

Κεντρικές μορφές στο Βυζάντιο μετά το Βυζάντιο, ο Ιωάννης Ζυγομαλάς (1498-1584) και ο υιός και ομότεγρός του Θεοδοσίος (1544-1607) διέγραψαν μια πνευματική πορεία που άφησε πολλά και πλούσια ίχνη και τεκμήρια. Υπηρετήσαν στο Πατριαρχείο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως σε θέσεις κλειδιά. Εκεί δίδαξαν την αρχαία ελληνική, ενώ αντέγραφαν και διακινούσαν χειρόγραφα με έργα αρχαίων και βυζαντινών συγγραφέων. Είναι γνωστή η αλληλογραφία τους με ευρωπαίους λογίους και περιηγητές. Χάρης σε αυτήν γνώρισε η ουμανιστική Δύση τους Ρωμικούς του 16ου αιώνα, όσο και την τότε ομιλούμενη γλώσσα τους, ως συνέχεια του ελληνισμού της κλασικής εποχής και του Βυζαντινού κόσμου. Ο γερμανός φιλόλογος Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος, ο πρώτος Φιλέλληνας, ο πρώτος που υποστήριξε την συνέχεια των Ρωμίων της εποχής του με τους αρχαίους Έλληνες, απέκτησε από τους Ζυγομαλάδες τα στοιχεία που τεκμηριώναν αυτήν την θέση. Οι ιστορικές πληροφορίες που μας σώζονται γι' αυτούς ενδιαφέρουν πολλές ειδικότητες των επιστημών του Ανθρώπου: Θεολογία και Φιλοσοφία, Κοινωνική Ιστορία, Ιστορία του Δικαίου και των Θεσμών, Φιλολογία και Γλωσσολογία, Παλαιογραφία και Κωδικολογία, Επιστολογραφία. Έτσι, τον Ιούνιο του 2006, συγκλήθηκε ένα διεθνές συμπόσιο στο Άργος, την αρχική κοιτίδα της οικογένειας Ζυγομαλά. Συνδιοργανωτές ήταν το Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου και η Δημοτική Επιχείρηση Πολιτισμού Άργους. Από τις εργασίες του συμπόσιου προέκυψε και ο παρών συλλογικός τόμος.

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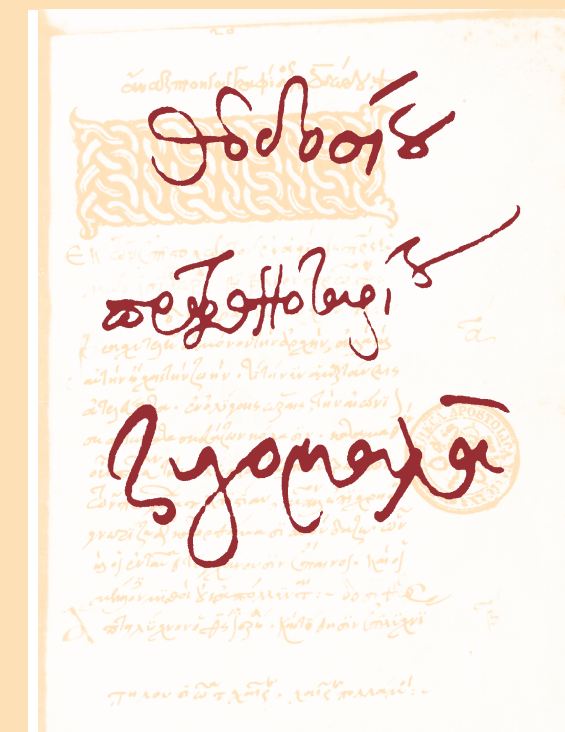
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Ο ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ ΖΥΓΟΜΑΛΑΣ  
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ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΕΙΡΗΣ

STAVROS PERENTIDIS  
(DILIGENTIA)

DE IOANNE ET THEODOSIO ZYGOMALA  
AC DE EORUM AETATE

ADIUTAVIT GEORGE STEIRIS

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ - ΑΘΗΝΑ • DAEDALUS - ATHENIS

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PERENTIDIS, *Zygomalas*

Stavros PERENTIDIS, *Théodose Zygomalas et sa Paraphrase de la Synopsis minor*, Athènes 1994 [Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe herausgegeben von Spyros TROIANOS. 5].

PODSKALSKY

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PODSKALSKY / METALLINOS

Gerhard PODSKALSKY, *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας 1453-1821. Ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία στὴ σφαῖρα ἐπιρροῆς τῶν δυτικῶν δογμάτων μετὰ τὴ Μεταρρύθμιση*. Μετάφραση: πρωτοπρεσβύτερος Γ.Δ. ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗΝΟΣ, Ἀθήνα 2005.

[Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ μετάφραση ἀναθεωρήθηκε καὶ συμπληρώθηκε ἀπὸ τὸν συγγραφέα.]

ΣΑΘΑΣ, Βιογραφικὸν Σχεδιάσμα

SATHAS, Βιογραφικὸν Σχεδιάσμα

Κ.Ν. ΣΑΘΑΣ, Βιογραφικὸν σχεδιάσμα περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου  
Ἰερεμίου Β' (1572-1594), ἐν Ἀθήναις 1870.

Φωτοαναστατική ἀνατύπωση: Θεσσαλονίκη 1979.

*Tage-Buch*

*Stephan Gerlachs des Aeltern Tage=Buch der von zween glorwüridigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß an die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten, [...] aus denen Gerlachtschen, Zeit seiner hierbey bedienten [...] eygenhändig auffgesetzten und nachgelassenen Schrifften, herfür gegeben durch seinen Enckel M. SAMUELEM GERLACHIUM [...]. - Frankfurth am Mayn, 1674.*

*Turcogr.*

*Turcograeciae Libri Octo: Quibus Graecorum Status Sub Imperio Turcico, in Politia et Ecclesia, Oeconomia et Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usque tempora, luculenter describitur. Cum indice copiosissimo, Basileae 1584.*

Φωτοαναστατική ἀνατύπωση: Modena 1972.

Προσβάσιμο και στην ιστοσελίδα:

[http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenahist/autoren/crusius\\_hist.html](http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenahist/autoren/crusius_hist.html)

ANDREAS RHOBY

## The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas

The family of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas, both residents of Constantinople (Istanbul) in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, can be traced back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In 1282 a so-called Basileios Sagomalas is attested as the founder of a monastery on the island of Aigina near Athens<sup>1</sup>.

Ioannes Zygomalas was born around 1498 in Nauplion. In 1551 he was called to Constantinople in order to become a high official at the Greek Patriarchate; he must have died before 1585<sup>2</sup>. His son Theodosios, born around 1544, followed his father to Constantinople around 1555. He also became a high official at the Patriarchate, first *notarios*, later *protonotarios* and towards the end of his life *dikaiophylax*. He probably died shortly after 1605, perhaps of the great plague in 1607<sup>3</sup>.

The importance of Theodosios was already recognized at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: In 1720 Demetrios Prokopios, secretary of Nikolaos Maurokordatos, the son of Alexandros Maurokordatos, composed a short overview of the *λόγιοι Γραικοί* of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>

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1. E. TRAPP, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit, Addenda zu Faszikel 1-12*, Wien 1995, no. 94490.

2. On Ioannes Zygomalas see LEGRAND, *Notice*; PERENTIDIS, *Zygomalas*, p. 17-25.

3. On Theodosios Zygomalas see LEGRAND, *Notice*; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque. La période jusqu'en 1821*. Göteborg - Uppsala 1962, p. 401-405; PERENTIDIS, *Zygomalas*, p. 25-59; for further references see G. DE GREGORIO, «Constantinopoli – Tubinga – Roma, ovvero la “duplice conversione” di un manoscritto bizantino (Vat. gr. 738)», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 93, 2000, p. 47, n. 29.

centuries for the German bibliographer Fabricius. The first mentioned person is patriarch Hieremias II Tranos followed by Theodosios Zygomalades who is called δόκιμος ἄνηρ καὶ σοφός<sup>4</sup>.

The two Zygomalades are especially known for the following reason: There had been contact between the new Protestant movement in Germany and the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople since the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These contacts were intensified in the second half of the same century, when some Protestant theologians at the German town of Tübingen – among them the famous scholar and defender of the Lutheran faith, Martin Crusius – were searching for support against their Catholic opponents. The German goal behind this contact was the unification of the two churches which finally failed in 1581. When the Germans sent their theological documents for discussion to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople in 1573, Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalades were very active in composing responses, in which the Orthodox side outlayed its theological principles.

The discussion of this official contact and the content of the exchanged documents are beyond the scope of this paper because they have already been subject of several widely known investigations<sup>5</sup>.

It is the goal of this article to present the «private» correspondence of the two Zygomalades and to give an overview about their letter

4. K.N. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, III, Venice 1872 (Reprint Hildesheim - New York 1972), p. 481-503; cf. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, op. cit., p. 479; G. PODSKALSKY, p. 73 and n. 273.

