APPENDIX I

The Poems of John Geometres

The poems of John Geometres can be found in a splendid thirteenth-century manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 352[1]. The first 150 folia of the manuscript contain various rhetorical texts and letters as well as Theodosios the Deacon's panegyric *The Capture of Crete*[2]. The last 32 folia contain, apart from the *Sylloge Parisina* (a collection of ancient epigrams), the following literary works by Geometres: *Progymnasmata* VI and II, *Hymns* I–V, various poems and the *Metaphrasis of the Odes*. In this part of the manuscript there are three major lacunas: between fol. 150ᵛ and 151ʳ, fol. 158ᵛ and 159ʳ, and fol. 166ᵛ and 167ʳ. Lacuna no. 1: at the bottom of fol. 150ᵛ we find an anonymous text, entitled ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας, of which only the first line is still extant in the manuscript; at the top of fol. 151ʳ we read προτιθέμενον ὡς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ τάξει, etc., which is line 27, 17 of *Progymnasma* VI[3]. Lacuna no. 2: the iambic poem Cr. 278, 21 breaks off at the bottom line of fol. 158ᵛ and is followed by an acephalous poem in elegiacs on fol. 159ʳ. Lacuna no. 3: at the bottom of fol. 166ᵛ we find a poem, entitled τετράστιχα, consisting of only two lines, and at the top of fol. 167ʳ we find the last verse of a famous epigram on St. Mary of Egypt. The last 32 folia of Par. Suppl. gr. 352 constitute four quaternions:

[lacuna no. 1]
quaternion I [fols. 151ʳ–158ᵛ]

fols. 151ʳ–152ᵛ	*Progymnasma* VI, starting from line 27, 17
fols. 152ᵛ–153ᵛ	*Progymnasma* II
fols. 153ᵛ–155ᵛ	*Hymns* I–V
fols. 155ᵛ–158ᵛ	poems Cr. 266, 1 to Cr. 280, 3

[lacuna no. 2]
quaternion II [fols. 159ʳ–166ᵛ]

fols. 159ʳ–166ᵛ	poems Cr. 280, 5 to Cr. 314, 15

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[1] Cramer 1841: 265–352.

[2] H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Supplément grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris 1883, 42–43. See also Criscuolo 1979: V–VI.

[3] See A.R. Littlewood, The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres. Amsterdam 1972.

[lacuna no. 3]

quaternion III [fols. 167ʳ–174ᵛ]

    fols. 167ʳ–174ᵛ   poems Cr. 314, 16 to Cr. 347, 19

quaternion IV [fols. 175ʳ–182ᵛ]

    fols. 175ʳ–176ʳ   poems Cr. 347, 20 to Cr. 352, 2

    fols. 176ʳ–179ʳ   *Metaphrasis of the Odes*

    fols. 179ʳ–182ᵛ   *Sylloge Parisina*

It is obvious that a number of quaternions have disappeared, but we are not able to estimate exactly how many: at least three (one at each lacuna), but possibly more. The last two lacunas already existed in the seventeenth century when Leo Allatius copied Geometres' poems from this very manuscript, which was in the Vatican library at the time (catalogued under number Vat. gr. 997)[4]. Allatius' copy can be found in his own hand-written anthology of Byzantine poems, Barb. gr. 74, fols. 46ʳ–77ʳ[5]. The first lacuna (between 158ᵛ and 159ʳ) did not escape his notice, for he added the word ζήτει in the margin[6]; but he overlooked the second one (between 166ᵛ and 167ʳ)[7]. There are also two other manuscripts by the hand of Allatius containing a small sample of Geometres' poems[8], and Cr. 305, 16 can be found in his *Excerpta Varia* published in 1641[9].

We can only guess which literary works by Geometres Par. Suppl. gr. 352 may originally have contained: almost certainly the other four *Progymnasmata*

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[4] See G. MERCATI, Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XIV–XIX. *StT* 164 (1952) 58, n. 2; and R. DEVREESSE, Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V. *StT* 244 (1965) 56, 91, 129, 168, 197, 248, 300, 342 and 449. The ms. was looted by the French in 1797.

