

MIDDLE AND LATE
BYZANTINE POETRY

TEXTS & CONTEXTS

BYZANTIOΣ

Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization

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TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

Edited by
Andreas Rhoby & Nikos Zagklas



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements VII

NIKOS ZAGKLAS and ANDREAS RHOBY, Introduction I

PART I: STUDIES IN THE POETRY OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Section I: Forms, Perceptions & Functions

FLORIS BERNARD, Rhythm in the Byzantine Dodecasyllable:
Practices and Perceptions 13

NIKOS ZAGKLAS, Metrical *Polyeideia* and Generic Innovation in
the Twelfth Century: The Multimetric Cycles of Occasional Poetry 43

Section II: Authors & Texts

MARIA TOMADAKI, The Reception of Ancient Greek Literature in
the Iambic Poems of John Geometres 73

PRZEMYSŁAW MARCINIAK & KATARZYNA WARCABA, Theodore
Prodromos' *Katomyomachia* as a Byzantine Version of Mock-Epic 97

ANDREAS RHOBY, The Poetry of Theodore Balsamon: Form
and Function 111

KRYSTINA KUBINA, Manuel Philes – A Begging Poet? Requests,
Letters and Problems of Genre Definition 147

MARINA BAZZANI, The Art of Requesting in the Poetry of
Manuel Philes 183

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section III: Hymnography & Its Contexts

THEODORA ANTONOPOULOU, Imperial Hymnography: The Canons Attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. With the Critical Edition of the First Canon on St John Chrysostom	211
DIMITRIOS SKREKAS, Translations and Paraphrases of Liturgical Poetry in Late Byzantine Thessalonica	245
PART II: THE <i>EDITIO PRINCEPS</i> OF A COMPLETELY UNKNOWN TEXT	
RENAAT MEESTERS & RACHELE RICCERI, A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax: <i>Editio princeps</i>	285
RENAAT MEESTERS, A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax: A Brief Analysis	387
General Index	407
Manuscript Index	412

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Introduction

In the middle and late Byzantine period the empire started witnessing a number of challenges and military failures, which triggered a gradual decline – especially after the Fourth Crusade – and resulted in its eventual fall to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-fifteenth century. Although Byzantium became significantly smaller and its political and financial authority became less influential throughout this period, its literary production did not follow suit; despite the dreadful socio-historical developments, the literary culture in Byzantium continued to evolve and blossom. The strong revival of classical learning in the ninth and tenth centuries, the literary “in-betweenness”¹ of the eleventh century with Michael Psellos and other contemporaries, the unprecedented literary innovation and experimentation of many authors of the “long” twelfth century (1081–1204),² the rich production of literature against all odds during the Nicaean period (1204–1261),³ and the so-called “revival” of Byzantine literature during the Palaeologan period speak for the continuous literary flourishing from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries in Constantinople, Nicaea and various other centers (e.g. Southern Italy, Athens, and Thessalonica).

Prose may hold the reins of Byzantine literary production throughout these centuries, but verse comes to play a significant role and very often is preferred over the former for various literary developments;⁴ for

¹ See Marc D. Lauxtermann and Mark Whittow, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Being in Between* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), p. XV.

² See I. Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: la littérature au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Le Belles Lettres, 2014) and W. Hörandner, *Forme et Fonction. Remarques sur la poésie dans la société byzantine* (Paris: Le Belles Lettres, 2017), pp. 97–116.

³ Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘Literature and Education in Nicaea: An Interpretative Introduction’, in *The Empire of Nicaea Revisited*, ed. by Pagona Papadopoulou and Alicia Simpson (Turnhout: Brepols) (forthcoming). See also C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – c. 1310)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982) who deals with intellectual life in the Nicaean Empire as well as in the Early Palaeologan period.

⁴ In order to understand the use of prose vs. poetry one has to know that for Byzantines both belonged to the group of “οἱ λόγοι”; see F. Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry: 1025–1081* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 31–57.

example, the vernacular made its first appearance in verse form with the long narrative poem of Digenis Akritis and the Ptochoprodromic poems.

In order to describe the production of works in verse during this long time-span, we opted for the term “Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry”. However, it should be stressed that this is something of a blanket term that enables us to set some chronological boundaries and shape the scope of this volume. In contrast to other aspects of Byzantine culture, “middle” by no means stands as an indicator for maturity and “late” does not suggest decline for poetry. This label does not aim to signify a classification in terms of value or to set conceptual boundaries, which usually bring about a number of problems in our understanding of various aspects of Byzantine literary culture.⁵ Of course there is a degree of variation throughout this long time-span. The extent of the use of verse by the Byzantines varies from century to century, and so does the use of various genres and techniques. Certain text types, tendencies and practices may be more popular in one period than another.

It would not be a platitude to claim that our understanding of all these aspects of middle and late Byzantine poetry is still incomplete. Much remains to be done even on a foundational level. A considerable amount of poetry is either unpublished or accessible only in outdated and unreliable editions. It is hardly surprising that this is usually the case for poems that do not teem with rich historical information. The most telling example is Byzantine didactic poetry. Not being a repository of *prima facie* historical evidence, these texts usually fail to attract the attention of modern scholars. Take, for example, some well-known twelfth-century didactic poems: the astrological poem written by Konstantinos Manasses at the behest of Irene the Sevastokratorissa is still extant in a very outdated and problematic edition published in 1875 by Miller.⁶ The same goes for the corpus of didactic poems by John Tzetzes; his *Iliad Allegories* are still to be found in the completely outdated edition of Matranga and Boissonade,⁷ while his little known didactic poem

⁵ Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘Contesting Conceptual Boundaries: Byzantine Literature and its History’, *Interfaces, A Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 1 (2015), 62–91, esp. 76 and idem, ‘Karl Krumbacher and the History of Byzantine Literature’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 108 (2015), 1–52.

⁶ Emmanuel Miller, ‘Poème moral de Constantin Manassès’, *Annuaire de l’Association pour l’encouragement des études grecques en France*, 9 (1875), 23–75.

⁷ Ed. Petrus Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca e manuscriptorum bibliothecis Vaticana, Angelica, Barberiniana, Vallicelliana, Medicea, Vindobonensi deprompta* (Rome: Bertinelli, 1850), pp. 1–295 and Jean François Boissonade, *Tzetzæ Allegoriae Iliadis*:

on Porphyry's Eisagoge is completely unedited. Apart from some harsh remarks by Christian Harder in the late nineteenth century,⁸ this verse paraphrase of approximately 1700 dodecasyllabic verses by Tzetzes has been completely neglected by modern scholars.

Whereas many of these didactic poems have been overlooked by modern scholars due to the lack of any historical information, there are many other poems that, despite forming a vibrant mirror of the contemporary socio-cultural and historical reality, are still only to be found in old and outdated editions. The most significant case is the corpus of occasional poetry by Manuel Philes, which amounts to over 25,000 verses. It has been a *communis opinio* among scholars since the end of the nineteenth century, that the edition by Miller, which contains the lion's share of his occasional poetry,⁹ has innumerable flaws and should be replaced by a new one. In connection with this, Karl Krumbacher noted "Unmethodische und oberflächliche Arbeit",¹⁰ while Marc Lauxtermann has put it as follows: "The most important edition, that of E. Miller (Paris 1855–1857),¹¹ is even by nineteenth-century standards simply a disgrace". In the early 1990s Günter Stickler and Hans-Veit Beyer worked intensively on a new edition along with a German (metrical) translation of the entire corpus. Unfortunately, their gigantic undertaking was never published, leaving us with a corpus that teems with problems in terms of authorship, function, sources and so on.

The fact that a vast amount of middle and late Byzantine poetry is still accessible only in unreliable editions is closely related to the developments within our research field. Unfortunately, the preparation of

accidunt Pselli Allegoriae, quarum una inedita (Paris: Dumont, 1851, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967); for an English translation, see Adam Goldwyn and Dimitra Kokkini, *John Tzetzes: Allegories of the Iliad* (Cambridge, MA: Dumbarton Oaks, 2015).

⁸ Christian Harder, 'Johannes Tzetzes' Kommentar zu Porphyrius περί πέντε φωνών', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 4 (1895), 314–18; a small number of verses is edited in Eric Cullhed, 'Diving for Pearls and the Death of Tzetzes', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 108 (2015), 53–62 (p. 57).

⁹ *Manuelis Philae Carmina ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. by Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris: Typographeum imperiale, 1855–1857, repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).

¹⁰ Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, 2nd revised edition with the collaboration of Albert Ehrhard and Heinrich Gelzer (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897), p. 779.

¹¹ Marc D. Lauxtermann, Book Review of Günther Stickler, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1992), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 45 (1995), 369–72 (p. 370).

text editions has undergone a serious decline in reputation in recent years and has sometimes been confronted with the verdict of positivism. In connection with this, it is worth quoting a statement by Lucas Van Rompay, professor of Syriac Studies at Duke University, which can easily be applied to Byzantine Studies:¹²

“It is true that text editions and translations do not always have a positive reputation in the academic discourse, and that doctoral candidates often find it more attractive (or are even actively encouraged) to study a specific theme of Syriac Christianity on the basis of already published and translated texts. This tendency toward the monograph over and against the text edition and translation is to be regretted. Especially in the case of previously unedited and unpublished texts, there is no substantive academic foundation for the lack of prestige in executing such studies. The disclosure and the first interpretation of texts seem to me to be the noblest task of scholars, a task we should cherish above anything else.”

Thus, we should understand that the preparation of reliable and solid text editions is a *conditio sine qua non*, if we want to build our research upon a solid base. On the other hand, it is equally regrettable that in the case of excellent modern editions of Byzantine poetic works of this period, the context and purpose of their textual genesis are frequently pushed into a subordinate role.

The lack of modern editions and the limited contextualization of Byzantine poetry are the two main reasons for why the door to “the wonderland of Byzantine poetry”¹³ is very often only half open, and our understanding of Byzantine poetry therefore remains fragmentary. Fortunately, this seems to have gradually changed over the last years thanks to a number of studies. Wolfram Hörandner contributed a great deal to the study of Byzantine poetry in a number of studies that take into consideration both the text and the context – often silently and long before the discussion of contextualization had reached Byzantine Studies.¹⁴ Marc Lauxtermann went a step further with his book on Byzan-

¹² Lucas van Rompay, ‘Syriac Studies. The Challenges of the Coming Decade’, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 10/1 (2011), 23–35 (p. 33).

¹³ See M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, 2 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003–2019), I, p. 7.

¹⁴ Hörandner, *Forme et fonction: remarques sur la poésie dans la société byzantine* and idem, ‘Poetry and Romances’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys with John Haldon and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 894–906.

tine poetry from the time of George Pisides to that of John Geometres.¹⁵ More recently, a volume fully devoted to Byzantine poetry (that of the eleventh century) was edited by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen,¹⁶ and it was followed by the book “Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry: 1025–1081” by Bernard, which is the first full study on the poetry of the eleventh century.¹⁷ What is more, Ivan Drpić has undertaken sterling work in the field of epigrammatic poetry of the Komnenian and Palaeologan periods.¹⁸

But despite all these magisterial studies, much work remains to be done in various fields. This volume aims to take a small step in that direction. Although it includes studies on poetry from the early tenth to the fifteenth centuries, the main focus is placed on that of the Komnenian and Palaeologan periods. The last four centuries cry out for much more attention, since the studies by Lauxtermann and Bernard have covered the period between the seventh to the eleventh centuries. As indicated in the title, the theoretical background of this volume is very simple: like many other studies on the literary culture of various traditions, it builds upon the pattern of text and context. However conventional it may sound, it is the main tool that will enable us to further our understanding of Byzantine poetry. The reader will immediately notice that the volume consists of two parts. The first part includes nine studies; the second, two papers on a completely unknown twelfth-century poem. The first part, in turn, is divided into three further main thematic sections with a certain overlapping: “Forms, Perceptions and Functions”, “Authors and Texts”, and “Hymnography and Its Contexts”.

The first section opens with the study by Floris Bernard on the perception of the dodecasyllable in Byzantium. By building on studies by Marc Lauxtermann and Wolfram Hörandner, he presents new insights

¹⁵ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*.

¹⁶ Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (eds), *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2012). However, it is not the first volume on Byzantine poetry; see Panagiotis Agapitos, Martin Hinterberger and Paolo Odorico, *Doux remède...: poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IV^e colloque international philologique ERMENÉIA, Paris, 23–24–25 février 2006 organisé par l'E.H.E.S.S. et l'Université de Chypre* (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2009).

¹⁷ Bernard, *Byzantine Secular Poetry*.

¹⁸ Ivan Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). See also *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, 4 vols, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby and Anneliese Paul (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009–2018).

about the dichotomy between the theory and practice of this meter. Although the Byzantines claim that its rhythm builds upon the quantitative prosody, in practice their feeling is based on the alternating of stressed and unstressed syllables (the so-called on-beat and off-beat positions). Bernard draws our attention to a number of indirect materials that afford us a glimpse of the real Byzantine conception of rhythm, including didactic poems that were meant to teach aspiring students the composition of the dodecasyllable, the punctuation and accentuation of dodecasyllabic poetry in the manuscripts, and book epigrams that vacillate between prose and verse. On the other hand, Nikos Zagklas discusses the symbiosis of different meters within a poetic cycle. A number of twelfth-century authors, including Theodore Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos, and Euthymios Tornikes, composed cycles of poems or stanzas in different meters. It is argued that this is a Komnenian trend that enabled many poets working on commission to lay new ground in various types of occasional poetry, ranging from monodies and epithalamia to imperial encomia.

The second section opens with Maria Tomadaki's paper on the reception of classical tradition in John Geometres' iambic poems that are preserved in the thirteenth-century codex Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352. The paper focuses on the iambic poems, which are dedicated to ancient Greek authors or associated with material from ancient Greek literature. The analysis reveals that Geometres made extended use of quotations, motifs, and vocabulary from ancient Greek literature (e.g. Homer, ancient Greek tragedy, and Menander), always adjusted to the needs of his poetry. This tells us a great deal about the level of the poet's education. What is more, it is argued that the reshaping of classical models should be placed within the context of the resurgence of classical learning in the tenth century. The paper by Przemysław Marciniak and Katarzyna Warcaba discusses Theodore Prodromos' *Katomyomachia*. Although the work was edited in 1968 by Herbert Hunger, it has hardly been discussed in terms of content, genre and sources. Their paper argues that *Katomyomachia* should not be seen as a drama, but as a Byzantine version of mock-heroic epic (with some dramatic elements) and a counterpart to the ancient Greek *Batrachomyomachia*. Andreas Rhoby takes us to the late twelfth century and the poetic work of Theodore Balsamon, which is mainly transmitted in the famous manuscript Marcianus Gr. 524. He appears to be one of the most active poets in this period with a corpus that includes heterogeneous text types, such as epitaphs, book epigrams religious epigrams concerned with various depictions, and even some

playful poems on schedography. In discussing questions of genres and function, he offers the first full study of this late Komnenian poet, who composed poetry for his own use and for other individuals.

Although the paper by Krystina Kubina shifts our attention from the Komnenian to the Palaeologan period, its subject matter is of crucial importance to the former period too. By combining a very detailed discussion of “genre theory” with a close reading of Philes’ poetry, she questions whether it is appropriate to speak of a genre of ‘begging poetry’ (at least in the case of Philes). She argues that a huge portion of his poetry (c. 6,000 verses) should be considered epistolary poems. This opens the door to a thus far unknown aspect of Philes’ corpus and Byzantine poetry more broadly. As with Krystina Kubina, Marina Bazzani also focuses on the poetry of Manuel Philes. She explores the “art of requesting” spiritual or material gifts across a large number of his poems directed to various recipients. The content and language of each poem adapts to the needs of Philes’ request and the social status of his recipient.

In many studies on Byzantine poetry there is a dichotomy between liturgical and non-liturgical poetry, be it religious or secular. The former is usually excluded because it presupposes a good knowledge of musicology and liturgy. Since this is a collective effort, this particular obstacle is, to a certain extent, surpassed. Theodora Antonopoulou’s paper deals with three completely neglected canons. The first two are dedicated to John Chrysostom, and the third to St Demetrios. In investigating these three canons, she attempts to piece together the hymnographical activity of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus by arguing that two of them can be attributed to him. Moreover, the paper comprises a preliminary brief presentation of the three canons and their manuscript tradition. The paper concludes with a detailed study and the first critical edition of one of the canons on John Chrysostom. On the other hand, Dimitrios Skrekas explores the reception of hymnographical texts in the Late Byzantine period. He offers the *editio princeps* of two metrical paraphrases of the eight Doxastika Theotokia of the Aposticha chanted during Saturday Vespers. The text of the two paraphrases displays deviations in terms of content and wording. Moreover, they do not seem to be works by the same author. Whereas the first paraphrasis may be a work by John Pediasimos Pothos, the second one was most probably written by Demetrios Staphidakes. The article demonstrates that these paraphrases were used within a school setting in Late Byzantine Thessalonica, since the texts of the paraphrases are supplemented with glosses and epimerisms in the manuscripts.

As noted above, the second part of the volume consists of only two papers by Renaat Meesters and Rachele Ricceri, yet both of them concern the same work: a completely unknown twelfth-century poetic cycle on John Klimax. The first section provides a general introduction, including an overview of the manuscripts and of the poems, the *editio princeps*, a translation, and a short metrical analysis, while the second is a full commentary on this extremely interesting poem in terms of sources and content. The cycle consists of four dodecasyllabic poems of varying lengths resulting in the grand total of over 470 verses making it the longest surviving book epigram of the entire Byzantine period. Although it survives in seven manuscripts, only one of them transmits the entire cycle. These four metrical paratexts, always accompanying works by Klimax, serve the following functions: poem 1 (102 vv.) is a spiritual comparison between the *Ladder* and a garden; poem 2 (226 vv.) is a praise of Klimax and a summary of the *Ladder* articulated in six verses for each step; Poem 3 (19, 16 or 14 vv.) is a laudatory colophon; and poem 4 (134 vv.) accompanies the treatise *To the Shepherd* and is a *laudatio* of the Trinity, concluding as a prayer. The authorship of the cycle cannot be settled with certainty and will bring about a future debate: it was most probably commissioned by a member of the imperial family named John Komnenos, but it was written by a certain monk named John. The discovery and first edition of this long work contributes a great deal to the study of the twelfth-century poetry.

We do not claim that the present volume renders the door to “the wonderland” of middle and late Byzantine poetry wide open, but we hope that it has shed some more light on some neglected issues and has paved the way for more future studies on the poetry of this period.

PART I: STUDIES IN THE POETRY
OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE
BYZANTINE PERIOD

Section I: Forms, Perceptions & Functions

FLORIS BERNARD

Rhythm in the Byzantine Dodecasyllable: Practices and Perceptions

In ancient¹ as well as modern² definitions, rhythm, in contrast to metre, corresponds with a natural sound pattern, rather than being the application of an artificial scheme to speech. It is perceived as an alternation between stronger and weaker elements that gives an experience of regularity, but is not subjected to mechanically applied rules.³ In a stricter definition, rhythm specifically refers to the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables (or, on a deeper level, on-beat and off-beat positions) that characterizes accentual verse. Rhythm, in this definition, became the lifeblood of medieval poetry all over Europe, mostly at the expense of quantitative metre, as people experienced verse on the basis of syllable timing rather than mora timing, as the ancient Greeks had done. Mikhail Gasparov dubbed this phenomenon the Great Resyllabization of South European Verse.⁴ As Marc Lauxtermann has demonstrated, Byzantine accentual verse (also in those metres that had an ancient prosodical background) came to depend on isosyllaby (the strict correspondence of the number of syllables between each verse), stress regulation, and, significantly, *kolon* structure.⁵ This last feature means that the verse line consists of *kola* (rhythmical blocks or perhaps: ‘minimal cognitive metrical units’), mostly two, which are joined or paired together. The resulting

¹ E.g. Longinos in *Hephaestionis Enchiridion cum commentariis veteribus*, ed. by Maximilianus Conbruch (Leipzig: 1906), p. 83.

² E.g. Derek Attridge, ‘Rhythm’, in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1195–98.

³ Interesting for our purpose is the cognitive theory of metre, where the human mind’s perception of regularities and irregularities in verse stands central, thus counterbalancing the more traditional descriptions that deduce metrical analysis from theoretical ‘rules’: see Reuven Tsur, *Poetic Rhythm: Structure and Performance: An Empirical Study in Cognitive Poetics* (Brighton / Portland (OR): Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

⁴ Mikhail L. Gasparov, *Očerki istorii evropeiskogo stikha* (Moscow: 1989), trans. as, *A History of European Versification* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 88.

⁵ Marc D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999).

verse line thus has a composite character, with two verse halves separated by a caesura that functions as a clear rhythmical break.⁶

The study of rhythm in Byzantine poetry is complicated by the tenacity with which Byzantine commentators held fast to the concepts and terminology enshrined in the classical literary heritage. In their theoretical literature on metrics (mostly consisting of scholia and commentaries on ancient grammatical treatises), Byzantines stubbornly limited their reflections to the quantitative aspect of verse, which they still held as the essence of their own verse, in spite of the radically altered linguistic realities.

This schizophrenic tension is most striking in the iambic trimeter, the Byzantine version of which we call the ‘dodecasyllable’.⁷ Quite uniquely, in the dodecasyllable, Byzantines created a metre that partook of two very different metrical principles. On the one hand, most poets strove to preserve the antiquated quantitative principles (called ‘metrical’ in Gasparov’s typology, or often ‘prosodical’) and they generally called this metre ‘iamb’,⁸ but at the same time the iambic trimeter became a syllabic metre (always counting 12 syllables) and acquired syllabo-tonic aspects as well, that is, stress patterns were regulated to a certain extent. As in syllabo-tonic metres in other languages, the tendency to regulate accents started from the verse ending; thus, as is well known, the dodecasyllable favored a paroxytone verse ending (already predominant in George Pisides, and without any exception in poets like Christopher Mitylenaios and John Mauropous). But also before the caesura, certain patterns develop: when the dodecasyllable has a caesura after the seventh syllable, a stress on that seventh syllable is avoided,⁹ and generally falls on the fifth syllable. Also before the fifth-syllable caesura, a certain pattern imposes itself, which seems to discourage a stress on the third syllable.¹⁰

Byzantines very rarely acknowledged these rhythmical aspects. Metrical theorists could only do so indirectly, by considering the con-

⁶ I will continue here to use the term caesura (see also below).

⁷ By far the best and most complete treatment of this metre is and remains Paul Maas, ‘Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1903), 278–323.

⁸ For Byzantine names for the dodecasyllable, see Andreas Rhoby, ‘Vom jambischen Trimeter zum byzantinischen Zwölfsilber. Beobachtung zur Metrik des spätantiken und byzantinischen Epigramms’, *Wiener Studien*, 124 (2011), 117–42, at 118–19.

⁹ First observed as a ‘law’ in Isidor Hilberg, ‘Ein Accentgesetz der byzantinischen Jambographen’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 7 (1898), 337–65.

¹⁰ Here the observations in Maas, ‘Zwölfsilber’ should be complemented with the statistics in Odysseas Lampsonides, ‘Σχόλια εις την ακουστικήν μετρικήν βυζαντινών στιχουργῶν ιαμβικού τριμέτρου’, *Ἀρχαίον Πόντου*, 31 (1972), 235–340.

temporary dodecasyllable as a subtype of the iambic trimeter.¹¹ They distinguished between iambs they knew from ancient texts, admitting resolution, and the 12-syllable iamb without resolution that was still practiced in their own time. Moreover, the examples they quote, whether ancient or more recent, tend to be this dodecasyllabic type of iamb,¹² for which they used the term ‘pure iamb’ (καθαρός ἰαμβος)¹³ or ‘properly iambic’ (ἴδιον ἰαμβικόν).¹⁴ In a more forthright way, John Tzetzes specified that this type of iamb was ‘common and hackneyed’.¹⁵ But commentators still kept silent about any regulation of stress, and the principles of description remained those of prosodical (i.e. quantity-based) feet.

When rhythm was reflected upon by the Byzantines, it was in rhetorical theory, which did not consider poetry (and certainly not contemporary poetry) as a separate object of analysis. As Vessela Valiavitcharska has recently demonstrated, under the surface of employing the ancient definition of rhythm, Byzantine rhetoricians were expressing ideas on rhythm that were relevant to the medieval ear.¹⁶ In his essay comparing Euripides and George Pisides, Michael Psellos hovers back and forth between a conception of mora-based ‘rhythm’ he knew from the ancients, and the new, strictly syllable-based rhythm. As Lauxtermann pointed out, Psellos seems to acknowledge the fact that in contemporary iambs, a jumping swift rhythm was a prime quality, although the eleventh-century polymath considers it a degeneration.¹⁷

One single text gives an unusually detailed and accurate description of the rhythm of the dodecasyllable: the rhetorical treatise of pseudo-Gregory of Corinth, which comes upon this issue in a somewhat improvised, tangential way (see below). For an account that shows historical awareness about the evolution from quantitative metre to accentual

¹¹ Marc D. Lauxtermann, ‘The Velocity of Pure Iambs. Byzantine Observations on the Metre and Rhythm of the Dodecasyllable’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 48 (1998), 9–33.

¹² Lauxtermann, ‘Velocity’, p. 15.

¹³ Lauxtermann, ‘Velocity’, pp. 16–19.

¹⁴ *Hephaestionis Enchiridion*, ed. Consbruch, p. 282.

¹⁵ John A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, 3 vols (Oxford: e Typographeo academico, 1835), vol. 3, p. 308, v. 16: κοινὸν καὶ κατατετριμένον.

¹⁶ Vessela Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium. The Sound of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Lauxtermann, ‘Velocity’; see Michael Psellos, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, ed. by Andrew Dyck (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), especially at lines 16–21.

rhythm, we have to wait for the perceptive mind of Maximos Planoudes. Planoudes actually laments this evolution, spurning purely rhythmical poetry as not being real poetry. He gives an exceptionally detailed (but negative) assessment of the compromises on quantitative prosody in the dodecasyllable that were otherwise tacitly permitted, thus for once acknowledging the principle of *Scheinprosodie*. Uniquely, he explicitly mentions the duality of metrical principles that governed Byzantine poetry, advising to combine both, the 'metre of feet' and 'the rhythm of accents'.¹⁸

This general lack of acknowledgment of the rhythmical features of Byzantine poetry can be contrasted to the metapoetical reflection in the Latin Middle Ages, where poetry underwent similar evolutions.¹⁹ Also there, it took much time to let the fact sink in that the language had changed, the terminology remained confused, and new rhythmical principles met with disapproval. But nevertheless in the Latin sphere there was a growing awareness in theoretical writing and other texts that syllable count and stress patterns were defining features of a new type of poetry.²⁰

The present paper will attempt to offer some new perspectives on the few instances we do have where Byzantines consciously or semi-consciously reflected on the rhythm of the dodecasyllable. In doing so, I will build further on the seminal publications on this subject by Wolfram Hörandner and Marc Lauxtermann, attempting to broaden the scope by including some indirect sources.²¹ I will limit myself to the dodecasyllable, not only because it was by far the most widely used metre (apart from hymnography), but also because it is the metre in which the tension between theory and practice is most evident.

¹⁸ Maximos Planoudes, 'Dialogue on Grammar', in *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. by Ludwig Bachmann (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1828), vol. 2, pp. 3–101, p. 100: ποδῶν τε μέτρον καὶ τόνων ῥυθμὸν.

¹⁹ For these parallels, see Marc D. Lauxtermann, 'Medieval Latin and Byzantine Accentual Metrics', in *Poesia dell'alto Medioevo europeo: manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini: atti delle Euroconferenze per il Corpus dei ritmi latini (IV–IX sec.)*, Arezzo 6–7 novembre 1998 e Ravello 9–12 settembre 1999, ed. by Francesco Stella (Firenze: SIS-MEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), pp. 107–17.

²⁰ Pascale Bourgain, 'Les théories du passage du mètre au rythme d'après les textes', in *Poesia dell'alto Medioevo europeo: manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini: atti delle Euroconferenze per il Corpus dei ritmi latini (IV–IX sec.)*, Arezzo 6–7 novembre 1998 e Ravello 9–12 settembre 1999, ed. by Francesco Stella (Firenze: SIS-MEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), pp. 25–42.

²¹ Wolfram Hörandner, 'Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik der Byzantiner. Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik', *Byzantinoslavica*, 56 (1995), 279–90; Lauxtermann, 'Velocity'.

Iambs on Iambs

As already mentioned, Byzantine metrical theory remained firmly anchored in the terminology of ancient quantitative metre. This is related to a lack of preparedness to consider contemporary poetic writing as ‘poetry’ on the same level as ancient poetry. The remarkable reticence on the formal aspects of liturgical (hymnographic) poetry, and the reluctance to include it into any theory of poetry, are also part of this phenomenon (also on this point, the situation in the Latin West can serve as a contrast).

Byzantine metrical commentaries provided little practical help for the many pupils or students who were eager to learn how to write dodecasyllables. For this purpose, a new kind of texts emerged: ‘iambs on iambs’, that is, brief didactic poems, themselves in dodecasyllables, that offer practical how-to manuals to write verse. These poems are more forthcoming about the contemporary features of the dodecasyllable, both the relaxation of prosodical requirements and the new syllabotonic aspects.

A poem ‘on the iambic meter’ circulates in some manuscripts under the name of Michael Psellos, but another attribution, to Ioannikios, a contemporary of Theodore Prodromos, is more likely.²² The poem describes the basic structure of the iamb in seventeen lines. The iambic trimeter counts as many feet as the bee, and as many syllables as the zodiac signs. Interestingly, in one manuscript (*Vindob. Theol. Gr.* 287), the scribe added a prose notice to explain that this means that the iambic trimeter should count six feet and twelve syllables.²³

Like the prose treatises, the poem takes the ancient prosodic feet as its starting point, that is, in which position of the verse one can use which metrical foot. Only disyllabic feet are mentioned (iamb and spondee, and pyrrichios for the last foot). Thus, this summary description of the iamb can only result in the Byzantine dodecasyllabic subtype of the iambic trimeter. The poem then goes on to illustrate what iamb, spondee, and pyrrichios are, with the help of some examples.

²² Wolfram Hörandner, ‘The Byzantine Didactic Poem – A Neglected Literary Genre? A Survey with Special Reference to the Eleventh Century’, in *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, ed. by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 55–67, p. 62.

²³ This notice is edited in Guilelmus Studemund, *Anecdota varia graeca musica metrica grammatica* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886), p. 199.

The poet advises the reader to ‘skilfully take in your mind the whole image of the tune and weave verses’ (v. 6–7: ἄπασαν ἐν νῶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν εἰκόνα / προσλαμβάνων ἄριστα καὶ στίχους πλέκε). The image of ‘weaving’ verses intimates that versification is the craft of putting together a correct metrical scheme. The word σκοπός means ‘goal’ or ‘objective’, but in later Greek (as in Modern Greek), it also means ‘melody’ or ‘tune’, and the poet surely has this second meaning in mind as well. The wording might suggest that a poet was expected to have some mental image of the rhythmic pattern in mind, and use this as a basis for versificatory practice.

Another poem, counting one hundred verses, is transmitted under the name of a certain John Botaneiates, probably writing in the fourteenth century.²⁴ As a *taboullarios* from Crete, he wrote to a younger colleague in Chios. This fact in itself proves how important writing poetry was in the sphere of juridical officials.²⁵ The poem offers a series of recommendations about which prosodical feet to use at which place in the verse line. In practice, just as in Psellos/Ioannikios’ poem, the recommendations result in a 12-syllable iamb, the Byzantine ‘pure iamb’. Botaneiates also offers a crash course on prosody: which syllables are long or short, and how you can obtain longer syllables by position. The question of whether a syllable is long or short is reduced to its visually recognizable features. About the so-called dichrona, the α, ι, and υ, the vowels from which one cannot readily ascertain the quantity just by sight, Botaneiates remarks: ‘take these as long or short, just as you like, where it fits and tails in best, as long as there are no obstacles’ (vv. 42–48). This is indeed the rather relaxed principle of *Scheinprosodie* that most Byzantine poets, with the exception of a top tier, adhered to, and which was for example criticized by Planoudes (who specifically mentions the *dichrona*).

As can be expected, Botaneiates does not specify the accentual patterns of the dodecasyllable. But they can be gained indirectly. When he discusses the last foot, he gives a series of examples of words that can be admitted in this position. Strikingly, all these words are paroxytonic.²⁶

²⁴ Edition in Studemund, *Anecdota varia*, pp. 201–04, and Edmond Cougny, ‘Théorie du vers iambique. Poème de Jean Nomicos le Botaniate’, *Annuaire de l’Association pour l’encouragement des études grecques en France*, 9 (1875), 90–96, who situates the author in the fifteenth century at the earliest. See also Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1978), vol. 2, p. 53.

²⁵ Compare R. Macrides, ‘Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate. Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces’, in *Cupido legum*, ed. by L. Burgmann, M.-T. Fögen, A. Schmink (Frankfurt: Löwenklau-Ges., 1985), pp. 137–68.

²⁶ Actually, this is also the case with Psellos/Ioannikios’ poem, but in Botaneiates’ poem the amount of examples is more significant.

Thus, without explicitly putting forward the accentual rules, the author illustrates his point with examples that comply with contemporary practice. Perhaps it is indeed in practice, by imitating examples set by the teacher, by having the ‘image of the tune’ in their mind, that accentual ‘rules’ passed on from generation to generation. Interestingly, Botaneiates ends with the recommendation that his friend should not use difficult words (v. 86–93). Poetry should be read with ease, and is not meant for riddles.

Recently, Saulo Delle Donne has edited a shorter poem, which is clearly addressed to an emperor.²⁷ It is very similar to Psellos/Ioannikios’ poem, but even more reduced to the bare essentials. Explicitly stating that every foot in the iamb has two syllables, it goes on to describe the structure of each foot (according to quantitative metre, of course), and in which position of the verse to use them.

Many other poems on the same subject remain unedited; in the appendix, I give a very preliminary overview. One of these unedited poems (inc. γίνωσκε μετρέϊν τοὺς ἰάμβους σὺ στίχους), which seems to have circulated most widely, is very similar to the poem edited by Delle Donne.

The poems discussed here differ from the (prose) scholia in that they do not take the effort to pretend that there was another form of the iamb other than the dodecasyllabic one. This cannot be seen separate from the purpose of these texts: unlike the prose treatises, they are prescriptive rather than descriptive. All of these poems address themselves to a listener or reader. In Ioannikios’ case, this is a ‘friend’ (v. 5); in the poem edited by Delle Donne, it is an emperor; in Botaneiates’ poem a younger colleague; and in one of the unedited poems (inc. γίνωσκε μετρέϊν), it is a youth (v. 2: νεανία). Throughout the poems, the prescriptions for correct iambs are expressed in imperatives, such as ‘write’, or ‘measure’. The poet casts himself as a teacher, and the addressee is represented as a pupil who wants to write verses himself. John Botaneiates promises that the addressee will become unsurpassable in the art of versification (vv. 84–85). In the poem edited by Delle Donne, the imperatives referring to ‘writing’ are absent, but the last line, asking the emperor to remunerate the poet with ‘his most wise words’, may hint at the expectation that the imperial student would write poems as well.

All these features clearly assign these poems to the genre of didactic poetry. It appears that the genre of didactic poetry gave the authors/

²⁷ Saulo Delle Donne, ‘Sedici giambi sul giambo (per un imperatore?) e un trattato sul giambo dal ms. Corpus Christi College 486 di Cambridge’, *Medioevo Greco*, 13 (2013), 37–56.

teachers a more viable and convenient setting to couch practical instruction, and enabled them to cut themselves loose from the heavy burden of descriptive theory.

All these poems are to be found in the very same manuscripts that transmit (prose) scholia and treatises, and are also frequently combined with each other.²⁸ If we suppose that these manuscripts were used in educational contexts, we can infer how instruction in writing verses happened. The scholia served as tools to study examples of ancient poetry, whereas the poems met the demand for practical instruction on how to compose new verse.²⁹

From this perspective, it is not surprising that these texts are themselves in verse. They are a *leçon par l'exemple*, teaching the subject both by their content and their form. It is thus only logical that the prosody of these poems adheres to the principles of *Scheinprosodie*, neglecting the quantity of the dichrona. This didactic method, if we may call it thus, fits into a certain tradition. The twelfth-century grammarian Trichas had exemplified different metres by writing poems (hymns to Mary) in each of these metres.³⁰

These 'iamb on iambs' gave an indication of how the rhythmical aspects of the dodecasyllable were transmitted and developed into a strong tradition, namely, by students imitating the models of their teachers.³¹ Botaneiates may have left a hint to this practice, when he retells the traditional story how Hipponax picked up the very first iamb uttered by a woman called Iambe; Botaneiates adds that Hipponax immediately used that line to teach his students (vv. 7–8).

Compared with these poems, the poem by John Tzetzes on grammar is far more elaborate and technical, dealing with a broad range of classical metres, also those that had fallen into disuse, and he remains silent on rhythmical features. However, rhetorical theories of *komma* and *kolon* do get attention and Tzetzes typically singles out one subtype of the iambic trimeter as the 'common' type, i.e. the dodecasyllable.³² Michael Psellos' poem on grammar, conversely, contains a very brief passage on metrical feet, which seems nothing more than a springboard for oral ex-

²⁸ Delle Donne, 'Sedici giambi', p. 41.

²⁹ Compare Hörandner, 'Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik', p. 286.

³⁰ *Hephaestionis Enchiridion cum commentaribus veteribus*, ed. Consbruch, p. 363.

³¹ See also Hörandner, 'Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik', p. 281.

³² Cramer, *Anecdota graeca*, pp. 302–49. For a (rather idiosyncratic) definition of *kolon*, see p. 316.

planation.³³ Line 99: ἄσπασαι καὶ τὸν ἰαμβόν, ἀλλὰ σπονδείαζέ μοι may indicate that also Psellos had only the pure iamb in mind. Not coincidentally, Tzetzes' and Psellos' poems are written in *politikoi stichoi*: rather than practical 'iamb on iamb', these serve as summaries of ancient knowledge.

Concision

Wolfram Hörandner recently provided an excellent edition of a text that circulated in various shapes and configurations. It was often transmitted under the name of Gregory of Corinth, but is also included in Joseph Rhakendytes' *Synopsis*.³⁴ The treatise bears the title 'On the four parts of speech', and can be considered as a loose compilation of short treatises; one of these is entitled 'On iambic verse' (περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν).

Several statements in this remarkable treatise have already often been emphasized.³⁵ The author considers *eurhythmia* as the chief virtue of iambs. This 'eurhythmic' quality can be achieved by avoiding clashing of vowels (hiatus), resulting in a style that is 'compressed' and 'crisp'. Even some Byzantine metricians had already made the connection between 'eurhythmic' style and the avoidance of hiatus.³⁶ The precepts in this treatise reflect the rhetorical quality of 'velocity', a 'rapid' style created by short kola and a regular alternation of consonants and vowels. While this quality can certainly apply to prose texts as well, it is the dodecasyllable that takes it to an extreme of systematization. These points have been well argued by Marc Lauxtermann and need no further elaboration here.³⁷

³³ Michael Psellos, *Poems*, ed. by Leendert G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* (Stuttgart / Leipzig: Teubner, 1992), poem 6, esp. vv. 92–100.

³⁴ Wolfram Hörandner, 'Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios, *Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede*', *Medioevo Greco*, 12 (2012), 87–131.

³⁵ Hörandner, 'Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik', pp. 287–89, Lauxtermann, 'Velocity'.

³⁶ Notably the treatise of Elias the Monk, see Studemund, *Anecdota varia*, p. 170.

³⁷ Lauxtermann, 'Velocity'. One small addition: the 'velocious' nature of the dodecasyllable is not only advertised by Constantine the Rhodian in his poem on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles, but also put into practice, since, notwithstanding the many metrical defects of Constantine, he painstakingly avoided hiatus in his entire long poem, see *Constantine of Rhodes: On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles. With a Greek text edited by I. Vassis*, ed. by Liz James (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p. 12.

Exceptionally, the anonymous author also explicitly mentions stress (τόνος) as a means to achieve this 'eurhythmic' quality. He advises to alternate words with different accent positions. This is an interesting recommendation, which also appears in rhetorical manuals not aimed at poetry specifically.³⁸ The author also prescribes to have a paroxytonon in the sixth foot. This is an uniquely clear and explicit acknowledgement of one of the main features of the Byzantine dodecasyllable: its paroxytonic ending. Not that our author dwells on it for a long time: he also advises to have a 'sonorous' (εὐηχος) ending to the verse. It is also this latter, rather general, feature that he illustrates with examples, which are without exception paroxytonic words (and preferably without internal hiatus).

The author puts great emphasis on the avoidance of enjambment. He considers it as the 'first and greatest' virtue in an iambic verse. He specifies that each verse line should comprise one thought, which does not spill over into the next line. A verse that can compress a full idea or action in one verse is the ideal verse. Some examples from ancient poetry are quoted, mostly lines that are famous as pithy gnomes. The author represents this 'aphoristic' style as an ideal, but add that moral gnomes should not not always be the result. It especially matters that good verses can 'tell a whole story in one line'.³⁹ This elegant description clearly underlines that concision is the quality at stake here: telling much with few words. Rather than rhythmical style in itself, the relation between content and diction is of interest. In this context, the author also mentions the rhetorical term enthymeme, being a figure of speech that briefly caps off an argument. The enthymeme came to be appreciated from Late Antiquity onwards in prose and poetry alike, and played a role in their approachment to each other.⁴⁰

It is in fact this stylistic advice that leads our author to say that also prose can profit from these recommendations, and to express his famous statement that also iambs are 'some form of prose'. It is of course no accident that in this treatment of rhythm, prose and poetry come so close to each other: the specific recommendations to achieve 'sonorous endings' are the same that defined Byzantine prose rhythm.⁴¹

³⁸ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm*, pp. 47–48.

³⁹ Hörandner, 'Über die vier Teile', p. 107, l. 151: ἱστορίαν γὰρ ὅλην συνειληφεν ὁ στίχος.

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Walker, *Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity* (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ On prose rhythm, see Wolfram Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie

In his short essay, the author quotes various examples, from ancient, late antique, and Byzantine poets, and some that seem to be of his own making.⁴² The examples suggest that a terse, compact, and neatly delineated style can best be achieved through simple sentences, consisting of just one (or even no) verb, replacing prepositional constructions by verbs already incorporating a direction of action; the author also explicitly advises to eschew pleonasm, and generally, all unnecessary words. While the ancient (and late antique) examples have a moralizing, gnomic character, the recent examples especially reflect the author's insistence on concision, i.e. comprising a full story in a few words. And this brings the author to the domain of middle-Byzantine epigrams. Specifically, he quotes an epigram for a dedication made by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, and an epigram on the twelve apostles (inc. Σταυροῖ Πέτρον).⁴³ The latter is cited as an example of how one verse can encompass the six 'circumstances' (who, what, when, where, how, why), a remark that a later reader sought to explain by glossing the first verse.⁴⁴ Especially these observations bring us very close to the aesthetics underlying the poetical style that is so prominent in epigrams from George Pisides onwards, and which, from the perspective of a Byzantine reader, is perhaps most successfully exemplified in the dodecasyllabic calendar of Christopher Mitylenaios, which sets out to honor each saint of the year in one distich.⁴⁵ The book epigram that Christopher composed for his calendar also advertises the feature of concision: he has laid out the martyrdoms of all saints 'with brief verses' (διὰ βραχέων ἐπέων), while they were the product of an 'infinite mind' (ἀπειρεσίῳ νοός).⁴⁶

der Wissenschaften, 1981) and now Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm*.

⁴² For more comments on the sources of the quotations, see Hörandner, 'Über die vier Teile', pp. 126–29.

⁴³ The monostich ἀνθραξ ἀθλητῆ δῶρον ἐκ Μονομάχου, is, as Hörandner observed, a dedication of a jewel by Constantine IX Monomachos. It can be added that the dedicatee was undoubtedly Saint George, given this emperor's personal attachment to this saint, amply documented in other epigrams, which also frequently use the term ἀθλητής.

⁴⁴ See Hörandner, 'Über die vier Teile', p. 127.

⁴⁵ See Lia Raffaella Cresci, 'Διὰ βραχέων ἐπέων (K 83.2). Stratégies de composition dans les calendriers métriques de Christophore Mitylenaios', in *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, ed. by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 115–31 and Herbert Hunger, 'Die Antithese. Zur Verbreitung einer Denkschablone in der byzantinischen Literatur', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 23 (1984), 9–29.

⁴⁶ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, ed. by Marc De Groote, *Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum variorum collectio Cryptensis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), poem 83.

Perhaps we can expand these prescriptions to some other aspects of poetic aesthetics that are salient in Byzantine epigrammatic poetry and especially in Christopher's calendars. We may for example think of the Byzantines' love of puns and equivocal style, nowadays rather disparaged. For what else is the pun than saying several things in one single word? A challenge for the future is perhaps to revisit a stylistic approach, now seen as a quite old-fashioned scholarly practice. But only then can we with any confidence appreciate the aesthetics of Byzantine poetry.

This demand for concision may have carried overtones that go beyond the formal sphere and are related to the moral profile of the author in Byzantium. It ensured that poetry was perceived as 'bound speech', as opposed to the loose, unbridled speech of prose. We have to consider here that in Byzantine poetry, averse to enjambments, the line break functioned as an unsurpassable rhythmic, semantic and syntactic division. Poetry sets boundaries that are not present in prose. Moreover, the sheer technical challenges posed by poetry ensured (in theory) that authors had to restrain themselves.

Thus, when writing poetry, one was constrained to finish thoughts at fixed intervals and to inhibit the train of speech. For a poet like John Mauropous, following in this aspect his hero Gregory of Nazianzus, especially the latter's poem *εἰς τὰ ἔμμετρα* (poem 2.1.39), metre was a way to moderate speech. Mauropous' programmatic poem 1 ("Preface to the whole book") and his polemical poem 34 ("To those who versify inappropriately") reflect on the themes of verbosity and restraint. Authors always had to navigate carefully in Byzantium: using their talent for words could incur age-old accusations of self-promotion and vain display. Poetry, as Mauropous argued following Gregory, offers a way out of this conundrum, because by its very nature it inhibits discourse and prevents idle babbling. Mauropous exploits to the full the ambiguity of the very word *metron* (an ambiguity also present in Gregory's poem and going back to Pindar): besides 'meter', it could also mean 'moderation' in a moral sense: in Mauropous' argument, they are two sides of the same coin. Poetry is thus in many respects the medium in which not a word too many is said, and in which discourse, otherwise left loose, is reined in by regular divisions.

Punctuation and Accentuation

To return to our starting point: rhythm is not a question of applying fixed rules. It is a matter of experiencing certain patterns in speech, according to a cognitive framework by which readers, in their rhythmical performance, measure regularities and absorb irregularities. One of the ways to come closer to this ‘rhythmical feeling’, as it is informally called, is to look from behind the shoulders of the scribe when he is writing down poetry, especially when that scribe is himself at that moment composing poetry (that is, in many cases, tailoring existing material to own needs, not necessarily ‘inventing’ new texts).⁴⁷ How a scribe punctuates and accentuates the verse text that he is writing, may be indicative of the cognitive template by which he experienced rhythm.

It has been repeatedly remarked that the punctuation and accentuation in Byzantine manuscripts often deviates from what we are accustomed to in our modern printed editions, and (in the case of accentuation) can also deviate from standard grammatical theory.⁴⁸ This has mostly been related to the influence of contemporary pronunciation in

⁴⁷ See Paolo Odorico, ‘Poésies à la marge. Réflexions personnelles? Quelques observations sur les poésies du Parisinus graecus 1711’, in *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, ed. by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 207–24.

⁴⁸ On punctuation and accentuation in Byzantine manuscripts, see now the useful overview in Antonia Giannouli, ‘Introduction’, in *From Manuscripts to Books / Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)*, ed. by Antonia Giannouli and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: 2011), pp. 17–24. For an argument to modify modern editorial practice, see Diether Roderich Reinsch, ‘Stixis und Hören’, in *Actes du VIe colloque international de paléographie grecque (Drama 21–27 sept. 2003)*, ed. by Basileios Atsalos and Niki Tsironi (Athens: Ελληνική εταιρεία βιβλιοδεσίας, 2008), pp. 259–69. Case studies on punctuation include Lidia Perria, ‘L’interpunzione nei manoscritti della “collezione filosofica”’, in *Paleografia e Codicologia greca, Atti del II Colloquio internazionale di Berlino (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–31 ottobre 1983)*, ed. by Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 199–209; Anna Lia Gaffuri, ‘La teoria grammaticale antica sull’interpunzione dei testi greci e la prassi di alcuni codici medievali’, *Aevum*, 68 (1994), 95–115; Jacques Noret, ‘Notes de punctuation et d’accentuation byzantines’, *Byzantion*, 65 (1995), 69–88. For the influence of reading aloud on punctuation, see in general Guglielmo Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 2006), pp. 47–48. On the importance of punctuation for people ‘transcribing or quietly pronouncing’ words in manuscripts, see the book epigram from *Athens EBE* 174, edited in Rudolf Stefec, ‘Anmerkungen zu einigen handschriftlich überlieferten Epigrammen in epigraphischer Auszeichnungsmajuskel’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 59 (2009), 203–12, p. 211.

Byzantium. As most of these studies emphasize,⁴⁹ phrasal intonation takes priority over syntactical logic, suggesting that scribes based themselves on auditive perception, and not on silent visual reading. In other words, Byzantine scribes mentally divided their texts in rhythmical *kola*. These studies are mostly limited to prose. But their observations also apply, perhaps eminently, to poetry, a domain where a systematic study is still lacking. The present preliminary overview will probe the surface, focusing only on the Byzantine dodecasyllable.

Punctuation

As we have remarked, an essential feature of the Byzantine dodecasyllable, in close connection with its isosyllaby, is the avoidance of enjambments; that is, its capacity to divide text into equal self-contained rhythmical units. The line break is thus the essential pivotal division of the dodecasyllable, where divisions in rhythm, syntax, and meaning coincide. It would thus seem logical that the metrical line break coincides with a visual line break, in the same way poetry is printed in modern times. This means that at the end of each verse, the scribe would return to the left margin, leaving white space next to the previous line. This is indeed often the case, but it is no hard rule.⁵⁰ We also frequently find manuscripts where poetry is laid out in two (or three) verses per line, so that the page appears as two columns to be read row by row, each time jumping from left to right. Some manuscripts, as we will see, write verse continuously, as if it were prose; and on smaller writing spaces verse lines are often broken up.

In any case, it is a common and near-universal habit to mark the end of the verse with a punctuation sign.⁵¹ This is often a dot above the line (·), the sign one would expect after a complete *kolon*, indicating a significant pause in the recitation of the text. But also other signs occur:

⁴⁹ Especially Reinsch, 'Stixis und Hören'. Gaffuri, 'Teoria grammaticale antica sull'interpunzione', sees more a continuity between the punctuation habits of Byzantine scribes and ancient grammatical theory.

⁵⁰ Jean Irigoien, 'Livre et texte dans les manuscrits byzantins de poètes. Continuité et innovations', in *Atti del Convegno internazionale "Il libro e il testo"*. Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982, ed. by Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (Urbino: 1984), pp. 85–102.

⁵¹ See also Nikolaos Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Commentary and Translation)* (University of Vienna, PhD Dissertation: 2014), p. 167; Andreas Rhoby, *Ausgewählte byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018), pp. 64–66.

a double point (:), (confusingly for the present purpose called ‘colon’ in English), sometimes combined with a short dash (:-).

In image 1, we see a fragment from Mauropous poem 54 as it appears in *Vat. gr. 676*, fol. 24^r. *Vat. gr. 676* is an excellent witness, since it is fairly certain that the poet, John Mauropous, was directly involved with the production of this manuscript, containing his collected works,⁵² and his literary aims may have influenced the material presentation of his poems. There is invariably some mark at the end of each line, mostly a dot above the line. The modern edition, however, often omits these signs; conversely, at the place where the modern edition places a period (at the end of v. 17), there is a dot above the line in the manuscript, similarly to most other verse endings.

Modern editions of Byzantine verse present a punctuation that is exclusively based on syntax, as if the poems consisted of extended prose periods. The punctuation in the manuscripts provokes a very different perception of the structure of the text. Verse lines are positioned towards each other paratactically, in a non-hierarchical relationship. It throws into relief the isosyllabic character of the dodecasyllable, inviting a reading that does justice to the self-contained character of each of these equal rhythmical units.

It is difficult to infer a hierarchy among the punctuation marks used in the manuscript. Also in the punctuation of prose texts, it is hazardous to posit a commonly used ‘system’: there may be some regularity in one manuscript or one group of manuscripts, but there is no coherent ‘Byzantine punctuation’ for prose,⁵³ and as far as there was one, it cannot be readily applied to poetry.

The punctuation of verse-internal divisions also merits some attention. These caesuras, called *Binnenschlüsse* by Maas, indicate a division between two *kola* (or *kommata*) within the verse, mostly after the fifth

⁵² Daniele Bianconi, ‘«Piccolo assaggio di abbondante fragranza». Giovanni Mauropode e il *Vat. gr. 676*’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 61 (2011), 89–103.

⁵³ Hence, it is hazardous to extrapolate the findings in Perria, ‘L’interpunzione nei manoscritti della “collezione filosofica” and Gaffuri, ‘Teoria grammaticale antica sull’interpunzione’, since they are limited to a specific group of manuscripts. The majority of scribes do not seem to consciously distinguish between *stigma teleia* or *ano* (raised dot) and *stigma mese* (middle dot): see Raimondo Tocci, ‘Zur Interpunktion in Codices der Palaeogenzeit’, in *From Manuscripts to Books / Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)*, ed. by Antonia Giannouli and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: 2011), pp. 193–206, at p. 195 and Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos*, pp. 167–68.

syllable, but sometimes after the seventh,⁵⁴ and reflect the essentially bipartite structure of the dodecasyllable (therefore, ‘internal verse pause’ would probably be a more correct English term, but ‘caesura’ has stuck in scholarship). In the example taken from *Vat. gr.* 676, there are punctuation signs in v. 14 (after κατέσχε) and in v. 15 (after ἄλλο), absent in the modern printed edition. These commas correspond with the positions in the dodecasyllable where the caesura falls. This is especially relevant for v. 15, where the reader might automatically make a pause after the fifth syllable (οὐδέν) where there is a word break as well. With his punctuation, Mauropous (or the scribe working under his close supervision) ensured that the reader on first sight would divide the verse in the right way.

Other places in the verse (apart from caesuras) are also punctuated in *Vat. gr.* 676. In the fragment pictured here, there is (exceptionally) an enjambment: the sentence in v. 22 spreads over to v. 23; the verb ἐδείξε in the beginning of that line completes the thought begun at the previous verse. Therefore, the poet asks the reader to pause after ἐδείξε, in contravention of the usual rhythm. But even in this case, the end of v. 22 is also punctuated (with a comma, perhaps to indicate that the pause here is less significant). And at v. 20, we see that the verse is divided into three short *kola*, reflecting a tendency also present in the *politikos stichos*,⁵⁵ and of course well known from the rhetorical *trikolon* so often recommended in rhetorics.⁵⁶

In some manuscripts with contemporary poetry, verse-internal punctuation is applied more systematically.⁵⁷ In *Londin. Add.* 17470 (eleventh century), the scribe added a book epigram (inc. ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων ἀγγελία),⁵⁸ where each caesura is indicated with a sign, mostly resembling a comma or the middle dot. This also happens at places where we would not expect any (syntactical) punctuation. The scribe may have intervened significantly in the ‘composition’ of the book epigram, since it contains specific data such as the date of finishing the manuscript and the name of the scribe (a certain monk Synesios).

⁵⁴ For precise statistics, see Lampsides, ‘Σχόλια εις την ακουστικὴν μετρικὴν’ and Roberto Romano, ‘Teoria e prassi della versificazione: il dodecasyllabo nei Panegirici epici di Giorgio di Pisidia’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 78 (1985), 1–22.

⁵⁵ K. Romainos, *Ο νόμος των τριῶν στο δημοτικὸ τραγούδι* (Athens: 1963).

⁵⁶ Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich: Hueber, 1960), § 733.

⁵⁷ Some of these examples are discussed in Floris Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry (1025–1081)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 76–79.

⁵⁸ See Kristoffel Demoen e.a., *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (last consulted 15 March 2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/230>, henceforth: DBBE.

In *Barb. gr.* 520, a late twelfth-century gospel manuscript from the Land of Otranto,⁵⁹ there is a set of epigrams on the Evangelists.⁶⁰ The *mise en page* of these epigrams is highly variable, with verses sometimes written line by line, sometimes broken up, sometimes continuously.⁶¹ But what is nearly always present in each poem, is a dot above the line at the place of the caesura. For example, the poem inc. Λουκᾶ παρέλθε on fol. 76^v is laid out as in prose, but the verse structure is clearly indicated by the larger initials and a punctuation sign at the end of the line (mostly dot above the line, but also double point and double point combined with short dash occur).⁶² Furthermore, each caesura is marked by a dot above the line. The impression is one of a series of paired short kola, each consisting of 5 or 7 syllables.

There are more examples, some of them reported by editors of poetic texts. Thus, Mercati signals that in *Messan. gr.* 30 (from 1307),⁶³ in the long iambic vita of Saint Nicholas, each caesura is marked by a comma, also when syntax does not call for one.⁶⁴ In the tenth-century psalter *Bodl. Auct D.4.1*, a series of epigrams on David often leave a considerable amount of white space where the caesura falls, or else the scribe provides a punctuation mark. The modern editor, Ihor Ševčenko, preserved this in his edition, so that the verse lines look like paired *kola*.⁶⁵ In *Vat. gr.* 1702, transmitting Theodore Prodromos' calendar in tetrastichs on Biblical episodes, small dots are added at the place of the caesura, especially where the reader could confuse between a pause after fifth or

⁵⁹ See the description by Santo Lucà in Paul Canart and Santo Lucà, *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome: Retablo, 2000), pp. 105–06, with further bibliography and an image showing another epigram, which also has punctuated caesuras.

⁶⁰ Edited in E. Follieri, 'Epigrammi sugli evangelisti dai codici Barberiniani greci 352 e 520', *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 10 (1956), 61–80, 135–56.

⁶¹ Follieri, 'Epigrammi sugli evangelisti', p. 137.

⁶² Follieri, 'Epigrammi sugli evangelisti', p. 154.

⁶³ See the description of Maria Teresa Rodriguez in Canart, and Lucà, *Codici greci*, pp. 139–40.

⁶⁴ Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, 'Vita giambica di S. Nicola di Mira secondo il codice Messinese greco 30', in *Collectanea bizantina* (Bari: 1970), vol. 1, pp. 44–65, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Ihor Ševčenko, 'Captions to a David Cycle in the Tenth-Century Oxford Auct. D.4.1', in *Polypleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris (Munich/Leipzig: Saur, 2000), pp. 324–41, esp. pp. 326 and 329 for the markings of the caesura. For similarly punctuated epigrams in the same manuscript, see Wolfram Hörandner, 'Weitere Beobachtungen zu byzantinischen Figurendichten und Tetragrammen', *Νέα Πώμη*, 6 (2009), 291–304, at 297–98.

seventh syllable.⁶⁶ Also in verse inscriptions, we find markings of the *Binnenschluss*.⁶⁷

A superficial search in the Ghent database of book epigrams delivers more results. In *Laur.* 4.18, fol. 136^v (eleventh century), a widely used monostich appears as εἴληφε τέρμα: δέλτος ἐξαήμερου: Also in this instance, the scribe may have wanted to remove any doubt between a verse pause either after the fifth or after the seventh syllable, since δέλτος counts two syllables.

In all these examples, the punctuation may have served as a help for the reader to insert a pause of breath, or, conversely, it may be the (unintentional?) result of scribes who were reciting the verses while they were transcribing them. Either way, the verse-external and internal punctuation more faithfully reflects the rhythmic intonation of the verse than the demands of syntax. Rhythmical punctuation has absolute priority over syntactical punctuation. The pattern of paired *kola*, based on the principle of variable verse halves inside isosyllabic paroxytonic verse lines, was so ingrained in the Byzantine mind that it has left visual traces.

The question that naturally arises is whether modern editors of Byzantine poetry should adopt Byzantine punctuation, whether internal or external. This point can be debated. Our habits of reading are so different that it would make little sense to present such a text:⁶⁸ editing a poem is, after all, making a text understandable for modern readership.

Accentuation

With accentuation, we enter a more complex and intractable domain where the influence of (school) grammar makes itself more strongly felt.⁶⁹ The standard rules for correct accentuation in Greek consists of a

⁶⁶ Ciro Giannelli, 'Tetrastici di Teodoro Prodomo sulle feste fisse e sui santi del calendario bizantino', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 75 (1957), 299–336, at p. 310, n. 4. Also, we find sometimes an acute instead of a grave on a syllable before the caesura, which was thus clearly put on a par in this respect with a (grammatical) division.

⁶⁷ Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), pp. 81–82, and Rhoby, 'Interpunktionszeichen in byzantinischen Versinschriften' (forthcoming).

⁶⁸ As argued by Marc D. Lauxtermann, 'His, and Not His: The Poems of the Late Gregory the Monk', in *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature: Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. by Aglae Pizzone (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 77–86, at p. 85, n. 22.

⁶⁹ On Byzantine accentuation, see the recent study of Jacques Noret, 'L'accentuation byzantine: en quoi et pourquoi elle diffère de l'accentuation savante actuelle, parfois absurde', in *The Language of Learned Byzantine Literature*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 96–146. The second volume of Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts* (Vienna: Verlag der Ös-

body of knowledge from Late Antiquity that was retroactively applied to what was conceived to be correct Attic; through various stages, these rules coalesced into a normative standard for modern editions of Greek texts.⁷⁰ The way these rules trickled down to the actual practice followed by scribes is highly variable.

This ancient accentuation system marks pitch, not dynamic stress; in medieval Greek, the differentiation between accent marks, but not their position, becomes all but irrelevant linguistically.⁷¹ Things get even more complicated when this dynamic stress, as said before, becomes a core feature, although not acknowledged as such, of Byzantine verse. Here we have to make a distinction between lexical stress and visual accent (or grammatically required accent) on the one hand, which do not correspond exactly in medieval pronunciation of Greek, and between lexical stress and the stress that is required (or provoked) by verse rhythm, a tension that is always present in accentual verse in any language. This tension comes to a head, yielding some revealing insights, when we have a look at the so-called clitics.

In Greek, clitics are monosyllabic and sometimes disyllabic words that had and/or have the tendency to form one phonological unit with the preceding or following word; the accent of the ‘core’ word serves then as the accent of the full sequence, clitic included. But it must be noted that after Greek underwent the change from pitch to dynamic stress, clitics operated on a different phonological level and in more cases than before, accentuation did not match this new reality.⁷²

Most striking in this regard is the treatment in poetic texts of the particles μέν, δέ, and γάρ (sometimes νῦν), words that traditionally always carry their own accent, but that clearly were, or developed into, enclitic words.⁷³ This is even acknowledged by Byzantine grammatical commen-

terreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2019), contains a detailed appendix on Byzantine metrics, also dealing in depth with accentuation.

⁷⁰ For this process, see Noret, ‘L’accentuation byzantine’, pp. 100–111.

⁷¹ See W. Sidney Allen, *Accent and Rhythm; Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 268–71.

⁷² The accentuation of proclitics and enclitics has always been to a certain extent mechanical and arbitrary, see Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, pp. 248–51.

⁷³ For their accentuation in Byzantine manuscripts in general, see Noret, ‘L’accentuation byzantine’, pp. 123–24 and Jacques Noret, ‘Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d’indéfinis, prétendument enclitiques, l’accent qui leur revient?’, *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 191–95. In prose, only δέ in certain combinations loses its own accent. I thank Jorie Soltic for expert help with the problem of clitics.

tators.⁷⁴ Problems arose when one of these words fell on the seventh syllable before a pause, which was always perceived as an offbeat syllable. From 1100 onwards, poets began to admit words as μέν, γάρ, and δέ in this position (from now on abbreviated here as P7/7),⁷⁵ and there can be no doubt that poets perceived them as enclitic, and hence well suited for an off-beat position.⁷⁶

The manuscripts present a confused and inconsistent image of this specific situation. There was a certain tendency to reflect rhythmical stress (or here: absence of stress) on a visual level as well, so that the graphical image of the verse would ensure a correct rhythmical reading. But contrary to this, scribes were of course influenced by the grammatical rules they had learned at school. Research into this problem is compounded by the fact that modern editors of Byzantine poetry rarely comment on the accentuation of these enclitics. Giannelli and Papagiannis indicate that in manuscripts transmitting Prodromos' tetrastichs, scribes sometimes accentuate these 'new' enclitics, sometimes not.⁷⁷ Disyllabic enclitics such as φημί, ἐστί are variously considered as enclitic or not, depending on the position in the verse (that is, P5/3 or especially P7/7).⁷⁸ The examples pointed out by Marc De Groote of εἰμί being enclitic or not in the poems of Christopher Mitylenaios show a clear (but not systematic) tendency to vary according to the rhythm of the verse (avoiding P7/7, preferring P5/5).⁷⁹

⁷⁴ See *Scholia in Dionysii thracis artem grammaticam*, ed. Hilgard, p. 466, line 18; see Constantine A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1968), p. 166, n. 5. For this brief treatise, see also Noret, 'L'accentuation byzantine', p. 108, who does not single out the exceptionality of this passage.

⁷⁵ See also Lampsides, 'Σχόλια εἰς τὴν ἀκουστικὴν μετρικὴν'.

⁷⁶ Naturally, the same problem also applies to other rhythmical poetry in Byzantium, including hymnography. See José Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), pp. 144–45. The accentuation of proclitics are not affected by the rhythmical developments discussed here.

⁷⁷ Giannelli, 'Tetrastichi', p. 311. See also Theodore Prodromos, *Epigrams on Lord's Feasts*, ed. by Gregorios Papagiannis, *Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Wiesbaden: Beerenverlag, 1997), pp. 214–19, but see Marc D. Lauxtermann, 'Review of: Grigorios Papagiannis, *Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha*', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 49 (1999), 365–70, who emphasizes the rather inconsistent image in the manuscripts.

⁷⁸ See also Maas, 'Zwölfsilber', p. 319.

⁷⁹ Marc De Groote, 'The Accentuation in the *Various Verses* of Christophoros Mitylenaios', in *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, ed. by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 133–45, at pp. 140–41.

Also other examples prove that scribes shied away from accentuating μέν, δέ and γάρ in the P7/7 position. γάρ is left without accent in a calendar verse by pseudo-Christopher Mitylenaios (later than 1100),⁸⁰ and in book epigrams, an unaccentuated μεν appears as early as 963 (*Messan. gr.* 133, fol. 197^r, v. 4).⁸¹ But there is little consistency. For example, in the above mentioned manuscript *Barb. gr.* 520, the scribe accentuates γάρ at P7/7 in a book epigram on fol. 3^r,⁸² and that while he did take care to punctuate the caesura, as we have seen. *Metri causa* is not a tell-all explanation for every accentual deviation: the particle δέ especially was considered as enclitic by most scribes in some combinations (such as σύ δ'), in positions in the verse that are always offbeat (unstressed) but also in other positions.⁸³

Moreover, Byzantine enclitics often throw their stress onto the last syllable of the preceding word also if that word is a paroxytonon (hence, not only on properispomena, as grammar prescribes). Thus, most manuscripts of Theodore Prodromos' tetrastichs write (at the end of a verse) στραφέντά με,⁸⁴ and the manuscripts of Christopher Mitylenaios have ἄλλό τι twice at the end of the verse.⁸⁵ Clearly, this is an attempt to reflect a changed speech pattern where it corresponded with verse rhythm. But also at other positions of the verse (and in prose), accentuation of similar word groups can deviate from standard practice.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ E. Follieri, 'Il calendario giambico di Cristoforo di Mitilene secondo i mss. Palat. gr. 383 e Paris. gr. 3041', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 77 (1959), 245–304, p. 293 (poem 37, v. 2).

⁸¹ DBBE (consulted 15 March 2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2077>.

⁸² In the verse πόνοις Ἰωάννης γάρ ἤρμωσε ξένην from the book epigram inc. ἐνταῦθα τὴν θέλγουσαν.

⁸³ As signalled by Papagiannis, *Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha*, vol. 1, pp. 215–17; De Groote, 'Accentuation', pp. 142–43, and Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos*, pp. 176–77. Compare the accentuation of the 'old' enclitic τε, which shows, *mutatis mutandis*, similar patterns: Jacques Noret, 'L'accentuation de τε en grec byzantin', *Byzantion*, 68 (1998), 516–18.

⁸⁴ Poem 245a2 in Papagiannis, *Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha*, vol. 2, p. 257 with more examples in vol. 1, pp. 217–19.

⁸⁵ In 114.23 and 136.25, actually in two different manuscripts respectively. Both Kurtz and De Groote follow this accentuation. On this case, see also De Groote, 'Accentuation', p. 144, who lists also other examples not occurring at the end of the verse. It should be noted that for example also the contemporary manuscript *Vat. gr.* 126, transmitting Thucydides, uses the accentuation ἄλλό τι.

⁸⁶ See Noret, 'L'accentuation byzantine', pp. 135–37.

It is in any event not so helpful to use the term ‘rules’ or ‘laws’ when referring to rhythmical patterns.⁸⁷ Scribes simply did not bother so much about these accentual ‘rules’, since, in contrast to the rules transmitted as part of quantitative metrics, accentual patterns were not ‘rules’ anyway, but habits that were learned through practice. Scribes (or rather: some scribes) wanted to ensure a pleasurable rhythmical recitation, or reflected their own reading of the verse while they were transcribing it, perhaps silently voicing these words.

This may all seem quite technical, and so it is of course, but these patterns betray a certain tension that is highly revealing about the evolution of Byzantine meter and rhythm. What can be retained, is that scribes attached so much importance to a rhythmically regular reading of the verse that they were prepared to bypass grammatical rules, probably more than they would do when transcribing prose texts.

Many editors, however, have considered this issue to be too trivial, and *tacite* uniformized accentuation in accordance with the standard rules of Greek grammar. Perhaps it would be too troublesome for editor and reader if the *apparatus criticus* would be cluttered by enclitics with divergent accentuation, but then it can be argued that editorial apparatuses are often cluttered by data more irrelevant than that. At least, for students of Byzantine metrics, it would be interesting to read some acknowledgment in the *praeformatio* of an edition of what is going on in the manuscripts.⁸⁸

On the Border Between Prose and Poetry

To better understand the ingrained rhythmical pattern with which Byzantines experienced poetry, we can also look at forms of poetry that were written by people who felt less constrained by the standards imposed through education. That is why book epigrams are such an interesting area of research.⁸⁹ In book epigrams, the whole spectrum of linguistic and metrical possibilities in Byzantium can be encountered. While some book epigrams were the work of professional poets (or re-used it), others

⁸⁷ See, for instance, the expression ‘metrische Regel’ in Papagiannis, *Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha*, p. 214. See also the criticisms of Maas, ‘Zwölfsilber’ on Hilberg, ‘Accentgesetz’.

⁸⁸ See already Maas, ‘Zwölfsilber’, p. 320.

⁸⁹ The book epigram project at Ghent University intends to pursue this area of research. I thank Julie Boeten for sharing her provisional observations with me.

are the product of scribes who had enjoyed limited education and had only a dim idea of some metrical formulas in mind. Since book epigrams are often more spontaneous expressions of metrical feeling in Byzantium, less regulated than mainstream poetry, they may give us precious indications of the cognitive framework for metre in Byzantium: what features were so ingrained in the mind that they could not be left out when someone attempted to write verse?

Prosody (quantitative metre) is of course the first feature to go: many unprofessional book epigrams are written in non-prosodical dodecasyllables, closely adhering instead to the new syllabo-tonic patterns. Many of these poets would be ‘Stümper’ in Hilberg’s notorious classification.⁹⁰

But also in its rhythmical features, the dodecasyllable displays many variations at the hands of less sophisticated writers. A first example is *Crypt. Δ.α.VII*, a manuscript with part of a menologium, written in 1113 by Neilos II, abbot of the abbey of Grottaferrata.⁹¹ At the end of the manuscript, Neilos added a poetic colophon. The verse lines are written continuously, but clearly separated by a colon sign. The epigram appears as follows in the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, with orthography and punctuation preserved as in the manuscript;⁹² I added / to mark the verse pause.

τέλος ἤλειφεν / ποικτὴ ἢ τοῦ Μαρτίου:
 διὰ χειρός τε / ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀναξίου:
 Νείλωνος μονάζοντος / καὶ ἱερέος:
 παρακαλῶ δὲ πάντας / π(ατέ)ρας ἀδελφούς τε:
 ὅταν μέλλετε ταῦτην / ἤλειφέναι τὴν δέλτον:
 μνήαν ποιήτε / τῆς ἐμῆς εὐτελείας:
 ὅπως ὁ Θ(εὸς) / καὶ πρύτανις τῶν δλων·
 ἄφεσιν δωρήσει τε / τῶν ἐπταισμένων:

This is not a poem aspiring to meet stringent intellectual criteria. The faulty orthography is a first proof of that. In line with this, Neilos II forfeits all ambitions to compose quantitative meters. The verses are non-prosodic dodecasyllables. All their endings are paroxytonic, and all of

⁹⁰ Isidor Hilberg, ‘Kann Theodoros Prodromos der Verfasser des Χριστὸς πάσγων sein?’, *Wiener Studien*, 8 (1886), 282–314.

⁹¹ Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 11 vols (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934–1945) vol. 10, p. 16 and plate 743. See also Antonio Rocchi, *Codices cryptenses, seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati* (Grottaferrata: Typis Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae, 1883), pp. 202–03.

⁹² DBBE (consulted 15 March 2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2100>.

them have a clear caesura after fifth or seventh syllable. But the number of syllables is unstable. Most verses have 12 syllables, but verses 4 and 5 have 14. This becomes understandable if we suppose that Neilos devised his verses on the basis of verse halves, that is, *kola* of 5 or 7 syllables. In the ‘deviant’ verse lines, he made a combination of twice 7 syllables. Thinking in these *kola* was crucial to Neilos: there is no point in adding τε in verse 2 and 8, except from making sure that the verse halves, the *kola*, have the right amount of syllables.

We see the same tendency in the many epigrams that display some variant of the well-known and extremely popular epigram that begins with ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίροντες. The many occurrences with faulty orthography and defective meter suggest that this epigram lived as a formula (or rather: some combination of formulas) in the minds of the scribes, almost in the manner of orally transmitted poetry. In *Paris. Coislin* 28 (from 1056; fol. 269^v), and in some other manuscripts,⁹³ we find the following variant:

ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίροντες ἰδεῖν πατρίδα,
οὕτω καὶ οἱ γράφοντες ἰδεῖν βιβλίου τέλος.

The second verse has 14 syllables, as it combines two *kola* of 7 syllables. Exactly the opposite happens in *Athon. Vatoped.* 314, from the eleventh century:⁹⁴

Ὡς ὁδοιπόροις πατρίδα φθάσαι,
οὕτω καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν, βιβλίου τέλος.

In the first verse, two *kola* of five syllables are combined, resulting in a ten-syllable ‘dodecasyllable’. This indeed suggests that the *kolon* or half-verse was the primary rhythmical unit with which the Byzantines intuitively experienced metrical speech,⁹⁵ and in less accomplished poems, the 12-syllable count gets less attention than this primary feature.

In many book epigrams, the metrical paratext slips into a prose paratext through a succession of ‘verses’ that seem to lose their metrical rigidity gradually. This is often caused by the difficulties of pressing for ex-

⁹³ Kurt Treu, ‘Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den versen Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... und ähnlichen’, in *Studia codicologica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), pp. 473–92, at p. 477.

⁹⁴ S. Kadas, *Τὰ σημειώματα τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μεγίστης Μονῆς Βατοπαιδίου* (Mount Athos: 2000), p. 57.

⁹⁵ For a similar observation, on a much broader basis, see Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*.

ample an exact dating into the metrical mould.⁹⁶ Thus, in *Laur.* 8.28, the scribe John left the following epigram, specifying that he has completed the book in 972, on 13 November.⁹⁷

ἦνπερ βλέπεις πολύτροπον δέλτον φίλε,
 ἰωάννου τε πατρὸς τοῦ χρυσοστόμου·
 ἕξαήμερου τε δευτέρας ἔπος,
 ἰωάννης γέγραφε θύτης τὴν ἀξίαν·
 νοεμβρίῳ τε μηνὶ τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτη·
 ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης τε ἐν ἔτει·
 ἕξακισχίλιστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ
 ὀγδοηκοστῷ πρώτῳ τε

This epigram leaves much to be desired: the third and sixth verses count only 11 syllables. Depending on how many syllables the name ἰωάννης counts, either the second or fourth line also do not count 12 syllables. The information on the date is crammed in four verses, of which the first is passable, the second counts 11 syllables but still has a paroxytonic verse ending, while in the last two lines there is no trace of metre anymore. Even the *kolon* structure is not stable: in the first verse line, for example, there can be no pause after either fifth or seventh syllable. All we are left with, is the paroxytonic verse ending. Is this still a poem?

When we look at the manuscript, the answer must be that it was at least intended to be one. It is written in *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* ('distinctive uncial'),⁹⁸ often used for book epigrams to set the poem apart from the main text. Moreover, the verse lines are clearly separated by a line break and by punctuation marks. There are many such cases where the layout of verse lines and other aspects of visual representation can help us to reveal assumptions and perceptions of metre. But that is, again, an unexplored terrain of research.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See Panagiotes Nikolopoulos, 'Ἐμμετρος δῆλωσις τοῦ χρόνου εἰς τοὺς κολοφῶνας χειρογράφων κωδικῶν', *Athena*, 84 (2012), 195–264 for a very complete listing of metrical colophons with datings; metrically defective epigrams are numerous. The same observations can be made for inscriptional epigrams; see Andreas Rhoby, "'When the year ran through six times of thousands ...': The Date in (Inscriptional) Byzantine Epigrams", in *Pour une poétique de Byzance: hommage à Vassilis Katsaros*, ed. by Stephanos Efthymiadis, Charis Messis, Paolo Odorico (Paris: EHESS, 2015), pp. 223–42.

⁹⁷ For the epigram, see Lake, and Lake, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 10, p. 9 and plate 700. See also Nikolopoulos, 'Ἐμμετρος δῆλωσις τοῦ χρόνου', p. 199.

⁹⁸ See Herbert Hunger, 'Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.-12. Jahrhundert', in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris: CNRS, 1977), 201–20.

⁹⁹ See Irigoín, 'Livre et texte dans les manuscrits byzantins de poètes.'

Conclusions

It has become a hackneyed cliché for scholars of Byzantine literature that their subject should be rehabilitated and that it suffers too much from negative evaluations. This may very well be the case, but if our intention is to change this perception by looking for the hallmarks of literary beauty *we* are accustomed to, this may turn out (with a few scattered exceptions) to be a frustrating enterprise. What is certain, is that poetry (including dodecasyllabic poetry) is not a pastime of armchair scholars. Couching discourse in metre was a spontaneous inclination used for an incredibly broad range of purposes. For inscribing objects, for praising the emperor, for deriding enemies, for expressing religious feelings, for telling stories, for teaching. In all these instances, it was read aloud and listened to through collective performance. For this poetry to *work*, that is, to have an effect, it had to have a rhythm that was experienced as such by the audience of the performed poem. The fact that all poets, even the less sophisticated ones, took great care to achieve a rhythmic effect, shows that this is essential to Byzantine (dodecasyllabic) poetry, even if almost no Byzantine theoretical text exposed the mechanics behind this effect. Let us then perhaps listen and read aloud instead of counting, and if we count, let us pay attention to style and aesthetics instead of rules and laws.

Appendix

Unedited ‘iambos on iambos’:¹⁰⁰

1. inc. γίνωσκε μετρέϊν τοὺς ἰάμβους σὺ στίχους οἱ γίνωσκε μετρέϊν τοὺς ἰαμβείους στίχους (8 lines):
 - a. *Vindob. theol. gr.* 287 (fol. 24^v),¹⁰¹
 - b. *Bodl. Barocc.* 125 (fol. 8^r),¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ioannis Vassis, *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2005) was very instrumental for compiling this brief and by no means complete list.

¹⁰¹ Herbert Hunger, Wolfgang Lackner, and Christian Hannick, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 3/3. Codices Theologici 200–337* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1992), p. 299. See also Delle Donne, ‘Sedici giambi’.

¹⁰² Henry O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues. 1. Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford: 1969), p. 201.

- c. *Ambros. gr.* 52 (fol. 262^v),¹⁰³
 d. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 302 (*in fine*),¹⁰⁴
 e. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 150 (fol. 54^v),¹⁰⁵
 f. *Vat. gr.* 1357 (fols 40^v–41^r).¹⁰⁶
2. inc. στίχους ἰάμβους εἰ μετρεῖν ζητεῖς φίλε: *Bodl. Barocc.* 115 (fol. 172^r)¹⁰⁷
 3. inc. γίνωσκε τέκνον τῶν ἰαμβικῶν στίχων: *Athos Iviron* 4327 (fol. 185^v).¹⁰⁸

Abstract

As in all medieval European literatures, metrical feeling in Byzantium was dependent on syllabo-tonic principles, that is, the counting of syllables and their patterning in on-beat and off-beat positions. Yet, in their theorizing about verse in general, Byzantines upheld the pretense that quantitative metre was the essence of their poetry. This gap between theory and practice is most visible in the dodecasyllable, a metre which aimed to combine quantitative with syllabo-tonic principles. The Byzantine conception of rhythm can therefore only be gleaned through indirect testimonies. Rhetorical theory is one of these. It is striking that some rhetoricians recommend concision as a prime aesthetic quality of verse, helped by a velocious rhythm. Additionally, didactic poems addressed to apprentice poets offer more practical advice than their prose counterparts, giving a more pragmatic view on rhythm and prosody in the dodecasyllable. Another area of research is the graphic image of poetry in manuscripts. Punctuation and accentuation of verse texts in manuscripts suggest that rhythmical pronunciation takes dominance over (or

¹⁰³ A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1906), p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ Henry M. Stevenson, *Codices manuscriptorum palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Città del Vaticano: E. Typographeo Vaticano, 1885), p. 171.

¹⁰⁵ V. Capocci, *Codices barberiniani graeci. Tomus I, codices 1–163* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958), p. 259, digital image of this folium online on http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.150/0116.

¹⁰⁶ Reference in Capocci, *Ibid.* Digital image on https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1357/0045.

¹⁰⁷ Coxe, *Greek manuscripts*, p. 191.

¹⁰⁸ Spyridon P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων* (Cambridge: 1895), vol. 2, p. 59.

conflicts with) standard grammatical rules. Scribes often avoided accentuating words on off-beat positions, confirming the enclitic nature of some words that were not considered so in standardized grammar. Punctuation in many manuscripts divided verse in rhythmical *kola*, frequently by marking the caesura, in defiance of the syntactical punctuation we are accustomed to. 'Bad' poetry may be another way to detect hidden perceptions of rhythm: in many poetic paratexts of less accomplished scribes, standard metrical rules recede, revealing the bare essentials of metrical cognition. These texts suggest that especially *kola* were ingrained in the mind of Byzantines as the elementary building blocks of verse.

Καί ποινὴ δεινὸς πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος
ἀφροκατὰ χεῖρας· καὶ μὴ ἀζάει λείπει·
ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἄλλο· πλὴν κρημασιλόου·
ἀλλοῦ τὸ σάτι χρέμα καὶ ἡμῶν μοῖρος,
πάντων ἀκοσμάτων τε καὶ θάματων·
οὕτως ἀρα κρατῆς τῶν κρημασιλόου·
ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν καὶ φιλαμῶν ποσὶ θάει,
ἐθελῶν ἢ ἄλλοι οὐδὲν· ἀξίως μὲν·
ἀλλὰ φρορεῖ μὲν ἄσθενῶν τῶν πάντων·
ὅλας δὲ καὶ μὲν ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ μὲν·
ἐμὲν δὲ διπλοῦν ἄνθρωπος ἔχειν ἄσθενῶν·
ὁμοῦ μὲν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ὁμοῦ δὲ λαμῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
λαμῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
καὶ μὲν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ἐδὲ ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ὡς καὶ ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ἐπὶ δὲ ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ὅτι ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
εἰς ὅτι ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·
οὕτως ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν ἄσθενῶν·

Fig. 1: Vaticanus graecus 676, fol. 24r. Copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

NIKOS ZAGKLAS

Metrical *Polyeideia* and Generic Innovation in the Twelfth Century:

*The Multimetric Cycles of Occasional Poetry**

Metrical versatility is an important quality both in Greek and Latin poetic traditions, from Antiquity to medieval times and beyond. Already in the third century BCE, Callimachus' poetic *πολυειδεα*¹ is not only associated with the multigeneric qualities, but also the metrical heterogeneity the Cyrenean poet strived to bestow on his *Iambi*.² In the first century BCE, the Latin poet Catullus, who was well acquainted with the Callimachean poetics,³ wrote a group of sixty poems known under the title *polymetra*, since they are composed in various genres and meters.⁴ Metrical

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¹ The term *πολυειδεα* is not used in Callimachus' poems, but in a later prose summary of Callimachus' *Iambi* known as Milan Diegeseis (cf. Dieg. IX 35); see Maria Rosaria Falivene, "The *Diegeseis* Papyrus: Archaeological Context, Format, and Contents," in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Luigi Lehnus, Susan Stephens (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 81–92.

² For *Polyeideia* in *Iambi*, a group of at least thirteen short poems in different genres and meters, see Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, *Polyeideia: The Iambi of Callimachus and the Archaic Iambic Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 9, 84, and 101. See also Emanuele Lelli, *Critica e polemiche letterarie nei "Giambi" di Callimaco* (Alessandria: Ed. Dell'Orso, 2004), p. 104 and Yannick Durbec, 'Individual Figures in Callimachus,' in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Luigi Lehnus, Susan Stephens (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 474–92, at 484.

³ See, for instance, *Alessandro Barchiesi*, 'Roman Callimachus,' in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Luigi Lehnus, Susan Stephens (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 511–34 and Peter E. Knox, 'Catullus and Callimachus,' in *A Companion to Catullus. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*, ed. by Marilyn B. Skinner (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 151–71.

⁴ On the issue of generic and metrical variation in Catullus' corpus, see Therese Fuhrer, 'The Question of Genre and Metre in Catullus' Polymetrics,' *Quaderni Urbinate di Cultura Classica, New Series*, 46, No. 1 (1994), 95–108.

Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Texts and Contexts, ed. by Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas, *Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization*, 14 (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 43–70

and generic *polyeideia* continued to be of significant importance for many celebrated authors even in Byzantium. The *Στίχοι διάφοροι* by Christopher Mitylenaios consist of 145 poems in different meters. Although the lion's share (that is, 129 poems) is written in dodecasyllables, there are eighteen in dactylic hexameters, three in elegiac couplets, and one in anacreontics.⁵ The same holds true for Theodore Prodromos' collection of the "historical poems",⁶ which includes no fewer than seventy-nine poems in a number of various meters: forty-one poems in dodecasyllables, twenty-five in dekasyllables, sixteen in dactylic hexameters, one in pentameter and another one in anacreontics.⁷ As with their models, be they ancient or Byzantine, Mitylenaios and Prodromos combined metrical and generic multiplicity to achieve *poikilia* in their poetry.⁸

In addition to the production of *polymetric* outputs, the adherence of the Byzantines to metrical variation is also manifested by the creation of anthologies or *sylloge* with poems written in different meters, resulting in a dazzling metrical symbiosis. The most telling example is the thirteenth book of the Greek Anthology with thirty-one poems entitled "Ἐπιγράμματα διαφόρων μέτρων" (= epigrams in various meters).⁹ What is even more interesting for this particular book of the Greek Anthology is that Constantine Kephala decided to include nineteen poems that consist of verses written in different meters. For instance, the anonymous epigram no. 13 consists of an elegiac couplet and an iambic trimeter.¹⁰

⁵ See Marc de Groote, *Christophori Mitylenaii versuum variorum collectio cryptensis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), LXV.

⁶ I only refer to the collection of the historical poems because Prodromos' corpus is much vaster including more than 17000 verses; see Nikos Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus: Appropriation in the Service of Self-representation', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 40 (2016), 223–42 (p. 224).

⁷ Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), p. 123.

⁸ For Mitylenaios, see Kristoffel Demoen, 'Phrasis Poikilê. Imitatio and Variatio in the Poetry Book of Christophoros Mitylenaios', in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008), ed. by Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 103–18; for Prodromos, see Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, pp. 75–109.

⁹ For the text, see *Anthologia Graeca, Griechisch-Deutsch*, ed. by Hermann Beckby, 4 vols (Munich: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1957–58), IV, 150–69.

¹⁰ Ibid. 156; transl. in William R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation*, 6 vols (Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University press 1918; 6th reprint, 1979), V, 9.

Τόνδε Πυρῆς ἀνέθηκε Πολυμνήστου φίλος υἱός,
 εὐξάμενος δεκάτην Παλλάδι Τριτογενεῖ.
 Κυδωνιάτας Κρησίλας εἰργάξατο.

This did Pyres, the dear son of Polymnestus, dedicate, having vowed
 the tenth part to Trito-born Pallas; Cresilas of Cydonia wrought it.

The last two epigrams in the book, ascribed to Simonides and Timocreon of Rhodes, constitute prime examples of metrical experimentations. In both poems the two verses convey the very same meaning, but in different metric form. Take the poem by Simonides: while the first verse of the distich is in hexameter, the second turns into a trochaic tetrameter by simply shifting the word order:¹¹

Μοῦσά μοι Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου υἱὸν ἄειδε.
 Υἱὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἄειδε Μοῦσά μοι καλλισφύρον

Sing me, Muse, the son of fair-ankled Alcmene.

The Byzantines fully endorsed such metrical experimentations by their ancient models for poems with a performative or an inscriptional function. For instance,¹² the fifteenth book of the Greek Anthology includes a three-line book epigram written in the ninth century by Ignatios the Deacon (*AP* 15.39); whereas the first two verses are hexameters, the last one is a pentameter.¹³ Later, John Geometres penned a poem on Theodore Tyron that consists of one elegiac couplet and seven hexameters,¹⁴ while Symeon the new Theologian mingled dekapentasyllables with dodecasyllables in four of his hymns.¹⁵ This practice continues to exist in the eleventh century; we may not come across such metric transitions within the poetry by Christopher Mitylenaios and John Mauropous,

¹¹ *Anthologia Graeca*, ed. by Beckby, *Greek Anthology*, IV, p. 168; transl. in Paton, V, p. 23.

¹² Here I will just provide three examples, all of which written before the first quarter of the eleventh century. Along with some further examples, they are discussed in the “Appendix Metrica” in M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, 2 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003–2019), II, p. 269.

¹³ Alternatively, it can be seen as a hexameter with an elegiac couplet.

¹⁴ Emilie M. van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques. Edition, tradition, commentaire*, *The medieval Mediterranean*, 75 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 248.

¹⁵ Athanasios Kambylis, *Hymnen: Prolegomena, kritischer Text, Indices, Hymnen* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1976), p. CCCXXXV.

but Michael Psellos combined dekapentasyllables with dodecasyllables in his *synopsis legum* for Michael Doukas.¹⁶

The twelfth century gave a fresh impetus to this practice thanks to the appearance of long narrative works in verse that created the appropriate circumstances for multimetric symbiosis. John Tzetzes' *Histories*, which consists of a grand total of 12,668 verses, is an excellent case of metrical *bricolage*.¹⁷ For example, Panagiotis Agapitos has discussed *Histories* XI 212–224, in which Tzetzes attacks another Constantinopolitan rhetor,¹⁸ for being appointed teacher by the city eparch Andronikos Kamateros.¹⁹ As noted by Agapitos, in this passage Tzetzes toys with different linguistic registers and deftly switches from dekapentasyllables, the main meter of the *Histories*, into dactylic hexameters to attack his opponent.²⁰ By making use of two meters and a mixed language, Tzetzes aims to stress his superior intellectual skills over those of the anonymous rhetor who had been appointed to a teaching position by Kamateros. Additionally, being a self-commentary on his own letter collection, or – to put it in Aglae Pizzone's words – a “book of memory”,²¹ Tzetzes embellishes *Histories* with quotations from other works by him, all of which are dodecasyllabic, scattered at various points in the work.²² But *Histories* is not the

¹⁶ See *Michaelis Pselli poemata*, ed. by Leendert G. Westerink (Stuttgart – Leipzig: Teubner, 1992), poem 8, vv. vv. 96–100 and 1073–1129. Moreover, in his *Synopsis of rhetoric*, Psellos makes use of verses that are both dekapentasyllables and hexameters at the same time (see *Michaelis Pselli poemata*, poem 7, vv. 322–25). I owe the latter reference to Marc Lauxtermann.

¹⁷ *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae*, ed. by Pietro L. Leone, 2nd ed. (Galatina: Congedo, 2007).

¹⁸ Most likely, this anonymous rhetor is not to be identified with Gregory, with whom Tzetzes exchanged a number of poems filled with reproaches and rebukes; see Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘John Tzetzes and the Blemish Examiner: a Byzantine Teacher on Schedography, Everyday Language and Writerly Disposition’, *Medioevo Greco* 17, (2017), 1–57 (p. 23, note 121).

¹⁹ Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘Grammar, Genre and Patronage in the Twelfth Century: Redefining a Scientific Paradigm in the History of Byzantine Literature’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 64 (2014), 1–22, at 13 and idem, ‘John Tzetzes’, pp. 22–27.

²⁰ Moreover, verse 214 is both a dekapentasyllable and hexameter; see the “Appendix Metrica” in Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, p. 374.

²¹ Aglae Pizzone, ‘The Historiari of John Tzetzes: A Byzantine “Book of Memory”?’ *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 41 (2017), 182–207.

²² Tzetzes, *Histories* (ed. Leone), 10.544–545, 11.890–997, 12.259–290, 12.503–507 and 12.713–721; I owe these references to Marc Lauxtermann. Other authors, too, introduce quotations from other poets into their works. Philippos Monotropos, for instance, introduced two dodecasyllabic quotations in his otherwise dekapentasyll-

only Tzetzian work that hosted such metrical transitions; in his didactic poem on all types of metres, dedicated to his brother Isaac, Tzetzes composed both the prologue and epilogue in hexameters, but the main text in dekapentasyllables.²³

Another author who combined different meters within a single work is Theodore Prodromos. His otherwise dodecasyllabic novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* is embellished with a passage of hexameters.²⁴ More specifically, in the ninth book the oracular response to the heroes' fathers, Lysippos and Straton, who had visited the oracle at Delphi to enquire about the fate of their children, extends to nine hexameters. Niketas Eugenianos followed suit by inserting three hexametric passages of varying numbers of verses in his otherwise dodecasyllabic novel.²⁵ The first two are songs sung by Barbiton during a festival of Dionysos described in the third book of the novel. The third one is a lament by Drosilla over Charikles in the sixth book that consists of thirty hexameters.

labic *Dioptra* (books 2.311–312 and 3.1164–1251), while Constantine Manasses included six dodecasyllabic verses in his dekapentasyllabic chronicle (vv. 4834–4836 and 4838–4840). In the case of Manasses, the verses quoted are the ones that Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi sent to the imprisoned Methodios; cf. Claudia Sode, *Jerusalem – Konstantinopel – Rom: Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi* (Stuttgart: Steiner 2001), pp. 272–75.

²³ See John A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptorum bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, 4 vols (Oxford: Typogr. Acad., 1836, reprint Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1835–1837), vol. 3, 302–33, esp. 302–04 and 333. Moreover, the epilogue to the first part of his *Histories* is written in hexameters (5.193–201), while the epilogues to his *Histories* are written in a number of iambic and hexametric poems; see Pietro A. M. Leone, 'Ionnis Tzetzae Iambi', *Rivista Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 6–7 (1969–1970), 127–56. On dedicatory verse prologues in Byzantium, see Wolfram Hörandner, "Zur Topik byzantinischer Widmungs- und Einleitungsgedichte", in *Dulce melos: la poesia tardoantica e medievale; atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi, Vienna, 15–18 novembre 2004*, ed. by Victoria Panagl (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso 2007), pp. 319–35. For metrical prologues of homilies and hagiographical works in Byzantium, see Theodora Antonopoulou, 'On the Reception of Homilies and Hagiography in Byzantium. The Recited Metrical Prefaces', in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008)*, ed. by Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 57–79.

²⁴ *Theodori Prodromi, Rhodanthes et Dosiclis amorum libri IX*, ed. by Miroslav Marcovich (Stuttgart – Leipzig: Teubner 1991), 9.196–204. For this passage, see Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Writing, Reading and Reciting (in) Byzantine Erotic Fiction', in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. by Brigitte Mondrain (Paris: Assoc. des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de Byzance, 2006), pp. 125–76: 145–46. For more literature on hexametric oracles, see Agapitos, 'John Tzetzes', 26, note 137.

²⁵ *Nicetas Eugenianus, De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus*, ed. by Fabrizio Conca (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1990), 3.363–288/3.297–320 and 6.205–235.

Thus, in all these twelfth-century examples the authors may exhibit their talent in the technique of versifying in different meters within the same work, but the reason for doing so is slightly different. Tzetzes moves from dekapentasyllable to hexameter to demonstrate his rhetorical skills and deride a rival teacher; he switches from the dekapentasyllable to the dodecasyllable to quote other works of his; and in the dekapentasyllabic didactic poetic cycle on meters he composed the dedicatory parts for his brother (both the prologue and epilogue) in hexameters. On the other hand, Prodromos and Eugenianos switch from the dodecasyllable to the hexameter to indicate that this part of their works acquires a very certain form (an oracle, two songs, and a lament) that facilitates the unfolding of the plot in both novels.²⁶ At the same time, the use of hexameters within a dodecasyllabic structure bestows an archaizing color on their works.

However, after the year 1000, many Byzantine poets explore further ways of juxtaposing different meters. They do not experiment with different meters exclusively within the boundaries of a single poem, but also between seemingly “independent stanzas” or even “separate poems”. The writing of cycles of multimetric stanzas or poems,²⁷ all of which are associated with the same occasion, is a very good example. Christopher Mitylenaios seems to be one of the first authors whose multimetric corpus includes such cycles of poems in heterogeneous meters. For example, both poems nos. 9 and 10 are an encomium on the school of St Theodore in Sphorakiou and its headmaster Leo.²⁸ As Demoen and Bernard have already noted, both of them have the same content and structure,²⁹ but while the former is written in thirteen dodecasyllables, the latter extends to twenty-one hexameters. What is more, the funerary poetic cycles for his mother (poems 57–60) and his sister (75–77), which display a very similar structure to each other,³⁰ consist of works in different metrical

²⁶ See Agapitos, ‘Writing’, pp. 135–52.

²⁷ It is not always easy to say whether they are poems or stanzas. Thus, in the remainder of the paper I am not always consistent regarding the terminology of the sections of these poetic cycles.

²⁸ Christopher Mitylenaios, ed. by Groote, 10–11.

²⁹ Demoen, ‘Phrasis poikilē’, pp. 107–08 and F. Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry: 1025–1081* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 150; see also Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘Anna Komnene and the Politics of Schedographic Training and Colloquial Discourse’, *Νέα Πώμη*, 10 (2013 [2014]), 89–107 (pp. 98–101).

³⁰ Carmelo Crimi (with the collaboration of R. Anastasi, R. Gentile, A. Milazzo, G. Musumeci, and M. Solarino), *Cristoforo di Mitilene. Canzoniere* (Catania: Facoltà di lettere e filosofia Università di Catania, 1983), pp. 20–21 and more recently Bernard, *Secular Poetry*, p. 151.

media. While the cycle for his mother consists of a poem in thirty-six elegiac couplets and three in dodecasyllables, the one for his sister includes a poem in anacreontics and two in dodecasyllables.³¹

Although such multimetric cycles were already being written in the eleventh century, the Komnenian period seems, once again, to signify a major shift regarding the popularity and function of this practice. The remainder of this paper will focus on these twelfth-century multimetric cycles and will discuss the symbiosis and interaction of poems or stanzas in different meters for the same occasion. In the next section I will concentrate on two unique works by Theodore Prodromos and Euthymios Tornikes that afford us some insights about their choice to employ multimetric stanzas and the way these two authors viewed their works. The third section will discuss quite a few twelfth-century multimetric cycles to determine that this practice is associated with various genres and a number of occasions. In doing so, it aims to argue that many Byzantine poets of the twelfth century sought to break new ground in the composition of various encomiastic texts by using as a medium the “metrical *polyeideia*”.

The Dance of the Muses: Singing the Praises with Multimetric Cycles

- ἀλλ' ἔνθεν ἄθρει καὶ στίχων καινὴν μάχην·
καὶ γὰρ συνελθὼν ὧδε πᾶν μέτρον γένος
κοινῇ τὸν ὕμνον συμμερίζεσθαι θέλει·
- 50 ἱαμβίς ἔνθεν ἴσταται Καλλιόπη,
ἠρώϊς ἔνθεν ἢ σοφὴ μυθογράφος,
καὶ πᾶσα κύκλω, καὶ τίνα πρώτην λάβω;
μῶν τὴν Ἀνακρέοντος; ἀλλ' ἐναντία
ἢ τῶν ἱάμβων ἀντανίσταται χάρις.
- 55 μῶν τὴν ἱαμβόν; ἀλλ' Ὀμήρου τὸ στόμα
βρυχήσεται μέγιστον ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους·
καὶ τίς βρυχηθμοὺς τοὺς ἐκείνου βαστάσει
μηδ' ἂν χανεῖν εὐξαίτο τὴν γῆν αὐτίκα;
οὐκοῦν τὸ λαμπρὸν φθέγμα τῆς ἠρωίδος
- 60 ὕμνηγορεῖτω νῦν τὸν ὀρφανοτρόφον,
τὸ δ' ἄλλο μέτρον εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρκέσει.

³¹ See the discussion in the third section of this paper.

But here gaze at a new battle of verses, for every kind of meter comes together here seeking jointly to share in the hymn; [50] here the iambic Calliope stands, here the heroine, the wise writer of legends; and every [meter] in a circle, and which shall I first receive? Shall I receive the meter of Anacreon? But the charm of iambs opposes this from the other side. Shall I receive the iamb? [55] But Homer's mouth will roar loudly from the other side; and who can bear his roaring without wishing to be immediately swallowed by the earth? Accordingly, let the splendid voice of the heroine now [60] hymn the *orphanotrophos*, the other meter will suffice in the future.³²

This passage is part of an encomiastic poem by Theodore Prodromos written for the *orphanotrophos* Alexios Aristenos; it describes the fierce competition between three meters (that is, hexameters, iambs, and anacreontics), which strive to take their share in praising Alexios Aristenos. As might be expected, the hexameter eventually prevails over the other two meters, for it has been the meter *par excellence* for the composition of an encomiastic hymn since the time of Homer. However, it is very interesting that this particular stanza of the poem is written in dodecasyllables, while after the hexametric stanza the hymn carries on with two more stanzas: one in pentameters and another in anacreontics. Thus, the work ends up being a metrical quadriptych,³³ as it consists of four stanzas written in different meters: sixty-one dodecasyllables, fifty hexameters, twenty-four pentameters, and another twenty-four anacreontics. It has indeed been described as a “metrical *tour de force*” of the so-called *πολιτευόμενα μέτρα*.³⁴ Although the use of different meters aims to enhance its rhetorical vigor, their symbiosis is not without tensions, demonstrating that the encomiastic discourse had reached its heyday and many authors were trying to explore new ways to flatter their patrons. In other words, this passage pronounces in an emphatic way the dilemma

³² Theodore Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, poem 56a, vv. 47–61.

³³ Interestingly enough, it is a metrical quadriptych within a triptych that also includes a prose text and a schedos; see Ioannis Vassis, ‘Graeca sunt, non leguntur: Zu den schedographischen Spielereien des Theodoros Prodromos’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 86/87 (1993/94), 1–19 (p. 8); Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘New Genres in the Twelfth Century: The Schedourgia of Theodore Prodromos’, *Medioevo Greco*, 15 (2015), 1–41 (p. 19); and Nikos Zagklas, ‘Experimenting with Prose and Verse in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: A Preliminary Study’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 71 (2017), 229–48.

³⁴ See Marc D. Lauxtermann, ‘The Velocity of Pure Iambs. Byzantine Observations on the Metre and Rhythm of the Dodecasyllable’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 48 (1998), 9–33 (p. 13).

of a twelfth-century orator who does his utmost to deliver an adroit oration in honor of his patron Alexios Aristenos. By including this unique imagery of three meters competing with each other to praise Alexios, Prodromos succeeds in conveying his poetic dilemma and therefore enhancing the value of the encomium in the eyes of the addressee.

In the thirteenth-century Vaticanus graecus 305, the only manuscript that transmits the work in its entirety, there are corresponding titles before the beginning of each section illustrating the beginning and the end of each metrical composition.³⁵ But does this mean that these four sections or stanzas are separate poems or a cycle of four stanzas or poems in different meters? Although they are divided by the scribe of the manuscript³⁶ into four distinctive stanzas (and in Hörandner's edition are rightly presented in this way), it should be read as an entity of four different metrical media, all of which contribute to the praise of Alexios Aristenos. The opening poem functions as a programmatic statement, a kind of *protheoria*,³⁷ that binds all the following sections together. Here, Prodromos stresses that this poem is the third work that aims to praise Alexios.³⁸

On the other hand, each of the three remaining stanzas contributes its own share to the praising of the high-ranking official by focusing on different virtues of the addressee. The hexametric stanza focuses on Alexios' promotion to the office of *orphanotrophos*. Both the sun and earth are invited to bear witness to the superiority of Aristenos, who holds the offices of *nomophylax* and *orphanotrophos* serving the Komnenoi in the most appropriate manner. The appointment of Alexios to the post of *orphanotrophos* that makes him patron and assistant of the poor and sick is described as one of the greatest imperial deeds. Prodromos wishes the *orphanotrophos* a long life and does not fail to remind the latter not

³⁵ They are preserved together on fol. 39^r–40^v of the manuscript. The first 28 verses of the dodecasyllabic section are also transmitted independently on fol. 137^v of the thirteenth-century manuscript Paris. Gr. 2831.

³⁶ Indeed the titles may have been coined by Prodromos himself; see Andreas Rho-by, 'Labeling Poetry in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period', *Byzantion*, 85 (2015), 259–83 (p. 275).

³⁷ The study of Byzantine *protheoriai* remains to be written. For some general remarks, see George Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 147–49. Moreover, the composition of an iambic prologue for an encomiastic poem that consists of dactylic parts reminds us the practice of some early Byzantine poets, such as Paul the Silentiary and George Pisides; see Joseph David C. Frendo, 'The Poetic Achievement of George of Pisidia', in *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* ed. by Ann Moffatt (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1984), pp. 159–87 (esp. pp. 162–166).

³⁸ See note 33.

to forget him. The stanza penned in pentameters is concerned with the office of *nomophylax* and Aristenos' rhetorical eloquence. Aristenos surpasses Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus, Aristides, and Solon, all the great judges of antiquity. Similarly, his eloquence outshines that of many ancients, such as Menelaus, Tydeus, Nestor and so on. This is the reason he was appointed *nomophylax* and *orphanotrophos* by the emperor. In the anacreontic stanza the poet pays homage to Aristenos and stresses that he is the author of these “τετράμετρα μέτρα” (v. 17). Undoubtedly, some motifs are recurrent in the four sections, but the thematic focus of each one is slightly different, while the rhetoric effectiveness of the encomium would not have been the same if one of these four sections were missing.

If we now move towards the end of the twelfth century there is another spectacular ceremonial performance that involved the delivery of a similar hybrid composition. Euthymios Tornikes composed a long panegyric poem of 382 lines for Isaac II Angelos, which consists of ten stanzas of different lengths.³⁹ The exact occasion is not clear, since the poem has come down to us without its title in the *codex unicus* Petropolitanus gr. 250 (no. 454 Granstrem) produced in the mid-thirteenth century, only a few decades after the death of Tornikes.⁴⁰ After an introductory stanza of 28 political verses, in which we are told that all the Muses came together to sing the praise of the emperor, another nine stanzas follow, all of which are personifications of the nine Muses. Interestingly enough, each Muse praises the emperor in a different meter: of course, Calliope does this in fifty-three hexameters, Clio in twenty-four pentameters, Thalia in ninety-one heptasyllables, Euterpe in seventy anacreontics, Melpomene in fifteen ionics *a maiore*, Terpsichore in ten ionics *a minore*, Erato in six choriamb, Polyhymnia in eleven paionics, and Urania in seventy dodecasyllables.

Although written in ten distinct stanzas or poems, each one of which is labelled with a heading that contains information about the name of the Muse as well as the metrical form and the art or science each Muse stands

³⁹ The poem has been edited in Athanasios I. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae. Sbornik vizantijskich tekstov XII–XIII vekov. St.-Petersburg 1913. Editionem phototypicam praefatione instruxit K. Treu (Subsidia Byzantina lucis ope iterata XXI)* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat d. DDR, 1976), pp. 188–98. For some brief comments, see Wolfram Hörandner, ‘Dichtungen des Euthymios Tornikes in Cod. gr. 508 der Rumänischen Akademie’, *Wolfram Hörandner. Facettes de la littérature byzantine. Contributions choisies*, ed. by Paolo Odorico, Andreas Rhoby, and Elisabeth Schiffer (Paris: Centre d’Études Byzantines, Néo-Helléniques et Sud-Est Européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales 2017), p. 95.

⁴⁰ Evgeniia E. Granstrem, ‘Katalog grečeskich rukopisej Leningradskich chranilišč. Vypusk 5. Rukopisi XIII veka’, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 24 (1964), 166–97 (pp. 179–97).

for, the ten poems are not self-contained and they cannot stand separately. For instance, the dekaptasyllabic introductory stanza concludes with an address to Calliope to start off the hymn (v. 28 ἄρχε δὴ πρώτη τῶν Μουσῶν του μέλους, Καλλιόπη). All the ensuing poems are closely linked to each other and the preceding poem frequently introduces the one to follow. Clio, the second Muse to partake in the hymn, ends her part as follows:⁴¹

ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἢ Κλειῶ
τάδ' ἐλεγεία ἔπη,
σὺ δ' ἴθι Θάλεια,
κόσμον ἄδουσ' ἕτερον.

I, Clio, sang these elegiac epics, but it's your turn, Thalia, to sing another encomium.

Euterpe and Erato, in turn, in the introductory verses of the corresponding stanzas say:

Ἔκαμες, πότνια Θάλεια,
ἐπέεσσιν ἡμίμβοις
γλυκερὰν ὄπα λαλεῦσα,
ἔκαμες τόσα μογεῦσα.
ἔασόν με τὴν Εὐτέρπην
σέο κατόπιν λιγαίνειν.⁴²

Τὴν Ἐρατῶ δ' αὖ, Πιερίς πότνια Τερψιχόρα,
δέρκεο λιγυζόμεναν, δέρκεο μ' ὀρχουμένην.⁴³

You've done your part, mighty Thalia! You chatted with a sweet voice with epic hemiambics; you've served by toiling so much. Let me Euterpe sing the praise after you.

Pierian lady Terpsichore, behold, in turn, Erato singing, behold her dancing.

Clearly, all these mutually exchanged addresses between the Muses suggest that the ten poems should rather be seen as stanzas of a single composition than separate and autonomous works. Additionally, it is not a coincidence that they are preserved together in Petropolitanus gr. 250, nor that Tornikes, in the concluding section, groups them all together with the use of the term Hymn.⁴⁴ The character and content of the praise

⁴¹ Euthymios Tornikes, poem 1, p. 190, vv. 100–04.

⁴² Ibid. 192, vv. 196–201.

⁴³ Ibid. 193, vv. 294–95.

⁴⁴ See v. 368: ὕμνον, κραταιέ, τοῦτον εἰσήνεγκά σοι.

may not differentiate significantly between the sections and some ideas may recurrently occur in different metrical media,⁴⁵ but there is always an agenda behind the structure of the poem and the juxtaposition of the stanzas. Take, for example, the sequence of the stanzas by Calliope and Clio: the former praises the qualities of Isaac in war in hexameters and then Clio, the patroness of the art of history, proclaims that she can corroborate the accuracy of Calliope's hymn, for she never encountered such a courageous and noble man.

Prodromos' and Tornikes' multimetric cycles display conspicuous similarities in terms of technique and establish a continuity between the tools that encomiastic poetry of the mid- and late twelfth century makes use of. Since Tornikes was well read in Theodore Prodromos' poetry,⁴⁶ it is very likely that he was directly inspired to use the technique of multimetric composition for the praising of Isaac Angelos by Prodromos and, in particular, his multimetric poem addressed to the *orphanotrophos* Alexios Aristenos. That said, as well as affinities, there are also differences between the two cycles. Whereas in Prodromos' composition the different meters compete with each other, Tornikes achieved a more harmonious symbiosis between them by devising the technique of the personification of the nine muses. Prodromos makes use of four meters, while Tornikes employs ten. Since Tornikes seems to have known Prodromos' poem, it may be argued that he strives to construct a more spectacular metrical *tour de force* than his early Komnenian model.

It is also important to emphasize that Prodromos' and Tornikes' works are unique not only because of their multimetric structure, but also because their introductory poems afford us some unique insight into the reasons these authors penned such hybrid compositions for spectacular performances in the mid- and late twelfth century. Moreover, it is hardly a coincidence that the programmatic statements by Prodromos and Tornikes are in dodecasyllables and dekapentasyllables,⁴⁷ respectively. Both of them were much more eurhythmic to the Byzantine ear than hexameter. What is more, they help the poet to convey the main

⁴⁵ Compare, for instance, poems 2, 31–32 with 3, 84–85.

⁴⁶ See Hörandner, 'Euthymios Tornikes', pp. 116–17 (note 53), 124, 125, 126 and Nikos Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Translation, and Commentary)* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2014), pp. 189, 209, 310, and 321.

⁴⁷ As has been noted in Hörandner, 'Euthymios Tornikes', 95, the use of the political verse does not necessarily signify a low stylistic register but the close connection of this meter to the imperial ceremonial discourse.

message of his encomium to its recipient, which might have not been fully clear if it was in a dactylic meter. The stanzas or poems were read in succession, probably by the poets themselves.⁴⁸ In view of these two poems, we can further expand the picture of this practice with some other twelfth-century cycles of stanzas or poems for a number of different occasions and across a wide range of genres.

Multimetric Poetic Cycles for Various Occasions

Θάρσει τοιγαροῦν ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς περιστειλασιν ἡμᾶς τῷ τάφῳ συνέδραμες· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτυμβίους ἐλέγους ἡμῶν ἐπεμέτρησας καὶ στίχον ἐπικὸν ἐξάτονον ἔτεμες <καὶ> ἰωνικῶ μείζονι συμπλέξας ἐμέτρως ἐλάττονα, μέλος ἦσας ἡμῖν ἐπιτάφιον.

So be of good cheer in that you have not even helped those who covered me with a tomb, for then you would have had to scan for me a funerary elegiac poem and fashion epic verses in hexameter, and weave the major ionic in due measure with the minor, and so sing to me a burial song.⁴⁹

This passage is part of Ignatios the Deacon's letter 60 to his friend and fellow intellectual Nikephoros. Having regained his health after suffering a serious disease Ignatios used a witticism by saying that it is not necessary for his friend Nikephoros to write poems to commemorate his death. What is of interest for us here is that Lauxtermann questioned the argument of Cyril Mango that Ignatios enumerates three meters (elegiac, hexameter, and ionic) for the performative commemoration of the memory of a deceased individual.⁵⁰ According to Lauxtermann, Ignatios rather differentiates between the "burial songs" and "sepulchral elegies", which correspond to the performative and inscriptional version of this genre, respectively. Although I fully agree with Lauxtermann's interpretation of Ignatios' letter, there are quite a few examples of "burial songs"

⁴⁸ For instance, in many of his ceremonial poems for the Komnenian court Prodromos voices his concerns, which speaks in favour of their delivery by the poet himself (e.g. historical poem 14). This is a very interesting aspect of the twelfth-century poetry that should be further examined.

⁴⁹ *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, ed. by Cyril Mango (with the collaboration of Stephanos Efthymiadis) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), p. 146, transl. on p. 147.

⁵⁰ See Mango, *Ignatios the Deacon*, p. 202; for a full discussion, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, I, pp. 213–14.

– after the year 1000 – for the commemoration of the death of the same individual, yet written in different meters. Moreover, it is not always necessary the case that in all funerary commemorations the dactylic version denotes an inscriptional function.

As already noted, in the eleventh century, Christopher Mitylenaios wrote such cycles of multimetric funerary works for his mother and sister. In the cycle of the poems for his mother (poems 57–60) there is an epitaph in elegiac couplets and a funerary song in iambs supplemented by two short poems addressed to the father in iambs. On the other hand, the second funerary cycle (poems 75–77), for his sister Anastaso, consists of one poem in anacreontics and another pair of poems in iambs. All three poems were meant to be delivered at different stages of the funerary ceremony: the first before a small gathering around the deceased's coffin, the second during the burial procession and the last one after lowering the coffin into the grave.⁵¹ It is clear that, in Mitylenaios' funerary cycle for his mother, the poems written in anacreontics and iambs were intended to be read, while the one in elegiacs was used as an inscription. The funerary cycle for his sister consists of poems in anacreontics and iambs, all of which were most probably meant to be read aloud by Mitylenaios himself.

Unlike Mitylenaios' funerary cycle, in which the poems are not only transmitted together, but are also provided with very illuminating headings in the manuscripts about the stage of the funeral at which each of these poems was delivered (especially in the case of the poetic cycle for Anastaso), the exact circumstances for the delivery of twelfth-century funerary cycles are not always clear. However, they include internal indications for the way they were delivered. For example, in the early twelfth century Theophylact of Ochrid penned a highly emotional funerary cycle of two poems to commemorate the death of his brother Demetrios.⁵² In both poems Theophylact mourns the loss of his beloved brother, by stressing his youth and praising his manifold qualities and virtues, yet from a different perspective and in a different metrical form. While the first is written in 102 anacreontics, the second consists of thirty-two dodecasyllables. The poems survive together in the manuscript Parisinus

⁵¹ Bernard, *Secular Poetry*, p. 84. For the different stages of the funerary occasion, see Margaret Alexiou (revised by D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos), *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Lanham – Boulder – New York – Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC 2002), pp. 29 ff.