5. E.g. G. HERING, «Orthodoxie und Protestantismus», in: *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten, 1. Teil: Hauptreferate, 2. Halbband: Themengruppen 7-11 (= Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik 31/2 [1981]) 823-874* (reprint in G. HERING, *Nostos. Gesammelte Schriften zur südosteuropäischen Geschichte* [ed. by M. STASSINOPOULOU], Frankfurt/Main 1995, 73-130); G. MASTRANTONIS, *Augsburg and Constantinople. The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, Brookline (Mass.) 1982; D. WENDEBOURG, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581*, Göttingen 1986; G. WENZ, «Den Griechen ein Grieche? Die Confessio Augustana Graeca von 1559 und der Briefwechsel der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche mit Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581 im Kontext der Konkordienformel von 1577», in: Th. NIKOLAOU (ed.), *Das Schisma zwischen Ost- und Westkirche 950 bzw. 800 Jahre danach (1054 und 1204)*, Münster 2004, 115-142.



network and their contacts with people from abroad. This study focuses on the published material, especially on letters which are printed in Martin Crusius' famous *Turcograecia*. As far as unpublished letters are concerned this study is based on Elias Zachariades' book *Tübingen und Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 1941) although it seems to be pretty clear that the Codex Tubingensis Mh 466, I-III (Crusius' diary) contains much more unpublished letters than we find in the (rather unreliable) list of Zachariades. Besides, we also have to bear in mind that there is sometimes a difference between the version of a letter printed in the *Turcogr.* and the version in Crusius' unpublished diary.

The corpus of letters – based on the published material and the list of Zachariades – with letters written by and sent to Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas consists of approximately 150 epistles ranging from ca. 1550 to 1601 (see appendix). It contains more than 50 correspondents who are situated in Asia Minor, Italy and Germany. Ioannes Zygomalas is the author of 15 and the addressee of 24 letters. His son Theodosios wrote and received much more letters: he is the author of 31 and the addressee of 74 epistles.

Two persons can be identified as the main correspondents of the two Zygomalades:

The first one is Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos (ca. 1500/1505-before 1577), a Greek originating from the island of Zakynthos in the Ionian Sea<sup>6</sup>. The second one is Martin Crusius (1526-1607), resident of the German town of Tübingen, the already mentioned defender of the Lutheran faith and first philhellene.

Lestarchos, approximately one generation older than Crusius, was primarily the correspondent of Ioannes Zygomalas, whereas Crusius wrote more letters to Theodosios than to Ioannes. A direct contact

6. On Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos see Ph.K. BOUBOULIDES, *Ἕλληνες λόγιοι μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν*, A'. *Μιχαήλ-Ἑρμόδωρος-Λήσταρχος*, Athens 1959, p. 7-18.

7. On Martin Crusius see e.g. S. KAROUZOU, *Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος. Ὁ πρῶτος φιλέλληνας*, Athens 1973; W. LUDWIG, *Hellas in Deutschland. Darstellung der Gräzistik im deutschsprachigen Raum aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1998, p. 28-82; IDEM, «Martin Crusius und das Studium des Griechischen in Nordeuropa», *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica* 32, 1998, p. 133-148; Th. WILHELMI, *Die griechischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Sonderband Martin Crusius. Handschriftenverzeichnis und Bibliographie*, Wiesbaden 2002, p. 261-271 (extensive bibliography on Martin Crusius).

between Lestarchos and Crusius is not recorded, although Crusius was familiar with some of Lestarchos' letters. In a short note in his *Turcogr.*, his huge collection of Greek documents, Crusius states that *Hermodorus Lestarchus, fuit in Chio Medicus doctus, anno 1560: cuius Epistolas mihi D. Theodosius misit* («Hermodoros Lestarchos, who was a learned doctor on the island of Chios in the year 1560; Theodosius sent me his letters»)<sup>8</sup>. In a long epistle from April 15, 1576, to Theodosios Crusius wonders about the name of Lestarchos: «Who is Hermodoros Lestarchos? ... Was he the leader of robbers?»<sup>9</sup> What caused Crusius to pose this question was his curiosity about the Greek language: in Greek the word *Λήσταρχος* consists of two parts, *ληστής*, meaning «robber», and *ἀρχός*, meaning «leader».

Unfortunately, we know only very little about the life of Lestarchos. Born at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, he spent some time in Rome as a young scholar; later he moved to Ferrara, where he studied medicine; in ca. 1539 he came to the island of Chios in the Aegean Sea; later he was ordered to Constantinople by the new patriarch Ioasaph II (1556-1565) in order to serve as a doctor<sup>10</sup>. From 1560 onwards until his death Lestarchos is again attested as teacher at Chios<sup>11</sup>. This island, situated close to the Turkish coast, was then a center of learning<sup>12</sup>. Among the circle of Lestarchos were many students such as Ioannes Mindonios (or Mentonios) – member of the famous Chiotan family of the Mindonioi which can be traced back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>. According to Amantos this Ioannes Mindonios even spent some time in Vienna in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>. A close relative of Ioannes Mentonios, Leonardos Mentonios, resident of Anchialos, is attested as correspondent of Theodosios Zygomalas. In a letter from February 12, 1576, Leonardos informs Theodosios that he

8. *Turcogr.* contains two letters of Lestarchos (pp. 219, 244).

9. *Turcogr.* 449.

10. Joasaph, the former metropolitan of Adrianopol (Edirne), was once the student of Ioannes Zygomalas, cf. K.N. SATHAS, *Βιογραφικὸν σχεδιάσμα*, p. 7 sq.

11. On Lestarchos' career see BOUBOULIDES, *Ἑλληνες λόγιοι*, p. 11-16.

12. Cf. e.g. X.A. SIDERIDES, «Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου αἰῶνος», *Χιακὰ Χρονικά*, 6, 1926, p. 185-192.

13. Cf. TRAPP, *Prosopographisches Lexikon*, VII (1985), no. 17887-17889.

14. K.I. AMANTOS, *Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν 1566-1822 (Σχολεῖα καὶ Λόγιοι)*. (Reprint) Athens 1976, 45 (unfortunately Amantos does not quote the source of this information).

derived pleasure in receiving his epistle<sup>15</sup>. Unfortunately the letter of Theodosios to Leonardos is not preserved. Another student of Lestarchos was Alexandros Neroules († after 1567), who was also born at the island of Zakynthos as was his teacher Lestarchos. He is the author of a letter sent to Ioannes Zygomalas<sup>16</sup>.

Lestarchos is the author of 19 preserved letters<sup>17</sup>. Ten of these 19 epistles are addressed to Ioannes Zygomalas with whom he probably made acquaintance during his stay in Constantinople from ca. 1556 to ca. 1560. Ioannes was then already a high ranking official at the Greek patriarchate – he served there as the *Megas Rhetor* – and it was probably the Orthodox patriarchate where they first met. Ioannes on the other hand is the author of four letters sent to Lestarchos. Most of their correspondence can be dated around 1560. One letter of Lestarchos to Ioannes is important insofar as it mentions Ioannes' son Theodosios for the first time. In this letter composed on June 22, 1560, Lestarchos greets Theodosios, who was then approximately 16 years old<sup>18</sup>. In another letter, dating to May 1562, Lestarchos is very eager to learn about Theodosios' school career because in his view «learning is very crucial because it is necessary to know that the unwise hardly differ from stupid donkeys»<sup>19</sup>. Due to a lack of printed books in Constantinople – Greek books were then primarily printed in Venice – Ioannes asks Lestarchos at least twice for books for his son Theodosios. But even for Lestarchos with his «international» contacts with Italy it was difficult to acquire the requested books. In a letter from 1560 Lestarchos informs Ioannes that he can not send him the Aristophanes book for Theodosios because he does not possess it<sup>20</sup>. In the above mentioned letter from May 1562 Lestarchos states that he will search for the requested Stobaios book in Chios but if he is not successful he will order it from Venice<sup>21</sup>. It can be said with some

15. *Turcogr.*, 309.

16. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 149-150.

17. Cf. BOUBOULIDES, *Έλληνες λόγιοι...*, 25-30. Three of them are still unedited.

18. *Turcogr.*, 245.

19. M. PARANIKAS, «Ίωάννης ό Ζυγομαλάς και Μιχαήλ Έρμόδωρος ό Αήσταρχος», *Ό έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Έλληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, 11, 1876-77, 39-40.

20. M. PARANIKAS, «Ίωάννης ό Ζυγομαλάς...», 40.

21. M. PARANIKAS, «Ίωάννης ό Ζυγομαλάς...», 39.

certainly that Lestarchos' relation to the Zygomalas family was quite close: In a letter to Ioannes Lestarchos states that he has to stop the letter because of his bad pencil but when he writes he seems to hear his addressee's sweet voice<sup>22</sup>.

One of the most important letters of Lestarchos to the Zygomalas family was not sent to Ioannes but to his then already 18 year old son Theodosios and to other young students in Constantinople. This letter of Lestarchos is an «encouraging letter» (προτρεπτική ἐπιστολή) which Theodosios should read very carefully and whose content he should teach the other students later<sup>23</sup>. It is interesting to discover that the same letter with only minor changes was sent again 13 years later. This time the sender of the letter from November 15, 1575, was Theodosios and the receiver were the «Greek» students of Martin Crusius in Tübingen<sup>24</sup>. As ordered by Crusius, these students composed a quite long answering epistle some months later<sup>25</sup>.

