to the Arabs and Khazars, where he met up once again with his brother Methodios, now a monk. When Ratislav, the King of Moravia, asked Byzantine Emperor Michael III to organise a missionary expedition to his realm, the two brothers were ready to perform this monumental mission: to transmit to the Slav world, in their own language, written in an alphabet devised for this purpose, the content of Christian teaching, and to create the conditions in which an autonomous Slav culture based on Byzantine civilisation could develop[63]. The miracle which had first appeared in Thessaloniki had played its part. The varied forms of communication between that city and other major centres in Macedonia, such as Achris, and the dependence of the students of these two great men on the city and on its intellectual circles contributed to the dissemination of the light of Byzantine learning to its neighbouring peoples (Bulgars and Serbs). This makes more intelligible the endeavours of the students of Cyril and Methodios to translate into Slavonian the wealth of traditional hymns to Saint Demetrios[64], and the astounding prevalence of the veneration of the Saint among the Slav peoples. This intellectual communication with Thessaloniki is repeatedly attested by the contacts of monks from the city with centres directly associated with Cyrillo-Methodian circles[65].

Over the next few centuries Thessaloniki, without ever severing its ties with the capital, sought to fight its own battles with the contradictions of historical conjuncture.

Early in the 10th century there appeared on the stage of history a figure who was to become known to Byzantine letters as the first Thessalonian historian: John Kameniates[66]. A cleric attached to the church of Saint Demetrios, and a man of

only moderate accomplishments, he left to the history of letters a unique text describing with the truth of the eye-witness the events of the conquest of the city by the Arabs in 904[67]. His work, a mixture of historical narrative, eulogy of the city and chronicle in the style of a personal memoir[68], with a vivacity of style which has induced some doubts if not as to the truth of the events at least as to the date of their writing in relation to the events described[69], writing with the freshness and immediacy of a man intimately familiar with the strength and vigour of life in his city, represents what Thessaloniki was perhaps never fortunate enough to know, the force of, e.g., texts like the «traditions of Constantinople»[70] or the integral expression of the «praise of the city»[71], literary works which, spontaneously and to some slight degree, it approaches. Although the «Conquest of Thessaloniki» limits the range of its content and expression to a familiar readership, the threads of tradition have not been severed from the trends driving the pulse of intellectual life through the veins of the great classical tradition which we saw in the power of inscriptional poetry.

It has been maintained, and to a certain extent both the lack of texts and other indirect evidence makes it not implausible, that Thessaloniki remained outside the «great 9th-10th century philological and artistic renaissance which took place virtually exclusively in Constantinople»[72]. Indeed, from the Life of Constantine/Cyril, we learn that Thessaloniki had neither a teacher nor an organised school capable of providing, in the flowering of the «first Byzantine Renaissance», more than a modest level of education[73]. We may never know whether the Thessalian scholar who compiled in Constantinople the «Euphemian» Collection of 82 inscriptions in the palace of Leo VI the Wise transmitted his lore to the intellectual circles of his native province[74]. The information that another scholar, Grigorios Magistros, who in the first half of the 10th century came to Thessaloniki to record metrical inscriptions from churches and monuments in the city, suggest that the people of Thessaloniki were not deprived of such stimuli[75]. Then too, the breath of this «renaissance» is imprinted in the figures in the mosaic in the dome of the church of Saint Sophia, where the vital bonds with the capital[76] are plain for all to see. Further, information contained in the Life of Joseph the Hymnographer reinforces the view that Thessaloniki, once again with the Latomos Monastery leading the way, also knew a variety of activities of the type that characterised the capital, including scriptoria for copying and illuminating manuscripts and the teaching of Rhetoric and Philosophy[77]. The fact that Joseph remained in Thessaloniki for 15 years suggests another dimension, the relationship between Thessaloniki and the West; and it cannot be considered fortuitous that both during this period and later there appeared on the scene such major figures in the monastic world as Grigorios Decapolites[78], Fantinos of Calabria[79], or Elias Spelaiotes of Reggio[80], figures who, along with other immigrants (Hilarion the Iberian[81]) and local personages of some standing in the monastic world (Theodora[82], Euthymios the Younger[83]), created favourable conditions for the flowering of a significant production or circulation of texts of this type during the 9th and 10th centuries in Thessaloniki.

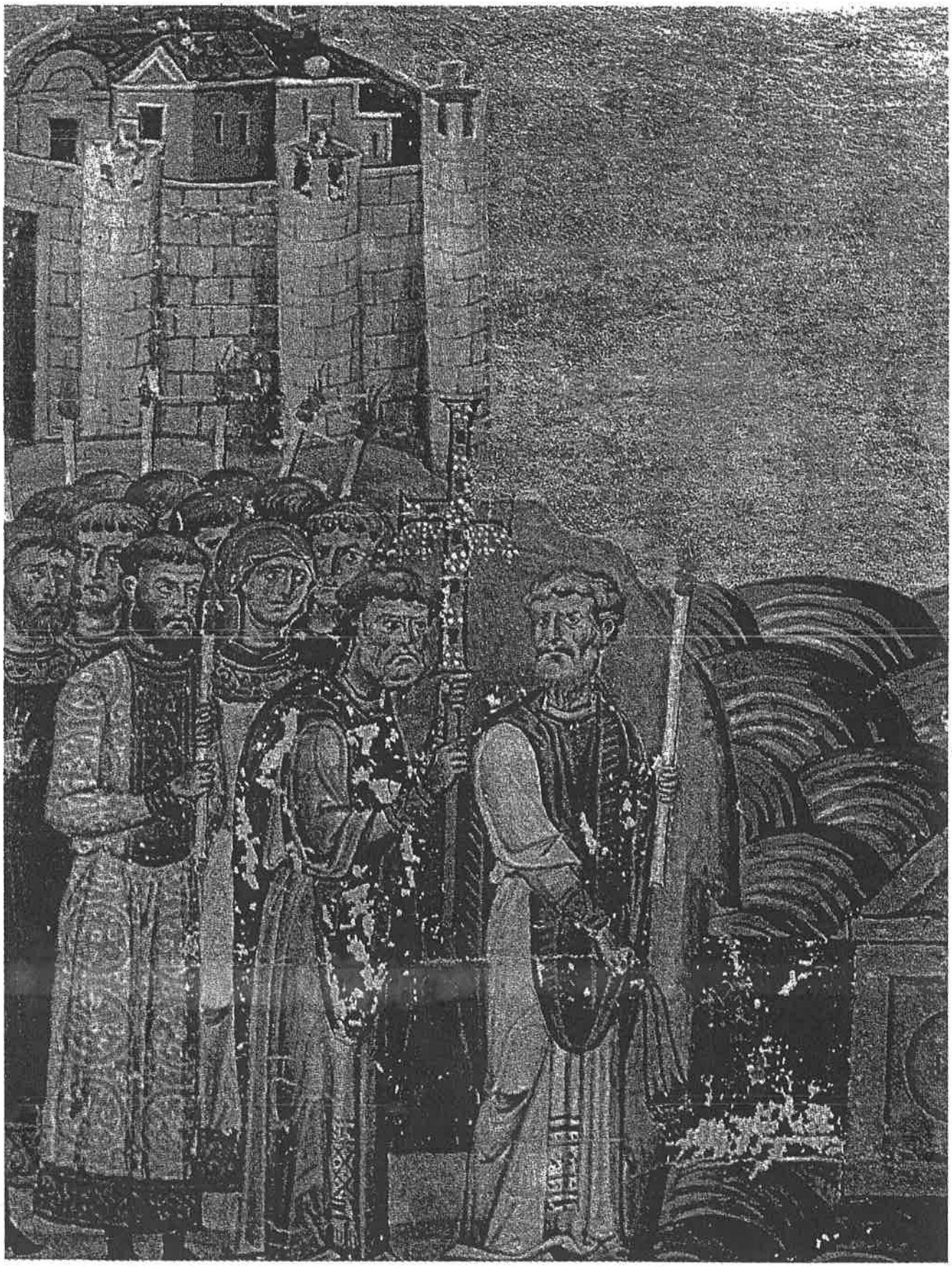
The creative energy which in the 11th century was channelled into the construction of churches (Panaghia Chalkeon)[84] or the founding of new monasteries in the city and in its immediate environs, for example the great Akapniou Monastery[85], the work of Photios of Thessaly, the spiritual godfather of Basil II, or the famous Hortaitou Monastery[86], created new centres of cultural productivity, as we know from sources

Cyril and Methodios in an illuminated Russian manuscript of the XV century. (p. 189).

attesting the organisation of libraries in these institutions[87]. However, despite efforts to perpetuate the «religious current» in the intellectual life of the city, 11th and especially 12th century Thessaloniki seems to have abandoned this current and its restrictions and to have developed a more purely critical thinking. Freed of the worry of Bulgar invasion and of the weight of superstition that had dominated the end of the millennium throughout the known world, Thessaloniki, like Constantinople, seems to have turned towards exploration of the hitherto suppressed Aristotelian philosophy. The work known as «Timarion: his adventures»[88] is irrefutable proof that Thessaloniki was anything but isolated from the centre of the Byzantine world. This composition, the work of an anonymous follower of Theodoros Smyrnaios, the «supreme philosopher», is famous for the information it provides on the «Demetria»[89]. Written in the form of a dialogue, on the model of Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, it presents two friends (Timarion and Kydion) describing their impressions of their journeys to Thessaloniki and the Underworld. Its pronounced satirical tone and its references to contemporary personalities and events both in Constantinople and Thessaloniki mark the work as an intervention of the critical spirit that was becoming apparent in the search for new definitions and the concept of a new social reality that was dawning with the 12th century[90], in a unique social satire touching also on Thessaloniki's intellectual life.

In Thessaloniki, this new reality found expression throughout the 12th century, and with a certain distancing from the return to former concerns evident in the capital at this time, especially from the line of the official Eastern Church's choices in the sphere of relations with the West. A series of scholar-bishops, such as Michael Choumnos[91], Nicetas (nephew of the bishop of Maroneia, 1132-1145)[92] and Basil of Achris[93], all educated in Constantinople where «university» studies were now a priority[94], besides continuing their own studies, established an open dialogue with the Western Church, giving expression to the

Cyril and Methodios, the two Thessalonian «Apostles of the Slavs», in a miniature of a Greek manuscript of the XI century.



spirit of Aristotelianism before it had made its appearance in western circles. Their ideas are characterised by their conviction of the need for unity in the Christian Church, or at least a rapprochement of its branches, which led them in their treatment of the issue of the Procession of the Holy Spirit to seek ways to facilitate conciliation and smooth over doctrinal differences. Nicetas argued that the western formula filioque was equivalent to the Greek expression «διά του υιού»[95] used by John of Damascus, the great theologian of the Orthodox Church whose work would eventually prevail in western theological thinking in the work of Thomas Aquinas[96], later to become a bone of contention in theological thinking in Thessaloniki. Then, too, Pope Hadrian IV asked Basil to use his good offices with Emperor Manuel I Comnenos for the purpose of discussing church unity. In 1154 Thessaloniki was the site of negotiations with papal legate Anselm of Havelberg[97], which arrived at certain conciliatory concessions on doctrinal differences shared by Nicetas[98], now Abbot of the Akapniou Monastery. This then was the climate, with Thessaloniki acquiring a certain autonomy, in which Eustathios Kataphloros, one of the greatest scholars of the Byzantine world made his appearance on the scene.

Eustathios[99] was a teacher of humanities (maistor ton rhetoron) in the university in Constantinople[100]; sometime between 1174 and 1177 he was translated by Bishop Myron of Lycia to the episcopal throne of Thessaloniki, where he remained until he was recalled in 1191, to return to this position at a later date[101]. The immense classical erudition which enabled him to compose commentaries on Homer[102], Aristophanes and Dionysus Periegetes[103], on the inscriptions in the Hellenic Anthology and the poetry of Pindar[104], did not prevent him from writing, with the felicity of the master, homilies[105] and treatises[106], nor from corresponding with all the most prominent figures in Byzantine society. His shrewd critical spirit enabled him to stigmatise the less savoury aspects of monastic life (see his work on the reform of monastic life)[107], and his penetrating eye led him to make a study of the problems and manifestations of daily life[108], with all the skill of what would today be called a mastery of Human Sciences. His connection with Thessaloniki, however, is best known through his historical account of the capture of the city by the Normans in 1185[109]. Eustathios was both an eye witness and a victim of this calamity[110]. His text, which may be described as a literary creation somewhere between historical narrative and poetical rhetoric, draws a vivid picture of events in the city and provides a detailed analysis of its social structure in the final quarter of the 12th century. As the principle representative of philological scholarship, Eustathios tried to broaden the circle of intellectuals and men of letters, starting with the city's clergy, whom he encouraged to collect, conserve and copy old manuscripts, although the extant evidence of his work is unfortunately very slight[111]. In this same spirit he encouraged the development of scriptoria in monasteries large and small, from the great Akapniou[112] foundation to the Theotokou tou Mastouni Monastery, one of whose copyists, Theodore[113], we know by name.

This climate of fervent intellectual activity, which prevailed throughout the 12th century, also produced a number of other scholarly figures, both secular officials in Thessaloniki on official business, like Nicephoros Prosouch, who chose to declaim his construction work on the walls of city in verse[114], and clerics who were friends of Eustathios and moved in the same circles, like Michael Choniates[115], Bishop of Athens, or Euthymios Malakis[116], Bishop of Neon Patron, who

wrote an ode on his death[117]. Another aspect of this more open century was a growing Serb presence in Thessaloniki, which inaugurated a new reality in both the intellectual and the commercial life of the city[118]. The Philokallou Monastery[119], founded in the late 12th or early 13th century, was generously supported by Savvas, the son of Serbian leader Stephanos Nemanias[120]. Another Serbian monastery, that of St Nicholas, is referred to by Eustathios in one of his treatises[121].

Thessaloniki's lines of communication with the rest of the Greek world were kept open in the following century, when the Fall of Constantinople to the Franks made it necessary to draw tighter the forces resisting the fragmentation consequent on the Latin conquest. Thessaloniki[122] was the centre in which Theodore Doucas was crowned «king»[123], and where a dynamic culture celebrating the optimism of his reign was to develop, finding expression in the construction of monuments both in Thessaloniki itself and in such neighbouring cities as Veria[124]. The orgy of cultural development which accompanied his temporary military successes was marked in Thessaloniki by the active presence of such scholarly clerics as Constantine of Mesopotamia (a retainer of the court at Nicaea), John Apokaukos (principal exponent of the world of ideas in the Despotate of Epirus)[125], and Demetrios Chomatianos[126], Archbishop of Achris, who sanctioned in practice the ideology of the despotate, which however was soon to collapse, as events unfolded unfavourably.

