MARC D. LAUXTERMANN

# BYZANTINE POETRY FROM PISIDES TO GEOMETRES

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MARC D. LAUXTERMANN

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Texts and Contexts

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# PREFACE

This book was supposed to have come out in 2006. It is now 2019. What happened? Life intervened, as it does. It had other plans for me, or to put it in the words of that great poet, John Mauropous: τοιοῦτον ἡ βλάπτουσα τὸν νοῦν κουφότης / πείθει νομίζειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ τις κρατεῖ / καὶ τὸν βίον τίθησιν ὡς αὐτῷ φίλον, 'So injurious is levity of mind that it makes one believe that one is in control of oneself and may arrange one's life as one seems fit'.[1] No illusions there.

On the plus side, the delay meant that I had the good fortune of seeing many important texts finally published in reliable editions and witnessing a booming interest in Byzantine poetry in recent years. I am especially grateful to the new generation of Byzantinists who were kind enough to share their research with me one way or another: Eirini Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, Floris Bernard, Jonas Christensen, Kostas Chrysogelos, Björn Isebaert, Krystina Kubina, Emilie van Opstall, Giulia Paoletti, Georgi Parpulov, Jorie Soltic, Foteini Spingou, Maria Tomadaki, and Nikos Zagklas. I am also much indebted to various other colleagues, too many to list here, though I should like to single out one person in particular: Wolfram Hörandner, without whose encouragement, generosity and wisdom this two-volume study of Byzantine poetry would never have seen the light of day. Those who know me know how much I owe to my wife, Marjolijne Janssen, who read the book from beginning to end and made many improvements, including some to this very preface. Thanks to you all.

Though this second volume hopefully forms a fairly comprehensive survey of non-epigrammatic poetry written between c. 600 and 1000, I do not claim to have covered the whole ground because that would be levity of mind indeed. Firstly, certain genres are hardly represented before the year 1000: a number of verse epistles are attested in the ninth century (Theodore of Stoudios no. 123; pleasantries exchanged between the Graptoi and Patriarch Methodios) and a few metrical prefaces to saints' lives are found in the literary output of the Anonymous Patrician (nos 34 and 35), but these two genres only really kick off in the twelfth century if not later. There are even certain poetic genres without any pre-1000 literary pedigree: a good example is synaxarion verses, the popularity of which starts with Christopher Mitylenaios. Secondly, though I have no doubt that the *Song of Armouris*, the balladic material that is still recognizable as such in *Digenes Akrites* E, and some of the folk songs (particularly those found in early

[1] LAGARDE 1882: 48 (no. 93.19–21). Read with the ms. κρατεῖ, not κράτει as in the edition.

manuscripts) circulated in some form in the ninth and tenth centuries, I have excluded the genre of the heroic ballad from the discussion because of the difficulty of reconstructing its oral tradition in any detail. Thirdly, and more importantly, it would be an illusion to think that all poems can be classified and subsumed under a fixed number of categories. There will always be exceptions and exceptions to exceptions and exceptions to exceptions to exceptions, etc. We will have to recognize that poems may refuse to conform and go their own separate ways. Many of these less-than-pliable texts are traditionally put into the catch-all category of the 'epideictic' which, as it defies definition and analysis, basically has no explanatory value.[2] Take the grumbling comments of Constantine the Sicilian that things are not as they used to be, culture is going down the drain, and injustice, mendacity, violence and all kinds of evil are thriving.[3] The poem is too short to be a moral essay or a polemic (see chapter 16) and too serious to be a satirical poem (see chapter 15): it falls in between. A generic approach does not work for poems like this one.

However, as this book hopes to demonstrate, genre is a valuable tool for understanding most forms of Byzantine poetry. The first three chapters (10–12) discuss encomium, ekphrasis and ethopoiia — the three archigenres or discursive modes that, together with narration, inform the whole of Byzantine literature. The next two (13–14) deal with specific rhetorical genres: monody and epithalamium. This is then followed by an account of satire, diatribe and catanyctic poetry (chapters 15–17), all three of which tend to be rather personal: they are all forms of self-representation. The next two chapters (18–19) take us to school: the first deals with didactic poetry; the second with metaphrasis, a school exercise. The last chapter (20) treats oracles, riddles and dream keys. There is also an 'appendix metrica', which offers a detailed account of Byzantine metrics.

References to Geometres' iambic poems are to the edition of Tomadaki: as this PhD thesis is still unedited, I add the old Cramer numbering between brackets. The five-digit numbers, also between brackets, after manuscript shelfmarks, are *Diktyon* numbers: see http://www.diktyon.org. These have been added at the first mention of each manuscript.

[2] See Lauxtermann 1998b.

[3] Ed. Spadaro 1971: 202.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *AnBoll* | Analecta Bollandiana |
| *AB* | Anthologia Barberina |
| *AP* | Anthologia Palatina |
| *APl* | Appendix Planudea |
| *BCH* | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique |
| *BF* | Byzantinische Forschungen |
| *BHG* | Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca |
| *BMGS* | Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies |
| *BNJ* | Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher |
| *BollClass* | Bollettino dei Classici |
| *BollGrott* | Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata |
| *BSl* | Byzantinoslavica |
| *Byz* | Byzantion |
| *BZ* | Byzantinische Zeitschrift |
| *CFHB* | Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae |
| *Cougny* | Epigrammatum Anthologia, vol. III: Appendix Nova |
| *DChAE* | Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας |
| *DOP* | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| *EEBS* | Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν |
| *EO* | Échos d'Orient |
| *GRBS* | Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies |
| *Hell* | Ἑλληνικά |
| *JHSt* | Journal of Hellenic Studies |
| *JÖB* | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik |
| *JÖBG* | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft |
| *Kriaras* | Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας |
| *Lampe* | A Patristic Greek Lexicon |
| *LBG* | Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität |
| *LSJ* | Liddell-Scott-Jones |
| *MEG* | Medioevo Greco |
| *NE* | Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων |
| *OCP* | Orientalia Christiana Periodica |
| *ODB* | Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium |
| *PBW* | Prosopography of the Byzantine World |
| *PLP* | Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit |

| | |
|---|---|
| *PG* | Patrologia Graeca |
| *REB* | Revue des Études Byzantines |
| *REG* | Revue des Études Grecques |
| *ROC* | Revue de l'Orient Chrétien |
| *RSBN* | Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici |
| *SBN* | Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici |
| *SC* | Sources Chrétiennes |
| *SicGymn* | Siculorum Gymnasium |
| *StT* | Studi e Testi |
| *TLG* | Thesaurus Linguae Graecae |
| *TM* | Travaux et Mémoires |
| *VV* | Vizantijskij Vremennik |
| *WSt* | Wiener Studien |
| *ZRVI* | Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta |

# PRIMARY SOURCES

| | |
|---|---|
| **Alexander of Nicaea** | |
| *APl* 21–22; 281 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 316 and 454 |
| **Anastasios Quaestor** | |
| *AP* 15.28 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 282 |
| iambic kanons | ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1900: 45–49 |
| epitaph | ed. Mercati 1929–30: 60 |
| satirical poem | ed. Westerink 1968: I, 322, 29–33 |
| **Andrew of Crete** | |
| book epigram | ed. Heisenberg 1901: 508–512 |
| **the Anonymous Italian** | |
| nos 1–29 | ed. Browning 1963: 295–306 |
| **the Anonymous Patrician** | |
| nos 1–39 | ed. Vassis 2015: 333–345 |
| **the Anonym of Sola** | |
| nos 1–8 | ed. Sola 1916: 20–27 and 150–153 |
| **Anonymous Hymn on Basil I** | |
| hymn | ed. Ciccolella 1998: 314–315 |
| **Anonymous Imperial Monodies** | |
| on Leo VI | ed. Ševčenko 1969–70: 194, 196–197, 201–203 |
| on Christopher Lakapenos | ed. Sternbach 1898–99: 15–19 |
| **Anthimos Chartophylax** | |
| poem | ed. Mercati G. 1937: 302–304 |
| **Arethas of Caesarea** | |
| *AP* 15.32–34 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 284–286 |
| **Arsenios** | |
| On Easter Sunday | ed. Crimi 2015a: 57–61 |
| **Arsenios** | |
| book epigram | ed. Follieri 1957: 116 |
| **Arsenios Patellarites** | |
| book epigram | ed. Odorico 1988: 14–16 |
| **Basil I, Encomium on** | |
| encomium | ed. Markopoulos 1992: 230–232 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Bryson the Philosopher** | |
| On the Last Days | ed. Pertusi 1988: 162–166[1] |
| **Calabrian Youth, Encomium on** | |
| encomium | ed. Mercati 1931: 364–365 and 368–369 |
| **Christopher Protasekretis** | |
| hymns 1–2 | ed. Ciccolella 2000b: 72–77 |
| **Constantine the Rhodian** | |
| *AP* 15.15–17 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 266–268 |
| satirical poems 1–2 | ed. Matranga 1850: 624–626 |
| dispute with Theodore | ed. Matranga 1850: 627–632 |
| ekphrasis | ed. Vassis 2012: 18–84. |
| **Constantine the Sicilian** | |
| *AP* 15.13 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 266 |
| psogos | ed. Spadaro 1971: 198–199 |
| apology | ed. Spadaro 1971: 200–202 |
| poems 1–2 | ed. Spadaro 1971: 202 |
| monody | ed. Monaco 1951: 458–462; Matter 2002: I, 364–369 |
| Odarion Erotikon | ed. Bergk 1882: 351–354; Matter 2002: I, 370–374 |
| **Dionysios the Stoudite** | |
| book epigram | ed. Speck 1968: 307–309 |
| **Elias Synkellos** | |
| catanyctic alphabet | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 6–16 |
| lamentation on himself | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 20–30 |
| **Euphemios** | |
| satirical poem | ed. Pertusi 1952: 91 |
| **Eustathios Kanikles** | |
| riddle | ed. Sternbach 1900b: 291–293 |
| **George of Pisidia** | |
| St. 5–106 and 108 | ed. Sternbach 1891: 16–18 and 1892a: 51–68 |
| Q. 1–13 | ed. Querci 1777: 1732–1740 |
| In Heraclium redeuntem | ed. Pertusi 1959: 77–81 |
| Expeditio Persica | ed. Pertusi 1959: 84–136 |
| In Bonum Patricium | ed. Pertusi 1959: 163–170 |
| Bellum Avaricum | ed. Pertusi 1959: 176–200 |
| In Restitutionem Crucis | ed. Pertusi 1959: 225–230 |
| Heraclias | ed. Pertusi 1959: 240–261 |
| Hexaemeron | ed. Gonnelli 1998: 310–422 |

[1] The poem consists of 181 lines, of which Pertusi published vv. 1–35 and 46–66.

| | |
|---|---|
| Contra Severum | ed. Querci 1777: 1621–1676 |
| In Resurrectionem | ed. Querci 1777: 1374–1384 |
| De Vanitate Vitae | ed. Querci 1777: 1581–1600 |
| De Vita Humana | ed. Gonnelli 1991a: 123–130 |
| In Alypium | ed. Sternbach 1891: 1–4[2] |
| **Ignatios the Deacon** | |
| *AP* 15.29–31; 39a | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 282–284 and 288 |
| monody | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 42–54 |
| paraenetic alphabet | ed. Müller 1891: 321–322 |
| Adam and Eve | ed. Müller 1886: 28–32; Tomadaki 2010: 24–36 |
| Lazarus and the Rich | ed. Sternbach 1897: 151–154 |
| fables nos 1–45 | ed. Müller 1897: 264–281 |
| **John Geometres Kyriotes** | |
| hexametric poems | ed. Van Opstall 2008: 124–536 |
| dodecasyllabic poems | ed. Tomadaki 2014: 43–255 |
| Cr. 266.1–352.2 | ed. Cramer 1841: 266–352 |
| S. 2–13 | ed. Sajdak 1929: 196–198 |
| Sa. 1–14 | ed. Sajdak 1930–31: 530–534 |
| dispute with Stylianos | ed. Van Opstall 2015: 775–776 |
| hymns on the H. Virgin | ed. Sajdak 1931: 61–78 |
| Metaphrasis of the Odes | ed. De Groote 2004a: 380–404 |
| Life of St Panteleemon | ed. Sternbach 1892b: 3–41 |
| **John Kommerkiarios** | |
| Life of St Mary of Egypt | ed. Sternbach 1900b: 319–321 |
| **John of Damascus** | |
| Drama of Susanna | ed. *PG* 136.508 (two verses) |
| poem on the H. Trinity | ed. Canart 2000: 153–154 |
| **John the Grammarian** | |
| epigrams 1–2 | ed. *PG* 99.436 and 476 |
| **Kassia** | |
| A 1–160, B 1–27, C 1–97 | ed. Krumbacher 1897a: 357–368 |
| **Kometas** | |
| *AP* 15.36–38; 40 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 288 and 290–292 |
| **Kyriakos of Chonai** | |
| catanyctic alphabet | ed. Lauxtermann 1999b: 101–102 |
| **Leo Bible** | |
| epigrams 1–16 | ed. Mango 2011: 59–75 |

[2] Pisides' poems and epigrams can also be found in the edition of Tartaglia 1998. He reproduces the previous editions with some minor changes: see the 'Nota critica' in his edition, pp. 58–60.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Leo Choirosphaktes** | |
| epigrams 1–4 | ed. Kolias 1939: 130–132 |
| epitaph | ed. Mercati 1929–30: 60 |
| monody | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 66–70 |
| epithalamia 1–2 | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 76–82 and 86–88 |
| The Bath of Leo VI | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 94–106 |
| Thousand-Line Theology | ed. Vassis 2002a: 71–153 |
| On Thermal Springs | ed. Gallavotti 1990: 86–89 |
| **Leo the Philosopher** | |
| epigrams 1–11 | ed. Westerink 1986: 198–201 |
| Job | ed. Westerink 1986: 205–222 |
| **Leo VI** | |
| Odarion Katanyktikon | ed. Ciccolella 1989: 21–24 |
| poem on the lily | ed. Mercati 1936: 497–498 |
| homily no. 26 | ed. Antonopoulou 2008: 345–369 |
| **Methodios** | |
| epigram on the Chalke | ed. Mercati 1920: 215–216 |
| **Metrophanes of Smyrna** | |
| hymn | ed. Mercati 1929–30: 56–59 |
| **Michael Synkellos** | |
| hymn | ed. Crimi 1990: 29–34 |
| **Nikephoros Ouranos** | |
| catanyctic alphabet | ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1899a: 68–70 |
| monody | ed. Mercati 1950: 569–570 |
| **Paradeisos** | |
| quatrains 1–99 | ed. Isebaert 2004: bijlage, 1–99[3] |
| **Photios** | |
| hymns 1–2 | ed. Ciccolella 1998: 308–314 |
| **Ps. Constantine the Sicilian** | |
| love poem | ed. Bergk 1882: 354–355 |
| **Ps. John of Damascus** | |
| iambic kanons | ed. Nauck 1894: 199–215; Skrekas 2008: 3–39 |
| **Ps. Leo Choirosphaktes** | |
| epithalamium | ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 110–114 |
| **Romanos II, Encomium on** | |
| encomium | ed. Odorico 1987: 87–93 |
| **Sisinnios, Epigram on** | |
| book epigram | ed. Meyer & Burckhardt 1960: 150–152 |

[3] Björn Isebaert and Kristoffel Demoen are preparing a new edition of this text.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sophronios Iatrosophistes** | |
| hymn | ed. Gigante 1957: 139–143 |
| **Sophronios of Jerusalem** | |
| hymns 1–22 | ed. Gigante 1957: 25–138 |
| **Stylianos** | |
| dispute with Geometres | ed. Van Opstall 2015: 775–776 |
| **Symeon the Metaphrast** | |
| catanyctic alphabet | ed. Allatius 1664: 132–134 (no. I) |
| monody on Stylianos | ed. Allatius 1664: 135 (no. IV) |
| monody on Const. VII | ed. Ševčenko 1969–70: 210–212 |
| satirical poem | ed. Vasil'evsky 1896: 578 |
| erotapokrisis | ed. Morel 1600: 1–3 |
| hymn | ed. Koder 1965: 133–137 |
| **Symeon the New Theologian** | |
| hymns 1–58 | ed. Koder 1969–73: I, 156–301, II, 10–493; III, 10–309; Kambylis 1976: 45–462 |
| **Theodore of Kyzikos** | |
| book epigram | ed. Sternbach 1900b: 306–307 |
| **Theodore of Stoudios** | |
| nos 1–123 | ed. Speck 1968: 109–307 |
| **Theodore the Paphlagonian** | |
| dispute with Const. Rh. | ed. Matranga 1850: 627–632 |
| **Theodosios of Dyrrachion** | |
| paraenetic alphabet | ed. Hörandner 1989: 143–145 |
| **Theodosios the Deacon** | |
| The Capture of Crete | ed. Panagiotakis 1960: 94–124; Criscuolo 1979a: 2–39 |
| **Theodosios the Grammarian** | |
| panegyric | ed. Lambros 1884: 129–132 |
| **Theodosios the Monk** | |
| monody | ed. Gallavotti 1987: 58 |
| **Theophanes the Grammarian** | |
| *AP* 15.14; 35 | ed. Beckby 1957–58: IV, 266 and 286 |

*Chapter Ten*

# Encomiastic Poetry

Encomium is ubiquitous in Byzantium. It is not restricted to hymns, panegyrics and acclamations, but is an integral part of a variety of genres, such as epithalamium, historical epic, monody, epitaph and epigram. Since encomium pervades so many areas of Byzantine literature, it is not so much a genre as a discursive mode — a structural element of various kinds of discourse. Like other discursive modes, such as narration (διήγησις), description (ἔκφρασις) and characterization (ἠθοποιία), encomium (ἐγκώμιον) was a way of thinking cultivated at school, reiterated in the form of writing exercises and hence deeply ingrained in the Byzantine mind. This is not the place to discuss in detail the Byzantine school curriculum:[1] suffice it to point out that the progymnasmata (writing exercises) formed the basis of rhetorical training in Byzantium. The most influential set of progymnasmata was by the fourth-century rhetorician Aphthonios, who identified fourteen categories ranging from the fairly simple 'fable' to the highly complex 'bill of law'. While some of these progymnasmata clearly served as material for a vocational training in deliberative and forensic oratory, others were more widely applicable and aimed at schooling the students in writing skills in general.

From a purely literary viewpoint, the most important of these progymnasmata were the first four, all of which trained the student in story-telling: 'fable' (μῦθος), 'tale' (διήγημα), 'anecdote' (χρεία) and 'saying' (γνώμη). There are quite a few collections of fables (e.g. 'Aesop', Babrius, Ignatios the Deacon), anecdotes and sayings (e.g. *Philogelos*, *Apophthegmata Patrum*) and tales (e.g. Moschos, *Miracles of St Demetrios*, *Miracles of Artemios*, Paul of Monemvasia), all of which have to a certain degree been influenced by lessons in rhetoric. However, vastly more important than these instances of autonomous use is the general influence these four progymnasmata exerted on story-telling. Even the simplest of narratives in Byzantium betray some knowledge of Aphthonios, and even the most complex ones, by authors who are well beyond the stage of absolute beginners for

[1] For the study of grammar in Byzantium, see F. Nousia, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period. Vatican 2016; see also R.H. Robbins, The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History. Berlin 1993. For the study of rhetoric, see G.L. Kustas, Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric. Thessaloniki 1973, and Hunger 1978: I, 75–91.

whom Aphthonios was writing, bear traces of his influence. Nonetheless, despite the crucial importance of narration, the use of the words διήγημα and διήγησις (and cognate terms) appears to be restricted to miraculous tales and edifying stories, while other narratives, either in prose or verse, are rarely explicitly identified as such.[2]

Among the writing exercises of the Byzantine school curriculum, encomium, ekphrasis (see chapter 11), ethopoiia (see chapter 12) and psogos (see chapter 15) are readily recognizable as fully-fledged genres in their own right. However, it should be borne in mind that just as narrative elements can be discovered in any Byzantine text, so too can encomiastic, ekphrastic and ethopoetic elements. Whether a text is a true encomium, ekphrasis or ethopoiia, is a matter of precisely how encomiastic, ekphrastic or ethopoetic it turns out to be. And more often than not, it is impossible to tell: is a text an ekphrastic encomium or an encomiastic ekphrasis, or is it something else altogether?

According to Aphthonios, an encomium should have the following structure: prologue, origin, upbringing, deeds, comparison and epilogue, whereby 'origin' is divided into nation, place of birth, ancestors and parents, 'upbringing' into habits, art and laws, and 'deeds' into those relating to (i) soul: namely, courage and prudence, (ii) body: namely, beauty, velocity and strength, and (iii) fortune: namely, power, wealth and friends.[3] In his discussion of the βασιλικὸς λόγος (imperial oration), Ps. Menander puts flesh on the bare bones of this outline by providing further details and explaining the rationale behind the various parts of the encomium.[4] For instance, he is much clearer about 'upbringing', which for him is everything that has to do with the physical and intellectual education of the honorand ('art' and 'laws' in Aphthonios), and clearly distinguishes it from the 'habits' (ἐπιτηδεύματα), the juvenile pursuits of the honorand that already demonstrate his character and inclinations at a young age. And he emphasizes that 'comparison' (incidentally, another of Aphthonios' progymnasmata) is not restricted to the very end of the encomium, but should be employed wherever possible in order to demonstrate that the person lauded is superior to his illustrious predecessors. For obvious reasons, Ps. Menander's discussion of the 'deeds', the emperor's actions, offers details that do not apply to ordinary mortals and are therefore not mentioned by Aphthonios: the most important difference is that Ps. Menander

[2] An interesting exception is Kephalas' definition of the 'epideictic' epigram (*AP* IXa), which clearly goes back to Aphthonios' definition of the διήγημα: see LAUXTERMANN 1998b: 529–531. See also L. ROSSI, in: M.A. HARDER, R.F. REGTUIT and G.C. WAKKER (eds), Hellenistic Epigrams. Leuven 2002, 151–174 and F. CONCA, in: P.F. MORETTI, C. TORRE and G. ZANETTO (eds), *Debita dona*. Studi in onore di Isabella Gualandri. Naples 2008, 179–193.

[3] H. RABE, Aphthonii Progymnasmata. Leipzig 1926, 22; M. PATILLON, Corpus Rhetoricum, vol. I: Anonyme, Préambule à la rhétorique. Aphthonios, Progymnasmata. Paris 2008, 131–132.

[4] D. A. RUSSELL and N. G. WILSON, Menander Rhetor. Oxford 1981, 76–95.

divides the πράξεις into 'deeds of war' and 'deeds of peace'. Whereas Aphthonios singles out two of the cardinal virtues (courage and prudence), Ps. Menander offers all four: courage, justice, temperance and prudence (ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις), and even a fifth one: philanthropy.

It should be borne in mind, however, that Ps. Menander was not widely read and studied in Byzantium. Rhetoric was taught with the help of Aphthonios and Hermogenes, authors who prefer the term 'panegyric' to 'epideictic' and, accordingly, do not offer practical lessons in the composition of epideictic speeches, such as basilikoi logoi, epithalamia and monodies.[5] This raises an interesting question. If most Byzantines were blissfully ignorant of the rules of epideictic oratory, as laid down by Ps. Menander and other (equally little-read) epideictic rhetoricians, how come so many of the speeches that were delivered in Late Antiquity and beyond, appear to observe these rules to the letter? The answer must be that since all texts refer to other texts, literature is not uncharted territory: it is not a no-man's land which only the brave and foolhardy dare enter without a detailed map or an experienced guide telling them where to step. All writers are readers first. And writing is by definition a tacit homage to the texts one has read. So, even without technical manuals instructing apprentice writers how to compose an imperial oration, they learned the rules by studying and imitating their literary models. Obviously this does not mean that these rules are eternal or self-evident. They are not. Novelty is as much a part of the game as the rules are. Rules are there to be broken. In fact, just as the ultimate act of reverence towards the gods is to destroy their idols, so too the purest form of literary imitation is an act of deliberate and outright iconoclasm. The problem is that breaking the rules paradoxically reinforces them, resulting in the false impression that nothing ever changes in Byzantium.

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## *Encomium and the Encomiastic*

Shelfmark 9.23 of the Laurentian Library in Florence[6] offers not one, but two manuscripts: the first part is an eleventh-century copy of the *Sacra Parallela*, the second part (fols. 172–202) is a ninth-century collection of anti-Manichaean

[5] L. Pernot, La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain, 2 vols. Paris 1993, I, 70–71; *ODB*, s.v. epideictic.

[6] In *Diktyon* (réseau numérique pour les manuscrits grecs) Laur. 9.23 bears number 16111; henceforth five-digit numbers between square brackets after shelfmarks refer to the *Diktyon* numbering.

texts.[7] This collection served a political aim as an arsenal of arguments against the Paulicians, a belligerent sect on the Eastern borders, which Basil I attempted to subdue, initially with little success, later successfully, inflicting a serious defeat upon them in 872, devastating their territories in 873 and capturing their capital, Tephrike, in 878 or 879.[8] Prefixed to this collection (on fols. 172–174) is an encomium of Emperor Basil I; the text is missing its first sixty verses and its title due to the loss of one folio.[9] Since the encomium ends with a long prayer beseeching God to grant the emperor victory 'over the peoples (...), showing all the tribes of the barbarians at his feet in submission, to rout their phalanxes and battalions *as well as the priests and friends of Mani*' (vv. 216–217: τούτων τροποῦσθαι τὰς φάλαγγας καὶ στίφη καὶ τοὺς Μάνεντος μυσταγωγοὺς καὶ φίλους),[10] it is generally assumed that there is a close connection between the collection of anti-Manichaean (=anti-Paulician) texts and the encomium.[11]

The question is whether this assumption is justified. First of all, one fleeting reference to the Paulicians as one of the enemies Basil I hoped to vanquish with God's help is hardly sufficient evidence. Secondly, the dangling infinitive in line 216 (τροποῦσθαι, 'to rout') constitutes a serious grammatical error and is therefore suspect:[12] are lines 216–217 perhaps an interpolation? Thirdly, if there were a connection between the anti-Manichaean collection and the encomium, one would expect the poet to stress this connection, for instance, by presenting Basil I as a theologically-minded monarch or a devout warrior: there is nothing of the sort in the text. If this is a book epigram, it is unlike any other I have ever seen. Take for example the two book epigrams in Vindob. Theol. gr. 212 [71879], on Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Cure of Pagan Maladies*, and Par. gr. 1640 [51263], on Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis*, both dedicated to Leo VI.[13] The first states that the book is worthy of Leo's intellectual endeavours, describes the contents of the book and ends with the wish that the emperor may live long. The second presents Xenophon's writings as a lesson in the cardinal virtues of 'courage' and 'prudence' (see above Aphthonios' rules for the encomium) and then hastens to add that the emperor, 'the eye of the whole universe', is a prime example of these two virtues and, therefore, does not need to be told what the lack of 'courage' and

[7] For the manuscript and its date (c. 870) see PERRIA 1989: 118–125.

[8] See P. LEMERLE, *TM* 5 (1973) 1–144, esp. 96–108.

[9] The encomium has been edited twice: BRINKMANN 1895 and MARKOPOULOS 1992. Both editors use the old (and incorrect) foliation of the manuscript.

[10] The Greek (vv. 212, 214–217) is worse than this translation.

[11] Thus, for instance, BRINKMANN 1895: XXIV–XXIX and MARKOPOULOS 1992: 229–230.

[12] However, it is certainly not the only grammatical error: see, for instance, the gross violation of the rule of case agreement in v. 162: [δωρημάτων (gen.)] ἄβυσσος (nom.) ὄντων (gen.) μηδαμῶς κενουμένη (nom.).

[13] See A. MARKOPOULOS, History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th–10th Centuries. Aldershot 2004, nos XVI and XVIII.

'prudence' can lead to. This is nonetheless followed by examples of cowardly and imprudent behaviour in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and at the very end there is the usual wish for the emperor's longevity.[14] There is a huge difference between these two dedications to Leo VI and the encomium of Basil I: the book epigrams written in honour of Leo have a close and intimate relation with the texts they introduce, whereas the encomium is just an encomium.[15]

Though there can be little doubt that the encomium was incorporated into the anti-Manichaean collection as a tribute to Basil I and his campaigns against the Paulicians, this does not necessarily mean that the encomium had been composed for this purpose. On the contrary, the scholar responsible for incorporating it in the collection (Photios, according to some)[16] used an existing text. The collection must have been compiled when the Paulicians still posed a threat that needed to be fought both with weapons and words: that is, before the fall of Tephrike in 878–879 and perhaps even before the military successes against the Paulicians in 872 and 873. The encomium itself cannot be securely dated. It obviously dates from after Basil I's ascension to the throne in 867 and before the compilation of the anti-Manichaean collection in which it was re-used. Seeing that the encomiastic dedicatory epigram to Bishop Sisinnios, which dates from well before 879 (see below) literally copies the end of the encomium, a date in the early reign of Basil I is highly likely. This would explain why the encomium is short on facts and weak on historical evidence to back up its claims that Basil I is the best emperor ever. The embarrassed reticence of the encomiast is understandable if Basil had not yet had time to prove himself.

As demonstrated by Agapitos,[17] the poem is structured on the model of Ps. Menander's βασιλικὸς λόγος (imperial oration). Since the poem is missing its beginning due to the loss of a folio, the first thing mentioned is Basil's election to the throne. The poem is structured as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 61–69 | anointment of Basil; Christ explains that Basil is the chosen one |
| 70–106 | portrait of Basil: like David he is of humble birth and like David he is predestined to assume power; enumeration of all his excellent qualities as an emperor; comparison with previous emperors |
| 107–118 | introduction to the πράξεις ('deeds') |
| 119–138 | πράξεις πολέμου ('deeds of war') |

[14] See vol. I, chapter 6, pp. 208–212. See also I. Pérez Martin, *GRBS* 53 (2013), 812–855, at 823–828, and A. Kaldellis, Byzantine Readings of Ancient Historians. London-New York 2015, 25–34.

[15] Hörandner 2007: 321–325 considers the encomium to be a 'Widmungsgedicht' (dedicatory poem) despite the lack of internal clues, which, according to him, is due to the lacuna in the text.

[16] See Brinkmann 1895: XXIV–XXIX and Markopoulos 1992: 226–229.

[17] Agapitos 1989: 289–297. For an analysis of how the standard themes of imperial ideology are reflected in this encomium, see Hörandner 2009: 104–108.

| | |
|---|---|
| 119–124 | Basil defeats his enemies by imitating Christ's humility |
| 125–130 | Basil inherits the earth because of his Christ-like meekness |
| 131–138 | like Christ he is a lord of peace |
| 139–197 | πράξεις εἰρήνης ('deeds of peace') |
| 139–146 | generosity; benefactions to the poor |
| 147–167 | building activities |
| 168–176 | the angels declare that like Cornelius' (*Acts* 10:31), his prayers have been heard and his alms are remembered in the sight of God |
| 177–183 | justice and impartiality |
| 184–197 | comparison with previous emperors: Basil upholds justice and helps those who have been wronged |
| 198–203 | conclusion of the πράξεις ('deeds') |
| 204–231 | epilogue: may God protect the emperor and grant him victory over his enemies; may Basil live long, in good health and in peace. |

It is worth noting that the poet marks off the various sections of his encomium by inserting comparisons, speeches, and transitional passages. The anointment passage ends with Christ speaking (vv. 63–69) and the idealizing portrait of the emperor culminates in a comparison of Basil with his predecessors on the throne (vv. 99–106). The 'deeds' have a proper introduction (vv. 107–118) and a proper conclusion (vv. 198–203), and within the section of the 'deeds', there are other transitional passages: angelic voices (vv. 168–176) in between the passages that treat the virtues of philanthropy and justice, and a comparison with earlier emperors (vv. 184–197) at the end of the latter passage. As there would be little point in guiding readers through the encomium with obvious structural markers such as these, it is reasonable to assume that its neat structure was accommodated to the needs of listeners, who, without the help of these rhetorical devices, might have found it difficult to follow the train of thought. In other words, I strongly suspect that the encomium of Basil was originally meant to be performed publicly, probably at some ceremony in the palace.

While most elements of the encomium are fairly standard (such as, for instance, the idea that the emperor imitates Christ),[18] the recurrent theme of the emperor's humility paired with his humble origins lends a personal touch to this poem. Basil I was indeed of humble birth and had risen from obscurity by dishonourable means, such as exploiting his physique to its full advantage and ruthlessly eliminating his rivals. Although Ps. Menander advises passing over in silence any-

[18] For the μίμησις Θεοῦ, see H. HUNGER, Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden. Vienna 1964, 58–63.

thing that does not do credit to the person who is lauded, the poet elaborates upon Basil's humble origins in a manner so explicit and deliberately provocative that it becomes a laudable aspect of his imperial selfhood. Basil is first compared to King David, a poor shepherd elected by God Almighty, and then to Christ himself, in whose humble footsteps he follows after his election to the imperial throne. It is because of his extreme humility that he vanquishes his enemies and becomes the ruler of the whole earth. And even as an emperor, he does not forget the poor, but provides for them and supports them whenever they have just cause to complain. In Basil's case, poverty ennobles. The official historiography of the period recounts how Basil, a poor economic migrant, entered the city through the Golden Gate, slept outside the monastery of St Diomedes as one of the homeless and was divinely designated to become emperor.[19]

As there is really little point in discussing literature without looking at the actual texts, let us look at a passage from this encomium:

τῷ χριστομιμήτῳ δὲ πανσέπτῳ λόγῳ
ταπεινόφρων πέφηνεν ὡς εὐεργέτης,
ἐθνῶν ὑπούλων τοὺς ἀκαμπεῖς αὐχένας
σοβῶν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ καθαιρῶν εἰς τέλος,
ἵππειον ἐχθροῦ Χριστὸς ὥσπερ τὸ θράσος
πώλῳ πατάσσων εὐτελεστάτῳ γένει.
τῇ πρᾳότητι πλουσιώτατος πέλει
πρόσταγμα πληρῶν ἐντολῶν θεηγόρων·
ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ κληροδοτεῖ γῆς τοὺς ὅρους
ἡ παντάνασσα τοῦ Θεοῦ θεσμουργία,
τὸν μακαρισμὸν τῶν ἀνωτάτω γερῶν
τούτῳ νέμουσα καὶ πορίζουσα κλέος.

'In imitation of Christ, with divine mind, he has shown himself humble and benevolent, thus driving away and, in the end, cleaning up the perfidious nations with their haughty necks: just as Christ once on a colt, he smites the equine insolence of the enemy by virtue of his most humble origins. He abounds in meekness, thus fulfilling the commandment of divine decrees, which is why God's sovereign law bequeaths him the ends of the earth, whilst offering him the blessing of heavenly honours and bringing him fame'.[20]

The Greek is not brilliant; it sounds recondite and awkwardly mannered, full

[19] See G. Moravcsik, in: Εἰς μνήμην K.I. Ἀμάντου. Athens 1960, 1–10, and idem, *DOP* 15 (1961) 61–126. Repr. in: idem, Studia Byzantina. Amsterdam 1967, 139–146 and 147–220. See also Agapitos 1989.

[20] Lines 119–130: Brinkmann 1895: XVIII–XIX and Markopoulos 1992: 231. 'God's sovereign law' is *Ps.* 37:11: 'But the meek shall inherit the earth' (repeated in the *Sermon on the Mount*, *Matth.* 5:5: 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth').

of abstruse terms and abstract notions. The poet is not a natural and struggles to give life to his subject, ultimately with little success. The extended simile in lines 121–124, for example, does not really work. The enemies are said to have 'unbent necks' as an indication of their haughtiness, and in the poet's mind, these 'unbent necks' evoke the image of an untamed horse that shows 'equine insolence'; this then is contrasted to the humility of Christ seated on an ass when He entered Jerusalem — just as Christ overcame all opposition, so too does Basil I, the peasant of humble birth, defeat his enemies just by being humble.[21] Neither of the two editors noticed that line 123 is a quotation from an Advent hymn, well known to the Byzantines and, therefore, ideal for making the simile less inept by indirectly appealing to the religious sentiments of the audience.[22] The poet is fond of unusual words: θεσμουργία (vv. 128 and 189), for instance, is a *hapax legomenon*; the use of the word παντάνασσα as an adjective (v. 128) appears to be unique. I also noted the following words, which are not attested elsewhere or are very unusual indeed: εὐπαρεκτικώτατος, εὐσεβουργοῦ, εὐσυμπάθητος, μηκεστάτως, παναλκιμωτάτῃ, πανημερωτάτης, πανωμάλῳ, πρόσπονδα, σπαρακτικῷ, συμποδῶν, τρισσοφεγγῶν, ὑπεκδιδράσκει, ὑπεκπροτείνει, ὑπεκπροχεύων.[23] However, as Hörandner rightly pointed out, the most unusual feature of the poem is without doubt its versification.[24] In v. 129 the line ends with an oxytone word: γερῶν; lines 78, 94, 118, 152 and 192 have proparoxytone verse endings. In v. 127 the line consists of thirteen syllables, with an anapaestic substitution in the fourth metrical foot: κλη|ροδοτεῖ; see vv. 155, 179 and 213 for similar anapaestic substitutions in the fourth foot.[25] Proparoxytone dodecasyllables are very rare indeed, and to find five of these in one poem is most unusual. Oxytone dodecasyllables are avoided at all costs: so to find even one is unexpected. Dodecasyllables with more than twelve syllables are highly unusual after the time of Pisides. As I will explain in the *Appendix Metrica*, these metrical oddities are in fact typical of ninth-century classicism and can be found in other texts as well.[26]

One of these texts is the encomiastic book epigram in ms. Basel B II 15

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[21] See Agapitos 1989: 294.

[22] The quotation comes from the Κανὼν τῶν προπατόρων (sung on the last Sunday before Christmas), ed. A. Kominis, Canones Decembri. Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, vol. IV. Rome 1976, 424: no. 33, ode 8, vv. 124–126: Λόγος Πατρός, ἀλόγων ἐν φάτνῃ / τεθειμένος / ἵππειον θράσος ὀλέσαι ἐχθροῦ (also quoted by the *Souda*, s.v. ἵππειον κράτος).

[23] Πανήμερος usually means 'all day long', 'the whole day through', not 'very calm' (for the latter meaning, see *LBG*, s.v.). Συμποδῶν has the meaning of ἐμποδών, 'in the way', 'in one's path'; it is not connected with *σύμπους, σύμποδα, 'with feet tied together'.

[24] See Hörandner 1998: 92–96.

[25] The metrical anomaly in line 179 can be viewed either as a resolution of the third longum or as an anapaestic substitution.

[26] See the *Appendix Metrica*, §2.3 and §4.2.1.

[08913], a collection of sixty-two homilies of John Chrysostom, which dates from before 879; the handwriting is identical to that of the scribe who copied the anti-Manichaean collection in Laur. 9.23.[27] It celebrates Bishop Sisinnios of Laodikeia (in Phrygia) for selecting the best of Chrysostom's golden words and commissioning this lavish manuscript to be produced at considerable cost.[28] In a total of 102 lines, the text has no fewer than eight instances of proparoxytone verse ending, which is unusually high even by ninth-century standards. Like the encomium of Basil I, it makes use of a rather arcane and recondite vocabulary: ἀστροφεγγίαν, ἐσθλοφωνίαν, εὐερνεστάτους, εὐθυφθογγίαν, μεγιστάτῃ, μονάρχιον, τρισσολαμπές, φερεσβιωτάτῃ, ὡραιοτερπής, including such colourful compounds as θησαυροπλουτόχρηστον, πανσοφοπρόγνωστον and χρυσομαργάροπτον. It clearly imitates the encomium of Basil I: the last three verses (100–102) are almost identical to the end of the encomium (229–231),[29] the rhetorical duplication: οἶδεν γὰρ οἶδεν, is found in the book epigram at v. 47 and in the encomium at v. 202, and the absurd superlative μεγιστάτῃ in v. 98 (instead of μεγίστῃ) reads like a poetic response to the equally absurd superlative μηκεστάτως in the encomium (218), 'sanctioned' to a certain degree by the fact that the church father Gregory of Nazianzos offers μηκιστάτην (instead of μηκίστην).[30]

The book epigram is structured as follows: vv. 1–25 praise of John Chrysostom, 26–62 encomium of Sisinnios (26–48 upbringing and career, 49–62 character), 63–78 praise of Sisinnios for compiling the homilies of Chrysostom, and 79–102 appeal to the reader to pray for Sisinnios. Just as the encomium treated above presents Basil as a new David, so too does this encomiastic book epigram compare Sisinnios of Laodikeia to the prophet Samuel (the spiritual mentor of David). The following passage explains what Sisinnios has in common with Samuel:

> καὶ γὰρ καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ἐκ βρέφους πάλαι
> Θεοῦ τέθειται τῷ νεῷ τοῦ προσμένειν,
> ὑπηρετεῖν τε καὶ διευθετεῖν ἅμα,
> ἔπειτα δ' ὤφθη καὶ προφήτης Κυρίου
> κριτής τε παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ δεσπότης,
> οὕτως πέφυκεν οὗτος ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει·

[27] For the manuscript, see Meyer & Burckhardt 1960: 150–169; for its date and the identification of the scribe, see Perria 1989: 125–132.

[28] For the text, see Meyer & Burckhardt 1960: 150–152.

[29] The last two lines are identical; the third line from the end is slightly different: λιταῖς ἀλήκτοις τῆς πανυμνήτου κόρης (encomium, v. 229), λιταῖς ἀχράντοις τῆς θεητόκου κόρης (book epigram, v. 100). Of these two variants, the latter with its daring hypallage ('the immaculate prayers of the Mother of God' instead of 'the prayers of the immaculate Mother of God') is best understood as deriving from the former, rather than the other way around.

[30] Greg. Naz. II.1.14 (*PG* 37: 1246B). Similar superlatives in post-classical texts are βραδίστατος, ἐχθίστατος and καλλίστατος (see the online *TLG*).

πάλαι δοθεὶς γὰρ ἐκ σοφῶν γεννητόρων
εἰς εὐλάβειαν καὶ βίον βίου δίχα
ὑπηρετεῖ τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἐν προθυμίᾳ,
ὁρῶν Θεὸς δὲ τοῦτον ἐκλογῆς γένος
σκεῦός τε σεπτὸν ἐντολῶν θεηγόρων
ῥήγνυσι δεσμὰ δουλικῆς ὑπουργίας
καὶ δεσπότην τίθησι Λαοδικέων·

'For just as Samuel had been dedicated from childhood to the temple of God to attend to it, to serve and administer it, and was then made a prophet of the Lord, a judge over the whole of Israel and a leader, so too (if one compares the two) is he: his wise parents having given him long ago to works of piety and a life without life [i.e. a life not of this world], he readily served at first, but when God saw that he was one of His elect and a venerable vessel of His divine commandments, He broke the bonds of servitude and made him the leader of the people of Laodikeia'.[31]

The most noteworthy thing about this passage is its use of a technical term in the middle of a mini-encomium: ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει (v. 39), 'if one compares the two'. As pointed out above, σύγκρισις (comparison) forms an essential part of rhetorical lessons in the art of encomium, which time and again advise students to introduce encomiastic comparisons wherever and whenever possible. Here it even replaces the encomium as such. Instead of developing the common themes of Byzantine encomia, such as birth, upbringing, habits, exploits and deeds, the poet explores the possibilities of the rhetorical comparison and focuses on its mirror effect: namely, to what extent does the life of Bishop Sisinnios parallel that of the prophet Samuel? It is fairly easy to see that various elements of this extended comparison stand in for traditional encomiastic themes: parents, upbringing, juvenile exploits, character, election to high office, career. There are basically two kinds of comparison. The persons praised are either superior to the persons they are compared to (for instance, Basil I surpasses earlier emperors in virtue and courage) or at least equal to them (for instance, Basil I is comparable to King David). They are never inferior. Here the otherwise unknown bishop of Laodikeia, Sisinnios, is presented as of equal status to the great prophet and last judge of Israel, Samuel.

Although certain passages of the dedicatory book epigram in honour of Bishop Sisinnios are clearly encomiastic, the poem as a whole is not an encomium. Praise comes easy to the Byzantines and encomiastic themes can therefore be detected in most Byzantine texts, but that does not make them encomia.

Strangely enough, despite the ubiquity of texts that develop one or more of these encomiastic themes, encomium in its 'pure' form is less common in the field

[31] Ed. Meyer & Burckhardt 1960: 151, vv. 34–46.

of Byzantine poetry than one would expect. The encomium of Basil I is easily recognizable as a splendid example of the *basilikos logos*, but it is the only one of its sort in the four centuries covered by this study. Since there is no shortage of prose encomia in Byzantium, the only explanation is that poetry was not regarded as a particularly apt medium for the composition of Aphthonian encomia and Menandrean *basilikoi logoi*. Byzantine poets must have found it difficult to develop all the elements of an encomium at length and at the same time observe the intricate rules of Byzantine prosody. Encomiastic poems tend to be rather short in Byzantium.[32] Take, for instance, John Geometres: poem no. 2 = Cr. 266.20 (35 vv.) discusses the kinds of materials that should be used for an imaginary statue of the great emperor Nikephoros Phokas; no. 10 = Cr. 274.14 (22 vv.) praises a hero (Bardas Skleros or Bardas Phokas?) for fighting against the titans from the East; no. 60 = Cr. 289.15 (16 vv.) compares an emperor (Nikephoros Phokas?) to the sun, whom he outshines with his brilliance and swiftness of action; and no. 153 = Cr. 308.1 (46 vv.) praises Basil the Nothos for his imperial qualities.[33] While these four poems are certainly encomiastic, they are simply too short to display all the features of a fully developed encomium. Even relatively long encomiastic poems, such as Sophronios no. 17, a panegyric in Byzantine anacreontics that celebrates the virtues of Narses, bishop of Askalon, offer certain elements but not the whole structure of the encomium as described by Aphthonios.[34]

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## *Pisides' In Christi Resurrectionem*

The encomium of Basil I is unusual, not only because it constitutes a textbook example of the genre, but also because it is difficult to contextualize the text. Apart from a fleeting reference to the Paulicians, the text does not offer clues as to when exactly, and at which ceremony, it was delivered. This stands in contrast to most encomiastic texts, which are time-bound and contingent — and are, therefore, generally dateable. A good example is the encomium of Romanos II,

[32] The mid-thirteenth-century rhetorical treatise, *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech* (lines 45–52), informs us that some texts may be 'encomiastic' without being 'encomia' properly speaking, and that these are called *laliai* (informal talks): γράφονται δέ τινα οὐκ ἐγκώμια μὲν, ἐγκωμιαστικὰ δὲ, καὶ λέγονται τὰ τοιαῦτα λαλιαὶ (ed. Hörandner 2012b: 131).

[33] For the encomiastic poem on Basil the Nothos, see Lauxtermann 1998c: 373–375.

[34] For Sophronios no. 17, see Gigante 1957: 109–113. For other (unfortunately lost) encomiastic poems in anacreontics, see the index of the *Anthologia Barberina* (Barb. gr. 310): Gallavotti 1987: 38, no. 59 (an ἐγκώμιον by Leo the Philosopher) and 37, no. 29 (by Arethas; but the poem could well be a monody).

declaimed at the feast of the *Broumalia* on 10 December 950, when young Romanos received two silver pencils as a gift from Eustathios Argyros.[35] The poem makes much of the unavoidable pun: *argyros* means silver. It abundantly praises Romanos, though he was still a little boy and was obviously not at all involved in any serious state matters. And it contains numerous explicit references to military expeditions and victories on the battle-ground, most of which can be dated with absolute precision. Reading the poem is re-creating a one-time event: there we have Eustathios Argyros presenting his birthday present and delivering the encomium in public, there we glimpse little Romanos bored to death by too much ceremony, and there we see the emperor and his courtiers listening to an account of recent military feats and nodding in assent.

Pisides' panegyric *In Christi Resurrectionem* (εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν) is another encomiastic text written in honour of a co-emperor and heir to the throne: Herakleios Constantine (612–641), the son of Herakleios and the father of Constans II.[36] The text contains a number of internal clues that enable us to establish an approximate date: it is Easter; Herakleios Constantine is an adolescent and probably in his early teens because he is still training in archery and practising ball games (vv. 97–103);[37] the Avars and the Persians present a clear and present threat (vv. 122–123); and Emperor Herakleios is away on campaign (vv. 124–129).[38] Herakleios celebrated Easter together with his family in Nikomedeia in 624 and then left for the East, from which he, except for a brief interval in the winter of 626, did not return until his final victory over the Persians in early 628. This means that the panegyric must have been delivered either at Easter 625, 626 or 627. And since the poem does not allude anywhere to the siege of Constantinople and its miraculous delivery in the summer of 626, 627

[35] Ed. Odorico 1987.

[36] Ed. Querci 1777: 1373–1384; repr. Tartaglia 1998: 249–259. There are five mss.: Par. Suppl. gr. 690 [53425], Vat. gr. 1126 [67757] (the ms. used by Querci), Par. Suppl. gr. 139 [52909], Vat. Barb. gr. 279 [64825] (in the hand of Allatius) and Taur. gr. 360 [63550] (lost in the great fire of 1904 that burnt to ashes the national library of Turin). For important variant readings, including those of the ms. in Turin, see Sternbach 1900a: passim (see the index locorum at 345–346 [=*Analecta Avarica*, 49–50]). For emendations, see Hilberg 1887: 215–216. Taragna 2007: 314, n. 30 mentions the presence of a few quotations from this poem in the still unedited *Ascetic Excerpts* by John the Oxite.

[37] *Pace* Howard-Johnston 2010: 18–19, who assumes that the poem addresses a one-year old infant. A date in the mid-620s is supported by the relatively low number of proparoxytone endings, typical of Pisides' mature style: see the *Appendix Metrica*, §4.2.1.

[38] In these verses Pisides tells Herakleios Constantine that he has the spiritual support of Patriarch Sergios: in a spiritual sense, the patriarch is more a 'father' to him than the one who begot him in the flesh. In this consolatory passage, the patriarch is presented as taking the place of an absent father. For Patriarch Sergios as the spiritual 'father' of Herakleios Constantine, see *Bellum Avaricum*, v. 537 (cf. ibidem, vv. 531–532). Read εὐπάτωρ in line 127.

is an unlikely date. This leaves us with two possible dates: Easter 625 or Easter 626, when Herakleios Constantine was thirteen or fourteen years old.

The first half of the poem is a hymnic celebration of the resurrection of Christ, through whom man is reborn to a new life and death has been defeated: Easter is the dawn of a new creation and all is luminous and bright (vv. 1–38).[39] 'The whole creation celebrates their Creator and their souls are clad in white garments: and you, too, are now dressed in white instead of purple, because you are free from dark sins' (vv. 39–42); the person addressed here is the young co-emperor, Herakleios Constantine.[40] The only one to wear black is Hades, who has been robbed of the souls of the dead after greedily swallowing the Cross on which Christ died; the Cross is implicitly compared to an emetic forcing Hades to spit out the dead (vv. 43–63).[41] It is worth noting that, according to court etiquette,[42] the emperor wears white instead of purple in Easter Week (Διακαινήσιμος), the week that stretches from Easter to the Sunday of Thomas (Ἀντίπασχα).

The second half of the poem (vv. 64–129)[43] is a remarkable encomium of Herakleios Constantine.[44] It addresses him directly and portrays him as a pinnacle of Christian virtue, a child prematurely wise and receptive to the truths of orthodoxy, the pious and purple-born 'slayer of the old snake', 'for in you there is nothing of him (the devil)' (vv. 64–70). This is followed by a long list of moral flaws and evil habits that do not apply to this wonder child (vv. 71–103), including a lively description of the morally reprehensible behaviour of sports fans, another trait that is alien to him (vv. 77–92: see below).[45] The epilogue to this portrait of a virtuous hero (vv. 104–111) boldly describes him as a 'chosen vessel' and a 'treasure trove of paternal splendours', 'a true Heracles', who has cut off 'the many beastly necks of the serpent' (the devil) and has thus gained 'the golden apples', namely 'the words of wisdom'. The panegyric ends with an appeal to Herakleios Constantine to celebrate the exploits of his father in words (vv. 112–117) and to prepare himself for battle, as a true son of Emperor Herakleios, with

[39] See Taragna 2007: 314–317.

[40] Read with most mss. πορφύραν instead of καρδίαν in line 41: see Sternbach 1900a: 130, n. 3. See Whitby 1995: 121–122 for a discussion of parallels in other works of Pisides (*Heraclias* I, 195–201; *Contra Severum* 446–449).

[41] For the unsavoury image of vomiting Hades, see vol. I, chapter 5, pp. 182–183.

[42] *De Ceremoniis* I. 37, ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 188 and Vogt 1935–40: I, 175–176. See B. Popović, in: M. Grünbart et al. (eds), Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium. Vienna 2007, 193–198, at 194, n. 16.

[43] Please note that the ms. used by Querci misses a verse between lines 116 and 117: καὶ πολλὰ πάσχει πολλάκις καὶ τέρπεται (see Sternbach 1900a: 200, n. 4). So in fact the poem consists of 130, not 129 lines.

[44] See Whitby 1998: 264–265; Taragna 2007: 318–321; Howard-Johnston 2010: 19.

[45] For a commentary on this passage, especially the sin of laughing and other frivolous activities, see Taragna 2004: 181–183.

the spiritual assistance of Patriarch Sergios (vv. 118–129).[46] Given the fact that the only battle that Herakleios Constantine witnessed in person in those years, was the siege of Constantinople by the Avars and the Slavs, with the aid of the Persians, in the summer of 626, it is reasonable to assume that the panegyric was written in the spring of the same year. It is part of a trilogy praising the valiant defenders of Constantinople who fought for their city and their empire without the emperor present: *In Christi Resurrectionem*, composed for declamation in the Easter Week of 626, urging the heir to the throne (and implicitly, all those present at the ceremony) to follow the emperor in battle; *In Bonum*, written shortly before the siege in praise of the military commander of the troops left in the capital, while urging the emperor to return and save his beleaguered city; and *Bellum Avaricum*, a historical epic composed in 626 (or perhaps 627) to celebrate the end of the siege and honour Patriarch Sergios for playing an important role in organizing the defence and keeping the spirits up.

In the spring of 626, when the citizens of Constantinople had to prepare their defences, gather every fighting man and reconstruct walls and battlements, it is highly unlikely that Bonos the Patrician and Sergios the Patriarch, the two-man regency installed by Emperor Herakleios, would have been willing to spend the restricted resources on costly Hippodrome games. As is well known, the horse racing calendar in Byzantium starts on the Second Monday of Easter with the Golden Races after a two-month break (in Lent, the Holy Week and Easter Week, competitive horse racing is suspended).[47] The reason why Pisides allowed himself to digress into a seemingly irrelevant discussion of the behaviour of sports fans in the middle of an encomium of the young co-emperor delivered a week before the Golden Races normally would have taken place, was, I suspect, the temporary suspension of horse racing in 626 — a suspension likely to have been less than popular with the circus factions and the majority of the fans. As a spokesman of the regime, Pisides had to present this unpopular measure as part of the ongoing battle against the forces of the dark, external (Avars, Persians) and internal (diabolic passions). For this purpose he borrowed a passage from the famous *Funeral Oration on Basil the Great* by Gregory of Nazianzos, in which the author recalls how he and Basil had studied together in Athens and what student life was like in those days, with all the students divided into different camps, each favouring their own professors like horse racing fans their teams — and to make his point crystal clear, Gregory describes the idiotic behaviour of racing fans.[48] This is how

[46] For the identification of Sergios as the spiritual father mentioned in this passage, see above n. 38.

[47] V. Grumel, *EO* 35 (1936) 428–435 and G. Dagron, *TM* 13 (2000) 1–200, at 127–134.

[48] Greg. Naz., *Oration* 43, ch. 15.4: Ὅπερ οὖν πάσχοντας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν περὶ τὰς ἀντιθέτους ἱπποδρομίας τοὺς φιλίππους τε καὶ φιλοθεάμονας· πηδῶσι, βοῶσιν, οὐρανῷ πέμπουσι κόνιν, ἡνιο-

Gregory of Nazianzos' ekphrasis is turned into verse by Pisides:

> Οὐ τέρψις ὑμῖν παιδικῶν ἱπποδρόμων
> ἤχοις ἀτάκτοις καὶ βοαῖς πεφυρμένη,
> ὅπου συνεισρέοντες οἱ φιλιππόται
> τὰς χεῖρας ἐξαίρουσι τῷ κούφῳ κρότῳ
> καὶ τοὺς πόδας τείνουσι καὶ, τῶν ὀμμάτων
> σχεδὸν θελόντων ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν ὀφρύων,
> τὰ κῶλα μηκύνουσι τῇ παρεκτάσει
> καὶ τῶν μελῶν λύουσι τὰς θέσεις ὅλας,
> καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἠγνοηκότες φρένας
> τὸν ἀέρα πλήττουσι καὶ τοῖς δακτύλοις
> σκιαγραφοῦσι τοὺς ἀσυνθέτους δρόμους·
> ἄγχουσι καὶ τύπτουσι τὴν σκιὰν μόνην,
> καὶ συντόνως κράζουσι τοῖς ἱπποστάταις
> ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν μηδὲν ἀκροωμένοις·
> ἐν ἀστάτῳ γὰρ τῆς θεωρίας δρόμῳ
> συναστατοῦσι τῶν θεατῶν οἱ τρόποι.

'You do not take delight in frivolous races filled with tumult, chaotic noises and screams, when the horse racing fans come flocking in: they stretch out their arms erupting in vacuous applause, stand on tiptoe and, with their eyes almost bulging out of their sockets, extend their limbs to the very limit and dislocate the joints of their entire body; as if they are out of their minds, they throw punches in the air and follow the race pointing with their fingers at unforeseen moves, but for all their punching and clutching, it is just an illusion; they shout at the top of their lungs at the charioteers, to the right, to the left, although they cannot hear a thing — for, amidst the confusion of the racing spectacle, the spectators too tend to be confused'.[49]

The completely natural reactions of racing fans to an exciting game are presented as morally bad, but not as entirely their fault: they labour under an illusion and their conduct is therefore out of character. They have been misled. In the context of what precedes and follows, it is not difficult to guess by whom they

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χοῦσι καθήμενοι, παίουσι τὸν ἀέρα, τοὺς ἵππους δὴ τοῖς δακτύλοις ὡς μάστιξι ζευγνύουσι, μεταζευγνύουσιν.

[49] Querci 1777: 1380–82 and Tartaglia 1998: 254–256, vv. 77–92. The text in line 79 is corrupt: ἵππου συνεισρέοντες; Tartaglia suggests reading ἵπποις, but this emendation has the disavantage that the rest of the sentence becomes problematic in his translation: 'i patiti delle corse, seguendo a volo le falcate dei cavalli' (συνεισρέω = seguire a volo?). The easiest solution would be to change ἵππου into εἴ που, but to have a whole string of present indicatives after εἴ που would be most unusual. For the use of the relative adverb of place, ὅπου, in Pisides, see for instance *Hexaemeron*, v. 1130, and *De Exp. Persica*, I, v. 10.

have been misled. It is the devil, also known as the 'old snake' or the 'serpent', whom pious and God-fearing Herakleios Constantine is said to have slain, cutting off its 'many beastly necks' like a true son of Herculean Herakleios. The portrayal of young Herakleios Constantine as the embodiment of Christian virtues is obviously related to the occasion: through Christ's redemptive death on the Cross, the whole of creation has been renewed and the gates of Heaven have been opened to the new Adam and Eve. The idea of a 'new creation' is dear to Pisides. It is of course the central theme of his poetic masterpiece, the *Hexaemeron*, but it recurs in most of his panegyrics and epics, and especially in the *Heraclias* (I, 80–84) where it heralds the dawn of a new age, a *pax byzantina* under the hegemony of Emperor Herakleios. Though the two parts of the poem *In Resurrectionem* may seem unrelated, the motif of the new Adam, wearing white, unblemished and sinless, is in fact what connects them. Having first described the renewal of God's creation and the cosmic marriage of heaven and earth through Christ, who is the new Adam, the poem then highlights a splendid example of this renewal in Christ, namely Herakleios Constantine, who is as spotless and sinless as the neophytes baptized at Easter in their white garments. In a way, he is the new Adam setting foot anew in paradise, at first lost and then regained by his father, the slayer 'of barbarians and passions' (*Exp. Persica* III, 410). Since new Adams are apparently not supposed to like horse races, the excursus on the behaviour of sports fans in the Hippodrome serves as a reminder that, even in paradise, there is the eternal serpent ready to return with a vengeance.

To sum up, the poem *In Christi Resurrectionem* is both a celebration of Easter and an encomium of young Herakleios Constantine, who is presented as the new Adam, free from sin. The poem was declaimed in the Easter Week of 626, when the regency was organizing the defence of Constantinople against the combined onslaught of the Avars and the Persians, and there can be little doubt that its purpose was to boost the morale of the defenders by portraying the heir to the throne as the new Adam, lord of a new creation built upon the foundations of true Christianity. Only one question remains to be answered: at what kind of ceremony exactly did Pisides declaim this panegyric? The answer is provided by vv. 112–114: 'But do prepare a shield of words, so that you may be the first to champion and express the labours of your father'. As far as we know, Herakleios Constantine had no literary ambitions — so, what was this shield of words and in what sense did he express the labours of his father? The only explanation is that he read out one of the military dispatches from his father: as we know, when on campaign, Emperor Herakleios would regularly report back to the City on his military feats at the Eastern front.[50] These bulletins were read out from the pulpit of the Hagia

[50] For these dispatches in relation to Pisides' poems, the *Chronicon Paschale* and the chronicle of Theophanes, see HOWARD-JOHNSTON 2010: 22, 25, 45–50 and 285–288.

Sophia. My guess is that, prior to a ceremony in the Hagia Sophia at which the emperor's latest dispatch was to be read out in public, the young co-emperor, the patriarch, court dignitaries and members of the ruling elite assembled in the patriarchal palace next to the Hagia Sophia and listened to a short poetic celebration by George of Pisidia.

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### *Odes of Victory: Theodosios the Grammarian*

On 21 March 630, Emperor Herakleios brought back the True Cross to Jerusalem, from where it had been taken by the Persians in 614 when they captured and sacked the holy city. The mood was festive and jubilant among the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, some of whom had been forcibly deported to servitude and had only just returned from their Babylonian captivity; the triumphal entry of the holiest of all relics was a moment of religious joy and fervour, because it proved that, in the battle of faiths, Christianity had prevailed. This moment of ecstatic joy and religious self-righteousness is captured in an epinikion, an ode of victory, by Sophronios of Jerusalem.[51]

On 31 March, ten days after the event, an imperial dispatch was read out from the pulpit of the Hagia Sophia reporting on the restoration of the True Cross and the festivities in Jerusalem. This was greeted with great enthusiasm by the population of Constantinople, among whom was the poet laureate, George of Pisidia, who, on the spur of the moment, composed ('improvised', in his own words) a rapturous ode in praise of Herakleios for having recovered the Cross like a new Constantine and raised it in all its glory.[52]

If one compares these two victory odes, which celebrate the same glorious event, one cannot help but notice that Pisides and Sophronios interpret the victory over the Persians and the return of the True Cross in entirely different ways.[53] Whereas Pisides gives all the credit to the emperor, Sophronios attributes victory to the True Cross itself: in his view, the Cross allowed the Persians to take it, the Cross defeated Chosroes, had him killed, and established peace in the Empire, and the Cross then returned in triumph to Jerusalem. Since Sophronios is likely to have declaimed his epinikion at the festive entry of the True Cross in Jerusalem

[51] Ed. GIGANTE 1957: 114–117 (no. 18). See HOWARD-JOHNSTON 2010: 174.

[52] *In Restitutionem Crucis*: ed. PERTUSI 1959: 225–230. See REY 2003.

[53] See B. FLUSIN, Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle, 2 vols. Paris 1992, II, 312–319.

or at one of the subsequent celebrations,[54] it is reasonable to assume that he delivered it in the presence of Herakleios. And yet, the only oblique reference to the victorious emperor is this: 'Under the glorious peace that came upon us mortals from God, the son of great Rome rejoices mightily' (vv. 73–76).[55] Strangely enough, it is the epinikion that was *not* delivered in Herakleios' presence, the one by Pisides, that focuses on his accomplishments and contains all the traditional elements of imperial praise. The explanation for this discrepancy is twofold, I would say: the magnitude of the event and the different setting. Firstly, the restoration of the True Cross was an act of such profound religious significance and eschatological dimensions that it would have been presumptuous for the emperor to assume that it was all his doing and not God's, and to view this victory as anything less than a supernatural event. Whilst Sophronios had to express the unutterable, Pisides was at a safe distance from the cosmic drama that was being played out in the streets of Jerusalem, and could therefore unreservedly and unabashedly praise the emperor. Secondly, victory odes are part of elaborate ceremonies that may involve a whole set of festive activities, ranging all the way from the spectacularly grand (e.g. triumphal parades and Hippodrome games) to the remarkably modest (e.g. acclamations and thanksgiving services).[56] It depends on the resources available and on local traditions. In Constantinople, from which most of the historical material concerning Byzantine victory celebrations derives, the emperor is obviously central to the festivities; but in the provinces, the concept of imperial victory may be peripheral to the concerns and needs of those that bore the brunt of the fighting, such as the inhabitants of Jerusalem who suffered greatly from the capture and sack of their city in 614. The loss of the True Cross and its miraculous recovery symbolically stood for their own sufferings: like the ancient Israelites, they had been carried off into captivity and had returned from their Babylonian exile. In such a powerful discourse, there is no place for the emperor. God takes centre stage.

Bodl. Rawlinson G. 4 [48342], fols. 2–23 and 28–83, is a mid-thirteenth-century non-metaphrastic homiliary that contains a disparate collection of homilies, martyria and saints' lives,[57] all of which serve a liturgical purpose as indicated

[54] See P. Speck, Das geteilte Dossier. Bonn 1988, 364–365.

[55] Booth 2013: 10–14 argues that Sophronios' reticence is indicative of a shift in allegiance and identity among the dyophysites in the eastern provinces, who ceased to put their hopes in the political and military structures of the Roman Empire and sought salvation not in this world but in the purity of their Chalcedonian beliefs and rites. I am not sure that such an anti-imperial ideology already existed in Chalcedonian circles before the Monothelete controversy and the Arab incursions.

[56] See the classic study by McCormick 1986.

[57] See A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, vol. I. 3. Berlin 1952, 757 and n. 3.

by the ligature ευ$^{\overline{ο}}$ κ$\bar{ε}$ or κ$\bar{ε}$ ευ$^{\overline{ο}}$ at the beginning of the texts, which stands for κύριε εὐλόγησον, the usual invocation of the priest before the reading of a homiletic text. One of these liturgical texts (on fols. 79$^{v}$–81$^{v}$) is a victory ode, strangely enough set out in continuous lines (καταλογάδην) as if it were straight prose, but with tiny dots indicating verse endings. Its title is: Θεοδοσίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ στίχοι δι᾽ ἰάμβων εἰς τὰ ἀραβικὰ πλοῖα ὅτε ἀνεῖλον αὐτὰ οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει βασιλεύοντος Ἡρακλείου τοῦ θεοσεβοῦς· ευ$^{\overline{ο}}$ κ$\bar{ε}$:- ('iambic verses by Theodosios the Grammarian on the Arab ships, when the Christians destroyed them in Constantinople during the reign of the pious Herakleios; Lord, send Thy blessing'). As the Arabs obviously did not lay siege to Constantinople during the reign of Herakleios, it is clear that the compiler of the homiliary had a poor grasp of Byzantine history and confused the three major sieges of the liturgical calendar: 626 (on 7 August), 668 [not: 674–678 or 671–678, as in the older secondary literature][58] (on 25 June), and 717–718 (on 16 August).

That the poem deals with the second Arab siege of 717–718, and not with the first one,[59] is clear from the opening lines: 'Let us applaud with pious hearts our Lord Christ for the magnificent miracles we have witnessed of late! Now that we see the haughty spirit of hostile Ishmael lying on the ground, let us say to Him, as is the custom to say at times of victory: "What God is great like Thee, O mighty creator of the world?"'[60]. This is *Psalm* 76 [77]. 14: τίς θεὸς μέγας ... Both the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the *Typikon of the Great Church* inform us that it was customary to sing this psalm verse on August 16th, when the siege of 717–718 and the miraculous delivery of Constantinople were officially commemorated with an all-night vigil, a procession to the city walls and a thanksgiving service in the church of the Virgin-Jerusalem near the Golden Gate.[61] The singing of this psalm verse is not recorded for the liturgical commemoration of the Avar siege of 626, nor for that of the first Arab siege in 668.

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[58] See M. Jankowiak, *TM* 17 (2013) 237–320.

[59] As incorrectly argued by Olster 1995. Please note that one of his main arguments for this redating is based on an incorrect translation of the Greek: v. 13 καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀνθυπέστρεψας κάρας does not mean 'and their returning shadows', but 'and you repelled their heads'. Olster's unreliable translation has misled S. O'Sullivan, *BMGS* 28 (2004) 67–88, at 80–81, who sees a connection with the Arab naval attack on Constantinople in 654; there is scant evidence for this.

[60] Ed. Lambros 1884: 129 (vv. 1–8). Read in v. 6: εἴπωμεν αὐτῷ «τίς θεὸς μέγας πέλει ...» (and not εἴπωμεν αὖτ᾽ «οὔ τις θεὸς μέγας πέλει ...», as Lambros prints). The ms. reads αὐτοῦ, but as many incorrect spellings prove, for the scribe (from the northern parts of the Byzantine Empire?) the sounds [u] and [o] are basically interchangeable.

[61] H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Brussels 1902, 901.30–904.27, at 904.23–25. J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église, 2 vols. Rome 1962–63, I, 372.13–374.26, at 374.19. The same psalm was sung when Constantine VII celebrated his 'victory' over the Arabs in 956: *De Ceremoniis*, 611.3, cf. McCormick 1986: 159–165, esp. 162.

The victory ode is structured as follows: after a short introduction (vv. 1–8; translation given above), the poet first addresses Christ/God and praises him for destroying the Arab forces (vv. 9–25) and then directly addresses the enemy (vv. 26–74); this is followed by a short adhortation to celebrate (vv. 75–80).[62] The long invective against the Muslim infidels (vv. 26–74) is a mixture of studied indignation and derogatory rants: (26–50) where is your military might now, Arabs?; (51–57) it is all over for you; (58–66) you once exulted, but now you have been brought down; (67–74) Christ is powerful, but you infidels cannot see it. This is the passage that makes fun of the Arab army and fleet:

«ποῦ νῦν ὑμῶν πέλουσιν, ὦ μιαιφόνοι,
αἱ πυρολαμπεῖς τῶν ἀκοντίων θέσεις
καὶ τῶν φαρετρῶν αἱ πολύτονοι τάσεις;
ποῦ τῶν μαχαιρῶν καὶ βελῶν ἡ στιλπνότης,
οἱ θώρακές τε καὶ περικράνων δέσεις,
αἱ σφαιρικαί τε καὶ ζοφώδεις ἀσπίδες;
ποῦ τῆς †τάνου† ἡ πολύφθογγος ζέσις
καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ ξιφῶν φλαμουλίων
ἡ πυρότευκτος καὶ μελάντερος χρόα;
τὰ πλοῖα ποῦ δὲ τὰ πρὸς ὕψος ἠρμένα,
ὡς οἷα κέδροι †δυστυχῶς† τοῦ Λιβάνου;
ποῦ δ᾽ αἱ διήρεις νῆες αἱ πυρεκβόλοι,
αἱ τ᾽ αὖ μονήρεις αἱ ταχεῖς πρὸς τὰς βάσεις,
πρὸ συμπλοκῆς μὲν καὶ πόλει καταντίον
γαυρώμεναί τε καὶ φυσώμεναι λίαν,
ἐν συμπλοκῇ δὲ τῆς μάχης φευγοδρόμοι
καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαι πρὸς μόνην σωτηρίαν;
ταύτην γὰρ οἷα νήπιοι πεφευγότες
τὴν ἧτταν ἐδρέψασθε τῆς βασιλείας.
ποῦ τὰ θράση σου, δουλογέννητον γένος,[63]
αἱ σιτίσεις τε τῆς κακῆς ἀπληστίας,
δι᾽ ὧν κρατήσας, ὥσπερ οἴου, τῆς μάχης
τὰς Χριστιανῶν τειχομαχεῖς εἰς πόλεις;»

[62] In the ms. the poem ends as follows: [God] ᾧ καὶ πρέπει τιμὴ καὶ δόξα καὶ κράτος / εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀλήκτους καὶ μακρεῶνας χρόνους ἀμήν. Lambros divides the last line as follows: (v. 80) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας <τῶν αἰώνων> ἀλήκτως / (v. 81) καὶ μακραίωνας χρόνους ἀμήν, but we should obviously read: (v. 80) εἰς τοὺς [del. αἰῶνας] ἀλήκτους καὶ μακραίωνας χρόνους. ἀμήν.

[63] Compare the inscription on the city walls of Nicaea celebrating another failed siege by the Arabs (in 727): ἔνθα θεϊκῇ βοηθείᾳ *τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταισχύνθη θράσος*, ἐκεῖ οἱ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς Λέων καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνεκαίνισαν πόθῳ τὴν πόλιν Νίκαιαν (see A.M. SCHNEIDER & W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik. Berlin 1938, 49).

'Where now, oh murderers, are the fiery-shining shafts of your lances and the many-pitched sounds of your quivers? Where is the glitter of your swords and spears? Where are your armours and plated helmets, your round and gloomy shields? Where is the noisy tumult of the [war-trumpet] and the fiery-red and blackish colour of the dragon-standards and the sword-banners? And now where are your ships, raised on high like the [tall] cedars of Lebanon? Where are your fire-throwing biremes, and your quick-footed monoremes, which, before the battle and in front of the city, were haughty and exulted, but which, when battle began, fled and gave thought only to safety? Fleeing battle like little children, you reaped defeat from our Empire. Where is your insolence, slave-born nation [i.e. children of Hagar], and where are the supplies that fill your evil greed and with the aid of which you are superior in war (or so you thought) and lay siege to the cities of the Christians?'.[64]

The poem is short on historical information,[65] not because there was nothing to report, but because the poet and the audience had witnessed with their own eyes the miraculous delivery of the City and did not need to be reminded of these miracles.[66] In fact, the interesting thing about this epinikion is not what the poet says, but what he does not say. First of all, the poet is blissfully unaware of what happened to the Arabs after their failed attempt to take Constantinople: there is not a single reference to the violent winds and burning hail storms that allegedly destroyed the Arab fleet on the voyage home. This is a very strong indication that the epinikion was composed and delivered in public when news of the havoc caused by these natural calamities, if indeed they happened, had not yet reached Constantinople — otherwise one would have expected the poet to make much of these indisputable signs of God's anger and wrath. Secondly, the poet attributes

[64] Ed. Lambros 1884: 130–131 (vv. 28–50). The text is seriously corrupt in the ms. For a number of excellent emendations, see Maas 1903: 322 and n. 1. In v. 35 Lambros emended δρακόντων into ἀκόντων without good reason. And in v. 50 he corrected the ms. reading τειχωμαχείσις to τειχομαχήσεις, a future tense that cannot be correct because the Arabs are already laying siege to Byzantine cities; I read τειχομαχεῖς εἰς, with a prepositional phrase instead of a dative as in classical Greek. In v. 41 the ms. reads καὶ πόλις ἐναντοία, which Lambros changed into τῇ πόλει ἐναντία, and I into καὶ πόλει καταντίον to avoid hiatus. I emended the ms. reading καὶ ταχὺ (v. 40) into αἱ ταχεῖς. In v. 34 one should perhaps read ποῦ τῆς βυκάνης, and in v. 38 ὡς οἷα κέδροι ὑψιτενεῖς (with anapaestic substitution) τῆς Λιβάνου (but δυσμενεῖς, ἰσχυροί etc. could equally be filled in).

[65] However, as rightly pointed out by V. Christidis, in: D. Bumazhov et al. (eds), Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient. Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag. Leuven 2011, 511–533, at 523, the reference in v. 39 to 'fire-throwing biremes' provides an unambiguous answer to the vexed question whether the Arabs employed 'Greek fire' on their ships: cf. J.H. Pryor & E. Jeffreys, The Age of the Dromon: The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204. Leiden 2006, 609–612.

[66] See Gero 1973: 172–176.

the victory over the Arabs solely to Christ. Since later sources, such as the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the *Typikon of the Great Church* and all the tales surrounding the *Akathistos*, tend to conflate the accounts of the three 'major sieges' and to promote the Holy Virgin as the divine protector of the City, certain elements of the legendary tales about the siege of 626 —especially the mariological ones— re-emerge in accounts of the siege of 717–718, in which it is She, not Her Son nor God the Father, who saved Constantinople from utter destruction.[67] The epinikion of 717–718 is remarkably free from all these mariological concerns: it is all about Christ/the Word/God, and not the Mother of God.

Byzantines seldom refer to themselves as Christians, unless their Christian identity is disputed or seriously threatened by outside factors. It is interesting to see that both the title referring to 'Christians' (and not Romans or Ausonians or just 'us') destroying Arab ships in Constantinople and line 50 referring to Arabs laying siege to the cities of 'the Christians' (and not the Romans or the Ausonians or 'us') strongly suggest that, in the eyes of those who witnessed the siege of 717–718, it was not just the Byzantine Empire that was in grave peril at the time: the future of Christianity itself was at stake.[68] This, too, explains the vehement nature of the rants against Islam and the triumphant and self-righteous remarks towards the end (vv. 67–74), basically saying that Muslims are too slow-witted to recognize the redemptive power of Christ. It also explains why the epinikion urges the audience in the opening passage to 'applaud with pious hearts our Lord Christ for the magnificent miracles we have witnessed of late' (vv. 1–3). The siege was more than just a siege: it was a battle between Islam and Christianity.

But however high the stakes, the absence of any reference to the secular powers in this clash of religions is odd in the extreme. The epinikion by Pisides gives Emperor Herakleios full credit for restoring the True Cross to Jerusalem, and the fifth and last canto of the *Capture of Crete* by Theodosios the Deacon (see next section), which is basically a victory ode, abundantly praises Romanos II for defeating the Arabs and reconquering the island. The most likely explanation why Leo III is not mentioned in the victory ode celebrating the miraculous delivery of

[67] The process of crediting the Holy Virgin with the miraculous delivery of the City in 718 is already on its way in a homily attributed to Patriarch Germanos (ed. V. GRUMEL, *REB* 16 (1958) 183–205) and delivered on the feast day of the miraculous delivery of 626 (not on the feast of the Koimesis, as the editor incorrectly assumes: see the first line of §17, on p. 195). P. SPECK, *REB* 44 (1986) 209–227, too, fails to understand that the homily celebrates the victory of 718 on the feast day of the victory of 626 and, therefore, understandably conflates the two sieges. D. R. REINSCH, in: G. PRATO (ed.), I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito (Florence 2000), vol. I, 29–46, at 44–46, rightly points out that there is no reason to doubt that the homily is a genuine eighth-century text. For more information, see M.D. LAUXTERMANN, 'The Commemoration of the Siege of 717–18 in the Liturgical Calendar of Constantinople' (forthcoming).

[68] So too in the homily by Patriarch Germanos, §9 and §11 (ed. V. GRUMEL, *REB* 16 (1958) 183–205, at 193–194).

Constantinople in 718, although he certainly deserved more credit for it than Romanos II did for the capture of Crete, is that his name has been omitted on purpose. As noted above, the epinikion has come down to us in a thirteenth-century homiliary and the priestly invocation at its beginning, Κύριε εὐλόγησον, is an unmistakeable sign that the epinikion served a liturgical purpose in later times. It is not clear whether it assumed this purpose in or after the iconoclastic era, but there can be no doubt that laudatory references to the bogeyman of Orthodoxy, Leo III, would have been unacceptable in liturgical contexts after 843 and, therefore, been air-brushed and edited away. The iconophile censor did not do a very good job, though. Firstly, there is an obvious lacuna in the text between lines 77 and 78, exactly at the point where land and sea are told to rejoice and applaud their Lord; it is here that one would expect to find a few lines in praise of the pious Emperor Leo, who, with God's help, destroyed the enemy. Secondly, the poem has only one serious prosodic error: τῆς βασιλείας at the end of line 46, where -ει- is measured short; I strongly suspect that the text originally read τοῦ βασιλέως. Thirdly, there is a word pun in lines 62–63 that escaped the notice of the overly zealous censor: χθὲς βλοσσυρόν τε καὶ λεόντειον βλέπων / καὶ νῦν κατηφὴς ὡς λαγωὸς ἐν λίνοις, '(the haughty Arab), who only yesterday had a fierce and leonine look in his eyes, but who now looks downhearted like a hare in a snare'. The subtext here is that, after the Arab defeat, the only one with a truly 'leonine' look is the Emperor Leo.

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### *Historical Epics: Theodosios the Deacon*

The historical epic is a late antique genre that as far as Greek is concerned, has survived in a number of works by George of Pisidia,[69] notably the *Expeditio Persica*, the *Bellum Avaricum*,[70] the *Heraclias*[71] and various fragments (transmit-

[69] For an overview, see Howard-Johnston 2010: 16–35. For the portrayal of Emperor Herakleios in the historical epics of Pisides, see Nissen 1940b, Frendo 1984, Frendo 1986, Ludwig 1991, Olster 1994: 51–71, Whitby 1994, Whitby 1995, Whitby 1998, Whitby 2002 and Meier 2015.

[70] For a historical commentary on this text, see P. Speck, Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides. Munich 1980; but see also the justified criticisms by J.-L. van Dieten, *BF* 9 (1985) 149–178.

[71] For a splendid literary analysis of the *Heraclias*, see Frendo 1986, who demonstrates the unitary character of the two cantos of the poem; in other words, nothing is missing.

ted in the chronicle of Theophanes and the *Souda*).[72] Although Pisides is the only poet whose historical epics have survived in full, there is enough evidence in the form of fragmentary scraps of papyrus and references to lost works in the *Bibliotheca* of Photios and the *Souda* to prove that the genre was quite popular in Late Antiquity; further proof is provided by the Latin tradition, which boasts the likes of Claudian, Priscian and Corippus.[73] Most of these works are in hexameter, but some are in iambic trimeter. There is no reason, therefore, to assume that Pisides innovated in any way by adopting iambics as his preferred metre for the composition of panegyrics and historical epics; in fact, he followed the example of earlier poets.[74]

The distinction between panegyric and historical epic is difficult to draw. No one will argue with Nissen that Pisides' poetry is essentially panegyrical in nature, whereas Corippus' epics are more traditional along the lines of 'arma virumque cano'.[75] However, I would say that it is Corippus, not Pisides who is the odd one out here, because late antique poetry in general has an undeniable tendency to turn everything it touches upon into something grand and laudatory. Since encomium is the prevalent discursive mode, it is little wonder that late antique epics have encomiastic overtones: anything else would be strange. Nonetheless, there is a fundamental difference between encomia/panegyrics and historical epics, and that is the amount of narrative. The reason why the chronicler Theophanes made avid use of Pisides' *Expeditio Persica* is —apart from the dearth of historical sources at his disposal— that the poem does provide much valuable information on the first Persian expedition of Emperor Herakleios. And the reason why he did not use, say, the poem *In Christi Resurrectionem* (discussed above), is that this panegyric offers little that is of interest to a Byzantine chronicler — or, for that matter, to a modern positivist historian. The poem is all about ideas and mentalities, not about 'facts'.

The historical epic appears to have disappeared after Pisides. According to the *Souda*, Ignatios the Deacon was the author of ἰάμβους εἰς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀντάρτην, ἅπερ ὀνομάζουσι τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν, 'iambics regarding Thomas the rebel [=Thomas the Slav], entitled τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ("The life of Thomas")'.[76] It is any-

[72] See Howard-Johnston 1994 for a discussion of these fragments: according to him, they derive from a history composed in prosimetrum by Pisides. I find his solution intriguing, but not entirely convincing; however, there is certainly method in it and I have nothing better to offer. Pertusi 1959: 24–30 incorrectly argues that the *Heraclias* originally had three cantos and that all the fragments were part of canto no. III, now lost; however, see Frendo's devastating critique (footnote above). See also Whitby 2002: 166–173.

[73] See Viljamaa 1968: passim and Cameron 2004: 330 and 336–337.

[74] *Pace* Frendo 1984. See Cameron 2004: 336–337, esp. n. 61.

[75] See Nissen 1940b.

[76] *Souda*, s. v. Ἰγνάτιος. See Mango 1997: 3–4.

one's guess what τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν may have been: panegyric, historical epic or victory ode.[77] The genre of the historical epic resurfaces in the *Capture of Crete* by Theodosios the Deacon, and then disappears altogether. It is replaced by narratives in 'Homeric' hexameters: good examples are Theodore Prodromos' historical poems nos 3 and 8, recounting the two sieges of Kastamon by Emperor John Komnenos; another early example is the poem on the rebellion of Maniakes in 1043.[78]

Theodosios the Deacon's *Capture of Crete* (Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης) is a seriously misunderstood text. It has been edited twice, first by Panagiotakis with a long historical introduction and a decent commentary, and then by Criscuolo in the Teubner series, with a short introduction and no commentary at all; as the text has come down to us in a fairly reliable manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 352 [53102] (the same manuscript that contains the collective works of John Geometres),[79] the two editions hardly differ.[80] Like Pisides' *Expeditio Persica* and *Heraclias*,[81] the narrative is divided into ἀκροάσεις, 'hearings' or 'recitations'; I will call them 'cantos'. There are five cantos in total:

no. I (272 lines): vv. 1–44 encomiastic introduction, vv. 45–254 panegyrical narrative, and vv. 255–272 encomiastic conclusion.
no. II (271 lines): vv. 1–34 the emperor's anxiety, vv. 35–254 panegyrical narrative, and vv. 255–271 encomiastic conclusion.
no. III (235 lines): vv. 1–44 encomiastic introduction, vv. 45–69 the emperor's anxiety, vv. 70–195 panegyrical narrative, and vv. 196–235 encomiastic conclusion.
no. IV (138 lines): vv. 1–138 panegyrical narrative.
no. V (122 lines): vv. 1–122 victory ode.

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[77] MANGO 1997: 12–13 tentatively suggests that it may have been a historical epic, although he cautiously adds that the genre seems to have become extinct after Pisides. Mango may be right, but if this was indeed an encomiastic poem celebrating Michael II for crushing the rebellion of Thomas the Slav, then the title of the poem cannot be correct: τὰ κατὰ (...) means 'the life of so-and-so', 'the biography of so-and-so' (see HINTERBERGER 1999: 99–107, esp. 105–106); compare Genesios, 25.50: οὕτως φασὶ *τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν* ἀκριβέστερον διεξιστορεῖσθαι, followed by an account of the life of Thomas the Slav from cradle to grave.

[78] Prodromos: ed. HÖRANDNER 1974: 193–196 and 234–242; Maniakes: ed. BROGGINI 2011: 15–18.

[79] See vol. I, appendix I, pp. 287–289.

[80] PANAGIOTAKIS 1960 and CRISCUOLO 1979a. See the critical review of Criscuolo's edition by P. ELEUTERI & E. LIVREA, *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 181–184.

[81] Paul the Silentiary's encomiastic ecphrasis of the Hagia Sophia and its altar space (ed. C. DE STEFANI, Paulus Silentiarius. Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae, Descriptio Ambonis. Berlin-New York 2010) is also divided into ἀκροάσεις: canto Ia (in the Great Palace) and Ib (in the patriarchal palace) = vv. 1–80 and 81–410; canto II (in the patriarchal palace) = vv. 411–1029; and canto III (in the patriarchal palace) = *Ambo*, vv. 1–304.

Surely no one can fail to notice that canto IV is structurally different from cantos I–III and that canto V falls into another genre altogether.

At the beginning of canto II, Theodosios the Deacon recounts how anxious the emperor was to hear news about the Cretan expedition until he finally received a letter telling him that everything was going according to plan (II, 1–34), and at the beginning of canto III we read that the emperor was once again anxious to know what was going on until he received a reassuring letter from Crete (III, 45–69). These letters are the customary military dispatches Byzantine commanders would send to the emperor to keep him informed. It is clear from the context that the military dispatch mentioned in canto II referred to events described in canto I and that, likewise, the military dispatch mentioned in canto III referred to events that are described in canto II. In other words, like George of Pisidia more than three hundred years before, Theodosios the Deacon based the cantos of his historical epic on military dispatches sent from the front.[82]

There is no reason to doubt that cantos III and IV, like I and II, were based on military dispatches sent by the commander of the troops, Nikephoros Phokas. However, the arrival of military dispatch no. III (the source of canto III) is not mentioned in canto IV, nor is the arrival of dispatch no. IV (the source of canto IV) mentioned in canto V. The question is why not, and the answer is actually quite simple. Canto IV only offers a historical narrative: it does not have an encomiastic introduction and it does not end with an encomiastic epilogue, and canto V is a triumphant ode of victory with practically no historical information whatsoever. This is what I think happened. Theodosios the Deacon would write a canto shortly after the arrival of each new military dispatch in Constantinople and read it out to a jubilant audience. The next canto would contain, apart from the contents of the next military dispatch, a description of the emperor's joy at receiving good news in the previous dispatch. This worked very well in the first three cantos until disaster struck for Theodosios the Deacon: news arrived that the Byzantines had won. At that point he had finished the historical narrative of canto IV (on the basis of military dispatch IV), but without the encomiastic parts (introduction relating the arrival of dispatch III and epilogue). As it was clear that no one was interested any longer in the military operations described in canto IV, once the Arab capital of Crete, Chandax, had been taken by storm, Theodosios stopped working on it.[83] That is why it is so much shorter than cantos I–III and lacks a prologue and epilogue. Instead, he composed a hasty epinikion (=canto V) based not on an official war bulletin, but on the oral communication of a messenger.

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[82] See Criscuolo 1979b: 71–72.

[83] Two years later, however, when he decided to present his epic to Nikephoros Phokas, he added three verses at the end (IV, 137–139) in order to connect the epinikion (canto V) with the rest.

If this reconstruction of how Theodosios the Deacon composed his cantos is correct, it logically follows that cantos I–IV of the *Capture of Crete* are much more than a poetic fancy: they are of prime importance to historians because they are directly based on (lost) military dispatches. In other words, for the history of the reconquest of Crete in 960–961 these cantos are of far greater significance than hitherto realized.[84]

It is time now to turn to the prose prologue of the *Capture of Crete*.[85] It addresses Nikephoros Phokas, not yet emperor, but after the death of Romanos II (between 15 March and 16 August 963), and tells him that although the poem constantly refers to Romanos II, he is in fact the one praised and lauded for the reconquest of Crete and that the poem, although composed a while ago (πρὸ καιροῦ, namely in 960–961), still awaits official encouragement to see the light. But if Phokas is pleased with the result, Theodosios the Deacon is more than willing to celebrate also his victory at Aleppo (23 December 962). The date of composition of this prologue can be narrowed down ever further if one looks at the end of canto V, the text that Theodosios the Deacon had to improvise overnight when news of the fall of Chandax reached Constantinople. This triumphant epinikion ends with an anticlimax: 'Tarsos heard the news [of the capture of Crete] and it is now digging ditches, raising its walls and strengthening its gates with iron: it does all it can, because it foresees the burden of its own future mishaps in the disaster of others'.[86] These verses are clearly a later addition and refer to the situation in the late spring and early summer of 963, when Nikephoros had left the capital (in late April/early May) and assembled his troops in Cappadocia to launch an attack against Tarsos. Thus we see that when Nikephoros Phokas was preparing the military expedition against Tarsos (with his intention of eventually usurping the throne no secret to anyone), Theodosios the Deacon, by then in urgent need of a new patron after the untimely death of Romanos II, attempted to curry favour by adding a flattering prologue and a few lines at the end. It is not known whether Nikephoros Phokas was much impressed with the result, but the fact that he apparently did not take Theodosios up on his offer to celebrate the capture of Aleppo certainly does not bode well for our poet.

To return to the genre of the historical epic, the *Capture of Crete* is not only the first and only extant example of it after Pisides, but the poem unabashedly imitates and even quotes *verbatim* the epics of George of Pisidia.[87] This is less

[84] On the historical sources, see PANAGIOTAKIS 1960: 33–88; V. CHRISTIDES, The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). Athens 1984, 172–191; F.A. FARELLO, *Medioevo Greco* 1 (2001) 139–160.

[85] Ed. PANAGIOTAKIS 1960: 94; CRISCUOLO 1979a: 1.

[86] Lines V, 119–122. Criscuolo incorrectly puts a comma at the end of line 121, thereby making the sentence ungrammatical.

[87] See PANAGIOTAKIS 1960: 19–23.

obvious than it might seem. As argued elsewhere,[88] Pisides was known to posterity primarily as the poet of the *Hexaemeron*, not the panegyrics and historical epics, which have come down to us in a fairly restricted number of manuscripts. The only other tenth-century sources where knowledge of Pisides' panegyrical output is clear are the *Souda*, the *Excerpta Historica* and the gnomology of Georgides, but it is a sad fate if a poet is remembered for his use of rare words, gnomic utterances and historical details. There is little to no Pisides in the poetry of Geometres, the Anonymous Patrician and Constantine the Rhodian, to name the three most prolific poets of the tenth century. In sharp contrast, Theodosios the Deacon turns out to have been an avid reader of the poems of Pisides: in fact, it is fairly obvious that his intention was to resuscitate the genre of the historical epic.[89] And he was not alone in this quest. When the emperor and his courtiers gathered to listen to Theodosios the Deacon's reworkings of military dispatches, they surely must have realized the historical significance of reviving a seventh-century custom and reliving the experience of listening to mind-blowing accounts of victories over the enemies of the empire. McCormick dubbed the years 956–972 'the high tide of triumph' because of the many triumphal parades and celebrations, held even when there was little to celebrate;[90] these are the years of the composition of, and final touches to, the *De Ceremoniis* with numerous references to the glorious reign of Herakleios and, in its section on the imperial tombs in the church of the Holy Apostles, even going so far as to give him the epithet μέγας ('Herakleios the Great');[91] and of course, this is the period of Schlumberger's 'épopée byzantine', the dramatic expansion of the Byzantine Empire at the cost of its neighbours. Since history is perceived in the Byzantine mindset as re-enacting itself time and again, events overlap and experiences intermingle to such a degree that the Bulgars and the Rus' may seem to play out the role of the Avars, and the Arabs that of the Persians (or the other way around, but it hardly matters who is first and who second, when history is seen as repeating itself). Pisides became fashionable during the 'high tide of triumph', because his panegyrics offered such a striking parallel to what was going on at the time: the militarization of values and morals, the concept of holy war, the need for heroic exploits, the warrior-emperor, the grassroot sympathies for the idea of martyrdom in battle. It

[88] Vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 57–58.

[89] For the *Capture of Crete* as a historical epic with encomiastic overtones, see Andriollo 2010.

[90] McCormick 1986: 159–178.

[91] *De Ceremoniis*, II. 42, ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 644.13. In one of the manuscript branches of the *Chronicle of the Logothete*, mss. PHK, Herakleios is given the same honorary epithet (§109.1, line 1: ed. Wahlgren, 157). W.E. Kaegi, Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge 2003: 12, incorrectly states that '[Herakleios] did not earn the Byzantine epithet "great", unlike Emperors Constantine I or Theodosius I'; for the implicit praise of Herakleios in the *De Thematibus*, see ibidem, 319.

is all there in the poetry of Pisides. The only thing Theodosios had to do was rediscover it.

However, it would be wrong to put Theodosios the Deacon down as nothing more than a slavish imitator of Pisides. A fundamental difference between Theodosios and Pisides are their similes: these are basically allegorical in Pisides,[92] whereas Theodosios develops them into true Homeric similes (for an example, see below). In general, Homer is less important to Pisides than he is to Theodosios the Deacon: whereas the former recognizes him as the source of poetry, the latter views him in an antagonistic way as a danger that needs to be neutralized. There are many Homeric quotes and a fair amount of Homer-bashing in Theodosios the Deacon,[93] precisely because he sees him as a literary rival, true to the Wildean maxim: 'Yet each man kills the thing he loves'. As noted above, the historical epic in the style of Pisides disappears after Theodosios the Deacon and is replaced by narratives in 'Homeric' hexameter. Seen from a bird's-eye perspective, Theodosios' attempt to Homerize (and at the same time, anti-Homerize) the genre of the historical epic anticipates this development.

Towards the end of the fourth canto, Theodosios the Deacon recounts how Nikephoros Phokas had received news of Arab troop movements in the mountains and had sent the Thracesian theme army on a reconnaissance mission (IV, 70–78). Their commander was a brave soldier, who had taken part in many battles, been wounded and even been captured by the Arabs at a previous occasion (IV, 79–88); his name is not given, but we know from Leo the Deacon (I. 3) that he was called Nikephoros Pastilas. This Pastilas courageously attacked the enemy forces (IV, 89–101; see below the translation), but while killing many, he was killed himself and died a heroic death (IV, 102–111). When his soldiers saw what had happened, they chased the Arabs back into the mountains and cut off their communication lines with the rest of the island (IV, 112–115), an action for which the emperor deserves full credit (IV, 116–118). Realizing that the battle was over, Karamountes, the leader of the Arab troops of the interior, fled through the mountains in a cowardly and unmanly retreat (IV, 119–136).

In the following passage (IV, 89–101), Theodosios the Deacon describes the heroic death of Pastilas in a truly Homeric fashion:

οὗτος σταλεὶς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς πρῶτον λόχον,
ἔρωτι πληγῶν, καρδίας ὑπερζέσει,
μέσον τὸ κοινὸν εὗρε βαρβάρων τέλος,
ὡς φύλλα ῥίψας τῶν μελῶν τὴν τετράδα·
ὡς γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ πολύχρονος λύκος
ἔμπειρος ὢν ἅρπαξ τε καὶ ποιμνηλάτης

[92] See Nissen 1940b: 322 and n. 5, and Frendo 1984: 184–186.
[93] See Criscuolo 1979b and Rey 2005.

πεινῶν ἑαυτὸν τῇ μονῇ τῶν ποιμνίων
θάρσει προπέμπει καὶ καταξαίνει κύνας,
ἕως κρατηθῇ καὶ σφαγῇ τοῖς ἀνδράσι,
οἳ πολλάκις ἔβρυξαν εἰς αὐτὸν μέγα,
οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐμπεσὼν στρατηγέτης
῾Ρώμης κραταιὸς καὶ μονωθεὶς εἰς μέσον
ἔδειξεν οἵους ἄνδρας ἡ ῾Ρώμη τρέφει.

'Sent on this mission and in the vanguard, pugnacious and impetuous as ever, he met his death amidst the barbarians, shedding his four limbs like [a tree sheds its] leaves; as when a great wolf, old and experienced in thievery, a sheep-lifter, hungry and bold leaps into the fold ahead of the pack and tears the dogs to pieces, until he is overcome and killed by men who have oft gnashed their teeth at him, so did he, the mighty Roman commander, leap into the fray — and separated from the pack, he showed what men Rome breeds'.[94] This is then followed by a description of how Pastilas, surrounded on all sides, kept on fighting as a true hero until he succumbed to his injuries.

Leo the Deacon tells an entirely different story.[95] According to him, Pastilas was indeed a courageous general, but he disregarded the explicit orders of Nikephoros Phokas 'to be vigilant and sober'. Sent on a mission to raid and reconnoitre the island, he and his men advanced into the countryside and, not meeting any resistance, felt secure and, therefore, indulged in indolence and luxury. When the enemies, who had been waiting for them in ambush, saw their lack of discipline, they took courage and attacked them in orderly fashion. Though heavy with wine, Pastilas and his men resisted with great courage, but when Pastilas first lost his horse and then his life, the Thracesian troops turned to flight and were killed en masse.

The question here is not who is right: Leo or Theodosios the Deacon, but how the Pastilas episode fits into their respective narratives. Since Leo the Deacon's aim was to sketch the portrait of the ideal warrior-emperor, a hero pious and thoughtful, a ruler keenly aware of human frailty and sinfulness, and a commander whose orders ought to be obeyed at all times, he used Nikephoros Pastilas as a negative point of reference, a contrast against which to measure the greatness of his namesake, Nikephoros Phokas. In his view, whilst Pastilas and Phokas were

[94] Ed. Panagiotakis 1960: 119 and Criscuolo 1979a: 33–34 (vv. 867–879).

[95] Leo the Deacon, I. 3–4 and 6. See A.-M. Talbot and D.F. Sullivan, The *History* of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century. Dumbarton Oaks 2005: 62–63 and 66. Leo the Deacon places the Pastilas episode at the beginning of the Cretan expedition, but Theodosios the Deacon dates it in the winter of 960–961: see Panagiotakis 1960: 76–77. Since cantos I–IV are based on military dispatches, Theodosios the Deacon is a more reliable source than Leo the Deacon.

both brave warriors, the former lacked self-restraint and committed a tragic error because of his recklessness, which caused him to disregard the pious warnings of the latter. In short, the purpose of the Pastilas episode is to highlight the difference between these two men of war: Pastilas was no Phokas. Things were different for Theodosios the Deacon. Since his aim was to celebrate Romanos II, who was not directly involved in any of the military action, he sought to present the feats of the Byzantine army as the direct outcome of the emperor's divine policies: their triumphs reflect on him, their victories are really his. In this patriotic discourse, all individual efforts tend to blend into one (it does not matter who does what), the focus being on the army as a whole, and its military feats are consequently regarded as a collective enterprise. This is why Nikephoros Pastilas is not given a name in Theodosios the Deacon's account and why, instead of providing details, he offers a nondescript description of Pastilas' actions in the Homeric simile translated above. The heroism of Pastilas is not an individual merit, but is there to show 'what men Rome breeds'. If one compares this with the harangue pronounced by Nikephoros Phokas to bolster the morale of his troops in Leo the Deacon, I. 6, one cannot help but notice glaring differences. Phokas reminds his soldiers that if Pastilas had not disregarded direct orders, he would still be alive. Therefore, 'let us not waste our time in idleness and drunkenness [as Pastilas and his men did], but *acting like Romans* we will demonstrate the vigorous and brave spirit of our noble people in military contests'.[96] The 'acting like Romans' bit sounds like a direct criticism of Theodosios the Deacon's account. For Theodosios, Pastilas is a shining example of Romanity: he embodies the virtues of the Roman Empire and its emperor, Romanos II. For Leo the Deacon, Pastilas is not really a hero: he acted heroically, but he did not act as a 'vigilant and sober' Roman should have and, worse, disregarded the orders of Phokas.

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## *Ceremonial Poetry*

The Book of Ceremonies (*De Ceremoniis*, I. 83) provides a short guide to the etiquette to be observed at the banquet of 3 January (the ninth day of the Δωδεκαήμερον, the Twelve Days of Christmas) when the *maïstores* and other members of the demes perform the Γοτθικόν in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches. The representatives of the two demes, the Blues and the Greens, are each accompanied by lute players and two 'Goths' clad in furs and wearing masks, who

[96] Translation: TALBOT and SULLIVAN (see footnote above), p. 66.

hold shields in their right hands and staffs in their left. Upon entering the banquet hall, the 'Goths' beat on their shields, shout 'toul, toul' and perform a circular war-dance near the imperial table. Afterwards the 'Goths' join the other members of the demes and the lute players; the Greens are standing on the right and the Blues on the left. Then they all sing the γοτθικά while the musicians play their instruments. What follows is a song in a mixture of Gothic, Latin and Greek — a hilarious piece of mumbo-jumbo, a blabber and jabber so nonsensical that Constantine VII and his team of antiquarian scholars failed to make sense of it.[97]

Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini rightly dates this part of the ceremony to the mid-fifth century, when the Gothic troops and their commanders were at the height of their power.[98] However, as she equally rightly points out, the poem in the second part of the ceremony is considerably younger: it dates from the reign of Basil I.[99]

When the demes have sung the γοτθικά, they continue with an ordinary song in Greek. This is an ἀλφαβητάριν, a song in 24 lines with alphabetic acrostic, divided into six strophes: α-δ, ε-θ, ι-μ, ν-π, ρ-υ, φ-ω. After each strophe, the *maïstores* shout in Gothic gibberish 'ambaäto', and then the 'Goths', two of each deme, beat their shields, shout 'toul, toul' and perform their mock battle, after which they resume their positions. Unfortunately, the Book of Ceremonies offers only the text of the first two strophes and the last:

[καὶ εἶθ᾽ οὕτως λέγουσιν οἱ μαΐστωρες μετὰ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τὸ ἀλφαβητάριν· ανανα]

Ἀηττήτῳ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ ἐστέφθης, δέσποτα, οὐρανόθεν·
Βραβεῖον νίκης ὤφθης, κοσμοπόθητος εὐεργέτης·
Γενναῖος ὤφθης τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
Δωρούμενος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ζωηφόρους εὐεργεσίας.

[καὶ εἶθ᾽ οὕτως πάλιν λέγουσιν οἱ μαΐστωρες· αγιας τα ανατε ανετανε]

Ἐντολαί σου ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅπλα ἰσχύουσι κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων·
Ζωὴ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πλοῦτος, ἀλλοφύλων κατάπτωσις ὄντως·
Ηὐρέθης τεῖχος τῆς πολιτείας·
Θεός σοι ἔδωκεν κλάδους συνομόθρονας, εὐεργέτα.

[...]

Φῶς ἀνέτειλεν ἐν τῷ κράτει ἡλίου δίκην ἡ ἀρετή σου·
Χριστὸς συνέστω ἑκάστῳ περιέπων τὴν κορυφήν σου·

[97] For the latest attempt to make some sense of this seriously corrupted text, see A. Rousseau, Sur les traces de Busbecq et du gotique. Lille 1991, 146–150.
[98] Bolognesi 1995: 119–122.
[99] So already Maas 1912: 43. See Bolognesi 1995: 122–126.

Ψηφίσματι αὐτοῦ κυριεύεις
Ὡς κύριος καὶ δεσπότης τῶν περάτων τῆς ἐξουσίας.

[καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἀλφαβηταρίου λέγουσιν· πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σου].

'[And then the *maïstores* together with members of the demes sing the following alphabet (*anana)*]. You have been crowned from heaven, lord, by the invincible hand of God. You have shown yourself to be a trophy of victory, a benefactor beloved by the world. You have shown your courage against the enemies and lavished your life-giving benevolence on the Romans. [And then the *maïstores* sing again (*agias ta anate anetane)*]. More than weapons, your commands triumph over all enemies. You are the life and wealth of the Romans, and truly the doom of the barbarian tribes. You are the bulwark of the state. God has given you sons to share the throne with you, benefactor. [...] Your righteousness is risen like the sun — a sovereign light. May Christ be with each of you and guard your highness. By His decree you govern as ruler and lord over the ends of the empire. [And when they have finished the alphabet, they sing: May God prolong your holy reign]'.[100]

As the Book of Ceremonies does not offer any form of musical notation, it is anyone's guess what ceremonial poems, such as the one performed at the Gothic Dance, may have sounded like in the tenth century.[101] Another problem with the Book of Ceremonies is that it usually offers only the beginning of an acclamation, not the full text, because the κράκται (the singers of the demes) and the ψάλται (their patriarchal counterparts) knew very well what was expected of them — unfortunately, we don't. And a third problem is that the Book of Ceremonies is a mishmash of various rituals and texts, not all still extant in the tenth century: in other words, the Book of Ceremonies is not an actual record of ceremonial practices in c. 957–959, but constitutes an antiquarian enterprise, in which present and past vie for the future.

As for the song performed at the Gothic Dance, we are very fortunate indeed to have half of the strophes instead of just the first strophe or, even worse, just the first line. As I have argued elsewhere, given the close connection between hymnography and imperial acclamations, this strophic structure is unlikely to be unique to the Gothic Song.[102] Just as religious hymns are divided into strophes, so too are some of the secular ones. The two intonation formulae, 'anana' and 'agias ta anate anetane' (in the prose introductions), indicate the first and fourth modes of Byzan-

[100] MAAS 1912: 43 (no. 17) = *De Ceremoniis*, I. 83, ed. REISKE 1829–30: I, 383–384 and VOGT 1935–40: II, 184–185.
[101] See HANDSCHIN 1942 and WELLESZ 1961: 98–122.
[102] LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 62.

tine chant.[103] The text as printed above is not that of the Leipzig manuscript, but adopts the metrical analysis of Paul Maas, who restored the outer correspondence between the three strophes.[104] Each strophe is divided into seven paroxytone colons of uneven length: 9, 10, 7/8, 9/10, 10, 8 and 9 syllables respectively; stresses fall on the same metrical syllables in all three strophes.[105] In the Leipzig manuscript the text has been tampered with, replacing singulars with plurals in order to accommodate the political situation in c. 957–959. It must be said, however, that the person responsible for this adaptation was not very good at his job because he forgot to change the singulars in line 8: σοι and εὐεργέτα. In the original version Basil I was the sole object of praise and exaltation, though it mentioned his sons as fellow emperors (συνομόθρονας, a rather peculiar *hapax*). In the version of the Book of Ceremonies, both Constantine VII and his son Romanos II are praised — hence all the plurals.[106]

Ceremonial poetry can be divided into three categories: one-line acclamations in rhythmical prose, short songs with a paired colon structure (such as, for instance, the famous Spring Song), and longer strophic songs (such as the Gothic Song).[107] Ceremonial poetry is encomium in its most unadulterated form. As it is set to music and employs a fairly basic vocabulary, it is a most effective means of imperial propaganda because it directly appeals to the sentiments of the courtly audience and the citizens of Constantinople. It tells them that their common expectations of what makes a good emperor are justified, reassuring them that their emperor is divinely ordained, smites the enemies in biblical fashion, and showers his largesse on his people.[108] And it tells them this over and over again at recurring moments in the ceremonial calendar. It is also probably the only form of encomiastic poetry most Byzantines will have heard and enjoyed listening to: common people are obviously not present at declamations of encomia and *basilikoi logoi*, and most uneducated courtiers will have found such highbrow texts difficult to understand and perhaps even rather off-putting.

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[103] See HANDSCHIN 1942: 30–42 and WELLESZ 1961: 303–309.

[104] MAAS 1912: 43.

[105] The third and fourth colons are not entirely isosyllabic, but allow an additional metrical syllable. This metrical licence is common in Byzantine hymnography: see GROSDIDIER DE MATONS 1977: 126–127 and MITSAKIS 1971: 319–322.

[106] BOLOGNESI 1995: 126–127 incorrectly avers that the Gothic Dance was abolished shortly after the reign of Basil I because the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (ed. REISKE 1829–30: I, 751–752) mentions the banquet on 3 January, but not the performance of the Gothic Dance. The *Kletorologion* is a manual for the use of the *atriklines* (the official responsible for the seating arrangements at banquets): its purpose is not so much to describe ceremonies as to ensure that all the guests are seated according to the order of precedence.

[107] See WÄSCHKE 1884, DIHLE 1954 and LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 61–65.

[108] See O. TREITINGER, Die Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Jena 1938 (repr. Darmstadt 1956), 71–84 and 169–185.

It is clear from the *index vetus* to Vat. Barb. gr. 310 [64853] that the *Anthologia Barberina* (*AB*) originally offered an extremely interesting collection of ninth- and early tenth-century court poetry in its second part (*AB* 81–160): most of it is now lost, but the index mentions religious hymns, catanyctic alphabets (some by Leo VI), prayers, monodies on persons and cities, and ceremonial poems written for special occasions.[109] Among the latter, there is a panegyric celebrating Leo VI's victory over Andronikos Doukas in 908 (*AB* 155; lost), an encomium of Constantine the Emperor (Porphyrogenitos?: *AB* 88; lost), a coronation anthem for Basil I (*AB* 138, still partially extant), a poem honouring Basil I for his theological disputes with obstinate iconoclasts (*AB* 124; lost), three poems in praise of Basil I and the (forced) conversion of the Jews in c. 874 (*AB* 133–135; the first one lost), and two hymns —both by Patriarch Photios— celebrating Basil I for restoring peace in the church between the Ignatians and the Photians in 880 (*AB* 136–137).[110]

The first of the two ceremonial hymns[111] celebrating the reconciliation of Photians and Ignatians is entitled: ὕμνος ὡς ἐκ προσώπου Βασιλείου δεσπότου· ἦχος α΄. In the light of the reference to the musical mode, it is beyond doubt that this hymn was intended to be sung at a public ceremony; the ὡς ἐκ προσώπου part indicates that the lyrics are presented as the words of the emperor himself.[112] The second poem bears the title: ὕμνος ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς Βασίλειον τὸν φιλόχριστον βασιλέα· ἦχος α΄. This hymn, too, was sung —probably by a sole cantor and a choir in responsorial style. Since the πρωτοψάλτης and the ψάλται are in the service of the cathedral church, they sing *ἐκ προσώπου* τῆς ἐκκλησίας ('on behalf of the church'), not *ὡς ἐκ προσώπου* ('as if by [the church]'). Like the Gothic Song, the two ceremonial hymns are ἀλφαβητάρια, poems with a strophic structure in alphabetical order.[113] The strophes are distichs and consist of two pairs of paroxytone heptasyllabic colons (with a predominantly iambic rhythm): 7p +

[109] See GALLAVOTTI 1987: 40–42, 52–60 and 63–70; CRIMI 2001: 45–53. See vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 123–128.

[110] The five poems that are still extant in the ms. have all been edited by Ciccolella: *AB* 134–135, the poems on the 'conversion' of the Jews, by Christopher Protasekretis, in CICCOLELLA 2000b: 72–77, and *AB* 136–137, by Photios, and *AB* 138, the anonymous coronation anthem, in CICCOLELLA 1998: 308–315. Christopher Protasekretis and Mazarenos (author of *AP* 1.106–107) are apparently one and the same person: see E.I. TOMADAKIS, *EEBS* 52 (2004–06) 323–328.

[111] For another ninth-century ceremonial hymn celebrating a contemporary event, see Michael Synkellos' anacreontic poem on the restoration of the cult of the icons: ed. CRIMI 1990.

[112] In other words, it is an *ethopoiia* (see chapter 12); however, in contrast to what NISSEN 1940a: 72 and many others seem to think, the use of *ethopoiia* does not mean that a text is just some totally irrelevant school exercise.

[113] See the title of the second part of the *Anthologia Barberina*, ἀλφαβητάρια ἕτερα διαφόρων ποιητῶν: GALLAVOTTI 1987: 40, 52, and 63–64.

7p, 7p + 7p.[114] Here is an example from the second poem (strophes ξ-σ):

Ξενίζει με, ὦ ἄναξ,
τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ θεῖα
Οὐκ ἔτι στασιάζει
βαθεῖα γὰρ εἰρήνη
Παστάδα νῦν τὴν θείαν
κύκλῳ μου τῆς τραπέζης
῾Ρωμαίων μέγα γένος,
ἰσχύϊ καὶ συνέσει
Συστέλλου καὶ μὴ μέγα
τὸν ἡμέτερον βλέπων,
ἡ σύνεσις ἐκείνη,
τῶν σοφῶν βουλευμάτων.
τῶν τέκνων ὁ χορός μου·
τῆς σῆς βλύζει σοφίας.
ὁμοῦ χοροστατοῦντες,
παρέστηκε τὰ τέκνα.
ἔντεινε καὶ εὐφραίνου
τοῦ σοφοῦ βασιλέως.
ἐπαίρου τῇ σοφίᾳ,
Σολομών, βασιλέα.

'O king, I stand in awe of your famed sagacity, the divine works of your wise counsels. No longer is the chorus of my children divided, because profound peace springs from your wisdom. Dancing in unison and preparing the divine nuptial chamber, the children now stand around my altar. Take heart, great nation of the Romans, and rejoice in the strength and sagacity of our wise emperor. Be humble and do not boast of your own wisdom, Solomon, when you see our emperor'.[115]

A few comments should suffice. First of all, the setting. The Photians and the Ignatians, once again re-united in communion, are standing around the main altar of the Hagia Sophia or, possibly, the Nea Ekklesia; in this altar-space (the 'nuptial chamber') they prepare together the mystery of holy communion, which seals the mystical union that is betwixt Christ the Bridegroom and His Bride, the Church. The reference to 'dancing' evokes the image of David and the Israelites dancing before the ark of the covenant; it also alludes to the 'Dance of Isaiah' traditionally performed around the altar at weddings. Secondly, the words ἔντεινε καὶ εὐφραίνου are clearly modelled on a verse from Psalm 44 (45): καὶ ἔντεινον καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε (v. 5), 'strive and prosper and reign', a line often quoted in Byzantine imperial encomia (e.g. Prodromos 15.61, 16.207, 17.23). Although set in a clearly encomiastic context, it appears to have a slightly different function and meaning here, since it addresses not the emperor, but his people.[116] Psalm 44 (45) is a magnificent wedding song, which first addresses the royal bridegroom (lines 1–9) and then the bride (10–18) — in later Christian commentaries (for instance, Justin Martyr 38.3), this bridegroom will become Christ. It is used here

[114] The two Photian hymns do not consist of quatrains (as in the edition), but of distichs: see GALLAVOTTI 1987: 65–70. For a metrical analysis of these two poems, see LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 50–51 and 53–54.

[115] CICCOLELLA 1998: 313 (lines 53–72). In v. 58 the ms. offers ὁ χορός μοι; I follow Nissen's suggestion to read: ὁ χορός μου (NISSEN 1940a: 73).

[116] One may find the same hemistich in the very last strophe of the poem (line 96); but there it addresses the emperor and has its usual encomiastic connotation.

to establish an associative connection between the nuptial metaphors, on the one hand, and the encomiastic overtones of the whole poem, on the other. Thirdly, the references to Basil I's wisdom and, especially, to Solomon come as something of a surprise, because in texts produced by the Macedonian propaganda machine, Basil I is usually compared to King David, and his son, Leo VI (the Wise), to King Solomon.[117]

However, in connection with the building of the Nea Ekklesia we find traces of an alternative narrative, in which Basil does figure as Solomon. According to tenth-century chroniclers, Basil I removed a statue of Solomon from the Basilica, turned it into an effigy of himself and gave it his own name, and then buried it in the foundations of the Nea Ekklesia as a token of his dedication to the church.[118] Furthermore, as demonstrated by Dagron, the *Tale of the Building of Hagia Sophia*, which relates that Justinian, when the Hagia Sophia had been completed, famously exclaimed: 'Solomon, I have surpassed you!' (ἐνίκησά σε, Σολομών!), most probably dates from the reign of Basil I and reflects contemporary criticisms of the whole idea of taking the Temple of Solomon as a model for the Hagia Sophia (and, by extension, the Nea Ekklesia) and competing with its archetypal builder.[119] Interestingly enough, the Solomon legend is also reflected in an eleventh-century Jewish chronicle from Oria (in the Apulia region), which tells that when Basil I wished to convert the Jews, he invited Rabbi Shefatiah for a religious dispute on the respective costs involved in the construction of the Temple and the Hagia Sophia; as was to be expected, the emperor lost the debate and reportedly exclaimed: 'Rabbi Shefatiah defeated me by his wisdom'![120] Justinian defeats Solomon, Basil buries Solomon, Photios preaches: 'be humble and do not boast of your own wisdom, Solomon, when you see our emperor' — and Rabbi Shefatiah puts them all in their place.

In the light of the connection between Solomon and the construction of the Nea Ekklesia, it is tempting to assume that the two poems celebrating the

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[117] See S. TOUGHER, The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People. Leiden 1997, 122–132.

[118] See Ps. Symeon 692, Georgius Cont. 844 and Leo Gramm. 257. Cf. DAGRON 1984: 268–269 and P. MAGDALINO, *JÖB* 37 (1987) 51–64, at 58.

[119] DAGRON 1984: 265–313 (for the text quoted, see p. 208, cf. pp. 297 and 309). See also J. KODER, Justinians Sieg über Salomon, in: Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα. Athens 1994, 135–142.

[120] R. BONFIL, History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Ahima'az ben Paltiel. Leiden 2009, 260–270, §11–17 (for the quote, see p. 264, §13). See DAGRON 1984: 307–309 and R. BONFIL, *RSBN* 40 (2003) 25–65, at 39–41. The link between Basil as a Solomonic temple-builder, on the one hand, and the conversion of the Jews, on the other, may be reflected in a miniature in the Paris Gregory (Par. gr. 510 [50085], fol. 215$^{v}$), showing the Judgment of Solomon and the Conversion of the Samaritan Woman: see L. BRUBAKER, Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Cambridge 1999, 265–269.

reconciliation of the Photians and the Ignatians were performed during a Sunday service in that very church shortly after its consecration on 1 May 880.[121] But we need more evidence to be certain.

[121] Ciccolella 1998: 323 suggests that this celebration may have coincided with the anniversary of Basil's coronation on 26 May because strophe ζ, vv. 23–24, mentions 'the feast day of the lord' (ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς ... τοῦ δεσπότου), but seeing that strophes α-θ and μ deal with God, ι-λ with the Church, and only ν-ω with the Emperor, this interpretation is not very likely: lines 23–24 probably refer to 'the feast day of the Lord', that is, Sunday.

*Chapter Eleven*

## Ekphrasis and Periegesis

Generations of Byzantine children learnt in school that 'ekphrasis', to quote Aphthonios in the recent translation by Ruth Webb, 'is a descriptive speech bringing the subject vividly before the eyes': ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον.[1] As Webb has rightly stressed,[2] in this definition the emphasis is not on description as such, but on the impact it has on the audience. For an ekphrasis to be effective, it needs to create mental images the audience can relate to — and in order to achieve this, ekphrasis draws on memory and imagination while appealing directly to the emotions. The power to spark these mental images is called ἐνάργεια, a word that has connotations of 'clarity', 'vividness' and 'palpability': the ability to create an image so clear and vivid that the audience can almost see it with their own eyes and imagine themselves present at the scene depicted. Because ekphrasis in itself is a process as visual as the thing it visualizes, it is a double act: it seeks both to represent the narrator's perception of external realities and to enable the audience to conceptualize, and respond to, these perceptions. As perceptions are culture-specific, medieval 'ekphrasis' and modern 'description' overlap only partially. The Byzantines seem to see things differently from us. This is why they have occasionally been accused of being unreliable or even less than sincere in the portrayal of their visual realities. Not understanding that their realities are not necessarily like ours is a bit like being disappointed that, as far as we know, flying saucers, mysterious crop circles and alien abductors have not been spotted in Byzantium.

It is clear from the ancient rhetoricians and their Byzantine commentators that ἐνάργεια is achieved by offering as much detail as possible: the distinction between narration and narration-cum-description lies in the amount of detail. In the hands of an incompetent orator, the urge for a detailed description can result in a rather tedious enumeration of trivial and irrelevant specifics, but a good orator chooses the right amount and the right sort of detail. The ancient rhetoricians, too, specify that when describing a subject one should move from beginning to end

[1] Ed. H. Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata. Leipzig 1926, 36, and M. Patillon, Corpus Rhetoricum, vol. I: Anonyme, Préambule à la rhétorique. Aphthonios, Progymnasmata. Paris 2008, 147. Webb 2009: 201.

[2] The first three paragraphs of this introduction draw heavily on the magisterial study of ekphrasis by Webb 2009.

and from head to toe. Though the act of viewing is by its very nature spatial, the pictorial details of an ekphrasis are nonetheless sequential and hence arranged in time order.

The important thing to understand in this context is that whereas, in modern literature, description is usually seen as a standstill, as something that halts the narrative, ekphrasis is in motion. It is a narrative that moves around. That ekphrasis is *moving* (in both senses of the word), is borne out by the very definition of the progymnasma in Aphthonios and other rhetoricians. Ekphrasis is, so we are told, περιηγηματικός. This is usually, and understandably, rendered as 'descriptive', but that is not what the term actually means. It is a neologism formed by analogy with ἀφηγηματικός/διηγηματικός ('narrative') and has the same root as the verb περιηγοῦμαι ('to show around, to guide') and the noun περιήγησις ('travel account'). As John of Sardis explains in his commentary on Aphthonios, the term is a metaphor: it is 'as if someone took a recent arrival in Athens and guided him around the city, showing him the gymnasia, the Piraeus and each of the rest of the sights'.[3] He paraphrases it as γραφικός ('captured in vivid detail'), περιοδευτικός ('exploring', 'as of a systematic investigation') and διεξοδικός ('comprehensive', 'detailed', 'thorough') — please note the perambulatory connotations of the last two terms in Greek.[4] In an ekphrasis, the orator takes the audience on an imaginary tour and walks them through every detail until they have a full understanding of the spectacle and can picture it in their minds as if it is unfolding right in front of them.[5]

This explains why Byzantine ekphraseis quite often direct the attention of the audience to certain details: it is indeed as if the orator is giving a guided tour and pointing to certain remarkable features. In his versified ekphrasis of the Stoudios basilica,[6] for example, John Geometres frequently uses imperatives as if he is addressing an imaginary onlooker. While entering the church, the viewer is told to stop (στῆθι) if he has impure thoughts; however, if he is pure of mind and heart, he should cross the threshhold and proceed (ἴθι πρόβαινε).[7] He is then instructed to contemplate the whole church and gaze at it intently (μὴ κάμῃς βλέπων). When inside the nave, he is told to look at all the beauties gathered in this church (σκόπει); a few lines later, he is once again told to look, this time at the multicoloured pavement (σκόπει). When the viewer is near the apse, he is instructed to

[3] The translation is by Webb 2009: 205.

[4] Ed. H. Rabe, Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata. Leipzig 1928, 216.

[5] For ekphrasis as both 'discours' and 'parcours', see Dubel 1997 and Webb 1999: 64–68.

[6] It consists of three separate poems: nos 149 (Cr. 306.9), 150 (Cr. 306.16) and 151 (Cr. 306.20). The first poem is a description of the entrance, the second of the whole building and the third of the nave. For art-historical studies of this ekphrasis, see Woodfin 2003–04 and Maguire 2012: 126–128.

[7] For similar admonitions in protreptic verse inscriptions, see vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 246–248.

direct his eyes and gaze at it (τεῖνον σὸν ὄμμα ... βλέπε). And finally, he is instructed to contemplate the apse decoration, a *Majestas Domini*: 'see the spiritual universe depicted' (καὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐν τύπῳ βλέπε). The poet positions himself in this ekphrasis as a knowledgeable guide to the building and its hidden beauties, which he reveals to the readers/listeners step by step.

The literature on Byzantine ekphraseis, in prose and in verse, has grown exponentially over the past few decades and a comprehensive survey of scholarship is clearly impossible.[8] I will focus on two issues that prove especially problematic: what is the subject matter of ekphrasis, and is ekphrasis a genre? To begin with the first question, for the ancient rhetoricians and their Byzantine commentators ekphrasis develops in vivid detail the so-called '*peristaseis*' or 'parts of narration': person, action, time, place and, according to a minority, manner.[9] These correspond to the facts that need to be established in any judicial process: who did what, when, where and how. However, the need for a detailed exposition of such facts is not restricted to whodunnits. In fact, the ancient rhetoricians and their Byzantine counterparts treat ekphrasis as a rhetorical technique that may be helpful for the composition of any text, be it an address to the court, a public speech, or a piece of epideictic literature.

In most of these texts ekphrasis plays a vital role, but sideways, as it were. It is embedded in forensic and deliberative speeches, but also in history-writing, hagiography, encomiastic literature, etc. Let me give three examples of embedded ekphrasis, all of them related to the genre of monody (for which, see chapter 13). The first comes from Kallikles: poem no. 30 praises Theodore of Smyrna for a skilfully composed monody and compares him to the great painters and sculptors of the past because he has drawn such a remarkable portrait of the deceased — the word used in the title is ἐκφράσαντα. The second is a monody by Christopher Mitylenaios, in which he deplores the impossibility of portraying the many virtues of his brother John: ποῖαι πλοκαὶ γοῦν ἐκφράσουσι ῥητόρων, 'which artful words can ever express (the person you are)'.[10] And the third is Constantine Stilbes' monody, which laments the great fire that devastated parts of Constantinople in 1197, and which contains many passages that describe in evocative detail the horrendous impact of the fire: the poet twice uses the verb ἐκφράζω and once the noun ἔκφρασις for the descriptive qualities of his poetry.[11]

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[8] Among the many contributions to the topic I should single out the following titles: Maguire 1974, Maguire 1981, Macrides & Magdalino 1988, James & Webb 1991, Webb 1999, Nilsson 2005, James 2007, Webb 2009, and Vavřínek & Odorico 2011. For ancient ekphraseis, see the special issues of *Ramus* 31 (2002), ed. J. Elsner, and *Classical Philology* 102 (2007), eds. S. Bartsch and J. Elsner.