Besides Lestarchos, Martin Crusius is the most important correspondent of the two Zygomalades. Crusius (his original surname was Kraus) was born in 1526 near Bamberg; after studies in Ulm and Straßburg and after a career as rector of a school in Memmingen he finally became professor *utrius linguae* (Latin and Greek) at the University of Tübingen<sup>26</sup>. Crusius was interested in everything Greek «which caused the same joy in him as do toys in children»<sup>27</sup>. His interests were not only focused on ancient Greek but also on the version of this language in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Among his most important books are the *Turcograecia* and the *Germanograecia*<sup>28</sup>, both collections of documents he received from Greeks. The majority of letters which he exchanged with the two Zygomalades is published in

22. M. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλάς...», 40.

23. M. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλάς...», 44-45.

24. *Turcogr.*, 435-440.

25. *Turcogr.*, 450-456.

26. On Martin Crusius cf. n. 7.

27. Πάντα τὰ ἑλληνικά με τέρπει ὡς ἀθύρματα παιῶδας, cf. D. WENDEBOURG, «Alles Griechische macht mir Freude wie Spielzeug den Kindern. Martin Crusius und der Übergang des Humanismus zur griechischen Landeskunde», in: H. EIDENEIER (ed.), *Graeca recentiora in Germania. Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1994, 113-121.

28. Ch. de CLERQ, «Des jumeaux typographiques, La Turcograecia et la Germanograecia de Martin Crusius», *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1967, 144-155.

the *Turcogr.*<sup>29</sup> In his first letter to Theodosios Zygomalas from January 21, 1575, he tries to explain his deep interest in Modern Greek: «I would like to connect the knowledge of the modern version of Greek – of which I have already experienced a little bit in order to understand the books written in it – with the ancient and known Greek because it does not appear good to me to know the old but not to know what is right in front of my feet»<sup>30</sup>. Crusius made his first «experience» with Modern Greek on March 27, 1557 when a Greek called Nikolaos Kalis came to Memmingen in order to collect some money for imprisoned relatives<sup>31</sup>. Until his death in 1607 Crusius remained a friend of everything Greek. He called himself several times a «philhellenist» and «an admirer and friend of the Greek language and people»<sup>32</sup>.

The first private letters which were exchanged between Martin Crusius and the two Zygomalades were written on January 21, 1575. On this day Crusius sent letters both to Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas<sup>33</sup>. However, the beginning of this contact was already set in 1573. When Stephan Gerlach<sup>34</sup>, student of Crusius in Tübingen, was

29. His correspondence is mostly to be found in two versions: The original versions of letters which he sent to his Greek correspondents and which he received from them are part of his diary (of which only the last years have been published so far [cf. n. 74]), a second – sometimes slightly different – version of these documents is to be found in the *Turcogr.*

30. *Turcogr.*, 426; English translation of this letter by A. RHOBY, «The “Friendship” between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas: A Study of their Correspondence», *Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina*, 5, 2005, 267.

31. Cf. O. KRESTEN, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. Mb 10: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Vienna 1970, 18 sq.

32. A collection of similar quotes is to be found in ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 78-79. On the philhellenism of Crusius consult now P. TOUFEXIS, *Das Alphabetum vulgaris linguae graecae des deutschen Humanisten Martin Crusius (1526-1607). Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der gesprochenen griechischen Sprache im 16. Jh. (Neograeca Medii Aevi VIII)*, Cologne 2005, 33-56.

33. *Turcogr.*, 425 (to Ioannes), 426-427 (to Theodosios).

34. On Gerlach, chaplain of the imperial ambassador in Constantinople from 1573 to 1578, and his diary cf. M. KREIBEL, «Stephan Gerlach. Deutscher evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1573-1578. Diasporafürsorge in der Türkei und die ersten Beziehungen zur Griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert», *Die evangelische Diaspora*, 29, 1958, 71-96; R.C. MÜLLER, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611)* (Berichterstatter aus

sent to Constantinople as chaplain of the imperial ambassador David von Ungnad, he had in his luggage among a lot of official documents concerning the above mentioned theological discussions a private letter by Crusius which was addressed to the Greek Orthodox patriarch Hieremias II. Since Crusius did not receive a quick answer from Hieremias he became very impatient. Therefore he asked his former student Gerlach to arrange the contact to other learned Greeks in the patriarchate<sup>35</sup>.

The whole correspondence between Crusius and the Zygomalades consists of 54 preserved letters. One can assume that the number of exchanged letters is much higher because some of them are lost (and others are probably still hidden in the manuscripts). At the beginning their letters were sent via Vienna and the official diplomatic courier. In 1580 a huge pack which was sent via Vienna never found its way to Constantinople<sup>36</sup>. In 1599, when the letters were already sent via Venice, Crusius complains that the six letters Zygomalas had sent to different people in Tübingen arrived unsealed and opened<sup>37</sup>. In order to avoid these troubles Crusius told Theodosios in a letter from April 1599 to send his epistles first to Maximos Margounios, resident of Venice and bishop of the Ionian island of Cythera, who would forward them to Germany<sup>38</sup>.

Twelve letters were exchanged between Crusius and Ioannes Zygomalas, 43 between Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas. The contact between Crusius and Ioannes lasted from 1575 to 1579; both were the authors of each six letters<sup>39</sup>. Only five of these twelve letters have been edited so far. Among the edited ones is Crusius' first epistle to Ioannes Zygomalas on January 21, 1575. Ioannes' answer was composed approximately ten months later. The last letter was sent in 1579, although Ioannes was still alive until 1584/85.

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dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, außer burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania), Leipzig 2006, III, 46-123; Gerlach's diary is a very rich source for the condition of former Byzantine monuments (e.g. churches) in late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Constantinople, cf. e.g. R. OUSTERHOUT, «A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to The Chora», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39, 1985, 117-124.

35. Cf. RHOBY, «The "Friendship"...», 256 sq.

36. WENDEBOURG, *Reformation*, 129 sq., 133, n. 66.

37. Cf. RHOBY, «The "Friendship"...», 260 sq.

38. RHOBY, «The "Friendship"...», 261.

39. The first letter between Crusius and Ioannes was sent on January 21, 1575 (ed. *Turcogr.*, 425), the last one on April 14, 1579 (unedited, Cod. Tubing. Mh 466, II 47-49, cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84, no. 62).

The number of letters between Crusius and Theodosios, which were exchanged between 1575 and 1601, is different<sup>40</sup>: Crusius is the composer of 28 letters, Theodosios of 15<sup>41</sup>. However, it is interesting to discover that statistically every second of Theodosios' preserved private letters (total number: 31) was sent to Crusius.

The contact between Theodosios and Crusius lasted for more than 25 years. Both sides had good reasons to maintain their contact for so long. Crusius needed Theodosios especially for fulfilling his curiosity about everything Greek. Theodosios, on the other hand, had someone who could support his rather poor family. In his first answering epistle which he sent to Crusius on November 15, 1575, Theodosios states the following: «If there is someone wealthy (at Tübingen) who wants to help us he is invited to make a request which we will try to fulfill within one year»<sup>42</sup>. In the same letter Theodosios also mentions his travels to Athens and the rather poor condition of the city in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, stressing his statement with a quote taken from a letter of Synesios (*ep.* 136 GARZYA)<sup>43</sup>. This quote was perhaps taken from the same book of Synesios' letters which Ioannes Zygomalas tried to sell to Gerlach for quite a lot of money, as Gerlach states in his diary<sup>44</sup>. In one of their last letters which was composed in the year 1600/1 Theodosios writes about the poor condition of his family in Constantinople and asks for immediate financial help<sup>45</sup>.

Whether it is just to call the relationship between Crusius and Theodosios a «friendship» is a question of interpretation. But when

40. Cf. RHOBY, «The "Friendship"...», 253-255.

41. The first letter between Crusius and Theodosios was sent on January 21, 1575 (ed. *Turcogr.*, 426-427), the last one on August 13, 1601 (ed. R. STAHLERCKER / E. STAIGER [eds.], *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*, Tübingen 1958, 319-320).

42. *Turcogr.*, 431; on this letter e.g. A. RHOBY, «Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Untersuchung der Briefe des Theodosios Zygomalas und Symeon Kabasilas an Martin Crusius», *Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina*, 2, 2002, 177-191.

43. RHOBY, «Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens...»; IDEM, «Synesios von Kyrene als literarisches Vorbild: Ep. 136 (Garzya) und der Ausgangspunkt der Athenklage», in: *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: Projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16<sup>e</sup> Table ronde organisée par W. HÖRANDNER et M. GRÜNBART dans le cadre du XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Études byzantines. Collège de France – Sorbonne, Paris, 19-25 Août 2001 (Dossiers byzantins 3)*, Paris 2003, 85-96.