From the rival court of Nicaea, Nicephoros Blemmydes came to Thessaloniki looking for books for his School[127]. Here too came for a time Constantine Acropolites[128], who was to write excellent works on Saint Demetrios[129]. In the second half of the 13th century the intellectual life of the city was marked by two principal trends: one was a powerful renewal of the «religious current», bolstered by a renewal of hymn-writing and by the competent writing of relatively minor authors such as Demetrios Beaskos[130], Petros Tziskos[131] and John Staurakios[132], who wrote a panegyric of Saint Demetrios; while the other foreshadowed what was to happen in the first half of the next century, with a return to antiquity, to the «temporal» current, in other words, to which Thessaloniki was evidently always open.

In the final quarter of the 13th century the links between Thessaloniki and Constantinople were again strengthened by the return to the study of ancient Greek literature, with growing numbers of scholars devoting themselves to studying or perpetuating this tradition. An outstanding personality, an erudite master, was the *ultimate philosopher*, Ioannis Pediasimos Pothos[133]. This circle was centred on the figure of Thomas Magistros[134], a native of Thessaloniki and a teacher of classical literature; he also founded a School in the city, in which he taught for many years, his pupils including many who later made distinguished names for themselves either in Thessaloniki or in Constantinople. He himself visited the capital in 1314, where he enjoyed the favour of the Emperor, Andronicos II, to whom he composed a laudatory address, and establishing there too a wide circle of men of letters. One of his best known works is the lexicon «Ekloge onomaton kai rematon Attikon»[135] (Selection of Attic nouns and verbs), the key to his introduction to ancient literature. His commentaries on classical texts[136] (Aeschylos, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Synesios) established him as master of classical scholarship, while his edition of the works of Pindar[137], with commentary, prefigured the purely philological work his distinguished pupils were to produce. While some of his rhetorical compositions suc-

cessfully imitated the style and language of the Second Sophistic, such texts as «On Kingship», «On Statecraft»[138] and «On Harmony»[139] taught social and moral lessons which revealed their author to be a man of broad perception and understanding.

His circle of friends included two men who later became monks, Savvas and Germanos[140], and the distinguished figure of Nicephoros Choumnos[141], for a certain period governor of Thessaloniki. He in his turn created his own circle of scholars and men of letters, including Theodore Kallistos-Xanthopoulos[142] and his more famous brother, Nicephoros[143], a celebrated ecclesiastical historian and teacher of rhetoric during this final flourishing of Byzantine letters. His most distinguished and brilliant pupil, however, was Demetrios Triclines, or Triclinios, who continued to practise in Thessaloniki the profession of teacher of classical literature and student of classical philology[144].

Demetrios Triclinios[145], with his solid grounding in Rhetoric, proceeded to collect and copy classical texts and to produce critical editions of the works of classical poets that excite the admiration of contemporary literary criticism. His profound knowledge of classical metre, matched by few of his humanist colleagues, either in Thessaloniki or Constantinople, enabled Triclinios to edit and comment his editions of the classical poets, correcting hundreds of errors and thus producing better texts[146]. His collector's mania enabled him to work on old manuscripts, which would appear to have been preserved in Thessaloniki since the days of Eustathios. He did not however restrict himself to classical philology[147], but on the contrary developed a wide range of interests, including Astronomy[148], which supports the view that Triclinios was a complex figure, a many-sided scholar who devoted himself with punctilious zeal to the study of classical philology in Thessaloniki and whose contribution moved the level of development of this field of study beyond that achieved by the Palaeologan Renaissance. The affiliation between Thessaloniki and Constantinople, which produced the figure of Theodore Metochites[149], and the peak of development represented by the art of the Monastery of the Great Chora[150], can now be seen in the power of the art in many of the city's monuments, especially that of the Church of the Holy Apostles[151].

The literary currents prevailing in the capital at this time inspired other scholars and men of letters who in one way or another were associated with Thessaloniki and who distinguished themselves in a variety of offices. These included John and Theodore Pediasimos[152], natives of Serres who seem however to have been educated in Thessaloniki. John, who was known as the «supreme Philosopher» and who as well as pursuing a host of other interests wrote commentaries on the works of Hesiod, Theocritos and Aristotle, among others, served as deacon and chartophylax in the Archbishopric of Achris, another centre in many ways dependent on Thessaloniki[153]. His brother devoted himself to rhetorical compositions on matters pertaining both to his native city[154] and to temporal affairs[155] revealing his association with the widely influential cultural circles of Thessaloniki. His association with the city is underlined by his Life of Joseph the Hymnographer[156], who as we have seen was a monk in the Latomos Monastery. Another master philosopher, anonymous this time (Komes? Kometopoulos?) seems also to have been affiliated with the city's literary circle, as well as having written a panegyric on Saint Nestor, the sole text we have on this friend and companion of Thessaloniki's patron Saint Demetrios[157].

14th century Thessaloniki had numerous minor men of letters, including poet

Thessaloniki, with the Latomos Monastery as a leading centre, presented, in late IX and in X centuries, a variety of literary and artistic activities, including scriptoria for copying and illuminating manuscripts. The Monastery contains also marvellous mosaics and frescoes.

like John Katrares[158] and a man known solely as Staphidakis[159], who wrote an epitaph in elegiac couplets on Isaac, the founder of the Kyr Isaac monastery (possibly Aghios Panteleimon?). John Katrares, with his elegant anacreontic verses[160], was a landmark figure in secular literature in Thessaloniki, a sector further developed by poet Manuel Philes[161], who lived for a time in the Macedonian capital.

John Katrares, who also wrote satirical

drama[162], familiar from the verse attack on philosopher Neophytos Prodromenos[163], was also associated with another aspect of classical studies in Thessaloniki, the work of the copyists and calligraphers who made such a contribution to the growth of renaissance spirit that inspired the humanist movement. Katrares practised the art of manuscript copying[164], an activity shared as we have seen by such classical scholars as Demetrios Triclinios[165] and Theodore Pagomenos[166], as well as men of letters like John Zarides[167], producing work for customers with secular interests. Nor did the copying of religious manuscripts lag behind: important figures in this field include Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas[168], a member of a well-known clerical family in Thessaloniki, and Theodore Haghiopetrites[169], whose work enriched the libraries of many of Macedonia's largest monasteries (Mount Athos, the Prodromos Monastery in Serres, etc.).

The libraries of the monasteries in Thessaloniki were endowed with manuscripts donated by faithful sponsors or provided by a variety of other means (Pantocrator Monastery Blatadon[170], Akapniou[171], Kyr Isaac[172], Theotokou Peribleptou or Hypomimneskontos[173]), a fact which once again underlines the spirit of harmony which governed relations between the citizens and the monks and the continued co-existence of both classical letters and theological/philosophical studies, a co-existence which is evident in the classical aspects of the art developed in this city, as we know from extant examples of religious art, aspects which link the artistic activity of Thessaloniki with the centre of the Byzantine world which continued to flourish under such major figures as Theodore Metochites and so many other scholars. This «renaissance» society, however, found fertile soil in Thessaloniki and developed in the heart of Macedonia an intellectual centre fully equal to that of Constantinople.

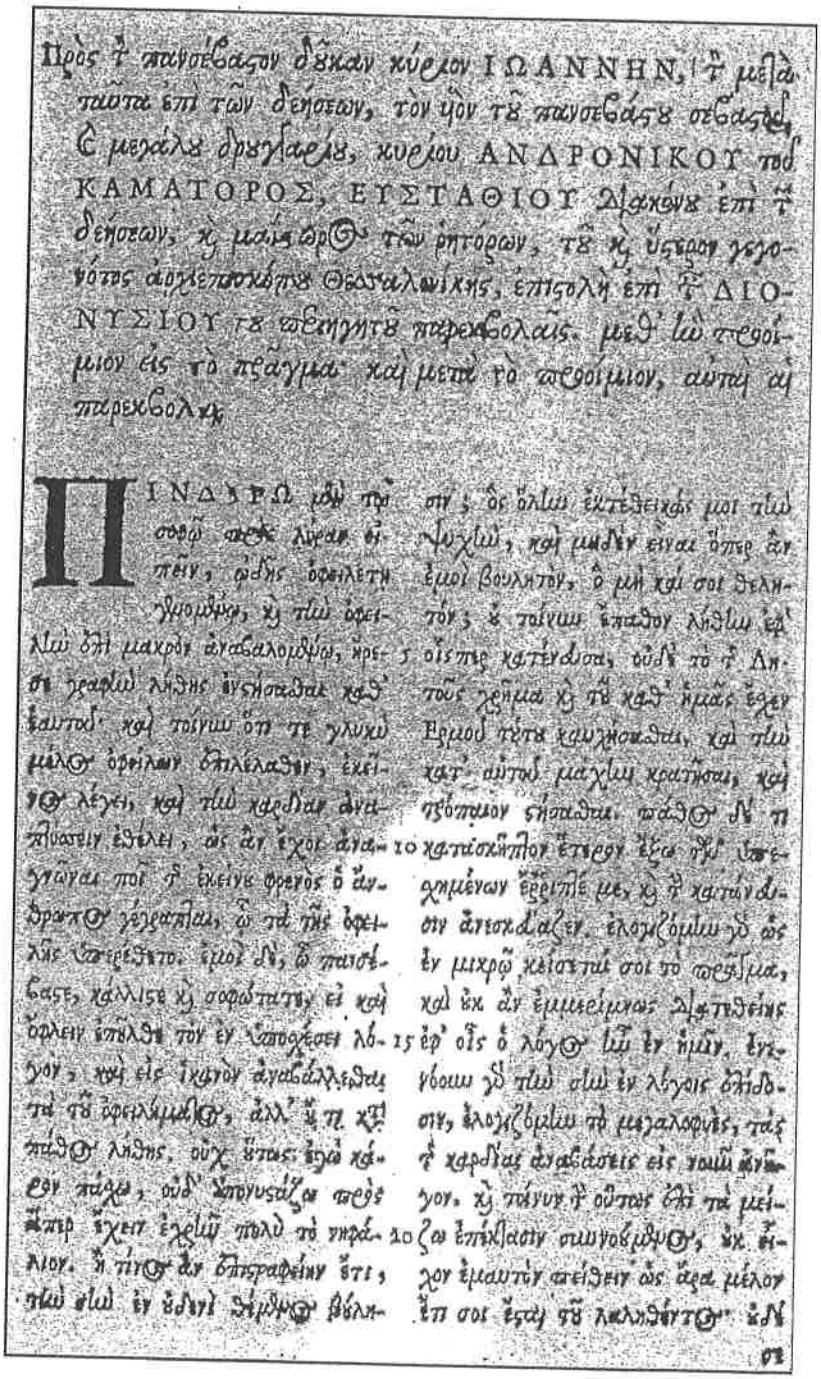
The philological activity which developed in Thessaloniki in this 14th century paved the way for other types of temporal studies as well. The city had long been known for its jurists, men like Manuel Choumnos and Archbishop Nicetas of Maroneia in the 12th century, John Apokaukos and Demetrios Chomatianos in the 13th, or like Bishop John of Kitrous[174], who may have been a native of the city and who certainly resided there for a time late in the 13th century when as senior bishop he replaced Metropolitan Jacob of Thessaloniki[175]; and now, in the 14th century, the renaissance of literary studies seemed to impart renewed vigour to the study of law. The secular wing of the legal world opened with the formerly somewhat enigmatic but now better understood figure of George Phobenos[176], a judge in Thessaloniki, whose short treatises on legal matters and thorough expounding of legal opinion demonstrate that Roman Law was still seriously studied in the city. Our picture of the state of legal studies in Thessaloniki is completed by the presence there of two major legal figures, one from the world of Canon Law and one from the world of Civil Law. Constantine Armenopoulos[177], a judge, or «katholikos kritis», and exponent of the Civil Law in Thessaloniki, is best known for his Hexabiblos[178], a legal handbook which is a compendium of his knowledge of the law, based on its roots in Byzantium and the «Agrarian Law», which may have been compiled in Thessaloniki. The Hexabiblos was widely used[179] throughout the Greek and Slav world[180], and was adopted by the Greek State as the basis of its legal system when it won its independence in the 19th century. Among his other activities, Armenopoulos' «Homily on the Eve of the Feast of Saint Demetrios»[181] is coloured by his particular attachment to the city.

The principal exponent of Canon Law at

this time was Matthew Blastares[182], a monk in the Kyr Isaac Monastery who composed a systematic corpus of Canon Law known as the «Syntagma»[183], an alphabetical compendium with numerous appendices, lists of Byzantine offices and a lexicon of legal terms, which was hugely successful and widely used. He also wrote a number of other works, including orations[184] and systematic studies of practical theology, for he was thoroughly versed in doctrinal and theological matters, which he expounded both orally and in writing. A diverse and many-sided writer, and one of the major figures in both intellectual and government circles, he also composed hymns and poetry[185] and, a fervent classicist, translated classical texts, including those of John Klimakos[186]. In this he was a forerunner of the great wave of translators who did so much, two centuries later, to disseminate Christian theological texts.

The outbreak of the civil war, which began with the death of Andronicos III (1341), blighted Thessaloniki's literary renaissance, which had flourished particularly in the first four decades of this 14th century. The city was now to experience the clash of the two major ideological movements which were to mark the next stage of its history. The social uprising of the Zealots, a movement which initially sought legitimacy in politics and purity in theological doctrine[187], confronted the ascetic theories of the Hesychasts, led by Gregory Palamas and supported by the usurper of the Imperial throne, John VI Cantacuzenos. This great dispute marked the beginning of the decline that typically follows major crises in which there are winners and losers. The great scholars and men of letters who survived the physical and spiritual plague which devastated the city in 1347/48 followed the advice of medical lore for the avoidance of the plague[188] and quitted Thessaloniki, leaving Palamas[189] and his adherents to triumph in their imposition of their doctrine of inaction, in a society which so desperately needed action, dynamism and the vitality to resist the terrible enemy which was even then approaching.

The phenomenon of Hesychasm was a complex development in the spiritual and intellectual life not only of Thessaloniki but of the entire Byzantine world, which may be summarised as a confro-



Πρὸς τ̃ παυσεβάσον δ̃σκαν κύριον ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ, τ̃ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν δ̃ήσεων, τὸν υἱὸν τ̃ παυσεβάσ̃ σεβασθ̃, ⁊ μεγάλ̃ δρυγλαρίας, κυρίου ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ τοῦ ΚΑΜΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ διακόνου ἐπὶ τ̃ δ̃ήσεων, ⁊ μάλ̃ ὠρ̃ τῶν ῥητόρων, τ̃ ⁊ ὕστερον γενομένου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, ἐπιστολὴ ἐπὶ τ̃ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ τ̃ περιηγητ̃ παρεκβολαῖς. μετ' ἐν τῷ προοίμιον εἰς τὸ πρ̃αγμα καὶ μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον, αὐτὴ ἡ παρεκβολή.