[9] See Webb 2009: 61–86.

[10] Poem 44, line 19. See De Stefani 2008b: 45–46.

[11] Ed. Diethart & Hörandner 2005: vv. 113, 118 and 388.

Ekphrasis is not always found embedded in larger narratives; it is also used autonomously. In poetry one can distinguish the following five categories of free-standing ekphrasis (not counting ekphrastic encomia)[12]: descriptions of works of art, gardens, the spring season, journeys and events. Descriptions of art are by far the largest and best-studied category. Tenth-century examples include Constantine the Rhodian's *Ekphrasis of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Seven Wonders*,[13] Leo Choirosphaktes' ekphrasis of the bathhouse of Leo VI,[14] and two longer poems by John Geometres.[15] As for the second category, a splendid example is Geometres' ekphrasis of the garden of Basil the Nothos.[16] For descriptions of the spring season and journeys, see below. There are no ninth- and tenth-century descriptions of events, but this category will become hugely popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: for example, ekphrasis of the procession of the notaries in Chr. Mityl. 136; ekphrasis of the triumphal parade of Emperor John Komnenos in Prodromos 6; ekphraseis of a day at the races in Chr. Mityl. 90 and Michael Hagiotheodorites. For each of these five categories of ekphrasis in verse, there are parallels in prose as well.[17]

Hagiotheodorites' ekphrasis of a day at the races is particularly interesting because while it purports to be a letter to a distant friend living in monastic seclusion, it refers to itself as a θέατρον ἐκ λόγων: a 'chariot race in words', but also a 'theatre of words', which suggests that the poet recited the poem at one of those literary gatherings that go by the name of *theatron*.[18] Hagiotheodorites compares his iambs with rapid race horses, his rhetoric with a chariot and his powers of imagination with charioteers that spur the verses on in ekphrastic mode to speed towards 'the finish post of the purest clarity', and asks his friend to listen to the galloping discourse and view the course with the eyes of the mind (ὅρα νοητῶς).[19]

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[12] Ekphrastic encomia are encomia consisting of ekphrastic elements only: e.g. Geometres no. 2 (Cr. 266.20), an encomiastic portrait of Nikephoros Phokas; Chr. Mityl. 81, an encomium of the beauty of the bride; and Eugenios of Palermo's poem no. 10 in praise of the water lilies in his home town. Leo VI's allegorical interpretation of the lily (ed. Mercati 1936: 497–498) is a hybrid: it is partly an ekphrastic encomium and partly a didactic poem; the same goes for Chr. Mityl. 122 and 137, encomiastic descriptions of the spider and the sponge respectively: see de la Fuente 2004: 96–99.

[13] For the text, see Vassis 2012; for studies, see Speck 1991, James 2012: 131–222, and Lauxtermann 2013.

[14] For the text, see Ciccolella 2000a: 91–107; for studies, see Magdalino 1984 and Magdalino 1988.

[15] For the description of a tower (no. 13 = Cr. 278.21), see Maguire 1993–94; for the description of the Stoudios church, see above n. 6.

[16] Poem no. 12 (Cr. 276.3); see Maguire 1990 and Lauxtermann 1998c: 376–378.

[17] See Hunger 1978: I, 170–188.

[18] For the text (vv. 8–11), see Horna 1906: 194–198 and Papadimitriu 1911: 91–95. See also Marciniak & Warcaba 2014: 102–103.

[19] Lines 12–19 and 29. For the velocity and purity of iambs, see Lauxtermann 1998a.

The idea of turning the account of a chariot race into a chariot race itself, a racing spectacle of words, is ingenious and obviously owes a great deal to lessons in rhetoric. The friend of Hagiotheodorites can relive the excitement of a day at the races by reading this account of it and seeing all the events as they unfold: the Greens, the Blues, the Reds and the Whites are competing on paper as vigorously and passionately as they did in real life in 1168. This is ekphrasis at its purest.

But what about the second question frequently raised in scholarly discussions of ekphrasis: is it a distinct genre? As in the case of encomium, my answer would be that it is mostly a discursive mode rather than an autonomous genre; more a matter of ekphrastic elements than of ekphrasis pure and simple. Once one realizes how ubiquitous the progymnasmata are, and to what degree they inform various kinds of literature, it does not take much to understand that the four most prominent ones, ἐγκώμιον, ἔκφρασις, ἠθοποιία and διήγησις, are 'archigenres' in the sense that they transcend the level of genre. These four are in command, marshalling the troops (the genres, the subgenres, the sub-subgenres, the mixed genres, the old, the not-so-old and the new genres, the outliers and mavericks that defy categorization and the timid ones that go by the book, the don't-call-me-genre genres and the ones that are eager to please) and deploying them on the literary battlefield, much to the amusement and amazement of the Byzantines. However, the fact that ekphrasis, like the other three progymnasmata, forms an 'archigenre' (to use Genette's term) or 'discursive mode' (to use mine), does not mean that it cannot serve as a genre on its own. If a text is predominantly ekphrastic (for instance, Paul the Silentiary's celebrated description of the Hagia Sophia and its Ambo), there is nothing wrong with calling it an ekphrasis. And the same goes for ekphrastic passages embedded in longer narratives, such as descriptions of gardens in the Comnenian novels and the Palaeologan romances: these too deserve to be called ekphrasis.

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## *Ekphraseis of Spring*

One of Libanios' model exercises in the art of ekphrasis is a description of Spring: (ἔκφρασις) ἔαρος συγγραφικῷ χαρακτῆρι, 'Spring, in plain style'.[20] The fact that Libanios explicitly specifies that his ekphrasis of Spring is composed 'in plain style', strongly suggests that this was a topic usually treated in a less prosaic

[20] Ed. R. Foerster, Libanii opera, vol. 8. Leipzig 1915, 479–482 (12.7); translation: C. A. Gibson, Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric. Atlanta 2008, 443–445.

manner in Late Antiquity. We know of two, possibly three ekphraseis of Spring in verse dating from this period. The first is a poem in the Greek Anthology, *AP* 9.363, attributed to a certain Meleager (4th or 5th c. AD), the lemma of which reads: εἰς τὸ ἔαρ χειμῶνος λήξαντος· ὑπόθεσις ἀρίστη ἔαρ ὅλον μιμουμένη καὶ κάλλος λειμώνων ζωγραφοῦσα τοῖς ἔπεσιν, 'On Spring when winter has gone: a splendid subject that represents Spring in full detail and depicts the beauty of meadows in hexameter' — please note the emphasis on 'fully' covering the topic, in all its details, and on the 'pictorial' qualities of the poem: *ut pictura poesis*.[21] The second poem is lost: the *Souda* informs us that one Theodosios of Tripoli 'wrote a poem in hexameter on Spring and many other things' (ἔγραψε δι' ἐπῶν εἰς τὸ ἔαρ καὶ ἕτερα διάφορα).[22] The third poem is Pamprepios' evocation of nature's beauty, which has come down to us in such a fragmentary state that the jury is still out on the question whether the poem describes Autumn, or as I am inclined to believe, Spring.[23]

Whereas Libanios' progymnasma celebrates the beauty of nature as such, his close contemporary, the church father Gregory of Nazianzos, adds a theological dimension to the genre. His superbly crafted sermon 'On New Sunday' (the first Sunday after Easter) glorifies the resurrection of Christ, the new Adam who has opened the gates of paradise, and ends with a majestic description of Spring as the season in which nature is regenerated and man is reborn.[24] As it was one of the sixteen homilies selected for liturgical use in Byzantium, it was immensely popular and exerted great influence on later writers, such as John Geometres.[25] The homily was also hugely influential in the domain of Byzantine art. Not only are some of the manuscripts of the sixteen liturgical homilies illustrated,[26] but as Maguire has shown, the New Sunday homily played a prominent role in the perception of nature and the ways it was given artistic form.[27]

Ekphraseis of Spring in later Byzantine texts are mostly variations on either Libanios or Gregory of Nazianzos, or combine both into an exciting new blend, or again, if they are in verse, add some Meleager to the mix just to spice it up a

[21] Ed. H. Stadtmüller, Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea, vols. I–III. Leipzig 1894–1906: III, 329. See Wifstrand 1933: 168–170.

[22] Ed. Adler 1928–38: II, 693 (Θ 143).

[23] Ed. H. Livrea, Pamprepius: Carmina. Leipzig 1979, 16–31 (no. 3). For the discussion, see De Stefani 2008a: 575, n. 10.

[24] Homily 44: *PG* 36, cols. 608–622, especially 617–622 (§10–12). For a translation into English, see B.E. Daley, Gregory of Nazianzus. Abingdon 2006, 160–161.

[25] See Van Opstall 2008: 540–542 and n. 161.

[26] See G. Galavaris, The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Princeton 1969.

[27] See Maguire 1981: 42–52 and Maguire 2012: 64–65.

bit.[28] The magic of topoi is their surprising effectiveness: however hackneyed and oft-repeated, a well-chosen topos always feels like the right thing to say. Birds sing all day, lambs frisk and play, bees go for honey, and flowers flourish — violets, lilies, roses; ploughmen, piping shepherds and merry sailors; swallows too, cuckooing cuckoos, nightingales; rippling rivers, green meadows; the glorious sun in the daytime, starry heavens at night; and, of course, the soft breezes of the Zephyr. One of the most beautiful ekphraseis ever written is the spring song that Arsenios, a ninth-century schoolmaster, composed for his pupils to perform at Easter — a text that makes abundant use of these topoi. I will quote three stanzas and indicate the presence of the same topoi in Libanios (L), Gregory of Nazianzos (GN) and Meleager (M)[29]:

Ζεφύρου πνοαὶ γλυκεῖαι· [M]
ποταμοὶ νάουσιν ἄρτι καθαρὸν πόμα συμμέτρως· [L, GN]
πρόβατα τανῦν σκιρτῶσι κροκάλῃσι χαριέντως·
ἀρνία σκαίρει μητράσι χλοεραῖς ἀρούραις ἄρτι. [L, GN]
*Λογικοὶ νέοι μοι δεῦτε· ἔαρος καιρός· σκιρτᾶτε.*
Ὁ νέμων ἤδη τυρίσδει, ἐαρινὸν ᾆσμα μέλπει·
θαλεροῖς ἐπὶ ῥεέθροις, σκιεραῖς ὑπὸ πλατάνοις,
ἀνάπαυσιν εὐτρεπίζει. [GN, M]
χελιδὼν ἄρτι Τηρῆος [M] καταλαλεῖ τοῦ φθορῆος, [L]
τὸν Ἴτυν ζητεῖ δὲ πάλιν κασιγνήτη ταύτῃ σφόδρα·
Ὁ Πὰν τῆς Ἠχοῦς ἐράει, ὁ Κύκλωψ τῆς Γαλατείας,
Ἀδώνιδος Ἀφροδίτη.
*Λογικοὶ νέοι μοι δεῦτε· ἔαρος καιρός· σκιρτᾶτε.*
Γεράνων ἐσμὸς κλαγγάζει·
λιγέως ᾄδει καὶ κύκνος πτερὸν ἀνεὶς τῷ ζεφύρῳ· [M]
κοκκύζει τανῦν ὁ κόκκυξ ἐν ὄρεσιν ἠλιβάτοις·
λιγυρῶς ᾄδει καὶ κίττα, τὸ μιμηλὸν τοῦτο ζῷον·
κομαροφάγα νῦν πάντα, κοτινοτράγα σὺν τούτοις
καταφωνοῦσι κοιλάδας.[30] [L, GN]

'Sweet are the breezes of the Zephyr. Now is the time the rivers flow evenly with pure water; now, too, the sheep are delightfully frolicking on the banks; and

[28] For the topos of the arrival of Spring in literary texts from Antiquity to Manuel Palaiologos, see Loukaki 2013.

[29] For the parallels with Libanios and Gregory of Nazianzos, see Crimi 2003: 21–22, Kaltsogianni 2010: 66–67, and Crimi 2015a: passim.

[30] Ed. Crimi 2015a: 59–60 (vv. 74–106). I have changed ἐπὶ to ὑπὸ in line 86, cf. Homer *Il.* 2.307 καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, Moschus *Fr.* 1.11 ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ βαθυφύλλῳ, and others. For pairing and tripling in these verses, see the *Appendix Metrica*, §5.6.2.

now, along with their mothers, the lambs are frisking through the green meadows. *Come here, you lads of learning. It is spring time — time to jump!* The shepherd is already playing his pipes and intoning the song of sweet spring: near buoyant rivulets and underneath shady planes, he makes his place of rest. The swallow now bitterly sings of Tereus the rapist, and her sister is once again desperately seeking Itys. Pan is in love with Echo, Cyclops with Galatea, Aphrodite with Adonis. *Come here, you lads of learning. It is spring time — time to jump!* A flock of cranes is calling out; a swan too — it sings on a high note, its wings spread out to the Zephyr. Now is the time the cuckoo is crying cuckoo up in the mountains; the jay too, that mimicking bird, is singing loud and clear. And all arbutus-eaters, all olive-nibblers with them, are now warbling in the valleys'.

This is a bucolic scene, drawn with rapid, loose brushstrokes and deft touches of detail — a rapturous celebration of Spring, a breathless enumeration of all its beauties and pleasures punctuated by the recurring word 'now' (νῦν, τανῦν, ἄρτι, ἤδη).[31] Of course, this is a literary landscape. It is not a natural setting and it is definitely not a description of a real spring day, but an evocation of what Spring is like in the pages of Libanios, Gregory of Nazianzos and Meleager. There are many other voices singing along in the choir of warbling literati: Theocritus above all, Aristophanes (the 'arbutus-eaters' and 'olive-nibblers' are his), Aeschylus (elsewhere in the poem, v. 37), and the late antique bucolic tradition (Pamprepios, Nonnos, Agathias).[32] The presence of Theocritus already manifests itself in the delightful hyperdorism 'τυρίσδει' (instead of συρίσδει), not only found in Byzantine treatises on the Doric dialect, but also in some of the manuscripts of Theocritus.[33] But this is not the only point where the poet betrays an intimate knowledge of ancient bucolic poetry. Theocritus is there in the piping shepherd, the frolicking lambs, the Cyclops in love with Galatea: it has his name all over it.

The poem has come down to us in Vat. gr. 207 [66838], a manuscript generally dateable to c. 1265–1268, but with some fourteenth-century additions, including this text.[34] A piece as Theocritean as this would seem to fit well into the context of the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance: not only do all extant manuscripts of Theocritus date from this period,[35] but the only two bucolic poems in Byzantine Greek are by Palaeologan authors (Planoudes and an anonymous fifteenth-century

[31] For the use of 'now' as a structural element, see CRIMI 2015a: 43 and 66–67.

[32] For the bucolic tradition in Late Antiquity, see AGOSTI 2008.

[33] For the treatises, see R. SCHNEIDER, Excerptum περὶ διαλέκτων e codicibus Baroccianis LXXII et CIII Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis. Beigabe zu dem Jahresbericht des königl. Gymnasiums zu Duisburg. Leipzig 1894, 10, and O. MAZAL, *BZ* 58 (1965) 292–305, at 301–302. For the 'inferior' manuscripts of Theocritus that have forms of τυρίσδω, see H. L. AHRENS, De graecis linguae dialectis, 2 vols. Göttingen 1839–1843, II, 65.

[34] See P. CANART, *Illinois Classical Studies* 7.2 (1982) 271–298.

[35] See C. GALLAVOTTI, Theocritus quique feruntur bucolici graeci. Rome 1946, pp. VIII–X.

inhabitant of Caffa).[36] The main reason for not seeing it as Palaeologan —despite the date of the manuscript and the Theocritean allure— is the metre. It is an unprosodic octosyllable, with obligatory stress on the penultimate syllable, but without any further stress regulation. Absence of stress regulation is typical of the octosyllable before the later ninth century, and the metrical laxity of Arsenios' poem is comparable to what we see in the anacreontics of Michael Synkellos, Ignatios the Deacon and Constantine the Sicilian.[37]

Furthermore, the prominence of Theocritus in Palaeologan times does not mean the Palaeologans rediscovered him; in fact, he had never been away. The bucolic tradition in Byzantium is still largely uncharted territory, but scholarship has shown that Eugenianos in the twelfth century, John Geometres in the tenth and Constantine the Sicilian in the ninth had an intimate knowledge of the works of Theocritus and other bucolic authors, such as Moschus and Longus.[38] And there will doubtless have been others. Arsenios is not alone in his love of Theocritus. In *The Spring of Rhythm* I proposed a ninth-century date for Arsenios' poem on metrical grounds, and I connected it with the classicistic movement of Leo the Philosopher and his pupils. I still stand by this judgment. I cannot think of a better parallel for Arsenios' poem on Spring than Constantine the Sicilian's brilliant *Love Ode*, another poem in octosyllables that is placed in a Theocritean landscape and is brimming with allusions to the classical tradition while also drawing on popular song (for which, see chapter 14).[39]

As for its social context, we know that it was customary for schoolchildren to sing songs celebrating Easter and the coming of spring, the best example for which is the χελιδόνισμα (swallow song) the Greek children attending the *schola cantorum* in Rome used to sing at Easter in the eighth century,[40] and it is very likely that the poem Arsenios wrote for his pupils served a similar purpose. Some scholars argue that the poem is too learned for that: surely, if something looks like an ekphrasis, it should be one.[41] However, this line of thinking ignores the fact that ekphrasis, like any other genre, can serve multiple functions. An ekphrasis of Spring can be both ekphrasis and spring song; it can be both ekphrasis and en-

[36] See HUNGER 1978: II, 148.

[37] See below, *Appendix Metrica*, §4.4.2, for more information. See also CRIMI 2015a: 48–52. MATTER 2002: II, 223–224, sees metrical similarities between Arsenios' poem and the anacreontics of George the Grammarian and John of Gaza.

[38] Eugenianos: see J.B. BURTON, *Classical Philology* 98 (2003) 251–273 and eadem, *GRBS* 52 (2012) 684–713. Geometres: see A.R. LITTLEWOOD, The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres. Amsterdam 1972, 19–20 and 78–80. Constantine the Sicilian: see MCCAIL 1988.

[39] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 88–90. See now also CRIMI 2015a: 64.

[40] See PATALA 1996, and T. S. MILLER, The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire. Washington 2003, 214–218.

[41] See CRIMI 2003: 22–23 and KALTSOGIANNI 2010: 65–66.

comium as in the case of Kallikles 29;[42] and it can be both ekphrasis and prayer as in the case of Geometres discussed below. In his recent edition, Crimi rightly argues that Arsenios' poem combines the structure of a hymn with elements of ekphrasis and reflects contemporary practices at school.[43]

Geometres is the author of an exquisite ekphrasis of Spring in hexameter (poem no. 300), a poem that, like Arsenios', evidently goes back to Libanios, Gregory of Nazianzos and Meleager.[44] While the first 86 verses are dedicated to a detailed description of Eastertide, the last 35 verses are a personal prayer in which Geometres pours out his heart and asks God for help. The turning point is v. 87: ἀλλὰ τί μοι τάδε, Χριστὲ ἄναξ — 'but what is it to me, o Christ my Lord?'; in other words, 'who cares?' The poet repeats his discontentment with ekphraseis of Spring in v. 89: τίς γλυκεροῦ λόγος εἴαρος ἢ λόγος εἰαροφύτων; 'what is this talk of sweet spring, this talk of vernal greens?' Life is burgeoning all around him, but the poet feels dead inside and prays to God to give him a second chance, a new life, a resurrection of sorts, another Easter. Dissatisfaction with nature's beauties is a topos in Greek literature: in *AP* 9.412, Philodemus tells us that he no longer takes pleasure in nature because two of his good friends have died; in *AP* 9.292, Agathias writes to his friend Paul the Silentiary that he cannot enjoy nature without him: ἀλλὰ τί μοι τῶν ἥδος; 'what delight have I therein?' (a quotation from the *Iliad* 18.80, where Achilles says that life without Patroclus is not worth living); and in poem I.2.14, Gregory of Nazianzos writes that he went for a solitary walk in the woods because he was sorely distressed, but did not find comfort in the warbling birds and the chirping cicadas: τῶν μὲν ἄρ᾽ οὐκ ἀλέγιζον, 'but I did not care about these things' (v. 13).[45] The fact that Geometres make use of a topos, does not make his plight less genuine, nor does it soften the edge of his disgruntlement with life in general: for him it is all too real. One should also note that this professed dissatisfaction, though symptomatic of a wider ambivalence to nature as transient and evanescent,[46] paradoxically forms part of an ekphrasis of Spring that celebrates the very beauty of nature.

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[42] Kallikles' poem no. 29, εἰς τὰ ῥόδα (On the Roses), contains a lengthy description of springtime (vv. 54–99) as part of an encomium of an unidentified prelate, who formed the centre of a group of young intellectuals: he is their spiritual ἔαρ and he inspires them to celebrate Spring in all its beauty (vv. 20–23, 37–53, 100–117).

[43] Crimi 2015a: 39–46.

[44] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 514–537. For the parallels with earlier sources, see Kambylis 1994–95: 33–40, Van Opstall 2008: 538–550, De Stefani 2008a and Crimi 2015b. For catanyctic motifs in this poem, see Cresci 2013.

[45] For the parallels with Agathias and Gregory of Nazianzos, see De Stefani 2008a: 576–577 and 592.

[46] See Maguire 2012: 51–74.

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## *Travel Accounts or Periegeseis*

As indicated in the introduction, ancient and Byzantine rhetoricians emphasize the 'periegematic' quality of ekphrasis: the cicerone-like manner in which ekphrasis takes the audience by the hand and shows them sights. This 'periegematic' effect is obviously doubled when the object of ekphrasis is not a work of art or a garden or the season of spring, but an actual journey. In the case of a travelogue it is not just the ekphrasis that takes the audience on a journey; it is the travelogue itself — the description of places and sights, the people met along the way, the happenstances of travel. Although Byzantine travelogues and itineraries are generally viewed as mere geographical accounts,[47] most of them contain a fair amount of description (which is for example why John Doukas' famous account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land is called an ἔκφρασις in the manuscript tradition).[48] And some of them, especially those in verse, are imbued with rhetoric to such a degree that, while the informational value is minimal, the emotional impact is significant. The best example is probably Manasses' brilliant *Hodoiporikon*, a travelogue notorious for its lack of interest in outside realities and its emphasis on the personal and the poetic.[49] However, Manasses was certainly not alone in prioritizing emotional landscapes over real-life vistas; feeling and thought over experience; flights of imagination over plain reporting. There are many other ekphrastic accounts like his, though it is fair to admit that he has taken the genre to an extreme. It is also fair to admit that Manasses refers to his travelogue, not as an ἔκφρασις, but as a διήγησις, a narrative account of his adventures and vicissitudes.

There is no proper name for travel accounts that transcend the level of plain travel guides, mingle observation with emotion, and strive after literary effect. Since rhetoricians single out the 'periegematic' quality of ekphrasis, it makes sense to call such travel accounts 'periegeseis'. Periegesis is the ultimate form of ekphrasis: it is an account that travels and talks about travel; an account that takes its readers on a journey both on paper and in reality.

In the period covered by this study, I know of three poetic periegeseis. The first is by Anon. Sola (late 10th to early 11th c.). It is a description of a pleasant boat trip which the poet and fellow intellectuals made across the Bosphorus one

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[47] See HUNGER 1978: I, 514–519.

[48] For this twelfth-century text, which incorrectly bears the name of John Phokas, see C. MESSIS, *BSl* 69.3 (2011) 146–166; for its ekphrastic elements, see ibidem, 149–160. The Palaeologan travelogue in verse of Perdikas of Ephesos, too, is called an ἔκφρασις in its title: see T. BASEU-BARABAS, *Symmeikta* 11 (1997) 151–185.

[49] Ed. CHRYSOGELOS 2017. See LAUXTERMANN 2004: 331–332.

late summer afternoon.[50] The excursion was more than a friendly gathering: it was a celebration of literature, a *theatron* of sorts in which all participated by reciting poetry and prose. The oarsmen had already struck up shanties, the dolphins had welcomed them as 'friends of the Muses', and they had been enjoying the luxuriant olive-yards and orchards, the purple sea, the soft breezes bellying out the sails, the gently murmuring waves, etcetera (for 'etcetera' read: the usual topoi associated with beautiful seascapes in Byzantine ekphraseis), when they began their literary extravaganza delivering 'the sweet flowers of rhetoric', 'the harmonious melodies of epic', 'the rhythms of iambic poetry', and 'the prosodies of tragedians, orators and writers'. The text tells us in lines 40–41 that the poets were enjoying themselves 'immeasurably' (χαρὰς χαίροντες οὐ μετρουμένας) while downing 'countless' cups of wine (κρατῆρας ἐκπίνοντες οὐ μετρουμένους). This is a word-pun referring to the poetic metier and the need of 'measuring' the verses.[51] Interestingly enough, this self-deprecating reference to the poetic metier is found in a poem that is itself prosodically correct and perfectly 'measured', thus creating a mirror effect. And similarly, the boat trip of the poets has become a poem itself: their day out has been immortalized in verse. Their return to Constantinople, after hours of reciting and drinking (the sun had already set), not only concludes the excursion, but also the poetic periegesis. The poem reaches harbour in the very last line.

The second periegesis is by Geometres: poem no. 232 (=Cr. 322.12), entitled εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, 'On the journey'.[52] It tells how the poet went to Selymbria because he could not stand the bloodshed and political turmoil in Constantinople (i.e. the civil war of 986–989), and discovered that things were no better in the West than they had been in the East: plundering soldiers, dishonoured nuns, fleeing villagers, and worst of all, widespread poverty and famine due to a failed harvest that had been caused by a horrendous summer drought. After a month, thoroughly distressed by what he had seen, the poet was about to return to Constantinople when he learnt about disasters that had befallen it while he was away: a devastating fire and a terrible earthquake turning his city into a wasteland

[50] Ed. SOLA 1916: 20–21. See vol. I, chapter 2, p. 55, and MAGDALINO 2012: 25–26. Geometres' encomium of a musician (no. 11 = Cr. 275.5) contains a strikingly similar description of a seascape, as noted by SOLA 1916: 23; Geometres' poem probably does not describe a late antique mosaic of an aquatic musician, as suggested by MAGUIRE 1994, but celebrates the performance of a gifted musician on a literary boat trip.

[51] See MAGDALINO 2012: 30–31.

[52] Ed. TOMADAKI 2014: 199–204 and 410–413. Manasses' *Hodoiporikon* has a similar title: εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ, 'On his journey to Jerusalem'. Please note that the term ἀποδημία literally means 'being away from home', 'not being among one's own people' — the worst fate imaginable for any Byzantine is to leave home and hearth: see C. GALATARIOTOU, *DOP* 47 (1993) 221–241.

and destroying people and properties.[53] Asking himself who is worse off, the starving peasants or the poor city-dwellers, the poet decides that, all things considered, the countryside is preferable to Constantinople, the home of horrors. In this elaborate σύγκρισις (comparison) of East and West, city and countryside, home and abroad, Geometres travels in a metaphorical wasteland. Oscillating between two poles of desire, his desire to go home and his desire to stay away, he describes a landscape of terror: evil is all around, death sits at the door, and there is no hiding place. It is his emotional response to seeing all this that sets the poem in motion and makes it explore in words a dark and bleak world where the only choice is between two evils — and as neither option is desirable, the periegesis ends on a note of utmost despair.[54]

The third periegesis, by Sophronios of Jerusalem, is a remarkable text on every count.[55] It is cast in the form of an itinerary to the Holy Land and its sites. As in most itineraries,[56] the pilgrimage begins at the Anastasis, Golgotha and the Martyrium; then proceeds to the basilica of Mount Zion (the site of the Pentecost, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Dormition and the Resurrection Appearances); to the Praetorium of Pilate (the site of the Flogging of Christ and the Denial of St Peter); to St Mary at the Probatica (the pool of Bethesda where the paralytic was healed and where, as legend has it, St Joachim and St Anne had their house); to the Tomb of the Holy Virgin in Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives (the site of the Ascension) and the Eleona basilica; and then heads out of Jerusalem to the Tomb of Lazarus in Bethany and the Church of the Nativity in Bethle-

[53] All the things Geometres describes (summer drought, famine, earthquake, appearance of a comet) fit so perfectly with what Leo the Deacon (ed. Bonn, 175–176) has to say that it would seem that he undertook his journey in September and October 989. The problem is that he tells us in the first line of the poem that he began his journey ἐν μηνὶ Δύστρῳ, 'in the month of March'. Is Geometres describing the effects of the summer drought of 989 in March 990? But in that case the comet he saw cannot have been Hayley's Comet (visible in August 989) and the earthquake cannot have been the famous one of 25 October 989.

[54] The despair is already there in line 9 where Geometres calls the thieving bandits Ἀμαλὴκ πλῆθος ἠγριωμένον, with which he probably means the Georgian mercenaries of Bardas Phokas; however, it is worth noting that 'Amalek' metaphorically stands for 'dejection', at least according to the scribe of Crypt. Z α XXVI [17973] (s. XIV), fol. 55v: Ἀμαλὴκ ἑρμηνεύεται ἀκηδία (ed. U. Treu, *BZ* 58 (1965) 306–312, at 307 and 310).

[55] There are multiple editions, the most important of which are Gigante 1957: 118–127 and Matter 2002: I, 274–285; for a detailed commentary on poems 20 and 19.1–56, see Donner 1981. There are translations in Italian (Gigante 1957: 177–180), French (Matter 2002: I, 445–450, and Vailhé 1902–3: I, 366–367 [only 19.70–108]), English (Wilkinson 1977: 91–92 [only 20 and 19.1–56]; also widely available online) and German (Donner 1981: 23–26 and 31–32 [only 20 and 19.1–56]).

[56] For the genre, see P. Maraval, Lieux saints et pèlerinages d' Orient. Paris 1985, with cursory references to Sophronios' periegesis, and A. Külzer, Peregrinatio graeca in terram sanctam. Frankfurt-am-Main 1994, who fails to mention Sophronios altogether.

hem, including visits to the Grotto of the Nativity, the Grotto of the Manger and the Grotto of the Holy Innocents.[57] The pilgrimage then continues to the monastery of St Theodosios, near Bethlehem — a monastic community of which Sophronios himself, though often absent, had been a member for most of his life (born c. 550; monk after c. 580; patriarch of Jerusalem 634; death c. 638). It is here that Sophronios hopes to meet up with two fellow monks, Basil and Sophronios, both of them relatives of his: Basil is his senior and is treated as if he is the abbot of the St Theodosios monastery; Sophronios is his junior, but is nonetheless portrayed as his spiritual father.[58]

Since Sophronios mentions the Holy Cross (20.35–46) and the Reed, the Sponge and the Lance (20.47–50) in the Martyrium basilica, his itinerary must date either from before 614, the year in which the conquering Persians took away these relics, or after 630 when the relics returned to Jerusalem. In the latter case, however, one would expect to find references to the dramatic loss and recovery of the relics, recent events that were of prime importance to Eastern Christianity — but the text has nothing of the sort. An additional problem is the fact that Sophronios was c. 80 years old in 630 which means that his older relative Basil would have been a centenarian at the time, which is definitely possible but not very likely.[59] If the text dates from before 614, as seems likely, it makes sense to connect it to Sophronios' protracted sojourn in Egypt between c. 604 and 614 — not only because many of his anacreontics seem to date from this period in his life, but also because he alludes to political instability that forced him to abandon his monastery (see 19.85–88), which I take to be a reference to the crisis in Byzantine-Sasanian relations after 602: as we know, the reason why Moschos and

[57] Anastasis, Golgotha and Martyrium: 20.1–54, Mount Zion: 20.55–72, Praetorium of Pilatus: 20.73–80, Probatica: 20.81–94, Gethsemane: 20.95–100, Mount of Olives: 20.101–102 and 19.1–18, Bethany: 19.19–22, and Bethlehem: 19.23–56.

[58] The homonymy of the two Sophronioi has led to confusion. GIGANTE 1957: 14–15 and MATTER 2002: I, 547–549 assume that lines 19.57–100 constitute a dialogue between Sophronios of Jerusalem (19.57–68) and Basil (19.69–100). There are many reasons why this cannot be the case, but the most important one is strophe 19.69–72: 'Oh gladness of my heart, oh beauty of my children, oh statue of wisdom, where shall I find prudent Sophronios?' If these are the words of Basil and they refer to Sophronios, then the author would be praising himself shamelessly. The question, too, would be meaningless: if Basil is responding to what Sophronios has just said, he cannot pretend not to know where Sophronios is: namely, right in front of him. See VAILHÉ 1902–3: I, 366–369 (followed by CH. VON SCHÖNBORN, Sophrone de Jérusalem: Vie monastique et confession dogmatique. Paris 1972, 56–57) for a more plausible interpretation of 19.57–104.

[59] DONNER 1981, on the contrary, argues that the text dates from c. 631–633. I find his arguments a bit far-fetched and evidence-thin, but leave it to specialists in the archaeology of the Holy Land to interpret the data.

Sophronios left the Holy Land in 603 is that it had become too unsafe for them to stay.[60]

Before discussing this fascinating text in more depth, διεξοδικῶς and ἐναργῶς as befits an ekphrasis, let me address two issues that have needlessly bothered previous scholarship. The first is also the simpler one. In the only manuscript to preserve the text, Vat. Barb. gr. 310, Sophronios' periegesis consists of two anacreontics which are clearly in reverse order: poems 20 and 19. That poem 19 is not an independent anacreontic, but the sequel to poem 20, is clear from its contents: poem 19 begins where poem 20 breaks off. This is its first stanza: Ἀπὸ δὲ κλυτοῦ διαύλου / ἀναβὰς ἐκεῖνα βάθρα // ἐλαῶν ὄρος φιλήσω / ὅθεν ἐς πόλους ἀνῆλθεν, 'And from the famous valley I will mount those steps and kiss the Mount of Olives from which [He] ascended to heaven'. Texts do not normally begin with 'and' (δὲ) and cannot have an implicit subject without prior reference: ἀνῆλθεν — who exactly 'ascended to heaven'? The answer is given at the very end of poem 20 where we read: 'Oh, you are utterly delightful, lofty mountain, from which *Christ our Lord* went to heaven'. The second issue that has troubled previous scholarship deals with the connection between the pilgrimage to the holy sites as described in poems 20 and 19.1–56 and Sophronios' visit to his fellow monks Basil and Sophronios in 19.57–108. This is a difficult question, for sure, but whatever solution one may come up with, it is wrong to separate 19.1–56 from 19.57–108 and to suggest, as has been done in the past, that some silly Byzantine scribe stitched together the beginning and the end of two different anacreontics, with an utter disregard of their meaning, simply for the hell of it.[61]

Having established that the right order is first 20 and then 19 and that 19.57–108 forms an integral part of Sophronios' itinerary, let us now look at the first five οἶκοι (stanzas or strophes) and the κουκούλιον (intercalary distich):

Ἅγιον πόλισμα θεῖον, Ἱερουσαλήμ, τεὰς νῦν
ἐθέλω πύλας παρεῖναι ἵν' ἀγαλλιῶν ἐσέλθω.

Εὐαγέων Σολύμων ἔνθεος οἶστρος
αἰὲν ἐμὴν κραδίην σφόδρα δαμάζει.

Βαδιῶν ἐπὶ πλακῶν σου ἐς Ἀνάστασιν κατέλθω,
ὅθι Παντάναξ ἀνέστη θανάτου κράτος πατήσας.

Γλυκερὸν πέδον φιλήσω, ἱερὸν κύβον κατίδω
μέγαν οὐρανόστεγόν τε τετρα <...>.

Διὰ βήματος δὲ θείου μέσον ἐς τάφον θεοῖο

[60] As already argued by VAILHÉ 1902–3: III, 382. See also MATTER 2002: I, 28–29.

[61] For these two issues and previous scholarship, see NISSEN 1940a: 30–32 and GIGANTE 1957: 13–16.

γεγονὼς πέτρην ἐκείνην μάλα προσκυνῶν φιλήσω.
†Ἐπαναξίου† δὲ τύμβου κίονας κύκλῳ τε κόγχας
ἀκροκρινοχρυσομόρφους φιλέων ἄγαν χορεύσω.

'Holy city of God, Jerusalem, I long to be at your gates now and to enter full of joy. *Divine longing for holy Salem always holds my heart and soul.* I shall walk your pavements and go down to the Anastasis, where the Lord of All arose, trampling down the power of death. I shall kiss its sweet floor and gaze on the holy cube, mighty and sky-covered, on four [...]. Through the sacred altar space I shall enter the sepulchre of God and reverently venerate and kiss that famous stone. [Returning?] from the grave I shall dance around while kissing the columns and conches with their golden lily-shaped capitals'.[62]

As we see, Sophronios' periegesis describes not a real but an imaginary trajectory, a voyage of the mind, a longed-for homecoming. And the journey begins with the simple verb ἐθέλω, both in its volitive and futurative meanings, 'wish' and 'will'. The poet expresses his desire to be in Jerusalem and already the next moment he is there, walking its pavements and venerating its holy sites. The poet will continue to describe his itinerary in the future tense until he reaches his own monastery, at which point he changes to the optative mood + αἴθε to indicate that his wish to see Basil and Sophronios may not be fulfilled.[63] The text is propelled forward by this insistent use of the future tense: 'and then I shall ...', 'and then I shall ...'. There are three kinds of verbs that carry the action and punctuate the stages of Sophronios' pilgrimage: these are verbs expressing movement, sight and veneration. In his imaginary journey, he goes from holy site to holy site, looks at them in wonder and amazement, and then shows his veneration usually by kissing, sometimes by kneeling and, again, kissing and sometimes by dancing. Kissing and kneeling are, of course, customary forms of worship in the orthodox world and dancing may denote a wide range of devotional practices, such as swaying,

[62] Poem 20. 1–22, ed. GIGANTE 1957: 123–124 and MATTER 2002: I, 279–280; for a detailed commentary on this passage, see DONNER 1981: 35–41. In line 19, both Gigante and Matter read ἐπ' ἀναξίου δὲ τύμβου; but this cannot be correct: to call the Πανάγιος Τάφος 'unworthy' amounts to blasphemy, and the syntax becomes very laboured with ἐπὶ: ἐπ' ἀναξίου δὲ τάφου κίονας κύκλῳ τε κόγχας ἀκροκρινοχρυσομόρφους φιλέων ἄγαν χορεύσω = ἄγαν φιλέων δὲ χορεύσω κύκλῳ ἐπὶ ἀκροκρινοχρυσομόρφους κίονάς τε κόγχας ἀναξίου τάφου. DONNER 1981: 23 translates ἀναξίου as 'königlichen' (sic) and leaves ἐπὶ untranslated. I have no good solution for this textual problem: ἐπὰν ἐξίω δὲ τύμβου ('and when I leave the Sepulchre') comes close to the ms. reading, but would introduce a prosodic error; ἐπαναδραμὼν/ἐπανατρέχων/ἐπαναστραφεὶς/ἐπαναστρέφων δὲ τύμβου makes sense, but is a rather radical emendation.

[63] Sophronios uses the monolectic future tense, the aorist subjunctive, the present tense, and even the present and aorist optative to express futurity in poems 20 and 19.1–56: see MATTER 2002: I, 27, n. 2. It is only in 19.57–108 that the optative mood expresses a true wish (and not the realization of a wish in the future).

lifting up the arms, going in circles around a sanctuary, or simply dancing ('And David danced before the Lord'). However, there is also a wonderful intertextual echo of the anacreontic tradition in all this eagerness to kiss and dance: *Anacreontica* 13.1 θέλω, θέλω φιλῆσαι and 38. 1 μεθύων θέλω χορεύειν; George the Grammarian 9.38 ἀφόβως θέλω χορεύειν; and Leo Choirosphaktes 2.25 ἐθέλω θέλω χορεύειν. It is divine madness: *Anacr*. 9.3, 9.9, 9. 19 and 12.12 θέλω θέλω μανῆναι; George the Grammarian 3.43 ἐθέλω θέλω δαμῆναι; and Sophronios of Jerusalem ἐθέλω πύλας παρεῖναι.

Since Sophronios' periegesis primarily centres on the ritual acts (moving around, seeing, worshipping) which he, like any other pilgrim to Jerusalem, would perform if he were there, it does not offer much in terms of description — one of the reasons why this text is rarely mentioned in studies dealing with the Holy Places (apart from the romantic misconception that poetry is by definition a flight of the imagination and, therefore, utterly useless to serious historians). In this respect it is different from most ekphraseis, which, even if it is not their aim, at least do provide some factual information. The 'holy cube' mentioned in the third strophe is probably the ciborium above the holy sepulchre, which, though rectangular at its base, had a conic shape at its top — so not really a cube, then. The fifth strophe tells us that the columns in the Anastasis rotunda had lily-shaped capitals, which may be true, but may also just be a literary allusion to the columns in the temple of Solomon (1 Kings 7:22 = Septuagint, 1 Kings 7:8).

The main focus of this text is Sophronios himself. We see him visiting the holy sites in Jerusalem and its vicinity, gazing intently at their marvels and showing his profound devotion at each of the cult centres he visits. And all the while we know that he is somewhere else, probably in Alexandria, visually reliving his memories of earlier visits to the holy sites. In a way his imaginary pilgrimage is also the ritual reenactment of past experiences: though put in the future tense, it is a journey down memory lane.

It is worth noting that the closer Sophronios gets to home (the monastery of St Theodosios), the more anxiety-ridden his reenactment of the past becomes. As noted above, the whole pilgrimage up to the encounter with Basil is set in the future tense, denoting a firm certitude that such-and-such *will* definitely happen, but there are two exceptions in Sophronios' detailed account of his visit to Bethlehem's holy places. The first is in the koukoulion 19.31–32; '*May* Christ, who was revealed there, grant me always to see the beauties of sacred Bethlehem' (νεύσαι). And the second one is in the following stanza (19.33–36): 'And upon seeing the gold-sparkling columns and the finely crafted mosaics, *may* I forget the gloom of sorrows' (λαθοίμην). Where does this 'gloom of sorrows' come from all of a sudden? Up to this point the pilgrimage has been one joyful celebration of the Chris-tian faith, with a lot of kneeling, kissing and dancing, happily travelling from one site to another. True enough, when describing Mount Zion, Sophronios

temporarily casts himself in the role of Jeremiah and laments his Babylonian exile: 'Hail, Zion, shining light of the world; for you I long and sigh (στενάχω) day and night' (20.67–68). But otherwise the periegesis exudes an overall feeling of joyful expectation. Things change in Bethlehem. It is not just the 'gloom of sorrows'; it is also the fact that he 'touches with eyes, mouth and forehead' the place where Christ was born 'in order to gain its gift' (19.45–48); tells us that the Holy Manger 'nourished him with the Word of God though he was a dumb animal' (19.51–52); and ends his pilgrimage in the gruesome cave where the Holy Innocents were slain by Herod (19. 53–56). There is much more personal involvement in Bethlehem than anywhere else along the route of Sophronios' dream journey. He is getting home.

Home is really a family affair. Although we understand that Sophronios dreams of returning to his own monastery, all we will ever know about it is that it held two monks, a certain Basil (perhaps its abbot) and a certain Sophronios, both of whom were related to Sophronios the author. It is especially with his namesake that the tone of Sophronios' poem gets very emotional: 'May I see the venerable face of Sophronios; for him I long and sigh every day' (19.73–74) — a clear echo of the koukoulion that dealt with his longing for Holy Zion (20.67–68). Sophronios describes their relationship in family terms: the other Sophronios was younger, and therefore his 'child', but as he had entered the monastery before him, he was also his spiritual 'father' (19.69–70 and 79–84). It is this twisted umbilical cord that unites the two Sophronioi, but also leads to (dare I say it) oedipal conflicts: for instance, when Sophonios (the author) asks the other Sophronios: 'Why have you forsaken me, my child — me whom you had chosen as your child to take care of you in the monastery?' (19.83–84). This feeling of paternal/filial abandonment is at the heart of all the crying (19.73–78 and 101–104) and mutual recriminations of betrayal (19.79–100) — it hurts to be family.[64]

Sophronios' periegesis is the only one of his poems to end with a stanza that stands outside the alphabetic structure typical of anacreontics; this supernumerary stanza functions as a postscript to the poem:

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| Τό γε μὴν ἄεισμα τοῦτο | ἀνέθηκά σοι ποθοῦντι |
| καθ' ὅλην φίλην Συρίην | ἐμέθεν πόνους ἀείδειν. |

'I dedicated this song to you because you desire to sing of my labours/to sing my poems throughout the whole of our beloved Syria'.[65] As we can see, the desire of the two Sophronioi is mutual: just as the poet sings of his desire to visit the

[64] The motif of betrayal and tears is already found in stanza 20.77–80 which deals with the Denial of St Peter: τόπον οὗ κλάων στενάζων / σοφίης φίλων ὁ πρῶτος // ἐὸν ἔκλυσεν τὸ πῆμα, / χαμάδις πεσὼν φιλήσω.

[65] Poem 19.105–108. GIGANTE 1957 needlessly 'emends' πόνους to πόθους; he is rightly not followed by MATTER 2002.

Holy Places and return to his monastery, so too does the other Sophronios wish to read his poetry and share it with others, back home in Syria (Sophronios is from Damascus). Interestingly enough, while Sophronios' periegesis itself ends in the monastery of St Theodosios (al-Ubeidiya in Arabic), his poetry travels even further, going all the way back to the place where he was born. And this final homecoming is made possible by the family ties that connect him with his fellow monks Basil and Sophronios. The word πόνους is deliberately ambiguous. It stands for Sophronios' toils and labours in faraway Egypt, his anxieties and his longing for the Holy Places; but it also refers to his literary work, including the very poem we are holding in our hands.

The theme that connects the itinerary to the Holy Places (20 and 19.1–56) and the visit to the monastery of St Theodosios (19.57–108) is that of *nostos*, homecoming. This nostos is both a spiritual and physical homecoming: it is a return both to the heavenly Jerusalem and the earthly al-Ubeidiya, two realms sharply divided and distances away. 'And never the twain shall meet' (quoth Kipling) — but sometimes they do: in our dreams, our longings, our phantasies. This is why Sophronios' poem is entitled: εἰς τὸν πόθον ὃν εἶχεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σεβασμίους τόπους, 'On the desire he had to see the holy city and its venerable places'.[66] The pivotal word that sets the poem in motion and transforms it into a periegesis is the emotion of πόθος: the desire of making a pilgrimage home to Jerusalem and his monastery. Though the concept of nostos has Homer written all over it, there is little Homer in Sophronios' poem of homecoming. It is worth noting, however, that the language and metre are thoroughly artificial and offer many Ionian dialectical forms, pseudo-Homeric endings and prosodic peculiarities that remind us of Homer but without the genius and epic forcefulness.

Sophronios' poem is a periegesis of the mind. Although it describes real places and real people, it is an imaginary travel account. It is because he misses Jerusalem and longs to be there that he puts pen to paper and travels home, a Ulysses in a landscape of pious desires and pious regrets. There is no 'us' in this poem, it is all about Sophronios and his desire to return home: the whole journey is in the first person singular.[67] Likewise, the periegeseis of John Geometres and Anon. Sola are literary ego-documents, with little factual value in terms of geographic precision and detail. One of the victims of the civil war (he was dismissed from active service), Geometres travels through Thrace as if through the waste-

[66] This is the title of anacreontic no. 20. The title of no. 19, 'On the Ascension and on himself', looks like a later interpolation: firstly, this part of Sophronios' periegesis includes many more holy places than just the site of the Ascension and, secondly, his imaginary visit to St Theodosios' is not only about himself, but also about his relatives who he dearly misses. See MATTER 2002: I, 545.

[67] The only exception is 20.36–38: 'where *we* who are the people of God, venerate the precious Holy Wood'.

land of his own life. Though Anon. Sola's poem is definitely more sociable because it describes an outing on the Bosphorus with friends, it too presents a literary journey through a literary landscape. Sophronios, Geometres and Anon. Sola do not describe what they actually see, but what they wish to see (Sophronios), fear to see (Geometres) or pretend to see, in writing (Anon. Sola).

*Chapter Twelve*

# Ethopoetic Monologues and Dialogues

John of Damascus is the author of a play, 'Susanna', lost to us, but still available in the twelfth century to Eustathios of Thessalonica, who writes: 'And a truly Euripidean style informed the plot of this play, because it showed Susanna tracing her own lineage (ἐγενεαλόγει) and lamenting (ἀπεκλαίετο) the prospect of encountering such evil in her own garden and being raped. That is why she likened her garden to that of Eden, where the mother of mankind had been deceived by the devil, and softly said: "The serpent, the origin of evil, once again hastened to deceive me like Eve"'.[1] We will never know whether Eustathios' comments represent a fair assessment of the poetic merits of John of Damascus' play, but they are highly interesting in as much as they show what a well-read intelligent Byzantine considered to be the quintessence of Euripidean drama. His oblique remark about 'genealogy' clearly refers to the prologues of various plays by Euripides, notably the *Hecuba*, which tend to include quite a bit of genealogical information. And the reference to 'lamentation' obviously relates to the many tearful and tragic soliloquies in Euripides' plays. It is worth noting that what Eustathios singles out as 'truly Euripidean', are not the parts in which the characters interact and converse with each other, but those where a single person speaks, be it in the prologue or in a tragic soliloquy.

Prioritizing monologue over dialogue may seem bizarre to us, but is perfectly understandable in a world without theatre — or to be more precise, without text-based theatre.[2] There is ample evidence for street theatre, court entertainment, mimes, dancers and buffoons in the Middle Byzantine period,[3] but not for anything fancier: there are no highbrow performances, no stage dramas, no playhouses. Ancient tragedy and comedy survived as classroom texts. As Agapitos has demonstrated, the Byzantines viewed tragedy as 'rhetoricized melodrama', with an emphasis on *pathos* rather than action, and a preference for damsels in distress and hapless heroes.[4] While monologues tend to halt the action, dialogues are a means of propelling the action — and while both reveal the inner thoughts

[1] Ed. Cesaretti & Ronchey 2014: 11 (Προοίμιον 86–93), cf. 132*–133* and 141*–142*. See vol. I, chapter 4, p. 134.

[2] See Puchner 1990, Puchner 2002, Marciniak 2004, and Odorico 2006.

[3] See Garland 2006, and see below, chapter 15, pp. 128–129 and 130–133.

[4] See Agapitos 1998: 137–143.

of the characters, the former do so in a less dynamic and more condensed manner. A similar development towards more static and stylized models of representation can be observed in Byzantine art, where we see that sculpture in the round disappeared in the very period that two-dimensional forms of art began to acquire ever greater religious significance.

As in the two previous chapters, the progymnasmata play a crucial role in all this. Although the reinterpretation of ancient theatre obviously reflects fundamental changes in the Byzantine perception of art and style, to understand the conceptual framework in which this reinterpretation took place we need to look at the *ethopoiia* (ἠθοποιία).[5] This is a rhetorical exercise in impersonation, which teaches the student to imagine what a certain character may say (now) or might have said (in the past) under given circumstances: τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ δεῖνα. Its purpose is twofold: to portray the mood or state of mind of persons when they face a certain situation, and to show their true character. According to the rhetoricians, the ethopoiia is ideally arranged in three time-frames: present, past and future. That is to say, the character who speaks comments on the present crisis (usually by lamenting it), recalls his or her former happiness, and reflects on what might have been. In actual practice the third time-frame, the future, is only rarely touched upon: the orators usually contrast now with then, so as to highlight the emotional response to a sudden reversal of fortune. In the Roman period and Late Antiquity these lessons in ethopoiia led to a boom in ethopoetic compositions, ranging from self-contained ethopoiiai to ethopoetic monodies, harangues in encomia and historical epics, and monologues in the Greek novels and the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos.[6] As Wifstrand points out, in Nonnos' epic Homeric dialogue is replaced by interminable monologues: characters do not so much exchange views as reveal their inner being.[7]

Ethopoiia is not only ubiquitous, it is also central to fiction in general. Just as a modern novel would be unthinkable without description (ekphrasis), so too would it be without speech, be it monologue or dialogue. Characters are characterized by what they say (or do not say). In the following sections, I shall discuss

[5] Rhetoricians distinguish between ἠθοποιία (impersonation of a living person), εἰδωλοποιία (impersonation of a dead person) and προσωσοποιία (personification): this distinction need not concern us here.

[6] See Viljamaa 1968: 17–18 and 116–119; Agosti 2005; Miguélez Cavero 2008: 316–340. For the ethopoiiai at *AP* 9.449–480, see Lauxtermann 2005. For two more ethopoiiai from the Greek Anthology, see Cameron 1993: 222–223, the first of which, a monologue of a lover in search of his beloved and tossed around on sea (*Cougny* III. 174), is particularly interesting because it is strongly reminiscent of the Greek novel: the poem is probably late antique rather than Byzantine (read ἀπολέσας in v. 2) and, interestingly, its last line is parodied at the end of the schedographic exercises of Longibardos (early 11th c.): see N. Festa, *Byz* 6 (1931) 101–222, at 163.

[7] Wifstrand 1933: 140–150.

ethopoetic monologues and dialogues, but I must stress that, by singling out 'pure' forms of ethopoiia, I do not intend to convey the impression that it constitutes a clearly delineated genre. In fact, it is a discursive mode that informs almost all Byzantine genres.

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## *Monologues*

The use of fully-fledged self-contained monologues in Byzantine poetry is far more general than is usually assumed. In fact, every poem in which a character speaks in the first person falls into this category: for instance, epigrams on works of art in which the person depicted addresses the viewer directly or epitaphs in which the deceased talks from beyond the grave.[8] The following text by Geometres is unique not because it is an ethopoiia, but because its title specifically identifies it as one:

*τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις βασιλεὺς κῦρ Νικηφόρος, ἀποτεμνομένων τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ;*

Ναί, κεφαλὴν ἀπέκερσεν ἐμὴν ξίφος, ἥρπασε δ᾽ ἀρχὴν
ἀνδροφόνῳ παλάμῃ κοίρανος ἐκ σκοτίης.
εἰς τί καὶ εἰκόσιν ὁ φθόνος, ἆ πάθος, αἶσιν ἀνάσσειν
κἂν Φάλαρίς τις ἐᾷ, κἂν Ἐχέτου μανίαι;
ἀλλά γ᾽ ἐμὰς στήλας τίς ἀϊστώσειε μεγαίρων·
εὐγενέτιν Κρήτην, Κύπρον ἀριπρεπέα,
Ταρσὸν ἀμαιμακέτην, Κιλίκων πτολίεθρα κλιθέντα
τείχεα τ᾽ Ἀντιόχου ἄστεά τ᾽ Ἀσσυρίων,
Πέρσας, Φοίνικας, Ἄραβας, ἔθνεα μυρία γαίης;
πάνθ᾽ ὑπόειξεν ἐμῷ δουρὶ κραδαινομένῳ.
τίς τάδε σιφλώσειεν; ἀνάσσετε, χαίρετε τοίχοις.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χώραις καὶ κραδίαις γράφομαι.

'*What would our holy Emperor Nikephoros have said when his pictures were beheaded?* — 'Tis true, a sword has cut off my head and the lord of darkness has seized power with his gory hand. But why this envy of images too (oh terrible deed!), when even a Phalaris, or an Echetos in all his madness, allows [other rulers] to have them? Still, who could ever enviously efface my trophies: noble

[8] For examples in the oeuvre of John Geometres, see Van Opstall 2008: 37–39. For examples in Pisides, Theodosios the Deacon and, again, Geometres, see Cresci 2012.

Crete, illustrious Cyprus, indestructible Tarsos, the defeated towns of the Cilicians, the walls of Antioch, the cities of the Assyrians, Persians, Phoenicians, Arabs, the myriad peoples of the earth? They all bowed to my swaying sword. Who could deface them? Rule and relish in your walls: I am the one written in lands and hearts'.[9]

The word ἀποτεμνομένων in the title attached to this poem deserves comment. One would expect to read that Nikephoros Phokas' images had been *removed* by his successor, and indeed in her translation Van Opstall renders the word as 'enlevées', thereby lending weight to her view that, after his violent death, Phokas had fallen victim to an otherwise unattested *damnatio memoriae*.[10] However, as far as I know, ἀποτέμνω means to 'cut off, chop off, decapitate'. Decapitation is obviously a serious matter, but I think Geometres or his first (medieval) editor was making a pun in the title. Whilst referring to the gory death of Phokas, which was indeed a beheading of sorts, the title strongly suggests that depictions of Phokas were defaced by what one might call another kind of decapitation: the replacement of his head by that of his successor, who also happened to be his assassin. Arguably the most notorious example of this practice is Constantine IX Monomachos' dedicatory portrait in the south gallery of the Hagia Sophia, which we know replaced an earlier portrait, that of Romanos III Argyros: both were generous benefactors, but Monomachos' donation to the cathedral church was larger and more recent.[11] A similar case is ms. Par. Coislin 79, in which the miniatures depicting Michael VII Doukas have been slightly tampered with in order to accommodate for the minor inconvenience that when the manuscript was ready to be presented, he had been succeeded by Nikephoros III Botaneiates.[12] Neither Romanos III nor Michael VII suffered a *damnatio memoriae*: what happened was that their pictorial presence had become an embarassment to an

[9] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 282–284 (no. 80). The editor puts *cruces* before and after αἶσιν ἀνάσσειν, but there is nothing wrong with the text: κἂν in v. 4 is not a conjunction ('even if'), but an adverb ('even'); the infinitive ἀνάσσειν depends on ἐᾷ and governs αἶσιν; for the meaning of ἀνάσσω + dative, 'to possess (with regal grandeur)', see *Od.* 1.117 κτήμασιν οἷσιν ἀνάσσοι (interpreted in the *Scholia vetera* as Ὀδυσσεὺς *ἔχοι*) and 4.93 κτεάτεσσιν ἀνάσσω. The plural in v. 11 is a bit unexpected, but can be defended if not only Tzimiskes, but all those who will reign after him are addressed; otherwise one could perhaps read: ἄνασσέ τε χαῖρέ τε τοίχοις, but this is ugly Greek and it is the kind of clumsy emendation the Germans splendidly call a 'Verschlimmbesserung'.

[10] Van Opstall 2008: 287–288. So also C.A. Bourdara, *JÖB* 32/2 (1982) 337–346, at 338–339; Cresci 1995: 40–41; and T. Papamastorakis, *BZ* 96 (2003) 193–209, at 205–206.

[11] See N. Oikonomides, *REB* 36 (1978) 219–232 and I. Kalavrezou, in: A. Laiou and D. Simon (eds), Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries. Washington 1994, 241–259.

[12] See Spatharakis 1976: 107–118. For a detailed analysis of the ms., see D. Bianconi, in: P. Fioretti (ed.), Storie di cultura scritta: studi per Francesco Magistrale, vol. I. Spoleto 2012, 127–172.

establishment eager to forget the past. It is reasonable to assume that the same had happened to the portraits of Nikephoros Phokas in the palace and elsewhere: it was bad enough that he had been killed in a brutal and ugly fashion — no need to be reminded of it by seeing his face all over the place. In other words, I do not think there was ever an outright *damnatio memoriae*. It was much more subtle than that. Oblivion was the simplest way to get rid of an unpleasant memory: as Tennyson has it, 'authority forgets a dying king'.

Of course, the problem for those in power is that people do remember: even with his face replaced by that of Tzimiskes, partisans of Nikephoros Phokas did not forget their dead emperor. But as long as John Tzimiskes reigned, few will have dared to speak out in public and openly criticize the emperor for murdering his predecessor. Things changed after his death, when the Phokas clan and their clientele attempted to canonize the martyred emperor as a saint (ἐν ἁγίοις, as in the title)[13] and commissioned literary works that promoted Bardas Phokas as the true heir to the legacy of Nikephoros II.[14] It is a reasonable assumption that John Geometres' ethopoiia dates from this period.

As pointed out by Van Opstall, Geometres' ethopoiia is constructed according to the rules of the art: lines 1–4 refer to the present and describe the sad fate of Nikephoros Phokas' images; lines 5–10 refer to the past and list his conquests; and lines 11–12 refer to the future and declare that whatever Tzimiskes may do, Phokas' true image is branded in the collective memory of his subjects and the peoples he subjugated.[15] Floris Bernard supposes that the poem is a school exercise:[16] I would say that it is structured as one but serves a political agenda, and I do not see the Byzantine classroom as a place for political activism.

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## *Dramatic Verse Dialogues*

Ethopoetic dialogues can be found in encomia, monodies, paraenetic texts, bucolic poetry and other genres, but these will not concern us here.[17] However hateful the term 'imitation' may be (hateful because it reduces Byzantine literature

[13] See E. Patlagean, in: *Media in Francia. Mélanges K.F. Werner*. Paris 1989, 345–361.
[14] See vol. I, chapter 7, pp. 232–236.
[15] Van Opstall 2008: 286.
[16] Bernard 2014: 222–229, esp. 224 and n. 56.
[17] See Hunger 1978: II, 142–148.

to a repository of classical citation)[18], it still has its uses, if only to demonstrate what is wrong with it. Imitation then. High up in the literary canon, right after Homer whose presence is ubiquitous in Byzantine literature, we find Attic drama: the three tragedians and Aristophanes. They too are ever present in Byzantine literature and quotations from them can be spotted on every second page: scholars in the past had to be well-read, modern scholars have the benefit of the online *TLG*. Attic drama is not only quoted, it is also 'imitated'. There are a few versified texts that exhibit dialogue in some sort of theatrical setting, for which modern scholarship has coined the term 'dramation' (short drama), though the Byzantines do not appear to have had a specific term for it.[19] Some of these verse dialogues list τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα at the beginning, Eustathios of Thessalonica refers to *Susanna* as a δρᾶμα, the plot of the *Christos Paschon* is labelled an ὑπόθεσις δραματικὴ κατ᾽ Εὐριπίδην, and Philes calls his encomiastic dialogue on Kantakouzenos an ἠθοποιία δραματική.[20] The terms 'δρᾶμα' and 'δραματικός' simply indicate that these dialogues imitate ancient drama; they cannot be taken as proof that the Byzantines recognized the dramatic verse dialogue as a discrete genre. It is generally assumed that these verse dialogues are not intended for the stage, but are meant to be read; they closely resemble the modern 'closet drama' ('Lesedrama' in German).[21] This is what we have: *Susanna* by John of Damascus (lost except for two verses), *Verses on Adam* by Ignatios the Deacon (143 vv.),[22] *Katomyomachia* by Theodore Prodromos (384 vv.),[23] *Christos Paschon* (2604 vv.),[24]

[18] Hence the annoying (and disrespectful) habit of certain editors of highlighting quotations in Byzantine texts by putting them between inverted commas, in italics, in bold, or with a wider spacing. No one does this with classical texts or with modern authors: imagine an edition of Callimachus, Ovid or T.S. Eliot in which all the quotations were thus identified!

[19] We owe the term 'dramation' to F. Morel, who used it in his 1593 and 1598 editions of Haploucheir (whereas the *editio princeps* of 1554 by Tilmann simply calls it a 'drama'): see Leone 1969: 251–252.

[20] The 'persons of the play': for instance, Haploucheir, *Katomyomachia*, Katrares; for Eustathios on 'drama', see above, p. 77 and see vol. I, chapter 4, p. 134; for the characterization of the *Christos Paschon*, see its *Hypothesis*; for Philes' 'dramatic ethopoiia', see Hunger 1978: II, 147.

[21] See Hunger 1978: II, 142–143 and Marciniak 2004: 82.

[22] Ed. Müller 1886: 28–32. There are earlier editions by Boissonade 1829–33: I, 436–444 and F. Dübner, Fragmenta Euripidis. Paris 1846, 91–94. The text in Cavallero 2014: 143–150 is based on Müller, Dübner and Boissonade. I am grateful to Maria Tomadaki for sending me a copy of her MA thesis (Univ. of Crete), which contains a new critical edition of the poem: Tomadaki 2010.

[23] Ed. Hunger 1968.

[24] Ed. A. Tuillier, Grégoire de Nazianze. La passion du Christ. Paris 1969. For the twelfth-century date of this text, see Hörandner 1988; see also N. Vakonakis, Das griechische Drama auf dem Weg nach Byzanz: Der euripideische Cento *Christos Paschon*. Tübingen 2011, 97–103. The poem was already known to Manasses who alludes to it in *Hodoiporikon* I. 233 (see K. Horna,

*Verses* by Haploucheir (123 vv.),[25] and an untitled fragment by John Katrares (37 vv.).[26] The first two date from the 8th–9th centuries,[27] the next three from the 12th century, and the last one from the early 14th century.

Although the dialogue by Ignatios the Deacon is replete with lexical borrowings from Attic tragedy,[28] it differs from the other texts in that it does not have a chorus. That is not the only difference. It has a long introduction that has little in common with the standard prologue of Greek tragedy, and is unique among the Byzantine dramatic verse dialogues in explicitly introducing the first speaker: 'Having approached her (Eve) and prepared himself for battle, he (the snake) enters this arena and *says*',[29] which is then followed by the snake's opening line. The dialogue itself is remarkable because it is evenly divided into three-line speeches — another feature that is missing from the other dramatic verse dialogues.[30] Here is an example:

ΕΥΑ
Ἀδὰμ προσῆλθες τἀνδρί μου καὶ δεσπότῃ;
ἢ πάντα θαρσῶν ἦκες ὡς ἐμέ, ξένε;
ἔγνως γὰρ ὡς πέφυκα τοῦδε δευτέρα.
ΟΦΙΣ
Ἀδὰμ θελούσης οὐδὲν ἰσχύει, γύναι·
ἐφέψεται γάρ, εἰ παραινέσεις, λόγοις

*Hermes* 64 (1929) 429–431) and to Andronikos Protekdikos (see HÖRANDNER 1988: 190–191 and 201–202), so a date in the first half of the twelfth century is very likely. The poet is not Prodromos, as shown by HILBERG 1886, but a contemporary.

[25] Ed. LEONE 1969: 268–273. Read in v. 111 λέγεις, στοβάζεις instead of λέγεις τό, βάζεις. For a Spanish translation and a commentary, see P. CAVALLERO, *Minerva* 30 (2017) 61–95.

[26] For the fragmentary play composed by Katrares, see ANDRES, IRIGOIN & HÖRANDNER 1974 and D. BIANCONI, *RSBN* 37 (2000) 209–219.

[27] In vol. I, chapter 4, p. 134, I mentioned a third play, Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ by Stephen the Sabaite. His name should be struck from the record: I was misled by Krumbacher, who, in turn, was misled by K. SATHAS, Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν. Venice 1878, 380–381. Sathas refers to a book by Giglio Gregorio Giraldi: L.G. GYRALDI, Historiae poetarum tam graecorum quam latinorum dialogi decem. Basel 1545, reprinted in: idem, Operum quae extant omnium etc. Basel 1580, vol. II, 293. The title turns out to be Sathas' invention; all Giraldi offers is the following non-committal statement: ipsius tragoediam de Christi domini nece quidam esse volunt, 'some say that he [=Stephen the Sabaite] is the author of a tragedy about the death of our lord Christ'. This could be the *Christos Paschon* or a paschal hymn containing a fair amount of dialogue; it could also just be hearsay.

[28] See BROWNING 1968: 405–407 and GRECO 1994–96: 126–128.

[29] Ed. MÜLLER 1886: 29 (vv. 53–54). Read κορυσθεὶς εἰς πάλην in line 53, as suggested by the editor in note 14.

[30] HUNGER 1978: II, 146–147 rightly points out that two poems of John Grassos (nos 11–12) and the ἠθοποιία δραματική of Manuel Philes, too, are divided into strophes of 2, 3 and 7 verses respectively. However, these dialogues are not closet dramas.

καὶ δέξεται τάχιστα· σὺν σοὶ καὶ φάγῃ.

ΕΥΑ

Ὄντως προσῆλθες ὡς ἐχούσῃ δειλίαν
καὶ μηχαναῖς με τοῦτον ἑλκῦσαι λέγεις·
πρόσειμι λοιπόν, εἴ γε δέξεται τάδε.

ΟΦΙΣ

Μὴ δὴ προσέλθῃς τἀνδρὶ γεύσεως ἄτερ,
πρώτη δὲ πειράθητι καὶ πρώτη φάγε·
πείσεις γὰρ οὕτως εὐπετῶς· γυνὴ γὰρ εἶ.

'(*Eve*) — Have you spoken to Adam, my lord and master? Or have you come to me without any shame, stranger? Surely you know that I am inferior to him. (*Snake*) — Before you and your wishes, woman, Adam is powerless: he will listen to your words of advice and accept them at once. If you eat, he will eat. (*Eve*) — Truly you have come to a weak woman and you ask me to persuade him in a deceitful manner. I shall go then and see whether he will accept these (fruits). (*Snake*) — But do not speak to your husband without having tasted them. Be the first to try them and the first to eat them. Thus you will readily convince him: you are, after all, a woman'.[31]

This is not brilliant poetry.[32] It clearly imitates the style of Euripides, but the result is Greek that sounds awkward and unnatural. As the poet had to fit his material into the straitjacket of three verses per speech, the dialogue is formal in the extreme and, at times, aloof and standoffish, as if the interlocutors are not talking to each other, but speaking on different wavelengths. No attempt is made to render the characters believable: see, for instance, lines 70–72 quoted above. Eve understands that she is being used and that what the snake proposes is to deceive her husband, but instead of at least pretending that she is shocked by this indecent proposal, she responds by saying that she will go and see whether Adam is willing to take the bait. This is the same woman who is surprised to see that the snake has come to her and not to her 'lord and master', and slightly offended by this impudence (lines 64–66). This is also the same woman, who, later on, will be surprised to find out that the snake has deceived her (lines 100–102). Eve's erratic

[31] Ed. Müller 1886: 30 and Tomadaki 2010: 29–30 (vv. 64–75). In line 71 the mss. offer ἐκλῦσαι, which Boissonade and Tomadaki change to ἑλκῦσαι and Müller to ἐκκλέψαι (because of Soph. *Phil*. 55).

[32] Müller's edition is based on one manuscript, Par. gr. 1630 [51252]; he later discovered a second manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 690 [53425]: see Müller 1892: 416–418; Kuhn 1892: 116–121, too, compares the readings of these two mss. Tomadaki's edition is based on both mss.: Tomadaki 2010. The two mss. go back to a common ancestor: see Kuhn 1892: 120 and Greco 1994–96: 117–118. This common exemplar must have been a copy of a ms. in uncial: see the transliteration error in v. 39: λελημμένῳ in both mss., read δεδμημένῳ.

behaviour does not add up: her whole performance, even seen through the lens of blatant misogyny, lacks internal coherence.

The demonstrative pronoun τάδε in line 72 does not have a referent: although the snake and Eve have already spoken about the Tree of Knowledge, from which it is forbidden to eat, they have constantly referred to it in the singular as τὸ ξύλον; they have not explicitly mentioned the forbidden fruit. Likewise, in the long passage that describes the creation of the world and leads up to the expected climax, the creation of man, we find at line 23 the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτον without an explicit referent: as we are familiar with the story, we know that Adam is meant, but he is not explicitly identified. Line 106 constitutes a similar case. Eve says: 'As you can see, these (ταῦτα) fig leaves are rough', but this is the first time the fig leaves are mentioned. If demonstrative pronouns do not refer back to things or persons mentioned earlier (*anaphora*), they can only refer to things or persons that speaker and listener can both see (*deixis*). Though not trained as a linguist, Paul Speck understood that there was a serious problem with the deictic elements in the *Verses on Adam*. His solution was to suggest that this poem was an end-of-year play put on by the pupils of Ignatios the Deacon and that all the deictic elements refer to things that the viewers could see on the stage.[33] There are various reasons why this does not hold water. To begin with the trivial, an end-of-year play would have to be put on shortly before the summer break; however, in the liturgical calendar the expulsion from paradise is a recurrent theme in Lent and is officially commemorated on Cheesefare Sunday (Τυροφάγου). Then there is the definitely non-theatrical introduction of a speech act: 'and the snake says' (mentioned above); the incredibly turgid and obscure language of the prologue that would surely have been beyond the ken of the audience; the lack of theatrical effects; the presence of a woman on the stage (Eve) and, even worse, an actor playing the role of God. It beggars belief that such a clearly non-theatrical text would have been staged in any period, let alone the early ninth century when theatrical performances had long ceased to exist.[34]

However, there is still the matter of the deictic elements. What do they refer to? Ignatios the Deacon's poem has a short prologue that serves as a kind of *hypothesis*, such as we find in the manuscripts of Greek tragedy: 'Seeing the combats, labours and struggles in which the snake, stealing up on them, once engaged our forefathers through lust, and amazed at the legendary defeat and reminded now of the ancient curse that human nature incurred on account of these battles which the snake won, recognize your own plight in them, because you too are engaged in similar fights' (vv. 1–9). The *hypothesis* addresses the viewer/reader and reminds

[33] Speck 1995: 353–355. Cavallero 2014, too, thinks that this is a real play. Marciniak 2007 supposes that the text was meant to be read out at school.

[34] As rightly observed by Puchner 2002: 311 and Marciniak 2007: 49.

him of original sin, the common plight of humanity.[35] Already the first line contains an element of *deixis*: the whole story of the seduction of Eve, the forbidden fruit and the expulsion from paradise is something the viewer/reader *sees* in front of him, just as Eve in line 106 says: 'As you can *see*, these fig leaves are rough'. Another deictic element is the word 'now' in line 5: 'and reminded *now* of the ancient curse'. When is now?

The presence of all these deictic elements and the implicit invitation to visualize the cosmic battle between good and evil strongly suggest that the poem refers to the visual arts. The problem here is the length of the poem, the episodic structure of the plot and the fact that nothing else of the sort has been preserved in the field of Byzantine art. It is therefore with some hesitation that I suggest reading the poem as the textual equivalent to a series of episodic images. Storytelling is of course fairly commonplace in Byzantine art (ivory boxes and other multi-panelled artefacts; icons with multiple scenes; miniatures that depict a sequence of events), but apart from the famous Joshua Roll, I am not familiar with a Byzantine 'cartoon strip' large enough to accommodate the *Verses on Adam*. Just as the images on the Joshua Roll are accompanied by short biblical passages, one could think of a series of miniatures dedicated to the first three chapters of Genesis with metrical legends written below. This would explain why all the speeches have the same number of lines: 3. In general, the number 3 plays a significant role in this text: there are 27 (9 x 3) speeches (each of 3 lines); the *hypothesis* consists of 9 (3 x 3) lines; and the prologue consists of 45 (15 x 3) lines.[36] If there is any logic to this obsession with triads, it must be the space available on the page. In the absence of hard evidence, however, it would be idle to speculate any further. The Joshua Roll is a copy of an early Byzantine model: could the same be true for the postulated source of the *Verses on Adam*? The Byzantine Octateuchs probably derive some of their imagery from a lost illuminated Genesis manuscript: did this manuscript share some of its images with the manuscript for which Ignatios the Deacon wrote his verses?[37] And more worryingly, is there any proof that illuminated manuscripts of this size were produced in the first half of the ninth century?

One thing is certain, however: whatever scenario one may imagine and whatever avenue of research one may wish to pursue, treating the *Verses on Adam* as a mere imitation of ancient drama is a dead end. I am not denying that texts

[35] The prologue has been misinterpreted by the Byzantine scholar responsible for the transliteration in minuscule (see n. 32), who added a scholion that is now part of the title in the two mss. that preserve the text of the poem: πρὸς γὰρ φίλον συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντα ποιεῖται τὸ πόνημα, 'this literary work was made in view of a friend who had got himself in trouble'. This is a textbook example of the intentional fallacy.

[36] However, the epilogue (vv. 136–143) has 8 lines (9 minus 1?).

[37] See J. LOWDEN, in: P. MAGDALINO and R. NELSON (eds), The Old Testament in Byzantium. Washington 2010, 107–152.

refer to other texts, or that ancient authors and church fathers hold a place of honour in the textual universe of the Byzantines. The problem with 'imitation' is that it is only part of the story, and probably not the most interesting part. In his poem, the *Verses on Adam*, Ignatios the Deacon clearly imitates Euripides and Sophocles, and he expects his audience to be as knowledgeable about ancient tragedy as he is himself. However, his verse dialogue has very little in common with ancient tragedy and strives after a different literary effect: the text is not meant to be staged, but to be read. The deictic elements in this text (the demonstrative pronouns, the verbs of perception, the adverb 'now') all point to the visual arts as the most likely source of inspiration and suggest what the original context of the poem may have been. In short, the poem alludes to the literary conventions of Greek tragedy, but it is playing a different game in a different setting. It is this different setting and the different rules of the game that really matter in the end.

*Chapter Thirteen*

# MONODIES

As I explained in the previous volume,[1] in letter no. 60 Ignatios the Deacon distinguishes between 'sepulchral elegies in dactylics' and 'burial songs in anacreontics': while the former are written on tomb stones, the latter are read out or performed at funerals. Since this is a fundamental distinction, I have reserved the discussion of the latter category for this chapter.

Although it is a fundamental distinction, it is not always easy to establish whether a text is meant to be seen and read *in situ* (or, at least, creates the illusion of being a verse inscription), or whether it addresses an audience at a funeral. Short texts are presumably authentic or fictional epitaphs; but does this mean that all longer texts fall into the category of funerary discourse? Take Kallikles 31, a poem of no fewer than 126 lines, in which Constantinople raises a dirge over John II Komnenos and draws on the *topoi* of lamentation. So clearly non-inscriptional, one would say. But the title informs us that this dirge was written at the behest of the emperor when he was still very much alive, and that these verses were intended to be inscribed on his grave: ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ γραφησόμενοι.[2]

Most inscribed epitaphs are composed in the third person and commemorate the dead. Some are composed in the first person and express contrition. And only a few make use of the second person: these have the character of laments over the dead.[3] In contrast, funerary declamations in verse are predominantly plaintive and mournful, and tend to address the dead in the second person. As Margaret Alexiou has shown, Greek has a rich tradition of such doleful lamentations, stretching all the way from Homer to modern *moirologia*, with Byzantium in the middle.[4] She calls this genre the 'ritual lament'. The usual term for it in Greek is θρῆνος, or if it is a rhetorical text, μονῳδία (originally, 'solo' [in tragedy]; later, 'lament').[5] There is hardly any distinction between 'lament' and 'monody': ever since Homer, authors have recognized the literary potential of the θρῆνος — the genre

[1] See vol. 1, chapter 7, pp. 213–215.
[2] Ed. ROMANO 1980: 112
[3] See vol. 1, chapter 7, pp. 215–227.
[4] ALEXIOU 1974.
[5] For the rhetorical genre of the monody, see D.A. RUSSELL & N.G. WILSON (eds), Menander Rhetor. Oxford 1981, 200–206 and 346–347; VILJAMAA 1968: 117–120; L. PERNOT, La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain. Paris 1993, vol. I, 288–295.

of monody adds some style and contrivance, and if it is in prose, a penchant for intricate clauses and elaborate periods, but it basically remains a lament. In what follows I shall use the two terms interchangeably.

Although the rhetorical tradition distinguishes three kinds of funerary discourse: commemorative orations, mournful monodies, and consolatory texts, it is very rare for the first type, the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, not to have some element of lamentation. Monodies are thought to be appropriate for young people only; but in practice people of all ages are lamented. They are supposed to be short; but some monodies pour out laments for pages on end. And as monodies are required to mix mourning with commemoration (the audience needs to know why a particular death is such a loss that it ought to evoke universal grief), it is impossible to draw an absolute distinction between laments with a fair amount of commemoration and commemorative texts with quite a lot of lamentation. While consolatory texts are *sui generis*,[6] the other two kinds of funerary discourse are not really as different as the rhetoricians want us to believe. This is why Sideras, in his fundamental study of the genre, refuses to follow the rhetorical tradition and subsumes both under the generic term 'Grabrede' (funerary oration), which he defines as follows: 'Funerary orations are mournful orations that address (recently) deceased people and primarily serve to lament their deaths'.[7]

Sideras restricts his study to prose, which is a pity because the Byzantines do not think of prose and poetry as two entirely separate domains of literature, but as interrelated forms of literary activity (the only distinction being that poetry is in metre, and prose is not): both fall into the wider category of *hoi logoi*, 'intellectual pursuits', in Byzantium.[8] If there is a distinction between funerary orations in prose and verse, it is that the latter, perhaps because of Homer and the tragedians, offer even more lamentation and produce even more emotionally-laden narratives than the prose equivalents tend to do.[9] And certain motifs and themes are much more common in verse than in prose: e.g. the idea that the whole of nature joins in sympathy to mourn the dead (the so-called 'pathetic fallacy').[10]

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[6] For the consolatory letter, see V.A. Sarris, Η βυζαντινή παραμυθητική επιστολή από τον Θεόδωρο Στουδίτη έως τον Ευστάθιο Θεσσαλονίκης (9ος–12ος αι.): ο θεραπευτικός λόγος των βυζαντινών ενάντια στο πάθος της λύπης. Thessaloniki 2005. For the poetic equivalent of such a consolatory letter, see Prodromos, poem 2 (ed. Hörandner 1974: 185–190).

[7] Sideras 1994: 48–53 and 73–79. For the definition, see p. 53. Hunger 1978: I, 132–145, too, does not distinguish between 'epitaphioi logoi' and 'monodiai'.

[8] See Bernard 2014: 31–57.

[9] Agapitos 2003: 12–14 draws an unnecessary distinction between prose monodies and laments in verse, and incorrectly assumes that the latter are a tenth-century innovation. In fact, laments in verse (or to use the Byzantine term, monodies) are already attested in Late Antiquity: see, for example, E. Heitsch, Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit, 2 vols. Göttingen 1963–64, I, 94–97 (no. XXX).

[10] See, for example, Alexiou 1974: 56 and 60, and examples below in the main text.

Both prose and verse monodies make excessive use of antithesis: the contrast between now and then, sorrow and happiness, corpse and body, matter and soul, mourning black and life-embracing colour, darkness and light, winter and spring, the void of nothingness and the fullness of all.[11] Sometimes a third dimension is added to make the mournful tension of past and present even more poignant: the future that will never be, the thwarted hopes, the dreams that have come to nothing. The use of these three time-frames (past, present, future) in monodies is very similar to what we see in the literary exercise of ethopoiia.[12] It is probably because of this affinity that most monodies contain ethopoetic passages in which either the deceased addresses the mourners and attempts to console them, or one or more of the relatives express their feelings of bereavement and loss. Since the dead do not speak and the next-of-kin are too lost for words, it is the orator/poet who delivers these highly emotional speeches, playing out various roles and speaking in tongues (ὡς ἐκ προσώπου).

Monodies are delivered during the burial rites.[13] The most profound insight of Alexiou's magisterial study of the ritual lament is that the lamenting voice at the grave is gendered: it is the voice of mothers, wives, sisters, daughters.[14] It does not matter that the poets are male: once they begin to enact the mourning rites and play their ethopoetic roles, they assume a feminine voice. As Byzantine society was profoundly sexist, one should not expect any author to own up to this;[15] but if one looks at negative comments on the genre of monody/lament, it is immediately clear that lamenting is what women do. Take Planoudes' misogynistic sneer at the use of political verse: 'it is in this metre that Ionian females (γυναικάρια) lament over their dead at burials'.[16] Or take John Katrares' parody of funerary lament, accusing writers of monodies of being no better than 'women mourning over the dead'.[17]

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[11] See ALEXIOU 1974: 150–160 and 165–171.

[12] See above, chapter 12, p. 78.

[13] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 25.

[14] See ALEXIOU 1974: 10–14, 102–103, 122–125, and elsewhere. For modern feminist approaches to the ritual lament, see G. HOLST-WARHAFT, Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature. London 1992, and A. FISHMAN, *Thrênoi* to *Moirológia*: Female Voices of Solitude, Resistance, and Solidarity. *Oral Tradition* 23 (2008) 267–295.

[15] Prokopios of Gaza is exceptional in this respect: ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἠὐτομολήσαμεν (ed. A. SIDERAS, 25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden. Thessaloniki 1991, 23.7–8). For the attribution to Prokopios, see A. CORCELLA, *Revue des Études Tardo-Antiques* 1 (2011–12) 1–14.

[16] Ed. BACHMANN 1828: II, 98.

[17] Ed. A. SIDERAS, Eine byzantinische Invektive gegen die Verfasser von Grabreden. Vienna 2002, 56.97–99; cf. 48.6; in 60.142 he compares them with female professional mourners. For the attribution to Katrares, see D. BIANCONI, *MEG* 6 (2006) 69–91, at 70–80.

Monodies usually occur as independent set-pieces, but they are sometimes part of larger narratives, such as romances or histories. They are mostly death-related, but the need to lament may be triggered by other strong emotions, such as the sadness of exile or imprisonment. For example, Manasses writes that when Basil I put his son Leo in prison, the kinswomen and the ladies-in-waiting lamented over this cruel fate: ἦσαν ἐκεῖ θρηνήτριαι καὶ μονῳδοὶ γυναῖκες, / πικρῶς ἀνακλαιόμεναι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην, 'there were female mourners and lamenting women, bitterly crying over this calamity'.[18] When young Velthandros left his father's house to live in exile, the romance tells us that he sang a *moirologin* full of sorrow: ὄρη καὶ κάμποι καὶ βουνά, λαγκάδια καὶ νάπαι, / κἀμὲ νῦν συνθρηνήσατε τὸν κακομοιρασμένον, 'mountains and fields and slopes, ravines and glens, now raise the lament over poor pitiful me'.[19]

The prefix συν- in συνθρηνῶ (in the example above) refers to the communal aspect of the ritual lament. Theodore Prodromos' *Katomyomachia* offers a splendid example of 'singing the lament together', σύνθρηνον ᾄσαι as he calls it. Psicharpax has been killed by the cat, and his mother and the other mice are wailing in unison. This is done in an antiphonal manner: mother-mouse utters a lament and the chorus responds either by repeating after her or slightly altering her words.[20] As Margaret Alexiou has shown, refrains and antiphony are common features of the tradition of the ritual lament, both in Antiquity and modern times.[21] There is no reason to believe that things were any different in Byzantium. But apart from ecclesiastical hymns, such as the *Epitaphios Threnos*, and the imperial monodies treated below, the literary sources unfortunately offer little direct evidence for the practice of actively taking part in the lamentation. The reason is twofold: in general, performative aspects tend to be lost once texts are put to paper, and the texts we read in manuscript are not the texts the Byzantines actually heard, but polished versions produced afterwards.

Loss is private, funerals are not. They are public. And this is why monodies express feelings of bereavement and loss within the confines of generally recognized rules of conduct. They tell us what people wish to hear, not what the bereaved widow or the grief-stricken mother may actually feel or sense or think. In other words, monody is a stylized form of grief — it is not grief itself. It is not 'the thing with feathers / that perches in the soul',[22] but a peacock's tail of accepted feelings.

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[18] Ed. Lampsidis 1996: lines 5259–60.

[19] Ed. C. Cupane, Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini. Turin 1985, 236 (lines 128–133).

[20] Ed. Hunger 1968: 116–118 (lines 319–332).

[21] Alexiou 1974: 131–160.

[22] For which see Max Porter's amazing novel *Grief is the thing with feathers*; the quotation comes from Emily Dickinson who, of course, has: '*Hope* is the thing with feathers, etc'.

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## *Imperial Monodies*

As rightly observed by Ignatios the Deacon, in his time the 'burial song' was composed in anacreontics. The oldest Byzantine laments are all in this metre: Sophronios of Jerusalem no. 22; Ignatios the Deacon himself; Constantine the Sicilian; and Leo Choirosphaktes no. 1.[23] The index of Barb. gr. 310 mentions a few anacreontic poems now lost: Choirosphaktes again, two monodies; Arethas of Caesarea on patriarch Photios, presumably a monody; and the same Arethas on Leo Deacon and Sakellarios, either a monody or an encomium.[24] The tradition continues well into the twelfth century: Christopher Mitylenaios no. 75, Theophylaktos of Ohrid no. 14, and Euthymios Tornikes' lament over his uncle's death,[25] and then dies out.

As from the late tenth century, the vast majority of monodies make use of the dodecasyllable. The first to use this metre is Geometres 229 (εἴς τινα δικαστὴν μονῳδία ὡς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς), followed by Symeon the Metaphrast skilfully lamenting the death of Stylianos the Protasekretis and then being lamented himself by Nikephoros Ouranos to even greater effect.[26] And then the baton is passed on in death's relentless relay race: Michael the Grammarian (no. 1), Mitylenaios (nos 44, 57, 77), Mauropous (no. 37), Psellos (no. 17), Basil Kekaumenos,[27] Kallikles (nos 21–22, 28), Manuel and Nikephoros Straboromanos,[28] Prodromos (nos 39, 45, 54), Eugenianos,[29] and so on and so forth. There are hardly any poets without at least one monody to their name. Some of these iambic monodies are extremely long and must have severely tested the patience of the audience gathered around the grave: Psellos' brilliant rhetorical lament over the death of Maria Skleraina has no fewer than 448 lines, and the less brilliant but still remark-

[23] Sophronios: ed Gigante 1957: 134–138; Ignatios and Choirosphaktes: ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 40–55 and 65–71; Constantine the Sicilian: ed. Monaco 1951 and Matter 2002: I, 364–369 [both editors have missed mss. Bodl. Barocc. 133 [47420] (s. XIV), fol. 175$^{v}$–176$^{r}$ and Bodl. Auct. T. 1. 1 [47127] (s. XVII), p. 395].

[24] See Gallavotti 1987: 36–37 (*AB* 28, 29, and 33–34).

[25] Ed. Ciccolella 1991: 64–66.

[26] Geometres 229 (=Cr. 320.27): ed. Tomadaki 2014: 196–197; Symeon the Metaphrast: ed. Allatius 1664: 135 (repr. in *PG* 114, 133–136); Nikephoros Ouranos: ed. Mercati 1950: 569–570.

[27] Ed. Mercati 1925.

[28] For the poetry of both Straboromanoi, see P. Gautier, *REB* 23 (1965) 168–204.

[29] Ed. Gallavotti 1935: 222–229.

able monody over the death of Alexios Kontostephanos (incorrectly attributed to Prodromos) has 364 lines.[30]

There can be little doubt that these iambic monodies were intended to be delivered in public,[31] perhaps with a little histrionic display and some theatrical gesticulations, perhaps with varied modulations of the voice in the ethopoetic passages. The same goes for the older tradition of the anacreontic monody, with one major additional factor in play: the musical element. There is admittedly not much corroborative evidence, but to judge on the basis of the little we do know, anacreontics are likely to have been set to music.[32] This is also why Ignatios the Deacon, when he discusses the anacreontic monody, calls it a 'burial *song*' (μέλος ἐπιτάφιον) and tells his friend that, had he been forced to write one, he would have had to *sing* it (ᾇσας).[33]

Another category of laments that were definitely set to music are the imperial monodies of the later ninth and tenth centuries.[34] One of them even indicates the musical mode and the melody to which it is set: ἀλφάβητος εἰς Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα· ἦχος πλάγιος β΄· πρὸς τὸ Ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου ('alphabetic verses on [the death of] the Emperor Leo; second plagal mode; to the tune of "Ruler of the World"'). The imperial monodies are composed in two closely related accentual metres: the paired octosyllable (=the unprosodic variant of the anacreontic) and the political verse. This is what we have:

(i) Two laments over the death of Leo VI († 912);[35]
(ii) Three laments over the death of Christopher Lakapenos († 931);[36]
(iii) One lament over the death of Constantine VII († 959);[37]
[and lost:](iv) One lament over the death of Constantine, son of Basil I († 879);[38]

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[30] Psellos 17: ed. Spadaro 1984 and Westerink 1992: 239–252; see Agapitos 2008: 558–579. Monody on Alexios Kontostephanos: ed. Sternbach 1904: 349–360.

[31] See Agapitos 2008: 568.

[32] See vol. I, chapter 3, p. 127 and n. 146

[33] See Mango 1997: 146–147.

[34] See Koder 1972: 215–217.

[35] Ed. Ševčenko 1969–70: 196–210 (nos II and III). The poem he edits on pp. 194–196, no. I, is not an independent composition, but consists of the intercalary distichs of his no. III: see Lauxtermann 1999b: 27; see also below, *Appendix Metrica*, p. 377, n. 265. For the editio princeps of no. II and the beginning of no. III by Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden 1585), see Markopoulos 2001. See below n. 39, for *AB* 144–145 in the index of Barb. gr. 310.

[36] Ed. Sternbach 1898–99: 15–21. The first lament is missing its beginning, and the third one its ending. Sternbach annoyingly places the allometric refrains in the critical apparatus, not in the main text.

[37] Ed. Ševčenko 1969–70: 210–225. For emendations, see Kambylis 1979. This monody is the work of Symeon the Metaphrast.

[38] See Gallavotti 1987: 41 and 56–57: *AB* 139 τίνας εἶπε λόγους Βασίλειος βασιλεὺς τελευτήσαντος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

(v) A third lament over the death of Leo VI († 912).[39]

Of the six poems that are still extant (i–iii), five are in political verse, and one (the second lament for Christopher Lakapenos), in paired octosyllables. As for the monodies that are now lost apart from their titles, which are preserved in the index of Vat. Barb. gr. 310 (iv–v), it is idle to speculate what metre they were in. The use of the political verse is a real innovation;[40] that of the paired octosyllable less so, because as we have seen, the oldest Byzantine monodies are all in anacreontics — the only thing the poet had to do was shed the husk of prosody and start writing proper octosyllables.

Since the three monodies over the death of Christopher Lakapenos deserve to be known better, I shall focus on them rather than the more famous ones that lament the deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII. The first is an ethopoetic monologue in which Christopher, in his last hours, tells his wife not to cry but to ask his father for support, bids his children farewell, and asks Theophanes the *parakoimomenos* to take care of his family. (The first monody on Leo VI offers a similar deathbed scene, with the emperor asking his brother to take care of his little son and heir to the throne). The next poem is a veritable lament. It begins by inviting all those who master the art of monody, θρήνους οἱ πλέκειν εἰδότες (professional mourners?), to participate in the last rites. And it reminds the audience that we all must die — even people as distinguished as Christopher Lakapenos (stanzas α-δ). It then offers a short encomium of all his virtues and eminent deeds, in order to illustrate what a great loss his death is (stanzas ε-π). This is followed by an emotional description of Christopher's sickbed and death and the universal grief that ensued (stanzas ρ-φ). At the end, the poet states that Christopher is now in heaven; expresses his wish that Christopher may console his servant (the poet) and may visit the emperor in nocturnal dreams; and asks Christopher to kindly accept these ἐπιτυμβίους θρήνους, funerary lamentations (stanzas χ-ω). As one can see, the poem exhibits the circular three-part structure that Margaret Alexiou has identified as typical of the ritual lament: (a1) present situation (stanzas α-δ); (b) narrative account of past events (stanzas ε-φ); (a2) present situation (stanzas χ-ω).[41]

The third and last poem in this trilogy is very similar content-wise, but is structurally much more ambitious. Whereas the first and the second monodies

[39] See GALLAVOTTI 1987: 41 and 59: *AB* 143 παραινετικὸς Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου πρὸς τὸν ἰδιον ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ (read ὑπὲρ) Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. The following two poems in the index of Vat. Barb. gr. 310, *AB* 144 and 145, bear almost the same titles as the monodies edited by ŠEVČENKO 1969–70: nos III and II, and are probably identical: see LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 49.

[40] The use of political verse for the composition of monodies is not repeated until the mid-twelfth century: Theodore Prodromos no. 75.

[41] ALEXIOU 1974: 131–150.

consist of stanzas (the second one with an alphabetic acrostich), the third one is a grand oratorium, with vocalists and choirs. The structure of this third monody is identical to that of the poems on the deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII, which strongly suggests that there must have been a protocol for the performance of imperial monodies in the heyday of the Macedonian dynasty. The structure is as follows: the monody is divided into six strophes, and each strophe consists of four distichs or stanzas with an alphabetic acrostich (α-δ, ε-θ, ι-μ, ν-π, ρ-υ, and φ-ω); in between these six strophes and also at the very beginning, there are intercalary distichs; and each of the poem's distichs has an allometric refrain at the end.[42] For an example, see strophe 5 (distichs ρ-υ), followed by an intercalary distich dividing strophes 5 and 6, and a refrain after the distichs (in italics):

Ῥεῖθρα δακρύων ῥάνατε κυκλώσαντες τὸν τάφον
καὶ τοῦτον παρεδρεύοντες ἀσίγητα πενθεῖτε.
*ναὶ κλαύσατε, ναὶ θρηνήσατε.*
Σταγόσι πάντες χρήσασθε, ὑετῷ ἀμετρήτῳ,
ὡσάνπερ διαρκέσητε θρηνοῦντες τὸν δεσπότην.
*ναὶ κλαύσατε, ναὶ θρηνήσατε.*
Τὸν τάφον τὸν ἐπώδυνον πᾶς βλέπων στεναξάτω·
οὗτος γὰρ συνεκάλυψε τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐλπίδα.
*ναὶ κλαύσατε, ναὶ θρηνήσατε.*
Υἱοῦ πατὴρ ἐστέρηται, ἡμεῖς πατρὸς ἡμέρου,
ἡ πόλις τοῦ κοσμήτορος, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰ ὅπλα.
*ναὶ κλαύσατε, ναὶ θρηνήσατε.*

Μῦθοι φωσφόρον λέγουσι νεκροῖς κατακλιθῆναι,
νῦν δὲ κευθμῶνας δύσεται μετὰ νεκρῶν ὁρῶν σε.
*ναὶ κλαύσατε, ναὶ θρηνήσατε.*[43]

'Gather around the grave, shed streams of tears; keep watch beside him and lament unhushed. *Oh cry, oh wail!* Make use of drops, you all, torrents of rain, that you may keep on lamenting our lord. *Oh cry, oh wail!* Let everyone bemoan this grave of sorrow, for it covers the hope of the whole world. *Oh cry, oh wail!* The father lost a son, and we a gentle father; the city its leader, the troops their chief. *Oh cry, oh wail!* Myths tell us that the Sun sets where the dead are;[44] but now that he sees you among the dead, he will depart into the nether world. *Oh cry, oh wail!*'

[42] For more information, see below, the *Appendix metrica*, §5.6.6.

[43] Ed. Sternbach 1898–99: 19. The ms. offers the refrain only after the first distich (see Sternbach's critical apparatus), but it is clear that it is repeated after all the distichs: compare the structure of the poem on Leo no. III, ed. Ševčenko 1969–70: 201–203.

[44] Homer, *Od.* 24.11–14.

It is reasonable to assume that soloists performed the strophes, and a chorus the intercalary distichs; but in the absence of firm evidence, it is idle to speculate on further aspects of performance and staging. We are on safer grounds with the refrain because the insertion of short exclamations, such as 'oh cry, oh wail', is still common practice at funerals in parts of the Levant. See, for example, the following *moirologi* recorded in Astypalaia in the 1930s by Baud-Bovy:

εχτές βραδύν εμπρόβαλα από το παναθύρι·
*όχου το μαύρο Χάροντα*
θωρώ τον κάμπο πράσινο και τα βουνά σπαρμένα
*ω πράμα που το πάθαμε.*[45]

The lament evokes such strong emotions that the mourners cannot but take part in it and wail in unison. Similarly, I would argue that the refrains of the monody record the reactions of those present at the funeral rites: the kinsmen and courtiers assembled to mourn the death of Christopher Lakapenos.

The chronicle of *Theophanes Continuatus* maliciously records that Romanos Lakapenos was so distressed by the death of his first-born and heir to the throne that he wailed and lamented in an unseemly manner: πολλὰ κοψαμένου καὶ θρηνήσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός, μεῖζον ἢ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.[46] This obviously refers to the tenth plague sent upon Egypt, the death of all first-born sons, and the universal grief that gripped the nation.[47] Mourning becomes Electra (and the rest of womanhood). Apparently it also becomes Egyptians, especially when they are being scourged by the Lord. But it is not the kind of thing Byzantine males are supposed to do. And yet, as the monodies lamenting the death of Christopher Lakapenos illustrate so very well, the court engaged in public mourning and enacted the funeral rites with great ostentation, weeping, wailing, moaning, and repeating the refrain over and over. Oh cry, oh wail.

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[45] Ed. S. Baud-Bovy, Chansons du Dodecanèse, 2 vols. Athens 1935–38, vol. II, 102. See also Alexiou 1974: 145–146.

[46] Theophanes Continuatus, VI.31 (ed. Bonn, 420).

[47] *Ex.* 12:29–30. Cf. Michael Choniates' monody on his brother, §37: ὁ δέ γε τῆς φιλτάτης κεφαλῆς θάνατος ἐκείνοις τελευταῖος ἐπιπεπτωκὼς ὡς ἡ δεκάτη τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πληγή, ὁ τῶν πρωτοτόκων ὄλεθρος, πάντα κοπετὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐφειλκύσατο, πᾶσαν οἰμωγήν, πᾶν γοερὸν μέλος, ὅλον καὶ σύμπαν δάκρυον (ed. Lambros 1879–80: I, 358).

## *Laments for Cities*

Laments for cities form a subcategory of their own.[48] Probably the best-known examples of this genre are the θρῆνοι and ἀνακαλήματα lamenting the fall of Thessaloniki in 1430, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the fall of Athens in 1456.[49] The genre is as old as human suffering itself. One could think of the *Book of Lamentations* or the dirges in Euripides' *Trojan Women*; closer to the Byzantine era is Aelius Aristides' monody for Smyrna.

The historical circumstances for such laments may differ. The sacking and pillaging of cities are a major theme; but so are natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes, or man-made calamities, such as the devastating fire that destroyed parts of Constantinople in 1197, for which Constantine Stilbes wrote a lament in verse.[50] Even cultural decline may give some reason to lament, for which see Michael Choniates' superb poem on Athens, in which he bemoans the sad state of affairs in this dreary provincial place, once renowned for its culture, but now a mere shadow of itself, and famously complains that 'Living in Athens, I see Athens nowhere'.[51] As I noted elsewhere, Choniates' poem combines lament with ekphrasis and even erotic discourse.[52] There are also laments for monastic communities rather than city dwellers: James of Bulgaria wrote a lament for the monastery of Hosios Meletios sacked and plundered in 1218–19 by the troops of Theodore Komnenos Doukas.[53]

In the period covered by this book, I know of six laments for cities. Sophronios' anacreontic poem no. 14 treats the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614.[54] Its first three stanzas and the *koukoulia* (the intercalary distichs interspersed between the stanzas) are lament pure and simple, while the other stanzas narrate what happened during the siege, the capture and the sack of the holy city. Then there is another anacreontic poem lamenting the fall of Syracuse in 878:[55] its author is Theodosios the Monk who witnessed the sack of the city by the Arabs and who, after his release from prison, wrote a long letter (in fact, a

[48] See Beck 1971: 163–167 and Alexiou 1974: 83–101.

[49] Thessaloniki: ed. Sp. Lambros, *NE* 5 (1908) 369–390. Constantinople: many texts and many editions, conveniently brought together and reproduced in: R. García Ortega and A.I. Fernández Galvín, Trenos por Constantinopla. Granada 2003. Athens: ed. D.G. Kambouroglous, Ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα. Α΄ Ἡ ἅλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν. Athens 1934, 16–17 and 154–155.

[50] Ed. Diethart & Hörandner 2005.

[51] Ed. Mercati 1970: I, 484–488. For a similar lament, see Chr. Mityl. 40.36–47.

[52] See Lauxtermann 2004: 333–335. See also C. Livanos, *BMGS* 30 (2006) 103–114.

[53] Ed. Mercati 1970: I, 93–97 (no. VII).

[54] Ed. Gigante 1957: 103–107. See also M. Gigante, *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1954) 303–311.

[55] Ed. Lavagnini 1979 and Gallavotti 1987: 57–59.

detailed account of what had happened) as well as this metrical lament for Syracuse.[56] Its title specifies that it was written 'in the style of Sophronios' (κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Σωφρόνιον), and the three fragments that have come down to us bear this out: Theodosios' lament is undoubtedly modelled on Sophronios no. 14.[57] Two of the fragments are narrative stanzas that describe the siege and the naval attack, but the third one, part of a *koukoulion*, has a more plaintive character: ἐς γόον ἀκρότατον τῆς Σικελίας, 'to the utter grief of Sicily'.

Just like the oldest Byzantine laments for persons, the two oldest ones for cities make use of the anacreontic metre. The next three examples of this genre, however, are in accentual metre — a metrical innovation similar to what we have seen with the imperial monodies. These laments are now lost, but since they once formed part of the unprosodic ἀλφαβητάρια of Vat. Barb. gr. 310, they must have been composed in the paired octosyllable or, perhaps, the political verse. Two of these laments dealt with the fall of Syracuse in 878; the third one, with the fall of Thessaloniki in 904.[58]

The sixth and last example is poem no. 7 (Cr. 271.31) by John Geometres, entitled εἰς τὴν ἀποστασίαν, 'On the revolt'.[59] The 'revolt' is the civil war of 986–989, and the poem is a long lament for the devastation and loss of lives suffered in that period, leading up to the *annus horribilis* 989, when God manifested his wrath toward fallen mankind in the form of summer droughts and famines, Halley's Comet, and the great earthquake of 25 October. The 'revolt' is not only political, it also has a theological dimension: it is rebellion against God, it is *apostasy*.

Like so many monodies, the poem begins by invoking nature to take part in the universal lamentation (vv. 1–6); it then offers a grim description of all the suffering in East (vv. 7–23) and West (vv. 24–35); and it then directly addresses Constantinople asking how it can look on undismayed at all this suffering in the provinces and at home (vv. 36–46). The city offers its reply in a truly confessional mood, first by owning up to its sins (vv. 47–55) and then asking God for forgiveness (vv. 56–65). This is how it ends:

> «ἀλλ᾽ ἵλεών μοι δεῖξον, ἵλεων, Λόγε,
> σὸν ὄμμα χρηστόν· παῦσον ἀλληλοφθόρους
> σφαγάς, ἁλώσεις, δεσμίους, μάχας, στάσεις,

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[56] See C. ROGNONI, in: A. NEF & V. PRIGENT, La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam: de l'archéologie à l'histoire. Paris 2010, 205–228. Theodosios the Monk is likely to be the same person as Theodosios the Grammarian, author of a lexicon on the iambic kanons of Ps. John of Damascus: see C. FÖRSTEL and M. RASHED, *Νέα Ῥώμη* 3 (2006) 361–372, at 365.

[57] See GALLAVOTTI 1987: 58–59.

[58] See GALLAVOTTI 1987: 41 and 59 (*AB* 140–142).

[59] Ed. TOMADAKI 2014: 56–65; see also TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI 2002.

φυγάς, διώξεις, ἁρπαγάς, ποινάς, κρίσεις·
ᾤκτειρας, οἶδα, καὶ Νινευὶ τὴν πόλιν
καὶ λαὸν ἠλέησας ἡμαρτηκότα·
σὸν ποίμνιον γάρ, ὄνιον σῶν αἱμάτων,
σὴ μάνδρα κἀγώ, Χριστέ»· ταῦτα σοὶ πόλις.
βοᾷ πόλις σή· «μὴ παραβλέψῃ βλέπων
κακῶν ἀβύσσους· μέχρι γὰρ τίνος πόνοι;»

"Show your mercy upon me, oh Word, show the goodness of your face. Stop the mutual killings, captures, imprisonments, battles, revolts, flights, persecutions, plunderings, punishments, sentences. You have taken pity even on the city of Nineve, I know, and taken mercy on its sinful people. I too am your flock, redeemed by your blood, I too am your fold, oh Christ". This is what the city tells you. Your own city is crying out: "Please do not overlook this pit of woes. How long must this suffering last?"[60]

Laments for cities and laments for persons have much in common (the use of ethopoiia, the pathetic fallacy, the shrieks of pain and sorrow, the emotion-laden metaphors, the tragic style, etc.), but there are also differences. Laments for persons respond to individual loss; but those for cities express shared suffering and, therefore, form an integral part of public discourse. In his lament for Jerusalem, Sophronios implores God to avenge the innocent blood of His people and punish the Persians (vv. 37–38, 73–74, 91–92, 101–102). In his poem 'On the revolt', Geometres prays for an end to all the bloodshed and internecine strife: the message is overtly political and probably reflects contemporary discussions among the elite. Another difference with laments for persons is that while death is irreversible, even the worst catastrophes can be undone: cities can be reconquered, rebuilt, repopulated, reshaped for the better. All is not lost. This is why laments for cities so often sound like the *Book of Lamentations*, which, for all its sadness over the loss of Jerusalem, implicitly expresses its headstrong belief that God eventually will take pity on His people and bring them back from their Babylonian exile if they just show remorse for their sinfulness. Similarly, Geometres' poem portrays the civil war of 986–989 not just as a rebellion to the wordly powers, but as sinful apostasy, and expresses a sincere belief that once atonement is made, Byzantium will prosper again.

[60] Tomadaki 2014: 59 (vv. 56–65). In v. 63 I have changed the ms. reading σὴ to σοὶ: for the elliptic use of ταῦτα plus dative (with implicit λέγει or γράφει), see, for example, Kallikles 1.19 and 11.7. Tomadaki follows Tziatzi-Papagianni (see previous footnote) and emends the ms. reading in v. 64 to πόλιν σὴν: the main problem with this emendation is the strong enjambment that results from it: ταῦτα σὴ πόλις / *βοᾷ*. πόλιν σὴν μὴ παραβλέψῃ βλέπων (...).

*Chapter Fourteen*

## Songs of Love and Marriage

Love did not do well at all in Byzantium.[1] Largely absent between c. 600 and 1100, except for a very short interval in the mid-ninth century (for which see below) and an equally short-term revival in Psellos,[2] it resurfaced in the twelfth century but had at first to pretend to be ancient and afterwards to be western, oriental, homeric, allegorical or fairy-tale, but hardly ever unabashedly Byzantine.[3] The only two poetic genres to fully recognize the power of Eros in Byzantine society and portray it in native garb were the traditional ἐπιθαλάμια (wedding songs), which allowed the poets to freely express carnal love because it was sanctioned by marriage, a holy institution if ever there was one, and the equally traditional genre of the καταλόγια (love songs) in vernacular Greek, where the celebration of love and desire regrettably lacked such sanction.

Otherwise, love and desire had a really bad press in Byzantium. There were two kinds of sex: bad sex performed by others (this was ridiculed in Byzantine satires and invectives — for which see the next chapter) and bad sex that sinful selves were about to give in to, but then did not because they realized at the last moment how unspeakably awful the thing was. A good example of the latter is Geometres no. 299 (Cr. 348.1), an *ethopoiia*, in which the lyrical subject meets a girl at the well, asks her for water, immediately falls in lust with her, and is surprised that the water the girl offers does not cool him off, but sets him aflame.[4] The more he drinks of her water, the more thirsty he gets — the only remedy, he concludes, is the living water of Christ: that at least will quench love's fire. Very similar is poem no. 210 (Cr. 316.26): the poet has 'once again' been struck by love's arrows, but instead of pulling out the arrowheads, he presses them in deeper and deeper. He is ready to die for love, he savours his wounds and relishes love's fire — or so he says, because in the next line he is desperate to know what kind

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[1] See Beck 1986 and Odorico 1997.

[2] For the erotic discourse of Psellos, see Papaioannou 2011.

[3] The only real exception is *Digenes Akrites*, but then again, this text is exceptional in all respects and has little in common with the 12th-c. novels and the later romances.

[4] For the motif of water that sets the lover aflame, see *AP* 5.281 and the commentary ad locum by G. Viansino, Epigrammi di Agazia Scolastico. Milan 1967, 83–84 (no. 45).

of water can quench this fire and what can deliver him from the barbs of love. The answer is the living water of Christ and His teachings.[5]

It is worth noting that bad sex was predominantly heterosexual. Paradoxically, the only two poems in which Geometres celebrates physical beauty without any qualms or moral inhibitions (nos 270 and 275 = Cr. 332.5 and 23), view the male body as the locus of erotic desire. The same paradox holds true for Byzantine epistolography, which, in general, is rather chaste in amorous matters, but is replete with references to all-male pleasures; it is clear, however, that these letters function as sites of homosocial bonding rather than a medieval alternative to cruising areas.[6] Because friendship was thought to be directed towards males and love towards females, it was perfectly safe to celebrate male beauty and express feelings of affection in letters to other males. Small wonder, then, that the most sensual and evocative love poem ever written by a Byzantine celebrates the rapturous encounter of two males: Symeon the New Theologian and the Almighty (see chapter 17, pp. 189–192). Had He been a She, Symeon would probably have expressed his burning love for God in more innocuous terms and the title given to his collection of poems would not then have been Ἔρωτες τῶν θείων ὕμνων ('Loves of Divine Hymns'), but something less overtly erotic.

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## *Wedding Songs*

The *Book of Ceremonies* informs us that on the eve of imperial weddings[7] the

[5] For similar poems in the oeuvre of Geometres, see nos 209 (Cr. 316.22), 227 (Cr. 320.22) and 228 (Cr. 320.24).

[6] See Mullett 1999 and Papaioannou 2011: 54–56. The line between friendship and love is quite thin, of course: see, for instance, the title of a (nowadays lost) anacreontic by Theophanes the Grammarian, a ninth-century author: ὡς φίλον φιλεῖ τε καὶ οὐ ποθεῖται ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν φιλίας (*AB* 64: see Gallavotti 1987: 39), 'how he loves his friend and is not loved back because of his excessive friendship'.

[7] On account of the words εὐγενεῖς νεόνυμφοι, Maas 1912: 38 (critical apparatus to IX.2, v. 1) assumes that chapter I. 91 (82) refers to the wedding of a high official which would mean that the preceding chapter, I. 90 (81), which deals with the preparations for the wedding (including the song under discussion), would refer not to an imperial, but an aristocratic wedding. But he does not explain why the demes would be singing acclamations in honour of the emperors and their wives at the wedding of Byzantine aristocrats (IX.2, vv. 1–4), nor why the *Book of Ceremonies* would record festivities that are not directly related to the imperial court. Reiske 1829–30: II, 354, writes: 'Neque hoc in capite neque in sequente *puto* sermonem de Augusti nuptiis esse, sed de demarchi tantum', but he does not give any reasons for this assumption. It is because of this putative wedding of the demarch that Reiske fully misinterprets the meaning of the

brides were escorted to the palace while the sounds of tambourines and cymbals floated in the air and that, upon arrival, the demes would welcome them with the usual acclamations and sing a song in their honour (in the first mode, ἦχος α΄):

Ἄνθη ἐσώρευσα τοῦ ἀγροῦ
καὶ εἰς τὴν παστάδα εἰσῆκα σπουδῇ·
ζευγόνυμφον ἥλιον εἶδον
εἰς χρυσέντιμον κλίνην·
ἀλλήλα ἠγκαλίζοντο
ποθητὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.
χαρὰ εἰς τὰ κάλλη αὐτῶν
τὰ ἐγγλυκοθέατα
καὶ ῥόδα τὰ ῥοδοεύμορφα·
χαρὰ εἰς τὸ ζεῦγος τὸ χρυσόν.

'I gathered flowers of the field and rushed into the nuptial chamber; I saw the Sun wedlocked in his bed of golden splendour: the two were embracing each other with love and desire. May they enjoy their beauty, a sweet sight to behold, and their splendid rosy-red rosiness! Long live the golden couple!'[8]

The decorating of the nuptial chamber (παστάς/παστός) is a traditional part of weddings in Byzantine and post-Byzantine times. Flowers and luxurious ornaments that glitter and shine are essential elements in its decoration, and the whole room exudes joy and exuberance and has at its very centre the marriage bed, usually adorned with richly embroidered covers and draped on three sides with opulent curtains.[9] Although its ultimate purpose is to create a sumptuous setting for the consummation of the marriage, which is obviously conducted in private, throughout most of the day the *pastas* is the focal point of the wedding festivities. From detailed listings of all the relevant logistics of imperial weddings in the *Book of Ceremonies* (I. 48 (39), 50 (41) and 91 (82)), it is clear that the nuptial chamber was a place where the palace staff and the wedding guests came and went throughout the day while celebrating, acclaiming and singing wedding songs, despite the forbidding presence of the 'imperial golden bed' (βασιλικὸς χρυσοῦς κράβαττος) in the 'niche of the nuptial chamber' (εἰς τὴν κόγχην τοῦ παστοῦ).[10]

Although the wedding song, ἄνθη ἐσώρευσα etc., was performed on the eve of the wedding when the bride was escorted to the palace, it refers to what was to happen the next day. The 'bed of golden splendour' is the 'imperial golden bed' and the Sun inside this bed is none other than the emperor, who, as is well known,

wedding song: see below, n. 11. According to Vogt 1935–40: commentaire, II, 184–186, both chapters, 90 (81) and 91 (82), refer to imperial weddings.

[8] *De Ceremoniis*, I. 90 (81): ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 379.15–20 and Vogt 1935–40: II, 180.

[9] See Koukoules 1948–55: Δ, 88–90.

[10] *De Ceremoniis*, I. 48 (39): ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 200.1–2 and Vogt 1935–40: II, 8.

is quite often represented in Byzantine art and literature as the sun ('sol invictus' and all that), while his wife is the moon and his children the stars.[11] Because bride and groom are joined together (ζευγόνυμφον) in this golden bed, they form a 'golden couple'. Although no one else is present when bride and groom are alone in the nuptial chamber, it does not require much poetic imagination to see the two of them 'embracing each other with love and desire'. The 'flowers of the field' are brought to the nuptial chamber in great haste, because they wither rapidly and need to be fresh on the day of the wedding. The flowers, just like the 'rosy-red rosiness' of the bridal couple, symbolize the beauty of youth that is 'so sweet to behold' but unfortunately does not last.

Although this is an imperial wedding song, it somehow looks like the kind of thing that might have been sung at the weddings of ordinary Byzantines. There are the peculiar compound adjectives, ζευγόνυμφον, ἐγγλυκοθέατα and ῥοδοεύμορφα, which sound as if they have come straight out of a medieval vernacular romance. There is the adverbial morpheme -α in ἀλλήλα (instead of ἀλλήλως). There is the use of the accusative rather than the dative for an adverbial phrase: ποθητὴν ἐπιθυμίαν (not ποθητῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ). And there are the μακαρισμοί (blessings) common in popular culture: *χαρὰ εἰς* τὰ κάλλη αὐτῶν, *χαρὰ εἰς* τὸ ζεῦγος τὸ χρυσόν.[12] In fact, it all sounds refreshingly vulgar. However, none of this really justifies Kyriakidis' flimsy attempt to rewrite the text, make it more folksy and turn it into regular political verse by changing the word order, omitting and adding words, and emending 'faulty' manuscript readings.[13] It is simply wrong, firstly because it ignores the imperial symbolism of the poem, secondly because it assumes that tenth-century popular songs necessarily adopt the same metre as twentieth-century folk songs, and thirdly because it relies on a binary opposition between 'learned' and 'vernacular' that simply does not exist in Byzantium.

I have no doubt that there is an oral substratum to this wedding song and that it, like the famous spring song,[14] ultimately goes back to an authentic folk tradition; but just like the spring song of the demes, it is not a genuine folk song. As Reiske already saw, the first line is vaguely reminiscent of the *Song of Songs*: it

[11] Because he thought that chapters 90 (81) and 91 (82) refer to the wedding of the demarch, Reiske 1829–30: II, 354 interpreted the word 'sun' as 'day' and averred that the line means 'video diem hunc par amantium coniungere in thoro vel thalamo', adding: 'ζευγόνυμφος est *iungens par coniungale*, sensu activo', which is clearly wrong because proparoxytone compound adjectives are predominantly passive in Greek. Reiske is followed by Petropoulos 2003: 103 (TE 1), 'I saw a sun (i.e. a day) joining the couple'. Strangely enough, in Reiske's own translation the adjective does have a passive meaning: 'solem novo connubio coniunctum' (Reiske 1829–30: I, 379).

[12] See Petropoulos 2003: 21–22, 30 and 46–47.

[13] Kyriakidis 1951, followed by Petropoulos 2003: 30–31.

[14] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 87–91.

is not a direct quotation, but it subtly imitates the style of the biblical text.[15] And the solar symbolism in the second line combined with the reference to the 'golden bed' clearly derives its imagery from encomiastic texts performed in court circles. This wedding song must have been produced at court — possibly by one of the professional poets in the service of the demes.[16] The metre is not stichic, but strophic. That is to say, the *Book of Ceremonies* quotes only the first strophe of a much longer text that, like Byzantine hymns, has the same metrical pattern (the same periods, colons and sense pauses) in each of its strophes.[17] The text of the wedding song strongly suggests that lines 1–3 were sung by a soloist ('*I* gathered, *I* rushed, *I* saw'), whereas the blessings in lines 4–5 were sung by a choir.

Leo Choirosphaktes is the author of two epithalamia (wedding songs) in anacreontics celebrating one of the four marriages of Leo VI.[18] It is not certain which one, but the emphasis both poems place on the fact that the marriage is 'lawful' strongly suggests either the second or the fourth, both to ladies called Zoe, the first of whom (Zoe Zaoutsaina) was not considered suitable marriage material because she had been Leo's concubine, while marrying the other Zoe (Karbonopsina) was out of the question not only because she had shared his bed and given birth to a bastard, the future emperor Constantine VII, but also because it would be the emperor's fourth and uncanonical marriage. The fact that Choirosphaktes was in Baghdad at the time of the fourth wedding does not rule out the possibility that he wrote the two epithalamia for that occasion. Like all other songs written for the court, epithalamia were performed by professional singers, with one or more soloists taking care of the narrative passages and one or more choirs singing the refrains, the intercalary distichs and the acclamations — that is to say, Leo Choirosphaktes did not actually have to be present for his two wedding songs to be performed. As things stand, it is impossible to say whether the texts refer to marriage no. 2 (contracted in 898) or no. 4 (contracted in 906).[19]

While the first epithalamium was performed at some stage of the actual wedding celebrations, the second clearly refers to the night before, when the bride was escorted to the palace.[20] And like the wedding song recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the second one appears to eagerly anticipate the pleasures of conjugal life:

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[15] Reiske 1829–30: II, 354.

[16] For the ποιητής in the service of the demes, see Handschin 1942: 73. For the continued existence of the post in the 11th c., see the *Diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 (1981) 5–143, at 123, l. 1715: τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ Καμαρωτῆ.

[17] For the strophic structure of lyrics in the *Book of Ceremonies*, see above chapter 10, p. 52.

[18] The attribution to Leo Choirosphaktes of the epithalamium celebrating the marriage of Constantine VII and Helen is incorrect. See Nissen 1940a: 60–62, Giardina 1994 and Lauxtermann 2003b.

[19] See Ciccolella 2000a: 73.

[20] See Ciccolella 2000a: 84–85.

῾Ροδέην φύσιν συνεύνου σύ, Λέων, παραγκαλίζῃ·
τὰ πόθου βέλεμνα τοίνυν ὑποδὺς τρύγα τὰ μῆλα.

'Leo, do embrace the rosy nature of your spouse; do give in to the darts of love and harvest her apples'.[21] Please notice the similarities between this text and the wedding song in the *Book of Ceremonies*, where we read about 'the rosy-red rosiness' of the bridal couple and the two 'embracing each other' in the marriage-bed. And please note that the text of Leo Choirosphaktes is even more explicit in its sexual metaphors than the *Book of Ceremonies*: it is not just the learned allusion to the arrows of Eros, but also the equally time-honoured reference to the 'apples' being 'harvested'.[22]

These are not the only parallels between the wedding song in the *Book of Ceremonies* and the two epithalamia of Leo Choirosphaktes (=LC 2 and 3). I also note the following common motifs: line 1 'flowers/garlands', cf. LC 2.5, 11, 29–30, 39, 51, 54, 57, and 3.4–5; 'nuptial chamber', cf. LC 2.4, 54, and 3.7, 22; line 2 'sun' (=emperor), cf. LC 2.23, 42 and 3.29; 'gold', cf. LC 2.17, 60, and 3.7, 11; 'bed', cf. 2.44, 58; line 3 'embrace', cf. LC 3.10, 26; 'desire', cf. LC 2.8, 10, 19–20, 45–46, 55–56, and 3.19, 27 ; line 4 'beauty', cf. LC 2.21–22, 29–30, 35–36, 41, 47–48, 53, 68, and 3.4, 8–9; 'joy', cf. LC 2.59 and 3.2, 13; 'roses', cf. LC 2.7, 11, 13, 35, 37, 43, 47, 58, and 3.5, 25. As observed by Ciccolella, Leo Choirosphaktes imitates in numerous passages the epithalamia of John of Gaza and George the Grammarian, which are found in the same manuscript, Vat. Barb. gr. 310 (the so-called *Anthologia Barberina*).[23] It is worth noting, however, that despite the obvious influence John of Gaza and George the Grammarian exerted on Choirosphaktes, the nuptial imagery itself does not derive from these two poets. The absence of literary antecedents for the nuptial imagery strongly suggests that the common motifs shared by the *Book of Ceremonies* and Leo Choirosphaktes draw inspiration from traditional wedding songs, to which we find numerous references in our sources but unfortunately without specific examples.[24]

In most Greek sources the term ἐπιθαλάμιον simply indicates that a text is a wedding song; in the later rhetorical tradition, however, it may denote a wedding speech (in prose or verse) composed according to certain rules. These rules are not overly specific and may be broadly described as encomiastic: the orator is required to praise bride and groom, their parents, the god Eros and other divinities, enhance the festive mood and cheerfulness with subtle innuendo and fine words,

[21] Lines 3.25–28: ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 88.
[22] See A.R. Littlewood, *JÖB* 22 (1974) 33–59 and idem, *BMGS* 17 (1993) 83–103.
[23] For their *epithalamia*, see Ciccolella 2000a: LVII–LIX, 138–141 and 239–251; for the influence, see XLIV.
[24] See Koukoules 1948–55: A. II, 28–31 and Δ, 88–90.

and wish the happy couple many children. There are remarkably few epithalamia in verse that contain all these encomiastic elements and present them in the prescribed order.[25] In fact, most wedding songs or epithalamia select only a few elements of the rhetorical tradition and combine these with nuptial motifs and themes that derive from popular culture. Almost all the material dates from the Comnenian period and later: Theodore Prodromos, Manganeios, Niketas Eugenianos, Niketas Choniates, Nicholas Eirenikos, and others.[26] This does not mean that the Byzantines ceased to sing wedding songs in the later tenth and eleventh centuries — it simply means that they did not record these songs for posterity because they did not ascribe much literary value to them. And rightly so: it is occasional poetry after all, ephemeral and of little consequence. The odd ones out are Leo VI and Constantine VII with their obsessive interest in the right order (τάξις) as reflected in the ceremonies they staged, and the Comnenian dynasty anxious to improve their image to the outside world and vamp it up in every possible way.

As indicated above, there are striking similarities between the wedding song in the *Book of Ceremonies* and the two epithalamia of Choirosphaktes. Let us look at two more examples. The first is:

Παλάμαις ῥόδον λαβοῦσα ποτὶ σὰς κόμιζε κοίτας,
ὁ ἔρως ὅπως συνών σοι νομίμοις πόθοις δαμάσσῃ.

'Take the rose in your hands and bring it to your marriage-bed, that Eros may be with you and overpower you in lawful love-making'.[27] This is strangely reminiscent of the beginning of the wedding song: 'I gathered flowers of the field and rushed into the nuptial chamber; I saw the Sun wedlocked in his bed of golden splendour'. It is almost as if the bride addressed in LC 2 and told 'to bring the rose to (her) marriage-bed' and the lyrical subject of the imperial wedding song, 'gathering flowers' and bringing them to 'the nuptial chamber' where the 'bed of golden splendour' is, merge into one. It is a rhetorical semblance of identity. In fact, the lyrical subject reveals his true non-bridal identity in the very next line, where he says that he saw bride and groom 'embracing each other with love and desire'.

The second quotation from Choirosphaktes also sheds light on the identity of the lyrical subject in the wedding song of the *Book of Ceremonies*:

Γλυκερὴν ὅλην χορείην φιλόμολπον εὗρον ἄρτι,
διὸ καὶ κλάδους γελῶντας κατέχων τρίχας τινάσσω.