44. *Tage-Buch*, 279b.

45. STAHLERCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*, 282 sq., 286. This letter is only preserved in a Latin summary by Crusius.

Theodosios asked Crusius for the mentioned financial help, the latter called all his colleagues and friends together in order to collect the necessary sum<sup>46</sup>.

It is interesting to note that there are only two letters within the letter network of the Zygomalades which were composed by other family members. One letter (a.1577) was written by Michael Pauliotes, Theodosios' brother-in-law, who was married to Anna, one of the two sisters of Theodosios<sup>47</sup>. The second letter of a family member was composed by Theodosios' brother Stamatios-Eustathios<sup>48</sup>. This letter, which can not be dated exactly (a.1573-1577), was sent to Theodosios from Anchialos. Unfortunately, the content of this letter does not bear any interesting biographical details; however, it is full of different kinds of food which Stamatios-Eustathios wanted to send from the countryside to Constantinople. It is worthy of note that Stamatios-Eustathios does not mention his father Ioannes in this letter. Did they have a bad relationship? In this context a passage in the diary of Stephan Gerlach, who was well acquainted with the Zygomalas family, is interesting to read: Gerlach states that after a dispute Stamatios-Eustathios allegedly wanted to beat this father – what we had already done before –, called him «bastard» and «devil», and therefore Ioannes wanted to kick him out of the window if Gerlach had not been there<sup>49</sup>. But not only Stamatios-Eustathios behaved badly towards his father: Gerlach also describes a scene when Theodosios threw a pitcher of wine against his father Ioannes<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, Ioannes called his son Theodosios a lyer, according to Gerlach.

Gerlach's successor as chaplain of the imperial ambassador at the Sublime Port was Salomon Schweigger (1577-1581)<sup>51</sup>. As Gerlach, also

46. Cf. RHOBY, «The "Friendship"...», 265.

47. *Turcogr.*, 222; on Anna and her husband Michael Pauliotes see St. PERENTIDES, «Νεώτερες ειδήσεις σχετικά με τούς προγόνους του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά: Γενεαλογική προσέγγιση», *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται*, 3, 1991, 22, no. 16.

48. *Turcogr.*, 226-227; on Stamatios-Eustathios see PERENTIDES, «Νεώτερες ειδήσεις...», 20-22, no. 15.

49. *Tage-Buch*, 371: «Wann ich nicht zugegen waere wollt er ihn zum Fenster außwerffen oder ihm den Kopf entzwey schlagen».

50. *Tage-Buch*, 234: «... dieser den Vatter einen Krug voller Weins nachgeworffen und ihn damit auf die Axel getroffen».

51. On Salomon Schweigger and his diary see W. ENGELS, «Salomon Schweigger, ein ökumenischer Orientreisender im 16. Jahrhundert», *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 7.3, 1955, 224-246; MÜLLER, *Prosopographie der Reisenden*, VIII, 267-320.



Schweigger came from Tübingen, where he had studied under Crusius. When he arrived in Constantinople he soon came into contact with the two Zygomalades. On November 2, 1578, he was invited to the wedding of Theodosios, whom he calls «my dear friend» in his diary. Schweigger offers a detailed description of Theodosios' wedding with the fourteen year old Eirene not only in his diary<sup>52</sup>, but also in a letter from March 8, 1579, to his teacher Crusius<sup>53</sup>. The message about this wedding made Crusius very happy as he states in a letter to Theodosios on August 29, 1579<sup>54</sup>. Is this 14 year-old Eirene identical with the fiancée of Theodosios mentioned in Gerlach's diary<sup>55</sup>? In 1578, one year before his wedding with Eirene, Theodosios tells Gerlach that he had been engaged for three years but he had not been allowed to bring his fiancée in his father's house.

The two Zygomalades made also acquaintance with other foreigners who came to Constantinople:

The French traveler Philippe du Fresne-Canaye composed a report on a journey to Constantinople which he undertook in 1573 together with the French ambassador. The original report is lost, but there exists a copy in Italian; the original language of the report could have been Italian as well. When du Fresne came to the Greek Patriarchate, which was then situated at the complex of the Pammakaristos-Church, he was received by the Greek Patriarch Hieremias II Tranos, as he tells us in his diary. At this occasion also Ioannes und Theodosios Zygomalas were present; du Fresne calls them in his diary «*dottissimi nella lingua graeca et nell' antichità di Constantinopoli versatissimi*». The two Zygomalades probably acted as interpreters, because – according to du Fresne – Hieremias «*non sa la lingua graeca antica*»<sup>56</sup>. What can

52. S. SCHWEIGGER, *Eine neue Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* [...], Nürnberg 1619, 222 sq.: «Im Jahr Christi 1578. hielt Dominus Theodosius Zygomalas Protonotarius Patriarchae Constant: Hochzeit mit Jungfraw Irene Moschini [...] darzu war ich auch geladen» etc.

53. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Α'. Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολή τοῦ Σολομῶντος Σιωπικοῦ πρὸς Μαρτῖνον Κρούσιον περὶ τῶν ἐν Κ]πόλει (1579 μ. Χρ.)», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 41, 1921, 382-385.

54. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 130.

55. *Tage-Buch*, 456b.

56. *Le Voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye (1573) publié et annoté par M.H. HAUSER*, Paris 1897, 258 (French translation 108). On the journey of du Fresne see also St. YERASIMOS, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottoman (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. *Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara 1991, 297sq.

be said about Hieremias' education? Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monembasia calls him ἀγράμματος and ἄπειρος παιδείσεως in his *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν*<sup>57</sup>. But it is very doubtful if this information is true, given that his teacher belong to a circle of learned people<sup>58</sup>. Ioannes Zygomalas knowledge of ancient Greek was perfect. As Gerlach informs us in his diary, that was the reason why he was called to Constantinople by the former patriarch Ioasaph II. We can see that Ioannes was not a friend of vernacular Greek, because, when he was asked by Gerlach to write down a preach in modern Greek, he refused by saying that he did not want to stir his mind with *this barbaric language*<sup>59</sup>.

In 1597 Joris van der Does (Georgius Dousa) travelled to Constantinople with the Polish ambassador. There he also came in touch with Theodosios Zygomalas; for example, Theodosios was present, when Dousa and the Polish ambassador visited a cistern not very far from the Valens aqueduct. At this occasion Theodosios told Dousa that the small river which rised from there was the Kydaros; it is interesting to note that this river of Constantinople is hardly mentioned in the sources, except for Dionysius Byzantius (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.) and a 6<sup>th</sup> century source of the so-called *Patria Konstantinou-poleos*. Further on in his report Dousa mocks about the disinterest of the Greeks of Constantinople: «They are not only not interested in their heritage but they also hinder others who dare to ask about something. You do not come along with them if do not drink with them and exclaim πολυχρονιάσης ἀφένδι». Dousa also tells us, that Zygomalas who was very interested to come together with people from abroad, was abused by the mob<sup>60</sup>. It seems to be a topos in the report on journeys to Greece to complain about the ignorance of the contemporary Greeks and the poor condition of the Greek language. Even Theodosios himself complains in his long letter to Crusius from April 7, 1581 about the ignorance of his compatriots<sup>61</sup>. When Dousa returned from Constantinople he had in his luggage several manuscripts

57. Cf. Chr. HANNICK, «Jérémie II Tranos», in: C.G. CONTICELLO / V. CONTICELLO (eds), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, Turnhout 2002, 553.

58. HANNICK, «Jérémie II Tranos», 552.

59. *Tage-Buch*, 304.

60. *Georgii Dousae de itinere suo Constantinopolitano epistola* [...]. Leiden 1599, 40-42; on Dousa's journey see also YERASIMOS, *Voyageurs*, 425 sq.

61. *Turcogr.*, 93-94.

which were obviously given to him by Theodosios Zygomalas, as we can see from a list presented in the Codex Dupuy 651. Among these books one can find the *History* of Acropolites, the *Allegories* of Tzetzes etc., but also an oration of Theodosios' father Ioannes in praise of Lukas Michaelis or Luca Michiel, *provveditore* in venetian Crete<sup>62</sup> It is, however, not safe if this oration was really composed by Ioannes; Perentidis lists it under the latent or doubtful works of Ioannes<sup>63</sup>.

The correspondence of the two Zygomalades is also connected with other letter networks. The most important examples:

The already mentioned Maximos Margounios (1549-1602)<sup>64</sup> is the author of ca. 150 preserved letters. Margounios was both in touch with Martin Crusius in Germany and Theodosios Zygomalas in Constantinople. He was both the addressee of letters by Crusius and Theodosios who used him as a mediator towards the end of their correspondence. In a letter written on April 6, 1600, Theodosios provides Margounios with some information about his family which the latter should forward to Crusius<sup>65</sup>. With regards to German scholars, Margounios kept intensive contact with the German philologist David Höschel in Augsburg<sup>66</sup>. Unfortunately, only one of David Höschel's responses in Greek is preserved<sup>67</sup>.