⁵² For the two poems, see *Théophylacte d'Achrida Opera*, ed. by Paul Gautier (Thessalonike: Association de Recherches Byzantines, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 369–77.

gr. 1277 – first the anacreontic and then the iambic, but their headings do not offer further pertinent evidence. Does the manuscript reflect the sequence in which these two poems were read by Theophylaktos during the funerary ceremony?

Although their headings are not of much help,⁵³ I believe this to be the case; in the opening of the anacreontic part Theophylaktos makes clear the occasion, namely the lament of his brother's death.⁵⁴ On the other hand, no such clarification is necessary in the opening of the iambic poem, since its narrative is a kind of sequel to the anacreontic poem. We can shed even more light on this question if we have a closer look at the concluding verses of the anacreontic poem and the opening of the iambic one:⁵⁵

Ξενίης τις ἀξιώσει
 ἐτάρους φίλους Θεοῖο,
 ἀνεωγμένον τὸν οἶκον
 ἀνιείς ἅπασι τούτοις;
 Σέβας ἀγίοις δὲ τόσσον
 τίς, ἐπεὶ θάνες σύ, δώσει;

Πένθος ἀμῆς γενέθλης πῶς ποτε λήξει;
 Χεῦσιν ἐμῶν δακρῶν τίς καταπαύσει;

Τίς συστελεῖ βίαιον ὄρμῃν πρακτόρων,
 σεκρετικῶν στόματα φράζει βατράχων,
 σοφοῖς δικασταῖς ἐμμελής ἔσται φίλος,
 Συγκλητικοῖς τίμιος ἠθῶν ἀξία;
 Ποίω τὸ λυποῦν ἐξερεύσομαι πάθος,
 ἰατρὸν οὐκ ἔχων σε τῶν παθημάτων;
 Ποίω δὲ πιστεύσαιμι βουλὴν κρυφίην;
 ταμείον οὐκ ἔχων σε τῶν βουλευμάτων;

Who will grant the dear companions of God with hospitality, by freely opening his house to all of them? And who will pay homage to the saints to this degree, since you are dead? How will the grief of our family cease one day? Who will put an end to the shedding of my tears?

⁵³ The first bears the heading 'Στίχοι ἀνακρεόντειοι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ γεγονότος ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Δημητρίῳ τελευτήσαντι', while the second 'Εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἱαμβικῶν'.

⁵⁴ See Theophylaktos of Ochrid (ed. Gautier), poem 14, p. 369, vv. 1–6.

⁵⁵ Poem 14, p. 375, vv. 105–12 and poem 15, p. 377, vv. 1–8.

Who will put an end to the violent assaults of tax agents? Who will shut the mouths of the judicial frogs? Who will be a diligent friend for the wise judges? Who will respect the senators for the dignity of their morals? To whom shall I discharge the grief that torments me, since I no longer have you as a doctor of my sufferings? To whom shall I trust my concealed will, since I no longer have you as depository of my intentions?

As to be expected, the anacreontics conclude with a *koukoulion* that consists of two ionic trimeters, whose structure and rhythm is very close to the Byzantine dodecasyllables. Like the ionic trimeters, which always have a caesura after the seventh syllable, the first two verses of the iambic poem have the same type of caesura. More importantly, the iambic poem seems to carry on where the anacreontic dropped off. The anacreontic part concludes with a number of questions, while Theophylaktos continues to pose a number of questions in the next poem. If we assume that the two poems were read without any interval, the transition from the anacreontic part to the iambic one of the funerary oration should have been very smooth in terms of rhythm and content for the Byzantine audience of Theophylaktos' funerary cycle.

What is more, the sequence of an anacreontic poem that ends with a distich in ionic trimeter and is then followed by a poem in iambs is to be found in another funerary cycle written approximately one hundred years later. On the occasion of the death of his uncle Euthymios Malakes, Euthymios Tornikes composed a double monody in prose and verse, of which the latter part consists of several sections composed in anacreontics, dodecasyllables and elegiacs.⁵⁶ It is hardly surprising that Tornikes opted for a multimetric funerary oration; as noted in the previous section, he is the author of a similar hybrid encomium for Isaac II Angelos. Although the elegiacs most probably served as inscriptions for the tomb of Malakes, the anacreontic and the iambic poems were read by Tornikes himself. The composition starts with an anacreontic part, of which only the last twenty-five verses survive. Then there is an iambic of seventy-five verses and another one of seventeen anacreontics. Unfortunately, Ciccolella edited only the anacreontic poems in their entirety, for she was solely interested in the fate of anacreontics in Byzantium. A future edi-

⁵⁶ Federica Ciccolella, 'Carmi anacreontici bizantini', *Bollettino dei Classici*, III / 12 (1991), 49–68 (pp. 64–7). For the prose monody, see Jean Darrouzès, 'Les discours d' Euthyme Tornikès', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 26 (1968), 49–121 (pp. 73–89). For their simultaneous use, see Zagklas, 'Prose and Verse'.

tion of the entire poem may help to clarify the function of the various poems/stanzas.

But there are funerary cycles by some other Komnenian poets with metrical combinations other than anacreontics and dodecasyllables. For instance, in the Holy Week of the year 1148 Manganeios Prodomos composed a funerary cycle for Manuel Anemas, the brother-in-law of the emperor Manuel Komnenos, by combining a poem in forty-two political verses with another one in thirty-seven dodecasyllables.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the work is still unedited, but in the single manuscript it survives in, the thirteenth-century Marc. Gr. XI 22, a sign is inserted by the scribe on fol. 49^r after the dekapentasyllabic part that both signifies the transition to the iambic part and sets the two halves of the cycle apart.⁵⁸ On the other hand, in the late 1150s Niketas Eugenianos opted to pay tribute to the memory of Theodore Prodomos, his most inspiring model, beloved teacher, and close friend, by writing a set of three works including a prose oration and two poems.⁵⁹ Interestingly enough, the former poem is written in the dodecasyllable and the latter in the hexameter. Unlike Ignatios the Deacon's allusion to the practice of using dactyls for epitaphs and anacreontics or iambs for a monody in the letter to his friend Nikephoros, Eugenianos' hexametric poem is not an epitaph.⁶⁰ Just like the iambic poem, it has a very strong performative character.⁶¹ Following the rules of the genre of monody, Eugenianos delivers a fully-fledged praise and lamentation in hexameters. He describes

⁵⁷ For the date, see Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), p. 494. The heading of the poem is very interesting because it points to the combination of different generic qualities for the composition of a work: ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος καὶ θρήνος εἰς τὸν πανευτυχέστατον γαμβρὸν τοῦ αἰοδίου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ῥωμαίων ἰωάννου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου, κύριον μανουήλ τὸν ἀνομάν.

⁵⁸ The two cycles survive together on fols 47^r–49^v; cf. Elpidius Mioni, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti. Thesaurus antiquus*, vols I–II (Rome: Libreria dello Stato 1985), vol. 3, p. 120.

⁵⁹ See Louis Petit, 'Monodie de Nicéas Eugénianos sur Théodore Prodrome', *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 9 (1902), 446–63 and Carlo Gallavotti, 'Novi Laurentiani codicis analecta', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 4 (1935), 203–36; for a discussion of the works, see Agapitos, 'Schedourgia', pp. 18–19; and Zagklas, 'Prose and Verse', p. 243.

⁶⁰ Besides, an epitaph for Prodomos was written by a certain monk named Peter the monk. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Εἰς καὶ μόνος Θεόδωρος Πρόδρομος', *Létopis' Istoriko-Filologičeskago Obščestva pri Imperatorskom' Novorossijskom' Universitetě*, 7, *Vizantijskoe otdělenie*, 4 (Odessa 1898), 385–402.

⁶¹ Both poems were probably read aloud by Eugenianos himself. The manuscript transmits first the iambic poem and then the hexametric one, which is likely to reflect the original order of their delivery.

the late Prodrornos as radiant light of wisdom, always eager to give advice to his students; a muse with the sweetest voice and most fluent in rhetoric. In lamenting Prodrornos' death in various metrical forms, the student honors his teacher who made use of this technique to the utmost.⁶² Eugenianos' choice of these two meters for the funerary cycle of Prodrornos does not seem a coincidence, since in the iambic monody he stresses that Prodrornos is an unsurpassed model in the composition of iambs and hexameters, whether compared both to his contemporaries or to ancient models.⁶³

Even some epitaphs from the same period consist of poems in different meters.⁶⁴ Among Prodrornos' many verse epitaphs for John II Komnenos,⁶⁵ there is a group preserved together in Vaticanus gr. 305 (fol. 90^r)⁶⁶ under the title *πρόγραμμα*.⁶⁷ They both address the beholder, disclosing the identity of the dead man and claiming that history books offer detailed accounts of his military successes. However, while the first epigram consists of eight hexameters, the latter has nine dodecasyllables. Also, whereas the speaker in the first epigram is the personified tomb, in the second it is the emperor himself. On the same folio of the codex Vaticanus gr. 305 there is an additional set of poems under the title "Ἰλαστήριοι εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως". As with the previous group of epitaphs, they were written in hexametric and dodecasyllabic verses, respectively. These two epigrams are also tomb inscriptions addressing Christ. On top of that, save for some slight alterations, both of them convey exactly the same message:⁶⁸

Κοίρανε παμμεδέων, ἀπαλόχροος ὅς μ' ἀπὸ σαρκὸς
 στέψας ἄνακτ' ἀπ' ἀνακτος, ἐῖ δ' ἀγνή γενετείρη
 ἀνδόκῳ ὥστε δέδωκας ἐμὸν δέμας, ἐν δέ τε χάριμη
 μυρίον εὐχος ὄπασσας ἀπειρεσίῳ κατὰ ἐθνῶν,
 5 ὅσσα θ' ἔως τε δύσιν τε θάλασσά τε καί τ' ἐπὶ βορρῆς
 θρέψατο τετραμόροιο πολύσπορα ἔκγονα κόσμου.

⁶² As we saw in the previous part of the present article; more examples by Prodrornos are presented in this section.

⁶³ Vv. 106–07: ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τε νῦν καὶ τῶν πάλαι | τάχιον ἱαμβίζεις, ἠρωγράφεις.

⁶⁴ For verse epitaphs in Byzantium, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, I, pp. 213–40; for Manuel Philes' epitaphs, see N. Papadogiannakis, *Studien zu den Epitaphien des Manuel Philes* (Heraklion, 1984).

⁶⁵ Theodoros Prodrornos (ed. Hörandner), poems nos. 25–29.

⁶⁶ Ibid. poem 26.

⁶⁷ For literature on this term, see Rhoby, 'Labeling Poetry', pp. 278–80.

⁶⁸ Theodore Prodrornos (ed. Hörandner), poem XXVII.

Κομνηνόν με σάωσον Ἰωάννην βασιλῆα
 ἡμετέρων, μεγάοικτε, λελασμένος ἀμπλακιάων.

- Ὡς εὖγε τῶν σῶν δωρεῶν, παντοκράτορ·
 ἐκ πορφύρας πλάττεις με καὶ στέφεις βρέφος,
 ἀναδόχῳ δὲ τῇ πανάγνω μητρί σου
 ἐκ τῶν καθαρῶν ἐκδίδως φωτισμάτων,
 5 δουλοῖς δέ μοι πᾶν δυσμικῆς γλώσσης κράτος,
 ἐμοῖς δὲ ταρσοῖς τὴν ἕως πάσαν κλίνεις·
 ἀλλ' ὁ βραβεύσας ζῶντι ταῦτα μοι, Λόγε,
 δὸς καὶ θανόντι ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν.

Almighty ruler, you crowned me ruler from a ruler, [when I had] soft-skinned flesh, and you have given [me] your pure mother as godparent, [and] grant me uncountable fame in battle, victories against countless adversaries, all the nations in the east and west, in the sea and the north that have brought forth the fruitful descendants of the quadripartite world; save me, the emperor John Komnenos, o most compassionate one, by forgetting my faults.

Well-done for your gifts, almighty one; you created me from the purple and crowned me as a new-born child, through my pure baptism you then handed me over to your completely pure mother as guard, you enslaved for me the entire power of the western tongue, you bent at my feet the entire east; but, Logos, you granted me these when I was alive, now that I am dead provide me salvation of the soul.

Christ crowned John at a very young age, placed him under the protection of Theotokos, and helped him to prevail over the enemies of the empire both in the east and in the west. Now John asks redemption for his sins. The two epitaphs are twins in a strict sense, for they share the same ideas, though expressed in different metrical form. One might argue that only one of the two epitaphs was eventually inscribed on the tomb,⁶⁹ but it cannot be excluded that both potentially functioned as inscriptions on John Komnenos' tomb. *Polymetry* is a feature of many funerary epigrams

⁶⁹ There are such collections of trial poems that were probably presented to a patron in order for him or her to choose one of them; this has been suggested by Henry Maguire, *Image and imagination: The Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response* (Toronto: Canadian Inst. of Balkan Studies, 1996), pp. 8–9; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, I, pp. 42–43; and more recently Foteini Spingou, 'Words and Art Works in the Twelfth Century and Beyond. The Thirteenth-century Manuscript Marcianus gr. 524 and the Twelfth-century Dedicatory Epigrams on Works of Art', PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2012), pp. 133–34.

written in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods.⁷⁰ However, unlike many of these ancient examples, these two poems can also stand independently.⁷¹

This twelfth-century keenness to combine poems or stanzas in different meters for the same ceremonial occasion was turned into an absolute trend and went beyond the genres of burial songs and epitaphs. In Theodore Prodromos' fictional comic dialogue *Amarantos, or the erotic desires of an old man*,⁷² we are told that a set of metrical epithalamia was delivered at the marriage of the old Stratocles with a young maiden by two different poets, the grammarian Dionysus and the comedian Chacrephon. The two wedding songs are actually inserted in the narrative of the prose work.⁷³ However, the metrical form of the poems chosen by the author differs: while the first one is composed in elegiac couplets, the second one consists of anacreontics. This fictional dialogue seems to relate to contemporary practices of reciting epithalamia in different metric media during wedding ceremonies. As a matter of fact, there are a couple of epithalamia attributed to Niketas Eugenianos, of which the first consists of thirty-three hexameters and the second of ninety-six dodecasyllables.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See Denys L. Page, 'Five Hellenistic Epitaphs in Mixed Metres', *Wiener Studien*, 10 (1976), 165–76; M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 283ff; Marie-Claire Beaulieu, Francesco Mambriani and James Matthew Harrington, 'Toward a Digital Editio Principis. Using Digital Technologies to Create a More Complete Scholarly Edition in the Classics', in *From Ancient Manuscripts to the Digital Era: Readings and Literacies, Proceedings*, ed. by Claire Clivaz, Jérôme Meizoz, François Vallotton, and Joseph Verheyden (Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2012), pp. 395–415 (pp. 411–13).

⁷¹ Furthermore, the double redactions of Prodromos' tomb inscriptions in dodecasyllables and hexameters should be seen in conjunction with the double redactions – also in hexameters and dodecasyllables – of his cycle of 293 tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments, the lives of the three hierarchs, and the lives of the holy great martyrs Theodore, George and Demetrios that could be used either as inscriptions next to pertinent illuminations. In connection with the double redaction of the episodes from the Old and New Testaments, Stephanos Efthymiadis, 'Greek Byzantine Hagiography in Verse', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, vol. II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. by Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 161–81 (p. 167) has noted that it stands for "two different linguistic registers, one closer to church and the other archaizing".

⁷² Tommaso Migliorini, 'Teodoro Prodromo, *Amaranto*', *Medioevo Greco*, 7 (2007), 183–247; for an analysis of the work, see Eric Cullhed, 'Theodore Prodromos in the Garden of Epicurus: the *Amarantos*', in *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium*, ed. Averil Cameron and Niels Gaul (London and New: York Routledge, 2017), pp. 153–66.

⁷³ For this practice, see Zagklas, 'Prose and Verse'.

⁷⁴ They are both edited in Gallavotti, 'Novi Laurentiani', pp. 232–36.

Unfortunately, we are not sure about the exact addressees of the two wedding songs, but in the dodecasyllabic poem we are told that the groom is an offspring of the Komnenian family, while the bride comes from the Doucas family.⁷⁵ Both poems survive together in the sixteenth-century codex Laur. Acquisti e Doni 341: the hexametric poem goes under the title “Ἐπιθαλάμιοι”, while the iambic “Ἐπιθαλάμιοι ἦτοι κάλλους ἔκφρασις τῶν συναφθέντων”. The former opens with an address to the inhabitants of Constantinople to come and sing the bridal song and an invitation to the Muse to sing the praise of the bridegroom. In the last verse the poet summons the lyre to cease playing the hymn. In the second poem Eugenianos wonders who is the most suitable to celebrate the marriage of the bridegroom. Which skillful rhetor came up with the idea of singing the praise of the bridegroom through the muses of Homer that speak in dactyls, by borrowing words, altering the rhythm, and making the meter more solemn and weighty?⁷⁶ The Muses are again summoned to come to help him with the praising of the bridal couple that occupies the greatest part of the poem. The iambic poem seems to be a more extended version of the hexametric epithalamion; it is much longer than the hexametric poem and goes into much more detail in describing and eulogizing the beauty of the couple.

In addition to the numerous multimetric funerary and wedding cycles, we should not forget the two multimetric projects for Alexios Aristenos and Isaac II Angelos, which were discussed in the previous section. Both of them are excellent examples of ostentatious encomiastic oratory and the result of a long service at the courts of Komnenoi and Angeloi. Prodromos, Tornikes and many other twelfth-century authors were commissioned more than once by the very same patron; hence, they had to present texts with innovative qualities that would surpass the success of their previous works. For example, in the opening verses of a poem addressed to the emperor Manuel that celebrates his victory after an engagement between the Norman and Byzantine fleets, Manganeios Prodromos stresses that, once again, he is expected to deliver a new hymn that will surpass the previous ones; another victory for Manuel means

⁷⁵ Gallavotti, ‘Novi Laurentiani’, p. 234, v. 34 ὡς ἡλίου φῶς ἐκραγεῖς Κομνηνόθεν and p. 235, v. 60 χρυσῆν ἐφέλκει σειρὰν ἐκ Δουκῶν γένους. Perhaps they are Stephanos and his wife Eudocia, the daughter of Mezas domestikos John Axouch.

⁷⁶ Gallavotti, ‘Novi Laurentiani’, p. 234, vv. 15–19: Τίς δεινὸς εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε | μούσῃσιν Ὀμήρου καὶ μέτρων καὶ δακτύλων, | ταμῶν τι μικρὸν τῶν ἐκείνου ῥημάτων | καὶ ῥυθμὸν αὐτὸν ἐξαμείβων καὶ φράσιν | εἰς ὄγκον εἰπῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα σεμνύνας.

that the anonymous author must write yet another hymn.⁷⁷ Manganeios did not fail to keep his promise, as he hands over an innovative hymn by combining two different meters. Although Bernardinello's edition does not demonstrate it very clearly, the poem is another cycle of three stanzas/poems with a transition from the political verse to dodecasyllables and then back again to dekapentasyllables.⁷⁸ In verse 151 of the poem the author says that he offers Manuel a white web of his *logoi* (“τὸ τῶν λόγων ὕφασμα λευκὸν σοι φέρω”) and switches from the political verse to the dodecasyllables. After speaking in fifty-two dodecasyllables he goes back to the political verse by saying:⁷⁹

Δέξαι καὶ τοῦτο προσηνῶς, ἢ συμπαθῆς καρδία,
ὡς ἔδεσμα καρυκευτὸν τρωκτοῦ παρηλλαγμένου·
οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῆν σοι τράπεζαν παρατιθέναι πρέπον,
τὸ γὰρ ἀπλοῦν καὶ προσκορές, ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ ποικίλον,

Accept this gently, compassionate heart, as a seasoned food of a varied banquet. It is not fitting for you to have a simple banquet, for the simple is tedious, while the varied is sweet.

It goes without saying that the reference to the variation of his hymn is closely linked to the formation of a multimetric collage that consists of stanzas in dekapentasyllables and dodecasyllables.

Manganeios Prodromos may be the one who explicitly associates *poikilia* with *polymetry*, but Theodore Prodromos strived more than any of his peers to achieve rhetorical *poikilia* by writing cycles of poems in different meters. Apart from the above-mentioned multimetric projects for Alexios Aristenos and John II Komnenos, there are some more from his long-term service at the imperial court.⁸⁰ In order to celebrate the capture of Kastamon by John II Komnenos in the year 1133, he wrote a cycle of four poems of varying verses (historical poems nos. III–VI)

⁷⁷ Ed. Silvius Bernardinello, ‘Sicilia e Normanni in Teodoro Prodrómo’, in *Byzantino-Sicula* (Palermo: Luxograph, 1975), vol. II, pp. 51–72, 63, 1–10: Ἐγὼ δὲ τίνα σοι καινόν, ὦ καινουργὲ μονάρχα, | Καὶ ποῖον ὕμνον ἄσομαι καὶ ποῖαν εὐφημίαν | ἐπὶ τῷ καινοτέρῳ σου τροπαίῳ μελετήσω; [...] Καὶ πάλιν ἄλλο τρόπαιον, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος ὕμνος; | [...] Οὐκ ἄσω μέλος γνώριμον, ἀλλὰ καινολογήσω.

⁷⁸ In the manuscript there are signs inserted between the different sections, while the first letter of the first verse of each section is capitalized and with red ink (see fol. 11^v).

⁷⁹ Manganeios Prodromos (ed. Bernardinello), p. 69, vv. 202–06.

⁸⁰ His activity covers a time span of approximately three decades; see, more recently, Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos*, p. 58.

which correspond to different stages of the festive ceremony.⁸¹ In particular, poems three and six were written in hexameters, while poems four and five were in political verse and meant to be sung by the representatives of the Deme. Poems 3 and 4 provide a description of the expedition, poem 5 is an invitation to the emperor to mount the chariot for the triumphal procession, and poem six is an extremely thorough description of John's entry into Kastamon after its capture. Consequently, all these poems were purported to offer a due celebration of this imperial victory in different meters and from slightly different angles, vacillating between praise and description.⁸²

Finally, Prodrornos has even been credited with writing poetic cycles that included poems in the same metrical form, but in different linguistic registers (vernacular and learned language). It has been argued that the first Ptochoprodromic poem was presented together with the historical poem no. 24 to John Komnenos in 1141/42, while the petitionary poem (the so-called Majuri poem) with the historical poem no. 71 to Manuel Komnenos.⁸³ These two cycles of pleading poems are composed in dekapentasyllables, yet in the learned and vernacular form.

Multimetric Form and Generic Innovation

By now the link between all these multimetric cycles has, most likely, become clear; they all fall into the broad literary group of encomiastic occasional poetry, production of which increases significantly in the

⁸¹ For the text, see Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, pp. 191–228. The connection between the poems has also been noted in Paul Magdalino, 'The triumph of 1133', in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the Shadow of his Father and his Son*, ed. by Alessandra Bucossi and Alex Rodriguez Suarez (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 53–70.

⁸² All the poems are preserved in Vaticanus gr. 305, yet not together. The poems nos. 4 and 5 have even been put together (fol. 105^r–108^r and 108^r–109^r), since they are the both deme hymns. On the other hand, poems 3 and 6 are preserved in other parts of the manuscript (fol. 92^v–93^r and 101^r–103^v). Since poem 6 is described as *ekphrasis*, it does not come as a surprise that it has been placed right before two *ethopoeiae*. Moreover, while poems 3 and 6 are only transmitted in Vatic. Gr. 305, the other two poems survive together in three other manuscripts; hence, the scribes discerned the close correlation between these poems; for the manuscript transmitting the poems 4 and 5, see Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, pp. 201 and 214.

⁸³ As noted by Agapitos, the poem LXXI is addressed to Manuel Komnenos via Stypiotes. For an analysis of the two cycles, see Agapitos, 'Schedourgia', pp. 29–37.

twelfth century.⁸⁴ Quite a large number of burial monodies, epitaphs, epithalamia, panegyrics celebrating various imperial individuals or victories and even poems with a pleading mode consist of more than one stanza or poem in different meters. Although many Byzantine poets make use of similar techniques, there are certain differences between these multimetric cycles in terms of interdependency, contents and metric symbiosis. In some cases the poems or stanzas of a cycle cannot stand alone; on other occasions, they can be presented separately and even transmitted independently in the manuscript tradition. The imagery presented in the stanzas of a cycle is usually slightly different, but there are also poems with the very same content but in different meters – double metrical redactions –, as in the case of Prodromos' epitaphs for John II Komnenos. The most common synergy involves poems/stanzas in anacreontics and iambs, or iambs and dekapentasyllables. Occasionally, there is more elaborated symbiosis involving more than two meters, such as Prodromos' and Tornikes' multimetric cycles. With the single exception of the multimetric epitaphs, all of these multimetric cycles were meant to be performed. Thus, the alteration between different meters should have an impact on the audience of the occasional poetry, or at least the erudite members of the audience.

The popularity of this practice seems to mount in the mid- and late eleventh century, but it really takes off in the twelfth century. Most likely, it is not a coincidence that the earlier examples of multimetric cycles are mainly associated with funerary ceremonies. The different stages of the funerary celebrations could host the delivery of cycles of works. Moreover, the Byzantine funerary discourse saw a number of developments throughout the centuries; in this connection, Panagiotis Agapitos has argued the following:⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Wolfram Hörandner, 'Court Poetry: Questions of Motifs, Structure and Function,' in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), pp. 75–85.

⁸⁵ See Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: The Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike,' in *Modern Greek Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. by Gregory Nagy, Anna Stavrakopoulou and Jennifer Reilly (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 5–23 (p. 14); the funerary genre was particular apt for experimentation; see also Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites,' *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 48 (1998), 119–46 and idem, 'Public and Private Death in Psellos,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008), 555–607.

“the public and oral/formulaic aspect of the ritual lament has been mixed with the private and written/nonformulaic aspect of the funerary epigram in order to create an emotionally intense public discourse in poetic form that is juxtaposed to the canonical prose monody.”

I suspect that all these multimetric compositions are a step further toward the generic novelty the middle Byzantine poets seek to achieve in the field of funerary oratory. As we saw, Mitylenaios’ and Theophylaktos’ multimetric funerary cycles are among the earliest examples of the synergy of different meters for the very same occasion.

It is very interesting that in the first decades of the twelfth century the practice of writing multimetric funerary orations underwent a significant shift in terms of use and popularity, finding its way to various other popular types of occasional poetry. It is not easy to determine whether Prodromos was the first to make use of the practice of multimetric cycles of occasional poetry, but I would say that this is highly likely, for two reasons: I) he composed numerous court poems that consist of stanzas of exactly the same number of lines or various lengths in the same meter;⁸⁶ and II) he was very keen on blending forms and genres in several of his works.⁸⁷ Be that as it may, Prodromos and all the other twelfth-century authors seem to have aimed at generic innovation not only through the mixing of various features, modes, and motives from different generic categories, but also through the symbiosis of different metrical forms. Of course, much work has yet to be done to prove the validity of this hypothesis, but I think it would not be far-fetched to say that the mixture of various meters and their cultural overtones helped these poets to reshape many types of occasional poetry. In other words, they pushed the boundaries of many types of encomiastic poetry by using more than one meter. Take again, for example, the case of twelfth-century funerary orations: some of them do not display a novel character only because of the way commemoration and emotionally intensive lament are combined or the use of new motives and imagery, but also because of the metrical blend of anacreontics, iambs, and occasionally even hexameters.

Furthermore, the composition of poems in different meters and their mixture for the very same occasion should have been a kind of indication of the talent of a poet working on command and especially of his skill in achieving the qualities of rhythmical variety and rhetorical *poikilia*. This

⁸⁶ Hörandner, ‘Court Poetry’, p. 82.

⁸⁷ Agapitos, ‘Schedourgia’, pp. 1–57 and Zagklas, ‘Prose and Verse’, pp. 229–48.

becomes particularly obvious if we take a look at Nikephoros Basilakes' prologue to his works where he speaks about his poetic virtuosity:⁸⁸

Μετὰ μέντοι τὴν ἐργωδίαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν μετρικὴν χάριν ἔβλεψα, καὶ ἦν πολὺς βέων ὡς ἐξ ἀμάρας ὑπερβλυζούσης τῆς γλώττης· καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ὀφρῦς αὐτὰ καὶ φύσημα, ἱκανὸν ἐκ τῆς φήμης εἰς δεῦρο μαρτύριον, ἦν οὐδ' ὁ φθόνος οὕτω πολὺς πνεύσας ἀποσβέσαι ἴσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ τῷ τριμέτρῳ περιέγραψά μου τὸ φιλόμετρον καί, ὡς οὕτως εἶπεῖν, φιλόρρυθμον, καὶ τούτῳ μονοειδεῖ, τῷ ἀκαταλήκτῳ λέγω καὶ καθαρῷ, πολλῶ τε ὄντι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιχωριάζοντι, ἀλλὰ σμικρὸν ἡγούμενος ἱαμβίζειν μόνον ἤδη καὶ τροχαΐζειν ἐπεβαλόμην, καὶ ἄμφω ταῦτα πάντα καὶ παντοίως, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμέλουν, ἵνα καὶ ἡδονὴ τις ἔποιτο καὶ γλώττης εὐστροφία καὶ ῥύμη νοδὸς ὑποφαίνοιτο μὴ τῷ μέτρῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πολυμετρίᾳ καὶ τῷ πολυειδεῖ ταύτης καὶ ὑπαλλάττοντι.

However, after this difficulty I paid heed to the metrical grace, and I was flowing in abundance as if from a channel overflowing with speech. That these [words] are not simply pride and vainglory, my hitherto fame suffices to prove it, which not even the greatest envy by blowing so much managed to quench. For I did not limit my love for meter and, so to say, for rhythm to the trimeter, and to this simple one – I mean the acatalectic and pure [trimeter], that is frequent and common use among our contemporaries –, but having considered it of little value to write only iambs, I also devoted myself to the writing of trochaics, and both of these meters and in all possible ways; nor did I neglect the other meters, in order that a certain pleasure follows upon, and versatility of speech, and force of mind is manifested not in [the use of] a [single] meter only, but a variety and diversity of meters and their alteration.

Here, Basilakes claims that he did not confine himself to the writing of verses that combine iambs and trochaics. Instead, he wrote verses in various metrical patterns. Although it is not easy to understand all the aspects of Basilakes' text, it is very interesting that he associates rhythmical qualities with metrical variety. By using the words *polymetria* and *polyeideia*, he takes pride in the rhythmical pleasure and rhetorical *poikilia* of his works. In the same vein, many of these multimetric cycles should have been praised for their rhythmical variety and rhetorical qualities. This holds true especially for the metrical parts of a cycle that

⁸⁸ *Nicephori Basilacae Orationes et epistolae*, ed. by Antonio Garzya (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), 1–9, 4; for a recent study of the prologue, see Aglae Pizzone, Anonymity, Dispossession and Reappropriation in the Prolog of Nikēphoros Basilakēs, in *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. by Aglae Pizzone (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 225–43 (with comprehensive literature).

had a rhythmical allure for the Byzantines, such as the anacreontics and iambs. But even the metrical parts that were not rhythmically recognizable to the Byzantine ear (e.g. the hexametric ones) should have played an important role, since they provided evidence about the ability of their authors to write poetry in meters that go back to the ancients.

To conclude, the “metrical *polyeideia*” is an important element in the Byzantine poetic tradition throughout the centuries. In the twelfth century, however, many poets seem to have taken “metrical *polyeideia*” to the next level. It was used as a medium to compose innovative forms of occasional poetry. These multimetric cycles of occasional poetry are, to a great extent, the result of extended Komnenian patronage, and provide us with insights into the resourcefulness of their authors and the taste of their recipients. Since many authors of occasional poetry were expected to produce such ceremonial works for the needs of the court over a long time span, these multimetric cycles might even have shaped part of their individual poetic craft and set them apart from contemporary rival poets. For example, they should have been a distinctive feature of Theodore Prodromos’ style, a sort of trademark of his occasional poetry produced for the Constantinopolitan court during the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁸⁹

Abstract

Metrical *polyeideia* is an important quality in many poetic traditions, from the Antiquity to Byzantine times and beyond. As with their ancient models, the Byzantines even combined more than one meter within a single work, such as short epigrams, long metrical commentaries and novels. However, it has gone unnoticed that after the year 1000, many authors even composed cycles of poems or stanzas for the very same occasion, yet written in different meters. This article aims to examine this neglected practice and shed some light on the driving motivations behind the composition of such works. It demonstrates its continuous popularity throughout the twelfth century, since there are numerous multimetric cycles by Theophylaktos of Ochrid, Theodore Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos, Manganeios Prodromos, and Euthymios Tornikes. Moreover, all these multimetric cycles

⁸⁹ As a comparable case, see his statements about the qualities of his schedographic art that set him apart from other contemporary authors; Agapitos, ‘Schedourgia’, p. 7.

are associated with a wide range of types of occasional poetry, including monodies, epitaphs, epithalamia and panegyrics. Since the composition of ceremonial poetry on commission reached its heyday in the twelfth century, it is argued that many authors made use of the multimetric cycles to present novel compositions to their patrons. In order to achieve generic innovation, they mixed not only contents, motifs and modes from different literary generic categories, but also different metrical forms.

Section II: Authors and Texts

MARIA TOMADAKI

The Reception of Ancient Greek Literature in the Iambic Poems of John Geometres

*The journey of language is endless
and this is the joy of poetry*
(Dionysios Karatzas)

The present paper is concerned with the reception of the classical tradition in the iambic poems of John Geometres from codex Paris. Suppl. gr. 352 with a focus on his main literary sources and on some interesting quotations and motifs that the poet adopts from ancient Greek literature. This examination will reveal the way he reshapes his favourite classical models, the level of his imitation and it will also provide indications of the revival of classical learning in the tenth century.

John Geometres lived in Constantinople in the second half of the tenth century AD, during a turbulent period of Byzantine history marked by the so-called ‘Macedonian Renaissance’ in the fields of arts and letters and by the presence of Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes and Basil II on the political scene. During his youth, Geometres received high education, studying rhetoric and philosophy. He later served in the Byzantine army as protospatharios. However, as Marc Lauxtermann pointed out, when Basil II ascended the throne, he fell into disfavour and was removed from his military duties.¹

Despite these difficulties, Geometres produced a vast corpus of poems, which contains various themes and genres. He composed secular

¹ On the biography of John Geometres, see Marc D. Lauxtermann, ‘John Geometres: Poet and Soldier’, *Byzantion*, 68 (1998), pp. 356–80; Alexander Kazhdan, ‘John Geometres and “Political” Poetry’, in *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, ed. by Christine Angelidi, Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series, 4 (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 2006), pp. 249–72; Emilie M. van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques. Edition, tradition, commentaire*, The medieval Mediterranean, 75 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 3–19; Maria Tomadaki, *Ιωάννης Γεωμέτρης, Ιαμβικά Ποιήματα. Κριτική έκδοση, μετάφραση και σχόλια* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2014), pp. 1–5; Paul Magdalino, ‘The Liturgical Poetics of an Elite Religious Confraternity’, in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. by Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 116–132.

progymnasmata, exegetical works, comments on Aphthonius and Gregory of Nazianzus, hagiographical works, hymns on Theotokos and many other poems and epigrams in ancient meters (elegiacs, hexameters, and iambs), most of which are preserved in the manuscript Paris. Suppl. gr. 352.²

His iambic poems from the same manuscript are composed in different genres and they deal with both Christian and secular themes. For instance, he composed ekphrastic epigrams on sacred icons, relics, churches and monasteries; epitaphs and laudatory poems in honor of Byzantine emperors and other members of the Byzantine elite; *ethopoiiae* mainly about Christ; book epigrams on ancient and Christian authors; and occasional poems, which refer to the civil wars (976–978 and 987–989), battles with Bulgarians and social changes of the time. As such they provide an important insight into the political and cultural history of the tenth century.³

Geometres' iambic poetry is characterized by a quite high rhetorical style, metrical accuracy and by a literary language and thought, which are a creative mixture of Christian and classical elements. Expressions and images from the Holy Scriptures and Church Fathers are combined harmoniously with classical motifs and vocabulary and they often produce successful similes and original ideas. In doing so, Geometres follows the path of Gregory of Nazianzus, who was his favourite literary model and a virtuoso at using the classical tradition for conveying Christian messages.⁴ All of these elements and norms which he employs from ancient Greek literature not only indicate the level of the poet's education, but also provide information about the circulation and diffusion of

² For a detailed description of the manuscript see van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre*, pp. 99–107.

³ For an overview of his themes, see Tomadaki, pp. 6–16; cf. Emilie M. van Opstall and Maria Tomadaki, 'John Geometres, a Poet around 1000', in *Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas, (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

⁴ Cf. H. Hunger, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The importance of Rhetoric', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, ed. by Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott (Birmingham: Center for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981), pp. 35–47 (p. 38). On the influences of Geometres by Gregory, see Kristoffel Demeon and Emilie M. van Opstall, 'One for the Road. John Geometres, Reader and Imitator of Gregory Nazianzen's poems', in *Studia Nazianzenica II*, ed. by Andrea Schmidt, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 73 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2010), pp. 223–48; van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre*, pp. 581–83; Tomadaki, pp. 17–18 and 469.

the works of classical authors throughout the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century.

It should be noted that the tenth century is generally characterized by the flourishing of letters and arts, a revival of classical learning, and an attempt to collect, sort out and compile classical and Hellenistic texts. This intellectual movement reached its peak during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who promoted the systemization of scientific works and the compilation of encyclopaedias. It is no coincidence that important works such as the *Greek Anthology*, the *Souda* and the *Excerpta Constantini* were composed during the same period.⁵ Along with these collections, significant manuscripts of ancient texts from the tenth century such as Marc. gr. Z. 454 (*Iliad*), Paris. gr. 1853 (Aristotle), Laur. Plut. 32. 9 (Sophocles, Aeschylus), Vatic. Palat. gr. 173 (Plato), Laur. Plut. 59. 9 (Demosthenes) demonstrate Byzantine's interest in ancient Greek literature and Philosophy.⁶ The miniatures of codex Vatic. Reg. gr. 1 also provide an excellent example of classicism in the Byzantine art of the tenth century.⁷ Contrary to Hanson's view that the tenth-century literature did not follow the flourishing of ancient models in the visual arts, Geometres is a representative example of the tenth century classicism.⁸

⁵ Several terms have been proposed for defining this classicising revival that took place under the Macedonian dynasty (e.g. *Renaissance*, *Humanism*, *Encyclopedism*). The most contested term is that of 'Macedonian Renaissance', see John Hanson, 'The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance', in *A Companion to Byzantium. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*, ed. by Liz James (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), pp. 338–50. However, Hanson failed to mention the important role of tenth-century literature, see Hanson, pp. 345–46. Cf. Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971), pp. 268–300; Warren Treadgold, 'The Macedonian Renaissance', in *Renaissances before the Renaissance*, ed. by Warren Treadgold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 75–98. Alexander Kazhdan, 'Literature of the Age of Encyclopedism', in *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, pp. 311–36 and Paul Magdalino, 'Byzantine Encyclopaedism of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 219–31.

⁶ On the transmission of manuscripts with classical content in the tenth-century, see Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1996), pp. 136–39 and *Pinakes* <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr> [accessed 15 March 2018].

⁷ See Paul Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon, Codex Reginensis Graecus 1: commentaire codicologique, paléographique, philologique, et artistique* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011).

⁸ See Hanson, 'The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance', pp. 345–46.

Borrowings from Homer

As is the case with many Byzantine poets, Homer served for Geometres as a literary model. However, he does not employ as many elements from Homer as he does in his hexametrical poems.⁹ The reason is obvious; the dactylic hexameter does not serve the iambic norm of poems. Thus, Geometres does not adopt whole verses from the Homeric tradition, but only phrases, which are usually similes, metaphors or images from the *Iliad*. Here we have to take into consideration that the *Iliad* was one of the principal textbooks for the literary education of children in Byzantium and a useful tool for the representation of martial and dark scenes.¹⁰ For instance, in the autobiographical poem 232, in which the poet describes his journey to Selymbria and the devastated land he encountered there due to a war and a drought, the sky is called bronze, like in the *Iliad*:

ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς πάγχραλκος, ἠνθρακωμένος (poem 232. 57)

all-brazen sky having the color of coal¹¹

χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἴκε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτιοι. (*Iliad* P 425)

(the iron din) went up through the unresting air to the brazen heaven¹²

In the same poem the narrator laments the destruction of Constantinople caused by a catastrophic fire and a deadly earthquake and he wishes the earth to open and swallow him, like Agamemnon wished in the *Iliad*:

νεκρῶν ἀθάπτων; οὐ χανεῖν μοι τὴν χθόνα
καὶ δὴ βαθεῖαν εὖξομαι παραντίκα; (poem 232. 98–99)

Unburied corpses? Shall I not wish the wide earth to swallow me
at once?

ὧς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών (*Iliad* Δ 182)

⁹ See the *Index locorum* in van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre*, pp. 579–81. For the Homeric references of his garden descriptions, see Kristoffel Demoen, 'A Homeric Garden in Tenth-Century Constantinople', in *Byzantine Gardens and Beyond*, ed. by Helena Bodin and Ragnar Hedlund, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 13 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet 2013), pp. 115–27.

¹⁰ See Robert Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', in *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education*, ed. by Robert Browning (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), pp. 15–33 (p. 17).

¹¹ All translations of Geometres' poems are mine.

¹² Homer, *Iliad*, Volume II: Books 13–24. Transl. by A. T. Murray. Rev. by William F. Wyatt, Loeb Classical Library 171 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), p. 261.

So will some man speak one day; on that day let the wide earth
gape open for me¹³

Other noteworthy borrowings from Homer are the followings:

καὶ σὲ γνόφος μὲν καὶ θύελλα καὶ νέφος
μικρὸν καλύπτει καὶ διασπᾶ πολλάκις (poem 60. 7–8)

darkness, storm and a small cloud
cover you and many times tear you apart

καὶ σῆ, ἐπεὶ πολέμοιο νέφος περὶ πάντα καλύπτει (*Iliad* P 243)

and for yours as well, for a cloud of war shrouds everything¹⁴

παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάς τὸν φαινόν σου θρόνον (poem 51. 21)

you place your bright throne next to him

τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ γεραιὸς ἀπὸ θρόνου ὤρτο φαινοῦ (*Iliad* Λ 645)

At sight of him the old man sprang from his bright chair¹⁵

Apart from these expressions, poem 46 also provides evidence of Geometres' indirect acquaintance with the *Iliad*, for it contains an interesting allegorical explanation of a Homeric verse.¹⁶

Εἰς ὄρος τὸν Ὀλυμπον

Τὸν οὐρανὸν μὲν ἄγγελοι, βροτοὶ χθόνα,
ἄμφω δὲ κοινὸν ὡς ὄρον γῆς καὶ πόλου
Ὀλυμπον ἔσχον – πείθομαι μίξιν βλέπων –,
οὓς καὶ θεοὺς Ὀμηρος, ὡς δοκῶ, λέγων
κοινήν ἀφήκε πᾶσι τούτων ἔστιαν,
προφητικῶς δ' Ὀλυμπον εἶπε τὸν πόλον.

On Olympus, the mountain

The angels (had) the heaven, people the earth, | but both had Olympus as a common boundary between the earth and the heaven, | I am persuaded seeing how they mix. It seems to me that those, who Homer called gods, | left them all a common residence | and prophetically called the heaven “Olympus”.

¹³ Homer, *Iliad*, Volume I: Books 1–12. Transl. by A. T. Murray. Rev. by William F. Wyatt, Loeb Classical Library 170 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 177.

¹⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, Volume II: Books 13–24, p. 247.

¹⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, Volume I: Books 1–12, p. 541.

¹⁶ Poem 46, ed. Tomadaki.

Here the poet echoes the Homeric tradition on Olympus and identifies the mountain with heaven by recalling the verse ‘ἡερίη δ’ ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὐλύμπόν τε’.¹⁷ However, he allegorically Christianize this tradition. Aristonikos in his commentary on the *Iliad* explains that Homer called Olympus heaven, not because Olympus is in heaven, but because its peaks are so high that it exceeds the clouds and reaches the so-called sky.¹⁸ John Stobaeus also comments on the same Homeric verse, so as to prove the sanctity of Olympus.¹⁹

In addition, Geometres employs some other noteworthy Homeric motifs, such as the sweetness of Nestor’s words (poem 298.70–71)²⁰ and the river of Hades, Pyriflegethon (poem 288.3),²¹ which seem to be quite common in rhetorical texts and commentaries on Homer. However, all these themes are incorporated in such a way that they can express the ideas of Geometres’ time. In poem 288, for instance, the rivers of Hades Pyriflegethon and Kokytos, which symbolize the rivers of Asia Minor Kaystros and Maeander, are transformed into the rivers of hell.

The Imitation of Ancient Tragedy

The ancient Greek tragedies served Geometres more than Homer as literary models for his iambic poems because of their metre, proverbial phrases and the sentiments of sorrow that can cause to the readers. There are several cases where Geometres employs expressions, images, hemistichs or even whole verses from the tragic poets – especially from Euripides – and inserts them into a new tragic context. The following passages are cited to indicate the level of imitation:

¹⁷ *Iliad* A 497.

¹⁸ ‘ὅτι οὕτως εἴρηκεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐπ’ οὐρανοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ κορυφαὶ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὰ νέφη εἰσὶν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ νέφη τόπος οὐρανὸς καλεῖται ὁμωνύμως τῷ στερεμνίῳ.’ Ed. Ludwig Friedländer, *Aristonici Περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος reliquiae emendatiores* (Göttingen: In Libraria Dieterichiana, 1853; repr. Amsterdam 1965), p. 54.

¹⁹ See Augustus Meineke, *Ioannis Stobaei Eclogarum physicarum et ethicarum libri duo*, 2 vols (Lipsiae: In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri 1860–1864), I, p. 136. For some examples of an allegorical interpretation of Homer, see Robert Browning, ‘The Byzantines and Homer’, in *Homer’s Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek epic’s earlier exegetes*, eds Robert D. Lamberton and John J. Keaney (Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 134–48 (pp. 134–35).

²⁰ Ed. Tomadaki.

²¹ Ed. Tomadaki.

φλέγων κεραυνός, αἶμα καὶ φόνον πνέων; (poem 10. 12)

inflamed thunderbolt blowing blood and slaughter

φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἵματοσταγῇ (Aesch. *Agamemnon* 1309)

The palace reeks with fumes of dripping blood²²

Νῦν, οὐρανέ, στάλαξον ὄμβρους αἱμάτων (poem 7. 1)

Now, sky, let drop a heavy rain of blood

ὄμβρος χαλάζης αἱματός τ' ἐτέγγετο (Soph. *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1279)

a dark shower of blood came down like hail²³

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευσε <ν> μάτην (poem 298. 178)

And these are random shafts from my mind

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευσεν μάτην (Eur. *Hekabe* 603)

And these are random shafts from my mind²⁴

Τὸ σῶμα πῶς δὲ φροῦδον; – Ἐξ ἀσιτίας. (poem 179. 2)

Why is the body gone? – From fasting

τὸ σῶμα φροῦδον· τὸ δ' ὄνομ' οὐ λείλοιπέ μοι. (Eur. *Orestes* 390)²⁵

My body is dead and gone, but my name has not left me.²⁶

θάρσει προκρίνας τῶν φρενῶν εὐβουλίαν;

ἐν <—> γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον λειλιμμένον. (poem 298. 61–62)

selecting courage instead of thoughtful prudence

one is nothing if the other is missing

– θάρσει προκρίνας ἢ φρενῶν εὐβουλίᾳ;

– ἀμφότερον· ἀπολειφθέν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον (Eur. *Phoenician Women* 746–747)

²² Walter G. Headlam, George Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 181.

²³ Richard C. Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments, Volume 1: The Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883; repr. 2010), p. 233.

²⁴ Transl. by the *Perseus Digital Library*, available at: <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0006.tlg007.perseus-eng1:585-628>.

²⁵ Cf. *Heraklidai* 703.

²⁶ D. Kovacs, *Euripides: Helen, Phoenician Women, Orestes*, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 453.

- For bravery shall I choose them or for prudence?
- Both: neither's any good without the other.²⁷

φανεῖσα πολλοὺς ἤρεν εἰς ὕψος μέγα (poem 298. 132)

the (virtue) appeared (and) raised many to the heights

οὐδ' ἠύγένειά σ' ἤρεν εἰς ὕψος μέγαν; (Eur. *Phoenician Women* 404)

And did your noble birth not raise you high?²⁸

πικρὸν, πολυστένακτον ἤντλουν τὸν βίον (poem 3. 44)

I dragged a bitter, full of groaning life

ξένην ἐπ' αἶαν λυπρὸν ἀντλήσει βίον (Eur. *Hippolytus* 898)

wander over a foreign land and drag out a painful life²⁹

τυφῶς ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος ἐξ ἀλαστόρων (poem 31. 6)

He is a terrible Typhon coming from malignant spirits

κηλὶς ἄφραστος ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός (Eur. *Hippolytus* 820)

an unperceived stain from some malignant spirit³⁰

From tragedy Geometres adopts similes, metaphors and vivid images, which help him not only to draw battle scenes, but also to evoke emotions of sorrow and pathos. A characteristic example is poem 10 entitled *On the battle of the Romans*, where Geometres adopts the myth of 'Spartoi' from the tragedy *Phoenician Women* in an attempt to compare the civil war of his time with the Sown-men, who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmos and then killed each other.³¹

The *Phoenician Women*, a drama of the so-called Euripidean *Triad* (*Hekabe*, *Orestes*, *Phoenician Women*), formed part of the Byzantine edu-

²⁷ Kovacs, *Euripides: Phoenician Women*, p. 293.

²⁸ Kovacs, *Euripides: Phoenician Women*, p. 251.

²⁹ Michael R. Halleran, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips, 1995), p. 112.

³⁰ Halleran, *Euripides: Hippolytus*, p. 108.

³¹ See poem 10. 1–2 ed. Tomadaki: 'Ἀνήκεν ἡ γῆ τοῦ δράκοντος καὶ πάλιν | σπαρτοὺς γίγαντας, ἄνδρας ἀλληλοφθόρους'. Cf. Eur. *Phoenician Women* 931–41 and 657–75. Cf. also the elements of ancient tragedy that have been identified by Kristoffel Demoen in the metrical *Life of Saint Pantaleon*, Kristoffel Demoen, 'John Geometres' Iambic Life of Saint Panteleemon. Text, Genre and Metaphrastic Style', in *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Bart Janssens-Bram B. Roosen-Peter Van Deun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004), pp. 165–84 (p. 183).

cation for centuries.³² A whole verse from the *Phoenician Women* and another from the *Hekabe* are quoted by Geometres and it is most plausible that he became familiar with these tragedies at school.³³ However, we cannot be sure that Geometres had a direct knowledge of Euripides, since many of his verses were transmitted by gnomological and rhetorical texts.³⁴

Borrowings from Menander and the Greek Anthology

I would now like to turn to some other ancient texts, which Geometres uses as literary models, and in particular to the *Sententiae* of Menander and the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. The *Sententiae* of Menander were especially suited to Geometres both for their iambic metre and for their gnomonic and moral content. These verses were proverbial and were transmitted in Byzantium by gnomologies and the paroemiographers. The *Gnomai* was the only work of Menander that was used in teaching and continued to be copied during the Byzantine period, especially in gnomological collections.³⁵ The following passages illustrate the strong resemblance between the two poets. It is interesting here to note that in the second case Geometres modifies only the order of the last two words, so as to achieve the necessary paroxytone, one of the main characteristics of the Byzantine dodecasyllable.

οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τῆς ἀλυπίας τέχνην (poem 208. 2)

It is not possible to find a way of life without pain

³² See Przemysław Marciniak, *Greek Drama in Byzantine Times* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2004), pp. 44–45 and Raffaella Cribiore, ‘The Grammarian’s Choice: The Popularity of Euripides’ Phoenissae in Hellenistic and Roman Education’ in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 241–59.

³³ Eur. *Phoenician Women* 746, cf. Geometres’ poem 298. 61, ed. Tomadaki. This similarity has already been pointed out by Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 135. Cf. Marciniak, *Greek Drama*, p. 68.

³⁴ For the indirect transmission of Euripidean verses, see Marciniak, pp. 53–54. On Euripidean gnomologies, see Anna Meschini, ‘Sugli gnomologi bizantini di Euripide’, *Helikon*, 13/14 (1973–1974), pp. 349–62.

³⁵ See Pat E. Eastering, ‘Menander: Loss and Survival: ζῶεις εἰς αἰῶνα’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement, No. 66, Stage Directions. Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley* (1995), 153–60 (pp. 155–56) and Francisco Rodriguez Adrados, *Greek Wisdom Literature and the Middle Ages: The Lost Greek Models and their Arabic and Castilian Translations* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2009), p. 78.

οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν βίον ἄλυπον οὐδενός (*Sententiae* 570)

It is not possible to find a life absolutely free of pain³⁶

Θάλασσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ γυνὴ κακὸν τρίτον (poem 225. 1)

Sea and fire and woman third trouble

Θάλασσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ γυνὴ τρίτον κακὸν (*Sententiae* 323)

Sea and fire and woman third trouble³⁷

τὴν ἀρετὴν δῖωκε πᾶσαν, ἢ πάλαι (poem 298. 131)

pursue the whole virtue, which in the past

Δῖωκε δόξαν κἀρετὴν, φεῦγε ψόγον (*Sententiae* 192)

Pursue fame and virtue, avoid reproach³⁸

From the *Greek Anthology* Geometres employs phrases and sometimes themes. For instance, in his funerary poem for Gregoria Skleraina, he compares the death of a woman with the eclipse of the moon in the same way as Krinagoras does in epigram 633 from the seventh book of the *Greek Anthology*.³⁹

Νύξ τὴν σελήνην καὶ βίος Γρηγορίαν
εἶχέν σε λαμπρύνουσαν ἀκτίσι τρόπων
ὥρα τε μορφῆς καὶ φρενῶν εὐκοσμία,
ἀλλ' εἰς σκιὰν πέπτωκεν, οἴμοι, τοῦ τάφου
καὶ γῆς ὁ κῶνος ἐφράγη τὸν φωσφόρον.

Night had the moon, and life had you, Gregoria, | to illuminate it
with the rays of your character, | the beauty of your appearance and
the wisdom of your mind, | but, alas, you fell in the shadow of the
tomb | and the earth's cone hid the sun.

Καὶ αὐτὴ ἤχλυσεν ἀκρέσπερος ἀντέλλουσα
Μήνη πένθος ἐδὸν νυκτὶ καλυψαμένη,
οὐνεκα τὴν χαρίεσσαν ὁμώνυμον εἶδε Σελήνην

³⁶ Translation mine.

³⁷ Translation mine.

³⁸ Translation mine.

³⁹ See poem 1, ed. Tomadaki (translation mine) and AG VII 633, ed. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols, (Munich: Heimeran 1965–1968), II, p. 370. For its English translation, see W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation by W. R. Paton*, 5 vols, The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1916–1918; repr. 1919), II, p. 339.

ἄπνουν εἰς ζοφερὸν δυσμένην Ἄϊδην.
 κείνη γὰρ καὶ κάλλος ἐοῦ κοινώσατο φωτὸς
 καὶ θάνατον κείνης μίξεν ἐῷ κνέφει.

The moon herself, rising at early eve, | dimmed her light, veiling her
 mourning in night, | because she saw her namesake, pretty Selene, |
 going down dead to murky Hades. | On her she had bestowed the
 beauty of her light, | and with her death she mingled her own dark-
 ness.

In both cases the moon becomes dark at exactly the same time, when the
 dead woman is covered by the gravestone. In another poem Geometres
 mentions that love (Eros) can be quenched only by another more burn-
 ing love, probably taking his inspiration from an erotic epigram of the
Greek Anthology, which is ascribed to Plato.⁴⁰

ἔρωσ ἔρωτι παύεται φλογωτέρω (poem 299. 10)

eros is extinguished by another more burning eros

φλέξει τις πυρὶ πῦρ, ἦψατ' Ἐρωτος Ἐρωσ (AG XVI 251. 6)

One shall burn fire with fire, eros kindled by eros⁴¹

It is noteworthy that Geometres dedicates four of his epigrams to Eros,⁴²
 a fact that could be regarded as an attempt to revive the genre of the
 erotic epigram. The following verbal borrowings, which always consist
 of two-words descriptive phrases, also confirm the hypothesis that Ge-
 metres had read a version of the *Greek Anthology*.⁴³

πολλὴ μὲν εὐθύς ἡμερὶς μεθυτρόφος (poem 13. 39)

Many vines, at once nurses of wine

⁴⁰ The poet implies the divine Eros. The same idea can be found in John of Climax;
 see van Opstall and Tomadaki, *John Geometres*.

⁴¹ Translation mine.

⁴² See poems 210, 228, 299, ed. Tomadaki and poem 227 ed. van Opstall.

⁴³ See Emilie M. van Opstall, 'Jean et l'Anthologie: vers une édition de la poesie
 de Jean le Geometre', *Medioevo Greco*, 3 (2003), 195–211 (197–211) and Kristoffel De-
 moen, 'Flee from Love who shoots with the bow! The *Anthologia Palatina* and the Clas-
 sical Epigrammatic Tradition in Byzantium (tenth to eleventh centuries)', in *Receptions
 of Antiquity*, ed. by Jan Nelis (Ghent: Academia Press, 2011), pp. 57–67 (pp. 64–65).
 Cf. the references of *Greek Anthology* in Geometres' elegiacs and hexameters in van Op-
 stall, *Jean Géometre*, pp. 583–85.

Ἡμερὶ πανθέλκτειρα, μεθυτρόφε μήτερ ὀπώρας (AG VII 24. 1)

O vine who soothest all, nurse of wine, mother of the grape⁴⁴

τραυλὸν χελιδῶν, ξουθὸν ἀηδονίδες (poem 232. 43)

twittering (song) the shallow, trilling (song) the nightingales

Κολχίδα, τὴν ἐπὶ παισὶν ἀλάστορα, τραυλὲ χελιδῶν (AG XVI 141. 1)

How, twittering shallow, didst thou suffer to have as nurse of thy children the Colchian woman⁴⁵

Ἵς τοῦ πόλου μίμημα τὸν δόμον βλέπων (poem 258. 1)

(Christ) perceives the church as an imitation of the sky

Εἰμὶ πόλου μίμημα· δύο δέ με θῆρες ἄγουσι (AG XIV 43. 1)

I am an imitation of the pole and two beasts draw me⁴⁶

Geometres and the Ancient Philosophy

Apart from ancient poetry, ancient Greek philosophy also plays an important role in the iambic poems of John Geometres. He seems to be particularly interested in philosophy and he dedicates a significant number of his poems to ancient philosophers (e.g. Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras and Theon), commentators (e.g. Porphyry, Iamblichus, Simplicius) and to such philosophical matters as the ten *Categories* and the theoretical and practical philosophy.⁴⁷ John's interest in ancient philosophy might have started at school, since it was one of the main subjects of Byzantine higher education. He probably learnt some of these philosophical theories from later commentaries on ancient philosophical works, but it is remarkable that he always presents them in accordance with the principles of Christianity. In the majority of his poems he praises the ancient philosophers. One exception is poem 25, because it touches the core issue of the genuine source of knowledge, which according to Geometres can only be Christ as the creator of everything:

ἐν γνώσεως φῶς, Χριστέ μου, σύ μοι μόνος·

⁴⁴ Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation*, II, p. 17.

⁴⁵ Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation*, V, p. 243.

⁴⁶ Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation*, V, p. 47.

⁴⁷ See poems 19, 20, 21, 25, 30, 32–38, 166, 217–18, 256–57, ed. Tomadaki.

γνώσις τελεία, μᾶλλον εἰδέναι μόνον
 σὲ δημιουργὸν οὐσιῶν, χρόνων, τόπων,
 ἄρρητον ὡς ἄληπτον, ἔν τε καὶ τρία.
 ἀφείς τὰ πάντα τοῦτο καὶ μόνον λέγω.⁴⁸

One is the light of knowledge for me, | only you, my Christ; absolute knowledge, moreover I perceive you | as the only creator of the substances, times, spaces; | you are ineffable and incomprehensible, both the one and three. | Leaving aside everything else, I am saying only this.⁴⁹

Poem 202, is another interesting example of how Geometres perceives the ancient philosophers and also his contemporary Athens.⁵⁰ According to the poet, the Athenians praise in vain their ancient philosophers – although he did the same in many of his poems – because now nothing is left to them, apart from Hymettus, the honey, the graves and the spirits of the wise men.⁵¹ Contrary to the Athenians, the Constantinopolitans have the genuine faith, along with the wise speeches.⁵²

Epigram 20 is instead characteristic of Geometres' laudatory poems on philosophers. Geometres praises Plato and with the wordplay *immortal soul* — *eternal glory* alludes to his theory on the immortality of the soul.⁵³ Other Platonic ideas occur in his poems as well, but are incorporated in such a way as to express his own thoughts.⁵⁴ A remarkable example is poem 79, where the poet employs the scene of soul's place of punishment from Plato's *Phaedrus* (249a6–249b3) in order to indicate the Day of Last Judgment and warning the unrepentant sinners for their upcoming punishment. Similar Christianizing interpretations of this famous *Phaedrus*' scene can be found in Eusebios of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus and Iamblichus.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Poem 25, 18–22, ed. Tomadaki.

⁴⁹ Translation mine.

⁵⁰ Poem 202, ed. Tomadaki.

⁵¹ The plural of philosophers' names indicates poet's irony. Cf. poem 25, 11–13, ed. Tomadaki.

⁵² Cf. poem 201 (ed. Tomadaki), in which the heavenly Constantinople surpasses the terrestrial city of Athens.

⁵³ Poem 20, ed. Tomadaki, translation mine. 'Εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα | Ψυχὴν ἀνειπῶν ἀθάνατον ὁ Πλάτων, | ἀφῆκε δόξαν ἀθάνατον ἐν βίῳ (On Plato | By saying that the soul is immortal, | Plato left into the life his eternal glory).

⁵⁴ See the Index locorum s.v. 'Plato', ed. Tomadaki.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, XIII. 71. 3–6 ed. Hermenegildus Pistelli, *Iamblichi protrepticus ad fidem codicis Florentini*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graeco-

Occasionally, allusions to Aristotelian works can also be traced in Geometres' epigrams especially from the *Categories*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *On the Soul* and the *Metaphysika*.⁵⁶ The most representative case is the 'explanatory' epigram 32, in which the poet sums up the ten categories and manages to give a definition of each category within the limits of one verse.⁵⁷ It is likely that Geometres adopted the features of each category from one of the most influential philosophical manuals, the commentary of Simplicius, since it contains detailed explanations for the majority of the Aristotelian categories. This hypothesis is strengthened by the title of epigram 23 (*To Simplicius, the interpreter of the ten Categories*), which suggests that Geometres knew the commentary of Simplicius.⁵⁸ Another indication is that both Simplicius and Geometres use the word 'ποιουτότης' as a synonym of 'quality'.⁵⁹ However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he borrowed vocabulary from the *Philosophical Chapters* of John Damascus, which is a more concise description of the ten categories. For instance, there are some common elements in the description of *quantity*.⁶⁰ In any case, the poem could function as book epigram on a manuscript containing the Aristotelian *Categories* and commentaries on them.

Lastly, an important idea of Geometres' poems that bravery should always be accompanied by knowledge is an allusion to *Protagoras* 360b–360e,⁶¹ where Socrates states that knowledge is an essential part of bravery. This allusion reflects the political scene of the late tenth century and functions as a critique to Basil's policy to remove the educated soldiers from the army.⁶²

rum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1888), p. 71.

⁵⁶ See the *apparatus fontium* and the commentaries of poems 19, 25, 30, 32, 33, 298, ed. Tomadaki.

⁵⁷ Poem 32, ed. Tomadaki, p. 82.

⁵⁸ Poem 23, ed. van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre*, p. 152.

⁵⁹ See poem 32. 4, ed. Tomadaki. Cf. Simplicius, *In Categories*, ed. by Carolus Kalbfleisch, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 8 (Berlin: Reimer, 1907), p. 223. 6.

⁶⁰ See John Geometres, poem 23. 2, ed. Tomadaki: 'ποσὸν δὲ μέτρον καθριθμός, ῥοπή, βάρος'. Cf. John of Damascus, *Philosophical Chapters*: 'Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι ποσότης μὲν ἔστιν αὐτὸ τὸ μέτρον καὶ ὁ ἀριθμός' ed. by Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 6 vols, *Dialectica*, Patristische Texte und Studien, 7 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969–2009), I (1969), p. 114.

⁶¹ Cf. Geometres' poems 237, 268, 296–98, ed. Tomadaki.

⁶² Cf. Lauxtermann, 'John Geometres', pp. 369–70 and Marc Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Poetry and the Paradox of Basil II's Reign', in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. by Paul Magdalino, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 199–216.

Epigrams as Short Paraphrases of Ancient Works

Other secular poems of Geometres deserving special mention are his paraphrases of ancient Greek passages such as poems 233 and 281. In the poem 233 Geometres paraphrases a long passage from the work of Xenophon *On Horsemanship* in order to describe the image of a beautiful and shapely horse.⁶³ This work of Xenophon was transmitted in Byzantium either directly or by various *Hippiatrica*. In any case, it must have been an appropriate source for the poet, who because of his military experience, would definitely be interested in reading such textbooks. It is remarkable that Geometres follows his pattern closely by using the same images, similes and almost the same vocabulary as Xenophon. For instance, Xenophon describes the members of the horse in the following order: ‘ὄπλη – ὄστᾶ – σκέλη – μηροὶ – στέρνα – αὐχὴν – σιαγῶν – ἑτερόγναθοὶ – ἐξόφθαλμον – μυκτῆρες – ὄσφύς – ἰσχία – μηροί. The corresponding order in Geometres’ ekphrasis is: ‘ὄπλην – ὄστᾶ – σκέλη – μηροὶ – στέρνον – τράχηλος – σιαγῶν – γνάθοι – ὄμμα – ῥίς – μυκτῆρες – λαγῶν – ἰσχίον – μηροί.

Since poems 236 and 235 are also related to Xenophon and are potential book epigrams, we could therefore suppose that Geometres owned a manuscript of Xenophon containing, among other works, his treatise *On Horsemanship*. Furthermore, poems 233, 235–236 could be regarded as an indication of the diffusion of Xenophon’s manuscripts during the tenth century. Xenophon was indeed popular in the tenth century-Byzantium, as Inmaculada Pérez Martín has proved by the manuscript tradition of his works and their reception during the Macedonian period.⁶⁴

Another interesting paraphrase of an ancient passage is the epigram 281, which is an excellent example of converting a secular topic into a Christian one. Geometres defines the Christian God by using as pattern a quotation of Thales transmitted mainly by Diogenes Laertius.⁶⁵ The classical model serves as the definition of God and is enriched with the Christian idea that ‘God is above all’ (cf. *Ephes.* 4. 6 and *Ioann.* 3. 31):

⁶³ Poems 233 and 281, ed. Tomadaki.

⁶⁴ Inmaculada Pérez Martín, ‘The reception of Xenophon in Byzantium: The Macedonian Period’, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 53 (2013), 812–55.

⁶⁵ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, I. 35.

Περὶ Θεοῦ

Κάλλιστον ὄντων κόσμος, ἀρχαῖον χρόνος,
τόπος μέγιστον, νοῦς τάχιστον, φῶς, χάρις·
Θεὸς δὲ πάντα ταῦτα καὶ πάντων ἄνω.⁶⁶

On God

The most beautiful of beings is the universe, time the most ancient, space the greatest, intellect the fastest, light, grace; God is all that and above everything.⁶⁷

φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε· πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγέννητον γάρ· κάλλιστον κόσμος· ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ· μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ· τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει· ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων· σοφώτατον χρόνος.⁶⁸

Here are certain apothegms attributed to him: Of all things that are, the most ancient is God, for he is uncreated. The most beautiful is the universe, for it is God' workmanship. The greatest is space, for it holds all things. The swiftest is mind, for it speeds everywhere. The strongest, necessity, for it masters all. The wisest, time.⁶⁹

The epigram 45 is also a reworking of an ancient text, which is remarkable for Geometres' perception of his contemporary Greece. In this epigram the poet addresses someone who went to Greece and became barbarian both in language and manner by evoking the famous saying by Apollonius of Tyana: 'ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνιος ὦν ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὦν ἐν Ἑλλάδι' (I have become a barbarian not because I have been out of Greece for years but because I have been in Greece for years).⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Poem 281, ed. Tomadaki.

⁶⁷ Translation mine.

⁶⁸ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, I, 35, ed. by Tiziano Dorandi, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 50 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 87.

⁶⁹ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. by R. D. Hicks, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), p. 37.

⁷⁰ Letter 36. 6, ed. by Carl L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati opera*, 3 vols, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Scriptores Graeci (Leipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1870–71), I, p. 352. Cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 485: 'βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὦν ἐν βαρβάρους'. Krumbacher has already pointed out that Geometres paraphrases here the words of Apollonius; see Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, 2 vols (München: Beck, 1897; repr. New York, 1970), II, p. 733. Cf. Vincenzo Rotolo, 'The Fortunes of Ancient Greek in the Middle Ages', in *A History of Ancient Greek from the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. by Anastasios-Phoivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1225–1236 (p. 1228).

Εἶ τινα κατελθόντα εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀγροικισθέντα
 Οὐ βαρβάρων γῆν, ἀλλ' ἰδὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 ἐβαρβαρώθησθε καὶ λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον.⁷¹

To someone who descended to Greece and became boorish
 Not the land of the barbarians, but facing Greece you became
 barbarian in both speech and behaviour.

According to Henry and Renee Kahane, the term “barbarous” focuses on language and ‘originated as a sound-portrait of the non-Greek, of the foreigner.’⁷² However, in the cases both of Apollonius and Geometres, the ‘foreigners’ and the uncivilized are the Greeks or those who went to stay in Greece. Geometres refers to the decline of Greece during the Byzantine period and indirectly expresses the educated Constantinopolitans’ dislike for the inhabitants of Greece.⁷³ The motif of ‘Scythian-barbarian’ is reused in the tenth-century Byzantium and is closely related to the Slavic tribes and Bulgarians, who were at this time permanently settled in Greece.⁷⁴

This same opinion as Geometres’ is expressed two centuries later by another Byzantine scholar, Michael Choniates, who was appointed archbishop of Athens in 1182 and moved from Constantinople to Athens. During his stay in Athens he often complains about its decline fearing that he may become as boorish as the Athenians were. Some interesting parallels from Choniates’ work, which are reminiscent of Geometres poem are the following: ‘ὡς ἀγροικισθῆναι κινδυνεύειν ἐξ οὗ περ τὰς σοφὰς παροικεῖν Ἀθήνας ἐλάχομεν’ (since the moment I was assigned to live in Greece, there has been a danger of becoming boorish),⁷⁵ ‘νῦν

⁷¹ Poem 45, ed. Tomadaki.

⁷² Henry Kehane and Renee Kehane, ‘On the meanings of barbarous,’ *Ἑλληνικά*, 37 (1986), 129–32 (p. 129).

⁷³ Many Byzantine poets criticize provincial manners in order to stress their urbanity and depict themselves as refined city intellectuals; cf. Floris Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry*, 1025–1081 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014), pp. 189–92.

⁷⁴ See Elias Anagnostakis, ‘Οὐκ εἰσιν ἐμὰ τὰ γράμματα, Ἱστορία καὶ ἱστορίες στον Πορφυρογέννητο,’ *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*, 13 (1999), 97–140 (pp. 111–12, footnote 24).

⁷⁵ Michael Choniates, Oration 40, ed. Spyridon Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα*, 2 vols (Athens: Ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Παρνασσοῦ, 1879), I, p. 159. As Magdalino has observed, the contempt for provincials and ‘barbarians’ was one of the most common themes of ‘Byzantine snobbery’; see Paul Magdalino, ‘Byzantine Snobbery,’ in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), pp. 58–78 (p. 65).

δέ, βεβαρβάρωμαι γὰρ χρόνιος ὦν ἐν Ἑλλάδι' (being in Greece for so long, I have now become barbarian).⁷⁶

Mythological and Historical Figures as Symbols

Indicative of Geometres' classical education are also the mythological and historical figures that appear in his secular poems. These references have a symbolic function helping Geometres to make comparisons with historical persons of his own time.⁷⁷ For instance, he compares a gifted musician to Sirens in order to describe the beneficial and catastrophic power of his music (poem 11. 28); a woman lamenting her dead husband to Alcyone (poem 229. 30); a powerful emperor to Gyges (the king of Lydia) (poem 272. 1); Gregory of Nazianzus to Orpheus (poem 124. 1); and Nikephoros Phocas to the river Paktolos in order to present him as a generous emperor (poem 141). Likewise, many important figures of antiquity, such as Aeschylus, Alcibiades, Socrates and Alexander the Great are referred in his poems as examples of well-educated persons who could combine knowledge with courage and scholarly erudition with military achievements.⁷⁸ In this way, Geometres expresses indirectly his disapproval for the policy of the reigning emperor Basil II to dismiss the intellectuals from the military services.⁷⁹

Linguistic Borrowings

Apart from the above-mentioned thematic echoes, the following linguistic features of Geometres' iambs bear also witness to his acquaint-

⁷⁶ Michael Choniates, Letter 52. 6, ed. Foteini Kolovou, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis*, 41 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), p. 73. Cf. Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: the Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 332–34.

⁷⁷ This was a common practice of the learned Byzantine authors; see Herbert Hunger, 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969–1970), 15–38 (p. 27).

⁷⁸ See Poems 296; 297, 3–17; 298, 63–157 ed. Tomadaki. Cf. Kazdhan, 'John Geometres', p. 260.

⁷⁹ According to Marc Lauxtermann, Geometres was dismissed from the army during the reign of Basil II; see Lauxtermann, 'John Geometres', pp. 369–70.

ance with the ancient Greek literature:⁸⁰ quantitative meter, attic words (γλώττα, θάλαττα, φυλάττω, πλάττω, ἤττων, ξυναυλία), dual forms (δυοῖν, ἀμφοῖν), ancient names for tribes (Σκύθες, Αἰσώνες, Ἰβήρες), quite frequent use of optative and forms of the middle voice participles (κατεστουγνασμένος, παρεξήλλαγμένος, κατεστορεσμένος), which are usually compound classicizing words. It is also remarkable that his vocabulary contains six happax legomena (ἐκδεσπίζω, ἐξανυψώ, θεόκτυπος, συγκελαρύζω, συμφωνευτής, ὠραιοτρόφος) and many poetic words mainly derived from the tragedians: ἀντίμολπος (Aeschylus, Euripides), ἀντίπνοος (Aeschylus, Nonnus), βροτός (Homer, tragedians), δέμας (Homer, tragedians), δόμος (Homer, tragedians), εὐανδρία (Euripides), εὐβουλία (Euripides), κάρα (Pindar, tragedians) καρποτρόφος (Lycophron),⁸¹ κεραύνιος (tragedians), κνώδαλον (tragedians), ξυναυλία (tragedians), ὀδίτης (Homer), τραγέλαφος (tragedians, Aristophanes), ὑπόξυλος (Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Menander), φλοικτος (tragedians), χρυσήλατος (tragedians), ὠλένη (tragedians). Also of significance are the following classicizing words originating from philosophical and rhetorical texts: ἀγροικίζομαι (Plato, Plutarch, Libanius), ἀντικάτων (Plutarch), ἀσφορητί (Plato), εὐπαιδευσία (Plato, Menander), κοσμοποιοῦς (Aristotle), κινήποδες (Xenophon), πανταίνετος (Demosthenes, Libanius), πλουτοφόρος (Plutarch, Athenaeus), φαῦσις (Theon).

Another topic that could shed more light on Geometres' language is the relation of his poems with the medieval lexicons. The wordplays that can be found in several of his poems and are probably derived from etymological or other Byzantine lexicons allow us to presume that he possessed or could consult lexicons.⁸² In poem 12.44, for instance, Geometres describes spring scenes with the following onomatopoeic words 'ἡ τρυγῶν τρῦζει' (the turtle-dove murmurs), which also occur in the *Souda* (τ 1100):

⁸⁰ The criteria for examining Geometres' language were adopted by Hunger, *On the Imitation*, pp. 30–32; Robert Browning, 'The Language of Byzantine Literature', in *Greek Literature in the Byzantine Period*, ed. by Gregory Nagy (New York/London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 103–33 and Staffan Wahlgren, 'Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past', in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. by Egbert J. Bakker (Chichester/Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 528–38.

⁸¹ Cf. Geometres' borrowings from Lycophron in his poem on St Panteleemon in Claudio De Stefani and Enrico Magnelli, 'Lycophron in Byzantine poetry (and prose)', in *Lycophron: éclats d'obscurité. Actes du colloque international de Lyon et Saint-Étienne 18–20 janvier 2007*, ed. by Christophe Cusset and Évelyne Prioux, *Mémoires du Centre Jean Palerne*, 33 (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l' Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 593–618 (p. 603).

⁸² See the poems and their comments 11. 16; 12. 44; 20. 1–2; 29. 3; 253. 1; 278; 298. 131, ed. Tomadaki.

‘Τρύζει: ψιθυρίζει, γογγύζει, ἀσήμως λαλεῖ. παρὸ καὶ ἡ τρυγῶν’. Similarly, the wordplay he employs in poem 11, 66 ‘γελᾷ Γαλήνη’ (Galene laughs) can be found in the *Etymologicon* of Orion of Thebes and in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.⁸³ In both lexicons ‘Γαλήνη’ is etymologized from the verb ‘γελῶ’ meaning ‘laugh’ and indicates the stillness of the sea.⁸⁴ Apart from the lexicons, *Galene* is also presented smiling in an oration of Gregory of Nazianzus, who is another possible source of Geometres’ inspiration.⁸⁵

The language of Geometres, not only reflects his reading preferences, but also the cultural context of his time. It becomes clear from his vocabulary and his literary sources that he had access to poetic manuscripts of the tragedians, Homer, Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as to anthologies of philosophical, rhetorical and gnomological texts. In addition, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch and Libanius seem to have been used by Geometres as models of ‘Atticist’ Greek.⁸⁶ Therefore, a manuscript like Baroccianus 50 (s. X) would be an appropriate anthology for his reading preferences, since it contains texts by Homer, Euripides, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Porphyry and Aphthonius.⁸⁷

Conclusions

All elements that Geometres adopts from ancient Greek literature are always inserted into a new Christian and historical context and serve his own purposes. For instance, his references to ancient historical or mythological figures have a symbolic function and are compared to historical

⁸³ See Fridericus W. Sturz, *Orionis Thebani etymologicon* (Leipzig: Ioa. Aug. Gottl. Weigel, 1820, repr. 1973), p. 41 and Eduardo L. De Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum quod vocatur* (Leipzig: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1909), p. 295. The *Etymologicum Genuinum* is preserved in two manuscripts of the tenth century: Vaticanus gr. 1818 and Laurentianus Sancti Marci 304. For the Byzantine lexicographical works that were compiled in the tenth century, see Kazhdan, ‘Literature of the age of Encyclopedism’, pp. 313–14.

⁸⁴ According to Hesiod (*Theogony* 240–44), Galene was one of the fifty sea nymphs, the Nereids, daughters of Nereus and Doris.

⁸⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, Oration XXIV. 5. 15–17: ‘ἠδίων δὲ μειδιῶσα γαλήνη καὶ θάλασσα ἠπλωμένη καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς προσπαῖζουσα μετὰ πνευμάτων στάσιν καὶ ὠδίνοντα κύματα’, ed. Justin Mossay and Guy Lafontaine, *Sources chrétiennes*, 284 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1981), p. 48.

⁸⁶ Cf. Geometres’ potential book epigrams on Plato, Xenophon and Libanius: poems 20–21, 233, 235–36 and 177, ed. Tomadaki.

⁸⁷ On the content of the manuscript, see Henry O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues vol. I: Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library 1853; reprinted with corrections 1969), pp. 70–78.

persons of his epoch. Some of his favourite literary models were Homer and Euripides, which were both part of the Byzantine educational system. However, it is clear that Geometres had a broader and deeper knowledge of ancient Greek Literature, derived both from ancient texts and later commentaries on them.

Geometres not only expresses interest in secular learning and praises ancient authors, but also attributes interesting qualities to them that are usually inspired by their biographical tradition. He characterizes Plato as *κλεινόν* (renowned) (poem 297. 10), Socrates as *σοφώτερος πάντων ἀνδρῶν* (the wisest of all men) (poem 298. 74), Aeschylus as *μαχητήν* (warrior), Aristotle as *νοῦν* (mind)⁸⁸ and praises Xenophon as *πρῶτον ῥητόρων καὶ φιλοσόφων* (first among rhetors and philosophers) (poem 236) alluding to his nickname *Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα* (Attic bee) (*Souda* ξ 47).⁸⁹ The poet admired Aeschylus and Xenophon not only for their literary works, but because they embodied his ideal model of erudition and bravery. Similarly, Sophocles is represented as a tragedian, who could express the bitterness of life with the sweetness of eloquence, as if mixing absinthe with honey (poem 156). The choice of this metaphor is not accidental, since according to the biographical tradition Sophocles was called a 'bee' due to the sweetness of his style.⁹⁰ The epigram functions as an actual book epigram, since it accompanies the tragedy *Oedipus the King* in codices Laur. Plut. 32. 40 (s. XIV, fol. 49^r) and in Laur. Conv. Soppr. 66 (s. XIV, fol. 49^v).⁹¹ It is therefore reasonable to assume that Geometres' epigrams dedicated to ancient authors (e.g. Xenophon,

⁸⁸ According to the biographical tradition of Aristotle, Plato called him *νοῦν*; see Ingemar Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell in Komm., 1957), p. 98. I sincerely thank George Karamanolis for this reference.

⁸⁹ *Souda* ξ 47. Cf. Pérez Martín, 'The Reception of Xenophon in Byzantium', pp. 845–46. For Socrates as the wiser of all men, see Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 21a. I would like to thank Ioannis Polemis for this reference.

⁹⁰ See indicatively Hesychius Illustrious, Fragment 7. 930: *Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγικός μέλιττα ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ ἡδύ*, ed. by Karl Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum (FHG)*, 5 vols (Paris: Didot, 1841–1870), IV (1851), p. 175. For the comparison of Sophocles with the bee and the relevant texts from ancient and Byzantine authors, see Willam B. Tyrrell, 'The Suda's Life of Sophocles (Sigma 815): Text, Translation and Commentary', *Electronic Antiquity*, 9 (2006), 159–64. This is a common metaphor for poets, see Jan Hendrik Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 196 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1974).

⁹¹ See Stefan Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (TrGF), 5 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1971–2004), IV (1977), p. 94 and Lauxtermann, *The Byzantine Poetry*, p. 200. For the second epigram, see A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum*

Sophocles, Philostratus, Libanius), ancient philosophers, commentators (e.g. Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry, Simplicius) and to philosophical issues (e.g. *Aristotle's Categories*) were also meant to be used as book epigrams.⁹²

Regarding the readership of Geometres' iambic poems, we suppose that they were aimed at a small, educated audience who could understand and appreciate their literary codes.⁹³ However, his potential book epigrams – possibly and some of his verse inscription on icons and churches – could have a wider circulation, as it happens with his famous epigram on the Psalter.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the manuscript tradition of his epigrams does not support this idea. Some of his potential readers could be educated officials, who were also affected by Basil II' policy of removing the literati from the army or some of his rivals, who instead benefited from the new status quo. Geometres addresses them in his long poem 298, in which his social critique and his arguments in favor of education are well displayed.⁹⁵ Students educated in poetry and philosophy could also have been readers of his poems, especially of those referring to ancient author or philosophical matters.⁹⁶

In conclusion, it is worth adding that Geometres does not compete with the ancient authors, as for instance John Tzetzes does in the twelfth century. He generally reveals a positive attitude towards ancient authors and philosophers by having them function in his poems as authoritative literary models, sources of inspiration, or ideal portraits of courage and erudition. Geometres was a strong supporter of education (*εὐπαιδευσία*) and knowledge (*γνώσις*), especially of knowledge associated with bravery (*εὐανδρία*). However, for him the source and the light of knowledge is always Christ or God. In poem 298. 90–100, for instance, Geometres

manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, 3 vols (Florentiae: Typis Regiis, 1764–1770, repr. 1961), III, p. 15*.

⁹² Cf. van Opstall and Tomadaki (forthcoming).

⁹³ Nigel Wilson has also made the hypothesis that Geometres' poems were composed for a 'limited audience of friends'; see Nigel G. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, ed. by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975), pp. 1–15 (p. 13).

⁹⁴ Incipit: 'στίγησον, Ὀρφεῦ, ῥήψον, Ἐρμῆ, τὴν λύραν', ed. by Jan Sajdak, 'Ioannis Geometrae carmen', *Eos*, 24 (1919–1920), 43–44 (p. 42).

⁹⁵ Poem 298, ed. Tomadaki.

⁹⁶ Based on Geometres' epigrams on ancient authors and other indications, Stratis Papaioannou suggested that Geometres could have been a teacher. This hypothesis, which I find attractive, was expressed at the 8th Meeting of Greek Byzantinists (Athens, 2015).

states that Pericles, Cimon and Alcibiades illuminated Greece with their words and achievements, despite the fact that they were *Hellenes* (pagans). It was God's grace behind their successes; God gave them wisdom, rhetorical abilities and courage.⁹⁷

Abstract

John Geometres lived in Constantinople during the second half of the tenth century AD and is one of the most representative authors of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. This paper examines the reception of the classical tradition in Geometres' iambic poems preserved in the codex Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352. The analysis is based on the poems, which are either dedicated to ancient Greek authors or contain material deriving from the ancient Greek literature. The paper explores interesting quotations, motifs, vocabulary and techniques that Geometres adopted from ancient Greek literature, and investigates his main literary sources as well as their function. This examination reveals the way Geometres perceived and reshaped his favourite classical models and also provides information about the revival of classical learning in the tenth century.

⁹⁷ See poem 298, ed. Tomadaki.

Theodore Prodromos' *Katomyomachia* as a Byzantine Version of Mock-Epic*

Theodore Prodromos, a twelfth-century rhetorician, teacher and poet laureate at the court of the Komnenoi,¹ created, among hundreds of other literary works, a short poem of 385 verses called the *Katomyomachia* – a cat and mice war.² The text was preserved in twenty-four manuscripts, although none dated from the twelfth century when the author lived. The oldest and the best manuscript, Marcianus gr. 524 (c. 1300), contains the only ascription of Prodromic authorship.³ The title *Galeomyomachia*, given to the poem by its first editor, Aristoboulos Apostolis, was subsequently accepted by later scribes and editors. The modern title *Katomyomachia* was proposed by the editor Rudolf Hercher.⁴

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¹ On Prodromos' biography, see *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna: ÖAW, 1974), pp. 26 ff. and Nikolaos Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Translation, and Commentary)* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2014), pp. 58–72.

² The standard edition is *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg. Theodore Prodromus, Katomyomachia*, ed. and transl. by Herbert Hunger (Graz: H. Boehlaus Nachf., 1968). For a history of earlier editions of the text, see Giuseppe Fumagalli, 'Saggio bibliografico sulla Galeomiomachia di Teodoro Prodromo', *Rivista Biblioteche* 2 (1889), 49–56.

³ Marcianus gr. 524, fol. 5^r: τοῦ Προδρόμου. We have consulted the microfilm of the manuscript.

⁴ Scholarly literature on the *Katomyomachia* is rather paltry. Hunger's edition does not discuss literary aspects of the work. See also Carterina Carpinato, "Topi nella letteratura greca medievale", in *Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale. Atti del Convegno Venezia 22–23 maggio 2002*, ed. by Ettore Cingano, Antonella Ghersetti, Lucio Milano (Padova: A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, 2005), 175–92. The recent monograph by Fl. Muenier, *Théodore Prodrome. Crime et châiment chez les souris* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 2016) offers a lengthy though not believable study of both the *Katomyomachia* and the *Schede tou myos*. Muenier's analysis is at times very questionable and her conclusions debatable, she very rarely takes advantage of the previous studies even if they deal directly with the same topic. Some of her ideas are interesting but as a whole this book looks like a failed attempt to find in the texts layers of meaning which are not simply there. The forthcoming Italian translation of the text will include the introduction written by Marc Lauxtermann. We are grateful to Professor Lauxtermann for sharing his unpublished text with us.

The poem tells the story of mice who live in the dark and fear the terrifying creature, the cat. The mice decide to leave their homes (that is mouseholes) and fight the cat after receiving a promise from Zeus himself that they will be victorious. It was Kreillos, the mice leader, who forced Zeus to make this promise by threatening the god in a dream. In the first part of the text, the mice prepare for battle, and in the second, we meet a nameless Lady-mouse, who awaits messengers from the battle and discusses her fears with the chorus. After some disturbing news (her son was devoured by the cat), she finally receives the information for which she has waited: the cat is dead. The *Katomyomachia* ends with the mice singing and dancing cheerfully.

The *Katomyomachia* is written in the dodecasyllable, the so-called 'pure iamb', which is a Byzantine version of iambic trimeter.⁵ There are various potential explanations as to why the author used this specific meter. Firstly, this was the default meter of Byzantine poetry in this period and was used where hexameter would have been earlier; for instance, Nicholas Kallikles penned poems/epigrams only in the dodecasyllable. Secondly, authors might perhaps prefer the ease of the meter, because audiences would find it pleasant while read out aloud.⁶ Finally, the dodecasyllable might be legitimised by its use by ancient playwrights, such as Euripides, whom the Byzantines also considered to be a master of iambic trimeter.⁷

Regarding its genre, this text is rather conventionally described as *Lesedrama* or, more specifically, 'eine dramatische Parodie' (Karl

⁵ On the dodecasyllable, see Andreas Rhoby, 'Vom jambischen Trimeter zum byzantinischen Zwölfsilber. Beobachtung zur Metrik des spätantiken und byzantinischen Epigramms', *Wiener Studien* 124 (2011), 117–42 and Marc Lauxtermann, 'The velocity of pure iambs. Byzantine observations on the metre and rhythm of the dodecasyllable', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998), 9–33 (pp. 19–33). The fundamental study still remains Paul Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1903), 278–323.

⁶ For a thorough analysis of the meter in the *Katomyomachia*, see Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*, pp. 30–39.

⁷ See P. Marciniak, *Greek Drama in Byzantine Times* (Katowice: Wyd. Uniw. Śl., 2003), pp. 66–68. Interestingly enough, Prodromos, who was perfectly capable of composing text in hexameter as he was the most prolific twelfth-century poet in this meter, chose the dodecasyllable instead. It would be tempting to argue that Prodromos, who not only used but also modernised ancient tradition, chose the dodecasyllable because it had replaced hexameter as the epic meter. Yet, there is no solid evidence to support this claim.

Krumbacher),⁸ or 'ἵλαροτραγωδία' (Petros Markakis).⁹ In the introductory letter, its first editor, Aristoboulos Apostolis (*editio princeps* 1494) calls the text κωμῳδία.¹⁰ Although such categorisation might seem promising for students of drama in Byzantium, to call this poem a drama is rather far-fetched. Apostolis' description refers to the well-established meaning of comedy as mockery, not to a possible connection with ancient comedy as such.¹¹

We would like to argue that the *Katomyomachia*, even if it contains some dramatic elements (e.g. chorus, *rhesis angelike*) and recycles lines from ancient drama, is not an endeavour to revive the literary form of drama, but is rather a Byzantine version of mock-epic and an attempt to write an updated, Byzantine version of the *Batrachomyomachia*.¹² The latter was traditionally believed to have been penned by Homer for children and has been suggested to have served the purpose of introducing children to epic poetry.¹³ The *Batrachomyomachia* was one of the most popular didactic Byzantine texts, as proven by the number of extant man-

⁸ K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (München: C.H. Beck, 1897²), p. 751.

⁹ Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου (Πταχοπροδρόμου) Κατομνομαχία (Ποντικαγατοπόλεμος). *Βυζαντινή Ήλαροτραγωδία*, ed. by Petros Markakis (Athens, 1955), p. I.

¹⁰ Apostolis in his text also uses semantically neutral descriptors such as ἔργον, βιβλίον, which suggests that he did not perceive *Katomyomachia* as a dramatic piece. However, what is interesting manuscripts which are apographs of Apostolis' incunabula bear the title *comedy*, for instance Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden Mscr. Dresd. DA 30 is titled *Galeomachia comoedia*.

¹¹ On the Byzantine meaning of the word comedy, see Walter Puchner, 'Zur Geschichte der antiken Theaterterminologie im nachantiken Griechisch', *Wiener Studien* 119 (2006), 77–113 (p. 86); P. Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2005), p. 229.

¹² For a different view, see Aleksandar Popović, 'Komička sredstva u spevu *Boj macke i miševa* Teodora Prodroma', in *Nis i Vizantija VI* (2008), p. 379–391 who sees *Katomyomachia* as an example of drama revival in Byzantium.

¹³ R. Bertolín Cebrián, *Comic Epic and Parodies of Epic. Literature for Youth and Children in Ancient Greece* (Zürich-New York: G. Olms, 2008), p. 114.: 'The constant association of the παίγνια poems with the education of boys makes us ask whether, perhaps, the *Batrachomyomachia* as well as the other poems were part of this education system that encouraged teenagers in school to create their own compositions according to certain models. The *Batrachomyomachia* would have the double nature of being a school exercise as well as literature that would entertain children.' See also the introduction by Apostolis to the *editio princeps* of the *Katomyomachia*: 'Ὁμηρος μὲν ὁ τῶν ποιητῶν γονιμώτατος τῶν τοῦ Χίου παιδῶν ἐαυτῷ παρατεθέντων παιδεύεσθαι Βατραχομνομαχίαν τε καὶ Ἐπικυχλίδας, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα παιγνίων ἀνάμεσα τοῖς τε παισὶν ἐκείνου καὶ ἐπιγιγνομένοις χαριζόμενος συνετίθετο, ἵνα τῶν μαθημάτων ἀρχόμενοι τούτων ἦδιον ἀκρῶνται καὶ μὴ τῶν τὰ παιδῶν ὡτα διακναίειν φιλοῦντων.'

uscripts.¹⁴ Florence Meunier, in her recent book on the *Katomyomachia*, describes the poem as ‘l’un des nombreuses récritures de la *Batrachomyomachia*’ (‘one of the many rewritings of the *Batrachomyomachia*’).¹⁵ We would like to suggest that the relationship between the *Katomyomachia* and its model(s), though, is much more complicated. The *Katomyomachia* constitutes a ‘sequel’ to the *Batrachomyomachia*, similarly to how Prodrornos’ *Bion praxis* plays on Lucian’s text with the same title.¹⁶

The *Katomyomachia*, though, is not a simple transposition of one ancient genre and one ancient literary tradition. Accordingly, there is no one single architext for the *Katomyomachia*, and Prodrornos uses several various hypotexts: the *Iliad* as the main epic text (which is both used and mocked); the *Persians*, which provides the main structural model for the second part of the poem; and the *Batrachomyomachia*, which offers the convention of the mock-epic.¹⁷ Finally, the mouse–cat antagonism undoubtedly rests on the Aesopic framework.¹⁸ Ancient literature includes yet another text whose plot recalls both the *Batrachomyomachia* and the *Katomyomachia*: the *Galeomyomachia – the weasel – mice war*.¹⁹ This text, though, is fragmentary preserved in only one papyrus, so it seems rather unlikely that Prodrornos was aware of its existence.

The second generic term, in addition to drama, used to describe the *Katomyomachia* is satire. Ever since Hunger described the poem as ‘polit-

¹⁴ Caterina Carpinato, ‘La fortuna della *Batrachomyomachia* dal IX al XVI sec.: da testo scolastico a testo ‘politico’’, in [Omero], *La battaglia dei topi e delle rane, Batrachomyomachia*, ed. by Massimo Fusillo, prefazione di Franco Montanari, (Milano: Guerini e associate, 1988), pp. 137–48.

¹⁵ Muenier, *Théodore Prodrome*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Przemysław Marciniak, ‘Theodore Prodrornos’ *Bion Praxis*: A Reappraisal, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 53 (2013), pp. 219–39.

¹⁷ We use the terms introduced by Gerard Genette in his *Palimpsestes. La littérature au seconde degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982). For the short explanation as well as an presentation as to how Genette’s theory could be applied to the analysis of Byzantine literature, see Ingela Nilsson, ‘The Same Story but Another. A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium’, in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Wien, 22.-25. Oktober 2008), ed. by Andreas Rhoby, Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010), pp. 195–208.

¹⁸ On the popularity of Aesop in Byzantium, see Karla Grammatiki, ‘The Literary Life of a Fictional Life: Aesop in Antiquity and Byzantium’, in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. by Carolina Cupane, Bettina Krönung (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 313–37.

¹⁹ Hermann S. Schibli, ‘Fragments of a Weasel and Mouse War’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 53 (1983), pp. 1–25.

ical satire', students of the *Katomyomachia* have treated it as such.²⁰ Roberto Romano included the poem in his selection of Byzantine satirical texts.²¹ Hunger's conclusion, however, is built upon a misinterpretation. He assumed that Kreillos' speech mobilising the mice to fight should be interpreted as both parody and satire – 'ein kleines Kabinettstück politischer Satire'.²² As we will argue, this was not Prodrimos' intention, although it does not exclude the possibility that the text contains satirical elements.²³

In the following, we would like to take a closer look at how the *Katomyomachia* is structured and how it repurposes its ancient models based on the presumption that the poem is neither primarily drama nor political satire.

A drama of one Mouse

The *Katomyomachia* naturally falls into two parts. The first includes the prologue, the dialogue between Kreillos and Tyrokleptes and Kreillos' speech. The second consists of a scene in which the nameless wife of Kreillos, along with the chorus, awaits news from the battlefield. The entire plot happens possibly over two consecutive days as the text itself seems to suggest. (vv. 178–179: τὴν αὐρίον δ' ἔωθεν, ὃ στρατηλάται | πάντας κινήσαι βούλομαι θαρραλέω).

The second part structurally resembles a drama (mostly due to the dialogic exchanges among the wife of Kreillos, the chorus and the two messengers), and students of this text have felt almost obliged to find similarities to ancient plays to even more firmly position it as an heir to ancient dramas. Petros Markakis compared the *Katomyomachia* to satyr plays,²⁴ while Hunger ignored the clearly bipartite division of the text

²⁰ To be exact Hunger saw the *Katomyomachia* as satire and literary parody. The *Katomyomachia* was meant to be a satirical treatment of the topos of *miles gloriosus*; see Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*, p. 59. A similar opinion was expressed by W. J. Aerts in *Pseudo-Homerus, Kikkermuizenoorlog, en Theodoros Prodrimos, Katmuizenoorlog*, ed. and transl. by Willem J. Aerts (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1992), p. XVI.

²¹ *La satira bizantina dei secoli XI–XV* ed. and transl. by Roberto Romano (Torino: Unione tipografica editrice torinese, 1999).

²² Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*, p. 57.

²³ See, for instance, Paul Magdalino, "Political Satire in Byzantium" in the forthcoming Brill Companion on satire in Byzantium ed. by Przemysław Marciniak and Ingela Nilsson.

²⁴ Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου (Πτωχοπροδρόμου) Κατομνομαχία, p. 22.

and instead divided it into five acts.²⁵ However, to compose drama in a society where ancient playwriting belonged to the sphere of education rather than a living theatrical tradition makes little sense.²⁶ Therefore, Prodrornos, in our view, does not imitate ancient drama but, rather, by joining together various structural elements, both dramatic and epic, creates a text which transgresses narrowly defined genres. In other words, the use of dramatic devices – dialogue, chorus, *rhesis angelike*²⁷ – does not make the *Katomyomachia* drama but proves that Prodrornos experimented with literary forms.

The use of the elements popular in dramatic texts is not novel or unexpected in the genre of the mock-epic. The speaking names of the mice in both the *Batrachomyomachia* and the *Galeomyomachia*, the only extant ancient mock-epics, recall the speaking names from ancient comedy.²⁸ Similarly, the ending of the *Batrachomyomachia*, in which crabs sent by Zeus function as a *deus ex machina*, might have been inspired by the scene from *the Wasps* which includes dancing crabs.²⁹

While the first part of the *Katomyomachia* draws heavily on the *Iliad*, the *Persians* by Aeschylus remains the main hypotext and architext for the second part.³⁰ Prodrornos structurally models the *Katomyomachia* on the *Persians* (as the architext). By employing a dramatic structure in which events are narrated rather than described, Prodrornos tells the story from the perspective of its protagonists – the mice – and, at the same time, differentiates it from the direct narrative of the *Batrachomyomachia*. Prodrornos also uses scenes from Aeschylus' text (thus using it

²⁵ Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*, p. 51: '[...] und es fällt nicht schwer, die ganze Katomyomachia als ein klassisch gebautes Drama – wenn man will, in fünf Akten – darzustellen.'

²⁶ On drama and theatre in Byzantium, see Marciniak, *Greek Drama in Byzantine times*; Walter Puchner, 'Acting in the Byzantine theatre: evidence and problems', in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an ancient profession*, ed. by Pat Easterling, Edith Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 304–24.

²⁷ See, for instance, how Prodrornos mixes various ancient traditions in the satire *Against the lustful old woman*, Przemysław Marciniak, 'Prodrornos, Aristophanes and a lustful woman. A Byzantine satire by Theodore Prodrornos', *Byzantinoslavica* 73 (2015), pp. 23–34.

²⁸ On speaking names in Aristophanic comedy, see Nikoletta Kanavou, *Aristophanes' Comedy of Names: a Study of Speaking Names* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011).

²⁹ On the nature of this scene and its mockery of the poet Karkinos, see J. Robson, *Humour, Obscenity, and Aristophanes* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 2006), p. 170.

³⁰ Aleksandar Popović, 'Prodronomova Katomiomachija i Eschilovi Persijanzi', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 29–30 (1991), pp. 98–123.

as a hypotext) and builds upon them by showing the heroine in the same situation but displaying a different range of moods and reactions. Both heroines in the *Persians* and the *Katomyomachia* are nameless queens (it should be noted that Aeschylus never mentions the name 'Atossa' in his work), and are presented in the same situation – they await news from the battlefield and receive very disturbing information. However, while the Persian queen reacts with silence and dignity, Lady-mouse responds to news in a completely different way.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη
κακοῖς· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἤδε συμφορά,
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πόση.
ὄμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοῖς φέρειν
θεῶν διδόντων· πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος
λέξον καταστάς, κεί στένεις κακοῖς ὄμως·
τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενήσομεν
τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ
ταχθεῖς ἀνανδρον τάξιν ἠρήμου θανῶν;³¹

Queen:

Long have I kept silent in my misery, struck with dismay at our disaster, for this calamity is so great that it is not possible to say or even to ask about its extent. Nevertheless, mortals must endure affliction when it is heaven sent. [295] Compose yourself, and even though you groan at our loss, relate the sum of our disaster and speak out! Who is there that is not dead? Whom of our leaders must we bewail? Who, appointed to wield command, by death left his post empty, without its chief?

(*Persae* 290–299, transl. H. W. Smyth)

On the contrary, Lady-mouse, upon having learnt that her son perished (or to be exact was devoured by the cat) starts lamenting beyond any measure, which finally irritates the chorus, who admonishes her by pointing out that her behaviour is inappropriate.

Χορός

φέρειν πρέπον σε τὴν ἄπειρον ἀνίαν,
μαθεῖν δὲ λοιπὸν τὰ πῖλοιπα τοῦ μόθου.

³¹ *Aeschyli Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias* ed. by Denys L. Page (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Ὁμευνέτις Κρεΐλλου

ἀλλ' οὐ σθένω σχείν τοῦ πόνου τὴν πικρίαν.

Χορός

τίς γοῦν ὄνησις ἐκ γόων ἀμετρίας;

Ὁμευνέτις Κρεΐλλου

αὐτὴν διαχρήσαιμι – καὶ τάχει θάνω. (265)

Χορός

μὴ δῆτα τοῦτο μῆδὲ σὺ στρέφειν θέλε.

Ὁμευνέτις Κρεΐλλου

καὶ πῶς ἀνεκτὸν μὴ πεφύρθαι καὶ στένειν; (...)

Χορός

μαθεῖν θέλησον τὰ πύλοια τοῦ μόθου.

Chorus

It is appropriate that you endure endless pain
and learn about the rest of the battle.

Kreillos' wife:

Yet I cannot refrain from the bitterness and from suffering.

Chorus:

But what is the advantage of such intemperate wailing?

Kreillos' wife:

I could use it and die quickly.

Chorus:

No, don't turn to this!

Kreillos' wife:

But how to endure without lamenting and wailing? [...]

Chorus:

You should learn about the rest of the battle.

(*Katomyomachia*, vv. 261–267, 270).

Kreillos' wife not only transgresses decorum (*πρέπον*), but perhaps even more importantly, she reacts contrary to the audience's expectations set by the Persian queen opposite reaction to news from the battlefield in the *Persians*. The *Persians* was one of the so-called triad (the three most popular plays by ancient playwrights), so it was read by and known to Prodromos' audience, regardless of whether the audience consisted

of his students or his peers.³² Therefore, when the chorus admonishes Lady-mouse by telling her that it is not the moment for crying but for asking what happened, it also reminds her that she should follow and not deviate from the literary model. The excessive lamentation will be allowed only in the second part of the scene, when the chorus states that now lament is appropriate (again - *πρέπον*) because this time Lady-mouse may behave differently than Atossa.³³ Accordingly, this part of the scene breaks with the *Persians* and offers a different scenario.

The use of the *Persians*, though, is only the first layer of the inter-textual game Prodromos plays with his listeners/readers. Lady-mouse's lamentation is mostly built from (modified) lines from Euripides' tragedies.³⁴ In this respect, Prodromos follows his own advice he gives in the *Bion Prasis*:³⁵ when Euripides is put up for auction, a potential buyer calls him 'a moaner' (ὁ κλάων) as the usefulness of this great playwright lies in his ability to help his buyer lament the loss of his untimely departed daughter

Ἄλλος Ἀγοραστής

Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὸν ἄχρις ἡμῶν ἄπρατον ὠνήσομαι τοῦτον καταθρηνησοντά μου τοῦ θυγατρίου μικροῦ, πρὸ ταύτης ἡμερῶν ἐκ μέσων τῶν νυμφῶνων ἀνηρπασμένου.³⁶

Another Buyer

But I, O Hermes, will buy this man whom you have still not been able to sell, so that he may lament for me my daughter, who was snatched away from the bridal chambers a few days ago.

It would be unwise to understand the *Katomyomachia* as a simple Byzantine rewriting of ancient drama. Prodromos plays with the dramatic

³² Przemysław Marciniak, 'The Dramatic Afterlife. The Byzantines on ancient dramas and their authors', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 59 (2009), 120–37.

³³ For a more thorough analysis of the parody of lament in *Katomyomachia*, see Przemysław Marciniak, 'Lament in the mousehole – playing with conventions of lament in Theodore Prodromos' *Katomyomachia*', in *Lament as performance in Byzantium*, ed. by Niki Tsironis in collaboration with Theofili Kampianaki (forthcoming).

³⁴ See the exhaustive, if sometimes misleading, apparatus in Hunger's edition. Interestingly enough, Prodromos uses the same lines from Euripides' plays in both the *Katomyomachia* and the *Bion Prasis*, see for instance *Hekabe* 1056 = the *Katomyomachia* 252 and the *Bion Prasis* 89.

³⁵ See Marciniak, 'Theodore Prodromos'.

³⁶ The newest editions of *Bion Prasis* prepared by Eric Cullhed in Przemysław Marciniak, *Taniec w roli Terytyesa. Studia nad satyrą bizantyńską* (Katowice: Wyd. Uniwers. Śl. 2016), pp. 183–204, here at p. 197, 99.1.

form but also builds upon the dramatic images ingrained in the minds of the educated. In a way, to say that Prodrornos attempts to revive ancient drama with the *Katomyomachia* would be a simplification. Rather, he reuses old forms to create a new form to help him win the interest of his patron(s).

Rewriting Mock-Epic Poetry (and More)

The aforementioned *Bion praxis* and the *Katomyomachia* have more similarities. The former is a continuation of the previous day's auction when Zeus and Hermes auctioned the *bioi* of philosophers. Similarly, in the *Katomyomachia*, the mice recall their battles with frogs and weasels in direct and indirect allusions to the *Batrachomyomachia* and perhaps the *Galeomyomachia* (indirect as, while speaking about the war with weasels, Prodrornos alludes to the passage from the *Batrachomyomachia* where the mice commemorate this battle). The intertextual relationship functions on two levels. The first is intradiegetic as the mice themselves discuss the characters and events of the previous battle(s) recorded in the story of the *Batrachomyomachia*:

Τυροκλέπτης
 οὐκ οἶσθα, πῶς τὸν πρὶν συνιστῶντες μῶθον
 πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν γαλῶν καὶ βατράχων,
 καὶ συμμαχῶν κράτιστον εἶχομεν νέφος

Tyrokleptes
 Don't you know what a most outstanding group of allies
 we had earlier when we fought
 the army of weasels and frogs?

(*Katomyomachia*, vv. 71–73)

The second level manifests itself in the conventions of both epic and mock-epic, humorous versions of the formulas of the serious epic: descriptions of soldiers preparing for the battle (the discussion between Kreillos and Tyrokleptes), depictions of heroic deeds (Kreillos' monologue) and, finally, the participation of gods in the action (Zeus' promise to help the mice). The differences between the *Batrachomyomachia* and its Byzantine version arise primarily as Prodrornos plays with many literary conventions and *topoi* while subverting the traditional mock-epic framework. As Rafaella Cresci noted, the mice from the *Katomyomachia*

are remarkably anthropomorphised; they sacrifice cows, ride horses and wield human weapons.³⁷ This stands in sharp contrast to the *Batrachomyomachia* where the animals have more fitting armament – breastplates made from the flax of beats and shields made from cabbage leaves. While ProdrOMIC mice are as voracious as other literary rodents, they are also depicted as brave and valiant (at least from the moment when they decide to wage war against the oppressors).³⁸ It is worth noting that the mice depicted in both the poem of Christopher of Mytilene and the mouse-protagonist of the *Schede tou Myos* can be brave, too. Their motivation is, however, far less noble since they are driven by their voraciousness.³⁹

The beginning of the poem (vv. 1–13) which describes the pitiful state of the mice which live in the dark is an intertextual play with a letter by Gregory of Nazianzus to Basil the Great.⁴⁰ Kreillos compares his fellow-mice to the Cimmerians who live in the darkness and have poor sight:

Κρεῖλλος

ὡς οἱ ζοφώδεις Κιμμέριοι τοῦ λόγου,
οἱ Ποντικῶν ἔχοντες ἀμβλυωπίαν
ζοφωσιν ἐξάμηνον εἶλκον τοῦ βίου;

³⁷ Rafaella L. Cresci, 'Parodia e metafora nella Catomiomachia di Teodoro Prodromo', *Eikasmos* XII (2001), pp. 197–204.

³⁸ On the voraciousness of the mice, see *Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum Variorum Collectio Cryptensis*, ed. by Marc de Groot (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), no. 103. Εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ <οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ μῦς>.

The voracious mice of this home
who (...) everything (...)
giving themselves over to marriages and births
(...)
they <turn> my house into their colony [...]

(*The poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, ed. and transl. by Floris Bernard and Christopher Livanos (Cambridge, MA, 2018), p.205, vv. 1-5). For Eustathios of Thessalonike's complaints about mice 'plundering' his household, see *Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike. Einleitung, Regesten, Text, Indizes*, ed. by Foteini Kolovou (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter 2006), ep. 6. On this letter Michael Grünbart, 'Store in a cool and dry place: perishable goods and their preservation in Byzantium', in *Eat, drink and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and wine in Byzantium. In honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker, Kallirroe Linardou (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 39–49 (pp. 42–43).

³⁹ *Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum Variorum Collectio*, vv. 64–66. For the description of the mouse in the *Schede tou Myos*, see Przemysław Marciniak, 'A Pious Mouse and a Deadly Cat: the Schede tou Myos Attributed to Theodore Prodromos', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 57.2 (2017), pp. 507–27.

⁴⁰ Silvio Mercati, 'Il prologo della Catomyomachia di Teodoro Prodromo è imitato da Gregorio Nazianzeno, Epist. IV (Migne, PG 37, col. 25B)', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 24 (1923–1924), p. 28.

Kreillos

Like the devoid of light Cimmerians from the story,
 Who had the poor eyesight of mice,
 Living half of the year in darkness.

(*Katomyomachia*, vv. 11–13)

‘The Cimmerians from the story’ (τοῦ λόγου) alludes to the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* which mentions the Cimmerians who live in a land without sun (*Od.* 11.14–20). However, Prodrornos imitates the *Odyssey* only indirectly by alluding, as stated, to the work of his master, Gregory, who describes the Cimmerians living in the eternal shadow (οὐδὲ ἐν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἄσκιον ἔχοντες), most likely following Homer’s description.⁴¹ Prodrornic imitation, though, goes deeper than merely reusing Gregory’s letter. While Gregory writes about the Cimmerians from Pontus (ποντικὸι Κιμμέριοι), Prodrornos’ phrase is a clear instance of wordplay – the Cimmerians suffer from ‘Pontic poor eyesight’. In Prodrornos’ time, ποντικὸς meant ‘a mouse’,⁴² so he in effect states that the Cimmerians were as blind as mice. Moreover, Gregory writes, ἐγὼ δέ σου τὸν Πόντον θαυμάσομαι καὶ τὴν ποντικὴν ξουφηρίαν καὶ τὴν φυγῆς ἀξίαν μονήν (‘I will admire your Pontus and Pontic darkness as the only abode worthy of refuge’). The use of the word φυγῆς recalls for the reader the mice as refugees rather than simply creatures that prefer to live in the darkness. They are simultaneously similar to and different from the Cimmerians.

⁴¹ Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964–1967), ep. 4, 4. On Prodrornos’ use of the writings of Gregory, see Nikolaos Zagklas, ‘Theodore Prodrornos and the use of the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus: Appropriation in the service of self-representation’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40/2 (2016), pp. 223–42.

⁴² See, for instance, the schedographical dictionary, dated by Agapitos Panagiotis to the twelfth century: καὶ μῦς [...] ὁ ποντικὸς, ὃ φίλε, Jean F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regijs*, Vol. IV (Paris: Excusum in Regio Typographeo, 1832), pp. 366–412; Panagiotis Agapitos, ‘Learning to read and write a schedos: The verse dictionary of Par. gr. 400’, in *Pour une poétique de Byzance: Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros*, ed. by Stephanos Efthymiadis, Charis Messis, Paolo Odorico, Ioannis Polemis (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2015), pp. 11–24. Traditionally, a shrew mouse (μυγαλίη) was believed to be blind (see, for instance, Euteenius Soph., *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca*, 63.17). Aristophanes of Byzantium is even more specific when he claims that shrew mouse has small eyes and ἀμβλεῖς (dim); see Spyridon P. Lampros, *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo. Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca suppl. 1.1] (Berlin: Reimer, 1885), 2.373.1. Perhaps Prodrornos was not so peculiar when it comes to distinguishing between various mouse-like animals.

Yet another example of such a multi-layered scene arises in Kreillos' dream when the mice leader threatens the King of the Gods unless he helps the mice. The first, most obvious allusion is to Agamemnon's dream from the *Iliad* (B 16–20). In the dream, Oneiros appears disguised as Nestor to convince Agamemnon to launch a full-scale attack on Troy. Similarly, Zeus appears to Kreillos disguised as the wise elder Tyroleichos (v. 85: τῶ Τυρολείχῳ, τῶ φρονίμῳ πρεσβύτῃ). This scene is possibly also an allusion to the famous statement of Xenophanes of Colophon (quoted by Clement of Alexandria) that, if cattle, horses and lions had hands, they would shape the image of the gods in the likeness of their own.⁴³ In the *Iliad*, Zeus sends the dream to fool Agamemnon, Prodrornos alters the scenario, and in this case, it is Kreillos who blackmails Zeus, threatening to eat the sacrifices in the temple (vv. 106–107: τάχα προσελθὼν εἰς ναὸν τῶν θυμάτων / ἅπαντα θήσω πρὸς τροφὴν τῆς κοιλίας). Prodrornos plays with numerous traditions here. First, in one scene of the *Batrachomyomachia*, the gods refuse to help as they are angry with mice which destroy their temples eating whatever they can find there (*Batr.* 174–186). Second, this humorous scene is also modelled on the passage from Aristophanes' *Birds* (*Aves* 1515–1525) in which birds blackmail the gods by blocking the sacrificial smoke upon which the gods feast.

The *Batrachomyomachia* was read in Byzantium as a text with a clear didactic purpose, and the same can be said of the *Katomyomachia*. However, Prodrornos, once again, goes one step further. When Kreillos describes his lineage and upbringing, he lists the same military skills numbered by Prodrornos in his poem on the birth of Alexios, son of Irene and Andronikos. The military training of young aristocrats – whether mice or young Byzantine aristocrats – consisted of horse riding, sword, pole wielding and archery (the *Katomyomachia* 150–169 = *Carmina historica* 44.68–91). There is no subversion in this image. The Prodromic mice leader is not a cowardly figure, but quite to the contrary, Kreillos proposes to fight the enemy openly (v. 61 συστάδην, lit. close in combat) rather than secretly (v. 62 λαθριδίως). Whether this reflects a real military or political situation when a Byzantine general (perhaps the emperor himself) preferred direct confrontation remains unclear.