ΠΙΝΔΑΡΩ μὲν τῷ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ λέγειν οἶμαι, ὡδὶ ὀφείλεται ἡμιμῶνι, ⁊ τῷ ὀφείλοντι ὅτι μακρὸν ἀναβαλομένῳ, πρέσβυς γεραιὸν λήθης ἐνεστήσαντο καθ' ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ τοίνυν ὅπερ τε γλυκὺ μέλος ὀφείλων ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐκεῖνος λέγει, καὶ τῷ καρδίᾳ ἀναπιόσαι εἰθέλει, ὡς ἂν ἔχοι ἀναγνῶναι ποτ' τ̃ ἐκείνου φρενὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος γεγραφέναι, ὦ τὰ τῆς ὀφειλῆς ὑπερέχοντο. ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὦ παυσεβάσε, κάλλιστε ⁊ σοφώτατε, εἰ καὶ ὄφλειν ἐπῆλθε τὸν ἐν ὑποθέσει λόγον, καὶ εἰς ἰκανὸν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ τῶ ὀφειλήματος, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς πάθους λήθης, οὐχ ὅτως ἐγὼ κάρον πάσχω, οὐδ' ἀπογυσάζω περὶ ἅπερ ἔχειν ἐκείνῳ πολὺ τὸ γηράλιον. ἢ πίνος ἂν ὑπεραφείην ἔτι, τῷ σῷ ἐν ὑδατι δίμνῳ βέλτιστον; ὃς ὅλῳ ἐκτεθειμένος μοι τῷ ψυχῷ, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ὅπερ ἂν ἐμοὶ βουλήτον, ὁ μὴ καὶ σοὶ θελητόν; ⁊ τοίνυν ἐπαθον λήθῳ ἐφ' οἷς πρὶν κατένδυσα, οὐδὲ τὸ τ̃ Λητοῦς ζῆμα ⁊ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχειν Ἑρμοῦ τέτα καταχέσθαι, καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ μάχῃ κρατῆσαι, καὶ πρόπαιον σήσασθαι. πάθος δὲ τ̃ κατάσκοπον ἕτερον ἔχω τῷ ὑπεροχημένων ἔρρειπε με, ⁊ τ̃ κατὰ νοῦν ἀντεκδάζειν. ἐλογιζόμην γὰρ ὡς ἐν μικρῷ κείσεται σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἂν ἐμμελείμενος διαπτήσεις ἐφ' οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐῶν ἐν ἡμῖν. ἐνγένοιμι γὰρ τῷ σῷ ἐν λόγοις ὀλίγοσιν, ἐλογιζόμην τὰ μεγαλοφυῆς, τὰς τ̃ καρδίας ἀναβάσεις εἰς νοῦν ἀνάγον. ⁊ τοίνυν τ̃ οὕτως ὅτι τὰ μείζω ἐπίκλασιν σωμαγόμθος, ἂν ἔχον ἐμαυτὸν πείθειν ὡς ἄρα μέλον ἔπ σοι ἔσαι τῶ λελυθέντος· ἀλλ'

A page from an early edition of Archbishop Eustathios's Commentaries on Dionysius Periegetes.

Affiliated with Thessaloniki's literary circle seems also to have been the anonymous author of an «Encomion», a panegyric of Saint Nestor (here in an XI century fresco), the friend and companion of the city's patron Saint Demetrios. (σελ. 197).

ntation between the «rationalism» of Western thought and the «sentimentality» of the East. The principal exponent of the former concept was (what else?) a Western monk, Barlaam of Calabria[190], who in 1327 went to Constantinople (like another Italian monk a few centuries earlier, one John), where under the aegis of that great man of letters Andronicos III, he taught philosophy. In 1339 he accompanied the Byzantine delegation to the Synod in Avignon, where he met Petrarch, in whom he inspired a love of Greek. His clash with Gregory Palamas, and his reversion to the West coincided with the death of Andronicos. Philosopher, astronomer and mathematician that he was, he could not adapt to the new climate in the East, which, starting from a concerted anti-Latin propaganda, gradually hardened into politico-religious conspiracy.

After 1224 Thessalóniki became the capital of Theodore Doucas's short-lived «empire» but also a centre of important cultural and literary activities.

Gregory Palamas had been a monk, first on Mount Athos and later in Veria and the Great Lavra, where he became abbot of the monastery and leader of the entire monastic theocracy. His quarrel with Barlaam was sparked by the latter's criticism of the manner of prayer on Mount Athos, but its deeper origins lay in his philosopher's dislike of the form of reasoning developed by this curious western monk who had come to the east to study its thinking and practices. Palamas found both supporters and opponents for his triadic neo-Platonic philosophical and religious system, which set out the differences between divine «essence» and divine «energy». His opponents included, sooner or later, scholars in Constantinople who expressed Aristotelian theories, men like Nicephoros Grigoras and Grigorios Akindynos[191], originally a pupil of Palamas'. The arrival of Palamas in Thessaloniki (1351)[192], backed by the power of Imperial favour, marked the beginning of the end for his former pupil, whose conviction in life was only forestalled by his death.

In 1351 the Synod of Constantinople condemned him posthumously, judging him even dead a dangerous opponent! [The original proceedings of this Synod were recently discovered by Professor D. Harlfinger][193]. The doctrines of Hesychasm, which originated in Thessaloniki, spread to the entire Orthodox world[194], both Greek and Slav, as the received dogma of the church. Those who supported Palamas were mainly monks who had spent some time either on Mount Athos, where they learned his system of contemplative prayer, or in Thessaloniki. Joseph Kalothetos[195], for example, a monk from Chios who spent five years in Thessaloniki, defended Palamas and his doctrines in his polemics and letters, and strove to propagate Palamism among the monks of Crete. Another fervent supporter of Palamas was David Disypatos[196], who in works of both prose and poetry[197] promoted his doctrines, preached against Barlaam and Akindynos and, apparently, endeavoured to ex-

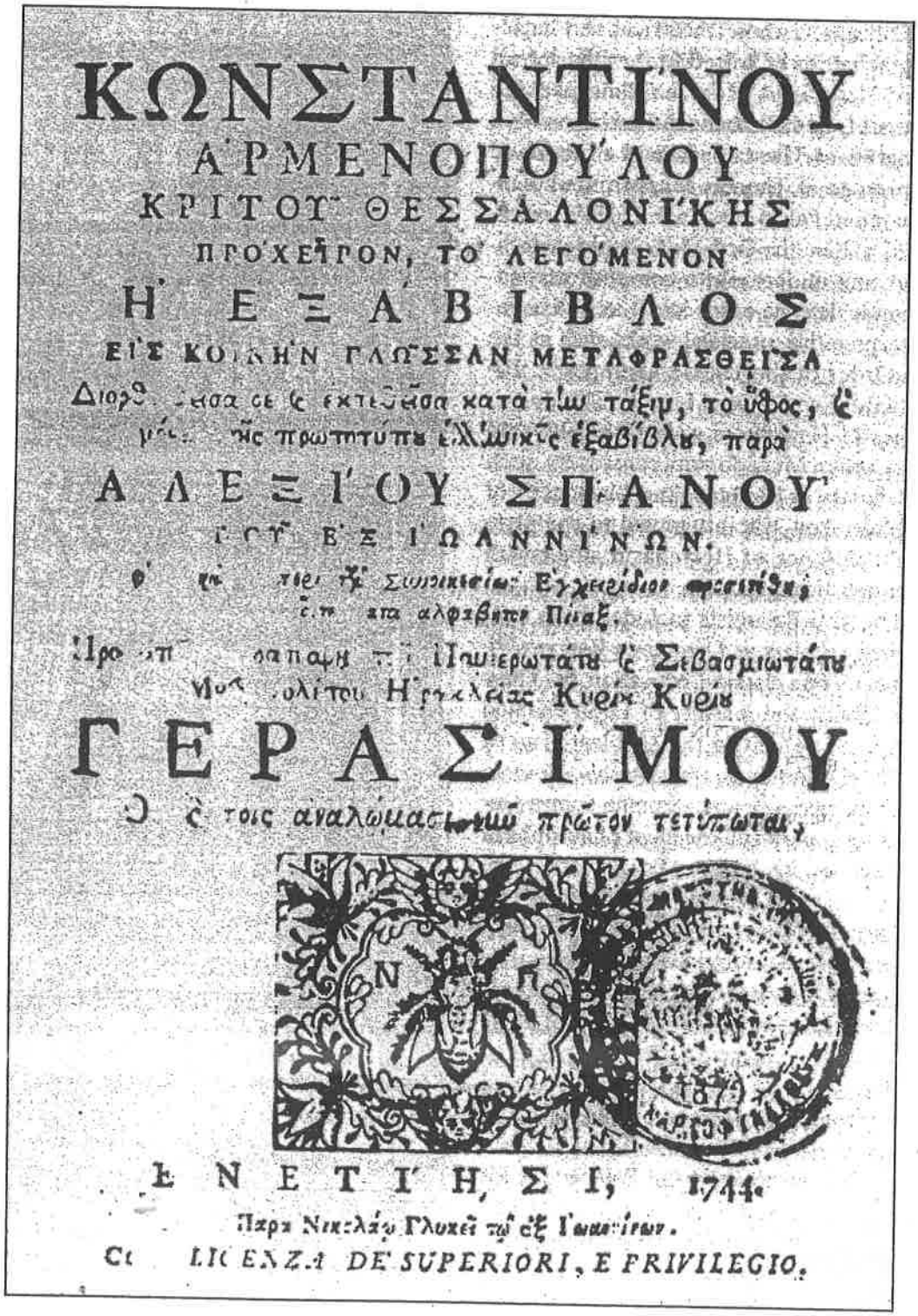
plain to Nicholas Kabasilas the «blasphemies» of those two «heretics».

Palamas however found his principal defenders in the persons of two Patriarchs: Callistos I, whose rhetorical and hagiographic works helped further the spread of Hesychasm[198] in the Slav-speaking world, and Philotheos Kokkinos[199], a native of Thessaloniki and a pupil and protege of Thomas Magistros, who canonised Palamas as a saint (1368), worked to bind the Orthodox peoples together and undertook to compose a systematic defence of his ideas, as well as interpretative, practical works such as the «Order of the Divine Liturgy»[200], Rituals[201] and Canon Law[202]. The doctrines of Hesychasm were also cultivated in other Macedonian centres by such scholars as Kallistos Angelikoudes[203] of Melenikon, who attempted to complete the defence of Hesychasm albeit with simplistic arguments.

The anti-Palamists included such brilliant scholars as Demetrios Kydones[204], whose fine classical education (in Thessaloniki) and mastery of Latin enabled him to delight in the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, translate his «Summa Theologica»[205] and «Summa contra Gentiles», and write excellent philosophical treatises, his brother Prochoros[206], another sound student and expositor of Latin theology, and John Gavras[207], who disputed the doctrines of Palamas with Joseph Kalothetos.

And then there were the «neutrals». Two of the principal representatives of this camp were Neilos Kabasilas and his nephew, Nicholas, both natives of Thessaloniki. Neilos Kabasilas[208], under political pressure from the Palace and his position as Metropolitan of Thessaloniki (1361), finally renounced his initial neutrality and from 1352 on became a Palamist supporter. The sound theological training which made him into one of the great theologians of the age owed much to his studies of the works of Thomas A-

quinas. His nephew, Nicholas Kabasilas Chamaetos[209], seems to have had an inquiring mind which led him to discuss some of the social problems of the age, including usury and the Zealots, while he also wrote fine rhetorical treatises


ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ
ΑΡΜΕΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ
ΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ
ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΟΝ, ΤΟ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ
Η ΕΞΑΒΙΒΛΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΘΕΙΣΑ
ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΣΠΑΝΟΥ
ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΥ
ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙ, 1744.
LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.

The frontispiece of the first modern Greek edition of the «Hexabiblos», (Venice, 1744). The «Hexabiblos», a legal handbook written by Thessaloniki's «Katholikos Krites» Constantine Armenopoulos, was widely used throughout the Greek and Slav world for centuries.

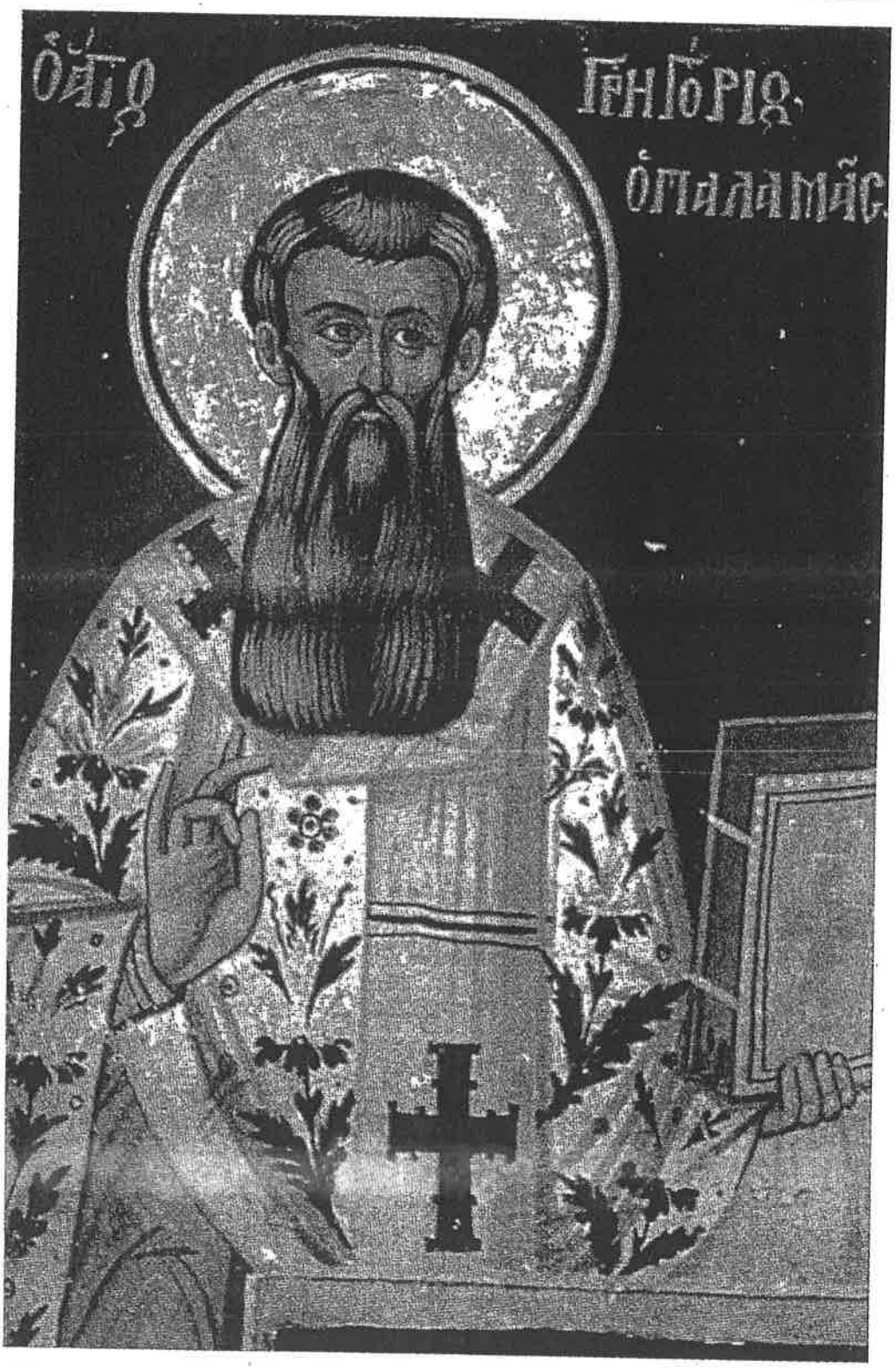
including usury and the Zealots, while he also wrote fine rhetorical treatises and even poetry. While his philosophical interests prevented him from channelling his intellectual energies into the narrow confines of Hesychast doctrine, they kept him on the side of the Eastern theological concepts that found expression in anti-Latin polemics. His fine spirituality is also evident in his love of Thessaloniki, the centre of humanist learning in that age.