Another letter network which is connected with the circle of the Zygomalades is that of Gabriel Severos (before 1540-1616)<sup>68</sup>. Severos, also resident of Venice and metropolitan of Philadelphia, was used as a mediator between the Zygomalades and Crusius too. Among Severos'

62. H. OMONT, «Martin Crusius, Georges Dousa et Théodose Zygomalas», *Revue des Études Grecques*, 10, 1897, 66-70.

63. PERENTIDIS, *Zygomalas*, 23.

64. On Maximos Margounios see PODSKALSKY, 135-151.

65. STAHLLECKER / STAIGER, *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*, 83-84.

66. Cf. P.K. ENEPEKIDES, «Maximos Margounios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten», *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 10, 1961, 93-145.

67. É. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1885 (Reprint Brussels 1963), II, 133 sq. (no. 229).

68. On Gabriel Severos see PODSKALSKY, 118-124; D. G. APOSTOLOPULOS (ed.), *Gavriil Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca. Atti della Giornata di studio dedicata alla memoria di Manussos Manussacas (Venezia, 26 settembre 2003)*, Venice 2004.

correspondents were the most important intellectuals of his time, among them both Theodosios Zygomalas<sup>69</sup> and Martin Crusius<sup>70</sup>.

A third letter network which is connected with that of the Zygomalas family belongs to Meletios Pegas (1549-1601), the patriarch of Alexandria. Among his dozens of correspondents one can also find Theodosios Zygomalas and Martin Crusius<sup>71</sup>. The contact between Pegas and Crusius was probably initiated by Salomon Schweigger who met Pegas on his way to the Holy Land<sup>72</sup>. In a letter from 1581 Crusius praises Pegas for his «φιλογερμανία»<sup>73</sup>.

Besides, the letter network of the Zygomalades was also connected with all the «international» contacts of Crusius which are spread all over Europe (from Northern Europe to England, Italy and Constantinople).

To sum up: So far, the private correspondence of the two Zygomalades has hardly been investigated. It was this article's intention to present an overview about this Euro-Mediterranean letter network in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. A lot of things still have to be done: First, every single published letter has to be analyzed with regards to its content and the mentioned persons. Second, still unpublished letters – the majority of them incorporated in Crusius' diary, the codex Tybingensis Mh 466<sup>74</sup> – have to be edited. Third, a chronological order of these letters has to be established. Fourth, the different social relations within this network have to be investigated and compared with already established network theories<sup>75</sup>.

69. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 220 (no. 15).

70. *Turcogr.*, 522-533.

71. É. LEGRAND, *Lettres de Mélétius Pigas antérieures à sa promotion au patriarcat (Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire 9)*, Paris 1902 (Reprint Athens 1974); METHODIOS [PHUGIAS], «Μελετίου Πηγᾶ πάπα καὶ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιστολαὶ ἐκδιδόμεναι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 296 χειρογράφου τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀλεξανδρείας», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 52 (1970) – 57 (1975), *passim*.

72. SCHWEIGGER, *Neue Reyßbeschreibung...*, 254.

73. LEGRAND, *Lettres de Mélétius Pigas...*, 87.

74. The last years (1596-1605) of Crusius' diary (starting in 1573) have already been published: W. GÖZ / E. CONRAD (eds.), *Diarium Martini Crusii 1596-1597*, Tübingen 1927; IDEM, *Diarium Martini Crusii 1598-1599*, Tübingen 1931; STAHLCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*; E. STAIGER (ed.), *Diarium Martini Crusii. Gesamtregister*, Tübingen 1961.

75. Cf. J. SCOTT, *Social Network Analysis. A Handbook*, London <sup>2</sup>2000.

Appendix: Letters sent to and received by Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas<sup>76</sup>

- 1) Dionysios, metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai, to IZ (a.1548-1551), ed. *Turcogr.*, 323, *Incipit*: Εὐγενέστατε, ἐντιμώτατε, λογιώτατε ἄρχων, κύριε Ἰωάννη Σαγωμαλᾶ
- 2) IZ to the papas and sakellarios of the metropolis of Zakynthos (a.1549), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 155-157 (no. 3), *Incipit*: Εὐλαβέστατε καὶ τιμώτατε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ σπλαγχνικώτατε καὶ τριπόθητε ἀδελφὲ καὶ πάτερ
- 3) Alexandros Neroules to IZ (a.1549), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 157-158 (no. 4), *Incipit*: Ἀλέξανδρος Νερούλης Ζακυνθίων ἐλάχιστός σοι τε τῷ σοφῷ καὶ γενναίῳ ῥήτορι Ναυπλίου
- 4) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1551 – shortly after a.1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς...», 38-39, LEGRAND, *Notice*, 257-258 (no. 30), *Incipit*: Περὶ πλείστου ἂν ἐποιησάμην ἔγωγε συγγενέσθαι σοι
- 5) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1551 – shortly after a.1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς...», 39; *Incipit*: Συνίστημί σου τῇ λογιότητι τὸν κομίζοντα τὸ γράμμα τουτί
- 6) Ioasaph to IZ (a.1556), ed. *Turcogr.*, 335-336, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε, λογιώτατε, τῷ ὄντι ῥήτορ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἡμέτερε, κύριε Ἰωάννη Ζυγομαλᾶ
- 7) IZ to Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos (a.1556 – shortly after 1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς...», 41, LEGRAND, *Notice*, 262-264 (no. 32), *Incipit*: Ἰωάννη τῷ σῷ πρὸς σὲ ἐπιστέλλοντι, ἰατρῶν σοφώτατε
- 8) IZ to Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos (a.1556 – shortly after 1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς...», 42; LEGRAND, *Notice*, 260 (no. 32), *Incipit*: Πολλάκις ὡς ἀληθῶς, μεγαλῶνυμε καὶ ἀνδρῶν σοφώτατε, δεῖν ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι ὤήθην.
- 9) IZ to Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos (a.1556 – 1583/4), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς...», 38, LEGRAND, *Notice*, 258-259 (no. 31), *Incipit*: Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις σπουδαίοις καὶ θεοῖς προτερήμασι
- 10) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1557 – shortly after

76. This list intends to present a first overview of all letters sent to and received by Ioannes (= IZ) and Theodosios Zygomalas (= TZ).

- 1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλάς...», 41-42, *Incipit*: Παῖς σκόμβρων τῶν σμικροτάτων τε καὶ ἡμιβρώτων ἐννενήκο- ντά μοι ἐνεγκῶν εἴρηκεν
- 11) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1559 – shortly after 1562), ed. *Turcogr.*, 241, A. MOUSTOXYDES, «Μιχαὴλ Λήσταρχος ἢ Ἐρμόδωρος Ζακύνθιος». *Ἑλληνομνήμων* (1847) 600, *Incipit*: Ἱερεὺς Νικόλαος ὁ Λέτζης ἔστιν εἷς τῶν ἐμὲ φιλοῦντων
- 12) IZ to Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos (a.1559 – shortly after 1562), ed. *Turcogr.*, 241-242, MOUSTOXYDES, «Μιχαὴλ Λήσταρ- χος...», 600-601, *Incipit*: Ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱερέως Νικολάου τοῦ Λέτζη πεμφθεῖσα μοι ἐπιστολή σου
- 13) Methodios to IZ (a.1559-1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 256-257, *Incipit*: Ἐπιστολὴν μὲν τοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἑωσφόρος ἀγγέλλει τοῖς χθονοῖς ναίουσιν
- 14) Neophytos, metropolitan of Larissa, to IZ (a.1559-1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 257-258; *Incipit*: Σοφὸς μὲν ἦρα καὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἀρι- στος, ὦ καλὲ Ἰωάννη
- 15) IZ to Nikephoros (a.1559-1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 258-259, *Incipit*: Τὸ μὴ τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενναίοις ἀθληταῖς καὶ ὀσίοις ἀνδράσι τιμὰς προτείνειν καὶ ἐγκώμια
- 16) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1560), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης Ζυγομαλάς...», 40-41, *Incipit*: Τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀμνημο- νεῖν ἡμῶν φιλίας εἰλικρινοῦς τεκμήριον
- 17) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1560), ed. *Turcogr.*, 219, *Incipit*: Αὐθέντα ἀδελφέ, τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ αὐθέντου τοῦ ἀποκρισιarioύ
- 18) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1560), ed. *Turcogr.*, 245, MOUSTOXYDES, «Μιχαὴλ Λήσταρχος...», 602-603, *Incipit*: Τὸ μαριάλε ὑπέσχετό μοι τίς τῶν ἐνταῦθα φίλων παρασχεῖν
- 19) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1560), ed. *Turcogr.*, 243, MOUSTOXYDES, «Μιχαὴλ Λήσταρχος...», 601, *Incipit*: Πέ- μπω σοι τὸ μαριάλε
- 20) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1560), ed. *Turcogr.*, 244, MOUSTOXYDES, «Μιχαὴλ Λήσταρχος...», 601-602, *Incipit*: Τὸ γράμμα ὅπερ ἐκομίσαστο παρὰ τῆς συνόδου ἱερεὺς Νικόλαος ὁ Λέτζης
- 21) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to IZ (a.1562), ed. PARANIKAS, «Ἰωάννης Ζυγομαλάς...», 39-40, *Incipit*: Ἡ τῶν πολλῶν φιλία οὐ μόνιμος
- 22) Michael-Hermodoros Lestarchos to TZ (a.1562), ed. PARANIKAS,