In this poem, Prodrornos joins together two conventions: the epic and drama. He gives his audience both the expected and the unexpected

⁴³ *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, Griechisch und Deutsch*, ed. by Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1903), fr. 15.

by simultaneously alluding to the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Iliad* and dramatic tradition, both tragic and comic (e.g. while using the double meaning of the word ποντικός, playing with the character of Lady-Mouse and re-purposing the dream of Agamemnon). One reason for this scheme surely was to amuse audiences looking for novelty.⁴⁴ Pro-dromos did not intend to write a drama but, rather, experimented with many genres creating a sequel for one of the most popular texts among the Byzantines, the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*. As in other texts of Prodrornos, the focus and meaning of this work shift depending on the performative context.⁴⁵ When presented in *theatron*, the *Katomyomachia* could have been understood as yet another subversive treatment of ancient topoi and literary texts. When read in the classroom, this text could have been Prodrornos' own introduction to the study of literature, which he upgraded by reusing not only the *Iliad* but also other literary texts that formed the school curriculum, such as Aeschylus' *Persians*, Euripides' *Hekabe* and Aristophanes' *Birds*. Moreover, Prodrornos makes the text more relevant for his contemporaries by including didactic elements, which he elaborated elsewhere.

Abstract

This paper discusses a twelfth-century work by Theodore Prodrornos, the *Katomyomachia* – a cat and mice war, a poem of 385 verses written in the dodecasyllable. It is argued that the *Katomyomachia*, even if it contains some dramatic elements (e.g. chorus, *rhesis angelike*) and recycles lines from ancient drama, is not an attempt to revive ancient drama. It should rather be seen as a Byzantine version of mock-epic and an attempt to write an updated, Byzantine interpretation of the *Batrachomyomachia*. This paper offers several examples of how Prodrornos (re)uses and joins together various ancient texts and traditions in his own poem.

⁴⁴ Constantine Manasses in his speech for Michael Hagiotheodorites communicates this need for novelties very clearly: “A human being is an animal who loves novelties. And what is customary he considers to be tedious while he desires novelties in histories, songs and in pictures (φιλόκαινον γὰρ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ μὲν σύνηθες ἡγῆται προσκορές, λιχνεύεται δὲ περὶ τὰ πρῶτως ἄρτι γινόμενα ἐν ἱστορίαις, ἐν ἄσμασιν, ἐν γραφαῖς); cf. Konstantin Horna, ‘Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses’, *Wiener Studien* 28 (1906), p. 174.

⁴⁵ For other texts, see Zagklas, *Neglected Poems*, pp. 73–87.

ANDREAS RHOBY

The Poetry of Theodore Balsamon

Form and Function *

Introduction

Theodore Balsamon, born in Constantinople between 1130 and 1140 and died after 1195, is mainly known for his canonical work, the commentary on the so-called *nomokanon of fourteen titles*. His life span corresponds almost exactly to the reigns of the Komnenian emperors Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) and Isaac II (1185–1195), stemming from the house of the Angeloi.¹ Balsamon occupied high positions in the church hierarchy: he was deacon of the Great Church, and was later promoted to the positions of *nomophylax* and *chartophylax* (first secretary of the patriarch).² He reached the climax of his career between c. 1185 and 1190, when he served as the titular patriarch of Antioch.³ The emperor Isaac II Angelos even considered the possibility of Balsamon's election as patriarch of Constantinople, but eventually another candidate, namely Dositheos, former patriarch of Jerusalem from 1187 to 1189, was preferred; the latter served from 1189 to 1191. Balsamon also acted as the abbot of monasteries in Constantinople, he was the

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¹ On this period one may consult the classical study by Charles Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968) and the recent collective volume by Alicia Simpson (ed.), *Byzantium, 1180–1204: ‘The Sad Quarter of a Century?’* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2015).

² On his seal the office of chartophylax is attested: Σφράγισμα ταῦτα καὶ γραφῶν καὶ πρακτέων / χαρτοφύλακος Βαλσαμῶν Θεοδώρου, ed. George Zacos and Alexander Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Vol. I, Part III: Nos. 2672–3231. *Imperial and Allied Seals: Vth to XIVth Centuries. Non-Imperial Seals: VIth to IXth Centuries* (Basel: 1972), p. 1535.

³ There are various opinions regarding the dating of Balsamon's patriarchate, see Konstantinos Pitsakes, *Τὸ κώλυμα γάμου λόγω συγγενείας εβδόμου βαδμοῦ ἐξ αίματος στο βυζαντινὸ δίκαιο* (Athens and Komotene: Sakkulas, 1985), p. 346, n. 84.

“first” (πρῶτος) of the Blachernai monastery, and later he served as the abbot of the monastery *ton Zipon*, to which two of his epigrams also refer (nos. 9 and 36, perhaps also 37, see below p. 117).⁴

Balsamon’s major literary output is the aforementioned commentary on the *nomokanon of fourteen titles*, a collection of canon law, whose first version dates back to the reign of Herakleios in the seventh century.⁵ In the course of the centuries more material was added as well as prologues. Probably in 1177,⁶ Balsamon – as ordered by the emperor Manuel I – produced a first version of an additional prologue for the work and a commentary on the basis of previous sources. However, he did not cease adding to the commentary in the following years: as one can learn from the prologue book epigram on the commentary, the work is dedicated to the George II Xiphilinos, who served as patriarch of Constantinople from 1191 to 1198. Balsamon’s epilogue poem on the *nomokanon* is also preserved. Both will be discussed later in this paper (p. 115–117).

Balsamon’s preserved œuvre also encompasses further canonical treatises⁷ and letters⁸ which he exchanged with some contemporaries, among them Eumathios Makrembolites, a high judge, perhaps also the author of one of the four Komnenian novels,⁹ if Balsamon’s Eumathios

⁴ The best overview about Balsamon’s life and work is currently provided by the concise lemma of Spyros Troianos, ‘Byzantine Canon Law from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries’, in Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (eds), *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), pp. 170–214; here pp. 180–83. See also Gerardus P. Stevens, *De Theodoro Balsamone. Analysis operum ac mentis iuridicae* (Rome: Libr. Ed. della Pont. Univ. Lateranense, 1969); Horna, *Epigramme* (see n. 10), pp. 165–71; Alex Rodriguez Suarez, ‘Interacción entre Latinos y Bizantinos en vísperas de la Cuarta Cruzada (1204): el testimonio de Teodoro Balsamón’, *Estudios bizantinos*, 4 (2016), pp. 95–105. An extensive list of Balsamon’s work and secondary literature is to be found in the unpublished PhD thesis by Elias Ch. Nesseris, *Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12^ο αιώνα* (Ioannina 2014), pp. 99–106.

⁵ Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* [...], vol. I (Athens: Chartophylax, 1852), pp. 5–335 = *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 104, pp. 975A–1217B.

⁶ Troianos, *Byzantine Canon Law*, p. 181.

⁷ See, e.g., the list in Andreas Schminck and Dorotei Getov, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts*, Teil II: *Die Handschriften des kirchlichen Rechts I* (Nr. 328–427) (Frankfurt/Main: Photios-Verlag, 2010), pp. 252–53.

⁸ Horna, *Epigramme* (see n. 10), pp. 212–15.

⁹ Elizabeth Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels. Theodore Prodromos, Rhodanthe and Dosikles. Eumathios Makrembolites, Hysmine and Hysminias. Constantine Manasses, Aristandros and Kallithea. Niketas Eugenianos, Drosilla and Charikles. Translated with Introductions and Notes* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), pp. 159–65.

Makrembolites is indeed identical with the novel's author of the same name. Macrembolites' tomb epigram was also composed by Balsamon (see below pp. 120-121).

Balsamon's poetry has already been mentioned a few times: more than 40 poems are transmitted under his name. They were edited by Konstantin Horna, a Viennese schoolteacher of Greek and Latin, in 1903.¹⁰ This solid study is also equipped with a thorough written introduction as well as with comments on language and meter, the dodecasyllable verse.¹¹

The epigrams' content makes it clear that Balsamon was more than a canonist and a high clergy man: the wide range of his poetic output reveals that every now and then he also served as an author on commission, a profession which he shared with other authors, especially those of the middle of the twelfth century, e.g. Theodore Prodromos, John Tzetzes, Constantine Manasses and others, many of whom belong to the so-called "circle" of the famous sebastokratorissa Eirene, the emperor Manuel I's sister-in-law.¹²

Theodore Balsamon's Poetry

Balsamon's poetry is mainly transmitted in the Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, one of the most famous Byzantine manuscripts. The miscellaneous codex was put together by a scribe towards the end of the thirteenth century. Its content is very broad: it includes prose works, such as the *Geoponica*, a compilation of the tenth century; works by Michael Psellos, the famous Byzantine author of the eleventh century; and speeches by Arethas of Kaisareia, the bishop and scholar of the late ninth / early tenth century.¹³

¹⁰ Konstantin Horna, 'Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon', *Wiener Studien*, 25 (1903), pp. 165-217.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 171-76.

¹² Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'The Sebastokratorissa Irene as Patron', in Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart (eds), *Female Founders in Byzantium & Beyond* (Vienna: Böhlau-Verlag, 2014) (= *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 60/61 [2011/2012]), pp. 177-194. As to poetry, mention also has to be made of Euthymios Tornikes, attested as patriarchal deacon in 1191, who devoted a multimetric encomiastic cycle to Isaac II Angelos: Athanasios I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae. Sbornik vizantijskich tekstov XII-XIII vekov* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976 [reprint of the edition Sankt-Petersburg 1913]), pp. 188-98; see the article of Nikos Zagklas in this volume.

¹³ A full description of the manuscript is provided by Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti. Thesaurus Antiquus*, vol. II (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato 1981), pp. 399-407.

In addition, the codex' scribe also compiled an anthology of poetry from both known and anonymous authors of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.¹⁴ It is with Theodore Balsamon's collection of poems that this anthology begins (following a collection of gnomes). 39 poems are preserved on folios 89^r–94^r;¹⁵ the collection is introduced by a long title which provides information about Balsamon's career steps (χαρτοφύλαξ, νομοφύλαξ, πρῶτος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, πρωτοσύγκελλος and πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας).¹⁶ Interestingly enough, the scribe copied three more poems from Balsamon's collection on fol. 9^r.¹⁷ This is probably due to the fact that after fol. 94^r no further space was available to copy the three missing poems, because on fol. 94^v Constantine Manasses' so-called *Hodoiporikon*, an account of a journey to the Holy Land in the middle of the twelfth century, begins.¹⁸ On fol. 9^r, however, there was apparently still space available, because a long anonymous (still unedited) poem on toothache, consisting of 168 verses, only starts in the middle of the page.¹⁹ The three epigrams copied on fol. 9^r (nos. 40–42 in Horna's edition) have nothing in common, apart from the fact that they form the end of the collection copied on folios 89^r–94^r: the first one (no. 40) of the three poems, consisting of only three verses, refers to Moses; the second one (no. 41) tells about a young (or little) eunuch who wants

¹⁴ Foteini Spingou, *Words and Artworks in the Twelfth Century and Beyond: The Thirteenth-Century Manuscript Marcianus Gr. 524 and the Twelfth-Century Dedicatory Epigrams on Works of Art* (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford 2013). A first transcription of many poems in the codex was published by Spyridon P. Lampros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524', *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 8 (1911), pp. 3–59, 123–92.

¹⁵ Lampros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ', pp. 131–37; Spingou, *Words and Artworks*, pp. 312–14.

¹⁶ Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 178. The title of the first epigram (no. 1) is added to the main title without break.

¹⁷ These are not poems which were already copied on folios 89^r–94^r as stated by Foteini Spingou, 'The Anonymous Poets of the *Anthologia Marciana*: Questions of Collection and Authorship', in: Aglae Pizzone (ed.), *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities* (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 139–53; here p. 140. A further epigram which is perhaps to be attributed to Balsamon is preserved on fol. 18^v, ed. Lampros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ', p. 17 (no. 42), cf. Andreas Rhoby, 'Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren im Codex Marcianus Graecus 524', *Medioevo Greco*, 10 (2010), pp. 167–204; here 197–98.

¹⁸ Konstantin Horna, 'Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 13 (1904) 313–55; a new edition of the text is by Konstantinos Chryssogeolos: *Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ Ὀδοιπορικόν. Κριτική ἐκδόση – μετὰφραση – σχόλια* (Athens: Ekdoseis Sokole, 2017).

¹⁹ Only the first two and the last two verses have been edited so far: Lampros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ', p. 12 (no. 37).

to begin schedography,²⁰ and the third, the longest one (no. 42), consisting of 9 verses, is written for a basin in the public bath of the monastery *ton Hodegon* in Constantinople.²¹ It is very likely that the last poem was meant to be inscribed on the object, as is the case with so many verses in the *Marciana* collection.²²

In addition to the cod. Marc. Gr. 524, some of Balsamon's poems are (also) preserved in other codices:²³ this applies, of course, especially to the aforementioned epigrams on his *nomokanon* commentary, which has a broad transmission history in its own right.²⁴ While the epigram mentioning the dedication of the commentary to the patriarch George Xiphilinos in its title (no. 39) was copied into the *Marcianus* (fol. 94^r: Εἰς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ συντεθὲν νομοκάνονον πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχην κύριον Γεώργιον τὸν Ξιφιλίνον – “On the nomokanon compiled by him for the most holy patriarch George Xiphilinos”), the epilogue epigram (no. 44) is missing from this manuscript.

Another poem, not preserved in the *Marcianus* codex either, is published as no. 45 in Horna's edition. It differs from the rest insofar as it is not written in dodecasyllables, but in 72 hexameters. Thus, Horna was tempted to deny Balsamon's authorship of these verses.²⁵ In my view, however, there is plenty of evidence to prove Balsamon's paternity of the poem: 1) it serves as a book epigram of Balsamon's *nomokanon* commentary because they are transmitted together, 2) in most of the manuscripts the poem is transmitted under the name of Balsamon,²⁶ 3) Balsamon is mentioned in the last six verses, namely within the typical structure of

²⁰ On schedography and this poem, see below pp. 139-140.

²¹ See below pp. 134-135.

²² Spingou, *Words and Artworks*, passim. On Balsamon's epigrams used as inscriptions see below pp. 126-138.

²³ Horna, 'Epigramme', pp. 177-78. Horna does not mention that no. 41 is also transmitted in cod. Par. gr. 2511, 76^v (see below p. 139 n. 152).

²⁴ See the list of manuscripts collected at <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/1395/>.

²⁵ Horna, 'Epigramme', pp. 177-78: “Ganz unmöglich aber scheint es mir, für Nr. 45 Balsamon verantwortlich zu machen”.

²⁶ Not only in the younger codices Vat. Ottob. Gr. 96 (fols 2^{r-v}) (sixteenth century) and 339 (fols 157^{r-v}) (sixteenth/seventeenth century) (and, very likely, also Escor. X II 18 [Andrés 378] [252^v-253^v] [sixteenth century]), as stated by Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 178, but also in the codices Laur. Plut. 5, 2 (fol. 5^r) (fourteenth century) and Sin. Gr. 1609 (fols 12^r-13^r) (fifteenth century).

such (book) epigrams: salvation of the soul is requested as a reward for his work.²⁷

These last six verses of the epigram run as follows:

Τῷ δ' αὖ Αντιοχείης ταπεινῷ πατριάρχει
 Βάλσαμων Θεοδώρω, ὃς τῶνδ' οὐρανίων
 σωμάτων τολύπευσεν ἀπειρεσίους δυνάμεις
 70 πλανήτων τε νόμων ὑποχθονίην κατάδυσιν,
 πρὶν λάχε θρόνον Ἀντιοχείης πάρος κυδρῆς,
 σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς· ταύτης γὰρ πέρι θρηνεῖ.

For the humble patriarch of Antioch,
 Theodore Balsamon – who achieved (to describe)
 the boundless powers of these heavenly bodies
 70 and earthly setting of wandering laws,
 before he reached the throne of formerly glorious Antioch²⁸ –
 salvation of the soul because he mourns for it.

There is a further (fourth) argument to stress Balsamon's authorship of the hexameter epigram on the *nomokanon*: in Byzantium it was not uncommon to equip publications with prologue and epilogue book epigrams, regardless of whether the work itself was in verse or in prose. There is evidence that these book epigrams are sometimes written in a meter differing from the meter of the work they introduce as a prologue or close as an epilogue.²⁹ One such case is the dedicatory book epigram of Theodore Prodromos' novel: while the novel is composed in dodecasyllables the prologue epigram consists of hexameters.³⁰ A good example to compare is the verse chronicle of Constantine Manasses, composed

²⁷ On this topos Andreas Rhoby, 'The Structure of Inscriptional Dedicatory Epigrams in Byzantium', in Clara Burini De Lorenzi and Miryam De Gaetano (eds), *La poesia tardoantica e medievale. IV Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 15-17 novembre 2007. Atti in onore di Antonino Isola per il suo 70° genetliaco* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010), pp. 309-32.

²⁸ From this penultimate verse we also learn that Balsamon had apparently finished most of his work on the commentary on the *nomokanon* commentary before he was promoted to the bishopric of Antioch (in c. 1185, see above p. 111). The verses 69-70 are difficult to understand but they very likely refer to his canonical work.

²⁹ Wolfram Hörandner, 'Zur Topik byzantinischer Widmungs- und Einleitungsgedichte', in: Victoria Panagl (ed.), *Dulce melos: la poesia tardoantica e medievale; atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi, Vienna, 15-18 novembre 2004* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2007), pp. 319-35.

³⁰ Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Poets and Painters. Theodoros Prodromos' Dedicatory Verses of his Novel to an Anonymous Caesar', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 50 (2000), pp. 173-85. On this issue, see the article by Nikos Zagklas in this volume (pp. 43-70).

in the middle of the twelfth century:³¹ the chronicle is introduced by a prologue poem in dodecasyllables and closes with a hexameter poem with acts as an epilogue.³²

As already pointed out, Balsamon's verses served various purposes. However, it seems the collection of Balsamon's poetry as it was copied into the Marcianus Gr. 524 does not represent the author's entire collection, but rather the scribe's or his commissioner's taste. Not even all his poems from the *nomokanon* commentary are preserved in this manuscript, as shown above. Within the *Marciana* collection of Balsamon's poetry there are only a few epigrams which belong together:

The epigrams 1–6 in Horna's edition refer to Old Testament subjects; they were perhaps used as paratexts in illuminated manuscripts.³³ Nos. 7 and 8 were probably meant to be inscribed on an altar or on an altar cloth, as can be told from the label Εἰς τράπεζαν ἔχουσαν ἱστορημένον τὸν δείπνον ("On an altar which has depicted the Last Supper") of no. 7.³⁴ No. 9 is of completely different content: the title tells us that it was written on Balsamon's cell in the so-called monastery τῶν Ζιπῶν, presumably next to the entrance or directly on the door. The monastery, which, either located in Constantinople or nearby,³⁵ has not been identified so far – we only assume that it was the monastery to which Balsamon retired after his time as titular patriarch of Antioch³⁶ –, is also mentioned in epigram no. 36.

³¹ Odysseas Lampsidis, *Constantini Manassis breviarium chronicum* (= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 35/1–2) (Athens: Academia Atheniensis, 1996).

³² In the recent edition by Lampsidis it was wrongly printed at the beginning of the chronicle: cf. Hörandner, 'Topik', pp. 332–33.

³³ On this issue Andreas Rhoby (nach Vorarbeiten von Rudolf Stefec), *Ausgewählte byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften. Verse und ihre „inschriftliche“ Verwendung in Codices des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 4) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018).

³⁴ For still preserved Byzantine epigrams on altar cloths, cf. Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 2) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 369–90.

³⁵ If the monastery was not situated in Constantinople, there could be a connection with the toponym Zipoition which is attested as a city located on the Bythinian peninsula in Antiquity (but not in Byzantium): cf. Christian Habicht, 'Zipoition', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, II 10a (1972), p. 460. On the monastery, see also Konstantinos Pitsakes, 'Η ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνὸς ὑπερορίου πατριάρχῃ: ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολι τὸν 12ο αἰῶνα', in: Nicholas Oikonomides (ed.), *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12ο αἰῶνα. Κανονικὸ Δίκαιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία* (Athens: 1991), pp. 91–139; here 133–39.

³⁶ Cf. Horna, 'Epigramme', pp. 168–69.

While epigram no. 9, attached to his cell,³⁷ can be interpreted as a critique on the luxurious life of the patriarch – perhaps written due to his frustration at not having been installed as patriarch of Constantinople himself –,³⁸ no. 36 with the title *Εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ζιπῶν* was probably not inscribed.³⁹ It is addressed to the emperor Isaac II, but it is mainly a lament about the destructive power of time – *χρόνος*, a not uncommon symbol in Byzantium –,⁴⁰ which would attack the monastery's beauty. No. 37 also refers to Balsamon's cell, perhaps located in the monastery *τον Ζιπον*,⁴¹ but it can also refer to another monastery to which Balsamon had to withdraw, perhaps in the time before the ascension of Isaac II.⁴²

Further epigrams can be classified as follows:

Tomb Epigrams

Within Balsamon's collection there are four tomb epigrams, namely the nos. 11, 12, 13 and 19 in Horna's edition. They are of different length, ranging from 16 to 37 verses, but still not too long to have perhaps served as tomb inscriptions.⁴³ No. 11 is of specific interest insofar as it refers to the family grave which Balsamon had donated for himself and his family in

³⁷ Either on the door or next to the door: as a similar example, a prose anti-unionist pamphlet (with a lot of vernacular elements), which was taped at Georgios (Gennadios) Scholarios' cell door in the fifteenth century, can be chosen: cf. Andreas Rhoby, *Sprache und Wortschatz des Gennadios Scholarios*, in: Erich Trapp and Sonja Schönauer (eds), *Lexicologica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Bonn, 13.–15. Juli 2007) (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2008), pp. 227–41: here pp. 233–34. In Theodore Stoudites' collection of epigrams on objects no. 2 tells that the verses were inscribed on his cell: Paul Speck, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), pp. 111–13.

³⁸ Cf. Victor Tiftixoglu, 'Zur Genese der Kommentare des Theodoros Balsamon. Mit einem Exkurs über die unbekanntenen Kommentare des Sinaiticus gr. 1117', in Oikonomides, *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12^ο αἰῶνα*, pp. 483–532: 491–92.

³⁹ On this epigram, see also Pitsakes, 'Ἡ ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας', pp. 135–36.

⁴⁰ E.g. Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 3) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), pp. 322–23, n. 1179.

⁴¹ Tiftixoglu, 'Zur Genese der Kommentare des Theodoros Balsamon', pp. 491–93. See also Pitsakes, 'Ἡ ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας', pp. 134–35.

⁴² Tiftixoglu, 'Zur Genese der Kommentare des Theodoros Balsamon', pp. 491–93.

⁴³ On the evidence of long inscribed tomb epigrams, see Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein*, p. 64.

the famous Hodegon monastery.⁴⁴ It is very likely that the title of the epigram *Εἰς τὸν τάφον ἐντὸς ὄντα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Ἄννης τιμωμένης ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν* (“On the tomb which is situated inside the church of St Anna who is worshipped in the Hodegon monastery”) was coined by Balsamon himself,⁴⁵ or by someone who knew the circumstances – e.g., a later compiler of his poetry –, because within the verses neither the Hodegon monastery nor the church of St Anna are mentioned. The Hodegon monastery played an important role in Balsamon’s life, because it was the place where he resided as titular patriarch of Antioch from 1185 to 1190.⁴⁶ In the vv. 24 ff. Balsamon insistently asks the future rulers and patriarchs of Antioch to keep the grave safe from violence until the day of the Last Judgement.⁴⁷

Tomb epigram no. 12 refers to a certain Stephen Komnenos who was also buried in the complex of the Hodegon monastery, as the title reveals (*Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐντὸς ὄντα τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς* – “On the tomb of the sebastos Stephanos Komnenos which is situated inside the monastery”). In this case too, one can argue with some plausibility that the title was coined by Balsamon himself because the name of the buried person is only revealed in the title and not in the poem itself. It was written to be inscribed on the tomb, because – as with many other inscriptional tomb epigrams – it starts with a typical direct address to the beholder: *Βλέπων, θεατά* (“look, beholder”).⁴⁸ He is asked to look at *κιβωτοτετράπλευρον ἐκ λίθου δόμον / καὶ θρηνοκατάκλυστον ἐκ λύπης τάφον* (vv. 1–2), which suggests that the

⁴⁴ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 205.

⁴⁵ On the subject of titles of Byzantine poems Andreas Rhoby, ‘Labeling Poetry in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period’, *Byzantion*, 85 (2015), pp. 259–83.

⁴⁶ Already from the tenth century onwards, the *Hodegon* complex was the residence of the patriarchs of Antioch when they came to Constantinople, see Pitsakes, ‘Η ἔκταση τῆς ἑξουσίας’, pp. 119–20; Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, ‘The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery’, in Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Milan and Athens: Skira, 2000), pp. 373–87: 376. On the Hodegon monastery in general, see the overview by Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantine*. Première partie: *le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*. Tome III: *les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1969), pp. 199–207.

⁴⁷ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 181 (no. 11), vv. 24–29: *καὶ παρακαλῶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς δεσπότας / καὶ συναδελφούς πατριαρχοποιμένους / Ἀντιόχου γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἔω, / τηρεῖν ἀσυλότατον αὐτὸν τῷ βίῳ, / μέχρι θεοῦ πρόσταξις ἢ θεία κρίσις / καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἅπαντα πρὸς φῶς ἀγάγη...*

⁴⁸ On this formula Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein*, pp. 101–02. See also idem, ‘Inscriptional Poetry. Ekphrasis in Byzantine Tomb Epigrams’, *Byzantinoslavica*, 69/3, supplementum (2011), pp. 193–204.

author distinguishes between the stone coffin (ἐκ λίθου δόμος) built in the form of a quadrangular box⁴⁹ and the gravestone (τάφος)⁵⁰ “flooded by laments,” which was perhaps also equipped with a depiction of the deceased. As convincingly argued by Horna,⁵¹ Stephen Komnenos is in all likelihood identical with the individual of the same name mentioned in Balsamon’s *nomokanon* (II 120). In addition, it is also argued that Stephen, a high official at the court (σεβαστός), was the emperor John II’s (grand)nephew, who perhaps lived from 1127/31 to 1156/57 and for whom Nicetas Eugeneianos wrote a prose monody.⁵² It seems that the epigram was produced long after Stephen’s and his wife’s (v. 5: διττοὺς σεβαστοὺς, εὐγενεῖς ὁμοζύγους) deaths, because their children are also mentioned (v. 6: καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν) as being buried in the grave. The children are said to be Κομνηνοφυεῖς παππομαμμοπατρόθεν (“Komnenian born from the grandfather, the grandmother and the father”).⁵³ If παππομαμμοπατρόθεν is to be understood *verbatim*, it is inaccurate, since Stephen’s grandmother Eirene (from the side of his father) was not a Komnenian-born, but from Alania.⁵⁴ Thus, the term is rather to be understood in the sense of “Komnenian ancestry of several generations.”

Tomb epigram no. 13, perhaps to be dated around 1185,⁵⁵ on the aforementioned Eumathios Macrembolites is also equipped with a direct address to the beholder (v. 9: θεατά); moreover, it is composed in

⁴⁹ The *hapax legomenon* κιβωτοτετράπλευτος is difficult to translate. In Erich Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994–2017), s. v. the translation “einer vierseitigen Kiste” is offered but I think it is more accurate to translate the verse as “a stone house (= coffin) looking like a quadrangular box.” In addition, one must not forget that the adjective also alludes to the original κιβωτός, i.e. Noah’s ark.

⁵⁰ The meaning “gravestone” is attested for the similar term ταφία, see Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones and Roderick McKenzie, *Greek English Lexicon. Revised Supplement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), s. v. and Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v. (ταφία).

⁵¹ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, pp. 205–06.

⁵² Konstantinos Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν* (Thessalonica: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1984), vol. I, pp. 288–91 (no. 57); Alexander Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), pp. 168–71.

⁵³ παππομαμμοπατρόθεν is a *hapax legomenon* but similar coined forms (e.g. μητροπαπποπατρόθεν, παπποπατρόθεν) are attested in other sources, see Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v.

⁵⁴ Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, vol. I, p. 157.

⁵⁵ Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, p. 161.

the first person. It is the deceased, the speaker's "I", who leads the readers and listeners through the poem.⁵⁶ In this epigram, too, ancestry plays a crucial role: the speaker's "I" traces back his origin to Constantine X Ducas and to his wife Eudocia Macrembolitissa; his paternal grandfather was their nephew (vv. 9–12).⁵⁷ This passage, as well as the following verses, which are devoted to his career development, are introduced in vv. 7–8, in which the deceased presents himself as a painter who is going to σκιαφραφῆν and στηλογραφεῖν – both verbs which describe the action of (*verbatim*) "depicting" – his ancestry and his fate on earth.⁵⁸ In addition, in v. 6 the deceased Eumathios Macrembolites compares himself to a discus thrower who throws the τόμος out of his hole (τρυμαλιά), i.e. his tomb.⁵⁹ The term τόμος might refer to the tomb epigram itself, i.e. the piece of paper on which the verses were written. Alternatively, it might allude to Macrembolites' literary activity (his novel?); a connection is perhaps also given to the meaning of τόμος as "(synodal) decision", e.g. used in epigram no. 32, v. 28 with reference to the synodal decree of 1166.⁶⁰

No. 19 is also to be identified as a tomb epigram. In Horna's edition the title runs as follows: Εἰς τάφον τοῦ σκευοφύλακος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἁγίου Φλωρίτου. Only recently, the label Φλωρίτης has been included as *hapax legomenon* in the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität (LBG)* with the translation "Mönch im Kloster des Hl. Phloros" ("monk in the monastery of St Phloros").⁶¹ However, both Horna's edition and *LBG*'s entry have to be corrected:⁶² the manuscript (Marc. gr. 524, fol. 90^v) reads

⁵⁶ On the three types of epitaphs (in the first, the second, or the third person), see Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, vol. I (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), pp. 215–40.

⁵⁷ Cf. Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 207. On this passage, see Herbert Hunger, 'Die Makremboliten auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln und in sonstigen Belegen', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 5 (1998), pp. 1–28: here p. 5.

⁵⁸ Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 13, vv. 7–8: καὶ σκιαγραφῶ τὰ πατρικά μου γένη / καὶ στηλογραφῶ τὰς ἐπὶ γῆς μου τύχας. This is reminiscent—to a certain extent—of Theodore Prodromos' dedicatory verses to his novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, in which the author presents himself as a painter who "has depicted the image of Dosikles and Rhodanthe": Agapitos, 'Poets and Painters', p. 175, I, vv. 6–7: χρώματα <ποικίλα> ταῦτα εἰς ὑπὸ χεῖρεσι μάρψας, / εἰκόνα τὴν Δοσικλήος ἐγράψατο καὶ τὴν Ῥοδάνθης. On the dedicatory verses of Prodromos' novels, see also Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, pp. 7–10.

⁵⁹ Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 13, v. 6: ἐκ τρυμαλῖας ἀποδισκεύω τόμον.

⁶⁰ On this epigram, see below pp. 136–138.

⁶¹ Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v.

⁶² Cf. Herbert Hunger, 'Kanonistenrhetorik im Bereich des Patriarchats am Beispiel des Theodoros Balsamon', in Oikonomides, *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 120 αἰῶνα*,

Ἀγι(ο)φλωρίτου. In English translation, the title therefore reads: *On the tomb of the skeuphylax John Hagiophlorites*. This John Hagiophlorites is also known from other sources: in 1166 he is attested as *chartophylax* of the Patriarchate, and in 1170 he was promoted to *megas skeuphylax*; the latter duty is also mentioned in Balsamon's title of the epigram and in v. 5. A seal, to be dated between 1166 and 1170, calls him *chartophylax Megales Ekklesias*.⁶³ Since Balsamon himself held the post of *chartophylax*, he wrote the epitaph about one of his predecessors.⁶⁴ John Hagiophlorites also seems to have been the author of the so-called *Ekthesis*,⁶⁵ the official record of the synod in 1166, which dealt with Christ's statement "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28).⁶⁶ The synodal record's text was also inscribed on plates, which were displayed in the Hagia Sophia. Balsamon's epigram no. 32 deals with the inscriptions' fate in the late twelfth century (see below p. 136).

Hagiophlorites is not a proper surname but indicates that John had a specific relationship to the monastery of St Phloros;⁶⁷ this "specific" relationship to the monastery seems to have been the fact that he spent the end of his life there as a monk with the name Dorotheos, as the end of the epigram reveals.⁶⁸ The location of the monastery is unknown;⁶⁹ there is a church of Sts Phloros and Lauros west of Constantinople, but

pp. 37–59; here p. 52, n. 65; Nesserer, *H Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη*, p. 100 (no. 19).

⁶³ Valentina S. Šandrovskaia and Werner Seibt, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Staatlichen Eremitage mit Familiennamen*. 1. Teil: *Sammlung Lichačev – Namen von A bis I* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), no. 95. See also Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 495–96 (with references).

⁶⁴ Hunger, 'Kanonistenrhetorik', pp. 52–53.

⁶⁵ His authorship is also attested for another synodal decree, see *ibidem*, pp. 53–59.

⁶⁶ Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), p. 288. The relevant literature on the edict's text is collected by Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*. 2. Teil: *Regesten von 1025–1204. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Peter Wirth mit Nachträgen zu Regesten Faszikel 3* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1995), no. 1469.

⁶⁷ Šandrovskaia and Seibt, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Staatlichen Eremitage*, p. 111; Hunger, 'Kanonistenrhetorik', p. 52, n. 65.

⁶⁸ Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 186, no. 19, vv. 23–25: κλησιν διπλῆν ἔσχηκας ἐκ τῶν πρακτέων, / Ἰωάννου μὲν τοῖς διακόνοις πρέπων, / Δωροθέου δὲ τοῖς μονασταῖς συμπρέπων. Horna (p. 210) rightly states that the first word in v. 24 appears as *ιοῦ^ω* (Horna *ιοῦ^ω*) which seems to be a mistake by the scribe, since Ἰωάννου perfectly fits the epigram's content. Horna's interpretation "das könnte Abkürzung für Ἰουίου oder Ἰουλίου sein" is hardly probable.

⁶⁹ Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 495–96.

it is less probable that Hagiophlorites refers to this.⁷⁰ As is typical for the tomb epigram genre, the deceased is highly praised.⁷¹ In the case of Hagiophlorites the praise may also have been influenced by Balsamon's personal respect for his predecessor in the ecclesiastic administration of Constantinople. Employing Old Testament imagery, he calls John ἡ τῶν γραφῶν γέφυρα (v. 9) and ἡ τοῦ λόγου πετροσφενδόνη (v. 13), which also refers to the deceased's rhetorical skills.⁷² V. 20 alludes to John's activity as a teacher at the Patriarchal School: σὺ ταῦτα, διδάσκαλε τῆς ἐκκλησίας. An interesting passage is represented by vv. 10–12: “Who will (now, i.e. after John's death) divide the Red Sea of salty doctrines with his teaching cane and save the people who flee the tyranny?”⁷³ As at the beginning of the epigram, Old Testament imagery is employed insofar as John's authorship of decrees and his teaching activities are compared to Moses who guided the Israelites through the Red Sea. The passage about the people who flee the tyranny might refer to the “terror regime” of Andronikos I (1183–1185) – which would offer us a safe date for John's death and the composition of the epigram –, but perhaps it rather refers to the opponents of the synodal decree of 1166 because the problems of this council continued to be discussed in the year afterwards.⁷⁴ The vv. 14–16 seem to refer to theological discussions as well: the epigram's author asks in a rhetorical question who should now – after John's death – chase away the bunch of heretic conspirators (v. 15 τὰς αἰρετικὰς ἐκδιώξει φατρίας).

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 496–97.

⁷¹ Cf. Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1942 = *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 28); especially for Manuel Philes Nikolaos Papadogiannakis, *Studien zu den Epitaphien des Manuel Philes. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie des Fachbereichs Altertumswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin* (Heraklion: 1984).

⁷² Hunger, ‘Kanonistenrhetorik’, p. 53 translates as “rhetorisches Geschütz;” literally it means “slingshot of word(s).”

⁷³ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 186, no. 19, vv. 10–12: τίς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν τῶν ἀλυκῶν δογματῶν / διδάσκαλικῆ συντεμῶν βακτηρία / σώσει λαὸν φεύγοντα τὴν τυραννίδα;

⁷⁴ Stergios N. Sakkos, *Ο Πατήρ μείζων μου εστιν*, vols I–II (Thessalonica: 1968).

Book Epigrams

V. 26 (Ἀντιόχου γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἔω) of Balsamon's aforementioned tomb epigram no. 11, which refers to his Antioch bishopric, also occurs in epigram no. 10 which can be identified as a book epigram.

It serves as the metrical prologue to a work by Balsamon which is lost. From the epigram's title which reads Εἰς βιβλίον τακτικὸν καὶ μηχανικὸν δοθὲν παρὰ τούτου τῷ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Ἰσαακίῳ ("On a book of tactics and strategies given by him to the emperor Isaac"), we learn that the work was dedicated to the emperor Isaac II, who was perhaps also the commissioner. In vv. 11–12 Balsamon asks the emperor to accept his book using the words δέξαι τολοιπὸν εὐμενῶς τοὺς ἰχθύας / τῆς ταγματικῆς ὀπλοδιδασκαλίας ("take well then kindly the fishes of the tactic warfare instruction"). The sea and fish imagery refers to the preceding verses in which this symbolic language is used as well: "Not into the deep well of uncertainty but into the red (sea)⁷⁵ of a gentle heart an old man (i.e. Balsamon himself) loosened the nets of his mind, when as archbishop he obtained the most deplorable throne of the land of Antioch but also of the entire east, and he sucked up the book of his writings, just like a fish dying out of the drought."⁷⁶ There has been some discussion regarding whether the βιβλίον τακτικὸν καὶ μηχανικὸν was indeed a book on warfare or if it was composed as a theological compilation with arguments against heresies and non-orthodoxies; the titles of the early twelfth-century dogmatic compilation *Panoplia dogmatike* by Euthymios Zigabenos and the *Hiera hoplotheke* by the mid-twelfth century author Andronikos Kamateros, which have similar war-like titles, make this assumption more probable.⁷⁷

Within Balsamon's collection there are some more book epigrams, among them the already mentioned ones on the *nomokanon*. Nos. 28 and 34 were used as prologue epigrams for two *typika*, i.e. foundation charters of monasteries,⁷⁸ one for the so-called Chrysokamariotissa monas-

⁷⁵ Cf. no. 19, v. 10.

⁷⁶ Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 10, vv. 1–7: Οὐκ εἰς τὸ βαθὺ τῆς ἀδηλίας φρέαρ, / ἄλλ' εἰς ἔρυθρὰν εὐνοϊκῆς καρδίας / τὰ τοῦ νοδὸς δίκτυα χαλάσας γέρων, / ἀρχιερεὺς οἰκτιστον ἀνύων θρόνον / Ἀντιόχου γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἔω, / εἰλκυσε ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς τὸ πυξίον, / ὡς ἰχθύας θνήσκοντας ἐξ ἀνυδρίας.

⁷⁷ See Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 170.

⁷⁸ See Giuseppe De Gregorio, 'Epigrammi e documenti. Poesia come fonte per la storia di chiese e monasteri bizantini', in Christian Gastgeber and Otto Kresten (eds), *Sylloge Diplomatico-paleographica I. Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatie und Paläographie* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 9–134: here pp. 48–57 (with a new edition of the two epigrams).

tery (no. 28), and the other for a female monastery as the title tells us: Εἰς τυπικὸν γυναικείας μονῆς (no. 34). Also v. 6 of this epigram reveals that the text refers to nuns: Ἐδὲμ πύλας ἤνοιξε ταῖς μονοτρόποις (“It [i.e. the τόμος δὲ βραχὺς τυπικογράφου νόμου = v. 4] opened the gates of Eden for the nuns”). Unfortunately, the original *typika* are not preserved any more. From the book epigram on the *typikon* of the Theotokos Chrysokamariotissa monastery, whose position is unknown (either in Constantinople or in its hinterland),⁷⁹ we learn that the renewer of the monastery, Andronikos, a high official under the Angeloi, who is also known from a preserved seal,⁸⁰ stemmed from the house of the Rogerioi who were of Norman origin (vv. 5–6 ... οὗ γένος / ἔστι περιβόητον ἐκ Ρογερῶν).

Balsamon’s epigram no. 31 was also composed for a monastery. It is of very specific content as it refers – as the title tells us – to a bitter orange tree which was killed by winter frost (Εἰς νέραντζαν⁸¹ τῆς μόνης τῶν Ἀργυρῶν⁸² καυθεῖσαν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος). The monastery *ton Argyron*, otherwise unknown, was also either located in Constantinople or in its hinterland.⁸³ Interestingly enough, in the poem the bitter orange tree is not mentioned at all. The verses are addressed to the winter, which is attacked as being pitiless with the garden’s charm. The very well-known and widespread motive of φθόνος (“envy”) is employed as well:⁸⁴ it forms an unholy alliance with the cold ice and the winter frost (vv. 23–24: ἀλλά,

⁷⁹ Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 242. The Mother of God’s epithet may refer to an area where the Chrysokamaron (a specific arch or vault in Constantinople) was located: see John Nesbitt, ‘Some Observations about the Roger Family’, *Nea Rhome*, 1 (2004), pp. 209–17: here p. 216.

⁸⁰ Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden. Teil 2: Siegellegenden von Ny bis inklusive Sphragis* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), no. 2118.

⁸¹ The codex (Marc. gr. 524 fol. 92^v) transmits νέραντζ(αν). Lampros, ‘Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ’, p. 135 wrote νερατζέαν (*sic!* Erroneously he seems to have omitted the *ny*), which he also defended in *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 15 (1921) p. 428. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v. accentuated νεράντζα, however, the moving of the accent is not necessary. In the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>, with site licence) the word is accentuated for some inexplicable reason νεραντζάν (which is the common modern Greek accentuation).

⁸² Horna edited Ἀργυροπῶλου (?) because he claimed to have read “ἀργυρω’ suprascr. N vel π” in the manuscript. Lampros, ‘Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ’, p. 135 (see also *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 15 [1921], p. 428) rightly corrected it into Ἀργυρῶν.

⁸³ Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 51.

⁸⁴ In this epigram of 29 verses three times: vv. 9 (φθόνος ξίφος), 23 (γέρον φθόνε), 26 (τοῦ φθόνου τὰς νιφάδας).

ψυχρὴ κρύσταλε καὶ γέρον φθόνε / καὶ χειμερινὴ παγετοξυμμαχία⁸⁵). However, the poem has a positive ending: the light of spring will extinguish the envious snowflakes and hide the army of vengefulness, and nature's charm may shine again!⁸⁶ Also, in this case one can easily assume that the title was coined by Balsamon himself. He could have been asked – perhaps by the monks – to compose a poem during a very hard winter period which destroyed the monastery garden's beauty,⁸⁷ among the victims a very beautiful bitter orange tree, perhaps the highlight of the garden. It is a matter of fact that in the twelfth century bitter lemons were still very exclusive fruits. They are not attested before the eleventh century, and it is not clear if they were then imported to or harvested in Byzantium.⁸⁸

A second epigram which deals with fruits is no. 30. It refers to a vine with grapes at the cell of the patriarch (Εἰς ἀναδενδράδα πατριαρχικοῦ κελλίου ἔχουσιν σταφυλάς). It seems to have been composed when Balsamon served as a high official in the patriarch's entourage. The content of the verses, however, does not show any connection with the patriarch; it rather warns against excessive enjoyment of the grapes.

Inscriptional Epigrams – Epigrams Referring to Depictions

The biggest group within Balsamon's poetical oeuvre is formed by epigrams referring to fresco depictions, icons and objects of minor arts. They all had the potential to serve as inscriptions, and some of them may indeed have been inscribed. It is possible that they were not all used as inscriptions because Balsamon was also an author who produced several epigram versions on the same subject. This practice is, for example, attested by the codex Athon. Meg. Laur. Ω 126, which at the end contains eight short dedicatory epigrams devoted to a silver bowl (Εἰς κρατῆρα ἀργυροῦν στίχοι) that

⁸⁵ *Verbatim* "chilly war alliance", see Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v. ("frostiges Kriegs Bündnis").

⁸⁶ Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 31, vv. 26–29: ὅσον γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ φθόνου τὰς νιφάδας / ἔαριν αἰ σβέσουσι λαμπαδοῦχίαι / καὶ στρατιᾶν κρύψουσιν αὐ μνησικᾶκων, / καὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ λάμπειεν ἢ χάρις πάλιν.

⁸⁷ On Byzantine monastic garden culture, see Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Byzantine Monastic Horticulture: The Textual Evidence', Antony Littlewood (ed.), *Byzantine Garden Culture. Papers Presented at a Colloquium in November 1996 at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 37–67.

⁸⁸ Grigori Simeonov, *Obst in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ernährung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Saarbrücken: AV Akademikerverlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2013), pp. 83–84.

was commissioned by Constantine Dalassenos, the governor of Antioch,⁸⁹ after 1025.⁹⁰ As demonstrated by Henry Maguire, the epigrams were written by at least two authors, one of them being a eunuch (no. IV, tit. Ἄλλα· εὐνούχου). Maguire also rightly stated that the epigrams were most likely trial pieces, from which the commissioner was supposed to choose one.⁹¹ Theodore Stoudites' collection of inscriptional iambs is also full of verses which were created to serve as inscriptions. His fourteen epigrams for crosses (nos. 47–60) may indeed all have been inscribed, but Stoudites may also have written them as “supply” for later inscriptional use.⁹²

In Balsamon's œuvre this is true for epigram no. 18 which is available in three variants, each of them consisting of six verses: it presents verses to be inscribed on a golden cup with the depiction of the famous scene of the judgement of Paris who offered the golden apple to Aphrodite, while Hera and Athena had to come away empty-handed (tit. Εἰς χρυσοῦν κωθώνιον ἔχον ἱστορημένας τρεῖς θεάς, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, τὴν Ἥραν, τὴν Ἀθῆνην, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διδοῦντα μήλον).⁹³ The commissioner of the verses is Andronikos Kontostephanos whose name is mentioned in only one of the three versions of the epigram, but very prominently (no. B, vv. 4–5: καὶ κλάδος ἐσφαίρωσε Κοντοστεφάνων / κλεινὸς μέγας δούξ, Ἀνδρόνικος τοῦνομα – “and it (the apple) was made globe-like by the branch of Kontostephanos, the famous Megas Dux, named Andronikos”).⁹⁴ It was perhaps this version which Kontostephanos picked in the end, if we assume that he was looking for the version which best served his ambitions of self-fashioning.⁹⁵ The Kontostephanoi were

⁸⁹ Cf. Jean-Claude Cheynet, *La société byzantine. L'appart des sceaux* (Paris: Assoc. des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008), pp. 417–19.

⁹⁰ Silvio G. Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina* (Bari: Dedali libri, 1970), vol. II, pp. 460–61.

⁹¹ Henry Maguire, *Image and Imagination: the Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1996), pp. 8–9.

⁹² Speck, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, pp. 199–211.

⁹³ Cf. Lauthermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, p. 43; Irene G. Galli Calderini, ‘Orientamenti tematici negli epigrammi di Teodoro Balsamone’, in Fabrizio Conca (ed.), *Byzantina Mediolanensia. V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini, Milano, 19–22 ottobre 1994* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1996), pp. 177–85: here p. 183; Andreas Rhoby, ‘Theodore Balsamon. Epigrams on a Golden Cup and a Letter about These Verses’, in: Foteini Spingou and Charles Barber (eds), *Texts on Byzantine Art and Aesthetics*, vol. 3: *Visual Arts, Material Culture, and Literature in Later Byzantium* (1081 – c. 1330) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

⁹⁴ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, no. 18B.

⁹⁵ On this topic generally Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare. With a new preface* (Chicago and London: The University of Chi-

a famous aristocratic family, also represented as addressees in Theodore Prodromos' poetry of the mid-twelfth century.⁹⁶ It is highly likely that the present Andronikos Kontostephanos is Andronikos Kontostephanos, son of Anna Komnene (daughter of John II) and Stephanos Kontostephanos, who is, for example, mentioned in Prodromos poem no. 50 (v. 20).⁹⁷ Interestingly enough, Andronikos Kontostephanos' cup and its verses (στιχίδια) are also mentioned in a letter from Balsamon which was sent to the aristocratic commissioner.⁹⁸

Apart from the other examples of epigrams mentioned above, which were probably produced in order to serve as a pool from which donors could choose, there is another striking example which is the closest to Balsamon's cup series: four anonymous epigrams, preserved in the same cod. Marc. gr. 524 (fol. 109^v–110^r), refer to a cup as well.⁹⁹ The title – with very similar wording – states that the epigrams were to be inscribed on a cup on which the Virtues were depicted (Εἰς κωθώνιον ἔχον εἰκονισμένας τὰς ἀρετάς); from version no. 3 we learn that it was a golden bowl (χρυσοῦς κρατήρ). The names of the donors, Eirene Komnene and her mother Sophia, are mentioned in versions nos. 1, 3 and 4, while in no. 2 there is only a reference to Sophia. In comparison with Balsamon's series, there is a difference in length: whereas versions no. 1 and 2 consist of three verses, nos. 3 and 4 encompass four verses. The commissioner of the epigrams could have been Eirene Dokeiane Komnene (c. 1110 – after 1143),¹⁰⁰ daughter of Sophia Komnene, who died c. 1130.¹⁰¹ She is also attested as the commissioner of other epigrams preserved in the *Marcianus*.¹⁰²

An example of an epigram composed to be inscribed on a cup is also given by the verses which are preserved on a still existing golden beaker kept in a museum in Skopje. It consists of four verses, is to be

cago Press, 2005).

⁹⁶ Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), pp. 435–48.

⁹⁷ Cf. Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, vol. II, pp. 249–94 (no. 135).

⁹⁸ Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 214 (no. 7), see also p. 210.

⁹⁹ Lampros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ', p. 153 (nos. 236–39). Cf. Spingou, *Words and Artworks*, pp. 133–34.

¹⁰⁰ Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, vol. I, pp. 301–03 (no. 61).

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem* 169–72 (no. 29).

¹⁰² See the references *ibidem* 302.

dated to the twelfth century and mentions the donor, a certain Adrianos Palteas.¹⁰³

Two versions of one epigram are also provided by the numbers 20A+B of Balsamon's epigrams, referring to a depiction of the archangel Michael with fifteen verses each, and 24A+B, referring to an icon of Theodore Stratelates with 17 verses each. The title of no. 20A suggests the assumption that the verses were painted next to the archangel's depiction. The latter's placement is of specific interest: the title reveals that the archangel was depicted in the perfume shops of the Great Church (Εἰς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ μετὰ ξίφους ἰστάμενον εἰς τὰ μυρσινικὰ ἐργαστήρια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἄνωθεν τῆς ... – "On the archangel Michael with sword standing upright in the perfume shops of the Great Church above ...").¹⁰⁴ Depictions of the archangel Michael with drawn sword are very common in Byzantine churches – in many cases next to the entrance¹⁰⁵ – but such depictions in secular buildings are otherwise not attested. Perfume shops are attested in Constantinople in the middle – e.g., in the Book of Eparch of the city¹⁰⁶ – and late Byzantine period;¹⁰⁷ the μυρσινικὰ ἐργαστήρια in the title of Balsamon's epigram seem to have specialized in the production of perfume for the Hagia Sophia which

¹⁰³ Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst*, no. Me11 and fig. 27.

¹⁰⁴ The end of the title fol. 91^r of the Marc. gr. 524 is completely illegible.

¹⁰⁵ Very often with epigrams on scrolls held by them: e.g., Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 1) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), no. 91; generally Piotr Ł. Grotowski (transl. by Richard Brzezinski), *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010). One should mention that the emperor Isaac II chose the church of the Archangel Michael at Sosthenion on the European side of the Bosphorus as his resting place. The dedication of the monastery to the "first" of the angels (arch-angelos) provided a pun for Isaac's family name Angelos: see Kallirroé Linardou, "A Resting Place for 'the First of the Angels': The *Michaelion* at Sosthenion", in Simpson, *Byzantium, 1180–1204: 'The Sad Quarter of a Century'?*, pp. 245–59.

¹⁰⁶ Johannes Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen. Einführung, Edition, Übersetzung und Indices* (= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 33) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), pp. 110–13.

¹⁰⁷ Ewald Kislinger, 'Gewerbe im späten Byzanz', in *Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 7. bis 10. Oktober 1986* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), pp. 103–26; here pp. 116–17; Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), pp. 206–08.

was there used for the oil burning in the lamps.¹⁰⁸ There might be a discrepancy in the description of the position of the archangel's depiction: while in the mutilated title it is stated that the archangel is positioned above something (*ἄνωθεν ...*), v. 6 of version A states *ἔστης πρὸ θυρῶν ἐνθάδε ξιφηφόρος*.¹⁰⁹

Epigram no. 29 refers less to a depiction of a saint in a private house but rather to a portable icon kept there: according to Balsamon's title (*Εἰς ἅγιον Δημήτριον εὐρεθέντα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀποστάτου Σθλαβοπέτρου*), the depiction of St Demetrios was found in the "house" of the apostate Peter the Slav, who unambiguously is Peter of Bulgaria, who together with his brother Asen rose up against the Byzantine Empire in the late twelfth century.¹¹⁰ It seems to be the icon which was rescued by Peter and Asen or their associates from Thessalonica, which was plundered by the Normans in 1185; the epigram refers to the Byzantines' military successes of 1186 when the icon was found in the Bulgarian capital of Tǎrnovo and from there brought back to either Thessalonica or Constantinople.¹¹¹

The concluding vv. 38–40 reveal that the epigram was commissioned by the emperor Isaac II, probably after his successful return from Bulgaria (*αὐτοκράτωρ γέγραφε πιστός σοι* [i.e. St Demetrios] *τάδε, / ἀνάξ Ἰσαάκιος Αὐσονοκράτωρ, / ἐξ Ἀγγελικῆς ὀσφύος κατηγμένος* – "the pious emperor commissioned to write this for you, lord Isaac, ruler of the Ausones, who derives from the loin of the Angels").

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Beatrice Caseau, 'Incense and Fragrances: from House to Church. A Study of the Introduction of Incense in the Early Byzantine Christian Churches', in Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger, Anna Muthesius and Dionysios Ch. Stathakopoulos (eds), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453). Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), pp. 75–92.

¹⁰⁹ Alternatively, *ἄνωθεν ...* might also refer to the position of the verses and not of Michael's depiction. However, as a still existing inscriptional epigram reveals, *ἄνωθεν* and *πρὸ* are not necessarily mutually exclusive: in the church of Sts Theodoroi (a. 1263/64) near Kaphiona on the Mani a (not fully preserved) epigram starts with the verse *Πρὸ τῆ[ς] πύλης γρά[φ]ω σε τὴν Θ(εο)ῦ [π]ύλη<ν>*. It refers to depictions of the *Hypapante* and the *Eisodia* above the door: Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, pp. 233–34 (no. 137).

¹¹⁰ Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 11, 89–91; Phaidon Malingoudis, 'Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarischen Staates', *Byzantina*, 10 (1980), pp. 73–88.

¹¹¹ Anastasia Dobyčina, 'A "Divine Sanction" on the Revolt: the Cult of St Demetrios of Thessalonica and the Uprising of Peter and Asen (1185–1186)', *Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe*, 2 (2012), pp. 111–24; especially pp. 119–20.

Epigram no. 14 refers to a depiction of the Mother of God in the Hodegon monastery, most likely the famous icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria, which was carried each Tuesday through the streets of Constantinople and placed at the altar of a different church for the celebration of Mass.¹¹² From the content it is not entirely clear if the verses were positioned directly next to the depiction of the Mother of God or were inscribed next to the monastery's entrance telling the entrants what they could expect to see in the katholikon. Alternatively, the verses might simply have been a reflection on the Hodegetria icon and someone who was tempted to see it. The verses 1–5 run as follows:

Ἄν τῶν Ὁδηγῶν τὴν μονὴν ἰδεῖν θέλεις
καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ παντοπροσκυνουμένην
τῆς κοσμολαμποῦς Ὁδηγητρίας χάριν,
ἄνοιξον ὡδὶ τὰς νοητάς σου κόρας
5 καὶ τῆς πρὸς <αὐτ>ὰς ἀξιοθήσῃ θεάς.

If you want to see the Hodegon Monastery
and the grace therein worshipped by all
of the Hodegetria who shines the world,
open here your mental eyes,
5 and you will be honored with the sight reflected in them.

The crucial passage is v. 4 in which the addressee is invited to open his *νοηταὶ κόραι*. The same expression is also employed by a contemporary source, namely an oration by George Tornikes on the patriarch George Xiphilinos (1191–1198) delivered on 20 March, 1193.¹¹³ In the so-called *Dialexis* of (Pseudo-)Gregentios of Taphar, to be dated to the tenth century, the expression is combined with *ὄμματα*.¹¹⁴ From the parallels cited it is conceivable that the term “mental eyes” encompasses

¹¹² Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 109–43; see also Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, ‘The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery’, pp. 373–87.

¹¹³ Marina Loukaki, *Discours annuels en l'honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin. Textes édités et commentés* (Paris: De Boccard, 2005), p. 133 (ll. 484–85): ... ὑψιβάτης πετρρῦση (i.e. George Xiphilinos) καὶ ἐναέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ γεωργεῖς ἡμῖν καρπὸν τὰς νοητάς κόρας φωτίζοντα καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν γλυκαῖνοντα λάρυγγα ... On the date pp. 95 and 191.

¹¹⁴ Albrecht Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation. With a contribution by G. Fiaccadori* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2006), p. 664 (ll. 68–70): πῶς γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκας τυφλώτων ἅπαξ καὶ μὴ ἔχων τὰς θείας ἀκτῖνας τῆς χάριτος φωταγωγούσης τὰς νοητάς κόρας τῶν ὀμμάτων; On the date pp. 100–09.

more than mere “gazing” at the monastery, its church and its depictions. It involves the use of the “spirit,” i.e. the application of all senses. As a reward “you will be honored (ἀξιοθήση) with the sight reflected in the ‘mental eyes.’”¹¹⁵ By doing so, as is told by the vv. 6–9, the monastery’s visitor and beholder of the depiction of the Mother of Gold respectively would see the Mother of God herself, who, like the δεσπότης (the Lord?), is accustomed to cultivate the rustic ears of corn and reveal the rewards which bring salvation from diseases.¹¹⁶ The verses hint at the healing properties of the holy water¹¹⁷ in the monastery and the gratitude that was addressed to the icon of the Hodegetria.¹¹⁸ The epigram ends with the author’s metrical signature Θεόδωρός σοι Βαλσαμῶν ταῦτα γράφει (v. 10). The form of this verse is a *topos*, which is sometimes employed in other poems on commission, especially those attributed to Manuel Philes.¹¹⁹ If the epigram was indeed once inscribed the inscriptional version possibly consisted only of the vv. 1–9, while v. 10 was only part of the written epigram as it was sent to his addressee. Balsamon may have composed the epigram when he resided in the Hodegon complex in his capacity as titular patriarch of Antioch (see above, p. 111); the addressee of the verses might have been the monastery’s abbot.

The epigram’s title deserves some remarks as well: in Horna’s edition it reads Εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν εἰκονισμένην Ὁδηγήτριαν παντέχιον. In the apparatus Horna states: *post ὀδηγήτριαν aliquot verba, quae legere not potui*.¹²⁰ This is indeed true: the letters in the *lacuna* on fol. 90^r are not decipherable.¹²¹ However, by taking a closer look at the manuscript

¹¹⁵ On the multisensory perception of sacred space in Byzantium, see, e.g., Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon. Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2010); eadem, ‘Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics’, *Gesta*, 50/2 (2011), pp. 93–111.

¹¹⁶ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, no. 14, vv. 6–9: ἰδῆς γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μητέρα / κἀνταῦθα θαμίζουσαν ὡσπερ δεσπότην / τοὺς χωριτικούς καλλιεργούσαν στάχους / καὶ σῶστρα μηνύουσαν ἀρρωστημάτων. In v. 7 the ms. (cod. Marc. gr. 524, fol. 90^r) transmits δεσπότην with something written above the iota (perhaps added by a later hand?) which might be identified as an eta.

¹¹⁷ See below p. 134.

¹¹⁸ Angelidi and Papamastorakis, ‘The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria’, p. 380.

¹¹⁹ E.g., Man. Phil. carm. E23, v. 23 (I, p. 203 Miller): Φιλῆς Μανουὴλ ταῦτα θαρβρόντως γράφει; E223, v. 22 (I, p. 118 Miller = Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein*, no. TR76): ἡ σύζυγος πρὶν ταῦτά σοι Μάρθα γράφει; F128, v. 8 (I, p. 319 Miller): Φιλανθρωπηγὴ ταῦτα σὴ λάτρις γράφει; Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst*, no. Ik26, v. 6: Φιλανθρωπηγὴ Ἄννα ταῦτα σοι κράζει.

¹²⁰ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 183.

¹²¹ I sincerely thank Foteini Spingou who provided good images of the folio.

the last word seems to read ...αντείχιδὸν (*sic*), not παντέχιον.¹²² In a short note Angelidi and Papamastorakis refer to Balsamon's epigram with the words "On an Icon of the Hodegetria which was at Panteichion, outside Constantinople."¹²³ It is indeed tempting to link the word with this toponym which designates a location on the coast of the Propontis, c. 20 km southeast of Chalkedon.¹²⁴ But how can a connection between this location, the Hodegon monastery and the icon of the Hodegetria be explained? No source is preserved, which can testify to a possible temporal stay of the icon at Panteichion, except for the fact that in modern times a church of the Theotokos Hodegetria is attested at this location. The word might also be explained differently: παντείχ - might also stem from an otherwise not attested adjective παντείχιος, coined in a manner similar to ἐντείχιος, ἐπιτείχιος and προτείχιος,¹²⁵ and refer to the walls (of Constantinople). Thus, the epigram's title might be seen in connection with an event which took place in 1187: when the army of the rebelling general Alexios Branas was approaching Constantinople¹²⁶ "he (i.e. the emperor Isaac II) carried up to the top of the walls, as an impregnable fortress and unassailable palisade, the icon of the Mother of God taken from the monastery of the Hodegoi where it had been assigned, and therefore called Hodegetria," as Nicetas Choniates tells in his history.¹²⁷ It is the passage "up to the top of the walls" (ἄνω τῶν τειχέων) to which παντείχιος might refer, perhaps meaning that the "all (i.e. the entire city) was equipped with walls."

¹²² Interestingly enough, when Horna's edition was integrated into the database of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>, with site licence) the word was changed to πάντεχνον, which, however, does not solve the passage either.

¹²³ Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria', p. 380.

¹²⁴ Cf. Friedrich K. Dörner, Panteichion, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, 18/3 (1949), pp. 779–80. I sincerely thank my colleague Klaus Belke for providing me with a printout of the lemma "Panteichion" to be published in his forthcoming volume *Bithynien und Hellespont (= Tabula Imperii Byzantini 13)*.

¹²⁵ On these words Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v.

¹²⁶ On Alexios Branas and his rebellion, see Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, pp. 80–82 and passim. Mention of Alexios Branas is also made in Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), passim.

¹²⁷ Nic. Chon. hist 382, 55–58 (van Dieten); English translation after Harry J. Magoulas, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 209–10. See also Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria', p. 382.

Also the epigram which follows in the manuscript (no. 15) is devoted to the healing capacity of the *κοσμοπροσκύνητος*¹²⁸ (“worshipped by the world”) Hodegetria (icon). It is addressed to the church’s visitor who need not be scared of the ancestral curse (v. 4 *προπατορικὴν μὴ πτοηθῆς κατάραν*), i.e. original sin, when looking at the pure virgin Hodegetria who lets flow tears of orthodoxy (v. 3 *καὶ σταγόνας βλύζουσιν ὀρθοδοξίας*). He or she may rather scoop from her the dew of life which cures diseases and redeems the sins. This epigram, too, could have been inscribed next to the Hodegetria icon or somewhere else in the monastery. But the verses may also have been a mere reflection about the healing power of the Hodegetria, again perhaps addressed to the monastery’s abbot.

Within the series of epigrams with the potential to be inscribed, no. 27 is of interest insofar as the title informs about secular painting, of which, unfortunately, only a few examples are preserved from Byzantium. The epigram’s heading runs as follows: *Εἰς τὸν ἱστορηθέντα βασιλέα κύριν Ἰσαάκιον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου λούματος τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας* (“On the emperor Isaac depicted inside the holy bath of the saint Theotokos Hodegetria”). These verses,¹²⁹ too, were perhaps composed while Balsamon was residing as titular patriarch of Antioch in the Hodegon complex. In the text we read that the emperor’s achievement was primarily his order to have the bath and its heating renewed, after “all destructing” (v. 3 *ἅπαντοφθόρος*) χρόνος had caused damage.¹³⁰ The bath called *ἅγιον λούμα* in the title was a vaulted structure as v. 1 reveals: *Τὸ σφαιροειδὲς τοῦτο θερμοκεντρὶον* (“This heating in the form of a globule”). There has been some speculation as to whether this bath and the public bath (*δημοσιακὸν λουτρόν*) mentioned in the title of epigram no. 42 may have incorporated parts of the old Baths of

¹²⁸ This compound is also attested in the epigram inscribed on the cross of the famous staurotheke of Bessarion, ed. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, no. Me79; see also idem, ‘The Textual Programme of the Cross of Bessarion’s Staurotheke and its Place within the Byzantine Tradition’, in Holger A. Klein, Valeria Poletto and Peter Schreiner (eds), *La stauroteca di Bessarione fra Costantinopoli e Venezia* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2017), pp. 113–131. Despite the fact that the word is only attested in these two texts, however, there seems to be no connection between them.

¹²⁹ A full English translation of the epigram is provided by Robert Nelson and Paul Magdalino, ‘The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century’, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 8 (1982), pp. 123–83; here p. 153.

¹³⁰ Blaming the *χρόνος* (often paired with *φθόνος* “envy”) for destruction is a very widespread *topos* in Byzantium: see Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein*, pp. 322–23, n. 1179.

Arcadius (*Arcadianae*), which seem to have been located in the area of the Hodegon monastery.¹³¹ The epigram, despite its length of 27 verses, seems to have been inscribed either in the bath itself or at the entrance, highlighting the emperor's achievement: interestingly enough, in the epigram Isaac II is not mentioned directly by his name but he is circumscribed as πιστὸς βασιλεύς, Ἀγγέλων προστάτης ("pious emperor, leader of the Angeloi")¹³² (v. 19). The epigram's end is also devoted to the ruling family of the Angeloi: the bathers are addressed with "Bath ye, then, become clean, and putting off all evil-doing, pray that the imperial angel-protection (Ἀγγελοπροστασία) may enjoy long life."¹³³ This devotion to Isaac reinforces the assumption that the verses were placed next to the depiction of the emperor mentioned in the epigram's title. However, in the verses themselves a depicted image of the emperor is not mentioned at all. This indicates that the title seems to be original, i.e. Balsamon's work, because it contains information which is not given by the verses.

Epigram no. 43, only transmitted in cod. Vat. gr. 165, fol. 282^r, refers to a depiction of Isaac II as well: he is depicted sitting on a horse, wearing a crown and holding his unsheathed sword, as the title tells: Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κύριν Ἰσαάκιον ἀνεστηλωνένον¹³⁴ εἰς εἰκόνα ἐφιππον μετὰ στέμματος καὶ γυμνῆς σπάθης.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, neither the title nor the verses reveal where this depiction existed. It could have been in the Hodegon monastery as well, but since it is explicit praise of Isaac and his

¹³¹ The Baths of Arcadius were most likely in use until the breakdown of Constantinople's supply of water in 626: see Albrecht Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik, Neugriechische Philologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, 1982) pp. 84, 129; idem, *Konstantinopel. Geschichte, Topographie, Religion* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011), p. 122 and n. 80 and Nelson and Magdalino, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art', p. 154.

¹³² Or – *verbatim* – "the angels". Cf. Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 17, v. 3: τὰς βασιλικὰς Ἀγγελοπροστασίας.

¹³³ Horna, 'Epigramme', no. 27, vv. 24–27: λούσασθε τοῖνον, καθαροὶ γίνεσθέ μοι / καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκδυθέντες αἰσχροπραξίαν / ζῶην πολυχρόνιον αἰτήσασθέ μοι / τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἀγγελοπροστασίας. English translation after Nelson and Magdalino, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art', p. 153.

¹³⁴ ἀνεστηλωνένον means here just "depicted," cf. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v. ἀναστηλώω. Thus, the interpretation of Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), vol. II, p. 171 "ein Epigramm auf eine Reiterstatue Kaiser Isaaks II. Angelos" is not correct.

¹³⁵ An English translation of the verses is provided by Nelson and Magdalino, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art', p. 154. On this epigram, see also Roberto Romano, 'Note filologiche I', *Diptycha*, 3 (1982/83), pp. 124–29; here p. 128 (no. 6).

ascension to power in 1185¹³⁶ it might have been inscribed next to the enormous depiction of the equestrian emperor in the palace.

No. 26, which is the third epigram in Balsamon's collection referring to a bath, is either used as an inscription or composed in order to serve as mere reflection.¹³⁷ Both the title (Εἰς τὸν θεῖον ναδὸν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ λογοθέτου τὸν ποτε ὄντα λουτρόν) and the verses reveal that a former bathhouse in the house of a *logothetes*, whose name is not mentioned, was transformed into a church (vv. 3–4 εἰς ψυχοσωτήριον ἀμείβει πόλον / τὸν θερμολουτήριον ἀνθρώπων δόμον). Churches in private houses were not uncommon in Byzantium: the church in the house of the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, the emperor's Manuel I Komnenos, sister-in-law, where her salon of literati met, may serve as an example from the twelfth century.¹³⁸

The content of epigram no. 32 is different: it consists of fifty verses which refer to the aforementioned (p. 122) inscribed edict of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos.¹³⁹ The edict inscribed was issued in the course of the Council of 1166 which dealt with a passage in the New Testament (John 14:28 "My Father is greater than I"); it was copied on marble slabs which were on display in St Sophia of Constantinople.¹⁴⁰ For ecclesiopolitical reasons the inscribed plates twice found themselves at risk of removal after Manuel's reign: first under Andronikos I, and later during the reign of Isaac II, because it was argued that the misfortunes of the empire were due to the recognition of Manuel's "heretic" dogma.¹⁴¹ Isaac, however, remained steadfast and preserved the inscribed plates. Balsamon's encomiastic epigram highlights Isaac's fortitude by using warfare imagery, insofar as he calls the inscribed edict a rocky elo-

¹³⁶ Nelson and Magdalino, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art', pp. 184–85. A detailed analysis on the origin of the image of the equestrian emperor is provided on pp. 155–60.

¹³⁷ Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit*, p. 128.

¹³⁸ Jeffreys, 'The Sebastokratorissa Irene as Patron'.

¹³⁹ The edict's text is not only preserved as an inscription but also in manuscripts: an edition of the text was provided by Cyril Mango, 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), pp. 315–30; see also Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina*, vol. II, pp. 320–26 and Otto Kresten, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Protokolle kaiserlich-byzantinischer Auslandschreiben des 12. Jahrhunderts aus lateinischen Quellen', in Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris (eds), *Πολύπλευρος νοῦς. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Munich and Leipzig: Saur, 2000), pp. 125–63; p. 154.

¹⁴⁰ What one sees there today are casts, because the originals were removed from St Sophia church in 1567 in order to serve as the ceiling of the porch of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's tomb (türbe): see M. Restle, *Istanbul, Bursa, Edrine, Iznik. Baudenkmäler und Museen* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976), p. 271.

¹⁴¹ Mango, 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166', p. 321.

quent sword (v. 5 πέτρινον εὔστομον ξίφος) and a double-edged dagger (v. 8 μάχαιρα¹⁴² διστομουμένη). In the first four verses the inscribed plates are praised: with the opening v. 1 Ο λίθος οὔτος λυχνίτης ἐστὶ λίθος Balsamon stresses the stone's value by alluding to an alleged Parian origin because – according to Pliny's Natural History – λυχνίτης λίθος is the *terminus technicus* for the most valuable marble, namely Parian marble.¹⁴³ However, λυχνίτης is also the term for red tourmaline, a precious gemstone, which is known for glittering.¹⁴⁴ It is this feature of the stone to which the verses following the beginning of the poem allude: the statement that “the stone shines like the light of the sun” (v. 2 λάμπει γὰρ ὡς φῶς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος) may indeed refer to the effect when the slabs with the edict inscription were irradiated by the light of the sun. This effect is repeated in vv. 41–43: the inscribed slabs are compared with the λίθος ἀνθραξ which, likewise, is a glittering gemstone of red color.¹⁴⁵ The ones looking at the stone without winking (v. 42 ἀσκαρδαμυκτί), but with desire, are resplendent by the boundless light.¹⁴⁶ The Byzantines were aware of such light effects, especially in the Hagia Sophia, as other sources reveal.¹⁴⁷

In v. 34 Balsamon even quotes a direct – although fictitious – speech by the emperor Isaac, namely “στῶμεν”, in the sense of “we are steadfast” and we do not allow the evil to have the plates removed.¹⁴⁸ Whether Isaac indeed said this, is less important. With this intervention, Balsamon added a dramatic element to the epigram.

The 50 verses were either inscribed next to the slabs or functioned as a performative epigram which was recited in front of the edict inscription on specific occasions. In order to make the inscription's slabs firmly

¹⁴² μάχαιρα is a very general term for any kind of melee weapon: see Taxiarchis G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), pp. 138–39.

¹⁴³ Sonja Schönauer, *Untersuchungen zum Steinkatalog des Sophrosyme-Gedichtes des Meliteniotes mit kritischer Edition der Verse 1107–1247* (Wiesbaden: Beerenverlag, 1996), p. 130*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 105*.

¹⁴⁶ Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 195, no. 32, vv. 41–43: ὡς λίθον οὖν ἀνθρακα τοῦτον τὸν λίθον / ἀσκαρδαμυκτί καὶ μετὰ πόθου βλέπων / καταγλαΐσθῆς ὑπὸ φωτὸς ἀπλέτου.

¹⁴⁷ See especially Pentcheva, 'Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics'.

¹⁴⁸ The same στῶμεν is also employed in epigram no. 20B, v. 8, in which the word is put into the archangel's Michael mouth.

fixed – at least in a metaphorical sense – the epigram tells that images of the apostles Peter and Paul were set up on either side (vv. 39–40).

Like no. 27 (see above, p. 134), the epigram is very much devoted to the praise of Isaac and also ends with the plea to grant him a long reign. Here it is not the visitors of the church, who are asked for this favor, as was the case with the bathers in no. 27, but Christ himself (v. 47 *σὺ δέ, κράταιε τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγε*). The divine momentum is also included in v. 9, in which Balsamon states that “one could call the stone also slabs written by God” (*εἶπη τις αὐτὸν (sc. λίθον) καὶ θεογράφους πλάκας*). Vv. 32–33 are also reminiscent of a verse (19) in epigram no. 27: while there the emperor is circumscribed as *πιστὸς βασιλεὺς, Ἀγγέλων προστάτης*, here he is characterized as ... *βασιλεὺς Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης / μέγας Ἰσαάκιος Αὐσονοκράτωρ*.

Poems on Schedography

The topic of a further group within Balsamon’s poetic œuvre is schedography (*σχεδογραφία*), a teaching method on word analysis and syntax, based on *epimerismoι* and extremely popular in the twelfth century,¹⁴⁹ although it was also criticized.¹⁵⁰ Three epigrams (nos. 23, 25 and 41) are addressed to a “little eunuch”¹⁵¹ (nos. 23 and 25 *εὐνοχόπουλος / no.*

¹⁴⁹ On schedography and its function, see, e.g., Panagiotis A. Agapitos, ‘Learn- ing to Read and to Write a *Schedos*: the verse dictionary of Paris. Gr. 400’, in Stephanos Efthymiadis, Charis Messis, Paolo Odorico and Ioannis Polemis (eds), *Pour une poé- tique de Byzance. Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros* (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo- helléniques et sud-est-européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2015), pp. 11–24; idem, ‘Literary *haute cuisine* and Its Dangers: Eustathios of Thessalonike on Schedography and Everyday Language’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 69 (2015), pp. 225–41; idem, ‘New Genres in the Twelfth Century: The *schedourgia* of Theodore Prodromos’, *Medioevo Greco*, 15 (2015), pp. 1–41; idem, ‘John Tzetzes and the Blemish Examiner: a Byzantine Teacher on Schedography, Everyday Language and Writerly Disposition’, *Medioevo Greco*, 17 (2017), pp. 1–57.

¹⁵⁰ Idem, ‘Anna Komnene and the Politics of Schedographic Training and Collo- quial Discourse’, *Nea Rhome*, 10 (2013) 89–107; idem, ‘Grammar, Genre and Patronage in the Twelfth Century: A Scientific Paradigm and its Implications’, *Jahrbuch der Öster- reichischen Byzantinistik*, 64 (2014), pp. 1–22: here pp. 5–6.

¹⁵¹ On eunuchs in Byzantium, see Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant. Eu- nuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003); Shaun Tougher and Ra’anan S. Boustan (eds), *Eunuchs in An- tiquity and Beyond* (Cardiff: Classical Press of Wales, 2002); Shaun Tougher, *The Eu- nuchs in Byzantine History and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008); Charis Messis, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire* (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo-

41 εὐνουχοπουλίδιον) who wants to begin a study of schedography. As in other epigrams, Balsamon uses warfare imagery in order to describe the use of schedography: in no. 25 he employs words like μάχη, νίκη, and ξίφος, and he tells his addressee, whom he addresses as τέκνον (vv. 1, 3 and 11), to put on the “three-fold defence” (v. 11 τριπανοπλία) to be ready for the “fight” with schedography.

In epigram no. 41 Balsamon proves to be quite humorous. The verses, full of intentionally coined *hapax legomena*, run as follows:

Εἰς εὐνουχοπουλίδιον ἄρξασθαι μέλλον σχεδογραφίας
 Τὴν κνιδοχορτόπλουτον εὐνούχων φύσιν
 ἄκριδομικτόβρουχος ἀρπάσοι φύσις
 εὐνουχοπουλίδιον ἡμῶν δὲ σκέποι
 θεοῦ τρισυπόστατος ἁγία φύσις
 5 ὡς μάννα σιτίζουσα τούτῳ τοὺς λόγους
 καὶ πλεκτάνας λύουσα τῶν σχεδοπλόκων.

On a little eunuch who wants to start with schedography
 The eunuchs' nature rich on stinging nettle and grass
 may be rescued by the nature consisting of grasshoppers and
 bushcrickets,
 but our little eunuch may be sheltered
 by the holy nature of three persons of God,
 5 which feeds him the words like manna
 and untightens the wreaths of the composers (i.e. the weavers)
 of σχέδη.¹⁵²

In this epigram, as well as in no. 25, Balsamon does not necessarily make mere fun of eunuchs at the court, whose social situation had deteriorated under the Komnenoi because an ideology which venerated manliness had become dominant.¹⁵³ Both poems are written with some kind

héliennes et sud-est-européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2014). Balsamon's epigrams dealing with eunuchs are only mentioned in Messis' monograph.

¹⁵² French translation in Messis, *Les eunuques à Byzance*, p. 228. This epigram is not only transmitted in the Marcianus (fol. 9^v) but also in cod. Par. gr. 2511, fol. 76^v. In this manuscript, dated to the fourteenth century, the verses (without the title) follow some *gnomica S. Basilii*. Deviant readings: v. 1 κνιδοχορτόπλουτον, v. 5 τοῦ λόγου, v. 6 σχεδογράφων. On the manuscript Brigitte Mondrain, 'L'ancien empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène et ses copistes', in Antonio Rigo (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2004), pp. 249–96: here pp. 275–78. The manuscript can be studied online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722248w> (accessed 15 March, 2018).

¹⁵³ Alexander Kazhdan, 'Sostav gospodstvujščego klassa v Vizantii XI–XII vv. Anteka i častnye vyvody, IV: evnuhi', *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 10 (1973), pp. 184–

of irony,¹⁵⁴ which not only refers to “his” (no. 41, v. 3 εὐνουχοπουλίδιον ἡμῶν) eunuch, who was perhaps employed in his household, but also to the teachers employing schedography, the σχεδοπλόκοι, as he calls them in no. 41, v. 6. In vv. 1–2 Balsamon perhaps alludes to a riddle which might have been deciphered in his time but is unknown today. The pun in these verses might also be evidence for the fact that the epigrams no. 25 and no. 41 were performed among other literati, in a so-called *theatron* or any other intellectual gathering. This also applies for epigram no. 23 which is entitled Στίχοι ἐκδοθέντες τῷ εὐνουχοπούλῳ (“Verses published for the little eunuch”). While nos. 25 and 41 are not openly directed against the method of *schede* and schedographers, in epigram no. 23 the tone is less friendly: the eunuch is unambiguously told to refrain from “fatted” schedography (v. 6 τῆς μὲν σιτιστῆς ἀπέχου σχεδουργίας). A shrewd character may solve the “tight wattled and manifold *schede*” (v. 10 τὰ στεγανόπλεκτα ποικίλα σχέδη), but a ἄνηβος (“someone not yet come to man’s estate”) in education and years (v. 12 ἐν λόγοις ἄνηβος ... καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις) – the term refers to Balsamon’s little eunuch – should store up the easily comprehensible, not the enigmatic *schede* (v. 13 εὐληπτα θησαυρίζε, μὴ γρίφα σχέδη). This may express attitudes towards schedography which are not very different from Anna Komnene’s assessment of this teaching method: Anna was not – as often argued – completely against schedography but rather against the form employed in her time;¹⁵⁵ the same seems to be true for John Tzetzes, Nikephoros Basilakes and Eustathios of Thessalonica.¹⁵⁶ Verses 14–15, which form the end of epigram no. 23, are again full of Balsamon’s irony: “If you have digestive problems due to fat dishes, eat the lard of laughing instead of the food” (εἰ γὰρ ἀπεπετεῖς ἐκ λιπαρῶν σιτίων, / φάγῃς στέαρ γέλωτος ἀντὶ βρωσίμου).

It may be mentioned that two further epigrams in Balsamon’s collection deal with his eunuch (nos. 21 and 22). In no. 21 the author compares him to a diligent ant which, although little in size, does not at all offer little work. Also in this epigram, Balsamon addresses him as τέκνον

94 cited after idem, ‘Eunuchs’, in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1 (1991), pp. 746–47. See also Messis, *Les eunuques à Byzance*, p. 229.

¹⁵⁴ On “irony” in Byzantium, see the contributions by Efthymia Braounou, such as ‘Irony as a Discursive Practice in Historiography: A Byzantine Case in Point’, *Medioevo Greco*, 16 (2016), pp. 35–71.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Agapitos, ‘Anna Komnene and the Politics of Schedographic Training’, pp. 95–96.

¹⁵⁶ Idem, ‘Grammar, Genre and Patronage in the Twelfth Century’, pp. 4–15.

(v. 7).¹⁵⁷ No. 22 is entitled “On a tall cupbearer, as if written by the little eunuch” (Εἰς ἐπικέρνην μακρόν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐνοχοπούλου).¹⁵⁸ It is no coincidence that it consists of twelve verses, as does no. 21, because it has an intentional parallel structure:

	No. 21	No. 22
	*Μυρμηκοφυῆς ἐνδεδυμένος δέμας,	*Γιγαντοφυῆς ἐνδεδυμένος δέμας
	*μυρμηκοτραφεῖς οὐκ ἔχεις ἐργασίας·	*γιγαντοτραφεῖς οὐκ ἔχεις ἐργασίας·
	οὐ γὰρ κοπιᾷς, ὡς τὰ μυρμηκῶν γένη,	οὐ γὰρ μεριμνᾷς *συχνοκίρναν, ὡς γίγας,
	τοὺς Ἑρμαῖκοὺς ἐξακανθίζων στάχυς,	*κυπελλομοχθῶν καὶ *κυπελλοσεμνύων
5	κατὰ γραΐδιων δε συντρόφων φύσιν	τὰς δεσποτικὰς *δειπνοφιλοτησίας,
	*μυρμηκοδιφᾶς τοὺς ξεντρόφους κόπους.	κατὰ δὲ φαυλότατα Σατύρων γένη
	Οὕτω σε, τέκνον, ἐκ κακῆς ῥαθυμίας	*πιθηκοκίρνας ἐν *πιθηκοκεντρίῳ.
	λῆμὸς κατέσχε γνωστικῆς εὐπραγίας,	οὕτω κακίστη συντρόφων ἀμνηστία
	εὐνοχικὸν τρέχοντα καὶ ταῦτα δρόμον·	πιθηκὸν εἰργάσατο τὸν γίγαντά σε.
10	*μυρμηκομόχθει τοιγαροῦν, εἴπερ θέλεις	*γιγαντοκίρνα τοιγαροῦν, εἴπερ θέλεις
	*μυρμηκοτρουφᾶν τοὺς θερινοὺς καμάτους	*γιγαντοτρουφᾶν *εὐχαριστοπραξίας
	ἐν χειμεριναῖς *τεττιγοτρικυμῖαις.	ἐν συντροφικαῖς *πρωκοκακοπραγίαις.

No. 22 might indicate that the eunuch and the cupbearer, most likely both employed in Balsamon’s household, had a polemic relationship. However, both epigrams with their intentional parallel structure might also have been composed as a rhetorical exercise,¹⁵⁹ highlighting the possibilities one has when playing with words, especially *hapax legomena*, which were only coined for these two poems (18 new words, indicated by *, in no. 21 mainly from the stem *μυρμηκο-*, in no. 22 especially from the stem *γιγαντο-*).

As to schedography, there is one more poem by Balsamon (no. 16) in which this method is mentioned. It consists of 20 verses addressed to a metropolitan of Philippupolis who is the author of a work entitled *Ἐξαγωγή*, which was perhaps of theological content.¹⁶⁰ Balsamon opens the poems with the statement that straying like some Odysseus he sailed through the Charybdis of schedography (v. 2 *σχεδουργικὴν χάρυβδιν*) because of ignorance (*ἐξ ἀμαθίας*). He continues with “or (sailing) the

¹⁵⁷ French translation of this poem by Messis, *Les eunuques à Byzance*, p. 228.

¹⁵⁸ Galli Calderini, ‘Orientamenti tematici negli epigrammi di Teodoro Balsamone’, p. 182 translates *εὐνοχόπουλος* and *εὐνοχοπουλίδιον* as “un giovane eunuco.” However, since the opposite equivalent *ἐπικέρνης μακρός* refers to the height (of the cupbearer), the cited diminutives describing the eunuch most probably refer to height as well and not to age.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Galli Calderini, ‘Orientamenti tematici negli epigrammi di Teodoro Balsamone’, p. 182; a short note on this poem also by Messis, *Les eunuques à Byzance*, p. 229.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 209.

ebb of the night-battle I could not see the easily accessible day” (vv. 3–4 ἢ μᾶλλον ἀμπώτιδα νυκτομαχίας, / οὐκ εἶχον εὐπρόσιτον ἡμέραν βλέπειν). This passage employing sea and sailing imagery, with which Balsamon also seems to allude to Thucydides’ description of a nightly attack by the Athenians against Syracuse in the Peloponnesian War (7, 44),¹⁶¹ is continued with some more sardonic remarks about schedography: when looking into a small *schedos* (?) (v. 9 σχεδάριον)¹⁶² of a friend he found a garden of Hermes flooded by the Sirens (v. 10 σειρηνοκατάκλυστον Ἐρμοῦ κηπίον)¹⁶³ through which he hoped to trample down his straying and to benefit from its conveniences (vv. 11–13). “So much grace crowns the σχεδος, so much I take the grapes, which let flow honey, from the grapevine of David¹⁶⁴ in it (i.e. the σχεδος):”¹⁶⁵ with these words Balsamon continues his poem, employing garden imagery. However, the poem ends with some hidden allusions which were perhaps only understandable for the author and his addressee: “When friends are blind towards friends, I do not know: I also do not pray for seeing for those who are sharp-sighted regarding the passions of the friends and who tend to blindness regarding their own fate.”¹⁶⁶ The verses might refer to some bad experience Balsamon had with a friend inclined to schedography, perhaps the one mentioned in v. 9, into whose σχεδάριον Balsamon had a look.

Although the poem deals with schedography and does not have any connection with its title at first sight, it may have served as a prologue

¹⁶¹ Thucydides’ ekphrasis of the night-battle is also mentioned in the progymnasmata collections of early rhetoricians, e.g. Aphthonios: Michel Patillon, *Corpus Rhetoricum. Anonyme, Préambule à la rhétorique. Aphthonios, Progymnasmata. En annexe: Pseudo-Hermogène, Progymnasmata. Textes établis et traduits* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008), pp. 148, ll. 4–7 (ch. XII 2); νυκτομαχία is also used metaphorically: in one of his letters Theodore Stoudites speaks about the νυκτομαχία αἰρετική of his time (no. 507, 3 Fatouros).

¹⁶² This term is difficult to explain: according to the dictionaries σχεδάριον is either a “sketch”, a “rough draft” or a “short document.” For the meaning, which is very likely employed here, namely “small σχεδος”, there are no further attestations to the very best of my knowledge.

¹⁶³ The reference to Hermes is due to the ancient God’s responsibility for rhetoric; it is also employed in two other poems by Balsamon dealing with schedography (no. 21, v. 4 and no. 25, v. 6).

¹⁶⁴ This statement seems to allude to psalm 127 (128), 3: ἡ γυνή σου ὡς ἀμπέλος εὐθηνούσα ἐν τοῖς κλίτεσι τῆς οἰκίας σου. Οἱ υἱοὶ σου ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν κύκλω τῆς τραπέζης σου.

¹⁶⁵ Horna, ‘Epigramme’, p. 184, vv. 14–16: οὕτω χάρις ἔστειψε πολλή τὸ σχεδος, / οὕτω μέλι ρέοντα λαμβάνω βότρυν / ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ Δαυϊτικῆς ἀμπέλου.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, vv. 17–20: εἶπερ δὲ τυφλώττουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι, / οὐκ οἶδα. καὶ γὰρ εὐχόμαι μηδὲ βλέπειν / τοὺς ὄξυθερκεῖς πρὸς τὰ τῶν φίλων πάθη / καὶ τυφλοπαθεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας τύχας.

book epigram to the Ἐξαγωγή of the metropolitan of Philippopolis. This is a common practice: book epigrams, serving as metrical prologue or epilogue, either preserved as poems of known authors or anonymously are very widespread.¹⁶⁷ Both Balsamon and the metropolitan might have been opponents of schedography, or Balsamon tried to warn his addressee of the dangers of this teaching method.

Conclusion

As seen by the preserved evidence, the surviving poems of Balsamon, mainly in the cod. Marc. gr. 524, only seem to present a selection of verses composed for a wide variety of purposes.¹⁶⁸ One can easily imagine that only the tip of the iceberg of his epigrams and poems have come down to us: his poetic work is as broad as that of other authors of the twelfth century and beyond.

Nevertheless, once contextualized, Balsamon's poetry offers an interesting insight into the life at court and in the patriarchate at the end of the twelfth century. It is a valuable source for the period of Isaac II, for whom he may have served as court poet. In addition, it offers details about the monastic life, the equipment of monasteries, and ecclesiastical matters of the time. More importantly, his collection of poems reflects some features and trends of late twelfth-century poetry. Moreover, some subtle mentions in the verses also allow us to perceive the author's thoughts, his humor and, sometimes, his irony and sarcasm. Balsamon's rich vocabulary, very often coined *ad hoc* and for one specific purpose, is one of his stylistic devices¹⁶⁹ by which he might have attracted his commissioners. However, he was not a "begging-poet" like his predecessors in the middle of the twelfth century (Theodore and the anonymous Manganeios Prodromos, Constantine Manasses, John Tzetzes) or Manuel Philes in the fourteenth century; he was a high clergy man, who even served as the titular patriarch of

¹⁶⁷ This is testified to by the numerous attestations in the "Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams" (DBBE): <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/>.

¹⁶⁸ I do not agree with Horna, 'Epigramme', p. 177 who claims that Balsamon himself was responsible for the collection of the epigrams nos. 1–39.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Erich Trapp, 'The Role of Vocabulary in Byzantine Rhetoric as a Stylistic Device', in Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 137–49.

Antioch, hired for specific occasions. Balsamon's verses also reveal that even towards the end of the "long" twelfth century (1081–1204), which has often been described as a mere period of decline,¹⁷⁰ poetry was still a viable means to communicate and interact with one's environment.

List of Balsamon's poems discussed in this article (numbers according to Horna):

- 1: p. 114
- 2: p. 117
- 3: p. 117
- 4: p. 117
- 5: p. 117
- 6: p. 117
- 7: p. 117
- 8: p. 117
- 9: pp. 117-118
- 10: p. 124
- 11: pp. 118-119
- 12: pp. 119-120
- 13: pp. 120-121
- 14: pp. 131-133
- 15: p. 134
- 16: pp. 141-143
- 17: p. 135 n. 132
- 18: pp. 127-128
- 19: pp. 121-123
- 20: pp. 129-130
- 21: pp. 140-141
- 22: pp. 140-141
- 23: p. 140
- 24: p. 129
- 25: pp. 139-140
- 26: p. 136
- 27: pp. 134-135, 138
- 28: pp. 124-125
- 29: p. 130

¹⁷⁰ Thanks to studies by Alicia Simpson (e.g. Simpson, *Byzantium, 1180–1204: 'The Sad Quarter of a Century'?*) and others this view is now revised.

- 30: p. 126
- 31: pp. 125-126
- 32: pp. 136-138
- 34: p. 125
- 36: pp. 116-117
- 37: p. 118
- 39: p. 115
- 40: p. 114
- 41: pp. 114-115, 139-140
- 42: pp. 115, 134-135
- 43: pp. 135-136
- 44: p. 115
- 45: pp. 115-116

Abstract

Theodore Balsamon (1130/1140 – after 1195), high official of the Byzantine church, and from *c.* 1185 to 1190 titular patriarch of Antioch, is mainly known for his canonical work, the commentary on the so-called nomokanon of fourteen titles. In addition, more than 40 poems are transmitted under his name. The wide range of his poetic output, which is mainly transmitted in the cod. Marc. Gr. 524 (a manuscript from the end of the thirteenth century), reveals that occasionally Balsamon also served as an author on commission for the court (especially in the reign of Isaac II) and the aristocracy. His poetry contains epigrams with the purpose to be inscribed (e.g. tomb epigrams, dedicatory epigrams), but also book epigrams, and, interestingly enough, poems on schedography, a popular teaching method in the twelfth century. Theodore Balsamon's verses do not only offer interesting insights into the life at court and in the patriarchate at the end of the twelfth century, but they also reveal that poetry was still a viable means to communicate at the end of the twelfth century, which is very often described as a period of decline.

KRYSTINA KUBINA

Manuel Philes – a Begging Poet?

*Requests, Letters and Problems of Genre Definition**

Πεινώ, στρατηγέ, καὶ φαγεῖν ἴσως θέλων | πρὸς τὴν ἀμολγὴν τῆς χρυσῆς
θηλῆς βλέπω. | εἰ δ' ἀργυροῦν δῆπουθεν ἐξοίσεις γάλα, | καὶ δεύτερος πλοῦς,
ἀλλὰ μὴ μέλλε πλέων.¹ The first-person speaker in this poem claims to be
in a desperate situation: “I am hungry, strategos, and as I would like to
eat, I gaze at the milking of the golden teat. But if you will perhaps bring
forth silver milk, this would be a second sailing.² But don’t delay any
longer!” Although no direct plea for material support is expressed, the
pragmatic aim of the poem is clear: the first-person speaker asks his ad-
dressee to send him gold or, as a less desirable option, silver. However,

* I am deeply grateful to Claudia Rapp, Andreas Rhoby, Alexander Riehle and Nikos Zagklas for their most helpful critique and comments upon various drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank Marina Bazzani for sending me her unpublished contribution to this volume (“The Art of Requesting in the Poetry of Manuel Philes”).

¹ Manuel Philes, poem E 201. I use the sigla of Günter Stickler, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase* (Vienna: Verlag der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1992), pp. 6–9. They refer to the following editions: *Manuelis Philae Carmina ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. by Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris, 1855–1857) – sigla E, F, P, V, App. (in some cases Miller prints several short poems together using only one number; I have then chosen to number them individually [e.g. F 49[2]]); *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, ed. by Emidio Martini (Naples: Typis Academicis, 1900) – siglum M; Emidio Martini, ‘Spigolature Bizantine II: Quattro Epigrammi inediti di Manuel Philes’, *Società reale di Napoli. Rendiconto delle tornate e dei lavori dell’Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti. Nuova Serie* 17 (1903), 345–57 – siglum M-SB; Manuel Gedeon, ‘Μανουήλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικά ποιήματα’, *Ekklesiastike aletheia*, 3 (1882/83), 215–20, 244–50, 652–59 – siglum G.

² The expression δεύτερος πλοῦς is a well-known proverb in Byzantium. Literally, in a nautical context, it denotes the use of oars when there is no wind (cf. e.g. Souda 295 s.v. δεύτερος πλοῦς: ὅτε ἀποτυχῶν τις οὔριου κώπαις πλεῖ [“second sailing: if somebody lacking a fair wind sails using oars”]), *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. by Ada Adler, 5 vols [Stuttgart: Teubner, 1928–1938], II [1931], p. 27). Metaphorically, the expression is used to denote a second best action. The ‘second sailing’ is also commonplace in epistolography, mainly used to claim that corresponding via letter comes second to a direct communication (cf. Gustav Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonie dans l’épistolographie byzantine* [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 2nd rev. ed. 1962], pp. 48–56).

the combination of the metaphor of golden milk and the hunger of the 'I', as well as the avoidance of a direct plea, show how skilfully and wittily the simple request is transformed into a piece of literature. Similar poems are to be found in abundance in the corpus of the author of this text, Manuel Philes, the most prolific poet of the early Palaiologan period.³ The Byzantines showed great appreciation for his poems, as the more than 150 manuscripts in which they are transmitted testify.⁴ However, instead of attracting attention and appreciation for his literary versatility, poems such as the one just cited have been met with disgust by many readers in modern times. It seems that K. Krumbacher in his 'History of Byzantine Literature' was the first scholar to refer to similar poems as 'Betteldichtung'⁵ – a term that has since been used to identify

³ On the life and work of Manuel Philes, cf. Stickler, *Psalmenmetaphrase*, 10–36. After long years of neglect, his oeuvre has attracted attention in recent years; for a survey of more recent studies on Philes, cf. Krystina Kubina, 'Die enkomiasische Dichtung des Manuel Philes' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 2018), pp. 3–28. In summary, eadem, 'Manuel Philes and the Asan Family: Two Inedited Poems and their Context in Philes' Oeuvre (Including *editio princeps*)', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 63 (2013), 177–98, pp. 177 f., footnote 3. To this list should be added Manuele File, *Le proprietà degli animali II*, intr., trans. and comm. by Anna Caramico (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2006); Glenn Peers, 'Forging Byzantine Animals: Manuel Philes in Renaissance France', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 49 (2012), 79–103; Maria Tziatzi-Papagianni, 'Οστις ποτ' ἄν βούλοιτο μαθεῖν τὴν Θράκην: Η Θράκη μέσα από τους στίχους του ποιητῆ Μανουήλ Φιλῆ', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 30 (2011), 245–62; Andreas Rhoby, 'Metaphors of Nature in the Poetry of Manuel Philes (fourteenth century)' in *Le lierre et la statue: La nature et son espace littéraire dans l'épigramme gréco-latine tardive*, ed. by Florence Garambois-Vasquez and Daniel Vallat (St Étienne: Publications de l'Université, 2013), 263–73; Marina Bazzani, 'Livelli di stile e significato nella poesia di Manuele File', in *Vie per Bisanzio: VII Congresso nazionale dell'Associazione italiana di studi bizantini, Venezia, 25–28 novembre 2009*, ed. by Antonio Rigo, Andrea Babuin and Michele Trizio (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2013), 145–55 (which is in part a translation of eadem, 'A Poem of Philes to Makarios Chrysokephalos? The Case of Poem Florentinus 58', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 104 [2011], 55–69); Andreas Rhoby, 'Wie lange lebte Manuel Philes?', in *Koinotaton Doron. Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204–1461)*, ed. by Albrecht Berger et al. (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2016), 149–60; Ivan Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), who deals extensively with Philes; Marina Bazzani, 'The Art of Requesting in the Poetry of Manuel Philes', 183–207 in this volume.

⁴ Cf. the manuscript list in Stickler, *Psalmenmetaphrase*, pp. 209–42, which still offers the best and most complete overview of the textual history of Philes' poems.

⁵ Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, 2nd revised edition with the collaboration of Albert Ehrhard and Heinrich Gelzer (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897), makes his contempt for these poems clear: with regard to Prodrornos he speaks of the "Charakterlosigkeit des Betteldichters" (p. 750), calls occasional and, especially, begging poetry an "unerquickliche Litteraturgattung" (p. 754), and states on Philes: "Den Gipfelpunkt erreicht die lakaienhafte Unterwürfigkeit aber in den eigentlichen

a genre by many Byzantinists.⁶ To date nobody has defined what this actually means. Already in Krumbacher it is clear that the term is by no means neutral, but has the most negative connotations. ‘Betteldichtung’ was, from the start, a pejorative term created not to offer an accurate description of the ‘genre’, but to pronounce a judgment on its quality. Today, there has been a widely recognized reappraisal of Manuel Philes and of ‘begging poems’ in general. M. Kulhánková did most work on the ‘begging’ poems by Theodore Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, Ptochoprodromos and Michael Glykas, revealing important features about the language and style and about the sociocultural background of ‘begging poetry’.⁷ She stresses the existence of a distinct genre of ‘Betteldichtung’ in the twelfth century. These findings are by no means transfer-

Bettelgedichten” (p. 778). Isidora Rosenthal-Kamarinea, ‘Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV. Jahrhunderts anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes’, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971*, ed. by Mihai Berza and Eugen Stănescu, 3 vols (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974–1976), II (1975), 251–58, p. 251 and *passim*, also uses the term and makes no secret of her dislike.

⁶ The term has been especially popular in the context of twelfth century poetry, above all regarding Theodore Prodromos, Ptochoprodromos and Manganeios Prodromos. Cf. Margaret Alexiou, ‘The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing: Towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 10 (1986), 1–40, p. 29 (“conventional framework of beggar poetry”); Roderick Beaton, ‘The Rhetoric of Poverty: The Lives and Opinions of Theodore Prodromos’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 11 (1987), 1–28; Markéta Kulhánková, ‘Vaganten in Byzanz. Prodromoi im Westen: Parallellektüre von byzantinischer und lateinischer Betteldichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Byzantinoslavica*, 68 (2010), 241–56; eadem, ‘Die byzantinische Betteldichtung: Verbindung des Klassischen mit dem Volkstümlichen’, in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008)*, ed. by Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 175–180; eadem, ‘Figuren und Wortspiele in den byzantinischen Bettelgedichten und die Frage der Autorschaft’, *Graeco-Latina Brunensia*, 16 (2011), 29–39; eadem, ‘Parallelen zur antiken Literatur in der byzantinischen Betteldichtung’, *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity, řada klasická N*, 13 (2008), 81–95; Hans Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos (Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar)* (Köln: Romiosini, 1991) (cf. also *Πτωχοπρόδρομος*, ed. by idem [Herakleion: Panepistemiakes Ekdoseis Kretes, 2012]); Andrew Dyck, ‘Ptochoprodromos. *Ἀνάθεμα τὰ γράμματα* and Related Texts’, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990), 45–52, p. 46. The ‘begging poems’ of Philes have attracted much less attention, but for him, too, the term seems to be widely accepted; cf. Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), II, p. 172 “in den Bettelgedichten”; Markéta Kulhánková, ‘Ich bin auch eines schicken Mantels wert. Zum Manteltopos in der griechischen Dichtung’, in *Epea pteroenta: Růženě Dostálové k narozeninám*, ed. by Markéta Kulhánková and Kateřina Loudová (Brno: Host, 2009), 191–200.

⁷ See above footnote 6.

able to the early fourteenth century and Manuel Philes, as a meticulous close reading of the poems in question reveals. This paper thus aims at giving some hints on a better understanding and a new appreciation of poems including pleas⁸ by tackling three questions: I) What is a genre, why does it matter and which genres can we find in Byzantine poetry? II) Can we single out a genre in which requests are frequent, and which genre is this? III) If ‘begging poetry’ is not a genre, what is the place of ‘begging’ or – more neutrally speaking – pleading in Philes’ poetry? The following considerations are partly a response to the unreflecting use of the terms ‘genre’ and ‘begging poetry’. They will also shed light on the issue of direct pleading with a specific addressee and its relationship to the hitherto unrecognized importance of verse letters in Philes’ poetry. In this way, I shall try to understand more clearly in which contexts pleas occur and how literary pleas were read by the Byzantines themselves.

Genre Theory and Byzantine Studies

Modern genre theory agrees that generic classification is not to be concerned with stable entities, but with historical classes of texts that change over time.⁹ In this way, genres should be understood as socio-cultural institutions that shape the means of communication at a certain moment and that may persist over centuries, but continuously shift their shape.¹⁰

⁸ I try to avoid the judgmental term ‘begging’ in favour of the more neutral terms ‘pleading’ and ‘requesting’. As will become clear, markers of actual ‘begging’ occur only in some of the poems including requests. In German I suggest using the term ‘bitten’ or ‘Bittgedichte’ instead of ‘Bettelgedichte’.

⁹ As with most literary theory, genre theory has been shaped within the context of modern literature. The discussion brought forth innumerable books and articles. In the following, I will mainly focus on the debate in German Studies, as it is not possible to summarise genre theory as a whole. For an introduction, cf. *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. by Klaus Weimar and others, 3 vols (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997–2003), I s. v. ‘Gattung’ (Klaus W. Hempfer, pp. 651–55) and s.v. ‘Gattungstheorie’ (Dieter Lamping, pp. 658–61). An excellent survey of recent developments is provided by the *Handbuch Gattungstheorie*, ed. by Rüdiger Zymner (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010). On genre theory and the encomiastic poems of Manuel Philes, cf. Kubina, ‘Die enkomiasische Dichtung des Manuel Philes’, pp. 29–32.

¹⁰ Cf. Wilhelm Voßkamp, ‘Gattungen als literarisch-soziale Institutionen: Zu Problemen sozial- und funktionsgeschichtlich orientierter Gattungstheorie und -historie’, in *Textsortenlehre – Gattungsgeschichte*, ed. by Walter Hinck (Heidelberg: Quelle + Meyer, 1977), 27–44, p. 27: “Vielmehr empfiehlt sich ein ‘historischer’ (nicht ‘systematischer’) Gattungsbegriff, der die Geschichtlichkeit literarischer Gattungen ernst nimmt und sie als historisch bedingte Kommunikations- und Vermittlungsformen, d. i.

Thus, a literary genre is a group of texts that share basic characteristics. One should distinguish between a diachronic genre and a synchronic one. In German Studies, H. Fricke established the distinction between ‘Textsorte’ for the former and ‘Genre’ for the latter concept, which are both subordinated to the general category of ‘Gattung.’¹¹ If one looks, for example, at the epitaph, one can find a ‘Textsorte’ that includes texts ranging from fifth century BC Athens to inscriptions on modern tombstones, written in various languages and arising from the most diverse social contexts. On the other hand, it is important to study individual ‘Genres’ of epitaphs, such as, for example, the verse epitaph of the middle and late Byzantine period, which is characterized by the presence of encomiastic elements, the use of certain motifs, etc.¹² A genre name, however, does not refer to an ‘ideal’ definition of a class of texts, but should be understood as an interpretive device for analysing individual texts in their historical and transhistorical context. Hence, it is not prescriptive, but merely descriptive. Defining a genre means defining a text corpus and extrapolating the basic similarities between the single texts from it. Every genre definition encounters the problem of ambiguity: while there is usually a large number of texts that can be easily grouped together by their literary features, context of use and other criteria, there will always be a considerable number of texts that share some characteristics with this class, but also some with other classes. Genres, thus, have fuzzy edges. To solve this problem, genre theory has worked with Wittgenstein’s concept of family resemblance.¹³ In this sense, genres are networks made up of single texts that are in a complex relationship with each other, just as the members of a family are. At the same time, there are manifold interdependencies and superpositions between different networks/genres, just as many – and in the end all – families are also

als soziokulturelle Phänomene interpretiert und beschreibt.” Cf. also Klaus W. Hempfer, *Gattungstheorie: Information und Synthese* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), p. 223 and passim.

¹¹ Cf. Harald Fricke, *Norm und Abweichung: Eine Philosophie der Literatur* (München: Beck, 1981), pp. 132–38.

¹² On Philes’ epitaphs, cf. Nikolaos Papadogiannakis, *Studien zu den Epitaphien des Manuel Philes* (Heraklion, 1984).

¹³ Cf. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Kritisch-genetische Edition*, ed. by Joachim Schulte (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001). He refers to the definition of the word ‘game’ (‘Spiel’) and comes to the conclusion that there is no prototype of the game, but that the abstract category ‘game’ is made up of all individual games that are ascribed to this category: “Können wir etwa nur dem Andern nicht genau sagen, was ein Spiel ist? Aber das ist nicht Unwissenheit. Wir kennen die Grenzen nicht; weil keine gezogen sind” (p. 789, emphasis in the original).

connected with others.¹⁴ Although every definition of what a genre is insufficient,¹⁵ I shall try to give one here for the sake of clarity: a genre (Fricke's 'Gattung') is a taxonomic term that describes a group of texts which are connected by certain similarities. However, no (prescriptive) prototype of a genre exists. A 'Gattung' can be understood either as a diachronic (though not universal, but historically shaped) phenomenon ('Textsorte') or as a (synchronic) phenomenon at a certain point in time ('Genre'). There is, however, one severe problem with the use of this definition of a genre as a corpus of texts: in order to define a genre, one has to deduce the main characteristics from a defined text corpus. In order to define the corpus, however, one has to use one's own preconceptions about a genre. This leads to a hermeneutic circle.¹⁶ The most convincing way to tackle this problem is to look at it from a historical perspective: one should try to find out which genres the Byzantines themselves were aware of. In this way, information provided in the paratext to individual literary works and poetological passages on the one hand, and explicit statements in theoretical treatises on the other hand, serve as a guide to a historically accurate understanding of Byzantine genres.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. Klaus W. Hempfer, "Zum begrifflichen Status der Gattungsbegriffe: Von 'Klassen' zu 'Familienähnlichkeiten' und 'Prototypen'", *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 120 (2010), 14–32, p. 29, who re-evaluates Wittgenstein's concept against the backdrop of recent theoretical debates: "Historische Gattungen sind also weder als Klassen (auf der Basis rekurrenter Merkmale) noch als Prototypen (auf der Basis von Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen konkretem Text und einem prototypischen Kern) zu bestimmen, sie konstituieren vielmehr 'Netzwerke' komplexer Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen je historischen Texten und Textgruppen, wobei immer schon Interdependenzen und partielle Überlagerungen zwischen unterschiedlichen 'Netzwerken' mitzudenken sind" (emphasis in the original).

¹⁵ There is a whole 'anarchy of terms' – to borrow the notion of Hempfer, *Gattungstheorie*, p. 221 – concerning genre studies in general and in the context of Byzantine literature, and this is not the place to regulate it. Thus, my definition necessarily excludes a whole range of aspects. As long as there is no larger study on Byzantine genre theory, however, preliminary definitions such as this – however dissatisfying they may be – must suffice.

¹⁶ On this problem in the field of Byzantine Studies, cf. Ulrich Moennig, 'The late-Byzantine romance. Problems of Defining a Genre', *Κάμπος. Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek*, 7 (1999), 1–20, p. 2; Ingela Nilsson in Panagiotis Agapitos, 'SO Debate: Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 79 (2004), 7–101, pp. 71.

¹⁷ The use of the paratext is discussed by Agapitos, 'SO Debate', pp. 18–26. On the importance of evaluating the titles and headings of Byzantine poems, cf. Andreas Rhoby, 'Labeling Poetry in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period', *Byzantion*, 85 (2015), 259–83.

However, genres cannot explain the existence of similar ways of writing in various diverse text corpora. Therefore, the concept of the literary mode, which can be described as an invariant group building structure,¹⁸ has been established alongside the concept of genre. It describes a common structure within otherwise different genres. Again, these structures have ‘fuzzy edges’ and must not be seen as fixed laws. For example, there is the literary mode of ‘autobiographical writing’, which is part of different genres such as autobiography (the existence of which is debated for Byzantium),¹⁹ hagiography, *enkomia*, epitaphs, etc. The ‘narrative mode’, on the other hand, appears in such diverse genres as historiography, hagiography, romances, etc. Again, each literary mode can be analysed from a diachronic or a synchronic perspective. H. Fricke calls the former ‘Schreibweise’ and the latter ‘Schreibgenre’.²⁰ The two concepts of genre and mode help a great deal in understanding the place of pleading in Philes’ poetry.

Still, the question of why genres should be important at all remains open.²¹ The answer has to do with the horizon of expectation,²² both of the Byzantines and the Byzantinists: a Byzantine author writing rhetorical texts – such as Philes’ poems are – always had a set of rules and conventions regarding literary expression in his mind. This was mainly

¹⁸ Cf. as an introduction *Reallexikon zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* III s.v. ‘Schreibweise’ (Klaus W. Hempfer, pp. 391–93). Most publications on genre theory also deal with the concept of the literary mode.

¹⁹ On autobiography in Byzantium, cf. Martin Hinterberger, *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999); Michael Angold, ‘The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 52 (1998), 225–57; idem, ‘Autobiography & Identity: The Case of the Later Byzantine Empire’, *Byzantinoslavica*, 60 (1999), 36–59; Stratis Papaioannou, ‘Byzantium and the Modernist Subject: The Case of Autobiographical Literature’, in *Byzantium/Modernism: The Byzantine as Method in Modernity*, ed. by Roland Betancourt and Maria Taroutina (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 195–211.

²⁰ Cf. Harald Fricke, *Gesetz und Freiheit: Eine Philosophie der Kunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 2000), pp. 37–42.

²¹ On genre theory within Byzantine Studies, cf. first and foremost the seminal study by Margaret Mullett, ‘The Madness of Genre’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46 (1992), 233–43. Mullett discusses both the advantages and the limits of genre theory for studies on Byzantine literary history. For western medieval literature the debate was opened by Hans Robert Jauf, ‘Theorie der Gattungen und Literatur des Mittelalters’, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters: 1. Généralités*, ed. by Maurice Delbouille (Heidelberg: Winter, 1972), 107–38.

²² The term has been established in the German debate on ‘Rezeptionsästhetik’; cf. *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* III s. v. ‘Rezeptionsästhetik’ (Helmut Pfeiffer, pp. 285–88), p. 286.

shaped by school education. By reading the rhetorical textbooks, Byzantine students and potential future writers and readers learned how a text of a classical or, more importantly, a late antique genre – for example an epitaph – should look.²³ Furthermore, the instruction with *progymnasmata* and – later on – *schede* taught the students how to write texts from different genres through practical examples. Although the theoretical rhetorical works deal with prose, not with verse, many genres appear in both forms. Since the Byzantines often did not make a clear distinction between the composition of prose and verse, the rhetoric lessons were also relevant to the production of poetry, even though its composition was less theorized.²⁴ As for the less codified genres, such as letters and poems, students were instructed by reading model authors.²⁵ Hence, everybody who was able to produce or to understand atticizing texts was aware of genre conventions. It goes without saying that the late antique textbooks should not be understood as fixed codes of law, which had to be followed slavishly. Instead, the practice changed over time – just as, in general, every text changes the genre to which it belongs.²⁶ In a similar way, our modern understanding of Byzantine literature is led – and might be misled – by genre names. They group certain texts together and they can give rise to certain expectations regarding topics, structure and

²³ On rhetorical training, cf. the introductory studies by George A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983, repr. 2008); Andreas Rhoby, 'Bildung und Ausbildung: Wissensvermittlung in Byzanz', in *Der Neue Pauly*, suppl. vol. 11, *Byzanz*, ed. by Falko Daim (Stuttgart: Springer Verlag, 2016), 995–1016; Sophia Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261–1453)* (Athens: Hetairia ton Philon tou Laou, 1996); Athanasios Markopoulos, 'Teachers and Textbooks in Byzantium: Ninth to Eleventh Centuries', in *Networks of Learning: Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200*, ed. by Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul and Michael Grünbart (Münster et alii: Lit Verlag, 2014), 3–15; Antonia Giannouli, 'Education and Literary Language in Byzantium', in *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 52–71.

²⁴ On the close connection between prose and verse, cf. Floris Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry: 1025–1081* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 46–47.

²⁵ Cf. Wolfram Hörandner, 'Musterautoren und ihre Nachahmer: Indizien für Elemente einer byzantinischen Poetik', in *Doux remède...: poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IV^e colloque international philologique ERMENELA, Paris, 23–24–25 février 2006 organisé par l'E.H.E.S.S. et l'Université de Chypre*, ed. by Panagiotis Agapitos, Martin Hinterberger and Paolo Odorico (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2009), 201–17; idem, 'Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios: Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede', *Medioevo Greco*, 12 (2012), 87–131; Rhoby, 'Labeling poetry'.

²⁶ Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 23.

quality. If we want to understand individual texts in their literary context, we cannot avoid grouping different texts together. In other words, we cannot avoid using genre concepts. Thus, both the Byzantines and Byzantinists were and are heavily influenced by their preconceptions about certain genres when reading rhetorical texts. Genre theory is thus not just a theoretical discussion without meaning for our understanding of Byzantium, but it has a practical impact on our readings.