As a humanist centre, of course, it also fostered the study of other branches of learning, that is, the «general philosophy» which included both Medicine (Anthropology, Physiology and Psychology) and Mathematics, comprising the four branches known as the quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. The presence in Thessaloniki of Joseph the Philosopher, generally known as the Starving or the Ragged[210], exemplifies this dimension of scholarship in the city in the early years of the 14th century, for although his Encyclopaedia remained unpublished, he left behind him a number of famous pupils who became learned men in their various professions: these included John Zacharias Actuarios[211], a physician who never ceased to proclaim his gratitude to his former schoolmaster. Finally, the science of Astronomy was defended by a scholar whose name is familiar from other circles, John Katrares[212], in one of three Dialogues attributed, although with considerable reservations, to him.

The conclusion of a great ideological debate was succeeded by a period in which intellectual activity was oppressed by the weight of the victors' triumph, a general climate in which liberal and secular inquiry could not thrive. It was not long before external danger rooted that fear in the troubled souls of Byzantium which causes men to meditate on divine judgement and to turn for refuge to the traditional socio-religious structures of their world, their city. Intellectual life became more and more concentrated in the figures of leading churchmen, who shouldered the burden of buttressing the faith of the people and focusing their attention on living the Christian life and preserving it in the city. Metropolitan Isidore Glavas (1380-1396)[213] was a figurehead for the difficult times which followed. In his rhetorical works, which reveal the multifarious social problems and worries of the times, mention is made for the first time of the practice of paidomazema[214], the large-scale kidnapping of Christian children which was such a scourge of the Ottoman period.

The numerous *Homilies* of his successor, Metropolitan Gabriel (1397)[215], in which he strove to admonish the people of the city on the occasions of the great Church festivals, reveal his satisfaction at the Mongol victory over the Ottoman forces at the Battle of Ankara (1402), a sentiment which was fully shared by his flock, while Symeon[216], who became Metropolitan in 1425, shortly before the city fell to the Turks, returned to the theological preoccupations of Philotheos Kokkinos, leaving us a lucid exposition of the splendid «divine ritual» in the church of Saint Sophia[217] and composing a body of «elegiac» hymns[218] which were to provide the musical accompaniment to the «Thessaloniki School» through centuries of Turkish Rule.

The once great city of Thessaloniki, «first after the first and ruler of the virtuous»[219], the city which «provided a home for the learned who gathered there from all over the world»[220], was no longer a place which could hold its scholars, exponents of secular education and teachers, men like Theodore Gazis[221] and Makarios Makris[222]. The commencement of Thessaloniki's long Dark Age was described in his account of the «Conquest of Thessaloniki» by historian



Gregory Palamas in a fresco in the Xeropotamou Monastery of Mt. Athos. Palamas was a leading figure in Thessaloniki's theological and intellectual life in the XIV century.

John Anagnostes[223], a cleric who, like John Kaminiates, was not prevented by his lack of formal education from writing a history in which his distress at the fate of his city is apparent in every line. A distress which was to become a collective folk memory[224], a dirge lamenting the fall of the two great centres of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

NOTES

1. For ancient cults and religions in Thessaloniki see the collected studies on this subject in: *Μελέτες για την αρχαία Θεσσαλονίκη, «Θεσσαλονίκη Φιλίππου Βασίλισσαν»* (Studies on Ancient Thessaloniki, «Thessalonica: Philip's Queen City»), special album produced for the 2300th anniversary of the founding of the city of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 31-43, 201-209, 741-744, 862-867, 886-939, 964-977, 978-990. See also J. Touratsoglou, «Του αγιωτάτου πατρίου Θεού Καβείρου...» (Of Cabeirus, most sacred god of our fathers...), *Thessaloniki*, 1 (1985), 71-43. Cf. J. D. Karavidopoulos, «Αποστόλου Παύλου Α΄ και Β΄ προς Θεσσαλονικείς επιστολές: Οι απαρχές της χριστιανικής γραμματείας» (St. Paul's 1st and 2nd Epistles to the Thessalonians: The roots of Christian literature), *2nd Scientific Symposium «Christian Thessaloniki»: From the Apostle Paul to the age of Constantine*, Thessaloniki 1990, pp. 45-57 esp. 49-52.

2. Yannis Tzannis, «Ο κύκλος των πρώτων ποιητών της Θεσσαλονίκης και η πνευματική ακτινοβολία της μακεδονικής μητρόπολης κατά τον 1ο π.Χ. και τον 1ο μ.Χ. αιώνα» (Thessaloniki's first poets and the intellectual influence of the Macedonian metropolis in the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD), *Thessaloniki*, 4 (1994), 47-53 with bibliography.

3. A. Nar, «Ναοί στο σχήμα του ουρανού (Οι ιστορικές συναγωγές της Θεσσαλονίκης)» (Temples in the shape of the firmament: The historic synagogues of Thessaloniki), *Chronica*, no. 70 (1984), 46-51. Idem, *Οι συναγωγές της Θεσσαλονίκης. Τα τραγούδια μας. Μελετήματα γύρω από την ιστορία και την παράδοση των Εβραίων της Θεσσαλονίκης* (The synagogues of Thessaloniki. Our songs. Essays on the history and the traditions of the Jews in Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 16-32.

4. B. Lishitz-J. Schiby, «Une synagogue samaritaine à Thessalonique», *Revue Biblique*, 75 (1968) 368-378.

5. Nar, *The synagogues*, p. 22.

6. Nar, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

7. Nar, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-32.

8. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, I, Le texte, Paris 1979, p. 172 n. 12 and p. 178 lines 4-5.

9. Benjamin of Tudela, *Το βιβλίο των ταξιδιών στην Ευρώπη, την Ασία και την Αφρική 1159-1173* (Voyages in Europe, Asia and Africa 1159-1173), Preface-commentary Kosmas Megalommatis - Alexis Savvidis, tr. Fot. Vlachopoulos, Stochastis, Athens 1994, p. 64.

10. *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. T.L.F. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832 (photo rep. Amsterdam 1964), pp. 339-340.

11. Nar, *The synagogues*, pp. 25-31.

12. See S. W. Loomis, «Cicero and Thessaloniki. Politics and Provinces», *Archaia Makedonia*, 2 (1973) [Thessaloniki 1977], pp. 169-188. D. Pantermalis, *Η κοινωνία της Θεσσαλονίκης στα χρόνια του Δημητρίου* (Thessalonian society at the time of Demetrios), Thessaloniki 1983 (Address given on October 26, 1983), V. Papaioannou, «Ο Κικέρων και ο Λουκιανός στη Θεσσαλονίκη» (Cicero and Lucian in Thessaloniki), *Nea Estia*, 118 (1985), 59-63 and El. Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, «Ρωμαϊκή Θεσσαλονίκη» (Roman Thessaloniki), *Emeis*, vol. 5 (1985), 8-10.

13. J.-M. Speiser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne*, Paris 1984.

14. Ch. Makaronas, «Από τας οργανώσεις νέων της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης» (Youth organisations in ancient Thessaloniki), *Ep. Ep. Philos. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis*, 6 (1950), 293-294 (= *Studies on Ancient Thessaloniki*, pp. 950-951).

15. For sacred relics associated with St. Demetrios see A. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης στα βυζαντινά χρόνια* (The veneration of St. Demetrios in the Byzantine era) (Friends of the People Society - Byzantine Research Centre, 1). Athens 1994, pp. 67-90.

16. *Migne PG* 116, line 1176. Cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Συμβολαί εις την τοπογραφίαν της βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης* (Contributions to the topography of Byzantine Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 1949, pp. 7-20.

17. See G. Ganoulis, «Η δράσις του Αποστόλου Παύλου εν Θεσσαλονίκη» (St. Paul's activity in Thessaloniki), *Grigorios Palamas*, 50 (1967), 198-211. I. Galanis, «Συγκριτική εξέταση των πράξεων (17, 1-10) και Α΄ και Β΄ προς Θεσσαλονικείς επιστολής για την ίδρυση της Εκκλησίας της Θεσσαλονίκης» (Comparative study of the Acts of the Apostles [17, 1-10] and the 1st and 2nd Epistles to the Thessalonians on the founding of the Church in Thessaloniki), *Ep. Ep. Theol. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis*, 26 (1981), 273-292. Cf. Idem, «Ο θεολογικός χαρακτήρας των διαπροσωπικών σχέσεων του Αποστόλου Παύλου με την εκκλησία της Θεσσαλονίκης» (The theological nature of St. Paul's interpersonal relationships with the Church of Thessaloniki), *Christian Thessaloniki, 2nd Scientific Symposium*, pp. 59-67. Chr. Economou, «Η Θεσσαλονίκη κατά την εποχή του Αποστόλου Παύλου» (Thessaloniki at the time of St. Paul), *Grigorios Palamas*, 64 (1981), 221-236. Ath. Yeromichalou, *Η εκκλησία της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τον τέταρτον αιώνα* (The

Church in Thessaloniki in the fourth century), Thessaloniki 1961.

18. P. K. Christou, *Τα μαρτύρια των αρχαίων Χριστιανών* (The persecution of the ancient Christians), Thessaloniki, s.d., pp. 78-80, 304-327, Cf. Idem, «Κινήσεις χριστιανών νέων της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τους χρόνους των διωγμών» (Christian youth movements in Thessaloniki during the age of the persecutions), *Christian Thessaloniki*, op.cit., pp. 87-89.

19. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The veneration of St. Demetrios), p. 84.

20. Efth. Tsigaridas - Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Κατάλογος χριστιανικών επιγραφών στα Μουσεία της Θεσσαλονίκης* (Catalogue of Christian inscriptions in the Museums of Thessaloniki), (Makedoniki Bibliothiki 52), Thessaloniki 1979. J.-M. Spieser, «Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I: Les inscriptions de Thessalonique», *Travaux et Mémoires*, 5 (1973), 145-180. D. Feissel - J.-M. Spieser, «Les inscriptions de Thessalonique. Supplément», II, *Travaux et Mémoires*, 7 (1975), 303-348, esp. pp. 304-314. Cf. *Θεσσαλονίκη, Ιστορία και Τέχνη* (Thessaloniki, History and Art), Athens 1986, pp. 61-63.

21. Eberhard Oberg, *Amphilochii Iconiensis iambi ad Seleucum* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 9), Berlin 1969. Cf. R. Browning, book review in *Classical Review*, 21 (1971), 137-138. See also Eb. Oberg, «Das Lehrgedicht des Amphilochius von Ikonion», *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973), 67-97.

22. See G. T. Kolias, *Η προβυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη και η στάσις του 3907* (Pre-Byzantine Thessaloniki and the 390 AD insurrection), Athens 1935. See also Evangelos Chrysos, «Η σφαγή των Θεσσαλονικέων το 390» (The massacre of the Thessalonians in 390 AD), *Christian Thessaloniki*, op.cit., pp. 93-105.

23. See P. Papageorgiou, «Zum Leben des Heiligen David von Thessalonike», *BZ*, 2 (1983), 293-300. Idem, «Νέον χειρόγραφον του Βίου του Οσίου Δαβίδ εν Θεσσαλονίκη» (New manuscript of the Life of Hosios David of Thessaloniki), *Byzantis*, 1911-1912, pp. 231-234. See also V. Rose, *Leben des hl. David von Thessalonike*, Berlin 1987. S. Kadas, «Διήγηση Ιγνατίου περί του ψηφιδωτού της μονής Λατόμου (Διονυσίου 132.13 και 260.13)» (Ignatius' account of the mosaics in the Latomou Monastery [Dionysiou 132.13 and 260.13]), *Kleronomia*, 20 (1988), 143-163.

24. See V. Laourdas, «Ανέκδοτον εγκώμιον εις τον Όσιον Δαβίδ» (Unpublished eulogy for Hosios David), *Makedonika*, 10 (1970), 243-256.

25. A. Xyngopoulos, «Το καθολικόν της Μονής Λατόμου εν Θεσσαλονίκη και το εν αυτώ ψηφιδωτόν» (The katholikon of the Latomou Monastery and its mosaics), *AD*, 12 (1929), 142-180. See also N. Gkioles, «Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις στο μωσαϊκό της Μονής Λατόμου στη Θεσσαλονίκη» (Illustrated observations on the mosaics in the Latomou Monastery in Thessaloniki), *Parousia*, 2 (1984), 83-94. J.-M. Spieser, «Remarques complémentaires sur la mosaïque de Osios David», *International Symposium: Byzantine Macedonia 324-1430 AD*, Thessaloniki 1995, pp. 295-306.

26. K. Krumbacher, *Ιστορία της βυζαντινής λογοτεχνίας* (History of Byzantine literature), tr. G. Sotiriadou, vol. 2, p. 479. See also P. Antonopoulos, *Πέτρος Πατρίκιος. Ο Βυζαντινός διπλωμάτης, αξιωματούχος και συγγραφέας* (Petros Patrikios, Byzantine diplomat, official and author), Athens 1990.

27. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The veneration of St. Demetrios), pp. 90-96, 106-112.

28. G. A. and M. G. Sotiriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (The basilica of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki), Keimenon, Athens 1952, p. 193. Cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Τα ψηφιδωτά του ναού του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (The mosaics of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 1969, p. 19. Ch. Bakirtzis, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The basilica of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 1986, p. 56. Th. Papazotos, «Το ψηφιδωτό των κτητόρων του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης» (The mosaic of the founders of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki), *Tribute to the memory of Stylianos Pelekanidis*, Thessaloniki 1983, pp. 365-375. Ch. Bakirtzis, «... βάρβαρον κλύδωνα βάρβαρων στόλων», *Byzantina*, 13: 2 (1985), 1053-1058.

