

6 Letter to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos

This letter bears evidence of Kallistos' stay in England in 1476 and informs us about the imprisonment of Georgios Hermonymos, living in Paris at that time. A more detailed account about the story and some interesting insights are found in Kalatzi 2009, 253–254. For a biographical account on Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, see Vespignani 2017, 53–57 (the letter by Kallistos being, though, mistakenly referred to as sent 'from Rome').

The text was first published (without translation) in Boissonade 1833, 420–426. It is handed down in four manuscripts:

A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2966

Paper, third quarter of the fifteenth century, mm 340 × 250, fols I+8 (but the last two of this *quaternio* are numbered I'–II'). Copied by Georgios Hermonymos (ident. by Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 76). Owned by Ianos Laskaris and then by Niccolò Ridolfi (see Muratore 2009, II, 165–166). The text is found at fol. 1rv. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, III, 75–76. *Bibl.*: Kalatzi 2009, 253–254; Ferreri 2014, 40, 68; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 198 n. 45, 268.

B = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 3043

Paper, sixteenth century, mm 265 × 200, fols IV+32+III'. Copied by an anonymous hand. The text is found at fols 1r–2v. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, III, 98. *Bibl.*: Jackson 2009, 118; Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123; Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 184–186, 189, 268.

C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 972

Paper, third quarter of the eighteenth century, mm 382 × 247, fols 163. Owned by Gabriel de La Porte du Theil (1742–1815). The text is found at fols 140r–141r. *Cat.*: Astruc and Concasty 1960, 53–54; *Bibl.*: Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 268.

D = Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket, Klassiska författare 3

Paper, 1770, mm 245 × 190, fols. I+73. The text is found at fols 1r–2r (= pages 1–3). Copied in Paris by Erik Benzeliuss the Younger (1675–1743). *Bibl.*: Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 268. A description and a digitation are online at <<https://manuscripta.se>> (accessed on 27 March 2023). Collated from digital images.

Manuscripts A and B are the only independent witnesses contributing to the *constitutio textus*.

The primary (and most reliable) source is codex A, in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos, whose misfortune is the focus of Andronikos' account. Below a list of A's significant and insignificant errors that are not found in B:

μάλιστα] μάλιστα A
 πεμφθείς] πεφθείς A
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A
 δέ¹¹ om. A
 τὴν ... εὐεργεσίαν] τὴν ... εὐεργεσίας A

On the other hand, B shows a few *lacunae* and some unconvincing readings, which are not included in A:

εὐεργετεῖν om. B
 πεπονθότας] παθόντας B
 οὐ δυνήσομαι] ὀδυνήσομαι B
 γοῦν om. B
 πρόσθες] πρόσθει B

According to the annotation in the upper margin of fol. 140r ('ex codice 3043 | reperitur etiam in codice 2966'), codex C proved to be a copy of B. Besides its own (not very significant)¹ errors, C carries some mistakes found in B, as the following examples may indicate:

ταῦτα] ταύτ' B C
 ἤνεγκεν] ἦνεγκε B C
 Φράγκων] φράγγων B C

Nevertheless, B's oversights and errors were corrected before C was copied, maybe by means of the check carried out on the other Paris manuscript (= A):

εὐεργετεῖν om. B : habet C
 γοῦν om. B : habet C
 ὀδυνήσομαι B : οὐ δυνήσομαι recte C
 πρόσθει B : πρόσθες recte C

On the contrary, D is a faithful copy of A, thus sharing all of A's mistakes and adding its own ones. Below some examples:

ᾠήθη] ᾠήθειν A D
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A D
 πεπομφέναι] πεμπομφέναι A D, postea corr. D

¹ One finds mostly minor slips such as εἰωθότα] εἰωθοτα (*sic*) C, εὐεργετῆ] εὐεργετῇ C.

συλλαμβάνειν] συλαμβάνειν A D
 λογισάμενος] λογησάμενος A D
 δεῖ^{II} om. A D

ἡ om. D
 τὸ σαυτοῦ] σοῦ D
 πέδαις] πεδαῖς D
 ἐπὶ] πρὸς D
 ἄμυδρὸν] ἄμυδρον D
 πολεμοῖς] πολεμικοῖς D

Conspectus siglorum

A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2966.

B = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 3043.

Boissonade = ed. Boissonade 1833, 420–426.

Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Καλλίστου εἰς τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ ἄνδρα κύριον Γεώργιον Παλαιό-
λογον τὸν Δισύπατον

1. Μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἄνερ, εἷς μοι ὑγιαίνων Θεοῦ βοηθεία ὑγιαίνουντι καὶ αὐτῶ
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.

2. Γεώργιος ὁ Ἑρμώνυμος, ἀνὴρ εὖ ἔχων καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ φίλος 5
ἐμὸς καὶ σαυτοῦ, τὰ μάλιστα πορευόμενος πρὸς σέ ἤτησε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμ-
ματα. ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιθυμῶν κτήσασθαι σε φίλον, ἄνδρα ὄντα εὐγενῆ καὶ
πατριώτην ἐμόν, πολεμικαῖς δὲ καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι κεκοσμημένον (καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾗ πλεῖστος μὲν ὁ φθόνος, ὀλίγη δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους
ἀγάπη), ᾤήθην δεῖν γράψαι σοι καὶ ἐμαυτῶ τὲ ἄμα καὶ Γεωργίῳ ἐξαρκέσαι. 10

3. Γεώργιος οὖν ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης, πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀρχιε-
ρέως ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ἰόρκης. σπουδάσας δὲ πολλὰ καὶ κιν-
δυνεύσας οὐ μικρά, καὶ κατωρθώκως πρᾶξιν τοιαύτην οἶαν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἤλπισεν
ἂν κατορθώσῃ, καὶ ἐλευθερώσας τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ἔτuche μὲν δώρων ἱκανῶν
παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, οὐ μὴν ἀξίων τοιαύτης τὲ καὶ τοσαύτης πράξεως καὶ 15
τῶν κινδύνων οὓς ὑπέστη· τέλος δέ, καιροῦ προϊόντος, κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐνταῦθα Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸ πεπομφέναι γράμματα πρὸς σέ τὸν Γεώργιον
καὶ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραττόμενα κατὰ σοῦ, (καὶ ἄμα οἰομένων τῶν ἐμπό-
ρων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῶν πράξεις γράμμασι μηνύειν πρὸς σέ τὸν Γεώργιον, ὥστε
ῥαδίως ὑπὸ σοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν συμπλέκεσθαι μηχανὰς καὶ ἐνέδρας, καὶ συλλαμβά- 20
νεῖν αὐτούς), ἐμβληθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦτα εἰς δεσμοτήριον ἐπὶ τιμῆματι χιλίων
λιτρῶν καὶ καταναλώσας πάντα ὅσα τε παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἔλαβε καὶ ὅσα
ἤνεγκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ γενόμενος ὀφειλέτης χρυσίου πολλοῦ, μόλις ἐλευθερω-
θεὶς τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου (μὴ δυνάμενος ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, ἐμοῦ γενομένου ἐγγυ-
ητοῦ), ἔρχεται ἤδη πρὸς σέ, θαρρῶν εἰς σέ μετὰ Θεόν, καὶ διὰ σοῦ εἰς τὸν γαλη- 25
νότατον βασιλέα τῶν Φράγκων.

4. Σὺ οὖν, ἐλευθεριώτατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατε ἄνερ, μιμησάμενος τὸν
σαυτοῦ πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σου προγόνους, λαμπροὺς ἅπαντας γεγονότας
καὶ ἐπ' ἔργοις πάνυ διαπρέψαντας ἀγαθοῖς (οὓς αὐτὸς μὲν ἴσως δι' ἡλικίαν οὐκ
οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ εὖ οἶδα πατρικούς μοι φίλους γεγεννημένους), λογισάμενος δὲ καὶ 30
τὸ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὴν φήμην ἣν παρὰ πάντων δι' εὐποΐαν
καὶ ἐλευθεριότητα ἐκτήσῃ, σκεψάμενος δὲ καὶ ὅσα Γεώργιος ὁ φίλος ἐπεπόνθει
διὰ σέ καὶ τὸν γαληνότατον ῥῆγα, τρίμηνον μὲν διατρίψας ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ,
πέδαις δὲ σιδηραῖς δεσμωθείς τοὺς πόδας, ὡς αὐτὸς πολλάκις εἰς τὸ δεσμοτη-
ριον πορευθεὶς εἶδον, καταναλώσας δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἶχε, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τού- 35