[5] See the detailed description of the ms. in: V. CAPOCCI, Codices Barberiniani Graeci. Tomus I. Codices 1-163. Vatican 1958, 80–94. For the poems by Geometres on fol. 35ʳ, see below, n. 26.

[6] On fol. 53ᵛ: see CAPOCCI, 87. Par. Suppl. gr. 352, fol. 158ᵛ, has the same marginal note by the hand of a later scribe (Allatius?).

[7] See CAPOCCI, 91. On fol. 40ᵛ Allatius copied the text of the famous epigram on St Mary of Egypt from Vat. gr. 1126 and attributed it to Prosouch without noticing that its last line could be found in the Geometres manuscript lying on his writing desk.

[8] Barb. gr. 279, fol. 21ʳ, where we find Cr. 297, 2 and 315, 25, as well as a short biographical note by Allatius: ed. P. TACCHI-VENTURI, *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 14 (1893) 161–162. Codex Allatianus 135 of the Vallicellana library, at the end of the ms. (see E. MARTINI, Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane, I. Milan 1893, 225).

[9] L. ALLATIUS, Excerpta varia graecorum sophistarum ac rhetorum. Rome 1641, 399 (three epigrams on the Holy Cross by Nicholas of Corfu, Geometres and Philes). Athous Vatop. 1038 (a. 1768), fol. 101ᵛ, which contains these same three epigrams, goes back to Allatius' edition.

and probably most of the poems found in other manuscripts, but since we do not know the exact size of the lacunas, we cannot fully reconstruct the collection of Geometres' miscellaneous works. The collection must have been compiled before the public's interest in the persons and the historical events Geometres describes had dwindled. As one of the poems dates from 996–997 and as Geometres probably died around the year 1000[10], the collection of Geometres' literary works was published either at the very end of his life or posthumously. It is interesting to note that Par. Suppl. gr. 352 also contains another rare tenth-century text, the *Capture of Crete* by Theodosios the Deacon. As this panegyric was obviously of limited interest to later generations, it is not surprising that it is found in only one manuscript, Par. Suppl. gr. 352. It is reasonable to assume that the *Capture of Crete* and the collection of Geometres' miscellaneous works could be found together in an early eleventh-century manuscript, which is, either directly or indirectly, the source used by the scribe of Par. Suppl. gr. 352.

On fol. 167ʳ, immediately after the third lacuna, we read the line τὴν ζῶσαν ὡς ἄυλον ὕλῃ μὴ γράφε (Cr. 314, 16). This is the last line of a famous epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, inc. ἔχει πάχος τι, found in many manuscripts and ascribed to various authors: Psellos, Prodromos, Michael Choniates, Prosouch and Philes[11]. Since the epigram can be found in the collection of Geometres' poems, the problem of its author is settled. In some manuscripts the epigram is followed or preceded by two other epigrams on the same subject: inc. ὁ νοῦς τὸ σῶμα and τί δῆτα θάψεις [12]. These epigrams are also ascribed to various authors. Since Geometres often writes series of poems on the same subject, he is likely to be the author of these two epigrams as well.

In establishing which poems should or should not be attributed to Geometres, there is always a margin of uncertainty. Byzantine manuscripts contain a considerable number of poems ascribed to Geometres, but not found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352. Since there are two major lacunas between 158ᵛ and 159ʳ and between 166ᵛ and 167ʳ, it is possible that all these poems ultimately derive from

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[10] For the life of Geometres, see LAUXTERMANN 1998d. The poems in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 date from the second half of the tenth century. The latest poem is Cr. 282, 31, dating from 996–997, which constitutes the *terminus post quem* for the compilation of Geometres' collection.

[11] Psellos: WESTERINK 1992: XXXVI; Prodromos: HÖRANDNER 1974: 60–61, no. 178; Choniates: SP. LAMBROS, *NE* 16 (1922) 344; Prosouch: TREU 1893: 46; Philes: MILLER 1855–57: I, 438–439, no. 243 and STICKLER 1992: 220. Ed. TREU 1893: 46 and MILLER 1855–57: I, 438–439, no. 243.