Nonetheless, the history of Byzantine genres has not yet been written. Although the problem has aroused interest in recent years, to date there are only studies on single texts or genres.²⁷ The same holds true for Byzantine poetry. However, M. Lauxtermann in particular has given some basic consideration to the issue. He established the distinction between epigrams and poems proper. Epigrams are, according to his definition, everything that is made to be inscribed (on an object or as a paratext in a manuscript [‘book epigram’]), while everything else falls into the category poem. This is a historical definition known from poetic manuscripts and theoretical texts.²⁸ Subgenres of epigrams, including e.g. the epitaph, dedicatory epigrams, book epigrams, etc., have been a field of wide interest.²⁹ As for the poems proper, there is no systematisa-

²⁷ Among these Mullett, ‘Madness of genre’; Ulrich Moennig, ‘Literary Genres and Mixture of Generic Features in Late Byzantine Fictional Writing’, in *Medieval Greek Storytelling: Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium*, ed. by Panagiotis Roilos (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 163–82; Agapitos, ‘SO Debate’; idem, ‘Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: The Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike’, in *Modern Greek Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. by Gregory Nagy, Anna Stavrakopoulou and Jennifer Reilly (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 5–23; idem, ‘Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 48 (1998), 119–46; idem, ‘Grammar, Genre and Patronage in the Twelfth Century: A Scientific Paradigm and its Implications’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 64 (2014), 1–22; Homère-Alexandre Theologitis, ‘Pour une typologie du roman à Byzance: Les héros romanesques et leur appartenance générique’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 54 (2004), 207–33.

²⁸ Cf. Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, 2 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003–), I (2003), pp. 22–31 on the definition of the epigram (with reference, among others, to the definition in the Souda, p. 26, footnote 15) and pp. 33–34. on the distinction of epigrams and poems proper, cf. also Wolfram Hörandner, ‘Zur kommunikativen Funktion byzantinischer Gedichte’, in *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Plenary Papers* (Moscow, 1991), 415–32.

²⁹ Cf. first and foremost the two big editing projects, *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, 4 vols, ed. by Andreas Rhoby (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009–2018) and the ‘Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams’ (<http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/>), ed. by Kristoffel Demoen, Floris Bernard et alii. Cf. also *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme: Akten*

tion. According to Lauxtermann, they include satires, *ekphraseis*, panegyrics, catanyctic alphabets, riddles and others.³⁰ One should also note that many genres in prose exist in poetry, too. Thus, one is confronted with monodies, *epithalamia*, *paramythenika*, *propemptika*, etc.³¹ To this anarchy of terms,³² one has to add (according to the widespread view) the genre of ‘begging poems’, sometimes categorised as a kind of occasional poetry.³³ Whether this term can serve as a genre name or whether it describes a characteristic of most of Byzantine poetry, is another open question. Yet, it is clear that these lists cannot serve as an analytical tool for categorization. Once again, one should emphasize that trying to understand Byzantine genres does not mean establishing a fixed system of (eternal) laws, but rather understanding the changing conventions of writing and reading.

However, this massive problem cannot be solved in an article. In the following, I shall limit my study in two ways: firstly, I shall focus on Manuel Philes alone. Secondly, I shall try to find out more about the ‘Genre’ (in Fricke’s sense) of ‘begging poetry’, but not about the ‘Textsorte’. The latter would require a detailed comparison of Philes’ poems with poems by the three Prodomoi, Michael Glykas and others who have been named ‘begging poets’. For the moment, however, the oeuvre of Philes is complex enough to justify a synchronic reading. Focusing on the ‘Genre’ of ‘begging poetry’ also means that this paper does not aim at establishing a genre theory of Philes’ poetry, but at understanding the place of pleading in it. As the analysis will show, understanding pleading will also lead to an understanding of a hitherto totally neglected genre in Philes’ poems – his verse letters.

des internationalen Workshop (Wien, 1.–2. Dezember 2006), ed. by Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008); for Philes, cf. Efthymia Braounou-Pietsch, *Beseelte Bilder: Epigramme des Manuel Philes auf bildliche Darstellungen* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

³⁰ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, p. 33.

³¹ These genres are widespread in Byzantine rhetorical texts and are already described in late antique rhetorical textbooks, such as (to name but one important example) Menander Rhetor, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, ed. by Donald Andrew Russell and Nigel Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

³² See above footnote 15.

³³ Cf. Kulháňková, ‘Parallelen zur antiken Literatur’, p. 83.

Epistolary Poetry – a Hitherto Neglected Genre in Philes’ Poems

Pleading certainly is an important issue in Philes’ poems. The theme occurs in two main contexts: a secular and a religious one. In the case of the latter, prayers directed to saints (mainly in epigrams on works of art) deserve interest in their own right.³⁴ These poems, however, do not belong to the same category in which texts that were described as ‘begging poetry’ – be it within Philes or in the context of Komnenian poetry – are subsumed. Thus, it is only ‘begging’ in a secular context that will be studied here. Such pleas are expressed in about 250 poems totalling about 5,600 out of about 25,000 lines of poetry from Philes’ pen.³⁵ In a first step, one should investigate whether they can convincingly be described as a genre according to the criteria established above.

In order to find out more about their generic reception in Byzantium, the first method is to look at the paratext, in which established genres are often named.³⁶ For example, the notion of ‘ἐπιτάφιοι στίχοι’ is very common and shows that the Byzantines understood the epitaph as a distinct

³⁴ Cf. Ivan Drpić, ‘The Patron’s ‘I’: Art, Selfhood, and the Later Byzantine Dedicatory Epigram’, *Speculum*, 89 (2014), 895–935 and idem, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*; Foteini Spingou, ‘Words and Art Works in the Twelfth Century and Beyond. The Thirteenth-century Manuscript Marcianus gr. 524 and the Twelfth-century Dedicatory Epigrams on Works of Art’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), pp. 178–232; Andreas Rhoby, ‘The Structure of Inscriptional Dedicatory Epigrams in Byzantium’, in *La poesia tardoantica e medievale: IV Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 15–17 novembre 2007: atti in onore di Antonino Isola per il suo 70° genetliaco*, ed. by Clara Burini De Lorenzi and Miryam de Gaetano (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2010), 309–32. However, much remains to be done concerning the religious implications of prayers in epigrams.

³⁵ Cf. the following poems including direct pleas (without regard to the object requested) App. 42, App. 52, E 91, E 181–E 189, E 191, E 198, E 200, E 201, E 204, E 205, E 207, E 212, E 213, E 217, E 218, E 221, E 229, E 230, E 232–E 234, E 236, E 247, F 3, F 6, F 8, F 12–16, F 24, F 25, F 28–30, F 35, F 35a, F 49(1)–F 49(3), F 53(1), F 53(3), F 53(5)–F 53(8), F 54, F 55(1)–F 55(5), F 58–62, F 65, F 67, F 78, F 80–F 86, F 93, F 96, F 99–F 101, F 109–F 113, F 116, F 118, F 121, F 122a, F 123, F 124, F 134–38, F 141–F 145, F 147, F 148, F 157–F 164, F 166–F 169, F 191, F 214, F 233, F 235, F 236, F 239, F 244, F 250, F 265, G 12, G 14, G 17, G 19, G 22, M 3, M 5, M 9, M 10, M 13, M 14, M 16–M 19, M 22, M 26, M 27, M 29–M 31, M 33, M 36, M 38, M 39, M 45, M 46, M 48, M 52, M 57, M 59, M 60, M 64, M 70, M 75, M 82, M 97, M-SB 2–M-SB 4, P 1–P 5, P 8, P 10, P 12, P 27, P 28, P 30, P 31, P 40–P 42, P 44, P 48–P 51, P 55, P 56, P 58–P 61, P 63, P 64, P 66, P 67, P 69, P 78–P 81, P 84–P 86, P 88–P 91, P 94, P 96, P 98, P 106, P 107, P 113, P 122, P 124, P 132, P 133, P 138, P 141, P 171, P 173, P 175, P 184–P 186, P 196, P 201, P 202, P 205, P 207, P 208, P 210–P 213, P 216–P 217(2), P 218, P 227, P 231, P 238–P 241, V 11–V 13, V 17, V 91. On Philes’ whole oeuvre, cf. Stickler, *Psalmenmetaphrase*, pp. 10–11.

³⁶ See above footnote 17.

genre.³⁷ However, headings are not necessarily the work of the author, but may be an addition by scribes. Thus, one should read them as indicators of the reception – and not the production – of a text.³⁸ In most cases poems including pleas or allusions to requests and gifts do not bear generic terms in their headings. In the overwhelming majority of the headings one finds the name of the addressee, either given in the simple dative (e.g. Τῷ Κουβαρᾷ κυρῷ Θεοδώρῳ [M 3, M 45]) or using a formula such as εἰς/πρὸς τινα (e.g. Εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα [F 101, F 111, F 265, P 30]; Πρὸς τὸν Δομέστικον τὸν Ἀτζύμην [E 217]).³⁹ These headings are also used for poems whose focus is not begging.⁴⁰ Thus, from them we get no indication that would point to a specific genre. However, some of the headings give additional information about the occasion and context of the poems. Most interesting are three poems, which are labelled ‘ἀναφορά’ (F 100, V 17, V 91) and which include direct requests. The term denotes ‘petition’ and is also used in a more ritual context of petitioning the em-

³⁷ Almost all of the epitaphs in Philes’ oeuvre bear a similar heading. Cf. Papadogiannakis, *Studien zu den Epitaphien des Manuel Philes*, pp. 284–87.

³⁸ Cf. also Rhoby, ‘Labeling Poetry’. A new Philes edition could help a great deal. To date usually only the headings of one manuscript for each poem are known from the editions of Miller and Martini (however, the headings of Athens, *Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγιῶν Τάφου* 351 are also published by Georgios Papazoglos, ‘Ο κώδικας Μετοχίου 351 και τα ποιήματα του Μανουήλ Φιλί’, *Kleronomia*, 17 [1985], 365–75; sometimes Miller and Martini also note headings from other manuscripts).

³⁹ Εἰς τινα: App. 30, App. 42, E 201–E 205, F 49, F 81, F 93, F 101, F 110–F 111, F 113, F 121, F 124, F 150, F 191, F 233–F 235, F 238, F 239, F 244, F 265, M 9, P 15, P 30, P 31, P 157, V 11, V 12, V 17; Πρὸς τινα: App. 12, App. 33, App. 57, E 212, E 217, E 236, E 247, F 54, F 85, F 96, F 99, F 134, F 214, F 236, F 250, M 6, M 25–M 27, M 29, M 33, M 64, M 68, P 2, P 7, P 27, P 28, P 40–P 42, P 44, P 48–P 50, P 55, P 58, P 63, P 66, P 74, P 76, P 106–P 108, P 113, P 139, P 149, P 173, P 175, P 179, P 182, P 184–P 186, P 196, P 200, P 202, P 206; dative: E 90, E 91, E 181–E 191, E 198, E 200, E 207, E 218, E 221, E 229, E 230, E 232–E 235, E 256–E 258, F 3, F 6–F 17, F 23–F 31, F 35–F 36, F 46, F 55, F 56, F 65, F 67, F 78, F 80, F 82–F 84, F 86, F 118, F 122, F 136–F 138, F 140–F 148, F 155–F 170, G 14, G 17, G 19, G 22, M 3, M 10–M 19, M 22, M 30–M 32, M 36, M 38, M 39, M 45, M 46, M 48, M 52, M 57, M 59, M 60, M 79, M 80, M 82, M 97, M-SB 2, M-SB 3, P 1, P 3–6, P 8, P 10, P 12, P 46, P 56, P 59, P 60, P 64, P 67, P 69, P 78–81, P 84, P 91, P 94, P 96, P 98, P 122, P 124, P 132, P 133, P 138, P 141, P 171, P 201, P 205, P 207–13, P 216–18, P 227, P 231, P 236, P 238. Additionally, the following poems that bear no headings should be included in the corpus due to their similarities with the aforementioned: App. 19, App. 52, F 53(1)–(8), F 57–62, F 106a, F 109, F 116, F 122a, F 123, F 135, F 139, M 5, M 8, M 70, M 72, M 75, M-SB 4, P 239–P 241. Similarly, the following poems that bear other headings: F 193–F 196, F 240, P 51, P 85–P 90, V 13, V 15, V 16.

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. for *enkomia* App. 31, E 213, F 44, F 92, F 95, F 112, F 197, M 43, M 76; for *epibateria* G 1, P 61; for *propemptika* E 206, G 12, G 13, M 20, P 57; for epitaphs F 75. The heading is also frequently used for epigrams on works of art.

peror.⁴¹ In fact, one of these poems (V 17) is directed to the Emperor. The addressee of the second poem (V 91) is unknown, but he has to be part of the imperial family.⁴² The third one (F 100) is addressed to the Empress, who is asked to intercede for the speaker of the poem so that the Emperor might rehabilitate him. The poem thus echoes a historical practice, namely pleading for justice in front of the emperor.⁴³ Nonetheless, the term ‘ἀναφορά’ – however attractive it might at first seem in the context of pleading – does not serve as a genre name because it is not attested elsewhere as such and is found in the paratext to only three poems, all of them addressed directly or indirectly to the Emperor and his entourage.

Searching for the genre of ‘begging’ or pleading poems in the understanding of Byzantine readers leads to a blind alley. For the bulk of the poems connected to requests there are no explicit notions of a generic classification in the manuscripts, nor can they be classified as belonging to a known genre (like the epitaph, epigrams, etc.).⁴⁴ Instead of looking at a ‘begging’ corpus first hand, I thus suggest an *ex negativo* approach, trying to understand the genre system of Philes’ poetry better in order to look for the place of pleas in them in a second step. If one looks at his whole oeuvre and excludes all texts that belong to an established and known genre (such as epigrams, *enkomia*, didactic poems, etc.), one ends up with some 320 poems that cannot be classified. A close reading of these remaining texts indeed reveals the existence of many similar features. Therefore, it does make sense to look at this corpus as a potential group of texts that can make up a genre.

⁴¹ Cf. Ruth Macrides, ‘The Ritual of Petition’, in *Greek Ritual Poetics*, ed. by Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 356–70. However, ‘ἀναφορά’ is also an important religious term used for the Eucharistic prayer (cf. *ODB* s.v.; *L* s.v.). This fact shows, once again, how deeply interwoven religious and secular petitioning are. Alexander Riehle, ‘Epistolography as Autobiography: Remarks on the Letter-Collections of Nikephoros Choumnos’, *Parekbolai*, 2 (2012), 1–22, p. 13 remarks that a series of letters of Nikephoros Choumnos, directed to the Emperor, bear the heading ἀναφορά. He stresses the uniqueness of this term in the context of epistolography. The three examples from Philes, however, should be taken into consideration, too. On the ritual of petition, cf. also *La pétition à Byzance*, ed. by Denis Feissel and Jean Gascoü (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004).

⁴² Cf. v. 8: καὶ τῶν λέόντων σκύμνε τῆς κραταρχίας (“oh lion cub of the empire”).

⁴³ Cf. Macrides, ‘Ritual of petition’, pp. 358 f. The poem also makes use of the word ‘τολμῶ’ (v. 1: Δέσποινά μου, τολμῶντι συγγίνωσκέ μοι. “My mistress, forgive me for daringly [writing this]”), another term which is often used to open ritualised petitions.

⁴⁴ Furthermore, Byzantine theoretical treatises on poetry do not deal with pleas, thus giving no hint of the way they were used by the Byzantines.

Among these poems, many similar features can be detected. All of the poems include the address to a second person. Some of the poems establish a distinct 'I', whereas others are written from a third person perspective. Hence, in all poems there are at least two literary *personae* that may or may not be described and characterised in detail. Both *personae* are presented as living individuals.⁴⁵ In more than a few cases, both the addressee and the speaker are named, either in the text itself or in the headings. As addressees one finds famous members of the upper class, such as Michael Doucas Glabas Tarchaneiotes or the Emperor himself. The speaker is usually either not named at all or it is Manuel Philes writing as the literary 'I'.⁴⁶ There are various remarks which show that the speaker performs a communicative act in them: often they refer to former communication, thus indicating a true, reciprocal communication and not only a one-sided effort to establish contact by the literary 'I'.⁴⁷ Almost all of the poems bear a heading in the already mentioned form, with the simple dative or a formula such as εἰς/πρὸς τινα. Their length varies greatly from 2 to 260 lines. The content, too, may be very different, including topics ranging from expressing thanks to asking for a favour or demanding a payment.⁴⁸ Additionally, there are texts which have noth-

⁴⁵ In some cases, however, the headings make use of the word 'ἐκεῖνος' ('deceased'); see E 191 (in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. gr. 2876, fol. 209^v [cf. Miller, *Carmina*, I, p. 91, footnote 11], checked via a digital reproduction of the manuscript), P 7, P 57, P 79, P 94. In these cases the headings clearly do not belong to the original usage, but were written by a later redactor.

⁴⁶ On the problem of the fictionality of the speaking 'I', cf. below, p. 15–17.

⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. the tetrastichon F 53.25–28, in which the speaker demands the following: Πέμπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ὑπισχνοῦ τοὺς ἄλας (v. 26) "Send us the salt, as you have promised", pointing to a former promise (similarly P 132.11 and P 216.3). In P 185 the speaker asks the emperor why he remains silent now, although he had formerly answered his words: Πῶς οὖν σιωπῶν οὐδ' ἀπόκρισιν δίδως | [...]; | Ο γὰρ πάλαι προύθηκας ἐξηγησάμην, | ὡς ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν δακτύλων | καὶ ζῶντα καὶ νύσσοντα θεσπίσης λόγον (vv. 12–16) "Why do you remain silent now and don't give an answer? For I have just asked for what you have proposed previously, so that you issue a living and piercing speech to these writings of (my) fingers". In F 137, the speaker reminds the addressee that he asks for verses again: Καὶ γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖς τοὺς ἐμούς αὐθις λόγους (v. 8) "And you ask for my verses again", referring to a former communication between the two.

⁴⁸ For thanking, cf. e.g. the two poems bearing in their headings the word *χαριστήριοι* (στίχοι): F 43 and P 6, furthermore M 68, M 80 and P 74 (in which the addressee is praised for his generosity). For emphatically demanding payment, cf. F 6, F 10, F 14, F 236, also less insistently referring to a selling situation M 19, M 24, F 15, F 55(2), F 137, F 144, F 156, F 161, F 162, P 5, P 86, P 96. Nevertheless, the most important topic is asking for a favour. To list but a few, the speaker asks e.g. for wine (E 233, F 145, F 235, P 1, P 4, P 106) or money, silver or gold (E 221, E 230, F 16, F 53(1+3+5), F 55(2), F 65, F 81, F 82, F 135, F 148, F 157, F 239, P 67, P 98, P 122, P 208, P 211,

ing to do with giving at all.⁴⁹ The similarities among these texts point in a specific direction: they share all the basic characteristics of letters. In one poem the speaker even explicitly states that he is sending the addressee a letter (γράμματα)⁵⁰ and in another he asks for one (ἀντίγλωσσον, cf. F 57.8).⁵¹ As a point of departure, the letter shall here be defined as a written message sent from one person to another.⁵² As argued before, the definition of a genre must not be regarded as a fixed prototype, but as an analytic category which helps us to understand a certain text corpus in the context of other similar contemporary and non-contemporary texts. To understand more clearly how Philes' poems can be understood as verse letters, one should look at some extra-literary, literary (in terms of form, content and literariness) and functional aspects of letter-writing.

In terms of the extra-literary features, a letter is a written text, which is sent from the writer to his absent addressee on a tangible medium via a

P 213, P 240, M 97) etc. However, requests for immaterial goods also occur, e.g. for forgiveness or just treatment (F 99, F 101, F 112, P 2, P 28, P 31, P 44, P 55, P 175, V 11, V 12) or intercession (F 61, F 100, M-SB 3, P 51, P 60, P 81) etc. In E 185.2 the speaker asks the addressee to help him with “a well-sharpened sword of words” (τὸ τῶν λόγων εὐθηκτον ... ξίφος). F 191 deals with a divorce case.

⁴⁹ Cf. the poems App. 57, F 146 and M 72, in which the speaker wishes the addressee a speedy recovery or congratulates them on the same. In App. 33, the speaker swears an oath to the emperor that he had done nothing wrong. F 56 deals with a case of adultery.

⁵⁰ Θαρρύντως σοι προσέρχομαι τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ φύσει, | καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ γράμματα κομίζων ὑπ' εὐνοίας (F 110.18 f). “Daringly I approach you, the benevolent nature, and I bring this letter under (your) goodwill”.

⁵¹ As an introduction to letter-writing, cf. Alexander Riehle, *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); idem, ‘Epistolography, Social Exchange and Intellectual Discourse (1261–1453)’, in *A Companion to the Intellectual Life in the Palaeologan Period*, ed. by Sofia Korzabassi (forthcoming) (I thank the author for kindly sending me his unpublished article); Stratis Papaioannou, ‘Letter-writing’, in *The Byzantine World*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 188–99; Margaret Mullett, ‘Epistolography’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 882–93; Michael Grünbart, ‘L’epistolografia’, in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo. 3: Le culture circostanti*, vol. 1: *La cultura bizantina*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2004), 345–78; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur I*, 197–239.

⁵² Cf. e.g. the definitions of Wolfgang Müller (*Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. by Gert Ueding, 12 vols [Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 1992–2015], s.v. ‘Brief’, II, 60–76, col. 61) and Michael Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters: An Anthology, with Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1. Various attempts have been made to define a letter. It would go beyond the scope of this article to reevaluate the debate; cf. instead on ancient and modern definitions of the letter in great detail Alexander Riehle, ‘Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie: Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos (c. 1260–1327)’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Munich, 2011), pp. 202–16.

messenger. It may be delivered orally in a private context or within a larger group. In Byzantium the letter was often sent together with a material gift to the addressee. Usually the letter achieves its purpose when the addressee replies to it, be it in another letter or in an oral message.⁵³ All of these features can be found in the corpus defined above. The speaker is presented as absent when a text is read⁵⁴ and the vocabulary of sending is used abundantly in the selected poems. Both aspects point to the separation between speaker and addressee. The imperative *πέμπε* alone appears 43 times, usually included in a plea such as in this tetrastichon:⁵⁵ Ἐπεμψά σοι τὸν παῖδα, θαυμαστὴ φύσις· | ὀνηλάτην γοῦν τοῦτον ἀντίπεμπέ μοι | φέροντα πυροὺς καὶ κριθᾶς ἀσυγχύτους· | τὸν ἄφθονον γὰρ φυσικῶς ἔχεις τρόπον.⁵⁶ The text vividly demonstrates how it was sent as a letter together with the speaker's child to convey his plea to his addressee, who should then send back grain. This reference to a messenger, such as the child, is also present in several poems.⁵⁷ The plea for grain shows how letter-writing is connected to the discourse of gift-giving, as does another poem, which is written to accompany a gift from the speaker to his addressee.⁵⁸ Furthermore, one finds many references to the act of

⁵³ For these features, cf. the literature listed in footnote 51.

⁵⁴ However, he presents himself as present through his words although he is physically absent; cf. e.g. E 191.9f.: Τὸν ζῶντα ῥυθμὸν ἀντιπέμπω τῶν λόγων / (Ἐναῦθα γὰρ ἂν ὡς παρόντα με βλέποις) "I send you in return the living rhythm of words (for in them you can see me, as if I were present)". Cf. similarly P 3.7–10, where the speaker states that his addressee would be present to him in his gift. In M 60.32–36, the 'I' bids the addressee to come and visit him and, if this is not possible, to send him a written image of his face – most likely a poetic way to ask for a letter. The topos of the presence of the partner in a letter is well known from epistolography, cf. Alexander Riehle, 'Rhetorik, Ritual und Repräsentation: Zur Briefliteratur gebildeter Eliten im spätbyzantinischen Konstantinopel (1261–1328)', in *Urbanitas und ἀστειότης: Kulturelle Ausdrucksformen von Status (10.–15. Jahrhundert). Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 45 (2011), ed. by Katrin Beyer and Michael Grünbart, 259–76, p. 267 and Karlsson, *Ideologie et cérémonial* 34–40.

⁵⁵ Πέμπε, πέμπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς and πέμψον appear in E 207.7, F 8.1, F 16.1, F 23.14 and 18, F 25.3 and 9, F 28.2, F 30.1 and 31, F 53.9, 23, 26 and 30, F 54.1, F 55.22, F 61.12, F 78.13, F 82.24, F 83.10, F 84.7, F 121.14, F 136.12 and 22, F 138.6, F 142.1, F 145.8, F 148.4, F 159.10, F 162.5, F 163.3, F 168.1, P 8.3, P 12.4, P 64.20, P 78.3, P 89.2, P 124.9, P 217.5, P 241.18, M 10.2 and 26, M 17.1, M 19.3, M 38.2, M 45.12, M 48.3. There are further references to sending (derivatives of πέμπω) in F 55.2, F 83.9, F 236.1, P 185.6, P 231.2, P 236.3, M 12.3, M 80.2.

⁵⁶ F 49(2): "I sent to you the child, you wonderful nature. Now send me back this donkey-driver, who shall carry wheat and barley. For by nature you have a bounteous character."

⁵⁷ F 49(2), F 78, F 116.9 f., F 157.1–6, F 236, M 3.35 f., M 17.2, P 231.1–4. In F 85.41–44 the speaker explicitly refers to his friend Xanthopoulos as a messenger.

⁵⁸ M 11. On the discourse of gift-giving, cf. more extensively p. 167–170.

writing: the speaker asks his addressee to write to him when he is abroad, he expresses his feelings about writing to his addressee,⁵⁹ claims that his addressee had read his written messages before⁶⁰ and so on. On the other hand, as in letters, one finds the vocabulary of hearing,⁶¹ pointing to an oral performance of the poems.⁶² Even the fact that no actual correspondence – including both Philes’ poems and replies to them – has come down to us is not unusual for letters. Whether it be the case that a reply was given orally or that it was just not copied into manuscripts – the situation for letter collections is mostly the same. The transmission of an actual correspondence is the exception, not the rule.⁶³ Yet this

⁵⁹ E.g. P 27.1–3: Ἀλγῶ, βασιλεῦ, καὶ σιγῶν ἔτι στέγω | τῶν πραγμάτων πόρρωθεν εἰργόντων γράφειν, | ἀλλ’ οὖν θανατῶν ἐκβιάζω τὴν φύσιν “I suffer, my Emperor, and silently I still resist to write to you, because the affairs for long have hindered me, but now I constrain the nature, as I am about to die”. Similarly P 30.7 (Καὶ ποῦ θεμιτὸν τὸ πρὸς εἰδότα γράφειν; “And how is it just to write to one, who knows [already]?”). P 69.3 (καὶ Φιλῆς κρᾶζει γράφων “and Philes screams in his writings”), P 179.1 (Σός ἐστι Φιλῆς, κᾶν σιγᾶ, σός, κᾶν γράφῃ “Philes is yours, when he remains silent, yours, when he writes”), E 199.1 (Ἦδη γράφειν τολμῶντι συγγίνωσκέ μοι “Forgive me that I already dare to write to you”), M 46.5 (Μόνον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποδημούντας γράφε “Just write to us, as long as we are away”).

⁶⁰ Cf. the speaker’s claims that the Emperor had formerly answered “these writing of my fingers” (ἐπ’ αὐταῖς ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν δακτύλων, P 185.15), thus directly pointing to his own utterings as written letters.

⁶¹ E.g. P 55.14 f. (Τὸς σούς, βασιλεῦ, τεχνικῶς πλέξω κρότους, | κᾶν ἄκροατῆς εὐρεθῆς τοῦτοις μόνος “I shall plait your praise skilfully, even though you might be the only auditor to it”) and 42 (Ἄκουε λοιπὸν ὁ γλυκὺς αὐτοκράτωρ “Now listen, sweet Emperor!”), App. 52.1 f. (Κλεινὸ στρατηγέ, λῆξον ὄψ’ ἐτῶν δρόμων, | καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἄκουσον ἀσμένως λόγων. “Famous *strategos*, cease from the races at even, and listen gladly to my words!”).

⁶² On the performative nature of letters, especially in the context of the so-called *theatra*, cf. Niels Gaul, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik: Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), pp. 18–53; idem, ‘The Letter in the *Theatron*: Epistolary Voice, Character, and Soul and their Audience’, in *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography*, ed. by Alexander Riehle (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming) (I thank the author for kindly sending me his unpublished article); *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Michael Grünbart (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); on performativity of rhetorical texts, cf. Margaret Mullett, ‘Rhetoric, Theory and the Imperative of Performance: Byzantium and Now’, in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 151–70; Emmanuel Bourbouhakis, ‘Rhetoric and Performance’, in *The Byzantine World*, 175–87.

⁶³ Cf. Stratis Papaioannou, ‘Fragile Literature: Byzantine Letter-Collections and the Case of Michael Psellos’, in *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine: Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5–6–7 juin 2008*, ed. by Paolo Odorico (Paris: Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2012), 289–328, p. 291.

does not mean that Philes' verse letters did not serve their purpose. As mentioned above, the poems themselves offer evidence that the speaker received either (written or oral) messages or a gift in response to his former letter.⁶⁴ It only shows a characteristic of the secondary usage of his poems in manuscript collections, namely that the copyists and redactors were not interested in preserving the replies from his addressees.

Concerning the literary aspects, too, Philes' poems share many features with prose letters. To begin with, one can discern formal elements typical of letters. In ancient and medieval letter-writing a letter usually follows the structure of prescript, *formula valuetudinis*, *prooimion*, main part, epilogue and postscript.⁶⁵ The prescript included information about the sender and the addressee, usually in a form such as ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν or χαίρει combined with a vocative. In the subsequent *formula valuetudinis* the sender expressed his hopes that the addressee was well, while the *prooimion* could include a reference to former communication (e.g. the pleasure at having received a letter). The main part was dedicated to the actual message to be conveyed in the letter and was the least formalized part. The epilogue could be concerned with a final conclusion of the letter, a hortatory statement, some thoughts about the correspondence, or expressing the hope of seeing the addressee in person soon. Finally, in the postscript the sender could once again express the good wishes of the sender about the wellbeing of the addressee, a standardized formula such as ἔρρωσο or εὐτύχει, or the date of the letter. This ideal, typical structure, however, is almost never preserved in Byzantine letter collections. The prescript and postscript in particular, as the – literally speaking – least interesting and most formalized parts, were usually omitted, for in the process from sending a real letter to copying it into manuscripts, the texts lost their ephemeral nature. In other words, their character changed from (mainly) pragmatic⁶⁶ to (mainly) literary.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Cf. footnote 47.

⁶⁵ On the structural elements of letters, cf. *inter alia* Riehle, 'Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie', pp. 217–42.

⁶⁶ It goes without saying that the poems, even in their original function, are literary products, essentially based on rhetoric. The use of verse, an atticizing language, rhetorical devices such as various metaphors and allusions to classical and biblical imagery, etc. show that they are far beyond the scope of an everyday communication. They share this characteristic with prose letters. On fictional elements concerning the speaking 'I', see below pp. 170–71.

⁶⁷ On this change and the phenomenon of de-concretization, cf. Kubina, 'Die enkomiaistische Dichtung des Manuel Philes', pp. 245–53. Letter collections could also be used as devices for the self-fashioning of an author (cf. Riehle, 'Epistolography as Auto-

Information about the original context was thus no longer required nor interesting. In part, however, the headings in the manuscripts replaced the information given in the subscript, as they usually transmit both the author of a letter and the addressee, in the case of Philes e.g. τοῦ Φιλῆ (usually written only once at the beginning of a collection) and headings such as εἰς/πρός τινα or the addressee in the simple dative.⁶⁸ Some indicative cases prove that the sender and the addressee could be mentioned not only in the paratext, but also in the text itself. There is a poem (V 13) in which one finds two verses that can be understood as a prescript, mentioning the author and the addressee of the poem which follows: Τῷ φιλάτῳ μοι τῷ παρακοιμωμένῳ | Φιλῆς Μανουὴλ ἐνδεῆς κριθῶν τάδε· (vv. 1 f.).⁶⁹ In another poem (F 23) one finds the following passage at the end of the poem: Φιλῆς Μανουὴλ ταῦτα θαρρούντως γράφει (v. 23).⁷⁰ In this poem, the last verse gives the information usually included in a prescript in place of a postscript. Although only a few examples survive in which this pragmatic information is present, one may assume that it existed in other poems as well. Furthermore, good wishes are an important feature in prose letters, occurring in the *formula valetudinis* at the beginning, and in the epilogue and postscript at the end of a letter. In Philes' oeuvre the metre does not allow the use of the prose *formulae*, but the theme occurs in a number of poems. In these, the speaker usually wishes his addressee a long and good life, as e.g. in F 17.22–24: Πλὴν ὄλβε μου ζῶν μηδὲ τεθναίης ὄλως, | μηδ' ὁ χρόνος τοσοῦτο καλύψαι τρέχων | χαρισμάτων ὄργανον ἐξείλεγμένον.⁷¹ These wishes take the place of the epilogue or

biography'; *Nicetas Magistros: Lettres d'un exilé [928–46]*, ed. by Leendert Gerrick Westerink [Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1973], pp. 38–41; for the case of poetry collections, cf. Bernard, *Writing and Reading*, 125–53). Whether or not Manuel Philes left traces of editorial choices in the context of deliberate self-fashioning in one or some of the collections of his poems cannot be answered, as long as the manuscript transmission has not been studied.

⁶⁸ See above p. 158 and footnote 39.

⁶⁹ "To my dearest parakoimomenos Manuel Philes (writes) the following in want of barley." A literary variant of a prescript is found in F 135,1, which reads Πρὸς τὸν μεγάλόψυχον ὁ μικρόψυχος ("The low-souled to the high-souled"). It does not name the sender and the addressee, but playfully uses the form of the prescript to allude to the status of the two. In the codex *Laur. Plut. 32. 19 fol. 185^r* the verse is rubricated, thus indicating its paratextual nature.

⁷⁰ "Manuel Philes daringly writes this." Another example of this structure, where the information usually included in the prescript is written in the last verse(s) is G 19.34–36, a book epigram that resembles verse letters in its communicative character.

⁷¹ "But, my happiness, may you live and not die altogether, and may the running time not conceal such a select instrument of graces."

of the postscript (in a non-formulaic version), as they are always found at the end of the poems.⁷² Other topics addressed in the *prooimion* and epilogue also occur in Philes' poems, but do not necessarily take a fixed position. Philes' poems are less formalized concerning their structure than prose letters in letter collections are. Nonetheless, there are traces of the 'classical' letter structure in them.

When there are no implicit or explicit markers of letters in terms of extra-literary and formal aspects in the poems analysed here, the manuscript tradition can help a great deal in understanding their nature.⁷³ For example, Theodore Patrikiotes,⁷⁴ a revenue officer, appears in 62 of Philes' poems, of which 61 belong to the corpus of the 320 generically unclassified texts.⁷⁵ In the *cod. Laur. Plut.* 32.19 one finds six groups of poems addressed to him.⁷⁶ The headings to these poems make it clear that they belong together, as they read either Τῷ σεβαστῷ Πατρικιῶτι or subsequently Τῷ ἀπτῷ.⁷⁷ All of these poems are connected by their themes. In them the speaker asks his addressee for goods and frequently stresses that he deserves them as a payment for his verses. What is more, poems F 24–F 26 seem to be directly connected to each other. In F 24, the 'I' asks Patrikiotes for an animal that the latter has hunted. The next

⁷² Cf. the following poems, in which the wishes appear at the very end: E 191.92–101, F 17.22–24, F 43.89–94, F 101.61–70, M 13.5–7, M 14.22–26, M 15.39–41, M 68.16–21, M 72.50–54, P 56.98–100, P 74.12–15. Additionally, in the following cases good wishes are found near the end: F 92.44–48, G 19.29–33, P 2.96 f., P 10.90–93.

⁷³ As long as there is no new critical edition of Philes' poems that looks at the whole manuscript tradition, however, the findings presented here necessarily have to be preliminary.

⁷⁴ *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. by Erich Trapp and others, 15 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1996), #22077. He was also the addressee of letters from Michael Gabras and Theodore Hyrtakenos and had contact with Alexios Makrembolites. On the relationship of Patrikiotes and Philes, cf. Kubina, 'Die enkomiaistische Dichtung des Manuel Philes', pp. 312–16.

⁷⁵ Cf. the following poems: F 3, F 4, F 6–F 17, F 23–F 31, F 35, F 35a, F 36, F 46, F 82, F 83, F 134–F 148, F 155, F 156–F 170, P 89. Additionally, Philes has presented an epigram to him (F 133). On Philes' poems for Patrikiotes, cf. Tziatzi-Papagianni, 'Ὅστις ποτ' ἂν βούλοιο', who focuses on the *realia* in these verses.

⁷⁶ Fols 28^r–31^r (I: P 89, F 6–F 17), 40^r–43^r (II: F 23–F 31), 44^r–45^r (III: F 35, F 36), 142^r–143^v (IV: F 82, F 83), 184^v–188^v (V: F 134–F 148) and 190^r–193^v (VI: F 156–F 170). Checked via a digital reproduction of the manuscript.

⁷⁷ P 89, however, is connected to the addressee Pepagomenos (*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* #22345), another donor of Philes (cf. Miller, *Carmina*, II 142 f.) in the *Par. gr.* 2876. F 36 bears the heading Τῷ Φακρασῆι in the manuscript Athens, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τῆφου 351 fol. 205^v. Even though the original addressee is hence uncertain, the order of the poems in the *Florentinus* makes it clear that they were perceived as belonging to each other. They were thus meant to be read together.

two poems deal with the goose which Patrikiotes sent him in response. The ‘I’ bitterly laments how wretched the fowl was and how it caused him nausea, and finally rebukes his addressee for making good on his promise in this way.⁷⁸ These three poems are to be read in a sequence and they contain information about an exchange between the ‘I’ and Patrikiotes.⁷⁹ F 24 and F 25 also contain the vocabulary of sending.⁸⁰ Before becoming literary texts copied in a manuscript, these poems were used in a true correspondence. I therefore suggest that all of the poems addressed to Patrikiotes, which are transmitted so closely together, are to be read as letters, even though not all of them bear explicit markers of being letters. This probably holds true for most poems similar to the ones described above. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the nature of the replies. They may have been written or oral, or even just in the form of a gift. Due to the lack of source material, the issue can only be speculated upon.

Concerning the motifs, there are two themes which dominate the corpus: friendship and gift-giving. Both of them are also (the most) important themes in Byzantine epistolography.⁸¹ The status of the speaker

⁷⁸ The poems are also connected by their imagery: in F 24 the ‘I’ tells Patrikiotes that he has sent him a servant, to whom Patrikiotes should give an animal that he has hunted (cf. v. 1). He praises him for his hunting skills (cf. vv. 3–6), calling him κίρκε περρωτὲ γνωστικῆς εὐερίαιας (v. 2, “You winged falcon of wise good luck”). In F 25, when the ‘I’ receives a stinking goose, he demands a new one (cf. vv. 3 and 9–11). The first verse of this poem resumes the wording of F 24, when Patrikiotes is addressed as Κυνηγετικώτατε καὶ κίρκων δίχα (“You, who are most fond of hunting even without falcons”). Not only is the hunting context once again present, but also the address as falcon.

⁷⁹ In F 25 the ‘I’ speaks about the goose as ‘sent before’ (v. 4 προπεμφθείς). In F 26, the speaker mentions promises by Patrikiotes, thus referring to a former contact between him and his addressee (cf. v. 2).

⁸⁰ Cf. F 24.1 τὸν οἰκέτην πέπομφα (“I sent the servant”; note also the reference to a messenger); F 25.3 Χήνας νεαρὸς πέμψον ἡμῖν ἀγρίους (“Send us young wild geese!”) and 9 Ναὶ πέμπε τὴν εὖσμον ὁ χρυσοῦς χάριν (“Yes, you golden one, send the sweet-smelling favour!”).

⁸¹ Cf. *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft: Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. by Michael Grünbart (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011); in this volume esp. Michael Grünbart, ‘Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft: Einleitung’, xiii–xxv; Floris Bernard, ‘Greet Me With Words’: Gifts and Intellectual Friendships in Eleventh-century Byzantium’, 1–11; furthermore, Stratis Papaioannou, ‘Language Games, Not the Soul’s Beliefs: Michael Italikos to Theodoros Prodromos, on Friendship and Writing’, in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfiam Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger & Elisabeth Schiffer (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 218–33; Foteini Kolovou, ‘Ceremonies and Performances of Byzantine Friendship: Gift-Giving Between High-Level Rhetoric and Everyday Criticism’, in *Networks of Learning*, 57–66. On friendship, cf. *inter alia* Margaret Mullett, ‘Byzantium: A Friendly Society?’, *Past & Present*, 118 (1988), 3–24; eadem,

and the addressee in general – and not only in the sense of friendship – is an important issue in the verse letters. Philes shows status as a relative factor, which can be modulated in different poems depending on the concrete situation and the behaviour of the addressee. Sometimes, the speaker places himself much below his correspondent.⁸² In other poems, he stresses that he and his addressee (usually a member of the upper class) are close friends – even though this might be wishful thinking.⁸³ The motif of *ἀπουσία*, the absence of the correspondent and the letter as a compensation for his presence, is traditionally connected to letter-writing and occurs several times in Philes' poems.⁸⁴ One expression of friendship – and not the least important – is gift-giving. There are some cases, in which the speaker asks for a material gift, but adds that, if the addressee is not able to send it, he should come himself, because meeting the friend would be better than the actual gift.⁸⁵ Sometimes, the speaker offers something to his correspondent.⁸⁶ Mostly, however, the 'I' speaks about a past or future gift from his addressee.⁸⁷ In this context, reciprocation is a frequent issue, especially when it comes to direct requests. Often the speaker offers his own verses as a gift that requires a gift in

'Friendship in Byzantium: Genre, Topos, and Network', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Julian Haseldine (Sutton: Stroud, 1999), 166–84. An overview of motifs in epistolography is provided by Karlsson, *Idéologie et ceremonial*, whose study focuses on the tenth century, but offers much material which exceeds the limits of this scope.

⁸² The 'I' calls himself *οικέτης* ("servant", cf. App. 42.18, P 50.22), *δούλος* ("slave/servant", cf. F 124.26, P 175.18, P 196.70, V 17.44), *πένης* ("poor man", cf. E 91.3, F 53.3, F 85.36, F 124.26, P 149.1 and 249), *κύων* ("dog", cf. E 236.1, F 214.85, F 250.10, P 208.1), *σκώληξ* ("worm", cf. F 43.76), *πηλός* and *κόνης* ("mud" and "dust", cf. P 139.29, P 200.8) and stresses that the addressee owes him (cf. E 91.64 *σός γὰρ ἐγὼ σός* "I am yours, [indeed,] yours", F 124.26).

⁸³ Cf. the following passages, in which the speaker either calls himself the friend of the addressee or vice versa: E 212.8, E 230.3, F 8.8, F 13.2, F 17.21, F 26.1, F 28.9, F 30.31, F 35.8 and 46, F 53.2, F 55.21, F 57.8, F 62.3, F 65.82, F 67.20, F 83.6, F 86.3, F 123.14, F 134.5, F 136.17, F 144.1, F 155.2, F 156.2, F 162.8, F 235.5, P 1.46, 47 and 72, P 51.24, P 64.1, P 80.3, P 88.1, P 122.24, P 132.12, V 13.23, M 10.1, M 31.1, M 43.104, M 97.2. Three poems are transmitted under the heading "To a friend" (*Πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων* P 66, P 106 and P 202), which is ubiquitous in letter collections, too.

⁸⁴ Cf. the passages cited above, footnote 54.

⁸⁵ Cf. P 241.17–19, where the 'I' asks for medicine because he is ill, but states that he needs a friend even more. In M 46 the 'I' tells the addressee that he desires nothing more than to receive a letter from him, but adds praise of a potential gift.

⁸⁶ This especially concerns books, cf. F 109, F 240, P 107, furthermore M 11, in which the speaker offers pottery to his addressee.

⁸⁷ For examples cf. footnote 48.

return.⁸⁸ In many poetological passages it is clear that the money and goods the speaker asks for are not to be seen as a present. Rather, they are a remuneration for the verses he sends the addressee.⁸⁹ He may also threaten to cease writing verses for his addressee in the future.⁹⁰ Some poems, under the heading *χαριστήριοι* (στίχοι), are used to thank the addressee for a gift.⁹¹ As in prose letters, one finds in Philes the whole range of possible kinds of gifts, from mere philanthropy to friendly presents and overdue payments.⁹² Thus, the discourse of giving in all its varieties

⁸⁸ Cf. e.g. F 55.1–4: Τῷ πατριάρχῃ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης | Κριθῶν χάριν πέπομφα δις δέκα στίχους, | Οὓς αὐτὸς ἐγγεῖριξε καὶ πέρανέ μοι | Δυνατὸς ὢν, κάλλιστε πατέρων πάτερ. “To [you] the patriarch of the whole world I have sent twice ten verses for the sake of barley, which you shall put into my hands, and accomplish [this business] for me, since you are powerful, best father of fathers”. Cf. also E 191.1–11 (where the speaker stresses how the addressee is pleased by the speaker’s words and gives gifts in return, mentioning a cooperation in their souls [ψυχικὴ συνεργία, cf. v. 8]), P 86 (in which the speaker asks for a hat and offers his verses as a potential source for pleasure in return), M-SB 2 (where the speaker stresses that he, who is beaten by hunger, uses the sword of words to beat the oblivion of the addressee’s deeds). Cf. also F 15.6–10, F 137.8–10 (where the addressee is even said to ask for poems [καὶ γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς αὐθις λόγους “and you ask for my writings again”, v. 8]), F 161.1–6, F 162.9 f. (with the idea that giving nothing in return for the verses is an insult), P 171.7–11, P 173.10–14, P 205.1–4, P 239.7–9. Cf. also Bazzani, ‘A Poem of Philes to Makarios Chrysokephalos?’, p. 67, who stresses the reciprocity of the relationship between speaker and donor.

⁸⁹ Cf. F 6: Στάχυς καλῶν ὄριμος ὀφθεῖς τοῖς φίλοις, | τὸ τῶν στίχων ἔμμισθον ἀπόδος θέρος, | ὡς ἂν ὁ πυκνὸς τῶν ἐμῶν κρότων σπόρος | ἐξοργανωθῆ πρὸς τὸν εὐσταχυν φόρον. “You, who seem to be a scion of goods for the friends, pay a remunerated harvest for the verses so that the thick seed of my praises shall be turned into a payment rich in corn”. In the same sense, M 17 (in which the speaker asks for a recompense [ἀμοιβή, cf. v. 4, the term is also used in F 10.10, F 161.5 and M 19.9]); P 1 (where the speaker asks the addressee to pay his debts [ὀφειλή, cf. v. 15]).

⁹⁰ Cf. e.g. F 14.1 f.: Ἡ ῥαδίως πέραναι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, | ἢ μηδὲ τοὺς τέρποντας ἀγάπα κρότους “Either readily live up to your promise or don’t love (my) pleasing praises anymore!”, P 122.21–24 (where the speaker asks first for gold and then, whether the addressee does not need him to witness his deeds); P 133.19–24 (where the speaker asks for a cloak and states that shivering from coldness he could not sing anymore). Similarly, but less directly, F 170, where the speaker states that, whereas others have praised the addressee for his wisdom and education, he had praised him for his generosity, but finally asks, whether he should now doubt this very generosity.

⁹¹ Cf. F 43 (to the patriarch Niphon I); P 6 (to the emperor). Both poems praise their respective addressee emphatically and thus include many encomiastic elements. Thanking is also an issue in E 256, where the speaker foresees how he would thank the addressee if he would send him the promised cow.

⁹² On gift-giving and the non-literary aspects of sending and receiving letters, cf. Riehle, ‘Epistolography as Autobiography’, p. 3; idem, ‘Rhetorik, Ritual und Repräsentation’; Foteini Kolovou, ‘Ceremonies and Performance’; Floris Bernard, ‘Exchanging *Logoi* for *Aloga*: Cultural Capital and Material Capital in a Letter of Michael Psellos’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 35 (2011), 134–48; idem, ‘Greet Me With

(and not only in the form of pleas and requests) is widespread in Philes' verse letters. Additionally, friendship is frequently presented as a reciprocal relationship, in which the two persons involved each offer something to the other.

When reading Philes' verse letters, one also has to face the same problems concerning literariness as when reading prose letters. Not least important is the question of fictionality and factuality – a question that is especially relevant for the so-called 'begging poems'. As, quite often, both the addressee and the speaker are historical figures, one might be tempted to read these poems as factual texts. However, as in epistolography, one has to bear in mind that both the speaker and the addressee are to be seen as literary *personae*.⁹³ There is ample evidence that Byzantine letter-writing includes elements of *ethopoia* and descriptions of the speaker's self are to be understood as self-fashioning, used to adapt a text to its specific function.⁹⁴ Furthermore, one must bear in mind that these texts were also written for entertainment.⁹⁵ If it was only for a direct plea, there would have been no reason to copy Philes' poems, including the verse letters, in more than 150 manuscripts.⁹⁶ How the speaker presented himself must have been an important feature of whether a poem offered pleasure or not. Thus, a straightforward reading of the poems as authentic confessions of the speaker's self is at least problematic. Hence, one should be most cautious when extracting biographical information

Words'; *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft*; Dimitrij Chernoglazov, 'Was bedeuten drei Fische? Betrachtung von Geschenken in byzantinischen Briefen', in *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft*, 55–69.

⁹³ Cf. with reference to the Ptochoprodromic corpus Alexiou, 'Poverty of Écriture', p. 4, who stresses the importance of distinguishing between author and "ego-speaker". Cf. also Beaton, 'Rhetoric of Poverty', p. 5 f. on the relationship between fictionality and the true needs of a professional writer.

⁹⁴ Cf. Papaioannou, 'Byzantium and the Modernist Subject', pp. 207–11; idem, 'Voice, Signature, Mask: The Byzantine Author', in *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. by Aglae Pizzone (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 21–40; idem, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Alexander Riehle, 'Epistolography as Autobiography', p. 17 and *passim*. Ethopoietic letters are also known in prose, cf. e.g. Riehle, 'Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie', 258–68. About *ethopoia* in epigrams, cf. Drpić, 'The Patron's "I"' and idem, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 67–117.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. E 191.7 f., where the speaker states that his addressee is pleased by his verses (καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν αἰσθάνεσθαι τέρψεως | ἐκ τῆς ψυχικῆς εὐτυχῶ συνεργίας) ("and I am fortunate to see the pleasure in you, resulting from our spiritual co-operation"). Additionally, in several poems the speaker states that his addressee asks or asked for his verses.

⁹⁶ Cf. the list of the manuscripts in Stickler, *Psalmenmetaphrase*, pp. 209–42.

about Philes from his poems, as the letter is a genre that has both fictional and factual elements that are not easy to disentangle. Verse letters can thus be understood as *ethopoia* in the sense of a self-fashioning by Philes.⁹⁷

As for the function of letters, A. Riehle recently introduced a complex model of classifying letters according to their primary aim: although every letter can serve different purposes, it makes sense to distinguish between a literary-aesthetic, a social (or communicative) and a pragmatic function of letters.⁹⁸ The pragmatic function concerns the direct aim of a letter, which in Philes' case most frequently is requesting a gift, but also expressing thanks, demanding a payment or offering a gift to the addressee. The social factor is dominated by the play with status, which ranges from subservience via equality to a superior position on the part of the speaker, who can keenly admonish his addressee to fulfil his obligations towards his correspondent. In terms of literariness and aesthetics, it is the use of common motifs, variation of language, allusions to other literary works and the versatile handling of language and metre that give the poems their value. As they passed from being actual letters sent on a specific occasion to texts in a poetry collection, the primary function of the poems shifted from pragmatic and social to literary-aesthetic.

To cut a long story short, the evidence that the 320 poems mentioned have to be read as verse letters⁹⁹ is overwhelming. To my knowledge,

⁹⁷ Cf. also Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams', p. 296: "The phenomenon of begging poetry, or to put it better, the *ethopoia* of the begging intellectual seems to be a 'project in progress' from the second quarter of the twelfth century onwards." Cf. also Drpić, 'The Patron's 'I'' and idem, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 67–117, on how the first person donor in epigrams is stylised in relation to the (saint) addressee. On the importance of self-fashioning in rhetorical texts of the early Palaiologan period, cf. at length Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*.

⁹⁸ Cf. Riehle, 'Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie', 202–14. I have developed a slightly different model for Philes' encomiastic poems (cf. Kubina, 'Die encomiastische Dichtung des Manuel Philes', pp. 273–327). However, as Riehle explicitly refers to letters I here prefer to use his model, which coincides with mine in many aspects.

⁹⁹ Nikos Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus: Appropriation in the Service of Self-representation', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 40 (2016), 223–42 observes the same for Theodore Prodromos. Zagklas names at least nine poems that should be regarded as letters. Especially telling in this context is the heading of one of them, which reads: Εἰς ἀνθρακα ἐπιστολή πρὸς τὸν κανικλείου. This observation shows how important a study of Byzantine epistolary poetry would be – especially since most of it would first have to be identified as such. Some first steps towards the understanding of the Byzantine verse letter have been made in studies focusing on single authors, cf. Erika Brodňanská, 'Verse letter from Gregory of Nazianzus to Vitalianus', *Parekbolai*, 2 (2012), 109–27; Rudolf Stefec, 'Ramenta

nobody has ever thought of these texts like that. One should therefore stress the importance of this finding: there are almost 6,600 verses in the oeuvre of Philes that, in all likelihood, can be classified as letters in verse. Thus, it is mandatory to study them in comparison to prose letters in the future. Just as with prose letters, verse letters should be seen both as evidence of a pragmatic communication between two individuals and as literary pieces which were read for their own sake (hence the broad manuscript transmission).

Yet, the situation is even more complex than that. As stressed above, genres have fuzzy edges which prevent us from setting clear boundaries. As a result of the fact that poetry in manuscripts finds a secondary usage and loses its original context, one may well assume that some texts, which do not bear obvious markers of being letters, were originally sent as one. Philes wrote several hortatory verses which may be classified as belonging to a distinct genre. The same can be said about a consolatory poem.¹⁰⁰ One cannot exclude the possibility that these texts, which show the typical situation of a speaking 'I' in communication with another person, were originally letters.¹⁰¹ Philes also wrote a long poem in which he describes taking part in an embassy, which may well have served as a letter.¹⁰² Conceivably, some of the *enkomia* were originally sent as encomiastic

carminum byzantinorum', *Byzantinoslavica*, 72 (2014), 340–49, esp. 344–48; Michael Grünbart refers to a verse letter by Tzetzes in 'Byzantinisches Gelehrtenelend – oder: wie meistert man seinen Alltag?' in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. by Lars Hoffmann ass. by Anuscha Monchizadeh (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 413–26, p. 414 footnote 7; the oeuvre of Christopher Mitylenaios, too, includes verse letters, e.g. poems 87 and 88, which are written to accompany gifts sent to a friend (*Christophori Mitylenaii versuum variorum collectio cryptensis*, ed. by Marc de Groote [Turnhout: Brepols, 2012], pp. 80–82). For (late) antiquity, cf. Patricia Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 98–130. I would like to thank Alexander Riehle for making me aware of these references. On a broader basis, Byzantine epistolary poetry was addressed in a workshop at the University of Vienna ('Epistolary Poetry from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium', Vienna, 10 June 2017, organised by Krystina Kubina and Alexander Riehle). The planned publication of its results will shed further light on the phenomenon. It will also deal with the question of terminology, especially the use of the terms 'epistolary poem' or 'verse letter'.

¹⁰⁰ Under the heading *παραίνετικοί στίχοι* one finds the texts App. 13, App. 23 and F 198 (equalling about 400 verses). P 14 (590 verses) bears the heading *παραμυθητικοί*.

¹⁰¹ Riehle, 'Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie', 274–81 discusses some texts of Nikephoros Chumnos which were used both as proper *paramythetikoi* and as letters.

¹⁰² P 18 (176 verses).

letters.¹⁰³ This adds approximately 2,800 verses which may originally have been letters to the corpus of verse letters. The pragmatic function of letters thus may have been much more diverse than one would assume, ranging from admonishing to counselling, from praising to teaching. It would go beyond the scope of this paper to analyse these poems in a more detailed way. However, it should be clear that the verse letter may be even more important in Philes' oeuvre than argued so far.

Pleading – a Literary Mode in Epistolary Poetry and Beyond

Emphasizing the importance of epistolary poetry does not mean denying the importance of pleading.¹⁰⁴ As mentioned above, the lion's share of the pleading poems is found in the corpus of epistolary poetry, embedded in the discourse of gift-giving. However, not all of the pleading poems are verse letters, nor are all verse letters pleading poems. Although epistolary poetry clearly is the main context for requests, they are also found in *enkomia*, a *propemptikon* and an *epibaterion*.¹⁰⁵ Thus, out of the approximately 5,600 verses which include direct pleas, about 600 are not to be understood as verse letters. In these pleas occur, but not as the focus of the poems. The ratio of poems connected to pleas within the corpus of verse letters becomes clear: out of about 320 verse letters (equalling c. 6,600 verses) about 240 include pleas (equalling c. 5,000 verses). If one adds the hortatory, consolatory, encomiastic and didactic poems, which may or may not have been letters, requests become even less prevalent in Philes' verse letters. On the other hand, four poems (equalling c. 600 verses) which make use of pleas are definitely not epistolary poetry.

In the context of requests, the speaker often presents himself as a poor man who is asking his addressee for a favour. This constellation led scholars to label such poems 'begging poems'. Begging is defined as follows by the *Comparative Research Program on Poverty*, the leading research association in the social sciences dealing with all aspects of poverty: "Begging is a request for alms or charity for oneself. The act of beg-

¹⁰³ Cf. App. 30, App. 31, E 213, F 44, F 92, F 95, F 112, F 244, M 2, M 43, M 76, V 30 (equalling about 1,600 verses). The definition of *enkomia* in Byzantine poetry is, however, difficult and the edges of this genre especially fuzzy. The poems listed here almost entirely focus on praise. On this problem, cf. Kubina, 'Die enkomistische Dichtung des Manuel Philes', especially pp. 173–78.

¹⁰⁴ On pleading, cf. with many examples Bazzani, 'The Art of Requesting'.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the *enkomia* E 213, F 244, the *epibaterion* P 61 and the *propemptikon* G 12.

ging is [...] strongly associated with both poverty and dependency and widely stigmatized.”¹⁰⁶ Begging follows fixed roles, in which the beggar, seen as a member of the lowest social stratum, does nothing more than asking for a favour without offering something in return, while the one who gives something does so out of mercy. Giving in this context is an asymmetrical and non-reciprocal action. In contrast to this, in Philes’ poems giving is not a mere act of philanthropy: indeed, there are some poems in which the speaker asks for mercy and alms, presenting himself as a low-standing petitioner.¹⁰⁷ Verses such as the following draw the picture of a beggar at the edge of society: Δέσποινά μου, πεινῶντα, διψῶντα, ξένον, | γυμνόν, ταπεινόν, δυστυχή, τεθλιμμένον, | δέσποινα φίλόπτωχε, μὴ παραδράμης (F 100.7–9).¹⁰⁸ However, at least as important is the theme of reciprocation, as has been shown above. There are many situations in which the speaker demands payment for his verses, sometimes in a very biting tone, which does not leave the impression of a beggar at all. Requests in Philes’ poems can be made in a tone which alludes to begging, but ‘begging’ alone does not suffice as a term to describe the importance of requests in his oeuvre.¹⁰⁹ Yet, if there is no genre of ‘begging poetry’, how can one describe the place of pleading appropriately? R. Beaton introduced the term of the ‘rhetoric of poverty’ into the discussion of the Ptochoprodromic poems. He makes it clear that poverty and begging are central themes in the self-representation of the speaker of these poems. He also stresses that ‘begging’ is to be seen more as a theme of these poems than as a genre (he sees them in the context of satire).¹¹⁰ In

¹⁰⁶ *Poverty. An International Glossary*, ed. by Paul Spicker, Sonia Alvarez Leguizamón and David Gordon, 2nd edition (London and New York: Zed Books, 2007), p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ See above footnote 82.

¹⁰⁸ “My mistress, you shall not pass over [me], who am hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked, base, wretched, oppressed; oh mistress, you, who love the poor!” It has been noted that the literary *persona* of Philes does not seem to have been truly poor, since the objects he asks for are quite often luxury items and not only objects that meet basic needs. Cf. e.g. E 207, where the ‘I’ asks for rabbits or chicken because he is weary of pork; in M 45 he bids the addressee not to send him beans because they have distasteful physical side effects, but to send him other legumes and oysters instead. One can find elements of irony in these poems, as the description of great suffering is contrasted by the fact that the ‘I’ has everything that he needs for his living (even meat).

¹⁰⁹ The way in which pleas are presented is a part of the self-fashioning strategy of Philes; cf. Kubina, ‘Die enkomastische Dichtung des Manuel Philes’, pp. 290–302.

¹¹⁰ Beaton, ‘Rhetoric of Poverty’, p. 3 and *passim*. The term has been accepted as more appropriate by some scholars; cf. e.g. Zagklas, ‘Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams’, p. 66.

recent years, M. Kulhánková has done the most work on ‘begging poetry’, focusing on the poetry of the twelfth century. At the centre of her articles stand the three Prodroimoi and Michael Glykas.¹¹¹ In contrast to Beaton, she perceives ‘begging poems’ as a distinct genre, which is characterised by specific features, such as common topics, a shared rhetorical function, irony and fictionality.¹¹² Additionally, she identifies typical formal elements, namely (apart from irony) the hyperbola, antithesis and catalogues.¹¹³ She names common themes (hunger and thirst, cold, illness and the proximity of death) and motifs or *topoi* (such as the lamentation of the intellectual about the futility of the *logoi*, the threat to the donor not to write verses anymore, or the poet as a beggar).¹¹⁴ As for the historical background, she stresses that ‘begging poetry’, as it emerges in the twelfth century, is strongly tied to the sociocultural rise in the importance of patronage and the establishment of a group of professional *literati*.¹¹⁵ Kulhánková’s studies have revealed many important features of the so-called ‘begging poetry’. However, by now it should have become clear that the theoretical framework of ‘genre’ or ‘Gattung’ for pleading cannot be transferred to Manuel Philes. It is not possible to see the poems of Ptochoprodromos and Philes as belonging to the same ‘Textsorte’. Nonetheless, Kulhánková’s observations on twelfth century ‘Betteldichtung’ do shed light on the literary structure of pleading. As such, they can serve as a background against which Philes’ poems can be understood better.

For the sake of analytical clarity, one should try to find an appropriate term for the problem of pleading or begging.¹¹⁶ It occurs mainly in

¹¹¹ Cf. Kulhánková, ‘Parallelen zur antiken Literatur’; eadem, ‘Die byzantinische Betteldichtung’; eadem, ‘Vaganten in Byzanz, Prodroimoi im Westen’; eadem, ‘Figuren und Wortspiele’; eadem, ‘Manteltopos’.

¹¹² Cf. eadem, ‘Die byzantinische Betteldichtung’, p. 175. However, she does not explain her understanding of the term ‘Gattung’. Furthermore, it is not clear how she selected the corpus of ‘begging poems’. It seems that she partially based the definition of the ‘genre’ on her own preconceptions of the same, thus entering a hermeneutic circle.

¹¹³ Cf. eadem, ‘Vaganten in Byzanz, Prodroimoi im Westen’, pp. 250–54.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 243–50.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *ibidem* and eadem, ‘Das Eindringen der Volkssprache in die byzantinische Literatur als eines der Elemente der ἀστειότης, *Urbanitas und ἀστειότης. Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 45 (2011), 233–43, pp. 242 f. and *passim*.

¹¹⁶ Beaton himself offers the term “begging topos” (‘The Rhetoric of Poverty’, p. 3), which is, however, no help. Firstly, the term *topos* is used inconsistently in literary theory (cf. *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* III s. v. ‘Topos’ [Peter Hess, pp. 649–52]). In Medieval Studies, following the seminal study by Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 11th edition (Tübingen and Ba-

the genre of epistolary poetry, but also in *enkomia*, a *propemptikon* and an *epibaterion*. In different contexts, pleading is connected to certain literary techniques, which are more or less stable (see below). Overall, pleading should be understood as a literary mode, which can be adapted to different contexts, i.e. different genres, but also the addressees and the situation of the speaker. If the twelfth century 'begging (or pleading) poems' are to be regarded as a distinct 'Genre', the relationship between them and Philes' poems with pleas is equivalent to the relationship between the *enkomion* as a 'Genre'¹¹⁷ and the encomiastic mode as 'Schreibweise' (again following Fricke's terminology).

Pleading as a literary mode is based on the pragmatic act of communication.¹¹⁸ As such, the existence of both a sender and a receiver of the message is obligatory. In many cases the relationship between these two is expressed. In several texts, the discourse of friendship is prevalent and the relationship is presented as both reciprocal and symmetrical. In others, one finds a strong antithetical setting, in which the addressee has a very high social status, whereas the pleading 'I' presents himself to be far below him so that he acts like a beggar. The characterisation of both *personae* is hyperbolic. The *topos* of the poor intellectual, who writes his verses and needs a recompense for them, is used, but not universal.¹¹⁹ Sometimes, the 'I' threatens not to write verses anymore if the donor does not send him a present.¹²⁰ In the praise of the addressee these

sel: Francke Verlag, 1993) the definition of a *topos* as a literary cliché or *locus communis* has become widely used – even though the field has not been theorized. An action like begging (or similarly mourning, praising, thanking, etc.), which is first and foremost pragmatic, however, does not seem to be a *topos*, as it is too general a category. On the other hand, certain *topoi* can be connected to it, as, for example, the *topos* of the poor intellectual. Kulhánková, 'Manteltopos' has also identified the *topos* of the cloak to be an important part of 'begging poetry'. Pleading itself, however, seems to belong to a different category.

¹¹⁷ Whether there is a 'Textsorte' of 'begging poetry' in Byzantine literature or whether this 'Genre' is limited to the twelfth century has to remain open.

¹¹⁸ On the appellative function of Philes' poems, cf. Kubina, 'Die enkomistische Dichtung des Manuel Philes', pp. 308–11.

¹¹⁹ Only twice is the topic dealt with at length, namely in two poems in which the speaker talks about his long and painstaking study of the *logoi*, which brought him nothing but misery and poverty (cf. App. 52 and P 149). The poems deal with the same problem as the two famous poems by Theodore Prodromos (*Historische Gedichte*, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974], no. 38, pp. 377–81) and Ptochoprodromos (ed. Eideneier 1991, no. III, pp. 116–37). The *topos* may also be used without the utterance of a plea; cf. Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams', no. 12, pp. 288–97.

¹²⁰ Cf. above footnote 90.

poems also include encomiastic elements, such as the use of praising *epitheta*. The mode of pleading is thus – to come back to the concept of family resemblance – related to the encomiastic mode.¹²¹ An antithetical setting is also used for the description of the wonderful nature of the desired object and the dire need of the ‘I’. The imagery of the poems often echoes the object.¹²² The main themes of lamentation are hunger or thirst, the cold, illness and the proximity of death.¹²³ On the other hand, pleading does not necessarily have to be combined with suffering by the ‘I’. Instead, it can make a legitimate claim to payment for his literary works.¹²⁴ As there are so many poems in which this literary mode was used, one has to assume that a Byzantine reader was aware of these conventions. Hyperbolic settings and subtle jests concerning the relationship between the speaking ‘I’ and the addressee were thus within the horizon of expectation of the readers.

It is clear that most of the characteristics that M. Kulhánková describes for ‘Betteldichtung’ as a genre can be discovered as features of the literary mode of pleading in Philes. Future research will have to address the question of how this mode was used throughout the ages (especially

¹²¹ Just like pleading, praising should be regarded as a literary mode (in the rhetorical terminology the encomiastic mode), which is far more widespread than actual *enkomia* are in Philes’ oeuvre. It occurs in the ‘classical’ encomiastic genres (such as the *enkomion* proper, epitaphs, monodies, *propemptika*, *epibateria*, etc.) and in other genres, too (e.g. book epigrams, donor epigrams and prominently in verse letters). To name but a few motifs popular in encomiastic poems, one can find *ekphraseis* of an addressee’s beauty (e.g. E 91.9–21), summarizing praise of his or her virtue (e.g. E 230.8–10), many accumulations of praising *epitheta* when the addressee is approached (e.g. F 43.1–5, M 29.8–14, M-SB 4.1–7 and 14–16), the praise of somebody’s origin (e.g. F 110.1–12) and many more. Cf. extensively Kubina, ‘Die enkomiaistische Dichtung des Manuel Philes.’

¹²² Cf. e.g. poem E 201, presented at the very beginning of this paper. In M 57, the speaker uses nautical metaphors to praise his addressee when asking for a lobster. In P 124, the addressee is praised as son of light (cf. v. 1), when the ‘I’ asks for wax and a wick. In P 132, the addressee is praised for administrating the affairs of the people prudently using reins, before the ‘I’ asks for similar reins.

¹²³ The themes can be used either directly or metaphorically. Concerning hunger and thirst, cf. App. 52, E 91, E 212, E 233, E 247, E 257, F 8, F 43, F 80, F 110, F 113, F 121, F 134, F 135, F 250, M 10, M 13, M 14, M 16, M 29, M 30, M 45, M-SB 2, P 1, P 7, P 10, P 27, P 30, P 46, P 41, P 56, P 58, P 108, P 139, P 149, P 196, P 213, V 11, V 16. Concerning the cold (and including nakedness), cf. E 183, E 191, E 202, E 217, E 234, F 30, F 62, F 86, F 101, F 111, F 113, F 136, F 265; M 3, M 5, M 26, M 68, P 4, P 6, P 7, P 10, P 30, P 44, P 48, P 56, P 63, P 94, P 113, P 133, P 173, P 200, P 201, V 13. Concerning illness, cf. E 188, E 198, F 17, F 29, F 60, F 101, F 123, F 137, G 14, G 22, M 6, M 10, M 31, M 32, M 60, M 72, M 82, P 27, P 28, P 40, P 50, P 51, P 55, P 56, P 58, P 60, P 63, P 84, P 90, P 149, P 175, P 210, P 211, P 238, P 241, V 12, V 13.

¹²⁴ Cf. above footnote 48.

comparing the Komnenian and the early Palaiologan periods) and how its relationship to different genres (and most importantly the genre of epistolary poetry) changes over time.

Conclusion

The issue of requests and the supposed existence of ‘begging poetry’ has opened up a whole lot of problems ranging from the theoretical discussion of genre classification to the neglected corpus of verse letters in Philes’ oeuvre.

- I. Genre theory and Byzantine Studies: as both the Byzantines and Byzantinists are led by genre conventions and names when they read or write (Medieval) Greek texts, the problem of genre theory is highly relevant for our understanding of Byzantine literature. Understanding a text as part of a specific genre helps us to understand the context (both in terms of other literary texts and its use on a certain occasion) and the literary traditions to which it belongs. For the sake of clarity, one should distinguish between a genre and a literary mode – the former denoting a certain group of texts that share certain characteristics, the latter denoting a specific way of writing that occurs in various genres.
- II. Epistolary poetry – a hitherto neglected genre in Philes’ poems: although many of Philes’ poems belong to a well-known genre (e.g. the epigram, the *enkomion*, etc.), there are about 320 poems, equalling 6,600 verses, which do not. Internal evidence about the extra-literary context of use, such as the vocabulary of sending and writing, literary aspects including formal elements, motifs and questions of literariness, as well as the manifold functions to be discerned, identify these texts as verse letters. Some poems, which at first sight belong to other genres such as the *enkomion*, may originally have been letters, too. This generic classification helps us to understand their pragmatic use as ephemeral texts and gives the background against which one will have to read them in the future, namely prose letters. In the same way as prose letters, they are also pieces of literature including fictional elements (such as the establishment of literary *personae*, which must not be confused with the historical figures mentioned in headings and texts). Thus, these texts were not only read for their pragmatic

intent, but also for their own sake. This explains the broad manuscript transmission of Philes' verse letters.

- III. Pleading – a literary mode in epistolary poetry and beyond: Instead of understanding 'begging poetry' as a genre, one should understand pleading as a literary mode. In this context, one should avoid the term 'begging' due to its pejorative connotations and to the fact that a 'begging' setting is only a part of the bigger issue of pleas. This literary mode of pleading is frequent in epistolary poetry in the discourse of gift-giving. However, it does not always occur in verse letters, nor does it only occur there. Pleading finds its origin in a pragmatic act of communication which is turned into a fictional and literary act. As in letters, the relationship between the sender and the recipient of the message is frequently discussed. There are typical themes and *topoi* such as the suffering of the 'I', the *topos* of the begging intellectual or the *topos* of the cloak. On the other hand, pleading also occurs in the context of legitimate claims. It is frequently connected to the encomiastic mode.

These findings lead to a wide range of questions, which future research should address: what is the relationship between epistolary poetry and prose letters? What is the place of pleading in both? How did epistolary poetry change throughout the Byzantine millennium? What can be said about the literary mode (in the sense of a 'Schreibweise') of pleading, especially when comparing the Komnenian and the early Palaiologan period? Finally, how do pleading in a secular and pleading (or praying) in a religious context correspond to one another?

The following final example (P 200) shows the multifacetedness of epistolary poetry.¹²⁵ If one expected to find humility in a 'begging' 'I' in a poem, then one would search for poems addressed to the Emperor. However, even in this context, the speaker can indirectly show himself to be very self-aware:

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα¹²⁶
 Ὁ σὸς βασιλεύς, ὁ βραβεὺς τῶν κτισμάτων,

¹²⁵ On this poem, cf. also Bazzani, 'The Art of Requesting', pp. 183-207, who comes to similar conclusions.

¹²⁶ The heading in the manuscript Athens, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου 351, fol. 102^v reads: τῷ αὐτοκράτορι διὰ χιτῶνα πασχάτι(κον). The abbreviation of the last word is not easy to dissolve (Papazoglou, 'Ο κώδικας Μετοχίου 351', p. 370 reads *πάσχοντες*, which, no doubt, is wrong). I suggest the reading *πασχάτικον* pointing to an 'Easterly cloak' as the desired gift due to two parallels in vernacular texts: in Ptochoprodromos

χιτώνα καινὸν συντιθεὶς ἀπὸ χλόης,
 ἢ νήθεται μὲν ἐξ ἀποκρύφου κρόκης,
 ὑφαίνεται δὲ τῷ προσήκοντι χρόνῳ,
 στολιζέται δὲ ταῖς βαφαῖς τῶν ἀνθέων, [5]
 τὴν πρὶν ἀκαλλῆ καὶ ψιλὴν γῆν φαιδρύνει.
 Σὺ δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν Φιλῆν παρατρέχεις,
 τὴν γῆν με τὴν σὴν, τὴν πατουμένην κόνιν.
 Καὶ ποῦ θεμιτὸν εἰς φιλόανθρωπον φύσιν,
 ἢ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ἐκμιμουμένη; [10]
 Οὐ κρύπτεται γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἡ γυμνότης,
 εἰ καὶ τὸ πεινῆν συσκιάζῃ τις τάχα.¹²⁷

At first sight, the literary *persona* of Philes humbles himself by showing himself at the very bottom of the heap, as he speaks about himself as dust and earth (cf. v. 8). In fact, however, the tone of the poem is anything but submissive. The first half of the poem praises the Lord for weaving the Earth a new, beautiful cloak in spring time. In the second half, the speaker states that the Emperor does not help him and does not give him a cloak. The praise of the Lord is thus contrasted with blame of the Emperor, whereas both passages are linked by the use of the word βασιλεύς. The discrepancy between God, the Emperor's βασιλεύς, and the Emperor himself, who is Philes' ruler, is thus highlighted. On top of that, the Emperor is charged with not fulfilling his imperial duty of the *imitatio Christi* by passing over Philes. He then stresses that as a result he has to remain naked, even though he might get some food. Although no direct plea is uttered, the aim of the poem is more than clear: Philes asks emphatically for a cloak. What is more, he openly blames the Emperor for his improper behaviour. Self-humiliation is thus only a literary device, under which a very self-aware *persona* is hidden.

no. I (ed. Eideneier, pp. 98–107) the wife of the speaker complains that she has no nice things, listing among others a γυρὶν Πασχαλίαν (v. 47), an Easterly scarf. In Spanos B 111, the list of a dowry includes luxury items and among them ρούχα πασχάτικα ("Easterly clothes", Spanos. *Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*, introduction, ed., commentary and glossary by Hans Eideneier [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977], p. 156). It seems that the attribute 'Easterly' connected to a garment denotes something precious. Additionally, the evocation of Easter fits well into the spring setting, which is described in the first verses (1–6).

¹²⁷ "To the Emperor. Your emperor, the Lord of the creation, having created a new cloak of the first shoots of spring, which is spun of hidden thread and woven for the fitting time and adorned with the dye of flowers, he now cheers the hitherto charmless and bare world. But you, Emperor, you pass over Philes, me, your earth, the dust, on which one treads. So how is [this] proper for a philanthropic nature, who imitates Christ himself? For in no way (my) nakedness is concealed, even though somebody soon shades quite over (my) hunger."

Manuel Philes – a begging poet? Manuel Philes, a most versatile poet and letter writer, using his literary skills for his own advantage.

Abstract

The article deals with the problems of genre definition in the work of Manuel Philes. Previous scholarship has claimed the existence of a genre of ‘begging poems’. I argue that poems connected with pleas cannot be regarded as one genre. Instead, most such texts are verse letters, as can be demonstrated from internal textual evidence. Such evidence includes the address of living individuals, the vocabulary of writing and sending, formal elements of letters and various motifs and functions associated with epistolography. The literary mode of pleading, which occurs frequently in verse letters, but also in other genres such as *epibateria* and *propemptika*, should be distinguished from the hitherto completely neglected genre of epistolary poetry. In general, one should avoid the term ‘begging’. Its pejorative connotations fail to do justice both to the literary quality of the poems, and to the literary games in them that subvert the status of both the sender and the addressee. Philes often deals with the problem of reciprocation and asserts the legitimate character of his claims. Although connected to pragmatic aims, there are manifold ways of constructing pleas literarily. Typical themes and motifs are the suffering ‘I’, the topos of the begging intellectual and the pleas for a cloak, which are used creatively in various contexts. Both the genre of verse letters and the literary mode of pleading have many facets in Philes’ poetry, showing the versatility of the author and his ability to use his texts for his own purposes.

MARINA BAZZANI

The Art of Requesting in the Poetry of Manuel Philes

Although Manuel Philes was one of the most prolific authors of the Palaeologan times and his large *œuvre* enjoyed scholarly attention throughout the centuries,¹ he has not yet become a household name in Byzantine studies. A modern, reliable critical edition is still lacking,² as well as a comprehensive study of his work, and the reasons for these failings are various: the sheer size of Philes' work (more than 25,000 verses), the poor reputation that has long tainted Byzantine occasional poetry, and the – at time – cryptic complexity of his verses. In the last twenty years Philes' poetry has been the focus of intense scrutiny on part of art historians, who were particularly interested in his detailed descriptions of icons and votive objects.³ A positive consequence of their work has been a renewed literary appreciation, which is constantly picking up pace and has so far resulted in the recent substantial studies of Braounou-Pietsch, who has shown the depth of thought and stylistic refinement present in

¹ A thorough survey of early modern studies and editions of Philes' works can be found in Günther Stlickler, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1992), pp. 56–95.

² For the majority of Philes' occasional poems scholars still rely on the following printed editions: Manuel Philes, *Manuelis Philae Carmina ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. by Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris: In typographeo imperiali, 1855–57); Manuel Philes, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, ed. by Emidio Martini, Atti, R. accad. di arch., lettere e belle arti, vol. 20, suppl., (Naples: 1900). A limited number of poems is found also in M. Gedeon, 'Μανουήλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα', *Ekklesiastike aletheia*, 3 (1882–3), pp. 215–20, 246–50, 655–59. These editions are dated and rife with mistakes, but are still extremely valuable.

³ Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatohite*, Byzantina Vindobonensia 15 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), pp. 79–85; Sarolta Takás, 'Manuel Philes' Meditation on an Icon of the Virgin Mary', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 15 (1990), pp. 277–88; Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos of the Peges and its Art', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 48 (1994), pp. 135–65; Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 (1999), pp. 75–90; Sarah Brooks, 'Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration. Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 60 (2006), pp. 224–48; see also Ivan Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Philes' epigrams.⁴ This surge of interest in Byzantine poetry in recent years has enormously enhanced our knowledge and comprehension of a literary genre that undoubtedly suffered more than others from aesthetic prejudice and anachronistic expectations. Indeed, it has proven hard for modern audiences to accept the differences between Byzantine and contemporary aesthetic sense, and to embrace the Byzantine attitude toward imitation, which to them represented a normal and indispensable procedure, whereas modern readers seek and value above all in a literary text originality and the free expression of the author's feelings.⁵ To gain a thorough comprehension of Byzantine poetry, we need to approach it bearing in mind the functions it was intended to carry out and the circumstances in and for which these texts were created. It is indeed the text, with all its complexity and web of allusions, the key to unlock Philes' poetry; truly, little is known about him and his life, but a close reading and a detailed analysis of the poems are the best way to put Philes into context and to understand the framework within which he operated and interacted.⁶

In this paper I shall consider several occasional compositions addressed to patrons of different social status, starting from the highest levels of the imperial family, moving down to ecclesiastical figures, powerful officers and, finally, friends of the poet; and I shall explore how Philes strives and

⁴ Efthymia Braounou-Pietsch, 'Die Stummheit des Bildes. Ein Motiv in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 57 (2007), pp. 135–48; eadem, 'Manuel Philes und die übernatürliche Macht der Epigrammdichtung', in *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme. Akten des internationalen Workshops*, ed. by Wölfram Hörandner – Andreas Rhoby (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 371) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), pp. 85–92; eadem, 'Ein Aspekt der Rezeption der Anthologia Planudea in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes', in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur*, ed. by Andreas Rhoby – Elisabeth Schiffer (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 402 = Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 217–30. Most significant because it presents a new critical edition of many epigram is Efthymia Braounou-Pietsch, *Beseelte Bilder. Epigramme des Manuel Philes auf bildliche Darstellung* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 416) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

⁵ On the topic of imitation, see Herbert Hunger, 'On the Imitation (*Mimesis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969–79), pp. 17–38; cf also some of the contributions in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur*.

⁶ For a brief biography of Philes, see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Alexander Kazhdan, 3 vols, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), III, p. 1651. See also Andreas Rhoby, 'Wie lange lebte Manuel Philes?' in: A. Berger/G. Prinzing/S. Mariev/A. Riehle (eds), *Koinotaton Doron* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 149–60.

manages to attune each of his requests to the rapport he has with his recipients and to the circumstances of the moment.⁷ As we are dealing mostly with works of homage and request, it would seem unavoidable to encounter just an assortment of servile compositions aimed at obtaining as many advantages as possible, without any hint of sagacity or the slightest complaint against authority ever, but this is not the case. A thorough examination of texts will highlight the ever-changing attitudes of the poet; how sometimes he addresses his benefactors in almost equal terms; how on occasions his appeals suggest distress and despair placing him in a position of inferiority and weakness; whereas at times he expresses his discontent by scolding or making fun of his patrons, or dedicates light-hearted and humorous verses to his friend in a sort of amical divertissement. For Philes often finds allusive ways of meddling with the text, that can be interpreted as a deliberate strategy to express his dissent against the *status quo* and to vent his innermost opinions. All these variations, which are achieved by adapting the stylistic register to the distinct occasion, by choosing words carefully, by using allusions and literary *topoi*, are the best illustration of Philes' poetic talent and of the intrinsic significance of his literary work.

Poems to the Emperor

I would like to begin my investigation with a poem dedicated to the emperor himself, in which Philes pleads with the ruler for a winter cloak;⁸ this poem is very interesting because the poet moves ingeniously between concrete and spiritual and, by doing so, he manages to convey his mundane request, as well as a highly sophisticated homage to the emperor.

Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ χειμερίων ἀναβολῶν.⁹
 Αὐτοκράτορ μέγιστε, δεῖ δὴ μοι σκέπης·
 καὶ γὰρ ὁ χιτῶν ἐκτριβείς διεθρύβη,
 καὶ θρίξ λεοντῆς εὐγενῶς κεκαρμένη
 χειμῶνος ἡμῖν συσταλεῖσιν ἐφθάρη.

⁷ See the recent article by Krystina Kubina, 'Manuel Philes and the Asan Family', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 63 (2013), pp. 177–98.

⁸ On the motif of the coat in Greek poetry, see Markéta Kulhánková, 'Ich bin auch eines schicken Mantels wert. Zum Manteltopos in der griechischen Dichtung', in *Epea pteroenta: Růženeš Dostálové k narozeninám*, ed. by Markéta Kulhánková and Kateřina Loudová (Brno: Host, 2009), 191–200.

⁹ This is poem 26 in Martini, *Carmina Inedita*, p. 34; this and the following translations are all mine.

στολίζεται γοῦν οὐρανὸς μὲν αἰθρίαν (5)
 κερκίσι θερμῆς εἰσβολῆς ὑφασμένην,
 ἢ γῆ δὲ πυκνὴν καὶ χλοάζουσαν σκέπην,
 ἦν ἢ κρόκη νήθουσα τῆς ὥρας φύει·
 θάλασσα δὲ πλοῦν εἰς ῥοὰς ἀκινδύνους,
 ὃν χεῖρ ἀτεχνῶς ναυτικὴ διαπλέκει (10)
 ἐν τοῖς μαλακοῖς τοῦ Ζεφύρου δακτύλοις·
 νεκρὸς δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐνδιδύσκειται πνέων
 καὶ σάρκας ὑγρὰς ἐξ ἀνίκμων ὀστέων·
 ἐγὼ δὲ καινῆς ἐμμελοῦς χρῆζων σκέπης
 τὸν οἶκτον ἀθρῶ τῆς σοφῆς σου καρδίας, (15)
 δι' ἧς ὁ χιτῶν τοῦ κράτους ὑφαίνεται,
 ὑφ' ὃν συνελθὼν τὸ βροτῶν ἅπαν γένος
 ἔχοι σκέπην ἀρρηκτον εἰς πάντα χρόνον.

A Request for Winter Clothes

Most great emperor, I need a cover, | for my coat wore off and broke
 into pieces; | also the well shorn lion fur | was destroyed in the win-
 ter while we shrivelled with cold. | Now certainly heaven wears a
 clear sky | woven with the (weaver's) shuttles of a warm irruption,
 | the earth wears a thick green covering| that the spinning thread
 of spring brings forth; | and the sea (wears) a voyage of streams free
 from danger, | which a nautical hand simply weaves | with the soft
 fingers of Zephyrus; | and a living corpse puts on life | and soft flesh
 from dry bones. | And I, as I need new proper protection, | look
 upon the compassion of your wise heart, | through which the cloak
 of power is woven, | under which the whole human race gathered |
 and may it have invulnerable shelter forever and ever.

In this poem we are confronted with a direct appeal to the emperor for a specific object: a new cloak; for, so claims the poet, his cloak has fallen into pieces in the course of winter. The aim of the poem and the dedicatee are clear from the start, thanks to the relevant position given to both *αὐτοκράτωρ* and *σκέπη*, at the beginning and end of the first line respectively. The urgent need for a cloak is highlighted by the presence in l. 2 and 4 of several verbs conveying the idea of falling into pieces and wearing away (*ἐκτριβείς*, *διεθρύβη*, *ἐφθάρη*). After stating the dreadful situation of his garments, Philes proceeds to support his request in the central part of the composition, and justifies it with the description of the ways in which nature regenerates itself on the arrival of spring: as the sky clears up and earth clothes itself with soft grass, the sea calms down and voyages become safe once again, he too needs a new and proper covering. It is interesting to notice how the initial images of ruin

and material destruction are followed by images of peaceful renewal in a striking contrast and by the usage of words conveying a positive idea of tranquillity, such as ἀκινδύνους and μαλακοῖς.¹⁰ Spring affects not only nature, but men too: season's renewal becomes indeed a sort of spiritual and physical resurrection for the whole creation, as it is underlined by the paradox of the breathing corpse that clothes itself with life in l. 12.

At this point the reader is confronted with a sudden twist in the stream of thoughts; for Philes, rather than concluding the poem by praising his recipient and restating his initial request, as it happens in most poems, moves instead onto a metaphysical level: his plea for shelter leaves the material realm and shifts to a spiritual dimension that concerns the entire human race. By means of an ingenious conceptual transfer the poet transforms his request for a material coat that can protect him temporarily from the cold, into the request for an immaterial, but way more powerful shelter, which is woven from the mercy of the emperor's heart, and offers indestructible and never-ending protection to all men. It is remarkable how the poet apparently re-proposes the same request for shelter he voiced at the beginning, but by adopting the verb χρῆζω he conveys also a sense of desire and longing that seems to reflect the spiritual perspective of the poem's conclusive request.

Philes' poetic technique is worthy of consideration as it is a key to unlock the multiple layers of meaning present in this text. It leaps immediately to the eye how in just 18 verses Philes covers a lot of ground; nevertheless, the poem flows harmoniously from the beginning to its end, for the author manages to give it coherence and to hold onto a *fil rouge* all the way through, thanks to linguistic and stylistic means. One of the main coalescing traits is the presence throughout the poem of words and images related to weaving and spinning; this should not surprise considering the fact that the author is initially soliciting the ruler for a coat. However, it is revealing how in this poem the action of weaving is always used in a metaphorical context – the sky is woven, spring spins a grassy mantle on the ground, the power of the emperor is woven from his wise

¹⁰ Descriptions of spring were common in Byzantine texts, and authors could draw inspiration from both the classical and patristic tradition. For instance, Libanius and Gregory of Nazianzus composed famous depictions of spring that focused mostly on the passing of winter, the return of light and life, and the renewal of nature. It was Gregory of Nazianzus's ekphrasis of spring in his homily for New Sunday (the first Sunday after Easter) that associated spring with spiritual renewal and the resurrection: a metaphor long reused in Byzantine letters and sermon throughout the centuries. See Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 22–52.

heart – but weaving is never used with regard to the cloak Philes requests at the beginning, a cloak that, almost until the end of the poem, represents his principal concern and the focus of the text. Another unifying feature is the presence of the word *σκέπη*, which opens and closes the poem in a sort of ring composition although, by the end of it, the poem's perspective and aim has completely changed, and has moved onto a spiritual level. *σκέπη*, indeed, represents the core around which the poem develops at all stages due to its polysemy that conveys both material and symbolic protection, as it is clear from the poem.

I would like to offer just a few additional observations about the closing image of the emperor protecting his subjects under his cloak, as it brings together several different influences. A close look at this epigram reveals a deep religious undertone running through it and used by the poet to express his reverence toward the emperor, and to pay tribute to him as the representative of God on earth. More interestingly, in these verses Philes mixes, possibly unconsciously, images derived from eastern and western iconography, and load them with influences drawn from religion and from imperial propaganda, conveyed through images and words, which were part of the Byzantine collective imagination, and which his audience would surely detect. The description of the emperor's cloak¹¹ under which his subjects find refuge, in fact, calls to mind the iconography, so often found in western and eastern art, of the Virgin protecting the faithful either under her extended arms, or sheltering them under her mantle.¹² This is a very interesting occurrence because it shows how Philes combined harmoniously motifs drawn from different art forms by which he was surrounded – in this case, religious literature and visual arts. Not only the image of the protective cloak, but also the repeated use of the word *σκέπη* calls to mind the religious sphere; for it ought to be remembered that already in the Akathist Hymn (11.13), as well as in several of Romanos' kontakia, Mary is called shelter of the world (*σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου*).¹³

¹¹ See Markéta Kulhánková, 'Ich bin auch eines schicken Mantels wert', pp. 197–99.

¹² On this, see Christa Belting-Ihm, '*Sub matris tutela*.' *Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Schutzmantelmadonna* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976), with bibliography; Maria Vassilaki, *Images of the Mother of God* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Angela Donati – Giovanni Gentili, *Deomene, L'immagine dell'orante fra Oriente e Occidente* (Milano: Electa, 2001).

¹³ Constantine Trypanis, *Fourteen early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna: Böhlau 1968), pp. 29–39.

Another reference that links the general theme of the poem to the religious domain, and in particular to Marian cult, is the recurrent imagery associated with weaving: for weaving and spinning are often linked to the Virgin in connection with the mystery of the incarnation as early as the fifth century when Proclus of Constantinople, a popular preacher and a champion in the controversy about the Theotokos, compared the Virgin, among others, to a textile-loom, - ἰστός - in connection to the mystery of Christ's incarnation.¹⁴ Proclus described Mary's womb as a workshop containing the loom upon which the flesh of God is woven. The use of words such as ἰστός, ὑφαίνω, and χιτῶν in this epigram is very interesting, as it shows the influence that the homiletic tradition exerted on the poet: Philes, by describing the emperor as a refuge for his subjects and by using words related to weaving somehow compares the emperor's role towards his subjects to Mary's intercessory and protecting function. By shifting between the material and spiritual level Philes achieves several results: first, he asks for a tangible gift and at the same time pleads for imperial protection too; then, he praises the ruler for his mercy and pays homage to his status as vicar of God: as Mary protects all faithful gathered under her mantle through her interceding action, so the emperor protects his subjects, and his poet, with the help of God and the Virgin.

Let us consider another poem, similarly dedicated to the emperor, but marked by a rather different spirit, which reveals how Philes manages to express his disappointment and his criticising attitude behind obsequious praises; Par. 200 is a short composition in which Philes compares and contrasts God's renewing action on nature at spring time to the ruler's neglect toward his poet.

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα.

Ὅ σὸς βασιλεὺς, ὁ βραβεὺς τῶν κτισμάτων,
 Χιτῶνα καινὸν συντιθεὶς ἀπὸ χλόης,
 Ἦ νήθεται μὲν ἐξ ἀποκρύφου κρόκης,
 Ὑφαίνεται δὲ τῷ προσήκοντι χρόνω,
 Στολίζεται δὲ ταῖς βαφαῖς τῶν ἀνθέων, (5)
 Τὴν πρὶν ἀκαλλῆ καὶ ψιλὴν γῆν φαιδρύνει.
 Σὺ δ' ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν Φιλῆν παρατρέχεις,
 Τὴν γῆν με τὴν σὴν, τὴν πατουμένην κόνιν.
 Καὶ ποῦ θεμιτὸν εἰς φιλάνθρωπον φύσιν,

¹⁴ Nicholas Constanas, 'Weaving the body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos, and the Loom of the Flesh', *Early Christian Studies*, III (1995), pp. 169–94; Nicholas Constanas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: homilies 1–5, text and translation* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003).

Ἡ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἐκμιμουμένη; (10)
 Οὐ κρύπτεται γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἡ γυμνότης,
 Εἰ καὶ τὸ πεινῆν συσκιάζει τις τάχα.

To the emperor

Your king, the arbiter of creation, | creating a new vestment made of
 grass | that is spin from a hidden thread, | and is woven at the con-
 venient time, | and is adorned with the dyes of flowers, | embellishes
 the earth that before was without beauty and barren. | But you, o
 emperor, neglect your Philes, | your ground, your trodden dust. |
 And how is it righteous for a philanthropic nature | that imitates
 Christ himself? | For my nakedness in no wise lies hidden, | even if
 someone should hide my hunger.

God, the creator and ruler's king, covers the earth with a new vestment of grass and flowers; after such an idyllic picture of spring the audience would expect a similar account of the conduct of the emperor, but Philes surprisingly states that the emperor disregards his poet, even though he considers himself the emperor's trodden soil. Therefore Philes wonders in disbelief how a nature that imitates Christ can act in such a manner: it is unacceptable for the ruler to ignore those in need on account of his philanthropia. By playing with word order, with the repetition of βασιλεύς, which seems to place the emperor on an equal footing with God, as well as with the prominent position that the poet reserves to his name in the same line, Philes conveys his criticism of the emperor's inadequacy to care for him and, together with it, an oblique yet manifest accusation of betraying the philanthropia expected of him, with the consequent risk that the poverty of the poet may eventually be revealed to the world and tarnish the emperor's image. Philes here is spelling out the rules that regulate a relation of patronage and lets his expectations be known; the patron-client relationship is one of exchange and interest, as Ivan Drpić has convincingly argued in his recent book, even though obligations are often disguised behind the appearance of friendship and homage.¹⁵ Patronage and friendship involve a bond which is personal, but at the same time also very public and observed by others; therefore it has to be reciprocated to avoid the risk that the image of a valiant patron be damaged in the eyes of people. And in these verses Philes is indeed reminding the emperor of this bond and of the risk of breaking it in an elusive act of subversion concealed behind the formal language of homage.

¹⁵ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, pp. 315–31.

A similar instance where the poet is harshly critical while apparently following the rules of homage is recognizable also in Esc. 199, a short epigram composed in response to the Empress' withdrawal from the poet of some tax benefits.

Ἐπιγράμματα εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν ὅταν ἀφήρηται τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτοῦ¹⁶
 Ἦδη γράφειν τολμῶντι συγγίνωσκέ μοι,
 Τῶν Αὐσονῶν ἀνασσα συμπαθεστάτη.
 Δέσποινά μου, τολμῶντι συγγίνωσκέ μοι.
 Δέσποινά μου, πεινῶντα, διψῶντα, ξένον,
 Γυμνὸν, ταπεινόν, δυστυχῆ, τεθλιμμένον, (5)
 Δέσποινα φίλάνθρωπε, μὴ παραδράμης.
 Δέσποινά μου, τολμῶντι συγγίνωσκέ μοι.
 Ἐπείγεται γὰρ ἐκδραμεῖν τῆς καρδίας
 Τὸ πῦρ, ὁ καπνός, ἡ δριμύτης, ὁ βρόμος.

Epigrams to the empress when she withdraws his tax benefit

Forgive me now as I dare write, | most compassionate queen of the
 Ausonians | mistress, forgive me because I am daring; | the naked,
 miserable, unlucky, afflicted, | me, most humane mistress, do not ne-
 glect. | Mistress, forgive me because I am bold: | indeed fire, smoke,
 acridness, crackling | hasten to spring up from my heart.

Philes opens the poem with a request for forgiveness because he dares address the empress. The start of the poem seems very conventional, as it clearly stresses the difference in status between the author and his noble recipient; also the anaphorical repetition of Δέσποινά μου emulates the model of pressing requests that Philes directs to his patrons in numerous compositions. Yet at a closer inspection, the choice of epithets picked by the poet to describe the empress reveals a rather sarcastic and subversive tone despite the repeated pleas for forgiveness and the extremely humble stand of the author. For Philes defines the empress συμπαθεστάτη and Δέσποινα φίλάνθρωπε, while describing himself as naked, starving and miserable; by doing so, he prompts the monarch to consider the disastrous consequences that may fall upon him following the deprivation of the subsidy. By underlining virtues that the empress in these circumstances is conspicuously lacking, at least from the point of view of the poet, Philes generates irony and is able to expose the shortcomings of the *laudanda* in her role by means of contrast between the expected compassionate attitude of the empress and his allegedly dramatic con-

¹⁶ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, pp. 97–98 (Esc. 199).

dition.¹⁷ A subtle accomplishment that is even more striking because Philes is characteristically keeping with the appearances of submission and reverence, but his surreptitious criticism would certainly not escape the trained eyes and ears of the members of Byzantine imperial court. As it has been shown in the past, late Byzantine imperial panegyrics could contain tactful and carefully crafted criticism of authority; the *laudator* had at his disposal many ways to subvert the *laudandus*, tools such as significant omissions and substitutions of deeply rooted rhetorical prescriptions, inappropriate comparisons, irony and subversion of literary *topoi*.¹⁸

The number of epigrams dedicated on various occasions to the rulers, Andronikos II and co-emperor Michael IX, as well as to other members of the imperial family, is vast and cannot be examined in its entirety; however, it is possible to spot patterns in the way Philes relates to his mighty patrons, which are recurrent and create a sort of framework within which he puts his requests through. The compositions considered above are all characterised on the one hand by a highly encomiastic tone, that is used to praise the ruler and highlight his glory and his magnanimous nature; and on the other, by the poet's extremely humble requests for help. Next to this contraposition of tones, one can also identify how Philes often draws inspiration from a concept or from two, often contrasting, ideas that reappear over again in the text and act as the conceptual unifying thread within it.¹⁹ The poet then goes even one step further in his effort to attune to his recipients, insofar as he frequently mentions or alludes to details which are particularly significant to the person he is pleading with, thus forging robust connections with his interlocutor; for instance, when addressing the emperor or the empress, he insists on their philanthropy, or when writing to the patriarch, he alludes to his spiritual protection, as it will shortly become clear.

¹⁷ See Margaret Mullett, 'How to Criticize the *laudandus*', in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the 43rd Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*, ed. by Dimitar Angelov – Michael Saxby (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 247–62; the whole book offers an excellent analysis of subversive processes in Byzantium.

¹⁸ Alexander Kazhdan, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), pp. 140–61; Dimitar Angelov, 'Byzantine Imperial Panegyric as Advice Literature (1204 – c. 1350)', in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the 35th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, March 2001*, ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 55–72.

¹⁹ For example, see Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, pp. 285–87 (Flor. 101); II, pp. 143–44; 199–200 (Par. 91 and 184) where Philes plays with the idea of light and darkness, heat and cold, salvation and ruin, dryness and dew.

Poems to the Patriarch, Court Officers and Wealthy Members of Society

It is now time to leave the imperial milieu and consider poems dedicated to the Patriarch and to wealthy patrons to appreciate how Philes adapts his compositional technique to and address an audience that, albeit being somewhat more approachable, is still powerful and expects to be honoured. The following is a short epigram directed to the patriarch of Constantinople Niphon, who frequently figures among Philes' patrons.²⁰

Τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτεροι.²¹
 Πάκτωλέ μου πρόελθε καὶ πλούτιζέ με,
 Τὸ ψῆγμα τοῦ νοῦ δαψιλῶς ἀναβρύων.
 Νείλου δὲ παντὸς ἀφθονώτερος ῥέων
 Τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς λίπαινε τῷ ξένῳ στάχυν

To the patriarch Niphon

My Paktolos, come forward and make me wealthy, | abundantly
 gushing out the gold dust of your intellect; | and streaming more
 bounteous than the whole Nile | enrich for the stranger the crop of
 his soul.

Philes begins this poem by addressing the patriarch as Pactolus, the Lydian river known in antiquity for the presence of gold in its streams;²² yet, he manages to shift the attention from the patriarch to himself through the variatio of the personal pronoun, and the relevant position of με at the end of the verse. Philes keeps playing with the patriarch's identification with the Pactolus asking him to pour out liberally the golden dust of his mind; allusively he chooses the word ψῆγμα, which refers to gold shavings and thus implicitly hints at the munificence of Niphon. The poem ends with a very evident hyperbaton and a perfectly balanced line built around the central λίπαινε, the choice of which is another example of Philes' ability to establish a significant connection with his recipient. For λίπαινῶ in

²⁰ Patriarch from 1310 to 1314; see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, p. 1487.

²¹ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 90 (Esc. 186).

²² On the usage of naturalistic metaphors in Philes, see Andreas Rhoby, 'Metaphors of Nature in the Poetry of Manuel Philes (fourteenth century)', in *La lierre et la statue: la nature et son espace littéraire dans l'épigramme gréco-latine tardive*, ed. by Florence Garambois-Vasquez and Daniel Vallat (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne 2013), pp. 263–73. See also Ingela Nilsson, 'Words, Water, and Power: Literary Fountains and Metaphors of Patronage in 11th- and 12th-century Byzantium', in *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium*, ed. by Paul Stephenson and Brooke Shields (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 265–80.

classical Greek has predominantly two meanings: to anoint; or, said of rivers, to enrich (*LSJ* s.v.). By choosing this verb Philes acts simultaneously on two levels: on the one hand, he refers to the spiritual protection and the religious functions of the Patriarch, who used to anoint the head of the Byzantine emperor right before the coronation;²³ on the other, he remains steadily anchored to the dominant idea of this epigram, namely enrichment. Although Philes does not ask directly for money, and appears concerned with spiritual needs, as he speaks of the crop of his soul and the golden dust of the patriarch's intellect, there is little uncertainty about the aim of this composition: the prominent position of *πλούτιζε* and *λίπαινε* seems to point clearly to a material dimension, which is skillfully concealed behind the immaterial one. Interestingly enough, with time *λιπαίνω* came to acquire also the less edifying meaning of to bribe, to corrupt (*LBG* s.v.), and one is left wondering whether the poet chose this verb purposely to create ambiguity and double entendre. In these verses homage and request seem to stem from one another: the generosity of the Patriarch stirs Philes' reverence and such flattering homage makes it hard for Niphon to reject the poet's concrete demands.

Moving from ecclesiastical to lay circles, the next poem I would like to examine is a brief epigram dedicated to the Kanikleios, one of the emperor's private secretaries and the warden of the imperial inkstand.

Τῷ Ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου.²⁴

Ἔτι ξυναλγεί καὶ τὰ βοσκήματά μοι
καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν κάλλιστον ἀνθρώπων βλέπει.
Πλὴν ταῦτα σιγᾶ, καὶ Φιλῆς κράσει γράφων
Ὅτι κριθῆς δεῖ καὶ χλόης τοῖς κτήγεσιν.

To the Emperor's secretary

Even my cattle still share in my suffering | and looks at you, the
most noble of men; | but they are silent, and Philes writing, will
bawl out | that the herds are in need for barley and grass.

The opening verse briefly sketches the sad state of Philes' cattle, which starve and look helplessly at the Kanikleios for help. As the cattle are unable to fathom their needs, it is left to the poet to make known their want of food, which is clearly also his very own. The focal point of this brief epi-

²³ This practice gained ground in Byzantium after 1204 and became deeply rooted thereafter, as attested by Pseudo-Codinos; see Pseudo-Codinos and the *Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. by Ruth Macrides – Joseph Munitiz – Dimitris Angelov (Farnham: Ashgate 2013), p. 221 (Ps.-Kod. 258.3).

²⁴ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, p. 135 (Par. 69).

gram fluctuates between βοσκήματα and the author; although the animals are the subject of ξυναλγεί, βλέπει and σιγᾶ, Philes bestows great relevance upon himself thanks to the strategic μοι at the end of l. 1, which brings him to the foreground, and seems to suggest that the suffering of the animals is a consequence of his poverty. While in l. 1 the poet and the livestock are united by the presence of pain, in l. 3 their reactions are placed starkly in contrast: the cattle hold silent, hence Philes has to voice their need for food; the contrast is made even sharper by the oxymoric κράσει γράφων which unexpectedly juxtaposes the, soundless, act of writing with the piercing act of screaming. As Philes makes a living by composing verses, the mention of writing becomes the common factor through which the poet establishes a deeper connection with his addressee: for the Kanikleios, as one of the most senior officers in the imperial chancery, was in charge of drafting letters and documents and writing was somehow essential and familiar to him too.²⁵ The connection that Philes wants to create is strengthened also by the insertion of the poet's name, which rhymes with κριθῆς and ties the poet to the plea for sustenance uttered on behalf of his animals; undoubtedly the cattle act as a foil for the author, so that he is able to ask the emperor's secretary for material support openly, yet indirectly.

Let us consider now a poem dedicated to great stratopedarch, a military commander, who was considered responsible for provisioning the army. Poem Esc. 221 is a short plea to ask for deliverance from poverty and pain, the lot expressed as usual through metaphors and allusions.

Τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδάρχη.²⁶
 Οὐρανὲ βροντῶν ἐκ νεφῶν θεοδρόσων,
 Αὐχμὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ἀναργύρου πνίγους
 Ἡ λῦσον ἡμῖν, τὸν χρυσοῦν ὄμβρον χέας,
 Ἡ δεῖξον ἀμβλύν· οὐ βραχὺς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος·
 Ἡ δὸς τὸν ἀτμὸν δαψιλῆ τῶν ἐλπίδων,
 Ὡς ἂν τὸ λυποῦν εὐμενεῖ σβέσῃ δρόσῳ.

To the great stratopedarches

Heaven thundering from clouds bedewed by God, | from the grievous dryness of the pitiable stifling heat | release me, pouring the gold-

²⁵ Philes resorts to similar expedients in several compositions. See, for example, Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, pp. 12–13 (Par. 5), an epigram dedicated to the protostrator John Philes where the poet wants to weave for the protostrator a metaphorical cloak of bravery, dyed red with the blood of the enemies. Here Philes seeks a connection to his patron in the military jargon.

²⁶ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, pp. 116–17 (Esc. 221).

en rain, | or make it faint: for time is not short; | or grant the plentiful steam of hopes, | so as to quench the affliction with gentle dew.

The unifying feature of this epigram is the continuous contrast between rain and drought; the former used as sign of wealth and deliverance, the latter, instead, as a mark of distress and poverty. Philes begins with a grandiose appeal to his recipient closely followed by the disclosure of the cause of his sorrows, namely the malicious meagreness of moneyless stifling heat; he plays with the suggestion of penury through the twofold meaning of *αὐχμός* – drought, but also squalor (*LSJ* s.v.) – which he reinforces further with the ensuing *ἀναργύρου*. At this point Philes suggests ways to relieve such misery; first, he proposes his benefactor to put an end to the dry spell by pouring golden rain, a request that is unambiguously clear as to what the poet is driving at. If, however, the stratopedarch cannot soothe the poet with golden rain, he could either weaken the heat, or provide him with the steam of hope. As previously seen in the epigram dedicated to Niphon, here too Philes conceals his main objective behind a request for intangible relief; nevertheless, the choice of the adjective *δαψιλής*, with its multiple meaning of rich and generous (*LSJ* s.v.), as well as its eye-catching position lets slip Philes' true yearning. Finally Philes brings the epigram to a coherent completion by voicing the wish that his anguish be quenched with *εὐμενεῖ δρόσῳ*, which reconnects to the initial *θεοδρόσων* and bestows its positive value on the concluding line. Once again the reader is confronted by a composition clearly marked by recurrent conflicting elements, for it unfolds along the *fil conducteur* of the steady antithesis between wetness and drought, metaphorically used as marks of wealth and misery. It is not surprising then to point out that all the words relating to water, hence to affluence, are referred to the stratopedarch, whereas heat and dryness are ascribed solely to the poet: by insisting on such contrast Philes stresses the difference between his and the patron's condition, places his needs in the foreground and thrusts into the interlocutor's empathy.

The following two epigrams are also a good case study of the way the poetic tone of requests varies and adjusts according to the circumstances. Again Philes is no longer addressing members of the imperial family, but his dedicatee Theodore Patrikiotes was undoubtedly both very affluent and powerful. Little is known about Patrikiotes' origins; what is sure is that he was one of the wealthiest men in the empire and one of Philes' benefactors; he lived in Constantinople between 1319–42 and built his enormous wealth thanks to his position as tax collector (*apographeus*); in 1341 he helped the future emperor John Kantakouzenos to pay ar-

rears to the soldiers by lending him money.²⁷ Patrikiotes would seem to have been an important patron for Philes, as epigrams dedicated to him are numerous throughout Philes' poetic *corpus*; nevertheless in this case I shall consider only two of them for reasons of brevity, as the whole cycle deserves an in depth study of its own.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.²⁸

Πέμπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄφθονε χρυσορρόα,
 Νέκταρ πεπηγός, ἀπὸ καλάμου δρόσον,
 Ὀχνην, σταφυλήν, μήλον ἐκ Θράκης, ῥόαν,
 Καρπούς Δαμασκοῦ, Θάσια τραγήματα,
 Καὶ πᾶν φίλον πρόσαρμα τοῖς ἐπὶ κλίνης. (5)
 Ἐξ ἡπατος γὰρ δυσκραεὺς πνίγος φλέγον
 Διψῆν με ποιεῖ καὶ ῥοφεῖν ζητεῖν χύδην.
 Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔχεις, φάνηθι τῷ φίλῳ μόνον,
 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔση ξύμπαντα καθάπαξ μόνος,
 Σῶτερ γλυκασμέ, παυσίκακον φάρμακον. (10)

To the sebastos Patrikiotes

Send us, generous gold streaming | solid nectar, dew from the reed, |
 pears, grapes, fruits from Thrace, pomegranates, | plums, sweetmeats
 from Thassos, | and every food dear to those who are bedridden; |
 for an extreme burning stifling heat from the liver | makes me thirst
 and seek to sup up greedily. | If you can't, just appear to your friend |
 and you alone will be all this once for all, | saviour, sweetness, evil-
 ceasing remedy.

We have noticed how in the previous poem Philes moves from an incorporeal level to advance a request for gifts, possibly money, yet his request stays unspoken, veiled in metaphors that the interlocutor is expected to grasp and interpret. Conversely, in this poem the author is much more forthright in his pleas, and leaves no room for conjectures: Philes asks Patrikiotes to send him various sorts of fruits and foods that are of comfort to an ill person. The forceful initial imperative *πέμπε* is toned down by the flattering epithets, both highly evocative of wealth, conferred to the patron; a formula repeated also in the last part of the epigram, where the author reveals his vexing illness. In the last three lines Philes suddenly changes the course of his thoughts, as he takes distance from the initial

²⁷ On Theodore Patrikiotes, see Erich Trapp et al., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1976–95), no 22077.

²⁸ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 191 (Flor. 8).

material request and instead puts forward an incorporeal request by invoking the healing (almost salvific) presence of his benefactor, who alone could halt the poet's pains, even if should he not provide any of the gifts. Let us pause briefly on the last verse of this composition, as it is another example of Philes' way of drawing together the various components of an epigram into a meaningful conclusion. The verse, which is constituted of three vocatives directed to Patrikiotes, at a superficial glimpse, seems to be grounded in the spiritual tone that characterizes the latter section of this composition. In the first part of the line Patrikiotes is addressed as *σώτερ γλυκασμέ*; the juxtaposition of these words, which occurs only in Philes, has a distinctive religious connotation, for *γλυκασμός* is used in the Old Testament with the meaning of both sweetness and grape juice, (Song of Songs 5.16; Joel 93.18); later, however, it was employed by Christian authors to refer to Christ,²⁹ and so did Philes in some compositions.³⁰ By placing *σώτερ γλυκασμέ* side by side, the poet is daringly likening his patron to Christ, as he is alluding to the portentous effect of Patrikiotes' presence; at the same time though, it is possible to speculate that the choice of the word *γλυκασμέ*, with its innate idea of sweetness, functions as a covert reminder of the initial appeal for fruit and sweets. Likewise, the presence of the adjective *πανσικάκων*³¹ hints at Patrikiotes' restorative function and bestows upon him a sort of miraculous aura, through which Philes simultaneously re-evokes his ill health and makes it difficult for Patrikiotes to refuse help, lest his reputation be blemished.

The next poem, also dedicated to Patrikiotes, is remarkably different both in tone and content; it provides a further example of Philes' talent to vary register and draw unexpected inspiration from a variety of sources well-known to his audience.

²⁹ John Chrysostom, 'Oratio Secunda', in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (Series Graeca)*, vols 161 (Paris 1860), vol. LXIII, 923–28; John of Damascus, 'Oratio in ficum arefactam et in parabolam vineae' in ed. by Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos [Patristische Texte und Studien 29]*, 6 vols (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1988), V, pp. 102–10.

³⁰ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 52 (Esc. 110); however, Philes mostly uses *γλυκασμός* in his poems to refer to the emperor or to members of the imperial family. See, for example, Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, pp. 104–11 (Esc. 213, 197); II, pp. 78–82 (Par. 40, 85).

³¹ This adjective recurs often in miracle's accounts; see, for instance, Basil of Se-leucia, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, ed. by Gilbert Dagron, (*Subsidia hagiographica* 62), (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1978), 2. 23; Sophronios of Jerusalem, *Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, ed. by Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Manuales y anejos de "Emèrita"*, 31 (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1975), pp. 243–400, 15.39.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.³²

Οὐ χήν ὁ χήν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ σαρκίον
 Μυδῶν πρὸ μακροῦ καὶ σεσηπὸς ἐκτόπως·
 Σητῶν γὰρ ἂν θύλακον αὐτόν τις λέγοι,
 Καὶ καταγωγὴν παμμυγοῦς δυσοδμίας·
 Ὃν εἴπερ εὔρε καὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ (5)
 Φανεῖς μονιὸς εἰς ὀρύγματα χλόης,
 Εὐθύς ἂν ἀφείς καὶ στραφεῖς ἀπεκρύβη,
 Τὴν ῥίνα τῆ γῆ προσφυῶς ὑφαρμόσας,
 Μὴ πνεῦμα λαθὼν τὰς ὀπὰς διαδράμη.
 Οὕτως ἀμείβη τοὺς λόγους, εὐμήχανε; (10)

To the Sebastos Patrikiotes

That goose is not a goose, but a piece of meat | dripping a long time
 and extraordinarily putrid: | for one could call it a bag of moths | and
 a halting-place of all sorts of stench; | and even if Nebuchadnezzar
 had found it | having appeared as a wild boar in the ditch of grass |
 immediately, having let go and turned away, he would seek refuge |
 fitting his nose conveniently in the soil, | lest a whiff should acciden-
 tally run through his nostrils | in such way do you recompense my
 words, or ingenious one?

This poem opens in a rather bewildering manner with the repetition of the word *χήν*, while the second half of the verse is left pending with the participle *μυδῶν* in enjambment at the beginning of l. 2; this creates a delay in the verse, and at the same time emphasizes the fact that the meat is spoiled. All of a sudden, in line 5 the poet twists the storyline: he leaves behind the present-day reality and replaces it with the biblical scenario of the time Nebuchadnezzar spent living insane in the woods, as a consequence of God's punishment for boasting about his achievements (Daniel 4. 32). With such an inconsistent situation Philes achieves a double effect: he emphasizes the repugnance of the meat to the highest degree, and makes Patrikiotes's fault even more heinous. In the closing verse, the poet shifts back to the present circumstances, and finally discloses the reason for his grievance, namely a poor recompense for his poems.