- «Ἰωάννης Ζυγομαλάς...», 44-45, *Incipit*: Τοῦτο σοφία καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀλήθεια ψυχῆ
- 23) Iakobos Heraklides to IZ (a.1562), ed. *Turcogr.*, 247, *Incipit*: Ἐδεξάμην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σου, μεστὴν οὖσαν πάσης τῆς ἐλευθέρου (sic) παιδεύσεως
- 24) Manuel to TZ (a.1562-1564), ed. *Turcogr.*, 253-254, *Incipit*: Τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀμνημονεῖν σε Μανουήλου
- 25) Stamatios to TZ (a.1562-1564), ed. *Turcogr.*, 315-316; *Incipit*: Ἐνδοξότατε, ἐκλαμπρώτατε, ἀνδρικότατε, φρονιμώτατε, καὶ φιλοχριστώτατε
- 26) Dionysios to TZ, (a.1564-1573/4), ed. *Turcogr.*, 320-321; *Incipit*: Ἐντιμώτατε, λογιώτατε, κύριε Θεοδόσιε, ἄξιε νοτάριε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 27) Germanos of Palaiai Patrai to TZ (before or after a.1565), ed. P.G. ZERLENTES, *Παραλειπόμενα τοῦ οἴκου Ζυγομαλά*. Ἐπροστάτευσαν οἱ πάπαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα; Athens 1923, 17, *Incipit*: Τιμώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε κύριε Θεοδόσιε Ζυγομαλά
- 28) Ioasaph II to IZ (a.1565), ed. *Turcogr.*, 290-291, *Incipit*: Τιμώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε μέγα ῥήτορ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 29) Ioannes Bonapheus to TZ (a.1573/4-1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 270, *Incipit*: Γράφω πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐλλογιμωτάτην, σπουδαίων ἄριστε
- 30) Logizos to TZ (a.1573/4-1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 266-267, *Incipit*: Ἄγιώτατε καὶ ἐντιμώτατε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 31) Stamatios-Eustathios to TZ (a.1573/4-1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 226-227, *Incipit*: Ἐντιμώτατε καὶ εὐγενέστατε ἀδελφέ, κύριε Θεοδόσιε Ζυγομαλά
- 32) Gerasimos to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 337-338, *Incipit*: Τιμώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς καθολικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 33) Ioseph to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 317, *Incipit*: Ἐνδοξώτατε ὁμοῦ καὶ περιφανέστατε καὶ πάση ἄρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει μυρίως κεκοσμένη [sic]
- 34) Ioseph to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 317-318, *Incipit*: Εὐγενέστατε καὶ τετιμημένε ἀρχῶν [sic] κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 35) Ioakeim to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 318; *Incipit*: Τιμώτατε αὐθέντη, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε καὶ ἡμέτερον [sic] ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ποθεινώτατε, κύριε Θεοδόσιε

- 36) Arsenios to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 322, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε κύρ Θεοδόσιε, πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 37) Pachomios to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 330-331, *Incipit*: Ῥητορικώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας
- 38) Pachomios to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 331, *Incipit*: Ῥητορικώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας
- 39) Theophanes, hieromonachos to TZ (a.1573/4-1580); ed. *Turcogr.*, 332-333, *Incipit*: Ἐνδοξότατε, σοφώτατε καὶ πάσης τιμῆς ἄξιε κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 40) Neophytos, hieromonachos to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 342-343, *Incipit*: Ἐντιμώτατε, συνετώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε ἐν λόγοις καὶ γράμμασι, κύριε Θεοδόσιε ῥήτορ
- 41) Akakios an TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 334, *Incipit*: Εὐλεβέστατε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 42) Zosimas an TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 338, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 43) Nikanor to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 324-325, D. KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Τουρκοκρατία*, Athens 1891 (Reprint 1993), I, 76-77, *Incipit*: Ἐντιμώτατε, εὐγενέστατε, λογιώτατε ἄρχω κύριε [sic] Θεοδόσιε
- 44) Nikanor to TZ (a.1573/4-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 324-325, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 77, *Incipit*: Ἐντιμώτατε, εὐγενέστατε, λογιώτατε κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 45) Ioseph to TZ (after a.1573/4), ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Τρεῖς ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιστολαὶ ἱερατικαὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Τυβίγγης πρὸς Θεοδόσιον τὸν Ζυγομαλᾶν», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 41, 1921, 229-230, *Incipit*: Εὐγενέστατε, ἐνδοξώτατε, οὕτω φρονιμώτατε καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ ἐγκωμίων ἄριστε
- 46) Dionysios to TZ (after a.1573/4), ed. MYSTAKIDES, «Τρεῖς ἀνέκδοτοι...», 236, *Incipit*: Πανεντιμώτατε καὶ ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 47) Arsenios to TZ (after a.1573/4), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 226-227 (no. 20), *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε κύρ Θεοδόσιε, πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 48) Hieremias to TZ (after a.1574), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 222-223



- (no. 17); *Incipit*: Τὸ τίμιόν σου γράμμα ἐλθὼν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν ἐναργῶς πρῶτον
- 49) Ioasaph Argyropoulos to TZ (a.1574 - ca. 1579), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 225-226 (no. 19), *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 50) Hippolytos to the clergy and other officials at the Patriarchate (among them I.Z. and T.Z.) (a.1574-1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 304-306, *Incipit*: Τὸ τῆς ἡχοῦς ὑστερόφωνον ἀντήχημά ἐστι πάντως φωνῆς ἐκφωνουμένης τυχὸν κατὰ φάραγγα
- 51) Martin Crusius to IZ (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 425, *Incipit*: Μὴ θαύμαζε, τίμιε κύριε, εἰ ἐγὼ ἐνιάκις ἤδη τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ ὑμῶν πατριάρχει ἐπιστείλας
- 52) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 426-427, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 51-52; *Incipit*: Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως τὸ ἀγνώτῳ με προσφωνεῖν σοι
- 53) Michael Sbiros to TZ (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 224-225, *Incipit*: Εὐγενὲς καὶ τιμημένε κύρ Θεοδόσιε, τὴν ἀφεντίαν σου ἀκριβῶς χαιρετοῦμεν
- 54) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 427-428, *Incipit*: Τὴν πλήρη σοφίας καὶ ἀγάπης εἰλικρινῶς κομίσαμεν ἐπιστολήν σου
- 55) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 428-435, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 52-59, two excerpts of this letter were also edited by D. CHYTRAEUS, *Oratio de statu ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Boemia, &c. Epistolae Constantinopolitanae et aliae circiter XXX [...]*, Frankfurt 1583, 92-97 (with the wrong date April 15, 1575), *Incipit*: Τὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγχινοίας γράμματα δεξάμενος, ἐλλογιμώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε κύριε Μαρτίνε Κρούσιε Γερμανέ
- 56) TZ to students at Tübingen (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 435-440, *Incipit*: Τοῦσι σοφία καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀλήθεια ψυχῆ ὄπερ φῶς ὀφθαλμῶ
- 57) Maximos, patriarchikos protosynkellos to TZ (a.1575), ed. *Turcogr.*, 270-272; *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε, εὐγενέστατε, σοφώτατε καὶ ῥητορικώτατε αὐθέντα, κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 58) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1576), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 192), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 80 (no. 13).
- 59) Leonardos Mindonios to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 309, *Incipit*: Ἀδελφέ, πολλὰ ἐχάρηκα μαυθάνοντας περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου

- 60) Ioannes Trachaios (Reuchius) and his fellow students to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 450-456, *Incipit*: Τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σου, σοφώτατε κύριε
- 61) Martin Crusius to IZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 441-444, *Incipit*: Πῶς νῦν οὐκ εἰκότως ἂν ἐγὼ Κρούσιος καλοίμην
- 62) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 444-450, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 59-64, *Incipit*: Ἐκομισάμην τῇ ιη΄ Ἰανουαρίου τοῦ ἔργιστα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἑλληνικῶν γραμμμάτων
- 63) Martin Crusius an TZ (a.1576), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 291-292), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 81 (no. 20)
- 64) Methodios, metropolitan of Melenikos to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 341-342, *Incipit*: Εὐλαβέστατε καὶ λογιώτατέ μοι κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 65) IZ an Jakob Andreae (a.1576), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 181-183 (no. 7), *Incipit*: Εἰ καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀγαθῇ μόνῃ φήμῃ πρότερον
- 66) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1576), edited ? (cf. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique*, IV, 244 [no. 8]).
- 67) Protopapas of Tinos to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 319-320, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε καὶ εὐγενέστατε ἅγιε ἔξαρχε τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 68) Hieremias II to TZ (a.1576), ed. *Turcogr.*, 293, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 69) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1576), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 494-498), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 81 (no. 25).
- 70) Michael Pauliotes to TZ (a.1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 222 (not complete), *Incipit*: Κὺρ Θεοδόσιε, ἀκριβὲ γυναικάδελφε καὶ ὁσάδελφε καὶ πρωτονοτάριε
- 71) Martin Crusius to IZ (a.1577), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 451-453), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 81 (no. 26).
- 72) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1577), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 454-457), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 81 (no. 27).
- 73) Martin Crusius to IZ (a.1577), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 522-526), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 82 (no. 30).