[12] Ed. TREU 1893: 46 and MILLER 1855–57: I, 438–439, no. 243. A fourth epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, found in Laur. XXXII 19, inc. σκιὰν σκιᾶς ἔγραψε, is definitely the work of Philes: see STERNBACH 1897: 158–159, n. 1.

the original collection of Geometres' literary works. Unfortunately, we cannot always be certain that the ascriptions are correct. This problem will be dealt with in Appendices II and III.

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Par. gr. 1630 (s. XIV)[13], fols. 56ʳ–63ᵛ and 127ʳ–138ᵛ, contains a considerable number of Geometres' poems as well as his *Hymns on the Holy Virgin* and an excerpt of the *Sylloge Parisina*[14]. As an accurate description of this part of the manuscript does not exist[15], I will present a detailed list of its contents before discussing its relation with Par. Suppl. gr. 352[16]. **56ʳ–63ᵛ**: **fols. 56ʳ–61ʳ**: Cr. 305, 9–12; *Hymns* I–IV; **fol. 61ʳ**: Cr. 271, 27–30; 273, 31–32; 274, 11–13; 281, 2–3; 280, 26–29; 292, 8; **fol. 61ᵛ**: Cr. 292, 10–18; 292, 20–22; 292, 24–27; 292, 28–29; 293, 5–6; 293, 2–3; 287, 15–288, 6; **fol. 62r**: Cr. 288, 7–12; 288, 13–16; **fol. 62ᵛ**: [top margin: Chr. Mityl. 108]; Cr. 288, 17; 302, 22–25; 304, 15–16; 304, 22–25; 304, 27–30; *Sylloge Parisina* (6 epigrams); [bottom line: anonymous gnome[17]]; [bottom margin: Chr. Mityl. 73]; **fol. 63ʳ**: Cr. 290, 15–16; 290, 17–18; 289, 10–11; 290, 20; 289, 13–14; [main text: Philes, inc. ἅρπαξ ὁ λῃστής]; 285, 2; 286, 14; 286,

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[13] The manuscript's date, s. XIV, can be narrowed down to the years 1320–1337. The manuscript occasionally refers to Leo Bardales simply as "the protasekretis" without mentioning his name. This strongly suggests that the manuscript was written when Leo was still in active service. On the life of Leo Bardales, see I. Ševčenko, *Byz* 19 (1949) 247–259.

[14] For a description of the manuscript, see A. Bandurius, Imperium Orientale seu Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae, II. Paris 1711, 875–886; L.A. Fabricii Bibliotheca graeca sive notitia scriptorum veterum graecorum. Editio nova curante G.C. Harles, vol. XI. Hamburg 1808, 566–576 (based on an earlier description by Steph. le Moyne, Leiden 1684, with critical annotations by I. Boivinus); H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, II. Paris 1888, 108–112; and M. Tziatzi-Papagianni, Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994, 68–73.

[15] For a detailed, but still not entirely satisfactory description of this part of the manuscript, see C. Dilthey, De epigrammatum graecorum syllogis quibusdam minoribus. Göttingen 1887, 12–25.

[16] The numbers refer to the pages and the lines of Cramer's edition: for instance, 292, 10–18 indicates the poem that begins on page 292, line 10 and ends on the same page, line 18. Since Cramer often ignores the separation marks in the manuscript, the text of Par. gr. 1630 only apparently diverges from that of Par. Suppl. gr. 352: for instance, Cr. 273, 31–274, 13 consists of three separate epigrams (273, 31–32; 274, 1–10; 274, 11–13), of which Par. gr. 1630 contains the first and the last. The poems that do not derive from Par. Suppl. gr. 352 appear in square brackets.

[17] Ed. E. Leutsch & F. Schneidewin, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, II. Göttingen 1851, 556 (Cent. 12, 58). See also W. Lackner, *Byz* 44 (1974) 195–197.