Two things about this poem immediately leap to the eye. First of all, the audience is struck by the ironic force imparted to the epigram by the brief sketch of Nebuchadnezzar seeking refuge from the mephitic exhalations of the goose. Philes' technique is ingenious; for, while the insertion of a biblical reference would appear to communicate solemnity, it actually

³² See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 192 (Flor. 10).

achieves the opposite effect because of the incongruity of the situations, as the dramatic madness of Nebuchadnezzar completely dwarfs the poet's grievance for a spoiled bird. Then one notices how the general tone differs from that encountered in previous compositions; although some of the poems discussed above open with blunt imperatives, nevertheless such directness is quickly balanced by the reverential epithets bestowed upon the dedicatees immediately after. In this case, however, not only the tenor of the verses is bold and sardonic, but Philes does neither acknowledge nor address his powerful benefactor until the very end, though he criticizes him at length. Despite such an aggressive attitude, which for once sounds and feels openly subversive, the social order is eventually reinstated, because Philes acknowledges Patrikiotes before the end and does so in a submissive manner that conveys disenchantment and weariness more than anything else: the poet can mock to a certain degree, but ultimately he must yield to his inferior position and wealthier patron. Although a rebellious streak is present in these verses too, its modality is quite distant from what occurs in epigrams dedicated to imperial recipients; for those adhere fully to the rules of homage and any criticism is cunningly disguised in them, while here Philes goes as far as declaring his dissatisfaction without obliqueness. Clearly, both the recipient's status and the degree of familiarity with him carry a certain weight on Philes' liberty of expression and the overall tone of his epigrams, as we shall see again soon.

Poems to Friends

The epigrams examined so far were addressed to aristocrats and wealthy acquaintances, but Philes dedicates his verses also to unnamed friends about whom he discloses scanty details, a fact that might point at a closer and simpler bond. Nonetheless, these compositions too are relevant for the purpose of understanding how he relates to recipients belonging to a different social circle, since they often display playfulness and a cheerful penchant. Poem Par. 106 is a short epigram written for an unspecified friend to claim a gift of wine that he has allegedly promised to the poet. On this occasion, Philes draws inspiration from the very theme of these verses, wine, and develops his storyline around the semantic sphere related to wine and viticulture. Contrary to what occurred in some of the previous epigrams, where Philes moved from material to immaterial in order to mitigate his covetousness, here he does not shy away from his request, rather insists upon the therapeutic and consolatory effect of the gift.

Πρός τινα τῶν φίλων.³³

Ο τῶν φυσικῶν ἀμπελῶν χαρισμάτων,
Τὸν οἶνον ἡμῖν ὡς ἐπηγγείλω δίδου.
Τὴν γὰρ φιλικὴν εὐφρανεῖς μοι καρδίαν,
Ἀθυμίας ἀπασαν ἐξαιρῶν μέθην.

To one of the friends

Oh vineyard of natural gifts, | give me the wine, as you promised; |
for you will gladden my dear heart, | lifting completely the drunken-
ness of despondency.

The poem opens with Philes' flattering appeal to his friend, who is described as a vineyard of gifts. Typically, the initial homage has the function to ease the frank request that immediately follows, but in this case it seems to carry also a sense of joviality that is further emphasised by the mention of the friend's cheering effect – εὐφρανεῖς – on the poet's despondent heart.

Once again one can appreciate Philes' inventiveness and the complex thinking process that lies beneath his verses. This epigram is delineated from the start by the unifying theme of the vine, thanks to the prominent position of ἀμπελῶν in l.1, followed by the demand for wine, that the poet makes sound almost inevitable since it was promised to him by his very friend. Philes uses ἡμῖν in apo koinou with δίδου and ἐπηγγείλω; by doing so, he reveals to whom the wine must be given and, by recalling the promise, places his friend before his obligations. The resoluteness of the imperative is tempered by the recognition of the wine's consoling effects on the poet's despair; here Philes is clearly alluding to the uplifting power of wine as mentioned in the Old Testament,³⁴ and at the same time finds a way to mention himself again in the text using the adjective φιλικήν, which certainly describes the friendly relationship between him and his recipient, but is also a pun on the poet's name. In the closing line Philes states paradoxically that the wine will lift his drunkenness of despondency; again he is drawing from the Scriptures, where it is recommended to give wine to those who are in anguish, so that they may forget their misery:³⁵ inebriation will remove the memory of distress and thus the poet will rejoice. Also in this case Philes manages to create a coherent poetic unity thanks to the coalescing element of wine, and to the

³³ See Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, p. 150 (Par. 106).

³⁴ Psalms 103. 15. 1 'καὶ οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου'; Sirach 40. 20. 1 'οἶνος καὶ μουσικὰ εὐφραίνουσιν καρδίαν'.

³⁵ Proverbs 31. 6–7 'δίδοτε μέθην τοῖς ἐν λύπαις καὶ οἶνον πίνειν τοῖς ἐν ὀδύναις, ἵνα ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς πενίας καὶ τῶν πόνων μὴ μνησθῶσιν ἔτι'.

many biblical allusions that his recipient is expected to acknowledge and appreciate. It has been mentioned how Philes often strives to make his verses relevant to the dedicatees by recurring to certain themes; for this reason, judging from the repeated scriptural references scattered in the verses, one could assume that the anonymous friend for whom Philes wrote was an ecclesiastic, or had connections with the Church, although the poet is as careful as ever not to provide a name or any clear means of identification, at least for the modern readers.

Further examples that exemplify the way Philes' poetic persona interacts with friends and acquaintances rather than with powerful patrons can be found in a series of seven consecutive epigrams (Par. 84 to 90)³⁶ addressed to Pepagomenos – a physician friend of the poet, who resided in Constantinople between 1295 and 1332.³⁷

Τῷ Πεπαγωμένῳ.

Τί τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν ἐμὴν καταψύχεις,
Ὅ τῶν ἰατρῶν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν βελτίων;
Μὴ πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν θέλεις,
Παρακατασχῶν τῆς καλύπτρας τὴν ζέσιν;

To Pepagomenos

Why are you cooling my head, | oh best among the doctors of to-
day? | you want to make your name a fact, don't you | withholding
the warmth of the hat?

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Ἐὰρ ἐμὸν σὺ, δὸς τὸ λευκὸν μοι κρίνον,
Ὅ τῇ χρυσαυγεί τῆς χλιδῆς ὥρα βρύει,
Μήπως ἔτι κρύσταλλος³⁸ ἀλγύνῃ λύπης
Τὸν σόν με Φιλῆν, ὦ Γαλῆνέ μοι νέε.

³⁶ Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, pp. 142–43. I am very grateful to Foteini Spingou for discussing these poems with me.

³⁷ Miller in a footnote to the first of the poems dedicated τῷ ἰατρῷ τῷ Πεπαγωμένῳ erroneously identifies the recipient with Demetrios Pepagomenos, also a doctor, who lived in Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century; see Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, p. 139. For the identification of this Pepagomenos, see Erich Trapp et al., *PLP* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–95), 9, 195, no 22345.

³⁸ Philes compares the white lily for its colour and its conical shape to an icicle, which clearly is a pun to Pepagomenos' name.

On the same

My spring, give me the white lily, | which burst full with the gold
gleaming beauty of luxury, | lest the icicle of pain grieves me, your
Philes, oh my new Galen.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Τὴν σὴν κεφαλὴν (τὴν ἐμὴν δῆπου λέγω)
Τῇ σὴ σκέπη στόλιζε, κοσμητορ φίλων·
Ἴσως ἀπ' αὐτῆς εὐφρανεῖς τὴν καρδίαν,
Ὅταν λάβῃς πλόκαμον εὐρύθμων στίχων.

On the same

Your head (indeed mine, I say) | clad with your hat, adorer of
friends; | perhaps you will rejoice in your heart because of it, | should
you take a lock of well rhythmized verses.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Τί δῆτα ναρκᾶς; οὐ παρήλθε τὸ ψύχος;
Ἦ πρὸς τὸ λευκὸν τῆς καλύπτρας ἐμβλέπων
Πάχνην δοκεῖς ἐστῶσαν εἰς χεῖρας φέρειν;³⁹
Ἐαρ ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ ῥιγοῖς πρὸς τὴν δόσιν;

On the same

Why are you numb? Has the cold not passed? | Or looking at the
whiteness of the veil | do you seem to offer firm white frost with
your hands? | the season is spring, although you are staggering for
(giving) the gift.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Ἐμοὶ φίλων ἄριστος αὐτὸς εὐρέθης·
Πῶς οὖν με λυπεῖς ὁ γλυκασμὸς, ἢ χάρις,
Ἦ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τέρψις, ἢ κρυπτὴ σχέσις;
Ὅ φιλοτιμότητος, ἀγλαΐσέ με.

On the same

To me you have been the best of friends; | How then do you grieve
me, oh sweetness, favour, | delight of my soul, secret relation? | Oh
most generous, adorn me.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Τὴν εὐγενῆ καλύπτραν ὁ χρυσοῦς φίλος
Πέμπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξελὼν τοῦ πασσάλου,

³⁹ Here Philes plays with the resemblance of the white hat to ice, and in turn, alludes to his friend's name.

Μὴ καταπασθῆ τῷ ψιλῷ κονισσάλῳ·
Καὶ γὰρ τὸ λευκὸν εὐχερῶς μολύνεται.

On the same

The noble veil, o golden friend | send us, once you have removed it
from the peg, | let it not be besprinkled with fine dust: | for its white-
ness is easily sullied.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Δέδοικα, φίλόστοργε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον,
Μὴ πρὶν με λαβεῖν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν σκέπην,
Ἄλλος κεφαλῆς ἐκδοθῆ μοι τῆς λύπης·
Ἴπποκράτους παῖ, δὸς τὸ χαννοῦν τὸν πόνον.

On the same

I fear, affectionate friend, more than others, | that before I take hold
of the cover for my head, | a headache of sadness be given to me; |
son of Ippokrates, give me the release from the suffering.

These epigrams, thanks to their conciseness, offer a peek into the humorous side of Philes' personality. Although the recipient is as usual confronted by a request, in this case the pleading motif seems to recede and leave room to the pleasure of creating a profusion of puns and allusions specifically targeted at the dedicatee and at the coveted object. Philes is asking for a head cover which will protect him from the cold and will fight off the headache that the chill may cause him; but he is not asking for just any hat, this specific one is snow-white, warm and expensive, and has to be donated to Philes, since lies unused in the house of Pepagomenos collecting dust and shedding its brilliance. As seen previously, also these epigrams revolve around dichotomies – ice and warmth, illness and medicine, whiteness and dirtiness – factors which are not chosen randomly by the poet, rather are intimately bound and are used also to create a link between the two friends. For the recurrent mention of cold and ice is an obvious allusion to Pepagomenos' name – πῆγγυμι to make stiff, freeze –; the dreaded headaches can be avoided with the help of the recipient's medical skills, which the poet teasingly elevates to new inspirational heights by comparing his friend to Galen and Ippocrates; the white colour simultaneously refers to frost and lilies, and recalls both the finery and the shape of the object requested.

Next to the novel presence of such a light-hearted tone, it is possible to detect other deviations from the line of conduct encountered in epigrams directed to the emperor and the upper echelons of society.

While in those cases Philes speaks constantly from a position of inferiority and distress that limits his opportunity to interact with his recipients – nonetheless a fact that, by no means, hinders him from standing in the spotlight and expressing his discontent; here, it is possible to perceive a sense of reciprocity and mutual benefit otherwise absent; Philes not only addresses his interlocutor – as it happens with the ruler and the aristocrats – but engages in a dialogue with him from a level of equality and equanimity. Thanks to the closer bond and the lack of social gap the poet can present himself, for a change, not only as the beneficiary of the plea he is advancing, but also as a benefactor, and, as a result, he can step outside the frame of the patron-client relationship, which influences such huge portion of his poetry. In Par. 86 Philes claims that he will reciprocate Pepagomenos's gift and recompense his largesse with a tribute, *πλόκαμον*, of well rhythmized verses; in so doing, Philes presents his poetic talent as a valuable asset of which he can be proud, and not just as a tool to stir his audience's disposition and make it generous. Once again Philes' talent in choosing words that on so many levels integrate with the conceptual area of the epigram is exemplar, for *πλόκαμον* recalls the notion both of the head and the hat mentioned previously, hence giving a stricter connection to the verses.

Conclusion

It is time to draw some conclusions on Philes' poems of request, and to consider whether these texts offer an insight into the context within which they came to fruition and into the way the poet conveyed his requests to different patrons. Perhaps the first thing that strikes the modern reader is the sharp contrast between Philes' ostensible acquaintance with patrons belonging to the highest spheres of society and the alleged situation of penury and distress about which he often complains, and which generally is at the core of his writing verse appeals. Although this appears contradictory, it can be explained as both a literary expedient⁴⁰

⁴⁰ On the *vexata quaestio* of begging poetry, with particular reference to Theodore Prodromos, Ptochoprodromos and Manganeios Prodromos, see Margaret Alexiou, 'The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing: Towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 10 (1986), pp. 1-40; Roderick Beaton, 'The Rhetoric of Poverty: The Lives and Opinions of Theodore Prodromos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 11 (1987), pp. 1-28; Markéta Kulhánková, 'Vaganten in Byzanz, Prodromoi im Westen: Parallellektüre von byzantinischer und lateinischer Betteldichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Byzantinoslavica*, 68 (2010), pp. 241-56; eadem,

and a reflection of the hardships professional literati experienced in a time that witnessed a soaring number of intellectuals compete for patronage and subsistence in Constantinople.⁴¹

A remarkable element that emerges from the texts discussed above is the fluctuating mood of the poet and the different manner in which he relates to and interacts with his benefactors. It has been shown how Philes' epigrams are not free from rebuke, criticism or even mockery, though these are often carefully hidden behind an impenetrable screen of reverence and humility, especially when he is addressing members of the imperial family. When instead the poet's frustration is openly voiced, the epigram closes with a palinode of some sort, because the poet must submit to his subordinate status, and conventional order has to be restored, as in the case of the epigram for Patrikiotes' goose. The patron's social status plays a role in Philes' outpourings and, to a certain extent, also in the language he employs; for when the poet is addressing friends and acquaintances he seems able to leave behind some of the highly dramatic tones used with the emperor.

As the main purpose of these verses is to obtain protection and gifts, it is important to ascertain whether the poet resorts to a functional strategy whereby his requests materialize; from the epigrams examined above, there is no doubt that Philes always plans his approach carefully, even in his shortest compositions. For Philes always reaches out to his recipient and seeks to make a connection with him or her; the pursuit of a common ground has a twofold outcome, for it makes the verses pertinent to the patron and, as a consequence, the poet's entreaty feels unavoidable and hard to discard. Recognising and understanding how the poet bonds with his patrons is an important element for appreciating the circumstance in which the verses were composed and the kind of relationship that exists between the two; but it is particularly paramount for the reader, as it helps him to unravel the text in its smallest details: decoding allusions, puns, and word plays is essential to make sense of the

'Die byzantinische Betteldichtung: Verbindung des Klassischen mit dem Volkstümlichen', in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur*, pp. 175–180.

⁴¹ On this topic, see Ihor Ševčenko, *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (Ashgate, London 1981); Isidora Rosenthal-Kamarinea, 'Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV. Jahrhunderts anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes', in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971*, ed. by Mihai Berza and Eugen Stănescu, 3 vols (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974–1976), II (1975), pp. 251–58.

text, as it is clear, for example, in the case of the epigrams dedicated to Pepagomenos.

Such literary complexity, erudition and sagacity are the main reasons why Philes' poetry is so difficult to interpret, but also so captivating and startling: Philes' occasional poems are an irreplaceable key to understand his relationships with his patrons, consequently the social context within which he operated and, consequently, late Byzantium too.⁴²

Abstract

This article focuses on a selection of occasional poems by Manuel Philes addressed to various recipients and composed mainly in order to request help of some sort, be it spiritual or, more often, material. It explores how the author adapts his poetry not only to the personality of the addressees, but also how he manages successfully to create compositions that every time suite the circumstances of his request. A detailed investigation of text and language provides the opportunity to discuss some of the features peculiar to Philes' poetic style, such as his skilful use of words and clever allusions, which allow for a multi-layered reading and comprehension of the poems.

⁴² See Kubina, 'Manuel Philes and the Asan Family', pp. 197–98; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*.

Section III: Hymnography & Its Contexts

THEODORA ANTONOPOULOU

Imperial Hymnography: The Canons Attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus

*With the Critical Edition of the First Canon
on St John Chrysostom*

The field of Byzantine hymnography still presents scholars with a wide range of issues and unpublished texts, despite the work that has been accomplished to this day. To concentrate on the texts, leaving musicological issues aside, major problems concern, for instance, their authenticity, the identity of the poets, especially in the cases of homonymous poets, and the editorial method. The identification of the manuscripts of a possibly rich tradition against a background of inadequate documentation of hymns in manuscript catalogues, the frequent yet unsurprising unfeasibility of constructing traditional stemmas, the way(s) to present the cola or the verses of the hymns, are only some of the problems faced by editors. Not least, in terms of scholarly significance, is the evaluation of the cultural, theological and historical placement of the hymns. Several of these issues will be addressed in the present study in connection to a specific case.

Among the large number of Middle and Late Byzantine liturgical canons surviving in a great many Greek manuscripts, three are of particular interest due to their possible common poet, who may be none other than Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–59). Two of these canons (henceforth called A and B) concern St John Chrysostom and were identified as early as the 1930s. Nevertheless, Canon A was published for the first time only in 2007 in a non-scholarly, difficult-to-access edition, while Canon B has remained unpublished. The third canon, on St Demetrios, was published in 1924 under the name of the emperor, but has attracted little attention and is usually ignored in publications related to Constantine. In this paper, an initial brief presentation of the canons in question and their manuscript tradition will be followed by an analysis of various issues appertaining to them, with the problem of the authorship of the canons being of prime concern. One of

the canons (A) will be dealt with in more detail and will be edited here critically for the first time.¹

Canon A was intended for 13 November, when the commemoration of the second exile of John Chrysostom was celebrated. Its *incipit* is *Ἐρωτάτη χορεία τῶν εὐσεβῶν* and it has the acrostic *Ἰωάννη, φρούρει μμε σὸν Κωνσταντῖνον* (*sic*; see further below), which provides the name of the poet as Constantine. It is sung in the second plagal mode. Two codices are known to contain the canon:

- 1) *P* = *Parisinus gr. 1570*, fols 70^r–73^v. This is a Menaeum of November (parchment, I+214 ff., medium format), which, according to the subscription (fol. 214^v), was copied in AD 1127 by the monk Theoktistos for his Monastery of Prodromos Petras in Constantinople.² The identity of the poet is given as *Κωνσταντῖνου δεσπότης*.
- 2) *S* = *Sinaiticus gr. 644*, fols 137^v–49^v. A liturgical codex (paper, 571 ff., 21 × 14.5, fifteenth century).³ The canon is not attributed to an author.

The canon was known to Sophronios Eustratiades from the Paris manuscript alone,⁴ whereas in her valuable list of unpublished Menaea canons, Eleni Papailiopoulos noted both codices. However, with regard to

¹ For a list of published and unpublished canons on Chrysostom, see *Mercurii Grammatici Opera iambica*, ed. by Theodora Antonopoulou, *CCSG*, 87 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. XLIII–XLVII ('Appendix'). Canon A is no. 27 on that list, and Canon B no. 30. My edition of Canon B and re-edition of Canon C are forthcoming. I am grateful to the following institutes for providing me with reproductions of the manuscripts used for the present study: the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki, and the Theology Faculty of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. In addition, Dr Dimosthenis Kaklamanos is cordially thanked for providing me with reproductions of the older edition of Canon A (cited below, n. 6). The 'Special Account for Research Grants' of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens helped towards research expenses.

² For a short description, see Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (Paris: Picard, 1888), p. 98. Also, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/51190/> with bibliography. The codex found its way to the Athonite Panteleemon Monastery, before it was brought to France in mid-seventeenth century.

³ Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 98, no. 902 (wrongly described as an *Anthologion* of September alone).

⁴ Sophronios Eustratiades, 'Τὸ Ἐορτολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἀπόψεως ἡμερολογιακῆς', *Θεολογία*, 15 (1937), 5–112 (p. 110); Sophronios Eustratiades, 'Ταμείον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ποιήσεως', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 38 (1939), 320 (13 November, canon no. 14 in both publications).

the authorship of this work, her notice 'Κωνσταντίνου <δεσπότης>' creates the misleading impression that the highly significant word δεσπότης is absent from both manuscripts.⁵

As mentioned above, the canon was published for the first time in 2007. The editor, Chrysostomos Papadakis, included it in a volume comprising hymnographic texts on John Chrysostom and imitating the layout of a traditional liturgical book. Despite mentioning the two codices, Papadakis does not specify his manuscript basis. Nonetheless, the collation of the edition with the manuscripts proves beyond doubt that he used codex *P* alone, which is a trustworthy witness, as will be explained later. At the beginning of the edition the acrostic is erroneously given as 'Ἰωάννη φρουρεῖ με σὸν Κωνσταντῖνον Κωνσταντίνου δεσπότης.' There are no apparatuses.⁶ The need for a critical edition thus remains and will be addressed further below.

On the evidence of all codices except one (*L*), Canon B was intended for 14 September, the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross and the initial date of the commemoration of the dormition of St John Chrysostom. Its *incipit* is Κρατήρα λόγου ζωῆς ὃν ὡς γῆ and its acrostic Κωνσταντῖνός σοι χρυσορήμον, τὸν κρότον, according to which the name of the hymnographer was Constantine. It is sung in the fourth plagal mode. The canon is known to have come down to us in nine manuscripts:⁷

- 1) *L = Athous, Laurae B 6* (Eustrat. 126), fols 121^r–23^v (13 Nov., anonymous). A hymnographic manuscript, in all likelihood of a private nature (parchment, 123 ff., 14.6 × 12.5, end twelfth century; mutilated at the beginning and end). It contains canons of the eighth to tenth centuries as well as a twelfth-century *accolouthia* by George Skylitzes, which brings the manuscript close to that author's times.⁸ Constantine's canon is the last text. It bears

⁵ Eleni Papailiopolou-Photopoulou, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἁσματικῶν κανόνων*, I. *Κανόνες Μηναίων* (Athens: Σύλλογος πρὸς Διάδοσιν Ὠφελίμων Βιβλίων, 1996), p. 93, no. 230.

⁶ See Hieromonk Chrysostomos Papadakis, *Ἄιδιος τιμὴ καὶ μνήμη Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει 1600 ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ*, 2 vols (Mount Athos, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, 2007), I, p. 53 for the two manuscripts, and II, pp. 126–28 for the text. The acrostic is cited correctly at I, p. 53.

⁷ The first six manuscripts were identified by Papailiopolou, *Ταμείον*, pp. 44–45, no. 53, and the remaining three by Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos, 'Ἀνέκδοτοι βυζαντινοὶ ἁσματικοὶ κανόνες. Διορθώσεις καὶ προσθήκες', *Byzantina*, 20 (1999), 253–66 (pp. 255–56). Papadakis, *Ἄιδιος τιμὴ*, I, p. 53 only mentions codices *LX* and the three *Sinaitici*.

⁸ See the analytical description of the contents of the manuscript in Theodora Antonopoulou, 'George Skylitzes' Office on the Translation of the Holy Stone: A Study and Critical Edition', in: *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed. by Sophia

the title *Κανὼν τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, and today it is interrupted after the second *troparion* of ode 7. In fact, it also used to contain the next *troparion* down to *πηγήν, ἐν ἧ*, but at a time when the following folio was lost, a user drew a decorative band over the last, incomplete *troparion* in order to give the impression of a complete text.

- 2) *X* = *Athous, Xeropotamou 116*, fols 18^r, col. 1–19^r, col. 1 (anonymous). Menaeum of September to February with musical notation (Lambros 2449; parchment, 190 ff., 34.5 × 24.5, end thirteenth century).⁹
- 3) *E* = *Scorialensis X.IV.8*, fols 79^v–83^r (anonymous). The codex (de Andrés 403: parchment, VI+244 ff.) contains a hymnographic collection, mostly canons, and is of Italo-Greek origin. It consists of two parts. Of interest here is the first (fols 1–180), copied in 1276 according to the note on fol 135^v.¹⁰
- 4) *S1* = *Sinaiticus gr. 551*, fols 68^r–70^r, providing the lemma *Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ*. Menaeum of September (parchment, 130 ff., 26.8 × 20, eleventh [Clark eleventh/twelfth] century; mutilated at the beginning and end).¹¹
- 5) *S2* = *Sinaiticus gr. 552*, fols 287^v–289^r (anonymous). Menaeum of September (parchment, 293 ff., 26 × 20.7, eleventh [Clark twelfth] century).¹²

Kotzabassi, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 27 (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 109–41 and Plate 1 (pp. 137–41; also 120–21 on the codex). For the older description, see Spyridon Lavriotes – Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, 12 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 13. Also below, n. 10.

⁹ Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966), I, p. 206; Grigorios Stathis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς: Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, I (Athens: Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, 1975), pp. 323–24, no. 130.

¹⁰ Full description in Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial*, 2. *Códices 179–420* (Madrid: Biblioteca de S. Lorenzo el Real, El Escorial, 1965), pp. 333–37. Cf. also, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/15019/> with wrong indication of Constantine's work as his Oration on John Chrysostom (the same error with regard to codex *L*: <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/27058/>).

¹¹ Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 93, no. 795. Also, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/58926/>

¹² Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 93, no. 796. Also, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/58927/>

- 6) *S*₃ = *Sinaiticus gr. 556*, fols 79^r–82^v. Menaeum (*tropologion*) of September and October (parchment, 269 ff., 24.6 × 19.6, eleventh century first third). According to a note which is contemporary with the copying of the codex, the monk and *synkellos* John donated it to the Monastery of the Theotokos at Skouteri (Chryssopolis).¹³ Given that John was closely linked to the palace, the codex could have originated in or around Constantinople. In the right-hand margin of fol. 79^r the main copyist has added the indication: Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ.
- 7) *M*₁ = *Patmiacus 194*, fols 93^r–97^r (anonymous). Menaeum of September (parchment, in quatro, fourteenth century). The book, which is the first in a series of seven Menaea, was copied on Patmos by the monk John.¹⁴
- 8) *M*₂ = *Patmiacus 609*, fols 60^r–62^r. Menaeum of September and October (paper, 204 ff., in folio, fifteenth century; mutilated at the end).¹⁵ The lemma informs us that the text is Ποίημα βασιλέως τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, whereas in the margin a later hand has noted Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ.¹⁶ The marginal note is obviously an erroneous attempt at interpreting the lemma against the very testimony of the acrostic, by ascribing the canon to Emperor Leo VI, who was widely known for his hymnography.¹⁷ The Porphyrogenitus can only be his son Constantine VII, born in the Purple room of the palace.
- 9) *M*₃ = *Patmiacus 806B*, fols 64^r–66^v (anonymous). Menaeum (of December, according to the catalogue; paper, 144 ff., 22 × 16, fifteenth century).¹⁸ The canon is not immediately recognizable as the codex omits the first *troparion* of the first ode, while it has changed the beginning of the second *troparion* (*Inc.* Προσήλωσε

¹³ Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 93, no. 800; Marie-Thérèse Le Léanec-Bavavéas, 'Jean, logothète du drome au 11^e siècle', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 60 (2002), 215–20. Also, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/58931/>

¹⁴ Ioannis Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος 'Παρνασσός', 1890), p. 113.

¹⁵ Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 249.

¹⁶ Stratigopoulos, 'Διορθώσεις', pp. 255–56.

¹⁷ See below, p. 226 with n. 51 and p. 230 with n. 79.

¹⁸ Dimitrios Kallimachos, 'Πατμιακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Συμπλήρωμα. Ἄγνωστοι κώδικες', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 15 (1916), 357–75 (p. 360).

τῷ σταυρῷ instead of Ὡς ὄλον σε τῷ σταυρῷ).¹⁹ Thereafter, it contains the whole canon apart from its last two *troparia*.

Finally, Canon C was intended for 26 October, the feast of St Demetrios. Its *incipit* is Πείθρα ζωῆς, ῥέοντα ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου and it is sung in the second mode. There is no acrostic binding all of the *troparia* together; this issue will be addressed further below. Two manuscripts of the canon may be mentioned here, pending further research into the transmission of the work:

- 1) *A* = *Athous, Laurae I 185* (Eustrat. 1269), fols 289^r–97^r, from which the 1924 edition (see below) was prepared. A musical manuscript (paper, 312 ff., 22 × 13, fourteenth century second half [Eustrat. fifteenth century]; mutilated at the beginning and end).²⁰ The canon is introduced by the following note, which will be commented upon later: Ποίημα τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου, μελισθὲν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Μανουῆλ τοῦ Πλαγ(ί)του.
- 2) *V* = *Athous Vatopedinus 1131*, fols 248^r–61^r (anonymous). A Menaeum of October (paper, 313 ff., 19 × 13, sixteenth century).²¹

The canon (including the lemma containing the attribution to Constantine) was published by Spyridon Lavriotes in 1924 on the basis of codex *A*,²² while codex *V* was noted by Eustratiades approximately a decade later.²³

We may now proceed to examine certain aspects of the three canons, again starting with Canon A. This consists of eight odes or canticles (1

¹⁹ The new *incipit* does not correspond to any *troparion* listed in Enrica Follieri, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vols I–V.2, *Studi e Testi*, 211–215bis (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960–66).

²⁰ Spyridon – Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts*, p. 211.

²¹ Sophronios Eustratiades – Arcadios Vatopedinos, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, 11 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / Paris: Édouard Champion, 1924), p. 195.

²² Spyridon Lavriotes, ‘Ἀνέκδοτος ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ποίησις’, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 8 (1924), 256–66, (pp. 260–62).

²³ See Sophronios Eustratiades, ‘Ἀγιολογικά. Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ ὕμνογραφίᾳ’, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 11 (1935), 120–50 (p. 130), with indication of the initial folio; repeated in Antonios E. Alygizakis, ‘Ἡ βασιλικὴ ὕμνογραφία: εἰ – ι’ αἰ.’, in: *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουστινιανείου ἐποχῆς ἕως καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς δυναστείας. ΚΔ’ Δημήτρια. Γ’ Ἐπιστημονικὸ Σμπόσιο*, Κέντρο Ἱστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἀυτοτελεῖς ἐκδόσεις, 6 (Thessaloniki, 1991), pp. 185–261 (p. 217 n. 9).

and 3 to 9) and a total of 32 *troparia* or stanzas, since each ode includes three *troparia* and a *theotokion*. The acrostic is a dodecasyllabic verse, in which two letters are repeated twice each (μ in syllable 7 and ο in syllable 8) in order to complete the necessary number of *troparia*.²⁴ The repetition of the vowel in the eighth syllable does not augment the number of syllables of the verse. A pause occurs after the seventh syllable, while proper names are considered indifferent with regard to prosody.

The musical and metrical peculiarity of the canon is that its *heirmoi* follow model *heirmoi* coming from four different canons: a Resurrection canon by John the Monk (odes 1, 3 and 5) and three canons by Cosmas the Melodist: a canon for Holy Thursday (odes 4, 7 and 8), a *tetraodion* for Holy Saturday (ode 6), and a canon for Epiphany (ode 9).²⁵ If the model canons are called a, b, c, and d, then the *heirmoi* used appear in the following order: aabacbbd. Thus, the audience is taken by surprise, as its musical expectations are invalidated time and time again. However, such combinations are not uncommon in hymnography.²⁶

As noted above, according to the acrostic, the name of the hymnographer was Constantine, and is not accompanied by an attribute. The twelfth-century codex *P*, which provides the indication Κωνσταντίνου δεσπότης, clearly attributes the text to Emperor Constantine, namely VII. *P* is not only considerably older but altogether a better manuscript than *S*. The latter contains several distinctive textual errors,²⁷ as can be deduced from the details of the metre, the grammar and the syntax. *P* is not altogether devoid of its own distinctive errors, as will become obvious from the apparatus criticus,²⁸ yet its scribe is a careful one, who would have copied the lemma from his exemplar rather than inventing it. Thus, the claim to the emperor's authorship appears trustworthy. Eu-

²⁴ On the repetition of letters in canon acrostics, see Wilhelm Weyh, 'Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), 1–69 (pp. 63–64).

²⁵ For the *heirmoi* in question, see Sophronios Eustratiades, *Εἰρμολόγιον (Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά)*, Ἀγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 9 (Chennevières-sur-Marne: L'Ermitage, 1932), nos. 224 (Resurrection), 229 (Holy Thursday), 231 (Holy Saturday); Wilhelm Christ – Matthaios Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), p. 172 (Epiphany); see the edition below.

²⁶ For example, in *Μηνναῖα τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, 6 vols (Rome, 1888–1901), I, pp. 306–13 the anonymous canon on Romanos the Melodist (1 October) follows a similar pattern, where the same *heirmoi* as those of Canon A are used for odes 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9, whereas those of odes 4 and 6 come from canon a.

²⁷ See, for example, the app. cr. at vv. 4, 9, 19, 59, 80, 165, 168, 244.

²⁸ See the app. cr. at vv. 108, 194, 224, 245; cf. also 98, for a reading which is, however, metrically acceptable (see below, p. 233, on the metrics of the canon).

stratiades did not hesitate to accept the attribution. Nonetheless, there is no internal indication of imperial connections. In the *theotokia*, the poet presents himself as a simple sinner who prays for the remission of his sins.

The contents of the canon will be elaborated below, just before the edition of the text. Here, let it be noted that the language is simple and straightforward, matching Constantine VII's style as known from his other writings. Moreover, the imagery, which is relatively conventional, betrays special familiarity with the Bible, which was characteristic of the emperor. In this respect, one may only be reminded of Ihor Ševčenko's pertinent remarks to the effect that Constantine's 'simple language, [was] kept simpler yet by strings of scriptural quotations.'²⁹ A sincere feeling of admiration for the great saint and deep-seated personal religiosity also come to the fore. A remarkable feature of the canon is the quotation of Chrysostomic expressions and their adaptation in order to fit the new context, as will become evident in the *apparatus fontium*. For instance, ode 4, vv. 71–73 renders a passage from John's homily 20 on *Genesis* (par. 4, *PG* 53, col. 174, 28–31). In another case, in ode 9, vv. 244–47 there is a rendering of a passage from John's homily 32 on the Epistle to the Romans (par. 3, *PG* 60, col. 679, 52–58): in it, John speaks of the Apostle Paul, whom he ardently admired and respected, and in turn, Constantine applies John's words to his own protagonist, John himself. In ode 8, trop. 2, which speaks of Chrysostom's fight against the evil of avarice, the poet incorporates (at vv. 192–93) the Chrysostomic phrase «ἡ δὲ πενία φιλοσοφίας ἐστὶ μήτηρ», taken over from *Expos. in Ps. IV*, 11, *PG* 55, col. 57, 41–42: the connection between philosophy and poverty was not new, but being expressed in those terms was peculiar to John. In the same *troparion*, v. 189, the expression «φιλαργυρίας νόσον» was not exclusive to Chrysostom, but it was a favourite of his (also in the form «φιλαργυρίας νόσημα»; see the *app. font.*).

Regarding the liturgical use of the canon, the lemma in *P* on fol. 70^r indicates that it was sung in the *pannychis* or nocturnal service (εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα)³⁰ preceding the feast of 13 November. According to the liturgical indication

²⁹ See Ihor Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. by Jonathan Shepard – Simon Franklin, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 1 (Aldershot, Hampshire – Brookfield, VT: Variorum 1992), pp. 167–95 (pp. 178–82).

³⁰ On *pannychis* in the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite, see Grigorios Stathis, *Παννυχίς: ἡτοι Νυκτερινὴ Ἀσματικὴ Ἀκολουθία κατὰ τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Κοσμητικὸν Τυπικὸν τῆς Μεγάλῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἁγίας Σοφίας* (Athens: Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία, 1999), pp. 9–22.

in *S* on fol. 130^r, the canon was sung, together with other canons, at Great Vespers on the eve of the same feast (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἑσπερινῷ, fols 130^r–50^v). Most noteworthy for revealing the close connection of the canon to its liturgical setting, is the fact that the canon contains passages which come from the Scriptural readings destined for the Divine Liturgy on the feast-day as recorded in the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church: Psalm 48, 4, used at vv. 131–33, is sung as *prokeimenon*; Epistle to the Hebrews 8, 2 at vv. 114–15 derives from the Apostle reading of this Epistle 7,26–8,2; and John 10, 11–15 at vv. 89–92 from the Gospel reading of John 10, 9–16. Thus, the canon, sung on the eve of the feast, functioned as preparation of the faithful for the readings of the Liturgy. The main celebration in the capital took place in the Holy Apostles, where Chrysostom's relic lay.³¹

It is particularly noteworthy for the reception and diffusion of Constantine's canon, that in eleventh-century Constantinople four of its *troparia* were prescribed for the *pannychis*, on the eve of the feast in question, by the liturgical *Typikon* or *Synaxarion* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. The service was celebrated inside the Katholikon. The poet is mentioned only as Constantine. The relevant entry in the Athenian manuscript of the *Typikon EBE 788 Πλεασε ιν ιταλιψεσ* (first half of the twelfth century) runs as follows: Εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα, κανῶν τοῦ ἀγίου ἡχος πλ. β'. Ὡς ἐν ἠπείρω, ποίημα Κωνσταντίνου, εἰς δ'. Ἐνδοθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ ψάλλεται ἡ παννυχίς. Ἀπὸ γ' ᾠδῆς, οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ζ'. κοντάκιον αὐτοῦ. For the Liturgy the same Scriptural readings were prescribed as those in the *Typikon* of the Great Church mentioned above.³² It is known that the texts in this codex were composed by the second

³¹ Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle, I. Le cycle des douze mois*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 165 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962), pp. 98,25–100,14.

³² Ed. Aleksej Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, I. Τυπικά* (Kiev: Korčak-Novickij, 1895; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 312–13; for an English translation, see *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, I. September – February*. Text and translation by Robert H. Jordan, *Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 6.5 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000), pp. 193–95. On the *Typikon* manuscript, see Barbara Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating of Codex *Atheniensis Graecus 788, ΤΥΠΙΚΟΝ* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (founded 1049)', *Scriptorium*, 52 (1998), 330–49 with bibliography. Cf. also John E. Klentos, *Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (codex Athens Ethnike Bibliothekē 788)* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1995); Jørgen Raasted, 'The Evergetis *Synaxarion* as a Chant Source: What and how did they sing in a Greek monastery around AD 1050?', in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis*, ed. by Margaret Mullett – Anthony Kirby, *Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 6.2 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1997), pp. 356–66.

hegumen, Timothy, who succeeded the founder and first hegumen Paul (d. 1054), was still alive in 1067 and died sometime before 1103.³³ The contents of the codex were updated in the early twelfth century,³⁴ but there is no evidence that the aforementioned entry has been tampered with. Thus, it can be inferred that the canon circulated in mid-eleventh-century Constantinople.

Another clue to the use of the canon in the eleventh century appears to be provided by two paracletic canons authored by none other than John Mauropous. The similarity of expression is too close and extended, covering a whole *theotokion* of Constantine (vv. 46–52), for it to be fortuitous: see Mauropous's Paracletic Canon 8, ode 6, vv. 175–76 Πανίσι σῶν οἰκτιρμῶν κατάσβesson / τῶν παθῶν μου τὴν ἀκάματον φλόγα; also, Paracletic Canon 6, ode 7, vv. 164–67 τῶν παθῶν μου κάμινον αὐτὸς / ῥανίσι κατάσβesson, Χριστέ, / τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ πυρὸς / γέεννης ῥῦσαι με.³⁵

Canon B also met with success. As the manuscripts attest, it had already entered the liturgical books in the eleventh century, from which the older tradition dates (*S1*, *S2*, *S3*), while codices *LXE* date from the late twelfth to the late thirteenth century, and the three *Patmiaci* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The canon was circulated outside the capital and the Empire, on Sinai and in South Italy.

The canon consists, as usual, of eight odes (1 and 3 to 9), each of which includes three *troparia* and a *theotokion*, as was also the case with Canon A. However, ode 9 has an extra two *troparia* at the end, bringing the total number of *troparia* to 34. The aforementioned acrostic is again a dodecasyllabic verse with a pause after the fifth syllable; the single proper name is considered indifferent with regard to prosody, while *χρυσορῆμον* is written with a single ρ so as not to render the preceding omicron long.

The *heirmoi* of the whole canon follow those of the canon on the Elevation of the Holy Cross (*inc.* Σταυρὸν χαράξας Μωσῆς) by the eighth-century hymnographer Cosmas the Melodist.³⁶ The penultimate *tropar-*

³³ See the standard work of Paul Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 40 (1982), 5–101 (pp. 7–9); regarding the evidence on Timotheos's death, cf. Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', p. 340 n. 46. Also, Robert H. Jordan, 'Founders and Second Founders: Paul and Timothy', in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. by Margaret Mullett, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.3 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), pp. 412–42.

³⁴ Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', pp. 11, 13.

³⁵ *Giovanni Mauropode metropolita di Eucaita. Otto canoni paracletici a N. S. Gesù Cristo*, ed. by Enrica Follieri, Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà, 5.1 / Altri testi della pietà bizantina, 2 (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1967), pp. 176, 144.

³⁶ Eustratiades, *Εἰρημολόγιον*, no. 322.

ion (no. 33), which is dedicated to Chrysostom, and the last (no. 34), which is another *theotokion*, are set to the music of a *heirmos* separate from the rest of ode 9. In fact, Cosmas's canon has the peculiarity of a double ninth ode. Constantine imitates his exemplar in that he uses the alternative *heirmos* of ode 9 for the last two *troparia* of his own canon,³⁷ so as to complete the acrostic with the last two of its letters.

The poet's name, Constantine, is unambiguously attested by the acrostic. Two of the Sinai manuscripts (*S1* and *S3*) attribute the canon to Constantine Kephalas. Given their early date and until the relationship of the manuscripts to each other is investigated, the possibility of Kephalas as a poet should, in principle, remain an option. On the contrary, the fifteenth-century *M2* clearly attributes the canon to the Porphyrogenitus, namely Constantine VII. In the remainder of the manuscripts, the canon is anonymous. The canon was also linked with Constantine VII by Sophronios Eustratiades, to whom only the Laura manuscript was known, without any argumentation.³⁸ Papailiopolou provided both attributions ('Κωνσταντίνου δεσπότης vel Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ') without arguing in favour of one or the other.³⁹

Nevertheless, what may be considered as a piece of internal evidence that the canon was authored by an emperor is furnished by the *theotokion* of the first ode, which contains the following phrasing: ἐν ᾧ (sc. σταυρῶ) καυχῶμαι καὶ γὰρ | ὁ τῆ σῆ στεφόμενος | παλάμη δέσποινα, | πρεσβείαις οὐ τὴν μνήμην | ἑορτάζω ποιμένος: 'I too take pride in [the Cross], being crowned by your hand, Lady, through the prayers of the shepherd whose memory I celebrate'. The crowning by the Theotokos would be unsurprising if it concerned saints. In hymns, one may actually encounter the Lord crowning the saint honoured. Such is a canon on Sts Speusippus, Elasippus and Velesippus (16 January), which reads: στέφος νικητικὸν | ἐκ παλάμης | θείας ὑποδέχεσθαι, or another canon on Sts Marc and Cyril (29 March), which reads: στέφος ἐκ παλάμης | τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰλήφατε.⁴⁰

³⁷ For this *heirmos*, see also Christ – Paranikas, *Anthologia*, p. 165. On Cosmas's canon and the peculiarity of the double ninth ode, see Theocharis E. Detorakis, *Κοσμάς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων*, 28 (Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1979), pp. 178–81.

³⁸ Eustratiades, "Ἑορτολόγιον", p. 111; also Eustratiades, "Ταμείον", p. 321 (13 November, canon no. 18 in the former publication, no. 19 in the latter).

³⁹ Papailiopolou, *Ταμείον*, pp. 44–45 with n. 39; repeated by Papadakis, *Ἰδιος τιμῆ*, I, p. 53.

⁴⁰ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, Ioseph Schirò consilio et ductu edita, 13 vols (Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Università di Roma, 1966–83): V. *Canones Ianuarii*, ed. by Alcestis Proiou (1971), pp. 268–69

However, in the present canon the person being crowned is the hymnographer, who speaks of himself. If it were a metaphorical usage of the crowning, his confidence in himself and his self-advertisement in the initial ode, instead of the expected usual humility, would be astonishing. What is more, the poet expresses himself in a way almost identical with the acclamations addressed to the emperor by the demes as attested in the *De Cerimoniis*, where an acclamation by the Greens runs «Σὺ οὖν δοξάσας τῷ στέφει, Θεέ, δεσπότας παλάμη σου, φύλαττε εἰς ἀνέγερσιν Ῥωμαίων» (I 7), and a demotic alphabet starts with «Ἀηττήτω Θεοῦ παλάμη ἐστέφθητε, δεσπότηι, οὐρανόθεν» (I 92 [83]).⁴¹ The only difference between these acclamations and the canon concerns the crowning by the Lord, not the Theotokos, which can be explained in the present context of a *theotokion* in honour of the Mother of God. Furthermore, the crowning of an emperor by a divine person is a well-known motif of imperial imagery in tenth-century art and beyond.⁴² For example, Constantine VII himself is depicted on a famous ivory plaque crowned by Christ, while on another ivory plaque his son Romanos and his wife Eudocia are flanking Christ, who is crowning them.⁴³ On the other hand, it

(Canon 25, ode 3, vv. 29–31); VII. *Canones Martii*, ed. by Eutychios Tomadakis (1971), p. 308 (Canon 32, ode 8, vv. 151–52).

⁴¹ *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*. Texte établi et traduit par Albert Vogt, Collection byzantine, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935–39; repr. 1967), I, pp. 48,22–49,1 and II, p. 183, 28 respectively. For an English translation, see *Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The Book of Ceremonies, with the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1829)*, 1. *Book I, including the Appendix to Book I (Imperial Expeditions)*. Translated by Ann Moffatt – Maxeme Tall, Byzantina Australiensia, 18.1 (Canberra: Australian Association of Byzantine Studies, 2012), pp. 54 and 383 respectively. On the performance of acclamations in ceremonies, see, for example, Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962²), pp. 102–04.

⁴² See, in particular, the classic work of André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg: Les Belles Lettres, 1936; repr. London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), pp. 112–22 ('L'investiture de l'empereur').

⁴³ On these plaques, see, for example, Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master. Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 203–04 with figure 76 (Constantine) and Plate IV (Romanos); Michał Myśliński, 'L'image du couronnement de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète sur une plaque en ivoire du Musée des Beaux Arts Pouchkine de Moscou', in *Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia* II, ed. by Anna Rózycka Bryzek – Maciej Salamon (Cracow: Seminarium Historiae Byzantinae, Institute of History / Seminarium Historiae Artis Byzantinae, Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, 1994), pp. 61–71, with 10 figures after p. 72; Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 314 with further bibliography on the two items.

is the Theotokos who places a pearl in the crown of Constantine's father, Leo VI, on an ivory which has been interpreted in various ways.⁴⁴ I will come back to the issue of authorship below.

With regard to the liturgical use of the canon, the date of 14 September is firmly established not only by the Menaea that transmit it, but also by its very contents. For example, ode 3, trop. 3 reads as follows: ὑψουμένου τὲ σταυροῦ ἐκ γῆς κευθμώνων, | καὶ πρὸς μονὰς αἰρουμένου | οὐρανοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος. Clearly, Canon B celebrates the dormition of John Chrysostom on the day of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, a temporal coincidence that had led to the establishment of John's feast on 13 November, as explained by both the *Typikon* and the *Synaxarion* of the Great Church.⁴⁵ The interplay of the two themes is present throughout the canon, with the poet combining them with skilful variation. The use of the *heirmoi* of Cosmas's canon on the Elevation of the Cross further binds Canon B to its festive setting. Thus, the connection with the feast on 13 November provided by codex *L* is not original.

Finally, the lemma in codex *A* of Canon C reproduced above explicitly attributes the canon to Constantine VII and informs us that the text was set to a new melody composed by Manuel Plagites (or Plagiates), *protopsaltes* of Thessaloniki, who is attested in 1336.⁴⁶ Despite the late date of the manuscript, the lemma appears well-informed; however, the situation is complex.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Arwed Arnulf, 'Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI. Epigraphische und ikonographische Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Szepter Leons VI,' *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, N.F. 32 (1990), 69–84 with figures 1–6 and 8; Cutler, *The Hand of the Master*, pp. 200–01 with figure 158; Parani, *Reconstructing*, p. 314 with further bibliography.

⁴⁵ In the *Typikon*, the transfer of the feast is commented on under 13 November, whereas no reference is made to Chrysostom's dormition when commenting on the feast of the Elevation; see Mateos, *Typicon*, pp. 99,25–100,2 and 26,17–32,23 respectively. The *Synaxarion* recalls the saint's dormition under 14 September, only to explain its transfer 'by the saintly fathers' so that the saint can be honoured separately; see *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. by Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels: apud Socios Bollandianos, 1902; repr. 1954), col. 46, no. 3; see also cols 220–21, no. 1, under 13 November.

⁴⁶ On Manuel Plagites or Plagiates, see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. by Erich Trapp and others, 15 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1995), no. 23290, and, especially, Ioannes A. Liakos, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ψαλτικὴ παράδοση τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ'–ΙΕ' αἰῶνα*, Μελέται, 15 (Athens: Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, 2007), pp. 117–20. Cf. Alygizakes, 'Ἡ βασιλικὴ ὕμνογραφία', p. 217 n. 11; see also pp. 217–18 for a brief presentation of the contents of the canon on the basis of Spyridon's problematic edition, on which see immediately below.

According to the 1924 edition, Canon C consists of odes 1 and 3–9 with a total of 24 *troparia*, three in each ode. The third *troparion* is always a *theotokion*, despite the absence of a clear reference to the Theotokos in ode 1, for whom an appropriate metaphor is used (γῆ). A new, critical edition is much needed, as a glance at Spyridon's edition reveals, where, for example, ode 5 appears to have two *troparia*, since the second and the third are merged into one. More importantly, in codex *A* the canon ends after ode 7, as correctly noted in the Laura catalogue, while the last two odes in *V* are different from those in the edition. The provenance of odes 8 and 9 of the edition is unclear at the moment.

Spyridon's assertion that the mode of the canon is the fourth, instead of the second, should also be corrected. The *heirmoi* of the canon as edited derive from a variety of well-known canons of this mode composed by Cosmas of Maiouma and John the Monk. Those of odes 1, 3, 4 and 5 come from a Resurrection canon of Cosmas, of ode 6 from a Resurrection canon of John the Monk, of odes 7 and 9 from the canon on Monday of Holy Week by Cosmas again, and of ode 8, which is the same in the edition and *V*, from another Resurrection canon of John the Monk.⁴⁷ According to *V*, the *heirmos* of ode 9 comes from the same canon as that of ode 6. Thus, the sequence of the *heirmoi* drawn from the four canons can be represented as follows: aaaabdc in the edition, but aaaabdcdb in *V*.

A peculiarity of this canon as surviving in the Laura codex is that, unlike the other two canons examined here, it does not have an acrostic running through it. However, in a note to another canon on St Demetrios, Papailiopolou rightly recognized that the *theotokia* are bound by the acrostic Γ<P>ΗΓΟΠΙΟΥ. She suggested that the absence of the letter P may imply that originally the canon had a second ode, which has gone missing. Moreover, she pointed out a rare edition of 1795, where the canon is anonymous and has an extra *troparion* at the beginning, the *incipit* being Ἐμοί, φησί, Δαβὶδ ὁ μέγας.⁴⁸ It turns out that in the edition in question the canon, which overlaps with the Vatopedi manuscript in odes 8 and 9, has more *troparia* than either in Spyridon's edition or in the manuscript, since an extra *troparion* introduces each ode. It is pos-

⁴⁷ Eustratiades, *Εἰρημολόγιον*, no. 51 (Resurrection canon of Cosmas), no. 46 (first Resurrection canon of John the Monk), no. 53 (canon on Monday of Holy Week by Cosmas), and no. 47 (second Resurrection canon of John the Monk).

⁴⁸ Papailiopolou, *Ταμείον*, p. 69 n. 111, with reference to the following edition: *Θύρα τῆς μετανοίας, ἣτοι βίβλος κατασκευαστικὴ καὶ ψυχωφελεστάτη ... Συντεθείσα μὲν πρὶν παρὰ τινος σοφοῦ Ἄνδρός, ...* (Venice: Παρὰ Νικολάω Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1795); no pagination is provided, but the canon is found at pp. 221–24.

sible that the canon has been transmitted inadequately or that at some point in its transmission it underwent interventions. Be that as it may, the acrostic precludes Constantine's composition of the *theotokia* and casts doubt on the authorship of the rest of the canon. The case is at the moment obscure and any solutions to the problems described here will have to await the critical edition of the text.

To sum up the evidence produced so far with regard to the hymnographer(s), the following remarks can be made. The *heirmoi* of the three canons, which were composed by Cosmas of Maiouma and John the Monk, provide the *terminus post quem* for the canons, suggesting the ninth century at the earliest for their composition. The *termini ante quem* for Canons A and B are provided by the date of their earliest manuscripts, that is AD 1127 for A, and the eleventh century for B; moreover, on the evidence of the Evergetis *Typikon*, Canon A was in use in Constantinople in the eleventh century. In the case of C, the *terminus ante quem* is the first half of the fourteenth century, as can be deduced from the reference to its setting to new music by Plagites. Canons A and B are joint by their attribution in the acrostic to a certain Constantine: in the earliest manuscript (*P*) transmitting A, he is specified as Constantine *despotes*, that is 'the emperor', to whom B is also ascribed in one (*M2*) out of its nine manuscripts; on the contrary, the name of Constantine Kephalas appears in two of B's earliest manuscripts (*S1*, *S3*), whose relationship to each other and the rest of the tradition remains to be examined. Only Canon B contains what can reasonably be interpreted as an internal allusion to the poet's imperial status, while Canon A provides no such indication. Nevertheless, the simple language and style of A edited below, and the heavy use of the Scriptures corroborate the manuscript evidence. The attribution of Canon C to Constantine Porphyrogenitus is attested in the fourteenth century; however, at least the *theotokia* were not authored by him but by a certain Gregory.

The name Constantine is rather uncommon among hymnographers. In Émèreau and Follieri's lists of hymnographers, the only Constantine to have lived before 1200 is the Porphyrogenitus.⁴⁹ Constantine Kephalas is not known to have composed hymns. The only poetry that bears his name is an epigram in the Greek Anthology (V, 1), which he composed for the anthology of epigrams he compiled at the turn of the ninth century and which became the mainstay of the Palatine one. If identical

⁴⁹ Casimir Émèreau, 'Hymnographi byzantini, quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit —', *Échos d'Orient*, 22 (1923), 11–25 (pp. 18–19); Follieri, *Initia*, V.1, pp. 289–90.

with the *protopapas* of the palace attested in 917, as seems to be the case, Kephalas would have still been alive under Constantine VII.⁵⁰ It can thus justifiably be argued that Canon B was a product of the first half of the tenth century and of the imperial environment, either the work of a palatine chaplain in the earlier part of the century or a little later by the hand of the emperor. Nevertheless, due to lack of other evidence of a possible writing activity of Kephalas, his authorship of the canon, although it cannot be excluded, seems improbable.

On the contrary, a number of reasons speak in favour of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as the poet of canons (A and B at least). Not only is there relevant manuscript evidence as well as the internal evidence discussed above, but, most importantly, he was an accomplished hymnographer in his own right. In fact, his name is an illustrious one in the short yet notable tradition of ‘imperial hymnography’, that is, hymnography produced by emperors, who composed the texts and the music, or the texts alone. From the early to the late Byzantine periods imperial hymnographers include Justinian, Theophilos, Leo VI the Wise, Constantine VII, Theodore II Laskaris, and Manuel II Palaeologos.⁵¹ Constantine is principally known for his eleven *exaposteilaria*, which are sung in church to this day before the *ainoi* on Sundays and have occupied scholars of old, while his other compositions have remained, by and large, obscure. In fact, it was Sophronios Eustratiades who, in his study on ‘crowned hymnographers’ of 1932, dedicated two seminal pages to Constantine, where apart from the *exaposteilaria* he pointed out the three canons discussed here and two *idiomela* on the Martyr Nicetas.⁵² Later on, three

⁵⁰ On Kephalas, see *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abt. 2 (867–1025)*, nos. 23790 and 23824 with recent bibliography; Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres, I. Texts and Contexts*, Wiener byzantinistische Studien, 24 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), p. 88.

⁵¹ See especially Sophronios Eustratiades, ‘Ἐστεμμένοι ὑμνογράφοι, Ῥωμανός ὁ Μελωδός, 1 (1932), 67–85 on Justinian, Leo VI, Constantine VII, and Manuel II, and 117–21 on Theodore II Laskaris; also Sophronios Eustratiades, ‘Θεόφιλος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων’, Ῥωμανός ὁ Μελωδός, 1 (1932), 21–25; on the four earlier emperors, see Alygizakis, ‘Ἡ βασιλικὴ Ὑμνογραφία.’

⁵² Eustratiades, ‘Ἐστεμμένοι ὑμνογράφοι’, pp. 81–83 (‘Γ’. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος’), also listing the *theotokia* accompanying the *exaposteilaria*, which are, however, later compositions; on those *theotokia*, see Grigorios T. Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ βυζαντινῇ μελοποιῇ καὶ ἔκδοσις τῶν κειμένων εἰς ἐν Corpus*, Μελέται, 1 (Athens: Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, 1977), p. 63. Before Eustratiades and long after him only the *exaposteilaria* were mentioned; see, for example, Émereau, ‘Hymnographi byzantini’, p. 19; Jacques Handschin, *Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung*, Rektoratsprogramm der Universität Basel

Easter *idiomela* were further identified by C. Floros.⁵³ The emperor was regularly mentioned in reference works on hymnography, such as by Beck,⁵⁴ Follieri,⁵⁵ Wellesz,⁵⁶ Tomadakis,⁵⁷ Szövérfy,⁵⁸ Mitsakis and Stathis,⁵⁹ without, on the whole, any further advance in the study of his work apart from the metrics of the *exaposteilaria*. Eventually, in 1991 and on the basis of previous literature, Antonios Alygizakis provided a comprehensive list of Constantine's known hymnographic work,⁶⁰ according to which the emperor composed the eleven *heothina exaposteilaria*, the two *idiomela* on St Nicetas included in the *Menaion* for 15 September, the three *idiomela* for Easter, and the three canons, whose authenticity the scholar did not consider.⁶¹ Finally, the important contribution of Papailiopolou with regard to the canons was mentioned

für die Jahre 1940 und 1941 (Basel: Reinhardt, 1942), p. 44, who, however, leaves open the possibility that one or the other of the hymns mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* was the work of Constantine (pp. 7–8).

⁵³ Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), I, pp. 351–52 on the three Easter *stichera*; also at III, p. 18 with mention of the *exaposteilaria*.

⁵⁴ Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Byzantinisches Handbuch, II.1 (Munich: Beck, 1959), pp. 551–52 on the *exaposteilaria* alone.

⁵⁵ See Follieri, *Initia*, for the editions of individual *troparia* and mentions of their *incipit*; also, V.1, p. 290 (bibliography on Constantine's hymns).

⁵⁶ Wellesz, *History*, p. 237 on the *exaposteilaria* alone.

⁵⁷ Nikolaos B. Tomadakis, *Η βυζαντινή ύμνογραφία και ποιήσεις ήτοι Είσαγωγή εις την Βυζαντινήν Φιλολογίαν, Τόμος δεύτερος* (Athens: Άδελφοί Μυρτίδη, 1965³; repr. Thessaloniki: P. Pournaras, 1993), p. 73 (par. 10. 'Εστεμμένοι στιχοιργοί', based on Eustratiades, but mentioning only the *exaposteilaria* and the canon on St Demetrios).

⁵⁸ Joseph Szövérfy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography. A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies*, II. *Κανών and Στιχηρόν*, Medieval Classics: Texts and Studies, 12 (Brookline, MA – Leyden: Classical Folia Editions, 1979), p. 285 listing the three Easter *stichera*; cf. p. 296; also, p. 235 (bibliography).

⁵⁹ Karolos Mitsakis, *Βυζαντινή Ύμνογραφία: από την εποχή της Καινής Διαθήκης έως την Εικονομαχία* (Athens: Grigoris, 1986²), pp. 328–29, and Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ύμνογραφία*, pp. 61–64, both on the metrics of the *exaposteilaria*. See also Stathis, pp. 65 with n. 4–66 for the mention of a *stavrosimon* that may be attributed to Constantine in a manuscript (not included in Alygizakis, on whom see the following two notes).

⁶⁰ See Alygizakis, 'Η βασιλική Ύμνογραφία', esp. pp. 216–18 (introduction), 232–33 (list of hymns thematically), 247–49 (alphabetical list of hymns), 251–52 (the *heirmoi* used for the eight odes of the canon on St Demetrios according to Spyridon's edition, plus those of the first ode of the two then unpublished canons) with bibliography.

⁶¹ See Alygizakis, 'Η βασιλική Ύμνογραφία', pp. 247–49 for the edited and unedited hymns and the available editions; for the *exaposteilaria*, however, for which only a recent edition is noted there, see Follieri, *Initia*. Cf. also, above, n. 59 on the *stavrosimon*.

above.⁶² Like Canon B on Chrysostom, one of the Easter *idiomela* has hitherto remained unpublished.

As far as the hymnographer's choice to honour John Chrysostom is concerned, it can best be explained if Constantine VII's authorship is accepted. Firstly, the emperor's devotion to Chrysostom is known from other occasions. A homily dedicated to the translation of the saint's relics is attributed to him in the manuscript tradition, possibly, though not necessarily, having been composed with the help of ghostwriters.⁶³ Like Canon A, the homily was also destined for a *panmychis*, this time for the feast of the translation on 27 January.⁶⁴ Thus, it appears that Constantine honoured all three commemorations of John, two with canons and one with a homily. Moreover, he commissioned a *Life* of the saint from one of the prominent ecclesiastical writers of his time, Niketas David the Paphlagonian, as the title of the work attests.⁶⁵ In his homily on the translation of the relics of St Gregory of Nazianzus, Constantine calls John 'his' and praises him in terms reminiscent of Canon A, which offers further validation of the authenticity of the latter.⁶⁶ The Continu-

⁶² See above, pp. 213, 221 and 224 with nn. 5, 7, 39, and 48.

⁶³ *BHG* 878d; ed. by Konstantinos I. Dyobouniotes, 'Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου Λόγος ανέκδοτος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου', *Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀθῆναι Πανεπιστημίου*, 1 (1926), 303–19 (pp. 306–19). The authenticity of the homily was rejected by Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', pp. 184–85, but was favoured by its editor, Dyobouniotes, p. 304, and Bernard Flusin, 'Le panégyrique de Constantin VII le Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (*BHG* 728)', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 57 (1999), 5–97 (pp. 25–31). For Constantine's possible use of ghostwriters, see Ševčenko, esp. p. 186; Flusin, pp. 6–7, 25. For Constantine's homiletic activity and the state of relevant research, see Theodora Antonopoulou, 'A Survey of Tenth-Century Homiletic Literature', *Parekbolai*, 1 (2011), 7–36 (pp. 18–21); and Theodora Antonopoulou, 'A Textual Source and its Contextual Implications: On Theodore Daphnopates' Sermon *On the Birth of John the Baptist*', *Byzantion*, 81 (2011), 9–17 (pp. 16–17).

⁶⁴ See the edition by Dyobouniotes, 'Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου Λόγος ανέκδοτος', pp. 306–07; Antonopoulou, 'Survey', p. 19.

⁶⁵ For the text of the title, see Theodora Antonopoulou, 'The Unedited *Life* of St John Chrysostom by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian. *Editio princeps*, Part I', *Byzantion*, 87 (2017), 1–67 (p. 13); cf. Theodora Antonopoulou, 'The Unedited *Life* of St John Chrysostom by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian. An Introduction', *Byzantion*, 86 (2016), 1–51 (p. 2).

⁶⁶ See the short version of the end of the homily, par. 38T, ll. 745–49, ed. by Flusin, 'Le panégyrique de Constantin VII', p. 81, where Constantine expresses his conviction that St Gregory, the Apostles and St John are all present in the celebration in the Holy Apostles: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ πάγχρυσον στόμα (cf. Canon A, vv. 152–53, 189), τὸν ἔμὸν Χρυσορρόαν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διεδέσρατον καὶ μελίρρυτον ποταμόν (cf. Canon A, vv. 15–16), τὸν τῆς μετανοίας ἐγγυητὴν εὐκατάνυκτον (cf. Canon A, vv. 156, 203–04) καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας εὐχέστατον ὄργανον (cf. Canon A, e.g. vv. 53–59).

ator of Theophanes specifically mentions Constantine's unsurpassed attachment to Chrysostom, whom he honoured with splendid celebrations.⁶⁷ It has convincingly been suggested that Constantine considered Chrysostom as one of his patron saints whose feasts were celebrated in January, the month he finally took over sole power reclaiming his throne from the Lekapenoi in 945.⁶⁸ However, there is no hint at such a major event in the two canons, for example in the form of thanksgiving, which would be expected if there were any such connections. Be that as it may, the cult of Chrysostom flourished in the tenth century, as the composition of a series of hagiographical texts concerning him reveals.⁶⁹

With regard to St Demetrios, in case the main part of Canon C is due to Constantine (which remains to be seen, as explained above), the composition of the canon would also fit the imperial environment well. The *De Cerimoniis* attests to the particular significance of his feast for the palace. He is among the few saints honoured with splendid celebrations, which involved a procession with the participation of the emperor, recorded in the book.⁷⁰ Moreover, a church in Demetrios's name had been built in the palace by Leo VI, who had also delivered an oration at its encaenia.⁷¹

Furthermore, it can be argued that with his hymns and homilies on saints, Constantine followed in his father's footsteps (although on a more limited scale), as Leo had likewise written homilies and hymns on several saints, including homilies on Chrysostom and Demetrios,⁷²

⁶⁷ See Theophanes Continuatus VI, Reign of Constantine VII, par. 37, ed. by Immanuel Bekker, *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, CSHB (Bonn: Weber, 1838), p. 457, 18–22.

⁶⁸ See Flusin, 'Le panégyrique de Constantin VII', pp. 111–12; also Antonopoulou, 'Survey', pp. 19, 21.

⁶⁹ Antonopoulou, 'The Unedited *Life* ... An Introduction', pp. 24–38 (Ch. IV. 'The Relationship of Some Tenth-Century Chrysostomic *Lives* to the *Life* by Nicetas David').

⁷⁰ *De Cer.* I 30 (21), ed. by Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, pp. 113–15; English translation in Moffatt – Tall, *The book of Ceremonies*, I, pp. 121–24.

⁷¹ On Leo's church and homily 19 on its dedication, see Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 14 (Leiden – New York – Cologne: Brill, 1997), pp. 47–48, 134 with n. 99, 245; on the homily, cf. also below, n. 72.

⁷² For the text of Leo's sermons 17, 18 and 19 on Demetrios, and 38 and 41 on Chrysostom, see *Leonis VI Sapientis imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae*, ed. by Theodora Antonopoulou, *CCSG*, 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 243–57, 259–61, 263–65, 481–557, and 573–85 respectively. On various aspects of these texts as well as on the rest of Leo's homilies, see Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of Leo VI*.

plus a *troparion* on the latter, as noted in the *De Cerimoniis*.⁷³ It is an established fact that Leo's example was crucial for Constantine's hymnographic activity: similar to Leo's best known hymns, that is the eleven *heothina anastasima* (Morning Resurrection hymns), his son's as many *exaposteilaria* are also concerned with the themes of the eleven Morning Gospels.⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that for the composition of the *exaposteilaria* Constantine used the political (fifteen-syllable) verse, sporadically encountered in his father's *stavrotheotokia*.⁷⁵ These are among the earliest hymnographic texts in this metre. It should be noted in this context that in the case of Canon B, Cosmas's canon, which provided Constantine with *heirmoi*, had also been of interest to Leo, who had composed his own *heirmos* for ode 9 (Μέδοντι θεοστέπτω).⁷⁶

Indeed, as mentioned above, no other emperor had composed any kind of hymns after Justinian and the iconoclast Theophilus,⁷⁷ while no other emperor had composed church sermons since Constantine the Great.⁷⁸ It was the task of Emperors Leo the Wise and Constantine Porphyrogenitus to propagate their own piety, rejoice in the restoration of imperial orthodoxy, and diffuse its messages to the people at large.⁷⁹

⁷³ Constantine provides the *heirmos* of Leo's *troparion*, though not the text; see *De Cer.* I 30 (21), ed. by Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, pp. 114–15; English translation in Moffatt – Tall, *The book of Ceremonies*, I, p. 123. This *troparion* is considered lost; see Alygizakis, 'Η βασιλική Ἵμνογραφία', pp. 219–20.

⁷⁴ The *exaposteilaria* followed by the respective later *theotokia* (on which, see above, n. 52) are sung before Leo's *eothina*; see *Παρακλητική ἤτοι Ὁκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη* (Rome, 1885), pp. 706–12.

⁷⁵ See Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ἕμνογραφία*, pp. 31, 69.

⁷⁶ Eustratiades, *Εἰρμολόγιον*, p. 225, no. 322; Follieri, *Initia*, II, p. 394.

⁷⁷ See above, n. 51.

⁷⁸ Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of Leo VI*, pp. 41, 105.

⁷⁹ On Leo's and Constantine's role in shaping a new Orthodox culture for Byzantium, see Paul Magdalino, 'Orthodoxy and Byzantine Cultural Identity', in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Byzantium*, ed. by Antonio Rigo – Pavel Ermilov, Quaderni di 'Néa 'Póμη', 4 (Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, 2010), pp. 21–40 (pp. 34–35); Paul Magdalino, 'Knowledge in Authority and Authorised History: The Imperial Intellectual Programme of Leo VI and Constantine VII', in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. by Pamela Armstrong (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 187–209 (pp. 191–92), where, however, a list of works published under Constantine's name leaves hymnography unmentioned. On the religious dimension of Leo's work, including his hymnography, from another perspective, see Theodora Antonopoulou, 'Emperor Leo VI the Wise and the "First Byzantine Humanism": On the Quest for Renovation and Cultural Synthesis', in *Le Premier humanisme byzantin et les Études sur le XI^e siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, ed. by Bernard Flusin – Jean-Claude Cheynet (= *Travaux et Mémoires*, 21/2) (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2017), pp. 187–234.

Hymns and homilies were the best means to do so, when the people attended church and gathered in scores to celebrate the feasts.⁸⁰ Constantine was less vociferous than his father in this respect, but no less conscious and determined in his efforts.

Canon A: Contents, Metre, and Principles of the Edition

In the following, Canon A will be edited critically for the first time. By way of a summary, the canon develops as follows. It begins with setting the target of today's gathering as the praise of the wise Chrysostom (ode 1, trop. 1), God's priest, whom the poet asks for forgiveness of his sins (trop. 2). He goes on to compare John's tongue with a fount bringing forth sweet rivers and irrigating souls with the water of salvation (trop. 3). The state of the church, which has been deprived of the light of the saint due to envy (a reference to his exile), is compared with a night (ode 3, trop. 1). John ministered to both the material and immaterial needs of the people (trop. 2). The Saviour's economy is incomprehensible, for He allows the chosen ones to suffer temptations and injustice (trop. 3). The saint's life was compatible with his wise words, in accordance with the Lord's law (ode 4, trop. 1). By mortifying his body and keeping his mind inaccessible to passions, John became easily accessible to the Word (trop. 2). He taught people not to be bound to riches and rather to feed the poor in order to gain eternal wealth (trop. 3). His divine desire led him to attach no importance to the senses and to be completely devoted to Christ (ode 5, trop. 1). As a good shepherd and not a hired hand, he guided his flock with moderation and gave up his soul for them (trop. 2). By pursuing virtue and avoiding vice through the fear of God, he found healing for his body (trop. 3). The envious gathered and illegally deprived him of his throne, instead of which he was received by the throne of the Glory (ode 6, trop. 1). He spoke words not of flattery but of salvation, real rivers of graces, which caused the church to flourish like a vine or a lily (trop. 2). Scriptural descriptions of righteousness and wisdom were fulfilled by him (trop. 3). The human heart is not tired of his words, which are sweet like honey (ode 7, trop. 1). As a herald of repentance,

⁸⁰ On the political-ideological function of homilies, see Theodora Antonopoulou, 'Beyond Religion: Homilies as Conveyor of Political Ideology in Middle Byzantium', in *Ideologies and Identities in the Medieval Byzantine World. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Vienna 16–17 April 2015*, ed. by Yannis Stouraitis, Millenium Studies (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, [forthcoming]).

he is asked to act as the warm mediator for us sinners with God (trop. 2), he who is a new Paul and an affectionate mother in his fiery care of the world (trop. 3). As head of the church he was a vigilant guardian of both the fallen and the upright (ode 8, trop. 1). He drove away the illness of avarice, preaching that poverty alone, the mother of philosophy, makes entrance through the narrow gate to the kingdom of God possible (trop. 2). He is like a cloud shedding dew on those parched by sin and thirsty for the hope of salvation. He opened up to all the gate of repentance (trop. 3). Now he sees the beauty of that which, when still in this world, he only saw the rays, and which was his sweet nourishment (ode 9, trop. 1). He was attacked by storms of temptations and was sentenced to exile because the unjust could not bear the just, but now he dwells in the heavenly metropolis as a just reward for his toils (trop. 2). Now he cohabitates with St Paul, whom he ardently loved, together with whom he is asked to mediate for us (trop. 3).

It should be noted that, despite the third person used in the summary above, the poet constantly addresses the saint in the second person as is also the case with his addresses to the Saviour and the Theotokos. The *theotokia* that conclude the odes are all first-person prayers of the poet, who acknowledges the role of the Theotokos in the Incarnation and asks her for help in his exasperated struggle against the passions of his soul and the Evil One and for salvation from his sins. These prayers should be taken as a typical expression of Christian concerns.

The canon contains only general references to events and themes in John Chrysostom's life, focusing on the period he was archbishop of Constantinople, as known from history, hagiography and his own writings. The text stresses his preaching activity, personal virtue, asceticism, fight against avarice, promotion of almsgiving, admiration of and preoccupation with St Paul, as well as the unjust war waged by his enemies against him, which led to his final exile and, ultimately, his death. Significantly for an imperial poet, there is no hint either at John's clash with the imperial couple or at the avarice of Empress Eudoxia, which is said to have made her a bitter enemy of the archbishop. Only generic mention of his enemies is made, as is also to be expected given the laudatory, non-narrative nature of a canon. Certain metaphors and vocabulary are recurring, notably the rivers of John's speech with their water of salvation, as well as his wisdom and golden words.

The traditional connection of the odes with the respective biblical canticles is loose and mostly indirect, if it exists at all, with the exception of

ode 8, where the quotation from Daniel is obvious. Any lexical references to the canticles are indicated with a *v(ide) cant(icum)* in the *app. font.*

With regard to the rhythmotonic metre employed, a certain freedom is noticeable with regard to the requirements of both isosyllaby and homotony in comparison to the *heirmoi*. First, the poet makes use of the common option of anisosyllabic but musically equivalent cola, adding or detracting a final accented syllable.⁸¹ This practice is evident in ode 5, verse no. 4, which has 12 syllables in *troparia* 1 (two cola of 6+6 syllables) and 3 (7+5 syllables), but 13 (6+7) syllables in *troparia* 2 and 4 with an accent on the thirteenth syllable, corresponding to a verse of 13 syllables of the *heirmos* (a combination of two cola of 8+5 syllables) with a final accented syllable. The addition of an extra accented syllable at the end is encountered at v. 124 and v. 200 (See also below in this paragraph, on v. 162, as well as the *app. cr.* on v. 98). Second, the poet feels free to add or detract one or two syllables in comparison to the *heirmos* and adjust the accents accordingly, thus presenting variations which become the norm, as is often the case in hymnography.⁸² Accordingly, the last three verses of the *troparia* of ode 4 present the following variations on the *heirmos*: verse no. 5 is made up of 10 syllables in trop. 1, 2 and 3 (accents on 2–6–9), while in trop. 4 it has 12 syllables (accents on 2–6–11), which corresponds to the combination of two cola (7+5 syllables) of the *heirmos* (accents on 2–6–8–11); verse no. 6 has always 9 syllables (accents on 1–5–7) instead of 11 in the *heirmos* (accents on 5–7–11); and verse no. 7 has 9 syllables in trop. 1, 3 and 4 (accents on 2–7), but 13 in trop. 2 (accents on 2–6–11), instead of 11 in the *heirmos* (accents on 3–6–9). As a result, in the latter verse of ode 4, trop. 2 (v. 66), the word *σωτηρίαν*, which is also required by the content, is preserved in the edition. For comparable reasons, the extra, emphatic word *αὐτός* at v. 234 has been preserved, although its deletion would render the verse metrically sound (14 syllables with accents on 1–5–9–13 instead of 16 syllables with accents on 1–5–7–11–15). Third, a combination of the two kinds of variation discussed so far occurs at the last verse of the *troparia* of ode 7. Whereas the corresponding verse of the *heirmos* has 9 syllables with accents on 3–6–9, in trop. 2 the verse in question (v. 162) sheds the last accented syllable to become an eight-syllable verse (accents on 3–6), while in the other three *troparia* the verse has ten syllables with accents on 4–8.

⁸¹ See Mitsakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἑμνογραφία*, pp. 319–20.

⁸² See Mitsakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἑμνογραφία*, pp. 320–22.

The edition of the Canon is based on both codices (*P* and *S*) that contain it. Their scribes are careful to indicate the colons with an admirable consistency, even if with occasional errors. The points separating the colons in the codices are used at the expense of any syntactical punctuation, which was not of help to the singing of the hymns. This system is not followed in the edition, where colons are, in principle, reproduced on separate lines as verses. The present practice, which is common though not universal in editions of canons, allows for the introduction of punctuation in order to facilitate the reading, while helping the reader to better control the rhythmotonic rules.

In both manuscripts, enclitics are mainly used according to traditional rules with the exception of the loss of the accent of the enclitic following a properispomenon (v. 27; cf. v. 52 with app. cr.), which is usual in hymnography. Moreover, τέ retains its accent in all cases (with the single exception of *S* alone at v. 227), without consequences for the accentual pattern of the canon. At v. 46 σοῦ keeps its accent for the sake of both the metre and the syntax. These peculiarities have been preserved in the edition. The 2007 edition is mentioned in the app. cr. only when it departs from its manuscript basis (*P*), simple orthographic corrections are excluded.

Imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti

Canon in S. Ioannem Chrysostomum

Abbreviationes in apparatibus adhibitae

<i>P</i>	cod. <i>Paris. gr. 1570</i> , fols 70 ^r –73 ^v
<i>S</i>	cod. <i>Sinait. gr. 644</i> , fols 137 ^v –49 ^v
Pap	Papadakis, <i>Ἄιδιος τιμή</i> , II, pp. 126–28 (supra, n. 6)
CP	Christ – Paranikas, <i>Anthologia</i> (supra, n. 25)
EE	Eustratiades, <i>Εἰρημολόγιον</i> (supra, n. 25)
Follieri	Follieri, <i>Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae</i> (supra, n. 19)

Κανὼν οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς·
 Ἰωάννη, φρούρει μμε σὸν Κωνσταντίνον.
 Κωνσταντίνου δεσπότη
 ἤχ. πλ. β'.

1 Κανών] εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα *praem. P*, ἕτερος κανῶν (*sic*) τοῦ ἁγίου *S*; *cf. S, fol 130'* ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἔσπερινῷ 2 με σὸν *PS* Κωνσταντίνου Δεσπότης *ad finem acrostichidis add. Pap 3] om. S*, Ποίημα *praem. Pap*

Ωιδὴ α'. Ως ἐν ἠπειρῷ πεζεύσας ὁ Ἰσραήλ

Ἰερωτάτη χορεία τῶν εὐσεβῶν
 συνελθοῦσα σήμερον,
 ἐπαινείτω τὸν σεπτὸν
 καὶ σοφὸν Χρυσόστομον, τὸ γῆς
 5 καὶ θαλάσσης ἀληθῶς
 θεῖον καλλώπισμα.

Ἵς ἱερέα Θεοῦ σε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 δεδομένον ἔχοντα
 τὸ καὶ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν
 10 ἁμαρτίας, λύσιν τῶν πολλῶν
 καὶ ἀμέτρων μου κακῶν
 αἰτῶ Χρυσόστομε.

Ἄπο τῆς γλώττης καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς
 ἱερεῖ Χρυσόστομε
 15 ποταμοὺς μελισταγεῖς
 ἀναβλύσας, εὐφρανας λαοὺς
 καὶ ἐπότισας ψυχὰς
 ὕδωρ σωτήριον.

Θ. Νύμφην Θεοῦ σε γινώσκων τὴν καθαρὰν
 20 – ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἀνέτειλεν
 ἰλαρὸν φῶς τοῖς πιστοῖς –,
 ἱκετεύω πρόσθηθι ψυχῆς
 ἁμαρτίαις σὸν ὕδωρ
 λυπούσης ἄμετρα.

hirm. α' EE, p. 159, num. 224 Ἀναστάσιμος. Ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ; *cf. Follieri, V/1, pp. 166–67*

4/5 (γῆς ... θαλάσσης) v. cant. Ex. 15, 1. 4. 8. 10 et 12 9/10 *cf. Mt. 18, 18; 16, 19 18 v. cant. Ex. 15, 2 et 8. 10 21* (ἰλαρὸν φῶς) *cf. hymnum Φῶς ἰλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης, ed. CP, p. 40*

4 σοφὸν] σεπτὸν *S* τὸ] τῆς *S* 9 τὸ καὶ λύειν] διαλύειν *S* 17 ἐπότησας *P* 19 γινώσκω *S*

Ωιδὴ γ'. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς σὺ

- 25 Νυκτὶ ὁμοίωτο Χριστοῦ
ἐκκλησία θεόφρον,
τὸν φωστήρα σε ταύτης
ζημιωθεῖσα· καὶ γὰρ
πλουτεῖν τοσοῦτοις καλοῖς
30 ταύτην πλεόν
ὁ φθόνος οὐκ ἤνεγκεν.

- Ἡ χεῖρ σου ἤνοικτο* παντὶ
τῷ αἰτοῦντι πλουσίως,
ἢ δὲ γλώσσα θεόφρον
35 ἐψάμιζε τοὺς πιστοὺς
οὐ φθειρομένην τροφήν·
καὶ γὰρ εἶχες
ἀμφοτέρων πρόνοιαν.

- Φρικτὴ καὶ ἄρρητος ἡ σὴ*
40 Σῶτερ οἰκονομία,
δι' ἣν οὕτως ἀνέχη
πυροῦσθαι τοῖς πειρασμοῖς,
τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου ψυχάς,
καὶ ἀδίκων
45 χερσὶ παραδίδοσθαι.

- Θ. *Ῥανίδα* σοῦ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν
ἐπιστάξασα κόρη,
τῶν παθῶν μου τὴν φλόγα
κατάσβεσον, καὶ πυρός,
50 ὃ τρέφει μου τῶν κακῶν
ὑλη πάσα,
ρύσαι με πανάμωμε.

hirm. γ' EE, p. 159, num. 224 Ἀναστάσιμος. Ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, III, p. 219

29 (πλουτεῖν) v. cant. I Regn. 2, 7 32 cf. Deut. 15, 8. 11 cum Ps. 144, 16 35/36 cf. Sap. 16, 20 46 ('Ῥανίδα – οἰκτιρμῶν) cf. Rom. Mel., cant. 52, 14, 1, ed. P. Maas – C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi cantica: cantica genuina* (Oxford, 1963), p. 452: Ῥανίδα μόνην τῶν σῶν οἰκτιρμῶν; Rom. Mel. (?), Cant. Nini-ve, 14, 1, ed. in appendice J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode. Hymnes, I. Ancien Testament (I–VIII)*, SC, 99 (Paris, 1965), p. 424

25 ὁμοίωτο *S* 27 φωστήρα σε] *sic accent. PS*, φωστήρᾶ σε *Pap* 30 πλέων *S* 42
πειροῦσθαι *S* 46 Ῥαννίδα *S* σου] *sic accent. PS*, σου *Pap* 52 ῤύσαι με *S*, ῤύσαι με
P forsan m. gr., sed cf. v. 27

Ῥιδὴ δ' . Προκατιδῶν ὁ προφήτης

- Ἄλογος πάσης σοφίας
πεπληρωμένους τὲ καὶ συνέσεως,
55 ὁ βίος δὲ τῷ λόγῳ σου
σύμφωνος αἰεί,
τῷ νόμῳ τὲ στοιχῶν τοῦ δεσπότου,
ὅθεν καὶ λαλῶν ἐδίδασκες,
καὶ βίῳ νουθετῶν ἐπειθες.
- 60 Ὑπαιάζων τὸ σῶμα,
καὶ τὴν στενὴν ὀδεύειν ἐλόμενος,
νοῦν τὲ φυλάττων πάθεισιν
ἄβρατον σοφέ,
τῷ Λόγῳ εὐεπίβρατον ἔθου.
- 65 ὅθεν θεοφόρος γέγονας,
καὶ κόσμῳ σωτηρίαν ἑκαρποφόρησας.

- «Ῥέοντι πλούτῳ» διδάσκων
«μὴ» δ' ὄλωσ μάκαρ «προστίθεσθαι»,
πᾶσιν ἀνοίγειν ἔλεγες
70 χεῖρα δαψιλῶς,
καὶ «σπεῖρειν εἰς πενήτων γαστέρας»·
οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰώνιον
«θερίσομεν» καὶ ἀνώλεθρον.

- Θ. Ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος κόρη
75 τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ῤέπω τὰ ὄμματα·
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐξησθένησεν
ἄλλη μοι ἐλπίς,
καὶ πρόκειμαι εἰς ἄρπαγμα τοῦ ζητοῦντος.
Βλέψον εὐμενεῖ τῷ ὄμματι,
80 καὶ θᾶττον κακῶν ῤυσθήσομαι.

hirm. δ' EE, p. 163, num. 229 Τῇ ἀγία καὶ Μεγάλῃ Πέμπτη. Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ
μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, III, p. 355

53/54 cf. Coloss. 1, 9 55/57 cf. ex. gr. Mt. 7, 21–23; Ep. Iac. 2, 14–26 60 cf. I
Cor. 9, 27 61 cf. Mt. 7, 13–14; Lc. 13, 24; infra, v. 186 66 v. cant. Habac. 3,

13 67/68 cf. Ps. 61, 11 cum Greg. Naz., Or. 14, 34, *PG* 35, col. 904B2–3 μήτε πλούτῳ ῥέοντι προστιθώμεθα καρδίᾳ; Or. 33, 7, 18–19, ed. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours* 32–37. Introduction, texte critique et notes par C. Moreschini. Traduction par P. Gallay, SC, 318 (Paris, 1985), p. 172; cf. Ioh. Chrys., In Act. Ap., Hom. 29, 4, *PG* 60, col. 219, 24–25 69/70 cf. Deut. 15, 8. 11 cum Ps. 144, 16; supra, v. 32 71/73 cf. Ioh. Chrys., In Gen., Hom. 20, 4, *PG* 53, col. 174, 28–31 Ἐκχέωμεν τοίνυν, παρακαλῶ, τὰ ἀποκείμενα εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων γαστέρας, καὶ σπείρωμεν ὡς ἔτι καιρός, ἵνα εἰς τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν θερίσωμεν

54 et 57 tē] *sic accent. PS*, τε *Pap* 59 ἀνέπειθες *S* 60 Ὑποπιάζων *S* 62 tē] *sic accent. PS*, τε *Pap* 68 μηδόλως *S* 71 γαστέρα *S* 78 πρόκειμε *S* 79 τῷ] με *S*, *forsan recte* 80 θᾶττον] θάνατον *S*

Ὡιδὴ ε΄. Τῷ θείῳ φέγγει σου ἀγαθὴ

Τμέρῳ θείῳ μάκαρ πληγείς
φρένα καὶ καρδίαν καὶ ψυχὴν,
πᾶν αἰσθητὸν ἐξουδένωσας,
καὶ Χριστῷ κολλᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἠγάπησας,
85 Χριστὸν λαλῶν καὶ πνέων
καὶ φανταζόμενος.

Μετρίῳ πνεύματι καὶ πραεῖ
τὸ παρὰ Χριστοῦ σοι πιστευθὲν
ποιμαίνων ὅσιε ποιμνιον,
90 μισθωτὸς οὐκ ὤφθης, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ψυχὴν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προθύμως
μάκαρ τιθέμενος.

Μεταδιώκων τὴν ἀρετὴν,
πᾶσαν δὲ κακίαν ἐκκλίνων
95 φόβῳ Κυρίου θεσπέσιε,
εὗρες ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς ὀστέοις σου
καὶ ἴασιν τῷ ὄντι
μάκαρ τῷ σώματι.

Θ. Ἐλήσόν μου τὴν ἐμπαθὴ
100 καὶ φιλαμαρτήμονα ψυχὴν
παρθένε μόνη πανύμνητε,
καὶ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ ἐπισκοπῇ σου σεμνή,
κατὰ παθῶν ἰσχύν μοι
καὶ σθένος ἔμπνευσον.

hirm. ε' EE, p. 159, num. 224 Ἀναστάσιμος. Ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, IV, pp. 329-30

84 (Χριστῷ κολλᾶσθαι) cf. Ps. 72, 28 89/92 cf. Ioh. 10, 11-15 94/95 cf. Prov. 15, 27a 95 v. etiam cant. Is. 26, 17 96/98 cf. Prov. 3, 8

84 κολᾶσθαι *S* 89 ποιμαίνον *S* 91 προθύμος *S* 98 σώματί σου *P Pap* 102 τῆ] τι *S*, *om.* *Pap*

Ἰδιὴ στίγμα. Συνεσχέθη, ἀλλ' οὐ κατεσχέθη

- 105 Συνελθόντες
οἱ μὴ μετελθόντες
Πνεύματι Θεοῦ τὸ πραχθέν,
ψυχῆς δὲ μᾶλλον φθόνῳ
ᾠδινήσαντες παρανομίαν,
110 τοῦ κάτω θρόνου
δυσμενῶς ἀπώσαντο.
ἀλλὰ θρόνος σε τῆς ἄνω δόξης
ἀνθυπεδέξατο
καὶ σκηνὴ νοητή,
115 ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἐπήξατο.

- Οὐ θωπείας,
ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας
λόγους ἐξηρεύξω σοφέ.
σὺ γὰρ ἀνοιξας στόμα,
120 πνεῦμα εἴλκυσας θεοσοφίας,
δι' οὐ χαρίτων
ποταμοὶ προχέοντες,
ὥσπερ ἄμπελον εὐκληματοῦσαν
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ
125 καὶ ὡς κρίνον ἀνθοῦν
ἔδειξαν, καρπὸν ζωῆς βλαστάνουσαν.

- Ὄφθαλμοὶ σου
ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν σου
μάκαρ Ἰωάννη σοφέ,
130 αἱ τρίβοι σου εὐδείαι,
τὸ δὲ στόμα σου λαλοῦν σοφίαν,
καὶ ἡ μελέτη
τῆς καρδίας σύνεσιν.
ποταμοὶ δὲ σου ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας
135 ὄντως ἐξέρρευσαν,

ὑδωρ τὸ ζωτικὸν
πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς ἀεὶ προχέοντες.

- Θ. Νυττομένην
καὶ τιτρωσκομένην
140 βέλει τὴν ψυχὴν μου δεινῶ
παρθενομήτορ κόρη,
τοῦ διψῶντος ἀνελεῖν ἔχθροῦ με,
καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μου
καθελεῖν σπουδάζοντος,
145 προκατάλαβε αὐτὴ καὶ ῥύσαι,
καὶ τὰ δυσίατα
τραύματα μαλακῆ
κόρη ἐπιθέσει σου θεράπευσον.

hirm. ζ' EE, p. 164, num. 231 Τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ Μεγάλῳ Σαββάτῳ. Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, III, p. 583

111 (ἀπώσαντο) v. cant. Ion. 2, 5 112 cf. ex. gr. I Regn. 2, 8; Mt. 19, 28 114/15
cf. Hebr. 8, 2 119/20 (ἀνοιξας – εἴλκυσας) cf. Ps. 118, 131 120 (πνεῦμα ...
θεοσοφίας) cf. Eph. 1, 17 122 (ποταμοὶ) v. cant. Ion. 2, 4 123 et 126 cf. Ioh. 15,
1–2. 4–5 125 cf. Is. 35, 1; Os. 14, 6; Sir. 39, 14 127/29 cf. Eccl. 2, 14 τοῦ σοφοῦ
οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ 130 cf. ex. gr. Is. 40, 3; Mt. 3, 3; Mc. 1, 3; Lc.
3, 4; Ps. 26, 11 131/33 cf. Ps. 48, 4 134/36 cf. Ioh. 7, 38

108] φθόνῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ψυχῆς P (contra metrum), φθόνῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ψυχὴν Pap
111 ἀπώσαντο] ἐξώθησαν S; cf. app. font. ad versum 112 σὲ Pap 114 σκηνῆ
νοητῆ P 145 αὐτῆ S

Ἰδιὴ ζ'. Οἱ παῖδες ἐν Βαβυλῶνι

- Κόρος οὐκ ἔστι καρδίαις
150 ἐν ἡδονῇ τῶν ῥημάτων σου
Ἰωάννη σοφέ,
θεῖον στόμα
καὶ χρυσοῦν καὶ πολύφθογγον.
ὡς ἐν τρυφῇ γὰρ μέλιτος
155 οἱ ὁμιλοῦντες κατευφραίνονται.

Ὡς κήρυκα μετανοίας,
οἱ παίσμασιν ἐνεχόμενοι,
πρὸς Θεόν σε θερμὸν
Ἰωάννη

- 160 πρεσβευτήν προβαλλόμεθα,
καταλλαγὴν αἰτούμενοι
καὶ πταισμάτων συγχώρησιν.
- Νέος τις Παῦλος ἐδείχθης,
κοινήν τοῦ κόσμου προμήθειαν
- 165 ἐμβαλῶν σεαυτόν,
καὶ ὡς μήτηρ
ἐπὶ τέκνοις φιλόστοργος
τὴν σὴν καρδίαν ὅσιν
κοιναῖς φροντίσιν ἐκपुरούμενος.
- 170 Θ. Σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα ῥυπώσας
ὀρμαῖς ἀτόποις καὶ πράξεσι
– παρεζήλωσα γὰρ
ἐπ’ ἀλόγοις
ἡδοναῖς ὧν εὐάλωτος –,
- 175 σοῦ τῆς πανάγνου δέομαι
τῆς διὰ σοῦ τυχεῖν καθάρσεως.

hirm. ζ' EE, p. 163, num. 229 Τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ Μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ. Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, III, p. 60

156 cf. Lc. 24, 47 169 (ἐκपुरούμενος) v. Dan. 3, speciatim 8–25. 46–50. 88

149 *litteram initialem E habet S a. corr.* καρδίας S 163 τῖς] *scripsi*, τῖς PS, τῖς Pap 165 σεαυτόν] σὲ αὐτῷ S 168] καρδίαν σου χρυσόστομε S 169 κιναῖς S φροντίσι Pap

Ἰδιὴ ἡ'. *Νόμων πατρῶν οἱ μακαριστοί*

- Τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάμενος,
καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγρύπνως τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
ἀκατάπαυστον ποιοῦμενος,
- 180 ὡς σκοπὸς τεθειμένος,
τοῖς πεπτωκόσι
χεῖρα βοηθείας παρεῖχες,
τοῖς ἐστῶσιν ἀσφάλειαν
τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν ἐδίδους,
- 185 «Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε» διδάσκων,
«καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
<εἰς πάντα τοὺς αἰῶνας>».

Ἀποδιῶξαι πᾶσαν ἔσπευσας
 «φιλαργυρίας νόσον» χρυσεῖς λόγοις σου,
 190 τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεικνὺς ἐκπίπτοντας
 τοὺς χρυσῶ κολλωμένους,
 «τὴν δὲ πενίαν,
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας μητέρα»,
 χωρητὴν ὡς ἀπέριττον
 195 τῆς ζωῆς ταῖς εἰσόδους·
 στενὴ γὰρ σωτηρίας ἡ πύλη,
 καὶ βιαζομένων
 Χριστοῦ ἡ βασιλεία.

Νεφέλη ὠφθης δρόσον στάζουσα
 200 τοῖς ἀμαρτίας καύσωνι ξηρανθεῖσι δεινῶς
 καὶ λαβεῖν διψῶσιν ὅσπερ
 σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα·
 τῆς μετανοίας
 πᾶσι γὰρ διήνοιξας θύραν,
 205 ἀπογνώσεως λύεις δὲ
 τὴν κατῆφειαν πᾶσαν,
 «Τὸν Κύριον» διδάσκων «ὑμνεῖτε
 καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
 <εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας>».

210 Θ. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ σωτήριον
 ἐκ σοῦ Θεοκυήτορ πᾶσιν ἐπέλαμψε,
 τῶ τεκόντι Λόγος σύνθρονος·
 ἀμαρτωλοὺς καλέσαι
 τοῦτον αἰτοῦσα
 215 πᾶναγνε – καὶ γὰρ οἱ μητρικοὶ
 τὸ θαρρεῖν νόμοι νέμουσι –,
 πολλῶν χρεῶν με λύσον,
 «Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε» διδάσκων,
 <<καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
 220 εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας>>.

hirm. η' EE, p. 163, num. 229 Τῆ ἁγία καὶ Μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ. Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ; cf. Follieri, II, p. 528

185/87 cf. cant. Dan. 3, 57–88 189/90 cf. Ioh. Chrys., ex. gr. In Mt. hom. 8o, 4, PG 58, col. 730, 34–35; 3, col. 728, 13–14 192/93 cf. Ioh. Chrys., Expos. in Psalmum IV, 11, PG 55, col. 57, 41–42 ἡ δὲ πενία φιλοσοφίας ἐστὶ μήτηρ 196 cf. Mt. 7, 13–14; Lc. 13, 24 cum app. cr.; supra, v. 61 197/98 cf. Lc. 16, 16 199

(δρόσον) v. Dan. 3, 50 207/09 supra, vv. 185/87 210 cf. ex. gr. Lc. 2, 30; 3, 6 213 cf. Mt. 9, 13; Mc. 2, 17; Lc. 5, 32 218/20 supra, vv. 185/87. 207/09

184 ἐδίδως *S a. corr.* 185 διδάσκων] κραυγάζων *S* 188 Ἀπωδιώξει *S a. corr.* 194 χωρητήν] καὶ *praem. P* 197 βειαιζομένων *S* 200 τοῖς] τῆς *S* 207 διδάσκων ὑμνεῖτε] ὑμνήτε κραυγάζων *S* 208 *post* καὶ *fin. S* 216 νόμον *S* 218 *post* ὑμνεῖτε *fin. P* διδάσκων] *scripsi* (*pro* διδάσκουσα, *m. gr.*), κραυγά(ζων) *S*; *cf. supra*, vv. 185, 207 *post* κραυγά(ζων) *fin. S*

Ὡιδὴ θ'. Ἀπορεῖ πᾶσα γλῶσσα

Ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνο
 νῦν κατηξιώθης τὸ κάλλος,
 οὐ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ
 ἔτι περιῶν ἐδέχου πάτερ τὰς ἀκτίνας,
 225 καὶ τῆς ἠδονῆς βαλλόμενος
 τῷ θεῖῳ κέντρῳ,
 τοῦτο γλυκεῖαν εἶχες τροφήν τὲ καὶ ζωήν·
 οὐπερ
 καὶ μετασχεῖν σαῖς πρεσβείαις
 230 ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσον.

«Νιφάδες» ὄλαι
 «πειρασμῶν» σοι μάκαρ ἐπήλθον,
 καὶ κατεκρίθης,
 οὐ μὴ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀντάξιός ὁ κόσμος, ἐξορίαν
 235 – δύσχρηστος γὰρ ἦν ὁ δίκαιος
 τοῖς ἀνομοῦσιν –
 ἀλλὰ σε νῦν ἡ ἄνω μητρόπολις σοφὲ
 φέρει,
 τοὺς πρὸς ἀξίαν τῶν πόνων
 240 μισθοὺς καρπούμενον.

Ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος
 ἔχει σε τανῦν συνοικοῦντα,
 πρὸς ὃν ἀμέτρῳ
 φίλτρῳ τὴν ψυχὴν διεξεκαύθης – εἰ καὶ «πλατεῖαν»
 245 εἶχες «τὴν καρδίαν» ὅσιε,
 «ἄλλ' ὅμως» ταύτην
 ἐστενοχώρει βίαιος πόθος καὶ θερμός –
 ὄνπερ
 συμπρεσβευτὴν ἔχων μάκαρ,
 250 ἡμῶν μνημόνευε.

- Θ. Νομοθεσίας
 πάσης ἀμελήσαντα θείας,
 καὶ μοχθηρίας
 ὄλον ἑμαυτὸν ὡς παραδόντα μὴ παρίδης.
 255 σοῦ γὰρ τῆς μεγίστης πάναγνε
 κατὰ τοσαύτης
 ἁμαρτιῶν δυνάμεως δέομαι ῥοπῆς.
 Σπεῦσον
 καὶ προκατάλαβε μόνη
 260 κόσμου βοήθεια.

hirm. θ' CP, p. 172 Εἰς τὰ Θεοφάνεια. <Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ>; cf. Follieri, I, p. 159

231/32 cf. Ioh. Chrys., ex. gr. In Mt. hom. 33, 7, PG 57, col. 396, 48–49; In ep. ad Rom. hom. 31, 2, PG 60, col. 669, 45–46 234 cf. Hebr. 11, 38 244/47 cf. Ioh. Chrys., In ep. ad Rom. hom. 32, 3, PG 60, col. 679, 52–58 Αὕτη οὕτω πλατεία ἡ καρδία ἦν, ὡς καὶ πόλεις ὀλοκλήρους δέχεσθαι καὶ δήμους καὶ ἔθνη. Ἡ καρδία γὰρ μου, φησί, πεπλάτνται (II Cor. 6, 11). Ἄλλ' ὅμως τὴν οὕτω πλατείαν συνέσχε πολλάκις καὶ ἔθλιψεν ἢ εὐρύνουσα αὐτὴν ἀγάπη. Ἐκ γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως, φησί, καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ταύτην (II Cor. 2, 4) 244/45 cf. II Cor. 6, 11

224 πᾶτερ] om. P 227 τροφὴν τε S 232 μάκαρ] πᾶτερ S 234 αὐτὸς] an m. gr. delendum? 235 δύσχρυστος ... ἦν S 237 ἀλλὰ σέ S 244 διεξεκαύθει P εἰ] om. S 245 τὴν] γὰρ P 249 μάκαρ] πᾶτερ S 253 μοχθορίας S

Abstract

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus is an illustrious name in the short yet notable tradition of Greek hymnography produced by Byzantine emperors. The present study examines the case of three canons, which may be attributed to him. The first two concern St John Chrysostom and the third St Demetrios. Following a brief presentation of the manuscript tradition of each of the canons, several issues related to them are discussed, with a focus on the problem of their authorship and the framework of their composition. Subsequently, the first canon, whose authenticity emerges as certain, is dealt with in more detail and is edited critically for the first time on the basis of the two manuscripts that contain it.

Translations and Paraphrases of Liturgical Poetry in Late Byzantine Thessalonica*

In this paper, I will discuss the production of metrical translations and verse paraphrases of liturgical poetry in Late Byzantine Thessalonica. I will focus, in particular, on the text of two groups of such paraphrases of the eight Doxastika Theotokia of the Aposticha chanted towards the end of Saturday Vespers.¹ These are hymns traditionally ascribed to John the monk, who in all probability is to be identified with John of Damascus.² The poet addresses the Virgin Mary and praises her for her seedless birth, according to the teaching of the Orthodox Church.

* I wish to express my gratitude to Professors E. M. Jeffreys, M. D. Lauxtermann, A. Giannouli, I. Pérez Martín, as well as S. Antonopoulos, D. Conomos and D. Strategopoulos for their useful comments and support.

¹ These eight Theotokia, each of which was assigned for the appointed musical mode of the week, are to be found in the book of the Oktoechos or Parakletike on Saturday Vespers, the service during which they are typically chanted. According to the Orthodox Christian calendar of the Byzantine Rite, this sequence begins on the first Saturday after the Sunday of All Saints. For their text, which is scattered in the eight modes, see *Παρακλητική, ἥτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἢ Μεγάλη* (Rome: 1885), p. 4; pp. 101–02; p. 187; p. 274; p. 364; p. 452; p. 535, and p. 618.

² Yet, as is the case with hymns attributed to John the monk, their authorship is far from certain. The obvious reason is that the name ‘John’ is very common and certain works by ‘John the monk’ attributed to John of Damascus are probably not his. The initial letter of each Theotokion forms an acrostic, which however points to John the monk: Ἰωάννου α. The letter ‘α’ either preceding or following a name was a common Byzantine abbreviation for μοναχοῦ. K. Mamoukas (nineteenth century) was the first to notice the existence of the acrostic in the Theotokia, and he used it in support of the Damascene authorship. On this, see K. Sathas, *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν* (Venice: Τύποις τοῦ Φοίνικος, 1878), p. ρ4η; this has been repeated after him elsewhere; see e.g. G. Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς* (Athens, Τυπογραφεῖον Κουσουλίνου καὶ Ἀθανασιάδου, 1890), p. 197; P. Gritsanis, *Στιχογραφικὴ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς νεωτέρας ἑλληνικῆς ποιήσεως καὶ ἀντιπαράθεσις τῶν στίχων ταύτης πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας μετὰ σχετικῆς προσθήκης περὶ τοῦ ρυθμοῦ τῆς ὑμνογραφίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἑλληνικῆς ἐκκλησίας* (Alexandria: Τυπογραφεῖον τοῦ «ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ» Γ. Τηρίου, 1891), p. 155; P. Trempelas, *Ἐκλογή ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας* (Athens: Σωτήρ, 1978), p. 289. Mamoukas’ interpretation is corroborated by Byzantine manuscripts. Par. gr. 263 (fourteenth century), fol. 139^v. reads: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Θεοτοκίοις ἢ ἀκροστιχίς Ἰωάννου (μον) αχ(οῦ). Cf. also Sophronios Eustratiades, “Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα”, *Νέα Σιών*, 25 (1933), 11–25 (p. 21). On the identity of ‘John the monk’, see Wilhelm Weyh, ‘Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung’, *Byzantinische*

These eight Theotokia evidently attracted the interest of a group of scholars in Late Byzantium in Thessalonica, so that they translated and paraphrased the hymns into iambic twelve-syllable verse. This interest and translation activity was probably instigated on the basis of these hymns' perceived utility for educational purposes.³ We can easily infer, also, that

Zeitschrift, 17 (1908), 1–68 (pp. 46 ff.); Wolfgang Hörmann, 'Das Supplement der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek', in *XAAIKEΣ, Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress München, 15.–20. September 1958* (Munich: Dr F.P. Datterer & Cie, Freising, 1958), pp. 52–55; E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 237; Stephen Winkley, 'The Canons of John of Damascus to the Theotokos' (unpublished D Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1973), pp. 1.10, 1.11; Theodora Antonopoulou, 'A Kanon on Saint Nicholas by Manuel Philes', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 62 (2004), 197–213 (p. 199, esp. footnote 9); Alexander Lingas, 'Johannes Damascenos', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Fischer, 26 vols (Kassel: London: Bärenreiter: Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994–2008), IX (2003), cols 1086–1088. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to recognise whether there is a distinction between Damascenos and all other Johns; 'John the monk', 'John the humble monk', 'John Mauropous' (John of Euchaita), 'John Arklas', 'John Thek-aras', 'John the Thytes'. For John of Damascus as hymnographer, see W. Christ and M. Par- nikas (eds), *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871), pp. XLIV–XLVII; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, vol. 2, translated into Greek by G. Sotiriadis (Athens, Τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1900), pp. 558–62 (I am using the Greek translation here, and not the German original, for providing a fuller bibliography on John of Damascus); Casimir Émerau, 'Hymnographi Byzantini quorum nomina in litteras diges- sit notulisque adornavit', *Échos d'Orient*, 22 (1923), pp. 436–37; idem 'Hymnographi Byz- antini' *Échos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), pp. 196–97, Sophronios Eustratiades, 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα', *Νέα Σιών*, 26 (1931), pp. 385–401; J. Nasralach *Saint Jean de Damas: Son époque – sa vie – son oeuvre, Les souvenirs chrétiens de Damas*, 2 (Harissa: Saint Paul, 1950), pp. 152–54; N. Tomadakis, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ὑμνογραφία καὶ ποίησις ἤτοι εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν φιλολογίαν*, vol. 2 (Athens: ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφείου Ἀδελφῶν Μυρτίδη, 1965), pp. 212–16, Trempelas, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 287–310; J. Szövérfy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography: A classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies*, vol. 2 (Brookline, Mass and Leiden: Classical Folia, 1979), pp. 10–14; T. Detorakis, *Βυζαντινὴ θρησκευτικὴ ποίηση καὶ ὑμνογραφία*, 2nd ed. with additions (Herakleio, 1997), pp. 79–82, T. Detorakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία Β'* (Herakleio, 2003), pp. 311 ff.; A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)* (Athens: Εθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑρευνῶν, 1999), pp. 87–90; P. Chrestou, *Ἑλληνικὴ Πατρολογία, Τόμος Ε', Πρωτοβυζαντινὴ περίοδος ζ' καὶ θ' αἰῶνες*, second ed. (Thes- salonica: Κυρομάνος, 2006), pp. 659–63, and pp. 711–17; Theocharis Detorakis, 'Dogma e Lingua negli Inni Dogmatici di Giovanni di Damasco', in *Giovanni di Damasco un padre al sorgere dell'Islam, Atti del XIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodos- sa sezione bizantina, Bose, 11–13 settembre 2005, QiQajon*, ed. by Bernard Flusin, Sidney H. Griffith et al. (Comunita di Bose, 2006), pp. 257–76; D. Conomos, St S. Frøyshov and editors, 'John Damascene'. *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*. Canterbury Press. Web. 18 Feb. 2016. <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/j/john-damascene>.

³ For an accurate presentation of the metaphrasis in general within Christian con- texts, see Mary Whitby, 'Rhetorical Questions', in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. by Liz James (Oxford, Sussex: Willey-Blackwell, 2007), pp. 239–50, esp. pp. 248–49. Sometimes metrical paraphrases of miracles and generally hagiographical texts occur, cf. Stephanos

the paraphrasis was an intra-language poetic translation. As I will demonstrate below, the resulting text stands on its own rather as an independent piece of poetry, and not necessarily as a mere paraphrasis of the original.

At first glance, we can see that the manuscript tradition of those paraphrases is not unanimous, transmitting the texts anonymously (for the most part), or attributing the first group to ‘the great Pediasimos’, or the second group to the less known Demetrios Staphidakes—albeit not without contamination and/or variations. The nature of the manuscripts under discussion points to their function as school textbooks, since the paraphrases are always accompanied by interlinear glosses and epimerisms.⁴ Furthermore, MS EBE 2047 transmits the text of another paraphrasis, penned by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica. There, it is accompanied by rubrics and instructions for performance in Church, and its character shifts to liturgical usage. Our material indicates that in the region of Macedonia there was a continuous interest in translating the texts of these eight Theotokia, which originated in Thessalonica and lasted for at least two centuries.⁵

Efthymiadis, ‘Greek Byzantine Hagiography in Verse’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. by Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 161–79, esp. pp. 170–71; For translations and paraphrases of historiographical texts (such as Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates), see John Davis, ‘Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates “Translated”: The Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Metaphrases’ in *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. by Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 55–70; and idem, ‘The History Metaphrased: Changing Readership in the Fourteenth Century’ in *Niketas Choniates A Historian and a Writer*, ed. by Alicia Simpson and Stephanos Efthymiadis (Geveva: La Pomme d’Or, 2009), pp. 145–63. A comparative study of the paraphrastic phenomenon in Byzantium within the known literary genres (such as hagiography, historiography, hymnography, theology, philosophy) is always welcome, and will offer us new insights into the texts under discussion. On this, see ‘Metaphrasis’ in M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry. Texts and Contexts*, vol. II (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2019), pp. 225–46. I am extremely grateful to M. D. Lauxtermann for making available to me this chapter before its publication.

⁴ On the textbook character of the paraphrases in question, see Paul Canart, ‘Pour un répertoire des anthologies scolaires commentées de la période des Paléologues’, in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography, Madrid/Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008, Bibliologia*, 31A, ed. by António Bravo García, Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Juan Signes Codoñer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), p. 462. Canart singled out eight manuscripts with Pediasimos’ text, without giving more details. See also Demosthenis Strategopoulos, ‘Η παρουσία υμνογραφικών κειμένων στις σχεδογραφικές συλλογές: η περίπτωση του κώδικα Lesbiacus Leimonos 91’, *Byzantina*, 33 (2013–2014), 75–87 (pp. 80–81).

⁵ The interest in the Theotokia went on even after the fall of Constantinople. Cf. an anonymous prose paraphrasis of the stichera of the Saturday Vespers in Mode I,

The Byzantine Educational System and Hymnography (An Overview)

The curriculum at the secondary educational level comprised a combination of the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and the *quadrivium* of mathematics, music, geometry, and astronomy.⁶ However, in the middle Byzantine period, in addition to Homer, ancient Greek tragedies, comedies, and texts of ancient historians and philosophers taught in schools, great emphasis was also placed on the study of ecclesiastical texts.⁷ The poems of Gregory of Nazianzus were given a prominent place,⁸ but other poetry, including ecclesiastical hymns, was studied too. The asmatic canons⁹ were taught in schools especially during the Komnenian period and they even retained their place in the curriculum under the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

These hymn-texts were regarded as appropriate lexical and rhetorical models for education of students in the Byzantine world. The combination of complex language and the theology expressed in these hymns

entitled *Παράφρασις τῶν Ἑσπερινῶν Στιχηρῶν τοῦ Πρώτου Ἰχθὺς ἐκτεθείσα παρὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς τῶν Φίλων Ἐνωρίδι. Ἐν τῇ Σαλγκάτῃ* (Venice, 1643). The Theotokion is paraphrased on pp. ιδ'–ιε'.

⁶ Athanasios Markopoulos, 'Education' in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, John Haldon and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 788–89, and idem, 'Teachers and Textbooks in Byzantium Ninth to Eleventh Centuries' in *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200*, ed. by Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul and Michael Grünbart (Münster, Zürich and Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2014), pp. 3–15.

⁷ Cf. S. Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 56–63 (especially on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus). See also F. Nousia, *Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaiologan Period, Studi e Testi*, 505 (Vatican, 2016).

⁸ See C. Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), pp. 75–79.

⁹ The canon is a hymnodic complex that was introduced into the Morning Office (Ὁρθρος) of the Orthodox Church around the end of the seventh century. It originated in the monastic environments of the East where it gradually replaced the kontakion, a metrical sung sermon used in the urban rites of the great city churches. The canon is called asmatic in order to differentiate it from the term canon/kanon referring to Canon Law.

¹⁰ See Photios Demetracopoulos, 'The Exegeses of the Canons in the Twelfth Century as School Texts,' *Δίπτυχα*, 1 (1979), pp. 143–57. Several *Mathemataria* exist which contain asmatic canons with various epimerisms and paraphrases. On this, see A. Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Τὰ Μαθηματάρια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σχολείων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας. Διδασκόμενα κείμενα, σχολικά προγράμματα, διδακτικές μέθοδοι. Συμβολή στην ιστορία τῆς νεοελληνικῆς παιδείας*, (Athens: Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων, 1994), 21–31.

triggered a considerable amount of interpretative work, undertaken to differing degrees over the centuries. Compiled during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, these works range from special lexica¹¹ and paraphrases¹² to detailed commentaries.¹³ Some of the most important of such commentators include John Zonaras,¹⁴ Gregory Pardos, Bishop of Corinth,¹⁵ Theodore Prodromos,¹⁶ Eustathios of Thessalonica¹⁷ and an anonymous author who until recently has been associated with Mark

¹¹ Cf. Luigi de Stefani, 'Il Lessico ai Canoni giambici di Giovanni Damasceno secondo un ms. Romano', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 21 (1912), pp. 431–35.

¹² See Fausto Montana, 'Dal glossario all'esegesi. L'apparato ermeneutico al canone pentecostale attribuito a Giovanni Damasceno nel ms. Ottob. Gr. 248', *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 42 (1992), 147–64 for a glossary and an anonymous paraphrase of the iambic canon on Pentecost attributed to John of Damascus from Ottob. Gr. 248; and idem 'Tre parafrasi anonime bizantine del canone giambico pentecostale attribuito a Giovanni Damasceno', *Koinonia*, 17 (1993), 61–79 for three anonymous paraphrases of the same canon.

¹³ See A. Kominis, *Γρηγόριος Πάρδος, Μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου και τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (Rome-Athens: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1960), pp. 100–23, for a detailed list and description of commentaries on various hymnographical texts. See also Demetracopoulos, 'The Exegeses', 143–57, F. Montana 'I canoni giambici di Giovanni Damasceno per le feste di Natale, Teofania e Pentecoste nelle esegesi di Gregorio di Corinto', *Koinonia*, 13/1 (1989), 31–49, *Gregorio di Corinto, Esegesi al Canone Giambico per la Pentecoste Attribuito a Giovanni Damasceno*, ed. by Fausto Montana, (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa, 1995), pp. L–LV, and A. Giannouli, *Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Großen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 26 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), pp. 14–24, and *Eustathii Thessalonicensis exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem recensuerunt indicibusque instruxerunt*, Supplementa Byzantina, Texte und Untersuchungen, 10, ed. by Paolo Cesaretti and Silvia Ronchey (Berlin, Munich and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 48*–72*.

¹⁴ E. Kaltsogianni, *Τὸ ἀγιολογικὸ καὶ ομιλητικὸ ἔργο του Ἰωάννη Ζωναρά. Εἰσαγωγικὴ μελέτη – Κριτικὴ ἐκδόση* (Thessalonica: Κέντρο Βυζαντινῶν Ερευνῶν, 2013), pp. 35–38.

¹⁵ *Gregorio di Corinto*, ed. by Montana.

