

Contribution to the question of the authenticity of a byzantine encomion

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Under the name of Gregory II, the Chypriot, Patriarch of Constantinople¹, a long *Encomion* to saint George² has been published by the Bollandists³ and re-published later by J.-P. Migne⁴. The same text in greek Manuscript of Athos, Monast.Vatop. 425⁵ is also attributed to George, bishop of Nicomedia⁶. Some of

1. KRUMBACHER K., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur. Von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, München 1897 (greek transl. by G. Soteriades 1897-1900, Athens, I 190-1, II 138-141). CAYRE F., «Géorges de Chypre», *DTC* VI,1 (1924) 1231-5. BECK H.G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* [Handbuch der altertumswissenschaft 12,2,1/Byzantinisches Handbuch 2,1], München 1959, 685-6. MISCH G., «Die Schriftsteller - Autobiographie und Bildungsgeschichte eines Patriarchen von Konstantinopel aus dem XIII Jahrhundert», *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21 (1931) 1-16. PAPADOPOULOS St. G., in: *ΘHE* 4 (1964) 731-4. WILSON N. G., *Scholars in Byzantium*, Oxford 1983 (greek transl. by Konomis N., Kardamitsas ed., Athens 1991, 285-7).

2. See analyzed the hagiographic greek rhetoric tradition in saint George's honor, its conceptions, 'topoi' etc. in our recent work: *Άγιος Γεώργιος ἐγκωμιαζόμενος. Οἱ ἀγιολογικὲς ἀντιλήψεις στὰ ἐκδεδομένα ἑλληνικὰ ἐγκώμια πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου* [Ύμνασιολογικὰ Κείμενα-Μελέτες-11], Armos ed., Athens 2008, (for Gregory's speech: 72-75 and passim).

3. AASS, April. III (1968²), 123 ff (latin translation), xxv (greek text).

4. PG 142, 299-346. Under the title: Τοῦ σοφωπάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου Κων/πόλεως Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ τροπαιοφόρον Γεώργιον.

5. HALKIN, *BHG*³, I, 216 n.683. Cf. EUSTRATIADES S., Metr. former of Leontopolis – Arcadius deacon of Vatopedi, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων* [Άγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 1], Paris 1924, 82b-83a n.425. EUSTRATIADES S., Metr. former of Leontopolis, *Συμπλήρωμα ἀγιορειτικῶν καταλόγων Βατοπεδίου καὶ Λαύρας (Μνημεῖα ἀγιολογικὰ)* [Άγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 4], Paris 1930, 12b: where is attributed to Gregory the Chypriot.

6. This confusion could have many explanations: firstly the fact that Gregory is also noted as George –his laic name– in the manuscripts; then the existence of a George Chypriot, theologian of the VIIIth cent., defender of the holy icons (Mansi, XIII, 356 and 400, cf. NIKEPHORUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Ἱστορία Σύντομος*, § 72, [KBI,4, Athens 1994, 157]). Moreover, the existence of George of Amastris confuses even more the scriptors (cf. EUSTRATIADES S., Metr.

the articles about George of Nicomedia attribute it also to him⁷. Recently, in a voluminous tome that contains a great number of hymnographic and hagiographic texts in saint George's honour, the text was published under the name of George of Nicomedia⁸. The main argument for this attribution was that the manuscript of Athos H.M.Vatop.425 containing it and noting George of Nicomedia as its author, is dated in the midst of the XIIIth century⁹.

Beyond other arguments one could present¹⁰, we believe that the presence of a proverb in this speech could show the identity of the author being probably Gregory the Chypriot. The interesting passage is this: «Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ γε τὸ

former of Leontopolis, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 91b, where his commemoration in the *Synaxaria* and *Menaia* is confused with George's of Nicomedia), frequently they add to him the hymnographer's characterization, which he wasn't (cf. Beck, *op.cit.*, 168. *LTK*, IV, 395 and EMEREAU C., «Hymnographi Byzantini quorum nomina in litteras diggesit notulisque adornavit», *EdOr* 22 [1923] 425).

7. For example see the brief articles of J. Darrouzès in: *Dict. Spir.* 6 (1967) 242. And an anonymous in: *DHGE* 20 (1984) 646. cf. PAPAIOPOULOS St. G.: *ΘHE* 4 (1964) 463-4; and more recently PAPAELIOPOULOU-ΦΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ E., «Προβλήματα Βυζαντινῆς ὑμνογραφίας ἢ περὶ τῶν ἀκροστιχίδων τοῦ ὑμνογράφου Γεωργίου», *Δίπτυχα* VI (1994-5) 431-478, 466.

8. PAPADAKES C. I., *Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ τροπαιοφόρου Ὑμνογραφικὰ καὶ Ἐγκωμιαστικά, ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει 1700 ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μαρτυρικῆς τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ 303-2003 μ.Χ.*, ἐκδ. Ἰ.Μ. Λεμεσοῦ 2003. For George of Nicomedia see also ALLATIUS L., «De Georgiis et eorum scripta Diatriba», in: FABRICIUS J.A. – HARLES G. H., *Bibliotheca Graeca*, XII, Hamburgi 1809² (=Hildesheim 1970) 1-136, esp. 9-14. BECK, *op.cit.*, 542-3, 500-1. BUCHWALD W. – HOHLWEG A. – PRINZ O., *Tusculum Lexicon griechischer und leteinischer Auctoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, München-Zürich 1982³, 278.

9. PAPADAKES C. I., *op.cit.*, 54, 59; the author claims that, Gregory, who was born on 1241, could not be the author of the text, because this manuscript is dated in the midst of XIIIth c. But cf. EUSTRATIADES S., *Metr. former of Leontopolis – ARCADIUS, deacon of Vatopedi*, *op.cit.*, 82b, where the codex is just noted as of XIIIth's cent, and where (83a) one could also find and other texts attributed to Patriarch Gregory.