'I have just found my whole cheerful choir, who love to sing; that is why I

[25] See Viljamaa 1968: 125–131 and Ciccolella 2000a: LVIII–LXI.
[26] See Hörandner 1991: 117, Hörandner 2003: 79–83, and Heisenberg 1920: 98–112.
[27] Lines 2.43–46: ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 80.

hold joyous branches and shake my hair'.[28] Here we have the choir leader (the *maïstor*) speaking to us in the first person singular; he is the one performing the solo parts and apparently he had been looking for his choir members, lost somewhere among the cheering courtiers. The *maïstor* is jubilant and presents himself in the guise of a new Anacreon, shaking his hair in drunken abandon and holding leafy branches, when he enters the nuptial chamber for the performance of yet another wedding song. Please note the use of the past tense: εὗρον, 'I found', which is comparable to the aorists in the wedding song of the *Book of Ceremonies*: ἐσώρευσα ('I gathered'), εἰσῆκα σπουδῇ ('I rushed') and εἶδον ('I saw'). In both texts (*Book of Ceremonies* and Choirosphaktes), the lyrical subject relates his involvement in the wedding celebrations in the past tense, although these celebrations are still taking place in the here and now. And in both texts, the one speaking is the soloist, the *maïstor* of the demes, who is foregrounding himself and his feelings and his past experiences, not in a narcissistic way but as a means of stimulating the participation of all present. The message intended is that the whole court participates in the universal joy: they all gathered flowers, rushed into the nuptial chamber and saw with their own eyes the beauty of love.

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## *Love Songs*

The index to the early tenth-century *Anthologia Barberina* (transmitted in Vat. Barb. gr. 310) offers as item no. 63 the following title: τοῦ αὐτοῦ [=Κωνσταντίνου γραμματικοῦ] ᾠδάριον ἐρωτικὸν δι' ἀνακρέ(οντος), ὅπερ ᾖσεν ἐν νεότητι παίζων, οὔτι σπουδάζων, ἔλαβεν δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκ μελωδίας τινὸς ᾀδομένης ἐν γάμῳ, 'love ode in anacreontics by the same [Constantine the Grammarian, i.e. Constantine the Sicilian], which he sang in his youth in jest, not in earnest; he took his subject from some melody sung at weddings'.[29] Due to the loss of most of its quires, the Barberini manuscript no longer contains the text of this love poem, but the text has fortunately been preserved in two other manuscripts, Par. Suppl. gr. 352 [53102] (s. XIII) and Laur. 32.52 [16316] (s. XIV in.). In the former manuscript it forms part of the *Sylloge Parisina*, a collection of ancient epigrams, where it introduces the paederastic section which, unlike the other sections, does not derive from the Anthology of Kephalas (c. 890–900), but from a mid-ninth-century sylloge (*PCP* = Parisian Collection of Paederastica) compiled by Con-

[28] Lines 3.49–52: ed. Ciccolella 2000a: 80.
[29] Ed. Gallavotti 1987: 39 (*AB* 63).

stantine the Sicilian.[30] In the latter manuscript it is the second of three love poems, all three attributed to Constantine the Sicilian, although the first is in fact late antique and the third is too erratic to be his;[31] the three love poems form part of a small collection of extremely rare Byzantine texts copied on the last four pages of this scholarly manuscript of the early Palaeologan period.[32] The version of Constantine's *Love Ode* in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 was published by Cramer, and the one in Laur. 32.52 by Matranga;[33] their editions were reproduced in various scholarly publications of the nineteenth century, the most important of which is that of Bergk.[34] The text deserves a new edition.

Constantine the Sicilian's *Love Ode* is undeniably a treasure trove of quotations, which is why generations of classicists have been mining it for classical echoes and allusions to ancient masterpieces. The text, without a doubt, imitates Moschus' *Runaway Love*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Theocritus' *Idylls*, hellenistic and late antique epigrams, the *Anacreontea*, late antique anacreontics, Gregory of Nazianzos and Homer,[35] and there are probably many more literary parallels waiting to be discovered by indefatigable citation hunters. Constantine's

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[30] For the *Sylloge Parisina*, see CAMERON 1993: 217–245. For *PCP*, see LAUXTERMANN 1999a: 163–166, and vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 102–104.

[31] The late antique love poem is 'George the Grammarian' no. 4: ed. CICCOLELLA 2000a: 214–219. The other poem (ed. BERGK 1882: 354–355) has so many serious prosodical errors that it cannot possibly be the work of Constantine the Sicilian: see NISSEN 1940a: 70. The poem (a conversation between a boy and a girl) is of some interest because it belies the common assumption that similar erotic dialogues in the vernacular (Falieros' love dreams and *Rimada Koris kai Niou*) have no Byzantine antecedents.

[32] Laur. 32.52 offers Pindar, Theocritus, the hellenistic figure poems and Lycophron on fol. 1–121, followed by a small collection of Byzantine prose and verse on fol. 122–125: fol. 122$^{r}$–123$^{r}$ Psellos, *Philosophica Minora* no. 19; fol. 124$^{r}$ the three love poems; fol. 124$^{r–v}$ Psellos, poems 86–87, 10, 18, 62; fol. 125$^{r–v}$ Nikephoros and Manuel Straboromanos (ed. P. GAUTIER, *REB* 23 (1965) 178–204, at 201–204); fol. 125$^{v}$ Ps. Nikephoros, *Oneirokritikon*, vv. 1–110. See M. BERNABÒ and E. MAGNELLI, *Bizantinistica* 13 (2011) 189–232, esp. 201–202. Rumour has it that the three love poems are no longer extant in this ms. (Bergk and others): this rumour, to quote Mark Twain, has been greatly exaggerated.

[33] Ed. CRAMER 1841: 380–383 and MATRANGA 1850: 693–696. Matranga did not have direct access to the Florentine manuscript, but made use of an apograph made by Dal Furia in 1840 (Palermo, Bibl. Comun. gr. 2 Q q G 40 [48869]).

[34] G. HERMANN, Epitome Doctrinae Metricae. Leipzig $^{4}$1869, 150–154 (based on Cramer); N. PICCOLOS, Supplément à l' Anthologie Grecque. Paris 1853, 166–172 (combines Cramer and Matranga); BERGK 1882: 351–354 (combines Cramer and Matranga, and incorporates emendations suggested by Hermann and Piccolos). Further emendations to Bergk's edition have been suggested by NISSEN 1940a: 66–67, R. ANASTASI, *SicGymn* 16 (1963) 189–195, and MATTER 2002: I, 370–374 (cf. pp. 670–679).

[35] Late antique anacreontics and Homer: NISSEN 1940a: 66–67; Moschus, Longus and Theocritus: MCCAIL 1988; Moschus, *Anacreontea*, late antique anacreontics and epigrams: CAMERON 1993: 249–252; Gregory of Nazianzos and Homer: CRIMI 2001: 40–44.

poem is a dazzling display of erudition and reveals a sensitivity to, and nascent interest in, classical form: it bears all the indelible marks of ninth-century classicism, a regrettably short-lived cultural experiment figureheaded by Leo the Philosopher.

How best to describe the *Love Ode*? It is a text wedded to difficulty. It is wide open to interpretation and yet resists easy reductive explanations; it traffics in metaphor, image, tease and possibility, but promises more than it actually delivers. And simple as its style may seem, rendering it adequately in any language poses a daunting challenge.[36] It tells how the lyrical subject (let's call him Constantine for the sake of convenience) once saw Eros bathing in a river and tried to catch the little devil, who is described at length with all his accoutrements. Constantine pursued the winged creature through meadows and woods, but to no avail; when he was ready to give up, he was mocked and pelted with roses by Eros urging him to pursue his erotic quest, which he then did. Youth being unstoppable and willing to do anything, Eros made Constantine toil and gave him flowers to twine into garlands. And then Eros hid himself in the bushes and, shooting his last arrow, fatally hit Constantine below the waist. It is at this point in the poem (v. 77) that past experience becomes present suffering: the 'then' of erotic pursuit turns into the 'now' of the sorrows of love. Turning for help to his companions, Constantine asks them what he should do now; one of them replies that going on a journey is an option, but that if he prefers to stay, another solution would be to spend sleepless nights and sing sweet melodies.[37] Constantine apparently goes for the second option.

The *Love Ode* is divided into stanzas (οἶκοι) and intercalary distichs ('refrains': κουκούλια). The stanzas make use of the anacreontic (prosodic octosyllable) and the refrains make use of the ionic trimeter. The stanzas consist of four colons, which can syntactically and rhythmically be divided into two paired octosyllables: 8p + 8p / 8p + 8p. For most of the poem, stanzas and refrains alternate as follows: 2 stanzas - refrain - 3 stanzas - refrain, and then, once again, 2 stanzas - refrain - 3 stanzas - refrain, and so on. This abruptly changes after lines 81–82, where one finds the following sequence: 1 stanza - refrain - 3 stanzas - refrain in the Parisian manuscript, and 2 stanzas - refrain - 2 stanzas - refrain in

[36] I know of three modern translations, in English by McCail 1988: 116–118, in Italian by R. Cantarella, Poeti bizantini, a cura di F. Conca, 2 vols. Milan $^{2}$1992, II, 698–707, and in French by Matter 2002: I, 489–491. McCail's, Cantarella's and Matter's interpretations are widely different at certain points.

[37] McCail 1988: 118, n. 22, rightly attributes strophes 19 and 20 to another speaker; however, he fails to register that Hermann and Piccolos (see above n. 34) had already made the same suggestion.

the Florentine manuscript.[38] Though this new arrangement of stanzas and refrains definitely disturbs the balanced structure of the *Love Ode* and could possibly be regarded as an indication that the text is seriously corrupt towards the end, it is worth noticing that this change in overall structure coincides with the change in tense mentioned above, from 'then' to 'now'.

As the poem's message becomes decidedly opaque towards the end, I shall provide a translation and discuss the final stanzas and refrains in some detail:

Δότε μοι λόγον, τί ῥέξω, τί πάθω, τί δ᾽ αὖ προσείπω,
τί δὲ φάρμακον πόθ᾽ εὕρω, κραδίην ἐμὴν δροσίζον;

Φάρμακον ἐξ Ἑλένης εἴ τις ἐφεύροι
ἡμετέραις φιάλαις ἐγκαταμῖξαι.

«Ἄκος εἰς ἔρωτ᾽ ἀκούω ἀποδημίαν γενέσθαι,
σὺ μένειν θέλων δὲ μᾶλλον ἕτερον τρόπον μετέρχου·

ἀύπνους ἴαυε νύκτας μετ᾽ Ἀχιλλέως, ἑταῖρε,
σὺν ἀηδόσι λιγείαις μελιηδέα προσᾴδων».

Ἐδάην πόθου τὸ φίλτρον, ὁδὸν οὐδαμῶς δ᾽ ἐπέγνων·
δότε μοι συνοιμοδίτην τὸν ἔρωτα συλλαλοῦντα.

Τῆς Παφίης τὸ βρέφος φεύγετε, κοῦροι·
λαμπάδα καιομένην χειρὶ κομίζει.

'Give me your counsel: what shall I do, what will become of me, and also what shall I say, and what remedy shall I ever find to cool my heart? *If anyone can find Helen's remedy, mix it in my bowl!* "I hear that travel is a cure for love, but since you prefer to stay, you must follow another method: spend sleepless nights with Achilles, my friend, singing honey-sweet songs in tune with the clear-voiced nightingales". I have learned the charms of love, but I do not know the way at all; give me a fellow traveller, to sing with me of Eros! *Stay away from the Paphian's lad, young men! He carries in his hand a blazing torch*'.[39]

To begin with, the two intercalary distichs ('refrains') quoted above plainly serve different roles. While the second offers a moral platitude of sorts ('stay away

[38] Bergk 1882: 353, critical apparatus ad vv. 87–88, assumes that the sequence in the Florentine manuscript is the original one, but that there is a lacuna of one stanza as well. However, Nissen 1940a: 67, n. 1, rightly points out that refrain 87–88 is better placed after stanza 83–86 than after stanza 89–93, and prefers the Parisian sequence. So do I.

[39] Ed. Bergk 1882: 353–354 (vv. 83–102). In v. 84 I follow the reading of Laur. 32.52 (L): προσείπω; Par. Suppl. gr. 352 (P) has προσήσω, Bergk and others προσοίσω. In v. 94 I read with Nissen 1940a: 67 and Matter 2002: I, 374 ἑταῖρε (ms. L), not ἑταίρων (ms. P and Bergk). In v. 98 I have retained the reading of the two mss., not Bergk's nonsensical 'emendation' ἀπέγνων; see also below n. 60. In v. 102 I read with Matter 2002: I, 374 χειρὶ (ms. P), not χερσὶ (ms. L and Bergk). The translation is loosely based on that of McCail 1988: 118.

from love'),[40] the first is an integral part of the narrative: anxious to find a cure for love, the lyrical subject reminds himself and others that Helen of Troy once mixed an opiate with Telemachus' wine to make him momentarily forget his sorrows (*Od*. 4.220–221), and asks whether anyone can procure it.[41] We find another quotation from Homer a few lines farther on: ἀύπνους ἴαυε νύκτας, cf. *Il*. 9.325 ὣς καὶ ἐγὼ [=Achilles] πολλὰς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἴαυον, a verse quite often parodied in later texts, but, with one exception, never in an erotic context. The one exception is Eumathios Makrembolites' novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*, where Hysminias complains to Eros the King that Hysmine and he had had many sleepless nights on account of love (the poor boy!).[42] The Homeric quote comes from one of Achilles' rants in which he vents his anger over losing Briseis and complains that he is fighting day and night and not getting any sleep — and all this 'for *their* wives' (as Eustathios *ad locum* explains, Achilles is exaggerating slightly here: the Greeks are fighting for Helen alone, not for any other wives).[43] Whereas Achilles spends sleepless nights on account of the wives of others, Constantine the Sicilian does so on account of the one he loves. He is told by his friend that the cure for love is to sing songs of love: the subtext here is Theocritus' *Idyll* 11.1–3: 'No other remedy is there for love, Nicias, neither unguent, methinks, nor salve, save only the Muses', which is then followed by an account of the Cyclops singing of his love for Galatea.[44] Despite the explicit statement that Constantine 'prefers to stay' and does not consider 'travel' to be 'the cure for love', in the last few lines he appears to be contemplating this very prospect: he is asking for a 'fellow traveller' because he does 'not know the way at all', so that the two of them may 'sing of love' together. Travel is a common theme in novels and romances, but as far as I know, it is seldom self-allocated, nor is it presented as an escape from love: in fact, the hapless heroes are eternally in search of their loved ones, with whom they will eventually, after long peregrinations, be

[40] Repeated in vv. 23–24: παῖδα ὀιστοβόλον Ἀφρογενείης / εὐγενέων λογάδων, φεύγετε, κοῦροι, and v. 47: τὸ βρέφος τῆς Παφίης φεύγετε, κοῦροι. For later imitations, see the marginal note by scribe A (c. 920–930) at *AP* 5.1, φεύγετε, νέοι, παῖδα Κυθήρης, τοξοβόλον Ἔρωτα, and a poem scribbled on the last page of Laur. 57.2 (a copy of the 1496 edition of Lucian): φεύγετε τοξοφόρον τοῦτον τὸν Ἔρωτα· τιτρώσκει / καὶ τοῦτου περάει σώματα πάντα βέλη, ed. A.M. BANDINI, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, 3 vols. Florence 1763–70, vol. II, 335. See also the book epigrams attached to the novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*: ed. A. MARCOVICH, Eustathius Macrembolites: De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus libri XI. Munich 2001, XXIII–XXIV.

[41] See CAMERON 1993: 250–251.

[42] *H & H* 7.18.4: σῷ πυρποληθέντες τὰ σπλάγχνα πυρί, βασιλεῦ, νύκτας ὅλας ἀύπνους ἰαύσαμεν.

[43] *Il*. 9.319–327, esp. 327: ὀάρων ἕνεκα σφετεράων. M. VAN DER VALK, Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, 4 vols. Leiden 1971–87, II, 722.

[44] Ed. A.S.F. GOW, Theocritus, 2 vols. Cambridge ²1952, I, 86–87 and II, 208–209. The source has been identified by MCCAIL 1988: 119, n. 28.

reunited. And their erotic quest is usually a solitary enterprise, rather than a shared experience. There are a few exceptions, such as the novels of Prodromos and Eugenianos, and the romance of *Livistros and Rodamne*. *Livistros* is particularly interesting because its opening passage offers a description of a landscape similar to that of the *Love Ode*: it is there that the eponymous hero meets Klitovon, who will be his companion for the rest of the journey and to whom he confides his feelings of burning love.[45] If epigraphs had existed in the Middle Ages, the last stanza of the *Love Ode*, 'I have learned the charms of love, but I do not know the way at all; give me a fellow traveller, to sing with me of Eros', would have been particularly apt for *Livistros and Rodamne*, since it perfectly captures the mood and, more importantly, creates the conceptual space for the plot of the romance.

According to the remarkably detailed heading attached to the *Love Ode*, Constantine the Sicilian 'took his subject from some melody sung at weddings'. The song that inspired him cannot have been an epithalamium because the *Love Ode* alludes to marriage only in passing: '(Eros) gathered flower-blooms and made me toil; for as he went among the plane trees, he made me plait garlands' (vv. 66–70), which I assume to refer to the custom of wedding garlands. Another possible reference to the wedding ceremonies is that '(Eros), pelting me with roses, somehow drove me to lust' (vv. 55–56), because Psellos appears to suggest in one of his letters that it was customary to pelt the wedding guests with roses and apples when they entered the banqueting hall; according to another source (Theodore Daphnopates), the Erotes would strew the bride's head with roses when she entered the nuptial chamber.[46] Except for these two fleeting references, marriage does not come into play and the absence of any nuptial praise would be without parallel in ancient and Byzantine epithalamia. The *Love Ode* shares some of its erotic motifs and themes with late antique and contemporary epithalamia, such as the quiver and arrows of Eros or the wounds of love, but that is where the comparison ends. Constantine's model was definitely not an epithalamium.[47] However, not every song sung at a Byzantine wedding was necessarily an epithalamium in honour of bride and groom; it is reasonable to assume that as the festivities wore on and the general merriment grew, the songs would have gradually become less innocent and less centered on the holy bonds of

[45] Ed. P.A. Agapitos, Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης: κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς διασκευῆς α. Athens 2006, 258–261 (vv. 28–109), and T. Lendari, Livistros and Rodamne. The Vatican Version: critical edition with introduction, commentary and index-glossary. Athens 2007, 144–146 (vv. 30–112).

[46] Ed. C. Sathas, Bibliotheca Medii Aevi, vol. V. Paris 1876, 321–322: Psellos, letter 84. Ed. J. Darrouzès & L.G. Westerink, Theodore Daphnopates. Correspondance. Paris 1978, 170–173: letter 18.

[47] As rightly observed by McCail 1988: 120.

matrimony.[48] The problem is that while we have a fair picture of what goes on at weddings in Greece and Cyprus nowadays, we lack such information for Byzantium.[49] There is a vast quantity of late Byzantine and post-Byzantine love songs in the vernacular (καταλόγια or καταλέγματα), some transmitted in autonomous collections and some incorporated into the romances while others survived until quite recently in the oral tradition.[50] But it is not entirely clear when and under which circumstances Byzantines felt the urge to sing such love songs. Nowadays, τραγούδια της αγάπης are mainly sung at *panegyria* and other village feasts, and often people dance to them. In contrast, in the Palaeologan romances καταλόγια are either serenades to the loved ones or love songs delivered at all-male social gatherings; however, as their literary function is to create the narrative space within which the feelings of love can evolve,[51] it is arguable whether the romances reflect existing social practices or invent a purely fictional setting for the performance of love songs. The collections of καταλόγια, unfortunately, do not provide any background information on their performative and contextual aspects: it is anyone's guess where and when these love songs may have been performed and how they may have sounded.

This is most unfortunate because later love poetry occasionally offers striking similarities to the *Love Ode* of Constantine the Sicilian, which cannot be ascribed to a common (lost) ancestor or to chance; in fact, they exhibit diffused yet genre-related features. Let me give a few examples. In the London collection of καταλόγια, vv. 598–603, the lyrical subject calls out to others who, like him, suffer from love; in the Vienna collection of καταλόγια, nos 91 and 92, the lyrical subject has been wounded by love and is in search of a cure.[52] In an anonymous fifteenth-century collection of love poems in Neap. III B 27 [46268], the lyrical subject has

[48] If one compares the two wedding songs in Prodromos' dialogue *Amarantos*, the differences are obvious: whereas the first one is a traditional epithalamium in honour of bride and groom, the second one, which is sung at the very end of the feast, right before the groom retires to the nuptial chamber, is much raunchier and much more explicit about the sensual pleasures of the wedding night. Ed. T. Migliorini, *MEG* 7 (2007) 183–247, at 193–194 (§16.5–16) and 195 (§19.4–19).

[49] Koukoules 1948–55: Δ, 70–147, still offers the best account of Byzantine wedding ceremonials, but is hopelessly outdated. We need a new Koukoules.

[50] Collections: Lond. Add. 8241 [38811] (ed. D. Hesseling and H. Pernot, Ἐρωτοπαίγνια (Chansons d' amour). Paris 1913) and Vindob. Theol. gr. 244 [71911] (ed. H. Pernot, Chansons populaires grecques des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles. Paris 1931). Romances: for instance, *Livistros* α, vv. 2044–2065 and 4205–4224, and *Digenes Akrites* A, vv. 261–277 (ed. E. Trapp, Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen. Vienna 1971, 24–25). Oral tradition: τραγούδια της αγάπης recorded in many 19th- and 20th-c. collections of Greek folk poetry. For a general overview, see Beck 1971: 183–186.

[51] See P. Agapitos, *Thisavrismata* 26 (1996) 25–52.

[52] For these two collections, see above n. 50.

been hit by the darts of love and is trying to find a cure for the unbearable pains he is suffering.[53] Elsewhere, in the same collection, he suggests that his love poetry is suited to those who wish to travel along 'the highway of desire' (τοῦ πόθου ἡ στρατιά).[54] According to *Livistros*, if the lover persists in his quest, he will walk freely 'the path of love and desire' (τὴν ποθοερωτοστράταν); elsewhere, in a καταλόγιν, the hero refers to the same 'path' which he had chosen for his girl, with sorrows as his 'companions on the road' (συνοδοιπόρους).[55] And in a collection of love poetry attributed to none other than Ptochoprodromos, the poet implicitly compares the pleasures of love with the sensation of relief the traveller feels when, after a long and tiring journey, he lights on a pleasant meadow and a softly murmuring stream, where he will return time and again 'whenever he has to go somewhere even if it means a detour' (ὁσάκις ἔχει ὁδὸν, ἂν καὶ παρα-στρατίζει).[56] The parallels I detect in these καταλόγια are the wounds of love and the search for a cure, the involvement of like-minded companions (friends, potential readers, personified sorrows), and the motif of the paths of love.

Three love songs embedded in the twelfth-century novel of Eugenianos,[57] however, present by far the closest parallels to Constantine the Sicilian's *Love Ode*. The first is a serenade that Kleandros sings on his way to the house of his beloved; the refrain is: 'Moon's torch, give light to the stranger'. The second, sung by Barbition at a friendly get-together of young men under a plane tree, has the following refrain: 'Who has seen the girl I desire? Sing to me, dear comrade'. And the third love song, an adaptation of Moschus' *Runaway Love*, ends as follows: 'But look, night seems to be coming on, girl, and I still have long roads to travel (...) I suffer from inflammation of the brain and madness; do not begrudge me the remedies that end the pain'.[58] So, here one finds the motif of love as a journey (songs 1 and 3), the emotional involvement of others (song 2) and the cure for love (song 3). Although Eugenianos' songs are extremely learned and brimming with subtle, and sometimes less subtle, references to various instances of ancient

[53] Ed. G. Zoras, Δημώδη ποιήματα ἀγνώστου συγγραφέως. Athens 1955, 17–19, no. IV.1–22 and 51–58.

[54] Ibidem, 19, no. VI.

[55] *Livistros* α, vv. 2358 (read ἀσκόνταφτον [or perhaps ἀσκόντητον], not ἀσκόντατον), 4321 and 4323.

[56] Ed. E. Legrand, *REG* 4 (1891) 70–73, no. 7. See also M. Alexiou, *DOP* 69 (2015) 209–224.

[57] There are three passages where Eugenianos unequivocally refers to the musical performance of love poetry: 2.320–385 & 3.1–2 (one song), 3.255–326 (two songs) and 4.151–219 (one song).

[58] For the Greek original, see F. Conca, Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo. Turin 1994, 342–344, 360–362 and 376–378. For the translation, see E. Jeffreys, Four Byzantine Novels. Liverpool 2012, 371–373, 383 and 392.

love poetry,[59] they are clearly modelled on contemporary καταλόγια. The essence is Byzantine; it is the furnishings that are mock classical.

Similarly, I think we should take Constantine the Sicilian at his word when he states that 'he took the subject from some melody sung at weddings', which I take to be some kind of καταλόγιν. Although we obviously cannot reconstruct the text of this love song, it is worth noting that the central theme of the *Love Ode* is the pursuit of love, the erotic quest, that makes the poet run after Eros and wander through meadows and woods in search of the little devil. In more than one sense, and similarly to what one sees in the rest of Byzantine love poetry, the poet is chasing Eros along 'the paths of love'. It is this common theme that is crucial to fully understanding the literary context of the *Love Ode* and grasping its connection with 'melodies sung at weddings'. To judge from the Byzantine novels and romances, the paths of love invariably lead to marriage: catching Eros is tantamount to tying the knot. I have discussed above two subtle references to wedding rituals in the *Love Ode*: the pelting with roses and the plaiting of (wedding) garlands. There is a third reference, not to marriage itself, but to the initial stages of courtship in v. 98: 'I do not know the way (ὁδὸν) at all'; likewise, in the Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites,* the eponymous hero confesses to his loved one not once, but twice: 'nor do I have the least knowledge of the paths of love (τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀγάπης)'.[60] This self-declared lack of experience does not stop Digenes from courting the girl and marrying her in the end.

This is not to suggest that Constantine the Sicilian was referring to an actual marriage, nor is there any reason to believe that the poem was intended to be a genuine καταλόγιν to be performed at a real wedding. In fact, the poet explicitly states that 'he sang (his love ode) in his youth in jest, not in earnest'. Constantine was a student of Leo the Philosopher in the late 840s/early 850s, and although he would not have composed his delightful *Love Ode* while still a student, the text clearly bears witness to his apprenticeship at Leo's school at the Magnaura. As argued elsewhere, the erotic muse was much in vogue in the circle of Leo the Philosopher and his students: they rediscovered ancient *erotica*, edited them, and composed anacreontics and epigrams in direct response to this rediscovered lega-

[59] See J.B. Burton, *GRBS* 52 (2012) 684–713, especially 685–695 where she discusses the motif of the cures of love in Theocritus, Longus and Eugenianos.

[60] Jeffreys 1998: 86–87 (4.335) and 98–99 (4.546), cf. p. 44 (3.3). In her introduction, p. xlv, she establishes a link with Achilles Tatius, 1.9.7: οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὰς ὁδούς, 'I do not know the routes', a line strikingly similar to the *Love Ode*, v. 98: ὁδὸν οὐδαμῶς δ' ἐπέγνων. The collection of late Byzantine καταλόγια in Marc. gr. 599 [70070] (ed. A. Tselikas, *Thisavrismata* 12 (1975) 148–154, at 150, no. IV) offers a variation on the theme: there the lyrical subject confesses to his mistress that he 'does know the road' to her house (τὴν μὲν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ), but is afraid of the wild animals and can therefore not come.

cy.[61] Constantine's *Love Ode*, with all its allusions to Theocritus, Moschus, Longus, *Anacreontea* and the Greek Anthology, is an excellent example of this renewed interest in erotic poetry and prose. A date in the 850s or perhaps early 860s for the *Love Ode* therefore seems very likely.

Although Constantine the Sicilian clearly derives the title of his poem, ᾠδάριον ἐρωτικόν, from the sixth-century collection of the *Anacreontea*, where no fewer than five poems bear exactly the same title,[62] it would be grossly reductive to see it simply as an indication that the poem is written in anacreontics and deals with love, especially given that the poet expressly states that he 'sang' the ode (ᾔσεν) and took the subject 'from some melody sung' at weddings (ἐκ μελωδίας τινὸς ᾀδομένης). The *Love Ode* is one of many examples of lyrics that have come down to us in Byzantine manuscripts without musical notation. Since the *Love Ode* was most probably not performed at a real wedding (it is much too cerebral and erudite for that), its performative context will have been that of the literary *theatron*, the meeting-point for Byzantine intellectuals. The school at the Magnaura is an obvious candidate, but there will have been more *theatra* in mid-ninth-century Byzantium. Whatever the precise location of Constantine's *theatron*, it is there that he performed his love ode, set to the tune of a well-known nuptial καταλόγιν, before his intellectual peers, the small in-crowd capable of recognizing and savouring his refined allusions not only to classical literature but also to popular song culture.

[61] See LAUXTERMANN 1999a and vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 98–107.

[62] Ed. M.L. WEST, Carmina Anacreontea. Leipzig 1984: nos 18, 26, 32, 42 and 43.

*Chapter Fifteen*

## SATIRES AND INVECTIVES

The so-called *Chronicle of the Logothete* recounts how one day Michael III, mighty proud of his new stables,[1] exclaimed that the world would remember him for building such a marvellous edifice — upon which a certain Peter reacted as follows: 'Justinian once built the Great Church and adorned it with gold and silver and precious stones, and now his memory has faded. And you think, emperor, that you will be remembered for this pile of muck (κοπροθέσιον), the place where you keep your horses?' Of course, when he heard this insolent remark, the emperor flew into a rage, started to hit him hard and had him thrown out.[2] In its present form, the story is hardly credible: why should anyone be so stupid as to provoke the anger of the emperor with a remark as offensive as this? It looks like one of the many slanderous stories fabricated by the Macedonian propaganda machine to blacken the character of the horse-loving, but otherwise good-for-nothing Michael the Drunkard, whose murder was perhaps a bit unjust — but Basil the Macedonian had nothing to do with it and besides, Michael had it coming.

However, there are some clues in the text that suggest that whatever distortions the story may have undergone in later times, it still contains a kernel of historical truth. These include the framing of the dialogue between Michael and Peter, the tell-tale characterization of Peter and the use of hyperbole and irony by both parties involved. To begin with the narrative framework, the story explicitly tells us that Michael invited Peter to see his new stables and made his boastful remarks because 'he wished to be praised by him'. And it concludes by saying that the emperor was furious because 'he was denied the praise' he had expected to get from Peter. In other words, Michael thought he was entitled to the kind of Byzantine flattery we call court rhetoric or encomium, but instead was treated to its exact opposite: invective. Although *psogos* (invective) is part of the school curriculum as one of the progymnasmata in which students have to be trained, rhetoricians have remarkably little to say about it. All the student has to know is that it is the reverse of encomium and that all the rules that apply to the genre of

[1] These stables were built near the *Tzykanisterion* (the polo ground inside the palace complex): see Patria III, 29, ed. PREGER 1901–07: 225. A. BERGER, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos. Bonn 1988, 369–371, dates the construction of the stables to 862.

[2] Chronicle of the Logothete, §131.27: ed. Wahlgren, 244–245. For the name, see SP. LAMBROS, *NE* 1 (1904) 237–238.

encomium also apply to that of *psogos*. In practice, this means that the would-be writer of invectives has to begin with deprecating remarks about the ethnic background, hometown and family of the person he wishes to ridicule. This in turn is followed by a vicious account of the upbringing and pursuits in life of the person being ridiculed. Next in line is a picture of all the moral flaws and physical shortcomings of the despicable character the orator is making fun of: this is the central part of the invective. Near the end of his speech the orator will compare the object of his ridicule to other villains, clearly demonstrating that this vile creature has hit an all-time low in terms of moral turpitude. And of course, there is the obligatory prologue introducing the subject of today's harangue and a damning epilogue to top it off.[3]

These are the basic outlines of the genre. Fully-fledged invectives of this kind, however, are few and far between.[4] There is certainly no lack of ridicule in Byzantium, but the ideal form of ridicule as the reverse of praise, as sketched by rhetoricians, has something Platonic about it. It is a glimpse of a topsy-turvy world where ridicule is the opposite of praise — but it is a world that hardly ever morphs into reality. The reasons for this apparent lack of authentic invectives are obvious. Firstly, I am not familiar with any public occasion on which it is customary for the speaker of the day to deliver a speech consisting solely of vituperation. The emphasis here is on the word 'solely'. Criticism, and even mockery, are an integral part of the political culture of Byzantium, but their main function is to underline the importance of good governance, which, as it turns out, is always that of the reigning emperor. Secondly, it is far easier to praise than to ridicule at length. Hatred might be a complex emotion, but it tends to be somewhat one-sided. For one reason or another, when people want to make it clear why they detest a person, there is always a particular feature that comes to mind — a feature that is so appalling that it somehow overshadows all the other characteristics of the person whom they love to loathe. The essence of ridicule is to blow up the picture to absurd proportions, concentrating on just one thing, at the expense of pictorial truthfulness and psychological consistency.[5]

This is also true of Byzantine satire. Most of the time it centres on just a few aspects of the person involved: he (it is almost always a *he* in Byzantium) is fat, he is a drunk, he is not the intellectual he pretends to be, but a commoner; he is queer and effeminate, or an inveterate skirt-lifter; he is dirt-poor and eats shit; he is a pig, a monkey, an ass; he has a stutter and cannot speak Greek properly; he is

[3] See S. Koster, Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur. Meisenheim an Glan 1980, 15–17. See also Steiner-Weber 2008: 98–99.

[4] For the few invectives in prose that have come down to us, see Hunger 1978: I, 105–106 (progymnasmata), 120–122 (Libanios, Julian and Gregory of Nazianzos), 128 (Niketas Choniates) and 132 (Metochites). For the few invectives in verse, see below.

[5] For the various uses of hyperbole in Byzantine satire, see Amado & Ortega 2014.

a thief and a fraud; he is a heretic or, worse, a pagan; he gambles and fools around; he consorts with other lowlifes; he is a damn cheat; he farts in public and smells like rotten fish, and so on and so forth. To quote the title of a famous paper by Barry Baldwin, which is by far the best study to date, the Byzantines certainly had 'a talent to abuse'.[6]

To return to the story about Peter and Michael III, this is an example not of a fully-fledged invective, but of a piece of satire: in Byzantine terms, not of ψόγος (invective), but of σκῶμμα (ridicule). However, in order to understand what is so funny about this altercation between Peter and Michael, we will have to take into account that the story has come down to us through biased sources that aim to cast Michael III in the worst possible light.[7] As it stands now, the story is a portrayal of a foolish and haughty emperor, who thinks that building a stable for his horses will secure his fame. Even for an emperor criticized for his excessive hippomania, this sounds barely credible. Michael III, after all, was no fool and knew what was expected of an emperor: military triumphs, largesse and public buildings, but not stables for private use. If there is some truth to this story —and I think there is— Michael III must have said what he did in a playful tone, employing the kind of self-irony not usually associated with Byzantine emperors, but for which Michael III had an undeniable talent.[8] 'Nice stables, eh? They'll make me famous one day'.

It is clear from Peter's reaction that he took these words to be an invitation to engage in some friendly banter. Exchanges of pleasantries, even malicious ones, were not uncommon in Byzantium: friends liked to poke fun at each other, and ridicule strengthened rather than diminished the bonds of friendship. However, as people may easily be offended by jokes that were not intended to be offensive, friendly banter is a thin line to tread — and, judging by the reaction of the emperor, Peter had apparently overstepped the mark. In his response to Michael III, Peter made use of the well-known device of comic hyperbole, first by

[6] Baldwin 1982. For satire in Late Antiquity, see Agosti 2001. For satire in the eleventh century, see Amado & Ortega 2016: 25–39.

[7] As P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byz* 41 (1971) 452–496 (repr. in: Studies in Byzantine Political History. London 1981, no. IV) has made clear, the *Chronicle of the Logothete*, although it is not as biased as other tenth-century historical sources, derives most of its material concerning Michael III from propaganda in favour of the Macedonian dynasty. This is clearly one such instance.

[8] See, for instance, Theophanes Continuatus, IV.44.15–20 (ed. Featherstone & Signes Codoñer, 296), where we read that Michael III, suspicious of Basil, decided to appoint a new caesar called Basilikinos, an oarsman of the imperial fleet, whom he dressed up with the imperial regalia and then presented to his startled guests, saying: 'Doesn't he make a good emperor? He has the bearings of a ruler, and, what's more, the crown looks nice on him — so, he is perfectly suited for the dignity'. Michael or his ghostwriter quotes a famous line from Euripides (*Aiolos*, fr. 15.2, a popular verse with the Byzantines: see G. Prinzing, in: I. Vassis, G.S. Henrich and D.R. Reinsch (eds), Lesarten: Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag. Berlin-New York 1998, 196–197 and n. 46), but then continues with verses of his own.

comparing the stables to the Hagia Sophia and then by boldly asserting that no one remembers Justinian any more. This is pure nonsense, of course. Chronicles, hagiographical tales and the amusing folklore of the *Patria* were full of stories about Justinian and his exploits.[9] The monuments of Constantinople itself were clear testimony to his energetic building activities, and then there was his equestrian statue which, standing in the centre of the city, could hardly have escaped anyone's notice. Furthermore, in the liturgical calendar of Constantinople Justinian was commemorated not once, but twice.[10] So, apart from Constantine the Great, no Byzantine emperor was as vividly present in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Constantinople as Justinian. Peter made a joke — that much is clear. The problem with jokes, however, is that they are culture-specific: we laugh at what we know — and jokes made by foreigners, or worse still, by very dead foreigners, such as the Byzantines, somehow seem to lose much of their force. This makes it difficult to understand what is so funny about Peter's remark.

It is beyond doubt, however, that the Byzantines (with the possible exception of Michael III) thought Peter was being very funny indeed when he told the emperor that fame does not last. 'Famous, eh? There is the Hagia Sophia and no one remembers who built the damn thing'. That this is Byzantine humour, is made clear by the way Peter is introduced in the *Chronicle of the Logothete*. He is called λόγιος καὶ σκωπτικός, 'learned and given to mockery', indicating that Peter was no ordinary jester but had quite a talent as a satirist. The *Chronicle* also tells us what his nickname was: ὁ Πτωχομάγιστρος, 'the poor magistros' — a nickname strikingly similar to that of the great satirical writer of the twelfth century, Ptochoprodromos.[11] As it is out of the question that a *magistros*, one of the highest ranks in ninth-century Byzantium, is poor, Peter's nickname is a contradiction in terms and, as such, provokes instinctive laughter. Because it is so difficult to understand whether a Byzantine text is meant to be funny, clues such as Peter's nickname or the fact that he was considered to be σκωπτικός are very welcome: they have a signalling function. The same goes for headings in manuscripts. Titles that use words like σκωπτικός, χλευαστικός, στηλιτευτικός, etcetera, indicate that the texts that follow are meant to be funny — even when we moderns do not find them remotely amusing.

The main problem with Byzantine humour, however, is not that its comic aspects often elude us, but that its most common variants, day-to-day banter, pleasantries at social gatherings, plain innocent fun and ordinary jokes, have more

[9] See, for instance, the *Tale of the Building of the Hagia Sophia* (probably dating from the reign of Basil I): Dagron 1984: 191–314.

[10] See H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Brussels 1902, 224 (μνήμη of Justinian on November 24 in the Hagia Sophia) and 866 (μνήμη of Justinian on August 2 in the Holy Apostles).

[11] See Janssen & Lauxtermann 2018: 560–562.

often than not been omitted from the historical records.[12] And in the few cases where they have been transmitted, they usually serve an entirely different agenda from whatever the jester originally had in mind. Michael III and his entourage of fun-loving young men is a good example of how laughter can go sour. There are numerous stories about Michael and his friends acting as mimes, playing practical jokes and exchanging pleasantries: the story about Peter and Michael is just one of many examples.[13] But it is very clear that all these stories serve the purpose of undermining the prestige of the emperor and presenting him as someone unfit to govern. This is one of the mechanisms of humour: it can backfire in the long run, and thus the laughing Michael becomes a laughing-stock himself in later historiography. In Byzantine sources, day-to-day jokes are mentioned in order to discredit either the target of the joke or its perpetrator. Either way, the joke loses its innocence and becomes part of a biased account.

Apart from these isolated examples of day-to-day banter in chronicles, hagiography and other sources, Byzantine humour is reflected in three literary genres: Lucianic satires in prose,[14] invectives in prose and verse, and satirical poems. It is worth noting that, whereas these three genres are well represented in the literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and later, they seem to have been less popular in earlier centuries. The oldest Lucianic satire, the *Philopatris*, dates from the second half of the tenth century at the earliest. As for the genre of invective, there are only a few examples predating the year 1000, and most of these are not particularly amusing (for instance, the unreadable *Choirosphaktes or Wizard-Hater* by Arethas). The number of satirical poems written between 600 and 1000 is fairly restricted as well, at least in comparison to their abundance in the literary output of later authors, such as Christopher Mitylenaios, Psellos and

[12] For a few prose examples, see GARLAND 1990; GARLAND 1999; HALDON 2002; GARLAND 2006; MARCINIAK 2009. I know of two poems delivered on the spur of the moment: a poem attributed to Geometres and published in vol. I, Appendix III, p. 316: 'having asked who read the first lecture and who the second at the feast of the Holy Virgin and having been told that Mageiros [=Cook] read the first and Kapnogeneios [=Soot-Beard, Smoke-Face] the second (he said): 'Cook was first, Smoke-Face second, because with a cook around, smoke is soon to follow', and a poem certainly by Geometres (no. 273, ed. VAN OPSTALL 2008: 426): *εἴς τινα πάνυ μικρὸν κελευσθεὶς εἰπεῖν στίχον σχέδιον·* Οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν τὸν σκωπτόμενον, σύγγνωτε, 'having been asked to improvise a verse on a very small person (he said): 'Sorry, but I cannot see the butt of laughter'.

[13] On Michael III's comic talents, see J.N. LJUBARSKIJ, *JÖB* 37 (1987) 39–50, C. LUDWIG, Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild. Frankfurt am Main 1997, 369–374, and S. TOUGHER, in: L. JAMES, A Companion to Byzantium. Chicester-Malden 2010, 140–142.

[14] Most of these Lucianic satires can be found in: R. ROMANO, La satira bizantina dei secoli XI–XV. Turin 1999. See also V. PAPAIOANNOU, Ἡ σάτιρα στὴ βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία. Thessaloniki 2000.

Prodromos. Another difference is that satire appears to become more benign and less offensive after the year 1000. This is a gradual change, and gross and vicious offence certainly does not come to a full stop after the year 1000, but generally speaking, Byzantine satire looks somewhat more polite and good-natured in the eleventh century than it did in the tenth. These two developments (the increase in the production of satire and the softening of the satirical thrust) may be seen as an indication that, from the eleventh century onwards, society as a whole became more tolerant of laughter and humour, provided the jokes were toned down. But this is something that needs further research.

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## *Name Calling*

The Byzantines enjoyed verbal abuse. We moderns do too, but are afraid to admit it, as we have been taught that name calling is not a respectful thing. It is not nice. It is not civilized. And yet we love it when Basil Fawlty flies into a rage and starts shouting at Manuel, or Blackadder spits out insults that cannot be found in any respectable dictionary. This hypocrisy is alien to the Byzantines, who, unencumbered by the so-called process of civilization, unhindered by the development of a capitalist bourgeois ethos and uninhibited by Freudian or post-Freudian angst, enjoyed a much greater freedom in this respect than we do. The Byzantines certainly had their hang-ups, and their list of dos and don'ts is no shorter than ours. But having a good laugh at the expense of someone else is not a problem.

The leading light in the art of name-calling among Byzantine poets was without a doubt Constantine the Rhodian. His talents as a satirist even earned him a position in the offices of Samonas, the powerful Arab eunuch in the service of Emperor Leo VI. According to the chroniclers, in the year 908 Samonas made use of Constantine the Rhodian's satirical talents and ordered him to compose a pamphlet offensive to the emperor and supposedly written by a rival of Samonas. The purpose of all this was, of course, to provoke the anger of the emperor and to turn him against this rival of Samonas. It was certainly a cunning plan, but it backfired. The plot was discovered and Samonas was compelled to take the monastic habit.[15] The pamphlet is lost, but judging by the surviving work of Constantine the Rhodian, it will have been a mixture of gross insults, malicious insinuations and

[15] See R.J.H. JENKINS, *Speculum* 23 (1948) 217–235 (repr in: Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries. London 1970, no. X).

devastating humour. An example of this is the satire directed against Leo Choirosphaktes, the trusted ambassador of Leo VI, who was apprehended and sent into exile in 907 or shortly after. The precise reason for Choirosphaktes' downfall is not known, but it is somehow connected with his dealings with the Arabs in 905–907, when he led an embassy to negotiate peace and arrange an exchange of prisoners of war. He also had to ensure that the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch would send legates to discuss the tetragamy scandal. If we are to believe Choirosphaktes, he succeeded on all fronts, but was falsely accused by his enemies.[16] It cannot be ruled out, however, that Choirosphaktes was somehow involved in the revolt of Andronikos Doukas, which took place near the eastern borders when Choirosphaktes was in Baghdad.[17]

During his political career Leo Choirosphaktes must have made many enemies because we have two texts, both obviously written after his downfall, that make fun of him. The first is a prose invective by Arethas of Caesarea: a vicious attack which 'hinges on one thing, on [Choirosphaktes] having introduced himself into the Church and imparted instruction in matters of theology and morals'.[18] The second text is a poem by Constantine the Rhodian, the above-mentioned hangman of Samonas. Although it cannot be proved with absolute certainty, I strongly suspect that Constantine produced the pamphlet on the orders of the back-stabbing Samonas, who will have felt the need to settle old scores and take revenge on Choirosphaktes when the time was ripe. The pamphlet is notorious for its bizarre words. Except for the beginning and the end of the poem, all the verses consist of a single sesquipedalian compound in the manner of Aristophanes. Here are some examples (vv. 11–12, 15, 21–23, 25–26):

κασαλβοπορνομαχλοπρωκτεπεμβάτα·
ὀλεθροβιβλοφαλσογραμματοφθόρε·
ἑλληνοθρησκοχριστοβλασφημοτρόπε·
βαρβιτοναβλοπληθοκυμβαλοκτύπε·
καὶ ψαλτοχορδοσαμβυκοργανοκρότα·
κορνουτοπαρθενοτριβοψυχοφθόρε·
πρεσβευτοκερδοσυγχυτοσπονδοφθόρε·
καὶ κοσμολεθροσυμφοροπλανοσπόρε.[19]

[16] See KOLIAS 1939: 47–58.

[17] See R.J.H. JENKINS, *ZRVI* 8 (1963) 167–175 (repr. in: Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries. London 1970, no. XI).

[18] Thus P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Byz* 35 (1965) 455–481, at 465 (repr. in: Studies in Byzantine Political History. London 1981, no. IX). The text is found in WESTERINK 1968: I, 200–212.

[19] The pamphlet consists of two parts: ed. MATRANGA 1850: II, 624–625 and 625–626. The former part is directed against Leo Choirosphaktes; the latter, against a relative of Choirosphaktes, Theodore the Paphlagonian (on whom, see below n. 46). In v. 11, I have corrected -προικτ- to -πρωκτ-. In v. 21 Matranga reads -πλινθο-, but I fail to understand the connection between

'Oh, you humper of harlots, strumpets and sluts right up the arse! Oh, you pernicious word-twister and falsifier of texts! (...) Oh, you pagan believer with your blasphemies against Christ! (...) Oh, you lyre-nebel-tambourine-and-cymbal strummer! Oh, you psalm-singer and sambuca-strings plucking musician! Oh, you cuckold, groping little girls and corrupting their souls! (...) Oh, you greedy, havoc-wreaking, treaty-breaking ambassador! Oh, you sower of discord, destruction and global disaster!'[20]

As we will never know what Leo Choirosphaktes did or did not do in his bedroom, there is no point in discussing the more lurid details of this poem — although it is very interesting to see that the Byzantines, often presented as pious bores, apparently did not object to explicit references to foreplay and anal sex, and even found them very funny. Breaching the norms of good taste and good manners is one of the basic ingredients of humour and provokes a liberating kind of laughter — but at the same time it confirms these codes; it presents them as self-evident and legitimate. Thus, when we read in line 10 that Choirosphaktes was a serious drinker, imbibing substantial amounts of wine, we may infer that references to boozing were considered funny, but also that excessive drinking was socially unacceptable.

The poem is abuse for abuse's sake. But it is not total nonsense. Take, for instance, the accusation that Choirosphaktes is in fact a pagan with a grudge against Christianity, who twists words and falsifies texts. Arethas of Caesarea says more or less the same in his invective against Leo Choirosphaktes. There, too, we read that Choirosphaktes is a convicted crypto-pagan who has the temerity to preach the Gospel and expound the writings of the church fathers in such a way that simple people are misled into thinking that his heretical views are correct.[21] The fact that Arethas and Constantine the Rhodian concur, does not necessarily mean that their extremely negative assessment of Choirosphaktes' religious convictions is justified. It simply indicates that there were people in early tenth-century Byzantium who, with or without good reason, questioned the ethics and beliefs of Leo Choirosphaktes.[22]

The satirical allusions to 'the lyre, the *nebel*, the tambourine and the cymbal' and to 'psalm singing and sambuca playing' may seem obscure, but in fact refer to the poetry of Leo Choirosphaktes, who was not only an ambassador with politi-

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'bricks' and musical instruments. I would suggest reading -πληθο-, the stem of the word πληθίον, 'tambourine': see below n. 24. For more emendations, see STERNBACH 1886: 56–62. For a German translation of these insults, see STEINER-WEBER 2008: 99–101.

[20] For comments on this poem, see MERCATI 1923–25: 286–288 and VASSIS 2002a: 9–10.

[21] See P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Byz* 35 (1965) 463–467 (repr. in: Studies in Byzantine Political History. London 1981, no. IX), and VASSIS 2002a: 8–9.

[22] For an excellent discussion of Choirosphaktes' religious views, some of which border on the heretical, see MAGDALINO 1997: 146–161.

cal ambitions and a heretic with theological aspirations, but also a gifted poet. The lyre and the *nebel* (another stringed instrument) are a subtle allusion to Anacreon and the anacreontic tradition in Byzantium.[23] The tambourine and the cymbal are instruments used at the nuptial ceremonies of emperors and their brides.[24] Leo Choirosphaktes is the author of epithalamia celebrating one of the four marriages of emperor Leo VI: these epithalamia are written in anacreontics.[25] As for the 'psalms' and the 'sambuca' (a kind of harp), these are obvious references to the hymns that go under the name of Leo Magistros/Maïstor (=Choirosphaktes).[26] Thus we see that in these two verses Constantine the Rhodian ridicules the literary ambitions of a fellow poet and makes disparaging comments about his anacreontic wedding songs and liturgical hymns.

In the last two verses quoted, Constantine the Rhodian also makes scathing remarks about the political career of Choirosphaktes, whom he accuses of putting personal profit before the common good and foolishly jeopardizing the peace and security of the Byzantine state. In lines 8, 17 and 19, we read that Choirosphaktes is a thief and a fraud. Whether there is any truth to these accusations is impossible to say for lack of information — but it does not sound improbable. Corruption is endemic to most organizations and institutions, especially in pre-modern societies, where bribes and illicit earnings often form a supplement to the salaries of civil servants. Byzantium is no exception.[27] This too was a state that suffered seriously from corruption; worse still, a state that had institutionalized corruption in the form of the purchase of titles and functions. If a bureaucratic system actually favours corruption, it would be naive to suppose that higher civil servants such as Leo Choirosphaktes could have moved up in the hierarchy without ever accepting a bribe or bribing other people. But if everyone in Byzantium was on the take, it is reasonable to assume that the enemies of Choirosphaktes, people like Arethas and Constantine the Rhodian, all of them members of the bureaucratic elite in Constantinople, were as corrupt as Choirosphaktes — and the allegations against Choirosphaktes, therefore, are a good example of the pot calling the kettle black. It shows that the accusations of bribery and fraud, even if true, are not the heart of the matter, but simply a case of giving the dog a bad name and then hanging him.

The same can be said of almost all the outrageous accusations made by Constantine the Rhodian. Some of them are grounded in truth, some are not, and other allegations cannot be verified — but none of these provide a good explana-

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[23] See LAUXTERMANN 2003b: 313.

[24] See *De Ceremoniis*, I, 90 (81): ὑπὸ πληθίων καὶ χειροκυμβάλων, and I, 91 (82): τά τε πληθία καὶ χειροκύμβαλα (ed. REISKE 1829–30: I, 379 and 380 and VOGT 1935–40: II, 180 and 181).

[25] See chapter 14, pp. 105–108.

[26] See VASSIS 2002a: 15–16.

[27] See *ODB*, s.v. Corruption.

tion for Choirosphaktes' sudden and unexpected downfall. Leo liked little girls. Leo drank too much. Leo was a commoner. Leo was a thief, a fraud, a gambler and a liar. Leo was a bad poet. Leo was a heretic. Leo was a rotten ambassador. — So?

Although we will never know what the real charges against Leo Choirosphaktes were, and although there is little reason to believe that those adduced by Constantine the Rhodian in his satirical poem were anything more than just a cover-up of what was really at stake, the poem's political relevance should not be underestimated. Previously I called Constantine the Rhodian the hangman of Samonas, and not without reason, because in a symbolic sense one may say that the long list of bizarre incriminations is the indictment and that Constantine, with his exuberant humour, tries the case, passes judgment and carries out the sentence — which is public humiliation on the scaffold, followed by a ritual hanging. The power of ridicule is twofold. On the one hand, ridicule gives satirists the opportunity to show off their wit by making people laugh, and thus to strengthen their own positions in literary circles. On the other hand, in the hands of a gifted satirist, it is a deadly weapon that destroys reputations and casts the object of the ridicule into the deepest abyss of infamy.

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## *Parades of Infamy*

It was customary in Byzantium for those found guilty of a capital crime or high treason, before being executed or blinded or sent into exile, to be paraded through the streets of Constantinople in what is called a *diapompeusis*, a kind of contumelious parade. Culprits had their heads completely shaved (including beards and eyebrows) and their faces covered with tar or ashes, and would occasionally wear garlands of garlic or, even worse, would have foul-smelling entrails hung around their necks. Women had to unveil themselves, and both sexes, men and women, were sometimes stripped naked in order to humiliate them even further. They were then sat on mules, usually backwards, and were paraded around while bystanders jeered at them, shouted obscenities, hit them, flogged them and spat at them. Mimes and buffoons were hired to make fun of the culprits by pulling faces, making indecent gestures and singing bawdy ditties.[28] Graphic descriptions of these parades can be found in numerous chronicles and saints'

[28] For such parades of infamy, see KOUKOULES 1948–55: Γ, 184–208, and MCCORMICK 1986: 186–187.

lives;[29] but there is also a satirical poem by Geometres that clearly refers to such a parade of infamy:

Ὁ δραματουργός, τοῦ τράγου τὸ παιδίον,
κήρυξον, εἰπὲ τὴν νέαν τραγῳδίαν·
πῶς ἐξυβρίσθης, πῶς ἐτύφθης, πῶς μέσον
πάντων ἐσύρθης, πῶς ἐχρίσθης τὴν θέαν,
πῶς ἐρραπίσθης, πῶς ἐτίλθης τὰς τρίχας.
ταῦτα, τραγῳδέ, νῦν τραγῴδει καὶ τράγον
εἴπερ θέλοις, καὶ τοῦτον εὕροις ἐγγύθεν,
σὲ τὸν φύσαντά φημι τὸν κερασφόρον,
τὸν ἐκφύσαντα τεσσάρων πλέθρων κέρας.
πλὴν μὴ κρεουργῇς, ἀλλὰ βόσκε και τρέφε
τροφεῖα τίνων τῷ γένους ἀρχηγέτῃ.
καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις ὢν Ἰαπετὸς καὶ γέρων
φρένας δικαίως, καὶ γὰρ ὡς τράγου τέκνον,
οὐκ ἔσχες, ἀνθ᾽ ὧν τοῦτο μηδεὶς θαυμάσοι.

‘Oh dramaturge and goat kid, declaim the latest tragic goat play — tell us how you were jeered at, beaten, dragged along in public, had your face smeared and were flogged and had your hair torn out. Now is the time, goat writer, to tell these tragic goat stories. And if you need a goat, you will find one to hand: your father, that is — that cuckold with his four plethra-long goat’s horn. But please don’t butcher him. No, feed him and graze him: that’s the way to repay the head of the family for his fodder. Though you are an old man, an Iapetus in age, you understandably lost your head: you are, after all, the son of a goat — so that figures’.[30]

Anna Komnene offers an interesting parallel to this poem. In the passage that describes the punishment meted out to Michael Anemas, who had risen in revolt in 1104, she tells us that Anemas and his accomplices were paraded through the market-place, with their heads shaved and their beards cut off, wearing crowns of offal and sitting sideways on oxen, while buffoons made fun of them. These buffoons sang a funny song (ᾀσμάτιόν τι γελοῖον) in vernacular Greek (λέξει ἰδιώτιδι) calling Anemas and his fellow conspirators ‘cuckolds’ (κερασφόρους ἄνδρας).[31] They were presumably called ‘cuckolds’ because they had lost their beards. Just as the beard stands for masculinity in Byzantine society, so the cutting off of the beard symbolically represents castration and loss of manhood.

In the case of Geometres, however, the beardlessness of the ‘tragic goat kid’, the person who is the butt of public derision here, somehow affects his father,

[29] See Magdalino 2007.
[30] Geometres no. 4 (Cr. 269.20): ed. Tomadaki 2014: 50 and 262–263.
[31] See Reinsch & Kambylis 2001: 374–375 (XII 6, 5).

because he is the cuckold (which makes his son the son of a cuckold and a whoring mother). It is as if the disgrace and public humiliation of the 'goat kid' is a contagious blight that spreads from one generation to another, leaving a trail of cuckold's horns in its wake. There are references to goats and tragedy throughout the poem, all of which relate to the common etymology of 'tragedy' as a song for the prize of a goat or delivered at the sacrifice of a goat, an animal connected with the cult of Dionysus, the god of tragedy, who is traditionally surrounded by goat-footed satyrs. But however 'tragic' the parade of infamy might have been for the 'goat kid' and his family, Geometres did not write this because he thought it was a tragedy. On the contrary, it is meant to be hilarious. This is comedy — or to use a more apt metaphor, it has the outlines of a satyr play in which horned goats are physically and verbally assaulted.

'Funny songs in vernacular Greek', such as the one mentioned by Anna Komnene in connection with the public mockery of Anemas and his fellow rebels, were hardly ever written down in Byzantium, because they sounded too 'vulgar' to the ears of highbrow authors. Two texts chanted at parades of infamy have miraculously survived this literary auto-da-fé. The first dates from 601:

| | |
|---|---|
| Εὕρηκε τὴν δαμαλίδα | ἁπαλὴν καὶ τρυφεράν |
| καὶ ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἀλεκτόριν | οὕτως τὴν πεπήδηκε / ταύτῃ ἐπεπήδηκε |
| καὶ ἐποίησε παιδία | ὡς τὰ ξυλοκούκουδα· |
| καὶ οὐδεὶς τολμᾷ λαλῆσαι, | ἀλλ᾽ ὅλους ἐφίμωσεν. |
| ἅγιέ μου, ἅγιέ μου, | φοβερὲ καὶ δυνατέ, |
| δὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ κρανίου | ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρεται, |
| κἀγώ σοι τὸν βοῦν τὸν μέγαν | προσαγάγω εἰς εὐχήν. |

'He found his heifer soft and tender, and mounted her like a young cock, and fathered lots of little tots. And no one dares to speak: he has muzzled us all. My holy lord, my holy lord, fearful and mighty, hit him over his pompous head to teach him a lesson, and I will bring you the great ox in thanksgiving'.[32]

In 601, the common people, less than satisfied with the regime of Emperor Maurice because of food shortages in the capital, expressed their anger in a rather theatrical manner. They found a man of similar appearance to Maurice, put a black cloak on him, wove him a crown of garlic, sat him on an ass and then mocked him by chanting the above text. The song plainly refers to the fact that Emperor Maurice had many children and apparently enjoyed the pleasures of marital life.

[32] For the text, see Maas 1912: 34 (no. III); Jeffreys 1974: 188, n. 242; Horrocks 2010: 328–329. The chronicle of John of Antioch offers lines 1–2, and the chronicle of Theophanes (which goes back to a fuller text of John of Antioch than we possess nowadays) lines 1–7. In v. 2 John of Antioch has οὕτως αὐτὴν πεπήδηκε, where Jeffreys suggests reading ᾽τὴν; Theophanes has ταύτῃ πεπήδηκε, where Horrocks suggests reading ἐπεπήδηκε (kappa aorist of ἐπιπηδῶ). In v. 6 Theophanes has ὑπεραίρεται: there is no need to change this into ὑπεραίρηται.

His wife is likened to a soft and tender heifer, and the number of children is compared to the multiple seeds of the pod of the carob tree (ξυλοκούκουδα).[33] Maurice himself is first likened to a young cock who keeps mounting his wife, and then to a great bull who will be ceremonially slaughtered. As we see, the anonymous poet muddles his metaphors and is after an easy laugh by using explicit sexual imagery. As we do not have specific stage directions, most of the fun escapes us. Was there perhaps a heifer and were mimes making obscene gestures in its direction? Were buffoons running around brandishing carob pods? The ending may have resembled a Punch and Judy scene with someone hitting 'Maurice' over the head. Anyhow, there can be little doubt that this was a form of political street theatre, which was highly amusing and memorable, so much so that in this case it eventually led to the downfall of the emperor.

The second satirical song has come down to us in a badly mangled state, in three Cretan manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which present it as an apocalyptic prophecy. Any reconstruction of the text is by definition arbitrary, but I think Morgan has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that, whatever the precise wording, the song refers to a mock parade held in 970, when the empress Theophano, after the murder of her husband Nikephoros Phokas, was not allowed to marry Tzimiskes and was banished from the palace.[34]

Ὁ χαλκεὺς βαρεῖ τ᾽ ἀμόνιν καὶ βαρεῖ τοὺς γείτονας·
ὁ συνάπτης καὶ ὁ πριψίδης εἰς τὴν θύραν στήκουσιν·
Θεοφανοὺ ἐπολέμαν πίτταν καὶ ἡ καλὴ τὴν ἔφαγεν.
ὅπου ἐφόρειν τὸ διβίκιν τώρα δέρμαν ἔβαλεν
καὶ ἂν τὴν φθάσει ἐδῶ ὁ χειμῶνας φέρε καὶ τὴν γούναν της·
κουκκουροβουκινάτορες φουκτοκωλοτρυπᾶτοι
εἰς τὴν σέλλαν μίας μούλας καύχαν νὰ πομπεύουσιν.

'The blacksmith strikes his anvil and strikes his neighbours too. The matchmaker and the princeling are standing at the door. Theophano was baking a cake, but the beauty ate it. She who once wore an imperial robe, is now wearing animal hides; and if winter catches up with her here, bring her fur coat too. Shrivelled horn-players with wide-open fist-sized arses will parade the slut on the saddle of a mule'.[35]

[33] ξυλοκούκουδο is attested in a few Modern Greek dialects with the meaning of ξυλοκέρατο, the brownish seed pod of the carob tree; here it indicates the many tiny seeds that the carob pod contains, cf. A. Korais, Ἄτακτα, vol. V. Paris 1835, 257: ξυλόκοκκον· ὁ ἔσω κόκκος τοῦ ξυλοκεράτου.

[34] Morgan 1954: 296–297. See Garland 2006: 169–171.

[35] For the seriously corrupted text of this song, see Morgan 1954: 292–294, followed by Horrocks 2010: 330–331. The text offered by L. Politis, Ποιητικὴ Ἀνθολογία, Α΄. Athens 1967 (Athens $^{2}$1975), 174, is somewhat better because he takes into account the readings of all three

The first line is a proverb, attested in Byzantine and Modern Greek sources, indicating that, to avoid trouble, one should stay away from bad company.[36] In this case the 'bad company' are John Tzimiskes, Theophano's lover who abandoned her, and Basil the Parakoimomenos, who arranged a last-minute marriage between Tzimiskes and Theodora, when it became clear that Theophano was unacceptable to the church and the people. Tzimiskes is the 'princeling', Basil the 'match-maker' and Theodora the 'beauty'. Just as in the case of the satirical song that makes fun of emperor Maurice and his sexual proclivities, we have a text with hardly any stage directions. 'Here' in v. 5 suggests a theatrical setting, perhaps the Hippodrome; the future tense in v. 7 (if the reconstructed text is correct) suggests a plot that evolves within a certain time frame. An actress playing the role of Theophano is sitting on a mule; she wears some kind of leather outfit, and a group of buffoons with 'shrivelled horns' (strapped-on phalluses?) and arseholes the size of fists (painted on the back of their tunics?) is about to parade her around, while calling her a slut. At a certain point the buffoons will bring a 'fur coat' because 'Theophano' cannot stand the cold: this is perhaps a reference to the disgusting habit of wrapping entrails around the necks of usurpers.

There must have been a lot of tomfoolery and horseplay, but it is anyone's guess what kind of gimmicks and tricks were used to make these parades of infamy memorable events. The jokes are lost on us, because the visual element is missing. It is like standing in an empty theatre and listening to a tape recording of an anonymous comedian, all the while hoping to witness a live performance.

The two satirical songs have the same metrical structure: 8p + 7pp/ox; the rhythm is trochaic, with stress accents on the uneven metrical positions.[37] This metre can also be found in a polemical exchange of insults that the Greens and the Blues (the circus factions of the Hippodrome) shouted at each other in the year 561.[38] The metre is otherwise unique and appears to be an adaptation of the Latin

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mss. In line 5, I have changed the masculine personal pronouns into feminine ones. Line 7 is so corrupt that every reconstruction is speculative. As for the first hemistich, I follow Morgan and Politis apart from the late medieval form εἰσὲ. In the second hemistich mss. B and K offer αρχων απομπέβουσιν, ms. N καρχοκτόνοπομπεβουσιν. Morgan and Politis follow N and read καυχόκτονο πομπεύουσιν, which does not fit the metre; I suspect that mss. B and K are closer to the original.

[36] See A. Karpozilos, ed., The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous Metropolitan of Euchaita. Thessaloniki 1990, 70–71 and 212: ἀγρυπνεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὸν συνοικοῦντα χαλκεῖ κατὰ τὸν δημόσιον λόγον, 'he who lives next to a blacksmith must lie awake at night, as the saying goes'. And see a modern Chiot proverb quoted by Morgan 1954: 296: γείτονα χαλκιά μην κάμεις αν δε θέλεις σφυροκόπια, 'don't have a blacksmith for a neighbour, if you don't want the hammering'.

[37] Line 6 of the song that mocks Theophano is a political verse, and line 7 is a combination of a trochaic and an iambic octosyllable in the versions of Morgan and Politis (see n. 35).

[38] See Maas 1912: 34 (no. II).

trochaic septenarius.[39] Almost all satirical songs composed in Latin and directed against reigning emperors make use of this trochaic septenarius (usually of the *versus quadratus* type). For instance, Suetonius (*Caligula* 6, 1) reports that in the year 19 AD an angry mob marched to the Capitol and woke Tiberius with the false news of the survival of Germanicus: 'Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus'.[40] When Constantinople became the capital of the eastern part of the empire, ancient Roman traditions and institutions migrated from their native soil to a new historical setting. They turned Greek, but remained thoroughly Roman. One of the customs that moved from West to East was the practice of staging parades of infamy and chanting satirical songs that mock imperial power. It is rare to find such continuity: here we have a tradition that stretches all the way from Tiberius to Theophano and even crosses linguistic barriers.

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## *Byzantine Disputes*

The literary theatres and the inter-school contests made intellectual life in the capital competitive, if not outright combative and aggressive.[41] There are quite a number of satirical poems in which offensive words are likened to weapons, disputes to wrestling or boxing matches, and intellectual opponents to enemy combatants.[42] It is all about biting the dust, lusting for blood, viciously attacking from the back, showing your worth and being a real man: opponents are by definition weak and effeminate. There is a lot of braggadocio and sabre-rattling, not unlike what goes on at freestyle rap battles, where rappers try to outsmart each other with clever rhymes and catchy beats.

Satire was basically a one-upmanship game between Byzantine males, each trying to outshine the other by being more hilarious, more rude and, above all, more literate than the rest. This obviously raises the question of literary communication. How did the contestants know that they had been targeted? There is the

[39] See JEFFREYS 1974: 183–190. See also P. MAAS, Kleine Schriften. Munich 1973, 393, and LAUXTERMANN 2000: 115–117.

[40] See P. KLOPSCH, Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre. Darmstadt 1972, 16–17.

[41] See BERNARD 2014: 253–290, with many references to Christopher Mitylenaios, the most combative poet of the eleventh century. For Mitylenaios' satirical poetry, see KOUTENTAKI 2009.

[42] See, for instance, Constantine the Sicilian: ed. SPADARO 1971: 201.36–46; Constantine the Rhodian's attacks against Theodore the Paphlagonian: ed. MATRANGA 1850: 628.24–35 (read πάλην in v. 25), 629.57–58, and 632.132–139, and the Anonymous Patrician's response to an anonymous opponent: ed. VASSIS 2015: 343–345: nos 36–37, esp. 36.3, 6–7, 14–16, 21, and 37.1–3. See also Mauropous 33, Chr. Mityl. 36, and Psellos 21.

famous story in Anna Komnene about how libellous pamphlets (φάμουσα) were thrown into the tent of Alexios Komnenos, the person targeted.[43] But this must have been quite exceptional. Normally satirical texts will have circulated in intellectual circles and thus become known to the targeted individuals, who would then respond by counter-attacking and demanding that justice be done.[44] See, for example, the witty four-line poem by Sabbaites and the furious reaction from Psellos in no fewer than 321 lines.[45] Since Sabbaites' poem is short enough to be memorized, it may have been passed on by word of mouth, but Psellos' lengthy riposte must have reached his opponent in written form. Constantine the Rhodian and Theodore 'Babyface' the Paphlagonian engaged in a heated exchange over the question of whether there were any true intellectuals left in Byzantium: the titles to these eloquent insults make use of words that refer to writing, such as ἔγραψε, ἀντέγραψε, προοιμιάσατο.[46]

The exchange of insults between Constantine the Rhodian and Theodore the Paphlagonian falls into an extremely rare category, that of the 'dispute'. Whereas satire is usually a one-way communication, the dispute is a medium that allows both sides to engage in fierce thrust and counter-thrust, and battle it out to the delight of all present. It is not very elevated. It is not fair either: anything goes and the only rule is that the funniest and most offensive person wins. The winner begins and ends, and delivers most of the punch-lines (although Constantine the Rhodian may be overdoing it by allowing himself the space of 116 lines, whereas his opponent is only given 23). To the best of my knowledge, there are three disputes in the whole of Byzantine poetry: Constantine the Rhodian and Theodore the Paphlagonian, Geometres and Stylianos (see below), and a dispute between two nameless poets published by Sola.[47] These three disputes date from the early

[43] Ed. Reinsch & Kambylis 2001: 385 (XIII 1, 6). It is interesting to note that Psellos, too, refers to the 'throwing' of libellous pamphlets in the title of one of his essays: εἰς τὸν λοίδορον *ῥίψαντα χάρτην* (ed. A.R. Littlewood, Michael Psellus, Oratoria Minora. Leipzig 1985, 21–29: no. 7).

[44] See Magdalino 2012: 33–35.

[45] For Sabbaites' satirical poem, see Westerink 1992: 270 (4 vv.) and 259 (2 vv.). For Psellos' reply to it, see poem no. 21.

[46] See Matranga 1850: 627–632: Κωνσταντίνου ῾Ροδίου ἐν σκωπτικοῖς ἰάμβοις εἰς Θεόδωρον εὐνοῦχον Παφλαγόνα, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Βρέφος, κτλ. The words ἔγραψε, ἀντέγραψε, προοιμιάσατο are on p. 627. P. Magdalino, in: S. Lambakis (ed.), Η βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.). Athens 1998, 141–150, at 144, identifies Theodore the Paphlagonian with the tutor of young Constantine VII. He appears to be a member of the Choirosphaktes family: see Matranga 1850: 626, 33–41 and 631, 122 (read χοιροπαφλαγὼν).

[47] Sola 1916: 151 (no. VII): nos 1, 3, 5 and 7 are the work of the Anon. of Sola (A) and nos 2, 4 and 6 are replies by another anonymous poet (B). B lives in the monastery of Nosiai or feels a strong attachment to it (see Bernard 2011), A lives in another monastery somewhere in the mountains (see 2.1 and 7.1), perhaps on the Bithynian Olympos; this monastery may be dedicated to the Holy Trinity (see 3.3). B is a pupil of a certain Neilos and A is a pupil of a certain Nicholas (see no. 4).

tenth, the late tenth and the early eleventh centuries, respectively. Why there are no more 'disputes', is probably a matter of accidental survival; the lack of evidence does not indicate that the Byzantines ceased to bicker and rag each other in the mid-eleventh century.

The dispute between Geometres and Stylianos has come down to us in a thirteenth-century manuscript, Hauniensis 1899 [37185], which offers a small sylloge of Byzantine poems (followed by a shortened version of Leo VI's *Hypotyposis*).[48] The small sylloge contains poems by Christopher Mitylenaios, Michael Psellos, John Mauropous, as well as anonymous poems and the acrimonious dispute between Geometres and Stylianos.[49] This dispute consists of nine poems: (1) Geometres attacks, 5 vv.; (2) Stylianos counter-attacks, 5 vv.; (3) Geometres retorts, 5 vv.; (4) Stylianos retorts in return, 5 vv.; (5) Geometres replies to this, 1 v.; (6) Stylianos replies to the reply, 3 vv.; (7) Geometres launches another offensive, 4 vv.; (8) Stylianos launches another counter-offensive, 5 vv.; and (9) Geometres silences his opponent, 2 vv.[50] Here are the texts of nos 7 and 8:

τοῦ Γεωμέτρου
Καὶ τὴν Δίκην χθὲς εἶδον ἐν μέσῃ πόλει
μελαμφοροῦσαν καὶ τρίχας κεκαρμένην.
«τί δ'», ἠρόμην, «πέπονθας;». ἡ δὲ· «νῦν ἔγνως,
ὁ Στυλιανὸς οἷα τοὺς λόγους λέγει.»

τοῦ Στυλιανοῦ
Καὶ Θερσίτην χθὲς εἶδον ἐν μέσοις νέοις
τὸν φληναφοῦντα καὶ κόρας βεβλαμμένον,
πρὸς ὃν βλέπων ἔκραζε πᾶς τις εὐτόνως·
«Ὅσοι λόγων ἔμπροσθεν ἱστῶσιν ὅπλα
τοιάνδε ποινὴν καρτεροῦσιν ἐνδίκως.»

'(Geometres) — I saw Lady Justice yesterday in the midst of the city; she had her head shaved and was wearing black. 'What's happened to you?', I asked. She said, 'Now you know how Stylianos delivers his speeches'. (Stylianos) — I saw Thersites yesterday in the midst of young men; he had troubled eyes and was talk-

[48] See Graux 1880: 276–280. For the *Hypotyposis*, a monastic treatise on pastoral guidance attributed to Leo VI, see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), Varia Graeca Sacra. St Petersburg 1909, 213–253, and J. Grosdidiers de Matons, *TM* 5 (1973) 181–242, at 206–228.

[49] See Christensen 2011: 339–342 and Bernard 2014: 74–75.

[50] Graux 1880: 277–278 counts eight poems, not nine. I am grateful to Jonas Christensen and Emilie van Opstall for independently pointing out that the editor arbitrarily combines two poems as one (no. 5 in his numbering): a one-liner headed τοῦ Γεωμέτρου (no. 5) and a three-line poem bearing the heading τοῦ Στυλιανοῦ (no. 6). See now the new edition by Van Opstall 2015: 775–776.

ing nonsense; upon seeing him all shouted loud and clear: 'Those who put weapons above words, rightly suffer such punishment'.[51]

In his poem Geometres resorts to a common stratagem of stand-up comedians when they have to come up with a quick retort: they use or adapt jokes made in the past by others or themselves. He improvises on one of his own texts written for another occasion (268 = Cr. 331.6), and this text is not entirely original either: it is an imitation of an epigram by Palladas (*AP* 11.386). The reply by Stylianos, too, looks like an improvised quip. In the first two lines he parodies the 'I ran into so-and-so' schtick, adding his own twist to it, and then explores its comic possibilities, by first alluding to some kind of eye problem Geometres apparently had, and then referring to the reason for Geometres' dismissal from active service. He calls him a Thersites because, according to Byzantine commentators, this Homeric character was not only a cheap demagogue and a dangerous rebel, but had a squinting eye.[52] He avers that Geometres had suffered his eye disease (old age cataract?) because he preferred weapons to words. This obviously refers to their dispute, the μάχη λόγων, in which words are strategic weapons, javelins hurled at each other from a safe distance. But it also makes fun of Geometres' eternal claim that he had been dismissed from active service because he combined τόλμη καὶ σοφία, courage and wisdom.[53] Here he is bluntly accused of putting weapons (read: his military career) above words (read: his literary ambitions) and the suggestion is that this is exactly what a Thersites, a dangerous demagogue and rebel, would do. Just as rebels are punished by blinding, so too Geometres suffered his mishap because he was not loyal to literature — or so Stylianos says.

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## *Invectives*

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, fully-fledged invectives are very rare indeed. There is a poem by Pisides directed against a certain Alypios, a priest or a monk, who was so fat and humongous that he looked like one amorphous

[51] Van Opstall 2015: 776.

[52] Based on a probably incorrect interpretation of the word φολκός in *Il.* 2.217, which the Byzantines took to be στραβός, 'squinting'. This explains the lexical collocation θερσίτειον βλέμμα ('squinting eye') in our Byzantine sources, cf. Ignatios the Deacon (ed. Mango 1997), *Ep.* 37.24: ὄψει διάστροφον βλεπούσῃ καὶ οἷον θερσίτειον.

[53] See Lauxtermann 1998c: 369–370. See also below, chapter 16, pp. 158–162.

lump of flesh, from which two gigantic jawbones protruded.[54] Pisides had been commissioned (probably by Patriarch Sergios) to write this ψόγος, which, despite his assurances that he would abstain from σκῶμμα, contains a torrent of hilarious abuse; the immediate cause for writing this invective appears to have been a painfully realistic portrait of fat Alypios.[55] Then there is the posthumous attack against Leo the Philosopher by his ungrateful pupil Constantine the Sicilian, who accuses him of being a crypto-pagan and expresses the pious hope that he will burn in hell together with all the classical authors he so much admired; this vile invective provoked indignant outcries from fellow intellectuals, who accused Constantine of spiritual patricide.[56] This is all we have before the year 1000.[57]

As already indicated in the introduction, Byzantine invectives usually centre on just one hideous aspect of the person being publicly vilified. In the case of Alypios, it is his supersized corporeality, which is so enormous that when Pisides undertakes the burden of describing this blubber of fat, he almost collapses under its sheer weight and suffers an acute attack of gout.[58] In the case of Leo the Philosopher, it is his enlightened hellenism, which provoked a paroxysm of bigoted pigheadedness in circles close to Patriarch Photios.[59] Although Byzantine rhetoricians maintain that the invective is just the opposite of the encomium, it is practically impossible to find an invective that is constructed according to the rules of the encomium, but in reverse. I know of one example only,[60] and it is such a brilliant text that I will discuss it, although it dates from the first half of the

[54] Ed. Sternbach 1891: 1–4 (text) and 18–29 (commentary); reprinted, with Italian translation, by Tartaglia 1998: 458–465. For an excellent literary commentary, see Taragna 2004.

[55] Commissioned: vv. 10 and 14; *psogos*: v. 106; *skomma*: v. 121; portrait: vv. 19 and 45.

[56] Ed. Spadaro 1971: 198–199 (*Psogos*) and 200–202 (*Apology*); for useful corrections, see Valerio 2016: 294–300. Spadaro 1971 denies that Constantine, the ungrateful pupil of Leo the Philosopher, is the same as Constantine the Sicilian; in Spadaro 2001 she repeats her arguments, though strangely enough admitting that the Sicilian probably studied under Leo. For the identification, see Lauxtermann 1999a: 164–166. Cameron 1993: 248 and 307, too, assumes that the two are not identical; his only argument is that μακάριος in the lemma to *AP* 15.13 indicates that the Sicilian 'had only recently died' (that is, shortly before 944) — this is plainly incorrect: see vol. I, chapter 3, p. 117, n. 117.

[57] There will doubtless have been more invectives now lost. Genesios I.13 (11.58–59) mentions a metrical text by Theophanes (Theophanes Graptos, not the Confessor, according to S.I. Kourousis, *EEBS* 44 (1979–80) 436–437), in which Leo V is vilified: see P. Speck, Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Bonn 1990, 251–252.

[58] See vv. 18–28. We know from poem Q. 2 that Pisides indeed suffered from gout: see Magnelli 2007.

[59] See vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 98–107.

[60] Another example would be Ps. Psellos 67.230–354 (see Hörandner & Paul 2011: 113–115, 117 and 119); but this psogos is embedded in a much longer text and, despite an explicit reference to Aphthonios' rules for the encomium (vv. 230–238), does not systematically develop the various parts of the encomium/psogos.

eleventh century and, therefore, technically speaking falls outside the scope of this book.

The text in question is an untitled poem by Michael the Grammarian, an eleventh-century author, in which he makes fun of the bishop of Philomelion (in Phrygia).[61] The poem tells us that this bishop had been appointed by Philip Metropolitan of Amorion, a prelate known to have been present at the council organized by Patriarch Alexios the Stoudite in 1029–30 to discuss problems caused by the presence of Jacobites in the region of Melitene.[62] This suggests a general date in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The text is perhaps best known for its interesting remarks on the sound change from /y/ (<υ> and <οι>) to /i/: we are told that the bishop of Philomelion hailed from a village where people pronounced κρύον as κρίον and ξύλον as ξίλον (vv. 20–22).[63] The shift from /y/ to /i/ (and in certain dialects to /u/)[64] was a gradual process and there are regional differences in the date at which the process was completed: the inscriptions in Cappadocia suggest that the sound change started to spread in that region in the tenth century and had become standard by the beginning of the following century;[65] the documents in the archives of Athos suggest that the change occurred considerably later there.[66] The fact that Michael the Grammarian ridicules peasants for saying ξίλον and κρίον, does not necessarily mean that urban dwellers still distinguished /y/ from /i/. It may just be snobbery. But if the sound change had already affected the local patois of Constantinople in the second quarter of the eleventh century, it must have been a development recent enough for intellectuals to remember how <υ> and <οι> originally sounded and to maintain this pronunciation in their speech.

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[61] Ed. MERCATI 1917: 128–131 (no. IV).

[62] See the online *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw): Philippos 101.

[63] See vol. I, appendix IV, p. 319.

[64] The pronunciation of <υ> and <οι> as /u/ is now restricted to the Old Athenian dialect group and a few other dialects, but was probably more widespread in the Middle Ages: see N.A. MACHARADSE, *JÖB* 29 (1980) 145–158, at 146–150, for Greek loanwords in ninth- and tenth-century Georgian sources from Palestine and Sinai, and see, for instance, lexical remnants in Cypriot, such as εσού (SMG εσύ), μούττη (SMG μύτη), etc.

[65] For examples of confusion between /y/ and /i/, see G. DE JERPHANION, Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce, 2 vols. Paris 1925–42, I, 165, 252, 374, 383, 567; II, 4, 20, 93, 159, 171, 266, 290, 351, 359.

[66] For confusion between /y/ and /i/ on Athos before 1050, see P. LEMERLE et al., Actes de Lavra. Première partie: des origines à 1204. Paris 1970: nos 2 (a. 941) 1x; 13 (a. 1008) 1x; 14 (a. 1008) 6x; 16 (a. 1012) 1x; 24 (a. 1018) 2x; 29 (a. 1035) 2x; and 30 (a. 1037) 1x [I have disregarded documents that have come down to us in later manuscript copies]. Please note that nos 6 (a. 974) and 18 (a. 1014), although written by scribes for whom spelling was clearly not a priority, do not confuse /y/ and /i/.

The poem is a masterpiece of Byzantine rhetoric. It is a *psogos* in the form of an encomium and faithfully follows the rules laid down by the rhetoricians, but with an unexpected twist. The story is told not by the narrator, but by the bishop of Philomelion himself — and the poem makes it abundantly clear that the bishop is extremely proud of his accomplishments and considers them worthy of remembrance. So, while the text is an invective dressed up as an encomium, the bishop himself thinks he is delivering an auto-encomium, which reads as an undeniable *psogos*. The effect of all this is like standing in a hall of crazy mirrors, in which everything is distorted and out of proportion.

The poem is divided into two unequal parts: vv. 1–18 the narrator asks the bishop of Philomelion to provide him with all the information necessary to write an encomium; vv. 19–92 the bishop provides all these details and expresses his hope at the end (vv. 91–92) that the narrator may turn them into an encomium in verse. The long monologue of the bishop indeed presents all the usual elements of an encomium: place of birth, parents, upbringing (vv. 19–37), followed by pursuits in life, virtues and accomplishments (vv. 38–90). The bishop of Philomelion was born in a rural community and grew up herding cows; living on a diet of milk and cheese, he turned into an overweight bloated buffalo. As an adult he became the personal assistant to the metropolitan of Amorion, Philip, famous for his intimate knowledge of the ways of this world and his lively interest in pastoral rather than theological matters. His main duty as Philip's servant was to procure women: he was 'his pimp in mid-life' and approached virgins and young widows to cajole them and talk them into having sex with the good shepherd of Amorion. The girls were much pleased with his services as go-between, because the metropolitan of Amorion was quite something in bed.[67] One of the girlfriends was even so grateful for his services that she kept nagging Philip of Amorion until he ordained him bishop of Philomelion (see below). And once a bishop, he had a wonderful life, full of pleasures and fun, feasting on lots of food (which is why he resembled a gigantic cyclops), dancing and drinking, hawking, spitting and belching, a boorish parasite at the rich man's table. Of course, being a prelate he had to grow a beard and put on a grave face, but it made him look rather like a hirsute goat — in other words, like a clerical satyr of sorts. The following passage deals with his ordination:

> τούτων δέ τις τίνουσα μισθόν μοι μία,
> ἡ πᾶσι δήλη, κἂν ἐγὼ κρύπτειν θέλω,
> ἔπιπτεν, ἱκέτευεν, ἐξελιπάρει,
> τῷ δεσπότῃ προὔτεινεν ἱκετηρίαν,
> ἔτυπτεν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρειὰς ἔσθ' ὅτε,
> καὶ τὴν γένυν ἔτιλλεν ἐξαρνουμένου,

[67] See MAGDALINO 2012: 26–27.

ἕως με τὸν πάντολμον, ὃν φθάσοι λίθος,
λέξας τι χρηστὸν εἶτα καὶ πράξας μέγα,
ᾧ μηδὲ χηνῶν ἦν προηγεῖσθαι θέμις,
ὡς παντάπασιν ἐστερημένῳ λόγου
καὶ μηδὲ σῴας τὰς φρένας κεκτημένῳ,
πρόεδρον -ὦ πρόνοια Θεοῦ καὶ δίκη-
τοῦ δυστυχοῦς ἔδειξε τοῦδε χωρίου.

'And one of them —she is known to all, though I prefer not to name names— repaid me as follows: she would fall on her knees begging and imploring my lord, she would plead with him, she would sometimes even slap his cheeks and tear his beard out when he refused her entreaties, until he put in a good word and saw me right by making me bishop of this miserable village (oh divine providence and justice) — yes me, jack-of-all-trades, whom lightning may strike and who should not even be allowed to herd a gaggle of geese because I am as thick as two planks and have a screw loose'.[68]

The passage is difficult to translate[69] because of the peculiar word order in the temporal clause (ἕως etc.: lines 68–74), in which the direct object με and the verb ἔδειξε are at a distance of no fewer than six lines, with appositions, relative clauses and a participle construction wedged in between. Postponing the verb till the very end and not disclosing immediately what will happen to the first-person narrator creates a certain tension. It builds up the excitement of the listeners/readers eager to find out what happened to this pimping cowherd only to discover to their dismay that he has been made bishop of Philomelion, thus bringing about the comic effect of deflated expectation. This is not the only comic effect Michael the Grammarian is after. The grateful paramour subjecting the prelate to fisticuffs and plucking his beard is clearly an instance of Byzantine slapstick and I suspect there may be an influence here from contemporary mime. Another stratagem employed by Michael the Grammarian is the blurring of the narrative voice (the look-who's-talking gimmick). It is rather unlikely that the bishop of Philomelion wished for his own death or was convinced that he did not deserve to become bishop, as we read in lines 68 and 70–72. Although it is a first-person narrative, it is clear that someone else is intruding here and adding his own comments. The disturbing presence of a voice-over in what would otherwise be an ordinary ethopoetic monologue (see chapter 12),[70] contributes to the off-the-wall humour of this text. It is these three comic devices (voice-over, slapstick and thwarted expectation),

[68] Ed. Mercati 1917: 130 (vv. 62–74). I have corrected τείνουσα in v. 62 to τίνουσα.

[69] But not so difficult as to justify the nonsensical translation provided by Lauritzen 2009. The Spanish translation by Amado & Ortega 2016: 368–377 is much more reliable.

[70] For a later ethopoetic monologue with similar satirical intent, see Nicholas Mesarites' ethopoiia of an astrologer, edited by B. Flusin, *TM* 14 (2002) 221–242.

along with the brilliant innovation of composing a *psogos* in the first person, that make this text a hilarious masterpiece.

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## *Fun at the Magnaura*

While Michael III and his fun-loving friends were cracking jokes, fooling around and amusing themselves in the Hippodrome, intellectuals gathered in the Magnaura and rediscovered the classics under the supervision of Leo the Philosopher. As pointed out in the previous chapter, one of the things Leo and his students rediscovered was the erotic muse: the superb epigrams of the Greek Anthology, the rich tradition of the *Anacreontea*, the ancient novels — texts that they not only read and enjoyed reading (in contrast to Photios who read them but did not like what he was reading), but which they also used as models for their own erotic compositions. The same goes for satire and invective, which are conspicuously absent in the two-hundred years that lie between George of Pisidia and Leo the Philosopher. People obviously did not stop laughing in the Dark Ages, which were not actually dark at all, though things did look grim at times. There is much humour in the saints' lives, the historical sources and the *Parastaseis*, but what is lacking is cultivated wit, rudeness dressed up in impeccable Greek, insults delivered with style and panache. This changes with the poetry of Leo and his students. Not that there is much left of it, but the few poems that have come down to us show a new wittiness and a stylized satirical impulse.

It is worth noting that the humour is school-related. Leo the Philosopher is the author of a short satirical poem directed against a stuttering student of his and replete with neologisms.[71] In *AP* 15.14, Theophanes the Grammarian makes fun of Constantine the Sicilian who had written a boastful poem (*AP* 15.13) in which he claimed that his professorial chair was reserved for real intellectuals, such as himself. In his reply Theophanes points out that a chair, even a professorial one, is just a piece of wood and that anyone, boffin or nitwit, can sit on it. In his *Apology*, written to defend himself against accusations of ingratitude towards his former teacher Leo the Philosopher, Constantine the Sicilian asks his opponents to step forward and battle it out 'in the arena of words' (ἐν κονίστρᾳ τῶν λόγων); elsewhere in this rancorous invective, he calls the place where the warring sides

[71] Ed. Westerink 1986: 200–201 (no. XI); see the commentary by Baldwin 1990: 16–17. It is highly unlikely for chronological reasons that this stuttering student is Anastasios Quaestor (as tentatively suggested by Westerink 1986: 196–197).

will meet a θέατρον.[72] This is of course not a genuine theatre, but one of those private gatherings where Byzantine intellectuals would discuss literature and declaim their own poems and prose texts. The *theatron* is a playground for literary talent, but it is also a fiercely combative environment where fun is always at the expense of others.

I guess it is at one of these literary gatherings at the Magnaura that a miracle took place. Through some mysterious circumstance (or was it poetic genius?), the violent strain of Byzantine satire turned contemplative and the usual self-assertion changed into something akin to self-examination.

I am referring to a long satirical poem by Leo the Philosopher, in which he ridicules his doctor for prescribing in February a regimen of cold water for an old man of a phlegmatic temper.[73] Satire against doctors has a long history, and numerous examples can be found in the Greek Anthology.[74] The genre was popular with the Byzantines too:[75] particularly vicious is Symeon the Metaphrast's satire against a magistros Disinios, who had begun his career in a hospital administering enemas to the sick and who, having thus grown improperly rich, in old age continued to go after other people's shit.[76] In contrast to most scoptic epigrams of the Greek Anthology, Byzantine satirical poems lash out at real-life doctors, not at types; describe real, not fictitious ailments; and ridicule silly, but not absurd therapies. Byzantine medical humour is firmly rooted in Byzantine social practices. So Leo the Philosopher's poem fits well into the general pattern of homespun medicine, nincompoop doctors and valetudinarian patients that one finds in Byzantine satire. And Leo's rumbustious presence in the literary *theatron* is all too familiar: the intellectual snobbery, the easy laugh, the implicit claims of moral and social authority.

However, what makes this text unusual is its first part in which Leo the Philosopher presents his own medical condition and living arrangements in order to prepare for the ridicule that will follow. This is how the poem begins:

> Ψυχρὸν τὸ γῆρας, ἡ τ᾽ ἐμὴ κρᾶσις φύσει,
> φεῦ, φλεγματώδης· μὴν δ᾽ ὁ φεβρουάριος
> ψυχρὸς μάλιστα, ζῴδιον δ᾽ ῾Υδηχόου

[72] Ed. SPADARO 1971: 201 (*Apology*, vv. 46 and 41). For the phenomenon of the θέατρον, see N. GAUL, Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Mainz 2011, 17–53.

[73] Ed. WESTERINK 1986: 200 (no. X); see BALDWIN 1990: 15–16 and ANAGNOSTAKIS 1998.

[74] *AP* 11.112–126 (Lucillius and other Diogenianian authors), 280–281 (Palladas) and 382 (Agathias).

[75] See A. KAZHDAN, *DOP* 38 (1984) 43–51.

[76] Ed. VASIL'EVSKIJ 1896: 578. The name Disinios does not exist to the best of my knowledge. If this is a mistake for (or a pun on?) Sisinnios, he could well be the magistros and medical expert by that name who was to become patriarch in 996 (cf. Skylitzes, 340.6). For another satirical poem about a doctor who is compared to an angel of death, see vol. I, appendix V, p. 326.

τὸ νῦν πολεῦον καὶ συνὸν μεθ᾽ ἡλίου
πήγνυσι καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔν τισιν τόποις
τοὺς τ᾽ ἀμφορεῖς ῥήγνυσιν ἐκ τῆς ψύξεως
ὁ δ᾽ οἶκος ἔνθα νῦν κατασκηνῶ πάλιν
ἀγάννιφός τε καὶ λίαν δυσχείμερος,
ὁ θρασκίας δὲ δριμύς ἐστι καὶ πικρός,
ὀξύς, δυσαής, Ταρτάρου πνοὰς ἔχων·
ὁ γὰρ νότος λέλοιπεν ἡμῶν τὸ κλίμα·

'Old age is cold, and my natural temperament is unfortunately phlegmatic. February is particularly cold and the sign of Aquarius, which is now in the sky and stands in conjunction with the sun, in some places even freezes the wine and cracks the jugs apart with its frost. On top of that, the house where I now live is snowed up and very icy, and the northern wind is fierce, bitter, cutting and wintry, blowing straight in from Tartarus — the southern breezes having left our latitude'.[77]

The subdued, almost elegiac tone of the poem's beginning is highly unusual for a satire, and so too is the way in which Leo the Philosopher presents himself in these lines. Ordinarily when the satirist assumes the authorial persona, expressing his scorn in the first person singular (instead of the safe anonymity of third-person narration) and venturing out into the real world of the *theatron*, he may become very personal in his vitriolic *ad hominem* attacks, but he will generally be reticent about himself. His aim is to comment and criticize — from the sidelines, as it were, but not centre stage; all eyes, metaphorically, are on the victim, the target of the unrelenting ridicule. In this poem, however, Leo the Philosopher oddly doubles as narrating voice and narrated self. Though the real target is his doctor, Leo allows himself the space of several lines to introduce the setting for the satire and discuss the cold weather, his phlegmatic constitution and his draughty house. I suspect it is a literary ploy borrowed from the hellenistic and late antique genre of elegy; there too the lyrical self may set the framework (for instance, in the form of an evocation of nature's beauty) before moving forward to what is on its mind, a splendid example of which is the majestic opening of Gregory of Nazianzos' elegy I.2.14.[78] However, the novelty and significance of what Leo is doing here should not be underestimated. There is no doubt he had read Gregory, but so had others and none of them thought of imitating Gregory in this respect — and interestingly, rather than resuscitating a genre long dead, Leo selected only one of its structural elements, the lyrical self in the elegiac setting, and deployed it for satirical purposes.

[77] Ed. Westerink 1986: 200, no. X, vv. 1–11. For a commentary, see Anagnostakis 1998.

[78] *Carm.* I.2.14, vv. 1–14: ed. K. Domiter, De humana natura (c. I,2,14). Frankfurt-am-Main 1999; see L. Nicastri, in: Studi Salernitani in memoria di Raffaele Cantarella. Salerno 1981, 413–460.

Self-assertion is the key to Byzantine satire. The very first word of the first of Constantine the Rhodian's polemical charges against Theodore 'Babyface' the Paphlagonian is appropriately ἐγώ (ἐγώ, μὰ τὸν φύσαντα τὸ βροτῶν γένος, 'By the creator of the human race! *I* ...') — and a little later on, in the same satirical text, there is the inevitable invitation to a literary duel in the κονίστρα, the arena of words.[79] It would be wrong to regard self-assertive boasts like these as an expression of individualism. In fact, satirical texts should be seen as expressions of collective identity given that they function as part of the social institution of the *theatron*, constitute highly ritualized forms of critique and social ostracism, and model the literary selves in accordance with generic conventions. The literary superego of Byzantine satirists exists merely by the grace of the other, the person ridiculed, the target of the satire. Without the presence of Babyface and Pig-Butcher in the literary *theatron*, the Rhodian is your typical self-effacing Byzantine author, who writes decent ekphraseis and respectable epigrams. There is a lot of me, myself and I in Byzantine satire, but there is little Wordsworth would recognize as 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings', his famous definition of lyrical poetry — which is hardly surprising because the Byzantine self is not a Romantic self, let alone a modern post-Freudian self.

However, as indicated above, self-assertion can occasionally turn into self-examination. The phenomenon is non-existent before Leo the Philosopher, and rare in his time and afterwards, but becomes gradually more manifest after the year 1000, especially in the work of the two greatest poets of Byzantium, Christopher Mitylenaios and John Mauropous. Self-examination does not mean that its outcomes are by any means more trustworthy and rooted in 'reality' than the usual self-assertive boasts. Who is to know, for instance, whether conditions were as arctic as Leo the Philosopher made them out to be or whether his physician had actually prescribed a regime of cold water? It may all be fiction. It may also be true. It is only through the mirror of self-reflection that the illusion is created that one gets up close to the real person.

[79] Ed. Matranga 1850: 627.10 and 628.27. I have emended the reading βροτὸν to βροτῶν.

*Chapter Sixteen*

# DIATRIBIC EXPERIMENTS

What is a diatribe? The *Oxford English Dictionary* distinguishes two meanings: '(1) a discourse, a disquisition (*archaic*); (2) a dissertation or discourse directed against a particular person or work; a piece of bitter criticism; scolding, denunciation'. The earliest attestations for the latter meaning, so we are told, surprisingly date from as late as the nineteenth century, whereas the former usage, by now obsolete, dates back to the later sixteenth century. It is questionable, however, precisely how *archaic* the term is among classicists, that most archaic brand of academics, who seem keen on perpetuating its use long after the official expiry date provided by the *OED*. For classicists, the diatribe is a kind of lecture or discourse, popular in Cynic-Stoic circles, that deals with ethical or philosophical questions in a simple style and light conversational tone; typical of the genre are rhetorical questions, responses to hypothetical objections, dialogues with imaginary opponents, the use of anecdotal stories, mythological tales and historical examples, interspersed with amusing asides and jokes (σπουδογέλοιον). So far so clear. The point where the classicists (and the biblical scholars and the late antique specialists) show signs of growing unease with the term 'diatribe', is the question of what counts as a diatribe and what does not. There are those who restrict the use of the term to a fairly small group of treatises by Cynics and Stoics, while others are willing to include the letters of Seneca and St Paul, the polemics of Tertullian, the homilies of Severian, and much more.[1] The unease with what constitutes a diatribe grows exponentially with each title that is added to the list of possible diatribes, and the term appears to be on its way out precisely because of its overuse.

And yet it cannot be denied that there are many hellenistic, late antique and medieval texts that discuss ethical or philosophical/religious issues in the manner of a diatribe. Some of these are labelled 'epistles', others 'homilies' or 'discourses', and a third category falls outside existing frameworks altogether. Good examples are some of the *Carmina Moralia* in the Maurist edition of Gregory of

[1] For the discussion, see P.P. FUENTES GONZALEZ, Les diatribes de Télès. Paris 1998, 44–78; K.H. UTHEMANN, in: M.B. CUNNINGHAM and P. ALLEN (eds.), Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics. Leiden 1998, 139–177 [repr. in: K.H. UTHEMANN, Christus, Kosmos, Diatribe. Berlin 2005, 381–420]; and D.E. AUNE, The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric. Louisville 2003, 127–129.

Nazianzos: for instance, 'Comparison of Lives' (I.2.8), 'Against Anger' (I.2.25), and 'Against Greed' (I.2.28), poems which their respective editors have characterized as versified diatribes.[2] The first is a dispute between the two personifications of Worldly Life and Spiritual Life; the second and the third are virulent treatises that explain in a lively and informal style what is wrong with anger and greed. Another text that has been identified as a poetic diatribe is a long hexametric poem by Leo the Philosopher, *Job, or, On Indifference to Grief and on Patience*, which explains how to deal with any kind of misfortune: bereavement, disgrace, poverty. This poem is headed by a prose *protheoria* (preface), which offers a short preview of its contents, rhetorical apparatus and style:

> 'Human sadness comes in many forms — too many to discuss here; the most important are these: loss of wealth and dignity, and deaths of friends and relatives. The discourse attempts, through the story of Job and through arguments, admonitions, histories and examples, to console and hearten as far as possible those who grieve over such things. Please note that, in order to achieve clarity and pleasantness, the discourse avoids harsher words and uses instead a more pedestrian and rather Homeric style'.[3]

As Westerink notes in his introduction, the style is indeed 'colloquial, almost Horatian' and 'the philosophy is of a homely unpretentious kind', reminiscent of 'Cicero's *Tusculanae*'; he calls it 'a plausible imitation of the manner of the Stoic preacher, combined with that of the Christian homilist'.[4] In his view, 'the work is written in the tradition of the διατριβή of Hellenistic and Roman times', though he observes that 'it is entirely in verse' in contrast to the 'Menippean satire' and the 'Epictetean prose tract'.[5]

I do not think anyone will argue with Westerink that Leo the Philosopher's poem displays clearly recognizable features of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. It discusses a serious ethical question, how to deal with bereavement and grief, in a lucid and pleasant fashion, illustrating it with the biblical story of Job, employing 'arguments, admonitions, histories and examples', and making abundant use of

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[2] Ed. H.M. Werhahn, Gregorii Nazianzeni Σύγκρισις Βίων. Wiesbaden 1953, 15–20; U. Beuckmann, Gregor von Nazianz. Gegen die Habsucht (Carmen I, 2, 28). Paderborn 1988, 20–29; M. Oberhaus, Gregor von Nazianz. Gegen den Zorn (Carmen I, 2, 25). Paderborn 1991, 25–26.

[3] Ed. Westerink 1986: 205: Ἡ κοσμικὴ λύπη κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ γίνεται καὶ λέγεται, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστι λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν· τὰ δὲ κεφαλαιωδέστερα ταῦτά ἐστι, πλούτου καὶ δόξης ἀποτυχίαι καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν θάνατοι. πειρᾶται τοίνυν ὁ λόγος τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα λελυπημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰὼβ ἱστορίας, ἀπὸ λογισμῶν καὶ παραινέσεων καὶ ἱστοριῶν καὶ παραδειγμάτων, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε, παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἐπανακτᾶσθαι. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι σαφηνείας ἕνεκα καὶ γλυκύτητος τὰς τραχυτέρας ὁ λόγος ἀποστρέφεται λέξεις, χρῆται δὲ πεζοτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον Ὁμηρικαῖς.

[4] Westerink 1986: 203–204.

[5] Westerink 1986: 202–203.

rhetorical questions, hypothetical objections and fictional dialogues. If this is not a diatribe, what is? The problem is that diatribes normally are not in verse but prose, and that they do not address a public of readers, but a real audience (pupils in the classroom, listeners at a public lecture, the congregation of the faithful). Additionally, there is nothing remotely similar to Leo the Philosopher's *Job* apart from the moralizing poems of Gregory of Nazianzos — and it is a moot question whether any of these count as 'diatribe'. In other words, I am afraid 'the tradition of the διατριβή' does not really exist; it is a literary phantom — but a phantom that is utterly believable because so many of its characteristics are common to admonitory texts dealing with moral issues, whether in prose or in verse. Diatribe is more a style than a genre.

This diatribic style is common to a wide variety of genres, including homilies, treatises, and letters, and is definitely not restricted to Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In fact, there are even modern genres that employ the diatribic style: think of critical essays, newspaper columns and blogs. Were it not such an anachronism, one could justly maintain that the greatest writer in 'the tradition of the διατριβή' is Montaigne, the creator of the essay, a literary form that, like the diatribe, defies easy categorization.[6] It is since Montaigne that short treatments of moral themes, such as Plutarch's *Moralia* and Seneca's *Dialogues*, have been presented in translation as 'moral essays'. A number of moralizing poems by Alexander Pope, including his famous *Essay on Man* ('the proper study of mankind is man; placed on this isthmus of a middle state, a being darkly wise, and rudely great, etc.'), too, are known as 'moral essays'. Given the fact that the term 'diatribe' suffers from overstretch, I think that its use should be avoided in the case of moralizing poems, even if they are written in a vivid and immediate diatribic style. There is no proper term for late antique and Byzantine moralizing poems: the genre was developed too late for classicists and too early for modernists — like mankind in Pope's poem, it 'hangs between', placed on this infamous isthmus of a middle state. I will call this genre *moral essay* — an anachronistic, Popean term, as is only appropriate for a genre that is out of time and place, 'still by itself, abused or disabused'.

Another innovative genre characterized by the diatribic style and in need of a name of its own, is what I would call the *polemic*. The polemic is an argumentative poem written either to champion certain religious beliefs and moral tenets or to defend certain personal choices in the face of criticism; the tone is impassioned and virulent, the arguments are occasionally *ad hominem* and below the belt, the style is freestyle. It is akin to the invective (treated in the previous chapter), but the difference is that the polemic relates to real issues and engages in at least some form of argumentation. In fact, the Byzantine polemic comes dangerously close

[6] For Montaigne and the diatribe, see P. BURKE, Montaigne. Oxford 1981, 61–62.

to what nowadays is called a 'diatribe' (see *OED*'s meaning 2.); but to avoid unnecessary confusion in a field already fraught with confusion and filled with semantic landmines, a non-committal term, such as 'polemic', is in my view definitely preferable.

More important than the precise nomenclature, however, is the fact that these two poetic genres, *moral essays* and *polemics*, have no ancient antecedents. They innovate. They clearly experiment with the diatribic style, but are not diatribes in the traditional sense: they translate into verse what is going on in prose. The first poet to write moral essays and polemics is Gregory of Nazianzos, who is then followed by a whole host of Byzantine poets, including illustrious names such as George of Pisidia, Leo the Philosopher and John Geometres.

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## *Moral Essays*

Pisides is the author of two moral essays that discuss the vanity of human life, one in iambics, the other in hexameters. The iambic poem has come down to us in seven manuscripts, and in addition, a short fragment (vv. 41–56) has been transmitted in two manuscripts that contain the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos.[7] The hexametric poem has come down to us in only one manuscript, and in addition, a substantial fragment (vv. 1–58) has been transmitted in three manuscripts that contain the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos.[8] Even though there is only one manuscript that offers both (Par. gr. 1630), and another that offers fragments of both

[7] Ed. Querci 1777: 243–258 (*PG* 92, 1579–1600); repr. Tartaglia 1998: 428–445. Querci's edition is based on the editio princeps by F. Morel (Paris 1584), but incorporates some of the readings of Vat. gr. 1126. The mss. that offer the whole text are Par. gr. 1630 [51252], Par. Suppl. gr. 690 [53425], Par. Suppl. gr. 139 [52909], Vat. gr. 1126 [67757], Vat. Ottob. gr. 324 [65567], Cantabr. UL LL.IV.12 [12221] (the ms. used by Morel for his edition) and Taur. gr. 360 [63550] (lost in the great fire of 1904 that burnt to ashes the national library of Turin). The manuscripts that offer vv. 41–56 are Monac. gr. 416 [44864] and Par. gr. 1220 [50825]; the latter ms. is the source used by Caillau for his monumental edition of Gregory of Nazianzos, where the fragment is poem I.2.18: see Lauxtermann 2003b: 310, n. 9. For important variant readings, including those of the Turin ms., see Sternbach 1900a: passim (see the index locorum at 348–349 [=*Analecta Avarica*, 52–53]). For emendations, see Hilberg 1887: 216.

[8] Ed. Gonnelli 1991a: 123–130; repr. Tartaglia 1998: 448–455 (with Italian translation) and Whitby 2014: 436–440 (with English translation). The ms. that offers the whole text is Par. gr. 1630; the other manuscripts are Monac. gr. 416, Par. Coisl. 56 [49918] and Par. Suppl. gr. 1090 [53754].

(Monac. gr. 416), it is clear that content-wise the two poems were designed from the start to form a pair.[9]

In Par. gr. 1630 the two poems bear the following titles: εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ κατὰ ὑπερηφάνων and ἕτεροι στίχοι ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ('on human life and against haughty people' and 'other verses in hexameter on the same subject'), whereas in Monac. gr. 416 the poems are in reverse order: εἰς μάταιον βίον καὶ κατὰ ὑπερηφάνων and εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν· ἰαμβικοί ('on the vanity of life and against haughty people' and 'on the same subject: iambs'). The variant reading μάταιον instead of ἀνθρώπινον is also to be found in two of the manuscripts that contain the iambic poem, and as one of these is the manuscript that was used for the *editio princeps*, the iambic poem is generally but incorrectly known as εἰς τὸν μάταιον βίον or, in Latin, *De Vanitate Vitae*, whereas the other poem is known as *De Vita Humana*, Latin for εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, which is the title of both poems.[10] Although the poems bear the same title, we need to distinguish the two: so the iambic poem will keep the traditional (though erroneous) title *On the Vanity of Life*, and the hexametric one the traditional (correct) title *On Human Life*.

In Par. gr. 1630, the only manuscript to have both poems in their entirety, the first eight lines of the poem *On the Vanity of Life* are written in red ink and bear a heading (also in rubric): τὸ πρόγραμμα πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν, 'preface addressed to Christ'. This is the text of the preface:

Ἄνοιξον ἡμῶν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὰς πύλας,
ὁ τῆς ὄνου πρὶν ἐξανοίξας τὸ στόμα.
εἰ καὶ λέλεκται τοῖς θεόπταις πατράσι
τὰ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς εὐδιαγνώστου βίου,
ὅμως ἐκείνοις χρώμενος διδασκάλοις
ἐμαυτόν, ὡς ἔνεστιν, ἐμμέτρως γράφω,
δι᾽ ἧς πέπονθα τῶν παθῶν ἀμετρίας
γραφεὺς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ κατήγορος μένων.

'Open the gates of our understanding, You who once opened the mouth of the donkey (cf. *Num.* 22: 28). Though the basic facts of our existence have been examined by the divinely inspired Fathers, nonetheless, using their teachings, I will

[9] See Gonnelli 1991a: 119.

[10] The original title εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ κατὰ ὑπερηφάνων is found in Par. gr. 1630, Par. Suppl. gr. 139, Vat. gr. 1126 and Vat. Ottob. gr. 324, while Par. Suppl. gr. 690 has εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Cantabr. UL LL.IV.12 (Morel's ms.) has εἰς τὸν μάταιον βίον, Taur. gr. 360 εἰς τὸν μάταιον βίον καὶ καθ᾽ ὑπερηφάνων, and Monac. gr. 416 εἰς μάταιον βίον καὶ κατὰ ὑπερηφάνων, whereas Par. Suppl. gr. 1090 offers a fanciful title: κατὰ γέλωτος καὶ ὅτι μάταια τὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ ἰσχυροὶ οἱ ἐχθροί. Par. gr. 1220 and Par. Coisl. 56 mention the metre but do not offer the title.

write myself in verse as far as humanly possible, serving both as court clerk and prosecutor of my own countless sins'.[11]

I shall return to this interesting (if disturbingly self-conscious) preface because it raises expectations that it does not actually meet. That is the problem with *On the Vanity of Life* in general: there is an awkward reticence, a refusal to live up to expectations, a denial of the very premises on which the poem rests. Hence the apparent lack of structure and coherence, hence the feeling that the argument often goes off at a tangent. Its rich and complex content matter can be summarized only inadequately:

vv. 1–41 prologue
- 1–8 preface
- 9–33 subject: τῦφος (vanity, conceit, arrogance)
- 34–41 dedication to Patriarch Sergios

vv. 42–228 arguments against τῦφος and admonishments
- 42–56 wheel of fortune: some go up, some go down
- 57–85 classical myths and their Christian interpretation
- 86–105 life is like a comedy (illusions of τῦφος)
- 106–127 life is like a dream (illusions of τῦφος)
- 128–141 temperance saves us from τῦφος
- 142–160 wheel of fortune: the haughty fall, the humble rise
- 161–170 know thyself
- 171–184 life is like a harlot (illusions of τῦφος)
- 185–213 enumeration of choices in life dictated by τῦφος on the one hand and Christian humility on the other, in the form of a priamel
- 214–228 sic transit gloria mundi

vv. 229–260 epilogue
- 229–240 dedication to Patriarch Sergios
- 241–260 τῦφος is the strongest of all human passions.[12]

[11] Lines 1–8. The text given here and below, in other quotations, differs significantly from the edition of Morel/Querci (QUERCI 1777, reprinted with minor changes in TARTAGLIA 1998), which is often faulty and sometimes even nonsensical. The corrections are based on genuine manuscript readings reported by STERNBACH 1900a (see above n. 9) and information kindly provided by Wolfram Hörandner, who, together with Anna Maria Taragna, is preparing a new edition of the poem.

[12] The numbering of the verses is that of Hörandner and Taragna (see note above), who rightly omit two spurious verses in the Morel/Querci/PG edition (vv. 145 and 149). Tartaglia omits v. 149, but not v. 145. In other words, in the forthcoming edition of Hörandner and Taragna the poem counts 260 lines, while TARTAGLIA 1998 and QUERCI 1777 have 261 and 262 lines respectively.

Vanity is indeed the devil's favourite sin. The passage in which Pisides presents the virtue of temperance (σωφροσύνη) as a last safeguard against the pernicious powers of τῦφος, concludes that if vanity is allowed to disrupt the harmonious nature of man, 'our thoughts' become 'like wild animals': it is then that 'nature deviating from what is seemly is turned into animal hybrids'.[13] The idea of man's middle state, half-human half-animal, recurs in Pisides' masterpiece, the *Hexaemeron* (vv. 759–779), where we read that the devil stirs up 'thoughts' (λογισμοί). These thoughts are sins and passions that turn humans into animals: silly people are transformed into birds, adulterers into pigs, greedy thieves into wolves, violent brutes into wasps, hot-heads into panthers, hypocrites into vicious dogs, and spiteful persons into venomous snakes (vv. 766–774). However, as if this evil transformation is not bad enough, the devil also 'sharpens the malicious weapons of vanity' (τῦφος) such as wealth, glory and fame — all those things that cause man to make a mockery of himself (vv. 775–779). Man is a poor misled creature, struggling to overcome his sinful inclinations, but easily dragged back into the primeval mud from which he has been created.[14]

In the poem *On the Vanity of Life*, Pisides illustrates in true diatribic manner the danger of man's return to an animal state by presenting anecdotal evidence for what happens if man gives in to his passions and sins. The anecdotal evidence he adduces are mythological tales of hybrid creatures, such as the Centaur and the Minotaur (vv. 67–85). This is his allegoric interpretation of the story of the Minotaur:

Ὡς πᾶς ὁ μιγνὺς τῇ λογιστικῇ φύσει
τὰς κτηνομόρφους τῶν παθῶν παρεμφάσεις
ἀνατρέπει τὸ πλάσμα καὶ πεφυρμένος
ἐκ τοῦ λόγου μέτεισιν εἰς κτηνωδίαν,
οὕτως ἀμειφθεὶς τῇ κακῇ παραπλάσει
ἄνθρωπος εἰς βοῦν φατνιῶν μετετράπη
καὶ τῶν παθῶν τὸν χόρτον ἐσθίων μάτην
τὸ κάλλος ἀντέστρεψεν εἰς ἀμορφίαν
καὶ δεσμόν, οἶμαι, προσφόρως ἐδέξατο
ὡς ἐν λαβυρίνθῳ, τῷ πολυσχιδεῖ βίῳ,
λοξὴν ἔχοντι τὴν δυσέκβατον θύραν·
ὅσον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκτρέχειν ἐπείγεται,

[13] These verses (vv. 139–141) were imitated in two Psalter epigrams: see vol. I, chapter 6, pp. 205–206. The comparison of the harmonious nature of man with a well-strung lyre in the preceding lines (vv. 128–138) can also be found in a contemporary Armenian source, the *K'nnikon* of Anania Širakac'i: see J.-P. Mahé, in J.-P. Mahé and R.W. Thomson (eds), From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian studies in honour of Nina G. Garsoïan. Atlanta 1997, 397–413.

[14] See Taragna 2009: 137–139.

τοσοῦτον ἐντὸς γίνεται τῆς ἐξόδου.
ἐντεῦθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ νόσοις καὶ φροντίσιν
ὡς κτῆνος ἀργὸν εἰκότως μαστίζομαι,
ὅπως βαρυνθεὶς τῇ κακῇ μετουσίᾳ
ἐν τῷ περισπᾶσθαι τε καὶ βρίθειν κάτω,
ὡς οἱ νοσοῦντες εἰς ἀνάκτησιν τρέχων,
τὸ πρῶτον εἶδος ἀντιμορφώσω πάλιν.

'Just as all those who mix rational nature with beastly delusions of sin, pervert creation and, deeply confused, pass from reason into an animal state, so too, reshaped by evil transmutation, did man change into a bull fed at the manger: senselessly eating the fodder of his sins, he turned beauty into shapelessness and received, I think, his shackles for his own good as in a labyrinth, his complex life, which has a door that is crooked and difficult to exit from — the harder he runs from it, the more he gets stuck in the doorway. It is for good reason, I think, that I am prodded along like a lazy ox by illnesses and sorrows, so that I, bogged down by the evil half-state I am in, hard-pressed and downward inclined, like the sick may strive after recovery and regain my original human form'.[15]

The same bleak Christian interpretation of the Minotaur myth recurs in the twin poem, *On Human Life*, the only difference being the explicit reference to the devil at the end ('the two-horned one') and the fact that the hexametric poem does not recognize human misery ('illnesses and sorrows') as a means of regaining man's inner beauty, his likeness to God:

οὐδέ τις ἀμπλακίης δνοφερὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην
οὐδὲ νόον μόρφωσεν ἀπ᾽ εὐαγέος μελεδώνης
εἰκόνος ἀρχετύπου θεοσύνθετα μέτρα φυλάξας,
ἀλλὰ νόθοις μελέεσσιν ἀνὴρ ἀνεμάξατο ταῦρον,
οἶκον ἔχων ζοφόεντα βιοπλανέος λαβυρίνθου,
εἰκόνα δὲ βροτέην ἐψεύσατο καὶ φρένα φάτνῃ
πηλογενῆ μεθέηκε καὶ ἀμφικέρωτος ὁμοίην
μορφὴν κτηνομέτωπον ἑῷ παρέμιξε καρήνῳ.

'None have cut off the murky mane of sin and none have shaped their minds with pious care, preserving the measurements of the archetypal God-built image. Man has morphed into a bull with counterfeit parts, at home in life's dark and delusional labyrinth, and has disclaimed his own human image, putting his mud-

[15] Lines 67–85. For the editorial problems, see above n. 11. Lines 77–79 are imitated in a fourteenth-century epigram in Marc. gr. 299 [69770]: ed. Rhoby 2009–18: IV, 348 (IT18.15–18).

born mind to the manger and growing on his forehead an alien beast-like shape similar to that of the two-horned one'.[16]

The belief in hybrids has a long pedigree in Greek literature. If we are to believe Empedocles (*Fr.* 61 DK), nature experimented with embryonic forms of life until it found the right combination and created life as we know it out of the primordial soup of disconnected limbs, heads and bodies; however, as long as evolution lasted, strange hybrid forms arose: for instance, 'man-headed bulls' (βουγενῆ ἀνδρόπρῳρα) and 'bull-skulled men' (ἀνδροφυῆ βούκρανα). Metamorphosis leads to another form of hybridization: when Circe enchants the men of Ulysses (*Od.* 10.201–243), they are turned into pigs but remain humans on the inside. Reincarnation has a similar effect: according to Plato (*Phaedo* 81e–82b), when the wicked return to earth, they will be imprisoned in animal natures that correspond to the practices of their former life (the gluttonous and the wanton will become braying asses, the injust and the violent will turn into ravenous wolves, etc.). In a similar vein, the Septuagint (*Ps.* 48:13 and *Eccl.* 3:19) equates those in power with dumb animals because they live as if they will not die: it is their vanity that dehumanizes them.

The motif of hybridity also turns up in diatribic texts of the Roman period. Maximus of Tyre (*Diss.* 33, §8) assumes that the Centaur allegorically represents the bonds of pleasure that prevent us from being truly human. And Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus*, I.4.1) assures the faithful that Christ outperforms Orpheus: whereas the latter calmed savage beasts, Christ soothes the passions of the soul which take various animalistic forms (for instance, fraudsters and imposters are deadly snakes, etc.). Of all Greek authors, Gregory of Nyssa comes closest to what Pisides is saying in his two moral essays. In the treatise *On Christian Perfection*, Gregory of Nyssa tells his audience that a true Christian must follow Christ; it is through heresy and sin that the faithful turn away from this true Christian perfection and end up on this isthmus of a middle state, half-animal half-man, not unlike the Centaur and the Minotaur and all those other mythological monsters.[17] And in his *Catechetical Oration*, Gregory of Nyssa explains that we need Christ as our guide to find our way in the bewildering labyrinth

[16] Ed. Gonnelli 1991a: 124–125 (vv. 15–22); repr. Tartaglia 1998: 448–451. For a different, more poetic English translation, see Whitby 2014: 439. In v. 21 Gonnelli adopts the reading of the three mss. that contain the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos: πωλογενῆ, and rejects the reading of the important Pisidian manuscript, Par. gr. 1630: πηλογενῆ. I fail to understand what πωλογενής, 'born from a foal', which, for obvious reasons, is attested nowhere else, could possibly mean; Tartaglia's fanciful translation, 'adetto ad un puledro', ignores the second part of this compound adjective — and so does Whitby's translation: 'colt-like'. The reading πηλογενής, on the contrary, makes perfect sense: it alludes to the creation of Adam from mud and denotes man's mortality and sinfulness.

[17] Ed. W. Jaeger, Gregorii Nysseni Opera, vol. 8. 1. Leiden 1963, 178–179.

that is life, and he explicitly states that for him the labyrinth metaphorically stands for the inescapable complex of death in which the human race is held captive.[18] I am not saying that Pisides knew these two passages of Gregory of Nyssa when he wrote his two moral essays and touched upon the theme of the Minotaur's labyrinth. He may have, but that is beside the point. Vastly more important is the exploitation of a diatribic motif in various texts and authors: the way in which the philosophical musings of Empedocles and Plato, the story-telling of Homer and the spiritual anxieties of the Septuagint are transformed into a common motif for writers of diatribes and moral essays in the Roman Empire and beyond. Once a motif becomes ubiquitous, there is no single source for it. It is not difficult to spot many more diatribic motifs in Pisides' two moral essays, *On the Vanity of Life* and *On Human Life*: for example, life as a stage, life as a fleeting illusion, the wheel of fortune, etcetera. Like the Minotaur and his labyrinth, these literary motifs have argumentative force exactly because they have been used before and have become truisms. Adding layer upon layer of the same old truths establishes and confirms conformity of thought, thus reinforcing the moralizing message of Pisides' two poems.

If we are to believe Pisides, this orthodoxy of thought is personified in Patriarch Sergios, his patron and guide on the high seas of life.[19] It is only through patriarchal guidance that the poet is able to project his chart, navigate his vessel of inspiration and set his moral compass:

> Ἀλλ᾽ ὦ τὸ θερμὸν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἔαρ,
> ὁ τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀντικείμενος σάλῳ
> καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι τῶν παθῶν ἀντιπνέων
> ἴθυνον ἡμῶν τὴν λαλοῦσαν ὁλκάδα,
> τῇ σῇ προσευχῇ πνευματώσας τὸ σκάφος·
> τῇ τοῦ βίου γὰρ κυματούμενος ζάλῃ
> ὁμοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ φοροῦμαι καὶ γράφω,
> ὁ χοῦς, ὁ πηλός, ἡ παλίνστροφος κόνις.

'But o warm springtide of my words, break the waves that are upon me, blow away the gales of my passions, guide my speaking vessel and inflate its sails with your prayer. Tossed by the storms of life, I am carried along and, at the same time, am writing it down — I who am soil, mud, dust that returns to dust'.[20]

The nautical metaphors in this passage are typical of Byzantine penitential poems which quite often refer to the soul's perils on the high seas of life, tossed

[18] Grégoire de Nysse, Discours Catéchétique. Texte grec de E. MÜHLENBERG. Introduction, traduction et notes par R. WINLING. Paris 2000, 304 (ch. 35, lines 22–31).

[19] Apart from the passage quoted and translated in the main text, see also lines 229–240.

[20] Lines 34–41. For the editorial problems, see above n. 11.

by the storms of sin and the gales of passion.[21] More unusual is the image of the 'speaking vessel', for which the only parallel seems to be the mythical Argo — but here it stands for Pisides' poetry.[22] Elsewhere in the poetry of Pisides the verb πνευματῶ means 'to blow life into (inanimate matter)'[23]; here it means 'to inflate (the sails)'. Since Patriarch Sergios is portrayed as Pisides' guide in moral matters and a source of poetry, it is clear that in this context the verb metaphorically denotes 'inspiration' (ἔμπνευσις). By combining the hackneyed metaphor of the soul's perilous voyage over troubled waters with the innovative image of the poet as a speaking vessel, Pisides reaches a conclusion that is as startling as it is disconcertingly postmodern: καὶ φοροῦμαι καὶ γράφω, 'I am both drifting and writing', indicating that the state of sinfulness and the act of writing coincide in the same atemporal framework — atemporal because the text Pisides writes can be read by you and me in the twenty-first century, just as it was read by his contemporaries and by generations of Byzantine readers: each and every time someone reads the moral essay *On the Vanity of Life*, the poet is adrift again and writing again.

The remarkable self-referentiality of line 40, ὁμοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ φοροῦμαι καὶ γράφω, strategically placed at the end of the prologue, recalls its beginning where the poet states what his intentions are: 'I will write myself in verse as far as humanly possible, serving both as court clerk and prosecutor of my own countless sins' (vv. 6–8). There, too, we find the verb γράφω (ἐμαυτόν) which in this context bears the meaning of γράφομαι, 'to indict'. That is why Pisides calls himself a γραφεύς, a court clerk who records the indictment, in this case the indictment against himself. This is clearly a self-conscious writer.

However, for an author proclaiming that he will put himself on trial, Pisides is remarkably reticent about his 'countless sins'. His moral essay deals with the human condition in general and does not contain any autobiographical element. The poem is not about him, it is about us. The first person, both singular and plural, includes the whole of fallen humanity. And references to the self are therefore selfless, impersonal, anonymous. For instance, when Pisides writes in the Minotaur passage that 'it is for good reason that I am prodded along like a lazy ox by illnesses and sorrows' (vv. 80–81), it does not necessarily mean that he is afflicted by any kind of illness or sorrow. For all we know, he may have been in good health and excellent spirits when he wrote these lines. In fact, the poet presents himself in these lines as just another example of the 'evil half-state' in which the whole of humanity finds itself, immersed in the mire of this world, but

[21] See the next chapter, pp. 181–182 and 183–184.