¹⁶ There is uncertainty regarding Theodore Prodromos's identification (see e.g. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*). On Theodore's commentaries, see *Theodoros Prodromos, historische Gedichte*, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), pp. 44–45. A very poor edition, based only on one manuscript (the Roman Angelicus B. 5.11), was begun in 1888 by Stevenson and Pitra, but never completed: *Theodori Prodromi Commentarios in Carmina Sacra Melodorum Cosmae Hierosolymitani et Ioannis Damasceni*, ed. by Henry Stevenson (Rome: Ex Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1888).

¹⁷ Long available only in Angelo Mai's edition in *Spicilegium Romanum* V, 161–338 (reprinted in *PG* 136. 501–754), based on a single manuscript, Vat. Gr. 1409 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), it can now be read in: *Eustathii Thessalonicensis exegesis in canonem iambicum*, ed. by Cesaretti and Ronchey.

Eugenikos.¹⁸ Quite often interlinear glosses and/or epimerisms accompany various – mainly anonymous – paraphrases. These types of texts hint strongly at the schoolroom since epimerisms appear to be an instructional element in the Byzantine teaching tradition. In an epimerism, almost all the words of a given text are analyzed both grammatically and syntactically.¹⁹

Returning to the verse paraphrases, it is worth pointing out that Byzantine authors produced translations of other hymns into Byzantine iambic twelve-syllable verse. These include Michael Psellos's Paraphrasis on the Canon of Holy Thursday by Cosmas the Melodist,²⁰ the various Schede of Manuel Moschopoulos,²¹ and the still unpublished schede with troparia from various canons from the Holy Week penned by Ioannikios the monk.²² John Geometres produced a translation of the Nine

¹⁸ On this, see Dimitrios Skrekas, 'Late Byzantine School Teaching through the Iambic Canons and their Paraphrase', in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. by Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 377-94.

¹⁹ For the *Epimerismi Homerici* and their history, see A. R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), pp. 3-16. For a general introduction, see E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship, A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 27-28; Rodi Genakou-Borovilou, 'Οι ἐπιμερισμοὶ κατὰ στοιχείον Γραφικά: παρατηρήσεις στὴ δομὴ καὶ στὸν τρόπο σύνθεσής τους', *Byzantina*, 28 (2008), 21-50; Antonia Giannouli, 'Education and Literary Language in Byzantium' in *The Language of the Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 61-62, esp. fn. 46; and Daria D. Resh, 'Toward a Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 55 (2015), 754-87.

²⁰ Triantafyllitsa Maniati-Kokkini, 'Ἀνέκδοτο ἔργο τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ: Ἡ παράφραση τοῦ κανόνα στὴν Μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ Κοσμᾶ τοῦ Μαιουμά', *Δίπτυχα*, 1 (1979), 194-238; *Michaelis Pselli poemata*, ed. by Leendert Gerrit Westerink (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992), pp. 286-94; see *Iter Psellianum*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 26, ed. by Paul Moore (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), p. 1076. A reading of the Byzantine *Paraphrasis* as a 'philosophical statement' is presented in Frederick Lauritzen, 'Paraphrasis as Interpretation. Psellos and a Canon of Cosmas the Melodist (Poem 24 Westerink)', *Byzantina*, 33 (2014), 61-74.

²¹ *Manuelis Moschopuli de ratione examinanda orationis libellus*. Ex Bibliotheca Regia. Lutetiae, ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii. M. D. XLV. Cum Privilegio Regis. John J. Keaney, 'Moschopulea', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 64 (1971), 303-13; Carlo Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia di Moscopulo e suoi precedenti fino a Teodoro Prodromo', *Bollettino dei classici, serie III*, 4 (1983) 3-35.

²² See Ioannes Polemis, 'Προβλήματα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Σχεδογραφίας', *Ἑλληνικά*, 45 (1995), 277-302; Ioannes Vassis, 'Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαιόσημα. Ἡ συλλογὴ σχεδῶν τοῦ κώδικα Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 92', *Ἑλληνικά*, 52 (2002), 37-68; and Ilias Nesseris, 'H

Biblical Odes (canticles),²³ which was further paraphrased,²⁴ and Manuel Philes translated the twenty-four Oikoi of the Akathist Hymn to the Mother of God.²⁵ It is within this long tradition of verse translations, that we shall place the iambic paraphrases of the the eight Doxastika Theotokia of the Aposticha of the Oktoechos.

The Manuscript Tradition

The following is a description of thirteen codices which transmit the text of our paraphrases. They range between fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.

- i) **B** Bibl. Branc. IV A 5 (Mioni 121), fourteenth century; 225 × 150 mm; fols 246; paper.²⁶ The codex contains various school texts, such as Manuel Moschopoulos' *Schedography*, Agapetos the deacon's *Ektthesis*, Libanius the Sophist, John Pediasimos, Theodore Prodromos, and Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*. On fols 197^v–201^v we find the paraphrase of the Theotokia under the title 'ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν θεοτοκιῶν τροπαρίων (omitted in Mioni, I, 218) ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμμετρον μεταποιήσεως'. It is not stated explicitly who the author of the paraphrasis is, but the text is in close proximity with works by Pediasimos, for a

Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αἰώνα' vol. 2 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ioannina, 2014), 256–63.

²³ See Marc De Groote, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber in Joannes Geometres' Metaphrase der Oden', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 96 (2003), 73–8; idem, 'Joannes Geometres' Metaphrasis of the Odes: Critical Edition', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 44 (2004), 375–410; idem, 'Joannes Geometres Kyriotes and His *Metaphrasis Odarum*' in Frances Young, Mark Edwards, and Paul Parvis (eds), *Studia Patristica*, 42, (2006), 297–304. See also Marc D. Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Didactic Poetry and the Question of Poeticity', in «*Doux remède ...*»: *poésie et poétique à Byzance*, ed. by Paolo Odorico, Panagiotes A. Agapitos and Martin Hinterberger (Paris: de Boccard 2009), 37–46, esp. pp. 43–45 for an attractive reading of Geometres' *Metaphrasis* of the first verses of Ode 1.

²⁴ Marc de Groote, 'The Paraphrasis of Joannes Geometres' Metaphrasis of the Odes', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 43 (2002–2003), 267–304.

²⁵ *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, 2 vols, ed. by Emmanuel C. Miller (Paris 1855–1857), II, pp. 317–33. The Akathist inspired also poems in vernacular Greek, see Karolos Mitsakes, "Ένας λαϊκός κρητικός Ακάθιστος του ΙΕ' αιώνα", *Byzantina*, 1 (1967), 25–31.

²⁶ See E. Mioni, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato Libreria dello Stato, 1964–65), I, pp. 215–18, esp. p. 218.

few folios later we read: fol. 208^v: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου (not εὐλογιωτάτου, Mioni, I, 218) ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πεδιασίμου; fol. 228^v: Τοῦ Βουλγαρίας χαρτοφύλακος Πόθου (not πόθος, Mioni, I, 218).

- ii) Wa Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 203, mid fourteenth century; 220/224 × 140/148 mm; fols 317; paper.

Miscellaneous works by various authors, such as Isidore the Pelousiotes, Eustathios of Thessalonica, Gregory of Bulgaria, Gregory Chioniades, Mark Eugenikos, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and a number of anonymous texts. The paraphrase of the Theotokia with epimerisms is given anonymously on fols 80^r–95^v: ‘Στίχοι προσόμοιοι μετ’ ἐπιμερισμῶν τῶν ἡ΄ ἤχων τῶν ὑστάτων δηλονότι θεοτοκίων.’²⁷ Lambeck erroneously ascribed the Theotokia to Niketas of Herakleia and the accompanying epimerisms to Moschopoulos, possibly based on the fact that the preceding text on fol. 79^v is written by Niketas.²⁸

- iii) N Neapolitanus gr. 105 = Neapolitanus gr. II C 37; fourteenth–fifteenth century; 220 × 144 mm; fols 486; paper.²⁹

Miscellaneous codex (mainly textbooks), which is a result of a compilation of two separate codices: i) the main part consisting of fols 1–457; 481, 482 and ii) the lesser part on fols 458–480. Miscellaneous texts: liturgical canons, Manuel Moschopoulos’ *Erotemata*, Ps.-Moschopoulos’ *Schedographia*, Agapetos the Deacon, John Peditasimos, Epictetus, Thomas Theodoulos Magistros, Maximos Planoudes, Ps-Phocylides, *Batrachomyomachia*, Theodore Prodromos, Michael Haploucheir, Isocrates, grammars and treatises on metrics, George Chiroboskos, *Homerocentrones*, a metrical *Synaxarion*, lexicon on Ps-Dionysios the Areopagite.

Our paraphrase belongs to the main codex: fols 226^r–229^f.

On fols 226^r authorship prefix pointing to ‘the great Peditasi-

²⁷ See H. Hunger (et al.) *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vols 1, 2, 3/1–3, 4 (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1961–1992), 3/3, 7–16, esp. pp. 10–11.

²⁸ ‘Item ejusdem *Nicete Hymnus in Beatissimam Virginem Deiparam, Manuelis Moschopuli Scholiis graecis interlinearibus et amplissimo Commentario grammatico illustratus*’, P. Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber V* (Vienna: Joan. Thomae nob. de Trattner, 1778), col. 529. See also Bram Roosen, ‘The works of Nicetas Heraclensis’, *Byzantion*, 33 (1999), 119–44 (p. 128).

²⁹ G. Pierleoni, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, vol. I, 1, *Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova Serie VIII* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato Libreria dello Stato, 1992), pp. 303–09.

- mos' appear in the title: τὰ ὀκτὼ θεοτοκία³⁰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀκτωήχῳ· ἃ μετεποίησεν ὁ πεδιάσιμος ἐκεῖνος διὰ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν
- iv) **Wb** Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 216, first half of the fifteenth century; 210/215 × 140/145 mm; fols 265; paper.³¹
Miscellaneous codex with works by Theodosios of Alexandria, John Tzetzes, Epigrams by Christopher Mitylenaios, Gregory of Nazianzus, Sibylline Oracles, Manuel Moschopoulos, Sayings by the Seven Wise Men, Theophylact Simocatta, Maximos Planudes, Libanius, Aesop, texts related to grammar.
The paraphrase is given on fols 248^v–259^v, and it is accompanied by interlinear glosses and epimerisms.: ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων ...
- v) **A** Iberon 84, first half of the fifteenth century;³² 212/215 × 138 [162 × 82/85 mm]; fols 295; paper.
Works by Manuel Moschopoulos, *schede*, *gnomika* with comments, Aesop's *Fables*, Agapetos the deacon, *Batrachomyomachia*, grammar.
The eight Theotokia are found on fols 179^r–191^v with interlinear glosses and epimerisms without any indication of the(ir) author: ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων.
- vi) **Be** Atheniensis Benaki Museum 75 (TA 152); fifteenth century; 205 × 143 mm, fols 237; paper.³³ Provenance: Adrianople: Κτῆμα Γεωργίου Πήτορος μητροπόλεως Αἴνου.
Various *schede* with notes, advice to students, *apophthegmata*, liturgical texts, myths, Theophylact Simocatta, Agapetos the Deacon, John Pediasimos, Miracles of St Demetrios, Aelian, the two iambic canons attributed to John the monk on Christmas and Epiphany with interlinear languages and paraphrase.

³⁰ The manuscript reads θ(εοτο)κι(α), which has been wrongly accentuated as θεοτόκια by Pierleoni, *Catalogue codicum*, I, 305, and Gallavoti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', p. 35.

³¹ Hunger (et al.) *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I, 322–24, esp. p. 324.

³² S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895, 1900), II, p. 12, and P. Soteroudes, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Κατάλογος ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων. Τόμος Α' (1–100)* (Mt Athos: Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 1998), 166–69, esp. 166.

³³ Erydice Lappa-Zizica and Matoula Rizou-Couroupou, *Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη (1005–1605 αι.), Μουσείο Μπενάκη – Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (C.N.R.S.)* (Athens: Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 1991), pp. 135–40, esp. p. 136.

On fols 54–62 we read: Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν θεοτοκίων τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Σταφιδάκη.

- vii) P Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 320, fifteenth century; in 80, fols 59; paper³⁴

Various school texts with paraphrases and epimerisms: Agapetos the deacon, George Choiroboskos, grammar.

On fols 41^r–54^r appears ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων διὰ μέτρων ἱαμβικῶν, with interlinear glosses and epimerisms.

- viii) V Marcianus Gr. XI 16 (coll. 1234); fifteenth century; 220 × 145 mm; fols 92; paper.

The codex belonged to the Monastery of S. Giovanni in Verdara, Padua, and was transferred to Marciana Library in 1783.³⁵ The codex is acephalous, and contains school texts with epimerisms: Moschopoulos' *Schedography*, a commentary on the Sententiae, Aesop's *Fables*, Agapetos the deacon, *Batrachomyomachia*.

The text of the paraphrasis of the Theotokia is given with interlinear glosses and epimerisms. The order of the folios has been disturbed: fols 1–6^v; 9–13; fol. 3^r: Ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὸ θαῦμα; fol. 4^v: Ἐλπίς μόνη, πάντα γινε, πιστῶν; fol. 5^v: Τὴν σὴν, ἀγνή, σύλληψιν; fol. 6^v: Ναόν, πύλην, οἶκόν σε; fol. 9^r: Γυνὴ κλαπέισα τῇ κακῇ παραινέσει; fol. 10^v: Ὑπὸ σκέπην, δέσποινα, σὴν πεφευγότες; fol. 12: Τί τοῦτο καὶ πῶς; ἀγνοῶ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον.

- ix) E Scorialensis 414, XIV.19; 1427; 142 × 108 mm; fols 94; paper.³⁶

³⁴ I. B. Pitra and H. Stevenson, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana codicibus manuscriptis recensita iubente Leone XIII Pont. Max. edita. Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti* (Rome: Ex Typographeo Vaticano, 1885), pp. 186–87, esp. p. 186.

³⁵ E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti* (Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova Serie VI), vol. I, pt. I: Classe I, Classe II, codici 1–120; vol. I, pt. II: Classe II, codici 121–98, Classi III–IV; vol. II: Classi VI–VIII; vol. III: Classi IX–XI; vol. IV [I]: Fondo antico, codici 1–299; vol. V [II]: Fondo antico, codici 300–625; vol. VI: Indici e supplementi (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1967–1985), III, pp. 100–01, esp. 100; Mioni suggested that Giovanni Calfurnio (1443–1503) might have been the previous owner of the codex. For a list of Calfurnio's codices, part of which after his death (1503) have been bequeathed to S. Giovanni in Verdara, see <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/copiste-possesseur-autre/290/> (accessed 9 August 2016).

³⁶ E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1848), p. 406; G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial II* (Madrid: Real Biblioteca, 1965), pp. 351–52; Ramon Torné Teixidó, 'El códice Escorialense 414 XIV.19: estudio y colación del texto de la *Batracomioquia*', *Faventia*, 24.2 (2002), 25–32.

E contains school texts: *Schedography* by Manuel Moschopoulos, Agapetos the deacon, Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*.

On fols 1–22^v we find the eight Theotokia with interlinear glosses and epimerisms: (...) ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων.

- x) Va Vaticanus Gr. 2299, uncatalogued; fols 73.³⁷

Miscellaneous codex: Grammar and schedography, John Geometres, beginning of his Homily on the Annunciation, Theodoretus Bishop of Cyrus, a fragment from the *War of Troy* (5279–5289) with a battle between Hector and Achilles accompanied by two Western-style images.³⁸

The title has been erased. The order of the text has been significantly disturbed: Text with interlinear glosses and epimerisms: fol. 63^v; 49^r–v; 31^r [H]σαῖου πρόρρησις. Part of the text has not survived: fol. 49^r–v; fol. 31^r.

In addition, the following codices should be mentioned, which for obvious reasons were not suitable for the edition, and, therefore, have not been quoted in the textual apparatus below:

- xi) Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mb 3, d. 1460 [fols 1^v–148^r] and second half of the fifteenth century; 220 × 160 mm; fols 305; paper.³⁹

Miscellaneous theological manuscript: Philippos Monotropos, *Dioptra*; John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei*; Ps.-Athanasios of Alexandria, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum*.

On fol. 303^v the first 3 lines from the paraphrasis of the 1st Theotokion are given by a later hand, possibly as a pen-trial: ὥσπερ προεῖπε <πρὸ> χρόνον ἡσαῖας, τίκτει κόρη νῦν καὶ πάλιν μένει κόρη. ὁ γὰρ κυηθεὶς καὶ προελθὼν ὡς βρέφος

³⁷ See also Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', 33–35, esp. 34–35.

³⁸ See Antonio Rigo, 'Textes spirituels occidentaux en grec: les oeuvres d'Arnaud de Villeneuve et quelques autres exemples. Avec une annexe sur les illustrations du Petropolitanus graecus 113 par Andrea Babuin', in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History. 1204–1500*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger and Chris Schabel, *Bibliotheca*, 11 (Leuven, Paris, Walpole (MA): Peeters, 2011), pp. 219–42 (p. 238, footnote 61). Babuin acknowledges Nesseris' help in the identification of the text of the *War of Troy*. See also Nesseris, 'Η Παιδεία', vol. 1, p. 97.

³⁹ W. Schmid, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen* (Tübingen: Buchdruckerei von G. Schnürten, 1902), pp. 6–8; <http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/cgi-bin/msst?id=4792&form=lang> (accessed 9 August 2016).

- xii) Atheniensis ΜΠΤ 441, end of seventeenth-beginning of eighteenth century; 310 × 208 mm; paper.⁴⁰

The codex seems to be a collection of miscellaneous texts made by Chrysanthos Patriarch of Jerusalem, and arranged in alphabetical order.⁴¹

On fol. 69^r the text of the Theotokia is given in two columns, but the copyist, despite referring to the epimerisms in the title as Ἀδήλου στίχοι μετ' ἐπιμερισμῶν τῶν ἠ' ἤχων τῶν ὑστάτων θεοτοκίων, did not provide the text of the epimerisms after all.

- xiii) Vindobonensis Phil gr. 250, first half of fifteenth century; 212 × 140 mm; fols 216; paper.⁴²

On fols 201^r–207^r the epimerisms of Demetrios Staphidakes are transmitted without the text of the paraphrasis.⁴³

Conclusions from the Study of the Manuscript Tradition

Collation of the codices reveals that in all manuscripts the iambic Theotokia are always accompanied by selective interlinear glosses and epimerisms, which are given after each hymn. This undoubtedly points to school textbooks, since the paraphrasis is but a regular exercise in school texts, and it is always supplemented by several lexical notes and epimerisms. The latter are given with all the related vocabulary of a teacher's instructions and imperatives addressed to students, such as 'κανόνισον'

⁴⁰ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 4 vols (St Petersburg, 1891–1915), IV, pp. 416–19, esp. p. 416.

⁴¹ The codex bears the following ascription: Ἐκ τῶν συμμίκτων Χρυσάνθου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων', see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 416. On Chrysanthos, see Arch. Chrysanthos Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων* (Jerusalem and Alexandria: Ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου Ἀλεξάνδρειας, 1910), pp. 605 ff.

⁴² Hunger (et al.), *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I, pp. 360–61, esp. p. 361.

⁴³ Part of the text of the epimerisms of Staphidakes has been edited by Niels Gaul, 'Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopoulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und Methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts' in *Lexicologica Byzantina: Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Bonn, 13.–15. Juli 2007), ed. by Erich Trapp and Sonja Schönauer (Bonn: V&R unipress Bonn University Press, 2008), pp. 163–96 (pp. 191–94). Gaul, however, did not manage to identify the text (namely the paraphrasis of the Theotokia) from which the epimerisms came, since the paraphrasis is not mentioned in the manuscript.

etc.⁴⁴ It should be mentioned that none of the aforementioned manuscripts transmits the original text of the Theotokia, i.e. the text of the hymns as it is found in the Oktoechos.

Most importantly, two separate groups of paraphrases are also discernible. The first family is represented by the following codices: B, Wa, N, and Va. The incipits and desinits of the hymns under discussion are as follows (see pp. 269-275):

- I) Ἡσαΐου πρόρρησις ἤκεν εἰς πέρας ... καὶ σῶζε καὶ ῥύοιο σὴν κληρουχίαν.
- II) Ὡ θαῦμα καινόν, θαῦμα θαυμάτων πλέον ... ὡς ἀνομιῶν ἄφεισιν σχῶμεν τάχος.
- III) Οὐκ ἐκ σποράς πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ ... ὡς ἂν λάβοιμεν λύσιν ἀμπλακημάτων.
- IV) Νεῦσον λιταῖς σῶν οἰκετῶν ἀγνή κόρη ... ἡμῶν ψυχικὴ χαρμονή τε καὶ σκέπη.
- V) Ναός, πύλη τε βασιλείου καὶ θρόνε ... καὶ γὰρ θελήσει δυνάμεις σοι συντρέχει.
- VI) Ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ λυτρωτὴς μου λόγος ... ψυχῶν σκέπη τε καὶ μόνη σωτηρία.
- VII) Ὑπὸ σκέπην σὴν γηγενεῖς πεφευγότες ... ψυχὰς τε σῶσον οἰκετῶν σῶν παρθένε.
- VIII) Ἄνυμφε νύμφη, δόξα μητροπαρθένων ... ἰκνοῦ δὲ λύσιν ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν βασάνων,⁴⁵

whilst the second group (Wb, Be, A, P, V, E) is formed as follows (see pp. 275-282):

- I) Ὡσπερ προεῖπε πρὸ χρόνων Ἡσαΐας ... τῇ σὴ σκέπη σῶζοιτο παντοίας βλάβης.
- II) Ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὸ θαῦμα πῶς τίκτεϊς κόρη... ὡς ἂν λύσιν λάβωμεν ἀμπλακημάτων.
- III) Τὴν σὴν ἀγνή σύλληψιν, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι ... πιστοὺς περιφρούρησον ἐκ πάσης βλάβης.
- IV) Ἐλπίς μόνη ἀνάγνε πιστῶν παρθένε ... ἐν τῷ διάπλω τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ βίου.
- V) Ναὸν πύλην οἶκον σε καὶ θρόνον πάλαι ... ἦν καὶ φυλάττοις εἰσάπαν ἀνέσπερον.

⁴⁴ For a discussion on this imperative, see Gaul, 'Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes', pp. 192-94.

⁴⁵ The copyist of the very late codex, EBE, MS MITT 441 (seventeenth-eighteenth century) reserves some space for the item iv), but mentions that he cannot find it and informs that it is missing 'λείπει τὸ δ'ον'.

- VI) Γυνή κλαπέισα τῆ κακῆ παραινέσει τοῦ παμπονήρου καὶ φρικτοῦ βροτοκτόνου ... ὦ χαῖρε σεμνή, χαῖρε πιστῶν τὸ κλέος.
- VII) Ὑπὸ σκέπην Δέσποινα σὴν πεφευγότες ... καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἠρινὴν εὐκρασίαν.
- VIII) Τί τοῦτο καὶ πῶς· ἀγνοῶ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ... ἢ παρθένου κύησις, ὁ ξένος τόκος.

Regarding the authorship of the translations, there seem to be no consensus between the two groups of paraphrases. The first set of paraphrases is transmitted mostly anonymously, and only in one case (N) are they ascribed to ‘the great Peditasimos’, whilst in another manuscript (B), the text is transmitted anonymously, but it is in close proximity with works by Peditasimos. The second group is also given anonymously, save for one codex (Be), which appends the name of Demetrios Staphidakes. However, the issue is fraught with complexity, for in Be not only does the copyist give six and not eight Theotokia and epimerisms, but he makes also use of three texts from the first group (items iii–v) without any indication at all. Thus, the result is a mixture of paraphrases and epimerisms, which come from the two groups.

John Peditasimos Pothos

Let us now move to the possible author of the Paraphrasis of the first group. As we mentioned earlier, it is only in N where ‘the great Peditasimos’ is mentioned as the compiler of the paraphrasis. Yet it is not clear whether the accompanying epimerisms are his. Also in B, the paraphrasis is surrounded by works of Peditasimos, yet an authorship prefix is lacking.

John Peditasimos Pothos was an author and a teacher during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. Thanks mainly to Turyn⁴⁶ and Constantinides,⁴⁷ we are able to reconstruct his biography.⁴⁸ Peditasimos

⁴⁶ A. Turyn, *Dated greek manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, 2 vols (Univ. of Illinois Press: Urbana Chicago London 1972), I, pp. 74–78.

⁴⁷ C. N. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 1204–c. 1310* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, 11, 1982), pp. 117–25.

⁴⁸ K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, [Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft IX/1] (Munich: O. Beck 1897²), pp. 556–58. On manuscripts with Peditasimos works, see Domenico Bassi, ‘I manoscritti di Giovanni Peditasimo’, *Reale Istituto Lombar-*

was born in Thessalonica circa 1240–1250 where he studied first. He afterwards moved to Constantinople in order to pursue further studies next to famous teachers, like Manuel Holobolos (poetry and rhetoric), George Akropolites (possibly the *quadrivium* and philosophy). He was also a fellow student of two men who were already clerics, George of Cyprus and John Stavrakios. All these were destined to follow ecclesiastical careers, and they assumed various posts.

In the beginning, whilst in Constantinople, John Pediasimos taught philosophy and he was given the title of the *Hypatos of the Philosophers* (like Psellos), and later he was named *χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀχριδῶν*, as is testified in a letter by George of Cyprus.⁴⁹ Being unhappy with life in Ochrid, he was finally moved to Thessalonica, where he was elevated to the title of *μέγας σακελλάριος τῆς Μητροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης*.⁵⁰ John Pediasimos Pothos was an author of various and

do di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti. Serie II. 31 (1898), 1399–1418. There is no mention there on the paraphrasis of the Theotokia, though; M. Treu, *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae extant*, Progr. Potistamiae (Potsdam, 1899), p. 60; Vitalien Laurent, 'Legendes sigillographiques et families byzantines', *Échos d'Orient* 31 (1932), 327–31; H-G. Beck, *Geschichte der Orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, Bd. 1, D 1) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), pp. 710–11; C. N. Constantinides, 'Οἱ ἀπαρχεῖς τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀκμῆς στὴ Θεσσαλονικὴ κατὰ τὸν 14ο αἰώνα', *Δωδώνη*, 21 (Μνήμη Φανῆς Μαυροειδῆ) (1992), 133–50 (pp. 142–44); Franz Tinnefeld, 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', in *Symposium on Late Byzantine Thessalonike*, ed. by Alice-Mary Talbot *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 57 (2003), 153–72, esp. pp. 155–56; D. Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta*, Dossiers byzantins 5 (Paris: EHESS. Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2005), pp. 60–72; Inmaculada Pérez Martín, 'L'écriture de Jean Pothos Pédiasimos d'après ses scholies aux Elementa d'Euclide', *Scriptorium*, 64.1 (2010), 109–19 (pp. 111–13); *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 22235; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v.

⁴⁹ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι, ed. by Sophronios Eustratiades, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 1–5 (1908–1910), ep. 35.

⁵⁰ John Pothos is mentioned as *σακελλάριος* in *Actes de Lavra II*, ed. by P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: CNRS, P. Lethielleux, 1977), 30.6–9 in a text of the will of the former Archbishop of Ochrid and later Archbishop of Thessalonica, Theodoros Kerameus. This document has been composed by the dikaiophylax Leon Phobenos on 12 April 1284 in the presence of various bishops, abbots from Mt Athos, but also of other church officials of Thessalonica, of the church of Hagia Sophia: τ(ῶν) θεοφίλεστάτ(ων) ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντ(ων) τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(η)τροπόλ(εως) Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ χαρτοφύλακο(ς) κύ(ρ) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Σταυρακίου, τοῦ μεγ(ά)λου σακελλαρίου κύ(ρ) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Γίθου (καὶ) τοῦ σακελλ(ί)ου κύ(ρ) Λέοντο(ς) τοῦ Περαιτ(ικ)οῦ. Amongst those who have been also scholars, like sakellarios Leon Peratikos, rephendarius Georgios Phassos, dikaiophylax Leon Phobenos and grapheus Leon Phobenos. All these people share not only common ecclesiastical interests, but have been well educated and were friends. In the same cycle we can see Gregorios of Cyprus, Ioannes Stavrakios and John Pediasimos Pothos, a fact that can be testified by

multifarious works, which cover a wide range of areas: poetry, rhetoric, law, medicine, treatises on nature, philology; epimerisms, philosophy, mathematics, epistles to several recipients.⁵¹ Peditasimos probably died in Thessalonica after a long career in teaching most likely during the years of the reign of Andronikos III (1328–1341).⁵²

Demetrios Staphidakes

Be transmits six – and not eight, as we might have expected – theotokia under the name of Demetrios Staphidakes of whom we know little; nevertheless we can surmise that he was a scholar and a teacher (*grammatikos*) as Peditasimos, during the Palaiologan period in Thessalonica.⁵³ He was also an author of a monody lamenting the decease of an emperor with connections with Thessalonica who died there, usually identified as Michael IX Palaiologos (+ 1320).⁵⁴ Staphidakes composed also an epigram inscribed on the tomb of Kyros Isaak, the founder of the Monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Thessalonica.⁵⁵ Demetrios Staphidakes (or some of his namesakes)⁵⁶ possibly wrote verses εἰς τὸν

their letters. Peditasimos have met many of them while he was studying in Constantinople. Cf. Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, 'Ἰωάννης Σταυράκιος: ἕνας λόγιος στη Θεσσαλονίκη της πρώιμης Παλαιολόγειας εποχής', *Symmeikta*, 16 (2003–4), 379–94, esp. 380–81 and 385–88.

⁵¹ For a list of his works, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 556–58; Bassi, 'I manoscritti', 1407–1418; *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 22235; and *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. For an evaluation of his work, see Inmaculada Pérez Martín, 'L'écriture de Jean Pothos Pédiasimos d'après ses scholies aux *Elementa* d'Euclide', *Scriptorium*, 64.1 (2010), 109–19 (pp. 111–13); and N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium. Revised edition* (London: Duckworth, 2003), p. 242. The latter is rather strict in his approach.

⁵² Constantinides, *Higher education*, 118.

⁵³ One of the best presentations on his life and work can be found in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, II, p. 1942 sv and in Gaul, 'Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes', pp. 190–94, especially on the epimerisms attributed to Staphidakes. See also *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 26734.

⁵⁴ Anna Meschini, 'La monodia di Stafidakis', *Università di Padova. Istituto di studi bizantini e neogreci. Quaderni*, 8 (1974), 1–20; Tinnefeld, 'Intellectuals', p. 167.

⁵⁵ Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, 'Epigramma dello Stafidace per il sepolcro di Isacco fondatore del monastero della Περιβλεπτος a Salonico', *Bessarione*, 25 (1921), 142–48 (reprinted in S. G. Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina*, 2 vols (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1970), II, pp. 235–41).

⁵⁶ For Ioannes and others, see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 26732, 26733, 26735.

στρατοπεδάρχη, ⁵⁷ and a book epigram which is used in the Collection of the *Horologion of Thekaras*. ⁵⁸ Two also of his letters survived. ⁵⁹ He was also the compiler of various epimerisms, which received attention recently by Niels Gaul. ⁶⁰ Gaul suggested that Staphidakes might have been Pediasimos' student. His proposal was based on common characteristics in phraseology between their epimerisms. If we add the paraphrasis of the Theotokia to this, then the scenario becomes even stronger.

In view of the authorship, it seems that in the late Byzantine Thessalonica there was a circle of teachers very much interested in the use of the Theotokia. As we saw, they produced at least two groups of paraphrases, which served didactic needs.

Symeon of Thessalonica and his Iambic Theotokia

Another paraphrasis of the eight Doxastika Theotokia is transmitted in the Typikon of St Symeon of Thessalonica. The Typikon survived in a codex unicus which comes from the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica, the MS EBE 2047. ⁶¹ This codex, even if not an autograph by

⁵⁷ The verses εἰς τὸν στρατοπεδάρχη is one item in a list of various works, which was compiled by Ianos Laskares and preserved in Vat. Gr. 1412, fol. 58^r. The works belonged to the collection of Demetrios Triboles (*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 29298) in Arta, ἐν Ἀρτῇ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Τριβολίου κυροῦ Δημητρίου (fol. 58^r). See also Spyridon Lambros, 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδικῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας', *Νέος Ἑλληνομῆμων*, 4 (1907), 319.

⁵⁸ *Θηκαράς*, ed. by Pantokratoros Monastery (Mt Athos: Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Παντοκράτορος, 2008), p. 4, and Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3802> (accessed 9 February 2016).

⁵⁹ Cf. Giovanni Mercati, 'Sarebbe Stafidace L'epistolografo del codice Laurenziano di S. Marco 356?' *Studi Byzantini*, 2 (1927), 239–42.

⁶⁰ Gaul, 'Moschopolus, Lopadiotes', pp. 190–94.

⁶¹ 295 × 205 mm; fifteenth century; fols 274; paper. Descriptio of the codex: B. Laourdas, 'Συμεών Θεσσαλονίκης ἀκριβῆς διάταξις τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου', *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 39 (1956), 327–42; Jean Darrouzès, 'Notes d'histoire des textes' in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 21 (1963), 232–42 ('2. Une œuvre peu connue de Syméon de Thessalonique († 1429)' pp. 235–42); L. Politis, *Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀρ. 1857–2500*, Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, vol. 54 (Athens: Γραφεῖον Δημοσιευμάτων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 1991), pp. 94–95; I. Phountoules, *Τὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον Συμεῶν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ θεωρίαν τῆς θείας λατρείας*, Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, 84 (Thessalonica, 1966), pp. 37–48; I. Phountoules, *Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, Τὰ λειτουργικὰ Συγγράμματα I, Εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι, Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἐπιστημονικαὶ πραγματεῖαι 10* (Thessalonica, 1968), pp. 17'–18'; Boris L. Fonkich, 'Τὰ παλαιότερα χειρόγραφα μὲ ἔργα τοῦ Συμεῶν Θεσσαλονίκης. Παλαιογραφικὲς παρατηρήσεις' in *Βυζαντινὴ Μακεδονία, Β' Διεθνές*

Symeon, has been written by someone very close to his circle, perhaps as the official copy for the Church of Hagia Sophia.⁶²

The paraphrasis of MS EBE 2047 is also penned by Symeon.⁶³ What is more, the paraphrasis is accompanied here by rubrics and instructions on its performance in the Church, and thus points to liturgical usage. In the introductory part of the Typikon in the general rubrics, we read about the way of reciting the text of the Theotokia in iambic metre which precedes the singing of the Doxastika Theotokia by John the monk. Thus, we read on fols 8^v–9^r: Καὶ νῦν, θεοτοκίον τῆς ὀκτωήχου τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ τὸν ἦχον ψαλλόμενον οὐ πρότερον ἀναγινώσκονται παρὰ τοῦ|| πρωτοκανονάρχου στίχοι ἰαμβικοί, τὴν αὐτὴν περιέχοντες ἔννοιαν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ θε(στο)κίον ψάλλεται. Κανονάρχημα here is not performed in the usual form, namely in periods, but the ‘iambic verses’ are recited as a continuous text in the middle of the church during Vespers, and only after completion of this reciting, does the choir chant the hymn in its original form.⁶⁴

In the section with the oktoechos, we find more details on the author of the text under discussion, and the acrostics on each hymn, alongside the rubrics of reciting the text fol. 36^v: Εἶτα οἱ ψάλλται τὸ δόξα π(ατ)ρι ψάλλουσιν εἰς ἦχ(ον) α΄. ὁ δὲ πρωτοκανονάρχος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν δύο χορῶν στάς, ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης

Συμπόσιο. Δίκαιο, Θεολογία, Φιλολογία (Thessalonica: Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀρ. 95, 2003), pp. 33–34 (= reprinted in B. L. Fonklich, *Исследования по греческой палеографии и кодикологии IV–XIX вв* (Moscow: The Manuscript Heritage of Ancient Rus, 2014), pp. 443–45); Georgios Andreou, ‘Το χειρόγραφο με ἀριθμὸ 2047 τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῶν Ἀθηνῶν το ὁποῖο ἀποδίδεται στο Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπο Θεσσαλονίκης: Ἐπαναπροσέγγιση τῆς λεγόμενης “ασματικῆς ἀκολουθίας”’, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, III s. 6 (2009), 7–43 (pp. 8–10).

⁶² It is also apparent that this codex has been used in the Church—most likely at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica, since every now and then there are traces of wax drops, Phountoules, *Τὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον*, p. 38.

⁶³ Their text is edited in Ioannes Phountoules, *Συμεὼν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Τὰ λειτουργικὰ Συγγράμματα*, pp. 123–27. See also Phountoules, *Τὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον*, pp. 90–92 and Theocharis Detorakis, ‘Ὁ Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης ὡς ὑμνογράφος’ in *Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θεσσαλονίκης, Πρακτικὰ Λειτουργικοῦ Συνεδρίου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεῶνος Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ (15–9–81)* (Thessalonica, Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θεσσαλονίκης, 1983), pp. 188–89 for a discussion and comments on the vocabulary of some phrases from the Theotokion VIII.

⁶⁴ For the function of the *kanonarchema*, a practice in which a certain chanter, possibly of young age with strong eyesight, ‘was placed between the two choirs in the middle of the church, and recited the chant texts phrase by phrase from a text book’, see C. Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes: A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, Monumenta musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia*, 9 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011), p. 14. See also *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*, s.v. κανοναρχεῖα, κανονάρχος.

Συμεών ποιηθέντας στίχους ιαμβικούς εἰς τὰ κατ' ἤχον θεοτοκία τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ στίχου ἐν τῇ ὀκτῶνῃ περιέχοντας τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀκροστιχίδα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρώτοις στίχοις τὸ Ἰωάννου Ἀμὴν ἐν δὲ τοῖς τελευταίοις (...)ραν, Συμεών ἀ(μὴν). Likewise, the same *typikon* is observed in the remaining eight modes,⁶⁵ as well in two other instances: Vespers of the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee⁶⁶ and Vespers of the Holy Fathers.⁶⁷

Remarks on the Metre

All the verses in the first group have paroxytonic end, whilst in the second group, there is some preference for proparoxytonic ends, even within the same Theotokion: νεύματος (II, 5); βούλεται (II, 6); πράγματος (III, 3); γεννήτορος (III, 8); πνεύματα (IV, 4); κύριον (IV, 5); γινώσκωμεν (IV, 7); ἄγκυραν (IV, 8); ὄμμασιν (V, 4); Μυστήριον (V, 5); ἥλιον (V, 7); ἀνέσπερον (V, 10); καύματος (VII, 11);

Regarding the position of the *Binnenschlüsse* and of the accents, we can see that for the first group of the paraphrasis (which is of 55 verses in total), 35 verses have the *Binnenschlüsse* after the 5th syllable, 14 verses have it after the 7th syllable, and 6 verses have the *Binnenschlüsse* both after the 5th and the 7th syllables. In the second group which is of 84 verses, we have 57 verses with the *Binnenschlüsse* after the 5th syllable, 24 verses after the 7th syllable, and 2 verses with the *Binnenschlüsse* both after the 5th and the 7th syllables. There is also one verse (IV, 7) without any traditional *Binnenschlüsse*.

Concerning the length of each Theotokion, we can observe that in the first group of the Paraphrasis I–V are of 8 verses each, whilst the rest

⁶⁵ For mode II, fol. 42^v: ἐπειτα δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος στὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἀναγινώσκει τούτους τοὺς στίχους· for mode III, fol. 46^v: εὐθὺς δὲ ψάλλουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὸ δόξα· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάς, ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκει· for mode IV, fol. 51^r: οἱ ψάλται τὸ δόξα πατρί· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάς, ἀναγινώσκει ταῦτα· for mode plagal I, fol. 561a: εἶτα δοξάζουσιν· ὁ δὲ πρωτοκανονάρχος, ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς ἰάμβους· for mode plagal II, fol. 60^v: εἶτα δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάς, ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς ἰάμβους· for grave mode: fol. 64^v: δοξάζουσι δὲ οἱ ψάλται· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάς, ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκει· for plagal IV, fol. 68^v: εἶτα δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται· ὁ δὲ κανονάρχος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάς, ἀναγινώσκει ταῦτα.

⁶⁶ fol. 21^r: καὶ νῦν, θεοτοκίον τοῦ ἤχου· πρότερον ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν ιαμβικῶν στίχων.

⁶⁷ fol. 127^v: καὶ νῦν, τοὺς στίχους, τὸ θεοτοκίον. See also Phountoules, *Tὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον*, p. 90.

differs in numbers of verses: Theotokion VI is of 6, Theotokion VII is of 4 and Theotokion VIII is of 5 verses. The second group is lengthier with variety in the number of verses: it begins with 8 verses in the Theotokion I, which is the shortest of all, continues with 10 verses for Theotokia II–V, and is completed with 12 verses (Theotokia VI–VIII). While the poets' intention was not far from prosodic correctness, yet, as one might expect, deviations related to dichrona occur.

Paraphrasis, Metaphrasis, Translation?

As has been rightly observed, 'Rewriting has been practised in every written culture as a way of updating texts, either because their content needed to be revisited, or because their style was no longer palatable to contemporary audiences.'⁶⁸ The tendency of paraphrasing a given text has its roots in Late Antiquity.⁶⁹

We do not know why the creators of our paraphrases picked up the text of the Theotokia, but we are sure that in doing so, they updated the text in order to offer it to their audience in a revised form (in the classrooms, as the two texts edited here suggest, and/or at the Church as the Paraphrasis by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, testifies).⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Juan Signes Codoñer, 'Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium', p. 61, in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, *Lectio 2*, ed. by Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), p. 61.

⁶⁹ Undoubtedly, Nonnus' Paraphrasis of John's Gospel is one of the most highly elaborated examples of paraphrasis. On his poetics and technique, see Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, 'Nonnus' Paraphrastic Technique: A Case Study of Self-Recognition in John 9' in *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* ed. by Domenico Accorinti (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 267–88.

⁷⁰ There exist also two kinds of hymns in Morning Services (Matins), which summarise and paraphrase eleven Gospel Lections comprising narrations of Christ's appearances after His Resurrection; the eleven Eothina Doxastika (by Leo VI), see Christ and Paraniakas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, 105–09 and the Anastasima Exaposteilaria (poems by Constantine VII the Prophrogennetus)– see *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, 110–12. Constantine paraphrases his father's text in political verse. For remarks on their metrics, see G. Stathes, *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελωποιίᾳ, καὶ ἔκδοσις τῶν κειμένων εἰς ἓν corpus* (Athens, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται 1, 1977), pp. 61–64; Michael J. Jeffreys, 'The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (1974), pp. 167–68 (reprinted in E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium*, London, 1983, no. IV), and M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm, An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres*, *Byzantina Vindobonensia 22* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 35–37.

Some copyists – if not the poets themselves – employed particular terminology regarding their paraphrastic activity. Thus, the first group of the Paraphrasis at least in some manuscripts is called μεταποίησις ('alteration, remodelling'): ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμμετρον μεταποίησεως (B), μετεποίησεν (N). This refers to the process of changing the original text to a different metre, and somehow implies change of the style of the original text. For the Byzantines, rewriting involves expansion (περίφρασις), which is not infrequently aided by the help of some digression (παρέκβασις).⁷¹

Looking at the text of our paraphrases, we can easily discern the work of the paraphrasts and reconstruct their poetics. Our poets in cases where they did not keep the original, they have substituted some words for others (synonyms or other similar phrases retaining more or less the same meaning as the original text). Occasionally, these are treated with some freedom, which might lead to addition of periphrastic sentences to the text. The first poet was quite reluctant to add periphrastic passages, whilst the second did it quite often.

In particular, P kept a great deal of his original unchanged, and so did S, though to a much lesser extent (both are indicated in the edition in bold).⁷² As for substitutions in P, here are some examples in comparison with the original text from the Theotokion I: πεπλήρωται becomes ἤκεν εἰς πέρας (I, 1);⁷³ παρθένος γὰρ ἐγέννησας is changed into present tense as τίκτει κόρη γάρ (I, 2); ὁ τεχθεὶς is replaced by the synonym ὁ παῖς (I, 3); διὸ καὶ φύσις ἐκαινοτόμησεν, whilst retaining the same roots, is rephrased to καινοποιοῦν τὰς φύσεις (I, 3); ὦ θεομήτορ is analysed into ὦ θεὸν τέξασα (I, 4); σῶν δούλων is further analysed into σοὶ πεποιθότων (I, 4); and likewise, μὴ παρίδῃς τὸ μηδαμῶς παραδράμῃς (I, 5); τὸν Εὐσπλαγχνον is expanded to αὐτέσπλαγχνον (I, 6); ἀγκάλαις is replaced by a synonym ὠλέναις (I, 6), which can be found also in the original text, but in the next Theotokion (II), as σαῖς ὠλέναις βαστάσασα; σπλαγχνίσθητι is paraphrased with a usage of the rare πρευμένεια, as δίδου πρευμένειαν (I, 7);⁷⁴

⁷¹ Signes Codoñer, 'Towards a Vocabulary', p. 112.

⁷² Unless otherwise stated, P stands for Paraphrasis I and S for Paraphrasis II.

⁷³ Cf. πέρας ἤκει in *Ez.* 7. 2. 2.

⁷⁴ See H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition with new supplement (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) s.v. where it is explained as 'gentleness of temper, graciousness'. The word is attested only in Euripides, *Orestes*, 1323 and in the scholia to *Orestes*, which were known to our poet; see *Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. by Edward Schwartz, 2 vols (Berlin: Reimer, 1:1887; 2:1891) (repr. Walter de Gruyter, 1966), I, p. 215; *Scholia Graeca in Euripidis tragoedias*, ed. by Karl Wilhelm Dindorf, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1863), II, p. 293.

and so *πρέσβευε σωθῆναι* is changed to a combination of imperative and optative as *σῶζε καὶ ῥύοιο* (I, 8), and finally *τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν* is paraphrased as *σὴν κληρουχίαν* (I, 8).

S was more creative in his substitutions and preferred paraphrasing entire sentences, rather than single words. Thus, *ἡ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου πρόρρησις* is given in a periphrastic way: *Ὡσπερ προεῖπε πρὸ χρόνων Ἡσαΐας*; and so *Παρθένος γὰρ ἐγέννησας, καὶ μετὰ τόκον, ὡς πρὸ τόκου διέμεινας* is analysed into *τίκτει κόρη νῦν καὶ πάλιν μένει κόρη*; likewise, *Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τεχθεὶς· διὸ καὶ φύσις ἐκαινοτόμησεν* becomes *Ὁ γὰρ κυηθεὶς καὶ προελθὼν ὡς βρέφος, θεὸς πεφυκῶς ἐξαμείβει καὶ φύσιν; ὦ Θεομητορ*, is transformed into *ὦ μόνη πάναγενε μήτηρ καὶ κόρη*. Also S omits certain phrases without providing any paraphrastic equivalent: *So ἰκεσίας σῶν δούλων, σῶ τεμένει προσφερομένας σοι μὴ παρίδης* is almost skipped. S returns partially to the original when he paraphrases in a freer way *τὸν Εὐσπλαγχνον σαῖς ἀγκάλαις φέρουσα, σοῖς οἰκέταις σπλαγχνίσθητι, καὶ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν* το ὅς τὸν σὸν υἱὸν καὶ θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην ὡς δημιουργὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς σέβει, τῇ σῇ σκέπη σῶζοιτο παντοίας βλάβης.

Symeon of Thessalonica relies less on the original, and tries to paraphrase a lot with his own vocabulary, but it is clear that his choices are influenced by his predecessors.⁷⁵ Thus, *πεπλήρωται* is paraphrased as *εὐλήφει πέρας* (cf. P. *ἤκεν εἰς πέρας*); from *Ἡσαΐου πρόρρησις*, the last word is kept in his text but it is also given periphrastically as *Ἡσαΐας πρὶν ἦνπερ εἰρήκει*. In the same fashion, *παρθένος* is first given as a synonym, *κόρη*, but it is also written again in genitive as *παρθένου*, in order to paraphrase the wordings from *Παρθένος γὰρ ἐγέννησας, καὶ μετὰ τόκον, ὡς πρὸ τόκου διέμεινας*. Sometimes Symeon abbreviates lengthy phrases from his original. Here *Παρθένος ... διέμεινας* is contracted: *σοῦ συλλαβούσης καὶ τεκούσης παρθένου; Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τεχθεὶς· διὸ καὶ φύσις ἐκαινοτόμησεν* becomes *τῶν φύσεων, ἄχραντε, καινουργὸν Λόγον*, where the vocative repeats a synonym for the Mother of God not present in the original text. Furthermore, *Λόγος* is used as an equivalent for *Θεὸς τεχθεὶς*, while *τῶν φύσεων ... καινουργόν* stands for *φύσις ἐκαινοτόμησεν*. Further, *Ἄλλ' ὦ Θεομητορ* is changed to *παρθένε, ἰκεσίας σῶν δούλων, σῶ τεμένει προσφερομένας σοι, μὴ παρίδης* gets another expression which is reminiscent of classical authors, being in a higher linguistic register as *ἰκετῶν σῶν τῷ ναῶ λιτὰς πόθῳ σοὶ προσφερόντων, μὴ παρόψει*. In the last sentence *εὐσπλαγχνον* is kept in the paraphrasis, whilst *σαῖς ἀγκάλαις*

⁷⁵ The text can be found in Phountoules, *Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Τὰ λειτουργικὰ Συγγράμματα*, pp. 123–27.

φέρουσα, becomes ὡς ἐπωλένιον (cf. ὠλέναις in Theotokion II and in P i) ... βρέφος Χριστὸν λαβοῦσα. Also, σοῖς οἰκέταις is given an alternative omoechon reading as ἰκέταις, and σπλαγχνίσθητι is given periphrastically as σπλάγγνα σὰ ... ἀνοιξὸν ἡμῖν. The very last sentence καὶ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν first becomes καὶ δίδου σωτηρίαν, but also, departing from his original into Σὲ γὰρ μόνην σῶζουσαν οἶδαμεν πύλην.

It is beyond the scope of the current essay to analyse in detail the paraphrastic technique of every single Theotokion of all the three poets in detail. What follows next is just a selection of rare words or phrases as well as stylistic and other figures in the three Paraphrases (the P, the S and Symeon): Καθιλεοῦσα (P, V, 7); κυίσκεις (P, III, 6); πατρὸς δίχα (P, III, 5); τάχος (P, II, 8); ἐπαρκοῦσα (P, III, 7); ἱκετικούς εἰς λόγους (P, IV, 6); ἰδίαν κατ' εἰκόνα (P, V, 5); βροτῶν χάριν (P, V, 7); ἀμέτρων ἐκ πταισμάτων (P, VII, 3); χαρμονή τε (P, IV, 8); ἱκνοῦ (P, VIII, 5); ἔξαμείβει καὶ φύσιν (S, I, 5); (enjambement) πρὸς αὐτὸν μητρικὴν παρρησίαν/κεκτημένη (II, 7–8); ὀσημέραι (II, 9); ἄκλυστον ὄρμον ... πλοῦν γαληνόν...σταθηρὰν εὐδίαν (IV, 8–9); ὄξυδορκίαι (V, 3); ἐξανίσχεις (V, 6); εἰσάπαν (V, 10); Τέως (VI, 6); ἡρινὴν (VII, 10); employment of dialogue in VIII; Παρθένων κῦδος, being used twice (Symeon, IV, 2; V, 3); Φάος (IV, 12); Πέλουσα (VII, 3); Σῶτειρα, twice (VI,8; VII, 5)

Conclusions

To sum up, the starting point of the paraphrases of the eight Theotokia of John the monk seems to be occasioned by didactic needs, in order to aid students to learn the Greek language with the help of the epimerisms. It was possibly John Peditasimos Pothos who initiated the usage of these texts in schools, alongside other texts he used to teach in his classes. Staphidakes was in all probability one of his students. We may easily surmise that the latter used his teacher's material in his lectures, but wanted to add his own writings, and thus produced a new set of eight paraphrases. Attribution to both Peditasimos and Staphidakes may not be entirely certain, since we only have two explicit references to either of them, but it seems apparent that the manuscripts containing the text under discussion originate from Thessalonica.

Undoubtedly, the interest in the paraphrasis of those particular texts, namely the Theotokia, continues until the fifteenth century with Symeon, bishop and scholar hailing also from the same city. Symeon, thus, is the last scholar who creates his own set of paraphrasis of exactly the same

texts. This tradition of paraphrases was only interrupted – like much other intellectual activity – by the capture of the city to the Ottomans. It is not coincidental that all these paraphrases range between thirteenth–fifteenth centuries. This happens during the Palaiologan revival, an era that witnessed the activity of numerous scholars within Thessalonica, and a flourishing art, as exemplified by figures, such as the famous icon painters Manuel Panselinos,⁷⁶ Eutychios and Michael Astrapas.⁷⁷

The present essay, with a full *editio princeps* of the Theotokia from the two old traditions sheds light on the scholarship and the textual preferences within schools in Thessalonica. It helps us understand better how the network of scholars operated during this time. These scholars apparently share similar textual interests and used the medium of verse for their teaching activities. As has been pointed out, ‘The presence and teaching of John Pothos in Thessalonike during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries provide a clearer picture of the intellectual background which enabled the subsequent flourishing of learning in that city. It is in this intellectually rich milieu that scholars such as Thomas Magistros and Demetrios Triklinios grew up and produced their philological and

⁷⁶ Bibliography on Protaton and Manuel Panselinos is extremely rich. See, e.g., *O Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του*, ed. by Lenos Mavromatis (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 1999); E. Tsigaridas, *Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος. Εκ του ιερού ναού του Πρωτάτου*, Thessalonica: Άγιορείτικη Έστια, 2003, pp. 17–65; Anestis Vasilakeris, *Les fresques du Protaton au Mont Athos. Analyse du processus créative dans un atelier de peintres byzantins du XIII siècle* (unpublished Ph.D thesis) École Pratique de Hautes Études, Paris 2007. On Panselinos workshop its context and a review of the related scholarship, see Dimitrios Kalomoirakis, ‘«Πρωτάτου Ιστορήσις»: Εικόνα ἀρχέτυπη και ὁμολογιακή τῆς καθολικότητος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου χριστιανικῆς ιεροκοσμικῆς ἀνθρωπολογίας καὶ πολιτογραφίας’ in Μαργαρίται, Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Μπορμπουδάκη, ed. by Manolis S. Patedakis and Kostas D. Giapitsoglou (Seteia, Κοινωφελές Ίδρυμα «Παναγία η Ακρωτηριανή» Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Ιεραπότνης και Σητείας, 2016), pp. 139–88 (esp. 152–74) and *Πρωτάτο II. Η συντήρηση των τοιχογραφιών*. vols 1-2, ed. by Ioannis Kanonidis (Polygyros: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού, Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Χαλκιδικής και Αγίου Όρους, Ιερά Κοινότης Αγίου Όρους Αθω, 2015).

⁷⁷ On the Thessalonian icon painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, see Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, ‘Οι ζωγράφοι στην ύστερη βυζαντινή κοινωνία. Η μαρτυρία των επιγραφών’, in *Το πορτραίτο του καλλιτέχνη στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. by Maria Vassilaki (Herakleio, Πανεπιστημιακές εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 1997), p. 122, n. 1, with further bibliography. See also, Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999), pp. 227–62; idem, ‘Signatures des peintres Michel Astrapas et Eutychios. Fonction et signi cation’, in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα*, ed. by Ελληνική Εταιρεία Σλαβικών Μελετών (Thessalonica: University Studio Press, 2001), pp. 643–62; Evangelos N. Kyriakoudis, *Το κλασικιστικό πνεύμα και η καλλιτεχνική ακμή στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα*, pp. 234–36, pp. 239–44; Miodrag Marković, *Michael’s and Eutychios’ artistic work. Present knowledge, dubious issues and direction of future research*, *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 17/2 (2004), 95–113.

other works.’⁷⁸ The current edition paves the way for the publication of the accompanying sets of epimerisms, which, when published, will assist us to form a more complete picture of the way grammar and syntax were taught at schools in Thessalonica, thus adding more to our knowledge about education in Late Byzantium.

Texts

There follows an edition of the paraphrases attributable to Pediasmos and Staphidakes, with the Theotokion to which the paraphrase refers given in the apparatus. Words in bold in the paraphrase have been retained from the corresponding Theotokion, words that are underlined are either of the same root with the Theotokion or same words as in the original but in different cases, so they cannot be considered as purely verbatim quotations.

PARAPHRASIS PRIMA CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM CODICES

B	Bibl. Branc. IV A 05	xiv
Wa	Vind. Theol. gr. 203	med-xiv
N	Neapolitanus gr. II C 37	xiv–xv
Be	Atheniensis Benaki TA 152	xv
Va	Vat. Gr. 2299	xv

Textum Ioannis monachi, ed. Romae

*Παρακλητική, ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ
Μεγάλη, Rome, 1885*

TEXTUM

τὰ ὀκτῶ θεοτοκία τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀκτώηχῳ· ἃ μετεποίησεν ὁ Πεδιάσιμος ἐκεῖνος διὰ
στίχων ἰαμβικῶν

I

Ἡσαίου πρόρρησις ἤκεν εἰς πέρας
τίκτει κόρη **γάρ**· ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι κόρη,
ὁ παῖς, θεὸς **γάρ** καινοποιῶν τὰς φύσεις·
ἀλλ', ὦ θεὸν τέξασα, σοὶ πεποιθότων

⁷⁸ Constantinides, *Higher education*, 128.

- 5 τὰς ἰκεσίας μηδαμῶς παραδράμης·
 ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν αὐτεὺσπλαγχνον ὠλέναις λόγον
 φέρουσα, δίδου πρευμένειαν οἰκέταις,
 καὶ σῶζε καὶ ῥύοιο σὴν κληρουχίαν.

1–2. Is. 7, 14 3. cf. II Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15; Eph. 2, 15; Col. 3, 10
 BWaNVa

tit: ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν θεοτοκίων τροπαρίων, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμμετρον μεταποιήσεως Β τὰ ὀκτῶ
 θεοτοκία τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀκτωήχῳ· ἃ μετεποίησεν ὁ πεδιάσιμος ἐκεῖνος διὰ στίχων
 ἰαμβικῶν Ν στίχοι προσόμοιοι μετ' ἐπιμερισμῶν τῶν ἡ' ἤχων τῶν ὑστάτων
 δηλονότι θεοτοκίων a manu posteriore Hymni in B. V. Mariam cum scholiis add.
 Wa titulum om. Va
 α'ον (in marg.) N

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 4: Ἰδοὺ πεπλήρωται* ἡ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου
 πρόρρησις,* Παρθένος γὰρ ἐγέννησας,* καὶ μετὰ τόκον ὡς πρὸ τόκου διέμεινας*
 Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τεχθεὶς,* διὸ καὶ φύσεις ἐκαινοτόμησεν.* Ἀλλ', ὦ Θεομήτορ,* ἰκεσίας
 σῶν δούλων* σῶ τεμένει προσφερομένας σοι* μὴ παρίδης.* ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν Εὐσπλαγχνον*
 σαῖς ἀγκάλαις φέρουσα,* σοῖς οἰκέταις σπλαγχνίσθητι,* καὶ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς
 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

The eight Theotokia of the Oktoechos, which the great Pediasimos altered into iambic verses.

- The prophecy of Isaias has come to pass;
 for a virgin gives birth; it is the maiden of old,
 the child: God Himself who creates the natures anew;
 yet, you, o birth-giver of God,
 5 despise not the supplications of all who honour you;
 but as the bearer of the word of mercy in (your) embrace,
 bestow graciousness to your households
 saving and protecting your inheritance.

II

- Ἦ θαῦμα καινόν, θαῦμα, θαυμάτων πλέον!
 τίς οἶδεν ἀλόχευτον ἀνδρὶ μητέρα,
 χερσὶ τε κατέχουσιν, ὅς πάντα φέρει;
 βουλὴ θεοῦ γέννημα τυγχάνει τόδε·
 5 ὄν ὡς βρέφος φέρουσα χερσὶ, παρθένε,
 τῇ μητρικῇ σου μὴ λίπησ παρρησία,

καθιλεῦσα τοῖς σέβουσιν οἰκέταις,
ὡς ἀνομιῶν ἄφεσιν σχῶμεν τάχος.

2. Lc. 1, 34. 4. Is. 9, 6; 25, 1.

BWaNVa

β'ον (in marg.) N

1. Ω] *Ω BWa om. Va 2. οἶδεν] εἶδεν Wa 8. τάχος] τάφος (post cor.) τάχος Wa

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, pp. 101–102: Ὡ θαύματος καινοῦ*
πάντων τῶν πάλοι θαυμάτων!* τίς γὰρ ἔγνω Μητέρα* ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς τετοκυῖαν,*
καὶ ἐν ἀγκάλαις φέρουσαν* τὸν ἅπασαν τὴν Κτίσιν περιέχοντα; *Θεοῦ ἐστὶ βουλή
τὸ κηθέν.* ὄν ὡς βρέφος, Πάναγνε,* σαῖς ὠλέναις βαστάσασα,* καὶ μητρικὴν
παρῤῥησίαν* πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκτημένη,* μὴ παύση δυσωπούσα* ὑπὲρ τῶν σε (leg. σέ)
τιμώντων,* τοῦ οἰκτερῆσαι* καὶ σώσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

O new wonder, greater than all other wonders:

who has seen a mother without husband;

she who holds in her arms him? who holds all things?

This is the will of God's counsel

5 indeed, o Virgin, holding in your hands as an infant;

with the boldness of a mother,

abandon not your devout servants

so that we may speedily receive forgiveness of our offences.

III

Οὐκ ἐκ σποράς, πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ,

βουλή τε πατρὸς συνέλαβες, παρθένε,

υἰὸν θεοῦ, σύνδοξον, ἄκτιστον λόγον·

ἀμήτορα μὲν ἐκ πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν χρόνων,

5 ἐκ σοῦ δὲ πατρὸς δίχα, τῶν βροτῶν χάριν·

σαρκὶ κυίσκεις καὶ γαλουχεῖς ὡς βρέφος·

οὐκοῦν, δυσώπει σοῖς ἐπαρκοῦσα λάτραις,

ὡς ἂν λάβωμεν λύσιν ἀμπλακημάτων.

1.Cf. Lc. 1, 35 4. Hebr. 7, 3.

BWaNVaBe

γ'ον (in marg.) N

8. λάβωμεν] λάβοιμεν BWaNVa 8. λύσιν] λῦσιν N

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 187: Ἀσπόρως ἐκ θείου Πνεύματος,* βουλήσει
δὲ Πατρὸς* συνειληφας Υἰὸν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ* ἐκ Πατρὸς ἀμήτορα* πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων

ὑπάρχοντα,* δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκ σοῦ* ἀπάτορα γεγονότα* σαρκὶ ἀπεκύησας,* καὶ βρέφος ἐγαλούχησας.* Διὸ μὴ παύσῃ πρεσβεύειν* τοῦ λυτρωθῆναι κινδύνων* τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Without seed, but through the all holy spirit
and by the will of the father, you conceived o Virgin,
the son of god, the uncreated word, together glorified;
and who, without mother, yet timeless from the father;
5 and from you fatherless, for the sake of mortal men;
give birth and suckle him as a babe;
therefore, on behalf of those who honour you, beg
that we may receive forgiveness of sins.

IV

Νεῦσον λιταῖς σῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀγνή κόρη,
παύουσα δεινά, θλίψεων λυτρουμένη.
ὡς ἄγκυραν ἔχοιμεν ἱερὰν σὲ γάρ,
5 καὶ προστασίαν ἐν περιστάσει βίου.
ἐλπίδας ἡμῶν μηδὲως κατασχύνῃς
σπεύσον βωόντων ἱκετικὸς εἰς λόγους.
σοί, χαῖρε πιστῶν, ἀντιλήπτορ παρθένε,
ἡμῶν ψυχικὴ χαρμονὴ τε καὶ σκέπη.

3. Cf. Hebr. 6, 19.

BwaNVaBe

δ'ον (in marg.) N

7. ἀντιλήπτορ] ἀντιλήπτωρ VaBe

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 274: Νεῦσον παρακλήσεσι* σῶν οἰκετῶν, Πανάμωμε,* παύουσα δεινῶν ἡμῶν ἐπαναστάσεις,* πάσης θλίψεως ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάττουσα.* σὲ γὰρ μόνην ἀσφαλῆ* καὶ βεβαίαν ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν,* καὶ τὴν σὴν προστασίαν κεκτήμεθα.* Μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν, Δέσποινα,* σὲ προσκαλούμενοι.* σπεύσον εἰς ἱκεσίαν* τῶν σοι (leg. σοὶ) πιστῶς βωόντων.* Χαῖρε, Δέσποινα,* ἢ πάντων βοήθεια,* χαρὰ καὶ σκέπη* καὶ σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Behold the supplications of your servants, pure maiden;
ending evil and liberating us from sorrows;
for having you as a holy anchor
and protector from the concerns of life,
5 you will never disrespect our hopes;
make haste at the suppliant words of those

who cry 'hail' aloud to you, who understands the faithful, o Virgin,
and who are our soul's joy and protection.

V

Ναός, πύλη τε, βασιλειον καὶ θρόνε
τοῦ παντάνακτος, ὑπέραγνε Μαρία·
δι' ἧς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ λυτρωτῆς μου λόγος,
τοῖς ἐν σκότει φῶς ἐμφανίζεται μέγα·
5 οὓς ἐπλασε πρὶν ἰδίαν κατ' εἰκόνα·
ἀλλ' ὦ πολυῦμνητε μήτερ, παρθένε,
καθιλεούσα μὴ λίπης βροτῶν χάριν·
καὶ γὰρ θελήσει δύναμις σοι συντρέχει.

1. Ez. 44, 1–2. Prov. 9. 1 III Reg. 2. 19
4.Is. 9, 2. Colos. 1, 13.
5.Gen. 1, 26, 27. Gen. 5, 1. Gen. 9, 6.
BWaNVaBe

ε'ον (in marg.) N

1. θρόνε] θρόνος B 8. δύναμις σοι] δύναμις σῆ Be

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 364: Ναός καὶ πύλη ὑπάρχεις,* παλάτιον
καὶ θρόνος τοῦ Βασιλέως,* Παρθένη πάνσεμνε·* δι' ἧς ὁ λυτρωτῆς μου Χριστὸς
ὁ Κύριος* τοῖς ἐν σκότει καθεύδουσιν ἐπέφανεν, Ἡλιος* ὑπάρχων δικαιοσύνης,*
φωτίσαι θέλων, οὓς ἐπλασε* κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδίαν χειρὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ.* Διό, Πανῦμνητε,*
ὡς μητρικὴν παρῆρσιαν πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκτημένη,* ἀδιαλείπτως πρέσβευε* σωθῆναι
τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Temple, gate, kingdom and throne
of the king of all, most holy Mary,
through whom Christ, the word, and my redeemer
is revealed as a great light to those who live in darkness:
5 and whom in past times he formed in his image.
But o most praised Virgin mother,
for the sake of mortal men, have mercy, do not leave us.
for your readiness accords with your power.

VI

Ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ λυτρωτῆς μου λόγος,
τῆς σῆς προελθὼν παρθενικῆς νηδύος,
καὶ προσλαβὼν με τῆς πρὶν ἄρᾶς ἐκλύει·
ὡς οὖν θεὸν σοὶ παρθένω γεννησάσῃ,
5 χαίροις βοῶμεν, ἢ γένους προστασία·
ψυχῶν σκέπη τε καὶ μόνη σωτηρία.

1. Gen. 2, 7. 8. 15; Cf. I Cor. 15, 22. 5. Lc. 1, 28.

BW^aNV^a

ς'ον (in marg.) N

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 452: Ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ λυτρωτὴς μου, Πάναγνε,* Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος* ἐκ τῆς σῆς νηδύος προελθὼν,* ἐμὲ ἐνδυσάμενος* τῆς πρώην κατάρας* τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἠλευθέρωσε.* διό σοι, Πάναγνε, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ Μητρὶ τε* καὶ Παρθένῳ ἀληθῶς* βοῶμεν ἀσιγήτως* τὸ Χαίρε τοῦ Ἀγγέλου.* Χαίρε, Δέσποινα* προστασία καὶ σκέπη* καὶ σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

My creator and redeemer, the word,
 who proceeded through your virginal womb
 and received me, freeing me from the ancient curse;
 in that you, a virgin, gave birth to God,
 5 we cry: hail, you who are the protection of our generation:
 the defense and sole salvation of our souls.

VII

Ὑπὸ σκέπην σὴν γηγενεῖς πεφευγότες,
 Δέσποινα σεμνή, κράζομεν πεποιθότως.
 ῥῦσαι λάτρας σοὺς ἀμέτρων ἐκ πταισμάτων,
 ψυχὰς τε σώσον οἰκετῶν σου, παρθένε.

BW^aNV^a

ζ'ον (in marg.) N

4. σου] σῶν W^a

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 535: Ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν, Δέσποινα, σκέπην* πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς* προσπεφευγότες βοῶμέν σοι.* Θεοτόκε, ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν, ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς* ἐξ ἀμέτρων πταισμάτων,* καὶ σώσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

We mortals flee to you for protection
 o pure lady and cry to you in faith:
 free your supplicants from their endless faults
 and save, o Virgin, the souls of your servants.

VIII

Ἄνυμφε νύμφη, δόξα μητροπαρθένων,
 λόγον θεοῦ σὺ σωματώσασα μόνη,
 σὼν οἰκετῶν νῦν τὰς παρακλήσεις δέχου·
 ἢ πᾶσι διδοῖς καθαρισμόν πταισμάτων,
 5 ἱκνοῦ δὲ λύσιν ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν βασάνων.

BWaN̄Va

η'ον (in marg.) N

4. ἦ] ἢ Wa 5. λύσιν] λῦσιν BN̄Va

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 618: Ἀνύμφευτε Παρθένε, * ἢ τὸν
 Θεὸν ἀφράστως* συλλαβοῦσα σαρκί,* Μήτηρ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου,* σὼν οἰκετῶν
 παρακλήσεις* δέχου, Πανάμωμε* ἢ πᾶσι χορηγοῦσα* καθαρισμόν τῶν πταισμάτων,*
 νῦν τὰς ἡμῶν ἱκεσίας προσδεχομένη,* δυσώπει σωθῆναι πάντας ἡμᾶς.

Unwedded bride, the glory of mothers and virgins,
 who alone gave flesh to the word of God,
 now accept the supplications of your servants
 you who bestows cleansing from the faults of all
 5 and beseech that we may find deliverance from our adversities.

PARAPHRASIS SECUNDA
 CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM
 CODICES

E	Scorialensis 414 X IV.19	1427
Wb	Vind. Phil. gr 216	xv
Be	Atheniensis Benaki TA 152	xv
A	Iberon 84	xv
P	Vat. Pal. gr. 320	xv
V	Marc. Gr. XI 16	xv

TEXTUM

I

Ὡσπερ προεῖπε πρὸ χρόνων Ἡσαΐας,
 τίκτει κόρη νῦν καὶ πάλιν μένει κόρη.
 Ὅ γὰρ κυηθεὶς καὶ προελθὼν ὡς βρέφος,
 θεὸς πεφυκῶς ἐξαμείβει καὶ φύσιν.

- 5 Ἄλλ', ὧ μόνη πάναγνε μήτηρ καὶ κόρη,
 ὃς τὸν σὸν υἱὸν καὶ θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην
 ὡς δημιουργὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς σέβει,
 τῇ σῇ σκέπη σώζοιτο παντοίας βλάβης.

1–2. Is. 7, 14 4. cf. II Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15; Eph. 2, 15; Col. 3, 10
 WbABePVE

3. κηθεῖς] γεννηθεῖς post cor. Wb

tit: ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων WbAE ἀρχὴ τῶν θεοτοκίων διὰ μέτρων ἱαμβικῶν P ἀρχὴ
 σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν θεοτοκίων τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ
 Σταφιδάκη Be
 theotocium deest in V

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 4: Ἴδου πεπλήρωται* ἡ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου πρόρρησις*
 Παρθένος γὰρ ἐγέννησας,* καὶ μετὰ τόκον ὡς πρὸ τόκου διέμεινας.* Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ
 τεχθεῖς,* διὸ καὶ φύσει ἐκαινοτόμησεν.* Ἄλλ', ὦ Θεομήτορ,* ἱκεσίας σῶν δούλων* σῶ
 τεμένει προσφερομένας σοι* μὴ παρίδης.* ἄλλ' ὡς τὸν Εὐσπλαγχνοῦ* σαῖς ἀγκάλας
 φέρουσα,* σοῖς οἰκέταις σπλαγχνίσθητι,* καὶ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

As Isaias foretold in ages past
 a maiden now gives birth and yet remains chaste
 for God it was who, born, came as babe;
 making nature anew.

- 5 But, o you alone all-pure mother and maiden,
 whoever reveres your son and god and master
 as creator of earth and heaven,
 may be saved from every calamity through the protection of you.

II

- Ἐπεὶ φύσιν τὸ θαῦμα, πῶς τίκεις κόρη,
 καὶ δείκνυσαι νῦν καὶ λεχῶ καὶ παρθένος,
 καὶ χερσὶ τὸν φέροντα τὴν κτίσιν φέρεις!
 πλὴν, δημιουργός ἐστιν ὃν φέρεις κόρη-
 5 καὶ καινοποιὸς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ νεύματος,
 καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ ῥαδίως ὡς βούλεται·
 ὡς οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν μητρικὴν παρρησίαν
 κεκτημένη, δέσποινα, μήτηρ καὶ κόρη,
 ὁσημέραι πρόσπιπτε σοῦ γένους χάριν,
 10 ὡς ἂν λύσιν λάβωμεν ἀμπλακημάτων.

1–2. Cf. Lc. 1, 34
 WbABePVE

δημιουργός ἐστιν] δημιουργός/δημιουργός ἐστιν post cor. man. gloss. Wb 5.
μόνου] μόνου Wb 10. λάβωμεν] λάβοιμεν P λάβομεν post cor λάβωμεν Wb

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, pp. 101–102: Ὡ θαύματος καινοῦ*
πάντων τῶν πάλαι θαυμάτων!* τίς γάρ ἔγνω Μητέρα* ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς τετοκυῖαν,*
καὶ ἐν ἀγκάλαις φέρουσαν* τὸν ἅπασαν τὴν Κτίσιν περιέχοντα; *Θεοῦ ἐστι βουλή
τὸ κυηθέν.* ὃν ὡς βρέφος, Πάναγνε,* σαῖς ὠλέναις βαστάσασα,* καὶ μητρικὴν
παρῤῥησίαν* πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκτημένη,* μὴ παύση δυσωπούσα* ὑπὲρ τῶν σε (leg. σὲ)
τιμώντων,* τοῦ οἰκτειρήσαι* καὶ σώσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Beyond nature is the miracle of your conception, o maiden.
you now appear as both new-mother and virgin,
bearing in your arms, the sustainer of all creation:
but the one whom you carry is the creator, maiden.
5 He who alone by signs makes all things new,
securing everything according to his wish.
possessing the boldness of a mother towards him to speak freely
o Lady, virgin mother,
day by day bow to him for the sake of mankind,
10 for us to receive the forgiveness of sins.

III

Τὴν σὴν, ἀγνή, σύλληψιν, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι.
ἀνθρώπινος γὰρ οὐκ ἐφικνεῖται λόγος
τὸ πᾶν ἀκριβῶς ἐκφράσαι τοῦ πράγματος.
πλὴν τοῦτο πιστοὶ πάντες ἴσμεν καὶ μόνον.
5 ὡς ἀσπόρως σὺ πνεύματος συνεργία
βουλῆ τε πατρὸς τὸν λόγον συλλαμβάνεις.
ὃς φύς ἀμήτωρ ἐκ πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν χρόνων,
ἐκ σοῦ προήλθεν ἄνευ γεννήτορος.
πρὸς ὃν δεήσεις μητρικὰς ποιουμένη,
10 πιστοὺς περιφρούρησον ἐκ πάσης βλάβης.

5. Cf. Lc. 1, 35 5–7. Hebr. 7, 3.

WbAPVE

2. οὐκ ἐφικνεῖται] οὐ φικνύται Wb 6. βουλῆ τε] βουλήται Wb 6. τὸν λόγον deest in
Wb 9. πρὸς ὃν] πρὸς οὐ? P

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 187: Ἀσπόρως ἐκ θεοῦ Πνεύματος,*
βουλήσει δὲ Πατρὸς* συνειληφας Ἰὼν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ* ἐκ Πατρὸς ἀμήτορα* πρὸ τῶν
αἰώνων ὑπάρχοντα,* δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκ σοῦ* ἀπάτορα γεγονότα* σαρκὶ ἀπεκύησας,* καὶ

βρέφος ἐγαλούχησας.* Διὸ μὴ παύση πρεσβεύειν* τοῦ λυτρωθῆναι κινδύνων* τὰς
 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

I have no words to tell of your pure conception,
 for human language will fail
 to describe exactly what has come to pass,
 yet we the faithful all know only this.
 5 unsown, yet in co-operation with the spirit
 and with the will and collaboration of the father,
 you conceived the word:
 He who appeared motherless from the father before the ages
 issued forth from you fatherlessly;
 to whom as mother you make supplications
 10 guarding the faithful from every wrongdoing.

IV

Ἐλπίς μόνη, πάναγνε, πιστῶν, παρθένε,
 τῶν οἰκετῶν σου τὰς δεήσεις προσδέχου,
 καὶ παῦε δεινὰ καὶ ῥύου τρικυμίας,
 ἣν ἐξεγείρει τοῦ βίου τὰ πνεύματα,
 5 καὶ συνταράττει τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς κύριον,
 ὡς μὴ κυβερνᾶν τὸ σκάφος πρὸς ἄξιαν.
 σὲ γὰρ μόνην, μητέρα θεοῦ, γινώσκωμεν
 ἄκλυστον ὄρμον καὶ βεβαίαν ἄγκυραν,
 καὶ πλοῦν γαληνὸν καὶ σταθιρὰν εὐδίαν
 10 ἐν τῷ διάπλω τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ βίου.

7. Cf. Hebr. 6.19

APVE

4. ἐξεγείρει] ἐξεγείρη P

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 274: Νεῦσον παρακλήσεσι* σῶν
 οἰκετῶν, Πανάμωμε,* παύουσα δεινῶν ἡμῶν ἐπαναστάσεις,* πάσης θλίψεως ἡμᾶς
 ἀπαλλάττουσα.* σὲ γὰρ μόνην ἀσφαλῆ* καὶ βεβαίαν ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν,* καὶ τὴν
 σὴν προστασίαν κεκτήμεθα.* Μὴ αἰσχυθῶμεν, Δέσποινα,* σὲ προσκαλούμενοι.*
 σπεύσον εἰς ἰκεσίαν* τῶν σοι (leg. σοὶ) πιστῶς βοώντων.* Χαῖρε, Δέσποινα,* ἡ
 πάντων βοήθεια,* χαρὰ καὶ σκέπη* καὶ σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Most chaste one and Virgin, you are the one hope of the faithful;
 accept the supplications of your servants

and cease the assaults and subdue those storms
 which are triggered by the spirits of life
 5 and disturb our master
 making it impossible for him to control the ship rightly,
 for we know only you, o Mother of God,
 as our safe port and sure anchor,
 the peaceful sailing and the stable, calm weather
 10 in our crossings of the sea of the life.

V

Ναόν, πύλην, οἶκόν σε καὶ θρόνον πάλαι
τοῦ παντάνακτος, ὦ πάναγνε Μαρία,
προφητικαὶ βλέπουσιν ὄξυδορκίαι·
καὶ γὰρ προεῖδον, ὡς ἐφικτόν, ὄμμασιν
 5 *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὸ ξένον μυστήριον,*
δι' οὗ σὺ Χριστὸν ἐξάνισχεις τῇ κτίσει,
ὡς ἄσπιλος δίσκος τὸν ὄντως ἥλιον,
καὶ δυσσεβείας τὸ σκότος σκεδαννύεις·
ἀντεισάγεις δὲ τὴν ποθεινὴν ἡμέραν,
 10 *ἣν καὶ φυλάττοις εἰσάπαν ἀνέσπερον.*

1. Prov. 9. 1 Ez. 44, 1–2. III Reg. 2. 19
 7–8. Is. 9, 2. Colos. 1, 13.

APVE

10. ἦν καὶ ... ἀνέσπερον deest in V

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 364: Ναὸς καὶ πύλη ὑπάρχεις,* παλάτιον
 καὶ θρόνος τοῦ Βασιλέως,* Παρθένε πάνσεμνε* δι' ἣς ὁ λυτρωτῆς μου Χριστὸς
 ὁ Κύριος* τοῖς ἐν σκότει καθεύδουσιν ἐπέφανεν, Ἥλιος* ὑπάρχων δικαιοσύνης,*
 φωτίσαι θέλων, οὐς ἔπλασε* κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδίαν χειρὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ.* Διό, Πανύμνητε,*
 ὡς μητρικὴν παρῤῥησίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκτημένη,* ἀδιαλείπτως πρέσβευε* σωθῆναι
 τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

From the past, as the entrance to the temple, house and throne
 of the almighty, o most holy Mary,
 prophetic visions have seen you with sharp eyes;
 for they have seen as they could with their eyes
 5 each one of them the strange mystery,
 by which you offer Christ to creation
 as a spotless disc, the veritable sun.
 you destroyed the darkness of impiety

and introduced the sealed and longed-for day
 10 which you may preserve forever without evening.

VI

Γυνή κλαπεῖσα τῇ κακῇ παραινέσει
 τοῦ παμπονήρου καὶ πικροῦ βροτοκτόνου,
 ἀρὰν προεξένησεν ἀνθρώποις πάλαι·
 γυνὴ δὲ καὶ σύ, γνωρίσασα τὸν δόλον,
 5 καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν μὴ φέρουσα τὴν ὕβριν,
 σαυτὴν μὲν ἠτύρπιζες ἄξιαν τέως·
 βουλῆς παλαιᾶς πρὸ χρόνων εἰρημένης,
 δεδεγμένη δὲ καὶ τεκοῦσα τὸν λόγον,
 εὐφημίας πέφηνας ἡμῖν αἰτία,
 10 ὅθεν βοῶμεν, ὦ γένους σωτηρία,
 ὦ τῆς ἀράς λύτρωσις, ὦ πόνων λύσις,
 ὦ χαῖρε σεμνή, χαῖρε πιστῶν τὸ κλέος!

1. Cf. Anast. S., hex. 12, X. 2. 31.

ABePVE

2. πικροῦ] φρικτοῦ Be 4. σύ, γνωρίσασα] συγ(γ)νωρίσασα P 6. τέως] τέ ως E

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 452: Ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ λυτρωτῆς μου, Πάναγνε,* Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος* ἐκ τῆς σῆς νηδύος προελθὼν,* ἐμὲ ἐνδυσάμενος* τῆς πρώην κατάρας* τὸν Ἀδάμ ἠλευθέρωσε.* διό σοι, Πάναγνε, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ Μητρὶ τέ* καὶ Παρθένῳ ἀληθῶς* βοῶμεν ἀσιγήτως* τὸ Χαῖρε τοῦ Ἀγγέλου.* Χαῖρε, Δέσποινα,* προστασία καὶ σκέπη* καὶ σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

In times past, a woman, deceived by the bad admonition
 of the highly cunning and bitter slayer of mortal men,
 thereby induced a curse on humans;
 you, too, are also a woman, aware of treachery,
 5 but you do not pursue the boldness of women;
 over time, you have been preparing yourself to be worthy;
 and accepting the ancient counsel uttered before the ages,
 you bore the word,
 thereby being a cause of joy for us;
 10 for this, we cry aloud, o salvation of (our) generation,
 o redeemer from the curse, o releaser of pains:
 o hail, you who are virtuous; hail, you who are the glory of faithful.

VII

Ἵπὸ σκέπην Δέσποινα σὴν πεφευγότες,
 κἀνταῦθα πολλὴν τὴν σκιὰν εὐρηκότες

οἱ προσκυνηταὶ τοῦ τόκου σου τοῦ ξένου,
 λαμπρὰν ὄσπην ἔχουσι τὴν θυμηδίαν
 5 ἐν τῇ σφοδρᾷ γὰρ τῶν παθῶν μεσημβρία,
 καύσωνα δεινὸν ψυχικὸν δεδεγμένοι,
 προσχόντες εὐρίσκουσιν ἐν σοὶ παρθένε,
 σκιὰν φαινήν καὶ ποθεινὸν ἀέρα,
 καὶ πρὸς πόσιν ῥοῦν καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον παστάδα,
 10 καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἠρινὴν εὐκρασίαν·
 ἐν οἷς ἀνακλιθέντες ἐκ τοῦ καύματος
 ὕπνουσιν, ἠρεμοῦσιν οἱ κεκμηκότες.

APVE

4. ἔχουσι] ἔχουσιν AVE 7. προσχόντες] προσσχόντες APE 10. ἠρινὴν] εἰῆρινὴν V
 post Ναόν πύλην... Ὑπὸ σκέπην... trad. P.

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 535: Ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν, Δέσποινα, σκέπην*
 πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς* προσπεφευγότες βοῶμέν σοι·* Θεοτόκε, ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν, ῥύσαι
 ἡμᾶς* ἐξ ἀμέτρων πταισμάτων,* καὶ σώσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Under your protection we flee o lady,
 where those who venerate your strange birth giving
 have found a great shade;
 those who possess shining joy
 5 during the strong noon of the passions,
 accepting the assault of the strong, heat, wave of souls;
 to you they come o virgin,
 they find a bright shadow and desired air,
 water to drink and a bed for sleep.
 10 any every kind of enjoyable peace;
 where they fall from heat wave
 those who are tired, sleep and keep calm.

VIII

Τί τοῦτο καὶ πῶς; ἀγνώ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον
 ὦ μήτερ ἀγνή, τοῦ τόκου σου τοῦ ξένου·
 καὶ γὰρ βλέπω σε παρθένον καὶ μητέρα,
 ἀφθαρτον ἀνδρὶ καὶ μόνην παιδοτρόφον!
 5 πόθεν τὸ θαῦμα καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος, λέγε
 ἀνυμφε νύμφη, τοῦ ξένου μυστηρίου;
 νύμφη μὲν εἰμὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ξενοτρόπως,
 τίκτω δὲ παῖδα τὸν θεὸν πέραν λόγου,
 ῥύπον κυῆσει μηδαμῶς δεδεγμένον,

10 ἵνα βροτοὺς ῥύσαιτο τῆς ἁμαρτίας·
 τοῦτον πέπρακται τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν λόγον
 ἢ παρθένου κύησις, ὁ ξένος τόκος.

APVE

8. πέραν λόγου] correxi πέρα λόγου AVE παρά λόγον P

textum Joannis monachi ed. Romae, p. 618: Ἀνύμφευτε Παρθένε,* ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ἀφράστως* συλλαβοῦσα σαρκί,* Μήτηρ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου,* σῶν οἰκετῶν παρακλήσεις* δέχου, Πανάμωμε.* ἢ πᾶσι χορηγοῦσα* καθαρισμόν τῶν πταισμάτων,* νῦν τὰς ἡμῶν ἰκεσίας προσδεχομένη,* δυσώπει σωθῆναι πάντας ἡμᾶς.

What is this, and how? I do not know the manner
 o pure mother, of your strange birth giving,
 for I see you, as virgin and mother,
 unravished by man, you alone nurture a child,
 tell us, o unwedded bride, from whence comes this miracle and
 5 what is the conduct of the strange mystery?
 -I am a bride of God in a strange way,
 beyond understanding I give birth to a child who is God
 without a single spot in his birth,
 10 thereby that he saves mortal men from sin.
 Such is the manner of the virgin's strange birth giving.

Abstract

This paper offers a critical edition of the hitherto unpublished text of two groups of metrical paraphrases of the eight Doxastika Theotokia of the Aposticha of the Oktoechos. The manuscript tradition is not unanimous, attributing part of the paraphrasis either to John Pediasimos Pothos or to his student Demetrios Staphidakes - albeit not without additions and/or variations. The nature of the manuscripts under discussion points to school textbooks, since the paraphrasis is accompanied by glosses and epimerisms. Also, MS EBE 2047 transmits the text of another paraphrasis, penned by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica. There, it is accompanied by rubrics and instructions on the performance in the Church, and its character shifts to liturgical usage. All these verse paraphrases testify that there was a continuous interest in translating the texts of the eight Theotokia in Thessalonica and lasted for at least two centuries.

PART II: THE *EDITIO PRINCEPS* OF
A COMPLETELY UNKNOWN TEXT

RENAAT MEESTERS – RACHELE RICCERI

A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax

Editio princeps

This article deals with a twelfth-century cycle of four unedited metrical paratexts on John Klimax in dodecasyllables, preserved in seven manuscripts.¹ We provide a general introduction, an overview of the manuscripts and of the poems, the *editio princeps*, and an English translation.

1. John Klimax, Editions and Surrounding Texts

John Klimax was the author of Κλίμαξ θείας ἀνόδου (*The Ladder of Divine Ascent*),² written at the end of the sixth century or in the first half of the seventh century.³ This is one of the most wide-spread and copied works

¹ This paper is an outcome of the research activity carried out in the framework of the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams, hosted at Ghent University and funded by the Hercules Foundation of the Flemish Government and the Special Research Fund (GOA) of Ghent University. The introduction, critical text and translations are the result of the collaboration of the two authors. The sections ‘The Structure of Poem 2 and the *Pinakes* of the Manuscripts’, ‘Metrical Analysis’, and the list of ‘*Loci paralleli*’ have been elaborated by Renaat Meesters only. Furthermore, the texts presented in this contribution have been included in Meesters’ PhD dissertation (Ghent University). We are profoundly grateful to Julie Boeten, Sien De Groot, Marc De Groote, Kristoffel Demoen, Mark Janse, Nina Sietis, Dimitrios Skrekas and Maria Tomadaki for their astute remarks and suggestions for improving this paper. We also wish to thank Marcel Pirard, Father Theologos of Ibērōn, and Sofie Abé for their practical assistance.

² Although this title is the most popular, it might not be the original one. It is possible that the authentic title was Πλάκες πνευματικαί (*Spiritual tablets*) referring to the tablets of Moses. Cf. John M. Duffy, ‘Embellishing the Steps’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 (1999), 1–17 (pp. 5–6); John Chryssavgis, *John Climacus: From the Egyptian Desert to the Sinaite Mountain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 21; Marie-Joseph Pierre, Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello and John Chryssavgis, ‘Jean Climaque’, in *La Théologie Byzantine et sa tradition*, ed. by Giuseppe Conticello (Turnhout: Brepols 2015), I/1, pp. 195–325 (p. 276). For a different perspective, see Henrik Rydell Johnsen, *Reading John Climacus: Rhetorical Argumentation, Literary Convention and the Tradition of Monastic Formation* (Lund: Lund University Press, 2007), p. 15.

³ For a discussion, see Jonathan L. Zecher, *The Role of Death in the Ladder of Divine Ascent and the Greek Ascetic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015),

in the Byzantine millennium and represents a bright example of refined monastic literature. It describes how to ascend to God in thirty ascetic steps (λόγοι). Although it was written in a monastic context, it was also popular among laymen.⁴ It was translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic and Slavonic.⁵ More than 700 Greek manuscripts containing the works of John Klimax have been preserved.⁶

As is often the case with wide-spread works, the immense popularity of John Klimax paradoxically accounts for the absence of a critical edition. There are only three editions of the *Ladder*: by Rader (1633, reissued by Migne in 1864 and Trevisan in 1941), Sophronios (1883, reprinted in 1970; henceforth Sophr.) and Archimandrite Ignatios (1987, reprinted in 1994).⁷

In each of the mentioned editions, as well as in the manuscripts, the *Ladder* is accompanied by three texts. Before the *Ladder*, there are usually two letters. The first one is written by John, abbot of Raithou, to John Klimax with the request to write a new spiritual guide. The second one is a reply in which the request is accepted. The end of the *Ladder* is followed by a short treatise, *To the Shepherd*, written by Klimax. These texts are part of the same compositional process.⁸ More texts were added at a later

pp. 31–33; Chryssavgis, *John Climacus*, pp. 42–44; Duffy, ‘Embellishing the Steps’, p. 2 n. 5; Pierre and others, ‘Jean Climacus’, p. 212.

⁴ Chryssavgis, *John Climacus*, pp. 20–23; Duffy, ‘Embellishing the Steps’, p. 2; Pierre and others, ‘Jean Climacus’, pp. 277, 287. See, for example, also vv. 1–3 of the metrical summary of the *Ladder* preserved in Par. Coisl. 87 fol. 11–v (fourteenth century) (ed. Theodora Antonopoulou, ‘Ανέκδοτοι στίχοι για την Κλίμακα του Ιωάννη του Σιναΐτη’, in *Aureus. Volume Dedicated to Professor Evangelos K. Chrysos*, ed. by Taxiarchis G. Kolias and Konstantinos G. Pitsakis (Athens: Institute of Historical Research Foundation 2014), pp. 19–25 (p. 23): Πίναξ ὁδ’ ἐστὶ τῆς παρούσης πυκτιδος, | ἡ γῆθεν ὑψοὶ τοὺς μοναστὰς εἰς πόλον, | καὶ τοὺς μυγάδας εἰς Ἐδέμ φέρει τόπους.

⁵ Pierre and others, ‘Jean Climacus’, pp. 255–62; Johnsén, *Reading John Climacus*, p. 6; CPG 7853.

⁶ Some of these codices, however, only preserve fragments of Klimax’s works. Especially steps 27 and 28 were frequently excerpted. Cf. Antonio Rigo, ‘Giovanni Climaco a Bisanzio’, in *Giovanni Climaco e il Sinai. Atti del IX Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa sezione bizantina. Bose, 16-18 settembre 2001*, ed. by Sabino Chialà and Lisa Cremaschi (Bose: Edizioni Qiqajon 2002), p. 201; see also Pierre and others, pp. 213–14; Johnsén, *Reading John Climacus*, p. 10; Nancy P. Ševčenko, ‘Monastic Challenges: Some Manuscripts of the Heavenly Ladder’, in *Byzantine Art. Recent Studies*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 39–62; see also the Pinakes database for further information on the manuscripts: www.pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr.

⁷ Johnsén, *Reading John Climacus*, pp. 12–14; Chryssavgis, *John Climacus*, p. 234; Ševčenko, ‘Monastic Challenges’, p. 39 n. 1; Pierre and others, ‘Jean Climacus’, pp. 227, 254; Zecher, *The Role of Death*, pp. 9–10.

⁸ Duffy, p. 3; Johnsén, *Reading John Climacus*, p. 7.

stage, such as the *Life* of Klimax by Daniel of Raithou⁹ and different short prologues to the *Ladder*. Although there are differences between manuscripts, these texts frequently occur together in the manuscript tradition.¹⁰

In some codices, other metrical paratexts that accompany the works of John Klimax are to be found.¹¹ In July 2018, the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE)¹² records more than 70 different poems of variable length on Klimax. The poems edited in this paper were merely known through brief references in manuscript catalogues, in which only the incipits or few verses are printed.

The poetic cycle we are dealing with consists of four metrical paratexts: Poem 1 (102 vv.), inc. Ἐχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα, which is a spiritual comparison between the *Ladder* and a garden; Poem 2 (226 vv.), inc. Ὑῆγματα χρυσᾶ τοῖς Λυδοῖς αἰρεῖ λόγος, a praise of Klimax and a summary of the *Ladder* articulated in six verses for each step; Poem 3 (19, 16 or 14 vv.), inc. Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου, a laudatory colophon; Poem 4 (134 vv.), inc. Τούτων ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν, καλῶν δόξα, accompanying the treatise *To the Shepherd*, is a *laudatio* of the Trinity, ending as a prayer. Counting more than 470 vv., this cycle is exceptionally long. In particular, Poem 2 is the longest book epigram in Byzantine literature known so far.

⁹ It is uncertain when Daniel lived. He might have been a contemporary of Klimax. For a discussion, see Chryssavgis, *John Climacus*, p. 15; Pierre and others, 'Jean Climacus', p. 233. However, Daniel's work certainly is the oldest preserved biography of Klimax, and a source of inspiration for later biographers. Cf. Rigo, 'Giovanni Climaco', p. 196.

¹⁰ Johnsen, *Reading John Climacus*, pp. 7, 10; Paul Moore, *Iter Pselliarum: A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for all Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Subsidia mediaevalia, 2005), p. 49.

¹¹ Some of them have already been edited; see, for example, Antonopoulou, *Ανέκδοτοι*, pp. 19–25; Kathleen Corrigan and Nancy P. Ševčenko, 'The teaching of the ladder: The Message of the Heavenly Ladder Image in Sinai ms. gr. 417', in *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings. Studies presented to Leslie Brubaker*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 99–120; Enrico Magnelli, 'Una presentazione licofronea per Giovanni Climaco', *Νέα Πώμη*, 7 (2010), 117–22; Klaas Bentein, Floris Bernard, Marc De Groote and Kristoffel Demoen, 'Book Epigrams in Honour of the Church Fathers. Some Inedita from the Eleventh Century', *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 49 (2009), 281–94 (pp. 287–93). For a general introduction to Byzantine metrical paratexts, cf. Renaat Meesters, 'Byzantijnse boekepigrammen / metrische parateksten: terminologie en classificatie', *Handeligen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 69 (2016), 169–184; Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen, 'Book Epigrams', in *Brill's Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), pp. 197–212.

¹² www.dbbe.ugent.be.

2. The Manuscripts

The poems have been preserved in seven manuscripts. These extant witnesses have been fully collated and will be mentioned below with the following *sigla*:

- M Mosq. Synod. gr. 229 (Vlad. 192) (twelfth century)¹³
 N Mosq. Synod. gr. 480 (Vlad. 193) (twelfth century)¹⁴
 R Manchester Rylands Gaster 1574 (a. 1282)¹⁵
 L Athos Megistēs Lauras B 102 (eleventh /fourteenth centuries)¹⁶
 P Paris. Coisl. 264 (fourteenth century)¹⁷
 I Athos Ibērōn 418 (fourteenth century, second half)¹⁸
 V Vat. Pal. gr. 120 (a. 1322–1323)¹⁹

M (329 folios) was written on parchment in the twelfth century and measures 319 × 220 mm. The text is written in two columns. Initials and

¹³ Archimandrite Vladimir and Xénia Grichine, *Description systématique des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Synodale Patriarcale de Moscou. Tome III, grec 181 à grec 241* (Paris: 1995), pp. 236–38; Pierre and others, ‘Jean Climacus’, pp. 214, 248.

¹⁴ Vladimir and Grichine, *Description*, pp. 238–39.

¹⁵ Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 17, 1980), pp. 30–31; Phlorentia Euangelatou–Notara, *Σύλλογή χρονολογημένων σημειωμάτων ελληνικών κωδίκων. 13ος αιώνας* (Athens: 1984), pp. 116–17; eadem, *Χορηγοί, κτήτορες, δωρητές σε σημειώματα κωδίκων. Παλαιολόγιοι χρόνοι* (Athens: 2000), p. 182; RGK I 207bis.

¹⁶ Miscellaneous codex. Cf. Sophronios Eustratiades, ‘Ἀγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα’, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 1 (1917) 145–60 (p. 153); Sophronios Eustratiades and Spyridon of the Laura, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), p. 27; Michaelis Pselli *Philosophica Minora*, ed. by John M. Duffy et Dominic J. O’Meara (Leipzig: Teubner, 1989), II: *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica*, p. VIII; Moore, *Iter Psellianum*, p. 713; <http://doaks.org/library-archives/library/mmdb/manuscripts/1070> (last accessed 31.07.2018).

¹⁷ Robert Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, II: Le fonds Coislin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1945), pp. 242–44. Montfaucon, however, dated the manuscript to the twelfth or thirteenth c. (Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana* (Paris: 1715), p. 306).

¹⁸ Spyridon Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), p. 145; Panagiotis Manafis, ‘Κατάλογος περιεχομένων χειρογράφων της Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἰβήρων του Ἁγίου Ὄρους, αριθμ. 400–450’, (unpublished MA thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2012); autopsy of the manuscript by Renaat Meesters (October 2015).

¹⁹ Alexander Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City: Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. 28, 1964), pp. 131–32; Henry Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, Vatican City: Ex Typographeo Vaticano, 1885, p. 57.

notes are written in red. **M** contains an introductory prayer to Poem 1 (fol. 1^r); Poem 1 (fol. 1^r–1^v); Poem 2 (fols 1^v–2^v); a prologue,²⁰ a table of contents of the *Ladder* and a note on the *Ladder*²¹ (fol. 3^r); the *Life* of John Klimax by Daniel of Raithou (fols 3^r–5^r);²² the *Letters* of both Johns, with a partial commentary (fols 5^v–6^v); the *Ladder*, accompanied by the unedited commentary of Elias of Crete (fols 7^r–320^r); an epigram: Τριανταριθμος οὐ(ρα)νόδρομος κλίμαξ· | εἰς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς φέρουσα τοὺς βροτοὺς βᾶσις (diplomatic transcription),²³ accompanied by a table of contents, which is presented as an image of the *Scala Paradisi*, followed by a repetition of the prologue of fol. 3^r (fol. 320^v); Poem 3 (fol. 321^r); *To the Shepherd* with a commentary²⁴ (fols 321^r–328^r); Poem 4 (fol. 329^r). Concerning the provenance of the manuscript, the note τῶν Ἰβήρων, written at the top of fol. 1^r by a later hand, points to a presence of the manuscript in the Ibērōn monastery. Also at the bottom of fol. 328^v there is a note referring to Ibērōn, written by a seventeenth-century hand, inc. Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἀφιερῶθη ἐν τῇ πανσεβάστῳ μονῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων παρ’ ἐμοῦ Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ καὶ δομεστικῆς τῆς Κυρίας ἡμῶν τῆς Πορτιατίσσης.²⁵ The manuscript was taken to Moscow in 1655 by Arseny Sukhanov.²⁶

N (421 folios) was written on parchment in the twelfth century and measures 192 × 143 mm. The manuscript is carefully executed, with titles, initials and notes in red ink. **N** contains the same introductory prayer as in **M** (fol. 1^v); Poem 1 (fols 2^r–4^r); Poem 2 (fols 4^r–8^v); a prologue (fol. 9^r);²⁷ a table of contents of the *Ladder* (fols 9^v–10^r); the *Life* (fols 10^v–14^v); the two *Letters* (fols 14^v–17^r); some *scholia* on the *Life* and on the *Letters* (fols 17^r–21^r); the *Ladder*, with *scholia* at the end of every step, citing patristic sources (fols 21^r–389^r); Poem 3 (fol. 389^r); *To the Shepherd* (fols 390^r–407^r); the same commentary on *To the Shepherd*

²⁰ Inc. Τοῖς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς (PG 88.628).

²¹ Inc. Ἐσκόπησεν ὄντως ἀρίστως μάλα. In the right margin a red title is written vertically: ἐπιλογος εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα.

²² Inc. Τὸ μὲν τίς ἢ ἐνεγκαμένη (PG 88.596–605).

²³ See also DBBE (consulted 31.07.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/171> for a three-line version of this epigram.

²⁴ Inc. Ὅταν ἀκούσης, ὅτι ἔσσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι (PG 88.1165).

²⁵ Vladimir and Grichine, *Description*, p. 238.

²⁶ On Arseny Sukhanov, see *Christian-Muslim relation: a bibliographical history*, ed. by David Thomas and others, 11 vols (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2009–2017), VIII (2016), pp. 893–94.

²⁷ Inc. Ὁ τὴν ἰσάριθμον ἡμῖν, entitled Προθεωρία τῆς ἀγίας κλίμακος. Cf. Sophr., p. 6.

as in **M** (fols 408^v–417^r); Poem 4 (fols 417^r–420^v); a contemporaneous scribal note, not mentioning any name, accompanied by diverse notes from more recent hands (fol. 420^v). On fol. 421^r a note from a seventeenth-century hand is preserved: ἐτούτ(ο) τὸ βιβλίον ὑπάρχει τοῦ πάπ(α) παχωμίου | κ(αι) τὸ ἀφηῆροσ(εν) εἰς τὴν μονῆν τοῦ δοχειαρίου. | μὲ ἕτερα λ' βιβλία. κ(αι) εἶθης ἀποξενώσοι | ἀπ' αὐτὰ να ἔνε. ἀφορισμένος.²⁸ A note on fol. 1^r by a later hand mentions the name of a certain Arseny (αρσέ νη, repeated as αρσενη). This indicates that also this manuscript was brought from Mt. Athos to Moscow by Arseny Sukhanov.

R (377 folios) was written on parchment in 1282 and measures only 92 × 65 mm. Titles and initials are written in red. The black ink on the first folios is slightly worn and the red colour faded away. The manuscript contains the same prologue as **M** (fol. 1^r–1^v); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (fol. 2^r–2^v); the *Letters* followed by the *Ladder* (fols 3^r–345^r); Poem 3 (fol. 345^v); *To the Shepherd* (fols 346^r–376^v). The last verse of Poem 3 mentions a certain Ἰάκωβος. He is mentioned again on the damaged fol. 376^v in a colophon in prose, written in red, indicating that he was the patron of the manuscript. This colophon can be reconstructed thanks to the Oxford Christ Church 63, fol. 362^r.²⁹ Next to Ἰάκωβος also the scribe Ἰώσαφ is mentioned in the colophon on fol. 376^v, stating that he finished his work on 11 November 1282.³⁰ Turyn suggests that this scribe wrote also Poem 3.³¹

L (272 folios) is a miscellaneous codex and measures 290 × 210 mm. The oldest part of the manuscript, fols 16^r–169^v, was written on parchment in the eleventh century. The rest of the manuscript, fols 1^r–15^v and

²⁸ Diplomatic transcription by the authors. Compare with Boris L. Fonkič and Fjodor B. Poljakov, *Grečskie rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj Biblioteki. Paleografičeskie, kodikologičeskie i bibliografičeskie dopolnenijak katalogu Archimandrita Vladimira (Filantropova)* (Moscow: Sinodal'naja biblioteka, 1993), p. 73.

²⁹ See for the text Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 30.

³⁰ RGK L.207bis. Besides Ἰώσαφ, there are also three anonymous scribes in **R**. For more information, see Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 30–31. Cf. Euangelatou–Notara, *Συλλογή*, pp. 116–17; Euangelatou–Notara, *Χορηγοί*, p. 182. Géhin and Kouroupou mention that Ἰώσαφ also wrote Paris, Sainte–Geneviève 3398 (a. 1283), and suggest that he was responsible for the Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Panaghia 66 (thirteenth century). Cf. Matoula Kouroupou and Paul Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki, I: Notices descriptives* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), p. 217; Paul Canart, 'Un manuscrit provincial de datation problématique (Vat. gr. 2561) et deux épigrammes sur l'évangéliste Matthieu', *Nέα Πώμη*, 7 (2010), 317–36 (p. 334 n. 46).

³¹ Cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 80.

170^r–272^v, is written on paper and is dated to the fourteenth century.³² The poems are preserved in this more recent part. The manuscript contains the *Catechesis ascetica* of Markianos of Bethlehem (fols 1^r–15^r);³³ a short part of the *Letters* of Isidore of Pelusium (fol. 15^r);³⁴ a short treatise of Psellos *περὶ ψυχῆς* (fol. 15^r–15^v);³⁵ a fragment of John Chortasmenus' *Prolegomena in logica Aristotelis*, entitled *Περὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων* (fol. 15^v).³⁶ The eleventh-century part of the manuscript starts with the letter of John of Raithou (fol. 16^r–16^v), without the usual reply; the same prologue as in **M** and **R** (fols 16^v–17^r); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (fol. 17^r); the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd* (fols 17^v–168^v); a short text inc. *Τρία εἰσὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἡσυχίας* (fols 168^v–169^r); scribal notes from different periods (fol. 169^v).³⁷ Thereafter, the fourteenth-century part continues with Poem 2 (fols 170^r–172^v); the same prologue as **N** (fol. 172^v); *scholia* on the *Life* and the *Letters*, the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd*, accompanied by *scholia* on the *Ladder* (fols 173^r–266^v); Poem 3 (fols 266^v–267^r); the same commentary on *To the Shepherd* as in **M** and **N** (fols 267^r–272^r); Poem 4 (fol. 272^r–272^v).

P (275 folios) was written on parchment in the fourteenth century and measures 210 × 155 mm. It is carefully written, with titles and notes in red. **P** contains Poem 1 (fols 1^r–2^v); Poem 2 (fols 3^r–6^v); the same prologue as **N** and **L** (fol. 6^v); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (fol. 7^r); the *Life* (fols 7^v–10^r); the *Letters* (fols 10^r–12^r); *scholia* on the *Life* and on the *Letters* (fols 12^r–14^r); the *Ladder* (fols 14^v–254^v); the same prologue as in **M**, **R** and **L** (fol. 254^v); *scholia* on the *Ladder* (fols 255^r–256^v); Poem 3 (fols 256^v–257^r); *To the Shepherd* (fols 257^r–269^r); the same commentary as in **M**, **N** and **L**, accompanied by other *scholia* (fols 269^v–274^v). The scribe of the manuscript is possibly mentioned in v. 15 of Poem 3, a certain Nikandros, wearer of rags. The Kyprianos of v. 16, therefore, would be the patron of the manuscript. As far as we know, both are unknown from other sources. The book once belonged to a certain Theo-

³² Cf. Moore, *Iter Psellianum*, p. 713.

³³ Inc. Ὀλύμερης [*sic*] καὶ πολύτροπος πρόκειται (CPG 5541).

³⁴ Inc. Πυθαγόρας μὲν καὶ Πλάτων (CPG 5557).

³⁵ Inc. Στραφέισα ψυχὴ πρὸς ἑαυτήν. Cf. Moore, *Iter Psellianum*, p. 273 PHI.69.

³⁶ Inc. Ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ διττὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις.

³⁷ It is likely that fol. 169 was the last folio of the original eleventh-century manuscript.

charis (fol. 133^v). Another possessory note on fol. 275^v, βήβλητων μετετών, possibly points to Meteora.³⁸

I (142 folios) was written on paper in the fourteenth century and measures 294 × 218 mm. The text is written in two columns, with initials, titles and notes in red. I contains Poem 1 (fol. 1^r–1^v); Poem 2 (fols 2^r–4^r); the same prologue as in N, L and P (fol. 4^r); a table of contents (fol. 4^r–4^v); the *Life* (fols 5^r–7^r); the *Letters* (fols 7^r–8^r); the *Ladder* (fols 8^r–114^r); another table of contents of the *Ladder*, represented as a ladder (fol. 114^v); *To the Shepherd* (fols 115^r–124^v); John Chrysostom's Λόγος ἰδ' ἀπὸ τῆν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολήν (fols 126^r–130^v);³⁹ *scholia* on Klimax (fols 131^r–141^v).⁴⁰ Accompanying the text of the *Ladder*, the word *στάσις* appears every few folios in the middle of a circle in red, written by a different hand.⁴¹ It indicates the pause of a monastic reading session.⁴² On fol. 125^r, which is blank, a watermark can clearly be seen. It closely resembles a known watermark, Briquet nr. 5369.⁴³ This enables us to date the manuscript to the second half of the fourteenth century.

V (184 folios) was written on parchment and measures 212 × 147 mm. The manuscript contains a prologue to the *Ladder* (fol. 1^r); the *Life* and the *Letters* (fols 1^r–7^r); the *Ladder* and a brief exhortation to the reader⁴⁴ (fols 7^v–170^v); a table of contents of the *Ladder*, represented as a ladder (f. 171^r–171^v); Poem 3 (fol. 172^r–172^v); *To the Shepherd* and a scribal colophon (fols 172^v–184^v). The main part of the text is written by two scribes. The first one, who remains anonymous, was responsible for fols 1^r–45^v. The second one wrote fols 46^r–184^v and signs a colophon on fol. 184^v. It mentions his name, Stephanos the priest, and a date, which allowed Turyn to date the manuscript, or at least fols 46^r–184^v, to 1322/1323.⁴⁵ Turyn admits that this date can only be applied with certainty to the second part of the manuscript. He states, however, that the

³⁸ Devreesse, *Catalogue*, p. 244.

³⁹ PG 62.99–105, CPG 4431.

⁴⁰ Inc. Αἰσθησις πνευματικῆ ἔστιν.

⁴¹ E.g. on fols 53^r, 54^r, 56^r, 57^v and 58^v.

⁴² The *Ladder* is indeed even today read out loud during Lent in Orthodox monasteries (Chryssavgis, p. 233).

⁴³ Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Amsterdam: Paper publications society, 1968), nr. 5369.

⁴⁴ Inc. Ἀναβαίνετε ἀναβαίνετε (PG 88.1160D).

⁴⁵ The colophon runs as follows: † ἔγραφε διὰ χειρὸς(ς) ἐμοῦ Στε|φανου ιερως; | † ἔτο(ς) 572 α ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ζ' † (Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani*, p. 131). See also Steven-son, *Codices manuscripti Palatini*, p. 47.

first part was written by a contemporaneous scribe. In fact, there is also a third scribe involved who wrote only fol. 82^v, l. 5 – fol. 83^r, l. 3. Poem 3, the only poem of the cycle preserved in this manuscript, is part of the folios written by Stephanos. The handwriting in which it is written is clearly identified as Stephanos'.⁴⁶

In the version of V, two names are mentioned in Poem 3, and neither of them is Stephanos. The first one is Simon the monk and the second one is Symeon the priest. Neither of them is mentioned by Turyn, nor by Stevenson.⁴⁷ It might be that they are the first and the third scribe who are anonymously mentioned in Turyn's description of the codex. Another possibility is that they are the patrons of the manuscript – and if not both, maybe one of them. In any case, their role in the production process of this manuscript is unclear. It could even be that these names were copied from an older manuscript.

3. Order and Preservation of the Poems

As shown in the description of the manuscripts, the poems have a fixed order. Poem 1 starts on one of the first folios of the manuscripts, directly followed by Poem 2. After the prefaces, the *Letters*, the *Life* and the *Ladder* itself, Poem 3 follows. In its turn, Poem 3 is followed by the treatise *To the Shepherd*, which is concluded by Poem 4. This order already shows the function of the poems. Poem 1 functions as a spiritual preparation to the *Ladder*. Poem 2, as a summary, offers the reader a more content-based preparation for the main text. Poem 3 is a colophon after the *Ladder*, indicating that *To the Shepherd* was seen as an encore. Poem 4, as an invocation of the Trinity and a final prayer, concludes the works of and on Klimax.

Poem 1 is preserved in M (fol. 1^r–1^v), N (fols 2^r–4^r), P (fols 1^r–2^v) and I (fol. 1^r–1^v). A marginal note at the end in M and N mentions that the poem contains 102 vv. Remarkably, M has 101 vv., since it omits v. 14. Furthermore, on fol. 1^r of N, a later hand added vv. 1–3 as a *probatio peninae*. Thanks to the note at the end of Poem 2 we know that L also originally had Poem 1, but the folios on which it was written are lost.

Poem 2 is preserved in M (fols 1^v–2^v), N (fols 4^r–8^v), L (fols 170^r–172^v), P (fols 3^r–6^v) and I (fols 2^r–4^r). The poem has 226 vv. in all manuscripts.

⁴⁶ This attribution is confirmed by a comparison with Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani*, Tables 101 and 102.

⁴⁷ Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani*, pp. 131–32; Stevenson, *Codices manuscriptorum Palatini*, p. 57.

The scribe of **L** forgot v. 47, but added it in the upper margin. **P**, just as **M** and **N**, has each verse on a new line, except for vv. 182 and 183. Contrary to the actual number of verses in the manuscripts, a note in prose at the end of the poem, preserved in all five manuscripts, mentions that the poem consists of 222 vv. As the central section of the poem (vv. 34–213) is articulated in six lines per step, if four verses were indeed added, they should be either part of the praise of Klimax at the beginning (vv. 1–33), or of the epilogue at the end (vv. 214–226).⁴⁸

Poem 3, the colophon, is preserved in **M** (fol. 321^r), **N** (fol. 389^r), **R** (fol. 345^v), **L** (fols 266^v–267^r), **P** (fols 256^v–257^r) and **V** (fol. 172^r–172^v). All manuscripts preserve the same first 13 vv. Moreover, **M**, **N** and **L** have the same 19 vv. **P** has a different text from v. 14. In the last 6 vv. the names of the scribe and the patron are mentioned and **P** gives different details from **M**, **N**, and **L**. Poem 3 is the only poem of the cycle preserved in **R**. In this manuscript it has only 14 vv., in spite of its marginal note *στίχοι ις* (*sixteen verses*). In the last verse the name of the patron is mentioned. The first verse of Poem 3, lacking its last word, is written by a later hand in a sloppy way on the last folio, fol. 377^r. Also **V** has only Poem 3. After the common 13 vv., it has 3 more vv. mentioning two names which remained unmentioned in the secondary literature on this manuscript. The number of verses preserved in **V** corresponds thus to the number *ις* in **R**. This observation is a first indication of the close relation between **R** and **V** in the *stemma codicum*, as will be discussed below.

Poem 4 is preserved in **M** (fol. 329^r), **N** (fols 417^r–420^r) and **L** (fol. 272^r–272^v). Only in **N** the poem is complete. But again, there is a discrepancy between the actual number of 134 vv. preserved in the manuscript and a note at the end of the poem mentioning 135 vv. **M** has only the last 10 vv. followed by the first final note, the same as in **N**. The preceding folios are lost. However, it is probable that **M** originally had the complete poem. Also in **L** the text has not been entirely preserved and the order of the verses is mixed up. Neither the order of **N** nor the one of **L** seems to be correct. The text edited in this article is a reconstruction of the original order of **N**, which improves the structure and understanding of the text. Indeed, it seems that fol. 418 of **N** is bound wrongly. The recto of that folio is in fact the verso. This can be proved when looking to the *scholia* on fol. 418. In **N**, the *scholia* are systematically written in the outer

⁴⁸ In the epilogue, one could consider to leave out vv. 216–19 or vv. 222–25, but this is only mere speculation.

margin. Only on fol. 418 the *scholia* are written in what is now the inner margin. Moreover, the *scholia* are not preserved entirely, since some letters are missing at the inner side of the binding and on the outer margin of the folios. This clearly points to a process of rebinding and restoration. A decisive proof is that there is an imprint on fol. 418^v of the red initial of Τριὰς (v. 2), which is written on fol. 417^v. This mirror image can only be explained by the fact that, at the time when the ink was still wet, fol. 418^v was actually fol. 418^r.