16–17; 286, 10–12; 284, 25–30; 285, 4–5; 285, 7–12; 285, 13–15; 285, 17–18; [bottom margin: Leo Bardales 4]; **fol. 63ᵛ**: Cr. 297, 9–16; 297, 18–19; 298, 21–23; 299, 7–11; 299, 12–15; 299, 16–17; 299, 18–19; 299, 20–21; 299, 22–23; 299, 24–26; 296, 7–8; 303, 12–13; 301, 10–14; 300, 4–8; 302, 3–5; 302, 7–9; 302, 10–11; 302, 12–14. **127ʳ–138ᵛ**: **fols. 127ʳ–128ʳ**: Cr. 334, 23–336, 3; **fols. 128ᵛ–131ʳ**: Cr. 336, 4–340, 19; **fol. 131ʳ⁻ᵛ**: *Hymn* V; **fol. 131ᵛ**: Cr. 331, 12–332, 4; 289, 1–8; **fol. 132ʳ**: Cr. 288, 17–32; 314, 18–315, 2; **fol. 132ᵛ**: Cr. 316, 24–26; 316, 27–317, 7; 320, 24–25; 320, 22–23; 316, 18–21; 316, 11–16; **fol. 133ʳ**: Cr. 312, 21–22; 314, 14–16; [main text: epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, inc. ὁ νοῦς τὸ σῶμα]; 312, 2–4; 312, 5–9; 316, 2–9; 309, 25–26; 309, 18–19; 309, 28–29; 310, 1–2; 310, 3–4; 310, 5–7; 271, 27–30; **fol. 133ᵛ**: Cr. 310, 25–311, 3; 333, 24–26; 333, 27–30; 334, 1–2; 334, 3–4; 334, 5–6; 334, 7–11; 330, 6–9; 330, 10–13; 330, 14–17; **fol. 134ʳ**: Cr. 330, 18–21; 330, 23–26; 330, 27–30; 331, 1–4; 333, 15–17; 332, 26–27; 331, 6–10; 333, 7; 333, 8; **fol. 134ᵛ**: Cr. 284, 15–16; 283, 10–14; 283, 28–284, 4; 281, 17–18; 281, 19–20; 282, 17–20; 281, 22–282, 15; 281, 14–15; **fols. 135ʳ–137ᵛ**: *Sylloge Parisina* (40 epigrams); **fol. 137ᵛ**: Cr. 334, 13–15; 334, 16–21; 326, 21–327, 9; **fol. 138ʳ**: Cr. 327, 11–12; [main text: Prodromos 161, Chr. Mityl. 35, Prodromos 160]; **fol. 138ᵛ**: Cr. 309, 15–16; 310, 8–9; 301, 2–4; 301, 5–6; 301, 7–8; 318, 17–18. Then follows Basil Megalomytes' collection of riddles.

The order of the poems in Par. gr. 1630 is roughly the same as in Par. Suppl. gr. 352. The scribe leaves out all the historical poems: encomia, poems about political events, satirical poems, and so on. He brackets together poems on the same subject: for instance, Cr. 290, 15 and 290, 17, followed by 289, 10 (epigrams on St. Demetrios). He also brackets together clusters of poems that resemble each other in terms of genre: for instance, personal prayers, poems εἰς ἑαυτόν and catanyctic poems on fols. 127ʳ–132ʳ. It is not clear why Hymn V does not follow immediately after Hymns I–IV; however, the scribe does note at the end of *Hymn* IV (on fol. 61ʳ): ἕτερος ὕμνος κατὰ στοιχεῖον τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἐγράφη ἔμπροσθεν, that is, *Hymn* V on fol. 131ʳ. The scribe placed Cr. 305, 9 before Hymns I–IV because the upper margin of the page was still blank[18].

Most scholars seem to agree, at least as regards the *Hymns* and the *Sylloge Parisina*, that Par. gr. 1630, fols. 56ʳ–63ᵛ and 127ʳ–138ᵛ, and Par. Suppl. gr. 352, fols. 153ᵛ–182ᵛ, are closely related. The editor of the *Hymns*, Sajdak, assumes that the two manuscripts go back to a common hyparchetype, without giving any reasons[19]. Most classical scholars postulate the same for the *Sylloge Parisina*, based on the argument that Par. gr. 1630 contains some

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[18] Berol. Phill. 1566, s. XVI, is a faithful copy of Par. gr. 1630, fols. 1ʳ–61ʳ (running until the end of *Hymn* IV): see WESTERINK 1992: XX. I do not know whether the manuscript contains Cr. 305, 9 before the text of *Hymns* I–IV.