6 σε B 10 ᾤήθειν A | τε B 11 πεμφθεὶς A 13 κατωρθώκως A B: correxi 14 ἀρχιεπίσκοπον (sic)
B 15 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A | τε B 17 πεμπομφέναι A | σε B 18 σου B 22 ἔλαβεν A
23 ἤνεγκε B 26 φράγγων B 28 σοῦ B 30 λογησάμενος A | δέ^{II} om. A 33 γαληνοτατον (sic)
B | ῥήγα A: ῥηγα (sic) B: correxi | μεν (sic) A

<Letter> from Andronikos Kallistos to the generous Lord Georgios Palaiologos Disypatos

1. Most generous Lord, I wish for you to be as well as I am so far with God's help.

2. Georgios Hermonymos, a man distinguished in education and virtue, my friend and yours, on his way to you, was eager to have a letter from me. And I, desiring to gain you as a friend, you being a noble man and my compatriot, honoured in the matters of war and in those of internal affairs (and this in a foreign land, where the hatred is very great and on the contrary the charity scant towards foreigners), I thought that it was appropriate to write to you and satisfy myself and Georgios.

3. Georgios had arrived from Rome, sent by the supreme Pontiff for the release of the Archbishop of York. After having suffered great pains, having risked much and having carried out such a complicated task that no one else could have hoped to accomplish, he received a reasonable compensation from the archbishop, at any rate not proportionate to such a heavy and demanding obligation and to the dangers he had faced; but then, over time, Georgios, charged by the Italian merchants from there with having sent you a letter and having denounced what they had done against you (the merchants also thought that with that letter Georgios was going to reveal further actions of theirs to you, so that you could easily act against them with expedients and intrigues and catch them), and then imprisoned because of these accusations with a fine of a thousand pounds and forced to pay all he had received from the archbishop and all he had brought with him from Rome, and found himself indebted to much money, he barely released from prison (since he was not able to repay what he owed, I acted as guarantor) and now comes before you, relying on you only second to God and, through you, on the most peaceful king of France.

4. You, then, generous and magnificent lord, following your father's example and that of your ancestors, all illustrious and greatly distinguished for meritorious acts (you may not have known them personally because of your young age, but I have known them well since they were paternal friends), also considering your high rank, and the fame you have earned from everyone because of your mercy and generosity, also thinking of how many things your friend Georgios has done and suffered for you and the most peaceful king, having spent three months in prison, fastened at his feet with iron chains, as I myself saw when I often went to visit him in prison, having spent everything he

τοῖς ὀφειλέτης πολλοῦ χρυσίου, ταῦτα πάντα σκεψάμενος βοήθει Γεωργίῳ, ἀγαθῷ τὲ ὄντι καὶ σὲ φιλοῦντι τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντι τὰς σαυτοῦ ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα. βοήθει δὲ καὶ παρὰ σαυτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου ῥηγός.

5 5. Δίκαιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βοηθήσαι τάνδρι· πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐλευθεριώ-
τατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ὄντα καὶ εἰωθότα πάντας εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς προσι-
όντας αὐτῷ. ἂν γοῦν τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετῇ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον εὐεργετεῖν ἄξιος
τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν πολλὰ πεπονθότας δεινά. ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ προστεθέντος ἀξιώ-
ματος καὶ τῆς παρρησίας ἣν ἔχεις παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ — πυνθάνομαι γὰρ σε τὰ μέγι-
στα παρ' αὐτῷ ἰσχύειν — προθυμότερος ἔσται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. 10