[22] The metaphor is also found in *Bellum Avaricum* 129 and *Contra Severum* 87 and 130. Philes borrowed it from Pisides: ed. MILLER 1855–57: vol. II, 216 (no. 203, v. 79); Nikephoros Gregoras, *Ep.* 149, l. 3, uses the same metaphor: his source is either Pisides or Philes.

[23] *De Vanitate Vitae* 54 and *Hexaemeron* 1734.

eager to regain its original deified beauty (vv. 82–85). What he is saying is that we can all do with some prodding along, be it through illnesses and sorrows, or otherwise.

The only other moral essay dating from before the year 1000, Leo the Philosopher's *'Job, or, On Indifference to Grief and on Patience*', presents a moral issue (how to deal with grief) in generic terms as well.[24] Leo does not refer to his own personal losses or his own feelings of grief; wherever he uses the first person singular or plural, it stands for man in general. Leo does not discuss himself.

It is only in the eleventh century that the moral essay evolves into a genre that discusses real-life issues. It begins with a bang: Mitylenaios' imaginative and witty subversion of the genre, the poem *On the inequality of life* (no. 13), in which he criticizes not vanity, but social inequity.[25] Instead of repeating the time-honoured insipid truisms about how bad it is to aspire after a better life, he asks God why it is always the rich that enjoy the good life and the poor that suffer. In the poetry of Mauropous, the political becomes personal. Many of his letters and poems deal with his ordination to the metropolitan see of Euchaita in c. 1049, an ordination which, if we are to believe Mauropous, happened against his will.[26] Of particular interest are two moral essays, *To himself* (no. 92) and *Palinode: after his ordination* (no. 93). In the first of these two, the poet confers with the rational part of his soul and weighs up the pros and cons of a possible ordination, and overall the balance is negative. He can only think of reasons why he should not accept the post: the fickleness of human existence; all the responsibilities that come with such an elevated position; his illness and weakness; his contemplative nature and love of solitude; and his aversion to being in the limelight. In the second poem, the poet retracts his earlier statements on the topic of making a career in the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He writes that nothing is stable in this life, nothing secure, nothing certain: it is a fool that thinks he knows it all. He thought he had steered free from the dangers of public office, but alas, God decided otherwise: he was forced to accept his ordination.

Whereas Pisides considers the prospect of making a career (oh vanity!) in generic terms that apply to any sinful and repentant Byzantine, Mauropous confers with his inner self and addresses a concrete issue: should he or should he not accept this promotion? Of course, the arguments used by Mauropous are as trite and cliched as Pisides': the difference is that Pisides discusses vanity in general, whereas Mauropous chooses to discuss his own vanity or rather lack thereof.

In poetry written after the year 1000, moral issues tend to become personal. It is especially in times of crisis and conflict that Byzantine poets feel the need to

[24] Ed. Westerink 1986: 205–222 (638 vv.).
[25] See Oikonomides 1990: 12–14 and Livanos 2007.
[26] See Lauxtermann 2017: 92–95.

justify themselves in moral terms. Good examples are the resignation poems of Nicholas of Corfu and Nicholas Mouzalon,[27] and the prison poems of Michael Glykas, Eugenios of Palermo, and an anonymous Southern Italian poet exiled to Malta.[28] The two resignation poems provide arguments for deserting one's metropolitan see, just as Mauropous' poem *To himself* justifies his decision not to accept his ordination; both poems owe a great deal to Gregory of Nazianzos. The three prison poems are quite different. While Glykas protests his innocence and bemoans prison life in surprisingly colloquial and idiomatic Greek, the South Italian poet airs a litany of complaints in more than 4000 verses: both have recourse to proverbs, biblical maxims and aphorisms, both see themselves as victims of slander, and both express their hope that justice will be done. Eugenios of Palermo strikes an entirely different chord. He declares his faith in God and his intention to live a Christian life in seclusion, far away from the court and its intrigues, free from all worldly ambitions, alone with God in perfect solitude (incidentally, all this pious world-weariness did not stop Eugenios from pursuing a career in the Hohenstaufen administration after his release from prison). His prison poem comes very close to what Mauropous, Nicholas of Corfu and Mouzalon have to say about the vanity of this world and why it is better to withdraw from public life.

Despite all the obvious differences, it is worth noting the continuity in thought that connects these resignation and prison poems with the genre of the moral essay. The thread that connects the whole lot is vanity — *vanitas vanitatum*, the satisfaction of worldly ambitions. The title of Pisides' two moral essays is not just *On human life*. It is *On human life and against haughty people*; the oldest manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 690, is even more precise in singling out the target of social criticism: *On human life and about the ruling class* (the notorious ἄρχοντες). The fact that vanity is intrinsically bad can be used as an argument against social advancement and social ambitions in general (Pisides), but it can also be used as an argument for rejecting a position (Mauropous), abandoning one (the two Nicholases), embracing the fate of imprisonment (Eugenios), and disputing the terms of imprisonment (Glykas and the South Italian poet). In short, the concept of vanity applies to mankind in general before the year 1000 and to individual cases thereafter.

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[27] Nicholas of Corfu: ed. Sp. Lambros, Κερκυραϊκὰ ἀνέκδοτα. Athens 1882, 30–41; Mouzalon: ed. Strano 2012. For both texts, see Mullett 2009; for Nicholas of Corfu, see G. Strano, in: Bisanzio e le periferie dell' impero, ed. R.G. Messina. Rome 2011, 239–253, and for Mouzalon, see Strano 2012: 23–58.

[28] Michael Glykas: ed. Tsolakis 1959. South Italian poet: ed. Vassis & Polemis 2016; see N. Zagklas, *JÖB* 62 (2012) 294–297 and Lauxtermann 2014a. Eugenios of Palermo, poem no. 1: ed. Gigante 1964: 51–60; see Gigante 1963 and Cupane 2011.

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## *Polemics*

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the two genres of polemic and invective are very close to each other: the difference between a lot of gratuitous ad hominem assaults interspersed with a few serious arguments, on the one hand, and a more solid argumentation with personal asides and a fair amount of ridicule, on the other, is admittedly not particularly great. It is a sliding scale. A good example of a Byzantine polemic in verse is Pisides' dogmatic poem *Contra Severum*, nominally directed against the 'impious' Severos of Antioch, but in fact addressing contemporary monophysites, whom Emperor Herakleios, after his reconquest of the eastern provinces, wished to convince of the falsehood of their religious beliefs.[29] Byzantine sources report the existence of verse polemics against the iconoclasts, but these have not come down to us.[30] And Symeon the New Theologian wrote a verse epistle in reply to Stephen of Nikomedeia, his main opponent, who had challenged him to expose his views on how to separate the Son from the Father: the text reads as a damning indictment of the church establishment.[31] Both Pisides and Symeon the New Theologian provide a mixture of solid theological principles and derogatory remarks: the latter, far from being seen as a sign of weakness, seem to have added force and immediacy to their arguments.

Not all disputes are theological in Byzantium — thank God for that. In a number of poems Geometres refers to unnamed opponents who objected to the fact that he combined a military career with literary and intellectual ambitions; they maintained that wisdom and courage do not go together.[32] For instance, poem 237 (=Cr. 326.15), entitled: εἰς νέους φιλοσόφους ('New Philosophers'), reads as follows:

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[29] Ed. TARTAGLIA 1998: 250–307. MACCOULL 1998: 76–78 dates the poem to 638 because of the word ἐκθέσεις in line 677, which she sees as an allusion to the famous *Ekthesis*; but as TARTAGLIA 1998: 24 rightly points out, the poem does not mention monoenergism or monotheletism at all, which is why he prefers a date around 630.

[30] In one of his letters, *Ep.* 108 (ed. FATOUROS 1992: II. 226, cf. I. 231), Theodore Stoudites tells Naukratios that he is thinking of writing a pamphlet in verse against the iconoclasts; this may be the text 'against all heresies' mentioned in his *Vitae*: see SPECK 1964: 30, n. 4 and 32. In another letter, *Ep.* 333 (ed. FATOUROS 1992: II. 464–475, cf. I. 350–351), he regrets that an iambic pamphlet against the iconoclasts by his brother Joseph has been lost in the mail.

[31] Symeon NTh, poem 21: ed. KODER 1969–73: vol. II, 130–169 and KAMBYLIS 1976: 168–186.

[32] See CRESCI 1997–98: 463–467 and LAUXTERMANN 1998c: 368–369.

Τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο τῶν νέων φιλοσόφων·
«οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ὃς σοφός· σοφὸς δ᾽ οὔτις
ὅστις μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν». ἵσταται καινὴ μάχη
τῶν ἀρετῶν· τί φημὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ὡς βραχύ;
«εἰ πᾶς σοφὸς δειλός τις, ὃς δειλὸς σοφός».

'This is the dogma of the new philosophers: "There is no (fighting) man who is wise; no one is wise who sides with men". A new battle of the virtues is at hand. So briefly — where do I stand? "If all the wise are cowards, then whoever is a coward is wise".[33]

In poem 211, vv. 25–38, having described his former happiness as a poet and a soldier, Geometres states that his successes led to much envy: 'That is where the evil tongues and the wicked demon started, and much envy poured from their mouths, saying that I alone was a flower of wisdom and I alone a valiant champion, daringly combining wisdom with courage (...). The modern legislators of evil (νέοι νομοθέται κακίης) decree that the learned be weak and the manly be hostile to wisdom. I am an idiot, they say, and I break the ancestral laws: I am an idiot among idiots, a madman in a mad world (...)'.[34] In poem 290, vv. 25–66, Geometres tells us that he has spent his best years fighting for the empire without anything in return; instead people are making fun of him, calling him an idiot and saying that he breaks the ancestral laws of Rome while some even 'pontificate' (ἐδογμάτισεν) 'that wisdom should be without valour and that it is impossible for men of honour to both "lead in good counsel and marshal the troops" (Homer, *Il.* 2.273)'; to prove how wrong his opponents are, the poet adduces as counter-evidence David, Moses and Saints Theodore and Demetrios, all of whom excelled in wisdom and courage.[35]

Poems 296, 297 and 298 (=Cr. 341.10; 341.15; 342.6) belong together.[36] The first two poems are introductions to the third, a lengthy polemic in which Geometres defends his views 'against the slanderers' (εἰς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας, as the title reads). In the first introductory poem he mentions Cyrus of Persia, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar as examples of leaders who combined wisdom with courage. In the second one, he mentions a whole host of Greek politicians, philosophers and mythical heroes who combined the two virtues. The two introductions conclude in a similar vein: 'but these days the [wise] take Wisdom to task — oh bitter fate!' (296.4–5) and 'but these days the wise, who I call idiots, aver that Wisdom stands in the way of Courage' (297.18–19). The thematic and

[33] Ed. Tomadaki 2014: 208 and 416. The manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 352, reads νέων, not Ἑλλήνων as in the edition of Cramer.
[34] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 370–372.
[35] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 472–478.
[36] Ed. Tomadaki 2014: 239–254 and 443–449.

structural affinities are such that it raises the question why the polemic has two eerily similar introductions: surely one is more than enough? The two poems appear to serve the same purpose as a *prolalia* (prefatory speech) to a rhetorical text does, which is to present the case at stake and summarize the arguments in a seemingly off-the-cuff and improvised manner so as to win the hearts of the audience even before the rhetor delivers his main address.[37] This is why I suspect that Geometres delivered his polemic on more than one occasion and wrote (or improvised) different *prolaliai* for each of these occasions, two of which have come down to us.

Geometres' polemic against his slanderers (poem 298), which consists of 193 lines (but note that there is a lacuna after line 4), is structured as follows:

*Introduction* (1–38): These days military experience and knowledge [are despised] (1–4) and our generals are vain, dumb, mean, cowardly and inexperienced (5–17). Courage and Wisdom cry because the Roman Empire has been overrun by foreign tribes and lies in ruins (18–27), but laugh at pretentious literati and ridicule the laws of the new philosophers (τῶν νέων σοφῶν νόμους), according to whom intellectuals should not take part in warfare — and when they do, they call them 'idiots' and 'law-breakers' (28–38).

*Argumentation* (39–177): This new philosophy is wrong because it offends the intelligence of people and does not concord with the strategies of the past (39–58). The author presents various examples of pagans who combined the virtues of wisdom and courage (59–110), followed by the biblical examples of Moses and David, who were great leaders and great authors (111–122 and 136–157).[38] There are two hypothetical objections and the replies to these (123–135 and 158–177). The first one is: 'but people say that these things lie in the past and we cannot compete with the ancients' (123–130),[39] to which the author's reply is: 'we should try to imitate their greatness even if we cannot surpass them' (131–135). For the second hypothetical objection, see below.

*Conclusion* (178–193): The author concludes by saying that as long as incompetent generals are appointed, all sorts of disasters will continue to befall the Roman Empire, whereas if well-educated generals command the troops, all will be well.

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[37] See Viljamaa 1968: 71–72 and 93–94.

[38] For this passage, see E. de Vries-van der Velden, in: C. Sode and S. Takács (eds), Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck. Aldershot 2001, 425–438, at 431–432.

[39] The manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 352, reads in v. 123 φασὶ ('people say'), which can be defended, but in the light of v. 159 (see main text), one may consider emending it to φήσεις ('you may say').

Even in this briefest of summaries, the typical features of the 'diatribe' as outlined in the introduction to this chapter will be clearly recognizable. As I pointed out there, typical of the genre are, apart from a simple style and light conversational tone, the use of certain literary devices such as rhetorical questions, hypothetical objections and historical examples. Geometres' polemic has all three in abundance: his indignant outcry against his slanderers is full of rhetorical questions, the text offers responses to two hypothetical objections, and there are examples galore of mythical, biblical and ancient heroes combining wisdom and courage. And the style is indeed simple, and the tone ever so light and conversational, just as one would expect from a text composed in a diatribic manner. A good example of this light tone and simple style is the passage in which the author responds to a second hypothetical objection (vv. 158–177):

«ἀλλ᾽ ἁρπαγαὶ νῦν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ μέθαι,
ὧν οὐ μετεῖναι τοῖς καλοῖς», φήσεις, «δέον».
τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα; χωρὶς οἱ λόγοι·
ἄλλο στρατηγός, ἄλλο δὲ στρατηγία·
κακός τις οὗτος, ἢ δ᾽ ἀρίστη τῇ φύσει.
ἰατρικὴ σώτειρα, πολλάκις δ᾽ ἔφυ
φονεὺς ἰατρός· μὴ κακίζῃς τὴν τέχνην·
οὐ πράγματός πως, τῶν προσώπων δ᾽ ἡ βλάβη.
ἔβλαψε ῥήτωρ πολλάκις τις τοὺς νόμους·
μὴ καὶ κακίζῃς δεινότητα τῶν λόγων.
ἄλλως τε τοὺς κακοὺς μὲν ὡς κακὸς σύ μοι,
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀριθμῶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὓς καὶ μόνους
οἶδα στρατηγοὺς ὡς ἔχοντας τὴν τέχνην·
καὶ μουσικοὺς γὰρ καὶ κρατοῦντας τὴν λύραν
τοὺς εὖ γε ταύτην εἰδότας κροῦσαι μόνον
καὶ τοὺς διδόντας τὸν λόγον τῶν κρουμάτων,
κἂν μὴ φέρωσι χερσὶν οὗτοι τὴν λύραν·
ὡς ἱππικοὺς δέ, γραμμικούς, πᾶσαν τέχνην,
ἀγαλματουργούς, τέκτονας, λιθοξόους,
ἕκαστον ὅσπερ ἔσχε τὴν γνῶσιν μόνον.

'But you may say: "Generals nowadays take part in plunderings and drinking bouts, things good people should have no part in". What has that to do with the issue at stake? The two are unrelated: "general" and "generalship" are not the same thing; the one may be bad, but the other is perfect by nature. Medicine saves lives, but many a doctor is a murderer: do not blame the art (of medicine); the harm lies not in the subject itself, but in people. Many a speaker offends against the rules, but do not blame the sublimity of rhetoric for it. As you are bad yourself, you count the bad ones, but I count only the good ones, those generals who I know

understand the art (of generalship); just as I count as musicians and masters of the lyre only those who know how to play it well and can explain its melodies even without the lyre in their hands — and the same goes for horsemen, draughtsmen, artisans of all sorts, sculptors, carpenters, stone-masons: I only count those who have the expertise'.[40]

Throughout the text, just as in this particular passage, Geometres addresses an imaginary opponent who, metaphorically speaking, serves as his punch bag: he is there as a representative of this despicable bunch of new philosophers with their silly ideas and attacks against people like Geometres who combine the virtues of wisdom and courage. In the conclusion to Geometres' polemic, however, this seemingly imaginary opponent rather unexpectedly becomes a real-life one: ὡς αὐτός ἐστι δεικνύων ὁ σὸς λόγος (v. 180), 'as your *logos* itself demonstrates'. This *logos* must have been a written text or speech delivered on some occasion, in which Geometres or people like Geometres had been criticized for pretending to be *logioi* (intellectuals) although their profession was not directly related to the intellectual life of the capital. As pointed out above, the fact that we have two prefaces to Geometres' polemic, seems to indicate that he performed his response to this *logos* on different occasions. So the anonymous *logos* and Geometres' response to it appear to be part of the highly competitive culture of the *theatron* (θέατρον) or the arena of words (κονίστρα τῶν λόγων) in which the Byzantine *logioi* would prove their worth and credibility by outperforming their opponents.

However, the dispute about wisdom vs courage was more than just an innocuous intellectual debate in the literary *theatron* of late tenth-century Byzantium. Geometres did suffer. He fell into disfavour with Basil II and was removed from his position in the military shortly after 985–986.[41] As the polemic refers to the Byzantine Empire being overrun by foreign tribes and cities being devastated by enemy forces, it dates from the period of the civil war (986–990) when all these calamities indeed took place. In other words, the dispute itself dates from after Geometres' dismissal and was not instrumental in getting the poet dismissed from the military, but it certainly did not help his case. The verbal attack against Geometres was vicious and nasty because it justified his dismissal after the deed had been done, which makes his anger perfectly understandable. Geometres' response to it was an eloquent defence of what he stood for and believed in without stooping down to the same level, though the temptation must have been there.

[40] Poem 298, vv. 158–177 (Cr. 346.30–347.16), ed. Tomadaki 2014: 253. The ms. reads δὲ in line 172, καὶ in line 174 and οὗπερ in line 177.

[41] See Lauxtermann 1998c: 367–371.

*Chapter Seventeen*

# HYMNS, PRAYERS AND POEMS TO ONESELF

'The Byzantines', to quote and paraphrase my younger self (and as self-quotation is a common practice of Byzantine poets, I am in good company here) — 'the Byzantines do not define themselves in social terms, but in relation to the divine; in the end (as John Geometres realized after a successful career) human beings stand alone before God'.[1] I am not sure whether I still agree with my younger self, but I think I understand the train of thought that underlies this categorical statement, which relates to religious sentiments, the lyric self and patterns of self-expression in Byzantine poetry. Literary hymns, prayers and poems εἰς ἑαυτόν ('to oneself') often sound so sincere and heartfelt that one could be forgiven for thinking that they provide precious insights into the Byzantine psyche. The problem here is that the notion of the self as a distinct entity with a personal history is a modern construct and, as such, not particularly useful for understanding medieval references to the self. A related problem is that the concept of lyric poetry as a category of its own is a romantic notion that does not correspond to anything in pre-1800 poetics. So, what I would probably say to my younger self now is that he and I, if we were Byzantines, would not be having this discussion because there would be just the 'self', and not a younger and an older version of it. And in the unlikely event that he would deign to listen, I might add that the idea of existential solitude, the whole bit about 'standing alone', combines heavy doses of undigested romantic idealism with reading too much Kazhdan at an impressionable age.[2]

At the end of this chapter I shall return to the problematic concept of the Byzantine 'self' and discuss the equally problematic concept of 'individualism', which, I think, seriously misconstrues references to selfhood in Byzantine literature. But let us first look at the texts and then decide what we are to make of them.

Communication with the divine can be divided into two different religious modes or speech-acts: supplication and praise.[3] In poetry the former is usually

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[1] M.D. LAUXTERMANN, The Byzantine Epigram in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam 1994, 215.

[2] See KAZHDAN & EPSTEIN 1985: 90–93, esp. p. 92: 'For Symeon [the New Theologian], the believer stood alone before God in the universe'.

[3] See K. PFREMMER DE LONG, Surprised by God: Praise Responses in the Narrative of Luke — Acts. Berlin 2009, 19–41.

called prayer; the latter, hymn — but the terms are often interchangeable and the term 'prayer' (εὐχή, προσευχή) is somewhat confusing, because it indicates both the act of addressing God and the actual petition itself. Hymns may contain a fair amount of supplication, and prayers may thank God for specific benefactions or express praise for His wondrous deeds in general. It is clear from titles in manuscripts that the Byzantines do not distinguish hymns and prayers on the basis of generic features, but focus instead on the contents. Terms like ἱλαστήριος, ἱκετήριος, εὐκτήριος/εὐκτικός, etc., indicate that a text is a plea; terms like κατανυκτικός, θρηνητικός, etc., that a text is a lament; and terms like εὐχαριστήριος, etc., that a text is a thanksgiving — but none of these terms provide any clues as to the genre. Similarly, terms like ὕμνος or αἶνος do not necessarily identify a text as a hymn: they simply indicate that a text praises God or His mother or one of the saints. A good example are the poetic effusions of that great mystic of the Orthodox church, Symeon the New Theologian, which have the word 'hymn' in their magnificent title: τῶν θείων ὕμνων οἱ ἔρωτες ('Loves of Divine Hymns'), although these poems are not hymns in the technical sense of the term.[4] They are called 'hymns' because they celebrate the wondrous presence of God in Symeon's mystical experiences.

At the risk of falling into a nominalistic trap, I would restrict the term 'hymn' to encomiastic texts that form part of the liturgy or are very close in form, content and structure to authentic chants in praise of the Lord. 'Prayers', on the other hand, are texts that may serve a liturgical purpose but have a more personal, intimate tone of voice than one usually finds in 'hymns'. For instance, the introduction to Symeon the New Theologian's 'Loves of Divine Hymns' is a fervent invocation of God and, accordingly, bears the title μυστικὴ εὐχή — 'mystical prayer' (not 'mystical hymn').[5]

As liturgical poetry deserves a proper study of its own,[6] it is the non-liturgical variant I shall concern myself with here. These are hymns and prayers that do not figure in Byzantine liturgical books and musical manuscripts, but have been transmitted in poetry books (such as the 'Loves of Divine Hymns' or the collection of poems by Geometres), anthologies (such as the *Anthologia Barberina*) or manuscripts of mixed content. Among the non-liturgical hymns one finds texts that celebrate God, the Theotokos and the heavenly host of angels, martyrs and saints either by heaping praise on praise (for instance, John of Damascus' *Hymn to the Holy Trinity*)[7] or by recounting their glorious deeds (for instance, Sophronios

[4] See Koder 2002 and Koder 2008: 9 and 24–25.

[5] See Alexakis 2008.

[6] For an introduction to early hymnography up to Romanos the Melode, see Mitsakis 1971; for a concise overview of the whole of Byzantine hymnography, see D' Aiuto 2004.

[7] Ed. Canart 2000. Read μήκει (not νείκει) in v. 24 and πέπηγας (not πέπηκας) in v. 25.

poem no. 1: *On the Annunciation*).[8] The non-liturgical prayers are almost exclusively penitential: they include devotional prayers and catanyctic alphabets.

Although these hymns and prayers fall outside the framework of the Byzantine liturgy, this is not to deny that they may have occasionally been performed at special services in churches and monasteries, either in the form of soloists reciting or intoning the texts, or even in more elaborate musical settings with full choirs and soloists chanting them antiphonally. We know for a fact that certain non-liturgical texts, such as the anacreontics of Sophronios and Elias Synkellos,[9] were set to music and there is no reason to doubt that other poems, too, may have been intended for performance. Generally speaking, one can say that anacreontics and political verse are particularly suited to musical performance, whereas dodecasyllables and hexameters are less so. But this is a far from absolute rule and there are exceptions.

Two caveats are in order here. Firstly, it is not entirely uncommon for authentic liturgical hymns and prayers to be composed in stichic metres, either prosodic (for instance, the iamb) or accentual (for instance, the decasyllable, the hendecasyllable and the political verse). While most of these versified texts date back to Late Antiquity,[10] some are much later additions to the liturgical calendar, such as the iambic kanons by Ps. John of Damascus[11] and the *exaposteilaria* in political verse attributed to Constantine VII.[12] Although these hymns share the use of

[8] For ceremonial hymns, see chapter 10, pp. 49–56.

[9] See Hanssen 1889: 218, Nissen 1940a: 5, and Crimi 1990: 27.

[10] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 58–60 and 75–77.

[11] Ed. Nauck 1894 and Skrekas 2008. For iambic kanons by ninth- and tenth-century authors, see Pitra 1864–68: II, 363–364 (Patriarch Methodios); Tessari 2012: 75–78 (Patriarch Photios); Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1900: 45–59 and Efstratiadis 1932a: 81–82, 126, 182–83 and 218 (nos 115, 174, 258, 313) (Anastasios Quaestor); Efstratiadis 1932a: 56–57, 178 and 255–257 (nos 76–77, 252, 365–366) (Damianos the Monk); Efstratiadis 1932a: 158 (no. 223) (Theognostos the Abbot); Efstratiadis 1932b: 117 (Paul Xeropotamenos). According to Eustathios of Thessalonica (ed. Cesaretti & Ronchey 2014: 11 (Προοίμιον 102–106), cf. 159*), Geometres wrote a beautiful iambic kanon on the Nativity. For eleventh-century iambic kanons, see Antonopoulou 2017: LXII–LXIII and 87–94 (Caesar John (Doukas), the vestes and patrikios John, and Merkourios the Grammarian). For later examples, see A. Luzzi, *Hymnographica Eugeniana* inediti, giambici e ritmici, in: T. Creazzo et al. (eds), Studi bizantini in onore di Maria Dora Spadaro. Rome 2016, 277–297 (Eugenios of Palermo); A. Heisenberg, Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina. Leipzig 1896, 127–132; E. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel. Vienna 2008, 171–177 and 184–190; and E. Papaïliopoulou-Photopoulou, Ταμεῖον ἀνέκδοτων βυζαντινῶν ἀσματικῶν κανόνων, seu Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta orientis christiani. Athens 1996: nos 142 (Eugenios), 309 (Theophanes), 50 and 474 (Matthew Kamariotes), 374, 433 and 22π (anonymous). For metrical observations on the iambic kanons, see below the *Appendix Metrica*, §4.4.8, §4.2.1, and §4.5.

[12] Ed. Christ & Paranikas 1871: 110–112. For later hymns in political verse, see G.Th. Stathis, Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ βυζαντινῇ μελοποιΐᾳ. Athens 1977.

stichic metres with the non-liturgical ones, the fact remains that they serve a liturgical purpose and are therefore genuine hymns. Secondly, there are numerous didactic and satirical texts that are set to familiar liturgical melodies: these texts obviously do not serve a liturgical purpose, but this does not mean that they fall into the same category as the non-liturgical hymns that I intend to discuss here.[13] There is nothing religious about them.

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## *Hymns of Praise*

John Geometres is the author of five remarkable hymns to the Mother of God. The fifth (an obvious imitation of two alphabetically structured late antique hymns to Dionysus and Apollo in *AP* 9.524–525) need not concern us here because it has nothing to do with the other four, which clearly form a hymnodic cycle. Whereas the fifth hymn is a long enumeration of colourful epithets in hexameter, the first four are in elegiac distichs, consist of *chairetismoi* (salutations) to the Mother of God, and end with the same refrain: χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Βασίλεια πανίλαος, εὔχαρις, αἶνον / ἐξ ἀλιτρῶν στομάτων δέχνυσο ἡμετέρων ('Hail, Queen of Mercy, full of grace, accept this praise from our sinful mouths').

In the oldest manuscripts the hymnodic cycle is divided into two, Hymns I–III and Hymn IV, by a short poem that bears the title: 'iambs on the two-hundred elegiac verses [of Hymns I–III]' — just as the last hymn is followed by a distich proudly proclaiming that 'The three-hundred verses [of Hymns I–III and IV combined] praise you, Mother and Virgin, for giving birth to the One of Three'.[14] The poem that separates Hymns I–III and IV offers an interesting, but rather abstruse and arcane, explanation for the choice of the elegiac distich in these four hymns:

> Θεὸν τέλειον καὶ βροτὸν τίκτεις, Κόρη.
> δεκὰς τελεία καὶ μεγίστη, σοὶ χάρις,
> μέτρων μιγέντος κρείττονος τῷ χείρονι·
> καλῶ δὲ κρεῖττον τοῦ τόνου τὴν ἑξάδα,

[13] See Mitsakis 1972 and Eideneier 1977: 28–56. See below, chapter 18, pp. 204–205.

[14] Ed. Sajdak 1931: 76–77. It is beyond me why the editor prints the text of the 'iambs on the two-hundred elegiac verses' *after* Hymn IV, and not between Hymns III and IV. Hymns I–III consist of 204, not of 200 verses, but if one counts the refrain (see main text) only once, the stichometry is correct. For a similar stichometric poem see Chr. Mityl. 69 which informs us that the number of verses of the preceding poem (no. 68) is 153, which happens to be the number of fish caught by the disciples of Christ (*John* 21:11).

χεῖρον δὲ τὸν μείουρον ἐν χώραις δυσί.
Θεοῦ δὲ κρεῖττον, τοῦ βροτοῦ τὸ δεύτερον.

'God —both perfect and human— is born from Thee, Maiden. The number ten is perfect and magnificent (thanks be to Thee), with the lesser and the better metres blended together: I call "better" the six-foot metre, "lesser" the metre that is deficient in two feet. What is better is of God and what comes second is of man'.[15] The better metre is the hexameter, the lesser is the pentameter, because it is 'myuric' (deficient) both before the caesura and at the verse end. The six feet of the hexameter and the four faultless ones of the pentameter provide ten perfect dactyls. And ten is a perfect number because the first letter of the name Ἰησοῦς, Jesus, is ι (=10). While the better metre (the hexameter) symbolizes the divine nature of Christ, the lesser metre (the pentameter) represents His human nature. I am not certain how seriously we are supposed to take this equation of form and content, but it shows, if proof were needed, that even in matters as mundane as metre, the divine is never far away from the Byzantine experience.

While Hymns I–III just sing the praises of the Holy Virgin, Hymn IV offers towards its end a few allusions to the poetic metier and a few self-referential flourishes (vv. 65–94). Geometres writes that She, and She alone, is the source of poetry, wisdom, courage, joy, charm, harmony, rhetoric and beauty: if his hymns have any merit, it is all thanks to Her (vv. 65–80). The key-word here is χάρις, which establishes a reciprocal relationship of give and take: Geometres offers his graceful poetry in gratitude for Her boundless grace. It is on account of Her great mercy that he feels assured that whatever may happen on the battlefield, whatever wrong tyrants may do, whatever illness may afflict him, She will be by his side and comfort him (vv. 81–94). Some of these lines are almost identical to verses of Geometres' *Prayer* (Van Opstall no. 290), and most of the sentiments reverberate in the rest of Geometres' autobiographical poetry.[16] Since references to bad tyrants, military calamities and health problems in the poetry of Geometres date from after 985–986, the year he fell into disgrace and retired to a monastery dedicated to the Holy Virgin,[17] Hymns I–IV too must date from this period of imperial disfavour. It is reasonable to assume that Geometres wrote these four hymns for the monastery where he spent the last years of his life, and recited them before his fellow monks.

As already indicated, Hymns I–IV consist of a long catalogue of honorific epithets and symbolic attributes in the form of χαιρετισμοί (salutations). Here is an example from Hymn IV:

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[15] For a French translation and a good commentary, see Van Opstall 2008: 70–71 and n. 11.
[16] See Lauxtermann 1998c: 367–371 and Van Opstall 2008: 10–14.
[17] Lauxtermann 1998c: 371–372; I incorrectly identified this monastery of the Holy Virgin with Τὰ Κύρου: see Magdalino 2018.

Χαῖρ᾽, ἐλέους πρόφασις φιλοοικτίστοιο Θεοῖο
σπλάγχνα κλινομένη μηδὲ δίκην δικάσαι.
Χαῖρε, δικαίας μήνιδος οὐτιδανοῖσι βροτοῖσι
πανσθενέος ῥύστις Πλάστου ὀδυσσομένου.
Χαῖρε, ῥαπιζομένην κτίσιν οἷα θεράπνιον εἰς γῆν
ἤδη κλινομένην αὖθις ἀνισταμένη.
Χαῖρ᾽, ἀπελαυνομένη καὶ δαίμονας ἀγριοθύμους
πνεύματος ἡμετέρου σώματος ἀμφαδίην.
Χαῖρε, νόσων μυρίων ἀνιάτων ἄλκαρ, ἀφ᾽ ᾅδου
ἕλκουσα ψυχὰς αὖθις ἐς ἠέλιον.
Χαῖρ᾽, ἀποπεμπομένη ψυχάρπαγας ἀγγελιήτας
καὶ χρόνον ἡμερίοις ῥίμφα χαριζομένη.
Χαῖρ᾽, ἀποδυρομένη παθέων ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπείων
καὶ τ᾽ ἀλιτρῶν στροφίμων δάκρυα δεχνυμένη.
Χαῖρ᾽, ἀπαλειφομένη μυριόγραφα δαίμοσι βίβλα
σπόγγος ἅτε δροσερὴ ἡμετέρης κακίης.

‘Hail, thou that art the fount of grace, moving the heart of the merciful God that He may not pass judgment. Hail, thou that savest wretched mortals from the just anger and wrath of the almighty Creator. Hail, thou that raisest the creation when, flogged like a servant, it already falleth to the ground. Hail, thou that in open fight expellest even ferocious demons from the breath of our bodies. Hail, thou that art the remedy against myriad incurable ailments and bringest souls back from the netherworld to the light of day. Hail, thou that turnest away the soul-snatching angels and givest swift respite to us ephemeral beings. Hail, thou that weepest over human frailties and welcomest the tears of repenting sinners. Hail, thou that, like a fresh sponge, wipest clean the diabolically dense pages of our sinfulness’.[18]

Please note the inclusive sense of the word ἡμέτερος in lines 22 and 30 (*ἡμετέρου* σώματος and *ἡμετέρης* κακίης), which refers to the first-person narrating instance and the congregation of faithful listening to the performance of the hymns. The self is communal in Byzantine hymns and prayers — even if a text is written in the first person singular, it expresses sentiments and experiences shared by all: *we* are sinners, *we* are ambushed by the devil, *we* cry out for redemption.[19] It is a collective self. It is a multitude of voices, all saying: ‘I am a sinner (and so are you)’.

[18] Hymn IV.15–30: ed. Sajdak 1931: 72–73.
[19] On tropes of selfhood in late antique hymnography, see Krueger 2006a.

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## *Devotional Prayers*

In the year 1027 Strategios, 'presbyter of the Great Church and the patriarchal chapels', commissioned a euchology (εὐχολόγιον), which has a remarkable colophon in which the scribe explains that the euchology does not contain the Liturgies of St Basil and of Chrysostom, of the Terce-sext and of the Presanctified, because they can be found in the ordinary liturgical scrolls, nor does it contain certain other prayers because 'he (Strategios) has another book that contains the prayers of the antiphons of the Psalter as in the psalmody of the Great Church, to the number of seventy-four, and the eight prayers of the Odes, and *various other prayers recited at different times, before going to bed, after rising, for communion, for confession, unto the good of the soul, for compunction, etcetera, fifty-four in all*, and a selection of diverse texts on the Holy Trinity'.[20]

The interesting thing about this testimony is that it offers a glimpse into devotional practices in the early eleventh century. In 1027, some of the devotional prayers mentioned had already been incorporated into euchologies and other liturgical collections, while others, such as the communion and confession prayers, were only gradually gaining admittance into the liturgy.[21] Although Strategios doubtless will have used some of the material in his official capacity as 'presbyter of the Great Church', the manuscript that the colophon describes looks very much like a tailor-made collection of prayers which Strategios thought were useful either for liturgical purposes or for private devotion. The difference between private and officially recognized devotional practices is, of course, slight and there is no reason to assume that devotional texts, before they entered into 'official' euchologies, were just a personal choice; in fact, their use must have been widespread and generally accepted before they became part and parcel of the Byzantine liturgy.

The colophon in the Strategios euchology refers to various kinds of prayers 'recited at different times'. Below I will discuss a penitential poem which clearly falls into the category of prayers 'for compunction'. Poem no. 20 in the collection of Theodore of Stoudios is explicitly identified as a prayer recited 'before going

[20] The ms. is Par. Coisl. 213 [49354]. Translation (slightly adapted): TAFT 2001: 301 and ALEXOPOULOS & VAN DEN HOEK 2006: 179. For the Greek original, see J. DUNCAN, Coislin 213: Euchologe de la Grande Église. Rome 1983, VII. P. KALAITZIDIS, *BollGrott* 5 (2008) 179–184, argues that Strategios is not only the owner, but also the scribe of the manuscript; if so, I fail to understand why Strategios would refer to himself in the third person.

[21] For communion prayers, see TAFT 2001 and ALEXOPOULOS & VAN DEN HOEK 2006: 163–176; for confession prayers, see M. ARRANZ, *OCP* 57 (1991) 87–143.

to bed' in the anthology of Nikodemos Hagioreites (Constantinople 1799): he calls it an εὐχὴ ἐπικοίτιος.[22] The title in Theodore of Stoudios' collection, εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον, curiously enough indicates that the prayer was actually inscribed on the walls of the dormitory of the monastery.[23] However, as Paul Speck has pointed out, despite its unexpected inscriptional nature, the poem has much in common with other night prayers and should be classified as such.[24] As for the category of prayers 'for communion', the *Horologion* ('Book of Hours') offers a whole group, one of which is metrical: no. 7 ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν χειλέων, ἀπὸ βδελυρᾶς καρδίας ('from sordid lips and an odious heart'), with a double ascription to Symeon the New Theologian and John of Damascus.[25] The earliest liturgical manuscripts to contain the prayer date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[26] but it must be considerably older. Since there are no other examples of the trochaic octosyllable before the late tenth century,[27] I would be inclined to date it to the eleventh or perhaps the twelfth century, though a tenth-century date cannot be excluded. Prayers recited when one goes on a journey are not explicitly mentioned by the scribe of the Strategios euchology, but are probably subsumed in his 'etcetera' category. Geometres has a splendid example in hexameter (Van Opstall no. 65), which clearly imitates Gregory of Nazianzos,[28] and sets the tone for a number of unusual texts in an eleventh-century psalter, Bodl. Clarke 15 [47770]. This psalter is a private devotional object commissioned by and for a certain Mark the Monk, who needed spiritual guidance when he went on a journey in 1077–78 and who made no secret of his anxiety in the many book epigrams that are sprinkled throughout the manuscript.[29]

In the Life of St Cyril Phileotes written by Nikolaos Kataskepenos during the reign of Manuel Komnenos, we find an interesting reference to another manuscript for private devotional use. In the chapter that deals with compunction and

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[22] HAGIOREITES 1799: 178–179.

[23] See SPECK 1968: 66 and 154.

[24] SPECK 1968: 154–156.

[25] Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. Venice 1832, 504–507 = Venice 1851, 447–449 = Rome 1876, 316–318 = Athens s.d., 578–580. The prayer is also found in the Zagoraios edition of Symeon the New Theologian: see KODER 1965: 129. In *PG* 96.853–856, the prayer is attributed to John of Damascus; Migne's source is J. BILLIUS (ed.), Ioannis Damasceni Opera etc. Paris 1577, 593–595. The prayer cannot be the work of John of Damascus: see NISSEN 1940a: 72–74. Nor can it be the work of Symeon the New Theologian: see KODER 1969–73: vol. I, 21.

[26] PARPULOV 2004: Appendix C 2 mentions Laura B 14 [27066] (s. XIII) and Brux. IV 912 [10056] (s. XIV in.); ALEXOPOULOS & VAN DEN HOEK 2006: 185 mention Sinait. 728 [59103] (a. 1375) and Sinait. 712 [59087] (a. 1482) as the earliest *Horologia* to contain the prayer.

[27] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 52–53.

[28] See K. DEMOEN, *Studia Patristica* 32 (1997) 96–101, at 96 and 100–101; VAN OPSTALL 2008: 236; and DEMOEN & VAN OPSTALL 2010: 237–246.

[29] See LAUXTERMANN 2012.

the power of tears (highly valued in monastic circles),[30] he tells an edifying story about Auxentios, a monk so pious that he would repent and shed tears in profusion on a daily basis; he went to such extremes that one day he completely dried out from an excess of weeping, and died.[31] This Auxentios had compiled his own collection of penitential poems: 'Having collected the *stichera* of the eight modes and the penitential kanons in a book of his own, he did not allow himself any rest, but would chant from this book day and night with great fervour'.[32] While he lay dying, he presented Nikolaos Kataskepenos with this book because he wished to die without any worldly possessions.

Here we find ourselves in a monastic environment. Weeping is important because monks have to show signs of repentance, even for sins they have not committed or even contemplated. Tears cleanse the soul. It is common practice to recite 'catanyctic' (that is, penitential) psalms, hymns, poems and prayers, and thus be reminded of original sin in order to provoke the liberating tears.[33] Nikolaos Kataskepenos has a funny story about a pretentious bigot, a monk who used to shed crocodile tears. One night, while Kataskepenos recited the usual prayers of Compline and four *kathismata* of the Psalter, the bigot managed to recite only three of the eight odes of a single penitential kanon, because 'he would repeat each word five or ten times or even more, with lamentations and loud wailings'.[34] This monk was clearly overdoing it. But the story of virtuous Auxentios illustrates the importance accorded to genuine penitence in monastic circles and the role catanyctic poetry played in triggering the proper emotional response.

One of the poems that Auxentios' personal collection of catanyctic poems (sadly lost to us) may have contained is a penitential prayer that must have been extremely popular because it has come down to us in various manuscripts and different versions. The version in the Zagoraios edition of Symeon the New Theologian (Venice 1790) and in Par. Suppl. gr. 1032 [50625] (s. XVI ex.), where it is attributed to another Symeon, the Metaphrast, is the only one that has been properly edited.[35] There is a shorter version in Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 13 [47065] (dating from shortly after 1132), a euchology produced for the newly-founded monastery of the Holy Saviour in Messina; this version, attributed to Emperor Alexios Komnenos, was added to the euchology by a contemporary hand on two pages

[30] On monastic tears, see HUNT 2004, HINTERBERGER 2006 and GIANNOULI 2009.

[31] Ed. E. SARGOLOGOS, La vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin. Brussels 1964, chapter 42. See also chapter 8, §2 and 3, where Kataskepenos quotes the text of two catanyctic poems: p. 71.17–26 and pp. 71–72.

[32] Chapter 42, §9 (p. 201); see also HINTERBERGER 2006: 35, n. 32 and GIANNOULI 2009: 153–154.

[33] For an overview of catanyctic poetry, see GIANNOULI 2013.

[34] Chapter 42, §12 (p. 203).

[35] KODER 1965.

left blank.[36] Then there is an extremely lengthy version[37] published by Nikodemos Hagioreites in 1799; it is not known on the basis of which manuscript he edited the poem.[38] This version, too, is attributed to Symeon the Metaphrast. Although these three sources (Zagoraios, the Messina euchology, and Nikodemos Hagioreites) offer quite different versions, they all start with the same incipit: Ὦ πάτερ, υἱέ, πνεῦμα, τριὰς ἁγία ('O Father, Son and Spirit, Holy Trinity'). There is a fourth version which begins with a metrical heading: Ὕμνος προσευχῆς καρδίας ἐγρηγόρου, ψυχῆς ῥαθύμου καὶ ῥυπωμένης πάνυ: ὦ πάτερ κτλ ('Hymnodic prayer from a vigilant heart, a slothful and very sordid soul: O Father, etc.'); I discovered it in Bodl. Barocc. 110 [47397] (s. XIV), f. 335$^{r–v}$, where it is attributed to John of Damascus, but there must be more manuscripts with this version of the text.[39] A fifth text witness, a short penitential poem of just 10 verses attributed to 'the late Gregory the Monk', can be found in Harvard, Houghton Library, ms. gr. 3 [12290] (a. 1105), a Psalter cum Horologion; it is quite similar to the text in Nikodemos Hagioreites.[40] And then there is a sixth witness, Ps. Psellos 63, vv. 38–66, which presents the beginning of the prayer in a version that is once again quite close to what Nikodemos Hagioreites offers.[41] Longer versions of Ps. Psellos 63 are found in two late thirteenth-century manuscripts, Bodl. Clarke 11 [47766][42]

[36] For the manuscript, see A. Jacob, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 50 (1980) 283–364, esp. 291–292 and 353. For a partial edition of the text, see Maas 1913: 368–369; for the full text, though buried in the critical apparatus, see Koder 1965.

[37] Whereas the Koder edition offers 156 lines (plus 20 lines he rejected as interpolations), the Hagioreites version consists of no fewer than 341 lines: of these 341, it shares 68 with the Koder edition (65 'genuine' verses and 3 'interpolated' ones).

[38] Hagioreites 1799: 157–163 (reprinted in: A.D. Simonof (ed.), Μέγα προσευχητάριον περιέχον ἱερὰς προσευχὰς ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει καὶ ῥήματα ἱερά. Thessaloniki 2001, 425–435).

[39] Vassis 2005: 825, mentions the incipit, but unfortunately does not indicate where he found the poem.

[40] See Parpulov 2010: 96, n. 86; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, *Manuscripta* 54 (2010) 64–147, at 95; Lauxtermann 2014b; and J.C. Anderson & S. Parenti, A Byzantine Monastic Office, 1105 A.D.: Houghton Library, Ms. gr. 3. Washington 2016, 76. Lines 1, 2–3 and 7–9 can be found in Hagioreites 1799: 157 and 162. The same ms. also attributes another catanyctic poem to the late Gregory the Monk: inc. ὦ τῆς δριμείας πικρίας τοῦ θανάτου (ed. Lauxtermann 2014b: 85–86).

[41] Ps. Psellos 63, vv. 38–66, correspond to Hagioreites 1799: 157–158 (vv. 1–5, 7–8, 10, 9, 11–12, 15, ?, 16, 18, 17, 19, 22, 24–32, ?, 34). The poem cannot be dated precisely; it is found in Vindob. Phil. gr. 150 [71264] (s. XIV in.), in a small sylloge of poems (fol. III–IV), some of which look 12th-c. to me. For this collection, see Hörandner 1996.

[42] Foteini Spingou (personal communication) dates the ms. to the last quarter of the 13th c. The scribe made a mistake while copying vv. 1–61 (on fols. 95$^{r}$, 95$^{v}$ and 96$^{r}$), which he afterwards erased; he then copied the rest of the poem on fols. 96$^{r}$–98$^{v}$ and rewrote the text of vv. 1–61 on fols. 106$^{r}$, 106$^{v}$ and 112$^{r}$ (this time in the correct order).

and Vat. gr. 207[43]; both of these versions offer the full text of the prayer (not just the beginning)[44] and bear the title: δέησις τοῦ παραβεβηκότος ('supplication of the trespasser'). In the Vatican manuscript the poem is attributed to an otherwise unknown monk Bartholomew Malomytes.

The oldest and shortest version, the prayer of the 'late Gregory the Monk' in the Harvard Psalter, goes as follows:

Ὦ πάτερ, υἱέ, πνεῦμα, τριὰς ἁγία
ὅταν καθίσῃς εἰς ἐπηρμένον θρόνον,
ὅτε κρίνῃς με τὸν κατακεκριμένον
πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ τρόμῳ πεφρικότων,
μὴ διανοίξῃς βιβλίον συνειδότος,
μὴ στηλιτεύσῃς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀσωτίας,
μὴ τοῖς ἐρίφοις τοῖς κεκατηραμένοις
ἐμὲ συνάψῃς τὸν κεκατηραμένον,
ἀλλὰ προβάτοις τοῖς μεμακαρισμένοις
αἰῶνι τῷ μέλλοντι τῷ σωτηρίῳ.

'O Father, Son and Spirit, Holy Trinity, when you sit on your exalted throne and judge me the condemned one while all look on and tremble in fear, do not open the book of conscience and do not cast me aside for my grievous sins: though I am a cursed sinner, do not put me with the cursed goats, but with the blessed sheep (cf. *Matt.* 25: 31–33) in the age of salvation to come'.[45]

Symeon the Metaphrast, John of Damascus and, to a lesser extent, Symeon the New Theologian are names that pop up quite frequently whenever an anonymous religious poem is in search of an author. Emperor Alexios Komnenos is a very unlikely candidate since he is not known for his poetic talents;[46] the reason why the Messina euchology ascribes the text to him is clearly to justify the pres-

[43] The poem is found at the end of this early Palaeologan manuscript (c. 1265–68), fol. 368$^{r}$–369$^{v}$; it precedes the resignation poem of Nicholas of Corfu and catanyctic poems of Germanos II.

[44] In Bodl. Clarke 11 the poem consists of 332 lines, the first 44 of which correspond to Ps. Psellos 63, vv. 1–37 (the introduction), whereas the next 35 lines (vv. 45–79) correspond to Ps. Psellos 63, vv. 38–66 (the prayer). Lines 80–327 largely correspond to HAGIOREITES 1799: 158–162 (up to v. 282 ἀλλὰ προβάτοις τοῖς μεμακαρισμένοις), lines 328–29 and 331–32 to KODER 1965: vv. 149–150 and 156–167, and lines 330 and 332, once again, to HAGIOREITES 1799: 163 (vv. 340–41). The poem in Vat. gr. 207, which I have not seen, has 204 lines, making it long enough to have a shortened version of the whole prayer.

[45] Ed. LAUXTERMANN 2014b: 80. For the βίβλος τοῦ συνειδότος, see Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 24.68 and *Orat. Eth.* 1, lines 273 and 284; also known as the βίβλος τῆς συνειδήσεως, see Maximos Confessor, *Ep*. 40 (*PG* 91.633c).

[46] The ascription of the *Muses* to Alexios Komnenos is a literary hoax; the text dates from the early reign of John Komnenos and aims to legitimize the latter's ascension to the throne. The *Spaneas*, too, has been wrongly ascribed to Alexios Komnenos.

ence of a private devotional prayer in a liturgical book by claiming that it goes back to a Constantinopolitan usage introduced by none less than the emperor. The 'late Gregory the Monk' is probably not the author of the poem, but one of the many Byzantines reciting the poem or parts of it for devotional purposes. Ps. Psellos is not even claiming to be the author: he is quoting the beginning of a well-known prayer and expects his audience to know the remainder, as they certainly would have (unlike the modern editor who failed to spot the source text). Bartholomew Malomytes does not pretend to be the author of the prayer either: he quotes the full text because it is of great spiritual significance to Byzantine monks, such as himself. It is impossible to establish an accurate date for the prayer: it obviously dates from before 1105 (the date of the Harvard Psalter), but it is anyone's guess whether the prayer dates from the eleventh, the tenth, or perhaps the ninth century (an earlier date is unlikely because of the poem's erratic prosody).

However, vastly more important than authorship and date of the prayer is its uses: the ways in which a malleable generic text can be constantly adapted and transformed into something truly personal. The 'late Gregory the Monk' used to recite ten verses of the prayer; his version was copied by one of his disciples in a psalter for private devotional purposes. The version in Bodl. Barocc. 110 has a metrical heading (quoted above) which refers to a 'vigilant heart' — that is, to a 'heart' that recites this prayer 'at night'; the prose title attached to it informs us that these verses are read κατὰ Παρασκευήν, 'on Friday', in spiritual preparation for the Lord's Feast. Ps. Psellos and Bartholomew Malomytes first ask the whole of nature to lament and cry on account of their manifold sins, and then pray to all the saints, martyrs and prophets, and especially St Nicholas and the Holy Virgin, imploring them to intercede on their behalf, after which they admonish their own 'hearts'[47] to ascend to heaven on spiritual wings:

θείῳ θρόνῳ πρόσελθε τῷ τῆς τριάδος,
ἅψαι φαεινῶν κρασπέδων παρ᾽ ἀξίαν,
αἱμορροοῦσα διανοίᾳ καρδία,
καθικέτευσον καὶ τύχῃς σωτηρίας.

'Approach the holy throne of the Trinity, touch its splendid edges although you are not worthy, oh heart that bleeds in spirit (cf. *Mark* 5: 27), supplicate and you shall be saved'.[48] This is then followed by the text of the prayer. The other

[47] Read in Ps. Psellos 63, v. 31 νοὸς πτέρυξι καρδία πτερουμένη (as in Bodl. Clarke 11, fol. 95$^{v}$ and 106$^{v}$): 'oh heart of mine, soaring on spiritual wings'.

[48] Ps. Psellos 63, vv. 35–37; the reading τύχῃς in v. 37, which Westerink already suggested in the critical apparatus to his edition, is indeed found in Bodl. Clarke 11; and so is his emendation πρόσελθε in v. 35. I have corrected the additional line between v. 36 and v. 37, which, in Bodl. Clarke 11, fols. 95$^{v}$ and 106$^{v}$, reads: αἱμορροοῦσα διάνοια καρδίαν, 'oh mind that bleeds out its

sources unfortunately do not shed much light on the devotional context, but they concur in calling the text a 'prayer' (εὐχή, προσευχή);[49] furthermore, the fact that the prayer is included in the Messina euchology, albeit almost as an afterthought, is clearly suggestive of its uses as a devotional text.

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## *Catanyctic Alphabets*

The miniatures in Athous Dion. 65 [20033] (s. XII in.), commissioned by an otherwise unknown monk Sabas who hailed from the harbour of Kalathas in the Gulf of Nicomedeia, 'are the most intensely personal devotional images preserved in a Byzantine Psalter': compared to other specimens of devotional art, 'they solicit a much greater degree of personal response on the part of the viewer'.[50] Part of the iconographic programme is a series of six images on fols. $11^{r}$–$12^{r}$ that illustrate the fate of the soul after death and juxtapose scenes of punishment and salvation; in the margins of these miniatures there are snippets of verse that carry the same penitential message as the images.[51] These derive from a catanyctic alphabet by Nikephoros Ouranos, which consists of 24 three-line strophes in political verse.[52] The purpose of text and image is to evoke the last judgment and lament it with great displays of grief and contrition.

Catanyctic alphabets fall into the large category of penitential poems, mostly still unedited and hardly studied because of the bias against devotional poetry, which is usually seen as having little literary value and limited historical interest.[53] Recurring motifs in penitential poetry are, firstly, the recollection of death, the recognition of one's mortality and sinfulness, and fear of the last judgment; secondly, Adam and Eve, original sin and the expulsion from paradise; thirdly, the state of being a stranger to this world and the concomitant feelings of estrange-

heart'. Incidentally, the famous prison poem of Michael Glykas also ends with the comforting words: καὶ τύχης σωτηρίας (v. 581); I am not sure whether this is a literary reference or pure coincidence.

[49] Not ὕμνος as the title of KODER 1965 would suggest: 'Dreifaltigkeitshymnus'.

[50] PARPULOV 2004: 115.

[51] See STICHEL 1971: 71–72, PARPULOV 2004: 114, n. 7, PARPULOV 2010: 96–97, n. 87, and RHOBY 2009–2018: vol. IV, 196–201 (GR 14–15, 17–18 and 20–21).

[52] Ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1899a: 68–70; see the emendations suggested by E. KURTZ, *BZ* 25 (1925) 18. Sabas quotes strophes I, M, K (only two lines), O (only two lines), Y and X.

[53] For catanyctic poems in general, see ANASTASIJEWIĆ 1907, LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 31–35, CICCOLELLA 2000a: XLIX–LIV, MIGLIORINI & TESSARI 2012: 163–165 and 172, and GIANNOULI 2013.

ment and alienation (ξενιτεία).[54] The first of these three motifs is by far the most important in catanyctic alphabets, which usually explore the themes of sinfulness and the proximity of death at great length.[55] Typical of penitential poetry in general is self-referentiality:[56] poets address their own souls or hearts and refer to their own sinfulness in terms that we moderns tend to misinterpret as autobiographical,[57] although they in fact clearly mean the predicament of sin and death *all* human beings are subject to because of the consumption of one wretched apple. One of the earliest examples is a kontakion by Romanos the Melode, in which the lyric subject addresses his own soul: ψυχή μου, ψυχή μου, ἀνάστα· τί καθεύδεις; τὸ τέλος ἐγγίζει καὶ μέλλεις θορυβεῖσθαι· ἀνάνηψον οὖν ἵνα φείσηταί σου Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, 'My soul, my soul, wake up! Why are you asleep? The end draws near and you will be troubled. Repent, that Christ our God may save you, for He is everywhere and fills all things'.[58] This theme is duly repeated in the *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete: ἐγγίζει, ψυχή, τὸ τέλος· ἐγγίζει, καὶ οὐ φροντίζεις; οὐχ ἑτοιμάζῃ; ὁ καιρὸς συντέμνει, διανάστηθι· ἐγγὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ὁ κριτής ἐστιν· ὡς ὄναρ, ὡς ἄνθος ὁ χρόνος τοῦ βίου τρέχει, 'The end draws near, my soul. It draws near and yet you do not care nor prepare yourself? Time is short — wake up! The judge is at the gates and life passes by swiftly like a dream, like a flower'.[59] In the catanyctic alphabet by Nikephoros Ouranos, the poem that Sabas quoted with obvious approval in his personal psalter (see above), this wake-up call is rendered as follows: ψυχή, κἂν νῦν γρηγόρησον· ἡ κρίσις οὐ νυστάζει, / ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ κλέπτης ἐν νυκτὶ ἥξει πυρὶ διδοῦσα, 'My soul, wake up already! Judgment does not sleep, but will come like a thief in the night and deliver you to the (eternal) fire'.[60]

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[54] See HINTERBERGER 2006: 35.

[55] For the second motif (Adam and Eve, and the expulsion from paradise), see KAKOULIDI 1964: 64–67 and HÖRANDNER 1984: 285–289; for the third motif ('xeniteia'), see MENTZOU 1964: 11–14. A good example of a poem that combines these two motifs, is Neophytos Enkleistos' penitential poem, περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ φυτόν: ed. SOTIROUDIS 1996: 284–286; this is the same poem as the anonymous στίχοι θρηνητικοὶ περὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ παραδείσου, vv. 1–38, published by E. LEGRAND, Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, vol. I. Paris 1880, XI–XIV (Legrand printed three separate poems as if they were one: vv. 1–38, 39–62, and 63–118; the first two are by Neophytos Enkleistos and the third by Michael the Hieromonk: see I.P. TSIKNOPOULLOS, *Kypriakai Spoudai* 27 (1963) 77–117).

[56] See GIANNOULI 2009: 146–147.

[57] For a splendid refutation of such 'autobiographical' interpretations, see A. GIANNOULI, Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Großen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta. Vienna 2007, 38 and 39–40.

[58] Ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes, 5 vols. Paris 1964–1981, vol. IV, 242: no. XXXVII, prooimion.

[59] Ed. *PG* 97.1348b and CHRIST & PARANIKAS 1871: 150.

[60] Ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1899a: 69–70.

The earliest catanyctic alphabets are composed in the paired octosyllable, both prosodic (anacreontic) and unprosodic, and later ones make use of the political verse; the dodecasyllable is extremely rare and its use is restricted to late Byzantine texts.[61] Examples of the octosyllable are, in strict chronological order, Elias Synkellos (8th c.), Metrophanes of Smyrna (late 9th c.), Leo VI (c. 900) and Ps. John of Damascus (11th c.?).[62] Examples of catanyctic alphabets written in political verse are, once again in chronological order, Symeon the Metaphrast (10th c.), Kyriakos of Chonai (10th c.), Nikephoros Ouranos (c. 1000), Theodore of Gangra (11th c.?), Niketas of Klaudioupolis (11th–12th c.?), Makarios Kaloreites (early 13th c.), Ps. Symeon the Metaphrast (13th c.?), anonymous no. 1 (13th–14th c.), Ps. Athanasios and anonymous no. 2 (both late Byzantine or post-Byzantine).[63]

The fact that the earliest examples of the catanyctic alphabet make use of the octosyllable whereas later ones are in political verse, fits into the general pattern whereby the political verse replaces the octosyllable/anacreontic as the preferred metre for the composition of lyrics.[64] The heading attached to the first of the two alphabets by Elias Synkellos indicates that it is a 'catanyctic poem in anacreontics sung in the fourth plagal mode' and the heading attached to the ᾠδάριον κατανυκτικόν (catanyctic song) of Leo VI in three manuscripts indicates that the song was set to the melody of the well-known *exaposteilarion* ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἄστροις.[65] The heading attached to Nikephoros Ouranos' catanyctic alphabet in ms. Athous Ib. 207 (s. XVI) also mentions the tune to which it is set,[66] but it is not clear whether this is a later development or retains performative elements of the poem's original composition. The second part of the early tenth-century *Antholo-*

[61] For catanyctic alphabets in dodecasyllable, see KRUMBACHER 1897b: 718–720, nos 4 (ἄνθρωπε, τὴν κλίνην σου) and 20 (ἀναβόησον).

[62] Elias: ed. CICCOLELLA 2000a: 1–31 (for the date see LAUXTERMANN 2003b); Metrophanes: ed. MERCATI 1929–30; Leo VI: ed. CICCOLELLA 1989; Ps. John: see above, n. 25.

[63] Symeon Metaphrastes: see below; Kyriakos: ed. LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 101–102 (I was not aware of Esc. Ψ II 20 [15226] (s. XIII), fol. 82, at the time of my edition); Nik. Ouranos: see above, n. 52; Theodore of Gangra: ed. BOISSONADE 1829–33: IV, 442–444 (for the identification of the author, see LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 99); Niketas of Klaudioupolis: ed. ANASTASIJEWIĆ 1907: 491–492 (no. I. 1); Makarios: ed. BĂNESCU 1913: 11–13; Ps. Symeon: ed. ALLATIUS 1664: 134 (repr. in: *PG* 114.133); anon. no. 1: ed. M. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI in: I. VASSIS et al. (eds), Lesarten: Festschrift für A. Kambylis. Berlin-New York 1998, 226–239; Ps. Athanasios and anon. no. 2: ed. ANASTASIJEWIĆ 1907: 495–498 (nos I. 4–5). For corrections to the texts edited by Anastasijewić, see D.N. ANASTASIJEWIĆ, *BZ* 17 (1908) 315 and E. KURTZ, *BZ* 26 (1926) 288–289.

[64] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 45–49.

[65] Elias: ed. CICCOLELLA 2000a: 6; Leo VI: ed. CICCOLELLA 1989: 18 and 20.

[66] See ANASTASIJEWIĆ 1907: 480, n. 2. The melody to which the catanyctic alphabet is set according to this manuscript, κριτὴν τοιάδε, appears to be unknown — unless it is identical to one of the following two hymns in political verse: κριτήν σε οἶδα, Δέσποτα and κριτήν σε οἶδα φοβερὸν.

*gia Barberina*, which consists solely of lyrics in octosyllable, heptasyllable and political verse, had a large section of catanyctic alphabets (nos 93–123 in the index):[67] these are all lost now, but the important thing to note is that their presence in what is essentially a collection of song lyrics, leaves no doubt that these catanyctic alphabets were intended for musical performance.[68] This is corroborated by a remarkable passage in the work of Neophytos Enkleistos, where he explains to his monastic audience that salvation is impossible without the acknowledgment that paradise is their true home and that they do not belong to this world, but are in fact strangers to it. By way of illustration, he explains to his monks that, just as strangers may sing songs of separation (the so-called τραγούδια της ξενιτειάς) expressing their wish to return home, so too there are people who sing the same songs, not to express that they are far from home, but to mourn their exile from paradise.[69] There is a connection here between penitential poems and songs of separation: both appeal to feelings of alienation and both are intended for musical performance.

The oldest catanyctic alphabet in political verse is by Symeon the Metaphrast. These are strophes A to Θ:

Ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας πόνους,
ἀπὸ ψυχῆς μετάνοιαν προσφέρω σοι τῷ Κτίστῃ.
Βέλη μοι νῦν γεγόνασιν αἱ φιλήδονοι πράξεις·
ἡδοναὶ μετεστράφησαν εἰς χαλεπὰς ὀδύνας.
Γένος βροτῶν εὐόλισθον, οἶδα, πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν·
ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ, φεῦ! παρέδραμον καὶ τὴν ἄλογον φύσιν.
Δεῦτε, ψυχαὶ φιλάνθρωποι, δεῦτε δακρύων ὄμβρους
ἐπὶ ψυχὴν κενώσατε πολλῶν θρήνων ἀξίαν.
Ἐρῶ τι καὶ θρασύτερον· εἰ νικᾷ σὴ χρηστότης,
Χριστέ, κακίαν ἄμετρον, ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ νῦν φανείτω.
Ζῆν οὕτως ἁμαρτάνοντι τὸ θανεῖν πόσῳ κρεῖττον!
ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον συνέφερεν ὅλως μὴ γεννηθῆναι.
Ἦρα πρὸς σὲ τὰ ὄμματα, Δέσποτα, τῆς καρδίας·
κράζω πικρῶς «ἐλέησον»· ἐξέλιπον ἐλπίδες.
Θάνατε, τὸ μνημόσυνον πικρόν σου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις·
ἐμὲ τοῦ τέλους πλέον δὲ τὰ μετὰ τέλος τήκει.

‘Tears from my eyes, pain from my heart, repentance from my soul — these I offer to you, my Creator. My lustful acts have now become barbs, my lusts have turned into grievous pains. Mankind is prone to slip into sin, I know; but woe is

[67] See Gallavotti 1987: 40 and 52–53.
[68] See vol. I, chapter 3, 127–128.
[69] Ed. Sotiroudis 1996: 287.15–26.

me, I have run to it faster than even an animal would. Come hither, compassionate souls, shed showers of tears over a most lamentable soul. I say in all honesty: Christ, if your goodness prevails over boundless evil, let it show itself to me now. How much better it is to die than to live in such sin; it would have been better for me not to have been born at all! I lift up the eyes of my heart unto you, Lord, I cry bitterly: "Have mercy!"; all hope is gone. O Death, the thought of you is bitter for mankind, but more than death, it is the hereafter that consumes my thoughts'.[70]

It is not known whether this alphabet was set to music, but the parallels presented above do strengthen the case for musical performance. Like other catanyctic alphabets, Symeon the Metaphrast's poem clearly serves a devotional purpose as a text to be recited by the faithful who, by confessing their sins, showing repentance, shedding tears and imploring God, hope to obtain salvation in the life to come. In other words, it falls into the category of the penitential prayer. Whereas devotion is mostly a private matter, the appeal to 'compassionate souls' to join in and shed tears on behalf of the confessant may indicate that the catanyctic alphabet was initially intended for performance by the whole congregation: that is to say, rather than a solitary spiritual exercise, its recitation may well have been a communal experience. This is not to deny that most monks and members of the laity will have recited the text in private and combined it with other catanyctic prayers and psalms that expressed their spiritual needs. A good example is Sinait. gr. 2123 (a. 1242), a Psalter cum New Testament, that offers the text of Symeon's catanyctic alphabet together with the *Akathistos* and other devotional texts towards the end of the manuscript;[71] all these texts, including the catanyctic alphabet, served as devotional exercises for the manuscript's owner.

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## *Poems to Oneself*

There are numerous shorter poems in Byzantine poetry books and anthologies that express sentiments similar to those found in devotional prayers and catanyctic

[70] Ed. Allatius 1664: 132–134; repr. in: *PG* 114.132–133. Allatius' edition is based on Vat. Pal. gr. 367 [66099] (s. XIV in.), fol. 135$^{r}$ (V). I have collated his edition with Par. Suppl. gr. 690 [53425] (s. XII), fol. 65$^{v}$ (P), Athous Laura B 43 [27095] (s. XII–XIII), fol. 69$^{r–v}$ (L), and Bodl. Barocc. 131 [47418] (s. XIII), fol. 70$^{v}$ (B) and adopted the following readings: 7. ὄμβρους PL, ὄμβρος BV; 8. ἐπὶ ψυχὴν PLB, ἀπὸ ψυχῶν V, ἀξίαν PL, ἀξία B, ἄξιαι V; 9. σὴ PB, ἡ L, σοι V; 11. πόσῳ PL, πόσον BV; 14. κράζω πικρῶς «ἐλέησον» PLB, κράζοντι πικρῶς «ἔλεον» V; 15. θάνατε PLB, θανάτου V, σου PLB, τι V.

[71] See Parpulov 2004: 140 and appendix B1, and Parpulov 2010: 93, n. 69.

alphabets. These are usually (but not always) entitled εἰς ἑαυτόν ('to oneself') or εἰς τὸν βίον ('on human life').

The problem is that the titles εἰς ἑαυτὸν and εἰς τὸν βίον do not necessarily refer to penitential poetry; that is to say, not every poem 'to oneself' or pondering 'on human life' is by definition an expression of religious sentiments. Let me give a few examples. There is a book epigram celebrating the poetic talents of George of Pisidia, which the scribe of Par. Suppl. gr. 690 considered to be the work of Pisides himself and, therefore, labelled: 'by the same, to himself' (τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἑαυτόν), although this encomiastic text obviously has little to offer in terms of introspection.[72] In *AP* 15.12 Leo the Philosopher expresses his wish to live peacefully and without a care in the world; the poem is self-referential and, therefore, bears the title εἰς ἑαυτόν, but this Epicurean confession again has little in common with the majority of poems to oneself.[73] The same goes for Geometres, no. 280 (ed. Van Opstall), a poem 'to himself' (εἰς ἑαυτόν), in which he brags about his literary and military talents at the age of eighteen: this is clearly not a penitential text.[74] And as for poems that are entitled εἰς τὸν βίον, but are not penitential, I refer the reader to another poem by Geometres, no. 268 (=Cr. 331.6), in which he complains that courage and virtue are no longer held in high esteem in Constantinople. This poem, too, hardly constitutes a religious contemplation of life; in fact, it is overtly political.[75]

The same goes for moral essays. As we have seen in the previous chapter, moral essays are often entitled 'on human life', 'on the vanity of life', or even 'to oneself'. Though they may include some catanyctic elements, moral essays engage in cerebral arguments and focus on moral issues rather than spiritual needs. They do not fall into the category of penitential poetry.

Geometres is the author of many penitential poems 'to himself', most of which are now available in Van Opstall's edition: nos 53–57, 75, 81, 200, 211; for such poems in iambics, see nos 52 (Cr. 287.12), 74 (Cr. 293.7), 77 (Cr. 294.26), 78 (Cr. 295.1), 209 (Cr. 316.23), 210 (Cr. 316.26) and 238 (Cr. 326.20).[76] While some of these poems are vaguely 'autobiographical', most allude to the concept of sinfulness in terms that apply to the whole of mankind; such all-embracing poems, though self-referential, are inclusive enough to allow readers to identify with the

[72] See vol. I, chapter 6, p. 199.

[73] See vol. I, chapter 4, p. 143. VAN OPSTALL 2017 disagrees and argues that it is a crypto-catanyctic text which has to be understood allegorically.

[74] See vol. I, chapter 1, p. 38.

[75] For a satirical adaptation of this poem by Geometres himself, see above chapter 15, pp. 135–136.

[76] For Geometres' poems to himself, see VAN OPSTALL 2008: 31.

lyric self and share his sorrow and remorse. The same goes for poem no. 208 (=Cr. 316.18), a sorrowful contemplation of life (εἰς τὸν βίον):

> Ψυχή, τί φεύγεις τοὺς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πόνους;
> οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν τῆς ἀλυπίας τέχνην.
> τὴν γῆν ἀκάνθας, τὸν βίον δὲ φροντίδας
> φέρειν ὁ πλάστης ἐξεθέσπισεν· φέρε.

'My soul, why do you run away from the daily toils and troubles? The art of being carefree is not to be found. The Creator ordained the earth to bear thorns and thistles, and our lives to bear misery: so bear it'.[77] There is a lesson for all here; it is not just Geometres admonishing his soul to endure life's misery.

The poem is clearly penitential: as in other catanyctic texts, the poet addresses his own soul and there is an explicit reference to original sin and the expulsion from Eden in lines 3–4 (cf. *Gen*. 3:17–19). Line 2 refers to a story about the sophist Antiphon who claimed to have discovered the remedy against the sorrows of life and set up shop in the *agora* where he taught his customers the τέχνη ἀλυπίας — a remarkably early example of cognitive therapy.[78] The admonition at the very end, φέρε, alludes to a famous gnomic epigram by Palladas (*AP* 10.73), which states that 'if what bears all things bears you, bear with it and be borne (...)'.[79]

In many poems 'to oneself' (for instance, Geometres nos 53.1–4, 74 (=Cr. 293.7) and 75.1–6), life is compared to a voyage across troubled waters and the soul to a steersman desperate to get his battered ship to the safe haven of God, while the devil wreaks havoc and carnal passions rage within as violently as the boisterous winds without. A good example is a small poem in the Greek Anthology, *AP* 1.118, entitled εὐκτικά ('prayer'), which I would be inclined to date to the ninth century[80]:

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[77] Ed. Tomadaki 2014: 184. φόρε in Cramer's edition is clearly a typo; the ms. he used, Par. Suppl. gr. 352, offers φέρε. Tomadaki adds a final *nu* to ἐξεθέσπισε for metrical reasons.

[78] Plutarch, 833C; Photios, *Bibliotheca*, 486A (codex 259); Antiphon, fr. 6.

[79] Palladas' epigram was imitated by Kassia and other Byzantine authors: see vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 243, n. 5, and 250; for another parallel in Geometres (poem 54.23), see Van Opstall 2008: 177.

[80] G. Makris, Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des Hl. Gregorios Dekapolites. Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997, 12–13, attributes this poem to Ignatios the Deacon, whom he confuses with Ignatios the Headmaster, author of *AP* 1.109–114: see vol. I, chapter 5, p. 182, n. 81. The fact that the extremely rare word στορεστής is also found in Ignatios the Deacon, *Ep*. 21, l. 47, is not sufficient proof for this attribution; it simply indicates that highbrow Byzantine authors were familiar with the word. In his commentary, Mango 1997: 181 is more cautious: 'May this poem be by Ignatios?'; the answer is probably not.

Ἤγειρεν ἡμῖν τῶν παθῶν τρικυμίαν
ἐχθρὸς κάκιστος πνευματώσας τὸν σάλον,
ὅθεν ταράσσει καὶ βυθίζει καὶ βρέχει
τὸν φόρτον ἡμῶν ψυχικῆς τῆς ὁλκάδος.
ἀλλ᾽ ὦ γαλήνη καὶ στορεστὰ τῆς ζάλης,
σύ, Χριστέ, δείξαις ἀβρόχους ἁμαρτίας,
τῷ σῷ πρὸς ὅρμῳ προσφόρως προσορμίσας,
ἐχθρὸν δὲ τοῦτον συμφόρως βεβρεγμένον.

'The wicked fiend has unleashed a tempest of passions within us, rousing the billows of the deep; whence he tosses and submerges and floods the cargo of our ship, the soul. But Christ, you who are stillness and stiller of storms, keep us free from the waters of sin and anchor us safely in your harbour, and drown this fiend for our sake'.[81]

The last four lines refer to the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea (*Ex*. 14–15), which the Israelites accomplished ἀβρόχοις ποσί ('with dry feet') as numerous Byzantine texts inform us,[82] whereas their enemy, the Pharaoh, was most appropriately drowned in its roaring waters. As so often, the biblical tale is reinterpreted as a story of redemption from the diluvial waters of sin and from the dominion of evil: Pharaoh stands for the devil, Egypt is the land of exile, and the promised land symbolizes the return to paradise, from which mankind has been evicted. Typical of Byzantine hermeneutics is reading the Old Testament in the light of the revelation of the New Testament, which is why we find a reference to the miracle of Jesus calming the storm (*Mark* 4: 35–41, *Matt*. 8: 23–27, *Luke* 8: 22–25). Although the poem undoubtedly falls into the general category of εἰς ἑαυτόν (poems to oneself), it is worth noting that the poet makes use of the first person plural, and not singular as one would expect. In presenting his own sinfulness and struggle with the devil as the plight of the whole of mankind, the poet's purpose is to transcend the level of the purely individual and express a universal truth. Thus the text opens itself up to its readers and allows them to use it as a ready-made profession of faith — hence the title εὐκτικά, indicating that it is a universal prayer for redemption.

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[81] Ed. Beckby 1957–58: vol. I, 176; the translation is loosely based on that of W.R. Paton, The Greek Anthology, 5 vols. Cambridge, Mass.-London 1918 (6th reprint 1979), vol. I, 51.

[82] See the online *TLG* for ἀβρόχοις.

## *Me, Myself and God*

Among the many poems εἰς ἑαυτόν Geometres wrote, there is one that is remarkable in its candour and directness: no. 200. It differs from the rest because it does not refer to a generic set of sins or to the sinfulness of fallen humanity in general, but specifies in rather graphic detail the particular sin the lyric self has almost given in to: self-pollution. This poem (entitled εἰς ἑαυτόν) is missing its beginning:

ἵλαθι παντοκράτορ, ἥλιτον οὐκ ἐθέλων·
ἵλαθι, ἀμπλακίης στήλας ἐστήσατο μοιχός,
νυμφίε, σῆς νύμφης ἔνδον ἐμῆς κραδίης·
πολλὰ παναισχέα δέργματα μαψιδίως ἀλάληντο
ψυχῆς ἐν λαγόσιν, ἔξυπνος ὡς γενόμαν·
ἡ σὰρξ ὕβριος ἤρχετο, ἔγρετο κύματα γαστρός,
πνεύματα λάβρον ἔπνει, πρὸς βυθὸν ἐτραπόμαν.
ἦλθες, ἄναξ, παλάμῃ δὲ δίδως ἑτεραλκέα νίκην
καὶ νοῖ νοῦν παρέχεις, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ λόγον.
ἵλαθι τῶνδε καὶ εὔπτερον ἐς πόλον οἷά τε νῆα
λαίφεσι πεπταμένοις πνεῦμα σὸν οἰακίσοι.

'Forgive me, Almighty God, for I have sinned unwillingly. Forgive me, Groom, because the Seducer of your Bride [i.e. the soul wedded to Christ] placed pictures of lust in my heart. Many lewd images whirled aimlessly in the recesses of my soul as I was awakening, and my flesh grew wanton. Waves were stirred up in my loins, winds blew boisterously, I was sinking into the deep. But now you are here, O Lord. In the palm of my hand you turn defeat into victory; you give sense to my mind and reason to my soul. Forgive me these things and may your Spirit steer me to heaven like a swift ship with billowing sails'.[83]

[83] Edition, French translation and commentary: VAN OPSTALL 2008: 346–351. In v. 3, the editor puts a comma after ἔνδον and interprets: 'within your bride, namely my heart'; in my interpretation the genitive depends on μοιχός: cf. Methodius, *Symp*. 6, 1 (the devil and his accomplices wish to become) μοιχοὶ πάσης τῆς τῷ κυρίῳ νενυμφευμένης ... ψυχῆς. In v. 5, the editor emendates the ms. reading ὡς to ἕως (until) because 'l'éjaculation nocturne se produit *pendant le sommeil*'; however, γενόμαν, although morphologically an aorist, is semantically equivalent to an imperfect: 'while I was awakening', not 'when [or until] I woke up' (ἐγενόμην and ἐγινόμην are regularly confused in medieval texts). In v. 11, the ms. reads πνεῦμα σὸν οἰακίσοις, which the editor corrects to πνεῦμά μου οἰακίσοις; I have adopted Cougny's emendation because it is closer to the ms. reading. In the version of Van Opstall, the poet is asking God to guide his spirit to heaven *after his death* (πνεῦμα being the life-giving element: see the use of the word in Byzantine epitaphs). In Cougny's version, the Holy Spirit is asked to guide the poet toward heaven *throughout his life*; cf. F. D'AIUTO, Tre canoni di Giovanni

As noted above, nautical terms are used quite often in poems 'to oneself' and allude to the hackneyed metaphor of the soul's perilous voyage through life, whirled along by the storms of sin and the tempests of passion. It is fairly easy to recognize the *topos* in the last two lines, though the ambiguity of the word πνεῦμα may perhaps elude some. It refers both to the Holy Spirit as a steersman and the propitious winds God may send to propel the poet to heaven, just as in lines 6–7 the devil had sent adverse winds/evil spirits (πνεύματα) that stirred up waves and nearly shipwrecked the poet: hence the emphatic possessive pronoun σὸν, *your* πνεῦμα in contrast to the πνεύματα of the devil. The nuptial metaphors in lines 2–3 ultimately derive from the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (*Matt*. 25: 1–13) in which Christ is likened to a bridegroom and the souls of the faithful to bridesmaids eagerly awaiting his arrival; the bridesmaids will become brides in the later hermeneutic tradition, such as the *Symposium* by Methodius of Olympus. The celestial marriage between Christ and the soul obviously annoys the devil who tries to steal away the bride: he is the Adulterer, the Seducer (μοιχός). So far so good — but what are the 'pictures of lust', the 'many lewd images' that the devil sets before the bride of Christ? Van Opstall rightly interprets these 'lewd images' as a wet dream, resulting in 'flesh growing wanton', 'waves stirred up in the loins' and the sensation of 'sinking into the deep'.[84] However, there is more to it than just an ordinary wet dream; not only is its likely outcome, nocturnal emission, prevented by the timely arrival of Christ, but He has also put a stop to something far worse: masturbation, which the poet was about to commit in the semi-conscious state before waking up properly ('as I was awakening'). In lines 8–9 we read that Christ 'gives an unexpected victory to the palm of the hand, sense to the mind and reason to the soul' — in other words, instead of giving in to his sexual fantasies and relieving himself, the poet wakes up at the very last moment, sees the errors of his ways and abstains from self-pollution.[85]

In canon law and penitentials, the problem of nocturnal pollution is an area of much dispute in relation to the concept of free will: is the involuntary emission of semen a sin, and if it is not a sin, is it a pollution that precludes its unwilling victims from attending church and taking part in holy communion? As Scripture is not clear on this point, hardliners and liberals developed their own arsenal of arguments: the hardliners (mostly monks) favoured a strict interpretation of sin and pollution, while the more liberal side insisted that an unconscious act could not possibly be classified as a sin nor constitute pollution in any meaningful sense

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Mauropode in onore di santi militari. Rome 1994, 114, vv. 245–246: (during his saintly life St Demetrios was) πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ / οἰακιζόμενος.

[84] Van Opstall 2008: 350.

[85] Van Opstall 2008: 349 translates: 'de ta main tu offres la revanche victorieuse'. However, God rarely has a παλάμη in Byzantine sources unless He is Christ in His human form; He usually has a χείρ.

of the word.[86] Since most of the literature on involuntary pollution falls into the category of doctrinal expositions, either condemning or condoning it, it is rare to find an account of an actual wet dream.[87] In the first of his two *Thanksgivings* (*Cat*. 35: 140–155), Symeon the New Theologian recounts how as a young man, still inexperienced in spiritual matters and not yet trained in ascetic discipline, he had had a wet dream and been saved by the bell: 'In my dreams I was tempted by evil demons and forced in a devious manner to pollute myself, but I resisted hard and called upon you, the Lord of Light, for help. Then I woke up and escaped unharmed from the hands of my tempters'; at first he had congratulated himself on his victory over the devil, but he then realized that it was Christ who had won the battle for him. This text shows some striking similarities to the poem by Geometres: firstly, the idea of gaining victory over sin; secondly, the devil as a tempter/seducer; thirdly, the implicit reference to onanism (God grants victory to Geometres' *hand*, Symeon escapes from the *hands* of his tempters); and fourthly, the moment of waking up and regaining consciousness as a narrow escape from sin. There are also differences. While Symeon the New Theologian wants us to believe that he tried hard to resist the temptation while asleep and called out to God for help, Geometres does not suggest that he put up a fight; instead, he portrays himself as a weak defenceless bride, who, unable to resist the temptations of the Seducer, was sexually aroused by lustful fantasies. And in contrast to what we see in the text of Symeon, Geometres' divine Bridegroom comes to the rescue of his bride without formal invitation. To put it another way, whereas Symeon the New Theologian presents his sinful nature in accordance with traditional codes of manhood, Geometres daringly feminizes himself in his poem. The way this femininity is described, however, is as gender-conforming as the masculinity Symeon (a eunuch, by the way) prides himself on in his *Thanksgiving*.

The question is why Symeon the New Theologian and John Geometres felt the need to share these intimate and possibly embarrassing experiences with their readers. Symeon's *Thanksgiving* is a passionate account of God's wondrous presence at various stages of his spiritual awakening: the story of the aborted ejaculation signals the moment he came to understand that credit for victories over the devil should go not to his sinful self, but to the Christ within him. It is not

[86] See M.Th. Fögen, in: J. M. Ziolkowski (ed.), Obscenity. Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages. Leiden-New York 1998, 260–278.

[87] For another tenth-century example of a wet dream, see Theodore Daphnopates, *Ep*. 17 (Correspondance, ed. J. Darrouzès and L.G. Westerink. Paris 1978, 168–171) plus the commentary by P. Odorico, in: M.Th. Fögen (ed.), Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter. Frankfurt am Main 1995, 301–312 (ὡς in line 20 of this letter, however, does not mean 'when', but 'as if'; it does not denote an actual but a fictional encounter). For twelfth-century testimonies, see S. MacAlister, Dreams & Suicides: the Greek novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire. London-New York 1996, 137–139 and 160–161.

much different for Geometres. The crucial passage in the poem is: ἦλθες, ἄναξ — 'there you are, o Lord'; this is an epiphany, the revelation of divine truth and Christ's triumph over the illusions created by the devil. Likewise, Geometres' elegiac *Confession*, a penitential prayer to God, first depicts his sinful nature in the worst of lights (a lot of 'I have sinned' and 'God have mercy') and then recounts how Christ came to his rescue: ἀλλ᾽ ἦλθες καὶ ἔσωσας ἀπ᾽ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνῶν, 'but then you came and delivered me from dreadful anxieties'.[88] Towards the end of this penitential prayer, Geometres promises God: 'My lips will not cease to glorify you. No stone will cover these writings; I will leave behind a new song of praise to future generations celebrating the greatness of your mercy and goodness'.[89] A similar passage can be found at the end of no. 56, another poem in which Geometres admits to having committed the worst crimes imaginable and asserts that any punishment God might impose on him would be too light: 'I will leave this [self-indictment] behind as a written record of my foolishness for future generations to hear, even if I am ashamed to commit these things to paper for you [o God]'.[90] And in the next poem, an *eis heauton*, he ends by saying: 'Wake up, my wretched soul, and remove the sleep from your eyes; strike the harps of praise [for God] even though you are stained by sin'.[91]

For Geometres —as probably for most Byzantines—, confessing one's sins is conversing with God. It is a private conversation in which one shares one's most intimate thoughts with the Almighty and asks for forgiveness, and it basically involves two persons: sinner and God. Two, not three. Three is a crowd. However, once the poet lets his readers listen in on his conversation with God, it changes its nature from a private *tête-à-tête* to what is best described as an on-stage dialogue in which actors reveal their secrets in a stage whisper in front of an audience supposedly not there, but without whose presence the play would have little meaning. In the passages quoted above, which seem to formulate a personal poetics, Geometres shows that he is aware of the tension between private and public, self and non-self, talking to God and talking to others about talking to God. In his view, penitential prayers serve either as a means of demonstrating one's utter humility by declaring, without reserve or disguise, one's sins before the world ('leaving behind a written record of my foolishness (...) even if I am ashamed to commit these things to paper') or as a means of glorifying God to the world and proclaiming the boundless mercy and grace He has shown the sinner ('striking the harps of praise', 'leaving behind a new song of praise (...) celebrating the greatness of your mercy and goodness'). So this is Geometres' paradox: although his

[88] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 460 (no. 289, v. 34).
[89] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 462 (no. 289, vv. 42–45).
[90] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 194 (no. 56, vv. 11–13); read εἴ σοι in v. 13.
[91] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 200 (no. 57, vv. 7–8); read ῥυπόοις in v. 8.

religious poetry is all about him, himself and God, he needs an audience in order to be heard.

It is hard to say for whom Geometres was actually writing. Some of his religious poetry, such as his sublime *Prayer* (no. 290), which has a hymn-like strophic structure,[92] may have been performed before an audience, but it seems highly unlikely that the social morals of late tenth-century Byzantium allowed poets to declaim sexually explicit texts in public. If such poetry circulated at all, it will have been among the happy few that made up the mandarin elite of the imperial and patriarchal bureaucracies: intellectuals capable of reading between the lines and savouring the Homeric quote, the Aristophanian echo, the Lucianic quip. Geometres' wet dream poem is a poem to be read in private; it is as intimate as the experience it so vividly describes.

I would argue that the same holds true for the divinely inspired poetry of Symeon the New Theologian. Despite its popularity nowadays and despite its impact on the hesychast movement in the Palaeologan period, his poetry was originally intended for a fairly restricted group of readers. In poem 46 (vv. 30–31), for instance, he warns 'the person reading this' (ὁ ταῦτα διερχόμενος) that he should understand his writings spiritually lest his mind be disturbed by improper thoughts. In the introduction to his edition of Symeon's poems, Niketas Stethatos is equally concerned that future readers may misunderstand the saint if they are not advanced enough in ascesis and spirituality, and explicitly warns the material-minded that they should not open the book.[93] And in various book epigrams attached to later editions of Symeon's poems, we read that the poems should be read by the initiated only.[94] This is definitely not poetry for the *profanum vulgus*.

At the end of poem 13 (vv. 87–90), after yet another rapturous encounter with God in his monastic cell, Symeon the New Theologian thanks the Almighty for taking pity on him and allowing him to see Him in person and 'to write about it and proclaim [His] love of man to my companions (τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ), so that peoples, tribes and tongues may now be initiated'. There is an obvious reference here to Pentecost and it is clear that Symeon is casting himself as one of the apostles spreading the Word to the world and speaking in tongues. But who are

[92] See Van Opstall 2008: 495–497.

[93] Ed. Koder 1969–1973: vol. I, 106–135, lines 19–58 and 206–273. See Conca 2007: 371.

[94] Ed. Kambylis 1976: 25–33, nos I.3–5, II.5–6, V.13–24. It is worth noting that these book epigrams are the work of intellectuals belonging to the upper echelons of society during the early Comnenian period: Niketas of Herakleia, Nicholas of Corfu, Theophylaktos of Ohrid, John nephew of the Metropolitan of Adrianople, Alexios didaskalos of the Great Church, Hierotheos presbyter of the Horaia Pege monastery (in Bithynia), Basil protasekretis and (second) ktitor of the Evergetis monastery: this seems to indicate that the poetry of Symeon, long after his demise, is still confined to a small group of *cognoscenti*. See Koder 1969–1973: vol. I, 64–67 and Kambylis 1976: CCCLVIII–CCCLXVII.

his fellow apostles, his band of brothers, his companions in Christ? Who are οἱ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ? In two recent papers Koder rightly points out that when Symeon was first forced to give up the abbacy of Hagios Mamas (1005) and was then exiled to the shores of the Bosphoros (1009), his audience inevitably changed. Instead of addressing his monks, as he had done in his prose *Catecheses*, he now relied on a small community of like-minded spirits, who continued to believe in him despite all the controversy surrounding his teachings.[95] Although not all the poems date from the period of Symeon's abdication and subsequent exile (1005–1022),[96] it is reasonable to assume that even during the years of his abbacy (980–1005) when he was repeatedly at loggerheads with his unruly monks, he shared his mystical visions with trusted disciples only.[97] The Pentecost metaphor in poem 13 and frequent references to teaching in Symeon's poetry may be taken as evidence that he viewed his own poetry as a form of homiletics, and since preaching the Word of God is usually done *viva voce*, this would strongly suggest a performative context for his lyrical effusions: in poem 13 (v. 11), for instance, he urges his followers to 'listen' to his words and allow the divine light into their lives. But I do not think we should interpret such admonitions in an overly literal fashion. Firstly, the editor does not hint at public performances which he attended, but informs us that the saint allowed him to go through his personal papers and copy them;[98] secondly, as noted above, the author himself, his editor and the later encomiasts all refer to potential readers; and thirdly, the poetry does not lend itself easily to oral performance because of its many dissonant enjambments and instances of hiatus.[99]

In interpreting the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian,[100] it should be borne in mind that most of what we know, or think we know, ultimately goes back to Niketas Stethatos, his trusted disciple, but not entirely trustworthy editor and biographer. In his brilliant, but ultimately unconvincing *Vita* he portrays the saint

[95] Koder 2006: 816–817 and Koder 2008: 13–15.

[96] For the dates of some of the poems, see Kambylis 1976: XXVI–XXX.

[97] For the life of Symeon, see McGuckin 1996 (an excellent study but for an error regarding Symeon's social origins: his family belonged to the bureaucratic elite, not the landed aristocracy); at pp. 24–30, he discusses Symeon's conflicts with his monks and rightly points out that if the figure of *thirty* monks opposed to Symeon's abbacy (as reported by Niketas Stethatos in the *Vita*) is correct, this would mean that virtually the whole monastic community wanted him to resign.

[98] See Kambylis 1976: CCCXVI–CCCXVII.

[99] See Kambylis 1976: CCCXXXVI.

[100] For the *Mystical Prayer*, see Alexakis 2008; for poem 13, see Markopoulos 2008b; for poem 17, see Conca 2000; for poem 23, see Bordne 2013; for poem 56, see Bazzani 2010; for various supposedly 'autobiographical' elements in Symeon's poetry, see Bazzani 2006; for structural and rhetorical devices, see Conca 2007.

as another Theodore of Stoudios,[101] and in the edition he invents titles for the poems, adds marginal comments, intervenes in the text and appends a tendentious introduction in which he uses the teachings of Ps. Dionysios the Areopagite as a hermeneutic framework for the interpretation of Symeon's poetry.[102] The curious title of Symeon's poetry book, τῶν θείων ὕμνων οἱ ἔρωτες ('The Loves of Divine Hymns'), is also owed to the creative imagination of Niketas Stethatos, who, having found references in Ps. Dionysios the Areopagite to two lost masterpieces, περὶ τῶν θείων ὕμνων and ἐρωτικοὶ ὕμνοι, combined the two and created a fanciful but somewhat misleading title.[103] Symeon's poems are not hymns in any meaningful sense of the word and have little in common with the Areopagite. It is difficult to say what kind of poetry this is.[104] It is a mixture of homiletics, monastic doctrine, doxology and penitential prayer; there are numerous references and allusions to Holy Writ, monastic writings and spiritual treatises. It all looks so familiar and yet there is nothing like it in the rest of Byzantine poetry.

Although most scholars tend to disregard the title and its sexual implications, Niketas Stethatos was right to call Symeon's lyrical effusions a poetry of divine erotics: τῶν θείων ὕμνων *οἱ ἔρωτες*. If eroticism is discussed at all, it is usually done in connection with the infamous passage in poem 15 where the saint celebrates the presence of Christ in his penis (vv. 138–204). In the poetic universe of Symeon the New Theologian, however, the concept of eros is so much more than just an acknowledgment of his own physicality; it stands for the fullness of God's grace, the divine light that reveals itself to Symeon's sinful self and fills his body with infinite love.[105] This love is reciprocal; the streetcar named desire runs full-steam in both directions. He loves and is loved. Although this passionate love affair involves two males, it is mostly presented in innocuous heteroerotic terms: Symeon or Symeon's soul (ψυχή — feminine in Greek) is the bride and God is the groom.[106] But there are more daring passages in which Symeon retains his masculinity while still casting himself in the role of God's loved one;[107] take, for example, poem 16 (vv. 16–33):

> ὅτε δὲ ἄρξομαι θρηνεῖν ὡς ἀπελπίσας, τότε
> ὁρᾶταί μοι καὶ βλέπει με, ὁ καθορῶν τὰ πάντα.

[101] See Koder 2008: 4–7, and M. Hinterberger, in: P. Odorico, La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Paris 2012, 247–264.

[102] Titles: see Afentoulidou 2001; scholia: see Koder 1969–1973: vol. I, 68–73; Dionysios the Areopagite: ibidem, 53–64; editorial interventions: ibidem, 47–50 (*pace* Kambylis 1976: CCXCIX–CCCIX).

[103] See Koder 1969–1973: vol. I, 50–52.

[104] See Criscuolo 1995: 57 and Koder 2008: 25–26.

[105] See Krivocheine 1986: 361–370 and McGuckin 2005: 194–198.

[106] For nuptial imagery in Symeon's poems, see Krivocheine 1986: 364–365.

[107] See Krueger 2006b.

θαυμάζων καταπλήττομαι κάλλους τὴν εὐμορφίαν
καὶ πῶς ἀνοίξας οὐρανοὺς διέκυψεν ὁ κτίστης
καὶ δόξαν μοι παρέδειξε, τὴν ἄφραστον καὶ ξένην·
«καὶ τίς ἄρα ἐγγύτερον γενήσεται ἐκείνου
ἢ πῶς ἀνενεχθήσεται εἰς ἀμέτρητον ὕψος;».
λογιζομένου μου αὐτὸς εὑρίσκεται ἐντός μου,
ἔνδον ἐν τῇ ταλαίνῃ μου καρδίᾳ ἀπαστράπτων,
πάντοθεν περιλάμπων με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ αἴγλῃ,
ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ μέλη μου ἀκτῖσι καταυγάζων,
ὅλος περιπλεκόμενος ὅλον καταφιλεῖ με
ὅλον τε δίδωσιν αὑτὸν ἐμοὶ τῷ ἀναξίῳ
καὶ ἐμφοροῦμαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγάπης καὶ τοῦ κάλλους
καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ γλυκασμοῦ ἐμπίμπλαμαι τοῦ θείου.
μεταλαμβάνω τοῦ φωτός, μετέχω καὶ τῆς δόξης
καὶ λάμπει μου τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς καὶ τοῦ ποθητοῦ μου
καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ μέλη μου γίνονται φωτοφόρα.

'But in the hour of my distress, when I begin to weep, He shows Himself and sees me, He who sees all. I wonder and marvel at the splendour of His beauty and how He, my Creator, opened the heavens, leant out and showed me His glory, ineffable and wondrous. "Who can get closer to Him and how can one be lifted up to such a height?" Yet in the midst of these thoughts, there He is, within me, radiating from within my miserable heart, shining all around me with divine luminosity and suffusing my whole body with His rays of light. He embraces me wholly, He kisses me all over, He gives Himself fully to me although I am not worthy. I am filled with His love and His beauty, I am full of pleasure and divine sweetness. I share in His light, I partake of His glory, my face shines like that of my loved one, and all my members become luminous'.[108]

This is magnificent love poetry. Its sensuality, sheer beauty and celebration of love are without parallel in Byzantine poetry.[109] As pointed out in chapter 14, love in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium is mostly a parade of missed opportunities, unfulfilled desires and pious regrets — and the little pleasure left is stifled to death by the classical tradition. Symeon the New Theologian clearly draws his inspiration from an entirely different literary tradition and it is not difficult to see which source inspired him: the *Song of Songs*[110] and especially its Christian exege-

[108] Ed. Koder 1969–1973: vol. II, 10–12 and Kambylis 1976: 111–112. For comments, see Krivocheine 1986: 365 and Krueger 2006b: 112–113.

[109] See Odorico 1997: 43.

[110] As rightly noted by McGuckin 2005: 188–189 and 195–196. According to Scorsone 2000, the title given by Niketas Stethatos to the collection of Symeon's poems indirectly refers to the *Song of Songs*.

sis (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and others), which reinterpreted this sensual poetry as an allegory referring to the divine groom and His bride.[111] Poem 16, from which I cited the evocation of God's infinite love, for instance, clearly alludes to the *Song of Songs* in line 9: τιτρώσκομαι τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ, 'I am wounded by His love' (cf. *Cant*. 5: 8 τετρωμένη ἀγάπης εἰμὶ ἐγώ). This is the beginning of a passage in which Symeon describes how lost he feels when 'the lover of his soul' is not there and how he searches for Him everywhere, but cannot find Him (16.9–15). This passage is clearly modelled on two beautiful pericopes from the *Song of Songs* (*Cant*. 3: 1–4 and 5: 6–8) in which the Shulamite bride goes about the city, 'seeking him whom my soul loves in the streets and in the squares' (*Cant*. 3: 2), but is unable to find him.

In Symeon's mystical universe, God is a loving God, a 'lover of souls' who allows Himself to be found when His loved one is in despair and bursts into tears: 'in the hour of my distress, when I begin to weep, He shows Himself (...)'. These are the tears of contrition without which salvation is impossible; the sinner becomes the recipient of God's deifying mercy once he recognizes his own sinfulness and opens himself up to His presence.[112] In most of Symeon's poems, we see the saint in pursuit of God, who hides Himself until the moment of the liberating tears and then reveals Himself in all His glory.[113] These are the visions of divine light that make Symeon the New Theologian a household name among Byzantine mystics: the explosions of light described over and over in passionate lines, the merciful loving light of God suffusing Symeon's whole body. It is this deification, the participation in the divine light, that makes the sanctified body a locus of beauty and desire. At the end of poem 16, after the text I translated above, we read: 'I am more beautiful than the beautiful, richer than the rich, more powerful than all those in power, stronger than kings, and far more precious than anything found on earth or in heaven, because the Creator of all things is mine' (16.34–39).

Symeon's poetry is a celebration of both God's infinite love for him and his own bodily and spiritual love for God — and it is the contrast between these two perspectives that makes his poetry so moving and also ultimately so confusing because of the ambiguities inherent in the word 'love', the question of an individual versus a collective monastic body, and the limits of human experience (is 'pleasure' ever purely spiritual?). One thing is certain, however. The choice of the

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[111] For the exegetical tradition, see E. Bartzis, Divine Abandonment of Christ and the Soul in Byzantine Exegesis and Ascetic Literature. PhD thesis, Univ. of Durham 2008, 21–81 (accessible at: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2508/). See also E. Jeffreys, *Prudentia* 23 (1991) 36–54 and P. Roilos, Amphoteroglossia: A poetics of the twelfth-century medieval Greek novel. Cambridge, MA, 2005, 205–208 and 222–223.

[112] See McGuckin 2005: 193 and 197–198. On the tears of contrition in the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, see Hunt 2004: 171–223.

[113] See, for instance, poems 29, vv. 50–137 and 30, vv. 366–438.

word ἔρως in the title attached to the collection of Symeon's poetry, τῶν θείων ὕμνων οἱ ἔρωτες, is not just a matter of Niketas Stethatos having read too much Dionysios the Areopagite, but clearly indicates that he too recognized something distinctly erotic in Symeon's lyrical effusions. Any discussion of Symeon the New Theologian's poetry should begin there.

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## *Writing the Self*

By now it will have become clear that references to the 'self' in Byzantine religious poetry have little in common with the modern concept of the self in the West. Theirs is a collective self; ours is an individual self. Self-fulfilment for the Byzantines means regaining the immaculate body created in God's image and likeness, whereas deification is probably the least of our worries. Their hero is the saint who has overcome his selfish appetites and put death to shame, and they listen to edifying tales and hagiographic stories because these set normative models to follow; our ideal is probably not to entertain a hierarchical relationship with an exemplary superego. What we see as the pursuit of happiness would be vanity in their eyes; what we call development and progress, they would call instability. We really do speak two different languages. But the fact that their self is not our self, does not mean there is no self. And scholars who maintain that the self was discovered at some point (in the twelfth century, Renaissance, or modern times) need to clarify which of the various selves they are after: the one obtained by means of self-examination and confession (the sinful self, the normative I), or perhaps the one that is the object of self-consciousness and self-expression (the 'ego', the 'real me'), or that third one created through self-presentation and self-stylization (the 'persona', the mask, the social role)? Or is it the postmodern subjectivity they are after: the self as a construct, a textually mediated identity, an object of self-fashioning and a product of cultural systems?

There is a regrettable tendency to confuse the 'self' with the 'individual'. As Bynum rightly pointed out for the medieval West, 'when we speak of the "individual" we mean not only an inner core, a self; we also mean a particular self, a self unique and unlike other selves. When we speak of "the development" of "the individual" we mean something open-ended. In contrast, (...) the twelfth century regarded the discovery of *homo interior*, of *seipsum*, as the discovery within oneself of human nature made in the image of God — an *imago Dei* which is the same for all human beings. And the twelfth-century thinker explored himself *in a direc-*

*tion* and *for a purpose*. The development of the self was toward God'.[114] Symeon the New Theologian could not have agreed more.

The majority of poems in which the lyric self reflects on itself, have a penitential character. The main exception is *ethopoiia* in which persons or objects speak to us in their own voice, though it is worth noting that the genre with the most ethopoetic elements in it, the monody, portrays the self as fundamentally flawed and sinful (see chapter 13). As already noted in the discussion of epitaphs εἰς ἑαυτόν, 'the first person is the voice of the repenting sinner in Byzantium'.[115] After reading more catanyctic alphabets, poems to oneself, hymns of praise and devotional prayers than I care to remember, I still think this is a fair assessment. Among the various tropes of selfhood, penitence is by far the most important.[116]

The practice of writing the self obviously implies that narrator and narrated self are identical, and there is often a tacit understanding between writer and reader (dubbed the 'autobiographical pact' by Lejeune) that narrator and author, too, are identical.[117] So, if we open our copy of Geometres and read in poems 289 (*Confession*) and 290 (*Prayer*) that the person speaking to us in the first person singular has violated his monastic vows,[118] most of us will be inclined to interpret it as a real experience and a true confession of a historical person called John Geometres. Whether such an autobiographical reading is entirely correct is a discussion I will not go into here; but there can be little doubt that most Byzantines understood it in precisely that way. The anxious scholia attached to the *Loves of the Divine Hymns* leave no doubt that Niketas Stethatos feared that people might easily misunderstand Symeon the New Theologian as a person, not just as an author. When Pisides writes in the introduction to his moral essay *On the Vanity of Life*: 'Though the basic facts of our existence have been examined by the divinely inspired Fathers, using their teachings I will write myself in verse as far as humanly possible, serving both as court clerk and prosecutor of my own countless sins', he clearly merges the boundaries between author, narrator and narrated self.[119] He is both the subject and object of this poem. It is worth noting that Pisides is keen to present his subjectivity as fundamentally flawed: writing the self for him is tantamount to writing one's own indictment.

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[114] C.W. Bynum, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980) 1–17, at 4.

[115] See vol. I, chapter 6, p. 218. For the use of the first person in dedicatory epigrams, also with clearly penitential undertones, see Drpić 2014.

[116] For the penitential self, see Krueger 2006a.

[117] For autobiography, see the fundamental studies of Angold 1998 and, especially, Hinterberger 1999. For Philippe Lejeune, see Hinterberger 1999: 51.

[118] Poems 289, vv. 11–27 and 290, vv. 145–148. See the commentary by Van Opstall 2008: 465 and 505.

[119] See above chapter 16, p. 155.

Although Pisides promises to 'write himself' in his essay on life's vanity, he is remarkably silent on his own lapses into sin; instead, he discusses vainglory and its dangers in general. Pisides clearly views his sinful self not in individual terms, but as part of the collective burden of human sinfulness; there is no contrast between fallen mankind in general and Pisides' own soul lost in the wilderness of human existence: all is sin and there is no redemption but in Christ. If one compares this bleak impersonal vision of selfhood with Mauropous' self-examinations, similar patterns of thought certainly emerge — but otherwise, the two are worlds apart. Mauropous is speaking of himself, not mankind in general. And he does not discuss the human condition but a personal matter: should he become metropolitan of Euchaita, yes or no?[120]

Geometres' penitential poems and Symeon the New Theologian's hymns of divine eros, too, are marked by an intimacy and immediacy that is rarely encountered in earlier poetry, but will become increasingly prominent in eleventh-century poets, such as John Mauropous, Mark the Monk and Michael the Grammarian. The novelty of writing the self with actual reference to one own's self rather than a generic Christian self is heavily indebted to Gregory of Nazianzos. As is well known, his poetry exerted a particularly strong influence on Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian alike, and the same is true of many other Byzantine poets (though I would warn against the misconceived notion that anything vaguely 'autobiographical' has by definition been inspired by Gregory).[121] But imitation in itself does not explain anything. The real question is not whether Geometres knew and imitated Gregory of Nazianzos (he did), but why he is the first after so many centuries to transcend the level of lexical borrowings and go right to the heart of Gregory's explorations of the inner self. If one compares Geometres' poetry with that of Pisides, for instance, the differences are obvious. Pisides definitely knew his Gregory,[122] but his moral reflections are devoid of any specific references to his own person. Pisides is a blank page, Geometres an ink blot spreading in all directions; Pisides tells, Geometres shows the frailty of human nature; Pisides provides the theory, Geometres fills in the details. There is no reason to believe that in the three centuries that separate Pisides from Geometres, the Byzantines ceased to read Gregory of Nazianzos, but apart from obvious lexical borrowings, this left but few traces in the texts produced. The self remains

[120] See above chapter 16, p. 156.

[121] Geometres: see VAN OPSTALL 2008: passim, esp. 44–46 and 581–583, and DEMOEN & VAN OPSTALL 2010: 236–237. Symeon NTh: see KAMBYLIS 1976: 566–568 and KODER 2008: 26–29. For Gregory of Nazianzos' influence in general, see SIMELIDIS 2009: 57–74. For the common misconception that Greg. Naz. is always the model, see, for instance, HUNGER 1978: II, 159–162 and HINTERBERGER 1999: 71.

[122] See GONNELLI 1991: 123–130 (index locorum at the bottom of the page).

mostly faceless, anonymous, generic.[123] This changes with Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian.

Among the many 'autobiographical' poems of Gregory of Nazianzos, only one is a real autobiography — a narrative that runs from childhood to the point of writing, negotiates crises and looks back in wonder: it is his deservedly famous poem *Concerning his own life* (II.1.11). All the other poems in part II.1, *De se ipso*, are poems in which Gregory refers to some of his problems and anxieties, but which, despite their obvious historical interest, are not real autobiographies. The same goes for the rest of Byzantine poetry. There are many poems that contain precious autobiographical snippets of information, but none of these deserve to be called 'autobiography' in the proper sense of the word.[124]

It would be wrong to say that John Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian wrote poetic autobiography. One of the key elements, historical distance, is missing: they do not reflect on their former selves and past trajectories, but write in direct response to their changing circumstances. It is clear in the case of Geometres that he wrote most of his religious poetry after a dramatic reversal of fortune: his penitential poems and literary prayers are full of complaints about being dismissed from the military because of Envy, because of the wicked Pharaoh (Basil II), because of a new 'decree' that courage and wisdom do not go together, and so on.[125] And there is every reason to believe that Geometres had retired to a monastery when he wrote his most intimate poems, the Ἐξομολόγησις (*Confession*: Van Opstall, no. 289) and the truly magnificent Δέησις (*Prayer*: no. 290).[126] Controversy surrounded Symeon the New Theologian right from the beginning; as McGuckin puts it, 'the more the religious establishment tried to dismiss him as a crank, and as an inexperienced and uneducated man, the more strongly he took his stand on the two principles that shine through all his work: the primacy of direct spiritual experience over book-learning, and the inalienable right of the Spirit-filled to speak with authority to the Church at large, regardless of social or ecclesiastical rank'.[127] In the reign of Basil II there were more

[123] It is worth pointing out that the presence of 'autobiography' does not automatically mean that a text explores the self. A good example is Elias Synkellos' catanyctic alphabet entitled εἰς ἑαυτόν (Ciccolella 2000a: 20–31), which contains some 'autobiographical' elements, but remains on the surface and offers little in terms of introspection and self-examination.

[124] As rightly pointed out by Hinterberger 1999: 73. The only exception is perhaps Pachymeres' poem τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτόν, which has come down to us in fragmentary form: see St. Lambakis, Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης, πρωτέκδικος καὶ διδασκαλος. Athens 2004, 219–221.

[125] See Cresci 1997–98 and Lauxtermann 1998c: 367–371.

[126] At the beginning of the *Prayer* (290, vv. 4–8) he implores not only the heavenly host but also priests and monks, 'whom I dearly love and have taken to my heart', to listen to his plea; towards the end (290, vv. 129–134) he beseeches the Holy Virgin to listen to the pleas of both the monks and his spiritual father, who are praying for him.

[127] McGuckin 2005: 184.

disgruntled intellectuals with an axe to grind:[128] Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian were certainly not alone, but they were the most outspoken and vociferous of them all. Their poetry is personal because the issues they had to defend were personal to them, and the self-assertive stance they assumed was that of the Byzantine intellectual standing in the κονίστρα τῶν λόγων (arena of words) and openly defying his enemies. I am not saying that Symeon the New Theologian declaimed his intimate poetry in the literary *theatron*; in fact, I even strongly doubt that he recited it to his own monks. And as for Geometres' religious poetry, most of it is ill-suited to public recitation. But I do believe that these two poets introduce an element of self-assertion that is alien to hymns and prayers, and which comes straight from the combative arena of words.[129] The habit of self-assertion was deeply ingrained in several of the interpretive communities of Constantinople: the competing schools, the literary *theatra*, the inner circles at court; so much so that it even entered the monastic sphere and affected the quest for spirituality that marks the poetry of both Symeon the New Theologian and John Geometres.[130]

At the end of the chapter on Byzantine satire, I discussed a brilliant poem by Leo the Philosopher, in which the usual self-assertion, the competitive performance in the literary *theatron*, was quite unexpectedly transformed into a contemplative, almost elegiac form of self-examination.[131] And as I pointed out, there is hardly any parallel for this before the year 1000. The question is why Leo and why the year 1000. The answer to the first question is simple: because Leo was a genius and invented 'le premier humanisme byzantin' which began and ended with him.[132] The second question is the real problem. Why are the poems of John Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian so much more personal than those of earlier poets? Why is the history of Leo the Deacon clearly more self-conscious and self-reflective than the chronicles and histories of his immediate predecessors? Why does autobiography in the form of testaments and monastic *typika* only really take off after the year 1000?[133] How do we explain the change from the stiff, hieratic and, frankly, rather dull Byzantium of Constantine VII to the roaring years of Constantine IX's reign? I really could not say.[134]

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[128] See LAUXTERMANN 2003a.

[129] As argued in LAUXTERMANN 2009b: 294–295, it is wrong to see Symeon the New Theologian in isolation and not situate him within the social and literary networks of his time: he has more in common with Geometres and other contemporaries than most scholars seem to realise.

[130] For the combination of self-assertion and spirituality in the twelfth century, see P. MAGDALINO, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180. Cambridge 1993, 403–404.

[131] See chapter 15, pp. 142–144.

[132] LAUXTERMANN 1999a: 170. See also vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 106–107.

[133] See ANGOLD 1998 and HINTERBERGER 1999: 183–230.

[134] And neither can KAZHDAN & EPSTEIN 1985, who on pp. 197–230, present a brilliant account of the changes in Byzantine literature and art after the year 1000, from the ideal to the ordinary,

The point is that, whatever the reasons for these fundamental changes in self-representation (the rise of an urban bourgeoisie, the fragmentation of power and authority, the growing social stratification, the revival of Hellenism in intellectual circles), the self as such does not really change. It remains, and will remain, the sinful self throughout the history of Byzantium. In poems to oneself, prayers and penitential poems, the self speaks to God and prostrates itself before His throne; the voice is that of a repentant sinner. However, in poems written in defence of certain personal choices or directed against choices made by others, the sinful self plunges into the fray of arguments, the arena of words, where one is no longer speaking to God, but to fellow Byzantines — and here the voice, though still that of a sinner, becomes self-assertive, self-righteous and self-conscious. It is important to emphasize that genre and context play a major role in all this inasmuch as these, by and large, determine the tropes of selfhood and kinds of self-representation. Satire is all about self-assertion, moral essays have a critical focus on self-examination, and religious poetry offers self-scrutiny and self-flagellation. Contextually, it should be borne in mind that the various kinds of self-representation are by definition social transactions that depend for their success on the physical or virtual presence of the other. The satirist is lost without a laughing audience, the moralist needs readers to admire his stylized self-portrait, and the repentant sinner lets other people eavesdrop on his private conversations with God. The self never stands alone.

from abstraction to naturalism, and from the impersonal to the personal — without however any real explanation as to how these fundamental changes are linked to the social and political developments they meticulously describe in the rest of their book.

*Chapter Eighteen*

# Didactic and Paraenetic Poetry

Psellos' didactic poem on rhetoric ends as follows: 'Let this outline of the art of rhetoric be a practical guide for you, | a lesson as comprehensive, brief and well-structured | as it is full of charm, full of grace, | sweetly speaking, sweetly sounding, and ever so sweetly singing, | that you may gain a sense of discourse (λόγου) while playing around discursively (λογικῶς)'.[1] *Logos* is one of the most untranslatable words in Greek: its meanings range from word, speech and discourse to reason and intellect. *Logoi* are the preserve of the *logioi* (intellectuals). But to enter this preserve where the mind runs wild and plays exciting games, the *logioi* first have to go to school.

Few genres are as misunderstood and underappreciated in modern times as didactic poetry. Part of the reason for this neglect is that it challenges our idea of poetry and, therefore, offends our aesthetic sensibilities. In our eyes, an etymological dictionary in verse cannot be a real poem, the correct use of the subjunctive is not exactly the stuff of poetry, and attempting to teach the conjugation of the aorists ἔφαγον and ἔπιον in metrical form is just plain silly.[2] For the Byzantines, however, anything in verse is poetry: it can be bad poetry if it fails to live up to the high demands of fellow *logioi*, but it is poetry for all that. The distinction between 'poetry' and 'verse' (or 'doggerel') is a romantic notion, and not one shared by the Byzantines. The same goes for the idea that poetry is something special, high up on a pedestal of lofty artiness, and so very 'poetical' — for the Byzantines a poem is as good or bad as any other text.[3]

As Floris Bernard has argued with force and clarity, Byzantines associate the use of verse for didactic purposes with positive qualities, such as charm, grace, pleasure, and sweetness: a lesson in grammar or rhetoric becomes so much more agreeable and easy to follow if it is done in verse.[4] In the epilogue to Psellos'

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[1] Psellos 7, vv. 541–545: ed. Westerink 1992: 122.

[2] For Mauropous' etymological dictionary, see R. Reitzenstein, M. Terentius Varro und Johannes Mauropus von Euchaita. Leipzig 1901, and Dyck 1993. For Niketas of Herakleia's poem on the subjunctive, see B. Roosen, *Byz* 79 (1999) 119–144, at 127. For the witty poem on ἔφαγον and ἔπιον (by Drosos of Aradeo?), see D.R. Reinsch, in: M. D'Agostino & P. Degni, Alethes Philia: Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato, 2 vols. Spoleto 2010, vol. II, 575–586, at 579 (no. IV).

[3] See Lauxtermann 2009a.

[4] Bernard 2014: 232–238.

poem on rhetoric quoted above, the key words are γλυκύτης ('sweetness, pleasure, charm'), χάρις ('grace, charm') and compounds with ἡδυ- ('sweetly'). Another term that recurs in many didactic poems is 'playfulness'. Psellos' pupil will learn the power of words by playing around with words, just as the students of Niketas of Herakleia are told that one can 'be playful and still be serious' and that there is nothing wrong with 'mixing seriousness with play in political verses'.[5] Didactic poetry is light verse with a serious purpose. Whereas most of us would think that a versified treatise on various ailments and diagnostic techniques makes for rather dreary reading, Psellos explains that he has opted for verse to spice up his account and make it more agreeable to his audience of fellow grammarians, orators and philosophers.[6]

Where we see tedium and incredible dullness, they see pleasantness. And at the very moment when we lose patience and stop reading, they are having great fun. So who is wrong here?

Another observation that often recurs in the prologues and epilogues of Byzantine didactic poems, is that verse lends itself to ease and clarity. And having read more Byzantine texts than I care to remember, I can confirm that verse is, by and large, easier to understand than prose. Clarity follows suit. A text that is 'clear' makes use of ordinary words and simple syntax: most poetry does, apart from a few posh and pedantic metres (hexameters, elegiacs and anacreontics). It is exactly because of this relative clarity and ease that poetry is sometimes vilified by its own practitioners. The best-known example is Tzetzes complaining that he is forced to write in political verse rather than elegant hexameters or, at least, 'technical' iambs.[7] But Psellos can be equally dismissive of his own didactic poetry: in his *Funeral Oration for Xiphilinos*, written towards the end of his career, he mentions popularizing digests and says that they are 'for dummies and lazy, shiftless emperors' — a barbed reference to Michael VII Doukas for whom he had written many such digests in verse.[8]

Another reason for choosing verse is that it is easier to repeat and easier to memorize than prose. Given how scarce books were in Byzantium, it is fair to assume that, in Byzantine classrooms, the only one with a book in front of him would have been the teacher: he would read out the text (say, μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά) and the students would then repeat after him. This works well with verse, but repeating a long text in prose may be somewhat cumbersome and students may lose interest after a while, listening to the droning voice of their teacher. In order to hold their attention, the teacher must seek a means of letting them actively

[5] See Jeffreys 1974: 152, 155, 161, 166 and 173–175; Antonopoulou 2003: 182–183; Lauxtermann 2009b: 45–46; Bernard 2014: 236–237.

[6] Psellos 9, vv. 531–537: ed. Westerink 1992: 208. See Bernard 2014: 234.

[7] See Jeffreys 1974: 148–157.

[8] See Bernard 2014: 244–245.

participate in the lesson, and one way of doing so is by using verse, which, as it is repetitive by its very nature, easily lends itself to repetition. In the case of didactic poetry set to the tune of well-known liturgical hymns, it is just a matter of singing joyfully along as a group, with the teacher leading the song. In my view, all the references to 'sweetness', 'pleasure' and 'charm' which we so often find in didactic poetry, directly relate to the Byzantine classroom and the joys of communal recitation and singing. And because it is such great fun to recite texts together, it is also easier to memorize them. In short, didactic poetry serves as a pedagogical tool.[9]

However, not all didactic poetry is meant for the Byzantine classroom. As grammar, orthography and rhetoric are the core subjects of primary and secondary education in Byzantium, it is reasonable to assume that didactic poems treating these subjects are directly connected with the school curriculum. However, didactic poems that treat extracurricular topics, such as astronomy and medicine, are likely to have been composed for the literary in-crowd: the fellow 'grammarians, orators and philosophers' whom Psellos explicitly mentions in his poem on medicine. And the place of performance is likely to have been the literary *theatron*.

Paraenetic and didactic poems are very close. Paraenetic poetry offers moral guidance: didactic poetry teaches. So they both instruct, but on different subjects, and they usually address different audiences. Whereas didactic poetry is performed either in the classroom or in the literary *theatron* (the adult equivalent of the classroom), paraenetic poetry is mostly meant to be memorized by heart and addresses monks, ordinary laymen and, occasionally, pupils.

With very few exceptions (such as Pisides' *Hexaemeron*), Byzantine didactic and paraenetic poetry does not strive after literary effect and does not aspire to originality, but aims to rewrite existing texts. Most didactic and paraenetic poems are, in fact, *metaphraseis* (for which see the next chapter), translating dry prose into 'sweet-sounding' verse.[10] Psellos' didactic poem on the *Song of Songs* (no. 2), for example, is entirely derivative: it depends on Gregory of Nyssa's commentary to such an extent that where the source text breaks off (in the middle of its allegorical explanation of the *Song of Songs*, at 6.9), Psellos, too, stops. It gets even worse: Psellos does not discuss the first verses of the *Song of Songs* because certain Byzantine manuscripts of Gregory of Nyssa's commentary do not include that part.[11] And to give a paraenetic example, the twelfth-century vernacular poem *Spaneas* is entirely based on a middle Byzantine collection of gnomic sayings,

[9] See Schneider 1999: 419–421; Bernard 2014: 240–243; Hörandner 2017a: 116–136; Hörandner 2019.

[10] Some writers of didactic poetry explicitly refer to their works as *metaphraseis*: for example, Tzetzes describes his iambic account of the geography of Moesia (incorporated in his *Histories* at XI, 890–977) as a *metaphrasis* of Ptolemy at vv. 888–889, 913, 933, 940 and 952.

[11] See Bossina 2007.

ἐκλογὴ γνωμῶν καὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων ἀπὸ διαφόρων (Vat. gr. 742 [67373], Par. Suppl. gr. 690 [53425], and a later copy, Laur. 86.8 [16794]) which, in its turn, goes back to Ps. Isocrates' *In Demonicum*, Isocrates' *In Nicoclem*, Stobaeus, and Photios, *Ep.* 1. *Spaneas* is an exact copy of this sylloge, translating almost word for word what the source text has to offer.[12] There are also didactic poems that go back to metrical source texts: a splendid example is the metrical paraphrase of the *Iliad*, Γ 71–186, in Ambros. gr. 355 (F 101 sup.) [42767], which derives from the practice of inserting interlinear glosses in manuscripts of Homer.[13]

Although didactic and paraenetic poems were intended for oral performance in schools and elsewhere, there is some evidence indicating that, on occasion, they were inscribed. I know of two such examples. Ps. Psellos 60, a didactic poem on the physical and spiritual benefits to be gained from bathing, has come down to us in various versions.[14] One of these, copied in Hieros. Patr. 276, fol. 135$^{r}$ [35513] (s. XVII–XVIII), adds three lines at the very end which, rather unexpectedly, turn the poem into a dedicatory verse inscription on a bathhouse.[15] It celebrates its ktitor, Nikephoros the bishop of Herakleia, who is probably the homonymous fourteenth-century metropolitan of Herakleia in Pontos.[16] The second example is a long paraenetic poem attributed to John Nesteutes, 'our holy father', in Par. gr. 2748 [52383] (s. XIV ex.).[17] This John Nesteutes is not the sixth-century patriarch, but the late eleventh-century founder of the famous Petra monastery. The same poem is found in Vindob. Suppl. gr. 91 [71554] (s. XIV ex.), together with two other metrical texts, all three of which, according to their titles, were inscribed in the refectory of the Petra monastery; here it is ascribed to the 'second ktitor' of the monastery, John Ioalites.[18] The double ascription may be explained by assuming that Ioalites did not write the paraenetic poem himself,

[12] See Danezis 1987: 27–118. The source text was edited by L. Sternbach, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, *Wydział filologiczny* 17 (1892) 168–245, at 228–245 [also available as an offprint: Curae Menandreae. Cracow 1892]; in another publication, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, *Wydział filologiczny* 20 (1893) 83–124, at 95–96 [also available as an offprint: Analecta Photiana. Cracow 1893], he incorrectly attributes this ἐκλογή to Patriarch Photios. The title given by Danezis to the source text (and adopted in studies that rely on Danezis), *Excerpta Parisina*, is confusing and misleading because Sternbach's edition is primarily based on a Vatican manuscript (Vat. gr. 742), but above all because the same Sternbach produced a partial edition of the *Corpus Parisinum*, an entirely different gnomology, under exactly the same title.

[13] See I. Vassis, *JÖB* 41 (1991) 207–236.

[14] See Westerink 1992: XXIX and 427–428.

[15] See Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894: 135–140. Apart from these three verses, this version is very close to ms. Vindob. Hist. gr. 130 [71007] (s. XIV) = b$^{h}$ in Westerink's edition.

[16] See *PLP* 20314. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894: 137–138, probably incorrectly, identifies him with the homonymous metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia, attested in 956.

[17] Ed. Pitra 1864–68: II, 235–236. For a new edition, see Lauxtermann & Paoletti 2019.

[18] See H. Hunger & C. Hannick, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliotek, vol. IV. Vienna 1994, 157.

but had it inscribed in the refectory as a kind of homage to its true author: a reminder to the monks of John Nesteutes' admonitions and a visual aid to understanding his vision of the monastic community at Petra.[19] If Ioalites indeed had John Nesteutes' paraenetic poem inscribed round the walls of the refectory, then he followed in the footsteps of Theodore of Stoudios who left instructions to his monks all over the Stoudios monastery.[20]

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## *Didactic Poetry*

There is very little didactic poetry in the period covered by this book: Pisides' *Hexaemeron* — a masterpiece if ever there was one (see pp. 216–224 below); Geometres on the ideal qualities of horses (poem 233 = Cr. 325.17);[21] Leo Choirosphaktes' curious disquisition on God & c., *Thousand-Line Theology*;[22] and, by the same author, a poem on thermal springs and other aquatic wonders (see below).

If one compares this with the steady stream of didactic compositions in verse, both hexameters and iambics, from the Hellenistic period till the late sixth century,[23] and the mass of didactic material in verse after the year 1000,[24] the 400-year gap in our sources is as remarkable as it is difficult to explain. However, it is worth noting that the post-1000 examples of didactic verse are different from those dating from before 600 in that the didactic purpose and the classroom setting are much more obvious in the former than in the latter. Hellenistic and Roman didactic poetry seldom deals with subjects actually taught in schools; most of it treats technical subjects, such as geography, medicine and astronomy. Its target audience was educated citizens who wished to broaden their intellectual horizons and preferred verse because it was more enjoyable and easier to memorize than

[19] See Lauxtermann & Paoletti 2019.