[19] SAJDAK 1931: 9.

additional ancient epigrams on fols. 192 and 195[20]; but these derive from another source and the *Sylloge Parisina* should be studied in connection with the poems of Geometres, among which it is found[21]. The two manuscripts present almost the same readings; wherever the text of the *Hymns*, the *Sylloge Parisina* and the various poems by Geometres appears to differ in the two manuscripts, one observes that the scribe of Par. gr. 1630 misreads ligatures and abbreviations, supplements lacunas or attempts to "correct" the text of his exemplar. In fact, it is beyond any doubt that Par. gr. 1630 is a copy of Par. Suppl. gr. 352. On fol. 133ʳ we read the following verses: γηρῶν κατ᾽ ἄμφω καὶ φρένας καὶ τὰς τρίχας, / ὡς καινὸν εἶχες πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν / τὴν ζῶσαν ὡς ἄυλον ὕλῃ μὴ γράφε (Cr. 314, 14–16). These verses are written down as if they formed one cohesive poem (sic). As stated above, the first two verses (Cr. 314, 14–15) can be found on fol. 166ᵛ, and the last one (Cr. 314, 16) on fol. 167ʳ of Par. Suppl. gr. 352, that is, exactly where the manuscript has a major lacuna. Unless we assume that the source used by the scribe of Par. gr. 1630 lacked exactly the same folia as Par. Suppl. gr. 352, which would be an incredible coincidence, there can be only one conclusion: Par. gr. 1630, fol. 56ʳ–63ᵛ and 127ʳ–138ᵛ are excerpts copied directly from Par. Suppl. gr. 352, fol. 153ᵛ–182ᵛ.

The heading attached to *Hymn* I (on fol. 56ʳ) reads as follows: ὕμνος εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον· δι᾽ ἠρωελεγείων· Γεωμέτρου τοῦ σοφωτάτου πάντως. The collection of Geometres' literary works in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 no longer bears any heading because of the lacuna at the beginning (between fol. 150 and 151). As we have seen, when the scribe of Par. gr. 1630 copied Par. Suppl. gr. 352, the manuscript had already lost one or more quaternions between fol. 166 and 167. On fol. 61ʳ, the scribe jumps from Cr. 274, 11 to Cr. 280, 26 and 281, 2, which seems to indicate that the second lacuna of Par. Suppl. gr. 352, between fol. 158 and 159 (=between Cr. 280, 3 and 280, 5), already existed when he copied the manuscript. The word πάντως in the heading of *Hymn* I ("in fact, by…", "actually, by …") strongly suggests that the scribe was making an intelligent guess when he ascribed the *Hymns* to Geometres. Since Geometres' *Hymns* were quite popular in Byzantium, the scribe could easily have known to whom these texts, anonymous in the lacunose source he used, should be attributed πάντως. And from there it must have been only a small step for him to conjecture that the poems found after the *Hymns* in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 were also the work of Geometres. This is why the long catanyctic poem, Cr. 334, 23 (on fol. 127ʳ), immediately followed by *Hymn* V, bears the heading in the margin: τοῦ Γεωμέτρου. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that the three

[20] CAMERON 1993: 217.
[21] As DILTHEY (see n. 15), 23 already noted a hundred years ago.

lacunas of Par. Suppl. gr. 352 (between fol. 150 and 151, fol. 158 and 159, and fol. 166 and 167) already existed in the fourteenth century when Par. gr. 1630 was written.

The scribe of Par. gr. 1630 added some epigrams in the margins of the manuscript and even in the main text: Christopher Mitylenaios 35, 73 and 108[22]; Theodore Prodromos nos. 160 and 161[23]; Manuel Philes[24]; and Leo Bardales 4[25]. It is somewhat surprising that he also added the epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, inc. ὁ νοῦς τὸ σῶμα, which was probably written by Geometres (see above, p. 289). The epigram can be found on fol. 133ʳ, immediately after Cr. 314, 14–15 and Cr. 314, 16 (the last line of the famous epigram on St. Mary of Egypt). It bears the lemma: εἰς τὴν αὐτήν, that is, on St. Mary of Egypt. The scribe recognized that the last verse of the nonsensical epigram he had copied (nonsensical because of the lacuna in his exemplar) referred to St. Mary of Egypt and then added another epigram he knew on the same subject.