If we apply this reconstruction to N, the following order can be presented: v. 1 on fol. 417^r, vv. 2–25 on fol. 417^v, vv. 50–72 on fol. 418^r, vv. 26–49 on fol. 418^v, vv. 73–96 on fol. 419^r, vv. 97–120 on fol. 419^v and vv. 121–134 on fol. 420^r. When applied to L, having lost some folios at the end of the poem, the following order of verses appears: vv. 1–25; 73–120; 26–31. Remarkably, the gap in L from v. 26 to v. 72 matches fol. 418 in N exactly. This suggests that L is a copy of N or of one of its apographs. The text of L corresponds to the following folios of N: fol. 417^r, fol. 417^v, fol. 419^r, fol. 419^v, fol. 418^v, after which the poem breaks off. Since fol. 420^r clearly gives the end of the poem, fol. 418^r should have been the penultimate page. This means that the scribe of L first copied the text contained in fol. 418^v of N, which further proves our hypothesis. How this transposition can be explained remains unclear. One possibility is that when N was copied, a scribe opened the binding of N to ease his work, mixed up the order of fol. 418 and fol. 419 in his to-do-pile, and subsequently placed the wrong side of fol. 418 of N up.

4. Prose Paratexts

In the previous section, we spoke of the existence of notes in prose mentioning the number of verses of the poems. These notes occur as titles or as concluding remarks. Since they are shared in the manuscript tradition, they will be edited next to the poems.

A remarkable prose paratext is the quite long prayer at the beginning of Poem 1 preserved in M and N. Unfortunately, the upper margin of fol. 2^r was cut when N was restored. It is not clear whether this has caused any loss of text. In any case, the version of M is longer and provides more detailed information. Regrettably, the first lines are also hardly readable. P and I have only a one-line title that seems to be derived from the prayer in M and N.

In M and N, some words are written in the margin of Poem 1 as reading guides, mentioning the topics of the subsections of the text. N also has

three real *scholia* accompanying Poem 1. In Poem 2, the summary of each step has a subtitle, referring to the content of the step. These titles occur in the margin of **M**, **N**, **L** and **P**. The scribes of **N**, **L** and **P** added marginal *scholia* to Poem 2 as well. **N** has more *scholia* than the other two manuscripts. Some of these marginal notes were included in the text of **L**. This is an extra element to prove the dependence of **L** on **N**. In the margin of **M**, next to the first verses of Poem 2, a later hand added a short poem by Christopher Mitylenaios on Klimax, inc. Ἐπὶ κλίμαξι Κλίμακος πυκνῶς, Πάτερ.⁴⁹

Not only are these brief texts useful for the establishment of the *stemma codicum*, but they also prove that the cycle was seen as a whole. The prose note concluding Poem 4, preserved in **M** and **N**, gives an arithmetical proof. It counts all verses of the four poems together to give the total number of 478 verses. This is a correct sum if the numbers of verses are counted up as they are given in the notes, which means, for **M** and **N**, 102 vv. (Poem 1) + 222 vv. (Poem 2) + 19 vv. (Poem 3) + 135 vv. (Poem 4) = 478 vv.

5. The Structure of Poem 2 and the *Pinakes* of the Manuscripts

The edition printed in the PG does not agree with that of Sophr. on the structure of the *Ladder*. In both editions, the *Ladder* consists of thirty steps. Their subdivision, however, is different. In Sophr., step 16 concerns φιλαργυρία; step 17 discusses ἀναισθησία. Also in the PG, step 16 concerns φιλαργυρία, but step 17 is on ἀκτημοσύνη, which in Sophr. is a part of the step on φιλαργυρία. By consequence, in the PG, ἀναισθησία is the topic of step 18. This inequality is resolved because the PG combines steps 22 (on ὑπερηφανεία) and 23 (on βλασφημία) of Sophr. into one step on ὑπερηφανεία, which is the 23rd step in the PG.

Since Poem 2 contains a metrical summary of the *Ladder*, its structure can be compared to that of Sophr. and the PG. If the *lemmata* in the margin are taken as a *pinax* of Poem 2, we see that the structure of the poem coincides with the structure of the *Ladder* as presented in the edition of Sophr., and not with the one of the PG:⁵⁰

Sophr.	PG
1–15	1–15
16	16–17
17	18

⁴⁹ Ioannis Vassis, *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), p. 247.

⁵⁰ Pierre and others, 'Jean Climacus', p. 254.

Sophr.	PG
18	19
19	20
20	21
21	22
22–23	23
24–30	24–30

It is of course not only relevant to compare the *pinax* of Poem 2 with that of the editions, but also with the *pinakes* of the manuscripts in which the cycle is preserved.

M has two *pinakes*, a first one on fol. 3^r and a second one on fol. 320^v. The one on fol. 3^r, written in red, has the same structure as the PG. Its wording is almost identical to the *pinax* provided in the PG (88.629). The second *pinax*, also written in red, is accompanied by an image of a ladder. It has to be read in the same direction as you climb a ladder, which means that step 1 stands at the bottom of the ladder, and step 30 at the top. Περί, the typical beginning of a title, is only mentioned once. It only appears at the top, accompanying the title of step 30.⁵¹ Also this *pinax* has the same structure as the PG. Its wording, however, is very different and has no direct similarities with the wording of the *pinax* preserved in the PG (88.629) nor with that of Sophr.⁵² It is in any case quite remarkable that there is a clear discrepancy between the structure of the *pinakes* in **M** and the structure of Poem 2. Next to the omission of v. 14 of Poem 1, the *pinakes* are yet another indication that **M** cannot be the original manuscript preserving the cycle.

A comparable case is found in the Par. Coisl. 87 (fourteenth century) fol. 1^r–1^v, which preserves an anonymous metrical summary of the *Ladder*. Interestingly, the title of step 16 in the *Ladder* itself in this manuscript (fol. 177^v) is similar to that in Sophr., including both φιλαργυρία and ἀκτημοσύνη. By contrast, the metrical summary preserved in the same manuscript has the same structure as the PG.⁵³

⁵¹ When quoting the titles of this second *pinax* in **M**, περί is added for reasons of clarity.

⁵² Sophr., p. 185.

⁵³ The poem has a separate step on φιλαργυρία (step 16 = vv. 46–47) and on ἀκτημοσύνη (step 17 = vv. 48–50). The parts on ὑπερηφάνια and βλασφημία are united into one step (step 23, as it is in the PG). Cf. Antonopoulou, *Ανέκδοτοι*, p. 22.

The *pinax* in **N** (fols 9^v–10^r) has the same structure, and a very similar wording, as the *pinax* of Sophr.⁵⁴ Both *pinakes*, contrary to the *pinakes* of **M** and of the PG (88.629), do mention the treatise *To the Shepherd* after the *Ladder*.

Concerning the *manuscripti recentiores*, the following can be noted:⁵⁵

In **R**, the red ink in which the *pinax* (fol. 2^r–2^v) was written is heavily worn on some lines. The text is, however, readable enough to conclude that it has the same structure as the *pinax* of Sophr. and **N**.

In **V**, the *pinax* (fol. 171^r–171^v) closely resembles the second *pinax* of **M** (fol. 320^v) and corresponds thus with the order of the steps as given in PG. There are some minor variants towards **M**, and several orthographical and scribal mistakes.⁵⁶ The abbreviations of *περι* and the numbers of the steps are written in black ink, but were overwritten in red. The titles of the steps are written in black.

L does not preserve any *pinax* contemporary to the cycle. The eleventh-century part of **L** provides a *pinax* on fol. 17^r, which is a peculiar mix of the *pinakes* found in the PG and in Sophr. This mix, as will be explained, resulted in a *pinax* mentioning only 28 steps and *To the Shepherd* at the end. Since there are, contrary to the other *pinakes* already discussed, no accompanying numbers in the margin, this defect is not immediately visible. A first explanation for the lack of two steps is the omission of the step concerning *πορνεία* and *ἀγνεία*, step 15 in the PG and Sophr. This is probably to be understood as a simple scribal mistake. Furthermore, the *pinax* of **L** follows Sophr. in combining the PG's steps 16 and 17 into one step (= step 16 in Sophr., but step 15 in **L**, due to the omission of the step on *ἀγνεία*). By contrast, the *pinax* of **L** follows the PG in combining Sophronios' steps 22 and 23 into one step (= step 23 in the PG, but step 21 in **L**). As the manuscript tradition of the *Ladder* still deserves a thorough study, this quite old manuscript might be an interesting case. It seems that **L** preserves parts of two manuscripts (remember the omission of Poem 1 in **L** due to an unfortunate manuscript transmission), one of the eleventh and one of the fourteenth century. At first sight, these parts have only in common that they preserve the works of Klimax.

⁵⁴ Sophr., p. 185.

⁵⁵ We did not manage to check the *pinax* of **P**.

⁵⁶ The title of step 9, for instance, runs (diplomatically): *πε(ρι) τῆς τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν λυτικ(ῆς) μνησικακίας*. Certainly, one would expect *ἀμνησικακίας* here, just as in **M** (f. 320^v). Transcription by Sien De Groot. Personal communication (20 June 2017).

Manuscript I, just as M, provides two *pinakes*.⁵⁷ The first one (fol. 4^r–4^v) has the same structure as the *pinax* of Sophr. The second one (fol. 114^v) agrees with the PG. Besides, it can be noted that the first *pinax* also mentions the *Life* and the *Letters*, separately the request and the response. The second *pinax* of I closely resembles the second *pinax* of M (fol. 320^v). It is not only accompanied by the image of a ladder, but also its wording is very close to the second *pinax* of M and to the one of V. Contrary to the second *pinax* in M, the second *pinax* in I does not preserve the epigram inc. Τριαντάριθμος οὐρανοδρόμος κλίμαξ. It does preserve, however, another text in prose, written vertically next to the image of the ladder, from bottom to top. A diplomatic transcription runs: Ειδεν ιακῶβ ὁ πετερνηστής τῶν παθῶν κλίμακα, ἐν ἣ ἐπεστήρικτο ἡ ἀγάπη ἢ ἐστὶν ὁ θε(ε)ός, ὁ τῆ ὀρωμ(έν)η ἡλικία τριακονταέτης.

These preliminary observations seem to point to the fact that the manuscript tradition of Klimax's works cannot be divided into two clearly separated groups, one that agrees with the PG and another one that corresponds to Sophr. There are clearly several redactions, of which those edited in the PG and in Sophr. are just two examples. Moreover, it seems that a metrical summary of one type of redaction of the *Ladder* could easily accompany a manuscript preserving a different redaction.

6. Authorship

The question of the authorship of this cycle is not straightforward. Two contemporary names appear in the original cycle: John the writer and John Komnenos. They are not known from other sources, but the mention of John Komnenos is an important hint to roughly date the poems to the Komnenian period.⁵⁸ Moreover, this implies that the two oldest

⁵⁷ Another famous example of a manuscript with two *pinakes*, one before and one after the *Ladder*, is the Princeton, Garret MS. 16. The *pinakes* are preserved on fol. 4^r and fol. 194^r, being both accompanied by an image of the *Ladder*. Cf. John R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5, 1954), p. 45; figs 31, 66) for a discussion and pictures.

⁵⁸ There is a certain poet of anacreontic verses, John Komnenos of Sozopolis, whose work is edited in Jean François Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Regiis*, vol. 3 (Paris: Ex Regio Typographeo, 1831), pp. 456–60. In a twelfth-century epigram, a certain John Komnenos, a son of an emperor, is mentioned as the founder of a monastery. Cf. Spyridon Lambros, 'Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524', *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8 (1911) 3–112 (pp. 19–20 nos 50, 51); Konstantinos Barzos, *Ἡ Γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, 2 vols (Thessaloniki: Byzantine Research Centre, 1984), I, p. 143 n. 41, 43; ODB s.v. *Komnenos*, p. 1144. Also known is John Komnenos Synadenos (monkname Ioakeim), dated to the end of the thirteenth century. He was the patron of at least four manuscripts:

manuscripts, **M** and **N** (twelfth century), are probably close to the moment of composition.⁵⁹ The two Johns play an important role in the investigation of the question of the authorship.

Three passages of the cycle are relevant to investigate the authorship: 1) the prose introduction to Poem 1; 2) Poem 3, which is the metrical colophon; 3) the end of Poem 4. From the analysis of these passages, we can conclude that John the writer is the author of, at least, Poem 3, of the prose introduction to Poem 1 and of the colophon in prose that follows Poem 4.

Poem 3, as is typical for a colophon, is written from the perspective of the scribe. In its version preserved in **M**, **N** and **L**, John Klimax is asked to grant 'his Johns' to ascend (v. 14). In the next verses, it is explained who these Johns are. The first John is the low-born writer (γραφεύς v. 15).⁶⁰ The second one is John Komnenos who was of noble descent (v. 16). He is also presented as a monk (v. 17). Remarkably, John the writer is described in a most humble way (δυσγενής and κακότροπος v. 15). This fits the humbleness of the *Schreibermönch*, and might indicate that the first John was also a monk. Considering the humbleness of John the writer and the laudatory way in which Komnenos is described, it is clear that John the writer was the author, and that John Komnenos is honoured as a patron. The aristocratic name of Komnenos would, of course, fit the role of *Maecenas* well.⁶¹ Moreover, the title of Poem 3 in **N**, **R** and **L** mentions that the poem was written by the scribe.⁶² In **M**, the title states that the poem was composed by a monk, who is specified in the margin as John. Remarkably, the family name is not specified. Since vv. 14–18 of Poem 3 indicate that John the writer was the author of the poem, the monk referred to in this title must be John the writer.

In the first line of the introductory prayer to Poem 1 in **M**, Komnenos is mentioned. Unfortunately, the left upper corner of fol. 1^r is spotted

Paris. suppl. gr. 1262, Paris. Coisl. 89, Petropol. RNB gr. 321, Vat. gr. 456. Cf. RGK II.3 11; VGH 241.A; Guglielmo Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006), p. 86; Devresse, *Catalogue*, p. 78; Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), p. 146.

⁵⁹ However, neither **M** nor **N** can be the original codex (see below *Stemma codicum* p. 308).

⁶⁰ The term γραφεύς is ambiguous, as it can refer both to a scribe and to a writer (author). Cf. LSJ s.v. γραφεύς, Montanari s.v. γραφεύς.

⁶¹ We thank Panagiotis Agapitos for the opportunity we had to discuss this passage with him.

⁶² The title in **N** runs: Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παρούσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων αὐτήν τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα.

by oil varnish which hinders the reading of some words. Komnenos is depicted as a monk.⁶³ In this introductory note, the reader is asked to pray both for the *weaver* (εὐχέσθω τῷ τούτων πλοκεῖ) and for the scribe (Χριστέ μου σώσον τὸν γράψαντα). It seems tempting to interpret John Komnenos as the *weaver* (πλοκεῖ) and the other John as the scribe (τὸν γράψαντα). The evidence for this interpretation may be hidden behind the stain in M after Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ. One could speculate that after these words the name of John the writer was written.

In the request to pray for the scribe, the narrator shows an increased personal involvement (μου and verbs in the first person: Ἐρωτῶ, παρακαλῶ, γουνοῦμαι and ζητῶ). Hence, we can conclude that this introductory prayer to Poem 1 was written by John the writer. Moreover, he was also responsible for the second note after Poem 4. *Ναὶ ἀδελφέ μου* from the introduction to Poem 1 corresponds to Ἀδελφέ μου at the end of the cycle. Moreover, both prose texts include quotes from the New Testament. These features are an indication that they have the same author.

Concerning the authorship of the entire cycle, two hypotheses can be formulated: A) John Komnenos is the author of Poem 1, 2 and 4; and John the writer is the author of Poem 3; B) John the writer is the author of the entire cycle. Of course, this last interpretation does not have to rule out the likely option that John the writer also was the scribe of the original manuscript ordered by John Komnenos. In any case, the interpretation of the expression *παρὰ πνεύματος* and of *πλοκεῖ* and *γράφαντα* from the introduction to Poem 1 is crucial. One could interpret that by *παρὰ πνεύματος* Komnenos is designated as the poet, being Komnenos the intellectual author (of Poems 1, 2 and 4) and the other John the physical scribe. By contrast, if *παρὰ πνεύματος* just meant that Komnenos ordered the poems, John the writer might be considered as the author of the entire cycle. Πλοκεύς could mean ‘author’,⁶⁴ but perhaps it could, more generally, refer to ‘he who came up with the concept of the text’; so not to the author, but to the one who came up with the idea of composing a cycle of four poems on the *Ladder*.

⁶³ τεθέντες is the first word of the first line of fol. 1^r of M which is readable. Στίχοι συντεθέντες, meaning ‘verses composed’, could be a possible conjecture. Regrettably, in N, the upper margin of the folio, having a similar introductory prayer, was cut off. However, it is not clear if this also caused a loss of text. Thus, we can only be sure that John Komnenos was mentioned in M.

⁶⁴ Compare, for example, with σχεδοπλόκος, *Verfasser von Schēden* (LBG) and σχεδογράφος, *Schedograph* (LBG).

Also the occurrence of Komnenos in the last verses of Poem 4 can be interpreted in two ways. He is described again as a monk, but appears in the first person. Interestingly, compared to Poem 3, his famous descent is described in a more down-to-earth fashion. This means either that Komnenos, speaking in the first person, is the author of this poem, or that John the writer writes in the name of his patron. This way he could honour him one last time, concluding the cycle with a prayer in his name. So this occurrence could still fit in with the interpretation of John the writer as the author of the entire cycle.

These observations do not allow for hasty conclusions. The cycle is clearly presented as a whole. Firstly, all poems have many intertextual references, mostly to the Bible, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Klimax and John Chrysostom. Secondly, the four poems have similar metrical features. Overall, the verses aim at prosodic correctness and deviations are equally spread out over the poems. The anomalies are too limited in number to use them for postulating a different authorship.⁶⁵ A third argument for the unity of the cycle are the prose paratexts counting up the number of verses of all poems. These notes, at the beginning and the end of the poems, have been part of the manuscript tradition since the oldest testimonies.

Whether these observations allow to postulate also a single author is not entirely certain. However, as we have seen above, Poem 3 provides the easiest key for identifying the author. If John the writer has to be considered as the author of the entire cycle, which is indeed the most logical solution, then we have to explain the somehow contradictory passages from Poem 3 and from the introduction to Poem 1. A tempting option is to postulate that the humble John the writer, being the author of the entire cycle, praises his patron John Komnenos by referring to him as the one who came up with the concept of the poems (πλοκεῖ), whereas he identifies himself with the role of the scribe (τὸν γράψαντα). We might even take his namesake John Klimax as an example. At the end of his treatise *To the Shepherd*, John Klimax addresses John of Raithou, on whose commission the *Ladder* was written, as follows (PG 88.1205, ll. 39–52):

ἑώρακας τὴν προβεβλημένην καὶ ἐστηριγμένην τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα
ἥσπερ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δοθείσάν σοι, ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων
θεμέλιον τέθεικας· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλήρωμα· εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐήθεις ἐκ
ταπεινοφροσύνης βαλλόμενος τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν τὸ ρυπαρῶδες σοι πρὸς
τὸν σὸν λαὸν κυχρᾶν τετυράννηκας. Καὶ οὐ θαύμα· εἰθισται γὰρ καὶ
Μωυσῆ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας τύπον, ἰσχνόφωνον ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ

⁶⁵ See *Metrical Analysis* on pp. 304–307.

βραδύγλωσσον· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν Ἀρῶν ἀρίστου ἐπέτυχε καὶ λογοδότου καὶ
 λεξιδρόμου. Σὺ δέ, ὦ μύστα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπόθεν τὴν ἀφιξίν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκας
 πρὸς πηγὴν ἀνδρον καὶ ἄλην Αἰγυπτίων βατράχων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνθράκων
 πεπληρωμένην.⁶⁶

The architect-metaphor can be applied to the production process of the *Ladder* itself. One could say that John Klimax regards himself as merely the constructor of the *Ladder*, whereas he grants John of Raithou the title of architect. The relation between Moses and Aron is the same as the one between John of Raithou and Klimax, although the latter considers himself inferior to Aron. These two metaphors mean that Klimax considers himself only as a humble executer of a given task,⁶⁷ whereas the plan / the concept was provided by John of Raithou.

Possibly, the relation between John of Raithou and John Klimax (respectively patron and author of the *Ladder*) was comparable to that of John Komnenos and John the writer (again, respectively patron and author). One could easily imagine that, just as John of Raithou requested Klimax to write a new spiritual guide, John Komnenos requested John the writer to compose a cycle on the *Ladder*. Perhaps Komnenos even gave instructions to John the writer. Maybe *he* came up with the idea of comparing the *Ladder* to a garden in Poem 1. Maybe *he* insisted on composing a metrical summary of the *Ladder*, which resulted in Poem 2. Maybe *he* wanted the book to conclude with a prayer to the Trinity, mentioning his name at the end. If this was indeed the case, one might indeed interpret that John the writer considered John Komnenos as the 'architect' of the cycle and maybe that is the true meaning of *παρὰ πνεύματος* in the prose introduction to Poem 1. John the writer, out of humility, accepted the task to write the cycle and grants his patron John Komnenos the honourable title of *πλοκεύς*, comparable to *ἀρχιτέκτων* in *To the Shepherd*.

⁶⁶ 'You have beheld the fixed ladder of the virtues which stands before us, and by the grace given you from God, as a wise architect you have laid the foundation of this ladder, or rather, you have entirely completed it, even though from humility you have forcibly persuaded us, the simpletons, to open our lips to teach your people. But this is no wonder, for Moses, according to the sacred history, was also wont to say to himself that he stammered and was slow of speech. Yet Moses had a most excellent minister and speaker in Aron, while you, O initiate, have come, from I know not whence, to a waterless spring filled with all the frogs, or rather the pustules, of Egypt'. Translation taken from Archimandrite Lazarus Moore, *Saint John Climacus. The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (Boston, MA: Holy transfiguration Monastery, 2012⁴), p. 265.

⁶⁷ Compare with the *Letter* of Klimax to John of Raithou which is full of references to the duty of obedience.

7. Metrical Analysis

Overall, the author aims at prosodic correctness. Of course, as is typical for Byzantine verses, there are some deviations concerning the so-called *dichrona*. When comparing the position of the *Binnenschlüsse* and accent positions, we get the following results:

	Poem 1 (102 vv.)	Poem 2 (226 vv.)	Poem 3 (19 vv.) LMN	Poem 4 (134 vv.)
<i>Binnenschlüsse</i> after the 5 th syllable				
stress on the 3 rd syllable	9 vv. 8,82%	22 vv. 9,73%	2 vv. 10,53%	21 vv. 15,67%
stress on the 4 th syllable	39 vv. 38,24%	93 vv. ⁶⁸ 41,15%	5 vv. 26,31%	46 vv. ⁶⁹ 34,33%
stress on the 5 th syllable	31 vv. 30,39%	49 vv. 21,68%	4 vv. 21,05%	35 vv. 26,12%
Total	79 vv. 77,45%	164 vv. 72,56%	11 vv. 57,89%	101 vv. 76,12%
<i>Binnenschlüsse</i> after the 7 th syllable				
stress on the 5 th syllable	19 vv. 18,63%	51 vv. 22,57%	6 vv. 31,58%	25 vv. 18,65%
stress on the 6 th syllable	4 vv. 3,92%	7 vv. 3,10%	2 vv. 10,53%	5 vv. 3,73%
Total	23 vv. 22,55%	58 vv. 25,67%	8 vv. 42,11%	30 vv. 22,38%
<i>Verses without Binnenschluß</i>				
	0 v. 0%	4 vv. 1,77%	0 v. 0%	2 vv. 1,5%

There are six verses without *Binnenschluß*. Four of them (Poem 2, vv. 222–224; Poem 4, v. 119), because they consist of long compounds, have no pause at all.⁷⁰ The last verse of Poem 2 has a *Binnenschluß* after the sixth syllable and a stress on the sixth, caused by a triple repetition of ἀμήν, by which the poem is concluded.⁷¹ V. 43 of Poem 4 can be inter-

⁶⁸ In the manuscripts, *κεράστην* is written as *κεραστῆν*. So in the manuscripts there are in fact only 92 verses of this group.

⁶⁹ Verse 69 has only 11 syllables. The first half of this verse, however, is impeccable and has a *Binnenschluß* after the fifth syllable and a stress on the fourth.

⁷⁰ For a similar case, see e.g. Leo Choïrosphaktes (ninth to tenth centuries), *Chilostichos theologia* 32, l. 28 (*Chilostichos Theologia (Editio Princeps)*, ed. by Ioannis Vassis (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, Supplementa Byzantina 6, 2012)): τῶν ψευδοτεχνοκαπινοβορβοροστόμων. Eustathios of Thessaloniki (twelfth century) in his *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem* 206, ll. 10–15 (*Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem*, ed. by Paolo Cesaretti and Silvia Ronchey (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, Supplementa Byzantina 10, 2014), p. 224) disapproves such verses, because they break the rhythmical pattern.

⁷¹ A B6-verse is very rare in Byzantine poetry (LauXtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. 2, *Appendix metrica*). A poem of 26 dodecasyllables, preserved in a manuscript from Mt. Athos, the Vatop. 107 (twelfth century) fol. 107^v, however, has several B6-verses (ed. Andreas Rhoby (nach Vorarbeiten von Rudolf Stefec), *Ausgewählte byzantinische*

preted as a B₄²-verse. It has two verse pauses, one after the fourth syllable and one after the eighth one.⁷²

As is common in Byzantine poetry, proper names are treated with more freedom regarding prosody throughout the cycle. See: Poem 2, v. 3 (Κροῖσος); Poem 3 (LMN) v. 11 (Ἰωάννη); Poem 3 (P) v. 15 (Νικάνδρω); Poem 3 (V) v. 15 (Συμέω); in fact also Poem 4, v. 76 (κλυτοτέχνης); Poem 4, v. 133 (Ἰωάννης); Poem 4, v. 134 (Κομνηνῆς).

7.1 Poem 1

1–2: The metrical deviations on vv. 1–2 are connected with the reference to a passage from John Chrysostom (PG 60.707):

Poem 1 (vv. 1–2)	John Chrysostom's <i>Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης</i> (PG 60.707, l. 1)
Ἐχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα καὶ παντοδαπά, πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα	Οἱ λειμῶνες ἔχουσι ποικίλα καὶ διάφορα ἄνθη

In Poem 1, the order of the first three words from Chrysostom is changed. The first three words in their original order, as found in Chrysostom, do form a heptasyllabic colon, with a stress on the fifth syllable. Concerning prosody, however, there are two problems: 1) the third syllable (λειμῶνες) is heavy (whereas it should be light), 2) the fourth syllable (λειμῶνες) is light (whereas it should be heavy). The author of Poem 1 clearly was aware of the prosodic rules, certainly because it would concern a prosodic error involving an omega and an epsilon, which are no *dichroma*. Therefore, the poet changed the order of the words. This results in a prosodically correct heptasyllable, but having a more rare stress on the sixth syllable (λειμῶνες).

Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften. Verse und ihre "inschriftliche" Verwendung in Codices des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. IV) (Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 42, 2018), no. GR73). See already its incipit: Χειμάζων γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ κλύδων τοῦ βίου. Vv. 16–17 run: ψυχὰ παρίστησι θρόνῳ τοῦ Δεσπότητος / τραχηλιόγυμναι δακρύφοβαι τρόμῳ.

⁷² Although v. 42 of Poem 1 was counted in the statistics as a B₇-verse with a stress on the fifth syllable, it is perhaps better to interpret it as a B₄²-verse, which results in three logically separated *cola*. For similar cases, see Leo VI (ninth to tenth centuries), *Homilia* 26, vv. 67, 126, 521. V. 67, for example, runs: 'τὸ δ' ἔνδοθεν τῷ μάρτυρι στερέμνιον' (ed. Theodora Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae* (Turnhout: Brepols, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 63, 2008). Cf. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. 2 (*Appendix metrica*). Again the poem from the Vatop. 107 (twelfth century) fol. 107^v provides some interesting parallels, containing several B₄²-verses. For example, v. 23 runs (ed. Rhoby, *Ausgewählte byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften*, no. GR73): πάντας σώξεις εἰς Κύριον τὸν υἱὸν σου. V. 26 reads: ὦ δέσποινα ἐλέου σου ἡμᾶς σώσον.

In v. 2, *διάφορα* does not fit, since it has an accent on the tenth syllable, instead of on the eleventh. Clearly, the preservation of Chrysostom's words was important for the poet, even when this implied metrical anomalies.

26: *γάγγραιναν εἶπε τοῦτο τίς μυστηπόλος*: In this B5-verse, *τοῦτο* refers anaphorically to the whole previous verse (v. 25) and is the object of *εἶπε. τίς*, although having an accent, is used indefinitely, accompanying *μυστηπόλος*. Interestingly, De Groote mentions that, in the manuscripts preserving the *Various Verses* of Christopher Mitylenaios, the monosyllabic forms of the indefinite pronoun *τίς* are almost always written as *τίς* with *acutus* (only one exception is found).⁷³ This practice in the manuscripts of the *Various Verses* coincides with the way of accentuation in M and N.

7.2 Poem 2

14: *Ἀγάλλεται τις ὄρνισιν, ἄλλος φυτοῖς*: Quite uncommonly the twelfth syllable is stressed. It seems to be no coincidence that this verse belongs to a passage that refers to Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carm.* II,2,1. *φυτοῖς* is the de-Homerised form of *φυτοῖσιν* (*Carm.* II,2,1 v. 269). This form also appears in a paraphrase of Bodl. Barocc. 96 fol. 116^r, but that might as well be a coincidence. Clearly, the author did not succeed this time to transform Gregory's elegiacs into impeccable dodecasyllables.

170: *Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δάμιονας*: Very uncommonly the tenth syllable, instead of the eleventh, is stressed. Perhaps it is again not a coincidence that the author drew his inspiration for this verse from another text, in this case a passage from step 23 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.976, ll. 45–48).

207: *ὄφιν, κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα*: In the manuscripts *κεράστην* is written as *κεραστήν*. However, *κεραστής* has an entirely different meaning: 'one who mixes' (PGL), said 'of a servant who prepares drinks', but also 'of God as creator' and needs to be amended. Regarding the metre, this intervention does not raise any problems.

7.3 Poem 3

In the statistical overview of the metrical structure of Poem 3, the statistics of the original version of LMN is given. Some metrical features of the other versions will be discussed below. Compared to Poems 1 and 2, it seems that there is a tendency to have more B7-verses. Also the num-

⁷³ Marc De Groote, 'The Accentuation in the *Various Verses* of Christophoros Mitylenaios', in *Poetry and its Context in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, ed. by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (Farnham / Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 133–45 (p. 137 n. 9).

ber of B7-verses with a stress on the sixth syllable is quite high. But the limited number of verses of Poem 3 warns us to be cautious with statistics here.

P: Vv. 14–19 that uniquely appear in **P**, do not have any metrical deviations, except for some prosodic deviations involving *dichrona*.

V: Vv. 14–16 appear only in this manuscript. There seems to be only one real prosodic mistake. It is found in v. 14: *μοναχὸν Σίμων ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις*. This verse has a prosodic error that is not due to a *dichronon*. The third syllable is heavy whereas it should be light.

R: V. 14 in the version of **R** has 14 syllables. The verse can be explained as a combination of two heptasyllabic cola. While the second colon coincides with the text preserved in **LMN**, the first part of the verse is affected by the insertion of a personal name.

7.4 Poem 4

In **N**, Poem 4 has two verses of only 11 syllables: v. 26 and v. 69. Both are the result of a defective text transmission.

22: *ἀδάκρυτον, ἄλυπον, ἀπενθές πάθος*: The fourth syllable has a prosodic error which is not due to a *dichronon*.

29: *καιρὸν κἀκείνων πρόσφορον δώσεις πότε*: In **N** (and **L**), *πότε* is written as *ποτέ*. As a result, there would be an accent on the twelfth syllable. However, on this position in the verse, it cannot be meant as an interrogative. As an indefinite adverb, it “is enclitic if connected with the preceding word;⁷⁴ it is not, when it relates to the following word.”⁷⁵ Here, *πότε* is clearly used as an enclitic connected with the preceding word. This means thus that *ποτέ* of the manuscripts is correct regarding the orthographical rules. In order to respect the rhythm of the dodecasyllable, we changed the accent of *ποτέ* in the edition.

48: *ἀντρανύχιον, ἀδρανῆ δεδειγμένον*: In this B5-verse with a stress on the third syllable, *ἀντρανύχιον* is a *hapax* and alternative for *ἀντρονύχιος* (“wie eine finstere Höhle” LBG). *ἀντρονύχιος* would not fit the verse, because it would imply an overt prosodic error as the second syllable of a dodecasyllable is supposed to be heavy.

92: *νύξ· ὡς σκοτεινὸς ἡμέρας ἀντιθετος*: The tenth syllable, instead of the eleventh is stressed. This is an overt error.

⁷⁴ De Groote, p. 138 gives as an example Mitylenaios, *Versus Varii* 19, v. 16: *εἰ δὲ θάνης καὶ μοῖραν ἀνατλήσεις ποτέ π<ικράν>*.

⁷⁵ De Groote, p. 138 gives as an example Mitylenaios, *Versus Varii* 57, v. 29: *ἐξ ἀρετῶν πασῶν ἐμψυχον ἀγαλμα πότε εἶχες*.

7.5 Conclusion

A comprehensive metrical analysis of this poetic cycle has shown that the formal aspects of the poems contribute to the unitarian consideration of the cycle. The respective percentages of B₅- and B₇-verses is similar. Also percentage of B₇-verses with a stress on the sixth syllable is quite stable throughout the poems, taking into account the small number of verses of Poem 3.

8. *Stemma codicum*

The manuscript tradition of the poems, as discussed above, is homogeneous, since the prose paratexts to our poems and the non-metrical texts accompanying the *Ladder* are often the same. Moreover, the lack of one or more poems from some of the witnesses (**L** and **M**) can be explained by physical damage to the manuscripts. It seems reasonable to hypothesize a common origin of the poems, all going back to one single archetype ω , in which there possibly were errors: Poem 1, v. 27 ἀπάσης **MN** is likely to be changed into ἀπάτης.

Neither **M** nor **N** can be interpreted as the archetype. **M** omits v. 14 of Poem 1. In **N**, the opening of the prayer before Poem 1 is a simplification of the prayer in **M**. Moreover, Poem 4 has only 134 vv. in **N**, whereas the note at the end mentions 135 vv. Possibly, **N** omits the first verse of the poem. Besides, **N** has several corrections of the same hand, indicating that it was a copy.

As none of the poems are preserved in all manuscripts, it is virtually impossible to give account of the whole manuscript tradition, and the overview here presented is regrettably partial. The first and clearest result of the collation is that **M** is separated from the remaining manuscripts. This is proved by the presence of several errors, e.g.: Poem 1: v. 18 ὤς **M**; ἤς **INP**; v. 23 ἰσχνολεπτοβραχείας **M**; ἰσχνολεπτοβραχέας **INP**; v. 46 λαμπραῖς, φαιδρομορφοπανστόλοις **M**; φαιδραῖς λαμπρομορφοπανστόλοις **INP**; v. 53 προσφόρος **M**; προσφόρως **INP**; v. 73 ἦ **M**; ὦ **INP**; v. 78 μετρίας **M**; μετρίους **INP**; v. 81 ἐκτρέφε **M**; ἐκτρέφων **INP**; Poem 2: v. 3 ἀφ' **M**; ὑφ' **ILNP**; ὄγκωτο **M**; ὠγκωτο **ILNP**; v. 12 ὀρίων **M**; ὠρίων **ILNP**; v. 20 ὄν **M**; ὦν **ILNP**; v. 22 καρτερωτάτη **M**; καθαρώτατη **ILNP**; v. 39 παθῶν συγκαταθέσεις **M**; παθοσυγκαταθέσεις **ILNP**; v. 153 εὐχῆς **M**; ψυχῆς **ILNP**; v. 180 συσυμαπαθήτω **M**; εὐσυμαπαθήτω **ILNP**; v. 205 μηχανοπανουργίας **M**; μηχανοπλανουργίας **ILNP**; Poem 3: v. 14 τοῖς **M**; σοῖς **LN**; Poem 4: v. 125 ἀμβληχρός **M**; ἀβληχρός **N**. Moreover, we can exclude the possibility that any of the extant witnesses is a copy of **M**, since the scribe of **M** omits Poem 1, v. 14.

The branch of the manuscript tradition to which **I**, **L**, **N**, **P** and **R** belong is of course more complex. The oldest manuscript in this group, and the most accurate one, is **N**. However, it contains errors that affect its descendants: Poem 2, v. 86 λευκέροισι **IP** | γλευκεροῖσι **L** | γλευκέροισι **N**; γλυκέροισι **M**. Concerning Poem 1, the following common errors can be listed, although **L** is not a witness to this poem: v. 43 παριθμίων **INP**; παρισθμίων **M**; v. 73 θάλαττα **INP**; θάλασσα **M**.

I, **L** and **P** share significant common errors: Poem 2, tit. ἔτεροι om. **ILP**; Poem 2, v. 67 πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν **ILP**; πρὸς τὸν τάφον **MN** | γράφεται· πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν add. in mg. **N**. Furthermore, **I** and **P** have common readings. At the end of Poem 2, στίχοι τοῦ Κλίμακος σκβ **IP**. As far as Poem 1 is concerned: tit. στίχοι εἰς τὸ (τὸ om. **P**) παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς κλίμακος κῆπον νοητὸν δεικνύοντες αὐτό; v. 86 γενναῖζων **IP**; γενναῖζεις **MN**; **I** and **P** invert vv. 87 and 88; Nota in fine om. **IP**. These errors allow us to suppose the existence of a common forefather *a*, which derives from **N**.

A further distinction can be identified between **P** and **IL**. **P** presents an error in Poem 1, v. 63: λαμβάνον; λαμβάνει **IMN**. **I** and **L**, on the other hand, represent a different branch in the descent from **N** and share *errores coniunctivi*:⁷⁶ Poem 2, v. 91 μερίδα Κύριου **I** | τοῦ Κυρίου **L**; τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου **MNP**; γράφεται· Κυρίου add. in mg. **NP**; Poem 2, v. 94 πλέκον **IL**; πλέκων **MNP**; Poem 2, v. 99 οὐκ ἀποκλίνει **IL**; οὐ παρακύπτει **MNP**; γράφεται οὐκ ἀποκλίνει add. in mg. **NP**. Considering this list, we can draw the conclusion that **P** is not a copy of **L** and that **I** and **L** descend from the same exemplar *β*, copy of *a*.

R is difficult to accommodate in our stemma, since it actually preserves only thirteen verses of the entire cycle. However, it can be situated among the descendants of *a*, as it presents a title of Poem 3 which is very similar to the one of **I**, **L**, **N**, and **P**. Furthermore, **R** shares two errors with **L**: Poem 3, v. 5 ἀναβαίνουσι; ἀναβαίνουσιν **MNP**; Poem 3, v. 10 καινοί; καὶ νοῖ **MNP**.

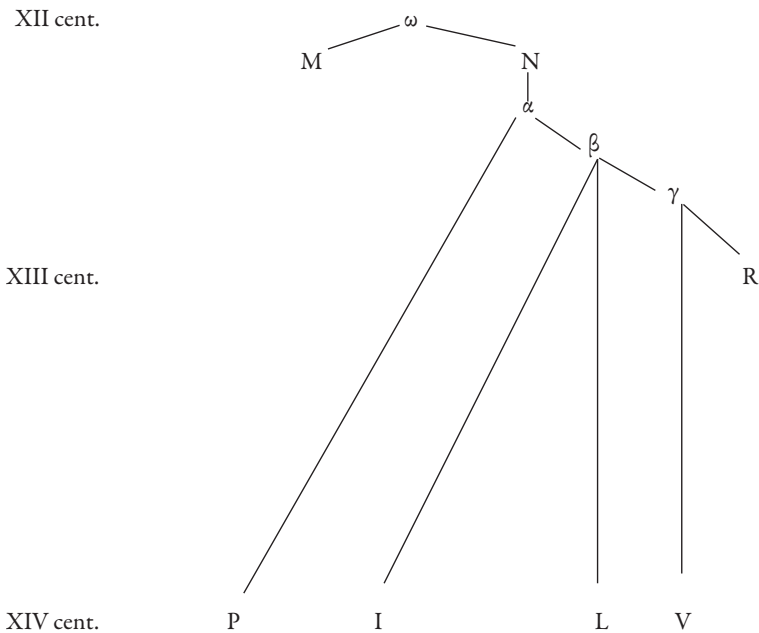
V, just as **R**, is not easily placed into a stemma as it only preserves Poem 3. However, it can be situated among the descendants of *a*, as it presents the same title of Poem 3 as **N** and **L**, but with some itacistic errors. **V** has one common reading with **R** and **L**: Poem 3, v. 10 καινοί; καὶ νοῖ **MNP**. Moreover, **R** and **V** share some common errors as well: Poem 3, v. 7 ἀπὸ ξύσαντες; ἀποξύσαντες **LMNP**; Poem 3, v. 9 φανέντες καὶ κενοί;⁷⁷ φανέντες

⁷⁶ For the status of **L** as a descendant of **N** according to the data provided by Poem 4, see *supra*, p. 294–95.

⁷⁷ Poem 3, v. 10 in a diplomatic transcription runs: κανοὶ φανέντες (καὶ) κενοὶ κενοῦ βίου (**R**); κανοὶ φαν(έν)τ(ες) κεκαينوῦ κενοὶ βίου (**V**). κε- in κεκαينوῦ in **V** is the result of an itacistic reading of καί.

ὡς κενοί **LMNP**; Poem 3, v. 11 δίδου σαῖς; δίδου σὺ σαῖς **LMNP**. The option that **V** would be a copy of **R** can be ruled out by looking at the titles of Poem 3 in these manuscripts. Whereas **R** omits *ταύτην* in the title of Poem 3, **V** omits *τήν* after *ταύτην*. From the common errors between **R** and **V**, and from the observation that **V** is not likely to be a copy of **R**, we could suppose the existence of a common forefather γ that descends from β . The two known descendants of γ are then **R** and **V**. Of course, as already said, this group is only based on the tradition of Poem 3 and should therefore be handled with care. However, the marginal note, namely: ις, next to the title of Poem 3 in **R**, could provide a further argument in favour of the existence of γ . This note likely refers to the number of verses. **R**, however, has only 14 vv. The only known version of Poem 3 that has 16 vv. is **V**. Possibly, the version of **R** is an adaption that goes back to a model that had, just as **V**, 16 vv. In **R**, the note is written next to the title. It might be that this was also the case in **R**'s model. We could suppose that the scribe of **R** adapted the end of the poem, resulting in a composition of 14 vv. and forgot to change the number in the note above. In **V**, The names of Simon and Symeon might thus even come from the apograph of **V**. This would explain why they do not appear elsewhere in **V** and why their role remains undefined.

The analysis of the *errores coniunctivi* and *separativi* of the manuscripts allows us to draw the following *stemma codicum*:



As **I**, **L**, **P**, **R** and **V** can be considered as *codices delendi*, for the *constitutio* we rely on **M** and **N** only. For the edition of Poem 3 we use also **P**, **R** and **V** because they provide different closings.

9. *Conspectus Codicum* and Principles of the Edition

M Mosq. Synod. gr. 229 (Vlad. 192) (twelfth c.)

N Mosq. Synod. gr. 480 (Vlad. 193) (twelfth c.)

R Manchester Rylands Gaster 1574 (a. 1282)

P Paris. Coisl. 264 (fourteenth c.)

V Vat. Pal. gr. 120 (a. 1322–1323)

The *apparatus criticus* presented here in support of our edition presents *variae lectiones*, including some orthographical mistakes, as well as variants of spelling and accentuation. Variants in punctuation have generally been omitted in the *apparatus*. Moreover, the *apparatus* is negative, as the variants included in the text are not repeated below. For the sake of clarity, however, the text of titles is reiterated in the apparatus, when the differences among manuscripts are significant. Besides textual variants, the *apparatus* accommodates marginal notes present in the manuscripts, which can be useful for a better understanding of the poems. The scribal corrections have been marked by means of the abbreviations ^{ac} (*ante correctionem*) and ^{pc} (*post correctionem*). The punctuation of the manuscripts has been followed when it is meaningful to the internal articulation of the text.

The *apparatus fontium* is placed between the Greek text and the *apparatus criticus* and presents what we suppose to be sources of the text. The list of *loci paralleli* (Appendix 1) presents all intertextual references and parallels that have been found. They should be taken into consideration to fully understand the composition of the poems as they place the poems into a broader literary context. However, it is beyond the scope of this contribution to discuss the possible influence of these poems on later texts. Therefore, most of the intertextual references given predate the poems. Nevertheless, some relevant parallel passages from a later date which we came across will be mentioned.

Both in the *apparatus fontium* and in the *loci paralleli* four signs are used to indicate the relationship between the poem and its intertextual reference: ‘=’ means exact quotation (likely on purpose); ‘≈’ means almost exact quotation / adapted quotation (likely on purpose); ‘cf.’ means parallel, not necessarily with verbal similarities (might or might not be on purpose); ‘~’ refers to an intratextual reference.

Critical Edition and Translation

Poem 1

[±8] τεθέντες παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ καὶ γεγονότος μοναχοῦ.
Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ[±7] στίχοι εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα κήπον νοητὸν δεικνύοντες
τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον. οὗς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, εὐχέσθω τῷ τούτων πλοκεῖ. ὅς καὶ
ἀντιχαρίζεται σοι τῷ ταύτην αὐτοῦ ἐκπληροῦντι τὴν αἴτησιν τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
εὐχὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶ τὸ μετὰ Χριστοῦ γενέσθαι διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ συννεῖναι σοι καὶ
συναγάλλεσθαι ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ εἰς αἰῶνας αἰῶνων ἀμήν.

Ναὶ ἀδελφέ μου ὁ ταύτη προσομιλῶν τῇ βίβλῳ, οὕτω ποίει διὰ τὸν εἰπόντα.
“εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων”. Ἐρωτῶ σε, παρακαλῶ σε, γουνοῦμαι σε. Τί γάρ σοι
φορτικὸν ἢ ἔγκοπον ἢ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναπτύξαντι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ κλείσαντι
εὐθέως εἰπεῖν. “Χριστέ μου σώσον τὸν γράψαντα”; Πλὴν τούτου ἕτερόν τι οὐ
ζητῶ, ἂν γοῦν πολλάκις διὰ λήθην οὐκ εἴπης οὕτως, ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσει σοι.

Ἔχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα
καὶ παντοδαπά, πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα.
τούτων τὰ μὲν τέρπουσι τὴν θεωρίαν,
εὐωδιάζει τὰ δὲ τὴν ῥίνα μόνην,
5 ἄλλα δὲ τὸν φάρυγγα καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν
τρέφουσι, γλυκαίνουσιν οὐκ ἄθεσφάτως.
Οὗτος δ' ὁ κήπος, ἐξ Ἰωάννου φέρων
καρποὺς πεπεῖρους, δαψιλεῖς τὰς ἰκμάδας,
ἀρχεῖ χορηγεῖν καὶ πρέμων εὐμορφίας
10 φύλλων ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐγλοούντων ἐνδρόσων,
ἐξ ὧν τὸ θάλλον ὠραῖζει τὴν χάριν

εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων = Jc. 5:16 1-4 ≈ J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707, ll. 1-7)

Codd. MN Tit. sec. MN: [±8] τεθέντες παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ καὶ
γεγονότος μοναχοῦ. Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ[±7] στίχοι εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα M: Στίχοι τοῦ
γεγραφότος τὸν Κλίμακα τοῦτον N | οὗς ὁ mutil. M | ἣτις emendavimus: ητις M; ἦ τις N |
συννεῖναι σοι M; σοι sigma s.l. N | οὕτω M; οὕτως N | εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ N: εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ M |
Ἐρωτῶ mutil. M | πλὴν M: πλέον N | ἕτερόν τι om. N 1 λειμῶν[(ες)] N 6 γλυκαίνουσιν
τρέφουσι N^{ac}

Poem 1

[±8 composed] by the spirit of John Komnenos, who has also become a monk. Verses on the Ladder, by the writer, on behalf of him [±8], showing this book as a spiritual garden. You, reader of these verses, pray for their composer. When you complete this request from him, he will gratefully offer you his own prayer, which is to unify with Christ, through Christ and to be together with you and to rejoice at His coming glory forever and ever, amen.

Yes, my brother, you who come into contact with this book, do so, because of him who said: "Pray for one another". I beg you, I entreat you, I implore you. For why would it be difficult or wearied or hurtful for you, when you open this book and when you close it, to say immediately: "My Christ, save the scribe"? Except for that, I do not seek for anything else. But if by forgetfulness you do not say so, may God forgive you.

The meadows have various flowers
 from different origin, many and diverse.
 Some of them are joyful to look at,
 some have only a pleasant perfume,
 5 others feed and sweeten divinely
 the throat and the stomach.
 This garden, bearing fruit from John,
 ripe and full of juice,
 is proud to provide also well-shaped trees
 10 with green leaves covered with dew,
 whose blossoming beautifies the grace.

	Ποῶν τε πλήρης ἔστι τῶν μυριπνόων καὶ ῥοῦς διέρπων ὑδάτων ἐξ ὄμβριων τῆς ὑγρότητος ἐμφορεῖ γλυκασμάτων.	
15	Σκοπητέον δὲ τίνα ταῦτα τυγχάνει. Γῆ παραδείσου, βιβλίου τούτου λέγω, ἢ πᾶσα γραφή· τὴν ὕλην γραφῆς νόει, ἣς γλυκυδερκές εἶδος ὠραϊσμένον. Δένδρα καλὰ, μέγιστα διδασκαλῖαι, 20 δένδρων ῥάδαμνοι καὶ κλάδοι τούτων λόγοι· ὡς ἡ μία γὰρ ἀρετὴ πολλὰς φύει, οὕτως ὁ μίας εἰς λόγος πολλοὺς λόγους, μικροὺς, μερικοὺς, ἰσχνολεπτοβραχέας. Ἵν φύλλα πίστις σκῶλον οὐκ ἔχουσά τι, 25 ὑπαντιάζον φθέγμα θείοις πατράσι· γάγγραιναν εἶπε τοῦτο τίς μυστηπόλος, βάθρον κακίας καὶ θέμεθλον ἀπάτης. Καὶ καρπός ἐστι τῶν λόγων τὰ πρακτέα.	γῆ τοῦ κήπου [κ]αρπός
30	Ἐν ᾧ πετηγῶν ἵπταται πολὺ γένος κάκειθεν ἔνθεν ἐμπολεῦον εἰς ἔλος καὶ πρὸς μονὰς καθεῦδον ἠωρημένας. Ἐν ᾧ μοναστῶν ὀρνέων ὑποπτέρων, κούφων, ἐλαφρῶν, ἀμερίμων, ἀβίων, 35 ἐνιζάνει, γέγηθε, τέρπεται γένος ἐμφιλοχωροῦν τῷ νοημάτων δάσει καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἰσχύον· στάσις γὰρ ἄλλη καὶ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων.	δένδρα κλάδοι πετηγὰ ἔλος πετηγὰ

26 γάγγραιναν ≈ 2 Tim. 2:17

13 ἐξομβρίων M 14 om. M 16 ἢ γῆ τοῦ [κήπου] add. in mg. N 18 ὡς M | γλυδερκές N^{ac}
23 ἰσχνολεπτοβραχέας M 24 οὐκ ἔχουσά τι σκῶλον N^{ac} 27 ἀπάσης codd. 28 καρπός in mg.
om. M 29 πετεινῶν N | πετεινά in mg. M^{ac}; [π]ετηγὰ in mg. N 30 ἔλος in mg. om. M; ἔλος
add. in mg. ad v. 35 N 32 πετεινά in mg. M^{ac} 35 τῶν M 37 στάσις M | scholion ad ἄλλη:
Ἦγουν ἀλλαχοῦ add. in mg. N

It is full of grasslands with a sweet smell
 and a stream of rainwater running through it
 fills the garden with the sweetness of humidity.

15 Let us look what this means.

The ground of the garden, I mean of this book, ground of the garden
 is the whole writing: consider the material of this writing,
 whose shape is sweet to behold and beautifully adorned.

20 The beautiful, large trees are the lessons, trees
 the branches of the trees and their twigs are the words: twigs

just as one virtue develops many virtues,
 so one word on one lesson develops many words,
 small, partial, subtle, refined, brief words.

25 Their leaves are faith, which does not have any prickle,
 any saying in contradiction with the divine fathers.

One initiate called this gangrene,
 the basis of evil and the foundation of deceit.

The fruit of the words are the deeds. fruits

30 In the garden flies a large group of winged creatures, birds
 from here and there they migrate to the marsh-meadow marsh-meadow
 and they sleep in abodes that are hung up high.

In the garden, a group of winged solitary birds, birds
 lightened, relieved, unconcerned, without livelihood,
 sits down and is glad and rejoices

35 dwelling in the thickness of thoughts
 while not being capable to understand everything precisely,
 since the condition of words and deeds is different.

- Ἄνθη προσέρπει θαυμάσια κοιλάσιν ἄνθη
 ἤδιστον ἐκπνέοντα τὴν εὐοσμίαν.
- 40 Οἱ τῆς προσευχῆς εἰσιν, ὡς οἶμαι, λόγοι
 ὡς θυμίαμα τῷ Δαυιδ εἰρημένης·
 τὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ τέρπουσι νοῦν ἄνθη πέρι,
 ὡς ἀσιτίας τοὺς παρισθμίων τόπους,
 ὡς γλῶτταν, ὡς λάρυγγα τῆς ψαλμωδίας.
- 45 Τούτῳ μὲν εὐθύς ἥλιος προσηρμένος ἥλιος
 ἀκτίσι φαιδραῖς λαμπρομορφοπανστόλοις
 ἔων ὄψιν ἐμφανίζει τηλόθεν
 καὶ πυρσοειδεῖς ἐκτελῶν ἀνακλάσεις·
 καὶ τῷδε βάλλων δραστικὰς λαμπηδόνας,
- 50 οὐ θερμοποιεῖ τῇ μεταρσίῳ τάσει
 αὐτῶν τὰ δένδρα ταῖς βολαῖς ταῖς πυρφόροις,
 ἀλλὰ πεπαίνει καὶ φυλάττει καὶ τρέφει
 τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν συμπνέοντος προσφόρως
 τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, καθὼς θέλει,
- 55 τῷ ταυτοτίμῳ πανσθενεστάτῳ Λόγῳ. Πνεῦμα
 Κρῆναι διασχίζουσι τὸν κήπον μέσον, κρῆναι
 ἠδεῖς πρὸς αὐραν, δαψιλιεῖς ἐκ ναμάτων·
 αἱ τῶν δακρύων ραθάμιγες, ρανίδες
 ὡς ἂν τὰ δένδρα ταῖς ῥοαῖς ἐπαυξάνοι.
- 60 ὅτι τὸ πένθος αὐτὸ διδάσκει μόνον
 τὴν γνώσιν αὐξῶν τοῦ καλοῦ καινοτρόπως,
 ὅπερ δίδωσι γνώσεως ἐκλαμβάνον
 λαβὸν παρέσχε καὶ παρασχὸν λαμβάνει

40–41 ≈ Ps. 140:2 54 ≈ Joh. 3:8

38 κοιλάσιν M | ἄνθη add. in mg. ad v. 40 N 41 εἰρημένοι MN^{ac} 43 παρισθμίων N 46
 ἀκτίσι λαμπραῖς, φαιδρομορφοπανστόλοις M 48 scholion ad ἐκτελῶν: Γράφεται...ι.μας N
 53 προσφόρος M 54 Πνεῦμα add. in mg. ad v. 53 N 56 κρῆναι add. in mg. ad v. 58 N 61
 αὐξῶν M

The birds approach, in the valleys, wonderful flowers, flowers
 which breath out the sweetest scent.
 40 These are, as I think, the words of the prayer
 which David has called "like incense";
 these please the mind of God more than (real) flowers,
 as the throat of one who is fasting,
 as the tongue, as the voice of one who sings psalms.
 45 On the one hand the sun, rising straight, sun
 with shining bright all penetrating rays,
 manifests the morning view from afar,
 also making a fiery red refraction.
 On the other hand throwing powerful sparkles,
 50 it does not heat up with a high intensity
 so as to burn the trees with fire-bearing rays,
 but it ripens and protects and feeds
 the fruit of the trees, while, conveniently, the holy Spirit, Spirit
 as he likes, breathes together with
 55 the equally honourable and powerful Word.
 Springs divide the garden in the middle, springs
 pleasant along with a breeze, abundant from the wells.
 (They are) the drops, the drips of the tears,
 so that the trees might grow with the flow.
 60 Because only mourning teaches this,
 increasing the understanding of good in a peculiar way,
 it gives knowledge taking from knowledge,
 it gives after having taken and it takes after having given:

- καὶ κύκλον αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γράφει·
 65 ἔνθεν τελεσφοροῦσι τὴν παγκαρπίαν·
 εὐωδιάζει καὶ σκέπει φυτοσκάφους,
 καὶ ψυχαγωγὰ γίνεται καθ' ἡμέραν.
 Τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν κήπος ὠραϊσμένος
 ἔστι, τέθληε, βλαστάνει, θάλλει, βρύει
 70 χάριν μεγίστην, τρισσοφεγγή, πλουσίαν,
 καὶ τρισμέγιστον καὶ κατηγλαϊσμένην·
 ἢ βιβλος αὐτῆ, τοῦτό σου τὸ πυξίον·
 ὦ σωστικὴ θάλασσα τῆς ἐμῆς σκάφης,
 ὦ κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκφυγῶν πάλαι,
 75 ὦ τοῦ γένους σου κόσμε, κόσμιε τρόποις,
 ὦ τῶν πενήτων εὐπρόθυμε προστάτα,
 ὦ ψυχαγωγὲ καὶ ξένων εὐεργέτα,
 ὦ μετριάζων χρηστότητι μετρίους·
 ἔξ ἧς τρυφῶν, φίλατε, τὴν εὐζωΐαν
 80 τῷ δημιουργῷ νουνεχώς εὐγνωμόνει
 καὶ πίστιν ἔνθεν εὐφοροῦσαν ἐκτρέφων
 δρέψῃ νοητὸν ἄνθος εὐετηρίας,
 γνώρισμα χρηστότητος εὐκλεῆς φέρων.
 Τί δ' ἔστι τοῦτο, σὺ νοήσεις, ἂν θέλῃς,
 85 ὄξυν γὰρ ἔσχες ἐκ Θεοῦ προμηθέα
 ᾧ γενναΐζεις πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις,
 ὄξυν ἐν ἀκρότητι τῶν βουλευμάτων,
 ἠδὺν ἐν ἀβρότητι τῶν προβλημάτων,
 ταχὺν ἐν ἀδρότητι τῶν νοημάτων.
 90 Αὕτη παρ' ἡμῶν σοὶ φιλοῦντι τοὺς λόγους
 ἀφωσίωται δεξιῶσις ἐκ λόγων·
 αὕτη πρόμαρτυς καὶ φερέγγυος πόθου,

64 αὐτὸν fort. Demoen 69 τέθληε M 73 ἢ σωστικὴ M | θάλαττα N 78 μετρίους Demoen: μετρίας M; μετρίους N 81 ἐκτρέφε M 84 add. in mg. M 85 add. in mg. M | scholion ad προμηθέα: Ἦγουν νοῦν add. in mg. N 88 ἠδὺν ἐν ἀβρότητι τῶν βουλευμάτων M 89 ἀδρότητι M | add. in mg. N

and it draws this as a circle through the Word.
65 From there they ripen all kinds of fruits,
smell good and protect the gardeners,
and every day they are a guide of the souls.
Such is for us the beautiful garden.
It blossoms, shoots, flourishes and ripens
70 the greatest, triple shining, abundant,
thrice-greatest and splendidly adorned grace.
This is the book, this is the codex of yours:
o you, sea, saviour of my ship,
o you who renounced the earthly sea a long time ago,
75 o ornament of your lineage, ornamented by your behaviour,
o benevolent patron of the poor,
o guide of the soul and benefactor of strangers,
o mediator with kindness of the moderates.
When living well because of this book, dear friend,
80 be sensibly grateful toward its creator for this good life,
and if you grow the fruitful faith,
you will pick the spiritual flower of prosperity,
bearing the honourable sign of kindness.
What it is, you will apprehend, if you want,
85 because you got a sharp consideration, received from God
which enables you to be frequently noble in words,
sharp in the height of decisions,
pleasant in the wealth of questions,
fast in the vigour of thoughts.
90 This (poem) is for you, who love the words,
dedicated by us as an offering of words.
This (poem) is a witness and a warrant of our desire,

95 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐν ἡμῖν ἠγγυήσω τὸν πόθον
 καὶ δεξιᾶν προὔτεινας ἔκτενεστάτην
 οὐχὶ δῖς, οὐ τρίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις
 εἰς οἶκτον ἐξάκουστον· αὕτη ζωγράφος
 τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης, ἦν περ ὡς πρόγραμμά τι
 ἡμῖν θεικῶς, ἐντυποῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ
 100 μνήμην ἀναλλοίωτον αὐτῆς εἰκότως.
 Ταύτην ὁ μέλλων λήψεται σύμπας χρόνος
 ἀεὶ βοῶσαν τὴν φιλόνηρωπον χάριν
 τῶν σῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐμενῶν ἐνδειγμάτων.

στίχοι τοῦ κήπου ρβ´

93 ἔγγυήσω Μ

in exchange because you gave the desire in us as a pledge,
and you have offered your assiduous right hand,
95 not twice, not thrice, but numberless times
in response to the lament heard. This (poem) is a painter of
your love, which you have placed as a kind of program for us,
and which you carve suitably in our heart,
an unchangeable memory of your love.
100 The entire future will receive this (poem),
which will for ever celebrate the merciful grace
of the proof of your benevolence towards us.

verses of the garden: 102

Poem 2

Ἐτεροι στίχοι εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλίμακος, ἐν σχήματι ἐγκωμίου, παραίνεσιν παρσιζώντες καὶ κλίμακα παρσιζώντες ἐτέραν, ἥς μία ἐκάστη ἀνάβασις δι' ἑξήκοντα στίχων συνίσταται.

Προοίμιον τῆς διὰ στίχων κλίμακος

Ψήγματα χρυσᾶ τοῖς Λυδοῖς αἰρεῖ λόγος
 Πακτωλὸν ἐκρεῖν, ὄντα τοῦ Τιμώλου κάτω
 ὑφ' ὧν Κροῖσος ὄγκωτο πεπλανημένος,
 βλακάς, ἄνους ὦν, ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισμένος·
 5 ὡς τοῦδε ρεύσις, ὕστερον παρεφθάρη.
 Καὶ τὴν γενειάδα δὲ Περσῶν ὁ κράτωρ
 ἔχων χρυσεῖων ἐκ πετάλων χρυσίνην,
 ἔχειν ἑαυτὸν δόξαν ἤδε μακάρων.
 Μύρμηκες ἐπλούτιζον, ἀπὸ βαθῶν
 10 ψάμμων, μελανῶν Ἰνδικῶν βροτῶν γένος.
 Ἐπιρρέων ὁ Νεῖλος ὄριος τόποις
 Αἰγυπτιακοῖς πλούτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων
 πολὺν ἐποίει Φαραωνίτας ἔχειν.
 Ἀγάλλεται τις ὄρμισιν, ἄλλος φυτοῖς,
 15 λίθοις τιμίοις ἄλλος, ἄλλος μαργάροις·
 σοὶ δ' οὐ φθιτόν τι καὶ διαρρέον χρόνω
 περιφιλεῖται, στέργεται, πεπνυμένε,
 ἀλλ' ἀφθιτόν καὶ κρεῖττον ὦν ἂν τις φράσοι.

1–2, 9–18 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II, 2,1 vv. 263–272 (PG 37.1470–1471) 2–5 cf. Strab. *Geogr.* 13.4.5 (ed. Meineke 1913); Eustath. *Thess. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. van der Valk 1971: 577, ll. 14–16) 4 ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισμένος cf. Mt. 7:26 6–8 ≈ J. Chrys. *In epist. ad Coloss. comm.* (PG 62.350, ll. 18–24)

Codd. MN Tit. παρσιζώντες: παρσιζών M 3 ἀφ' M; ὄγκωτο M 12 ὀρίων M

Poem 2

Other verses on the opening of the same Ladder, in the form of an eulogy, introducing an exhortation and presenting another ladder, of which each single step consists of six verses.

Preface to the ladder in verses

The story goes that gold dust flowed for the Lydians
out of the Paktolos, the river lying at the base of Mount Tmolos.
Misled by the gold, Kroisos was puffed up with pride,
being foolish and stupid, leaning upon the sandy ground.
5 As the flux of the Paktolos, he perished later on.
The ruler of the Persians, having even a golden beard,
made of gold leaf,
praised himself to have the honour of the blessed ones.
Ants enriched the race of the black mortal Indians
10 from the sand from deep under the ground.
The Nile, flowing seasonally over
the Egyptian lands, made sure that the Pharaonic people
had a large richness from the granaries.
One exults in birds, another one in plants,
15 in precious stones another one, another one in pearls.
But you, wise man, do not love nor cherish
anything perishable or anything fleeting with time,
but something incorruptible and greater than anyone could put into words.

20 “Οποῖον;” ἴσως ἀγνοῶν ἔροϊτό τις.
 λόγος· τὸ μείζον ὧν παρέσχε σοι Λόγος·
 ὄν νοῦς βρότειος, καὶ πολλὸς ἰδρῶς, πόνος
 καὶ πίστις ἐκράτυνε καθαρωτάτη·
 τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἴαμα τῶν ἑκατέρων,
 τὸ φῶς τὸ φαῖνον, φῶς ὑπέρτατον λῖαν
 25 φωτίζον ἅπαν ἀμέσως φῶς ἐμμέσως·
 δι’ οὗ τὸ δισσὸν ἔργον ἔγνωσ τοῦ φάους·
 κόσμον παραρρέοντα καὶ παρηγμένον,
 κόσμον διαμένοντα καὶ πεπηγμένον·
 τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, ποῖα τὰ τούτων τέλη
 30 ἦ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τέκμαρ, ἀρχὴν τῶν δύο·
 δι’ οὗ τὰ συμφέροντα ταῖς εὐπραξίαις
 ἐν ὀρθότητι τῶν νοδῶν κινήματων
 ἔμαθες, ἠγάπησας αὐτὰ προκρίνων.

Ἀρχὴ τῆς διὰ στίχων κλιμακῶς

35 Αἴγυπτον ἐξέφυγες ἐσκοτισμένην, α περὶ ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως οὐ τοπικῆς
 ἠδυνάθειαν, ἀνάπαυσιν σαρκίου
 καὶ Φαραῶ, τύραννον αὐτῆς τὸν μέγαν,
 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα, τὸν κενὸν βίον
 ἐπιστάτας τε τοὺς βαρεῖς ἔργων δότας,
 λογιμορέκτας, παθοσυγκαταθέσεις.

20 παρέσχε (...) Λόγος cf. ἔδωκε Χριστὸς Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,2,1 vv. 271–272
 (PG 37.1471) 34 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.636, ll. 7–16; 1069, ll. 24–29) 34, 36
 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.633, ll. 54–55) 34, 36, 38 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Or.* I (PG 35.397, ll.
 9–12) 37 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα cf. Rom. 8:5–9 38 cf. Ex. 1:11, 5:14

20 ὄν M 22 καρτερωτάτη M 26 Ἦγουν τοῦ Λόγου add. in mg. N 30 ἀρχὴ M; Ἦγουν
 τοῦ ἐνός add. in mg. N Tit. om. N 39 παθῶν συγκαταθέσεις M

‘What?’, an ignorant might ask.
20 The word: the greatest thing of those things the Word granted you,
which was strengthened by the mortal mind,
by a lot of sweat, toil and by the purest faith.
The cure for both passions:
the shining light, the very highest light,
25 the light that enlightens everything, immediately and mediately.
Through the Word you know the double result of the light:
the world which flows by and which passes away,
the world which remains and which is fixed,
their nature, their end
30 or rather, the goal, the origin of both.
Through the Word you have learned what is useful for good conduct
having a right attitude of mind,
you have learned and loved them, preferring those things.

Beginning of the ladder in verses

35 You escaped from darkened Egypt, 1 On non-spatial renunciation and withdrawal
the luxurious life, the laziness of the flesh
and from the pharaoh, the great tyrant of Egypt,
the carnal mind, the vain life,
from the commanders, the brutal dispatchers of tasks,
those who arouse evil thoughts, those who assent to passions.

- 40 Οὐ πρὶν μισήσας, ὕστερον μεταμέλη,
ὡς Λῶτ γύναιον· κἄν γὰρ ἐν μέσοις στρέφη,
ἄκραν ἀπροσπάθειαν ἐν μέσοις ἔχεις.
Ἐγκάρδιον λείψανον οὐκ ἔστι λύπης
ἐπὶ στερήσει πραγμάτων μοχθηρίας
- 45 καὶ τὰ προσόντα παρέχεις χωρὶς βίας.
Ἄλλοτριῶς πῶς σαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων,
ἀποξενοῖς πῶς σαυτὸν ἐξ ἄλλοτρίων
ὅπως ξενισθῆς ἐν ξένοις, ξένος γίνῃ
ἀποξενούντων τοὺς ξένους σφῶν ἐκ ξένων
- 50 ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον εὖ βιοὺς βίον,
δυσδιάκριτον, λανθάνοντα μυρίου.
Μάρπτεις, διώκεις τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν,
καθυποτάττων σάρκα τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Ἐχεις ἔλεγχον τὴν συνείδησιν μόνην·
- 55 πρὸ τοῦ βαδίσαι τήνδε τὴν ὀρωμένην
ὑπακοήν, ἔφθασας εἰς νοουμένην.
Τρέχεις ἀδήλως· ἔσταῶς ἄνω τρέχεις.
Ἐπιγινώσκεις τῶν παθῶν τὰς αἰτίας,
καταγινώσκεις Ναυάτου φλυαρίας,
- 60 κατασχύνεις ἐκείνον ἐν ταῖς αἰσχύναις
καὶ ταύτας αὐτὰς αἰσχύνεις ἐν αἰσχύνῃ,
διαδιδράσκων τὴν μένουσαν αἰσχύνῃ
ἢ πᾶσι πάντα φαίνεται κεκρυμμένα.
Τέγγεις, ὑγραίνεις, τὰς παρειάς σου βρέχεις,
- 65 μνήμη θανάτου καὶ τελευταία κρίσει,
καὶ τονθορῶζεις ἡρέμα σαυτῷ, λέγων·

β περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας

γ περὶ ξενιτείας προαιρετικῆς

δ περὶ ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς

ε περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης

ς περὶ μνήμης θανάτου

41 cf. Gen. 19:15–26 50 ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον (...) βίον ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664B) 64–65 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.809, ll. 14–16)

41 ἐμμέσοις ut videtur N 46 πῶς MN 47 πῶς MN 50 βιοῦς M^{ac} 57 ἀδειλως M^{Pc}N^{ac} 66 τονθορῶζεις ἡρέμα M

- 40 You do not first hate (the world), and then change your mind, 2 On dispassion
as Lot's wife, because even when you turn back along the way,
you have, along your way, the highest dispassion.
There are no remains of sorrow in your heart
because of the deprivation of matters of depravity
- 45 and you offer your belongings voluntarily.
You alienate yourself from what is yours; 3 On voluntary exile
you estrange yourself from what is extraneous;
in order to become a stranger amongst strangers, you become a stranger
to those who estrange strangers from their own strangers.
- 50 You live an unknown, hidden life in a good way,
a life difficult to discern, which escapes from the notice of numberless people.
You catch and banish disobedience, 4 On mental submission
subjugating the flesh to your spirit.
You have only your consciousness as control.
- 55 Even before you walk the road of visible obedience,
you have reached that of mental obedience.
You run secretly, you climb firmly.
You recognise the causes of the passions, 5 On painstaking repentance
you condemn Novatian's foolery,
- 60 you put him to shame, into deep shame
and you put his foolery to shame by shame,
while you escape from the persistent shame,
because of which all hidden things are disclosed to all.
You wet, moisten and soak your cheeks, 6 On remembrance of death
- 65 because of the remembrance of death and the last judgment,
and you mumble softly to yourself, saying:

- “νῦν εὐτρεπίζου πάντοτε πρὸς τὸν τάφον”·
καὶ γὰρ προπέμπων τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἔτι
οὐκ οἶδας εἰ σπάσειας ἄλλην συρμάδα.
- 70 Στένεις βύθιον, ἀνατυποῖς κραδίη ζεπερὶ πένθους
χάος καταχθόνιον, ἄποσον βάθος,
ἄσβεστον, ἀφώτιστον, ἄπλετον φλόγα
καὶ καταδύσεις ὑπογείων σχισμάτων,
οἰκτράς, σκοτεινάς, χαλεπάς, τεθλιμμένας
- 75 πασῶν βασάνων εἰκόνας αἰωνίων.
Ὁξυχολίας καὶ θυμοῦ δι’ ὧν φλόγα ηεπερὶ ἀοργησίας
καταπραῦνεις καὶ μαραίνεις, σβεννύεις.
Ἐν οἷς ἀκούεις, οὐ θυμαλγείς ὡς Νάβαλ.
Ἐν οἷς σὺ λαλεῖς, ὡς Ἀβιγαία λέγεις.
- 80 Οὐδέν τι δυσάντητον, ἐστυγημένον
λαλεῖς καχλάζων, εισοράς ἀναζέων.
Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ κρύπτεις ὡς κάμηλος κακίαν, θεπερὶ ἀμνησικακίας
ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον, ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν,
ξύλῳ σαθρῷ σκώληκα, τὴν μῆνιν πρᾶω·
- 85 κεύθων μὲν ἄλλα καρδίας ἐν τῷ βάθει,
ἄλλα δὲ βάζων γλυκέροισι χειλέοισι,
ἐν ἡδύτητι πικρίας ἀμαρτάνων.

70–75 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.804, ll. 31–37) 76–77 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.828 Gr. 8, ll. 3–6) 78–79 cf. Sam. 1:25 83 ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον cf. Mt. 7:15 83 ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν cf. Aesop. (P 176); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.697, ll. 5–6; 841, ll. 47–49) 84 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.13; PG 88.841, ll. 51–55) 85–86 cf. *Il.* 9.313; *Od.* 18.168; Porphyr. *Quaest. Hom. lib. I (recensio V)* (sect. 95, l. 8; ed. Sodano 1970); Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. van der Valk 1976: 713, ll. 18–19) 87 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.2; PG 88.841, ll. 12–13)

67 scholion ad τάφον: Γράφεται· πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν add. in mg. N 71 scholion ad ἄποσον: Γράφεται· ἄμετρον add. in mg. N 80 scholion ad δυσάντητον: Γράφεται· δυσάκουστον add. in mg. N 86 γλυκέροισι N

“Now be prepared at any moment for the grave”,
 because even though you are still breathing,
 you do not know if you might take another breath.
 70 You moan deeply, you picture in your heart 7 On mourning
 the subterranean chaos, the unquantifiable depth,
 the inextinguishable, unilluminated, boundless flame,
 the descent into the underground fissures
 the pitiable, obscure, painful and tormented
 75 images of all the eternal tortures.
 By these (moans) you appease, quench and extinguish 8 On freedom from anger
 the flame of irascibility and anger.
 When you give ear, you do not rage as Nabal,
 when you talk, you speak like Abigail.
 80 Nothing unpleasant, nothing resentful
 you say when you seethe, you put in your gaze when you boil.
 Neither do you keep inside, like a camel, evil, 9 On the forgetting of wrongs
 which is a wolf in sheep’s clothing, a snake at your breast,
 a worm in rotten wood, resentment in a mild person,
 85 concealing something in the depth of the heart,
 saying something else with sweet lips,
 sinning in the sweetness of bitterness.

- Λαλεῖς δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἔχεις ἐν κρυφίῳ, ι περι καταλαλιᾶς
 κἄν μικρὸν ἐκστῆς, συντόμως ἐπανάγη,
 90 οὐκ ἐκδαπανῶν ἐν νόθοις ἡσυχίοις
 τὴν ἀγκαλίδα, τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου,
 εἴτ' αὐ μαιίνων ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει
 καὶ τῇ μελήσει τοῦ καταλαλουμένου.
 Εὐτράπελόν τι, λαμυρὸν πλέκων ἔπος, ια περι πολυλογίας
 95 λαρόν, προσηγές, ἡδὺ καὶ μεμιγμένον,
 αὐτὸ πλατύνων κρασπέδοις τοῖς ἐκ λίνου,
 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔξω νοῦς γένηται τῆς ἔδρας
 παρεκτροπᾶς ἐάσας ἰδίας βλέπειν,
 ἄλλως ἐς ἄλλων οὐ παρακύπτει κρίσιν.
 100 Τὸ ψεύδος ἐξ ὧν λαμβάνει παρρησίαν, ιβ περι ψεύδους
 ὃ τὴν ἀγάπην ἀποκόπτει ριζόθεν·
 ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα, δόρπος, ἀπάτη, βέλος.
 Ὅ γοῦν ἀγάπην καὶ κατάνυξιν ἔχων
 ψεύδος τὸ κακὸν ὑπαλύξειν ἰσχύει,
 105 ἐν οἷς ὅτε χρὸς Παῦλ ἀποβλέπων.

90 νόθοις ἡσυχίοις ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.841, ll. 52–53) 90, 92 ἐκδαπανῶν (...) ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, 8–9) 94 Εὐτράπελόν, λαμυρὸν cf. Phot. *Lex.* (E–M, lem. 83; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1933: λ, lem. 106); *Etymol. Gud.* (ed. Sturz 1818: 362, l. 7) 95 λαρόν, προσηγές, ἡδὺ ≈ Apoll. *Lexic. Hom.* (ed. Bekker 1833: 107, l. 5); Hesych. *Lexic. (A–O)* (λ, lem. 340; ed. Latte 1953); Phot. *Lexic.* (E–M, λ, lem. 101; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1933: λ, lem. 126, l. 1) 96 cf. Num. 15:38–40; Mt. 23:5 97–99 ≈ schol. in J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 1970: 77 n. 2) 100–101 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.853 Gr. 12, ll. 3–5) 102 ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα ≈ Hesych. *Lexic. (A–O)* (ε, lem. 264; ed. Latte 1953); Phot. *Lexic.* (E–M, ε, lem. 59; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 128) 104–105 cf. Jos. 2:1–14 105 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.856, ll. 42–43)

91 scholion ad Λόγου: Γράφεται· Κυρίου add. in mg. N 97 ἔδρας M 99 scholion ad οὐ παρακύπτει: Γράφεται· οὐκ ἀποκλίνει add. in mg. N 102 γλύκασμα N

So, what you say corresponds with what you have inside, 10 On slander
 and if you slip a little bit, you get it right immediately,
 90 not wasting in false silence
 the bundle, the part of the Word,
 nor staining it by the simulation of love
 or by the care for the person whom you slander.
 Weaving a jesting, wanton, 11 On talkativeness
 95 delightful, pleasant, sweet and varied word,
 you do not broaden it with fringes of linen.
 Unless your mind is removed from its seat,
 permitting to see one's own deviations,
 it is not inclined to judge others.
 100 From talkativeness the lie receives boldness in speech, 12 On falsehood
 which destroys love from the roots.
 It is a honey cake, sweets, dinner: deceit and arrow.
 The one who has love and compunction
 is able to avoid the bad lie;
 105 while, if need be, looking at Rahab.

- Ἐντεῦθεν εἰπὲ χρήσομαι πῶς τῷ λόγῳ
 εἰς ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀκηδίας φθάσας.
 Πενθεῖς σὺ σαυτόν, ὡς ἔφην ἄνωτέρω.
 Πενθικὸν ἤτορ οἶδε τὴν ἀκηδίαν,
 110 μνήμη παλαῖον κρίσεως τῆς ἐσχάτης;
 Ἦκιστα συμφήσειε πᾶς μνημημόρος.
 Χαῦνον, πλαδαρόν, ὑγρόν, ἐκλελυμένον
 βίον διώκεις, ἀπελαύνεις μακρόθεν
 καὶ τὸν σκοτεινὸν ἐκτελοῦντα τὸν νόα
 115 δειλὸν τε δυσκίνητον ἐξ ἀσιτίας,
 στυγνόν, κατηφῆ, δεινόν, ἄφιλον λόγοις.
 Ἄπερ γινώσκων τὴν μέσσην στείβεις στίβον.
 Δηλοῖ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μεσόρροπον τρίβον
 ἢ σωφροσύνη, σαρκίου καθαρότης,
 120 ῥύψις τελεία σαρκικῶν μiasμάτων,
 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτων, ἀγνείας κράτος
 ἢ θλαδίαν δείκνυσι σιδήρου δίχα·
 τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα Κυρίου.
 Ἄρ' οὖν νικήσας τὴν φύσιν ὑπὲρ φύσιν,
 125 τὸν φυσικὸν κίνδυνον ὑπαλυσκάσας
 φιλαργυρίας ἀγχόνη καταπνίγη;
 Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· μάρτυρές μοι μυριοί
 καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τῆς ἀφιλαργυρίας,
 κήρυξ μέγιστος δωρεῶν ὑπερπόσων.

1γ περὶ ἀκηδίας

ιδ περὶ ἐγκρατείας

ιε περὶ σωφροσύνης

ις περὶ φιλαργυρίας

109 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 13,9; PG 88.860, ll. 46–47) 112 cf. Hesych. *Lexic.* (Π-Ω) (π, lem. 2421, 2422; ed. Schmidt 1861–1862); Phot. *Lexic.* (Ν-Φ) (π, lem. 906; ed. Theodoridis 2013); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1935; π, lem. 1679) 121 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.888, ll. 17–19) 122 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.884, ll. 3–5); Mt. 19:12 124 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.896, ll. 25–29) 125 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.904, ll. 6–7) 126 cf. Mt. 27:5

121 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτων Μ 122 Γράφεται· δέδειχε add. in mg. N

- Now, tell me how I shall use the word, 13 On despondency
 now that I come to the examination of despondency.
 You mourn for yourself, as I said before.
 Does the mournful heart know despondency,
 110 as it wrestles with the remembrance of the last judgment?
 Anyone who remembers death would firmly deny this.
 You banish the languid, flabby, flaccid, relaxed 14 On abstinence
 life and far away you chase
 also the life which makes your mind dark,
 115 cowardly and grumpy because of fasting,
 gloomy, depressed, terrifying, hostile towards words.
 Knowing these things, you walk the middle path.
 This well-balanced road is revealed 15 On chastity
 by chastity, by the purity of the flesh,
 120 by the perfect purification of carnal pollutions,
 by the incorruptibility of the body, by the strength of purity,
 which demonstrates the eunuch even without the sword:
 the Levitical dignity of the Lord.
 Well then, after having prevailed, supernaturally, over nature, 16 On avarice
 125 after having escaped from the physical danger,
 you are not suffocated by the strangling of avarice, are you?
 It is possible to deny. I have many witnesses,
 in particular that forerunner of freedom from avarice,
 the great proclaimer of numberless gifts.

- 130 I have come to know well your blessed passion, 17 On the understanding of what
 I classify your forms of generosity: [happens
 when you give, you rejoice; when you do not give, you suffer deeply.
 You are fond of many goods, not to lock them up inside,
 but to scatter many goods among many people.
- 135 And this escapes the mind of many. 18 On psalmody
 Likewise you enjoy beautiful chant,
 to sing psalms, to chant hymns, to praise the Lord,
 in evening-, day - and nocturnal
 prayers and supplications, in extraordinary standings,
- 140 so a licentious dance does not have place in you, 19 On vigil
 but a song sung for the Lord.
 The wakeful eye purified the mind and the heart
 and subjugates the indomitable flesh to the Word,
 makes it (i.e. the body) into a pure servant,
- 145 a dextrous attendant of God's table, 20 On courage
 who shares the mysteries with others,
 rightly showing to many people that you are a mystery.
 By perfect faith and the orthodox dogma,
 by the established sound devotion;
- 150 hereby you frighten the earthly rulers of darkness,
 who are hostile, unfaithful, malevolent, opposed to God,
 while you do not accept childish behaviour
 in an old soul.

- 155 Ἄπερ κῦσκει τοὺς ἐχιδνώδεις τόκους· καὶ περὶ κενοδοξίας
 τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν πλημμύραν,
 τὴν τοῦ Σατάν διαίταν ἢ τὴν ἐστίαν,
 τὸ ναύγιον, τὸν κλύδωνα, τὸν στρόφον,
 τὴν ἀπατουργὸν τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν,
 τὴν ᾧ καλεῖται δεικνύουσαν τὴν φύσιν.
 160 Ἐξ ἧς Θεοῦ ἄρνησις, ἀνθρώπων φθόνος, κβ περὶ ὑπερηφανίας
 ἐξουδένωσις κρειττόνων, οὐ κρειττόνων
 ἐκστάσεώς τε πρόδρομος καὶ μανίας,
 πηγὴ θυμοῦ καὶ ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας,
 πικρὸς δικαστῆς, ὑποκρίσεως θύρα,
 165 στήριγμα, πύργος, λαβύρινθος δαιμόνων. κγ περὶ βλασφημίας
 Ῥίζης κακῆς ἤκουσας ὄρηκας ἴσους,
 καρποὺς ἀχρήστους καὶ σαπροὺς καὶ παγκάκους
 τῆς ὑπερηφανίας· ἢ βλασφημία,
 κρύψις ἀμαρτήματος, ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι.
 170 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δαίμονας
 καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὡς τὸ λαθραίους ἔχειν. κδ περὶ πονηρίας
 Ἐντεῦθεν ὄντως τὴν πονηρίαν ἔγνω
 ἰσχύν, δύναμιν λαμβάνουσαν καὶ κράτος,
 ἀσχημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη, δόλον,
 175 πένθους μακρυσμόν, πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων,
 ἰδιογνώμωρον, ἄφρονα τρόπον·
 ἥτις ἀφαντος γίνεται ποίω τρόπῳ;
 Πράω, ταπεινῶ, μετρίῳ τῇ καρδίᾳ κε περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης
 καὶ μισοθύμῳ καὶ μισοργιλοφθόνῳ,

154–156 ≈ M. Psell. *Poem.* 21, vv. 1–3 (ed. Westerink 1992) 160–165 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4–12) 166, 168 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 19–22) 170–171 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 45–48) 174–176 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, ll. 24–26, 33–42) 178 ≈ Mt. 11:29

165 πύργος M

- 155 These things conceive a viper-like offspring: 21 On vainglory
the sea or the flood of evil,
the abode or the dwelling of Satan,
the shipwreck, the billow, the vortex,
the deceiving destroyer of virtues,
which shows its nature by its name.
- 160 From which derives the denial of God and the envy of men, 22 On pride
the contempt for stronger beings and for beings that are not stronger,
the precursor of foulness and madness,
the source of anger and the root of blasphemy,
the bitter judge, the door of hypocrisy,
- 165 the buttress, tower and labyrinth of demons. 23 On blasphemy
You have heard that an evil root brings forth similar shoots,
useless, putrid and utterly evil fruits
of pride: blasphemy,
concealment of sin, indecent words.
- 170 Indeed, nothing strengthens the demons
and bad thoughts so much as having them in secret.
I realized that wickedness really took from there 24 On wickedness
its strength, power, and force;
demoniac deformity, cunning,
- 175 estrangement from mourning, agent of falls,
a self-opinionated, foolish way of life.
How does this wickedness disappear?
By being meek, humble and moderate at heart, 25 On humility
hating anger and hating irascible envy,

- 180 εὐσυμπαθήτῳ καὶ κατανευγμένῳ,
 φαιδρῶ, γαληνῶ καὶ καθιλαρευμένῳ,
 εὐηνίῳ, χαίροντι, μὴ ζοφουμένῳ,
 περιμερίμῳ σφαλμάτων τῶν ἰδίων.
 Οὗτος λόγος σοι πνευμάτων, ὅρος, νόμος, κς περὶ διακρίσεως
- 185 ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ σωμάτων πληρουμένων·
 τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακρίνειν καὶ μόνα,
 ποιεῖν τὸ χρηστὸν εὐδιακρίτῳ κρίσει,
 εὐρεῖν τὸ κακὸν καὶ μισεῖν ἐκ καρδίας,
 ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν.
- 190 Ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῆς λόγων ἡσυχίας, κς περὶ ἡσυχίας ψυχῆς
 κλείειν θύραν φθέγματος ἢ γλώττης ὄλης,
 ἔνδον πύλην πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆς ὄλης·
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡσυχία, ταῦτα κυρίως·
 δι' ἧς ὁ Παῦλος εἰς πόλεις διατρίβων
- 195 ἀτριπτον, ἀβάδιστον ἔτριψε τρίβον.
 Ἦν τριάς ἀπλῆ καὶ δυὰς συνιστάνει· κη περὶ προσευχῆς
 στάσις ἀκλινῆς σώματος κατακρίτου,
 στεναγμὸς ἀλάλητος, εἷς βραχὺς λόγος,
 νοδὸς φυλακῆ, συνοχὴ τε καρδίας.
- 200 Ταύτην γὰρ οἶδα πνεύματος κραυγὴν μόνην,
 οὐ τὴν διὰ στόματος, οὐ τῶν χειλέων.

180–182 ≈ J. Clim. Scal. Par. (PG 88.992, ll. 25–29) 184–185 ≈ J. Clim. Scal. Par. (PG 88.1017, ll. 22–24) 187 εὐδιακρίτῳ κρίσει ≈ J. Clim. Scal. Par. (Sophr. 1970: 137 tit. Gr. 26.2, 185 tit. Gr. 26.2–3; PG 88.1056 tit. Gr. 26.2) 191–192 ≈ J. Clim. Scal. Par. (PG 88.1100, ll. 8–9) 198 στεναγμὸς ἀλάλητος ≈ J. Clim. Scal. Par. (PG 88.1136, l. 52); Rom. 8:26

180 συσυμπαθήτῳ M 185 scholion ad πληρουμένων: Ἦγουν· τελειουμένων add. in mg. N 186 μόνους N^{pc} 190 tit. κς περὶ ἡσυχίας M; Γράφεται· χειλέων add. in mg. N 197 στάσις M 201 αὐτὴν διὰ M

- 180 being compassionate and possessing compunction,
 being bright, gentle and rejoicing,
 docile, delighted and not darkened,
 being very attentive towards your own faults.
 This is for you a rule, a standard, a law for souls 26 On discernment
- 185 and for those piously aiming at perfection of their bodies:
 to judge those things which pertain to yourself, and only those things,
 to do what is necessary with a well-considered judgement,
 to find evil and to hate it with all your heart,
 to turn yourself away from disobedience.
- 190 To turn to the stillness of words, 27 On stillness of the soul
 to close the door to speech or to the tongue entirely,
 to close the gate within to the spirit or to the soul entirely:
 that is stillness; precisely these things.
 By this stillness Paul, travelling to several cities,
- 195 tread the untraveled, untrodden road.
 This stillness is established by a single trinity and a pair: 28 On prayer
 an unshakeable standing of a condemned body,
 an unutterable groaning, one short word,
 a guard of the mind and anguish of the heart.
- 200 This is the only crying of the spirit I know,
 not the one through the mouth, not the one through the lips.

- Οὕτω σὺ ποιῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν φθάσεις· κθ περὶ ἀπαθείας
 βαίης γὰρ ἐγκάρδιον ἐς νοδὸς πόλον,
 ἀθύρματα, παίγνια τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων
 205 καλῶς νομίσεις μηχανοπλανουργίας,
 καταπατήσεις λῖν, δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν,
 ὄφιν, κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα.
 Θεῶ σχολάσεις καὶ παρεδρεύσεις μόνω, λ περὶ ἐνώσεως Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων
 Θεὸν κατίδοις ἐν σχολῇ τῇ βελτέρᾳ,
 210 Θεῶ προσάψεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα·
 τὸν νοῦν, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ παναχράντου Λόγου
 οὐχὶ μερίσεις τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ πλάνω,
 τῇ δὲ Τριάδι τριάδα συναγάγεις.
 Ἦ σήμερόν σοι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον Ἐπίλογος μετ' εὐχῆς
 215 ἴλαος ὀπτάνοιτο συμπαθεστάτη
 πταίσμασι τριτάτοισι τριμεροῦς χρόνου,
 κατευδοῦσα τὰ διαβουλίᾳ σου,
 κατευθύνουσα τὰ διαβήματά σου,
 διεκτελοῦσα τὰ προσαιτήματά σου
 220 κάκει συνεντάπτουσα Χριστοπατράσιν
 εὐχαῖς πατρός μου τοῦ πανηγιασμένου,

203–205 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1148, ll. 10–13) 206–207 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1001, l. 43–1004, l. 3); Ps. 90:13 210 εἰκόνα cf. Gen. 1:26 218 cf. Ps. 36:23; 39:4; 118:133

205 μηχανοπλανουργίας M 207 κεραστήν codd. 208 Γράφεται· προσεδρεύσεις add. in mg. N 212 Ἦγουν· τῷ κόσμῳ add. in mg. N 213 συναγάγεις M 220 Χριστοπατράσιν N^{ac}

When you act like this, you will attain dispassion: 29 On dispassion
 you may reach a heaven of the mind within the heart,
 you will correctly consider the wiles of the demons
 205 as pranks, as trifles;
 you will trample underfoot the lion, the big dragon,
 the horned snake, the basilisk, the asp.
 To God alone you will devote your time and you will be close. 30 On the union of
 You will see God in the better devotion [God and men
 210 and to God you will attach the image of God.
 The mind, the spirit of the immaculate Word
 you will not divide between God and the deceiver
 but, with the Trinity you will join your trinity.

May the Trinity, today, in this life, *Epilogue with prayer*
 215 appear to be benevolent and utterly compassionate to you
 towards the threefold sins of the tripartite time,
 bringing prosperity to your plans,
 guiding your steps,
 accomplishing your beggings
 220 and uniting (you) in the world to come with Christ's forefathers
 thanks to the prayers of my very holy father,

225 τοῦ λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου
καὶ πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου
καὶ χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφοπλόκου
νοῖ, λόγῳ, πνεύματι κατεστημένου.
Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν, γένοιτο καὶ πάλιν.

*Στίχοι τοῦ Κλίμακος, διακόσιοι εἴκοσι καὶ δύο· τοῦ δὲ κήπου, ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο·
ὁμοῦ ἀμφότεροι τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες.*

222 λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου **M In fine** [τέσσαρες] **M**

225 who is a practitioner of a radiant and fiery shaped tongue
and who has a fiery, radiant way of speaking,
and who is a plaiter of a golden crown with precious stones and pearls,
who is adorned with the mind, the word and the spirit.
Amen, amen, amen, may it happen again and again.

Verses of the Ladder: two hundred twenty-two; those of the garden: one hundred and two; total amount: three hundred twenty-four.

Poem 3

*Στίχοι συγγραφέντες παρὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων
ταύτην τὴν κλίμακα*

Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου,
ἀφ' ἧς ἀποτρέχουσιν οἱ ψυχοκτόνοι,
ἐφ' ἣν ἐπιτρέχουσιν οἱ σαρκοκτόνοι,
ἀφ' ἧς καταβαίνουσιν οἱ νοοκτόνοι,
5 ἐφ' ἣν ἀναβαίνουσιν οἱ παθοκτόνοι.
Βροτοὶ μὲν οὗτοι· τὸ πλεόν δὲ καὶ νόες
ἀποξύσαντες τῆς λεβηρίδος πάχος
ὀπῆς στενῆς ἔσωθεν ὡς γῆρας ὄφης,
καινοὶ φανέντες ὡς κenoὶ κenoῦ βίου,
10 καὶ νοὶ κατασταθέντες ὡς ἐπηρμένοι.
Ἦνπερ δίδου σὺ σαῖς λιταῖς, Ἰωάννη,
ὁ τήνδ' ἐγείρας ὡς λίθοις στερροῖς λόγοις,
ὁ τήνδε πῆξας ἄγαν εὐτεχνεστάτως,
LMN: σοῖς Ἰωάνναις ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις·
15 τῷ τῆσδε γραφεῖ, δυσγενεῖ κακοτρόπω,
τῷ τ' εὐγενεῖ τὸν βίον, ὡς δὲ καὶ γένος,
γένους Κομνηνοῦ, σχήματος μονοτρόπου
καὶ κλήσεως δὲ τῆς γε χαριτωνύμου·
ἄλλως γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν ὡς λέγεις.

στίχοι ιδ

7–8 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1085, ll. 8–14) 8 ὀπῆς στενῆς cf. Mt. 7:13–14; ὡς γῆρας ὄφης ≈ Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* (ed. Hörandner 1974; poem. 24, v. 18) 12 cf. epigr. inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος (v. 3; DBBE (consulted 31.07.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259>)

Codd. MN P (vv. 14–19) V (vv. 14–16) R (v. 14) Tit.: μοναχοῦ s.l. M | Ἰωάννου add. in mg. M | Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα N 14 τοῖς M 15 τῶνδε M 19 ἔστιν M Nota in fine om. M

Poem 3

Verses composed by John the monk, about those who ascend this ladder

End of the book of the ladder which runs to heaven,
from which those who kill their soul run away,
towards which those who kill their flesh run,
from which those who kill their mind descend,
5 upon which those who kill their passions ascend.
The latter are mortal; but even more so they are minds
which slough off the thickness of the outer skin,
from the inside of a small hole, as a snake does with its old skin.
They appear new, free from the vain life
10 and they have been established as minds, as they have been lifted up.
You, John, allow through your prayers
– you who erected the ladder with words solid as stones,
you who set it up in the most skilful way –
LMN: your Johns to ascend it, according to your writings:
15 on the one hand, the low-born and sinner scribe of this book,
and on the other hand, the noble one, as for his life and his descent,
being from the family of the Komnenoi, being a monk,
and of a name that is full of grace.
Because otherwise it is impossible to ascend according to your statements.

19 verses

- P:** ἀνεμποδίστως ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις
15 τῷ τῆσδε γραφεῖ, βακενδύτη Νικάνδρω
 καὶ Κυπριανῷ τῷ Θεοῦ θυηπόλῳ,
 τῷ τήνδε πολλῷ τῷ πόθῳ κτησαμένῳ
 θησαυρὸν ὡς ἄσυλον, ὡς Θεοῦ χάριν,
 ὡς πρόξενόν γε ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας.
- V:** μοναχὸν Σίμον ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις
15 καὶ σῷ Συμέῳ, ἱερεῖ ἀναξίῳ·
 ἄλλως γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν ὡς λέγεις.
- 14 R:** μοναχὸν Ἰάκωβον ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις.
- 15 (V):** ἀναξίως cod.

- 15 P: to ascend it unhindered, according to your writings,
the scribe of this book, Nikander, wearer of rags,
and Kyprian, the priest of God,
who has acquired this book with much desire
as an inviolable treasure, as the grace of God,
as an agent of the salvation of the soul.
- 15 V: Simon the monk to ascend it, according to your writings –
and also your Symeon, unworthy priest.
Because otherwise it is impossible to ascend according to your statements.
- 14 R: James the monk to ascend it, according to your writings.

Poem 4

Ἀρχὴ τῶν στίχων τοῦ τέλους

Τούτων ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν, καλῶν δόξα,
 Τριάς παναλικῆς, πανσθενέστατον κράτος,
 μονὰς ἐναριθμητε καὶ φύσις μία,
 ἄτμητε, τρισάριθμε, δύναμις μία,
 5 μία κίνησις, ἐν νόημα καὶ κλέος·
 ὦ Πάτερ, ἀγέννητε καὶ παντοκράτορ,
 ὦ φῶς πατρικόν, Υἱέ, δεξιά, σθένος,
 ὦ Πνεῦμα θεῖον ἐκ Πατρὸς προηγημένον,
 ἤλιε καὶ φῶς, ἀκτίς ἀθολωτάτη·
 10 Τριάς μονάδος καὶ μονὰς ἐκ Τριάδος,
 ἄκτιστε, ταυτόβουλε, σύμπνοια μία·
 τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὴν φυλακὴν, τὴν στάσιν
 δίδου, συνέργει καὶ βοήθει σὺ λάτρη,
 δρᾶν γάρ τις οὐδὲν ἰσχύει χωρὶς σέθεν.
 15 Τὸ τριμερές μου Τριάδι τῇ τριπλόκῳ
 δέσμευσον, ἀσφάλισον, ὡς θεωρίας
 τῆς σῆς σχολάζῃ καὶ μόνη λειτουργίᾳ.

2 *κράτος* cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 88 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 3 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 72–73 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 4 *τρिसάριθμε* cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 74 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 5 *ἐν νόημα καὶ κλέος* ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87–88 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 7 *σθένος* cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 10 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 60 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14) 14 ≈ Joh. 15:5 15 *Τὸ τριμερές μου* cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 87 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

Codd. N (vv. 1–25; 50–72; 26–49; 73–134), M (vv. 125–134) Tit. sec. L; τοῦ def. N 8 προϊγμένον N

Poem 4

Beginning of the verses of the end

Giver of good things, of all these good things,
almighty Trinity, totally powerful strength,
countable unity and one nature,
indivisible, three in number, one might,
5 one activity, one thought and glory,
oh Father, ungenerated and ruler over everything,
oh Light from the Father, Son, right hand, power,
oh divine Spirit, coming forth from the Father,
sun and light, most unsullied beam.
10 Trinity out of a unity and unity out of a Trinity,
uncreated, having the same will, breathing together as one,
give action, protection and stability,
assist and help Your worshipper,
because no one can do anything without You.
15 Bind my tripartite being together with the triple Trinity,
put it safe, in order that my tripartite being devotes itself
to the only service of the contemplation of You.

Μνήμην θανάτου πάρες οὐ ζοφουμένην,
 τῆς κηδαρικῆς μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας
 20 ἐκδημίας τε τῆς ταβερναλικίου·
 ἀβλεψίαν, πώρωσιν, ἀναισθησίαν,
 ἀδάκρυτον, ἄλυπον, ἀπενθές πάθος
 ἀντιτοροῦσα τῷ δόρατι τοῦ τέλους
 καὶ ταῖς βολαῖς βάλλουσα ταῖς ἐναντίαις·
 25 καὶ τοῦ φέρειν δύναμιν ἀβούλων βάρος
 οἶων κελεύεις † ἂν δ' ἐκτέρων †, μέγα.
 Τολμῶν λαλήσω τῶν ἀκουσίων τέως·
 μὴ γὰρ ποταμῶν ῥοῦν βιάσης ἀρτίως,
 καιρὸν κἀκείνων πρόσφορον δώσεις πότε.
 30 Μὴ δὴ με πάμπαν ἀτιμώρητον φέροις,
 μὴτ' αὐ πολυστένακτον ἠκανθωμένον,
 μὴτ' οὖν ἀχαλίνωτον ὡς ἵππον μ' ἔχεις,
 μὴτ' αὐ ταλαιπωροῦντα πάθεισι πλέον.
 Κέντρῳ με νύσσε, μικρᾶ παιδεία λέγω.
 35 Μὴ πλήττε τῷ δόρατι, μὴ βάλλοις βέλει.
 Τοὺς σοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀθύμους, Τριάς, θέλω.
 Ἦ τοῦ βίου θάλασσα τοῦ μελαμπόρου
 πάντη φέροι με, μήτε κούφην ὀλκάδα,
 μήθ' ὑπεραλγῆ τῶν ἀγωγίμων βάρει.

19–20 Ps. 119:5; 2 Cor. 5:1–10; J. Chrys. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 55.341, ll. 34–44) 25 ≈
 Paraphr. 1 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 5–7); cf. *Greg. Naz. Carm.*
 II,1,50, v. 106 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 72) 28–29 cf. *Ecclus.* 4:23–26; *Greg. Naz. Ep.* 178.4
 (ed. Galla 1967); *Greg. Naz. Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 21–22 (PG 37.1430) 30–45 ≈ Paraphr.
 1 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 7–16); cf. *Greg. Naz. Carm.* II,1,50,
 vv. 107–112 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 70–72) 36 cf. Ps. 6:2

20 τὲ N 26 ἐκτέρων N: ἐκατέρων con. Meesters; οἶων κελεύεις ἂν δ' ἐκὼν φέρων, μέγα
 con. De Groote 28 ποταμοῦν N 39 scholion ad ὑπεραλγῆ: Γράφεται· μήτε βρ[...] add. in
 mg. N

Give a remembrance of death that never fades away,
the memory of the long journey of Kedar
20 and of the exile of the tabernacle,
while boring the spear of death right through
blindness, obtuseness and insensitivity,
right through passion without tears, without pain, without grief,
while hitting those things with hostile bolts;
25 and give the might to bear the weight of undesirable things
such as You command † ... †, Great One.
I will speak, with courage, even of involuntarily acts,
because one should not force the stream of the rivers completely,
one should give at the right time an account even of those things.
30 May you neither bear me entirely unpunished,
nor again full of groaning when I am pierced with thorns,
nor then have me as an unbridled horse,
nor moreover fully distressed because of passions.
Prick me with a spur, I mean with a bit of education,
35 do not strike me with a spear, do not hit me with an arrow.
O Trinity, I want your reproofs without anger.
 May the sea of dark life
transport me in every way, neither as a light ship,
nor exceedingly grievous because of the weight of the loads.

- 40 Κακὸν καταφρόνησις, ὑβριστῆς κόρος·
 ἄπερ καλὸς πλοῦς, ναὺς ἐλαφρὰ προσφέρει·
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καλὸν συμφοραὶ νυκτιφόροι
 ἐπιφορὰς μιμούμεναι τῶν κυμάτων.
 Ἀντιπαράθοις ἀσθένειαν ἦν ἔχω,
 45 ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον ἐξάγοις τίσιν.
 Σπήλαιον ὄντα νοῦν ἐμὸν νυκτιλόχων,
 ναὸν σὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξον ὠραϊσμένον·
 ἀντρανύχιον, ἀδρανῆ δεδειγμένον,
 φωτεινόμορφον ἐργασαι κατοικίαν.
 50 Ἴνα μόνην σε τὴν βασιλίσσαν ἔχω,
 αὔλον ἐνδον ἴδρυμα τῆς καρδίας·
 ὡς ἂν ἴχνη, θήρατρα, παγίδας, λόχους
 θηρὸς κακούργου, δυσμενοῦς, ὀλεθρίου
 βολαῖς καθαραῖς ἀστραπηβόλου φάους
 55 ὀρῶν, ἐρευνῶν, καταθρῶν, σκοπῶν, βλέπων,
 τὰς κακότητος τριβόλας ἐκφυγάνω,
 ἅς ὁ σκολιὸς καθυποσπείρων ὄφεις,
 λυσσῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀναγκαίαις βίου
 οὐ παύεται μάλιστα, παύλαν οὐκ ἔχων.
 60 Ὅστις πανούργως ὑποχωρῶν πολλακίς
 δοκῶν τε φεύγειν, κέντρῳ ῥίπτει θανάτου,
 κλέπτῃς ἐναργῆς, ψυχόθηρ ὧν ὁ πλάνος,

45 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 112 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 72) 46–51 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 5–6 (PG 37.911) 46–47 cf. Jer. 7:11; Mt. 21:13 52–56 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 19–20 (PG 88.912) 56–57 cf. Gen. 3:18 57 *καθυποσπείρων* cf. Mt. 13:25–26 58 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50, 52 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6) 61 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6); 1 Cor. 15:54–56; Os. 13:14 54 scholion ad φάους: Γράφεται· [...]ίας add. in mg. N 56 τριβόλ (λ supra lineam) N 57 *καθυποσπείρων* corr. Demoen: *καθυποσπείρ(ειν)* N

40 Disdain is evil, satiety is insolent:
such things are the consequence of a smooth sailing, of a light ship.
But nothing good are also the misfortunes that bring darkness,
imitating the vehemence of waves.
May You compensate the weakness that I have,
45 may You carry out the well-counterbalanced punishment.
 Show that my mind, which is a cavern for who is lying in wait at night,
is Your beautified church itself.
Transform (my mind), which is shown to be dark as a cave and weak,
into an abode shaped with light.
50 In order that I have only You as a queen,
an immaterial foundation inside of the heart,
so that, when, because of clear bolts of the light of hurling lightings,
I see, investigate, observe, examine and look at
traces, snares, traps, ambushes
55 of a malicious, hostile, destructive wild beast,
I escape from the thistles of wickedness.
The sly snake, knowing no rest, does not stop at all
sowing secretly all around these thistles
and raging against us with the necessities of life.
60 Cunningly, he retires frequently
and pretends to flee, but he hits with the sting of death.
He is a manifest thief, a deceiver being a hunter of souls,

εἶδει καλῶ δοκοῦντι κρύπτει τὸν δόλον·
 πλουτῶν τὰ φαῦλα πανταχοῦ τῶν σκευμάτων,
 65 νόθοις ἑαυτὸν κατακοσμεῖ τοῖς τρόποις,
 κατὰ κολοῖον ἐπιτιλωμένον νόθοις.
 Ὡς ἀλιεύς τις εἰναλίαις ἰχθύσιν
 ἄγκιστρον εἶδαρ ἔρχεται καθεὶς ἔχον
 οἱ καὶ ποθοῦντες τὴν πρὸς <ἧς> ζωῆς χάριν
 70 εἰλκυσαν ἀπρόοπτον, ἄθλιον τέλος,
 οὕτως Σατᾶν ἔπεισιν ἐν κακουργίᾳ.
 Ἐπήλθε φωτὶ παραπλήσιον σκότος,
 ὡς παρόμοιον ἐκφανεῖ φῶς τῷ σκότει.
 Ὡ δεινότητος ἦν λόγους ἀποπτύει,
 75 ὦ σκαιότητος ἦν δόλοις ἐπειλῦει.
 Σκάζων προδήλως ὥσπερ ὁ κλυτοτέχνης,
 ἰθυτενῆ δαίκνυσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα·
 οὐ σκανδάληθρα πάντα βλέψαι μὴ σθένων
 κλήσεις ὀλίγας εὔρον αὐτοῖς ἰδίας,
 80 ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα τίς φράσοι·
 αὐταὶ παρεμφαίνουσι τὰς βδελυγμίας,
 αὐταὶ παραδηλοῦσι τὰς τεχνουργίας,
 αὐταὶ παραγυμνοῦσι τὰς μιαρίας.
 Ὡς γὰρ ἄπασαν ἠδονὴν εὐρών· ὄφεις,
 85 πῦρ· ὡς ἀνάπτῃς τῶν παθῶν τῶν σαρκίνων,
 Βελίας· ὀργῆς ὡς θυμοῦ κινῶν βέλη,

63 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 53–54 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6) 64–66 cf. Aesop. *Fab.* (ed. Hausrath – Hunger 1957²: nr. 103); Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,29, vv. 55–58 (PG 37.888) 68–73 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 56–60 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6) 84–97 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 3–4 (PG 37.1399–1400)

66 scholion ad ἐπιτιλωμένον: [...]μένον add. in mg. N 69 ἤς con. De Groote 70 scholion ad τέλος: [...]ν add. in mg. N, fort. θάνατον 72 παραπλήσιος N^{ac} 73 παρόμοιος N^{ac} 77 αὐτοῦ N 84 τοῦ διαβόλου τινὰ ὀνόματα ἐνδεικτικὰ τῶν μηχανουργιῶν αὐτοῦ add. sub folio N; εὔρον N

he hides deceit by what seems to be a beautiful appearance.
 Being rich in all kinds of bad plans,
 65 he adorns himself with false manners,
 like the proverbial jackdaw with forged plumes.
 Like as a fisher who lets a fish hook with food sink
 for the fishes that live in the sea,
 and they, full of desire for the grace that brings life,
 70 draw an unforeseen, a wretched death,
 so Satan wickedly comes upon us.
 He comes as a darkness resembling light,
 so that he appears as light that resembles darkness.
 O what a terribleness he spits out in words,
 75 o what a perversity he hides in deceit.
 While clearly limping as the famed craftsman,
 he points to his straight foot.
 I am not able to see all his traps,
 but I found a few proper names for them,
 80 “(to recognise) the lion by his claws” as one would say.
 They emphasize the nastiness,
 they display the mischiefs,
 they disclose the brutalities.
 As he invented all kinds of pleasure: (he is called) snake,
 85 fire: as he is an inflamer of the fleshly passions,
 Beliar: as he moves the arrows of wrath and anger,

κακία· πρῶτος ἀνομίαν ὡς πλάσας,
 θάνατος· ὡς αἴτιος ἡμῖν θανάτων,
 χάσμα· μέγιστον ὡς ἄδου στόμα, πύλη,
 90 τίνα δεδορκῶς ὡς καταπίη· δράκων,
 θήρ· ὡς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀγριαίνων διόλου,
 νύξ· ὡς σκοτεινὸς ἡμέρας ἀντίθετος,
 ὡς εἰσπιδύων λάθρα τὰ πλειῶ· λόχος,
 95 ὡς θανατῶν δῆγματα· λυσσώδης κύων,
 χάος, Χάρυβδις· ὡς ἀπωλείας τόπος,
 καὶ βάσκανος· τοῖς πᾶσιν ὡς φθονῶν μάτην,
 φονεύς· τὸν Ἄβελ ὡς ἀναιρῶν ἀπάτη,
 τὸν νοῦν ὁ Κάϊν ζήλοτυπῶν ἀδίκως,
 εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν ἐξάγων πεδιάδα
 100 κάκεισε νεκρῶν τὸν Θεοῦ θεῖον θύτην,
 ὡς μὴ θυσίας τὰς ἐρασιμίους θύη,
 ὡς μὴ θύματα προσφέρει τῷ Δεσπότη
 ἄμωμα, δεκτά, καθαρά, πεφιλμένα
 καὶ τῶνδε δὴ τι μείζον ἀντιλαμβάνη,
 105 τὴν εὐλογίαν εὐλογῆ τοῦ Κυρίου.
 Ποῖος νοήσει τῶν σοφῶν λογεμπόρων
 φωτὸς θεατής, ἐργάτης ἀμεινόνων,
 ψυχῆς τὸ φέγγος ἐμπερισχῶν ἐμφρόνως,
 ψυχῆς τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀντανακλῶν τοῖς πόνοις,
 110 γενναιότητα δεικνύων ἐν πρακτέοις
 καὶ πράξιν ἔνθεν εὐκλειῶζων συντόνως,
 νοδὸς στρατηγός, δημαγωγός, ἰππότης

97–105 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 5–6; Gen. 4:1–8

88 scholion ad θανάτων: Ἦγο[υν...] χι[...]σ[...] N 91 δι' ὅλου N^{ac}

evil: as he was the first to conceive illegal action,
 death: as he is the cause of death for us,
 gap: as he is the great mouth, the gate of the underworld,
 90 as he swallows down someone whom he spotted: dragon,
 wild beast: as he is entirely full of wrath towards us,
 night: as he is the shadowy counterpart of day,
 as he mostly rushes in secretly: trap,
 as he is the bites of death: raging dog,
 95 chaos, Charybdis: as he is a place of ruin,
 and an envier: as he is jealous in vain towards everyone,
 murderer: as he killed Abel with deceit:
 Cain, who unlawfully envied the mind of Abel,
 took him to the broad plain
 100 and there he killed the divine sacrificer of God,
 in order that he would never sacrifice a pleasing sacrifice again,
 in order that he would never again bring offerings to the Lord,
 impeccable, welcome, pure, beloved (sacrifices),
 in exchange for which he would receive something bigger,
 105 he would bless the blessing of the Lord.
 What kind of wise word-monger,
 spectator of light, worker for the better,
 encompassing sensibly the splendour of the soul,
 reflecting in his labours the brilliance of the soul,
 110 showing nobility in his deeds
 and thence, in short, bringing honour to action,
 what kind of commander, leader, driver of the mind

- τό τε πρόσαντες Λοξίου πρωτοστάτου
 τό τ' εὐθὲς αὐτοῦ συγκεκριμένον δόλω;
- 115 Ἥ τις καταθρήσειε κρυφίους πάγας,
 ἢ τις διαιρήσειε τὰς πανουργίας
 ἄς καθεκάστην ἴστησιν ἰξηφόρος,
 ἄς καθεκάστην ποικιλοτρόπως πλέκει
 ὁ ψευσματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος;
- 120 Εἰ Παῦλος ἤμην, πυγμαχεῖν ἠσκημένος,
 οὐ τὴν σκιὰν ἦν ὄρροδοῦν ἀρχῶν ἔθνος,
 γρόνθοις ἔπαιον ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς Θεερσίτην,
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναλκίς εἰμι καὶ παρειμένος,
 ἄβουλος, ἄφρων, ἀδαής, χωρὶς ὄπλων,
- 125 πᾶμπαν ἀβληχρός, ἀδρανής, πεπληγμένος
 γλώσσαν προτείνω πρὸς σέ τὴν ἀναξίαν
 αἰτούσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τομὴν ἐπαξίαν.
 Ἐπιτίμησον καλάμου τῷ θηρίῳ
 καὶ φεύξεταί μου τοῦ συλᾶν νοῦν ἢ τρόπον,
- 130 ὑπεξάγαγε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ βίου
 καὶ κατάταξον εἰς μονὰς τῶν ἀγίων
 ὡς ἂν ὑμῶν ἀγάω σε σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις,
 ἄζυξ, μοναστῆς Ἰωάννης σὸς λάτρης
 καὶ τῆς χοϊκῆς Κομνηνῆς ρίζης κλάδος.