- 74) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1577), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 527-528), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 82 (no. 31).
- 75) Manuel, grammatikos of Michael Kantakuzenos, to TZ (a.1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 223, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφὲ κύριε Θεοδόσιε καὶ πρωτονοτάριε
- 76) Symeon, hieromonachos and ephemerios of Andros, to TZ (a.1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 219-221, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 75-76, *Incipit*: Εὐγενέστατε, τιμιώτατε, σπουδαιότατε καὶ λογιώτατε καὶ πάσης ἑλληνικῆς τάξεως πεπληρωμένε
- 77) Ioannes Koreses to TZ, (a.1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 238, *Incipit*: Ἱερεὺς Παντολέων ὁ Δρομοκαΐτης, ὁ καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας σακελλίου
- 78) Ioannes Maximos to TZ (a.1577), ed. *Turcogr.*, 217-218, K.Th. DIMARAS, *Νεοελληνικὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία* (Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 43), Athens 1955, 9 (no. 6) [with the wrong date December 11, 1571]; *Incipit*: Αὐθέντα σοφώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε καὶ πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 79) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1577-1578), ed. K.I. DYOBOUNIOTES, «Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς». *Θεολογία*, 1, 1923, 157-161 (wrongly numbered 257-261), *Incipit*: Ὡς ἐρωτήσας ἔμαθον παρὰ μοναχῶν, οὕτω καὶ σημειοῦμαι σοι
- 80) TZ via Stephan Gerlach to Martin Crusius (a.1577-1578), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 198-199 (no. 11), *Incipit*: Ἐπειδὴ τῷ θείῳ ὀρισμῷ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κυρίου Ἱερεμίου ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ εἶχον
- 81) Iosaph, metropolitan of Monembasia, to TZ (a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 321-322, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε, σπουδαιώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἄγιε πρωτονοτάριε
- 82) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1578), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 613-615), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 82 (no. 35).
- 83) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 458-460, *Incipit*: Δυοῖν θάτερον ἔδει· ἢ τοὺς εἰλικρινῶς τὴν φιλίαν σώζοντας
- 84) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1578), ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, «Ὅκτώ ἑλληνικαὶ περιγραφαὶ τῶν ἁγίων τόπων ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ', ἐξ καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος», *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik* 56 (1903) 51-54; DYOBOUNIOTES, «Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς», 154-156, *Incipit*: Ὡς ἐρωτήσας ἔμαθον, σοφώτατε κυριε Στέφανε, ἐκκλησιαστά
- 85) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1578), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 187,

- PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, «Ὅκτὼ ἑλληνικαὶ περιγραφαί», 41-42, *Incipit*: Εἰ καὶ προέφθησας ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐλογίαις χρηστότητος
- 86) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 465-466, *Incipit*: Ἐπαινῶ τοὺς τὰ γνωμικὰ ἐκφωνήσαντες σοφοὺς ἐκείνους
- 87) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 466-468, excerpt ed. M. CRUSIUS, *D. Stephani Gerlachii, Knitlingensis, qui Constantinopoli in Aula Legati Imp. Rom. Complures annos Ecclesiasta fuit, Biduum Tybingense*, Tubingae 1580, 30sq., *Incipit*: Εἰ μὴ ὁ τὰ πάντα καλῶς καὶ σοφῶς κοινὸς φίλος κύριος Στέφανος
- 88) TZ to the library at Tübingen (a.1578), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 713), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 83 (no. 53).
- 89) TZ to Nikephoros (a.1578), ed. U. MOENNIG, «On Martin Crusius's collection of Greek vernacular and religious books», *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 21, 1997, 52, *Incipit*: Σπουδαιότατε κύριε Νικηφόρε, εἴης ὑγιαίνων
- 90) Martin Crusius to IZ (a.1578), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, I 647-648), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 82 (no. 39).
- 91) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1578), *Turcogr.*, 462-464, *Incipit*: Ὅσης ἐμοὶ χαράν, ἡ εἰκοστὴ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου
- 92) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1578), ed. I.N. KARMIRES, «Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολὴ Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά πρὸς Στέφανον Gerlach», *Ἐκκλησία* 15, 1937, 364 (= I.N. KARMIRES, *Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Παρκεθύμη καὶ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά*, Athen 1937, 20-22), *Incipit*: Σοφώτατε καὶ χριστιανικώτατε κύριε Στέφανε, ἐκκλησιαστὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ
- 93) Makarios, hieromonachos and kathedoumenos of Patmos, to TZ (a.1578), ed. MYSTAKIDES, «Τρεῖς ἀνέκδοτοι...», 230, *Incipit*: Εὐγενέστατε καὶ ἐντιμώτατε ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας
- 94) Antonios to TZ (a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 298, *Incipit*: Τιμώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 95) Frangkiskos Domestikos Laskaris to TZ (after a.1578), ed. *Turcogr.*, 312, *Incipit*: Σοφώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε αὐθέντη, τὸ τίμιον γράμμα τῆς αὐθεντίας σου ἔλαβα
- 96) Gregorios, metropolitan of Bursa, to TZ (a.1578/9), ed. *Turcogr.*, 297-298, DIMARAS, *Νεοελληνικὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία*, 11 (no. 8),

- Incipit:* Ὁ ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, κύριε Θεοδόσιε, χαίρει ἐν Κυρίῳ
- 97) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1578/9), ed. *Turcogr.*, 216, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 67-68, *Incipit:* Τὰς ἐπιστολάς ταύτας ἐσημειωσάμην χάριν σου
- 98) Theodoros Rentios to IZ (a.1579), ed. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique*, XV-XVI, IV 150-152, ZERLENTES, *Παραλειπόμενα*, 14-17, A. MESCHINI, *Teodoro Rendios* (Studi Bizantini e Neogreci 11), Padua 1978, 71-73 (no. 17), *Incipit:* Ἄ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καρδινάλεις ἐπέστειλας
- 99) Gabriel Severos to TZ (a.1579), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 220 (no. 15), *Incipit:* Εἰ καὶ μὴ συνεχῶς γράφειν σοι φανοίμεθα
- 100) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 65-69), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 67); excerpt ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Παχυμέρης Γεώργιος πρωτέκδικος καὶ δικαιοφύλαξ καὶ Μ. Κρούσιος», in: G. PAPAMICHAEL (ed.), *Ἐναίσιμα ἐπὶ τῇ τριακοστῇ πέμπτῃ ἐπετηρίδι ἐπιστημονικῆς δράσεως τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος*, Athens 1931, 232.
- 101) IZ to Martin Crusius (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 69-72), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 68).
- 102) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 57-58), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 66).
- 103) IZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 58-60), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 65).
- 104) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 29-39), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 59); excerpt ed. *Turcogr.*, 514, LEGRAND, *Notice*, 121.
- 105) Martin Crusius an IZ (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 47-49), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 62).
- 106) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1579), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 135-143), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 69); excerpt ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 130-131; P. TOUFEXIS, «To *Alphabetum vulgaris linguae Graecae* του Γερμανοῦ ουμανιστῆ Martinus Crusius», in: P. AGAPETOS / M. PIERES,

- «Τὸ ἄδόνιν κείνον ποὺ γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται». *Εκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημώδους ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση (1400-1600). Πρακτικά του 4ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi (Νοέμβριος 1997, Λευκωσία)*, Herakleio 2002, 122, n. 23.
- 107) Oikonomos of Gallipoli to TZ (a.1579), ed. *Turcogr.*, 333-334, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε χρησιμώτατε καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφέ, κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 108) Ioasaph Argyropoulos, metropolitan of Salonica, to TZ (a.1579), ed. *Turcogr.*, 326, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 109) Ioannes Bourklas to TZ (a.1579), ed. *Turcogr.*, 311-312, *Incipit*: Σοφώτατε, σπουδαιότατε, συνετώτατε, καὶ πάσης τιμῆς ἄξιε, κύριε Θεοδόσιε
- 110) Oikonomos of Gallipoli to TZ (a.1580), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 224-225 (no. 18), *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε καὶ χρησιμώτατε κύριε Θεοδόσιε καὶ πρωτονοτάριε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
- 111) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1580), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 255-259), not mentioned by ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*.
- 112) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1580), ed. CHYTRAEUS, *Oratio...*, 137-140, E. SCHELSTRATE, *Acta orientalis ecclesiae contra Lutheri haeresim monumentis, notis, ac dissertationibus illustrata opera [...]. Pars prima*, Rome 1739, 236-238; excerpt ed. M. CRUSIUS, *Germanograeciae libri sex*, Basileae 1585, 232, excerpt ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 131-132, A. RHOBY, «Johannes Chrysostomos und Theodosios Zygomalas», *Byzantion*, 75, 2005, 508, *Incipit*: Μακρὰν ἂν εἶπης ἐσίγησα σιγῆν, τινῶν ἐλθόντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς δίχρα τῶν πρὸς ἐμέ σου γραμμάτων
- 113) Smaragda Kanaboutzena to TZ (a.1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 309-311, *Incipit*: Λογιώτατε αὐθέντα κύριε Θεοδόσιε, ἅγιε πρωτονοτάριε
- 114) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1580), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 222-231), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 84 (no. 72).
- 115) Ioannes Koreses to TZ (a.1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 306-308, *Incipit*: Τὴν σὴν ἀσμένως ἐδεξάμην ἐπιστολήν, σοφώτατε πρωτονοτάριε
- 116) Frangiskos Domestikos Laskaris to TZ (a.1580), ed.