[20] See vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 70–72.

[21] As Tomadaki 2014: 205 and 413–414 rightly points out, this short didactic poem is entirely based on Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, I.3–15. The *Hippiatrica* (C93.1–11 and 12–17) offer similar observations by Simon of Athens (the source of Xenophon) and Theomnestos (who follows Simon and Xenophon): see A. McCabe, A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine: The Sources, Compilation and Transmission of the *Hippiatrica*. Oxford 2007, 194–197.

[22] Ed. Vassis 2002a; see Magdalino 1997: 146–161. For the manuscript, Vat. gr. 1257, see Ronconi 2007: 185–199.

[23] For a sixth-century example, see the poem on the Labours of Hercules published by Knös 1908.

[24] For an excellent survey of 11th-c. didactic poetry, see Hörandner 2012a, and for an overview of Byzantine didactic poetry in general, see Hörandner 2017: 116–136 and Hörandner 2019.

reams of atticistic prose.[25] In contrast, the vast majority of Byzantine didactic poems catered to the needs of pupils or *logioi* meeting up and discussing literature in the *theatron*: it was not the pastime of a leisured class.

With the collapse of urban civilization and the reshuffling of the social elites in the aftermath of the Arab conquests, didactic poetry disappeared because there was no longer an audience for it. It came back into fashion after the year 1000,[26] along with a new didactic tool, schedography, which revolutionized Byzantine education because it made grammar and spelling easier to grasp, offered a more entertaining method of learning, and improved student participation and involvement. The introduction of didactic poetry in teaching was as much an innovation as schedography, and the fact that both developed in the same period and with the same emphasis on involving the students and making the didactic materials more attractive and easier to digest, can hardly be a coincidence. There are also metrical innovations: schedography often offers a curious mixture of prose and verse,[27] and most didactic poetry makes use of political verse or adopts the metrical patterns of liturgical hymns. The most prolific practitioners of these novel metrical forms in the eleventh century are Michael Psellos,[28] Niketas of Herakleia[29] and George (Euthymios?) Zigabenos.[30]

In three manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from 1342, a didactic poem on meteorology and other scientific subjects, is attributed to Photios the Monk.[31] Some maintain that this is Patriarch Photios despite the fact that there are other Photioi in the history of Byzantium and that scribes seldom refer to patriarchs as

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[25] See Cameron 2004: 334–336. Most of this material is *not* discussed by B. Effe, Dichtung und Lehre: Untersuchungen zur Typologie des antiken Lehrgedichts. Munich 1977, 184–187, because, according to him, didactic iambics do not count as poetry; only those in hexameter do.

[26] As rightly observed by Hörandner 1976: 253–256; see also Bernard 2014: 230.

[27] See, for example, the *schede* published by Vassis 2002b.

[28] Ed. Westerink 1992: poems 1–8; see Bernard 2014.

[29] See Schneider 1999 and Antonopoulou 2003.

[30] Ed. E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques en France* 8 (1874) 222–284 (on the basis of Par. Suppl. gr. 1192 [53870]); plus additional material in: A. Pappadopoulos & E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques en France* 10 (1876) 121–136 (on the basis of Smyrna B 42 [34108]). The poem has come down to us in late and post-Byzantine manuscripts, most of which attribute it to George Zigabenos (and some, incorrectly, to Prodromos). It consists of three parts: Zig. 1 on breathings, Zig. 2 on the antistoicha, and a metrical letter in which a teacher asks to be paid his fees. The letter is clearly influenced by the *Ptochoprodromika* and probably dates to the later Palaeologan period; but Zig. 1 and 2 are considerably older because Prodromos quotes extensively from Zig. 1 and, to a lesser degree, from Zig. 2 in his still unpublished *Εἴδησις μερικὴ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας/ περὶ πνευμάτων*. See Janssen & Lauxtermann 2012 for more information. George Zigabenos is otherwise unknown, but since Anna Komnene XV 9.1 explicitly calls Euthymios Zigabenos an expert in grammar, I would not be surprised if we are dealing with one and the same person.

[31] See Tessari 2012: 11–19. The oldest ms. is Vat. gr. 216 [66847].

monks, even if they had once donned the monastic habit.[32] Especially in the light of the raging anti-Latin sentiments in the Palaeologan period and beyond, it would be odd in the extreme not to identify the hero of the anti-unionists by his ecclesiastical title. Furthermore, as already stated, the use of liturgical models for the composition of didactic poetry seems to have been an eleventh-century innovation. Niketas of Herakleia was the first (unless one wishes to consider the calendar verses of Christopher Mitylenaios as didactic poetry — but these are so closely related to liturgical books that I would consider each separate entry as a book epigram in its own right).[33] He is followed by John Tzetzes who put together a catalogue of ancient numbskulls set to the melody of John of Damascus' kanon ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου;[34] Nikephoros Blemmydes, the author of a kanon on the diagnostic properties of blood and urine;[35] Maximos Mazaris, a fifteenth-century composer of two kanons on orthography, and Galaktion (date unknown, but probably post-Byzantine), the author of a third one.[36] Then there are a few unpublished texts that cannot be dated: an orthographical kanon called *Diodion* and attributed to a certain Meletios, and other kanons described as 'Homeric' without ascription.[37] Mitsakis calls such poems 'parahymnography' which is frankly a nonsensical term, first of all because the use of well-known liturgical melodies is not restricted to one specific genre, but is a feature of different literary texts (didactic poems, satires, invectives, encomia, etc.) and, secondly, because these 'parahymnographic' texts have about as much to do with hymnography as the Sex Pistols' 'God Save the Queen' with national anthems.[38]

Another incorrectly dated poem, or rather set of poems, is the alchemical corpus in Marc. gr. 299 [69770] (s. XI in.), Par. gr. 2327 [51958] (a. 1478) and apographs: four didactic poems, attributed to Heliodoros, Theophrastos, Hierotheos and Archelaos respectively.[39] As these poems are clearly the work of one and the same poet, modern scholars tend to attribute the lot to Heliodoros (Theophrastos being the famous physicist and philosopher by that name, Archelaos the teacher of Socrates, and Hierotheos possibly the spiritual mentor of Ps. Dionysios the

[32] See Mitsakis 1972: 95–101 and 129–131. For further bibliography, see Tessari 2012: 11–16.

[33] See Darrouzès 1958 and Follieri 1980. See also Bernard 2014: 107–108.

[34] Ed. W.J.W. Koster, Jo. Tzetzae Commentarii in Aristophanem, pars IV, fasc. III: Commentarium in Ranas et in Aves, Argumentum Equitum. Groningen-Amsterdam 1962, 989–991 (at *Ranae* 990b).

[35] See Mitsakis 1972: 126–128.

[36] See Janssen & Lauxtermann 2012: 37.

[37] See J. Schneider, Les traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins. Turnhout 1999, 890 (Par. gr. 2558 [52190]) and 901 (Vindob. Phil. gr. 323 [71437]).

[38] Mitsakis 1972. For a devastating but entirely justified critique, see Eideneier 1977: 28–56.

[39] Published by Goldschmidt 1923 on the basis of Marc. gr. 299 and two later apographs, without a proper understanding of the manuscript tradition and without solid philological groundwork.

Areopagite);[40] but Heliodoros, 'the gift of the Sun', is probably a pseudonym as well.[41] Although Heliodoros' poem is explicitly dedicated to Emperor Theodosios the Great,[42] modern scholarship prefers to associate the alchemical poems with the much later Theodosios III. The reason why Reitzenstein and Goldschmidt (and all those who follow them) place the alchemical poems as late as 715–717 is that they see parallels with the works of Stephen of Alexandria and think that Heliodoros draws on him, which immediately excludes the possibility that he was active under Theodosios I.[43] However, in my view the parallels between Heliodoros and Stephen of Alexandria are not strong enough to suggest direct dependence. What is more, the metre strongly militates against an eighth-century date. The poems of Heliodoros show no tendency to avoid oxytone verse endings: 17.1% of his verses end in this way; this is comparable to what we find in poems written up to the fifth century, whereas after this numbers rapidly dwindle to vanishing point (Paul the Silentiary 11%, Agathias 8.7%, John of Gaza 3%, Pisides 9% in his earliest poem, but close to 0% in his later work).[44] Heliodoros has 18.2% proparoxytone verse endings — a normal frequency in late antique poetry, but an abnormal one after Pisides, whose later work reduces this almost to zero.[45] Metrically speaking, the alchemical poems innovate in one important respect: they are dodecasyllabic to a fault.[46] Late antique iambic poetry allows for resolutions and anapaestic substitutions to a certain extent: for example, c. 6% in Gregory of Nazianzos and c. 3.6% in Pisides.[47] However, the Hellenistic poet Lycophron has only c. 1.3%,[48] and there is epigraphic evidence for the existence of dodecasyllabic iambs as early as the first century.[49] The closest parallel to the alchemical poems are the *Sayings of Aesop*, dating from the fifth or early sixth century: like the alchemical corpus,

[40] See Reitzenstein 1919: 28–37 and Goldschmidt 1923: 11–13.

[41] See Letrouit 1995: 83. Heliodoros appears to have been a popular name for practitioners of the occult sciences in Byzantium: there is a magician by that name in the *Life of Leo of Catania* and another one (or is it the same?) in the *Patria* III.114 (see A. Acconcia Longo, *RSBN* 26 (1989) 3–98, at 13–36, and *RSBN* 44 (2007) 3–38; see also A. Berger, The *Patria* of Constantinople. Washington 2014, 317, n. 122). According to the *Chronicle of the Logothete*, §95.9 (ed. Wahlgren, 122.41–42), the famous novelist Heliodoros not only wrote the *Aethiopica*, but also the alchemical poem on gold making: it is reasonable to assume that the Logothete had access to the same alchemical corpus as we do and, probably incorrectly, assumed that the alchemist and the novelist were one and the same person.

[42] See the title: πρὸς Θεοδόσιον τὸν μέγαν. This information is repeated in the *Chronicle of the Logothete* (see note above).

[43] See Reitzenstein 1919: 37 and Goldschmidt 1923: 16–21.

[44] See Hanssen 1883: 235–236 and West 1982: 184.

[45] See Hanssen 1883: 237–238 and Lauxtermann 2003c: 180–181.

[46] See Maas 1903: 285–286, n. 3.

[47] For Gregory, see Sicherl 1991: 32; for Pisides, see Hilberg 1887 and Romano 1985: 7.

[48] See West 1982: 159.

[49] See Rhoby 2011: 126–137.

these are perfectly dodecasyllabic and have no regulation of stress accents at the verse end.[50] In other words, the alchemical poems are late antique, probably fifth- or early sixth-century, and if there is indeed a connection with an Emperor Theodosios (but the name may be as much of a hoax as those of the four putative authors), then Theodosios II would seem to be the most likely dedicatee.[51]

Having established that the alchemist Heliodoros is *not* an eighth-century poet and that Patriarch Photios is *not* the author of a didactic poem on meteorology, one may begin to understand how exceptional Choirosphaktes' *On Thermal Springs* is. It is the only didactic poem on a scientific topic written after Late Antiquity and before the rise of didactic poetry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The poem has come down to us in two different versions: a longer version dedicated to Emperor Constantine VII when his father was still among the living (i.e. 908–912), inc. βούλει μαθεῖν, αὔγουστε (211 vv.), and a shorter version addressed to Everyman, inc. βούλει μαθεῖν, ἄνθρωπε (190 vv.).[52] The shorter version is incorrectly attributed to Paul the Silentiary in the *Planudean Anthology* and its apographs, but there is no reason to doubt that Leo Choirosphaktes wrote both versions for different occasions and different audiences, the longer one for performance at the imperial court and the shorter one for fellow intellectuals.[53] It was certainly not unusual for didactic poems to circulate in more than one version and with dedications to different people: see, for example, Psellos' exposition of the Psalms (poem no. 1) which in the manuscript tradition is variously dedicated to emperors Constantine IX Monomachos and Michael VII Doukas, and to no one in particular.[54] All three versions go back to Psellos, flattering one emperor after the other and meanwhile garnering intellectual credit by presenting his didactic poem to friends and colleagues. This recycling of texts is far more common than is generally realized; in fact, as a rule of thumb one can safely say that didactic poems dedicated to some emperor or another are also targeted at audiences outside the imperial court.

It hardly needs pointing out that Constantine VII, aged three to seven, would not have understood a word of the poem *On Thermal Springs*. The same goes for the *Thousand-Line Theology*, another didactic poem dedicated to him between

[50] See vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 256–257.

[51] In the dedicatory poem, vv. 32–36, Heliodoros tells the emperor that experts in alchemy, such as himself, deserve a καθέδρα, a professorial chair: if the emperor is Theodosios II, then there may be a reference here to the 'university' founded in 425.

[52] Ed. Gallavotti 1990: 86–89.

[53] See Mercati 1923–25; Gallavotti 1990: 78–85. Giardina 2012: 137–167, esp. 159–167, who does not seem to know Gallavotti's edition and study, thinks there are sufficient metrical reasons for rejecting the attribution to Choirosphaktes: there are not.

[54] See Bernard 2014: 248–251.

908 and 912.[55] If there was an imperial recipient for these two texts, it must have been Leo VI who is mentioned in lines 59–60, 97 and 208 of *On Thermal Springs*. While the *Thousand-Line Theology* was probably written when Leo Choirosphaktes had returned from exile, the poem *On Thermal Springs* ends with a plea to Constantine VII (read Leo VI) to recall the ageing poet from exile (vv. 203–211). As rightly argued by Magdalino, both didactic poems bear witness to 'an ideology of science, which advocates spiritual and intellectual fulfillment through contemplation and knowledge of the laws of nature', celebrate absolute monarchy/oneness without any bounds or limits, and come dangerously close to iconoclasm in their overt rejection of representations of the ineffable godhead.[56] See, for example, *On Thermal Springs* (lines 170–190): 'It is thus that the Lord of All creates, leads, directs, blends and weaves infinite natures as He knows best, and makes intelligent natures marvel and worship at His all-creating glory, my good child. Him call your God and picture in your mind, imprinting nothing in the way of form, if you wish not to err. He is an unknowable Spirit, an unbidden wonder, a thing beyond corruption, a faultless support, a mystical light without beginning, an ineffable fullness of intellect, bearing the world and its creatures in an all-wise dance, in just providence'.[57]

The full title of the poem is: εἰς τὰ ἐν Πυθίοις θερμὰ δίμετρα καταληκτικά, 'hemiambs on the thermal springs at Pythia'. Hemiambs (catalectic iambic dimeters) are common in late antique poetry,[58] but extremely rare in the middle Byzantine period: apart from Choirosphaktes, the only two poets known to us to have composed poems in this metre are Euthymios Tornikes (12th c.) and Constantine Anagnostes (13th c.).[59] While the fifth syllable must be short, it is anceps in Choirosphaktes, Tornikes and Constantine Anagnostes; in this they are influenced by Gregory of Nazianzos, who does the same.[60]

The title is seriously misleading. The hot water spa at Pythia near Pylae (modern Yalova), though often visited by Byzantine emperors, including Leo VI, is not the subject of this didactic poem. The poem discusses thermal springs and other aquatic wonders in general — not the Pythian spa in particular. It clearly falls into the category of paradoxography (the collection and study of *mirabilia*, wonders of nature). The poem consists of three parts: 1–56 scientific explanation of thermal springs; 57–169 enumeration of various other springs (subdivided into

[55] See Vassis 2002a: 22–24.

[56] See Magdalino 1997: 146–161, esp. pp. 152, 157 and 159–161; for the quotation, see p. 160. See also Gallavotti 1990: 92–95.

[57] This translation is partly based on Magdalino 1997: 160.

[58] See West 1982: 166–167 and Gallavotti 1990: 98–99.

[59] Tornikes: ed. Ciccolella 1991: 60–61 and 65–66, cf. 58. Anagnostes: ed. Bănescu 1913: 14–17; for corrections, see Mercati 1920–21: 184–189 and Lambros 1922: 35.

[60] See Gallavotti 1990: 98.

three sections: 57–95, 96–134, and 135–169); 170–190 the theologico-philosophical conclusion translated above. This is followed by an epilogue (vv. 191–211) in which the poet addresses the reader (Everyman in the short version, Constantine VII in the long version) and claims that his account of all these aquatic wonders is based on both personal observation and the work of previous scholars.

The field of ancient paradoxography is a maze of possible borrowings and references, loose fragments, indirect witnesses, postulated lost sources, and erroneous attributions. Choirosphaktes' poem shows striking parallels both with Ps. Aristotle's *On Marvellous Things Heard* (Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, or in Latin, *Mirabilium auscultationes*) and the Anonymous Florentine Paradoxographer's *On Wondrous Waters* (*De aquis mirabilibus*): both sources are ancient, but survive only in late Byzantine manuscripts and may have undergone alterations in the manuscript tradition.[61] Öhler assumes that Ps. Aristotle and the Florentine Paradoxographer go back to a common source and that Choirosphaktes, too, draws on this common source; Praechter assumes that Choirosphaktes made use of a version of Ps. Aristotle with contamination from other sources.[62] A good example of this Ps. Aristotelian background to Choirosphaktes' didactic poem is the following passage (vv. 138–147):

φέρει τόπος τις λίμνην μικρὰν λίαν, κυκλώδη,
εἰς ἣν θέλων λουθῆναι πεπλησμένην εὑρήσεις,
ἕως δὲ πεντήκοντα λελουμένους καθαίρει·
εἰ δ' αὖ τις αὐτῇ πλείους ἄνδρας φέρει λουθῆναι,
ἔξω τρέχουσα ῥίπτει τοὺς ἀκρίτως τρυφῶντας.

'There is a place with a very small, round lake: if you wish to bathe in it, you will see it is full [with you in it], but it cleanses up to fifty bathers; however, if someone takes more people to this lake to bathe in it, it overflows and throws the mindless pleasure seekers out'.

Ps. Aristotle §112 says: '[In Sicily] there is a little lake, with a circumference about that of a shield (...). Now if any one enters this, intending to wash himself, it increases in breadth; but if a second person enters, it grows wider still; and finally, having grown larger, it becomes wide enough for the reception of even fifty men. But whenever it has received this number, swelling up again from the bottom it casts the bodies of the bathers high in the air and out on the ground'.[63] The Florentine Paradoxographer §30 says: 'In the vicinity of Gela in Sicily there is a

[61] For both texts, see the edition by A. Giannini, Paradoxographorum graecorum reliquiae. Milan 1965, 222–313 and 315–329.

[62] For the link between Choirosphaktes and these two paradoxographical texts, see Praechter 1904 and Öhler 1913: 18, 151–152 and 195 (s.v. Paulus Silentiarius).

[63] Translation: L.D. Dowdall, On Marvellous Things Heard, in: J. Barnes, The Complete Works of Aristotle, vol. II. Princeton 1984, 1288.

lake called Silla: it is very small in size, and it throws those bathing in it out on the ground as if by some device'.[64] It is clear that Choirosphaktes made use of Ps. Aristotle's *On Marvellous Things Heard* or a source close to it, and cast it in poetic form, mostly omitting material but also appending a moralizing conclusion to it: the 'mindless pleasure seekers' thrown out of the water, a punishment presumably inflicted on them by divine justice. Whether the whole poem is a metaphrasis of earlier sources, such as Ps. Aristotle, or whether it contains some original observations as the poet himself claims, is impossible to say with the evidence available to us.

Choirosphaktes' poem *On Thermal Springs* is a one-off in the history of Byzantine didactic poetry. Firstly, it shows an unusual interest in the natural world: rather than focusing on astronomy as so many did, or on zoology as regrettably few did in Byzantium, Choirosphaktes seems genuinely interested in natural phenomena. The only two other didactic poems with a similar interest in physics known to me are the kanon on meteorology wrongly attributed to Patriarch Photios and the *Hexaemeron* of Pisides (see below). Secondly, it is the only didactic poem written in hemiambs. The ancients used the metre for the composition of 'Anacreontean' lyrics on the topics of wine, beauty, sex, riches, and so on. Similarly, in his only poem in hemiambs (II.1.88) Gregory of Nazianzos plays the role of Anacreon in reverse by admonishing his soul not to give in to such base instincts. Thirdly, as already pointed out, there is hardly any didactic poetry after the year 600. Choirosphaktes' poem is an attempt to pick up the threads of a long-severed literary tradition and reconnect with the vibrant culture of didactic poetry in Antiquity: in that respect the misattribution of the poem to Paul the Silentiary is perfectly understandable. Fourthly, *On Thermal Springs* is a poem of exile courageously advocating a lost cause (aniconic representation) and encouraging the *logioi* to study nature and seek a rational explanation for its manifold wonders. It was a message with little resonance.

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## *Paraenetic Alphabets*

Paraenetic poems are akin to gnomic epigrams.[65] The difference is that while each single gnomic epigram usually constitutes one piece of advice, paraenetic poems string together long lists of admonitions.

[64] For a comparison of all the paradoxographical sources that offer this story, including Choirosphaktes' *On Thermal Springs*, see Öhler 1913: 104–105.

[65] For the discussion of which, see vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 241–270.

In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, paraenetic poems usually take the form of alphabets; but other arrangements are also attested, though only in the period before c. 600.[66] In contrast, what we see in the Comnenian era, is a sharp and sudden increase in non-alphabetically structured examples of παραίνεσις (although paraenetic alphabets certainly did not disappear altogether): John Nesteutes' admonitions to the monks of the Petra monastery;[67] Nicholas Grammatikos' advice to Athonite monks on the subject of fasting;[68] the *Alexian Muses*, a mirror of princes serving as a political manifesto in support of John II Komnenos' ascension to the throne;[69] Ps. John Chrysostom — a paraenetic poet whom Tzetzes ridiculed for his lack of poetical talent;[70] and *Spaneas*, a versified metaphrasis of an existing gnomological collection.[71] This paraenetic trend continues well into the Palaeologan period: later examples include poems by Meletios Galesiotes, Ps. Manasses, Andronikos Palaiologos and George Lapithes as well as an anonymous collection of paraenetic poems.[72]

The godfather of παραίνεσις in Byzantium, and the ultimate literary model to follow, was Gregory of Nazianzos, the author of not only I.2.31 γνῶμαι δίστιχοι (hexametric paraenetic distichs), I.2.32 γνωμικὰ δίστιχα (iambic ones) and I.2.33 γνωμολογία τετράστιχος (iambic paraenetic quatrains), but also I.2.30 στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ κατὰ ἀλφάβητον ἕκαστος ἔχων τελείαν παραίνεσιν, 'iambic verses in alphabetical order, each containing a complete admonition'.[73] Gregory also

[66] For paraenetic alphabets from Late Antiquity to the late Byzantine period, see the classical study by Anastasijewić 1905. For the early period, see also E. Giannarelli, in: M.S. Funghi, Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico. Florence 2003, 263–282, and R.M. Parri-nello, *REB* 69 (2011) 135–158.

[67] Ed. Pitra 1864–68: II, 235–236 and Lauxtermann & Paoletti 2019. See above, p. 202–203.

[68] Ed. J. Koder, *JÖB* 19 (1970) 203–241.

[69] Ed. Maas 1913. See Reinsch 2013: 412–417.

[70] Ed. Pitra 1864–68: II, 170. For the satirical poem of Tzetzes, see Miller 1855–57: II, 269.

[71] For the different versions and editions of *Spaneas*, see Danezis 1987.

[72] Galesiotes: see M. Cassiotou-Panayotopoulos, in: E. Trapp and S. Schönauer (eds), Lexicologica Byzantina. Bonn 2008, 97–118. Ps. Manasses: ed. E. Miller, *Annuaire de l' Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 9 (1875) 23–75; see O. Mazal, *BZ* 60 (1967) 247–268 and E. Tsolakis, *Hell* 53 (2003) 7–18. Andronikos Palaiologos: see D. Konstantinidis, *Byzantina* 15 (1989) 179–236, V. Katsaros, in: Μνήμη Σταμάτη Καρατζά. Thessaloniki 1990, 67–91, M. Ozbic, *BZ* 91 (1998) 406–422, Ciccolella 1995: 260–261, and Simelidis 2015. Lapithes: ed. J.Fr. Boissonade, *Notices et Extraits* 12.2 (1831) 1–74 (repr. *PG* 149, 1001–1046) and A. Chatzisavvas, Γεώργιος Λαπίθης: Στίχοι πολιτικοί αυτοσχέδιοι εις κοινήν ακοήν. Besançon 2001. Anonymous collection: ed. V. Lundström, Anecdota Byzantina e codicibus upsaliensibus cum aliis collatis. Uppsala-Leipzig 1902, v–viii and 3–14; cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VV* 12 (1906) 489–496 and G. Spadaro, in: A. Fyrigos, Il Collegio Greco di Roma. Rome 1983, 363–372; the earliest ms. known to me is Par. gr. 400 [49973] (c. 1335–36), fol. 151$^{r}$–152$^{r}$ (nos 7, 14, 8 and 3), 154$^{v}$–155$^{r}$ (no. 4) and 156$^{v}$ (no. 2).

[73] See *PG* 37, 908–945. For the various titles given to I.2.30 in Byzantine manuscripts, see Anastasijewić 1905: 14–18: the title given here is that of Laur. 9.18 [16106] (s. XII). Since

authored another paraenetic alphabet, which regrettably is not in the Maurist edition of his poems and has therefore escaped notice: it is found in many manuscripts, including the famous Patmos 33 [54277] (copied in Reggio di Calabria in 941), one of the oldest copies of Gregory's homilies.[74] Whereas the former of the two alphabets offers moral and ascetic guidelines in general, the latter is aimed at young pupils (τέκνον in v. 11, παῖ in v. 24) and offers age-specific advice, such as the need to honour one's parents, take lessons from the wise, and learn Scripture. Both alphabets were immensely popular, as is clear not only from the great number of manuscripts that contain them, but also the many literary borrowings: it is not unusual to find whole verses taken from these two alphabets in later paraenetic poems.[75]

There are only three paraenetic poems in the period covered by this book,[76] and all three are alphabets: Ignatios the Deacon's *Ἄκουσον, ὦ παῖ*,[77] Symeon the New Theologian no. 5,[78] and Theodosios of Dyrrachion's *On Harmonious Order*.[79] While Symeon the New Theologian addresses novices in the monastery and Theodosios of Dyrrachion urges his congregation to maintain order and peace, Ignatios the Deacon's target audience are schoolchildren. As it is an alphabet, his paraenetic poem consists of 24 lines and the first line begins with alpha: Ἄκουσον, ὦ παῖ, τῆς ἐμῆς συμβουλίας, 'Listen to my advice, my boy'. The setting for the poem is a Byzantine classroom: the teacher addresses a pupil and tells him to pay attention to his words of infinite wisdom, though what follows are the usual admonitions of prudence.

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I.2.30 is often found at the beginning of grammars (see main text below), Hauniensis 1965 [37190] (s. XV) attributes a treatise on prosody to Gregory of Nazianzos, ὃς κἀν τούτῳ θέλων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς εἰσαγομένους εἰς τὴν γραφὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἰάμβους ἐπόδισε, τὸν καθ᾽ ἕκαστον οἰκείαν ἔννοιαν ἀπαρτίζοντα (ed. A. Hilgard, Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam. Leipzig 1901, 129, app. crit.).

[74] Ed. I. Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη. Athens 1890, 18–19; also edited by S. Efstratiadis, *Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Μελῳδός* 1 (1932) 20 [unavailable to me]; Rhoby 2009–2018: vol. IV, 269–271 (GR98); partial edition in Fr. Dübner, Epigrammatum Anthologia Graeca, vol. II. Paris 1872, 224. Anastasijewić 1905: 22–24 doubts the ascription of this alphabet to Gregory of Nazianzos; but there are no good reasons for disputing the authorship: see Lefherz 1958: 77.

[75] See Anastasijewić 1905: passim, esp. 75–76.

[76] The paraenetic alphabet πρὸς φιλόπονον παῖδα, inc. ἄνω πτέρωσον πρὸς Θεὸν σοῦ τὰς φρένας, edited by Boissonade 1829–33: IV, 436–437 and Müller 1894: 520–522, is attributed in some mss. to Gregory of Nazianzos and in one ms. to Ignatios the Deacon: both ascriptions are incorrect, see Anastasijewić 1905: 44–48. The paraenetic alphabet in hexameters, inc. ἀζυγέες πρὸς τάσδε βιοῦτε καλῶς ὑποθήκας, unedited, is variously attributed to Leo VI (see Anastasijewić 1905: 34–36) and Gregory of Nazianzos (see Lefherz 1958: 85): both ascriptions look suspect, but it is difficult to say without a proper edition.

[77] Ed. Müller 1891.

[78] Ed. Koder 1969–73: I, 198–203; see also the 'introduction', p. 19.

[79] Ed. Hörandner 1989: 141–145. See Lauxtermann 1999b: 37–40.

We know from other sources that Ignatios the Deacon was a successful teacher (even holding the position of οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος at some point in his tumultuous life),[80] and it is hardly a great leap to detect an autobiographical element here, especially when we read that students should seek out the best teachers (lines E to I):

Ἕωλα πάντα τῆς φρονήσεως ἄτερ·
Ζήλου σοφῶν μάλιστα τὸν σοφὸν βίον·
Ἡ γλῶσσα καιροῦ μηδὲν ἐκφέροι δίχα·
Θήρευε τὰ κράτιστα τῶν νοημάτων·
Ἴχνη δ᾽ ἔρεισον πρὸς πύλας τῶν ἐνθάδε.

'All is worthless without knowledge. Above all imitate the wise life-style of wise men. Let the tongue not utter a word when it is not right. Hunt for the best of ideas. And frequent these doors here.' The last line in particular sounds like a piece of self-advertisement: schoolchildern are told that the best education is available *here*.

Once the pupils have entered school, they are told to behave themselves in the classroom (lines O to T):

Ὅλον σεαυτὸν τοῖς μαθήμασιν δίδου·
Πραΰς, ταπεινὸς τοῖς διδασκάλοις ἔσο·
Ῥᾴθυμον ἔργον μηδὲ προσβλέψαι θέλοις·
Σαυτοῦ δ᾽ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ὁμήλικας λέγε·
Τῶν συσχολαστῶν τὰς συνουσίας φίλει.

'Devote yourself wholly to your lessons. Be polite and respectful to your teachers. Do not accept laziness in your work. Think of your peers as your brothers. Love the company of the other pupils'.

In order to situate Ignatios' paraenetic alphabet in its social and cultural contexts, it is important to look at the manuscripts and the con-texts, the other texts they contain. Anastasijewić lists seven Byzantine manuscripts (and a number of post-Byzantine ones), to which Leiden Voss. gr. Q 76 should be added.[81] Of these eight manuscripts, three offer grammars: Leid. Voss. gr. Q 76 [38183] (s. X ex.), Vat. Reg. gr. Pii 47 [66406] (s. X–XI) and Crypt. Z α III [17960] (s. XI);[82] a fourth one, Vall. E 37 [56325] (s. XIV), is a miscellany which contains grammatical material; two others cater to the needs of intellectuals: Monac. gr. 416 [44864] (s. XII), a collection of late antique poetry and prose, and Par. gr. 39 [49600] (s. XIII), a learned miscellany; and the last two, Laur. 11.9 [16163] (a.

[80] See Mango 1997: 7, 12–15, 20 and 23.

[81] Anastasijewić 1905: 32–33. For Leiden Voss. gr. Q 76, see Uhlig 1883: XXII.

[82] For the three grammars and their dates, see Ronconi 2007: 153–183 and Ronconi 2012: 69, n. 24, and 99–107.

1021) and Laur. 9.18 [16106] (s. XII, but with later additions), are clearly monastic. Five of these manuscripts are of South-Italian provenance: Leid. Voss. gr. Q 76, Vat. Reg. gr. Pii 47, Crypt. Z α III, Laur. 11.9 and Vall. E 37.

It is worth noting that the three grammars and two of the other manuscripts combine Ignatios the Deacon's alphabet with the two alphabets of Gregory of Nazianzos: Leid. Voss. gr. Q 76 and Vat. Reg. gr. Pii 47 have all three; Laur 9.18 has Ignatios and Greg. Naz. I.2.30; and Crypt. Z α III and Vall. E 37 have Ignatios and Gregory's other paraenetic alphabet.

In the oldest manuscript, Leid. Voss. gr. Q 76, the paraenetic alphabets are found at the very beginning, before the grammatical material which begins with the alphabet, diacritic signs and prosody (fol. 7–12), followed by the first paragraphs of Dionysius Thrax's introduction to grammar which treat the self-same subjects (fol. 12–16). After this basic introduction dealing with letters, breathings and accents, there are various grammatical and metrical treatises (the rest of Dionysius Thrax, the *canones* of Theodosios, the *De tropis* of Choiroboskos, and many anonymous ones) which more or less cover the whole area of language acquisition, from beginning to end (fol. 16–170).[83] Crypt. Z α III is another primer: it offers the introduction of Dionysius Thrax and anonymous treatises on the alphabet (fol. 1–15); next are the paraenetic alphabets (fol. 15–16); and then there is an ἀντιστοιχάριν, an orthographical treatise explaining the intricate rules of Ancient Greek spelling with which the Byzantines as native speakers of Rhomaic had great difficulty (fol. 17–46).[84] These are all very basic didactic materials. Against this backdrop, it is reasonable to assume that Ignatios the Deacon's paraenetic alphabet served a three-pronged educational purpose: to teach the alphabet, to train the children's memory and to impart moral advice.[85] It is comparable to a modern αλφαβητάρι, an ABC for children.

The con-texts of the oldest manuscripts strongly suggest that Ignatios the Deacon's alphabet was originally copied together with Dionysius Thrax and other introductory materials in the form of a primer.[86] Ignatios may have played a role in the transliteration of Dionysius Thrax from uncial to minuscule, but this cannot

[83] For a description of the contents of Leid. Voss. gr. Q 76, see Uhlig 1883: XIX–XXIX, and K.A. De Meyier, Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei. Leiden 1955, 192–196.

[84] For a description of the contents of Crypt. Z α III, see Uhlig 1883: XI–XII.

[85] See Schneider 2000: 119–120 and Bernard 2014: 218–219.

[86] See Schneider 2000 for a thorough description of the contents of this grammatical primer. Contrary to what Ronconi 2012: 72–80 maintains, the fact that so few manuscripts of this primer have survived from before the Palaeologan period, does not indicate a lack of interest: it simply means that manuscripts of practical use deteriorate much faster than usual because of wear and tear and are easily replaced by new ones. Nor is it true that the Greeks became aware of the profound phonological changes in their language (stress accent, loss of prosody, homophony of vowels) only in the middle Byzantine period (c. 1000 years after the fact).

be proven.[87] It is worth noting that Ignatios had also produced another grammar in the form of Homeric epimerisms.[88] While Dionysius Thrax's introduction to grammar and the alphabets were intended for beginners, the Homeric epimerisms served more advanced students. Ignatios the Deacon composed other school-related materials as well: his metrical renderings of Babrian fables and the parable of Lazarus and the Rich served as a practical lesson in the art of metaphrasis.[89] All these texts together allow us a glimpse of a Byzantine schoolmaster at work, teaching the alphabet, lecturing on grammar and spelling, introducing Homer to the schoolchildren, and training them in basic writing exercises so as to enable them to reproduce literary Greek.

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## *The Hexaemeron*

Byzantine didactic poetry generally lives up to its promise: most of it is indeed entertaining, playful and sweet-sounding, easy to memorize and easy to repeat, clear and succinct. So, from a pedagogical viewpoint, it is clearly very effective and useful, but truth to tell, it is also rather basic. It is brilliant in its simplicity, but it is not the kind of intellectual activity for which the average Byzantine λόγιος would have earned high marks in the *theatron*. It lacks a certain literariness, an ambition to outperform one's rivals in the literary arena, a sophistication and a *je ne sais quoi* of style and elegance. Cultural capital is gained by adhering to a system of literary codes institutionalized in the form of schools, *theatra*, imperial recognition and titles, ceremonies, liturgy and official celebrations. Didactic poetry definitely shares in this cultural capital, but as it mostly targets young Byzantines before they climb the social ladder, it does so only to a certain extent.

Sometimes, however, the stakes are much higher. There are didactic poems that demand more effort from the readers and expose them to greater vistas of learning and knowledge. A good example is Tzetzes' eerily postmodern project of composing a versified commentary on his own letters and expanding it further and further until the Tzetzian passages to be commented upon become buried under a deeply sedimented mound of impenetrable but hugely entertaining

[87] According to Schneider 2000: 123–131, esp. 129–130, the grammatical primer itself dates to Late Antiquity, but contains later additions, such as the Anonymous Metrician (for whom, see Lauxtermann 1998a: 12, n. 10) and Ignatios the Deacon, both early ninth-century.

[88] As he tells us in *AP* 15.39. See vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 112–113.

[89] See the next chapter, pp. 232–234 and 238–241.

scholarship.[90] Another example is Manasses' verse chronicle: though based on Zonaras, it adds layers of rhetoric and romance to the chronological framework, thus deepening the readers' understanding of the psychology of the historical characters and making the dull pages of history come alive.[91] And a third example is Philippos Monotropos' *Dioptra*, an ingeniously structured dialogue between Body and Soul that conveys knowledge on a wide range of theological and ethical questions without ever losing the reader.[92]

Equally ambitious in its literary aims is the *Hexaemeron* by George of Pisidia, a didactic poem on Creation with strong encomiastic overtones, glorifying God for His wise designs and craftsmanship, to such an extent that it almost looks like a doxology.[93] If one compares the part that deals with the animal world (vv. 873–1250) with Manuel Philes' *On the properties of animals*,[94] the differences are obvious. Philes' didactic poem is basically a metaphrasis of Aelian, providing all kinds of information —some accurate, some less so— on animals and their characteristics. In contrast to this 'scientific' treatise on zoology, Pisides celebrates the wonders of the animal world as evidence of God's providential plans that transcend human wisdom. Nature is a dark mirror dimly and dumbly reflecting God's intelligent design and, therefore, to celebrate Creation is to celebrate the Creator. Like Philes, Pisides makes use of Aelian and other ancient sources on zoology: Aristotle, Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Physiologos*, Timotheos of Gaza, etcetera, but his primary aim is not to offer a natural history in verse but a hymn of celebration honouring God and the magnificent world He created.[95] To quote the book epigram appended to the *Hexaemeron* in two of its over fifty manuscripts, 'From the virginal meadow of the universe (Pisides) presented to God a garland of flowers, which he plaited with *hymns of wise contemplation* (ἐν ὕμνοις ποικίλης θεωρίας)'.[96]

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[90] Ed. Leone 2007.

[91] Ed. Lampsidis 1996; for the literary qualities of the *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, see Nilsson 2006.

[92] For the literary qualities of the *Dioptra*, see Afendoulidou-Leitgeb 2012.

[93] Recently published by Gonnelli 1998: 113–245. This splendid edition is not widely available in academic libraries; thankfully, however, it is reproduced (but without the critical apparatus) in Tartaglia 1998: 309–425.

[94] Ed. F.S. Lehrs and Fr. Dübner, Manuelis Philae versus iambici de proprietate animalium, in: Poetae bucolici et didactici. Paris 1846, 3–48. For a literary commentary and a good introduction, see Caramico 2006.

[95] For the sources, see Tartaglia 2005: 49–55. For Timotheos of Gaza and Pisides, see M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 62 (1927) 179–204, at 197–204.

[96] Ed. Gonnelli 1998: 244 (vv. 13–14) and Tartaglia 1998: 425. For the question of its authorship, see vol. I, chapter 6, p. 199. For the semantic connotations of ποικίλος in late antique poetry, see G. Agosti, *ZEP* 116 (1997) 31–38; as he rightly observes, the epigrammatist alludes to *Hexaemeron* 1682: τῇ ποικίλῃ γὰρ καὶ σοφῇ θεωρίᾳ.

In spite of its title, the *Hexaemeron* is not an account of the six days of creation, but of the end product: the heavenly splendour and divine order of things, the beauty and perfection of the animal world, and man placed in-between, 'on this isthmus of a middle state'. It takes its inspiration from *Psalm* 103 (104), the opening verses of which are repeated at lines 55–56, 290–291, 731 and 1863–1864: 'How magnificent is the creative and wise design of the Lord of all created beings'.[97] Although Pisides' poem does not describe God's creative process itself ('creation'), but its result ('Creation'), it is intimately related to late antique hexaemeral literature, above all to the exegetical homilies of Basil of Caesarea on *Genesis* 1–3.[98] Another obvious source of inspiration is Gregory of Nazianzos' *Second Theological Oration* (*Or*. 28) which expresses the basically Neo-Platonic notion that God is beyond knowledge, and to illustrate this, refers to the wonders of nature in a series of rhetorical questions: who made this? who created that? — why, God of course, in his unfathomable wisdom (§22–31).[99] Similarly, as rightly observed by Nodes, there is a strong strain of apophatic theology in the poem. It is what he calls 'negative rhetoric', a style of reasoning 'charged with contrast, paradox and enigma': as he puts it, 'antithetical language is the foundation of the poem's rhetoric'.[100]

As most historians don't do God, most of the secondary literature on the *Hexaemeron* deals solely with the prologue and the epilogue, as if the 1600-odd lines in-between are irrelevant.[101] The prologue addresses Patriarch Sergios and portrays him as the source of poetic inspiration.[102] The epilogue consists of two parts: in the first, Patriarch Sergios offers a thanksgiving to the Creator and prays for the reigning dynasty; in the second part the poet beseeches the Patriarch to guide his people and intercede with God.[103] Sergios' prayer mentions the victory over the Persians in 628 and expresses the wish that Emperor Herakleios may

[97] See Gonnelli 1990: 411–412.

[98] For hexaemeral literature, see Blowers 2012; for the place of Pisides in this literary tradition: see idem, pp. 133–135.

[99] See Bianchi 1965–66.

[100] See Nodes 1996.

[101] It is only by skipping those 1600 lines that one can reach conclusions such as these: 'The *Hexaemeron*, therefore, was not a "theological" work, nor was its intent and design anything but political' (Olster 1991: 172).

[102] This is the majority view; there are dissenting voices: Ludwig 1991 thinks that the poet addresses the psalmist as the source of inspiration and that the psalmist in his turn symbolically stands for Emperor Herakleios; Speck 1998 thinks that the poet addresses God.

[103] This is how most people interpret the epilogue; dissenting voices include Olster 1991 and, again, Speck 1998. Olster 1991: 164 assumes that the poet's entreaty at the very end of the poem refers to Emperor Herakleios. Speck 1998: 320–326 assumes that the praying patriarch is not Sergios, but Zacharias of Jerusalem. Arguably the two best studies of the epilogue are Gonnelli 1995 and Whitby 1995.

become the sole ruler of the world and may be as victorious over sinful passions ('the unseen enemies') as he has been over his worldly enemies; it also voices pious hopes that the emperor's children may follow the example of their father in fighting foes and sins. At lines 1792–1802 the prayer would seem to refer to an *adventus*, a triumphal entry into the city, which would favour a date in 628 when the emperor did return in triumph.[104] And in that case the feelings of despondency to which the poet confesses he had fallen prey before Patriarch Sergios commissioned him to write the *Hexaemeron* (vv. 1–23), would possibly be linked to the bleak wartime conditions in Constantinople before 628. However, the dense rhetoric of the *Hexaemeron* is such that it allows for a multitude of interpretations: the imperial 'adventus' may equally stand for a symbolic entry into the heavenly Jerusalem, and the poet's despondency may have had other causes than the misery of war. The poem cannot be dated with precision. Any date in or after 628 will do.

What is more, the manuscript tradition leaves no doubt that Pisides authored several versions of the *Hexaemeron* during his life-time: each of these will have addressed different audiences and will have served different agendas.[105] Therefore, there is no fixed moment in time for the composition of the text: it is a series of moments, each unique, each different. The text as we have it is the result of contamination of several distinct strands of textual transmission, with some later interpolations, but mostly deriving from the author himself who kept adding and omitting material.[106] Since all the manuscripts have two errors in common (a lacuna after v. 1468 and serious prosodic problems in v. 1544), it is clear that there is an archetype — but this archetype cannot be reconstructed because the process of contamination and interpolation did not stop there, but continued well into the middle Byzantine period. The *Hexaemeron*'s huge popularity is also reflected in the indirect tradition (allusions to it and quotations from it),[107] and there is even some evidence to suggest that it was used as didactic material in Byzantine schools.[108]

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[104] See Gonnelli 1995: 126–127 and Whitby 1995: 118–120.

[105] See Gonnelli 1998: 86–91 and 103–107. See also Gonnelli 1991b: 360–363 and Gonnelli 1995: 135–138.

[106] However, there is no reason to follow Speck 1998 in believing that some obscurantist scribe compiled a hexaemeral 'dossier', even adding a prologue and epilogue which he assumes originally belonged to other (lost) panegyrics of Pisides; for justified criticisms, see Gonnelli 1998: 105.

[107] See Gonnelli 1998: 40–42; the following texts should be added to his list of text witnesses: the fourth book of the *Kyranides* (see I. Vassis, *BZ* 88 (1995) 456–457) and Ps. Gregory of Corinth (ed. Hörandner 2012b: 107 (lines 135–137): the author quotes *Hex*. 1589, 1601, 7 and 9).

[108] See Lauxtermann 1998a: 15–16 and 29.

The *Hexaemeron* is a poem as vast and universal as its subject. It covers a wide range of areas of interest, from macrocosm to microcosm. Its intricate structure is roughly as follows:

1–80 **prologue**: dedication to Patriarch Sergios; Psalm 103 as source of inspiration; the wisdom of David the Psalmist vs the pagan ideas of Proklos the Sophist

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (I) | 81–330 | **Cosmology**: universe, angels, celestial bodies, elements, seasons[109] |
| (II) | 331–588 | **Natural Phenomena**: eclipses, movements of the planets, storms, divine chastisement and mercy, meteorological phenomena |
| (III) | 589–872 | **Anthropology**: human organism, senses, spirit and matter, God and Devil |
| (IV) | 873–1250 | **Zoology & Botany**: God is beyond knowledge; description of the Creation: plants, animals, insects |
| (V) | 1251–1468 | **Theology 1 (Resurrection)**: silkworm & swallow symbolize resurrection; theological disquisition on the resurrection; God is beyond knowledge (+lacuna) |
| (VI) | 1469–1719 | **Theology 2 (Nature)**: everything in nature has a purpose, medicinal properties of stones and plants, the wonders of nature; celebration of the Creator; God is beyond knowledge |

1720–1865 **epilogue**: prayer of Patriarch Sergios (1720–91 paradigmatic prayer celebrating the Resurrection of Christ and 1792–1822 prayer for the reigning dynasty); description of Patriarch Sergios and the way he prays; entreaty to Patriarch Sergios.

Even in this driest and briefest of summaries it is possible to identify the two dominant themes of the *Hexaemeron*. The first is the recurrent theme of God's 'beyondness'. Take, for example, the beginning of section IV (873–898) which states that while God himself is beyond knowledge, it is in his 'energy' (creative activity) that God makes himself known to the world. By closely examining the Creation, from the celestial bodies to the smallest of animals, we may begin to understand the perfect design of all things created and stand in awe at the Creator's unfathomable wisdom. However, as the end of section VI (1678–1719) makes clear, there are limits to human knowledge: proceeding further and further in a seemingly unstoppable ascension to the source of all wisdom, with a growing understanding of the laws of the universe and the wonders of nature, the inquisitive mind comes to realize that, however hard it tries to understand God, in the end the gates of heaven remain hermetically sealed. God is unknowable.

[109] For an excellent study of this part of the *Hexaemeron*, see BIANCHI 1966.

As brilliantly shown by Gonnelli, closely connected to this idea of the unknowable Creator allowing limited knowledge of his Creation to inquisitive minds, such as the poet himself, is the image of God as a grammarian imparting knowledge to his pupils and supervising their intellectual progress (vv. 598–628 and 1625–1641).[110] This remarkable metaphor combines the opening verse of *Genesis* with that of the *Gospel of John*: 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth' and 'In the beginning was the Word'. It turns creation into a discursive act, and knowledge of it into something that can be acquired through a cognitive process. The metaphor also draws attention to the *Hexaemeron* as a literary creation. Just as God, the ultimate grammarian, composed his creation as a cleverly constructed text, so too does Pisides, the latter-day grammarian, compose his meta-textual commentary on this very first text. He is rewriting it, and in his crafty hands, creation itself becomes a palimpsest.

The second theme is that of the Resurrection of Christ which heralds a new beginning — a new creation, a new humanity. It is there in the allegorical interpretation of the silkworm's transformation and the swallow as the traditional messenger of spring and Easter, followed by a long diatribe against those who deny the truth of the resurrection (vv. 1251–1468). And even more significantly, it is the central message of Patriarch Sergios' invocation of God (vv. 1720–91) which, almost seamlessly, leads up to the prayer on behalf of Emperor Herakleios, the 'saviour of the world', under whose rule the whole world will once again be unified — earth imitating heaven, one ruler under one God (vv. 1792–1806).[111] Paradise regained.

Given that hexaemeral homilies are read during Lent, it is not at all surprising that Pisides should have chosen to emphasize the theme of the resurrection of man. In fact, there can be no doubt that the *Hexaemeron* was intended to be declaimed in Lent: in lines 1822–34 Patriarch Sergios is said to be praying in silence because he is ἰσχνόφωνος ἐξ ἀσιτίας, 'weak-voiced from fasting' — a clear reference to the forty-day period of fasting and penance observed by Christians in spiritual preparation for Easter.[112] Since the text is too long to be declaimed in its entirety, it is reasonable to assume that the reading of the *Hexaemeron*, like that of other panegyric texts of Pisides, was spread over more than one reading session. The internal structure of the text strongly suggests that there may have been six ἀκροάσεις, corresponding to the six sections of the *Hexaemeron*, each of an average length of ca. 200 to 300 lines (with the exception of the section on zoology which in its present state has 378 lines). If this is true,

[110] See Gonnelli 1990.

[111] On the political implications of the concept of the new creation in Pisides' literary works, see Olster 1991: 161–164; Olster 1994: 61–62; Whitby 1994: 214; and Whitby 1995: 128–129. See also my analysis of Pisides' panegyric *In resurrectionem*: chapter 10, p. 34.

[112] See Gonnelli 1995: 134–135 and Whitby 1995: 125–127.

then the *Hexaemeron* may literally have been a hexaemeron, a didactic poem with panegyrical overtones read on six consecutive days, from Monday to Saturday.

The last part of the section on zoology (vv. 1125–1250) deals with very small creatures, such as the mole, the sea urchin, the bee, the spider, the mosquito, the ant, the egg and the locust — all of which demonstrate that the Creator has taken care of even the tiniest details in the overall scheme of things (see especially lines 1233–1250).[113] All that exists is beautiful:

τίς τοὺς ἀράχνας λεπτοδακτύλους πλάσας
νήθειν διδάσκει καὶ πρὸς ἔργα τοὺς μίτους
ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐντέρων ἀναπτύειν;
ποίᾳ δὲ τέχνῃ γραμμικῇ πρὸς τὰς βάσεις
βάλλουσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ προτείνουσιν δέσεις,
μέσῳ δὲ κέντρῳ τὰς ἐπάρσεις τῶν μίτων
κύκλους ἀπαρτίζουσιν ἠκριβωμένους,
καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ κενοῦ διαστάσει
στύλους ὑφαρμόζουσιν ἀντισυνθέτους,
ὅπως τὸ μηχάνημα τῆς λεπτουργίας
ὡς ἐξ ἀράχνου συντεθὲν μὴ συμπέσῃ;
ὃς διττὸν ἔργον ἐξ ἑνὸς ποιεῖ μίτου·
λίνα πρὸς ἄγραν καὶ πρὸς οἴκησιν στέγην.
ὃν ἐντρεπέσθω πᾶς τις ἀφρόνως λέγων
ὕλην ἄναρχον· εἰ γὰρ ὕλην οὐκ ἔχων
σκώληξ ὑφαίνει, τὴν μὲν ὕλην δευτέραν,
πρωτοχρόνους δὲ τοὺς ἀράχνας λεκτέον
ὡς τῶν ἐνύλων ἀρχιτέκτονας μίτων.

‘Who made spiders slender-fingered and taught them to spin and send forth threads for their web from their own bowels? And what geometry is this that enables them to lay the foundations at the bottom, extend the connections, thicken the yarns at the very centre and turn them into perfect circles, and build a grid of supports in between the empty spaces, so that this structure of gossamer fabric, though spider-produced, may not collapse? Spiders make two things from one yarn: a hunting-net and a place to stay. Shame on anyone who insanely claims that matter is without beginning! For if their spinneret weaves without having materials, then one should say that matter comes second and that spiders, as architects of material threads, are first in time’.[114]

The spider is a marvellous creature to look at: it creates its own architectonic structures, fragile and delicate, but perfectly geometric — and it is wonderful to

[113] See Gonnelli 1996: 112–115 and Tartaglia 2005: 43–44.
[114] Ed. Gonnelli 1998: 194–196 (vv. 1151–1168) and Tartaglia 1998: 380.

see how it produces the tender threads of its web out of its own bowels, *ex nihilo* so to speak, just as God created heaven and earth from nothing. This is therefore damning proof of the wrongness of the Aristotelian belief that matter is eternal: there is a beginning, a moment in time for the creation of the world. Already in the prologue (vv. 60–80) Pisides had fulminated against Proklos, the Neo-Platonist philosopher, for stating that the world is eternal: 'listen', he says, 'to the great power of small words' (v. 65) — and these small words are the words of Scripture which famously puts creation in motion with the simple and majestic 'In the beginning ...'. In similar fashion Basil the Great, one of the sources used by Pisides, launches in his first *Homily on the Hexaemeron* (I, §2) a frontal attack on pagan philosophers who, failing to understand the wisdom of 'In the beginning ...', still cling to the misguided idea that matter is eternal. Interestingly enough, Basil compares their contradictory writings on cosmology with a 'spider's web' (ἱστὸν ἀράχνης ὑφαίνουσιν) — so tenuous and contrived are their arguments. Pisides re-uses the image of the spider's web, but with an unexpected twist. Whereas the metaphor in Basil the Great's homily denotes the frailty of the pagan arguments, Pisides presents the spider's web as a sublime homage to God the Creator.

Whilst the theological interpretation of the spider and its web indirectly derives from Basil the Great, the zoological details ultimately go back to Aelian (*De natura animalium*, I, §21). And the somewhat superfluous remark about spiders building their web as 'a hunting-net and a place to stay', which seems to disrupt the flow of the argument, goes back to the *Second Theological Oration* of Gregory of Nazianzos (*Or.* 28, §25). This kind of intertextual bricolage is typical of didactic poetry in general: all that is good is worth repeating, again and again. But this does not mean that the poets do not add anything of their own. The components Pisides uses here may be heterogeneous, but the assemblage is his and his alone.

The bricolage does not stop here. Pisides' spider was re-used and re-assembled by later authors, such as Mitylenaios and Philes.[115] While Philes' literary imitation stays on the surface (it is confined to some textual borrowings and figures of speech), Mitylenaios creates a new hexaemeral celebration of the spider and his web. Not only does he borrow extensively from the *Hexaemeron*, but like Pisides he finds in the geometrical and architectural skills of the spider a confirmation of the infinite wisdom and beauty of God's Creation; the only thing missing is the attack on the pagan belief in the eternity of the world. There are four strands of beast literature in learned Byzantine Greek: Aesopic (with animal characters speaking and acting), allegorical (above all, the *Physiologos*), zoo-

[115] Mitylenaios' poem 122: see De la Fuente 2004: 96–99 and Bernard 2014: 173–175. Philes, *De proprietate animalium*, 1464–1487: see Caramico 2006: 205.

logical (imitators of Aristotle and Aelian), and hexaemeral (church fathers and later theologians). Philes clearly belongs to the zoological tradition, and Pisides and Mitylenaios to the hexaemeral one.[116] But there is constant cross-pollination between these four strands: it is a swarm of bees collecting nectar from everywhere, Philes from Pisides and Pisides from Aelian.

It is worth noting that Mitylenaios calls his imitation of Pisides' spider passage a 'hymn' (poem 122, v. 13) and expresses his wish to 'praise' God (vv. 15–16); in other words, he presents his poem as encomiastic. Similarly the anonymous book epigram appended at the end of the *Hexaemeron* (see above) refers to 'hymns of wise contemplation'. The hexaemeral tradition in general has a clear tendency to glorify God and his Creation: despite all the breath-taking theology and the subtle arguments, the homilies of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos are basically doxologies of the greatness and goodness of God, the wise architect of the universe.

This raises the question of genre. Is the *Hexaemeron* a hymn? Is it an encomiastic text? A doxology perhaps? Are the six sections of the poem in fact a set of homilies celebrating God's intelligent design? It is certainly true that the *Hexaemeron* glorifies the Creator in similar fashion to that seen in doxological hymns and homilies. But the amount of knowledge transmitted in this marvellous poem exceeds by far the limits of a pure doxology.[117] There is simply too much Aristotle, Aelian, Neoplatonists (including the odious Proklos), & co., for it to be just another celebration of the Almighty. The *Hexaemeron* does more than glorify: it offers information on a wide range of topics, provides moral guidance and sets the intellectual agenda. For all its rich layers of doxology and apophatic rhetoric, this is beyond doubt a didactic poem — albeit a rather unusual one.

What sets it apart from other didactic poems, is not that it combines knowledge of the universe with praise of its Creator. In fact, mixing of genres is the rule in Byzantium and elsewhere: 'pure' genres, untainted by foreign elements, dull as hell, thankfully do not exist. The main difference from other didactic poems is that the *Hexaemeron* does not instruct, but teaches by example. Most didactic poems address a pupil (or group of pupils) and tend to recreate a real or virtual classroom setting: 'you should know', 'let me tell you', 'please note'. The *Hexaemeron* does not. It describes the learning process of the narrating voice. It tells us how the poet went to school and studied with God, the formidable grammarian of the universe, who imparts knowledge of the grammatical surface structures, but not of the deep structures which remain hidden from sight. It tells us of the poet's endeavours to understand God in the smallest wonders He has created and ascend

[116] See Gonnelli 1996: 115–118.

[117] On the level of *paideia* displayed by Pisides in the *Hexaemeron*, see above all Bianchi 1965–66; see also Bianchi 1966, Frendo 1974 and Frendo 1975.

in knowledge to the outer edges of the universe, only to discover that there are limits to human knowledge. Spiritual and intellectual transcendence is impossible: God is the one beyond knowing. However, while on this journey of exploration through Creation to the Creator, the poet offers a detailed account of the knowable world. Although he does not address his readers and listeners directly, it is clear that he is conveying knowledge to an implied audience. So he is teaching after all. The reason why he does not put himself in the role of teacher, as other writers of didactic material tend to do, is simply that it would be presumptuous to pretend to have all the answers. The poet is learning as much as he is teaching.

*Chapter Nineteen*

# METAPHRASIS

This is what Patriarch Photios has to say about Empress Eudokia's reworking of the Octateuch in verse: 'Though in hexameter, it is as clear as a poem can ever be and it follows the rules of the art in minute detail, with one exception which is greatly to the credit of those who wish to adapt texts while staying close [to the original]: it does not seek to soothe the ears of youngsters with fictional tales (μύθοις) that distort the truth as the poets are wont to do, nor does it distract the audience from the subject with elaborations and digressions, but it turns the ancient writings so fittingly into verse that whoever reads it, will not need [the source texts]. In fact, it retains the proper meanings without ever omitting or adding anything, and in its wording, too, it aims at proximity and similarity wherever possible'.[1] As Eudokia's metrical adaptation is lost,[2] we cannot check whether this is a fair and accurate assessment of her qualities as a metaphrast; nonetheless, it offers an insight into what qualities Photios thought a proper metaphrasis should possess: above all, fidelity to the source text; similarity of wording; stylistic clarity; avoidance of poetic frills and rhetorical amplification; and a sense of moral rectitude. It also displays his usual bias against poetry, which he accuses of being full of sweet lies and empty words: not the kind of thing he as a guardian of orthodoxy can condone or even tolerate.[3] Ἄπαγε! Since lessons in poetry, especially Homer, formed the basis of the Byzantine school curriculum, there was a general suspicion (not confined to Photios) that it was not serious.[4]

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[1] R. HENRY, Photius. Bibliothèque, tome II. Paris 1960, 195–196 (cod. 183): σαφὴς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόνος ὡς ἐν ἡρῴῳ μέτρῳ εἴ πού τις ἄλλος, καὶ νόμοις δὲ τῆς τέχνης βαθύνεται, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ταύτης ἐλλείπων, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστιν εἰς ἔπαινον τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀμείβειν λόγους ἀξιούντων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ ποιητικῇ μύθοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τρέπων ἡδύνειν σπουδάζει μειρακίων ὦτα, οὔτε ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαπλανᾷ τοῦ προκειμένου, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω περὶ πόδα τὸ μέτρον ἔθετο τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὡς μηδὲν ἐκείνων δεῖσθαι τὸν τούτοις ἐνομιλοῦντα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ διανοίας οὔτε παρατείνων οὔτε συστέλλων ἀεὶ φυλάσσει κυρίας, καὶ ταῖς λέξεσι δέ, ὅπου δυνατόν, τὴν ἐγγύτητα καὶ ὁμοιότητα συνδιαφυλάσσει.

[2] Her metaphraseis of the Prophets Zachariah and Daniel which, according to Photios (cod. 184), showed the same qualities as the Octateuch one, are unfortunately also lost.

[3] See B. BALDWIN, *BMGS* 4 (1978) 9–14 (repr. Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language. Amsterdam 1984, 397–402) and *Aevum* 60 (1986) 218–222 (repr. Roman and Byzantine Papers. Amsterdam 1989, 334–338).

[4] See BERNARD 2014: 209–251, esp. 213–215.

Poetry was a child's thing. Precisely because grown men were thought to prefer prose to poetry, there is something inherently subversive about turning the prose of the Octateuch into verse. This is probably why Photios at the beginning of his entry on Eudokia reassures his male readers that writing metrical metaphraseis is, if not childish, quite womanish: 'That this is the work of a woman, one who used to indulge in court pleasures, and that it is so good, is truly remarkable'.[5]

It is worth noting that Photios, when referring to the seductive power of poetry in the context of metaphrasis, specifically mentions 'fictional tales' (μύθοις), because μῦθος (fable), together with χρεία (anecdote) and γνώμη (saying), is a basic writing exercise in Byzantine schools. The purpose of these three progymnasmata is to teach pupils how to adapt stories and rewrite them, from one stylistic register to another, from prose to verse (and vice versa), from bathos to pathos (and vice versa), from simple to adorned and verbose (and vice versa). The palimpsestic culture of rewriting is by definition anti-canonical: there is not one story, but a multitude of stories; not one voice, but a whole choir of disputing voices; not one truth, but a range of conflicting claims to truth.[6] A fable is no one's possession, it can be told and retold in manifold ways and there is no fixed text. Each scribe can and will rewrite the text.

It is this lack of canonical status and stable text tradition that explains why Photios is so eager to emphasize that empress Eudokia's poem is so unlike other metrical metaphraseis: hers at least adheres to the original wording and does not add or remove anything of substance. Had her metaphrasis not been a faithful rendering of the original, it would lack scriptural authority and change its authorial nature to such an extent that it would no longer be God's word, but Eudokia's. That is the danger of metaphrasis: if it radically alters the text, it threatens to challenge the twin notions of authorship and authority.

Rewriting is called both παράφρασις and μετάφρασις in Greek; there is no distinction between the two terms. The ancient rhetorician Theon (dates vary between the first and the fifth centuries AD)[7] defines παράφρασις as follows: 'Paraphrasis consists of changing the form of expression while keeping the thoughts: it is also called metaphrasis (μετάφρασις). There are four main kinds: variation in syntax, by addition, by subtraction, and by substitution, plus combinations of these'.[8] In an interpolated passage in Choiroboskos we read:

[5] Ὅπερ ὅτι καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ βασιλείᾳ τρυφώσης καὶ οὕτω καλόν, ἄξιον θαυμάσαι.

[6] See LAUXTERMANN 2014b.

[7] See M. HEATH, *GRBS* 43 (2002–03) 129–160.

[8] Ed. M. PATILLON and G. BOLOGNESI, Aelius Théon. Progymnasmata. Paris 1997, 107–108. The translation is borrowed from G.A. KENNEDY, Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric. Leiden 2003, 70. The passage in Theon has been preserved in Armenian translation; but John of Sardis still had access to the original Greek text: see RESH 2015: 756–760.

'Metaphrasis is the changing of words by substitution (κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν), by addition (πλειόνων) or by subtraction (ἐλαττόνων), with rhetorical embellishments, just as the Metaphrast shows us in his metaphraseis; paraphrasis is the changing of words by substitution only, as in: μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά, which paraphrased says: τὴν ὀργὴν εἰπὲ ὦ Μοῦσα'.[9] This is a fine distinction, but one apparently unknown to the vast majority of late antique and Byzantine scholars who tend to use the terms interchangeably. If there is a difference, it is one of mere chronology: in titles of literary works the term παράφρασις is more common in Antiquity than it is in Byzantium, which is more inclined to use the term μετάφρασις. As we see, Theon and Ps. Choiroboskos are basically in agreement on the techniques of paraphrasis/metaphrasis: it is a mixture of variation, amplification and abridgement. Variation consists in changing the word order, the stylistic register and the vocabulary; amplification means using more words and adding rhetorical flourishes; and abridgement results in fewer words for more impact.[10]

Metaphrasis is not a literary genre, it is a technique. Though most Byzantinists associate this technique with hagiographical rewritings (the metaphrastic corpus) and adaptations of literary texts in more simple Greek (Syntipas, Anna Komnene, Choniates, Blemmydes, etc.),[11] it is much more common than generally thought. In a highly rhetorical and imitative culture such as Byzantium, rewriting is deeply engrained in the social fabric and affects all forms of discourse. Most of these rewritings are in prose, but some are in verse. Among the versified metaphraseis one may distinguish the following types:

(1) fables: see below

(2) apophthegmata: see below

(3) gnomes: see vol. I, chapter 8

(4) gospel texts: see below

(5) biblical poetry: Psalms: Ps. Apollinaris[12], Philes[13]; Odes: John Geometres[14]

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[9] Ed. C. WALZ, Rhetores Graeci, vol. VIII. Stuttgart 1835, 812–813. The interpolation probably dates to the late twelfth or thirteenth century: see RESH 2015: 764–781. See also C. HØGEL, Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization. Copenhagen 2012, 58–59.

[10] For theoretical approaches to paraphrasis/metaphrasis in Antiquity and Byzantium, see ROBERTS 1995: 5–60, ZUCKER 2011 and RESH 2015. See also MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO 2008: 309–316.

[11] See C. HØGEL (ed.), Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography. Oslo 1996, and S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ and B. FLUSIN (eds.), Remanier, métaphraser: fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin. Belgrade 2011.

[12] See J. GOLEGA, Der homerische Psalter. Ettal 1960.

[13] See G. STICKLER, Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase. Vienna 1992.

[14] Ed. DE GROOTE 2004a; see DE GROOTE 2004b.

(6) the Creed: Digenes Akrites G,[15] Ps. John of Damascus,[16] Markos Mamounas[17]

(7) hymns: Psellos,[18] Philes,[19] Pediasimos and Symeon of Thessalonica[20]

(8) saints' lives: Leo VI,[21] John Geometres,[22] John Kommerkiarios,[23] and others[24]

(9) didactic material: see previous chapter

(10) rhetorical prose: Merkourios the Grammarian, Philes.[25]

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[15] See JEFFREYS 1998: xlii and 54 (3.171–190).

[16] See J.M. HOECK, *OCP* 17 (1951) 5–60, at 20, n. 2 (no. 9).

[17] Ed. G.TH. ZORAS, in: Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον, vol. III. Athens 1966, 186–197.

[18] Ed. T. MANIATI, *Diptycha* 1 (1979) 194–238 and WESTERINK 1992: 286–294 (Psellos 24): metaphrasis of Kosmas the Melode's kanon for Good Friday. See LAURITZEN 2013–14.

[19] Ed. MILLER 1855–57: II, 317–333 (Appendix 1): metaphrasis of the Akathistos. Ed. E. TSOLAKIS, *Hell* 24 (1971) 321–336, at 335–336: metaphrasis of three troparia, see S. KOTZABASSI, *Hell* 45 (1995) 359–362, at 359–360.

[20] See D. SKREKAS, Translations and Paraphrases of Liturgical Poetry in Late Byzantine Thessalonica, in: A. RHOBY and N. ZAGKLAS (eds), Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Texts and Contexts (forthcoming).

[21] Ed. ANTONOPOULOU 2008: 345–369 (no. 26); see also ANTONOPOULOU 1997: 126–129 and 268–271.

[22] Ed. STERNBACH 1892b; for variant readings see PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1899b. For an excellent study of this text, see DEMOEN 2004.

[23] Ed. STERNBACH 1900b: 319–322. The poem breaks off at v. 90 because of a lacuna in the ms. John Kommerkiarios is not a bishop: $\alpha^{\theta\rho}$ in the title stands for πρωτοσπαθάριος, not πρωτοθρόνος. Since most poems in Par. Suppl. gr. 690 date from the ninth and tenth centuries, his *Life of St Mary of Egypt* probably does too.

[24] For a good overview of metrical saints' lives, passiones and encomia, see EFTHYMIADIS 2014. Saints' lives and homilies in prose occasionally contain passages in unprosodic verse: for example, *Life of Epiphanius of Salamis*: ed. C. RAPP, *RSBN* 27 (1990) 3–31; Anastasios Sinaites' *Homily on the Transfiguration*: ed. A. GUILLOU, *Mélanges d' archéologie et d'histoire* 67 (1955) 215–258, at 256.9–257.1 (21 octosyllables); Germanos I's *Homily on the Presentation of the Virgin*: see MERCATI 1970: I, 25–43; Ps. John of Damascus' *Homily on Those who Died in Faith*: *PG* 95, 257–260; Michael Synkellos' *Homily on the Angels*: ed. F. COMBEFIS, Graecolatinorum Patrum Bibliothecae Novum Auctarium. Paris 1648, vol. I, 1577–1580; for prosimetrum in Southern Italian hagiography, see E. FOLLIERI, *RSBN* 24 (1987) 127–141. For metrical prefaces to saints' lives, see ANTONOPOULOU 2010; please note that the oldest examples date from the 10th c.: see Anon. Patrician 34 and 35, ed. VASSIS 2015: 342–343, cf. 353–354.

[25] For Merkourios' metaphrasis of Ps. Chrysostom's homily *BHG* 1128f, see ANTONOPOULOU 2017: 75–84. For Philes, see MILLER 1855–57: II, 336–337 (Appendix 3) [Lucian, *Herodotus*, §5 and beginning of §6] and 273–275 (Vatic. 14) [St Basil, *Homily on the Famine and Drought*, §7: *PG* 31, 321B–D]. Rewritings of rhetorical prose (Aelian, Plutarch, Achilles Tatius, Libanius and, once again, Lucian), including church fathers (Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa,

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## *Fables*

No literary genre lends itself more to metaphrasis than the fable, a genre that is in a constant process of transformation, from prose to verse and back again: Plato (*Phaedo* 60d) tells us that Socrates set some of Aesop's fables to verse while on death row; Quintillian (*Orat*. 1.9.2) advises pupils to learn the rhetorical metier by turning verse fables into prose. Quintillian's pupils were certainly not the only ones to be asked to adapt fables: in fact, it was a common practice in the Roman Empire and its cultural heirs, including Byzantium.[26] The main reason why we have so many different collections of fables is their continued use as didactic material, from Hellenistic times until the end of the Byzantine Empire and beyond.[27]

Fables in Greek are usually named after Aesop, their putative creator, though it is certain that most fables are of much later date. Choliambic fables bear the name of Babrius, an author of the Roman period (probably second century AD). Traditional wisdom has it that the many manuscripts that contain Aesopic fables can be divided into four different *recensiones* on the basis of shared material and common readings: the 'Augustana' (probably late antique, but dates vary)[28]; the 'Vindobonensis' (possibly 11th-c., but perhaps earlier);[29] the 'Accursiana' (almost certainly the work of Planoudes);[30] and the so-called 'Bodleian Paraphrase', prose translations of Babrius (date unknown; but all the manuscripts are late Byzantine).[31] The same traditional wisdom has it that the fables of the 'Bodleian Paraphrase' were retranslated into verse at some stage and then entered the 'recensio Vindobonensis'.[32] Nothing of the above stands up to scrutiny. The basic problem is that the stemmatic model does not work in an open text tradition: every

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and, once again, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great), are also very common in schedographic exercises: see VASSIS 2002b: 43–44.

[26] For the Roman Empire, see T. MORGAN, Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds. Cambridge 1998, 121, 138 and 221–223; for Western Europe, see, e.g., E.R. CURTIUS, La littérature Européenne et le moyen age latin. Paris 1956, 59–62; for the role of Aesop in Byzantine schools, see the steady production of progymnasmata and schedographic exercises that make use of fables (for example, VASSIS 2002b: nos 17, 18, 23, 42, 43, 46, 50, 92, 96 and 115).

[27] For a useful overview of fables and fable collections in Byzantium, see VAN DIJK 2002.

[28] For the various datings, see LUZZATTO 1983: 137–150.

[29] See PERRY 1936: 185–190.

[30] See G. KARLA, *BZ* 96 (2003) 661–669 and A. GUIDA, *Νέα Ῥώμη* 5 (2008) 333–356.

[31] VAIO 1984: 222 rightly estimates that 80–85% of the Bodleian Paraphrase derives from Babrius.

[32] See PERRY 1936: 174–204.

manuscript offers its own unique text and scribes are free to use more than one source, which leads to continuous contamination of the text tradition. And although one can certainly distinguish groups of manuscripts with much material in common (recensiones), in the end all one is left with are individual choices and idiosyncratic readings. To put it bluntly: as none of the Aesopic manuscripts dates from before the year 1000, the Aesop that has come down to us is a collective of Byzantine authors.

As for the dodecasyllabic metaphraseis, while it is true that many of these are versified adaptations of fables found in the Bodleian Paraphrase, this is not true of all of them. Some are; others are not.[33] It is also worth noting that there is no established corpus of metrical metaphraseis: the manuscripts differ greatly in order and content, and for many fables there is more than one metaphrasis. Some forty metaphraseis are scattered in manuscripts that are thought to belong to the recensio Vindobonensis (mss. C in Chambry's edition, including Ch = Vindob. Hist. gr. 130 [71007], after which the recensio is named[34]); another twenty-seven —not all of them recognizable as verse— are found in Vat. gr. 777 [67408] (Mb in Chambry); seven have come down to us in Par. gr. 1685 [51309] (Pd in Chambry); and twenty-eight metaphraseis that do not derive from Babrius or the Bodleian Paraphrase, have been transmitted in Par. Suppl. gr. 105 [52875] (Cd in Chambry).[35] These metaphraseis are in unprosodic dodecasyllables.[36] There are obvious metrical differences: Cd (291 vv.) has the caesura after the seventh syllable (B7) in 41.2% of all cases, which is very high: compare mss. C (515 vv.) 3.7%; Mb (322 vv.) 11.2%; and Pd (37 vv) 10.8%. As for the avoidance of an oxytone stress accent before B7 (7ox), it is Mb that strongly differs from the other three: Mb has 7ox in 8.3% of all cases, which shows a lack of metrical competence: compare mss. C and Pd, both 0%, and Cd 2.5%. So we are not dealing with one collection of dodecasyllabic fables produced at some point by some Byzantine poet, but with a corpus of texts produced by a whole host of verse-mongers over many centuries, and obviously not all of them will have been translating exactly the same source text (Bodleian Paraphrase, Babrius, the Aesopic recensiones), nor will their metaphraseis all have ended up in one and the same branch of the manuscript tradition. The traditional monolithic and undifferentiated approach to the metrical metaphraseis is unhelpful and it is high time that we started seeing

[33] See VAIO 1984: 208–214; LUZZATTO 1986: xxxviii–xxxix, lxxiii and lxxvii–lxxxiii; ADRADOS 2000: 463–491.

[34] The verse fables in Ch were published by F. FEDDE, Über eine noch nicht edirte Sammlung äsopischer Fabeln, nach einer Wiener Handschrift. Programm des Gymnasiums zu St. Elisabet, Breslau 1877.

[35] CHAMBRY 1925–26. See VAIO 1984: 206.

[36] For a metrical study of Ch (Fedde's manuscript, Vindob. Hist. gr. 130), see URSING 1930: 7–14.

them as part of a continuous process of adapting and rewriting Aesopic material in Byzantium.

Since scribes are at liberty to change the text of fables, strictly speaking each Aesopic rendering is as old as the manuscript that transmits it. This means that all the metrical metaphraseis in Chambry's edition are late Byzantine or even post-Byzantine given that none of the manuscripts he used are older than the thirteenth century. However, it is also clear that these metaphraseis, whatever changes they underwent in the process, go back to a centuries-old tradition. Traces of this tradition can even be detected in the oldest manuscript of Aesopic fables to have come down to us: the famous ms. Pierpont Morgan 397 [46625] (early 11th c.), formerly in the library of the Grottaferrata monastery. The first example is a 'Babrian' fable, also transmitted in two different versions of the Bodleian Paraphrase (Chambry 136a and 136c) and as a dodecasyllabic metaphrasis (Chambry 136b; ms. Mb). The Pierpont Morgan version is dodecasyllabic and unprosodic, but as it has two oxytone verse endings (ἐπιστραφεὶς and ἐκμανεὶς in vv. 2 and 8) and one example of elision of a verb ending (ὡρέξατ' in v. 4), it clearly goes back to an earlier version in iambic trimeter.[37] However, as things stand, the Pierpont Morgan version of this fable (The Kite and the Serpent) is somewhere in between iambic trimeter and dodecasyllable: it is a hybrid with potential.

The second example is a dodecasyllabic metaphrasis of the fable of the middle-aged scrounger and his two mistresses, the younger of whom plucks out his grey hairs and the older his dark hairs, resulting in his premature baldness (Chambry 52d). This is the version of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript with some minor corrections[38]:

Ὤν τις ἀμέριμνος καὶ τρυφαῖς σχολάζων,
οὐκ ἦν πρεσβύτης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νέος πάλιν,
λευκὰς δὲ εἶχε καὶ μελαίνας τὰς τρίχας.
ὡς μεσῆλιξ ὤν, ἔσχετο θηλειῶν δύο
μιᾶς μὲν πρεσβύτιδος, ἑτέρας δὲ νεάνιδος.
εἰσήρχετο δὲ πρὸς τὴν γραῦν, καὶ ἐκείνη
ἔτιλλεν αὐτοῦ τὰς τρίχας τὰς μελαίνας
συγγέροντα θέλουσα ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν,
ὡς δὲ εἰσήρχετο πάλιν πρὸς τὴν νέαν,

[37] Ed. E.M. Husselman, *TAPhA* 66 (1935) 104–126, at 124–125. See Vaio 1984: 205 and Luzzatto 1986: lxviii, n. 1.

[38] The version below is the text of Chambry 52d: ed. Chambry 1925–26: 120–121, with the alternative readings of Pierpont Morgan 397, as reported by Perry 1936: 145. I have kept τρυφαῖς in line 1 and τὰς in line 3: Pierpont Morgan 397 has τροφαῖς and omits τὰς.

ἐξέτιλλεν καὶ αὐτὴ τὰς λευκὰς τρίχας
ἕως φαλακρὸν ἀπέδωκαν ἀλλήλαις.

'An idler, enjoying the good life, who was not old nor young either, had both grey and dark hair. In midlife he kept two women, one old and one young. Whenever he visited the old lady, she would pluck out his dark hairs because she wanted to see him old like herself; and whenever he visited the young lady, she would pluck out his grey hairs, until each in turn had left him bald'.

This is pretty miserable poetry. Hypermetric lines in v. 4 (unless we read θηλειῶν with synizesis) and v. 5; caesura after the sixth syllable in vv. 1 and 9; oxytone verse ending in v. 8; hiatus in vv. 3, 6, 8, 9 and 10; and a horrible enjambment at vv. 6–7. It has the feel of prose, and I would not be surprised if the Pierpont Morgan poetaster is translating a prose version of Babrius into verse, though it cannot be excluded that it is the other way around and that this is a halfway attempt to prosify a verse text. As rightly pointed out by Vaio, both the metrical metaphrasis (Chambry 52d) and the Bodleian Paraphrase (Chambry 52b) retain elements of the original Babrian version, which strongly suggests that they independently go back to a common source: either Babrius himself or an adaptation of Babrius.[39] In other words, the prose paraphrasis is not the source of the metrical metaphrasis, nor is it the other way around, which only goes to show how incredibly complicated the manuscript tradition of Aesop is, and how unsatisfactory the secondary bibliography on Aesop in Byzantium.

We are on safer ground with the fable quatrains of Ignatios the Deacon, the so-called *Tetrasticha*.[40] These are metaphraseis of Babrius: four fables are not known to us in a Babrian version, but that is probably because Ignatios had access to a fuller collection of Babrian fables than we do.[41] Precisely because the *Tetrasticha* are adaptations of Babrian fables, they are usually attributed to Babrius (or Babrias, Gabrias, Babrikios, etc.) in later manuscripts; there are only five manuscripts that attribute the *Tetrasticha* to Ignatios (or to Ignatios and Babrius).[42] In Par. gr. 2991a [52634] the heading is Ἰγνατίου διακόνου τετράστιχα δι᾽ ἰάμβων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Βαβρίου αἰσωπικῶν μεταφρασθέντα καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπαλείφοντα; in Vindob. Phil. gr. 178 [71292] Βαβρίου ἐν ἐπιτομῇ μεταγραφὲν

[39] Vaio 1984: 210–213.

[40] Published three times: Müller 1886, Müller 1897 and Van Dijk 2000. Van Dijk reproduces Müller's edition, with en face Dutch translation and a commentary.

[41] For nos 1.8 and 1.22 there is no parallel in other fable collections; no. 1.24 exists in Syriac and in a Greek translation from Syriac (the fables of Syntipas); and no. 1.42 is found in collections of Aesop. See Van Dijk 1996: 176–177. Adrados 2000: 493–515 needlessly speculates that Ignatios the Deacon made use of fable collections older than that of Babrius and now lost; but he does not explain why, that being the case, all the manuscripts make mention of Babrius.

[42] To the four mentioned by Müller 1897: 254–257 and Wolska-Conus 1970: 337, add Marc. gr. 524 [69995] (s. XIII ex.), fol. 88$^{r}$: νουθεσίαι Ἰγνατίου καὶ Βαβρικίου.

ὑπὸ Ἰγνατίου μαγίστορος; the other three mss. simply attribute the collection to a certain Ignatios. Since we know of only one poet called Ignatios bearing the titles 'deacon' and 'magistor', it is reasonable to assume that he is the one meant.[43] The oldest manuscripts date from the thirteenth century, but the *Tetrasticha* were known to Tzetzes in the twelfth century[44] and were inscribed below depictions of fables in Eski Gümüş, an eleventh-century courtyard complex in Cappadocia.[45] Apart from the collection of 45 genuine *Tetrasticha* (nos 1.1–45)[46], the manuscripts also contain later imitations, some of which are prosodic (nos 1.46–57, 2.1–17 and 2.28) while others are unprosodic (nos 2.18–26 and 2.27 & 29–32).[47] These later imitations are adaptations both of Babrian and Aesopic fables,[48] with two exceptions that seem to be original contributions (nos 2.7 and 28).

One of these later imitations is a reworking of the Babrian fable of the middle-aged man and his two mistresses discussed above:

Ἐρωμένας δύ' εἶχεν ἀνὴρ μιξόθριξ·
χρόνῳ διενηνοχυῖα πάντῃ καὶ τρόπῳ
ἡ μὲν μελαίνας, ἡ δὲ λευκὰς ἔκφερον,
ἐξ ὧν ψιλωθεὶς πᾶσιν ὡράθη γέλως.

'A man had two hair colours and two mistresses: wholly different in age and character, the one would remove his dark, and the other his grey hairs, thanks to which he turned bald and became the laughing-stock of all'.[49]

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[43] *Pace* WOLSKA-CONUS 1970. See MARENGHI 1957, VAN DIJK 1996: 163–164, and MANGO 1997: 14.

[44] Tzetzes quotes Ignatios the Deacon's fable quatrain 1.4 at *Histories* 13.486–490 and attributes it to Babrius; at *Histories* 13.251–265 he quotes the real Babrius, adding that he is quoting from the choliambic, not the iambic fables of Babrius: what he means by the 'iambic fables of Babrius' are Ignatios the Deacon's *Tetrasticha*.

[45] See vol. I, chapter 8, p. 259, and RHOBY 2009–2018: vol. II, 403–406 (Add. 19–21). For the eleventh-century date of Eski Gümüş, see N. THIERRY, *Journal des Savants* 1 (1968) 45–61; L. RODLEY, Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia. Cambridge 1985, 113–118; and A.J. WHARTON, *ODB*, s.v. Eski Gümüş.

[46] No. 45 should be placed between nos 13 and 14. While nos 1.1–45 can be found in almost all manuscripts, and usually in more or less the same order, nos 1.46–57 and 2.1–32 are scattered in a restricted number of manuscripts without much consistency: see the tables in MÜLLER 1897: 260–263.

[47] While MÜLLER 1897 considers 1.46–57 to be prosodic, which is right, he incorrectly assumes that 2.1–17 and 28 are unprosodic, which is why they are put in the same category as the certainly unprosodic ones, 2.18–27 and 29–32. See the justified criticisms in VAN DIJK 1996: 164–165.

[48] Babrian fables: 1.46–47, 50, 53–57, 2.2, 4–5, 10–11, 14, 16, 19, 23–26, 27, 29–32. Aesopic fables: 1.48–49, 51–52, 2.1, 3, 6, 8–9, 12–13, 15, 17, 18, 20–22. See VAN DIJK 1996: 177–178.

[49] No. 1.54. Ed. MÜLLER 1897: 284 and VAN DIJK 2000: 28.

Van Dijk rightly calls the *Tetrasticha* 'stenographic fable reports'. Because of the metrical straightjacket and the procrustean dimensions of the quatrain, they are extremely compact and leave out essential information such as the reason for the erratic behaviour of the two ladies, namely that each wanted her lover to be as old or young as she herself was.[50] On the other hand, Ignatios and his peers sometimes will add material to fill up the verses: for instance, the inference that the middle-aged womanizer 'became the laughing-stock of all'. This is not in Babrius, but can be found in the Bodleian Paraphrase (Chambry 52b) and in one of the dodecasyllabic metaphraseis (Chambry 52e): it is very likely that Ps. Ignatios the Deacon is the source for this addition to the later fable tradition.[51]

Although the later additions to the *Tetrasticha* of Ignatios the Deacon cannot be dated with any certainty (though the ones transmitted in a single manuscript are probably not copies from an earlier exemplar, but original contributions, and therefore dateable), this one can. The clue is in the anapaestic substitution in the second line: *διενηνοχυῖα*, where -διε- takes the place of a short metrical syllable.[52] Resolutions and anapaestic substitutions are common in the iambic trimeter, but not in the Byzantine dodecasyllable; however, there are two exceptions to this general rule: Tzetzes and his 'technical iambs', and a group of classicistic poets active in the second half of the ninth century.[53] As this is definitely not Tzetzes (whose idiosyncratic style and character make him easily recognizable), this leaves us with the other option. *Tetrastichon* 1.54 is the work of a classicistic ninth-century poet who added poems of his own to Ignatios the Deacon's collection of *Tetrasticha* (nos 1.1–45).[54] In other words, the contamination of the manuscript tradition had already started during the lifetime of Ignatios or shortly thereafter.

Contamination is an ugly term. It suggests the intrusion of elements alien to whatever is thought to have been intruded upon: the sacrosanct space of literature, the modern concept of authorship, the inalienable rights of classical scholarship. The beauty of Aesop, however, is that any Byzantine can add 'Aesopic' material, sometimes with recourse to earlier texts such as Babrius, but sometimes by

[50] See Van Dijk 1996: 172–173; the quote on p. 173.

[51] See Luzzatto 1986: lxxii–lxxiii and n. 4; see also lxxx and n. 3, where Luzzatto gives another example of a verse from Ignatios the Deacon's *Tetrasticha* (I. 16, v. 4) influencing the later Aesopic tradition.

[52] The mss. read δ' ἐνηνοχυῖαι; this is a classic example of the 'vitium Byzantinum', the tendency to make every line dodecasyllabic. As this reading is both unprosodic and nonsensical, Müller 1897: 284 (in the critical apparatus) suggests the reading διενηνοχυῖα; Van Dijk 2000: 28 adopts this emendation in his edition.

[53] See below the Appendix Metrica, §2.3.

[54] It cannot be Ignatios the Deacon himself because, as far as we know, he never allowed resolutions or anapaestic substitutions in his poetry. See Müller 1886: 13 and Müller 1897: 253.

inventing fables of their own. In the latter case, metaphrasis takes on a whole new meaning: it no longer indicates the adaptation of an existing tale, but the writing of a new tale in the manner of Aesop.

A good example of a fable that is undoubtedly Byzantine is Chambry 181a which is transmitted in Laur. Conv. soppr. 627 [15899] (s. XIII) and manuscripts that depend on it.[55] It is the story of the dog and the cock who became friends and went on a journey: when night fell, the cock perched in a high tree while the dog went to sleep in a crevice under the tree; at dawn the cock crowed as was his habit, and a fox who heard this came up under the tree and said: 'You are a good bird, and useful to men. Come down and let us sing the night odes and feast together' (κατάβηθι δὲ ὅπως ᾄσωμεν τὰς νυκτερινὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ συνευφρανθῶμεν ἀμφότεροι); the cock replied: 'Go to the roots of the tree and call the doorkeeper (παραμονάριον) so that he can sound the *semantron*' (ὅπως κρούσῃ τὸ ξύλον); but when the fox went to find him, the dog suddenly leapt on him and mauled him to death.[56] It may seem surprising to find references to monasticism in an Aesopic fable, but there are more fables with Christian content,[57] and there can be no doubt that the Byzantines interpreted fables, including pagan ones, in a Christian conceptual framework.[58] The fable quoted above evokes a monastic setting, with the *paramonarios* sounding the *semantron* and waking the monks for the celebration of the orthros where they will sing the 'odes' of liturgical kanons.[59]

Although the fable of the Dog, the Cock and the Fox is not attested in fable collections before the thirteenth century, it is much older than that, as evidenced by its popularity in Byzantine art: depictions of this fable have been found on a marble slab now kept in Berlin (10th–11th c.),[60] on a column capital in the church of St Nicholas in Charia in the Mani (11th c.),[61] around an ornamental initial in

[55] See Perry 1966: 418–420 and 422. The text is also found in the Armenian collection of fables compiled by Vardan Aygektsi: see Perry 1966: 421–422.

[56] Chambry 1925–26: 304–305 (no. 181a). Chambry 181b is the Accursiana version of the fable: it leaves out all the Christian elements. It is this insipid version that circulated in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe: see G. Dicke and K. Grubmüller, Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Munich 1987, 349 (no. 299) for three 16th-c. German versions, and L. Guicciardini, L'Hore di Recreatione, 3 vols. Antwerp 1583, vol. I, 18, for an Italian version.

[57] See Papademetriou 1983: 128–132. For the common Christian elements in the fable 'The Wolf and the Ass on Trial' (Perry 1952: no. 452) and the *Synaxarion of the Honourable Donkey*, see Pallas 1960–61: 413–423.

[58] See vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 253–260.

[59] See Perry 1966: 423.

[60] Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für byzantinische Kunst, no. 3250. See O. Wulff, Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke, 2 vols. Berlin 1911, vol. II, 4–5 (no. 1703). See also Pallas 1960–61: 424–429.

[61] See Drandakis 1972–73: 665–674.

ms. Athous Ib. 55 (13th c.),[62] and on the exterior wall of the church of St Theodore at Sanxenou in the Pontos (early 15th c.).[63] The churches in the Mani and the Pontos preserve fragments of a metrical vernacular version of the fable, inscribed/painted next to the depictions. The one in the Pontos reads, next to the fox (line 1) and next to the cock (line 2):

«Κατάβε, δέσποτα, ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ᾽ς εὐχή σου [...]»
«Φοβοῦμαι σε, κύρι ἀλεπέ, πολλὰς κανόνας ἔχεις».

'Come down, my lord, from there for your blessing (...)', 'I am afraid of you, sir fox, you have many kanons to sing/many rules to obey'.[64] The one in the Mani reads:

Ὁ ἀλουπὸς τὸ<ν> πετεινὸ<ν> τὰ τοῖα τὸν ἐλάλει·
«Κατέβα, κύρι σύ<ν>τεκνε, νὰ πάρεις τὴν ε<ὐ>χή μου».
«Φοβοῦμαι, κὺρ ἡγούμενε· βα[...]».

'The fox said this to the cock: 'Come down, my dear brother, that you may receive my blessing'. 'I am afraid, lord abbot (...)'.[65]

In the Mani version the fox has become an abbot, and the cock a fellow monk; in the Pontos version the reason given for not descending is that the fox has many κανόνας, either the liturgical kanons the Aesopic fable alludes to (νυκτερινὰς ᾠδὰς) or the rules of the monastic typikon. The fable and the two inscriptions present a mild and inoffensive mockery of monastic life. It is worth noting, however, that this slightly blasphemous poem was placed on the exterior wall of a church in the Pontos and near the entrance to a church in the Mani. Is this the village priest poking fun at the local monks? Whatever the case, it is wonderful to find Aesop in monastic garb and it is even more wonderful to find him addressing the Maniots and the Pontians in the local patois. The Mani version of the fable of the Dog, the Cock and the Fox is in fact the oldest text in vernacular Greek to

[62] See S.M. Pelekanidis, The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts, vol. 2. Athens 1975, 305 and fig. 46. See N. Δρανδακης, Βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης. Athens 2002, 133, n. 217.

[63] See Tsakalof 1910. See also A. Bryer & D. Winfield, The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos, 2 vols. Washington 1985, vol. I, 283 (no. 19).

[64] Ed. Tsakalof 1910: 121. According to the editor, the inscription reads: κῖρϊὸαλεπε; I suspect that she mistook a darkish blot for an omikron plus breathing. κατάβε (for κατάβηθι, κατέβα, etc) is a legitimate form; the same goes for πολλὰς κανόνας: it is not unusual for former third-declension nouns to change their grammatical gender. See Kriaras 1976: 169–171, and see the Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek, forthcoming. Contrary to what Rhoby 2009–2018: vol. III, 219 (GR 50) writes, the inscription is metrical.

[65] Ed. Drandakis 1972–73: 666, plus commentary on pp. 666–669. For valuable emendations, see Kriaras 1976. Also in Rhoby 2009–2018: vol. III, 218–219 (GR 50).

have come down to us: it is older than the *Ptochoprodromika*, Glykas and *Spaneas*.[66]

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## *Lazarus and the Rich Man*

The genre of biblical epic was popular in Late Antiquity, especially in Latin.[67] In Greek, we know of Empress Eudokia's reworkings of the Octateuch and the Prophets (all lost) and we still have Nonnos' *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*. While biblical metaphraseis in all shapes and forms remained immensely popular in the Latin West, the Greek East appears to have lost interest after the fifth century. The main reason why there is so little in the form of biblical paraphrase, is that the genre had to compete with other kinds of verse retellings of biblical material, such as the marvellous kontakia of Romanos, the kanons of Kosmas the Melode and Andrew of Crete, the troparia of Kassia, the many epigrams on religious art, the metrical calendars of Christopher Mitylenaios, Prodromos' Tetrasticha on the Old and New Testaments, etc. Biblical narratives never ceased to be a source of inspiration for Byzantine poets and poetesses; but what changed was the mode of adaptation.

There are a few ninth-century exceptions to this lack of interest in biblical paraphrase. The first is a curious work by Theodore of Stoudios, unfortunately lost, which the Vita A describes as a 'book in iambic verse, dealing with the Creation of Adam and his Trespass, Cain's Envy and How he Raised his Hand against his Brother and Unjustly Killed Him, the God-Pleasingness of Enoch, and the Birth, Life and Manner of Noah and his Sons'. Though the book apparently also contained a refutation of iconoclast beliefs, it looks, to all intents and purposes, like a metrical metaphrasis of the first nine chapters of *Genesis*.[68] Apart from this curious 'book in iambic verse', there are two shorter metrical metaphraseis, both

[66] Rhoby 2009–2018: vol. III, 218 (GR 50) assumes that the inscription cannot be as old as the column capital because of its language and re-dates it rather arbitrarily to the fifteenth century or later: however, τὰ τοῖα instead of τίτοια/τέτοια/ἔτοια is typical of early texts in Rhomaic: see Kriaras 1976: 167–169.

[67] See Roberts 1985.

[68] Vita A of Theodore of Stoudios (*PG* 99.153A): συνετέθη δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ βίβλος διὰ στίχων ἰάμβων, τήν τε πλάσιν τοῦ γενάρχου διαλαμβάνουσα καὶ παράβασιν, καὶ φθόνον τοῦ Κάϊν καὶ χεῖρα, φεῦ, κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐπανατεινομένην καὶ φόνον ἐργαζομένην τὸν ἀδικώτατον, καὶ μέντοι πάλιν καὶ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ εὐαρέστησιν, καὶ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ φύντων γέννησιν, βίον, διαγωγήν· ἀπηριθμήσατο δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν εἰκονομάχων αἵρεσιν, οὓς καὶ ὡς κακῶν σπουδάρχας τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλεν. See Speck 1964: 30 and n. 3.

written by schoolmasters and each dealing with a different Lazarus: Kometas' *Raising of Lazarus* (*John* 11:11–45) and Ignatios the Deacon's *Lazarus and the Rich Man* (*Luke* 16:19–31). The first is a very free paraphrase in hexameter, with traces of Homer, Eudokia, Nonnos and Gregory of Nazianzos:[69] it has survived in Kephalas' own appendix (*AP* 15.28–40) to his Anthology.[70] Constantine the Rhodian thought little of Kometas' poetic talents, and posterity agrees: 'it is perhaps the single most unmetrical poem in the Anthology'.[71]

The second metaphrasis is much more rewarding. It is a metrical rendering of the parable of *Lazarus and the Rich Man* which follows the original quite closely. It has come down to us in two different redactions. The oldest is preserved in Par. Suppl. gr. 690 (s. XII in.), fol. 117$^{v}$–118$^{r}$: στίχοι Ἰγνατίου εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν πλούσιον, 'verses of Ignatios (the Deacon) on Lazarus and the Rich Man' (70 vv.);[72] the younger version has come down us in a manuscript from the region of Otranto, Laur. 5.10 [15958] (s. XIV in.), fol. 198$^{r}$–199$^{r}$: μῦθος, 'fable' (only vv. 1–47).[73] The latter title must have seemed utter blasphemy to the guardians of orthodoxy, such as Patriarch Photios, who praised Empress Eudokia for not adorning her biblical paraphrases with μῦθοι. However, I do not think that the scribe meant to say that the parable itself is a μῦθος (that would be blasphemy indeed), but that Ignatios the Deacon's rendering of it served as a model text in the art of metaphrasis in Byzantine schools, not unlike the adaptations of Aesop's μῦθοι. In fact, I strongly suspect that Ignatios the Deacon intended his *Lazarus and the Rich Man* for educational purposes right from the beginning, similarly to what we see in the case of his metaphraseis of Babrian fables and his paraenetic alphabet (discussed in the previous chapter): all these poems are school texts. Ignatios was a schoolmaster after all, and so was Kometas, which strongly suggests that his mediocre attempt at the *Raising of Lazarus*, too, was intended for use at school.[74]

In what follows I shall first compare a passage from *Lazarus and the Rich Man* with the source text, highlighting significant differences in italics, and then

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[69] *AP* 15.40. For Kometas' interest in Homer, see *AP* 15.36–38. For the similarities with the centos of Empress Eudokia, see Caprara 2000 and Prieto Domínguez 2010: 74–75. For the influence of Nonnos, see Caprara 2000 and Tissoni 2003: 629–634. For Gregory of Nazianzos, see Tissoni 2003.

[70] See Lauxtermann 2007: 202.

[71] See Cameron 1993: 308–311; quotation on p. 309. See also vol. I, chapter 3, pp. 108–110.

[72] Ed. Sternbach 1897: 151–154. Read ἀστέγους (not ἀστείους) in v. 65. Sternbach incorrectly identifies the author with Patriarch Ignatios; Wolska-Conus 1970: 333 rightly attributes the poem to Ignatios the Deacon.

[73] For the manuscript, see Sola 1911. For the variant readings of the Otranto version, see Sternbach 1902: 393, n. 2.

[74] For metaphraseis of gospel texts as schedographical exercises, see Vassis 2002b: nos 73–74.

compare the two redactions of the same passage, once again with differences highlighted in italics:

Εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθά σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου, καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά· νῦν δὲ ὅδε παρακαλεῖται, σὺ δὲ ὀδυνᾶσαι. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ οἱ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν. 'But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence'.[75]

Εἶπε δ᾽ Ἀβραὰμ συμπαθῶς τῷ πλουσίῳ·
«Μνήσθητι, τέκνον, κρειττόνων τῶν ἐν βίῳ
πόσων κατετρύφησας· ὣς καὶ Λάζαρος
πολλῶν κακῶν εἴληφε τὴν καταιγίδα·
καὶ νῦν μὲν οὗτος ἐκδυσωπεῖται λίαν,
σὺ δὲ στενάζεις μυρίων τολμημάτων
εὑρεῖν θέλων λύτρωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ συμφέρει·
μεταξὺ δ᾽ ἄμφω χάσμα μακρὸν τυγχάνει,
ὅπως δύνωνται μηδαμῶς οἱ ἐνθάδε
περᾶν ἐκεῖσε δραστικῶς παρ᾽ ἀξίαν,
μηδ᾽ οἱ ἐκεῖθεν προσπερῶσιν ἐνθάδε».

'But Abraham *gently* said *to the rich man*: "Remember, son, *how many* good things you enjoyed in life, and likewise Lazarus received *a torrent* of evils; but now he is *much beseeched*, and you *lament, hoping to find redemption for your many presumptuous deeds, but to no avail*. And between the two there is a great gulf, so that those here cannot *readily and undeservedly* pass thither, nor can they that come from there pass hither"'.[76]

As we see, the technique of metaphrasis employed here is that of amplification (or αὔξησις, to use the Byzantine term). Ignatios adds words to fill perceived gaps in the story: how did Abraham speak? gently; how many evils befell Lazarus in

[75] *Luke* 16:25–26. The Nestle-Aland edition offers ὧδε in *Luke* 16:25, but most Byzantine manuscripts have ὅδε, and I assume that that is the reading Ignatios is paraphrasing (see οὗτος in v. 41): the same goes for ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις (Nestle-Aland: ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις) and οἱ ἐκεῖθεν (Nestle-Aland: ἐκεῖθεν) in *Luke* 16:26, readings found in most Byzantine manuscripts (for the latter, see Ignatios, v. 47 οἱ ἐκεῖθεν). Similarly, παρεῖχε δ᾽ οὐδείς (Ignatios, v. 11) corresponds to καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ (*Luke* 16:21), relegated to the critical apparatus in the Nestle-Aland edition. The English translation is that of the King James Version.

[76] Ed. Sternbach 1897: 153 (vv. 37–47). In line 39 I changed ὡς καὶ to ὣς καὶ: what we need is an adverb of manner, not a conjunction (cf. the other redaction: *οὕτω* δὲ).

his life-time? a mighty lot; etc. He also adds details to the narrative: the rich man is not just tormented in hell, he is lamenting his lot and hopes to find redemption. He also provides moral comments: it does not help to lament in hell (οὐ συμφέρει) and those tormented in hell cannot cross over to paradise because they do not deserve it (παρ᾽ ἀξίαν). He makes a rather horrid translation mistake in line 41: Luke has νῦν δὲ ὅδε παρακαλεῖται, and Ignatios renders this as καὶ νῦν μὲν οὗτος ἐκδυσωπεῖται λίαν, blissfully unaware of the fact that here παρακαλῶ does not mean 'beseech' but 'console, comfort'. As well as filling in gaps, adding details and offering moral comments, Ignatios seeks to make the style more ornate and emphatic: κατετρύφησας for ἀπέλαβες, πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν καταιγίδα for τὰ κακά, χάσμα μακρὸν for χάσμα μέγα, δύνωνται μηδαμῶς for μὴ δύνωνται. However, some of his renderings are rather feeble: (χάσμα μακρὸν) τυγχάνει is not as expressive as (χάσμα μέγα) ἐστήρικται, and μεταξὺ δ᾽ ἄμφω (for μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν) is incomprehensible without recourse to the source text.

Ignatios the Deacon's metaphrasis was itself metaphrased by an anonymous Southern-Italian schoolmaster or one of his pupils in the early fourteenth century.[77] This is how he renders the passage from Ignatios the Deacon:

Εἶπε δ᾽ Ἀβραὰμ *συμφώνως* τῷ πλουσίῳ·
«Μνήσθητι, τέκνον, κρειττόνων τῶν ἐν βίῳ
*ὅσων* κατετρύφησας *πλουτῶν εἰς κόρον·*
*οὕτω δὲ καὶ Λάζαρος πτωχὸς καὶ πένης*
*εἴληφε πάντων τῶν κακῶν* καταιγίδα·
σὺ δὲ *μυρίων ζητεῖς νῦν* τολμημάτων
*εὑρεῖν τὴν συγχώρεσιν*, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ συμφέρει·
μεταξὺ δ᾽ ἄμφω χάσμα *καρτερὸν πέλει*,
*ἵν᾽ ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται παντελῶς ὧδε*
περᾶν *ἐκεῖθεν,* δραστικῶς *πεπηγμένον*,
μηδ᾽ *αὖ περῶσιν οἱ ἐκεῖθεν* ἐνθάδε».[78]

Like Ignatios the Deacon, the anonymous metaphrast likes to expand and generate strings of empty words: πλουτῶν εἰς κόρον, πτωχὸς καὶ πένης, etc. He tends to exaggerate: *πάντων* τῶν κακῶν καταιγίδα (instead of πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν καταιγίδα), χάσμα *καρτερὸν* (instead of χάσμα μακρὸν), etc. He also replaces like for like: συγχώρεσιν (for λύτρωσιν) and ἵν᾽ ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται παντελῶς ὧδε (for ὅπως δύνωνται μηδαμῶς οἱ ἐνθάδε); in both cases the result is that the verse becomes unprosodic. He omits the biblical contrast between the fates of the rich man in agony and Lazarus being comforted in the arms of Abraham, probably

[77] The so-called *Paraphrasis* of Geometres' *Metaphrasis of the Odes* constitutes a similar case: this is a later metaphrasis of the *Metaphrasis*. See I. SAJDAK, *Eos* 34 (1932–33) 311–318 and M. DE GROOTE, *GRBS* 43 (2002–03) 267–304.

[78] See STERNBACH 1902: 393, n. 2.

because of the translation error in Ignatios the Deacon's metaphrasis, which dulled the contrast and made it seem vacuous. However, he also adds a detail from the biblical source text, but unfortunately not in the right place: πεπηγμένον in the penultimate verse refers back to χάσμα καρτερὸν and is clearly inspired by *Luke* 16:26, χάσμα μέγα *ἐστήρικται*.

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## *The Paradeisos*

Another area of fervent metaphrastic activity is the anecdote (χρεία in Greek). As the vast majority of anecdotes, both secular and religious, are in prose, these retellings of popular anecdotes shall not concern us here. There is only one collection of anecdotes in verse: the *Paradeisos*, ninety-nine retellings of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Ἀποφθέγματα τῶν Πατέρων, also known as Πατερικόν or Γεροντικόν) in elegiac quatrains.[79]

The *Paradeisos* has come down to us in 40-odd manuscripts. As Isebaert explains in his recent edition, most of these manuscripts go back to a common exemplar: the so-called ε tradition, which is probably post-Byzantine. As the *editio princeps* of Zacharias Skordylios is based on an ε manuscript and as this edition is ultimately the source of Migne, the ε version is the one best known to Byzantinists: unfortunately it is not the most reliable one. There are five manuscripts that are undoubtedly Byzantine: V = Vindob. Phil. gr. 330 [71444], fol. $27^{r}$–$33^{r}$ (s. XIV in.), Q = Vat. gr. 743 [67374], fol. $91^{r}$–$97^{v}$ (s. XIV), I = Athous Ib. 187 [23784], fol. $186^{r}$–$193^{v}$ (s. XV), D = Darmstad. 2773 [13206], fol. $284^{r}$–$298^{v}$ (s. XIV post med.) and L = Laur. 9.18 [16106], fol. $311^{r}$–$317^{v}$ (s. XIV) [L has a number of later apographs]. DL and ε belong to the same branch of the manuscript tradition; VQI belong to another branch:[80]

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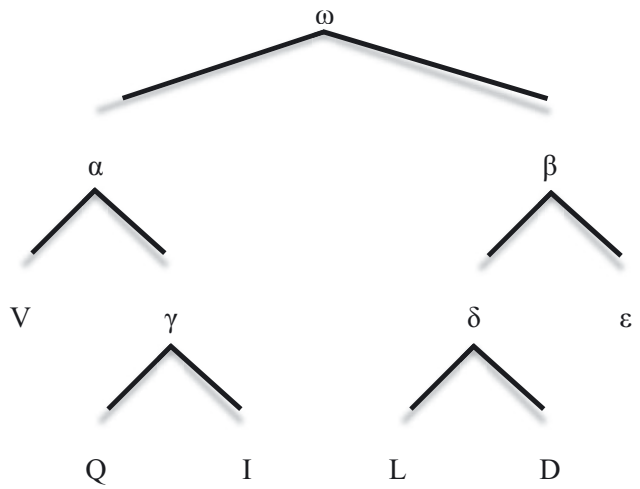
[79] For a critical edition of the *Paradeisos*, see ISEBAERT 2004. As this PhD thesis is not yet available to the wider academic community, scholars will need to consult previous editions (all of them inferior): Z. SKORDYLIUS, Νικήτα Φιλοσόφου (...) ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα (...) τοῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ (...) Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γεωμέτρου ἐπιγράμματα. Venice 1563; F. MORELLUS, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γεωμέτρου ἐπιγράμματα τετράστιχα ὧν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ Παράδεισος. Paris 1595 (basically a reprint of Zacharias Skordylios' previous edition); *PG* 106, col. 867–890 (a reprint of Morel's edition); and X. WERFER, Nili Ascetae Paraenetica e codicibus Darmstadiensi et Bernensi. *Acta Philologorum Monacensium* 3 (1820) 61–118 (not based on Skordylios/Morel, but unfortunately not very reliable).

[80] This stemma is based on the forthcoming edition of Kristoffel Demoen and Björn Isebaert, which includes the readings of the recently discovered ms. I. For the stemma without I and the description of the manuscripts, see ISEBAERT 2004: 65–161.




Since ε tends to smooth out the text and introduce 'emendations', it hardly ever preserves idiosyncratic true readings. VQI generally offer better readings than DLε, but not always; the main difference between the two manuscript branches is the sequence of the quatrains: in VQI, it is 1–30, 44–58, 31–43 and 59–99, while DLε offer the texts in the established sequence which is not necessarily the correct one.[81] V and L present the texts as prose, and Q, I and D struggle with the division into verses; it is only the classicizing ε manuscripts that, once again, have smoothed out the textual problems. This strongly suggests that the archetype offered the text καταλογάδην, as if it were prose — a scribal practice common for liturgical poetry and political verse, but for which there is hardly any parallel in prosodic metre.[82] It indicates that the archetype was not interested in the *Paradeisos* as literature, but as a collection of monastic wisdom. VQ have no title, I attributes the *Paradeisos* to Gregory of Nazianzos, and DLε unanimously ascribe it to Neilos of Ankyra; only in five manuscripts that belong to the ε tradition, do we find an alternative attribution to John Geometres.[83]

As Speck already saw,[84] the ascription to Neilos of Ankyra cannot be correct in the light of the following quatrain (no. 48, Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰς χρείας, 'Needs vary from place to place'):

[81] Isebaert 2004: 88 and 92. As Kristoffel Demoen informs me (per litteras), ms. I offers only 1–16, 34–36, 38, 37, 39–43, 59, 61–81 and 83, but is clearly related to ms. Q.

[82] See Isebaert 2004: 91. For another exceptional example, see the panegyric of Theodosios the Grammarian, discussed in chapter 10, pp. 36–37.

[83] See Isebaert 2004: 136–138 and 501–503.

[84] Speck 1965: 334–336.

Ξεῖνον ἔδεκτ᾽ Ἀγάθων· χύτρῃ δέ τιν᾽ ἔμβαλε φακὸν
καὶ παρέθηκε φέρων. Φῆ δ᾽ ὁ φίλος γελόων·
«Ὄμφακες, οὐ φακοί εἰσιν.» Ὁ δ᾽ ἴαχεν· «Οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο
ἄρκιόν ἐσθ᾽ ὅτι πῦρ ἔδρακες εἰς τὸν Ἄθω;»

'Agathon had a guest over for dinner; he put some lentils in a pot and offered them [undercooked]. His friend said to him laughing: "That's not lentil, but detrimental". He exclaimed: "Is it not enough that you saw fire on Athos?"'.[85]

The source text ends as follows: οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι ὅτι ὅλως εἶδες λαμπρόν; καὶ αὕτη μεγάλη παράκλησις, 'Is it not enough that you saw fire at all? That is already a great comfort'.[86] The transposition of this dialogue from the Egyptian Sketis to Mount Athos cannot date from before the tenth century: it is only then that the Holy Mountain becomes widely recognized as one of the major monastic centres. This automatically excludes the authorship of Neilos. The attribution to Gregory of Nazianzos in ms. I is equally anachronistic.

But should the *Paradeisos* be attributed to Geometres? Isebaert thinks so,[87] but I agree with Scheidweiler that the lack of *caesura media* (of which Geometres is fond) militates against such a supposition; and with Cameron that the epigrammatic style of the *Paradeisos* is very unlike that of Geometres.[88] However, Isebaert is absolutely right in seeing the *Paradeisos* as a product of what Lemerle dubbed 'encyclopaedism': it is intimately connected with other tenth-century classicistic compilations, such as the Palatine Anthology and the *Souda*,[89] and a date in the later tenth century is very plausible indeed.

To recapitulate, the *Paradeisos* is an anonymous late tenth-century collection of sayings of the desert fathers in elegiac quatrains which has come down to us in five Palaeologan manuscripts and in many post-Byzantine ones. The archetype of the manuscript tradition must be at several removes from the original collection given that it presented the text as prose, privileged content over form and probably attributed the *Paradeisos* to one of the luminaries of orthodoxy, Neilos of Ankyra. I shall first give three examples (nos 51, 66 and 88) and then discuss the metaphrastic techniques:

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[85] There is a pun in line 3: οὐ φακοί and ὄμφακες. Literally: 'These are sour grapes, not lentils'. The reading of the ε manuscripts is nonsensical: Ὄμφακες οἱ φακοί εἰσιν, 'The lentils are sour grapes'.

[86] *PG* 65, col. 181 (Isaiah, no. 6).

[87] Isebaert 2004: 501–526. However, in their forthcoming edition, Demoen and Isebaert no longer attribute the text to Geometres.

[88] Scheidweiler 1952: 295–297 and Cameron 1993: 339–340.

[89] See Isebaert 2004: 28–30, 509–510 and 525–526. See also Isebaert & Demoen 2003: 150–151 and Demoen 2011: 59–60 and 65.

Δαιτὶ πάρα ξενίῃ κληθεὶς κατέβαινε Καρίων·
μαινάδα δὲ στιλπνὴν δάκρυσεν εἰσορόων·
«Ὤμοι, ἐρῶν οὐ τόσσον ἐπείγομαι αὐτὸς ἀρέσκειν
ὑψιμέδοντι ὅσον ἥδ᾽ ἀκολαστοτέροις.»

'Invited to a dinner party, Karion went down [to the city]. Upon seeing a lustrous maenad, he started to cry: "Oh my! If only I tried to please my beloved Almighty as hard as she does to please the libertines"'.[90]

Κρίνετό τις φθορίης· κληθεὶς δὲ Πίωρ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
ἦλθ᾽ ἐπὶ νῶτα φέρων ψάμμον ὅλῃ σπυρίδι,
πρόσθε δ᾽ ἔχε δράκα τῆσδε καὶ ἴαχε· «Τἀμὰ τοσαῦτα
ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ὁρόω· τὰ ξένα δ᾽ ἐξετάσω;»

'A person stood accused of lechery. Asked to look into the matter, Pior showed up with a basket full of sand on his back, but carrying a mere handful of it in front of him and shouting: "My [sins] are of such magnitude and I do not see them: and I should examine those of other people?"'[91]

Φῶρες ἐληΐσαντ᾽ ἀβίου δόμον· ὃς δὲ συνήργει
καί τι παροφθὲν ἑλών· «Καὶ τόδ᾽ ἔλεσθ᾽», ἐβόα.
Ὡς δ᾽ ἀπέφευγον, ὅδ᾽ ἄνδρα τυχὼν ἐπὶ τήνδε κίοντα
εἶπε· «Δίδου προφθάς· ἐκλελάθοντο τόδε.»

'Burglars cleaned out the home of an ascetic; he lent them a hand and, picking up something they had overlooked, called after them: "Take this too!" When they had left, he chanced upon a person going their way and told him: "Please catch up with them and give it to them: they forgot to take it"'.[92]

The literary idiom is a curious mixture of Homerisms (historical tenses without augment: δάκρυσεν, κρίνετο, ἔχε, ἐκλελάθοντο; assimilation of contracted forms: εἰσορόων, ὁρόω; pseudo-lengthening: τόσσον; elision: ἦλθ᾽, ἐληΐσαντ᾽; the Homeric word δαιτὶ; etc.) with later words, forms and syntax: e.g. φθορίη (only in Hippocrates), σπυρίδι (Koine), ἄνδρα τυχὼν (τυγχάνω + acc. instead of dat.), ἀβίου (for a monk), προφθάς (instead of the simplex). There is a clear preference for parataxis over hypotaxis: the poet leaves it to the reader to establish

[90] Ed. Isebaert 2004: 51 (bijlage). The title is ὅτι τὸ ἀνθρωπάρεσκον φιλοπονώτατον, 'Man-pleasing requires much effort'. Isebaert reads δάκρυσ᾽ in v. 2 because the ypsilon is long; but spondaics are not allowed in the second half of the pentameter.

[91] Ed. Isebaert 2004: 66 (bijlage). The title is ὅτι προσεκτέον μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς, 'Rather mind your own business'. Isebaert reads τοσαῦτά / ἐστι in vv. 3–4; but enclisis cannot occur across the line boundary.

[92] Ed. Isebaert 2004: 88 (bijlage). The title is ὅτι οὐδενὶ δέδεται μοναχός, 'Monks are not attached to anything'. Isebaert reads ὁ δ᾽ in v. 3; Kristoffel Demoen suggests reading ὅδ᾽ (personal communication).

chronological and causal connections. The narrative structure of the quatrains is identical in these and other examples: situation (banquet, trial, robbery); action of the ascetic (weeping in the presence of a comely hetaera, carrying a basket of sand, helping the thieves); and the wise words of the ascetic, his *apophthegma.*

The three quatrains summarize the corresponding *apophthegmata patrum* and change the original wording beyond recognition, but retain the essential parts of the anecdotes and their meaning.[93] Take, for instance, no. 51: Ὁσίας μνήμης Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεκάλεσεν τὸν ἀββᾶν Παμβὼ κατελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Κατελθὼν δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα θεατρικήν, σύνδακρυς ἐγένετο. Τῶν δὲ συνόντων πυθομένων διατί ἐδάκρυσεν· Δύο με, ἔφη, κεκίνηκεν· ἓν μέν, ἡ ἐκείνης ἀπώλεια· ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι οὐ τοιαύτην σπουδὴν ἔχω πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσαι τῷ Θεῷ ὅσον αὕτη ἵνα ἀρέσῃ ἀνθρώποις αἰσχροῖς, 'The blessed Athanasios, archbishop of Alexandria, invited Abba Pambo to come down from the desert to Alexandria. When he came and saw an actress there, his eyes filled with tears. When those present asked him why he wept, he said: "There are two reasons: the first is the loss of her soul; but the second reason is that I do not make such an effort to please God as she makes to please fornicators"'.[94] In the *Paradeisos* Pambo has become Karion, Athanasios of Alexandria has disappeared, the actress has turned into a 'lustrous maenad', and the tears for the perdition of her soul have vanished into thin air. Pambo/Karion is still 'coming down', but without the geographical markers to explain why the journey is downwards, and not upwards or on level ground. But the rest is there, and the essential message that one should do one's utmost to please God comes across loud and clear.

Isebaert was able to identify 54 of the 99 source texts: given the problematic manuscript tradition of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, it is pretty certain that once all manuscripts have been properly edited, more *apophthegmata* than those 54 can be identified. However, similarly to what we see in the Aesopic tradition, where some fables are Byzantine imitations in the Aesopic style, a number of the quatrains of the *Paradeisos* may very well be the work of the fertile imagination of their poet, who in these cases imitated the narrative style, not the contents, of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

Situating the *Paradeisos* in its historical context is problematic because of the wide interval that separates the archetype of the manuscript tradition from the original composition. Of the five Palaeologan manuscripts, L is the one that comes closest to the archetype in its overall make-up: it is a monastic manuscript with a lot of Neilos of Ankyra and which presents the *Paradeisos* as prose. The other four, however, clearly cater to the needs of Palaeologan intellectuals: V shows a

[93] For no. 66, see the analysis of Isebaert & Demoen 2003: 148–149.
[94] *PG* 65, col. 369 (Pambo, no. 4).

huge interest in theology and ecclesiastical matters, D is a miscellany of learned texts, I contains the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos with an interlinear commentary, and Q offers a mixture of secular proverbs and Byzantine poetry, including Geometres.[95] Most of the ε manuscripts, too, are of a scholarly nature. While it is highly unlikely that the *Paradeisos* was ever intended to serve the monastic agenda of the archetype ω, the question is whether it served the same scholastic needs as the four Palaeologan manuscripts VQID and the humanist ε tradition. I am inclined to think so. Despite the obvious similarities with the *Tetrasticha* of Ignatios the Deacon, which were used at school, the quatrains of the *Paradeisos* are well above the level of the average Byzantine student: they are simply too allusive and too tongue-in-cheek funny to serve as didactic material. It makes more sense to view the *Paradeisos* as an attempt to impress fellow Byzantine intellectuals with a master class in the art of metaphrasis and a dazzling display of erudition — a gauntlet thrown into the literary *theatron* of its time, a challenge to compete.

The beauty of metaphrasis is that nothing is sacred: texts can be rewritten with impunity, authorial intentions can be ignored, and literary canons can be decanonized. As argued above, the *Paradeisos* is a collection of metaphraseis of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in a classicistic style dateable to the later tenth century and probably intended to impress the audience with its very literariness. However, it rapidly fell into oblivion and when it resurfaced in the thirteenth century (the probable date of the archetype), it had profoundly changed its nature. No longer a lesson in the art of metaphrasis, it had become what the *Apophthegmata Patrum* had always been: a source of monastic wisdom. In other words, the metaphrasis had been metaphrased back to its putative origins. But this is not where the story ends, because in the early fourteenth century the innate literary qualities of the *Paradeisos* were once again discovered by Palaeologan scholars who, familiar with the Greek Anthology through Planoudes, recognized the epigrammatic character of the text. What they did was to turn prose back into verse and make the *Paradeisos* the literary text it had been all along. That is, yet another metaphrasis.

[95] For Q (Vat. gr. 743), see vol. 1, appendix 1, pp. 293–295. Of the five mss. that have the alternative ascription to Geometres, at least three (A, M and Ω) show contamination with a manuscript similar to Q (but not Q itself): see Isebaert 2004: 115–116, 143 and 144–145. Seeing that Q contains both the *Paradeisos* and authentic poems by Geometres, it is very likely that the postulated manuscript which contaminated A, M and Ω, was ultimately the source of the erroneous ascription.

*Chapter Twenty*

# ORACLES, RIDDLES AND DREAM KEYS

This last chapter deals with three different kinds of poetry that have nothing in common, apart from a certain degree of obscurity that renders the interpretation of their meaning somewhat hazardous. It is perhaps comforting to see that Kephalas (*AP* 14) and Planoudes (Sylloge L)[1], too, classified riddles and oracles under the same generic label, but neither of the two included dream keys in their selection of verse oddities. Both oracles and dream keys belong to the kind of arcane wisdom the church felt uncomfortable with, but which nonetheless appealed to most Byzantines, as indicated by the large number of manuscripts that have come down to us. Riddles were equally popular. It is because of this popularity that it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to trace the text history of oracles, riddles and dream keys, and provide secure dates.

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## *Oracles*

Like most texts belonging to the 'apocalyptic tradition' (to use Alexander's term),[2] oracles are generally composed in prose. But there are some oracles in verse as well. The oracles of Leo the Wise are the classic example, of course, but certainly not the only example of predicting the future in verse form. The Byzantine chronicles of the tenth century and later quote four oracles, all of them *vaticinia ex eventu* (fake predictions of events that had already taken place). The first is an oracle that deals with the Arab invasion of Sicily in 827 and its aftermath. The first three verses are quoted in numerous chronicles,[3] but the whole text

[1] See CAMERON 1993: 202–216.

[2] See P. ALEXANDER, The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1985. See also W. BRANDES, in: F. WINKELMANN and W. BRANDES (eds), Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert). Berlin 1990, 305–332 and 367–370; idem, in: W. BRANDES et al. (eds), Varia III (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 11). Bonn 1991, 9–62.

[3] For example, in Ps. Symeon Magistros, 622. See S.G. MERCATI, in: III[e] Congrès International des Études Byzantines. Athens 1932, 111–113.

(181 verses) has come down to us, unfortunately in a rather garbled version, in a tenth-century manuscript of Italian provenance, Vat. gr. 1257 [67888].[4] The poem is attributed to a certain Bryson the Philosopher, clearly a pseudonym (the historical Bryson was a disciple of Pythagoras). As the text is corrupt and difficult to interpret,[5] we need a reliable edition[6] and a thorough historical commentary before drawing any conclusions. The second oracle quoted by Byzantine chroniclers predicts that Caesar Bardas, having killed Theoktistos, will be killed himself.[7] The third one, an adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 3.270–272, deals with the assumption of power by Romanos Lakapenos.[8]

The fourth oracle is found in Kedrenos and concerns the construction of the double walls around the Great Palace, a measure taken after an attempt on the life of Nikephoros Phokas, but widely viewed as an act of tyranny on the part of the emperor and a sign of distrust towards his own people.[9] The passage reads as follows: 'When the wall of the palace was being built, it happened one night that someone sailing on the sea shouted: "Emperor, you raise the walls; but even if you reach heaven itself, the evil is inside and the city is easy to conquer (ὦ βασιλεῦ, *ὑψοῖς τὰ τείχη· κἂν μέχρι πόλου φθάσῃς, / ἔνδον τὸ κακόν, εὐάλωτος ἡ πόλις*)". Despite many efforts to find this person, he could not be tracked down'.[10] The episode is a sort of epiphany, with an untraceable figure, much like an angel or a divine apparition, shouting to the emperor ensconced behind his double walls that the evil he so much fears is concealed within the palace itself and that the city is up for grabs. The evil within is Theophano, the wife of Nikephoros Phokas, and the intruder from without, the person who will take the palace and the city, is John Tzimiskes, the lover of Theophano. As oracles are usually none too straightforward and prefer obscure and veiled language, referring to people in the third person (for example, 'the dragon of Babylon' or 'the horn-bearing emperor'), it is reasonable to assume that Kedrenos, or his source, adapted the text of the oracle in such a manner that it sounded like something an exasperated citizen of

[4] Partial edition by PERTUSI 1988: 162–166 (vv. 1–35 and 46–66). For a description of the manuscript, see RONCONI 2007: 185–199.

[5] See PERTUSI 1988: 157–161, and P. ALEXANDER, Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire. London 1978, no. XIV, esp. pp. 14–15.

[6] Pertusi's partial edition is a brave attempt at making sense of the poem, but succeeds only partially in its aim.

[7] See, for instance, Theophanes Continuatus, IV.19, 36–39 (ed. Featherstone & Signes Codoñer, 242).

[8] See Ps. Symeon Magistros, 727.