120 cf. 1 Cor. 9:24–27 122 *Schol. in Il.* 2.219 (ed. Heyne 1834); Q. Smyr. *Posthom.* 1.741–747 (ed. Vian 1963) 128 ≈ Ps. 67:31

114 συγκεκριμένον N^{ac} 121 scholion ad ἔθνος: Γράφεται· στίφος ἢ φύλο[ν] add. in mg. N 123 ἐπειδ' N 125 ἀμβληχρὸς M

would understand both the hostility of the crooked chief
 and his direct intentions, concealed in deceit?
 115 Or who might perceive the hidden traps,
 or who might distinguish the wicked evils,
 which the bearer of trickery sets up every day,
 which in various ways he devises every day,
 the deviser of lies, forgeries and tricks?
 120 If I were Paul, practiced in boxing,
 whose shadow the leaders of the gentiles feared,
 I would strike (him) with fists as Achilles stroke Thersites.
 But since I am weak and slack,
 inconsiderate, foolish, ignorant, without weapons,
 125 completely feeble, impotent, defeated,
 I expose my worthless tongue to You,
 which asks the devil's deserved cutting.
 Rebuke the beast in the reeds
 and it will be refrained from stripping off my mind or behaviour.
 130 Withdraw me from the deceit of life
 and place me in the abodes of the saints,
 in order that I also praise You together with the angels,
 I, the unmarried monk John, Your servant
 and branch of the earthly Komnenian root.

Στίχοι ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα λόγου τοῦ Κλίμακος. Καὶ ὁμοῦ, οἱ τοῦ κήπου, οἱ τοῦ διὰ στίχων Κλίμακος, οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ τριακοστοῦ λόγου, καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐν τῷ τέλει δηλονότι τοῦ ὅλου βιβλίου στίχοι τετρακόσιοι ἑβδομηκονταοκτώ.

Ἀδελφέ μου, μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τοῦ εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γεγραφότος ταύτην τὴν βίβλον, τὸν βραχύτατον, εὐκτικὸν λόγον μόνον, εἰ βούλει καὶ σὺ τὸν Θεὸν μὴ ἐπιλαδέσθαι σοῦ, γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ. “ὥ μέρω μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν”. Ἀφομοιοῦται γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ταῖς ἡμῶν διαδέσεσιν.

Secunda nota ὥ μέρω μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν ≈ Lc. 6:38

Prima nota in fine ἐν τῷ τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα N | οἱ παρόντες δηλονότι M

Secunda nota in fine om. M

One hundred thirty-five verses at the end of the treatise To the Shepherd by Klimax. Together those of the garden, those of the metrical Ladder, those at the end of the thirtieth step, and these final verses make, of course, for the entire book four hundred and seventy eight verses.

My brother, do not forget to say at least the shortest word of prayer on behalf of me, the scribe of this book, if you as well wish not to be forgotten by God. Because in His book it is written: "with the same measure that you use, it will be measured back to you".⁷⁹ For indeed the divine action corresponds to our disposition.

⁷⁹ Translation of Lc. 6:38 quoted from The New King James Bible (1979).

Appendix 1: Loci paralleli

Poem 1

tit. *παρὰ πνεύματος* cf. Basil. Caes. *Hom. 1 in Psal.* (PG 29.219A); cf. 2 Tim. 3:16

κῆπον νοητὸν cf. Cyrill. Alex. *Comm. in Is.* (PG 70.1108, ll. 18–45); cf. Joseph. Rhakend., *Epit.* (475.27) (ed. Michael Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ*, 8 (1899), 1–64 (pp. 39–42)); cf. *Canones Jan. 27, In transl. reliq. S. Chrys. can. 37, od. 2, ll. 31–44* (ed. Alkistis Proiou and Giuseppe Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 12 vols (Rome: Università di Roma, 1966–80), V (1971))

εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων = Jc. 5:16

ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσοι σοι cf. Theod. Stud. *Ep.* 109, l. 25; *Ep.* 167, l. 8 (Georgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 31 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992))

1–4 ≈ J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707); cf. J. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* (PG 87/3.2852A)

5–6 cf. Prov. 24:13–14; Ps. 118:103; Bas. Caes. *Hom. in princ. prov.* (PG 31.413, ll. 43–45)

16–28 cf. Athan. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 27.62CD); Orig. *Frag. in Ps.* [Dub.], Ps. 1:3 (ed. Jean Baptiste Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 8 vols (Paris: Tusculum, 1883–1884), II–III); J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707, ll. 44–56)

19 *Δένδρα καλὰ* cf. Mt. 12:33; Lc. 6:43

26 *γάγγραιναν* ≈ 2 Tim. 2:17

27 *θέμεθλον* cf. 2 Tim. 2:19; 1 Cor. 3:11

28 *τῶν λόγων τὰ πρακτέα* cf. Jc. 2:18–22; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.633, ll. 16–18)

30 *ἔλος* cf. *Apoph. Patr. (coll. alphab.)* (PG 65.249, ll. 53–54)

33 *ἀμερίμων* cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.928, ll. 24–26); Mt. 6:26

33 *ἀβίων* cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4 (SC 309: 182, ll. 8–10); 2 Tim. 2:4; Eust. Thess. *De emend. vit. monach.* (ed. Karl Metzler, *Eustathii Thessalonicens-*

sis De emendanda vita monachica, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 45 (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2006), par. 25, l. 3; par. 42, l. 11); 1 Cor. 4:11; Mc. 12:44

36 cf. J. Chrys. *In Ps. 50* (PG 55.577, l. 45); J. Damasc. *Sacr. Parall.* (PG 96.144, l. 37); Ps.-J. Dam. *Adv. iconocl.* (PG 96.1356, l. 8)

37 ~ Poem. 1, v. 28; cf. Jc. 2:18–22

38 cf. Cant. 2:1

39 ~ Poem. 1, v. 4

40–41 ≈ Ps. 140:2; cf. Rev. 8:4

42 cf. 2 Cor. 2:15; Eph. 5:2; Phil. 4:18

45–55 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1153D–1156A); *Symbolon* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 24–25;

49–55 cf. J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707, ll. 24–28); Jc. 1:9–11; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1137, ll. 25–33); Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40 (PG 36.364, l. 43–365, l. 27)

51 ταῖς βολαῖς ταῖς πυρφόροις cf. Greg. Nyss. *Adv. Ar. et Sab.* (ed. Friedrich Müller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1958), III.1, p. 84)

52 cf. Eph. 5:29

54 ≈ Joh. 3:8; cf. 1 Cor. 12:11

60 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.897, ll. 25–30)

62–63 cf. 1 Cor. 1:19

65–67 cf. *Canones Dec. 28, In S. Steph. Thaum.* can. 54, od. 7, ll. 9–15 (ed. Athanasiou D. Kominis and Giuseppe Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 12 vols (Rome: Università di Roma, 1966–80), IV (1976)); 1 Cor. 3:6

70 τρισσοφεγγή cf. *Symbolon* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); Nil. Cabas. *Or.* 5, sect. 25, l. 23 (ed. Théophile Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001))

73 σκάφης cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.996, l. 37)

74 κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν ~ Poem. 2, v. 155

83 γνώρισμα cf. 2 Tim. 2:19

92 φερέγγυος cf. Hebr. 7:22; 2 Cor. 1:22

94 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 23 (PG 37.1401)

98 cf. 2 Cor. 1:22, 3:3; Hebr. 8:10; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.632, l. 38)

100 cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 7 (PG 35.776, ll. 12–22), *Ep.* 197.6 (ed. Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols (Paris: les Belles lettres, 1964–1967), II (1967), p. 89); *Or.* 5 (PG 35.720, l. 6), *Or.* 25 (PG 35.1212, l. 14)

Poem 2

1–2, 9–18 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,2,1, vv. 263–272 (PG 37.1470–1471); cf. Herod. *Hist.* 1.93, 5.101; Cosm. Jerus. *Comm. in S. Greg. Naz. Carm.* (ed. Giuseppe Lozza, *Cosma di Gerusalemme. Commentario ai carmi di Gregorio Nazianzeno* (Naples: D’Auria, 2000) pp. 165–166)

1–4 cf. epigr. inc. Ἦν τίς ποταμὸς τῷ Κροίσῳ χρυσορρόας (DBBE (consulted 31.07.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/8032>)

2–5 cf. Strab. *Geogr.* 13.4.5 (ed. August Meineke, Strabo: *Geographica*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1877–1913), III (1913)); Eustath. *Thess. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. Marchinus van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, 4 vols (Leiden: Lugduni Batavorum, 1971–1987), I (1971), p. 577, ll. 14–16)

4 ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισιμένος cf. Mt. 7:26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.637, ll. 16–18)

6–8 ≈ J. Chrys. *In epist. ad Coloss. comm.* (PG 62.350, ll. 18–24)

9–10 cf. Herod. *Hist.* 3.102–105

14 Ἀγάλλεται cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 16.15; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, l. 22)

14–18 cf. epigr. inc. Εἶπερ κατέγνωσ ἀτρεκῶς ἀμαρτάδος, v. 11 (ed. Bentein et al. 2009: 289)

20 παρέσχε (...) Λόγος cf. ἔδωκε Χριστὸς Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,2,1, vv. 271–272 (PG 37.1471)

23 cf. Rom. 7:25; 2 Cor. 7:1

24 cf. Joh. 1:4; Ps. 118:105

25 cf. φῶς ἐκ φωτός *Symb.* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); Joh. 8:12; Nicet. τοῦ Μαρωνείας *Or.* 4 (ed. Nicola Festa, 'Niceta di Maronea e i suoi Dialoghi sulla processione dello Spirito Sancto', *Bessarione* 16–18 (1912–1915), 16.93–107, 126–132, 266–273; 17.300–308; 18.61–75, 249–259 (p. 72))

27–28 cf. Mt. 24:35; 1 Joh. 2:17; 1 Cor. 7:31; Greg. Pal. *Hom.* 4 (sect. 12, l. 18; ed. Panayiotes K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα*, 11 vols (Thessaloniki: Πατερικαὶ Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, 1985) IX, 'Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας 72)

Gradus 1 cf. Orig. *Fragm. in Ps. 1–150* [Dub.], Ps. 1:1–2 (ed. Jean Baptiste Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 8 vols (Paris: Tusculum, 1883–1884), II–III); J. Chrys. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 55.340, ll. 18–29)

tit. ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως ≈ Sophr. (1970: 13); PG 88.629; N (fol. 9^v); cf. Sophr. (1970: 185); PG 88.631; M (fol. 320^v)

34 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.636, ll. 7–16); Rev. 11:8

34 ἐξέφυγες ~ Poem 1, v. 74

34 ἐσκοτισμένην cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1069, ll. 24–29)

34, 36 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.633, ll. 54–55)

34, 36, 38 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Or.* 1 (PG 35.397, ll. 9–12)

35 ἡδυπάθειαν cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.640, ll. 2–6)

35 ἀνάπαισιν σαρκίου cf. Barsan. et J. *Quaes. et resp.* (Ep. 96, l. 38; ed. François Neyt and Paula de Angelis-Noah, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance*, 2 vols (Paris: Sources chrétiennes 426/427)); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 19–21); Jer. 17:16

37 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα cf. Rom. 8:5–9

37 τὸν κενὸν βίον ~ Poem 3, v. 9

38 cf. Ex. 1:11, 5:14

Gradus 2

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 20, 185); PG (88.629, 653); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

41 cf. Gen. 19:15–26; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40 (PG 36.384, ll. 7–18); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 21–28; 657, ll. 42–43; 665, ll. 23–29); Lc. 9:62, 17:32–33; M. Philes *Carm.* 2.211, v. 130 (ed. Emmanuel Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, 2 vols (Paris: Excusum in Typographeo imperiali 1855–1857), I (1855), 388)

42–44 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 40–44; 657, ll. 22–31)

45 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 9–14); Mt. 19:21; Mc. 10:21

Gradus 3

tit. *περὶ ξενιτείας* cf. Sophr. (1970: 23, 185); PG (88.629, 644); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

tit. *προαιρετικῆς* cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664, l. 42–665, l. 2)

46–47 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 12–13; 23–24)

48 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.665, ll. 38–40)

50 *ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον (...)* βίον ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 5–10)

Gradus 4

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 28, 185), PG (88.629, 728), N (fol. 9^v), M (fol. 320^v)

52 *τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν* ~ Poem. 2, v. 189

53 cf. Rom. 8:5–9; Max. Conf. *Quaest. ad Thal.* sect. 62, l. 233 (ed. Carl Laga and Carlos Steel, *Maximi confessoris quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols 1980 / 1990), *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 7 & 22); id. *Amb. ad Joan.* sect. 30, par. 2, l. 5; sect. 56, par. 2, l. 13 (ed. Nicholas Constatas, *On Difficulties in the Church Fathers: The Ambigua*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass.: Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 2014)); *Vit. Barl. et Joas.* (ed. Robert Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos: Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria)*, 7 vols (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter 2006), VI/2, sect. 38, ll. 89–90)

53 *σάρκα* ~ Poem. 2, v. 37; Poem. 2, v. 143

54 *ἔλεγχον* cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 17–20; 704, ll. 28–32; 704, l. 45–705, l. 3; 856, ll. 25–27)

54 *συνειδήσιν* cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.685, ll. 1–6; 705, ll. 23–29; 712, ll. 21–23)

55–56 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.680, ll. 20–34); Macar. Macr. *Enc. in Gabr. archiep. Thess.*, ll. 216–220 (ed. Asterios Argyriou, ‘Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακροῦ συγγράμματα’, *Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται*, 25 (1996), 101–120)

57 Τρέχεις ἀδήλως ~ Poem. 2, vv. 50–51; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.713, ll. 3–8; 852, ll. 16–24); 1 Cor. 9:26; Athan. *De morb. et valet.* (ed. Diekamp 1938: 5, l. 24–6, l. 4)

Gradus 5

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 51, 185); PG (88.629, 764); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

58 cf. Marc. Eremit. *De his qui put. se ex op. just.* (par. 83, l. 5; SC 445)

61–63 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.684, ll. 33–35)

Gradus 6

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 59, 185); PG (88.629, 793); N (fol. 9^v); cf. M (fol. 320^v)

64–65 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.809, ll. 14–16); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, ll. 3–5)

67 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,33, vv. 229–232 (PG 37.945); J. Dam. *Sacr. Parall.* (PG 96.440, l. 47)

67–69 cf. Mt. 24:43–44; Mc. 13:35; Lc. 12:40; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793, l. 35–796, l. 5)

Gradus 7

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 62, 185); PG (88.629, 801); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

70 Στένεις βύθιον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.809, ll. 45–52)

70–75 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.804, ll. 31–37); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.805, ll. 28–30)

Gradus 8

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 70, 185); PG (88.629, 828); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

76–77 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.828 Gr. 8, ll. 3–6); cf. Manass. *Arist. et Call.*, fragm. 11, ll. 5–7 (ed. Otto Mazal, *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses: Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente* (Vienna, 1967) Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 4)

78–79 cf. 1 Regn. 25

80–81 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.828, ll. 12–13; 832, ll. 30–34; 833, ll. 31–32)

Gradus 9

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 74, 185); PG (88.629, 840); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 320^v)

82 cf. Basil. Caes. *Hom. in hexaem.* (SC 26 bis: Hom. 8, sect. 1, ll. 53–61); J. Chrys. *In Mt.* (PG 57.48, ll. 46–49, l. 3); id. *In epist. II ad Thess.* (PG 62.483, ll. 20–33); id. *In epist. II ad Cor.* (PG 61.439, ll. 44–50); id. *De angust. port. et in or. dom.* [Sp.] (PG 51.44, ll. 38–44); id. *Eclog. I–XLVIII ex divers. hom.* [Sp.] (PG 63.27–35); id. *De siccit.* [Sp.] (PG 61.723, l. 58); Theodor. Stud. *Parv. Catach.* (5, l. 43; ed. Emmanuel P. Auvray, *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1891))

83 ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον cf. Mt. 7:15

83 ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν cf. Aesop. (P 176); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.697, ll. 5–6; 841, ll. 47–49); J. Chrys. *Ascet. fac. uti non deb.* [Sp.] (PG 48.1057, l. 17); id. *In Act. apost.* (PG 60.294, ll. 53–57; id. *In epist. II ad Cor.* (PG 61.587, ll. 31–37)

84 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.13; PG 88.841, ll. 51–55); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 28–29)

ξύλω σαθρῶ σκώληκα cf. Theodoret. *Comm. in Is.* (SC 295: sect. 12, ll. 389–390)

85–86 cf. *Il.* 9.313; *Od.* 18.168; Porphyry. *Quaest. Hom. lib. I (recensio V)* (sect. 95, l. 8; ed. Angelo R. Sodano, *Porphyrii quaestionum Homericarum liber I* (Naples: Giannini, 1970); Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. Marchinus van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, 4 vols (Leiden: Lugduni Batavorum, 1971–1987), II (1976), p. 713, ll. 18–19); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 16–17)

87 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.2; PG 88.841, ll. 12–13)

Gradus 10

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 76, 185); PG (88.629, 854); M (fol. 3^r); N (fol. 9^v); cf. M (fol. 320)

89 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 2–10)

90 νόθοις ἤσυχίοις ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.841, ll. 52–53)

90, 92 ἐκδαπανῶν (...) ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, 8–9)

91 τὴν ἀγκαλιδα, τὴν μερίδα cf. Eudem. *Περὶ λέξ. ῥητ.* fol. 3b, l. 13 (ed. Niese, 'Excerpta ex Eudemi codice Parisino n. 2635', *Philologus suppl.*, 15 (1922), 145–160); Phot. *Lex.* (A-Δ, lem. 179, l. 4; ed. Christos Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982–2013), I); *Suda α*, lem. 243 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), I); *Etymol. Gud.* (ed. Ed A. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum, fasc. 1.* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), p. 13, l. 11); Ps.-Zon. *Lexic.* (ed. Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), p. 24, l. 22)

91 τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου cf. Act. 8:21; Eus. *Gener. ele. intr.* (ed. Thomas Gaisford, *Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis eclogae prophetae* (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1842) p. 188, ll. 17–20), id. *Comm. in Ps.* (PG 24.32, ll. 17–27)

93 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 17–25)

Gradus 11

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 78, 185); PG (88.852); N (fol. 9^v)

94 Εὐτράπελον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.852, l. 11)

94 Εὐτράπελον, λαμυρόν cf. Phot. *Lex.* (E-M, lem. 83; ed. Christos Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982–2013), II (1998); *Suda*, λ, lem. 106 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1933), III); *Etymol. Gud.* (ed. Frederic W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita* (Leipzig: Weigel 1818), p. 362, l. 7)

95 λαρόν, προσηγές, ἡδὺ ≈ Apoll. *Lexic. Hom.* (ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Apollonii Sophistae lexicon Homericum* (Berlin: Reimer, 1833), p. 107, l. 5); Hesych. *Lexic.* (A-O) (λ, lem. 340; ed. Kurt Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (Copenhagen: Hauniae, 1953); Phot. *Lexic.* (E-M, λ, lem. 101; ed. Christos Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982–2013), II (1998); *Suda*, λ, lem. 126 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1933), III); Ps.-Zon. *Lexic.* (ed.

Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), pp. 1288, l. 15–1289, l. 3)

96 cf. Deut. 6:4–9; Num. 15:38–40; Mt. 23:5; J. Chrys. *In Mt. hom.* (PG 58.669, ll. 3–7; ll. 28–41); Athan. *Ep. ad episc. Aeg. et Lib.* (9.3, ll. 3–6; ed. Dirk U. Hansen, Karin Metzler and Kyriakos Savvidis, *Athanasius: Werke, Band I. Die dogmatischen Schriften, Erster Teil* (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1996))

97–99 ≈ schol. in J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 1970: 77 n. 2); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 23–33)

Gradus 12

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 79, 185); PG (88.629, 853); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 3^r); cf. M (fol. 320^v)

100–101 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.853 Gr. 12, ll. 3–5)

102 *ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα* ≈ Hesych. *Lexic. (A-O)* (ε, lem. 264; ed. Kurt Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (Copenhagen: Hauniae, 1953)); Phot. *Lexic. (E-M, ε, lem. 59; ed. Christos Theodoridis, Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982–2013), II (1998)); *Suda*, ε, lem. 128 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), I); Ps.-Zon. *Lexic.* (ed. Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), p. 600, l. 24); cf. Psell. *Poem.* 6, v. 319 (ed. Leendert G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992))

102 *ἀπάτη* cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.864 Gr. 14, ll. 12–13)

102 *βέλος* cf. Eph. 6:16; ~ Poem. 4, vv. 35, 86

104–105 cf. Jos. 2:1–14; Hebr. 11:30–31; Jc. 2:24–26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.856, ll. 27–43); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.17.105.4, l. 3 (ed. Otto Stählin, Ludwig Früchtel and Ursula Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Vol. 3. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985⁴); Clem. Rom. *Ep. I ad Cor.* 12.1 (SC 167)

105 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.856, ll. 42–43)

105 *ἀποβλέπων* cf. Cyr. Jer. *Cat. ad illum. 2 (exemplar alterum)* (PG 33.416, ll. 9–14); Theod. Prodr. *Epigr. in Vet. et Nov. Test.* (Jos. 81, ll. 1–4; ed. Grigorios Papagiannis, *Theodoros Prodromos - Jambische und*

hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Beerenverlag, 1997))

Gradus 13

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 80, 185); PG (88.629, 857); N (fol. 9^v); M (fol. 3^r); cf. M (fol. 320^v).

109 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 13.9; PG 88.860, ll. 46–47)

110 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.861, ll. 3–5; 861, l. 7)

Gradus 14

tit. cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.865, l. 35; 865, ll. 48–49; 869, ll. 1–2)

112–117 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.865, ll. 12–32)

112 cf. Hesych. *Lexic. (II-Ω)* (π, lem. 2421, 2422; ed. Moriz W. C. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (Halle: Ienaen, 1861–1862), III–IV); Phot. *Lexic. (N-Φ)* (π, lem. 906; ed. Christos Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), III); *Suda*, π, lem. 1679 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935), IV); Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexic.* (ed. Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), p. 1555, l. 19); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.868, ll. 2–3, 17–18)

112–113 cf. J. Chrys. *Ad pop. Antioch.* (hom. 6; PG 49.85, ll. 20–25); *Expos. in Ps.* (PG 55.340, ll. 18–21)

116 ἄφιλον λόγοις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.868, ll. 12–17)

117 cf. Num. 20:17; Deut. 5:32.

Gradus 15

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 86, 185); PG (88.880); N (fol. 9^v)

119 σωφροσύνη cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880, ll. 10–13); tit. PG (88.880), Sophr. (1970: 86, 185), N (fol. 9^v)

120 σαρκικῶν μισμάτων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.888, l. 22)

121 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωση cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.888, ll. 17–19; 1148 Gr. 29, ll. 13–15); tit. PG (88.880), Sophr. (1970: 185), N (fol. 9^v), M (fol. 320^v); 1 Cor. 15:52

121 ἀγνείας cf. tit. PG (88.629, 880), Sophr. (1970: 86, 185), N (fol. 9^v), M (fol. 320^v); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, l. 4–881, l. 3)

122 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.884, ll. 3–5); Mt. 19:12; Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 6.8.2–1 (SC 41); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3.6 (ed. Otto Stählin, Ludwig Früchtel and Ursula Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Vol. 3. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985⁴))

122–123 θλαδίαν, Λευϊτικὸν cf. Lev. 18, 21:16–20, 22:24; Deut. 23:2

Gradus 16

tit. = PG (88.629, 924); cf. Sophr. (1970: 98, 185); M (fol. 3^r, 320^v); N (fol. 9^v)

124 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.896, ll. 25–29); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4–7; 881, ll. 3–7; 901, ll. 27–28); M. Glyc. *Ann.* (ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Michaelis Glycae annales. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, (Bonn: Weber, 1836), p. 213, ll. 4–6)

125 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.904, ll. 6–9)

126 cf. Mt. 27:5; *Christ. pat.*, v. 327 (SC 149); J. Chrys. *De paen.* (serm. 2) [Sp.] (PG 60.699, ll. 57–58); J. Chrys. *De jejunio* (serm. 1–7) [Sp.] (PG 60.717, ll. 72–74); Antioch. *Pandect. script. sacr.* Hom. 8 (PG 89.1457, ll. 15–19); Philagath. *Hom.* 29.10, ll. 1–4 (ed. Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, ‘*Filagato da Cerami Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l’anno*’, in *Testi e Monumenti*, 11 (1969), 1–244.)

Gradus 17

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 100, 185); PG (88.629 Gr. 18; 932 Gr. 18); N (fol. 9^v Gr. 17); M (fol. 3^r Gr. 18; fol. 320^v Gr. 18); J. Chrys. *In Mt. hom.* 28 (PG 57.351, ll. 35–37), *In Act. apost. hom.* 26 (PG 60.199, ll. 18–23)

130 μακάριον πάθος cf. Hippol. *De consum. mund.* [Sp.] 1, ll. 10–11 (ed. Hans Achelis, *Hippolyt’s kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897))

132 ἀλγείς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.932 Gr. 18, ll. 7–11)

133–134 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.924, ll. 17–19; 933, ll. 3–4)

Gradus 18

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 101 Gr. 18; 185 Gr. 18); PG (88.629 Gr. 19; 937 Gr. 19); N (fol. 9^v Gr. 18); = M (fol. 3^r Gr. 19); cf. M (fol. 320^v Gr. 19)

138–139 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, ll. 13–14)

139 παραστάσει cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.892, l. 31)

Gradus 19

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 102, 185 Gr. 19); PG (88.629, 940 Gr. 20); M (fols 3^r, 320^v); N (fol. 9^v)

142 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, l. 27⁸⁰)

143 ~ Poem. 2, vv. 37, 53

145–146 cf. *Ps.-Clem. (epit. de gest. Petr. praemetaphr.)* [Sp.] sect. 69, ll. 5–6 (ed. Albert R. M. Dressel, *Clementinorum epitomae duae* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1873²)); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,23, v. 17 (PG 37.1283)

Gradus 20

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 104, 185 Gr. 20); PG (88.629, 945 Gr. 21); N (f. 10^r Gr. 21); M (fols 3^r, 320^v Gr. 21)

148 πίστewς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, l. 6)

150 κοσμοκράτορας σκότους cf. Eph. 6:12

152–153 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7–8); cf. id. (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 24–25); *Ps.-Zon. Lex.* (ed. Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), p. 479, l. 22)

Gradus 21

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 185); PG (88.629); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 21); M (fol. 3^r Gr. 22); cf. Sophr. (1970: 105 Gr. 21); PG (88.948 Gr. 22); M (fol. 320^v)

154 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.840 Gr. 9, ll. 3–5; 845C; 853; 860, l. 47–861, ll. 3–5, 10; 869, ll. 45–47; 932, ll. 9–11; 945, ll. 5–7; 957 Gr. 22, l. 51); cf. schol. 19 in J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.961, ll. 48–53)

154–156 ≈ M. Psell. *Poem.* 21, vv. 1–3 (ed. Leendert G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992)

⁸⁰ Line 29 according to TLG.

155 τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ~ Poem. 1, vv. 73–74; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.636 Gr. 1, l. 4)

156 διαίταν, ἐστίαν cf. M. Psell. *Poem.* 21, v. 3 (ed. Leendert G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992); Phot. *Lex.* (ε, lem. 2025; ed. Christos Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, 3 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982–2013), II (1998)); Anonym. *Lexic. Συναγ. λέξ. χρῆσ.* (ed. Cunningham 2003; ε, lem. 871); *Suda*, ε, lem. 3212 (ed. Ada Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), I); *Lex. Seguer. Collect. verb. util. e diff. rhet. et sap. mult.* (ed. Ludwig Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1828–9), I (1828), p. 237, l. 25); *Ps.-Zon. Lex.* (ed. Johann A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner 1808), p. 879, l. 15)

157 ναυάγιον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, l. 17)

157 στρόφον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, ll. 13–14)

158 ἀπατουργὸν cf. Hesych. *Lex. (A-O)* (α, lem. 5843, l. 1; ed. Kurt Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (Copenhagen: Hauniae, 1953)); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 7–8)

158 τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν cf. Neophyt. Incl. *Lib. catech.* 2.29, ll. 49–51 (ed. Panayiotis S. Sotiroudis, 'Βίβλος τῶν κατηχήσεων', in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*. II, ed. by Tsames, Oikonomou, Karabidopoulos, Zacharopoulos (Paphos: Ἱερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, 1998), pp. 189–431)

158 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, ll. 46–54)

Gradus 22

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 185 Gr. 22); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 22); cf. Sophr. (1970: 109 Gr. 22); PG (88.965 Gr. 23; 629 Gr. 23); M (fol. 3^r Gr. 23)

160–165 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4–12)

160 Θεοῦ ἄρνησις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4, 6–7); Neophyt. Incl. *Πανηγυρ. βιβ. or.* 14, ll. 64–67 (ed. Theodoros Giagkou and Niki Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi, 'Πανηγυρική Α', in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*. III, ed. by Tsames, Oikonomou, Karabidopoulos, Zacharopoulos (Paphos: Ἱερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, 1999) pp. 189–431)

- 160 ἀνθρώπων φθόνος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 5; 969, ll. 49–52)
- 161 ἐξουδένωσις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 5)
- 162 ἐκστάσεως (...) πρόδρομος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 7)
- 163 πηγὴ θυμοῦ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 8–9)
- 163 ῥίζα τῆς βλασφημίας cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 12).
- 163 cf. J. Chrys. *De verb. apost. Hab. eumd. Spir.* (PG 51.283, ll. 43–48); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 166–168
- 164 πικρὸς δικαστής cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 11); J. Chrys. *In Mt.* (PG 57.411, ll. 50–51)
- 164 ὑποκρίσεως θύρα cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 9; 969 Gr. 23, ll. 49–52)
- 165 στήριγμα (...) δαιμόνων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 9)
- 165 πύργος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.993, ll. 49–50)

Gradus 23

- tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 112, 185); N (fol. 10^r); PG (88.629, 965); M (fol. 3^r)
- 166, 168 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 19–22); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.977, ll. 46–49); ~ Poem. 2, v. 163
- 166–167 ~ Poem. 1, vv. 7–8
- 167 καρπὸς ἀχρήστους cf. Sap. 4:3–5
- 167 καρπὸς (...) σαπρὸς cf. Mt. 7:16–20, 12:33; Lc. 6:43–44
- 169 ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι cf. tit. in blasphem. in Sophr. (1970: 112); PG (88.976, ll. 19–22)
- 169 κρίψις ἀμαρτήματος J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 24–27)
- 170–171 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 45–48)

Gradus 24

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 114); PG (88.629, 980); **M** (fol. 3^r)

174–176 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, ll. 24–26, 33–42)

174 ἀσχημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, ll. 24–25)

174 δόλον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, l. 36)

175 πένθους μακρυσμόν cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 24.17; PG 88.981, ll. 38–39)

175 πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965, ll. 4–12; 981, l. 40)

176 ιδιογνωμόρυθμον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* PG (88.981, l. 39); *V. Nic. Med.*, sect. 1, l. 25 (ed. François Halkin, ‘La Vie de Saint Nicéphore fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 78 (1960), 401–428)

Gradus 25

tit. = PG (88.629); **M** (fol. 3^r); cf. Sophr. (1970: 116, 185); PG (88.988); **N** (10^r); **M** (fol. 320^v)

178 ≈ Mt. 11:29; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.980, ll. 8–9; 989, l. 7)

179 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.989, ll. 16–19)

180–182 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, ll. 25–29)

181 φαιδρῶ, γαληνῶ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, l. 27; 1004, ll. 8–9)

182 μὴ ζοφουμένω cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.993, ll. 5–7)

183 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.977, ll. 14–16)

Gradus 26

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 124, 137, 116, 185); PG (88.629, 1013, 1056, 1084); **M** (fols 3^r, 320^v Gr. 26); **N** (fol. 10^r Gr. 26)

184–185 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1017, ll. 22–24); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1033, ll. 6–10)

186 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 18–33, 46–67; 1024, ll. 8–11; 1033, ll. 1–2); Mt. 7:2; Lc. 6:3

187 εὐδιακρίτω κρίσει ≈ Sophr. (1970: 137 tit. Gr. 26.2, 185 tit. Gr. 26.2–3); PG (88.1056 tit. Gr. 26.2); M (fol. 320^v Gr. 26); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 26)

188 ~ Poem. 2, v. 179; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 43–44; 997, ll. 8–19)

189 ~ Poem. 2, v. 52

Gradus 27

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 149, 185); PG (88.1096 Gr. 27, 629 Gr. 27); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 27); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1097, ll. 11–13); M (fols 3^r, 320^v Gr. 27)

190 ~ Poem. 3, vv. 2–5; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1097, ll. 18–26)

191–192 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 8–9)

194–195 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 35–40); 2 Cor. 12:2–5

Gradus 28

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 159, 185); PG (88.629, 1129 Gr. 28); M (fols 3^r, 320^v Gr. 28); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 28)

196 τριάς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1117, l. 7–1129, l. 15)

196 δυὰς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1137, ll. 8–10)

197 στάσις ἀκλινής cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 55–56; 892, ll. 30–31; 940 Gr. 20, ll. 11–22; 941 Gr. 20, ll. 8–10; 1109, l. 30); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 138–139

197 σώματος κατακρίτου cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1132 Gr. 28, ll. 7–9; 1136, ll. 8–10)

198 στεναγμός ἀλάλητος ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1136, l. 52); Rom. 8:26

198 εἰς βραχὺς λόγος ~ ἀπλή Poem. 2, v. 196; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1132, ll. 13–21); Lc. 18:13; 23:42

199 νοὸς φυλακή cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, l. 17; 869, ll. 14–16; 88.1132, ll. 22–24)

199 συνοχή τε καρδίας cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.765, ll. 30–32); 2 Cor. 2:4

200 πνεύματος κραυγήν ~ στεναγμός ἀλάλητος Poem. 2, v. 198; cf. Rom. 8:26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1136, ll. 49–52)

200–201 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1133, ll. 6–9); 1 Cor. 14:19

Gradus 29

tit. = PG (88.629); M (fol. 3^v); cf. Sophr. (1970: 165, 185 Gr. 29); PG (88.1148 Gr. 29); M (fol. 320 Gr. 29); N (fol. 10^r Gr. 29)

203–205 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1148, ll. 10–13)

204 ἀθύρματα cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 13–15)

206–207 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1001, l. 43–1004, l. 3); Ps. 90:13; cf. *Il.* 11.480–481; 1 Pt. 5:8

Gradus 30

tit. cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1129 Gr. 28, ll. 5–6; 1136, ll. 4–7; 1152, ll. 12–17; 1157, ll. 35–38)

210 εἰκόνα cf. Gen. 1:26; Porphyr. *V. Plot.* (sect. 2, ll. 24–26; ed. Paul Henry and Hans-Rudolf Schwyzer, Plotini opera. I (Leiden: Brill, 1951)

213 ~ Poem. 2, v. 210

213 Τριάδι τριάδα ~ τριάς Poem. 2, v. 196

Epilogus

216 τριμερούς χρόνου cf. Sext. Empir. *Adv. math.* 10.197, ll. 1–2 (ed. Hermann Mutschmann, Sexti Empirici opera. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914)

218 cf. Ps. 36:23; 39:4; 118:133; ~ Poem. 4, vv. 76–77; cf. *Barocc.* 141 Poem. 1, vv. 13–14

220 ~ προσάψεις Poem. 2, v. 210

220 Χριστοπατράσιν cf. Eriph. *Hom. 2 in Sabbat. magn.* (PG 43.452C)

222 λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου cf. *Christ. Pat.*, v. 2055 (SC 149); ~ Poem. 1, v. 46; cf. Pisid. *Hexaem.* (PG 92.1572, v. 1796)

223 πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου ~ Poem. 2, v. 222

224 ~ Poem. 2, vv. 15–18

225 νοῖ, λόγῳ, πνεύματι ~ Poem. 2, v. 211

226 cf. epigr. inc. Ἰωάννης ὁ χθαμαλὸς τοῦ πικρῆν Ξηροκάλιτος, v. 22 (DBBE (consulted 31.07.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3280>)

Poem 3

3 σαρκοκτόνοι cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.769, ll. 51–56)

7–8 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.900, ll. 19–27; 1085, ll. 8–14); Basil. Caes. *Enarr. in proph. Is.* [Dub.] 1, ll. 10–19 (ed. Pietro Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al profeta Isaia.* 2 vols (Turin: Società editrice internazionale, 1939); Porphyry. *V. Plot.* 2, ll. 27–31 (ed. Paul Henry and Hans-Rudolf Schwyzer, *Plotini opera.* I (Leiden: Brill, 1951))

8 ὀπῆς στενῆς cf. Mt. 7:13–14

8 ὡς γήρας ὄφεις ≈ Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* poem. 24, v. 18 (ed. Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte.* Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 11 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974))

9 ~ Poem. 2, v. 37; cf. Rom. 6:4; 1 Cor. 15:50–52; Col. 3:9–10

12 cf. epigr. inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος (v. 3; DBBE (consulted 31.07.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259>)

17 σχήματος μονοτρόπου cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* poem. 39, v. 138; poem. 79, v. 19 (ed. Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte.* Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 11 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974))

Poem 4

1 cf. Jc. 1:17

1–2 cf. Didym. Caec. *De trin.* [Sp.] (PG 39.764, ll. 36–38)

2 κράτος cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 88 (ed. Claudio Moreschini and David A. Sykes, *St Gregory of Nazianzus: Poemata Arcana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 14)

3 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 72–73 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 41 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 12)

4 τρισάριθμε cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 74 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

5 ἐν νόημα καὶ κλέος ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87–88 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

7 σθένος cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

8 προηγμένον cf. Ephr. *Hist. Chron.*, v. 1277 (ed. Odysseus Lampsides, *Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Atheniensis* 27 (Athens: Academiae Atheniensis, 1990); cf. e.g. Leo VI *Hom.* 6, ll. 71–72 (ed. Theodora Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae. Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008))

9 ~ Poem. 1, vv. 45–55; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 31 (par. 32, ll. 1–6; ed. Joseph Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963)); *Symb.* φῶς ἐκ φωτός (PG 152.1102, l. 18)

10 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 60 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14); cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 25 (PG 35.1221, ll. 44–45); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, l. 55–993, l. 3); Justinian. *I Edict. rect. fid.* (ed. Rosangela Albertella, Mario Amelotti, Livia Migliardi, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustiniens. Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2., (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1973), p. 130, ll. 16–17)

11 ταυτόβουλε Nicet. Steth. *Contr. Lat. et de process. spirit. sanct.* (ed. Anton Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI Jahrhunderts. Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte* 23 (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh) pp. 382, ll. 12–15–383, l. 1); Nicol. Methon. *Or.* 7 (ed. Andronikos Demetrapoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. (Leipzig: Otto Bigand, 1866), I, p. 374, ll. 2–7); Joh. *De sacr. imag. contr. Const. Cabal.* (PG 95.312, ll. 14–19)

13 σῶ λάτρη ~ Poem. 4, v. 133

15 Τὸ τριμερές μου cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 87 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

15–16 ~ Poem. 2 tit. Gr. 30; cf. 1 Joh. 5:7–8

19 κηδαρικῆς Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29; Greg. Nyss. *De virg.* 4.4, ll. 21–22 (SC 119); Jer. 2:10; Ez. 27:21

19 μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας Greg. Nyss. *In s. pasch.* (PG 9.247, ll. 1–10)

20 ταβερναλῆγκίου cf. 2 Cor. 5:1–10

19–20 Cant. 1:5; Ps. 119:5; J. Chrys. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 55.341, ll. 34–44); Euseb. *Comm. in Ps.* (PG 24.9, ll. 35–39)

21 J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1013, l. 46–1016, l. 5)

25 ≈ Paraphr. 1 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Rachele Ricceri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, carm. II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Ghent / Rome, 2013: 70), pp. 241, ll. 5–7); cf. *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50*, v. 106 (ed. Ricceri 2013); Paraphr. 2 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Rachele Ricceri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, carm. II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e comment.* PhD-dissertation (Ghent, 2013), p. 246, ll. 17–18)

28–29 cf. *Ecclus. 4:23–26*; *Greg. Naz. Ep. 178.4* (ed. Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols (Paris: les Belles lettres, 1964–1967)); *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,83*, vv. 21–22 (PG 37.1430)

30–45 ≈ Paraphr. 1 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Rachele Ricceri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, carm. II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e comment.* PhD-dissertation (Ghent, 2013), p. 241, ll. 7–16); cf. *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50*, vv. 107–112 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 70–72); Paraphr. 2 *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Rachele Ricceri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, carm. II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e comment.* PhD-dissertation (Ghent, 2013) p. 246, ll. 19–26)

31 ἡκανθωμένον cf. *Epiphan. Panar.* (PG 2.62, ll. 22–23); *Greg. Naz. Carm. II,1,87*, vv. 1–2 (PG 37.1433); *Aster. Hom. 15.3*, ll. 80–81 (ed. Cornelis Datema, ‘Les homélies XV et XVI d’Asterius d’Amasée’, *Sacris erudiri*, 23 (1978–1979), 69–86 (p. 71)); *J. Chrys. De paen.* (PG 49.307, l. 55–308, l. 2); *Gen. 3:17–18*; *Hebr. 6:8*

34–35 cf. *Joh. 19:34*

36 cf. *Ps. 6:2*

37 cf. *Greg. Nyss. Or. fun. in Melet. episc.* (PG 9.455, ll. 6–8); *id. De virg. 4.6*, ll. 9–12 (SC 119)

40 ὑβριστής κόρος cf. *Greg. Naz. Carm. I,2,16*, v. 15 (PG 37.779), *Carm. I,2,31*, v. 25 (PG 37.912), *Carm. II,1,1*, v. 40 (ed. André Tuilier, Guillaume Bady and Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*:

Oeuvres Poétiques, Tome 1, 1^{re} partie: Poèmes Personnels II,1,1–11 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 5)

45 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 112 (ed. Rachele Ricceri, Gregorio Nazianzeno, *Carm.* II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e comment. PhD-dissertation (Ghent, 2013), p. 72)

46–51 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 5–6 (PG 37.911); cf. Joh. 2:19–21

46–47 cf. Jer. 7:11; Mt. 21:13; Mc. 11:17; Lc. 19:46

50 βασιλισσαν cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1160, ll. 36–40; Sophr. 1970: 169 n. 3)

50–56 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 1–6 (PG 37.1428–1429)

52–56 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 19–20 (PG 88.912)

56–57 cf. Gen. 3:18; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1109, ll. 7–13)

57 καθυποσπείρων cf. Mt. 13:25–26

57, 61 cf. Is. 27:1–4; Sap. 16:5

58 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50, 52 (ed. André Tuilier, Guillaume Bady and Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Oeuvres Poétiques*, Tome 1, 1^{re} partie: Poèmes Personnels II,1,1–11 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 6)

61 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6); 1 Cor. 15:54–56; Os. 13:14

62 κλέπτῃς J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 26.9)

63 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 53–54 (ed. André Tuilier, Guillaume Bady and Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Oeuvres Poétiques*, Tome 1, 1^{re} partie: Poèmes Personnels II,1,1–11 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 6)

64–66 cf. Aesop. *Fab.* (ed. August Hausrath and Herbert Hunger, *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1957²) I, nr. 103); Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,29, vv. 55–58 (PG 37.888)

68–73 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 56–60 (ed. André Tuilier, Guillaume Bady and Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Oeuvres Poétiques*, Tome 1, 1^{re} partie: Poèmes Personnels II,1,1–11 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 6)

67–70 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.889, ll. 7–9; 940 Gr. 20, l. 25–941, l. 1); *Quaest. et respons. sen. de tentat.* (ed. Jean-Claude Guy, ‘Un dialogue monastique inédit’, *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique*, 33 (1957) 171–182 (p. 179 nr. 18))

72–73 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II, 1, 83, vv. 7–8 (PG 37.1429); Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40.16 (PG 36.377, l. 43)

76–77 cf. Hebr. 12:11–13

84–97 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II, 1, 55, vv. 3–4 (PG 37.1399–1400)

86 Βελίας (...) βέλιη cf. *Etymol. magn.* lem. Ἀνδριάς (Kallierges p. 101, ll. 42–49; ed. Thomas Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848); Macar. *Apocrit. seu Movoyev.* (lib. 3, Blondel p. 114, ll. 12–13; ed. Richard Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie: Le monogénès*, 2 vols (Paris: J. Vrin, 2003)); Rom. Melod. *Cant. Hymn.* 43, Προοίμ., vv. 5–6 (SC 128); J. Maur. *Canon. Paracl.* can. 7, od. 1, ll. 19–24 (ed. Enrica Follieri, ‘Giovanni Mauropode metropolitano di Eucaita: Otto canoni paracletici a N. S. Gesù Cristo’, *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 5 (1967), 48–184); Eph. 6:16

87 cf. Just. Mart. *Apol.* 28.1, ll. 1–2 (ed. Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915))

94 cf. Georg. Mon. *Chron.* (ed. Carl de Boor, *Georgii monachi chronicon* (Leipzig: Teuner, 1904), p. 667, ll. 1–3); M. Psell., *Poem.* 21, v. 19 (ed. Leendert G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992)); Theod. Sync. *Hom. de obsid. Avar. Const.* (ed. Leo Sternbach, *Analecta Avarica*, in *Traduction et commentaire de l’homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626. Acta universitatis de Attila Jozsef nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica. Opuscula Byzantina* 3, ed. by Ferenc Makk (Szeged: Jate, 1975) XIX, 74–96 (p. 92, ll. 33–34)); Greg. Nyss. *De v. Mos.* 2.276, ll. 1–5 (SC 1 bis); M. Phil. *Carm. var. de nat. hist.* pars 1, v. 1362 (ed. Friedrich Dübner and F. S. Lehrs, *Manuelis Philae versus iambici de proprietate animalium: Poetae bucolici et didactici* (Paris: Didot, 1862))

95 cf. Georg. Mon. *Chron.* (ed. Carl de Boor, *Georgii monachi chronicon* (Leipzig: Teuner, 1904), p. 704, l. 15–705, l. 2); Georg. Mon. *Chron. brev.* (PG 110.872, ll. 18–29); Georg. Cedren. *Comp. hist.* (ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae op-*

era. Vol. 1. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1838) p. 743, ll. 9–18)

97–105 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 5–6 (PG 37.1399–1400); Gen. 4:1–8; J. Chrys. *De paen.* (PG 49.285, ll. 32–35); Georg. Sync. *Eclog. chron.* (ed. Alden A. Mosshammer, Georgius Syncellus. *Ecloga chronographica* (Leipzig: Teubner 1984), p. 9, l. 4)

103 ἄμωμα, δεκτά, καθάρᾳ *Canones Jan.* 14, *In ss. Abb. in Sina et Raithu interf. can.* 23, od. 8, ll. 3–8 (ed. Alkistis Proiou and Giuseppe Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 12 vols (Rome: Università di Roma, 1966–80), V (1971))

105 cf. 1 Cor. 10:16

113 Λοζίου cf. *Etymol. magn.* (Kallierges p. 569, ll. 46–50; ed. Thomas Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848); L. A. Cornut. *De nat. deo.* (ed. Karl H. Lang, *Cornuti theologiae Graecae compendium* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881), p. 67, ll. 14–15); Theod. Hexapt. *Progymn.* 2, ll. 8–9 (ed. Wolfram Hörandner, *Die Progymnasmata des Theodoros Hexapterygos*, in *Byzantios, Festschrift H. Hunger*, ed. by Johannes Koder, Erich Trapp, Otto Kresten, Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 150–158)

115 κρυφίους πάγας cf. *A. P.* 6.192, v. 4 (ed. Hermann Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 2 vols (Munich: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1965), I)

120 cf. 1 Cor. 9:24–27

120–121 cf. Athan. *Synops. script. sacr.* [Sp.] (PG 28.424, ll. 34–37)

122 *Schol. in Il.* 2.219 (ed. Heyne 1834); Q. Smyr. *Posthom.* 1.741–747 (ed. Francis Vian, *Quintus de Smyrne: La suite d'Homère. I* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1963))

123 ἀναλκίς ~ παναλκίης *Poem.* 4, v. 2

126–127 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,11, vv. 984–985 (ed. André Tuilier, Guillaume Bady and Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Oeuvres Poétiques*, Tome 1, 1^{re} partie: *Poèmes Personnels II,1,1–11* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 98)

128 ≈ Ps. 67:31; cf. Ez. 29:1–3

129 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 15.78; PG 88.901 Gr. 15, ll. 9–12)

130 τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ βίου cf. Greg. Nyss. *In Can. can.* (ed. Hermann Langerbeck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, VI (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 316, ll. 1–6)

132 cf. *Hymn. in S. Petr. Anachor.* (5 Jun., can. 2, od. 9, ll. 32–33; ed. Augusta Acconcia Longo – Giuseppe Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 12 vols (Rome: Università di Roma, 1966–80), X (1972))

Secunda nota ὃ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν ≈ Lc. 6:38; cf. Mt. 7:2

Appendix 2: Hapax legomena

- ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον (Poem 4, v. 45)
- ἀντρανύχιον (Poem 4, v. 48)
- ἀφθαρτοσωμάτων (Poem 2, v. 121)
- εἰσπιδύων (Poem 4, v. 93)
- ἰσχνολεπτοβραχέας (Poem 1, v. 23)
- καθυποσπείρων (Poem 4, v. 57)
- κηδαρικής (Poem 4, v. 19)
- λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου (Poem 2, v. 222)
- λογισμορέκτας (Poem 2, v. 39)
- μελαμπόρου (Poem 4, v. 37)
- μεσόρροπον (Poem 2, v. 118)
- μηχανοπλανουργίας (Poem 2, v. 205)
- μισοθύμω (Poem 2, v. 179)
- μισοργιλοφθόνω (Poem 2, v. 179)
- μνημημόρος (Poem 2, v. 111)
- νοοκτόνοι (Poem 3, v. 4)
- παθοσυγκαταθέσεις (Poem 2, v. 39)
- προσαιτήματα (Poem 2, v. 219)
- πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου (Poem 2, v. 223)
- ταβερναλιγκίου (Poem 4, v. 20)
- ὑπερπόσων (Poem 2, v. 129)
- φιλοτιμοδωρίας (Poem 2, v. 131)
- Χριστοπατράσιν (Poem 2, v. 220)
- χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφοπλόκου (Poem 2, v. 224)
- ψευσματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος (Poem 4, v. 119)
- ψυχόθηρ (Poem 4, v. 62)

Abstract

This contribution focuses on a group of twelfth-century poems on John Klimax. It provides the *editio princeps* of four poems in dodecasyllables (totalling over 470 verses), preserved in seven manuscripts. Although only one manuscript contains all the four poems, the compositions occur in the same order within the codices and have recurrent motives and cross-references. Therefore, they can be considered as a poetic cycle.

These poems are metrical paratexts (book epigrams) accompanying Klimax's works: Poem 1 (102 vv.), inc. Ἐχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα, is a spiritual comparison between the *Ladder* and a garden; Poem 2 (226 vv.), inc. Ὑψίματα χρυσᾶ τοῖς Λυδοῖς αἰρεῖ λόγος, is a praise of Klimax and a summary of the *Ladder* articulated in six verses for each of the thirty steps; Poem 3 (19, 16 or 14 vv.), inc. Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βιβλίου, is a laudatory colophon that closes the *Ladder*; Poem 4 (134 vv.), inc. Τούτων ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν, καλῶν δότης, accompanies Klimax's treatise *To the Shepherd* and is a *laudatio* of the Trinity, ending as a prayer.

In this paper we provide a general introduction to the cycle, an overview of the manuscripts and of the poems, including a discussion on the authorship, a short metrical analysis, a critical edition and an English translation.

RENAAT MEESTERS

A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax:

A Brief Analysis

This paper provides a short commentary on the cycle of four poems on John Klimax, edited in the preceding article. The main goal is to clarify the structure of the poems and reveal their meaning by disclosing the most noteworthy intertextual references. The contribution concludes with a discussion of the important influence of Gregory of Nazianzus on this cycle.¹

Commentary

Poem 1

There are two main parts in this poem. Vv. 1–67 are an allegorical comparison of the book to a garden. The second part refers to the production of the poem and the book: Klimax is invoked (vv. 73–78), the spiritual value of the book is stressed (vv. 79–89) and the poem is dedicated to Klimax (vv. 90–102).

The poem opens with a passage on flowers (vv. 1–6), based on the opening lines of John Chrysostom's *Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης* (PG 60.707).² These verses serve as a literary introduction to the allegory that follows. Vv. 7–14 describe the *Ladder* as a garden (explicit reference to John Klimax on v. 7). V. 15 is a hinge, after which the explanation of the metaphor follows (vv. 16–28): the garden (v. 7) is the book (v. 16), the moral

¹ For an extended commentary, focusing also on the syntactical peculiarities and providing a detailed analysis of the many intertextual references present in the cycle, see R. Meesters, *The Afterlife of John Klimax in Byzantine Book Epigrams: Edition, Translation and Commentary of Two Poetic Cycles* (Ghent: PhD dissertation, 2017). I also refer to the list of *loci paralleli* in Meesters and Ricceri in this volume (pp. 362–385).

² Compare also with the opening of John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* (PG 87/3.2852, ll. 1–24).

lessons (v. 19) are the trees (v. 9), and they are expressed by the actual words of Klimax (v. 20), which are the branches of the trees. The leaves (v. 10) are compared to faith (v. 24). Finally, the deeds, the result of Klimax's lessons (v. 28), are the fruits of the trees (v. 8).

After a general description of the garden, depicted as a *locus amoenus*, the poet focuses on the birds that populate it (vv. 29–37). The birds metaphorically stand for monks. The repetition of Ἐν ᾧ and of the reading guide πετηνά (vv. 29, 32) arguably points to two types of monks.³ Vv. 29–31 refer to cenobitic monks as these birds are said to sleep in *abodes / monasteries* (μονάς v. 31). Perhaps, they are even better interpreted as semi-eremitic monks. It could be argued that the marsh-meadow here stands allegorically for the Church, as the *Apophthegmata Patrum* mention that near Sketis there was a marsh-meadow (ἔλος), where churches were built (PG 65.249, ll. 53–54). Besides, the nests of birds, referred to in v. 31, are typically built only for a small number of birds and not for dozens. The second group of solitary birds refers to hermits. It is also possible that vv. 29–31 and vv. 32–36 stand for two aspects of monasticism. This is possibly meant by (the obscure) v. 37: 1) λόγων refers to the contemplative aspect of monasticism (vv. 32–36); 2) πραγμάτων refers to its practical aspect (vv. 29–31). V. 30 mentions that the birds go to the marsh-meadow, which, if interpreted as the Church, could stand for the divine service.

The reference to monasticism can be envisaged also in vv. 38–44, where the flowers of the garden are depicted. The flowers, already mentioned in vv. 1–6, stand for prayer, and together with fasting (v. 43) and psalmody (v. 44) they are part of the monastic activities.

Vv. 45–55, the central section of the poem, contain an allusive reference to the Trinity, by means of the image of the sun. Two aspects of sunlight in the garden are mentioned: the visible aspect, i.e. light (vv. 45–48) and the nourishing aspect, i.e. warmth (vv. 49–53). This second aspect means that, although the sun shines brightly, it does not burn the trees, but rather protects the fruits. The implication is that God the Father acts in a similar manner, protecting those who live in the garden. He collaborates with the Holy Spirit and the Logos (vv. 54–55).

A final metaphoric passage concerns the springs of the garden (vv. 56–59), standing for tears. The spring are announced by the water referred to in vv. 12–14. In v. 59, tears are said to grow the trees, which are the moral lessons (v. 19). Πένθος (mourning) is described as a kind

³ On the reading guides, see Meesters and Ricceri in this volume (p. 295).

of dialectical teacher, who takes and gives knowledge (vv. 60–64) and is essential to reach virtues.

The last part of the poem is particularly interesting because it contextualizes the origin of the poems. In vv. 73–78, Klimax is addressed as the author of the *Ladder* (cf. σου τὸ πύξιον v. 72). After the list of formal invocations, the informal φίλτατε (v. 79) indicates that the reader is addressed in vv. 79–89. In the last section (vv. 90–102), the poem itself (Αὐτή (...) δεξίωσις ἐκ λόγων vv. 90–91) is dedicated to Klimax (σοὶ v. 90). παρ' ἡμῶν probably refers to John Komnenos and John the writer as the persons involved in the production of the poem.

Poem 2

This poem has a clear structure. It opens with a long prologue (vv. 1–33) and continues with thirty groups of six verses each, one per step of the *Ladder* (vv. 34–213). The poem is concluded by an epilogue (vv. 214–226).

The Proem

The proem is an exhortation (cf. παραίνεσιν in the title) to the reader to abandon all vain materiality and strive for God only. Klimax is an example to follow, as climbing the ladder means to abandon the (transient) world.

The first section of the proem (vv. 1–18) contains a series of four *exempla* of false happiness based on earthly goods only and is the result of a sophisticated intertwine of intertextual references. The main source is clearly Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.* II,2,1 vv. 264–272, itself based on famous passages from Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.93, 5.101). The *exempla* of the Lydians, the ants and the Egyptians are taken directly from Gregory. Vv. 2–5, inspired by Strabo's *Geographica* 13.4.5,⁴ specify the example of the Lydians by mentioning Kroisos. Vv. 6–8, on the golden beard of the Persian king, are inspired by John Chrysostom (PG 62.350, ll. 18–24).

From vv. 14–18 a *Priamel* contrasts people who enjoy earthly wealth to Klimax (σοὶ v. 16). He cherishes something incorruptible (v. 18), which is explained as λόγος (v. 20). This word is ambiguous as it can stand for *word/Word, reason*, or, when referring to Klimax as an author,

⁴ Or by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, who paraphrases the passage of Strabo in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, 4 vols (Leiden: Lugduni Batavorum, 1971–1987), I (1971), p. 577, ll. 14–16).

perhaps even for *literary skill*. *λόγος* is the subject of the following lines, until the end of the prologue. It is compared to a shining light which brings knowledge of both the mortal and the immortal world (vv. 26–28).⁵ The word has also a didactic value, as it helps in choosing what is useful (vv. 31–33).

On a second level, we could say that vv. 27–28 also represent the structure of the entire poem. V. 27, on the transient world, corresponds to vv. 1–15 that represent the transient wealth of the earth, whereas v. 28, on the everlasting world, corresponds to vv. 16–33 that deal with the immaterial world and the Word. Klimax, addressed in v. 16, enables the transition of the material to the immaterial world. Possibly the prologue, which has a pronounced Christological character, counts 33 verses to symbolize Christ's age when he died upon the cross.

Verse Summary

This summary of the *Ladder* (quite logically) contains several intertextual references to Klimax's spiritual guide. However, the poet did not follow one method of transforming the *Ladder* into verses. The summary of some steps are close versifications of one specific passage from the *Ladder* (e.g. steps 7 and 22).⁶ Other summaries convey the same message as the relevant steps, without echoing the exact words of Klimax (e.g. steps 3 and 14). In some other cases, the poet provides additions to Klimax's thoughts (e.g. steps 5 and 8).⁷

Step 1: A first logical step when ascending a ladder is renunciation from the world.⁸ In this step, and throughout the entire verse summary, the ideal ascender / reader of the *Ladder* is addressed in the second person (e.g. *ἐξέφυγες* v. 34). This step is divided into three distichs

⁵ Cf. Joh. 8:12: ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου.

⁶ In order to avoid confusion, I use 'Gr: x' when referring to a step in the *Ladder*, and 'step x' when referring to a step in Poem 2.

⁷ Since there is a translation of the poems and list of *loci paralleli* in the first article, I opted not to discuss all steps. I will only discuss the most interesting cases.

⁸ This idea was already expressed by Origen, *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150* [Dub.] (commentary on *Psalm* 1:1–2; ed. Jean Baptiste Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 8 vols (Paris: Tusculum, 1883–84), II–III). For other occurrences of the concept of a ladder to Heaven, cf. R. Meesters, 'Ascending the Ladder: *Editio princeps* of Four Poems on the Ladder of John Klimakos (Bodleian Baroccianus 141)', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 56.3 (2016), 556–71 (pp. 565–66); John Chryssavgis, *John Climacus: From the Egyptian Desert to the Sinaite Mountain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), n. 81.

(vv. 34–35, vv. 36–37, vv. 38–39). Each time the first verse introduces a negative object (Αἴγυπτον v. 34, Φαραώ v. 36, ἐπιστάτας v. 38), and the second verse gives a further (metaphorical) explanation. Egypt, the Pharaoh and the commanders call *Exodus* to mind.⁹ Klimax, as a new Moses, has to lead us out of Egypt, which is not meant geographically (cf. οὐ τοπικῆς in the title), but metaphorically, as it stands for a luxurious life in the world.

Step 5: The mention of Novatian, a so-called antipope in Rome (third century), is remarkable since he is not mentioned by Klimax. The appearance of this heretic is probably triggered by the mention of the heretic Origen at the end of *Gr.* 5 (PG 88.781, ll. 47–51). The heresies of Origen and Novatian are extremes at opposite sides. Whereas Novatian denies forgiveness for the *lapsi*, Origen believes that eventually all will be saved. The first refuses post-baptismal repentance; the latter uses God's clemency as an excuse not to repent.¹⁰ The ideas of both lead to the contempt of repentance, the topic of this step. By putting Novatian's heresy to shame, the ascender will escape from the persistent shame, which is condemnation at the Judgement, by which all hidden thoughts / sins are disclosed (vv. 62–63).

Step 6: Weeping occurs frequently in the *Ladder* as a sign of repentance and mourning, often related to the remembrance of death and the Judgement.¹¹ The notion that you always have to be ready for death, because you never know when it will come, is thematized in *Gr.* 6 (PG 88.793, l. 35–796, l. 5). Klimax points to the beneficial consequence of this uncertainty: the need of constant repentance.

Step 8: The story of Abigail and Nabal (*Samuel* 1:25) is not mentioned in the *Ladder*. Here, it is alluded to because it is a clear example of freedom of anger.

⁹ Egypt and the Pharaoh appear as a similar metaphor in *Gr.* 1 (PG 88.633, ll. 54–55–636, l. 1).

¹⁰ On Novatian, see V. Hirschmann, *Die Kirche der Reinen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), pp. 1–7; A. Coxe, *Ante-Nicene Fathers: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix* (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1886), V, 607–09. On Origen, see H. Crouzel, 'Les condamnations subies par Origène et sa doctrine', in *Origeniana septima. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium 137*, ed. by W. A. Bienert and U. Kühneweg (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), pp. 311–15; J. W. Trigg, *Origen* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), pp. 62–66.

¹¹ J. L. Zecher, *The Role of Death in the Ladder of Divine Ascent and the Greek Ascetic Tradition; The Symbolics of Death and the Construction of Christian Asceticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 117; Chryssavgis, *John Climacus*, pp. 133–63.

Step 9: This step is the perfection of step 8. You do not act like a camel, which was a symbol of rancour in patristic literature. Vv. 83–84 contain three metaphors for rancour. The wolf is borrowed from Matthew 7:15. The expression on the snake goes back to an Aesopic fable,¹² but is also mentioned in *Gr.* 4 (PG 88.697, ll. 1–13). The metaphor of the worm is directly based on a passage from *Gr.* 9 (Sophr. 9.13).¹³ Vv. 85–86 give an explanation of rancour and are reminiscent of *Iliad* 9.313, which became a popular expression.¹⁴

Step 10: The ascender is sincere and refrains from slander. τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου stands for the power of speech, which is the gift from the Lord. We should not waste this gift by slanderous words (vv. 90–91), nor should we stain it *by the simulation of love* (vv. 92–93), i.e. by slandering someone in order to point him to his sins. As explained in *Gr.* 10 (PG 88.845, ll. 6–25), this kind of love is no real love, but only a simulation, i.e. hypocrisy.

Step 11: The syntax of vv. 94–96 is opaque. Regarding the content, οὐκ (v. 90) should still be valid, otherwise it would be implied that the ideal ascender commits the sin of talkativeness, which seems unlikely. Talkativeness is described as broadening various words with *fringes of linen*. This refers to the Pharisees who broaden their fringes out of vain-glory.¹⁵ Vv. 97–99 are based on a *scholion* to *Gr.* 10 (Sophr. 1970: 77 n. 2). However, the poet did not succeed in preserving its meaning. The passage in the *scholion* that corresponds to v. 98 runs: τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐάσας, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σκοπῶν (*not caring for your own (sins), but paying attention to those of others*), which makes better sense.

Step 12: The reference to food (v. 102) comes quite unexpectedly and would rather fit *Gr.* 14 on gluttony.¹⁶ In vv. 103–105, it is said that you can take Rahab as a model, but only when it is required by the situation,

¹² Ed. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica* (Urbana / Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980²), p. 390, nr. 176.

¹³ I prefer Sophronios' reading of this passage. Cf. PG (88.841, ll. 51–55) for the corresponding passage.

¹⁴ For example, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae* (Ep. 69; ed. F. Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2001)) XLI, p. 94, l. 33: ἀλλά τις ἕτερα μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἕτερα δὲ βάζει.

¹⁵ Cf. Matt. 23:5. The fringes are 'blue twisted threads at the four corners of a garment, a reminder to obey the commandments (Num. 15:38–40)'; M. D. Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Matthew 23:5.

¹⁶ In *Gr.* 11, gluttony is mentioned as one of the three possible sources of talkativeness (PG 88.852D). Since the beginning of step 12 states that talkativeness leads to lying, gluttony indirectly leads to lying.

and on the condition that you have love and compunction. She saved Israelites, protected by God, by telling a lie (*Joshua* 2:1–14). At the end of *Gr.* 12, Klimax criticizes people who use Rahab as an excuse to lie (PG 88.856, ll. 38–43). This does not mean that Rahab is a negative model, on the contrary. Klimax says that if you are completely free from lying, then you can lie as Rahab, ‘but only with fear and as occasion demands’.¹⁷

Step 13: After three steps on the (ab)use of words, the poet wonders how he should use the word in this step. In vv. 108–11, he answers his own question. As he said before (cf. step 7), the ascender mourns.

Step 14: This step pleads for a balanced abstinence. On the one hand, you should banish the languid life (i.e. the consequence of gluttony); on the other hand, you should also chase away the life which darkens your mind because of a too extreme fasting (which is a cause of despair).

Step 15: V. 122 is inspired by a passage from *Gr.* 15, based on Matt. 19:12 (PG 88.884, ll. 1–5), in which Klimax praises those who are ‘daily’ eunuchs by cutting off their bad thoughts as with a knife.¹⁸ τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα likely refers to the rank of the Levites, a class of temple servants (cf. 1 Chron. 6; Hebr. 7:11).

Step 16: The rhetorical question of vv. 124–26 implies that the battle against fornication is harder than the one against avarice.¹⁹ Probably, the first half of v. 127 is the explicit answer to the rhetorical question. It is not completely clear to whom μάρτυρες and πρῶτος αὐτὸς refer. Perhaps the first proclaimer of freedom from avarice is chastity, as the topic of step 15 precedes that of step 16. Perhaps, the many witnesses are all holy men who went before us.²⁰

¹⁷ This and the following translations from the *Ladder* are taken from L. Moore, *Saint John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (Brookline: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 2012⁴).

¹⁸ Until the eleventh century, eunuchs also held important functions as courtiers. Interestingly, the influence of the eunuch diminished during the Komnenian period and they were pushed out of the most important functions; cf. ODB s.v. *eunuchs*; see also C. Mesis, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire. Dossiers Byzantins 14* (Paris: Centre d’Études Byzantines, Néo-Helléniques et Sud-Est Européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2014), pp. 291 and 367.

¹⁹ Love of money is associated with strangling in the patristic and theological tradition. The origin of this link is found in Judas who hung himself after accepting the pieces of silver (Matthew 27:5).

²⁰ If the first proclaimer refers to one person in particular, one could think of John the Baptist. He is a forerunner (πρόδρομος) of Christ (Matt. 3:1–2) and is related to ἀφιλαργυρία since he lived his life in asceticism (Mk. 1:6). Another option is Christ. Supernaturally conceived in the virgin Mary, He is the first to be born from a chaste conception (step 15). Moreover, Christ proclaims ἀφιλαργυρία (Matt. 19:21).

Step 17: Contrary to the title of this step, the summary seems rather to continue the topic of the previous step. The generosity of the ascender (step 17) is the consequence of his victory over avarice (step 16). Compare with *Gr.* 17 of PG (Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης). Nevertheless, αἴσθησις τῶν γινομένων is present in this summary; in this case, however, the poet, and not the ascender, is a model of the respective virtue. Οὐκ ἠγνόησα implies that the poet does not suffer from insensibility. Also φυλοκρινῶ underlines his understanding. Finally, also v. 135 refers to (ἀν)αίσθησία. It points to the fact that the notion of generosity, as described in vv. 132–34, escapes the notion of many (i.e. the non-ideal ascenders). In this way, the poet deliberately intertwines the topics of *Gr.* 16 and *Gr.* 17, again showing the steps of the *Ladder* as a continuum, and not as separate obstacles.

Step 18: *Gr.* 18 is not confined to psalmody only, but also (and more extensively) discusses sleep and prayer. In this summary, psalmody is presented as the main topic. παραστάσει ξέναις (v. 139) refers to the monastic practice to stand up all night in prayer. κορδακισμός, a rare word, refers to the *dancing of the κόρδαξ*, which is a *dance of the old Comedy* (LSJ). The κόρδαξ is the opposite of serious prayer and psalmody. In Byzantium, the dance was known as a part of street festivals and was also associated with the licentious Slavic culture.²¹

Step 19: The summary of this step probably means that *you*, the ascender, become a mystery by the purity caused by the practice of ἀγρυπνία. By climbing higher on the ladder, the ascender comes closer to God. Hence, as the image of God on earth, he can become a mystery too.

Step 21: Ἄπερ could refer to the negative elements of the previous step in general (vv. 150–152). Then it is said that the demons *conceive a viper-like offspring*. Another option would be that it refers to the topic of this step in general, as if the title would be τὰ περὶ κενοδοξίας. The last child in the list of *viper-like offspring* (vv. 158–159) indeed refers to vainglory. ᾧ καλεῖται (*by which she is called*) can be interpreted as *by her name*. κeno-δοξία shows her nature by her name.

Step 22: Vainglory (step 21) leads to *the denial of God*²² and *the envy of men*, i.e. to pride (step 22) (v. 160). The denial of God has to be understood as the denial of God's help, and not as an atheistic statement.

²¹ Johannes Koder, 'Kordax, der Tanz der Slaven', in *Ethnoslavica. Festschrift Gerhard Neweklowsky zum 65. Geburtstag. Wiener Slavistischer Almanach, Sonderband 65* (Vienna: Slavistischer Almanach, 2006), p. 119.

²² Cf. PG 88.965 *Gr.* 23, ll. 4–7.

Step 24: Wickedness is strengthened as a consequence of not confessing your sins (Ἐντεῦθεν = vv. 170–71). After a list of evils, the poet asks for a remedy (v. 177). The answer, a list of cures, will be given in the summary of the next step.

Step 26: Vv. 184–85 are versification of a particular sentence of *Gr.* 26 (PG 88.1017, ll. 22–24): Οὗτος ὁρος, λόγος τε καὶ νόμος πνευμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐν σαρκὶ εὐσεβῶς τελειουμένων. From this passage, it is clear that the poet probably meant λόγος as a *rule* and not as a step of the *Ladder*. However, the ambiguity remains. Vv. 186–89 present the content of the law: non-judgment, discernment, hatred against evil, and obedience.

Step 27: Vv. 194–195 are based on *Gr.* 27 (PG 88.1100, ll. 35–40), where it is said that Paul was able to ‘penetrate to the very depth of the mysteries’ because ‘he was caught up into Paradise, as into stillness’,²³ This revelation enabled Paul to preach and to travel from city to city in order to convert pagans (vv. 194–95).

Step 28: Ἦν seems to resume ἤς (v. 194), which is ἡσυχία (v. 193). In this way, the connection between the steps is stressed again. A triad and a pair, standing for aspects of prayer, are said to establish stillness. The triad, I think, is στάσις, στεναγμός and λόγος (vv. 197–198). The pair then is φυλακή and συνοχή (v. 199). Vv. 196–99 are based on the vocabulary of the *Ladder*. στάσις ἀκλινης, for example, refers to ‘standing in prayer’.²⁴ σώματος κατακρίτου points to the fact that you should consider yourself standing trial before God as before a judge.²⁵

Step 30: The title of this step differs from that of PG (88.1154) and Sophr.: Περὶ τοῦ συνδέσμου τῆς ἐναρέτου τριάδος ἐν ἀρεταῖς, stressing the union of the three Christian virtues: hope, faith and love.²⁶ Indeed the summary of *Gr.* 30 in Poem 2 focuses on the union of man with God, which is also a topic of *Gr.* 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35–38). You will unite with Him by attaching the image of the Lord (i.e. *you*, as a human being) to the Lord. In the summary of *Gr.* 30, this idea appears twice: v. 210: Θεῶ προσάψεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα and v. 213: τῇ δὲ Τριάδι τριάδα

²³ Contrast II Corinthians 12:2–5, where Paul explicitly mentions that he is not the one who was caught up into Paradise. However, it is commonly accepted that Paul made this distinction because of humility, in order not to credit himself of his divine prophecy. Cf. M. J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005: 846–47); G. A. Buttrick and others, *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York / Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1953), X, p. 406.

²⁴ For example, PG 88.1109, l. 30.

²⁵ For example, PG 88.1132, ll. 7–9.

²⁶ Discussed at the beginning of *Gr.* 30 (PG 88.1153, l. 4–1156, l. 9).

συναγάγοις. Here, *τριάδα* (v. 213) refers to the tripartite human being, namely mind, body and soul. These three parts are also implied in v. 15 of Poem 4.

It is no coincidence that the Trinity appears in the last verse of this summary of the *Ladder*. This reminds of love, the Queen (who is a King), that is found at the top of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1160, l. 36–1161, l. 15).

Epilogue: “*Η* (v. 214) clearly refers back to *Τριάδι* (v. 213). In order not to disturb the reader, the title was placed in the margin in *M* and *N*, and in our edition. The holy father (v. 221) who intercedes for the reader of the *Ladder* is probably Klimax himself. The *hapax legomena* of vv. 222–23 refer to his rhetorical qualities, or maybe to his literary skills in general.

Poem 3

The third poem of the cycle takes the form of a colophon.²⁷ The end of the *Ladder* is announced (v. 1) from the point of view of its readers (vv. 2–5). The *παθοκτόνοι* (v. 5) are the same as the *σαρκοκτόνοι* (v. 3). Their most important feature is that they are minds (*νόες* v. 6) that strive for renewal. It might be significant that soul (*ψυχή*), body (*σάρξ*) and mind (*νοῦς*) are mentioned in three of these compounds. The author seems to stress that of this human triad the mind is the greatest. Thanks to the ascetic exercises provided by the reading of Klimax’s work, the ascenders have abandoned their old life, are renewed and lifted up (vv. 7–10).

There follows an invocation to Klimax, who is asked to grant the scribe and/or the patron to ascend the ladder. From v. 14 onwards the manuscripts provide different closings. Clearly, the version of *MNL*, preserving the names of both Johns (i.e. John the writer and John Komnenos), is the original one. The versions of *P*, *R* and *V* provide later adaptations and updates. In *MNL*, the first John is John the writer (v. 15), who is humbly described as a sinner.²⁸ John Komnenos, by contrast, is praised for his noble descent (vv. 16–18).²⁹

²⁷ For an extended discussion of Poem 3 and its different versions, see Meesters, *The Afterlife of John Klimax*, and R. Ricci and R. Meesters, *A Metrical Colophon on John Klimax’ Ladder of Divine Ascent*, in *Medieval Texts on Byzantine Art and Aesthetics vol. 3. From Alexios I Komnenos to the Rise of Hesychasm (1081 – c. 1330)*, ed. by C. Barber and F. Spingou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

²⁸ On the typical self-denying way in which the ‘Schreibermönche’ portrayed themselves, see C. Wendel, ‘Die ταπεινότης des griechischen Schreibermönches’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), 259–66.

²⁹ Moreover, Komnenos is called *χαριτώνυμος* (v.18), which PGL translates as *named after grace*, adding ‘i.e. with a name derived from Hebr. קַרְן’. The Hebrew name קַרְן,

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that there is a book epigram on Klimax which displays remarkable similarities to Poem 3:³⁰

Αὐτὴ κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος·
κλίμαξ ἐφ' ἣν χωροῦσιν οἱ θεῖοι νόες,
ἦν ὡς λίθοις ἡγειρας ἐν στερροῖς λόγοις.

This is the ladder that runs to heaven:
a ladder on which divine minds proceed,
which you erected with words solid as stones.

It is hard to tell which one of both texts came first and possibly influenced the other one. Although the oldest manuscripts in which this book epigram was preserved, the Batoped. 348 and the Timiou Staurou 93, date to the thirteenth century, it is not impossible that the epigram was composed earlier. The date of composition of book epigrams is notoriously hard to pin down.³¹ One should indeed take both options into consideration. The first verse of both poems is quite similar. The concept of minds ascending the ladder appears in both poems. Verse 3 of the book epigram closely resembles v. 12 of Poem 3. The book epigram could be an abridged version of Poem 3 or Poem 3 could be an expanded version of the book epigram.

Poem 4

As the title of the poem suggests, it is preserved at the end of the manuscripts (see p.293). The note in prose at the end indeed mentions that the poem follows upon the treatise *To the Shepherd*. However, there is no further link with this text. The final poem of the cycle is a long prayer to the Trinity. The Trinitarian motive, however, seems recurrent in the

which is the origin of the Greek name *Ἰωάννης*, incorporates indeed *יח*, which means *grace* or *charm* (*חָרִים*). Cf. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Subsequently revised by W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm with Assistance from B. Hartmann – Z. Ben-Hayyim – E. Y. Kutscher – P. Reymond. Translated and edited under the Supervision of M. E. J. Richardson.* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), s.v. *יח*, *יחִי*.

³⁰ Preserved in Jerusalem Timiou Staurou 93 fol. 164^{r-v} (thirteenth century); Mt. Athos Batoped. 348 (thirteenth century), at the end of the manuscript; Monac. gr. 114 fol. 182^v (first half fourteenth century). Cf. DBBE (consulted 15.03.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259>. Translation by the author.

³¹ Cf. Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, 2 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003–), I, pp. 198–200; F. Bernard and K. Demoen, *Book Epigrams*, in *Brill's Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. by W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby and N. Zagklas (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

cycle. The theme appears in some crucial passages, i.e. in the central section of Poem 1 and the end of Poem 2, as a sort of preparation to Poem 4, where the Trinity is a central topic.

Although containing some digressions, the poem's structure is logically built up. It opens with an invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1–11). Four requests are formulated: 1) request for help (vv. 12–14); 2) request to unite with the Trinity (vv. 15–17); 3) request for the remembrance of death and balance (vv. 18–45);³² 4) request for enlightenment (vv. 46–49). In the following section, the narrator motivates his requests by explaining their goal in two final clauses: 1) in order to have the Trinity in the heart (vv. 50–51); 2) in order to recognize the tricks of the devil (vv. 52–59). Thereafter follows a digression on the devil. First the hypocrisy of the devil (vv. 60–73) is discussed; then his epithets (vv. 74–105). Two rhetorical questions follow on who might see through the devil's tricks (vv. 106–19). If the narrator were Paul, he would be able to slay the devil (vv. 120–122). However, he is not Paul, but he is weak (vv. 123–25). Hence, he can only conclude his prayer with some final requests, asking the devil's cutting and his own salvation (vv. 126–32). Only in the last verses, the name of the poetic I, John Komnenos, is revealed (vv. 133–34).

Invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1–11): V. 1 is quite strange as an opening verse. In N, it appears as the last line on fol. 417^r, accompanied by the title in the right margin. This is probably the reason why it was not mentioned as the incipit of the poem in the catalogue.³³ A palaeographical detail makes this opening verse even more suspect: the first letter of this verse was written in black first and was later overwritten in red by the same hand. Moreover, the repetition of *καλῶν* is quite remarkable and does not sound elegant. In both N and L, there is a dot between the two occurrences of *καλῶν*. Besides, it is not clear what *Τούτων* refers to. Perhaps there was a constituent, comparable to *δότα*,³⁴ appearing on a hypothetical preceding verse. There are yet two other arguments in favour of this hypothesis. Firstly, we find three pairs of three verses in vv. 3–11 (vv.

³² Possibly, the problematic v. 26 blurs our view on the structure of the surrounding verses.

³³ Archimandrite Vladimir and Xénia Grichine, *Description systématique des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Synodale Patriarcale de Moscou. Tome III, grec 181 à grec 241* (Paris, 1995), p. 239. The appearance of Poem 4 in L is even unnoticed in the catalogues.

³⁴ *δότα*, both in N and L, is abbreviated as *δότ*. Regarding the many vocatives in vv. 3–11, we opted to interpret it as a vocative.

3–5 + vv. 6–8 + vv. 9–11).³⁵ An extra verse at the beginning could form a fourth group of three verses together with vv. 1–2, which would be a stylistic improvement. Secondly, the note in prose at the end mentions 135 verses, which is one verse more than the 134 preserved in N.

Four requests to the Trinity (vv. 12–49): After praying for support in general (first request: vv. 12–14), the servant asks the Trinity to bind his three parts (Τὸ τριμερές μου) *together with the triple Trinity* (second request vv. 15–17). Turpin explains that ascetics perceived mind, body and soul as a triad.³⁶ By wishing to bind one's own tripartite being together with the Trinity, one wishes a unification with the Trinity itself.³⁷

After the second request (to unite with the Trinity), the third request (on the remembrance of death) does not come as a surprise. Vv. 19–20, constructed as a chiasm, provide an explanation of death. ἀποδημίας and ἐκδημίας can mean both *exile* and *death* (PGL). κηδαρικῆς and ταβερναλῆς are *hapax legomena*. κηδαρικῆς derives from Κηδάρ, which has three meanings: 1) Kedar in Hebrew is קֶדָר, which derives from קָדַר (*to become dark*);³⁸ 2) Kedar is the second son of Ismaël (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); 3) it is the name of a nomadic Arabic tribe that flourished from the eighth to fourth centuries B.C. In Jer. 2:10, it is metaphorically used to refer to the east. ταβερναλῆς, just as κηδαρικῆς, is an adjective derived from a noun, *in casu* the Latin *tabernaculum*.³⁹

Why are Kedar and the tabernacle mentioned in the context of exile and/or death? I think that vv. 19–20 metaphorically stand for the alienation of man from God; especially, the alienation of the human body from God. In Greek, the word for tabernacle is σκηνή, which metaphorically refers to the body (PGL). A clear example is found in II Corinthians 5:1–10, where the human body is compared to an earthly tent, an image of the heavenly tent by which it should be covered. Paul stresses that the

³⁵ Also in the next part of the poem, groups of three verses can be discerned (certainly vv. 12–14 and vv. 15–17, and perhaps even further on).

³⁶ K. Turpin, 'Asceticism [lemma]', in *Encyclopedia of Christian Education*, ed. by G. T. Kurian and M. A. Lampert (Lanham / Boulder / New York / London: Maryland Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), I, p. 79.

³⁷ The union of man with God already appeared in Poem 2 (vv. 210, 213 and title of step 30). In the *Ladder*, it appears in *Gr.* 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35–38) and at the beginning of *Gr.* 28 (PG 88.1129, ll. 5–6).

³⁸ Koehler and Baumgartner, s.v. קָדַר. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* (4.4, ll. 21–22; SC 119): Τὸ γὰρ σκότος τῆ Ἑβραίων φωνῆ "κηδάρ" ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν.

³⁹ ταβερναλῆς is then not the only Latin loan in the cycle. See ὠρίων (Poem 2 v. 12), which derives from *horreum*. Cf. PGL s.v. ὄριον.

body ascends to heaven and is not left behind. Also Kedar, as it refers to a nomadic tribe, appears frequently in the Old Testament related to tents. A close parallel is found in *Psalm* 119:5: οἶμοι, ὅτι ἡ παροιμία μου ἐμακρύνθη, κατεσκήνωσα μετὰ τῶν σκηνομάτων Κηδαρ. It seems that Kedar metaphorically stands for the sinful world in which man is alienated from God. Interestingly, John Chrystom in his commentary on *Psalm* 119 refers to II Corinthians 5:1–10 (PG 55.341, ll. 34–44). He explains that these biblical passages are a metaphor for life itself, i.e. the alienation of man from God because of life. Probably, vv. 19–20 have a similar implication. The remembrance of death implies the remembrance of life. Life is banishment from God. Death is the journey home.

Together with the remembrance of death, the narrator asks for the destruction of his insensibility (vv. 21–24) and for perseverance (v. 25). Apparently, v. 25 is a versification of a Byzantine paraphrase (henceforth Paraphrase 1) of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carmen* II,1,50, v. 106.⁴⁰ Intriguingly, vv. 30–45 closely correspond to the paraphrase of vv. 107–112 of the same poem. This means that the reworking of Paraphrase 1 is interrupted by vv. 26–29.⁴¹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the first verse of this interruption gives an incomprehensible text and has only 11 syllables.⁴² Since we were not able to find a convincing conjecture for ἐκτέρων, we placed cruces. However, I cautiously suggest ἐκατέρων. This could fit in with vv. 30–45, where the request for measure is made by praying to be saved from two extreme opposites. Maybe ἐκατέρων could point to these two extremes.

Another conjecture for v. 26 was proposed by Marc De Groote: οἷων κελεύης ἂν δ' ἐκῶν φέρων, μέγα, which we would translate as 'such as You command, while you bear them willingly, You, Great One.' This would refer to Christ who, willingly, suffered for our sins. In this verse, however, the *Binnenschluß* separates κελεύης from ἂν, which seems unlikely. Therefore we opted not to accept this conjecture.

The image of the stream of a river, which stands for the confession of sins (vv. 27–29), is clearly borrowed from *Ecclus.* 4:23–26: μὴ κωλύσης λόγον ἐν καιρῷ χρείας· (...) μὴ βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ. Hence, τῶν ἀκουσίων,

⁴⁰ In her PhD-dissertation Ricceri published two Byzantine paraphrases of *Carmen* II,1,50. Only the first one is directly relevant for our cycle. Cf. Rachele Ricceri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, carm. II,1, 50. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Ghent / Rome, 2013), pp. 237–47.

⁴¹ On the paraphrase and the influence of Gregory on the cycle, see below (pp. 402–406).

⁴² Maybe it is also significant that v. 26 is the first verse on fol. 418^v in N (i.e. fol. 418^r according to our reconstruction).

echoing ἀβούλων (v. 25), may correspond to the sins mentioned in Ecclus. 4:26. Regarding the content, the Trinity cannot be the subject of βιάσης (v. 28) and δώσεις (v. 29): the Trinity would take the place of the sinner in Ecclus. If these verses are not a real interpolation, they can perhaps be understood as a side-note. The expression of v. 28 also appears in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 178.4:⁴³ Τὸ δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι ροῦν ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἡ παροιμία κελεύει.⁴⁴ Although there is, at first sight, no direct link with Poem 4, it might be relevant that the expression gained the status of a proverb. γὰρ (v. 28) might point to the proverbial use of the expression here. Vv. 28–29 are then an encouragement in general to v. 27.

In vv. 30–45, the narrator utters his request for balance, based on Paraphrase 1. The two extremes that are to be avoided are levity (vv. 30, 32) and despondency (vv. 31, 33). The passage on the metaphor of the ships repeats this message. The light ship (v. 38) stands for levity and is explained in vv. 40–41. The heavy ship (v. 39) stands for despondency and is explained in vv. 42–43. Again, corresponding to vv. 34–36, the narrator asks for a fair punishment (vv. 44–45).

Two final clauses (vv. 50–59): In v. 58, the devil is said to rage *against us with the necessities of life*. This refers to the fact that some actions are necessary to remain alive, such as eating and sleeping, but they are a slippery slope leading to excess and sin.

Digression on the devil (vv. 60–105): κλυτοτέχνης (v. 76) is a Homeric epithet of Hephaistos. Just as the god forged works of art in his smithy, the devil shapes forgeries. In vv. 78–80, the narrator humbly admits that, since he is not able to see all tricks of the devil, he is only able to name a limited number of them. This, however, is sufficient to characterize the devil himself (v. 80).⁴⁵ Probably, εὔρον (v. 79) refers to the heuristics of the poet. The list of names that follow is indeed a list he found in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carm.* II,1,55 vv. 3–4 (PG 37. 1399): Κλῶψ, ὄφι, πῦρ, Βελίη, κακίη, μόρε, χάσμα, δράκων, θήρ, / Νύξ, λόχε, λύσσα, χάος, βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε. Except for Κλῶψ, each noun of this passage, is elaborated in one verse of our poem. Vv. 97–105 correspond to vv. 5–6 of *Carm.* II,1,55. Gregory tells that the *murderer* (ἀνδροφόνε) brought death to the forefathers (πρωτογόνοισιν). In Poem 4, ἀνδροφόνε is clearly interpreted as Cain, who has become an instrument of the devil.

⁴³ Ed. Paul Galloway, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols (Paris: les Belles lettres, 1964–67).

⁴⁴ Compare also with Gregory, *Carm.* II,1,83 vv. 21–22 (PG 37.1430).

⁴⁵ LSJ (s.v. ὄνυξ): 'ἐξ ὄνυγων λέοντα (sc. τεκμαίρεσθαι) to judge by the claws, i.e. by a slight but characteristic mark.'

Two rhetorical questions (vv. 106–19): On v. 113, the devil appears as Λοξίας, which is an epithet for Apollo (LSJ), related to the adjective λοξός (*slanting* and hence also metaphorically *ambiguous* LSJ). Here it is used again to refer to the hypocritical character of the devil.

Closing (vv. 120–34): The following passage seems to give a possible answer to the rhetorical questions: Paul could see through the tricks of the devil. After the *irrealis*, the narrator returns to reality and stresses his own weakness – a *topos* of humility. It reminds of the humility at the beginning of the prayer (cf. v. 14). The ring composition of ἀναλκις (v. 123), contrasting παναλκίης (v. 2), announces the end of the poem. The narrator offers his unworthy tongue, metonymically standing for his supplication / poem, to the Lord. Moreover, he asks the devil's cutting (τομήν v. 127), which might be understood as his castration (cf. Montanari s.v. τομή).

The Presence of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Cycle

The cycle is full of intertextual references, which are sometimes crucial to fully understand the composition. In addition to frequent biblical allusions and the obvious presence of Klimax in the verse summary in Poem 2, it is impossible to fail to notice the influence of Gregory of Nazianzus (especially in Poems 2 and 4), whose presence is an argument in favour of the unity of the cycle.

Gregory of Nazianzus' Presence in Poem 2

Gregory's poems play an important role in the prologue to Poem 2. Vv. 1–15 are based on *Carm.* II,2,1. However, as mentioned above, vv. 2–5 are based on Strabo, and vv. 6–8 in fact go back to Chrysostom. This is an indication that the author did not strictly follow Gregory's poems. Moreover, it seems that vv. 34, 36 and 38 are based on a passage from Gregory's *Or.* 1, indicating that the author was familiar with the Theologian's prose works as well.

Carm. II,2,1 is entitled Πρὸς Ἑλλήνιον περὶ τῶν μοναχῶν προτροπικόν and is a request to Hellenios 'to grant freedom from taxation to a particular group of monks'.⁴⁶ This poem is also, just as the *Ladder*, a praise of the monastic life (e.g. *Carm.* II,2,1 vv. 53–84). There is yet another

⁴⁶ D. A. Sykes, 'Reflections on Gregory Nazianzen's *Poemata quae spectant ad alios*', in *Papers of the 1983 Oxford Patristics Conference. Studia Patristica. Vol. 18 (3)*, ed. by E. A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters 1984), 551–56 (p. 551).

connection between Gregory's poem and the *Ladder*. In vv. 171–188, a certain Theognios ascends the ladder that was once seen by Jacob.

Gregory of Nazianzus' presence in Poem 4

Why is a poem that is part of a cycle on John Klimax built out of references to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus? We have to be well aware of Gregory's popularity in Byzantium and of his influence on its literary production in general and on poetry in particular.⁴⁷ The Byzantines associated Gregory with his theological work; hence his epithet δ Θεολόγος.⁴⁸ He was especially important for the fixation of the dogma's on the Trinity, which found their way to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in 451.⁴⁹ Also his poems were used for theological purposes. For example, the so-called *Doctrina Patrum*, a dogmatic florilegium from the eighth century, assembles several verses from different poems by Gregory, a.o. *Carm.* I,1,1 (on the Father) and *Carm.* I,1,2 (on the Son).⁵⁰ Similarly, Poem 4, addressing the Trinity, contains several borrowings from Gregory.

Curiously, Poem 4 does not only borrow from Gregory, but also of paraphrases of his works. In fact, Poem 4 contains the first known case of a paraphrase of one of Gregory's poems that was transformed again into poetry: a transition from elegiacs, to prose, to dodecasyllables. This does not necessarily mean that it is the only case. The Homeric language of Gregory's poems required commentaries and paraphrases in order to remain understandable for their readers. As a result, several anonymous paraphrases are preserved

⁴⁷ For a discussion of Gregory's influence on the literary production, see Christos Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 2009), pp. 57–79. Cf. Nigel G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, (London: Medieval Academy Of Ameri, 1996), p. 23; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), II, p. 159; Andreas Rhoby, 'Aspekte des Fortlebens des Gregor von Nazianz in byzantinischer und postbyzantinischer Zeit', in *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*. Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., ed. by M. Grünbart (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2007), XIII, pp. 409–17. See also Kristoffel Demoen and Emilie M. van Opstall, 'One for the Road: John Geometres, Reader and Imitator of Gregory Nazianzen's Poems', in A. Schmidt (ed.), *Studia Nazianzenica II*. Turnhout 2010, 223–48; Nikos Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus: Appropriation in the Service of Self-representation', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 40 (2016), 223–42.

⁴⁸ On the implications and evolution of this title, see Rhoby, *Gregor von Nazianz*, p. 410.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Louth, *St Gregory the Theologian and Byzantine Theology*, in *Re-reading Gregory of Nazianzus. Essays on History, Theology, and Culture*, ed. by C. A. Bealey (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 252–66, (p. 252); B. E. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (London / New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 41–42.

⁵⁰ Tuilier, Bady and Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire CLX–CLXI*.

in the manuscripts. Simelidis also points to the importance of paraphrases for didactic purposes.⁵¹ They are not only useful for present day editors of Gregory's poems, but they also give an indication of the popularity, circulation, and reception of the poems.⁵² Unfortunately, most paraphrases are not yet published, nor discussed. Therefore it is almost impossible to guarantee completeness in the list of intertextual references to these paraphrases.

Below, I provide a rough overview of the intertextual references to Gregory in Poem 4:⁵³

- 2-10 ≈ *Carm.* I,1,3 vv. 43, 60, 72-73, 87-88
 25 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,50 v. 106 (Paraphr. 1)
 30-45 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,50 vv. 107-12 (Paraphr. 1) 40 ὕβριστῆς κόρος
 cf. *Carm.* I,2,16 v. 15, *Carm.* I,2,31 v. 25, *Carm.* II,1,1 v. 40 45 ≈ *Carm.*
 II,1,50 vv. 112
 46-51 ≈ *Carm.* I,2,31 vv. 5-6
 52-56 cf. *Carm.* I,2,31 vv. 19-20
 58 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1 vv. 50, 52
 61 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1 v. 52
 63 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1 vv. 53-54
 64-66 cf. *Carm.* I,2,29 vv. 55-58 (+ Aesopic fable)
 68-73 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1 vv. 56-60 72-73 cf. *Carm.* II,1,83 vv. 7-8
 84-97 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,55 vv. 3-4
 97-105 cf. *Carm.* II,1,55 vv. 5-6 (+ Gen. 4:1-8)
 126-127 cf. *Carm.* II,1,11 vv. 984-85

From this list it is clear that Gregory of Nazianzus was a main source for this poem. When we look to the way in which Gregory's poems are used, we see – at least as far as we can see – that the author did not use them consistently.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus*, pp. 75-79.

⁵² Ricceri, p. 233; Palla, pp. 128-29.

⁵³ For a discussion of the position of these Gregorian poems in Werhahn's poem groups, see PhD-dissertation Meesters (2017). Werhahn classified Gregory's poetic oeuvre into 20 poem groups, based on the more or less fixed order in which the poems occur in the manuscripts. Cf. W. Höllger, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz, 1: Die Gedichtgruppen XX und XI*. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. Neue Folge, 2. Reihe: Forschungen zu Gregor van Nazianz. Vol. 3 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1985), pp. 17-34. Especially groups V and VIII seem to be relevant for our cycle.

⁵⁴ Compare with the poet's diverse approaches of summarizing the *Ladder* in the main part of Poem 2 (see above Verse Summary p. 390).

In the case of the opening passage, only vv. 3 and 5 echo particular words of Gregory. However, the entire opening of Poem 4 (vv. 2–10) breathes out the Gregorian concept of the Trinity as it appears in *Carm.* I,1,3. On v. 10, the opening is concluded by an expression that was clearly borrowed from Gregory.⁵⁵ Vv. 25, 30–45 are one long close transformation into dodecasyllables, not of *Carm.* II,1,50 vv. 106–12 itself, but of the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1. Vv. 46–51 of Poem 4 are clearly inspired by *Carm.* I,2,31 vv. 5–6 (v. 6 of *Carm.* I,2,31 being a direct source of v. 51 of Poem 4). Moreover, vv. 46–51 are also inspired by Jeremiah 7:11 / Matthew 21:13 and do not slavishly follow Gregory. The entire passage of vv. 58–73 is clearly inspired by *Carm.* II,1,1 vv. 50–62. However, near the beginning of this passage, only the words of vv. 58, 61 and 63 have clear correspondent words in Gregory's poem. Vv. 68–73, by contrast, present six verses in a row that consist of verbal borrowings from *Carm.* II,1,1. In vv. 84–97, the poet applies yet another strategy of using Gregory's poems. These 14 verses are an elaboration of only two verses of *Carm.* II,1,55 (vv. 3–4). The next verses, vv. 98–105, can be seen as an interpretation of the next two verses of *Carm.* II,1,55 (vv. 5–6).

Evaluation of Gregory's influence on Poem 4

The fact that Poem 4 opens with an invocation of the Trinity might be a first possible reason why a reference to *Carm.* I,1,3 follows.

Carm. II,1,50 and Poem 4 deal with the same topics. In *Carm.* II,1,50, the topic is Gregory's illness (cf. the title: Εἰς τὴν νόσον). Moreover, the last verse of *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 118, reflects Gregory's awareness of his approaching death. In Poem 4, vv. 25, 30–45 are similarly placed in the context of remembrance of death (Μνήμην θανάτου v. 18). It can also be noted that both texts function as a prayer. Of course, in the *corpus Nazianzenum* such themes are not exclusively present in *Carm.* II,1,50.

The verses of *Carm.* I,2,31, being part of one of Gregory's gnomic poems, are taken more easily out of their context.⁵⁶ It might be telling that the first verses of this poem deal with the ship/body-metaphor –

⁵⁵ *Carm.* I,1,3 v. 60 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14): ἐκ μονάδος Τριάς ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ Τριάδος μονὰς αἰθίς. Cf. Caroline Macé, 'Les citations de Grégoire de Nazianze dans l'*Edictum Rectae Fidei* de Justinien', *JOB*, 52 (2002): 89–93; J. L. Zecher, 'The Angelic Life in Desert and Ladder: John Climacus' Re-Formulation of Ascetic Spirituality', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 21.1 (2013), 111–36, (pp. 115 n. 11).

⁵⁶ Vv. 127–28 of *Carm.* I,2,32, another gnomic poem, are indeed frequently used as a book epigram. Cf. DBBE (consulted 15.03.2018), <www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/350>.

although it is widespread – which also appears in vv. 37–41 of Poem 4. Also the expression ὑβριστῆς κόρος appears some verses further on in *Carm.* I,2,31 (v. 25), and was borrowed in v. 40 of Poem 4. Verse 62, the last verse of *Carm.* I,2,31, also stresses the importance of the service of the Trinity, just as in v. 17 of Poem 4. But again, this topic is by no means exclusively found in *Carm.* I,2,31.

Carm. II,1,1 was one of Gregory's most popular poems; it could easily serve as an introduction to the Saint's life. The passage referred to in Poem 4 fits because of its reference to the devil.

Carm. II,1,55 is a short poem of only 24 vv. that is accompanied by the title Ἀποτροπή τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπίκλησις in the PG (37.1399). This title correctly describes the content of this poem which makes it a logical source of inspiration for Poem 4 that deals with the same theme.

Finally, the question remains: why does the poet use Paraphrase 1 and not *Carm.* II,1,50 itself? As may be clear from v. 45, the author of Poem 4 did know Gregory's poem.⁵⁷ Most probably, it is easier to transform a paraphrase in prose into dodecasyllabic verses, than it would be to start from an elegiac form. Clearly, the author had access to Gregory's poem and to Paraphrase 1, probably preserved together in one manuscript. It seems that he was not aware of Paraphrase 2, which confirms the observation by Ricceri that both paraphrases had a separate manuscript tradition.⁵⁸ In general, the traces of Paraphrase 1 in Poem 4 are interesting in themselves. They are an indication of how these paraphrases were used in Byzantium and they are a curious instance of the reception of Gregory's poems.

Abstract

This article provides a short commentary on the cycle of four poems on John Klimax, edited in the preceding article. The main goal is to clarify the structure of the poems and shed light on their meaning by discussing the most noteworthy intertextual references. The contribution concludes with a discussion of the important influence of Gregory of Nazianzus on this cycle.

⁵⁷ τίσιν seems to be taken directly from *Carm.* II,1,50 v. 112, and not from Paraphrase 1.

⁵⁸ Ricceri, p. 233.

GENERAL INDEX

- Aelian 253
 Aeschylus 75, 91, 93, 102-105
 Aesop 253, 254
 Agamemnon 76, 109-110
 Agapetos the Deacon 251-255
Akathist Hymn 188, 251
 Alexios Aristenos 50-52, 54, 63, 64
 Anacreontics 44, 49, 50, 52, 56,
 58, 59, 62, 67
 Andronikos Kamateros (author)
 124
 Andronikos Kontostephanos
 127-128
 Anna Komnene (Alexiad) 140,
 247 n. 3
 Aphthonios 92, 142 n. 161
 Apollonius of Tyana 88
 Aristoboulos Apostolis 97, 99
 Aristonikos 78
 Aristophanes 91, 109-110
 Aristotle 84, 86, 91-94
 (Pseudo-)Athanasios of Alexan-
 dreia 255
 Athenaeus 91
 Athens 1, 85, 89, 151
 Authorship 3, 8, 97, 115-117, 122,
 123, 211, 213, 217-231, 245
 n. 2, 252, 258, 261, 299-303
Auszeichnungsmajuskel 37
 Basil II 73, 90, 94
 Basil of Caesarea 252
 Basil of Seleucia 198 n. 31
Batrachomyomachia 6, 99-100,
 102, 106-110, 251-255
Bion Prasis 100, 105-106
 Book epigrams 6, 8, 23, 25 n. 48,
 28, 30, 33, 34-37, 45, 74, 86,
 87, 92, 93-94, 112, 115-117,
 124-126, 143, 155, 165 n.
 78, 261, 285-406
 Callimachus 43
 Canon (hymnographical form)
 7, 112, 211-244, 248, 250,
 252-253
 Catullus 43
 Chronicle 47 n. 22, 116, 117
 Christopher Mitylenaios 14, 23,
 32, 33 (also pseudo-Chr.
 Mityl.), 44, 45-46, 48, 56,
 67, 107, 253, 296
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus
 7, 75, 211-244
 Constantine IX Monomachos 23
 Constantine Kephala 44, 214,
 215, 225
 Constantine Manasses 2, 47 n. 22,
 110 n. 44, 113, 114, 116-
 117, 144
 Constantinople 1, 21 n. 37, 63,
 73, 76, 85 n. 52, 89, 111,
 115, 117, 119 n. 46, 122,
 125, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135
 n. 131, 202, 206, 212, 215,
 220, 225, 245 n. 5, 259-260
 Cosmas Melodos 217, 220, 221,
 223, 250
 Cosmas of Maiouma 224, 225
 Daniel of Raithou 289, 303
 Dedication 23, 115, 129 n. 105,
 229 n. 71

- Dedicatory epigram 126, 155
 Delphi 47
 Demetrios Staphidakes 7, 247,
 260-261
 Demetrios Triklinios 268
 Demosthenes 75, 91, 92
 Didactic poetry 2-3, 19-21
Digenis Akritis 2
 Diogenes Laertius 87
 Dodecasyllable 5-6, 13-41, 44, 45-
 46, 48-49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58,
 59, 60, 62, 64, 81, 98, 113,
 115-117, 263-264, 304-306,
 403, 405
 Donor 128-129, 166 no. 77, 169
 n. 88, 171 n. 97, 175, 177
 Drama 6, 78-81, 98-106, 109-110
 Ekphrasis 65 n. 82, 87, 142 n.
 161, 187 n. 10
 Elegiac couplets 44, 45, 49, 55,
 56, 62
 Elias of Crete 289
 Epictetus 252
 Epitaph 55-56, 59, 60-61, 66, 74,
 121 n. 56, 118-123, 151, 154
 Epithalamion 6, 62-63, 66
 Ethopoiia 65 n. 82, 74, 170, 171
 n. 97
Etymologicon 92
Etymologicum Genuinum 92
 Eudoxia (empress) 232
 Eumathios Macrembolites 120-
 121
 Eunuch 114-115, 127, 138-141,
 333, 393
 Euripides 15, 78-81, 91, 92, 93,
 105
 Eustathios of Thessalonica 249,
 252, 389 n. 4
 Euthymios Malakes 58
 Euthymios Tornikes 6, 52-55, 113
 n. 12
 Euthymios Zigabenos 124
Excerpta Constantini 75
Expositio fidei 255
 Friendship 167, 168, 170, 176,
 190
 Genre 2, 6, 7, 19, 43, 49, 55, 59,
 62, 67, 74, 83, 98, 100, 102,
 110, 123, 147-182, 247 n. 3
 Generic innovation or blend-
 ing 63-69, 98-110
 Genre theory 150-156
 George II Xiphilinos 112, 115,
 131
 George of Cyprus 259
 George Akropolites 259
 George Choiroboskos 252, 254
 George Pisides 14, 15, 23, 51 n. 37
 George (Gennadios) Scholarios
 118 n. 37
 George Skylitzes 213
 George Tornikes 131
Gnomai 81
 Grammar 20, 30, 33, 34, 217, 248,
 269
Greek Anthology 44-45, 75, 81-84,
 225
 (Pseudo-)Gregentios of Taphar
 131
 Gregory of Bulgaria 252
 Gregory (Pardos) of Corinth 15,
 21, 249
 Gregory of Nazianzus 24, 90, 92,
 108, 248, 252, 253, 302,
 389, 400, 402-406
 Gregory Chioniades 252
 Hermes 105-106, 142
 Herodotus 389
 Hesiod 92 n. 84

- Hexameter 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50,
52, 54, 55, 59-60, 62, 65, 67,
74, 76, 98, 115-116
- Hippiatrica* 87
- Hipponax 20
- Homer 75, 76-78, 91, 92, 93, 97-
110, 248, 253, 255
- Homocentones* 252
- Horologion of Thekaras* 261
- Hymnography 5, 16, 32 n. 76,
211, 215, 226, 227, 230 n.
79, 233, 234, 248
- Iamblichus 84
- Ignatios the Deacon 45, 55, 59
- Intertextuality 105-108, 302, 311,
387, 389, 390, 402-406
- Iliad* 75-78, 100, 102, 108-110
- Inscriptions 30, 37 no. 96, 45,
55-56, 58, 60-62, 95, 115,
117, 118-123, 126-138, 151,
155, 260
- Ioannikios the monk 17, 18, 250
- Isaac II Angelos 52-54, 58, 63, 111,
113 no. 12, 118, 124, 129 no.
105, 130, 133-138, 143
- Isaac Tzetzēs 47
- Isidore Pelousiotes 252, 291
- Isocrates 252
- John II Komnenos 60-62, 64-65,
66
- John Botaneiates 18, 19
- John Chortasmenos 291
- John Chrysostom 198 n. 29, 211-
244, 292, 302, 387, 389, 400
- John Geometres 45, 73-95, 255
- John Hagiophlorites 121-123
- John Klimax 8, 285-406
- John Mauropous 14, 24, 27-28,
45-46
- John of Damascus 86, 198 n. 29,
245-282, 255
- John of Raithou 291
- John Pediasimos Pothos 7, 251,
252, 253, 258-260, 267
- John Stavrakios 259
- John Stobaeus 78
- John the Monk 224
- John Tsimiskēs 73
- John Tzetzēs 2, 20, 46, 113, 253
- John Zonaras 249
- Joseph Rhakendytes 21
- Justinian I 226, 230
- Kastamon 64-65
- Katomyomachia* 6, 97-110
- Krinagoras 82
- Leo VI 226
- Leo Choirosphaktes 304 n. 70
- Letters (both in prose and verse)
7, 46, 55, 59, 107-108, 112,
127 n. 93, 128, 142 n. 161,
147-182, 187 n. 10, 195,
259, 260, 261, 286
- Libanius 91, 92, 94, 251, 253
- Lucian 100
- Lycophron 91
- Manganeios Prodromos 6, 59, 63-
64, 149, 156, 175, 205 n. 40
- Manuel I Komnenos 59, 65, 111,
112, 113, 136
- Manuel II Palaiologos 226
- Manuel Anemas 59
- Manuel Holobolos 259
- Manuel Moschopoulos 250, 251,
252, 253, 255
- Manuel Philes 3, 132, 147-181,
183-207, 251
- Mark Eugenikos 249-250, 252
- Markianos of Bethlehem 291

- Maximos Planoudes 15-16, 252,
 253, 254
 Menander 81-84, 91
 Metrics 13-41, 31 n. 69, 34, 233,
 263-264, 304-306
Metron 24
 Michael Choniates 89-90
 Michael Doukas Glabas Tarcha-
 neiotēs 160
 Michael Glykas 149, 156, 175
 Michael Haploucheir 252
 Michael Psellos 1, 15, 17, 18, 46,
 250
Miracula Demetrii 253
 Monody 55-50, 66-67, 120, 260
 Muses 52-53, 63
 Nebuchadnezzar 199-200
 Neilos II, Abbot of Grottaferrata
 35
 Nicaea 1
 Nicholas Kallikles 98
 Nikephoros Basilakes 68, 140
 Nikephoros Phokas 73
 Niketas David the Paphlagonian
 228
 Niketas Eugenianos 6, 47, 59, 62,
 63
 Nonnus 91, 264, n. 69
Odyssey 108
 Olympus 77-78
 Orion of Thebes 92
 Panegyrics 49-55, 66, 156, 192
 Paratext 8, 36, 117, 152, 155, 157,
 159, 165, 285, 287, 295,
 302, 308
 Patronage 175, 190, 206
 Pepagomenos (physician) 166 no.
 77, 202-205, 207
 Performance 25, 38, 52, 54, 59,
 66, 137, 140, 163, 222 n. 41,
 247, 262
 Philippos Monotropos 46 n. 22,
 255
 Philostratos 94
 (Pseudo-)Phocylides 252
 Pindar 24, 91
 Plato 83, 84, 85, 91, 92, 93, 94
 Plutarch 91, 92
Poikilia 44, 64, 67, 68
 Political verse 52, 54 n.47, 59, 64,
 65, 230, 264 n. 70
 Porphyry 3, 84, 92, 94
 Progymnasmata 74, 142 n. 161,
 154
 Proclus of Constantinople 189
 Ptochoprodromos 149, 156, 175,
 176 n. 120, 205 n. 40
 Pythagoras 84
Rhodanthe and Dosikles 47, 121,
 n. 58
 Rhythm 6, 13-41, 58, 63, 68, 233
 Romanos II 222
 Romanos Melodos 188, 217 n. 26
 Satire 100, 101, 102 n. 27, 156,
 174
 Self-representation 127, 165 n.
 67, 170-171, 174
 Selymbria 76
Schede toy Myos 97, n. 4, 107
 Schedography 7, 115, 138-143,
 251, 254, 255
Schedos 50 n. 33, 140, 142, 154,
 250, 253, 254
Scheinprosodie 16, 18, 20
Sibylline Oracles 253
 Simonides 45

- Simplicius 84, 94
 Sirens 90, 142
 Sophocles 75, 93, 94
 Strabo 389, 402
 Souda 75, 92, 93, 147 n. 2, 155,
 28
 Stephen Komnenos 119-120
 Symeon of Thessalonica 247, 261-
 263, 264
 Symeon the New Theologian 45
Theatron 110, 140, 163 no. 62
 Theodore II Laskaris 226
 Theodore Balsamon 111-145
 Theodore and Theophanes Grap-
 toi 47 n. 22
 Theodore Hyrtakenos 166
 Theodore Patrikiotes 166-167,
 196-200, 206
 Theodore Prodromos 6, 17, 29,
 33, 44, 47, 49-55, 60-65,
 97-110, 113, 116, 128, 149,
 156, 175, 176 n. 120, 205 n.
 40, 249, 251, 252
 Theodore Stoudites 118 n. 37,
 127, 142 n. 161
 Theodoretus of Cyrus 255
 Theodosios of Alexandria 253
 Theon 84, 91
 Theophilos 226, 230
 Theophylaktos of Ohrid 57-58,
 67
 Theophylaktos Simokates 253
 Thessalonica 1, 7, 130, 245-247,
 259-261, 267-269
 Thomas Magistros 252, 268
 Thucydides 142
 Timocreon of Rhodes 45
 Trichas 20
War of Troy 255
 Xenophon 87, 91, 92, 93
 Zeus 98, 102, 106, 109

MANUSCRIPT INDEX

- Athens, Mouseio Mpenake
Cod. 75 (TA 152): 253-254
- Athens, Ethnike Bibliotheke tes
Hellados
Athen. 788: 219
Athen. 2047: 247, 261-262
Metochion tou Panagiou
Taphou no. 351: 166 n. 77
Metochion tou Panagiou
Taphou no. 441: 256
- Athos
Athon. Iber. 84: 253
Athon. Iber. 418: 288, 292
Athon. Meg. Laur. B 6: 213-
214
Athon. Meg. Laur. B 102: 288,
290-291
Athon. Meg. Laur. I 185: 216
Athon. Meg. Laur. Ω 126:
126-127
Athon. Xeropot. 116: 214
Athon. Vatoped. 314: 36
Athon. Vatoped. 1131: 216
- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del
Monasterio
Cod. gr. X.IV.8: 214
Cod. gr. X.IV.19: 254-255
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea
Laurenziana
Laur. Plut. 4.18: 30
Laur. Plut. 5.2: 115 n. 26
- Laur. Plut. 8.28: 37
Laur. Plut. 32.9: 75
Laur. Plut. 32.19: 166
Laur. Plut. 32.40: 93
Laur. Plut. 59.9: 75
Laur. Acquisti e Doni 341: 63
Laur. Conv. Soppr. 66: 93
- Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale
del Monumento Nazionale
Crypt. Δ.α.VII: 35
- Manchester, John Rylands UL
(olim coll. M. Gaster)
No. 1574: 288, 290
- Messina, Biblioteca Regionale
Universitaria "Giacomo
Longo"
Messan. gr. 30: 29
Messan. gr. 133: 33
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Ambr. gr. 52: 39
- Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj
Istoričeskij Muzej
Mosq. Synod. gr. 229 (Vlad.
192): 288-289
Mosq. Synod. gr. 480 (Vlad.
193): 288, 289-290
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
Neap. II C 37 (105): 252-253
Neap. Branc. IV A 5: 251-252

- Oxford, Bodleian Library
 Bodl. Auct. D.4.1: 29
 Bodl. Barocc. 96: 306
 Bodl. Barocc. 125: 38
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
 Paris. gr. 263: 245 n. 2
 Paris. gr. 2511: 139 n. 152
 Paris. gr. 2831: 51 n. 35
 Paris. gr. 2876: 166 n. 77
 Paris. suppl. gr. 352: 73-95
 Paris. Coislin. 28: 36
 Paris. Coislin. 264: 288, 291-292
- Patmos, Mone tou Hagiou Ioanou tou Theologou
 Patm. 194: 215
 Patm. 609: 215
 Patm. 806B: 215-216
- Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines
 Sin. gr. 551: 214
 Sin. gr. 552: 214
 Sin. gr. 556: 215
 Sin. gr. 644: 212
 Sin. gr. 1570: 212
 Sin. gr. 1609: 115 n. 26
- St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia
 Petropol. gr. 250 (Granstrem 454): 53
- Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek
 Cod. Mb 3: 255
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Vat. gr. 126: 33 n. 85
 Vat. gr. 165: 135-136
 Vat. gr. 305: 51, 60, 65 n. 82
 Vat. gr. 676: 27-28
 Vat. gr. 1357: 39
 Vat. gr. 1702: 29
 Vat. gr. 2299: 255
 Vat. Barb. gr. 150: 39
 Vat. Barb. gr. 520: 29, 33
 Vat. Ottob. gr. 96: 115 n. 26
 Vat. Ottob. gr. 248: 249 n. 12
 Vat. Pal. gr. 120: 288, 292-293
 Vat. Pal. gr. 173: 75
 Vat. Pal. gr. 302: 39
 Vat. Pal. gr. 320: 254
 Vat. Reg. gr. 1: 75
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
 Marc. gr. Z 454: 75
 Marc. gr. Z 524: 97-110, 113-144
 Marc. gr. XI 16: 254
 Marc. gr. XI 22: 59
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 Vindob. phil. gr. 216: 253
 Vindob. phil. gr. 250: 256
 Vindob. theol. gr. 203: 252
 Vindob. theol. gr. 287: 38