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Vat. gr. 743 (s. XIV), fols. 98ʳ–102ʳ, contains several poems by Geometres. On the preceding folia (fols. 91ʳ–97ᵛ) we find 65 quatrains of the *Paradeisos*. The following folia (fols. 102ʳ–106ᵛ) contain a group of anonymous poems, which, to my knowledge, have not yet been edited (see below).

The manuscript contains the following poems: Cr. 287, 15; 288, 7; 288, 17; 289, 1; 289, 10; 289, 13; 289, 15; 290, 2; 290, 15; 290, 17; 290, 20; 290, 22; 292, 1; 292, 10; 293, 1; 293, 24; 294, 5; 295, 23. The poems are arranged in exactly the same order as in Par. Suppl. gr. 352. The scribe, or the source he used, left out a number of poems: namely, Cr. 291, 29; 292, 20; 292, 24; 292, 28; 293, 5; 293, 8; 294, 27; 295, 3; 295, 10. Vat. gr. 743 is not a copy of Par. Suppl. gr. 352. The manuscript offers many alternative readings and supplements a verse missing in Par. Suppl. gr. 352: πόντον ἐρισμάραγδον καὶ δείματα μυρία γαίης (before Cr. 293, 24). Vat. gr. 743 clearly belongs to another branch of the

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[22] Chr. Mityl. 73 is acephalous in the edition of KURTZ 1903. Par. gr. 1630 provides the missing first verse: σῴζοιο Παλάμηδες, εἰ μή τις φθόνος.

[23] See HÖRANDNER 1974: 55. The two poems can be found in: *PG* 133, 1416 and 1418.

[24] Inc. ἅρπαξ ὁ λῃστής. In the ms. the lemma reads as follows: ἕτεροι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν (that is, on the same subject as Cr. 289, 13) τοῦ Φιλῆ. Ed. MILLER 1855–57: I, 374, n. 1. See STICKLER 1992: 240.

[25] Ed. BOISSONADE 1829–33: I, 101, no. 4.

manuscript tradition. Since we do not know how many links in the chain leading back to the archetype are missing, it is pointless to draw up a stemma for only two manuscripts. Allatius copied four poems from Vat. gr. 743 in his anthology, Barb. gr. 74[26]. In the following, I will present the variants of Vat. gr. 743, some of which are really excellent while others are less so:

Cr. 287, 15: τάλαν; κατέδυς; 15 (footnote y) ὤλεσεν, κήδεσ᾽, οἶδα τί πέπονθας[27]; 19 κακεργίαις; 23 ὅσον; 25 περίκειται; 26 στοναχοῦ; 28 μούνοις; Cr. 288, 6 πάντα φέρεις χαλινά; 19 ὅσα; 20 λαλέων; 21 κατὰ θέσφατον; 22 πόλ᾽; 27 παθέσθαι; 31 ἀέρα; 32 χωροὺς; Cr. 289, 3 ἐσμοί; 6 ἀμαιμακέτη; 7 τάλαν deest; 8 δοξολόγου, κἂν ῥυποῖς; 13 πίστιν deest; 14 ἐξεμόχλευσεν; 16 μόνος deest; Cr. 290, 2 θεόφρονος; 3 τόσσ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἔτη; 5 ὑπὸ ζυγίην; 7 Κρήτην; 10 οὐδὲ γυναικὸς; 16 ἄοπλος; 17 lemma εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, 19 lemma εἰς τὸν πίνακα τ. ἁ. Π.; 24 χρόνοι; 26 μονὴν κεράσαο; 27 τορνώσαο; 28 πάντοθι; 29 ἄλλα τὲ; Cr. 291, 1 ἀείδρομα; 2 ἀπλανές τε, ἃ; 4 μήνη; 6 ἤδ᾽ ὑποκυσσαμένη; 7 οἶμος ἀπείρων; 9 ἀβράμιος; 10 αὐτὸν ἀέρα; 15 ἐκστερεῖς, ἡγεμόνευες; 16 ἄκικυς; 17 ἐς στρατίας τε, μόθον; 22 κλίναις, λειήναις; 23 ποντίσαις; 24 Φαραὼ, ἀναιδέας; 25 μισοφόνους; 26 πῇ με φέροις; Cr. 292, 2 ἀπέτμαγεν, οἱ δέ μ᾽ ἐσθλά; 4 ἐμὲ; 7 ἄεσθλα; 10 ἐς; 13 ἄνακτα Χριστόν; Cr. 293, 1 εἰς εὐνοῦχον ἄσωτον; 3 ἐς τέλος οὐδ᾽ ἕτερον; 23 lemma ἐλεγεῖα; 25 περιδείδια; 26 πλοῦς; 28 περατὸς; Cr. 294, 1 χόος πάχος; 3 τηκεδάναι; 4 ἡδυβόρου; 5 lemma ἥρωελ; 6 δυσαντέα, ἄτροπα; 7 λιλαιόμενοι; 8 σκοτοειδέες; 10 ἀμεμφής; 12 κύδεος; 13 ἐὴν; 14 δείδω, γενύεσσι; 15 ῥιφθῶ; 18 μ᾽ ἄναξ ἐλέαιρε; 19 δεξιτερῇ σῇ ποτ᾽, θῶκος; 22 σοῦ κύδεος; Cr. 295, 23 ἔρνος; 26 δῶκεν; 27 ἐμπαίζονται; 28 ἐγρομένους.