- Turcogr.*, 308-309, DIMARAS, *Νεοελληνική Ἐπιστολογραφία*, 11-12 (no. 9), *Incipit*: Σοφώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε καὶ πάσης τιμῆς ἀξιώτατε, αὐθέντη πρωτονοτάριε
- 117) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1580), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 305-309), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 85 (no. 78).
- 118) Ioannes Koreses to TZ (after 1580), ed. *Turcogr.*, 314-315, *Incipit*: Ἀγαπημένε μοι ἀδελφέ, παρακαλῶ σε νὰ κοπιᾶσεις εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον
- 119) Meletios Pegas to TZ (a.1581), ed. LEGRAND, *Lettres de Mélétius Pigas...*, 40-41 (no. 42), *Incipit*: Εὐπορον εἶναι νομίζω τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοφυῆ τ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ πολυφυῆ
- 120) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1581), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 227-232 (no. 21), excerpt ed. J.M. HEINECCIUS, *Eigentliche und wahrhaftige Abbildung der alten und neuen Griechischen Kirche, Nach ihrer Historie, Glaubens-Lehren und Kirchen-Gebräuchen, in III Theilen*, Leipzig 1711, Appendix 21-25, *Incipit*: Σοφώτατε κύριε Στέφανε Γερλάχιε, τῆς θεολογίας διδάσκαλε
- 121) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1581), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 479-480), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 86 (no. 93).
- 122) TZ to Martin Crusius and the theologians at Tübingen (a.1581), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, II 462-465), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 86 (no. 91), excerpt ed. *Turcogr.*, 99, KAMPOUROGLOU, *Μνημεῖα...*, I, 65-66.
- 123) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1581), ed. *Turcogr.*, 74-98, G. KOURNOU-TOS, *Λόγιοι τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens 1955, 170-179 (without *Turcogr.*, 88-92 = Matthaios Kamariotes, *Patrologia Graeca* 160, 1059-1070), excerpt ed. C. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogique*, Berlin 1873, 236-237 (no. XIII), LEGRAND, *Notice*, 70, n. 1, *Incipit*: Κομιζόμενος μὲν σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκων, ἀνδρῶν ποθεινότατέ μοι καὶ μεγαλώνουμε
- 124) TZ to Stephan Gerlach (a.1581), excerpt ed. *Turcogr.*, 99, TUFEXIS, «To Alphabetum...», 123.
- 125) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1581), ed. *Turcogr.*, 100, *Incipit*: Ἐπιστολὴν μακρὰν μίαν πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἕτεραν πρὸς τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον κύριον Στέφανον Γερλάχιον

- 126) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1582), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, II 575-579), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 87 (no. 104).
- 127) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1583), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, II 692-694), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 88 (no. 114).
- 128) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1584), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, III 84-85), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 88 (no. 120).
- 129) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1584), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, III 142-145), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 89 (no. 128).
- 130) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1585), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, III 238-242), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 90 (no. 141).
- 131) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1585), ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Βιβλιογραφικὰ μελετήματα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μ. Κρουσίου (Τυβίγγης) ἐκδόσεων. II. Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιστολαὶ Κρουσίου πρὸς τὸν Συμεὼν Καβάσιλαν κλ. κλ.», *Θεολογία*, 8, 1930, 164-165, excerpt ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Περὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν Διονυσίου Β' καὶ Μητροφάνους Γ' καὶ τῆς καθαιρέσεως αὐτῶν κατὰ νέα ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 10, 1890, 190, B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «Notes sur Martin Crusius, ses livres, ses ouvrages et ses manuscrits», *Revue des Études Grecques*, 11, 1898, 293, *Incipit*: Καὶ πρὸ μηνὸς ἤδη ἑνὸς ἔγγραφα πρὸς σὲ
- 132) Martin Crusius to TZ (a. 1585), ed. MYSTAKIDES, «Παχυμέρης Γεώργιος...», 228-231, *Incipit*: Ἦν τῇ α<sup>η</sup> Φεβρουαρίου τοῦ παρόντος ἔγγραψας.
- 133) TZ to Johannes Löwenklau (a.1586), ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, *Germano-graeca. Γερμανία - Ἑλλάς κατὰ τὸν 15<sup>ο</sup> αἰῶνα*, Constantinople 1922, 69-70, *Incipit*: Ἐδεξάμην τὴν σὴν ἐπιστολήν, γενναιότατε, Ἰανουαρίου α<sup>η</sup>
- 134) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1586), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, III 333-337), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 91 (no. 151).
- 135) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1586), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466, III 386-388), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 91 (no. 161).
- 136) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1586), unedited (Cod. Tybing, Mh 466,



- III 459-463), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 92 (no. 171).
- 137) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1587), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, III 554), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 92 (no. 176).
- 138) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1587), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, III 615-617), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 93 (no. 181).
- 139) Martin Crusius to TZ und Symeon Kabasilas; a.1588; ed. B.A. MYSTAKIDES, «'Ο πατριάρχης 'Ιερεμίας Β' ὁ Τρανὸς καὶ αἱ πρὸς τοὺς διαμαρτυρομένους σχέσεις κατὰ τὸν 15' αἰῶνα», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 14, 1894-95, 317-318; *Incipit*: Πολλάκις μὲν ἔγραψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς προγενομένοις χρόνοις
- 140) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1591), unedited (Cod. Tybing. Mh 466, IV 390-391), cf. ZACHARIADES, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, 94 (no. 198).
- 141) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1594), ed. MYSTAKIDES, «Notes sur Martin Crusius...», 282, *Incipit*: Κύριε Θεοδόσιε τίμιε, εἰ ζῆς ἔτι, σὺ τε καὶ ἡ ἀγαπητὴ σου σύζυξ Εἰρήνη
- 142) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1597), ed. GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 221 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 143) TZ to Jakob Andreae (a.1597), ed. GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 222 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 144) TZ to Jakob Andreae (a.1597), ed. GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 222-223 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 145) TZ to Salomon Schweigger (a.1597), ed. GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 223-224 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 146) TZ to Bartholomäus Pezzen (a.1597), ed. GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 224-225 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 147) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1599), ed. MYSTAKIDES, *Germanograeca...*, 73-74, GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 240-241, *Incipit*: Ἄγιε κύριε Θεοδόσιε· ἔγραψας τῆς 15' νοεμβρίου 1599· ἔξ ἐπιστολάς
- 148) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1599), ed. MYSTAKIDES, *Germanograeca...*, 71-72, GÖZ / CONRAD, *Diarium 1598-1599*, 241-242, *Incipit*: Ἐν τῷ σωτήρι χαίρειν· τίμιε κύριε Θεοδόσιε, πέντε ἐπιστολάς σου
- 149) TZ to Maximos Margounios (a.1600), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 232-233 (no. 22), STAHLLECKER / STAIGER, *Diarium 1600-1605*,

- 83-84, *Incipit*: Θεοφιλέστατε Κυθήρων, καὶ σοφώτατε κύριε Μαργούνιε τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην σου προσκυνῶν
- 150) TZ to Martin Crusius (a.1600), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 233-234 (no. 22.), STAHLCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium 1600-1605*, 84-85, *Incipit*: Κύριε Μαρτίνε φροντιεῖς μοι πρὸς Θεοῦ καὶ φιλίας
- 151) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1600), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 235-237 (no. 24), STAHLCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium 1600-1605*, 110-111, *Incipit*: Τὸ σὸν περιπαθὲς πρὸς κύριον Μαργούνιον γράμμα
- 152) TZ to Martin Crusius (after a.1600), ed. STAHLCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium 1600-1605*, 282-283 (only preserved in a Latin summary).
- 153) Martin Crusius to TZ (a.1601), ed. LEGRAND, *Notice*, 238-240 (no. 26), STAHLCKER / STAIGER, *Diarium 1600-1605*, 319-320, *Incipit*: Τιμιώτατε κύριε Θεοδόσιε, ἐκομισάμην τὸ μακρὸν καὶ πολυπαθὲς σου γράμμα