29. G. A. and M. G. Sotiriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 196. Cf. Xyngopoulos, *Τα ψηφιδωτά του ναού του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 28, Bakirtzis, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 57, and Papazotos, *Το ψηφιδωτό των κτητόρων του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 373.

30. G. A. and M. G. Sotiriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 189. Cf. Xyngopoulos, *Τα ψηφιδωτά του ναού του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 6, and Bakirtzis, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, p. 52.

31. Efth. Tsigaridas, *Η Μονή Λατόμου (Όσιος Δαβίδ)* (The Latomou Monastery - Hosios David), Thessaloniki 1987, p. 43.

32. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The veneration of St. Demetrios), pp. 108-112.

33. Mentzos, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-69.

34. Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. R. Henry, vol. VII, Paris 1977, pp. 213-215.

35. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Litera-*

tur im byzantinischen Reihe, Munich ²1979, p. 458.

36. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius*, op. cit. P. K. Christou, *Η γραμματεία των Δημητρίων. Α΄ Διηγήσεις περί των θαυμάτων του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The Demetrios Literature. I. Accounts of the Miracles of St. Demetrios), Thessaloniki 1993.

37. F. Barisic, «Cuda Dimitria Solunskog kao istoriski izvor», Belgrade 1953. A. L. Burnov, «Les sieges de Thessalonique par les Slaves dans les "Miracula S. Demetrii" et leur chronologie», *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia. Faculté de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, I. Histoire, Sofia 1952, pp. 167-215. M. Grigoriou-Ioannidou, «Το επεισόδιο του Κούβερ στα "Θαύματα του Αγίου Δημητρίου"» (The Couver episode in the «Miracula S. Demetrii»), *Byzantiaca*, 1 (1981), 69-87, (= *Une remarque sur le récit des Miracles de Saint Démétrius*, Athens 1987).

38. I. Karayannopoulos, «Η επικοινωνία της Θεσσαλονίκης-Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά τους 7ο-9ο αι.» (Communications between Thessaloniki and Constantinople in the 7th-9th c.), *Ep. Ep. Philos. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis*, 22 (1984), 211-229. (= *Les Slaves en Macédoine. La prétendue interruption des communications entre Constantinople et Thessalonique du 7ème au 9ème siècle*, Athens 1989).

39. I. Fountoulis, «Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος στην υμνογραφία» (Hymns to St. Demetrios), *Litourgika Themata VII*, Thessaloniki 1979, p. 62.

40. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου* (The veneration of St. Demetrios), pp. 92-93.

41. Mentzos, *op.cit.*, pp. 93-96, 106-108.

42. A. Papadopoulos, *Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος εις την ελληνικήν και βουλγαρικήν παράδοσιν* (St. Demetrios in Greek and Bulgarian tradition), Thessaloniki 1971. D. Obolensky, «The Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki in History of Byzantine-Slav Relations», *Balkan Studies*, 25 (1974), 3-20.

43. Karayannopoulos, «Η επικοινωνία της Θεσσαλονίκης» (Communications between Thessaloniki and Constantinople), pp. 211-229.

44. E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, iussu atque mandato societatis scientiarum Argentoratensis*, IV 2 (1914), 169-184.

45. G. I. Theocharidis, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους (285-1354)* (History of Macedonia during the Middle Ages 285-1354), Thessaloniki 1980, pp. 40-59, 91-125. D. I. Pallas, «L' Illyricum Oriental. Aperçu historique. La problématique de son archéologie chrétienne», *Theologia*, 51 (1980), 62-76.

46. D. Evangelidis, «Εικονομαχικά μνημεία εν Θεσσαλονίκη» (Monuments of the Iconomachy in Thessalonica), *AE*, 1937, pp. 341-351.

47. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 491.

48. Beck, *op.cit.*, pp. 505-506.

49. For the Studite Monastery see the monograph by N. X. Eleopoulos, *Η βιβλιοθήκη και το βιβλιογραφικόν εργαστήριον της Μονής των Στουδίου* (The library and the scriptorium of the Studite Monastery), Athens 1967.

50. Beck, *op.cit.*

51. I. P. Medvedev - E. K. Piotrovskaja - E. E. Lipsic, *Vizantijskij Zemledel' ceskij Zakon*, Leningrad 1984. Cf. Fr. Dölger, «Ist der *Nomos Georgikos* ein Gesetz des Kaisers Justinian II?», *Festschrift für L. Wenger*, II, Munich 1945, pp. 18-48. N. Svoronos, «Notes sur l'origine et la date du Code rural», *Travaux et Mémoires*, 8 (1981), 487-500.

52. Lujo Margetic, «La Legge Agraria», *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 5 (1985) [1989], 103-105.

53. Martha Grigoriou-Ioannidou, «Η εκστρατεία του Ιουστινιανού Β΄ κατά των Βουλγάρων και Σλάβων (688)» (Justinian II and his campaign against the Bulgars and the Slavs (688)), *Byzantiaca*, 2 (1982), 111-124. G. P. Economou, «Ο Ιουστινιανός εν Θεσσαλονίκη» (Justinian in Thessaloniki), *AE*, 1918, pp. 41-52.

54. Theocharidis, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους*, pp. 191-195. Cf. J.-M. Spieser, «Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques», pp. 155-159.

55. Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Σλαβικές εγκαταστάσεις στη Μεσαιωνική Ελλάδα. Γενική επισκόπηση* (Slav settlements in mediaeval Greece. General review), Aspects of Byzantine Society, 8, Athens 1993, pp. 45 ff.

56. Helga Köpstein, «Thessaloniki - Wiege des Nomos Georgikos?», *International Symposium: Byzantine Macedonia*, pp. 157-162. See also Luljo Margetic, «Einige Zusätzliche Bemerkungen», *op.cit.*, pp. 162-164.

57. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Σλαβικές εγκαταστάσεις*, pp. 38-45, 72-73, and Sot. K. Kissas, «Πολιτιστικές και καλλιτεχνικές σχέσεις Θεσσαλονίκης και Σλάβων» (Thessaloniki's cultural and artistic relations with the Slavs), *Archaeologia*, 7 (1983), 43-47.

58. See V. Katsaros, «Leo the Mathematician. His Literary Presence in Byzantium during the 9th Century», in: *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. L. Butzer - D. Lohrmann, Basel-Boston-Berlin 1993, pp. 383-398.

59. V. Laurent, «Une homélie inédite de l'archevêque de Thessalonique Léon le Philosophe sur l'Annonciation (26 mars 842)», *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III, Studi e Testi, 332, Città del Vaticano 1964, pp. 281-302. Cf. Th. Papazotos, «Ο μεγάλος ναός της Θεοτόκου

στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Μια επανεξέταση των πηγών για την ιστορία της Αχειροποιήτου» (The great church of the Mother of God in Thessaloniki. A re-examination of the history of the Acheiropoietos), *Makedonika*, 22 (1982), 112-131. Eftychia Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, *Αχειροποίητος ο μεγάλος ναός της Θεοτόκου* («Not made by hands» the great church of the mother of God), Thessaloniki 1989, pp. 12-13.

60. For this university see D. R. Hill, «Science and Technology in the 9th Century Baghdad», in: *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, pp. 485-502.

61. P. Lemerle, *Ο πρώτος βυζαντινός ουμανισμός. Σημειώσεις και παρατηρήσεις για την εκπαίδευση και την παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο από τις αρχές ως τον 10ο αιώνα* (Early Byzantine humanism. Notes and comments on education and scholarship in Byzantium from its inception to the 10th century), tr. Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Athens 1981, p. 129.

62. Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 140-145, with bibliography.

63. See R. Browning, «Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος: Οι Απόστολοι των Σλάβων και το εκπολιτιστικό τους έργο» (Cyril and Methodios: The Apostles to the Slavs and their cultural mission), *Macedonia*, Athens 1982, pp. 263-264. Of the vast bibliography on the work of Constantine-Cyril and Methodios we single out the following: Theodorov-Balan, *Kiril i Metodi, 1-11*, Sofia 1920-1934. F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method. Lehrer der Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1960. F. Grivec - F. Tomsic, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes*, Zagreb 1960. A. Vaillant, *Textes vieux-Slaves*, I-II, Paris 1968. Fr. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Cyrille et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, (*Byzantoslavica Supplementa* 1, Prague 1993). I. Anastassiou, «Βίος Κωνσταντίνου-Κυρίλλου. Βίος Μεθοδίου. Βίος Κλήμεντος Αχρίδος» (Life of Constantine-Cyril. Life of Methodios. Life of Clement of Ochrid), *Ep. Ep. Theol. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis*, 12 (1968), rep. K. G. Bonis, *Οι άγιοι Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος, οι των Σλάβων απόστολοι, και η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Saints Cyril and Methodios, the Apostles to the Slavs, and the Basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki), Athens 1969 (*Die Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios und die Basilika des Hl. Demetrios von Thessalonike*, Athen 1969), and A.-A. Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος* (Cyril and Methodios), Thessaloniki 1992.

64. K. Nihoritis, «Der hl. Methodios und sein altslavischer Kanon auf den hl. Demetrios», *Leben und Werk der byzantinischen Slavenapostel Methodios und Kyrillos*, Vier-Turme-Verlag, Münsterschwartzach 1991, pp. 59-65. Idem, «Unknown stichera to St. Demetrius by St. Methodius», *The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow*, ed. Ant. Em. N. Tachiaos, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 79-85.

65. See S. Kissas, «The Monastery of St. Demetrius of Cephalonia in Thessaloniki: Reflections on the Origin of St. Clement of Achris», *Cyrillomethodianum*, XIII-XIV (1989-1990) 19-30.

66. K. Krumbacher, *Ιστορία της βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας* (History of Byzantine Literature), vol. 1, pp. 538 ff.

67. Ioannis Caminiatae, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae* (CFHB, 4), ed. G. Böhlig, Berlin 1973. Apart from the German (G. Böhling, 1976) and Russian (S. V. Poljakova - Z. V. Felenkovska, 1959) translations, there is also a modern Greek translation by G. Tsaras (Thessaloniki 1987).

68. Ap. Karpozelos, «Η Άλωση της Θεσσαλονίκης του Ιωάννου Καμινιάτου» (Ioannis Caminiates' «Capture of Thessalonica»), *2nd Prose Encounter*, Thessaloniki 1992 (in press).

69. A. P. Kazdan, «Some Questions addressed to the Scolars who Believe in the Authenticity of Kaminiates' "Capture of Thessalonica"», *BZ*, 71 (1978), 301-314. Cf. V. Christides, «Once again Kaminiates' Capture of Thessaloniki», *BZ*, 74 (1981), 7-10, G. Tsaras, «Η αυθεντικότητα του χρονικού του Ιωάννου Καμινιάτη» (The authenticity of Kameniates' chronicle), *Byzantiaca*, 8 (1968), 41-58, E. Trapp, «Η χρονολογία συγγραφής του "Περί αλώσεως της Θεσσαλονίκης", έργου του Ιωάννη Καμινιάτη επί τη βάσει γλωσσικών δεδομένων» (The chronology of the writing of Ioannis Kaminiates' «Capture of Thessalonica» on the basis of linguistic data), *Christian Thessalonica, 3rd Scientific Symposium*, Thessaloniki 1991, pp. 47-52.

70. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanum* II, Lipsiae 1907, rep. New York 1975.

71. A host of laudatory epithets were bestowed upon Thessaloniki by various Byzantine authors. See H. Hunger, «Laudes Thessalonicenses», *Society for Macedonian Studies Anniversary Volume. 50 Years 1939-1989* (Macedonian Library, no. 75), Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 99-113, and Sophia Kotzabasi, «Εγκώμια της Θεσσαλονίκης στη βυζαντινή πεζογραφία» (Laudes Thessalonicenses in Byzantine Prose Writings), *4th Prose Encounter*, Thessaloniki 1995 (in press).