The manuscript contains the following anonymous poems on fols. 102ʳ–106ᵛ: (1) εἰς ἀστρονόμον, inc. ἀστρολόγων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος ἐὴν καλέεσκ᾽ ἐπὶ δαῖτα, a satirical poem, 28 elegiac distichs (56 vv.); (2) ἴαμβος, inc. γραφαῖς πένης τις εἱστιᾶτο πινάκων, a satirical poem, 58 iambs; (3) εἰς πίθηκον λαβόντα μεγάλην γυναῖκα, inc. ὁ νυμφίος πίθηκος, ἡ νύμφη φύη, a satirical poem, 6 iambs[28]; (4) εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰάκωβον, inc. δεῦρ᾽ ἴδε καὶ ἐνὶ χρώμασιν ἔμπνοον ἄλλον ἀγῶνα, an ecphrastic poem, 35 dactylic hexameters; (5) εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μάρτυρα Βαρβάραν, inc. ἇ μερόπων δειλὸν γένος ἄγριον ἠδ᾽ ἀθέμιστον, an epigram on a work of art, 10 dactylic hexameters; (6) εἰς τὰ λαιμία τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου, inc. ὦ σοφίης Χριστοῦ θεοειδέος ἥμισυ μορφῆς, an epigram on a work of art, 2 dactylic hexameters; (7) εἰς τὸν χορὸν τῶν ψαλτῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν χειρονόμον, inc. ὄργανον αὐτοτέλεστον εὔθροον, ἇ μέγα θαῦμα, an encomiastic poem, 8 dactylic hexameters. I cannot recall having read these poems elsewhere and do not know who their author is. The literary quality of the verses is excellent, at least

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[26] Barb. gr. 74, fol. 35ʳ: Cr. 290, 2; 290, 15; 290, 17; and 289, 10. See above, n. 5.

[27] At the beginning of poem Cr. 287, 15, the scribe of Par. Suppl. gr. 352 made an error which he himself corrected: see Cramer's footnote y. The text of Vat. gr. 743 reads as follows: [lemma: εἰς ἑαυτόν] (287, 15a) θυμὲ τάλαν, τί πέπονθας; ὅλος κατέδυς (read as in Par. Suppl. gr. 352: τί πέπονθας, ὅλος τ᾽ ἔδυς;)· ἄγριον οἶδμα / (287, 15b) ὤλεσεν ἀργαλέοις κήδεσ᾽ ἀνιστάμενον. / (287, 15c) οἶδα τί πέπονθας (read as in Par. Suppl. gr. 352: οἶδ᾽ ἃ πέπονθας) καὶ ὅσα καὶ ὅσον οἶδμα μόγησας / (287, 16) εἰς χρόνον ἐξ ἥβης ἐς βιότοιο δύσιν, etcetera.