[9] See Leo the Deacon, 64, 13–18; Skylitzes, 275, 78–87 and 276, 11–22; cf. Geometres, poem no. 61.

[10] Kedrenos, II, 370, 6–10 = Skylitzes (ed. Thurn), 275, app. crit.; cf. O. MAZAL, Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses. Vienna 1967, 170, no. 29, vv. 5–8, and LAMPSIDIS 1996: lines 6445–6450. See SP. LAMBROS, *NE* 1 (1904) 101–103 and D. MICHAELIDIS, *Hell* 23 (1970) 334–335.

Constantinople could have said in anger. The story as told by Kedrenos is scarcely credible because, apart from the fact that it is not advisable to openly criticize a totalitarian regime, a voice does not carry over such a distance. Like the other three oracles mentioned above, this one too must have been written after the deed was done: that is, after Nikephoros Phokas had been betrayed by his loving wife and slain by Tzimiskes. It is only in hindsight that the oracle gains its historical relevance.

Vat. gr. 341 [66972], a Psalter copied in the year 1021, offers a poem by a certain Anthimos, chartophylax of the Great Church, in which he predicts that the world as we know it is drawing to an end.[11] Whereas most eschatological texts tend to be vague and leave room for further speculation, Anthimos provides a precise date for doomsday: April 18th, 1025, when Easter will be celebrated for the very last time, exactly one thousand years after the Resurrection of Christ. Whereas Anthimos' apocalyptic poem itself dates to the tenth century (probably to c. 959),[12] it is worth noting that the scribe of the Psalter copied the poem only four years before the final countdown — which obviously indicates that he was under the impression that he would witness the end of all time. Regrettably, there was something wrong with Anthimos' skilful calculations, and in the end doomsday did not arrive on the date he had predicted with such accuracy that the scribe of Vat. gr. 341 felt it had to be the moment of all moments.

The oracles incorrectly attributed to Leo the Wise[13] have come down to us in a great number of manuscripts, all of them dating from the post-Byzantine period; many of these manuscripts are illuminated.[14] There is furthermore a late thirteenth-century Latin translation, called the *Vaticinia Pontificum*. The manuscript tradition can be divided into two branches: the 'conservative' group (to which most manuscripts belong) and the 'Latin' group (to which the *Vaticinia* and a few Cretan manuscripts belong).[15] In the 'conservative' manuscripts the first oracle is missing its first two verses and is combined with the second oracle, as if they were

[11] Ed. MERCATI G. 1937. The poem is also found in Par. gr. 1111 [50742] (s. XI) and Athous Karakallou 14 [25583] (s. XII); in the latter ms. it bears the heading: ἀπόδειξις Ἀνθίμου χαρτοφύλακος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ συγγραψαμένου τοὺς κύκλους περὶ τῆς συντελείας: see G. PODSKALSKY, Byzantinische Reichseschatologie. Munich 1972, 97, n. 574.

[12] Vat. gr. 341, the oldest manuscript, certainly does not constitute the archetype of the text tradition, seeing that it omits one or more lines between v. 8 and v. 9 and offers readings that are blatantly incorrect. In Par. gr. 1111 (s. XI) we read that the poem 'had been found in an old Psalter'; but of course, we do not know how old this exemplar was. For the 959 date, see P. MAGDALINO, in: idem, Byzantium in the Year 1000. Leiden 2003, 241–242, 249 and 270.

[13] For the legend of Leo the Wise, see MANGO 1960. See also P. MAGDALINO, *TM* 14 (2002) 391–402.

[14] See KYRIAKOU 1995.

[15] See VEREECKEN & HADERMACH-MISGUICH 2000: 51–53. For information on manuscripts and editions, see MANGO 1960: 78–83 and KYRIAKOU 1995: 43–103.

one. There is also a textual problem with the third and the fourth oracles, which are both diptychs: in most manuscripts as well as in modern editions both of these diptychs are presented in the form of two separate texts (3a and 3b, 4a and 4b). To make matters worse, the order of 4a and 4b is reversed in most manuscripts and, sad to say, in all the editions. This is why the numbering of the oracles in modern editions is incorrect. In the *PG* edition,[16] for example, the oracles are numbered as follows: oracle 1 = I, 1–15; oracle 2 = I, 16–29; oracle 3 (a and b) = II and III; oracle 4 (a and b) = V and IV; and oracles 5–15 = VI–XVI.

These fifteen oracles can be divided into three groups: nos 1–6 (*PG*: nos I–VII), nos 7–10 (*PG*: nos VIII–XI) and nos 11–15 (*PG*: nos XII–XVI). To begin with the last group, oracles 11–15 are authentic predictions of the future, written during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–1261). The first two groups are *vaticinia ex eventu*, predicting events that had already taken place: oracles 7–10 refer to events prior to, during and after the fall of the City in 1204, and oracles 1–6 refer to events that took place in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[17] The fifteen oracles that go under the name of Leo the Wise are not written by one and the same author, but form a compilation of oracles, some old, some relatively new, which some Byzantine scholar put together in the years following 1204. This compilation reached Italy soon after its publication and circulated widely in monastic and ecclesiastical circles opposed to the papacy (the *Vaticinia Pontificum*), but escaped the notice of the Greek-speaking world, which rediscovered the texts only when Byzantium had become a thing of the past. The only reference to these oracles in Greek sources can be found in Niketas Choniates, who quotes some passages from the oldest group of oracles, nos 1–6.[18]

The oldest oracles (nos 1–6) were composed by an iconoclast author during the reign of Leo V the Armenian (813–820). His aim was to present Leo V as the

[16] There are numerous editions, mostly based on just one manuscript: I. RUTGERSIUS (Rutgers), Variorum lectionum libri sex. Leiden 1618, 467–484; P. LAMBECIUS (Lambeck), Georgii Codini et alterius cuiusdam anonymi Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis. Paris 1655, 241–294; *PG* 107, 1130–1140 (Migne reproduces the edition by Lambeck, but makes a number of unnecessary emendations); P. STEFANITZIS, Συλλογὴ διαφόρων προρρήσεων. Athens 1838; N.A. VEIS, *BNJ* 13 (1937) 219–244g; B. KNÖS, in: Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη. Athens 1960, 155–188 (cf. A. KOMINIS, *EEBS* 30 (1960–61) 398–412); A. RIGO, Oracula Leonis. Tre manoscritti greco-veneziani degli oracoli attribuiti all' imperatore bizantino Leone il Saggio. Padua 1988; VEREECKEN & HADERMACH-MISGUICH 2000: 92–136; W.G. BROKKAAR et al., The Oracles of the Most Wise Emperor Leo & the Tale of the True Emperor. Amsterdam 2002, 56–89.

[17] See JANSSEN & LAUXTERMANN 2002: 27–44.

[18] See Choniates (ed. Van Dieten), 41, 10–13; 222, 68; 351, 72; 355, 8–15; 433, 91–92. Choniates 355, 8–15, quotes oracle 5 (*PG*: VI) in a different order than that of the existing editions, which all make the mistake of reading the texts around the miniatures in the following manner: top-left-right-bottom (whereas we should read the texts crosswise: top-bottom-left-right).

true emperor who would prepare the way for the second coming of Christ (oracle 5). In the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition the true emperor is always the last in a line of incompetent or even wicked rulers, and his task is to set the scores straight, undo the evil that has been done, and set an example of piety and true Christianity, so that the righteous will know what to do when the Antichrist comes to reign (the Antichrist is the subject of oracle 6). The incompetent or wicked emperors that ruled before Leo V, are Irene (oracle 1), Constantine VI (oracle 2), Nikephoros I and his son Staurakios (oracles 3a and b), and Michael I Rangabe who allegedly killed Staurakios (oracles 4a and b).[19] Among these emperors, Irene is the root of all evil because she reintroduced the heresy of iconophily, and Michael I is the worst of all because he was a devoted iconophile and the murderer of Staurakios (whose name stands for the cross (σταυρός) so popular among iconoclasts).

The third oracle (*PG*: II–III) is a diptych, dealing with a cross-bearing eagle and a horn-bearing horse (σταυροῦχος ὄρνις and ἵππος κερασφόρος): the cross-bearing eagle is Staurakios and the horn-bearing horse is Nikephoros (the horn, κέρας, is a well-known symbol of victory, νίκη). The second part of this diptych deals with Nikephoros:

καὶ θρασὺς ὡς μάλιστα καὶ ταχὺς πέλεις
καὶ πρὸς μάχας ἕτοιμος, ὦ Βύζης γένος·
ἔχεις δ᾽ ἀκοὰς τοῖς λόγοις κεκλεισμένας
καὶ χρεμετίζεις ἄτερ ἡνίων φυγάς·
ἀλλ᾽ ὑστάτη σὲ κερδανεῖ λαβὴ λόγου·
τόποις ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα πέσῃς·
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος κέρας πέλει.

‘O scion of Byza, you are so very bold and fast and ready for combat. But you keep your ears closed to words and you neigh like a runaway (horse) without a bridle. The last part of your name, however, will be your undoing. In wet places, against all odds, you will be struck down; for in you, beginning and ending alike are a horn’.[20] A few comments are in order here. Byza stands for Constantinople: although Nikephoros’ family was of Arab origin, they had been living in Constantinople for ages and Nikephoros himself was a trusted administrator of the empire, working in a Constantinopolitan environment. It is also stated that he was ‘ready for combat’, which is certainly true of Nikephoros who was always fighting somewhere in the few years that he wielded the sceptre over the Byzantine empire. Nikephoros is criticized for ‘closing his ears’ to good advice and for ‘neighing like a runaway horse without a bridle’. That is to say, he acted like a madman on

[19] See Janssen & Lauxtermann 2002: 36–44.

[20] *PG* 107: 1132. I adopted the following two readings from other mss: κεκλεισμένας (Migne κεκτημένας) and πέσῃς (Migne πεσεῖς) and changed the order of the verses (see n. 18 above). Instead of φυγάς, other mss. have φιλίας: both readings are metrically incorrect.

the loose who did not listen to his courtiers when they advised him to end the Bulgarian campaign. The oracle predicts that the last part (syllable) of his name 'will be his undoing':[21] -ρος, which stands for Ῥῶς. The Rhos are the foul tribes of Gog and Magog (cf. *Ezek.* 38: 2 and 39: 1) that will wreak havoc at the end of all time; but it cannot be ruled out that the Rus' are meant, the Viking warriors of southern Russia. When the Bulgarians were utterly defeated by the Byzantine army in early 811, their khan appealed to other tribes and nations for help, and with the assistance of these mercenaries he succeeded in annihilating the troops of Nikephoros 'against all odds'. Were the belligerent Rus' perhaps one of the khan's allies participating in the battle that would lead to the death of Nikephoros? The oracle furthermore predicts that Nikephoros 'will be struck down in wet places'. As we know from historical sources, on July 25, 811, the Byzantine army had been entrapped in a narrow valley in the mountains, through which a river flowed. When the Bulgarians and their allies attacked, Nikephoros and his army tried to escape and fled to the marshy river-sides, where they tumbled in on top of each other, drowning, suffocating, and being trampled underfoot, while the survivors were butchered by the enemy. And it is here, in this 'wet place', that the Emperor Nikephoros sadly died among his soldiers. In the next line, we read that 'in (Nikephoros) beginning and ending alike are a horn'. The beginning is his dominion, his military prowess and his victories (his κέρας). The end is his sad death at the hands of the Bulgarian khan, Krum, who turned his skull into a drinking-horn (κέρας), which he used to drink the health of his allies.

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## *Riddles*

There are only three riddles that can safely be dated to before the year 1000,[22] but it stands to reason that some of the material in later riddle collections is quite old and may have been composed centuries earlier. The problem is that it is impossible to establish an exact date for most of the riddle collections, and consequently, to fix a *terminus ante quem* for the riddles they contain. The riddle

[21] Cf. Niketas Choniates 222, 66–70, who interpreted this verse as a prediction of the number of years that Manuel Komnenos would reign, namely 38 years, the last syllable of his name being ηλ.

[22] Two of them will be treated below. The third one is Geometres, Sa. 8: ed. SAJDAK 1930–31: 533; see MERCATI 1927: 411–412, and MERCATI 1970: I, 426–431, at 428–429; see also C.F. KUMANIECKI, *Eos* 34 (1932–33) 343–344. Between the fourth century (Emperor Julian) and the tenth century (the Anonymous Patrician and John Geometres) there is a major gap in our sources.

collection of Psellos is probably not his;[23] the riddle collection of Basil Megalomytes[24] has traditionally been assigned to the twelfth century, but without any proof;[25] and while the riddle collections of Eumathios Makrembolites[26] and Theodore Aulikalamos[27] do date from the twelfth century, the surviving manuscripts do not preserve the original collections, but contain additional material culled from other sources.[28] There are also numerous anonymous riddle collections, from both the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods; these cannot be dated either.[29] The four eponymous as well as the many anonymous collections contain quite a number of riddles composed by famous authors, such as Mitylenaios, Mauropous, Psellos, Prodromos and Euthymios Tornikes.[30] However, the collections are generally silent on matters of authorship. It is only because we still have the original sources that we can attribute riddles to their rightful authors. Once a

[23] Ed. Westerink 1992: nos 35–52; for the incorrect attribution to Psellos, see ibidem, XXVI and 298–299.

[24] Ed. Boissonade 1829–33: III, 437–452.

[25] There is a tantalizing possibility that Βασίλειος Μεγαλομίτης (as the name is usually spelled in mss.) and Βαρθολομαῖος Μαλομύτης (see chapter 17, pp. 173–174) are in fact one and the same person, in which case Basil would be his Christian name and Bartholomew his monastic name. However, the only secure date for Bartholomew Malomytes is that his poems are found in a ms. of c. 1270: Vat. gr. 207.

[26] Ed. Treu 1893: 1–9. For the life of Eumathios Makrembolites, see H. Hunger, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 5 (1998) 1–28, at 4–8.

[27] Ed. Boissonade 1829–33: III, 453–454 and Treu 1893: 10–14. For the identification of Aulikalamos (end of the 12th c.), see Treu 1893: 31–34.

[28] For a survey of the Byzantine riddle tradition, see Zanandrea 1990. For the interpolations in Makrembolites' and Aulikalamos' collections, see idem, p. 149 and p. 152. See also Milovanovič-Barham 1993: 53–55.

[29] Lambros prepared a corpus of Byzantine riddles and published several riddle collections in the issues of his own periodical, *Neos Hellenomnemon*, but he never completed the work; Zanandrea 1990 apparently had similar plans, but these, too, failed to materialize. Milovanovič 1986 reproduces the earlier publications, with a translation into Serbian; her edition also comprises numerous *erotapokriseis*, such as no. 127: 'What was the first miracle Jesus performed? He healed the hand of Salome when He was still in the cradle' — personally I do not consider these questions and answers to be riddles. For new material, see now Beta 2014a, Beta 2014b, Beta 2015, Beta 2016 and Beta 2017.

[30] Mitylenaios nos 21, 35, 47, 56, 71, 111 and 137; Mauropous no. 60; Psellos nos 35–37; Prodromos: see Hörandner 1974: 55 (no. 160); Tornikes: see Zanandrea 1990: 149 (no. 7). In Par. Suppl. gr. 690 (s. XII), fol. 108$^{r}$, a riddle εἰς τὸν κοντοπαίκτην (an acrobat who balances a pole on his head) is ascribed to an otherwise unknown Eustathios Kanikles (ed. Sternbach 1900b: 291–293); in other sources, the same riddle is attributed to Emperor Julian and to Basil Megalomytes. Julian can be excluded because the poem is written in Byzantine dodecasyllables, and Megalomytes is not an author but an anthologist. Given that all the poems in Par. Suppl. gr. 690 date from before the twelfth century and the post of *kanikleios* is known from the 9th c. onward, Eustathios will have lived in the 10th or the 11th c.; he is perhaps identical to *PBW* Eustathios 20102 (c. 1099): see http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk.

riddle by a known author started to circulate in riddle collections, it was felt to be common property and, hence, attributions no longer mattered.

There are basically two types of riddles: (a) a puzzling description or enumeration of characteristics of a person, animal or object, veiled in obscure metaphors and abstruse circumlocutions (a 'true' riddle) and (b) a sort of word game, consisting in adding or removing letters at the beginning or the end of the word that has to be guessed, or playing around with the numerical value of the letters of the Greek alphabet.[31] I will give an example of each. The first example is Geometres, no. 239 (αἴνιγμα εἰς ἅλας, 'a riddle on salt'):

ὕδατος ἐκγενόμην, τράφε δ᾽ ἥλιος αὖτις
ἀθάνατος, θνήσκω δέ γε μητέρι μούνῃ.

'I was born from the water, but raised by the sun, which never dies; I myself only die through my mother'.[32] The heading to this riddle somehow spoils the fun of discovering the solution all by oneself, but we can be certain that when Geometres propounded this text as a riddle to be solved by his peers, the title was not there to make any further guessing unnecessary. The riddle is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, its metre is a sequence of five dactyls: this metrical form is without parallel in Greek poetry, with the sole exception of Constantine the Sicilian, *AP* 15.13, who uses it in lines 2 and 3.[33] As there is nothing wrong with the text, we should resist the temptation to emend *metri causa*, and acknowledge instead the novelty of this metrical experiment. Secondly, and more importantly, this is one of the very few Byzantine riddles that have come down to us in vernacular versions as well.[34] In a recent edition of Modern Greek riddles (an oral tradition that was alive until quite recently) there are no fewer than 25 different versions of this riddle, mostly from the islands in the eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Karpathos, Samos, etc.).[35] For instance, εγεννήθηκα ᾽που το νερόν, εις τηφ φωτιάν τρέμω, πτέφτω στ᾽ αγκάλια της μάνας μου τζαι πεθανίσκω, or από νερό γεννιέται τσι ο ήλιος το θρέφει, τσι ότα δει τη μάνα του, πέφτει τσαι πεθαίνει, or νιρό μι γένν᾽σι, μι τουν ήλιου τρέφουμι, κι σα ιδώ τ᾽ μάνα μ᾽, πιθαίνου. Although the myth of eternal Greece has, admittedly, done more harm than good in the past, it

[31] See Milovanovič-Barham 1993: 55.

[32] Ed. Van Opstall 2008: 392. Also published by Milovanovič 1986: 49 (no. 65).

[33] Sequences of five dactyls are sometimes found in the lyrics of ancient tragedies, especially those of Aeschylus: see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst. Berlin 1921, Darmstadt $^{3}$1975, 354. But as a metrical form κατὰ στίχον, it is not found anywhere else.

[34] See Koukoules 1948–55: A II, 64–86, esp. 73. Most of the examples adduced by Koukoules to prove the continuity of the riddle tradition throughout the centuries do not stand up to scrutiny, but this one does.

[35] Chr. Chatzitaki-Kapsomenou, Θησαυρός Νεοελληνικών Αινιγμάτων. Heraklion 2000, 136–138. For other Modern Greek versions, see Koukoules 1948–55: A II, 73. For a late Byzantine version, see Sp. Lambros, *NE* 17 (1923) 215 (no. III, 2).

would be wrong to deny the existence of at least some form of continuity throughout the centuries. This continuity is not immutable or unchanging; in fact, it alters when it alteration finds. It is the flow of things, hardly noticed and hardly noticeable, because it is embedded in the language itself and the patterns of thought it imposes, in the physical environment and its constraints, and in the basic realities of peasant life in the pre-industrial age. In the case of this particular riddle, it is reasonable to assume that Geometres knew a vernacular version of it, which he translated into pseudo-Homeric Greek and transposed into a metre that, precisely because of its rarity, sounded sufficiently elevated. The vernacular version known to Geometres will, of course, have differed from the oral versions copied down in the last two centuries; besides, these modern versions differ so strongly in their exact wording that each of them should be seen as an independent oral creation. But the pattern of thought is the same: salt is 'born' from sea 'water', is 'raised' into existence through the heat of the 'sun' (drying in salt-pans), and 'dies' when it dissolves in water (in its 'mother').

The second example is a riddle by the Anonymous Patrician.[36] It is a word play, which consists in first removing the initial letter and then adding another letter at the beginning:

κλῆσιν ἐμὴν δηλοῦσι γράμματα τρία,
ἑνὸς δὲ τούτων ἐκκοπέντος θὴρ μένω·
εἰ δ᾽ αὖ προθείης τῶν ἀφώνων γραμμάτων,
εὕρῃς με ζῷον ἡμερώτατον λίαν.

'Three letters indicate my name and if you remove one of them, I remain a wild animal; but if you then prefix one of the consonants, you will find me a very tame animal indeed'.[37] The solution to this riddle is: σῦς – ὗς – μῦς ('swine – swine – mouse'). The first two words derive from the same root: ὗς is Attic, σῦς is Homeric. The differences between Attic and Homeric Greek, or to be more precise, between rhetorical and poetic words, was the subject of many a lesson in the Byzantine school curriculum. This is why I would suggest that this riddle and similar ones we find in collections of riddles, all playing with words, were primarily intended for young students.[38] The Greek Anthology provides some evidence that school children had to solve riddles. The heading of *AP* 7.429 tells us that Kephalas, a junior teacher at the school of the New Church, propounded it as a riddle for his students to solve.[39] The same Kephalas introduces his collection of riddles and oracles (*AP* 14) as follows: γυμνασίας χάριν καὶ ταῦτα προτίθημι ἵνα

[36] Ed. Vassis 2015: 337 (no. 15), cf. 350.
[37] In line 3, I follow the ms. reading γραμμάτων, which the editor unnecessarily 'corrects' to γράμμά τι: ἓν is implied, cf. ἑνὸς in line 2.
[38] See Milovanovič-Barham 1993: 64 and n. 55.
[39] See Cameron 1993: 109–110.

γνῷς τί μὲν παλαιῶν παῖδες, τί δὲ νέων, 'by way of exercise I will also give you a taste of these texts, so that you may know what the children of the ancients (were worth) and what the children of the moderns (are worth)'. Since Kephalas addresses his students in his prefaces, it is beyond doubt that it is they who are challenged to solve the riddles of book *AP* 14 and thus to show that they are as smart as the children of earlier generations in solving riddles.[40] This implies that Kephalas, rightly or wrongly, assumed that the practice of solving riddles at school was not something completely new, but went back to the ancients.[41]

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## *Dream Keys*

As in the case of riddles, the text history of dream books (ὀνειροκριτικά) is complex and not easy to solve. There are two types of dream books: elaborate dream interpretations, such as we find in Artemidorus (2nd c.) and Achmet (10th c.),[42] and simple dream keys, which provide a short-cut to the non-specialist who wants to understand the meaning of his dreams. This latter type of dream book will concern us here.

According to dream book specialists, such as, notably, Oberhelman,[43] there are five *oneirokritika* that fall into the category of dream keys: Ps. Daniel (late antique; translated into Latin in the 7th c.), Astrampsychos, Ps. Nikephoros, Ps. Germanos, and the dream book of Par. gr. 2511 [52143] (s. XIV ex.).[44] The first and the last of these dream keys are in prose; Astrampsychos and Ps. Nikephoros are in verse; Ps. Germanos is in a mixture of prose and verse. The collections of Astrampsychos, Ps. Nikephoros and Ps. Germanos have a great number of verses in common, but these verses often differ in their exact wording and metrical

[40] See CAMERON 1993: 137.

[41] N. G. WILSON, Scholars of Byzantium. London 1983, 23, states that Nicholas Mesarites in his description of the Holy Apostles and its school (ed. G. DOWNEY, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47 (1957) 866 and 899 (§VIII. 3)) refers to a practice of the more advanced children, the formulation of riddles; but in fact, Mesarites refers to the composition of schedographic exercises (often called γρῖφοι, 'riddles', because of their complexity).

[42] See M. MAVROUDI, A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet and its Arabic Sources. Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002.

[43] S.M. OBERHELMAN, *Byz* 50 (1980) 487–503; idem, *BSl* 47 (1986) 9–24; idem, *ODB*, s.v. Oneirokritika. See now OBERHELMAN 2008 and OBERHELMAN 2014.

[44] Ps. Daniel: ed. F. DREXL, *BZ* 26 (1926) 290–314; Astrampsychos: ed. RIGAULT 1603; Ps. Nikephoros: ed. GUIDORIZZI 1980; Ps. Germanos: ed. F. DREXL, *Λαογραφία* 7 (1923) 428–448; Par. gr. 2511: ed. F. DREXL, *Λαογραφία* 8 (1921–25) 347–375.

structure. It is generally assumed that Astrampsychos was first, that Ps. Nikephoros used Astrampsychos and added some verses of his own, and that Ps. Germanos was next in line, adding some prose interpretations of Ps. Daniel to the verses of Ps. Nikephoros. I beg to differ with this view.

First of all, as already pointed out by Guidorizzi,[45] the collection of 'Astrampsychos' does not exist. The error goes back to 1599, when Opsopoeus published the text; in his notes we read the following: 'Doctissimus Ios. Scaliger ὀνειροκριτικόν istud emendavit, digessit & suo auctori Astrampsycho vindicavit, perperam Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani nomine olim editum' ('The most learned Joseph Scaliger has corrected and put in order this dream book, and has attributed it to its rightful author, Astrampsychos, whereas in the past it was incorrectly published under the name of Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople').[46] The previous edition Opsopoeus refers to is the *Souda*, which contains 104 oneirocritic verses in total.[47] Almost all the quotations are introduced as follows: λύσις ὀνείρου (or ὀνείρων, if the *Souda* quotes more than one verse), and on no fewer than ten occasions the λύσις ὀνείρου, or dream key, is explicitly attributed to an author, namely Patriarch Nikephoros.[48] The verses do not form part of the original *Souda*, but are later interpolations; according to Adler, however, these interpolations are very old and may even go back to the archetype of the manuscript tradition.[49] That is to say, the oneirocritic verses probably were added to the *Souda* as early as the eleventh century, which makes this source the oldest we have.

If we compare Scaliger's text with that of the *Souda*, it is obvious that he culled the oneirocritic verses from this source; the readings are on occasion slightly different, but Scaliger himself admitted to having emended the verses.[50]

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[45] GUIDORIZZI 1980: 44–45.

[46] Ed. I. OPSOPOEUS (Joh. Koch), Oracula metrica (…). Item Astrampsychi oneirocriticon a Ios. Scaligero digestum et castigatum, in: idem, Σιβυλλιακοὶ χρησμοί, hoc est Sibyllina oracula (…). Paris 1599, 92–100 (edition) and 113–114 (notes). In the same year, Morel also published oneirocritic verses under the name of Astrampsychos: F. MORELLUS, Ἀστραμψύχου ὀνειροκριτικά, κατ' ἀλφάβητον. Paris 1599; his source of information is probably Scaliger as well. Like Scaliger (see main text), Morel derived the oneirocritic verses from the *Souda*.

[47] The editio princeps of the *Souda* (by Demetrios Chalkondyles) dates from 1499; it was followed by the Aldine edition of 1514 and a third edition was produced in 1549: see ADLER 1928–38: vol. I, p. XI. I have not checked which of these three editions was used by Scaliger.

[48] See ADLER 1928–38: B 351, Z 11, K 1663, M 302, Π 1841, Σ 133, Σ 1129, T 1036, Οι 143 and Y 49.

[49] See ADLER 1928–38: vol. V, pp. 277–78.

[50] Scaliger overlooked three verses: Ps. Nikephoros 2 (=ADLER 1928–38: B 145), 80 (=Ξ 73) and 100 (=Π 3201). As the *Souda* sometimes quotes the same verse more than once and sometimes quotes more than one verse in the same passage, the number of quotations (102) is not the same as the number of verses quoted (104). The *Souda* also attributes a metrical etymology of the

Scaliger arbitrarily attributed the oneirocritic verses to 'Astrampsychos' because according to the same source he used, the *Souda*, the real Astrampsychos had produced an ὀνειροκριτικόν.[51] The Scaliger/Opsopoeus edition was reproduced four years later by Rigault, without explicit acknowledgements and without the tell-tale note,[52] and as Rigault's edition was used by generations of scholars, who did not bother to check the Scaliger/Opsopoeus edition, Scaliger's guess has become widely accepted — although there is not a single Byzantine manuscript to corroborate the attribution to 'Astrampsychos'. 'Astrampsychos' is in fact a mere phantom, and his name should be struck from the records.

Secondly, the collection of Ps. Germanos is found in only one manuscript, Vindob. Theol. gr. 336 [72003], and it is very questionable whether the ascription to Patriarch Germanos is any more reliable than those to Gregory of Nazianzos and St Athanasios, which we find in the headings of other oneirocritic collections. It is Drexl who decided that Ps. Gregory of Nazianzos and Ps. Athanasios are in fact Ps. Nikephoros, despite the numerous discrepancies and differences.[53] He could have postulated the same for Ps. Germanos, but did not because Ps. Germanos contains so much prose.[54] However, many manuscripts that belong to the tradition of Ps. Nikephoros, contain a fair number of dream interpretations in prose; it is not just Ps. Germanos. Then there is the fact, as noticed by Gigli,[55] that Ps. Germanos often offers readings that are very close to 'Astrampsychos' (=the *Souda*) and the oldest manuscripts of Ps. Nikephoros. Rather than being the last in a long series of mutations and alterations in the text history of 'Astrampsychos' and Ps. Nikephoros, Ps. Germanos is in fact one of the earliest witnesses to the process of a gradually expanding corpus of dream keys in verse.

Thirdly, it is unclear what the term 'Ps. Nikephoros' stands for. The term in itself suggests that there is one autonomous collection composed or compiled at a certain point in time by an author masquerading as Patriarch Nikephoros. But the truth of the matter is that the manuscripts[56] present different collections, with a

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place name 'Benevento' to the dream book: ADLER 1928–38: K 344 (cf. B 238) λύσις ὀνείρου: Βενεβεντὸν λέγουσι πνευμάτων βίαν.

[51] See ADLER 1928–38: A 4251. This *oneirokritikon* has not come down to us.

[52] Ed. RIGAULT 1603. Rigault reproduces not only Scaliger's edition, but also his translation into Latin. Here and there the text is slightly different, because Rigault, like Scaliger before him, made some emendations. In contrast to Scaliger/Opsopoeus, Rigault published the oneirocritic verses in strict alphabetical order.

[53] See DREXL 1922: 95.

[54] See F. DREXL, *Λαογραφία* 7 (1923) 428–430.

[55] GIGLI 1978: 65–78.

[56] To the list of manuscripts in GUIDORIZZI 1980: 33–35, add ms. 71 of the Library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria [32958] (s. XII ex.): see TH. DETORAKIS, *Παλίμψηστον* 16 (1996) 64–74, at pp. 71–72, and Athous Ib. 79 [23676] (s. XIV med.): see P. SOTIROUDIS, in: I. VASSIS, G.S.

great number of variant readings, omissions and additions. The first modern editor, Drexl, published all the verses he could find without distinguishing between the various manuscripts, so that the reader is left with the impression that all these verses in the end derive from one and the same collection.[57] The second editor, Guidorizzi, is much more cautious and divides the material into three categories: the 'authentic' Ps. Nikephoros (133 vv.), additional verses found in only one of the two manuscript branches (Appendix I: 82 vv.) and additional verses found in only a restricted number of manuscripts (Appendix II: 121 vv.).[58] However sensible this scholarly approach may appear to be, it obscures the fact that the *stemma codicum* drawn up by Guidorizzi, along with its two manuscript branches (a and b), is merely an editorial tool and does not correspond to the contradictory and often bewildering evidence of the manuscripts.[59] In fact, the whole idea of a *stemma codicum* should be abandoned in the case of an open text tradition. There is no such thing as an autonomous collection that we can safely attribute to one and the same author. Ps. Nikephoros is as much a fiction as 'Astrampsychos' and Ps. Germanos.

By now it will have become clear that the three names attached to the tradition of oneirocritic verses are purely symbolic. Apart from a few gullible scholars, no one in his right mind would believe that these verses were indeed written by Astrampsychos (a Persian magus of the 4th century BC), Patriarch Nikephoros I (806–815) or Patriarch Germanos I (715–730). These names are just cover-ups. The name of 'Astrampsychos' was invented by Scaliger, not just because of the testimony of the *Souda*, but also because the historical Astrampsychos was a magician and, allegedly, an author of oracles — the sort of author to whom you can attribute any kind of arcane wisdom. The two patriarchs (as well as Gregory of Nazianzos and St Athanasios) were chosen as *noms de plume*, because they were champions of orthodoxy, and if people of their stature did not hesitate to compose dream books, then there was obviously nothing wrong with being interested in this kind of lore.

However, the nomenclature is also symbolic in the sense that, by restricting the number of names to three, it creates the false impression that we are dealing

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HENRICH and D.R. REINSCH (eds.), Lesarten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag. Berlin-New York 1998, 101–109.

[57] DREXL 1922.

[58] See GUIDORIZZI 1980: 47–48 (cf. pp. 36–37).

[59] As GUIDORIZZI 1980: 41–42 himself admits, it is impossible to draw up a *stemma codicum* for manuscript branch 'b'; what these 'b' manuscripts have in common, is that they differ from manuscript branch 'a'. Moreover, 'a' manuscripts offer 'b' readings, and vice versa (see, for instance, the 'a' readings of the *Souda* at vv. 12, 38 and 51); and 'a' manuscripts provide verses that belong to the 'b' tradition (see, for instance, I 60 and 72), and vice versa (see, for instance, I, 17, 22, 26, 28–32, 37–38, 67–68 and 80–81). I find the arguments provided for a common archetype of 'a' and 'b' at pp. 36–37 not very convincing.

with only three collections. In fact, there are as many collections as there are manuscripts, each with its own peculiarities, each unique in its own way. Of course, since all these collections are interrelated and present more or less the same material, albeit with substantial additions, omissions, or both, there must be a nucleus somewhere at the centre of the text history — a source from which all these collections ultimately derive. But as stated before, it would be wrong to apply the usual philological methods to this kind of literature and create an illusory *stemma codicum*. The archetype is beyond reconstruction.

It is impossible to provide a secure date for the original source. The iambic versification is typically Byzantine: purely isosyllabic, with an obligatory stress on the penultimate syllable, and prosodically correct, except for the dichrona which are measured either short or long.[60] In other words, the *terminus post quem* is the later seventh century. The earliest source is the interpolated archetype of the *Souda*, dating from the eleventh century: that is the *terminus ante quem*. If the dream book was attributed to Nikephoros already in its oldest version, as it is in the *Souda* and in many other manuscripts, it must date from after the end of the iconoclast controversy; however, it cannot be excluded that the dream book was attributed to the patriarch only in a later stage of the manuscript tradition. A date in the later ninth or perhaps the tenth century is very likely, but a slightly earlier date cannot be ruled out.[61]

Given the fact that the *Souda* is the oldest source and that the verses it contains can be found in most other collections, albeit with substantial textual changes, it is reasonable to assume that this particular collection (in the *Souda* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros, in modern editions to 'Astrampsychos') presents an early stage in the text history. In what follows I will comment on some of the verses found in the *Souda.* It is not my intention to suggest that all the other collections, once we have assigned a privileged status to the *Souda* version, are no longer of any interest. On the contrary, all these collections bear witness to a vivid interest in dream interpretation on the part of the Byzantines, are living proof of an ongoing process of understanding the subconscious, and illustrate the multifarious influences (ancient, Arabic and otherwise) on the Byzantine oneirocritic tradition.

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[60] Prosodic errors are to be found only in later collections, such as the one in Bodl. Clarke 16 [47771]. It is also in these later collections that we find some traces of vernacular Greek, like: ἐλάδιν ἐλθεῖν ἀντικρύς σοι (read: ἀντικρίσεις) τὸν Ἅδην (ed. Guidorizzi 1980: 76 (appendix II, no. 36)), 'if olive-oil comes your way, you will face Hades' [ελάδιν sounds like έλα Άδη].

[61] Guidorizzi 1980: 27–28 dates the collection between the second half of the seventh century and the ninth century, in order to account for the fact that the 'archetype' had spread in so many directions already in the eleventh century (the time of the earliest testimonia). In an open text tradition, however, changes can occur very rapidly.

They are quintessential to understanding the psychological assimilation of reality and daily experiences in Byzantium.[62]

In certain manuscripts of Ps. Nikephoros (but not in the *Souda*) the dream book is introduced by a prologue in verse, which explains that there is a difference between false dreams and true ones.[63] False dreams result from eating too much, alcohol abuse, sorrows and feelings of frustration. In these cases, the body is playing tricks on us. By controlling our physical impulses during the day-time and by shedding tears and praying to God just before going to bed, we may obtain true dreams from God. Of course, these dreams are just 'shadowy reflections' of the truth revealed to us, and in order to understand their messages we need dream keys, such as the ones provided by Ps. Nikephoros. Two things are worth noting here. The first is that God apparently communicates with ordinary people through dreams. The second is that dreams have a universal meaning, regardless of the individual dreamer.

Dream key Γ 489 ('Astrampsychos' 15, Ps. Nikephoros, app. I, no. 23)[64] goes as follows: γυμνὸς καθεσθεὶς σῶν ὑπεκστῇς πραγμάτων, 'if you sit naked, you will be stripped of your belongings. This refers to the common dream of being naked and feeling ashamed of one's nakedness. The Byzantine interpretation of this dream is fairly literal: being naked means being stripped of your possessions; it also suggests a feeling of abandonment, of being unprotected by the things that surround you.

Dream key Θ 26 ('Astrampsychos' 26, Ps. Nikephoros 42) says: θρίδακας ἔσθειν σωμάτων δηλοῖ νόσον, 'eating lettuce is a premonition of bodily illness'. Dreaming of eating lettuce is a bad sign, because in the Middle Ages lettuce is prescribed as a cure for quite a number of illnesses.[65] In the oneirocritic tradition

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[62] See G. DAGRON, in: I sogni nel medioevo, ed. T. GREGORY. Rome 1985, 37–55, and P. SCHREINER, in: Βυζάντιο, κράτος και κοινωνία. Μνήμη Ν. Οικονομίδη, eds. A. AVRAMEA, A. LAIOU & E. CHRYSOS. Athens 2003, 451–458. See also CH. ANGELIDI & G. CALOFONOS (eds), Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond. Farnham 2014.

[63] See GUIDORIZZI 1980: 65 (Appendix I, vv. 1–9 (cf. vv. 10–16)).

[64] For the text quoted, see the *Souda*, ed. ADLER 1928–38; for the references to 'Astrampsychos' and Ps. Nikephoros, see the editions of RIGAULT 1603 and GUIDORIZZI 1980, respectively. The Rigault edition of 'Astrampsychos' has been translated into English by a pseudonymous author, operating under the cover name of Monty Cantsin: http/www.thing.de/projekte/7:9%23/dream_book.html, and into German by BRACKERTZ 1993: 7–20; the Scaliger edition of 'Astrampsychos', which has a different numbering (see n. 52 above), has been translated into English by OBERHELMAN 2008: 149–152, and into German by K. BRODERSEN, Astrampsychos. Das Pythagoras-Orakel und über magische Steine, über Traumdeutung, Liebesbindezauber. Darmstadt 2006, 148–161. Ps. Nikephoros has been translated into English by OBERHELMAN 2008: 117–148, and into German by BRACKERTZ 1993: 23–62.

[65] See, e.g., Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, 2.136. According to medieval dietists, its only shortcoming is that it may diminish libido.

there are many dream interpretations that deal with the subject of eating certain foods, which are considered either good or bad. Here we have an obvious connection with the so-called γιατροσόφια of pre-modern Greece.

Dream key A 1392 ('Astrampsychos' 31, Ps. Nikephoros 51b) tells us the following: κερδοῖ συνών τε κερδοσύνην προσδόκα, 'if you meet a fox, expect profit (or: expect cunning tricks)'. The meaning of κερδοσύνη is not entirely clear: in ancient Greek it means 'cunning'; in several manuscripts, however, we find the variant reading: κέρδος, 'profit'. Instead of συνών τε, many manuscripts of Ps. Nikephoros have συναντῶν: in general, there is a tendency to remove all the meaningless connectives, such as δὲ and τε, which we find in the *Souda.* As so often in the oneirocritic tradition, the dream interpretation is in fact a word play: seeing a κερδώ means κερδοσύνην. The word κερδώ for 'fox' probably derives from the Aesopic tradition in Byzantium.

Dream key K 2726 ('Astrampsychos' 39, Ps. Nikephoros 63) has this to say: κυνῶν ὑλαγμὸς ἐχθρικὴν δηλοῖ βλάβην, 'barking dogs announce harm through enemies'. Of interest here is the reference to watchdogs guarding property. Byzantine dream books are a still-unexploited source of information for *realia.* The word 'enemies' probably refers to ordinary thieves, but may also indicate raids by the Arabs.

Dream key M 1106/Π 1250 ('Astrampsychos' 63, Ps. Nikephoros, app. I, no. 57) offers: πᾶσαί τε μίξεις πρόξενοι μακρῶν πόθων, 'all intercourse leads to endless longing'. Here we have a sort of reverse psychology: dreaming of sex means not having sex for a long time. This pattern of thought is common to the oneirocritic tradition, which repeatedly avers that dreaming of (x) means not enjoying (x). It is not a general rule, though: x can mean not-x, but x can also mean x. Apart from literal interpretations and word plays, the oneirocritic corpus structures dream interpretations on the basis of antithesis and parallelism.

Dream key I 155/K 1663 ('Astrampsychos' 96, Ps. Nikephoros, app. I, no. 77) goes as follows: χειρὸς πετασθεὶς κίρκος ἄρχουσι βλάβη, 'a falcon escaping one's hands means harm to *archontes*'. This is one of the earliest references to falconry in Byzantium, a form of hunting popular in aristocratic circles.[66] The rare and poetic word κίρκος is one of the few instances of the use of an elevated style in the genre of dream keys; vocabulary and syntax are usually very simple. The choice of plain Greek should not, however, be interpreted as a sign that dream books were intended for the common folk.[67] Chapbooks did not exist in Byzantium. The explicit reference to the *archontes* may suggest a specific target group of readers, but faced with a dearth of evidence to support this hypothesis, it would

[66] See A. Karpozilos, *ODB*, s.v. Hawking.
[67] See Beck 1971: 203–204.

be ill-advised to replace the romantic myth of the chapbook (*Volksbuch*) with another myth, that of aristocrats reading their *oneirokritikon* by the fire-side.[68]

[68] See OBERHELMAN 2014: 155.

# APPENDIX METRICA

In memory of Leon Sternbach

'Begin at the beginning, and go on till you come to the end: then stop'. Such is the King's advice in *Alice in Wonderland*. Metre is hardly anyone's Wonderland, but for those who wish to understand metre, this is still sound advice. In the case of Byzantine metrics, the beginnings are the fundamental changes the Greek language underwent in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods: loss of prosodic differentiation between long and short vowels, disappearance of diphthongs, and transition of pitch accent into stress accent. It was a gradual process, but once these changes had taken full effect, the metrical system of the ancients eventually gave up the unequal struggle. Metrical patterns became unrecognizable: the tragic poetry of Euripides turned into bad prose, and the majestic hexameters of Homer into a stream of nonsensical sounds. Collapse was inevitable. However, from amidst the debris of ancient metres, a new poetry emerged — a poetry based on isosyllaby, stress patterns and isometry.[1] It is here that this account of Byzantine metrics will begin.

But before I begin —beginnings are always postponed till they truly begin— a few words should be said about the nature of quantitative verse in the Middle Ages. Prosody was dead; but this did not stop Byzantine poets from applying it. They learned at school how to do it, and some of them were very good at it. But what they did not learn at school, because none of the ancients ever mentioned it, was the phenomenon of metrical 'bridges' (places in the verse where word end is avoided) in classical poetry. There was no need for the ancients to explain it because they could hear it with their own ears. The Byzantines could not, and that is why none of the Byzantine poets I know shows any knowledge of Porson's law, Hermann's bridge, etc. The many modern scholars who complain that Byzantine poets do not observe these 'bridges' (oh horror!), fail to understand that when a language changes, its metrical system too has to change.

Another basic misapprehension is to assume that the rules of prosody remained the same from Homeric times to the last of the Palaeologans. But what can be unprosodic in Sophocles, can be prosodic in John Mauropous: for instance,

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* The title is a homage to Leon Sternbach (Drohobych 1874 — Sachsenhausen 1940), author of several magisterial studies of Pisides' poetry, including one on metre, entitled 'Appendix Metrica' (STERNBACH 1900a: 259–296).

[1] For which see LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 69–86.

the consonant cluster -μν- closes the syllable and, therefore, lengthens it in Sophocles, but does not necessarily 'make position' in Mauropous. Generations of schoolmasters have condemned Byzantine poets for (non-existent) prosodic errors without any knowledge of historical linguistics and metrical developments. We owe the notorious classification of Byzantine poets into three categories: classics, epigones and blundering idiots, to Isidor Hilberg — a gifted classicist, but a very bad Byzantinist, who had no understanding of the fundamental changes in language and metre.[2] Despite a scathing rebuttal by Paul Maas,[3] Hilberg's crude and baseless stereotyping of Byzantine poets has been repeated time and again as if there were some truth in it. This 'appendix metrica' is intended as a practical guide for future schoolmasters who, it is hoped, will be more competent and less eager to wield the red pen where it really is not necessary.

In what follows I shall first present the rules of prosody (§1) and then discuss the three principles of Byzantine versification: isosyllaby (§2), regulation of stress patterns (§4) and isometry (§5); because it is impossible to discuss stress patterns without knowing what stress is in the first place, there is also a section on clitics (§3). The material discussed covers more than the four centuries that lie between Pisides and Geometres: it also includes later poetry, primarily from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Though this 'appendix metrica' is not a case of ἐρῶ ἐμὸν οὐδέν (some of the observations are in fact my own), it could not have been written without previous scholarship: introductions to editions, studies of individual authors, and more general metrical inquiries. So as not to clutter the pages excessively, I have sought to restrict the footnotes to an absolute minimum; but there is a reasoned bibliography at the end, which indicates which sources and studies I have used.

I do not expect all readers to follow the King's advice. Some may begin at the beginning, and then go on till they reach the end of this exposition; others may be more impatient and eagerly thumb through the pages to find what they are looking for. To these restless souls I say: forget the King and Alice, and go to Index IV, 'Metre', at the back of this volume, for cross-references to the metrical phenomena that are of interest to you. To those less impatient I say: let us begin.

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[2] Hilberg 1886: 291–308.

[3] Maas 1901: 57–59 and Maas 1903: passim.

## *Prosody*

### (1.1) *Introduction*

Prosody was a badge of honour for Byzantine poets: though they were unable to hear the difference between long and short syllables, most of them did their utmost to write prosodically faultless verses. Some were very good at it, but no poet after late Late Antiquity, which ends with the reign of Herakleios, produced verses without at least some metrical 'mistakes'.

The poets were faced with two problems. First of all, writing in a literary idiom very unlike the Rhomaic they spoke at home, they had to learn the rules of syntax, morphology and prosody of Ancient Greek and reproduce these in their own writings — and, of course, they made 'mistakes'. However, as they joined a long tradition of writing in artificial forms of Greek, some of these 'mistakes' had been sanctioned long before the Byzantine era began. Take the word ἀνήρ: the alpha is short, but has, ever since Homer, occasionally been measured long. There are also post-Koine innovations: there are simply too many instances of στίφος, στύλος, κράσις, etc. (instead of στῖφος, στῦλος, κρᾶσις) in Byzantine manuscripts to dismiss these as ordinary 'mistakes'. As Kuhn pointed out, one of the greatest poets of Byzantium, John Mauropous, systematically treats the α of πιπράσκω and πρᾶσις as short: πραθεὶς/πραθῆναι with the first syllable short, and πράσις. And Mauropous was not the only one: an anonymous grammarian tells us that words such as πρᾶσις take a circumflex, but that the συνήθεια (common practice) uses an acute instead.[4] Byzantine Greek maintains an uneven balance between the time-honoured κανόνες (rules) and the συνήθεια, and in order to understand this precarious balance, the linguistic tightrope the Byzantines are walking, we need to move beyond our *LSJ* and Kühner-Gerth and Denniston, and realize that even artificial languages, such as learned Greek, have a history of change and transformation.

The second problem the poets faced is that, with the exception of the dactylic hexameter and pentameter, their metres had become isosyllabic at the end of Late Antiquity: the iambic trimeter and the ionic trimeter had both become dodecasyllabic; the ionic dimeter octosyllabic; and the hemiamb heptasyllabic. There was no space for metrical resolutions. In practice this meant that words with a sequence of short syllables no longer fitted in the metrical scheme of the dodecasyllable whereas the same sequence of short syllables would have been perfectly acceptable in the iambic trimeter. Say a poet wishes to discuss the crane: γέρανος in classical Greek, with two short syllables -γε- and -ρα-: he is unable to

[4] See KUHN 1892: 79–80.

do so in the dodecasyllable without arbitrarily lengthening one of these two syllables.

### (1.2) *Rules of prosody in Ancient Greek*

In Ancient Greek, the vowels η and ω and all the diphthongs are long; the vowels ε and ο short; and the vowels α, ι and υ can be either short or long. When this quantitative differentiation disappeared from Greek —resulting in all vowels having the same length—, later users of the language found the prosodic value of α, ι and υ particularly difficult to grasp: is it φρίξον or φρῖξον? στύλος or στῦλος? And, for heaven's sake, is there a good reason why the aorist participle masculine is λύσας, but the neuter λῦσαν? This confusion led to the historically incorrect concept of the 'dichrona': the idea that the vowels α, ι and υ can be both long and short, whereas the truth of the matter is that they are *either* long *or* short, but not both. The alpha of ἀνήρ is short: the fact that Homer and others occasionally measure it as long for metrical reasons, does not turn it into a dichronon. It is still short. The alpha of κρᾶσις is long: the fact that later poets measure it as short, does not alter its original prosodic value. In Ancient Greek it is long, not short. The alphas of ἀνήρ and κρᾶσις are fundamentally different: the one is short, the other long — they are not both.

In epic and elsewhere, long vowels and diphthongs at word end may be shortened if followed by a word that begins with a vowel ('epic correption'): e.g. μοι in ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε is measured as short. The same phenomenon can sometimes be observed word-internally: παλαιός read as παλαός, ποιεῖν as ποεῖν.

In Ancient Greek metrics, combinations of two or more consonants, including ξ [ks], ψ [ps] and ζ [zd], 'make position'. Consonant clusters close the syllable and, consequently, syllables containing vowels that are short by nature are measured as prosodically long. This rule applies both word-internally (e.g. *λεπτός*, *ἐξ*, *ἔψω*, *ῥέζω* — all measured long) and word-externally (*τε πτωχός*, *τε ξανθός*, *τε ψιλός*, *τε ζωντανός* and, across the word boundary, *εἶδες τότε* — all measured long). The exception to this rule is the treatment of voiceless plosives (π, τ, κ) and aspirates (φ, θ, χ) followed by liquids (λ, ρ) or nasals (μ, ν) which often do not lengthen the syllable in Attic comedy and elsewhere ('Attic correption'): e.g. τέκνα read as τέ-κνα (open syllable, and therefore short), not as τέκ-να (closed syllable, and therefore long). In contrast, the voiced plosives (β, δ, γ) in combination with nasals and, often, liquids generally tend to make position in Ancient Greek.

(1.3) *Byzantine prosodic metres*

Having outlined the basic rules of Ancient Greek prosody,[5] let us now look at the rules of Byzantine prosody. Below is the prosodic scheme of the six quantitative metres still in use in Byzantine times: – represents long, ⏑ short, ⏒ long before break (with the possibility of 'brevis in longo', short counted as long), and × ambivalent ('anceps', either short or long); the overscore on ⏑⏑ in the dactylic hexameter and pentameter indicates that two short syllables may be replaced by a long one ('contraction'):

Iambic Trimeter (Dodecasyllable): ×–⏑–×–⏑–×–⏑⏒
Hemiamb (Heptasyllable): ×–⏑–×–⏒
Ionic Dimeter (Octosyllable): ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏒
Ionic Trimeter (Dodecasyllable): –⏑⏑–⏑⏑– –⏑⏑–⏒ or ⏑⏑––⏑⏑– –⏑⏑–⏒
Dactylic hexameter: –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏒
Dactylic pentameter: –⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏒ –⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏒

The dactylic pentameter is of course mostly used in combination with the dactylic hexameter, in which case the two form the elegiac distich. Sequences of dactylic pentameter (κατὰ στίχον) are very rare indeed: the only examples known to me are Prodromos 56c and Euthymios Tornikes who display their metrical expertise by celebrating the same subject in various metres, including the pentameter. Occasionally one may encounter combinations of hexameters and elegiac distichs: e.g. Pisides St. 96 (an elegiac distich followed by two hexameters), Ignatios the Deacon, *AP* 15.39 (a hexameter followed by an elegiac distich), Ps. Theodore Stoudites 96 (three elegiac distichs followed by a hexameter), Constantine the Rhodian, *AP* 15.15 (four hexameters followed by an elegiac distich)[6], or Geometres 68 (an elegiac distich followed by seven hexameters). Geometres 239 and Constantine the Sicilian, *AP* 15.13.2–3, experiment with a unique metrical form: a sequence of five dactyls, –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏒; Constantine combines this with regular hexameters in lines 1 and 4.[7]

Please note that, in contrast to its ancient ancestor, the Byzantine pentameter can have 'brevis in longo' before the caesura: that is to say, it allows the possibility of having a short syllable instead of the usual long one because the caesura functions as a hard break, comparable to line end. While most scholars nowadays seem to be blissfully unaware of this metrical innovation, it did not escape the notice of Elias Monachos, an early ninth-century metrician, who rightly points out that the

[5] This is, of course, a seriously simplified account; for more information, see West 1982.

[6] Later 'corrected' by the poet himself to six consecutive hexameters: vv. 1–6 is the original version; vv. 1–5 and 7 the reworked version.

[7] This is not clear from existing editions which 'emendate' the text by moving πόρρω from line 2 to 3 and inserting Καλλιοπείης to fill up the verse.

syllables immediately before the caesura and line end are both ἀδιάφορος (ambivalent, anceps).[8] See, for example, Ignatios the Deacon, *AP* 15.30.2 κεδνοῦ Παύλοι*ο* / ὥστε γὰρ ἠελίου; Constantine the Sicilian, *Psogos*, 1.6 Χριστιανῶν μετά *γε* / φαίδιμα λουτρά, τάλαν, and 2.8 τοῖα προσείπω*μεν* / αὐτὸν ὁμοφρονέως; book epigram in Patmos 33 (a. 941) καὶ πνεῦμ᾽ ἰσοκλεές, / εἷς γε Θεὸς τὰ τρία (Rhoby IV, GR95.2; cf. lines 4 and 10); Geometres 86.2 ἀγχέμαχον τόν*δε* / μείρακα μακροβόλος; *Paradeisos*, 53.2 Εὐπρεπίῳ πρὸς ὄρο*ς* / εἶπε φίλος πελάσας; verse inscriptions in Amaseia (Rhoby III, TR13.4) ὑψόροφον τέμε*νος* / ἥδ᾽ ἱερὴ καθέδρη, and Constantinople (Rhoby I, M14.2) Ῥωμανὸς ἥδρα*σεν* / ὀλβιόδωρος ἄναξ; Mitylenaios 57.38 <οὕτω> καὶ γένε*το·* / παῦσ᾽ ὀλοφυρόμενος. The oldest examples predate the Byzantine period,[9] and the phenomenon is also very common in later authors: Prodromos 56c, for example, has six instances in a total of twenty-four verses.

The only other structural difference to be noted is that the fifth element of the hemiamb is anceps in Byzantine times, and not short as it used to be. The first to occasionally allow long vowels in this position is Gregory of Nazianzos; he is followed by Leo Choirosphaktes, Euthymios Tornikes and Constantine Anagnostes. An anonymous Byzantine metrician, probably of the Palaeologan period, illustrates the rule with the following two examples: τί σοι, Λέον, *γράψ*αιμι and ἄπεστι κέρ*δη* πάντα.[10]

A curious phenomenon is the use of holospondaics in the Byzantine dodecasyllable: for example, Mauropous 47.49 νῦν δ᾽ ἄλλους ἕξεις οὓς παιδεύσεις καὶ θρέψεις, in which all the syllables are long and, consequently, all the feet are spondaic (−−). As it is out of the question that a poet as accomplished as Mauropous would produce prosodic errors of this magnitude, the only possible conclusion is that he is doing it on purpose, either for reasons of emphasis as Kuhn thinks or, as I am inclined to think, to make an ironic comment on the kind of education his school will provide in his absence.[11] Theodosios the Deacon, too, has holospondaic lines: 3.29 and 3.62. A book epigram in Par. gr. 219 [49790] (s. XI) has two further examples in lines 11 and 14, next to which, interestingly enough, the scribe writes ὁλοσπονδ(ειος).[12]

As we will see in the next section, there are many dodecasyllables, octosyllables and heptasyllables that show a blatant disregard for the rules of prosody.

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[8] Ed. Studemund 1886: 175: συνίσταται οὖν τὸ ἐλεγεῖον μέτρον ἐκ δύο πενθημιμερῶν τομῶν, ἑκατέρας ἐχούσης συλλαβὴν ἀδιάφορον.

[9] The earliest examples date from the third and fourth centuries AD: see West 1982: 181.

[10] Ed. Studemund 1886: 242.

[11] See Kuhn 1892: 134 and Kominis 1966: 63, n. 1.

[12] For these two marginal notes, see C. Wescher, *Revue Archéologique* 10 (1864) 350–354. For the latest edition of this epigram, see R. Stefec, *Byz* 81 (2011) 334–339, who does not mention the marginal annotation.

Since it was clearly not the intention of their poets to compose prosodic iambics, ionics and hemiambs in the first place, one cannot fault these poems for being unprosodic (as some scholars unfortunately tend to do — which is a bit like blaming cubist painters for not being more realistic, or atonal composers for not adopting the harmonies of late romanticism). Things are different in the case of poets who do make an effort to follow the obsolete rules of prosody but fail miserably in the process. These are just bad poets. The patron saint of mediocrity is Metochites: everything that, metrically speaking, can go wrong, inexplicably does go wrong in his poetry. In what follows I shall not discuss the metrical practices of such dilettantes, but instead focus on what good poets do. Since many Byzantine poems have been edited most negligently or on the basis of a single manuscript, future research will doubtless reveal that some of the prosodic peculiarities mentioned below are in fact phantoms. So be it. As Alice soon realized, one has to start somewhere.

### (1.4) *Prosody: inflected endings and 'free words'*

The rules of prosody are generally much stricter for inflected endings than they are for the roots of verbs and nouns: to measure the first alpha of ἀνέρας as long is acceptable, but to do the same with the second alpha is not. The reason for this is that it is not difficult to learn the prosodic length of a restricted number of inflections, whereas it takes an incredible intellectual effort to memorize the whole of *LSJ* by heart — and scholars criticizing the Byzantines for their prosodic lapses should ask themselves how good their own Greek would be without reference works and access to an academic library or, nowadays, the online *TLG*.

In order to understand post-classical prosody, it is worth noting that the metrical unit is not the single word, but the word cluster: the word together with its pre- and postpositives. Take Nicholas the Patrician 1.6 τὸν ἐπὶ σχοίνου (the official responsible for the starting rope in the Hippodrome). These three words form a single word cluster: it is [tonepiˈsxynu], not [ton epi ˈsxynu]. In the line ὡς εἶδον, οἴμοι, τὸν ἐπὶ σχοίνου τότε, τὸν is incorrectly measured long. This is a grave error in the metrical system of the Byzantines, but it is somehow attenuated by the fact that τὸν is cluster-internal. The same goes for the Anonymous Patrician 34.6 πρὸς ὕμνους and 34.10 πρὸς ἔπαινον, with πρὸς prosodically long — a serious mistake, for sure, but please note that in both cases the arbitrary lengthening of πρὸς is cluster-internal: [prosˈymnus], [prosˈepenon]. The cluster-internal lengthenings of τὸν and πρὸς are incorrect, but they are not as bad as, say, the metrical howler in Andrew of Crete 102 ἵν' εἰς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐλπίζειν μόνον, where the error (the last syllable of ψιλὸν measured long) occurs in word-final position.

More or less the same can be said about most of Hilberg's so-called 'freie Wörter' ('free words'): conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, numerals, and adverbs.[13] Hilberg's 'free words' are usually part of word clusters and, therefore, there is nothing horribly wrong with arbitrary lengthenings. The alpha of ἀλλά, the iota of ἐπί, and the ypsilon of πάνυ may be lengthened because these are not really word-final syllables: they are cluster-internal elements.

According to Hilberg, all the good Byzantine poets are 'epigones' at best and all the bad ones are really really bad — the only exception to this unfortunate deterioration in matters of metre is Pisides, the last of the 'classics'. Typical for these 'epigones', according to master Hilberg seated on the lofty Helicon of *Altertumswissenschaft*, is that they may shorten long final α, ι and υ, but not — thank God, or Zeus for that matter— lengthen short open α, ι and υ in word-final position (unless in 'free words').[14] This is simply not true.[15] The rule is that the major Byzantine poets seek to avoid lengthening or shortening inflected endings unless these endings are not really endings, but part of a word cluster. They do not always succeed, but this is clearly what they are aiming for.

### (1.5) *Prosody: word-internal*

Given the challenges they faced, Byzantine poets are remarkably good at writing prosodically correct verses in an artificial language. The vowels ε and ο are almost always short in their poetry, and the vowels η and ω and the diphthongs almost always long. They are also surprisingly good at getting the dichrona right: some of them make hardly any mistakes, others may err word-internally, but only a few get the prosodic value of the inflections wrong. Most poets are doing a pretty decent job. It is true that for some of them, like Theodore of Stoudios or Constantine the Rhodian in his *Ekphrasis of the Church of the Holy Apostles* (his other iambic poetry is much better), prosody is clearly not high on their list of priorities. But these repeat offenders are the exception, not the rule.

All Byzantine poets allow themselves some freedom in the handling of proper names that do not sit comfortably within the metre. Metrical syllables are arbitrarily lengthened and shortened — and sometimes both: Theodosios the Deacon 1.37 Δι*ομή*δης, measured as ×–⏑– (ο long and μη short). Here are some further examples: Sophronios 19.56 *Ἡρώ*δου (ionic dimeter), 20.81 *Προ*βατικῆς (ionic trimeter); Choirosphaktes, *On Thermal Springs*, 2 Κωνσταντῖνε, 51 *Λιπάρῃ* (hemiamb); Constantine the Rhodian, *AP* 15.15.5 Ἀλέ*ξ*ανδρος (hexameter), 6 *Ῥώ*μης (pentameter); *Paradeisos,* 4.1 *Δα*ναΐδων, 14.1 *Σκῆ*τιν (elegiac distich);

[13] See Hilberg 1879 and Hilberg 1886.
[14] See Hilberg 1886: 290–314.
[15] As rightly pointed out by Kuhn 1892: 59–81.

Methodios 18 ἄνασσα *Θ*εοδώρα; Constantine the Rhodian, *Dispute*, 116 Σο*δό*μων, 119 Κυ*βέ*λης; and Geometres 12.52 Πολυ*κλεί*του, 297.17 Κεν*ταύ*ρου (dodecasyllable).

A similar phenomenon can be observed in words that do not fit into the metre, but are otherwise the right words for what the poet wants to express. One cannot blame Ignatios the Deacon for having cranes (γέρανος) and deer (ἔλαφος) in his Aesopic fables, nor accuse him of metrical sloppiness because he allows these animals to live near rivers (ποταμός): all these three words are short-short plus ending and do not fit into the dodecasyllable. What most poets try to do in such cases is to lengthen the dichronon rather than the obviously short vowels ε and ο: so γέ*ρα*νος, ἔλ*α*φος and ποτ*α*μός (with lengthening of alpha) rather than *γέ*ρανος, *ἔ*λαφος and *πο*ταμός (with lengthening of epsilon and omikron).[16]

However, even with the metrical licence of lengthening word-internal dichrona, there are still many words that will not do because they consist of too many short or too many long syllables. Take, for example, the following words, all placed at line end: Ps. John of Damascus 3.36 παλιγγε*νε*σίας, Anonymous Italian 14.49 θε*ο*λόγον, Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 856 ὑμ*νο*λόγων and Geometres 298.104 λ*αβυρίν*θους (two 'mistakes': long βυ and short ριν). In his commentary on the pentecostal hymn of Ps. John of Damascus, Eustathios of Thessalonica writes that he follows common practice in writing παλιγγενεσίας, but that if one obeys the rules of the iambic metre, one should write παλιγγεννησίας.[17] The problem here is that παλιγγεννησία does not exist: the word is παλιγγενεσία, ⏑–⏑⏑⏑–, a prosodic pattern that does not fit into the dodecasyllable.

All this is perfectly acceptable. If a proper name or a word does not easily fit into the metre, then poets are free to make alternative arrangements. The more accomplished among them will do so sparingly, preferring to lengthen or shorten word-internal dichrona if necessary and avoiding introducing unprosodical words as far as humanly possible. The lesser talents, however, show less restraint in these matters.

[16] For more information on such lengthenings in Ignatios the Deacon, Theodosios the Deacon, John Mauropous and Christopher Mitylenaios, see Kuhn 1892: 59–81.

[17] Ed. Cesaretti & Ronchey 2014: 122 (§104.15–23).

(1.6) *Prosodic errors*

This said, it cannot be denied that medieval poetry in learned Greek also offers many unprosodic readings to which most Byzantine intellectuals, eager as ever to criticize their literary rivals in the arena of words or the *theatron*, would have taken exception. The question is whether we can lay these mistakes at the door of prosodically challenged authors or ignorant scribes — and the answer is that in most cases we simply do not know.

As mentioned above, prosodic errors are particularly offensive in the case of inflected endings (unless these endings are not really endings because they form part of a word cluster: e.g. Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 53 *τάδ'* ἐξαγορεύων, [taðeksaɣoˈrevon]). Here are some gruesome examples, first with ο, then ε, and then α, all measured long: Sophronios 22.44 νέφ*ος*; Elias Synkellos 1.43 ἔνδι*κον*; Theodore of Stoudios 83.1 οὐρα*νὸν*; Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 185 ὕποπ*τον*; Choirosphaktes, *Epitaph*, 18 φθόν*ος*; Constantine the Rhodian, *Dispute*, 76 γράφ*ε*; Ignatios the Deacon, *Adam and Eve*, 18 ἀέρ*α*; Leo the Philosopher, *AP* 9.203.1 σώφρο*να* βίον; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 496 ὄμματ*α*, 1116 θηρί*α*.

Word-internally the worst mistakes to make involve ε and ο lengthened and η, ω and diphthongs shortened. Lengthening and shortening of the so-called dichrona is by comparison less serious, although good poets still try to avoid such mistakes. Here is a random sample of grave word-internal prosodic errors: Andrew of Crete 108 *προ*δήλως; Elias Synkellos 1.65 ῥῦσαι (measured ⏑⏑; he repeats the same mistake in the next three lines); Ignatios the Deacon, *Lazaros*, 50 κασι*γνή*τους, 58 *τότε*; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 848 *προ*δόξων, 1084 ἄ*φθο*νος; John Kommerkiarios 21 ἣν *προ*λαβοῦσα; Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 944 μυ*ρο*μένης, Anon. Italian 2.1 ἀ*θροί*σασα, 28.4 *πνο*ῶν; Anon. Patrician 36.13 σύν*δρο*μον; Geometres 25.7 πλάττ*ου*σι, 297.54 ἐγχει*ρί*ζεις (ἐγχερίζεις?), 237.2 *οὔ*τις (quoting his opponents and indirectly ridiculing their incompetence).

It is worth quoting strophe ω of Constantine the Sicilian's lament for his parents who he thought had died at sea:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ὡς* ματαιότης τὰ πάντα, | *ὡς* κόνις, θύελλα, τέφρα! |
| ὁ πόνος πέπεικε γάρ με | πέρα καὶ μέτρου ποδίζειν! |

'All is vanity, all is like dust, tempest, ashes! Oh, how pain forces me to measure beyond measure!' (*Monody*, 117–120). In the ionic dimeter the first syllable is short, which is why most anacreontics do not have strophes beginning with η and ω. To have ὡς twice is a serious mistake, for sure, but the poet thinks

it is justified because of his great affliction: he is so overwhelmed by grief that he cannot but err in prosody.[18]

### (1.7) *Prosodic exemptions*

The rule that word-internal dichrona are treated somewhat more leniently than word-internal vowels that are recognizably short or long, also applies to (i) long alphas after ι, ε and ρ, (ii) long alphas with iota subscript, and (iii) long alphas that are historically the result of contraction or crasis. So it is not uncommon to find words like ἰατρός, *σφραγίς*, and *πρᾶσις* (often written with an acute) with α counted as short, despite the fact that these very same words have an η in Ionic. Nor is it uncommon to find forms of *ῥᾰ́διος*, *ῥᾰ́θυμος*, *ᾴδω* and *δᾰδουχῶ* with the alpha short. And nor again is it uncommon to discover that contracted alphas in words such as *ᾖθλα* (often spelled as ἄθλα), *ἀθλητής*, *ἄκων*, *κᾰ́ν*, *κᾰμέ* or *τᾰ́ληθῆ* count as short.

All these scansions are historically incorrect, but the problem is that historical linguistics is a fairly recent discipline: neither the ancients nor the Byzantines appear to have had a proper understanding of the ways in which their language had developed (as can be seen, for example, in the widespread misconception that Greek has five dialects: Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, and Koine — as if the Koine did not develop much later and did not grow out of Attic, with some influence of Ionic).

Our mistake is to assume that the Byzantines should have the same historical knowledge as we do. We assume that they should immediately recognize that long α remains α after ι, ε and ρ in Attic Greek, understand the logic behind iota subscript (even though they hardly used it themselves), and have a thorough knowledge of earlier stages of Greek, including contraction and crasis. In the absence of neo-grammarians in Byzantium, this assumption lacks any claim to credibility.

### (1.8) *Attic correption*

The ancient rule that two or more consonants ‘close’ the preceding syllable and thus turn it into a long metrical syllable (even if the vowel itself is short) is also valid for Byzantine poetry. So too is that other rule which stipulates that if the consonant cluster consists of a plosive and a liquid or a nasal, it may ‘release’

[18] Not all Byzantine poets agreed: John Tzetzes destroyed the metrical letter he wrote after the death of his brother because he felt that grief was no excuse for the many gross metrical errors he had committed: see P.A.M. Leone, Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae. Leipzig 1972, 19 (no. 10.5–8).

the syllable: in that case, the syllable is measured short. This is known as 'Attic correption'.

However, as regards Attic correption, there are three major developments. The first is that whereas Attic correption, both in word-initial and word-internal positions, was originally restricted to certain literary genres, such as comedy (in contrast to tragedy which tends to avoid it), the Byzantines use it in every genre, in every metre and at every position of the word. Their use of Attic correption is totally random: take, for example, Geometres, *Dispute with Stylianos*, 3.4 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὕθλος ἐξ ὕθλων, ὕβρις, λόγος, a verse in which he first measures -ὕθλ- long [ˈyθ-los] and then short [ˈy-θlon]. Arsenios, *On David*, 3 offers a very similar example: ἐνεῖρεν οὐδὲν ἧπερ ὕθλους εἰς ὕθλους (-ὕθλ- first measured long and then short).

The second change is that whereas Attic correption is phonetically conditioned (it is not a metrical licence, but reflects the actual pronunciation of Attic Greek), this is clearly not the case in Byzantine Greek, as proof of which it may suffice to point out that the aspirate plosives of the ancients (θ, φ, χ) are not plosives, but fricatives in Byzantine times: so, technically speaking, consonant clusters such as φλ and χν are not plosives + liquids/nasals, yet they still allow for 'Attic correption' in Byzantine poetry.

The third change is a real innovation: it is the expanded use of Attic correption in Byzantine poetry. In Ancient Greek, voiced plosives (β, γ, δ), especially in combination with nasals, as a rule make position: metrical syllables ending in -γμ-, -γν-, -δμ- and -δν- are invariably long; and those that end in -βλ- and -γλ- are almost always long. The Byzantines are much freer in this respect. They freely allow for Attic correption before -βλ-, -γλ- and -γν-, and use it more sparingly before -δμ-, -δν- and -γμ-.[19] To give a few examples:

-βλ-: Sophronios 4.5 *βι*βλίον, 18.47 κράτιστα βλύζει, 19.37 ἄνω *δὲ* βλέψω, 22.70 *τὸ* βλέμμα; Kometas, *AP* 15.37.1 and 38.1 *βί*βλους; Arsenios Patellarites 116 καλῶς *βε*βληκὼς; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 421 *νά*βλων, 434 *βί*βλον, 971 *βί*βλους; Geometres 13.47 ὄμμα, βλέψον ἐγγύθεν, 210.5 ἕστηκα βληθεὶς, 298.148 *βί*βλον

-γλ-: Sophronios 1.4 λιτῇσι γλῶσσαν, 20.38 *ἀ*γλαὸν, 20.57 ὅθι γλωσσοπυρσόμορφος; Arsenios Patellarites 94 τὸ χριστόγλωσσον; Geometres 67.3 ἐς δ' ἐμὲ γλώσσας, 300.101 τόξα *τε* γλώσσης, *Odes*, 7.89 *τε* γλώσσῃ; anonymous, *Poem on Maniakes*, 84 παρὰ γλουτὸν; Mitylenaios 42.16 κεντρογλώσσοις, 44.24 *δὲ* γλῶτται

[19] For similar cases of correption in Gregory of Nazianzos, see SICHERL 1991: 32 and AGOSTI & GONNELLI 1995: 402.

-γν-: Sophronios 6.38 *γι*γνώσκω, 6.92 ἵ*να* γνῶσι, 7.116 ἀ*νέ*γνωτε, 11.60 κα*σί*γνητον, 13.38 μο*νά*γνου, 17.94 *ἀ*γνοεῖ; Theodore of Stoudios 2.5 τῆς *ἁ*γνείας τοὺς τρόπους; Arsenios Patellarites 18 τ᾽ ἀπιστο*γ*νωμόβλαστα, 77 κῆρυξ *ἁ*γνωστόλεπτος; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 305 *ἔ*γνως; Theodosios the Deacon 2.12 εἰς *στυ*γνὸν μετετράπη; Geometres 298.39 φεῦ τῆς *ἁ*γνοίας, 298.54 τί τοῖς *ἁ*γνώστοις, *Odes*, 2.64 ταῦτα γνώσονται; Nikephoros Ouranos, *Epitaph*, 23 *ἔ*γνω

-δμ-: Sophronios 3.28 ἅτε δμῶες, 6.101 δυσο*δ*μεῖν; Geometres, *Hymns*, 2.31 εὔο*δ*μον ἀμφοτέρωθεν; Prodromos 77.20 πενίῃ θ᾽ ὑπο*δ*μηθὲν

-δν-: Sophronios 2.118 *ψε*δνὰ δ᾽ ὡς, 14.43 λέπα*δ*νον; Geometres 76.13 ἔνθα μόθος *τε* δνόφος, *Hymns*, 2.78 οὐ*δὲ* δνόφους φορέων; Prodromos 14.283 (Zagklas) προσφέρειν *ἔ*δνα

-γμ-: Sophronios 2.80, 10.96, 17.38, 17.82 *δο*γμάτων, 8.13 δί*δα*γμα.

(1.9) *Byzantine correption*

Another Byzantine innovation is that the consonant combination -μν-, which in Ancient Greek ordinarily closes the syllable, allows for correption: the first syllable of τέμνω may be read as [ˈte-mno] (instead of [ˈtem-no]) and, therefore, be counted as short.[20] Examples can be found in practically all major Byzantine poets, and the fact that editor after editor feels the need to point out that their poet remarkably allows metrical correption before -μν-, is a sad indictment of how understudied a subject Byzantine metrics is. Let us call the phenomenon 'Byzantine correption', and accept it for what it is. Here are some examples: 7th-c. epigram on a silver plate: *τέ*μνεις;[21] Theodore of Stoudios 6.9 *κά*μνουσιν; Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 531 ἡμί*γυ*μνος; Arethas, *AP* 15.34.8 *σε*μνὸν; Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 18 *κα*μνόντων; Anon. Patrician 34.6 *ὕ*μνους; Geometres 12.35 *λί*μναι, 247.1 *τέ*μνουσα, *Odes*, 9.2 *σέ*μνυνε, 9.24 *τε* μνησθῆναι; *Paradeisos*, 4.3 *τέ*μνησθα, 37.1 μερί*μνας*; Mitylenaios 83.4 εἵνε*κα* μνημοσύνης, 136.187 *σε*μνοὶ; Psellos 9.490 *κρί*μνον and 17.195 ἐκτέ*μνεις*; Rhoby I, no. 13 *ὕ*μνος and no. 14 *ὕ*μνους. In his dialogue on grammar, *Παλαίτιμος καὶ Νεόφρων*, Planoudes includes -μν- in his discussion of Attic correption and informs his pupil that the first syllable of words such as ὕμνος, σκύμνος, σεμνός, δέμνιον and λίμνη may be either short or long.[22]

[20] Correption before -μν- is exceptional in Ancient Greek: see WEST 1982: 18. Hephaestion (ed. CONSBRUCH 1906: 6.2–9) treats such shortenings as 'common syllables' (for which, see below, n. 29). Gregory of Nazianzos has quite a number of examples: see SICHERL 1991: 32.

[21] Ed. ADLER 1928–38: I, 487 (s.v. βοῦς ἕβδομος).

[22] Ed. BACHMANN 1828: II, 1–101, at 20.29–21.5.

(1.10) *Other possible correptions*

Other examples of metrical correption found in Byzantine poetry can be divided into the following four categories:

(i) ζ, until the Hellenistic period a consonant cluster /zd/ and afterwards a monoconsonantal sibilant /z/, does not always make position in later times.[23] Most Byzantine poets treat a short vowel before ζ as long, but there are a few heroes who do not: Constantine the Rhodian, *Satire*, 2.39 πυκνὰ γρυλλίζων, *Ekphrasis*, 181 χαλκοῦν ὑποστήριγ*μα* ζωγραφοῦν τάχα, *AP* 15.15.6 σκῆπτρα *Βυ*ζαντιάδος; Anon. Patrician 15.4 εὕρῃς *με* ζῶον.

(ii) There is strong evidence that the consonant cluster -σμ- may occasionally release the preceding syllable. Mauropous (36.3 and 82.3) treats the first syllable of κόσμος as short. He is not the only one. Other examples include Arsenios, *On David*, 27 ὦ τοῦ *κό*σμου καύχημα; an anonymous book epigram on the Gospel of John: πλουτεῖ τὸν *κό*σμον (at line end);[24] Gregory of Corinth 2.10 πλήρωμα *κό*σμου (also at line end); and Prodromos 1.I.2 and 1.III.24 (Zagklas) κήρυκα παγ*κό*σμιον and γήραος εὐ*κο*σμίη. There is also epigraphic evidence: Rhoby II, Ik16 (Demetrios Chomatenos), 1 κόσμος, *κο*σμῆτορ, τὸν *κό*σμον σῆς εἰκόνος and III, AddI10 & I, 180.1 καπνὸς *τὸ* σμῆνος τῶν μελισσῶν ἐκτρέπει. The anonymous *Encomium on Basil I* offers at line 155 κρείττω τε πάντων ὡραϊσμῶν ὁρωμένων: unless the text is corrupt, ὡραϊσμῶν could be measured as – ◡ –, with shortening of the syllable before -σμ-.

(iii) There are also cases of correption before double consonants. Some of these are related to degemination: the simplification of double consonants (which is now common in Standard Modern Greek, but not in Cypriot and other dialects), a sound change that for obvious reasons affected the spelling of many words. A good example is κρύσταλλος and words derived from it, often spelled as κρύσταλος (and κρυσταλο-): see *LBG*. In Psellos 9.906 ἐν τῷ κρυ*στά*λῳ, 908 καὶ τοῦ κρυ*στά*λου and Prodromos, *Tetrasticha*, 28b1 χείματι κρυ*στα*λόεντι, the syllable before the λ is short. However, in Geometres and another tenth-century poet, the vowel is also short despite the word κρύσταλλος being spelled with double λ: ὡς ἐν κρυ*στάλλῳ* and ἢ κρύ*στα*λλον θεὶς.[25] Is this metrical correption, or are the scribes tacitly correcting the spelling of their authors? An opposite example is Geometres 300.63 μῆλα *μα*λοῖς βεβρίθασιν, misspelled with one λ instead of two, despite the obvious literary allusion to Hesiod *Op*. 234 εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασιν. The word μαλλός is often spelled μαλός in later Greek: see the

[23] For examples predating the Byzantine period, see West 1982: 17.
[24] Ed. A.D. Kominis, *EEBS* 21 (1951) 275 (no. 7.7).
[25] Geometres S. 7.3. Anonymous 10th-c. poet: ed. Lambros 1922: 41, line 12.

*TLG* and *LBG*. Did Geometres adopt this spelling, or did he in fact write μαλλοῖς with metrical correption of the first syllable? Or take Geometres 3.64 κἂν τὴν *ψά*μμον and Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 16 ἄλλη *ψά*μμος οὐκ ἐπίοπτος, both with the first syllable of ψάμμος short. Although an alternative spelling ψάμος does not seem to exist, one could argue that since the poetic variant ψάμαθος is written with one μ (cf. ἄμμος versus ἄμαθος), the Byzantines deemed it acceptable to allow metrical correption in ψάμμος, with -ψα- short.

If this sounds confusing, it is because it is confusing. It is a confusion that appears to have affected the liquids, the nasals and the sibilants in particular.[26] See the following examples of correption: -λλ- Theodore of Stoudios 105g.8 *καλλί*στην; Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 362 *μελλήσας*; *Paradeisos*, 36.2 *ἄλλην*; -ρρ- Ps. John of Damascus 2.95 πρὸς τὴν *ἄ*ρρευστον; John of Damascus, *Poem on the H. Trinity*, 7 *ἀ*ρεύστων spelled with one ρ (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos I.1.13 and I.2.9); Geometres 206.2 ὑπεκ*προ*ρρέει; -νν- Geometres 227.2 ἀπο*σβε*ννύεις; Prodromos, *Tetrasticha*, 236b.1 ἀμπετάννυτε (spelled ἀμπετάνυτε); -σσ- John Kommerkiarios 53 προσπτύσσει; Anon. Italian 16.39 ὡς σκεῦ*ος* συγχέαντες; Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 279 διευθύναντ*ος* σκῆπτρα and 956 γέροντ*ος* Συμεὼν. There are also two isolated instances of correption before -τ-: Theodore of Kyzikos 21 *σφά*ττεις; Geometres 300.60 *τέ*ττιγες short (but -τετ- in 300.72 *τέ*ττιγας is long).

(iv) There are various other consonant clusters that only very occasionally do not lengthen the preceding short syllable. Whereas one could maintain that metrical correption before double consonants, though clearly not a general rule, may be explained through degemination, it is impossible to detect any pattern in these exceptional cases: -κτ-: anonymous epitaph to Emperor Maurice's wife, 9 τὰ νεογνὰ *ἔ*κτειναν (other mss. ἔθυσαν); -πτ-: Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 686 περι*γρα*πτή and Psellos 9.143 δια*θρύ*πτει; -στ-: Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 67 πρῶτος *δ' ἔ*στησεν; Geometres 53.19 πα*ρέ*στηκε, 290.84 ἀμ*φί*στομος, 300.116 ἀνάστησον (all three examples relegated to the critical apparatus); *Paradeisos*, 34.2 στεινόκορός τις *ἐ*στι; -φθ- Geometres, *Hymns*, 4.12 ὑπεκ*προ*φθάνον; -ντ- Theodore of Stoudios 20.14 *ἐ*ντολῶν (perhaps due to the process of nasal deletion before stops: [edoˈlon]); -βδ- Geometres Sa. 2.5 γραῦς, σκύλ*λα,* βδέλλα; and -ψ- Theodore of Stoudios 33.7 *δί*ψει and Geometres Sa. 1.6 ἄπι*στε* Ψηνᾶ.[27]

[26] See Papagiannis 1997: I, 168–170.

[27] For a long list of examples taken from the verse chronicle of Ephraim, see Hilberg 1888: 61–69.

### (1.11) *Epic correption*

Epic correption is very common in Byzantine hexameters and elegiac distichs, but not in other metres. Epic correption is the shortening of a long end vowel or diphthong before a word that begins with a vowel: e.g. Constantine the Sicilian, *Psogos*, 2.7 ἐ*σθλοὶ* ἑταῖροι or Geometres 290.110 στήσο*μαι* ἀβλαβέως. It particularly affects the passive endings -μαι and -ται, and the conjunction καὶ; but it is also found elsewhere. It is even found after -ευ and -αυ although these 'diphthongs' end in a consonantal phoneme in medieval Greek: e.g. Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 466 εἰ δέ *τευ* ἄλλου and 629 ὦ *Ζεῦ* ἐφώνουν.[28]

Precisely because this kind of shortening is so common in dactyls, epic correption is also occasionally encountered before consonant-initial words in Byzantine hexameters and elegiac distichs: for example, Ignatios the Deacon, *AP* 15.31.1 κεύθε*ται* γαίης (although I personally would read κεύθεται αἴης); Kometas, *AP* 15.40.15 οὖ*σαι* καὶ ἐζόμεναι (– ⏑ – ⏑ –); Geometres 300.45 μελίσδε*ται* φύλλοις; *Paradeisos*, 68.4 ἄλκιμος ἔσ*ται* πάλιν. It is even found in a pedantic poem in dodecasyllable: Arsenios Patellarites 11 πέπαυ*ται* καὶ τέθαπ*ται*.

Correption may also occur word-internally in Byzantine dactyls. See, for example, Dionysios the Stoudite 26 ἀτρεκε*ί*ην; Geometres 54.3 μηδ᾽ ὑπν*ώ*οντι ζιζανίων (– ⏑ – – – ⏑ –), *Hymns*, 1.14 μῆτερ ἀειζω*ί*ης, 3.24 σοῦ θ᾽ *υἱ*έος θύγατερ; *Paradeisos*, 28.2 ἐμμελε*ί*ης, 45.2 *ναί*ων, 63.4 *τοῖ*ος. Correption is occasionally graphematically represented: Leo the Philosopher, *AP* 15.12.1 ποεῖς instead of ποιεῖς; Dionysios the Stoudite 25 εὐλαβέῃ instead of εὐλαβείῃ.

Word-internal correption is occasionally found in other metres as well: John of Damascus, *Poem on the H. Trinity*, 26 γαίᾳ (γαι short); Theodore of Stoudios 58.4 κλαόντων instead of κλαιόντων and Metrophanes of Smyrna 12 κλάω instead of κλαίω; Constantine the Rhodian, *Satire*, 2.3 οὐκ ἐν ποιηταῖς (ποι short).

### (1.12) *'Homeric' prosody in Byzantium*

Since the Byzantines lacked the tools of historical linguistics to understand the rationale behind seemingly artificial lengthening and shortening in Homer, they tried to make sense of his poetic 'licences' in metrical treatises that deal with the εἴδη or πάθη of the Homeric hexameter. One of the more popular concepts is that of the 'common syllable' (κοινὴ συλλαβὴ), which grammarians and metri-

[28] For epic correption after the ending -αυ, see, for instance, Mitylenaios 17.7 and Tzetzes, *Carmina Iliaca*, I.22 and 274. For 'hiatus' after -ευ and -αυ, see below §2.9.

cians alike use to explain irrational scansions in Homer.[29] A classic example is *Il.* 14.1 Νέστορα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ πίνοντά περ ἔμπης, where -θεν- in ἔλαθεν is long. The syllable is long because the word ἰαχή historically begins with a digamma, which here is slightly prolonged: [elat$^{h}$ew wiak$^{h}$ε:]; but later Greeks had no knowledge of the digamma, added a ν between ἔλαθε and ἰαχὴ to avoid hiatus, and assumed that in Homer a short syllable may occasionally be long at word end: such an inexplicable lengthening makes it a 'common syllable'.[30] In his commentary on the pentecostal hymn of Ps. John of Damascus, Eustathios of Thessalonica defends the reading ἐξελήλυ*θε* in line 54 νῦν ἐκ Σιὼν γὰρ ἐξελήλυθε νόμος because -θε- is here a 'common syllable', and he explicitly refers to *Il.* 14.1.[31] He could have added a movable -ν (ἐξελήλυθεν) like most modern editors tend to do in such cases, but the Homeric precedent was justification enough for him.

There are many prosodic errors, especially in Byzantine dactylic poetry, that go back directly to misunderstood Homeric lines. Take, for example, *Paradeisos*, 44.3 τὸν δὲ τρόπον ζητῶν ἔμα*θεν* ὅτι οἵδε θελήσει. There can be little doubt that -θεν- in ἔμαθεν is measured long because of ἔλαθεν in *Il.* 14.1 and the way this metrical irregularity was discussed in later grammatical and metrical treatises.[32]

It is worth noting that the seemingly irregular lengthening of -θεν- in Homer takes place at the caesura. There is some evidence to suggest that, in Byzantine hexameters, the prosodic rules are more relaxed before the caesura than elsewhere in the verse. For examples with the dichrona, see: (with α) Leo the Philosopher, *Job*, 27 ἅλ*α*; Geometres 76.7 εὐγενέ*α*, 290.85 παμβασίλει*α*, 290.119 ἀνάλκει*α*, 300.13 ἀριπρεπέ*α*, 300.14 ἀρίζηλ*α*, 300.67 ἀργυφόεντ*α*, and *Hymns*, 5.3 βασιληγενέ*α*; (with ι) Geometres 300.55 ἐπ᾽ ὄχθαισ*ι* / ποταμοῦ, where the editor adds a movable -ν. Short ε before the caesura is also usually 'corrected' with the help of movable ν: for example, Geometres 142.1 ἐδόμησε<ν> / θῆκε, 290.43 ἐδογμάτισε<ν> / σοφίην. Lengthened ο before the caesura is exceptional: *Paradeisos*, 71.3 *τό*δ᾽; but there are a few more examples in Gregory of Nazianzos and Comnenian poetry.[33]

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[29] The Byzantines use the concept of the 'common syllable' for three different kinds of irrational scansion: Attic correption, epic correption, and the phenomenon of lengthening discussed in the main text.

[30] See Ps. Dionysius Thrax, ed. UHLIG 1883: 20–21; Ps. Herodian, ed. A. LENTZ, Grammatici Graeci. Leipzig 1870, III.2, 657, 27–36; Hephaestion, ed. CONSBRUCH 1906: 7.15–8.10. For later testimonies, see, for example, STUDEMUND 1886: 183.

[31] Ed. CESARETTI & RONCHEY 2014: 147 (§131, 12–24), cf. 75*.

[32] For irrational lengthenings in Tzetzes, see LAUXTERMANN, 'Buffaloes and Bastards: Tzetzes on Metre' (forthcoming).

[33] See SCHRADER 1888: 603–605 and PAPAGIANNIS 1997: I, 182–183 and n. 31.

Something similar can be observed at the caesura in the ionic trimeter: see, for example, Constantine the Sicilian, *Odarion*, 23 παῖδα ὀϊστοβόλον / Ἀφρογενείης; Metrophanes 19 ἄφθιτον παντοκράτορ / οὐρανοτέχνα, 34 ἐξιλεώμεθά *σε,* / Κύριε πάντων; Mitylenaios 75.19 κυπάριττος καθάπερ / ἐνθάδε κεῖσαι and 75.20 κασιγνήτη, μέγ᾽ ἄχος / ἄμμι λιποῦσα. One could argue that this is *brevis in longo*, but where there is enough evidence for this metrical licence at the caesura of the dactylic pentameter (see above, §1.3), the corpus of ionic trimeters is too small to draw any clear conclusions.

In Homer, word-initial ρ, σ, λ, μ, ν (and the digamma) may occasionally lengthen the preceding vowel. Geometres 290.52 offers a rhetorical parallel to this: ἡγεμόνα στρατίης, ἡγεμόνα σοφίης. Kometas, *AP* 15.40.24, imitates Homer, *Il*. 3.222: καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα. The same principle explains the doubling of word-initial λ when preceded by augment in dactylic poetry: Ignatios the Deacon, *AP* 15.29.3, ἔλλιπον; Geometres 167.1 ἔλλαχε.

The primacy of Homer in the Byzantine curriculum and his pervasive influence on Byzantine metre —mostly on hexameters and elegiac distichs, but also on anacreontics and even, to a certain extent, on iambics— should not be underestimated in any discussion of false quantities. It is obviously not his fault that posterity thought he sometimes made use of 'common syllables' or allowed short syllables to be lengthened before caesura, but he bears some of the responsibility for arbitrarily lengthening words that would otherwise not fit in the metre: οὔνομα, ἐτέλεσσας, ἀννέφελος, etcetera. Take, for example, *Paradeisos*, 42.4 ἐκπεσὼν, with -πε- inexplicably long. I am afraid that this is ἐκπεσσὼν, with 'epic' reduplication of the sigma: see Prodromos, *Tetrasticha*, 22b2 ἔπεσσε, formed by analogy with all the aorist forms with double sigma in Homer (ἔλασσε, ἐκέδασσε, θλάσσε, etc.). Or take Geometres, *Hymns*, 2.6 εἶνα (instead of ἕνα), formed by analogy to the equally idiotic εἰνὶ (=ἐνὶ, =ἐν) in Homer. Unlike the editor, whose reservations I fully share, I would not rule out the possibility that Geometres was guilty of the appalling solecism νουμοθέται at 211.32 by analogy with the 'Homeric' forms the poet uses elsewhere: γούνατα, δουρί, κούρη, μοῦνος, νοῦσος, etc.

It is on account of Homeric ἐτέλεσσας that Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, can write τελέσας (10) and τέλεσεν (533), both with long -λε-. And it is because of the same Homer that ἀνήρ, ἴσος (ἶσος), καλός, and ὕδωρ so often have a long first syllable in later poetry. One cannot fully understand the intricacies of Byzantine prosody without recourse to Homeric scholarship in Byzantium.

(1.13) *Prosodic stratagems*

There are three perfectly legitimate ways of getting away with lengthening short syllables and shortening long ones:

(i) By utilizing the richness of the Greek language and adding to it. — Here are some alternative forms used by the Byzantine poets: (a) the connecting vowel -η- instead of -ο-: θεητόκος, θεημάχος, (b) the adjectival suffix -ηρός instead of -ερός, or vice versa: στυγηρός, πνιγερός, (c) endings in -ία instead of -εία or -΄εια: κομψία, προμηθία, (d) variant spellings: βλοσ(σ)υρός, κεμ(μ)άς, (e) innovative spellings: εἰκέως (εἰκαίως), θήλεως (θήλεος), (f) 'Doric' forms with shortened -α-: σίδαρος, ἀλάθεια, θνατός, τλάμων, (g) change of nominal paradigm: πέτρα, χαρά, φθορά, πλευρά, with short instead of long -α (like δόξα, Μοῦσα, θάλασσα), (h) 'Homeric' double consonants (in dactyls): ὅσσον, σχίσσας, παθέεσσιν, (i) -πτ- instead of -π-: πτόλεμος, πτόλις, and -σμ- instead of -μ-: σμικρός, (j) the preposition ξὺν instead of σὺν (e.g. ἀέρα ξὺν αἰθέρι), the prefix ξυν- instead of συν- (e.g. ξύναιμος), and ξυνός instead of κοινός. Options (a) to (h) serve to lengthen or shorten metrical syllables word-internally; the last two options (i and j) serve to lengthen the final syllable of the preceding word by position.

(ii) By adding movable -ν, after verbal endings in -ε and -σι and dative plurals in -σι: ὤλεσεν, φασὶν, μαθήμασιν. — The problem is that manuscripts may differ greatly and that, even within the confines of a single manuscript, scribes are not as systematic in their use of movable -ν as one could have wished. It is usually the editors, not the scribes, who clutter the text with redundant -ν ('redundant' because it does not serve any euphonic function). If a great scholar like Eustathios of Thessalonica thinks there is nothing wrong with ἐξελήλυθε νόμος because, according to him, -θε- is a 'common syllable', the question arises whether modern editors should follow his more liberal approach or maintain the editorial practice of adding movable -ν *metri causa.*

(iii) By changing the accentuation, from circumflex to acute (say, Κωνσταντίνος instead of Κωνσταντῖνος):[34] this is especially common in the penultimate position of the dodecasyllable where a circumflex would draw undue attention to the false quantity. — Here, too, the manuscripts are not consistent. Take, for example, the two manuscripts of Manasses' *Hodoiporikon*: the most recent edition, that of Chrysogelos, informs us that ms. M offers δακρύσαι, but φῦναι and that ms. V offers δακρύσαι, κερδάναι and Δούκας, but ἀψῖδες (all in penultimate posi-

[34] The reverse change from acute to circumflex is less common: e.g. at Haploucheir 100, the mss. read μεθῦσαι instead of μεθύσαι in order to hide the false quantity (φιλεῖς μεθῦσαι τὴν πολύχρυσον μέθην, with -θυ- prosodically short, but metrically long). For a few more examples, see PAPAGIANNIS 1997: I, 166–167.

tion). Is this how Manasses spelled these words? Or is it the scribes? The issue of Manasses' orthography is important for making the right editorial decisions, but is otherwise irrelevant because it is just spelling, not metre. Writing δακρύσαι or δακρῦσαι does not change the rhythmical rules of the dodecasyllable.

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## *Isosyllaby, Synizesis, Elision, Hiatus*

### (2.1) *Introduction*

When quantitative metre ceased to be perceptible acoustically, anything written in it turned into 'Augenpoesie' (poetry for the eyes, not the ears). And prosody became an esoteric subject, thus creating a niche market for metricians who, rather than describing the performative aspects of ancient poetry, studied 'short' and 'long'. The term 'metre' itself indicates that poetry is to be measured, put into the straitjacket of short and long (one long equalling two shorts), and analysed on paper, though poetry is so much more than the written word. However, before the metricians took over, poetry was the domain of the 'rhythmicians' who did not measure ancient metres as if they were a form of applied mathematics, but sought to describe how these metres sounded in actual performance. In their explanatory scheme, metre, sound and performance were subsumed in the concept of 'rhythm'.[35] As latter-day metricians, we have to resign ourselves to the fact that there are no recordings of ancient and medieval poetry; what we are left with are the librettos, not the music. But just as the musicologist studying Bach's musical scores, may develop an idea of how his music may have sounded when it was originally performed, so too do manuscripts offer us material for the reconstruction of the rhythmical patterns of Byzantine poetry. In the preceding section we have looked at 'Augenpoesie': now it is time to listen to 'Ohrenpoesie' (poetry for the ears).

When prosody ceased to be perceptible to the ear, the need arose for a new kind of poetry, no longer based on the alternation of long and short syllables, but on the number of metrical syllables, the patterns of rhythmo-syntactic segmentation, and the position of stress accents before caesura and at line end. The first of these three principles of versification is called isosyllaby; the other two, isometry and stress regulation, respectively.

[35] See Budelmann 2001.

This change from one metrical system to another did not happen overnight: it was a gradual process which began before the Christian era and was only concluded at the very end of Late Antiquity. It is only by looking at the longue durée of Greek versification that one may observe the convergence of metrical variables to a fixed number of syllables (iambic trimeters becoming dodeca-syllabic; anacreontics octo- and heptasyllabic; and hexameters holodactylic); the segmentation of poetic discourse into cola and periods; and the tendency to select certain word patterns and prefer certain stress patterns near rhythmo-syntactic breaks. As I pointed out in the *Spring of Rhythm*, the deep structure of late antique versification can be represented schematically as follows:

$$n^1/n^2//$$

($n^1$ and $n^2$ = fixed number of syllables in the first and the second colon; / = strong caesura or colon ending; // = strong verse pause with no enjambment). This deep structure can be observed both in the ancient metres that were still in use and in the new metres that came into being from the fourth century onwards.

## (2.2) *Spondaics and lack of isosyllaby*

But before I can discuss both the thoroughly restructured ancient metres and the brilliant novel metres that sprang to life in Late Antiquity and beyond, a caveat is in order. The Byzantine hexameter is a failed metrical experiment, which, having been abandoned in the Dark Ages, was later transmogrified into a vaguely Homeric metrical hybrid. Let me explain.

In Nonnos, the 32 possible shapes of the hexameter are down to just nine and there is usually only one spondaic per line. In Pisides, the Nonnian nine have become six, and there are even fewer contractions: more than half of his verses are in fact holodactylic. The stress-based rules are also stricter in Pisides than in Nonnos, who is already quite rigorous in comparison to earlier poets. At line end, Nonnos avoids proparoxytones; but Pisides invariably has the penultimate accented. Nonnos and Pisides agree in having paroxytone accents before masculine caesura; but as for the feminine caesura (the caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον), Pisides is much stricter: where Nonnos just tends to avoid oxytones, Pisides almost always has proparoxytones at this position. Like Nonnos and his followers, Pisides clearly favours the feminine caesura.

Just like the late antique iambic trimeter, the Pisidian hexameter was well on the way to becoming a truly accentual metre: a 17-syllable verse (spondaics are avoided); divided into two hemistichs, 8 + 9, by a caesura after the eighth syllable (the ‘feminine’ caesura); with an obligatory stress accent on the penultimate at line end; and an equally obligatory stress accent on the sixth metrical syllable (proparoxytone stress before the caesura) — in other words, 8pp + 9p (=two cola,

one with eight metrical syllables ending in a proparoxytone, and the other with nine metrical syllables ending in a paroxytone). But then the Arabs came along, the leisured elite of late antique Byzantium lost power and wealth, the economy shrank, cultural networks collapsed and the education system suffered in parallel, and no one wrote dactyls any more.[36] When the hexameter was brought back into use during the Macedonian 'renaissance', the organic link with late antique poetry had been severed because of the intervening cultural crisis and, rather than continuing where the tradition had broken off, ninth-century poets modelled their hexameters on Homer (a school author) and Gregory of Nazianzos (a church father).

This can be clearly illustrated by the relative frequency of spondaics. Homer has an average of 25.6%; Gregory of Nazianzos 17.8%; Nonnos 14.8%; and Pisides 8.9%. Leo the Philosopher (*Job*) comes very close to Homer: 23%. Kometas is more Nonnian: 14.5%, but he is not as low as Pisides. The averages for Geometres and the *Paradeisos* are very similar to that of Gregory of Nazianzos: 18 and 16.7%, respectively.[37] Mitylenaios, on the contrary, is more Homeric in his contracted feet: 20.3%.

There is no single Byzantine poet who systematically avoids spondaics.[38] They all allow for metrical contraction in their hexameters and pentameters to a greater or lesser degree (it is usually in the order of 15 to 20%). The lack of isosyllaby automatically means that word-based stress regulation is impossible. Say a Byzantine poet shows a clear tendency to have a proparoxytone stress before the feminine caesura, then this stress may fall on the sixth metrical syllable (if there is no contraction), on the fifth (if there is one spondaic) or on the fourth (if there are two spondaics). The hexameter and the elegiac distich are rhythmically not recognizable to the Byzantine ear and can therefore not be considered metres: they are nothing but sequences of prosodically arranged phonemes.

Dactylic poetry is recognizable as such because of the frequent literary allusions to Homer, Hesiod, Gregory of Nazianzos and others; the epic colouring of vocabulary and morphology; and the unusual phonological characteristics. Let me

[36] See De Stefani 2014: 376–383.

[37] In the case of other ninth- and tenth-century poets, the number of hexametric verses is so small that the relative frequency of spondaics has little statistical significance in itself: Ignatios the Deacon 15.8%, Constantine the Sicilian 10%, Theophanes 11.4%, Dionysios the Stoudite 12.3%, Anastasios Quaestor 14%, Arethas 18.6%, Constantine the Rhodian 25.7%, and Alexander of Nicaea 11%.

[38] For detailed information on the distribution of dactyls and spondaics in Byzantine poetry (the so-called 'patterns'), see Agosti & Gonnelli 1995: 314–317 and 374–377; D'Ambrosi 2003b: 121–122; D'Ambrosi 2006: 111–113; D'Ambrosi 2008: 73–74; Van Opstall 2008: 83–84; De Groote 2011: 573–574; Zagklas 2014: 92.

illustrate this with an epigram in unprosodic 'hexameters', entitled ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τὸ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τέλος, and dated to the year 1006,[39] which begins as follows:

κοίρανος ὑψιμέδων Θεοῦ υἱὸς αὐτογεννήτωρ
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος ἐπ᾽ αἶαν ἀνώρουσε
κούρης ἐξ ἀπειράνδρου εἰδέην ἀνδρομέην φορέσας
ὄφρ᾽ ὀλλυμένοισι δυσνομίας Βελίαρ μερόπεσσιν,
οὗ δὴ ἔπεα σαόμβρωτα ἐξ ἀφθίτων στομάτων, etcetera.

The vocabulary is clearly 'epic' in a general sense; the poet uses 'Aeolic' dative plurals and 'Ionian' endings (εἰδέην = ἰδέην = ἰδέαν); some of the words derive from Homer, others from later writers in the hexametric tradition; αὐτογεννήτωρ is fairly unique; σαόμβρωτα (read σαό(μ)βροτα) is found in Proklos and Gregory of Nazianzos. So, even without the title, most of us would immediately recognize this as a poem in 'hexameter'; but it is clearly impossible to measure the lines and divide them into six feet. Compare this with the dodecasyllable, which, even in its unprosodic variant, is always recognizable as verse.

Contraction is allowed at every position in the hexameter (including the fifth foot); there are no restrictions, nor bridges or any of the other rules favoured by the Nonnian school. Anything goes as long as it sounds elevated and 'Homeric' enough. The first hemistich of the pentameter generally allows for even more contraction than the two hemistichs of the hexameter: why this should be the most spondaic-prone hemistich of the three, is not clear.

Contraction is not allowed in the second hemistich of the pentameter; but poets occasionally allow themselves some leeway, especially in the case of proper names: Alexander of Nicaea, *APl* 281.4 καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος and Geometres 289.6 κλαύσατ᾽ Ἰωάννην (–⏑––––). But there is not always a good excuse: Geometres 81.2 καὶ τόλμῃ κραδίης (–––⏑–); book epigram in Patmos 33 (Rhoby IV, GR95.4): εὐρύθμου τε λόγου (–––⏑–); ibidem, v. 10 ἐνδυκέως σῷζε (–⏑––––); verse inscription in Hosios Loukas (Rhoby III, GR113.4): ἄμμον δ᾽ ὑγροσύνης / ὕδωρ τοῦτ[ο ...] (––– after the caesura); verse inscription in Amaseia (Rhoby III, TR13.6): αἰεὶ τερπομένη (–––⏑–).

## (2.3) *Resolution and anapaestic substitution*

Having clarified that the hexameter and the pentameter fail to achieve isosyllaby and are, therefore, no longer recognizable as verse, we can now turn to

[39] Ed. Mercati 1970: 635. Though the poem is transmitted in two Palaeologan manuscripts, Göttingen Theol. 28 [17430] (a. 1289–90) and Athous Ib. 159 [23756] (s. XV), it is clear from the text that it is the metrical colophon of a manuscript copied in 1006 by a monk called Χριστοφόρος.

the other four prosodic metres. While the ionic dimeter, the ionic trimeter and the hemiamb had all become isosyllabic by Late Antiquity, the iambic trimeter was more resistant to the general trend towards isosyllaby. The earliest full-blown examples of purely dodecasyllabic iambs date to the fifth or early sixth century: the *Sayings of Aesop* and the alchemical poems of Heliodoros; but neither 'Aesop' nor Heliodoros has any stress regulation.[40] Other late antique poets, however, quite frequently use resolution (⏑⏑, two shorts instead of one long) and anapaestic substitution (⏑⏑–, an anapaest instead of an iamb): for example, c. 6% in Gregory of Nazianzos and 11.8% in the anonymous poem on the *Labours of Hercules* (early sixth century?). Although Pisides clearly modernizes the iambic trimeter in terms of stress regulation, his historical epics still have resolution and anapaestic substitution in 3.6% of all lines. And even his last poem, *In Alypium*, has two examples (=1.65%). It is only after Pisides that the dodecasyllable triumphs: the poems of Andrew of Crete and Theodosios the Grammarian, both early eighth-century, have no examples of resolution or anapaestic substitution. They are followed by Ps. John of Damascus, Theodore of Stoudios, Ignatios the Deacon and almost all Byzantine poets.

However, there are a number of post-Pisidian poets writing high-browish dodecasyllables with the occasional resolution thrown in for good measure. They can be divided into three categories:

(i) Ninth and early tenth-century classicistic poets. — Resolution (⏑⏑): verse inscription (Rhoby III, TR87.2) ἄναξ Θεόφιλος εὐσεβὴς αὐτοκράτωρ; Arsenios, *On David*, 24 καὶ τῶν παθῶν τὰ *θράσεα* κουφεύεις ἅμα and 32 ὁ τὰ κρύ*φια* κἄδηλα πατρικοῦ λόγου; Leo the Philosopher, *AP* 9.202.10 ταύταις ἀ*ναλύ*ει καὶ προβάλλει τὰς θέσεις; anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 179 ἀρχοντικῇ τε *κατα*-δρομῇ δεδμημένος; Choirophaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 109 ἔπειτα *δ' ἐπι*φάνειαν ἐξάρας ἄνω, 380 καὶ τὴν ἀεικίνητον *ἐνυ*λικὴν τρίτην. Anapaestic substitution (⏑⏑–): John the Grammarian 1.3 ἰσηγόρων γὰρ ἐλπὶς ἡ *θεοπιστία*; anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 127 ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ κλη*ροδοτεῖ* γῆς τοὺς ὅρους, 155 κρείττων τε πάντων *ὡραϊσμῶν* ὁρωμένων, 213 ὑπὲρ τὸ νῖκος δαυϊ*τικῶν* μυριάδων; Ps. Ign. the Deacon, *Tetrasticha*, I.54, 2 χρόνῳ *διενη*νοχυῖα πάντῃ καὶ τρόπῳ; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 362 *κόνεως* θράσει κάρῳ τε καὶ κόρῳ φάους.[41] Another typical feature of these classicizing poets is that they allow oxytone and proparoxytone line ends in their poetry: see below, at §4.2.1.[42]

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[40] See above, chapter 18, p. 206–207, and vol. I, chapter 8, pp. 256–257.

[41] Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology* 274, too, has thirteen syllables, but the text is metrically corrupt because there is no caesura: εἰ δὲ σθένει ταὐτόν, λέγε, καὶ θεωρία.

[42] *Pace* MAAS 1903: 316, Theodore of Stoudios does not have resolutions at 25.2, 25.9 and 106.8: see SPECK 1968: ad locum and pp. 70–71. Arsenios Patellarites does not use resolution either: none of the resolution-restoring 'emendations' suggested by ODORICO 1988: 7–10 are necessary:

(ii) Imitators of Euripides. — The only extant fragment of John of Damascus' tragedy, *Susanna*, written in a 'truly Euripidean style' as Eustathios informs us, offers an anapaestic substitution: ὁ ἀρχέκακος δράκων / πάλιν πλανᾷν ἔσπευδε τὴν Εὔαν ἐμέ.[43] The twelfth-century Euripidean pastiche *Christos Paschon* has eleven instances of resolution and anapaestic substitution: for example, 756 καὶ γὰρ ἔρημος, *ἄπο*λις οὖσα τρύχομαι; please note that the poet manages to achieve a classicizing metrical resolution and a false quantity (γὰρ) in one and the same line. An early fourteenth-century fragmentary play composed by the scribe and scholar John Katrares offers the following example: 26 μόνοι φυλάττειν *ἐπὶ* δόμους τετάγμεθα.[44] As is well known, the end of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* and the *Danae* fragment are not by Euripides, but by a Byzantine scholar pretending to be Euripides: this scholar is almost certainly the same Katrares.[45] For an example of a Katrares-style 'Euripidean' verse, see *Danae* 20 (fr. 1132 N.) *Δαναὴν* δέ πως *ὠνόμα*σε τήνδ', ὀθούνεκα, where we have an anapaestic substitution and a resolution in one line. It is worth noting that the imitators of Euripides, just as the classicizing poets of the ninth century, allow other line endings than the usual paroxytone one: see below, at §4.2.1.

(iii) Tzetzes and his 'technical iambs'. — Tzetzes' didactic poem on poetic genres is divided into three: περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν, a general introduction; περὶ κωμῳδίας, on comedy; and περὶ τραγικῆς ποιήσεως, on tragic poetry. As the author tells us, the first of these treatises was written ἀτέχνοις στίχοις ('in unaccomplished verses'); even worse, it was written καταλογάδην ('in prose'): his only excuse was that he wrote these verses on the spur of the moment (αὐτοσχεδίοις ἰάμβοις, 'in improvised iambs').[46] The other two treatises, however, were written in 'technical iambs' (ἴαμβοι τεχνικοί). The ἄτεχνοι στίχοι are the usual run-of-the-mill dodecasyllables, but the ἴαμβοι τεχνικοί are iambic trimeters which allow for resolution. The result is pretty gruesome: e.g. *On tragic poetry*, 180 ἧς *παραβάσεως* ἑπτὰ τελοῦσι τὰ μέρη, –⏑⏑–⏑––– / ⏑–⏑–⏑– (resolution in the first 'foot', anapaestic substitution in the second 'foot', ἑπτὰ and *τὰ*

see vol. I, chapter 6, p. 205, n. 20; in line 93 the ms. does have a line of thirteen syllables, but the text is clearly corrupt: ἄρας δ' ἐπ' ὤμων σωτηρικὴν παντευχίαν: read σωστικὴν.

[43] Ed. Cesaretti & Ronchey 2014: 11 (Προοίμιον 86–93).

[44] Ed. Andres, Irigoin & Hörandner 1974: 209–210.

[45] For the attribution of these fragments to Katrares, see Andres, Irigoin & Hörandner 1974: 206–209; M. L. West, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 28 (1981) 61–78, in contrast, argues that since iambic trimeters ceased to exist after Pisides, these verses must date from Late Antiquity. However, as demonstrated in the main text, Byzantine scholars were certainly capable of writing in Euripides' style. See now M. Magnani, *Eikasmos* 21 (2010) 49–88, who likewise argues that these pseudo-Euripidean verses are the work of Katrares.

[46] See Pace 2007: 31.

measured long, and the caesura —if there is one— placed right in the middle).[47] Tzetzes' metrical experiment thankfully did not catch on.

### (2.4) *Byzantine accentual metres*

Apart from the ninth-century classicizing poets, the imitators of Euripides, and the brilliant Tzetzes, all Byzantine poets use the dodecasyllable (also known as the 'pure iamb') and avoid metrical resolution. The same goes for the ionic dimeter —always octosyllabic—, the hemiamb —always heptasyllabic—, and the ionic trimeter which, like the iambic trimeter, always consists of twelve syllables, but has a different stress pattern: see below, at §4.3.2.

Three of these four metres also come in unprosodic versions: the dodecasyllable, the octosyllable and the heptasyllable. As mentioned above, an early example of the unprosodic dodecasyllable (but without stress regulation) is already found in the *Sayings of Aesop*. In the period after Pisides, the first examples of the unprosodic dodecasyllable are found in six genres: verse inscriptions, book epigrams, gnomic epigrams, fables, entertaining tales, and religious poetry. Let me give one example of each of these six genres: Θεόφιλε δέσποτα χαῖρε Ῥωμαίων (Rhoby III, GR106.7: inscription on the citadel at Samos, rebuilt by Emperor Theophilos in the 830s); γάνυται πᾶς ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τῇ βίβλῳ (book epigram celebrating Pope Zacharias and the Greek translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* in 748)[48]; πλουτῶν πλήθυνον τοὺς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου (Kassia A 56: early ninth century); οὐκ ἦν πρεσβύτης, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ νέος πάλιν ('Aesop', Chambry 52d, 2: tenth or early eleventh century); ὃς τὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην διῆλθον (version ε of the *Alexander Romance*, §46.3: eighth or ninth century)[49]; and κριταὶ, βασιλεῖς, σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοπάρχαι (Ps. John of Damascus, *Homily on Those who Died in Faith* (*PG* 95.257, 3): late eighth or ninth century). The use of the unprosodic dodecasyllable remains very popular in these six genres until the end of Byzantium and beyond. However, the unprosodic dodecasyllable is not found in the work of the major Byzantine poets who, with the exception of Kassia and Symeon the New Theologian, preferred to attribute arbitrary prosodic values to syllables rather than merely count them.

The earliest examples of the unprosodic octosyllable and heptasyllable can be found in late antique accentual poetry, such as hymns, acclamations and satirical songs, but there they are always combined with other metres. It is only in the ninth century that we find the first poems written solely in octosyllable or heptasyllable:

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[47] For more information on the 'technical iambs', see Hart 1881: 66–74; Kuhn 1892: 83–88; Pace 2007: 31–39.

[48] See vol. I, chapter 1, p. 29 and vol. I, Appendix IX, p. 355 (no. 8).

[49] Ed. Trumpf 1974.

for example, Arsenios' *On Easter* (in octosyllable) or Christopher Protasekretis' hymns celebrating the forced conversion of the Jews during the reign of Basil I (in heptasyllable). Whereas the prosodic octosyllable (also known as the anacreontic or the ionic dimeter) will eventually disappear after 1204, the unprosodic variant remains in use until the present day. The unprosodic heptasyllable is not attested after the ninth century, probably because it lives on as the second hemistich of the political verse; the prosodic variant (the hemiamb) is extremely rare in Byzantium: the last to use it is Constantine Anagnostes in the mid-thirteenth century.[50]

The combination of the octosyllable and the heptasyllable led to the creation of the decapentasyllable, or to use the Byzantine term, the political verse: the earliest poems in this metre date from the early tenth century, but there can be little doubt that the metre is much older than that.[51]

Apart from the heptasyllable, the octosyllable, the dodecasyllable and the decapentasyllable (the political verse), there are other isosyllabic metres as well, the most important of which are the hendecasyllable and the decasyllable. The hendecasyllable is popular in early hymnography: see, for example, the so-called 'Prayer of Romanos': δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ, προσκυνήσωμεν / τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, or a later alphabetic hymn attributed to John of Damascus: ἀνεσπέρου φωτὸς ἡ γεννήτρια, / ἐξαγγέλλοντι πρόσσχες μοι, δέομαι.[52] The decasyllable is used in popular songs: it is found in the famous circus dialogue of 532, a Christmas carol, and two New Year's carols; the carols cannot be dated with any precision, but since 'triple rhythms' (see below, at §4.4.1) are typical of early Byzantine poetry, they must be old.[53] The first of the two New Year's carols begins as follows: ἄστρον ἀνεφάνης, Βασίλειε, / ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ μητρόπολει; it consists of twenty couplets and a refrain to be sung after each couplet: ἅγιε Βασίλειε ὅσιε, / φύλαττε σωθῆναι τὴν ποίμνην σου.[54]

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[50] For an overview of all octosyllables and heptasyllables, both prosodic and unprosodic, see Nissen 1940a and Ciccolella 1995: 247–250. The following two poems should be added to their lists: a poem by Makarios Kaloreites (martyred on Cyprus in 1231) in paired unprosodic octosyllables and a poem by Constantine Anagnostes in prosodic hemiambs, both published by Bănescu 1913; for important corrections, see Mercati 1920–21.

[51] Sifakis 2005 does not agree that the political verse is a combination of two originally separate cola, but argues that the metre ultimately derives from the catalectic tetrameter.

[52] For both hymns, see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 14 (1905) 234–236. For the genre of stichic hymns, see Maas 1909; for further bibliography, see Lauxtermann 1999b: 58, n. 123.

[53] For the circus dialogue, see Maas 1912: 31–33 (I.32–40). For the Christmas carol, see D.S. Gassisi, *BZ* 18 (1909) 334–353 (no. II). For the two New year's carols, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909; for the continued use of the first one in Cappadocia in the early twentieth century, see R.M. Dawkins, *JHSt* 66 (1946) 43–47.

[54] For the hendecasyllable and the decasyllable, see Lauxtermann 1999b: 75–77.

### (2.5) *Isosyllaby*

The only exception to the rule of isosyllaby pertains to chants and songs, which occasionally allow an extra syllable, either stressed or not, to be added without this changing the overall metrical structure: see, for instance, the New Year's carol, 5 Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεύς, where the decasyllable has an additional syllable at the end. The musical performance of these texts appears to have been flexible enough to account for such minor deviations.[55]

Other deviations from the rule of isosyllaby are not allowed. It is certainly not unusual to find hypermetric or hypometric lines in Byzantine poems, but all these cases are due to scribal sloppiness or authorial incompetence. Let me illustrate the problem of erroneous textual transmission with an example taken from the *Song of Armouris*. In ms. Petropolit. gr. 202 [57274] (s. XVI), line 20 reads: θέλεις, θέλεις, ἡ μάνα μου, ὀμπρός σου νὰ τὸ τσακίσω; ('mother, do you wish me to break it (his father's treasured spear) into pieces in front of you?'): the reading τσακίσω is nonsensical and hypermetrical. Ms. Const. Serail gr. 35 [33981] (a. 1461), however, offers the correct reading ἀσκήσω ('mother, do you wish me to show you what I can do with it?'). If we did not have the Serail manuscript, we would be faced with a second hemistich consisting of eight syllables and without an iambic rhythm. Kambylis wants us to believe that such metrical anomalies are acceptable — they are not.[56] They are proof of textual corruption.[57]

Things are a bit more complicated with metrical mistakes for which not the scribe, but the author is responsible. Take, for example, Symeon the New Theologian 20.229 σὲ τὸν ἀπρόσιτον καὶ προσιτὸν / μόνοις οἷς ἐβουλήθης. This is one of the many passages in which Symeon sees God with spiritual eyes: 'Thee the unattainable — but attainable to whom Thou hast willed it'. While the second hemistich is recognizable as such, the first one is not: it is hypermetric.[58] There is no good reason to doubt that this is what the great mystic wrote in a moment of divine rapture, groping for words, seeking to explain the inexplicable — that humbling moment when the One whom seraphs and cherubs dare not look upon, showed Himself to Symeon in all His glory. But for all its sublime ecstasy, is it good poetry? Let us not forget that Symeon's poetry was published after his death on the basis of his personal papers: his poems are basically rough drafts, they are not finished in the sense that Mauropous' poems which have come down to us in the author's own master copy are finished.

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[55] For this metrical licence in Romanos, see Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 134; for the same in stichic hymns, see Maas 1909: 317–318.

[56] See Kambylis 1995 and the justified criticisms of Alexiou 1995.

[57] See Kominis 1966: 55–60.

[58] For hypermetric and hypometric lines in Symeon the New Theologian, see Koder 1969–73: I, 90–91, and Kambylis 1976: cccxlix–cccl.

Sloppy scribes, ecstatic saints and incompetent verse-mongers may easily write lines with too many or too few syllables, but that does not alter the fact that Byzantine poetry is fundamentally isosyllabic.

### (2.6) *Synizesis*

Discussing the phenomenon of synizesis in Homer, Eustathios of Thessalonica explains that synizesis is also a feature of political verse: '(...) their metrical limit is fifteen syllables. But *hoi polloi* tend to increase the number of syllables to seventeen, or even more. These syllables —that is those above the limit of fifteen— if they are separated by consonants in pronunciation, are laughed at as unrhythmical and derided as too long for the meter. However, if they are spoken only with undivided vowels, their extra length is concealed by the swift combination of vowels in pronunciation, and the (...) rhythm is preserved'.[59] Eustathios is referring here to political verse in vernacular Greek, the vehicle of poetic expression for *hoi polloi*, in which synizesis is very common indeed.

Synizesis occurs when two syllabic vowels, either within the word or at the word boundary, are pronounced as one. Synizesis within the word falls into the following three categories, illustrated with examples from the *Ptochoprodromika*: (1) [i] → [j]: for instance, τοιούτος [ˈtjutos]; (2) [ε] → [j]: for instance, βαθέα [vaˈθja]; and (3) deletion of vowel: for instance, χρυσοχόος (pronounced: χρυσοχός), ἐάν (pronounced: ἄν), κρούω (pronounced: κρῶ). Synizesis between two words (one ending in a vowel, the other beginning with one) offers a wider range of possibilities because of the variety of vowel combinations, but vowel hierarchy (the relative strength of vowels: a > o > u > e > i) is generally observed. For instance, 3.56–57 ἀπὸ μικρόθεν *μὲ ἔλεγεν* / ὁ γέρων ὁ πατήρ μου, // τέκνον μου, μάθε γράμματα / *καὶ ὡσάν* ἐσέναν ἔχει: pronounced as μέλεγεν, κιωσάν.[60]

Hymnography makes restricted use of synizesis. It is allowed after καὶ: καὶ ἀποτρέχετε (pronounced κι ἀποτρέχετε), καὶ οὐκ (κι οὐκ), but it also occurs elsewhere at the word juncture. Word-internally it is common in Hebrew names: Ἀβραάμ (disyllabic), Βενιαμίν (trisyllabic), etc, and the name of God: Θεός, which is very often monosyllabic (like Θιος in later Greek).[61]

In learned poetry, synizesis is extremely rare. There are a few examples of word-internal synizesis in the hexametric poetry of Prodromos and Tzetzes who in this respect follow the example of Homer: e.g. θεουδέων (trisyllabic) and ὀρει-

[59] Ed. M. VAN DER VALK, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes. Leiden 1971, vol. I, 19; for the translation, slightly adapted, see JEFFREYS 1974: 147. See also HÖRANDNER 1995: 282–283.

[60] See JANSSEN & LAUXTERMANN 2018: 580–582.

[61] See GROSDIDIER DE MATONS 1977: 131–132.

λεχέα (tetrasyllabic).[62] There are a number of examples in dodecasyllable, all in renderings of originally foreign names: Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 366 Ἰουστινιανὸν [justinjaˈnon]; Leo VI, *Homily*, 126 Διοκλητιανός [ðjoklitjaˈnos]. As for political verse, there are a number of examples in Kamateros' astronomical poem[63] and the schedographical lexicon[64], which both tend to be a bit on the vulgar side: e.g. Kamateros 1286 ζῴδιον (disyllabic), 1023 ἀπογνώσεως (tetrasyllabic), 1866 τὸ ἀνάπαλιν (word-external synizesis), 1996 πολλὰ νὰ ἔλθουν, πολλὰ νὰ εἰποῦν (read πολλὰ νὰ ᾽λθοῦν, πολλὰ νὰ ᾽ποῦν); *Lexicon* 98 γενειάς (disyllabic), 505 γελοιαστής (trisyllabic). Philippos Monotropos allows synizesis in more colloquial passages of the *Dioptra*: e.g. 2.402 φθειριάρην (trisyllabic), 2.607 νὰ ἐχάωσες (word-external synizesis). In his poem on paradise lost, Neophytos Enkleistos has quite a number of synizeses, both word-internal and word-external: e.g. 285.10 καὶ ἐπαναλῦσαι ἐπιποθῶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν πατρίδα [kjepanaˈlise pipoˈθo pros tin arˈxjan paˈtriða]; interestingly, he describes his own poem as written λέξει ἁπλοϊκῇ καὶ προφορᾷ δρομαίᾳ, 'in plain style and rapid diction' — that is, in lowbrow Byzantine Greek and with much synizesis.[65] Tzetzes has two examples of synizesis in his *Histories*: (word-internal) 6.795 ἀφάντου μύλου διάλεστρα καὶ φοῦρνον κωλοζώστην and (word-external) 10.417 ἀφάντου μύλου ἀλέσματα καὶ λόγους Παλαιφάτου; but in both instances he clearly refers to a popular saying and stresses its vernacular nature by allowing synizesis.[66]

The only exception to the general rule that synizesis is a metrical feature of vernacular, and not of learned, Byzantine poetry, is perhaps Symeon the New Theologian. The problem here is that there are so many hypermetric lines in Symeon's oeuvre that it is difficult to decide whether we should adopt synizesis, thus preserving the rule of isosyllaby, or read the text without synizesis, thus producing a metrical pattern, which, though anomalous, is quite common in his case. Of the two editors, Koder adopts the latter strategy and Kambylis the former.[67] Here are some examples: (word-internal) 8.78 ὁμοίους (disyllabic?), 14.71 ἀλήθεια (trisyllabic?); (word-external) 14.14 ὁπόταν ἔλθω εἰς ἐμαυτὸν (pronounced [ˈelθo semafˈton]?); 31.119 εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἤνωντο αὐτῷ (pronounced [ˈkjinondo]?). If these lines are to be read with synizesis, which is certainly a

[62] See Papagiannis 1997: I, 182 and Leone 1969–70: 144 (line 306), cf. 151 (scholion ad 306).
[63] See Weigl 1902: 37–38.
[64] See Henrichsen 1839: 77–89. Henrichsen also offers one example each from Psellos, Manasses and Tzetzes; but the two examples from Psellos and Tzetzes are hypermetric and the one from Manasses is a misreading. The same goes for his examples from Matthew Blastares: the first is hypermetric, the others are corrupt.
[65] Ed. Sotiroudis 1996: 287.6–7.
[66] See Leone 2007: xlii–xliii: however, his third example, line 4.3, is corrupt. For a further example, see *Histories* 11.214, discussed below at §5.6.3.
[67] See Koder 1969–73: I, 91 and Kambylis 1976: cccxxxvii.

possibility, then it shows a close affinity between Symeon's improvised hymns and popular songs.