72. Browning, *Macedonia*, p. 288.

73. P. Lemerle, *Ο πρώτος βυζαντινός ουμανισμός*, p. 140.

74. See *Tusculum Lexikon* s.v. Ευφημιακή συλλογή.

75. N. G. Wilson, *Οι λόγιοι στο Βυζάντιο* (Byzantine Men of Letters) (tr. Nik. Konomi, Athens 1991, p. 180).
76. Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, «Η ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη τον 9ο αιώνα» (Painting in 9th-century Thessalonica), *Proceedings of the congress honouring the memory of Saints Cyril and Methodios of Thessalonica, Apostles to the Slavs*, Thessaloniki 1986, pp. 393-410.
77. E. I. Tomadakis, *Ιωσήφ ο υμνογράφος. Βίος και έργον* (Joseph the Hymnographer. Life and works) (*Athena*. Series of dissertations and studies, no. 11), Athens 1971, p. 46.
78. *Migne PG* 100, lines 1201-1212, Fr. Dvornik, *La vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'études Slaves, V) Paris 1926, C. Mango, «On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite», *Byzantina*, 13 (1985), 635-646.
79. F. Follieri, *La vita di San Fantino il giovane. Introductione, testo greco, traduzione, commentario e indici* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 77), Brussels 1993.
80. Anna Lambropoulou, «Ο ασκητισμός στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο» (Asceticism in the Peloponnese during the middle Byzantine period) (The material, natural and spiritual environment in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world, 7), Athens 1994, pp. 32-33 and n. 55-56.
81. Georgios Ch. Chrysostomos, *Ο υμνογράφος Γεράσιμος μοναχός Μικραγιαννίτης και οι Ακολουθίες του σε αγίους της Θεσσαλονίκης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου και του έργου του* (The hymnographer Gerasimos the Mikraghiannite and his Hymns to Thessalonian Saints. Contribution to the study of his life and work), Thessaloniki 1995, p. 138.
82. Georgios Ch. Chrysostomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 135-136, n. 75-76, with bibliography.
83. Georgios Ch. Chrysostomos, *op.cit.*, p. 133 and n. 65. See also N. Moutsopoulos, «Το παρεκκλήσιο του Αγίου Ευθυμίου στη βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου» (The chapel of St. Euthymios in the Basilica of St. Demetrios), *Christian Thessalonica, 3rd Scientific Symposium*, Thessaloniki 1991, pp. 137-174, 155: «dedicated to St. Euthymios ... especially venerated by the Thessalonians, the founder of the Monastery of Peristeron».
84. Anna Tsitouridou, *Η Παναγία των Χαλκέων* (Our Lady of the Coppersmiths), Thessaloniki 1975, with earlier bibliography.
85. See V. Grumel, «La fondateur et la date de fondation du monastère Thessalonicien d' Acapniou», *Échos d'Orient*, 29 (1930), 165-167 and 30 (1931) 91-95. For the identification of the founder see Th. Papazotos, «The Identification of the Church of "Profitis Elias" in Thessaloniki», *POP*, 25 (1991) 121-127.
86. A. Vakalopoulos, «Η παρά την Θεσσαλονίκην βυζαντινή μονή του Χορταΐτου» (The Byzantine Monastery of Hortaitis near Thessaloniki), *EEBS*, 15 (1939), 281, P. N. Papageorgiu, «Zwei Inschriften vom Kloster Χορταΐτου», *BZ*, 12 (1903), 603, N. Nikonanos, «Η εκκλησία της Μεταμόρφωσης του Σωτήρος στο Χορτιάτη» (The Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Hortiatis), *Kernos. Tribute to Professor G. Bakalakis*, Thessaloniki 1972, pp. 105-119.
87. See J. Darrourés, «Obits et colophons», *Tribute to Anastasios K. Orlandos*, vol. 1, Athens 1964, pp. 299-313, nos. 59, 53, 55 et al. See also Otto Volk, *Die byzantinischer Kloster bibliotheken von Konstantinople, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, Diss. Munich 1954, pp. 112-116 (Monastery of Acapniou), pp. 139-141 (Monastery of Hortaitou).
88. R. Romano, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione*. Testo critico, Introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico, Universita di Napoli (Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana, II), Naples 1974. Cf. Eng. translation, with commentary, by B. Baldwin, *Timarion, Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1984. Earlier translations by A. Elissen, *Analekten der mittel-u. neugriechische Literatur*, 4 (1860) (German) and S. V. Poliakova - I. V. Felenkovskaja - E. E. Lipsic, *Viz. Vrem.*, 6 (1953), 357-386 (Russian).
89. See ed. Romano, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125.
90. For the problems associated with the chronology and the environment in which the work was written, see Eud. Th. Tsolakis, «Τιμαρίων. Μια νέα ανάγνωση» (Timarion. A new reading), *In Memory of Stamatis Karatzas*, Thessaloniki 1990, pp. 109-117.
91. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 659 and n. 3.
92. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 621.
93. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 626.
94. Kostas N. Konstantinidis, *Η συμβολή του Βυζαντίου στη διάσωση της αρχαίας ελληνικής γραμματείας* (The contribution of Byzantium to the preservation of ancient Greek literature) (University of Ioannina, Ceremonial Addresses, no. 48), Ioannina 1995, pp. 35-41.
95. *Migne PG*. 139, lines 169-222.
96. N. Svoronos, «Παρατηρήσεις για τη συμβολή του Βυζαντίου στην πνευματική εξέλιξη της Ευρώπης: Η περίπτωση του Ιωάννου Δαμασκηνού» (Notes on the contribution of Byzantium to Europe's spiritual development: The case of Ioannes Damaskinos), *Byzantium and Europe, 1st International Byzantine Studies Meeting, Delphi 20-24 July 1985*, Athens 1987,

pp. 115-152.

97. J. Schmidt, *Des Basilius von Achrida, Erzbishofs von Thessalonich, bischer une dierfe Dialoge*, Munich 1901. Cf. *Migne PG*. 119, lines 929-934.

98. See R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grandes centres byzantines*, Paris 1975, p. 347.

99. For his personality and his work see H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή Λογοτεχνία* (Byzantine Literature), vol. 2, pp. 449-453. N. G. Wilson, *Οι λόγιοι στο Βυζάντιο* (Byzantine Men of Letters), pp. 252-262. See also A. Kazdan, «Eustathius of Thessalonica: the Life and Opinions of a Twelfth-century Byzantine Rhetor», *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, tr. S. Franklin, Cambridge 1984, pp. 115-195.

100. R. Browning, «The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century», *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), 186-193 (= *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* Variorum Reprints, London 1977, X).

101. P. Wirth, «Die Flucht des Erzbischofs Eustathios aus Thessalonike», *BZ*, 53 (1960), 83-85. V. Grumel, «Sur la fuite et le retour de l'archevêque Eustathe de Thessalonique», *REB*, 20 (1962), 221-224.

102. G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii... commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam, I-III*, Leipzig 1825-1826, rep. Hildesheim 1960. Idem, *Eustathii... commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, I-IV, Leipzig 1827-1830, rep. Hildesheim 1960. New edition, M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, I-IV, Leiden 1971-1987.

103. C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* 11 (1882) 201-407.

104. A. Kambylis, *Eustathius von Thessalonike, Prooimion zum Pindarkommentar, Einleitung, Kritischer Text*, Indices, Göttingen 1991.

105. Th. F. L. Tafel, *Eustathii... opuscula*, op. cit., *Migne PG*. 136, lines 503-754. Cf. W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum* I-II, Leipzig 1892-1917, rep. 1982.

106. Th. F. L. Tafel, *Eustathii... Opuscula*, pp. 308-361.

107. See «Περί της επισκέψεως βίου μοναχικού επί τη διορθώσει των περί αυτόν» (On an inspection of monastic life for the purpose of reforming it), *op.cit.*, pp. 214-267.

108. F. I. Koukoule, *Θεσσαλονίκης Ευσταθίου, Τα λαογραφικά* (Eustathios of Thessalonica, Writings on Folklore), vol. 1-2, Athens 1950.

109. *Eustazio di Tessalonica. Testo critico, introduzione, annotazioni di Stilpon Kyriakidis, proemio di Bruno Lavagnini, versione italiana di Vincenzo Rotolo* (Instituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici), Palermo 1961. See German translations of the text by Tafel, *Komnenen und Normannen* ([2]1870) 37-72, 73-202, and H. Hunger, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 3 ([2]1967).

110. V. Rotolo, «Οι Σικελοί στη Θεσσαλονίκη το 1185» (The Sicilians in Thessaloniki in 1185), *Thessaloniki between East and West*, pp. 9-20.

111. Browning, *Macedonia*, p. 291. Cf. *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*, ed. Hermannus Vsener - Ludovicus Radermacher, I, Lipsiae 1909, pp. XI-XII, n. 2.

112. See R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grandes centres byzantines*, Paris 1975, pp. 347-349. See also above n. 87.

113. P. N. Papageorgiou, «Περί χειρογράφου Ευαγγελίου Θεσσαλονίκης» (On a manuscript Gospel from Thessalonica), *BZ*, 6 (1897) 542.

114. Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki, *Η Θεσσαλονίκη και τα μνημεία της* (Thessaloniki and her monuments), Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 30-31, and G. Velenis, «Σχόλια και παρατηρήσεις σε πολύστιχες πλίνθινες επιγραφές» (Notes and commentaries on polystichous plinth inscriptions), *Antiphon tribute to Professor N. B. Drandakis*, Thessaloniki 1994, pp. 274-275.

115. G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca. 1138 - ca. 1222)* [Orientalia Christiana XXXIII, 2: N 41], Rome 1934. See also Ph. Ch. Kolovos, *Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου του και του επιστολογραφικού του έργου* (Michael Choniates. Contribution to the study of his life and epistolary activity) (doctoral dissertation), Ioannina 1993.

116. K. G. Bonis, *Ευθυμίου του Μαλάκη, Τα σωζόμενα* (Euthymios the Malachite, Extant works), vol. 1-2, Athens 1937-1949. Cf. J. Darrourés, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikés. Lettres et discours*, Paris 1970, pp. 57-62.

117. K. G. Bonis, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 33, 78-83.

118. S. Kissas, «Les monuments serbes mediévaux à Thessalonique», *Zograf*, 7 (1977), 52-57.

119. A. Tsitouridou, «La monastère de Philokales à Thessalonique, Sava Nemanjic - Saint Sava, Histoire et Tradition», *Coll. Scient. Int.*, Belgrade 1979, pp. 263-268.

120. M. Zivojinovic, «O boravcima svetog Save u Solunu», *Istorijski Casopis*, 24 (1977), 63-71 (= Επισκέψεις και παραμονές του Αγίου Σάββα στη Θεσσαλονίκη / St. Savvas, Visits and Sojourns in Thessalonica), *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, IV, Athens 1980, 442-453).

121. V. Katsaros, «"Παίδες του Μυροβλύτου". Παρατηρήσεις σ' ένα χωρίο από την "Άλωση" του Ευσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης» (Children

of the Myrrhoblete. Commentary on a passage from Eustathios of Thessaloniki's «Conquest») (ed. St. Kyriakidis, pp. 94, 23-29), *Christian Thessalonica, 4th Scientific Symposium*, Thessaloniki 1982, pp. 100-101.

122. F. Brendenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessalonike (1224-1242)*, Diss., Johannesburg 1983.

123. For relevant bibliography see A. Stavridou-Zafraka, «Η χρονολόγηση επιστολών και εγγράφων του Ιωάννη Αποκαύκου» (Dating the letters of Ioannes Apocaucus), *Egriatia*, 4 (1993-1994), [Thessaloniki 1995], pp. 144-146, n. 3-12.

124. E. Tsigaridas, «Les peintures murales de l'Ancienne Métropole de Veria», *Mileseva dans l'histoire du peuple serbe. Colloque scientifiques international à l'occasion de 750 ans de son existence*, Juin 1985 (Colloques scientifiques de l'académie serbe des sciences et des arts XXXVIII, Classe des sciences historiques 6), Belgrade 1987, pp. 91-102. Cf. Th. Papazotos, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος - 18ος αι.). Ιστορική και αρχαιολογική σπουδή των μνημείων της πόλης* (Veria and its monuments [11th - 18th c.] Historic and archaeological importance of the city's monuments), Athens 1994, pp. 164-169 and 242-249.

125. Kosmas Lambropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος. Συμβολή στην έρευνα του βίου και του συγγραφικού του έργου* (Ioannes Apocaucus. Contribution to research into his life and writings) (Historic Monographs), Athens 1988. See also A. Stavridou- Zafraka, «Η χρονολόγηση επιστολών και εγγράφων του Ιωάννη Αποκαύκου», n. 123.

126. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 710. See also Sp. N. Troianou, «Δημήτριος ο Χωματιανός κατά Θεοδώρου Βαλσαμών: Ειναι γνήσια τα τέκνα από ιερολογημένη μνηστεία;» (Demetrios Chomatianos against Theodore Balsamon: Are the children of a betrothal blessed by the Church legitimate?), *Actes of the International Symposium on the Despotate of Epirus*, Athens 1992, pp. 345-353; K. G. Pitsakis, «Ζητήματα Κωλυμάτων γάμου από την νομολογία και την πρακτική του "δεσποτάτου" της Ηπείρου» (Issues of Obstacles to marriage in the jurisprudence and practice of the Despotate of Epirus), *op.cit.*, pp. 355-374, with bibliography on Chomatianos.

127. Wilson, *Byzantine Men of Letters*, p. 284. See also C. N. Constantinidis, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (1204-ca. 1310), Nicosia 1982, p. 13. Cf. Browning, *Macedonia*, p. 332, and C. N. Constantinidis, «Οι απαρχές της πνευματικής ακμής στη Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τον 14ο αιώνα» (The first-fruits of the intellectual flowering of Thessaloniki in the 14th century), *Dodoni*, 21:1 (1992), [1995], p. 137.

128. PLP I, Nr. 520 R. Romano, *Constantino Acropolita Epistole. Saggio introduttivo, testo critico, indici*, Naples 1991.

129. Ath. Papadopoulos-Keramefs, «Κωνσταντίνου Ακροπολίτου, Λόγος εις τον μεγαλομάρτυρα και μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον μετά δύο προς Θεσσαλονικείς επιστολών» (Constantine Acropolites, Treatise on St. Demetrios, martyr and Myrrhoblete, with two epistles to the Thessalonians), *Analekta from the Jerusalem Compilation*, vol. 1, pp. 160-215.

130. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 703. C. N. Constantinidis, *Higher Education*, pp. 120-121, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paleologen Zeit* no 2541, C. N. Constantinidis, «The first-fruits», pp. 139-140.

131. Constantinidis, *Higher Education*, pp. 120-121. Idem, «The first-fruits», pp. 141 and 144, n. 3.

132. Constantinidis, «The first-fruits», pp. 139, 140-141.

133. *Op.cit.*, pp. 142-147.

134. See K. Krumbacher, *Ιστορία της βυζαντινής λογοτεχνίας* (History of Byzantine Literature), vol. 2, p. 284. N. G. Wilson, *Byzantine Men of Letters*, pp. 314-316. H. Hunger, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 422-462. S. K. Skalisti, *Θωμάς Μάγιστρος. Ο βίος και το έργο του* (Thomas Magister. His Life and Work), Thessaloniki 1984. Cf. PLP VII, No 16045.

135. *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi Ecloga vocum Atticarum*, ed. F. Ritschl, Halle 1832, rep. Hildesheim 1970.

136. H. P. Dietz, *Thomas Magistros' Recension of the Sophoclean Plays Oedipus Coloneus, Trachiniae, Philoctetes*, Illinois 1965. A. Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of Tragedies of Aeschylus*, New York 1943, p. 104. Cf. A Turyn, *The Byzantine Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana, Illinois, 1957, pp. 53 ff. W. J. W. Koster, *Scholia in Aristophanem* I. III. 2, Groningen 1974.

137. J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindar*, Paris 1952, pp. 180-205.

138. F. W. Lenz, *Fünf Reden Thomas Magisters*, Leiden 1963.

139. V. Laourdas, «Τοις Θεσσαλονικεύσι περί ομονοίας» (To the Thessalonians, on concord), *Ep. Ep. Theol. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis*, 12 (1969) 751-775.

140. Browning, *Macedonia*, p. 332.

141. For editions of his works see J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova*, Paris 1844, pp. 1-201. See also the monographs J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin*, Paris 1959; I. Sevcenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Brussels 1962; N. Papatria-

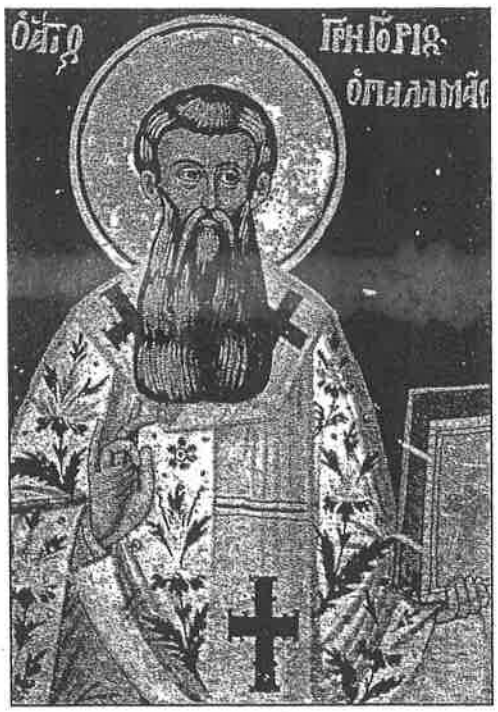
ntaphyllou-Theodoridi, *Η χειρόγραφη παράδοση των έργων του Νικηφόρου Χούμνου, (1250/55-1327)*, (The manuscript tradition of the works of Nicephorus Humnus, 1250/55-1327), Thessaloniki 1984. See also L. G. Benakis, «Νικηφόρου Χούμνου, περί της ύλης και των ιδεών» (Nicephorus Humnus, on matter and ideas), *Philosophia*, 3 (1973), 339-381, P. L. M. Leone, «Le epistole di Niceforo Chumno nel cod. Ambros. gr. C 71 sup.», *EEBS*, 39-40 (1972-73) 75-95, and G. Bozonis, «Ανέκδοτον μελέτημα του Νικηφόρου Χούμνου, Περί κόσμον και της κατ' αυτόν φύσεως» (Unpublished treatise by Nicephorus Humnus, On the world and its nature), *Diptycha*, 1 (1979), 97-103.