6. Χώρει δὴ, μεγαλοπρεπέστατε ἄνερ, ἐπὶ τῷ βοηθήσαι Γεωργίῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν
εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίαν βεβαίωσον τὴν φήμην ἣν παρὰ πάντων, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπ' εὐερ-
γεσία καὶ ἐλευθεριότητι ἐκτήσω. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἰσχύει παρὰ σοί — εἰκὸς δὲ
ἰσχύειν διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἣν με φασὶ πολλοὶ κεκτήσθαι —, βοήθει καὶ δι'
ἐμὲ Γεωργίῳ. βουλοίμην γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν τὰ μέγιστα εὐτυχεῖν, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα 15
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ εἰπόντα καὶ δεδρακότα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

7. Ταῦτα μὲν, ὅτι οὕτω δράσεις καὶ βοηθήσεις Γεωργίῳ, εὖ οἶδα. ἐμὲ δέ, εἰ
μὲν ὄψει, φίλον πατρικὸν εὖ οἶσθ' ὅτι ὄψει. ἂν δέ τι διὰ γῆρας συμβῇ καὶ οὐ δυνή-
σομαι σὲ ἰδεῖν, φίλον καὶ οὕτως ἴσθι πατρικὸν καὶ πάντα ἔτοιμον σοῦ χάριν ποι-
εῖν. πάντες γὰρ σε ὅσοι τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀμυδρὸν γοῦν ἐπαΐουσι φωνῆς, πάντες σοι 20
χάριτας τὰς μεγίστας ὀφείλουσιν, ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ ὄντι καὶ περὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς
πράξεις κάλλιστα ἐξησηκμένῳ, καὶ τιμῶντι δι' ἀρετὴν οὐ σαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὸ δυστυχὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος. πρόσθε δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις σου καλοῖς καὶ τὴν εἰς
Γεωργίον τὸν φίλον δικαίαν εὐεργεσίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ μόνον ἐν πολέμοις καὶ πολιτι-
καῖς πράξεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰς τοὺς φίλους εὐεργεσίαις, κάλλιστος ἀνδρῶν 25
εἶναι δοκῇ. καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν σου εὐδαίμονα.

Ἐν Λουδουνίᾳ, μουνυχιῶνος τρίτῃ ἰσταμένου.

2 τε B 5 τ' ἀνδρὶ A B: corr. Boissonade 7 εὐεργετῇ e corr. A | εὐεργετεῖν om. B 8 παθόντας
B | σου B 9 τὰ om. B 11–12 τὴν ... εὐεργεσίας A 13 σοι B 15 ἐμοῦ Boissonade 18–19 οὐ
δυνήσομαι] ὀδυνήσομαι B 20 σε om. B Boissonade | γοῦν om. B 23 πρόσθει B

had and also becoming a debtor for great sums: considering all these things, please help Georgios, who is upright and loves you over and above all measure and has respect for your virtues and your actions. Help him personally and especially on behalf of the most excellent and peaceful king.

5. It is right for the king to help him; I am in fact convinced that he is very generous and very liberal and accustomed to being merciful to all those who are close to him. Therefore, if he is merciful to others, it is all the more right that he be merciful to those who have suffered many terrible things for his sake. But certainly, if you add to this your rank and the liberty of expression that you have before the king – for I know that you have a very strong influence over him – he will be even more inclined to a merciful act.

6. Magnificent lord, please condescend to help Georgios, and through this good deed for him, strengthen that reputation which, as I said, you have earned with everyone because of your mercy and generosity. If my very person can have any influence over you – and this is to be expected considering my age and the erudition which many assign to me –, then please help Georgios also on my behalf. I would that he had every prosperity, for he is a good man and he has said and done a lot for me.

7. I am convinced that you will do all this thusly and that you will help Georgios. And if you ever look at me, you know that you will be looking at a paternal friend. If something happens because of my old age and I do not manage to see you, be aware that I am still a paternal friend and ready to do anything for you. All those who have some knowledge of the Greek language, all owe you great gratitude, you being so prudent and incredibly proficient in the business of war, and honouring with your virtue not only yourself, but also the entire disgraced Greek nation. Add to your other good works also this proper benevolent gesture towards Georgios, so that not only in military and civil affairs, but also in generosity towards friends you may be thought to be the best of men. And may God assist you in your magnificence.

London, 3 March <1476>