### (2.7) *Elision and crasis: introduction*

In order to prevent syllabic vowels from cacophonously clashing at the word juncture, Byzantine learned poetry makes extensive use of elision and crasis: elision is the dropping of the final vowel before a vowel-initial word and crasis is the merger of the two vowels at the word juncture. The Byzantine poets inherited these two clash-resolving options from the ancients and adopted them wholesale, despite the fundamental linguistic changes that had occurred.

Take crasis. In Ancient Greek, καὶ and ἐγὼ naturally merge into κἀγὼ with a lengthened alpha; in medieval Greek, however, the two words equally naturally merge into κι ἐγώ. In Ancient Greek, if one wished to pronounce τὸ ὄνομα swiftly, the result would be: τοὔνομα (with a lengthened omikron); but in medieval Greek, the result would doubtless be: τ᾽ ὄνομα. And yet Byzantine poetry is replete with artificial forms, such as κἀγὼ, κἀνθάδε, κἀκεῖθεν, κἀντεῦθεν, κἀξ, τἀνθάδε, τἆλλα, τοὐναντίον, κοὐδαμῶς, κοὐκ, etc, all of which are acceptable because they have been sanctioned by the ancients.

The same goes for elision. The rule in Ancient Greek poetry is that short final vowels may be dropped before vowel-initial words: the emphasis here is on the word 'short' — elision is conditioned by the prosodic weight of the syllable. In medieval Greek, however, the rules for vowel-dropping are directly related to vowel hierarchy (a > o > u > e > i): it is ἀπὸ ᾽δῶ, not ἀπ᾽ ἐδῶ, because /o/ is stronger than /e/; it is τό ᾽πα, not τ᾽ εἶπα, because /o/ is stronger than /i/.[68] In flagrant disregard of the law of vowel hierarchy pertaining to the language they spoke, Byzantine poets insist on using metrical elision according to rules that no longer applied. Let me illustrate this with two examples: Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 556 πόλλ᾽ ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω, and anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 91 βάπτισμ᾽ ὃ δὴ καλοῦμεν, both with loss of the final alpha before vowels that are phonetically weaker: epsilon and omikron. They can do this because they write in an artificial literary idiom that sets them free from the rules of the spoken language.

It is worth noting that the distinction between elision and crasis is entirely arbitrary in the edition of medieval texts: some editors print τἆλλα (crasis), others τ᾽ ἄλλα (elision), and a third group of Neohellenists τἄλλα (crasis without lengthening). Since there is no quantitative differentiation between short and long alpha

[68] See G. Chatzidakis, Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά, 2 vols. Athens 1905–1917, vol. I, 211–218.

in medieval Greek, each of these three options is purely graphematic and, therefore, of no concern to linguists and metricians.

(2.8) *Elision and crasis*

Like in literary prose, it is common practice to allow elision after prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs and particles: ἀντ᾽, δι᾽, ἐπ᾽, κατ᾽, μετ᾽, etc. (or before aspirated vowels: ἀνθ᾽, ἐφ᾽, καθ᾽, etc.); ἀλλ᾽, δ᾽, τ᾽, οὐδ᾽, οὐτ᾽, εἴτ᾽, ἵν᾽, ὅτ᾽ (< ὅτε, not ὅτι), etc; τότ᾽, ποτ᾽, εἶτ᾽, ἔπειτ᾽, γ᾽, ἄρ᾽, τάχ᾽, etc. Elision of inflections is restricted to a fairly limited number of pronouns: personal pronouns of the first and second person singular: με, ἐμέ, σε, σέ (μ᾽, ἔμ᾽, σ᾽); demonstrative pronouns, such as τοῦτο, ταῦτα, τόδε (τοῦτ᾽, ταῦτ᾽, τόδ᾽); and quantifiers such as πάντα (πάντ᾽). If one disregards these indeclinable function words and inflected pronouns because they are generally elidable (both in prose and verse), one cannot but notice that the use of elision and crasis radically differs from metre to metre.

The purely accentual metres, such as the octosyllable, the heptasyllable, the unprosodic dodecasyllable and the political verse, make restricted use of elision and tend to avoid crasis, apart from inherited forms, such as κἂν and ὅταν. Almost all cases of elision are the aforementioned prepositions, conjunctions, particles and pronouns. A few more unusual examples include: anonymous, *Monody on Constantine VII*, 62 πᾶσ᾽ ἐγκόσμιος ἀρχή; Symeon NTh 10.3 ἶσ᾽ ἀδάμαντος, 10.6 ἄρτ᾽ ἐπίστευσα.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are the dactylic hexameter and pentameter, the two most artificial metres of Byzantine poetry, which, apart from many Homeric forms and endings, make abundant use of elision and crasis. Let me illustrate this with examples taken from the *Paradeisos*, omitting the usual elidable prepositions, conjunctions, particles and pronouns: elision (verbs) 11.2 ἵσταται᾽, 13.2 εἰρύετ᾽, 14.1 ἦλθ᾽, 21.2 φήσ᾽, 45.1 οἶσθ᾽, 48.4 ἐσθ᾽, 57.3 ἕζετ᾽, 64.4 ἴθ᾽, 72.1 ἔρχετ᾽, 86.4 δύνατ᾽, 98.1 εἶσ᾽, 98.2 σπεῦδ᾽, (nouns) 18.1 βλέφαρ᾽, 33.1 τὰ κάκ᾽, 42.2 ἄνδρ᾽, 44.4 τἀγάθ᾽, 81.1 ζῷ᾽, 93.4 αἰθέρ᾽, (pronouns and numerals) 3.4 τήνδ᾽, 48.1 τιν᾽, 7.3 δύ᾽, (adverbs) 2.1 μάλ᾽, 3.3 αὐτίκ᾽, 19.4 ἐνθάδ᾽, 24.2 οὐκέτ᾽, 40.1 μέγ᾽, 64.4 δεῦρ᾽, 98.2 ἔτ᾽; crasis 28.3 τἆλλα, 28.4 κἂν, 44.4 τἀγάθ᾽, 66.3 τἀμὰ, 76.2 τοὔνομα [κὄρνις at 93.4 is either elision: κ᾽ ὄρνις, or crasis: κὤρνις]. The same abundance of elision can be observed in Constantine the Sicilian's elegiac distichs, Leo the Philosopher's hexametric poem *Job*, the Byzantine epigrams of the Greek Anthology, and in Geometres' poems and hymns. If one compares Geometres' dodecasyllabic poetry with his hexameters and elegiac distichs, it is clear that where he seeks to avoid the elision of inflected

endings in his dodecasyllables, he feels free to apply elision to any ending, declinable or not, in his dactyls.[69]

The anacreontic is less strict than the accentual metres, but is far removed from the excesses of hexametric poetry. Leaving aside the usual prepositions, conjunctions, particles and pronouns, one may find the following examples of elision: Sophronios 6.49, 105, 12.11 ὅτ᾽ (< ὅτι), 14.80 χ᾽ ὁ Πέρσης[70]; Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 26 σπεύσατ᾽ ὀλέσσαι and 75 παρὰ θῖν᾽ ἁλὸς (Homer!), *Odarion*, 89 ἔρωτ᾽ ἀκούω; Choirosphaktes 4.85 γῆθ᾽ ὅτι; Mitylenaios 75.20 μέγ᾽ ἄχος; Theophylaktos of Ohrid 14.69 ὅσσ᾽ ἀγαθαὶ κραδίαι and 14.72 φίλ᾽ ἀδελφὲ; and crasis: Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 76 ἐγᾦμαι; Choirosphaktes, *On Thermal Springs*, 135 τἆλλα.

Dodecasyllabic poetry shows a marked tendency to avoid elision of inflected endings and restrict crasis to a small number of combinations (with either καὶ or the article: κἀνθάδε, τἀνθάδε, etc.).[71] Although this tendency is noticeable already in earlier poets, the first to systematically avoid elision of inflected endings is the founding father of Byzantine metrics: Pisides.[72] In fact, this reluctance to allow elision is one of the major differences between the late antique iambic trimeter and the Byzantine dodecasyllable and may, therefore, serve as a dating criterion. For example, one of the reasons for dating the anonymous *Labours of Hercules* to the sixth rather than the seventh century is heavy elisions, such as ἀγῶν᾽ ἐξετέλεσεν, πόλλ᾽ ἔτριψε, ὄμμ᾽ ἔχων.[73]

This does not mean that one cannot find elisions of inflected endings or unusual crases after Pisides, but it indicates that where one finds such elisions and crases, the author is either deliberately classicizing or not entirely au fait with the rules of Byzantine metre.[74] Theodore of Stoudios falls into the latter category: the elisions in 3.9 πάντ᾽ ἀφεὶς and 9.9 ταῦτ᾽ ἐκλαλοῦντες are acceptable, but the harsh elision in 21.6 δόξ᾽ ἀπανθεῖ is not.[75] The former category, that of unrepentant classicists, is much larger: it includes Follieri's Arsenios 32 κἄδηλα and Odorico's Arsenios Patellarites 17 τ᾽ ἀκανθαραχνόπλεκτα, 18 τ᾽ ἀπιστογνωμόβλαστα, 52 κ᾽ ὀρθοδόξῳ; Ignatios the Deacon, *Tetrasticha*, 8.1 ὄντ᾽, 21.4 ἔργ᾽, 26.1 πρός τιν᾽, and *Adam and Eve*, 73 τἀνδρὶ; Ps. Ignatios, *Tetrasticha*, 48.4 σωφρονισθεῖσ᾽, 54.1

[69] See Van Opstall 2008: 78.

[70] Gigante's χό Πέρσης is a mistake: καὶ ὁ becomes χὠ in crasis, and χ᾽ ὁ in elision; χό does not exist.

[71] As first observed by Horna 1904: 322.

[72] See Sternbach 1900a: 62–78.

[73] See Maas in Knös 1908: 403 and n. 8.

[74] A third category consists of editorial mistakes: e.g. Ps. John of Damascus 3.88 ῥήσεις ξέν᾽ ἠκούσθησαν: read ξενηκούσθησαν (<*ξενακούομαι, cf. γλυκοασπάζομαι, μυριαναστενάζω, συχνοκάμνω in vernacular Greek), or Theodore of Stoudios 26.2 εἰσοδ᾽ ἐξόδου: read εἰσοδεξόδου (a typical medieval 'dvandva' compound).

[75] Read in poem 105g.6 τἀνδρὶ, not τ᾽ ἀνδρὶ: this is a case of crasis, not elision.

δύ᾽, 57.1 ἦγ᾽; Leo the Philosopher, *AP* 9.203.6 θανοῦσ᾽; anonymous, *AP* 1.1.1 ἐνθάδ᾽; anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 91 βάπτισμ᾽; Leo VI, *Homily*, 187 τοὔδαφος, 470 τοὐμὸν, 517 συντετάσθ᾽; anonymous, *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth*, 23 ἀποίχετ᾽; *Leo Bible*, 1.56 διδοῦσ᾽; anonymous, *Encomium on Romanos II*, 97 πρᾶγμ᾽; and Geometres in his *Panteleemon* (but not in his *Odes* and his poems), 114 στελγίσματ᾽, 158 προὐμμάτων, 183 ἔστηκ᾽, 214 πέπεισμ᾽, 556 πόλλ᾽, 558 μαθήσοντ᾽, 615 λέγοιμ᾽, 923 ἄξεθ᾽, and 976 τὠμῷ.

The worst offender is Constantine the Rhodian: (verbs) *Satire*, 2.34 τρῶγ᾽, *Dispute*, 1 εὑρεθήσετ᾽, 62 εἶν᾽, *Ekphrasis*, 22 κατάρχετ᾽, 243 ἔστ᾽, 341 τέρπετ᾽, 346 ἀσπάζετ᾽, 368 στῆθ᾽, 456 ἀνίστατ᾽; (participle) *Dispute*, 56 εὕδοντ᾽; (nouns) *Satire*, 2.35 γαστέρ᾽, *Ekphrasis*, 45 χεῖρ᾽, 262 τὄμμα, 489 σώματ᾽, 527 κἀρρητουργίας, 551 τοὖργον, 808 τὄρος, 878 κἀπεμπολητὴν, 939 σπέρμ᾽; (adjectives) *Ekphrasis*, 730 κεὐειδεστάτοις, 954 κἀτελευτήτων; (pronouns) *Ekphrasis*, 28 τοὐμοῦ, 57 τῇδ᾽, 66 τήνδ᾽; (adverbs) *Ekphrasis*, 260 ὧδ᾽, 972 ἀβάλ᾽, 698 κύκλωθ᾽, 743 τοὔνδοθεν, 842 τοὔμπαλιν. It is worth noting, however, that the same author offers unaugmented forms (φάγεν, πτύξατο, etc.), datives in -οισι and -αισι, uncontracted forms (ἀέθλους, κέρδεος, etc.), syncopated forms (κάππεσον, κατθανεῖν, etc.), and irrational lengthenings (εἵνεκεν).[76] Constantine the Rhodian is clearly seeking to adopt an elevated 'epic' style in his poems, resulting in a vaguely 'Homeric' grammar and versification. This also explains why there are so many instances of elision and crasis in his poetry: he is deliberately 'homerizing' his dodecasyllables though he must have known that the result would be disagreeable to the Byzantine ear accustomed to other rules. It should be no surprise, then, that his metrical experiment remains an isolated one.

### (2.9) *Hiatus*

Hiatus is the clash of vowels at the word juncture. If there is no vowel deletion through elision and no merger of vowels through synizesis, the two neighbouring syllabic vowels are in hiatus. Hiatus is avoided in the dodecasyllable and, to a lesser degree, the anacreontic. It regularly occurs in dactylic hexameters and pentameters. And it is allowed in unprosodic metres.

Due to the frication of the [u]-element in the Ancient Greek diphthongs αυ and ευ (/au/ and /eu/ → /af, av/ and /ef, ev/), there can obviously be no hiatus after words, such as αὖ, γραῦ, Ἡσαῦ, εὖ, φεῦ, ἄνευ and βασιλεῦ, because they all end in a consonantal phoneme. Words cannot be elided twice, so it logically follows that there can be no hiatus after δι᾽ (<διά). Since metrical hiatus only occurs at the word boundary and not within the word, there is no hiatus in αἵ αἵ because it is an alternative spelling of αἰαῖ. Certain prepositions, such as περί and πρό, are not

[76] See Vassis 2012: 12.

elidable in Ancient Greek; hiatus after these prepositions is allowed in Attic comedy: the Byzantine poets follow suit and allow hiatus after πρό (but not after περί as far as I know).[77] In Homer there is no hiatus before the clitic pronouns ἑ, οἱ, etc., because of digamma: in later authors, such as Ephraim, there is no hiatus before οἱ because of Homer.[78] In the following account of hiatus I shall therefore ignore endings in -αυ and -ευ, the prepositions δι᾽ and πρό, the pronoun οἱ, and the interjection αἲ.

Unprosodic metres in learned Greek (political verse, octosyllable, heptasyllable, unprosodic dodecasyllable, etc.) do not avoid hiatus at all. The hiatus in Kassia A 70 βάσανον ἔχει τὴν ζωὴν *ὁ ἐν* λύπαις would be inexcusable in the prosodic dodecasyllable, but is fairly common in the unprosodic variant. Hiatus is particularly common after the article (as in the example just quoted) and after καί. Leo VI's *Odarion Katanyktikon*, for example, has 27 examples of hiatus in 188 lines, only six of which are not after καί or the article. Let me illustrate this with three examples (lines 16, 20 and 104): *καὶ ἀν*τρονύχιος χάσμη (after καί), *ὁ ἄ*γριος αἱμοπότης (after the article), ἐν νῷ, ψυχή*, οὐ* λαμβάνεις (neither). One may even find hiatus after easily elidable conjunctions such as δέ: Photios 1.27 δυναστῶν *δὲ ἐν* μέσῳ. Poets seldom use hiatus for literary effect; but one cannot help but admire Symeon the New Theologian for his adroit handling of hiatus in 10.14: *τὸ ἄ*τμητον φῶς τῆς ἀγάπης τεμοῦσα ('separating the ... inseparable light of love').

The main difference between political verse in the learned idiom and in the vernacular is that hiatus is more common in the former than in the latter, the reason being that learned poets do not have synizesis at their disposal, whereas those writing in the vernacular make abundant use of it. If one compares *Digenes Akrites* G (in lowbrow Byzantine Greek) with E (in vernacular Greek), the metrical differences are obvious: G makes little use of synizesis, but has a lot of hiatus; E makes extensive use of synizesis, but has very little hiatus. Frequent hiatus in vernacular poetry may be taken as a sign of metrical incompetence. There is hardly any hiatus in the masterly *Ptochoprodromika* (and the few exceptions are all due to scribal interference), but there is a tremendous lot in, say, the London *Achilleid*.

Byzantine poets do not avoid hiatus in their dactyls because Homer did not either. That Homer often (but not always) had a good reason for this —say, digamma— was unknown to the Byzantines who were happy to follow the great master even when he was leading them down a slippery slope. The result is frequently disharmonious: *Paradeisos*, 26.3 εἴ τι γὰρ ἂν καὶ ᾗ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδὸς, οὐ τόσον εἴη (–◡◡––/◡–◡–◡––), with hiatus both between καὶ and ᾗ and

[77] The 'emendation' of πρὸ αὐτῶν to πρὸ τούτων in Balsamon 13.26 is therefore unnecessary.
[78] See HILBERG 1888: 87.

between ᾗ and ἀπὸ. Neither καὶ nor ᾗ is shortened by the ensuing syllabic vowel ('epic correption'), but if they had been, the result would still be a sequence of vowels in hiatus. Take, for example, *Paradeisos*, 18.3 νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἐκτελέουσι (...), with ει shortened because of the next vowel-initial word: even taking into account the epic correption, the result to the Byzantine ear would still be hiatus between /i/ and /e/. Van Opstall counts 118 instances of hiatus (excluding cases of epic correption) in Geometres' 710 hexameters and pentameters: of these 118 instances, no fewer than 34 are after καί.[79]

Hiatus is generally avoided in the anacreontic. Most of the incidences occur after the article: e.g. Sophronios 1.9 τὰ ὄντα, 21.60 ὁ ἐμὸς, 21.63 ὁ ἄρχων; Elias Synkellos 1.31 τὰ ἄνθη, 81 τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν; Michael Synkellos 80 ὁ ἔχων; Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 101 τὸ ἔργον, *Odarion*, 21 τὸ εἶδος; Theodosios Monachos 8 τὸ ἄστυ; Choirosphaktes 2.55 ὁ ἔρως. However, there are also some more serious cases of hiatus: Sophronios 21.3 Μαρίη, ὅπως; Ignatios the Deacon, *Monody*, 6 πόα εὐμάραντος; Metrophanes 65 ἐμὲ οὖν, 101 βίου ἀέργου, 103 ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἄειρον; Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 25 βάρβαρα ἔθνη, 42 δάκρυα ὅσσων, *Odarion*, 9 θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, 57 πόσα ἄνθη ἔδραμον. In the last example hiatus even occurs twice.

As a rule, hiatus is strictly avoided in the dodecasyllable. There are many poems in which not one hiatus can be found. In his *Metaphrasis of the Odes* and his collection of poems Geometres does not have a single example of hiatus (the few exceptions are all corrupt). Remarkably enough, the metrical *Life of Panteleemon* which is attributed to him in one of the six manuscripts that contain it, has eight examples; the same *Panteleemon* also differs from the other dodecasyllabic poems in the fact that it has nine cases of heavy elision and crasis, whereas the genuine Geometres has none (see above). This may cast some doubt on the attribution, but further research is needed.

Apart from a few hiatuses after πρὸ, where it is allowed, Pisides has only six instances of hiatus in his vast poetic oeuvre, and five of these are clearly emphatic, stressing the fact that Christ has two natures but is one: *In Resurrectionem*, 13 καὶ εἷς ὁ αὐτός, *Hexaemeron*, 1649 and 1662 καὶ ἓν, 1651 and 1653 τὸ ἓν. More or less the same can be said about Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 242 αὐτὸ ὂν, 243, 246, 1039 and 1063 τὸ μὴ ὄν: 'being itself' and 'non-being' are philosophical terms which the poet uses to explain fundamental truths.

Otherwise hiatus is extremely rare. It may occur after the article: Pisides St. 100.5 τὸ ὡσάννα; Ps. John of Damascus 1.65 ἡ ἁμαρτία; Ignatios, *Lazaros*, 45 οἱ ἐνθάδε, 47 οἱ ἐκεῖθεν; Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 36, 61 ὁ Εὐφρόσυνος, 497 τῷ Εὐφροσύνῳ, 422, 448 ὁ Εὐστόργιος, 652 τοῦ ἡλίου, 1041 τῷ Ἰουλίῳ; anonymous, *Encomium on Sisinnios*, 22 τοῦ Ἰωάννου; *Leo Bible*, 14.1 ἡ ἀριστεία. It also may

[79] See Van Opstall 2008: 77.

occur after καὶ: Ps. John of Damascus 2.95 καὶ ἀμείνονα; *Leo Bible*, 1.2 καὶ ὑπὲρ; Anon. Patrician 8.4 καὶ ἀγγέλους. It may occur before οὖν: Leo VI, *Homily*, 419 τί οὖν; Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 659 μὴ οὖν, 904 τί οὖν; Mitylenaios 85.6 χρὴ οὖν. Other instances are: Ps. John of Damascus 2.28 τε αὖθις; Leo VI, *Homily*, 471 ὦ οὗτος; *Leo Bible*, 11.4 γήθου, Ἰεσσαί. For hiatus at the caesura, see below.

(2.10) *Synizesis, elision and hiatus at the caesura*

Having discussed synizesis, elision and hiatus in general, let us now look at what happens at the caesura. In most metres, the caesura is so strong a pause that bridging it with synizesis or elision is, by definition, impossible. In these metres which I call 'isometric' (see below, §5.1), the caesura severs the line into two self-contained 'cola' (metrical units) and noticeably interrupts the stream of sound from one colon to the next. There is an audible pause in the middle.

(i) *Synizesis*. This is why, in early vernacular poetry, synizesis across the caesura is not allowed: if there were synizesis, then there would not be a strong isometric caesura keeping the two hemistichs apart.[80] Let me illustrate this with an example from *Digenes Akrites* E 482: καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκαβαλίκευσεν, εἰς τὸν οἶκον του ἀποβγαίνουν, where the second hemistich is hypermetric. Alexiou and Jeffreys emend this to: καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκαβαλίκευσε, ἐκ τὸν οἶκον του ἀποβγαίνουν, signalling through the removal of the final /n/ that they are reading this line with synizesis across the caesura: -σε εκ > -σεκ. However, if one wishes to stay close to the manuscript and yet mend the metrical problem, an easy solution would be to read ἐκαβαλίκευσεν, στὸν (or ᾽ς τὸν as Trapp does in his synoptic edition); or if εἰς/σ makes little sense in this context, to change it to ἐκαβαλίκευσεν, ᾽κ τὸν.[81] Reading στὸν or ᾽κ τὸν at least preserves the rule of isometry.

(ii) *Elision*. Elision across the caesura is avoided in isometric metres, both in the learned idiom and in the vernacular.[82] (For elision across the caesura in non-isometric metres, see the next section). There are few exceptions to this rule, mostly in didactic poetry: e.g. Psellos 9.641, 661, 856, 973 (and in an interpolated

[80] See GARANTOUDIS 1993: 203–215; for the isometric principle that explains why there can be no synizesis at the caesura in early decapentasyllabic poetry, see pp. 210–211. It is only in the Cretan Renaissance and later that one occasionally may find synizesis at this point in the decapentasyllable: see GARANTOUDIS 1993: 216–227; see also N. DELIYANNAKI, On the Versification of *Erotokritos*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 1995, 65–66 and 155–157.

[81] The forms ᾽κ or ᾽χ after words ending in a consonant are not uncommon: e.g. Choumnos, *Κοσμογέννησις*, 1250; Trivolis, *Ιστορία του Ταγιαπιέρα*, 57; Koronaios 8.96; *Κυπριακά ερωτικά,* 56.6.

[82] As the rule of isometry does not apply to the ancient iambic trimeter, the anonymous author of the 'Euripidean' play *Christos Paschon* feels free to violate it in many instances: e.g. 13 μογοστοκοῦσ᾽ ὠδῖσί τ᾽ / ἐμπαρειμένη and 82 θυηφάγον φέρουσά τ᾽ / εὐώδη φλόγα.

passage, 4.27); Kamateros, *On the zodiac*, 149, 274, 714, 1145, 1302, 1349; Tzetzes, *Histories*, 5.795, 6.606, 7.825, 9.582, 11.796, 11.870, 12.406, *On tragic poetry*, 33, 111, *Chronike biblos*, 31. All these cases of elision involve the connective δὲ. Although δὲ normally is a postpositive, in such cases it is, remarkably, treated as a proclitic: e.g. Psellos 9.856 ψυχροῦ χυμοῦ γέννημα / δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πάθη.

If one disregards didactic poetry, which is often little more than versified prose, most examples of elision across the caesura result from textual corruption or editorial mistakes. Textual corruption: Kassia A 23 φίλον γνήσιον / δ' ἡ περίστασις δείξει — delete δ';[83] Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-line Theology*, 704 ὡς πανμαγείρους / †δ' ὑπὸ τῶν† ἀρτυμάτων — an adjective (perhaps beginning with δυσ-) is needed; Symeon NTh 21.179 ἀλλ' ἔγραψα ταῦθ' / ἵνα γνῷς πῶς πιστεύω — this is the reading of the manuscripts, except for ms. D which offers ταῦτα δ' ἔγραψα, which is probably a conjectural emendation, but one worth considering. Editorial mistakes: in *Panteleemon*, 990, the ms. offers ἐλαίας ἔνθ' †ἀγεσθαλέστατος† κλάδος, corrected by the editor to ἔνθα γ' εὐθαλέστατος — read ἔνθα / εὐθαλέστατος (for hiatus at the caesura see below); in Ps. Psellos 57.147, the ms. offers: καὶ πωγωνοκουροῦσι δὲ / εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην, corrected by the editor to δ' — delete καὶ and leave δὲ as it is (for hiatus at the caesura see below). The following readings in Prodromos' novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* are all cases of unwarranted editorial intervention: 2.425 τόξον γὰρ ἔς τιν' / εὐφυῶς ἐξημμένος (instead of the correct ms. reading τόξον γάρ ἐστιν εὐφυῶς ἐξημμένος), 8.470 ἀνεσπακυῖα <γ'> / εὐπρεπεστάτην πόαν and 9.415 τῆς ἀκριβείας <τ'> / ἄγαν ἐστοχασμένον; the same goes for Tzetzes, *Chronike biblos*, 22 θεόν, χαλίφρον' / εὑρετὴν οἰνουργίας (read with the ms. χαλικρὸν).

Not counting didactic poetry, where proclitic δ' is not uncommon, I have found two examples of elision across the caesura with δ': Arsenios Patellarites 18 τ' ἀπιστογνωμόβλαστα / δ' ἄνθη συστρέφον; Symeon NTh 50.32 ἐξανίστανται / δ' ἀθάνατα καὶ ταῦτα. There is no excuse for the ghastly elision in Theophylaktos of Ohrid 14.98 Εὐριπόθεν φορέονθ' / εἵνεκα σεῖο (φορέονται). A good illustration of the fact that elision across the caesura is generally avoided is that Constantine the Rhodian, however fond he is of elision (see above, §2.8), does not apply it at the caesura.[84]

(iii) *Hiatus*. It is the same rule of isometry which explains why metres that in general tend to avoid hiatus, such as the anacreontic and the dodecasyllable, allow

[83] There are more cases of redundant δὲ in Kassia: cf. A 65 εἰς δυστυχίαν δ' ἐμπεσὼν γενναίως φέρε, which Maas 1901: 55 rightly emends to εἰς δυστυχίαν πεσὼν.

[84] In Theodore of Stoudios 41.8 πρὸς λυτρὸν αὐτῆς τ' ἀνδρὸς ἄχραντον δόμα, the caesura is clearly after the 7th, not the 5th syllable. In Geometres 237.4 τῶν ἀρετῶν· τί φημὶ δ' αὐτὸς ὡς βραχύ, the caesura, if there is one, falls after the 5th, not the 7th syllable.

it at the caesura. Strictly speaking, it is not even hiatus. If a line is severed into two self-contained cola, the vowel-sounds before and after the strongly marked caesura cannot possibly clash (just as no one speaks of hiatus across two consecutive lines). For 'hiatus' at the caesura in the ionic trimeter, see, for example, Sophronios 2.38 Μαρίης θειοτόκου / ἄρτι τεκούσης; Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 59 ἐμὲ δὲ φλὸξ μεγάλη / ἄρτι μαραίνει; Metrophanes 86 τὸν Θεὸν ἀντιβόλει / ἀλιτρῶν ὕπερ. In the dodecasyllable, 'hiatus' at the caesura occurs very seldom. But seeing that hiatus is generally avoided in dodecasyllabic poetry, it is reasonable to assume that when it does occur, there must be a good reason for it. In the following examples, Theodosios the Grammarian, Theodore of Stoudios, anonymous *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth*, and Leo Choirosphaktes allow for 'hiatus' because of the break in the middle: Theodosios 77 καὶ γῆ χόρευε / ὑμνικῶς δεδεγμένη; Theodore 14.9 εὐχαῖς ἁλίζοις ταῦτα, / ὥσπερ ἀρτύσεις, 61.4 σώους φυλάττω / αἱρετιζόντων πλάνης; *Encomium*, 46 ὦ σκύμνε τερπνέ, / ἀγκάλισμα συγγόνων; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 30 τὸ κρεῖττον, ἴσθι, / εὐκτικῇ λειτουργίᾳ, 410 ἀποστάτας τρέπουσα / ὡς ψυχοφθόρους, 525 ποιητικὰς σειράς τε / αὐθαδοστόμων. The first three poets have no other instances of hiatus; the fourth poet, Choirosphaktes, does have a few, but not without good reason (see the previous section).

As previously discussed, unprosodic metres in the learned idiom make frequent use of hiatus. They also have a high incidence of 'hiatus' at the caesura, the reason being, once again, that vowels cannot clash if they are separated from one another. See, for example, Photios 1.41–42 (paired heptasyllable) λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλήν μου / ἐκόσμησας τιμίῳ: the vowel sounds of μου and ἐκόσμησας do not clash because the two hemistichs are self-contained metrical units. Or see Symeon the Metaphrast, *Catanyctic Alphabet*, 1 (political verse) ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, / ἀπὸ καρδίας πόνους: no clash of vowels between δάκρυα and ἀπὸ either.

As for political verse in vernacular Greek, where, as noted, the better poets tend to avoid hiatus, one may observe that these same poets do not avoid 'hiatus' at the caesura: e.g. *Ptochoprodromika*, 3.104 λιποθυμῶ, λιγοψυχῶ / ἀπὸ πολλῆς μου πείνας: the two adjacent vowel-sounds do not clash.

### (2.11) *Elision and hiatus in dactylic poetry*

The dactylic hexameter and pentameter do not comply to the general rule of isometry because they are not isosyllabic.

(i) *Elision.* This is why elision at the caesura is allowed in dactylic poetry whereas it is clearly avoided in all other metres. Elision of inflected endings across the caesura is allowed in the hexameter: Kometas, *AP* 15.40.22 ἐφίλησ᾽ /, 29 τάχιστ᾽ /; Arethas, *AP* 15.32.9 ἐείκοσ᾽ /; Geometres 18.2 ἀμφότερ᾽ /, 86.1 ἔπεφν᾽

/, 290.132 χέουσ᾽ /; *Paradeisos*, 7.3 δύ᾽ /, 57.3 εὔχετ᾽ /, 71.3 τόδ᾽ /, 88.1 ἐληΐσαντ᾽ /; anonymous, *Poem on Maniakes*, 27 οἷόν τιν᾽ /; Prodromos 3.124 γουνάζετ᾽ /, 6.22 κατάκουσ᾽ /, 6.56 γηθήσομ᾽ /, 6.111 ὀρόωντ᾽ / (and elsewhere); Eugenianos, *Drosilla*, 3.318 ἄλγε᾽ /; Tzetzes, *Carmina Iliaca*, 1.151 πλάζονθ᾽ /, 186 αὖτ᾽ /, 236 ζήσασ᾽ / (and elsewhere); anonymous, *Satire on an astrologer*, 19 ἐόνθ᾽ /; Michael Choniates, *Theano*, 47 τῆλ᾽ /, 117 πυθμέν᾽ /, 231 ἐόνθ᾽ / (and elsewhere). Such elisions are not common in the pentameter, but see Mitylenaios 57.18 μακαρίζουσ᾽ /. Elision of the postpositives δὲ and τε across the caesura is found in both the hexameter and the pentameter: Geometres 211.37 γέλωτα δ᾽ /, 290.7 σοφίης δ᾽ /, 300.7 πάγκαλά τ᾽ /; *Paradeisos*, 28.2 ἡμεῖς δ᾽ /, 38.4 χαλεπὸς δ᾽ /, 72.2 αὐτοὶ δ᾽ /, 92.4 ἐπὶ σοὶ δ᾽ /, 97.4 πολλοὶ δ᾽ /; Prodromos 8.280 πόην θ᾽ /, 78.12 παθέων τ᾽ /, *Tetrasticha*, 62b.3 λίθοι τ᾽ /; anonymous, *Satire on an astrologer*, 48 τέχνην δ᾽ /; Michael Choniates, *Theano*, 98 Εὖά θ᾽ /.

(ii) *Hiatus*. The lack of isometry also means that if there is hiatus at the caesura, it is real hiatus: not ‘hiatus’ in inverted commas; the adjacent vowel-sounds really clash. Because of the artificial character of the two metres, combined with a general tendency to have hiatus in every possible metrical position, it is difficult to establish rules concerning the use of hiatus at the caesura. In the hexameter, hiatus occurs quite regularly at the bucolic caesura (the pause after the fourth foot): Geometres has 26 instances of hiatus at this point (5.5% of all hexameters); the *Paradeisos* has 39 instances (19.8%). In the pentameter, hiatus occurs quite regularly at the caesura: Geometres has 13 instances of hiatus at this point (5.5% of all pentameters); the *Paradeisos* has 23 instances (11.7%); and, for what it is worth, Ignatios the Deacon, *AP* 15.29–31, has three instances in eight pentameters (37.5%): for instance, *AP* 15.30.6 ἴλαθι, ἴλαθί μοι / ὄμματι εὐμενέϊ.[85] It is also at this metrical position that *brevis in longo* is allowed (see above §1.3), which seems to indicate that the caesura of the pentameter functions as a full stop (though not an isometric one).

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[85] For hiatus at the caesura in pentameters of the Roman period, see West 1982: 181.

## *Stress and Accent*

### (3.1) *Introduction*

Of the three accents in use to graphematically represent the contonation of words in Ancient Greek, the acute indicates rise (and fall on the following syllable), the grave absence of rise, and the circumflex rise and fall on the same syllable. With the loss of prosodic differentiation between short and long vowels, the shift from pitch to stress was inevitable in Greek: the earliest indications that accent was characterized primarily by greater loudness (and not by contonation patterns of rising and falling), date from long before the Christian era. The phonological contrast between acute (rise) and circumflex (rise and fall) could not be sustained when long vowels and diphthongs ceased to be distinct from short vowels and, therefore, no longer allowed for rise and fall on the same syllable.[86] The grave soon followed suit, and the result was that, as of the Roman era if not earlier, the three accents had lost their *raison d'être*.

This did not stop grammarians from prescribing the continued use of these three accents in spelling: καλός—καλὸς—καλῶς, though all three sounded the same. In fact, the three-accent system was developed in Hellenistic times as a tool to teach pupils how to declaim older texts, such as Homer and Hesiod, without making mistakes, presumably by maintaining some form of pitch in their performance. Greek accentuation was antiquarian right from its beginning and, as time went by, became more and more detached from the spoken language.

A good example of this is the rule of limitation which allows the word accent to fall on any of the last three syllables, but not to recede further back than that: ἔμαθον—μάθω—μαθών, but not *ἔμαθομεν (>ἐμάθομεν).[87] It is the same rule of limitation that explains why if a word is followed by a clitic, it may acquire a second accent: μαθών τε, μάθω τε, but ἔμαθόν τε — in *ἔμαθον τε the accent would fall on the fourth syllable from the end. In Ancient Greek, when there was still a prosodic difference between short and long, and accent still denoted pitch, the rule of limitation also applied to words with a perispomenon on the penultimate: γυναῖκα, with rise and fall on the diphthong -αι- and fall on the final vowel -α, resulting in the pitch placed on the third position from the end: γυνάϊκὰ. And if a word with a properispomenon, such as γυναῖκα, was followed by a clitic, it too would obtain a second accent: *γυνάϊκὰ τὲ > γυνάϊκά τὲ = γυναῖκά τε. However, when the prosodic distinction between short and long ceased to exist and

[86] See Horrocks 2010: 118 and 169–170.

[87] In certain dialects, however, the stress accent may fall on the fourth syllable (Chiot, Cretan, and elsewhere), as duly noted by G. Germano, Grammaire et vocabulaire du Grec vulgaire publiés d'après l'édition de 1622 par H. Pernot. Paris 1907, 55, who gives as an example κάμετενε.

pitch turned into stress, there was no phonological difference between properispomenon and paroxytone, and therefore no reason to put a second accent on γυναῖκα τε. And indeed, enclisis after properispomenon is not infrequently omitted in our manuscripts. But it is also frequently applied (even in the self-same manuscripts where it may occasionally be omitted). This does not mean that Byzantine scribes and readers actually pronounced a second stress. It is simply a spelling convention.

A curious example of an accentuation applied without a proper understanding of its original phonological environment is the rule that paroxytone words with a trochaic ending (heavy syllable plus light syllable) take a second accent before clitics: ἄλλός τις, ἔνθά ποτε, τυφθέντά τε. The reason for this is that in archaic Greek (Homer, Hesiod, etc.) short vowel plus liquid, nasal or sigma counted as a diphthong and was therefore capable of carrying both a rising and a falling accent: *φύ̀λλὰ τὲ > φύ̀λλά τὲ > φύλλά τε (*Il.* 1.237), *λαχό̀ντὰ τὲ > λαχό̀ντά τὲ > λαχόντά τε (*Il.* 18.327). Because the grammarians did not understand this archaic diphthongization, they extended the rule to *all* paroxytone words with a trochaic ending.[88] Byzantine scribes even applied the rule to words without trochaic endings.[89] However, apart from a few lexicalized combinations, such as ἄλλό τι and ἔνθέν τοι, this peculiar accentuation is not common in Byzantine manuscripts[90] — and where we do find it, there is no good reason for it.[91] The spellings πόσά μοι and βάθρά μου in Mitylenaios 57.11 and 71.5, for example, are interesting, but serve no apparent purpose other than bearing witness to a curious grammatical tradition that ultimately goes back to a misinterpretation of Homer and Hesiod.

### (3.2) *Clitic δέ, γάρ, μέν, οὖν at line end and caesura*

Accent does not equal stress. It quite often denotes stress, but not always, and one should distinguish between the two in order to avoid confusion. The problem

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[88] See M. West, Hesiod: Theogony. Oxford 1966, 438–442, and Ph. Probert, A New Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek. Bristol 2003, 148–150.

[89] See Noret 2014: 137.

[90] Take Anna Komnene for example. If one does not take into account the ubiquitous ἄλλό τι and ἔνθέν τοι or forms of synenclisis (e.g. ὥσπέρ τινα = ὥς πέρ τινα) and elision (e.g. ἄλλά τα = ἄλλ᾽ ἄττα = ἄλλα ἄττα), the manuscripts of the *Alexiad* offer only a few examples: συμπεσόντά οἱ, ἀποσταλέντά οἱ, ἐπιστραφέντά ποτε, τειχίόν τι, φθέγμά τε, μέγά τι, ὀλίγόν τινι, ἑτέρά τις, ἄλλός τις, ἄλλού τινος, ἄλλό ποτ᾽, πάλαί ποτε, and ἵνά τις/τι [the latter may be a case of accent shift: for ἰνά instead of ἵνα, see C.A. Trypanis, *Glotta* 38 (1960), 312–313]. See Reinsch & Kambylis 2001: *40–*52.

[91] Noret 2014: 141–143 states that this rare form of enclisis is emphatic, but does not explain why πόσα in πόσά μοι and βάθρα in βάθρά μου (see main text) semantically require emphasis, nor why all the instances of paroxytone without second accent apparently do not require emphasis.

is that many languages, including Greek, have only one word for accent and stress — an unfortunate homonymy that obfuscates the discussion.

Accented words that do not bear stress include most of the proclitics: forms of the definite article beginning with τ (τόν, τοῦ, τῷ, etc.); the weak personal pronouns of the third person (τόν, τήν, τό, τούς, τές/τίς, τά);[92] the relative pronouns (ὅς, ἥ, ὅ); prepositions, both monosyllabic (πρό, πρός, σύν) and disyllabic (ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, etc.); the conjunctions καί, ἤ, ἀλλά, ἵνα/νά, ἄν, ὅτε, ὅταν; the particle ἄς; the negative marker μή. The remaining proclitics are spelled without accent: forms of the definite article beginning with a rough breathing (ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ); the prepositions ἐκ, ἐν and εἰς; the conjunctions εἰ and ὡς; the negative marker οὐ.

In contrast to proclitics, most enclitics are spelled without accent; exceptions include non-emphatic disyllabic personal pronouns (ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς, αὐτόν) and, to a certain extent, the postpositives δέ, γάρ, μέν and οὖν. As the manuscript evidence is contradictory, metre is instrumental in determining whether these postpositives bear stress or not. The problem here is that metrical stress is fixed at line end (almost always paroxytone), at the caesura of the political verse (on the 6th or the 8th syllable, but not on the 7th) and at the hephthemimeral caesura (C7) of the dodecasyllable (on the 5th syllable or, possibly, the 6th, but not on the 7th), but nowhere else. The only way out of this problem would be to study hymnography which, as it has strict homotony (stresses placed on certain set syllables), allows us to examine in which environments (phonological, syntactic and semantic) δέ, γάρ, μέν and οὖν may lose their stress. But what has been done so far in this field is disappointingly amateurish and deeply unsatisfactory for linguists and metricians alike.[93]

In the following account of δέ, γάρ, μέν, οὖν at line end and at the caesura, I faithfully retain the spellings of the editors, some of whom place accents even where the manuscripts do not, while others omit accents even where the manuscripts do offer them. And some do both. The truth of the matter is that the Byzantine scribes themselves show an irritating lack of consistency in their accentuation, sometimes putting accents in and sometimes omitting them for no apparent reason. And where there is more than one manuscript, one rarely finds agreement among the scribes. In the case of autographs, too, inconsistency reigns. The reason why Byzantine authors and scribes struggled to maintain some degree of consistency in their spelling was the tension between the grammatical tradition —the things they learnt at school— and the living language.

(i) Paroxytone line end (heptasyllable, octosyllable, dodecasyllable, and political verse): Photios 2.23 ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς γὰρ; 2.85 χορὸν τίς καθορῶν δὲ; Christ.

[92] When these personal pronouns are enclitic, they are not accented. This is a spelling convention: there is no difference in pronunciation.

[93] See, for example, K. Mitsakis, The Language of Romanos the Melodist. Munich 1967, 7–12.

Protasekretis 2.39 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς γὰρ; Choirosphaktes 4.63 παρὰ δεσπότου ποσὶν δὲ; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 174 Ἴροι, Κόροιβοι καὶ Σάθωνες εἰσί γαρ, 359 πρὸς χεῖρον εἶδος οὐκ ἀκινήτους· σὺ δὲ; Leo VI, *Homily*, 419 ἐξηπόρητο καὶ Δομίτιος· τί οὖν, 468 αὖθις συνείρει νοῦν λαβεῖν, κἂν ὀψὲ γ᾽ οὖν, 478 ἠμειψάμην ἔγωγε συντόμως, σὺ δὲ; Geometres 274.3 πρὸς ναὸν αὖτη, πρὸς Θεὸν φέρεις σύ δε; Rhoby IV, US14.14 οἶκος γάρ ἐστιν φθειρόμενος· ἐγὼ δέ; Kyriakos of Chonai 13 ἡδὺ τὸ ζῆν τοῖς ἅπασιν, ἐμὲ τὸ συνειδὸς δέ; Symeon NTh 17.240 οὐδὲ κτίσμα· ἄκτιστον γὰρ (cf. 29.34, 35.82, 35.89, etc.), 53.120 ἐν ἀΰλοις αἰσθητὸν δὲ (cf. 17.123, 280, 544, etc.), 121 τοῦτον οὖν ὡς αἰσθητὸν μὲν (cf. 53.134, 212), 1.40 σφαιροειδὴς δεικνύμενος, φωτοειδής, ὡς φλὸξ γάρ (cf. 1.33, 15.169, 174, etc.), 1.185 ἄβυσσος ἔσται προκοπῆς, ἀτέλεστος ἀρχὴ δέ (cf. 8.89, 12.18, 13.85, etc.), 55.143 πεποίηκα, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ μὲν.

(ii) Paroxytone line end and proparoxytone stress before the feminine caesura in Pisides' hexameters: *De Vita Humana*, 71 χλαίνῃ μὲν σχεδίῃ περιλαμπέα, παιζόμενον δὲ (=παιζόμενόν δε)[94], 41 τίς δὲ περὶ γλώσσῃ μὲν (=γλώσσῃ μεν). [For a similar phenomenon in Eugenianos' hexameters, see §4.3.4].

(iii) Stress on the 6th syllable before the caesura (political verse)[95]: *Monody on Leo VI*, 2.21 οὐκ ἀδελφὸν λυτροῦται γὰρ, 24 οὐκέτι τῷ κυρίῳ γὰρ, 3.46 τῷ ἱερῷ κανόνι δέ; *Monody on Christopher Lakapenos*, 1.2 θρηνήσῃς μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ; Symeon Metaphrast, *Catanyctic Alphabet*, 16 ἐμὲ τοῦ τέλους πλέον δὲ, 46 τὸ μετὰ τέλος πένθος γὰρ; Nik. Ouranos, *Catanyctic Alphabet*, 2 ὄμματα πῶς πετάσω δὲ; Theodosios of Dyrrachion 14 ἡλικιώτας τίμα δὲ, 15 θυμὸν χαλίνου· πτῶσις γὰρ, 22 λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἀνοίγων δὲ, 24 μυστηρίων τοὺς φίλους δὲ.

(iv) Stress on the 5th or 6th syllable, but not the 7th before C7 (dodecasyllable): Pisides, *De exped. Pers.*, 1.200 καὶ τῶν ταχυδρόμων γὰρ, *Heraclias*, 1.182 ἦ δῆλον ὡς ἡ χεὶρ μὲν, *Contra Severum*, 229 ὡς γὰρ λέγεις, νοεῖς μὲν, 259 πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως γὰρ, 300 καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ μὲν, 578 νικητικὴν ψῆφον μὲν, *Hexaemeron*, 68 τὸ τῶν νοημάτων γὰρ, 113 ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις γὰρ, 686 καὶ τοὺς ὀρεκτικοὺς μὲν, 780 εἰδωλολατρίαν δὲ, 1552 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων γάρ; Theod. Stoudites 5.9 τοῦ μαρτύρων πρώτου γὰρ, 78.3 βολαῖς ἀπαστράψας δὲ; Ignatios the Deacon, *Tetrasticha*, 17.2 ὥρᾳ κρύους· ἐπεὶ δὲ; Kassia C 38 Ἀρμένιοι φαῦλοι μὲν, 41 ὑπερπλουτισθέντες δὲ; Leo Philosopher, *AP* 9.578.3 δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ δὲ; Kometas, *AP* 15.38.4 τὴν σαπρίαν ῥύψας μὲν; Const. Sicilian 2.7 παρρησιάζεται δὲ; anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 75 ἐκ ποιμνίων ἤρθη γὰρ, 119 τῷ χριστομιμήτῳ δὲ, 177 ποῖος βροτὸς πόνοις δὲ; anonymous, *Encomium on Sisinnios*, 42 ὑπηρετεῖ τὸ πρὶν μὲν; Leo VI, *Homily*, 165 ὁ μάρτυς εἰστήκει δὲ, 287 τοῦ

[94] See West 1982: 180.

[95] Early political verse has stress on the 6th syllable; it is only around the year 1000 that stress on the 8th syllable gradually becomes acceptable: see below, at §4.3.3.

μάρτυρος· κοινὸν γὰρ ἐξήτει τάφον (for further examples, see 83, 85 and 234); *book epigrams in Laur. 74.7*, 2.15 φερωνύμου νίκης δὲ, 25 παρατροπὰς ἄρθρων δὲ; anonymous, *APl* 16.386.5 τὸ νεῦμα χεὶρ μένει δὲ; *Leo Bible*, 6.4 ὡς αἱ πλάκες ταύτης γὰρ, 13.4 ἐκ θήλεως αὖθις δὲ; Leo Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 26 κίνησιν οὐ πάσχων δὲ, 55 ἀφεὶς τόπον, ποσὸν δὲ (for further examples of clitic δὲ, see lines 80, 131, 302, 364, 398, 486, 576, 640, 698, 711, 781, 822, 910, 997, 1007), 97 κεχρημένην πλάτος γὰρ, 283 ἄφραστος ἁπλότης γὰρ (for further examples of clitic γὰρ, see lines 1001, 1006, 1090), 807 οὕτως ἀναίτιον μὲν; anonymous, *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth*, 15 τούτους λίθος κρύπτει γὰρ; John Kommerkiarios 37 μαρτύρεται, κάμπτει δὲ, 71 ὡς οὐρανόν, μᾶλλον δὲ; anonymous (Lambros 1922) I, 1.3 θεόγραφον χάριν δὲ, 6.3 καὶ συγκαλυψάτω δὲ; Anon. Patrician 38.6 καταξιωθεῖσαι δὲ; Symeon Metaphrast, *Hymn*, 101 ὥρᾳ τελευταίᾳ δὲ; Geometres 2.34 ἐξ ἀστέρων στέφη δὲ, 12.35 κρῆναι, λίμναι, τέχναι δὲ (for further examples of clitic δὲ, see lines 176.2, 223.8, 232.21, 242.3), 94.2 μορφῶ σε· φῶς ἐμοὶ μέν, 298.168 ἄλλως τε τοὺς κακοὺς μὲν.

As one can see, most of the examples of enclisis involve δέ and γάρ; μέν comes third, and enclitic οὖν is very rare indeed. This is because μέν and οὖν are far less frequent than δέ and γάρ in Byzantine poetry.[96] While μέν is rather prosaic and οὖν overly emphatic, the other two are commonly used to connect clauses and sentences, which gives them a clear advantage in terms of numbers.

At line end, the word placed before the clitic is obviously oxytone, or proparoxytone with a second accent on the last syllable, for which see the above-mentioned example from Pisides' hexametric poem: παιζόμενόν δε. Symeon the New Theologian has several examples of γαρ and δε preceded by a proparoxytone: e.g. 29.34 ἀληθείᾳ ἥμαρτον γὰρ (read ἥμαρτόν γαρ), 44.253 ἄνθρωπος ὁ δεύτερος δὲ (read δεύτερός δε)[97], and 28.151 ἐκκαιομένη μὲν σφοδρῶς, οὐ κατακαίουσα δὲ (read κατακαίουσά δε). For examples in later authors, see e.g. Tzetzes, *Histories*, 7.910 παραβολῆς διαφορὰ καὶ παραδείγματός δε, 11.314 τὸ κάλλος, τὴν γοργότητα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν δε, *Allegories of the Iliad*, Y 105 νῦν σοι κατὰ προέκθεσιν καὶ προκατάστασίν δε.

Before the caesura of the political verse, the word preceding the clitic is obviously paroxytone. Before the hephthemimeral caesura of the dodecasyllable (C7), where the stress is usually on the fifth, but sometimes on the sixth syllable,

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[96] See SOLTIC 2015: 194–196, for the distribution of these postpositives in the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* as well as the medieval romances (*Achilleid* etc.). If one does not count the *Chronicle of Morea* which is particularly fond of γάρ as a discourse marker, the figures are: δέ 733 examples, γάρ 409, μέν 60 and οὖν 23. This relative frequency is more or less what I find in my texts.

[97] KAMBYLIS 1976: 253 notes in the critical apparatus that all mss. offer δεύτερός δε, but that he follows the editio princeps because 'δέ non est vox enclitica' — well, it is. See W. HÖRANDNER, *BZ* 72 (1979) 84.

things are slightly more complicated. In most cases the preceding word is paroxytone, resulting in metrical stress on the fifth syllable; but where it is oxytone, the stress falls on the sixth syllable. However, the word that precedes the clitic may even be proparoxytone, in which case there is a second stress on its last syllable: Pisides, *Contra Severum*, 259 πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως γὰρ = πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεώς γαρ, Const. Sicilian 2.7 παρρησιάζεται δὲ = παρρησιάζεταί δε, and Leo Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 807 οὕτως ἀναίτιον μὲν = οὕτως ἀναίτιόν μεν.

(3.3) *Clitic (?) δέ and γάρ elsewhere in the verse*

However, the fact that δέ and γάρ are clitic in these positions, does not necessarily mean that they are clitic everywhere. In the lexical collocation καὶ γὰρ, for example, γάρ always bears stress: e.g. Symeon NTh 1.165 σὺν τῷ προσώπῳ σου καὶ γὰρ / εὐθεῖς κατοικιοῦσι, 42.203 ἀκούσατε· σωτὴρ καὶ γὰρ / διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται; Psellos 1.89 ἐξόδιος σκηνὴ καὶ γὰρ / ὁ θάνατος ὑπάρχει, 2.285 ἀντεπαινέσασα καὶ γὰρ / ἡ νύμφη τὸν νυμφίον, 6.130 ἐπικρατέστερα καὶ γὰρ / τῶν ψιλῶν πέφυκέ πως (and elsewhere); Manasses, *Synopsis Chronike*, 1307 ὑπερεγλίχετο καὶ γὰρ / ἀεὶ συνεῖναι τούτῳ, 3388 τὸ δυσπαράκλητον καὶ γὰρ / καὶ φοβερὸν εἰς κρίσεις. [For γάρ in γάρ ἐστι, see below §3.5, iii].

As most editors tend to ignore the manuscript evidence, let us look at an edition which does not: Sternbach's edition of the monody on Alexios Kontostephanos in dodecasyllable. His edition is based on Laur. Conv. soppr. 627 [15899] (s. XIII).

(i) At the beginning of the line, clitic δε and δ' is found eight times, but δέ only once. Out of these nine examples, there are seven with δε and δ' after an oxytone disyllabic word and two with δε and δέ after a paroxytone disyllabic word.[98] This strongly suggests that the scribe considers δε to be clitic after an oxytone word, but is not so certain of δε/δέ after a paroxytone word.

(ii) At the most frequent caesura, C5, before which the stress usually falls on the fourth or the fifth syllable, but occasionally on the third, the picture is less clear. When the preceding word is oxytone, one finds δε twice; when the preceding word is paroxytone, one finds δε once and δέ once; and when the preceding word is proparoxytone, one finds δέ twice and δε with a second accent once: συνήκμασάς δε.[99] To sum up, the scribe appears to treat δε as a clitic if it is pre-

[98] See lines 62, 100, 196, 208, 268 (δε), and 49, 236 (δ') after oxytone, but δε (63) and δέ (198) after paroxytone.

[99] Oxytone + δε: lines 175 and 319. Paroxytone + δε: line 353, and + δέ: line 303. Proparoxytone + δε: line 296, and + δέ: lines 130, 202.

ceded by an oxytone, but to be less consistent in his treatment of δε/δέ after paroxytone and proparoxytone.

(iii) As for γαρ, it occurs three times: once at the beginning of a line, and twice before C5. In all three cases, γαρ is preceded by an oxytone word and is treated as clitic.[100]

A similar picture emerges when one looks at another poem in Laur. Conv. soppr. 627, Psellos' monody on Skleraina.[101] Here, too, the scribe almost systematically treats δε as clitic, usually after oxytones, but also after paroxytones. In the case of proparoxytones, however, δέ twice retains its accent: 206 ὁ σύγγονος δὲ, 276 νικώμενος δὲ, but is once treated as clitic: 269 στροβούμενος δε (=στροβούμενός δε).

While enclisis of δε and γαρ after oxytones and proparoxytones at C5 results in metrical stress on the fourth syllable, which is perfectly legitimate, enclisis after paroxytones leads to metrical stress on the third syllable, which is less so. And yet the scribe of Laur. Conv. soppr. 627 does not hesitate to write: ἀντὶ κράνους δε (*Monody on Kontostephanos*, 353) and ὁ δεσπότης δε (Psellos 17.61 and 266). He is not the only one: the scribe of the famous anthology Marc. gr. 524 (s. XIII), though he tends to be more conservative in his accentuation than his colleague, does not have qualms either: Lambros 65.25 τὴν ἀξίαν δε, 89.21 τῶν σκανδάλων δε, 103.43 τῶν ἀμφίων δε, Spingou 40.21 προσκομμάτων δε. In Stilbes, also preserved in Marc. gr. 524, there are five examples of δε and γαρ after paroxytone: 129 ἀναγάγω δε, 136 μετὰ δᾴδων γαρ (cf. 193, 249, 580).

As stated above, the problem is that for every clitic δε and γαρ there are dozens of examples of δέ and γάρ, and while we can be certain that δέ and γάρ at line end, before the caesura of the political verse (until the year 1000) and before caesura C7 of the dodecasyllable, cannot possibly bear stress, we do not have this certitude before C5. The lack of consistency in matters of accentuation also means that we cannot be certain that all the examples of δε and γαρ spelled without accent in Byzantine manuscripts are indeed clitic and not the result of occasional lapses and moments of flagging attention on the part of the scribes. This said, I think a case can be made for considering δέ and γάρ clitic if the preceding word is oxytone, for two reasons: the number of examples in our manuscripts of unaccented δε and γαρ after oxytone words[102] and the fact that if both the oxytone word and the postpositive were accented, the result would be a disharmonious clash of stresses which is generally avoided in Byzantine poetry (see §4.5). However, as for δέ and γάρ after proparoxytones and paroxytones at C5 and elsewhere, we

[100] Lines 204, 36 and 155.

[101] Poem 17. Since Westerink's edition does not report divergent accentuations in the critical apparatus, the following account is based on Spadaro 1984: 67.

[102] See Giannelli 1957: 312 and Papagiannis 1997: I, 214.

need more evidence and, above all, a sound linguistic analysis that takes into account various factors, such as metrics, semantics and syntax.

### (3.4) *Clitic τε*

The enclitic τε is quite often given a redundant grave in Byzantine manuscripts: τὲ. As most scholars confuse accent and stress, it is now widely believed that when τε is accented, it is not clitic.[103] Metre tells otherwise. In Mouzalon's resignation poem, for example, there are twenty examples of τε at C7, a caesura before which oxytones are not allowed: three times written *without* accent (τε) as demanded by the metre, and no fewer than seventeen times *with* accent (τὲ) in flagrant disregard of the metrical rules of the dodecasyllable: e.g. line 14 ὅπου φθόνος κότος τὲ / πᾶν κηρῶν ἔθνος, where one really should read κότος τε.[104] Writing τὲ instead of τε apparently is a Byzantine spelling convention: it does not indicate the presence of stress.

While it is clear that τε, even when it is spelled τὲ, cannot possibly carry stress before C7, some may argue that it does before C5 where the rules are less strict. Let us see what happens there.

There appears to be a general understanding that if the preceding word is oxytone, τὲ can safely be ignored: in this case the metrical stress falls on the fourth syllable, which is absolutely fine. If the preceding word is proparoxytone, however, there has been some debate as to whether τὲ carries stress or leads to enclisis because the manuscript evidence sometimes looks rather confusing: e.g. Mitylenaios 42.4 ἐποίκιλας τὲ ms. G versus ἐποικιλάς τε ms. M. The problem here is not that τὲ is accented, but that ἐποίκιλας does not carry a second accent in the Grottaferrata manuscript G. In my view this is almost certainly a scribal error. Marc. gr. 524 (=M), for example, reads at poem 112.3 (ed. Lambros) καὶ μάρτυρος σου: surely that should be καὶ μάρτυρός σου. The same manuscript M reads at poem 246.84 διδάσκαλοι τὲ and in Stilbes' monody, line 65, νεκρώματα τὲ: here, too, it is reasonable to assume that the scribe simply forgot to put the second accent: διδάσκαλοί τὲ = διδάσκαλοί τε and νεκρώματά τὲ = νεκρώματά τε.

Sternbach argues that when τὲ is preceded by a paroxytone word at C5, it must be the one carrying stress because Byzantine poets avoid having metrical stress on the third syllable before C5: his examples are Kallikles 27.5 σὺν συζύγῳ τὲ (καὶ τέκνοις τηρουμένη) and 19.24 Ἰταλία τὲ (καὶ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης πέλας).[105] For

[103] See J. Noret, *Byz* 68 (1998) 516–518, and Noret 2014: 129–130. Noret is followed by De Groote 2011, Strano 2012, and others.

[104] τέ in lines 14, 98, 144, 234, 238, 247, 255, 296, 370, 398, 450, 521, 546, 605, 706, 716 and 775. τε in lines 258, 409 and 889.

[105] Sternbach 1903: 318.

further examples, see e.g. Mitylenaios 63.44 πρεσβυτέρων τὲ (καὶ διακόνων ἅμα); Marc. gr. 524, Lambros 263.23 Εὐφροσύνη τὲ (Δουκικῆς ῥίζης κλάδος), 267.6 κοιαιστόρων τὲ (σεμνύναντα τοὺς θρόνους); Stilbes 879 εἰς αἰθάλην τὲ (τὴν Θεοῦ κύρβιν λύει). However, while it is certainly true that stress on the third syllable tends to be avoided, there are so many exceptions to this rule that one cannot build a case on it. And given the metrical evidence against the orthotonic nature of τὲ (τὲ before C7 and at line end), we need stronger arguments than a 'general tendency' to avoid stress on the third syllable.

One could argue, however, that while clitics such as τε may not have *grammatical* stress, they may, under the right circumstances, carry secondary *metrical* stress in the delivery of poetry. To use Sternbach's example, while the syllable ζυ in σὺν συζύγῳ τὲ carries the grammatical stress of the whole word group ([sinsiˈzigote]), which is without a doubt also the main metrical stress of this hemistich, the conjunction τὲ may play a role as a secondary element in the rhythmical phrasing. The right environment for τε and other clitics to fulfil this role of secondary stress is after paroxytones because then there is an unstressed syllable between the primary stress (both grammatical and metrical) and the clitic. [For secondary stress, see §4.6].

(3.5) *Non-clitic clitics*

The verbs εἰμι and φημι, the weak personal pronouns με/μου/μοι and σε/σου/σοι, the indefinite pronoun τις, and the indefinite adverbs που, πως and ποτε are not always clitic in Byzantine Greek.[106] As always, the manuscript evidence shows an amazing lack of consistency and most editors make things worse by tacitly 'correcting' the accentuation of their texts. Here, too, metre may be instrumental in determining the cliticness of clitics.

As this is a vast subject, I shall restrict the discussion to (i) τις in Geometres, (ii) ἐστι and (iii) γάρ ἐστι in a number of authors.

(i) In the principal manuscript of Geometres, Par. Suppl. gr. 352, one may observe that at C5 τις is clitic after oxytone, but is accented after paroxytone: e.g. 92.4 τοῦτον πιών τις, 232.46 κρήνη ψυχρά τις; but 32.8 κεῖσθαι κλίσις τί[ς], 92.3 κιρνᾷ νέος τίς, 298.134 πρὸς οὓς βλέπων τίς. τις is clitic after oxytone even when it is the interrogative, not the indefinite pronoun: 25.17 καὶ τῶν σαφῶν τις / ἔσχε φυρμὸν αὐτίκα; Since τις remains clitic after paroxytone at C7 (100.1 ἐξίσταται βλέπων τις), it is unlikely to carry grammatical stress at C5: it is probably a matter of rhythmical phrasing whereby there is a slight secondary stress on τις for metrical reasons (for a similar case, see the discussion of τὲ after paroxytone in

[106] See Noret 2014 for further details.

§3.4; see also §4.6). It should be noted, however, that the accentuation of Par. Suppl. gr. 352 is not always reliable: see 13.32 τῶν θαυμάτων τίς χωρος (sic) and 13.33 τῶν πνευμάτων τίς κόλπος, where one would expect τις χῶρος and τις κόλπος, cf. 232.83 καὶ μαργάρων τι κάλλος.

(ii) At C5, ἐστι is usually clitic after oxytones and monosyllabic particles: e.g. Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 287 κἂν ἐκτός ἐστι, Const. Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 437 λόφος τίς ἐστι, Geometres 153.9 ἄλλῳ μέν ἐστι, Mitylenaios 30.29 ὁ σταυρός ἐστιν, but idem, 131.9 ᾧ φροντὶς ἐστὶν. Like in classical Greek, ἐστι is accented on its final syllable after paroxytones: e.g. Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 94 κἂν ἄκρον ἐστὶ; unlike in classical Greek, this rule also pertains to properispomenon: e.g. ibidem, 902 τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ, Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 608 ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν, and Geometres 298.122 ὃ κρᾶσις ἐστὶ, though, as always, it is not difficult to find counter-examples: idem, 140.3 ἀλλ᾽ οὗτός ἐστιν. It gets interesting after proparoxytones. Some scribes still treat ἐστι as clitic: Anon. Patrician 33.3 ἕτοιμός ἐστι; Geometres 141.2 Πάκτωλός ἐστιν. But some do not: Leo Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 946 and 959 ἕνωσις ἐστὶν, 1084 ἄφθονος ἐστὶν, 1085 ἄμικτος ἐστὶ; Mitylenaios 40.62 ἄντικρυς ἐστὶ. As Maas rightly observed,[107] the latter category clearly wish to have a stress on the fifth syllable at C5: his example is Nicholas of Corfu 152 ἄκομψος εἰμὶ.

(iii) In Byzantine manuscripts ἐστι is almost always clitic after γάρ. One finds γάρ ἐστι both at C5 and C7: Const. Rhodian 380 αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι (cf. 461, 465); Mitylenaios 114.87 πολλὴ γάρ ἐστι and 114.128 οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν; anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 104 τοιοῦτος οὐ γάρ ἐστι and 110 ἐν πράγμασιν γάρ ἐστιν; Leo VI, *Poem on the lily*, 5 μυστήριον γάρ ἐστι; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 305 ἀντιφρονεῖν γάρ ἐστιν and 686 περιγραπτὴ γάρ ἐστι. But one also finds γάρ ἐστι where one would rather not: Balsamon 18c.3 ἀλλ᾽ ἤμβροτες· ζώνη γάρ / ἐστιν ἐσχάτη, rightly corrected by Horna to γαρ / ἐστὶν. Metrophanes of Smyrna almost always has stress on the penultimate in his octosyllables, which is why line 92 θανάτου πατὴρ γάρ ἐστι is suspect: it should be θανάτου πατὴρ γὰρ ἔστι (=θανάτου πατήρ γαρ ἔστι). Leo Choirosphaktes always has stress on the penultimate in his octosyllables, which is why 3.33 ψόγος οὐδαμῶς γάρ ἐστι must surely be wrong: it should be ψόγος οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἔστι (=ψόγος οὐδαμῶς γαρ ἔστι). For this stress pattern, see Theodosios of Dyrrachion 17 ἳς μὲν *γὰρ ἔστι* τὸ θαρρεῖν φίλοις τοῦ ζῆν ἀφόβως. Likewise, in Christopher Protasekretis 2.41 ὑάκινθος δέ ἐστιν, where one expects stress on the penultimate, I would suggest reading ὑάκινθος δὲ ἔστιν (=ὑάκινθός δε ἔστιν). In the octosyllables of Symeon the New Theologian, too, ἐστι at line end invariably carries stress on the penulti-

[107] Maas 1903: 319.

mate, regardless of the preceding word: e.g. 17.477 κεφαλὴ τῶν πάντων ἔστι, 17.480 καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ ἄπνουν ἔστι.

(3.6) *No enclisis across the caesura*

Dodecasyllable and political verse must have a caesura; without it, they are not recognizable as verse. At *Panteleemon* 710 Sternbach prints κολαστικαὶ μίμνουσί σε τιμωρίαι: in his review, Papadopoulos-Kerameus mentions that a ms. in St Petersburg reads: κολαστικαὶ μίμνουσι σοὶ τιμωρίαι, which immediately solves the problem of the missing caesura. Likewise, at *Panteleemon* 922 one should read Ἑρμοκράτης, Ἕρμιππος εἰσί μοι δύο, not Ἑρμοκράτης, Ἕρμιππός εἰσί μοι δύο as the editor does. Although Paul Maas more than a century ago explained that enclisis across the caesura is impossible, the traditional spelling lives on.[108] Here are some appalling examples, with the correct spellings in brackets: Nik. Ouranos 9 ὅθεν αὐτοκατάκριτός / εἰμι καὶ πρὸ τῆς δίκης (αὐτοκατάκριτος εἰμὶ); Psellos 17.170 καὶ νῦν ἄπνους, ἄψυχός / εἰμι τῷ βίῳ (ἄψυχος εἰμὶ); Psellos 9.848 αἰσθήσεως ἄμοιρός / ἐστιν αὐτίκα (ἄμοιρος ἐστὶν), cf. lines 857, 984, 1145, 1217; Tzetzes, *Histories*, 1.450 μαθὼν δ᾽ Ἀτρεὺς ὡς καὶ μοιχός / ἐστι τῆς Ἀερόπης (μοιχὸς ἐστὶ); Makrembolites 2.5 τέλος δέ μου πρώτιστόν / ἐστι γραμμάτων (πρώτιστον ἐστὶ); Eugeneianos, *Drosilla*, 1.217 ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀνέραστός / ἐστι τοῦ βίου (ἀνέραστος ἐστὶ), cf. 9.115; Rhoby III, GR6.7 κἂν πικροδακρύφυρτός / ἐστιν αἰτία (πικροδακρύφυρτος ἐστὶν); Anon. Italian 6.3 ἄβυσσον οἰκτιρμῶν δέ / μου πῶς ἠγνόεις; (δὲ μοῦ); Geometres 153.26 ὃς ἐν κρίσει τὰ πρῶτα / σου λάβοι γέρα (σοῦ); Anon. Sola 6.4 βάθρων ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν / σοι νεουργοῦσι δόμον (σοὶ); Nicholas of Corfu 258 τῷ νυμφαγωγήσοντί / σε πρὸς ἀξίαν (νυμφαγωγήσοντι σὲ); Prodromos, *Katamyomachia*, 136 οὐ γὰρ προσῆκον / μοι δέδοκτο καὶ φίλον (μοὶ); *Encomium on Basil I*, 194 ἐπὰν προσέλθοι / τις βροτῶν οἰκτρὸς πάνυ (τίς); Theodosios the Deacon 1.89 ἂν γὰρ τὸ λουτρόν / τις λαβὼν ἠμαγμένον (λουτρὸν τίς), 2.264 οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἔνθα / τις φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης (τίς); Symeon NTh 20.65 καὶ πρὶν παράξῃς / τι τῶν μὴ βλεπομένων (τί); Psellos 9.967 εἰ δ᾽ ὡς ὑποχρέμπτοιτό / τις τὴν οὐσίαν (ὑποχρέμπτοιτο τίς); Nicholas III Grammatikos 177 εἰ μή που δι᾽ ἀσθένειάν / τις ἀδυνάτως ἔχει (ἀσθένειαν τίς); Prodromos, *Rhodanthe*, 3.215 εἴη γὰρ ἀσέβειά / τις ἀδικία (ἀσέβεια τίς); Tzetzes, *Chronike biblos*, 18 ὡς ἦν τεκνοβρώς / τις πατὴρ πάλαι Κρόνος (τεκνοβρὼς τίς); Nicholas of Corfu 113 καινοπρεπῶς ἔδειξέ / τινας πολλάκις (ἔδειξε τινὰς); Prodromos, *Rhodanthe*, 7.330 μὴ γὰρ καλοὶ γένοιντό / τινες ἐν βίῳ (γένοιντο τινὲς); *Alexander Poem* (ed. Aerts), 3727 μηδὲν ἐπαγγελλέσθω μοί / τι τῶν ἐμῶν διδόναι (read with the ms. μοι τί).

[108] Maas 1903: 319. See also Giannelli 1957: 313.

Thankfully, there are a number of editors who have listened to Maas and apply the rule correctly: Const. Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 224 ὡς ἐκ μάχης ἥκοντα / πὼς νικηφόρον and 245 τήν τε γραφὴν ἄριστα/ πὼς γεγραμμένην; Symeon NTh 15.41 ὁ μηδεμίαν ἐντολὴν / ποτὲ τετηρηκώς σου; Mitylenaios 116.3 στοὰ ξύλων ἄμοιρος / εἰμὶ καὶ λίθων; Balsamon 20a.9 ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ συστράτηγον / ἐστὶν εἰς χάος and 24a.10 πένησσα χεὶρ εὔχρηστος / ἐστὶ λαμβάνειν; Prodromos, *Tetrasticha* (ed. Giannelli), 161 τί καινὸν εἰ σύστοιχος / ἐστὶν ἀγγέλοις; Haploucheir 50 χαρὰ τροφὴ πάρεστι / σοί, λόγων χάρις; Anon. Malta 1778 μὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ μὲ / τί φρονήσας εἰκέως.

(3.7) *Enclisis after properispomenon and paroxytone*

As I explained in the introduction (3.1), in medieval Greek the distinction between acute, grave and circumflex is purely graphematic and therefore utterly irrelevant from a linguistic and metrical viewpoint.

Putting a second accent on words with properispomenon when followed by a clitic (say, γυναῖκά τε) is a spelling convention: it does not correspond to the way these words are actually pronounced (which in the case of γυναῖκά τε is γυναίκα τε). Though they had been well-drilled in the spelling of Ancient Greek, scribes often do not apply this spelling convention because it is somewhat counter-intuitive to put a second accent and then ignore it altogether in the pronunciation. Most editors tend to be blissfully unaware of the transformations of the Greek language and 'correct' their manuscripts without good reason and usually without even mentioning it in the critical apparatus. Let me give a few examples of unnecessary emendations before C7: Geometres 215.2 λόγῳ πνοὴν ῥῶσίν τε (ms. ῥῶσιν τὲ: read ῥῶσιν τε); Psellos 17.72 ἔσπευδε νικῆσαί σε (mss. νικῆσαι σε), 17.171 γηρωκομηθῆναί με (mss. -θῆναι με),[109] 62.45 δὸς ἐξαναπνεῦσαί με (ms. - πνεῦσαι με), cf. 14 app. crit. ἂν εἰς πόλον χεῖρας τις.[110]

There are numerous examples of the combination of properispomenon and clitic before the caesura of the political verse, a metrical position where the stress cannot fall on the seventh syllable, but where a number of medieval scribes and most modern editors rather perversely persist in putting second accents regardless of the metre: e.g. anonymous, *Monody on Christopher Lakapenos*, 1.15 καὶ ζῶν ἐν φίλοις εἶχόν σε; Symeon the Metaphrast, *Monody on Constantine VII*, 21 ἥλιε, τὰς ἀκτῖνάς σου, and *Catanyctic Alphabet*, 42 ἥμερον ὄμμα δεῖξόν μοι; Symeon the New Theologian 11.67 τοῦ μὴ καταφλεχθῆναί με, 13.5 τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσάν μοι, 13.72 οἶδα ὅτι ὁρᾶταί μοι, 14.5 ἐπιθυμῶ λαλῆσαί σοι, 18.136 κατῆλθε γὰρ

[109] Manuscript readings not mentioned in Westerink's edition: see SPADARO 1984: 67, n. 7.

[110] Manuscript readings not mentioned in Westerink's edition: see STERNBACH 1900b: 316 (app. crit.).

καὶ εὗρέ με, 25.95 παραθεῖναι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, and elsewhere;[111] Psellos 2.523 εἶτα, φησίν, ἐξεῖπέ μοι, 663 περινοστοῦσαν εἶδόν με, 1020 τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ ἐξεῖπόν μοι, 7.169 πηδῶσι γὰρ βοῶσί τε, 8.546 τὸ δέ γε μόρτις καῦσά πως, and elsewhere. Please note in the last example that even a loan word, 'mortis causa', may receive an arbitrary and unmetrical second accent!

That this type of enclisis is purely graphematic, is underlined by its near absence at line end. Political verse has metrical stress on the penultimate, and yet one is hard-pressed to find any examples like the ones mentioned in the previous paragraph. Forms like εἶδόν με, ἐξεῖπόν μοι, βοῶσί τε, καῦσά πως, etc, are not found at line end, though they would seem to fit perfectly well, especially since second accents are stronger and more emphatic than the principal ones. The reason is of course that there is no second stress: the pronunciation of εἶδόν με is [ˈiðonme], not [iˈðonme].

In his *Dioptra*, Philippos Monotropos makes an exception for the combination of οὗτος and γε: he has τοῦτό γε eleven times, ταῦτά γε four times, and τοῦτόν γε and ταῦτάς γε each once; for example, line 22 of the poem's epilogue reads: εἰς στίχους γὰρ πολιτικοὺς μετέφρασα ταῦτά γε.[112] Given its frequency in the *Dioptra*, οὗτός γε is likely to be a lexical collocation. But otherwise there is only one example of this kind of enclisis at line end in the 7000-odd verses of the *Dioptra*: 2.1505 ἀξίωσόν με, κύριε, τὰ νῦν ἀγαπῆσαί σε.

There are very few other examples: John Tzetzes, *Histories*, 4.734 Περσεὺς ἦν πρίν σοι βασιλεύς, αἰχμάλωτος εἶτά μοι; Isaac Tzetzes, *De Metris Pindaricis*, 109.15 πρώτης οὔσης τροχαϊκῆς· χορίαμβος εἶτά σοι; and Psellos 6.457 ὁ πέπων δέ γε σικυός· ὁ δὲ βρυτὸς πόμά τι.[113] The first two examples have enclisis triggered by the properispomenon εἶτα: the third example has enclisis because of the obscure rule that a paroxytone when followed by a clitic receives a second accent: πόμα τι > πόμά τι. The fact that I have been unable to find more examples of enclisis after properispomenon (and paroxytone) at line end, together with the fact that the authors involved clearly make an effort to fit their didactic material into

[111] Kambylis and Koder offer the same accentuation in 11.67, 13.5, 13.72 and 14.5; but in 18.136 Koder has εὗρε με and in 25.95 πνεῦμα μου because as from the second volume, he changed his editorial method (see vol II, p. 9). Neither of the two editors offers any information on accentuation in the critical apparatus.

[112] I am much indebted to Eirini Afentoulidou-Leitgeb for sharing this information with me. In her forthcoming edition of the *Dioptra*, τοῦτό γε occurs in lines 3.388, 644, 4.10, 22, 67, 5.472, 1300, 1532, 1619, 1623, 2038; ταῦτά γε in lines 3.1488, 1556, 5.1794, Epilogue 22; τοῦτόν γε in line 4.267; and ταῦτάς γε in line 4.1011.

[113] In Isaac Tzetzes 68.6 τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀξίωμα ἔστί τι, read ἐστί τι, cf. 65.16 καὶ δίμετρον ἐστί σοι; in Kamateros, *Introduction to Astronomy*, 4037 μελανοὺς πρὸς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς τρίχας οὖλούς τε, read οὐλούς τε (οὐλὸς instead of οὖλος is common in lowbrow Byzantine Greek).

the metre, goes to show how unnatural and forced this stress pattern is and how alien to the nature of political verse.

In the dodecasyllable, however, this stress pattern may occasionally be found at line end. I shall first offer a number of examples of enclisis after properispomenon, then of ἄλλό τι, and then of enclisis after paroxytone (// indicates line end):

(i) Theod. Stoudites 121.2 ἐσχηκυῖά τι//; Bryson 35 ζῶσί τε//; Leo Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 1087 φιλοῦσά γε//; Anon. Patrician 32.13 βρῶμά σοι//; Geometres 299.2 τοῦτό γε//, *Odes*, 2.74 ταῦτά μοι, 5.1 and 9.1 πνεῦμά μου//; Anon. Sola 1.2 ὡς ῥαγῆτέ μοι//; Mauropous 26.2 πληροῦντά σε//, 34.1 προεῖπέ τις//, 74.1 ἐνταῦθά σε//; Psellos 9.1136 πνεῦμά τε//, 9.1352 σῶμά τι//, 9.1367 γυμνοῦσά πως//; and more examples in Comnenian poetry (especially in the novel of Eugenianos).

(ii) For the lexicalized combination ἄλλό τι at line end, see Theod. Stoudites 24.6; Ignatios the Deacon, *Paraenetic Alphabet*, 2; Mauropous 54.96, 92.17 (both tacitly 'corrected' to ἄλλο τι by the editor); Chr. Mitylenaios 114.123, 136.25; Psellos 24.201; and more examples in later poetry.

(iiia) Enclisis after paroxytone is extremely rare: Kallikles 19.12 τεχθέντά με//, 22.20 λαχόντά σε//; Prodromos, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, 9.148 μαθόντά σε//, *Tetrasticha*, 245a.2 στραφέντά με//; Eugenianos 2.222 περιπλακέντά μοι//, 6.627 τὰ πάντά σοι//; Marc. gr. 524, Lambros, 65.15 κριθέντά μοι// (see Spingou 2012: 100); Manasses, *Hodoiporikon*, 1.158 εἰσιόντί μοι//. (At Kallikles 8.2 the ms. reads ἐνσπαρέντα μοι//, which the editor tacitly changes to ἐνσπαρέντά μοι. At Prodromos 45.292, the editor prints πεσόντα σε//, but notes in the critical apparatus that two of the five manuscrips offer πεσόντά σε). All the examples of enclisis concern participles except for Eugenianos 6.627 τὰ πάντά σοι. I strongly suspect that Homer, *Il.* 18.327, λαχόντά τε, and the example given by the grammarians to illustrate this type of enclisis, τυφθέντά τε, played a major role in making this oddity acceptable on paper.

(iiib) The main manuscript of Geometres, Par. Suppl. gr. 352, reads at 93.3 πλάσμα μου//: one of its apographs, Par. gr. 1630, offers πλάσμά μου. Par. Suppl. gr. 352 reads at 224.5 τὰ πάντα μοι//: Leo Allatios and the editor change this to τὰ πάντά μοι. Par. Suppl. gr. 352 reads at 254.3 τὰ θρεπτα σοι// (without any accent): the editor, following Scheidweiler, corrects this to τὰ θρέπτρά σοι. All three instances of possible enclisis involve nouns, not participles as in iiia; the only similarity is that between poem 224.5 and Eugenianos 6.627.[114]

[114] As for πλάσμά μου in Par. gr. 1630, the scribe may have correctly judged that enclisis was required here, but it may also be a case of what classicists call *vitium byzantinum*, the scribal

As I hope to have made clear, enclisis after properispomenon (and paroxytone) does not exist in the spoken language. That we find this type of enclisis at line end in the dodecasyllable, is a reminder that Byzantine iambic poetry makes use of an artificial idiom, including phonological rules that had effectively ceased to exist more than a millennium earlier. It is reasonable to assume that Byzantine intellectuals, not only in their performance of classical literature but also in that of their own highbrow literary products, sought to maintain this particular type of enclisis because it lent a certain cachet to the event and allowed them to have a paroxytone line end as required. Quite how they were able to do this without sounding ridiculous, is another matter.

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## *Stress Patterns*

### (4.1) *Introduction*

In late antique poetry, isosyllaby comes first; stress regulation, second. The initial core of the Greek Ephrem (4th-c. translations from Syriac) has isosyllaby, but no recognizable stress patterns. Gregory of Nazianzos' slightly later V*espertine Hymn* (I.1.32) and *Admonition to Virgins* (I.2.3) have both, but it is still a primitive form of stress regulation, with a strong tendency to have a stress on the penultimate at line end, but without a fixed stress pattern elsewhere in the line. The unprosodic *Sayings of Aesop* and the prosodic alchemical poems of Heliodoros (both probably fifth century, or early sixth) are entirely isosyllabic, but show no preference for stress on the penultimate. In sharp contrast to this metrical laxity, early Byzantine hymnography not only has a fixed number of syllables but also fixed positions for metrical stress (for which, see the oldest kontakia, such as the *Akathistos*, and the stichic hymns).[115]

The earliest evidence for some form of stress regulation is the avoidance of oxytone line end in the dactylic pentameter, the choliamb and the iambic trimeter.

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habit of changing the iambic in such a manner that the penultimate syllable carries an accent. Though this process affects mainly the iambic trimeter (with the inclusion of Pisides' verses), there are a few Byzantine casualties to report: Theod. Stoudites 28.9 ἀξίως//, read ἄξιος; Leo Choirosphaktes, *Epitaph*, 11 ποιουμένον// and Manasses, *Hodoiporikon* 4.94 προσαγάγειν//, rightly corrected by their respective editors to ποιούμενον and προσαγαγεῖν. The phenomenon of *vitium byzantinum* is attested even in verse inscriptions: Rhoby I, no. 227 μονοτρόπον //, read μονότροπον. For more examples, see KOMINIS 1966: 67, n. 1.

[115] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b.

This trend against ending the line with an accented syllable begins before the Christian era and grows in strength in Roman times. In Late Antiquity the Nonnian school develops fixed stress patterns at the caesura and the line end of the hexameter, and the school of Gaza as a rule has stress on the penultimate in the anacreontic whilst clearly preferring a second stress on the fourth syllable.[116]

Pisides perfects the Nonnian rules and turns the hexameter into a rhythmically organized vehicle of poetic expression. In addition, Pisides restructures the iambic trimeter and introduces stress regulation at line end and elsewhere: the result is the Byzantine dodecasyllable as we know it. And his close contemporary, Sophronios of Jerusalem, systematizes the rhythmical rules for the composition of anacreontics that the school of Gaza had initiated. Byzantine versification begins with these two. Their transformative impact in matters of metre is also borne out by the fact that later metricians illustrate the rules of the iamb and the anacreontic with examples taken from their poems.[117]

The following account deals with stress patterns in various metres, both at line end (§4.2) and at the caesura (§4.3). This is followed by a discussion of rhythm (§4.4), the problem of clashing stresses (§4.5), and the phenomenon of secondary stress (§4.6). Most of the statistical evidence presented below is derived from previous scholarship (usually editors), but wherever it is clear that these studies confuse accent with stress and, therefore, include clitics in their count of stressed syllables (say, δὲ at C7 or οὖν at line end), I have tacitly adapted their figures in accordance with the rules laid down in the preceding section. There are three kinds of stress in medieval Greek — on the ultimate syllable: oxytone (ox); on the penultimate syllable: paroxytone (p); and on the antepenultimate syllable: proparoxytone (pp).

### (4.2.1) *Stress patterns at line end: dodecasyllable*

In the iambs of Pisides, paroxytonism becomes *de rigueur* at line end. Oxytone line endings rapidly slump from c. 9% to vanishing-point in his oeuvre: *In Heraclium ex Africa redeuntem* (c. 611) 9%, *Expeditio Persica* (c. 623) 1%, later poems zero or near-to-zero. Proparoxytone line endings, too, decrease with great rapidity: *In Heraclium ex Africa redeuntem* 38.2%, *Heraclias* (c. 628–30) 7.6%, *Hexaemeron* (early 630s) 4.5%, and *In Alypium* (date unknown) 0%.

Though this does not mean that oxytone and proparoxytone line endings disappear altogether, it is a fact that their numbers are seriously reduced in Byzantine poetry. Take the eighth and early ninth centuries. Andrew of Crete has five proparoxytones (vv. 19, 21, 39, 42, 86) in a total of 128 lines (=3.9%), but

[116] See Hanssen 1883, Hanssen 1889, and West 1982: 162–185.
[117] See Lauxtermann 1998a.

Theodosios the Grammarian has none. Theodore of Stoudios has four oxytones (7.8, 21.6, 51.1, 90.2) and one proparoxytone (28.9)[118] at line end: so five cases in a total of 798 lines (=0.6%). In the iambic kanons of Ps. John of Damascus, which imitate the patterns of the dodecasyllable, the number of proparoxytone and oxytone line endings is much higher: 29 proparoxytones and 9 oxytones in a total of 395 lines (=9.6%); the reason for this is that the kanons are set to a certain *heirmos* which is repeated in every strophe.[119]

In ninth- and tenth-century poetry the number of proparoxytone (pp) and oxytone (ox) line endings is usually very low indeed. Some poets (Kassia, for example) have none. Some allow themselves a few exceptions: Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, has 1 pp in a total of 1159 lines; Constantine the Rhodian has 4 pp in 981 lines; the Anonymous Patrician has 1 pp in 288 lines; and Theodosios the Deacon has 1 pp in 1039 lines. And some are a bit more generous: Symeon the New Theologian presents 11 pp (one of which is problematic) and 3 ox (two of which are problematic) in a total of 2189 lines (=0.64%). In his poems, Geometres offers 19 pp and 11 ox in 1755 lines (=1.7%), and in his *Odes*, he has 2 pp and 3 ox in 470 lines (=1.1%); but in the *Panteleemon*, if that is indeed by him, he has no fewer than 12 pp and 22 ox in 1042 lines (=3.3%).[120]

Eleventh-century poets tend to avoid proparoxytone and oxytone line endings altogether. Mitylenaios ends each line with a paroxytone word. Mauropous has only one exception: κρατεῖ in 93.20 (χλοῆς instead of χλόης in 81.13 is an editorial mistake; so too is ἄλλο τι instead of ἄλλό τι in 54.96 and 92.17). Psellos has three proparoxytone line endings in his massive oeuvre.[121] Most twelfth-century poets, too, strictly avoid 'deviant' line endings: Kallikles has 1 pp in 821 lines; Balsamon has 1 pp in 740 lines; Eugenianos has 3 pp in 3553 lines; but Manasses and Prodromos are slightly more liberal in their poetry: Manasses has 3 pp and 7 ox in his *Hodoiporikon* (=1.3%); Prodromos has 13 pp and 5 ox in his 'historical poems' (=0.8%), and 21 pp and 22 ox in *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (=0.9%). Anon. Malta has no fewer than 46 lines without paroxytone line end (=1.1%).

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[118] *Pace* SPECK 1968: 75, there can be no doubt that MAAS 1903: 316 rightly rejects the reading ἀξίως in 28.9 ἀρᾶς προφήτου χρηματίζεις ἀξίως: it should be ἄξιος, 'you are worthy of the prophet's curse'. This is a clear-cut example of *vitium byzantinum* (see above, n. 114).

[119] See AFENTOULIDOU 2004.

[120] For these oxytone and proparoxytone line endings, see STERNBACH 1892b: 27 (ad 626) and 30 (ad 713). Please note that Sternbach (ad 626) rightly suggests reading νοός in line 891, but prints νόου in his edition! Please also note that he omits to mention the following oxytone line endings: 173, 709, 933, 949, 987, 1016 and 1027.

[121] In poem 29.12, while Vat. gr. 672 [67303] reads ὠμογνωμή[ ]τας tacitly corrected by Westerink to ὠμογνωμηκότας, Vat. Barb. gr. 74 [64622] offers ὁμογνωμήσαντας (see SARRIU 2006: 186–187 and n. 31). The latter reading is incorrect, not because of the proparoxytone line end, but because of the prosodic error in the penultimate syllable.

As one can see in the above statistics, Maas is exaggerating somewhat in saying that, in Byzantine poetry, oxytone line endings are significantly more exceptional than proparoxytone ones (he calls the former 'Ausnahme', the latter 'selten').[122] The truth of the matter is that if there is a statistical difference, it is between the poets that allow themselves some leeway (these are the ones that end 1–2% of their lines with pp and ox) and those dead opposed to 'deviant' line endings. If the latter category make an exception to the general rule of paroxytonism, it is true that they almost always go for proparoxytone, not oxytone. However, the poets that are more liberal in these matters do not appear to have a strong revulsion towards oxytone line endings. Take Prodromos' *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, for example: 22 ox, 21 pp and 4562 p:[123] paroxytonism clearly rules, but it is not true that Prodromos, when he does not have a paroxytone line ending, favours proparoxytone over oxytone. Maas came to his conclusion on the basis of Philes who if he does not end his lines with a paroxytone word, invariably chooses proparoxytone alternatives (in his epitaphs, pp occurs in c. 1.1% of all lines);[124] but that is clearly an individual preference — it is not a general rule.

This said, there are poets that have a significantly higher percentage of non-paroxytone line endings than the 1–2% which I would say is the upper limit of what is acceptable at line end. These can be divided into three categories:

(i) The poets who are just-not-that-good: the Anonymous Italian has 5 pp (10.1, 10.4, 14.33, 15.9, 16.19) and 4 ox (3.3, 26.3, 26.4, 27.9) in a total of 263 lines (=3.4%); the *Leo Bible* has 3 pp (6.5, 16.3, 16.5) and 3 ox (1.11, 2.4, 12.1) in 145 lines (=4.1%).

(ii) Ninth and early tenth-century classicistic poets. — We have already met this category in §2.3. It is typical of these classicizing poets to allow, to a certain extent, oxytone and proparoxytone line endings in their poetry: anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*: 5 pp and 1 ox in a total of 171 lines (=3.5%); Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables* (nos. 1.1–45): 5 pp and 3 ox in 180 lines (=4.4%); Const. the Sicilian: 1 pp and 4 ox in 82 lines (=6.1%); Leo VI, *Homily*: 45 pp and 2 ox in 636 lines (=7.4%); anonymous, *Encomium on Sisinnios*: 8 pp in 102 lines (=7.8%); and above all, Leo the Philosopher: 12 pp and 3 ox in 64 lines (=23.4%). If the poem *Panteleemon* turns out not to be the work of Geometres, it would fit quite nicely in this category of classicizing poets. Please note that Maas' idea that proparoxytone is more common than oxytone at line end, however misguided as a general rule, does seem to work for these classicizers: in particular, the number of proparoxytone line endings in Leo VI is surprisingly high.

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[122] Maas 1903: 290.

[123] See Hilberg 1886: 282–283.

[124] Maas 1903: 290 and 296. See also Papadogiannakis 1984: 55.

(iii) Imitators of Euripides. — We have met this category before, at §2.3. Of the two lines of John of Damascus' tragedy, *Susanna*, that have come down to us, one has an oxytone at line end: ὁ ἀρχέκακος δράκων / πάλιν πλανᾷν ἔσπευδε τὴν Εὔαν *ἐμέ*. Ignatios the Deacon's biblical dialogue, *Adam and Eve*, has 3 pp and 1 ox in 143 lines (=2.8%). The twelfth-century play of Haploucheir has no fewer than 11 pp and 6 ox in 123 lines (=13.8%); but it can get even more dramatic: the twelfth-century Euripidean pastiche *Christos Paschon* offers in its first 500 lines 116 'deviant' line endings (=23.2%)! However, the early fourteenth-century fragmentary play composed by John Katrares is even more 'Euripidean': it has no fewer than 6 pp and 4 ox in a total of 37 lines (=27%).

(4.2.2) *Stress patterns at line end: ionic trimeter*

The ionic trimeter is basically a dodecasyllable, but with a rhythm different to its 'iambic' equivalent (see §4.3.2). Paroxytonism is the rule there too. While Sophronios still has 10 ox in a total of 244 lines (=4%), all other Byzantine poets invariably end their ionic trimeters with a paroxytone word. This is true of Elias Synkellos, Ignatios the Deacon, Michael Synkellos, Constantine the Sicilian, Metrophanes of Smyrna, Leo Choirosphaktes, Chr. Mitylenaios, Theophylaktos of Ohrid and Theodore Prodromos.

(4.2.3) *Stress patterns at line end: octosyllable*

As rightly argued by Hanssen, the octosyllable (also known as the 'anacreontic' or the 'ionic dimeter') shows a similar tendency towards paroxytonism.[125] Gregory of Nazianzos has paroxytone line end in 78.7% of all lines; Synesios, in 70.2%. The early sixth-century poets John of Gaza and George the Grammarian end their lines with a paroxytone word in 93.3% and 97.5% of all cases, respectively.

Sophronios of Jerusalem is slightly more conservative. Hanssen counts 1942 paroxytone line endings (p) in all his poems (=93.1%), but sadly does not indicate how many proparoxytones and oxytones there are. I have looked at poems 14 and 17–22 (649 lines) and counted 612 p (=94.3 %) which is comparable to Hanssen's findings, 29 ox (=4.5%) and 8 pp (=1.2%). Curiously enough, all cases of pp occur in the same ekphrasis of the holy sites of Jerusalem and surroundings (nos 19–20).

Oxytone line endings are the first to disappear. Elias Synkellos (late eighth century) has in the first of his two poems 4 ox (=4.2%), 8 pp (=8.3%) and 84 p (=87.5%); but in his second poem he has paroxytone line endings in 100% of all

[125] Hanssen 1889; see also Hanssen 1883.

cases. The only two other poets to have an oxytone word at the end of the octosyllable are Leo VI and Ps. Constantine the Sicilian. The figures for Leo VI are 188 p (=99%), 1 ox (=0.5%) and 1 pp (=0.5%). Ps. Constantine the Sicilian has 45 p (=93.7%), 2 ox (=4.2%) and 1 pp (=2.1%); but the text is problematic and I suspect that the non-paroxytonic line endings are corrupt.

Proparoxytone line endings disappear in the later ninth century. Ignatios the Deacon has 87 p (=98.8%) and 1 pp (=1.2%); Michael Synkellos has 97 p (=97%) and 3 pp (=3%); and Metrophanes of Smyrna has 83 p (=90.2%) and 9 pp (=9.8%).

The first poets to make exclusive use of paroxytone line endings are Arsenios, Constantine the Sicilian, Photios and Leo Choirosphaktes (all active in the ninth and early tenth centuries). They are followed by Symeon the New Theologian, Chr. Mitylenaios, Mark the Monk and Theophylaktos of Ohrid in the eleventh century: paroxytone has a 100% score in their octosyllables. Prodromos (poem 56d and *Amarantos*, §19.4–19) has 35 p (=97.2%) and 1 pp (=2.8%) in line §19.17: this may be a deliberate archaism. The odd one out is Euthymios Tornikes, not one of Byzantium's greatest poets: he has 76 p (=96.2%) as expected, but he also has 2 ox (=2.5%) and 1 pp (=1.3%). Palaeologan poets, such as John Katrares, John Komnenos, Mark Angelos, Manuel Palaiologos and others, invariably end their octosyllables with a paroxytone word.

### (4.2.4) *Stress patterns at line end: heptasyllable*

The heptasyllable (formerly known as the hemiamb) had a curious fate. Like almost all Byzantines metres, it initially exhibited the usual tendency towards paroxytonism: while 31.1% of Gregory of Nazianzos' lines still end with a non-paroxytone word, this is down to 7.6% in Leo Choirosphaktes' didactic poem *On Thermal Springs* (pp = 7.1%, ox = 0.5%) and to absolute zero in Photios' and Christopher Protasekretis' heptasyllables. However, later poetry reveals a clear propensity for non-paroxytonic line endings: 76.1% in the case of Euthymios Tornikes (pp = 62% and ox = 14.1%) and 55.4% in Constantine Anagnostes (pp = 34.8%, ox = 20.6%). This is probably due to influence from folk poetry which has a trochaic heptasyllable, with final stress mostly on the seventh (ox) but sometimes the fifth syllable (pp): e.g. τρεις κοπέλες λυγερές / παν στο δρόμο μοναχές.[126] To the best of my knowledge, the oldest poem in learned Greek to exhibit this metre is a didactic poem on the zodiac by Matthew Korinthios (c. 1500): e.g. ὁ Κριός, οἱ Δίδυμοι, / Λέων ὁμοῦ καὶ Ζυγός.[127]

[126] See G. Spatalas, Η στιχουργική τέχνη. Athens 1997, 74–76.
[127] Ed. P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Medical History* 59 (2015) 275–326, at 322.

(4.2.5) *Stress patterns at line end: hexameter*

The Nonnians avoid proparoxytone words at line end in their dactylic hexameters; Pisides invariably has the penultimate accented. But he is the last one to do this. There is no fixed stress pattern at the end of the Byzantine hexameter. Paroxytone line end is the most frequent of the three: it is 67% in Leo the Philosopher, 58% in the *Paradeisos*, 60% in Geometres, 48% in Mitylenaios, 49% in the poem on Maniakes, 66% in Prodromos, 62% in Eugenianos, and 45% in the Dorylaion poem. These figures are statistically not significant. In late antique texts without prose rhythm, c. 48% of all (inflected) words are paroxytone, c. 28% oxytone and c. 24% proparoxytone.[128] In Attic drama the percentage of paroxytones at line end is slightly higher: c. 55%; in the hellenistic poets Lycophron and Ps Scymnus, it is c. 63%.[129] Since the ancient tragedians and their hellenistic peers do not have stress regulation, it logically follows that any percentage for paroxytonism below 65% is statistically irrelevant. And for it to have any real significance, it should preferably be above 75%.

(4.2.6) *Stress patterns at line end: pentameter*

Early Roman and late antique poets generally tend to avoid accenting the ultimate in their dactylic pentameters.[130] The Byzantines are less strict in this respect: the number of oxytones in Byzantine pentameters is higher than it is in Philip's *Garland* and Agathias' *Cycle*. But whereas their illustrious forebears had no further stress regulation, the Byzantines clearly prefer to have paroxytone line endings. Here are some figures: Constantine the Sicilian permits 83.3% of his pentameters to have a paroxytone line end (the rest, 16.7%, is pp); in Geometres, it is 84% (while 12% is pp, and 4% is ox); in the *Paradeisos* the figure is 83.8%; in Chr. Mitylenaios, it is 91% (with 4.5% pp and 4.5% ox); in Prodromos, the number of paroxytone line endings is 80.2% (with 13.8% pp and 6% ox).[131]

[128] See C. KLOCK, Untersuchungen zu Stil und Rhythmus bei Gregor von Nyssa: Ein Beitrag zum Rhetorikverständnis der griechischen Väter. Frankfurt-am-Main 1987, 237.

[129] See the tables in HANSSEN 1883: 235–236 and 237–238. The figure given for Attic drama in MAAS 1903: 288, 'c. 65%', is clearly a typographical error: he means to say 'c. 55%'.

[130] See HANSSEN 1883: 230–232 and WEST 1982: 182.

[131] For Prodromos, I looked at *Historical Poem* 56c and Zagklas nos. 1 and 19–21 (116 pentameters in total).

(4.2.7) *Stress patterns at line end: accentual verse*

In the case of purely accentual metres for which there is no prosodic parallel, metres such as the political verse, the decasyllable and the hendecasyllable, the rules are very simple. In the political verse (or decapentasyllable), stress always falls on the penultimate syllable of the line: e.g. ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει. The decasyllable invariably ends with a proparoxytone word: οὐδὲ τὸ παλάτιν, τρισαύγουστε, // οὐδὲ πολιτείας κατάστασις. The hendecasyllable has a proparoxytone line end if it has a rising cadence (stresses on 3, 6 and 9): δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ προσκυνήσωμεν // τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν αὐτοκράτορα; but it has paroxytone line end if it has a falling cadence (stresses on 1, 4, 7 and 10): γῆν δὲ λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐμψυχώσας.[132]

(4.3.1) *Stress patterns at the caesura: dodecasyllable*

The dodecasyllable has caesura either after the fifth or after the seventh syllable: C5 or C7. [For more information on the nature of the caesura in the dodecasyllable, see §5.3.1. For the relative frequency of C5 and C7 in various Byzantine poets, see §5.3.3]. At each of these two caesuras there are three options: stress falls on the ultimate, the penultimate or the antepenultimate. If C5, these three options are labelled 5ox, 5p and 5pp; if C7, they are labelled 7ox, 7p and 7pp:

x x x x – ´ / x x x x x – ´ x [5ox]  x x x x x x – ´ / x x x – ´ x [7ox]
x x x – ´ x / x x x x x – ´ x [5p]  x x x x x – ´ x / x x x – ´ x [7p]
x x – ´ x x / x x x x x – ´ x [5pp]  x x x x – ´ x x / x x x – ´ x [7pp]

In numerous publications Paul Maas is reported to have said that 5ox is the rule ('Regel'), 5p is rare ('selten'), and 5pp is the exception ('Ausnahme').[133] He did not. What he said in his pioneering article on the dodecasyllable is that, apart from 5pp being rare (not 'the exception'), there is no stress regulation at C5 until the time of Manuel Philes: it is only in his poetry that 5ox predominates.[134] A quick glance at the table below will show beyond doubt that Maas is right and that all those who misquote Maas are wrong. In Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres, 5pp is clearly less desired: it occurs in c. 5 to 15% of cases whereas the frequency of proparoxytone words in texts without stress regulation is

[132] The examples for the political verse, the decasyllable and the hendecasyllable are taken from Lauxtermann 1999b: 75–76 and 87.

[133] See, for example, F. Dölger, Die byzantinische Dichtung in der Reinsprache. Berlin 1948, 40; Pertusi 1959: 44–45; Kominis 1966: 74; Romano 1985: 8–10.

[134] Maas 1903: 294–296.

normally c. 24%. But 5pp is by no means an 'exception' in the major Byzantine poets, as the Ps. Maasians want us to believe: 5 to 15% is too high a percentage to warrant such an assumption. It is only after the year 1000 that some poets, on a purely individual basis, tend to avoid it altogether: Nicholas of Corfu, Kallikles, the *Muses* of Ps. Alexios Komnenos, Balsamon and Manuel Philes.[135] As for the two other stress patterns at C5, 5p occurs on average in 47.5% of cases, which is more or less the normal frequency of paroxytone words in Greek prose (namely, c. 48%). As one can see, it is certainly not 'rare' ('selten'): in fact, it is more frequent than 5ox. The average frequency of 5ox, 40%, is higher than one would expect in ordinary prose (where oxytone words occur in c. 28% of cases); but 40% hardly counts as a 'rule' ('Regel').

As for C7, in his ground-breaking study Maas states that 7pp is the rule (this is true), that 7p is rare (this is not true) and that 7ox is the exception (this is true). The figures for 7ox are pretty impressive: it occurs in 2.3% of the corpus, but if one does not include Theodore of Stoudios (13.6%!) and the *Leo Bible* (11.4%!) in the count, the average for 7ox drops to 1.4%. There are many poets who have not a single 7ox, or have just one or two. Although the observation that 7ox is systematically avoided dates back to the prehistory of Byzantine studies,[136] some scholars are blissfully unaware of it and come up with daring 'emendations', such as Anon. Italian 11.6 καὶ κάλλος οὐ λαλητὸν (7ox) instead of the correct ms. reading ἀλάλητον (7pp). 7p occurs on average in 24.7% of cases, which is not 'rare', at least not in my book; if one looks at the individual data, one may observe that 7p falls within the range of 10 to 30%. 7pp is clearly the rule: it occurs on average in 73% of cases, and certain poets, such as Theodosios the Deacon and Symeon the New Theologian, have an even higher rate.[137]

| author | lines | 5ox | 5p | 5pp | | 7pp | 7p | 7ox |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pisides, panegyrics | 2576 | 45.2% | 46.7% | 8.1% | | 69.2% | 29.7% | 1.1% |
| Andrew of Crete | 128 | 42.9% | 46.1% | 11% | | 78.4% | 19% | 2.6% |
| Theodosios the Grammarian | 80 | 37.1% | 47.2% | 15.7% | | 60% | 40% | 0% |
| Theodore of Stoudios | 796 | 31.5% | 45.8% | 22.7% | | 49.3% | 37.1% | 13.6% |
| Kassia | 260 | 38.4% | 42.6% | 19% | | 77.6% | 22.4% | 0% |
| Ignatios the Deacon, *Adam* | 143 | 34% | 54% | 12% | | 88.4% | 11.6 | 0% |
| Ignatios the Deacon, *Lazarus* | 70 | 45.8% | 43.8% | 10.4% | | 100% | 0% | 0% |
| Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables* | 180 | 35.7% | 48.5% | 15.8% | | 55.7% | 38% | 6.3% |

[135] See Maas 1903: 294; Horna 1903: 174–176; Sternbach 1903: 318, n. 1; Maas 1913: 363.
[136] See Hilberg 1898.
[137] No percentage is given for C5 in Symeon the New Theologian: Koder 1969–73: I, 86 gives exact numbers only for C7.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leo the Philosopher | 64 | 30.4% | 47.8% | 21.8% | 61.1% | 33.3% | 5.6% |
| Constantine the Sicilian | 82 | 48.9% | 44.7% | 6.4% | 77.4% | 20% | 2.6% |
| *Encomium on Sisinnios* | 102 | 33.8% | 50.6% | 15.6% | 60% | 40% | 0% |
| *Encomium on Basil I* | 171 | 37.4% | 43.1% | 19.5% | 65.6% | 28.1% | 6.3% |
| Arsenios Patellarites | 130 | 27% | 52.3% | 20.7% | 100% | 0% | 0% |
| Leo VI, *Homily 26* | 636 | 26.7 | 61.1% | 12.2% | 49.2% | 48.7% | 2.1% |
| Leo Choirosphaktes | 1152 | 36.2% | 49.4% | 14.4% | 68.1% | 31% | 0.9% |
| Constantine the Rhodian | 981 | 35.9% | 46.8% | 17.3% | 68.8% | 30.2% | 1% |
| *Leo Bible* | 144 | 40.4% | 50.4% | 9.2% | 60% | 28.6% | 11.4% |
| Anonymous Italian | 269 | 33.6% | 52.5% | 13.9% | 79.6% | 17.7% | 2.7% |
| *Encomium Calabrian Youth* | 86 | 52.5% | 45% | 2.5% | 81% | 19% | 0% |
| Anonymous Patrician | 288 | 46.7% | 41.6% | 11.7% | 74.3% | 25.7% | 0% |
| *Encomium on Romanos II* | 102 | 40% | 47.3% | 12.7% | 73.9% | 26.1% | 0% |
| John Kommerkiarios | 90 | 54.4% | 40.3% | 5.3% | 69.7% | 30.3% | 0% |
| Geometres, poems | 1755 | 44.7% | 47.8% | 7.5% | 70.1% | 29.4% | 0.5% |
| Geometres, *Odes* | 469 | 43.6% | 48% | 8.4% | 70.4% | 27.2% | 2.4% |
| Geometres, *Panteleemon* | 1042 | 40.7% | 50.9% | 8.4% | 85.5% | 13.9% | 0.6% |
| Theodosios the Deacon | 1039 | 54.2% | 40% | 5.8% | 85.5% | 14.5% | 0% |
| Symeon the New Theologian | 2189 | | | | 92.7% | 5.4% | 1.9% |
| average percentages | | 39.9% | 47.5% | 12.6% | 73% | 24.7% | 2.3% |

(4.3.2) *Stress patterns at the caesura: ionic trimeter*

The ionic trimeter has its caesura after the seventh syllable. As from the late ninth century, the word before the caesura is predominantly paroxytone:

x x x x x – ´ x / x x x – ´ x.

Here are the figures for the stress patterns at the caesura (taken from Hanssen)[138]: George the Grammarian (16 vv) 14 p, 2 ox; Sophronios of Jerusalem (244 vv) 194 p, 45 ox, 5 pp; Elias Synkellos (4 vv) 4 p; Ignatios the Deacon (8 vv) 8 p; Michael Synkellos (25 vv) 14 p, 8 ox, 3 pp; Constantine the Sicilian (48 vv) 45 p, 2 ox, 1 pp; Metrophanes of Smyrna (18 vv) 17 p, 1 ox; Leo Choirosphaktes (64 vv) 64 p;[139] Chr. Mitylenaios (8 vv) 8 p; Theophylaktos of Ohrid (16 vv) 15 p, 1 pp; and Prodromos (8 vv) 8 p. Euthymios Tornikes is once again the odd one out: (14 vv) 9 p, 2 ox, 3 pp; but as he clearly struggles to get his anacreontics right, I don't

[138] See Hanssen 1889: 216.

[139] Hanssen 1889: 216 rightly suggests reading ποῦ, λέγε μοι, κατέδυς; rather than ποῦ κατέδυς; λέγε μοι in 1.2.

believe that in this case the number of oxytones and proparoxytones is representtative of anything other than metrical incompetence.

The verse structure of the ionic trimeter, 7p + 5p, is very similar to that of the dodecasyllable with C7: 7pp/p + 5p. But there are also fundamental differences: first of all, while the dodecasyllable allows for 7p, it has a clear preference for 7pp — in contrast, 7pp is not an option in the ionic trimeter; secondly, if there is not a paroxytone stress, the ionic trimeter tends to use oxytone as its main alternative (see the figures for Sophronios) whereas 7ox is avoided in the dodecasyllable; thirdly, as we shall see in §4.4.5, the ionic trimeter prefers the eighth syllable (right after the caesura) to be accented — there is no such preference in the dodecasyllable.[140] There can be no doubt, therefore, that the two unprosodic lines in Elias Synkellos 2.89–90 are meant to be ionic trimeters, not dodecasyllables: ἐλέῳ μόνῳ σῷζε / τότε, Χριστέ μου, // τὸν πεσόντα διά σου / μέγιστον οἶκον — please note the position of the stresses both before and after the caesura.[141]

### (4.3.3) *Stress patterns at the caesura: political verse*

At the caesura of the political verse, metrical stress falls on the sixth syllable until the year 1000 but on either the sixth or the eighth syllable in later centuries:

x x x x x ´ x x / x x x x x ´ x [8pp]
x x x x x x x ´ / x x x x x ´ x [8ox].

The earliest poems to allow oxytone stress before the caesura are the *Exaposteilaria* of Constantine VII (2.2%), the catanyctic alphabets of Kyriakos of Chonai (4.2%) and Nikephoros Ouranos (11.1%), and the paraenetic alphabet of Theodosios of Dyrrachion (14.5%).[142] As one can see, in these poems of the mid- and late tenth century the number of oxytones is still remarkably low. This all changes with Symeon the New Theologian. Of the 5167 lines that are recognizable as political verse, no fewer than 41% have metrical stress on the eighth syllable (and 59% on the sixth).[143] In my view, Symeon does not metrically innovate, but pours out his soul on paper and reproduces ready-made rhythms to convey his message: what matters to him is the content, not the packaging. I strongly suspect that the oxytone stress pattern before the caesura (stress on the eighth rather than the sixth

[140] See Ciccolella 2009: 260–261.
[141] See Ciccolella 1991: 67 and Ciccolella 2000a: xlii.
[142] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 23–24.
[143] These percentages are based on Koder 1969–73: I, 89. Koder tells us that 3.5% of the 5355 political verses are not recognizable as such: subtracting those 188 unmetrical lines, the number of political verses becomes 5167, of which 3047 have stress on the 6th, and 2120 on the 8th syllable.

syllable) already existed at a popular level long before it became fashionable in learned Byzantine Greek. Proof for this is the spring song in the *Book of Ceremonies*, in which three out of four lines have stress on the eighth syllable. Since the spring song is a variation on a popular *chelidonisma*, it is reasonable to assume that the metrical licence of having stress on the eighth syllable in political verse began in folk poetry and then made its way up to the Byzantine court and the literati.[144] [On the alternation between 8pp and 8ox at the caesura, see also §5.3.3].

Fast forward a century and a half, and we find 'Prodromos' writing political verse both in the vernacular and in the learned idiom. In the *Historical Poems*, c. 40% of the lines have a proparoxytone word before the caesura; but in the *Ptochoprodromika*, the number of proparoxytones is considerably higher, ranging from 63% to 72%, which is why Eideneier and others have argued that the *Ptochoprodromika* and the *Historical Poems* cannot be the work of one and the same author.[145] But as Alexiou rightly pointed out in a seminal paper, vernacular Greek has far more proparoxytone endings than the learned idiom does — so it is a bit like comparing apples and oranges.[146] It is not a valid argument to establish or reject authorship.

In general, if the relative frequency of proparoxytones versus oxytones in poetry written after the year 1000 is not dictated by the kind of Greek a poet uses (as it usually is), at best it shows a personal preference for a certain rhythm, but there are no fixed rules and no easy formulae to determine what the number of pp and ox will be.

Symeon the New Theologian, Philippos Monotropos, Nicholas III Grammatikos, John Kamateros and Ps. Manasses have a restricted number of paroxytone words at the caesura: e.g. Symeon NTh 1.122 ἔξω φωτὸς δὲ τοῦ θείου /; Philippos Monotropos, *Klauthmoi*, 252 συχνὰ μέλλεις περιβλέπειν /; Nicholas III Grammatikos 86 οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε πόρνοι /; Kamateros, *Introduction to Astronomy*, 3997 οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες τὴν χώραν /; Ps. Manasses, *Moral Poem*, 554 εἰ μνημονεύεις θανάτου /.[147] As paroxytone before the caesura is strictly avoided by other poets, including metrical virtuosi such as Prodromos, most scholars reject this as a metrical error. However, the above-mentioned five poets, all writing in lowbrow Byzantine Greek, would probably disagree with this verdict.

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[144] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 87–88, 90–91 and 93–94.

[145] For the discussion, see Janssen & Lauxtermann 2018: 578–579.

[146] See Alexiou 1987.

[147] Symeon NTh: see Kambylis 1976: cccxlvi–cccxlviii. Philippos Monotropos: I owe this observation to Eirini Afentoulidou-Leitgeb (per litteras). Nicholas III Grammatikos: see Koder 1970: 207. Kamateros: see Weigl 1902: 37. Ps. Manasses: ed. E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 9 (1875) 23–75.

(4.3.4) *Stress patterns at the caesura: hexameter*

In Late Antiquity, between Nonnos and Pisides, the hexameter was rapidly turning into a recognizable accentual verse form: isosyllabic; with stress regulation at line end and caesura; and isometric (see §2.2). Pisides nearly always has a paroxytone word before the masculine caesura (92.9%) and a proparoxytone before the feminine caesura (98.7%), which means that as his hexameters tend to be holodactylic, stress usually falls on the sixth syllable. After Pisides, however, the hexameter disappeared for a while and when it re-appeared in the ninth century, the holodactylic tendency was no longer there, which means that even if there is a form of stress regulation, the pre-caesura stress can fall on any syllable, not just the sixth. The following observations, therefore, simply relate to the cadence before the caesura, and not to the rhythmical structure of the hexameter as a whole. Two caveats are in place here: (i) as indicated in §4.2.5, percentages below 65% are statistically not relevant; (ii) only poets with more than 50 hexameters to their names have been taken into account. I will call the masculine caesura '3a' and the feminine caesura '3b'; the medial caesura and other caesuras do not have recognizable stress patterns and have therefore been omitted (for caesura in the hexameter, see §5.3.4).

Leo the Philosopher has no stress regulation before the caesura. But Kometas does: p at 3a in 79% of cases, and pp at 3b in 81.5%. Stress regulation is less prominent a feature in John Geometres: p at 3a only 69% and pp at 3b 78%. The *Paradeisos*, Chr. Mitylenaios, and the *Poem on Maniakes* have stress on the penultimate before the masculine caesura, but do not show any tendency to have the antepenultimate accented before the feminine caesura. The figures for the *Paradeisos* are: p at 3a 87% (but pp at 3b 46.8%); for Mitylenaios: p at 3a 87.5% (but pp at 3b 46%); and for '*Maniakes*': p at 3a 84.3% (but pp at 3b 51%).

Prodromos is the first poet after Kometas and Geometres to have fixed stress patterns at both the masculine and feminine caesuras: p at 3a 80%, pp at 3b 87.5%.[148] The poem on the reconquest of Dorylaion has stress regulation at the feminine, but not the masculine caesura: pp at 3b 83.3% (but p at 3a only 60%); the figures for John Tzetzes, *Carmina Iliaca*, are very similar: pp at 3b 81.8% (but p at 3a only 56.5%). Michael Choniates, *Theano,* does not have any form of stress regulation in his hexameters.

It is the pupil of Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos, who comes closest to the rhythmical perfection of Pisides.[149] In his *Drosilla and Charikles* (3.263–288 and 297–322), all 52 lines have a feminine caesura and all but one have a stress on the antepenultimate (98.1%); the one exception is a case of elision: 3.318 ἄλγε'. In

[148] See Lauxtermann 1999c: 367.
[149] See Maas 1903: 302 and De Stefani 2014: 395–398.

two other poems, a monody and an epithalamium (132 vv. in total), Eugenianos has a similar predilection for pp at 3b: in a total of 110 lines with feminine caesura, no fewer than 107 have the antepenultimate accented (97.3%).[150] Before the masculine caesura, however, he is less strict: 10 of 15 lines have p at 3a (66.6%). Because Eugenianos clearly favours the stress pattern of pp at 3b, it is beyond doubt that δὲ is clitic in lines 3.267 and 303 of the novel, line 66 of the monody and line 26 of the epithalamium: e.g. ἄμβροτον ὠιόμην δὲ / τὸν Ἡρακλέα προφαάνθαι — read ὠιόμην δε.

(4.3.5) *Stress patterns at the caesura: pentameter*

Since the two hemistichs of the pentameter are perfectly symmetrical, it follows that if the second hemistich ends in a paroxytone (see §4.2.6), the first one is likely to end in a similar fashion. This is indeed the case in the elegiacs of Geometres (80%), Mitylenaios (95.7%) and Prodromos (88.8%). But this is not the case in Constantine the Sicilian: 65% (in contrast to 83% at line end), or the *Paradeisos*: 62.4% (in contrast to 83.8% at line end).

(4.4.1) *Duple and triple rhythms*

Having discussed stress patterns at line end (§4.2) and at the caesura (§4.3), it is now time to look at rhythm. There are two major ways of alternating beats and off-beats (stressed and unstressed syllables) in most languages, including medieval Greek: (i) the interval between two stresses consists of one unstressed syllable; (ii) the interval consists of two unstressed syllables. Metricians call the first option a 'duple rhythm', and the second one a 'triple rhythm'. Duple and triple rhythms may be either 'rising' or 'falling': they are said to be 'rising' if the first syllable is unstressed, and 'falling' if the first syllable is stressed.

The traditional terminology for this is probably more familiar to most people, but is highly misleading because it confuses prosody and stress, and accepts the metrical 'foot' as a basic principle for measuring. English prides itself on its 'iambic pentameter' (e.g. 'But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks'), but the metre is neither 'iambic' in the prosodic sense of the word, nor does it consist of five feet ('But, soft | what light | through yon | der win | dow breaks'). English is not the only language to do so: most modern European languages use terms such as 'iambic', 'trochaic', 'anapaestic' and 'dactylic', and tend to measure their national metres in terms of 'feet'.

These supposed 'iambs' and 'trochaics' are in fact duple rhythms; and their counterparts, 'anapaests' and 'dactyls', are triple rhythms. As for their cadence,

[150] Ed. Gallavotti 1935: 229–231 and 232–233.

'iambs' and 'anapaests' are rising, and 'trochaics' and 'dactyls' falling: the former go up, the latter go down. Take the above-quoted line from the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*: in 'But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks?', the stresses fall on even positions: 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10; the interval between each of the stresses is one syllable; and the rhythm builds up to its climax. This is a rising duple rhythm. For its exact opposite, see now an example in Byzantine Greek: γῆν δὲ λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐμψυχώσας. Here the stresses fall on metrical positions 1, 4, 7 and 10 (γήν δε λαβών και τον χούν εμψυχώσας); the interval between each of the stresses is two syllables; and the rhythm descends from initial stress to unstressed. This is a falling triple rhythm.

As I pointed out in the *Spring of Rhythm*, the earliest forms of accentual verse in Greek show a clear preference for triple rhythms, with either rising or falling cadences. This is particularly true of the hendecasyllable and the decasyllable, but evidence for the use of triple rhythms can be found in other metres as well. Let me give a few examples: νουνεχῶς δυσωπῶ, ἐπακούσατε / μετὰ πόνου γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ φθέγγομαι — hendecasyllable with rising triple rhythm (stresses on positions 3, 6 and 9); οὐδὲ τὸ παλάτιν, τρισαύγουστε / οὐδὲ πολιτείας κατάστασις — decasyllable with rising triple rhythm (stresses on positions 2, 5 and 8); and ἄχραντε μῆτερ Χριστοῦ / τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τὸ κλέος — heptasyllable with falling triple rhythm (stresses on positions 1, 4 and 7) and octosyllable with rising triple rhythm (stresses on positions 4 and 7).[151] The popularity of triple rhythms in Late Antiquity is reflected in the preponderant use of 'F 2' in prose. 'F(orm) 2' is an interval of two unstressed syllables between the two last stresses of the clausula: see, for example, the stress pattern at the end of this line from Sophronios of Jerusalem's *Encomium of Sts Kyros and John*, ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν ἠβουλήθημεν τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμᾶς *ἐκδιδάσκουσιν ἄθλησιν*, and please note that, apart from the F 2 in italics (xx–x́x–xx), there is a whole series of triple rhythms in this line.[152]

### (4.4.2) *Rhythmical patterns in the octosyllable*

The octosyllable may have a triple or a duple rhythm. In the former case, there are stresses on positions 4 and 7, or on 2, 4 and 7, or on 2 and 7; in the latter case, there are stresses on the uneven positions: 1 and 7; 3 and 7; 5 and 7; 1, 5 and 7; etc:

x – ´ x – ´ x x – ´ x [triple rhythm]
– ´ x – ´ x – ´ x [duple rhythm].

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[151] See LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 74–77.
[152] For prose rhythm, see HÖRANDNER 1981 and VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013.

Let me give an example of each of the two options: Metrophanes 1–2 ἀγαθῶν δοτὴρ ἁπάντων / ὁ τρισήλιος θεός μου: duple rhythm, stresses on 3, 5 and 7 (v. 1) and on 3 and 7 (v. 2); Metrophanes 3–4 μετὰ δακρύων βοῶ σοι· / κακίης βίου με ῥῦσαι: triple rhythm, stresses on 4 and 7 (v. 3) and on 2, 4 and 7 (v. 4).

In deciding whether the rhythm is triple or duple, the key issue is where the beat before the final stress falls: on 4 (or 2) or on 5 (or 3 or 1). Let me illustrate this with lines 11–14 from Metrophanes' hymn on the Holy Trinity: γοεροὺς λόγους προτείνων / μέροπας κλάω γε πάντας // κόνεος τέφρας τε μᾶλλον / ἀδρανεστέρους ἐόντας. In all four lines the main stress, apart from the obligatory one at line end, falls on the fourth syllable: in v. 14 it is the only beat, in vv. 12–13 it is combined with stress on position 1, and in v. 11 with stress on position 3, but that does not alter the fact that there is an interval of two unstressed syllables between the two main beats on positions 4 and 7. This is clearly a triple rhythm. [For the problem of 'clashing' stresses as in line 11, see below §4.5].

While late antique octosyllables tend to combine both rhythms, later ones tend to have either a predominantly triple or duple rhythm. Here are some figures for the early period: while in Gregory of Nazianzos and Synesios stresses on the fourth syllable occur only in 43% and 52% of cases, respectively, the number is up to 71% in John of Gaza and to 68% in George the Grammarian. However, there is a clear dip in Sophronios: according to Hanssen, in poems 9, 13 and 20, stress on the fourth syllable occurs in 60% of cases; and according to Nissen, in poems 1–13 it occurs only in 54% of cases. However, things change after Sophronios.