142. *PLP* VIII, Nr. 20816.

143. *PLP* VIII, Nr. 20826.

144. H. Hunger, «Die byzantinische Literatur in der erste Häfte des 14. Jahrhunderts», *Decani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIV siècle* (Colloques scientifiques de l' Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts XLIX, Classe de sciences historiques 13), Belgrade 1989, 35-45. See also V. Laourdas, *Η κλασσική φιλόλογία εις την Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τον δέκατον τέταρτον αιώνα* (Classical philology in Thessaloniki in the fourteenth century), Thessaloniki 1960.

145. Hunger, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 462-467. Wilson, *Byzantine Men of Letters*, pp. 316-324. A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, I, Text II plates, Urbana-Chicago-London 1972, esp. pp. 123-136 and plates



96-99. E. Gamillscheg - D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, Vienna 1981, IA, 73, Nr. 104, IIA, 1989, 69, Nr. 136.

146. R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle*, Paris 1949. W. J. W. Koster, *Autour d' un manuscrit d' Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius*, Groningen 1957. J. Irigoin, *Les scholies métriques de Pindare*, Paris 1958, pp. 93-106. L. Massa Positano, *Demetrii Triclinii in Aeschyli Persas Scholia*, Naples 1963. N. G. Wilson, *Scholia Tricliana in Aristophanis Equites*, Groningen - Amsterdam 1969. A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, Urbana 1952. Idem, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, New York 1943, pp. 100-116. O. L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia of Aeschylus: I. The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Leiden 1975. K. Mathiessen, *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hecabe des Euripides*, Heidelberg 1974, pp. 100-105.

147. A. Turyn, «Demetrius Triclinius and the Planudeum Anthology», *EEBS*, 34-40 (1972-73) 403-450.

148. A. Wasserstein, «An Unpublished Treatise by Demetrius Triclinius on Lunar Theory», *JÖBG*, 16 (1967), 153-174.

149. See H.-G. Beck, *Theodorus Metochites die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1952. I. Sevcenko, *Études sur la polemique*. Idem, «Théodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of His Time», *The Kariye Djami* 4, ed. P. Underwood, London 1975, pp. 19-55. N. G. Wilson, *Byzantine Men of Letters*, pp. 325-355. Eva de Vries - Van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite. Une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987. I. D. Polemis, *Θεοδώρου Μετοχίτη Ηθικός ή Περί Παιδείας* (Theodore Metochites, Ethics or On Education), Athens 1995.

150. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I-III, New York 1966, IV, Princeton 1975.

151. Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida, «Οι νέες τοιχογραφίες των Αγίων Αποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης και η ζωγραφική του 14ου αι. στην Κωνσταντινούπολη» (The new frescos in the Church of the Apostles, Thessaloniki, and 14th-century painting in Constantinople), *Macedonia during the Palaeologan era, 2nd Symposium Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 14-20 Dec. 1992.

152. See above n. 133.

153. *PLP* IX, Nr. 22234.

154. K. I. Dyobouniotis, «Θεοδώρου Πεδιασίμου Έκφρασις περί του ιερού των Φερών» (Theodore Pediasimos. Treatise on the sanctuary of Pherae), *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 15 (1921), (171-174). Cf. A. K. Orlandos, «Η μη-

τρόπολις των Σερρών κατά την Έκφρασιν του Πεδιασίμου» (The cathedral of Serres according to the Treatise of Pediasimos), *EEBS*, 19 (1949) 259-271.

155. M. Treu, *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae exstant, Programm des Victoria - Gymnasiums*, Potsdam 1899.

156. E. I. Tomadakis, *Joseph the Hymnographer*, pp. 31-32.

157. S. Kotsabasi, «Ένα ανέκδοτο Εγκώμιο στον Αγ. Νέστορα. Το πρόβλημα της ταύτισης του συγγραφέα» (An unpublished eulogy to St. Nestor. The problem of the identity of the author), *In Memory of Linos Politis*, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 65-75. Cf. Idem, «Ein Unediertes Enkomion auf den hl. Nestor (BHG 2291) kritische Ausgabe», *Hellenica*, 41 (1990) 267-277.

158. Hunger, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 492-563.

159. *Op.cit.*, p. 394.

160. P. Matraga, *Anecdota graeca*, pp. 675-682. I. Dujcev, «Proucvanija vurchu bulgarskoto srednovekovie», *Sbornik Bulg. Akad. Nauk.*, 41, 21 [1949] 132-143.

161. For Manuel Philes see Günter Stickler, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase* [Diss. der Univ. Wien, 229], Vienna 1992, pp. 10-36.

162. Gr. de Andrès - J. Irigoin - W. Hörandner, «Johannes Katrares und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion», *JÖB*, 23 (1974) 201-214.

163. G. Schmalzbauer, «Das Enkomion des Neophytos Ευσχήμων auf den Metropoliten Myron von Ephesos», *JÖB*, 26 (1977) 159-168.

164. See E. Gamillscheg, «Beobachtungen zur Buchproduktion im byzantinischen Makedonien», *International Symposium: Byzantine Macedonia AD 324-1430*, Thessaloniki 1995, p. 108, n. 29.

165. *Op.cit.*, p. 109, n. 33.

166. *PLP* IX, Nr. 21284.

167. *PLP* III, Nr. 6462.

168. Gamillscheg, «Beobachtungen», p. 109, n. 36.

169. R. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator, I. Text, II Plates*, Vienna 1991. Cf. Gamillscheg, «Beobachtungen», *op.cit.*, p. 106, n. 11.

170. Otto Volk, *Die byzantinischer klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinople, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, Diss. Munich 1954, pp. 130-132.

171. *Op.cit.*, pp. 112-116. See also n. 87, 112 here.

172. *Op.cit.*, pp. 133-136.

173. See R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantines*, Paris 1975, pp. 413-414. V. Dimitriadis, *Τοπογραφία της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά την εποχή της Τουρκοκρατίας, 1430-1912* (Topography of Thessaloniki during the period of Ottoman Rule, 1430-1912), Thessaloniki 1983, p. 268. See also J. Darrourés, «Obits et colophon», p. 308, no. 49.

174. V. Katsaros, «Ανέκδοτο διαζύγιο του 13ου αιώνα και το πρόβλημα του συντάκτη του επισκόπου Κίτρους Ιωάννη» (Unpublished 13-century divorce and the problem of its author, Bishop John of Kitros), *In Memory of Linos Politis*, pp. 53-63. Idem, «Ο επίσκοπος Κίτρους Ιωάννης (± τέλη 13ου αι.)» (Bishop John of Kitros, late 13th century), *Proceedings of the scientific Congress: Pieria in Byzantine and Modern Times*, Katerini 25-28 Nov. 1993 (in press).

175. C. N. Constantinidis, «The first-fruits», p. 138, n. 1. See also V. Katsaros, «Documents relatifs à la metropole de Thessalonique datant

de la fin du XIIIe siècle - debut du XIVe», *Byzantina*, 15 (1989) 401-427.

176. The early 11th-century dating (see Sp. N. Troianos, *Οι πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου. Εισαγωγικό βοήθημα* [The sources of Byzantine law. Introductory notes[Athens-Komotini 1986, p. 130) has been revised. See A. Schmink, «Thessalonicensische Jurisprudenz in der Palaiologenzeit», *Macedonia during the Palaeologan era, 2nd Symposium Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 14-20 Dec. 1992 (in press), and C. N. Constantinidis, «The first-fruits», p. 142, n. 2.

177. *PLP*, 1, Nr. 1347.

178. K. Pitsakis, *Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον νόμων ή Εξάβιβλος* (Constantine Armenopoulos: Handbook of Laws or Hexabiblos) (Byzantine and Modern Greek Texts, 1) Athens 1971.

179. K. Pitsakis, «Η σημασία του νομικού έργου του Κωνστάντίνου Αρμενοπούλου» (The importance of the jurisprudence of Constantine Armenopoulos), *Macedonia during the Palaeologan era*, (in press).

180. Ch. Papastathis, «Η διάδοσις της Εξαβίβλου του Αρμενοπούλου εις τον σλαβικόν κόσμον» (The dissemination of the Hexabiblos in the Slav world), *Makedonika*, 15 (1975) 16-27.

181. D. S. Gkinis, «Λόγος ανέκδοτος Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενοπούλου εις την προεόρτιον εορτήν του Αγίου Δημητρίου» (Unpublished address by Constantine Armenpoulos on the Eve of the Feast of St. Demetrios), *EEBS*, 21 (1951), 145-162.

182. *PLP* II, Nr. 2808. Cf. R. V. Paschos, *Ο Ματθαίος Βλάσταρης και το υμνογραφικόν έργον του* (Matthew Blastares and his hymns) [Institute for Balkan Studies, 183], Thessaloniki 1978.

183. Rallis-Potlis, *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων* (Compilation of divine and sacred canons), vol. 6, pp. 1-518. See also Sp. Troianos, «Περί τας νομικάς πηγάς του Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη» (On the legal sources of Matthew Blastares), *EEBS*, 44 (1979-1980), 305-329, N. Matsis, *Περί την κριτικήν του Συντάγματος τού Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη* (On the criticism of Matthew Blastares' Compilation), vol. I-II, Athens 1979-1980, Idem, «Περί την παράφρασιν του Συντάγματος του Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη υπό του Κουνάλη Κριτοπούλου. Συμβολή εις την μελέτην των μεταβυζαντινών νομοκανόνων» (On the paraphrase of Matthew Blastares' Compilation by Kounalis Kritopoulos. Contribution to the study of post-Byzantine legal codes), *EEBS*, 34 (1965) 175-210.

184. See Paschos, *Matthew Blastares*, pp. 84-107.

185. *Op.cit.*, 120-125, 129.

186. *Op.cit.*, 117-120.

187. For varied interpretations of this phenomenon see G. Kordatos, *Η κομμούνα της Θεσσαλονίκης, 1342-1349* (The commune in Thessaloniki 1342-1349), Athens [1]1928, R. Browning, «Komunata na Zilotite v Solun 1342-1350», *Istoriceski Pregled*, 6 (1950), 509-521, I. Sevcenko, «The Zealot Revolution and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonica», *Tribute to Stilpon P. Kyriakidis on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his professorship (1926-1951)*, Thessaloniki 1953, pp. 603-617, V. Hrohova, «La révolte des Zelotes à Salonique et les communes italiennes», *Byzantinoslavica*, 22 (1961), 1-15, St. Papathemeli, «Η επανάσταση των Ζηλωτών και η πολιτεία τους στη Θεσσαλονίκη» (The revolt of the Zealots and their commune in Thessaloniki), *Nea Estia*, 118 (1985), 181-187. The analytical study by G. M. Hatzouli, *Ζηλωτές και Ησυχασμός* (Zealots and Hesychasm, Thessaloniki 1987), is mimeographed.

188. G. I. Kargotou, «Δύο χειρόγραφα της εν Κύπρω ιεράς μονής της Παναγίας του Μαχαιρά» (Two manuscripts from the Cypriot Monastery of Panaghia Machaira), *Cypriot Studies, 15 (1951-1952), Folklore Appendix*, p. 72, 13: «φεύγε ογλήγορα, αναχώρησον μακράν!» («quickly take your departure, set off for distant lands»).

189. *PLP* IX Nr. 21546. Of the vast bibliography on Grigorios Palamas we single out the following: G. Papamichael, *Ο Άγιος Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς αρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης* (St. Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessaloniki), Alexandria 1911. P. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris 1959. Idem, *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, Paris 1959. Th. Zisis, *Ο Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Παλαμάς* (St. Gregory Palamas), Athens 1985. For representations of St. Gregory Palamas in Byzantine art see E. Tsigaridas, «Εικονιστικές μαρτυρίες του Αγίου Γρηγορίου του Παλαμά σε ναούς της Καστοριάς και της Βέροιας. Συμβολή στην εικονογραφία του αγίου» (Figurative attestations of St. Gregory Palamas in churches of Kastoria and Veria. Contribution to the iconography of the saint), *Proceedings of the Theological Congress honouring the memory of our blessed father Grigorios Palamas, Archbishop of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1986, pp. 263-294, and Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, «Οι πρώτες απεικονίσεις του Αγίου Γρηγορίου του Παλαμά στη Θεσσαλονίκη» (The first representations of St. Gregory Palamas in Thessaloniki), *Proceedings op.cit.*, pp. 247-257. The complete works of St. Gregory Palamas were published in Thessaloniki by P. K. Christou, *Γρηγορίου του Παλαμά*

συγγράμματα (The writings of Grigorios Palamas), vol. 1-2, Thessaloniki 1962-1985.

190. G. Schir'o, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole greche. I primordi episodici e doctrinari delle lotte Esicaste*, Palermo 1954. G. Schiro, *Ο Βαρλαάμ και η φιλοσοφία εις την Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τον 14ο αιώνα* (Barlaam and philosophy in Thessaloniki in the 14th century), Thessaloniki 1957. A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole a Palamas. Introduzione, testo, traduzione, note*, Rome 1975. J. Mogenet-A. Tihon, *Barlaam de Seminara, Traités sur les éclipses de soleil de 1333 et 1337. Histoires des textes, éditions critiques, traductions et commentaires*, Louvain 1977. R. E. Sinkewicz, «The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian», *Mediaeval Studies*, 44 (1982), 181-242. A. Fyrigos, «Una αντιστροφή (conversio) nella dialettica scolastica di Barlaam Calabro», *Studi Bizantini e Neogreci*, 1983, pp. 433-443. Idem, «Barlaam Calabro tra l' aristotelismo scolastico e il neoplatonismo bizantino», —Il Veltro—, 27 (1983) 185-195.

191. *PLP* I, Nr. 495. A. Constantinides Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* [CFHB, 21], Washington 1983.