[28] Copied by Allatius: Barb. gr. 74, fol. 38ᵛ.

in comparison to most Byzantine poems. If I had to guess, I would say, on purely stylistic grounds, that the poems date from the eleventh or the twelfth century.

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Cramer's *editio princeps* leaves much to be desired: the readings are often inaccurate and the punctuation is bizarre; typographical errors abound; and worst of all, the editor often ignores the separation marks in the manuscript and combines two poems into one. But Cramer's publication has one great advantage over the subsequent editions by Migne and Cougny: it contains *all* the poems by Geometres found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352. Migne (*PG* 106, 901–987) presents a bowdlerized version of Cramer's edition, skipping over no less than thirty-seven poems which he considered to be too profane. The edition by Cougny (Cougny 1890: *passim*) also goes back to that of Cramer, but he selected only those poems that vaguely resemble ancient epigrams. Since Cougny does not mention the name of Geometres in the headings attached to the poems, some Byzantinists, relying on his edition, publish poems by Geometres as if they were anonymous[29]. The editions by Migne and Cougny correct certain errors of Cramer[30], but at the same time they add some of their own.

Some of the poems found in Par. gr. 1630 were edited by Boissonade in various publications[31]. His edition in the *Anecdota Graeca* had a curious fate. Since he omits to write to whom the poems should be attributed, and since the poems follow immediately after a poem by Leo the Philosopher (an author often confused with other Leo's), Krumbacher, Kominis and Trypanis ascribe

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[29] For instance, Q. CATAUDELLA, *Sileno* 3 (1977) 189–199 and 4 (1978) 229–243, and H.G. THÜMMEL, in: Festschrift für K. Wessel. Munich 1988, 283–301. See also the criticisms by P. SPECK, *Klio* 73 (1991) 279–280.

[30] In his edition Cougny incorporated the emendations proposed by N. PICCOLOS, Supplément à l' Anthologie Grecque, contenant des épigrammes et autres poésies légères inédites, précédé d' observations sur l' Anthologie et suivi des remarques sur divers poètes grecs. Paris 1853, 129–154 and 238–244. For other conjectural emendations, see CATAUDELLA (footnote above), A. ΠΕΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *EEBS* 11 (1935) 421–448, and L.R. CRESCI, *Atti dell' Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s., 45 (1996) 45–52.

[31] BOISSONADE 1829–33: II, 472–478. P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV graece versi a Maximo Planude, ed. J.FR. BOISSONADE. Paris 1822, 221. J.FR. BOISSONADE, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 10 (1818) 263. It is quite likely that more poems by Geometres can be found in other publications of Boissonade, which I have been unable to locate.

Geometres' poems in Par. gr. 1630 to Leo VI the Wise, Leo the Philosopher and Leo Choirosphaktes, respectively[32].

Geometres' poems certainly do not deserve the sad fate of lingering forever in the editorial limbo of Cramer. The task of a future editor[33] will not be easy since there are basically only two manuscripts, one of which (Par. Suppl. gr. 352) is lacunose, whereas the other (Vat. gr. 743) only presents a small sample of Geometres' poems. As mss. Par. gr. 1630 and Barb. gr. 74 are mere copies, they are not of great value, although they may provide some interesting conjectural readings. The modern editions are equally of minor importance. The manuscripts that will be treated in Appendices II and III, unfortunately do not offer much material for the reconstruction of the original text. Only by way of an extensive metrical study of other poems by Geometres (the *Hymns* in elegiacs and the iambic *Metaphrasis of the Odes*), combined with a study of his sources (especially Homer, the Bible and Gregory of Nazianzos), may the editor establish a text more reliable than the often erroneous, if not nonsensical readings found in the edition of Cramer.

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[32] KRUMBACHER 1897b: 722. KOMINIS 1966: 129. TRYPANIS 1981: 472.

[33] More than thirty years ago A. Hohlweg announced that he would publish Geometres' poems. It is not known when this long awaited edition will finally appear. Unfortunately, professor Hohlweg did not answer my letter, d.d. 12-09-98, in which I asked him when we can expect his edition. Finding a copy of Hohlweg's *Habilitationsschrift* (dealing with Geometres' poetry) proved to be impossible.