10. For example E. Folier has used stylistic means to support the authority of the hymnographic poems attributed -or not- to him in: «Problemi di innografia byzantina», *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, t. II, Beograd 1964, 311-325, esp. 313-9. Cf. PAPAELIOPOULOU-ΦΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ E., *op.cit.*, *Δίπτυχα* VI (1994-5) 433. For his hymnographic work see also: EMEREAU C., *op.cit.*, *EdOr* 22 (1923) 424-8. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ P.G.: *ΘHE* 4 (1964) 475-6. SZÖVERFFY J., *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography*, Brookline Mass.- Leyden 1978-9, II, 38-9. For the authenticity of some humnographic pieces attributed to him cf. BECK, *op.cit.*, 472-3, 475.

δεύτερον μαγγανείας ἐμνήσθης, ἢ μὲν δὴ παροιμία καὶ νηπίοις καὶ ἀλιεῦσιν ἐκ πρώτης πληγῆς δίδωσι νοῦν (= but as you have mentioned sorcery again, the proverb (says) both babies and fishermen learn from the first wound)¹¹. We have shown the textual history, tradition and use of this proverb elsewhere¹²; actually it is not only one but a synthesis of two known ancient greek proverbs¹³. Especially in this synthetic form these proverbs can be found only in the collection of proverbs by Diogenianos¹⁴ and the similar collection of Gregory the Chypriot¹⁵. Noother author uses these proverbs in this specific way (see *Table I*).

11. PG 142, 321cd. Migne gives this fault form: «καὶ νηπίοις ἀλιεῦσιν ἐκ πρώτης πληγῆς δίδωσιν οὔν». The passage has been corrected by SYKOUTRIS J., «Ὅμιλῖαι Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίναν», *ἘΦ* 23 (1924), 406-424, 422. Cf. AASS, April. III, xxx a (127c the latin translation). In this passage martyr George addresses to his persecutor: Diocletianus (cf. GRIMANIS ST. D., *Ἅγιος Γεώργιος... op.cit.*, 210).

12. Detailed textual history, tradition and use of this proverb in its textual environment can be found in our study (to be published) «Παροιμιολογία καὶ Ἀγιολογία. Ἡ χρήση μιᾶς παροιμίας σὲ ἀγιολογικὸ κείμενο τοῦ Γρηγορίου Β' τοῦ Κυπρίου, πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (γ' αἰ.)»,

13. The oldest reference for the first proverb can be found in Sophocles' lost satyric drama, *Amphiaraos* (RADT S., *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, IV, Gottingen 1977, 152-3, fr.115,1): «...ὥσπερ ἀλιεὺς πληγείς...». The second's oldest reference is in the Homeric *Iliad* (P, 30-2): «...ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω...» (MONRO D. B. – ALLEN T.W., *Homeri Opera*, II, Oxford 1976³, 107) and in a little different form in Hesiod's *Opera et Dies*, 213-8 (SOLMSEN F., *Hesiodi opera*, Oxford 1970, 58): «...παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω...».

14. LEUTSH E.L.-SCHNEIDEWIN F.G., *Paroemiographi graeci. Zenobius. Diogenianus. Plutarchus. Gregorius Cyprius* [Corpus Paroemiographum Graecorum, 1,I], I, Gottingae 1839, 177 ff, esp. 200,31. About the relation between this collection and the one of Gregory the Chypriot cf. WILSON N.G., *op.cit.*, 286.

15. LEUTSH E.L.-SCHNEIDEWIN F.G., *op.cit.*, I, 343 ff, esp. 354,54: «ἀλιεὺς πληγείς νοῦν οἶσει παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω».

Table I.

	A “ἀλιεύς” [Soph.]	B1 “νήπιος” [Hom. “ὄρχθέν’”]	B2 “νήπιος” [Hes. “παθών”]
Plato ¹⁶			+
Aristeides ¹⁷		+	
(schol.in Arist.) ¹⁸	+	+	
Klemens ^{19*}		+	+
Zenovius ²⁰	+	+	
(Diogenianus) ²¹	+		+
Suida ²²	+	+	
Arethas ²³	+	+	
Eustathios ²⁴	+	+	
Gregory	+		+
M. Apostolis ²⁵	+		

*In two different works.

The fact that in this specific speech the proverb is used in the same synthetic way, strengthens, to our belief, the main manuscript textual tradition, which saves the name of Gregory as author of the speech. Consequently, we also propose the chronological placing of the Codex of the Holy Monastery of Vatopedi n.425 in the last quarter of the XIIIth ff century.

16. *Symposion*, 222b (Burnet, *Platonis Opera*, II, Oxford 1973).

17. DINDORF W., *Aristides*, II, Olms 1964², 309 (235),18.

18. DINDORF W., *Aristides*, III, Olms 1964², 681 (235), 11,22.

19. PG 8,204a; PG 8, 904bc.

20. LEUTSCH-SCHNEIDEWIN, *op.cit.*, I, 35,14.

21. LEUTSCH-SCHNEIDEWIN, *op.cit.*, I, 200,31.

22. ADLER A., *Suidae lexicon*, I- IV [Lexicographi Graeci 1.1-1.4], Stuttgart 1928, I, 111, n.1218,1.

23. STÄHLIN O.-TREU U., *Clemens Alexandrinus* [GCS, 12], Berlin 1972³, 295-340, esp. schol. in *Symp.* 222b.

24. VAN DER VALK M., *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, I-IV, Leiden, 1971-1987, IV, 7,21.

25. LEUTSCH-SCHNEIDEWIN, *op.cit.*, II, 271, 22 and 550, 30a.