See the following table for triple rhythm (stresses on 4, or 2 and 4, or 2) and duple rhythm (stresses on the uneven positions 1, 3 and 5); P stands for prosodic ('anacreontic'), NP for non-prosodic ('accentual'):

| author | P/NP | lines | triple rhythm | duple rhythm |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sophronios, nos. 14, 17–22 | P | 649 | 62.2% | 37.8% |
| Sophronios Iatrosophistes | P | 116 | 56.9% | 43.1% |
| Elias Synkellos, no. 1 | P | 96 | 47.1% | 52.9% |
| Elias Synkellos, no. 2 | P | 88 | 58% | 42% |
| Ignatios the Deacon | P | 88 | 75% | 25% |
| Arsenios | NP | 148 | 67.6% | 32.4% |
| Michael Synkellos | P | 100 | 63% | 37% |
| Constantine the Sicilian, *Odarion Erotikon* | P | 84 | 61.9% | 38.1% |
| Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody* | P | 92 | 81.5% | 18.5% |
| Ps. Constantine the Sicilian | P | 48 | 87.5% | 12.5% |
| *Anonymous Hymn on Basil I* | NP | 21 | 71.4% | 28.6% |
| Metrophanes of Smyrna | P | 92 | 80.4% | 19.6% |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leo VI, *Odarion Katanyktikon* | NP | 190 | 100% | 0% |
| Leo Choirosphaktes | P | 160 | 85.6% | 14.4% |
| *Monody on Christopher Lakapenos* | NP | 96 | 100% | 0% |
| *Hymn on John of Damascus* | NP | 20 | 100% | 0% |
| Christopher Mitylenaios | P | 32 | 100% | 0% |
| Mark the Monk | NP | 292 | 99% | 1% |
| Theophylaktos of Ohrid | P | 96 | 99% | 1% |
| Theodore Prodromos | P | 36 | 97.2% | 2.8% |
| Euthymios Tornikes | P | 99 | 71.7% | 28.3% |

From the second half of the ninth century onward, triple rhythm is clearly on the rise in the anacreontic: c. 80–90% in Constantine the Sicilian's monody, in Metrophanes' hymn and in Choirosphaktes' poems; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the percentage is c. 100% (with the exception of the horrid anacreontics of Euthymios Tornikes). The earliest accentual octosyllables, too, invariably have triple rhythm from the late ninth century onwards: it begins with Leo VI's *Odarion Katanyktikon* and it ends with Mark the Monk's metrical titles of the Psalms (written in 1077–78).

However, with the unprosodic octosyllables of Symeon the New Theologian (not included in the table on purpose), one is in for a big surprise: they have a duple rhythm, usually with stresses on positions 3 and 7, but also with stresses on 5 and 1.[153] The same 'trochaic' rhythm occurs in a communion prayer in the *Horologion*, with a double ascription to Symeon the New Theologian and John of Damascus, but probably dating from the eleventh or twelfth century.[154] After 1204, all octosyllables have a duple rhythm, with stresses on the uneven positions: Makarios Kaloreites (early 13th c.), John Katrares and Andronikos Palaiologos (early 14th c.), Alexios Makrembolites (early to mid-14th c.), John Komnenos, Stephanos Sgouropoulos and Mark Angelos (later 14th c.), and Manuel II Palaiologos (late 14th c.–early 15th c.).[155] All octosyllables in vernacular Greek, too, have a duple rhythm: *Oracles of Leo* (late 13th c.), Hermoniakos and *Ptocholeon* (early 14th c.), *katalogia* in the Palaeologan romances, songs in the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine collections of love poetry, etc.[156]

As we can see, there are two octosyllabic traditions in Byzantium: a learned 'anacreontic' one with stresses on positions 4 and 2 (triple rhythm) and a more popular 'trochaic' one with stresses on uneven positions (duple rhythm). The former begins already in Late Antiquity, with poets such as John of Gaza and

[153] See Koder 1969–73: I, 83–85, and Kambylis 1976: cccxxxix–cccxli.
[154] See chapter 17, p. 170.
[155] See Nissen 1940a: 72–81 and Ciccolella 1995: 261–268.
[156] See Kechagioglou 1978: 202–222.

George the Grammarian; the latter comes to the surface in the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian, a poet open to innovation and popular influence.

### (4.4.3) *Rhythmical patterns in the political verse*

Until the year 1000, political verse does not have stress regulation other than an obligatory stress on the sixth and the fourteenth syllables.[157] In the work of Symeon the New Theologian, however, political verse clearly has a duple rhythm, with stresses on the even positions. And the same is true for Psellos, Philippos Monotropos and all subsequent Byzantine poets:

x ´ x ´ x ´ x x / x ´ x ´ x ´ x
x ´ x ´ x x x ´ / x ´ x ´ x ´ x.

It is very unusual for every even position to bear metrical stress. Often there are only two stresses in each of the two hemistichs: 2 and 6, 2 and 8, 4 and 6, 4 and 8; 10 and 14, 12 and 14, respectively. Take, for example, Psellos 2.1–2: ἐπείπερ τὸ φιλομαθὲς / τὸ σὸν, ὦ στεφηφόρε (stress on 2 and 8 and on 10 and 14), ἑρμηνευθῆναι γλίχεται / τὴν ξένην καὶ ποικίλην (stress on 4 and 6 and on 10 and 14). Another way of explaining this is to say that each hemistich consists of two metrical words: επείπερ τοφιλομαθές / τοσόν, ωστεφηφόρε //, ερμηνευθήναι γλίχεται / τηνξένην καιποικίλην.[158]

In most languages, it is very common for duple rhythms with stress on even positions (so-called 'iambic' rhythms) to have stress on the first rather than the second metrical syllable. This is called 'inversion'. Take Shakespeare for example: 'now is the winter of our discontent', an iambic pentameter with stress on the first metrical position — on 'now'; here the disruption of the iambic flow is resolved in 'winter' (with regular stress on an even position). Inversion is not a metrical anomaly. It is a regular feature. In fact, it is so regular that, in the political verses of Symeon the New Theologian, 17.5% of first hemistichs and 16% of second hemistichs have an inverted rhythm: for example, *Hymn* 7.1 πῶς σε ἐντός μου προσκυνῶ (stress on 1, 4 and 8), / πῶς δὲ μακράν σε βλέπω (stress on 9, 12 and 14).[159] Here, too, one may notice that the inversion is resolved in the next metrical position: position 4 in the first, and position 12 in the second hemistich. In the case of political verse, inversion is traditionally called a 'trochaic' beginning, which is wrong because there is nothing trochaic about it.

To have stress on the third position in the first and second hemistichs, however, is a serious metrical anomaly because it drastically disrupts the duple

[157] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 23–25.
[158] See Mackridge 1990.
[159] See Koder 1969–73: I, 89–90.

rhythm. Take, for example, Psellos 1.1 οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ψαλτήριον, / δέσποτά μου, βιβλίον, with stress on the third metrical position of the second hemistich, resulting in a rising triple rhythm: δεσποτάμουβιβλίον (one-two-THREE, one-two-THREE, one). This anomaly is traditionally called an 'anapaestic' beginning.

Tiftixoglu has made a study of these 'anapaestic' beginnings in a wide range of authors; unfortunately, this study is restricted to first hemistichs only.[160] His findings can be summarized as follows. Most authors have hardly any examples of metrical stress on position 3: the percentages range from 0% to 2%. But there are a number of poems with higher percentages:

didactic poetry: Psellos 6.270–490 (dictionary) 6%; Nicholas III Grammatikos (on fasting) 5%; John Kamateros (on astrology) 7.4%; Ps. Psellos 55 (on the creation) 21%; Ps. Psellos 56 (on the liturgy) 25%;

religious poetry: Symeon the New Theologian 5%;

vernacular poetry: *Digenes Akrites* G 23%; *War of Troy* 16.1%.[161]

The reason why certain didactic poems have so many 'anapaestic' verse beginnings is simply that it is difficult to transpose technical terms into verse. The same problem of translating applies to the *War of Troy* which is an adaptation of a French original. More or less the same can be said about the Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites*, a conscious but clumsy attempt to transform an originally vernacular text into more elevated lowbrow Byzantine Greek — it is a metaphrasis of sorts.[162] But the reason why Symeon the New Theologian allows for 'anapaests' in 5% of his lines, is somewhat different: he is a transitional figure and his poetry lies somewhere in between the rhythmical anarchy typical of the tenth century and the distinctly duple rhythm of eleventh-century political verse.

As Tiftixoglu rightly points out, it would seem that for some poets (he refers to Philippos Monotropos), 'anapaestic' rhythms are much more acceptable in the second hemistich than in the first; but he does not give any percentages.[163] I have looked at a number of eleventh-century and twelfth-century texts in political verse (using a sample of 200 verses for each text). Niketas of Herakleia, Stephen Physopalamites, George Zigabenos, Theodore Prodromos, Constantine Manasses, John Tzetzes, *Ptochoprodromika*, Michael Glykas and *Spaneas* avoid putting

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[160] TIFTIXOGLU 1974: 41–63. See also KODER 1974: 218, who has slightly different percentages, which however do not invalidate Tiftixoglu's findings.

[161] The *War of Troy* is not in Tiftixoglu's survey. See M. PAPATHOMOPOULOS & E.M. JEFFREYS, Ο πόλεμος της Τρωάδος (The War of Troy). Athens 1996, lxxxviii.

[162] The numbers are much lower in *Digenes Akrites* E: stress on position 3 occurs in 3.6% of cases; stress on position 11 occurs in 3% of cases. See the enumeration of lines in GARANTOUDIS 1993: 200–201 (like Garantoudis, I exclude the cases of metrical enclisis (for which, see §4.5), marked with + in his list).

[163] TIFTIXOGLU 1974: 43, n. 227.

metrical stress on positions 3 and 11 altogether; but others do not. Isaac Tzetzes has 0.5% on position 3, but 3% on position 11. Michael Psellos generally has c. 1% on position 3, but he has 16% on position 11 in poem 1.1–200. Philippos Monotropos generally has 0.3% on position 3, but he has no less than 22.5% on position 11 in poem 4.1–200. Some of the poets who have many 'anapaests' in the first hemistich, have even higher numbers in the second hemistich. Psellos 6.270–490 has stress on position 11 in 18.6% of cases; Nicholas III Grammatikos 33.5%; John Kamateros 21%; Symeon the New Theologian 26% (while the others have more or less the same percentage in first and second hemistichs: Ps. Psellos 55 24.5%; Ps. Psellos 56 23.5%; *Digenes Akrites* G, canto VII, 24.5%; *War of Troy* 10.1%).

### (4.4.4) *Rhythmical patterns in the dodecasyllable after C5*

The dodecasyllable usually does not show a marked preference for a particular rhythmical pattern in either of its two hemistichs, with the exception of the later work of Pisides and the highly rhetorical poetry of Manuel Philes and Andrew Libadenos.[164]

The rule for Pisides is as follows. In the second hemistich after C5, if the line end is oxytone, stress preferably falls on position 9; if it is paroxytone, stress preferably falls on position 8; and if it is proparoxytone, stress preferably falls on position 7:

x x x x x / x x x ˊ x x ˊ [stresses on 9 and 12]
x x x x x / x x ˊ x x ˊ x [stresses on 8 and 11]
x x x x x / x ˊ x x ˊ x x [stresses on 7 and 10].

In other words, if the second hemistich is heptasyllabic, Pisides clearly favours a triple rhythm, with an interval of two unstressed syllables between the two last beats.[165]

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[164] For rhythmical patterns in the dodecasyllable, see Lampsidis 1971–72, but please bear in mind that this study confuses stress and accent and, rather arbitrarily, postulates that each hemistich *must* have two stresses: the main stress and the 'rhythmical' or 'grammatical' stress. According to Lampsidis, clitics that are written with accent bear 'grammatical stress' if there is no other 'rhythmical stress' available: for example, in Ephraim 9038 καὶ πρὸς Μυσίας/, Lampsidis thinks there is 'grammatical stress' on καὶ (while in 9020 καὶ σκευὴν ὅλην//, the same word καὶ does not bear stress because of the presence of 'rhythmical stress' in σκευὴν). So in his view lines 9037 ὡς ἐκ τοσούτων and 9038 καὶ πρὸς Μυσίας do not have the same rhythmical pattern because the clitics καὶ and πρὸς, in contrast to the clitics ὡς and ἐκ, happen to be written with accent! See Lampsidis 1972: 105.

[165] See Lauxtermann 2003c: 184–186.

In his earliest works, this rule pertains only to oxytone line ends; in his middle period, to oxytone and proparoxytone, but not to paroxytone line ends; and in his later work, to all three endings. Here are some figures:

*In Heraclium ex A. redeuntem* (c. 611): 9 + 12 100%, 7 + 10 50%, 8 + 11 50%;

*Expeditio Persica* I (c. 623): 9 + 12 100%, 7 + 10 82%, 8 + 11 52%;

*Hexaemeron* (early 630s), lines 1198–1397: 7 + 10 100%, 8 + 11 73%;

*In Alypium* (date unknown, but late): 8 + 11 68%.

Since oxytone and proparoxytone line endings are avoided in later Byzantine poetry, there is not enough material to compare with Pisides. As for paroxytone line endings, however, it is clear that Pisides is not followed by other Byzantine poets who usually have stresses on 8 + 11 in c. 50% of cases,[166] which is much lower than the 68% of *In Alypium* and the 73% of the *Hexaemeron*.

There is one notable exception: Philes. As Maas has seen, Philes has a similar preference for stress on the eighth syllable before paroxytone line end: xxxx–́/xx–́xx–́x is clearly his default rhythmical pattern. And if he does not have stress on position 8, then he puts it on position 9: xxxx–́/xxx–́x–́x.[167] In the first 200 lines of the poem *On the properties of animals*, there are 123 paroxytone line endings after C5; of these 123 lines, 100 have stress on position 8 = 81.3%, and 20 on position 9 = 16.3%. The same strong preference for positions 8 and 9 is seen in a later Palaeologan poet, Andrew Libadenos, who probably follows the example of Philes: 72% and 15%, respectively.[168]

The fact that Pisides and Philes share the same preference for rhythmical stress on position 8 after C5 (together with the fact that for Pisides too, stress on position 9 is second best: 16.4%) while all poets between c. 650 and 1300 couldn't care less, is no mere coincidence. It not only shows their poetic affinity and innate sensitivity to the aural pleasures of rhythm, it also shows that Philes must have studied the poems of Pisides in great depth and understood their literary potential and rhythmical riches. There can be little doubt that Philes' *Properties of animals* is modelled on the *Hexaemeron*, the palimpsestic ur-text that lies behind so many Byzantine imitations in the field of didactic poetry. Philes not only borrowed the whole idea of writing on the animal kingdom from Pisides, he also adopted his

[166] Here are some numbers: Andrew of Crete 50%; Theodosios Grammarian 57%; Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables* 34% and *Adam and Eve* 45%, Constantine the Rhodian 54%, Geometres 40%, and Symeon the New Theologian 48%.

[167] Maas 1903: 297–298.

[168] See Lampsidis 1971–72: 328–330.

style and rhythms in his own poetry.[169] And that is why Philes sounds so much like a latter-day Pisides.

(4.4.5) *Rhythmical patterns in the dodecasyllable and the ionic trimeter after C7*

While Pisides and Philes have triple rhythm after C5 (stresses on 8 and 11), they do not after C7: there they clearly prefer to have stress on position 9 or not to have stress at all, other than the obligatory one at line end:

x x x x – x x / x – x – x [stresses on 9 and 11]: Pisides 44.6%; Philes 51.5%

x x x x – x x / x x x – x [stress only on 11]: Pisides 50.8%; Philes 45.6%.

Stress on position 8 is clearly avoided. In the *Hexaemeron*, 1198–1397, there are only three exceptions (1244, 1252, 1379) = 4.6%; in *On the properties of animals*, 1–200, there are only 2 (111, 154) = 2.9%.

Pisides and Philes are once again fairly unique. Most Byzantine poets do not avoid stress on position 8 after C7: for example, Andrew of Crete 13.8%; Theodore of Stoudios 27.6%; Ignatios the Deacon 26.5%; Constantine the Rhodian (vv. 686–885) 22%; Leo Choirosphaktes 13.7%; Geometres (poems 297–298) 37.5%, *Panteleemon* 17%; Symeon the New Theologian 22.1%.[170]

Though it is not true that in the dodecasyllable stress on the eighth syllable is avoided altogether, it is not sought after either. However, that is exactly what happens in the ionic trimeter. As noted above (§4.3.2), the verse structure of the ionic trimeter, 7p + 5p, is very similar to that of the dodecasyllable with C7: 7pp/p + 5p; but there are also some differences, the most conspicuous of which is the stress pattern in the second hemistich:

x x x x x – x / – x x – x.

According to Nissen,[171] Sophronios of Jerusalem has stress on position 8 in 81.7% of cases. The percentage is slightly lower in poems 14 and 17–22: 73.3%; but it is still significantly higher than the above-mentioned percentages for stress on position 8 after C7 in the dodecasyllable, which vary from c. 15% to c. 40%.

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[169] See also the prologue to poem 2 (vv. 1–6) in E. Martini, Manuelis Philae carmina inedita. Naples 1900, 2 (cf. p. X, but also 237), stating that Philes composed this encomium κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν στίχων τοῦ Πισίδου (i.e. the *Hexaemeron*).

[170] Since Maas 1903: 293–294 based his study of rhythmical patterns in the second hemistich on Pisides and Philes, he thought that avoidance of stress on position 8 after C7 was a general rule, which it is not. Horna 1904: 323–324, rightly notes that Manasses does not avoid stress on 8 after C7; Maas 1913: 363 equally rightly notes that Ps. Alexios Komnenos, *Muses*, does observe his 'rule'.

[171] Nissen 1940a: 34.

Although the corpus of ionic trimeters is relatively small (apart from the 244 examples in Sophronios), the preference for stress on position 8 after caesura is plain to see: Elias Synkellos 4 verses, 3 examples; Ignatios the Deacon 8 verses, 7 examples; Michael Synkellos 25 verses, 21 examples (84%); Metrophanes of Smyrna 18 verses, 7 examples (38.9%); Constantine the Sicilian 48 verses, 29 examples (60.4%); Choirosphaktes, 64 verses, 46 examples (71.9%), Mitylenaios 8 verses, 7 examples; Theophylaktos of Ohrid 16 verses, 14 examples (87.5%); and Prodromos (56d and *Amarantos*) 8 verses, 6 examples. As one can see, this stress pattern occurs in c. 60 to 90% of the corpus; the only exception is Metrophanes of Smyrna.

The combination of stresses on positions 8 and 11 results in a triple rhythm, which, as noted, is typical of early Byzantine poetry in general and of anacreontic poetry in particular. In anacreontic poems the stanzas are in ionic dimeter (prosodic octosyllable), and the intercalary distichs, in ionic trimeter. As indicated in §4.4.2, anacreontics show a clear preference for a triple rhythm (stresses on 4 and 7). It is interesting to see that this is somehow echoed in the ionic trimeters that form their intercalary distichs: there too the predominant stress pattern is a triple rhythm.

### (4.4.6) *Rhythmical correlation in the dodecasyllable*

As we have seen, Pisides clearly strives after a triple rhythm in the second hemistich after C5, but curiously enough not in the second hemistich after C7. The reason for this is that the dodecasyllable would become incredibly monotonous if it had the same rhythmical pattern both immediately before and after the caesura: xxxx–́xx/–́xx–́x, which is why Pisides in the end opted for: xxxx–́xx/x–́x–́x or xxxx–́xx/xxx–́x. His close contemporary, Sophronios of Jerusalem, did not have this problem because the ionic trimeter has a different rhythm before the caesura: xxxxx–́x/–́xx–́x.

Another environment where stress patterns in the two hemistichs appear to be linked, once again relates to C7. As Maas has seen,[172] Pisides appears to avoid 7pp in the case of proparoxytone line end: xxxx–́xx/xx–́xx is conspicuous by its absence in his poetry. In the *Hexaemeron*, there are only three examples (200, 857, 1309): e.g. τὰ κοινὰ τοῖς χρῄζουσι / θησαυρίσματα. These three isolated instances of 7pp correspond to 3.5% of cases (in a total of 85 proparoxytone line ends), whereas the normal frequency of 7pp in the *Hexaemeron* is c. 14%: in other words, one would expect four times more examples of xxxx–́xx/xx–́xx than is actually the case. A similar reluctance to combine proparoxytone line end with 7pp is manifest in Prodromos: in his poetry 7pp normally occurs in 27.3% of

[172] See MAAS 1903: 292–293.

cases, but there is just one example of this particular rhythmical pattern in his romance *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (7.42), which corresponds to 4.8% (in a total of 21 proparoxytone line ends). The same goes for the *Panteleemon* commonly attributed to John Geometres: 7pp occurs in 27.6% of all cases, but among the twelve verses with proparoxytone line end, there is only one example (=8.3%): 169 ἔστειχε πρὸς γέροντος / οἰκητήριον. The figures are less impressive for Leo VI: four examples of 7pp in a total of 45 proparoxytone lines = 8.9%, whereas the normal average for 7pp is 14%;[173] and for Geometres: two examples of 7pp in a total of 19 proparoxytone lines = 10.5%, whereas the normal average for 7pp is 15.9%.

In contrast to the balancing act of the two hemistichs before and after C7, there is no evidence for such a rhythmical correlation in the case of C5. Regardless of whether C5 is preceded by an oxytone, a paroxytone or a proparoxytone, the stress pattern in the second hemistich occurs with more or less the same frequency. In Pisides' *Hexaemeron*, the stress pattern xxxxx/xx–́xx–́x (stresses on 8 and 11) occurs in 73% of cases: in combination with 5ox, the percentage is higher: 79%; in combination with 5p, lower: 66.7%; and in combination with 5pp, about the same: 71.4%. For the poem *In Alypium*, the general percentage is 68%: in combination with 5ox it is slightly higher: 69.6%; in combination with 5p, slightly lower: 66.7%; and in combination with 5pp, higher: 75%. The differences are so marginal that one can safely ignore them, and the conclusion must be that the rhythmical patterns before C5 do not appear to have any bearing on those in the second hemistich.[174]

### (4.4.7) *Rhythmical patterns in other metres*

The dactylic hexameter and the elegiac are not recognizable as verse and, therefore, do not display any fixed stress pattern that one may call a rhythm. The hemiamb, too, fails to qualify as a truly rhythmical verse form. Anything goes. But if anything goes, then nothing goes.

### (4.4.8) *Rhythmical patterns in hymnography*

The duple and triple rhythms discussed in this section are recognizable as such because they recur in every consecutive line. In hymnography, however, rhythmical patterns are repeated not line by line, but strophe by strophe. The first ode

[173] See Antonopoulou 1997: 270–271.
[174] So also Lampsidis 1971–72: 243 and Lampsidis 1972: 95.

of Ps. John of Damascus' iambic *Christmas kanon*, for example, is set to the following *heirmos*:

– x x x – / x x x – x – x
x – x – x / x x x – x – x
x – x x – / x x x – x x –
– x – x x x – / x x x – x
– x x x – / x x – x – x x

This metrical scheme is repeated in each of the three strophes of the ode, with exactly the same pauses and the same stresses on the same positions. Line 1 of strophe 1 corresponds to line 1 of strophe 2 and, again, to line 1 of strophe 3; line 2 corresponds to lines 2 of strophes 2 and 3; etcetera. There is absolute correspondence because the strophes are set to the same melody.

The repetition of precisely the same metrical scheme from strophe to strophe is called 'homotony'.[175] Homotony is strict in the sense that it dictates where the stresses fall in each corresponding line, but it also allows for extraordinary rhythmical variety within the strophe. Rather than repeating the same rhythm over and over, every line has a rhythm of its own. It is a thing of great beauty.

The *Christmas kanon* of Ps. John of Damascus is entitled: κανὼν ἰαμβικὸς πεντάστιχος εἰς τὰ ἅγια γενέθλια. The adjective ἰαμβικός indicates that the *kanon* is composed in prosodic iambs, and as one would expect from a poem written after Pisides, it is dodecasyllabic as well: resolutions are not allowed. But ἰαμβικός does not mean that the *kanon* is composed in dodecasyllable as one sometimes reads. It is a hymn, after all, and its rhythmical rules are those of homotony and melodic correspondence.[176] In the metrical scheme above, the endings of line 3 and 5 are unusual in the dodecasyllable, and to have both in close proximity would be remarkable in a truly dodecasyllabic poem. And the rhythmical pattern before the caesura in line 4 would simply not be acceptable in good dodecasyllabic poetry.

### (4.5) *Clashing stress*

Triple and duple rhythms are recognizable as such because of the regular alternation of beats and off-beats (stressed and unstressed syllables). Beats need off-beats: that is to say, for metrical stress to be relevant, it needs an environment of unstressed syllables that lend force to it.

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[175] See Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 140–148.
[176] As rightly observed by Afentoulidou 2004: 46.

So what happens in the case of two adjacent stresses, without an intervening unstressed syllable to keep the two apart? In Byzantine poetry there are three options when stresses clash: (i) implied pause, (ii) grammatical enclisis, and (iii) metrical enclisis or prominence.

(i) To begin with the first option, it is clear that if two adjacent stresses are separated by line end or caesura, there is an audible pause. The same is true for diaeresis (see §5.4.2 and §5.4.3). Take the following two examples from Prodromos, the first in dodecasyllable, the second in political verse: *Tetrasticha*, 147a.2 κακὴν γαμεῖς; \ ποίνιμον / εὑρήσεις βίον, and *Historical poems*, 4.176: πόλεις πορθεῖς, \ ἄνδρας ζωγρεῖς, / ἔλκεις αἰχμαλωσίαν: in both cases, the first hemistich is divided into two by diaeresis. The only way to read these lines is by assuming the presence of a pause between γαμεῖς and ποίνιμον and between πορθεῖς and ἄνδρας.

(ii) Grammatical enclisis is attested in the modern dialects of Cyprus and Cappadocia. In Cypriot, verbs may lose their stress after the negative markers ε(ν) [=δε(ν)] and με(ν) [=μη(ν)]: έφ φελα, έδ δυνεται, μέγ γελας, μέμ παρπατεις.[177] In Cappadocian and the dialect of Silli, enclisis occurs after the negative marker δε(ν)/ρε(ν): dé borω, dém borσε (δεν μπόρεσε) [in Silli: ró pourou, ró pourσι].[178] Grammatical enclisis after δέν is also attested in the fifteenth-century Cypriot chronicle of Machairas, usually with the verbs εἶμαι and ἔχω (e.g. δέν εἶναι, δέν ἐχουν), but also with other disyllabic verb forms: δέν εἶδεν, δέν ηὗρεν.[179] Further proof for this phenomenon is the univerbation of ἔν (ἔνι) with the preceding negation in medieval Cypriot and Rhodian: δέν < δέν ἐν and δένα < δέν ἐν να.[180] For grammatical enclisis after negation in Byzantine poems, see the following examples: Symeon NTh 25.76 ὡς ἄνθρωπος οὐδέν ἐχω / τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ θείων; Tzetzes, *Histories*, 2.732 ἀνοίξαντες οὐδέν εὑρον, / οὐ νέκυν οὐδὲ ζῶντα; *Ptochoprodromika*, 3.62 αὐτὸς μικρὸς οὐδέν εἶδεν / τὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ κατώφλιν; *Spaneas*, 178 (Legrand) ὅτι χρήζων οὐδέν εἶχε / καὶ ἠδίκησε διὰ τοῦτο; and *Digenes Akrites* E 1616 καὶ μέριμναν οὐδέν εἶχεν / περὶ ἄλλας ἐμνοστίας, 234 κι οὐδέν εἶναι κοράσια / κάτω εἰς τὸν Βαβυλῶνα.

A similar case of grammatical enclisis involves the adverb πάλιν, which, when it does not mean 'again' or 'back' but serves as a discourse marker with adver-

[177] See S. Menardos, *Athina* 6 (1894) 145–173, at 171 (repr. in idem, Γλωσσικαὶ μελέται. Lefkosia 1969, ²2001, 1–28).

[178] See R.M. Dawkins, Modern Greek in Asia Minor. Cambridge 1916, 69, §72, and 43–44, §10.

[179] See R.M. Dawkins, Leontios Makhairas: Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle', 2 vols. Oxford 1932, vol. II, 32.

[180] I am extremely grateful to Marjolijne Janssen for providing evidence from material she collected for the *Grammar of Medieval Greek* project at Cambridge. She is also the source for the vernacular material mentioned below.

sative meaning ('on the other hand', 'in turn'),[181] may lose its stress: see, e.g., Tzetzes, *Allegories of the Iliad*, O 165 ὥσπερ θυγατριδούς παλιν / υἱοὺς τῶν θυγατέρων; Kamateros, *Introduction to Astronomy*, 2660 εἰ δ᾽ ἐν ἀρσενικῷ παλιν, / καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα; *Digenes Akrites* E 1278 κι ἐγώ παλι τὸν ἔλεγα; *Chronicle of Morea*, 4240 κι ἐσύ παλε ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνους. That this is grammatical, and not metrical, enclisis, can be gauged from certain dialects, such as Pontic and Cappadocian, which have an unstressed form of this discourse marker: παλι and, with apocope, παλ᾽ or πα: for example, γώ παλι, εσύ πα, ατός παλ᾽.[182]

(iii) A fundamental rule of speech articulation is that if two stressed syllables occur in succession, one of them will be more prominent: e.g. in 'last night', 'night' is stronger than 'last'; in χτες βράδυ, βράδυ is stronger than χτες. Metrical enclisis is the assignment of prominence to two adjacent metrical words in such a manner that the one is fully stressed, and the other lightly or not at all. In contrast to grammatical enclisis, it is conditioned by the rhythmical pattern of the specific metre in which it is found. Take for example Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 11 συγκλητικὸς μάλιστα / καὶ κομῶν γένει — the reason why we know that μάλιστα is more prominent than συγκλητικὸς is simply that the metre demands a strong stress before the caesura. In line 13, υἱὸν ποθεινὸν εἶχεν, / εὐπρεπῆ, μόνον, where we are faced with the choice of stressing either ποθεινὸν or εἶχεν, the clear preference for proparoxytone endings before C7 makes this a very easy choice; but semantics too play a role: the emphasis is not on 'the saint's father *having* a lovely boy', but on 'the boy being so *lovely'*. In other words, εἶχεν loses its stress: read υἱὸν ποθεινόν εἰχεν.

Metrical enclisis is clearly observable in hymnography because the rule of homotony dictates that corresponding cola have the same rhythmical patterns throughout: in Ps. John of Damascus, line 5 of ode ζ᾽ of the third iambic *kanon* has proparoxytone before the caesura: ἡ τρισσοφεγγόφωτος / (3.95) and νεουργὲ τοῦ σύμπαντος / (3.90), which is why it is clear that in ἰσοσθενὴς ἄναρχος / (3.85), ἄναρχος is more prominent than ἰσοσθενὴς. In cola with clashing stresses throughout (e.g. 1.51 ἐκ νυκτὸς ἔργων/, 1.56 ἀπηνὲς ἄχθος/, and 1.61 ὁ λαὸς εἶδεν/), the melody makes it perfectly clear that the second stress is more prominent than the first.[183] This is also true for Romanos the Melode. In his kontakia, whenever there are clashing stresses it is usually the second one that is more prominent; but it also depends on semantics: it is ζωης νάματα ἔβλυσε because

[181] For a discussion of πάλιν as discourse marker in later medieval Greek, see Soltic 2015: 247–258.
[182] See Soltic 2015: 258–262.
[183] See Afentoulidou 2004: 50.

the poet is emphasizing the *abundance* of God's life-giving goodness, but λογικούς θελων ῥύσασθαι because he is emphasizing the salvation of *mankind*.[184]

The duple rhythm of the political verse, with stresses on the even metrical positions, leaves no doubt as to how we should read the following examples, first with 'clitic' εἶμαι and ἔχω, then with other verbs and adverbs:

(a) Symeon NTh 1.84 οὕτως οὐδ᾽ ὁ τὸν νοῦν ἐχων /; Tzetzes, *Histories*, 1.950 καὶ δι᾽ εὐχῆς αὐτοῖς εἰναι, *Allegories of the Iliad*, Μ 64 οὗτοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἠσαν /, Ν 190 οἵπερ κατὰ τὴν χθές ἠσαν /; Glykas 214 τὰ γράμματα τιμήν ἐχουν /, 368 τὰ βόλια γυρισθῆν ἐχουν /; *Ptochoprodromika*, 1.257 ἀφῆτε τον, πτωχός ἐνι /; *Digenes Akrites* Ε 955 καὶ ἐσὺ μαῦρον καλόν ἐχεις /, 1299 ἐγὼ μονογενής εἰμαι /; *Spaneas*, 340 (Wagner) τὸ γὰρ καλὸν κακόν ἐν //, and with synizesis: *Ptochoprodromika*, 4.218 ἐκείνη βαπτιστήρα ἠτον /; *Digenes Akrites* Ε 945 οἱ μὲν σουσανιασμένοι ἠσαν /.

(b) Symeon NTh 18.220 μηδὲ τὰ φανερά βλεπῃς / (cf 13.35, 22.138, 34.40, 34.101 and 41.214); Tzetzes, *Histories*, 2.49 ἐᾷ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παντας (cf. 13.35), 9.660 τὸ «Βοὺς βοήσει» πῶς λεγεις / (cf. 2.960, 3.201, 7.622), *Allegories of the Iliad*, Θ 6 ἢ γὰρ εἰς οὐρανόν ἐλθοι / (cf. Χ 151);[185] *Digenes Akrites* Ε 1724 κι ἐμέν μονον ἀφήσετε;[186] Glykas 369 ἡ ἄρκος μετ᾽ ἐσέν παιζει /; Glykas 244 και τότε λέγει: αὐτοῦ θελεις /, cf. *Achilleid* L 733 αὐτοῦ στεκου καὶ θώρειε με.

Likewise, it is because of the triple rhythm of the octosyllable, with stresses on positions 4 and 7, that μαιμᾷ and σκώληξ must be more prominent than the adjacent words in Leo VI, *Odarion Katanyktikon*, 21 βρύχει, μαιμᾷ, σαίνει κέρκον and 23 καταπιεῖν πικρὸς σκώληξ.[187] In the first example, σαίνει cannot lean on μαιμᾷ because of the syntactical break between the two, but is in fact attached to the next word, with which it forms a lexical collocation: [seniˈkerkon], 'wags its tail'. Similarly, in the second example πικρὸς and σκώληξ are read as one metrical word and the stress in πικρὸς is reduced: [pikroˈskolix].

### (4.6) *Secondary stress*

Rhythmical phrasing —the way a text is delivered— is crucial to our understanding of metre because it helps us identify stress patterns that exist only in performance, the most important of which is secondary stress. Secondary stress is the appearance of an audible stress in addition to the primary or full stress of the word or the word group. Secondary stress is weaker than primary stress, but it is stronger than lack of stress: e.g. àdaptátion (strong-weak-Strong-weak),

[184] See Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 143–144.
[185] For more examples, see Leone 2007: xli–xlii.
[186] For more examples, see Alexiou 1985: πς΄ and Garandoudis 1993: 200–202.
[187] See Ciccolella 1989: 34.

πρὸσαρμογή (strong-weak-weak-Strong). In Greek (and all other languages known to me) secondary stress is always to the left of primary stress: e.g. it is γὺμνοσάλιαγκας, not *γυμνοσάλιαγκὰς. Secondary stress is to be distinguished from the phenomenon of 'second accent' in Greek: e.g. ἅρματά του; confusingly enough, the second accent is the primary stress because it has more emphasis, while the first, being much weaker, represents secondary stress: it is 'àrmatátu', strong-weak-Strong-weak.

As Mackridge has noted for the oral decapentasyllable of folk poetry, the fact that its rhythm is 'iambic' does not imply that all even syllables carry stress; in fact, the hemistichs usually have only two metrical words carrying stress, and sometimes three (but hardly ever four).[188] The same is true for Byzantine poetry: both political verse and dodecasyllable tend to have no more than two metrical words in each of the hemistichs (see §5.5). But what happens if the whole hemistich consists of one long compound? In such cases it is reasonable to assume the presence of secondary stress. Take, for example, *Digenes Akrites* E 277 πεντακοσίους ἄρχοντας / χρυσοκλιβανιασμένους, where I suspect that both -χρυ- and -βα- have secondary stress: 'xrìsoklivànjazménus' (strong-weak-weak-strong-weak-Strong-weak). In other words, this line has stresses on positions 4 and 6 in the first hemistich, and on positions 9, 12 and 14 in the second hemistich.

However, metrical demands sometimes prevail over the rules of grammar. In *Digenes Akrites* E 102, for instance, the scribe writes: ἀμὴ ἂς ἀφήσω τὰ πολλὰ / καὶ τὸ φλυαρὸστομίζειν.[189] In ordinary Greek it is impossible to have secondary stress on the connecting vowel: it ought to be on φλύαρο-, or with synizesis, as is the case here, on φλ$^{\upsilon}$άρο-, but not on φλ$^{\upsilon}$αρό-. So the grave in φλυαρὸστομίζειν denotes *metrical*, not grammatical secondary stress: 'kjeto fljaròstomízin' (weak-weak-weak-strong-weak-Strong-weak).

There are many more cases in which poetry appears to infringe on the rules of grammar and introduce secondary stress where it does not exist in common usage. For example, as I argued at the end of §3.4, in Kallikles 27.5 σὺν συζύγῳ τὲ / καὶ τέκνοις τηρουμένη, there may well be a light stress on τε before the caesura: 'sinsizígotè' (weak-weak-Strong-weak-strong). The conjunction τε is obviously a clitic and cannot bear grammatical stress; but with the right rhythmical phrasing, any metrical position can receive stress. For a similar case, see the use of τις in Geometres (discussed in §3.5): e.g. 298.134 πρὸς οὓς βλέπων τίς, /κάλλος εἰ θέλοι βίου, where there appears to be secondary stress on the clitic τις: 'prosus vlépontìs' (weak-weak-Strong-weak-strong). Since secondary stress ought to precede primary stress, and not follow it, there can be no doubt that in cases such

[188] See MACKRIDGE 1990. LAMPSIDIS 1971–72: 241–243 makes a similar case for the dodecasyllable, which, according to him, usually has two stresses in each of its hemistichs.

[189] See ALEXIOU 1985: ιστ΄.

as σὺν συζύγῳ τὲ and βλέπων τίς, secondary stress occurs for metrical not linguistic reasons.

The problem with rhythmical phrasing and secondary stress is that it is impossible to establish how Byzantine poetry actually sounded. Modern executions of Byzantine chant are particularly interesting in this respect, but they tend to emphasize melody over text and, for the most part, hark back to nineteenth-century musical traditions. Duple and triple rhythms are recognizable on paper (§4.4), and the problem of clashing stresses is fairly easy to solve (§4.5); but all other performative aspects of Byzantine poetry elude us. There are no recordings of actual performances, no native speakers of Byzantine Greek, no metrical treatises to enlighten us. And there is therefore no end to our ignorance.

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## *Isometry and Colon Structure*

### (5.1) *Isometry*

According to the mid-thirteenth-century treatise *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech*, the primary virtue of poetry is that it encompasses one or more ἔννοιαι ('constituents') within the space of the line and that it does not allow these ἔννοιαι ('meanings') to run over from one line to the next. The anonymous author of this treatise illustrates this as follows: rather than writing

> Εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν / ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ πάλαι
> παρῆλθε Μωσῆς, / ἡ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
> φάλαγξ ὑποβρύχιος / ἔνδον ἐκρύβη,

the accomplished poet will write

> Μωσῆς περᾷ θάλασσαν / ἀβρόχῳ δρόμῳ,
> Αἰγύπτιος δὲ / τοῖς κύμασιν ἐκρύβη,

thus avoiding enjambment. The author of *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech* then continues by observing that such dense information-packed lines are typical of gnomic sayings, such as this line from Gregory of Nazianzos:

> Θυμὸν χαλίνου / μὴ φρενῶν ἔξω πέσῃς.

Another example of this tendency to have as much ἔννοια ('content') as possible is the following:

> Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαχον / ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων,

which tells us within the compass of one line how and where and by whom St Peter was crucified. As the author observes, it is clearly impossible in a longer poem to avoid enjambment altogether: so one should try to find the right balance between metrical perfection and content-oriented factors.[190]

Though his use of the term ἔννοια is rather fluid (ranging from 'meaning' to 'content' to 'constituent' and 'clause'), it is clear that this anonymous rhetorician had understood (long before the Prague School, and Roman Jakobson in particular, would reach the same conclusion) that syntax, semantics and verse structure are intimately related.[191] In fact, metre is an applied form of syntax and phonology, and metrics is a subdiscipline of linguistics. A similar eerily prescient comment on the rhythmo-syntactic structure of Byzantine metre can be found in a marginal note in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Symeon the New Theologian which tells the reader that in Symeon's accentual poetry one should not look in vain for prosodic feet, but for 'rhythmical harmony, correct syntax and word order as befits prose'.[192]

As I explained on another occasion, the term ἔννοια (or synonyms such as διάνοια and νόημα) is regularly used in Byzantine discussions of poetry; it is then associated with two other rhetorical terms, γοργός and κομματικός. Both terms refer to the Hermogenean idea of γοργότης ('velocity'), which is a style characterized by short words, short clauses (κόμματα), and figures of speech that divide the text into short segments, such as asyndeta and appositions. Whereas most of these Byzantine discussions relate to ancient poetry (usually Homer), Psellos uses the term γοργός to characterize the verses of Pisides which, in his view, 'leap forth as if shot from a sling, rapidly completing the διάνοια (=ἔννοια) within the feet and the metre'. Similarly, Constantine the Rhodian regularly praises his own dodecasyllabic poetry for its innate 'velocity'. And Michael Hagiotheodorites compares his iambic verses to rapid horses that take part in a literary race. The reason why Constantine the Rhodian, Psellos and Hagiotheodorites think that iambic poetry is 'rapid' is that it is segmented into short clauses, each having its own syntacto-semantic ἔννοια.[193]

Let us now return to the lines that the anonymous rhetorician quotes as a prime example of how ἔννοια works:

Μωσῆς περᾷ θάλασσαν / ἀβρόχῳ δρόμῳ,
Αἰγύπτιος δὲ / τοῖς κύμασιν ἐκρύβη.

[190] Ed. Hörandner 2012b: 107 (lines 141–154) and 126–128.
[191] See R. Jakobson, Selected Writings, III: Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry. The Hague, 1981.
[192] See Hörandner 1995: 285.
[193] See Lauxtermann 1998a and Marciniak & Warcaba 2014: 105–107.

Of great significance here is the structural pattern of parallelism that governs the composition of these two lines, which each consist of two sense units: 1a + 1b, 2a + 2b. Parallelism takes the form of antithesis in this distich. There is vertical opposition between Moses and the Egyptian (underlined by δὲ): 1a ↓ 2a; horizontal opposition between walking through the sea and still miraculously keeping one's feet dry: 1a → 1b; and chiastic opposition between crossing the sea and drowning: 1a↘ 2b. The last axis of opposition is also reflected in the chiastic distribution of the hemistichs: 7 + 5 in the first line vs 5 + 7 in the second. As noted, there is no enjambment: the line break is also a syntactic break. The constituents are evenly distributed over the hemistichs, harmoniously and in perfect balance between content and verse structure: whereas the first line has subject and verb (plus verbal object) in 1a and adverbial phrase in 1b, the second line has subject in 2a and verb and adverbial phrase in 2b — that is to say, the verb has shifted position along the axis of opposition.

The modern term for what the Byzantines seek to describe by highlighting the importance of ἔννοια as a governing principle in versification is 'isometry'. Coined by Kyriakidis to describe the rhythmo-syntactic structure of the decapentasyllable (political verse) and its hemistichs in Modern Greek folk poetry, isometry is usually taken as the exact opposite of enjambment: if a poem has little or no enjambment, it is thought to be isometric. Though systematic avoidance of enjambment is indeed a distinctive feature of isometric poetry, it is somewhat unfair to Kyriakidis to reduce the term 'isometry' to just that. What he in fact meant by ἰσομετρία is that there is full correspondence between form and content: as Kyriakidis puts it, εἷς στίχος ἓν νόημα, 'one line one meaning'. The surprising similarity of Kyriakidis' νόημα with the Byzantine concept of ἔννοια gives food for thought. It indicates, at least to me, that Kyriakidis was onto a fundamental truth about Byzantine and post-Byzantine metrics, which is that syntax and metre coincide in pre-modern poetry and that rather than thinking in terms of lines and half-lines, we should see these as sense units or information units, each of which constitutes an independent colon.[194]

Soltic has devoted a whole study to these 'information units' in late medieval romances and chronicles, convincingly showing that narrative discourse breaks up into loosely connected chunks of information rather than full sentences such as one would normally expect from written texts; the arrangement of these information units in fact roughly corresponds to the patterns of speech. This explains syntactic anomalies, such as ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ὥλενας / τέσσαρα φίε τοῦ ἐδῶκαν (*Chronicle of Morea*, H 1957), 'the bishop of Olena, they gave him four fiefs', which may sound grammatically awkward but is in fact the way people

[194] See KYRIAKIDIS 1947; see also SIFAKIS 1988: 141–143. For the slogan, see KYRIAKIDIS 1947: 219.

tend to speak. Of course, since this is a literary text, the result is a stylized rendering of speech: art does have its demands. But even more importantly for the purpose of this 'appendix metrica', the fact that the text is in verse means that this stylization of speech patterns operates within the framework of the political verse and its hemistichs. As one can see, the subject (who is it we are talking about? the bishop of Olena) is put in the first hemistich, and the new information (what about him? he received four fiefs) in the second.[195]

Typical of isometric versification is that it is strictly isosyllabic. The political verse divides into 8 + 7, the dodecasyllable into 5 + 7 or into 7 + 5, the paired octosyllable into 8 + 8, etc. As indicated above (see §2.2), the dactylic hexameter and pentameter do not have a fixed number of syllables and, therefore, do not exhibit the patterns of isometric poetry.

In what follows I shall discuss line end and enjambment (§5.2), caesura (§5.3), secondary pause and diaeresis (§5.4), colon (§5.5) and colon structure (§5.6).

### (5.2) *Line end and enjambment*

There are weak pauses, medium pauses and strong pauses in Byzantine poetry. Line end is a strong pause. The voice stops, halts for a moment, and then continues. Of the three pauses, line end is the only one that is always marked by a fixed stress accent in isometric metres: this fixed stress accent falls on the penultimate in the dodecasyllable, the octosyllable, the heptasyllable and the decapentasyllable (political verse), and on the antepenultimate in the decasyllable and the hendecasyllable. [For more information on stress patterns before line end, see §4.2].

Lines tend to be end-stopped in Byzantine poetry: as duly noted by the author of *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech*, the rule is that enjambment is avoided. To use his example, the problem with the lines εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν / ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ πάλαι // παρῆλθε Μωσῆς, / ἡ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων // φάλαγξ ὑποβρύχιος / ἔνδον ἐκρύβη, is the isolated position of πάλαι and, above all, the separation of φάλαγξ from the rest of the noun phrase. The resulting enjambments sound distinctly odd to the Byzantine ear.

A clarification is required here. Though the sense of enjambment results from incomplete syntax at line break, it is not the case that each and every instance of incomplete syntax counts as enjambment. Since Greek is a language with long words and even longer word clusters, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to fit a full sentence into two fairly short cola (5 + 7, 8 + 7, 8 + 8, etc.). So not every

[195] See Soltic 2015: passim, esp. 125–145; for the example given, see 37 and 187.

sentence that runs over has enjambment. In Manasses, *Hodoiporikon*, 4.83–85, for instance, there is *no* enjambment:

> ὡσεί τις ὄρνις / τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρουθίοις
> τὰς εὐκελάδους / τῶν μελῶν συμφωνίας
> ἐπισυρίζει /καὶ πρὸς ἓν συναγάγῃ.[196]

The sentence may run over, but each constituent is completed in a line or half-line: 83a subject, 83b indirect object // 84 object (84a adjective, 84b noun) // 85a verb and 85b verb plus prepositional phrase //.

If one disregards such cases of pseudo-enjambment (as one should), the anonymous author of *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech* is obviously right: enjambment is avoided in isometric metres, such as the dodecasyllable. This does not mean that Byzantine isometric poetry does not have any enjambment. It does; but the number of enjambments is very restricted indeed.

One can rightly speak of enjambment when a constituent or part of a constituent is cut off from the rest of the sentence and yet does not fill a hemistich or a whole line on its own. Let me illustrate this with two examples from Geometres (poem 232.31–33 and *Odes*, 7.38–39):

> τίς καὶ γυναῖκας / εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τέκνα
> *θρέψει*, φόρους ἄλλους τε / καὶ λειτουργίας
> τὰ Καίσαρος δῷ / καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐξαρκέσει;

The verb θρέψει is cut loose from its object (women and children) and is put in a position where it almost seems to govern the taxes and the services the impoverished farmers cannot render unto Caesar. The only way of reading this correctly is to insert a strong pause after θρέψει so that the line is basically divided into three cola: 2 + 5 + 5.

> οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχων, / οὐ προφήτης *οὐδέ τις*
> ποιμήν, δικαστής, / ἱερεύς, στρατηγέτης.

This is a translation of *Daniel* 3:38: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄρχων καὶ προφήτης οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος. Geometres replaces the word for 'leader' with no fewer than four substitutes which he puts in a whole line of their own. This leaves him with a negative marker and an indefinite pronoun at the end of the previous line, thus giving the impression that οὐδέ τις means 'nor anybody' instead of 'nor any // shepherd, judge, priest, commander'.[197]

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[196] See Chrysogelos 2017: 85.

[197] As Tomadaki 2014: 31–32 rightly points out, enjambment is not uncommon in Geometres' dodecasyllables.

Enjambment is not restricted to the dodecasyllable. There are some examples in political verse too: see, for instance, Symeon NTh 38.11–13:

εἰς ποῖον ᾅδην καταβῶ, / εἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ ποῖον
*ἀνέλθω* καὶ εἰς ἔσχατα / ποίας θαλάσσης ἄρα
*γενόμενος* εὑρήσαιμι / τὸν ἀπρόσιτον πάντῃ,

where the verbs ἀνέλθω and γενόμενος are left hanging at the beginning of the line, separated from their respective dependents in the verb phrase.[198]

As the author of *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech* has already pointed out, it is impossible in longer poems to avoid enjambment altogether. This is especially true of narrative poems, such as the following excerpt from Leo VI's metrical homily on St Clement (lines 46–49) in which the saint is compared to a vine:

πλὴν ὡς παρῆλθε / καὶ μακρῷ τὴν ἀμπέλου
εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο /, πρὸς τὸ τέμνεσθαι, *φύσιν*,
*ὁρῶμεν·* ἡ μὲν / τέμνεται γὰρ εἰς ἕνα
*καιρὸν*, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα / τὸ ξίφος σχολὴν ἄγει.

Leo VI wants to say too much in a few lines, which makes the syntax laborious and strained, culminating in the really awful hyperbaton τὴν ἀμπέλου ... φύσιν, where φύσιν, like a ship in the middle of a storm, breaks loose from its moorings. There is no need to discuss ὁρῶμεν and καιρὸν any further; like φύσιν, they constitute strong emphatic enjambments, adrift in a whirlpool of syntax and sense.[199]

Since the dactylic hexameter is not isometric, there are enjambments galore in hexametric poems: the Byzantines follow the example of Homer in this respect (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have enjambment right from the beginning). Things are slightly different for the elegiac which traditionally demands closure at the end of the distich,[200] and indeed most Byzantine elegiacs have hardly any enjambment, not because of any isometric demands, but because the Byzantines know their classics and imitate their style.

### (5.3.1) Caesura: introduction

The caesura is a medium pause in Byzantine isometric poetry. It is not as strong as line end, but it comes close, especially in political verse and the paired octosyllable where internal enjambment is generally avoided.

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[198] For enjambment in Symeon the New Theologian, see KODER 1969–73: I, 82–83 and KAMBYLIS 1976: cccxxxvi.

[199] A curious phenomenon is that in longer poems the conjunctions ὅτι, ὅταν and ὅπου are occasionally found at line end: e.g. Pisides, *Hexaemeron*, 78, 1091, 1130, 1484; Leo VI, *Homily*, 343, 431; Geometres, *Panteleemon*, 214; Theodosios the Deacon 2.64 and 5.6.

[200] See WEST 1982: 45.

Paul Maas has coined the term 'Binnenschluß' for this medium pause because it is not a minor interruption of the rhythmical flow, but a real stop. In classical Greek, the caesura indicates word end at a certain metrical position, but it does not sever the line into two: there is prosodic continuity across the caesura (*synapheia*). Isometric poetry, however, strictly avoids elision and synizesis across the caesura in order to keep the two half-lines separated from one another; moreover, it paradoxically allows for hiatus at this point because if there is a real stop between two half-lines, vowels cannot possibly clash (see §2.10). In Maas' words, 'hier wird ... nicht eingeschnitten, sondern abgeschlossen' ('what we have here ... is not incision, but conclusion').[201] However, as he reluctantly has to admit, the presence of 'Binnenschluß' is not always noticeable in the dodecasyllable: sometimes prosody stands in the way, sometimes there are other factors that mean the caesura does not really divide the line into two.[202]

The main reason why the caesura (or to use the term coined by Maas, the 'Binnenschluß') is not as rigid a boundary mark in the dodecasyllable as it tends to be in other metres is that one of its hemistichs, the pentasyllable, is too short to always function as a self-contained metrical unit. Whereas the political verse (8 + 7) and the paired octosyllable (8 + 8) usually have enough space to build up a rhythmo-syntactic discourse, the dodecasyllable (5 + 7 or 7 + 5) lacks this luxury. Let me illustrate this with examples from Psellos' monody on Maria Skleraina: in 17.57 καὶ δόξαν ἄκραν / συλλαβοῦσα τῆς τύχης, the adnominal genitive is separated from the noun on which it depends; in 17.64 καὶ τὴν ἄκραν σου / ψυχικὴν εὐφυΐαν, it is the adjective that is separated from its noun by the intervening caesura; in 17.74 χειρὸς τοσαύτης / εὐπορήσας καὶ κράτους, the two coordinated objects of εὐπορῶ are put in different hemistichs; and in 17.47 καὶ δακρύων γέμοντα / καὶ πένθους ξένου, we have the same, but with the verb in the first hemistich. As one can see, hyperbaton plays an important role in dodecasyllabic poetry, often resulting in awkward word order (as in 17.74). For even more daring examples of hyperbaton, see e.g. Prodromos 23.2–3, another highly rhetorical lament: ἐμαῖς προσαγκάλισμα / καλὸν ἀγκάλαις, // ἐμοῖς ὑποψέλλισμα / τερπνὸν ὠτίοις, where the possessive pronouns and the adjectives have been forcibly torn away from their accompanying nouns in order to achieve a chiastic figure.[203]

Internal enjambment is rare in the ionic trimeter. But since it too consists of fairly short cola (namely 7 + 5), internal enjambment cannot be avoided altogether: see, for instance, Constantine the Sicilian, *Odarion*, 48 ἀφανῶς τόξα πόθων / ἀγκύλα τείνει; Leo Choirosphaktes 1.18 σαπροτάτην ὁρόω / τήνδε πρὸς

[201] See Maas 1903: 282–284; for the quotation, see 282.

[202] See Maas 1903: 284, n. 1.

[203] Anon. Malta makes excessive use of hyperbaton and scrambled word order, probably under the influence of Latin: e.g. 14 περιγενέσθαι / νοῦς βροτῶν ὧν οὐ σθένει = ὧν οὐ σθένει περιγενέσθαι νοῦς βροτῶν. See Lauxtermann 2014a: 162 and Vassis & Polemis 2016: 32–33.

οὖδας; and Chr. Mitylenaios 75.20 κασιγνήτη, μέγ᾽ ἄχος / ἄμμι λιποῦσα. The first two examples are cases of separation of adjective and noun. The third example is different: had the direct object filled the whole hemistich, there would not have been enjambment; but as things stand, it is uncomfortably wedged between the vocative and the participle on which it depends.

Internal enjambments are, as a rule, avoided in political verse, but there are, as always, some exceptions: e.g. Tzetzes, *Histories*, 9.694 Τέμπη δὲ καὶ κοιλώματα / Θετταλικὰ καὶ ὄρη, 9.700 εἷς ποταμὸς ἐν πλείοσιν / ὀνόμασιν ὑπάρχει, 1.290 καὶ οἰκουροκαθέδριον / εἰλόμεθα τὸν βίον. In the first two examples the adjectives are attributive and separated from their nouns; in the last example, however, it is a predicate adjective, but the result is still enjambment. Hyperbaton is rare in political verse, but for a gruesome counter-example, see Kyriakos of Chonai 41 φλόγες φλόγας μοι τρέφουσιν / αἱ σαρκὸς τῆς γεέννης (= αἱ φλόγες [τῆς] σαρκός μοι τρέφουσιν [τὰς] φλόγας τῆς γεέννης). In vernacular poetry, the rule is even stricter: internal enjambment is very unusual, especially when the style comes close to that of folk poetry. But there are exceptions, of course: e.g. *Ptochoprodromika*, 3.179 ἐπάρετε δρουβανιστὸν / ὀξύγαλον, γυναῖκαι (‘buy churned / buttermilk, ladies’).

Internal enjambment is also avoided in the paired octosyllable, but it is not difficult to find counter-examples: Elias Synkellos 2.59–60 κακίης ὅθεν ταλάφρων / ἐνὶ τέλμασιν βυθίσθην; Ignatios the Deacon, *Monody*, 51–52 λόγον ὧν ἔπρηξεν ἔνθεν / ἀκριβῆ Θεῷ παρέξειν; Constantine the Sicilian, *Monody*, 75–76 παρὰ θῖν᾽ ἁλὸς βαδίζειν / πολιῆς τανῦν ἐγῷμαι, 2.45–46 Ζεφύρου πνοὰς γὰρ εἶχεν / κατοπισθίους λιγείας. In the last three examples the adjective and the noun are separated from one another by the caesura; in the first example it is the adnominal genitive that is left dangling.

### (5.3.2) *Lack of caesura*

Lack of caesura is a serious metrical anomaly. It is thankfully an isolated phenomenon. When it is not a matter of textual corruption, lack of caesura is a sign of metrical incompetence or carelessness.[204]

Lampsidis has argued that, apart from C5 and C7, there is also the possibility of C6 in the dodecasyllable: that is to say, a medial caesura which divides the line into two equal halves: 6 + 6.[205] There is very little evidence for this. It goes without saying that in lines with metrical resolution one should count *metrical* syllables:

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[204] See the examples provided by Kominis 1966: 79–81. However, sometimes it is not the poet’s, but the editor’s fault: see Prodromos, *Katomyomachia*, 125 ἰδού, πάρεισι μύαρχοι συνηγμένοι, ‘corrected’ by the editor to ἰδού, πάρεισ᾽ οἱ μύαρχοι συνηγμένοι, a verse without caesura.

[205] See Lampsidis 1971–72: 239–240 and passim.

e.g. in Pisides, *Exped. Persica*, 2.58 ὅπως τὸ πάγιον / πανταχοῦ σεσωσμένον, the caesura falls after the fifth metrical syllable (not the sixth, as Lampsidis avers). One should also realize that clitics are not always clitic: e.g. in Theodosios the Deacon 1.89 ἂν γὰρ τὸ λουτρὸν / τις λαβὼν ᾖμαγμένον, τις is orthotonic (τίς) and the caesura is C5, not C6 (see §3.6). If one disregards such cases of metrical resolution and non-clitic clitics, the number of medial caesuras is so limited that it makes no sense to think of C6 as a legitimate option. This means that if position 6 is monosyllabic, it probably forms part of the second hemistich: e.g. in Theodosios the Deacon 5.44 ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἔπλησε γῆν σφαγῆς μιασμάτων, the caesura is before, not after γῆν. Only if there are very good reasons should one put the caesura after monosyllabic C6: e.g. in Leo VI, *Homily*, 446 ἀλλ᾽ ἐξεχώρει μὲν τὸ πῦρ αἰδούμενον, the caesura, if there is one, should be after μὲν because it is postpositive. [For more examples of monosyllabic C6, see Geometres, *Odes*, 4.16 and Symeon NTh 9.24]. All other examples of possible C6 are found in poets with very little feeling for the isometric structure of the dodecasyllable: e.g. anonymous, *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth* 7, 63, 82; Anon. Malta 1555, 2856, 3572 and 3697. Mouzalon 805 is almost certainly corrupt: ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ / κάθησο τῇ πόλει; I would suggest reading Ἰερουσαλὴμ with synizesis (see §2.6 for synizesis in foreign names) and follow Maas' emendation: ἐγκάθησο instead of κάθησο.

Other fanciful 'caesuras' include: 4 + 4 + 4 (Leo VI, *Homily*, 67, 126, 521); 4 + 8 (Leo VI, *Homily*, 101; Geometres, *Odes*, 5.6; Anon. Malta 237); 4 + 5 + 3 (anonymous, *Encomium on Basil I*, 62); 3 + 5 + 4 (Leo VI, *Homily*, 547; Anon. Malta 2519); 3 + 9 (anonymous, *Encomium on Romanos II*, 65). Not having a caesura after the fifth or the seventh syllable, but somewhere else is tantamount to not having a caesura at all. In fact, there are lines without any caesura in dodecasyllabic poetry. That happens when the line consists of one long compound word: e.g. anonymous, *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth*, 25 τοὺς πεντανευροχορδολεπτοσυνθέτους; Choirosphaktes, *Thousand-Line Theology*, 936 τῶν ψευδοτεχνοκαπνοβορβοροστόμων. In connection with Ps. John of Damascus 3.119, ἀκτιστοσυμπλαστουργοσύνθρονον σέθεν, Eustathios of Thessalonica memorably calls such compounds 'words stretched out like ship's timbers' and observes that they disturb the rhythmical structure of the dodecasyllable.[206]

Faulty caesuras are non-existent in the paired octosyllable and extremely rare in political verse. In Tzetzes, *Histories*, 1.99 ἡ Ἄμυτις ὑπάρχουσα / δὲ παῖς τοῦ Ἀστυάγους, it looks as if there is a caesura after the eighth syllable as one would expect — an expectation immediately quashed by the word that follows: postpositive δὲ. This is probably Tzetzian humour. The same Tzetzes sometimes has no caesura at all in his political verses: e.g. *Histories*, 10.596 τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ

[206] See Cesaretti & Ronchey 2014: 224 (§206.10–15).

ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἐπιστημῶν δε.[207] Symeon the New Theologian, too, has a few faulty caesuras in his poems in political verse: e.g. 21.468 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποσταλεὶς / ὁ λόγος κατῆλθε (= 9 / 6).[208]

### (5.3.3) *C5 and C7 in the dodecasyllable*

The dodecasyllable is unique in that it does not have a fixed caesura, but alternates between C5 (caesura after the fifth syllable) and C7 (caesura after the seventh syllable). Alternation, but of a different kind, is also the leading principle in the distribution of stress patterns at the caesura of the political verse which alternates between oxytone (8ox) and proparoxytone (8pp) (see §4.3.3). The fact that the two principal metres of Byzantine poetry have some form of alternation at the caesura, is a clear indication of how important rhythmical variation is halfway through the line.[209]

The choice between C5 and C7 depends on syntax and semantics. As Maas rightly points out, in the line: τὸν οἰκτίρμονα θεὸν πρὸς οἶκτον ἄγει, the caesura is doubtless after θεὸν (C7); should it be after οἰκτίρμονα (C5), the result would be a frightful enjambment across the caesura.[210] In most cases it is not at all difficult to identity C5 or C7, though some editors think otherwise and introduce a third mixed category, C5 & C7, in addition to C5 and C7.[211] However, admittedly, there are some cases where one can argue about whether the caesura is a C5 or a C7: e.g. Manasses, *Hodoiporikon*, 4.207 καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἦρτο βόμβον ὁ ψόφος. The problem here is that the verb is placed in between C5 and C7 and since the verb is the heart of the sentence, syntactically it can go either way — to the left or to the right. But semantics plays a role as well: with C7 after ἦρτο, the word βόμβον becomes more emphatic; with C5 before ἦρτο, the line falls flat.[212] In fact, semantics may even overrule syntax. Take Psellos 17.98 τὴν σὴν ἑώρα λάμψιν ἀντὶ φωσφόρου, indicating that even on cloudy days when the sun was nowhere to be seen, the emperor would enjoy the light of his mistress: 'he saw your light instead of that of the sun'. While syntax suggests a pause at C7 because τὴν σὴν and λάμψιν go together, the line becomes so much stronger with C5 because then there would be emphasis on σὴν, 'your', stressing the emperor's

[207] For more examples, see Leone 2007: xliii.
[208] See Koder 1969–73: I, 93 and Kambylis 1976: cccli.
[209] For alternation between C5 and C7 in Psellos, see Sarriu 2003: 303–306 and Sarriu 2006: 174–184.
[210] Maas 1903: 284; see also 313 (at §4).
[211] See, for example, Leone 1969: 262; Odorico 1987: 86 and 87, n. 88 (doppia cesura); and Papagiannis 1997: I, 183–184 (of his nine dubious cases, the first and the eighth are C7, and the rest C5).
[212] See Chrysogelos 2017: 81.

love for Maria Skleraina and his sadness that she is no longer there to shine 'her' light, 'her' beauty, 'her' utter loveliness.

The relative frequency of C5 and C7 differs from author to author. Please see the following table:

| author | C5 | C7 |
|---|---|---|
| Theodosios Grammarian | 87.5% | 12.5% |
| Symeon New Theologian | 85.5% | 14.5% |
| Arsenios Patellarites | 85.4% | 14.6% |
| Theodore of Stoudios | 82.4% | 17.6% |
| Pisides (panegyrics) | 82% | 18% |
| *Encomium on Basil I* | 81.3% | 18.7% |
| Kassia | 81.2% | 18.8% |
| Theodosios the Deacon | 77.5% | 22.5% |
| Geometres (poems) | 77.3% | 22.7% |
| *Leo Bible* | 75.7% | 24.3% |
| *Encomium on Sisinnios* | 75.5% | 24.5% |
| Anonymous Patrician | 74.3% | 25.7% |
| Geometres, *Odes* | 73.3% | 26.7% |
| Leo the Philosopher | 71.9% | 28.1% |

| author | C5 | C7 |
|---|---|---|
| Andrew of Crete | 71.1% | 28.9% |
| Ignatios Deacon, *Adam* | 70% | 30% |
| Leo VI | 69.7% | 30.3% |
| Constantine the Rhodian | 69.3% | 30.7% |
| Ps. Nikephoros | 69% | 31% |
| Ignatios Deacon, *Lazarus* | 68.6% | 31.4% |
| *Encomium on Romanos II* | 68% | 32% |
| Geometres, *Panteleemon* | 67.7% | 32.3% |
| Kommerkiarios | 63.3% | 36.7% |
| Leo Choirosphaktes | 60.8% | 39.2% |
| Constantine the Sicilian | 57.3% | 42.7% |
| Ignatios Deacon, *Fables* | 56.1% | 43.9% |
| *On a Calabrian Youth* | 48.8% | 51.2% |
| Anonymous Italian | 45.4% | 54.6% |

As one can see, up to the early ninth century most authors, with the exception of Andrew of Crete, have a restricted number of C7 (c. 12 to 20%). This changes with Ignatios the Deacon who, in *Adam and Eve* and *Lazarus*, has C7 in almost a third of cases (30 and 31.4%) and who in his metaphrasis of Babrian fables is even more liberal (43.9%). Ninth- and tenth-century classicists follow his lead (c. 28 to 42%), but the more traditional-minded, such as the Anonymous Patrician, John Geometres and Theodosios the Deacon, strive after the rhythmical austerity of Pisides: they have C7 in c. 22 to 27% of cases. A particular case is tenth-century Southern Italy which clearly favours C7: see the astonishing figures for the Anonymous Italian and the *Encomium on a Calabrian Youth*. Please note that poets may change their tactics in different genres: Geometres has more C7 in his *Odes* than in his poems, and even more C7 in the *Panteleemon* if that saint's life is indeed his.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see table below), Pisidian austerity steadily loses ground. The two greatest poets of Byzantium, Mitylenaios and Mauropous, still have C7 in a restricted number of cases: 22.8 and 26.7%, respectively. But with grandiloquent rhetoric and the need to impress on the rise in Byzantine poetry, C7 gradually becomes more and more prominent: the first to

succumb to the charms of rhetorically charged poetry are Psellos and Michael the Grammarian (both c. 36%) and they are followed by a whole host of late eleventh- and twelfth-century poets (c. 30 to 50%). Nicholas Kallikles even prefers C7 (55.4%). As indicated above, authors may adapt their rhythmical style according to genre; but as Stilbes' monody demonstrates, authors may also change their rhythms in different drafts of the same text.

| author | C5 | C7 |
|---|---|---|
| Anon. Malta | 80% | 20% |
| Chr. Mitylenaios | 77.2% | 22.8% |
| Stilbes (ms. B) | 75.6% | 24.4% |
| Gregory of Corinth | 74.4% | 25.6% |
| Haploucheir | 74% | 26% |
| Mauropous (nos. 1–11) | 73.3% | 26.7% |
| Prodromos, *Tetrasticha* | 68.8% | 31.2% |
| Prodromos, *Katomyomachia* | 68% | 32% |
| Manasses (ms. V) | 66.9% | 33.1% |
| Prodromos (poems) | 66.8% | 33.2% |

| author | C5 | C7 |
|---|---|---|
| Manasses (ms. M) | 66.4% | 33.6% |
| Stilbes (ms. M) | 66.3% | 33.7% |
| Michael the Grammarian | 64% | 36% |
| Psellos (nos. 8, 9, 17, 21) | 63.9% | 36.1% |
| Theophylaktos of Ohrid | 60% | 40% |
| Balsamon | 57.6% | 42.4% |
| Mouzalon | 54.3% | 45.7% |
| Euthymios Tornikes no. V | 52.2% | 47.8% |
| Euthymios Tornikes no. IV | 50.6% | 49.4% |
| Kallikles | 44.6% | 55.4% |

### (5.3.4) *Caesura in the hexameter*

Classical scholars who, through no fault of their own, happen to stray into the field of Byzantine philology and chance upon hexametric poetry, always complain that the Byzantines have no understanding of the caesura.[213] They are right. The reason is that the hexameter does not exist for the Byzantine ear because it is not isosyllabic and, therefore, does not comply with the rule of isometry.[214]

The Byzantines employ not two but three types of caesura in the middle of the hexameter (i.e. in the third foot):

(3a) the masculine caesura (penthemimeres):
– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ / ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏓

(3b) the feminine caesura (κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον):
– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏓

(3c) the medial caesura:
– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ / – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏓

[213] Even the verdict of classicists with a proper understanding of Byzantium is far from charitable: see, for example, SCHEIDWEILER 1952: 292–294. For a valiant defence of the Byzantines, see GIANNELLI 1960: 360–365.

[214] See MAAS 1903: 302–303.

The medial caesura is new. First attested in Late Antiquity,[215] it can be found in the work of most Byzantine poets. It occurs on average in 1 to 5% of lines, but some poets are really fond of bipartite hexameters: Geometres has it in 20%; the anonymous poems in Vat. gr. 743 in 19.2%; Tzetzes and Michael Choniates in 22%; and the anonymous poem on the reconquest of Dorylaion in 26% of cases.[216]

If the caesura is not in the middle because the preceding word is so long that it extends across the whole of the third foot, one of its positions may be after the princeps (the longum) of the fourth foot (4a): the so-called hephthemimeres. But there are also other possibilities, one of which is another Byzantine innovation: the combination of caesuras both after the second and the fourth biceps (2c + 4c).[217] There are also many lines without recognizable caesura.

The following table shows the distribution of the three caesuras in the middle of the line: 3a (the masculine caesura), 3b (the feminine caesura), and 3c (the medial caesura); the category 'other' includes 4a (hephthemimeres), 2c + 4c (the Byzantine innovation), other 'caesuras', and lack of caesura.[218]

| authors | 3a | 3b | 3c | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| George of Pisidia | 14.5% | 84.4% | 1.1% | 0% |
| Kometas | 33.3% | 66.7% | 0% | 0% |
| Leo the Philosopher | 56.5% | 41.3% | 1.4% | 0.8% |
| John Geometres | 45% | 28% | 20% | 7% |
| *Paradeisos* | 50.8% | 47.7% | 1% | 0.5% |
| Chr. Mitylenaios | 47.8% | 37.8% | 8.9% | 5.5% |
| *Poem on Maniakes* | 52% | 43% | 5% | 0% |
| Prodromos | 32% | 62.8% | 3.3% | 1.9% |
| Niketas Eugenianos | 8.2% | 88% | 3.3% | 0.5% |
| John Tzetzes, *Carmina Iliaca* | 31% | 38.5% | 22.5% | 8% |

[215] See AGOSTI & GONNELLI 1995: 322 and 380–381. GONNELLI 1991a: 131 and D'AMBROSI 2003b: 119 aver that the medial caesura already can be found in Homer; but all their examples are masculine caesuras (3a) followed by a disyllabic word (for *Il.* 1.53, see WEST 1982: 36 and n. 12).

[216] Later authors are also fond of the medial caesura: Blemmydes has it in 27% of cases, and Planoudes' *Idyll* in 18% of cases: see VALERIO 2016: 292–293, n. 142.

[217] See SCHEIDWEILER 1952: 294 and VAN OPSTALL 2008: 81–82.

[218] Most of the figures are provided by the editors. For Leo the Philosopher, I looked at 200 lines and combined my findings with the observations of WESTERINK 1986: 204 (§8). For Eugenianos, I looked at *Drosilla and Charikles* (3.263–288 and 297–322), and two poems edited by GALLAVOTTI 1935: 229–231 and 232–233. For Tzetzes' *Carmina Iliaca*, I looked at 1.1–100 and 2.1–100, and for Michael Choniates' *Theano*, at lines 1–100.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Reconquest of Dorylaion* | 17.8% | 41.9% | 25.8% | 14.5% |
| *poems in Vat. gr. 743* | 38.5% | 29.5% | 19.2% | 12.8% |
| Michael Choniates, *Theano* | 38% | 23% | 22% | 17% |

Perhaps even more surprising than the popularity of the medial caesura in certain authors are the remarkably low numbers for the feminine caesura (3b): in Homer, the proportion is 57%; in Hellenistic authors, it is usually higher: c. 60 to 80%; and in Nonnos and his followers, including Pisides, it is 80% and above.[219] Kometas (67%) and Prodromos (63%) are somewhat on the conservative side while Eugenianos (88%) deserves to be called the last of the Nonnians (cf. §4.3.4); but what of the rest? The number of feminine caesuras in most Byzantine poets is markedly lower than it is in Homer and co. It is this, together with the medial caesura, that makes their versification decidedly unclassical.

### (5.4.1) *Secondary pause: introduction*

The caesura is conspicuous because it recurs in every line and triggers certain stress patterns (for which, see §4.3), but it is not the only break. In fact, secondary pauses are quite frequent in isometric poetry. The most common are weak sense pauses. These are usually located before or after vocatives, interjections, appositions and asyndeta: e.g. Geometres 1.15 ἀλλ᾽ οἶδα, φωστήρ, / οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἀπεκρύβης and 2.11 ἄγαλμα καινόν, / αὐτόχυτον, ποικίλον. There is a weak pause after οἶδα because of the vocative that follows, and there is another after αὐτόχυτον because of the asyndeton.

### (5.4.2) *Diaeresis: dodecasyllable*

Secondary pause is not always a weak sense pause; sometimes it is as strong as, or even stronger than, the caesura. As there is hardly any literature on the topic,[220] this not-so-weak pause has not yet been given a name: I shall call it ‘diaeresis’ (an ancient term for rhythmic break) for lack of anything better.

Just as there are two caesuras in the dodecasyllable, C5 and C7, there are also two corresponding types of this medium pause, the diaeresis: D4 and D8 (indicated below with the symbol \). D4 combines with C7, and D8 combines with C5. Let me illustrate this with examples from Ps. Nikephoros’ oneirocritic verses:

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[219] See West 1982: 153 and 177 and Van Opstall 2008: 82.

[220] The sole exception is Papagiannis 1997: I, 184–185; but the problem with his otherwise insightful observations is that he does not distinguish between weak and medium secondary pauses.

D4 and C7: (27) δόμου πεσὼν \ νόμιζε / τοῦτο ζημίαν, (72) μῆλα κρατῶν \ ἔρωτι / συνεῖναι δόκει, (77) νεκροὺς ὁρῶν \ νέκρωσιν / ἕξεις πραγμάτων (and elsewhere);

D8 and C5: (8) ἄρτους δυσειδεῖς / ἐσθίειν \ δηλοῖ νόσον, (21) γέροντα σαυτὸν / εἰ βλέπεις, \ ἕξεις γέρας, (47) Ἰσμαηλίταις / συσχεθεὶς \ καλὸν νόει (and elsewhere).

D4 (combined with C7) and D8 (combined with C5) are not a peculiarity of Ps. Nikephoros, but may be found in all major Byzantine poets: e.g. Constantine the Rhodian, *Ekphrasis*, 419 Κωνσταντίνῳ, \ Λέοντος / υἱῷ πανσόφου (D4 + C7) and 701 ὁ μὲν τὸ κλῖτος / δεξιόν, \ ὁ δ᾽ αὖ πάλιν (D8 + C5). However, please note that not every word end at the fourth or the eighth metrical position necessarily constitutes diaeresis. For example, in Prodomos, *Tetrasticha*, 288a.4 μωροὶ σοφοὶ, πείσθητε / τῷ σοφωτάτῳ, the pause between the vocative and the imperative is so weak that it does not deserve to be called a D4. And in *Tetrasticha*, 201a.1 ὡς ἐξανιστᾷς / ἐκ τάφων νεκροὺς ὅλους, there may be a slight syntactic break after ἐκ τάφων, but it is almost imperceptible, and it is certainly not strong enough to constitute a D8.

### (5.4.3) *Diaeresis: political verse*

Political verse has all sorts of secondary pauses, only one of which is incisive and forceful enough to be called diaeresis. It is a D4 which divides the first hemistich into two equal parts: e.g. Symeon NTh 41.37 ἐξαπορῶ, \ ἐκπλήττομαι / καὶ γινώσκειν οὐκ ἔχω; Tzetzes, *Histories*, 6.731 μήτε πληγαῖς, \ μήτε τομαῖς, / μὴ καύσεσι, μήδ᾽ ἄλλοις; Prodromos 43a.4 ἅπαν καλόν, \ ἅπαν σεμνὸν / κύκλῳ δορυφορεῖ σοι. This diaeresis has attracted some scholarly attention in the past because it may lead to a metrical anomaly: stress on the fifth syllable (as in the last two examples).[221] But there are many more instances of D4 without this anomaly, and these are still easily recognizable as such: e.g. Manganeios Prodromos 1.27 κατέρρηξας, \ συνέτριψας / Ἰλλυρικὰς δυνάμεις, 1.42 ἐδίωξας, \ ἐσκύλευσας, / ἄρδην κατετροπώσω, and 1.45 ἀλλὰ βελῶν, \ ἀλλὰ σπαθῶν, / ἀλλὰ μακρῶν δοράτων.[222]

In fact, the most salient feature of this diaeresis is not the metrical anomaly of having stress on the fifth syllable, but the fact that the tripartite structure of these verses instantly reminds one of folk poetry: for example, δούλα χρυσή, \ δούλα αργυρή, / δούλα μ᾽ αγαπημένη or ένας βοσκός, \ γεροβοσκός / και παλιοκουρα-

[221] See Koder 1969–73: I, 91–92 and Hörandner 1974: 131–132.

[222] See Jeffreys 2014: 215 (‘a frequent division after the fourth syllable’), 216 and 224 (the examples quoted in the main text).

δάρης.[223] How to explain this remarkable similarity? If there was direct influence, it cannot possibly have been learned Byzantine literature influencing folk poetry; the only solution is to postulate an oral substratum exercising influence upon learned poets trying to express themselves in a basically vernacular metre.[224] But what if there was no influence? The triadic scheme is a common feature of rhetoric in all languages; it is not typically Greek. Thinking in threes is a figure of accumulation; in the end it is not that different from thinking in pairs, which is a figure of balance. In fact, the tripartite structure results directly from the isometric nature of political verse with its paired colon structure, evenly balanced out: 8 + 7. This pairing up of cola may be repeated infinitely, from the most elementary level up to the most complex strophic forms. It may also be repeated within each of the two cola, in which case the colon is subdivided, once again, into two.[225] And this is exactly what seems to have happened here: (4 + 4) + 7.

Similar tripartite structures can be found in all stages of the history of the Greek language: see, for example, Aristophanes, *Plut*. 288 ὡς ἥδομαι \ καὶ τέρπομαι / καὶ βούλομαι χορεῦσαι — an iambic catalectic tetrameter often quoted as a precursor of the political verse, and imitated in Symeon NTh 13.4 καὶ τέρπομαι \ καὶ χαίρομαι / ὅταν κατανοήσω.[226] However tempting it may be to detect traces of Modern Greek folk poetry as early as Aristophanes,[227] it demands a huge leap of the imagination which I, frankly, am not willing to make. Vastly more important than these superficial parallels, however, are the underlying structural elements of Greek versification: the rule of isometry and the principle of pairing.

### (5.4.4) *Weak secondary pause: hexameter*

As for the dactylic hexameter, the main caesura in the third foot (3a, 3b, and from Byzantine times, 3c) may be combined with a weak secondary pause after the fourth foot: the so-called 'bucolic caesura' (also known as 'bucolic diaeresis').[228] In Antiquity, the bucolic caesura is preceded by dactylic feet without contraction (–⏑⏑); in Byzantine hexametric poetry, however, spondaics are allowed (––).

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[223] See Jeffreys 1981: 329–330 and Sifakis 2005: 305–306.
[224] See Jeffreys 2014: 213–214.
[225] See Baud-Bovy 1936: 313–326 and Sifakis 1988: 138–140 and 165–176.
[226] See Lauxtermann 2009b: 295. Incidentally, this imitation of Aristophanes clearly belies the common perception of Symeon the New Theologian as an author without any schooling or cultural baggage.
[227] See Sifakis 2005: 299–301.
[228] For the term, see West 1982: 192.

In Antiquity, the figures for the bucolic caesura are as follows: Homer 47%; hellenistic poetry c. 55–75%; Gregory of Nazianzos 65.5%; Nonnos 95.7% after caesura 3a, but only 52.1% after caesura 3b (on average, 57%).[229] Pisides, once again, proves to be a diligent student of Nonnos: 92.9% after the masculine caesura 3a, but only 40% after the feminine caesura 3b (on average, 47.8%).

As for the Byzantines, the figures are as follows: Kometas 62.5%; Leo the Philosopher 63%; Geometres 56%; *Paradeisos* 74.6%; Mitylenaios 47.1%; *Poem on Maniakes* 69%; Prodromos, *Historical Poems*, 63%; Tzetzes 45%; and *Dorylaion* 29%. None of these figures is particularly interesting except for that of the *Paradeisos* because it clearly shows that its anonymous author wished to imitate the rhythmical structure of the hellenistic epigram which tends to have a high incidence of bucolic caesuras. Another fervid student of the ancients is Niketas Eugenianos. As indicated at §4.3.4 and §5.3.4, Eugenianos clearly imitates the rhythmical structure of the Nonnian school, and in particular, that of Pisides. Like Nonnos and Pisides, he is not particularly fond of the bucolic caesura after the feminine caesura: in most of his poetry, it occurs only in 48.5% of cases. However, in the two songs in his novel *Drosilla and Charikles*, the proportion is substantially higher: 77%. The explanation for this discrepancy is that the two love songs in Eugenianos' novel are clearly modelled on the hellenistic erotic epigrams of the Greek Anthology.[230]

### (5.5.1) *Colon, syllable and word*

The colon is a sense unit, the boundaries of which are demarcated by line end and caesura.[231] Its basic element of measurement is the syllable. Though simple stress patterns and elaborate rhythms can be detected in most metres, the only stable rule is that the colon is isosyllabic. The dodecasyllable is: 5 + 7 or 7 + 5. The ionic trimeter is: 7 + 5. The ionic dimeter and the octosyllable are: 8. The hemiamb and the heptasyllable are: 7. The political verse is: 8 + 7. As one can see, the basic types are cola consisting of 5, 7 and 8 syllables.

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[229] See West 1982: 154; Agosti & Gonnelli 1995: 321 and 380; and Van Opstall 2008: 83.

[230] All these figures, except for those of Geometres and the *Paradeisos*, are mine. It is time for modern editors to wake up and realize that the Byzantine hexameter, like its ancient precursor, may have more than one caesura.

[231] Byzantine manuscripts quite often highlight these boundaries by dots, crosses or other signs at line end, dots or commas at the caesura, and rubrics or capital letters at the beginning of the line. See Bernard 2014: 76–79 and Rhoby 2009–2018: vol. IV, 64–66. For a similar phenomenon in verse inscriptions, see A. Rhoby, Interpunktionszeichen in byzantinischen Versinschriften, to be published in the proceedings of the "VIIIème Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque: Griechische Handschriften: gestern, heute und morgen".

Apart from these basic phenotypes, cola of different lengths appear quite frequently in Byzantine hymnography and other texts set to music, such as the deme songs in the *Book of Ceremonies* or the few *kalanda* to have come down to us. These will not concern us here: for more information, see the *Spring of Rhythm*.

When I say 'syllable', I mean metrical syllable. In lines with resolution or synizesis, there appear to be more syllables than the metre allows for; but if one counts the number of metrical positions, the number of syllables is the same. These syllables are distributed in such a manner that they form recognizable metrical shapes, with an equal number of metrical positions and conforming to certain stress patterns. Syllables are grouped together in word clusters, which consist of words and pre- and postpositives. For the sake of brevity, I will call these word clusters 'words'. And just as 'syllable' stands for metrical syllable, so 'word' stands for metrical word.[232]

Let me illustrate this with two examples. In Kassia C 41 ὑπερπλουτισθέντες δὲ / καὶ τιμηθέντες, there are not four words, but just two: its shape is 7 / 5. In Symeon NTh 24.277 εἰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύσειε, / πῶς διὰ λόγου, the first hemistich consists of one long word and the second of two (πῶς is emphatic here: 'how on earth'): its shape is 7 / 1 + 4. As noted in §4.6, long words may have secondary stress: so there may very well be more than one stress peak in metrical words such as ὑπερπλουτισθέντες δὲ and εἰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύσειε. But that does not alter the fact that these words are heptasyllabic.[233]

In their most elementary form, metrical words are a sequence of phonemes without any meaning. Theodosios the Deacon reports that when, during the siege of Chandax, Nikephoros Phokas ordered his men to catapult the heads of Arab soldiers into the city, the townsmen cried out in horror: σεὴπφ ἐχειμὰτ / ἰσχαρὸπ καὶ τὴν ῥάσαν // σερμὴτ μιδήνη / καὶ χάητ ἰπφησάνη (2.77–78). This is not Arabic: it is gibberish with a few Arabic-sounding words, such as *ra's* (head). But even if it were proper Arabic, the audience would not have understood it — and yet, the two lines are perfect dodecasyllables, with caesuras after the fifth syllable and paroxytone line end. At the end of his *Theogony*, Tzetzes demonstrates his knowl-

[232] See MACKRIDGE 1990: 205–210.

[233] MARCOVICH 1984 has made a study of three-word trimeters and dodecasyllables; for detailed information on the dodecasyllable, see pp. 160–182 and 199–211. The problem with this study is that Marcovich does not consider prepositives to be part of the word: so, in his view (see p. 169), Kassia C 41 ὑπερπλουτισθέντες δὲ / καὶ τιμηθέντες consists of not two but three words: 7 / 1 + 4 (δὲ is postpositive, so it counts as part of the word; but καὶ is prepositive, so it is not included). On this bizarre logic, Symeon NTh 24.277 εἰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύσειε, / πῶς διὰ λόγου is not a three-word dodecasyllable, but consists of no fewer than six words: 2 + 1 + 4 / 1 + 2 + 2. Had he included prepositives in his count of three-word dodecasyllables (as logic and linguistics demand), their number would have been significantly higher.

edge of foreign languages, one of which is Alanic: τὸ φάρνετζ κίντζι μέσφιλι / καὶτζ φουὰ σαοῦγγε.[234] Although experts in the Iranian languages are generally agreed that this line represents a legitimate form of proto-Ossetic,[235] the point is that contemporaries of Tzetzes would not have been able to understand it, let alone check its grammatical correctness. They will have admired Tzetzes for producing a perfect political verse in a language unknown to them; they may have laughed at his translation of this particularly obscene line ('my lady, aren't you ashamed of letting a priest fuck your cunt?'), but the Alanic words themselves would have been mere sounds: fifteen meaningless syllables, but neatly divided into two cola by the caesura and perfectly isometric. This is the essence of true poetry.

### (5.5.2) *Word length distribution*

Words may have different lengths: the shortest consist of one syllable; the longest of eight (words cannot be longer than the colon they are part of: so anything in excess of eight by definition eliminates the colon). There is usually room for two words, sometimes for three. Here are some figures based on a small but, I think, representative corpus of texts: first heptasyllable, then octosyllable.[236] *Dod1* is the first and *Dod2* the second heptasyllabic hemistich of the prosodic dodecasyllable; *NP* in front of *Dod1* and *Dod2* indicates the unprosodic variant of the dodecasyllable; *Ion1* is the first hemistich of the ionic trimeter; *VP2* is the second hemistich of the political verse; *Hept* is the unprosodic heptasyllable and *Hem* is the prosodic hemiamb.

| heptasyllables | one word | two words | three words |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dod1 | 4% | 84% | 12% |
| NP Dod1 | 11% | 80% | 9% |
| Dod2 | 1% | 82% | 17% |
| NP Dod2 | 3% | 82% | 15% |

[234] See HUNGER 1953: 305 (lines 20a–22) and 306–307.

[235] See R. BIELMEIER, Das Alanische bei Tzetzes, in: W. SKALMOWSKI and A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds), Medioiranica. Leuven 1993, 1–28.

[236] The figures are based on 100 occurences of each of the various hepta-, octo-, and pentasyllabic types. For the prosodic dodecasyllable (5 + 7 and 7 + 5), I have looked at Prodromos 25, 28–29, 34–37 and 39; for the unprosodic dodecasyllable, at Symeon NTh 24, 37, 39, 45 and 50; for the ionic trimeter (7 + 5), at Sophronios 1, 14 and 16–22; for political verse (8 + 7), at Prodromos 15; for the anacreont (8), at Choirosphaktes 4 and 3.1–16; for the unprosodic octosyllable, at Leo VI, *Odarion Katanyktikon*, 1–100; for the hemiamb (7), at Choirosphaktes, *On Thermal Springs*, 1–100; for the unprosodic heptasyllable, at Christopher Protasekretes 1.1–100. For a more theoretical approach to word length distribution, see KARSAY 1989: 367–383, 393–408 and 411–415.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ion1 | 4% | 67% | 29% |
| VP2 | 14% | 76% | 10% |
| Hept | 0% | 93% | 7% |
| Hem | 0% | 46% | 54% |

*VP1* is the first hemistich of the political verse; *Oct* is the unprosodic octosyllable; and *Anacr* is the octosyllabic anacreontic.

| octosyllables | one word | two words | three words | four words |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VP1 | 1% | 71% | 28% | 0% |
| Oct | 0% | 62% | 38% | 0% |
| Anacr | 1% | 35% | 63% | 1% |

What do these figures show? First of all, the vast majority of heptasyllabic and octosyllabic cola consist of two words and those that do not, have three words or, more sporadically, one word. Secondly, the hemiamb and the anacreontic are radically different from the rest in their clear preference for the three-word colon. Interestingly enough, this preference is not to be found in the unprosodic variants of these two metres: the heptasyllable and the octosyllable; but if the explanation for the three-word preference is to be sought in the restraints of prosody, I fail to understand why. Thirdly, the one-word colon appears to be typical of unprosodic metres: this may indicate that it is a feature of popular poetry, the literary substratum we know so little about.

If one looks at the two-word colon in closer detail, it is obvious that the combinations: (a) 3 + 4 or 4 + 3 and (b) 2 + 5 or 5 + 2, are by far the most common in heptasyllables.

| metre | 3 + 4 | 4 + 3 | total | 2 + 5 | 5 + 2 | total | grand total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dod1 | 20% | 44% | 64% | 15% | 4% | 19% | 83% |
| Dod2 | 44% | 20% | 64% | 3% | 15% | 18% | 82% |
| VP2 | 33% | 27% | 60% | 10% | 6% | 16% | 76% |
| Hept | 38% | 31% | 69% | 18% | 6% | 24% | 93% |

Here the most interesting feature to observe is the striking difference between the two hemistichs of the dodecasyllable (Dod1 and Dod2): whereas, before C7, the most common pattern is 4 + 3, it is the exact reverse after C5: there 3 + 4 is clearly favoured. There is no good explanation for this discrepancy, but it is worth noting that diaeresis (see §5.4.2) occurs at exactly the same points, after the fourth and eighth metrical positions: if C7, then D4 (= 4 \ 3 / 5), and if C5, then D8 (= 5 / 3 \ 4).

The second difference to highlight is the fact that disyllabic words are much more common at the end of the dodecasyllable than anywhere else: see the difference between Dod2 and Dod1 in the table above. If one looks at all occurrences of disyllabic words at line end (including lines consisting of three words), the figures consistently indicate that disyllabic words are very much a feature of line end in the dodecasyllable: VP2 11%, Hept 11%, but Dod2 30%. This may be related to the restraints of prosody, although if there is a connection, I have no idea how it affects the colon structure. However, the reason why the number of disyllabic words in Dod1 (in total, 6%) is significantly lower than in Dod2 (30%) is clear: it is related to the predominantly proparoxytone stress pattern before C7.

The most common combinations in the octosyllable and the first hemistich of the political verse are as follows:

(Oct) 4 + 4 32%, 2 + 2 + 4 18%, 5 + 3 16%, and 3 + 5 9%

(VP1) 4 + 4 31%, 5 + 3 17%, 3 + 5 14%, and 2 + 2 + 4 9%.

In the anacreontic, on the contrary, the most common combinations are: 3 + 2 + 3 31%, 2 + 3 + 3 12%, 5 + 3 12%, 6 + 2 11%, and 3 + 3 + 2 9%.[237]

As the pentasyllable is the smallest colon, one-word cola are quite common in the dodecasyllable: in the first hemistich, it occurs in 32% of cases; and in the second hemistich, in 29%. However, in the second hemistich of the ionic trimeter, one-word cola are very rare indeed: it occurs in only 2% of cases. Two-word pentasyllables are the most frequent in both metres. The figures for the first and the second hemistichs of the dodecasyllable ($5^1$ and $5^2$) and the second hemistich of the ionic trimeter (Ion2) are as follows:

($5^1$) 2 + 3 37%, 3 + 2 26%, 4 + 1 3%, 1 + 4 2%;

($5^2$) 2 + 3 23%, 3 + 2 45%, 1 + 4 2% (and 1 + 2 + 2 1%);

(Ion2) 2 + 3 54%, 3 + 2 42%, 1 + 4 2%.

Here, too, one may notice the tendency to end the dodecasyllable with a disyllabic word. In the ionic trimeter, on the contrary, there is a slight preference for trisyllabic words at line end.

### (5.5.3) *Metrical bridges*

A 'bridge' is a point in the verse where word end is not allowed. The phenomenon of metrical bridges is not restricted to quantitative metre, but is also found in various accentual verse forms (such as skaldic poetry, Russian *byliny*, Serbo-

[237] Karsay 1989: 414 provides similar percentages for Michael Synkellos' anacreontic: 3 + 2 + 3 38%, 2 + 3 + 3 20%, 3 + 3 + 2 17%, 5 + 3 9%, etc.

Croatian epics, etc.).[238] As I indicated at the very beginning of this 'appendix metrica', the bridges of Ancient Greek metre are unknown to Byzantine poets because they speak a fundamentally different kind of Greek and their linguistic sensitivity is therefore attuned to different sounds, rhythms, and speech patterns. But have the Byzantines developed new metrical bridges instead?

Yes and no. In metres that have paroxytone line end, the last syllable can obviously not be a stressed monosyllable; and in those with proparoxytone line end, the last two syllables cannot be a stressed disyllabic word. Any monosyllable or disyllable at this point is by definition enclitic: it is part of a word cluster (see also §3.2). So there is indeed a metrical bridge at line end.

Karsay argues that there is also a metrical bridge before the caesura: at this point monosyllables are avoided, and the few monosyllables that one may find there, are to be considered part of a larger 'rhythmical unit', even if they bear stress. According to her, in Prodromos 25.90 ὁ κείμενος χοῦς, / ἡ κοτυλαία κόνις and 39.64 τίς χάλκεος νοῦς / ἢ σιδήρεον στόμα, there is no word end before χοῦς and νοῦς: she alleges that these nouns form word clusters with the rest of the colon.[239] The problem is that word clusters cannot have two stress peaks: if there are two stresses, one of the two is more prominent and the other is reduced to the status of secondary stress (see §4.6). It is true that stressed monosyllables are relatively rare before the caesura, but there are enough examples, both in the dodecasyllable and political verse, to disprove the idea of a metrical bridge at this point.[240] In Symeon NTh 55.192 ἀλλ' ἀπιστοῦσιν ὅτι νῦν / εἰσὶν οἱ βλέποντές σε, for example, the monosyllable νῦν clearly does not form a 'rhythmical unit' with the preceding words: syntactically it belongs to what follows. And in Tzetzes, *Histories*, 7.533 ὀλίγοις μέτεστί δε νοῦ, / ὀλίγοις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, though νοῦ logically does belong to what precedes, the peculiar position of δε (after μέτεστι rather than after ὀλίγοις) appears to isolate νοῦ from the rest. There is no metrical bridge here.

### (5.6.1) *Colon structure and the principle of pairing*

In Byzantine poetry there are two ways of grouping together cola: either the hymnodic system, which is to string them together in strophes that rhythmically correspond to one another, or the juxtaposition of paired cola, repeated line by

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[238] See KARSAY 1989: 354.

[239] KARSAY 1989: 351–352.

[240] KARSAY 1989: 389–390 does not specify what the bridge is before the caesura of the political verse, but in her discussion of word length distribution (at pp. 393–408) she does not mention monosyllables. Curiously enough, STRUVE 1828: 8–18, 26 and 31–32, too, omits monosyllables from his discussion of rhythmical patterns because he thinks orthotonic monosyllables have the same status as enclitic ones.

line (κατὰ στίχον). The first system is operative in most forms of hymnography as well as in the ceremonial hymns performed at court and recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*; the second system is typical of all other forms of poetry, both learned and vernacular.

The fact that cola almost always come in twos is so fundamental to non-liturgical poetry that I have given it a name: the 'principle of pairing'.[241] There is a hermeneutical problem here. Since common wisdom has it that the political verse consists of fifteen syllables (which is why it is called δεκαπεντασύλλαβος in Modern Greek) or that the aptly named dodecasyllable consists of twelve syllables, most of us tend to think of verse in terms of lines rather than half-lines. Common wisdom has it wrong. Political verse is not 15, but 8 + 7; dodecasyllable not 12, but 5 + 7 or 7 + 5.

That this is so can be seen from the fact that each of the two cola may occur in unusual combinations or separately:

(i) In poems in unprosodic dodecasyllable, it is not unusual to find combinations of 7 + 7 or 5 + 5.[242] For example, in an early eleventh-century translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* there is a story about a prince ordering a moralistic verse inscription to be put on the city-walls: while twelve of its lines are ordinary dodecasyllables, three are a combination of 7 + 7.[243] Real inscriptions, too, combine dodecasyllabic lines with 5 + 5 or 7 + 7: e.g. Rhoby I, no. 24.9. Radical as always, and decidedly innovative in matters of metre, Symeon the New Theologian has a number of examples as well.[244] He does not limit himself to dodecasyllable alone: his poetry in political verse occasionally contains lines of 8 + 8 and 7 + 7.[245]

(ii) It is not uncommon either to find one of the two cola of the dodecasyllable and the political verse in isolation: e.g. Rhoby I, no. 195 Ἰωάννη, ἔξελθε / ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου· // ζητεῖ σε τὸ βάφτισμα (7 + 5 // 7) or Symeon NTh 20.217–218 εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρώην μου ὁ νοῦς / περὶ σοῦ φαντασθῆναι // καθαρῶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο (8 + 7 // 8).[246] Independent half-lines of eight or seven syllables are also very common in *Digenes Akrites E*.[247]

(iii) There are even whole poems consisting of 8 + 8, 7 + 7, and 5 + 5. Let me give an example of each. In the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilisesi, on a fresco de-

[241] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 84–86.
[242] See Boeten & Janse 2018.
[243] For the context, see Husselman 1938: 14–15 and 26–29. For the text, see ibidem, 26 (=Rhoby IV, US14.4, 5 and 15).
[244] See Kambylis 1976: cccxliv.
[245] See Koder 1969–73: I, 91 and Kambylis 1976: cccxlix–cccl.
[246] See Koder 1969–73: I, 91 and Kambylis 1976: cccxliv and cccxlix.
[247] See Jeffreys 1998: liii–liv.

picting Sts Theodore and George slaying the dragon, with the sign of the cross hovering above the creature's head, there is an inscription in paired octosyllable: Σταυρέ, τίς ὁ φαιδρύνας σε; / Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ παγείς (Rhoby I, no. 202). Athous Pantel. 2 [22139] (s. XII) has metrical captions below a set of miniatures (Rhoby IV, GR42–66): most of these monostichs are dodecasyllables, but two consist of paired heptasyllables (nos. 53 and 58): e.g. Βρέφος ἀγκαλίζεται / σήμερον ὁ πρεσβύτης. On an apse fresco in the ninth or tenth-century Pancarlık Kilisesi, showing Christ in Glory, one finds an inscription in paired pentasyllable: μικρὸς ὁ τύπος· / μέγας ὁ φόβος· // ὁρῶν τὸν τύπον, / τίμα τὸν τόπον.[248] In two other Cappadocian churches one may find a comparable text: ὁρῶν τὸν τύπον, /τίμα τὸν τόπον // μικρὸς ὁ τύπος· / μεγάλη δόξα· // διὰ τοῦ τύπου τούτου / σῴζεται κόσμος: two paired pentasyllables, followed by a dodecasyllable (5 + 5 // 5 + 5 // 7 + 5).[249] Almost the same text can be found on a miniature of the cross in ms. 1175 of the Romanian Academy [11250]: μικρὸς ὁ τύπος· / μέγας ὁ φόβος· // ὁρῶν τὸν τύπον, / τίμα τὸν τρόπον· // οὗτος ὁ τύπος / σῴζει τὸν κόσμον (Rhoby IV, RO2): three paired pentasyllables.

The apotropaic jingle, ὁρῶν τὸν τύπον, τίμα τὸν τόπον, is itself considerably older than these middle Byzantine church decorations and manuscript illustrations: it can already be found on late antique tombstones.[250] The same can be said about pentasyllables, heptasyllables and octosyllables: they all predate the Byzantine era.[251] Just as Empedocles imagined nature trying out various hybrid forms of life before finding the right combinations, so too should we regard late antique accentual poetry as one gigantic experiment, trying out cola of various lengths and piecing them together in ever-novel configurations — and just as organisms are subject to natural selection, so too, out of this primordial soup of metrical configurations, the political verse (8 + 7), the paired octosyllable (8 + 8) and the paired heptasyllable (7 + 7) eventually evolved. For more information, see *The Spring of Rhythm.*

### (5.6.2) *Pairing and tripling*

Prosodic anacreontics tend to be presented in separate lines in modern editions as well as in most Byzantine manuscripts, e.g. Constantine the Sicilian, *Odarion Erotikon*, 1–4:

ποταμοῦ μέσον κατεῖδον
ποτὲ τὸν γόνον Κυθήρης·

[248] See Sitz 2017: 12–14 and 23.
[249] See Sitz 2017: 17–18 and 25–26.
[250] See Sitz 2017: 16, n. 52 and 53.
[251] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 58–61 and 84–86.

ἐνενήχετο προπαίζων
μετὰ Νηΐδων χορείης.

However, this graphematic disposition of the lines does not correspond to their syntactical and rhythmical structure. In fact, these lines should not be read as a quatrain, but as a distich:

ποταμοῦ μέσον κατεῖδον ποτὲ τὸν γόνον Κυθήρης·
ἐνενήχετο προπαίζων μετὰ Νηΐδων χορείης.

This is true of all Byzantine anacreontics: they are all written down as if they constitute four separate lines, but they actually form distichs. Each distich consists of two paired octosyllables, with a strong pause at line end and a medium pause at the caesura.

That the anacreontic, like all other Byzantine metres, is in fact paired, is demonstrated by its unprosodic variant: the octosyllable. In contrast to the anacreontic, the unprosodic octosyllable is quite often presented in pairs, both in Byzantine manuscripts and in some modern editions.[252] To give an example, Makarios Kaloreites' octosyllables have been copied in the form of distichs (with sixteen syllables per line) in ms. Vat. Pal. gr. 367 (s. XIV in.):

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἐγκεκλεισμένος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὑπῆρχον,
οὐχ ἑώρων σχεδὸν ὅλως τὸ τί ἔγραφα ἐνταῦθα.[253]

Here, too, one notices that the syntactical breaks are much stronger at line end than at the caesura.

Copying octosyllables in such a manner that they form sixteen-syllable lines is not a scribal curiosity or an editorial whim, but as Bodl. Clarke 15 (a. 1077–78) demonstrates beyond doubt, in fact goes back to the authors themselves. This is a pocket-sized Psalter which its *ktetor*, Mark the Monk, had commissioned for his own devotional purposes. It is a rather unusual manuscript because of the many highly personal paratexts Mark the Monk had added to it; but apart from these poetic paratexts, it also contains metrical titles to the psalms, which are clearly the work of the *ktetor* himself because they have come down to us in later manuscripts under his name.[254] These metrical titles are in paired octosyllable, and it is worth noting that Mark the Monk, like later scribes and modern editors, clearly regards his own octosyllables as half-lines and pairs them up so that they form sixteen-syllable lines.

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[252] See Ciccolella 1995: 255–261.

[253] Bănescu 1913: 13 (vv. 9–10) follows the manuscript in printing the text as paired octosyllables; Mercati 1920–21: 232 (vv. 17–20), however, prints the distichs as quatrains because he views that as the traditional editorial practice for 'anacreontics' (see his remarks on pp. 225–228).

[254] See Lauxtermann 2012.

There is one very interesting exception. The metrical title to psalm 72 consists not of two, but of three octosyllables: ἐπ᾽ ἀσεβῶν εὐπραγίᾳ / μακροθυμίᾳ Θεοῦ τε / νοῦς ἀσθενῶν ταῦτα λέγει.[255] This is no longer pairing, but 'tripling'.

Tripling is very common in the unprosodic octosyllable. Take, for example, the communion prayer in the *Horologion*, no. 7 ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν χειλέων, / ἀπὸ βδελυρᾶς καρδίας, which occasionally offers three octosyllables instead of two (the triplet is in italics):

οὐ λανθάνει σε, Θεέ μου, ποιητά μου, λυτρωτά μου,
οὐδὲ σταλαγμὸς δακρύων, οὐδὲ σταλαγμοῦ τι μέρος·
τὸ μὲν ἀκατέργαστόν μου ἔγνωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου·
*ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον δέ σου*
*καὶ τὰ μήπω πεπραγμένα γεγραμμένα σοι τυγχάνει.*[256]

This occasional use of triplets instead of pairs is also typical of Arsenios' poem *On Easter Sunday*[257] and of Symeon the New Theologian's hymns in octosyllable.[258] To give an example from the latter (hymn 17.20–28) (the triplet is in italics):

πᾶσαν φύσιν ὑπερέβην, παρὰ φύσιν ἔργα πράξας·
*τῶν ἀλόγων ὤφθην χείρων,*
*πάντων ζῴων ἐναλίων, πάντων τε κτηνῶν χερσαίων·*
ἑρπετῶν τε καὶ θηρίων ἐγενόμην ὄντως χείρων,
παραβὰς τὰς ἐντολάς σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀλόγων φύσιν.

This is the way I would present the text; but it is not how the two editors of Symeon the New Theologian print these lines. In their editions each octosyllable is presented as a separate line.

Tripling is less common in other unprosodic metres, but as I pointed out at §5.6.1 (ii), isolated half-lines can occasionally be found in the unprosodic dodecasyllable and the political verse. To reiterate the example I gave there, the three half-lines in Symeon NTh 20.217–218 εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρώην μου ὁ νοῦς / περὶ σοῦ φαντασθῆναι / καθαρῶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο form a triplet.

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[255] This is the reading of the manuscript: see LAUXTERMANN 2012: 205. Ps. Psellos 54, title of psalm 72 (ed. WESTERINK 1992: 364) offers δεσπότου instead of Θεοῦ τε; Vat. gr. 1823 [68452] (ed. CICCOLELLA 1991: 52) offers only the first two octosyllables.

[256] Half-lines 37–45. For more information, see chapter 17, p. 170, n. 25.

[257] In LAUXTERMANN 1999b: 53 and 94, I incorrectly stated that Arsenios abandoned the paired colon structure; I would now say that most of his lines are paired, with a number of triplets here and there. For an example of how this works out in practice, see chapter 11, p. 63.

[258] As MAAS 1922: 331 and KAMBYLIS 1976: cccxli rightly point out, Symeon's octosyllables tend to have a paired colon structure, with a preference for a distichic structure 8 + 8 // 8 + 8. When they don't, it is almost always triplets that get in the way.

(5.6.3) *Combinations*

One of the beauties of Byzantine versification is how easy it is to shift from one metre to another, almost surreptitiously, as in the smooth transition from political verse to hexameter in the middle of Tzetzes' *Histories*, §369. In this hexametric passage (11.212–222) Tzetzes makes fun of the city eparch who had questioned his knowledge of rhetoric and had promoted someone else instead. In line 11.214, Tzetzes ingeniously identifies this rival as πετρομαχασκοπάπουτζον, / τζαγγάριον, ξυλοσούβλην, 'stony-hole-shoed, wooden-awled cobbler':[259] please note that this line is both a dactylic hexameter with medial caesura and a political verse with synizesis in τζαγγάριον! A comparable overlap of hexameter and political verse is Psellos 7.322–325, in which the poet quotes *Odyssey* 5.293–296 in the original with only minor interventions.

Another good example of mixing up metres is a colophon verse in ms. Utin. 264 [64409] (a. 1317), which combines various clichés:

ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδα
καὶ οἱ θαλαττεύοντες τοῦ φθάσαι εἰς λιμένα,
οὕτω καὶ οἱ βιβλογράφοντες εὑρεῖν βιβλίου τέλος.[260]

The first line is 7 + 5, the second 7 + 7, and the third 8 + 7 (with synizesis of καὶ οἱ): almost without noticing it we have moved from dodecasyllable to political verse in just three lines. Combinations of dodecasyllable and political verse may also be found in verse inscriptions: e.g. Rhoby I, no. 24: ten dodecasyllables followed by seven political verses, and no. 242: a combination of six dodecasyllables, two political verses and one paired heptasyllable.

Symeon the New Theologian, Manganeios Prodromos and, above all, John Tzetzes are fond of mixing metres, usually dodecasyllable and political verse, but other combinations are also attested. In hymns 20.1–97 & 98–246, 21.1–467 & 468–499, 45.1–25 & 26–127, Symeon NTh moves from twelve- to fifteen-syllable verse; in hymn 39.1–40 & 41–83 he moves in the opposite direction. Manganeios 6.1–151 and 203–275 are in political verse, but lines 152–202 in dodecasyllable; likewise, poem 42 is in political verse, but its last 37 lines are in dodecasyllable. Tzetzes likes to quote himself: this is why his otherwise fifteen-syllable *Histories* have long passages in dodecasyllable (10.544–545, 11.890–997, 12.259–290, 12.503–507 and 12.713–721), all taken from other works by him; but he also has dactylic hexameters, not only in the satirical passage just

[259] The spelling πετρομα- with omicron instead of omega may suggest that Tzetzes' rival was called Πέτρος. For the insult, cf. *Poulologos*, 300–301.

[260] See Boeten & Janse 2018: 89.

mentioned (11.212–222), but also in the epilogue to the first part of his *Histories* (5.193–201).

In one of his begging poems Manuel Philes inverts the order of the two cola of the dodecasyllable: almost all the lines end in 7pp, which is the preferred metrical cadence in the first colon, but which is very rare in the second colon. He does it on purpose. The aim of this metrical experiment is to amuse the emperor with this rhythmical oddity and to show him that Philes is so weakened with hunger that he cannot even write proper iambs:

φύσις νικῶσα τῶν λόγων τὴν δύναμιν (i.e. the emperor),
ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ λιμοῦ κακώσεως
καὶ τῆς ἀδήλου τῶν φρενῶν συγχύσεως
περιτραπείσης τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως,
μή μοι παρίδῃς τῶν στίχων τὴν ὕφεσιν.[261]

(5.6.4) *Distichs, tristichs, decastichs, and more*

The paired octosyllable and the paired heptasyllable are almost always set to music, and the political verse quite regularly. When used as lyrics, lines may be grouped together in the form of stanzas of various lengths: distichs, tristichs, decastichs, etcetera.

(i) Distichs are by far the most common strophic form. Prosodic octosyllables (anacreontics) are always grouped together in fours: 8 + 8 // 8 + 8. To quote Sophronios' hymn no. 14, 1–4:

ἁγία πόλις Θεοῖο, ἁγίων ἕδος κρατίστων,
Ἱερουσαλὴμ μεγίστη, τίνα σοι γόον προσοίσω;

Unprosodic octosyllables, too, usually occur as distichs (8 + 8 // 8 + 8). Take the begining of the second anonymous lament on the death of Christopher Lakapenos:

ἀπὸ περάτων μοι δεῦτε, θρήνους οἱ πλέκειν εἰδότες,
φιλοπενθίμοις χορείαις δεσπότου τέλος θρηνῆσαι.

The few poems in paired heptasyllable are likewise divided into distichs (7 + 7 // 7 + 7): e.g. Photios 1.1–4:

ἀπὸ χειλέων ὕμνον προσφέρω σοι τῷ Κτίστῃ,
ἀπὸ καρδίας βάθους σοὶ δόξαν ἀναπέμπω.

The earliest poems in political verse, too, clearly favour the distich (8 + 7 // 8 + 7): e.g. Symeon the Metaphrast, *Catanyctic Alphabet*, 1–2:

[261] Ed. Miller 1855–57: II, 276–278 (no. Vatic. 17).

ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα ἀπὸ καρδίας πόνους,
ἀπὸ ψυχῆς μετάνοιαν προσφέρω σοι τῷ Κτίστῃ.

(ii) Tristichs are much less common than distichs. I know of four examples: Nikephoros Ouranos and Niketas of Klaudioupolis (s. XI–XII), in political verse; Theodore Prodromos (*Amarantos*, §19.4–19) and Leo VI, *Odarion Katanyktikon*, in paired octosyllable. To quote the emperor (lines 1–3):

ἆρά τις γῆθεν ἀείρας ἐν συστροφῇ με Ζεφύρου
ἀκαριαίως ἀποίσει πρὸς τὴν κλαυθμῶνος κοιλάδα
ἵν' ὅπως με τὰς μενούσας ἰδὼν κολάσεις θρηνήσω;[262]

(iii) In twelfth-century court poetry in political verse (either ceremonial hymns of praise performed by the demes or wedding songs), decastichs are very common indeed: Prodromos 4, 5, 11, 15, 17, 19; Manganeios 1–2, 32; Niketas Choniates' epithalamium; Marc. gr. 524 (ed. Lambros), no. 370. Manganeios 34 divides the popular decastich into pentastichs. Other forms of twelfth-century court poetry include those in hexastichs, dodecastichs and eikositetrastichs: Prodromos 9–10, 18, 20, 43; Manganeios 23; Marc. gr. 524 (ed. Lambros), no. 101.[263] Please note the arithmetic sequences: 5 and 10; 6, 12 and 24. It is not uncommon for stanzas to have more or fewer lines than required: e.g. Prodromos 19, a poem in decastichs, has seventeen regular stanzas, but it also has two stanzas of eleven and one of nine lines. It is not clear whether this indicates textual corruption or a certain laxity in the composition of these stanzas.[264] Hexastichs are also used in anacreontic poetry of the Comnenian era: Theophylaktos of Ohrid's monody on his brother and Prodomos 56d, both divided into twelve lines, i.e. into six paired octosyllables.

### (5.6.5) *Alphabetic arrangements*

Many of the distichs and tristichs are 'alphabets': poems arranged in alphabetical order, from α to ω. Exceptions include: Constantine the Sicilian's *Odarion Erotikon*, Leo Choirosphaktes' poems 2 and 3, some of the monodies on tenth-century emperors, Symeon the New Theologian 6, and the anacreontic poems of Christopher Mitylenaios, Theophylaktos of Ohrid and Theodore Prodromos.

When an alphabet is in anacreontics, it cannot have stanzas beginning with the letters η and ω because the first syllable of the anacreontic is short. What often happens is that the letters ζ and ψ are repeated to make up for these missing stan-

[262] Please note that we can safely disregard all the accents except for the one on μενούσας in the first colon of the third line: in fact, it is the word without accent, με, that carries stress here.
[263] For thirteenth-century dodecastichs, see HEISENBERG 1920: 102–104 (nos II–V) and 109.
[264] See HÖRANDNER 2003: 82.

zas; but other substitutions are also attested. To illustrate this with an example from an anacreontic hymn by Metrophanes of Smyrna:

Ψογεροῦ βίου ἀέργου — ἀσόφων λόγων χυδαίων
ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἄειρον αἴσχη, — θεϊκὸν κλέος βραβεύων.

Ψαμάθου πλέον θαλάττης — κακίην ἔπραξα πᾶσαν·
ἐλέους ἔχεις ἀβύσσους· — κἀμὲ οὖν, ἄτρεπτε, σῶσον

The second distich beginning with ψ replaces the one with ω. Anacreontic alphabets, therefore, consist of 22 distichs (if the distichs beginning with η and ω are not replaced), 23 distichs (if only one of them has been replaced) or 24 distichs (if both have been replaced).

Alphabets may have a supernumerary stanza at the very end, after the letter ω. Examples include: Sophronios 19 and Michael Synkellos (anacreontics); Christopher Protasekretis and Leo VI (unprosodic octosyllables); and Photios (unprosodic heptasyllables).

### (5.6.6) *Strophic systems*

To the best of my knowledge, there are two strophic systems in Byzantine non-liturgical poetry: (i) the anacreontic system, also used in other metres, quite elaborate and complex, typical of hymns, catanyctic texts and monodies; (ii) the ballad system with refrains, typical of wedding songs.

(i) Anacreontic poems are divided into οἶκοι and κουκούλια. The οἶκοι are the distichs or stanzas, and the κουκούλια (also called ἀνακλώμενα) are intercalary distichs put at certain intervals as part of the strophic system. Take, for example, Sophronios 12: it consists of twenty-four distichs (ζ and ψ are repeated), divided into six groups of four by *koukoulia*. In other words, the poem consists of six strophes, each of which comprises four distichs and ends in a *koukoulion*. *Koukoulia* are comparable to refrains in other forms of strophic poetry inasmuch as they structure the songs into verses and choruses; but whereas refrains repeat both melody line and words, *koukoulia* repeat the melody but do not have the same words.[265]

[265] In Par. lat. 3282 [52763] (s. XVI), the κουκούλια of Sophronios 14 are incorrectly put after the οἶκοι. As Matter 2002: II, 171–173 argues, the separation of οἶκοι and κουκούλια may explain why Choirosphaktes 1 consists solely of ionic trimeters; in her view, these trimeters originally formed the *koukoulia* of the preceding poem in the manuscript (now lost due to the material loss of quires). For a similar argument, regarding the *koukoulia* of the monody on the death of Leo VI, see Lauxtermann 1999b: 27.

While the stanzas are in ionic dimeter (octosyllable), the *koukoulia* are usually in ionic trimeter (dodecasyllable). The only exception is Sophronios' hymns 1–7, in which the *koukoulion* consists of two ionic trimeters, followed by three ionic dimeters: e.g. 5.38–42:

Μαρίης θειοτόκου ἄρτι τεκούσης
μερόπων εὐφροσύνην ἄρτι λιγαίνω.
Μαρίης θεὸν τεκούσης
τοκετοῦ ξένου φανέντος
μερόπων χαρὰν λιγαίνω.

As the perceptive reader may have noticed, the dimeters repeat the message of the trimeters and even use the very same words.[266]

The austere beauty of the strophic system in hymn 12, in which twenty-four alphabetic distichs are evenly divided over six strophes, with *koukoulia* recurring regularly, is not maintained throughout the corpus of Sophronios' poems.[267] And it is quite often not maintained in later anacreontic poetry, in which the *koukoulia* tend to be distributed unevenly, with the result that the strophes are of uneven length as well. In Constantine the Sicilian's monody, for example, the koukoulia recur after distichs 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, etc. (the arithmetic sequence is: + 2, + 1, + 2, + 1, etc.). The main problem is that many poets do not replace η and ω with other distichs, resulting in strophes of unequal length, such as we find in Leo Choirosphaktes' ekphrasis of Leo VI's bath-house: 22 distichs, divided into α-δ (4), ε-θ (3), ι-μ (4), ν-π (4), ρ-υ (4), φ-ψ (3).

With regard to Sophronios' elaborate strophic system, it is worth noting the striking parallels in the domain of non-anacreontic poetry. Leo VI's *Odarion Katanyktikon*, for example, is clearly modelled on Sophronios: six strophes, each consisting of four alphabetic tristichs (α-δ, etc.), with *koukoulion*-like tristichs separating the strophes from one another, and a supernumerary stanza at the end (just as in Sophronios 19).

However, the closest parallel to Sophronios' strophic system can be found in the tenth-century monodies on emperors and their relatives. The monodies on the deaths of Leo VI (no. 3), Christopher Lakapenos (no. 3) and Constantine VII are divided into six strophes, each consisting of four alphabetic distichs (α-δ, etc.), with intercalary distichs separating the strophes from one another. These intercalary distichs are called ἀνακλώμενα, which is the technical term for the anacreontic *koukoulia*.[268] But there are also innovations: unlike Sophronian anacreontics, the three imperial monodies have a *koukoulion*/*anaklomenon* before the first strophe, and all the distichs (those of the strophes and the intercalary ones)

[266] For the strophic structure of Sophronios' anacreontics, see Nissen 1940a: 28–30.
[267] See Nissen 1940a: 32.
[268] See Lauxtermann 1999b: 26–28.

have an allometric exclamation at the end. 'Allometric' means 'in a different metre'.[269] The monody on Christopher Lakapenos, no. 3, for example, has a *koukoulion* at the beginning, followed by such an allometric line:

ἅπασα κτίσις πένθησον, σκυθρώπασον καὶ κλαῦσον
ὁρῶσα τὸν δεσπότην μου νεκρὸν ἄπνουν ἐν τάφῳ
(ὢ πένθους ἀπαρακλήτου).

Geometres 290, too, imitates Sophronios. In contrast to the imperial monodies and Leo VI's *Odarion Katanyktikon*, however, this text is not meant to be sung but to be read out. The poem is a prayer in elegiac distichs, divided into strophes and *koukoulia*. Each strophe consists of four distichs, and each koukoulion, of two distichs. Its structure is as follows: three strophes (introduction); five strophes and one *koukoulion*; two strophes and one *koukoulion*; five strophes and one *koukoulion*; two strophes and one *koukoulion*; and one strophe (conclusion) [3; 5 + 1; 2 + 1; 5 + 1; 2 + 1; 1].[270]

(ii) The other strophic system is fairly simple in comparison to the 'anacreontic' type. It is a ballad system in which each of the stanzas has a refrain at the beginning and the end. It can be found in Comnenian and Nicaean wedding songs. Prodromos 43 consists of five stanzas of 24 lines, and the first and the last line of each individual stanza are identical. Nicholas Eirenikos, poem no. 1, consists of six stanzas of eight lines, and the first two and the last two lines of stanzas 1–3 and 4–6 are identical.[271] The love songs in Niketas Eugenianos, *Drosilla and Charikles*, 3.263–288 and 297–322, have a comparable structure: the stanzas are pentastichs with refrain in the first line and, interestingly enough, this refrain is repeated after the last stanza, thus effectively turning it into a hexastich with identical beginning and ending (cf. 2.326–385).

Eirenikos' wedding song is particularly interesting because of its informative heading: (...) τετράστιχα (...) ἄνευ τῶν δύο πρώτων στίχων τοῦ καταλέγματος οἷς καὶ τὰ τέλη ὅμοια, 'tetrastichs, not counting the first two lines of the song which are identical to the last two'.[272] The word κατάλεγμα or καταλόγι(ν) literally means 'song', but often has a more specific meaning: 'love song', and as such is

[269] The paraenetic alphabet of Theodosios of Dyrrachion has an allometric refrain after its distichs: ὦ Εὐταξία, συνέτισόν με. See Hörandner 1989: 141–145.

[270] See Van Opstall 2008: 495–497.

[271] For the strophic parallels between Prodromos' and Eirenikos' poems, see Hörandner 1991: 426–427.

[272] Katsaros 2002: 260–268 misinterprets the heading: he thinks κατάλεγμα here means 'refrain' without explaining how the heading can refer to the '*first* two lines of the refrain' if the 'refrain' only has two lines. He also thinks that the heading indicates that Eirenikos composed only the tetrastich and made use of a pre-existing κατάλεγμα: a popular erotic distich (in learned Greek?).

frequently attested in the Palaeologan romances and in collections of love poetry. Let me quote the first stanza:

*εἰς εὐφυῆ κυπάριττον κιττὸς συνανατρέχει·*
*ἡ βασιλὶς κυπάριττος, κιττὸς ὁ βασιλεύς μου,*
ὁ παραδείσου κοσμικοῦ μέσον ὡραίως θάλλων
καὶ πάντα θέων καὶ κυκλῶν ἐν εὐλυγίστοις δρόμοις
καὶ συλλαμβάνων εὐφυῶς καὶ στρέφων καὶ συμπλέκων
ἔθνος καὶ χώρας καὶ φυλὰς καὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ δένδρον.
*εἰς εὐφυῆ κυπάριττον κιττὸς συνανατρέχει·*
*ἡ βασιλὶς κυπάριττος, κιττὸς ὁ βασιλεύς μου.*

Since the image of ivy lovingly winding its tendrils around a slender cypress can also be found in traditional wedding songs recorded in the last two centuries,[273] there is a distinct possibility that the ballad system itself —stanzas with a refrain at the beginning and at the end— likewise derives from popular culture.

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I began with Lewis Carroll; let me end with Chaucer (*Troilus and Criseyde*, II, stanza 4): 'Ye knowe ek, that in forme of speche is chaunge / withinne a thousand yeer'. If only that were true. Most of us see continuities, not change; bland exteriors, not the pressures from within; solid truths and eternal rules, not the thrust of life throbbing and pulsating through the veins of the linguistic system. If proof is needed, can anyone explain what the purpose is of those sclerotic *indices graecitatis* in editions of Byzantine texts, listing deviations from classical Greek as if change is fundamentally wrong? Or why so many Neohellenists think one can restrict the discussion of metre to the observation that the medieval poem one is editing is written in the 'well-known' decapentasyllable as if nothing ever changed?

The problem is not the myth of perennial Greece or the equally biased idea of Byzantium as a conduit of classical learning, though neither conceptual framework has been particularly conducive to a better understanding of medieval Greek literature. It is an unwillingness to acknowledge that change occurs, and much faster than Chaucer thought possible. What I have tried to do in this 'appendix metrica' is register change when it occurs and describe it as it evolves. I would be sorely disappointed if people were to mistake my computations for hard and fast evidence or, even worse, to think that further research is otiose. Change is everywhere. It not only affects languages and metrical systems; it affects our per-

[273] See Petropoulos 2003: 33–34.

spective and the way we conduct research. The day will come when we will be in disagreement with ourselves, and perhaps that day has already arrived.

Epicycles of change occur at different intervals and with different degrees of intensity. Most of the metrical phenomena described in this 'appendix metrica' are superficial short-term changes, but a few are fundamental and long-term. Isosyllaby and isometry are fundamental long-term changes; so too is the principle of pairing. It is impossible to say when metres ceased to be felt as paired cola; my gut feeling is that this happened some time in the later Middle Ages, but I may be mistaken. Isometry was abandoned in the early modern period: there is evidence for synizesis across the caesura in Vintsentsos Kornaros' masterpiece, *Erotokritos*. As of the nineteenth century, isosyllaby had to compete with an alternative system of versification, based solely on the position of the last stress in the line, regardless of the number of unstressed syllables that follow after it (0, 1 or 2), and then, in the twentieth century, gave way to anisosyllabic free verse.

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For an introduction to the metrical theories of the ancients and the Byzantines, see BUDELMANN 2001.

For prosody, see HILBERG 1879; HILBERG 1886; and, above all, KUHN 1892.

For rhythm and stress regulation, see JEFFREYS 1981; LAUXTERMANN 1999b; LAUXTERMANN 2000. For prose rhythm: see HÖRANDNER 1981; VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013. For the rules of accentuation, see DE GROOTE 2012b and NORET 2014.

For the dodecasyllable, see HANSSEN 1883; HILBERG 1888; HILBERG 1898; MAAS 1901; MAAS 1903; GIANNELLI 1957; LAMPSIDIS 1971–72; KARSAY 1989; LAUXTERMANN 1998a; RHOBY 2011.

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