192. See Eud. Th. Tsolakis, «Ανώνυμος Λόγος για τον Γρηγόριο Παλαμά (;)» (Anonymous homily on Grigorios Palamas (?)), *In Memory of Linos Politis*, pp. 109-115.

193. D. Harlfinger, «Ein neues Originalfragment des palamismus - Tomos von 1351», *In Memory of Antonios Sigalas*, 6th Scientific Meeting Department, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, *Thessaloniki 12-14 May, 1994 (in press)*.

194. L. Clucas, *The Hesychast Controversy in Byzantium in the 14th c. A Consideration of the Basic Evidence*, Diss. Univ. of California 1976. Cf. Ant. Em. Tachiaos, *Επιδράσεις του ησυχασμού εις την εκκλησιαστικήν πολιτικήν εν Ρωσία, 1328-1406* (Influences of Hesychasm on ecclesiastical policy in Russia, 1328-1406), Thessaloniki 1962.

195. *PLP* V, Nr. 10615. D. G. Tsamis, *Ιωσήφ Καλοθέτου συγγράμματα* (Writings of Joseph Kalothetos) (Byzantine writers from Thessalonica, 1), Thessaloniki 1980.

196. D. G. Tsamis, *Δαβίδ Δισυπάτου Λόγος κατά Βαρλαάμ και Ακινδύνου, προς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν* (David Disypatos, Treatise against Barlaam and Akindynos, addressed to Nicholas Cabasilas) (Byzantine Texts and Studies, 10), Thessaloniki 1973. See also H.-V. Beyer, «David Disypatos als Theologe und Volkkämpfer für die Sache des Hesychasmus (ca. 1337 bis ca. 1350)», *Jo#b* 24 (1975) 107-128. *PLP* I-II, Nr. 5532. M. Candal, «Origen ideolo'gico del palamismo en un documento de David Disipato», *Miscela'nea Comilas*, 1 (1943), 487-525 [= *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15 (1949) 85-125]. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 730.

197. Browning, «David Disypatos' poem on Akindynos», *Byzantion*, 25-27 (1955-1957) 714-715.

198. Dim. V. Gonis, *Το συγγραφικόν έργον του οικουμενικού πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α'* (The writings of Ecumenical Patriarch Kallistos I), Athens 1980.

199. *PLP* V, Nr. 11917. V. S. Pseftogas, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου Λόγοι και Ομιλίες* (Philotheos Kokkinos, Discourses and Homilies) (Byzantine writers from Thessalonica, 2), Thessaloniki 1991. D. B. Kaimakis, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου Δογματικά έργα* (Philotheos Kokkinos, Dogmatic works) (Byzantine writers from Thessalonica, 3), Thessaloniki 1983. D. G. Tsamis, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως του Κοκκίνου Αγιολογικά έργα Α', Θεσσαλονικείς Άγιοι* (Philotheos Kokkinos of Constantinople, Works, I, Thessalonian Saints) (Byzantine writers from Thessalonica, 4), Thessaloniki 1985.

200. P. N. Trembelas, *Αι τρεις λειτουργίαι* (The three liturgies), Athens 1935 (rep. 1982) 1-16.

201. *Migne PG* 154, lines 745-766.

202. Rallis-Potlis, *Compilation of divine and sacred canons*, vol. 5, pp. 128-130.

203. *PLP* I, Nr. 145. *Migne PG* 147, lines 817-826. S. T. Papadopoulou, *Καλλίστου Αγγελικούδη κατά Θωμά Ακινάτου* (Kallistos Angelikoudes against Thomas Aquinas), Athens 1970.

204. *PLP* VI, Nr. 13876. G. Gammelli, «Demetrii Cydonii orationes tres adhuc ineditae», *BNJ* 3 (1992) 67-76, *BNJ* 4 (1923) 77-83, 282-295. Idem, Demetrius Kydonès Correspondance, Paris 1930. G. Mercati, «Notizie ed altri appunti», *Studi e Testi*, 56 (1931) 313-318, 339-340, 346-355, 359-435. R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Demetrius Cydonès*, Studi e Testi, 131 (1947). Idem, *Demetrius Cydonès Correspondance*, I-II, Studi e Testi, 186 (1956) and 208 (1960). W. Blum, *Furcht von dem Tod. Die Schrift des Demetrios Kydones «Über die Verachtung des Todes», Einleitung und übersetzung*, Münster 1973. F. Kianka, «The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: A Fourteenth-Century Autobiographical Source», *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, 7 (1980) 57-71. E. Moutsopoulos, «L' idée de la liberté dans la correspondance de Démétrius Cydonès», *Diotima*, 9 (1981) 130-133. E. Moutsopoulos, «Thomisme et aristotélisme à Byzance: Démétrius Cydonès», *JÖB*, 32/4 (1982) 307-310. Ph. A. Demetracopoulos, «Demetrios Kydones' Translation of the Summa Theologiae», *JÖB*, 32/4 (1982) 311-320.

205. G. Leontsinis - A. Glycofridou-Leontsini,

Δημητρίου Κυδώνη: Θωμά Ακινάτου Σούμμα Θεολογική, εξελληνισθείσα (Demetrios Kydones: Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica rendered into Greek) (Corpus Philos. Graecorum Recentiorum II, 5), Athens 1976. Ph. A. Demetracopoulou, *Δημητρίου Κυδώνη: Θωμά Ακινάτου Σούμμα Θεολογική, εξελληνισθείσα* (Demetrios Kydones: Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica rendered into Greek) (Corpus Philos. Graecorum Recentiorum II, 16), Athens 1979. Ph. A. Demetracopoulou - M. Brentanou, *Δημητρίου Κυδώνη: Θωμά Ακινάτου Σούμμα Θεολογική, εξελληνισθείσα* (Demetrios Kydones: Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica rendered into Greek) (C. Ph. Gr. R. II, 17A), Athens 1980.

206. *PLP* VI, Nr. 13883. Cf. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 737, D. Z. Nikitas, «Η βυζαντινή μετάφραση του έργου του Βοηθίου De differentiis topicis από τον Πρόχορο Κυδώνη» (Prochoros Kydones' Byzantine translation of Boethius' De differentiis topicis), *Ellinika*, 35 (1984) 277-315, H. Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones. Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Wiener Studien, Beiheft 9), Vienna 1984, Idem, *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus, De libero arbitrio I 1-90 und ps. - Augustinus, De decem plagis Aegyptiorum (lateinisch - griechisch)*, [Wiener Studien, Beiheft 14], Vienna 1990.

207. *PLP* II, Nr. 3355. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca* III (1832), (photo rep. 1962) pp. 71-111.

208. *PLP* V, Nr. 10102. *Migne PG* 149, lines 683-730, vol. 151, lines 717-764. E. Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione spiritus sancti*, Studi e Testi 116 (1950), Idem «La "Regla teolo´gica" de Nilo Cabasilas», *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 23 (1957) 237-266, and A. Failler, «Une réfutation de Balsamon par Nil Kabasilas», *REB*, 32 (1974) 211-223.

209. *PLP* XII, Nr. 30539. For listed works and bibliography see Ath. A. Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός. Η ζωή και το έργον αυτού* (Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos. His Life and Works) (Analecta Blatadon 5), Thessaloniki 1970. See also P. Nellas, *Η περί δικαιώσεως διδασκαλία Νικολάου του Καβάσιλα* (Nicholas Cabasilas: His Teachings on Justification), Piraeus 1975, and V. S. Pseftogas, *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα επτά ανέκδοτοι λόγοι το πρώτον εκδιδόμενοι* (Nicholas Cabasilas: Seven unpublished discourses now edited for the first time), Thessaloniki 1976.

210. *PLP* IV, Nr. 9078. H. Hunger, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 154-155. Chr. Waltz, *Rhetores graeci*, VIII, 673-690, 714-725. M. Treu, «Der philosoph Joseph», *BZ*, 8 (1899) 1-64. N. Terzaghi, «Sulla composizione dell' Enciclopedia del filosofo Giuseppe», *Studi It. Filos. Class.*, 10 (1902), 121-132. G. E. Pentogalos, «Ιωσήφ Ρακενδύτου Θρησκευτικοί ύμνοι» (Joseph Rakendytos: Sacred Hymns), *Ellinika*, 23 (1970), 114-118.

211. S. Kourousi, «Ο ακτουάριος Ιωάννης Ζαχαρίας παραλήπτης της επιστολής ι΄ του Γεωργίου Λεκαπηνού. Τα βιογραφικά» (Registrar Ioannes Zacharias, recipient of Georgios Lecapenus' 10th letter. Biography), *Athena*, 78 (1980-1982), 237-276.

212. See notes 158 and 160.

213. *PLP* II, Nr. 4223. Migne PG 139, lines 11-164. See also Sp. Lambros, «Ισιδώρου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης οκτώ επιστολαί ανέκδοτοι» (Isidoros, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki. Eight unpublished letters), *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 9 (1912), 343-414, N. Bei, «Αι πασχάλιοι επιγραφαί του Αγ. Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης και ο μητροπολίτης αυτής Ισίδωρος Γλαβάς (+1369)» (The Easter addresses of St. Demetrios Thessaloniki and its Metropolitan, Isidoros Glavas [+1369]), *BNJ*, 7 (1930), 140-160, R. Loenertz, «Isidore Glabas métropolite de Thessalonique (1380-1396)», *Échos d' Orient*, 6 (1948) 181-187, V. Laourdas, *Ισιδώρου αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Ομιλίαι εις τας εορτάς του Αγ. Δημητρίου* (Isidoros Archbishop of Thessalonica. Homilies for the Feast of St. Demetrios), Thessaloniki 1954. Cf. also Venizelos Ch. Christoforidis, *Ισιδώρου Γλαβά περιστασιακές ομιλίες* (Isidoros Glavas. Occassional homilies) [Ep. Ep. Theol. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis, 26 (1981), Appendix no. 32], Thessaloniki 1981, and Idem, *Ισιδώρου Γλαβά αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Ομιλίες* (Isidoros Glavas, Archbishop of Thessalonica. Homilies), vol. 1, [Ep. Ep. Theol. Sch. Pan. Thessalonikis Dept. Theol. 1 (1992), Appendix no. 6], Thessaloniki 1992.

214. Laourdas, «Ισιδώρου αρχιεπισκόπου ομιλίαι περί της αρπαγής των παίδων και περί της μελλούσης κρίσεως» (Archbishop Isidoros, homilies on the abduction of children and on the approaching crisis), *Tribute to Stilpon P. Kyriakidis*, Thessaloniki 1953, pp. 389-398. Ap. Vakalopoulos, «Οι δημοσιευμένες ομιλίες του αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Ισιδώρου ως ιστορική πηγή για τη γνώση της πρώτης Τουρκοκρατίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη (1387-1403)» (The published homilies of Isidoros Archbishop of Thessaloniki as an historical source of information about the first Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki, 1387-1403), *Makedonika*, 4 (1955-1960) 20-34, and S. Vryonis, «Isidore Glabas and the Turkish devshirme», *Speculum*, 31 (1956) 433-443.

215. *PLP* II, Nr. 3416. V. Laourdas, «Γαβριήλ Θεσσαλονίκης Ομιλίαι» (Gabriel of Thessalo-

nica. Homilies), *Athena*, 57 (1953), 141-148. L. Syndika - V. Laourdas, «Εγκώμιον εις τον αρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης Γαβριήλ» (Eulogy for Gabriel, Archbishop of Thessaloniki), *Makedonika*, 4 (1955-1960) 352-370. V. Laurent, «Le métropolite de Thessalonique Gabriel (1397-1416/19) et le couvent de la Νέα Μονή», *Ellinika*, 13 (1964) 241-255.

216. *PLP* XI, Nr. 27057. *Migne PG* 155, lines 33-952. D. Balfour, *Politico-historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17-1429)* [Wiener Byzantinische Studien, XIII], Vienna 1979. Idem, *Αγίου Συμεών Αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1416/17-1429)* έργα Θεολογικά, (St. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica 1416/17-1429, theological works) [Analecta Blatadon, 34], Thessaloniki 1981. See also *Proceedings of the liturgical congress in honour of the memory of our blessed father Saint Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (Thessaloniki 15-9-1981)*, Thessaloniki 1983, and the massive work by Michael Kuzler, *Gnadenquellen Symeon von Thessaloniki (+1429) als Beispiel für die Einflussnahme des Palamismus auf die Orthodoxe Sakramententheologie und Liturgik*, Trier 1989.

217. See I. Fountoulis, «Ο άγιος Συμεών Θεσσαλονίκης συντάκτης Τυπικού» (St. Symeon of Thessalonica, composer of a Rule), *Proceedings of the liturgical congress*, pp. 109-120.

218. See Th. E. Detorakis, «Ο Συμεών Θεσσαλονίκης ως υμνοφράφος» (Symeon of Thessalonica as hymnographer), *Proceedings of the liturgical congress*, pp. 175-194.

219. Michael Choniates, ed. Sp. Lambrou, vol. 2, p. 60, 5-6. Cf. H. Hunger, «Laudes Thessalonicenses», p. 101 and S. Kotzabasi, «Εγκώμια της Θεσσαλονίκης» (Laudes Thessalonicenses), p. 3.

220. Philotheos Kokkinos, ed. D. G. Tsamis, p. 64, 2. 7-8. Cf. S. Kotzabasi, «Εγκώμια της Θεσσαλονίκης» (Laudes Thessalonicenses), p. 7, n. 51.

221. *PLP* II, Nr. 3450.

222. *PLP* VII, Nr. 16379.

223. *PLP* I, Nr. 839. G. Tsara, *Διήγησις περί της τελευταίας αλώσεως της Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονωδία επί τη αλώσει της Θεσσαλονίκης*, (Account of the conquest of Thessalonica. Monody on the conquest of Thessalonica), Thessaloniki 1958. Idem, «Οι δύο έμμετρες μονωδίες για την τελευταία άλωση της Θεσσαλονίκης» (The two metrical monodies on the final conquest of Thessalonica), *Makedonika*, 9 (1969), 64-100. Melek Delilbasi, *Johannis Anagnostes, «Selânik (Thessaloniki) in son zapti hakkinda bir tarih* [Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari XVIII Dizi - Sa. 8], Ankara 1989.

224. N. P. Andriotis, «Η Θεσσαλονίκη στα δημοτικά τραγούδια» (Thessaloniki in demotic songs), *Counter-tribute to Professor Nikolaos P. Andriotis*, Thessaloniki 1976, pp. 425-432. Cf. Er.-Aik. Mellou, «Στα χρόνια που έπεσε η Θεσσαλονίκη (θρύλοι και παραδόσεις)» (At the time of the Fall of Thessaloniki - legends and traditions), *Makedonikon Hemerologion*, 47 (1977) 302-304.